



Bleaching Durban: Forced removals of formal Black urban settlements in central Durban (1963-1985).

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DEDICATION

One of my early childhood memories, was the day we relocated to a Coloured township called Eersterus, in Pretoria. It was the mid-1960s and at that stage I could not comprehend why we were vacating our big old house in Claremont, adjacent to another popular multiracial residential settlement, named Lady Selborne. The residents of Lady Selborne were also in the process of being relocated. It was a time of confusion and turbulence. My family relocated in the midst of a thunderstorm and the truck with all our possessions had to seek refuge under a bridge, until the storm had passed. In the middle of a veld, two rows of identical concrete-block houses very similar to the photograph below, represented our new neighbourhood within the larger township of Eersterus. Initially, there were no roads or fences and we identified our home as the pink house, the 10th from the corner. The four-roomed house, for our family of eight, was to become our home for more than four decades.

This thesis is dedicated to my parents and the millions of South Africans who have experienced the trauma of forced removals and its aftermath.



The above photograph was sourced from Meer (1969).

ABSTRACT

The living, cultural, political and commercial urban space, occupied by the collective of African, Indian and Coloured people, referred to as a Black presence in this study, was distinct yet “invisible” as possible to the privileged racial group, during the colonial and apartheid periods. This invisibility is reflected in Durban’s urban history narrative, particularly its spatial development and built environment. The urban space and built environment perceived to be for Whites, has been documented, visually illustrated, its heroes celebrated and architecture preserved, whilst the “invisible” Black presence was first marginalised, then finally “bleached” from central Durban by the process of forced removals. This omission and marginalisation creates the general impression that Blacks did not occupy urban space and were not part of the evolution of this port city, apart from the Grey Street “Indian quarter”. The “bleaching” or forced removals in central Durban, conceived as urban space for Whites, started in earnest in the 1960s and continued until the mid-1980s, yet this socio-spatial re-organisation of the city has been neglected and thus largely undocumented.

Although some studies have since examined Durban’s multicultural character and composition during the colonial and apartheid periods, these studies have focused on either the African or Indian urban experience, with a paucity of information on Coloureds and the subject of forced removals. In addition, these studies focused on specific aspects such as residential, traders or workers’ issues, resulting in a racially fragmented and incomplete picture of what a collective Black urban presence consisted of, before and after forced removals.

Built environments are shaped by a past which celebrated some of its “monuments and markings”, whilst omitting some of that past (Knowles 2003: 97). “Race making is a spatial practice, and space contains important information about racial grammar as forms of social practice to which race gives rise” (Knowles, 2003: 80). This study examines the spatial evolution of Durban and demonstrates the connection between space and race. The spatial practice of ‘race making’ is demonstrated by an examination of White attitudes and legislation introduced that enabled the spatial clustering of Blacks into undesirable spaces, during the development of Durban from the 1870s to the 1980s. Various legislative measures are identified over different periods in the city’s development, which enabled the spatial practice of separating Blacks from White settlers, socially and spatially, before finally being removed from the central city from the 1960s. Different legislative measures were used to control the entry and occupation of urban space by Africans and Indians, and similarly, their removal was also achieved by the use of different legislation.

The contribution that this thesis makes to Durban’s urban history is to identify the previously “invisible” living, educational, commercial, religion, sports and political space, occupied by Blacks. The Black presence is made visible by identifying, describing and illustrating *what* this space consisted of, *where*, *when* and *how* it was created and removed from the White city. Also, of importance to the urban history narrative of Durban, is the use of maps, diagrams and photographic material, which not only depict the character and architectural qualities of the urban Black presence, but also integrates it within the spatial development of the city until the mid-1980s.

Keywords: *KwaZulu-Natal, Durban urban history, forced removals, urban segregation, apartheid city, Black settlements in Durban.*

IQQQA

Indawo yokuhlala, enesiko, enezepolitiki neyokudayisa esedolobheni okukhona kuyona abantu abangama-Afrika, amaNdiya namaKhaladi ababizwa ngabantu abaNyama kulolu cwaningo, yayihlukile kodwa futhi 'ingabonakali' kubantu abaNhlophe ababenamandla, ngezikhathi zokuphathwa amazwe aphesheya (izikhathi zobukoloni) kanye nangezikhathi zobandlululo. Lokhu 'kungabonakali' kuvela uma kukhulunywa ngomlando weTheku osewuphucukile, ikakhulukazi izindlela zokuhlukaniswa kwabantu nemisebenzi yabo ngokwezindawo nezakhiwo ezakhiwe abantu lapho behlala futhi besebenza khona. Indawo esedolobheni 'yabamhlophe' yokuhlala nokusebenza iqoshiwe phansi, iyabonakala ngamehlo, amaqhawe ayo ayabungazwa kanti nobuchule bezakhiwo buyalondolozwa, kuthi 'ukungabonakali' kobukhona babantu abaNyama baqala bashiywa eceleni, kwase kuthi emva kwesikhathi basebenziwa baba 'mhlophe' endaweni 'yabamhlophe esedolobheni ngohlelo lokususwa ngenkani. Lokhu kushiya ngaphandle kwakha isithombe sokuthi abantu abaNyama babengakaze bahlale ezindaweni ezisedolobheni futhi babengeyona ingxenye yokuguquka kwaleli dolobha eliyichweba, ngaphandle kwe-Grey Street 'Indian quarter'. Ukwenziwa 'mhlophe' noma ukususwa ngenkani ezindaweni ezisedolobheni eThekwini, okuthathwa njengezindawo 'zabamhlophe', kahle hle kwaqala ngeminyaka yama-1960s kwaqhubeka kwaze kwafika phakathi nama-1980s, nakuba kinjalo, lokhu kuhleleka kabusha kokuhlukana ngokuhlala kwabantu endaweni esedolobheni bekunganakiwe ngakho-ke kwacina kungaqoshiwe phansi.

Nakuba olunye ucwaningo oselwenziwe lubheke ukwakheka ngokuhlukahlukana ngokwamsiko ngezikhathi zokubuswa amazwe aphesheya (ubukoloni) nezobandlululo, lolu cwaningo (oselwenziwe) lugxile phakathi kulokhu ama-Afrika noma amaNdiya ahangabezane nakho, bese luba luncane ulwazi ngamaKhaladi nokususwa ngenkani. Ngaphezu kwalokho, lolu cwaningo lugxile ezingxenyeni ezithile, njengezindaba eziphathelene nezindawo zokuhlala, izindaba ezimayelana nabahwebi noma abasebenzi, okuholela ekubeni kwesithombe esingaphelele futhi esiyinhlakanhlaka ngokubakhona ngokuhlanganyela kwabantu abaNyama ezindaweni ezisedolobheni, ngaphambi nangemva kokususwa ngenkani.

Izakhiwo ezakhiwe abantu lapho behlala futhi besebenzela khona zilandele kakhulu okwenzeke phambilini 'okuyizichuse/izakhiwo ezinomlando kanye nemidwebo/omaka', lokhu okushiya ngaphandle ezinye izinto ezizumlendo ezenzeke phambilini (Knowles 2003: 97). 'Ubuhlanga benza izindlela zokuhlukahlukana kwabantu nemisebenzi yabo ngokwezindawo kwenzeka, kanti indawo inolwazi olubaluleke kakhulu ngolimi lwezinhlanga obelukhulunywa njengoba luyingxenye yezinto ezisetshenziswa umphakathi lapho bese kuvela ubuhlanga' (Knowles, 2003: 80). Lolu cwaningo lubheka ukuguquka kwezindlela zokuhlukaniswa kwabantu nemisebenzi yabo ngokwezindawo eThekwini bese luveza ngokukhombisa ukuxhumana phakathi kwendawo nobuzwe. Ukusebenza kwezindlela zokuhlukaniswa kwabantu nemisebenzi yabo ngokwezindawo ngokobuhlanga kuveza izindlela zokubuka nokucabanga okuthile kwabantu abaNhlophe nemithetho eyashawa eyenza ukuba izindlela zokuhlukaniswa kwabantu nemisebenzi yabo ngokwezindawo kwabantu abaNyama behlanganiswa ndawonye ezindaweni ezazingathandeki, ngesikhathi kuthuthukiswa iTheku kusukela eminyakeni yawo-1870s kuya kweyo1980. Imithetho ehluhlukeneyo yahlonzwa ngokuhamba kwezikhathi ngesikhathi kuthuthukiswa idolobha, eyenza ukusebenza kwezindlela zokuhlukaniswa kwabantu nemisebenzi yabo ngokwezindawo ngokuhlukanisa abantu abaNyama kwizifiki zabaNhlophe, ngokokuhlala nangokwehlukaniswa kwabo nemisebenzi ngokwezindawo, ngaphambi kokuba basuswe unomphelelo maphakathi nedolobha kusukela ngama-1960s. Imithetho ehlukeneyo yasetshenziselwa ukulawula ukungena nokuthatha kwabantu izindawo ezisedolobheni zithathwa ngama-Afrika kanye namaNdiya, ngokufanayo, ukususwa kwabo kwaphunyeleliswa ukusethenziswa kwemithetho eyehlukeneyo.

Okulethwa yilolu cwaningo emlandweni wendawo esedolobheni laseThekwini ukhlonza indawo yokuhlala ebeyikade 'ingabonakali' phambilini, indawo yezemfundo, yezokudayisa, yezenkolo, yezemidlalo neyezepolitiki, ebeyisetshenziswa abaNyama. Ukubakhona kwabantu abaNyama kwenziwa 'kubonakale' ngokuhlona, ngokuchaza nokubonisa ukuthi le ndawo beyakhiwe yini, *kuphi, nini* nanokuthi yayakhiwe *kanjani* futhi yasuswa edolobheni 'labamhlophe'. Futhi, okubalulekile emlandweni wengxoxo yedolobha laseThekwini ukuthi, kungabe ukusethenziswa kwamabalazwe, imidwebo nezithombe ezithathwe ngamakhamera, ezingasho nje kuphela ikhwalithi nobunjalo bobuhle nobuchule bezakhiwo bokubakhona kwabantu abaNyama, kodwa futhi kubuhlanganisa ngaphakathi ukuthuthuka kwezindlela zokuhlukaniswa kwabantu nemisebenzi ngokwezindawo kwedolobha kuze kube iphakathi kweminyaka yawo-1980.

Amagama Awumgogodla: *KwaZulu-Natal, umlando wedolobha laseThekwini, ukuhlukana ngokwebala edolobheni, idolobha lobandlululo, ukuhlala kwabantu abaNyama eThekwini.*

ACRONYMS

ABC	African Boating Company
ANC	African National Congress
ASC	Anti-Segregation Council
BAD	Bantu Administration Department or NAD
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BPC	Black Peoples' Convention
CBD	Central Business District
CC	City Council
CDB	Community Development Board
COP	Congress of the People
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DCRA	Durban Central Residents' Association
DISGA	Durban Indian Sports Ground Association (later to become DSGA)
DTC	Durban Town Council
DUT	Durban University of Technology
FPL	Federation Professional League
EMM	Early Morning Market
GAB	Group Areas Board
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
NAD	Native Administration Department
NIC	Natal Indian Congress
ROCS	Research of Curries and Surrounds Project
SACOS	South African Council of Sport
SACP	South African Communist Party
SAIC	South African Indian Council
SAR & H	South African Railways and Harbours
SASF	South African Soccer Federation
SASL	South African Soccer League
SASO	South African Students Organization
TIC	Transvaal Indian Congress
TN	Technikon Natal
UDF	United Democratic Front
UNICOL	University College for Indians
WJP	Warwick Junction Precinct
WJ	Warwick Junction
WAT	Warwick Avenue Triangle

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Terminology

The terms White, African, Indian and Coloured, used in this thesis refer to the South African racial categorisation of the population, although people so defined may reject or object to these categorisations. The term White refers to the privileged racial group, originally referred to as Europeans and who adopted the nomenclature “White”. The popular nomenclature used to refer to the collective of Africans, Indians and Coloureds was “non-Whites”. This study will however refer to the collective of marginalised and oppressed people as Blacks, in preference to the negative “non-Europeans” or “non-Whites” nomenclature. However, because the various race groups were discriminated against differently, often by different legislation, it is necessary to make reference to specific race groups, within the collective Black group, and in these instances, they will be referred to as African, Indian or Coloured.

Given Durban’s colonial and apartheid past, it is not surprising that the historical narrative of the city’s development is largely devoid of meaningful references to Africans, Indians and Coloureds. The living, cultural, political and commercial urban space, occupied by the collective of African, Indian and Coloured people, referred to as a Black presence in this study, was, “as invisible as possible to the dominant class” during the apartheid period (Maylam and Edwards, 1996: 1). The urban Black presence, together with a large “black belt” on the city’s periphery (University of Natal, 1952: 303), were considered to be slums and both had been a major concern to the Durban municipality when the boundary was extended in 1932. The extension of the boundary incorporated what were referred to as “added areas”, and included South Coast Junction (Clairwood and Rossburgh), Umhlatuzana, Mayville, Sydenham, Umgeni, Red Hill, Greenwood Park and Durban North. The size of city increased from 8 000 to 44 814 acres and the total population increased by 74 per cent made up of an additional 20 000 Whites, 51 000 Indians, a few hundred Coloureds and 21 000 Africans (University of Natal, 1952: 19/31). It was a significant change in the city’s population and racial structure. These “added areas” were described as the “blight in Durban” in a study by the University of Natal (1952: 341), who concluded that “the most serious threat to Durban’s health and racial harmony lies in her slums and the vast shack settlement, the breeding grounds for disease, crime and despair made more dangerous by ignorance and neglect”.

For three decades after 1932, Durban’s authorities planned for the eradication of slums in the inner-city. The Slums Act of 1934 was introduced whilst a long term solution to the structurally deficient and insanitary “black belt” was sought, which culminated eventually in the start of forced removals in the late 1950s, first from outlying areas such as Cato Manor and subsequently by the mid-1960s, of forced removals in the inner-city itself.

Social and housing surveys, conducted by the research section of the Department of Economics at the University of Natal, by invitation of the Durban Municipality, culminated in *The Durban Housing Survey, a study of housing in a multi-racial community*, published in 1952. This study was the first attempt at understanding the “non-European” housing extent and shortage that Durban

faced since the 1930s. The research conducted in 1943/44, utilising 1946 census statistics to determine population distribution, provided an overview of White, Indian, African and Coloured, formal and informal residential settlement patterns and housing conditions in the city. This Black presence was largely absent in Durban's history narratives, such as Russell (1899), Harrison (1903), Henderson (1904), Miller and Stone (1965) and Morrison (1987)

Whilst this marginalised Black presence was made visible by the academics, the municipality had begun formulating race-zoning proposals in 1943 (University of Natal, 1952: 405), seven years prior to the Group Areas Act of 1950, which subsequently provided the necessary legislative framework to give effect to these racial spatial proposals. After a number of revisions, the race zoning plans were approved in 1952, and like all other major cities in the country, Durban embarked on an urban segregation programme which resulted in a process of removing Black people from urban areas, what Jeppie and Soudien (1990: 144) referred to as the "unambiguous process of bleaching". District Six, Sophiatown and South End are the well-known national examples. In Durban, Cato Manor is the often-cited example of this process that was termed "forced removals". The Surplus People Project and the subsequent publication by Platzky and Walker (1985: ix), defined "forced removal" as a term commonly used to describe the relocation / resettlement / removals policy and the processes involved in the state directed removals of mostly Black people. Cato Manor, examined by Edwards (1994), Maylam (1983), Sambureni (1995) and Popke (2000), was however an informal settlement consisting largely of rudimentary rented accommodation on the outskirts of the city, that evolved from a system of "shack farming" by Indian landowners, and "a sub-rentier class of African shacklords" (Maylam and Edwards, 1996: 19).

District Six in Cape Town is a well-known example of forced removals but Durban's has its own District Six, that has been ignored and undocumented since the 1970s. There are distinct parallels between District Six and the residential area to the west of Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue in Durban. Both areas were considered as slums and declared for White occupation in the 1960s. Both areas were located on the edge of the White central business district (CBD). Both areas were multiracial and consisted of working-class communities. Both areas took more than a decade to be finally cleared of all ex-residents, and Technikons for Whites were built on both sites.

What about the other formal Black residential settlements in the city centre, including barracks and hostels, which were described by the University of Natal survey (1952)? Various questions need to be asked:

- Where was this Black presence located?
- What did it consist of?
- When was it removed from the city?
- What was the process of removal?
- Was all of it removed or did a residue survive?

Although a number of studies have highlighted the Indian or African occupation of urban space, defined by Maylam and Edwards (1996: 2), as the living, cultural, political and commercial space, they focused largely only on residential space, excluding the educational, commercial, cultural and recreational spheres. Secondly, these studies have tended to have been examined in racial

categories, resulting in a fragmented understanding of a collective Black presence. Thirdly, the studies on central Durban invariably lack spatial and visual references.

The period between 1963 and 1985 is relevant to this study because in 1963 large parts of the city were proclaimed as White “group areas”. For more than two decades thereafter, the socio-spatial landscape of the city changed, but by the mid-1980s, forced removals and urban segregation in Durban had ceased and could no longer be enforced. The “bleaching” process had run its course when Black stains in the White city had become an accepted reality, when areas such as the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area was finally was proclaimed an Indian group area for trade and residential settlement in 1983 (Lemon, 1987: 253). By the mid-1980s a new process of “greying” the White city had started, marking the unofficial beginning of the end of urban apartheid (Cloete, 1991: 91-107).

A major social and spatial engineering project on a grand scale was set in motion after the introduction of the Group Areas Act in 1950, marking an important period in the city’s spatial development during a politically turbulent period. However, after more than five decades of research on urban segregation and forced removals specific to Durban, produced from the 1960s, we still do not have a comprehensive understanding of this socio-spatial transformation that occurred in central Durban, as a result of group areas legislation. This study outlines the inner-city Black presence, consisting of the residential, commercial, educational, sports, worship and protest sites and the process of its removal from the 1960s. Of importance is the exposure of a previously “invisible” and historically marginalised Black urban presence in various parts of the city, which was expunged partly or completely, thereby contributing towards a more inclusive socio-spatial understanding of Durban’s urban development during the creation of the “apartheid city” from the late 1950s to mid-1980s.

The key research questions that this thesis addresses are:

1. What did the occupation of urban space, by a collective Black community, in central Durban, consist of before being removed/relocated from the 1960s?
2. Where were these “place communities”, defined by race, spatially located within the White city?
3. Was the removal of the Black presence complete by 1985?

To establish the urban Black presence, the objectives of this study are:

1. To identify the Black residential areas, including hostels, barracks and “Native Houses”, by integrating relevant studies on African, Indian and Coloured communities and their associated, education, sports, commercial, worship, recreation and protest sites, constructing a collective and comprehensive historical presence, prior to the 1960s.
2. To examine the relocation/removal of this Black presence at a micro level, demonstrating the socio-spatial transformation and destruction of old neighbourhoods during the process of creating a city for Whites.

3. To illustrate this presence and change by the use of street level photographs, maps and aerial photographs to locate and capture the aesthetics and character of the Black presence before and after removals from central Durban.

1.1 Broader issues investigated.

This thesis is located within a politically turbulent period in the country and the city's history and it is therefore important to examine how spatial and social engineering was achieved in the midst of this political turmoil? The political movements and events in Durban from the 1940s to 1980s are briefly outlined for this purpose, but more importantly, to identify spaces within the city where resistance and opposition to the oppressive policies, where staged from. The passive resistance campaign and Congress Alliance in the 1940s; the Defiance Campaign and adoption of the Freedom Charter in the 1950s; the treason trial in the 1960s and the Back Consciousness Movement in the 1970s, are briefly traced to outline the eventual evolution of a non-racial sports and political identity, that was in contrast and opposition to the Government's racial social engineering project. This non-racial struggle was espoused at Currie's Fountain sports ground (Rosenberg et al: 2013a) and other struggle sites that will be identified.

All the major cities in the country experienced urban change, to varying degrees, during this period of South Africa's history. To contextualise this study within the national narrative of urban segregation and the associated process of relocations, termed "forced removals", parallels and similarities to other South African cities will be examined. The process of forced removals varied from being an event, which happened fairly quickly with no resistance – such the relocation of municipal barracks' residents – to a lengthy process lasting for decades and marked by resistance from residents. Between these extremes were also variations and different reasons for relocation that were associated with rapid urban change. An understanding of the variations, different approaches and methodology of urban relocation initiatives are important to this study, to construct an understanding of Durban's approach and methodology considering its uniqueness with regard to its large Indian and African population, unlike any other city in the country. Clairwood and Cato Manor, were also substantial Black settlements but were located outside the city centre, and the latter was an informal settlement. Therefore, such areas will not form part of this study, which has a specific focus on central Durban.

1.2 Theoretical Framework.

This is an empirical study on Durban's urban history, with a specific focus on segregation, control and removal of Black communities in the city. The frameworks which are relevant to this study are:

- a. Theoretical growth models of cities
- b. Race and space
- c. Place making and notions of "community"

City growth models, developed from American cities, applied by Davies (1963, 1981 and 1991) to the South African context particularly Durban, concluded that the city resembled the "colonial city" type. By this he meant that segregation existed within the city in a zonal form, which then

developed into a sectoral model to achieve the “apartheid city” type. Whilst these studies of city growth models provide a snapshot of the spatial structure of the colonial and the apartheid city at a macro scale, they do not provide satisfactory or sufficient detail. In addition, as McCarthy and Smit (1984) noted, these studies “framed largely in the ecological paradigm, rarely explored the cultural and political causes and consequences of colonial segregation, which resulted in antiseptic, descriptive, statistical generalizations on the spatial configurations formed by different communities within the city” (McCarthy and Smit, 1984: 17). These theoretical growth models, of the “segregated” and “apartheid city” models developed by Davies (1963, 1981 and 1991) are useful as they provide a spatial overview at a macro scale, which contextualises this study within the broader theme of urban segregation and the creation of the “apartheid city” type, providing the background and setting for forced removals.

This macro scale spatial change of cities, referred to as “grand apartheid” involving political separation and urban residential segregation, was greatly enforced by “petty apartheid” that operated at a micro level, described by Christopher (1994: 141) as “personal apartheid”. Personal apartheid affected the daily life of the population and applied to the occupation of space, which ranged from separate park benches and entrances to buildings, to separate transport, schools, hospitals, beaches and cemeteries (Christopher, 1984: 141). This study examines both “grand” and “personal” apartheid to provide a composite picture of the socio-political context at a micro scale of neighbourhoods, facilities and institutions.

Theories on “place” and “community” are thus central to this study. Community can refer to a “fixed and bounded territory” or a type of relationship to refer to people who have “a sense of shared identity” (Cohen, 1985: 12). Both senses of community are relevant to this study which is focused on bounded territories inhabited by people with shared identities. Davies and Herbert (1993: 3) identified five different contexts in which the term “community” is used. One of which is, “as places or areas in cities”, which are unique and have characteristics that sets them apart from other areas or parts of the city referred to as “place communities”, set within the larger settlement, subsidiary to the city (Davies and Herbert, 1993: 6).

Race and ethnicity are concepts and ideas referring to social and political distinctions made between people (Knowles, 2003: 18), and race making is a spatial practice (Knowles, 2003: 80). The approach adopted in this thesis draws on the study by Tonkiss (2005), who examined how social and spatial relations shape different versions of the city: “as a site of social encounter and social division, as a field of politics and power, as a symbolic and material landscape, as an embodied space, as a realm of everyday experience” (Tonkiss, 2005: 1). As argued by Knowles (2003: 80), “race making is a spatial practice and space contains important information about racial grammar as forms of social practice to which race gives rise”.

