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1990-02-06T11:36:17Z
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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HISTORY WORKSHOP

STRUCTURE AND EXPERIENCE IN THE MAKING OF APARTHEID

6 - 10 February 1990

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TITLE: Reaping the Whirlwind : the East London Riots of 1952

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The gunpowder explodes.
On Sunday afternoon, 9th November 1952, 1500 residents of East London's locations attended a mass meeting at Bantu Square in Duncan Village. The backdrop was a banner with the colours of the African National Congress - a routine scenario throughout the Defiance Campaign. But the 9th November meeting followed in the wake of rioting in Kimberley and Port Elizabeth, a ban on gatherings and the restriction of 52 Eastern Cape leaders in terms of the Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Acts.[1] The ANC Youth League President, Skei Gwentshe, himself restricted, obtained permission from the Chief Magistrate and the District Commandant for a prayer meeting to protest the bannings.

Heavy police reinforcements had arrived in East London over the weekend in a bid by the state to prevent the riotous mood in the Eastern Cape from spreading to East London. A contingent of four truckloads of these men decided that, notwithstanding the presence of a laypreacher and a bible, the meeting was not a religous one. The crowd was ordered to disperse. Since people were apparently reluctant to move, the police charged with bayonets. Stones were thrown. The police opened fire with sten guns, revolvers and rifles.[2] Dozens of people fell and several shots penetrated the flimsy walls of nearby shacks and subeconomic houses, wounding the occupants.

Defiant and angry, the crowd broke up into smaller groups. Some went home, others began to march towards white East London and one band pursued a white man who made for the open door of an evangelist's house and attempted to take refuge. His pursuants brushed the preacher aside, chiding him: "Our people have been killed and you are trying to shelter a European." The insurance salesman was dragged out into the street and beaten to death as he sat on his haunches, hands behind his head, pleading in Xhosa, "Forgive me, men."[3]

A group of youths who had headed in the opposite direction saw a small black car with a single occupant, coming towards them. A young woman called out, "Here is a European woman, let us kill her!". The group surged forward. A youth moved to the middle of the road and signalled the car to stop, shouting obscenities.[4] The young man then smashed the windscreen with his stick and struck at the driver. Dr Elsie Quinlan, a Roman Catholic nun, called out for help then folded her hands in prayer. She was pelted with bricks, beaten with sticks, stabbed with a kitchen knife and set alight. One of the crowd shouted, "Stop! Stop! What are you doing now? " and was cuffed over the ear. "We have beaten her, we have burned her, we have killed her!" a youth shouted.[5] Finally, one of the youths announced, "We got the lady there, she is dead now."[6]

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The crowd opened up for a young woman brandishing a breadknife. Someone asked, "How can you finish a lady who helped us so much?" [7] The knife was passed to a youth who cut flesh from the charred body. "I am eating the meat because I want to get tough", said a young woman.[8] Another began to eat the flesh for fear of being called "a spy". While a young man was sharpening a knife against a sickle, a newcomer to the crowd was told, "We are eating the body of a nun". One woman took some "meat" to show her child what human flesh looked like; others took the flesh home where they ground it into a fine powder, to 'make medicine'.[9]

By evening, there were nine dead, including the two whites, twenty seven wounded by gunshot and three injured policemen. Of the those suffering from gunshot wounds, three or four were women.[10] Ambulances entering the location were stoned. Anti-white feeling had reached a peak.

That night, groups of youths went on the rampage and set fire to all the buildings associated with whites in the East Bank location - the Roman Catholic church, the Catholic mission, the new Teacher Training College, Peacock Hall, the house of the commonage ranger (where two dogs were killed) and the Model Dairy depot. "Afrika!" the crowd shouted, "Burn the Romans!" [11] "We must kill the Romans because they are Dutch!".[12] All that remained of the Roman Catholic Mission was a charred crucifix at the entrance to the school. Then came the moment of liberation. The shanty-town youth headed for the Gompo Institute for Natives, where they smashed down the doors and freed fifty-four "deviate" youths committed to the Institute. Phones were ripped out, windows shattered, mattresses and blankets set alight.

The next day, the violence spread to West Bank location. Buses were stoned and the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches torched.[13] Fear of more violence abounded. Caught between angry youth and possible police action, "small bands of natives" were seen slipping out of the locations late at night in a bid to escape to the rural areas.[14]

Armed police carried out a series of "sweeps" across the locations. Within ten days, 150 Africans were arrested for pass offences.[15] Deportations began early in December. By January, hundreds of women and youth had been endorsed out to the rural areas.[16] By June 1953, "the tsotsi population", allegedly 6000 at the time of the riots, had been "whittled down to 600 through deportation and pass raids." [17]

One hundred and seventy eight Africans were arrested on allegations of murder, arson and public violence.[18] Fifteen were charged with the murder of Dr Elsie Quinlan, five

convicted of murder and two hanged.[19] Many of those arrested and charged were between 14 and 21, their age being a strong mitigating factor in the sentences meted out. Public opinion, both white and black, believed that they were "tsotsis".

The issues of who these "tsotsis" represented, what lay at the root of their anger and aggression and what was to be done about this, were the subject of much discussion by both the local and central state. But a plethora of questions remained both for contemporary class actors and for latterday social historians. Were the rioters merely lawless "tsotsis" or juvenile delinquents? What forces had shaped their lives, and their consciousness? Were they "natives of a primitive state" [20] as defence lawyer, Joe Slovo, pleaded, or was "tsotsism" a modern, urban phenomenon? What were their links with the political rally at Bantu Square on 9th November 1952? Above all, why did the independent women of the locations apparently offer the strongest support for those charged in connection with the riots?

eMonti: East Bank (Duncan Village), West Bank and Cambridge

White East London, a port city and minor industrial centre, profited considerably from the economic boom in the five years after the Second World War. With a beachfront looking like an Arabian princess,[21] this holiday resort contrasted sharply with black East London. By 1950, well over 60 000[22] people were living in squalid, overcrowded conditions in the three locations of iMonti. Since Council housing amounted to less than a quarter of the accomodation, most blacks lived in dilapidated wood and iron shacks which honeycombed into as many as eight small rooms, holding up to 45 occupants. Lodgers, most of them migrant men, paid rents of 25-30s per month to extortionist site-owners and wrack-renting landladies. The latter comprised 70% of all site and private house owners. Many of them were single parents. T.B was rife, with four times as many cases in the 'tin towns' as in the 'brick' areas.[23] Infant mortality rates were horrifying; every second child died before the age of one.[24] 80 public toilets served more than 20 000 residents in Duncan Village where "you could not walk in the streets without getting your boots fouled by human detritus" [25]. Few went to school; eight primary and one council high school, the latter accomodating a mere 350 pupils, served all three locations. A Commission of Enquiry into the Locations warned in 1949, "If the condition is neglected much longer, East London which has sown the wind will reap the whirlwind".[26]

