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**SOCIAL SURVEY
OF CAPE TOWN**

Ethnic Distribution
of Population

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No. SS 2

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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

REPORTS AND STUDIES

ISSUED BY

THE SOCIAL SURVEY OF CAPE TOWN

EDITED BY

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- SS 1 THE GROWTH OF THE POPULATION OF GREATER CAPE TOWN [9D]
- SS 2 THE ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF GREATER CAPE
TOWN [1S]
- SS 3 THE SURVEY POVERTY DATUM LINE [1S]
- SS 4 THE DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY AMONG COLOURED HOUSEHOLDS IN
CAPE TOWN [9D]
- SS 5 THE DISTRIBUTION OF EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS IN CAPE TOWN [1S]
- SS 6 THE OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF EUROPEAN MALE VOTERS IN CAPE
TOWN [9D]

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PRELIMINARY NATURE AND SUBJECT TO FINAL AUDIT.

1941

THE ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION
OF THE POPULATION
OF GREATER CAPE TOWN

THE SOCIAL SURVEY OF CAPE TOWN

REPORT NO. SS 2

The population of the Union of South Africa, like that of most countries, is of diverse ethnic origins. In the Union, this diversity is closely associated with very important social discriminations, and must therefore be taken account of in any study of the social implications of population growth. It is therefore necessary to add to Report No. SS 1 a study of the ethnic distribution of the population of Greater Cape Town.

This task is unfortunately, but perhaps inevitably, complicated by the changes in terminology and administration which have taken place even within living memory. There is no natural or biological limit to the number of ethnic groups in the population of the Union or of Cape Town, and the scheme of classification adopted at any one time for demographic and social purposes is necessarily arbitrary. Since the first official Census was taken in the Cape Colony in 1865, several distinct ethnic classifications have been used in the Union for official census purposes alone, besides administrative combinations and modifications of these schemes. Any attempt to trace the growth of the various ethnic groups in the population of Cape Town must therefore stand or fall in the first place by the measure of success with which at least the Census classifications may be brought into line with each other.

In the 1865 Census, the population of Cape Town was enumerated in four ethnic groups;

- (i) Europeans,
- (ii) Kafirs,
- (iii) Hottentots,
- (iv) Others.

In the Census of 1875, the number of groups was extended to six:

- (i) Europeans,
- (ii) Fingoes,
- (iii) Kafirs,
- (iv) Hottentots,
- (v) Malays,
- (vi) Mixed.

In the Censuses of 1891 and 1904, the 1875 classification was retained, but Group (iii) became

- (iii) Kafirs and Bechuana.

In the first Union Census of 1911 the number of classes was reduced

to three:

- (i) Europeans,
- (ii) Bantu,
- (iii) Mixed and Other Coloured.

The Census of 1918, like those of 1926, 1931, and 1941, was incomplete, and enumerated Europeans only. The Census of 1921 introduced the four-fold classification which was also used in that of 1936:

- (i) Europeans,
- (ii) Natives,
- (iii) Asiatics,
- (iv) Coloured.

Since it is the fifth, or 1921, convention which has become the basis for most of the current socio-ethnic law and administration of the Union, it will be desirable to bring the preceding classifications into line with it, whatever its deficiencies from the ethnological point of view. This cannot be done until we have examined the definitions of the various groups at each Census, since the exact meaning contemporaneously assigned to each of the above terms is not clear merely by inspection.

The 1865 Census Report [G. 20 '66] contains no definitions of the four ethnic groups into which its Table I is divided. The ethnic distinctions were apparently not at that time regarded as of fundamental importance, since they appear merely as the criteria of one section of one table, not as a major sub-classification, as in our current Census statistics. The table for Sex is, for instance, not subdivided ethnically in the 1865 Report.

The 1875 Report [G. 42 '76] devotes nearly one page to a definition of the six ethnic groups which are adopted as the major sub-division of most of its tables. Since, apart from their bearing on the present inquiry, these definitions are of great interest for the light they shed on the nature of the distinctions that have been considered important at various times, we may quote at length from the Report:

"The population naturally falls into two classes: the European or White ... and the Coloured.

"The European or White class, consists of the descendants of Dutch and French settlers, and of the immigrants and their offspring chiefly of English and other Teutonic peoples, who more lately entered the Colony...

"The Coloured are, in this Census, divided into five classes:

I. The Malay. -- Originally of Asiatic origin this small class has become so leavened with foreign elements as to owe its distinctive existence rather to the bond of a common and uniform faith -- Mohammedanism, than to any feeling of race. Designated by themselves as Muslim (Islamsche) the national name 'Malay' has, to a large number of colonists among whom they live, lost its proper signification and become synonymous with 'Mohammedan'. It results therefore that a great number of persons of mixed race and many negro proselytes have been included in this class because they are Mohammedans, and also that many have been returned as Malays when not Malays because of the association of their origin with that of the mass of a people with whom they are identical in all but faith.

"II. The Hottentot. -- The second class includes all returned as Hottentots, Namaquas, Hill Damaras, and Korannas, and the scanty remnant of Bushmen still surviving within the Colony. Here also many persons of mixed race have been enumerated as Hottentots. Thus in Oudtshoorn where 6,037 are returned as Hottentots, the Civil Commissioner reports that these persons are all of mixed origin. The enumerators evidently in the somewhat perplexing task of deciding on race were in this and other cases guided by the predominance of European or Hottentot characteristics in the persons of those who were to be classified.

"III. The Fingoes form part of the Bantu family, but their peculiar relations with the Colony as involuntary immigrants within its boundaries, and their exceptional intelligence and progress in civilization lead to their being here separately considered.

"IV. With the Kafirs Proper, among whom are representatives of all the tribes south of Delagoa Bay, are classed the kindred races of the Betshuana, of whom the mass in the Colony belongs to the Basuto branch.

"V. The last class includes the great and increasing population which has sprung from the intercourse of the colonists with the indigenous races, and which fills the interval between the dominant people and the natives. Among them is an inconsiderable number of foreigners." [op. cit. pp. 2, 3].

Here it is clear we have a vague adumbration of the present four-fold division into European natives, African natives, Asiatic natives, and "the great and increasing population which ... fills the interval between the dominant people and the natives" among whom "is an inconsiderable number of foreigners". But this classification, based on genetic factors, is crossed by religious, somatic, and cultural, groupings, and will be difficult to reconcile with any purely ethnographical criteria.