As such, this study examines how “place communities”, identified by Davies and Herbert (1993: 6) as distinct subunits in the city, and symbolically constructed communities (Cohen: 1985) and their “sacred” places (Friedmann, 2010: 162), were created, marginalised and/or destroyed by the spatial practice of “race making” (Knowles, 2003: 80), during the colonial and apartheid periods. Building on the macro analysis of urban segregation by Davies (1963, 1981 and 1991) and Lemon (1991), on the creation of the apartheid city, this study zooms in on the micro-level of “place communities” and place-making at neighbourhood scale identified by Friedmann (2010: 162). It

examines the spatial aspects of race making such as the built environment, social practices, pathways, journeys and social relationships as identified by Knowles (2003: 97).

1.3 Research methodology

This qualitative study includes both archival and oral history. The archival research has been complemented with oral history and ephemeral materials such as brochures of institutions or organisations and personal photographic collections. Official city records were examined for information, photographs and maps related to Black people and their experience in the city. In the National Archives, the Mayor's Minutes provided records on "Native Affairs", Indian or "non-European" matters and facilities. It also provided information on segregation, related to Indians, and the control measures adopted for Africans, the Group Areas Board and the Department of Community Development who implemented the removal process. The archival records of the Technikon Natal, now Durban University of Technology, provided information on the removal process whilst a new education institution was being constructed for Whites, at the foot of the Berea. Information on social issues, sport, politics and in particular "Group Areas" proclamations was also gleaned from newspapers such as *The Daily News* and *Natal Mercury*, as well as the alternative "black press" such the *Post*, *Leader*, and *Graphic*.

Focus group and individual interviews complemented archival research, providing an interpretative aid to research findings whilst simultaneously generating new insights on early findings. Participants were drawn from ex-residents', sports, senior citizen organisations and re-union committees that were established over the years, for a variety of reasons, including reuniting friends and neighbours, or to formulate land claim submissions during the land claims process. Participants included ex residents of the inner city during the 1960s to mid-1980s, in rented or owned accommodation and who had experienced the forced removal process. The greater part of group and individual interviews were drawn from areas located on the lower slopes of the Berea, such as the Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue and the Block AK, Greyville area. These areas consisted of old settlements that consisted of a mix of residential and business premises.

Group and individual interviews were also drawn from the municipal and railways barracks, such as Magazine and Railway Barracks. These barracks consisted of municipal built accommodation for employees and their families on a permanent basis, whilst in the employ of the municipality. Rented hostel accommodation, to single African males and females on a temporary basis, were not included in interviews because of the temporary nature of the stay. In addition, these ex-residents of hostels were vacated 59 years ago and are not with us anymore or are at a very advanced age.

The supplementation of oral history to the documentary search not only assisted with obtaining information on the lived experience of Africans, Coloureds and Indians in the city, it also provided an opportunity to correlate or confirm information gleaned from maps and aerial photographs. The interaction with focus groups and individuals also provided an opportunity to obtain personal photographs, brochures or memorabilia. Interviews were also sources for references to other individuals with potential additional information. Photographs depicting the lives and institutions for Blacks in the city form an important component of this study because it provides the visual content including the spatial layout and extent provided by aerial photographs, as well as depicting the character and architecture of these spaces in the city. Thus, much of the research centered around producing a composite picture of the spatial arrangement and aesthetics of the Black

presence in the city, by the use of maps, diagrams, aerial and street level photographs. The Local History Museum, Killie Campbell Library, the Gandhi-Luthuli Documentation Centre, the 1860 Heritage Centre, Durban University of Technology archives, City Engineers Department and the Pietermaritzburg municipal library were sources for photographic material. Photographs were also sourced from brochures of institutions and organisations as well as ex-residents of displaced communities.

1.4 Outline

Chapter 2, the literature review, outlines the background to the research topic, analyses relevant studies and identifies the gaps within the current body of knowledge and the relevance, importance and limitations of the study.

Chapter 3 outlines the guiding theories of my study, such as theoretical city growth models, race and its relationship to space, and notions of “community” and “place”.

Chapter 4 elaborates on the research methods adopted, the approach, techniques, the location and limitations of the study.

Chapter 5. The findings are described in chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 5 is an introductory section providing the context prior to the forced removals period. It establishes what the Black presence consisted of, where it was located and how it was created by a process of segregation over a long period and provides the context for apartheid and forced removals.

Chapter 6 focuses on the Group Areas proclamations from 1963 to 1985 and presents the changes and removals in text, maps, aerial and street level photographs, documenting the spatial change over a period of twenty years.

Chapter 7 summarises the findings and contextualises the study within the spatial development and urban history narrative of Durban.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

As indicated in the introduction, this study examines the phenomenon of urban segregation and forced removals of Black people in central Durban from the early 1960s to the mid-1980s. This chapter outlines an analysis of pertinent studies relating to the Black presence and its subsequent removal in apartheid Durban. What became known as “forced removals”, was first documented in the early 1970s. The Surplus People Project (1983) expanded on this theme by documenting forced removals across South Africa and published reports for each province. These reports were subsequently condensed into a publication by Platzky and Walker (1985: ix), who defined “forced removal” as a term commonly used to describe the relocation / resettlement / removals policy and the processes involved in the state directed removals of mostly Black people, becoming one of characteristic features of the apartheid system. Platzky and Walker preferred the descriptive “forced removal” term because it was argued that “resettlement” implied some accrual of benefit to those moved and disguised the coerced nature of the relocations. Unterhalter (1987: 1) supported the assertion that resettlement was only achieved through force and defined forced removal as “the process of control, division and segregation of the people of South Africa”.

Unterhalter (1987: 3) agreed that precise numbers of people affected would never be known and stated that Platzky and Walker’s (1985) estimate of 3,5 million people that were relocated with a further 2 million still under threat of removal by 1983, were underestimated. Unterhalter argued that a minimum of 4 million people over four decades were affected from 1948, but a more accurate figure could almost be double this and noted the scale of removals were comparable to the social upheavals of the industrial revolution in Europe or mass migrations of displaced refugees after World War II. Farm evictions accounted for the largest category of removals followed by Group Areas removals in the urban areas (Platzky and Walker, 1985: 9). In urban areas the focus was on influx control measures, deproclamation of townships, control or removal of informal settlements and Group Areas. Group Area removals were the largest category of relocation within urban areas accounting for an estimated 860 400 people, mostly Indian and Coloured, who may have been moved between 1960 and 1980s (Platzky and Walker, 1985: 35). Mass removals of Indians and Coloureds only began in earnest in the 1960s in urban areas in terms of the Group Areas Act or, in the case of Africans, the Urban Areas Act. It was estimated that 80 000 Africans had been removed from central Durban, the majority of whom lived as tenants on Indian owned properties, which had been proclaimed for Whites (Platzky and Walker, 1985: 100). The Group Areas Act also affected business premises removing Indian and Coloured businesses from city centres to segregated shopping centres in their designated group areas (Platzky and Walker, 1985: 102).

What the Black presence consisted of, *where* it was located, *how* and *when* it was removed are the research questions addressed and required tracing the urban life of the Black population in Durban in three broad research areas:

1. The historical development of the city and the residential and trade settlement patterns of the multi-racial population within a colonial and apartheid context.
2. The consequences of the Group Areas Act, urban segregation and the socio-spatial impact on Durban's Black urban communities.
3. Forced removals and its application in urban areas, specifically the socio-spatial impact in central Durban.

From these three broad areas of research has emerged threads of a Black urban presence in a number of studies, which have been categorised into five themes, namely:

- a. Historical development and architectural heritage of the city: 1860 -1980s.
- b. The multi-cultural city: 1950s - 1990s.
- c. Urban segregation and the creation of the “apartheid city”: 1960s - 1980s.
- d. Forced removals in urban areas – overview: 1980s - 1990.
- e. Forced removals in central Durban: 1980s - 2013.

According to Maylam and Edwards (1996: xi), urban history studies have been recorded in two very different historiographic styles and traditions. The first is described as “antiquarian and in South Africa generally Eurocentric, concerned mainly with the lifestyle and culture of the urban elite”. The second is considered “analytical and critical with emphasis on urban policy and management, the impact of that policy on the non-élite communities, and the ways in which ordinary people and their leaders struggled against and sought to cope with hardships of city life”. The first theme listed above, is a record in the first tradition, including the University of Natal studies of 1952 and 1959 in the second theme. Themes c, d, and e are recorded in the second more critical tradition.

2.2 Thematic approach

Establishing the when, how and what of a Black presence in a colonial and apartheid city, required an examination of studies related to the historical urban development of Durban, including studies on various aspects of Africans, Indians or Coloureds that are best analysed in themes.

a). Historical development and architectural heritage of the city.

Small African communities had existed around and near Port Natal bay prior to the arrival of White hunter-traders in the 1820s. These were supplemented by refugees from conflicts to the north. The head of the bay was farmed by Africans, and unusually for African society, there was an African village within the confines of the ancient forest on the Berea (McCracken, 2015: 45-89). Port Natal was renamed Durban in 1835. The phase from being a trading post in the 1820s until 1860 is captured by Russell, one of the early settlers who recorded “the struggles, the difficulties and the victories”, from entries in his diary and discussions with other immigrants, including the first mayor of Durban (Russell, 1899: xiv). This record of the establishment of the fledgling town makes fleeting references to Africans, establishing an African presence, particularly as “kitchen boys”, (servants) and “togt” labour or as “wash-boys” by 1854 (Russell, 1899: 216), before the arrival of

indentured Indians in 1860. Russell (1899: 490) provided insights into the antagonistic attitudes of both the Whites and Africans towards the “Coolies” on their arrival in 1860, setting the scene for what Swanson (1961: 15) referred to as the new urban phenomenon of “East meeting West in Africa”.

Harrison (1903) and Henderson (1904) recorded the achievements of the early settlers and advancements made by the municipality and the development of a railway system by the end of the nineteenth century. Harrison (1903: 13) provided an important map to support his spatial observation that Durban, at the beginning of the twentieth century, consisted of three parts; consisting of the town centre, the Point and the residential area on the Berea. Segregated public facilities for Africans and Indians is evident by the late nineteenth century as noted by Henderson (1904: 313), who draws attention to the two acres set aside in the town cemetery devoted specifically to the burial of Africans and Indians and similarly separate wards in Addington and the Plague Hospitals. Henderson (1904) is the first study that identifies an Indian and African presence at the Point, in the form of Bamboo Square (1904: 116) and Indian settlements at the west end of West Street, northern portion of Field Street and on the Western vlei (Henderson, 1904: 307). Both Henderson and Harrison elaborated on the nineteenth century spatial development of the city and although only passing references were made to Indians and Africans, they identified an Indian and African residential presence by the 1870s on the Western vlei and at the Point by the 1880s.

With permission and in collaboration with the City Council of Durban, Stark (1960) edited a compilation of City Engineers’ departmental reports on infrastructure and historical accounts of established and prominent commercial concerns, which were integrated into the historical narrative of the development of Durban up until 1960. The business concerns were listed as advertisers and although not stated, the disproportionate historical accounts of prominent business families suggest that the publication was sponsored. The family and business history of a building contractor, auctioneer, butcher and sugar baron amongst others, are interwoven into the historical development of Durban, projected as a modern city and the premier holiday resort in Southern Africa (Stark, 1960: 134). Although this was a record of Durban’s development, with a commercial focus, the Indian commercial presence and history of prominent Indian families is notably absent, not least since it was the centenary year of Indians’ arrival in Durban in 1860. Stark’s (1960) record of Durban is of particular relevance to this study because it describes the history of the city and provides aspects of recreation and housing of Africans, Indians and Coloureds which existed by 1960, just prior to forced removals.

Stark (1960) described aspects of the “non-European” presence by references to and descriptions of segregated public facilities such as markets, swimming pools, libraries, housing schemes, transport and the Bantu Administration Department (BAD) that governed many aspects of urban Africans’ lives. Swanson (1961) identified and described the concept that had emerged in the first decade of the twentieth century, known as the “Durban System”. This was a monopoly on the beer trade held by the City Council. It was developed into an administrative system of urban control and workers’ temporary accommodation that was funded by profits from municipal beer sales. Stark (1960: 134) provided the official account in his concluding chapter devoted to “the care and

welfare of the non-European population”, wherein were described details of the Bantu Administration Department, the number of beerhalls, hostels, locations and rudimentary recreation facilities for Africans, 50 years after the first beerhall was built.

Stark (1960: 123) admitted that the boundary extension in 1932 and the resultant responsibility of improving the incorporated areas “with heavily populated districts of a multi-racial character”, and where planning standards were virtually non-existent and services limited, had “been a burden of great magnitude over the last 28 years”. Only passing references to Group Areas legislation, Cato Manor and the construction of the new KwaMashu and Umlazi Townships were made. This study lacks spatial information, such as maps or geographic locations and although Durban is illustrated in photographs, only a few images are of Black facilities, such as housing in KwaMashu and two Indian and one Coloured schools.

Concerned with the loss of architectural heritage, after a number of modern buildings replaced the building fabric of the colonial period, Van Niekerk’s (1979) “alternative guide” to the city is the first of a number of studies that followed in the 1980s, that drew attention to the historical development and architectural heritage of Durban. Van Niekerk, a law professor at the University of Natal, outlined the historical buildings, popular institutions and amenities of White Durban but also acknowledged the urban presence of Africans and Indians, which is of relevance to this study. Van Niekerk (1979: 77-106) noted the contribution made by the Grey Street Indian trading and residential area, mosque, markets and temples as well as Indian cultural traditions, to the development and character of a multi-cultural city. This publication ashamedly noted that “mighty little monumental or cultural traces of the massive Zulu contribution to the shape and welfare of the city” existed other than a few murals on John Ross building, the “ricksha boys” and bead sellers on Marine Parade. The African urban experience, described as “characterised by hassle, struggle and poverty” was to be found in the Grey Street area, the market and bus depot on Warwick Avenue and the “proletariat” on the lower Point Road area, a reference to the stevedores sitting on pavements and grassed square “downing their iJuba beer” (Van Niekerk (1979:163). Van Niekerk’s legal background would have exposed him to influx control measures of Africans and his study acknowledges the endless queue of work seekers at Ordinance Road, a reference to the Native Administration Department offices, and the Bantu Commissioner’s Court in Stanger Street, where Africans were processed through a “pass court at under a minute per person” (Van Niekerk, 1979: 163).

Studies initiated by the Durban City Council in the 1980s pursued similar colonial and architectural heritage themes. The first, by Kearney (1984), an architect, architectural historian and conservation consultant, provided an architectural and spatial development perspective focused on old settlements, architectural styles, historical buildings and neighbourhoods. Kearney’s (1984) study outlined the spatial evolution of the city and surveyed the architectural heritage, developing a catalogue of listed buildings and neighbourhoods of architectural heritage significance. The Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street precinct was identified as a distinct neighbourhood with Indian architectural influences. To amplify and raise awareness of Durban’s history, Kearney’s study was followed by a historical guide accompanied by maps of historical places and buildings by Bennett et al (1987). Morrison (1987), an attorney and ex-deputy mayor, expanded on the city’s initiatives by providing

a pictorial perspective, with a particular focus on old buildings of colonial Durban, capturing the architectural qualities and streetscape of the central business district from the founding settlement to the 1980s.

Lynsky (1982), commissioned by the City Engineer's department as a centenary publication, expanded on the study by Henderson (1904). He outlined the development of the city in the twentieth century. Lynsky's chronological examination of the development of the city through the prism of achievements by the City Engineer's Department from 1882 to 1982 is important to this thesis because of the comprehensive examination of the physical evolution of the city. Lynsky also elaborated on the establishment of racially defined residential townships and the concomitant administrative and engineering machinery developed to construct mass housing schemes for the relocation of Blacks from the late 1950s. Forced removals and large-scale sub-economic housing schemes in outlying township development are interrelated phenomena. Lynsky (1982: 74) outlined the administrative structures and setting up of a dual department, named Special Works department within the City Engineer's department, to catch up with infrastructure backlog and township construction. This study also elaborated on the planning of large new townships for Indians whilst housing was constructed in new African townships, on a massive scale and at an unprecedented rate of 28 houses per day by July 1964 (Lynsky 1982: 68).

In the mid-1960s, Durban embarked on an ambitious master plan for a modern city. This was to be actualised by the City Engineer's department and completed by 1985. The master plan initiated by the City Council in 1965 and designed by urban designers Holford and Kantorowich (1968), anticipated urban changes and a vision for a modern city for Whites, that was to be achieved by 1985. Transportation studies which accompanied Holford and Kantorowich's study and proposed public transportation plans for the Black population were integral to the plans for the "apartheid city". An examination of this long-term spatial vision is critical to this thesis because not only does it provide insights into the city's mindset in the 1960s, it also serves as a marker to evaluate what actually materialised by 1985, to ascertain if the city's long-term plan was achieved, or not and why.

These studies, grouped under the theme of historical development and architectural heritage of the city, provide an overview of some 160 years of the development of Durban up until mid-1980s, from a White perspective. These studies were concerned with the culture, traditions, leaders, architecture and places for and of interest to the White population group, with little or no meaningful reference to Indians, Africans or Coloureds. When mention is made of different race groups, it is usually the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area as the "Indian Quarter" and Indian traders (Kearney; 1984) or the "Natives" in their role as rickshas (Morrison, 1987: 31), (Van Niekerk, 1979: 108) or "kitchen boys" (Russell, 1899: 216), adding to the supposed charm of colonial Durban. Africans had been present in the founding settlement, as servants, the most notable being Ndongeni the servant who accompanied Dick King on his epic ride to Grahamstown (Morrison, 1987: 9) and Indians arrived and set up shop from the 1860s, yet their urban presence is largely "invisible" in these studies, with the exception of Van Niekerk (1979) and Kearney (1984). These studies support the assertion by Maylam and Edwards (1996: xi) of an antiquarian and eurocentric historiographic tradition in South Africa.

These studies produced in the 1960s to 1980s, during decades of apartheid rule, make little if any meaningful reference to apartheid and urban segregation. With the exception of Van Niekerk (1979) and Kearney (1984), the Black presence is largely airbrushed out of these historical narratives of Durban. However, Van Niekerk (1979), Lynsky (1982) and Kearney's (1984) studies are important for their contribution towards an understanding of the spatial evolution of a colonial urban formation on a unique location of the settlement, being flanked by a bay, two swamps and several sand dunes. Secondly, they identify the Indian trading and residential presence in the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street precinct. Collectively these studies provide the background to the city's urban development and spatial evolution and demonstrates the Eurocentric bias and "invisibility" of people of colour, contextualising the White urban setting within which Indians, Africans and people of mixed heritage had to compete for space to live and work.

b). The multi-cultural city.

The multi-cultural nature of the city was recognised in studies conducted from the mid-1940s in the form of housing surveys, commissioned by the municipality, resulting in the *Durban Housing Survey* (University of Natal, 1952). Although this study was the first attempt at understanding Durban's multi-racial population, it only focused on residential settlement patterns, identifying general geographic locations of Whites, Africans, Indians and Coloureds, their housing conditions, future needs and the anticipated impact of the Group Areas Act on the city's racial geography. It is one of the few studies which provides spatial and visual information in the form of maps and photographs, that captures the Black presence, albeit only the residential aspects and only at a macro-scale. This study is important to this thesis because it was based on surveys and provided descriptions and spatial information such as macro-scale maps of residential areas prior to the Group Areas Act of 1950, identifying the main concentrations of "non-European" residential settlement, before the forced removals period. These residential settlements were generally considered as slums and were identified as slum zones in 1939. These became an obvious target during the forced removal period of the 1960s and represent the extent of the primary Black presence in central Durban prior to forced removals. Residential quarters provided by the municipality or commercial concerns, which was overcrowded and rudimentary, did not feature in the identified slum zones, but represented a substantial Black presence which was also removed.

Also, of relevance to this thesis is a study by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Natal (1959), of a small African residential complex in central Durban, named Baumannville. This social study conducted in 1954 using social surveys, interviews with residents and observations, was the first of a series of community studies designed by the Institute for Social Research to observe patterns and trends of the four race groups, within a mixed residential area. This study claimed to provide a "comprehensive and vital picture of an African urban community in its adaptation to current influences of Westernization and urbanization and illustrates the adaptability of the African, his resilience and his process of harmonizing the forces of tradition and of change" (University of Natal, 1959: vi). Of significance is the fact that Baumannville, which was established in 1916, was the only formal family accommodation for Africans in the city. Although it was a very small housing settlement of 120 families, it was also supported by a church, nursery

school, primary school, laundry, infants home run by the Bantu Child Welfare Society and a nearby sports ground. The historical development of the settlement was outlined, its inhabitants described and a locality map and rare photographs depicting the character of the settlement and its rudimentary facilities was provided. Also of note is its references and its proximity to the Somtseu Location for single African males and Magazine Barracks for Indians, which was separated from it by a fence, making it a very old and a unique workers' residential complex in Durban's eastern vlei and a critical component of the Black presence being established by this study. The University of Natal (1959: 79) made passing references to the Group Areas Act and although no decision was made at the time of publication in 1959, it acknowledged that the settlement would be phased out because of the Act.

After decades of anti-Indian sentiment, Kuper (1960) and Meer (1969) provided insights into the cultural, religious and social aspects of Indians in South Africa, primarily located in Natal. Bhana and Brain's (1990) study expanded on these works by examining indenture, trade and settlement of Indians in South Africa during the indenture period from 1860 to 1911. Although these studies are not specific to Durban, they make reference to Durban because many Indians settled in Natal and in particular Durban and therefore relevant, providing the historical context of Indian indenture, settlement and trade patterns as well as the socio-cultural aspects.

Bhana and Brain (1990: 65) describe the Indian trading presence in West and Field Streets by 1861, the subsequent laws to curb Indian trade in the central business district (CBD) and notes that Indian traders also realised the trading opportunities presented by Africans by 1880 (Bhana and Brain, 1990: 74). A social and economic history of the Indian working class in Durban between 1910 to 1990 by Freund (1995) expands on Bhana and Brains' (1990) study, describing an immigrant community settling in a hostile White urban environment in the twentieth century. This study is of relevance because of its focus on Indian workers and provides an overview of early Indian residential settlement patterns, specific to Durban, identifying the Grey Street residential and trade complex, employment opportunities and references to Magazine Barracks which was an important residential quarter for Indian municipal workers in the eastern vlei. References were made to forced removals but not dealt with in detail. Freund (1995: 65) however, noted the link between slum clearance in the 1930s and the drive towards segregation, concluding that modern Durban was to be constructed on the basis of slums clearance.

The geographical distribution of the different race groups in Durban based on census statistics, by geographers Brookfield and Tatham (1957), confirms the findings of an earlier study based on housing surveys conducted in the mid-1940s, by the University of Natal (1952). Of relevance to this study is Brookfield and Tatham's findings, presented in maps but also the provision of a reconstructed map of the physical attributes of the site at the time of its formation, indicating the eastern and western vleis and stressing their importance in the formation of the city. This study also identifies Indian residential settlement on part of the Western vlei as a slum, the foot of the Berea as a "blighted zone in which there is considerable racial mingling" and the unique feature of a dual CBD, reinforced by a duality of entertainment and public transport (Brookfield and Tatham, 1957: 59). Although the geographical distribution of race groups was described and

supported by maps, it was a generalised overview presented on a macro scale, much like the findings of the University of Natal (1952).

A pioneering collection of studies, focused specifically on the urban experience of Africans in Durban, by Maylam and Edwards (1996: 1), asserts that one of the functions of apartheid “was to make the daily existence of the under classes outside the workplace, as invisible as possible to the dominant classes”. In an attempt to address the invisibility of the under classes, their collection of essays was described as a generation of Durban historical scholarship by Freund and Padayachee (2002: 5). It explored the organisation and occupation of urban space, defined as “living, cultural, political and space for pursuing material ends”, in an effort “to produce an alternative ‘people’s’ history of Durban” (Maylam and Edwards, 1996: 2). This study is central to this thesis because it is the first to focus specifically on the African urban experience that had been absent in Durban’s historical narrative for so long. The elaboration on the dock-workers, rickshaw pullers, popular culture, beer halls, the “Durban System” and popular music, provides insights into the urban presence of Africans that is of relevance to this thesis. Also, of importance is the overview of resistance to apartheid policies in the 1970s and 1980s, contextualising the African urban presence within the political frame. However, this study lacks spatial information, such as maps or geographic locations to identify and locate this presence. Although Cato Manor is examined, only a passing reference is made to urban segregation and removals of hostels in central Durban in the early 1960s (Maylam and Edwards, 1996: 23). The control over African recreation by Vahed (1998) and the *muthi* trade by Nesvag (2002) describe the recreational and commercial aspects of African life in the city, but these also lack spatial and visual references.

