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'MOSLEM' AND 'NEGRO' GROUPINGS ON TYNE SIDE
'MOSLEM' AND 'NEGRO' GROUPINGS ON TYNESIDE

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION
IN TERMS OF INTRA-GROUP AND INTER-GROUP
RELATIONS.

by

Sydney F. Collins, B.A.(McM.Can.) M.A.(Hons.Edin.)

Presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in
The University of Edinburgh.

1952.
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INTRODUCTION

STUDIES OF COLOURED GROUPINGS IN BRITAIN

The coloured population in Britain tend to settle in her main ports and form distinct social groupings. Their origin and development are similar in most cases. The core of these settlements was established by coloured seamen and their population grew by gradual increases during normal periods and by large influxes of various categories of coloured men, resulting from two world wars. The groups also increased in size and were stabilized by miscegenation between the immigrants and white women or British born coloured women.

Only during the last twenty-five years has interest been aroused in sociological studies of this section of the British population. Little's survey of the Cardiff Negro community is the first comprehensive study of its kind in the United Kingdom. Since then, studies have been made by Richmond, Silberman and Spice; and others are in progress.

Little traced the historical development of colour prejudice in Britain from 1660 A.D. to the present time. He pointed out the social and cultural factors giving rise to these attitudes, and how they operate against coloured people resident in Britain to-day.

Silberman and Spice made a study of the relationship between /

between coloured and white children in six Liverpool schools by applying the 'Friendship and Rejection' psychological tests. From the results obtained, they concluded that prejudice is not generally experienced by mixed racial groups of children.

Richmond was concerned with the adjustment and assimilation of West Indian workers into British society. He calls his investigation a case history study based mainly on records of individual case files and other reports and documents. A number of interviews were also made. He has shown how economic insecurity and 'stereotype' influence racial prejudice. His main thesis, however, is to show the correlation between the high degree of skill in the West Indian worker and his adjustment to British society.¹

The relevance of these studies to the problem of social integration is obvious. As Little has shown, colour prejudice is one of the principal obstacles to the assimilation of coloured minorities into British society. His work is a major contribution to the field of race relations as it establishes a base from which other racial problems may be investigated. Richmond's research is concerned with one category of coloured people only, that is, selected West Indians who were skilled men. The data is of value to this

this study for purposes of comparison with the adjustment of other categories and groups of coloured persons, such as workers who are unskilled or are of other ethnic groups. The findings of Silberman and Spice would have been more convincing had the data been more adequate. Nevertheless, the study sheds light on an important aspect of race relations.

These studies, with the exception of the last mentioned, are concerned primarily with Negroes. The Moslem population had still to be examined.

North and South Shields Coloured Groupings.

The studies mentioned suggest two primary integrative social processes affecting coloured groupings in Britain. On the one hand are the forces separating coloured from white and integrating them into discrete groupings; on the other hand is the process integrating coloured persons with the white society and dissolving the bonds which formerly held them to the coloured unit. The primary object of my study is to examine these processes as they affect two Tyneside coloured groupings. Consideration will be given first to the factors influencing intra-group relations within the coloured groupings, and secondly to those affecting inter-group relations between the coloured and white populations.

For convenience, the coloured groupings will be called 'Negro' and 'Moslem'. The present use of these terms is by no means satisfactory since one is racial and the other cultural. Moreover, they are not exclusive since a few Moslems in Shields have certain negroid features. However,
MAP 1. NORTH AND SOUTH SHIELDS - DISTRIBUTION OF MOSLEM AND NEGRO POPULATION AND SOME OF THE INDUSTRIES IN WHICH NEGROES ARE EMPLOYED

Arabs, Somalis, & Pakistanis

- Well-represented among whites
- Scattered

West Africans & West Indians

- Approx. 30 per cent of population of the Square.
- Dispersed among whites.

Industries
- Shipbuilding & repairs
- Coal pits
ever, by describing dominant features of the groups, the terms are convenient for purposes of differentiating between them. The term 'coloured' is sometimes used only with reference to people of Negro origin, but on Tyneside, Moslems, as well as Negroes, speak of themselves as coloured. Coloured, as used in this thesis, will indicate non-whites, which include Moslems and Negroes.

The coloured grouping in North Shields numbers about one hundred and fifty persons, and has been settled in the town for three generations. The population is composed of Negro immigrants with their British wives and British born coloured children. The immigrants are of West African and West Indian origin and are composed of seamen, stowaways, ex-servicemen and members of the wartime British Honduran Forestry Unit. They may further be classified into two social age categories known as Old Timers - the early settlers, and New Comers - later arrivals. The population is distributed about equally over three sections of the town.

About three-fifths of the male population are employed as seamen. Most of the others are engaged in industries. The women and girls are employed in light industry and domestic service, and a few in nursing. The Colonial Seamen's hostel, recently closed, used to accommodate transient seamen. A voluntary association serves the welfare of the grouping.
The Moslem community with a population of about a thousand, is composed of male immigrants, mainly from Aden, Yemen, Somaliland and Pakistan, and includes their wives, mostly white, and their children. About sixty Moslem families constitute a core of settlement in which wholly white families are not found. The rest of the Moslem population are dispersed among whites in an area approximate to the core of settlement. Cafés and boarding houses provide recreational centres for the men, who meet daily for conversation or card games, while they drink cups of coffee, tea or milk. Two prayer rooms known as Zoaias are used for religious purposes. The most active voluntary associations are the Moslem League and the Allawaia Society. With the exception of some dozen boarding house and café proprietors and half as many Pakistani peddlars, the men are employed as seamen, and the girls in light industry.

These two groupings were chosen because they possess certain features suitable for a comparative study of race relations in Britain. They are similar in location, both occupying areas in adjoining towns; in occupation the men are principally seafarers; mixed marriages are common to both; and both groups have similar experiences of racial prejudice from the white society. They are different in the size and pattern of settlement and in religious and other /

1 Also spelt Allowaia.
other cultural affiliations.

Briefly, this study is an attempt to accomplish the following: First, to describe (a) the factors which influence the Moslem and Negro immigrants of heterogeneous ethnic origins in bringing them together into two distinct groupings, and (b) the social processes which affect intra-group relationship; secondly, to consider the forces which loosen the bonds holding together these minority groupings and which integrate their members into British society; thirdly, to compare the forms of relationship and processes of integration affecting the Moslem and the Negro groupings; and fourthly, to abstract wider generalizations concerning the nature of social integration, particularly with regard to British society. The underlying problem of this study is an examination of the social trends in ethnic grouping and the integration of coloured people into white British society.
PART ONE

CHAPTER I

METHOD

SOCIOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

In the study of human behaviour and relationships, the two main fields of scientific investigation involved are, on the one hand, the psychological and on the other the sociological and the anthropological. In a psychological investigation, emphasis is placed on the individual and his personality; in a sociological or an anthropological study, attention is paid to the structural and cultural aspects of human relationships. Increasingly, there is a tendency to combine all three methods of enquiry in studying human societies. Collaboration in these related fields should have fruitful results, for human behaviour is itself a unity and while for convenience certain fields may be isolated for scientific enquiry, these divisions can only be arbitrary ones. But it is not always practicable to use psychological techniques to aid sociological investigations.

The field of sociology is usually described as studies made in civilized societies, as contrasted with anthropology which is concerned primarily with preliterate communities. Whereas sociologists usually investigate one or more features of social life, anthropologists study communities as wholes. Their methods of investigation also differ in accordance with the nature /
nature of the 'field'. Participant observation and the interviewing of informants are the anthropologist's main techniques of enquiry. The sociologist, on the other hand, relies mainly on documents, reports and other records.

Each of the two types of societies lends itself more readily to the special kind of investigation used. The indigenous, primitive group is in most cases comparatively small and self-contained, and consequently may be more easily studied as a whole. It is possible to make personal contact with a large proportion of its members and their behaviour can be observed in most aspects of social life as preliterate peoples are not as secluded from day to day observation as are people in civilized societies.¹ On the other hand, preliterate communities are usually without documents or records for the sociological type of investigation. But in civilized societies, communities are large and complex in structure and are closely interrelated with other communities and societies. Consequently, the anthropological method of investigation alone is not adequate for accumulating data. But such deficiencies can be met from documentary records and other data usually available to fill gaps in the information collected. In this study an attempt has been made to apply both sociological and anthropological methods /

methods in gathering data.

The Comparative Method

The anthropological method is a comparative one. Adequate knowledge of the relationship of groups and categories of coloured people to each other and to British society can be scientifically acquired and validated by comparison. The method involves two basic ideas; firstly, examining in detail various forms of social structures in coloured groups, and their relationship to the community in which they are located; and secondly, submitting the results obtained for comparison with similar group studies. One of the objects of anthropological research, writes Professor Evans-Pritchard, is "a comparison of institutions as parts of social systems or in the relation they have to the whole life of the societies in which they are formed". To this Professor Raymond Firth adds that the essence of the comparative method in Social Anthropology is to compare items of behaviour in different major social units with the object of establishing types and seeing variants from them. "But", he continues, "if it can be argued that form is nothing but a specific form of relations, then it can be said that what the anthropologist compares are differences of relatival order." The wider the range /

1 Radcliffe-Brown and others insist that anthropology is in fact comparative sociology. See Audrey Richards, op. cit., p. 284.
range of comparison, the more complete and accurate will be the results.

No satisfactory method of comparison has been devised in the social sciences, but enough is known for use to be made of certain criteria to give a measure of comparison in certain aspects of social life. For instance, it is known that structures of a similar type in different societies differ less than several kinds of structure in a particular society. The similarity in type of structures in different societies is given by Warner as a basis for scientific comparisons. Nadel, using a similar method, has compared Nuba societies in terms of their economic and political institutions. Nadel's method, which follows Durkheim, is one of classifying social facts according to their similarities and differences. As described by Nadel, it is the analysis of social situations which share certain comparable features - modes of actions and relationships, and differ in others, or share their common features with some degree of difference. Therefore, any comparison involves two basic principles: firstly, a decision as to the criteria best suited for correlation; secondly, comparison /

2 Nadel, S. F., Nuba, uses the 'quasi-experimental' method, adopting J. S. Mill's formula of 'concomitant variations' as a method of inductive enquiry. This formula Durkheim considered to be a basic principle of social investigation.
3 Durkheim notes three propositions in this method. First, it presupposes the kind of correlation likely to prove relevant. Secondly, it postulates that situations are not made up of random items but of related facts. And thirdly, it implies judgments subject to general agreement on the identity and difference of social facts. The Rules of Sociological Method, ed. by G.E.G. Carlin, The Free Press, 1939, pp. 130-138.
comparison on the basis of similarities or differences in the criteria chosen. In this study, comparison is made primarily between the two Tyneside coloured groupings but more generally with respect to other coloured minorities in Britain and the U.S.A. We are concerned with the manner in, and the degree to which social integration is being achieved, and degree in this respect can only be measured in terms of more or less, with accommodation as one dimension of the process and assimilation as the most complete form of social integration. The criteria used for comparison will be the various forms of social relationships.

Theoretical Framework.

For the analysis and understanding of the data collected, three basic concepts have been found useful as a frame of reference. They are "accommodation" and "assimilation", which are conceived as two dimensions of the process of social "integration". The term is adequately defined by Professor Radcliffe-Brown in his statement that when he speaks of Social Integration he assumes that "the function of culture as a whole is to unite individual human beings into more or less stable social structures, that is stable systems of groups determining and regulating the relation of those individuals to one another, and providing such external adaptation, between the component individuals of groups, as to make possible an ordered social life".¹ Integration, therefore, involves a process which /

¹ 'The Present Position of Anthropological Studies' Presidential address. British Association for the Advancement of Science, Section H, 1931, p. 13.
which may be accelerated, impeded or arrested by various social factors. In the Shields situation racial and cultural factors alien to British society are affecting this process, and may bring about social conflict, accommodation or assimilation.

**Accommodation.** The concept of accommodation includes the related ideas of social adjustment and conflict. Adjustment has been defined in three ways - first, biologically, as a process of variation and selection called adaptation; secondly, as applied to psychological processes,¹ and thirdly, in a sociological sense. As here used, the term has a sociological implication. It is concerned with the fulfilment by the immigrant of certain roles and modes of behaviour which are considered as norms in his new society.

Group relationship is dynamic and not static. The dynamic nature of this relationship becomes more emphasised when racial, ethnic or cultural differences cause tension between the groups concerned.² Conflict and accommodation are related in the sense that the latter either grows out of the former or is the result of social adjustment between groups who otherwise might come into open conflict.³ When different cultures and races come into intimate

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¹ Dollard uses the term accommodation to denote the psychological process of adjustment by an individual. *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, Yale University Press, 1937.


intimate contact with one another conflicts may arise. The state of conflict is one in which the minority group is regarded as being a... and feels itself to be alienated from the society as a whole. Its members are deprived of participation in the privileges available to the members of the society. Social discrimination by the economically and politically dominant group may be exercised against the minority from whom various social amenities and economic opportunities may be barred. Full rights of citizenship may also be denied them.

But such conflicts are shortlived or intermittent. Some means of compromise, if only for a short period, are usually found. Accommodation refers to the means by which such differences are resolved. In this state, the minority continues to retain its separate identity and does not enjoy complete acceptance by other members of the society. There may in fact exist widespread prejudice of a mild character. But there is a compromise. The minority is tolerated as long as it does not encroach too far on the life of the society it enjoys a degree of protection by public opinion from extreme measures of deprivation in social, economic and public life. Nevertheless, accommodation does not represent complete integration because the minority will usually associate mainly with members of their own group, and will not as a rule participate in the institutional and other activities of the wider society.

Individual persons belonging to the minority will be able to achieve /
achieve a high degree of personal adjustment within the society so long as they keep within the bounds of the behaviour patterns prescribed for them by the rules of the accommodative situation.

Extreme forms of accommodation are found in the towns and cities of the United States of America and South Africa, where segregated Negroes are separated from whites. In these situations the Negroes may develop self-contained social structures, and in many cases, some of their own cultural patterns of living.¹ Accommodation provides a pattern of behaviour to which the two groups conform and in so doing minimises the conflict between the potentially antagonistic groups. Conflict though checked does not completely disappear. Complete integration does not necessarily follow from a state of accommodation. A too rigid state of accommodation may even retard the process of integration. Assimilation can only take place while there is contact and communication² in all phases of social life between members of the two groups.

Assimilation. Group conflict is not inevitable, nor is it impossible for members of a minority to achieve complete acceptance /


² Communication here denotes the process by which people enter into full understanding and essentially personal relations with each other. Barriers to communication between persons and groups may exist although there is contact between them. As Newcomb points out pure behavioural interaction may continue, although hostile attitudes may inhibit free communication. Newcomb, T.M., "Autistic Hostility and Social Reality," Human Relations, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 69-86.
acceptance into the society when contact is made between peoples of different race and culture. Some contacts are peaceful. Members intermarry, groups fuse and cultures blend. These processes are sometimes differentiated as assimilation and acculturation, though a distinction between the two is not always made. **Acculturation** as used by Herskovits\(^1\) and others refers to the process by which cultural elements are transferred from one group to another. He distinguishes acculturation from diffusion by limiting its use to those instances of transference that may be checked by historical facts. Some American sociologists, however, use the term in a different sense. Among them, the term is used to describe the ways in which persons or groups acquire new culture traits and incorporate them into their accustomed pattern of living.\(^2\) Following this line of analysis, other sociologists have used the term to designate the process of adjusting to another culture.\(^3\) Used in this last sense, acculturation is conceived by Park and Burgess\(^4\) as a phase of the process of assimilation; and for this study the concept of assimilation /

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\(^1\) Herskovits and other anthropologists have applied the term 'assimilation' to the process by which cultural synthesis is achieved, and 'acculturation' to the results of cultural contact. Herskovits, Melville J.: *Acculturation*, New York, 1938, pp. 14-15. See also similar use by E. Franklin Frazier in reference to American Negroes "assimilating the family mores of whites", E. Franklin Frazier: "The Negro Family in the United States", *American J. of Sociology*, Vol. LIII, No.6, p. 435.


assimilation will include the idea of acculturation.

A further distinction is sometimes made between the social and biological aspects of assimilation, biological crossing and intermarriage being referred to as amalgamation. As used in this study, intermarriage becomes a factor of assimilation only in so far as it has sociological significance in the process of social integration. Miscegenation and complete acceptance of the cultural heritage of the dominant group do not guarantee assimilation into it, if Park's contention that the Negro is not accepted into American life is accepted. The 'mixed blood' stands with the Negro. Assimilation as a social process implies two groups being gradually integrated into one. As defined by Park and Burgess

"Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusing in which persons and groups acquire the memories and sentiments of other persons or groups and by sharing their experience and history are incorporated with them into a common cultural life." Assimilation in its ultimate state would imply that the members of the minority are so completely incorporated into the society that they identify themselves completely with it and cease to be considered as an out-group.

**COLLECTION OF THE DATA.**

The data used in this study were collected from documentary sources /

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1 To make this distinction clear some scholars have prefixed the term with 'cultural'.

2 Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 510.

3 Robert Park contends that assimilation operates gradually and is not open to observation and measurement. "Assimilation, Social" *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. 
sources and by means of interviews and participant observation. 

**Documentary data**: The following are the documentary sources consulted and the information they provided:—

(a) Books, periodicals and pamphlets provided some of the data on the environment and economy of North and South Shields.

(b) Use was made of the two local daily papers – the *North Shields Evening News* and the *South Shields Gazette*, each of which between 1919 and 1951 recorded about ten and sixty reports respectively of events in the Negro and Moslem groupings. The main subjects covered by these reports were housing, employment, religious practices, legal offences, institutional and other types of gatherings, and race relations.

(c) I had access to Colonial Office Files from which confidential material was gathered, particularly on Colonial migration to Britain and on the immigrants' economic position in the United Kingdom. Some local government departments gave me reports or allowed me to make notes from documents on the coloured population.

(d) A few voluntary associations of the coloured population had records which were placed at my disposal. In addition, informants were sometimes asked to write accounts and autobiographies. Finally, questionnaires on household budgets were distributed.

**In the 'Field'.**

The information gathered from documentary sources has been used to supplement the data collected in the 'field'. Field work was /
was carried out during the summer and Easter vacations between April 1949 and August 1951, and altogether about fourteen months were spent in the two groupings. In addition to investigations made in North and South Shields, a brief survey lasting three weeks was carried out in the Liverpool coloured community and one of a shorter period in Hull.

Most of my data was obtained by living with the people and observing actual situations. A major aim of the researcher should be to minimise and ultimately remove from the consciousness of the group the 'awareness' of the presence of a 'stranger', so that, as Dollard has put it, they may "be their true selves".¹ To establish this rapport is a difficulty not easily overcome. In this respect the fact of my being coloured and a West Indian facilitated contact and interaction with members of the two groupings - and especially the Negro. Difficulties in overcoming cultural and 'clique' barriers within the 'Moslem' community had to be approached by other means. The white population constituted another category with whom I made several interviews. An attempt was made to adapt myself to the special approach necessary in contact, interview and participation with each of these three groups. Interviews were direct with local heads of Government departments, managerial staff of industries, and so on. But an informal /

¹ "The researcher learns by living and observing in the actual situation, by keeping away from emotional consolidation with the society, by fleeting empathy which is followed by reflection and distance... People might not tell him directly what he wants to know... what they will do is to illustrate it for him... and in the best case be their true selves before his eyes." Dollard, John, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New York, 1947, pp. 19-20.
informal approach was made where the 'Negro' and 'Moslem' groupings were concerned.

I did not experience difficulty in establishing relationship with the Negro population. In fact a cordial and sometimes eager reception was given to me. My initial contact was by introduction to a prominent coloured resident who gave me the addresses of coloured persons in Shields, whom he thought might be of immediate assistance to me. These persons represented a cross-section of the grouping consisting of West African and West Indian families, persons resident for a long time and those arriving recently, and so on. The Colonial Hostel for Seamen, which accommodated more than twenty young men, provided a fruitful field for the study of certain problems. The Warden, a West African, who fills an unofficial role as Welfare Officer for a large segment of the grouping, gave invaluable assistance in my investigation. Contacts with coloured persons were made ad hoc in the streets, along the 'Waterfront' and in public places. Contact between most coloured people in Britain offers little difficulty, especially where West Africans and West Indians are concerned. For instance, a coloured person passing another in the street expects to be greeted by a nod, or a smile, and may be offended if this is not done. During the first week, I completed a list of addresses of the 52 coloured homes in North Shields and at the end of a fortnight, the majority of these were visited.

The general purpose of my study was explained. I said that as a West Indian and a member of the University staff I was anxious to /
to learn about the problems facing 'my people' in the borough, and that later I intended to write a report. Identifying myself with them in this way, helped to overcome hindrances to participation which my status might otherwise have caused.

It was found necessary, however, to retain a certain degree of social distance while participating in the social life of the people, in order to retain my prestige among them. My status accorded to me certain privileges - and the confidence of some people - but I realised that these privileges could be exploited only so long as I retained my prestige among them. An informant once related how Mr. Jones asked him, "Who is that fellow I see going about the place here?" "That fellow," he replied, "See here, man, that gentleman is a university man!" In another instance in South Shields I obtained accommodation for a fortnight in the Colonial Hostel for Moslem Seamen, so as to make contact with Moslems living there. But after the scope of my contact had widened, it became evident that some persons tended to disapprove of the accommodation I was occupying. It was thought below my status, and a seaman asked me, "Is there so much colour prejudice here, sir, that a man like you has to stay in this place?" I explained that it was only a temporary arrangement, and I subsequently sought accommodation elsewhere.

The co-operation of the people in North Shields was satisfactory. I was often invited to visit their homes. Their eagerness to co-operate was prompted by various motives. Some expected to benefit from it. Some enquired "What would come out /
out of the survey?" and expressed the hope that I would "speak up for them", that "more and better jobs would be available to coloured men", and that in general "coloured people might get a better deal." Others were anxious to impress me with their social position, or to outline grievances against coloured rivals. But in general there was a 'prestige' motive. Coloured persons with some status visiting the group are welcomed to a number of homes since it adds prestige to the members of the household. It was taken as a slight if a family was omitted from my itinerary. Perhaps I was fortunate that in my preliminary survey an 'acceptable' relationship with a number of persons was established who got other families interested in my work. Wherever possible I rendered services to individuals, such as the writing of letters and the giving of a few presents.

But even in North Shields some difficulties were experienced. Suspicion of my prying into their affairs was not unknown, especially by those of whom rumours of socially disapproved activities were abroad. In a few instances my first visit was not welcome, and where important information had to be gathered from these persons, success came only after much planning, patience and persistence. This difficulty, for example, I experienced in seeking inside information on the gambling group.

The next development in my investigation was the selection of a small number of homes for intense observation and for establishing close /

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1 Little records similar experiences in his Cardiff survey. See op. cit., p. 32.
close relationship with informants. This selection was made only after a preliminary survey which afforded a general assessment of the reliability of suitable individuals for this purpose. In the preliminary survey I visited all the homes of coloured persons in North Shields, and knew most of its members personally. My best knowledge of the Moslem community at this stage was of the thirty-seven families living in the core of settlement, and a number of others outside, all of whom I had visited in addition to the cafés and boarding houses. The question of reliable informants remains a moot point, and the judgment of the researcher must be the final criterion. One check made was that of comparing the information given of an event by a number of informants and judging as the most reliable, the accounts which compared favourably. This test, for instance, was used in asking certain informants associated with the founding of their 'Mutual Aid Society' to give its history.

Where direct interviewing was carried out it was often done with small groups of people at a time. One such group, for instance, consisted of three persons. One young male informant used to invite one of his friends along with his wife to his home for the purpose of my interview. Relationship between members of the group was friendly, the members (with the exception of myself) having been acquainted with each other for a considerable time. The conversation was conducted informally. It was agreed to discuss certain specific subjects at greater length, but the trend of conversation often turned into other, though useful, channels /
channels. Arguments sometimes developed between the two men, which also served a useful purpose, bringing into the open certain facts that otherwise might not have been given. Individual interviews were also carried out, but a great deal of the material was obtained by indirect conversation or by observing overt behaviour.

Two techniques were found to be useful with regard to my participation in group activities. These I shall call 'intense' and 'relaxed' participation. By the first method, I took the initiative and led the conversation, punctuating it with direct questions. This method helped to focus attention on a specific topic and to provoke discussion, which I was able to guide. By the second method, I participated at first fully in the activity of the group, then gradually receded into the background so that others became less aware of my presence. "I almost forgot that you were here", might be remarked at this point. As an example of the use of this technique, I sometimes joined a group of domino players in a cafe. I did not take a 'hand' of my own but usually substituted for another person in a few games so that I could withdraw from the game at a suitable time. After giving up 'my hand' I usually remained for a time with the spectators and then gradually withdrew from the group to a point from which I was able to observe behaviour unimpeded by my close contact.

It was more difficult to participate in the activities of the Moslem community than in those of the Negro grouping. Difficulties arose /
arose in the first instance because of my different cultural background and because co-operation between West Africans and West Indians on the one hand, and Moslems on the other, does not exist in most spheres of life, due mainly to religious and other cultural differences. In the second instance, suspicion and rivalry between ethnic sub-groups and between social cliques placed restrictions on my contacts. Much caution and tact was required to avoid being associated with or appearing unduly sympathetic toward any one of these groups or cliques.

Another difficulty encountered was language. Arabic, Somalese and at least three Indo-Pakistani languages, besides patois, are spoken by representative groups in the community, and I am acquainted with none of these languages. I was not always able to follow the conversation in the cafés among persons of the same linguistic group. However, if I participated in the conversation, the group would resort to speaking English. Even then, the Shields Moslems' grasp of English was so poor that there was still difficulty in understanding what was said. Such difficulties did not occur in their homes, since the wife, by helping her husband in conversation, gave him confidence in speaking, and explained any inarticulate or clumsy terms which he might have used.

I visited most of the 39 homes in the core of settlement¹ and a number of others outside, as well as cafes and boarding houses and the Zoaia. After a preliminary survey I selected and concentrated my observation on a small number of families and café groups as /

¹ See page 166.
as I had done among the Negroes. These represented persons of
different national origin, status, residential area, etc.

My first contacts were made during my residence in the
Seamen's hostel, at that time occupied by Somalis only. English
lessons in reading and writing were being given by a tutor, and
I offered my services, following this up by giving extra teaching
lessons outside class hours. I played games of domino and had
some of my meals with the group. But as the residents in the
hostel represented only a segment of the community, it was
necessary to widen my circle of contact. This was done by
visits to the cafes and boarding houses and by a preliminary
survey of the 'nucleus' of settlement. In the homes, I
explained the purpose of my study to the housewives, who being
better able to understand the aim of my survey, were more
cooparative at this stage than their husbands. Later, my
relationships with the men improved.

The religious enquiries which I made, and my frequent visits
to the Zoaiia as an observer attracted the attention of some of
the men, some of whom tried to make me a convert to Islam.
Through this medium I established the strongest links with the
Moslem community.

I was not always above suspicion by certain individuals.
As one informant reported, "Mr. Jinna has been asking Mr. Amad
and myself what you want around here, and told us that we ought
to be careful lest you are here to spy on us. But I replied
that you are my friend and that there is nothing to fear."

The /
The study required additional data from sources outside the two groupings. Some of this information was obtained by direct interviewing of officials at local government and other departments such as Education, Medical and Health, Public and Unemployment Assistance, Labour, Housing, Probation, Police, Managers of Factories, and other industrial undertakings, etc. The general tendency of most persons in these official positions was to adopt a 'defensive' attitude to the investigator, although a few made no attempt to be 'guarded' in their remarks after I had explained the nature of my study.

The fact that I myself was coloured caused reticence on the part of some, in view of the nature of the problem I was investigating. My status was to some extent a counterbalancing factor, but other means had to be found to ease the situation. My main technique was to endeavour to get the persons so interested in the project that they would be willing to listen and discuss it. Relating some of my own experiences during the course of my survey usually aroused sufficient interest to start a discussion. At this stage, I usually found that informants were willing to give the information required. In general, managers and staff were co-operative, and offers were sometimes made to compile and forward to me such figures as I might find useful in my research.

Before /

1 Little comments on his experience in Cardiff. "The role of the caller as investigator of social conditions is known, and there is a corresponding tendency to 'resistance' on the part of the person interviewed. Often he is inclined either to give an answer which is 'required' or to act defensively in his own interest or that of his department." Little, op. cit., p. 32.
Before these interviews I usually asked how much time could be allowed me, and however absorbed my informant became in the interview, as soon as the allotted time ended, I indicated my intention to leave. I assumed that if the informant were willing to co-operate, he would encourage me to continue or invite me to return.

Finally, as stated previously, sociological studies of contemporary communities may be made with more reliability by using as sources of information the participant observation and interview techniques in conjunction with documentary evidence. This study has attempted to follow this course. The danger of being bias, especially in the study of race relations, has not been overlooked, but I have tried to view the situation as detached and objectively as possible.

\[1\] See Dollard, *op. cit.*, chapters 2 and 3.
CHAPTER II
THE COLOURED MIGRANTS AND THEIR TYNESIDE SETTING

The Native Background.

The coloured men who have settled in North and South Shields emigrated from three main geographical areas (See Map I). From the East have come Pakistanis, Somalis and Arabs; from the West Coast, Africans; and from the Caribbean lands, West Indians. These lands lie within the tropical and sub-tropical zones between longitude 26 N. and the Equator, and have throughout the year a comparatively high temperature, with a small annual range, and two annual seasons - a dry and a wet. Mean temperatures range between 64 F. and 100 F. at sea level, usually causing conditions of humidity.

Agriculture - primitive in some cases - is the basic economy in most of these areas. In others, such as Southern Arabia and Somaliland, pastoralism predominates.

In the social life of West Africans, Arabs and Somalis, kinship systems play a more important role in social relationships than they do in Western societies. Religion is a predominant cultural force in Pakistani, Arab and Somalese societies. Perhaps the most fluid social pattern existing in these societies may be found in the West Indies. This is so because the West Indies is the "melting pot" of a heterogeneous population composed of immigrants from Africa, Europe and Asia, and during the last three hundred years /

1 See Appendix A for fuller treatment of ENVIRONMENT.
MAP 2. IMMIGRANTS’ PLACES OF ORIGIN

EXPLANATION -

- Place of Origin
- Settlement

PLACE OF ORIGIN

COLOURED SETTLEMENTS IN N. & S. SHIELDS

MAP OF ORIGIN

WEST INDIES
W. Africa
BR. GUIANA
BR. ISLANDS
Tyneside
North Shields
South Shields
Gateshead
Newcastle
S. Shields
West Shields
Wallasey
Humber River

SCALE 1:90 M.
years, the social life of these colonies has changed from one of slavery to one basically of free peasantry.

West Indians have more in common with British culture than have the other immigrants. Their native language is English, and as Eric Williams points out the middle and upper classes are European in training and outlook.\(^1\) Consequently, the West Indians find adaptation to British life less difficult than do the other coloured immigrants. However, these immigrants are not always ignorant of some of the values of British society. The British colonial system as well as Christian missions have brought western civilization to her colonial possessions. Professor Fortes for instance pointed out in his Ashanti survey that they "having accepted our (British) civilization as the ideal to be aimed at in their own social evolution, now generally accept these criteria of worth".\(^2\) But at best the acquaintance with western culture does not equip the immigrant sufficiently to adjust himself readily to the social situation that he finds in Britain. And the process of adaptation in the case of these coloured immigrants may involve social conflict. Cultural factors such as religious ones may be a formidable barrier to assimilation but perhaps an even greater hindrance are the prejudices arising from racial differences.

The

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\(^1\) The Negros in the Caribbean, New York, 1942, p. 60

The immigrants comprise various ethnic, tribal and linguistic groups. Among the West Africans are found Krus, Mendes and Timnes from Sierra Leone; Ibos, Ibibos and Yorubas from Nigeria; and Akan and Ga speaking peoples of the Gold Coast. The West Indians are comprised of mixed racial types from the British colonies of the Caribbean area. The Arabs are Adenese and Yemenis. Pakistanis are mainly from the provinces of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind.

Migration.

These migrations to Britain may be classified into three types. The first consists of two large influxes caused by two world wars and comprise colonials serving in the forces as seamen and engaged in other forms of war work. The second constitutes a small but steady flow of seamen and stowaways between the two wars and since 1945. The third is a more recent type of immigrants and consists of large groups of West Indians paying their passage to Britain to seek employment (Table 1).

The primary reasons for these migrations are the response to war service or to economic pressure and a desire for social advancement. The main roots of these migratory movements, however, may be traced still deeper. In most cases these migrations are but a continuation and acceleration of social processes previously operating in the native societies themselves. For instance, the census for Jamaica - whose present population is only one and a third million - shows that in 1923 17,000 persons left the Island, while arrivals were only 12,000. Therefore, the net emigration that /
that year was 5000. The net emigration in the following year was 3000. Most of these went to work in Cuba and the U.S.A. During 1944 the net emigration had increased to 13,000. Most of these emigrants went as seasonal labourers to the U.S.A., but a small proportion came to Britain to join the services or to do war work. "Migration is a definite part of the social pattern of Jamaica", writes Crumper. "At least one working man in five has been accustomed to seek work either outside his own parish or outside the island." \(^1\) The Jamaican situation is typical of the West Indies. The flow of West Indian workers to the U.S.A. has almost ceased with the reduced U.S.A. quota for immigrants to that country. Consequently the flow has more recently turned towards Britain.

In West Africa, migration has more recently been directed towards the towns, the ports and to lands overseas. Fortes observes in Ashanti \(^2\) that there is a deficiency of men and women between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five in rural areas, the deficiency being more marked among men. The cause, he suggests, is due to migration from the villages to the mining areas, new cocoa areas and urban centres. In one village he found that about ninety-five per cent. of the village boys who passed through the local school had left the area because there was no demand locally for literate men. Similarly, Barbara Ward points out that in Togoland there was not only internal migration, but also inter-colonial movement and migration /

\(^1\) Crumper, George, *Social Structure of Jamaica*, Kingston, 1949, pp. 16, 17.

migration overseas. In one district with a population of 1,053 as many as 238 had migrated, five of these overseas.

Changes in the social life of these societies, due mainly to culture contact, are largely responsible for these migrations. In these changes, the economic factor is paramount. There are marked changes in West Africa, for instance, from a subsistence economy to one of greater dependence on overseas trade. In the West Indies there is an acute unemployment problem. These social changes, writes Fortes, have caused "expanding, almost insatiable wants, not only for material...but for non-material goods, broadcasts, for luxury and prestige conferring goods...amenities, entertainment, education, ideas and values produced wholly or partly overseas." These new wants have created driving forces for their satisfaction. Consequently, those who get the opportunity come to Britain where they believe that these goals will be achieved.

It should not be forgotten, too, that seafaring was the traditional occupation of many of the men who led this migration and formed the nuclei of these coloured groupings in Britain.

The


2 Fortes, M., op. cit., p. 7.

3 According to the census figures for Jamaica in 1943 the percentage of unemployment was as high as 25.6 per cent. The 1946 census for the other West Indian colonies showed a range of from 2.5 per cent. unemployment in British Guiana to nearly 10 per cent. in St. Lucia. See Crumper, op. cit., p. 39, also Rance, Sir H., Development and Welfare in the West Indies, 1947-9. H.M.S.O., London, 1950.

4 Fortes, M., op. cit., p. 7.
The Kru of the West Coast have from early times manned the boats plying Guinea waters and were the first African crew to be employed on British ships.\(^1\) The Arabs, though they could not be called a sea-faring people, nevertheless, have from early times traded with Mediterranean ports, with China, Malay, and the east coast of Africa. Aden was then described as the gateway of China.\(^2\) As a result of these voyages the Arabs established colonies from Bombay to Zanzibar.\(^3\) Today, the picturesque Arab native craft (dhaus) still trade as far away as India and Africa.\(^4\) Changes in world events have resulted in closer links being established between east and west, and have consequently diverted small streams of migrations westwards. Britain's acquisition of Aden has established a direct link with that colony and connected her indirectly with Yemen which uses Aden as one of her main outlets for trade and emigration. A section of Somaliland is a British Protectorate and Britain's links with the dominions of India and Pakistan are well known. These links with outposts of the Commonwealth and Empire have directed to British ports the coloured immigrants who have made their homes in the United Kingdom.

The migrants comprise six main categories, seamen, ex-servicemen, technicians, members of the ex-forestry unit, post-war immigrants /

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immigrants - mostly West Indians - and stowaways.

The Seamen.

The seamen were the first to settle. About the beginning of the present century, British and foreign boats visiting Colonial ports began to employ coloured seamen as stokers to supplement white crew, especially in the event of illness or absenteeism. On arriving in British ports, some of the coloured men were often discharged. The coloured men often preferred to remain in Britain since they found more opportunities of obtaining employment on other boats in Britain than they would by returning home. Eventually, small coloured groups began to form in a number of the larger ports - the size of these groups increasing with the demand for coloured seamen made by two World Wars.

Ex-Servicemen.

From the West Indies came young men to serve in the Royal Air Force during the last war. At the end of the war a number chose to remain in Britain while some of those who had left for the homeland returned later to take up residence in the United Kingdom. They are dispersed in various towns and cities of the British Isles.

West Indian Technicians.

Between 1941 and 1943 eleven contingents of West Indian technicians arrived in Britain to work in factories. The first three contingents of 188 consisted of skilled Jamaican workers. 157 others came later in eight contingents, comprising skilled and semi-skilled men from Jamaica, British Honduras, British Guiana, Barbados /
Barbados, the Leeward and Windward Islands. The majority went to Liverpool, though later a number went to other industrial towns, notably Bolton and Birmingham. At the end of the war, a large proportion of them decided to remain in Britain. Only a few of these have drifted to Tyneside.

**Forestry Unit from British Honduras.**

The British Honduras Forestry Unit consisted of two contingents of approximately 500 and 400 men each, who were brought to England in August 1941 and November 1942 for war work in Scotland. The men were placed in three camps in the south and four in the north of Scotland.

On arrival a small number of them left the unit and went into various other occupations. When the unit was dissolved in 1944, about 250 men who chose to remain in Britain were provided with work. About half of these received employment in the Tyneside area - a number of them with the North-Eastern Railway and the rest in industrial employment. Sixteen or more British Hondurians at present reside in Shields.

**Post-War Immigrants.**

Since 1947 various groups of West Indian immigrants have paid their fares to Britain to seek employment. Up to the end of August 1951 nine large contingents had arrived, totalling approximately 1764 immigrants (See Table I). By far the largest number are /

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1 Anthony Richmond has made a study of the adjustment of these technicians to the industrial group. See "West Indian Negro Workers in England", *Occupational Psychology*, July, 1951, Vol. XXV, No. 3.
2 Data gathered from Colonial Office Files.
3 Information gathered from Colonial Office Files.
**TABLE I**

**IMMIGRANT WORKERS FROM THE WEST INDIES TO BRITAIN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Depart</th>
<th>Arrive</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>June 1948</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24. 9.48</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>28.11.46</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indies</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13. 6.49</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>17.11.49</td>
<td>8.12.49</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indies</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9.11.50</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>90*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indies</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29.12.50</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>80*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2. 8.51</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indies</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2. 8.51</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1764*  

* Approximate number only. As far as could be ascertained these figures approximate the number of immigrants included among the passengers on the boats.

1 Table compiled from Colonial Office Files.
are from Jamaica. The first group consisted largely of men who had served in the Royal Air Force during the war. The main cause of this migration is economic, there being little prospect of permanent employment in the Colonies from which they came. They represent various professions and trades and have spread more widely over the country than seamen or stowaways.

Few of these are at present resident in Tyneside but with the constant increase in the number of immigrants arriving there, it is probable that more may drift to this area. A much larger number of post-war immigrants residing in Shields are the Somali and West African ex-servicemen who came to Britain soon after the 1939-45 war in response to the need for labour. There has not been a continual flow of these men, however. From North Shields five West Africans of this group subsequently joined the Royal Air Force.

The Stowaways.

The number of stowaways arriving in Britain from the Colonies and Protectorates between January and December 1949 were 363. The total number of stowaways which would include Indians, Pakistanis, etc., averaged about 500 per year.¹ 408 Colonials arrived in 1950, of whom 107 were refused landing permits because they failed to give proof of their nationality. From Jamaica came the largest number, being 175. At the request of the Colonial Office, port restrictions in the Colonies were tightened, which resulted in a decrease in the number of stowaways for the third/

¹ Note of Meeting held at the Home Office on 18.2.49, Colonial Office Files.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>No. of Stowaways Leaving Foreign Ports</th>
<th>No. Arrived in U.K.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West Africa</td>
<td>West Indies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jany. to June 1949</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July to Dec. 1949</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figures in brackets indicate stowaways without identification papers, who were not allowed to land in Britain. Table compiled from Colonial Office Files.
third and fourth quarters of 1950 - and further decreases during the first quarter of 1951 (Table 2).

The increase in the number of stowaways is a result of unemployment in the Colonies and the attraction of work in Britain, or a man's desire to improve his social and educational status by "working his way", or a man's desire for adventure in a land about which fabulous pictures are painted by seamen and by some persons from Britain resident in the Colonies.

Arriving at a British port the stowaway, if he is able to prove that he is a British subject or British protected person, has a legal right to land and remain in the United Kingdom. The stowaway can be prosecuted under Section 237 of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894 and is punishable by fine or imprisonment for not more than four weeks. Some stowaways arrive without documents to prove their national status and identity and are therefore refused landing permits. Prior to 1942 such persons would not have been allowed to land without a passport or some other valid document. These orders affected coloured seamen and stowaways alike, but during the war, to facilitate the large numbers of coloured seamen serving in the Merchant Navy, strong representation was made to the Colonial Office, and the Home Office agreed to amend the instructions to Immigration Officers; since then, that is 1942, persons arriving in Britain as passengers or stowaways who claim to be British or British protected persons have been allowed to land even if they are without documents.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Meeting held at Home Office, 18.2.49, Colonial Office Files.
To check the increase of stowaways, Colonial Governors were circularized\(^1\) to take steps to tighten restrictions at the ports. In Jamaica for example, small boats were prohibited lying alongside larger vessels, and certain avenues and lanes leading to the port area in Kingston were closed and a general re-organization of the port area was made. As a result of these restrictions the number of stowaways decreased, as figures in the table show. But there were difficulties encountered in making these restrictions effective in some ports. In West Africa for instance,\(^2\) the Government report showed that the ships did not dock in regular quays but were anchored offshore, where large numbers of men including crew boys and stevedores had to have access to the ship. The report added, "their ingenuity in assisting stowaways was quite surprising". It is seen therefore that the stowaways are often assisted in their plans to conceal themselves in the vessel although precautionary measures are taken. Stowaways finding difficulties in getting away from one port may migrate to another Colonial port where restrictions are not as stringent. Thus for the first quarter of 1951, of the 13 Nigerian stowaways 9 left from the Gold Coast port of Takoradi, 1 from French Dakar, and only 3 from Lagos.

Many stowaways come to Shields. In 1949 of 23 coloured men resident in the seamen's hostel in North Shields, fifteen were stowaways; and there were others resident in private homes.

\(^{1}\) Report on Colonial People in the U.K., 20.8.49, Colonial Office Files.
\(^{2}\) Ibid., 10.3.50.
In Shields, there are to be found a maximum number of seamen and a minimum of the remaining categories combined. But in recent years the number of stowaways arriving in Shields has increased considerably. The immigrants compose two other categories in the groupings— one consisting of stable, permanent residents, the other being an unstable, 'floating' population who move from one British port to another, in search of employment, or as transient seamen.

**THE TYNESIDE SETTING.**

Arriving in Shields, the immigrant finds not only a different type of physical setting but also a new type of economic, social and cultural life to which he must adjust his own.

One of the marked regional differences he experiences is the climatic change, which affects his manner of dress, conditions of work, and in some instances his health. As is shown in Figure 1, the average temperature for the coldest winter month on Tyneside is 37°F., and for the warmest summer month 60°F. In contrast, the average temperature for similar months in the countries of their former residence is 65°F. in winter and 98°F. in summer.¹ The immigrant finds it necessary to substitute warm clothing for cool ones worn in the tropics. Economically he is affected, since certain types of work subject to exposure to the weather are not found suitable to his health. Again, the high rate of pulmonary tuberculosis and other bronchial diseases found in /

¹ See Appendix A.
CLIMATIC GRAPH showing comparison between the average Annual Temperatures: Tyneside and the Immigrants' lands of origin.

FIG. 1.
8. Shields, Tyneside.
in the Moslem community may be partly due to the change from one climate to another. Clarence Mills, Professor of Experimental Medicine at the University of Cincinnati, pointed out "the dangers people encounter in changing suddenly from a warm climate to the stormy cold of northern winters. It is quite common for acute respiratory infections - colds, sinusitis, bronchitis or pneumonia - to attack persons who come North after having become adapted to tropical warmth."1

Economically, the immigrants not employed as seamen must make new adaptations to a new economical structure. From a simple agricultural or pastoral economy to which most are accustomed, the immigrants enter an industrialised economy. The building and repairing of ships, the manufacture of engineering and chemical goods, and the mining and export of coal are the basic industries of Tyneside.2 Some light industries have recently been started to complement the heavy industries and as a check to the cycles of economic depression experienced in Tyneside between the two world wars.3 Most of the Shields coloured men are employed as seamen on the colliers exporting coal from the North East. A few are engaged in coal mining, and the others in the ship-building and engineering industries. The light industries absorb the coloured female labour.

Between /

1 Climate makes the Man, London, 1944, p. 72.
3 The Northern Region: North-East Development Association, Publication No. 2, 1946, p. 9; also Appendix A.
Between 1945 and 1950, North and South Shields were represented in parliament by Labour members. The present member for North Shields is a Conservative. The coloured population in Shields express the belief, that a Socialist government is favourably disposed to their social and economic welfare. From time to time, notably in cases of racial discrimination, representations are made to their member of parliament, particularly to Mr. Chuter Ede, the former Home Secretary. For instance, he was asked to act against the proprietor of a dance hall who had refused to admit two coloured persons, and to intervene on behalf of unemployed coloured men. Representations of a similar kind are made to the Mayors or Councillors administering North and South Shields. The Town Councils sometimes make policies which have direct effect upon the coloured population. The housing policies are notable examples. In South Shields, the Council allotted houses to the Moslem population in an area separate from the white living quarters, while in North Shields the opposite policy was followed, in which Negro households were dispersed among whites.

