

A1132/0a1.19

A 'CITY' WITHIN A
CITY. P.R.B.LEWIS

1. Typed headings of main subjects to be dealt with in address listed in a possible sequence.

3 copies.

A lily within a lily - The location of Saweto.

② Rough drafts of proposed paper & extracts from previous papers such as the Annual analysis of the Native Revenue Account and extracts from previous titles on Saweto.

① Typed headings of main subjects to be dealt with in address listed in a possible sequence. 3 Copies

9 The contrary opinion is that
high ~~higher~~ wages for the
majority are, ^{truly} economic
a measure of subsidisation
will remain essential.

A CITY WITHIN A CITY - THE CREATION OF SOWETO.

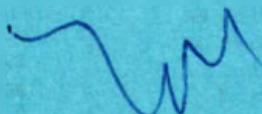
1. Time to look back at the past - To learn from the mistakes - Trace attitudes - Changes of policies - Look at population movements.
2. Early locations - Catering for single men - Kaffir Town - Burial records - Piet - Zulu - E.R.P.M.
3. Outbreak of Plague - Movement to Pimville - Erection of half tanks.
4. Prospect Township - Sophiatown - Alexandra.
5. Urban Areas Act of 1923 placed responsibility on Local Authorities to house Bantu.
6. Western Native Township - Eastern Native Township.
7. 1927 N.E.A.D. created - Was previously part of Parks Department.
8. 1930 Orlando Scheme started - State number of houses built to 1939.
9. War period - Crowding of cities - No housing schemes developed.
10. Sophiatown - Population living in crowded slum conditions - Municipal By-laws disregarded.
11. Alexandra - People work in Johannesburg - Nobody prepared to take responsibility - Struggling Health Board with virtually no capital from which to provide services - Future of the township in doubt - Professor Hoernle.
12. Introduction of Kaffir beer - Policy that profits would save Council's subsidising Native Revenue Account.
13. Squatter camps - Tyranny of rulers - Shantytown - Moroka emergency camp on 20' x 20' sites - Riots at Moroka - Illegal Squatter Act of 1951 - Continued crowding of Sophiatown and Alexandra.

14. Post-War Contracts 1957/61, 5233 houses built - Cost of building - Cost of services.
15. The Gordon Period when doubt at City Hall regarding need to provide housing and unwillingness to face financial implications - Pressure groups - Resignation of Venables and appointment of Carr.
16. 1951 Bantu Building Workers Act.
17. 1952 Native Services Levy Act.
18. 1953 Site and Service Scheme - State number of sites laid out.
19. Separate Housing Division - Training of Bantu building workers - Reduction in cost of building.
20. 1956 : £3,000,000 loan from Mining Companies to clear Moroka - 13,000 houses built.
21. The Mentz Line.
22. Relationship between Council and Government - 30 Year Lease - Appointment of Mentz Committee - Assurances given.
23. Locations-in-the-Sky - Removal of office and flat workers to Dube before hostel ready - Riots at Dube in 1956/7(?).
24. Introduction of ethnic grouping.
25. Extension of railway lines - The additional spur - Find out capital cost of railway construction - Project No. 6.
26. The name of Soweto.
27. Work of City Engineer's Department on the construction of roads, provision of water, sewage works and maintenance of houses.
28. Change in Government policy regarding financing of housing projects.

29. Resettlement Board - Freehold title in Sophiatown - Non-participation by the Council - Council had let conditions in Sophiatown drag on - Conditions there seemed to be a matter of indifference yet holy attitude regarding freehold title - Original idea Re-settlement Board to be temporary when Sophiatown removed - Council to accept responsibility for people moving and meet the bill.
30. Furnish table of houses built by Housing Division and people re-located.
31. The change of the Mentz line - Rebuilding of Pimville - Compensation settlements.
32. The removal of Western Native Township and resettlement at Moroka - Better standard houses at no additional rent.
33. Financial policy - Acceptance of complete responsibility - Sub-economic rent limit R40 - Amount of contributions by employers via Services Levy Fund - Table of deficits on Native Revenue Account.
34. Medical Services - Responsibility of the Province - Council's action - Delays in the provision of clinics - Part refunds of expenditure - Immunisation - Domiciliary services - Pre- and anti-natal care - Infantile mortality rates - Closing of Bridgman and Sanctuary hospitals - Charges for visits - Creches - Nursery schools - Baragwanath Hospital.
35. Nationalist attitude re self-financing of Native Revenue Account.
36. Kaffir beer :- Introduction - Use of Profits - Growth of Sales - Closing of town beer halls - Erection of new ones - Enquiry into intoxicating effects - New brewery - Demand in residential areas.
37. European liquor :- Transition period - Use of profits - Types of liquor sold - amount of sales.
38. Sharpville.
39. Transport.

40. The People :- Behaviour in trains - Rivalry of taxi owners - Soccer Associations - Extracts from life in Soweto - Not wanting to do the work father did - Influx to Johannesburg and endorsing out.
41. Leadership :- The difficulties of the moderate man - The extremist - Those openly critical likely to fall foul of the Government - Quarrelling of Staff Association - Difficult for leaders to emerge.
42. Political Events :- Nurses and reference books - Stay-at-home strikes - Losses of reference books - Alexandra bus boycott - Rivalry between A.N.C. and P.A.C. - Banning of these bodies - Government policy re increase Bantu population.
43. Administration :- Number of staff employed - What are top jobs available to Bantu in Council's service - Advisory Boards - Bantu Councils - Removal of institutions to rural areas - Manager as licensed officer.
44. Population Statistics :- Change in the nature of the population - Hardship re Influx Control regarding wives joining husbands - difficulties regarding children leaving the urban area - Miss Verster's Research - the future - The shortage of land - Multi-storey buildings - Population explosion - Work opportunities.
45. Uplift of the People :- Training of nurses - Trading in the townships - European and Indian participation - Freehold ownership - schools - V.T.C. - Technical College - Commercial College - Churches - Increases in wages - Bantu Wage and Production Association - Jan Hofmeyr School - Council's graded staff work opportunities - Council's wage increases - Graded Staff Pension Fund - Gratuity system - Bursaries.
46. Facilities provided :- Libraries - Sportsfields - Swimming Baths - Soccer all the year round sport - Band.

47. General :- Painful story of travail and suffering - Patient
endeavour of Council to improve conditions within facilities available -
Influence of legislation on events - Tribute to the staff of dedicated
officials - Genuine endeavour of Councillors to improve conditions.



Since European liquor was made available to Bantu the demand for packed Kaffir Beer, sold in Bottle Stores throughout the Municipal area, has so increased the demand that the existing brewery has proved quite inadequate, and a new brewery, long overdue, is being constructed in Industria at a cost of R..... and will have a capacity to brew.....gallons.

CONCLUSION:

To be included
in body of address
— 1st. end.

What of the future? What of the tasks that lie ahead? What are the problems to be faced?

Firstly, I am apprehensive regarding our ability to keep pace with housing requirements. The cutting of loans available from housing funds will delay the urgent need to rehouse the dwellers in Pimville, will postpone finding homes for those on the waiting list, and each year more and more persons born in the townships become of age, marry, and require homes. We now have to cater for new generations of those born 15 to 20 years ago when the women joined their menfolk in such large numbers.