The three-volume publication on the history of Durban harbour and the Point by Kearney (2013), who states that it may be considered as an alternative history of Durban in the colonial period because of the importance of the port to Durban, identifies a Black presence at the Point by 1870. This study elaborates in detail, accompanied by maps and photographs, not only the development of the harbour and the Point, but also the presence of Indian, African and Coloured workers’ and their residential settlements, places of work and life at the Point and surrounds during the colonial period prior to 1910 (Kearney, 2013: 1167-1215, 1247-1278). Of note is the fact that this Black presence at the Point was largely still in existence by the 1950s, confirmed in findings presented in macro-scale maps by Brookfield and Tatham (1957) and the Durban Housing Survey (1952). The methodology of this micro-scale study by Kearney (2013), at neighbourhood and building level supported by maps and photographs, is of particular relevance to the methodology adopted in this thesis.

c). Urban segregation and the creation of the “apartheid city”.

The seminal study by Swanson (1961) on *the rise of multi-racial Durban* recognised the need for urban studies of Durban, beyond the early settlement period. This study expanded on previous sociological, economic and racial ecology studies of Durban, examining how segregation was created from the mid-1870s to the first decade of the twentieth century. By an examination of official City Council records, Swanson (1961: 15) described the new urban phenomenon as “East

meeting West in Africa” and outlined the social context and mechanisms by which segregation was created, firstly directed at Indians in the late nineteenth century, and thereafter focused on Africans at the beginning of the twentieth century. The policies developed to control Indian immigration and trade was followed by the “Durban system”, an administrative system of control over togt (day labour) workers, funded by beer profits, enabling the establishment of the Native Administration Department to manage and control all facets of urban life of Africans. Swanson (1961: 15) was the first to note that Durban had become “a model of urban Native Administration and a leading exponent of group racial legislation” by the beginning of the twentieth century.

Swanson (1983) expanded on this line of enquiry by examining the attitudes of Durban’s colonial rulers and how perceptions of the “Asiatic menace” shaped social distancing and the creation of spatial segregation, specifically of Indians from the 1870s to 1900. This study is of relevance because it established how the Indian urban presence of residential settlement and trade was created by the late nineteenth century. Outlining what Whites referred to as “Coolie Location” (Swanson 1983: 410) which developed on the west end of the developing central business district in the 1870s, evolving into the main Indian business area by the 1890s, centred around the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area which became Durban’s “Indian Quarter”. Also, of importance to this thesis, is the identification of less concentrated satellite areas of Indian settlement and activity in the eastern and western *vleis* and on Government land at the Point by the early 1900s (Swanson, 1983: 418). Kearney (2013) elaborated and supported these findings and provided visual illustrations.

Both studies by Swanson (1961 and 1983) are important because, firstly they established the founding mechanisms and systems of control to create social and spatial segregation of Indians and Africans at the end of the nineteenth century, that was to evolve and gain impetus prior to and after the promulgation of the Group Areas Act. Secondly, these studies provided the socio-spatial background and context of the “segregated city”, prior to the post-colonial urban formation and the creation of the “apartheid city”, which this thesis is located within. And thirdly, they identify by the beginning of the twentieth century a Black presence in satellite areas beyond the “Indian Quarter” in the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street precinct.

Based on the 1951 census statistics, City Council documents and the approved Group Areas proposals for Durban, Kuper et al (1958), examined the racial composition and residential distribution of race groups in the city in the 1950s and outlined the changes proposed by the 1952 Group Areas proposals for Durban. Similar to the studies focused on the African and Indian residential presence by the 1950s, by the University of Natal (1952) and Brookfield and Tatham (1957), Kuper, et al (1958), arrives at the same conclusions about their residential geographic locations at a macro-scale. No spatial information is provided, however, of relevance to this study is the examination of *how* separate areas for Africans and Indians were created, to exclude them from settling in desirable parts of the city, from the beginning of the twentieth century to the 1950s. Collectively Swanson (1961 and 1983) and Kuper et al (1958) provided an overview of how segregation was created in Durban from the 1870s to the 1950s, before the apartheid period.

Studies on urban segregation during the apartheid period, specific to Durban, was examined by Davies (1963, 1981 and 1991) and Rajah (1981). The study by Davies (1963) on Durban interpreted the growth of the city within the context of established theoretical growth models of cities, developed from studies on American cities. This pioneering study on Durban concluded that the sectoral model best described the growth of the city. This theme was elaborated on by Davies (1981), formulating a growth model specific to South African cities subjected to influences of racial policies resulting in the spatial and social reorganisation of cities from informal segregation to accentuated planned segregation in the “apartheid city” type. A compilation of urban segregation studies by a number of geographers was edited by Lemon (1991), who recorded 12 South African cities, created by segregation and apartheid and was intended to serve as a reference work for future planners who would be burdened by this “apartheid inheritance” (Lemon, 1991: ix). These studies by Davies (1963, 1981 and 1991) and Lemon (1991) provide an overview of urban segregation countrywide and specifically in Durban, from the 1960s to 1990, which is of relevance to this thesis because it contextualises the Durban experience within the broader frame of the country. These works also provide the colonial and pre-apartheid context and the administrative processes in the making of the apartheid city. However, these studies only provide a generalised descriptive overview of the colonial “segregated city” and the making of the “apartheid city”, illustrated in diagrams (Davies 1981: 64/69) representing the two city types. Although these studies provide a broader understanding of the geography of the colonial and apartheid city, the generalised descriptive account and macro-scale analysis of the spatial reorganisation of the city, lacks the detail of identifying what the Black presence consisted of, at the micro-level of the neighbourhood or compound in the inner-city, before and after its removal.

The socio-spatial evolution of the Indian CBD in Durban examined by Rajah (1981) is central to this study because it was the hub of the Indian urban experience since the late nineteenth century and one of the few such areas which survived by the early 1980s. Swanson (1983) focused on the period from the 1870s to 1900, whilst Rajah (1981) examined the economic, political and social context within which the Indian “dual CBD” (Rajah, 1981: 78) evolved from 1870s to 1981 and noted the racial and structural duality of the Durban CBD, identified by Brookfield and Tatham (1957). Rajah’s study is of relevance because not only was it the main Indian area with a considerable African presence in the form of facilities and clientele, but also because it survived the Group Areas relocation process, at a considerable loss to social and spatial development. The micro scale focus on urban apartheid outlining the various phases of Indian spatial containment in a particular locality within the city, from the 1870s to the 1980s, and the identification of other Indian areas adjacent to the Indian CBD affected by forced removals (Rajah, 1981: 164), is also of importance to this study.

Christopher (1994) examined the spatial nature of the apartheid system by identifying three different scales at which apartheid policies affected change, named as “grand”, “urban” and “petty apartheid”. Christopher analysed urban and “petty” apartheid, also referred to as “personal apartheid” because it operated at a micro-level that not only prevented inter-racial personal relations and marriage but all facets ranging from separate park benches to separate schools, churches, transport and cemeteries (Christopher, 1994: 141). Although little reference is made to Durban, apart from the Indian business area and a small residential area affected by the “Pegging

Act”, the micro-scale focus of “personal apartheid” and the use of maps, graphs and diagrams to demonstrate the spatial aspects at micro level is of relevance to the methodology of this study.

d). Forced removals in urban areas – general overview.

The Surplus People Project examined the phenomenon of state directed removals of communities across the country by the early 1980s, and published reports on the details of this destructive process in the various provinces in 1983. Volume 4 of the Surplus People Project (1983) focused on Natal and provided an overview of urban and rural removals supported by numerous case studies of specific places. Although urban segregation in Durban was outlined, providing an overview of areas affected by Group Areas proclamations, dates of proclamations, race groups affected and estimates of numbers of people relocated, it concentrated largely on the suburbs and lacked details on central Durban. Of relevance however, is the historical overview from 1960 to 1982, the elaboration on influx control, the establishment of racially segregated townships and resistance to relocations.

The research by the Surplus People Project was condensed into a publication by Platzky and Walker (1985), followed by Unterhalter (1987). Both studies examined the reasons for removals and provided a historical outline since colonial conquest. Various types of relocations/removals were categorised and the sheer scale of social engineering, on a national scale over four decades, was outlined. Although Platzky and Walker (1985) contextualised forced removals as integral component to apartheid, Unterhalter (1987: 2) argued that apartheid was not consistent and unchanging and had adapted policies to different demands, changing political and economic conditions and shifts in the balance of power supporting the system, and examined forced removals within distinct phases of apartheid. It was argued that the various types of forced removals were a reflection of this changing political context and economic nature of apartheid. Murray and O’Regan (1990) examined forced removals by describing struggles of various communities who had resisted relocation, the critical role of the law and law practitioners and provided a guide to the relevant legislation and potential avenues for litigation, as an aide to those that were still under threat of removal.

Forced removals occurred from the 1950s to the 1980s and by the mid-1980s virtual complete segregation in residential patterns in most South African cities had been achieved. (Christopher, 1994: 132) and Unterhalter (1987: vii) agreed that forced removals were neither monolithic nor uniformly implemented and pre-dated Nationalist Party rule. Murray and O’Regan (1990) noted that it reached the most concentrated and colossal form between early 1960s and mid-1970s (Bundy, 1990: 8), which marked a distinctive period in South African history because it was a period of great economic growth, organised resistance was at its lowest and the state was dominant. These studies by the Surplus People Project (1983), Platzky and Walker (1985), Unterhalter (1987) and Murray and O’Regan (1990), provided a national overview of the phenomenon and elaborated on the various types within changing political conditions, community struggles and the fluidity of the policy. However, not much references are made of central Durban, other than a mention of the Indian business area and details on the Cato Manor informal settlement on the outskirts of the city.

These studies, however, do provide the overview and historical lineage of forced removals to contextualise this study on central Durban.

Although focused on Cape Town, Jeppie and Soudien's (1990) historical record of District Six and the resistance to forced removals, by the use of ex-residents' oral accounts, archival sources and visual presentations of the built and destroyed places, to reconstruct a historical account of a community, is of relevance to the topic and methodology adopted in this study. Also, of relevance are the parallels between District Six and the residential area to the west of Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue in Durban, referred to as the "Duchene" by Hassim (2009). Both areas were considered as slums and declared for white occupation in the 1960s, both located on the edge of the White CBD.

e). Forced removals in central Durban.

Studies relating to central Durban that have focused on specific urban communities who were removed entirely, or in part, are grouped under this theme. Rosenberg's (2012) socio-spatial study on the remnants of colonial and apartheid Durban was an elaboration on Rajah's (1981) study of the Indian business and residential district. Rosenberg demonstrated how the "dual CBD" spatially evolved outwards from the 1930s towards the north-west into the drained vlei, including the sports, educational, religion, transport, recreational and cultural spheres, becoming a contained "city within a city" by the 1960s. Rosenberg's (2012) micro-scale focus on amenities and institutions, primarily for Indians with limited facilities for Africans and Coloureds, is important to this study because it identified a host of facilities and institutions that survived Group Area removals, as well as describing and illustrating the Black urban presence in the Western vlei, before and after the forced removals period. The spatial focus and use of maps and photographs are of particular relevance to the methodology adopted in this thesis.

The predominantly Indian, but mixed with European and Coloured, residential area at the foot of the Berea, identified at a macro scale on maps in studies by the University of Natal (1952), Brookfield and Tatham (1957) and Rajah (1981), is the subject of Farr (1987) and Maharaj's (1999) studies. Maharaj draws on Farr's historical development of the area from 1900 to 1970 and outlines the struggles of an inner city, racially mixed community, referred to as the "Casbah" or Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT), who had resisted forced removals right up to the 1980s. This micro-scale study of urban segregation of a community under threat of removal for decades, is relevant to this study because it identified and described the historical development and survival of an important part of a larger Black presence, that Maharaj and Farr unfortunately do not refer to. The WAT community was a remainder of a larger neighbourhood that was destroyed in large parts by the construction of the western freeway and the forced removals of residents on the north side of the freeway, to make way for Technikon Natal for White students (Rosenberg, 2013b: 75). Maharaj (1999) only provided one map and no visual references that speak of the character of the area.

The eastern vlei also contained a significant concentration of African and Indian workers' barracks and hostels. Murugan's (1997) record of one of the oldest and largest municipal barracks for Indian

employees is a seminal record of one of several barracks located on the eastern vlei. The micro-scale examination by Murugan (1997), of a marginalised and poor community living in rudimentary and poor physical conditions, known as Magazine Barracks, was drawn from experience as an ex-resident, interviews with elders and other ex-residents, research papers and brochures. This record of the historical development of the barracks, physical conditions and the social, cultural, religious, educational and sporting spheres of the Indian inhabitants provided a rich account of a place and its people. Murugan feared that it would be remembered only as “the poverty-stricken place” or for those “that lit our lights, cleaned our streets and watered our gardens” (Murugan, 1997: 7). This record is important to this study because it identifies an important Indian workers’ residential, educational, religious and sports presence in central Durban that was the subject of urban segregation and Group Areas relocations in 1965. Although rich with images from personal collections of the inhabitants’ sports and music achievements, schooling, clubs and religious organisations, providing glimpses of the life of a community. Only one image captures the physical environment and no spatial information was provided.

Another record of a marginalised Indian community with indenture heritage is Pillay et al’s (2002) account, compiled by a group of ex-residents of the community who lived in various barracks in the Point area. This study emulates Murugan’s (1997) micro-scale study which also focused on an Indian community living in barracks and is acknowledged as “the first written record of the endeavours of small groups, called *koottams* in Tamil, or neighbourhoods in social parlance” (Pillay, 2002: 7). Unlike Murugan’s study that concentrated on one community in a particular barracks, Pillay et al (2002) describes a community made up of numerous barracks in various locations in the Point area, which provided residential accommodation for many Indian workers and their families. It also identified the streets that contained a small group of Indian businesses, the hospital for Indians as well as the African “togt” barracks in Bell Street and the small community that lived in the fishing village at Fynnlands. Much like Murugan (1997), Pillay (2002) examines the struggles and advancement of this community in the cultural, religious, educational, sports and health spheres, by highlighting the contributions and achievements of many prominent individuals from the community. Although not specifically dealing with Group Areas and removals, this record of an established and marginalised presence exposes the Indian presence at the Point.

Kearney (2013: 1341) as well as Govender and Chetty (2014) recorded the history of Indian settlement on Salisbury Island by ex-indentured Indians who settled on the island from 1865 and engaged in subsistence fishing which developed into a commercial enterprise by 1873. Govender and Chetty (2014: 19), provide an account of the seine netters and their relocation in 1890 from Salisbury Island to the fishing village, located between the island and the Fynnlands Station and finally forced removals in 1959 to Bayhead and Chatsworth in 1965. Both studies are relevant because it identifies and describes Indian and African workers’ presence and both studies captured the character of a marginalised group by the liberal use of photographs and maps.

2.3 Conclusion

Various aspects of Durban's urban history have been recorded by law practitioners, architects, geographers, social historians and a doctor. These are reflected in urban studies, housing surveys, architectural heritage and commemoration publications commissioned by the City Council or City Engineer's department. Ex-residents of marginalised communities, in danger of being forgotten, have also recorded their histories.

The studies listed in the first theme outline and present the development of a White, colonial and apartheid urban setting, within which Black urban space was planned and created from the 1870s, as outlined by Swanson (1961, 1976 and 1983) and Kuper et al (1958). Studies that have addressed the key research questions can be summarised as follow:

1. What the occupation of urban space, by a collective Black 'community', in central Durban, consisted of before being removed/relocated from the 1960s, has been described and elaborated on by the University of Natal (1952 and 1959), Rajah (1981), Bhana and Brain (1990), Freund (1995), La Hausse (1996, 1998), Maylam and Edwards (1996), Freund and Padayachee (2002) and Rosenberg (2012).
2. Where were these "place communities" defined by race, located within the White city? These communities have been identified in three main concentrations located in the Western and Eastern *vleis* and at the Point by Henderson (1904) and Swanson (1983), described and illustrated in macro scale maps by the University of Natal (1952), Brookfields and Tatham (1957) Kuper et al (1958) and the Surplus People Project (1983). Micro level studies of Black communities are described by University of Natal (1959), Rajah (1981), Murugan (1997), Maharaj (1999), Rosenberg (2012 and 2013b), Kearney (2013), Govender and Chetty (2014) and Pillay et al (2002).
3. The extent of removals by 1985 has been confirmed in studies by Rajah (1981), Davies (1981 and 1991), Lemon (1991) and Rosenberg (2012)
4. Jeppie and Soudien (1990), Maharaj (1999), Pillay et al (2002), Govender and Chetty (2014) elaborated on the impact of forced removals on identity and community.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Durban's racial zoning plan, approved in 1952, designated large tracts of urban space for Whites and became the basis for the removal of Africans, Indians and Coloureds from the city centre. Although issues of race and place always had a spatial dimension in the colonial town, it was accentuated by the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950. Marginalisation and containment within the city had progressed to displacement. The displacement of communities from their residential areas and places that they were accustomed to, changed their way of life and wrought feelings of dislocation. Authorities considered Black neighbourhoods, and workers' compounds together with their associated facilities as slums or undesirable places, for a city considered to be for Whites. Large tracts of urban neighbourhoods in various localities within the city were affected and the residents were relocated to racially defined townships, on the periphery of the city. Many of these residents in their respective racially defined townships, fondly recollect the places that constituted their "district" or neighbourhood and the institutions together with facilities which represented their way of life, prior to forced removals. Many years after their removal, ex-residents have established commemoration committees, pensioner or social clubs to rekindle old bonds with neighbours and to recall the memories of their old communities and their urban spaces destroyed or changed by group areas legislation and forced removals.

Bohlin (1998: 168) argued that issues concerning "place and placelessness" have assumed special significance in contemporary South Africa due to segregation and apartheid because the majority of people's lives were shaped by what Bohlin refers to as "troubled and ambiguous experiences of localities" (Bohlin, 1998: 168). These localities were experienced as places to which one belonged, or was excluded from or forced to belong. Lovell's (1998) *Locality and Belonging* explored ways in which notions of belonging and attachment to particular localities emerged and were mobilised, maintained and modified through time (Lovell, 1998: 4).

Belonging to a particular locality evokes the notion of loyalty to a place, a loyalty that may be expressed through oral or written histories, narratives of origin as belonging, the focality of certain objects, myths, and religious and ritual performances, or setting up of shrines such as museums and exhibitions. Yet belonging is also fundamentally defined through a sense of experience, a phenomenology of locality which serves to create, mould and reflect perceived ideals surrounding place. Accounts of how such loyalties are created, perpetuated and modified are of relevance to an understanding of identity at individual and, more importantly, collective levels, since belonging and locality as markers of identity often extend beyond individual experience and nostalgic longing for a particular place. Belonging may thus be seen as a way of remembering, instrumental in the construction of collective memory surrounding place (Lovell, 1998: 1).

The approach adopted in this thesis draws on the study by Tonkiss (2005), who examined how social and spatial relations shape different versions of the city: "as a site of social encounter and social division, as a field of politics and power, as a symbolic and material landscape, as an embodied space, as a realm of everyday experience" (Tonkiss, 2005: 1). As argued by Knowles (2003: 80), "race making is a spatial practice and space contains important information about racial grammar as forms of social practice to which race gives rise". As such, this study examines how

“place communities”, identified by Davies and Herbert (1993: 6) as distinct subunits in the city, and symbolically constructed communities (Cohen: 1985) and their “sacred” places (Friedmann, 2010: 162), were created, marginalised and/or destroyed by the spatial practice of “race making” (Knowles, 2003: 80), during the colonial and apartheid periods. Building on the macro analysis of urban segregation by Davies (1963, 1981 and 1991) and Lemon (1991), on the creation of the apartheid city, this study zooms in on the micro-level of “place communities” and place-making at neighbourhood scale identified by Friedmann (2010: 162). It examines the spatial aspects of race making such as the built environment, social practices, pathways, journeys and social relationships as identified by Knowles (2003: 97).

3.1 City growth models

In Durban, the “segregated city” in the colonial and the post-colonial period was created over a period of approximately 80 years, from the 1870s to 1950s, before being transformed to and “apartheid city” in just over 30 years. Theoretical frameworks important to this study are theoretical growth models of cities and “race making” or the “racing of space” (Knowles, 2003: 99), in the creation of place and “place communities” (Davies and Herbert, 1993: 6). City growth models are examined as a basis of analyses of the spatial changes in Durban, from a colonial “segregation” to and “apartheid” city model, which provides the context and macro spatial view of urban segregation. The models developed by Davies (1963 and 1981) provides the before and after, what McCarthy and Smit (1984: 17) refer to as graphical or “snapshot” interpretations of the Burgess (1925), Hoyt (1939) and Harris and Ullman (1945) city growth models, depicted in Figure 1. However, these growth models do not provide the detail and specifics of affected communities and their specific localities within the area of the models, that Davies (1981) refers to as the CBD frame and area of mixing in Figures 2 and 3. To obtain the micro scale detail of the localities and their extent, requires an examination of communities, their neighbourhoods, and what they considered as ‘their places’ within the city.

Theoretical growth models developed to describe the spatial evolution of cities, particularly the “apartheid city” model by Davies (1981), provides the contextual framework of this study. Davies (1963: 15/16) argued that urban theoretical growth models, although developed for American cities, was the most widely accepted theoretical growth models used by urban geographers as bases for city analyses and summarised 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 (1945) 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 (Davies, 1963:15/16).*

These theoretical spatial models are illustrated in Figure 1.

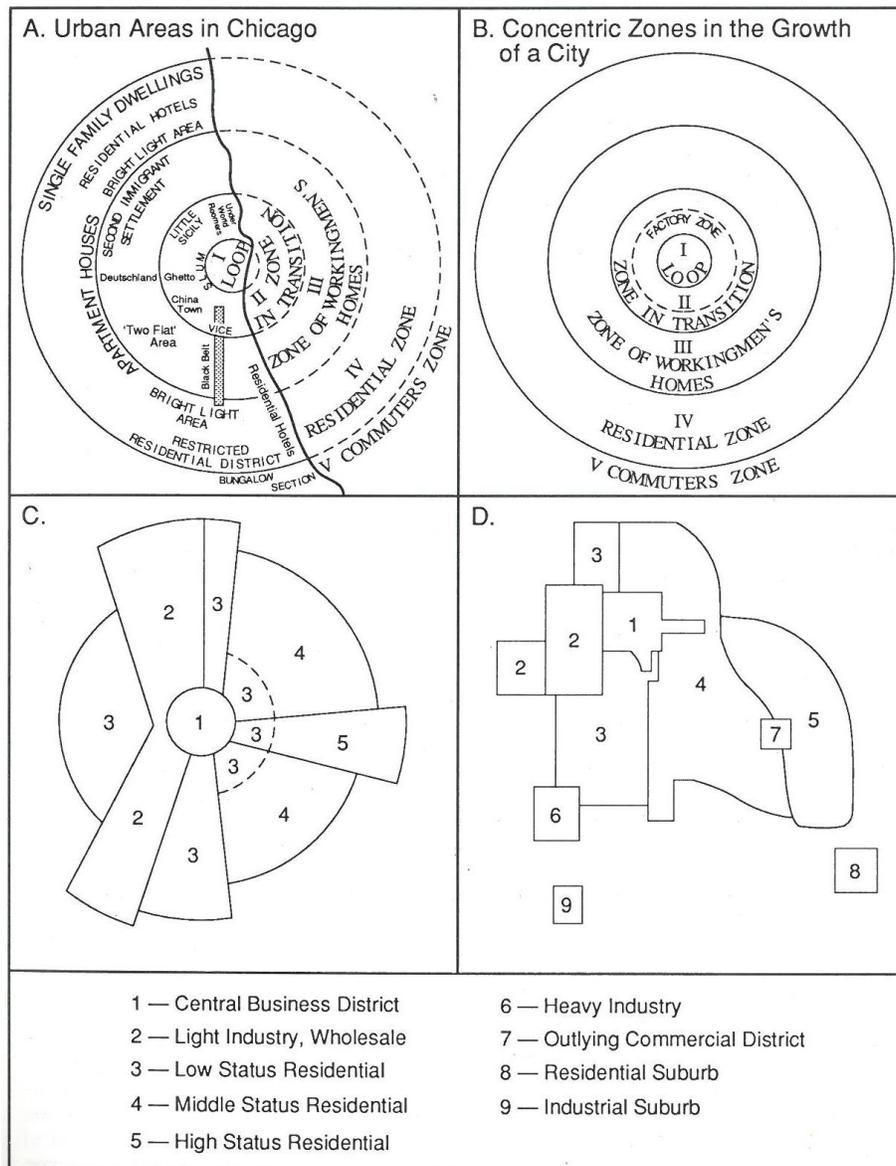


Figure 1. Spatial models of land-use and structure. The Burgess (1925), concentric zonal pattern depicted in (B), the sectoral pattern by Hoyt (1939) depicted in (C) and the multi-nuclei pattern by Harris and Ullman (1945) depicted in (D) (from Davies and Herbert, 1993: 41).