The Census of 1891 repeats the 1875 classification, with substantially the 1875 definitions, adding the following comment on the Malays:

"... this people retain at the present day not only the bond of a common faith, but they also occupy a distinct social position, they affect a distinct costume, and observe distinct habits and conditions of life, which have enabled them to sustain their individuality as a distinct class of the community." [G. 6 '92, p. xvii]

The Census of 1904 adhered to the classification and definitions of 1875 and 1891, but added the following comment:

"Ethnologically these groups are by no means scientific, and, although historically they may still be of interest, I am inclined to doubt whether the disadvantages attaching to a method of classification, which is from one point of view unnecessarily detailed, and from another far too restricted, do not outweigh any considerations that can conceivably be advanced in favour of its retention in the future.

"The three clearly defined Race Groups in this Colony are distinguished by colour, and may be designated, first, White, or European; second, Black, comprising the entire aboriginal Bantu Family, whether Kafir, Bechuana, or Fingo, etc.; and third, Yellow and Coloured, i.e. the intermediate shades between the first two, comprising the remnant of the old Hottentot inhabitants, the Asiatic or other Coloured

Immigrants (including the Malay portion of the community) and the Mixed Races begotten of intermarriage between members of the different groups.

"As a result of this intermarrying--which is every year becoming less exceptional--the border line between these three Race Groups is growing more and more confused and less easy to determine, but notwithstanding this fact it can hardly be gainsaid that for all intents and purposes the three will for many years to come remain distinct classes, each with its own peculiar social, religious and political problems.

"I am aware that a strong sentimental plea might be put forward in favour of a separate class for the Malays, but on no valid ground can a section of the population which is so loosely defined, so small numerically and so local in its distribution, be held to merit separate statistical treatment in preference to the many more numerous subdivisions that might be named."

The Report of 1904 proceeds to recommend that the Fingo group should be merged for statistical purposes with that of the Kafir and Bechuana, and the Malay with that of the Hottentot and the "Mixed and Other", making the three groups:

- (i) European or White
- (ii) Bantu
- (iii) Mixed and Other Coloured,

and adds:

"It is difficult to estimate the amount of time and labour that would be saved in compiling the Census Results by the adoption of the simpler classification of Races for all the Main Tables." [op. cit., G. 19 1905, pp. xxi, xxii].

This report devotes seven pages to a description of the ethnic groups actually adopted in the Tables, which are those of 1875, and comments on the Hottentots as follows:

"Not unnaturally the numbers returned in 1891 showed a notable falling off ... In 1904 the numbers returned had reverted to [nearly double those of 1891], showing that the Enumerators followed the precedent of 1875 rather than that of 1891... correspondence with Supervisors in all parts of the Colony has confirmed ... that the number of persons properly definable as Hottentots was understated in 1891, and overstated in 1875 and 1904. ... the distinction between a Hottentot and others of mixed blood is ... become merely one of degree and liable to be decided by local terminology or prejudice or by the personal opinion of an Enumerator." [ibid., p xxxv.]

In the first Union Census of 1911 the four-fold classification recommended in the 1904 Report was adopted for most of the detailed tables, practically without comment. Of the Malays, however, the General Report for this census says:

"The description ... is no longer a racial one, and is now generally applied to coloured persons who are Mohammedans" [U.G. 32 1912, p. xxii].

and of the Hottentots:

"The term 'Hottentot' is colloquially applied to many persons

who, though their forebears in the distant past may have belonged to the Hottentot race, should strictly speaking be classed now as of Mixed Race.

"The large decrease shown under this heading is due to the classification in 1911 differing from that in 1904, and portion of the increase in the Mixed Class is accounted for by the transfer of a number of persons who, on the 1904 basis, would have come under the heading 'Hottentot'.

"The number of Hottentots as returned at the last five censuses in the Cape are:-

1865	...	81,598
1875	...	98,561
1891	...	42,891
1904	...	85,892
1911	...	27,604

"In 1875 a large number of persons were returned as Hottentots who did not belong to that race.

"In the instructions issued to the enumerators in 1891, it was impressed on them that it was not intended that persons should be classed as Hottentots unless the distinctive characteristics of the race predominated.

"I gather that in 1904 this point was not brought to the notice of enumerators as prominently as it was in 1891, with the result that the description 'Hottentot' was more loosely applied, and the returns consequently showed a large increase ...

"The 1891 instructions were repeated in 1911, and the numbers fell ...

"There can be very few, if any, pure-bred Hottentots in the country now, and the number retaining the distinctive characteristics of the race must be declining rapidly." [ibid. pp. xxii, xxiii].

The following remarks in the 1911 Report are also of interest:

"Only 8 persons have returned themselves as Syrians compared with 373 in 1904. I have been informed that in this Province [the Transvaal] the Syrians as a rule returned themselves as of European race.

"The population of Syria is a mixed one, including amongst other nationalities a number of Greeks.

"An enumerator, who cannot of course see each individual enumerated, cannot go into the genealogy of each person, and has therefore to accept the description of race given, unless he has evidence showing it to be obviously incorrect." [ibid. p. xxiii].

The General Report on the Census of 1921 contains a section on Racial Classifications of the Population of the Union, from which the following excerpts are taken:

"The existence in South Africa of three main racial distinctions apart from the European population introduces a complication into every population census and, indeed, into every attempt at statistical analysis of the population of the Union for any purpose whatsoever. It is impossible for any person anxious to arrive at the facts in relation to any political, social, or industrial question in South Africa to do so without clearly recognizing the distinctions referred to. The difficulty is not even confined to the non-European sections of the population. It renders the work of enumerating the European population in many cases an exceedingly difficult and delicate matter. This is due to the presence of a section of the community which is on the borderland of the White race and the Coloured, and individual members of which cannot be included with final certainty in either. Some individuals may be, and without doubt are, included at different censuses in different categories; though there is doubtless a tendency for such cases to balance one another.* The same difficulty occurs, but in an accentuated degree, in the borderland cases of the three main races of the non-European population. . . . It will be understood, therefore, that the classification of each section of the population is liable, especially in certain localities, to a more or less considerable margin of error, and that, whereas the total figures of the whole population of the Union may be given with some confidence, and the figures for the European population with a reasonable degree of accuracy, the sectional figures for non-Europeans cannot be pressed too exactly.

"The use of the word 'European' is not self-explanatory, and many South Africans, moreover, object to the term and deliberately replace the word 'European' with the word 'White', so that in the Census schedule for this section of the population both terms are used.