The recreational life of the towns is centred largely around cinemas and public houses. There are also dance halls and clubs, and variety shows and performances by dramatic groups are among other forms of entertainment. Football games, greyhound and horse racing attract large crowds of people. The immigrant Negro population and most Anglo-coloureds of Negro as well as Moslem groupings participate with whites in these recreational activities.

Protestant /
Protestant and Catholic churches serve the religious wants of the population, although the memberships of these churches constitute only a small proportion of the total population and their rituals are poorly attended. Very few Negro families are associated with these denominations, and most of those who are, are members of a Catholic church.

Social services, such as those providing for education and health, are shared by white and coloured in the same schools or clinics and hospitals.

Finally, the immigrants enter a society in which, in most cases, they find a new type of social stratification. In Shields, the white population may be considered in terms of three categories\(^1\) - to be thought of merely as arbitrary social divisions, determined mainly by economic, educational and traditional factors. In the largest group may be included manual workers - skilled and unskilled as well as those engaged in various services. This category, sometimes referred to as Lower Class, is in most frequent contact with the Shields coloured population. The coloured and Lower Class white compete for employment and for living accommodation, and the two participate in the use of public utilities and recreational facilities. And whenever overt racial conflict occurs, the two are involved. The white wives of coloured men are with few exceptions from this category. The coloured population with /

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with few exceptions may be placed in this Lower Class category.

The next category would include most professional and business men and clerical workers. In most cases these occupy distinct residential areas though this tendency has become less marked due to national control and distribution of new houses. These persons are of the Middle Class, and have fewer contacts with the coloured population, than white persons of the Lower Class. There is social distance between the coloured population and the Middle Class and social relationships between them are not strained. In fact the coloured show higher regard for Middle Class than for Lower Class whites. "All our trouble is with the ordinary people" (meaning the Lower Class), complained a coloured man. "We prefer to deal with the better class people" (meaning the Middle and Upper). In North Shields white men of the Middle Class serve on committees of the Coloured People's Voluntary Associations.

An Upper Class includes merchants, shipowners, and industrialists, and some professional men. The social distance between Upper Class and coloured is considerable.
PART TWO

THE NEGRO GROUPING

NORTH SHIELDS
PART TWO - THE NEGRO GROUPING.

CHAPTER III.

NORTH SHIELDS - THE URBAN SETTING AND THE NEGRO SETTLEMENT.

North Shields forms part of the town and borough of Tynemouth, and owes its early development to the enterprise of the Priors of Tynemouth. The coat of arms is suggestive of its economic life. It bears a shield with three crowns, a ship as a crest, a miner and sailor as supporters, and underneath the motto, 'Harvest from the deep'. The history of the town, like that of South Shields, is one of economic rivalry and competition with Newcastle, which tried to hinder its development. Despite this handicap, the settlement grew from a few fishermen's huts to the present township with a population of over 42,000.¹

Settlement started on the narrow river terrace (Map 3), near the site of the present Engineering Company, with the high river bank on the north and the river on the south. By the end of the thirteenth century, the settlement had grown into a thriving township of more than a hundred thousand houses, mills and ovens and a well-established coal trade.

From 1700 to 1850 the harbour and river increased their importance. They were reported to be crowded with ships of many nationalities. Dutch luggers, French coasters and Scandinavian timber boats, anchored alongside Shields and Whitby colliers. Already the sailors had given /

¹ Compiled largely from: Tynemouth, 1849-1949, J.H.
The spread of the Negro settlement in relation to the age of sections of the town

MAP 3.

URBAN GROWTH

Before 1773
1773-1849
1849-1919
1919-1939

Extension of COLOURED SETTLEMENT

Before 1914
1914-1919
1919-1933
1933 and later
given to the town a cosmopolitan atmosphere, with Greenlanders, Prussians, Swedes, Norwegians and Dutch mixing with the townspeople.  

During the second half of the eighteenth century, the town extended from the narrow river terrace up the steep slope of the bank and on to the top of it. Toll Square and Dockwray Square, now occupied by a number of coloured families, were constructed about this time. This was the situation up to 1773.

By the close of the second half of the nineteenth century, the east end of the town was built up above the bank slope and round the bottom of Churchway. From then until the Town Planning Act of 1909, there was no change in layout. Expansion was on the piecemeal 'gridiron' system, and until 1921 there was little relaxation in congestion. The census of that year showed 3,300 families living in overcrowded conditions with more than two to a room. But in the same year, the first Council houses were occupied and the gridiron pattern was improved with the introduction of trees, gardens, open spaces, etc.

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1 Moore Ltd., Newcastle-on-Tyne 1949; Mess, Henry, Industrial Tyneside, 1928; The Northern Region, Nos.2 and 3; Health Reports, Tynemouth 1925-50; Caesar in Daysh op. cit.

2 Tynemouth, op. cit., p. 23.
The first result of the 1932 Planning Act was the laying out of the Ridges Estate for a new suburb, designed on three semi-circular nuclei with open spaces, gardens, schools and shops. Other suburbs such as the Chirton and Marden Estates were constructed about the same time. In conjunction with this building project went the demolition of old domestic buildings along the waterfront, to make room for wider quayway and for industrial expansion. The clearance affected the coloured population, most of whom had settled in this area of the waterfront. But provision was made for them by the Municipal Authorities to be housed in a new suburb on the Ridges Estate.

**THE NEGRO SETTLEMENT**

No record exists of the approximate date of the settlement. Official records do not have entries for coloured persons separate from whites if they are British subjects as these are. Consequently, no accurate account of the growth of the coloured population is available, but an estimate of its size, which showed about one hundred and fifty persons including white wives of coloured men, was made from a census which I took in 1949.

The population is composed of three generations. First, there are the earliest coloured settlers who are called 'Old-Timers'. No Old Timer has lived in Shields for more than fifty years. Secondly, there are the children of the Old Timers and English women. These 'hybrids', /
'hybrids', whom I shall call 'Anglo-coloured' \(^1\) constitute the second and third generations. With the second generation may be included coloured immigrants arriving during and after the last war. Locally, these later immigrants are known as 'New Comers'. And lastly, the third generation consists of the children of Anglo-coloured or of New Comers and whites.

The coloured population has not had a steady growth and would seem to have been settled for about fifty years. A written account by a West Indian resident in the town for more than thirty years gives an indication of the trend in the growth of the coloured population. It reads:

"Up to the latter part of 1914 you could count all the coloured people resident in Tyneside on the tip of your fingers, and I think it is safe to say all followed the sea for their living. Until about 1916 it was common to see coloured and white sailors and firemen sailing from the Tyne in the same British ships. That came to an end with the 1914-18 war.

"From 1914-18 the coloured immigrants to the Tyne increased about four-fold: (Owing to the economic depression following that war) quite a lot of coloured men returned to their native countries between 1919 and 1938, but with young fellows coming to this country, the number of coloured men living on Tyneside has remained quite steady."

There have been irregular periods of immigration at various times. The largest influxes occurred during and immediately after /

\(^1\) In this thesis the term 'Anglo-coloured' will be used to mean children of white and coloured parents. The term 'coloured' refers to Moslems and Negroes.
About thirty-seven others are likewise dispersed in two older sections of the town - in Dockwray Square and in an area approximate to it. The Negro population is scattered in North Shields and although they share certain common experiences, relationships among the coloured people are not strongly organized, and most of their values and norms are not different from those of the white population. For these reasons the grouping will not be called a community.

HOUSING.

Of the fifty-two homes in North Shields twelve are occupied by single men, and eighteen by two persons each. Families of three are found in 11 homes, and 3 families of four, and 3 of five persons occupied six houses. One house has a family of six, one of seven and another of eight persons.

Negro families also occupy fourteen comparatively new semi-detached houses in the Ridges Estate. Each of these houses has four or five rooms, and toilet, bathroom, kitchen and scullery. About ten one-room flats situated in the Dockwray Square area are occupied mainly by sub-tenants. With the exception of the Seamen's Hostel, the remaining houses are two-room flats.

In /

1 Census taken in 1949. See Appendix B.

2 See Appendix B.
In Map 3 the distribution of the population is shown according to three Housing Areas. Area I is the less desirable section of the town. Buildings are in need of repairs and some apartments are overcrowded. In this area four families of 3 and one of 4 persons were occupying one-room each. But similar conditions of overcrowding were not found in the other two areas. Provision was made for accommodation of the 'floating' population of young seamen and stowaways in the establishment of a Colonial Seamen's Hostel which accommodated above twenty men. Forty-two houses were occupied by tenants responsible to the landlord. Other occupants were sub-tenants who rented apartments from the tenant-in-charge.

The houses at present occupied by coloured families are situated in three sections of the town (Map 3). The first is Dockwray Square, the second is located in a section which will be called Old North Shields, and the Ridges Estate comprises the third.

Area I is the 'nucleus' of the coloured settlement and its residents with the exception of the tenants-in-charge are placed by the coloured and white population in a somewhat low social status. It accommodates a mixed category of tenants. Here are to be found the gambling /

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1 The Colonial Seamen's Hostel has since been closed.
FIG. 2.  

DOCKWRAY SQUARE

Note poor condition of houses.

(a) Open space.  
(b) West Indian.  
(c) West African & wife.  
(d) Coloured children belonging to two families.
FIG. 3  DOCKWRAY SQUARE.
Tea Time. A room occupied by an African and his family.
Gambling groups, most common-law couples, and apartments reputed as used for illicit sexual purposes. In this area, too, the newly arrived seamen and stowaways may easily find accommodation. The area is not a segregated one, although the coloured population is densest here, comprising about one-third of the population resident in the Square.

Dockwray Square was the second area in North Shields to be settled by a large group of coloured seamen, the first being along the river front, the houses of which have since been demolished. The buildings in Dockwray have an imposing Georgian architectural front, opening on to a large open space overlooking the port. The Municipal Planning Department has adopted a scheme for repair and restoration. At present many of the flats are in need of repairs and sanitary conveniences are very poor. A few typical examples of the rooming facilities and the families which occupy them may help to complete the picture of conditions found here.

(a) Occupying an attic room in Dockwray Square is a West African, with his young pregnant wife. He is an ex-serviceman and is unemployed. The room is untidy, inadequately furnished and its leaking roof and broken window panes, patched with cardboard indicates its dilapidated condition. The furnishings were a double bed, dining table and three chairs, broken in parts or the worse for wear. Walls were bare, smudged and paper stripped in places. "What are /

1 The number of stowaways and newly arrived seamen living in this area has increased with the closing of the Colonial Hostel.
are your plans?" I asked. "To get a job and get away from here (Dockwray Square) as quickly as I can" replied the husband.

This example is typical of the housing conditions of most unemployed families in this area. The next is the case of a habitual gambler who has ceased to follow a regular form of employment.

(b) Frank is a West Indian of 32 years of age, who came to Britain in the Forestry Unit. He is an engineer who left his employment a year previously because of ill-health, and has not since been able to get another job to his liking. He has rented a flat which he sub-lets, retaining two rooms for himself, which he shares with another West Indian. The drawing-room furniture includes a valuable sideboard, a few chairs and two tables - all belonging to his common-law wife, now deceased. The room which is in need of repairs and decoration is very dirty. The place is also used by a gambling group so organised that from its revenue Frank is able to supplement his weekly allowance from the Assistance Board. He has spent much of his income on the football pools from which he hopes to win a fortune and return to the West Indies to his wife and children - but not before. Frank is satisfied with Dockwray Square and has no ambitions to leave.

(c) We should place in another category, tenants who live in Dockwray Square because of temporary illness, unemployment or inability to find a flat elsewhere. Judging from the manner in which their homes are kept, and their attitude towards the less reputable element of this area, as well as the esteem they enjoy from the grouping, these householders should be socially rated above those of the type latterly described.
(d) An exceptional household was one in which the tenant-in-charge and his wife occupied two rooms. The sitting-room was elaborately furnished with a drawing-room suite, carpets, piano, radiogram, and decorated with pictures and photographs on walls newly papered. Husband and wife were both employed, the wife being from a middle-class family. Usually the flat occupied by the tenant-in-charge is of this type.

Types (a) and (b) are typical of the area, while type (c) is represented by a smaller number of cases. Type (d) is exemplified by two or three cases.

Other types of occupants include single seamen who prefer to rent a room and attend to their own domestic needs rather than to be boarded out as a lodger. The room is used during his brief stay in port, and in his absence is closed and the key left in the keeping of the landlord or tenant-in-charge.

Area II. The coloured population living in Old North Shields is dispersed over a wide area, and the houses are in a better condition than those in Dockwray Square and most tenants occupy two or three rooms. But the flats are without bathrooms, and toilets are in the back yard. (See Fig. ). In this area there were one family of four persons, six of three, eleven houses were occupied by families of two persons, and eight others had single persons. There was no overcrowding.

Two households typical of contrasting types found in this area were the following:

A /
FIG. 4. THE RIDGES. Semi-detached houses with interior views.
FIG. 5.

THE RIDGES

(a) African, his Anglo-Coloured wife, and two sons, with two friends. (b) Three white and two coloured boys playing in the back garden at the home of the coloured boys. (c) Two coloured and two white boys on their way to the cinema.
A disabled seaman and wife occupied two rooms - sitting-room and bedroom with kitchen attached. The home is clean and furnishings are adequate and well-kept. In the bedroom there is a bed, dressing-table, and wardrobe. The dining-sitting room has a dining table with four chairs and a drawing room suite - not new, but in good condition. A side table has ornaments, books and papers and there is a radio. Walls are decorated with photographs of the family, relatives and friends as well as a few religious pictures - the family being Roman Catholics.

In another family, the husband lives with his wife and son of nine years, in a two-room flat. Tables and chairs are dirty and scratched. Plates, dishes and garments lying about and dust found everywhere adds to the depressing atmosphere of the apartment.

But in this section there was a considerable narrowing in the range of household types in contrast with that found in Dockwray Square. With the exception of the hostel which is in this area, households comprise mostly married families. Socially this area is more highly rated than is Dockwray Square. Houses cost more and are more difficult to obtain, especially by coloured families.

Area III. In the suburb known as the Ridges Estate, the Municipal Corporation has settled a number of coloured families. The houses constructed during the nineteen thirties are semi-detached two-storey buildings of four or five rooms each, with kitchen, toilet and bathroom, scullery and built-in cupboards, and front and back gardens. These houses are adequately furnished and with a few exceptions are occupied by Old-Timers, some of whom were transferred from demolished flats along the waterfront, and dispersed among white families here.

A common standard in furnishing and decoration is found in /
in these homes. Some families compete in exhibiting the best furnished house. The rooms are usually furnished with utility furniture and decorated with photographs, pictures and porcelain objects, being arranged with greater sophistication than in the two areas previously described.

The social atmosphere of the Ridges is in contrast to the other two areas described. Here Old-Timers, long established in Shields and better adjusted to British life than the New Comers retain their status quo by observing those norms of behaviour which will bring credit to the coloured people, and by dis-associating themselves from the aggressive behaviour of New Comers, most of whom occupy Dockwray Square. Here, too, some Anglo-coloureds qualify themselves for occupations which raise the social status and esteem of parents and children alike. It may be added that a few coloured families are occupying houses in a more expensive housing area outside the Ridges.

When it is remembered that there is a general housing shortage in Britain, the Shields' coloured population are not in a worse position for housing accommodation than the rest of the population. Though the policies adopted by the Municipal Corporation towards the coloured population in North and South Shields differ from one another, coloured families have been given their share of housing accommodation. In North Shields new houses are allotted among whites in the new suburb known as the Ridges. In South Shields, a group of /
of houses was constructed specifically for the Moslem population which are separated from whites. In fact, the housing situation for coloured is less acute in Shields than in most other towns in Britain, and husbands are known to refuse jobs in towns paying higher wages than in Shields because of the difficulties in obtaining flats in these towns.

Despite the favourable housing situation in Shields, coloured persons have at times experienced discrimination in acquiring a house. Landlords may refuse to rent flats or white tenants may threaten to leave if coloured persons are allowed to rent rooms in the same house. White families are known to protest against coloured families occupying houses in the same area, as was the case in the Ridges estate, where representation was made to the Municipal authorities. But their protest was not upheld.

It should not be inferred that in Shields whites always protest against coloured persons living as their neighbours or in the same house. In some cases no prejudice is shown. And a coloured man who acquires a house for sub-letting sometimes rents rooms to white families as well as to coloured.

An important feature of the Negro settlement is the dispersed character of the coloured families. And a notable example of the adaptation possible in such a pattern is the situation found among the coloured population settled in the Ridges. After initial protest by some whites to the settlement of the coloured families there, the two peoples settled down to normal living and cordial relationships /
relationships were established between some families. The indications are that the dispersion of a small proportion of coloured families has favourably influenced cooperation and racial adjustment.

The three areas of Negro settlement show correlation with the economic, cultural, and social conditions of the coloured population. Dockwray Square accommodates a mixed category of people consisting of newly-arrived immigrants, the unemployed, persons of 'questionable' activities, and so on. Area II is occupied by persons with higher social status and esteem. There is a continual migration from Dockwray Square to this area. In the Ridges are the families who are best adjusted to British society, and who occupy the highest social and economic position among the coloured population. Most of the heads of families are Old-Timers although some New-Comers have also obtained houses here.

The attraction of these natural areas for the type of persons of ethnic groups whose economic and cultural character is best suited to them has its parallel in the situation of minority groups in the cities of the United States of America, as American sociologists have pointed out. Burgess, for instance, detects a tendency towards zoning of which he found five in Chicago.\(^1\) Zorbaugh,\(^2\) Drake, Cayton,\(^3\) and Wirth\(^4\)

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made similar observations. Each successive wave of immigrants is seen to adapt itself to that section of the city destined for it by economic and social conditions. Each area of the city is better suited for one function than for another. Each natural area attracts the type of population whose economic status and cultural character is best suited to it. Zoning is determined not only by the successive waves of immigrants of similar racial and ethnic type. Wirth points out that in the Ghetto, the zones of settlement also correspond to the various generations of immigrants. Those who came earliest and their offspring are furthest removed from the original Ghetto, spatially as well as culturally, and have advanced furthest in the process of assimilation. In this pattern, there is observed a relationship between spatial distribution of population and the cultural and structural pattern of group integration.

Although in North Shields the ecology of the coloured population could not be interpreted in terms of zones, yet the trend and pattern of adaptation (Map 3) show similar tendencies.
CHAPTER IV
THE FAMILY

The family is important to this study not only because it is the basic social unit in the grouping, but also because it provides a means of understanding social relationships in both intra-group and inter-group relations. It is the family which creates the basic conditions for cultural adjustment between the immigrant coloured husband and his white British wife. The children are obliged to select from their parents cultural elements which affect their behaviour. From the intercourse between coloured families, may be judged the trend in group formation; and the relationship between members of coloured and white families may indicate the degree to which the two peoples are being assimilated.

The wives or consorts of most coloured men in the North and South Shields groupings are white, the rest being Anglo-coloured. Mixed marriages occur from four main causes. First, premarital pregnancy may cause a hasty marriage. Secondly, women alleged to live illicit sexual lives may constrain coloured men to marry them. Thirdly, a girl with an illegitimate child by a white or coloured man and deserted by either and forsaken by her parents, may find acceptance and security by marrying a Negro. And fourthly, mutual affection may bring the couple together.

Contacts with white women are made principally in centres of recreation, such as public houses or dance halls in the case of Negroes, or in cafes in the case of Moslems. But a meeting may take /
take place at the home of relatives or friends. Since the Negroes spend much of their leisure time visiting the homes of each other, contacts may easily be made with a visiting sister or friend of the wife. It is remarkable the number of cases there are in which two or three, or even four sisters are married to coloured men. These contacts are not always coincidental, they may be planned, as in the case of the Moslem bachelor whose friends arranged for him an introduction to a girl from a Midland town. He subsequently married her.

Two types of relationship exist between men and women living together in the Negro group. The first is the union validated by legal British marriage; the second, which is not validated, is known as Common-law-marriage in the West Indies. Common-law-marriage may be defined as the relationship between two persons living as man and wife but not legally married. In the West Indies this form of union is prevalent among the lower class Negroes, and as suggested by Henriques and others has its roots in slavery in which family life was disorganised. Another reason suggested by Henriques for its continuance in the West Indies is the fear that the woman may change her behaviour towards the man after she is married. A similar attitude is taken by some of the Shields men. As one of them remarked, "They are all right now but after you marry them, they are different". Other reasons for this form of relationship:

relationship may be the separation of the man or the woman from a previous spouse. The man's wife, for instance, may be residing in one of the Colonies, or the woman may have separated from her husband. But the Shields couple may be unwilling to legalise the relationship because of the man's doubts as to the woman's faithfulness to him during his frequent and prolonged absence as a seaman. Women are known to desert the man during his absence, sometimes taking with them all his belongings from the house. Others leave one man for another lover. But the man's reluctance in marrying may also be due to his suspicion of the woman's feelings of racial superiority to him. "I can see what she is doing, but I can't tell what she is thinking," remarked an African. On the other hand, the white woman, while consenting to have a temporary relationship with the man, may be unwilling for racial reasons to make it a permanent one.

Most white women married to the Shields coloured men are from the lower class of British society, but there are a few from the Middle Class. Mixed marriages usually result in the estrangement of the girl from her parents, whose reactions vary according to their social status, being less unfavourable in the lower and more unfavourable in the Middle Class.

Colour Prejudice, Estrangement and Reconciliation.

White persons show disapproval of mixed sex relations in a number of ways, such as a look, a remark, a threat or resort to legal action. It is a common feature of British society for whites to stare at or, occasionally, to make uncomplimentary remarks.
remarks about a mixed couple seen together. "When I see a
coloured man with a white girl," commented an English man,
"at once I have a feeling of resentment although I know it is
none of my business". And a coloured man remarked "What I do
not like in this country is the way in which one is stared at
when seen with a white girl." Should the parents of the girl
learn that she is associating with the man she is usually
advised to discontinue her relationship with him. If she
continues, she is ostracised. The father of a white girl took
a Police Officer to the home of a coloured man to compel his
daughter to leave her consort. But no action could be taken
since the girl was above the age of twenty-one. When a girl
from a middle class family marries a coloured man, her parents
may object not only on the basis of race but also because of
his inferior social status, since the coloured man in these
groupings is usually of the lower class.

The friendship between the girl and the coloured man is
sometimes kept secret for a considerable time. But more often,
they are willing to continue the relationship despite parental
opposition. In some instances, however, the man will break
his friendship with the girl should her parents continue to show
hostility towards her. An industrial worker giving his reason
for breaking friendship with a white girl stated, "She was a
nice kid and was truly in love with me, but her parents made her
unhappy by quarrelling with her whenever she went out with me.
The girl said it did not matter and would have continued to meet
me /
me if I did not persuade her to give up the idea. If I were in the position to marry her it would not matter, but I did not want to prolong her unhappiness since I could not afford to marry her then." Prejudice against sexual relationship with decent white women has forced some young men to associate with prostitutes.

Some members of the society show no prejudice towards the coloured man as is seen in instances in which the coloured man resides at the home of his father-in-law. As Little observes: "A great deal of latent friendliness underlies the surface appearance of apathy or even of displayed prejudice in a large number of cases...there are many people in every section of society who display a complete absence of colour awareness as well as of colour prejudice."¹ In other cases some members of the girls' family support the man although others are opposed to his association with her. Such members of her family may visit her or even live at her home.

Two cases may be cited to illustrate the different attitudes which may be shown by members of the same family to the coloured man:

"My mother was fond of David and had no objection whatsoever to our marriage, but my father was bitterly opposed to him. Before we were married we used to meet at my sister's home. But another sister, then living away from my home town, on her way to our wedding, was informed that David was coloured, whereupon she broke her journey and returned home.

For some time after my marriage I did not go to my parents' home knowing how my father felt, but my mother used /

¹ Little, op. cit., p. 248.
used to hide from Dad to come to see us. One day when David was away from home I decided to call to see Dad. He was surprised to see me and asked if my husband was treating me well. I then handed him a letter that David had written to me. After reading it he said 'Any man who can write a letter like this must be a good husband.' Soon after he called to see us and from then onwards was a regular visitor to our home. In fact, my husband and Dad took a great liking to each other. As to my mother, she was so fond of David that after my father died she came to live with us."

In the case cited above, two members of the family showed no prejudice towards the coloured man. Subsequently both father and sister changed their attitude towards the couple. The sister, later made matron of a hospital, became a close friend of the family. The next case is another example of the different attitude which may exist in a family towards mixed marriage.

A coloured girl was on intimate terms with a white man. They went out together regularly and he made several visits to her parents' home. When he told his parents that he intended to marry the girl, his father supported his decision but his mother was strongly opposed to it. The girl became pregnant but even then the mother opposed marriage. Twins were born to her, to whom their paternal grandfather showed much devotion and affection, and was greatly distressed by the attitude of his wife and the action of his son.

The case not only brought to a head the racial problem but divided and caused so much tension in the family that the man's father committed suicide leaving a note explaining his action as due partly to the attitude of the rest of his family towards the girl.

In some instances, the reconciliation of the couple to the girl's parents is never made, though in others there may be partial or complete reconciliation. The daughter may regain fellowship with her parents, or the couple may be accepted by them /
them to the extent of taking up residence in their home. Some members of the family may without reservation accept the coloured man or become reconciled to him later. Reconciliation is usually indicated by the exchange of visits or gifts between members of the two households. Reluctance of the girl's parents to accept the coloured son-in-law arises not only from racial prejudice, but also from fear of the unfavourable reaction and gossip of neighbours. The household may be divided in its attitude towards the mixed marriage, and in some cases complete reconciliation is achieved through the efforts of members who have shown no prejudice towards the man.

An Arab's wife stated that her parents refused to attend her wedding. Three months later, she visited them. Her father acted 'strangely' towards her, but her mother and sisters were more sympathetic. The family seemed mainly concerned with "What the neighbours would say". The mother then asked when she intended to take her husband to see them. The daughter replied that she did not know that she wanted to meet him. However, the couple visited the home a fortnight later, and after spending a weekend, cordial relationship was established with the family, the mother commenting that she did not know that he was like that judging from what people said about coloured men. From then on visits were exchanged between members of the two families.

Taking another case, a West Indian, who was on terms of friendship with a white girl, found that the relationship was opposed by her father, although her mother approved. The marriage therefore was enacted without paternal consent. On the death of the father, the mother-in-law chose to live with the couple although she was also invited by two other daughters to live with them.

A member of the family may be instrumental in bringing about reconciliation. The woman's sister is usually helpful in this respect, and in a number of instances has persuaded her parents to
to change their attitude towards the couple.

The higher the man's social status and esteem in the community, the better are his chances of being accepted by the family. This may be illustrated by the following case. A young West African who married an English woman and has a young child was living with his family in the home of his wife's parents. But the West African was highly esteemed and of a comparatively high social status among the coloured grouping.

He had obtained a secondary education, served as a Sergeant in the Army, and for a time was employed as the chauffeur of a privately owned car in Britain. He was President and Captain of the Coloured Athletic Club, and was highly esteemed by coloured and by many whites. In conversation, his father-in-law was heard to remark "people are always speaking highly of Richard".

Taking another example to show how a coloured person's status and esteem affect acceptance by whites: the wife of a West Indian was estranged from her parents after her marriage. But soon after the parents accepted them both into the family. She explained that at first her parents "knew nothing about her husband except what some people say about coloured men"; but when they learnt how highly he was esteemed by others, the parents "came to respect him; so much so, that my father used to sit here for hours in friendly conversation with him." But the standard of education of this West Indian was above the average for the community. At one time he was Secretary of the Coloured People's Mutual Aid Society. He also had friends among white men in Shields among whom he was highly esteemed.

Some wives correspond with their husband's relatives overseas, exchanging photographs and presents with them. In some cases, the wife retains normal relationships with her parents and visits them, but her coloured husband and children do not. Her father may visit her home, though the mother would not and vice versa. On one occasion when the father was seen at the daughter's
daughter's home, she explained that although he did not give his consent to her marriage, later he began to visit them; although her step-mother has never been to their home.

Persistence on the part of the couple in making overtures to the parents may ultimately bring about reconciliation. An Arab and his wife who owned a cafe persisted on sending presents and monetary gifts to her parents during the economic depression. Their thoughtfulness and generosity won favour of the parents. The wife of a Negro used to send presents to her mother from gifts brought home by her husband after his trip to sea. Another Negro insisted on his wife calling to see her parents. At first she received a cold reception but later the relationship improved. In both cases cordial relations were restored and the husband accepted into the family.

Status of the Women.

In North Shields, middle class women married to coloured men include the daughters of a ship's engineer and of a clerk, and the divorced wife of a police inspector. These marriages resulted in the woman's estrangement from her family, and reconciliation was more difficult than in cases of lower class women. In one case, wife and husband were ultimately accepted by the wife's parents, in another the wife retained her place in the family but the husband was refused and in the last both man and wife have remained outcasts.

Wives /

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Wives from the middle class are observed to keep a degree of aloofness from the rest of the community and to exert a certain control over their coloured husbands' activities and associations. Women of similar status did not associate intimately. Instead they either kept aloof from the other women or commanded a following of women of lower status. High regard is shown them by the coloured men and their homes usually become a centre for social gathering. One significant feature is that these women receive visitors, but do not, as a rule, return visits. They also retain in their possession certain symbols of their former social status such as a selection of books and a piano. It would seem that these women strive to retain in the Negro grouping the status superiority which they had enjoyed among middle class white associates before their marriage.

Young women of the lower class would seem to behave with greater independence than those of the middle class in British society. Freedom from parental control seems to be achieved at an earlier age. For instance, wages are earned at an earlier age, and there is greater freedom in making friends with the opposite sex. The majority of those in Shields with coloured husbands married between the ages of 18 and 20. The number of cases in which marriages of two or more sisters to coloured men occur would seem to support the suggestion. In a middle class family, the unfavourable reaction of parents after the marriage of one daughter to a coloured man would most likely deter others from similar action. But in North Shields, there /
there were three cases of two sisters, and one case of three who married coloured men. In South Shields an even larger number of examples could be given. And there are instances where the unmarried sister of the girl may spend a holiday with the mixed couple.

In the majority of cases marriage takes place before the girl has attained her twenty-first birthday. This has been verified in North Shields in a large number of cases. In South Shields, where four sisters were married to coloured men, the ages were 19, 18, 18 and 20, and where three sisters were similarly married their ages were 20, 18 and 18.

Wives from the lower class are of a mixed category. And in most cases in which unfaithfulness to the husband is alleged, the woman accused is suspected of having lived an illicit sexual life before her marriage. Behaviour of this sort is disapproved and members accused are ostracised by the coloured grouping. However, most women, even those of doubtful sexual reputation, if they become married, later settle down to the responsibility of family life. It is not unusual for the couple to remove to another town after marriage to start the new life away from those with knowledge of an unfavourable past. In Shields are to be found couples who were married in Cardiff, Hull or Liverpool. Other reasons given for their removal, are, more favourable conditions for obtaining houses and better race relations in Shields.

The aloofness of women from middle class society in their relationship /
relationship with those from the lower class has been stated previously. But social distance is maintained not only with respect to status, but is also determined by esteem. Esteem is gained by observing the norms characteristic of the coloured grouping as well as those of British society. These include the woman's ability to organise and manage her home, and her success in the control and training of her children. Rumours of the wife's intimacy with another man during her husband's absence at sea or knowledge of frequent visits to Public Houses would cause a rapid decline of her prestige. Disapproval of her behaviour is expressed in such terms as "I would not speak to that woman if I met her on the street," "She could not come into my house," "She has no shame whatsoever," "Women like those give coloured people a bad name."

In the Negro grouping the wife's prestige rises with that of her children if the latter have made social gains, such as entering a profession. She also gains socially if her Anglo-coloured daughter marries a white man, or a coloured man of higher social status than herself. The daughter may also be sent away from the community and if the mother is able to propagate good reports among her neighbours concerning her progress and have occasional visits from her, the community will be favourably impressed. An Anglo-coloured girl with a profession is discouraged by her mother from having intimate association with or from marrying a coloured man of the grouping, if he is of low social status. Friends or husbands are sought from /
from among coloured men of higher status outside the community or from white men. Girls of this class used to go to a neighbouring town for the purpose of meeting University Students at a club run by the British Council.

In their reaction to ostracism by parents or other whites for marrying coloured men, the women identify themselves with the coloured community. They speak of themselves as "We the coloured people," and express indignation at any instance of racial discrimination against coloured persons. They have written letters to the local press protesting against colour discrimination and have protested in person against criticism or ignorance concerning coloured persons. One woman related how in the market, another woman made her indignant by saying that "Black men have black blood," to which she replied "Coloured men have redder blood than yours, and I can prove it to you if you follow me home." The wife of a West African describing one of her experiences said that -

her husband, after being torpedoed in the Merchant Navy, returned home to convalesce. One night the house was bombed and badly damaged. Temporary lodgings were offered by the A.R.P. Warden, but she refused for fear that provocative remarks might be made against her husband by whites who, like themselves, were evacuated.

She completed her statement with an assertion typical of so many, and which though based on genuine experiences of happy relationship with her husband, nevertheless may at times be exaggerated to rationalize her social isolation from her relatives and former acquaintances. She continued, "Because I married a coloured man, my parents and other people have had a /
a lot to say, but I have been married for...(so many) years and would not exchange my coloured husband for a hundred white men."

A very important role of the white wife is that of intermediary between her family and members of the white society. In this role she is able to win concessions from the privileged majority for the benefit of members of her group. Two principles are applied in this respect - concealment and sympathy. In the first, she conceals her husband's racial identity in seeking privileges from those of her own race. If, for example, a house is to be rented, the wife approaches the landlord and negotiates the terms, and not until the agreement is ratified and the house occupied is her husband's racial identity revealed.

When sympathy is elicited a plea is made on her own behalf. The wife of a West African related how -

she took her unemployed husband's Insurance Card to the Shipping Federation Office, placed it before the Clerk and asked "Why won't you give my husband a job? Hasn't he a wife and children like yourself? Must we starve? Even if you don't care about him, surely you must have some feelings for me with flesh and blood as your own." She added "On the following day he was called and given a job and has never been unemployed since."

Usually it is the woman who is instrumental in getting her children apprenticed to trades and placed in professions, and by keeping in contact with those in authority she has been able to stimulate interest in their progress. It is the mother who takes along the boy and introduces him to his first trade. It is usually her encouragement that persuades him to be apprenticed to a trade instead of becoming a seafarer, and she may show keen disappointment /
disappointment if he insists on becoming a seaman. "I know what my boys shall be when they are of age," said a mother. "No seafaring for them. And I shall not let them waste time rivetting in the ship yard either. There is no future in that, but in welding there are prospects and so I want my boys to be welders." It is the mother who introduces her child to school and enquires of the teacher concerning their educational progress.

In Negro and Moslem groupings alike the wife assumes more responsibility and a greater degree of authority in the home than would be necessary under normal circumstances. This is due largely to the husband's occupation, which necessitates frequent and prolonged absences from home. The organisation and management of the home and the control and training of her children make great demands on her. On her husband's return, rather than disrupt the functioning of the home by taking over certain responsibilities, he usually leaves his wife in control.

Some women occupy an important social position in the groupings in their role as confidante and adviser and in giving material assistance to coloured men. Age and economic status and adherence of the woman to the norms of the community are the principal criteria for this position. The women are usually over forty-five, some being the wives of Boarding House Masters, others being housewives who take in lodgers. Young men arriving in Britain for the first time may be taken under their care. Among the Negroes their homes provide a centre in which coloured men are able to meet their male friends. They are addressed by the /
the men as "Missus", a term of endearment and recognition of their higher social position. And some of the seamen correspond with these women while they are away. The women like to show these letters to visitors. Coloured men believe that understanding and assistance will invariably be obtained from women of this category when white men are unsympathetic and unhelpful. A coloured man commented that "Coloured men's best friends are among the womenfolk in this country. They have seldom failed to help when the men are in need, sometimes giving assistance at the risk of suffering from men of their own race."

It is customary for the wife to set the pattern for the daily routine in the home which is organised on the general pattern of the English lower class family. Meals are served at the usual times and the custom of morning and afternoon tea has been adopted even in the homes of some single coloured men. However, the immigrant retains his preferences for the native meal habits. To the West Indian, it is three meals daily - morning, midday and evening. The West African prefers a light snack in the morning and a substantial meal during the late afternoon. But the principle followed is for the immigrant to adapt himself to the pattern set by the wife. As regards recipes, the custom is to add highly spiced ingredients to the English 'plain cooking' or to add one or two of the husband's favourite dishes. Curry, pepper and rice for instance are popular with West Indians and West Africans, Fufu and 'One Pot' are African dishes. The ingredients of 'One Pot' consist of potato or rice, onion, tomato, peas or beans, meat, margarine or butter, cayenne /
cayenne pepper, Oxo cubes and water. All these are placed together in a cooking pot to simmer. 'One Pot' may be eaten with bread or Fufu. 'Fufu' is made from corn meal or ground rice, with margarine, salt and water, which must be constantly turned while being cooked. It may be eaten with soup or gravy. The soup is made of meat, bones, bits of kipper and pepper. To make the gravy, cabbage is minced and flour and tomato added.
The wife learns to prepare some of her husband's native dishes, and usually acquires a liking for them. "I can eat as much pepper and curry as Joseph", remarked the wife of an African.

Anglo-Coloured Wives.

With so few coloured girls in the North and South Shields groupings, coloured girls experience no difficulty in getting husbands. No coloured girl above twenty-one was unmarried in either North or South Shields. The competition is keenest for coloured girls of higher social status. But, as has already been stated, in North Shields the mothers discourage these girls from associating with the coloured men of the community.

Mrs. Jones, whose daughter is a student nurse, refused the request of a seaman who asked to visit the home to see her daughter. He even offered her mother his earnings to save for him. "I told him," she said, "that I know who is suited for my daughter and that I am sure he must have a better purpose for using his time than offering to come here." And yet, this mother was heard teasing her daughter about a coloured student who was 'breaking her heart'. "Do you know Ralph?" she asked the writer, "when next you see him tell him that he is breaking her heart," she continued encouragingly.

In North Shields, of eight coloured girls, five were married to /
to coloured and three to white men. In South Shields, of fourteen coloured girls of Moslem fathers, ten married coloured and four white men. Those married to white men usually leave the community and take up residence elsewhere thus severing links with the coloured community.

This tendency is prevalent in other coloured communities in Britain as well. In Liverpool an informant stated that in all cases of marriages of this type with which he was acquainted, the husband had taken the coloured girl to live away from the community. Coloured girls in Shields marrying white men, raise their social status. But if this happens, the family becomes exposed to criticism from the coloured group and especially from white women married to coloured. They are said to be "playing white". Indeed, the parents themselves may seek a house outside the area of coloured settlement, and the wife and the rest of the children as they develop into adulthood gradually disassociate themselves from the coloured community among whom they had previously resided. It is due to a desire to avoid the area in which racial discrimination is most keenly experienced. It is the children who bring pressure to bear on their mother, who in turn, influences the father to evacuate. But if the family removes, the husband continues his close association with other coloured people, though his wife and children make as complete /

1 In North Shields a Negro Anglo-coloured has married a Pakistani and in South Shields another has married an Arab. But no Negroes have married Anglo-coloured Moslem girls.
complete a break with the old links as possible.

A West Indian seaman who married a white woman has two daughters and a son. The children are fair in complexion and could pass for white. One daughter, a Window Dresser, is married to a white man of similar occupation, and the other married a policeman. Both daughters have left the town. The son, a ship's steward, is at present residing with his parents, now living outside the area of the coloured settlement. Riding past on his motor cycle one afternoon, he stopped before the door of the widow of a West Indian seaman who had died a few months previously. She had known his parents and their children used to be left with her while their mother was at work and their father at sea.

"Sorry to hear of Mr. Henry's death," he said. "I have heard a lot about him from my parents. But I did not know him much." The last sentence irritated her very much and she replied quietly but indignantly, "You did not know him much? How is that? Look, how many days have you spent in this house. Look how many times he has slapped your bottom, even before your parents. He was always glad to hear how well you were getting on. But you have never called to see us...." When he left she continued to me, "Those children are too white and too high to think of coloured people now. Think of it, 'I did not know him much'.'"

When it is not possible to leave the coloured settlement, ambitious Anglo-coloured girls ask for drastic changes in furniture and decoration. A Student Nurse asked her mother to purchase new furniture for the dining-sitting room so that she might be able to take her friends home.

Relationships between husband and wife.

Relationship between man and wife is assessed by the community in three ways: if authority is shared equally in the home; if the wife is supraordinate and the husband subordinate or vice versa. Some exercise of the woman's authority in the home adds to her prestige, but her authority should not be exhibited in a domineering attitude over her husband. Men who allow themselves to /
to be dominated by their wives lose prestige among their menfolk. They are said to be "no good, they make their women rule them." A white woman commenting on the situation remarked:

"Some of these women can boss their men but not Charlie. Wife and children may fool when he is away, but as soon as he returns they had better watch their steps. No fooling with Charlie."

Where middle class women have married coloured, there is a tendency on the part of the woman to enlarge upon the happy relationship existing between them. In a previous case cited, rationalisation, it was suggested, was due to the woman's estrangement from her relatives and white associates, though harmonious family relationship is not questioned in a number of cases, as the following illustrates. The mixed couple were reconciled with the parents and the mother, after being widowed, spent her last years with them. The couple married for twenty-five years always spoke in high praise of each other.

The husband, fairly intelligent, held office in one of the Voluntary Associations. Coloured and white friends frequented his home. The wife's sister, the Matron of a hospital, also used to visit them. The wife was in the habit of commenting on her husband's intelligence and the esteem others had for him in always seeking his advice. "Although my first husband was a good man, he was never so kind and patient as the present one." And his comments were "She is a good woman. I don't know what I would do without her. It was a fight to get her. But it's been worth it a hundred times over."

Three months after the husband's death I called to see her. "It has become so lonely here. My sister has invited me to live with her, but Henry's request has always been that I should never live with any of my relatives if he died before I did. He didn't want me to be obligated to any one. So I have decided to remain here."

Two further examples may be cited. A West Indian married a Scottish woman who had an illegitimate coloured girl whom her husband adopted. The child's teacher said, that although she was not the most intelligent in her class, she was the tidiest and neatest in dress and the only pupil who took daily with her a flask of milk. Both mother /
mother and father have been to enquire of the teacher about her progress. Judging from the relationship between the child, and her parents, the teacher felt that the family must be a happy one. In fact, the wife had been suffering from bronchitis and the husband had given up his job in another town in order to remain with the family.

A young West African, unemployed for three months, was living with his pregnant wife in a one-room. Their economic difficulties did not destroy their happy relationship. On one of my visits her white brother had called to see them. Husband and wife were discussing the name to be given to the unborn child. "We will call him Ivan, I like that name," she said. "Not this child. He must be called Samson since he must be strong to fight race prejudice," the father replied. "Well, what about Ivan?" "Give that to our second child." "One at a time, my man..."

Relationships are not always as harmonious in other families, and the woman's authority in the home may place the man in a position of subordination. The wife's authority strengthens with the years, and her children, as they grow up, share with her the central and dominant place in the home. The father works and returns to the home to which he attaches much sentiment, but at home the inner circle of family life is occupied by wife and children and the husband is relegated to the periphery. But this situation is usually accepted by the man if the stability and esteem of his home is maintained.

Three separations after legal marriage were recorded in the history of the grouping, but there were no divorces. In two cases, the separations were between coloured men and Anglo-coloured women. In one a white woman was involved; in this instance, the man had had three prison sentences, which would suggest that personal character rather than racial differences may be the cause of separation. The estrangement of the woman from /
from her relatives and close friends and associates for having married a coloured man, and her consequent identification with the coloured grouping, would seem to strengthen the bond which holds her to her husband. The social and psychological security which the man gains in marrying a member of the privileged white group also strengthens his bonds with her. These may be some of the factors explaining why there are so few separations between the white wives and their coloured husbands.

Family life is less stable among New Comers, as the large proportion of common-law relationship among them might suggest. And in Shields, separations are more frequent among common-law couples than among married ones. Conflict and separation usually arise over sexual jealousy. Neither party feels completely obligated to the other. There is the sense of freedom which may be exercised at any time by separation. In North Shields if a child is born the couple may get married, not because of high value placed by the man on the woman's fertility, but from social pressure. "I wasn't ready to get married, man, but I was caught", explained a young husband.

'irregular' sex life.

In some homes, the sexual life of the occupants is socially disapproved within as well as outside the coloured community. These homes which will be referred to as 'irregular', may be divided into three categories. In the first, the woman, who is married, has an illicit sexual relationship with another man during her husband's absence. Unmarried seamen usually give this as an explanation or rationalisation for remaining single /
single, claiming that a seaman cannot trust a woman to be faithful to him during his prolonged absences.

The second category is composed of man and woman living in common-law marriage. Only mild disapproval is shown by the coloured grouping towards common-law relationship. The couple are not ostracised and in general they are allowed normal relationships with others in the group. The West Indian family situation may influence this attitude in North Shields. As Simey¹ has pointed out, in the West Indies, common-law marriage of varying degrees of permanence is the usual practice among the lower class. Legal marriage is a sign of superior economic status rather than the expected norm of behaviour. Illegitimacy, in so far as it has any meaning in this context, is said to be as high as seventy per cent.² But in Shields the common-law relationship is usually less stable than legal marriage, and separations are frequent.

Thirdly, a white woman or a coloured man may use a flat to accommodate prostitutes, the activities being carried out on an economic basis with the owner of the house sharing the intake. Where the house is managed by the woman, and she alone is involved, a coloured man is often kept as a 'regular' to be 'the man about the house', and to give her legal protection against police prosecution for prostitution.³ The man /

² Eighth Census of Jamaica, 1943, p. 46.
³ If the woman is able to prove that she is living with a 'regular' man in the house, the relationship can be explained as common-law marriage, and prosecution for prostitution avoided.
man is not required by the woman to seek employment, but should always keep himself tidily dressed. An informant, with intimate knowledge of those involved, has given this description of the situation in Shields:

"Some of the chaps involved succumb to the temptation after being employed for a considerable time. That is a fact. I know fine fellows, well-intentioned, who have been enticed and pressed into this racket. Of course it is true that there are some lazy ones who pretend that they cannot get work otherwise, but in fact they really do not want to work. These chaps make this their living. The girls usually meet them in the pub. They may not belong to this town. They seldom do. But they know all the ropes. They are professional.