Yet the Council staved off any investment in living conditions as long as possible; it was cheaper to stifle the whirlwind with the resources of the national state - the bureaucracy and the police. All Africans in East London were

subject to increased policing and state controls from 1948. Africans were liable for "up to 25 passes[27] which they might have to carry on their persons at all times of day and night".[28] Raids for passes and permits were compounded by raids for lice or beer. In pre-dawn raids, policemen inspected the petticoats of women and on finding a louse, the entire household was conveyed to the "dipping tank", where heads were shaved, bodies sprayed and clothing boiled.[29] Most hated of all were the raids against illicit brewing, the principal income of women not in possession of site permits. These raids engendered a hatred of the police that needed but "one little spark of leadership" to erupt into violence.[30]

A new leadership emerges: the A.N.C. Youth League

Throughout the 1940s, this leadership was largely lacking. The ICU had declined and the Native Advisory Board, on which prominent ANC members served, was rendered useless by the Council's unwillingness to consult.[31] But in 1949, with the formation of a branch of the ANC Youth League in East London, a new leadership began to emerge. In contrast to the Non-European Unity Movement, which was reputed to require a "minimum of J.C. for membership", the Youth League was comprised of young men "who had not completed JC"[32] - such as J.Z. Fazzie, Joel Lengisi, J.J. Matoti and the powerful and charismatic Skei Gwentshe (orphaned as a result of the Bulhoek massacre and leader of the Hot Shots musical band). The Youth League spurned the fruitless efforts of the old guard (ANC A) and introduced a new popular activism. They had built up a strong following through the 1950 Stayaway in protest against the Suppression of Communism Bill (in spite of strife between the ANC branch and the Youth League at the time) and in April 1951 sought confrontation with the Council over its attempt to impose a 2s levy on all lodgers.

A mass demonstration against the lodger's levy took place in the city centre. Permission for the route was given by the police. 4 000 Africans marched in orderly procession along the seven mile route. In silence they passed the hospital; then, taking twenty minutes to pass the City Hall, they sang Nkosi Sikeleli Afrika, their voices rising to crescendo at the silent, closed building. African Youth Leaguers led the procession bearing a huge banner demanding, "Stop further taxation". Other banners articulated more demands: "Down with lodgers fees", "Our children need bread" and, a banner carried by women domestic workers, "We earn the least". Youth League marshalls "walked on either side of the column, preventing it from straggling, bunching or spreading".[33] Motorists courteously gave way to the marchers who wore ANC rosettes and gave the ANC thumbs-up salute. Back in Duncan Village, a meeting elected a delegation of Africans to meet with the mayor. But their suggestions - including the proposal that employers pay the 2s levy - were spurned.

Tension mounted in the locations. Lines were drawn between the Vigilance Association and ANC A on the one hand and the young militants, now known as ANC B, on the other. The Youth Leaguers accused the old guard of betrayal: "The 2s must not be paid. The Council must demand the 2s from Kwinana and Mngqikana, who have betrayed the orphans of Africa. Let Afrika return."[34] Moreover, they threatened to oust them: "It is high time we got rid of you. You are a traitor to the people for it was you who introduced the lodgers fee",[35] they yelled at VM Kwinana.

Defeat in the struggle against the lodger's levy was finally conceded when the residents lost their test case. The crowd overflowed the courtroom and held up the traffic outside as 34 year old Lillian Zweni was fined 10s or five days with hard labour for refusal to pay the lodger's fee.[36]

Defeat was a temporary setback. The Youth League remained committed to a path of radical politics. Heated debate within the League itself was part of this process. Thus, for example, individuals who regarded "all those who never schooled at 'Roma' as less educated[37] were opposed to those who identified Catholic missions as centres of exploitation, occupying vast areas of fertile land on which "many Africans were reduced to slaves" in the service of white Catholic fathers.[38] But the Youth League's radicalism strained to evolve a political discourse that would simultaneously encapsulate the aspirations of proletarianised workers, a small but articulate urban elite - clerks, interpreters, entertainers, shopkeepers - and a steady influx of rurally oriented men and women.[39] In the area of Duncan Village where the more fully proletarianised Africans lived, Sunday Youth league meetings rivalled church services in popularity. The ANC flag was flown, rosettes worn, the thumbs up salute made and the public speaking talents of the Youth Leaguers practised. At the rural end of Duncan Village, livestock roamed the streets and men who 'carried their hats in their hands and dreamed of the fields' dominated social life. While ANC elders envisaged a society which would "restore our chiefs to their rightful place, where we as the most advanced will take our place alongside them to guide and assist in building our nation",[40] the Youth Leaguers came under the radical Africanist influence of young intellectuals at Fort Hare, such as Mda and Sobukwe who visited East London at weekends. Africans, they argued, had "been suffering for three hundred years under European rule" and that "the time has now come to make a determined bid for freedom" from white domination, oppression and exploitation. Nationalist movements and their leaders in Africa - notably Nkrumah - were both an inspiration and an omen.[41]

The Youth Leaguers both drew on and enhanced the growing culture of Nationalism and resistance as they built on their experience in the lodger's campaign. In February 1952, protest meetings against the registration of domestic servants contracts drew massive crowds.[42] The boycott of the van Riebeeck festival, too, received strong support. And the turnout in the Defiance Campaign made East London the second most militant centre of ANC organisation in the country. Hundreds responed to Gwentshe's appeal:

> Speak in one voice, throw away your disputes, forgive each others sins, pray to God of Africa for your country. Cry day and night for Africa. Go to gaols for the sake of Africa. Be expelled from places where you stay for the sake of Africa. Die in gaols and and be hanged for the sake of Africa. This is the time of heroes. We appeal to you our heroes.[43]

Men and women clad in khaki uniform and wearing ANC rosettes turned out in their hundreds to defy curfew regulations. The thumbs up salute and the i'Afrika cry represented not only a political affiliation but also a broader opposition to whites and their society. Youth - young men and women - and older, single women were frequently the most ardent enthusiasts.