"In the case of Moller vs. Keimoes School Committee and Another, 1911 (A.D. 635), the Supreme Court was required to give a ruling on the significance of the term, the decision having the effect of restricting the meaning of the expression 'European descent' to unmixed European parentage or descent. Following this ruling a strict interpretation has been placed upon the use of the term in relation to the enumeration of the population for purposes of the South Africa Act, and, although the term itself is not, perhaps, the most suitable for general application in attempts to classify the population of the country, it will be necessary to continue to use it and to read into it a South African meaning apart from the ordinary sense in which the word would or might be used in other countries. It follows therefore that the most accurate definition of the other races in combination is the word 'non-European'. . .

"The non-European races are defined in three main categories and were enumerated by means of special schedules. The Bantu race was described on the Census schedules as follows:-

* It is on many grounds regrettable that four of the seven Union Censuses have been restricted to the European population and have thus been especially subject to inaccuracies arising from the reasons described above.

The Chief Native Tribes of the Bantu Race are: Zulu, Basuto, Fingo, Mashona, Bechuna, Xosa, Pondo, Barolong, Shangaan, Tembu, Baca, Bavenda, Bomvana, Damara, Hlangweni, Ndebele, Pandomise, Swazi, Tonga, Xesibe, Ovambo, Barotse, Mozambique. Note.--The following are NOT Bantu, but are classed as MIXED and COLOURED PERSONS, for whom a special form is provided: --Bushman, Hottentot, Griqua, Koranna, Namaqua, Cape Malay, Negro, Creole, Cape Coloured.

"The Mixed and Coloured races included all the half-caste population, Hottentots (who in many cases are not easily distinguishable from the so-called 'Cape Coloured' population), Bushmen, and Cape Malays, who, to a large extent, have lost their distinctive Asiatic characteristics (apart from their religion), and have, to a certain degree, become associated with the indigenous population of their districts. The term 'Asiatic' includes persons born of, or descended from, races belonging to the continent of Asia, including Parsees and Syrians. No certain rule was found possible of application in relation to descendants of either the Bantu or Asiatic section as the result of intermarriages with members of other races. Where the facts were known, or were obvious, such persons were classed in the category of Mixed race, and, in the course of audit, corrections were made as the result of information contained on the schedules." [op. cit. pp 24-26].

Volume I of the Report of the Census of 1936 contains the following statement:

"The existence in South Africa of three main racial groups, plus a fourth of mixed origin, means that in effect four separate censuses are taken simultaneously. As far as tabulation of the results is concerned, four separate tabulations are actually undertaken, and the tabulation cards are never mixed.

- (i) European: persons of pure European descent as defined by the South Africa Act, and by decisions of the Supreme Court...
- (ii) Natives: the various tribes of the Bantu race ...
- (iii) Asiatics: over 98 per cent. of the Asiatics in the Union are Indians, the remainder being a few Chinese, Japanese, etc. ...
- (iv) Mixed and other Coloured: this group totalling over 750,000 is chiefly made up of the results of miscegenation. It is usually referred to as 'Cape Coloured' and originally consisted of a mixture of European, Hottentot, and Malay blood. There is also a proportion of European mixed with Bantu, Asiatic mixed with Bantu, European mixed with Asiatic, and so on, of more recent date. It further includes the remnants of the few pure-blooded stocks of Hottentot, Bushman, Griqua, and Namaqua. The 'Cape Malays' have to some extent lost their original Asiatic characteristics by intermarriage but have retained their Mohammedan religion." [U.G. No. 21, '38, p. viii]

It appears from the above, and from a study of the returns at each census, that the records are confused by several factors, among which we may note:

- (1) the lack of a clear concept of a 'racial' or 'ethnic' group,
- (2) the crossing of genetic and somatic criteria by religious and cultural criteria,

- (3) difficulties in the practical application of such criteria as have been adopted,
- (4) changes in the Census groupings,
- (5) such modifications in the genetic and social composition of the population as have occurred since 1865.

It appears that simple deductions from Census group totals concerning the ethnic distribution of the population and its changes in the course of time are not warranted. But is any kind of deduction from these totals warranted?

Clearly we may not place much reliance upon the numbers recorded for the Hottentot group; and there must be considerable doubt as to the precise meaning of the groups enumerated as Malays. In any case, neither of these groups has been separately enumerated since 1904.

The group enumerated as Bantu or Natives since 1911, and the groups enumerated as Fingoes, Kafirs, and Bechuana from 1875 to 1904, appear to constitute, at least for an area like Cape Town, a continuous series with a fairly constant definition, and with a reasonably definite present-day meaning. It is not clear whether the group "Kafirs" of 1865 may be regarded as a member of this series or not, since we have no means of knowing whether African natives were enumerated in Cape Town in that census under the heading "Others"; but since the native population of Cape Town was very small at that time, we are probably justified, for most purposes, in equating "Kafirs" with "Natives" for 1865.

The group "Europeans" has been separately enumerated at each of the censuses, and need occasion us no trouble in drawing our comparisons except for the fact that the borderline between the European and the Coloured or Mixed group appears to have been subject to no exact definition and so probably to have varied from time to time and from place to place. It is not likely, however, that the range of this variation has been great.

The remainder of the population constitute a highly composite group with no sub-divisions constant through all the censuses, although the division into Asiatics and Coloured which has been adopted in the two last censuses may with a certain margin of possible error be traced back from internal evidence in the census reports to 1891.

We are thus left with three main divisions of the population which we may expect to trace more or less accurately from census to census, and with a further sub-division which we may trace with rather less accuracy. [See Table 2.1].

We have still not allowed for certain difficulties in the definitions of these groups. In the abstract, every person in the Union is either of unmixed European parentage or descent, or of unmixed Bantu descent, or is a member of our third, composite, group. But in practice, that is to say in the absence of genealogical evidence, these criteria are not easy to apply, and are not strictly applied in the Union for any purpose whatever, censal or other. So serious, in fact, are the difficulties in the way of their application that the Governor-General's Commission appointed in 1934 to inquire into and report upon the position of the Cape Coloured population was unable to agree upon a precise definition of the term "Cape Coloured" and reported that

in view of the borderline cases of different kinds, the term "Cape Coloured" as ordinarily used is not one with a strictly defined meaning, and this, as has been shown, also holds true of the term "Coloured" [U.G. 54--1937, p. 9].*

But if the content of the terms "European" and "Native" is commonly held to be determinate, this is because the two are held apart, as it were, by the composite, intermediate, group; whose content, it appears, is in an appreciable degree indeterminate. In the last resort, while the theoretical differentiae of the three groups are purely biological, the practical differentiae of the "mixed" group, and hence of the remaining two, are bio-social; they depend, that is to say, in part upon the extent to which the purely biological "facts are known, or are obvious".