You know with this flat and living alone as I am, I have been tempted myself to get into the racket. But I say to myself, no, anything but this. It is too much a worthless thing. I carry on a little gambling here but that's all!"

Relationship between coloured families.

Relationships between coloured families are established and strengthened on the basis of kinship, the nationality of the coloured man, residential proximity and by working at the same job. Social groups also develop from these factors and will be considered later. But here we are concerned with a more intimate and restricted relationship.

Where two or more sisters marry coloured men, consanguineous and affinal kinship bonds are established. Similarly, classificatory kinship relationships are recognised where sons and daughters address close friends of their father and mother as 'uncle' and 'aunt'. They may be rebuked and even punished by their classificatory uncle or aunt in the presence as well as absence of real parents. Social calls made between these families /
families are a regular feature of community life and in the absence of the husband, general assistance is expected from his close friends. These obligations are reciprocated. While at the home of a West Indian, the son of his coloured friend then at sea called, and addressing him, said, "Uncle, my mother says that the lock of the front door is not working, and asks if you would come along to fix it?" The mission also included the exchange of household gifts between the wives. In this case the gift brought was rice - then a rationed article, but usually obtained in unrationed quantities by seamen.

Between consanguineous kin an even more intimate relationship is shown. Where sisters marry coloured men, frequent visits are exchanged between them, especially by the children who keep up constant communication between the homes concerned. Services and gifts are exchanged frequently and mutual concern for the others' family is shown.

Another basis for such close relationship is that of common nationality. Families within the grouping are classified as Mende or Kru or West Indian and so on. A Mende family usually is on very intimate terms with other Mende families in the grouping, so that in my survey it was possible to get the names and addresses of all Mende families in the town from the wife of a Mende, though these families are dispersed over a wide area. The same intimate relationship exists among families of other nationalities or tribes. The exchange of visits enables the men to converse in their native language and to discuss topics of common national and tribal interest. A native dish may be prepared on these occasions /
occasions by the man himself, although the wife usually learns to prepare these specialities, and may do the cooking herself.

Social links between families are also formed from being employed at the same work. This situation frequently occurs in cases in which seamen work on the same boat, and in situations in which the wives or daughters of coloured men are engaged in the same establishment. For instance, where two couples were seen spending the evening at the home of a third, all three women were employed at a large dance hall. And coloured men employed on the same boat or in the same factory frequently meet in each other's homes.

Finally, living in proximity in a residential area has facilitated frequent contacts and encouraged friendly relationships between children and adults alike. Of the three North Shields coloured residential sections, Dockwray Square, with its more concentrated coloured families, facilitates more frequent contact than do the other two sections with dispersed families.

Coloured and White Families.

In all three areas of settlement, coloured and white children had free associations at school, in the street and in open spaces, at Youth Clubs and at other public places. White and coloured children also exchanged visits at each other's homes, but while this occurred frequently in the Ridges it was less so in Dockwray Square and Old North Shields. The difference in the frequency of exchange may be due partly to the difference in house construction, and partly to the social adjustment and higher esteem of the /
the coloured families in the Ridges. While in Dockwray Square and Old North Shields the houses are flats and so would restrict the movement of children, in the Ridges houses are semi-detached with access to back and front gardens, and coloured and white children move more freely from one to another.

Though intimate relationship between all the members of a white family and those of a coloured family very rarely occurs, nevertheless, it is found that one or more members of white families are on friendly terms with a coloured family, or members of that family. And these members visit the homes of each other. White-coloured friendships are established in a greater number of cases between Old-Timers and whites than between whites and New-Comers, and on a much wider scale between Anglo-coloured and white than between Old-Timers and whites. Where white-coloured family relationship between some or between all members of the two families is established, the tendency is for the whites to visit the house of their coloured friends rather than for the coloured to visit the whites. This situation may be understood when it is remembered that although racial barriers may not exist between the white person and his coloured friends, other members of his family may not feel the same way towards the coloured person. However, visits between whites and Anglo-coloured are reciprocated with a considerable degree of freedom. Many of these relationships developed during school days, and have been fostered by unbroken relationship to early adulthood. This situation is marked in the Ridges /
Ridges which is occupied by the more highly adjusted Old Timers. And for this area the recent achievements of some coloured children is comparatively outstanding. Thus, of the fourteen coloured families, there are three student nurses, a secretarial student who had won a scholarship, a window dresser, a Marine engineer student and another was a prefect in a large secondary school. Three coloured girls here had married white men. The status and prestige achieved by these coloured youths have contributed to their acceptance within this residential area.

There is no difference between the culture traits of the 'half-caste' and those of the white. Therefore, if the racial factor is overcome, social acceptance should constitute no real problem. But as far as the immigrant is concerned, there are obvious cultural difficulties to social adjustment, such as language. With the achievement of social status and esteem and through personal adaptation some of these have made social adjustments and strengthened personal relationships with whites. The head of the coloured home with the largest number of white male visitors was a West African resident in the town for over twenty years, and during that time had risen from lower to middle class.

Taking another example, a retired West Indian seaman and electrician, himself resident in Shields for over twenty-five years and highly esteemed for his intelligence and education, was confined to his house after a prolonged illness. Several evenings white and coloured men alike would be found at his home discussing with him various subjects of topical interest.
Greater overt antagonism is experienced by coloured couples from lower class whites than from middle class whites. A coloured person who has risen to middle class status finds antagonism in this higher social stratum less overt. But, at the same time, his area of intense social relationship may become restricted. His friends here are fewer. Mixed couples of this category limit intimate social contact to the restricted white circle in which they are known, although individually they may have a wider circle of friends.

"If I keep to those among whom I am known," said a man from this category, "then everything goes well. I have been married for thirty years and my wife holds a middle class job, but I keep away from the circle within which she works. Whenever we go out together I take her to places where we are well known and always have respect shown to us. For instance, there are two hotels in this town to which we would go for a drink. This summer we plan spending a fortnight in the Lake District, but I have visited the Hotel at which our room is booked on a few previous occasions and so I am known to the staff."

Thus, in the middle class, to avoid discrimination and hence embarrassment, the mixed couple is inclined to plan their contacts and associations beforehand. These associations are restricted by class as well as by colour.

The Training and Education of the Children.

It has been suggested that Anglo-coloured children respond to the authority of their white mother, but not to their coloured father. In fact, the attitude of the children to parents is determined primarily by the personality of the parent concerned rather than by racial differences. Their response to the authority of parents is in accordance with their knowledge of the parents' ability to exercise his or her authority over them.
them. The example, previously given, may again be cited where the woman remarked that "with Charlie there was no fooling" on the part of his children. In another instance, where the mother was unable to control the behaviour of her four children, the difference in their behaviour when the father was at home was commented on by coloured and white in the community. Another coloured man had written to this father during his absence informing him about the children's behaviour and urging him to return home to prevent his family being broken up. Commenting on the same case, one of the children's teachers said that the teaching staff could always tell when the father was at home by the difference in their dress, behaviour and attendance.

The men usually show much devotion to their children and some do not hesitate to marry women with children, whether they be white or coloured, legitimate or illegitimate. Very seldom are children adopted legally, although a form of 'voluntary' adoption is assumed. The man takes full responsibility for the child to whom he may even give his name. The devotion of the man in these circumstances cements his relationship with the family who reciprocate this loyalty and devotion.

A widow with a white daughter married an African. Her daughter retains her father's name but addresses her step-father as 'Dad'. She married a white man but later deserted him and returned to the home of her mother and step-father. Pointing to a photograph of her step-father on the wall, her mother, in her daughter's presence, commented on his devotion to them and his treatment of her daughter as his own child. When he heard from his step-daughter how unkindly she was being treated by her husband, he told her that his home was always open to her if her present life became intolerable.

Couples without children may adopt one, who is always a coloured /
coloured child. This kind of adoption may be called 'voluntary,' since no legal procedure is observed.

The general situation obtaining in the home is that the authority assumed by the woman during her husband's absence allows her to retain control over the family. This role depends on whether she has a personality strong enough to enable her to maintain control over the behaviour of her children and the management of her household. The husband in these circumstances, who is at home only for brief periods, does little to interfere with the routine of the home life. The Negro father, unlike the Moslem, does not attempt to communicate to his children elements of his native culture. Instead, he encourages them to acquire British culture, in order to gain as many concessions as possible from British society. It is partly for this reason that the wife is given a free hand in the home. He concedes to her this position for a purpose, and enforces his authority only if she proves incapable of doing so. Unlike the Moslem, the Negro shows no objections to his daughter marrying white, since it is calculated not only to raise his own prestige but also signifies the success of his purpose of winning concessions from the privileged group. But there is another aspect to this. To have a capable wife successful in the control and management of the home, is an asset to the coloured husband since it raises his prestige in the grouping. These women are known to the grouping, and the men are proud to have the esteem of their wives extolled in the social groups. "This is a lucky man," commented a West African, pointing to another wearing a grin of approval and /
and pride, in a group of coloured men. "He has a nice home, and a good woman". "The same is true of your woman," the other replied, "You have a good one, too."

Therefore, the father gives his support to the children and entertains ambitions for them, but he relies a great deal on the mother and teacher to guide and develop their future. This attitude of the Negro father with regard to the authority of the mother over the child is present among the West Indian lower class, where the woman is often the central figure and stabilising influence in family life. The West African being handicapped by language and other cultural difficulties has reason to allow greater authority to the woman. And like the West Indian, he may be following a pattern not unlike the pattern of family life in his native land.

No dual systems of training and education of the children operated in Negro families as is the case among the Moslems. Negro children at home as well as in school are given no alternative pattern of life to that of the society in which they live. The manner in which coloured children in North Shields are distributed among the schools, the good relationship established between teachers and parents of coloured children, and the keen interest taken /

1 The West Indian family situation, with which the writer is familiar, has arisen as a result of the large number of illegitimate children (see page 30) who are placed in the care of an aunt or a grandmother.

taken by teachers in coloured children have contributed a great deal towards the social adjustment of the Anglo-coloured to the society. Coloured children in North Shields are sent to several schools in the borough, usually attending those nearest to their homes. But children whose parents are members of a Roman Catholic church are sent to Catholic schools.¹

Coloured children participate fully in school activities. And the boys in particular, who often excel in sport, are usually very popular among their schoolmates. Sometimes teams vie with each other to have them. They are popular in other institutions as well. The matron of a Home for children which had a small number of coloured children, commented:

"At an early age the coloured children are usually the most popular in the Home and there is a tendency on the part of the staff and older children alike to give them more attention than the others because they claim that coloured children are attractive. Whether in later years this tendency may react unfavourably on the child's personality, if he experiences racial prejudice, is a matter for investigation."

Racial prejudice is not shown among mixed racial groups in these schools,² and although a white child may use derogatory terms to a coloured, no discriminatory or prejudicial attitude is implied. A boy of eleven years before leaving his home to join /

¹ The number of coloured children enrolled in the schools visited were: Ralph Gardener's Secondary for Boys - 3; St Joseph's - 1; Victoria Infant's - 2; Victoria Secondary - 12; Linskill Secondary - 4. But there were other schools attended by coloured children which were not visited.

² Research carried out in six Liverpool schools showed that colour prejudice was not shown where mixed racial groups were concerned. Silverman and Spice, B.: "Colour and Class in Six Liverpool Schools" (University Press of Liverpool, 1956). In Bruno Laska's study of the relationship between white and coloured children in the United States of America, he found that in cases in which the white child was not indoctrinated with prejudice before going to school, it would mix with children of all colours until some other agency of colour education intervened. Race in Children, New York, 1935.
join his white companions for swimming practice was asked about his relationship with white children. He replied that he liked his white friends at school and in the boys' club, although he could remember 'using his fist on boys calling him Sambo'. But such instances are exceptional, and children of different racial groups were observed to mix freely in school activities, on the playing fields, on the streets or at their homes.

During visits to the schools, coloured children were observed playing games in teams of white children. In practical classes where the children had greater freedom in choosing friends for their tasks, coloured children were sometimes favoured by whites, and white children were sometimes favoured by coloured.

Academic achievements of most coloured pupils have so far compared favourably with the average white child in the schools attended. Two cases of outstanding achievement were recorded during the year. A coloured girl obtained a scholarship, and a coloured boy was made a Prefect in a Large Secondary school for Boys in which only three coloured boys were enrolled. These two successes were the first of their kind in the grouping. The Headmaster of the Boys' School, commenting on the appointment of the prefect, said:

"Ralph is a boy with much promise. He is a credit to the school and we are proud of him. At first the staff were a little hesitant in making the appointment but were very pleased at the result. He is efficient in his duties and is respected by the boys."

Anglo-coloured youths in North Shields have a positive and ambitious attitude to life. The reasons are partly due to the cordial relationship existing between the teachers and parents of coloured /
coloured children and to the interest shown by teachers in the children. Also there was an observable attitude of 'goodwill' towards the Anglo-coloured on the part of the white population in North Shields.

Parents testified to the keen interest shown by teachers in the welfare of their children. The mother whose daughter won a scholarship stated:

"When my husband and I became Roman Catholics, father suggested that our children should be transferred to the Catholic school. But one of the teachers on the staff of the school attended by my daughter called to see me one evening. He persuaded me to allow my daughter to remain at the Government school as the staff were doing all they could to help her to win a scholarship. I am pleased that I consented, as my girl has been successful."

Another mother, whose sons were making good progress at school, made this comment:

"The boys like school and have never had trouble because of their colour. The teacher, with whom I have spoken occasionally, has always taken a very keen interest in them."

Teachers have given guidance to their white pupils in their relationship to their coloured mates. One headmaster, in preparing the school for his first coloured pupil, mentioned casually, though purposely, during his terminal re-opening address to the school, that they had been joined by their first coloured pupil and expressed the hope that friendship would be extended to him. This coloured pupil became one of the most popular in the school.

The wide distribution of coloured pupils in various schools in the borough and the insight and help given by teachers in the racial situation have obviously contributed towards harmonious racial relationships between the Anglo-coloured and the society. The /
The white population in North Shields have always been kindly disposed to the Anglo-coloured. These factors have created a social atmosphere which would seem to have stimulated the Anglo-coloured to a positive and ambitious attitude towards life. The importance of this situation cannot be over-stressed. It partly explains the social progress of the Anglo-coloured and the general high esteem with which they are regarded in this area and the comparatively high degree of integration into Shields society, which they have achieved.

In summarising: mixed marriages usually result in the estrangement of the white woman from her parents and close white associates. The woman then identifies herself with the coloured grouping. In the grouping she becomes a stabilizing influence to the immigrant and creates in the home a social centre for the friends of her husband. Some women become confidantes and advisors to young coloured men. Owing to the frequent absences of her husband at sea, the wife assumes greater authority and responsibility in the home than might be expected in normal circumstances. Links are established between families on the basis of nationality, occupation, kinship and residence.

The factors summarised operate in holding together the coloured population as a group. But its structure is weak; relationships are loose. The reasons are that other factors impede group cohesion and opposing forces establish inter-group relationships between coloured and white. In this process the family plays an essential role. Relationships are sometimes established /
established between white and coloured families. Sometimes reconciliation is achieved between the coloured couple and the wife's parents; sometimes friendships are established between members of white and coloured families. The woman mediates between the rest of her family and the British society. The training and education given to the children in which the mother plays the major role are directed towards their acceptance into British society. And the Anglo-coloured of North Shields, as contrasted with some of the other coloured groupings,\footnote{Little found among the Anglo-coloureds of Cardiff a tendency towards negative rather than positive action, a feeling that "there is nothing for them to aspire to". Richmond supported this observation in Liverpool. Little, op. cit., p. 159.} are given a positive attitude towards life. The small size and dispersed pattern of the Negro grouping and a more amicable attitude of Shields whites to Anglo-coloureds are some of the reasons suggested. In the Ridges, where coloured families are dispersed among whites - in a new housing area and in which the heads of most coloured families are Old Timers, esteemed by and adjusted to whites, and where some Anglo-coloureds have risen in social status, it is apparent that between coloured and white inter-personal and inter-family relationships are most promising. In Shields, the Old Timers are more integrated into the British society than the New Comers and the Anglo-coloureds enjoy a greater degree of acceptance by white families than do the immigrants.
CHAPTER V

WORK

The type of work in which West Africans and West Indians are engaged is usually classified as Seafaring and 'Shore Jobs'. Each type requires a different kind of co-operation. For the Negro seamen, work is performed in co-operation with a coloured team, usually comprising West Africans and West Indians. In 'shore jobs', coloured persons are placed among white workers.

Of the 52 families in North Shields, in 38 or 73% one or more members of each family were employed. The proportion of men employed as seamen to those in shore jobs was about two to one, but the proportion is increasing in favour of the latter.

Seamen.

Seamen are engaged as donkey men, greasers and firemen. Donkey men and greasers clean and grease the ship's engines, and firemen refill the furnace with coal. The donkey man also supervises the firemen and is paid a higher wage, his higher status deriving from longer experience, and greater ability for leadership.

The wages in 1949 for seamen of these three categories range between £24.12.6 and £30 per month with additional payment for overtime work. If the employee has a family, arrangements are made with the Shipping Federation for a monthly allowance to be paid /

1 Census taken by writer in August 1949.
paid them during his absence. On his return he receives the balance of his accumulated wages.¹

Seamen fall within two categories, the established and the unestablished. Established seamen are those who are registered as members of the Shipping Federation and the Seamen's Union. They are guaranteed constant employment with the status and privileges of Union members. Unestablished seamen are unregistered through their failure to get admission to membership of the Federation. The 'pool' comprises members of the Shipping Federation who are established seamen. A few men, however, choose to remain unestablished so as to be free to refuse to work on a ship if they so desire, without being penalized. If an established seaman refuses to work on three successive boats offered by the 'pool', he is penalized.

Long 'trips' are preferred to short ones and ocean-going vessels to coastal services. In the first instance, more money accumulates at the end of long journeys, and rations of food are free on ocean-bound ships, while the cost of food is deducted from the men's wages on boats that ply coastal waters. During the period that the men are awaiting their 'signing on' they receive unemployment allowances from the Assistance Board. Established seamen receive an additional allowance from the Shipping Federation.

'Shore' Employment.

Those employed in 'Shore jobs' are, with few exceptions, of /

¹ See Seamen's Budget, Appendix C.
of the unskilled type. The practice of admitting coloured men into industries on Tyneside developed during the last war. Mr. Arnold Watson referred to the change when, addressing a meeting organized by the League of Coloured Peoples in London in 1942, he said "Temporarily at least we have found the pre-requisite industrial conditions. Negro and white women and white men can now work in the same shop;"¹ On Tyneside the men were placed in building construction - in fetching and carrying, on the railways, and in the docks as rivet catchers and holders. Wages in the building industry were then 2/3d. per hour, and £4.15. 0 per week on the docks for unskilled workers, these being then the maximum wages laid down by the Trade Unions.

Unskilled Workers.

More than 85% of the men engaged in shore employment are unskilled workers. They are discouraged by the permanently low wages offered and consequently become very unstable in their work. They are in the habit of leaving their employment without giving notice as soon as better paid jobs are available elsewhere. As a result some employers have become reluctant to engage the services of coloured men. There are other reasons for their reluctance. The availability of young white apprentices to do the unskilled work in the factory has lessened the need for coloured workers. Also some coloured men have failed to adjust /

adjust themselves to the work group.

On my visits to the shipyards, at which most of the immigrants employed in shore jobs were engaged, reports were repeated and confirmed that the unskilled coloured workers in most cases remained in their jobs for only a short period. At one of these firms the Personnel Manager explained that owing to the rules of the Trade Unions which require an apprenticeship period as a pre-requisite to promotion, the coloured employee, without the opportunity for this training, was deprived of the prospects of promotion. The result was that the men became discouraged after working for a period on a minimum wage without an prospect of/increase. The position was aggravated when they saw white youths younger than themselves and employed for shorter periods being promoted by virtue of their fulfilment of the Trade Union's requirements.¹ As a result, few men remained in the same job longer than one year. They left as soon as they obtained employment on a boat which offered a better wage.

The coloured men themselves confirmed this report of their frequent change of jobs. A West African, then unemployed, reported that eighteen months previously when employment was more easily obtained he could remember changing three jobs in five weeks. A West Indian said that he had two jobs in a fortnight but did not remain in either of them as long as one week. The reasons /

¹ Trade Union minimum rates (1949) for apprentices were:-
16 years of age - 24/- per week.
20 years of age - 72/- per week.
21 years of age - 109/- per week.
reasons they gave for leaving their employment confirm those already stated. They complained that the wage was not sufficient for the work they did and that young lads who did not do as much work as they, were better paid. "A man cannot get anywhere on that (wage)", they asserted.

The fact that some of the men did not readily adjust themselves to the work situation was suggested in such remarks as "the place was strange", "I don't like to be pushed around, and so I quitted". Not infrequently these men travel from one British port to another with the hope of finding employment more to their liking.

The unskilled coloured worker, therefore, is unstable in his work and consequently shifts from one employment to another within Tyneside, or from one British port to another. Added to his instability, is his feeling of economic insecurity. In the first place he is uncertain of obtaining employment. In the second, he is not certain if his job is secure. It has been the experience of coloured men in Shields to be the first to be discharged in times of economic depression, or if the employer finds it necessary to reduce the number of workers. Moreover, where groups of coloured men are employed in a factory, if one or two of them get involved in some disorder, other coloured men are sometimes discharged although they themselves were not personally involved in the trouble. Bearing in mind that a number of these men came to Britain with the hope of 'making a success', failure to secure stable employment with satisfactory wages results in disappointment and frustration. Moreover, they /
they fail to see that the fact of being unskilled should in any way handicap their economic aspirations. Instead, they are inclined to interpret most of their problems in terms of racial prejudice.

The unskilled coloured worker seldom remains long enough in any one job to get properly adjusted to his white work group. He finds adjustment to his white work group difficult, not only because of cultural and racial differences but also because of circumstances which cause instability, and a feeling of insecurity.

Skilled Workers.

A few coloured men are skilled workers engaged as engineers, electricians, and coal miners. These are permanently employed and in most cases have remained in the same employment for a number of years. They are also members of the Trade Union. Skilled jobs are difficult for them to obtain, but in a number of cases efficient service has firmly established the men in their posts and may open the way for others.

A West African engineer after being unemployed for one year, was sent to the manager of a factory for an interview. He was told that he was the first coloured man to be engaged in that capacity in the factory and would be on trial for a week. But, at the end of three months the manager was so satisfied with his work that he was requested to seek out another coloured friend as competent as himself to assist him in the factory.

Another African who was employed in a Refrigerating plant for six years lost his job when the factory reduced its personnel by more than one half, whereupon the manager procured for him employment with another firm.
Social Adjustment at Work.

In some factories, assistance is given to the coloured recruits to become adjusted to white members of their work team. Personnel Managers stated that it was found that personal appearance, the pattern of distribution over the factory, and the number of coloured men employed at any one time, were important factors in the process of adjustment. Personal appearance involved the wearing of the most suitable kind of clothing. Some of the coloured men came to the factory conspicuously dressed. To avoid being ridiculed by other workers, and thus causing friction, they were advised to wear overalls.

A check was also kept on the number of coloured men employed and the way they were distributed among other factory workers. One factory considered that employing an average of twelve coloured men and distributing them over the factory had certain advantages. Organized resistance and clashes between coloured men were avoided. It was observed that conflict occurred more frequently between coloured men, than between white and coloured. On the other hand, whereas one or two coloureds may be conspicuous among many whites, twelve men who were well distributed among them, allowed more frequent contacts with whites. These points were supported from reports received by the Labour Exchange. In their view, when the men worked in twos they could share each other's company and be 'happy' and yet the number was not large enough to aggravate racial conflict. One or two men, it was suggested, were likely to overlook a remark which they disapproved from a white man, but if the coloured group was larger, they might
might react with violence.

Other difficulties arose regarding business routine which the immigrant did not always understand. For example, if his weekly pay was short, he demanded immediate rectification and could not see why he should wait until the matter had gone through the proper course. A problem of this kind was settled by the Personnel Manager.

Some of the men were cheerful and became liked by white workers, but few remained long enough to establish friendly relationships with whites. Clashes were rare between white and coloured, but occurred frequently among the coloured men themselves, who quarrelled over domestic affairs - girl friends, for example. Since these disputes had no relationship to their work nothing could be done by the management to settle them, and sometimes the men had to be dismissed when the trouble became too serious. The men were quick to detect when another white worker was making a joke at their expense, and would promptly resent it. But some were hypersensitive to remarks made by whites without prejudice.

The Old-Timers are more discreet and tolerant in their attitude to whites than are New-Comers. Consequently greater respect and more liking is shown to Old-Timers than to New-Comers by the work group. An Old-Timer employed in a factory and who is resident in the town for more than twenty years had this to say of the difference in the relationship of Old-Timers and whites /
whites as against New-Comers and whites:

"Where I work the white chaps have always shown respect to me. We sometimes make jokes, and if they make a joke where colour is concerned I know when to enter into it. If I feel that they are going too far, which seldom happens, I would say, 'That's enough, boys', and they would stop right away or even apologise. I have always invited some of them to our dance and they usually attend and enjoy themselves with the Coloured people.

But the New-Comers do not always get on well with the white folks and sometimes they are to be blamed for not keeping their jobs. Chaps 'get paid off' because they are so easily provoked. Sometimes a casual remark or even a stare from white fellows may get the coloured chaps so angry that they will want to start a fight. The result is that the entire coloured group may get sacked even though the others are not involved."

The responsibilities of married life have sometimes compelled even the unskilled New-Comer to remain in his low wage job. Of five cases where unskilled workers had remained in their employment for about eighteen months, four of these were married men. One commented "I can't really make a living out of it, but I have a wife and child. But if I were single I would certainly not have stuck it so long."

The indications are that among coloured immigrants employed in shore jobs the Old-Timers have accommodated themselves satisfactorily to white workers. Of the New-Comers, the skilled men are better adjusted than the unskilled. Low wages and sensitivity to racial attitudes cause the unskilled worker to become unstable, insecure and discouraged, which adversely affects his adjustment to the work group.

Anglo-Coloureds and their Work.

With few exceptions it used to be customary for male members of
of the second generation to follow their father's seafaring occupation. But in the post-war period a larger number are being trained for skilled work in shore employment. Of the males, there were three apprenticed in industry, one miner, one farmer, one bus driver, six seamen firemen, one ship's steward and one in training as a marine engineer. Of the females, three were in training as nurses, one was a window dresser, another had won a scholarship and was attending a Secretarial College. Others were employed in light industry and in domestic service. There is full employment for the British-born coloured, although prior to the last war the situation was different, especially for the girls. The few coloured men of this category were then absorbed in the Shipping Trade, but the girls were unable to obtain employment other than domestic work. Those who were ambitious migrated to other towns.

"My only daughter, whom I would have loved to have living with me, had to leave for London since she could not get suitable work here because she was coloured" complained a mother. Another told of her daughter's experience when she phoned applying for an advertised position to serve in a dress shop. An interview was at first arranged, but when it was known that she was coloured, it was promptly cancelled.

Hindrances to Anglo-coloureds obtaining employment have been overcome in Shields. But these changes do not apply - at least to the same extent - to a number of other coloured groupings elsewhere in Britain. In Cardiff, Little found a different situation /

1 In 1949.
situation, as did Richmond in Liverpool.¹ There the hybrid found even greater difficulties in obtaining employment than the coloured immigrant. Improved economic conditions in the country as a whole would account for the more favourable economic position of the Anglo-coloured in Shields than in other coloured communities, and in the post-war than in the pre-war period. But other factors would seem to have influenced the situation as well. The group, being a small one, has never created serious economic competition. Moreover, the relationship between whites and Old-Timers has always been amicable - a few whites even assuming the role of patrons of the coloured residents. The attitude is reflected in the statement of a local Government Official -

"I don't think that the coloured lads born in Shields could ever say that they have received a poor deal. I think the attitude here has always been that being born in this country they should be given equal opportunities with whites."

The girls employed in industry have no difficulties in adjusting themselves to their work mates. Sometimes they were friends of small groups of white girls, then engaged in the factory. Previous acquaintance with persons employed would seem to be an attraction in going to a particular factory. The principal factories absorbing these girls were the ropery and fish cannery. A similar situation existed with regard to two of the boys apprenticed: each had a white school friend working in the same trade and had found no difficulty in adjustment /

¹ Little, op. cit. pp. 69-70.
Richmond, op. cit. p. 62.
adjustment. In the other case adjustment was more difficult. The boy was not quite certain whether or not he was liked by the others and he was not sure if he would like to remain there for long.

The girls who were being trained as nurses said that they liked their work and were happy in it, and a member of the hospital staff stated that the girls were 'popular' with the other nurses. The girl taking the Secretarial Course was accommodating herself to her group but was not as well adjusted as the coloured nurses. She was more negroid in features than they, her mother being an Anglo-coloured and her father African. Her parents were unable to supply her with all the equipment she required; and so she was sometimes distressed that she could not participate in the extra-curricular activities of the college. On the other hand, she was often discussed within, as well as outside, the coloured group, being the first to have won a scholarship. She was therefore impelled to make the adjustment in order to 'make good'. It is possible that her economic handicap as well as her more prominent negroid features may have retarded a higher degree of adjustment to the college group.

The Coloured Crew.

Coloured crews are usually selected from either Moslem or Negro seamen, but seldom from both. The general rule is to employ persons of the same racial or national group, as for example a Somali crew, or an Arab crew, though a Negro crew is usually composed of West Africans and West Indians. The reasons for
for this selection are racial, national, and cultural - in particular religious. Harmony in the working team ensures efficiency. For conflict may occur between the groups.¹

Arabs and Somalis - for historic and national reasons - may clash in work relations, although they co-operate on a religious basis. Some Somalis claim that in Somaliland Arabs are a privileged group who monopolise the distributive trade of the country and treat Somalis as social inferiors, to the extent of refusing to allow intermarriage of Arab women to Somalis. The tension between the two peoples is commented upon by Hugh Scott in an account of a journey through Aden and Yemen. He wrote, "Besides the tall Somali who had met us on the steamer, two other Somalis had been engaged. On our host's advice all three servants were of this nationality to avoid any chance of friction such as might occur if Arabs and Somalis were mixed".² In Britain, Somalis allege, Arabs conspire to keep them out of employment.

These ethnic group rivalries have sometimes created a problem for shipping companies and the Merchant Navy in selecting coloured crews. In a report submitted by the Merchant Navy it was stated that racial and religious differences "did not make it always practicable to mix different groups of colonials in one crew". Another letter from the Ministry of Transport stated that the Somalis "quarrel not only with other races but among /

¹ See Appendix E.

² Hugh Scott, In the High Yemen, London, 1942, p. 29.
among themselves". ¹ Owing to the behaviour of the Somalis it would seem that they are the most unpopular coloured group with the shipping companies. Consequently, their services are sometimes refused. The large number of unemployed Somali seamen in Shields may in a large measure be the result of their unpopularity.

A West Indian, nearly thirty years a seaman, described some of the social difficulties of mixing the national groups.

"I have not worked very often with Arabs or Somalis, but as far as I can remember my crew has been mixed with West Africans as often as it has been composed of West Indians. We (West Indians and West Africans) seem to get on very well together, although I wouldn't say there have not been some difficulties. Take food and language for instance. We sometimes prepare a few of our meals ourselves, and eating is always a communal affair. The African dishes are different to ours. Their 'one-pot', and 'fufu', are a novelty to us. Instead of using a knife and fork or a spoon and eating from individual plates, they all participate from the same dish, using the fingers instead of cutlery. We do not often find it easy to eat like this and should we attempt to help ourselves from this dish into a separate plate, they would express resentment by exclaiming "white man, O". Sometimes we get quite annoyed if two or more of them carry on a conversation in their native language in our presence. But in general we have worked together harmoniously."

"We find it easier to live and work with the Somalis than with the Arabs. For one thing, should there arise a situation in which principle is involved, for instance with our work, the Somalis would stick together with West Africans and West Indians. We would do the same for them. This is not so with the Arabs. We could not depend on their co-operation."

"We always find that the Arabs are interested in keeping their jobs at any cost. Because they will do more than their contract requires and will more willingly obey their boss without question and be more ready to give their services in place of another Arab who might be indisposed, they seem to be favoured in their job. But although an Arab would do another Arab's /

¹ Letter from the Ministry of Transport to the Colonial Office, 29/11/49 - Colonial Office Files.
Arab's work, he would not be willing to assist a
West African or a West Indian, and vice versa."

"The matter of food is another problem. For
religious reasons we do not share meals. Moreover,
some of us do not think the Arab is clean. Then,
if there are a few Arabs on the ship, they always
keep together. And more often than not, one of
their number is always recognized as a kind of
boss. The others obey him implicitly. He takes
orders from the engineer and they from him."

The type of accommodation given varies from one ship to
another, but conditions are reported to be greatly improved
between the two World Wars. The bunks shared are usually
comfortable and the food ration supplied is adequate and is
guaranteed by regulations. Meals are prepared by the ship's
cook, but by special arrangements the men may prepare some of
their own dishes, the preparation and participation of which is
one of the most enjoyable features of the boat life. On
arriving at a port, contributions are made for the purchase
of fresh food - such as the half of a lamb. At these meals
West Africans and West Indians co-operate. But Arabs prepare
and eat their meals separately. Somalis may join the West
African-West Indian group, taking precautions, for religious
reasons, regarding the meat eaten, but they may also partake
of an Arab meal.

Library facilities are provided on some boats for seamen.
Some own radio sets, and there may be darts, cards and dominoes.
But for most coloured men gambling is the principal recreational
activity. "As soon as we are off work, off to the (gambling)
'School' we go" said a seaman.
The Anglo-coloureds are attracted to a seafaring life, for the opportunities to travel abroad. They desire to share the adventures related by other coloured seamen. The comparatively large sums of money which the seaman accumulates at the end of a trip are an added attraction. But a boy may choose a seafaring occupation if he is discriminated against in other forms of employment. This used to be the case, though in Shields the situation has changed somewhat. The coloured youth may now enter other forms of occupations with the minimum of difficulty.

Unemployment.

One of the main sources of discontent among coloured men in Britain is unemployment. At least one third of the coloured male population in North Shields from 1948 to 1949 were unemployed.

The total population of the borough of Tynemouth in 1948 was 75,000. The number of unemployed among the insured male population in 1947 was 800 and in 1948 1,000, forty-five\(^1\) of whom were coloured men. When it is remembered that the total coloured population including men and their families is about 175 this proportion of unemployed is very high.

In 1949 there were 52 households in the North Shields coloured grouping. In fourteen of these, none of the members was /

\(^1\) The 45 should not be taken as a proportion of the 150 population total of the coloured grouping. There are always a number of men who move from one port to the next and are not permanently resident in the borough. Some of these may have registered in Shields. The number 175 includes residents of the Seamen's Hostel.
was employed. Six causes of unemployment were due to illness or old age. Added to this number were twenty unemployed stowaways and seamen living in the Colonial Hostel. Some of these were unemployed for a period of twelve months. Some ex-servicemen and former members of the Forestry Unit were also on the unemployment roll.

The unemployment situation in this area may be better understood when placed in a more general setting. The Colonial Office had the following report of the unemployment situation among Coloured Colonials in Britain up to the first quarter of 1949.

"While no detailed figures are available, it is believed that there are 1,500 unemployed Colonials in the U.K. The unemployment problem is almost confined to London, Liverpool, Manchester, Cardiff and Tyneside and the men involved are largely stowaways from the West Indies and West Africa.

Many of the stowaways came to the U.K. in the hope that they would be able to go to sea and some of them registered with the Ministry of Labour for employment as seamen. This caused a considerable number of men to appear on the Ministry's register as seamen, but the majority of these men had little or no claim to employment in the Merchant Navy or even to regard themselves as seamen.

There are 541 coloured seamen on the registers of the Merchant Navy Establishment Administration. Of these, 124 are established and 417 unestablished. It is understood that 250 of the unestablished men are surplus to requirements.

On the whole, unemployed colonial workers in this country are unskilled or semi-skilled and are generally below the standard of the home worker. This is particularly true of the West Africans who have little or no industrial experience. They are also severely handicapped by an insufficient knowledge of the English language."

1 Five of these later joined the R.A.F.
Another report was made by a member of the Colonial Office Staff who studied the situation on Tyneside, soon after I had completed my preliminary survey. His conclusions, with which I largely agree, were:

that a large proportion of the unemployed were men who have been grounded by postwar conditions. Some have been retained on the register as unestablished seamen, and were still seeking work at sea, but whose chances of getting work as established seamen in the Tyneside and Teesside ports seemed very poor, although a few chances did occur from time to time. The men were extremely reluctant to abandon the hope of sea-going employment, and clung tenaciously to their seamen's cards.

These former seamen who had been transferred to the Civilian Employment Register have had to compete for the few jobs opened to coloured labour with the considerable influx of stowaways who found their way to this area both directly and indirectly.

The 'stowaways' included a very small proportion of men with seagoing experience and there were among them an even smaller number of fairly literate men of the "clerk" type who stowed away in the vague hope of continuing their studies and improving their economic position in this country. The majority of stowaways, however, were relatively untutored and lacking in industrial experience of any kind. They did not readily adapt themselves to the quite different working and social environments in which they found themselves, and some employers have had their prejudices against coloured labour confirmed and sometimes inflamed by difficulties encountered in dealing with a few men of this sort whom they employed experimentally.

The Employment Exchange stated that they had found difficulties in absorbing the Colonial unemployed for the following reasons:

(a) Colonial labour was generally unskilled, and there was already a considerable unskilled white labour available in the region.

(b) Most employers, and this included most of the nationalised public utilities such as the Coal Board and Railways, refused to consider Colonials for such employment.

(c) Where /
(c) Where the work was of a skilled or semi-skilled type, the labour union insisted on the fulfilment of their apprenticeship rules as a condition of membership, which in practice excluded colonials who had acquired their trades under different conditions.

The Ministry had no powers to query the specifications attached by the employers to their demand for labour. If an employer asked for labourers and specified "no coloured", then the Ministry would have to try to recruit the specified types demanded. Only if it was impossible to fulfil the demand as specified would the question of allocating colonials to this job be raised with the employer. Presumably, he would then be given the choice of engaging a few colonials to make up his quota or going without.

The unestablished seamen were considered for employment within two weeks of registration at a local office of the Ministry of Labour and National Service if after first registering with the shipping office for a seafaring engagement they had not been to sea within three months of registration, or within four months if they had had sea service within three months of the date on which they registered at the shipping office.\(^1\) But a small number of young men did not seem inclined to accept employment, while others would not consider accepting the type of work available to coloured men.

Unemployment and Racial Prejudice.

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The Negro attributes his state of unemployment mainly to racial prejudice and is disposed to blame the white population for his condition. The Labour Exchange is accused of deliberately refusing because of racial prejudice to place them in employment although jobs are available. Members of other coloured groups are likewise accused of using bribery with the authorities to obtain employment whilst depriving the Negroes of work.

Cox\(^1\) argues that the economic factor is basic to all manifestations of prejudice. He believes that even sex rivalry and hostility expressed by the white man has its ultimate origin in economic factors and exploitation. Although it would seem unnecessary to give secondary importance to the sex factor in prejudice as Cox has done, nevertheless the importance of economic factors cannot be over-emphasized. Barnes\(^2\) has drawn attention to the essentially economic basis of the operation of the colour bar in South Africa. It is in the economic interest of the white employer and employee alike to maintain the African in a position of economic inferiority. It is the fear that, by acquiring skills, the African will compete with the white man for superior posts, which leads white people in South Africa to maintain a strict colour bar.

But the unemployment of coloured persons may not in all cases be due to prejudice as most of the Shields coloured population invariably assume. An insufficient number of jobs of

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of the type in which coloured men are interested and for which their skill or lack of it are suited, and the difficulties of language are factors which also affect unemployment. In the shipping trade in which most coloured men seek employment, vacancies are limited and competition is keen between coloured and white for the jobs available. During the last war a large number of coloured men were drafted into the Merchant Navy to replace white seamen who were called up for other types of war service. Although most coloured men who served in this capacity were admitted into the 'Pool' at the end of the war, little room was left for others. The post-war influx of coloured men who also sought admission into the shipping trade, could not be accepted if room was to be found for the demobilized white servicemen returning to their traditional seafaring occupation. This large flow of men to the already saturated shipping trade partly explains why so many coloured men have failed to get admission to the 'Pool'.

With few exceptions, the unemployed coloured men are unskilled. In a highly industrialised region such as Tyneside the most urgent need is for skilled workers, and most of the unskilled work is performed by young apprentices, consequently reducing the demand for unskilled adults. The coloured man is therefore highly vulnerable to this situation. Another handicap is language. Some employers are sometimes reluctant to employ coloured men with language difficulties, fearing that efficiency may be reduced.

But in some instances racial prejudice does operate against
the employment of coloured men, especially where shore employment is concerned. The Labour Exchange may be advised by the employer not to enlist on their behalf coloured workers for interview. Reluctance is usually due to fear that white men may not be willing to work with coloured, although these assumptions may not be substantiated when put to the test. No report has come to my knowledge in Tyneside, of any group of white men who have actually refused to work with coloured.

The coloured population react in various ways to economic discrimination. Open conflict may result in which large groups, or a few individuals are involved. The Moslem riot of 1919 and the threatened disturbances of 1930 and 1931 may be cited as examples of group conflict, and the aggressive behaviour of coloured men in the Labour Exchange are instances of individual conflict. A deputation may be formed to make representation on behalf of the coloured persons affected or a meeting may be called to protest publicly against discrimination. Reports appearing in the Shields newspapers may be cited as illustrations.

In 1936, "A deputation of three Somalis representing the Shields Colony discussed their plight with the Mayor through their lawyer, asking him to get repatriation or stop discrimination against their employment on British ships."

In /

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1 See pages for account of riots.

2 "Race prejudice...is a form of aggression. Sometimes this aggression may be called direct when the frustrating object is identified (such as) race riots." Dollard in Karl Mannheim, Frustration and Aggression, Kegan Paul, 1944, p.109.

3 South Shields Gazette - 8th September, 1936.
In August of 1946 "There was a protest on the action being taken against the closing of an Arab Cafe on the ground of colour bar. The meeting was sponsored by the Watch Tower." The Watch Tower is a society with its headquarters in London formed for the purpose of protecting coloured people against racial discrimination.  

Again in August of 1948, "A meeting was held to object to remarks made by a secretary of the National Union of Seamen, alleging gate-crashing of coloured seamen into the shipping industry. He objected to the arrival of coloured seamen in this country and going to sea without experience... The meeting charged him with constituting a colour bar." Moslem and Negro speakers were represented on the platform.

A deliberate effort to adjust to the racial situation is attempted by some coloured persons who, by so doing, find some means of overcoming the racial obstacles to economic or social progress. An African who has achieved comparatively high economic and social status in the community, stated that "if more coloured men used their muscles less and their brain more they could accomplish far more in Britain than many had done." His success was due mainly to the co-operation and aid he had sought and received from the whites. "Remember," he cautioned, "this is not the coloured man's country and if he desires to live here permanently, he must try to adapt himself to the ways of the people." Similarly a Pakistani who, like the African, has /

1 South Shields Gazette, August 6, 1946.
2 Ibid. 12, August, 1948.
3 See page 137.
has achieved some success socially and economically stated that "a coloured man can make a living in this country if he acts sensibly. As one of my countrymen has said, 'the English may appear to have a hard skin, but if you get under it you will find a soft heart'. I believe that any coloured man can live comfortably in this country if he tries hard enough."

But while some adjust themselves to the situation, others become frustrated in face of it. This attitude is characteristic of Old-Timers unemployed for a considerable period of time. "What can a poor coloured man do when he tries and tries and nothing comes of it?" cried one of them. Usually they add their regret in having settled permanently in Britain instead of returning to their homeland while in the prime of their youth.

In addition to the effort made by the men themselves and their friends, attempts to solve the unemployment problem were being made through the Colonial Office, and locally by a coloured representative of the men. This representative has made personal contacts or led delegations on behalf of the unemployed to the Labour Exchange and Shipping Federation, and not without some success. Through his efforts, also, five West Africans were recruited into the Royal Air Force.

The Colonial Office through their representatives tried to get the men absorbed into suitable industries. Their policy has been to distribute the men over a wider area. But there have been difficulties in finding accommodation which would enable /

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enable men to be transferred to jobs elsewhere. However, the National Service Hostel Corporation had given limited assistance in taking a limited number of coloured colonials into their hostels in various parts of Britain.¹

Not all the coloured industrial workers living in Shields are employed in the town. Some work in other towns of the region such as Blyth and Jarrow and travel daily to and from their work. It is easier for the coloured man to obtain living accommodation in Shields than in these towns. Moreover, Shields is the centre of their social life. Some men have refused to take up work in industries sixteen or eighteen miles away from Shields because they dislike the daily journey.

The employment situation has considerably improved. A subsequent visit in 1951 after the principal part of this investigation was made, showed that a substantial proportion of the men had received employment in Shields as well as Howden, Jarrow, Blyth and elsewhere. It was estimated that the number of unemployed did not exceed five per cent. The improvement may be partly attributed to the great demand in Britain for labourers and partly to the better relationship that developed between New-Comers and workers in industry. For instance the coloured sports team which competed with various industrial teams on Tyneside prepared the way for the employment of /

of some of its members in a number of factories, through the personal contacts made by these men with white workers.

The employment rate of coloured men will depend mainly on four conditions - the state of economic prosperity of the region, the number of new coloured immigrants arriving in the ports, the efficiency and reliability of the coloured men employed and their ability to adjust themselves to British workers. Tyneside, because of the character of its industries, has been known in the past as a 'depressed area'. In times of national economic depression it has been one of the first industrial regions to suffer from unemployment. A remedy is being sought to ensure greater economic security by the introduction of more varied types of industries. In times of depression, coloured men are among the first group to be 'laid off'. Therefore, on the continued prosperity of the region depends the economic security of the coloured employees.