Secondly, we need to find employment for the young folk born in the City, some educated, some with a smattering of education, but most of whom are work seekers not wishing to do heavy manual work and often scorning the work their fathers did.

Thirdly, we need more land and an improvement in transport facilities for the ever increasing population, a population which at the present rate of growth and without immigration or emigration from Soweto will double in twenty years with the improvement in medical facilities and employment conditions.

Fourthly, some means must be found to develop leadership amongst the Bantu. The moderate Bantu who wishes to work with the European finds it hard to get the support of his compatriots. The potential leader finds it hard to satisfy the masses without adopting attitudes and policies and methods which cause him to

Challenge the traditional what is called "the traditional SA policy"

Contd./..

Stop
short
phrase left out

Face different periods of construction
go up & determine be adapted

urban & outlets for their reasonable aspirations

advocating
to

fall foul of the law. How then are we to fulfil the aspirations of the people and of the emergent leaders?

~~It is a question to which I have not found an answer~~

In my opinion if the J.C.C. operating within the compass as it must, with the compass of present legislation must use the Advisory Boards & Urban Councils as the outlets for leadership & responsibility. With the inauguration of the first Urban Council in the near future the power must be amplified of making such councils functional & not merely advisory. That will be one step in the relationship between the Council & the districts. If people a spirit of trust & cooperation has been developed clear examples being the sorting out of divergent interests in such cases as of large numbers of families for new schools at W.H.T. Fenille.

SUGGESTED OPENING PARAGRAPHS:

1. In this year of anniversaries, the 70th of the University of the Witwatersrand, and the 80th of the City of Johannesburg, I feel proud and honoured to have been asked to speak on a subject which is of great importance to me, and to very many other people in this City. The subject - A 'CITY' WITHIN A CITY - THE CREATION OF SOWETO, that vast complex of some 26 square miles, once known as the South Western Native Townships, which houses half a million people of our City.

On an occasion such as this, it is right, I think, to pause a moment and reflect upon the history of our City, and pay tribute to those men and women who worked to create the vast metropolis. It is instructive, too, to look back at the attitudes and policies of the past, for these have changed in many respects for the better, as I shall illustrate, and we can learn from the mistakes of the past, and take courage from those whose sterling and steadfast work helped to improve the lot of their fellow citizens.

2. For many years my main function as a City Councillor has been the welfare of the Bantu citizens of this City, and the 'City within a City' of my address covers the area now called Soweto, which was once known as the South Western Native Townships, a vast complex of some 26 sq. miles, housing some half million of the City's population.

I am both proud and honoured to have been asked to speak to you on this subject, and thus be linked with those men and women of the past whose sterling qualities and steadfast work went to the creating of better conditions for their fellow men.

A 'CITY' WITHIN A CITY - THE CREATION OF SOWETO.

On an occasion such as this, when one is celebrating anniversaries it is fit and proper that one should reflect on the history of one's City and pay tribute to those men and women who helped create the vast metropolis, of which we are so proud. It is instructive too, looking back at the changing attitudes and policies of the past. For attitudes and policies have changed in many respects for the better as I hope to illustrate to you. Let us hope we can learn from the mistakes of the past and take courage from the sterling and steadfast work of those, who strived so hard to improve the lot of their fellow citizens.

Insert new para.

drew attention to the bad conditions under which the natives lived. The Native Affairs Commission of 1903/5 strongly criticised the existing state of affairs as did the Indigency Commission of 1908 and the Municipal Commission of 1909 urged provision of proper sites for natives and other non-Europeans.

On a site near the present market in Newtown was an appalling slum shown in early maps as Kaffirtown. This area was expropriated in 1903 and compensation amounting to R2,290,092 paid. But where to move the slum dwellers was the problem. Then, as now, the opposition of the White electorate

*The concept of the site & Section
method of dealing urgently
with the mass of banks
slum dwellers who had to
be rehoused was
conceived by the then
Min. of H.A. ~~Dr. J. Lawrence~~
and he laid down within
fairly narrow limits the
principles which had to be
followed by his in
applying the f's schemes
in order to qualify for
Govt loans & grants.

It was as a student at the University that I received my tuition when enabled me to ^{to graduate} obtain my professional qualification ^{after 3 years} over ^{30 years ago} 30 years ago.

A few years thereafter I again enrolled at the University to take ~~to study~~ for a diploma in what was then called Nature Laws & Administration.

As a tutorial I was asked to prepare an oral lecture bearing of my professional qualifications set me as a tutorial the task of analysing the N. L.A. of the Johannesburg City Council. This was the my introduction to Municipal Administration and the interest created at that time in both local relations and municipal affairs has been an absorbing interest.

It was my privilege to be associated with such great ^{and able} persons as Prof & Mrs. Hoernle, Mr. Stewart-Jones and others associated with this University ^{and from them} ^{inspiration and breadth of vision and understanding} ^{same of great magnitude} have been a when I was invited to deliver this lecture it

was suggested that I review the J. C. Coenraads Administration of Bantu Affairs ^{no way last 2 years} and ~~of possible~~ take a ~~peek~~ give my views of possible future trends ^{no easy task}.

I was apprehensive at first but ^{on my last} one I had started I became excited at the story there was to tell. ^{I gratefully} ^{that was given the opportunity} excited because on review I suddenly realised I had been so close to the picture that my perspective had become ~~blurred~~ ^{blurred} and that the ^{with everyday problems} ^{had long existed} ^{gigantic} achievements of the last fifteen since the grim ^{demour} outlook at the end of World War II. were of gigantic proportions by comparison. There is no room for complacency for much ^{more} has to be done but much has been done. ~~but at the end of my~~

Let ~~it~~ just of all last our minds back like early days.

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* New Para. — Phases of Creation:

In his book written in 1938 entitled City Government - the Johannesburg Experiment - John Maud, as he then was, gives an insight into conditions in the early days. I have drawn extensively from that book for incidents and events, *which give us a glimpse of the conditions of living of the Bantu people at that time.* ~~which concern our subject - a 'City' within a City - the creation of Soweto in other words those conditions which concerned the provision of housing and other facilities for the Bantu people.~~

^{We} It must not ^{lose} ever be lost sight of ^{the fact} that the first conception of ^{The} Johannesburg's settlement was that of a temporary mining camp. ^{I remember that} When the Sanitary Board was formed in 1887 its powers were limited, as were the funds at its disposal, as the provision of most of the profitable services had been granted to concessionaires.

1

2

3

I chose as my title - A City with a City -
 the Creation of Savelo. Johannesburg, the ^{largest} ~~largest~~ City
 is 94 sq. miles in area - Savelo ^{is 12 miles from the city, and} the home of
 500000 ^{black} people is 26 sq. miles in extent &
~~derived~~ ^{derived} its name from an abbreviation of what
 was until ~~referred~~ ^{referred} to as the South Western
 Bantu Township ~~XXX~~

Before I portray today's Savelo and how it
 was created let us first cast our minds
 back to the ~~early days~~ ^{beginning} of our City.
 Let us look at Vol 1 from the 1886 to 1918

The ^{an} early map of Johannesburg dated 1890 shows
 a "Kaffir location" and a "Coolie location" south
 & south west of the present Braamfontein Station. Later
 maps also indicate locations in this area.

