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Johannesburg's backyards: the slums of New Doornfontein, Bertrams and Prospect Township, 1934 - 1939.

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Introduction

Not only Africans were forced to live in the slums of Johannesburg. Even after the imposition of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, slums persisted as coloureds, poor whites and Indians still resided in unsavoury quarters of the city. The process by which the state, through the agency of the Johannesburg Council, sought to clear these slums was not monolithic. Empowered by new provisions of the 1934 Slums Act the local authority implemented its anti-slum campaign in diverse ways. In all approaches, however, the objectives of the authorities remained to enforce residential segregation, clear land for business and industrial developments, and solve the "public health problem".

The methods of slum eradication differed from suburb to suburb. Three examples of anti-slum action adopted by the Council are provided in this paper. Despite the massive construction of public housing in the late 1930s the impact of the Johannesburg slum removals drastically reduced available cheap accommodation, particularly for coloureds and Indians. The start of war in 1939 precluded new building, and the effects of slum clearance programmes lingered into the next decade.

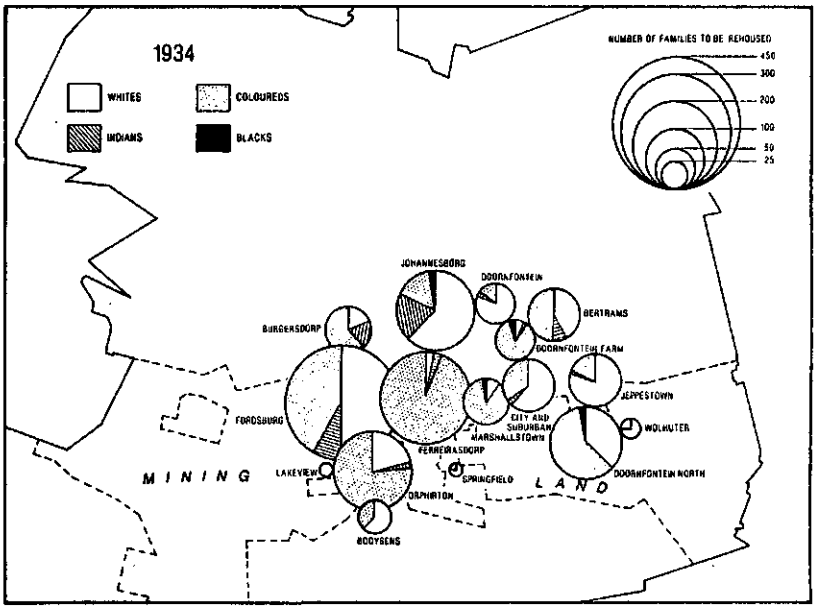
The Natives (Urban Areas) Act wrought dramatic changes in the composition of the urban working class resident in "white Johannesburg". The focus in this paper is thus on the period following the upheavals caused by the eviction of thousands of Africans from the municipal area. Background information on city slum conditions prior to the anti-slum revival that followed in the wake of the flight to Orlando and the Western Areas is provided in the first section of the paper. The motivation for the subsequent mid 1930s launch of a slum removal campaign that extended beyond the application of the 1923 legislation is sought, and the implications of the moves to rid the city of slums assessed through three case studies: New Doornfontein, Bertrams, and Prospect Township.

Johannesburg's slums, 1904-1934.

Prospector's huts, remnants of wood and iron structures used by miners provided the physical fabric of the Johannesburg slums. Living quarters for the working classes in the gold rush town had never been developed. As early as 1904 the outbreak of had plague testified to the insanitary conditions of the town. The establishment of a municipal location at Klipspruit, and the construction of official hostel accommodation for some 1200 workers[1] made mockery of the real demand for cheap accommodation. The 1918 plague that claimed thousands of lives again heightened awareness of the implications of the abysmal housing conditions for all sections of the population of the city.[2] Largely in response to the plague's devastation state officials sought a means of clearing the "native menace", and of ridding the city of slums.

In 1923 the Natives (Urban Areas) Act was heralded as the mechanism by which the slums could be freed of Africans, and segregation and public health assured.[3] In Johannesburg, implementing the provisions of the Act proved difficult. Legal applications by slumlords against the legitimacy of the Act's enforcement on the grounds that no alternative accommodation existed were successfully brought. This delayed Council efforts to have Africans removed from slums.[4] In addition to difficulties arising from court restrictions, the authorities noted that Africans evicted from one proclaimed area tended to move to the next slum, to await official action on the new premises. As the Act was progressively enforced, the concentration of people in the non-proclaimed parts of the city such as Sophiatown, Alexandra and Denver, increased.[5] People preferred these congested slum locations to the municipal accommodation at Orlando where, until as late as 1939, houses stood vacant.[6]

Figure 1: Racial composition of families requiring rehousing from inner city slum areas, 1934.