Whereas prior to the last war the employment of coloured men in this region was confined to a seaman's occupation, with the shortage of labour during the last war, a limited number were admitted into industries. The shortage of manpower after the war has encouraged the continuance of this policy in spite of social difficulties. And although the majority are employed in unskilled and less permanent types of work, there is also a small proportion of men engaged in skilled work, some of whom have /

1 See page 143-145.

2 See page 308-9.
have retained their jobs consistently since the war. And, in spite of the unstable character of the working habits of a number of the unskilled men, there are instances where competent and satisfactory services are given to employers, especially from skilled workers. Those who established satisfactory relationships with their firms have opened the way for other coloured workers.

The number of unskilled workers entering Britain may also be checked if precautions being taken in the Colonial ports prove successful. The main supply of this type of immigrant labour in recent years has been from stowaways, and Colonial and other Governments are making efforts to stop the traffic. The stowaways are the main source of new immigrants on Tyneside.

Summing up the employment situation in North Shields, it was shown that the traditional type of seafaring employment among coloured males tends towards the grouping of West Africans and West Indians. But the post-war trend has been for a larger number of immigrants and their sons to take up shore employment which requires working in white groups. Also, some Anglo-coloured are increasingly being trained for middle-class jobs, which allows for greater acceptance within British society. The trend therefore would seem to be a weakening of one force which supports coloured grouping and a trend towards the absorption of the Negro immigrant and offspring into the British economic structure.
Religion is not as important a factor in the social life of the Negro grouping as it is in the Moslem community. In the Moslem community all its members adhere to Moslem teaching and practices, and religion becomes an effective integrating force in community life. In the Negro grouping individuals give general assent to Christian beliefs and do not claim affiliation to other religious creeds; but very few are members or adherents of a Christian church.

Of the 52 Negro families, in three the wives, and in one the husband, were active members of the Roman Catholic church. Another male claimed to be a Roman Catholic, although he was not a member of a church in Britain. The children of two families were members of the Roman Catholic church. In two other families, the children used to attend an Anglican Sunday school but had not been for two years.

The remaining 46 families have no direct association with the activities of any Christian church. Their lack of interest has been explained or rationalised in a number of ways: that their attendances at church were discontinued because of the manner in which they were stared at, by congregations; that Christians did not treat them better than non-Christians; and that Christianity taught by missionaries in their native land differed from that experienced in Britain.

The 'Wake'. A non-Christian religious ritual in which Africans /
Africans and West Indians participate, is known as the 'Wake'. The 'Wake' is a ritual observance in which relatives of the bereaved and other members of the grouping assemble at the home of the deceased on the evening of the ninth day after death and participate in religious and recreational activities. The proceedings are directed by a Master of Ceremonies. The religious features comprise the singing of Christian hymns and the reading of scripture and prayers. For recreation, there are games and story-telling and refreshment is provided by the host. The ritual is called a 'Wake' because the observance lasts from sunset to sunrise. Originally it was believed that the spirit of the deceased continues to reside in the home and the ninth night was the appropriate time to expel it.

The main features of the ritual seem to be similar in Shields to the practices in the West Indies and parts of West Africa, although there are certain differences in practice. Manoukian describing the ceremony among the Ga speaking people of the Gold Coast, wrote "Open house is kept with wine and rum for more than a week after death. Dancing and wailing gradually give way to cheerful drinking and merrymaking ostensibly to cheer the bereaved. After three weeks there is a night of drumming -

1 The 'Wake' as observed in the West Indies is confined to the lower classes. It would be taken as improper for members of the upper and middle classes to participate. The custom was introduced by African slaves and was modified by the infusion of Christian elements.

a real farewell to the dead; the elders meet in the Origin-house and offer libations to the spirit of the lineage dead."

Beckwith\textsuperscript{1} pointed out that the Wake used to be of great historical importance to the West Indian Negro slave as it was one of the few means available by which to keep alive the tradition of his people.

In the West Indies\textsuperscript{2} and in Shields there are changes in the form of the ritual as practiced in West Africa. The final observance is on the ninth day instead of three weeks after death and no libations are offered to the dead. During the entire performance the emphasis is laid on showing respect for the dead.

The custom has not the same meaning for the different categories of participants in Shields. The attitude of the West Indians in Shields is exemplified by a Jamaican who has attended 'Wakes' because he "knew the family well" and not because he accepted beliefs about the spirit of the deceased. "Some old people at home used to talk about the dead man's spirit going away," he recalls, "but those who believe such things nowadays are few and far between. When a man is dead he is dead." Some West Africans do not discard so readily beliefs held by their ancestors. For example, a Sierra Leonian, although supporting his West Indian friend regarding the importance /

\textsuperscript{1} Beckwith, M., \textit{Black Roadways}, Chapel Hill, 1929.

importance of the 'Wake' to the family of the bereaved, pointed out that there may be some significance in what his ancestors believed. "Lots of young people nowadays don't bother about what the old folks believe," he observed, "but there are some things which we can't explain and some of those old people understood a thing or two."

The white participants observe the ritual out of curiosity and to show their sympathy with the bereaved. The wife of a coloured man said, "I never asked them of its significance. I was invited and went because I knew the family." The half-castes are alleged to show no interest in the ritual. Neither do white wives of higher social status observe the custom when their coloured husbands die. In such instances, abstention is taken to indicate either that the wife has slighted the coloured group or that she is assuming a higher social status than others in her group.

The main function of the ritual is to emphasize the loss to the grouping and to reassure the bereaved family of the sympathy and goodwill of the community towards them. The ritual is rapidly losing its importance to the group as a whole. Fewer observances are reported now than formerly, and with few exceptions the New-Comers and Anglo-coloureds show lack of interest in the custom.

Unlike the Moslem religion, Christianity in Shields does not divert coloured adherents away from British society to form a separate grouping. Coloured persons who are members of a Christian church are integrated into a British institution.
CHAPTER VII

OTHER SOCIAL GROUPS, AND SOCIAL CONTROL

An essential factor in organizing the activities of the coloured population is language. Its importance lies partly in its function in determining the formation of linguistic sub-groups within the coloured grouping, and partly as a means of breaking down barriers to communication and co-operation within the coloured grouping, as well as between persons of the coloured grouping and those of the white society.

The organization of work and religious activities have been treated as separate chapters. Of comparable importance to this study is the organization of various forms of recreational activities, and the grouping of associations, voluntary and otherwise. Individual behaviour within these organizations is subject to social controls operating through sanctions exercised from within the grouping and by means of the canons of law and custom of British society, exercised from outside of it.

LANGUAGE.

Among the Negro immigrants in Shields, West Indians use English as their native language. West Africans speak various African languages, according to the region and colony from which they came. No two African tribal groups in Shields speak the same native language. It follows that no African language spoken /
spoken in Shields has value for intra-group communication. Moreover, the number of Africans speaking the same language is not large enough, nor do these Africans meet often enough, for frequent use to be made of their native tongue. Groups of Negroes which meet from time to time for various purposes are usually so mixed that English is the only common medium of communication between them. It follows that not only in contact with English people but among his own coloured group the African is not encouraged to use his native language. He realizes too that he irritates British people if in their presence he converses with others in his native language. As an Englishman said:

"They make more noises in speech than British people, and their gesticulation is irritating. The Englishman's temperament reacts unfavourably to these mannerisms and although they are often overlooked by the middle and upper classes, resentment is often shown by the lower class. Again, if coloured people converse in their native language in the presence of whites, they are sometimes suspected of concealing some sinister motive."

In the company of West Africans, West Indians have shown disapproval of Africans speaking in their own language. A Somali recalled how on a boat some West Africans were speaking in an African language in the presence of West Indians when the latter snapped at them: "Speak English, where do you think you are? In Africa?"
The use of these languages does not help to strengthen social relationships within the African group as a whole, since no one African language is common to the members of any two groups. Children do not learn their fathers' language, and in one case only was the wife of an African able to speak her husband's native tongue. English is used in the grouping. Consequently the West African is compelled to learn English with due rapidity. And the situation becomes even more urgent for those engaged in 'shore' employment, since English is necessary as a means of co-operation with white workers. As a result, Africans tend to progress more rapidly in learning English than do Arabs or Somalis. This may be one reason why an increasing number of West Indians and Africans are being admitted into industries, while the Moslems are not. Also it may partly account for the mobility of Africans and West Indians to various inland industrial towns instead of being confined to the ports, as is the case with Arabs and Somalis.

The general reticence of the Africans contrasted with the arrogant and aggressive behaviour of West Indians may partly be attributed to the ability of the West Indians to express themselves in English more easily than their West African associates. Consequently, West Indians become more frequently involved in overt conflict with whites than do Africans.

In conclusion, though the African languages influence tribal sub-groupings, none of the non-English languages spoken by any immigrant group facilitate the integration of the total Shields' Negro population. On the other hand, the use of English by all
the immigrants, though in various degrees of proficiency, makes possible communication and co-operation between white and coloured population.

Groups¹ and Voluntary Associations.

In North Shields, some groups are formed according to 'social age' and nationality. The term 'social age' group is used in a special sense in this context, and not in the more general anthropological use of the term 'age group'.

Social Age Groups.

There are two age-groups classified by the grouping as "Old-Timers" and "New-Comers". These will be called Social Age Groups since length of residence and not actual age is the criterion for classification. The "Old-Timers" are the older residents who settled in Britain before the early thirties. Those arriving during the late thirties are not classified with a great deal of certainty. "New-Comers" are immigrants who have taken up residence in Britain during and since the last war. Like the "Old-Timers", most of the "New Comers" came as seamen, though they include a number of ex-servicemen who served in the Army, the Air Force or the Forestry Unit, as well as stowaways. Between Old-Timers and New-Comers there is a social cleavage. The Old-Timers, on the one hand, claim high moral virtues /

¹ I am using Evans-Pritchard's definition of Group. "By 'Group' we mean persons who regard themselves as a distinct unit in relation to other units, are so regarded by members of these other units, and who all have reciprocal obligations in virtue of their membership of it." He contrasts social groups with categories as in the case of Kinship system which is a relationship to an individual. Evans-Pritchard, E.E., The Nuer, Oxford, 1940, pp. 262-3.
virtues, recount the imaginary happy by-gone days, when the coloured residents were highly respected, because of their exemplary conduct. On the other hand, they deplore the behaviour of New-Comers - their sexual adventures, their drinking and gambling habits, their too frequent disregard for law and order, and their aggressive attitude towards British society. Any instance of disrepute suffered by Coloured residents is attributed to the alleged anti-social behaviour of this youthful group. "These 'New-Comers' make me ashamed of my own colour", remarked an Old-Timer. And yet in unguarded moments when the Old-Timers recount their past life to the writer, they too often reveal that there is very little to choose between their own youthful behaviour and that of the present-day New-Comer. For example, a West Indian, who condemned gambling, in a later conversation, when our relationship became more intimate, related how formerly he himself had been an active participant in the game. Another, after deploring the sexual behaviour of a New-Comer, some time after recounted the "good old days" when his friend had two girls - and he himself had a little "innocent fun" before he met his wife.

But the New-Comers also face some new and disturbing social difficulties. Some ex-servicemen have not been able to adjust themselves to peacetime conditions and to the life of a new society and culture. The situation becomes even worse if they remain unemployed for any length of time. The young seaman becomes depressed if after he has had one or two trips he finds himself /
himself unemployed in Britain for a long time. The stowaway realising that his dream of economic success is thwarted also joins the group of embittered and disappointed men. Coupled with economic dissatisfaction, are conditions of racial prejudice and discrimination which are imagined or experienced. The men involved form a disgruntled group who constantly rehearse their unhappy situation and its allied causes, and become antagonistic to all coloured persons who are not like-minded. The attitude of the Old-Timer is different; and since the Old-Timers acquiesce in the attitude of the British society they are opposed by the New-Comers. The two groups are antagonistic to each other.

National Groups.

The two principal national groups are the West African and the West Indian. There are no sub-groups among the West Indians but there are to be found minor groupings, like the Kru and the Mende among the West Africans. Such minor groupings as exist are found only among "Old-Timers" and not among "New-Comers". The West African group distinguishes itself from the West Indian by such remarks as: "The West Indians think they are better than we," or "the West Indians are displaced persons," meaning that a number of their ancestors were brought from Africa. National affiliations are also distinguishable by daily associations. Groups of similar nationality are frequently observed along the street. Language and eating habits are important factors in these associations. A favourite dish is sometimes prepared in which the men of the same ethnic group are /
are invited to share.

There are more Kru than there are members of other West African tribes in North Shields. Among Kru employed as seamen there is a custom by which each man contributes £1 on returning from each trip to be paid into a common fund for the benefit of Kru who are in need. This custom keeps alive tribal interests and stimulates co-operation. In each British port in which there is a settlement of Kru the custom is observed.

In addition to these informal social groupings there is a formal Voluntary Association known as the Coloured Peoples' Mutual Aid Society. The Society is composed of a membership of West Africans and West Indians and their wives. Its aim is to foster co-operation and mutual assistance and to represent the needs of the coloured people of North Shields to the community as a whole.

The Society has undergone various vicissitudes in which a few men vied with each other for power, prestige and leadership. Indeed, it has caused rifts in the personal relationships of some members. At one period the original Society, known as "The International Coloured Peoples' Association", was dissolved and later revived as a new organization with its present name. One personality who has dominated the Society from its inception is its present Secretary - a man of considerable influence both within the coloured group as well as outside it.

The Society meets periodically to discuss problems affecting the welfare of the Coloured residents and if necessary to make representations on their behalf. Such problems are discussed as /
as employment, recreation, and so on. It arranges leisure activities and provides assistance, financial or otherwise, to members in need of help. A subscription of 2d., later increasing to 6d. a week, is made. The following is an attempt to reconstruct the history and function of the Society. It is based on a written account presented by an African which was compared with verbal accounts of two West Indians.

The Society was formed to counteract economic and social difficulties experienced in Shields through racial prejudice. In the interval between the two wars, the coloured population of Shields suffered great economic hardships resulting from unemployment. There was also the need for facilities to enable coloured men and their white wives and children to meet for recreation and fellowship, and a means by which the coloured population might meet the threat of racial discrimination. Thereupon, one of the coloured men approached the Mayor of the town, and with his support a group of coloured men from North and South Shields were assembled and an Association formed. Financial support was given by ship-owners and business men and the young organization was launched.

But later disagreement among members of the executive over differences in policy almost wrecked the organization. A suggestion that a sister branch be formed in South Shields was agreed upon in spite of strong opposition from some members of the Society who felt that such an action would considerably weaken the young organization. The South Shields branch was short-lived. A club room was rented, and a typewriter purchased and badges distributed /
distributed to members. But these items of expenditure made too great a financial drain on the small income of the Society. Other misfortunes were the increased rivalries among the Officers, some of whom were accused of financial dishonesty. In consequence, the Secretary resigned and his assistant was elected to the post. But conditions worsened since the new Secretary became financially involved with the funds of the Organization and his successor was removed from office on similar charges. The President then resigned his post and made a statement to the local press.

Four months later, a small group assembled and organized the "Coloured Peoples' Mutual Association", appointing a new Secretary. The Secretary then set about to solicit the cooperation and assistance of influential white men in the town, some of whom were invited to become members of his executive. By so doing, he was able to attract the interest and support of certain leading citizens of the white population.

A Club grew out of the Society. The declaration of war in 1939 and the increase in the number of coloured seamen arriving in Shields, influenced the Colonial Office to give support to this club, affiliating it to a Seamen's Hostel. A house/secured as Club and Hostel for coloured seamen, which was financed by the Colonial Department, and the Secretary of the Association was chosen as Warden and placed in charge.

His administration of the Club and Association met opposition from some of the coloured people who organized a rival /

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1 Similar instances of rivalry are observed in South Shields (see page 260); and Dr. Little records similar conditions in the Cardiff Negro Community. Op. cit. p. 110.
rival Association, which later died. The Warden gained esteem
and status and his position became more firmly established as a
representative of the coloured people in the borough. His diverse
activities among coloured population include those of liaison
officer for seamen and stowaways, advocate and interpreter for the
accused, settler of disputes and organiser of various social
activities.

The activities of the Association were eclipsed by those of
the Club. Its membership has considerably decreased and its
activities have petered out. The Club ultimately lost its
attraction for the coloured people and latterly found adherents
almost exclusively from among the hostel residents and has
subsequently been closed.

This characteristic lack of permanency in associations
formed in some ethnic under-privileged minority groups has been
noted by Kurt Lewin to be the result of a negative balance
within the group. The group attracted by the desirable features
of the privileged group constantly pulls against itself.\(^1\) The
same tendency is observed in the Moslem Community, where the life
span of their voluntary associations is also very short.\(^2\)

The British-born coloureds do not participate in membership
of any of the groups already described. Neither do they form
groups of their own. Friendship relationships are established
with whites and with other Anglo-coloureds, but not as a rule with
the

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\(^2\) See page 26.
the coloured immigrants. A similar pattern in Anglo-coloured relationship was observed in Liverpool. In Liverpool, however, with its larger coloured population, 'friendship groups' are composed largely of Anglo-coloured with fewer whites. But in North Shields, the situation is the opposite with whites composing the majority and one or two Anglo-coloured among them.

When active, the society exercises a measure of control over its members. It raises the esteem of individuals in the community by giving to them positions of responsibility, such as appointments to its executive body. It exercises sanctions such as the removal of members from its executive, the expulsion of offenders from membership and the deprivation of others from the benefits of the Association. These moral sanctions are supported by the public opinion of the grouping.

In summarising, it was observed that cutting across national groups were the two Social Age Groups which were divided according to their social norms and their attitude and behaviour towards British society. Voluntary associations exercise some control over their members but they lack permanency and constantly were split through rivalry among their members. It was suggested that these tendencies are characteristic of under-privileged minority groups, and was due to the attraction of the privileged group. These groupings keep the coloured people together in a very loose manner. But the links are neither strong enough nor sufficiently stable to constitute a well-integrated group.

The sub-groupings so far described were concerned primarily, though not exclusively, with internal relationships. It was shown /
shown that these relationships were loose, and that there were facilities for and strong tendencies towards close association and identification with the Shields white society. These tendencies are emphasised in the common social scale used by Negroes and whites alike.

SOCIAL STATUS.

In general, most members of the Negro grouping, by virtue of their low economic and social status, measured in terms of the social scale of British society, are classified as Lower Class. Within the North Shields coloured grouping no other scale of measurement is recognized, although there is a distinct esteem system. This situation contrasts with that obtaining in South Shields, in which a dual status scale operates, one accepted by the Moslems only, and the other by Moslems and Whites.

Considered in terms of the social scale of the White society, a few coloured persons have achieved social status in the middle class of British society. These positions were obtained through economic, professional, and other means. One immigrant and about four Anglo-coloured have achieved middle-class recognition, and move within that circle. The case of the immigrant who has achieved this status may be taken as an example of the criteria for middle class status economically, and socially he is in a higher position than his contemporaries. He owns a car and a house. He was warden of a hostel and acted as Welfare Officer for the coloured population. He is secretary of the Coloured People's Mutual Aid Society, which he reorganized, and was awarded the M.B.E. He moves in white circles, his most intimate male associates /

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1 By social scale is meant a common set of values accepted by the community as a means of rating its members according to social position.
associates in the town being white men of the middle class. The Anglo-coloured, referred to have been trained as nurses and in secretarial work and have their intimate associates among middle-class white persons.

This status situation in North Shields contrasts with the class and caste system obtained in the U.S.A., where a rigid caste line separates two social systems - a coloured and a white - which means that however far up the social scale the coloured man advances he is debarred from acceptance by whites. In North Shields a coloured person rises in social status not in a separate caste system, but ascent necessitates crossing of the barrier and closer interaction between coloured and white. Therefore a rise in social status of the coloured person is accompanied by a process of more complete assimilation into the society as a whole.

RECREATION

The North Shields approach to the Ferry, along the waterfront, known as the 'Docks', is a popular meeting-place of coloured men. Its importance is due to its focal position. Relative to the north-south route between North and South Shields, it is the bus terminus and ferry crossing, and between east and west it is the point of convergence between Smith's Dock and the Fish Quay. The offices of the Shipping Federation are situated here as well as Northumberland Hotel, a popular public house. The Square is enlivened with the movement of vehicles and there is always a chance of the coloured man meeting /
meeting friends or acquaintances here. To the east are the Shipping Offices, and men - white and coloured - constantly move in and out of these buildings. And along the Quay, small groups of coloured seamen, sitting on benches or standing, converse and smoke and wait. Some of these are 'established' seamen confident that sooner or later employment must be offered to them. Others are 'unestablished', and can but hope that a vacancy may occur which they might be needed to fill immediately. And so, many come, wait and depart, then return the day after, and wait for weeks, for months - perhaps for many months.

And while they wait, they converse with their friends from North Shields, or with those who have crossed the ferry from South Shields. Others, having completed a trip, and returning home, meet here, and entertain them with drinks or give monetary gifts.

Northumberland Arms (Fig. 6.) is conveniently situated facing the river. In this public house, groups of coloured men assemble each evening, their number increasing as the evening gets later. The proprietor is known as being kindly disposed to them. Unlike most other public houses in the town, the coloured man is not obliged to buy a drink for the privilege of using the lounge, so here he may spend an evening even if he has no money to spend. He may use the piano and radio with discretion or organise the singing of songs, his musical contributions being always appreciated. This Hotel is called the 'Jungle', because of occasional brawls that occur between white men as well as between coloured, with occasional intra-racial /
FIG. 6. (a) Colonial Hostel for Seamen. (b) Northumberland Arms Public House - one of the recreational centres of coloured and white. (c) Two unemployed - waiting before the office of the Shipping Federation.
NORTH SHIELDS

Schools attended by coloured children

Public Houses

Coloured Seamen's Hostel
inter-racial clashes. In view of these incidents some coloured men do not use this Public House.

The four rooms on the ground floor were used. One room was the most frequented by coloured, especially younger men, and is the meeting place between the sexes for "love making". Another room is also very popular with coloured in which there is playing of the piano or radio or communal singing. The other two rooms are used mostly by white men. The groups are not segregated, but except for musical entertainment the two races keep more or less to these separate rooms.

Not far from the Northumberland Hotel is the Prince of Wales public house. Behaviour is more restrained here, due mainly to the influence of the white proprietress. Her father whom she succeeded once managed a boarding house for coloured men. "She knows how to handle the men", remarked a West Indian, "but the men also like and respect her." Frequent use is made of the piano, and other musical instruments are sometimes brought in by the coloured men to form a small orchestra. It is a smaller 'pub' than the Northumberland Arms, with only two rooms, and the two races mix freely and with greater intimacy and friendliness than they do at the Northumberland Arms.

The Club, Parties and Dances.

Other forms of recreation are provided by the Seamen's Hostel and at parties and private dances. The Coloured People's Mutual Aid Society occasionally organizes dances at the Colonial House. The Annual Christmas Party is the outstanding social event of the year, when the children are made the focus of attention.
attention. It is held in the Y.M.C.A. hall, and is attended by the coloured children in the community, each of whom is allowed to take along a white friend. Services are given by members of the Y.M.C.A. staff assisted by coloured helpers. The children are served with refreshments and given presents, after which they play games.

For adults, it is an occasion for toasts and speeches, which have as their main theme the need to strive after moral ideals and for closer co-operation between coloured on the one hand and between coloured and white on the other. Finally, speeches in response are made by one or more white persons present. On one of these occasions the Master of Ceremonies, a West African, made the following speech.

Ladies and Gentlemen and children. This is a day for you children, but it is also a day for us the coloured people... We are happy that so many of our white friends are with us today. You have worked with us to prepare this party and you are now enjoying yourselves with us. It makes my happy. It makes all of us coloured people happy (cheers). It shows that you are our friends in Shields. We know we have enemies too (laughter). But we want to make friends with everybody. These white bairns whom our coloured bairns take along with them go to show that we want to make friends with white and coloured. We want to feel that we are one people because God made us all (cheers)... And now a word about ourselves. I am a plain speaking man you know... We know that things go on sometimes among some of us with our skin. And they are not nice things... Not nice behaviour. Well, you should know we don't like it either... How could we like those who make us ashamed of our colour?...."

After this speech, which was followed by others given by coloured men and the English wife of one of them, each more or less reiterating the points already made, a white guest spoke. He expressed his pleasure at being present, and continued:

This /
This social gathering should remind us that we form part of a large family - the Commonwealth, and in that commonwealth we are of different races... We should also remember that living among us in Shields you are a citizen of this country and deserve all the rights and privileges that other people here enjoy (cheers)...

So, although it is a coloured people's party, its main purpose is to encourage co-operation and to foster good-will between coloured and white population.

Dances are held in the Colonial Hostel or in one of the Church Halls in the town, and music is provided by a local coloured band. The band was ultimately disbanded because of the unavoidable absences of the musicians, most of them being seamen. The males attending these dances are predominantly coloured and the females white, but there are usually a smaller number of white men and coloured girls present.

A Billiard Table at the Colonial House and games of checkers and dominoes offer other recreational interests to young men, though very few, apart from those living in the hostel, avail themselves of these privileges. Some West Indians play at one of the public Billiard Rooms.

Through the efforts of a member of the staff of the British Council, an Athletic Club has been organized with a membership comprised primarily of West Africans and a few West Indians. The only organized activities of the Club have been through its Soccer team, and matches were played regularly against neighbouring teams. The men take a very keen interest in their team, and support its activities by their regular attendances at the weekly meetings and in their personal appearances at the matches.
The weekly meetings of the Club give members the opportunity of discussing and settling problems connected with the team. But more and more it is exercising control on the day to day behaviour of its members. Its discipline is strict, and threat of being suspended or expelled from the Club deters many would-be offenders. The Secretary, who is a West African, was invited to write an account of the formation and function of the Club. The report deserves inclusion in this study.

The idea of forming a Club occurred to me one day when I visited the Colonial House, North Shields. Looking around I saw fellows, some of whom I knew, sitting around the fire; and as one who has always liked to take part in some sporting activities, saw the possibilities of forming a football club. Football was the first thing that occurred to me because a few of the chaps had already represented their individual countries in football matches. Now all that was left was to group the chaps together and to overcome the snags that were bound to crop up in obtaining equipment. It was suggested I get in touch with Mr. Wilcock whom I found to be ready and willing to help.

He suggested a meeting be held and helped to arrange a suitable place, sensing the possibilities of making it more than a football club in the hopes that it would improve the relation between white and coloured people and I am proud to say it did to a marked degree.

The Club has a membership of West Africans and West Indians and the majority of these men are seamen, redundant seamen who at present are employed in shipyards, coalmines and miscellaneous jobs, and men who by some ingenious means known as stowing away made their way to this country. At present some ninety per cent. of these men are in jobs.

We have only been able to operate in football matches, and some of the teams played are listed here:—Bebside XI, a team composed of about half the reserve team of Blyth Spartans, a match we won 4 goals to 3. Netherton XI, a mining team, a match we lost 6 goals to 4, a Ministry of National Insurance XI, Stannington Welfare XI, Seaton Delaval XI, an Army XI at Fenham, South Shields Rediffusion XI. In these matches, the spectators were amazed to see the trust, co-operation and speed of the team /
team. Outstanding players were John Williams, better known as Norday Williams, who several times has represented the Sierra Leone Football Association at outside left, Foday Mansaray, another Sierra Leonean, Billy Brown and Martin Nyaku from the Gold Coast.

What was the effect of the Club on the morals of the Colonial boys? Not only did it help in improving comradeship among Colonial boys, but also infused into them the fact that only in meeting people of this country on level terms such as in sports and a good many other things could any good relations between us be possible. For instance, where it is that someone who is not working is unable to pay his subscription, a means by which we are enabled to keep the club going, another who is working would make it his duty to help that one out and this does not necessarily mean that they are from the same country. He could be an East African helping a West African or West Indian, and the other way round.

What was the behaviour of the team and members with opposing teams? Excellent. Although when losing it is hard to take, yet the game was always played and played fair to the comment of opposing teams and spectators. There tended to be a little weakness in the team but that in my opinion is due to the fact that it takes fellows from the tropics time to settle to conditions of weather and equipment in the game and to some extent, a different system.

Except for some minor incidents, which could be overlooked, such as referees who were always provided by the other side giving wrong decisions, the reaction of the opposing sides was always excellent in that they played the game and did all in their power to make us comfortable and at home, which we always did.

The effect on white people in this part of the country was certainly uplifting. Relationship was greatly improved which was readily seen on visiting these places again for a repeat match. Quite a number of these places where we played are situated in areas where the coloured man is rarely seen and you could imagine the surprise seeing a whole lot of them and what is more, playing football with them; not to mention children swarming around for autographs. Colonial boys were thought of as good sports by almost all who saw them play and as for drawing crowds, it is always a sure thing, as long as the people know we are playing, where and at what time. The largest crowds we had were at Netherton, South Shields and Blyth. These matches were published in the local papers.

To show how relations have improved, it was possible to include students in the team that represented the Club in matches /
matches against the Army XI, Seaton Delaval, South Shields Re-diffusion and Linders Ferne XI.

The manager of the Club added the following remarks - that "In every case the team was asked to give a return match". Of the morale of the players he said that with few exceptions members of the team became disheartened if their side was losing and would sometimes shout at each other. The exceptions were the better players who never lost their morale even when their team showed no signs of victory.

But the team has achieved another purpose. It has given the men the opportunity of contact with white members of opposing teams in a friendly atmosphere. The Captain of the team has summed up these points in his own words when he said:

"The matches give us something to look forward to. We are kept together and we feel much happier to have our own Club. It gives us the chance of meeting more people of the better class than was previously possible. I think people will have more respect for us. You know, it has given us something to talk about at work to the fellows (white boys)."

GAMBLING.

Gambling, though morally disapproved by a large section of the population, is nevertheless practised by a group of the men in the Community. The vigilance of the police in their search for gambling "schools" keeps the activity secret. The "School", as the gambling group is called locally, assembles at least once per week in a room belonging to one of the men. Cards or dice are used and as many as twelve men may take part in the game. Stakes are low, averaging between sixpence and a shilling and seldom is there more than £5 or £6 in circulation. Very seldom is /
is a man 'played out' of the game, since his friends are always giving or lending money to him. The game, which usually begins in the evening, may continue throughout the night. During the game the master of the house sells drinks, tea and cakes, and collects the money from the "kitty". An Old-Timer gave the reason why he thinks gambling has persisted among the coloured men.

"The Negro is restless when he cannot meet each other. He does not as a rule drink beer. He likes something strong (i.e. rum, whisky, gin, etc.), and his finance does not permit him such luxuries. The weather, too, does not allow other games in which he may be interested, so to pass the time away, he spends his spare time at a bachelor's home, in playing dice or cards. It is the only opportunity many of us have to meet for fun. There we make jokes, have tea, or a drink, and perhaps cook a meal, such as rice and herrings."

The owner of the house is always in charge of the "Kitty", for which a saucer, or, more conveniently, his pocket may be used. There are no rules governing how much he may take from the pool each time, from the Kitty, which he claims at the end of the game. He may take, for instance, between 6d. and 2/-.

Each player may have a "lift-up man" who does not play against his partner, and may give him a small percentage of his "winnings". It often happens that at the end of the game, the "kitty-man" has the largest proportion of the money. If a man, especially a stranger, enters the game with much money, he is "double hundred". That is, if a member of the local group loses, he is lent money by his friends and the game continues until the stranger loses.

The card games played are mainly "poker", "crib" or "all-fours"/
fours. Two kinds of dice game are played, the "Seven and Eleven crop" which is of American origin, and "Partuita" which is Spanish. The rules governing the "Seven and Eleven crop" are:- a throw of seven or eleven wins; double six, double ace or ace and deuce loses; but a rethrow is given for all other combinations. If the same point is thrown again before seven enters, the opponent wins.

The Partuita is more frequently played. A throw of doubles in sixes, fives or threes are wins, a throw of six and five win a half stake. Double ace, deuce and four loses. If other combinations are thrown, the dice is passed on to the opponent.

Gambling has become more expensive in recent years, stakes are higher and more money is in circulation. 'Students' of the local "School" are more skilful in their plots to "broke" the visitor, meaning to cause him to lose, and as much as ten pounds may be taken in the kitty, at the end of the game.

These gatherings may be the occasion for quarrels and fights. A participant seen with bruises on his face and hands said that it was the result of a "minor gambling incident" in which he was involved on the previous night.

On the boat, gambling is the principal form of recreation and a few white men may join the coloured group. But more often the coloured men play by themselves. Cigarettes are used if money is not available. "My last crew consisted of twenty gamblers", I was informed by an Old-Timer, "and as much as £5 circulated at each sitting."

This form of gambling offers fellowship to the men, although /
although the main purpose is obviously to win money. But the men frequently go to the "school" even though they are without money, to watch others play. The group gets social satisfaction from the activity, and frustration is relieved. As one of the men remarked, "When we cannot get work, gambling helps us to drown our troubles."

But other types of gambling, such as horse racing, football pools and the greyhound track also attract many supporters.

The Gambling "school" and the games played at the Club are the only recreational activities in which neither whites nor 'hybrids' participate. In other recreational activities, such as dances and an annual children's party, organized by the coloured people, white men and women are invited to take part. And in public recreational centres, the races mix. Therefore, the recreational life of the Negro population serves two important purposes. Firstly it provides for the satisfaction of the recreational needs of the coloured population as a separate group; and secondly it enables white and coloured to mix and share in a common recreational life.

Recreation and Racial Prejudice.

In the recreational sphere, only in dance halls has overt prejudice been experienced by coloured persons. Complaints are made against the proprietor who may refuse to admit the coloured man, or against the white girl if she refuses to dance with him. But the refusal of the proprietor may be due to the behaviour of other coloured men admitted on a previous occasion. A proprietor stated that owing to the behaviour of two Somalis...
on a previous occasion he had refused to admit another coloured man subsequently. When an 'Excuse me' dance was being performed - that is a dance in which the female changes partner several times - the partners of the Somalis were taken from them and they could not be made to understand why their partners should be taken by others. Assuming that colour prejudice was the cause, they behaved in such a manner that the proprietor decided to refuse admittance to other coloured men. Another proprietor stated that a coloured guest became very annoyed because a white girl had refused to dance with him. When these incidents occur they are given a great deal of local publicity, and action is taken by the coloured population against their recurrence. The dance hall incident, for instance, was given prominence in the local newspapers and the Home Secretary was approached on the matter. After an investigation, the proprietor was threatened with the closing of the dance hall should there be a repetition of the incident. The coloured person involved returned to the dance hall soon after and experienced no difficulty.

In other recreational centres such as cinemas, public houses, etc., no incident of discrimination has been reported. In North Shields, when coloured persons organize dances, it is the custom to invite white male and female guests as well as coloured. At the Annual Christmas Party organized for coloured children by the coloured population, the custom has been for each coloured child to take along a white guest. This would suggest that racial discrimination in recreation is not a regular /
regular feature of life in Shields, and that in most of these activities persons of both races participate amicably.

SOCIAL CONTROL.

The Negro grouping is maintained by means of dual social control. Externally, order is maintained through British customs and the British legal system and its personnel, and internally by means of informal regulations enforced by the sanction of public opinion.

External Control.

The table (3) gives for the twenty years between 1930 and 1939, and between 1940 and 1949 the cases in which Negroes in North Shields were convicted and received sentences of imprisonment. The list is complete in this category only and does not include breaches of a minor nature in which a fine was imposed and paid. Therefore only tentative conclusions may be drawn from this data.

Table III

Members of Negro Families Convicted and Imprisoned - 1930-1949.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality of Offender</th>
<th>Nature of Offence</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. West Indian &amp; Half-caste wife (N)</td>
<td>Inflicting wounds on another West Indian</td>
<td>3 months imprisonment for each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. West African (N)</td>
<td>Wounding mother-in-law</td>
<td>1 months imprisonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3(a) West Indian (O)</td>
<td>Assaulting an Indian</td>
<td>1&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) West Indian (O)</td>
<td>Beating wife (second offence)</td>
<td>3&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. West Indian (N)</td>
<td>Responsible for the pregnancy of girl - age 15 years</td>
<td>9&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. West Indian (N)  | Keeping Immoral House (offender as in case 3)  | 3 months imprisonment
6. West Indian (O) (same man as 3)  | Keeping Immoral House  | 3 " "
7. West Indian (N)  | Inflicting severe bodily wounds to Common-Law wife  | 18 " "
8. West African (N)  | Receiving money from Public Assistance Board after making a false declaration  | 1 " "
9. English Woman  | Accommodating prostitutes at her home in absence of her coloured husband  | 3 " "

(N) indicating New-Comer and (O) Old-Timer

Five of the ten offences are in the category of assaults or bodily injury and West Indians are involved in eight of these, although on three of these occasions, the same West Indian was the offender. In six cases, the offender is a New-Comer. West Africans were involved in two cases only. Correlating these facts with reports obtained from Probation Officers and the Police Department, it would appear that the New-Comers, rather than the Old-Timers, and the West Indians, rather than the West Africans, are the more aggressive section of the Negro group.

Assaults are usually made when the men are drunk or are aroused by sex jealousy over women. This may result in assault on the woman or on the male rival - usually another coloured man. More cases would have been brought before the courts but for the fact that some are settled outside through the intervention of an influential member of the coloured group who has helped to settle many /
many disputes informally. But more will be said of him later.

Reports obtained from the Superintendent of Police - resident in the borough for more than twenty-five years - as well as from members of the Police force and the Probation Officer, are agreed on the main points in regard to the maintenance of order among the Negro population. They affirmed that crime has increased over the last twenty-four years, especially cases of drunkenness and assaults, notably fighting, during the years after the war. This increase may be attributed to various social causes such as unemployment and social maladjustment; but the main cause would appear to be the recent arrival of many stowaways who show less sense of social responsibility than their predecessors. The Anglo-coloureds are no problem in this respect, being as law-abiding as the Old-Timers. New-Comers are very hypersensitive, believing that the entire English society is against them. As a result, they become very arrogant and aggressive, making it very difficult for assistance to be given them even by those who have their interest at heart.

In the conflicts which usually occur between the coloured people themselves, West Indians have always been more aggressive than West Africans. The New-Comers appear to be more easily provoked and resort more quickly to violence and the use of weapons than do Old-Timers or the English. But these incidents usually occur after the man has had drinks.

Women are often the cause of these conflicts. Jealousy may /

1 Little, op. cit., pp. 261-2.
may cause clashes between the two men or an assault on the woman herself. The frequency with which these incidents occur can be understood when it is remembered that the women with whom some coloured men associate are of the type that have intimate relations with more than one man.

There was only one case of separation where the coloured man was married to a white woman, although there were two cases in which the women were Anglo-coloureds. More incidents of separation and overt conflict occur in cases in which the relationship is that of a man and his common-law wife, than in those in which the couple are legally married. In the former relationship, usually neither the man nor the woman feels that the one has binding obligations towards the other.

These frequent clashes over women, which top the list of offences, would seem to be closely linked with other sociological factors in the life of the coloured immigrant. The English woman with whom he has established close friendship, not only satisfies his sexual need but also compensates for colour prejudice which he experiences. She also gives him a sense of social security. She stabilizes his life by giving him roots in a society in which he is a stranger. She may aid him economically. She is his main link with a society which is sometimes hostile to him and which is at the same time his only source of sustinance. To win her affection may have required much effort on his part, and to lose her may entail a great social loss. One is not surprised, therefore, that the man is so wary of a rival and may become so bitter against the woman if she threatens to leave him.

Juvenile /
Juvenile delinquency among coloured is below the average number of cases recorded for North Shields.\footnote{Dr. Little records a similar situation in Cardiff. At the same time, he observes that those whose behaviour would condemn them as delinquents in one urban section would not be so condemned in some other area. There is a difference, however, in the North Shields situation. Whereas the Cardiff coloured population is concentrated in one section of the port, in North Shields they are widely dispersed over various sections of the town. The reputation which the North Shields Anglo-coloured have earned for good behaviour is based on a wider comparative scale. Op. cit., p. 132.} Between 1940 and 1949, the three cases reported were: (a) the oldest brother of three siblings assaulting his sister who was keeping house for the family after the death of the mother; (b) two brothers who, convicted for stealing and certified as mentally deficient, were sent to an approved school. The mother of these children had served three months imprisonment for encouraging prostitution in her house. In both cases, social conditions in the home were unfavourable. Judging from the reports of the Probation Officers and Police, in general the Anglo-coloured have never been a social problem, and are in fact commended for their good behaviour.

From the point of view of the coloured people themselves, there are two reactions to social control. On the one hand, some of the New-Comers tend to disregard the sanctions of the coloured people as well as the law of the land. Racial discrimination is made an excuse for all their social grievances and the Old-Timers are described as "behind the times". The Police are accused of 'spying' on coloured and 'setting traps' for them. On the other hand, the Old-Timers, regarding themselves as the custodians of the norms and values of the coloured people, disapprove /
disapprove very strongly of the behaviour of the New-Comers, fearing the ill-effect their behaviour may have on the reputation of the group. At the same time they accord high praise to the Police, who are accredited with "doing their job".

Informal Control.

In addition to the system of law and judicial force of British society, there are also informal means of social control which help to regulate behaviour in the Negro grouping. Control is often a personal affair in which the Old-Timers play the chief role. The guiding principle is the "good name of the coloured people". As has been previously stated, the Old-Timers are the custodians of these norms and public disapproval is the only punitive measure that may be applied to offenders. The clash between the two social age groups has resulted from the flouting of these standards by the New-Comers, but a measure of control is still maintained in view of the fact that the number of Old-Timers here are large enough, and the support received from the whites strong enough to withstand the disrupting challenge of the New-Comers.

The situation here differs from those conditions in some larger coloured groupings, as in Liverpool for example, in which the Old-Timers are greatly outnumbered and overwhelmed by the New-Comers; the former, being unable to withstand the challenge, recede into the background and the element of social control within the group weakens or disappears altogether. As an Old-Timer in Liverpool remarked, "We cannot go with these young fellows, so /
so we leave them alone and keep ourselves to ourselves". But there still remains a degree of informal group control among the North Shields coloured, and a West African, who has risen in prestige and status among white and coloured alike, has taken the role of arbitrator in a number of disputes. He helps the new arrivals to become adjusted to English society, acts as interpreter and advocate in the Law Courts and settles minor disputes, some of which are referred to him by the Police instead of being taken into Court. Disputes of this nature are settled by calling together the persons involved and discussing the case with a view to some final solution. Other Old-Timers may also be called upon to assist in the settlement.

One of the most common causes of group tension and dispute is sex. As mentioned elsewhere, rivalry between two or more males for the affection of a woman has caused quarrels and fights, and has even resulted in loss of employment. More serious are those involving sexual relationships between a man and the wife of an absent seaman. Often the male lodger is suspected of this offence. The coloured grouping takes a very serious view of such offences, consequently the wives are careful to safeguard their reputations against gossip. During a visit to a home, I found the sick wife and child confined to bed. When asked if she was visited by her coloured neighbours, she replied that she did not associate with her closest neighbour because she had a "bad name" - meaning rumours about her sex life - and she did not encourage coloured men to her house when her husband was away "lest people talk". The sanction of public opinion is the main deterrent /
deterrent against this kind of sexual behaviour.

The voluntary associations have also some measure of control on social behaviour. The Coloured Peoples Mutual Aid Society may attempt to discipline its members not only for behaviour detrimental to the Association, but also for those disapproved by the community in general. Similar attempts at controlling behaviour are made by Tyneside Coloured Athletic Club whose rules specify suspension or exclusion from membership of those whose general conduct within, as well as outside the Club, in any way affects the reputation of Club members.

Although the coloured population has created a public opinion of their own, their sanctions affect only a proportion of the coloured people, being generally disregarded by most of the New-Comers. Social control exercised by voluntary associations is not dependable, since these associations lack permanency, and as in the case of public opinion affect not a large proportion of the coloured population. The Old-Timers influence control in two respects, firstly as arbitrators in disputes, secondly as upholding the norms of the coloured population against the challenge of the New-Comers. In this latter role, the Old-Timers retain the good relationship established by the whites and the esteem which it has won them. Consequently, the two age groups tend to be opposed to one another. Finally, internal social control is not as strong and effective in the Negro grouping as in the Moslem Community, in which religion is such a strong regulative force. Moreover, the Negro grouping is not as closely knit structurally as is the Moslem Community, and this renders the internal system of control less effective.
PART THREE.

THE MOSLEM COMMUNITY

SOUTH SHIELDS.
PART THREE - THE MOSLEM COMMUNITY.

CHAPTER VIII

SOUTH SHIELDS - THE URBAN SETTING AND THE MOSLEM SETTLEMENT.

South Shields has much in common with North Shields her twin-sister port, on the opposite side of the river. There are similarities in the main physical features, in industrial resources, and in historical development.

The settlement dates back as far as the Romans, who built the Low Fort between 80 and 400 A.D. The first settlement (Map 5) was along the narrow lower terrace of the river with a row of houses of fishermen and workers in the salt pan industry. In the latter half of the eighteenth century a town hall and market were built on ground above the slope of the river bank, which marked the shifting of the centre of the town from the river terrace. Rapid development, especially in industrial enterprises, occurred during the nineteenth century. Shipbuilding and engineering industries developed and expanded, new piers and docks were constructed and a sheet glass factory erected.

1 Pages 160 and 161 were compiled largely from: South Shields Centenary 1850 - 1950 (1950); Caesar op.cit. The Northern Region, Nos. 2 and 3 op. cit.; Health Reports - County Borough of South Shields, 1925 - 1950.

2 Ruins of the Fort are preserved in the town.
The spread of the Moslem settlement in relation to the age of sections of the town

Expansion of Coloured Settlement

MAP 5. Before 1775

1775-1830

1850-1920

1930 and later
The Municipal Housing Scheme came into being in 1921. Under this scheme new suburbs sprang up in Cleadon Park and Little Horley Hill. About the same time old buildings in the Dock area were cleared away and on the site factories and new dwelling houses erected. A number of Moslem families, whose homes were demolished in the dock clearance, were rehoused in new houses constructed in Cornwallis and Legate Squares, on ground recently cleared, overlooking the dock.

Population.

The population in South Shields increased from 2,800 in 1851 to 109,000 in 1950. The most rapid increase, due mainly to industrial expansion, occurred during the first fifty years, reaching 101,000. Between 1921 and 1940 there was a decrease resulting from the economic depression. Post-war economic prosperity has affected a steady rise in the population.