During the Anglo Boer war, large numbers of Natives
 had been attracted to work on the gold mines & of the
 total population of 102 000 in 1896 1/2 were whites & 1/2
 non ^{European} ~~European~~ ^{predominant} ~~predominant~~ ^{Black}. The mines had
~~black~~ ^{black} employees but other ^{black} ~~black~~ ^{black} had largely ^{found} ~~found~~ ^{found}
 themselves.

adjacent to the areas to which it was proposed to move the Natives, was so strong that plans had to be shelved. In 1904 there occurred in this area something even stronger than the opposition of the White electorate - an outbreak of plague. The officials of the Council acted that very night. All the inhabitants were cleared and the whole slum was burnt to the ground.

The Council agreed that accommodation must be found for the refugees even if only temporarily. For the Natives and Indians this was provided on a site adjoining the sewage disposal works at Klipspruit, 12 miles from the centre of town. Neither the remoteness from Johannesburg nor the closeness of the sewage farms endeared the location to its Native inhabitants.

This was the first Location created. The next step was not until 1917 when the Council hired the disused mine compound of the Salisbury Jubilee mine. This was for use as a hostel for a few hundred Native men. In 1917 the Council requested the Government to grant it the right to sell Kaffir Beer. This the Government refused until the Council provided more adequate municipal locations. This permission was however granted in 1923 but not used until 1936. The statistics of high mortality rates of Natives in the 1918 flu epidemic stimulated the Council to take some action by establishing Western Native Township on a site, which in earlier years had been a sewage disposal works. Between 1918 and 1921 300 houses were built at Western. Meanwhile Natives were living under most unsatisfactory conditions in places such as Newclare, Sophiatown, Prospect Township, the Malay Location and other parts of the town.

A report from the Medical Officer of Health in 1923 reads:

'Slum Property. No material betterment herein was practicable during 1922/3. As reported to the Health Committee (30 June 1919) there have long been a large number of premises scheduled as unfit for human habitation; but the crowded population of these places consisted almost exclusively of

Natives and Coloured persons for whom no accommodation elsewhere was available, and therefore the Medical Officer of Health was not prepared to certify them for closure unless definitely instructed to do so by the Committee."

It was in 1923 that the Native Urban Areas Act was passed. One of the clauses, which had far reaching effect, was that which fairly and squarely placed the responsibility on Local Authorities to provide housing for Natives living within their area.

In 1924 the Wessmer Barracks was built to house 1,000 Native men. Western Native Township was extended by building a further 800 houses and a new location, Eastern Native Township was established with 400 houses. By 1927 accommodation provided by the the Council was for 15,000 people. At that time the estimated Native population was 96,000(excluding those employed and housed by the mines).

Until 1927 the administration of Native affairs was a responsibility of the Parks and Estates committee. The net expenditure on Parks Estates and Cemeteries for the year was £124,980 while that of Locations was £16,634.

In 1927 Mr. Graham Ballenden was appointed the first Manager of Native Affairs and in 1928 he persuaded the Council to appoint a committee on Native Affairs. Large Extensions to Western Native Township and Eastern Native Township were put in hand and by 1930 a further 850 houses had been built; making a total of at Western and at Eastern. New powers were conferred on Local Authorities in terms of an amendment to the Urban Areas Act passed in 1930. The Council then acquired 1300 acres of land on the farms some 10 miles from Johannesburg. A competition was held for the layout of the Township. Competitors were asked to submit plans for its layout designed to accommodate 80,000 Natives. Provision was to be made for administrative offices, a public hall, a cottage hospital with dispensary and clinic, a central police station, a central Post Office and

three district offices, a fire station, ten sites for schools, ten sites for religious purposes, shopping centres, a market and a community store. The Township was to be called Orlando after one of the then serving Councillors, Mr. Orlando Leake.

This step marked a new thinking and a new approach to the city's responsibilities. While it took many years to provide the facilities planned for, it is noteworthy that this planning was during the period of depression in the early 1930's. By 1935 3,000 houses had been built to house some 18,000 people. By the outbreak of war in 1939 a total of 5,800 houses had been erected at Orlando. The houses were built by white artisans at an average of _____ per house or _____ per sq. foot.

In John Naud's book he states that unfortunately in the 10 years after 1927 the work of the Public Health Department did not develop as rapidly or effectively as that of the new Native Affairs Department.

The Murray Thornton Commission of 1935 which enquired into the Public Health and Native Affairs Department criticized the Public Health Department for its failure to prevent or cure the fearful squalor which prevailed in such areas as Prospect Township, the Malay location, Sophiatown, Hartindale and Newclare. It reported that the Medical Officer of Health must have been aware of the insanitary conditions prevailing and the lack of water supplies. There was no municipal water in Newclare until 1933, people being dependant on suspect water from wells. In 1935 the Council had installed 27 taps in Sophiatown where people queued for water and bought it by the bucket. These areas were not connected to the sewage system and were dependant on collection of sanitary pails 3 times per week.

So while the City was endeavouring to make a new start in Orlando it was only rehousing a small portion of the Native population who were living in most unsatisfactory conditions in many quarters of the City.

It was normal in the 1930/40 period in Sophiatown?

There is no doubt that owners of properties exploited their tenants.

15 Contd

High rents were charged and families lived in one room. Some properties of a 50 x 100 stand accommodated as many as 300 people. *in sixty back to back rooms in Sophiatown.*

However, after the Murray Thornton Commission a thorough re-organisation of the Health Department took place on the lines of the commission's report and improvements immediately ensued. It is a constant problem of the Medical Officer of Health's Department to insist on the maintainance of standards of housing until there is alternative accommodation to which slum dwellers can be moved. It is a very real problem to this day.

16

A fact not known to many people regarding the period 1903 to 1935 is the range of municipal valuations of land. At the end of the Anglo-Boer War Johannesburg had a temporary boom and the municipal value of land was R60,000,000 in 1904. *the value in 1897 was R40,000,000* By 1909 it had tropped to 42,000,000, by 1910 to 28,000,000 and it was not until 1935 that the value had crept back to R55,000,000. This notwithstanding quadrupling of the European population during the period and the creation of a number of additional townships. Thus the assessment rate income of £525,312 for the year 1907 had dropped to £287,638 in 1910 and was in the range of £500,000 to £600,000 during the fifteen years 1920 - 1935. The total contribution to rates by the trading departments for the 30 year period 1905 to 1935 was £4,032,266 or an average of £134,408 per year. The whole expenditure on capital from 1903 to 1936 was £17,629,175 and today our capital budget for one year alone is *R 2,546,940*, our revenue from rates R 13,373,200 and our net profit from trading departments R 1,481,590

17

So while we may be critical of conditions, we must keep our perspective and realise the limited resources available to tackle the many and varied calls on the city's purse. At that time the Native population was 244,000 of whom 179,000 were males and 65,000 females.

18

There was an extreme case in Prospect Township where 121 rooms were crowded on to one 50 x 100 stand, with one water tap & 2 lavs.

Then in 1939 came World War II. South Africa's manpower and materials were concentrated on the war effort.