Identification with the radicals was at once more demonstrative and more volatile among the young men and women of the shackyards - areas of petty crime, family instability, shebeens, tsotsis and unemployment. The Youth League gave organisational expression to the belief in their own power to resolve problems through direct action against the enemy, white oppression. For them the concerns of lodgers levies, police raids, homelessness, unemployment and poverty informed their everyday lives and decided their political participation. For youth who "did not know their fathers", Africanism provided an acceptable and essentially "invented" past and present of which they were an integral part. This offset the narrower Xhosa nationalism frequently embraced by migrants who, secure in their Xhosa patrilineage, frowned upon the "the sons of Mary's and Joyce's" who called themselves men. But this reworking of patriarchal values in the politics of East London's radical Africanism went further, embracing, at least in part, the Mary's and Joyce's themselves. While young men in the League urged women to "sound your partner for his political depth and if you discover that he is politically bankrupt, discard him",[44] it was left to the women to determine an active role for themselves. The traditional women's exhortation to weak-kneed men, "Give me your pants, let me wear them!" assumed a new meaning as women emerged as independent actors in daily life and at key moments in political struggle.

While old guard ANC men embraced the participation of women at certain specified moments such as the Defiance Campaign, men in the Youth League were confronted with women whose daring broke all the boundaries of customary respect for men.

While the respectability of the educated leaders of the ANC old guard may have held some appeal for a sector of the migrant workers, the youthfulness of the new radicals held little. Patriarchs of some standing in rural society and seasoned by many work contracts were not about to follow youngsters, despite the maturity of the leadership.[45] Fully proletarianised workers on the other hand, had found the appeals of the ANC before 1949 both alienating and inadequate.[46] Working life in the factories, docks and shops was both heavy and dominated by colonial relations of production. Workers experiencing the denial of skills, wages and benefits on the shop floor as well as acute job insecurity saw white domination as the cause. Outside the workplace, the concerns of the workers were housing, rents, passes, crime and social disorder. Like their employers, the Council had scant regard for their conditions of existence. For location dwellers there was no confusion as to the reason - it was because they were black, or more specifically, African.[47] Many workers lent an ear to the speeches and responded to the calls of the Youth League but few joined. This was left to those who "liked to argue and talk politics" - the more literate, articulate urbanites.[48]

By the end of the Defiance Campaign, the Youth League was no longer able to contain the divisions within its own ranks and its appeals to the broader community were frequently met with impatience. Struggles led by the League had achieved great moral victories and a massive show of strength on occassion but material gains were few. The Defiance Campaign itself had held little appeal for one section of supporters - those who spent their lives avoiding the police and the jail. Tsotsis whose everyday life was characterised by violent action were growing intolerant of the tactics of passive resistance in the teeth of state aggression.

This frustration and growing militancy began to find independent expression within the slum areas of Duncan Village. Thus, for example, when a shack fire on 4 August 1952 destroyed a lodging house and left forty one people homeless, the crowd greeted the arrival of two fire engines with the thumbs up salute and the cry of "Afrika!". From a Coca-cola box podium a youth displaying an ANC badge made an impassioned and angry speech calling for direct confrontation with the Council.[49] But the tsotsi following of the Youth League was not content with substituting for the leaders on impromptu platforms. They strained for the moment to make their own calls to action.

By the end of 1952, the Youth League's leadership was in crisis. Gwentshe and Lengisi were banned under the Suppression of Communism Act in October and it was rumoured that political rivals within the League were responsible for 'selling' them to the location manager.[50] Nationally, the intransigence of the Nationalist Government, the ban on meetings and the restriction of key leaders had created a crisis of strategy and tactics for the ANC. Walter Sisulu, General Secretary, was on a national tour of ANC branches to discuss this issue and in East London, to investigate the tensions within the organisation. At the very moment of the riot, Sisulu and the ANC Youth League leaders were in closed conference in a house in Duncan Village.

The meeting at Bantu Square was in the hands of inexperienced, aspirant leaders and lay preachers. They addressed a crowd which had infused its main concerns into an Africanism that broke both the conventions of the conservative patriarchs and of the educated, cautious old guard. The destiny of Africans was in their own hands; they had but to seize the moment. Thus the period immediately prior to the riots marked a widening gap between the masses and the ANC and between alienated youth and a Youth League Branch pre-occupied with its own problems.

Gender, tsotsis and the East London locations

If male youths were to carry the blame for the riots, then the "loose morals" of large numbers of "unmarried mothers" or *amakazana*[51] were held responsible for turning these youths into delinquents. The ideological blinkers of the local state and their allies among the black elite[52] rested on the assumption that the urban African family form was to be a clone of the Western nuclear family. Education, protestantism and self-restraint would chaperone the traditional family into the modern world. This was a long way removed from the reality of location life. The morals that were spawned in these urban slums were rooted in an extremely violent patriarchal society and a slum culture which, frequently inwardly destructive, rejected female children and sent male children to the streets for learning. The processes of urbanisation and the growth of a slum culture[53] went hand in hand, accelerated after the Second World War.

By the 1950s, women were roughly half the urban African population despite the high level of male migrancy associated with the dockyard and fishing industries. Women entered town independently from the surrounding farms and rural locations such as Kwelegha, Mooiplaats and Newlands. Ciskeian women tended to settle permanently in town while most men came from Transkei, so facilitating loose liaisons. Most single women over 30 lived in Duncan Village. On the West Bank, "A woman's services were often not required there

when she had passed 30" since most men were in stable employment, able to keep "regular' women and have "their pick" of the young ones.[54] In Duncan Village, men tended to be older, poorer earners and in greater need of older women to cook and wash for them. Prostitution was not confined to any one area and occurred to a considerable extent "in the bush surrounding the locations."[55]

While the lives of many unmarried women may well have involved rendering a service to men, a growing number of women and girls kept "their own economic and social footing, not by virtue of their relations to men, but in their own right".[56] While some women started out in waged work - as domestics or factory workers, and later turned to self-employment - others established themselves as brewers, hawkers, dagga dealers, launderers and landladies soon after arrival in the city. In the shanty town, these women wielded considerable power derived in part from their economic independence but also from the necessity of holding their own in the context of shebeen violence and police raids.[57]

Men regularly beat and not infrequently stabbed their wives and lovers; arrests tended to occur only when the beating was extremely severe or very public.[58] Babies strapped to their mothers' backs not infrequently absorbed the blows.[59] Rape was extraordinarily common and often women going to the aid of a rape victim were overpowered and sexually assaulted themselves.[60]

While male violence often accompanied sex, sex frequently catapulted young girls into motherhood and the violence inherent in poverty. Pregnancy was difficult to avoid and paternity hard to prove. The practice of "metsha" or external intercourse was looked upon as old fashioned in town.[61] Both girls and boys tended to have more than one sweetheart and to engage in full intercourse. Fathers, once anxious to sue for damages paid in cattle, displayed little interest in courts which ordered maintenance to be paid to the mother. Lovers, once anxious to lay claim to the labour power of children in the countryside, increasingly found offspring a burden in the town. With rural links ever more tenuous, and child maintenance almost impossible to enforce, young mothers were constantly thrown on their own resources.