Moslem Settlement.

In the absence of records no precise account can be given of the date of settlement and the rate of growth of the Moslem population in South Shields, but inferences may be drawn from available data. A census taken by the Moslems in 1948 showed a population of 850. This estimate included the English wives and children of Moslems, whether or not these dependents had embraced the Moslem faith. Taking into account the increase in the number of immigrants, marriages with English women and the number of—
children born to the Moslem community since, the population at the present time may be taken to approximate 900.

The settlement dates to about the beginning of the first quarter of the present century, and was situated along the river in the dock area. (Map 5). Later a number of families went to live in Legate Lane, Maxwell, Green and Cuthbert Streets. Boarding houses, cafes and a religious centre were subsequently established here. In the 'thirties' the houses in the dock area were demolished and some Moslem families were given houses in Cornwallis Square.

No immigrant has settled for longer than forty years. The community is composed of persons of three generations. Among children of the third generation there is a difference of about eight or nine years between the oldest Negro children living in North Shields and the oldest Moslem child in South Shields. This suggests that the South Shields coloured settlement was established at a more recent date than the North Shields grouping. Seniority of residence is also claimed by the Negroes.

The more rapid growth and the larger size of the Moslem population as compared with the Negro may be due to three main causes: First, Shields is on a direct route from the Moslem lands. Secondly, the town itself is about three times as large as North Shields and can support a larger population, and thirdly the Moslem population is more highly organized than the Negro.
The Moslem population is predominantly Arab, who compose more than one half of the male population. Arabs and Somalis were the earliest Moslem settlers but the latter did not tend to marry and set up homes in Shields as did the Arabs. It is customary for the Somalis to save money and then return to settle in their native land. The Pakistanis are the most recent arrivals. Like the Arabs they are inclined to marry and settle in Shields.

The Moslem population, with a separated core of Moslem families, is concentrated in one section of the town. The grouping is organized into well established institutions many of which are separate from the white community. They also share cultural values and norms distinct from the white population. For these reasons the grouping will be called a community. Firth differentiates between an integral and a sectional community. The first is more or less structurally self-contained; the second is structurally a part of a wider community. The Moslem grouping corresponds to Firth's definition of a sectional community, being a part of the larger community of South Shields. The grouping can also be described as a cultural community according to the definition of Burgess, Zorbaught and others of the Chicago School. According to Zorbaught, an area becomes a community by virtue of the common experiences of its inhabitants, "resulting in their becoming a

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FIG. 7. TYPICAL PHYSICAL FEATURES. (a, b, c) Somalis. (d) Pakistani. (e) Arab. Background (e) New Semi-detached house in Cornwallis Square - 'the Nucleus' - contrasts with (a, b, c, d) outside the Nucleus where houses are in poor condition.
cultural group, with traditions, sentiments and attitudes, and memories in common - a focus of belief, feeling and action."

HOUSING.

In South Shields the present Moslem housing (Map. 6) area may be divided into two sections. The first is the Cornwallis Square - Portberry Way - Legate Square section which comprises new semi-detached, self-contained houses built in 1937 and in 1951. This area, which may be called the 'nucleus' of the settlement, is occupied exclusively by coloured families, all of them being married couples. The other section covers an area adjoining the nucleus, in which apartments occupied by coloured families are dispersed in varying degrees of density among those occupied by whites. This is the least desirable area of the town, although it can hardly be called a slum.

The 'Nucleus'.

The Cornwallis Square - Portberry Way houses (see Fig. 9) were constructed in 1937 by the Town Council and sold to the North Eastern Building Trust who rented them to Moslem families. With the exception of two families - a West African and a West Indian - the remaining thirty-seven houses are occupied by

1 Zorbaugh, H.W., The Gold Coast and the Slum, Chicago, p. 222.
2 The Legate Square houses were built in 1951, but a number of them were not completed when this survey was made. My remarks about the 'Nucleus' will be based largely on the 39 families living along Cornwallis Square and Portberry Way.
Moslem families - mostly Arabs but also a few Pakistanis and Somalis.

The houses are kept in very good living conditions, and are regularly inspected by agents of the Trust and Sanitary Inspectors to ensure their proper upkeep. Rivalry between coloured and white occupying a parallel street stimulates interest in the care of the gardens. "Look at our front gardens," remarked a householder in Cornwallis Square, "don't you see that they look much better than those on Commercial Street?"

New houses were constructed in an area adjoining Commercial Street which has been named Legate Square, and can accommodate an additional twenty-four Moslem families. Commercial Street, occupied by whites, is sandwiched between the two squares settled by coloured. The policy adopted by the Corporation is to enlarge the area of the coloured settlement by the construction of new houses or by coloured families gradually taking over the houses now occupied by whites. An arrangement between the Municipal Housing Department and the North Eastern Housing Estate Ltd., provides for a gradual withdrawal of the whites from Commercial Street to another area, and its occupation by Moslem families.

The reaction to separation of the people living in the coloured community varies. The white wives and their children react unfavourably. "Look how they have put us by ourselves,"
FIG. 8. THE 'NUCLEUS', CORNWALLIS - LEGATE SQUARE.

(a, b) Houses of Cornwallis Square and (c, d) of Legate Square.
FIG. 9. CORNWALLIS - LEGATE SQUARE. Interior views. Seated are Anglo-Arab and white friend. Sitting-room and Bed-room.
FIG. 10. **THE 'NUCLEUS'.**

(a) Arab and family.  (b) Neighbours, the wives of two Arabs pause for a chat. Children belonging to three families. Typical summer scene. (c,d) Children living in the Square.
a housewife remarked. These complaints might have been made more vocal but for the well equipped houses they occupy and in view of the housing shortage suffered by white and coloured alike in the town. But the Moslem men do not object to being separated. To a claim made by the whites to the front street of the new settlement the reply of an Arab is significant of the attitude of the men to their situation. The local newspaper reported:

"Whites have claimed the front street, which is Commercial Street. They claim priority in choice, because they lived there first and do not want to pass through the Arab section. Sixteen have signed a petition to this effect." The Arab replied, "We don't want any trouble. Let the people who have lived on the front street a long time stay there. We want to live peacefully." 1

The Moslem immigrants' whole manner of life suggests that they have a preference to retain and strengthen the social relationship with members of their own group and to have as little as possible to do with the white community.

In this section the houses are semi-detached (Fig. 6) and equipped with hot and cold running water, electric light and gas. On the ground floor are the living room, also used as a dining room, a kitchen and scullery, toilet and bathroom, coal house etc. Two or three bedrooms, linen cupboard and built-in wardrobes are on the first floor.

Most homes are furnished (Fig. 7) with utility suites in the dining-drawing room and bedrooms. A radio is to be found

1 South Shields Gazette, 8 October, 1937.
in almost every house, and there were three pianos in the Square. Walls are decorated principally with two types of pictures, photographs of relatives and acquaintances - coloured preferred, pictures of holy places and decorated verses from the Koran written in Arabic letters. The most commonly found verse is "God is most Great". There are drawings of the buildings and courtyard of historic religious centres such as Mecca and Medina. For example, the picture decorations in the lounge of an Arab family include photographs, two of the man's (one coloured and dressed in Eastern fashion), and one of his wife, another of his wife's sister, one of the husband's brother's son, one of the Shiakh in Cardiff and another of the Chief Imman of the Allawaian Sect in Morocco. Also there were two framed decorated verses from the Koran and a picture of the plan of the Mosque at Mecca. Pots with growing plants and vases with flowers cut from the garden decorated the lounge. Animals or youths made of porcelain are frequently found on the mantelpiece or window sills usually so exhibited as to be seen from the street by passers-by.

In back gardens efforts are made to grow vegetables from poor built-up soil. Often there are a few hens and a dog or cat. A few small monkeys from South America or the West coast of Africa are brought home by seamen as pets for the children.  

In this 'nucleus' of settlement with its sixty-three houses

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1 The sixty-three houses mentioned here include those of Legate Square, recently added to the Nucleus.
and coloured families, in which social relationships are closely knit by common residence, kinship ties, bonds of friendship and by common experience and interest, there exists the core of an integrated Moslem Community.

Housing outside the Nucleus.

Housing conditions outside the Nucleus show a marked contrast to those within (Fig. 17). They occupy one of the oldest sections of the town and some of the houses are in need of repairs. The coloured families are dispersed among whites, and occupy flats of one to four rooms. From this area fifty-seven applications were made to the Corporation Housing Department for new houses in 1949. Of the fifty-seven families, one occupied a flat of 5 rooms, seven of 4 rooms, six of 3 and the others of 2 and 1 rooms. The majority were living in two rooms. Rental ranged between 6/5d. and 14/9. per week, the average amount paid being 8/- per week. The size of families occupying these flats varied from two to six persons. But more than one half the number of families were composed of five persons - husband, wife and three children, which indicates overcrowding. Most of these families were occupying flats on Legate Lane, Green Street, Cuthbert Street and Maxwell Street.

These flats compare favourably with those of Dockwray Square, North Shields, both areas lacking such amenities as bathrooms, and with toilets in the yard. In some apartments broken

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1 Information received from the Municipal Corporation Housing Department, South Shields, July, 1949.
windows and walls stripped of paper were but few indications of the need for repairs. Others are in better condition, and with the care of industrious housewives exhibit a more pleasant appearance. The general lack of care taken and the appearance of these flats are in contrast to the homes in the nucleus. The rooms here are usually congested with old cheap furniture.

**Boarding Houses and Rooms used by Single Men.**

Some of the men live in boarding houses in which they are assisted by the Master in various capacities. The Master protects the seaman's belongings or keeps his money during his absence. In the boarding house the transient or newly arrived immigrant finds accommodation at short notice. But some single men live in rented rooms which may be jointly occupied. These rooms are locked and the keys kept by the landlord during the absence of the tenant.

Boarding houses and cafes are the main centres in which the men of the community meet for social and other purposes. They are situated along four or five streets in the area. Maxwell, Legate, Cuthbert and Green Streets are the main arteries of the business, recreational and religious life of the community. Cafes, boarding houses and the Zoalga are dotted along them. At various hours of the day coloured men may be seen entering and leaving these centres.

The Moslem family experiences similar discrimination in acquiring a house as the Negro. Landlords may refuse to rent flats. White tenants may threaten to leave if coloured persons
are allowed to rent rooms in the same house, or protest against Moslem families occupying houses in the same area. Deliberations in the Council meetings and other reports appearing in the local newspapers in regard to the proposed building of houses for the Moslem population in South Shields support these observations:

"Alderman Curbison refers to proposed flats (for Moslems) as a devil's hole, a monstrosity, and a potential cesspool of slumdom. He suggested that instead, separate houses should be built; life in flats is bad for any people." 1

"Councillor Harris was opposed to the building of flats. Too many coloured people should not be encouraged to live here. Councillor Lawlan supported the remarks by saying that Shields should see that they do not get too many of these people." 2

"Unless the Council provides them (the Moslems) with specific accommodation, there is a danger of the Arabs penetrating, as they have already done, in isolated cases into good class residential areas in South Shields. Members of the Council are opposed to the alternative of allowing them to migrate along with displaced white slum-dwellers to the new Housing Estate. Public opinion is inclined to the belief that they should be kept together." 3

The Council finally decided to construct semi-detached houses for the Moslem population along two streets and to allot the houses along a third street to white families.

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1 South Shields Gazette, 25 January, 1935.
3 South Shields Gazette, 23 March, 1935.
In another report the press records prejudice against coloured families by Estate Agents and white tenants.

"Colour prejudice against coloured tenants is confirmed by Estate Agents who are suggesting that the obvious way out was to segregate the coloured people and set aside a certain area in the town for them to live in. Mr. Vasey of Vasey and Reid said it was particularly noticeable in tenemented properties where there were common yards, white tenants objected to coloured people living in the same building. If landlords agreed to a coloured tenant occupying the premises, the white tenants objected and would state their intention of leaving." 1

The landlord may not refuse coloured people in general but may be prejudiced against one category of coloured persons only. Africans may be preferred to West Indians or vice versa or West Indians to Arabs and so on. The wife of an Anglo-coloured of a West Indian father who had arranged with a landlady to rent her flat, was later refused when it was known that her husband was coloured. Whereupon the husband called to see the landlady and asked why she had insulted his wife. She replied, "I was informed that you were an Arab, but now that I know you are not, you may have the flat if it is still required."

In North Shields, the wife of the Negro may obtain a house if he fails because of racial discrimination. The West Indians and some West Africans have English surnames which conceals their wives' identity. But the wives of Moslems are sometimes less fortunate as their surnames may reveal their identity and

1 South Shields Gazette, 17 June, 1940.
prejudice and negotiations.

The establishment of boarding houses to accommodate coloured men is one means of solving the housing problem. The custom of renting large houses and sub-letting them to coloured families is another.

It should not be inferred that in these towns whites always protest against coloured persons living as their neighbours or in the same house. The cases of discrimination which occur are given publicity. In a number of cases resentment is not shown by whites.

In the two distinct sections of the Moslem community, we observed the differences in orientation to social life. One area is a separated Moslem section. It consists of new houses, well furnished and nicely kept; only married couples are found here. In this section social relationships are closely knit by bonds of kinship and common residence. Families compete for flats here; and on obtaining one the tenants leave behind most of their old furniture, and furnish their new houses with new utility furniture. Outside the nucleus, poor types of overcrowded apartments provide accommodation for diverse categories of Moslems. These comprise the newly arrived, the transient, the unemployed, single men and married and common-law families. Here too are found apartments used for illicit sexual purposes. Business, religious and recreational centres are situated here.

Moslem families are restricted in their choice of a house. Applicants to the Housing Department may be given a council
house only within the nucleus. The policy of the Corporation has been to separate the Moslem population. Three families, however, who were long resident in the town bought houses outside the bounds of the Moslem community. In each case it is the wife's desire and initiative that has brought about this change. The wife always prefers dispersion rather than separation from the white population.

The Moslem settlement pattern is determined partly by the Corporation and partly by the immigrants - the latter acquiescing in a policy of separation carried out by the former. The pattern strengthens the solidarity of the Moslem community and at the same time retards the assimilation of Moslems into Shields Society. The situation provides for accommodation between the two and may be compared with Wirth's Ghetto which he claims "is the relationship of accommodation - much like plants and animals in the process of symbiosis."

For North Shields it was shown that the ecology indicated correlations between the culture and status of the Negroes with the area occupied. Since the Moslems are more restricted in their choice of residence than the Negroes, a comparison may not be made on the same scale, though some points of comparison are possible. Cornwallis Square is similar to the Ridges in many respects, and Maxwell Street, Cuthbert Street, etc., of South Shields compares with Dockway Square of North Shields. In Cornwallis Square area, sixty families all married, occupy well

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1 Wirth, op. cit., p. 282.
furnished houses and family life is stable. Outside this area are to be found a mixed category - the newly arrived, the transient, common-law families, boarding houses and so on.

Unlike the residential situation in North Shields, Moslem families moving from the least desirable to the more desirable housing area are placed in a position of residential separation. They are deprived of personal contact with white families and as a result there develops a strong group consciousness and social solidarity and a feeling of being separate from the wider community.
Most features characteristic of the Negro family in North Shields have parallels in the Moslem family in South Shields. Usually, the woman is from the lower class of British society. In both cases, because the husbands are coloured, whites may react in a similar prejudicial attitude towards the couples. The woman, usually, is estranged from her parents, who may be unwilling to be reconciled to her; but partial or complete reconciliation between the families may be achieved.

But some features of the Moslem family differ from those of the Negro. Most Moslem families live in proximity to each other. Endogamous tendencies are more marked and the father's cultural values are introduced into home life especially in the training of the children. These factors tend to knit the group into a distinct cultural and structural entity.

Three types of relationships exist between man and wife living in the Moslem community. The first is a legalized British marriage, the second is a Moslem marriage; and the third is the relationship known as Common-law marriage. Some couples observe both British and Moslem marriage rites, for which two reasons may be suggested. First, some Moslem couples who

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1 See pages 217-8.
were married by a Registrar, later for religious reasons and influenced by Shaikh Abdulla submitted to a Moslem marriage as well. Secondly, the English spouse who has had a Moslem marriage only, may ask that the union be ratified by a British marriage in order that there may be no uncertainty regarding the legal status of her marriage, outside the Moslem community.

Within the Moslem Community, a Moslem marriage has equal status to a British marriage but a situation did arise in which the status of the Moslem rite was questioned outside the Moslem community. The man prefers the Moslem marriage, not only for religious reasons, but because he believes that should a divorce be necessary, the British legal procedure would be avoided.

A common-law wife has lower marital status in the community than the wives of the other two types of marriages. A common-law marriage may be preferred to a legal one if both parties desire a temporary union. A temporary union may be preferred because of suspicions of feelings of racial superiority on the part of the woman, neither trusting the other's faithfulness. Or the man may have left his wife in his native land. But some women enter into common-law relationship as a step towards a legal marriage. After living with the man for a time, she may insist on a legal marriage and may desert him if he refuses.

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1 See pages 213-4.
2 See page: 167.
3 According to the Moslem law, if a divorce is required the husband notifies his wife's father and repeats one of the recognised formulae, which ends his obligation as husband. See Tritton, A.S., Islaam, Hutchinson University Press, London, 1951, p.132.
An Arab was seen removing his belongings from the house of his common-law wife, after they had lived together for two years. He explained that they had separated because they had quarreled several times, over her repeated request to get married. When he refused, she told him to leave her as she did not intend to continue living as a common-law wife.

Conflicts are more frequent and relationships less stable between common-law than between married couples. The principal causes of conflict and separation are sexual jealousy, the desire for new sexual experiences, and the attraction of greater material gain. There is also the fact that because the couple are not legally bound to each other, they are free to desert each other whenever they choose. The man may meet a woman more desirable than his common-law wife and may try to retain the friendship of both or to leave the one for the other. On the other hand, the woman may transfer her affection to another man, especially during the absence of her husband at sea. If her new lover offers larger sums of money or more expensive presents, she may choose to remain with him instead. It has happened that the man returns from sea to find the home deserted and his belongings removed by the woman. Quarrels or fights are caused mainly through sexual jealousy. A Pakistan seaman, after being away for some months, returned home unawares to find another man in bed with his common-law wife. In the struggle between the two men, which followed, one eye of the intruder was gouged out by
the husband. After beating the woman he went to the Police Station and reported the incident. These conflicts may lead to even more serious consequences as the following case of murder illustrates:

"A coloured South Shields seaman accused at Durham Assizes yesterday of murder said he had spent between £500 and £600 on a woman who left him to live with another (coloured) man when he went to sea. He had stabbed her to death."

Somalis show less inclination to marry in Britain than do other nationalities in the Moslem Community. Of about fifty male Somalis in Shields, only four were married. "Somalis are not the marrying type", remarked a woman, "they only believe in having a good time." By this she meant, that while in Britain, Somalis prefer an extra-marital sexual life to a married one. The tendency has been for Somalis to return to their native land as soon as they accumulate a satisfactory sum of money.

One result of this type of sex-life may be the high venereal disease rate among them in Shields - the incidence being considerably higher among Somalis than among the other coloured ethnic groups.

In the home Pakistanis and Somalis tend to exercise greater dominance over their wives than do Arabs. Differences in national culture may partly account for this difference in attitude. But two other observations concerning language and nationality deserve consideration. The Arab has difficulties with the

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(1) See Appendix D.
(2) South Shields Gazette, 12 February, 1952.
English language and consequently is reticent and becomes dependent on his wife. Although all the Moslem groups have language difficulties, the Arabs are the most backward since the others tend to mix more freely with persons speaking English. Again, most Arabs in Shields are Yemenis and therefore aliens and some of them, born in the Colony or Protectorate of Aden, do not possess birth certificates or other papers of British identity. Being aliens, two contingents were deported from Shields and on previous occasions were deprived employment on British boats, because preference was being given to British subjects. Arab Cafes and Boarding houses have had several raids from the police in search of illegal drugs. As a result of these experiences, the Shields Arabs feel insecure. This state of insecurity is reflected in their reticence, their suspicion of the police and their frequent remark 'this is not my country'. On the other hand, Somalis and Pakistanis who are members of a British Commonwealth country and Protectorate feel a greater sense of political security in Britain. Consequently, they are outspoken in their political views and national aspirations. It would appear that these are some of the factors determining the dominance of the one and the subordination of the other in family life.

The wife exercises much authority in the home, due to her role as head of the household during the frequent and prolonged absence of her husband and as intermediary between the family

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1 See page 272.
and white society. On her depends the management and control of the household and those responsibilities which connect the routine and home life with various institutions in the society. The children in a large measure are trained and disciplined by her, and her husband is dependent on her to secure for him those privileges in the society of which he is deprived because of his culture and race.

Husbands impose elements of their culture in the home, thus influencing the routine of family life and the training of the children. Moslem elements include rules affecting food and drink, abstention from certain recreational activities and the religious training of the children. Moreover, the behaviour of members of the family outside the home is controlled by the sanctions of public opinion imposed by the Moslem community.

The husband diligently attends to the personal and domestic needs of his family. He brings presents for them after each sea trip and in the home, he attends to various domestic tasks. A Welfare Officer who has worked among the Shields Moslems for fifteen years, suggested that the reason why white girls become so attached to the Moslem men was because of their generosity to their women. And a Police officer said that his impression was that they are faithful husbands to their wives and children, although some seemed to be more cruel to women than white men were. A white seaman said that he had observed that whenever a coloured seaman entered a port, he usually tried to find a shop to pur-

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chase a present for his family.

The sort of relationship described may be exemplified by the following example:

Mrs. Abdul who is the wife of an Arab and has a sister who is married to another Arab, is a proselyte of the Moslem faith. The family occupies a modern four-room house in Cornwallis Square. The house is newly decorated and well furnished — furnishings include piano, radiogram, drawing room suite, carpets, rugs etc.

"My husband is at present employed on a coastal vessel," she said. "He gave up a more highly paid job on an ocean going ship, so that he may be able to get home more frequently since I have not been keeping very good health. My husband is devoted to me. The things he would be willing to do for me in the home, I doubt whether a white man would. He has just purchased this new piano for me, so that I could give the old one to my niece."

Here is another example:

A Pakistani after living with his common-law wife for some years returned to Pakistan, and after did not correspond with her. Returning to Shields after two years absence, she sought after him; but he had no desire to resume friendship with her. "Do you like him so much?" I asked her. "He used to treat me well" was the reply.

Family disharmony may lead to separation, although separations seldom occur between legally married spouses, and tend to occur less frequently between Arab couples than between other Moslems. Most of the cases would seem to have occurred between Pakistani couples.

Hassan, a Pakistani who is separated from his English wife, placed their two children in a Children's Home. His Account of the separation was as follows:

"My wife was all right at first, but afterwards
she became unfaithful to me and so I left her and sent the children to the Home. Later she would have liked to return to me, but I refused to have her. One evening I came home and found her in my apartment. I was angry, grabbed a rod of iron, and told her to leave. At first, she refused, then became frightened and left. Suspecting that she would return, on leaving for sea, I gave my keys to the landlady with instructions to admit no one to my flat. My wife came twice, and threatened to break the window if she did not get the key, but my landlady paid her no heed. Eventually, she went away and I have not seen her since."

Similarly, an Egyptian who was separated from his wife related:

"I left my wife because we could not get along together. We seemed to quarrel over everything and life became unbearable. After our separation the Court ordered me to pay her a weekly allowance but I said I could not afford it. Then I went away for a long time and on my return I heard that she had died."

In the first case, separation was due to allegedly to sexual causes. In the second the causes might have been temperamental or cultural differences.

Young married couples in the Moslem community have advantages over their counterparts in the Negro grouping. In the former, in most cases each neighbour is another Moslem family, and kinfolk may be close by to assist in looking after the children and to help in other domestic matters. Communal living is possible, thereby compensating for social deprivations suffered from the white society. But in the Negro grouping the dispersed coloured families have very limited opportunities in this respect.
Irregular Sex Life.

Irregular sex life is taken to mean sexual relationship disapproved by both the Moslem community and the British society. In North Shields these relationships were classified according to three types, first common-law; secondly extra-marital sexual intercourse with a man during the absence of her husband; and thirdly, prostitution. The first two have parallels in both groupings, but the third needs modification in its application to the Moslem community.

The general practice with regard to illicit sexual living is, for one or more young men to rent a room which is furnished for the purpose of entertaining young women. The rooms may be used as the man's permanent residence. But the Somalis reside permanently in the boarding houses and use these rooms only to entertain women.

Pakistanis show preference for sexual intercourse with young girls between the ages of twelve and fifteen because of their virginity and the fact that it is less likely that they will get venereal diseases from them. This preference for young girls seems to reflect the customs of early marriages in India and Pakistan.

Relationship between Moslem families.

The main factors linking Moslem families in the community are kinship, nationality, common locality and friendship arising principally from the work team. Kinship bonds are the strongest
and are continually extending in scope within the community. This is due to the number of sisters and of clansmen married into the grouping, and to endogamous tendencies. As many as four white sisters have been married to Arabs. The Anglo-coloured tend to marry within the group and Arab clansmen, called by them 'cousins' may settle with their wives in the community. Moreover, clansmen show preference for their daughters marrying their own clansmen. In some cases, clansmen marry sisters. These couples tend to reside in the community and in most cases occupy houses in the 'nucleus'. With the housing shortage, a married daughter or son may share the house of their parents. But there is a continual exchange of visits, services and presents between kinfolk.

During the husbands' absences, their wives, with greater freedom, use much of their leisure time to visit the homes of each other. These interchanges strengthen family relationships. The seaman returning home is obliged to make courtesy calls on some of his close kinship relations; on these occasions presents may be distributed.

Since the homes of Moslem families are in proximity to each other, frequent contacts with neighbours are made possible and

1 Bertram Thomas notes that in Southern Arabia "the 'paternal cousin' has ... the unquestioned right to the girl's hand." "Anthropological Observations in South Arabia", Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXII, p. 90.
may develop into friendship. Everybody in the community knows everybody else. Children move with freedom from one neighbour to another who is always ready to welcome and show kindness to them. The proximity of Moslem homes and the movement of children between them establish and strengthen the ties in group relationships. Thus intercourse continues after the children reach adulthood. For instance, when the Anglo-coloured seaman returns home after a trip, he usually spends much of his leisure time visiting the homes of neighbours, instead of going to the cafes as is the custom of the immigrants.

Nationality is another factor linking some families together. Families tend to associate closely with those whose male heads are of the same nationality. And there is a strong national consciousness of ties with children of one's own group. Often, Moslems without my asking, have drawn my attention to an Anglo-coloured, pointing out his paternal nationality. An informant sometimes digresses from a conversation, to point out a Somali child, if he himself is Somali, or a Pakistani child if he is Pakistani and so on. The child may be encouraged to stay a while, by a kindly remark or a gift such as money or sweets; and enquiries are usually made of his parents' well-being.

Other factors may over-ride national ties, such as circumstances in which a member of one nationality marries into the family of another. An example would be a Pakistani marrying the daughter of an Arab, resulting in an affinal bond between
men of two nationalities.

Friendship established between the members of a Moslem crew may extend to their families. A crew may be retained by the captain of a ship for a long period - two years perhaps or more. Usually, some of the men engaged, become close friends who exchange visits on their return to Shields. This may lead to interest developing between the men's families. Later, when they are assigned to different ships, the wives exchange news about their husbands' whereabouts. If they arrive home at different times, they call to see their friends' families.

**Family Routine.**

As in North Shields, the British wife in the Moslem community sets the pattern for the daily routine of home life. But this routine is modified by cultural elements introduced by the husband, especially those affecting religious ritual, food and leisure. Five daily prayers (rakahs) are observed in the Zoaia or in the home. If in the latter, the worshipper uses a prayer mat, and the room may be ritually purified by burning incense. Prayers are not regularly observed except by the most devout. During Ramadan, the men fast, but their wives and children do not.

Certain foods and drinks are prohibited according to Moslem custom. These include pig's flesh and alcoholic beverages. For the rations of bacon and lard, the grocer provides margarine as substitute. Meat for consumption must be procured from the
Moslem butcher or slaughtered at home to ensure that the animal was killed according to prescribed Moslem custom, which requires that it be killed quickly and the blood allowed to drain from the meat. The eating of blood is tabu.

Though meals are usually prepared by the wife, the husband sometimes cooks some of his favourite national dishes, though these may be obtained at a Moslem cafe or boarding house. Rice, mutton and chicken are favourite foods, highly spiced with curry pepper and other ingredients. National preferences are also shown. Shields Somalis show a liking for milk and dates; Arabs for black coffee and paratha cooked in olive oil and honey. Tea is also consumed regularly.

The wives learn to prepare some of these Moslem dishes, but usually they borrow Moslem ingredients which they use with English recipes.

The Training and Education of the Child.

Illegitimate children or those of parents who are separated, are taken by the father who assumes responsibility for them. Disagreement over their possession never arises, since it is to the white woman's advantage to be free from the responsibility of a coloured child. "If a white woman is seen out with a coloured child," said a Welfare Officer, "it might be thought that she has been living an illicit sex life." On taking charge of the children, the father places them either with a Moslem family or into an institution, and assumes responsibility for their
The father's religious influence over the child begins at an early age. Soon after birth - usually after a week or perhaps longer if the father is away at sea - a ritual which corresponds to the Islamic 'Aqiqa' is held. In Shields this consists of a gathering of close friends and relatives for a meal. The child is usually given its name at this time.

A male child is circumcised some time after the third week after birth. An Arab father stated that the men prefer the ceremony to be performed on the eighth day, but the English mothers do not allow this to be done at such an early age.

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1 The Aqiqa ceremony is properly observed on the seventh day after birth, when the child is named, its hair cut, and a sacrifice offered - two sheep or goats for a boy and one for a girl. The present ration system and the expenses involved make such a sacrifice impracticable in Shields. See Tritton op. cit., p.135.

2 See page 226.

3 Circumcision is not mentioned in the Koran but was adopted by Mohammed from paganism. See Tritton op. cit., p.133. Granquist in her study of Palestinian Arabs found that circumcision is one of the most important events in a Mohammedan boy's life, and is celebrated as elaborately as a wedding with a procession, feasting and the giving of gifts. Granquist, Helena, Birth and Childhood among the Arabs, Helsingfors, 1947, p. 184.

4 The time for performing the rite varies with place and circumstances. Canaan for instance claims that it may be performed "at any time" but usually between the ages of three and ten. The child p.179. Pierotti on the other hand, claims that it generally takes place on the eighth day. Customs and Traditions of Palestine, p.190.
The foreskin is removed in a hospital. The ritual has important religious significance to the immigrants since with the Aquiqa circumcision initiates the new-born into the Moslem community.

Owing to local conditions these two rituals are deprived of important features such as the sacrifice and the ceremony connected with circumcision performed by the Moslems themselves.

Later the children are given religious instruction, especially the boys. The father teaches them prayers and verses from the Koran. They are instructed to observe other customs especially those affecting food and drink, and are encouraged to participate in religious ritual in the Zaia. A more formal attempt at teaching Moslem ways to the children was undertaken by one of the Shaiks, who organised classes in the Zaia for this purpose, and three boys were also sent to a school in Aden for special training in Moslem religion and culture. On their return to Britain one went to Cardiff to assist in religious

1 Granquist further points out that the rite has important religious significance for a man cannot enter eternity un-circumcised. And this would seem the reason why it is carried out on children. Ibid. pp. 208,9.

2 The education of the young was one of the chief aims in view when the erection of a Mosque was contemplated.

"Dr. Shadrake presented money donated by the Aga Khan to purchase a site for the Moslem Mosque. The main purpose is to give religious teaching to the children," South Shields Gazette, 9 September, 1930.

These classes have discontinued though efforts are being made to restart them.
work there. Another came to Shields where he plans to start a school to teach children of Moslem parents.

The father's control over his son extends to early manhood. The son is usually employed on the boats on which the father is engaged, and for a few years comes under direct paternal supervision. The daughter's choice of a husband is also influenced by her father, who, in the case of an Arab, shows preference for another Arab, especially a clansman. On the other hand, he disapproves of his daughter marrying a white man, since he doubts whether she will be kindly treated, and because he is reluctant to sever the links with his children and potential grandchildren which such a union may enforce. One of the reasons why endogamous marriages are favoured, is the desire of the father to retain paternal links with his offspring. Paternal grandfathers show much affection towards their grandchildren, who may periodically be taken from their parents and cared for in their homes.

The father's influence in the home and the ritual practices in the Zoaia are not the only Moslem influences on the child's life. There are also strong forces of community life with their sanctions and effective public opinion.

Not only is the child being trained to become a 'Moslem' in religion and culture, he is also being prepared for life in British society. For the latter he is trained at home as well as in the society. At home he is influenced by the mother, who although accepting or compromising with the norms of Moslem
life nevertheless in most ways her behaviour follows the pattern of British culture. And since she is alone with the child for longer periods than her husband she also has much influence on the child. This aspect of training and education is further enforced in contacts with the wider community and in the more formal system of the schools.

Moslem children undergo the period of schooling which is obligatory to British children. They attend two schools nearest the Moslem community and participate with English children in class work and in other school activities. In academic performance the Anglo-coloured compares favourably with the general achievements of the school, as is shown by the records of one school for the years 1947-1949 (Table 47). In 1948, fifty percent of the Anglo-coloured reached the grade from which selection for the final test for scholarships was made. This proportion compares with twenty-five percent of the whole school that attained the grade that year. In 1947, the population was approximately the same. In the opinion of the Headmaster, the coloured children although doing so well, were at a disadvantage in the test, since the Moray House Test

1 Professor Otto Klinberg in the UNESCO pamphlet on Race and Psychology has pointed out, that "the social and cultural background and experience of the individual, may affect his test performance in many ways." Normally, performance would seem to be adversely affected in such circumstances. But in fact, in the South Shields situation a much larger percent of the Moslem 'hybrids' showed a high score, than the white children. The results, may therefore prove of interest for further psychological investigation.
which was used, is set for the child with the general background of British family life, which the Anglo-coloureds did not fully possess. But even if they were handicapped in this respect, their achievement was very satisfactory. The Moslem children had not, then, won a scholarship, nor was any sent to a High School. But one of the few Negro children in this school was awarded a scholarship. The results of the tests would seem to suggest that the educational ability of the 'hybrid' is not below the average of the whites and that the mixed racial situation has not hindered the academic achievements of this Anglo-coloured age group.

In their relationship with each other, white and coloured children mixed harmoniously in work and play. My own observations were supported by the teachers, one of whom made the following comment:

"In general there is no racial difficulty. Perhaps in isolated cases a child in a quarrel may call another such names as 'Arab' or 'Nigger', but that would be said with the same intention as to say, 'liar' or 'thief'. But the child does not show a 'racial attitude.' The quarrel is always confined to the two or three. It is a private affair and soon passes away. The usual thing is for white and coloured children to play together and share little tasks with one another."

Although there was no grouping of coloured children at school, it was observed that they tended to travel in coloured groups on their way to the Moslem community. Remembering that all the children attend only two schools and that their homes are situated in the same area, this grouping of coloured children is practically unavoidable. This situation is unlike that in North Shields, where the Negro /
TABLE IX.

Legate School - South Shields.

Results of Intelligence Tests on Coloured Children.

Number on Roll: 225 - 230.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total No. Tested (All races)</th>
<th>No. of Coloured Children enrolled</th>
<th>No. of Coloured Children tested</th>
<th>Normal Range of I.Q.s. of Coloured Children Selected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>112-78</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>97,99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compiled from the files of Legate Elementary School.

Anglo-coloured girl of Negro father.

Negro children, who in number are less than one-fifth that of the Moslems, attend seven widely separated schools and are always found with white children on their way home from school. Similarly, in the separated Moslem nucleus there has not been the same opportunity for children to play in mixed racial groups as in the dispersed Negro settlement. The coloured-white relationship formed at school is not given scope for development in the residential separation of this large proportion of this Moslem settlement. The Moslem child, therefore, is confronted with two sets of cultural norms and is being trained to adjust himself to both.
What seems to happen is this. Until adolescence the child's life is strongly influenced by Moslem values. At a later age he tends gradually to free himself from these controls and to orientate his life more completely towards the values of British society.

This drift is indicated by the general lack of interest being shown by the Anglo-coloured in the religious festivals held in the Zoaias. Of an average of about 18 worshippers at the daily rakabs held in one of the Zoaias, there has hardly been more than one member of the Anglo-coloured present at any time. Of an average of 50 at the seasonal celebrations in one Zoaias, there has been no more than two males above 15 years of age participating, although children aged about 11 or 12 show great enthusiasm in these festivals. With few exceptions the Anglo-coloured are attending dances and some have taken to drinking alcoholic drinks, which is prohibited by their religion. Moreover, there have been complaints by the immigrants that some of the Anglo-coloured tend to disregard them when they meet in public places or on the streets. "Some of them pass us and pretend they do not see us. Playing white, I suppose", complained an Arab.

This pro-British culture trend on the part of many Anglo-coloureds, meets with strong disapproval from the immigrant settlers, but with mixed reactions from their British wives. Usually, the women disapprove of the young men taking to drink, and gossip about cases that are known to them. "Just fancy, I hear that Joseph has taken up drinking," remarked one. "Too bad. And he was such a nice lad," replied the other, in a conversation between two Moslem wives. Another woman told me how distressed she was because her son /
son had started to drink and would no longer listen to his father's advice. These women may disapprove of the drinking habit, but unlike their husbands they do not object to the Anglo-coloured going to dances or the cinemas.

**Relationship between White and Coloured Families.**

We have seen that after marriage it is usual for a mixed couple to be estranged from the wife's parents and in most instances they are not completely reconciled to them. Even when some members of the family accept the couple the tendency has been for the white person to visit the home of the Moslem. It is not frequent that visits are made in the opposite direction. There is therefore not a great deal of social intercourse between the two families. The Anglo-coloured who marries a white girl and takes her to live in the Moslem Community, as is usually the custom, receives similar treatment from the girl's parents as an immigrant would. But when a coloured girl marries a white man the tendency has been to take her to live away from the Moslem community. After that the girl retains very little relationship with the Moslem community.

Coloured children who make white friends in school may retain their friendship until adolescence. But the coloured girl is married at an early age and thereafter tends to centre her interest in her family and in the Moslem community. The young man, in view of his seafaring occupation, loses contact with his white friends at an early age and later finds his friends restricted to other coloured seafarers. Coloured wives living in the closely knit Moslem grouping find social satisfaction within the Moslem community.
community and do not seem to crave after outside relationships.

To sum up: the family life of the Shields Moslem population is orientated towards the creation of a distinct community with its peculiar cultural character and structural pattern. A number of factors contribute towards the creation of this pattern. First, the separated core of Moslem families facilitates intimate relationship between kinfolk. Secondly, endogamous tendencies have extended and strengthened kinship bonds within the grouping. Thirdly, the white woman married into the community weakens her bonds with her relatives and friends and identifies herself with her new group. Fourthly, the children, through education and training, are prepared for adjustment to a Moslem culture. Fifthly, Moslem religious and other cultural elements reinforce a Moslem way of life.

There is a tendency, however, though to a less degree than in the Negro grouping, for some members of the Anglo-coloured section of the community to weaken the kinship bonds and the social obligations they entail. It is a response to the strong pull of British social life.
CHAPTER X

RELIGION

The most remarkable feature of Moslem life in South Shields is the authority of religion over the group. Community activities are regulated by ritual prescriptions reinforced by strong religious beliefs. These prescriptions and beliefs regulate the daily life cycle, and guide the observances of daily and seasonal ceremonies. Seasonal feasts and fasts, daily prayer and worship, ethics, food and drink - all these are determined by rules of the Koran.

The main link of the newly arrived immigrant with the community is the sacred Zoaia and the secular café. There he finds the connection between his old society and culture and the new one. The Zoaia is the central institution in the whole community, and its role may be compared with that of the Synagogue in the American Jewish community of Louis Wirth's *Ghetto*. It has its religious leader - the Shaikh - who officiates at ritual ceremonies and visits and advises its members. In the Zoaia are held evening classes for children. Religion regulates the individual's life in circumcision, marriage, and funeral rites. A section of the Municipal cemetery is reserved for the exclusive use of Moslems. A Mutual Aid /

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1 Wirth points out, that next to his family, the main link of the newly arrived Jewish immigrant to the Jewish community in the United States is the Synagogue. There, he finds the familiar scenes and experiences that bridge the gap between the old and the new. Cf. Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto*, Chicago, 1946, pp.207-9.
Aid Society with a religious basis functions as an auxiliary of the Zoaia. Through the Zoaia, the members come into touch with current events affecting their lives, and it thereby becomes one of the most effective media of approach to the whole community. Thus the Zoaia, as the religious centre of activity, guides immigrants of several nationalities, languages, and culture into community life.

The main religious doctrines are based on belief in an only God, with Mohammed as his Chief Apostle and the Koran as the revealed and inspired word of God. Five daily ritual prayers are observed in two moderate-sized rooms known as the Mosquette or Zoaia and each Friday there is special worship with prayers and a sermon. Annual festivals are elaborately observed with processions and feasting and the month of Ramadan is set apart for fasting. Certain foods and recreational activities are strictly prohibited. One group, the Allawians, claim affiliation to a religious sect with headquarters in North Africa, but other members profess non-Sectarianism. The religious leader, called a Shaikh, or Imam, resides in Cardiff and is represented locally by an assistant.

There are three segments in the South Shields community to be integrated, and four essential religious factors operative in the process. The segments are the male immigrants of various nationalities, the English wives of these men, formerly of another religious culture, and the children of these marriages.

Important integrative factors are, firstly, the basic religious beliefs and practices accepted by all immigrant members of
of the community previous to their arrival in Britain. These Moslem immigrants form the core of the religious institution. The second factor is the response of the Moslem population to the leadership of the highly esteemed Shaikh Abdulla who organized the religious group during the nineteen-thirties. Thirdly, through married life, English wives have been incorporated. And lastly, children born of these marriages, by training and education, are influenced by the Moslem way of life.

The male immigrants, though of various national and cultural origins, nevertheless represent one common cultural factor— they are Moslems. All these Moslems are agreed on basic doctrines and participate in worship in one or other of the two Zoaias. Religion affects home life, by regulations affecting food, recreation and prayer routine. The wives have made the necessary adjustments and accommodate themselves to these restrictions. Some wives have adopted the new religious faith, and some who had been previously married in accordance with the English law, went through a second form of marriage in Moslem fashion. The children are trained in the home by the father, and also participate in seasonal religious festivals.

The Mosquette or Zoaia:¹ Two rooms used for daily worship are situated in Spring Lane and Cuthbert Street. One of these is a room set apart in a private boarding house. Its benefactor, a Sufi, now deceased, was reputed for alms-giving and religious piety. This room accommodates about fifty worshippers. The other /

¹ The Arabic word Zoaia literally means "rectangle" or "corner", but it is used in the sense of a place of worship.
other Zoaia was purchased by the Moslem community. The Shākh, now residing in Cardiff, until recently lived here. The ground floor of the building, originally used as a public house, was converted into a prayer room accommodating sixty worshippers. A porch and ablution room are attached to the prayer room (Fig. 10a). Rooms on the first and second floors, formerly occupied by the Shākh, are now used by his assistant and tenantry. The upkeep of the Zoaia is maintained from voluntary contributions made by the community and from rent collected from tenants.

The Keeper, who fills the role of local Imam, is not paid a regular salary for his services. But financial help for his personal expenses is obtained from the funds of the Zoaia, as well as from sums collected by officiating at funerals and weddings.

THE ZOAIA/
1. Bench on which worshipper sits in removing and replacing shoes and socks. A non-Moslem may also sit here since he is not allowed into the Prayer room.

2. Racks on which praying robes hang. There are several of these and may be used by any worshipper.

3. Dais on which leader of worship stands at certain juncture in the routine.

4. Shelves - with books, fez, etc., and staff leaning against wall.

5. Racks for hanging outer garments of worshippers, such as jacket and trousers. Shoes and socks are placed here, as well as slippers used for the ablution which are removed before the worshipper enters the prayer room.

6. Banners and flags used for ceremonial processions.
The porch, about 5 feet in width, is separated from the prayer room by a low partition about five feet in height. Worshippers use this area for removing their outer garments and shoes which are replaced by the wrapper, turban and slippers. Then retiring to the bathroom, and the ritual ablution performed, the worshippers remove their slippers and enter the Prayer room for worship. Children and non-Moslems may also sit or stand here, but are not allowed to cross the threshold or tread on the prayer carpet. Only those who are ceremonially cleansed may enter the praying room.

Ablution is carried out in a room attached to the porch. Washing is done to the hands, feet, face, genital and excretory organs. This ritual act is very important to the Moslems. Thus the non-believer is not admitted on the prayer carpet since he is not thus cleansed, and therefore unprepared for worship in the Zoaia.

The Prayer room is covered with a carpet which has ritual importance. The worshipper must be ceremonially cleansed before stepping on to it. It has its counterpart in the "prayer mat" used in the homes. The carpet serves other purposes apart from ritual. In the absence of seats it is useful in the frequent kneeling, prostration and squatting of the worshipper in the course of the routine.

The Role of the Imam or Shāikh

The present religious head of the community is an assistant Imam.

1 The terms Imam, meaning religious leader, and Shāikh, meaning teacher, are sometimes both used in some Moslem communities in the sense of religious leader. In Shields the term Shāikh is more commonly used in this sense although Imam is sometimes used in this way.
FIG. II. (a, b) ZOAIA and, (c) Imam.
Imam, whose work is supervised by the Shāikh in Cardiff, who makes periodic visits to Shields. The assistant Imam is an Arab who has resided in Shields for more than thirty years, previously working as a seaman, then as the proprietor of a small refreshment business and later appointed an Imam. Although he performs all the duties of a Shāikh, members of the Moslem community do not assign to him the status equivalent to that of his predecessor and refer to him by his first name. "He is not a Shāikh, only a keeper of the Zoaia", some explain, thinking more of the fact that he is the man whom they knew as a seaman or in a small business rather than the successor of the esteemed Abdulla. However, he fulfils his obligations, leads the daily rakahs, or prayers, taking care of the Zoaia and the annual festival celebrations, officiates at funerals and weddings, and visits the sick. It is not necessary that a Shāikh should lead in these religious activities; any respected and intelligent male member of the community may fill this role, and a member of the congregation sometimes assists or takes complete charge of the ritual proceedings.

