

**A City within a city:
Vestiges of the socio-spatial imprint of colonial and apartheid Durban,
from the 1870s to 1980s**

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work.

It is being submitted to The Centre for Communication, Media and Society,
University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, Durban, for the degree of Masters of Social Sciences
and has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

Signed by L. Rosenberg on the 15th March 2012.

To my family

And to the memory of Currie's Fountain.

Abstract

Parts of it have been referred to as the “Imperial Ghetto” (Badsha: 2001) or the “Duchene” and “Casbah” (Hassim: 2009) or simply “town” by the many who have frequented its markets, mosques, bus ranks, cinemas, schools, shops, cathedral and temples. The area is known for its “bunny-chows”, tearooms, saris, American Clothing stores, spices, jewellers, tailors, *fah-fee* and the feared *Duchene* gang. Central to the life of this “town” was Currie’s Fountain sports ground, popularly known as “Currie’s”, which served as a sports, cultural and political protest venue for seven decades.

This urban experience of blacks, who were referred to as “non-Europeans”, during the apartheid era, and the institutions and places that are of cultural, educational, religious, sports and political importance, and thus part of the city’s heritage, is largely absent in publications on Durban’s history. This dissertation addresses this issue and focuses on an old part of Durban, referred to as the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP), that was shaped by colonial and apartheid policies and planning, from the 1870s to the 1980s, identifying the “non-European” presence and what the nature of this presence was. It focuses on the micro level of the spatial development of a precinct, spawned in the aftermath of indenture and identifies the tapestry of facilities, institutions, places and spaces that collectively comprise and symbolise “non-European” Durban. It traces the establishment and growth of this other “invisible” precinct, since the settlement of Indians in Durban in the 1870s and the urbanization of Africans, until the 1980s when the apartheid ideology and its structures started to implode.

Spatial information in the form of maps, diagrams and photographs, combined with the social history, laws and planning responses over a hundred and ten year period, identifies and maps out a substantial area that traces residential, religious, educational, commercial, sports and struggle sites that are of historical significance and thus part of the heritage of a multi-cultural city. Although restricted to a fairly small area, it has all the elements that comprise a city, such as commercial and residential areas, worship sites, a burial site, educational institutions and libraries, numerous markets, bus, train and taxi transport nodes, recreational and struggle sites that are of cultural and socio-political significance to Blacks in the city of Durban, for more than a century. This study documents the evolution of the Warwick Junction Precinct which has become a city in its own right with a rich heritage spanning both the colonial and apartheid eras.

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Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BPC	Black Peoples' Convention
CDB	Community Development Board
COP	Congress of the People
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DISGA	Durban Indian Sports Ground Association (later to become DSGA)
DTC	Durban Town Council
DUT	Durban University of Technology
EMM	Early Morning Market
GAB	Group Areas Board
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
NIC	Natal Indian Congress
SACOS	South African Council of Sport
SAIC	South African Indian Council
SASO	South African Students Organization
TIC	Transvaal Indian Congress
TN	Technikon Natal
UDF	United Democratic Front
WJP	Warwick Junction Precinct
WJ	Warwick Junction
WAT	Warwick Avenue Triangle

Introduction

My choice of research topic evolved from an interest in an old sports ground that developed into a historical study of the broader area that it was located in. During the search for documented and oral information on Currie's Fountain sports ground and meeting ex-residents and spectators, who lived, played and schooled in the area, it became evident that its history was inextricably linked to the immediate community it served since its inception as a humble sport arena in 1925, to what became "an arena for struggle and development" (Khoapa, 2007: 25). Just about everyone, particularly Black people who were from Durban, knew about Currie's Fountain and had lots to tell and reminisce about, and inevitably their recollections included the cinemas, the nightlife, street gangs, tea-rooms, the markets, bus ranks, schools, residential neighbourhoods, cultural festivals and of course, apartheid and political events. It was the story of an inner city community, and all their related facilities that evolved from an Indian enclave to becoming the core of "non-European" Durban in the colonial and apartheid eras.

The ex-residents, many of whom were dispersed as a result of the Group Areas Act, fondly remember "Currie's", as it was referred to by locals, and recall all the spaces and places that once constituted "town" to "non-Europeans". Publications on the history of Durban do not allude to this part of the city, other than focusing on the Indian character of the Grey Street area, the Grey Street Mosque and the Victoria Street Market, all seen as attractions, primarily for foreign tourists. Previous research on this area and its people and events has been on specific aspects in isolated parts and does not present a coherent collective history of a community and the richness of a place, however marginalised and now well over a hundred years old. Coombes (2004: 116) states that "one of the legacies of the apartheid era is the alienation of individuals and communities from their own histories – so much so that aspects of those histories are either ignored through disinterest or willfully exploited for other ends and in the process destroyed."

The many stories that I had heard about Currie's Fountain and the lack of documented information inspired a publication titled *Wellspring of Hope, the legacy of a sports field* (2007), which provided a pictorial overview of a brief history of Currie's. This was co-authored with a number of contributions from prominent ex-residents. However it was evident that the information we had compiled for the publication was but a small part of the history of Currie's Fountain and its surrounds. As a result I established a research project based at Durban University of Technology (DUT), known as the **Research Of Currie's and Surrounds (ROCS) Project**. Contributions were sought from ex-residents and the general public who provided information, photographs and memorabilia, not only of Currie's itself but also of the precinct surrounding it. The book was launched at the ROCS Project launch and the excitement and nostalgia that both generated inspired my choice of topic. It was a story of an inner city community which had been spatially and politically marginalised and whose tale had not been documented. In many ways therefore, this study contributes towards the documentation of the spatial evolution of a precinct that encapsulates the urban Black heritage of the city of Durban.

Other major cities in South Africa have reflected, commemorated and even celebrated, what were once their hidden pasts. Projects and literature have focused on communities that have suffered during apartheid, and have received prominence like District Six in Cape Town, Sophiatown in Johannesburg, and Lady Selborne in Pretoria (Mojapelo: 2009). It is known that Durban city was not all European in nature, but where and what was the nature of this “non-European” presence? My hypothesis is that the area to the south of and between Currie’s Fountain and the Grey Street area, is part of Durban’s hidden past and will henceforth be referred to as the Warwick Junction Precinct, shortened to WJP in this study. It is an old precinct in the city that grew on the periphery of the European CBD, starting in the Grey Street area and growing outwards to the west and north-west in the Western vlei. Shaped, restricted and compressed into a fairly small area it has all the ingredients of what constituted a community, such as commercial and residential areas, worship sites for Muslims, Hindus and Christians, educational institutions including a University of Technology, recreational and cultural sites, a women’s hostel, a burial site, hospital, fire station, bus, train and taxi transport nodes, numerous markets and struggle sites.

Definition of the research area.

Recent research and projects by the city have named parts of the area as Warwick Junction, which refers to the immediate surrounds at the junction of road and rail transport routes that converge at the intersection of Old Dutch Road and Warwick Avenue. Another part is called Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT), which alludes to the triangular portion of land between Berea Road, the Western freeway and Warwick Avenue. These names define much smaller localities than the wider study area that this dissertation will focus on. The physical definition of the research area is informed by the historically different residential/commercial neighbourhoods with distinctly different identities elaborated on in Chapter 3. This grouping of residential/commercial, religious, educational, trade, recreation and transport nodes that developed in and around the Western vlei including the Grey Street complex, is collectively, considered to make up the “non-European town”, which this study refers to as the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP).

A number of other unofficial names have been associated with parts of this precinct. Swanson (1983), notes that Europeans called the Grey Street area “Coolie location” by the 1880s. Others have referred to it as having a feel of the “Ghetto” (Freund: 1995) and Badsha (2001) coined the term “Imperial Ghetto”. Ex-resident and author Hassim (2009) alludes to the “Casbah” of the Grey Street complex and the “Duchene” residential zone, a name that was derived from Old Dutch Road, the main road through the area. The different zones became an extension of the Grey Street complex, which was the nucleus of Indian trade and residential settlement since the late 1800s. No current name that encompasses all the neighbourhoods exists, other than the general reference to “town”.

This study defines the Warwick Junction Precinct as the grouping of the Grey and Beatrice Street neighbourhoods, separated by a sport, educational and transport zone, from the Wills/Old Dutch

Road residential/commercial neighbourhood. The area is bounded by Greyville racecourse to the North, Botanic Gardens Road to the West, Anton Lembede (Smith) Street/King Dinizulu (Berea) Street in the South and Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street to the East, with the centre being the intersection of Old Dutch Road and Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue depicted in Fig 1.

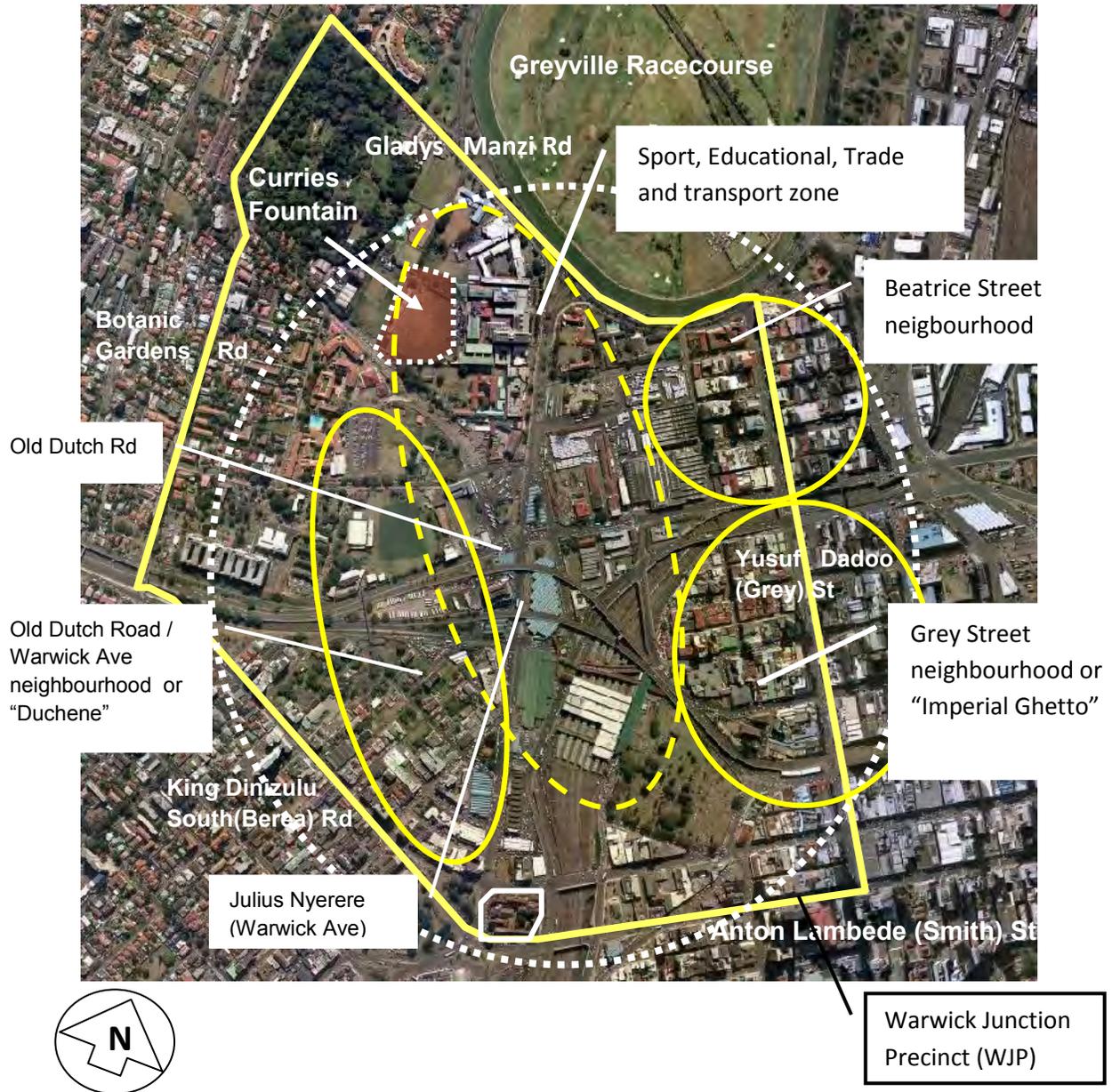


Fig 1: The definition of the research area: A collective of residential/commercial neighbourhoods and the transport/ educational /sports zone, that constitute the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP) in Durban.

(2008 Aerial photograph: City Engineers Dept)

Located in the field of urban history, this dissertation focuses on this old part of Durban that was shaped by colonial and apartheid policies, planning and management, from the 1870s to the

1980s. Although scarred and reconfigured in parts, the area is still predominantly Black in use and character and has remained largely intact and is still the “other” or “dual city” as described by Rajah (1981) and Christopher (1984).

In the field of urban history studies, Maylam and Edwards (1996: X1) identify two fundamentally different written historiographic styles and traditions, referring to the first tradition as “antiquarian and in South Africa generally Eurocentric, concerned mainly with the lifestyle and culture of urban elite”. The second tradition is described as “analytical and critical with emphasis on urban policy and management, the impact of that policy on the non-elite communities, and the ways in which ordinary people and their leaders struggled against and sought to cope with hardships of city life”. They argue that the history of Durban was written in the first tradition and lament the absence of literature in the second tradition. One of the functions of apartheid, they state, “was to make the daily existence of the under classes outside the workplace, as invisible as possible to the dominant classes” (Maylam and Edwards 1996: 1). In an attempt to address this invisibility of the under classes, their collection of essays, describes as “a generation of Durban historical scholarship” by Freund and Padayachee (2002: 5), is focused on the organisation and occupation of urban space in an effort “to produce an alternative „people’s“ history of Durban” (Maylam and Edwards, 1996: 2).

To contextualise my research, the key questions asked were: How was Durban’s spatial development of the city influenced by colonialism and apartheid, and how did the policies manifest in the built form? What was the character and make-up of the Black area, and does part thereof still remain? Although the current history of Durban is largely “antiquarian and Eurocentric”, as identified by Maylam and Edwards (1996), it provides the colonial and European perspective of what constituted Durban and assisted in contextualising this study. Old Durban as described by the Mayor’s Minutes of the 1870s to the 1890s, provided the context of Durban prior to and after the arrival of indentured Indians in 1860. The history of the city after the 1870s as documented by Harrison (1903) and Henderson (1904) at the turn of the century, is elaborated on by Lynsky (1982), Kearney (1984), and van Niekerk (1987), which provide an overview of the development of Durban for more than a hundred years, from a European perspective.

For an alternative perspective on the people and places, particularly with regard to the Black community, and the city that they lived in and the effects of racial planning policies, the research by Brookfield and Tatham (1957) and Kuper and Watts (1958) on the racial ecology of the city and Swanson’s (1983) elaboration on the “Asiatic Menace”, informed my study. The effects of the implementation of the Group Areas Act on the multiracial community of Durban together with the proposed re-design of Durban to be a White city is elaborated on in the Durban Housing Survey (1952) and Davies (1963 and 1976).

By the 1980s apartheid’s segregationist planning had been implemented to the full and was highly visible. Research from this period is focused on the formation and consequences of

apartheid on the city, as in the work of Davies (1981), Rajah (1981), Swanson (1983), McCarthy and Smit (1984) and Christopher (1984). This body of work gave insight into the making of the apartheid city, particularly with regard to the spatial re-configuration of the city to the idealised race zoning plans. The urban history research of the 1990s (Maylam et al, 1996) is more reflective and looks back at the effect that apartheid had on the various spheres of the city and identifies the struggles of various communities in the city which provided part of an alternative perspective on the history of the city, particularly with regards to the presence of Africans in the city. Bhana and Brain (1990), Dhupelia-Mesthrie (2000) and Vahed (1995; 1998 and 1999) reflect on indenture and the settlement of Indians in South Africa, particularly Durban. Their living and working conditions in a colonial and apartheid city provided insights into the socio-political aspects that ruled their lives.

Previous studies on the racial segregation aspects of the city's growth have largely focused on the macro level of the apartheid city (Davies 1963 and 1981; McCarthy and Smit, 1984; Christopher, 1984). This study on the otherhand, focuses on the micro level of the spatial development of a precinct and identifies the facilities, institutions, places and spaces that collectively comprised and symbolised "non-European" Durban. It traces the establishment and growth of this other "invisible" Durban, since the settlement of Indians after indenture in the 1870s, and the urbanization of Africans until the 1980s when the apartheid policies of segregation started to disintegrate. The research area is focused specifically on the West and North Western aspect of Durban's CBD, referred to as the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP), and is concerned with the history of Indian and African settlement in the city. Other Indian and African settlements outside the city centre do not form part of this study. The low number of the Coloured population did not have a significant impact on the colonists and they were generally treated much the same as Africans and Indians and were located near or in Indian areas.

The inhabitants of the defined research area were predominantly of Indian origin but since the 1950s a number of Coloureds also resided in the precinct. The schools, churches, mosque and residential areas catered primarily for Indians and the vast majority of shops were owned or rented by Indians but Coloured schools and a church and a hostel for African women, a church for Africans, African eating houses and a beerhall were also located in the area. A sense of community is identifiable by the residential areas, educational and religious facilities, commercial areas, sports and entertainment facilities, transports nodes and religious festivals. The commercial and employment opportunities located in this "dual CBD" (Rajah: 1981) was supplemented by a dual public transport system for non-Europeans, in the form of trains and buses which converged on the precinct from outlying areas, reinforcing the notion that this part of the city provided everything that was for non-Europeans. The multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-racial „community“ referred to in this study is the collective of non-Europeans who lived, schooled, worked, did their shopping, worshipped, played and who were politically active in the precinct and whose collective identity was shaped by their "non-Whiteness" and their shared facilities and institutions.

The research methodology consisted primarily of accessing archival material, which was supplemented by photographs, oral and written information obtained from ex-residents, ex-sportsmen and institutions in the precinct. This information from the public was obtained at publicized get-togethers of ex-residents and sports personalities and exhibitions that were organised by the ROCS Project. The get-togethers were a means of gathering information but they also allowed ex-residents to reminisce and provided me with a better understanding of the archival material I had obtained. Although no formal interviews were conducted the numerous oral accounts provided a overview of events, important institutions, the neighbourhoods, and the sense of community that prevailed. More importantly they provided leads to knowledgeable and prominent persons as sources of information who subsequently corresponded with me and provided written accounts of their lives and neighbourhoods. Accounts by the likes of Kogi Singh, Ebrahim Osman, Phyllis Naidoo, Fatima Meer and Rafs Mayet who are all ex-residents, have been considered as the voice of the area and have been cited because their written submissions articulate, encapsulate and confirm the oral recollections of many others. As such they have been considered as part of oral information, since none are historians and their accounts are of an oral historical nature. Aziz Hassim and Omar Badsha, also ex-residents, whose writings on the precinct have been published, are also cited.

The history of the area is elaborated on, by drawing on previous research on colonial and apartheid cities with specific reference to Durban, and is complemented by relevant maps and photographs of the precinct. Community newspapers, institutional historical records, brochures and written accounts from ex-residents, all helped with the identification of historical places and buildings which have been illustrated through photographs and diagrams to support my conclusions.

Numerous buildings in the precinct are “listed” by Kearney (1984) such as the Grey Street Mosque, Sastri College, St Anthony’s church, the entrance domes of the Early Morning Market and a number of commercial/residential buildings in the Grey Street area. However, they are all listed for their contribution to the characteristic Indian qualities of the townscape and the architectural heritage of the city. The institutions and places considered to be “historical” that are outlined in this study have been identified for their cultural, educational, religious, commercial, sports and political significance to particularly the Indian community but also to the non-European population in general because of the role that these institutions played during colonial and apartheid times. Heritage surveying techniques pioneered in the 1980s were used during the early stages of the project, but these were found to be irrelevant to the findings arrived at here. Instead survey data was recorded by means of mapping techniques. The institutions and places elaborated on were established as far back as the 1880s through to the 1960s and encapsulate the commercial, educational, religious, sports and political heritage of Blacks in a colonial and apartheid city. It is argued that the WJP developed into the “non-European town” in the apartheid city and represents a significant part of the cultural and socio-political heritage of Blacks in the city of Durban.

References to racial terms.

The colonial and apartheid periods of South African history are marked by racial terms to describe and define different cultural groups. Any discussion on this period of history therefore must make reference to such terminology. However, readers should note that it is not my intention to promote or perpetuate racial stereotyping by the use of racially loaded terms. Any such nouns are therefore used in the historical context of the colonial and apartheid political systems.

The settler colonial society was of European origin and the people were referred to as Europeans or Whites, whilst reference to the indigenous population ranged in terms such as, Kaffirs, Natives, Bantu or Africans. Immigrants of Indian origin were referred to as Coolies, Asiatics, Arabs or Indians. People of mixed race and who were not African or Indian were termed Coloured or Malay. The collective of African, Indian and Coloured people were referred to as non-Europeans or non-Whites.

Black has been the preferred term since the 1970s, instead of the negative non-European and non-White terminology. The author has however preferred, in certain instances, the use of the “non-European” and “non-White” terms, not only because they best capture the colonial and apartheid contexts, but also because the terms illustrate the contrast between the dominant European/White setting and the negativity associated with the collective group of “others” that were not White or European.

References to road names

Numerous road names in Durban have been changed since 2009 and whilst the author acknowledges these changes, the old road names have been used in this study for the following reasons.

- The research is a historical study focused on a period prior to the road name changes.
- All texts, maps, conversations and correspondence with ex-residents make reference to the old road names.
- The old road names have resonance with the colonial and apartheid city context.

A list of old and new names, relevant to this study, has been provided below for reference, in preference to providing the old and new names throughout the body of text.

Old Road names

Albert Street
Beatrice Street
Berea Road
Centenary Road
Dartnell and Mitchell Road

New names

Inguce Street
Charlotte Maxeke Street
King Dinizulu Road
M L Sultan Road
Gladys Manzi Road

Field Street
Grey Street
Leopold Street
Lorne Street
Mansfield Road
Old Dutch Road
Old Fort Road
Ordnance Road
Pine Street
Prince Edward Street
Point Road
Queen Street
Smith Street
Victoria Street
Warwick Avenue
West Street

Joe Slovo Street
Yusuf Dadoo Street
David Webster Street
Ismail C Meer Street
Steve Biko Road
Chris Ntuli Road
K E Masinga Road
Braam Fischer Road
Monty Naicker Street
Dr Goonam Street
Mahatma Gandhi Road
Dennis Hurley Street
Anton Lembede Street
Berta Mkhize Street
Julius Nyerere Avenue
Dr Pixley Kaseme Street

CHAPTER 1

THE COLONIAL AND APARTHEID CITY

The growth phases of the city of Durban during the colonial and apartheid eras are examined in the context of widely accepted theoretical urban growth models, as the bases for city analyses. South African cities shaped by colonial and apartheid ideologies have been examined by a number of scholars since the late 1950s. Brookfield and Tatham (1957), Kuper and Watts (1958), Davies (1963; 1976; 1981), Swanson (1983), Christopher (1984) and McCarthy and Smit (1984) have all focused on the spatial implications and consequences of colonialism and apartheid on South African cities. Davies (1963: 15) argues that a study of one city cannot determine a model that is representative of all South African cities but noted that it was possible to isolate important departures from existing models and identify characteristics common to most South African cities.

It is evident that segregation was a common theme during both colonial and apartheid periods. Davies (1963) and Christopher (1984) identify the emergence of what they refer to as “segregation city” and point to similarities in characteristics of other cities in “colonies of exploitation”. Christopher (1984) notes that South African cities started as colonial creations resembling other colonial settings in Africa, but the peculiar nature of South African society gave rise to a variant described as “a cross between those of the „New Lands“ of white settlement and the tropical city of the colonies of exploitation” (Christopher 1984: 84). The „city type“ that emerged and is defined as “colonial”, is described by Davies (1976) and cited by McCarthy and Smit as:

In the growth of the Segregation City elements of the spatial organisations of a multi-ethnic alien colonial city emerge strongly. The white dominant group appropriated land in central situations strategically and conveniently related to the social and economic functions of the city. Non-white subject groups were mainly relegated to the less convenient sites in the urban periphery.... (In the case of the Apartheid era after 1950) what emerged was a city more highly structured and quartered than any multi-ethnic colonial city before it (McCarthy and Smit, 1984: 17).

Christopher (1984: 87) concluded that “the legal segregation in the policy of apartheid could be interpreted as an outcome of the adaptation of one colonial model to another” and that the “Segregation City” contained “the seeds of the formal structural segregation of the modern city.”

The colonial city in Africa.

Christopher (1984) notes that colonial systems essentially exploited the resources of the colonies by either direct exploitation of natural resources and its people, or through the settlement of Europeans who would effectively do the same, by creating a demand for European products. He asserts that Africa offered little opportunity for the latter approach and that direct exploitation

prevailed over most of the continent. Forms of direct exploitation ranged from the collection and mining of natural resources, operating plantations, hunting and the collection of ivory, which Africa had become a major source of (Christopher, 1984: 31). However owing to the difficulties experienced with diseases and indigenous opposition, European colonial settlement was comparatively restricted in Africa, with the Cape of Good Hope being the only colony of settlement established prior to 1830. In North Africa the French attempted to create permanent colonies, first in Algeria and later in Tunisia and Morocco. It is only after the 1830s that the Southern parts of Africa were colonised (Christopher, 1984: 32).

These early planned colonial cities initially did not make provision for the indigenous population, based on the assumption that African labour would be accommodated by their employees in barracks or outbuildings. Owing to the inadequacy of this arrangement, as Christopher (1984) states, two further residential sections of the colonial city were developed. The first was the squatter settlement, referred to as *bidonvilles* (tin-can towns) in the French and Belgian colonial cities, which became the housing settlements beyond the built up area of the planned city. The second addition was the *Cite* which was a planned settlement for Africans, built to accommodate workers and their families on the periphery of the European city. In addition to racially segregated residential areas, seen in Fig 2, land use planning was also evident in the colonial city, with areas set aside for administrative and military zones as well as industrial and trade zones (Christopher, 1984: 35).

The South African colonial city.

Towns were generally founded by the governments, the church, the army or private individuals and companies for a variety of purposes such as administration, religion, defense, trade and communications. Christopher (1984) notes that it was within this process that the government, either directly or through its agencies influenced the siting and forms of towns significantly (Christopher, 1984: 67).

The first towns were established as ports, which acted as the link with the metropole and became a base for operations within the country (Christopher, 1984: 68). The second type of settlement also established by the Dutch, was the agricultural village, and was planned with more generous plot sizes for agricultural purposes and included water furrows supplying water for domestic and irrigation purposes. The original planning and organisation of towns were thus shaped by the functions that they had to perform, which produced distinctive groups of towns, including ports, Afrikaaner agricultural villages (*dorps*), English administrative and trading towns and mining towns (Christopher, 1984: 71).

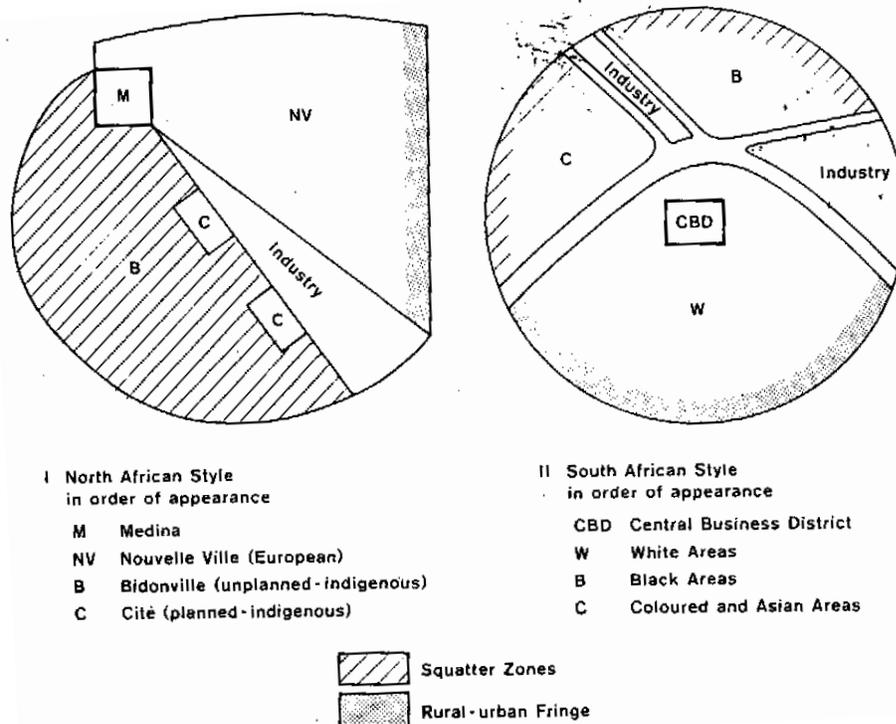


Fig 2. Illustration of the typical African Colonial City (Christopher: 1984)

The layout and urban character of the towns was influenced by the colonial settlers, as outlined by Christopher (1984: 71).

The Dutch East India Company brought a distinctly European concept of town planning to their colonies.... within a decade of its construction a town had been organised reflecting the town planning style of the Netherlands. Small plots laid out in a grid pattern of small blocks with the main streets running down to the sea, each with a water channel, supplied the basic framework. Within the town, houses were built on the street line and trees planted in the roadways providing a visual urban environment.

The ports were multifunctional in origin because of the interdependence of trade and administration. Administration was considered an essential part of maintaining European civilization, providing access to justice, payment of taxes and the growing range of government services (Christopher, 1984: 68). In early towns the government's presence was established by the "drostyd" or office building, residency and prison, and later expanding to services ranging from education, fire protection, town hall, police stations and post offices. The Dutch Reformed Church also exerted a significant influence on the town establishment. Because of the great distances between existing churches on the frontier, gathering areas for quarterly communion services were subsequently developed as formal towns, with the provision of a church square and houses for farmers' occupation whilst visiting the town. The church occupied the focus of the

town plan although the focus was often shared by the state, providing a dual focus to the town (Christopher, 1984: 68).

Swanson (1983) and Christopher (1984) note that segregation had become one of the most striking features of South African cities but they identify its origins in the late-nineteenth century. Christopher (1984: 74) refers to two major strands that developed in the evolution of segregation, the one strand being the relations between Europeans and the indigenous population and the second being between Europeans and other immigrant groups and people of mixed race. Residential locations for the indigenous population were established on the outskirts of towns soon after settlement by various authorities and Christopher (1984) cites the establishment of the first African location in Port Elizabeth in 1825 by the London Missionary Society followed by the Port Elizabeth municipality in 1855 with the first of several African locations, and as the city expanded, each new location was built further from the centre.

Other notable examples of segregated residential areas for indigenous people emerged, from what was referred to as the “Sanitary Syndrome” which led to the establishment of Ndabeni location on the Cape Flats in 1898. After the outbreak of bubonic plague other city councils followed Cape Town’s example. Johannesburg moved Africans to Pimville in 1904, this becoming the forerunner of modern day Soweto (Christopher, 1984: 76). Up until 1923, segregation of Africans remained an optional measure for municipalities, until the Natives (Urban) Act was passed, which made it compulsory for municipalities to establish locations for Africans. The African locations that were created are described by Christopher (1984: 74) as “a residential appendage to the white city as few contained facilities beyond general stores and no attempt was made to create an independent entity.”

Colonial society attitudes and responses to residential areas for immigrant Indians developed concurrently, but very differently as Swanson’s (1961) and (1983) studies of the “Asiatic Menace” and the creation of segregation in Durban have shown. Swanson’s (1983) study observes that Durban’s rulers were less concerned with the African population, than with the Indian population. These rulers perceived Africans as “a passive threat and affected a paternal regard for their allegedly natural subordination,” but saw the Indian as “a sophisticated and active menace to their own position in colonial society, competing for space, place, trade and political influence with the imperial authority” (Swanson, 1983: 404).

From 1871 Durban’s councilors had started discussing means to segregate Indians or “Coolies” as they were referred to, and considered means to prohibit “Coolie” dwellings within the precincts of the Town. Numerous regulations and laws followed, including the 1897 Licensing Act which Swanson argues enhanced the move towards communal segregation in Durban, by tending to confine Indian commerce to Ward 4 (Swanson, 1983: 471).

The development of the Apartheid City.

The aim of the group Areas Act of 1950 was to establish separate areas for the different racial groups in South African cities and the arguments given for this racial programme were outlined by the Durban Housing Survey (1952: 409) as:

- a) That racial groups had reached different cultural stages.
- b) That racial conflicts had to be avoided and
- c) That it was in the general interests of all groups.

Although regarded as the successor to previous legislation focused on segregation, the Group Areas Act was far more all-embracing. Every citizen was classified into a particular racial group and assigned separate residential areas. The population was divided into six main racial groups: White, Coloured, Native, Indian, Chinese and Malay (Durban Housing Survey, 1952: 409).

The Act did not specify detailed plans for particular cities but created the necessary means for doing so (Housing Survey No 2, 1952: 409). The Act required complete separation of the races and it contained a planning philosophy which the different municipalities were required to conform to. The planning philosophy recognised the functional interdependence of the race groups and thus laid down principles according to which they should be separated in residential areas (McCarthy and Smit, 1984: 57). The planning philosophy and principles for segregation were summarised as:

- i) There should be consolidated residential areas for each race group.
- ii) Each consolidated area should be so placed as have access to a growth hinterland for future development.
- iii) The consolidated areas should wherever possible, be separated from each other by strong physical barriers (rivers, valleys, railway, highways) or “buffer zones” or open space should be employed as a divide
- iv) Each group should have access to and from the work zone, however, no ethnic group should cross another’s residential areas. Consequently “ethnic islands” should also be avoided.
- v) The black areas should be located as close as possible to work centers, since it is they who have to bear transport costs on low wages.
- vi) Each area should become self-governed and should become as functionally independent as possible for all other areas. Areas should proceed towards equality in all respects (McCarthy and Smit, 1984: 58).

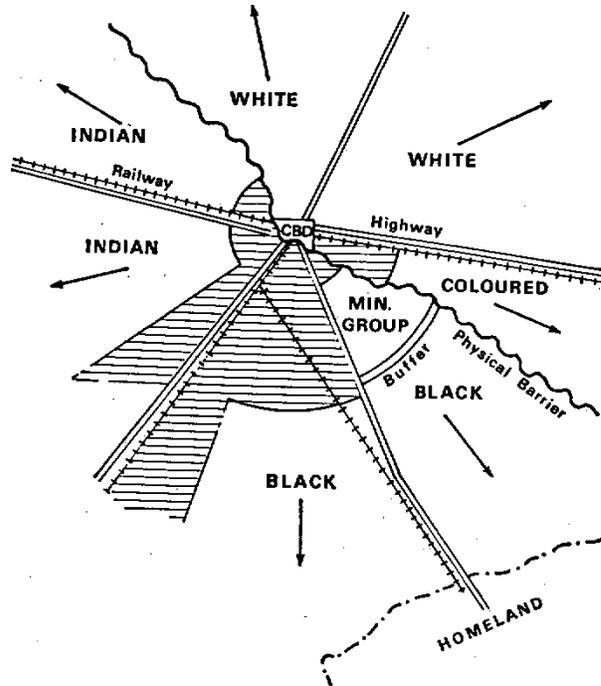


Fig 3. Illustration of the model apartheid city ((McCarthy and Smit: 1984)

Davies (1963: 15) argues that urban theoretical growth models, although developed essentially for American cities since the 1930s, have become the most widely accepted theoretical growth models used by urban geographers as bases for city analyses and outlines the models as:

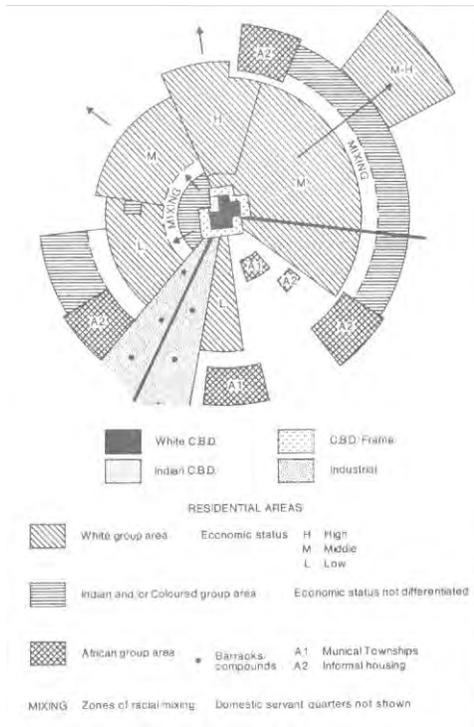
- a) The Burgess Concentric Zone Theory in which a city develops outwards from a central commercial core in a series of concentric zones. Areas of differential zonal distances from the centre become characterised by distinct types of land use and social structure. Each zone may also be subject to change in time through the operation of such processes as centralisation, decentralisation, succession of both land uses and population groups and natural tendencies towards functional segregation, including racial segregation.
- b) The Hoyt Sectoral theory which suggests that land use and population patterns originally near the centre of the city tend to develop outwards in sectors determined by the location of main route ways. Each sector will tend to be characterised by particular forms of land use and population structure from the centre outwards to the periphery.
- c) The Multiple Nuclei Theory which contends that land use patterns of a city are built up about several distinct nuclei, which may be of different types, rather than about a single centre.

The research by Davies (1963) on the growth of Durban notes that the interpretation and relevance of any of the growth models to the growth pattern of an individual city, necessitates

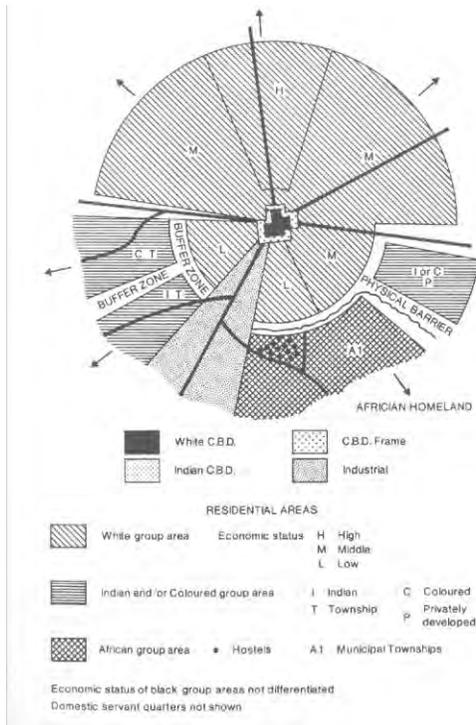
the introduction of three variables that he outlines: the first being the significance of site peculiarities, secondly the functional category of the city and thirdly, the population composition and the peculiar socio-economic, legal and political forces operating at any stage within the larger national community to which the city belongs. Davies emphasizes the third variable and suggests that it is the most significant factor in the South African context (1963: 16).

Although South African cities resembled the general western urban model, which included the emergence of a CBD, distinct administrative and industrial quarters and residential differentiation, legislated racial segregation became a significant and unique aspect of internal differentiation within South African cities (Christopher, 1984: 77). Prior to the Group Areas Act, South African cities were largely zonal in configuration, resembling the Burgess Concentric Zone model, but with the application of the Group Areas Act, McCarthy and Smit (1984: 58) conclude that only a sectoral spatial model could satisfy the principles of racial zoning, as can be seen in Fig 3. This transition from a colonial zonal urban form to a sectoral apartheid form necessitated substantial land use rearrangements as indicated in Fig 4 and Fig 14.

The central city was reserved for Whites, and racially mixed areas were declared for White occupation and generally the desirable parts of urban areas similarly fell within the White group areas. Exceptions to this rule were a few Indian business districts which were permitted to remain, although restricted in form and without a residential function, and the Malay Quarter in Cape Town (Christopher, 1984: 77). The Grey Street complex in Durban was one of these exceptions. Major restructuring of cities ensued and areas which were previously mixed areas were demolished. District Six in Cape Town and South End in Port Elizabeth are some of the well-known examples, but other areas like the Cape Location or Marabastad in Pretoria and the Wills/Old Dutch Road and Mansfield Road areas in Durban were also partially reduced to wastelands.



Segregation City



Apartheid City

Fig 4. Diagrams of the „segregation city“ and „apartheid city“ (Davies: 1981)

CHAPTER 2

THE SPATIAL EVOLUTION OF DURBAN

Rajah's (1981: 65) study on the spatial evolution of Durban, argues that distinctive growth patterns of the city were aligned to the four major phases of economic growth, identified as the trading post phase (from 1824), the formative phase (up to 1860), the post-formative phase (after 1860) and the modern phase (from 1910 to the 1980s). However, as Davies (1963: 16) has highlighted, one of the main factors to be considered in interpreting growth models in the South African context, was how land use patterns may be influenced by racial composition and socio-economic, legal and political forces.