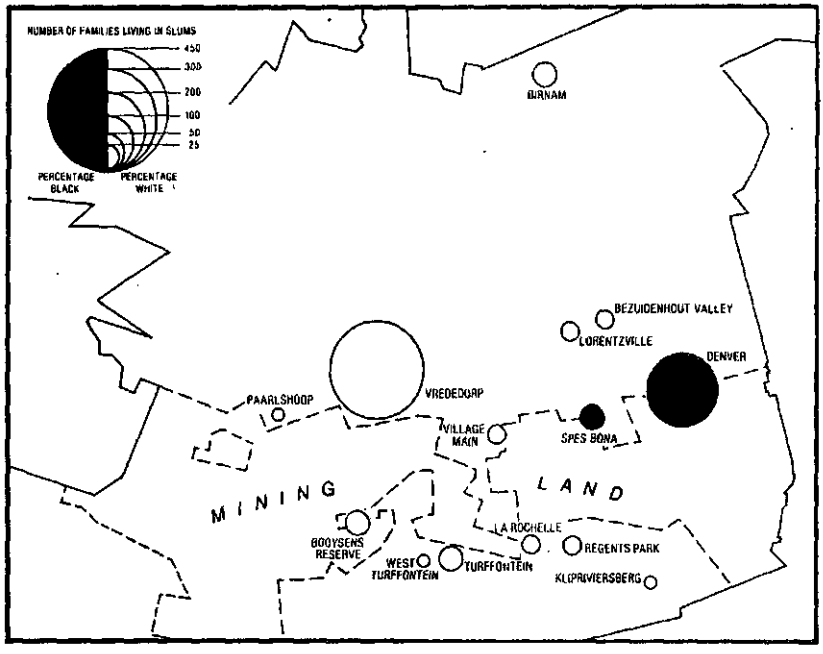
By 1934, the year of the Slums Act, the African presence in the slums of "white Johannesburg" had diminished, but had not been eradicated.[7] In the worst inner city areas particularly, people of all races concentrated. (Figure 1.)[8] In addition to their persistence in the slums of the 1930s, a growing number of Africans lived as domestic servants on white premises. Municipal complaints about the increase in the extent of families living in servants quarters, suggests that while the number of Africans independently renting accommodation in the "white city" may have declined, the absolute numbers of Africans in the proclaimed urban area remained high.

It is important to note that the complexion of the slum population by the 1930s had changed for reasons other than just the removal of Africans under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act. The growth of a poor white problem had increased the number of voters living in abject slum conditions so much, that the Johannesburg Council and the central state sought new methods of addressing the housing crisis. The introduction of the Slums Act and sub-economic housing initiatives, which provided alternative accommodation for whites from the slums, confirm the high percentage of whites in the slums.[9] While a large proportion of white slum occupants lived in the racially integrated inner city, a notable percentage were to be found in the segregated suburban periphery (compare Figure 1 and Figure 2).[10]

The poor white problem attracted attention of politicians of the time. It has also dominated the academic literature on the period. Minority groups under South Africa's racial order, the coloured and Indian communities, received only scant attention. Yet it was these groups that were most harshly affected by the anti-slum action in Johannesburg. Coloureds formed the dominant group in the inner city (Figure 1). In the survey used to compile this map the Council excluded the Malay Location where in 1936, as many as 1849 Indians lived.[11] Given that most of the

dwellings in the Malay Location were slums, either on account of the poor structures or the overcrowding, the significance of both coloureds and Indians in the slum population is clear.

Figure 2: Racially "pure" slums in Johannesburg, 1934.



Restrictions on residential land allocation have existed for Indians almost as long as they have for Africans.[12] In Johannesburg the rights of the coloured population were also constrained by the Gold Law. This precluded the settlement of "people of colour" on mining land from as early as 1885.[13] In the slum areas of the city the *laissez faire* approach of the Johannesburg Councillor's to restrictions such as the Gold Law encouraged Indians, unable to rent in the overcrowded Malay Location, to colonise the prohibited area. The inner city slums also attracted many of the poorer coloureds who could not afford to purchase in outlying Albertsville or Newclare.

Owing to the manner in which the slum clearance programme was implemented, it acted to restrict further the already tight housing options open to coloureds and Indians. Unlike white or African slum communities, coloureds were not offered municipal shelter until the end of the decade. Public housing for Indians was not instituted until after World War Two. As a result, the increasing population was forced to scrounge shelter from an ever diminishing housing stock; a factor not considered by the Johannesburg Council in their formulation of a strategy for slum removal in the 1930s.