It is quite impossible to assess the effect of this marginal indeterminacy upon the census records. Nor, perhaps, is it necessary for us to attempt such an assessment if we are content to accept these records as a reasonably faithful statement of the socio-ethnic groupings existing at the various census dates. Far beyond this they cannot take us.

Following the groupings indicated in Table 2.1, we may deal with the demographic history of Cape Town with reference to the three main ethnic groups, European or White, Bantu or Native, and Others, estimating a sub-division of the third group into Asiatics and Coloured.

During the 71 years from 1865 to 1936 the recorded European population of the Municipality of Cape Town increased 10.03-fold, while the total population increased 10.39-fold. The enumerated European population has thus very slightly lost ground relative to the total population over this period. The average annual rate of increase of the European population was 3.301 per cent. per annum over the whole of this period, and that of the total population was 3.353 per cent. per annum.

As appears in Table 2.2, the increase of the European population of the Municipality has been far from steady.

* According to the "Sun" newspaper, 16 August 1940, Advocate D. Buchanan, K.C., in a series of Adult Education Lectures at the Hyman Liberman Institute, Cape Town, stated that "since there is no general statute which purports to give a definition for all purposes of 'Cape Coloured' or 'Coloured' persons, and as the common law recognizes no differentiation on the ground of colour, whenever the legislature proceeds to pass a discriminatory act it is careful to define a Coloured person for the purposes of that act. As a result the definitions often differ in the different laws. Hence the comely of errors which arose in the Booysen cases, when the same identical Coloured man, both of whose parents were Cape Coloured persons, was firstly convicted of an offence applying to Asiatics only, was secondly held to be a Native, and thirdly held to be a Coloured man."

TABLE 2.1

ADOPTED ETHNIC CLASSIFICATION
BASED ON CENSUS DEFINITIONS

CENSUS	ETHNIC GROUPS				
1865	EUROPEANS		KAFIRS	HOTTENTOTS	OTHERS
1875	EUROPEANS	FINGOES	KAFIRS	HOTTENTOTS	MALAYS MIXED
1891	EUROPEANS	FINGOES	KAFIRS + BECHUANA	HOTTENTOTS	MALAYS MIXED
1904	EUROPEANS	FINGOES	KAFIRS + BECHUANA	HOTTENTOTS	MALAYS MIXED
1911	EUROPEANS		BANTU	MIXED AND OTHER COLOURED	
1918	EUROPEANS		*		*
1921	EUROPEANS		NATIVES	ASIATICS	COLOURED
1926	EUROPEANS		*	*	*
1931	EUROPEANS		*	*	*
1936	EUROPEANS		NATIVES	ASIATICS	COLOURED

* CENSUS INCOMPLETE; NON-EUROPEANS OMITTED

TABLE 2.2

INCREASE OF THE EUROPEAN POPULATION
OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF CAPE TOWN

CENSUS DATE	INTER-CENSAL PERIOD - YRS	EUROPEAN POPULATN	AVERAGE INTER-CENSAL INCR. RT	TOTAL POPULATION	AVERAGE INTER-CENSAL INCR. RT
1865		15,118		28,457	
1875	10	18,973	2.3	33,239	1.6
1891	16	25,393	1.8	51,251	2.7
1904	13	44,203	4.4	77,668	3.3
1911	7	31,279	-4.8	68,738	-1.7
1921	10	101,685	12.5	183,357	10.3
* 1926	5	113,027	2.1	214,363	3.2
1936	10	151,635	3.0	295,789	3.3

AVERAGE INTER-CENSAL INCREASE RATES ARE STATED AS PER CENT. PER ANNUM

* FULL CENSUS TAKEN FOR MUNICIPALITY ONLY.

TABLE 2.3

MUNICIPALITY OF CAPE TOWN:
EUROPEAN POPULATION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION

CENSUS	PERCENTAGE
1865	53.1
1875	57.1
1891	49.5
1904	56.9
1911	45.5
1921	55.5
1926	52.7
1936	51.3

It is clear from Table 2.2 and even clearer from Table 2.3 that the European population of the Municipality has gained and lost ground alternately in relation to the rest of the population in all inter-censal periods save the last. But, as has already been pointed out in Report SS 1, the population of the Municipal area is the population of Cape Town in only a legal and rather narrow sense. When we speak of Cape Town in any broad social context we usually refer to a Greater Cape Town of which the Municipality is the nucleus but not the whole. At any particular time we can strike out a line on the map which will define Greater Cape Town for most ordinary purposes. Such a line will include the Municipality itself and those adjoining urban areas whose life is closely integrated with that of the Municipality. For the purposes of the present Survey, a series of such boundaries has been drawn to correspond with the several census dates, and it is to these boundaries that reference is made whenever the term Greater Cape Town is used in the present Report.* Now it is possible that the growth of the European population of Greater Cape Town may have occurred in a more regular fashion than that of the municipal population. We already know [Report SS 1] that this is true of the total population; what are the facts concerning the European portion of the population?

The statistics in Table 2.4 show that the growth of the European population of Greater Cape Town has in fact been steadier than that of the European population of the Municipality, and that the European proportion of the total population of Greater Cape Town has varied less than that of the total population of the Municipality. They also show that, excluding the year 1904 when the population was abnormally swollen by military forces, the general trend of the European proportion has been downward, although the gradient of the trend is not very marked, and although some inter-censal periods (actually three out of five) have shown an upward trend.

* The series is described in Report SS 1, Tables 1.2 and 1.3

TABLE 2.4

GREATER CAPE TOWN:
EUROPEAN POPULATION

CENSUS	EUROPEAN POPULATION	AV. INTER-CENSAL INCREASE RATE	TOTAL POPULATION	AV. INTER-C. INCREASE RT.	EUROPEAN %AGE
1865	20,966	+ 1.9	38,791	+ 1.4	54.0
1875	25,236	+ 3.1	44,688	+ 3.6	56.4
1891	40,956	+ 7.4	79,055	+ 6.2	51.8
1904	104,421	- 2.8	174,447	- 1.0	59.9
1911	85,451	+ 2.9	162,298	+ 2.7	52.7
1921	113,318	+ 2.9	211,461	+ 3.3	53.6
1936	173,412		344,223		50.4

AVERAGE INTER-CENSAL INCREASE RATES ARE STATED AS PER CENT. PER ANNUM. THE COLUMN HEADED EUROPEAN %AGE STATES THE EUROPEAN POPULATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION

It is possible, following the methods outlined in Report SS 1, to estimate the relative importance of biological reproduction and urbanization in contributing to this growth. Table 2.5 shows the results yielded by such estimates.