This section examines the spatial evolution of Durban in the context of the socio-political conditions and race relations from the 1870s to the 1980s. The development of the city will be examined over four phases, namely, the early settlement phase (1824 - 1870s), the colonial phase (1870s – 1930s), the pre-apartheid phase (1930s - 1950s) and the apartheid phase (1950s – 1980s). It will demonstrate how attitudes of colonial society translated into legislative measures that substantially shaped the growth pattern and character of the city of Durban.

Early Settlement phase: 1824 – 1870s

The establishment of Port Natal

The settlement that became known as Durban dates back to 1824 when Lieutenant Francis Farewell, Lieutenant James Saunders King and Henry Francis Fynn landed in the Bay “convinced of its commercial value”. The settlement, then mostly referred to as Port Natal was renamed Durban in 1835, by navy officer turned missionary, Allen Gardiner (van Niekerk, 1980: 6). This primitive ivory trading post was established on the shores of the bay of Natal at the only practical anchorage on the Natal coast accessible to the Zulu tribes. Situated in a territory occupied by African tribes who lacked a material exchange economy and urban traditions, the trading post phase lasted until after 1830 (Davies, 1963: 16).

After the arrival of the Boer trekkers in Natal in 1838 Durban became the port for the limited overseas contacts of the Boer republic of Natalia and the Colony of Natal after the British annexation in 1844 (Brookfield and Tatham, 1957: 46). Durban then began to develop the characteristics of a sea-port town, stimulated by increasing trade arising from the partial settlement of its hinterland (Davies, 1963: 16). The heart of the city of Durban as described by Brookfield and Tatham (1957: 54) formed on the Northern end of the Bay on a narrow triangle of coastal lowland, flanked by two poorly drained marshlands known as the Eastern and Western vleis as seen in Fig 5. The flat land between the two vleis developed as the centre of the city and its subsequent physical development and character were then shaped by what Kearney (1984) describes as the topographical framework of hills, rivers, valleys and vleis. Within this framework, the most advantageous sites were selected by various groups for a variety of reasons.

Land was set aside for military purposes as Ordinance Land, an Admiralty Reserve along the Beach was proclaimed and the drainage patterns of rivers, vleis and creeks were incorporated, shaping the physical development of the city (Kearney, 1984: 21).

The early settlement by ivory hunters and traders is described as a dispersed pattern of clusters of primitive dwellings set apart and hidden in the bush. This nodal pattern, as can be seen on Thomas Oakes' map in Fig 6, was made up of a "dorp" at Congella, a nucleus of fortification and maritime elements on the Bay Side of the Point, the layout of the town itself, a series of buildings at the Umgeni River crossing and a set of plots at the centre and top of the Berea Ridge (Kearney, 1984: 21). The filling in of the interstitial spaces between the nodes and spines took place over a long period of time. When the borough was proclaimed in 1854, the major axes of the city's future growth and character had been established "as series of nodes interconnected with spines; open spaces between; a long town centre with an emphasis on the street; recognition of landform; drainage and topographical framework elements and all set within an environment of natural vegetation" (Kearney, 1984: 22).

The scattered grass huts and wattle and daub encampments around the bay were concentrated around Farewell's camp, which was located on the dry sand flats on the northern shores of the bay near a swamp pond which provided a source of fresh water (Davies, 1963: 20). From these settlements at the city centre, the Boer settlement at Congella and the settlement at the Point, led four rudimentary tracks – northwards to Zululand, south to the Eastern Cape, to the Point and the Boer trekker route to the interior that became Berea Road, as can be seen in Fig 6. These tracks that were to evolve into arterial routes had considerable influence upon the form and direction of Durban's future urban expansion (Davies, 1963: 20).

In 1840 the Boer Volksraad commissioned the drawing up of a town plan. The plan was designed to occupy the nodal site of Farewell's camp and followed a tradition of South African town plans with a grid layout and a focus upon a central market square. Davies (1963: 20) notes that the absence of a distinct church square was unusual and suggests that Durban was to be a trading centre and hence a market place superseding that of a church as the focus of the town. The configuration of the site and what Kearney (1984) described as the topographical framework, suggested a town layout with a narrow grid plan with three east - west streets and shorter cross streets at right angles to the shore as can be seen in Fig 7. Street widths were 100 Cape feet, determined by the space necessary to turn a span of oxen (Davies, 1963: 20).

Initially a small core of businesses developed on the east end but gradually businesses gravitated to the west of market square because of the availability of cheaper land (Rajah, 1881: 67). Within the town centre groups of similar functions started to appear from the late 1850s. Smith Street became the nodal growth area for hotels, clubs and commercial business administration and West Street developed as a retail centre. The market square became the focus of institutional and public functions and religious buildings were scattered around the embryonic town (Kearney, 1984: 23).

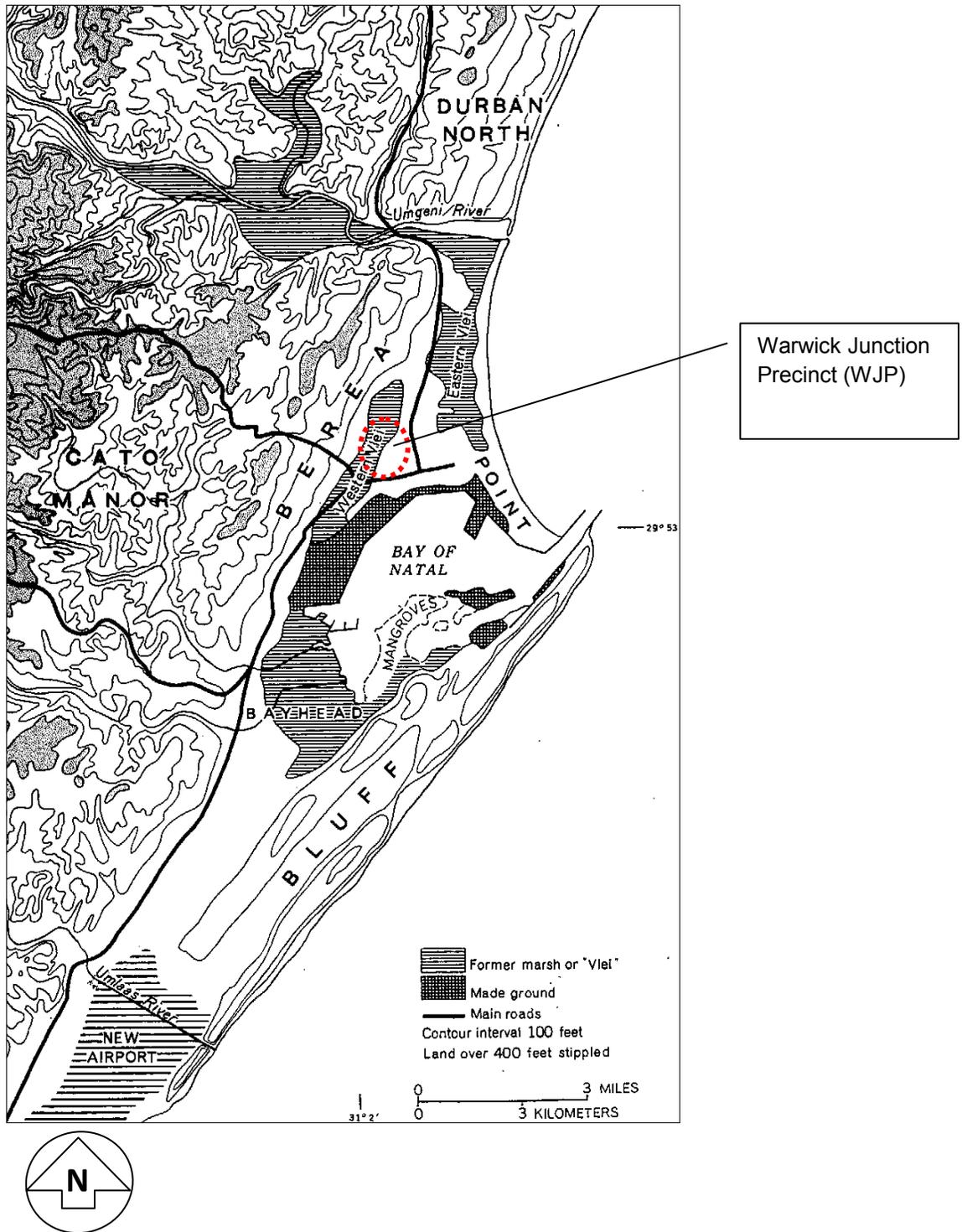


Fig. 5. The physical site of Durban (Brookfield and Tatham: 1957)

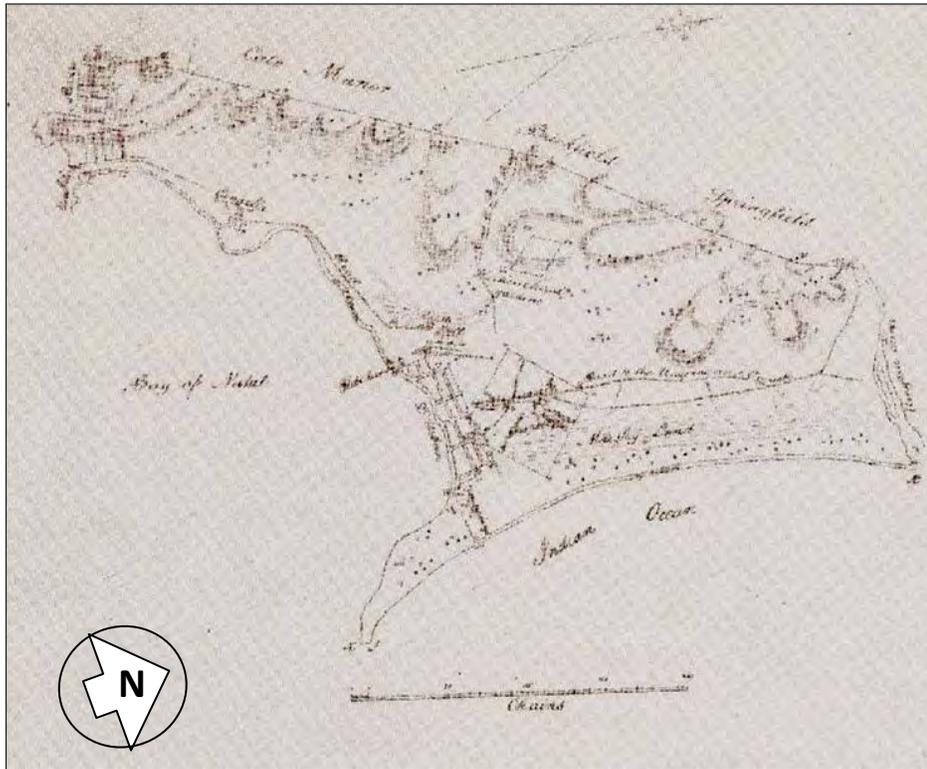


Fig 6. Thomas Oakes' plan of Durban: 1846 (Kearney: 1984)

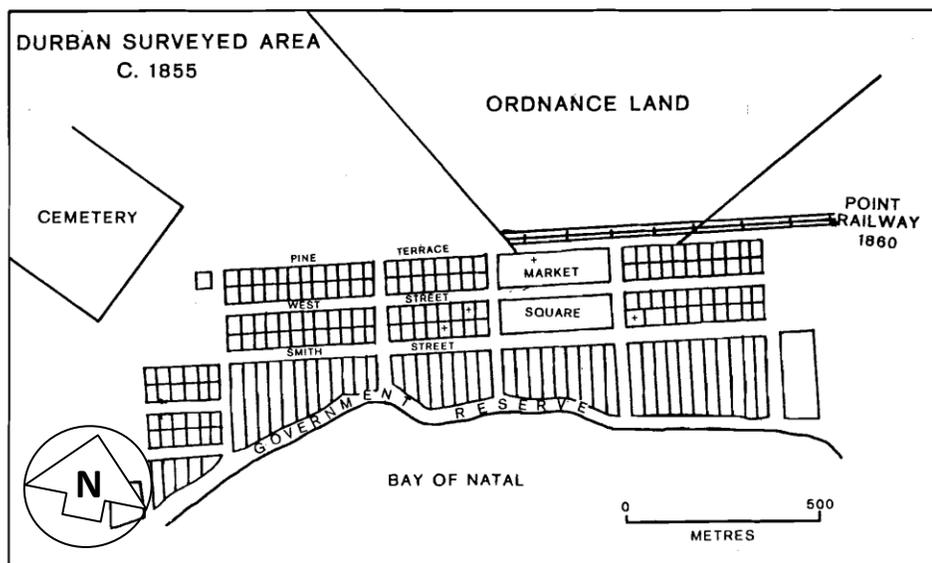


Fig 7. The town plan of Durban: 1855 (Rajah: 1981)

The 1850s and 1860s were devoted to trade and traffic flow from the Point to the rest of the country. The main street had become a trade route, and bridges and causeways had to be constructed across the Eastern and Western vleis, which are said to have surrounded the town like a moat (Swanson, 1961: 8). The Natal Railway Company constructed a rail line between the Point and the town and applied for a site on the Market square for a terminus. The station was eventually built on Ordinance Land and in 1860 the first railway in South Africa was opened between the Point and Pine Terrace in the town (Henderson, 1904: 39). Before Municipal Corporations had been enacted in 1854 the government had set aside land for burial purposes to the Church of England, the Roman Catholic and Wesleyan communities and in 1864 additional land adjoining this cemetery was set aside for a general cemetery, of which two acres was set aside for the burial of “Coolies and Kaffirs” (Henderson, 1904: 313).

The arrival and settlement of Indian immigrants

Although the colony of Natal had a large African population, that had been moved into reserves by Theophilus Shepstone in 1846, it lacked a labour force on the scale required for the new labour intensive crops like coffee, tea and sugar cane along the coastal belt (Bhana and Brain, 1990: 23). Labour was imported from India, under the indenture system, which has been described as “a new form of slavery” (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000: 10). The first group of indentured Indians arrived in Durban in 1860, followed by another 383 shiploads from 1860 to 1911, totaling 152 184 indentured men and women (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000: 10).

Dhupelia-Mesthrie (2000: 11) states that the indentured Indian “was not quite a slave...but neither a free soul,” bound by a five year contract and an incentive for a second contract for another five years with the offer of a free return passage to India or the grant of some land. The majority of indentured workers were employed in the agricultural sector, mostly on the sugar estates. Durban Corporation used indentured labour as part of its work gang and the Natal Government Railways for rail construction from Natal to Transvaal, which had rapidly proceeded after the discovery of gold. The coal mines of Northern Natal also employed indentured labour.

In the wake of the indentured Indians followed Indian entrepreneurs and businessmen, who recognised business opportunities. This became the second group of Indian immigrants that arrived in Durban in the 1870s. This grouping was the trading class and had the financial means, hence they were referred to as “passenger” Indians because they paid their own fares and came independently of official government arrangements between Natal and India. They first settled in Durban and later moved inland. The presence of indentured Indians had created opportunities for trade in goods that could be supplied from India (Bhana and Brain, 1990: 34). Among the passenger Indians were also teachers and interpreters but the vast majority were traders and hawkers (Bhana and Brain, 1990: 23).

The third grouping of Indians consisted of “free” Indians, the term used to describe ex-indentured immigrants, who had completed their indenture and were free to settle in any part of Natal or return to India at the Government’s expense (Bhana and Brain, 1990: 22). Whilst more ships arrived with indentured Indians to satisfy the needs of agriculture, the city attracted the trading and hawking class and the free Indians who had completed their contracts. Some opened stores, others continued to work in their previous occupations as free labourers. Many took to market gardening, hawking or fishing which provided some measure of independence (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000: 11).

West Street had its first “Arab” trader when Aboobaker Amod was issued with a license to trade in 1875. He was a passenger Indian who had been trading in Mauritius and came to Natal for better opportunities. He had business interests in Bombay and Calcutta and owned ships and extensive properties in Durban that he leased to tenants (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000: 12). Telucksing, a free Indian is also said to have served his ten year contract and opened up a store in West Street selling rice, dholl, ghee and clothing, and other goods for Indian trade. The big merchants and smaller inexperienced traders serviced the Indian market by providing rice, groceries, spices, clothing, trinkets, jewellery, arts and curios. The African market was provided for by supplying clothing, blankets, trinkets and food at lower prices. After the abolition of the indenture system in 1911, there were 149 791 Indians in South Africa, of which 133 031 were in Natal. Of those in Natal, 43 888 were indentured, 69 304 free Indians and 19 839 passenger Indians (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000: 12).

The consequence for the colonial city after the indenture system was that both passenger and free Indians started to trade and live in the city because they could own land. There was no rural home to retreat to, as in the case of Africans. Indians also had a family presence in the city. The labour of women and children in market gardening enterprises, turned many into family endeavours (Bhana and Brain, 1990: 11). The traders first arrived without their wives, and after a few years returned to India, visiting family; and returned to South Africa with wives and children (Bhana and Brain, 1990: 14). The Indians were thus in the city to trade, live or seek regular employment and became a threat to Whites. Africans were initially not considered a threat (Swanson 1983) because they were considered to be subordinate, could not own property in the city, were more prone to temporary work and would return to the rural areas. The workforce was predominantly male and there was no substantial African family presence in the city.

The Colonial phase: 1870s - 1930s

The growth phase of the City from the 1870s to the 1930s was characterised by segregationist tendencies which led to the formulation of measures to segregate and impose control over residential settlement, trade and recreation by Indians and Africans. These deliberate segregationist intentions, fuelled particularly by intense and sustained anti-Indian sentiment, was displayed by a range of constituents in Durban, for seven decades starting in the 1870s. When the cemetery was extended in 1864 the Borough set aside two acres for the burial of “Coolies and Kaffirs”. In the early 1870s the Durban Town Council tried establishing separate Indian locations and when they failed they considered introducing legislative measures. The influential Police Superintendent added his voice by strongly recommending that Indians be prevented from obtaining licences in the city’s three main streets.

Vahed (1995: 42) notes that the hostility towards Indians intensified as Natal moved towards self-government, which was attained in 1893. The new government of Natal increasingly viewed town planning, public health, trade arrangements and other public issues in terms of racial and ethnic distinctions. Whilst the agricultural sector, which benefitted from indentured labour, highlighted the advantages of a settled Indian population, the majority of Whites were opposed to the Indians once their numbers reached parity. Vahed argues that the depth of hostility was captured in the public demonstrations against the landing of the two ships, the *Naderi* and *Courland*, which arrived in Durban in 1896 with about 600 Indians aboard, including Gandhi who was returning from a visit to India. Although no sickness was reported, the ships were placed under quarantine for 27 days, on the grounds that there was a plague in Bombay. Working class Whites believed that the ships carried Indian artisans, who were destined to take over their jobs. They formed the Colonial Patriotic Union to “prevent the influx of free Asiatics into the country” (Vahed, 1995: 43). The spate of legislation passed by the Natal government must be viewed in the context of this extreme anti-Indian fervor (Vahed, 1995: 44).

The “Asiatic Menace”

By the 1870s the city had to cope with increasing numbers of Indians and “Natives” who were settling in the town and who were perceived as a threat to public health, peaceful order, appearance, property values and standards of civilization (Swanson, 1961: 11). The indentured Indians who had arrived in 1860 and had completed their indenture by 1870, and were free Indians, settled in the town and started trading. Many free Indians opted not to serve as menial labour and traded on a small scale as hawkers or petty shopkeepers whilst some acquired land and became market gardeners, becoming independent suppliers of fresh produce to the town. Swanson (1983: 404) concluded that Indian people “brought to Durban’s White rulers, a sense of alarm and annoyance more acute than that roused by recognition of a Native problem”. Africans were perceived as a passive threat and Whites “affected a paternal regard for their allegedly natural subordination, but eventually they saw in the Indians a sophisticated and active menace

to their own position in colonial society, competing for space, place, trade and political influence with the imperial authority”.

Swanson’s (1983) study on the “Asiatic Menace” describes how segregation was created from the 1870s to 1900, and notes how Victorian colonials not only found Indian cultural and social traditions and practices repugnant, but more importantly Indians also presented a different legal and political problem because they claimed civil and economic rights as British subjects. They also acquired substantial property, became burgesses, were eligible for the franchise under Natal Law, and some were registered voters.

The early residential settlement of Indians included areas such as Clairwood, Merebank, Sydenham, Overport, Clare Estate, Mayville, Cato Manor and Riverside (Vahed, 1995: 100) that were all located outside the old Borough boundaries. Within the town itself, plans for creating a separate Indian location on the Eastern vlei were first mooted by the Council in 1871, and again in 1873 and 1875, but all attempts failed. Indians had settled on the west end of West Street, the northern part of Field Street and bounding the Western vlei (Swanson, 1961: 12). Whites had increasingly referred to this west end of the developing town as “Coolie Location” (Swanson 1983: 410). Although segregation was not clearly formed into public policy as yet, signs that the Town Council was considering legislation to deal with the Indian “menace” was evident by 1875 when Mayor Vause reported that:

Legislation doubtless will have to be resorted to, to prevent these people thus locating themselves in our very midst, their habits and customs being, as is well known, so totally at variance and repugnant to those of Europeans (Mayor’s Minutes, 1875).

Thereafter the council adopted a series of legislative measures to control the settlement and trade of Indians. The three approaches adopted by the authorities were residential segregation, political exclusion and commercial suppression (Swanson, 1983: 404). These were achieved by Licensing Acts, disenfranchisement and immigration restrictions, and marked a turning point “towards a definitive line of policy which was pursued from then on” (Swanson, 1961: 14). Police Superintendent Alexander conceded how thoroughly businesslike and law-abiding Indian merchants were, but strongly recommended “that no license be given to Indians for any building in any of our three main streets” (Mayor’s Minute: 1895).

Alexander’s rhetoric on the Indian community was a “fever-chart” in which “social policy was conceived and prompted in the idiom of a contagion that must be exorcised by isolation” (Swanson, 1983: 413). A report by Alexander in 1893 on the state of Indians in Durban concluded that there were 665 Indians in 1870, two had properties and two stores had opened. By 1893 the numbers of Indians had risen to 5 917, of which 229 had properties and 128 stores had been opened. He pointed out that Indians had become a very serious element and “are about as prolific as rabbits and almost as destructive to the welfare of Europeans” (Mayor’s Minute 1893).

The Indian Immigration Law of 1895 required all non-indentured Indian males over 16 and females over 13 to pay an annual three pound tax. Largely as a result of this prohibitive tax law, there was a dramatic increase in the numbers that either re-indentured or returned to India. Between 1860 and 1886, of the 11 438 Indians who had completed their indenture, 2 004 returned to India and none re-indentured. After 1893 these statistics changed dramatically with an increase in numbers that either re-indentured or returned to India on completion of their contracts (Vahed, 1995: 46). The Immigration Restriction Act of 1897 was aimed at prohibiting immigration of passenger Indians who had become a business threat and competition to the White traders. This Act required that immigrants pass a literacy test in a European language and resulted in 5 500 Indians being refused entry between 1897 and 1901 (Vahed, 1995: 45).

The Wholesale and Retail Dealers Licensing Act of 1897 gave local municipal councils arbitrary powers to grant licenses to trade. Swanson (1983: 416) concludes that it was this Act that permitted the move towards segregation in Durban by tending to confine Indian commerce to Ward 4. By the 1890s Grey Street in Ward 4, seen in Fig 8, had become the main thoroughfare of Indian commerce but with considerable activities in Pine and Commercial Streets. An Indian Market had been established at the Mosque on Grey Street in 1890 and a Native Market in the near vicinity. Two satellite Indian areas, less concentrated, were also to be found on the Western and Eastern vleis and on government land at the Point. The barracks situated at the Point accommodated newly arrived indentured workers (Swanson, 1983: 418).

The passenger Indians made up of the predominantly wealthy Muslim trading class, started trading in the city centre from the late 1870s when Aboobaker Amod was listed as the only Muslim storekeeper in West Street. By 1889, a total of fourteen Muslim traders were listed as storekeepers, of which ten were located in West Street, three in Field Street and one in Victoria Street. By 1900 only six traders were listed as being located in West Street out of a total of forty six Muslim traders. The other forty traders were located in Grey Street, Field Street, Victoria Street, Commercial Road, Pine Street, Prince Edward Street and Umgeni Road. By 1903 this picture had changed substantially with a total of 119 Muslim traders listed of which only four were still located in West Street. The majority of traders were located in Commercial Road, Grey Street, Albert Street, Field Street, Victoria Street and Queen Street (Hiralal: 2000).

Swanson's assertion that the Wholesale and Retail Dealers Licensing Act of 1897 was used to create segregation and confine Indian commerce to the Grey Street area is borne out by the Borough Licensing Officer, who was in office from 1903 to 1934. The Licensing Officer, G. Molyneux describes his logic, implementation and consequences of the Act, in a report on "Overtrading" in 1932:

There can be no law on the Statute Book which gives arbitrary and uncontrolled powers as does the [Dealers Licensing] Act of 1897... Innumerable appeals have been taken. The Town council has generally supported me, and in thirty years no decision of mine has been reversed by the Supreme Court. The Durban Licensing Department has steadily

worked to a definitive policy over a long period....thirty years ago when I took control of the Licensing Department, and only seven years after powers of control had been granted to it by Act 18 of 1897, overtrading in Durban was marked. It was then that we first established the policy which has since been pursued. Indian traders were indiscriminately mixed with Europeans all over the town, large areas of which were entirely given over to Asiatic trade and nor was the central portion of the town any different to the rest. It seemed undesirable that the class of shoppers which mainly avails itself of Indian shops should be scattered all over the town...As a result of 30 years patient work and adherence to this plan, the Asiatic licenses which then were considered a menace have ceased to do so. Today the so-called Grey Street area and Umgeni Road are the recognised trading areas for Asiatics (G. Molyneux: 1932).

On his retirement in 1934, Molyneux wrote a “Minute to my successor on various matters” and further advised:

I have tried to divide the town into areas where the various types of customers can trade...spread over a number of years it has resulted in the segregation of races and traders. For example the Council recently opened a new Indian market on Lancers Road. I have steadily refused new licenses there, for all my experience shows that Indian penetration does not end with the opening of a new store. Every new license granted in an area to an Asiatic will mean the eventual influx of more Asiatics until they gradually extend (G. Molyneux: 1934).

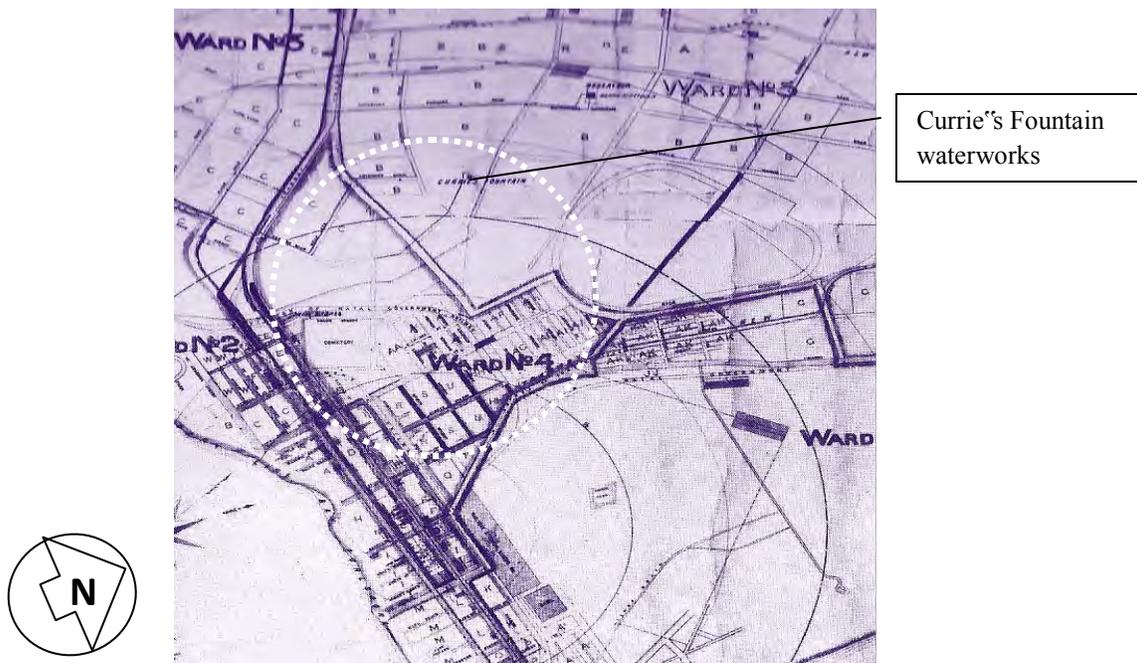


Fig 8. Durban in 1892 indicating Ward 4 and Currie’s Fountain waterworks (WJP circled) (Lynsky: 1982)

The “Native” in colonial Durban

In tandem with legislative measures for the control of Indians, the city developed measures to deal with the increasing numbers of “Natives”. Superintendent Alexander was equally fervent about the control of Africans and in 1898 stated his concerns:

I am sorry my duty compels me to state plainly that I consider our community is not dealing wisely or even justly, by our Native population. It is entirely forgotten that the Native is no longer the humble, docile and submissive being represented 50 years ago, but it was then predicted he would be if merely used as a beast of burden without thought or care for his comfort and future happiness....This large Native Population is permitted to live in our midst, upon our own premises, under little or no constraint, and are daily spectators of all the vice and folly that is to be found in most seaport towns....consider the safety of this community and the comfort and happiness of the Natives themselves, who could have in their own compound all that was necessary, such as eating-houses, schools, churches, play-ground etc, and not as they are now between 5 and 9 pm, subjected to all the temptations for liquor and other vices, and after that hour penned up in hovels like so many pigs (Mayor’s Minutes: 1898).

By the turn of the twentieth century, the city’s pattern and direction of future development had been set as it grappled with what Swanson (1961: 15) describes as a new urban phenomenon of east meeting west in Africa. Europeans had become concerned with the attitude of “Native” labourers, who were refusing long term or regular employment and preferred a day labour system. This resulted in the inception of the “togt” or day labour system, which became the first urban native policy. It established the principle of registration and passes for “Natives” working in Town, and was considered as a rudimentary system of influx control (Swanson, 1961: 12). The Togat Labour Law of 1902, the Native Locations Act of 1904 and the Native Beer Act of 1908, Swanson concludes, became the basis of Native Administration. Durban became a model for the rest of the country and a leading exponent of racial segregation (Swanson, 1961: 15).

Early twentieth century Durban had a relatively low population of 55 700 in 1900, of which 14 600 were African. Barracks which housed single male migrant workers were the only formal accommodation available for Africans. Other workers lived in private or industrial compounds meeting the needs of employers who preferred their labour to live close at hand (Maylam and Edwards, 1996: 4). By 1904 the vast majority of togt labour lived wherever they could, renting back yard accommodation (La Hausse, 1996: 40). The first formal accommodation for African families was built in 1916, called Baumanville (Maylam and Edwards, 1996: 4). Baumanville consisted of one hundred and twenty, two roomed terraced apartments with each family having one room and a kitchen, which also served as a bedroom for children. A pantry, wood and coal shed, lavatory with shower and a water tap were provided in each yard. Informal residential accommodation was largely uncontrolled up to the 1930s (Durban Housing Survey, 1952: 328).

By 1921 the total population had risen to 90 500 of which 58 400 were African. Maylam and Edwards (1996) note that the relatively small, male dominated African population experienced little intrusion in their daily lives by the local state, but gradually the municipality established an administrative structure that started controlling their lives. During the first three decades of the twentieth century the informal sector flourished and Africans could make a living other than from serving as togt labourers. The four main categories of employment for Africans were, togt labour, washermen, ricksha-pullers and monthly contract workers, made up mainly of male domestic workers (Maylam and Edwards, 1996: 3). Other forms of employment opportunities included prostitution, trade in *dagga*, animal skins and herbs, and most importantly beer brewers (La Hausse, 1996: 40). *Utshwala*, previously known as “Kaffir beer,” was low in alcohol content and made from sorghum, millet or other grain and in many senses symbolised the continuity between town and countryside (La Hausse, 1996: 41).

Beerhalls and the “Durban System”.

Utshwala was home-brewed in Durban by African women who sold it from rooms scattered throughout the town or at the main market but large quantities were brought into town by rural women on five-day passes. Much of it was sold at *ematsheni* – “the place of stones”- referring to large boulders situated near Durban’s old station. Fifty years later the Durban beerhalls were still referred to as the *ematsheni* (La Hausse, 1996: 41). The brewers who had swelled in numbers had also started *shebeens* and the beer was stronger than the traditional beer. Well known *shebeens* cited by La Hausse, as Mtshikianas situated in Old Dutch Road, sold beer day and night and allowed patrons to sleep over for the night (La Hausse, 1996: 44). The Town Council began clamping down on the drink trade and passed the Stamps and Licensing Act in 1905, imposing a high license fee on African eating houses which sold beer (La Hausse, 1988: 26).

It was against this background that the Native Beer Act (No 23) of 1908 was enacted, allowing the Town Councils of Natal to be the only brewers and sellers of sorghum beer. This enabled the municipality of Durban to monopolise the brewing and selling of beer and the consequence of the Act was that it criminalised African petty producers whilst generating substantial revenue which was used to fund the apparatus of control. Opposition to these plans went unheeded and the first beerhalls in Durban were built in 1909, one of which was built in Victoria Street. Beerhalls were soon built in other towns of Natal (La Hausse, 1988: 28). Beer profits enabled the creation of a municipal Native Affairs Department established in 1916, headed by a manager, supervisory, technical and clerical staff (Maylam and Edwards, 1996: 6). This monopoly over beer brewing and sales in municipal controlled beerhalls funded the maintenance and establishment of barracks, as well as subsidising the cost of policing the town. This system of control, which became known as the “Durban system,” became a model for other cities in South Africa (La Hausse, 1996: 33).

This control over the lives of Africans was met with resistance particularly after 1925 when the Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union (ICU) became active in Durban. Said to be the first

mass political movement, the ICU was founded by Clements Kadalie in 1919 and spread throughout the country with one of the largest branches in Durban. It is said that workers rushed to its famous red flag and its rallying cry “I See You White Man!” (La Hausse, 1988: 31). Under the leadership of A.W.G. Champion the ICU campaigned against and supported a boycott of beerhalls in 1929. When workers picketed and smashed beerhall windows a riot ensued resulting in six African workers and two Whites being killed. African women also joined the boycott and beat men with sticks when they were found at beerhalls (La Hausse, 1988: 36).

The violence and arrests from the sustained beerhall boycott resulted in the authorities requesting help from government. Special soldiers known as the Mobile Squadron arrived in Durban and raided all workers’ barracks, checking for passes and poll tax receipts. Tear gas was used for the first time in South Africa and thousands of workers arrested. The boycott continued for a year (La Hausse, 1988: 37). The De Waal Commission conducted an enquiry into the cause of the beerhall riots and called for an improvement in the social conditions and funding of African recreation and welfare to diffuse unrest, as well as the appointment of a Native Advisory Board.

The Town Council established a Native Advisory Board and invited the ICU to participate, which they accepted, resulting in a loss of support amongst workers who soon joined the Communist Party (CP). The local CP leader, Johannes Nkosi linked the beerhall boycott to the planned pass-burning campaign. The pass-burning campaign received wide support and on Dingaan’s Day in 1930, the police attacked 4 000 workers who had gathered to burn their passes. Nkosi and three others were beaten to death by black policemen. Soon after this event the boycott waned and was over in 1930, but the Council did not succeed in ending the illegal brewing of beer which was sold in the growing slums (La Hausse, 1988: 38).

“Native” trading.

A study by Nesvag (2002) on the development of mass street trading in Durban and in particular the so-called “African traditional medicine” or muthi trade indicates that the muthi trade was an important part of Durban’s street economy since its establishment around the turn of the twentieth century. The muthi trade, which entails a complex classification system of herbal and animal medicines according to their traits, properties, gathering method, uses, preparation and administration, had a strong religious and cultural backing which created a demand and a profitable economic activity (Nesvag, 2002: 285).

The Zululand Proclamation of 1895, Nesvag observes, became one of the first pieces of legislation pertaining to the muthi trade and outlined the conditions under which *inyangas* and *sangomas* and herbalists were allowed to practise for gain, the procedure to obtain a licence, the maximum fees they were allowed to charge, and which treatments and medicines were prohibited (Nesvag, 2002: 286). The muthi trade that developed in the early 1900s saw traders, *sangomas* and *inyangas* selling their muthi and healing services from various social and economic nodes for Africans such as transport nodes, hostels for togt labourers, *shebeens*, eating

houses and both inside and outside the formal and informal markets that emerged. The trade was dominated by males and had a long struggle with authorities and medical practitioners concerning its legitimacy (Nesvag, 2002: 284).

Despite the restrictive measures including the Dealers Licensing Act of 1897, the trade expanded in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Muthi shops opened and more were being established and the Natal Pharmaceutical Society began to feel the competition, resulting in what Nesvag (2002: 286) refers to as a long and intense struggle that ensued between the muthi traders, represented by the Natal Native Medical Association, and the Natal Pharmaceutical Society together with various levels of government, from 1928. The Dental Pharmacy Act of 1928, the Witchcraft Suppression Act of 1957 and strict nature conservation laws slowly drove the muthi trade underground from the 1940s.

African trading areas were established around the Native Meat Market in Victoria Street and the nearby Warwick Avenue area. Adjacent to the African trade area was the Grey Street area, the thriving Indian commercial zone with a more formal shop-like character as opposed to “the smaller and more stall and pavement operation styles typical of African merchants.” Both Indian and African trade areas established a non-White economic zone and a bustling trade area by the turn of the century (Nesvag, 2002: 284). Other forms of street trading included vegetables, fruit, meat, second hand clothes, prostitution, transport services and domestic services, such as clothes washing and African beer. These activities however were also driven into the peri-urban areas from the late 1930s and 1940s, while only a few, mainly Indians were formalised into the municipal market system (Nesvag, 2002: 286). In 1962 street trading by-laws were introduced which outlawed street trading completely, much like the lot of the beer brewers who had become illegal intruders in the city, liable to prosecution. Right up until the 1980s when a more liberal attitude was adopted by the city, the street traders were regularly harassed by city officials leading to arrests, confiscations and fines (Nesvag, 2002: 287).

Pre-Apartheid Phase: 1930s -1950s

Residential settlements.

Until 1932 the municipal boundaries of Durban enclosed an area of 13 square miles and the city was surrounded by populous suburbs that had developed without local authority control. Advisory health committees were established for these areas in 1921 and formalised in 1926 when the Natal Provincial Administration was formed which established local administration and health boards at South Coast Junction, Umhlatuzana, Mayville, Sydenham and Greenwood Park. These areas were incorporated into Durban after the Durban Borough Extension and Loan Ordinance of 1931 came into effect in 1932, which made provision for the extension of the city boundaries and provided further borrowing powers for the Town Council. The new boundaries, seen in Fig 9, increased the municipal area of 13 square miles to 70 square miles and increased the population from 125 100 to 215 661 and in 1935 the status of Durban was elevated to that of a city (Albertyn, 1969: 135).

The residential areas and their distribution in Durban were characterised by the sharp contrasts between European and Indian areas, and limited accommodation for Africans in barracks. The Durban Housing Survey of 1952 found that topography had played a role in the segregation of Indians and Europeans, both vertically and horizontally. Europeans had settled on the higher altitudes based on climatic considerations and a desire for views. Indians settled in the valleys and on steeper slopes. The Berea ridge and sea facing slope had almost exclusive occupation by Europeans whilst the hilly inland areas were occupied by Indians. Near the commercial core, Europeans occupied the Bay and the Beach areas whilst Indians occupied areas at the base of the Berea between Greyville and Berea Road. The higher areas of Bluff and Montclair were occupied by Europeans and Indians occupied the surrounding flat lands of Clairwood whilst Sherwood was another White area surrounded by a non-European area below it. Municipal employees were housed in the Magazine, Railway and Greyville barracks. Because the Coloured population was small, this group posed no threat and was treated much the same as Indians. The chief characteristic of the distribution of Coloureds was that they lived predominantly in the same areas as Indians (Durban Housing Survey, 1952: 27). The greatest overlap in racial composition of residential areas was at the foot of the Berea in what was a predominantly Indian area between Berea Road and Stamford Hill but Europeans and Coloureds also lived in this area (Durban Housing Survey, 1952: 25).

Freund (1995: 38) states that Africans were generally not regarded as part of the urban life of the city. The African population in Durban before World War 2 was heavily male, overwhelmingly migrant and had a limited commitment to the urban economy. Africans could not acquire land from non-Africans and they were also barred by various means from settling in town. The Natives Land Act of 1913 and Natives Trust and Land Act of 1936, set aside 87 percent of South Africa for Whites, Coloureds and Indians and prohibited African people from owning such land.