The five war years changed almost every aspect of Bantu life in Johannesburg. There was a tremendous growth in the number of factories and industries directly associated with the war effort, resulting in an insatiable demand for Bantu labour. The Bantu population increased by leaps and bounds and in 1946 it was estimated that the Bantu population was 395,231 of whom 211,322 were men, 100,000 women and 83,909 children.

This abnormal increase in the population meant that all available resources normally provided by the local authority were swamped out. Ultimately sheer pressure of numbers forced the people out. Owners of houses revolted against their sub-tenants and these literally burst out of the available accommodation and over a period of time formed eleven illegal and uncontrolled squatter camps.

It is important to remember that there was no influx control of Bantu into the City at this stage.

It was in this way that one of the most unsavoury episodes in Johannesburg's history began. A situation developed where the health and safety of the whole City was threatened.

Apart from the health hazards which these squatter camps created, men rose overnight to take leadership and prey on the ignorance and latent violence of the Bantu who lived in these camps. Rule of law was openly flaunted and by illegal courts where savage punishments were inflicted were set up. Municipal land in Orlando, Pinville, Dube, Newclare and Alexandra was forcibly taken possession of and the most wretched shanties erected almost on top of one another.

As a matter of urgency 4,042 freeze black slaters were erected

in Shantytown in 1944 and at the Moroka emergency camp 11,000 sites of 20' x 20' were allocated to families. It was estimated that approximately 50,000 families living in appalling conditions required houses at this stage.

The authorities were seriously embarrassed as there was no effective law to combat these movements. The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act 1951 (Act 52/1951) brought relief, however, and this dangerous phase was finally brought to an end, but before that was achieved much trouble was experienced.

When the largest squatter camp was cleared in 1947 there were no less than 60,000 Bantu living there, who had to be resettled at Moroka. Before this final settlement the leaders did all they could to hinder the authorities because they had now lost their illegal revenue and therefore continued to make trouble. In August 1947 they sparked off an attack on some municipally built shops and the latent tensions burst out resulting in a serious riot during which three European policemen were murdered.

How could one tackle a task of this magnitude? Where was the money to be found? What rental could tenants pay? Could one build a house within the tenant's capacity to pay? Where were the builders? How could one meet the cost of services, which often exceeded the cost of the house. In 1950 the deficit on the Native Revenue Account was already R for the year and in each new scheme involved a further loss. The Government's share of the loss for Johannesburg's schemes was R for 1950.

Nevertheless during the period 1947 to 1951 5,233 houses were built at Orlando East and West and at Jabavu. Various methods of construction were used by contractors who were becoming geared up to tackle mass production methods of construction. The crushing burden was however bringing the to a standstill.

By the end of 1953 the total of houses built was 17,814 and hostel accommodation had been provided for 14,120 men.

which the fund was created. This fund was to yield R _____ per year to Johannesburg and details of the uses to which this fund have been put are attached.

35
Contd

In 1953 what was called the Site and Service scheme became State policy. * The idea behind this scheme was to move the people who were living cheek by jowl in the squatter camps on to sites 40' x 70' . On these sites essential services such as sanitation would be provided, water made available and access roads built. On such a site a shack could be built on the back of the site so that when a permanent house could be built it would be on the front of the stand and not interfere with the shack. On construction of the main house the shack was to be demolished. This scheme was met with scepticism, many people fearing that the shack would be a permanent feature, not believing that houses would be built to replace the shacks.

36

Stand paper
every 500 yds
& refuse removal service provided
This scheme was then described as "Johannesburg Stone" by a Johannesburg newspaper as approved by the scheme.

In Johannesburg ~~30,000~~ such sites were surveyed and the service provided. The shacks followed and it was a period of great activity. Neighbours and friends helped each other during off work periods and over weekends and it was incredible how houses were made from all sorts of second hand materials. It is pleasing to report that the only ⁶¹ shacks [^] which remain today are a few on sites where the occupier intends building a house of his own design.

37

Creative activity had a beneficial social effect.
Houses

In 1954 Johannesburg created a separate ^{Houses} division in the Council - to tackle the building of houses for Bantu. At one stage it was intended that such work would fall under the City Engineer's Department, but for this work Mr. Archibald the previous City Engineer of Springs was appointed. He had shown great drive and ingenuity in developing Native housing in Springs. He was an individualist and tackled his assignment with enthusiasm and vigour. He had ~~had~~ liking for the Bantu worker and an interest in his advancement. He abhorred red tape - in fact tape of any kind and

38

Lawson

set out to achieve records. He did not fail. The Council had some years previously established the Vocational Training Centre. At this centre training was given to carpenters, plumbers and bricklayers and these trained men formed the nucleus of the staff which were to build up a team of workers which at the peak numbered

38
Contd.

In the year 1954 1421 houses were built to be followed by 3020 houses in 1955. & 2495 in 1956

39

The Council was dependant on Government housing loans. The Government had naturally to apportion the funds available amongst all the local authorities applying for loans and the amount allocated to Johannesburg did not allow an impression to be made on the backlog and the Moroka Emergency camp and Shantytown were still festering sores and places of crime. In 1956 Sir Ernest Oppenheimer visited Moroka and was so aghast at what he saw that he arranged with his colleagues in the Mining Industry to loan the City R6 million repayable over 30 years, interest being charged at 4 7/8%. This was the injection that was needed and with the proceeds of this loan 14,000 homes were built enabling the complete removal of the families from Moroka and Shantytown. In one year alone

40

was invited by the Hon C. of the N.E.C.

11,074 ~~10,000~~ houses were built. *Part of this loan was earmarked to build*

houses for the men working in office buildings & flats who were moved under the legislation in the S.A. Legislature.

The acceptance of the loan required Government approval. At the time the relationship between the City and the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd was, to put it mildly, strained. One of the causes of friction was the Government's attitude regarding refunds of losses under sub-economic schemes.

41

To be added?

formula, that R1,004,640 was recoverable from the Government, but only R469,454 was recovered at that time.

In 1951 the old $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ formula was cancelled. In that year local authorities, in submitting claims for leases on the National Housing formula, were required to certify that tenants' incomes did not exceed R50 on loans prior to 1.10.46, and R60 thereafter. In 1952 differential incomes were laid down, and were fixed at R30 for Bantu. Local authorities were advised that a fully economic rate of interest would have to be paid on a pro rata share of the loans in respect of tenants with incomes in excess of those limits, and that the increased cost could be recovered by way of increased rentals. Legal opinion given to this Council doubted the Commission's power to do this. In 1954 the National Housing Commission agreed that the sub-economic rentals should be increased by 30c. for every R1-00 of the income over R30. In 1954 the Council, because of its unhappy experience under the National Housing formula, agreed to convert the $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ loans to 7% loans, thereby cancelling the sharing of losses on the schemes, but insuring the benefit of the lower rate of interest.

In 1957 the Council's claim for over R800,000 under the old $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ scheme was finally settled for R250,000. The R250,000 was paid into the Capital Development Fund and earmarked for street lighting in the Bantu Townships. As in the Housing Act 1957 provision was made in Section 78(3) for legalising actions of the National Housing and Planning Commission which were not authorized at the time they were done, this Council's legal rights were swept away.