Utterly alone, and often very young, many mothers resorted to killing their new-born infants - particularly baby girls. The infant mortality rate for females in 1954 was 406 per 1000 births compared with 353 for males.[62] While infanticide was both commonplace and well known in the locations, cases were brought to court only when there was stark evidence. For example, after dogs were found eating the corpse of a child, a woman confessed that she had

abandoned her baby on the riverbank, covered with a piece of tin, as she had been left destitute by her lover.[63]

Abandoned by their own fathers, husbands and lovers, many other independent mothers set great store by their sons.[64] While new-born females might be killed, males were generally nurtured. While lovers might come and go and daughters might bring home unwanted babies, sons provided the household with a permanent male figure - important status in a society dominated by patriarchal[65] values, power relations and forms of social control. Boys, particularly as they reached their teens, appear to have been conscious of and manipulated their superior position in the household. In the absence of a patriarchal authority figure and the presence of a single mother, these young men grew up in the contradictory situation of having no father yet with a strong sense of their own male power.

At home in the streets, shebeens and backyards, they saw and experienced violence from a very early age. Living in conditions of high density, they often moved in groups which might merge into gangs as they grew older. A kind of fraternity developed among shanty boys who grew up together, their solidarity possibly shielding them against the patriarchal control of men - such as headmen - outside of the household. While mothers might want to protect their sons from the harsh and ugly reality of poverty and violence, they also needed them to to conquer it as men. The interdependence of unmarried mothers and their sons was forged in their common experience of slum culture and in their displacement from patriarchy and dominant patriarchal values. While this generated collusion in the face of an onslaught by migrant men, headmen or the police, it mediated against a stronger bond among women outside of the family. Indeed, mothers and their sons were not infrequently caught up in quarrels over competitive beer brewers or shebeeners.[66] Many women carried knives.[67]

If violence permeated the lives of location women, it was ever present on the streets where their children grew up. Girls were sheltered only insofar as they remained indoors longer, one step away from the street. Alcohol, gambling and sex filled leisure time for boys from an early age. Theft and casual work - caddying, gardening and other odd jobs might bring in cash. Education, the church and middle class respectability, discordant with their own lifestyle and a threat to their own power base, were either shunned or raided for booty. Gains from any effort expended were to be immediate and material.

Woven into the "complex, contradictory and discordant *ensemble* of beliefs and attitudes"[68] that made up the consciousness of urban youth, was the belief that they had

the power to resolve their problems. It was enhanced at times by the messianic tones of Africanist speakers whose vision of a nation created a special place for those who had suffered under white oppression. It was fuelled by violence itself - tsotsis were quick to join any action or to react to police violence. It was also backward -looking, incorporating beliefs and practices from rural custom, such as a preference for herbalists over white man's medicine and the practice of smoking dagga to eliminate fear or pain. Theirs was a power that existed at a violent level, through the knife, under cover of darkness.

Tsotsis, tsotsikazi and the riots

"Tsotsi" was synonymous with fear - and the criminal exploits of the sons of single women - for large sections of the African population. Tsotsis preyed on workers and innocent people at night, they were the sons of unknown fathers and prostitutionist landladies, they raped young girls and old women. For many migrants, fear of the tsotsi went beyond the material and invoked the myth and fear of witchcraft, for "like the witch, the tsotsi (was) both terribly dangerous and terribly unpredictable...the universal enemy, all the more to be feared because hidden in a veil of darkness".[69] The tsotsi was a criminal with an evil heart, "no inhibitions, no scruples, no remorse", who "could do anything to anyone".[70] And as the evil heart of the witch was blamed on its mother, so the wickedness of tsotsis was heaped on the heads of single women.[71]

Other location residents, however, perceived tsotsis as youths of "a widely differing degree of lawlessness".[72] At one end, was the 'real' tsotsi who was an unemployed loitering street gambler, drinker and dagga smoker, quick to draw his knife; his night activities the "way-laying of passers-by, robbing and raping, and the stabbing of people in the dark location streets. The more daring undertake outright burglary."[73] At the other end, were employed youths and schoolboys who made "common cause" with real tsotsis in some activities so that there was "no sharp dividing line between tsotsi and non-tsotsi."[74] Indeed, many respectable townspeople lamented that their sons had "gone to the bad" due to unemployment, overcrowding, working mothers or the influence of the cinema.[75]

The East London Council identified a hardened juvenile gangster element whom they held responsible for the "savage lawlessness" perpetrated during the riots. These tsotsi gangs were "characterised by the same distinctive clothing...the same secret language... strong group consciousness" and illegal means of livelihood.[76] Through this image, like gangs elsewhere, they expressed "membership of a specific subculture which by its very appearance disregards or attacks dominant values."[77] But this hardened

delinquent lifestyle was representative of a minority. Most tsotsi groups were loosely and informally structured, with individuals drifting in and out of gangs, and gangs drifting in and out of delinquent behaviour. They were concerned with "the assertion of masculinity; a desire to create immediate excitement; and the exploitation of any opportunity to supplement a meagre diet and income." [78]

The assertion of masculinity took on a particular significance for the urban sons of single mothers. The circumcision ceremony had both symbolised the transition to adulthood and provided practical instruction in patriarchal values. Young males were expected to complete this process of becoming patriarchs by acquiring lobola, marrying, setting up a homestead and producing heirs. But there was very little prospect of fulfilling these older expectations. Removed from the land both by patrilineal default and state decree, neither the notion of a rural base nor ownership of cattle held great value. Working for lobola might take a lifetime and was not a pre-requisite for a relationship with an urban woman. It is not surprising that older men complained of youths "running away" from circumcison.

For many of these youths, most not yet circumcised or married, with little prospect of acquiring lobola and a homestead, or an urban job, there was an alternative. Tsotsism was a way out. It provided an opportunity for youths to be masculine, albeit in a form that was not accepted by older men; it provided a chance for blacks to be earners - albeit in a form savagely pitied by whites. Tsotsi identity enabled youths to wield a certain power as "men" in a patriarchal society where they could not become patriarchs and in a capitalist, racist society where they could not become high income earners.