These acts made it very difficult for Africans to own property in the cities, and as such no African residential areas were evident in the city.

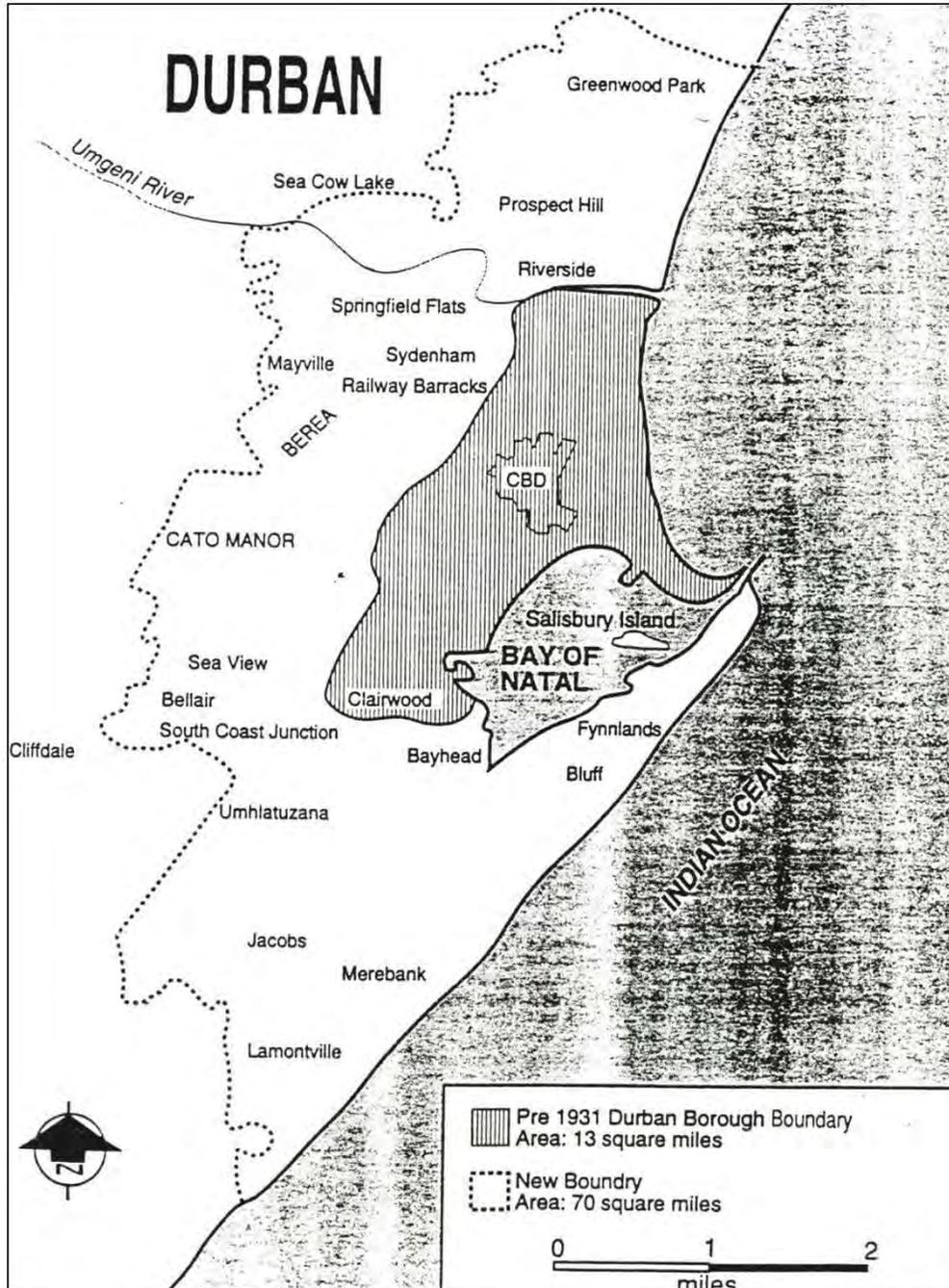


Fig 9. Old and new boundaries of Durban in 1932 (Vahed: 1995)

The only formal accommodation for Africans consisted of barracks and hostels which housed single male migrant workers or togt labourers. The Baumanville Location, Chesterville and Lamontville were the only other formal provision of housing for Africans, the latter two townships being located a distance out of the city. A significant number of Africans lived on the periphery of Durban, on the inland side of the Berea, called Cato Manor Farm. This was also the area of the most mixing of racial groups between Africans and Indians. Indians rented shacks or land to Africans. It was described as “a sprawling assemblage of shacks built of iron, wood and canvas occupying the great bowl of the Umkhumbaan Valley behind the Southern Berea” (Brookfield and Tatham, 1957: 63).

Control over “Native” recreation.

A study by Vahed (1998) on the control of African leisure time in Durban in the 1930s found that the “free time” of Africans had been a concern of the city authorities for some time and these concerns intensified in the late 1920s and 1930s. The study concludes that an important feature of the emerging leisure activities was segregation along gender, class and most importantly racial lines. Parallel forms of sport and leisure structures were constructed and Whites, Indians and Africans lived and played their sport separately. Sport reinforced segregation instead of fostering assimilation (Vahed, 1998: 121).

Africans spent virtually all their leisure time with other Africans and sports developed similarly amongst Indians, which had important consequences for Indian and African identity and consciousness. For Whites the segregation of sport was designed to enforce social distancing, considered crucial to the maintenance of law and order (Vahed, 1998: 72) and although leisure time was brief, the rulers and employers were determined to control the “free time” of Africans to ensure their well-being and productivity. Sport and recreation was considered as an antidote to protest and militancy and also as a means to instill appropriate discipline amongst Africans.

After the beerhall riots in 1929, the De Waal Commission called for the funding of Native recreation and welfare to diffuse unrest. To this end the Town Council appointed a Native Welfare Officer in 1930 whose function was to organise sport and amusement and act as a liaison officer between Africans and the Council. J.T. Rawlins was appointed as the first Native Welfare Officer and he was fluent in Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi, Sesotho, English and Afrikaans and had extensive experience in the management and administration of African locations. Rawlins became involved in every aspect of recreation that involved Africans. Not only was he concerned with keeping Africans away from drink and other vices, but he was also concerned about the communist influence (Vahed, 1998: 76). The ICU under A.W.G. Champion had just staged a successful beer hall boycott from 1929 to 1930.

Indians were in control, although limited, of their own recreational activities and facilities and had been negotiating with the Council for a sports field in the 1920s that culminated in the lease of a waterlogged piece of land below the Botanic Gardens in the Western vlei, which became known as Currie's Fountain. The land was leased to the Durban Indian Sports Ground Association (DISGA) in 1925 and needed extensive drainage to make the surface playable. In 1931 the Bantu Recreational Ground Association was established to "promote and foster knowledge of athletics, boxing, football, cricket, tennis and any other recreation that the Association may consider necessary for the welfare of the Bantu races" (Vahed, 1998: 111). Soccer was the main sport amongst Africans and by 1933 the Association was responsible for four football grounds at Somtseu Road barracks and at Dalton barracks (Vahed, 1998: 112).



Fig. 10. Aerial view of Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP) circled: 1931 (City Engineers Dept)



Rawlins built additional tennis courts at Somtseu Road barracks, helped form the Bantu Boys League in 1933 and persuaded Council to build recreational halls at barracks for screening movies. The first movies were screened for Africans at the Dalton Road barracks in 1930s.

Rawlins employed his son and the same projector was moved from hostel to hostel on different days of the week, screening movies at the Native Women's Hostel in Grey Street, Bell Street barracks, Dalton Road barracks, Catholic Mission, Stamford Hill Road, Somtseu Road and Bakers Limited barracks (Vahed, 1998: 86).

The control over recreational activities included the control and "sanitization" of the traditional ngoma dance. The ngoma dance was a group dance from pre-colonial times and reflected Zulu strength and group identity (Vahed, 1998: 90). The authorities considered the ngoma dance as a nuisance and disturbance, and the military inferences in the performance stirred White fears. In 1927, under the auspices of the Natal Workers Club, Champion requested land to be granted for the holding of traditional dances. Two dances were performed for the members of the Native Affairs Commission to demonstrate the harmless nature of the dance, one at Cartwright Flats and the other at the ICU hall in Prince Edward Street (Vahed, 1998: 89). Rawlins had discovered that the dances were held unofficially on an extensive scale and was more sympathetic, so long as the dancing was controlled. In this urban setting the ngoma dances were held from 1931 on condition that the venue was chosen by the Council, the conduct of participants was governed and they were held on dates approved by the Council. The ngoma dances were generally held at the barracks sports grounds and later the Bantu Social Centre. The Chief Constable saw the benefit of the dance as a means of attracting Africans away from the town centre during weekends and the Council considered the ngoma dance as suitable for different constituencies - the dance for the "tribalised" and soccer for the "detrribalised" Africans (Vahed, 1998: 92).

Music and dance halls for Africans were also considered a menace to the Borough with "potential for prostitution, lewdness, immorality and even conspiracy" (Vahed 1998: 99). In 1933 the Town Council formulated new regulations which stipulated that permission was required for dances and entertainment including a licence to ensure that by-laws were complied with. Of the fifteen applications received over two years, only two were approved, indicative of the discouraging attitude of the Council (Vahed, 1998: 104). Rawlins had seen a Bantu Social Centre in Johannesburg and proposed the same for Durban, by making a proposal to the Durban Rotary Club to help fund such a scheme, which was to be controlled by the Council. In 1933 a building was leased in Victoria Street as a Bantu Social Centre, which later moved to new premises in Beatrice Street in 1934 and became the venue for ngoma dancing, meetings of various sports bodies, bioscope shows, student conferences and evening adult classes (Vahed, 1998: 85). Vahed concludes that the relationship between the state and Africans from the 1940s was marked by prohibition and coercive measures to control them (1998: 123).

Residential controls: Slums Act, "Pegging Act", "Ghetto Act" and Racial Zoning.

Outlining the "Blight in Durban", the Durban Housing Survey (1952: 341) described the most serious threat to Durban's health and racial harmony as being "her slum and vast shack settlements, the breeding grounds of disease, crime and despair made more generous by ignorance and neglect". By the 1930s the slums had been identified as being certain areas in the

built-up town areas and the shacks in the suburbs. To deal with slums, legislation was introduced in the form of the Public Health Act No 53/1934 and the Slums Act No 53 of 1934. Both Acts had wide and drastic powers but were not always easy to implement. These Acts gave the Durban Town Council authority to clear areas considered to be slums. In 1939 regulations for the control and inspection of premises in defined zones were framed under Section 32 of the Slums Act Provincial Notice 546 of 1939. This Notice was intended to be applied to the built-up areas in the Old Borough and the aim was to obtain a quicker and simpler method of cleaning up areas than was previously possible under the Slums Act (Durban Housing Survey, 1952: 343).

Immediately after the Provincial Notice of 1939 dealing with control and inspection of premises in defined zones, seven congested districts in the Old Borough were declared as zones. Of the seven declared zones, three zones were located in and around the residential areas adjacent to the Indian CBD. They were the Alice Street/Carlisle Street areas, Warwick Avenue/Leathern Road/Old Dutch Road areas and the Lancers/Wills Road areas. The areas identified were between the Berea and business section of Durban and consisted mainly of old dwellings, which at one time were occupied by Europeans and had deteriorated and were mostly occupied by Coloureds and Indians (Durban Housing Survey, 1952: 346).

The declared zones in the built-up town area were described as:

ZONE 1: That portion of the City of Durban commencing at the junction of Alice Street and Albert Street, along Alice Street to its junction at Cross Street, along Cross Street to its junction at Carlisle Street, along Carlisle Street to its junction at Grey Street, along Grey Street to its junction at Derby Street, along Derby Street to its junction with Albert Street and along Albert Street to its junction with Alice Street.

ZONE 4: That portion of the City of Durban commencing at the junction of Lancers Road and Acorn Road, along Lancers Road to its junction with Wills Road, along Wills Road to its junction with Old Dutch Road, along Old Dutch Road to its junction with Acorn Road and along Acorn Road to its junction with Lancers Road.

ZONE 5: That portion of the City of Durban commencing at the junction of Old Dutch Road and Warwick Avenue, along Old Dutch Road to its junction with Leathern Road, along Leathern Road to its junction with Mansfield Road, along Mansfield Road to its junction with Warwick Avenue and along Warwick Avenue to its junction with Old Dutch Road (Durban Housing Survey, 1952: 351).

In 1943 suburban areas were added to the seven town zones seen in Fig 11. The north bank of the Umgeni River was declared zone 8, Cato Manor was zone 9 and Happy Valley on the Bluff was declared zone 10. All the areas declared as zones were occupied by non-Europeans. By 1946 there was a noticeable tendency in the town zones for substandard structures to be replaced by business premises with living accommodation above at upper levels (Durban Housing Survey, 1952: 346). Little general improvement to slum areas and overcrowding was noticed from 1947

onwards which the Housing Survey (1952) attributed to the lack of additional accommodation available to shack dwellers.

Whilst slum clearance was the focus in the 1930s, anti-Indian agitation dominated the early 1940s. Whites were concerned with the spread of Indians into traditionally European areas, and referred to the Indian “penetration” into White areas. Maharaj (1992: 75) argues that historical factors determined that eighty percent of the Indian population was concentrated in Natal. This figure was compounded by restrictions governing their movement into other provinces and the changing occupational patterns, resulting in more than half of Indians in Natal living in and around Durban. The rapid increase of the Indian population created a demand for more housing that Europeans with properties in the old borough exploited. Owners in former elite areas in decay disposed of their old dwellings in order to purchase houses in new areas and they found a ready Indian market. It was against these acquisitions that the Europeans agitated (Maharaj, 1992: 75). The “penetration” scare particularly involved the middle class housing on the lower slopes of the Berea, above the Indian business core in town (Freund, 1995: 69).

Largely as a result of pressure by the City Council, the Minister of the Interior appointed two commissions of inquiry to investigate the “penetration” problem: they were referred to as the Broome Commissions. Following the second Broome Commission Report in 1943, the government was forced to bow to pressure from Europeans in Durban who demanded that legislative control be imposed on the property acquisitions by Indians. The Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restrictions Act was passed in 1943. It was popularly referred to as the “Pegging Act,” which essentially pegged the racial pattern of land ownership in Durban for three years (Maharaj, 1992: 75).

The Pegging Act of 1943 was followed by the “Ghetto Act” in 1946. It was referred to as the “Ghetto Act” because it was seen as confining Indians into areas of trade and residence “and ultimately condemns them to existence in increasingly overcrowded slums and locations” (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000: 18, citing Dr Yusuf Dadoo). The official name of the Ghetto Act was the Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act No 28 of 1946 and it extended the control over the ownership and occupation of property of Indians throughout Natal and Transvaal by creating “controlled” and “uncontrolled” areas. Controlled areas were reserved for European ownership and occupation and all inter racial property transactions were prohibited. No restrictions on ownership and occupation were placed on uncontrolled areas (Maharaj, 1992: 75).

By 1944 the Booth Road area in Cato Manor was housing approximately 17 000 people, mainly Africans. During 1946/7 the conditions in the outer areas deteriorated considerably because regulations were unable to control the increase in the number of shacks and by 1948 about 27 000 Africans were living in Cato Manor. By the end of 1950 it was established that 50 000 people were living in Cato Manor (Durban Housing Survey, 1952: 348).

Whilst slums were being cleared and the Broome Commission was investigating Indian penetration, racial zoning plans were being formulated, that were to have a massive impact, particularly on the non-European population. In 1943 the Durban City Evaluator and Estates Manager submitted a plan on *Racing Zoning* to the Durban Post-War Development Committee and argued that the interests of all racial groups could best be served if they were housed in separate areas (Durban Housing Survey, 1952: 405).

The City Evaluator and Estates Manager emphasised that the racial zones with the exception only of Blackhurst (Chesterville) were arranged to radiate from the city in such a manner as to permit the expansion of each zone beyond the present city boundaries. This concept of racial zoning and the planning philosophy has a marked resemblance to the planning philosophies espoused seven years later after the Group Areas Act. Large areas were designated for different race groups with the Europeans occupying the best areas. A strip of land along the main Tollgate road, a large portion of Westville leading down to the Umgeni River including the areas between the Umbilo and Umhlatuzana rivers were designated European areas. Indians were designated a major portion of Sydenham, Springfield, Clare Estate, Mayville, and southern parts of Bluff. Africans were designated the existing location of Chesterville and Lamont location and its extension into the Native Reserve of Umlazi and Glebe lands (Durban Housing Survey, 1952: 406).

The racial zoning plan of 1943 was then further modified by another commission named the Provincial Post-War Works and Reconstruction Commission who made recommendations and revised the plan in 1944. The proposal can be seen in Fig 12 which sets out a detailed scheme laid out in nine different areas catering for Europeans, Indians, Natives and industrial areas (Durban Housing Survey, 1952: 405). By 1949 the acute housing shortage especially for Africans was again stressed by the Medical Officer of Health and he warned of the grave health problems that threatened Durban. When the Group Areas Act of 1950 was enacted the Mayor suggested that officials urgently work on adequately housing the 40 000 Natives but also work out a scheme of racial grouping with a view to implementing the Group Areas Act (Durban Housing Survey, 1952: 403). A new Technical Sub-Committee was appointed by the City Council in 1950 which drew on the work of the Post-War Development Committee set up in 1943. The plan was further revised, but bore a marked resemblance to the 1943 proposals and a final race zoning plan was approved in 1952. This plan seen in Fig 13 became the blueprint for the implementation of the Group Areas Act in Durban.

Freund (1995: 64) believes that two trajectories came together in the making of Group Areas. He describes the first as White racism and the desire to define Durban as a city built around a White core and secondly, that the Group Areas Act idea was closely allied to notions of progress, hygiene and modernity.

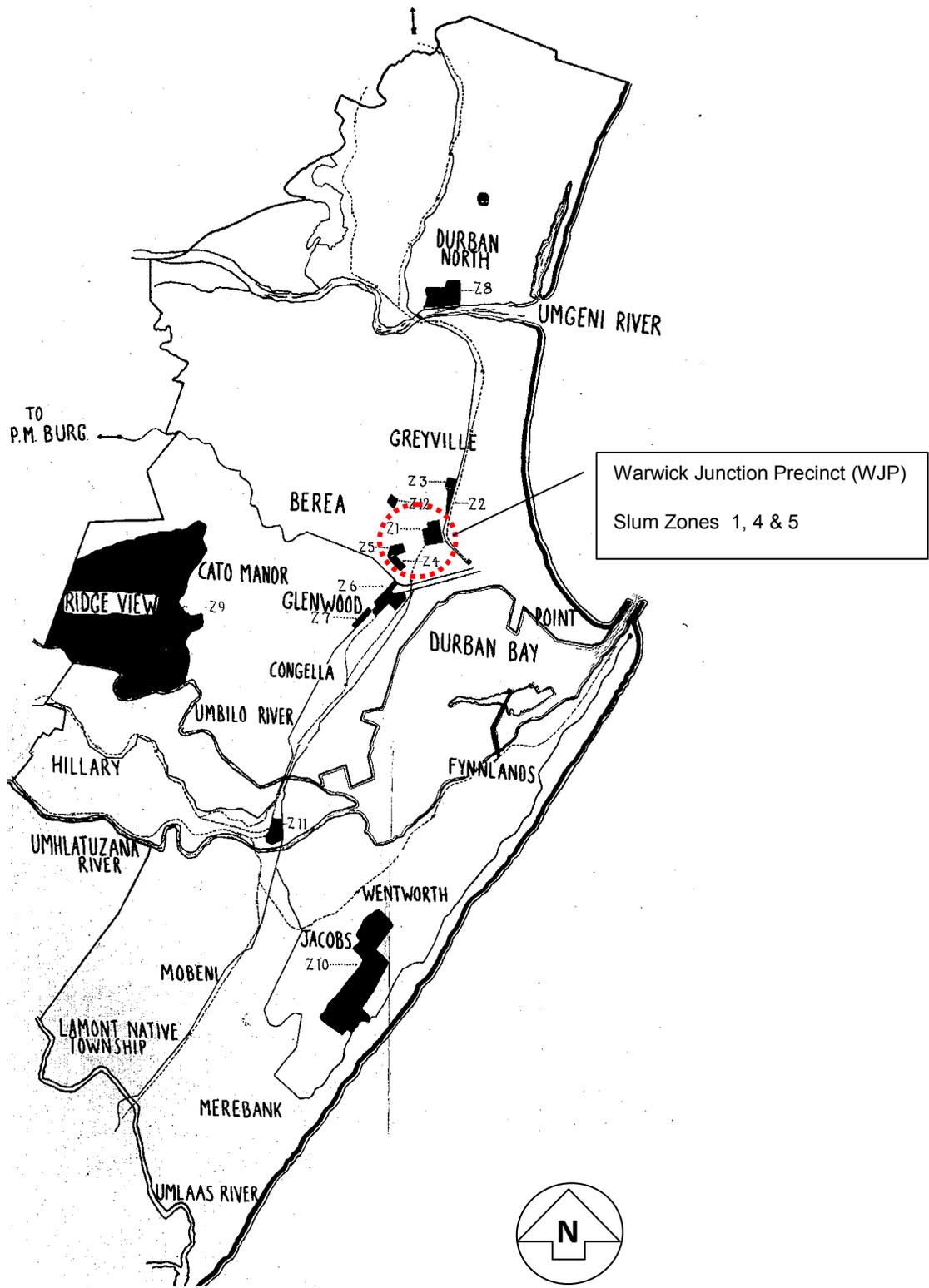


Fig 11. Declared Slum Zones in Durban: 1939. (Durban Housing Survey: 1952)

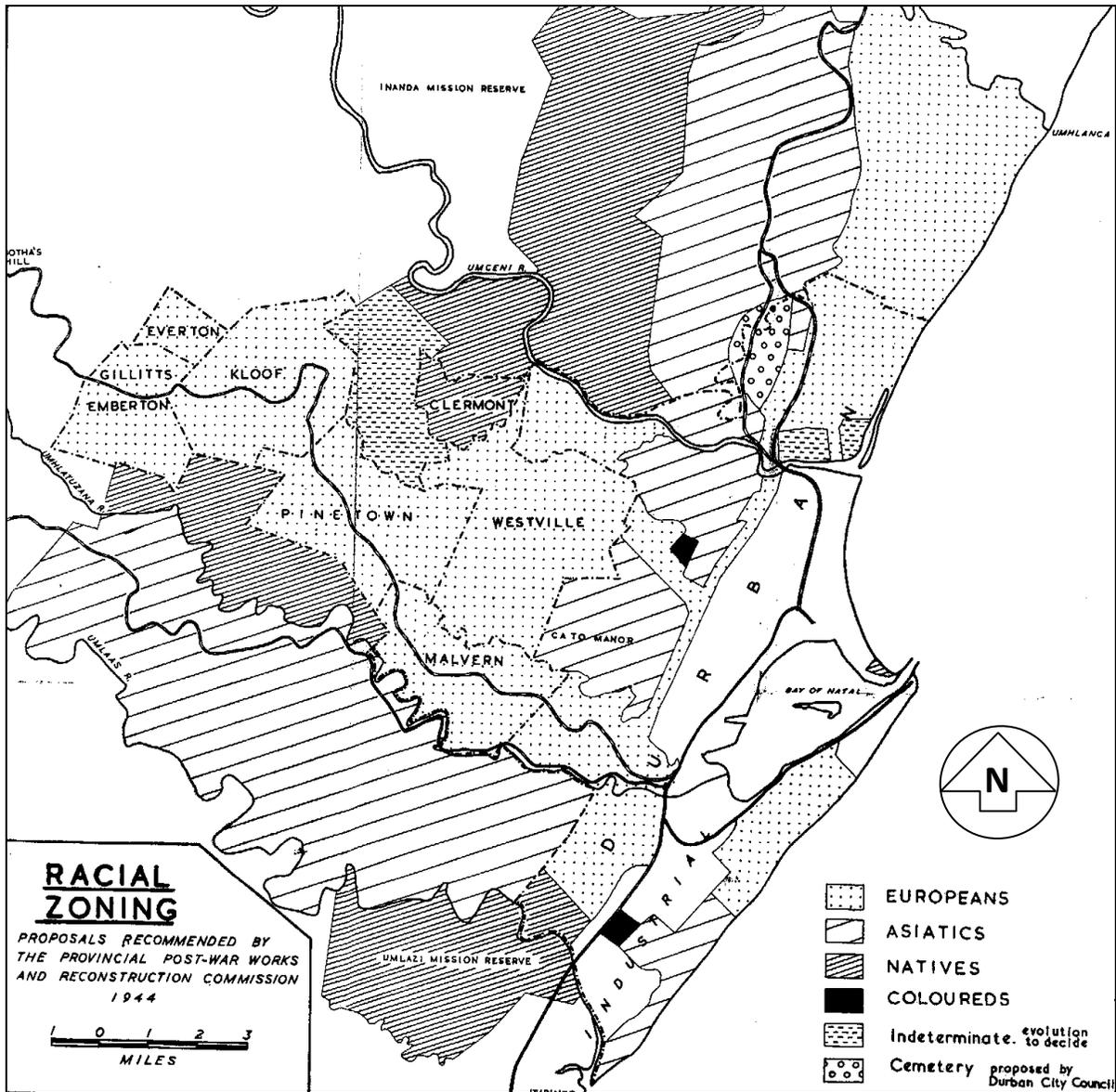


Fig. 12. Race Zoning proposals by the Provincial Post-War Works and Reconstruction Commission: 1944.

(Durban Housing Survey: 1952)

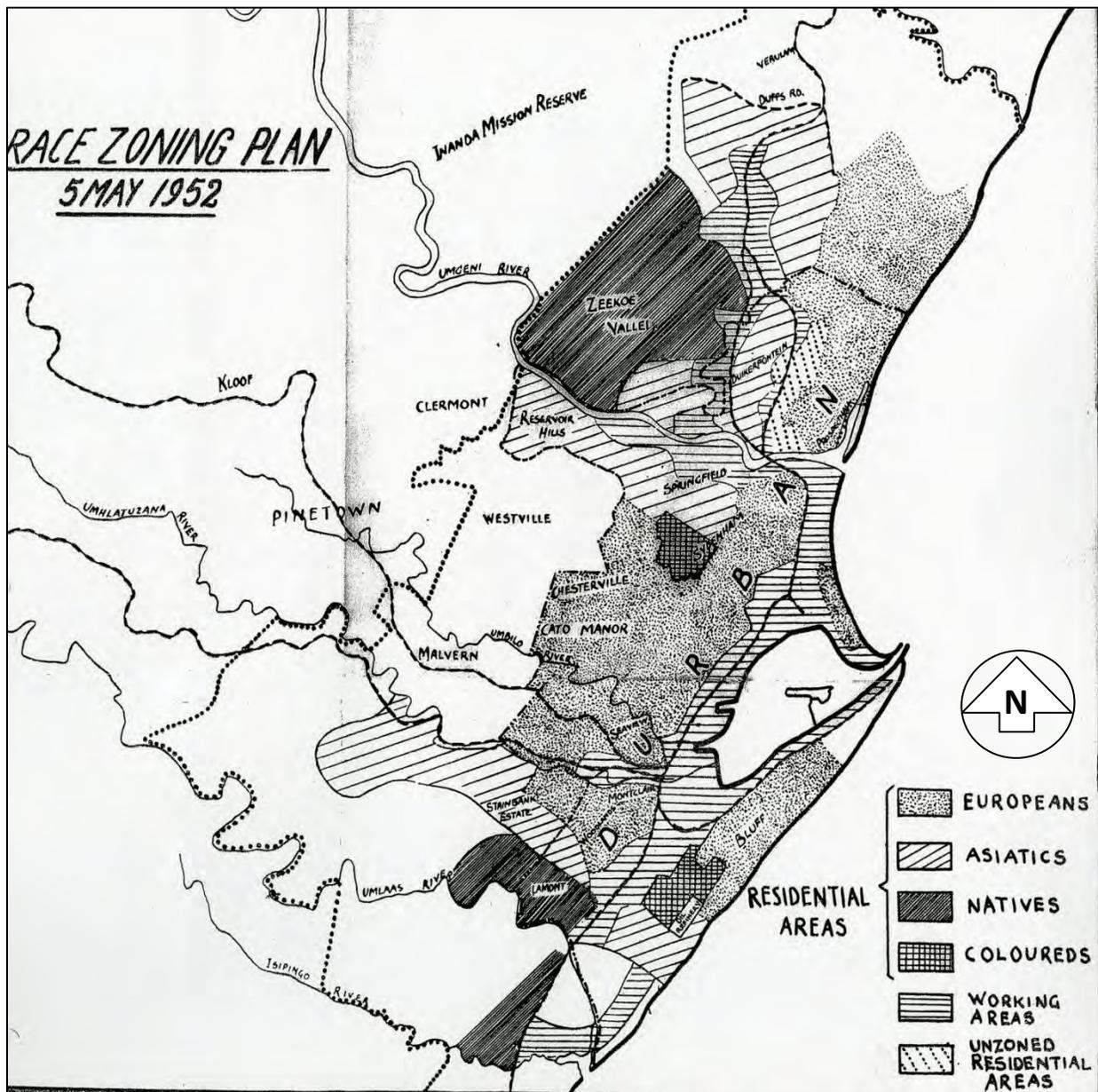


Fig 13. Approved Race Zoning Plan for Durban. 5 May 1952 (Durban Housing Survey: 1952)

Apartheid Phase: 1950s - 1980s

The Group Areas Act.

The Group Areas Act of 1950, which was amended and consolidated in 1957 and 1966, is referred to by Lemon (1987: 215) as the “cornerstone of apartheid, exemplifying the fundamental tenet of apartheid ideology that incompatibility between ethnic groups is such that contact between them leads to friction, and harmonious relations can be secured only by minimising points of contact”. Lemon argues that the Act produced the distinctive “apartheid cities” as identified by Davies (1981) which were systematically planned and recognizably different from the “segregation cities” which preceded them.

The 1950s was a period devoted to planning for the implementation of Group Areas legislation and a number of public hearings were held by the Group Areas Board (GAB) in Durban. The GAB, and subsequently the Community Development Board (CDB), was entrusted with the implementation of the racial zoning plans adopted in 1952 by the Durban Council. The GAB provided recommendations, allowed opportunities for objection and inquiry, and the government made final approvals based on recommendations by the GAB. The Community Development Board (CDB) dealt with the implementation of developing group areas, resettling displaced communities, slum clearance and urban renewal (Lemon, 1987: 216). The 1950 Act also radically extended control over private property by the introduction of the Group Areas Development Act of 1955 which allowed for compensation but “made further inroads into ownership rights by procedures for regulating the sale of property in the open market, and by expropriation of properties under a system of public acquisition for Group Area development” (Lemon, 1987: 217).

The approved race zoning plan of 1952 allocated almost the entire ridge, north, centre and south, and the Umbilo-Umhlatusana interfluves to Europeans. So were all the residential areas on the sea front also allocated for European occupation, with the exception of Riverside and the extreme southern section of the Bluff, which were allocated to Indians. The central European section extended to Westville and southwards beyond the Umbilo and Umhlatusana rivers to include Woodlands, Montclair and a portion of the Stainbank Estate. The Ocean Ridge of the Bluff was also reserved for Europeans (Kuper, 1958: 196). Much of the areas occupied by Indians were allocated to Europeans and Kuper states that it became necessary for the City Council to compensate Indians by allowing them to retain some of their established settlements on the Bluff, Springfield, Sydenham, Clare Estate and Newlands. Only one new area on the western perimeter of the city was allocated to Indians, the sparsely inhabited area of Reservoir Hills, which was then occupied by about twenty European families (Kuper, 1958: 198).

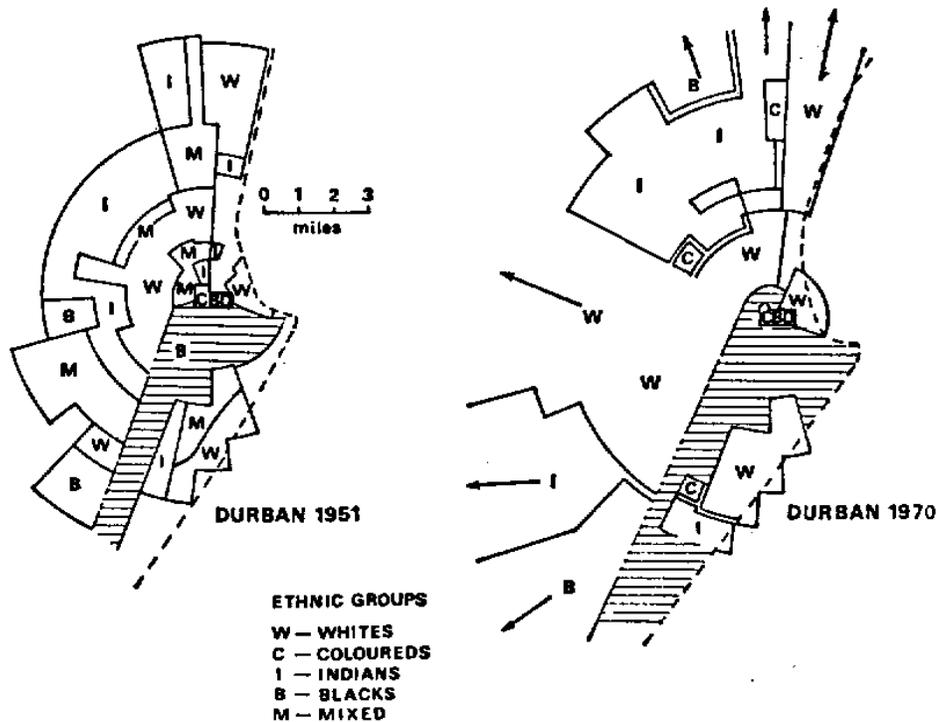


Fig 14. Durban in 1951 and 1970. Example of the transformation of the racial ecology of the South African city associated with Group Areas policy (after Davies: 1974)

For each of the non-European groups, two zones were identified beyond the perimeters of the city. Coloureds were allocated a small area on the inner Bluff ridge, away from the sea-front (Wentworth) and a large zone to the west of Durban North (Newlands East). The African zones were in the south-west and north-west, what became Umlazi and Kwa Mashu. The Indian zones were placed between the European and African zones. One area to the north-west called Duikerfontein and the other in the south incorporating the Umbilo-Umhlatusana interfluves (Kuper, 1958:190). The racial ecology of Durban was to be transformed as can be seen in Fig 14.

In 1954 the GAB announced the recommendations it had made to the Minister of the Interior. Apart from minor adjustments the GAB had accepted the City Council's proposals for European Group Areas. Kuper (1958) concludes that the main burden of sacrifice was imposed on the Indians and the Board had accepted the principle of reserving the residential core of Durban for Europeans (Kuper, 1958: 207). Kuper noted that mainly non-Europeans had to move out of the city with an estimated displacement of 70 000 Indians, 8 500 Coloureds and almost 40 000 Africans from the areas west of the old borough alone, as compared with a total European displacement of less than 12 000 (Kuper, 1958: 192).

The Group Areas Board finally advertised their proposals for the proclamation of Group Areas for occupation and ownerships, in October 1959. Large parts of central Durban, occupied by non-Europeans were declared for occupation by Whites. The Natal Indian Congress outlined their concerns about the effects on the identified zones in the proposals advertised by the Group

Areas Board, pointing out that property owners and businessmen would be economically ruined, deploring the ruthless uprooting of settled communities and the disruption of social organisation whilst there was an acute housing shortage.

The Grey Street complex came under threat in 1969 when the Department of Planning announced that it was examining the desirability of zoning the complex as an area either for Whites or Indians. The area in question is seen in Fig. 15. Indian leaders also feared that the community could lose M.L. Sultan Technical College and four of its big high schools, Sastri College, Orient, Gandhi-Desai and St Anthony's, as well as Currie's Fountain sports ground, St Aidan's Mission Hospital and the Squatters' Market, if the area was allocated to Whites. The five main Indian cinemas, the Shiraz, Avalon, Naaz, Albert and Raj were also threatened, if it was found that cinemas for Indians should be situated only in areas set aside for their residential use (*Natal Mercury* 22 Feb, 1969).



Fig 15. Map indicating the area which was to be zoned for Indians or Whites and the inset area in which the use of property could be restricted (*Natal Mercury* 22 Feb 1969)

The Grey Street complex was the most concentrated Indian commercial area in South Africa in the 1960s and comprised the area bounded by Albert Street, the railways reserve, West Street, Broad Street, Pine Street, Grey Street, Commercial Road, Warwick Avenue and Mitchell Road. Of the 418 properties in the area – 95 per cent were Indian owned and 97 per cent Indian occupied, comprising 130 light industries, 90 wholesalers, 30 restaurants, six luxury cinemas, 125 professionals, (mostly doctors and attorneys), a Technical College, churches, temple, mosques and the Victoria Street Market with 300 Indian stalls (*Daily News* 13 March, 1969).

In 1973 after more than twenty years of uncertainty, it was finally decided to proclaim the area as an Indian Group Area, for trading and light industrial, but not for residential purposes. This proclamation meant that approximately 12 000 residents had to vacate the area. The proclamation also excluded an important educational and cultural complex representing a large investment by the Indian community. The area had suffered from uncertainty for decades and had deteriorated. The loss of the residential component adversely affected not only residents and businesses, but also the residential character of the area. By 1981 only half of the residents had moved and in 1983 Indian residents were once again allowed to live legally in the Grey Street area (Lemon, 1987: 253).

Public Transport in the apartheid city and the development of the apartheid intermodal transport hub.

The area referred to as Warwick Junction (WJ) is the immediate area surrounding the junction of road and rail routes that converge in the Warwick Avenue area. Berea Station, the main commuter rail station in the eThekweni Municipal area, and the main bus terminal, Victoria Street Bus terminus are located in the area as well as numerous smaller bus and taxi terminals off Warwick and Centenary Roads. Warwick Junction is described as “a major public transport transfer node located at the end of the western transportation corridor forming the public transport gateway to the inner city” (*The Independent* 19 January, 2008). Colonial and apartheid planning and provision of public transport services and facilities, to a large extent, created what can now be described as an apartheid intermodal transport interchange. Prior to the 1930s this area was devoid of development and was a large open and empty area adjoining the railway line as can be seen the 1931 aerial photograph in Fig 17. The Berea Station, known as West End, seen in Fig 50, was located south of the cemetery and was a public transport facility in the area by the early 1900s (Harrison, 1903: 33). The history of Durban’s public transport system is examined to understand how and when this transport hub developed in the WJP.

Durban’s first form of public transport was a coach service between Durban and Pietermaritzburg in 1860. A horse coach service in the town and CBD was started in 1870 and horse-drawn double-decker trams were introduced in 1880. A competing service was started in 1885 and the two services joined two years later to form the Durban Borough Tramways Company. In 1899 the Durban Municipality bought out the private horse-drawn Durban Borough Tramways Company. Electrically powered trams were introduced in May 1902 and horse-drawn trams were phased out.

A power station was built in Alice Street in 1902 to drive the electric trams which became another mode of transport, after the trains, which converged on the area. The trams and later the buses were always racially segregated with the front seats being reserved for Europeans and non-Europeans having to use seats in the rear (Jackson: 2003). In the 1920s the Indian community

pioneered motorised public transport in the form of open-backed trucks to carry passengers (*Daily News* 28 September, 1995). The first truck-buses operated between Riverside and Clairwood to the centre of town. The truck-buses started by Indian entrepreneurs were soon joined by many others and “Indian Buses” became one of the features of Durban, serving the non-European community of Durban. These truck-buses were the forerunners of more than 250 bus lines and more than 450 buses (Jackson: 2003). With the relocation of the Squatter’s Market to Warwick Avenue and the establishment of a number of schools in Centenary Road in the 1930s, buses became a feature in the Warwick Avenue area.

The private Indian owned buses served the non-European population of Durban from the 1920s and the first municipal bus service to an African area was to Chesterville in 1943. In May 1955, Durban Transport formalised a racially based public bus service by introducing the Green Line, known as “Green Mambas,” which served non-European residential areas and the Blue Line served the European population. In 1968 Durban Transport enforced total racial segregation on its buses. The Green Line became exclusively for non-Europeans and only in special circumstances were they allowed on the Blue Lines such as a domestic servant accompanying her employee or the employee’s children to school. Apartheid on Durban’s buses was abolished in November 1987 and the Blue and Green Lines were consolidated into the Aqualine service in 1994. Mini-bus taxis were formally introduced in Durban as a public transport mode in June 1987 and by 1999 there were approximately 8 000 mini-bus taxis in Durban (Jackson: 2003).