A further incident which had not endeared the Council in Government circles was the Council's appointment of a commission to enquire into the riots which had occurred in the vicinity of the Dube Hostel. The Govern-

ment had itself turned down as unnecessary the Council's request for a judicial enquiry. The findings of the enquiry were not to the liking of the ~~Government~~ Powers in Pretoria as aspects of Government policy were criticized. The conflict regarding the resettlement of the Bantu living in Sophiatown referred to later had also made for bad blood.

44
Contd.

It was in this atmosphere when the withholding of housing loans was being used as a lever to deal with recalcitrant Johannesburg that approval of the acceptance of the R6 million loan was sought. After prolonged negotiations permission was granted but a condition was attached that portion of the loan should be used for building hostels to accommodate Bantu males who were to be moved from offices and flats to implement the provisions of the Locations in the Sky Act which had been passed in

45

lead

From 1954 to 1965 the housing division built ⁴⁵¹⁷⁴ ~~44,661~~ houses and in

46

addition built 76 schools, 3 Hostels with 14428 beds, 7 administrative blocks, 56 communal halls & 1 public library, a T.B. Centre, 4 clinics, 3 health centres, 7 health gardens, a bank, and
 other works.

at a total expenditure of R 22,213,867

Mr. Archibald left the Council's service in 19 and his place was taken by his second in command, Mr. Colin Goodman.

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Not the least important achievement of the housing division was the training of the building teams and making skilled workers of erstwhile labourers. Another achievement was the reduction in the cost of housing.

48

The first houses erected by the Council were in the Western Bantu Township in 1919, when 2,192 houses were built. The two-roomed house cost R240; and the three-roomed R280; and the four-roomed R340. The next scheme was at Eastern Bantu Township where the two-roomed houses cost R230; and the three-roomed houses R270. In 1932-1935 the Council started the

49

Orlando East Scheme, where the two-roomed houses of 397 sq. feet cost R190; and the three-roomed house varied from R504; to R1,000; and the four-roomed house from R708; to R1,328. The 125 houses built in Pimville in 1944-1945 cost R988; for the three-roomed, and R1,198 for the four-roomed. When These costs are considered, and the fact that since that date costs of materials have been continuously rising, it is nothing short of a miracle that the houses built since the establishment of the Council's Housing Division, with the use of Bantu labour, have cost between R320 to R370 for a 527 sq. ft. house.

49
Contd.

Owing to the difference in sizes of the houses a truer comparison is to state costs in prices per square foot. In 1930 the price varied from 42½ c to 52½c., in 1938 this had increased to 92½c, and in 1944 the houses at Orlando West cost R1,04 to R1.14. In 1946 the price had increased to R1.22½, and the Jabavu houses built in 1947 cost R1.02. Then came the establishment of the City's own Housing Division, and the training of Bantu building workers. At a time when costs were increasing in comparison with the time stated above, the costs were decreased to from 61c. to 67½c. per sq. ft. The materials used at all times were not the same, but in considering the recent achievements in housing, consideration must not only be given to the number of houses that have been erected, but also to the cost at which they have been built, and the transformation in the lives of the labourers who have become trained artisans in the process.

50

to the condition laid down
~~the introduction of Standards by the Housing Commission~~
 the Council ^{had no} ~~discretion~~ ^{discretion} regarding the design & cost of construction having to ~~refer to the general~~
 Submit all loan applications in terms of Standards lower partly to meet
 Standards of Housing Commission
 & Standard design. policy laid down.

while all this work by the Housing Division was going on the City Engineer was equally busy on the civil engineering aspects of development.

— HERE INSERT CITY ENGINEER'S REPORT. —

In 1958 Dr. Verwoerd appointed an Inter-Departmental Committee, under the then Deputy Minister of Native Affairs (Mr. Mentz). The role of this Committee was to ensure that Government policy was carried out in Johannesburg. This Committee was labelled "The Watchdog Committee" by one of the local newspapers, and cartoons of huge shaggy dogs with a white background and black spots appeared in the papers. Feelings were tense. Inspectors were stationed in the Municipal offices, and investigations made regarding the Council's administration of the Pass Laws. When the first meeting took place between Council Representatives and the Committee, before the Agenda was considered, the Chairman required certain assurances from the City Council. The first of these was that the Council must recognise that in terms of the Act of Union legislation regarding Native Affairs was reserved to Parliament. Other demands followed.

The Councillors present had no notice of the demands and stated that they would have to consult their colleagues. Eventually the assurances required were met in modified form, the principal one being that the Council agreed to carry out Native policy in so far as it was enshrined in law.

These were times of tension and left an indelible impression on the Council's delegates.

Under the Chairmanship of the Hon. M. C. Botha (who succeeded Mr. Mentz as Deputy Minister) this Committee has changed to a constructive Committee where many difficult problems have been discussed across the table.

In addition to the rehousing by the City Council mention must be made of the work undertaken by the Resettlement Board. Earlier reference has been made to the friction between the Council and the Government. This was partly due to the dispute regarding the removal of the slum dwellers of Sophiatown. Most of these were tenants and this was an area where Bantu held freehold title. The Council were opposed to depriving the natives of freehold rights, and the Government were adamant that the natives must be moved from Sophiatown, and equally adamant that they were not prepared to grant freehold rights. There is no doubt that the housing conditions in Sophiatown were such that action was necessary. The M.O.H. was unable to enforce compliance with minimum standards, as alternative housing was not available. To overcome this Pass legislation was enacted - creating the Resettlement Board whose primary function was to rehouse the dwellers of Sophiatown, the idea being that on completion the cost of such scheme would be recovered from the Council, and the administration handed over. The function of the Resettlement Board has been extended from time to time. Not only have they undertaken the removal of the bulk of the natives resident in Sophiatown, but have also built houses for natives working in Johannesburg, but tenants at Alexandra. To date..... houses have been built by the Board. The Council have assisted the Board by undertaking all the civil engineering functions, and also made available to the Board a large area of ground in the Diepkloof area. This was ground the Council needed for

its own schemes, but felt constrained to relinquish to assist in the easing of the overcrowded and unsatisfactory conditions in Alexandra.

A recent enquiry regarding the Government's intentions regarding the implementation of the original intentions that Johannesburg should take over the responsibility for the area now under the jurisdiction of the Board elicited a reply reflecting that the time was not yet.

The last remaining major slum is the area first established as a location - Klipspruit - now housing some 7000 families. In 1937 this area was named after Mr. Howard Pim who had done so much for the Bantu people. An investigation conducted under the Chairmanship of Mr. Mentz to determine the area to be regarded as the limit for Bantu occupation, determined that Pimville was to be a white area. It would appear that the influence of the white dairy farmers who grazed their cattle on the pastures of Pimville were a factor in this decision. This was in..... and after that date the Council was debarred from incurring further capital expenditure in the Pimville area. This Council resisted this decision regarding Pimville as it has been occupied by natives for nearly sixty years. It is pleasing to record that after a visit of the Minister of Bantu Administration & Development (Mr. de Wet Nel) in 19..... this decision was reversed, and the rehousing of the people of Pimville has commenced. The first 1200 houses have been built. Compensation for the shacks and homes to be vacated has been satisfactorily settled. Unfortunately, the limitation on housing loans is slowing up the move. This is

unfortunate as the co-operation of the inhabitants to the move has been obtained and instead of the resistance to the move there is now an eagerness to move to the new quarters.