Davies (1981) who developed the models for South African cities in general, but also studied Durban (1963: 16), noted that an interpretation of the relevance of any of the growth models to the growth pattern of different cities, necessitated the introduction of three variables that was outlined as:

1. The significance of site peculiarities.
2. The functional category of the city.
3. The population composition and the socio-economic, legal and political context within the larger national community to which the city belongs.

Davies (1963: 16), noted that the third variable was possibly the most significant factor in the South African context and should receive special attention.

Christopher's (1984: 77) study on the impact of past geographies, confirmed Davies' assertion, and concluded that South African cities resembled the general western urban model, which included the emergence of a CBD, distinct administrative and industrial quarters and residential differentiation, but legislated racial segregation had become a significant and unique aspect of internal differentiation within South African cities. Durban was examined by Davies (1963, 1981) who concluded that the city's land use resembled the "colonial city" type which was largely zonal in form, which was then developed into a sectoral model to achieve the "apartheid city" type, depicted in Figures 2, 3 and 4. This transition from a colonial zonal urban form to a sectoral apartheid form necessitated substantial land use rearrangements, hence forced removals.

These theoretical growth models, of the segregated and apartheid city developed by Davies (1963 and 1981) provide an overview and context for this study within the broader theme of urban segregation and the creation of the "apartheid city" type, providing spatial diagrams of Durban before and after apartheid. The diagrams of Durban's evolution between 1951 and 1970 by Davies (1981: 70), depicted in Figure 4, provide a "snapshot" of the spatial structure of the colonial and the apartheid city at a macro scale but as previously indicated, does not provide the detail particularly with regard to central Durban referred to in the models, depicted in Figures 2 and 3, as the CBD frame. In addition, as McCarthy and Smit (1984) noted, studies that were framed largely in the ecological paradigm, "rarely explored the cultural/political causes and consequences of colonial segregation. Instead it has largely limited itself to antiseptic, descriptive, statistical generalizations on the spatial configurations formed by different communities within the South African city" (McCarthy and Smit, 1984: 17).

This macro scale spatial change of cities referred to as "grand apartheid" by Christopher (1994: 141), involved political separation and urban residential segregation, whilst "petty apartheid" operated at a micro level, described as "personal apartheid". Christopher pointed out that "personal apartheid" affected the daily life of the population and applied to the occupation of space, which ranged from separate park benches and entrances to buildings, to separate schools, transport, hospitals, beaches and cemeteries (Christopher, 1984: 141). Both "grand" and "personal" apartheid aspects have been examined to provide a composite picture of a Black presence at the micro scale of neighbourhoods or workers' compounds.

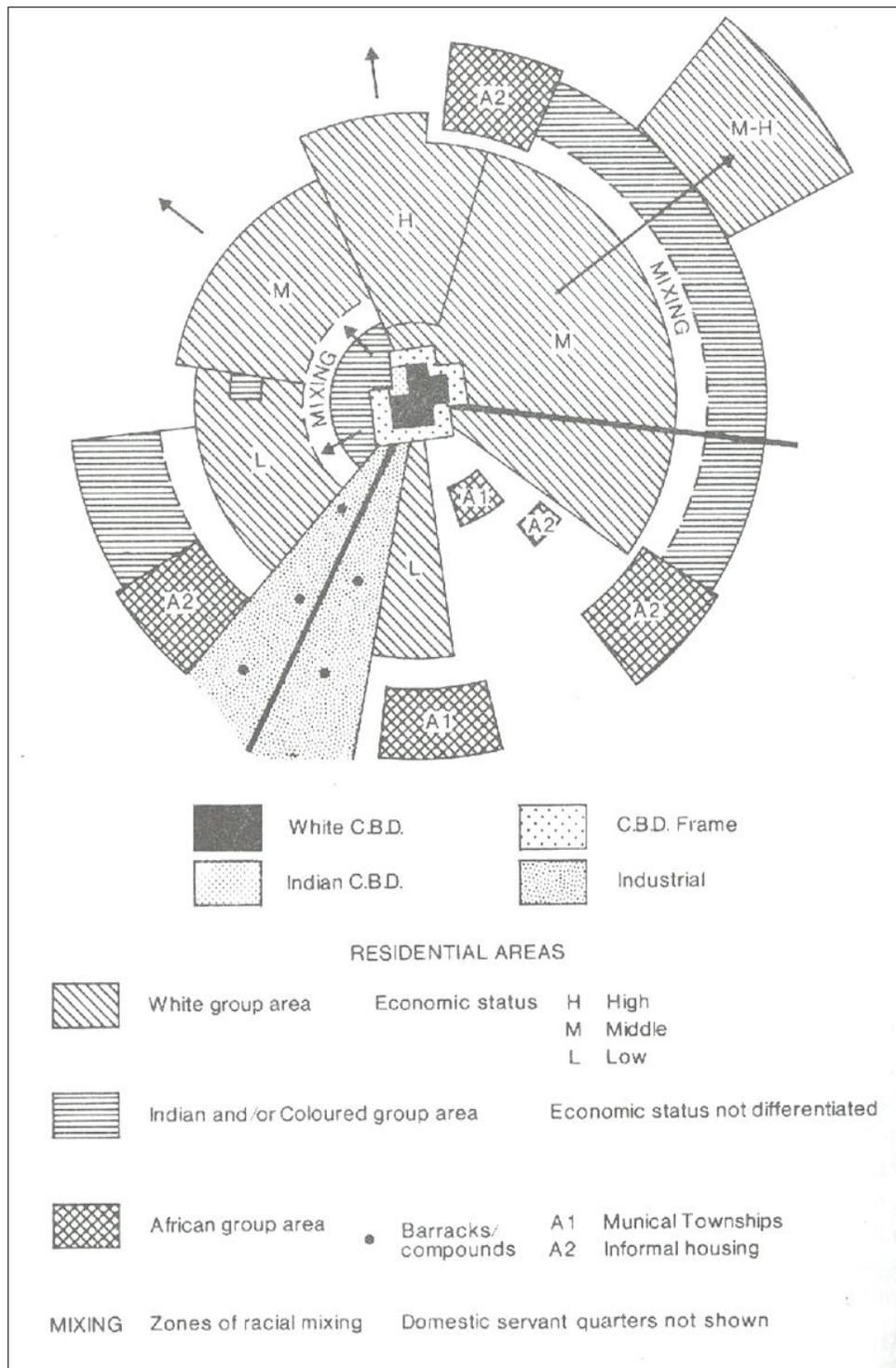


Figure 2. The “Segregation City” model developed by Davies (1981).

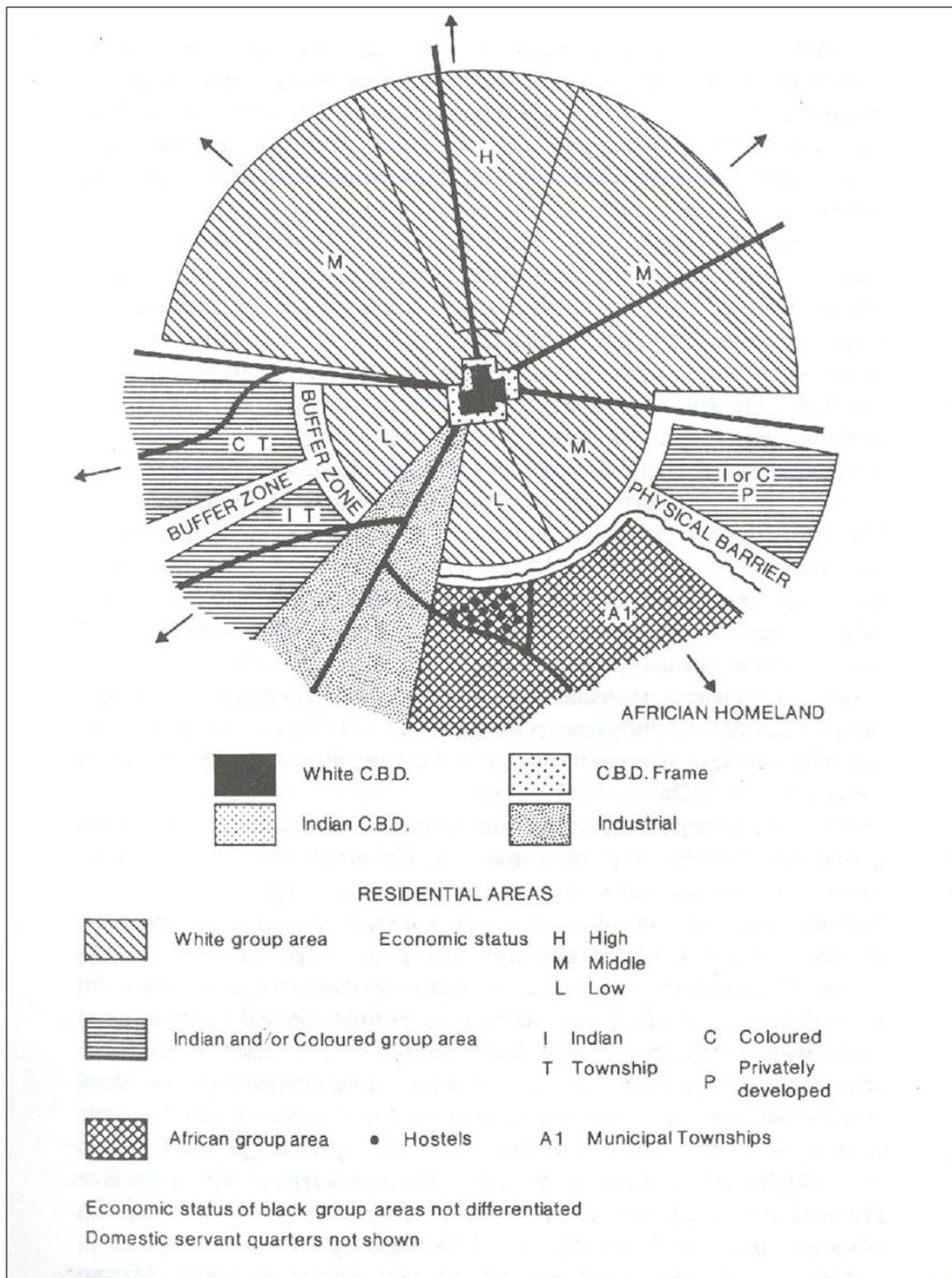


Figure 3. The “Apartheid city” model developed by Davies (1981).

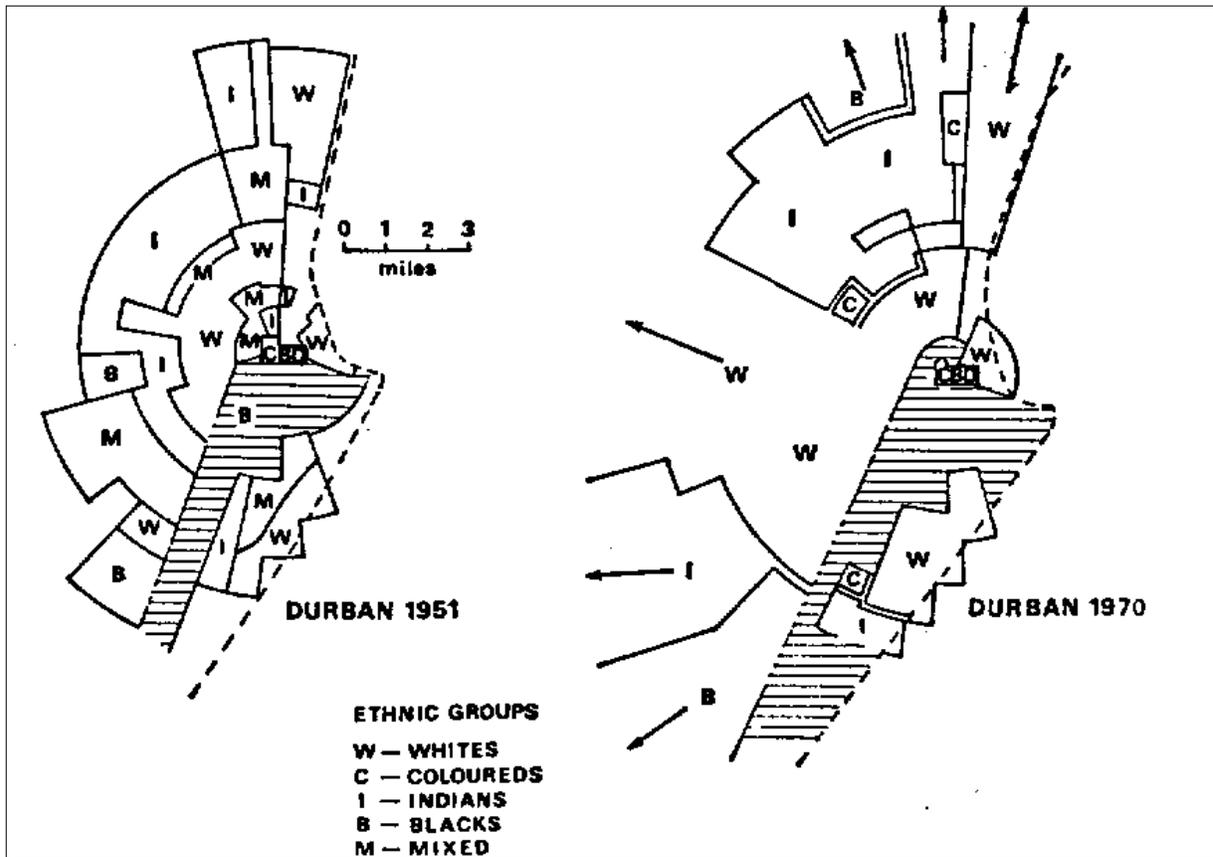


Figure 4. Durban in 1951 and 1970. Segregation and apartheid Cities (Davies, 1981: 70).

This study focuses on the detail, examining how neighbourhoods for Indians, Africans and Coloureds and their associated facilities were created before apartheid and its subsequent removal or part destruction. It will demonstrate that the growth pattern of the city was not a natural process but rather a product of a social phenomenon, of “race making” (Knowles, 2003: 79), which played a major role. As Davies (1963: 16) noted, the population composition and the socio-economic, legal and political context of that period, was the major factor which influenced the urban land use patterns in South African cities.

3.2 Race and space

The racially divided society in South Africa and the process of “race making” is explored to understand the spatial relationship between Whites and Blacks, but also the relationship between Blacks (Indians, Africans and Coloureds), and how identities were shaped and/or manipulated by colonial and apartheid racial terminology and legislation. How did race and place intersect and what were the spatial characteristics? Race is the most visible and obvious marker of ‘othering’ in the South African context. The position adopted in this study is that race is not biological but a social construct. Race and its interconnectedness with the space was examined by Knowles (2003), who argued that people are the central element in the understanding of race and outlined some of the social processes or mechanisms involved in “race making”. Knowles (2003: 9) asserts that social analysis is spatial because it is not just about people and human action, but the places in which people live their lives or pass through.

Race is made in the ways in which people conduct themselves in everyday life, in moving about the world, in how they look and what they wear and their interactions with each other and the social and political regimes in which their lives are set (Knowles, 2003: 49).

Knowles (2003: 18) described race and ethnicity as concepts and ideas referring to social and political distinctions made between people. Described as arbitrary social inventions, which are part of a broader social context in which they have meaning and a force. Knowles (2003: 201) acknowledged that concepts of race and ethnicity often operate in tandem, but pointed out that they have different political and intellectual histories. They do however have shared general characteristics which are identified by Knowles (2003: 201) as: compositional, positional and personal. Compositional refers to its making and production within a given set of circumstances. Positional refers to the way race and ethnicity act as social locators that position people amongst others and the personal aspects is the way it operates at an individual level. Knowles (2003: 18) argued that “ethnicity is often used to carve finer social distinctions than are referred to by race and is therefore more closely aligned with individual notions of identity”.

Since it is not the objective physical differences, but the social recognition of such differences that creates race, it is argued that race is essentially social and political in meaning (Carrim, 1993: 7). According to Carrim (1993: 7), the main distinctions between ethnic and racial groups in the South African context are:

1. Race is defined by physical criteria, (skin colour, hair texture, etc.), whilst ethnic group is defined by cultural criteria (language, religion, customs, etc).
2. Race is defined by ‘others’, while ethnic groups often define themselves. Ethnic groups are created from in-group feeling of togetherness, and define their own boundaries. Race is often

an outcome of external classification, whilst ethnicity is often a product of self-identification.

3. One cannot change your race but the boundaries of an ethnic group are more fluid and malleable. Racial groups are more objectively distinguishable and more durable than ethnic groups.

Knowles examined the spatial dimension of 'race making' and the mechanisms through which race and space connect and concluded that "race and ethnicity are part of the texture of space" and pointed out that "space is in fact a composite, active, archive of politics and individual agency, and is, in this capacity, part of race making" (Knowles, 2003: 79).

Race making is a spatial practice, and space contains important information about racial grammar as forms of social practice to which race gives rise. Space, then, is one more point of entry into the complicated puzzle of understanding the meaning and operation of race and ethnicity today (Knowles, 2003: 80).

Knowles (2003: 96) cites Massey (1994) and identifies the key features of the character and meaning of space:

Space is about the people who occupy or use it, about the activities in which they are engaged. It is about the nature of social relationships. It is about an understanding of, and response to, local and national political contexts in which lives are set. It is about the reputations and social meanings in which space is associated. It is about the aesthetic making and modification of the built environment. And space is about the calibration of forms of attachment and sense of belonging or ownership that individuals and groups exercise over the areas in which they operate or live. Space acquires social significance only in a symbiotic relationship with the people using it, and the social categories and their meaning, through which those people are understood and understand themselves. It is the meaning, use and character of space that makes place.

Although influenced by Lefebvre (1991) and Massey (1994), who focused on the nature of space, Knowles (2003: 96) focused on the composition of space and noted that both Lefebvre and Massey did not directly apply their analytical tools to race or ethnicity. Knowles (2003: 97) outlined four space making processes that are most amenable to the analysis of race and ethnicity:

1. the architectural politics of the built environment
2. the embodied performance of lives and their social practices
3. movement, pathways and journeys
4. and social relationships

Knowles (2003: 97) argued that built environments are shaped by the past and contain the "monuments and markings of a past that celebrate some lives and, by implication, sidelines others". Embodied performance refers to the occupation of space which is described as the daily routines and "the rhythms of human traffic" and the many uses to which space is put. The movements are localised, reflected in daily activities of shopping, schooling worshipping and meeting. The extent to which these routine activities are "textured" by race and ethnicity and the mode of interaction with the built environment, may be considered as contributing to the "racing of space" (Knowles, 2003: 99). Movement, pathways and journeys is outlined by Knowles (2003:

102), as the “threading together of place through movement”, which refers to the localised movements of embodied performance which intersect with bigger movements of journeys between places. Knowles argued that cities, towns and rural habitats are intersecting matrices made up of journeys made around routine and non-routine activities, such as employment, home, shopping, use of facilities, social networks and activities.

Areas are occupied, passed through, used and not used: they are about accumulated knowledge and habit. Lives are not lived in place, but in the threading together of places as sequential scenes in the trajectories of their lives...Race and ethnicity are inscribed in the nature of these journeys, the scenes in which they are set, and the nature of the activities and processes connecting them as elements of social fabric. Such movement takes place within the context of bigger movements, which are also about the manufacture of race and ethnicity, in the journeys made between towns, cities or rural habitats and, in the case of transnational migrants between countries (Knowles, 2003: 103).

Social relationships are identified as the fourth dimension of space and its relationship to race making. Massey (1994) established the social character of space by conceptualising it as a composition of networks of social relationships. Knowles (2003: 103) argued that the significant aspect of social relationships of a place is their nature and character, which could be hostile or cordial. Knowles (2003: 105) concluded that race making is “a people-centred set of spatial practices” and that “the racial and ethnic texture of space is made through the social activities a place sustains, the way it looks, its performances, buildings and the social and political relationships”.

3.3 Community

Like ‘place’, notions of ‘community’ are also central to this study. Davies and Herbert (1993: 3-6) identified five different contexts in which the term ‘community’ is used:

1. Community as an association. In this sense community is often used as a synonym for membership to an institution, organisation or workplace.
2. Community-of-interest areas. This generally refers to communities in rural areas that are bound to a nodal centre such as a town or village and are dependent on shopping, social activities and employment in that major centre. The people are bound together by their common ties to the major node or centre.
3. Community as territorial units: whole or partial. This sense of community refers to a complete settlement to a town or village.
4. Community as an ideal or utopia refers to the notion of community as some sort of desired or ideal life and is a value-laden interpretation, linked to “a quest for some new moral or spiritual associations...with other human beings”.
5. Place communities in Cities. Areas within cities such as districts that have particular characteristics that set them apart from the rest of the city.

This study examines ‘community’ in this last context - as “place communities”. Such areas have characteristics that sets them apart from other areas or parts of the city. They are situated within the larger settlement, subsidiary to the city and can be considered as subunits within the urban place (Davies and Herbert, 1993: 6). The distinction between ‘community’ and ‘neighbourhood’,

is that neighbourhoods are located within the larger community and are considered to be much smaller, such as a few houses or at most a few blocks of houses (Davies and Herbert, 1993: 6).

Instead of the definition, Cohen (1985) focused on the meaning of 'community' and how it could also be symbolically constructed. Cohen argued that the use of the term 'community' implies two related suggestions, the first being that members of the group have something in common which, secondly, distinguishes them in a significant way from members of other putative groups. The term expresses a relational idea (Cohen, 1985: 12). Similarly, Martin (1995: 8) argued that in creation of social identities by groups or communities, "members need to acquire the feeling that they share something that makes them distinct of other groups in society and that also makes irrelevant other traits which could link them to those other groups; this feeling of belonging together is often spurred by the perception of a common threat or of an injustice". The element of distinction or difference to others is what Cohen refers to as the "boundary" which encapsulates the identity of a community and is largely symbolic. Cohen's (1985: 9) focus on the meaning of 'community' concluded that it is also symbolically constructed, "as a system of values, norms, and moral codes which provide a sense of identity within a bounded whole to its members". These boundaries could be expressed in physical, racial, linguistic or religious terms (Cohen, 1985: 12).