Aerial and oblique photographs of the Warwick Avenue area in 1931 reveal an empty space in the area adjacent to Warwick Avenue. Victoria Street can be seen crossing the railway line at what was known as the Victoria Street Bridge and joining Warwick Avenue. Another pedestrian crossing path can be seen at the old Berea Station, from the footbridge near Theatre Lane in the south seen in Fig 17. By the mid-1930s Currie’s Fountain, Sastri College, Indian Girls High, St Anthony’s and St Aidan’s Hospital had all been established as the schools, hospital and sports facilities for Indians, adjacent to the residential neighbourhoods in the Beatrice, Mansfield and the Wills road areas. The Squatters’ Market (Early Morning Market) was established in 1934, near the Victoria Street Bridge which provided a convenient pedestrian link across the railway line, to the famous Victoria Street Market (built in 1910 and burnt down in 1973) and the greater Grey Street area, seen in Fig 18.



Fig 16. Aerial view of the Alice Street area in 1931 indicating the old power station, bus sheds and public transport along Alice Street (Kevin Marden)

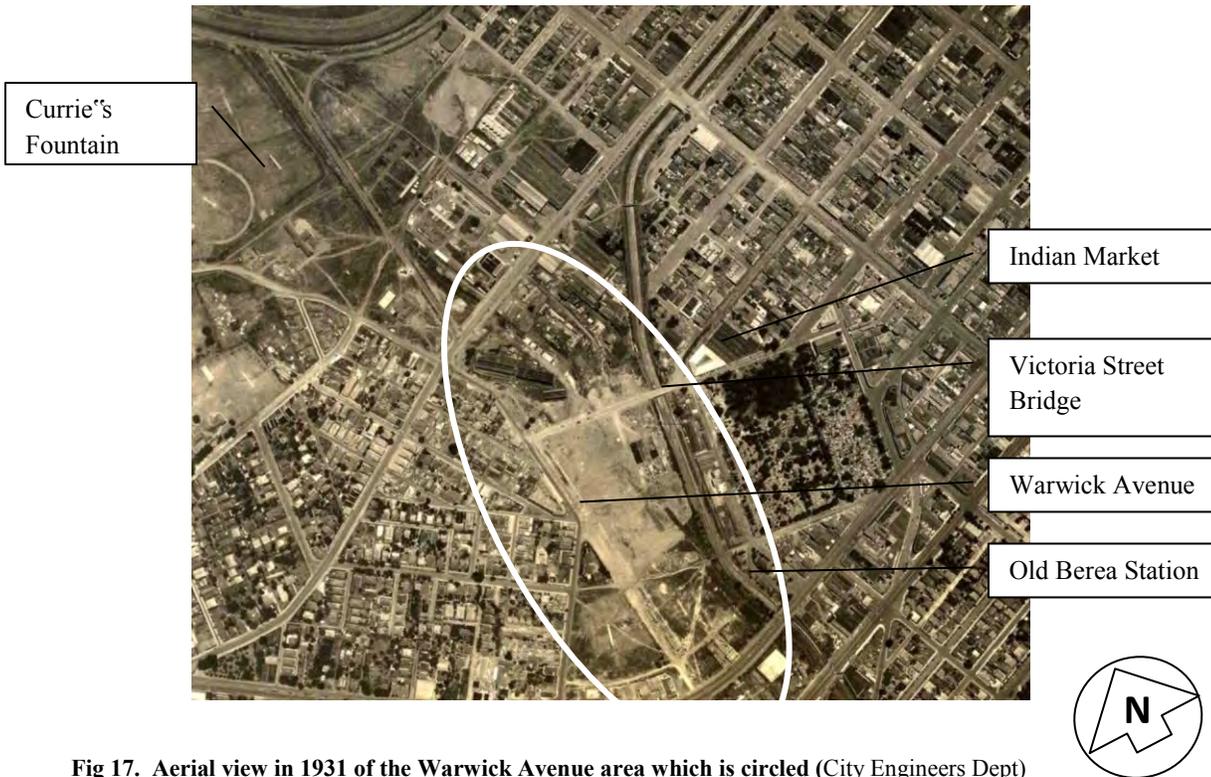


Fig 17. Aerial view in 1931 of the Warwick Avenue area which is circled (City Engineers Dept)

The current bus ranks in the Warwick Avenue area has its genesis in the bus rank formation that developed in this residential neighbourhood on the edge of the city. Early photographs of Indian

owned buses were all taken in the vicinity of Lorne Street, Beatrice Street, Winterton Walk (Behind the Fire Station) and opposite St Aidan's Hospital, seen in Fig 21-23. The Winterton rank was established near Sastri and Currie's Fountain, Lorne Street rank near Durban Indian Girls' and St Anthony's schools and St Aidan's Hospital. Victoria Street rank developed next to the Early Morning Market, seen in Fig 18. The open-back trucks of the 1920s had since been replaced by buses operated by private Indian owners and the routes serviced the primarily Indian areas of Clairwood, Springfield, Cato Manor and Mayville. By the 1960s the bus ranks on Winterton Walk, behind and opposite the fire station, the Lorne Street rank opposite St Aidan's and the Victoria rank had become much more established and became the major bus terminals for non-Whites as can be seen in the 1966 De Leuw Cather study in Fig 20. The non-White bus routes can also be seen skirting the main city centre and converging on the Warwick Avenue area, to three main ranks. Only the buses serving Whites entered and traversed the White CBD, seen in Fig 19.

All new planning initiatives for the city since the 1950s planned for the separation between White and non-Whites. The Council had set up a technical sub-committee after the introduction of the Group Areas Act and transferred the responsibility for the administration of the act, from City Estates to the City Engineer's Department in 1956 (Lynsky, 1982: 72). When the city embarked on future expansion proposals for the CBD in the 1960s, transportation plans reinforced this separation. The city had already begun an ambitious freeway construction programme in 1957 but by 1965 not much progress had been made apart from minor parts of the Northern Freeway and, the Southern Freeway which had just begun. Progress on "Kinmont's Canyon", as the sunken Berea Road freeway became known, was slow due to the many land expropriations and services that needed relocation (Lynsky, 1982: 79). The transport plan was to be reviewed and consolidated when an opportunity to expand the CBD, arose in the 1960s.

The South African Railway authorities had decided to build a new through-station in the vicinity of Greyville, which presented an opportunity for the congested CBD to grow in a northerly direction. The main Durban Railway Station on Soldiers Way and the ancillary workshops had become a barrier to growth and circulation in the CBD and moving the station and the accompanying train sheds and shunting yards out of town to Greyville, meant that the CBD could grow in a northerly direction (Holford and Kantorowich, 1985: 9). The transportation proposals that started in 1957 were to be reviewed and incorporated into a more comprehensive transportation study embracing the whole Durban metropolitan area, involving both public and private transport and rail and road transport (Holford and Kantorowich, 1968: 32).

In 1965 the City Council appointed planning consultants Holford and Kantorowich to advise on the development of the land between the City Hall and the Umgeni River and the brief was further extended "...to carry out such investigations and make such recommendations in regard to the said area, and any other parts of the City as may materially affect the area to be planned" (Holford and Kantorowich, 1968: 2). The Holford proposals had implications for the Warwick Avenue area and it became the focus for diverting vehicular traffic and consolidating non-White

transport facilities to mega inter-transport terminals on the edge of the White CBD, as can be seen in Holford's summary:

The expected locational pattern of residential and industrial areas together with future road and rail links between them could well reduce the need for many non-Whites to enter or traverse the central area. (At present, practically all major road, rail and bus links between the northern, southern and western areas pass through, or near, the central area). Large scale development of shopping and other central area facilities in non-white townships, together with any official policies which would make it more difficult for non-whites to visit the City centre and its facilities would still further reduce this need (Holford and Kantorowich, 1985: 59)

The Holford and Kantorowich team had to develop a master plan projected twenty years into the future. The ambitious plan started in 1965 and culminated in a report in 1968, titled *DURBAN 1985 A Plan for Central Durban in its regional setting*. De Leuw Cather and Associates were appointed in 1966 to prepare a Transportation Plan. Both the Holford and the De Leuw Cather proposals were presented in 1968. The Holford proposals, projected to 1985 and the De Leuw Cather Transportation Plan, projected to 1990 saw Durban as a city for Whites, and non-Whites entering the city had to do so on the periphery of the White CBD. The futuristic spatial planning frameworks and the transportation routes and nodes, in the form of train stations and bus terminals set out in 1968, reinforced and entrenched segregation of Durban's public transport system.

Transportation plans predicted that the main mode of public transport for non-Whites would be by commuter rail because the townships and the planned industrial areas were situated along well defined corridors making it conducive to a successful rail transit operation. It was believed that the only feasible solution for the distribution of non-Whites to the central area was by rail, because of the advent of rail service to Chatsworth and Umlazi (De Leuw Cather, Vol 2 1968: 89). The Council accepted Holford's proposals in principle, but owing to numerous factors it was in the main not implemented (Lynsky, 1982: 83), and the parts that were implemented had a major impact on the Warwick Avenue area in particular. Non-White transport routes and facilities in the form of bus ranks and train stations were proposed on the edge of the White CBD and the area also became the focus of a major traffic interchange, diverting vehicular traffic away from the centre of the city seen in Fig 24. Train stations for non-Whites were proposed at Berea Station, Leopold Station and Durban Station. Additional stations were proposed along the rail line on the Esplanade and at the Point, as can be seen in Fig 25.

A central terminal for non-White commuters using bus trunk routes to areas not served by rail was proposed by De Leuw Cather. The proposed terminal would serve as an inter-modal transfer station for bus-train interchange and proposed that it be sited over the proposed Leopold Street Railway Station as seen in Fig 26. They argued that it was ideally situated in relation to the Indian area and would obviate the use of the Central Area by buses. All transfers – bus to bus,

bus to train and train to bus, were to take place at this point (De Leuw Cather Vol 2, 1968: 91). The terminal and station at Leopold Street did not materialise, but the Durban and Berea Stations were built as per their proposed localities in 1968. The contrast in locality and quality of public transport facilities for Whites and non-Whites can be seen in Fig 26 and 27.

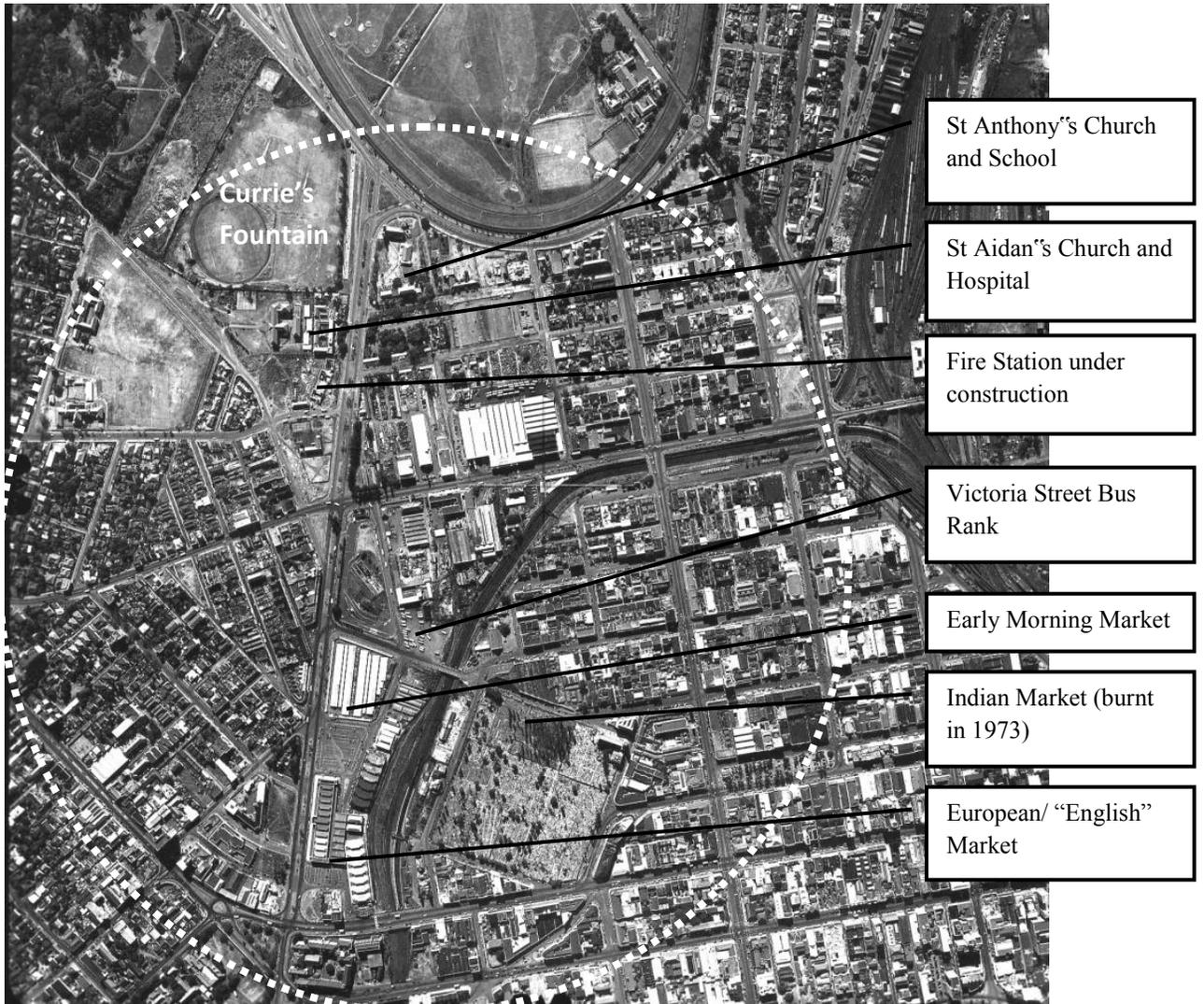


Fig 18. Aerial view of the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP) in 1951 (City Engineers Department)





Fig 21. The Winterton Walk bus rank in the 1960s, serving Indians, Coloureds and Africans (K. Marden)



Fig 22. The PUTCO bus rank on Centenary Road in the 1960s, serving Africans (K. Marden)



Fig 23. The Victoria Street bus rank in the 1950s, located between the Indian Market and the EMM (K. Marden)



Fig 24. Recommended Warwick Avenue Interchange in 1968 by De Leuw Cather Associates, illustrating the connections to the Umbilo, Western and inner ring freeways, as well as the central area penetrating spur (De Leuw Cather: 1968)

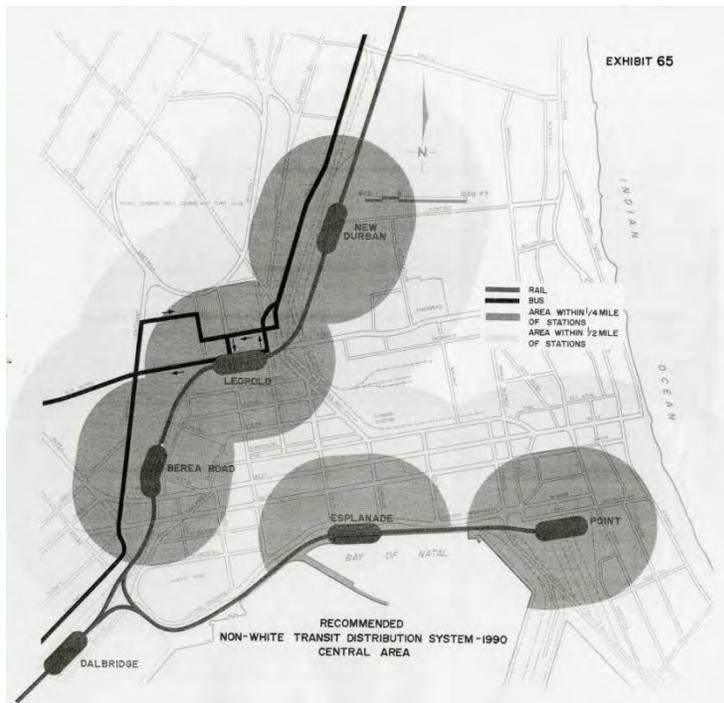


Fig 25. Recommended non-White transit distribution system for Durban in 1990. (De Leuw Cather: 1968)

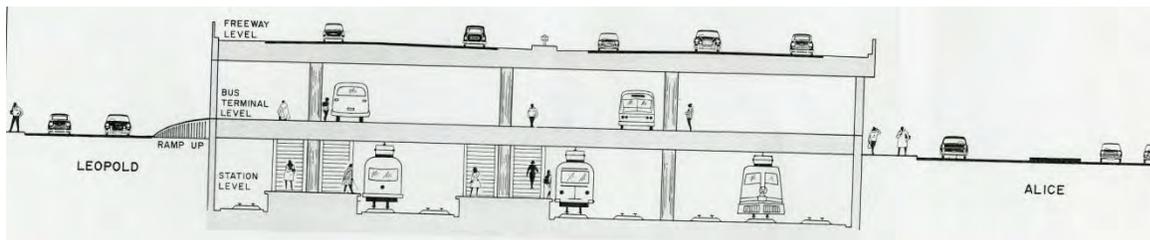
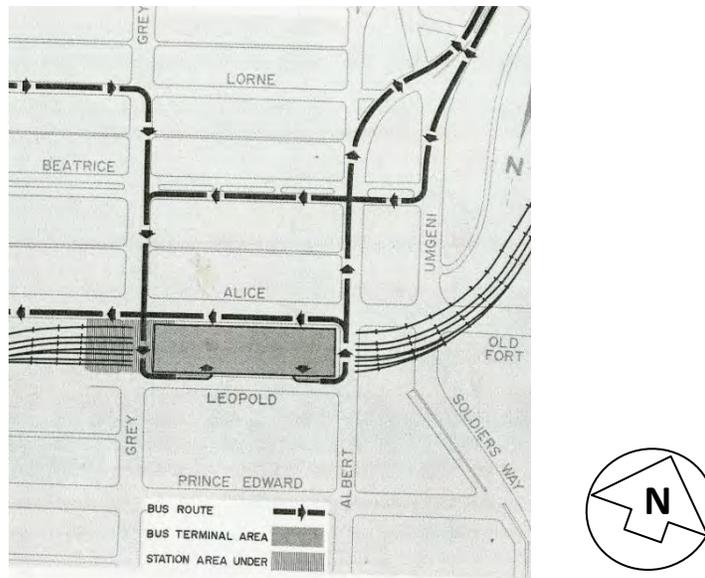


Fig 26. Rudimentary proposals for Leopold Station and Bus Terminal for non-Whites in 1968. (De Leuw Cather: 1968)

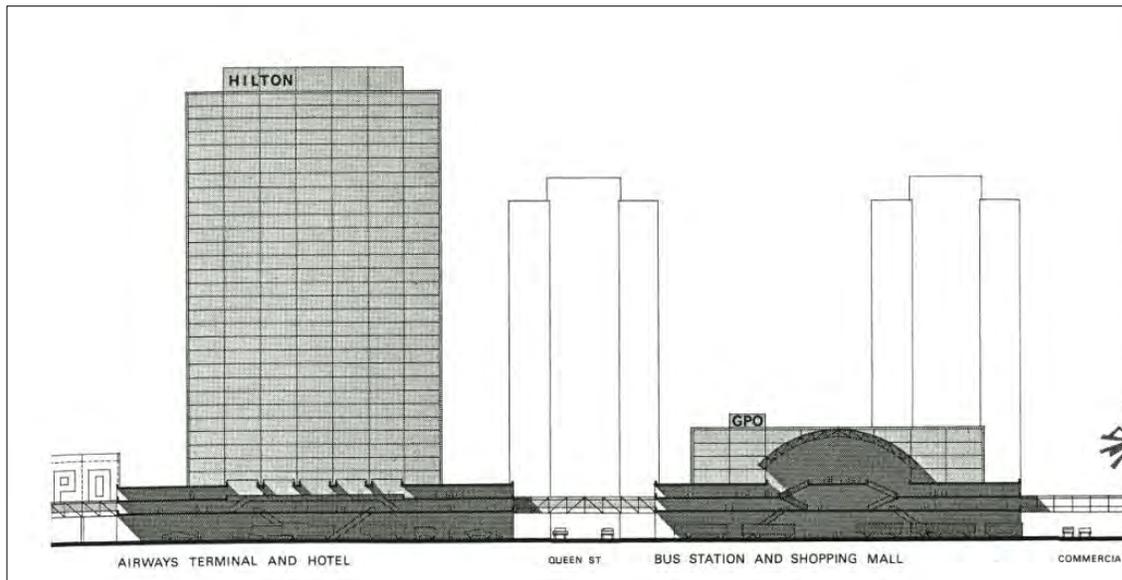


Fig 27. Contrasting proposals for a bus terminal and shopping centre in city centre for Whites in 1968.

(De Leuw Cather: 1968)

Developments in the Warwick Avenue area in the 1970s were consistent with the 1968 De Leuw Cather proposals, for a major transport interchange. Planned road extensions could start after the Indian Market had burnt down in 1973, because it was located in an area destined for major road construction. The twin viaducts named the Eilat Viaducts were started in 1974 and the Western freeway and the “Kinmont Canyon” had been completed. The roads avoided the Emmanuel Cathedral but 1 400 remains in the West Street cemetery had to be removed and re-interred (Lynsky, 1982: 84). Residential areas alongside Old Dutch Road had been cleared and demolished, after residents were displaced by Group Areas legislation. The bus rank behind the Fire Station on Winterton Walk and the Lorne Street rank opposite St Aidan’s had become more defined and the Victoria street bus rank to the north of the Early Morning Market, adjacent to the Victoria Street Bridge had become much larger, but was still informal.

The flyovers named the Eilat Viaduct, the Leopold Street freeways and the structure of a future road over the railway line was complete by the mid 1980s. The old Victoria Street Bridge was demolished and was replaced by the new Berea Station which was planned as a major train station. The triangular portion of land below the Viaduct, north of the Morning Market became a formalised bus terminal named the Victoria Street Bus Terminus, adjacent to the Berea Station seen in Fig 28. Mini-bus taxi ranks gravitated to this area when the mini-bus taxi industry was formally introduced in 1987.

The beginning of the end.

Cloete’s (1991) examination of the “greying process”, supports Shubane’s (1991: 64) assertion that the 1980s represented the decade that witnessed the beginning of the decline of apartheid. The Group Areas Act which had introduced statutory controls over residential settlement in a comprehensive, rigid and prescriptive way and made attempts to reverse or eradicate any racial intermingling that had taken place prior to 1950, was on the statute books until 1987 (Cloete, 1991: 91).

Despite the strict enforcement of the Group Areas Act, towns and cities were still not fully racially segregated by the mid-1970s. Incentives to move “illegal” residents had failed and intense local and international criticism of forced removals had made the government reluctant to continue with it on a large scale. Another explanation for the continued existence of racially mixed neighbourhoods was the fact that prohibitions on inter-racial marriages and social relations only applied to Whites, allowing relatively free racial intermingling among African, Indian and Coloured communities (Cloete, 1991: 92). Cloete argues that racially defined Group Areas had started to erode in the mid-1970s and refers to the “greying process” of “illegal” residents moving into White areas which accelerated in the 1980s by the opening up of CBDs as free trade areas to all races in 1984, the repeal of the prohibitions on inter-racial marriages in 1985 and the abolition of influx control in 1986 (Cloete, 1991: 93).

The Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT) had still not been fully cleared of non-Europeans in the 1980s, after more than twenty years of pressure to relocate. Segregation on the public bus transportation system was abolished in 1986. In 1983 Indians were once again allowed to stay in the Grey Street area and mini-bus taxis were introduced in 1987. Informal trading and in particular muthi and fruit and vegetables, were once again seen on the streets. The 1980s witnessed apartheid structures starting to implode, and marked the beginning of the end of apartheid. The Group Areas Act was finally repealed in June 1991.



Fig 28. Aerial view of the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP) in 1985. (City Engineers Department)



CHAPTER 3

“TOWN”

The previous chapter outlined the marginalised context in which Indians, Coloureds and Africans in Durban co-existed with Whites, in a colonial and apartheid setting from the 1870s to the 1980s. Other major cities in South Africa had a similar non-European presence in or near the city centre, which was partially or completely obliterated after the Group Areas Act and the subsequent forced removals that ensued since the sixties. District Six in Cape Town, the Indian Location (Marabastad) and Lady Selborne (Mojapelo: 2009) in Pretoria, and Sophiatown in Johannesburg, are but some of the better-known examples. Forced removal in Durban is often associated with the better-known removals at Cato Manor, but this was an informal housing settlement that had no amenities, institutions and community facilities of note. It was an informal residential settlement with informal trading, some shops and a beerhall.

This chapter focuses on the history of Durban’s lesser known non-European inner city precinct, spawned in the aftermath of indenture and shaped by colonialism and apartheid. It identifies where this precinct was, what its character and make-up was and which major socio-political events impacted on and shaped it. The spatial development of the precinct is outlined and focuses on key institutions in the educational, sport, health and transport zones that tell a story about the commercial, religious, education and sports aspects of a marginalised community, on the edge of the White CBD.

It has been referred to as the “Imperial Ghetto” (Badsha: 2001) the “Duchene and Casbah” (Hassim: 2009) or simply “town” (Badsha: 2007) by the many who have frequented its markets, mosques, bus ranks, schools, libraries, shops, cinemas arcades, churches and temples. It is known for its bunny-chows, saris, American Clothing stores, spices, jewelers, tailors, fah-fee runners, and the feared Duchene street gang. Central to the life of this town, was Currie’s Fountain sports ground, popularly known as “Currie’s”. This humble, but politically charged sports ground is one of the major sites of protest and resistance in Durban. It is a legendary public space in the minds of many sports personalities, politicians, activists, journalists, ex-soccer players and ex-residents dispersed by forced removals as a result of the Group Areas Act. All fondly remember Currie’s and their recollections, scrapbooks and family albums invariably reflect the events, institutions, and places that once constituted town to non-Europeans in a European city. The inextricably linked history of this sports ground, educational institutions, religious sites markets, bus ranks and residential areas is outlined.

Definition and character of “town”

It is within the context of segregation, political exclusion, confinement, control and commercial suppression of Indians, Coloureds and Africans, previously described, that the spatial development of Durban took place in the colonial and apartheid phases. Africans, Europeans and Indians lived, traded, worshipped and played their sport separately under segregated and controlled conditions. The Indian trading area became the area of common ground for Indians and Africans and developed into what Rajah (1981: 78) refers to as the “dual CBD” that developed in Durban, described in more detail by Freund (1995: 33).

Behind the business district a cheaper, denser and more lively zone where Indian traders catered for the custom of all races. At its heart was the Grey Street mosque around which were alleyways full of petty traders and small-scale manufacturers, jewelers, watchmakers, tailors and scribes serving the illiterate. This area, which had some of the classic feeling of a ghetto, was the residential heart of Durban for the passenger Indians and their descendants and Muslims formed the largest part of its population.

This is the area that was the “core of Indian Durban” (Freund, 1995: 33) that had become town to non-Europeans in general. “Town” was Grey Street and the network of streets that constituted, what has also been referred to by Badsha (2001: 7) as the “Imperial Ghetto”, a reference to the many streets such as Beatrice, Prince Edward, Victoria and Queen Streets, named after members of the Royal Family. Badsha (2001) argues that it had become an Indian ghetto and was part of the racial compartmentalisation of South Africa but had become “the cultural centerpiece of Durban’s Indian, African and coloured communities, and home to a small but influential black intelligentsia and political class, who envisioned an inclusive notion of identity which was not racially based ” (Badsha, 2001: 7).

In this ghetto, with its nucleus as the Grey Street/Victoria Street area and an arc formed from Currie’s Fountain, less than a kilometer to the north-west and Berea Road to the south-west, indicated in Fig 29, lies the urban Black history of Durban. It is an area laden with layers of the spatial and socio-political history of Durban in colonial and apartheid eras. It was a precinct made up of neighbourhoods, referred to as the “district” by locals and gang members describing their “territories” in “town”, and is often expressed by ex-residents in terms of soccer club allegiances and the local street gangs. Ex-resident and sports administrator Ebrahim Osman, and Omar Badsha, a political activist and ex-resident recall the inter-relationship both in spirit and geographically, between town and Currie’s Fountain. They describe how local gangs resident in different residential areas and the soccer team from the district developed neighbourhood allegiances. Residents of a particular neighbourhood, together with the local street gangs, would support the neighbourhood soccer teams, on and off the field. The local gangs represented and provided protection in the district against rival gangs and the local soccer team represented the district against rival soccer teams from different areas. Osman’s recollections describe his neighbourhood as “central Durban” made up of the Grey, Prince Edward, Victoria and Queen

Street areas and the inter-connected nature of residential areas, Currie's Fountain, gangs, soccer teams and their supporters:

Those of us that grew up in central Durban began our sporting careers on the streets, so to speak. There were no sporting facilities at schools or in our area. The parks with their "Europeans Only" signs were virtual "no-go" areas for people of colour. So almost daily from about 4 pm Prince Edward, Victoria and Queen Street became sporting arenas. What has this to do with Currie's? Well our little games mimicked the weekend sporting events at Currie's and we took on the names of soccer, cricket and athletic stars of Currie's Fountain.

Central Durban was very much a surround of Currie's, in spirit and geographically. Soccer was the main sport at Currie's and on Saturday mornings there was a Garment Workers' League played between 4 or 5 clothing factory teams. We were there to watch these games because some of the stars of the big teams in the afternoon league also played in this league. Someone like Sam, the goalkeeper would play in the morning and a few hours later turn out for the *Warwickshires* in a needle match against *Aces* or *Stella*. These 3 were the big guns in the Senior League. *Warwickshires* players came mainly from the Old Dutch Road/Warwick Avenue complex. *Stella* comprised players from Magazine Barracks in Somtseu Road, mainly poor municipal workers. *Aces* were made of players and supporters from the Beatrice Street area of town.

Sunday had its own flavour and atmosphere. The same stars regrouped for the Sunday League as *Crimson* and *Berea* and one or two lesser teams. *Crimson* of course took its name from the ruling gang in town at the time. Their headquarters was a small old building in Cross Street. As youngsters we witnessed some „incidents“ between *Crimson League* members and rival gangs like the *Salots* who operated in the Overport Area, or members of the notorious Sheriff Khan Gang. These were not sport related. On the soccer field *Crimson's* support came from young residents like myself from the area. On Sundays, led by *Crimson* officials, we made our way in a large contingent to Currie's for our team's matches against *Berea* in the senior league and *Dimes*, a formidable team from the Magazine Barracks in the junior division. Both matches produced thrilling, high tension entertainment. A victory for *Crimson*, which was more often than not, meant that Prince Edward Street near the *Crimson* headquarters was a buzz on Sunday evenings (Osman: 2010).

Omar Badsha grew up in Douglas Lane, off Wills Road in the Warwick Avenue/Old Dutch Road area. This neighbourhood was controlled by the Duchene gang and the residents supported the local teams named Warwickshires and Berea United. Badsha (2007) recalls watching soccer at Currie's where even the seating arrangements were largely determined by the district you came from.

There was no way I could dare sit anywhere other than with the Berea and Ducheens supporters. The grass banks behind the goal post at the far end of Currie's Fountain was what defined who I was and what I could and could not do in "town". I was born in Douglas Lane and that was Ducheens territory and our team was Berea. There was no escaping that definition. It was a passport through some territories and a quick get away from others. "Town" was Grey Street and the network of streets that constituted "the Imperial Ghetto". The other town was White and started at West Street. The absurdity of our shared lives was that Grey Street cut across West Street (Badsha, 2007: 16).

The three different residential/commercial neighbourhoods that can collectively be described as "town", and that was represented by soccer teams and street gangs, was physically defined by major streets and the railway line as can be seen in Fig 29. The first was the Grey Street area, home of the Crimson League gang and Crimson Soccer Club, the Beatrice Street area was the second, represented by Aces United and the third neighbourhood was the Old Dutch/Warwick Avenue area represented by Warwickshires and Berea United and was under the control of the Duchene gang. The three residential/commercial zones were separated by roads and the railway line. The Grey Street neighbourhood was separated by Alice Street and the railway line from the Beatrice Street/Carlisle Street area to the north and was also separated by the railway line and Warwick Avenue to the West, from the Old Dutch/Warwick neighbourhood.

The zone running from Greyville racecourse in the north to Smith Street in the south, between the three mixed residential-commercial neighbourhoods, developed into a sports, educational, health, transport and trading zone. It's the collective of these three residential neighbourhoods and the educational/sports/trading zone seen in Fig 29 that this study argues, developed into the "other" city in Durban. The Grey Street area is also referred to as the "Casbah" by ex-resident and author Aziz Hassim. Hassim's description of the Casbah, cited by Naidoo (2008: 28) notes how each street served a specific function. The eastern end of Victoria Street was "theatre-land" and the western end was served by markets and grocery stores. Grey Street was dominated by clothing stores, whilst Prince Edward Street was occupied by sari houses and craftsmen jewellers. On numerous street corners was the inevitable "tea-room", selling chilli-bites and confectionery. Hassim (2008) states that the Casbah was not only about politics and gangsters but also a place where virtually every essential was catered for in the form of tea-rooms, nightclubs and dance halls who co-existed with churches, mosques and temples. An area known for its "ubiquitous curry tavern" and take-away bunny-chow and where academics and liberation icons walked the streets "alongside the rough and ready denizens of the then infamous street gangs" (Hassim, 2008: 70).

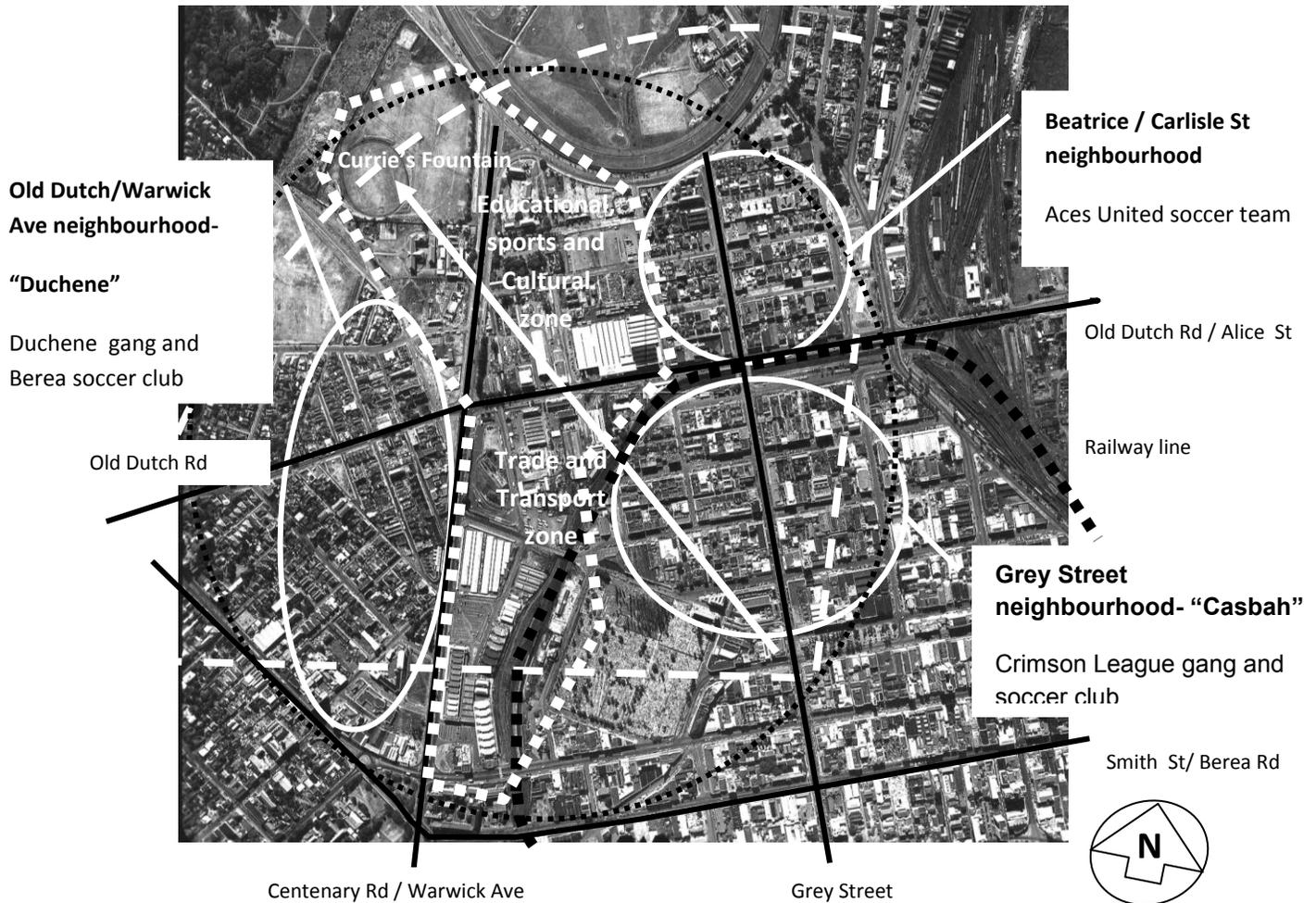


Fig 29. Residential / Commercial neighbourhoods and the sport/education/transport zone that collectively comprised the “non-European town”. (1951 aerial photo: City Engineers Department)

The gangs were an integral part of the precinct, and Naidoo (2008: 28) cites the *Drum* magazine of February 1955, reporting on warfare in the 1950s between the Crimson League, who controlled “town”, and the Salot gang. The feud was over territorial power for taxis operating out of the Grey Street area. *Drum* reported that Victoria and Grey Streets were known as “Durban’s Little Chicago” and referred to the vile and ruthless underworld of crime. The Salot gang terrorised the Indian community in Overport and the Central Indian areas of Durban by means of assault, extracting protection monies and extortion. The Salots’ great rivals were the Crimson League which had initially been formed as a vigilante group by businessmen who grew tired of being exploited by other gangs. Naidoo relates how one of the Crimson League leaders, “Big Daddy,” based in the Indian Market had a reputation that stretched far and wide, and how the gang could also draw on its members of the Crimson League Football Club and its supporters in times of trouble.

The vibrancy of this area's mixed-use nature of commercial, residential, educational, and religious activities combined with the multi-cultural, multi-racial and politically charged character of these neighbourhoods, is captured in the recollections of an ex-resident who lived, was schooled and taught in a school in Carlisle Street, after completing her degree at the "non-European Section" of University of Natal.

When the Passive Resistance Campaign began, many participating in the campaign were housed in the Hindu Tamil School next to the flat where we lived. Two small windows of our flat overlooked the school and the miniscule playing ground. Through these windows I watched the strict regimen of the white clad resisters. My mother and other women from the building sent tea and sandwiches to these Nehru-cap wearing resisters. I often served as the message or sandwich carrier.

As little children, we often went into St Faith's Church across the road, where we were always welcomed by Rev. Zulu, the presiding priest and members of his congregation. The fact that they were Blacks and Christians and we were Hindu or Muslim Indians was never a problem. Another favourite haunt was St Anthony's Church. My two older sisters, my brother and I were all pupils of St Anthony's School, which was run by Roman Catholic nuns.

The Eating House always fascinated us kids - lorry loads of Black people arrived from farm districts in their traditional beaded outfits and headgear and stopped here for lunch. At the back of our building, on the ground floor, huge black cooking pots boiled samp and beans over open fires. The highlight of the year was the visit to the Eating House of the Cape Coons on their annual visit to Durban for the Coon Carnival. Everyone was out on the large verandah of our building, peering down at them and at their blackened faces and whitened lips, black and white shoes and fancy get-up. Seeing us, they would often put on an impromptu performance that had us cheering wildly.

Another exciting event in Carlisle Street was the Muslim Muharram Festival. All the kids would rush across Grey Street to the upper end of Carlisle Street to stand in front of one of the blocks of flats, where we knew the "Tigers" were readying themselves for their dance. During the time of the Muharram Festival, wonderful chariots were made, which were carried or transported down Carlisle Street from different parts of the city to the large open field across the road from Hindu Tamil School and Dartnell Crescent School. Tents were set up as this was the gathering point from which the chariots were then carried up Cross Street, into Dartnell Crescent and then down Grey Street (Singh: 2010).

It is because of this mixed use and variety of functions and services that Hassim (2008: 69) refers to the area as a "village within a city". It was more than a village, it was a city in its own right. It had all the elements or constituents that make up a city. It consisted not only of commercial, residential, religious, recreational, health and educational functions but the area had "its own"

transport system, public holidays in the form of Eid and Diwali, financial system of *hooplang* (tax free) money and *fah fee*, (a form of lottery based on numbers). The area also had “its own” newspapers, celebrities, journalists, sports stars, soccer leagues, beauty queens, intelligentsia, professionals, sports and political organisations. So too did it have “its own” underworld of gangs, prostitution, protection rackets, and gambling schools.