No picture of the administration of Native Affairs in Johannesburg would be complete without reference to Kaffir Beer.

The consumption of liquor by the elders of the clan has been part of the tradition of most Bantu tribes. On coming to the cities the traditional brews were not obtainable, nor were the traditional restraints in force. The law prohibited the consumption of the white man's liquor. Illicit brews, concocted from various brewing ingredients, and sold in hole in the corner Shebeens, became a feature of slum quarters. That the liquor concocted had a kick was beyond doubt. Liquor raids by the Police became commonplace, but the Shebeens thrived nevertheless and fines were regarded as part of the running expenses. In terms of the Urban Areas Act of 1923, Local Authorities were granted a monopoly to brew and sell beer within their area of jurisdiction. The alcoholic content of Kaffir Beer is limited to 3% by weight. It was not until 1936 (?) that Johannesburg decided to exercise its right. There was much opposition at the time. The arguments in favour were based on the fact that it was a traditional drink, that it had food value, that something must be done to counteract the illicit brews which undoubtedly had harmful effects. The profit motive was also probably not forgotten, although not stressed.

Since the Beer Halls were established in 1937 the revenue has amounted to R40,335,781 and the profits R18,718,322. The sales and profits for the year 64/65 being R5,204,223 and R2,223,296 respectively. It is hard to visualise how the development of housing and other services could have been provided without these profits. Yet this source of income could fluctuate. For instance, there might be a boycott of the beerhalls, and more important still, there are moral issues involved. Many people, while realising the evil effects of illicit liquors, are still uneasy about the extent to which the financing of the Bantu Revenue Account is dependent on sales of Bantu Beer.

A8.

Two-thirds of the profits derived from the sale of Bantu Beer may be used (a) to make up the losses on housing schemes, (b) to make up any amount required to offset the loss to the Bantu Revenue Account resulting from the reduction of rentals in force at any location, Bantu village or hostel, (c) the capital expenditure on housing schemes or works or services in connection with a location, Bantu village or hostel, and interest and redemption charges and maintenance costs in connection with any location, Bantu village or hostel. One-third of the profits may be spent on any service, expenditure or grant which may be certified in writing by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development as being calculated to improve the social or recreational amenities for Bantu residents within the areas of the urban local authority, or otherwise to promote the social welfare of such residents.

Allocation of Bantu Beer and Liquor Profits:

	Year Ended
	<u>30.6.65.</u>
<u>One-Third Profit:</u>	
Urban Recreation	-
Urban Social Welfare	-
Bursaries	2,783
Grants-in-Aid	108,231
Vocational Training Centre	46,168
Medical Services Urban	122,995
Medical Services Township	474,503
	<u>754,680</u>
 <u>Two-Thirds Profit:</u>	
Losses on Sub-economic Housing Scheme:	
Contributions to Capital Outlay	180,000
Eastern Bantu Township	70,597
Jabavu	160,218
Orlando East	262,095
Orlando West	149,421
Pimville	195,464
Tour of Homelands	8,662
Medical Services, Recreation, Social Welfare, etc.	62,232
Unallocated Profit	420,669
	<u>1,509,358</u>
 <u>GRAND TOTAL</u>	 <u>R2,264,038</u>

Since European liquor was made available to Bantu the demand for ^{packaged liquor} ~~packed Kaffir Beer~~, sold in Bottle Stores throughout the Municipal area, has so increased the demand that the existing brewery has proved quite inadequate, and a new brewery, long overdue, is being constructed in Industria at a cost of R. 3,500,000... and will have a capacity to brew 4m.... gallons. per month!

63

The sale of European liquor by the Council (which holds the monopoly to sell European liquor in Soweto) amount to

64

	<u>Sales</u>	<u>Profits</u>
1962/63 (Part year)	1,010,286	127,995
1963/1964	1,159,944	121,074
1964/1965	1,894,775	203,712

20% of the profits are retained by the Council and 80% paid to the Bantu Administration Department.

The fact that so large a sum is spent by the Bantu on liquor is disquieting. One positive improvement as a result of releasing European liquor to the Bantu has been the improvement in the relationship between the Bantu and the Police, as the unending raids for the detection of liquor are no longer necessary.

65

at is the case
~~Now no crime to have unconserved liquor on one premises.~~

What has all this cost, and where has the money come from. The Balance Sheet for the year ended 30th June, 1940, reflected a Capital expenditure of R3,141,684: and by 30th June, 1965, this had risen to R53,488,569.

66

It is however well recognized that large sums were spent illicitly on European liquor and brews of all kinds. What the sums thus spent amounted to, will need be known.

prior to 1962

SOURCE OF FUNDS.

A10.

Where did the money come from to finance this expenditure?

As at 30.6.65.

Government Loans amounted to	22,794,261
Loans from Bantu Services Levy Fund	1,691,252
Loans from outside bodies	6,096,764
(Mining Houses and Soldiers Housing Organizations)	
Advance from Council's Consolidated Loans Fund	4,308,602
Advance from Council's Capital Development Fund	423,060
	<hr/>
	35,313,939
<u>Less:</u> Temporary advance to Rate Fund	656,048
	<hr/>
	34,657,891
Accumulated Surplus	18,830,678
	<hr/>
	R53,488,569
	<hr/> <hr/>

:- Of

Deficits on Native Revenue:

While in the early days the income from Locations exceeded expenditure, that ceased to be the position over sixty years ago. ^{except for years 1959 & 1960 when there was small surplus.} And while for many years the deficits were moderate, the contribution is now substantial as the attached table reflects.

During the last twelve years the deficits have varied from quarter of a million Rand to as much as R913,481: ~~in 1961/1962.~~

in 1963 and have totalled R7,064,666 in the last thirteen years. ^{The transfer of the revenue from Registration fees in 1958 helped reduced the deficit of 697,225 in 1953/54.} This has been a cause of constant debate in the Council Chamber, and in the last two Budget debates the rejection of the budget has been moved unless the estimates were framed on a basis of balancing the Native Revenue Account on the principle that the services provided should be limited to those ^{for which} the Bantu ^{but not} could afford to pay. This is in fact the policy of the Resettlement Board. ⁰

Medical Services.

At the end of the war conditions arose in the Bantu areas which created problems far different from those appertaining today. The squatters camps at Shantytown and later the Tobruk squatters (who were moved to the Jabavu site and service scheme) presented intolerable environmental hygiene conditions. Unmade streets were fringed with mushrooming shelters of the crudest and most ineffectual sort - tin, sacking, cardboard - and served by hastily erected communal latrine and ablution blocks which poured water into a quagmire approach. Through all this, health inspectors struggled and battled against illegal traders in foodstuffs and milk from unpermitted sources.

68

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Two large marquee tents were erected at the site and service area to serve as a clinic and were surrounded by other tents in which the district midwives slept in the periods between duty calls. Record keeping became farcical, with gusts of wind carrying away every document in sight and on occasion staff returned in the morning to find that guy-ropes had been chewed through by donkeys and the "clinic" partially collapsed.