3.4 Place

By what process is place constructed? Lefebvre (1991) argued that urban spaces are both products of social interaction and the means through which that action is reproduced. Harvey (1996: 293) examined a number of social processes in the construction of 'place' and asserted that the strong associations between place, memory, and identity, is suggestive of place as "a locus of collective memory".

Place is space which has historical meanings, where some things have happened which are now remembered and which provide continuity and identity across generations. Place is space in which important words have been spoken which have established identity, defined vocation, and envisioned destiny. Place is space in which vows have been exchanged, promises have been made, and demands have been issued (Lilburne, 1989 cited in Harvey, 1996: 304).

Similarly, in making a distinction between space and place, Cresswell (2004: 10) noted that when meaning is invested in a portion of space, it in some way creates attachment and becomes place. Place is created through what Cresswell refers to as "reiterative social practice" which changes on a daily basis, "constantly struggled over and reimagined, ...the raw material for the creative production of identity" (Cresswell, 2004: 39). According to Cresswell the most common definition of place is "a meaningful location", which encompasses three fundamental aspects; location, locale and sense of place. Location being the geographical locality, locale being the material setting for social relations and a sense of place being the subjective and emotional attachment people have to places (Cresswell, 2004: 7). Massey (1997: 323) describes uniqueness of place as: "a specificity of place derives from the fact that that each place is the focus of a distinct mixture of wider and more local social relations. This very mixture together in one place may produce effects which would not have happened otherwise".

Friedmann (2010: 154) agreed with Cresswell's (2004) assertion that place is constituted through reiterative social practices and identified additional characteristics of place-making, at a local level

or neighbourhood scale. In addition to the reiterative social practices of inclusiveness, performability and dynamic quality, identified by Cresswell, Friedmann argued that that places must be:

1. Small
2. Inhabited
3. Valued or cherished and
4. Have spaces of encounter and gathering

Friedmann argued for a scale that is related to pedestrians or the human scale, where interaction takes place on the street, business establishments or other places of habitual encounters. By inhabiting place, Friedmann contends that the physical and social spaces of neighbourhoods are modified or transformed contributing to its changing character. The changes in character acquires particular meanings for its inhabitants, becoming a distinctive place and might even acquire a name. Friedmann (2010: 155) points out that although attachment to place is an invisible attribute it occasionally becomes visible such as when neighbourhoods are under threat of say demolition or newcomers move in or when residents collectively try to improve their neighbourhood. The fourth characteristic important to the making of place, according to Friedmann (2010: 155) is described as the “centering” of place, which are one or more “centers” or spaces of encounter and/or gathering. In relation to place-making, Friedmann (2010: 157) points out that “centering” is much the same as an acknowledgement “that certain sites are endowed with a sense of the sacred”.

Place at neighbourhood scale, according to Friedmann (2010), have order, structure and identity, which is created wittingly or not by residents. The order is civil, the structure is centred and identity is constantly remade because neighbourhood places are dynamic. Friedmann concluded that successful neighbourhoods are cherished even if the housing and infrastructure is poorly maintained or inadequate, provided that it has places of encounter, places that are “sacred” and has places of gathering (Friedmann, 2010: 162).

3.5 Identity

Social identities, which refer to the allegiance to people, group, place or past, do not exist outside of their making but are socially constituted in specific historical circumstances. Martin (1995: 14) asserted that identity “is a construction in progress which brings meaning and value (positive or negative) to a relationship or a set of relationships with Others”. Martin (1995: 2) concluded that:

Identity implies both uniqueness and sameness...One identity cannot be defined in isolation: the only way to circumscribe an identity is by contrasting it against other identities. Consequently, identity is an ambiguous notion. It gets its meaning from what it is not, from the Other: like a word in a cross-word puzzle, it is located in a place where uniqueness, defined in a negative way (one's identity implies that one is different from the Others), meets a sameness which needs an 'elseness' to exist (to get an identity one must be perceived as identical to or to identify with someone else).

Similarly, Shore (1993) argued that identity entailed both how a group viewed itself and how it is perceived by others and “therefore incorporates both image and self-image and draws simultaneously upon the classifications of insiders and those of outsiders” (Shore, 1993: 36). Shore (1993) also

argued that identities are not fixed but fluid and variable.

[Individuals] have many identities each of which will shift according to the position of the actor in relation to others. The pattern that results from that is often a stratified structure of loyalties which correspond to different levels of perceived community. These tend to 'nest' one within the other... Each apparently minor shift from one level to another in fact conveys messages of considerable magnitude and political complexity... These levels of identity can be conceived as concentric rings analogous to the ripples formed from a pebble dropped into a pond. Each level defines a different identity. Each is also defined by specific boundary markers, which may be visible symbols (for example shrines, football teams, style of dress), or largely non-visual (accent, dialect, attitudes and beliefs) (Shore, 1993: 37).

In the South Africa context, Thornton (1996) concluded that:

There is no fundamental identity that any South African clings to in common with all, or even most other South Africans. South Africans have multiple identities in multiple contexts, depending on factors of expedience, recruitment and mobilisation, and the company one keeps...South Africans have multiple identities in common contexts and common identities in multiple contexts. A Muslim, or a Coloured may span many religious, political, social and cultural contexts and thus link them together into a social universe. These identities, then, can be said to be multiple and crosscutting, in that each overlaps a range of contexts, or a common context or institution may contain many identities within it (Thornton, 1996: 150-1).

3.6 Terminology

The use of socio-political terminology played a major role in the formation of social identities in South Africa. Ebrahim-Vally (2001: 33) argued that socio-political terminology used by the state during the colonial and apartheid periods, “was instrumental in forging South Africans’ self-perceptions, and that although not all South Africans have been influenced in their subjective identity by the objective identities imposed by the state, there is little doubt that the terminology has conditioned every South African’s social and political representations”. Ebrahim-Vally (2001: 33) examined the social and political terminology of apartheid and concluded that:

Throughout South Africa’s history there has been a mushrooming of specific terminology to describe demographic data. However, since 1948, Apartheid policy, largely based on this terminology, was not only given a ‘scientific’ dimension through anthropology but Afrikaner nationalism was also lent moral and scientific support by the Volkunde (literally, ‘the art of the people’).

Refer to the beginning of chapter 1, which outlines the terminology used in this thesis. The use of the terms Whites, Blacks, as well as African, Coloured and Indian is elaborated on.

The term European will be used in instances, such as references to the early development of the city or when quoted from sources, otherwise this group will be referred to as Whites. The term African will refer to the indigenous population of the then Natal, of which the overwhelming majority were Zulu, prior to the arrival of Whites, Indians and Coloureds. It must be noted that older studies and

official records referred to African people as “Kaffir”, “Native”, “Bantu” and later “Black”, and these references will appear in the names of legislation, names of organisations or institutions or when quoted from sources. In terms of the statute, Indians were categorised as Asian which included a small number of Chinese. This study will however use the term Indian to refer to the descendants of indentured, “passenger” and free immigrants who from 1860 onwards came to Natal from India. Again, it must be noted that older studies and official records referred to Indians as “Coolies”, “Arabs” or “Asiatics”. The term Coloured, refers to the racial category used to describe people who were not White, African or Indian. A broad spectrum of people such as immigrants from St Helena, Mauritius and the offspring as a result of miscegenation between Europeans and the Khoi, San, Malays and Africans, all fell within the category of Coloureds.

In conclusion. Before focusing on the destruction of communities, the opposite process, one of place-making will be examined in chapter 5, to outline the “reiterative social processes” (Creswell, 2004: 39) involved in the making of place/s that represented a lifestyle which is fondly recalled by Black residents. Place-making in Durban occurred over a period of more than a century, before being destroyed or transformed over a period of approximately 30 years, by what Knowles (2003: 80) referred to as, the spatial practice of “race making”.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

A social and spatial engineering project, on a grand scale, was set in motion after the introduction of the Group Areas Act in 1950, when Blacks were removed from central Durban, by a process referred to as forced removals. This study identifies and describes this Black presence, or occupation of urban space as defined by Maylam and Edwards (1996: 2), as the living, cultural, political and commercial space, before elaborating on its removal from the city centre. This chapter describes the research methods adopted for data collection, the approach, techniques, the location and limitations of the study.

The key research questions that this thesis addresses, are:

1. What did the occupation of urban space, by a Black ‘community’, in central Durban, consist of before being removed/relocated from the 1960s?
2. Where were these ‘place communities’, defined by race, spatially located within the White city?
3. Was the removal of the Black presence, complete by 1985?

This is a qualitative study which includes both archival research and an oral history component. The archival research has been complemented with oral history and ephemeral materials such as brochures of institutions or organisations and personal photographic collections. Focus group and individual interviews complemented archival research by providing an interpretative aid to research findings, whilst simultaneously generating new insights on early findings. The supplementation of oral history to the documentary search not only assisted with obtaining information on the lived experience of Blacks in the city, it also provided an opportunity to correlate or confirm information gleaned from maps and aerial photographs. The interaction with focus groups and individuals also provided an opportunity to obtain personal photographs, brochures or memorabilia and provided references to other individuals with potential information.

Official city records were examined for information, photographs and maps related to a Black presence and evidence of their related facilities and institutions in the city. The National Archives and various libraries provided records such as files related to Indian or African affairs. The Mayor’s Minutes from the 1870s to the 1980s, provided material on the development of Durban as a whole, but more particularly, “Native Affairs”, Indian or “non-European” matters, including their housing and public facilities. It also provided information on segregation related to Indians and the control measures adopted for Africans, the Group Areas Board and the Department of Community Development who implemented the removal process. The archival records of the erstwhile Technikon Natal, now part Durban University of Technology (DUT), provided information and photographic records of the removal process when a new educational institution was being constructed for Whites.

Information on social issues, sport, politics and in particular ‘Group Area’ proclamations was also gleaned from newspapers such as *The Daily News* and *Natal Mercury*, as well as the alternative “black press” such *Post*, *Leader* and the *Indian Opinion*. Brochures produced by educational

institutions, sports, cultural and religious organisations and ex-residents' organisations of displaced communities were also sources of valuable information.

4.1 Research approach

This study is geographically located in Durban and focusses on the phenomenon of urban segregation and forced removals of Black people in central Durban from the early 1960s. It is an empirical study, underpinned by urban segregation theories, particularly the evolution of the 'segregated city' to an 'apartheid city' type and the spatial models developed by Davies (1981), which provide the macro-scale view of spatial arrangements in South African cities including Durban, and thus the context for this study.

Davies (1963: 16) had noted that population composition and the socio-economic, legal and political forces operational in the city, was the most significant factor in the growth pattern and land use in South African cities. More simply phrased: 'race' played a major role in the development of South African cities. It will be demonstrated that 'race' or the spatial practice of "race making" (Knowles, 2003: 80), was the dominant theme in the spatial evolution of Durban. Since the 1870s, the urban presence of indentured Indian and migrant African workers had an impact on social relations and social practices of a town considered to be 'European', by the immigrant European population.

Instead of viewing the city simply as the backdrop for more general social processes, Tonkiss (2005) examined how social and spatial relations shaped different versions of the city: "as a site of social encounter and social division, as a field of politics and power, as a symbolic and material landscape, as an embodied space, as a realm of everyday experience" (Tonkiss, 2005: 1). Similarly, the approach adopted in this study, examines the relations between the social processes and the spatial evolution of the city from the 1870s, to outline how key social categories such as community, class and race was constituted and reproduced in Durban. The spatial practice of "race making" identified by Knowles (2003: 80), is demonstrated by outlining the various laws and control measures introduced, to give effect to the spatial segregation of 'races' and the provision of their facilities in Durban.

Forced removals and the creation of the apartheid city is another "spatial practice" of "race making" on a grand scale, which is outlined and supported by illustrations such as diagrams, maps and photographs.

4.2 Interviews: Recruitment, sampling and data collection

Purposive sampling was used to select the focus group participants and snowball sampling was employed to recruit participants for individual interviews. Focus group participants were asked to identify other individuals who had knowledge pertinent to the study. Participants were drawn from ex-residents', senior citizen organisations and re-union committees that were established over the years, for a variety of reasons, including reuniting friends and neighbours, or to formulate land claim submissions during the land claims process. Participants were drawn from ex-residents of the inner city during the 1960s to mid-1980s, in rented or owned accommodation and who had experienced the forced removal process. Group and individual interviews were drawn from areas located on the lower slopes of the Berea, such as the Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue and the Block AK, Greyville area. These areas consisted of old settlements that consisted of a mix of

residential and commercial premises. The Block AK Action Committee, which was established during the land claims process, had become inactive and could not be interviewed. However, the chairperson of this committee, provided me with all the relevant documentation and photographs related to their old neighbourhood and their struggle for compensation, including an e-mail expressing his memories of forced removals in Block AK.

Group and individual interviews were also conducted with ex-residents of the municipal and railways barracks', such as Magazine and Railway Barracks. These barracks consisted of municipal built accommodation for Indian employees and their families on a permanent basis, whilst in the employ of the municipality. Over the years the communities from these two barracks had organised themselves into commemoration committees or senior citizen organisations. Group interviews were drawn from these established organisations. The group interviews consisted of four to eight people, identified by the particular organisations that were approached.

Rented hostel accommodation or barracks for single African males and females on a temporary basis, were not included in interviews because of the temporary nature of the accommodation, and because they were vacated close on 60 years ago and the difficulty in finding ex-residents who would also be in an advanced age. An interview with one ex-resident of Baumannville, for African families, was obtained. This individual was a child during the forced removals period. The contact with an ex-resident was made possible by records from the Land Claims Commission. However, finding and interviewing other ex-residents proved difficult because the older generation had passed on or were at an advanced age.

All focus group interviews were facilitated by the researcher after introductions by the focus group representative. The informed consent forms were discussed and permission was sought from the group to audio record the interviews. Photographs of buildings, streets settings, institutions or events, including aerial photographs was projected onto a screen during focus groups interviews. This approach assisted with re-constructing their residential areas that did not exist any longer or had been altered. The interviews were semi-structured with selected topics that focused on their residential area or 'community' and what it consisted of. The topics were structured to focus the discussion on the residential, educational, religious, commercial, recreational and sports aspects of the neighbourhoods. The interviews also focussed on forced removals, the time period and process of forced removals and how it affected them and their community. The interviews were audio recorded.

The interviews established localities where they lived, worked, worshipped and played in the 'White' city. Discussions focused on establishing localities of their residential and ancillary community facilities in the city. Maps, aerial photographs, sketches and diagrams were used to guide the interview process. Photographs which had been pre-collected or sourced from interviewees formed an important part of the discussion to assist with identifying places, events and institutions. These maps and photographs projected onto a screen, facilitated discussion to obtain information on aspects of topics covered. The main topics discussed in group and individual interviews were:

Residential areas. The locality and the street names. The length of time or period/s when they resided in the area. The kinds of accommodation and what it consisted of such as size and construction materials were established. The family size, composition and reasons why they lived

in a particular area. The types of services provided such as electricity, ablutions facilities and water. Was the accommodation owned or rented? The racial composition of their neighbourhood and where their families and friends resided were also established.

Education, religion, recreation and sport sites. The educational, religious, sports and recreational facilities that served their area or community were discussed. The location and names of these institutions and facilities were established.

Commercial areas and Employment opportunities. Discussions also centred on the location of household, clothing and fresh produce shopping areas.

The Group Areas Act and consequences. The consequences of the Group Areas Act and its impact on their family and community were discussed, as well as where they were relocated to, and when relocation occurred.

Photographs, both aerial and street level, depict the architecture, localities, the lifestyles and living and working conditions. It was also used to stimulate and jog memories during the interviews. Participants responded to photographs by telling particular stories or related it to events. Photographs depicting the lives and institutions for Blacks in the city form an important component of this study because it provides the visual content including the spatial layout and extent provided by aerial photographs, as well as depicting the character and architecture of these spaces in the city. The Local History Museum, Killie Campbell Library, the Gandhi-Luthuli Documentation Centre, the 1860 Heritage Centre, UKZN architecture library, Durban University of Technology archives, City Engineers Department, Baileys African History Archives (BAHA), the Mayor's Minutes and the Pietermaritzburg municipal library were sources for the photographs and maps. Photographs were also sourced from ex-residents, professional photographers, historians and authors of Durban's history.

4.3 Analysis

As indicated in the literature review in chapter 2, not only has the urban presence of Blacks been marginalised in the urban history narrative of Durban, their presence has also subsequently been examined in racial categories of either an Indian or African aspect.

Information gleaned from archival research, previous relevant studies and interviews was analysed to address the questions of *how* a Black presence was established, *when* it was established and subsequently destroyed, and *what* it consisted of. The geographic localities and the extent of Black residential areas including the associated commercial, education, religion, sports and political protest sites were identified.

The narrative is accompanied by annotations on aerial photographs, maps and diagrams which identifies and spatially locates the urban Black presence, illustrated over different periods in Durban's history, up until the mid-1980s. Photographs depicting the structures and architectural qualities of the places, spaces and institutions, provide visuals to give a sense of the character and composition of the 'place communities' that existed in central Durban prior to and during forced removals.

CHAPTER 5

THE SEGREGATED CITY: THE URBAN BLACK PRESENCE IN COLONIAL AND PRE-APARTHEID DURBAN, 1870s TO 1950s.

Introduction

Before examining the forced removals period from the 1960s, which is elaborated on in chapter 6, it is important to outline a background which provides the context in which a Black presence was established over a period of a century, before being systematically removed and relocated. This chapter outlines the urbanisation process, the urban life of Blacks and their spatial manifestation in the city during the colonial and pre-apartheid periods, before urban forced removals. The establishment and growth of Durban is outlined in the context of what Knowles (2003: 99) described as the “racing of space” and the “racial and ethnic texture of space”, which was made through the social activities places sustained, its appearances, its performances, buildings and the socio-political context (Knowles, 2003: 105).

The spatial evolution and character of Durban from the 1870s to the 1980s could be summarised as a story about a natural bay, a dry patch of land between two *vleis* or marshes, the twin systems of Indian indentured and African migrant labour, and White racism (Rosenberg and Vahed, 2014: 1). The new urban phenomenon that the embryonic town experienced in the late nineteenth century, described by Swanson 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 party who arrived in 1824 to establish a trading post under the auspices of the British Empire, 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 settlement formed on this site on the northern end of the bay on a dry portion of land flanked by the Eastern and Western *vleis* (Brookfields and Tatham, 1957: 54), illustrated in Figure 5. The bay provided the maritime and related commercial interests that developed at the Point (Kearney: 2013). The edges of the two *vleis* and the Point, developed into the three main areas of control and containment of residential, trade and sports sites for Blacks, whilst the heart of the town became the preserve of Whites.

After King Shaka’s deed of grant to Lieutenant Farewell, ceding a tract of land 40 kilometers along the coast including the bay, and 161 kilometers inland (Russell, 1899: 6), the colonial settler society set about creating a ‘European’ settlement. Africans, whether local or imported from other African countries, were considered as visitors to the town, solely for the supply of their labour. Indians who started settling in the town from the late 1860s after their indenture or as “passenger” Indians, were considered a menace and their customs and habits were considered repugnant. The fledgling urban setting was deemed as being for Europeans/Whites and the settlers and city officials were determined to retain a European cultural identity for the colony and the town. Two cities were created, one architecturally crafted to emulate a European urban setting and the ‘other’ for “non-Europeans”, who were relegated to the periphery on the edges of the Western and Eastern *vleis* and amongst the sand dunes at the Point (Rosenberg and Vahed, 2014: 1).

Influential and powerful officials, such as the various mayors, the police superintendent, chief medical officer, the licensing officer and manager of the Native Affairs Department (NAD), as will be demonstrated, were all leading figures in the late-nineteenth and early twenty century

Durban, who contributed significantly to, what Knowles (2003: 99/105) referred to as, the “racing of space” and that “race making was a people-centred set of spatial practices”. This study will demonstrate how race making by Durban city officials, commercial establishments, the railways and residents, manifested in a spatial practice that relegated Blacks to the periphery of the town, before being removed to areas further out of town in racially segregated locations/townships.

It will be demonstrated that the foundations of the ‘racing of space’ was achieved through late nineteenth century legislation such as, the Dealers’ Licensing and Immigration Restriction Acts of 1897, aimed at Indians. The Togh Labour Law 1902, the Native Locations Act 1904, the Native Beer Act of 1908 and the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 focused on controlling African labour through registration, provision of residential accommodation and funding the apparatus of control through beer profits, known as the “Durban system”. The Slums Act, the “Pegging Act”, the “Ghetto Act” and the Group Areas Act soon followed. Empowered by these laws and general anti-Indian sentiments, together with the administrative support of the Native Affairs and City Engineers’ Departments, the location, architecture and character of these marginalised spaces for “non-Europeans” were first created from the 1880s, contained, and then obliterated from the late 1950s to 1980s.

Christopher (1984: 87) noted that although apartheid policies provided the legalities for segregation, it can be interpreted as an outcome of adaptation by one colonial model to another, with the ‘segregation city’ containing the seeds of formal structural segregation of the modern city. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Durban had become a leader in the implementation of segregation and control mechanisms that other large settlements tried to emulate. The ‘segregation city’ that emerged in Durban during the colonial and Union period is examined briefly, to gain an understanding of the urban life of Black people during the colonial and pre-apartheid periods. How their presence was spatially manifest in the central part of the town before the apartheid period, generally considered to have started in 1950 with the introduction of the Group Areas Act (GAA), is examined.

The flat dry land between the two *vleis* developed as the town centre and its growth was subsequently shaped by what Kearney (1984) refers to as the topographical framework of hills, rivers, valleys and *vleis*. The most advantageous sites were selected by various groups for a variety of reasons, within this framework. Such as land allocated 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). From the settlement at the town 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, seen in Figures 5 and 6. These tracks evolved into arterial routes, which had a considerable influence upon the form and direction of Durban’s future urban expansion (Davies, 1963: 20). Kearney (1984: 21) described the early settlement as, resembling a nodal pattern of dispersed clusters of primitive dwellings set some distance apart, illustrated by Thomas Okes’ map in Figure 6, consisting of a “dorp” at Congella, some fortification and maritime elements on the Bay side of the Point and the town itself. The interstitial spaces between the nodes and spines was filled over a long period of time, but by 1854

when Durban acquired borough status, the major axes of the city's future growth had been established (Kearney, 1984: 22).

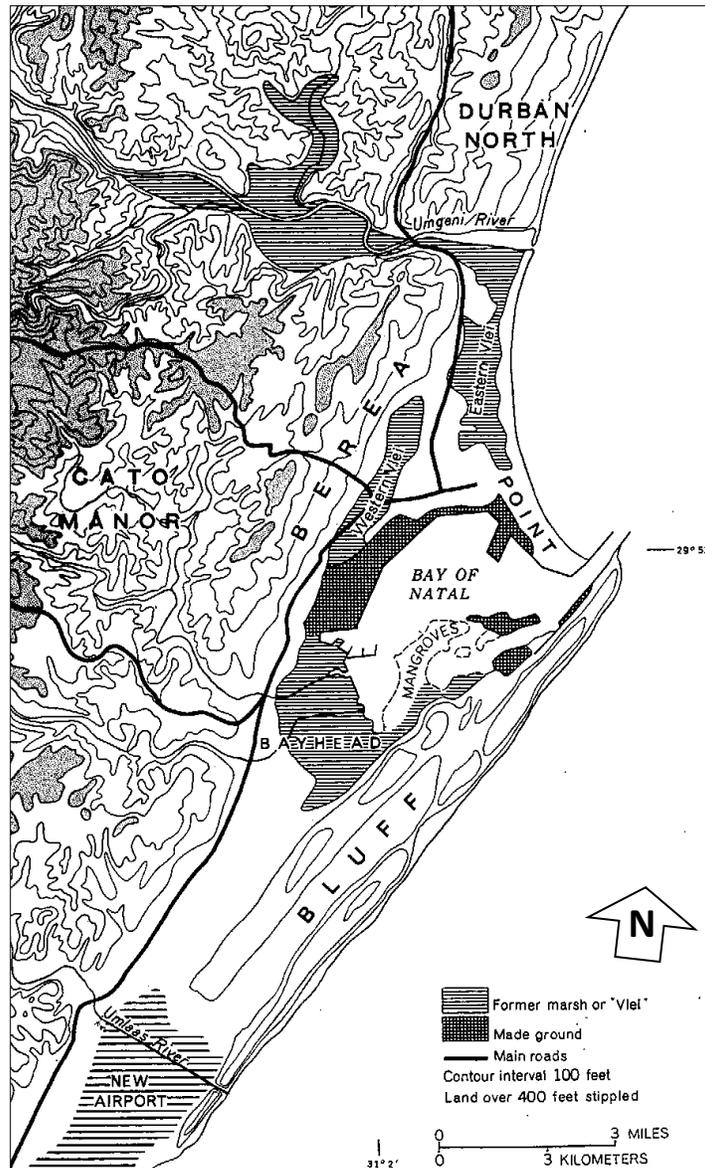


Figure 5. The physical site of Durban (Brookfield and Tatham: 1957).