TABLE 2.5

GREATER CAPE TOWN :
EUROPEAN POPULATION INCREASE 1865 - 1936 IN THOUSANDS

INTER-CENSAL PERIOD	BIOLOGICAL GROWTH	SOCIOLOGICAL INCREASE			TOTAL INCREASE
		NET INFLUX	EXPANSION	TOTAL	
1865-1875	2.5	2	-	2	4.5
1875-1891	5	10	0.5	10.5	15.5
1891-1904	6	57.5	-	57.5	63.5
1904-1911	7	- 28 *	2	-26 *	-19
1911-1921	10.5	17.5	-	17.5	28
1921-1936	21	30	9	39	60
1865-1936	52	89	11.5	100.5	152.5

* DECREASE

It appears from Table 2.5 that

the total European population increase in Greater Cape Town over the period of 71 years from 1865 to 1936 was	153 thousand
of this, the total biological increase was	52 thousand
and the total sociological increase ...	101 thousand

Thus biological increase, which was responsible for 41 per cent. of the total population growth in Greater Cape Town over this period, was responsible for but 34 per cent. of the European growth; and sociological factors, which were responsible for 59 per cent. of the total increase, were responsible for 66 per cent. of the European growth. It is clear that estimates of the future growth of the population which are based on some simple biological law of population growth are likely to be even more wrong for the European population than for the population at large.

Further, we may sub-divide the sociological increase as follows:

	CONTRIBUTION IN THOUSANDS OF PERSONS	= PER CENT. OF SOCIOLO- GICAL GROWTH	= PER CENT. OF TOTAL GROWTH
* (European)net influx	89 [152]	89 [85]	58 [50]
* (European)expansion of boundaries	12 [27]	11 [15]	8 [9]

Thus while the expansion of the boundaries of Greater Cape Town has affected the growth of the European population to much the same extent as it has affected that of the total population, net immigration either from abroad or from other parts of the Union has played a sensibly greater part in the growth of the European population than in the growth of the total population.

We may consider these figures from another angle: the European population increase has accounted for 41 per cent. of the total biological increase over the 71 years, for 59 per cent. of the total increase by net immigration, and for 42 per cent. of the total increase due to expansion of boundaries. The European increase from all sources has amounted to 50 per cent. of the total increase.

In a later Report we shall have occasion to study the relative rates of increase in the several inter-censal periods, and the light they shed upon the probable future of population growth in Cape Town. At present we must turn to consider the growth of the other ethnic groups.

* Statistics for total population in square brackets.

Let us first consider the whole of that section of the population not enumerated as European.

During the 71 years from 1865 to 1936, the recorded Non-European population of the Municipality of Cape Town increased 10.81-fold, while the total population increased 10.39-fold and the European population 10.03-fold. The enumerated Non-European population has thus very slightly gained ground in relation to the total population. The average annual rate of increase of the Non-European population was 3.409 per cent. per annum, as against 3.353 per cent. for the total population and 3.301 for the European population.

Table 2.6 shows that the increase of the Non-European population of the Municipality has been affected as has the European population by the factors referred to on page 11.

TABLE 2.6

INCREASE OF THE NON-EUROPEAN POPULATION
OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF CAPE TOWN

CENSUS DATE	INTER-CENSAL PERIOD -- YRS	NON-EUROPEAN POPULATION	AV. INTER-C. INCR. RATE	TOTAL POPULATION	AV. INTER-C. INCR. RATE
1865	10	13,339	0.6	28,457	1.6
1875	16	14,266	3.8	33,239	2.7
1891	13	25,858	2.0	51,251	3.3
1904	7	33,465	1.6	77,668	- 1.7
1911	10	37,459	8.1	68,738	10.3
1921	5	81,672	4.4	183,357	3.2
1926	10	101,336	3.6	214,363	3.3
1936		144,154		295,789	

AVERAGE INTER-CENSAL INCREASE RATES ARE STATED AS PER CENT. PER ANNUM

It follows from Table 2.6, and might be deduced from Table 2.2, that the Non-European population of the Municipality has lost and gained ground alternately in relation to the rest of the population in all inter-censal periods save the last. This is shown even more clearly in Table 2.7. But two interesting differences may be noted between the course of the increase rates for Europeans shown in Table 2.2 and those for Non-Europeans in Table 2.6: while the changing relationship of the Municipality to Greater Cape Town has affected both series of rates, giving to both a highly fluctuating nature which has no important sociological significance, the European rate has fluctuated much more than the Non-European rate; and the Non-European rate has shown no such decrease as that recorded for the European population in the period 1904-1911.

What are the facts concerning the increase of the Non-European population of the sociologically more realistic area, Greater Cape Town? Table 2.8 shows that the growth of the Non-European population of Greater Cape Town has been steadier than that of the Non-European population of the Municipality, and that the Non-European proportion of the total population of Greater Cape Town has varied less than that of the total population of the Municipality.

TABLE 2.7

MUNICIPALITY OF CAPE TOWN:
NON-EUROPEAN POPULATION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION

CENSUS	PERCENTAGE
1865	46.9
1875	42.9
1891	50.5
1904	43.1
1911	54.5
1921	44.5
1926	47.3
1936	48.7

TABLE 2.8

GREATER CAPE TOWN:
NON-EUROPEAN POPULATION

CENSUS	NON-EUROPEAN POPULATION	AV. INTER-CENSAL INCREASE RATE	TOTAL POPULATION	AV. INTER-C. INCREASE RT.	NON-EUR. % AGE
1865	17,825		38,791		46.0
1875	19,452	+ 0.9	44,688	+ 1.4	43.6
1891	38,099	+ 4.3	79,055	+ 3.6	48.2
1904	70,026	+ 4.8	174,447	+ 6.2	40.1
1911	76,847	+ 1.3	162,298	- 1.0	47.3
1921	98,143	+ 2.5	211,461	+ 2.7	46.4
1936	170,811	+ 3.7	344,223	+ 3.3	49.6

THE AVERAGE INTER-CENSAL RATES ARE STATED AS PER CENT. PER ANNUM
THE COLUMN HEADED NON-EUR. %AGE STATES THE PERCENTAGE OF NON-EUROPEANS
IN THE POPULATION

These figures, complementary to those of Table 2.4, also show that while the Non-European population of Greater Cape Town has alternately lost and gained upon the European population in successive inter-censal periods, it has shown a tendency to gain over the period as a whole, although the gain has been slight.