The slum policy of the Johannesburg Council

The 1934 drive to rid the city of its slum areas was fuelled by diverse factors. Central to the city's commitment to the abolition of "urban blight" was a new found fiscal source: sub-economic funding.[14] The boom in the economy which hastened on the heels of the depression, made it possible for the Central Housing Board to extend its subsidy on the housing provision that followed slum elimination. The more favourable economic climate spawned new industries and saw the expansion of existing business. This trend was most notable on the rand where the mining and metal sectors expanded rapidly in the 1930s.[15] As a consequence additional

land close to established amenities was demanded. Unfortunately, in Johannesburg this land housed thousands of the city's poor, huddled together in inner city slums. The land crisis in Johannesburg was made worse by the proximity of unused mining ground to the CBD. This land was held by mining houses who refused to release the area for residential purposes,[16] despite the fact that its value as a commercial proposition was restricted by the imposition of a three floor limit due to fear of instability. To accommodate industrial expansion, the people of Ferreiras, Marshalls, Doornfontein and other suburbs had to be removed (Figure 1).

In addition to economic pressures, more political variables influenced slum removals. The failure of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act to solve the city's slum problem heightened concern over miscegenation; particularly as the 1930 depression had witnessed a great increase in the number of poor whites in urban areas.[17] Also of concern to the city fathers was the lack of official control over coloured and Indian residents. Slum legislation provided a new, and in some instances the sole, method of controlling the residential location of these sections of the community.

For these reasons the municipal Council of Johannesburg in the early 1930s was favourably disposed to embarking on a major project of slum elimination. The Slums Act had significantly extended their powers by granting the right of expropriation of whole suburbs, and of the expropriation of both land and buildings.[18] Armed with new legislative and fiscal power three methods of slum removal were open to the Council's slum committee.

i) They could act indirectly and rezone, thus enforcing a change in land use from residential to industrial purposes.

ii) They could act directly, evict, but rehouse the displaced people.

iii) They could act directly and expropriate, evicting residents before finding an alternative non-residential use for the land.

The most cost effective of the options was the first. This policy was adopted in New Doornfontein. The success of this strategy ensured its repetition in a number of suburbs close to the C.B.D. Most notable was Ferreiras, where the Government's purchase of a tract of land for the new Magistrate's Court drew the remark from the Medical Officer of Health that there would be no need to evict "the indigent coloureds".

> It would merely be a matter of time before the slums were gradually eliminated and different people...agents and solicitors... were attracted to the area.[19]

The second and more expensive option, but one consistent with the spirit of the Slums Act, was to expropriate slums and to rehouse the residents either on site or at some other location. The Slums Act was evoked thus in Bertrams, where slum clearance accompanied and facilitated race segregation; and again at Vrededorp where alternative accommodation was offered to white slumdwellers at the South Hills housing scheme.

The third option for slum elimination, was simply to expropriate the area, pay compensation to the owners, and then find some non-residential use for the vacant land once the buildings were demolished. This is what happened at Prospect Township. The three slums, New Doornfontein, Bretrams and Prospect were the first to be tackled by the Johannesburg Council after 1934. The experience gleaned was instructive in directing later anti-slum action. Each suburb is now considered in turn to illustrate the divergent approaches employed to clear slum conditions.

1) Industrial expansion in slum areas - New Doornfontein

Even as a slum, the character if New Doornfontein was more commercial than residential. This does not suggest that the population density of the suburb was any lower than other city slums. It was just that many rooms were actually compounds for factories located in the area.[20] Many of these residents were therefore legally housed, though the actual number

who found shelter far exceeded the number of permits issued. In the case of F. W. Johnstone who sold manure: the municipal authorities claimed that 53 "boys" could legitimately be housed; the company argued they had been told that 66 permits would be issued; while the number actually living on the stand was 108.[21] A cartage firm housed 40 of its employees on the premises, it seems this practice was common.[22] Overcrowding in New Doornfontein was exacerbated by the practice of sub-letting, thus while a landlord could honestly claim to having only rented to 35 families, 145 were found on his property.[23] It was not then that New Doornfontein lacked people, rather what distinguished this area was that the residential population had grown as industry grew and the two existed check by jowl. This created a suburb in which 143 of the 271 properties were slums that required demolition.[24]

Delays in the proclamation of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in New Doornfontein[25] meant that initial anti-slum action in 1934 affected more Africans than people of any other racial classification.[26] From the 59 properties first declared slums in New Doornfontein, 468 of those families requiring rehousing were African, 106 coloured, 27 Indian and only 9 white.[27] The transformation of the racial character of the suburb in the months following must be attributed both to the Slums Act and the enforcement of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act. In addition to these imposed legal restrictions, the city Medical Officer of Health announced that in the two years following the Slums Act the conditions in New Doornfontein were at least 50 percent better. This he attributed to the encouragement of industry, and cited the arrival of 20 new factories in the area.[28]

The decline in the African population of the suburb was of great concern for the slumlords. Those who had initially purchased properties with the intention of developing them for commercial purpose, but found slum racketeering so profitable that they persisted in that line of business.[29] All over Johannesburg the trend in slum areas was for

coloureds and Indians to move quickly into premises vacated by victims of the Natives (Urban Areas) legislation. This salvaged slum investments and guaranteed a profitable, if less dramatic, rate of return for owners.[30] In New Doornfontein this practice was interrupted by the Johannesburg Council's decision to condemn all wood and iron dwellings.[31]