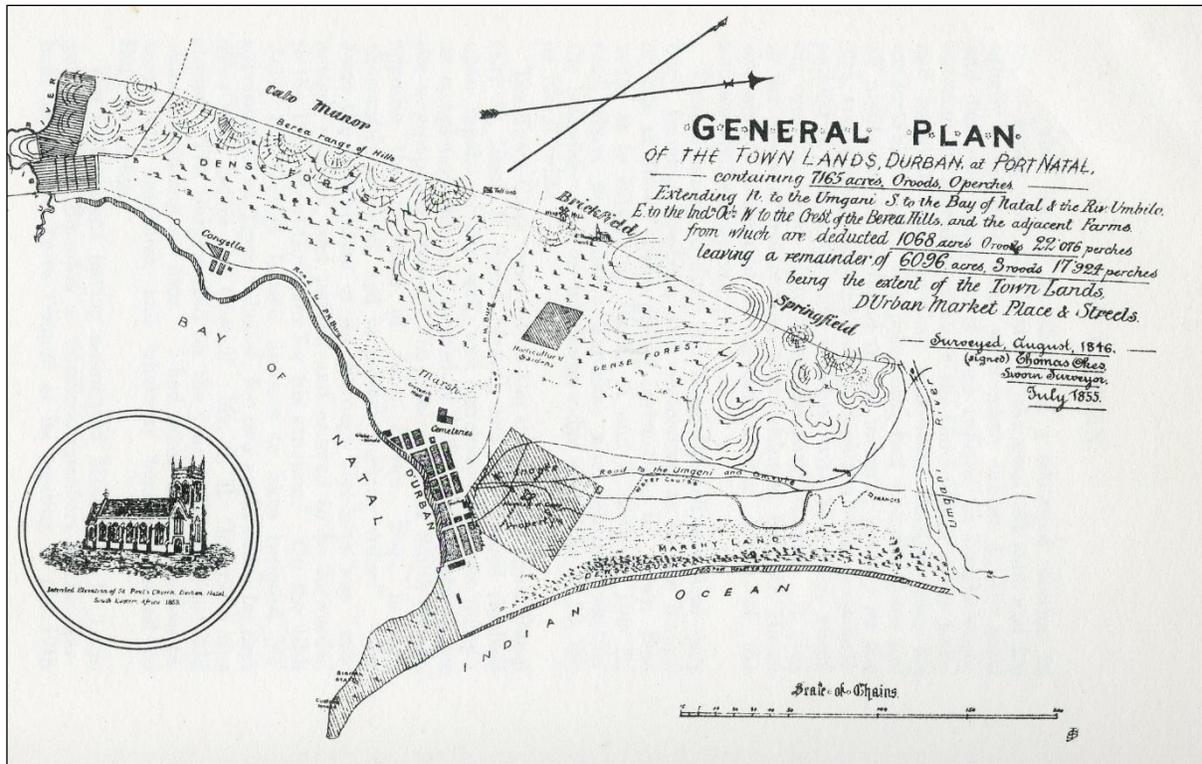


Figure 6. Thomas Okes' map of Durban 1855 (Russell: 1899).

The bay, which had been the attraction for Farewell and his co-founders of Port Natal, was inaccessible by large ships, because of the sandbar at the entrance to the harbour. Dredging the harbour entrance started in 1895 and intensified from 1897. Lynsky's study (1982: 37) on the development of Durban noted that, as the depth of the channel increased, so did the erosion of the beachfront. The erosion of the beach, referred to as Ocean Beach, became the burden of the City Engineer's Department henceforth. Another natural feature of the locale was the two *vleis*, the breeding grounds for mosquitoes and were later drained and reclaimed.

The Eastern and Western *vleis*, in extent of 460 acres, served as huge sponges for storm water from the Berea and Greyville residential areas. The Western vlei stretched from Greyville racecourse to Congella and drained, from the racecourse along ML Sultan (Centenary) Road and through Maydon Wharf, into the bay. Drainage of the Eastern vlei, stretching from Kings Park to Bram Fischer (Ordinance) Road, began in the 1850s by the construction of an open canal called Milne's drain, which discharged into the bay via Cato's Creek (Lynsky, 1982: 33). By the 1930s, improvements to the drainage of the *vleis* were still in progress. Unemployed Whites and Coloureds were employed as relief workers on drainage and reclamation schemes in the Eastern vlei. The Stamford Hill Aerodrome and the Durban Golf Club, later to become the Durban Country Club, were located on reclaimed land on the Eastern vlei (Lynsky, 1982: 33). Barracks for Indians and an African Location and hostel together with rudimentary sports facilities were also to be located here.

Rajah's examination of the spatial evolution of Durban, argued 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 (Rajah, 1981: 65). Whilst these phases represent an overview of the spatial development of the city as a whole, related to the economy, it does not provide insights into the urban Black presence during this spatial evolution. Racial segregation in Durban did not start in 1950 with the introduction of the Group Areas Act (GAA). The town was in fact a model and leading exponent of racial segregation, by the beginning of the twentieth century (Swanson, 1961: 12). This leading role and the measures implemented to create definitive segregation in Durban, did not diminish but was rather a continuum of segregation measures, which the GAA conveniently provided the necessary legislative tool to further develop and consolidate.

The developmental phases of the 'segregated city' to an 'apartheid city' to be described, are aligned and characterised by the attitudes of Durban's White society and the legislative measures adopted to shape an urbanisation process, acceptable to the privileged White class, by what Knowles (2003: 79) described as 'race making'. "Race making is a spatial practice, and space contains important information about racial grammar as forms of social practice to which race gives rise" (Knowles, 2003: 80). The spatial practice of 'race making' in Durban is examined over a period of more than a century, from a 'segregated' to an 'apartheid' city type, and is outlined in three broad phases.

1. The control and containment phase from the 1870s to the 1930s.
2. The spatial segregation-planning phase in the 1940s and 1950s.
3. The implementation phase from the 1960s to 1980s, resulting in urban segregation, forced removals and the creation of the 'apartheid city' type.

The marginalisation and control measures initially focused on a specific race group, firstly the newly arrived Indian and St Helena immigrants in the 1870s, then the indigenous African population from the 1900s. From the 1940s a more long-term solution for all race groups was sought, when racial zoning plans were formulated and the much smaller Coloured group, who had hitherto been marginalised to a lesser extent by legislation, were officially incorporated and separated in the "race zoning" proposals of 1943.

Part of the marginalisation process, involved the power of the ruling White class to be able to control various aspects of African and Indian urban life by means of laws for "drunkenness", "loitering", possession of "European liquor" or by introducing curfew regulations. Identification, in the form of badges for workers or the "kitchen suit", were part of the systems of control and surveillance measures used to identify and control the entry into the fledgling town. Aligned to the concept of separation and control were also notions of containment of African and Indian workers in barracks or self-contained and defined residential and/or educational facilities, such as the case of the St Helenians and Indians in the 1870s and Africans in the early 1900s. Clustering of facilities, whether for residential or public facilities also assisted with the containment aspect. Even cultural practices were restricted such as when Whites objected in 1884 to the noise in public streets arising from the annual Indian festival. The festival was thereafter, confined to the north

side of Commercial Road (Mayor's Minute, 1884: 7). The barracks, beerhalls and markets for Indians and Africans, were supervised and maintained by the Town Council, the railways and various commercial concerns, throughout their existence.

Kearney (2013:1247) argued that poor communities rarely featured in local history, yet their urbanisation was in many ways a direct result of other significant events and policies of nineteenth century Natal. Bamboo Square, the first informal settlement at the Point, is cited as presenting the seeds of absolute administrative techniques, which became powerful instruments both in Durban and South Africa during the twentieth century. Two distinctly different approaches and policies adopted to control and shape the residential settlement of the marginalised Indian and African population prior to the Group Areas Act are outlined, to examine early mechanisms of control and segregation in the colonial town.

The overarching idea of separateness (apartheid) involved control, creating, containing and maintaining segregated areas before the final expulsion of the Black urban presence in Durban. The establishment and development of a Black urban presence is described in four phases, determined by racial attitudes of White society and the legislative measures adopted to shape its presence or lack thereof.

1. *Control and containment phase focused on Indians: 1870s to 1900.*

This phase in the late nineteenth century focused on the Indian community and, as Swanson (1983) demonstrated, the "Asiatic menace" was controlled by the introduction of restrictive immigration measures, commercial suppression and the spatial manipulation of trading areas by the introduction of trading licenses, whilst seeking to establish a separate "coolie location". This period also witnessed the beginnings of a rudimentary system of influx control by the establishment of togt barracks and the registration of workers, identified by badges and numbers. The establishment of barracks for Indian municipal workers and African togt workers was a dominant feature of this phase. Discrimination based on colour also emerged in this period when St Helena servants and their families were identified as being different to other Europeans, resulting in separate schools and residential areas being created (Kearney, 2013: 1252).

2. *Control and containment phase focused on Africans: 1900s to the 1930s.*

The focus was re-directed at the expanding African population at the beginning of the twentieth century with the introduction of the Togg Labour Law of 1902, the Native Locations Act of 1904 and the Native Beer Act of 1908 which were the key elements of the "Durban system" which became the basis of Native Administration (Swanson, 1961: 15). The 1913 Land Act was followed by the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and its subsequent amendments, which determined residential arrangements and a range of other provisions. A further development of "Native" administration was the establishment of a Native Welfare Department, which further extended the sphere of control over African lives. Durban's boundary, which was extended in the early 1930s

ostensibly for more land for housing Indians and Africans, in fact created an accentuated housing problem, which prompted a different and bolder approach from the previous containment methods.

3. The spatial segregation-planning phase in the 1940s and 1950s.

After the Second World War the piece-meal segregation solutions previously adopted for Africans and Indians, were perceived by the authorities as having become unworkable. This was because of the new threat posed by the extensive “black belt” that encircled the old borough, bordered by the two rivers and the Berea. The City Council started planning for a more long-term and permanent solution to the “non-European housing problem”, as it was termed. After the two initial strands of segregation measures focused firstly on Indians and then on Africans, a third much smaller group was incorporated in the long-term plans. The Coloured population was still relatively small but also marginalised since the 1870s, starting with the darker skinned St Helena immigrants who were considered “non-White”. After a failed attempt in the early 1930s, their official introduction into municipal housing schemes only started in 1941, with a specially built block of flats for their use. Planning for Coloureds as a group achieved official status by the City’s race zoning plans formulated in 1943. After successfully controlling Indian “penetration” and “pegging” Indian residential expansion in the early 1940s, a more permanent solution was devised in 1943 in the form of a racially based spatial master plan that divided the city into racially compartmentalised residential areas. The GAA of 1950 gave impetus and provided the legal framework for this racial spatial plan, setting in motion the provision of the ‘nuts and bolts’, by establishing a framework with processes to be followed and establishing implementing agents, to give effect to Group Areas legislation, in the form of Group Areas Boards and the Department of Community Development.

4. Implementation phase of urban segregation and forced removals: 1960s to 1980s.

Translating the racially based spatial plans, conceived in the early 1940s and legally empowered in 1950 into reality, was to implemented from the late 1950s to the mid-1980s. An unprecedented social and spatial engineering project of vast proportions commenced, in the form of forced removals from central Durban and the suburbs to newly built racially defined housing schemes called “townships”. It was the culmination of a process which started in the 1870s and ended in a ‘solution’ a century later, when Durban, in theory, was finally to be “bleached”. The implementation phase is elaborated on in chapter 6.

5.1 Control and containment phase focused on Indians: 1870s to 1900.

The first official census in 1862 recorded Durban’s population as consisting of 2 567 Europeans, 1 593 Natives, 153 Indians and no record of a Coloured group (Mayor’s Minute, 1936: 8). By the 1870s, the town had to cope with increasing numbers of Indians and Africans who were settling in the town and who were perceived as a threat to public health, peaceful order, appearance, property values and standards (Swanson, 1961: 11). The first batch of indentured Indians who had arrived in 1860, completed their indenture terms by 1865, and were thus “free” Indians. 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 or fishermen.

Indian entrepreneurs, known as “passenger” Indians, recognised the business opportunities that the new town presented and arrived from India in the 1870s to establish shops in the fledgling town. Some “passenger” Indians were teachers and interpreters but the vast majority were traders and hawkers (Bhana and Brain, 1990: 23). By 1864, the municipality also employed Indian workers and built barracks for them and their families (Kearney, 2013: 1188).

Swanson’s study (1983) on the “Asiatic menace” noted that Durban’s White authorities regarded Indians with a sense of alarm and annoyance, more so than their concern about the “Natives” who were initially perceived as a passive threat because of their alleged natural demeanor of subordination. Indians however, “were regarded as a sophisticated and an active menace to colonial society, competing for space, place, trade and political influence” (Swanson, 1983: 404). Both Swanson (1983) and Christopher (1984) noted that segregation had become one of the most striking features of South African cities and identified 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 Whites and the indigenous population and the second being between Whites and the Indian immigrant group.

The development of Durban from the 1870s was characterised by segregationist tendencies that led to the formulation of laws to segregate and impose control over residential settlement, trade and recreation by Africans and Indians. A range of constituents in Durban displayed segregationist intentions for seven decades starting in the 1870s, fueled particularly by intense and sustained anti-Indian sentiment (Rosenberg, 2012: 29). As early as 1864, when the cemetery was extended, the borough set aside two acres in the furthest corner of the general cemetery for the burial of “Coolies and Kaffirs” (Henderson, 1904: 313). The early reports from authorities focused on lack of sanitation and perceived evils of overcrowding (Kearney, 2013: 1251). In 1871, when the council considered leasing the Eastern vlei for cultivation, it was recommended that “Kafir and Coolie villages” be established in the Eastern vlei in which “all coloured people” be compelled to live (Mayor’s Minute, 1871: 6). By 1874, a site was selected on the high and dry portion of the Eastern vlei, for this purpose (Mayor’s Minute, 1874: 2).

Both traders, referred to as “passenger” Indians, together with “free” Indians, who had opted not to return to India, started to trade and live in the town because they could own land and there was no rural home to retreat to, as was the case of Africans. Indians also had a family presence in the town. 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 families, and after a few years brought their wives and children (Bhana and Brain, 1990: 14). The Indians were thus in the city to trade, to live or to seek regular employment, and as such became a perceived threat to Whites. Vahed (1996: 42) noted that the White hostility towards Indians intensified as Natal moved towards self-government, attained in 1893, and increasingly viewed town planning, public health, trade arrangements and other public issues in terms of racial and ethnic distinctions.

5.1.1 *The “Asiatic Menace” and the Immigration Restriction and Dealers’ Licensing Acts of 1897.*

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 started in 1860 and was abolished in 1911, but by then a total of 152 184 indentured Indian women and men had arrived on ships in Durban for just over 50 years. When indenture ceased, there were 148 791 Indians in South Africa of which 133 031, or 90 percent, made their home in Natal (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000: 12). Durban was the only city in the country that had such large numbers of Indian immigrants, in addition to the indigenous population, making it a unique phenomenon in South Africa at that time.

The indentured Indians received a very hostile reception from their arrival in 1860. Russel (1899: 490-2) provides an early account of the public and newspaper sentiments on their arrival and the changing attitudes, by Africans towards Indians, by the late nineteenth century.

Idolatry, Cholera, and other epidemic and contagious evils were at our door. Skilled thieves, Dacoits and Indian mutineers more or less sanguinary, were certain to infect our native population, and things generally would be bad for us...The reception by our natives was at once antagonistic. The latter professed to look upon the strangers with a kind of righteous horror, expressing a most intense contempt for their meagre physical development. They would ask, pointing, ‘What thing is that without legs, that cries ‘Mi-arry-ah’? It is not ‘abalungo’, certainly not ‘abantu’ just ‘Ma- Coola’ goopellah!’ the flavor of cocoonut oil and other essences obliging them to spit. At first, they openly laughed at the Coolie, never with them. ‘Sammy,’ Natal rum and a paternal government have changed all that, for now the native fraternises with the Indian and willingly works for him, regardless of caste or condiments.

In 1871, the mayor reported about complaints received regarding “the erection of Coolie dwellings in town” and proposed the insertion of a clause in the Municipal Law, empowering the Council to prohibit this class of dwelling within the town (Mayor’s Minute, 1871: 2). Residential segregation in the city was attempted from the mid-1870s because Whites not only found Indian cultural and social traditions and practices repugnant (Mayor’s Minute, 1875: 3), but also more importantly, as Swanson pointed out, 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, became eligible for the franchise under Natal Law, and some were registered voters (Swanson, 1983: 404). Within the town itself, the Council attempted to create a separate Indian location on the Eastern vlei in 1874, when 20 plots were laid out for sale, but were unsold. Indians preferred to be located a short distance from the town at the west end of West Street and bounding the Western vlei (Mayor’s Minute, 1875: 3). Whites had increasingly referred to this west end of the developing town as “Coolie Location” (Swanson 1983: 410). Although segregation had not clearly formed into public policy, signs that the Town Council were considering legislation to deal with the Indian “menace” was evident by 1875 when the mayor reported that:

Legislation will doubtless 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 with and repugnant to those of Europeans (Mayor’s Minute, 1875: 3).

A town plan was commissioned in 1840 that formalised the settlement that had grown around Farewell's camp on the northern shore of the bay. A grid layout was introduced with three long main streets running east west, named Smith Street, West Street and Pine Terrace. The layout included a market square and a series of short cross streets depicted in Figure 7. By 1889, Indian trading in the three main streets in town had become a source of concern to Police Superintendent Alexander. His opinion of Indians was that "their value as labourers and their nuisance as neighbours, is well known", and recommended that no licenses be granted to Indians in any building in either of "our" three main streets (Mayors Minute, 1889: 34). A report by Alexander in 1893 on the state of Indians in Durban concluded that there were 665 Indians in 1870, 2 had properties and two Indian stores had opened. By 1893 the numbers of Indians in the town had risen to 5 917, of which 229 had properties and 128 Indian stores had been opened. Alexander 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: 50). Swanson (1983: 413) concluded that 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".

In 1860, the first railway line came into operation in South Africa and connected the Point and Durban town centre, terminating at the railway station on Pine Terrace. This rail-line was later extended westwards to run alongside Pine Terrace curving southwards past the eastern edge of the cemetery. This railway line was on the outskirts of the developing town and would have been the area that attracted "free" Indians. By 1871, the Sanitary Committee reported on Indians squatting on Townlands at the foot of the Berea, on land leased from trustees of insolvent estates, and on land that was in serious arrears with rent payments or land abandoned to the council (DAR, 3Dbn, 5/2/7/1/1 DTC Sanitary Committee Minutes, 2 March 1871). The area around the three main streets, illustrated in the 1862 and 1882 maps of Durban, Figures 8 and 9, developed into Durban's White central business district, whilst Indians settled on the far or west end of West Street, the northern part of Field Street and bounding the Western vlei (Mayor's Minute, 1875: 3). Superintendent Alexander's survey of occupants on the Western vlei in January 1880 outlined 32 dwellings occupied by Indians. This survey was followed by a report from Durban's Medical Officer of Health, whose description in February 1880 on the "Different Locations on the Western Vley" stated:

The houses were built Coolie fashion of tin-lining, of boxes and packing cases, of iron, corrugated and otherwise, of mud, reeds, thatch, sacks, and all and everything within reach...all more or less in a state of dilapidation and decay. With few exceptions they were placed close together, in a chaotic confusion, five six and more of them on so small an area, that there was no room for a yard left...Generally there was no attempt at any distinct place for the deposit of human excrements, the people squatting down on the ground anywhere and anyhow (DAR, 3Dbn, 5/2/6/1/2 DTC Sanitary Committee Minutes, 16 February 1880).

In 1880 the mayor reported on another failed attempt to establish a "Indian Location" in the Eastern vlei, after 143 lots for rental on a monthly basis, together with inducements of squatting leases on the adjoining vlei lands, had been laid out but only 12 disposed of. The council had hoped that the Magazine Barracks, which had just been completed, would "tend in some way to establish the site"

(Mayor's Minute, 1880: 5). The areas near the vleis were not desirable neighbourhoods and was described in 1871, as notoriously unfavourable to health.

Something has been done to the drainage of the Western vlei; but it is subject to a constant miasma which prevails... The neighbourhood is notoriously unfavourable to health, and to the convalescence after sickness. The two prevailing winds in summer render the injurious vapour less visible than it is in winter, but they disperse the poison alternatively through the town, and amongst the suburban villas in its neighbourhood (Mayor's Minute, 1871: 5).

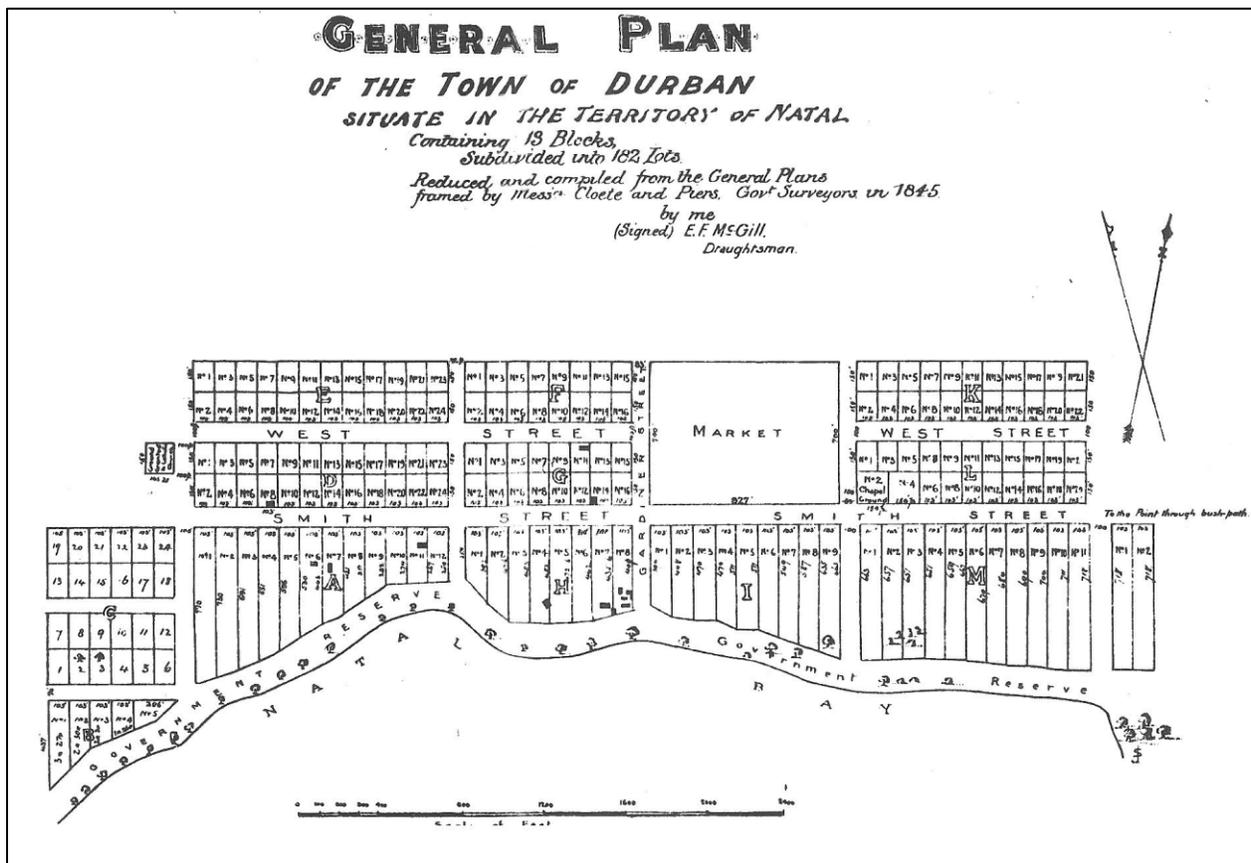


Figure 7. Durban Town Plan, 1845 (Russell:1899).