This other city, bounded by the Botanic Gardens and the Greyville racecourse to the north and north-west, Smith Street in the south and Grey Street to the east, is compressed into an area with a diameter of approximately 1.5 kilometers and was, and still is to a large extent, made up of commercial and residential areas, informal trading areas, religious sites, for Muslims, Hindus and Christians, a burial ground and shrine, primary, high and tertiary educational institutions, University, libraries, community halls, hospital, markets, bus and taxi ranks, train station, fire station, a Women’s hostel, a YMCA, restaurants, cinemas, nightclubs, a sports stadium and struggle sites.

These physical expressions and manifestations of a city were also complimented and enhanced by the many that inhabited these spaces. The sense of community and identity that prevailed, in spite of hardships, is the enduring memory often expressed by ex-residents. Hassim (2008: 70) describes it as a “bittersweet lifestyle that possessed a kind of romance which, in spite of apartheid - or perhaps because of it – lives on only in the minds of those who inhabited the area at the time”.

The multi-cultural character of the area was also evident in the food sold, goods being sold, languages spoken, clothing styles, sounds, smells, religious and cultural festivals and dance bands. The intangible aspects of heritage, such as the multiple identities including political identities that were shaped and the sense of community that developed for over a hundred years, from an Indian and Native identity in colonial and apartheid times to a non-racial or Black identity that emerged here in the late 1960s is of historical significance. The ICU, the ANC and in particular the NIC were active political parties in the precinct, followed by SASO and the Black Consciousness Movement and all relied to a large extent on the independent black press to keep the community informed, and used Cartwright Flats, Red Square and Currie’s Fountain as venues for mass meetings and political campaigns.

The evolution of “Coolie location” to a “non-European town”

This section traces the development of the precinct, once referred to as “Coolie location”, tracing the origins and subsequent development of a primarily Indian area to a non-European enclave where, ironically, non-racialism was being espoused and fought for on the sports field, streets, community halls and public spaces since the 1940s. The history of this residential and commercial settlement, its key institutions and places that were so much a part of the community, is examined in more detail, to demonstrate the residential, educational, religious, commercial, sports and political heritage of the precinct.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Durban was described by Harrison (1903: 13) in this way:

Natal's largest and prettiest town embraces three parts – Addington; the town proper; and the Berea. The first is the centre of maritime interests ...the Point; the second, the venue of commercial and general activity; the third, the fashionable, residential hills which semi-grid and beautify the whole.

The main thoroughfares of the town are described as Victoria Embankment, Smith Street, West Street and with the intersecting streets of Aliwal, Gardiner, Field, Russell and Grey Streets (Henderson, 1904: 361). By 1904 West Street was the centre for leading retail shops and Smith, Pine and Gardiner, Field, Grey Street and Point Road, were lined with large wholesale establishments. The town was rapidly expanding in a northerly direction towards Ordinance lands and westwards towards the foot of the Berea (Henderson, 1904: 361). From Henderson's (1904) description of the attractions and amenities of hotels, theatres, schools, churches, hospitals, institutions, societies and clubs, Durban is clearly seen as a "European" city.

But apart from these natural beauties of environment, a progressive and far-seeing Municipality has during the past two decades endeavored by every means in its power to provide not only additional attractions for visitors, but for its Burgesses all the conveniences and accessories of modern life enjoyed in European Cities, with many of which of far older origin, Durban will favorably compare (Henderson, 1904: 358).

These "conveniences and accessories of modern life" did however not apply to all the inhabitants of the city. The "Natives" and "Coolies" were regarded primarily as a source of labour and otherwise considered a nuisance or a menace and were located in barracks, hostels and on the periphery of the town. Because the Coloured population was small, this group posed no threat and did not draw as much antagonism from colonial society. Much of the facilities for Indians, Africans and Coloureds, developed from the Grey Street area into the Western vlei, in the void between the town and the Berea, as can be seen in a 1903 map of Durban in Fig 30.

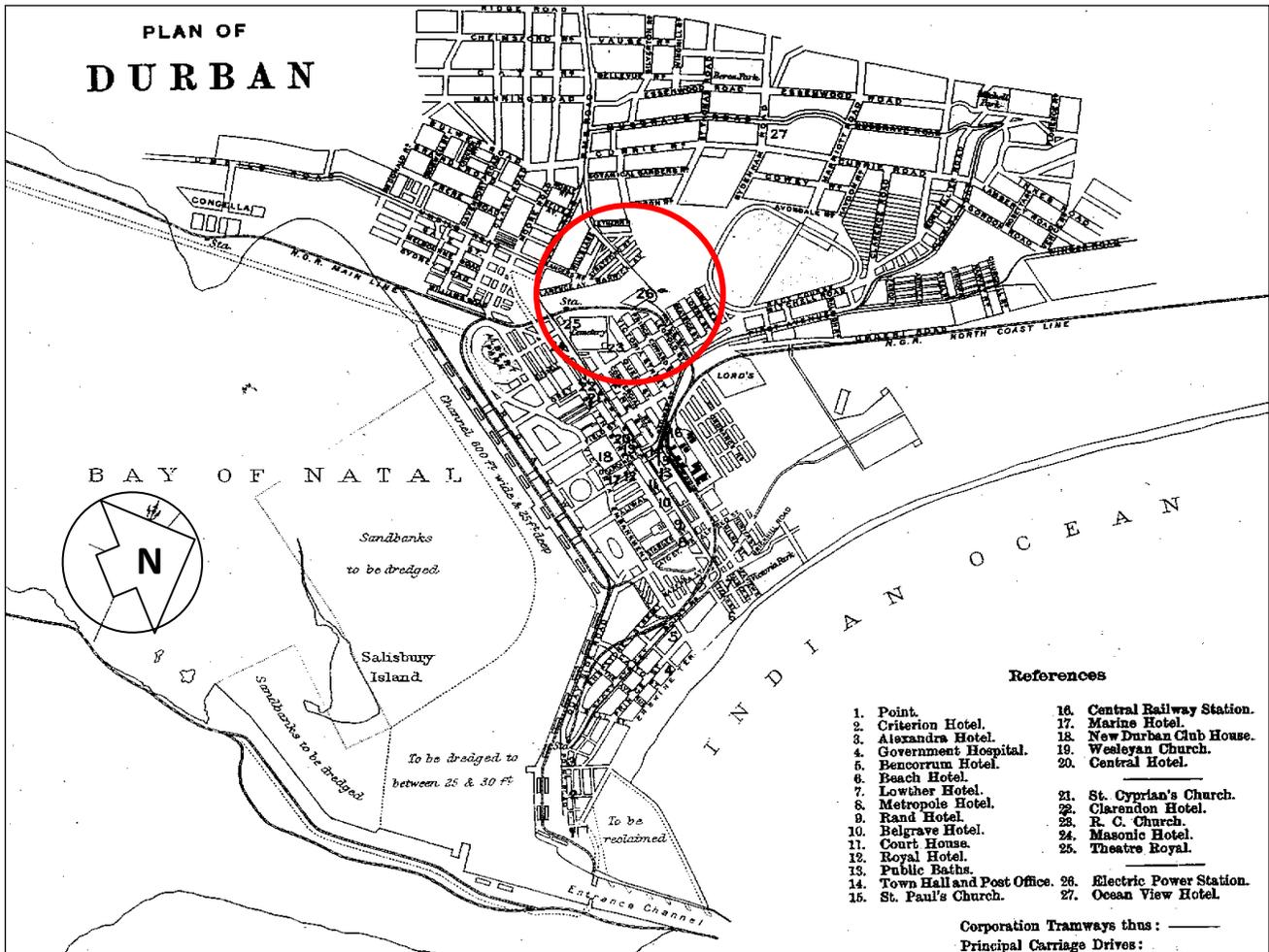


Fig 30. Map of Durban in 1903 (Harrison:1903) WJP circled.

Residential settlements and commercial nodes.

After indenture, Indians settled on the edges of the Umbilo River near South Coast Junction, whilst others settled and took to fishing on Salisbury Island. South of the Umbilo River, Clairwood was established as early as 1880 (Kearney, 1984: 25). Other settlements outside the old borough included Merebank, Sydenham, Overport, Clare Estate, Mayville, Cato Manor and Riverside. Closer to the town centre, Indians had settled in the Western vlei by 1875, the earlier passenger Indians and those freed from indenture settled “almost out of town” at the extreme end of West Street and the northern side of Field Street (Kearney, 1984: 25). Swanson (1983: 410) notes that throughout the 1880s Indian squatters settled on the open vlei lands and the area bloomed with shanty settlements and garden plots. Whites increasingly referred to the west end of the developing CBD as “Coolie location”. By 1890 Grey Street, seen in Fig 31, had become

the hub of Indian trade with a combination of residential, religious, educational and commercial activities.

Two Indian owned properties and two Indian stores in 1870 had increased to 229 properties and 128 stores by 1893 (Mayor's Minute: 1893). Religious and educational institutions also started developing in the area. The Grey Street Mosque had been established in 1881, in between the residential and commercial properties, near the cemetery. The Badsha Pir Shrine in the cemetery had become the focus of annual Muharram festivals since the late 1890s. Indian market gardeners had moved from the City Market and established their own market in the courtyard of the Grey Street Mosque by 1890, and a "Native" meat market had been established in Victoria Street.

By the 1920s numerous buildings had developed into two and three storey structures, replacing the early wood and iron structures. Initially structures built in this area imitated European styles, but Kearney (1984: 52) notes that a particular "Indian quality" of the streetscape developed "with colonnades over pavements, narrow lanes leading to courtyards behind and a fondness for the flamboyant and curvilinear architecture of the 1920s and 1930s." Residential quarters on the first floor, with verandas overlooking the street became part of the architectural character of the area, because many of the businesses were family concerns and they owned the properties. Family names were often displayed on facades of buildings giving rise to an Indian character of townscape.

Rajah (1981) observes that the vertical profile of the Indian CBD contrasted sharply with the adjoining White CBD. The White CBD had many tall buildings, typical of American cities, with many buildings being owned by large financial institutions like banks, building societies and insurance companies. In contrast, the low vertical profile of the Indian CBD is attributed to a number of factors such as: the properties were family businesses who did not have the financial means for tall structures, many structures were built between 1930 and 1945 when businessmen were still establishing themselves as a permanent trading community and the demand for office space was low. Shops and offices at ground level with residential accommodation above was the most lucrative form of investment for property developers. Buildings tended to be modest two- and three-floored structures until about 1945 when buildings were extended to five or more floors. In terms of Group Areas regulations the CBD was proclaimed a controlled area in 1957 which precluded developments for residential use. By the 1980s there were no more than twenty buildings higher than five floors (Rajah, 1981: 82).

In the 1930s some of the commercial activity gravitated to Warwick Avenue. Road works on Warwick Avenue were completed in 1934 providing a much improved route from Berea Road into the city and to the north of the city. The Town Council had finally agreed to a new site for the Squatters' Market located in the street for more than two decades and built a new market enclosure in Warwick Avenue. The new Early Morning Market (EMM) also known as "Squatters' Market" was opened in 1934 and thrived. The financial success of the EMM and the

proximity to a railway line prompted the Town Council to build a new City Market, known as the European or “English” Market, adjacent to the EMM and railway line. The Bulk Sales hall opened in 1935 and English Market opened in 1940 (Albertyn, 1969: 140).

Across the road, Indian businesses flourished along Warwick Avenue and Indian property ownership increased. The area around Currie’s Fountain, on the lower slopes of the Berea from Berea Road to Greyville had become a multiracial area. Although a predominantly Indian area, Whites and Coloureds also lived in the area. The housing was more dense than on the upper slopes of the Berea, and had become overcrowded and buildings were in a poor condition. Slum clearance became the focus for authorities in the 1930s. In the late 1930s the Beatrice/Carlisle Street area, Old Dutch Road area and areas adjoining Warwick Avenue had been identified as Slum Zones. Indians acquired more properties on the slopes of the Berea, sparking another wave of anti-Indian sentiment in the 1940s. White residents complained about Indians “penetrating” their traditional residential areas, resulting in commissions of enquiry and an Act promulgated in 1943 that became known as “the Pegging Act.” This Act pegged Indian ownership of properties for the next three years. In the late 1940s the Ghetto Act created “controlled” and “uncontrolled” areas, effectively controlling and confining Indian property ownership to certain areas.

Not only was confinement of the Indian population the focus, the City Council started formulating plans for new separate Indian, African and Coloured residential areas. The increasing population and shortage of housing was resulting in overcrowded conditions, with many backyards developed into rented accommodation. Cato Manor, on the outskirts of town, had become a major informal settlement with a rapidly expanding population in shacks occupied by Africans and Indians. Plans to create separate residential areas for different races, further from the city, were first mooted in 1943, revised in 1944 and approved in 1952. The racially exclusive townships, that became known as Umlazi, Kwa Mashu, Reservoir Hills, Newlands East, Sydenham, Wentworth, Merebank and Chatsworth had its genesis in these racial zoning plans of the early 1940s.



Fig 31. Different views of Grey Street (undated) (Local History Museum)

Durban City Council had become a leading exponent of racial segregation, and the Group Areas Act of 1950 allowed them to press ahead with the racial zoning proposals developed since the 1940s. After the Racial Zoning Plan of 1952 was approved, the Group Areas Board (GAB) was set up to help implement the Group Areas proposals. Although a number of hearings were held and representations made objecting to the proposals, the GAB advertised their proposals for the proclamation of Group Areas in 1959, effectively endorsing the council's 1952 racial zoning proposals. The Grey Street area had already been declared a "controlled area" by a technical committee appointed by the Council in 1950. By the 1960s the Grey Street area was the most concentrated Indian commercial area in the country. It consisted of 418 properties, 95 percent Indian owned and 97 percent Indian occupied, comprising 130 light industries, 90 wholesalers, 30 restaurants, 6 cinemas, 125 professional doctors and lawyers, Markets, churches, temples, mosques, a Technical College and 7 schools. Being a "controlled area" the area stagnated and deteriorated because of the uncertainty surrounding what Group Area it would eventually be declared as.

The once multi-racial residential area known as the Duchene on either side of Old Dutch Road, above Warwick Avenue, was declared a White group area and non-White residents reluctantly relocated in the 1960s and 1970s. In the Warwick Triangle 1700 families were given notice to vacate, leading to a battle that lasted into the 1980s. Land to the north of Old Dutch Road, between Botanic Gardens Road and Warwick Avenue was made available for the White Technikon Natal in the 1970s, seen in Fig 32 and 33. A mass evacuation of old residents was initiated which lasted for thirteen years before all were moved off the site. Many of the old houses were demolished to make way for the new Berea Campus planned for Technikon Natal and in 1981 construction began on the new tower blocks. A number of the old residential buildings that were in relatively good condition were retained and converted to new uses for Technikon Natal, seen in Fig 34.

Two significant events in 1973 had an impact on the precinct. Firstly the Indian Market in Victoria Street burnt to the ground in the middle of the night. The fire was said to be an accident but rumours abound till this day that the fire was planned. For years the traders in the market had been given notice to vacate, to allow demolition of the structure to make way for major road works that were being planned. Durban lost a world famous landmark and devastated many Indian families who had made a living in the market for generations. The second event was an announcement, after more than twenty years of uncertainty, that the Grey Street area was finally to be declared an Indian area for trading and light industrial purposes only, with disastrous consequences for the approximately 12 000 people who resided in the area. The irony was that the area had been an Indian area for close on a hundred years, since the 1880s. The Pro-Frelimo Rally organised at Currie's Fountain in 1974, which was banned at the last minute, erupted in violence and resulted in a mass crackdown on Black Consciousness Movement and other political organisations soon after.



Fig 32. The residential area allocated to Technikon Natal in the 1970s. (DUT archives)



Fig 33. Part of the residential stock being demolished to clear the site for the Technikon. Mayor Sybil Hotz on the bulldozer at a ceremony on the site in the 1980s. (DUT archives)



Fig 34. The site being cleared for construction of Technikon Natal in the 1980s. Some residential buildings were retained for use by the Technikon (DUT archives)

A submission in 1973, by a group of academics from the erstwhile University of Natal, welcomed the decision to proclaim the Grey Street complex an Indian zone for trading and light industrial purposes but expressed dismay that approximately 12 000 residents in the area had to relocate and, what they referred to as the important Centenary Road “educational and cultural complex”, had been excluded from the proclaimed area. They argued that the Centenary Road educational and cultural complex was part of the Grey Street area and hence their dismay at its having been excluded from the proclamation, and by implication, that it could become a White zone.

The submission set out to describe the educational complex comprising Sastri College, Girls High, Orient High, Gandhi-Desai High, St Anthony’s, M.L. Sultan and St Augustine’s and argued that the educational complex represented a large investment by Indians who, unlike any other group in South Africa, had improved themselves by their own efforts in the educational sphere. It argued that the schools were not just buildings, but an expression of the desire for and struggle towards educational advancement and embodied a considerable amount of sentiment attached to these institutions. The institutions are described as symbols of social and community pride and, because of their central location, were able to serve social and cultural activities in addition to their educational function (Grey Street Complex, Durban. Memorandum 1: 1973).

Currie's Fountain is described as the premier Indian sports stadium in South Africa and the focal point of sporting events serving Indians from both the north and south of Durban. It was the only recreational area available to the educational institutions in the area, and was used during the week and at week-ends and also served the Coloured and African communities. St Aidan's Mission Hospital is described as serving the Black communities of Durban, and also catering for visiting seamen, and St Anthony's Roman Catholic Church is described as the largest Indian Church in the country. The memorandum further describes the area as part of the pulsating heart of Durban, adjoining the markets and the Warwick Avenue area upon which both rail and bus transport routes converge. The Berea Road Station had become a major station serving Black commuters, while public bus transport from all areas converged on this area of the city. It concluded that it was the area where cultures of the East, West and Africa meet, which distinguished Durban from other cities in South Africa (Grey Street Complex, Durban. Memorandum 1: 1973).

The University of Natal academics' argument reflected a more holistic understanding of the area, given that it represented the Economics, Sociology, Geography, Social Research and Architecture Departments. Their argument was more informed and they understood that the Grey Street complex was integral to the areas on the other side of the rail reserve – namely Warwick Avenue and Centenary Road and the bus ranks, markets, Currie's Fountain, churches, the educational complex and hospital. The finalisation of the "group" zoning for this educational and cultural zone remained in limbo and by 1981 only half the residents had moved and the remaining residents in the Warwick Triangle were still resisting relocation.

Fortunately these institutions that formed the educational and cultural complex were not destroyed, unlike similar non-European inner city communities in other parts of South Africa. The institutions elaborated on below, comprised the educational and cultural complex of schools, churches, hospital, sports facility, markets and bus ranks which, together with the Grey Street area, has remained largely intact and is still part of the life of the city, and represent a significant and important part of the city's heritage.

Religious Sites

A small number of indentured Indians were Christians and the missionaries turned their attention to these Christians and also to the Hindu labourers. In Colonial Natal, the Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian churches served the White community, whilst the Roman Catholic, Wesleyan (Methodist) and Anglican churches became actively involved in missionary work amongst Indian settlers. These Christian missions played a significant role in the provision of churches but more importantly, education for Indian children. The early churches also served as schools (Nair and Naidoo, 2010: 9). Father Jean-Baptiste Sabon, of the Roman Catholic church was the first to initiate Christian mission work among Indians in 1861, followed by the Methodist Mission in 1862 when Reverend Ralph Stott started the Natal Indian Methodist Mission. The Anglican St Aidan's Mission was established in 1883. Twelve years after Stott's arrival, the first

Wesleyan church was erected in Queen Street in 1874. Forty years later this church moved to new premises in Lorne Street when the Stott's Memorial Church was opened in 1914 (Nair and Naidoo, 2010: 9;10;45).

A small Catholic church was built in Victoria Street for the Indian community after Father Sabon's death in 1885, and the adjacent land was bought for an orphanage. The church was dedicated to St Anthony and the parishioners decorated it in "the Tamil style" (Nair and Naidoo, 2010: 26). When the Emmanuel Cathedral, which opened in 1904, was being built by Bishop Jolivet, the Catholic Indian community requested that they be allowed to keep their church and not join the congregation at the Emmanuel Cathedral, and that they be assigned a Tamil-speaking priest. The Bishop agreed and Father Gourlay served the Indian community. Although the early Catholic churches were open to everyone the Indian community made a choice to remain in their own church, to be able to receive mass in their own language as well as being able to decorate the building in their own style (Nair and Naidoo, 2010: 26). A new St Anthony's Church was built in Centenary Road in 1935 and was declared a national monument in 1995 (Nair and Naidoo, 2010: 28).

The Anglicans established the St Aidan's Mission in 1883 which was headed by Dr Lancelot Parker Booth, a district surgeon by profession and an ordained minister. Booth drew attention to the appalling conditions of the Indian labourers, citing the poverty, overcrowded and unhygienic quarters and the lack of medical and educational facilities. In 1887 the St Aidan's Church was established off Alice Street and served as a chapel and a school. This original building served as the Mission until 1966 when a new church was built in Centenary Road. Booth also started a medical service in the form of a dispensary in the back-yard of the Mission House, at 49 Cross Street, the beginning of what was to become St Aidan's hospital (Nair and Naidoo, 2010: 59; 71).

The Muslim traders who arrived in the 1870s built mosques shortly after their arrival. Aboobaker Amod and Hajee Muhammad Dada purchased land in Grey Street and used the existing structure as a mosque. The Jumuah Musjid (Grey Street Mosque) was built in 1884 to accommodate 275 people. Later the adjacent land was purchased and the mosque was extended in 1903. In 1904 and 1905 the two minarets were added and subsequently shops and apartments were added. The Grey Street Mosque developed into the largest mosque in the southern hemisphere. Sectionalism was rife in the small passenger Muslim community and this resulted in the Surtis laying a foundation stone for a separate mosque in West Street in 1885, a short distance away from the Grey Street Mosque (Vahed, 1995: 133). Some of these religious sites are seen in Fig 35.

Hinduism in Durban was given an impetus by Bhai Parmanand and Swami Shankeranand, two transnational religious figures who helped establish a number of organisations in the first decade of the twentieth century. Parmanand was a missionary of the Arya Samaj movement and Shankeranand a Brahmin, who helped form numerous small Sabhas and twelve major Hindu

organisations, the main one being the establishment of the South African Hindu Maha Sabha in 1912. Two important organisations were formed after Shankeranand's visit, namely the Young Men's Vedic Society formed by Parmanand in 1906 and the Hindu Tamil Institute. The Vedic Society was instrumental in fostering Tamil culture, which included language, education, religion and drama (Vahed, 1995: 135).

Municipal Functions: Waterworks, Power Station, Bus Depot, Beerhall, Hostel and Markets.

Water Supply.

When Durban was proclaimed a Borough in May 1854 and the population totaled 1,204, the water supplies were obtained from primitive wells, the first being situated in Old Well Court, off Smith Street. For the next thirty years the Council continued to obtain water from well supplies, which had grown in number to eighteen wells. Several schemes, dealing with the water supply for the town, were considered by the Council but costs to obtain water from nearby rivers proved to be prohibitive (Mayor's Minute: 1877). A drought and a shortage of water prompted Councilor H.W. Currie, in 1878, to sink an artesian well in search of water in the area below the Botanic Gardens. Water was struck and the well and waterworks was named Currie's Fountain (Mayor's Minute 31 July 1879).

The water from Currie's Fountain waterworks, seen in Fig 36 and 37, was sent for analysis and was first declared unfit for dietetic purposes but the second analysis in 1879 showed that the water had a high degree of purity, and was well-suited for domestic uses (Mayor's Minute: 1880). The extraction of the water and the supply to the town had become a substantial engineering operation and by 1881 progress had been made for an increased water supply to a yield of 100 000 gallons in 24 hours. Currie's Fountain remained Durban's main water supply until 1887 when the Umbilo waterworks was completed. For a number of years afterwards the water was used to supply the railways, but was stopped in the early 1890s (McCracken, 1996: 86). Later when clay was found at Currie's Fountain, the area became a site for brick making (Kearney, 1984: 20).

The vlel below Botanic Gardens became a sports field that became known as Currie's Fountain sports ground, which now stands on or about the site of the water well, founded by Mr. Currie (Jackson, 2003: 19).



Grey Street Mosque built in 1880s

(Local History Museum)



The St Anthony's Catholic Church, which opened on

Centenary road in 1936 (source unknown)



The Natal Tamil Vedic Society building in the 1970s

(Goolam Vahed)



Lorne St Stott's Memorial Methodist Church built in 1914 .

(Nair and Naidoo: 2010)

Fig 35. Religious sites in the Warwick Junction Precinct.

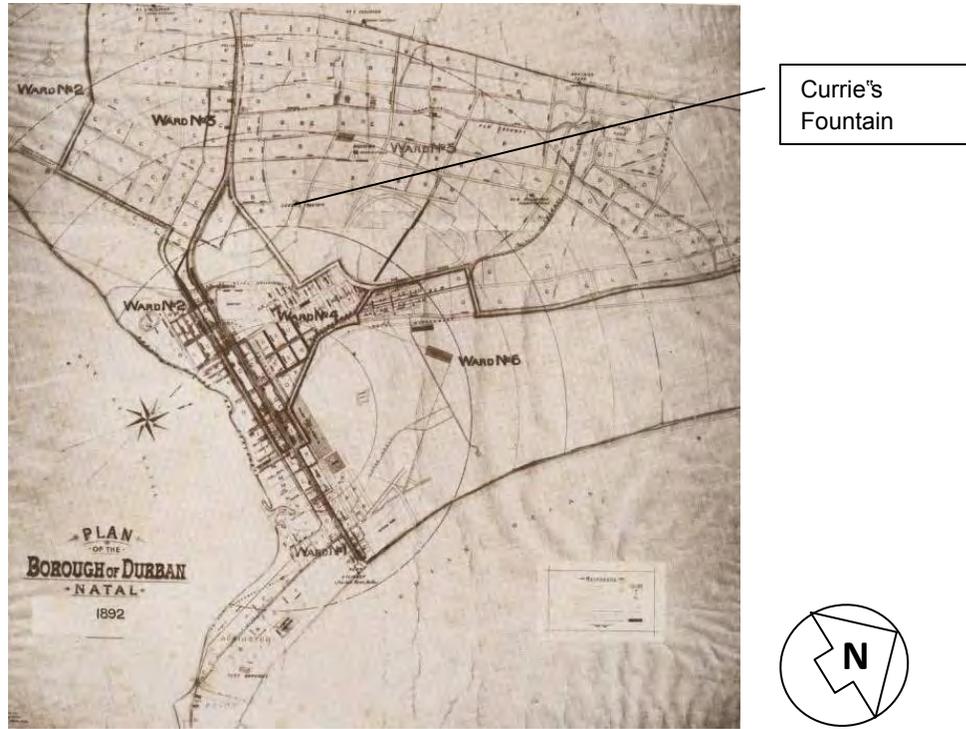


Fig 36. Durban in 1892 indicating Currie's Fountain waterworks and city layout (Lynsky: 1982)

Water works tower

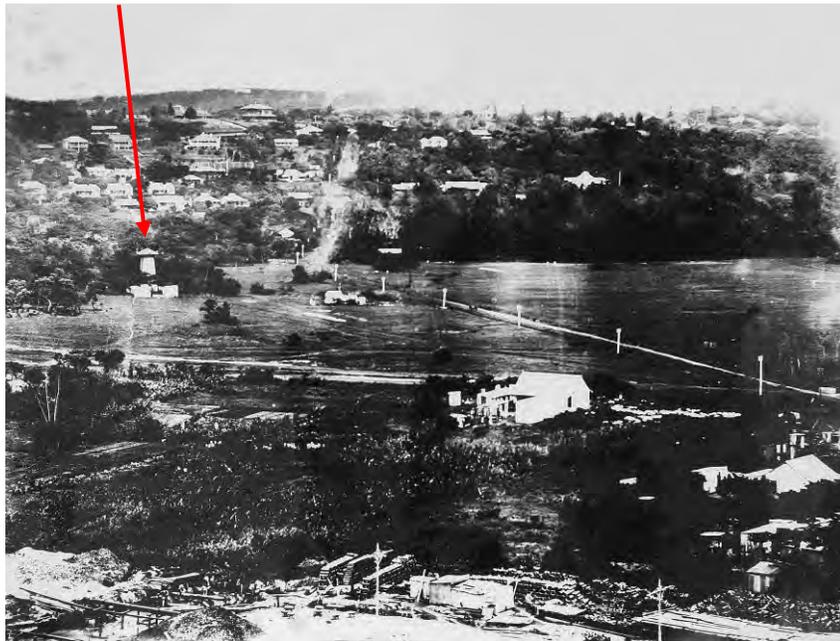


Fig 37. St Thomas Rd and Currie's Fountain waterworks tower in the 1880s. (Local History Museum)

Power Station, Bus sheds, Beerhall and Native Women's Hostel

The Town Council built a power station at the Point in 1897 and it provided electricity for the Town Hall, Library, town baths and Drill Hall in West Street. The growing demand for electricity led to the construction of another larger power station in Alice Street, which came into operation in 1902, and supplied power to drive the municipal trams which had replaced the horse-drawn trams. It was centrally located to serve the tram routes that followed West Street, to the Point, Berea Road, Musgrave Road and Florida Road down to First Avenue in Greyville. The Point Power Station was shut down in 1904, making the Alice Street Power Station the main power station. Demand necessitated continuous extensions to the power station until Escom was established in 1922 and built the Congella Power Station, which became operational in 1928. The Alice Street station was still used at peak times until 1948 when electricity supplies were drawn solely from Escom at the Congella station, which was also demolished in the 1970s (*Natal Mercury* 5 Oct 1992 : 47).

The Town Council also located the municipal bus depot in Alice Street in 1905, across the road from the power Station. Soon after the Native Beer Act, a municipal controlled beerhall was built in Victoria Street in 1909. The brewing and selling of sorghum beer had become a municipal function, and the Beerhall was located adjacent to the existing Native Meat Market and eating house. The demand for female African domestic servants that were trained and accommodated in the city, resulted in a hostel for female African women being built by the Town Council in 1926 at the northern end of Grey Street.

The "Squatters" or Early Morning Market (EMM)

The Early Morning Market on Warwick Avenue was formally established on 31 January 1934 and opened to public use on 1 February 1934, whilst the former street market in Victoria Street was discontinued. The new facility was a vast improvement on the unhygienic conditions that prevailed in the street market. It proved to be a great success from a business point of view, and was well patronised by Europeans due to the improved facilities (Mayor's Minute, 1934: 8).

Prior to 1934 the market existed informally in the open for 44 years. It first started in the Grey Street Mosque courtyard in 1890 and was then established in Victoria Street from 1910, in the road itself, when it became controlled by the Durban Town Council (DTC). The opening of the new market on Warwick Avenue, seen in Fig 39, was delayed for months because the farmers demanded that a shelter be constructed over the enclosure and provisions made for their animals. Farmers had requested shelter over their heads for years at the street market in Victoria Street (Vahed, 1999: 151).



Fig 38. The Squatters' Market in Victoria Street established in 1910 (Local History Museum)



Fig 39. The Early Morning (Squatters') Market which was relocated to Warwick Ave in 1934. (I. Blunden)

The farmers were predominantly ex-indentured Hindu or free Indians. When their five-year contracts expired, few renewed their indenture, some returned to India, but 58 per cent chose to make their permanent homes in the new country. In the 1870s they were followed by the predominantly Muslim passenger Indians who established themselves locally as traders. By 1884 there were 8 951 indentured Indians and some 20 877 free Indians that had made their home in Natal, and many without capital or a trade, turned to market gardening, hawking and fishing as a means of making a living. In 1885 there were 2000 market gardeners in and around Durban. Land was purchased or rented from absentee landlords or Land Companies close to town. A convenient market for their produce, and access to this outlet became crucial to their economic survival. Once land was acquired the farmer, together with his wife and children worked the land, constructed a wattle and daub house “and began a life of endless work” (Vahed, 1999: 131).

Prior to 1890 Indian market gardeners sold their produce at the City Market, controlled by the Durban Town Council (DTC) but they experienced difficulties with the high fees, having to sell only after produce of European farmers had been sold and having to sell it at lower prices. In 1890 the Trustees of the Jumma Masjid, or Grey Street Mosque, allowed the mostly-Hindu farmers to sell their produce in the mosque courtyard. Initially it was free but later on a gratuity was charged to meet costs of upkeep. In time this payment of fees became a major issue and a schism developed between the rich Muslim trading class and the poor ex-indentured Hindu farmers. The farmers claimed that the profits accrued benefitted Muslims only and they subsequently formed the Indian Farmer’s Association (IFA) under the leadership of a learned Hindu priest, Swami Shankeranand. Vahed argues that what was superficially perceived as religious differences was in fact a class struggle of the poor predominantly Hindu farmers wanting to break free of the trap of the “inequitable relationship of clientage and credit.” with the rich trading class (Vahed, 1999: 34).

As a result of the dispute the DTC decided to start a new market at a new site on Victoria Street that was to fall under the control of the Council. On 1 August 1910 the municipality opened a new enclosed market in Victoria Street, despite protests from the farmers that this was too small and too close to the Catholic Cathedral and the Native Meat Market. The farmers boycotted the new market building resulting in the Council subdividing the building into stalls, which were then let out to traders selling vegetables as well as a number of additional goods, including spices, fish, meat, birds, sweetmeats, curios and ice-cream (Vahed, 1999:136). This became the famous Indian Market, which later burnt down in 1973. The farmers still had no venue for selling their produce, resulting in an open-air street market being started by the Council in 1910, in Victoria Street, extending from Grey Street in the east to Brooke Street and the corner of Cemetery Lane in the West.

The street market, depicted in Fig 38, was frequented daily by almost 2 000 farmers and non-farmers, a number of whom were women, who traded in vegetables, tobacco and betel leaves,

fruit, boiled food, fish, chickens, eggs and ice cream. The main form of transportation for fresh produce was horse-drawn springcarts which the farmers lined along both sides of the street, together with barrows and baskets and sacks to display their wares. With farmers squatting cross-legged next to their produce, it acquired the name of “Squatters” Market.” Farmers and their families began to arrive each evening at about 6 pm and slept on and underneath their carts before trading began at 4 am the next day. Until 6 am trading was done with stall holders from the enclosed market, restaurant and hotel owners and wholesalers, thereafter trading started with the general public. Trading ceased at 9 am on weekdays and 10:30 am on a Saturday. At 9: 30 am a municipal water cart moved down the road to wash it down and spray farmers to expedite their removal (Vahed, 1999: 136).

Congestion of carts combined with the manure and urine from the numerous animals resulted in many complaints about the unhygienic conditions. The street market, referred to as the Early Morning Market or Squatters” market existed on the street for more than twenty years under trying circumstances. By the late 1920s everyone, including the farmers wanted to be relocated to better facilities and in 1930 a delegation met with the DTC and they requested that it be an enclosed area with proper shelter, tables, space for carts, horses and hygienic conditions. In 1930 the Council finally provided funds for the erection of an enclosure on Warwick Avenue to accommodate the Early Morning Market (Vahed, 1999: 147).

Traders who sold fish, meat, spices, groceries and curios continued to trade in the busy Victoria Street Indian Market. The two markets were easily accessible via the Victoria Street Bridge prior to the new Berea Station being built. The EMM flourished from the 1930s to the 1970s, as seen in Fig 40 and 41. By the mid-seventies the bustling market enclosure was under pressure for more space to trade, but the Municipality planned to reduce the size of the market because of planned extensions for Berea Road Station and Market Road (The Market Survey: 1983). The 1983 Market Survey indicated that there were 618 stalls rented by traders in 1975 on a long term basis, and 578 tables hired on a daily basis by the farmers who continued to trade together from the 1930s until the late seventies when all but 70 farmers were moved to the newly established Farmers Section at the National Fresh Produce Market in Clairwood. In the late seventies *The Leader* reported on the “Dicey future for market men.” The market was in an area that had been declared for Whites in terms of the Group Areas Act, and stallholders were in occupation under permits from the Department of Community Development, endorsed to the effect that the permits could be withdrawn at any time and with no responsibility by the Department for their resettlement. The Durban council was at that stage investigating the possibility of building a market in the Chatsworth civic centre (*The Leader* 11 May, 1979).

By the eighties the EMM had been reduced in size to a total of 676 stalls, 606 of which were exclusively for retailers and 70 small tables available to Indian market gardeners exclusively for the sale of speciality green herbs and vegetables. By the early eighties, a “market system” had developed in Warwick Avenue which was housed in three separate areas. The EMM and the

adjacent European or English Market (so named because the stalls in this market were once largely White owned) were the established markets. The third market was temporarily housed in the former Bulk-sales Hall and catered for the curios, spices, groceries and fish traders, which had been displaced by demolition of the temporary market structure in Victoria Street, erected after a fire destroyed the Victoria Street Indian Market in 1973 (Market Survey: 1983).

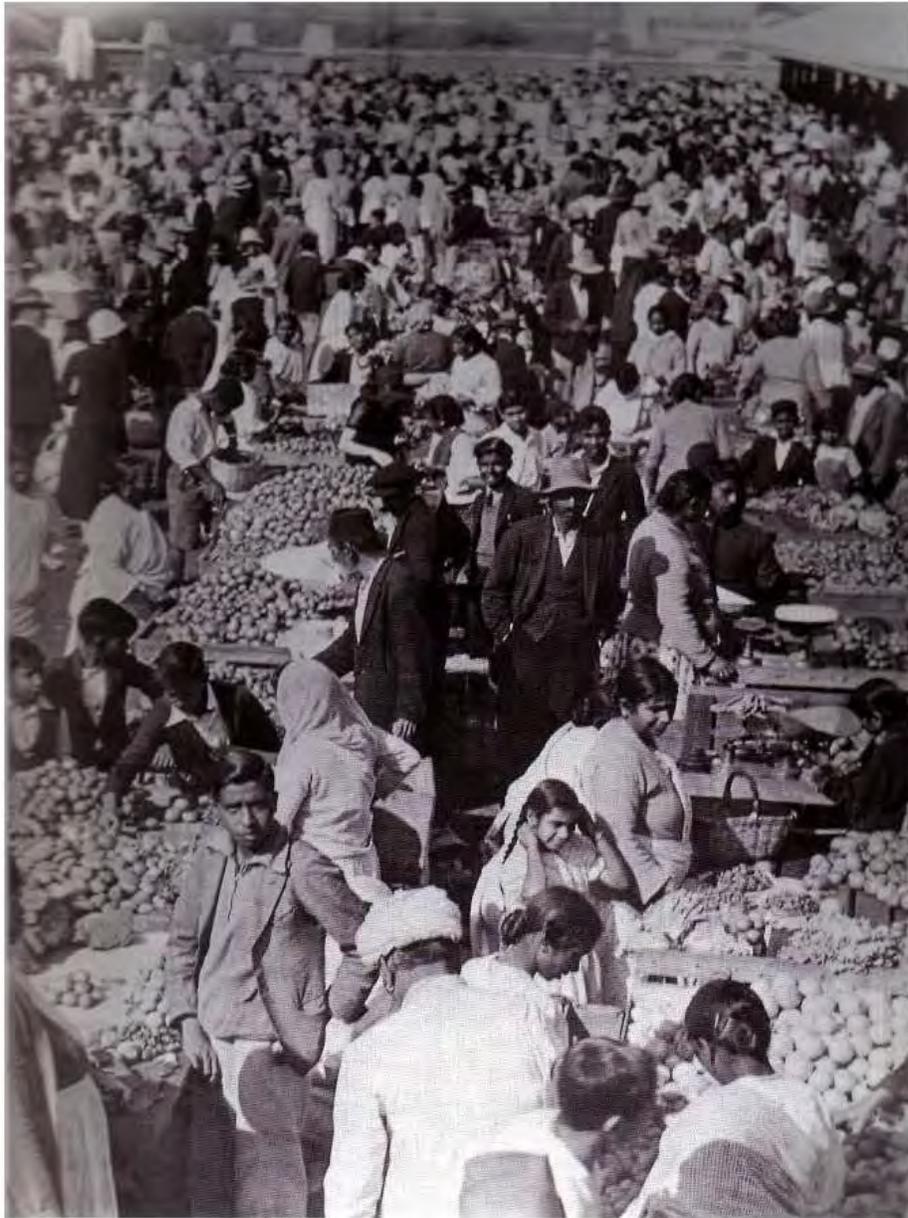


Fig 40. Scene at the Early Morning Market in Warwick Avenue (undated) (Local History Museum)



Scene at the Early Morning Market in the 1940s (courtesy Buddy Govender)



Fig 41. Scenes at the Early Morning Market in the 1960s (Roothren. Moodley)

Education

The history of education for Indians in South Africa started in 1867 when the first school was started for children of indentured Indians. It is a history that Maharaj (1981) describes as a “record of despair and hope”, dominated by despair for the greater part of more than a hundred years.