Faced with the prospect of "ruiness loss", the larger property owners in New Doornfontein quickly organised to protect their interests.[32] By arrangement with the Johannesburg Council they agreed to support the conversion of their property for commercial and industrial usage.[33] At the same time these landlords persuaded smaller owners to sell them their properties on the grounds that even the low prices they would offer were likely to exceed the nominal value the Council would pay on expropriation.[34] Both the large property owners and the Johannesburg Council benefited enormously by this arrangement. The landed capitalists were ensured not only the extension of their property holdings, but the use of their land for commercial purposes. This offered them a lower return than they had received on slums, but it presented a considerably more attractive proposition than being paid out municipal valuations on expropriated land. For the Johannesburg Council, rates and taxes on the rezoned land offered to swell city coffers, and precluded the payment of compensation.[35] For this reason even Counsellor Leveson, known in Bertrams for his championing of the importance of rehousing occurring simultaneously with slum clearances, supported the plan which precluded the establishment of alternative housing in the area.[36]

2) A slum clearance scheme - Bertrams

The transformation of the residential suburb of Bertrams from a slum harbouring much of the city's coloured and Indian population, to a model public housing scheme for poor whites took only five years. The Johannesburg Council's application of slum clearance legislation to this

area situated only one mile east of the city centre was a thinly disguised effort to impose residential segregation. While embracing the provisions of the Slums Act that called for the rehousing of slum occupants, the Council carefully selected whites only for their rehousing programme. The remainder of the suburb's predominantly coloured population was subjected to treatment so atrocious that it made a mockery of claims to a humanitarian motivation for slum clearances.

Insanitary conditions first developed in Bertrams as a consequence of the municipal practice of granting exemption certificates to Africans.[37] The shortage of municipal accommodation, and the demand of employers for worker proximity had prompted the Johannesburg Council to issue licences, or exemption certificates, for Africans to reside in the white suburbs.[38] While the presence of Africans in Bertrams originated with this practice there is little doubt that, like all the other inner city slum areas, the actual population extended far beyond legally exempted residents.[39]

Delays in the proclamation of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act left a large number of Africans in Bertrams undisturbed until well into the 1930s.[40] Once the Act had been enforced in 1934 and 1935 and the African population relocated to the new Orlando scheme,[41] the slum rooms were quickly reoccupied by coloureds.[42] It was as a predominantly coloured slum that Bertrams came under the spotlight of the 1934 legislation. In the same year as the Slums Act was promulgated 35 properties in the suburb were declared slums.[43] Some indication of the racial composition of the area is provided by the number of families that the Council estimated would be involved in these first slum declarations in the city. Of the 149 families, 96 or 64 percent were coloured, 53 were white, 10 were Indian and 10 African.[44]

Despite the insecurity living in Bertrams meant for people of colour from 1934 (once it was known that the area was to be cleared for a white housing scheme), the population continued to swell. When the New Doornfontein yards were cleared in 1935 the coloured population in Bertrams increased dramatically.[45] This growth in the coloured population was acknowledged officially by the Council. They estimated that whereas the coloured population requiring rehousing from slums was 79 families in 1935, by 1937 163 families were involved.[46] The probability that official figures understated the extent of the coloured presence in Bertrams is suggested by the participation of some 300 representatives in the Bertrams Coloured and Indian Residents Association, who claimed that the removal involved 500 residents.[47]

The Bertrams Council housing scheme constructed to provide for evicted white slum dwellers, simultaneously demonstrated the authority's flagrant disregard for the shelter needs of blacks trapped in slum conditions. The dimensions of the accommodation crisis that existed, particularly for coloureds and Indians, the time of the slum clearances, is highlighted by the plight of the black population of Bertrams once slum clearance was implemented.

In the proclaiming of Bertrams as a slum all but two properties were declared. Twenty acres of land were expropriated under the provisions of the Slums Act and then purchased by the Council on a private individual agreement basis at a cost of £127 000.[48] Before the construction of the Maurice Freeman sub-economic housing scheme could begin, however, the existing population had to be removed. Eviction notices were served on the coloured and Indian residents in September 1936[49] but the lack of any alternative accommodation forced the Council to postpone the removal. It was agreed that until accommodation at Prospect could be found, tenancy at Bertrams would be extended on a weekly basis.[50]

This apparently amicable resolution erupted only a few months later as the conflict between the Johannesburg Council, who wished to press ahead with building the Maurice Freeman scheme; and the coloured and Indian population who had nowhere to go once evicted from Bertrams, was made public. In apparent recognition of the black tenants dilemma, the Council, in January granted a three month reprieve on coloured and Indian residence in Bertrams.[51] At a public meeting the same week the Residents Association responded with a deceleration to the effect that coloured and Indian tenants would be forced to remain in their existing homes until the Council could provide alternative housing within three or four miles of the city.[52] Within days the Johannesburg Authorities acted to squash all opposition to their removal project. Invoking section 29 sub-section 2 of the Slums Act the Council pointed out that the lack of sufficient alternative accommodation was not sufficient grounds for failing to comply with slum removal. They argued furthermore