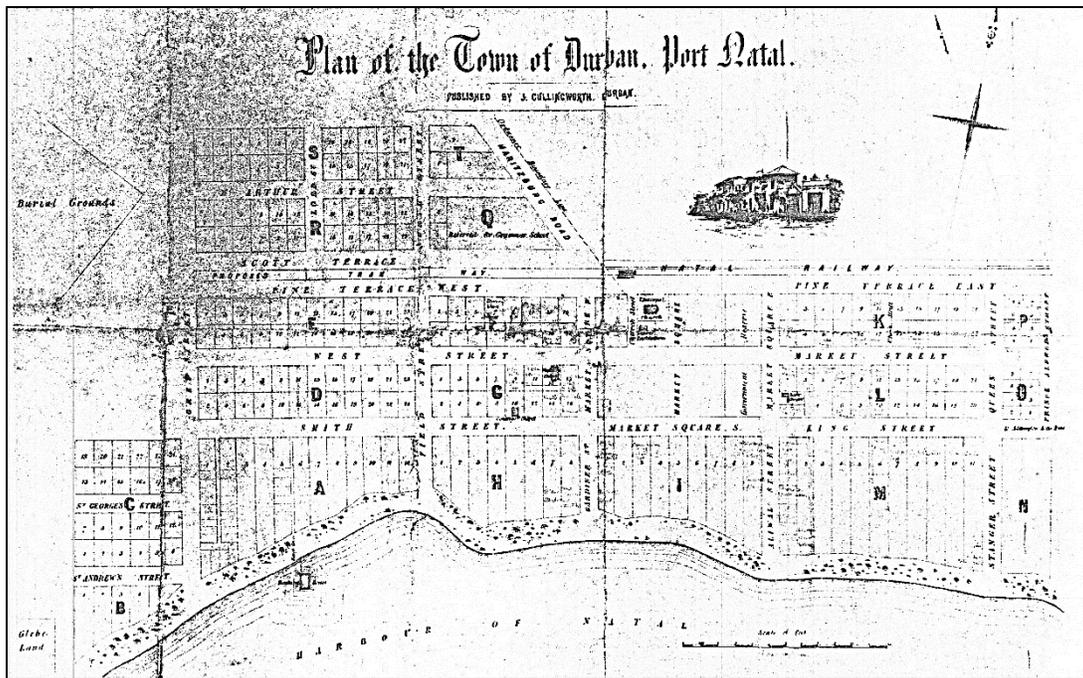


Figure 8. The western end of Durban Town, 1862 (UKZN AL).

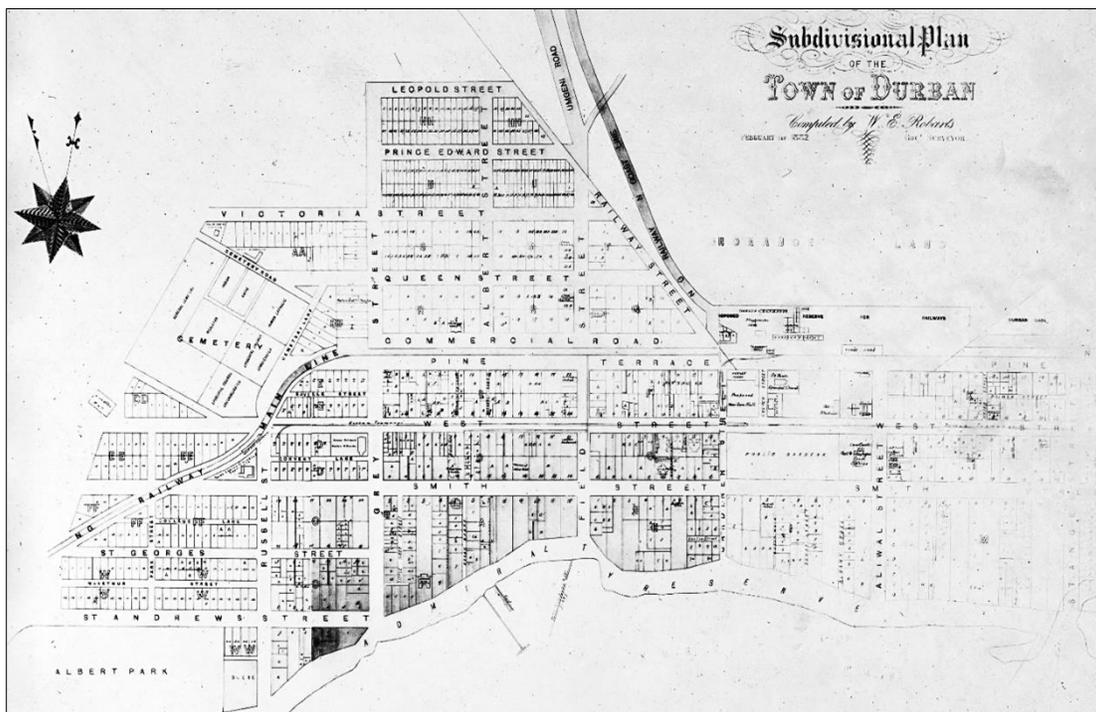


Figure 9. The western end of Durban Town, 1882 (LHM). Note the railway line between Pine Terrace and Commercial Road and the development of the town in a northwesterly direction.

Both “free” and “passenger” Indians settled in Durban from the 1870s and played a significant role in the subsequent creation of an Indian character to parts of the city. The first mosque was established in 1881, known as the Grey Street mosque, and in 1885 another mosque was built 500 meters further in Pixley Kaseme (West) Street (Vahed and Waetjen, 2015: 16). The “free” Indians, who had started market gardens, set up a vegetable market on the Grey Street mosque courtyard in 1890 (Vahed, 1999: 34). The types of clothes worn, languages spoken, types of stores and the wares sold, catering primarily for Indians but also for Africans, introduced a different character to the colonial town. Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street had become the hub of Indian commercial activity by the 1890s (Swanson, 1983: 418).

Measures to deal with the “Asiatic menace” were devised by the Town Council, over a period of three decades from the 1870s, which 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 manipulated to restrict Indian trade in the three main streets as Superintendent Alexander had recommended. All these measures tended to confine Indian commercial activity to the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area in Ward 4, and was the first move toward communal segregation in Durban (Swanson, 1983: 416). The Licensing Act was successfully used to create segregation, evidenced by the boast of the Licensing Officer from 1903 to 1934, G. Molyneux, who described his logic, implementation and consequences of the Act, in a report on “Overtrading” in 1933:

Thirty years ago, when the writer 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, Mayor’s Minute, 1933: 20).

Barracks were the only type of residential accommodation provided for Indian municipal workers, those employed by the railways and harbour authorities as well as those employed by shipping and industrial concerns. Eighteen barracks accommodating Indian workers and their families were dispersed throughout the town, often close to their place of employment. The barracks were known as, Magazine, Railway, Stable, Sarri and Kingsmead Barracks around the eastern vlei. Botanic Gardens Barracks and Tram Barracks were located in the west of the town. The African Boating Company (ABC) Barracks, Bamboo Square Barracks, Depot Barracks, Port Office Barracks, Lamp Barracks and Togt Barracks were located at the Point. Other barracks located further out of the centre of the town included Mitchell Park Zoo Barracks, Congella Barracks, Mungathai Barracks at Westridge and Windsor Barracks (Gounden, SK: in Merebank Tamil School Society (MTSS) 75 Year Brochure, 1936 - 2011).

5.1.2 African workers in colonial Durban

The history of the harbour and the Point examined by Kearney (2013), described the large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled migrant workers from diverse origins who worked at the Point during the period up to 1910. Initially harbour construction works provided monthly contract work to British immigrants, which later included African refugees from political upheavals in Basotholand (Lesotho), Zululand and from the Tsonga peoples in Tongaland (Maputaland) to the north. Natal Africans from Pondoland and Zululand joined this diverse workforce toward the end of the nineteenth century. The system of forced labour or *Isibholo* provided labour for roadworks and other small works, which entailed coercion by Natal magistrates of local African chiefs, to supply men from their areas. Contract workers were also employed by shipping, transport and cargo companies. Convict labour was another source of labour that was utilised at the Umgeni quarries, the town goal or for harbour construction at the Point. A substantial amount of labour required for stevedoring and coal operations, was by togt, or day workers (Kearney, 2013: 1167).

One of the early forms of employment was laundrymen or “wash-boys” (Russell, 1899: 217), who existed in the town by 1854, providing a laundry service to the White settlers after initial attempts by “kitchen boys” proved unsatisfactory. Married men “living in their own kraals” near the town started this service and established the “togt” principle of being paid for results or paid by the job. The togt system suited the laundrymen because they were their own masters and for Europeans it provided a reliable and experienced service at the beginning of the week. The washing was collected at dawn, carried to the Umgeni River, washed, blued and dried in the sun and returned in the evening (Russell, 1899: 216). Another form of employment in the mid-nineteenth century was male domestic servants, referred to as “kitchen boy” or “houseboy” and whose duties could also include ‘ironing’ of clothes by stamping the newly-washed and folded clothing, with his bare feet until satisfactorily straightened, mockingly referred to as the “Colonial mangle” by Russell (1899: 217/8).

By the late nineteenth century, the “kitchen boy” was clothed in a “picanin suit” or “kitchen suit”, extending the control measures of servants from their registration to the type of acceptable uniform to be worn, popularised by Harvey, Greenacre & Co, a prominent clothing store in Durban. Strutt (1975) who outlined the history of fashion in South Africa from 1652 to 1900 traced the origins of the “picanin suit” to the late nineteenth century. An employer made a garment for her young servant who was dressed in a loincloth and she designed “a simplified version of her son’s tunic and nickers...in navy with white braid trimming for every day, and then a white with red braid for inside the house” depicted in Figure 10. Benjamin Greenacre admired the uniforms and obtained permission to copy and sell them in his stores, which popularised the uniform and its use became widespread (Strutt, 1975: 348-9). In the early decades of the twentieth century, the “kitchen suit” was colour coded for various domestic jobs: the white for the cook and staff working inside the house, the khaki for outdoor workers and blue for slop pail carriers. All three versions bore the trademark red piping on the edges of sleeves and trouser legs. Although the tunic, seen in Figure 11, was regarded as offensive by the servants, it became the uniform for African male domestic servants until the end of the 1960s (Mchunu, 2008: 575/581). Mchunu (2008: 574) argued that the

“kitchen suit” helped to reinforce the regime of labour surveillance. The uniform was not only considered as a distinguishing mechanism for servants in general, but also colour coded for different kinds of domestic work and a way of instilling subservience, as noted by Callinicos (1987: 43):

In a letter to The Star in 1911, a reader wrote: No native should be allowed to wear ordinary European dress during working hours, and employers should combine to this end. European dress gives him an inflated sense of importance and equality.

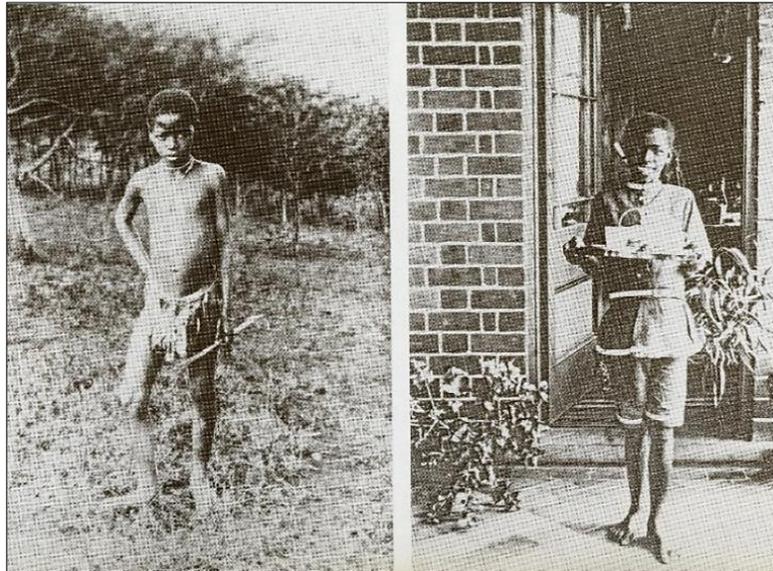
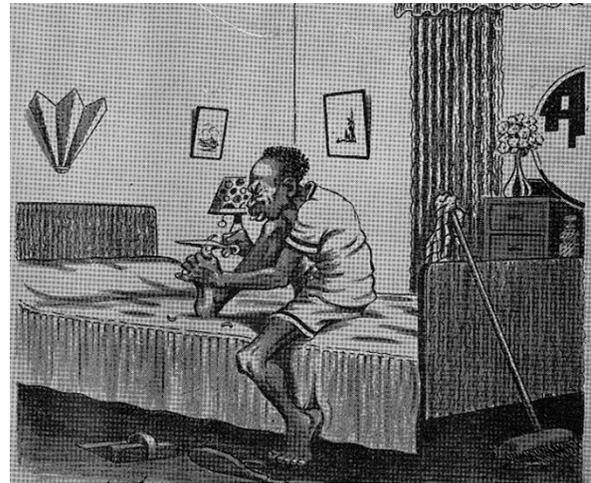
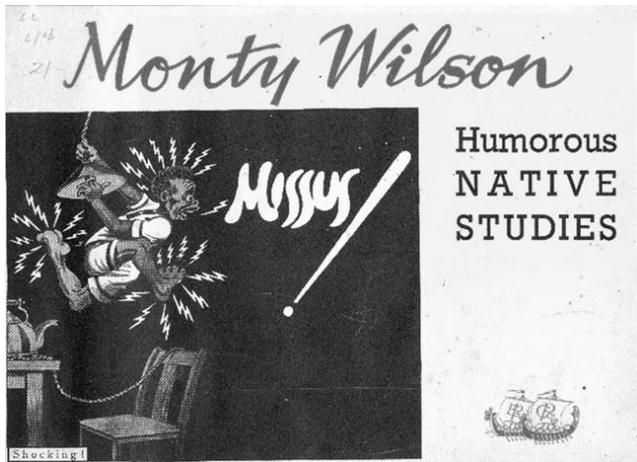


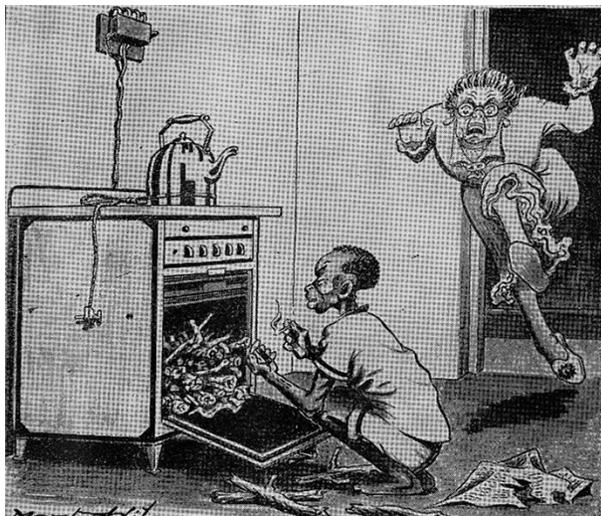
Figure 10. An African boy when he first sought work and wearing his uniform made by his employer which was copied by Benjamin Greenacre and sold in his stores (Verbeek and Verbeek:1982).



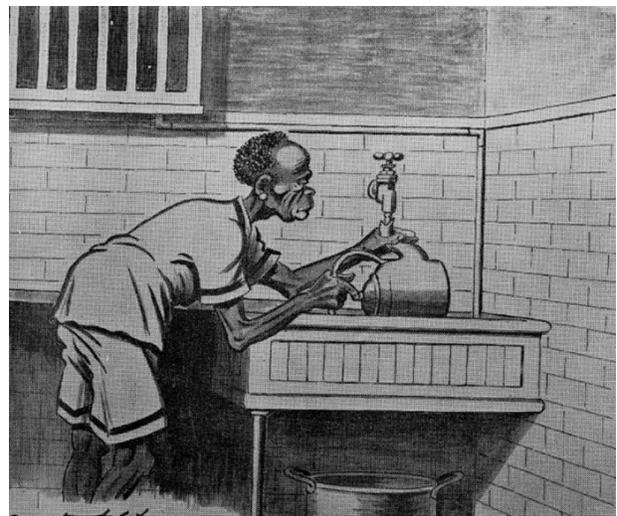
Figure 11. African servants wearing “kitchen boy” suits perform a dance: 1900 (LHM).



When the Cat's away



No Match for Him



The One-Track Mind

Monty Wilson's Native Studies depicting native types, whether we see them in tribal or urban life, are the real thing, although presented in a spirit of caricature...has revealed for us in these drawings the real mentality and nature of the Bantu race, compounded as it is of the high good humour of a simple and primitive people, combined with wide-eyed curiosity and the superstitious fancies of a child (Foreword by Percy Bishop: Monty Wilson's Humorous Native Studies: undated).

Figure 12. Selected caricatures from Monty Wilson's humorous "Native Studies" depicting the "houseboy" in his "kitchen suit". The theme throughout the compilation of the male African servant, in "tribal" or urban settings is depicted as "simple and primitive", or lazy or ignorant or childlike – often inside White homes (Wilson's drawings featured in the *Natal Daily News*).

By the late nineteenth century, the Durban Town Council focused their attention on the increasing “floating” African population. In 1889 the mayor urged the Council to introduce a registration system for “Native servants, and servants belonging to uncivilised races”, defined as, “all barbarous or semi-barbarous races, and all Indians introduced... as indentured labourers”. The mayor argued that it would assist in the constant supply of servants and simultaneously “bring a large class of the population under more direct supervision and control”. The mayor also emphasised that the law must make provision for “locating its floating Native population” and that registration and “Location” go hand in hand (Mayor’s Minute, 1889: 53). Police Superintendent Alexander, who had proposed that Indians be disallowed to trade in the town’s three main streets, also focused his attention on the control of Africans in his annual report, by making recommendations and proposed a solution:

I strongly recommend that no more Togh Barracks be erected, or licenses issued to Kafir Eating Houses, in or near the town; but that a Native Location be at once erected upon the Eastern Vlei, where pure air and good water are in abundance, and they will be far more comfortable and happy’ (Mayor’s Minute, 1889: 32-3).

Alexander’s annual report in 1889 was a reflection of the redirected focus on the control of Africans, because of safety concerns of Whites and to avoid alleged vices in town after working hours, particularly the consumption of liquor. The proposed “Locations” or residential compounds, proposed by the Police Superintendent and the mayor, did materialise in the Eastern vlei, 27 years later.

According to Stark (1960: 366) the sale of “European liquor” to “Natives” was prohibited so “kitchen boys”, in the privacy of their own quarters, brewed all manner of concoctions and authorities became concerned about incidences of “drunkenness”. One of the early solutions devised by Police Superintendent Alexander was to station selected members of his African police on the northern bank of the Umgeni River and allowed the polices’ wives to brew beer “under kraal conditions” (Stark, 1960: 366).

Every morning the Borough Police escorted these women, each with a large container of beer on their heads from the Umgeni River to a small stone koppie which was situated on the western side of the Main Railway Station...From this stone koppie women sold their beer to all comers. This place, was known to the Zulus as “Ematsheni” (the place of stones)...and beerhalls throughout the country are called by this name to-day (Stark, 1960: 366).

5.1.3 White “Chiefs” and the St Helena servants

The third and much smaller race group originated from a number of strands. In the late nineteenth century, the term “Coloured” referred to all people who were not of European origin, such as Africans, Indians, and what Russell (1899: 7) refers to as “Bastards and Hottentots from the Cape Colony”. Much like the miscegenation between settlers and the indigenous population at the Cape Colony, so too did Durban’s founding settlers have ‘marital’ relations with Zulu women in the 1820s. Russell (1899: 6) documented the “good time” that the founding settlers, like Francis

Farewell, Henry Fynn, Lieutenant King, Isaacs, Cane and Ogle had after establishing the trading post in 1824.

Zulu cattle were exchanged freely for “brass”. Zulu women were to be had for the asking, ivory and game to be had for the hunting. These primitive men speedily became “fat” in the native sense, and, finding it more convenient each to set up his own empire, instead of continuing in company and minding the shop.

Farewell, Fynn, Ogle and Cane set themselves up as “Native Chiefs” in camps at various localities around the Bay and “...grew jealous of each other, and each aimed at being the “Inkosi inkulu”. So, to establish their position in the eyes of the Natives and other followers, it became necessary to count in more cattle, more wives and more ivory” (Russell, 1899: 7). Their camps attracted refugees from all parts of the country, including “Bastards and Hottentots from the Cape Colony”, who sought food and protection. These followers became the henchmen to several of the traders, “who became recognised as the lawfully constituted Chiefs of the Whiteman and Native” (Russell, 1899: 7). After the Zulu king Shaka’s reign, Dingaan nominated Henry Fynn as the “Great Chief” of the “Natal Kafirs”, and was one of the last pioneers who resumed power and provided protection over the little community until 1834 (Russell, 1899: 8). One of the early strains that contributed to the group of people referred to as Coloureds, would have originated from the miscegenation of the White ‘Chiefs’ and their Zulu wives, together with the “Bastards and Hottentots” from the Cape.

The marginalisation of this third group of people emerged when the darker skinned St Helena immigrants were considered different, to the European immigrants. In Durban, the St Helenians were another early strain that contributed towards several strains of people from different origins that evolved into a third substantially smaller, racial group termed ‘Coloureds’. The segregation of schools and residential accommodation for this third group of marginalised people, who considered themselves similar to “poor whites” and not as “kafir, coolie or Hottentot”, emerged in the mid-1870s.

Kearney (2013: 1252) noted the new dimension being added to the Town Council’s housing and sanitation problem by citing press articles, commenting on the St Helena immigrants who had arrived in 1873 and 1874 on the Hartley-Walker domestic servant scheme, totaling 442 people seeking employment. Their stint as domestic servants were not always successful and many looked for other occupations and settled in town. The St Helenians were mainly dark skinned and encountered a hostile reception, such as their children being expelled from the government school in 1875 because of their colour. Despite their objections, the government’s view was that the expulsion was appropriate because European children were leaving the school. The Town Council bowed to pressure and accepted the principle that a separate night school for St Helena children be built and that ‘locations’ be extended to include all persons of colour. They also encouraged St Helenians to acquire property to build their own homes and laid out a new block of properties north of Victoria Street for this purpose. By 1876, 20 such plots had been sold. The list of names of the new property owners included Mr. Heffner, who originated from the Cape and whose son was expelled from the government school, because of his colour.