Following our earlier method, we may estimate the relative importance of the sources from which the Non-European population growth of Greater Cape Town has been derived. The results of the analysis are shown in Table 2.9.

TABLE 2.9

GREATER CAPE TOWN:
NON-EUROPEAN POPULATION INCREASE 1865 - 1936
IN THOUSANDS OF PERSONS

INTER-CENSAL PERIOD	BIOLOGICAL GROWTH	SOCIOLOGICAL INCREASE			TOTAL INCREASE
		NET INFLUX	EXPANSION	TOTAL	
1865-1875	1	0.5	-	0.5	1.5
1875-1891	2	16	0.5	16.5	18.5
1891-1904	6.5	25.5	-	25.5	32
1904-1911	9	- 3.5	1.5	- 2	7
1911-1921	10	11.5	-	11.5	21.5
1921-1936	46	13	14	27	72.5
1865-1936	74.5	63	16	79	153

It appears from Table 2.9 that

the total Non-European population increase
in Greater Cape Town over the period of
71 years from 1865 to 1936 was 153 thousand

of this, the total biological increase was 74 thousand

and the total sociological increase 79 thousand

Thus biological increase, which was responsible for 41 per cent. of the total population growth in Greater Cape Town over this period and for 34 per cent. of the European growth, was responsible for 49 per cent. of the Non-European growth; and sociological factors, responsible for 59 per cent. of the total growth and for 66 per cent. of the European growth, were responsible for 51 per cent. of the Non-European growth.

Table 2.10 compares the contribution of the two distinguished sociological factors to the growth of each of the three groups.

TABLE 2.10

GREATER CAPE TOWN:
SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS IN POPULATION GROWTH

	CONTRIBUTION IN THOUSANDS OF PERSONS	= PER CENT. SOCIOLOGICAL GROWTH	= PER CENT. OF TOTAL GROWTH
NET INFLUX			
EUROPEAN	89	89	58
NON-EUROPEAN	63	80	41
TOTAL	152	85	50
EXPANSION			
EUROPEAN	12	11	8
NON-EUROPEAN	16	20	10
TOTAL	27	15	9

Thus the total influx of Non-Europeans has been relatively less important as a factor in their population growth than has the influx of Europeans in the European increase.

We may also make a comparison with some earlier figures by recording that the Non-European population increase has accounted for 59 per cent. of the total biological increase in Greater Cape Town over the 71 years, for 41 per cent. of the increase by net immigration, and for 58 per cent. of the total increase due to expansion of boundaries. The Non-European increase from all sources has amounted to 50 per cent. of the total increase.

It is unfortunate that we cannot proceed with our analysis of the individual ethnic groups along the lines that we have followed until now. Data are lacking for the calculation of Native, Coloured, and Asiatic, natural increase rates, and we are therefore unable to calculate for these groups tables corresponding to Tables 2.5 and 2.9. As far as the Census will take us, however, we may consider next the Native population, bearing in mind that our figures for the earlier dates are not as reliable as those for the later dates.

TABLE 2.11

INCREASE OF THE NATIVE POPULATION
OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF CAPE TOWN

CENSUS DATE	INTER-CENSAL PERIOD IN YEARS	ENUMERATED NATIVES	APPROXIMATE AVERAGE INTER-CENSAL INC.RT
1865	10	K 274	- 4.4
1875	16	173	8.3
1891	13	623	10.0
1904	7	2,147	- 10.8
1911	10	964	16.6
1921	5	4,468	21.0
1926	10	11,565	1.2
1936		13,034	

K KAFIRS ENUMERATED ONLY

Such violently fluctuating rates of increase, calculated from numbers on the whole so small, are of little significance. The contents of Table 2.12, which deals with the same figures in a different way, are of greater significance.

TABLE 2.12

MUNICIPALITY OF CAPE TOWN:
NATIVE POPULATION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION

CENSUS	PERCENTAGE
1865	K 1.0
1875	0.5
1891	1.2
1904	2.8
1911	1.4
1921	2.4
1926	5.4
1936	4.4

K KAFIRS ONLY

From Table 2.12 it is clear that despite considerable fluctuations in the numbers of the Native population of the Municipality itself, the total proportion of Natives (a) has definitely risen over the period of 71 years, (b) has never been large. But of what are these figures significant? At one time the location housing the majority of the Natives working in Cape Town has been outside the Municipal boundaries, at another time it has been included within the boundaries. Let us turn to the figures for Greater Cape Town.

TABLE 2.13

GREATER CAPE TOWN:
NATIVE POPULATION

CENSUS	NATIVE POPULATION	AV. INTER-CENSAL INCREASE RATE	TOTAL POPULATION	AV. INTER-C. INCREASE RT.	NATIVE %AGE
1865	K 707		38,791		1.8
1875	202	- 11.8	44,688	+ 1.4	0.5
1891	781	+ 8.8	79,055	+ 3.6	1.0
1904	7,492	+ 18.9	174,447	+ 6.2	4.3
1911	2,088	- 16.6 } +5.0		- 1.0 } + 3.7	
1921	8,691	+ 15.3	162,298	+ 2.7	1.3
1921	8,691	+ 3.3	211,461	+ 3.3	4.1
1936	14,160		344,223		4.1

K KAFIRS ONLY

AVERAGE INTER-CENSAL INCREASE RATES ARE STATED AS PER CENT. PER ANNUM
THE COLUMN HEADED NATIVE %AGE STATES THE NATIVE POPULATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION

From Table 2.13 new significant facts emerge. It appears that the Native population of Greater Cape Town, while it has more than doubled its percentage share in 71 years, has been more or less stable during that period on two successive levels: at about one to two per cent. of the total population until some time between 1911 and 1921 (ignoring the higher level of 1904), and at about four per cent. of the population since 1921, (or since 1904 if we choose to regard 1911 as the abnormal year). The average rate of increase over the period 1921-1936 was the lowest positive rate of Native increase recorded over the whole period of 71 years, and was equal to the average rate of increase of the whole population of Cape Town.