> It cannot be denied that the residents of this area have known of the Council's intention for nearly two years and in many cases, or so it would appear have made no effort to obtain accommodation elsewhere.[53]

Efforts to enforce the clearance of land required for the Council's own housing scheme involved a plan whereby coloured and Indian tenants were provided with temporary accommodation. From January 1937, coloured families of houses that were to be demolished were offered single rooms in parts of the suburb not immediately required for building purposes. The temporary nature of this accommodation was stressed, and a deadline of the end of April 1937 imposed on continued occupancy.[54] Although some 50 families were housed by the Council in this way,[55] it is clear from the confidential correspondence of the Medical Officer of Health and the City Engineer that this facility was offered reluctantly. The preferred action of the city fathers would have been for the slum dwellers, of their own accord, to relocate to other slum areas.[56] According to these senior city officials the coloured population of Bertrams was pursuing a "deliberately obstructionist" policy towards the clearance project.[57] The

advice of the officials to the threatened population was to find shelter in Ferreirias, Doornfontein and other yards, despite the fact that the Council were even then proposing similar slum removals in those areas.[58]

If the Johannesburg Council thought that their provision of temporary accommodation and the advice of available alternative slum accommodation would persuade the remnants of the coloured people in Bertrams to move, they were wrong. In at least one slum yard, Kowalasky's yard, despite the fact that conditions were held to be even worse than in the notorious Prospect Township, the residents organised to resist the removal.[59]

It appears that the 10 families who were tenants of Kowalasky's yard and another 54 families from the rest of the suburb refused the Council's offer of temporary rooms in Bertrams. The Council it seems turned a blind eye to the structures where these people were living until after the end of April, although they pushed ahead with the demolition of stables, stores and workshops on the premises.[60] In the end the eviction and demolition of the shacks at Kowalasky's yard was implemented by Mr Kowalasky himself,[61] and by May the ground was free for Council construction.[62] In other parts of the suburb the Council itself enforced their May schedule and demolished remaining buildings regardless of whether or not tenants had left the premises.[63] Residents sent a telegram of protest to the Union's Secretary of Public Health. The evictions went ahead. At this point the Johannesburg Council established a tent camp for the coloured residents of Bertrams on the Heidelberg road on vacant land abutting Prospect.[64]

3) Slum expropriation - Prospect Township

Prospect Township was first dealt with as a slum as early as 1926 when the majority of the premises were pronounced public nuisances under the municipal local government ordinance.[65] The area soon reverted to a slum

partly because the Council refused to invest any money in the infrastructure. This resulted in dirt roads, no sanitary services and inadequate facilities for draining of water[66] for a population of more than 7 000. Influx to the area following the Natives (Urban Areas) proclamations also precipitated slum conditions and chronic overcrowding.[67] The ambiguous status of the township for use as a black residential area further contributed to the persistence of the slum as owners were reluctant to invest in improvements. One of the few areas to escape immediate proclamation under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, the City Council initially wished to develop Prospect as an African township.[68] Caught in the myriad of legislation governing racial allocation of land the Council soon discovered[69] that this would not be possible: Prospect was situated on land proclaimed for mining purposes and as such fell under the jurisdiction of the Gold Law. Under this law, occupation by persons of colour, other than domestic servants, was prohibited.[70] Despite full knowledge of the restriction the Johannesburg authorities continued to utilise Prospect for the shelter of blacks for a number of years. Even after the township was proclaimed under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act a system of licences exempted the stand holders of Prospect from the provisions on payment of a fee of 1s. per room let to Africans.[71]

Throughout the 1930s, Prospect served as the dumping ground for blacks removed from white residential areas under the auspices of either the Natives (Urban Areas) Act or the Slums Act. The Council's determination to minimise costs and ensure segregation in working class districts informed the demise of perhaps the most infamous of Johannesburg's slums, Prospect. Unlike the previous two case studies, the manner in which Prospect was demolished found no echo in later removals in the city.