In the area which was to become Soweto two other clinics were conducted, one at Pimville and one at Orlando. These two clinics offered curative, midwifery, tuberculosis and child health services. Today the area is served by 6 general, 6 tuberculosis and 6 family health clinics. It is interesting that with a population of 190,000 just after the war, the number of clinic attendances were approximately double this figure, while today the ratio is retained and a population of half a million register just over one million clinic attendances annually. However, the distribution of the cases attending clinics has shifted away from general daily sick attendances to child health and tuberculosis clinic attendances indicating a shift in emphasis of staff and patients towards the public health services rather than curative.

In the field of immunisation a completely different picture from the immediate post-war era presents. The proportion of attendances for immunisation against diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, poliomyelitis, smallpox and tuberculosis have not been included in the figure previously quoted. In the years following the war, only approximately 1,000 immunisations per year were

performed whilst now considerable emphasis is placed on this valuable aspect of public health and in 1963 large campaigns were conducted where within 14 days over 105,000 immunisations were administered while later in that year in 18 days, a further 162,000 immunisations were performed. Over and above these intensive campaigns the present annual immunisations number well over a half-million procedures. During the period under review poliomyelitis vaccine, first in an injectable form and later in the oral form became available and contributed greatly to the reduction in the number of cases reflected in the epidemic upsurge of this disease in the early 1950s. B.C.G. immunisation against tuberculosis has recently been made sufficiently safe to be freely used, and although the results of this immunisation cannot yet be assessed it is anticipated that the use of this vaccine will prove invaluable in the control of tuberculosis.

The staff solely employed on Bantu health services have more than doubled to number 500 at present, and include posts of Assistant Medical Officer of Health, 6 Family Health Medical Officers, 3 Tuberculosis Medical Officers which were created in the post-war period which has also seen a general increase in the numbers of doctors, health visitors, nurses and clerks.

In the maternal health service the number of deliveries have quadrupled and ante-natal clinics which were conducted weekly at 2 clinics are now conducted daily at almost all of the 6 clinics.

Where, in the post-war period, 311 of every 1000 Bantu babies born died within the first year of life, this figure was considered to be the acme of achievement

in that it was the lowest in the history of Johannesburg. It is now calculated that some 40 new born per 1000 die within the first year of life. This dramatic improvement can be ascribed not only to the improvement in living conditions, but also to the intensity of home visiting by health visitors and the efficacy and availability of the child health advisory services.

The advances in medical knowledge applied to public health during this period have nowhere been more dramatic than in the therapy of tuberculosis. The emphasis on the problem of tuberculosis has shifted from the hopelessness of the pre-war concept of rest in hospital and cod liver oil, to one of specific treatment with an armamentarium of useful medicines coupled with the need for the early detection of the disease and rapid rehabilitation. Tremendous strides have also been made in the social services available to tuberculous and in the treatment facilities at hospitals and settlements.

This period has also seen a change in the use made of Bantu nurses. In 1937 the first Bantu trained nurse was appointed to the staff of the City Health Department and shortly after the war for the first time three Bantu trained health visitors were appointed. At this time the European health visitors were engaged in district work while some Bantu nurses were employed on unskilled work such as interpreting for the doctors. Slowly Bantu nurses have been given more and more responsibility in providing a service for their own people and at the same time the opportunities for acquiring post-qualification experience and training. Today lay inter-

preters have freed nurses for more responsible duties consistent with their training. Twenty-five Bantu health visitors are employed in the service and six Bantu nurses hold other senior positions with Europeans health visitors now holding administrative and supervisory positions. The future will undoubtedly bring the Bantu nurses into positions of still greater responsibility.

Today the problems in the Bantu areas are becoming more and more the same as those faced in the European areas. As time progresses the preventive aspects of health in terms of preventing unnecessary child and maternal deaths, preventing of outbreaks of infectious disease, will become still more a matter of routine and greater emphasis will be able to be given to the promotive aspects of health in the building up of a sound, healthy population in a healthy physical, social and psychological environment.

I have said much about the physical and material achievements. But the People. Who are the people who live in Soweto - where did they come from - why did they come?

Who are the people? Where did they come from? The Xosa from the Transkei, the Basuto from Basutoland, the Shangaan from Portuguese East Africa, the Zulu from Zululand, the Bapedi from Pietersburg in the

Northern Transvaal, the Tswana from the Western Transvaal, the Blantynes from Nyasaland, the Bachuana from Bechuanaland, the Mashona and Mandabele from Rhodesia. There were also Swazis, Fingos, Pondos, Makwena, Barclongs, Bakgatla, Vendas and Griquas. Johannesburg was the magnet for people from all over Southern Africa.

They came to the cities to work for in their homes in the rural areas the land available was limited and the agricultural methods primitive. They had no means to support their families when crops failed. They needed cash to pay taxes, their wants increased and the bright lights of the cities lured them to come to E-Goli - the City of Gold - to seek the cash they needed. With the industrial expansion in the cities their labour was required to enable the factories and industry to function. The services provided in the towns, the educational and medical facilities available and the general better living conditions drew the people to the cities from the rural areas.

At one time, it was just the men who came. In 1900, of the 60,000 Africans the ratio of males to females was 12 - 1; by 1927, with a population of 136,000 the ratio was 6 - 1; at the outbreak of war the ratio was 3 - 1 and now it is equal.

At first, the men worked for short spells, returning home to join their families, returning to the cities again when their funds gave out. What a different pattern it is today! Now that the women folk have moved to town the vast majority are permanent urban dwellers.

How different they found the city from their rural areas! How strange they felt in their new surroundings! How ill equipped their tribal beliefs and training had made them for their new life. Instead of the sun being their time-piece they now had to work to the inelastic and unsympathetic clock of the White man. Instead of working in the circle of their clan, where everyone was known to them and to each other, they were now among strangers, strangers to them and strangers to one another. They heard unfamiliar tongues they could not understand. Because they

could not understand they were thought to be stupid - some called them mamparas and worse. Whereas at home they had a sense of kinship and could consult their kinsmen, they were now on their own and had to make decisions for themselves. Their food was different as were their mealtimes, the Whiteman's medicine was different. Instead of a barter economy ready cash was necessary. Instead of leisurely walks along country paths 170,000 persons each day rise early to throng the crowded trains carrying them to work only to repeat the same tortured travel in the late afternoon. No longer were cattle the symbol of wealth. In the City material assets and a flashy car were one's aim. Whereas in the clan initiative was not encouraged and could lead to jealousy, now they were judged on their own merits and were encouraged to develop individuality. At home there was respect for one's elders. The daily battle to secure a place on the crowded trains destroyed any attitude other than looking after oneself. In the City one was on one's own and free from restraints of the tribe but at the same time one had not the security of the help of your kinsmen. The ancestral spirits seemed far away; some people in the towns even cast doubt on their very existence. It is difficult enough for a rural dweller of any race to adjust himself to the hurry and bustle of the City. For the African he also had to adjust to a totally different way of life.

What an upheaval - what an adjustment to make. The migratory worker away from his kith and kin, away from his women folk could not be expected to observe the tribal sanctions and restraints - for a man is a man and needed his desires fulfilled and so began the process which has caused a most heart-rendering upheaval in the structure of African society, particularly in family life, from which I doubt they will ever recover. While large numbers are living normal family lives there are still 85,000 men and 55,000 women living under single conditions in hostels, compounds, flats or on their employer's private property. There is no means of estimating how many of these men and women are in fact single and how many are involuntarily parted from their spouses.