Neither the colonies (later provinces) nor employers of Indian labour evidenced a genuine concern to uplift this community educationally. The development of education for this community illustrates the character of Indian life – life and education being synonymous – an experience of determination, toil, self-help, appeal, agitation ...and then hope. The struggles endured and the tribulations suffered by the Indian community in their desire to obtain even elementary education in those pioneering days of the 19th century are unique. There was an undaunted determination while appeals and negotiations were protracted for many a decade from the days of British colonialism to the period of provincial control, although in the latter instance some relief did materialise but hardly with spontaneity (Maharaj, 1981: 134).

The Catholic, Anglican and Methodist Missions played a significant role by being the first to provide education for Indian children soon after indenture. Neither the Colonial Government of Natal nor the employers of Indian labour provided schooling for Indian children and the churches became the main provider of schools. In 1867 the first school for Indians was started in Umgeni Road by Father Sabon of the Catholic Mission and in 1874 a Methodist church and school was built in Queen Street by Reverend Stott. Father Sabon also started St Anthony’s School in Prince Alfred Street in 1887 and enlisted the help of the France based Holy Family Congregation of Sisters to run the school. The school moved to better premises in 1906, when it occupied a well furnished two storey building in Victoria Street (Nair and Naidoo, 2010: 14; 19). The period from 1867 to 1880 was noted for sporadic schooling, primarily the outcome of missionary efforts (Nair and Naidoo, 2010: 134).

The first official link between the legislative council of Natal and the Indian community was in 1879 with the establishment of the Indian Immigrant School Board. One of the functions of the Board was to provide grants for education subject to several conditions such as the community had to provide the school, the principal’s accommodation, classroom furniture, the teacher and there had to be regular attendance and efficient conduct by pupils. The period from 1881 to 1910 was characterised by an increase in numbers of aided schools all built through the efforts of the community. By 1885 there were three schools established by the Board compared to twenty two aided community built schools (Maharaj, 1981: 134).

From 1911 to 1940 the emphasis by Indians, shifted to the establishment of separate schools on a language basis, the provision of secondary education, importation of teachers from India and some provision for teacher training. Sections of the community believed in the “concomitance of

education and culture” and did not want an education for their children that imitated western culture. This resulted in a number of different cultural groups establishing schools with a bias towards their religion and the use of their mother tongue (Maharaj, 1981: 137).

In the 1920s and 1930s a number of educational institutions for Indians developed around the eastern end of Currie’s Fountain and on the south western end, two schools for Whites namely Mansfield High and Mansfield Primary schools were established in 1925 (Kearney, 1984:103). The Durban Indian Girls School was established in Carlisle Street in 1920 and Sastri College, built next to Currie’s Fountain, was opened in 1930 and became the first Indian high school in the country. Sastri College not only served as a high school and teachers’ training centre, but in 1936 it also had to accommodate the “non-European Section” of the University of Natal in parts of its facilities. Non-European students were not allowed to study at the Howard College site, with the result that a “University” was started at Sastri College. Sastri College, which had been built with funds collected from the community, became one of the most important educational centres for Indians.

St Anthony’s school had become one of the best run schools and had outgrown its premises in Victoria Street by the 1930s and a new school, which opened in 1936, was built adjacent to the St Anthony’s Church on Centenary Road. The school continued as a co-educational primary school until 1959. The secondary school phase was introduced in 1960, when classes were held for girls up to St 8 level. In 1987 the school reverted to its Primary School status and became a feeder school for the neighbouring Durban Girls’ High school, Orient Islamic school and Gandhi-Desai state aided schools.

Muslims received formal religious education mainly at madrassahs run by mosques. The Durban Anjuman Islam School attached to the West Street Mosque, is an important madrassah, that was opened in 1909. Most taught Gujarati, Urdu and Arabic in addition to the tenets of Islam. The Crescent School in Pine Street was started in 1917 and was one of the first to attempt to combine secular and religious education. Partly due to the attitude of parents but mainly because of a lack of schools, very few Indian children had access to secular education. During the 1940s and 1950s leaders like A.I. Kajee and A.M. Moolla attempted to combine religious and secular education and opened the South Coast Madrassah State Aided School, Ahmedia State Aided Indian School, Anjuman Islam State Aided School, and Orient Islamic High School for this purpose (Vahed, 1995: 139).

The 1940s were marked by a desperate need for more land for educational facilities funded by different cultural organisations and a philanthropist, Mr M.L. Sultan. Because of anti-Indian agitation during this period when the Pegging Act was introduced, very little land for Indian building developments was available, resulting in a search for suitable land for the next fifteen years. Although land was purchased in various locations by cultural organisations, European residents of those areas objected to the erection of Indian educational institutions in “their” areas. Not being able to build on a number of sites that were investigated, resulted in Currie’s Fountain

sports ground being reduced in size, to allocate the land for school developments. The lease of the land to the Durban Indian Sports Ground Association had expired in 1950 and the City Council decided to sub-divide the sports field to make land available for educational institutions. Since the mid 1950s, five schools and a Technical College were built in the same area, on land previously occupied by the sports grounds, reinforcing the educational zone that had developed since the 1920s. The educational facilities built in this phase on land sub-divided from the Currie's Fountain sports field, were the M.L. Sultan Technical College, Orient Islamic Primary and High Schools, the Manilal Valjee State Aided Primary School and the Gandhi Desai State Aided Secondary School: and St Augustine's School for Coloureds was opened soon after, seen in Fig 43.

The long and hard struggle for education by the Indian community in Durban, ranging from building elementary and high schools, and teacher training facilities, to providing technical and vernacular education, is encapsulated in the history of these educational institutions that developed around Currie's Fountain from the 1920s to the 1950s, some of which are outlined below.

The Hindu Tamil Institute.

The Hindu Tamil Institute purchased a property on the corner of Cross and Prince Edward Streets and built a school and hall, where Tamil classes were conducted after normal English class hours. Sir Srinivasa Sastri officially opened the Hindu Tamil Government Aided school in 1926. The growing student numbers and lack of space necessitated the building of a new school that was built on the corner of Carlisle and Cross Streets. The foundation stone was laid in 1939 by Sir Sarvapally Radhakrishna, a visiting Indian philosopher and Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University. The school officially opened in 1940 and ran successfully until the 1980s when it closed due to residents moving out of the area.



Fig 42. The Hindu Tamil Institute in Cross Street (Indian Settlers Issue: 1981)

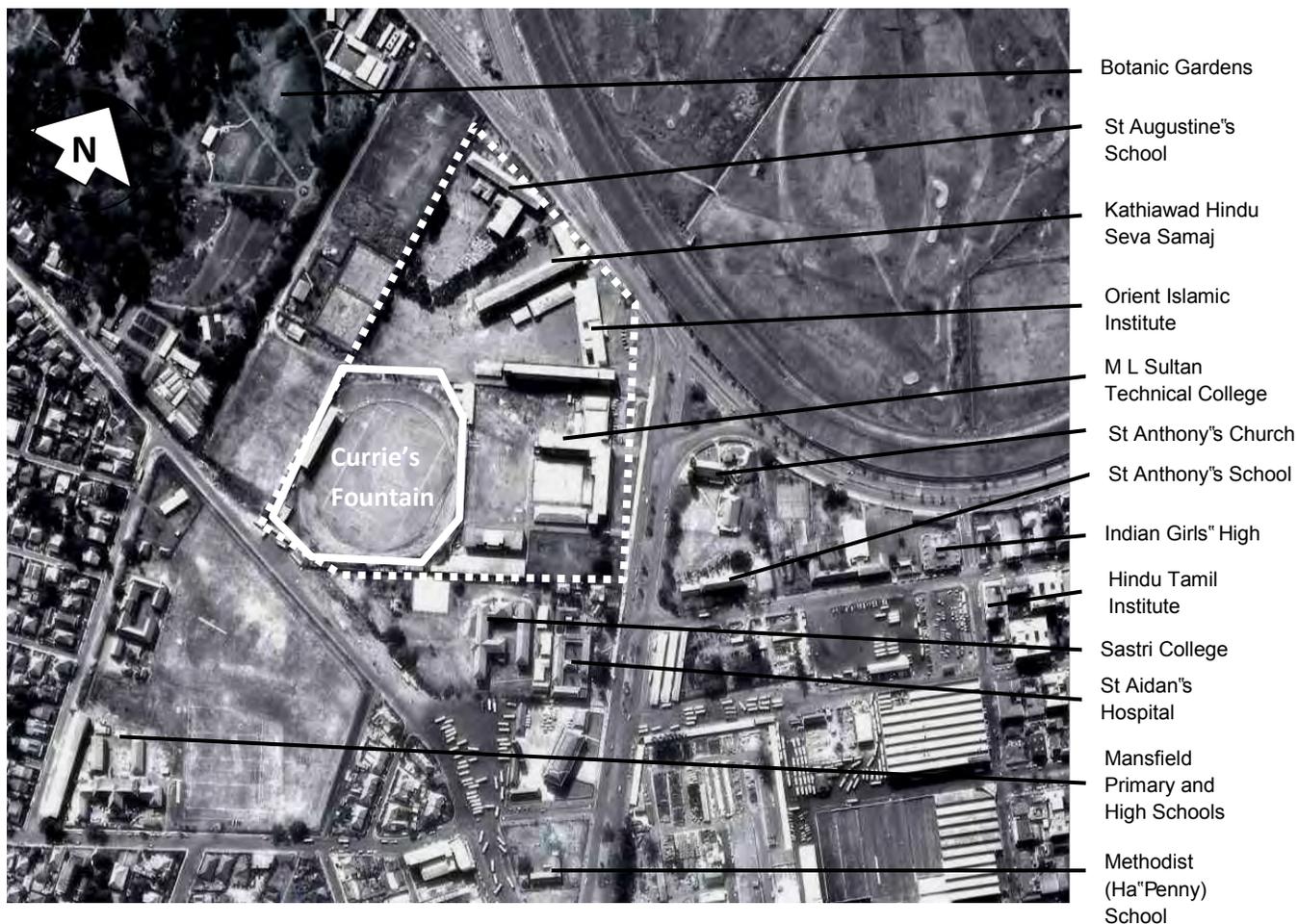


Fig 43. Aerial view in 1963 of the much reduced Currie's Fountain sports ground and the new educational institutions that established an educational zone. (City Engineers Dept)

Sastri College

As a direct result of the “Uplift Clause” in the “Cape Town Agreement” concluded in 1927 between the governments of India and the Union of South Africa, the Indian Enquiry Commission was appointed to look into the matter of Indian education in Natal, whose Indian population had to rely largely on its own meagre financial resources for the educational needs of its children. At the conference held in Cape Town in December-January 1926-1927 the Indian government agreed to a voluntary expatriation scheme for Indians; the Union government promised to “uplift” the social and economic conditions of those who remained behind; and the Indian government was to appoint an Agent to monitor the outcome of what became known as the Cape Town Agreement (Vahed, 1995: 69). Sastri College was named after its founder the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, who was part of the delegation from India who held talks with the South African government resulting in the Cape Town Agreement. Sastri College, seen

in Fig 44, is located in Winterton Walk and was officially opened on 14 October 1929, by his Excellency the Earl of Athlone, Governor General of South Africa.

Shortly after the signing of the Cape Town Agreement, Sastri was appointed Agent of the Government of India in South Africa. As Agent he was convinced that education held the key to the upliftment of the Indian Community. Together with leading members of the community Sastri conceived an institution that would serve as both a high school, offering instruction up to matric level and as a teacher training college. The scheme involved the erection of three buildings. The main building consisted of a large central hall with six classrooms and four on the other side for the teacher training classes, a hostel for at least forty pupils from outlying districts was also to be provided and the third building was to be the principal's residence. The plans covered six acres and included the provision for a playground. The building was conceived by the architect Kallenbach, who had become closely involved with Gandhi and the Satyagraha movement (Sastri College Brochure : 1990).



Fig 44. Sastri College which opened in 1930 (Source and date unknown)

Sastri launched a fund-raising drive in August 1927 calling on the Indian community to contribute twenty thousand pounds for the construction and equipment he envisaged for the institution. The community's response to Sastri's request was immediate and by December 1927, eighteen thousand pounds had been raised. Sastri approached the City Council for the grant of a vacant plot of land of about six acres, adjoining Currie's Fountain recreation grounds. This area

was seen as being suitable because it was near three existing Indian Schools, which could be used as practicing schools for teachers in training. The council agreed but the land allocated was reduced to two acres. Sastri accepted the offer and proceeded with his plans in the hope that, after the approval by the Natal Education Department, more land would be granted.

At the official opening ceremony in 1929, Sir Kurma Reddy, who had succeeded Sastri as India's representative in South Africa, delivered an address in which he stated that, by opening the magnificent building a torch would be lit which would spread light and knowledge into numerous Indian homes. The four huge columns had a symbolical meaning to him and he named them, Culture, Civilization, Truth and Beauty. Sastri College officially began classes when all the pupils from the Carlisle Street Government Indian School were transferred to it in February 1930. The staff consisted of two Europeans, the principal and vice principal, and nine Indian staff, six of whom were qualified graduates from India, selected by the government of India. Not only was Sastri College a high school and teacher training venue, the facilities were also used from 1932 to house commercial classes after normal school hours, until the M.L. Sultan Technical College was built. In addition to these functions, the Natal University College obtained permission in 1936 to use Sastri buildings to conduct classes for its non-European students and it became the non-European Section of Natal University (Sastri College Brochure: 1990).

The increase in enrolment in both high school and teacher training sections, resulted in inadequate accommodation. In 1941, the ground floor of Mohan Court in Etna Lane was occupied as an annexe to house two standard VII classes. Later the St Aidan's hall in Cross Street had to be hired for additional teaching space. The space problem was alleviated when the Teachers Training Department was transferred to Springfield College of Education in 1951. In 1955 three new classrooms were added to alleviate the accommodation pressures (*The Leader* 19 Aug, 1988).

Sastri College did not provide hostel accommodation, which presented serious difficulties for students who came from afar. A.C. Meer recalls how his family home and others in the community accommodated out of town students. The only educational institutions with hostel facilities at that time, were Lovedale College and Fort Hare, because all the White centres were closed to Blacks (*The Leader* 8 Nov, 1985). A hostel for up-country students attending Sastri College was established in 1930 at the corner of Leathern and Mansfield Roads. Since its inception, Sastri College acquired an immense reputation as a centre of academic excellence and achievement in sport. Numerous graduates have gone on to higher studies at universities both in South Africa and abroad and many have distinguished themselves in business, industry, the professions, academia and politics (Sastri College 70 Anniversary Brochure).

Orient Islamic School

The Orient Islamic Educational Institute was established in 1942 for the purposes of advancing Muslim education and particularly for the establishment of schools for higher education in Durban. Prior to the formation of the Institute, a few individuals had purchased three acres of land below the Botanic Gardens to establish a school, but due to anti-Indian agitation, the site had to be abandoned. The trustees then purchased eighty acres on the Bluff but before the foundation stone could be laid, the residents on the Bluff objected and plans had to be abandoned again. After years of searching for a suitable site in Durban and other parts of the country, and encountering similar objections from White residents, a 3.7 acre site at Currie's Fountain was exchanged for the eighty acres on the Bluff, with certain price adjustments (Orient Silver Jubilee Brochure, 1960-1985)

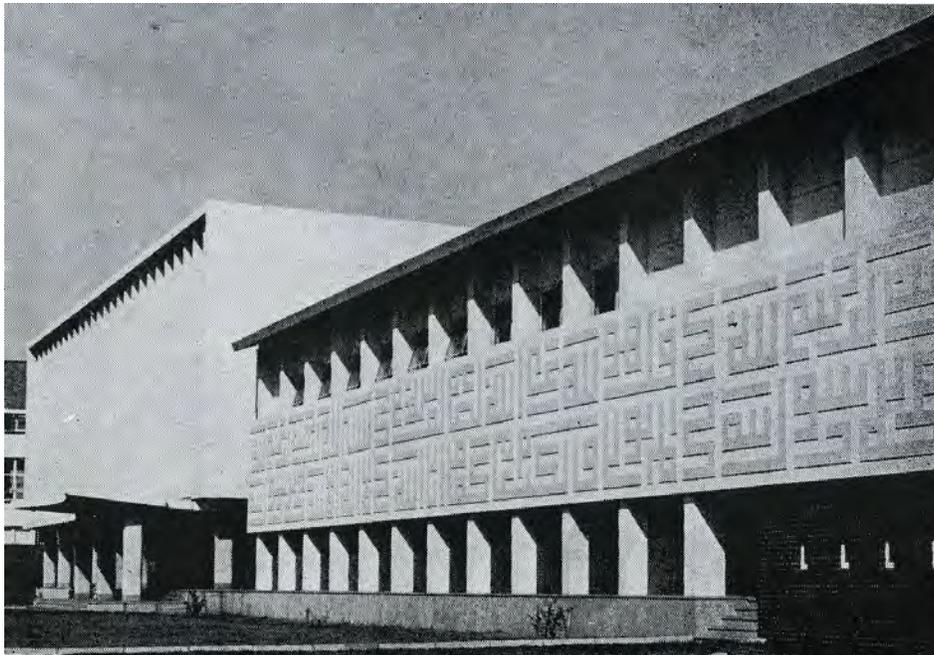


Fig 45. The Orient Islamic School which opened in 1959 (Orient 50 year brochure)

The Currie's Fountain site allocated to the school was part of the sports field and building could only commence when the City Council had provided alternative sports fields. In 1955 the Institute took possession of the site at Currie's Fountain, fifteen years after the first site, less than a kilometer away, was purchased for a school. A community fundraising drive ensued and qualified educators were recruited to put the educational plan into operation. Professors from India were recruited to train teachers to teach Arabic through the medium of English and to draw up a curriculum for an integrated religious and secular studies programme. The first classes started from the Pine Street Madressa and the Anjuman Islam School in Leopold Street (Orient 50 year Brochure, 1960-1985). Building operations started in 1956 and were completed in 1958. One of the striking features of the school was the geometric calligraphy pattern which adorned

the facade, painstakingly reproduced from Persian manuscripts. Two separate schools in one structure opened in 1959 – the Orient Islamic Primary School with an enrolment of 570 learners and the Orient Islamic High School with 205 learners. The high school occupied six classrooms on the second floor and the primary school occupied the 12 classrooms on the ground and first floors. In 1985, the two schools combined to form the Orient Islamic Secondary School. From 1987 onwards the school became co-educational and in 1998 the school was known as the Orient Islamic School (Orient Silver Jubilee Brochure, 1960-1985).

Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj

Dr. N.P. Desai and a group of leading Durban residents from Kathiawad, in India, established the Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj in 1943. The aims of the organisation were to unite the numerous sub-groups of Kathiawadi's into one cohesive entity, encouraging and preserving the Gujarati language and culture and “to equip our people to play their part in a larger community consisting of the rest of the Indian community, the European order, and the African peoples” (Kathiawad Brochure, 1956). With financial contributions from local families the Samaj built the Kathiawad Hindu Government-Aided Indian School and a hall in Lorne Street. The school was an English school, but provision was made to teach Gujarati. Teaching children their mother language was important and seen as part of their culture and identity and to avoid ignorance of the great heritage of their homeland. However, the importance of English to be able to live in the other adopted world of trading in South Africa was also recognised.

In a very real sense, like so many other Indians in South Africa, we Kathiawadis live in two worlds, the world of our home, our home language, Gujarati, our religion of Hinduism and the world outside, where our very existence depends on the knowledge of the world of trade and industry and the context of English (Kathiawad Brochure, 1956: 69).

The foundation stone was laid in 1946, for a community facility conceived as a central place or headquarters, to which all could look to express their interests. The hall that was originally named the Kathiawad Hall was renamed the Mahatma Gandhi Hall after some of Gandhi's ashes were brought to Durban for immersion in the Umgeni River in 1948 and were first placed in the Samaj Hall for the public to pay homage. A Gujarati library was also established in the basement of the Hall which was opened in 1948 and continued serving the community until the late 1960s. This building became the headquarters of the Samaj and hub of Kathiawad religious and community life, marked by festivals, weddings, welcome receptions and farewells and meetings.

What was referred to as the “Currie Fountain Project” by the Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj, was seen as an educational scheme to complement its scholastic and social institutions and consisted of:

- The Manilal Valjee Government Aided Indian School, a boys' primary school consisting of sixteen classrooms, principal's offices and a refectory for 700 pupils. Named in

memory of Manilal Valjee the son of V. Valjee, one of the early pioneers, who donated 10 000 pounds for the school.

- The Government Aided Indian High School for boys, consisting of fourteen classrooms, principals offices, science laboratory, lecture and demonstration room and a library to accommodate 450 pupils.
- The Gandhi-Desai Memorial Hall accommodating 1 000 people and a stage. Named after the Gandhi-Desai family who donated 5 000 pounds for the construction of the hall (Kathiawad Brochure: 1956).

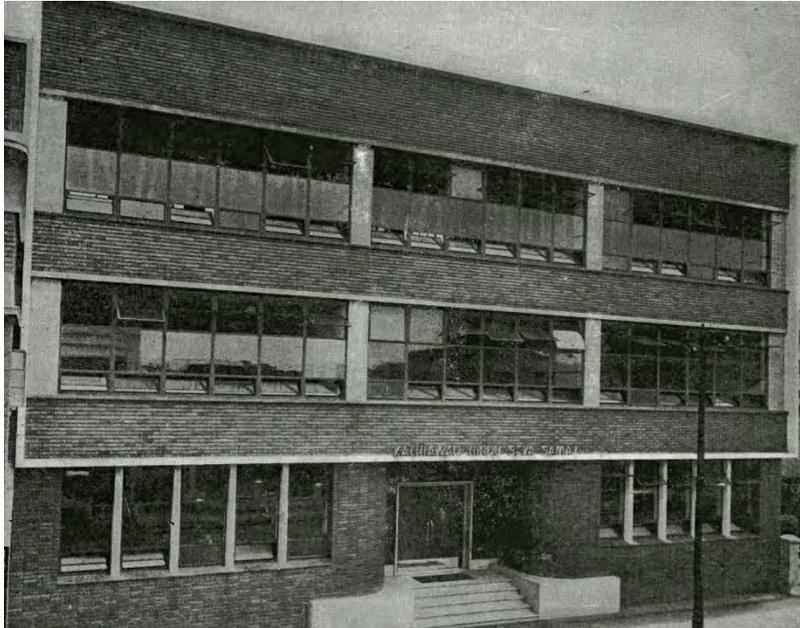


Fig 46. The Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj School and Hall renamed the Mahatma Gandhi Hall in Lorne Street.

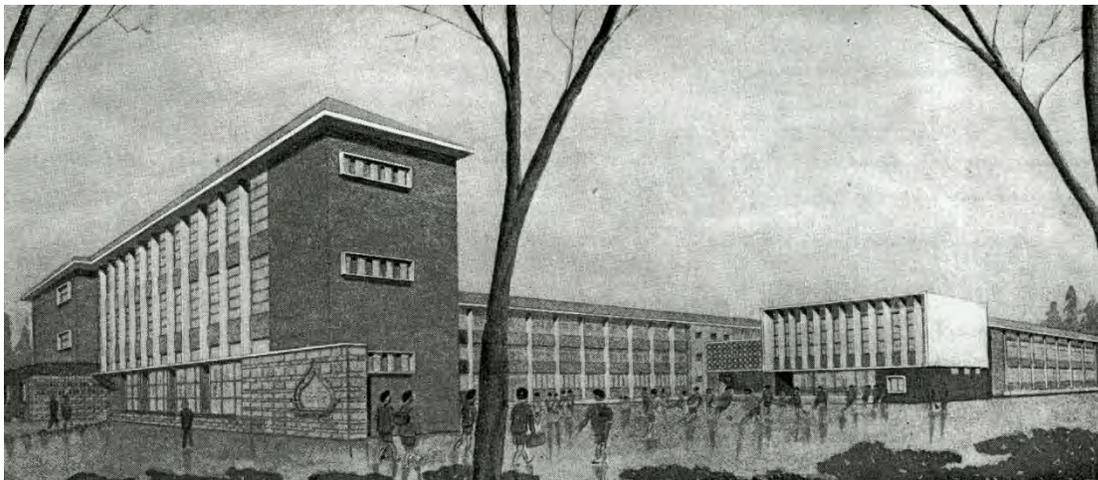


Fig 47. Perspective of the „Curries Fountain Project“ of educational institutions est. by the Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj

(Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj brochure 1956)

M.L. Sultan Technical College

The M.L. Sultan Technical College, like the many other educational institutions before it, was a product of a long struggle for education by the Indian community. Soon after the 1927 Cape Town Agreement the education of Indians became a more pressing issue and adult classes started at St Aidan's Mission School followed by technical classes in a range of subjects. The Worker's Congress, established by advocate Albert Christopher in 1928, rallied for educational facilities for working Indians. Many voluntary teachers offered their services to the Congress out of a genuine commitment to education. Afternoon classes started at the Carlisle Street Government Indian School in 1929 and evening classes began at the Hindu Tamil Institute in Cross Street. By the end of 1929, more than 230 students were in attendance. In 1931 the government pledged an annual grant and the Carnegie Corporation funded equipment and machinery while the Indian community contributed hundreds of pounds. Facilities improved and classes grew rapidly requiring additional premises. Larger premises were sought at Sastri College and the Hindu Tamil Institute while further diversification of courses attracted more students.



Fig 48. The M L Sultan Technical College which opened in 1956 (DUT archives)

In 1941 Hajee Malukmahomed Lappa Sultan pledged 33 000 pounds for the construction of a Technical College and the government agreed to subsidise construction of the building on a rand for rand basis. The Durban City Council had resolved to donate a building site and provide initial funding. Part time classes continued until 1946, when M.L. Sultan Technical College was declared an approved institution for Higher Education. After the National Party came into power

in 1948 the Durban Corporation stalled in finding a satisfactory site for an Indian Institution and plans were redrawn as the site for the College was changed on a number of occasions.

In 1953 the City Council finally agreed to a site at Currie's Fountain and in 1954 Advocate Christopher turned the first sod and construction for the College building in Centenary Road began. The M.L. Sultan Technical College, seen in Fig 48, was officially opened in 1956, catering for 240 full time students and 4 760 part-time students in nine branches. In March 1969, after the passing of the Indian Advanced Technical Education Act, the institution became a College of Advanced Technical Education and in 1979 the status of the College was changed to that of a Technikon. M.L. Sultan Technikon became a full tertiary institution consisting of nine schools in 1984. New premises for the Hotel School were found on Winterton Walk in 1989 and by 1991 multi-story administrative and academic blocks had been erected on the Centenary Road site. After 1996 the institution was opened to other race groups. In 2002 the M.L. Sultan Technikon merged with the previously European Technikon Natal, to form the Durban Institute of Technology, which later became the Durban University of Technology (DUT). The M.L. Sultan site is currently the M.L. Sultan Campus of the Durban University of Technology (Durban University of Technology Brochure).

Health care sites.

St Aidan's Hospital

St Aidan's Mission Regional Hospital arose from the missionary work of the Reverend Dr. Lancelot Parker Booth, who was appalled at the conditions of the Indian labouring classes, particularly at the poverty, illiteracy, the low standard of living and the lack of medical facilities. In 1886 Booth's Mission Schools were established in Durban, which provided rudimentary education for Indian children. Booth perceived that the greatest need lay in medical services for the under-privileged classes and consequently he started a dispensary in the back-yard of the Mission House in Cross Street pictured in Fig 49 (Nair and Naidoo, 2010: 71).

The first St Aidan's hospital is attributed to the work of the Reverend Bone who had arrived in Durban in 1914 from India and urged for the immediate establishment of a Mission hospital for the local Indian population. Miss Olive Cole, a qualified nurse who had trained at Addington Hospital and overseas provided the financial assistance to establish the proposed hospital. Miss Cole's financial contribution covered the rent for a hired house, which was converted into a 9 to 16 bed hospital. This became the first St Aidan's hospital which was officially opened in 1916 by the Governor-General, The Earl of Buxton, in a small building across the street from Booth's Mission house, on the corner of Cross and Leopoldt Streets (Nair and Naidoo, 2010: 72). Miss Cole was succeeded by Miss Wells in 1923 when the lease expired, Dr Booth's old Mission House was occupied and the veranda enclosed accommodating 21 beds and four cots. This is

described as the second hospital which was operational at Mission House in Cross Street until 1935.

In January 1935, the third St Aidan's Hospital foundation stone was laid by Kunwarani Lady Maharaj Singh, wife of the then Agent-General for the Government of India, on a one acre site, acquired from the Durban Corporation in Centenary Road, adjacent to Sastri College. In July 1936, the hospital was formally opened by the Countess of Claredon, the wife of the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa (Nair and Naidoo, 2010: 72). The hospital expanded continuously and in 1946 the administration of the hospital was placed in the hands of a Board of Management made up of 12 members, six of whom were elected by the Synod and six by the Indian Medical Trust Services. Extensions to the first part of the hospital commenced in 1949 and were completed in 1951 and could accommodate 100 beds.

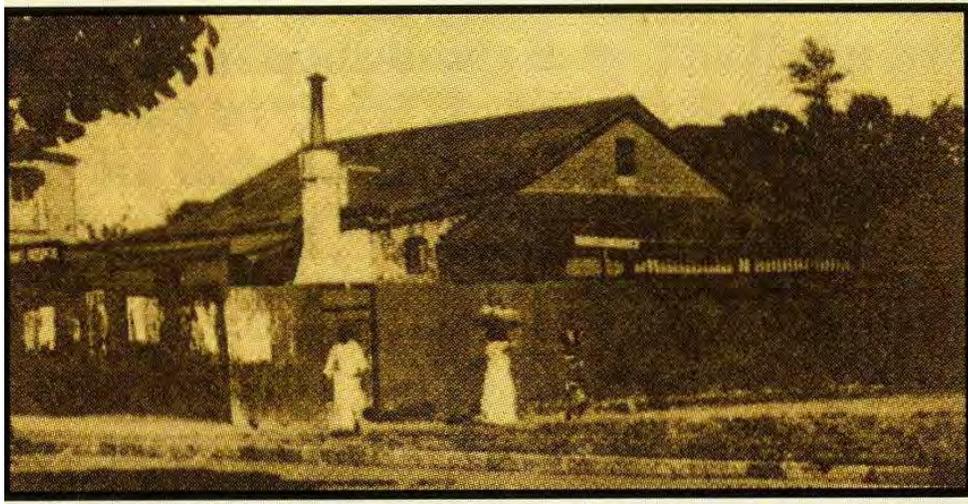


Fig 49. The backyard of Rev Booth's rectory which served as the first clinic for Indians in Durban, 1883 -1900.

(Nair and Naidoo: 2010)

In 1960 the hospital was declared a Special Zone by the Group Areas Act and for many years the board sought permission to undertake further extensions. In 1966 the new St Aidan's Church was built on a plot adjoining the hospital and consecrated in 1969 (Nair and Naidoo, 2010: 65). By 1977, the hospital embarked on a R5 million project which was divided in three phases. The first phase, consisting of an administration block, dispensary, children's ward and intensive care unit, opened in 1978. The second phase opened in 1981, consisting of a 100 bed Nurses' Home, lecture rooms, dining rooms and the catering department. In September 1983, the Bishop Rev. Michael Nuttal officially opened the new extensions, which included a new theatre block, surgical wards, maternity labour room suite and examination rooms, administrative offices and

entrance. The St Aidan's mission hospital operated as a private hospital until April 2004 when it was officially handed over to the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Health on a ten year lease.

Public Transport nodes.

The first public transport site in the Warwick Junction Precinct was the West End Station, that became known as Berea Station and was located along the rail track that skirted the western end of the Borough, close to West Street, much further south than its present location, seen in Fig 50 and 51. An early twentieth century description of the station is given by Harrison (1903).

After rattling under another viaduct, noticing the Electric Power Station on the right,... within a few seconds run of the West End Station...we observe a number of Kafirs and Indians at the far end of the platform, pushing and screaming, and tumbling into carriages, over pots and tins, bundles and boots, calabashes, fruit baskets, sugar-cane, and other articles of their personal impedimenta (Harrison, 1903: 33).

Horse-drawn trams were the main mode of public transport in the 1890s and were replaced by electrically powered trams in 1902. When a power station was built in Alice Street to drive the electric trams, the tram routes converged on Alice Street and it became another transport node for a different form of public transport. By the 1920s the Indian community had pioneered motorised public transport in the form of open backed trucks that developed into the main mode of transport for non-Europeans. The Early Morning Market (EMM) that was re-located to Warwick Avenue became an important destination with a bus rank developing adjacent to it. Conveniently situated close to the Victoria Street Bridge the Victoria Street bus rank, as it became known, gave easy access to the busy Indian Market in Victoria Street, the EMM and Berea Station.



Fig 50. The Berea (West End) Station. (undated) (F. Frescura)



Fig 51. The West end of West Street and Berea Station in bottom right corner in 1903. (Harrison: 1903)

Other bus ranks developed near schools such as Sastri, Indian Girls High, St Anthony's and Currie's Fountain in Winterton Walk. These ranks on Winterton, Lorne and Beatrice streets together with the Victoria Street bus terminus, seen in Fig 52 and 53, became the main bus terminals for non-Europeans. The buses were operated by private Indian owners and the routes serviced the primarily Indian areas of Clairwood, Springfield, Cato Manor, Mayville and Greenwood Park.

The current bus ranks in the Warwick Avenue area, some of which have since changed into taxi ranks have their genesis in the bus rank formation that developed from the 1930s in this residential neighbourhood on the edge of the city. In the same way that a dual CBD developed adjacent to the White CBD, so too did a dual public transport service develop, depicted in Fig 19 and 20. The municipal trams and buses were always segregated and largely reserved for Whites and the destinations were centered on West and Smith Streets. The first municipal bus service serving the African township of Chesterville was only introduced in 1943. The vast majority of non-Europeans depended on bus and rail transport. The privately owned Indian bus service, together with a few African bus owners, filled the void with a range of bus services totaling more than 250 bus lines and 450 buses by 2003 (Jackson: 2003).



Fig 52. Aerial view of the Warwick Avenue area in 1963 with Victoria, Winterton Walk and Lorne St Bus Terminals circled (1963 aerial photo: City Engineers Dept)



Fig 53. View of the busy Victoria St bridge in the 1960s that linked the EMM, Victoria Bus rank and the Indian Market (I. Blunden)

Sports site.

Currie's Fountain sports ground.

Soccer was the most popular sport played by Indians and as early as 1886, the Natal Indian Football Association was established, consisting of four clubs: Union Jacks, Eastern Stars, Yorkshire and Western Stars (Vahed, 1995: 146). In the early 1900s soccer was played in the area known as Berea Flats now occupied by the Early Morning Market and English Market. In the 1920s, negotiations began with the Durban Corporation for the acquisition of a sports ground that finally culminated in the acquisition of a site known as Currie's Fountain, on a 25 year lease controlled by the Durban Indians Sports Ground Association (DISGA). The organisation catered primarily for the Durban and District Indian Football Association and the Durban Indian Cricket Union, but later also had the Durban Indian Golf Club and the Durban Tennis Club, Kismet and Spes Bona Tennis clubs, affiliated to it.

Durban Corporation granted R8 000 to develop the twenty acres at Currie's Fountain and it was spent on a wood and iron pavilion that seated 800 persons, corrugated iron fencing, turnstiles and an ablution block. Facilities for golfers, cyclists, athletes, tennis players and the ever increasing soccer and cricket players were all catered for (Currie's Fountain Brochure: 1984). With limited land all the schools in the area, particularly Sastri College, used Currie's Fountain sports ground for sport events and sports days. In 1934 Currie's Fountain was host to the first of many important sports events that were to follow, when an Indian team from India played a South African Indian team. From then on Currie's Fountain became the premier soccer ground in Durban, not only for Indians but for non-Europeans in general, for over sixty years right up until the 1990s. When the lease expired in 1950 there were 6 soccer fields, 4 cricket pitches, 3 tennis courts, a quarter mile cinder track, a nine hole golf course, a refreshment room and a clock tower, seen in Fig 54.

The demand for land to build educational institutions resulted in Currie's Fountain being reduced in size from 20 acres, seen in Fig 54, to six acres as seen in Fig 43. The land belonged to the City Council who decided that 14 acres was to be allocated to different organisations for the erection of schools – M.L. Sultan Technical College, Orient Islamic Institute, St Aidan's Mission, Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj and the Emmanuel Catholic School. Six acres were retained as the central playing field. Currie's Fountain had to be reconfigured when land was allocated to the educational institutions. The grandstand was rebuilt and one soccer pitch, one cricket pitch and an athletics track was all that could be provided for. The new stadium was officially opened in 1958, with a capacity to hold a maximum of 22 000 spectators (Currie's Fountain Brochure: 1984).

When professional soccer was introduced in 1961 on a national basis, it became evident that soccer had to be played at night to complete the season and the City Council was approached for a loan to erect Xeron lights. The Mayor of Durban, Dr. Vernon Shearer, officially switched on

the lights at Currie's Fountain on 26 November 1964, before a crowd of 20 000 spectators who witnessed a match between Aces United and Avalon Athletics.

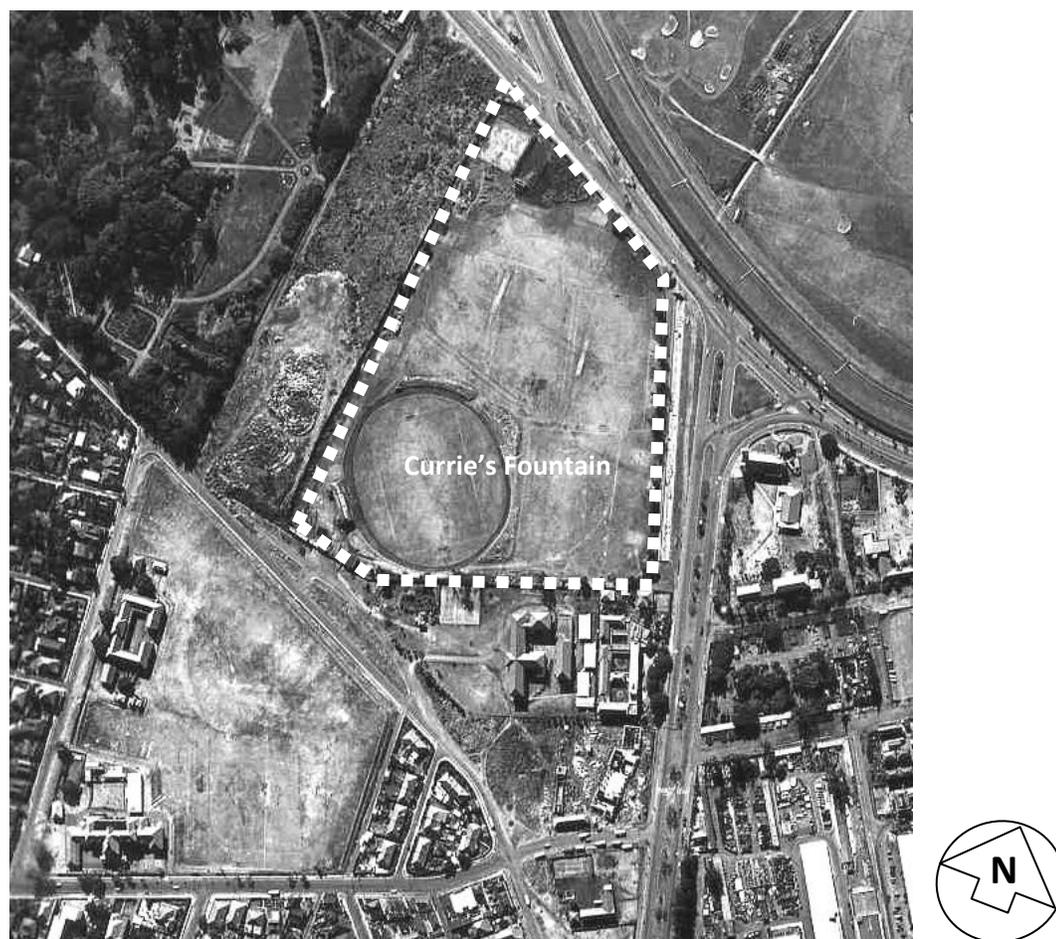


Fig 54. Currie's Fountain in 1951, catering for soccer, cricket, athletics, tennis, motorcycle racing and golf.