Unlike New Doornfontein, Prospect Township, offered little by way of an industrial or commercial incentive, despite its proximity to town and

the railway line. Poor drainage because of clay soil[72] and the fact that not even minimal services had been established undermined the potential of the area. Only the slumlords were interested in Prospect: they received upwards of 35 percent on their investments of wood and iron shacks.[73] These owners were keen to see the persistence of the rental relationship that guaranteed profits equal to those accruing to slumlords of even New York's worst buildings.[74] In an effort to maintain Prospect the slumlords willingly agreed to abide by any changes the Medical Officer of Health required of them.[75] They went even further to propose a scheme of co-operation between owners and the Council.[76]

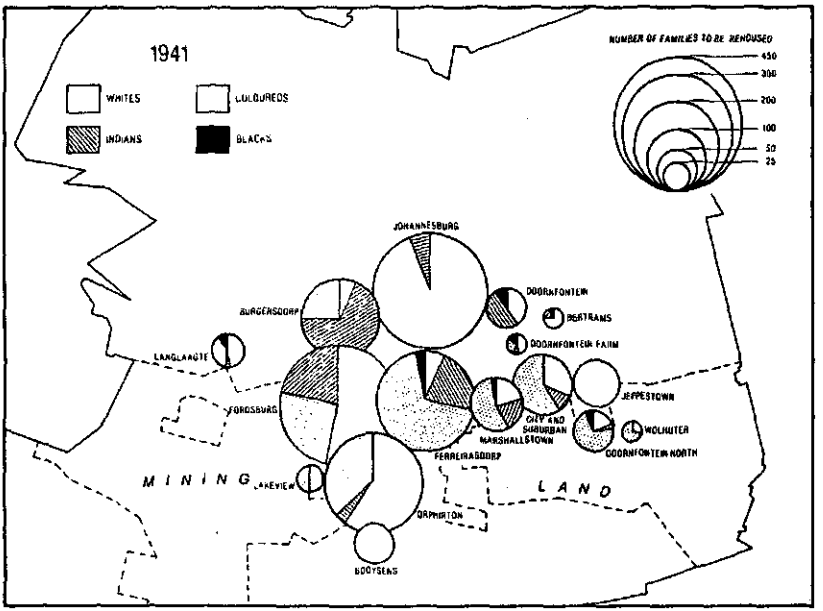
That the Council had no intention of allowing the slum to persist was clear. The proclamation of the township under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1935 and the introduction of a monthly licensing system fuelled rumours that the area was about to be expropriated as a slum.[77] Even before this date the status of the land was unclear and numerous requests for the Council to make plain their intentions were received.[78] Events which suggest the Council had always seen the possibility of expropriation were those such as the refusal in early 1935 to licence the premises of a new block of flats built specifically for Africans, and the rejection of all new licence applications for exemption from the Natives (Urban Areas) Act.[79]

Unsurprisingly, by the middle of 1935, 45 stands (involving 20 owners) were brought before the slum court.[80] This was the third area to be dealt with by the Johannesburg Council under the Slums Act.[81] As in the other slum decelerations in the city, owners of slum properties challenged the decision of the Council.[82] The appeal of the Prospect slumlords was strengthened by the fact that not all members of the Slums Board felt it wise to expropriate Prospect. Most notable in his denunciations was Bellenden the Manager of the Native Affairs Department.[83] In addition the owners felt their case should be upheld as, until the time of the hearing

(and in fact after the decision to expropriate was taken) the Council continued to utilise the slum quarters at Prospect.[84] These factors notwithstanding, the suburb was declared a slum and its total demolition and expropriation upheld.[85]

Three motivations for the decision to press ahead with expropriation of the Prospect properties can be found. First, the official justification offered concerned the importance of acting to remove an area that over the years had been a menace to the Public Health Department and the police.[86] Second, by 1938, when Prospect was cleared, a large proportion of the houses at Orlando were completed and were available for occupation.[87] Thus the function Prospect had served as a half-way house in the segregation process was no longer urgently required. Finally, an alternative function for the land was found. In 1937 Prospect was sold to the South African Railways for use as a goods yard.[88] In a happy co-incidence for the municipal powers the Prospect site was close to South Hills, the area allocated for the largest white public housing development. The proximity of Prospect (which became the new Kazerne goods yard where many of the poorest whites worked) to the proposed public housing development provided the justification for the subsequent Council clearance of the all white slum of Vrededorp.[89]

Figure 3: Racial composition of families requiring rehousing from inner city slum areas, 1941.



Conclusion

The slum removals of New Doornfontein, Bertrams and Prospect are particularly significant to an understanding of the process of urban removal and racial segregation in the South African city. Details changed, but the basic approaches adopted in these first anti-slum projects embarked upon by the Johannesburg Council under the Slums Act, set the pattern for later removals. Although the Slums Act was never again directly used in a clearance scheme such as Bertrams, the removals of Sophiatown in the 1950s, Albertsville in the 1960s, and Vrededorp in the 1970s carried the impress of the Bertrams experience. Since then, the clearance of land occupied by blacks for the benefit of working class whites, has become a familiar theme of this racially divided society.

The outcry precipitated by race-based removals such as those at Bertrams, Sophiatown or Vrededorp was never as strong as the reaction to the less obvious, but equally cruel removals sparked by apparently neutral forces of industrial and commercial expansion. The case of New Doornfontein demonstrates that from as early as the 1930s the Johannesburg Council actively adopted a policy of slum removal by encouraging the demise of residential land use through rezoning for business. In a pattern detectable all over the world, the ramifications of these measures for the slum population of Johannesburg were particularly harsh. In this context capitalist growth occurred most directly at the expense of the black working class who's shelter alternatives were restricted by racist control of land allocation.