While the real tsotsi was generally male, a considerable number of "amatsotsikazi" (lit. female tsotsis) emerged at this time.[79]. Like their male counterparts, amatsotsikazi had a distinctive dress and body language. They were said to wear "large gipsy-type earrings and narrow skirts", to straighten their hair and to fight and shout in the streets.[80] Amatsotsikazi displayed a new agressive sexuality and flagrantly violated the role of the respectable African woman. Indeed, their very status depended on a sexual relationship with a tsotsi or group of tsotsis. Since tsotsi men often had four or five women as "sideliners"[81] amatsotsikazi frequently fought bitterly over lovers.

If competition over men meant defending one's place beside a male and wearing 'daring' clothes, it also demanded financial independence. Tsotsis preferred women who did not ask for money. Amatsotsikazi, generally younger than the established shebeeners and brewers, not yet tied down by child-care and often aspiring to the glamorous styles

displayed in shop windows, sought work in town, possibly as cleaners. A few, perhaps for whom accomodation was important, took sleep-in domestic jobs. Most were apparently excluded from the 'male' activities of deriving income through crime and confined to egging on this daring, 'deviant' behaviour.

In sum, tsotsim in East London's locations emerged not as a consequence of witchcraft or 'delinquent personality' but in the context of the new culture of the urban slums and, above all, in the turmoil of changing gender relations. Women's child-bearing capacity had lost much of its old value; young males were often unable to fulfill the traditional obligations of manhood; both defiantly forged new lifestyles in the underworld of the locations of iMonti.

Tsotsism, rioters and the trial

Many of the youths involved in the riots were shaped by the slum culture of the locations and as minors in their early twenties, they looked to a 'closed' future.[82] Of the ninety one persons ultimately charged, well over half were juveniles with no secondary schooling; their average age was seventeen and a half; only a quarter had employment at the time of the riots; one young man was invalided out of the mines; a third had criminal records - mostly pass offences, knife-stabbing and rape.[83] Many came from homes where the father was absent - deceased, deserted or had never acknowledged parenthood. Most lived in the shackyards that had sprung up in the oldest section of Duncan Village between the pre-war municipal houses, the commonage ranger's house and the Roman Catholic mission. Few came from the West Bank location, where ties with rural areas such as Peddie, dominated social life and where the underworld was smaller and less powerful.

Their court room demeanour provides a closer view. Two of the accused stared at their feet throughout the trial while others "constantly looked over their shoulders at friends in the crowded spectators section, gesticulating and signalling messages."[84] A woman on trial for murder "looked bored" and a youth "sat perfectly still staring at the red-robed judge"[85] as the court heard how he had sung "Awaken men!" - a song he had heard at ANC meetings - while he danced around the murder victim's car.[86] Sullen resentment, anger and contempt was what the judges saw - the tough demeanour of tsotsism and total alienation from the white legal system.

But those in the dock were not alone in their contempt of the white man's trial. While the court was packed with well-wishers, it was the mothers and sweethearts who stood by their men throughout the trial. Their task was to try to protect their sons and lovers from conviction. This they did not via the lawyers but as tough, independent women of the shanty town. These women set on those nearest to them - the

location residents who were state witnesses. In mid 1953, a crowd of women abused and chased a witness, shouting, "Kill her! Kill her!".[87] Soon after, Florence Booi (27) and Lettie Ngangqo (49) were convicted of intimidating witnesses.[88]

More support came from the "peers, neighbourhood, immediate circle of kin, community and locality"[89] of the rioters - the underclasses of location life. While the trial was in progress, a meeting was held at Bantu Square where a young man addressed a small crowd. "Africans must stand together, await the command and come in force. You must not only kill two Europeans, you must kill them all." [90] The speaker was promptly arrested, but not without difficulty - the detective had sand thrown into his eyes before he was able to knock his assailant unconscious with a police baton.[91]

Support for the rioters, though not widespread, was not lacking. While there was obviously a strong youthful component and a measure of deviancy involved, there was a radical edge to this riot which was not specific to youth and which resonated with the life experiences of many in the slum area of the East Bank location. The anger and resentment of white oppression running through their rebellion grew out of the experience of a shared social reality and had grown into an urban slum culture, of which tsotsism was but the cutting edge. This culture incorporated thousands of African women and men for whom there was no longer a livelihood in the reserves. "Although often divisive, self-destructive and futile",[92] it provided a means of survival over which tsotsis had control and through which they might escape from their structural inferiority. And they could rely on their mothers and amatsotsikazi to support them.

In the wake of the riots: shifting the balance of power

The ANC held the state responsible for precipitating the events of "Black Sunday"[93] but was at pains to distance itself from the rioting and the rioters. Skei Gwentshe, President of the Youth League, attributed the riotous behaviour of the crowd to the fact that responsible leadership had been restricted and prevented from attending the meeting."The people had no leaders and no one to exercise a restraining influence...I have no option but to lay the whole blame in this matter on the police."[94] He also condemned the excesses of "irresponsible elements" and called upon people to "exercise restraint even in the teeth of police provocation".[95] Others were less compromising and urged Africans to continue the fight against unjust laws "unflinchingly", undeterred by the "police state where shooting of the African by the police is indiscriminate".[96]

While the ANC called upon the Minister of Justice "to institute a judicial inquiry into the disturbances of East London immediately",[97] the East London branch of the Youth League, horrified at the carnage and struggling to fend off the new state onslaught, turned their backs on the women and tsotsis.