In the early days of contact between white and Black many well-meaning people looking through the eyes of one civilization and not knowing the customs and traditions of the other, condemned polygamy and other marriage customs and the lobolo system interpreting that system as the purchase of the wife by the bridegroom - how wrong they were.

In days gone by, while customs varied from tribe to tribe pre-marital pregnancies would have had serious consequences for both parties. In the towns no such sanctions existed and illegitimate children became accepted without many eyebrows being so much as raised. The transfer of cattle by the kinsmen of the bridegroom to the kinsmen of the bride was a symbol of the alliance of the clans and many consequences flowed from these transactions. For one, if the husband died his clan would care for his wife and children. There were no uncared for widows or orphans.

How different in the towns. One was away from the close-knit community where everyone knew your actions. One was among strangers who did not care thus causing a breakdown in tribal sanctions.

In the cities the lobolo system lost its old meaning for there were no cattle. Yet it persists in circumstances which destroy its original purpose. It is often the earning capacity of the bride which determines the lobolo demanded. In days gone by it was the parents and the clan who assisted with the payment of lobolo now it is the groom who has to find it. If the amount demanded is too high the man and maid often live together until lobolo can be found.

In Bantu society in rural areas polygamy was the accepted norm. The women tilled the fields and were responsible for providing the meals. In the cities there were no fields to till and the only means of providing the food was to go out and work for cash. Then who looked after the children in the city while one was at work. No wonder many of the youngsters have grown up without discipline or the desire to have regular employment seeking rather to live by their wits. The role of the

women folk in the tribe was well defined and was not on a similar plane to the women folk in the Western societies. What change has this needed on coming to the city. Today in Soweto the women play an ever-increasingly important role in the structure of a stable society. Read books such as "A Black Women in Search of God" to appreciate the stabilising force of the Manyano women. It is often the women who are the stimulating force in educating the children. In many households the women scimp and scrape to find the funds to enable the children to acquire the knowledge they themselves never had. And what problems this often creates where the children may scorn the parents because of their illiteracy.

One of the ever-present problems is that of making ends meet. Poverty in the rural areas was one thing because in the rural areas one shared what there was to share. In the city where cash was required to meet the month's rental - for with only one landlord one could find oneself on the street with nowhere else to go if your rent was in arrears - where food and clothing had to be bought at ever-increasing prices - poverty is a nightmare especially if one is old, or out of work, or ill or if one's husband has deserted you and left you with a crop of children to care for. These days of full employment and more adequate wages have helped enormously in relieving the hardships of a large portion of the Soweto population but it is an ever-increasing struggle especially if the men folk spend their wages on clothes, or gambling, or at the Municipal beerhalls, or on their girl friends without accepting their responsibilities for the family they helped to create.

I have endeavoured to put to you this melting pot into which people of varying tribal backgrounds, various stages of education, varying stages of civilization have been thrown. What are the results and what brew has been produced from the melting pot?

If one visits Soweto one is impressed in the manner in which the houses are kept, the gardens that have been built and how neat the homes are inside.

I can only marvel at the resilience, at the good humour, the philosophical attitude and the good sense of the people in what has happened.

Who could have visualized some 30 years ago - 20 years ago - even 10 years ago the skills that would be acquired by these country bumpkins, who could have envisaged that there would be African matrons at Baragwanath Hospital and a hospital staffed with African nurses, who could have believed that Municipal treasury officials would be Africans, that the builders of houses, the bricklayers, the carpenters, the electrical wiremen, the plumbers and drainlayers would be Black, and that there would be building contractors, that they would be driving bulldozers, that they would acquire the skills for industry, that there would be choirs who could sing the Messiah to us in the City Hall, that there would be artists trained in the city's art centre in Polly Street capable of exhibiting works of art in London, Paris and New York. Who would have believed, not 10 years ago, but 3 years ago that the release of European liquor to the Africans would not result in an orgy of drunkenness and terror. The release of European liquor to the Africans has improved the relationship with the Police, who have no longer to raid their homes at all times to search for unconsumed liquor. Unacceptable and unenforced laws breed disrespect for the law. The complicated pass laws and influx control regulations impinge on the desired freedom of movement of most families in one way or another. In the minds of the Africans the Police are identified with the laws and the niceties of the differences between the makers of the law and those who have to carry them out are not recognised.

That all is not well we know. You cannot have a social upheaval such as we have had without somebody being hurt and it will take time and patience and understanding to heal the bruises caused by the destruction of a social order before another is put in its place.

The beliefs of the African, the concepts of kinship, the belief in ancestral spirits, the belief in signs, in omens good and bad, the belief

that one can be bewitched, that one can bewitch one's enemy, the belief in the witchdoctor's occult powers, in his medicines - these and many others are deeprooted and will be a part of African thinking for generations to come.

What have we tried to put in their place. Often the Africans first contact with White civilization were the missionaries. What dedicated men and women they were. To what extent have those sacrifices and dedication influenced African life and morality today. A large portion of the educated Africans received their schooling at Missions and Church affiliated institutions such as Lovedale, Fort Hare, Kilnerton, Adams College and Roma. While the churches have many hundreds of thousands of members and adherents Christianity is by many regarded as the Whiteman's religion and therefore suspect. Was the behaviour of the White man towards them and the laws of the White man such as to create a desire to know the White man's God?

Over 800 separatist churches have sprung up through South Africa. These vary in degree from having beliefs and a faith bearing resemblance to Christianity to those which are pagan. It is regrettable to say that the Christian church is finding it hard to penetrate the core of the masses and amongst the more sophisticated church affiliation is often for purposes of social status rather than for inherent beliefs backed by a standard of conduct.

A hopeful sign in a society where strata of social status are emerging is that not only in South Africa but in Africa sophistication is allied with the extent to which western civilization has been attained. We recently suggested that we have an exhibition in Soweto at which tribal huts and impedimenta be displayed and tribal costumes worn. The Advisory Boards would have none of it - they did not want to be reminded of their past.

In Soweto today various strata of society are emerging. These strata are influenced by the extent of education and the absorption of

western civilization. Possession of material goods are a symbol of success and status. The better educated - professional persons, the teachers, shopkeepers, nurses, senior officials in Administration, entertainers - tend to form the uppercrust of society. One's income and skills are a factor and then there are the labourers and the newcomers to town. There are church associations, choral societies, football clubs, school associations, chambers of commerce, advisory boards and many other organisations cutting right across ethnic grouping and these activities determine one's associates and place in the new society. Unfortunately, there are also the city slickers and spivs, the people who want to make money the easy way not caring who they rape or rob or how they maim. I often feel that today the greatest need in Soweto is to find some way of providing the law-abiding citizen with protection from the molestation of his fellows.

The urban dweller of today has travelled a long way on the path of material progress. His standard of living, his abilities, his outlook and that of his City-bred children is vastly different to that of yesterday. What of tomorrow? I see a further advance in that progress, but care must be taken that these abilities are given adequate outlets so that a mood of frustration is not allowed to develop, If that can be done then I have confidence in the future.

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