In instigating slum clearance projects in the 1930s, the Johannesburg Council had set three objectives. First, to ensure industrial expansion, second to guarantee the removal of any menace to public health, and finally to enforce residential segregation. In terms of the first of these, industrial expansion, the boom of the 1930s, cut short only by the

war, does not seem to have been impeded in any significant way as slums gave way to office buildings. For the second and third objectives the results were less impressive. Unsanitary conditions were not abolished in Johannesburg. Far from it, the slum problem grew, both within the city (Figure 3),[30] and in the townships. Conditions in some sections deteriorated still further as the refugees of slum clearances crowded together. Added to this a rapidly rising population placed further pressures on already stressed working class housing facilities. As to the desire to ensure residential segregation, the Slums Act had extended the might of the state in imposing racial cleavage. The final separation of people along lines of colour was, however, not completed until the National Party introduced Group Area legislation in the years after World War Two.

Notes

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[2] Union of South Africa, 1920: Report of the Housing Committee, U.G. 4-1920.

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[4] Koch, E. 1983: Doornfontein and its African working class, 1914-1935, a study in popular culture in Johannesburg, Unpublished MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

[5] City of Johannesburg, 1937: Report of the Manager Non European Affairs Department, 1936-1937.

[6] *Hansard,* 1949: col. 6574. Figures quoted for vacant dwellings in Orlando are: 1933-667, 1934-1105, 1935-873, 1936-169, 1937-312.

[7] Union of South Africa, 1935: Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1934-1935.

[8] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File 4574 A, Special Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Special Committee on slums and housing, 13/2/1934.

[9] Parnell, S. 1987: The provision of council housing for whites in Johannesburg, 1920-1955, Unpublished MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

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[12] Bahana, S. and Pachai, B. (eds) 1984: *A Documentary History of Indians in South Africa,* David Phillip, Cape Town.

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[16] Koch, E. 1983: Doornfontein and its African working class 1914-1935, a study in popular culture in Johannesburg, Unpublished MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

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[18] Slums Act (No 53) of 1934.

[19] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File 27/3/4, Transcript of an interview between the Medical Officer of Health and two Sunday Express Journalists, 14/4/1936.

[20] *Rand Daily Mail*, 8/2/1935; 24/8/1935.

[21] *Star*, 7/2/35.

[22] *Rand Daily Mail*, 13/2/1935.

[23] *Rand Daily Mail*, 7/2/1935

[24] *Star*, 25/3/1935.

[25] Koch, E. 1983: Doornfontein and its African working class, 1914-1935, a study of popular culture in Johannesburg, Unpublished MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg; *Municipal Magazine*, June 1933, p.32.

[26] 90 percent of the first evictions from Doornfontein were Africans, *Rand Daily Mail*, 24/8/1935.

[27] City of Johannesburg, 1935: Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1934-1935.

[28] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File 27/3/34, Transcript of an interview between the Medical Officer of Health and two Sunday Express Journalist, 14/4/1936

[29] *Rand Daily Mail*, 7/2/1935.

[30] New Doornfontein property owners made the value of the property in 6 months, *Star*, 24/12/1934. The fact that coloured residents moved into vacated premises was often reported, c.f. *Star*, 6/2/1935.

[31] *Rand Daily Mail*, 25/1/1935.

[32] *Star*, 23 /1/1935.

[33] *Rand Daily Mail*, 1/3/1935.

[34] *Star*, 1/3/1935.

[35] The Johannesburg Council payed 30 percent plus over the municipal valuation of a property if it expropriated the premises. The cost of demolition or reconstruction if they did not expropriate were borne by the registered owner.

[36] *Rand Daily Mail*, 1/3/1935; 13/2/1935.

[37] *Rand Daily Mail*, 23/3/1935.

[38] Morris, P. 1981: *A History of Black Housing In South Africa*, South Africa Foundation, Johannesburg.

[39] City of Johannesburg, 1934: Report of the Non European Affairs Department, 1933-1934. In 1934 the number of exemption licence issued for Johannesburg was 38414, a further 43000 people were assumed to be living illegally in white suburbs.

[40] *Municipal Magazine*, June 1933, p.32.

[41] *Star*, 5/10/1935; City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File A 9829, Extract from minutes of the Public Health Committee, 5/1/1937.

[42] City of Johannesburg, 1935: Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1934-1935.

[43] *Ibid*

[44] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File A 9828, Extract from the minutes of the Public Health Committee, 5/1/1937.

[45] *Ibid*

[46] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, Unlabled File, Letter from Rev. Sigamoney of the Coloured and Indian Residents Society to the Medical Officer of Health, 27/1/1937.

[47] *Rand Daily Mail*, 16/7/1935; City of Johannesburg, 1939: Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1938-1939.

[48] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File A 9828, Extract from the Minutes of the Public Health Committee, 5/1/1937.