(1951 photo: City Engineers Dept)

The cinder athletic track was officially opened by the Mayor Trevor Warman in 1969. Negotiations started again in 1976 with the City Council for additional facilities to extend the pavilion to seat 3 000 spectators, an ablution block, an administrative block and ticket office. Construction of this phase was completed in July 1977 (Currie's Fountain Brochure: 1984). Since the late 1970s no further major improvements have been made at Currie's. After residents in the neighbourhood had been relocated due to the Group Areas Act, Currie's popularity as a sports venue declined and the site became the main venue for political rallies, mass meetings and protest marches since the 1970s.



Fig 55. First soccer match under floodlights at Currie's Fountain in 1964. (I. Blunden)

Inter-race soccer tournaments became a feature at Currie's in the 1950s reflecting the changing political climate of co-operation and unity, replacing the "Indians only" Sam China Cup tournament. Soccer, which had been played separately by Africans, Indians and Coloureds was now being played on the same field, although still in racially divided teams. Ex-sports administrator and sports commentator, E. Osman recalls this period.

"Currie's" was also the venue of the "inter-race" matches involving Indian, Coloured and African teams. These matches produced many tense battles at Currie's without any serious incident, until one Sunday afternoon in 1958 during an Indians versus Africans match when the terraces exploded into violence. I was there and like many others made my escape by scaling the fence to the safety of the ML Sultan Technikon yard. This was a really scary episode, especially for those of us who had experienced and still remembered the 1949 Indo – African riots. Fortunately the situation did not get out of hand. Wisely the soccer authorities decided that inter-race soccer should be shelved and we should move to a non-racial setup (Osman: 2010).

The South African non-European Soccer League (SASL) in 1952 was launched at Currie's Fountain, heralding an era of an inter-race soccer league. In 1961 the reconstituted SASL was transformed to a new non-racial South African Soccer Federation (SASF) which was also launched at Curries Fountain in 1961, introducing the Federation Professional League (FPL) which existed until the early 1990s under trying circumstances, shunned by the government and sponsors during the apartheid period when non-racialism was discouraged.

The two decades from the 1960s to 1980s were the golden years of the professional league (Osman: 2010) with teams like Avalon Athletics, Berea, Aces United, Manning Rangers, Maritzburg United, Verulam Suburbs, Sundowns, Berea United and Cape Town Spurs. These clubs boasted soccer legends like Dharam Mohan, Links Padayachee, Black Cat Cele, Blondie Campbell, Scampie Bissessor, Jugoo Govender, Maniraj Singh, Bernie Crowie, Balraj Mohan, Lionel Homiel, Derrick Desplace, Dan Naidoo, Scara Wanda and a host of others. It was capacity crowds that attended matches at Currie's Sunday after Sunday, with a festival atmosphere and each team having their own beauty queen. Hailed as the Mecca of non-racial sport, it was the home of the non-racial Federation League. In the 1960s court cases were held to determine the fate of a few Coloured and White players, together with Indian soccer officials, who had transgressed the Group Areas Act because they had played soccer together at Currie's Fountain.

Soccer was the focus at Currie's and in particular the non-racial league that had been established in 1961. The many night games under floodlights and the weekend fixtures were keenly reported in the independently owned *Leader* and *Drum* newspapers. Osman (2010) points out that many budding Indian journalists and photographers, who became prominent in their field, also started their careers at Currie's and contributed to the non-racial movement in sport. The exposure in the alternate media was vital to the non-racial sports struggle which was a part of the total anti-apartheid campaign, because the predominantly White media virtually ignored non-European sport.

There was another side of the "Currie's" story that must be put on record. "Currie's" was a training ground for a number of our budding sports journalists of the time. There were several of them. Seniors like G.R. Naidoo and Bobby Haripersadh of the Golden City Post and Drum, Brijlall Runguthee, Ronnie Govender, Morgan Naidoo, Ticks Chetty, Dennis Pather, Devan Moodley, Christy Murugen, Joe Mahabeer, Farook Khan, Khalil Aniff, Iqbal Khan, Ami Nanackchand and the editor of the *Leader* Sunil Bramdhaw himself. Most of them started their writing careers as cub reporters covering sporting and other events at "Currie's". They were well supported by cameramen like Ranjith Kally, Moosa Badsha, M.S Roy, Puree Devjee, Bala Govender and others. I can also remember the late Goolam Majam with a portable radio slung around his neck and a small microphone in hand running around recording snippets of commentary of the match and comments from officials, players and spectators. This was for radio Truro, I think, which broadcasted from Swaziland. They all contributed to Non White Sport and its focal point, Currie's Fountain. Credit is also due to the editors like Sunil Bramdhaw (*Leader*), G.R. Naidoo (*Drum*) Bobby Haripersadh (*Post*) and Pat Poovalingham (*Graphic*) for giving full support to these young journalists and through them to non-White Sport and its focal point Currie's Fountain (Osman: 2010).

The first soccer team from India playing against South African Indians in 1934 was one of the highlights of the early years. Since then soccer tournaments and a host of local and provincial cricket matches have been played at this venue. Famous players including Basil D'Oliviera played here in the mid-sixties. The Sam China Cup soccer tournaments in the late forties, the inter-race and later non-racial soccer matches in the 1950s, the floodlit matches at night, professional soccer league matches and the many cup finals for a host of trophies all featured prominently. The United Tobacco Company (UTC) Cup in the 1960s, the Mainstay Cup of the late sixties and early seventies, and the Coca Cola Cup finals of the 1970s drew capacity crowds, made up of a mixture of young and old men and women supporters, vendors, police and their dogs, businessmen, politicians, officials, beauty queens, sponsors and gangsters.

This same venue also hosted numerous athletic events since the forties, including many inter-school sports occasions, athletics club functions and race meetings, boxing matches, beauty pageants, cultural events and music festivals attracting crowds not only from all parts of the country, but also Swaziland and Lesotho (Khoapa: 2007). Currie's became *the* venue for a variety of non-sporting and community events, especially political and trade union rallies and a favoured starting point for protest marches. The proximity to bus ranks, the Berea train station and town in general, made it an easily accessible venue for sports and political rallies. It hosted the Defiance Campaign rallies in the early 1950s (Callinicos: 2000) and a major protest rally in 1958 when 20 000 people gathered to condemn the proclamations and declare their total opposition to the Group Areas Act (Maharaj, 1992: 81). The photographs in Fig 56 to 63 provide a glimpse of the numerous activities that Currie's Fountain was host to.

In 1960, a hundred years after indenture, a capacity crowd gathered for the Indian Centenary celebrations. This simple, once waterlogged, public sports field has since been listed as one of the major sites of protest and resistance, in *Top Sites in South Africa: Struggle*, by Harrison (2004). Currie's Fountain is also listed, together with 69 other sites as a heritage trail, in *The world that made Mandela, A Heritage Trail, 70 sites of significance* by Callinicos (2000). Callinicos (2000: 150) states that Currie's Fountain's tradition of hosting mass meetings by opponents to segregation dates back to 1908 and 1913 when large crowds of Indians met at Currie's Fountain to protest against discriminatory tax laws, and during strikes, seen in Fig 56.

The 1946 Passive Resistance Campaign organised by the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and the rallies against the Group Areas Act in 1950 are some of the events that the late Professor Fatima Meer remembered, (Rosenberg, 2007: 17) when as a young activist she shared a platform with Dr. Monty Naicker and Alan Paton. Veteran activists Phyllis Naidoo and B. Khoapa recall the Pro-Frelimo rally in 1974 and the subsequent arrests of Black Consciousness leaders Steve Biko, Strini Moodley and Saths Cooper. Rafs Mayet, a freelance photographer, who grew up in the area and frequented Currie's and subsequently photographed many events in the 1980s and '90s remembers the COSATU affiliates AGMs, Sayco youth rallies, MAWU rallies, the first SACP rally in KZN in thirty years, SACOS, United Democratic Front and some IFP rallies.

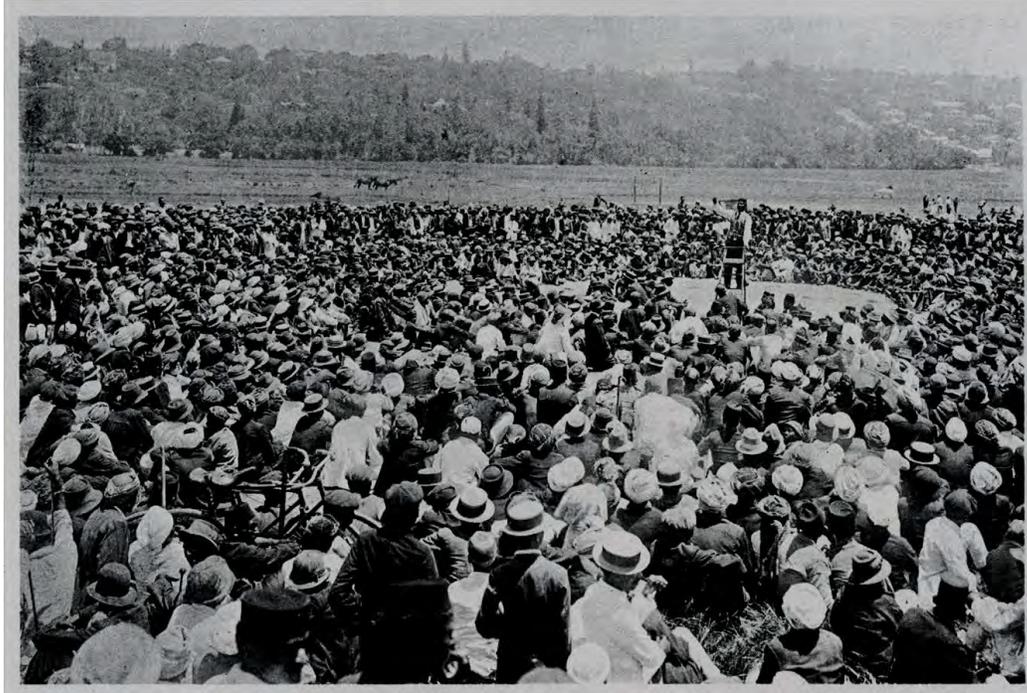


Fig 56. Mr. Thambi Naidoo addressing a mass meeting of over 6 000 people on the Durban Indian Football Ground during the 1913 strike. (Source: Indian Settlers issue). Note goalpost in background.

In the 1990s when organisations were unbanned and exiles returned into the country, the ANC Women’s League was re-launched at Currie’s followed by SACP and Mkhonto WeSizwe rallies thereafter, seen in Fig 63. Among the many leaders who addressed the crowds at this venue, that photographer Rafs Mayet witnessed, included Archie Gumede, Alec Erwin, Govan Mbeki, Joe Slovo, „Mam“ Florence Mkhize, Chris Hani, Murphy Morobe, Mosiua Lekota, Jay Naidoo, Adelaide Tambo, Willies Mchunu, Lawrence Zondi and Betty Shabazz (the wife of Malcolm X) (Rosenberg, 2007: 22-24). The Federation League was disbanded in the early 1990s, marking the end of decades of professional soccer events at Currie’s.



Fig 57. Typical soccer scenes at Currie's Fountain in the 1970s. Capacity crowds on the stand and grass banks, rival teams on the field and police and beauty queen parades on the outfield (Ranjith Kally)



Fig 58. Scenes of inter-school sports meetings and a boxing matches at Currie’s Fountain in the 1970s

(Ranjith Kally)



Fig 59. Scenes of Cricket and Karate events at Currie’s Fountain in the 1970s. (Ranjith Kally)



Fig. 60 Scene at the banned Pro-Frelimo rally outside Currie's Fountain in 1974. (Courtesy of Vino Reddy)



Fig. 61 Jay Naidoo, Archie Gumede and Murphy Morobe addressing a rally at Currie's Fountain in the 1980s.

(Rafs Mayet)



Fig. 62 Typical scenes of political rallies at Currie's Fountain in the 1980s. (Rafs Mayet)



Fig. 63 Unbanned political organisations holding rallies at „Currie“ in 1993. The ANC Women’s League was re-launched. The Communist Party rally attended by Hani, Zuma, and Slovo. The Mkhonto Wesizwe rally when disbanding from a “People’s Army” (Rafs Mayet)

The development of a non-racial identity in political and sports organisations.

A study on entertainment, entrepreneurship and politics in South African football in the 1950s notes how soccer evolved with and influenced the politics of South African political movements (Alegi, 2003: 19). Alegi states that both football and political organisations, which were alternative institutions, created by and for the benefit of Black people, started undergoing significant changes in the 1950s. “Racially divided groups formed a multiracial alliance with domestic and international links, adopting a universal, non-sectarian political program that gradually grew more radical over time” (Alegi, 2003: 17).

Durban was the epicenter of the major changes taking place in South African soccer in the 1950s (Alegi, 2003: 2) and it similarly underwent significant changes in the political formations since the mid-1940s. The massive migration of Africans from the countryside to the city, led to an astounding growth and popularity of soccer and Alegi argues that the game was incorporated into the daily discourse of urban Africans, discussed on the buses and pavements during lunch hour or waiting in long queues for transport (Alegi, 2003: 2). These significant changes in political and sports formations since the 1940s from an ethnic, to multi-racial and finally non-racial organisations were being formulated and advocated from the Grey Street precinct at Red Square, Currie’s Fountain and a number of other smaller venues.

Changes in political formations.

During the 1940s a more radical political leadership was emerging in the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses, led by Monty Naicker in Durban and Yusuf Dadoo in Johannesburg. Monty Naicker opposed the moderate leadership of A.I. Kajee in the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and in 1944 he was co-founder and first chairperson of the Anti-Segregation Council (Naidoo, 2006: 320). A series of mass meetings were held at Red square in 1945 by the Anti-Segregation Council, representing twenty organisations, who outlined a ten point programme which the NIC was asked to adopt. (24 July, 1987) reported on a “Monster Mass Meeting” at Red Square in December in 1945 which was regarded as “the battle against the Old Guard”, with the leading speakers being Yusuf Dadoo, Monty Naicker, H.A. Naidoo, George Singh and Albert Christopher A.C. Meer in *The Leader* 24 July, 1987 argues that this movement that started with the Anti-Segregation Council in 1944, set the tone for what followed in the next decade, namely the Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946, followed by the Congress Alliance of 1949 and the Defiance Campaign of 1952, culminating in the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Congress Of the People (COP) in Kliptown in 1955.

Monty Naicker was elected president of the NIC on 21 October 1945 at a huge mass meeting of Congress members held at Currie’s Fountain where the conservative leadership was ousted. Yusuf Dadoo was also elected president of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC). Under the Dadoo-Naicker leadership, mass meetings at Red Square, as seen in Fig 64, became regular occurrences in 1946 (*Leader* 16 Oct, 1987).



Fig. 64 Views of meetings held at Red Square in the 1940s and 1950s (Goolam Vahed)

In June 1946 the NIC launched the Passive Resistance Campaign against the Ghetto Act (Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act No 28 of 1946) which restricted land ownership to specific areas and representation through White members in parliament (Naidoo, 2006: 320). Groups of resisters occupied the “resistance plot” on the corner of Gale Street and Umbilo Road. In 1947 a pact was signed known as the Doctor’s Pact, which was the first declaration of co-operation between the ANC and the NIC/TIC and was signed by Dr A.B. Xuma, President General of the ANC, Dr Y. Dadoo of the TIC and Dr Monty Naicker of the NIC (Naidoo, 2006: 320). By 1948 the Durban offices of the NIC at Lakhani Chambers had become the hub of all democratic activities in Durban (*Leader* 18 March, 1988).

Inter-race relations suffered a serious set-back in 1949 when race riots broke out, apparently sparked by an attack by an Indian man on a young African male in Victoria Street. Africans attacked Indian people, sparking a wave of violence starting at the Indian market and spreading to suburbs, lasting for days (*Leader* 13 May 1988). Within weeks of the riots the ANC and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) formed a joint council “to advance and promote mutual understanding and goodwill among their respective peoples.” A.C. Meer (*Leader* 13 May, 1988) argues that this joint council of Indian and African politicians was the forerunner to the Congress Alliance under which the 1952 Defiance Campaign was launched three years later.

When the Group Areas Bill was introduced mass meetings in opposition to the Bill, were held at Red Square in May 1950 where both ANC and NIC leaders in the form of Dr. S.S. Moroka and Monty Naicker addressed the crowd (*Leader* 17 June, 1988). In 1952 when Chief Albert Luthuli became ANC president in Natal, the Congress Alliance launched the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign. In a build up to the launch, a meeting was held at Red Square on 6 April 1952. The co-operation and working relationship that the NIC and the ANC had developed is evident by the fact that Chief Luthuli gave the opening speech at the NIC annual conference in 1953 (*Leader* 10 Feb 1953). The Defiance Campaign of 1952 lasted for nine months and came to an end after laws were introduced that made virtually all forms of non-violent protest a crime. More than 8,000 South Africans of all colours served terms of imprisonment during this period (*Leader* 17 March, 1989).

After the Defiance Campaign the idea of the Freedom Charter was born in 1953, when A.C. Meer recalled how discussions centered on going to the people and recording their hopes and aspirations, as had never been done before. At the 1953 annual conference of the ANC, the decision to form the Congress Of the People (COP), for the formulation of the Freedom Charter, planned to be adopted in 1955, was announced. Mass bannings ensued soon thereafter including of Ahmed Kathrada, Fathima Meer, I.C. Meer and most of the senior NIC leadership. Against the backdrop of bannings and intimidation, the Freedom Charter was adopted by the Congress of the People on a soccer pitch in Kliptown in 1955. The banned leaders of the NIC and ANC together with many others totaling 156, were accused in the first mass treason trial of 1956, and became the heroes of the Freedom Charter (*Leader* 16 June, 1989). The 156 accused, in the now famous

Treason Trail, were accused of High Treason for the part they played in the planning and adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955 (Naidoo: 2006).

Transformation in Soccer administration

From 1948, a year after the Doctor's Pact of mutual co-operation between the ANC and NIC/TIC, the South African African Football Association (SAAFA) and the Coloured Football Association started discussions in Johannesburg for the formation of a unified Federation encompassing the African, Indian and Coloured Football Associations. A.J. Albertyn of the Coloured association and Dan Twala the secretary of SAAFA organised a second round of talks in 1950 in Wynberg in Cape Town. Delegates of the two associations formed the Federation of South African Football Associations with Twala as the president and Albertyn as secretary and they were tasked with drafting a constitution.

In April 1951 the Indian soccer association attended a meeting where all three national sports institutions approved the Federation's constitution. Finally, at a "momentous conference" at Curries Fountain on 30 September 1951, African, Coloured and Indian officials founded the South African Soccer Federation (SASF), barring nobody on the grounds of race, colour or creed. The Federation became the largest soccer organisation in South Africa, consisting of 46 000 members of the African, Coloured and Indian associations into one, multiracial umbrella body opposed to apartheid in football (Alegi, 2003: 19). Up until the 1950s soccer was organised along racial lines with separate associations for Africans, Coloureds and Indians and their leagues and cup finals played at separate venues. Currie's Fountain was the venue for sports amongst Indians, the Somtseu soccer fields were for Africans, Coloureds played at Tills Crescent sports ground and whites played sports at Lords grounds and Albert Park.

Soon after the Defiance Campaign of 1952 the South African Soccer Federation (SASF) fought for recognition at FIFA, led by George Singh who was a senior Federation official and who was part of the Anti-Segregation Council of 1944. The SASF representation for recognition by FIFA claimed that the Federation was the legitimate representative in South Africa with 82 percent registered players. The White South African Football Association (SAFA) which had been hastily accepted into FIFA in 1952 represented only 18 percent of south African players. FIFA did not endorse the White controlled SAFA and neither did it accept the Federation on the grounds that the Federation did not include White players (Alegi, 2003: 24).

Alegi (2003: 25) argues that soccer's vanguard role in challenging White South Africa was evident when the first international delegation to visit the country for the purpose of addressing apartheid-related disputes, was the 1956 FIFA commission of enquiry. The convergence of sports and politics can be seen in the convergence of the two separate but interrelated events. In 1956, whilst an international delegation was visiting South Africa on apartheid-related sport disputes, the South African government started the mass Treason Trial following the adoption of the Freedom Charter.

In 1960 the Federation made the transition from a multiracial to a non-racial organisation. Albertyn proposed that the African, Indian and Coloured national units which constituted the SASF be eliminated in favour of new non-racial provincial units. Alegi (2003: 33) concludes that the Federation transformed football into a key component of the emerging sports boycott movement starting in 1961 when FIFA suspended South Africa. Football sanctions were among the first international indictments of the apartheid regime. As was the case in 1951, the reconstituted SASF to form the new SA Federation was launched at Currie's Fountain in 1961. Changes in the administration of soccer followed in a similar manner to the developments in political movements. Race based soccer associations also transformed to multi-racial federations and Currie's Fountain was the epicenter of these changes in Durban.

CONCLUSIONS

Although Durban has been a multi-cultural city for more than a century, very little history is published on the urban experience of Blacks, who were referred to as “non-Europeans” and were generally not considered to be part of the city. Thus little is known about the non-European presence in what was regarded as the “European” city during the colonial and apartheid periods. The key issues this study has focused on whilst investigating the spatial development of the city of Durban from the 1870s to the 1980s, have been to:

- Establish how the growth of the city was influenced and shaped by colonialism and apartheid and where were the manifestations of a non-European presence, in the fabric of the city.
- Establish the location, history, character and composition of this other area.
- Identify the remains of important institutions and places of this other part of the city that once served the non-European community during colonial and apartheid eras.

Influences of colonialism and apartheid on the development of the city of Durban

The spatial development and character of the city of Durban from the 1870s to the 1980s, is a story about a bay, a dry patch of land between two vleis, the system of Indian indentured labour and white racism. The new urban phenomenon that the embryonic town experienced in the late nineteenth century, described as “east meeting west in Africa” (Swanson, 1961: 15), unfolded and took physical expression on this landscape.

The bay had been the attraction for Francis Farewell and his crew who arrived in 1824 to establish a trading post on the northern shore of the bay, referred to as Port Natal and later renamed D’Urban in 1835 (van Niekerk, 1980: 6). The heart of the city formed on this site on the northern end of the bay on a dry portion of land flanked by the Eastern and Western vleis, seen in Fig 5 (Brookfields and Tatham, 1968: 54). The early settlement phase was characterised by dispersed clusters of primitive dwellings, set in a topographical framework of hills, valleys, rivers and vleis with the most advantageous sites set aside for a town, cemetery and military reserve. The town plan that was commissioned in 1840 formalised the settlement that had grown around Farewell’s camp, and introduced a grid layout with three long main east-west streets, named Smith Street, West Street and Pine Terrace, a market square and a series of short cross streets (Kearney, 1984: 22). It is these three main streets that had become a source of concern to Police Superintendent Alexander in 1895, who recommended that no licenses be granted to Indians to trade in “our” three main streets (Mayors Minute: 1895). The first railway line in South Africa that came into operation in 1860, connecting the Point and the town centre, stopped at the Station on Pine Terrace and this rail-line was later extended westwards to run alongside Pine Terrace and would have been the outskirts of the developing town. The area around the three main streets, seen in the 1855 map of Durban in Fig 7, eventually developed into Durban’s

White CBD whilst Indians settled on the west end of West Street, the northern part of Field Street and bounding the Western vlei (Swanson, 1961: 12) illustrated in Fig 65.

The importation of Indian labour from 1860 under the indenture system, and the aftermath of free and passenger Indians settling in the city from the 1870s, played a significant role in the subsequent character and growth pattern of the city. By 1893 Indians had acquired 229 properties and 128 stores had been established (Mayors Minute: 1893). The first mosque had been established in 1881 in Grey Street and another soon followed in West Street. The free Indians started market gardening, fishing and hawking and set up a market on the Grey Street mosque premises in 1890 (Vahed, 1999: 34). The types of stores and the wares that were sold catered primarily for Indians but also for Africans and the hawkers selling fruit and vegetables on the street brought a different character to the colonial town and was soon referred to as “Coolie location” by the 1880s, with Grey Street becoming the hub of Indian commercial activity by the 1890s (Swanson, 1983: 418).

The typical “segregated city” (Davies, 1963; Christopher, 1984) that emerged in colonial Durban from the 1870s to the 1940s was shaped to a large extent by the attitudes of colonial society towards the indigenous population and the Indian immigrants. The attitudes of Europeans evolved into two different approaches to deal with the two groups (Christopher, 1984: 74). Africans were initially regarded as a passive threat and it is only in the first decade of the twentieth century that Europeans started to seriously exercise control over Africans, by enacting the Togat Labour Law of 1902, the Native Locations Act of 1904 and the Native Beer Act of 1908. These laws provided control over migrant day labour, becoming a rudimentary form of influx control, and they monopolised the brewing and selling of sorghum beer and became the basis for Native Administration. By the turn of the twentieth century Durban had become a model for the rest of the country and a leading exponent of racial segregation (Swanson, 1961: 12). The model for the system of control became known as the “Durban system” (La Hausse, 1996: 33).

Apart from rented backyard accommodation the only other form of residential accommodation for Africans consisted of mens’ barracks and hostels in the Eastern vlei, at the Point and in compounds near employers’ factories. A hostel for African women was built in the late 1920s, providing accommodation and domestic training, to supply the demand for female domestic servants. In the 1930s the control over Africans was further extended to the control over their recreational activities by the appointment of the first Welfare Officer, who controlled and confined recreational activities including movie shows, soccer and ngoma dancing to the barracks, hostels and sports fields adjacent to their barracks (Vahed, 1998: 86). Informal trading by Africans, particularly beer brewing and trading in muthi, was also systematically driven out into the peri-urban areas by the 1940s (Nesvag, 2002: 287).

Indians presented a different dilemma to the colonial rulers who found their habits and customs “repugnant”, were regarded as being “about as prolific as rabbits” and were considered a menace

and a threat to colonial society (Mayors Minute: 1893). Africans could not acquire land from non-Africans, did not want to be confined to long term and regular employment and were not regarded as part of the urban life of the city (Freund, 1995: 38). Indians however, could own property, had some financial means, had a family presence in the city, had a different work ethic and wanted to settle and trade in the city. A more sophisticated set of measures to deal with “the Asiatic menace” (Swanson: 1983) was devised by the Town Council, over a period of three decades from the 1870s to 1900s, that was aimed at residential segregation, commercial suppression and political exclusion. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1897 attempted to stem the tide of the wealthy and entrepreneurial passenger Indians. The Wholesale and Retail Dealers Licensing Act of 1897 was used as a means to keep Indians away from the three main streets as Superintendent Alexander had recommended, and tended to confine Indian commercial activity to the Grey Street area in Ward 4, seen in Fig 66, and was the first move toward communal segregation in Durban (Swanson, 1983: 416).

The majority of indentured Indians remained in South Africa after their indenture terms had expired and the vast majority chose to stay in Natal. Indenture was abolished in 1911 and by then a total of 152 184 indentured Indian women and men had arrived on ships in Durban over just more than fifty years. When indenture ceased, there were 148 791 Indians in South Africa of which 133 031 made their home in Natal (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000: 12). Durban was the only city in the country that had to deal with such large numbers of Indian immigrants, in addition to the indigenous population, making it a unique phenomenon in South Africa.

For the first three decades of the twentieth century, the measures implemented to control, segregate, restrict and suppress the lives and livelihood of the African and Indian population in the city reinforced the “segregation city” that emerged. Indian commerce and residential areas had been confined to the Grey street area, religious sites for Muslims, Hindus and Christians had been established, and the Christian Missions had built churches and schools for Indians and Coloureds in the area (Nair and Naidoo, 2010: 14). On the periphery of the Grey Street area in the Western vlei, residential areas had developed since the 1870s (Henderson: 1904) and underground water had been tapped in 1878 below the Botanic Gardens becoming the town’s first reliable water source, that was named Currie’s Fountain (Mayors Minute: 1879). The “flats” below the Botanic Gardens, in the Western vlei, was also the area where soccer was being played by Indians and it became formalised into a sports ground in 1925 and was named after the old Currie’s Fountain waterworks that was once located in the area.

The rapidly increasing Indian population created a demand for more space to house Indian-related activities resulting in a number of important institutions being established in the 1930s on the peripheral Western vlei which had been drained by then. Sastri College, the first Indian high school in the country, was built next to Currie’s Fountain in 1929 with funds collected from the Indian community, followed by the relocated Early Morning Market in Warwick Avenue in 1934. St Anthony’s Church and school and St Aidan’s Hospital relocated to new community funded premises in Centenary Road in the mid-1930s, as illustrated in Fig 67. All these

institutions had outgrown their old premises in the Grey Street area and moved outwards from the Indian core, typical of a concentric zonal growth pattern of a city. The increased activity generated by Currie's Fountain, the schools, the hospital and EMM, led to an increase in commercial activity on Warwick Avenue and the area prospered sparking a gradual change in property ownership from White to Indian ownership or occupation in the 1930s and 1940s. The area had developed into a new commercial zone to the west of Grey Street, concentrated around the EMM in Warwick Avenue (Maharaj: 1992).

The city's bus service which served primarily European areas and was segregated converged on the centre of the city. Indian entrepreneurs who had developed a bus transportation system serving Indian and African areas since the 1920s (Jackson: 2003), provided a much needed alternative public transport service, converging on the periphery of the city centre (De Leuw Cather: 1968). The Warwick Avenue area became a convenient and strategic location for the informal bus ranks that developed in Winterton Walk and Lorne Street near Currie's Fountain, the schools, the hospital and especially the EMM. The EMM was located next to the Victoria Street bridge that linked Warwick Avenue area with the Indian Market and the Grey Street complex, making it a prime location for the Victoria Street bus rank that developed into the main bus terminus for non-Europeans.

The dense residential-commercial zone on the lower Berea, known to locals as the *Duchene* (Hassim, 2009: 83), became the focus of slum clearance in the late 1930s when the Old Dutch/Warwick Avenue area, and the Beatrice Street areas were identified as part of a number of Slum Zones in the city (Durban Housing Survey, 1952: 351). Businesses however flourished in the Warwick Avenue area and the increasing change in property ownership from Whites to Indians, on the lower slopes of the Berea, sparked another wave of anti-Indian sentiment prompting a commission of enquiry to investigate the claims of Indian "penetration" into White areas. This resulted in the "Pegging Act" (The Trading and Occupation of Land Restrictions Act) followed soon after by the "Ghetto Act" (The Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act No 28 of 1946) that was introduced in the 1940s to effectively contain Indian property ownership to the areas that already existed (Maharaj: 1992). Natural growth outwards was contained.

This containment frustrated the Indian community who wanted to establish more schools but protests, from European residents objecting to Indian educational institutions being built in "their" areas, resulted in a search for over a decade for suitable land to build Muslim and Hindu Schools and an Indian Technical College. The City Council-owned land occupied by Currie's Fountain sports ground became the only option for the City Council, who decided to make the land available to St Augustine's Coloured School, Gandhi-Desai and Manilal Valjee Hindu Schools, the Orient Islamic Institute and M.L. Sultan Technical College, resulting in a radically reduced sports facility. All these educational institutions were built with funds raised by the community, supplemented by government or the City Council. This school building activity of the mid-1950s supplemented and complemented the educational establishments built in the 1930s, compressing eight schools in one area, creating an educational zone as seen in Fig 68.

Some schools had a high and primary school functioning from the same premises, located on different floors. All the schools had very little land and school sports activities and physical education sessions had to be conducted at the much reduced Currie's Fountain sports ground.

The city of Durban resembled the colonial "segregation city" right up until the 1960s when the Group Areas policy entered the implementation phase. The Indian residential, commercial, educational, sports and religious activities had been confined to the outskirts of the town, starting at the Grey Street area extending into the Western Vlei. Africans were confined to barracks at the Point and in a small formal housing settlement known as Baumanville, together with barracks and sports grounds established in the Eastern vlei. This cluster of rudimentary African facilities did not include any other major commercial or communal activities and all the other facilities for Africans such as a beerhall, eating houses, African meat market, St Faith's Church, a Women's Hostel, the Bantu Social Centre and a few African owned businesses were located in the Grey Street complex. The only other formal residential accommodation for Africans was the outlying townships of Chesterville, Lamontville and Cato Manor, the latter developing into a substantial informal settlement for Indians and Africans on the outer fringe of the city (Durban Housing Survey: 1952). The Indian bus transport industry, converging on the Warwick Avenue area, had also developed into the main non-European public transport system becoming a dual public transport service reflecting and reinforcing the duality of "two cities".

The "segregation city" in colonial times evolved into the "apartheid city" type as described by Davies (1976). The dominant White group appropriated land in central and strategic areas close to the social and economic functions of the city whilst non-Europeans were marginalised and relegated to the less convenient and peripheral areas. The Group Areas Act of 1950 provided the legal framework and planning philosophy to enforce segregation on a planned and grand scale, giving rise to the apartheid city. The apartheid city model as described by Davies (1963) and Christopher (1984) was conceived, along similar lines, in Durban in the mid-1940s. In 1943 a plan emanating from the City Evaluator and Estates Manager was submitted to the Durban Post-War Development Committee and was the first apartheid racial zoning plan for Durban. After being revised a number of times it was finally approved in 1952 (Durban Housing Survey, 1952: 403), and implemented in the 1960s. The Group Areas Act provided the legal framework for a planning philosophy based on the distinct separation of racial groups and Durban had started this process seven years earlier, confirming Durban's leading role in the creation of planned segregation.

Vast tracks of land on the periphery of the city were allocated for the consolidation of different race groups ensuring that the city centre, sea front and best commercial areas were set aside for Europeans. The various areas for Indians, Africans and Coloureds were planned in a way that they could be separate but also grow outwards away from the city centre. The sectoral growth model was the only spatial model that could satisfy the principles of racial zoning and required substantial land use rearrangement (McCarthy and Smit, 1984: 58). Major spatial restructuring of the city along racial lines, which started in earnest in the 1960s, required forced removals on a

large scale affecting mainly non-Europeans. The areas occupied by non-Europeans in the inner city such as Block AK in Greyville, Magazine barracks in the Eastern vlei and the *Duchene* residential area on either side of Old Dutch road, were given notice to vacate and relocate to new racially exclusive townships that were being built. The residential area now occupied by Durban University of Technology (DUT), a part of the *Duchene*, was destroyed but many residents of what became known as the Warwick Avenue Triangle resisted being relocated from the 1960s until the 1980s and parts of this old residential area still exists, after more than two decades of resistance to being relocated (Maharaj: 1999).

The 1960s were also marked by major traffic and public transportation plans that were being formulated by the city. Urban Planning consultants Holford and Kantorowich and transport engineers De Leuw Cather and Associates were appointed to plan the growth of the city projected twenty five years into the future. The Railways had proposed relocating the old Durban Station, located in the centre of town, to the Greyville area. This presented an opportunity to free up huge tracts of land that were occupied by the railways and which had hampered the growth of the city northwards. Holford and De Leuw Cather's proposals focused on the new site to be vacated by the Railways, but in the process also reinforced and structured segregation on a grand scale. The city centre was planned for Europeans and the Warwick Avenue area became the focus of overhead traffic interchanges to ease and divert traffic in, out and around the city. The public transportation plans, in the form of major train stations and bus terminals, seen in Fig 69 and Fig 70, reinforced the confinement of non-Europeans to the edge of the European city (Holford and Kantorowich: 1968), making the Warwick Avenue area a major apartheid intermodal transport hub.

Despite the strict enforcement of the Group Areas Act, towns and cities were still not fully racially segregated by the mid 1970s. Incentives to move "illegal" residents had failed and intense local and international criticism of forced removals had made the government reluctant to continue with it on a large scale. Racially defined Group Areas had started to erode in the mid 1970s by the "greying process" of "illegal" residents moving into white areas which accelerated in the 1980s by the opening up of CBDs as free trade areas to all races in 1984, the repeal of the prohibitions on inter-racial marriages in 1985 and the abolition of influx control in 1986 (Cloete, 1991: 93). The Grey Street area and the educational and sport zone that developed around Currie's Fountain was in a state of limbo for close on three decades after the Group Areas Act of 1950, awaiting a decision on what it was going to be declared as. It was finally proclaimed a business and light industrial area for Indians in 1979, thereby forcing approximately 12 000 residents to relocate. This forced relocation of residents was slow to materialise and in 1983 Indians were once again allowed to live and trade in the area (Lemon, 1987: 253). The 1980s represented the decade that witnessed the beginning of the decline of apartheid (Shubane, 1991: 64).