The Council, perhaps in a move to shift culpability onto the central state, claimed that the Riotous Assemblies Act invoked by the Minister of Justice was "the spark which set off the gunpowder."[98] In their view, the Defiance Campaign had been "dying out" and the way forward was to "now meet with responsible Native elements, especially the ANC" and seek to "have the application of the Riotous Assemblies Act revoked if the Natives in their turn would give assurance that they would bring the situation back to normal".[99]

But these liberal sentiments were shortlived as the central state tightened control and pressurised the local Council to distance itself from the ANC and extend authority to the headmen. The state urged the strict application of the Native Urban Areas Act by the Council;[100] Location Advisory Boards were informed that "Natives should be held communely responsible for the damage caused in the riots";[101] and the Nationalist Party was quick to exploit the panic of whites, whipping up "swart gevaar" fears at several rallies in the region.[102]

Still reeling from the shock of the riots and in a bid to reclaim initiative from the central state, the Council convened two conferences on the "tsotsi" problem - the first, all-white, the second, "consultative". The conferences centred on appropriate methods of control over African urban juveniles. African delegates voiced strong opposition to the idea of labour camps which "might develop into miniature gaols for juveniles who have not committed crimes but are unemployed for reasons beyond their control."[103] They wished to avoid state intervention in the socialisation of their youth. Instead they sought increased power for older men in the location and requested that Headmen - the offical male representatives of tradition in the urban community - be given greater powers to discipline juveniles. Unmarried mothers might be assisted to live more decently by health visitors teaching them better "management of their homes". African delegates also requested greater controls over the major livelihood of independent women - the brewing and selling of beer.[104]

By excluding the ANC and the ANCYL, and worker representatives, the Council had sought - and found - a cohort of allies in the black community who wished to nurture the development of an African middle class, a reflection of themselves. The vision was of a location populated with temperate, Christian, nuclear families,

educating their children to live clean and work hard. And this was to be achieved with as little investment from white ratepayers as possible. Any new amenities were to be built on an "austerity basis" and Africans were to be asked to contribute free labour in return for membership of the Duncan Bowl recreation centre.[105]

Several months later the Council reported that the locations were "no longer loathsome" and that,

> since the riots, the tsotsis have been rounded up and sent to their homes in the country. Those whose homes were in town were given jobs and if they did not settle down after the third time of being placed in employment, steps were taken to have them committed to an institution.[106]

The short term resolution of the tsotsi problem was thus achieved by increased state repression, the shoring up of patriarchal power through local Bantu Authorities and the collusion of a narrow African Nationalism with patriarchal control. But neither the broader location crisis nor the problems of urban African women and youth were ended. As a Youth Leaguer observed,

> The present government repatriates to their places of origin in the reserves all whom it calls 'redundant Africans', under the pretext of removing criminals from African locations. What we find is that innocent persons are being removed to places where once their homes were, but family ties cannot in many cases be properly traced. What aggravates the position is the fact that these people are being dumped into overcrowded areas.[107]

Not surprisingly, many of those who were deported, surreptitiously made their way back to town and six years after the riots, the "tsotsi" problem erupted again. This time, the older men of the locations took matters into their own hands and unleashed their anger on the urban youth.

Towards the end of November, 1958, tension in the East Bank location was beginning to mount as the incidents of murder, robbery and tsotsi attacks on residents increased.[108] A fifty year old member of the Amalinda Headman's Committee called the men to a mass meeting. The large crowd of conservative and traditionalist men quickly agreed that the only remedy was for the tsotis to be beaten. Word spread that "the men have declared war on the boys"[109] as men armed with sticks - carried both as weapons and as symbols of manhood and male power - chased and whipped boys all over the location. Initially "actual tsotsis and delinquent boys" were the targets of the men but after a gang leader was said to have escaped disguised as a woman, women too were beaten.

Resentment began to mount among the women who threatened to sue indiscriminate stick-wielders whose own sons were "away in the country". After several days of intense conflict, the police intervened. With the help of an African Baptist preacher, the police appealed to the men to turn in their sticks and put an end to the vengeance.

While the location was able to enjoy a quiet Christmas, the migrant's antipathy for urban youth and single mothers had not ended. Their reliance on the power of "the stick", both physically and symbolically, had only served to deepen the antagonisms in the locations. Conflict escalated as the youth and independent women closed ranks and the migrants attempted to form organisations to protect themselves.

These conflicts brought out not only moral dissension between urban and migrant men, men and boys, migrant men and urban women but also revealed the pressures on patriarchal relations in the community. While women defended their right to head independent households and to make their own choices, their sons were hacking out a new path to manhood in hostile urban terrain and in the face of aggressive patriarchal resistance. Although independent women and urban youth were struggling for somewhat divergent ends, in the short term, and in the face of continuous onslaughts from above - their defensive interests converged.

Conclusion

The East London riots were, as the ANC claimed, the spontaneous reaction of an angry crowd that had been fired on by white police. The murder, arson and destruction were almost surely instigated by 'tsotsis', as the Council believed. If 'unmarried mothers' gave birth to tsotsis, both were spawned by the processes of proletarianisation and the reworking of patriarchal values in the urban slums; as mothers stood by their sons, they drew support from their power as men. While the frustration of these young men was lent legitimicacy by the radical nationalism of the ANC Youth League, it was unable to develop the discipline demanded by their leaders. In spite of growing up in an urban slum, those who stood accused of the crimes of murder and arson, were at least in part, as Defence Lawyer Joe Slovo argued, "of primitive nature", drawing on an inherent ideology of witchcraft, vengeance and the power of bloodshed. These complex and contradictory strands came together in a momentous and bloody explosion of hatred for white authority on the 9th November 1952.

Hardened by a way of life in which only the fittest survived, subjected to state and patriarchal controls and disillusioned by the failure of orderly protest, urban youth were straining to demonstrate their own power. The restriction of key Youth Leaguers on the eve of the riots

opened a gap for leadership to emerge 'from within' the crowd. Quick as a flash, these street leaders egged on all that was inherent in the crowd, manipulating the anger unleashed by the shooting and killing of the police. As the air filled with screaming and shouting, they led the mob towards the first target - white town. Their premature encounter with a white person both absorbed the crowd and enabled the police to block access to town. Targets were then switched to institutions of white power in the locality - 'native' management, the church of white fathers, employers' premises, buses. Fuelled by anti-white resentment, the desire for revenge and a sense of their own destructive power, the mob went on the rampage, destroying all that represented white authority. While respectability might have allowed for an honourable retreat, slum culture did not and it was left to those hardened by their paraiah status to seize the moment for their own vengeance on a hostile world.

This paper has attempted to demonstrate that making visible gender relations in the locations of eMonti in the 1950s is critical to understanding the East London riots. Tsotsis and amakazana take centre stage not as a social aberration but as key agents in the emerging challenge to patriarchal control and the shaping of new relations in location life. While the ANC Youth League recognised and attempted to respond to the radicalism of this underclass, the ANC old guard, migrant men and the local state sought to remove this festering sore from the face of social life.

NOTE
The authors wish to thank Dr Helen Bradford for her inspiration, detailed comments and editorial advice. (The authors, however, accept full responsibility for the contents of the paper.)