[49] *Ibid*

[50] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File A 9828, Joint Report by the City Engineer and the Acting Medical Officer of Health to the Public Health Committee, 25/2/1937.

[51] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, Unlabled File, Letter from Rev. Sigamoney of the Bertrams Coloured and Indian Residents Society to the Medical Officer of Health, 27/1/1937.

[52] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File A 9828, Joint report by the City Engineer and the Acting Medical Officer of Health to the Public Health Committee, 25/2/1937.

[53] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File A 9828, Draft of special report by the Medical Officer of Health and the City Engineer to the Public Health Committee on slum clearance scheme - Bertrams, 22/3/1937.

[54] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File A 9828, Lists of coloured and Indian families to be housed compiled by P.Squires the Senior Housing Officer for the Medical Officer of Health, 25/2/1937.

[55] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File A 9828, Personal letter from Medical Officer of Health to Sir Edward Thornton the Secretary for Public Health, 26/4/1937.

[56] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File A 9828, Draft of special report by the Medical Officer of Health and the City Engineer to the Public Health Committee on slum clearance in Bretrams, 22/3/1937.

[57] *Ibid*

[58] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File 27/3/4, Document entitled Slum Conditions in Ferreirastown (Western End), 1936; *Municipal Magazine*, February 1937, p.9.

[59] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File A 9828, Letter from N. Werksman to the Town Clerk re stands 366/7/8 and 371/2 Bertrams - S. Kowalasky, 7/5/1937.

[60] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File A 9828, Letter from Porter for the Town Clerk to Werksman, 12/2/1937.

[61] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File A 9828, Letter from the Senior Housing Inspector to the Medical Officer of Health, 20/5/1937.

[62] *Ibid*

[63] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File A 9828, Letter from the Union Secretary for Public Health to the Johannesburg Town Clerk, 25/5/1937.

[64] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File A 9828, Special Joint report of the City Engineer, Medical Officer of Health, Manager Non European Housing and Native Administration Department on temporary housing accommodation for Non Europeans displaced from the area expropriated by the council for a sub-economic housing scheme for Europeans in Bertrams, 21/5/1937.

[65] *Rand Daily Mail*, 30/11/1935

[66] *Rand Daily Mail*, 14/6/1935.

[67] *Star*, 11/5/1935, 6736 Africans were accommodated in 1684 rooms in Prospect, in addition to these people a number of coloureds and Indians lived in the suburb (*Star*, 18/6/1935; *Municipal Magazine*, May 1937, p.7.).

[68] *Rand Daily Mail*, 9/5/1935; 30/11/1935.

[69] *Rand Daily Mail*, 11/6/1935.

[70] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File 27/3/4, Transcript of an interview between two Sunday Times journalists and the Medical Officer of Health, 14/4/1936.

[71] *Rand Daily Mail*, 30/11/35.

[72] *Rand Daily Mail*, 4/5/35.

[73] *Rand Daily Mail*, 11/6/1935; 12/6/1935.

[74] Riis, J. A. 1971: *How the Other Half Lives*, Dover, New York. (Reprinted from the 1890 edition.)

[75] *Rand Daily Mail*, 26/4/1935; 30/11/1935.

[76] *Rand Daily Mail*, 15/6/1935; *Star*, 18/6/1935.

[77] *Rand Daily Mail*, 5/3/1935. The previous year 77 properties had been declared slums (City of Johannesburg, Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1934 -1935), but the status of the area continued to be ambiguous.

[78] City of Johannesburg, 1936: Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1935-1936, action on 71 of the 77 properties declared in the previous year were held over pending a decision on the future of the township, *Rand Daily Mail*, 12/6/1935; *Star*, 6/6/1935.

[79] *Rand Daily Mail*, 14/6/1935.

[80] *Rand Daily Mail*, 11/6/1935.

[81] City of Johannesburg, 1935: Report of the Medical Officer of Health

[82] *Municipal Magazine*, July 1937, p. 8.

[83] *Rand Daily Mail*, 19/6/1935.

[84] Although actively involved in removing the Prospect population in 1937. (At times up to 500 left for Orlando in a day while the Coronationville scheme was dubbed the Prospect - Coronationville project on account of the large proportion of the new houses that were filled by inhabitants of the old slum. Despite this the Johannesburg Council were simultaneously moving new Bertrams refugees to Prospect.)

[85] City of Johannesburg, 1937: Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1936-1937.

[86] *Ibid*

[87] City of Johannesburg, 1937: Report of the Manager of the Non European Affairs Department, 1936-1937.

[88] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Box 29, File B 2246, Letter signed J.J. Page, Chairman, 9/4/1937; Extract of the supplementary report of the Public Health Committee, 9/4/1937.

[89] Parnell, S. 1987: The provision of council housing for whites in Johannesburg, 1920-1955, Unpublished MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

[90] City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archives, Unsorted Box, File 9608, A survey of slums, 1941.