**Sects and Orders.**

1 Allawaians are the only local sect with active adherents.

Its /

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1 The Allawaians, also known as Alawis, in the strict sense are a sub-sect of the Shi'a derived from the supporters of Ali, the husband of Fatima, a daughter of Mohammed. Extreme Alawis are said to believe that Ali was an incarnation of God himself. This movement began in the ninth century. Cf. Monroe, E., *op. cit.*, p. 53. According to Dr. Lokhandwalla, Lecturer in The Arabic Department of Edinburgh University, the term is also used in the following ways. It is applied to tribes in Arabia who claim direct succession from Ali; by political dynasties and the Shi'ite with Imam as spiritual leader; by some Sufi orders who claim Ali as their patron saint. Some of the Shields Moslems, although not subscribing to beliefs in the divinity of Ali, associate themselves with the other beliefs described.
Its large following of Arabs and Somalis, the fact that the Imam, as well as the local influential Sufis are Allawaians, and that a society of that name gives economic and social aid to members of the community, places the sect in a dominant religious position in Shields. The inscription on the Mosquette reads: "Zoaia, Allawaia Islaam - Mosque for all Moslems". Its members define the sect in terms of a liberating political movement with religious impetus, having North Africa, particularly Morocco and Algiers, as its centre. "Our spiritual leader is in Morocco", said the Imam, who himself had completed plans during my survey for a pilgrimage there. And the centre in Morocco is given second importance only to the recognized traditional centres of Mecca and Medina, and religious pilgrimages made there win high prestige for a devotee. Allawaian day is observed annually and an Allawaian Society, branches of which are established in other British ports with Moslem settlers, was also formed in Shields.

Some Moslems disassociate themselves from any sect, and criticise the Allawaians as being more a political than a religious group.

The Sufis. The Sufis are ascribed high status in the religious institution /

1 Sufism is described by Elizabeth Monroe as "a system of mysticism which from the eleventh century onwards enlisted in its service a large proportion of the vital spiritual energies of the Moslem community...With exacting standard of personal morality they seek a return to formative Islaam." Op. cit., page 54. See also Gibb: Op. cit., Chap. 8 and 9. Evans-Pritchard in his book on the Sanusi of Cyrenaica stressed the mysticism of the Order "especially its insistence on conformity to the original teachings of the Prophet". Sufi mysticism satisfies the need for personal communion with the Diety, which tends to be "frowned on by the Puritans and Pharisees of Islaam...In the first centuries of Islaam the Sufis were quietists, individuals, often with a speculative bent, pursuing their lonely quest for God, and tending to become hermits". During the twelfth century Sufism became popular with the poor, the common people and / (Continued on next page)
institutions. It was estimated that about twelve members of this order were in South Shields. Their elaborate turbans and robes make them conspicuous on festive occasions, a few being similarly attired in daily life. Some robes are white but others are of variegated bright colours. They are loose, flowing garments common in appearance to those worn by Arabs in the East. (Fig. // ).

A life of religious piety and devotion is expected of them, and they are exposed to sharp criticisms if they fail to attain this ideal. When asked who were the Sufis, a Somali replied, "They are like monks. They are called 'Tariga' meaning the road to god. They are God-fearing men who would not retaliate even if harm is done them." An Arab described them as holy men, "they despise the things of this world and concentrate only on Allah." But they commented, "there are a few Sufis in Shields but these are not real Sufis," and their failure to attain the ideal was explained as "to make a living in this country they must engage in secular activities which the true Sufi should not do."

The Sufis, however, are the most regular daily attendants at the Zoaia and give leadership in the organisation and practice of the ritual. At Ramadan for instance the "strict" Sufis may fast for six or eight weeks as a religious discipline, instead of only the customary month.

Moslems in Shields who claim to belong to the Allawaian sect or Sufi order are either Arabs or Somalis, usually the former.

Footnote continued from previous page)
and the humble. In becoming social institutions and in some instances political movements in certain Arab lands, the order has shed most of its original content of mysticism. Oxford, 1949, pp. 1-4.
Most Pakistanis belong to the Sunni sect, and most of them are supporters of the Sufi order. It was stated by the immigrants that in their native country conflicts are not unusual, between different sectarian groups. This statement is supported by Smith in his book on Modern Islam in India. Professor Firth pointed out that "the hypothesis that religion is an integrating force is more closely applicable to the simpler than to the more highly complex societies. With social and economic differentiation... society is split, not welded together, by religious differentiation." But it is also possible in certain social situations for sectarian differences and antagonism to be put aside, when persons holding these divergent views are transplanted from their native environment and brought together by the social pressure of the society in which they have settled.

This /

1 The Sufis have a large following in Pakistan, and it is estimated to influence about two-thirds of the Muslim population of that country. Titus, Murray, The Religious Quest of India, Mysore, India, 1938, p. 112.

2 Wilfred Smith points out that approximately twelve out of every thirteen Muslims in India (Pakistan) are Sunnis. Between them and their Shi'i (Allawaians are a branch) fellow-Muslims there are theoretical and ritual distinctions. But the consciousness of difference is expressed not in theory but in and by ritual which has "created Shi'a communalism; and Sunni-Shi'i riots occur of great intensity". Modern Islam in India, London, 1946, p. 302.

This is the situation in Shields. Sectarian and other religious differences are submerged in the wider principles of religious brotherhood. The Moslems worship together, and may even become members of voluntary associations with a particular sectarian affiliation such as the Allawaian Society, even if they do not belong to that sect. The Shields Moslem community is Arab oriented, and dominated by Allawaian and Sufi elements. But all Moslems, irrespective of their sectarian beliefs, participate in the generally accepted rites - daily or seasonal - which are observed by all Moslems. In this community, religion is the most effective integrative force.

LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION

The arrival of Shaikh Abdulla in South Shields in the early thirties as the first local religious leader brought about marked changes in the Moslem community. His organizing ability and his zeal for the cause of Islaam, gained for him a ready response from the community.

Born in Aden, and educated in North Africa, he worked first as a seaman before his appointment as Shaikh. Shaikh Abdulla's prestige was considerably enhanced by the belief held by his followers that he was divinely chosen, and commissioned, for the work /

1 The Shaikh is said to have started his work in Shields on the authority of the head of the Moslem religious community in Morocco, to whom God had revealed his choice. This belief in the divine choice of the Imam is characteristic of the Shi-ite sect. "What marks the Shia off from the Muslims", writes Tritton, "is the doctrine of the Imam, for so they are preferred to call the head of the state.....He is chosen by God either directly or through a preceding Imam; sometimes he is announced by name and sometimes only a description of him is given. God must appoint him as an act of grace so that men can perform the duties imposed by reason and avoid evil." Op. cit., p. 73, 74.
work in which he was engaged. The Assistant Imam related the circumstances leading to the call and commission of his predecessor.

"The Imam in Morocco, the spiritual head of the Allawaian Sect there, used to ask pilgrims coming to see him - 'Where is Abdulla? Have you seen Abdulla? I expect him to come to me some time. Allah has a mission for him.' The Imam did not know Abdulla personally. He had never seen him before but his coming was revealed to him! And then at last Abdulla came and was commissioned to undertake this work."

The Shâikh came to South Shields for the purpose of organizing the religious life of the Moslem community and instituting a Moslem school for the children. He initiated plans for the construction of a mosque, arranged classes for the instruction of youths and their mothers in the Moslem faith, organized the Allawaian Society, regularized the daily rakahs and introduced the celebration of the annual Islamic festivals. He successfully persuaded the Municipal Council to set aside a section of the Cemetery for the exclusive use of Moslems. Perhaps one of his most outstanding achievements was the enthusiasm and devotion for Islaam that he inspired in a number of English wives of Moslems. Undoubtedly their admission did much to enliven religious activities, but more important has been their religious influence on their children, and their experience of sharing in the religious life of the community.

\[1\] "Application was made by Shâikh Ali Abdulla who approached the Municipal Authorities on behalf of the Moslem Community requesting that a small section of Harton Cemetery be set aside for their use. In the past their dead were lying side by side with Christians in unconsecrated ground. The Cardiff Moslem Community has been granted such a privilege". South Shields Gazette - 7 March, 1937.
The suggestion to erect a local mosque aroused keen interest among the local Moslems, who contributed liberally to the cause. But later the project was considered too expensive for the size of the population and was abandoned in favour of a Mosque in Cardiff. In its place, a house in Cuthbert Street was purchased to be used as a Zoaia or prayer-room. The Shāikh himself resided in rooms in the same building, while separate rooms for men and women were set apart for prayer, and one as a class-room, for the religious instruction of women and children.

The English wives of Moslems responded with enthusiasm to the Shāikh's leadership. Weekly classes for religious instruction were held in the Zoaia, in which he was assisted by two local female proselytes. These meetings were regularly attended by Moslem wives. Marriages were celebrated by the Shāikh according to the Moslem rite, and some women already married observed the Moslem rite also. They received instructions in the preparation of the dead for funeral ceremony, and requested the burial of women in the Moslem section of the Cemetery.

The attitude of the Shāikh towards women with regard to the Moslem religion, was a deviation from the normal pattern to which the men were accustomed. Consequently they reacted unfavourably to this new departure, and opposed the idea of women sharing a room in the Zoaia for their religious meetings. Ultimately, the women were deprived of this room and along with it the privilege of holding their meetings, and if there were prospects of a restoration of these privileges, hopes faded with the departure of the Shāikh to Cardiff.
Thee meetings have had important results in the community, the effects of which are still evident to-day. They brought greater fellowship among the Moslem wives who became more enlightened in the faith. The teaching of their children in the Moslem faith, which before was done exclusively and irregularly by the husband, who was so frequently away from home, was now being shared by the wife in his absence. Their enthusiasm was shown, too, in the support they gave to the evening school held in the Zoaia for the religious instruction of children. The children were encouraged to take part in the seasonal festivities. But of great significance is the sense of dignity and confidence that was restored to these women. Having "lost caste" to the white society in the first place because they married coloured men, and in the second, because their husbands are of a different culture, they found confidence in the new religion. One of these women remarked, "Before the Shiakh came we felt that we were only Arabs' wives. But after we felt differently. We felt better. We had our own religion and priest and we were proud of it."  

For /

1 The Moslem religion is, in fact without a priesthood.

2 The function of religion not only as a means of reinforcing social structure but also of achieving personal adjustment is emphasised by anthropologists. "Religion is a medium through which the individual can obtain some of his keenest experiences and handle some of his most fundamental personal problems," writes Firth; Elements of Social Organization, op. cit., pp. 25ff; also Piddington, R., Introduction to Social Anthropology, Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1950, pp. 366-9.
For the children, evening classes were arranged. Verses and prayers from the Koran were taught them, thus establishing the foundation for a second generation of religious devotees. Later, three Anglo-coloured boys were sent to an Islamic college in Aden. These classes in Shields were discontinued, the reasons given by members of the community being the lack of finance for a competent teacher, and that the time available for such teaching was too limited and out of all proportion to the time spent in an English school. A more likely explanation, however, would seem to be the removal of Shaikh Abdulla to Cardiff, which left no competent person to continue the work.

A branch of the Allawaian Society was established. The organization was essential to the financing of the religious work for giving aid to the needy and as a means by which members of the Moslem community could meet to discuss matters affecting the well-being of the group.

Religious Beliefs.

The factors given prominence in the Shields Moslem’s expression of their faith, are their belief in Allah as the only God, Mohammed as his chief prophet and the Koran as the divinely inspired record. They state that their religion is monotheistic, which they contrast with Christianity, arguing that the latter cannot be monotheistic since Christians believe in a Trinity.

These beliefs are well expressed in the often repeated "Shahada" or profession of faith: "La ilaha illa Hah Muhammadun reasulu' illah", - There is but one God, Mohammed is the apostle of God.
A Somali expressing the opinion of a Cafe group of Moslems commented: "The Christians worship three Gods and say they are One. But how could this be? They make Jesus to be God, but this again is wrong; he was only a man. It is wrong to worship Jesus because he did not claim to be God." He then went on to claim that Islaam alone by acknowledging the supremacy of Allah alone can claim to be infallible.

Mohammed is esteemed as the greatest of the prophets who has accomplished a great mission to achieve the brotherhood of man. One point that is given much emphasis is the unity of all Moslems. "We believe that as Moslems get together everywhere and as their example and influence is universally extended there will be better relationship among the peoples of the world. And this is basic to the prophet's teaching," commented another Moslem spokesman of an Arab Cafe group.

The Koran has significance not only because of its acceptance by Moslems as the guide to their religious life, being the record of the revealed Word and the embodiment of the doctrines and ritual, but also because its language, the medium of religious communication, is Arabic. Though but a few are able to read the Koran, all /

1 "The brotherhood of Islaam is a real thing," writes Tritton, "the religion does unite its brethren. Theology says that God is so great that all men are equal before him." Op. cit., p. 121.

2 In order to establish good relationships with local West Africans, Arabs find it necessary to give an explanation of the historical fact of the enslavement of Africans by Arabs. "White men sometimes tell Africans that we used to enslave them. The fact is," explained one of a group of Arabs, "Arabs used to capture and then liberate them to give them religion and to protect them from white slavery."
all male Moslems can repeat in Arabic and from memory prayers and verses required for participation in religious ritual. And all Moslems have some knowledge of the narratives and stories contained in the Koran.

Devout members of the community contemplate a pilgrimage\(^1\) to either Mecca or North Africa. But distance and the lack of means make it impossible for most to travel to either of these centres. Besides, the younger generation show no enthusiasm for these aspirations.\(^2\)

Of the many ethical teachings\(^3\) laid down in the Koran only those affecting food and drink seem to be rigidly observed. The eating of pig's flesh and the drinking of alcoholic liquors are strictly prohibited.\(^4\) Meat slaughtered for consumption is purchased only if prepared according to the Moslem custom. The opening /

\(^1\) Pilgrimage to Mecca, though a religious obligation on all Moslems, is conditioned by the possession of the necessary means and physical conditions of getting there.

\(^2\) See page \(198\).

\(^3\) In addition to doctrine, ritual and obligations, the Koran contains a large body of ethical teaching and legal injunctions. Such things as wine, swine's flesh, gambling, usury and the making of images are forbidden. Detailed regulations are set out governing divorce, the guardianship of orphans and inheritance. Penalties are laid down for crimes, such as homicide, murder, stealing, etc. The Sharida, or Islamic law is founded on these regulations. Gibb, H.A.R., Mohammedanism, H.U.L., Oxford University Press s, 1949, pp. 67-8.

\(^4\) See page .
opening of a Moslem butcher's shop is the result of these requirements. Other injunctions laid down in the Koran are not observed by a large section of the community, and are the basis for their criticism by devout Moslems. Gambling for instance is indulged in, in various forms. The greyhound track is visited regularly by some, others bet on race horses. Gambling groups using cards, frequently assemble in the back-rooms of cafes, boarding-houses or in private flats.

Alms, Fasting, Daily and Seasonal Ritual.

The giving of alms, fasting, the daily and seasonal ritual are three of the most outstanding features of the religious life. The giving of Alms is obligatory. Freewill offerings are made to relations, orphans, the needy and travellers. Financial assistance is given to the unemployed, the sick and aged or to those in trouble. Boarding-house masters will give accommodation or a loan of money to Moslem seamen in distress.

Until recently Moslems in Shields would not accept poor or old age relief from Welfare or State organizations. The needy

1 Islam has always coupled faith with works especially those "acts of devotion" enjoined on believers in the Koran. The giving of alms is enjoined as the means of salvation and outward signs of piety. Koran ii, v. 211.

2 During the economic depression of the nineteen-thirties several seamen received loans from boarding house masters. Then war was declared and a number died from enemy action before the loans could be repaid. The result was that a few boarding house masters suffered great financial loss.
of the community were provided for by voluntary offerings. An association - the Allawaian Society - was organised to formally carry out this function. The Society was short-lived but the function it had performed, continued through personal contributions. Four main centres at which these gifts are collected, are the cafes, the boarding houses, the Zoaia, or at one or two important street crossings. A busy street crossing in the community is convenient as here there are contacts with a large number of Moslem men. Contributions may be given without being asked for, but a gift may also be solicited from another Moslem.

The visiting of the sick is one of the duties of the Shiakh, who gives 'spiritual' as well as material assistance. The community may also contribute towards funeral expenses or the payment of a court fine.

The community observes with great care the exact day for the commencement and end of the annual Fast of Ramadan.\(^1\) Accurate calculation is necessary to avoid errors that may arise from the difference between the Moslem and Christian calendars. The dates are previously published in the local press and announced in the Zoaias. The Moslem in this country experiences extra physical strain when Ramadan occurs during the summer months with their long daylight hours, since the fast is observed from sunrise to sunset.

\(^1\) Fasting is prescribed "as it was... for those who were before you." Complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of sunlight is observed during the lunar month of Ramadan. Even those who are sick or on a journey must compensate by fasting an equal number of days later. \textit{Koran}, ii, vv. 179-183.
sunrise. Working routine in Britain may add to the problem of observing the fast. Some Moslems are consequently discouraged from observing the ritual; the old and middle-aged men are usually keen devotees, but some younger Moslems, immigrants and Anglo-coloureds, are more and more neglecting the practice.

Daily Ritual Prayers.

Five daily ritual prayers are observed in the Zoaia.¹ These prayers, known as rakahs, are observed in the orthodox traditional manner. Professor Gibb's description of the ritual routine is similar to the manner in which it is carried out in Shields. Each rakah lasts for approximately fifteen minutes, except...

¹ "The set times are at daybreak (2 rakahs), noon (4 rakahs), mid afternoon (4 rakahs), after sunset (3 rakahs), and in the early part of the night (4 rakahs). At these times prayers should be said and the ritual observed by every Believer wherever he may be; but by preference they should be performed congregationally in a mosque...under the leadership of an Imam, a man who, standing in front of the lines of worshippers, sets the timing of the movement."

"The observance of the ritual prayers (Salah) is repeatedly emphasised as one of the essential religious duties....Each consists of a fixed number of bowings (called rakah), the bowing itself consisting of seven movements with their appropriate recitations:- (1) the recitation of the phrase Allah ahbar, God is most great, with the hands open on each side of the face; (2) the recitation of the Fatihah or opening sura of the Koran, followed by another passage or passages, while standing upright; (3) bowing from the hips; (4) straightening up; (5) gliding to the knees and a first prostration with face to the ground; (6) sitting back on the haunches; (7) a second prostration. The second and later bowings begin with the second of these movements, and at the end of each pair of bowings, and the conclusion of the whole prayer, the worshipper recites the Shahada, and the ritual Salutations." Gibb, op. cit., p. 62-3.
except the special Friday services which may take between one half and three quarters of an hour.

Preparations for prayers include change of the outer garments - trousers and jacket, shoes and socks, and substitution of a loose wrap, followed by ablution. ¹

Symbolic cleansing before prayer is a requirement not only of the person, but also of the environment in which the ritual is observed. Thus for prayer in the home, the prayer mat or carpet is used and the room or Zoaia is occasionally fumigated with the burning of incense. Of course other reasons are given for the burning of incense, such as driving away evil spirits and giving good luck. ²

The principal congregational prayer of the week is at noon each Friday. Although the Koran enjoins the suspension of work, the wider cultural and social obligations of the community enforce the usual activities, that make impossible the performance of these injunctions.

Annual Festivals.

Two annual feasts are observed. The first - "Ead - Sagheer" - locally known as "Small Christmas", may continue for three days.

The

¹ "When ye rise up to prayer, wash your faces and your hands (and arms) to elbows, and wipe your heads and your feet to the ankles. (Koran V, v. 9.).

² Three explanations are given by different individuals when asked to explain the significance of the burning of incense:- (a) To drive away evil spirits. (b) To give good luck. (c) Symbolic of spiritual cleansing.
The main celebrations take place on the first day after Ramadan. The festival begins with prayer in the Zoaia, in which male members of the community participate. During the rest of the day social calls are made at the homes and cafes of friends, acquaintances and kinsfolk, where groups assemble to celebrate the occasion. Brief descriptions of three such gatherings are as follows:

(a) At the home of an Arab, twelve men assembled in his sitting-room. All except the writer were Arabs. The English wife of our host and their two sons, aged 17 and 19, did not join the group. Later, other Arabs joined us. As we sat our host entered and we stood while he greeted each of us in the customary Moslem way, with the hand clasped, brought to the face and kissed. The act was repeated by each member of the group arriving later. Our host sprayed perfume over our clothes and wiped some in the palms of our hands, which we passed over our hair and faces. Other members of the group and late arrivals also produced vials of perfume and repeated the activity. Light-hearted conversation then proceeded while tea was served. After about an hour and a half, the group dispersed.

(b) At a Somali Cafe, Somalis met for conversation and card games, while some drank tea or milk. I was offered milk or tea and told, "You must be happy with us to-day. This is 'Small Christmas'!" A Pakistani and an Arab joined the party later, but the latter did not remain for long.

(c) In response to an invitation I had dinner at a Somali Boarding House. The English wife of the Master assisted him in the preparation of the meal which consisted of rice, highly spiced curried mutton and chicken, dates, milk and coffee. One large dish of rice and another of meat were placed on the table from which each person helped himself with a spoon. Only Somalis were present, the party consisting of residents and a few invited guests. The communal meal is always a very important part of all these celebrations.

Ed-el-Arifa /
Ed-el-Arifa, or Great Feast of Deliverance, locally known as the Moslem Christmas, commemorates the attempted offering of Isaac by his father Abraham to God, whose intervention saved the youth's life and substituted a ram instead. The Festival is for five days though local celebrations are for a day only.

The men and children assembled at a point in the town, then divided into two groups, one marching to the Zoaia at Cuthbert Street and the other to the Prayer room at Spring Lane. The procession led by the men, some of whom were gaily dressed in their robes and turban or fez, carried banners, flags and the Seif. The banners were inscribed in Arabic with passages from the Koran. One read "God is great, there is no god but Allah. Mohammed is his Prophet." The flags were those of certain Moslem countries, the Egyptian flag, for instance, with its crest and three stars on a green background was represented. The Seif, shaped like a staff with its name written in Arabic at one end, was used in the procession as well as in the Zoaia.

Entering the porch of the Zoaia, the men greeted each other by clasping the hands and kissing hand and cheek. The ablution was then made and worship began. Rakahs, appropriate to the occasion were led by the Imam and the people made their responses in bowings, recitations and chants. Passages from the Koran were read while the Imam stood on a dais holding the Seif in one hand. Then followed an address given by a member of the congregation.

1 The local press reporting the observance of Ed-el-Arifa recorded the following: "...a procession led by children chanting with shrill voices, and the male dressed in picturesque robes and with banners bearing the crescent emblem of Arabic signs carried by the older Moslems. This is a five day festival, a feast of goodwill - otherwise known as the Moslem Christmas. In other parts of the world pilgrimages are made to Mecca. Sacrifice of sheep is offered to Allah symbolising the ram killed by Abraham when God had tested his faith." South Shields Gazette, 20 January, 1940.

2 The group divides because of lack of accommodation at any one Zoaia, and also because of sentimental attachment to one or other of the Zoaia.

3 During the time of Shiakh Abdulla, the women used to take part in the procession, following behind the children.
This address may be read or given extempore.¹ The substance of one of these addresses was translated to me afterwards, having been given in Arabic in the first instance. Moslems were exhorted to unity, helpfulness and faithfulness in their religious duties, and to local Moslems as well as to those in foreign lands.

The gathering, sitting for the address, then stood, forming two concentric circles round the room, each circle moving in the opposite direction while each member greeted the other as he passed by kissing the hand and face. The double circle ultimately resolved itself into a single one.

The main group of worshippers then dispersed, leaving the Sufis to continue the ritual act called by them, the "Steps". A ring was formed around one member of the group who usually is the Imam, but not necessarily. They held hands, swaying their bodies from the waist in an inward and outward movement, keeping time to deep, gutteral rhythmic beats. The sounds developed into a crescendo as the floor creaked beneath the thumping sounds made by their feet.² This continued for about five or six minutes, until the participants appeared to be exhausted. The act was explained as a special expression of praise to Allah, imitating the steps leading up to the deliverance of Isaac.

The highlight of the festival is the Communal feasting. Prior to the last war as many as twenty-five sheep were slaughtered, the feast being prepared at a large Boarding House...

¹ On my second visit to this ceremony the address was read by an Arab in Arabic. At the end he called upon a Pakistani to "say a few words" whereupon he declined expressing satisfaction with the address already given.

² This performance is typical of the Dervish order with whom the Shields Sufis are associated. Tritton points out that the orders hold meetings where "the noise of musical instruments mingles with song, dance and heavy breathing... These meetings are even held in the mosque." Op. cit., p. 97.
in Spring Lane. After the religious services the men resort to this centre to partake of the feast. The feast is a special attraction for the children. Visitors and non-Moslem friends are also welcome to a free meal. Each home makes adequate preparations as well, sharing food with the many visitors that may be expected on these occasions.

Three other religious festivals are observed in the community but without the elaborate celebrations of those already described. The Prophet Mohammed's Birthday - Monlid al Nabi - is observed with special rakahs and the Moslem New Year is also celebrated with appropriate rakahs and alms to the poor, commemorating Mohammed's visit to Medina. Allawaian Day commemorates the founding of the Sect and is observed in Shields by its members when special prayers are said and a communal meal shared.

Infant Circumcision and 'Dedication'.

A son born to a Moslem father is circumcised three weeks after birth, or as soon after that as is possible. This act is followed by a Dedication Ceremony. The mother takes the child to the Zoaia for the ceremony but the rite may also be performed at home. The Imam, taking the child in his arms, "Athan", which is uttering the call to prayer whispered in

1 "Moslems celebrate New Year lasting 10 days which celebrates Mohammed's visit to Medina. Offerings are made to the poor at this time." South Shields Gazette, 9 January, 1940.
the child's ear. The child is then named, being given the father's name as surname, and an English 'Christian' name.

Marriage.

Among the changes introduced by Sheikh Abdulla was the insistence on the Moslem marriage rite being performed on Moslem couples, whether the wives were white or coloured. Some of those who had been previously married according to the English rite, submitted to the Moslem ceremony as well. The Shiakh himself was married twice in South Shields to coloured girls, and observed the Moslem rite, refusing the English. No doubt his own case set a precedent in the community, for other Moslem couples followed his example.

According to the orthodox Moslem marriage practice it is not necessary for the bride to be present at the wedding ceremony, "although the English woman prefers to be there" said the English wife of an Arab, who herself had been married in this way. At the ceremony, one male relative of the bride and another of the bridegroom must be present. If the parents of the girl are estranged from her for racial reasons, as usually is the case, an outsider is substituted.

The ceremony begins with the bride and groom clasping hands, which

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1 According to the Somalis or Arabs, the child in their native countries would be given the names of his father, and clan, in addition to its own.

2 In the orthodox procedure in marriage, the first steps are taken by the man's family. It is customary to get a friend to approach the father of the girl. The essentials of marriage are the presence of witnesses and a contract ratified by the mahr, brideprice consisting of money or goods given by the groom or his father to the father of the bride. Tritton, op. cit., p. 131.
which are covered by a white handkerchief. The marriage prayer is then repeated in Arabic by the Imam. The ceremony ends with the parents or sponsors and the Shiakh joining hands with the bride and groom.

Funeral Ceremony.

The preparation of the corpse is undertaken by two males in the case of a man, or two females in the case of a woman. They are equipped with linen to wrap their hands which should not touch the bare corpse. The wrapper is changed occasionally. With a jug of water in one hand and a rag in the other, the body lying on a slab or table, is washed, by pouring water over the body and passing the rag over it. The washing is preceded by the declaration: "I take it upon myself to wash the dead in the name of God." Then a prayer is said before the pouring of the water, making a "wadtho" (ablution of the dead). The corpse is wrapped in a shroud, and placed in a coffin, lying on its right side, with hands under its cheek.

The coffin may then be taken to the Zoaia and left throughout the night or for a few hours, where prayers are said for the dead. If a female, it will remain in the Zoaia for no more than two hours. Women mourners do not accompany the coffin to the Zoaia but may drive in a separate carriage to the cemetery. The coffin leaves the Zoaia in a hearse to the cemetery and is followed /

1 Some of the Moslem men said that in their countries, it is not the custom for Moslem women to go to the cemetery.
followed by one or more buses and cars with Moslem mourners. Along the route the men chant in Arabic the "Shahada", in response to the leadership of the Imam.

At the Cemetery the men assemble around the grave but if there are women present they stand away from it and look on, but take no active part in the ritual. Complete control of all activities connected with the ritual routine is taken over by the mourners, even such activities as the lowering of the coffin and the filling in of the grave. The Imam leads the ceremony by reciting prayers and reading from the Koran, the men responding appropriately. The first part of the ceremony is performed standing and the rest in a squatting position. After the ceremony the men, making a circle, clasp hands with male relatives of the deceased. Returning to the Zoaia, the mourners participate in two Rakahs. A funeral is one means of achieving the closest co-operation between all sections of the Moslem community. Moslems of all nationalities attend whether the deceased is a stranger or well known in the community. If he was poor, the group contribute towards the expenses of the funeral. The ceremony is a community affair which expresses the loss to the community, but it also gives reassurances to the group of its unity in religious aspirations.

Social /

1 The South Shields Gazette of March 1939 reported a Moslem funeral. "The funeral of Alwin Ahmed who died while at prayer was observed here yesterday. The Moslems standing around the grave had the peaks of their cloth caps turned to the rear and palms uplifted in front of them. Prayer around the grave was led by the Imam...while the mourners responded, staring into their cupped hands. The coffin arrived on the shoulders of eight Arabs and the Prayer Service began with the Imam intoning in Arabic: 'God is great, there is no God but Allah/'. (Continued on next page)
Social Factors Weakening Religious Practices.

Indications of weakening religious enthusiasm among some sections of the community are explained or rationalized in a number of ways.

(a) The absence of legal sanctions and positive measures against recalcitrants encourage laxity. "In my country (Yemen)", said an Arab, "if a man does not pray at the Mosque he is put in jail because it shows that he is bad. But in this country, he may not pray and no legal action will be taken against him."

(b) Western manner of dressing makes preparation for ritual too laborious. Little time and effort is required in discarding the loose garments worn in Eastern Moslem countries in preparation for worship, but "the inconvenience here of changing our clothes five times daily keeps some of us from attending the rakahs. Others, for this reason, may attend irregularly," explained a Moslem.

(c) The laxity shown by adherents to the Christian religion in this country is suggested as having an adverse effect on young Moslems, who seek to justify their attitude by comparing the neglect of their religious obligations with that shown by Christians in Britain. Asked why they had not attended prayers at the Zoaia, a group of Somalis replied, "Well, we are Moslems all the same, but like many Christians in this country we do not attend Mosque just as they do not go to the church."

(d) /

(Footnote continued from previous page)

Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet'. Near the end a handful of earth was scooped by mourners into the grave."
(d) Ritual obligations may conflict with employment. Thus, seamen when employed on a trip, in view of their engagement at hours which conflict with the time of prayer, and because of the strenuous character of certain engagements, are compelled at certain times to forego some of their religious obligations. For instance, the times for rakahs may clash with working periods or the fast during Ramadan may be suspended, since the sustained strenuous work of the fireman necessitates substantial meals. In other types of employment, such as that of cafe owners, it is not always possible to leave the premises during business hours.

(e) Most members of the second generation do not actively participate in religious activities, and for them religion is becoming increasingly less a means of social control.

(f) Geographical conditions are another factor impeding participation in ritual performances. During Ramadan fasting is observed from sunrise to sunset. As this festival occurs at different times in each year, owing to the difference between the Moslem calendar and ours, the fasting period during the summer lasts for several hours in a northern climate like Britain. As a result some Moslems find the discipline too great a physical strain.

It is evident that the most important factor affecting these changes in social attitudes is the impact of British society and culture on a small group of immigrants with an alien culture.

Religious Categories.

The community places its members into one of four religious categories. These categories are in hierarchical order and may be /
be classified as the "devout", "the faithful", "the average" and "the fringe".¹

A Moslem who shows outstanding qualities of religious piety and one who is highly esteemed for his good works, will be called a "devout" Moslem. Those belonging to this category are individuals who make regular attendances at the rakaha, strictly observe religious prohibitions, give alms - and whose behaviour in general highly commends itself to the community. Piety is an essential characteristic. "The good man"² is the term usually ascribed to these persons in the community. My informant, speaking about a boarding house master reputed for his good deeds and piety, said, "He was a 'good man'". Others may simply add the superlative, "Mr. Ali was a very good man". This boarding house master loaned or gave money and gifts of food and lodging to destitute coloured seamen. He also gave a large furnished room in his boarding house to be used for daily worship. He himself was a regular worshipper and organizer of the annual religious feasts. He was a Sufi, but the people do not place all Sufis in Shields in the category of "good men".

Moslems who are a step lower in the hierarchy may be classified as the "faithful". These include Moslems who are most prominent in leadership, regular in attendance at rakaha, generous in giving alms and who are always willing to help other Moslems.

¹ These terms are my own.

² Although I have never heard the term saint applied to this man, nevertheless he was so highly revered in the community, it may be appropriate to apply the term to him. Tritton stated that the reputation as a saint may be got in many ways, by miracle, charity, asceticism, etc. Op. cit., p. 143.
Moslems. These must be zealous for the work of the Zoaia. The assistance of the "faithful" is sought in a dispute to be settled or in difficulties of one kind or another in which members of the community may become involved. The main difference between the devout and the faithful is one of degree.

The third category may be called the "average", who comprise the majority of the Shields religious community. They are the main supporters of the institution.

The "fringe", comprising the fourth category is represented by various types. There are some, who while claiming Moslem affiliations, at the same time neglect their religious ritual obligations. Others do not conform to its doctrines and norms and are severely criticised by the Community. And some members of the second generation, by kinship and residential circumstances are designated Moslems by the white society although they do not adhere to Moslem religious doctrine, observe its norms or participate in its ritual.

In summarising, it has been suggested that basic Islamic doctrines and ritual are accepted by all Moslems, irrespective of their original habitat. Members of all national groups participate in the daily and annual ritual routine. The response of the Community to the leadership of Shaikh Abdulla resulted in the organization and strengthening of its religious life.

English wives of Moslems adjust the routine of home life in accordance with some of the religious values and customs of Islaam. Some couples have been married according to the Moslem rite. The women who accepted the Islaamic religion, for some time held regular /
regular meetings for worship and instruction.

Anglo-coloured, of the second and third generations by circumcision, dedication and training are conditioned to the Moslem culture and social pattern. Evening classes were arranged in the Zoaia to give to them religious instruction. For various reasons these were discontinued, but religious training continues in the homes. Children participate in some of the annual ceremonies, especially in processions and in feasts. Three boys from the community were sent by the Shiakh to Aden and North Africa for religious education, and returned to the community after a few years. Young children are not admitted to the daily worship in the Zoaia, but a few young men of the second generation attend rakahs.

Finally, it is suggested that the community's conception of itself as a religious entity is reflected in the religious hierarchy in which it places its members. The religious institution is the basic structure of the community and adherence to its doctrines, norms, and ritual has been the most effective integrative force in the group.

But on the fringes of this religious grouping, are discernable an element who flout its rules and disregard the religious practices of their elders. Anglo-coloured and young immigrants, particularly the Somalis, constitute most of those showing this attitude. The tendency has been to substitute the norms of British society.
CHAPTER XI

WORK

With the exception of sixteen cafe owners and boarding house masters and perhaps half a dozen Pakistani peddlers, the male Moslem population are engaged in seafaring occupations. A few girls are employed in light industry and one boy is apprenticed to a trade. Others who began as apprentices have discontinued these careers and taken to seafaring instead.

Seafaring.

Conditions of work and wages received are similar to those of Negro seamen from North Shields. The Arabs are more successful in obtaining employment on ships than are other coloured men in Shields. This is because of the manner in which they have commended themselves to their employers and work supervisors. They are reputed to be willing to obey instructions, to co-operate as an Arab team, and to be willing to substitute for a disabled work mate. Their Anglo-coloured sons usually obtain work on boats on which their fathers are employed, and thus for a period come under direct paternal supervision.

Somalis find it more difficult to obtain seafaring jobs but mix more easily with other coloured seamen than do Arabs.

Peddling.

Some Pakistanis earn a livelihood by the peddling of
textile goods which are sold from stalls in the market, or by house to house canvassing. An average of about five stallholders are found on each of the two weekly market days and canvassing is done on other week days. Business is most profitable during the summer season, especially at the stalls. The winter is devoted to house to house peddling in view of weather conditions. Peddling, however, involves business risks, as creditors may remove from their addresses to unknown destinations.

Sales vary between £4 and £50 per week and profits might amount to £10 or £15 per week. Daily expenses for the stall are as follows:— Space rent 2/6d; Stall and Cover 7/6d; other expenses 5/-; making a total of 15/-

Some Pakistanis come to Britain for the purpose of making a livelihood by peddling, while others have taken to the trade as an alternative to seafaring for which their labour has become redundant.

Boarding Houses and Cafes.

In the summer of 1949 there were thirteen cafes and five boarding houses in South Shields, but as some boarding houses also have cafes, the numbers may be duplicated. Three of these businesses were owned by Somalis and one by a Pakistani,

1 In 1944 the British Government drew the attention of the Government of India to the number of peddlers coming to this country. To check this undesirable traffic the Indian Government refused to issue passports unless they were satisfied that the applicant had means of support and prospective accommodation in the United Kingdom. "Notes of Meeting at the Home Office," 18/2/44. Colonial Office Files.
while the others were owned by Arabs. The cafes and boarding houses are distributed in that section of the Moslem community outside the nucleus.

**TABLE V**

**BOARDING HOUSES & CAFES - SOUTH SHIELDS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Street</th>
<th>Cafes</th>
<th>Boarding houses</th>
<th>Total Accommodation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. on street</td>
<td>No. on street</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legate Lane</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring Lane</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson Street</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuthbert Street</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Street</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bactura Road</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxwell Street</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Place</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Road</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>220</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The weekly cost of accommodation at the boarding houses varies, with sleeping accommodation 7/6d. to 8/-, and board and lodging £1.12.6d. to £2.10.0d. But business fluctuates. In one boarding house accommodating 15 men, the charge was £1.12.6d. per week for full board. Expenses, including rent, water, light and fuel were 34/- per week, food and laundry for each boarder 16/-, and for domestic assistance £3.0.0d. per week. If all accommodation were taken the weekly profit would be £7.13.6d. Additional revenue accrues from the sale of special dishes such as curried chicken, mutton and rice,
the price of which is usually about 5/- per meal. A fee is also paid for the storage of seamen's luggage. But as business fluctuates, the Boarding House Master experiences lean days as well as prosperous ones.

The Boarding House Master is also a banker. A seaman leaving for his boat may take sums of money to him to be kept until he returns. And no document is held as a record. The Master may be rewarded for his trouble with presents or money. He is also a money lender. Seamen in need of money or services apply to him for assistance. Advances are made without security. The Boarding House Master therefore has an important economic rôle and with it is linked equivalent social and religious roles which determine his high status in the Moslem community.

Cafés are to be found in most boarding houses, but there are others functioning separately. Cafés in boarding houses cater almost exclusively for Moslems, serving the highly spiced foods to which they are accustomed, and meals prepared according to their cultural habits. Other cafés serve the general public. They get their best support from the English population after the public houses are closed at night.

Some cafés are run by retired seamen, usually assisted by their English wives and sometimes by a domestic help. Others are managed by the seaman's wife, while the husband continues in his employment as a seaman.

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1 These estimates were taken in 1949.
Occupations of the Anglo-coloured.

As far as could be estimated, prior to the last war, all male Anglo-coloureds of Moslem fathers were employed as seamen. But, the post-war trend has been for some to become apprenticed in various trades such as joinery and cabinet making, carpentry, bricklaying and engineering. So far, none of these have completed their apprenticeship period, having given up these trades to become seamen, the principal reasons being hypersensitivity to racial taunts, the desire to travel abroad and the attraction of higher wages. As the wife of an Arab seaman explained:

"My son was apprenticed to a cabinet maker and joiner. One day, one of the lads called to him 'Darkie, Darkie,' but my son did not answer. He repeated it, and then he went to him and said 'You know my name, call me by it.' Soon after he persuaded his father to get a job on the boat for him."

The wages offered to seamen have a greater appeal to the youths than the comparatively small wage of an apprentice; as the mother of two boys observed:

"When my boys saw the young seamen coming in here and pulling out so many pound notes, nothing I could do would change their decision to become seamen."

A seafaring occupation provides for the continuation of the fellowship of the coloured working group which would not be possible if the men were dispersed in industries. As a young seaman commented, "With the other lads we have a good time and at the same time we are seeing the world." But, a more subtle kinship principle is involved. Usually the father
obtains employment for his son(s) on his own ship or on the boat of a clansman or close friend. In this way, the young man comes under paternal supervision for a few years. His behaviour is therefore kept under a watchful paternal eye. Two young seamen who were employed on their fathers' boat, said that later they would like to work on another boat away from their fathers, but their fathers would not agree to their leaving them.

Anglo-coloured girls are employed in domestic service and in light industries until after their marriage. Married women are not encouraged to take employment but may assist their husbands if they own cafes or boarding houses. Moslem husbands do not favour their wives coming under the domination of an employer. Moreover, some white women would not consider working while being married to a coloured man. If they did they may be taunted by other white women in the community some of whom claim that the white wife of a coloured man should be adequately supported by him, and not be expected to seek employment.

Unemployment.

In April 1950, of a total population of 110,000, the number of insured men employed in the borough was 24,071. The total number of unemployed was 2,500, eighty-five of these being coloured. Six months prior to that date there were 150 unemployed coloured men. The decrease was due partly to the shifting of a number of the unemployed to other British ports, and partly to the opening up of new opportunities for employ-
ment in South Shields and other towns of the conurbation.

Of the 39 families in Cornwallis Square - Portberry Way nucleus, there were 33 Arab families and of these only one insured male was unemployed, being ill and unable to work; while in the Colonial Hostel for seamen, where 18 Somali sea-
men were residing, 12 were unemployed, some for periods as long as two years.

The full employment of Arabs in the nucleus is representative of Arabs in the Moslem community as a whole. There was no unemployment problem as far as Pakistanis were concerned, since those who failed to obtain employment on boats took to peddling instead. Moreover, additional opportunities are open to them for employment on Merchant Ships of Pakistani nationality. It was Somalis, West Africans and West Indians who comprised the unemployed. This uneven distribution of unemployment among the nationalities is due to the following reasons. The Arabs have gained a reputation for being less aggressive and more ready to obey orders given on the boats than are coloured crews of other nationalities. Greater co-
operation and team work are also obtained from them, and they usually remain with the same boat for longer periods, thus becoming dependable and wellknown by captain and ratings. An Arab who had served on a boat for three years returned home on

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1 A number of West Africans and West Indians are settled in South Shields.

2 See page 308.
the death of his wife, but his place on the boat was kept vacant for three months, the captain of the ship informing him that the vacancy would still be open if he decided to return. Moreover, boarding house Masters used to contact shipping companies and captains of ships with whom contracts were made for supplying coloured crews. The Arab boarding house Master is usually the most astute in these transactions and, as a result, their own people benefit from these arrangements. In Shields, for instance, an Arab boarding house Master used his white wife to assist him in getting contracts that might have been beyond his ability to negotiate. She was sent to Scandinavia and other Northern European ports to negotiate contracts with companies for the supply of coloured crews. Boarding house Masters were alleged to benefit from these contracts through a commission which they obtained from the seamen for whom they procured employment. The setting up of the 'Pool' through which established seamen are employed, put an end to direct negotiation with ships' companies, and has deprived the boarding house Master of much of his bargaining. However, some keep in contact with the Pool and Shipping Federation on behalf of their men. It is this contact which is rightly or wrongly interpreted by other coloured nationals as an indirect and unfair means of gaining from the Shipping Federation, concessions for themselves to the disadvantage of others.

In contrast with the Arabs, the Somalis are considered aggressive and adamant in their attitude towards their employers.

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1 See pages 07–8
FIG. 11. (a, b, c) A MAIN STREET IN THE MOSLEM QUARTER with Zoaria (z), cafes (x) and living quarters.
(d, e) Pedestrian peddling in the market.
Quarrels, and fights, both among themselves and with members of other ethnic groups, are sometimes frequent, and as a result there is a reluctance to employ them on the boats. They are handicapped in two ways. Being unskilled they are not suited to most other types of employment in Britain; and they have been less adaptable to other types of work than the West Africans, West Indians or the Pakistanis who are in a similar situation. Africans and West Indians are adapting themselves to industrial work and the Pakistanis have taken to peddling, but the Somalis have not yet attempted to adapt themselves to alternative employment.

The economic situation of the Moslem community can now be summarised. With the exception of the proprietors of boarding houses and cafés and the Pakistanis who are peddlars, the Moslem male immigrants are employed as seamen, and seafaring occupations are handed down to their sons. Common occupational interest and co-operation in a similar type of work have cemented group relationships and strengthened community ties. The post-war tendency has been for some of these male Anglo-coloureds to become apprenticed in various trades, although, for various reasons, only one has so far continued in a trade. Two Anglo-coloureds, however, have recently given up their seafaring jobs for shore employment which may indicate the beginnings of a departure from the traditional occupations of the group. Anglo-coloured girls are employed until they are married, but neither they, nor white wives, as a rule continue
working after marriage. Pakistanis resort to peddling if they fail to get seafaring jobs, but Somalis have not yet adjusted themselves to the industrial type of work.
In the Negro grouping it was shown that the immigrants' native languages are not of importance in reinforcing group solidarity; consequently their use is not encouraged. The reverse is true in the Moslem community, especially with regard to the Arabic language.

Language is one of the principal elements in the organization of sub-groups and Arabic is an important factor in binding together the heterogeneous ethnic sub-groups composing the community. Some recreational groups also correspond to language groups, though not always. Voluntary associations are organized on religious principles. And national sub-groups and the Moslem community as a whole exercise sanctions with regard to its members in the maintenance of social control.

**LANGUAGE.**

Each ethnic sub-group in Shields is also a separate linguistic group. Arabs from Aden and Yemen speak Arabic. Somalis are bilingual, speaking Somalese and Arabic. Pakistanis comprise three linguistic sub-groups - Bengalese, Punjabi and Urdu. Urdu is spoken by most and understood by all Pakistanis in Shields.