FOOTNOTES

1. Daily Dispatch, 11.11.52.
2. Daily Dispatch, 11.11.52.
3. CA: GSC 585/53.
4. Daily Dispatch, 7.2.52.
5. Daily Dispatch, 21.7.53.
6. CA GSC 584/53.
7. Daily Dispatch, 10.2.53.
8. Daily Dispatch, 11.2.53.
9. Daily Dispatch, 17.7.53.
10. Daily Dispatch, 11.11.52.
11. Daily Dispatch, 23.01.53.
12. Daily Dispatch, 31.01.53.

13. Daily Dispatch, 13.11.52.
14. Daily Dispatch, 11.11.52.
15. Daily Dispatch, 19.11.52. Nearly 400 Africans rushed to pay their annual taxes - many 3 or 4 years in arrears - bringing more than eight times the average daily number of payments to the NAD office.(Daily Dispatch, 20.11.52)
16. Daily Dispatch, 31.01.53.
17. Daily Dispatch, 17.6.53.
18. Daily Dispatch, 21.1.53.
19. Daily Dispatch, 26.2.53.
20. Daily Dispatch, 14.4.53.
21. Sam Kahn quoted in Daily Dispatch, 24.7.52.
22. The 1951 census figure for Africans in East London was 39,727 while the Border Regional Survey figure for 1955 was 78 000, the census figure representing a "considerable under numeration". [Reader (1961) 42]
23. M.O.H. Report 1948/9.
24. Welsch Commission quoted in Daily Dispatch, 14.7.49.
25. Welsch Commisssion quoted in Daily Dispatch, 9-8-49.
26. B. Steer to Welsch Commission, Daily Dispatch, 9-8-1949.
27. Service Contract; Permit to seek work; Pass to be out after curfew; Overland Travelling pass; Livestock driving pass; Poll Tax receipt; Poll Tax Exemption Certificate; Exemption from Pass Laws certificate; Std 4 Certificate to obtain liquor; Permit under liquor Act for off-premises consumption; Permit to introduce liquor into the urban location; Location site rent receipt; permit to reside in location; Lodger's permit; Location temporary permit; Location visitor's permit; Permit to gather wood on the commonage; Permit to keep cattle in urban location; Permit to brew beer; Savings Bank Identification Certificate; Minister's sacramental wine permit; Travelling Pass into Transkei; "Tog" permit; Certificate declaring a native to be a non-Native and not liable for tax. (Wollheim Papers, UCT, BC 627.)
28. Wollheim Papers, UCT, BC 627.
29. Interview MD, 29.11.89.
30. Wollheim Papers, UCT, BC 627.
31. Wollheim Papers, UCT BC 627.
32. Interview MD, 30-11-89.
33. Daily Dispatch, 16.4.51.
34. Daily Dispatch, 19.12.51.
35. Daily Dispatch, 2.8.51.
36. Daily Dispatch, 30.8.51.
37. ANC Volunteer, Interview SM, December, 1988.
38. Inkundla ya Bantu, 10.9.1949.
39. The total number of Africans in wage employment in 1951 was a little over 20000; a quarter were women in domestic service. 3 in 4 African men were migrants who returned to the rural areas at least once a month. 68.6% were employed as unskilled labour; 19.4% in semi-skilled jobs and 1.6% were professional. [Houghton (1960) 225-

226] Of the 15000 self- employed Africans, three quarters were women. [Reader (1961) 62/63]
40. Border Chamber of Industries, Box 15.
41. Daily Dispatch, 6.4.50; 20.9.52; 7.4.52.
42. Daily Dispatch, 11.2.52.
43. CA: GSC 388/53.
44. Inkundla ya Bantu, 4.12.52.
45. For example, Skei Gwentshe, President of the East London Branch of the Youth League was a married man in his mid-40s.
46. Interview 11.12.88.
47. Interviews December 1988.
48. Interview December 1988.
49. Daily Dispatch, 5.8.52.
50. Interview MD 29.11.89.
51. *Amakazana* narrowly defined refers to unmarried women with children. The term is also used in a positive sense by women adressing each other and perjoratively when men adress women.
52. For example, some educated members of the Vigilance Association, the Location Advisory Board, the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans and those associated with the Institute of Race Relations.
53. 'Slum culture' is used here in the sense of a syncretic culture developing in the urban slums of iMonti after WWII. It emerges as the newly proletarianised, the underemployed and the recently spawned underclasses of single women, youth and 'unemployable' interact with and attempt to make sense of their material and social conditions.
54. Reader (1961) 45.
55. Reader (1961) 63.
56. Mayer (1971) 234.
57. Daily Dispatch, 12.2.53.
58. Daily Dispatch, 5.11.54; 31.7.53.
59. Daily Dispatch, 31.7.53.
60. Daily Dispatch, 14.10.54; 11.11.55.
61. CA: 2ELN 2/1/3; Pauw (1960) 111.
62. Reader (1961) 51.
63. Daily Dispatch, 8.8.47.
64. P. L. Bonner's work on the East Rand provides an interesting comparison. Bonner argues that women were driven to a lack of discrimination in choosing male partners in their urgency to find a male authority figure for the household. [Bonner (1987) 7]
65. Patriarchy is used in the sense of a power relation: the power of older men over women and young men.
66. Daily Dispatch, 2.4.53.
67. Daily Dispatch, 7.2.52.
68. Beinart and Bundy (1987) 271.
69. Mayer (1971) 74.
70. Ibid.
71. Mayer (1971) 75.

72. Pauw (1960) 57.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. Mayer (1971) 75.
76. Daily Dispatch, 25.6.54.
77. Brake (1985) 11.
78. Gillis (1974) 180.
79. Pauw (1960) 58.
80. Ibid, 59.
81. Ibid, 77.
82. African unemployment in East London was approx. 40% in 1951. (Minkley 1990). Manual labour for the SA Railways and Harbours and municipality were the major source of employment; jobs in secondary industry were confined to labouring or delivery. Reader remarks that "This lack of occupational differentiation led to indifference to the economic sector allocated for work".[Reader (1961) 63]
83. Ngakane (1953) 3.
84. Daily Dispatch, 22.7.53.
85. Ibid.
86. Daily Dispatch, 16.7.53.
87. Daily Dispatch, 10.7.53.
88. Daily Dispatch, 7.8.53.
89. Brake (1985) 27.
90. Daily Dispatch, 6.8.53.
91. Daily Dispatch, 6.8.53.
92. Humphries (1981) 175.
93. Interview SM, December 1988.
94. Daily Dispatch, 11.11.52.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Daily Representative, 26.11.52.
101. Daily Dispatch, 13.01.53.
102. Daily Representative, 17.11.52.
103. Daily Dispatch, 15.8.53.
104. Daily Dispatch, 15.8.53.
105. Daily Dispatch, 25.6.54.
106. Daily Dispatch, 17.6.53.
107. Letter from J.J. Matotie of the ANC Youth League to the Daily Dispatch 23.6.53.
108. Mayer (1971) 83 - 89.
109. Ibid, 84.

by Woman ..... Page 12
Crossword Puzzle ..... Page 12

MASS MEETING OF NATIVE WOMEN ASSURED—"NO PASSES!"