The third of our Census groups includes those others who have been enumerated neither as Europeans nor as Natives, and who nowadays are enumerated as Coloured or Asiatic.

TABLE 2.14

INCREASE OF THE COLOURED AND ASIATIC POPULATION
OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF CAPE TOWN

CENSUS DATE	INTER-CENSAL PERIOD IN YEARS	PERSONS ENUMERATED	APPROXIMATE AVERAGE INTER-CENSAL INCR. RT
1865	10	13,065	0.8
1875	16	14,093	3.7
1891	13	25,235	1.7
1904	7	31,318	2.2
1911	10	36,495	7.8
1921	5	77,204	3.1
1926	10	89,771	3.9
1936		131,120	

THE AVERAGE INTER-CENSAL INCREASE RATE IS STATED AS PER CENT. PER ANNUM.

In this table we encounter for the first time a positive rate of increase throughout the whole range of inter-censal periods. In other words, the Coloured-and-Asiatic population, unlike the total, the European, and the Native population, has not in any single inter-censal period emigrated from the Municipality in such numbers as to offset its natural increase within the municipal boundaries and its increase by expansion of those boundaries.

TABLE 2.15

MUNICIPALITY OF CAPE TOWN:
COLOURED AND ASIATIC POPULATION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION

CENSUS	PERCENTAGE
1865	45.9
1875	42.4
1891	49.2
1904	40.3
1911	53.1
1921	42.1
1926	41.9
1936	44.3

As far as the Municipality is concerned, it appears that the Coloured-and-Asiatic population has very slightly lost ground over the 71 years, although with fluctuations which are much greater in amplitude than the difference between the 1865 percentage and the 1936 percentage. It is of interest that the European population of the Municipality was 16 per cent. greater than the Coloured-and-Asiatic in 1865, and that the

two groups stood in the same relation to each other in 1936.

TABLE 2.16

MUNICIPALITY OF CAPE TOWN:
PERCENTAGE EXCESS OF EUROPEAN POPULATION
IN COMPARISON WITH COLOURED-AND-ASIATIC POPULATION

CENSUS	PERCENTAGE
1865	15.7
1875	34.6
1891	0.6
1904	41.1
1911	[DEFECT 14.3]
1921	31.7
1926	25.9
1936	15.6

In each census year save 1911, that is to say, the European population of the Municipality has exceeded the Coloured-and-Asiatic population, although in 1891 the excess was negligible. The violent fluctuations, in part reflecting nothing deeper than maladjustments between the legal and the sociological boundaries, do not indicate any definite trend; but while the European population has lost ground relatively within the Municipality since 1921, it has not lost ground over the whole censal period.

The figures for Greater Cape Town are of greater interest.

TABLE 2.17

GREATER CAPE TOWN:
COLOURED AND ASIATIC POPULATION

CENSUS	COL. AND AS. POPULATION	AV. INTER-CENSAL INCREASE RATE	TOTAL POPULATION	AV. INTER-C INCR. RATE	C. AND A. %AGE
1865	17,118		38,791		44.1
1875	19,250	+1.2	44,688	+1.4	43.1
1891	37,318	+4.2	79,055	+3.6	47.2
1904	62,534	+ 4.1 } + 2.6 } + 3.5	174,447	+6.2 } -1.0 } +3.7	35.8
1911	74,759		162,298		46.1
1921	89,452	+1.8	211,461	+2.7	42.3
1936	156,651	+3.8	344,223	+3.3	45.6

AVERAGE INTER-CENSAL INCREASE RATES ARE STATED AS PER CENT. PER ANNUM.
THE COLUMN HEADED C. AND A. %AGE STATES THE COLOURED AND ASIATIC POPULATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION.

Table 2.17 shows that, while the average rate of increase of the Coloured-and-Asiatic population has been in each inter-censal period very close to the rate of increase of the Non-European population as a whole (since the Coloured and Asiatic population has always constituted the bulk of the Non-European population), yet the Coloured-and-Asiatic population has maintained a somewhat steadier rate of increase than the Non-European population, and a fortiori than the European population. The table also shows that the Coloured-and-Asiatic population has never amounted to as much as 48 per cent. of the population of Greater Cape Town nor, save in 1904, to as little as 42 per cent.; and that over the whole censal period of 71 years the Coloured-and-Asiatic population has gained ground very slightly, but with fluctuations greater in range than the difference between the 1865 percentage and the 1936 percentage.

This is as far as our census figures will carry us. But if we are prepared to risk a certain measure of approximation we may carry back to 1865 the division of the last group which the census has recorded since 1921 only. To achieve this, we shall be obliged to estimate the Asiatic population for the period 1865-1911. Now the Asiatic population of Greater Cape Town must have been very small indeed in the years 1865 and 1875, since the Asiatic population of the whole Colony was very small in those years. For 1891 and 1904 we are able to derive from the census reports the total Asiatic population of the Cape District, and from these figures may make a reasonable estimate of the Asiatic population of Greater Cape Town. And for 1911 we may approximate in another way by assuming that the 1911-1921 increase of Asiatics in Greater Cape Town was in the same ratio to the 1921-1936 increase as was the (known) 1911-1921 increase in the Province to the 1921-1936 increase in the Province. (The two rates for 1921-1936 are closely similar, and the Provincial rate for 1911-1921 was very low, so that this procedure appears justifiable.) Tables 2.18 and 2.19 are derived from these estimates, together with the census figures for 1921 and 1936.

TABLE 2.18

GREATER CAPE TOWN:
COLOURED POPULATION

YEAR	ESTIMATED POPULATION	CENSUS POPULATION	COLOURED POPULATION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION
1865	17,118		44
1875	19,250		43
1891	37,161		47
1904	59,289		34
1911	72,334		45
1921		87,017	41
1936		152,911	44

It thus appears from the limited evidence at our disposal that the Coloured population has probably just maintained its relative position in Greater Cape Town over the whole 71-year censal period.