The sub-groups persist within the framework of the Moslem community by retaining, among other cultural elements, its own language. New immigrants find admission into, and adjustment
to members of the grouping less difficult, through the existence of a group with which they share a common language. Thus the newly-arrived keeps his position in his sub-group, in which he feels a sense of security and in which most of his social needs are satisfied.

The persistence of the groups is maintained by two main factors. Firstly, each group is large enough for constant use to be made of its language. Secondly, there exist institutions which facilitate the meeting of each ethnic group separately. They meet in cafes and boarding houses for accommodation, recreation and other purposes. These boarding houses and cafes are owned by Moslems and are patronised by persons whose ethnic origin is similar to the proprietors'. The men are able to spend a considerable amount of time at these centres, because as seamen the time spent on shore, is mostly used for leisure. Moreover, a number of them live in boarding houses, each of which attracts persons using the same language.

The occupation followed by the men, reinforces the linguistic pattern. With few exceptions, the men are employed as seamen. But the Moslem crew is usually chosen to comprise either Arabs, Somalis or Pakistanis. For national and other reasons, the ethnic groups are not often mixed. These ethnic groups are also linguistic ones.

The immigrants transmit their language to other members of the community through marriage and the training and education of their children. The English wives of some Moslems have learnt
the language of their husbands. Two women in Shields were able to read Arabic. At home, Moslem boys are taught the language of their father. This applies to Arabs in particular, whose children learn Arabic prayers and verses from the Koran. They also participate in the religious ritual which is conducted in Arabic. Until recently, evening classes were held in the Zoalna for Moslem children and the teaching of Arabic was an essential part of their training. Three boys were sent to a school in Aden to acquire the language and other aspects of Moslem culture. Young men who follow their fathers' occupation as seamen of necessity are limited to using the language of the Moslem crew on the boats on which they are engaged.

We have seen how linguistic sub-groups are formed, and the means by which they persist in the Shields Moslem community. But it should not be inferred that the groups are unrelated linguistic segments. It was stated previously that some of the immigrants were bilingual before their arrival in Britain, consequently the means had already been established for a measure of communication between some of them. Somalis, for instance, speak Arabic and most Pakistanis speak or understand Urdu. And English which is spoken with varying degrees of proficiency by the immigrants, though not often, is sometimes used.

Of greatest importance is the fact that the most dominant integrating factor is religion and Arabic is the linguistic medium of Islaam. The Koran is written and quoted in Arabic. The religious ritual is conducted in Arabic and Moslems whose native
language is not Arabic memorise prayers and verses from the Koran for use in ritual activities.

In Shields, Arabic gains added importance since more than one half of the Moslem population are Arabs. And prestige is ascribed to the Arab because of the value placed on his language. "We are of first importance because the prayers and Koran are in our language," commented an Arab. From a linguistic point of view the main channels of intercourse between the sub-groups are Arabic, especially for religious purposes, and English. These links are strengthened through the concentration of the population in one residential area.

The description given so far is one in which linguistic sub-groups retain their distinctive features, by admitting new immigrants, by working in the same occupation, by incorporating English wives, by the training and education of their children and by meeting in separate centres for recreation and other purposes. It was also shown that these sub-groups communicate with each other by using Arabic and English as well as other native languages.

Language plays an important role, not only in intra-group relations but in the relationship between the Moslem community and British society.

One of the main hindrances to the integration of the Shields Moslem community into British society is the distinct cultural character of the former. The foreign languages spoken crystallise
these cultural differences. This is particularly true where Arabic is concerned, since emphasis is placed on its religious value. It has been stressed by Linton, Firth, and others that language is important not only as a medium of transmitting cultural elements but also as an integral element of culture itself.

The immigrants have difficulty in expressing themselves in English, consequently they suffer certain disadvantages. Opportunities for employment are limited. Some employers would not engage their services because of their poor grasp of English. It is feared that they might not be able to co-operate with the work team to perform their work efficiently.

The immigrant is able to satisfy most of his social needs within the Moslem community. Therefore he is not compelled to have close or personal relationship with members of British society as many Negroes in North Shields find necessary. The Moslem immigrant very seldom establishes personal relationships with whites, except his wife. Consequently his progress in learning English is very slow.

However, there are ways by which links are established between the Moslem community and the British society. The English wife of the Moslem plays an essential role as intermediary between her husband and the society. She writes his

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letters, seeks housing accommodation and may even negotiate employment for him. As a clerk at the Shipping Federation said, the office staff preferred the Moslem's wife to accompany him, because of the language difficulty if he came alone. The husband relies on his wife in this respect and sometimes shares the belief that the man, if left at the disposal of the society, will on most occasions be deprived of his rights.

The wife of an Arab explaining how an Arab had lost his job, said that "he had himself to blame." His wife had told him to wait until she could accompany him, but he went without her. The result was that he was "tricked into making his mark to a document which deprived him of his job as well as compensation.

The English wife is a source of security to the immigrant. He gains confidence in her presence and relies on her assistance in most situations in which personal contact is made with the wider community. It was observed in the houses of Moslems how reticent the husband usually became when an English-speaking visitor was present. But his confidence is restored as soon as his wife joins in the conversation. She sometimes explains some of his English sentences.

An advantage that the coloured immigrants in Britain have over ethnic minorities in a number of other societies, is that while in those societies, such as the United States, the immigrants usually settle with their foreign wives, in Shields the immigrants are all male. Consequently, their marriages to
English women establish a strong personal link with the new society.

The Shields-born Moslems who are trained in British schools and have acquired British culture are themselves links between the two peoples. Although acquiring some knowledge of their fathers’ native language, they use English in daily life.

In the Moslem community, at least two languages are spoken in most families. Between mother and children English is used. When the husband is present he may speak to his family in his native tongue, though not always. Their reply is usually in English. When visited by other immigrants, the husband converses with his guests in their native language. In fact, English is the more frequently spoken language in the home, although it is not used in the cafes of boarding houses.

The Shields-born Moslems, by acquiring British culture with its language, are being fitted into, and some are achieving a measure of integration into British society. A young man, for instance, took the maiden name of his mother instead of his father’s surname in order to remove the handicap he may suffer from being identified with an Arab father.

GROUPS AND VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS.

The principal social groupings and associations comprising the community are based on language, nationality, clan or kinship, religion, recreation, and residence.
NATIONALITY.

The immigrants do not completely surrender their national identity to the community. They keep alive national feelings by their close association with each other. The most important national groups are the Arabs, Somalis and Pakistanis. The others are too small to be significant. For instance, there were only three Egyptian families in the town.

The Arab group is composed of the Adenese and Yemenites, both of whom share common national and traditional interests. An Adenese emphasized this close relationship when he said, "We are the same people from Yemen and Aden - no differences. Just line divides our people - one British, the other Yemen - but same people - no difference."

Arabs frequent Arab owned cafes for food and recreation, use Arab boarding houses for accommodation, and visit the homes of Arab friends, relatives or acquaintances. Arabs are occasionally seen at Somali cafes and boarding houses and vice versa, but these exchanges are not frequent. For some weeks I made regular visits to cafes owned by Arabs and Somalis. On two occasions only did I see an Arab in the Somali cafe although on each occasion there was present about 9 Somalis. In the Arab cafe, on one occasion there were two Somalis playing cards with two Arabs and on two other occasions there was one and the same Somali present. In fact, this Somali was in the habit of calling regularly to give 'tips' on race horses. It was suggested to a group of Arabs that they did not seem to associate very closely with
Pakistanis, and they were asked how friendly were the two groups towards each other. They replied, "When we meet, we talk. We have nothing against them." They agreed that the association was not as cordial as among people of their own ethnic group.

The clause "When we meet," and the sentence: "We have nothing against them," were very suggestive. The first supported the observation that there existed then strong group affiliations. The second recalled recent demonstrations of antagonism between the two groups. A statement made to the local press by a Pakistani, expressing on behalf of the Moslem community certain political views, brought disapproval from Arabs and Somalis, who disassociated themselves from the statement. They claimed that it was made by a Pakistani on behalf of Pakistanis, but did not represent the views of all the Moslems of the town. A Somali contended that the Pakistanis were becoming too self-confident because they had their national independence. In the opinion of the Arabs, Pakistanis were too politically active in a country in which they were only foreigners.

The Pakistani group. Pakistanis recognise three regional and linguistic categories composing their main group. They are the Punjabi, the Hindi and the Bengali. Bengalis are the most numerous, but the Punjabis are recognised as having the highest prestige and influence in the community; Bengalis are sometimes
spoken of disparagingly by the Punjabi. When the Pakistani speaks of "his own people", he refers to persons belonging to his geographical and linguistic regional group. Complaining about the lack of interest one Hindi showed in another, when he needed assistance, a Punjabi remarked: "His own man got into trouble and I went and told him. He did nothing; I had to take £13 and pay to get him out of jail."

Although there is not an exclusive Pakistani Society, the President of the Moslem League, who is a Pakistani, is frequently referred to as their leader. The visit in 1948 to South Shields, of the High Commissioner for Pakistan is remembered as an event of local importance to Pakistanis. The occasion was celebrated by a gathering of the men with their wives and children in a large hall. This was followed by a dinner, to which representatives of other Moslem ethnic groups as well as prominent local white citizens were invited. This event has enhanced the national pride and prestige of local Pakistanis and annual celebrations of Pakistan's Independence are observed with a full day's festivities of public gatherings, speeches and feasting.

The Somali group. There is a growing national consciousness among the Somalis who discuss political, economic and social conditions in Somaliland. Clan differences are submerged in common national interest. A Somali was asked the names of Somali clans represented in Shields. After giving the information he
asked that other Somalis should not be told he had done so, adding that Somalis were now thinking of themselves as Somalis and not as 'tribes'.

Somalis use their own boarding houses and cafés. They assist each other. The employed contribute to the necessities of the unemployed. Discipline is exercised by the group on any of its members whose behaviour is disapproved. For this reason a Somali is known to have been compelled by other Somalis to leave Britain and was sent to Somaliland. The older Somali boarding house Masters assume authority over the younger men; and the young Somalis rely on their judgement in a dispute. The masters act as their representatives if the necessity arises, and they are treated by them with deference and respect.

**Clan and Kin.**

The old clan affiliations and their related kinship ties have not completely lost their significance to the immigrants. But the function of these structures becomes less significant with successive generations. Most Arabs in Shields are of one or other of the following clans: Shari, Shadli, Shamari, Saidi, Choladi and Bubini.

The family is the most closely knit social unit, and social obligations become less binding as a person's relationship widens in terms of the Moslem community. An Arab explaining these

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1 The term tribe is used by both Arabs and Somalis in Shields in the sense of clan as used by anthropologists. Members of the same clan speak of each other as 'cousins'.

2 The correct spelling of these clan names is not guaranteed, since they are spelt phonetically.
relationships, said, "We help all Arabs but him first, then all Moslems." By "him" he meant those of his kin and clan. The wife of a Somali Boarding House Master, when asked for her husband, replied that he had left for the Shipping Federation Office to seek employment for his "boys", by which she meant Somali young men. An Arab who had given his daughter in marriage to another Arab, when asked if his son-in-law was of his clan, replied, "Yes, I gave her to him because he is of my tribe. Good thing to be of my tribe."

Social bonds are strengthened through ties of kinship. Of 39 families in the Square, in one case 4 English sisters, in another 3, and in two others 2 sisters, of the first generation, had married Arabs. There are also 12 married girls of the second generation and some of these married Moslem men of the second generation. The children of these young couples living in the Square extend their kinship bonds.

Common residence in Cornwallis Square has given rise to a group feeling that is strengthened by bonds of kinship and friendship.

RELIGIOUS GROUPS.

The community was split into two religious groups, each giving loyalty to one or other of the two Zoisas. The schism was the outcome of the refusal of a Moslem benefactor to close his prayer-room which had served the community for a number of years. The suggestion to close this Zoisia was made after another Zoisia was opened. The latter was being financed from
contributions made by the Moslem community. Owing to the high prestige of its benefactor, the privately owned Zoaia continued to attract supporters. The split healed gradually and the two centres became complementary rather than opposed, as a result of the need for more accommodation owing to the increase in the Shields' Moslem population.

**ISLAMIA, ALLAWAIA, SOCIETY.**

The two voluntary associations in the community are the Allawaian Society and the Moslem League. South Shields is but one of several branches of the Allawaian Society in Britain. These societies are to be found in most towns of Britain settled by groups of Moslems.

The main rules of the society are set out in a booklet from which the following extracts were taken:

"No other person than a true believer and a sincere friend of Islamic faith may become a member. Each member on joining automatically becomes a brother, and only good feelings towards each other will be tolerated. The sole purpose and aims of the Society are for the propagating of the religion of Islam and no other interests will be allowed to intrude.

"Once a member has been expelled, on no account can he be re-admitted to membership. Each member must

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1 A Society of this nature would seem to have some relationship to the function of the Moslem guilds referred to by Gibb and Bowen. These guilds were the foci of the religious ideas of the dervises. And the most ardent Moslems in Shields are dervises. Gibb and Bowen stated that many of the guilds survived as Associations "in the maintenance of a common assistance fund to which members made ... contribution ... and was used partly for religious purposes and partly for the aid of members in distress." Gibb, H.A.R., and Bowen, H., *Islamic Society and the West*, Oxford University Press, 1950, p. 286.
pay a contribution towards the society — minimum of 1/— and the maximum of 2/6d. per week. From this amount the rent of the Zoaia and all other incidental expenses will be paid, the balance to be banked.

"Each branch shall also be entirely self-supporting. No member can be transferred temporarily from one branch to another. Any member who whilst at sea fails to pay his subscription for six weeks automatically falls out of benefit, if he fails to pay for three months, he must leave the society, unless satisfactory reasons can be given. The objects of the Society shall be to hold processions for Islamic Allawsia annually to last three days — the Society to pay all expenses. More money for this purpose may be obtained by a loan (to be repaid) from another branch or for extra subscription. The holding of the three days' celebration is compulsory, because it not only strengthens the Society but the religion as well.

"Any member being ill, aged or regarded as incurable, the management committee shall have the power to send him home provided that he is destitute and has paid his subscription up to date. Should a member die destitute in this country, then the committee shall have power to bury the deceased member and defray all expenses. If after burial it is found that the deceased left any assets, then the Society shall be entitled to reimburse itself of such expense.

"In the event of any member getting into trouble of his own making, the Society shall take no part in any of his affairs. If there is evidence of a miscarriage of justice, then the Society shall help, in so far as the Committee thinks fit.

"If more than fifteen members find themselves residing in a port that has no Zoaia branch there, then the Committee will pay the rent of a room for them. Each branch of the Society must send a representative to visit other branches so that he can try and strengthen the Society and give instructions in the Islamia.

"Wherever there is a branch of the Zoaia, the Society will pay the expenses of a teacher, who will instruct the children and others in the Islamic Religion. Scholarships will be awarded to children of special promise to enable them to attend at an approved High School (Religious School in Arabia, Iraq, Aden etc.)

1 Three boys of Arab fathers were sent from Shields to schools in Aden.
"If members have quarrels or anything between them, the Committee will act as arbitrator."

As in the case of the Moslem League, this Society has a religious basis. The principles of brotherhood and mutual assistance are emphasized and the propagation of Moslem doctrines among adherents and unbelievers, and the education of their children in the Moslem faith, are enjoined. The Society also exercises authority over its members, through moral sanctions.

For a time the society was a very active and effective means of control in the community. Its membership was large. But gradually its structure weakened. Members vied with each other for leadership, and suspicion was aroused over the use of the funds of the society. At present it is virtually inactive, most of its function being taken over by the Moslem League.

The MOSLEM LEAGUE.

The Shields branch of the Moslem League is a post-war organization. Its organizer and president, who is a Pakistani, is the most influential Moslem in the community. Membership of the League is open to all Moslems, male as well as female. The League aims at co-operation between Moslems and the promotion of their welfare and the encouragement of friendly relationship between Moslems and the British people.

No accurate information was obtainable about the size of the present membership, but the number of active members has decreased considerably since its formation. One reason for
this decrease would seem to be the failure of a similar pre-war voluntary association to fulfil its promises; others are the lack of confidence in its officers, national rivalry, and suspicion that the League may be used for political purposes rather than for religious and social ends.

Recalling the failure of a similar organization, it was pointed out that regular contributions were made by members and a lawyer from London made several visits to Shields to put the organisation on a sound legal basis. But it had failed and contributors to its funds received no benefit whatsoever. It was feared that this League would come to a similar end.

Lack of confidence is shown in some of its officers and fear is expressed that one national group may receive greater material benefit or social esteem from the League than others. Questions such as "Is it a Moslem League or a Pakistani League?" reflect current national group jealousies. And remarks such as "I am not quite sure what is happening in it", "I do not want to have anything to do with politics, this is not my country", indicate the suspicion of others. Consequently, there is lack of enthusiastic support for the League.

In spite of these criticisms, the League continues to serve the interest of the community and claims to be instrumental in gaining concessions for Moslems in Shields. The Ministry of Food, for instance, has granted permission to open a Moslem butcher's shop. The League initiates with promptness plans to meet an emergency in the community such as organising a mass
meeting to protest against racial discrimination, or the
arrangement for the funeral of a poor Moslem. As an example,

a Somali resident in the community for a number
of years, had died without leaving adequate means
to defray funeral expenses. Having no relatives
in the community, full responsibility for the fun-
eral was undertaken by the League. The President,
assisted by the Imam, collected the contributions
from the Moslems and all expenses incurred were met
and arrangements were promptly made for the funeral.

SOCIAL STATUS.

Social status in the Moslem community is measured in
terms of two social scales, one recognised within the Moslem
grouping and the other accepted by both Moslems and whites.
Consequently, status ascribed to persons within the Moslem
community may not be recognised outside it. With the except-
ion of the Shiak, the boarding house master is ascribed the
highest status in the community, because of his roles in the
economic, religious and social spheres. He plays a leading
part in the ritual of the Zosia, and usually is of the Sufi
Order, which adds to his religious prestige. Seamen look to
him for advice and economic assistance, and should a dispute
arise he is called upon to arbitrate. He is the seaman's
banker and money lender. If the seaman is in need of financial
aid, he may receive a loan without security, and when he has
collected his earnings, it is entrusted to the safe-keeping of
the boarding house master. If the seaman is single, his bel-
ongings are usually left in the care and protection of the
master to await his return from sea.

There are about a dozen boarding house masters in the community, but as a rule, these do not establish close social relationship among themselves. Each master tends to attract to himself a group of seamen of lower status than himself, who form a 'clique'. Rivalry between these cliques sometimes results in disputes. For instance, members of one clique complained that false information about them was given to the police by another clique.

The status and prestige enjoyed by the boarding house master within the Moslem community are not as a rule extended outside it. Among the white population, he is ascribed the same status as a seaman. Racial and cultural factors are the principal status criteria as far as the whites are concerned. The fact that a person is Arab or Somali, etc., places him within a single status category, whether he be seaman or boarding house master.

It is possible in exceptional cases for individual members of the Moslem community to be ascribed status recognition by whites. Two cases of this kind were those of the Shiakh and of a Pakistani cafe owner. The Shiakh's high social position among the Moslem population, and the duties involved in his religious role, necessitate frequent contacts with white persons of the middle class. His religious position gained for him social recognition in the town as a whole.
The Pakistani owns a motor car, a café and confectionery shop and supplies pastries to catering establishments. As president of the local branch of the Moslem League, which was organised by him, he is generally recognised in white circles as the chief representative of the Moslem community. He mediates between Moslems and whites on some occasions. He has friends and associates among whites and participates in some of their institutional activities, and would seem to be better adjusted to British society than are other immigrant members of his group.

The dual status scale here described, on the one hand reflects the distinct structural framework of the Moslem community, and on the other it indicates the opposition exerted against it by the out-group. But the two examples given would suggest that it is possible for the Moslem to overstep the cultural line and gain status recognition within British society.

**RECREATION.**

There are divergent interests in the recreational life of members of the Moslem family. The husband's interests are determined by Moslem customs which are satisfied in the activities of the cafés and boarding houses. The wife's recreational interests are centred in the British way of life. Their children are more inclined towards the latter.

The differences in recreational interests between English wives and their Moslem husbands do not create disharmony. Usually the wife accommodates herself to the situation. Owing
to the fact that in Moslem countries women do not as a rule share in the recreational activities of their husbands, as is the custom in Western culture, the men in Shields do not readily adjust themselves to the new cultural situation. In South Shields, the wife of the immigrant is not allowed to attend dances. Her husband may accompany her to the cinema, though not usually. If she desires to attend a dance, she must do so without her husband's knowledge. "You are too religious to go to the pictures with me," I heard a wife telling her husband. Attending a dance is strongly disapproved and visiting a public house is a serious religious and social offence.

Recreation for the women consists mainly in attendance at the cinema usually in company with their children or with women friends. A visit is sometimes made to a neighbour to spend an afternoon or evening. In spring and summer, a few women with their children meet in their gardens or on the sidewalk in front of their houses in Cornwallis Square and engage in prolonged conversation. (See Fig. 10)

Cafes and boarding houses are the principal recreational

1 Like the Mosque or Zosia, the Moslem café is one of the institutions taken along by the immigrant to perpetuate his culture. It serves a similar purpose in Britain as in Moslem countries. Goodrick - Freer describing Arab life in the East, writes "The coffee house is recognised as a place of gathering... A visit to the coffee house may not be hurried... It is the occasion of gathering for conversation, for the discussion of public events and for strong feeling. It is also associated with much playing of game... It is the substitute for the theatre, public house, concert hall and all else." Arabs in Tent and Town, London, 1924, pp. 152 - 153.

And Haddad writing about Arabs in The Guest House in Palestine, describes the men in the café's smoking, roasting, grinding and drinking coffee. Games and jokes of all kinds take place making the gathering lively. p. 280.
centres of the immigrant population. The café's are opened between the hours of nine in the morning and eleven at night, and during this period Moslem men are always found in them. The men sit in groups and converse over current events, tell stories or gossip - while they sip cups of coffee or tea. Card games are sometimes played, the loser supplying cups of coffee or tea. The men also gamble in secluded rooms hidden from police detection. The game may begin in the forenoon and last for several hours. Night sessions are the most popular, but as the seamen participating are at leisure during the daytime as well, the game may be played at any time during the day.

Moslems of the second and later generations are confronted with a choice between the recreational activities of the immigrants and those of British society. The partial indulgence of the mother and the full participation of those outside the community in British recreational life could not but have a strong influence on the children. The response has been a tendency towards fuller participation in the recreational life of British society and a gradual withdrawal from the leisure activities of the Moslem community.

If the couples are both Anglo-coloured they tend towards fuller participation in British recreational life than their mother. But if they continue to live in the 'nucleus' of settlement, their activities are somewhat curbed since they are not free from all the social controls of the community. When an immigrant marries an Anglo-coloured female, the couple participate to a lesser degree in British social life than in the
former case. A fuller participation is observed when a 'half-caste' male marries an English girl. The trend is to move away from the Moslem community though not necessarily from the town. In these instances the social control of the community ceases. For example, a mother whose Anglo-coloured son married an English girl and was living outside the Moslem community complained that her son had taken to drinking and had ceased to heed his father's counsel.

At school, Moslem children play with white schoolmates, but in the nucleus, though not outside, the play group is confined to coloured children. Interest in sport does not continue after adolescence. The reasons may be that the boys begin their seafaring occupation at an early age, consequently interrupting their activities in the town. Girls marry between the ages of eighteen and twenty and do not continue their interest in any form of sport.

We observe that male immigrants and especially Arabs and Somalis spend their leisure hours in the boarding houses and cafes. Religious regulations control these activities and exclude participation in most forms of British recreational life. It is seen also that in most cases Moslem wives and their children at least to the period of adolescence, are affected by these controls. These are other factors which give the community a character of its own.

But there are indications of a changing attitude on the part of the younger generation. Young Somalis and Anglo-coloureds
are breaking away from recreational controls. They visit public dance halls and attend cinemas regularly. Some Anglo-
coloured even go to public houses. Moreover, they do not participate with the immigrants in the recreational activities of the boarding houses and cafes. Each successive generation tends to participate more fully in the recreational life of British society.

SOCIAL CONTROL.

The character and setting of this community have given rise to a dual form of social control. In the first instance behaviour is subjected to the canons of English law and custom, which are the overall governing factors in the society of which this community is a part. In the second, there are informal social mechanisms inherent in the culture of the Moslem community which regulate the behaviour of its members. Conflicts between these two regulative systems have occasionally occurred, though these clashes have rarely come to public notice. In most situations, the community adopts its activities to the norms of the wider British society. Marriage has caused a particular form of conflict.

Legal recognition has not been given in Shields to the Moslem form of marriage which does not register the couple.

1 According to Dr. S.T. Lokhardwalla (op. cit.) marriages of this type observed in Britain are not legally recognised in the United Kingdom.
There was one outstanding case which attracted much public comment:

'Shāikh Abdulla Ali adopted three children which were threatened to be taken from him by the Public Assistance Board because he refused to submit to the English marriage rite, having previously been married at Shields in accordance with the Moslem custom to a half-caste girl. The children were orphans - two girls aged 8 and 16 and a boy aged 12. He explained, "Before I could have the custody of the children, I was told that first I would have to get married. I chose for a wife the elder sister of the three children, and since our marriage by Moslem rites, the entire family has stayed at my house. Now I understand that because I was not married at a Christian church or Registrar's Office the children must be taken out of my care. Although I am a British subject and have every respect for the British law, I cannot possibly, as a good Moslem, consent to be married at a Registrar's Office, when in the sight of my religious brethren I am already married .... My wife does not desire that we should go through a second marriage. She is content with the legality and binding character of the first." 1.

The outcome of the case was that the Shāikh was allowed to keep the children, who were already in his care. However, this was a concession given due to support the Shāikh received from public opinion.

The legal position in regard to sexual relationship with young girls gives rise to another conflict which in this instance affects the Pakistani. The age at which sexual intercourse is allowed with young girls is younger in Pakistan and India than in Britain. From time to time, Pakistanis have been convicted for having sexual intercourse with young girls. According to police statements, cases of this kind have become prevalent.

1 Report from the South Shields Gazette, 4 August, 1937.
These cases are in connection with girls under the age of 18 years. Most cases are with girls between the ages of twelve and sixteen. It would appear that the Pakistanis went out of their way to have sexual intercourse with virgins. There were four such cases of conviction in 1948 and five in 1949.

Another form of offence in which the Pakistanis are involved is the smuggling, sale and illegal use of drugs - commonly known as hash-hash or Indian hemp. The herb is a narcotic and is used for smoking. Here again it is not illegal to use this drug in Pakistan or India.

These three types of actions - the Moslem marriage, the smoking of Indian hemp, and sexual relations with young girls - are incompatible with British law and custom. Indulgence in the last two may be interpreted by white society as due to a lack of physical control, or a desire for illegal profit. It may also be the result of difficulties in cultural re-adjustment.

More serious, have been three occurrences of open racial conflict between Moslems and whites arising from economic causes. They occurred in 1919, 1930 and 1931 - and the riot of 1919 was the most serious. According to the local newspaper:

"There were fierce conflicts between Arabs and police at the Mill Dam, South Shields, in which revolvers were freely used. The fight arose through an altercation between an English and an Arab fireman, regarding the signing of a certain ship. As the situation became threatening, the police constable attempted to take the Arab into custody. Arabs, who numbered about a hundred, immediately drew revolvers and began firing. Two persons were injured. A detachment of Navy men were called out, and the Arabs retreated to Holborn (Arab settlement), continuing their firing and throwing bottles and stones. Seven Arabs were arrested. The origin of
the trouble was that an Arab seaman was told at the Shipping Office that only white crew were required for a particular ship. 1

The incident called forth strong protests from the white population against the settlement of Arabs in the town and several letters were sent to the local press demanding their deportation. Those responsible for the riots were prosecuted and a number of the Arabs found guilty were deported.

The disorder of 1930, though not as serious as its predecessor, might well have been so, had not the situation been taken in hand early. From the local paper we have the following report:

"Ugly looking knives, razors, sticks, brooms, and even lumps of coal were utilised by combatants in the disorder. Police used batons to quell what was becoming a riot. Coloured seamen (Somalis) stabbed and injured several men.

"The incident is the culmination of the many demonstrations by white seamen made in North and South Shields during the past four months when unemployment was acutely felt. On March 25th, when the Shipping Federation decided to take Arabs, 1,500 men assembled on the Quay. Thirteen Somalis were chosen as part of the Cape Vender complement which totals 41. White seamen stood before the Board of Trade Office and prevented them from signing on. A clash between Arabs and the Police resulted." 2

In the 1931 incident a mere protest was made but the threat, as reported by the Evening News was a very serious one:

"More Arab and white trouble at New Quay. Extra police were drafted to handle 500 and 600 men. A deputation of white seamen approached the master of a Sunderland Steamship Company,

1 South Shields Gazette, 4 February, 1919.
2 North Shields Evening News, 30 April, 1930.
Caithness, to replace nine Arab engine-room ratings. This vessel usually carried coloured firemen.

"They pointed out that there were more than 800 unemployed seamen at North Shields. The master was then asked to take white men instead. When he refused, they asked the deck ratings, who were Shetlanders, to refuse to work with the Arabs, but they too would not comply. The Arabs were then barred from the Office where they could collect the necessary P.C. 5 forms without which they sailed."

In consequence of these disorders, in which some police constables suffered bodily injuries, and several Arabs were prosecuted and deported, a situation of tension developed between the Moslem community and the police. There is mutual suspicion and distrust. For instance, by regulations, Moslem boarding houses and cafés are periodically inspected by the police. They carry out raids for illegal drugs and other smuggled goods. They clear cafés of suspected prostitutes. They try to forestall minor plots for public disturbances and make raids on gambling groups. Boarding house and café Masters claimed that they did not know whether the visit of the police was routine or for the purpose of a raid. Consequently, his arrival strikes distrust and fear in the minds of the Moslem men. A Master stated that whenever a police officer entered his boarding house the men would leave, even if they were about to have a meal.

Moslem cliques are alleged to benefit from reporting to the police against their rivals. Visitors from Cardiff to attend a funeral in Shields were entertained by their Moslem hosts. The

1 North Shields Evening News, 28 July, 1931.
following day, the hosts were summoned to the police station and questioned about the purpose of the gathering on the previous night. After an explanation was given, the investigation was dropped. The Arabs suspected by the police, declared that they were convinced that a false report was made by another Moslem clique.

There were four cases of convictions for wounding in 1949. White men were not involved in these incidents. The fights occurred between Moslems. It would appear that the knives carried by the Moslems are often used with little restraint in the course of a quarrel. The men usually quarrel over economic or sexual matters.

No case of juvenile delinquency was reported. The Probation Officer had high praise for the interest and care taken by the men in their children.

Informal Social Control.

Complementary to the laws and customs of British society, are the informal rules implicit in the Moslem community, which guide and control day to day behaviour. Each national subgroup exercises a degree of autonomy over its members.

Disputes between individuals of the same ethnic group are settled before an arbitrator chosen from that group. For instance, two Arabs who have a quarrel would settle their dispute before another Arab. If the dispute occurs between persons of different ethnic groups, then one arbitrator is chosen from each group represented. The arbitrator or arbitrators must be persons of esteem and high status in the community. Consequently
a boarding house Master, a cafe owner - or the Shaikh is usually chosen for this purpose.

The two voluntary Associations - the Allawaian Society and the Moslem League - especially the former - exercise control over its members. With the Zoaia, they exercise positive as well as negative sanctions, by promoting its members to positions of leadership or by removing them from these positions, by the deprivation of benefits or by expulsion from membership. These actions are strongly supported by public opinion, which in a small community, as is the Shields group, acts very effectively.

Thus a mother was greatly worried about her son who had started to take alcoholic drinks "because", she said, "people (of the community) were talking". The daughter of an Arab who married another Arab and was found to be pregnant for another man was compelled to leave the town because she was ostracised by the Moslem community. Sanctions may be severe. A Somali, found guilty of certain offences, is known to have been sent to his native land by his fellow-countrymen.

But informal controls are gradually weakening their hold on successive generations. And as individuals become more 'Europeanised', the tendency is to disregard the controls of the Moslem community and take cognizance only of those regulations imposed by British society.
PART FOUR

MOSLEM AND NEGRO GROUPINGS:

SUMMARY, COMPARISON AND CONCLUSION.
In this study attention has been directed to two social processes. On the one hand, consideration has been given to the forces integrating into two discrete groupings - constituting respectively Negroes and Moslems - the various categories and national sub-groups who have settled in two urban areas. On the other hand, the social adjustment of coloured to white was considered in terms of accommodation and assimilation, and the factors contributing to this process were examined as they operate in respect to both groupings. The main points arising from this study may now be summarized and compared.

The Moslem and Negro groupings contrast in certain features. First, the Negro group with a population one-sixth that of the Moslem is dispersed over an area at least twice as large. In addition, the Moslem settlement, with a segregated core of some ninety families, contrasts with the Negro settlement pattern in which families are dispersed among whites in the old as well as in the new building areas. Secondly, the Moslems, devoted to their ritual observances, faithfully support two local religious centres. In the Negro group religion is a negligible factor in group life. The few

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1 Some of the material used in this chapter is published as an article. See Collins, S.F., 'Social Processes Integrating Coloured People into British Society', British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 111, No.1, pp.20-29.
religious adherents there are, do not form a group of their own, but participate with whites in Christian worship and practices. Thirdly, with the exception of a small number of boarding house and cafe owners and peddlers, all male Moslems are employed as seamen, but Negroes are engaged not only as seamen, but in industries as well, and therefore have more opportunities for contact with whites. Moreover, a small proportion of Anglo-coloured Negro women are trained in middle class professions. The wives of some Negroes continue in employment after marriage, but this is usually not so in the case of the wives of Moslems. Fourthly, the Moslems, providing recreational centres of their own, in general, mix neither with members of the opposite sex nor with the white population in recreational activities. Negroes on the other hand, share the recreational facilities of the white population, even at the risk of racial conflict.

Some features of social life are similar to the two groupings. The geographical and social setting are similar, both immigrant groups are male and both groups have been settled in the area for approximately the same period of time, about three generations. Both intermarry with white women, and being coloured, experience similar reactions of colour prejudice from the white population. But the two groups react differently in some situations though not in others. In housing, for instance, the Moslems do not object to being separated from whites although Negroes do.
Intra-group Integration.

Both groupings although composed of different ethnic, tribal and linguistic sub-groups, are bound together by racial, social and cultural ties. But the sub-groups persist through their continual admission of new immigrants, who enter into social relationship through the medium of a common language, by means of a common national and cultural background and by observing certain reciprocal rights and obligations.

In the Moslem Community the persistence of these sub-groups is encouraged by their size, by separate boarding house and cafe facilities for regular meeting and by the concentrated character of the settlement. But in the Negro grouping, sub-groups tend to disintegrate because the numbers composing them are small, and because the dispersed pattern of the settlement forces upon them continual personal contact with whites.

The principal social factors determining intra-group integration would seem to be religious and recreational practices, racial identity, patterns of settlement and of work, bonds of kinship and reaction to racial prejudice.

In the Negro grouping, West Africans and West Indians in most cases share similar racial features, since most West Indians, though of mixed racial types, are nevertheless predominantly negroid in physical features, most of their ancestors having emigrated from Africa. When the West African in the grouping says "my people", he means Africans, but if he speaks of "our people", he refers to West Africans and
West Indians. Arabs and Pakistanis share similar racial features, as do many Somalis, though Negroid characteristics are evident in a number of Somalis. The concentration of one racial type in one town and the settlement of the other type in the other town is of sociological significance, and would suggest that racial identity is one determining factor in social cohesion, in reaction to social pressure from the white population.

To the Moslem community, religion is a more effective integrative force than is the racial factor. It may be noted that some Somalis with prominent negroid features and transient Sudanese of a similar physical type find their way to the Moslem community, rather than going to the Negro grouping.

Religion is basic to the social structure and the most powerful integrating force in the Moslem community. It orientates all features of community life by its norms and values. As Warner points out, 'all societies seem to place emphasis on one structure which gives form to the total society and integrates the other structures into a social unity'. Islaam controls personal behaviour and regulates and maintains community life. In the Moslem religious institution, national group jealousies, clique rivalries and cultural divergencies are resolved and the various sections of the community are united.' By doctrines,

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1 As Firth emphasises, "Religion is one of the great driving forces in human activity both individually and socially". Elements of Social Organisation, op. cit. p.215.

2 Warner and Lunt, op. cit., p.35.
Contrast in the movement of Negro and Moslem Populations

1, 2, 3: Negro movement away from Negro core towards white settlement

4, 5: Moslem movement away from whites towards Moslem nucleus
MAP 8.

Contrast in group association between Negroes and Moslems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Negroes</th>
<th>Moslems</th>
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<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>&quot; (7)</td>
<td>&quot; (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreational centres</td>
<td>Inter-racial</td>
<td>&quot; exclusive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Religious centres</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
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norms and precepts, English wives and Anglo-coloured children are incorporated into community life. It is a situation similar to that found by Louis Wirth in the American Jewish Ghetto - a cohesive force operating through the Moslem religious institution.

For the Negroes there is no comparable unifying force. The Christian religion, to which few North Shields Negroes adhere, functions in integrating Negroes into British Society rather than into a self-contained group. The "Wake", a custom common to West Africans and West Indians, though emphasising a measure of common group feeling, is an irregular feature of social life, at present observed on very few occasions, and is rapidly losing recognition among members of the group.

But a widening kinship relationship is strengthening the links between members of the groupings. After marriage, the white woman, brought into the grouping, is retained by having broken the social links with her parents and associates because she has married a coloured man. There is also the tendency for the Anglo-coloured girl to marry within the group.

The endogamous tendency is encouraged to a greater extent by Moslems than by Negroes. Consequently kinship relationships have extended within the community, strengthening the bonds of unity and widening the scope of social obligations. Also in the training and education of the child great stress is placed on inculcating the norms and values of the Moslem way of life. The Moslems exhibit a strong paternal desire to keep their

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1 See page 281.
offspring as close to them as possible. Paternal interest in extended into the sphere of employment where the sons employed as seamen come under direct paternal supervision for a number of years. In the Negro grouping the kinship links, though important, are less so than in the Moslem community, there being fewer links and fewer and less binding obligations based on the kinship structure. Moreover, the attitude of the Negro family in the training and education of their children, is directed towards a complete acceptance of British cultural norms, the aim being to win as many concessions as possible from British society.

The type of occupation followed and the composition of the work team are factors separating and strengthening Negro and Moslem grouping, since coloured crews are usually selected from one or other category to ensure harmony in working relations. As seamen, most Moslem males are engaged in one type of employment. Also their sons are trained in the same jobs. Consequently, while the solidarity of the group through similar work is strengthened, there are but few opportunities for personal contact and co-operation in work relations with whites. But the admission of Negro immigrants and Anglo-coloureds into shore jobs, and the training of the latter in trades and professions, have facilitated personal contact and co-operation in work relations between Negroes and whites. The results have been the breaking down in some instances of barriers to understanding and fellowship.
Recreation, as well as work, provides a means of intra-group cohesion. Boarding houses and cafes facilitate the meeting together of Moslems. Certain public houses, the Colonial Seamen's Club and the gambling 'school' provide centres for Negroes where they may enjoy their hours of leisure, in participating in recreational activities. But while the Negroes meet only on some occasions as a separate group, the Moslems, especially the immigrants, meet always as a separate group. Consequently, the latter consistently strengthen their group affiliation and retain their distinctiveness, while the former become weaker in structure.

Social groups and voluntary associations in both groupings incorporate individuals from all national sub-groups and serve the common interest of the community as a whole. The Moslem League and the All Dünyaian Society serve the needs of the Moslems as does the Coloured People's Mutual Aid Society for the Negroes. These groups and associations exercise a measure of social control by the sanctions which they employ. And some types of disputes are settled internally by informal machinery within each ethnic group. In both groupings, conduct is guided by a normative code, which for the Moslem is religious and for the Negro is imposed by the Old Timers and has as its theme 'the good name of the coloured people'.

The separate grouping of Negroes and Moslems in the two towns is significant. No Moslem families are to be found in North Shields where most of the Negroes have settled, although
some Negroes reside in South Shields dispersed among Moslems and whites. Since the Negroes were the first to settle, having occupied the North Shields dock area, the Moslems arriving later sought accommodation on the other side of the river, instead of competing with their predecessors. As was pointed out previously, the dock areas were the first to be settled by the immigrants, because as seamen the situation was most convenient and as newly arrived foreigners, best suited to their economic and social status and cultural differences. The concentration of the Moslems in South Shields while some of the Negroes spread from North to South Shields, may be due partly to the strong cultural pull of the Moslem core and partly to the external pressure from North Shields against the encroachment of Moslems. Strong cultural elements reinforcing Moslem community life are their religion with its Zoaia as centres, those social activities centring in the cafes and boarding houses, and the importance placed on clan and kinship ties. These factors account for the strong pull towards the organization of community life and the establishing of group solidarity. But a check to the expansion of the Moslem population into North Shields may be due to the external pressure of public opinion against Moslems. The Moslem riots in South Shields of 1919 and 1930 created a public opinion persistently unfavourable to Moslems settling in North Shields. As a police official stated, "we do not want them over here. We do our best to discourage them from settling here." How could discouragement be made effective?
The police have no jurisdiction in preventing Moslem individuals from acquiring living accommodation, but they can withhold licences for cafes or boarding houses from them. This seems to have happened and has been very effective in discouraging the settlement of Moslem immigrants, to whom these institutions are so vital to social life.

The spread of the Negro population to South Shields reflects, on the one hand, the lack of cultural factors as a central organizing force as effective as in the case of the Moslems. On the other hand, it indicates the strong tendency of the Negro immigrants towards integration into British life.

In respect of the ecological aspect we observed that, in general, each section occupied corresponds to a stage in the cultural and social integration of the coloured population. The less desirable area is occupied by the newly arrived or other individuals whose cultural behaviour is less adjusted to English ways. In this respect, Dockwray Square in North Shields compares with the Legate - Cuthbert - Maxwell Street areas of South Shields. On the other hand, persons more highly adjusted to English ways, such as the older residents and their children are found furthest away from the area of first settlement, as may be illustrated from residents of the Ridges Estate. This situation also applies to South Shields with some modification. In South Shields, the Cornwallis Square section is separated and controlled by the Municipal Authorities. But because this is the better area, we also find the better adjusted families here. But once in the nucleus, the Moslem family is arrested
in its movement to an even greater degree of ecological adjustment. The contrasting trends in the grouping and adaptation of the two coloured groupings are illustrated in Maps 728, in which there is an inward grouping of the Moslem and an outward movement of the Negro. The Cornwallis Square situation remains a permanently accommodative one. This difference in the ecological pattern between Negro and Moslem settlements is an important factor influencing a state of accommodation in the latter instance and influencing assimilation in the former. The general ecological pattern would seem to be similar to patterns of urban settlement characteristic of many ethnic groups in the United States of America.

The pattern of settlement in the Moslem community with its concentrated segregated core as well as the adjoining areas of coloured families, enables frequent contact and co-operation among coloured families and gives the Moslem group a feeling of unity. In contrast, the dispersed and widely distributed character of the Negro families deprive the grouping of a similar feeling of solidarity. And although contact is maintained between Negro families there is a quality of looseness about the grouping.

The forces so far mentioned operate internally, but group integration is also maintained through the external pressure of colour prejudice, exerted by the white society. Prejudice is experienced in the various social contacts and relationships

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1 See page 56.
between white and coloured population. In obtaining a house, in seeking employment, in the pursuit of recreation, in seeking a spouse - in all these and in other situations, colour prejudice in varying degrees is experienced. To this attitude, the groups react in various ways. Contacts may be avoided as often as possible, the attitude of the martyr may be adopted, a verbal protest may be made, or open conflict may result. But adjustment may be achieved by various ways and in varying degrees. Usually the group reacts to prejudice by closing its ranks as a protective measure and in common defence of what is conceived as an underprivileged minority.

The social factors so far given as determining group integration may also be looked at in another way. They may be considered as forces opposing the assimilation of coloured people into British Society. Three factors may be suggested which would seem to indicate hindrances to the process of integration. They are unemployment, poor conditions of health and certain types of legal offences. General unemployment among coloured when whites enjoy full employment, poor conditions of health among coloured while a high standard of health is enjoyed by whites, and special types of criminal offences recurrent among coloured and wholly or partially absent among whites - these

1 These negative elements in group life are emphasized by Sir Patrick Geddes in his "Evils". He shows how these conditions are indicative of disintegration or non-integration in the community. See "Evils" in Place-Work-Folk (Unpublished MSS).
may be considered as impediments to integration. The incidence of tuberculosis among Moslems and of venereal diseases among Somalis are considerably higher than those among Shields whites. We saw the high proportion of convictions of Moslem men for being in possession of narcotic drugs, and for sexual intercourse with young girls. And the recurring cases of violent assault by Moslem and Negro men were more frequent than on Tyneside as a whole. And although there is full employment on Tyneside, several unskilled Negroes and Somalis were unemployed. These social factors are distinguishing features of the two groupings.

The Integration of Coloured People into British Society.

Having examined the principal forces bringing about intra-group solidarity, we now proceed to summarise those forces working in the opposite direction, that is, towards the integration of coloured people into British Society. It was stated that two features of this process are accommodation and assimilation, and that the latter represents a higher degree of integration than the former.

Colour prejudice is the main hindrance to social integration. Prejudice varies in degree from one British locality to the next. Degree in this sense can only be measured in terms of more or less. It seems legitimate to assume that the lesser the degree of prejudice, the greater are the possibilities for integration. It has been shown that the two coloured groupings exist, not only because of racial, cultural and social factors binding their people together, but also because their

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1 See Appendix B.
integration into white society is impeded by a cultural as well as a racial barrier. The two groupings exist partly as a means of retaining as long as possible certain common cultural features and partly as a means of accommodating their members to the prejudicial and discriminating attitudes of the white group.

A certain degree of resentment exists between the Negro and Moslem groups, especially against Arabs. This attitude is one of the factors which has caused the formation of two separate residential groupings. But a threat from the whites tends to strengthen group solidarity and to bring about temporary co-operation between Negro and Moslem groups.