About 600 East London Native women were assured by the Native Commissioner, Mr. J. G. Pike, at a mass meeting yesterday afternoon, that the Government did not intend introducing legislation enforcing Native women to carry passes.

The meeting, held at Rubusana Park, Duneau Village, was arranged so that the Native Commissioner could reply to objections raised by East London's Native women against a pass system.

Mrs. Ngqisha, of the African National Congress, addressed the assembly (picture top left) and said the idea of Native women carrying passes was objectionable in every way. The thought of a medical examination was repugnant to women, who felt that only certain persons could carry out such examinations. It would have to be someone for whom they had respect.

Another serious aspect of the pass system, if it was enforced, would be the fact that Native women in the country would be unable to visit their husbands in the towns.

Mr. Pike thanked the assembly for cancelling the procession which had been arranged last week. A procession of women through the streets of East London, he said, would have presented many difficulties. He added that he appreciated the way in which the whole matter had been handled.

"I am in a position to say now," he said "that the Government has decided not to introduce legislation compelling Native women to carry passes and submit themselves to medical examinations the same as men.

"The idea originated from certain municipalities and was included in the Draft Bill. But the Minister of Native Affairs would not adopt it."

Loud cheers greeted Mr. Pike's announcement.





Daily Dispatch 5 May, 1950.



ANC Youth League Leaders, leading the march.
Skei Gwentshe is carrying the saxaphone.

Daily Dispatch
16. 4. 1951

March of the Africans

This striking picture (left) epitomises the spirit of the solemn procession by 4,000 Natives through the main streets of East London on Saturday afternoon to protest against the imposition of a tax on all lodgers by the East London City Council. With an earnestness that was profoundly moving, the Natives marched slowly and quietly down Oxford Street, the deep voices of the men blending in harmony with those of the women in the plaintive strains of the Bantu National Anthem. Below: The half-mile long column, which took 20 minutes to pass the City Hall, appeared over the brow of Oxford Street as a little brown smudge that grew bigger and blacker as the demonstrators advanced. When the head of the column reached the City Hall the tail was at Kimberley Road. Among the demonstrators were grey-haired old men and tiny children and cripples also limped along. At intervals men carried banners, some of which read: "Down With Lodgers' Fees," "We Shall Resist Further Taxation," "Stop Taxing the Poor" and "Our Children Need Bread—Council Wants 2s.", "We Earn the Least" (carried by Native women).



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More than 30,000 bags a week are repaired by a team of over 100 Native women working at the Border Bag Depot's establishment at Woodbrook where this photograph was taken yesterday. The bags are bought and repaired by the Depot and most of them are sold to an issuing depot in East London for resale to the public against permit. The better grade are taken over by the Government and stored until they are needed by farmers and others. A large number of bags has just been sent to Buffalo Harbour for the off-loading of grain from the Avis Glen—another large consignment has been dispatched up-country for the wheat farmers. About 1,000,000 bags are being held in storage at Woodbrook by the Government. Some bags are repaired by crippled Native workers employed by the Depot and recommended for this work by the East London and Border Society for the Care of Cripples.

E.L. MAN FINED £25

Entered Women's

...between them provide the facilities for protective, curative and medical treatment of tuberculosis victims.

The possibility of establishing farm colonies in the Transkei was being investigated. Several missions had expressed their readiness to undertake colony projects in conjunction with their hospitals, to cater for tubercular victims who had not succumbed too far to the disease, and their families.

"The provision of better hospital facilities and of such amenities for fighting tuberculosis as farm colonies should be seen as part of the soil reclamation scheme in the territories—because the condition of the soil determines the condition of the people," Mr. Stent added.

The South African National Tuberculosis Association was interesting itself in the possibility of acquiring sites as soon as possible for farm colonies. It intended to

Daily Dispatch 30 May 1950.



East London's newest industry is a frozen foods factory at Braelyn. The firm, Frosted Foods Co. (East London), Pty., Ltd., is handling mainly pineapples for export. Above is a scene showing employees cutting up pineapples. The lower picture shows the pineapple chunks being weighed and packed into cardboard containers. The bags are made of plio film and are airtight when sealed.

Daily Dispatch
5. 12. 1951.

Late on Sunday night the South African Police arrested 30 Native men and women, all volunteers in the "Defy Unjust Laws" campaign which is being conducted by the African National Congress throughout the country. The Natives waited quietly in Oxford Street after 11 p.m. and were arrested for not being in possession of night passes. The picture above shows them walking along under police escort. With flag flying high, members of the African National Congress demonstrated outside the East London Magistrate's Court yesterday while their fellows were inside, being tried. The picture below shows some of them giving the thumbs up sign with their yellow, green and black flag and a banner displayed prominently.

Daily Dispatch 22.7.1952



Daily Dispatch 22.7.1952



HUNDREDS OF E.L. AFRICANS DEMONSTRATE

Singing and Harangues Outside Courthouse

Shouting, singing and gesticulating, a crowd of several hundred followers of the African National Congress demonstrated outside the East London Magistrate's Court yesterday, while their fellows were inside, being tried.

When about 500 followers of the African National Congress demonstrated outside the East London Magistrate's Court yesterday, they were orderly until the time came for some of their fellows, who had been arrested, to be led from the cellblock to police vans which took them to Lock Street Gaol for lunch. The crowd surged forward and pressed round each van as it loaded its complement, and they sang patriotic songs, shouted slogans and gave the thumbs-up sign. The picture above shows one of the vans in the crowd. The policemen on duty displayed great patience and tolerance.

Officers [illegible] opening and closing the doors and shepherding the prisoners into the vans while the Natives milled round them, stamping, dancing and shouting.

Throughout the demonstration there was an air of light-heartedness and at one time even policemen were to be seen giving the thumbs up sign, to which the Natives responded with gusto.

After lunch the "show" went on, but on a smaller scale at first, growing larger until it ended about 4.30 p.m. with the demonstrators marching off in an orderly manner through the city behind their banner.