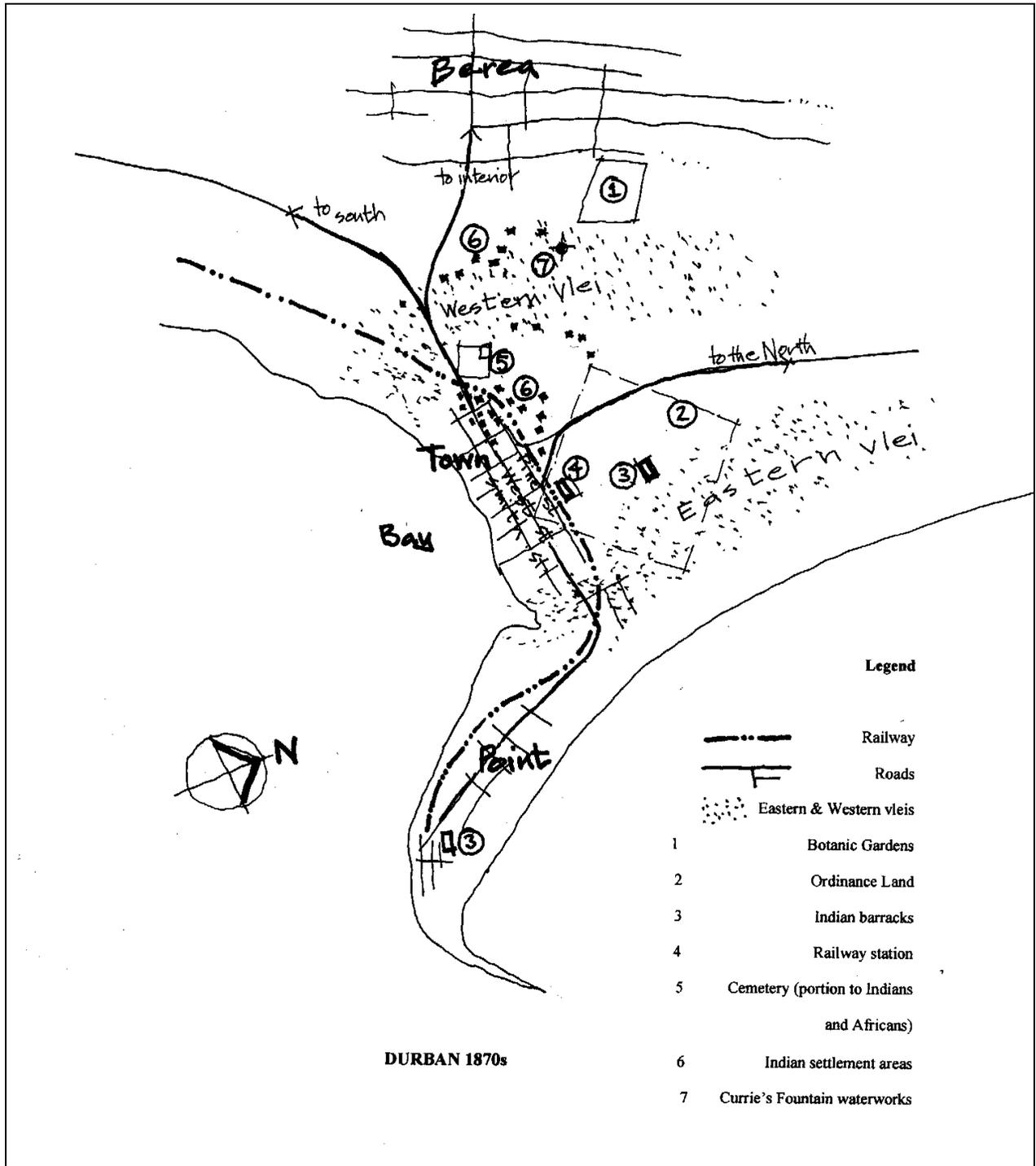


Fig. 65 Evolution of facilities and institutions in the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP) soon after Indian residential and commercial settlement in the 1870s

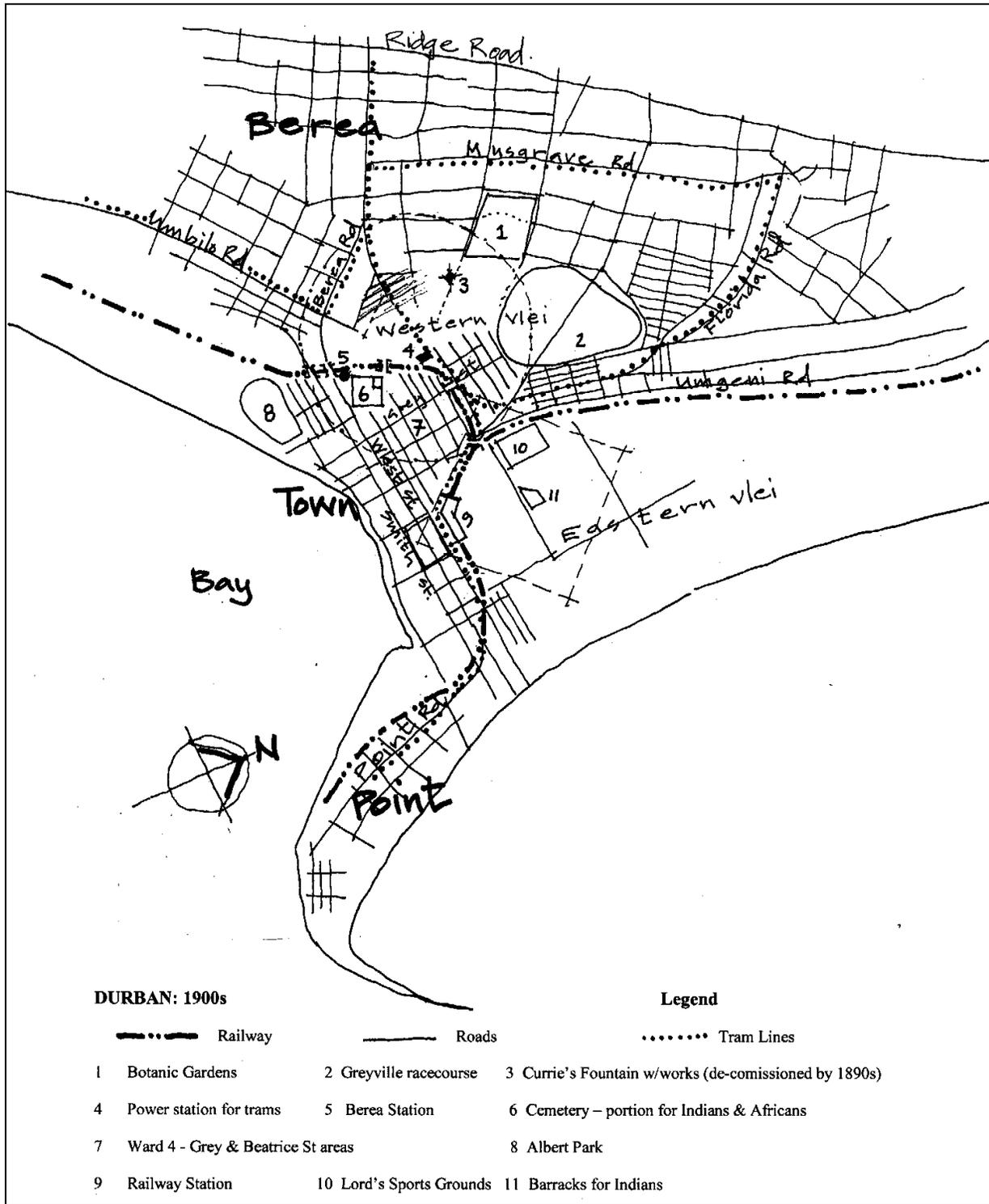


Fig 66. Evolution of facilities and institutions in Durban during the colonial phase from the 1870s to the 1900s

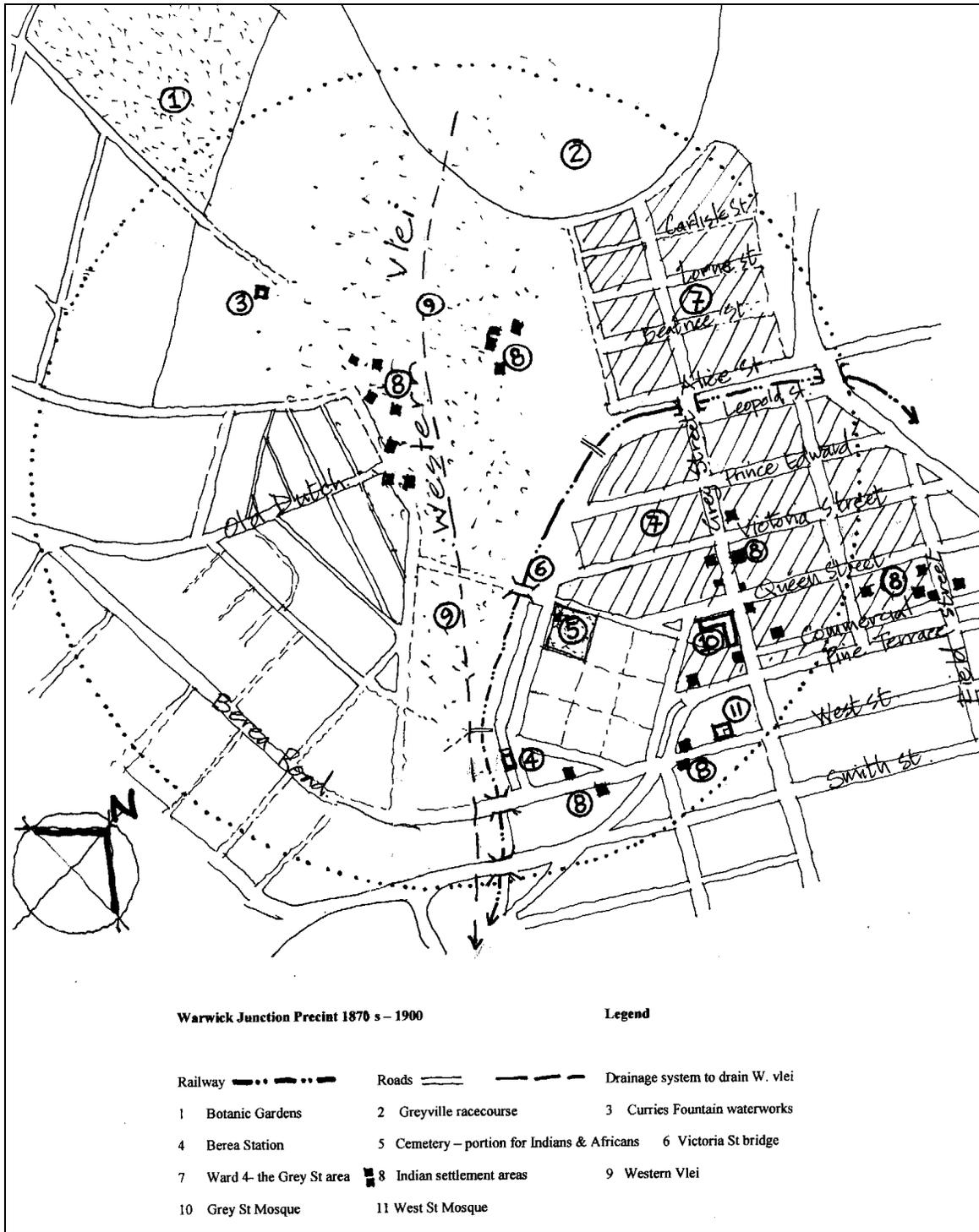


Fig 67. Evolution of facilities and institutions in the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP) during the colonial phase from the 1870s to the 1900s

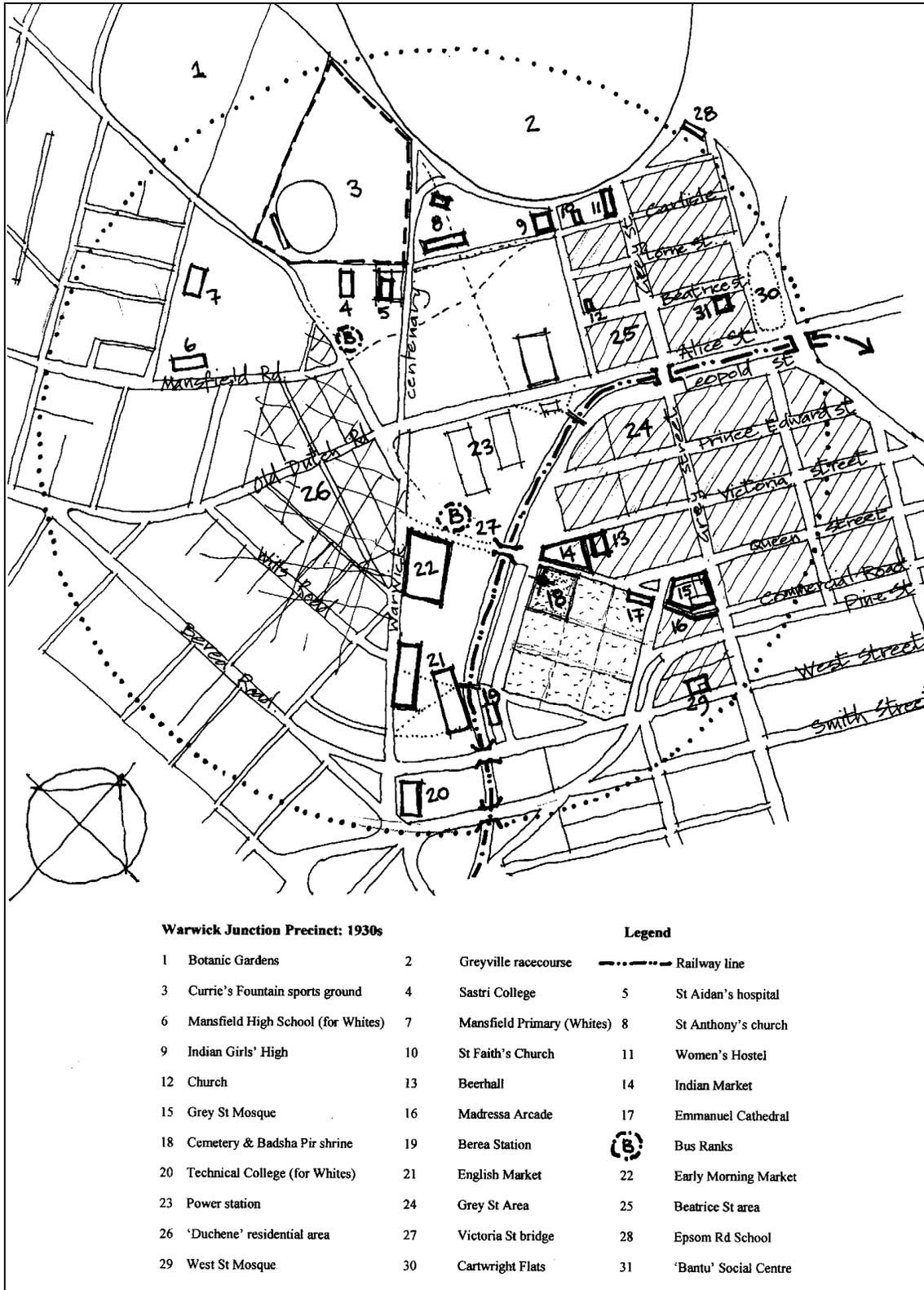


Fig 68. Evolution of facilities and institutions in the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP) during the colonial phase from the 1900s to the 1930s

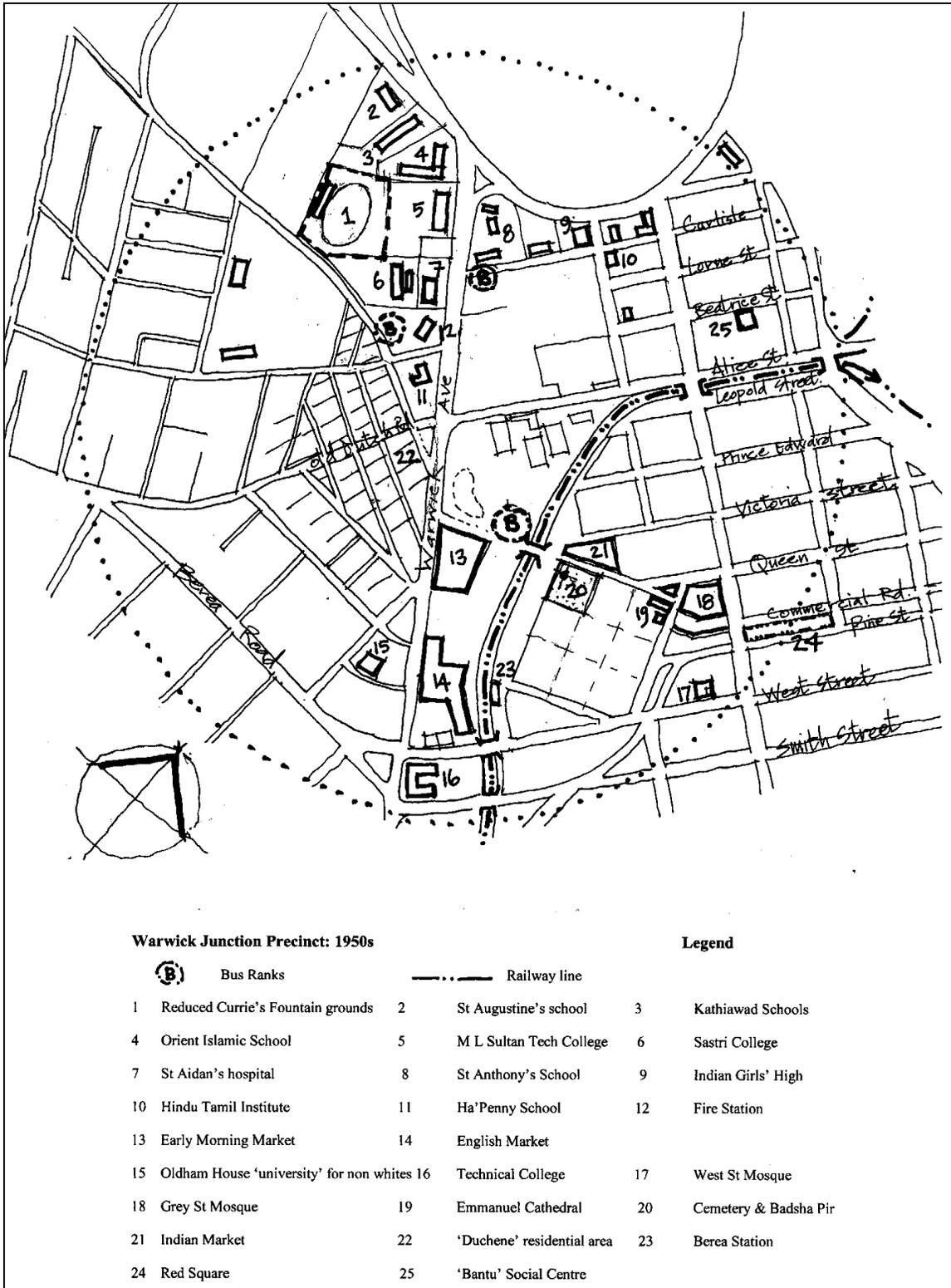


Fig 69. Evolution of the facilities and institutions in the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP) during the pre-apartheid period from the 1930s to the 1950s

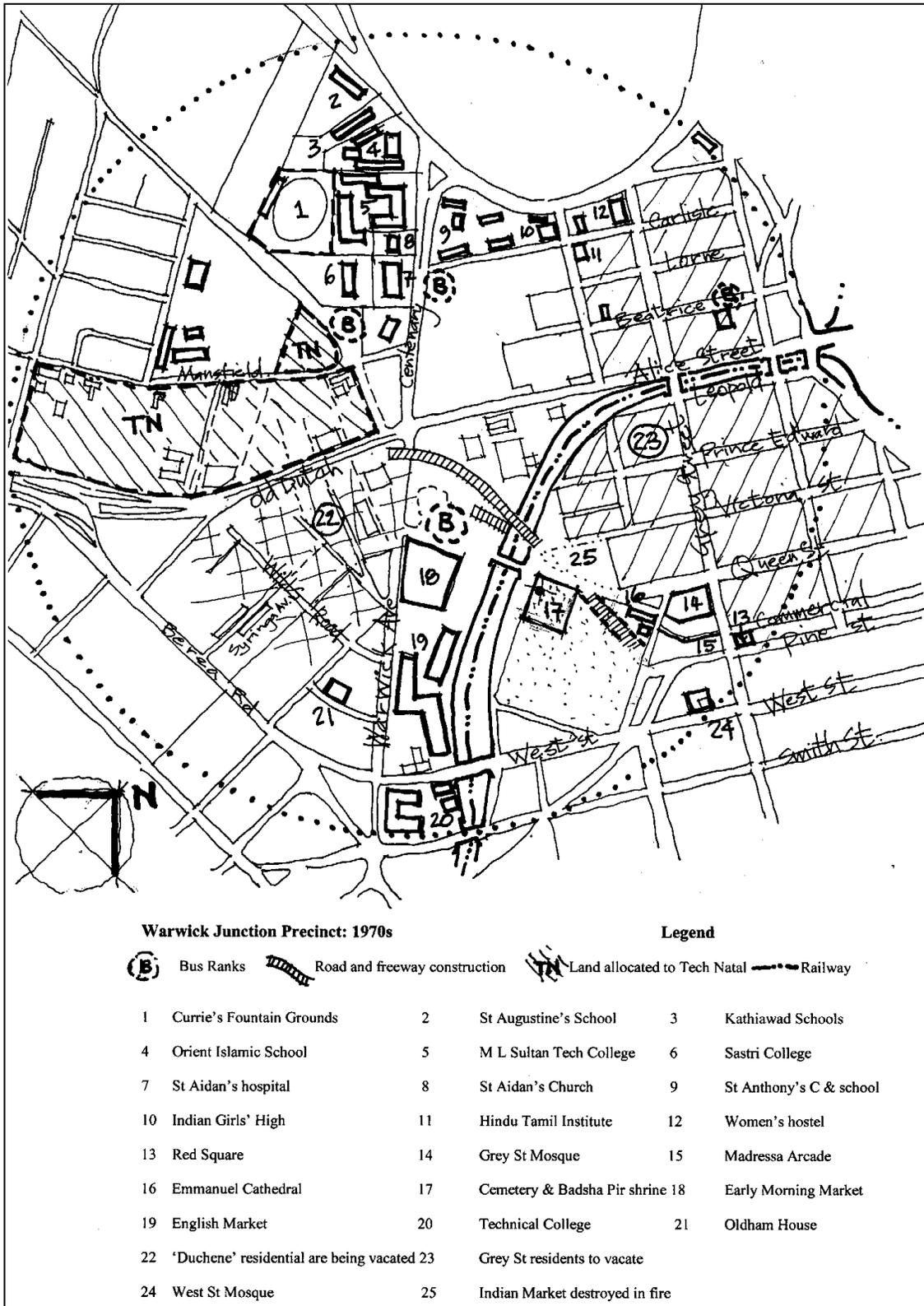


Fig 70. Evolution of facilities and institutions in the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP) during the apartheid phase of the 1950s to the 1970s

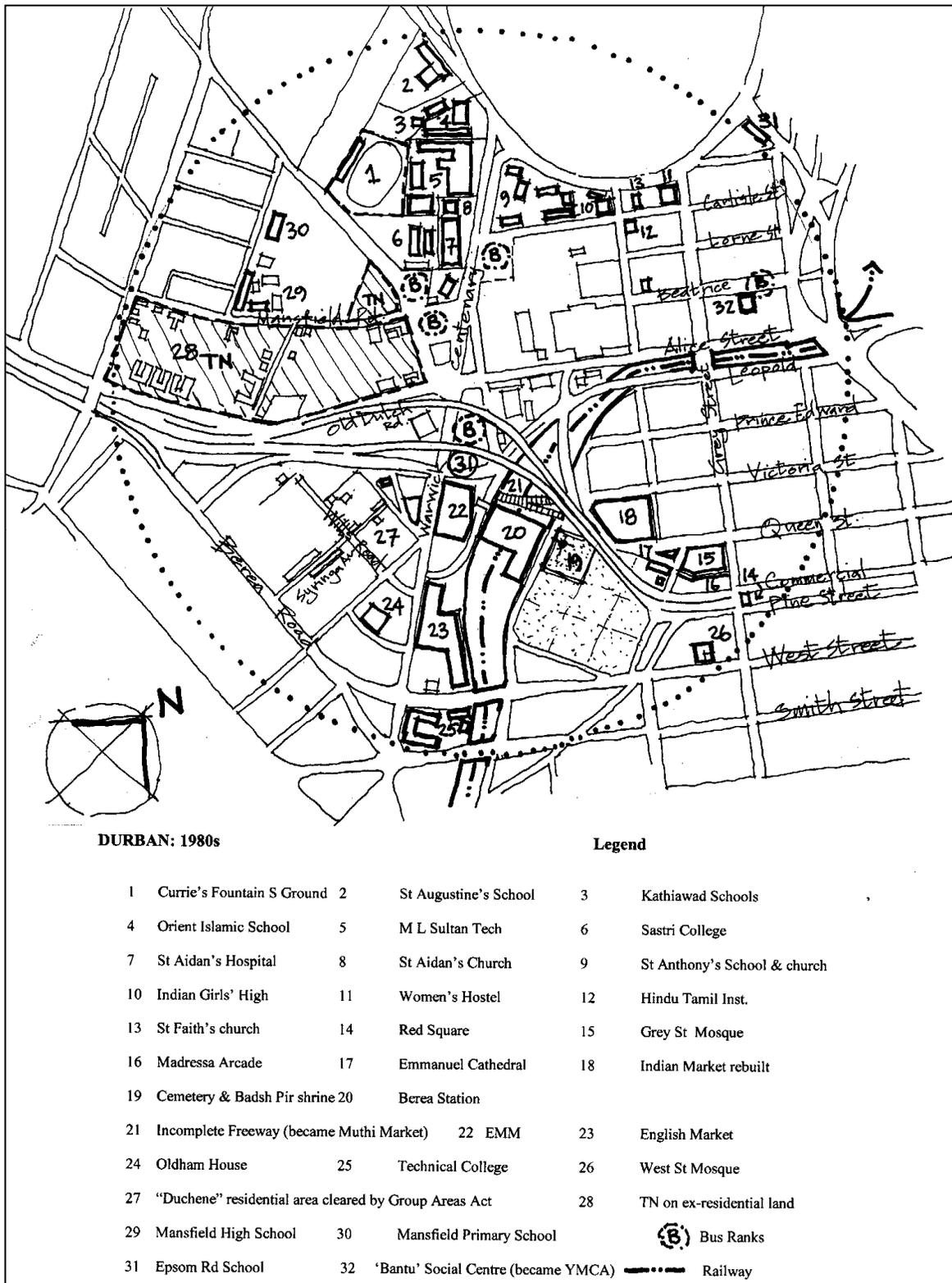


Fig 71. Evolution of facilities and institutions in the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP) during the apartheid phase of the 1970s to the 1980s

The location, composition and character of the “non-European” presence.

The presence of the “non-European” inner city community has been located and identified as the zone formed by an arc one kilometer to the north and west of the Grey/Victoria Street nexus. What started out as an Indian business and residential settlement on the edge of the city’s main streets in the 1870s, developed into the “non-European town” complete with residential, commercial, educational, health, cultural, religious, sports, entertainment, struggle and transport sites - all located between Grey Street and the base of the Berea. Different parts of the area has been referred to as the “Imperial Ghetto” (Badsha: 2001), the “Casbah” (Hassim: 2008) and the “Duchene” (Hassim: 2009). This study refers to the collective of these neighbourhoods as the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP). The zone running from Greyville racecourse in the north to Smith Street in the south, between the three mixed residential-commercial neighbourhoods, developed into a sports, educational, health, transport and trading zone. It is the collective of these three residential neighbourhoods and the educational/sports/trading zone seen in Fig. 29 that, this study argues, developed into the “other” city in Durban.

A brief history of the spatial evolution of the precinct for more than a hundred years has been outlined and illustrated in maps seen in Figs 65 to 71, alluding to the socio-political, residential, commercial, religious, health, sports and educational spheres of a community marginalised by colonialism and apartheid. Compressed into a relatively small area, approximately 1.5 kilometers wide, churches sit beside mosques and temples and in between residential areas are libraries, schools, bus ranks, a train station and markets. Offices for professionals and businesses, tea-rooms, tailors, book keepers, jewelers, spice shops, wholesale merchants, eateries, building suppliers, fresh produce, clothing stores, and barbers were all to be found in this precinct. This mixed land-use nature and the multi-racial and multi-cultural community it housed and served gave the area its unique character, evident in the different kinds of food sold, clothing worn and sold, languages spoken, cultural festivals in the streets, the architecture, the smells, the sounds of the call to prayer and the shops that spilled onto the pavements with the accompanying sounds of *ngena, ngena*, urging passers-by to enter the shops lining the streets. Complete with “its own” public transport system and underworld of gangs named the Crimson League and Ducheenes, prostitution, protection rackets and turf wars, it also boasted its own intelligentsia, newspapers, politicians, celebrities, sports stars, soccer teams and beauty queens. It is another city within the city.

The precinct was “home to a small but influential black intelligentsia and political class, who envisioned an inclusive notion of identity” (Badsha, 2001: 7) that was not based on race. A number of political organisations notably the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), founded by Gandhi in 1894, the Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union (ICU), the Communist Party (CP), the African National Congress (ANC) and the Black Consciousness Movement were all active in the precinct. In 1908 and 1913 large crowds of Indians met at Currie’s Fountain to protest against the discriminatory tax laws (Callinicos, 2000: 150). In the late 1920s Africans embarked on a boycott of beerhalls, led by A.W.G. Champion of the ICU, followed by a pass burning campaign

in the 1930s at Cartwright Flats. Red Square was the venue for the Anti Segregation Council meetings that took place in the mid-1940s. The Passive Resistance Campaign in 1946 and the Doctors' Pact marked the beginning of African and Indian co-operation and unity in 1947 but it was marred by the Afro-Indian riots of 1949. This violent clash between Indians and Africans soon heralded joint political campaigns with the formation of the Congress Alliance, consisting of senior ANC and SAIC members, who embarked on the Defiance Campaign in 1952 and became involved in organising the build-up to the adoption of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown in 1955. The Treason Trial followed in 1956 resulting in many ANC and NIC leaders throughout the country being banned, placed under house arrest or incarcerated, a number of whom had been active in the precinct.

The banning, house-arrests and the Treason Trial resulted in a short lull in political activity that was resurrected by the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) that emerged in the late 1960s leading to the formation of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), who was based in Beatrice Street. The 1970s was characterised by another phase of political activity and resistance leading up to the Pro-Frelimo Rally planned at Currie's Fountain in 1974. The violent clash with police at the banned rally was followed by the arrests and detention of a number of BCM leaders in the mid-1970s, some of whom were jailed on Robben Island. The formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and COSATU trade union in the 1980s provided the leadership to take up the responsibility of the struggle against apartheid. Cartwright Flats and Red Square had been the sites for political meetings in the 1930s and 1940s and Currie's Fountain became the main venue from where these struggles were staged since the mid-1940s. These activities included the 1946 Passive Resistance rally and the rallies against the Group Areas Act in the 1950s, the Defiance Campaign rally in 1952, the Pro-Frelimo rally in 1974, followed in to the 1980s by COSATU affiliates rallies and Sayco, MAWU, SACOS, the UDF and IFP rallies. In the 1990s it was the preferred venue for the ANC Women's League when it was re-launched and the first SACP rally in KZN in thirty years, after organisations were unbanned. It was also the venue for a Mkhonto WeSizwe rally in 1993 when the liberation army was in the process of being disbanded into a People's Army (Rosenberg: 2007).

In the 1950s Durban was the epicentre of major changes that were taking place in South African soccer, which had evolved with and influenced the politics of South African political movements (Alegi, 2003: 17). Soccer, which had been such an important aspect of the lives of the community in the precinct, became the focal point for the struggle for a non-racial society when the SACOS slogan, "*No normal sports in an abnormal society*" was advocated from Currie's Fountain. The home of Indian soccer became the launching pad for changes in soccer when the multiracial formations of the 1950s transformed into a non-racial soccer Federation at Currie's Fountain in 1961, making it *the* home of non-racial soccer and political activity for four difficult decades during the height of apartheid from the 1950s to the early 1990s. The peripheral Western vlei of the 1870s had become the main locality for all non-European activity and had become the

epicentre of major political and sports changes that took place in Durban from the 1940s to the 1990s.

Remains of historically significant institutions and places of the “non-European town”

Currently the WJP is still a predominantly Black area and a hive of activity at ground level and along pedestrian bridges and concourses that straddle the busy roads and railway lines. The Victoria, Lorne and Beatrice Street bus ranks and the Berea Station are the remains and reminders of colonial and apartheid’s segregated public transport systems and marginalised transport nodes. The only new major infrastructural developments since the Eilat Viaduct of the 1970s, the Berea station and Victoria bus terminus in the mid-1980s and the range of informal markets formalised in and around the train station in the late 1980s, has been the new in and outbound western flyovers completed in 2010. Generally the WJP precinct has not undergone major spatial changes since the 1980s apart from the changes to the road networks on and elevated above ground.

The low key Squatters” or Early Morning Market (EMM), located in the heart of this transport interchange, represents the history of the hardships of free Indians and their endeavours to survive in colonial society during and after indenture and is symbolic of the struggle for economic independence by market gardeners and their descendants. Adjacent to the EMM is the double story English Market with the city crest displayed on the imposing elevation, which represents and is an example of the contrast in facilities provided by the Town Council for Europeans

Beyond the road and rail changes concentrated around Warwick Avenue and Market Road lies the early residential and commercial settlement areas of Indians in what was Ward 4, the Grey and Beatrice Street neighbourhoods to the North-West of the White CBD that became the core of Indian Durban since the 1890s and developed into the “dual CBD” (Rajah: 1981). These neighbourhoods are largely still intact as it was in the 1950s and still has a mixed use character of commercial, light industrial, educational and religious functions at ground level and residential accommodation on upper levels. In limbo for more than thirty years because of the Group Areas policy, this area represents the history of free and passenger Indian residential settlement and trade since the 1870s.

However, the old “Duchene” residential neighbourhood that developed in the Western vlei and had become a densely populated multi-racial residential area with a commercial fringe along Warwick Avenue, has almost been entirely destroyed. This area has been the worst affected by the Group Areas Act and the creation of the Western Freeway and flyovers entering and leaving the city. The only remains of this old residential neighbourhood are some of the old buildings on the DUT campus, along Warwick Avenue and in the Wills Road area, now referred to as the Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT). The WAT is the only inner city multi-racial residential area that survived total destruction and forced removals that started in the 1960s.

The “educational and cultural complex”, as described in 1973 by a group of academics from Natal University, is made up of Sastri College, St. Anthony’s school, St Augustine’s school, Indian Girls’ High, Orient Islamic school and ML Sultan Technikon, is intact and still function as educational institutions but are no longer racially exclusive. What was ML Sultan Technikon is now part of the Durban University of Technology (DUT). These institutions represent the struggle for education by the Indian community and are not just buildings but “symbols of social and community pride...an expression of the desire for and struggle towards educational advancement” and “embodied a considerable amount of sentiment” and their central location enabled them to serve social and cultural activities in addition to their educational function (Grey Street Complex, Durban. Memorandum 1: 1973).

St Anthony’s school and church, St Aidan’s church and St Aidan’s hospital relocated to this part of the city in the mid 1930s but their roots date back to the Christian Missions established in Durban since the 1860s. The Missions played a pivotal role in the spread of Christianity and the establishment of these schools and a health care facility for Indians. The Grey Street Mosque, West Street Mosque, the Emmanuel Cathedral, St Anthony’s Church, St Faith’s, the Vedic Temple and Stott’s Methodist Church still serve as sites of worship and community activities and represent the history of Islam, Hinduism and Christianity in the precinct for more than a century.

The humble sport ground in the marshy vlei, that was central to the lives of the Indian community, became the iconic Currie’s Fountain sports ground, the home of non-racial sport and soccer in particular. It is a politically charged site with a history that reflects the history of the city from the early days of sourcing drinking water for a fledgling colonial town, to the history of soccer, cricket, athletics, golf and political activity of Blacks in Durban.

This study has identified and mapped a substantial area, illustrated in Figs 65 to 72, and lists numerous important buildings, sites and events outlined in Fig 73, that represent residential, religious, educational, commercial, sports, transport and struggle sites that are of cultural and socio-political significance. Together with the political events that occurred in the precinct it forms part of the heritage of multi-cultural Durban. Spawned in the aftermath of indenture the history of some of the key institutions briefly described, represents a struggle for survival in a hostile setting, making it a struggle for trade, education, recreation and political emancipation. The area could therefore be collectively considered to be a “struggle precinct” and has a substantial part that is still intact which can be viewed as a living museum of colonial and apartheid city planning.

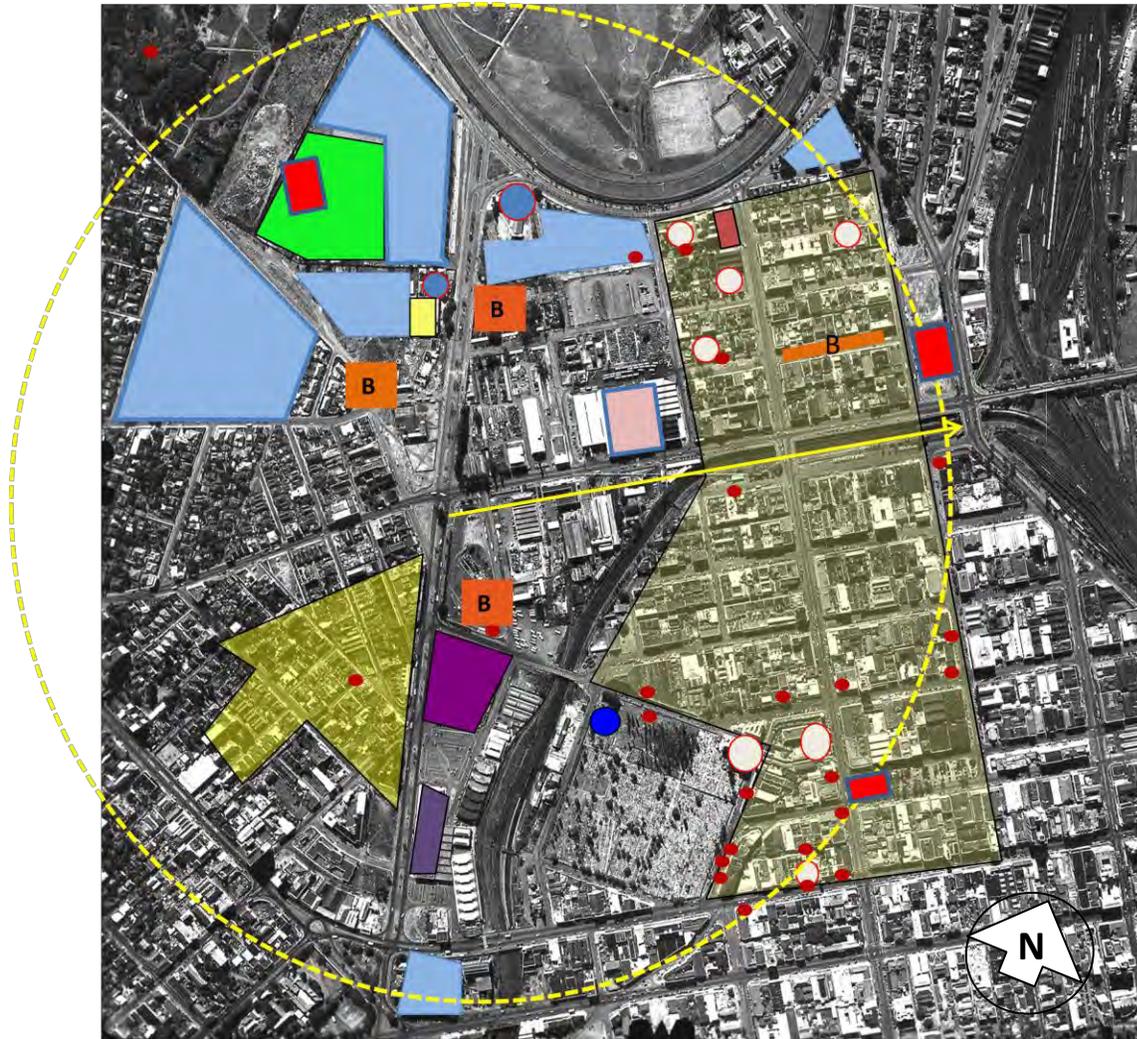


Fig 72. Location of sites of historical significance in the WJP: A living museum of apartheid city planning.

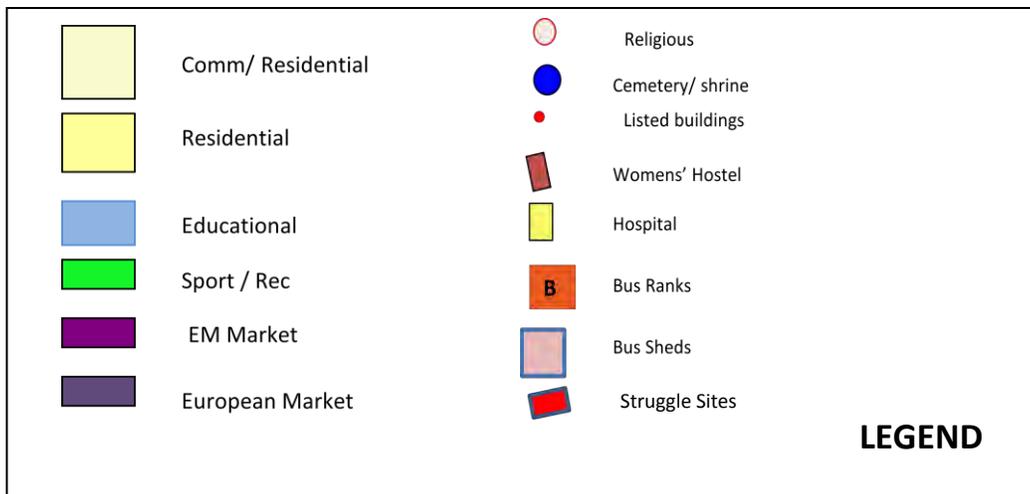


Fig 73. List of sites and events of historical significance in the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP), Durban.

1854 Durban became a Borough, divided into 4 Wards and in 1935 Durban was proclaimed a City

- 1846 Botanic Gardens at the foot of the Berea
- 1852 Cemetery which was extended in 1864
- 1878 - 1891 Currie's Fountain Water Works supplied city and Railways with water.
- 1881 Grey Street Mosque
- 1884 Grand Stand Company 1897 Durban Turf Club (Greyville Racecourse)
- 1885 West Street Mosque
- 1890s Badsha Pir Shrine
- 1902 Emmanuel Cathedral
- 1902 Alice Street Elect power Station for Trams opened
- 1900-1930s Numerous listed buildings in the Grey St Area including 12 Art Deco Buildings
- 1905 Alice Street Bus Sheds
- 1905 Congregational Church Beatrice Street
- 1910 Natal Technical College (Smith/ Warwick)
- 1920 Durban Indian Girls' School
- 1925 Currie's Fountain Sports Ground
- 1925 St Faith Church, Carlisle Street
- 1925 Mansfield Junior and Senior Schools
- 1926 Native Women's Hostel (Thokoza)
- 1927 Madressa Arcade
- 1930 Sastri College (Natal University "non European" section at Sastri started in 1936)
- 1934 Squatters' Market (Early Morning Market) – Warwick Avenue
- 1934 Durban Bantu Social Centre (YMCA) Beatrice Street
- 1935 Oldham House – (Natal University "non European" section), Lancers Road

1936 St Aidan's Hospital
1936 St Anthony's School
1936 St Anthony's Church
1937- 40 European Market/ English Market
1940 Hindu Tamil Institute
1940s - 50s Red Square
1940s Bus Rank formations. Victoria, Winterton Walk, Lorne St and Beatrice St Ranks.
1948 Gandhi Hall
1956 M. L. Sultan Technical College
1958 New grandstand at the re-configured Currie's Fountain
1959 Orient Islamic School
1959 St Augustine's School
1952/3 Fire Station
1966 St Aidan's Church

Struggle Sites

Currie's Fountain

Red Square

Cartwright Flats

Significant Events

The area was the subject of the Slums Act, "Pegging Act", "Ghetto Act" and Group Areas Act

1946 Passive Resistance Campaign

1947 Doctor's Pact

1949 Indo-African riots started in Victoria Street

1952 Defiance Campaign

1952/1961 Formation of the non-racial Soccer Federation

Forced removal of residents in 1960s and 70s and area was „frozen'zone right up till the 1980s.

1974 Pro-Frelimo Rally

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