The evidence from Tyneside would suggest that between white and coloured, prejudice is most pronounced in the economic, residential and recreational spheres of life. The tide of prejudice advances and recedes with circumstances. It advanced during economic depressions and such other times when competition for jobs became acute. It receded during and after the last war with conditions of full employment.

Tensions increased with the influx of New Comers who showed a less compromising attitude towards the whites than their predecessors. It is decreasing as the influx is checked and the newly arrived become better adjusted to their new social environment. Tensions increase whenever a new move is made to disrupt the old pattern of group accommodation but adjustment

1 See Appendix E.
follows with the passing of time. The dispersion of coloured families among whites in the Ridges Housing estate may be cited as an example. After a protest by the whites, both races settled down to adapt themselves to living harmoniously.

Adaptation may be in terms of accommodation, as in the Moslem settlement, where it is achieved by separation. It may take the form of partial or complete acceptance which may or may not follow incidents of racial conflict. We have had examples of members of a girl's family, who were estranged from her for marrying a coloured man, later being reconciled to the couple. Also we observed that circumstances created by the war and developments since have tended to create in Shields a social atmosphere for better relationship between coloured and white. It would seem that race relations in Shields are, in general, more harmonious than in a number of other areas in Britain with similar groups and that the trend here is towards still better relationships between the races.

Quoting the wife of a coloured man now residing in Shields and who previously has lived in Cardiff and Hull, "Shields is a far better place for coloured people than any other I have lived in. For one thing some coloured people here receive respect from whites".

The wife of an African commenting on the improved racial situation said:

"This generation of coloured people do not seem to realise how much easier in these days things are for them than they used to be for us. I would
not say that colour prejudice does not still exist. But we have got rid of a lot of it."

A West Indian resident commenting on the improved situation suggested some reasons why, in his opinion, there have been changes:

"Coloured people in this town are having more opportunities now than formerly. We have had some difficulties with the 'New Comers' but I am coming to think that their aggressive behaviour may even have helped the situation. For one thing, relationship between coloured and white is freer and less cautious. The war has certainly caused great changes but many of us believe that the Labour Government may have inspired better relationship."

But from these coloured groups individual persons or categories of persons are gradually being assimilated through various means into the wider British society. The process would seem to depend primarily on the size and pattern of distribution of the coloured population, the willingness of coloured persons to accept the norms and to participate in the cultural and institutional activities of British society, and of whites to accept coloureds. Acceptance depends largely on the status and esteem gained by coloured persons among whites, the period of their residence in the town and a continuation of the process of miscegenation.

Where coloured groups are small, dispersed or loosely organised as in the case of North Shields, overt racial conflicts seldom occur. In North Shields, although there have been a few isolated cases of racial conflict between individuals, no group clashes between coloured and white have occurred. In contrast,
two riots have taken place between Moslems and whites in South Shields which has a comparatively large coloured population. Similarly, in Cardiff and Liverpool, with their large concentrated coloured groupings, racial riots have occurred from time to time. Of Hull, with a small coloured population, Little writes, "From the point of view of the townspeople, it constitutes no special racial problem." And this condition would apply not only with respect to communities, but also with respect to sub-groups and categories. As stated previously, in industry small numbers of coloured workers are more easily adjusted to white workers than are larger coloured groups.

Owing to the dispersed pattern of Negroes in 'shore' work, recreation and settlement, in contrast to the concentration and separation of Moslems, personal contacts of Negroes with whites are more frequent than those between whites and Moslems. Consequently, in Shields the Negroes have accommodated themselves more readily and tend to be more easily assimilated into the society than Moslems.

1 Little op. cit. p.244.

2 Deutch, M., and Collins, M., in their study of four inter-racial housing projects, that is, houses providing accommodation for both whites and Negroes in the U.S.A., showed that in two projects the families were assigned to apartments without consideration of race. In the other two, the races were assigned to different parts of the projects. They found in the former as compared with the latter, many more instances of friendly, neighbourly contacts between members of the two races, more friendly inter-racial associations, more favourable attitudes towards Negroes in general, and more favourable attitudes towards living in an inter-racial project. Inter-racial Housing, University of Minnesota and George Cumberledge, London, 1951.
A larger capacity for social adjustment is found among skilled workers and those trained in the professions than is the case with unskilled workers. Social status and esteem ascribed to or achieved by coloured persons in British society facilitates fuller acceptance into it. The Negro grouping has benefited from these conditions by virtue of their having skilled men among them, and by the training of Anglo-coloureds in trades and professions. Coloured persons, by acquiring professions, rise in social status in British society, and are more acceptable in it than those of lower social status.

The older coloured residents in the community, in view of the length of time they have settled, have been able to make a notable adaptation to British life. Consequently, their behaviour is more acceptable to whites than is the behaviour of the newly arrived immigrants.

The mixed family situation is of fundamental importance to the process of integration. The English wife's intermediary role between her coloured family and the white population may win for her family privileges otherwise unattainable. She also fulfills an important rôle in training her children in such a way as to enable them to gain fuller acceptance in the society. In the Negro family, the wife is encouraged by her husband to take a free hand in the training of the child with the aim of acquiring as many concessions from British society as possible. But in the Moslem family there are communicated to the children elements of Moslem culture. Therefore, the
Moslem child grows up with two sets of norms and value systems, one 'Moslem' and the other British. The former influence is strongest between childhood and adolescence, but later the trend takes a new direction towards fuller participation in British life.

In the formal education of the child, teachers usually show keen interest in the coloured children and often receive the co-operation of parents. Teachers sometimes make positive efforts in helping to bring about racial adjustment. As Lewis Mumford has stated, "Today the school has an...[important]...task - that of making the community as a whole capable of controlling its destinies, capable of disciplining and making over every aspect of its activities, the practical and the instrumental, the personal and the communal." Some Negro children in North Shields have made greater progress than the Moslem child in South Shields. The distribution of Negro children among seven or eight schools and the confinement of Moslem children, five or six times as many, to two schools, tend to create juvenile ethnic groups among the latter and mixed groups among the former. The schools attended by most Negro children are situated in better residential areas than those attended by Moslems.

Young age groups are always mixed racially. White friends are favoured rather than coloured immigrants. Even where the immigrants are of a similar age group their cultural differences exclude them from the friendship groups of Anglo-

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 coloured. Frazier suggests a similar tendency among Negro 'hybrids' in the early history of Negro settlement in the United States. He writes: "The process of assimilating the family mores of the whites was facilitated and accelerated by racial amalgamation under the slave system. The very fact of white ancestry tended to make the mixed-blood identify himself with the white." In Britain the situation is more marked in a large coloured population such as in Liverpool where a cleavage or sometimes open conflict may occur between Anglo-coloured and immigrants. Even within the Moslem community in which group solidarity is strong, the Anglo-coloured establish friendship relationships with whites rather than with immigrants. The male Anglo-coloured do not visit Moslem cafes nor do they participate in the recreational activities of the coloured immigrants. More and more, the 'hybrids' are breaking away from the norms of the coloured community, are disregarding its informal social control and are participating more fully in the ways of British society.

From what has been learnt of the position of the Anglo-coloured in these two groupings and of North Shields in particular, it seems necessary to reconsider the whole conception of the marginality of the mixed-bloods in British society. The 'marginal' concept was first applied to situations in the

U.S.A., and subsequently to those in Britain. According to this theory, the American-born, of parents of immigrant ethnic groups becomes conscious of living in two social worlds - that of his parents and the other of American society - with the result that unrest and cultural conflicts set in. In his effort to achieve status recognition in the society, he loses rapport with his own family and community, yet because of physical differences and the fact of his residence in the 'colony' he is excluded from status and full participation in the life of the larger society.

The Marginal Man hypothesis, initiated by R.C.Park, has been used by sociologists and social psychologists to explain the behaviour of members of minority groups, with particular emphasis on the 'mixed-blood'. The Jew emerging from the Ghetto is for Park the prototype of the cultural 'hybrid'. Hughes thinks that "the person of mixed blood .... is perhaps the most permanently condemned to all the conditions of marginality." The Negro of America, he adds, is a man with a status dilemma since he cannot accept the status assigned to American Negroes nor can he free himself from it. Cayton and Drake support this view, pointing out that the American Negro experiences a conflict between the two contradictory principles

1 Zorbaugh, op. cit., pp. 159 - 181.
4 Cayton and Drake: op. cit., p. 759.
of fixed status in some areas of social life and of free competition in others. He is a man without a culture and group of his own. And the anxiety state which results has been emphasized by Stonequist, Dollard and others. But in America the racial situation out of which this personality type develops differs in many respects from that in Great Britain. In Britain mixed marriage is the rule rather than the exception, and racial prejudice does not seem to be as extensive in scope or to be experienced so intensively as in the U.S.A.

British students of race relations observe some comparison between the position of the British-born coloured and that of the American-born coloured. Little for instance commented on their negative attitude towards British life and their indisposition to adapt themselves to British Society. Richmond emphasized the same point. "The Liverpool-born coloured person sometimes feels this sense of 'not belonging' more seriously than the Colonial ... (one stating) "My father was an African, my mother English - but I am not anything at all." This general attitude described as characteristic of the British-born coloured, must be seen against the social setting of large concentrated coloured groups living in unhealthy social and economic conditions with no incentive and with few opportunities for progress. In North Shields there is a difference in both the circumstances and the results. Here we found a small number of families dis-

2 Little, op. cit., p. 158.
persed among whites many living in a new housing area. Parents and 'mixed-blood' alike were positive in their aims and aspirations, and a fair proportion had risen in esteem and status in the society. It would seem that the nature of the social environment, the pattern of family distribution and the social and economic privileges open to the 'mixed-blood' in this area influenced this positive attitude. It may be suggested, therefore, that the acceptance or non-acceptance of the Anglo-coloured in British society should be considered as varying in terms of social, economic and ecological factors.

The indications are that a number of Anglo-coloured are being assimilated into Shields society. As in Brazil, likewise in Britain, the woman plays a most important role in this process. Of Brazil, Pierson wrote, "in the development of this tendency to amalgamate and to assimilate all ethnic minorities, the circumstances and conditions of settlement played a significant role. In Brazil .... few women immigrated from Europe during the first century of colonization." Consequently, there was cohabitation with native women. In this respect, a similar though converse situation exists in Britain, in which the coloured men find their wives and consorts. Consequently, the British woman is not only the most intimate personal social link between the coloured person and British life, but as mother of the Anglo-coloured, she plays an essential role in absorbing the ethnic minority.

2 Pierson, Donald, Negroes in Brazil, Chicago, 1942, p.323.
The dynamic character of inter-group relations is described by Kurt Lewin as social forces operating inwardly or outwardly, towards or away from the centres of the two opposing groups. These forces, claim Lewin, are well illustrated where there is a socially under-privileged minority group opposed by a privileged majority. The forces directed towards its centre keep its members inside the group, and may be common interest and experience, and so on. Similarly, those directed away from the group may be the result of disagreeable features within the minority group or the more attractive features of the majority group. The fundamental difference between the privileged and under-privileged group continues Lewin, is that forces acting upon members of the former are directed towards the central layers of that group. But the forces acting upon members of the latter are directed away from the central area, towards the periphery of the group and if possible, towards a still higher status of the majority. Individual members of the minority who have gained status within its own group by economic success or otherwise usually gain a higher degree of acceptance by the majority group, but usually find themselves in a situation of marginality in their own group.

Lewin's generalisations have relevance to coloured-white relations in Shields, with certain modifications. For instance, the outward forces may be impeded by the barriers set up by the under-privileged minority for whom traditional institutions and other cultural elements are of greater value to the minority.

than the attractiveness of the privileged group. The underprivileged may be willing to co-operate with the privileged only in those departments of social life in which it is possible to win concessions for itself, but may be unwilling to surrender other values or compromise in other activities in which there is a threat to its own culture. This is the situation with regard to the Moslems in Shields.

In attempting to understand the nature and degree of social integration within coloured groups in British society, an examination has been made of the social factors integrating a small dispersed Negro group and a much larger, and more concentrated Moslem community, both situated within the same region and formed under similar social circumstances. Racial, cultural, ecological and other social factors have determined the social pattern of each grouping. Where these elements are weakest, as they have been in the Negro grouping, intra-group integration has been least effective and group organization is very weak and unstable. Where these factors are strong as in the Moslem grouping, the solidarity of the community is reinforced.

The achievement of social solidarity is made difficult as a result of social forces operating against the coloured groupings. Voluntary associations are unstable in their structure, often shortlived and sometimes revived with new names only to disintegrate again. New immigrants tend to flout the norms of the group and the Anglo-coloured3 disregard the codes of behaviour laid down by the coloured community. In their associations, they tend to establish relationships with whites rather
than coloureds and strive towards fuller participation and acceptance into British life. But while these tendencies are fully evidenced in the Negro grouping, they are only partially so in the Moslem community.

Members of the groupings are motivated by two forces. They are drawn by the attractive and desirable features of the white out-group which is British society; and they are repelled by those features of the coloured in-group which are unpleasant. The unpleasant features are the limitations of economic and social opportunities and the stigma of racial prejudice, from which coloured persons are drawn to the desirable features of British society with its economic and social privileges. To gain these privileges it is necessary to make adaptation by accommodation or preferably by a more complete acceptance and hence by assimilation into British life. But so important are the cultural values of the Moslems to their social life, that only with the new generations of British-born has the hold of Moslem culture been loosening in favour of the British.

Finally, in view of the fact that the social pattern and cultural character of the two groupings are constantly being revitalized by the admission of new immigrants, it would seem that under present conditions if this process continues, the total assimilation of these groups into British society is unlikely. The process of assimilation is gradual. What is observed is a process of accommodation between the white and
coloured groups, interrupted occasionally by incidents of racial conflict. From these ethnic groups, individuals more highly adjusted to British norms and values are in varying degrees being integrated in British society.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

THE COLOURED IMMIGRANTS - THEIR NATIVE AND PRESENT HABITAT

TYNESIDE

The towns of North and South Shields are situated on opposite banks near the mouth of the Tyne. The early industrial development of Tyneside is based primarily on two geographical factors - the river and the coal fields. Her coal is easily accessible to river and sea transport for export to British and foreign ports; and proximity of the coal seams to strata of black band iron ore made possible the beginning of her heavy industries. The river for fourteen miles is dredged to a depth of thirty feet and is the principal outlet of the sub-region, described by Patrick Geddes as an "economic and social unit", "a regional community", which he called the "conurbation" of Tyne-Tees.1

The river Tyne2 is the life-line of Tyneside, and the axis of a cluster of industrial towns which line its banks for fourteen miles from its mouth. Below Newcastle to the sea, its incised valley narrows and steepens. At Shields, the North side is of moderate height and slope, becoming steeper from just above North Shields.

The relief affects the urban pattern; North and South Shields are /

are typical examples of this form of adaptation where docks, staiths, wharves, furnaces and other industrial establishments occupy the strip of low river terrace, while the shopping centres and residential areas are on sloping ground or flat land above it. Until recently most of the coloured population occupied the low ground in the dock areas, but later shifted to better housing areas elsewhere in the towns.

Climate.

The climate of Tyneside is influenced mainly by the North Sea and the semi-circular rim formed by the Pennine Range and the Cumbrian Mountains, and the Cheviot and Southern Uplands. The former reduces the diurnal and annual range of temperature, causing fog and low temperature in spring and early summer, the latter shelters the region from the prevailing damp Westerly winds, and accounting for a comparatively low rainfall. Annual rainfall ranges between 22 and 55 inches along the coast and between 5 and 10 inches along the Tyne's estuary. The wettest months are July and August followed by October and December. The driest are February to April, and September. Snowfall occurs on an average of 20 days per year.

Along the coast temperature range is between 20 F. and 80 F., while inland it is between 10 F. and 85 F. North and South Shields are chilly in Spring and early Summer. January and February /

February are the coldest and August the warmest months. A bleak feature of the climate in Spring and early Summer is the presence of fog, the *haar* or *sea-fret*. Haar consists of a sheet of low cloud, accompanied by intermittent drizzle, poor visibility and chilly, easterly winds caused by the cooling of moist, warm air over the comparatively cold sea. Its appearance may be sudden and may last for several days. Smoke is another unpleasant feature, accounting for about 250 to 300 hours reduction in sunshine on Tyneside. Conditions would be worse but for the effect of the westerly winds, which clear fog and industrial fog out to sea. The raw northerly to easterly winds of the early part of the year, the *haar* of the chilly spring and cool early summer and constant breeziness are the outstanding climatic features of this region.

**Industries.**

Coal is the main economic resource of the region, with seams between eighteen inches and six feet in thickness. North of the Tyne, the coal is near the surface in some places, where it is extracted by open-cast mining. There are also several deep mines close to the river in other places such as Wallsend, Elswick, Throckley, and Scotswood. In County Durham the coal lies much deeper and necessitates the sinking of deep shafts.

An advantage to the export of coal from this region is the nearness of the pits to water transport. The pits are not more than /

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2 Poole, G., and Raistrick, A., "Extractive Industries" in Daysh op. cit., pp. 87-98.
than twenty-five miles from a port. In a single year the ports of the North-East exported thirty-five million tons of coal. The mining and transporting of coal have, in a large measure, influenced the development of heavy industries and the construction of waterworks along the river. The industry is important to the coloured population since the majority of the men are employed as seamen on colliers transporting coal from Tyneside. A few are also engaged in the mines.

The building of ships on Tyneside started with the construction of colliers to transport coal. From this beginning have grown the large shipbuilding and allied industries which crowd the banks of the river. Today, the Tyne shipbuilding industry rivals the Clyde for first place, the yards producing vessels from the largest liners and warships to small colliers.

In the North-East, the industry claims nearly half the amount of steel tonnage constructed yearly in the United Kingdom. For the period September 1939 to August 1945, 1,223 ships were completed, comprising 675 Naval vessels and 548 Merchant ships. In addition, 17,000 Merchant ships were repaired.

The iron and steel works are largely devoted to producing material for the shipyards. The engineering industries manufacture mining and transport equipment of various kinds. These heavy industries are absorbing an increasing number of coloured labour.

The banks of the Tyne are crowded with docks, staiths and other river-side works. On the North side, Albert Edward Dock is

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is used for the shipments of sulphate of ammonia, Northumberland Dock has large coal staiths, and the frontage is occupied by extensive antimony and white lead works. Smith's dock company is one of the largest ship-repairing organizations in the world. On the South side is Tyne Dock. Six shipbuilding and repairing firms as well as a chemical plant operate along this side of the waterfront. In most of these industries Negro workers are employed.

Fishing is one of the oldest industries in North Shields¹ to have retained its importance in modern times. In 1948, for instance, forty-three trawlers and sixty herring boats were engaged. The catch is supplied to Tyneside or sent to Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow and London, or canned or processed at Shields into oil or fertilizer. The factory employs 750 persons, which include a number of coloured girls.

A number of light industries were introduced to counteract the cycles of industrial 'depression' which have affected Tyneside. Under the 1934 Act, Special Area Commissioners were appointed with powers to finance the development of new sites and to aid the development of new industries. From 1935 onwards, a number of small factories were established under national ownership as well as by private firms. These projects include plastics, rolled steel sections, die castings, scientific instruments, refrigerators, electric batteries, wireless sets, hardware, automatic /

¹ Terry, J.F., Northumberland, Yesterday and Today, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1924, p. 82.
automatic fuel lighters, export packing cases, clothing of various kinds, confectionery and sweets. These industries engage mainly female workers and a number of coloured girls have found employment in them.

These industrial developments have placed the Tyne in the important position as the chief sea port of the North-East coast. It ranks third or fourth in tonnage among British ports with about twenty million tons of shipping, and seventh in value of goods passing through her. Coal accounts for more than one half the value of exports and nine-tenths the weight of outward cargoes. Ships built on Tyneside are next in value among exports, followed by the products of its engineering works and chemicals. The imports are mainly food-stuffs for the dense population of its hinterland, and raw material - chiefly ores and timber for its industries.

Despite the industrial potentialities of the region, Tyneside, whose economy is dependent on world markets, is vulnerable to world trade, consequently the region has suffered cycles of economic depression. The heavy and prolonged unemployment of the 'thirties' in the industrial areas of North-Eastern Britain illustrates this fact. The magnitude of this problem is shown in unemployment figures which in June, 1932, was 37% of the insured population as compared with 22% for the whole country. The duration of unemployment experienced by individual workers in July, 1939, was 45% of males and 43% of females who were wholly unemployed for twelve months or more. It was lower Tyneside which felt the full force of the depression. The report /
report states that "in Jarrow unemployment averaged 70% for 1931-35 ....but conditions were not better in the.....Shields area".¹

The coloured population is seriously affected by the economic prosperity or depression of the region. Not only does a depression affect employment but it may aggravate inter-group relationship between coloured and white, as the two inter-racial conflicts in South Shields during the 'thirties' have shown.²

The employment of coloured labour is dependent primarily on the coal trade, the majority being employed as seamen on colliers. Few coloured men are at present employed in the pits, as working conditions involved in coal mining do not appeal to them. But the number of those engaged in the shipbuilding and engineering industries are increasing, due largely to redundancy of labour in the shipping trade and the manpower shortage in Britain.

THE COLOURED MIGRANTS AND THEIR NATIVE HABITAT.

The coloured men who settle in Shields, emigrated from three geographical areas (Map 2), from Pakistan, Somaliland, Yemen and Aden; from West Africa and from the Caribbean lands. They migrated from lands between the tropical and sub-tropical zones between longitude 26 N. and the Equator. These lands embrace a wide range of climatic regions, from arid Sind to moist Bengal, from the hot dry coast lands of Somaliland and Aden to the rainy uplands /

uplands of Yemen,\(^1\) and from the wet tropical belt of the West African Southern region to the moist tropical trade wind and hurricane zones of the West Indies.\(^2\) Mean temperatures range between 64 F. and 100 F. at sea level, usually causing conditions of humidity. Some characteristic climatic features are a small annual range and high degree of temperature and two annual seasons – a dry and a wet. Rainfall varies widely between the areas and within each region.

Other geographic factors may be considered more conveniently by treating the areas separately. Table 2 shows the ports of entry of the migrants and investigation reveals that most of them were either born or had lived for a considerable time in these ports before leaving for Britain.

**Aden, Yemen, Somaliland and Pakistan.**

**Aden** is the homeland of a large number of Shields' Arabs. It is also the gateway to Britain of Yemenites and most Somalis. The port of Aden, which has been developed by the British, is situated in a strategic position near the entrance to the Red Sea. It is an important bunker port for coal and oil. The bulk of its trade is entrepot and trans-shipment, which accounts for the mixed ethnic types which leave Aden for Britain (Table 2). Much of its trade is carried on by native sailing craft (dhow)\(^3\)


between ports of Southern Arabia, Djibuti and the ports of Somali, India and Pakistan.

The port is also used by Yemen and the Protectorate of Aden, from which it attracts Arab immigrants. Many Somalis and Jews also settle here. Hugh Scott on his visit to the town has recorded 'the Suqs (markets) of the old town are thronged with Aden Arabs, Somali policemen...various Indian people and many other nationalities. Among these townspeople, tribesmen from the Tihame or the broken hills....'1 Aden's attraction for immigrants is reflected in its high proportion of male population of 51,000 out of a total of 80,516.2

In Shields it is difficult to differentiate between Arabs from Yemen and those from the British Colony and Protectorate of Aden. With few exceptions all Arabs on Tyneside claim to be British subjects, even a large number of Yemenites,3 since to be British ensures national protection and a measure of economic security.

It is not surprising that most of the immigrants are so closely attached to a seafaring occupation since, for many of them, seamanship has been the traditional type of employment in their homeland. For the Adenese Arab, fishing, boat building

1 In the High Yemen, London, 1942, p. 22.
2 Census of 1946.
3 On two occasions Yemenite Arabs were deported from Shields (see page ) and others have experienced discrimination in obtaining employment from the Shipping Federation being aliens. From time to time Yemenite Arabs in Shields become naturalised British subjects.
and coastal trading are among the principal forms of occupation.

An extensive coastal service is operated across the Gulf between Aden and the Somali ports. Somalis enter the shipping service indirectly through Aden\(^1\) and directly through the Somaliland beach ports of Berbera, Zeila, etc. A few of these men after spending a part of their life in the interior as pastoralists later drift to the ports in search of employment. Some may even stowaway to Britain.

The principal outlet of the **Pakistanis** to Britain are the eastern ports of Calcutta and Chittagong and the western seaports of Karachi and Bombay. Calcutta is the chief north-eastern gateway to the sub-continent and is accessible to the largest ocean-going vessels.\(^2\) Bombay, the second city of India, has a magnificent natural harbour, commands the gates through the Ghats, and like Karachi faces Europe. Here are to be found most of the Lascars whose ancestors were Marather pirates, and who, today, man the Eastern Merchant Navy.\(^3\) Groups of Lascars are familiar sights along the streets of South Shields. They are short in stature and delicate in features and are clad in greasy blue cotton suits and round blue cotton caps. These transient seamen do not settle on Tyneside. But other Pakistanis settle in Shields as seamen or as peddlars.

\(^1\) The number of Somalis who stowaway annually from the port of Aden would seem to support this point. See Table 2. 
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 314.
West Africa. The earliest West African settlers in Shields were Mende, Kru and a few Timne. But later came immigrants from all the other British West African colonies. The Mende occupy districts now included in western Liberia and eastern Sierra Leone. The Kru are confined to the coastal lands, which is convenient for the career of seamanship preferred by most of them. The basic economy of the population is rice farming and the gathering of palm fruit and kernel. Freetown, the capital and commercial outlet of Sierra Leone and the headquarters of the British Fleet in West African waters, has a population of some 90,000, of which the Kru community numbers over 6,000 and provides crews for ships plying in Guinea waters.

Prior to 1939 only a few coloured men from the larger West African colonies of the Gold Coast and Nigeria had settled in Shields. But since the last war their numbers have increased. They emigrated principally from the Southern region of the two colonies and particularly from the portal areas.

The Nigerians in Shields came mainly from Lagos, though there are a few from the agricultural interior, and comprise Ibos, Ibibos, and Yorubas. Lagos has recently been developed as a port with the construction of modern wharves and now accommodates /

accommodates large sea-going vessels. The Gold Coastians in
Shields are from two groups, the Akan and the Ga speaking
peoples. The Akans, who are in the majority on Tyneside,
came from the southern half of the Gold Coast.\(^1\) To the South-
East are the Ga speaking peoples. Accra is the main outlet for
the Gold Coast, and like most West African ports, natural
coastal conditions make improvement of the harbour difficult
and expensive. Regular quays cannot be constructed owing to
the lack of natural deep harbours. Ships are anchored offshore
and native boat crews sail out to them to load or unload their
cargoes. The opportunities given to Africans for seafaring by
this traffic of native crew to and from these foreign boats is
understandable. Easy access by Africans to these boats has
made it possible for a number of them to stowaway to Britain.

The West Indies. The British West Indies comprise the
British islands of the Caribbean and the colonies of British
Guiana and British Honduras on the mainland of South and
Central America. The islands are thickly populated with a
heterogeneous population, though overwhelmingly Negro and
Mulatto. In Jamaica for instance the predominant Negro types
are estimated at 74 per cent., and Mulattos less than 10 per
cent. Persons of European, Indian and Chinese origin constitute
the rest of the population. But the proportion of racial types
vary /

---

\(^1\) Manoukian, Madeline, *Akan and Ga-Adangme Peoples of the Gold
Coast*. Ethnographic Survey of Africa (ed.) Daryll Forde,
(Oxford University Press), 1950, p. 66.
vary from one colony to another. For instance persons of Indian origin constitute one-third of the population of Trinidad and two-fifths that of British Guiana.¹

With the exception of Trinidad and British Guiana, with mineral wealth of oil and asphalt, and gold and bauxite respectively, agriculture is the basic economy of the West Indies. Even the few industries such as sugar, rum and cigars are based on local agricultural products. Fluctuations in prices in world markets, competition with more favoured areas, the devastation of hurricanes, all react on the economic life of an overcrowded population. The average number of days employment per week for the British West Indian labourer is three days. According to the census figures for Jamaica in 1943, the percentage of unemployment was as high as 25.6 per cent. And the 'representative' wage for the labourer was less than £1 per week.² The 1946 census for the other West Indian colonies showed a range from 2.5 per cent. unemployment in British Guiana to nearly 10 per cent. for St. Lucia.³ Unemployment, therefore, is the main pressure behind the migration of West Indians to Britain.

Although most of these coloured men enter British ports as seamen, not all of them have had previous experiences in seafaring either /

¹ Williams, op. cit., p. 7.
either in native craft or foreign vessels. Indeed some, having migrated from the interior, have lived in the ports only for a short time. In Aden, some have come from the coffee, fruit and grain producing Protectorate and from cooler and wetter coffee and banana producing Yemen. And Somalis may leave the pastoral nomadic life in the hot and arid interior of their country to pursue the life of seafarers. To the Indo-Pakistan ports, the Pakistanis have drifted from the Indo-Gangetic plain and plateau of the sub-continent. And among African seamen are to be found those who gave up an agricultural life in the ricelands of Sierra Leone or the cocoa and palm oil areas of the Gold Coast or the wet tropical forest regions of Southern Nigeria. These men from the interior who drift to the ports join those in search of work or adventure abroad, perhaps with hopes of accumulating a fortune. For some seafaring is a career but for others it is but the first step towards their goal.
APPENDIX B
CENSUS OF NEGRO GROUPING – NORTH SHIELDS

TABLE V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>Head of Household</th>
<th>Type of Tenants</th>
<th>Social Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W.I.</td>
<td>W.A.</td>
<td>T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AREA I DOCKWRAY</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AREA II OLD NORTH SHIELDS</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AREA III THE RIDGES ESTATE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

W.I. – West Indian          W.A. – West African
T. – Tenant                 S. – Sub-tenant
N. – New Comer              O. – Old Timer

TABLE VII

MOSLEM NUCLEUS – CORNWALLIS SQUARE, SOUTH SHIELDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head of Household</th>
<th>Type of Tenants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Type of Tenants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistanis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroes</td>
<td>T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T. – Tenants
S. – Sub-tenants
APPENDIX C

FAMILY BUDGETS - NORTH SHIELDS

The family budgets given in the table were selected from a number of cases collected during the summer of 1950, the purpose being to give a cross-section of the economic situation in typical coloured families. As indicated, they represent the heads of households of an employed seaman and an unemployed woman, an unemployed seaman, an unskilled shore worker, and a case in which two members of a family are employed.

Family Budget.

Below is given the weekly budgets of five families with comments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE VIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Persons in Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's Earnings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's Earnings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's Earnings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment Benefit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Allowance and/or National Assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per head:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rent and Rates | 9/- | 6/4 | 5/- | 10/- | 15/3 |
Food | 60/- | 30/- | 16/- | 12/- | 38/- |
Coal, gas and electricity | 11/- | 8/9 | 6/9 | 6/9 | 10/- |
Household sundries (travel, cleaning, laundry, etc.) | 2/6 | 5/9 | 1/- | 4/- | 2/6 |
Personal sundries (cinema, tobacco, drink, etc.) | 8/- | 18/- | 1/- | 3/6 | 18/- |
Club Pool, races, etc. | 1/- | 4/- | -/6 | 3/- | 26/6 |
Other Expenses | 9/- | 4/- | -/6 | 3/- | 26/6 |
Clothing | 8/- | 5/- | 4/- | 10/- | 15/- |
TOTAL: | 99/6 | 77/10 | 36/3 | 49/3 | 107/9 |

Av. Amount spent on each member of the family: 16/7 25/11 12/1 16/5 26/11
1. Donkeyman (the ship's greaser): "I may seem comparatively well off with my present income as a donkeyman, but I may be given a fireman's job on my next trip with a wage of only £24.12.6d. per month. Most coloured men have firemen's jobs. When I am not employed, my wife is allowed £20 per month, and most coloured men who have capable wives are allowed about the same amount. Being 'established' my allowance while waiting on a ship is £3.18.0d. per week; dole 48/-, General Establishment 30/-.

2. Employed labourer: "I am no better off than an Established Seaman. In fact, I am not as well off, since I must pay for my food from my earnings, while a seaman does not. I cannot save anything. Instalments on furniture to be paid, are not included in the budget."

3. This woman with two children, has been deserted by her husband, and so depends for support on the allowance received from the Assistance Board.

4. This man, an 'unestablished' seaman, is unemployed. The family is in arrears with rent and is indebted to creditors.

5. Father and daughter have 'shore' employment.

The average weekly income per person varies between 11/- and 34/10 and expenditure between 12/1 and 26/11 - food, rent and fuel being the main items of expenditure. For rent, the Council Houses which are the best types available to coloured families, are the least expensive. Thus in the Ridges Estate, the rental was 11/- per week for a four-room house. In the other two areas, a flat of three rooms cost 15/- to 18/-, and of two rooms, 8/- to 12/-, and one room was 5/- to 10/- per week.

Even among the employed, the family was often indebted and there was no saving. Only one family was known to have savings in /

(Footnotes from previous page)

1 Figures were collected from questionnaire.
in the bank as well as in property investments. Three seamen who were bachelors each had a bank account. But the general practice for seamen was to spend extravagantly as soon as they were 'paid off' the boat. "Our money is hot money," they would tell you with a smile, meaning that it burns to be spent.

SOUTH SHIELDS.

The range in the total income received in the Moslem home is considerably narrower than in the Negro. The reasons for this difference are as follows. With few exceptions the Moslem males are employed as seamen whose wages do not vary greatly. All married men were in employment. Sons and unmarried daughters may take employment but wives did not. On the other hand, the type of employment obtained and the wages earned by the Negro vary a great deal.

Three weekly Budgets/
### Table IX

Three Weekly Budgets (1950).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of persons in family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's earnings</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's earnings</td>
<td>105/-</td>
<td>100/-</td>
<td>90/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment Benefit</td>
<td>45/-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Allowance and/or National Assistance</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>150/-</td>
<td>100/-</td>
<td>95/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per person:</td>
<td>30/-</td>
<td>50/-</td>
<td>23/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent and Rates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>12/-</td>
<td>11/-</td>
<td>12/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal, Gas and Electricity</td>
<td>50/-</td>
<td>30/-</td>
<td>45/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household sundries (travel, cleaning, laundry, etc.)</td>
<td>6/-</td>
<td>5/-</td>
<td>6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal sundries (cinema, tobacco, etc.)</td>
<td>5/-</td>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>4/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Club, pool, races, etc.</td>
<td>17/6</td>
<td>6/-</td>
<td>12/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other expenses</td>
<td>1/-</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>25/-</td>
<td>6/-</td>
<td>10/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>118/-</td>
<td>73/-</td>
<td>95/8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average amount spent on each person in the family:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23/7</td>
<td>36/6</td>
<td>23/10½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D

HEALTH

Negro Grouping.

According to the health reports, Negro immigrants and their children maintained better health than Asiatics living in Shields. For the period 1945-1950, no case of illness among children of Negro fathers was recorded, although two-thirds of the total number of children of Asiatic fathers suffered from chest ailments. Among Negro immigrants for the same period was one case of Tuberculosis as compared with 354 cases for the borough of Tyneside.

The cases of venereal disease recorded below include 'resident' and 'transient' patients. Seamen suffering from the disease usually attend the clinics at each port of call. This fact explains the small number of resident cases compared with the larger number of transient cases. From the record for 1948 - four cases, and 1949 - five cases, the number of resident cases seem to remain stable in normal times. But 1947 was an abnormal year and corresponds to the largest proportion of unemployed coloured men resident permanently or temporarily in the port, in the post-war period.

CASES /

1 38 Anglo-coloured children reported at the Child Welfare Clinic in North Shields. 32 were of Negro fathers and 6 of Asiatic.

2 The recorded cases of tuberculosis in North Shields were above the average for Britain.

3 The term 'resident' is used here for patients who are residing permanently in North Shields and 'transient' for patients who call temporarily at the port.
When this survey was made, there were five men, each above sixty years of age, and who though active, had retired from their seafaring occupation. Two complained of rheumatism and one was blind. Five of the men, then employed as seamen, were above the ages of fifty years. With the exception of one case of hay fever and occasional complaint of colds, no other illnesses were reported.

It would seem that the health enjoyed by West Africans and West Indians and their families is not below the standard enjoyed by the white population in North Shields. Again, the indications are that the Negro grouping enjoys better health in Shields than do the Moslem community. The general lack of overcrowding in Negro families in North Shields may partly account for the better standard of health of the Negro grouping. Even Dockwray Square, the least desirable coloured section, overlooks a large, grass-covered, open space which is used as a playfield for the children of the community. Segregated urban areas are usually unhealthy slums. But the dispersed population of a minority may have greater opportunities of sharing the amenities of the society as a whole.
SOUTH SHIELDS.

The Heads of the Departments of Medical Health and allied Institutions in South Shields are agreed that the illnesses which affect Arabs, Somalis and Pakistanis most seriously in the town are, in the first instance, diseases of the lungs and chest such as Pulmonary tuberculosis, bronchitis and coughs; and in the second, Venereal Diseases.

Tuberculosis. Figures collected for the Moslem community for the four years 1927 - 1930 show the highest incidence of Tuberculosis recorded in the grouping, reaching the maximum of 18 cases in 1930. The total Moslem population was estimated to be about 750 at that time (Table X/). The 18 cases for the community compared with a total of 194 for the borough give the proportion of Tuberculosis cases in South Shields as nearly 1 to 40 of the Moslem population as compared with 1 to 135 of the white. This is a remarkably high rate, when it is remembered, that the incidence of T.B. on Tyneside is above the average for Great Britain as a whole. Children of Moslem fathers born in Shields also have a high rate of chest complaints.

Compared with the Moslems, T.B. cases recorded among the Negro population is very much lower. There was only one recorded case of T.B. among the Negroes during the history of the settlement.

Perhaps this difference in the susceptibility of two peoples is more suggestive since, the Negroes are more exposed to physical conditions /

1 Based on written reports and interviews with medical doctors and nurses of the Medical Department of Health, General Hospital and Tuberculosis Sanatorium.
conditions in this country than the Moslems are. A number of West Africans and West Indians work in industries, in the mines and on farms - employment which the Moslems claim to be physically unsuitable to them because of the climatic conditions in this country. The Moslems are confined mostly to seafaring occupations.

Below are given some of the figures for the incidence of tuberculosis in South Shields:

**TABLE XI**

**Cases of Tuberculosis.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cases of Moslem, Arab, Pakistani or Somali</th>
<th>Total cases for Borough</th>
<th>Population of Borough</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>100,000 approx.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>259</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>233</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>194</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>81 deaths</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Children's Health - Ages 5 to 15 and 1 to 5 years.

Fourteen children of the ages 5 to 15 years were treated by the Health Department. Five of these cases were chest ailments - bronchitis, coughs or Pulmonary Tuberculosis. Of the children between the ages of 1 and 5 years, who were treated by the clinic, two died of chest ailments. In North Shields, where 6 of the 32 children recorded at the clinic are of Asiatic fathers, three of

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2. From report compiled by the Nursing Superintendent, Health Department, South Shields.
of the six Asiatics were treated for chest complaints. None of the Negroes were affected. In South Shields there were four coloured children, the father of two being a Pakistani, of another an Arab and of the fourth a Negro. The report for these four cases read "Indian twins had whooping cough 1948, Arab child had bronchitis 1945, 1949. Negro child has had no illness."

**Doctors' Comments:**

The following comments were made by the heads of three Medical Health institutions with regard to the T.B. situation in the Moslem Community. In the opinion of the Superintendent of the General Hospital -

"the Moslems in the community are very liable to the incidence of Pulmonary Tuberculosis and the records show that Arabs, Somalis and Pakistanis suffer to a greater extent than do West Africans and West Indians. The reported cases of the former average 12 to 15 per month. The type of work in which they are engaged as firemen may cause susceptibility to chest trouble. But susceptibility is also observed in the case of their 'half-caste' children, and may suggest that these children are not as physiologically resistant to T.B. as the average English child. There is also the possibility that the children may get the germ at home, but, assuming that the father is a T.B. patient, his condition may affect the children physiologically."

Confirming the statement of the Hospital Superintendent, the Superintendent of the Tuberculosis Sanatorium pointed out that the type of pulmonary tuberculosis affecting the Moslems is in most cases fatal. The opinion of some tuberculosis specialists, he continued, was that people transported from their natural environment may become less resistant to a particular disease, than if they remained in their native habitat.1 He cited an article written by a/ 

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1 See Dr. C. Mills' comments on the influence of climatic conditions on health, p. 36.
a German-American doctor on work among South African Negroes, which showed that the incidence of Tuberculosis tended to decrease in the reserves and increase in the mines. The suggestion was that a people in their natural environment are more resistant to a disease than those transported to modern industrial areas. Immunity through environmental adaptation would require several generations.

The District Medical Officer for the Borough commenting on the improvement in the general health of the Moslem Community suggested that -

it was due, in a large measure, to improvements in housing and other social conditions. He noted that between 1929 and 1930 the death rate of the town rose by 10% as a result of the number of deaths among the Moslems caused by Tuberculosis. But, since the re-housing of a large proportion of them in the new settlement in Cornwallis Square, the Moslem death rate had steadily decreased so that by 1948, it represented only 1% of the total.

Venereal Diseases.

The recorded cases of Venereal Diseases are higher in the Moslem community than in the town as a whole. The total number of Moslem cases treated\(^1\) for the fifteen months July 1948 to September 1949, were 52. This number compares with a total of 749 cases treated in the town for the same period. The figures are as follows\(^2\):

Cases /

\(^1\) There are always more cases reported than the number treated since a proportion of the former are diagnosed as free from the disease.

\(^2\) Figures from Record of V.D. Clinic, Medical Dept. of Health, South Shields.
TABLE XII

Cases treated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Arabs</th>
<th>Pakistanis</th>
<th>Somalis</th>
<th>Doubtful Classification</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total No. of cases treated in South Shields:

- Males:  632  
- Females: 117  
- Total: 749

Since the 52 Moslem cases are all males, when compared with the 580\(^1\) cases of whites, we get a proportion of approximately 1 to 11. The proportion of the total Moslem to white population in 1949 was about 1 to 100.

Comparing the number of Arab cases with those of Somalis, we get 16 to 20 respectively. This compares with a population in which the proportion of the former to the latter is about 5 to 1. A further correlation may be made. Of the fifty or sixty Somalis in Shields only four are married with families, while at least one in every three adult Arabs is married and has a family in Shields.

When

\(^1\) Number arrived at by subtracting from 632 total inclusive cases, the 52 Moslem cases - leaving a remainder of 580.
When infected, Somalis are said to be stubborn and awkward patients.

A Medical Officer in charge of the Clinic reported that the Somalis are difficult patients, who are stubborn and awkward and require things to be done their way, instead of carrying out the doctors' instructions. As a result their defaulting rate is higher than in the case with other patients. But the Arabs are good patients who follow out instructions more accurately and meticulously than others, which amply repays them with the most satisfactory results.

Some of the causes for the high incidence of venereal disease among Somalis would seem to be the lack of family life, facilities for sexual intimacy in the bachelors' rooms, disregard for sexual safeguards, and carelessness in complying with medical treatment.

In summing up the health situation, it is suggested that the physical wellbeing of the community is affected in the main by two types of disease, tuberculosis and venereal diseases. Where tuberculosis is concerned, change of environment and the type of work in which the men are engaged may be among the factors weakening physical resistance. Illness and mortality rates have been very high in the past, but have improved owing to a higher standard of living with improved housing and other social conditions. The lack of normal home and family life may be important factors underlying the prevalence of venereal diseases among Somalis.

Finally, the writer is not competent to comment on the socio-medical aspect of these sicknesses, nor does he feel that the data given are sufficient as a basis for conclusion. But from the point

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1 See page 187.
point of view of this study, the data would seem to suggest that the health of the Moslem community is below that of the white population as a whole. This situation may be taken as an index of the retardation in the process of assimilation.
APPENDIX E

NEGRO-MOSLEM RELATIONSHIP

Opposition or conflict between different ethnic groups is not confined to white-coloured relationship. In Chicago for instance, clashes between Germans and Italians or Negroes and Italians have occurred from time to time.\(^1\) On Tyneside, Negroes and sections of the Moslem population are sometimes opposed to each other. This attitude is one of the main reasons for the groups occupying two separate towns.

Somalis, however, will co-operate with Africans and West Indians in work and recreation, but as a rule Negroes and Arabs do not. It was pointed out, that this relationship was particularly noticeable on the boats, where Somalis would unite with West Africans or West Indians whenever the need arose. In Liverpool, the three nationalities serve on the executive and participate in the activities of the Coloured People's Welfare Centre. Two reasons may account for this relationship. First, Negroes and Somalis share certain similar experiences; secondly, Somalis being antagonistic to Arabs are induced to seek friendship with Negroes. Like Negroes, the unemployment rate of Somalis on Tyneside was comparatively high (during 1947-50) while that of Arabs was very low. Consequently, Somalis accuse Arabs of /

\(^{1}\) Zorbough, op. cit., pp. 17-46.
of depriving them of economic privileges both in Somaliland and in Britain. In Somaliland, Arabs are said to occupy important administrative and business positions, and in Britain, they are alleged to monopolise jobs for coloured seamen. A new national spirit would seem to have stimulated this attitude shown by the Somalis. As one of them stated, "Geographically, Arabs are Asiatics, Somalis are Africans, therefore we must co-operate with Africans and their West Indian brethren."

Although bound by strong religious and other cultural ties to Arabs, whenever opportunities occur, Somalis show their willingness to co-operate with West Africans and West Indians. But the relationship between Negroes and Arabs is different. Negroes resent the alleged attitude of racial superiority on the part of the Arabs. "Fancy I hear that some Arabs call us 'Niggers'," protested an African. The Negro usually retaliates by saying "dirty Arab". Open conflicts, however, have not occurred between the two groups. The attitude of Pakistanis to Negroes and vice versa is not yet crystallised in Shields, which may be due to the late arrival of the Pakistanis.

Only when Moslems and Negroes are confronted by common opposition from the whites a united Negro-Moslem front is presented. This usually takes the form of a joint meeting of protest. But within the two groupings solidarity is strengthened as a reaction against prejudice from the dominant white group.
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