TABLE 2.19

GREATER CAPE TOWN:
ASIATIC POPULATION

YEAR	ESTIMATED POPULATION	CENSUS POPULATION	ASIATIC POPULATION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION
1865	*		*
1875	*		*
1891	157		*
1904	3,245		2
1911	2,425		1
1921		2,435	1
1936		3,740	1

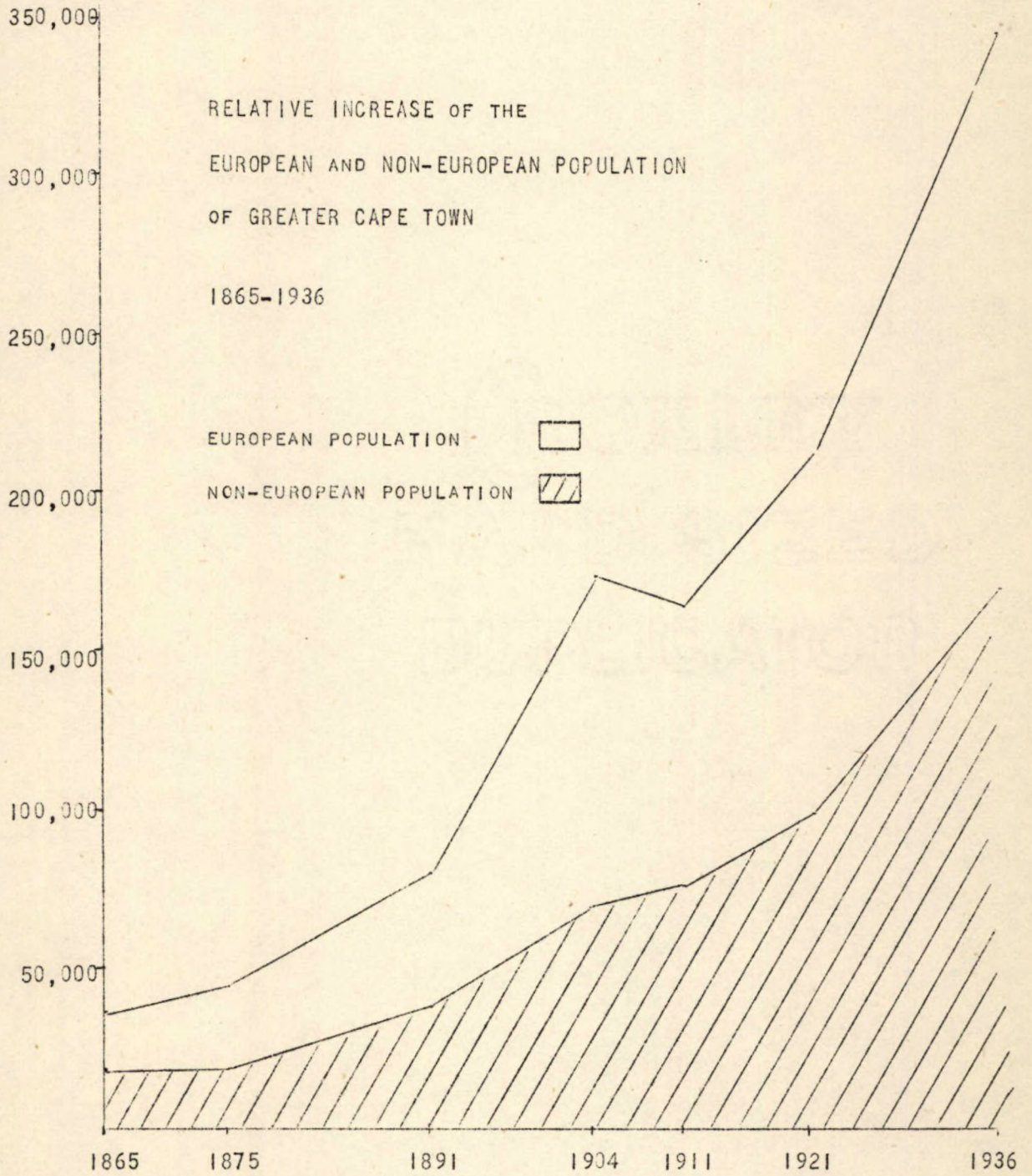
* negligible

Our evidence is that the Asiatic population has never amounted to more than 2 per cent. of the population and has remained at a fairly steady one per cent. since Union.

Many of the figures in the present Report demand further analysis. The relative rates of increase within the several inter-censal periods shed some light on the probable future growth of Cape Town; and this in turn is a basic factor in plans of any kind for the future of Cape Town. The whole of this aspect of the demography of Cape Town must be reserved for a later study. Meanwhile it appears desirable to draw attention to certain conclusions which emerge from the present study concerning the past demographical history of Cape Town:

- (1) the population of Greater Cape Town appears to be a real sociological unit, that of the Municipality scarcely so.
[See Report No. 1 also]
- (2) over the past censal period of 71 years the population of Greater Cape Town, and the ethnic groups into which it is divided, have increased at a fairly steady average rate of some 3 per cent. per annum; but there are no grounds for supposing that this rate will be maintained (and, to anticipate further studies, some grounds for supposing that it may not be maintained).
- (3) immigration has proved as important a factor as biological reproduction in the growth of Cape Town.
- (4) the chief influx into Cape Town during the 71 years has been the influx of Europeans; there is no evidence of any unusual Native influx during the latter part of the period.
- (5) the relative shares of the various ethnic groups into which the population of Greater Cape Town is divided have shown remarkable stability over the whole period, save for the abnormal year 1904. This is especially true of the Coloured population.
- (6) the European population of Greater Cape Town has always amounted to a little more than half the total.

Appendix A



Appendix B

TABLE 1B.1

TOTAL POPULATION OF GREATER CAPE TOWN
IN RELATION TO POPULATION OF COLONY/PROVINCE
AND OF UNION

CENSUS YEAR	POPULATION OF GREATER CAPE TOWN AS PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION OF	
	COLONY/PROVINCE	UNION
1865	7.81	.
1875	6.20	.
1891	5.20	.
1904 *	7.24 *	[3.37]*
1911	6.33	2.72
1921	7.60	3.05
1936	9.75	3.59

* POPULATION INCLUDES TROOPS

[] POPULATION OF AREA SUBSEQUENTLY EMBRACED BY UNION

¶ A LATER REPORT WILL DEAL WITH THE PROGRESS OF URBANIZATION IN THE CAPE PENINSULA. THE ABOVE FIGURES ARE REPORTED HERE WITHOUT COMMENT FOR THE SAKE OF THE ADDITIONAL LIGHT THAT THEY SHED UPON CERTAIN STATISTICS IN THE PRESENT REPORT.

Appendix C

Acknowledgments

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