Letters to the *Natal Mercury*’s editor from two parents, whose children had been expelled in 1875, provide some insights into the dilemma ‘people of colour’ from varied origins faced in the fledgling fifty-year old town. Mr. Stapely bemoaned the Colonial Secretary’s decision to uphold

the expulsion of his daughter “in justice to European parents whose children was leaving the school”. He outlined his heritage from birth in Hampshire county, in the Portsmouth borough, his service to Her Majesty, his 18 years of life and marriage in St Helena and his family’s immigration to Durban. He concluded that the only difference between “one poor European more than another” is because of his immigration from St Helena, which he considered as an injustice by the Natal government. The second letter from Mr. A. Heffner described himself and his family as “natives of Cape Town” who had paid for their passage to Durban as free British subjects. He concedes that he is “a coloured man” but that he is “neither a kafir, a coolie, or a Hottentot” and that his son’s only crime was his dark skin. He also emphasised his contribution to the revenue “as any other poor white” and expressed his determination to prevent his children from attending a school “founded especially for the coloured race” and so would “the whole of the Cape people” then resident in Durban (cited by Kearney, 2013: 1249).

By 1875, the Inspector of Nuisances reported that some St Helenians were living in rented shacks at the west end of West Street. In 1876, properties intended for St Helenians, were sold north of Victoria Street but were also purchased by others of colour such as Heffner from the Cape. Kearney (2013: 1252) states that it was unlikely that the St Helenians could all afford the purchase price and soon some appeared, with the equally marginalised so-called Coloureds from the Cape, as inhabitants of Bamboo Square, an informal settlement at the Point.

One of the early references to a separate group of “mixed and others”, was recorded in the town census in 1904. Out of a total population of 67 842, 1 980 are listed in a category as “mixed and others”, consisting of Griquas, Hottentots, St Helenians, “coloured Cape people” and a large portion of Creoles or Mauritians (Mayor’s Minute, 1904: 70). Another census conducted by the Chief Constable in 1909, lists 1 960 as Coloured out of a total population of 60 244, of which 15 900 were African, 15 057 Indian and 27 327 European (Mayor’s Minute, 1909: 18). According to a University of Natal study (1952), the two noticeable strains in the evolution of the Coloureds group in Durban were those of Mauritian and Indian decent. Mauritians were considered as European, but when married to Coloureds they were regarded as part of the Coloured community. During the town’s early development, immigrants from St Helena and Griquas who settled in Durban were merged into the Coloured group together with transport drivers from the Cape. Drivers were recruited by the army at the beginning of the century and during the two World Wars, adding what were referred to as “Cape Coloureds” to the Coloured community in Durban and Pietermaritzburg (University of Natal, 1952: 232).

5.1.4 Bamboo Square

Officially referred to as the “Point Cantonment” or the “Indian and Native Cantonment”, but more commonly known as “Bamboo Square”, was, according to Kearney (2013: 1247), one of the earliest recorded informal settlements in the country having started as a Tsonga kraal in the 1860s. It was located at the Point, illustrated in Figures 14 and 15, in the sand dunes relatively obscured from view, on land that had a unique status. The land originally belonged to the British Imperial Department of War in London and thus fell outside the jurisdiction of the Natal Harbour Board, the Natal Government and the Durban Town Council. However, the settlement attracted the constant attention of municipal sanitation officials and was eventually administered by the Harbour

Board who, together with the Town Council, undertook many inspections and demolitions between mid-1870s and 1903 (Kearney, 2013: 1247).

Cited in Kearney (2013: 1254), Police Superintendent Alexander's 1880 report described the settlement of 133 dwelling-huts, laid out in 21 sub-divided blocks "that sleep some 580 souls" consisting of 6 Europeans, 26 St Helenians, 10 Chinamen, 274 Indians and Malays as well as 269 "Natives" of all tribes as:

Composed of some of nearly every uncivilized race in the world – About 15 prostitutes of all colours. Cunning Chinamen, Drunken Portuguese Kafirs. Thieving and Grog-selling Coolies. Card-sharping Malays. The remainder (about 460) are hard-working fishermen, labourers, boatmen, and togt kafirs.

Alexander also stressed the unsanitary conditions that prevailed and noted the flouting of sanitary laws by both owner and tenants. Water was obtained from a small well near the centre of the settlement, obtained by bucket and a rope (Kearney, 2013: 1254). Bamboo Square was demolished and relocated to a different location not far from the original settlement, but after about 40 years of existence it was finally demolished in 1903.

5.1.5 The Bell Street Barracks

Natal Law 15 was passed in 1871 to introduce migrant labour that came from northern Zululand, Mozambique and East Africa. Another type of worker, referred to as togt or day labour had already emerged in the 1860s. These workers preferred not to be tied into long-term work contracts and soon became a concern for the authorities who established a special togt police force and formulated plans for a togt barracks. Due to financial constraints a wooden building at the west end of Victoria Street was first used and after ten year protracted negotiations, starting in 1881 between harbour and council authorities, a wood and iron barracks was finally constructed in 1890 on Bell Street at the Point (Kearney, 2013: 1187), illustrated in the 1892 map in Figures 16 and 17.

The barracks were first used in 1892 but was initially unpopular amongst workers, some preferring to stay in Bamboo Square. This situation changed rapidly in the early twentieth century when the number of togt workers at the Point rose from 2 800 in 1900 to approximately 5 100 by 1904. The Bell Street barracks was overcrowded by 1902 and the Town Council proposed to rebuild the barracks with bricks to accommodate 2 000 men. New extensions to the barracks were made in 1903, but still in wood and iron (Kearney, 2013: 1187/1188). These old wood and iron barracks were eventually replaced by new brick structures between 1921 and 1926 (Mayor's Minute, 1938: 65), depicted in Figures 28 and 31.

5.1.6 Magazine Barracks

The Durban Town Council started building “coolie barracks” for their Indian employees and their families, as early as 1864, in a small wood and iron building at the west end of Victoria Street (Kearney, 2013: 1188). When the municipality applied to the Protector of Indian Immigrants in 1874 for 100 workers, a new site on a higher and dry portion of the eastern vlei close to the military powder magazines was chosen. In 1880 it was reported that a new “commodious” barracks had been erected near the Powder Magazine. The rooms provided for 26 married men and 67 single men (Mayor’s Minute, 1880: 5). The wood and iron structures with separate kitchen facilities and communal ablution facilities became known as the Magazine Barracks, depicted in Figure 13. Various bodies drew attention to the poor living and unsanitary conditions over the years, but the barracks remained in a rudimentary state.

Magazine Barracks was the first of a number of workers’ barracks and locations, built in the Eastern vlei, starting in 1880, followed by other similar institutions in the early twentieth century. Two sets of racially segregated barracks for railway workers, an African Location for males and a small “Married Quarters” Location, together with racially segregated schools and sports fields were established in stages from 1916 onwards, and will be elaborated on in chapter 6.



Figure 13. Magazine Barracks, located in the Eastern vlei, in 1880 (GLDC).



Figure 14. Bamboo Square at the Point (LHM).

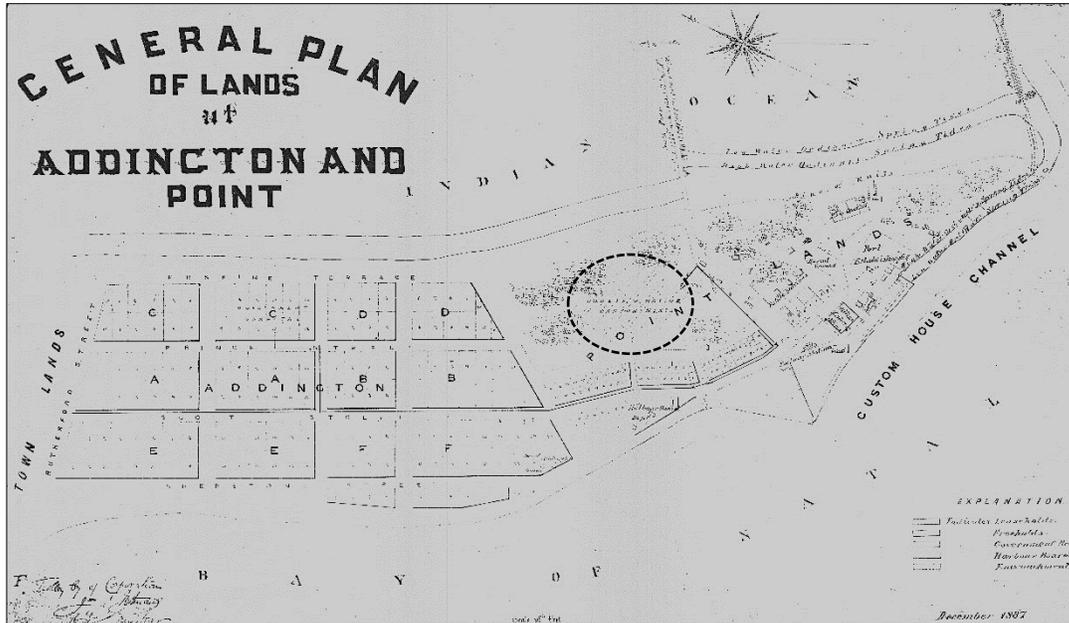


Figure 15. A map of the Point 1887, indicating the “Coolie and Native Cantonment”, circled by the author (UKZN AL).

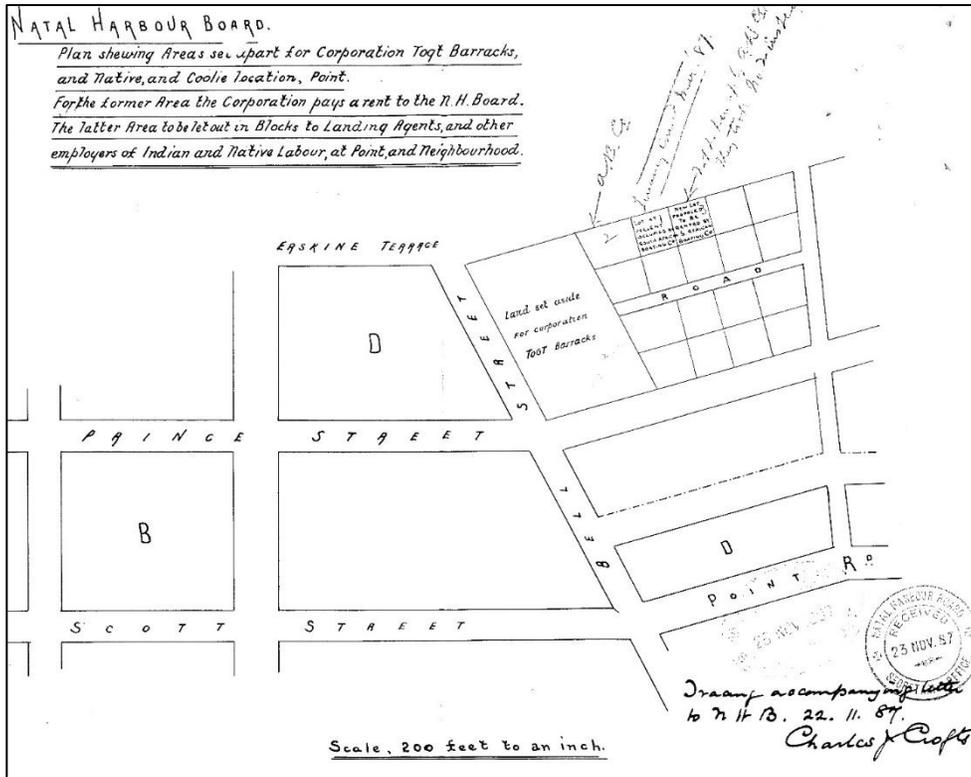


Figure 16. An 1887 map by the Natal Harbour Board indicating the land set aside for the Togat Barracks on Bell Street and the “Native and Coolie Location” (BK).

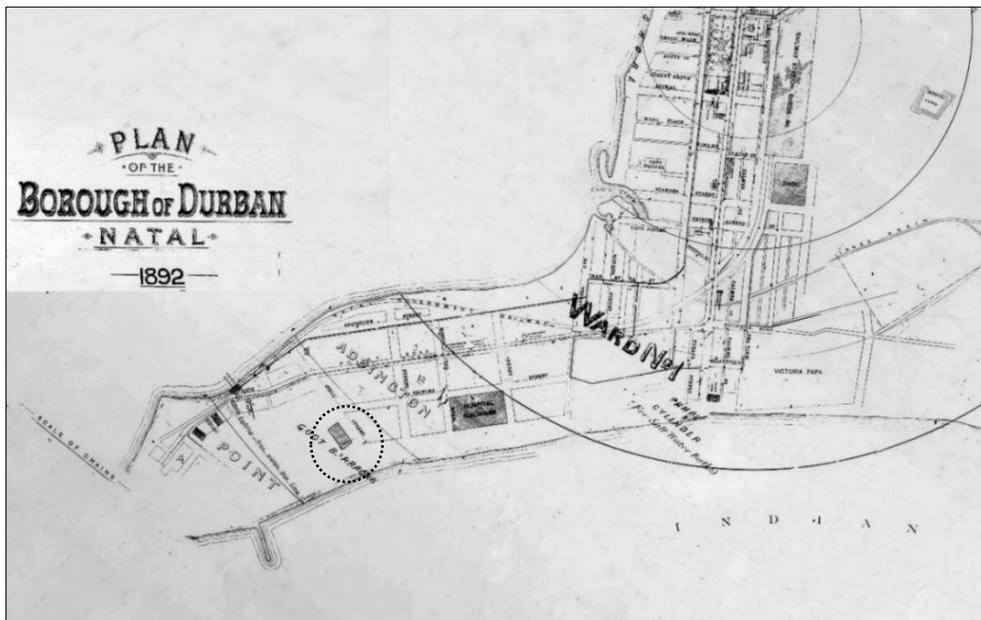


Figure 17. A map of the Point: 1892 (Lynsky: 1982). The Togat Barracks has been circled by the author.

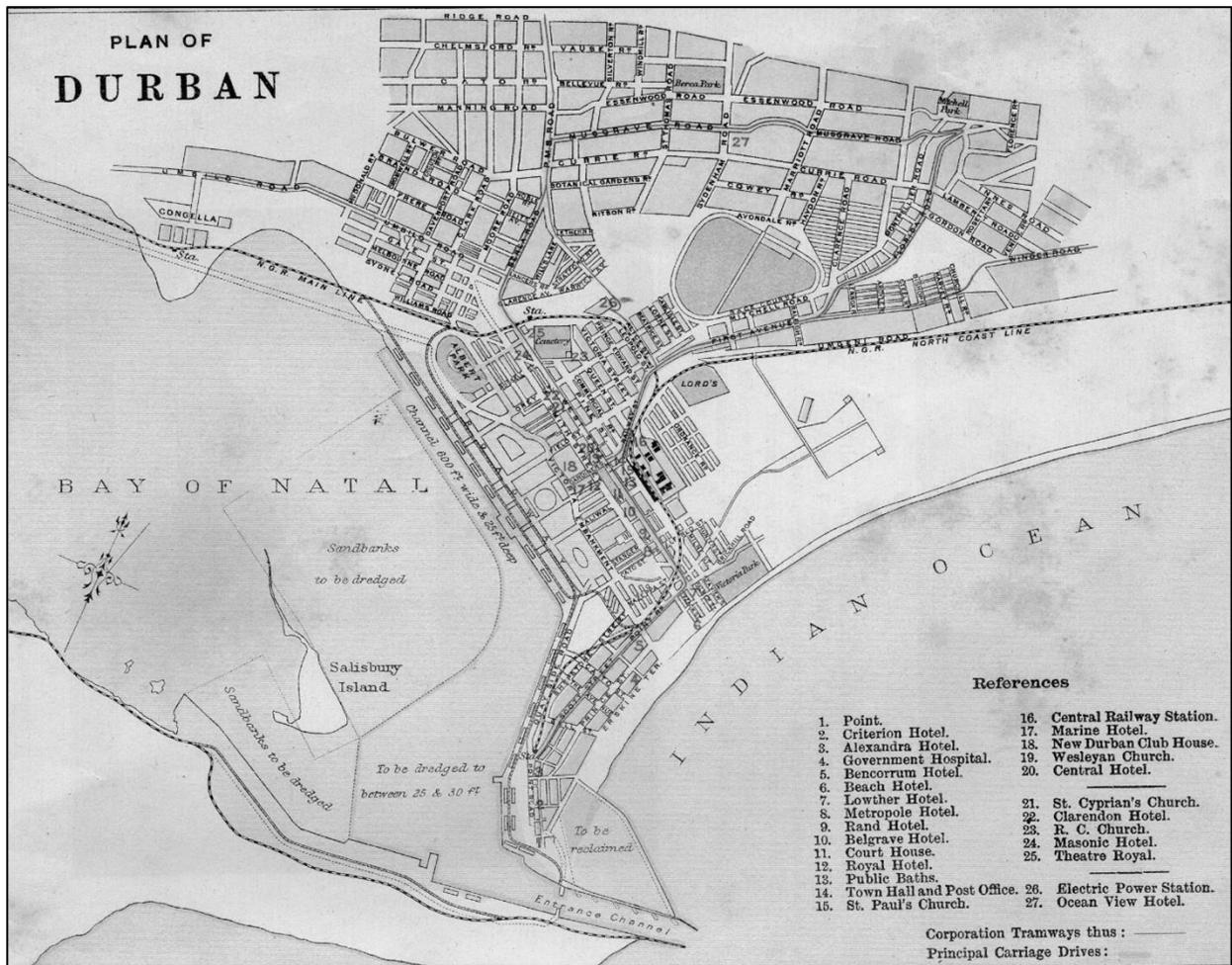


Figure 18. Map of Durban, 1903 (Harrison: 1903).

5.2 Control and containment phase focused on Africans: 1900s to the 1930s.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Harrison (1903: 13) described Durban, as depicted in Figure 18, as:

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 interstitial space, seen in Figure 18, between the Berea and the town centre in the early 1900s, was a result of the Western vle, which had to be drained before being developed. The two vleis were the spaces occupied by the marginalised and mosquitos.

Cases of malaria were reported in the borough in 1932. Malaria first appeared in 1904 and ceased in 1909. For 27 years a special unit of the Borough Health Department was engaged in routine anti-malaria measures (Mayor's Minute, 1932: 24). Durban was free from malaria until 1927 when a new phase of the epidemic began. *Anopheles Costalis*, the mosquitos which carry the malaria parasite and transmit it to humans, was located in the valleys of the Umgeni and Umbilo rivers, the Eastern vlei, the race course, the Western vlei and the Congella flats. In the 1930s, oil-spraying was still carried out throughout the year at weekly intervals (Mayor's Minute, 1932: 35).

Reclamation of the swampy areas was achieved by means of refuse dumping and landfill. Gangs of workers were employed in the 1930s in the reclamation of the Eastern vlei, north of Depot (Somtseu) Road and various other parts of the vlei (Mayor's Minute, 1932: 3), including relief workers, who were employed at the planned aerodrome site in the Eastern vlei (Mayor's Minute, 1933: 4). By 1933, with the exception of portions of the Eastern vlei, all low-lying and swampy areas in the old borough had been reclaimed (Mayor's Minute, 1933: 14). In 1936, construction on the Western vlei canal started and Milne's drain in the Eastern vlei was reconstructed in reinforced concrete, replacing the open ditch. The Western vlei canal drain was planned to improve the drainage and health conditions of the low-lying land at the foot of the Berea (Mayor's Minute, 1936: 4).

After the drainage of the Eastern vlei had been improved and land reclaimed, new facilities were established for Whites. Approximately one acre was sold to the Durban Turf Club in 1932 (Mayor's Minute, 1932: 10). The 116-acre municipal golf course abutting the Umgeni River, named Winsor Park in reference to the accession of King Edward VIII, was completed in 1936 (Mayor's Minute, 1936: 3). In 1937, a new "Air Station" at Stamford Hill was opened whilst reclamation of the aerodrome was still in progress (Mayor's Minute, 1937: 2).

Strange as it seems the airport owes its origin not so much to the value of air transport as to the requirements of public health...and so it can truly be said that almost by accident the diminutive and much maligned mosquito was responsible for the present ideal situation of the Durban Airport (Mayor's Minute, 1937: 28/9).

After the bubonic plague outbreak in 1902, the wharf sheds and the 'Indian and Native Cantonment' at the Point became the focus of health inspections. This prompted a commentary in the *Indian Opinion* of 18 June 1903, which not only summarised the Indian living conditions and their localities by the beginning of the twentieth century, it also blamed the Durban Town Council, also known as the Corporation, and White business concerns for the poor living conditions and cynically questioned their solutions.

The bugbear of the plague has been dragged into the controversy...I dismiss from consideration the floating Native population of Durban...The plague is essentially a poor man's disease born of dust and filth. Everyone knows there are more poor Indians in the Borough than poor Europeans. Again, most of the Indians attacked by the plague were indentured labourers whose mode of living their employers, the corporation and European firms were responsible...And what is the solution proposed? To reproduce more Eastern Vleis and Western Vleis, and Bamboo Squares where we may live as we will, and rot in the swamps. These are the plague spots', the off-spring of the Corporation...Does it not behove the Corporation to put its own house first in order. Or does it wish that we should all be

cooped up in swamps and shanties and then become extinct, or held up to scorn and contempt for its own neglect? (Indian Opinion, 18 June 1903).

This commentary, although dismissive of the “floating Native” population provides an accurate summary of the Black urban presence that had been established, by the municipality and White business concerns, in three main localities by the beginning of the twentieth century. Two areas were located on the edges of the two vleis and a third at the Point. Part of the Eastern vlei developed into, what could be considered as a workers’ compound, for Indian and African workers. The edge of the western vlei together with the “Coolie location” evolved into a dual central business district (Rajah: 1981) or “city within a City” (Rosenberg: 2012), consisting of business, residential, educational, religion, transport and recreational facilities, primarily for Indians but also for Coloureds and Africans. The main presence at the Point initially consisted of an informal settlement from the 1860s to 1903, officially referred to as the “Indian and Native Cantonment”. Thereafter only rudimentary racially segregated residential accommodation was provided for Africans and Indians in barracks built by the municipality, railway and harbour authorities and private business concerns. A small group of fishermen and their families settled on Salisbury Island after 1865 and became subsistence fishermen (Govender and Chetty: 2014). The Indian Immigration Depot and hospital was also located at the Point.

Numerous barracks were built at the Point for Indian and African workers by various harbour departments, shipping and stevedoring companies and the Natal Government Railways (NGR). Kearney (2013: 1187) noted that barracks and hostels were among the largest and most visible structures at the Point by the 1930s. The Natal Government Railways made applications to the Harbour Board in 1884 for land to locate barracks for their workers. They eventually acquired land on Alexandra Road and Timeball Road for this purpose. A group of wood and iron barracks located on Timeball Street, which by 1897 had been added to on a number of occasions, was eventually removed in 1906 and reconstructed in brick by the South African Railways and Harbours, depicted in Figure 27. This building served many generations of port workers (Kearney, 2013: 1194/1310). The African Boating Company (ABC), who preferred monthly contract workers, completed the first of two modern barracks, illustrated in Figure 26, accommodating 1 500 workers in 1902, which was subsequently increased to 2 000 by 1906 (Kearney, 2013: 1194).

5.2.1 The “Durban system”.

Population numbers for Durban from a census conducted in the Colony of Natal in 1891 and 1904, indicate that the population more than doubled in 13 years from a total of 25 637 in 1891 to 67 847 in 1904. From 1891 to 1904 the European population increased from 12 637 to 33 287, the African population from 6 389 to 18 929, and the Indian population from 6 486 to 15 631 (Mayor’s Minute, 1904: 7). As its population increased, the initially relatively small male-dominated African population, was systematically controlled by the authorities. Gradually the municipality established an administrative structure that increasingly controlled their lives. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, the informal sector flourished and Africans could make a living other than serving as togt labourers. The four main categories of employment for Africans were togt labour, washermen, ricksha-pullers and monthly contract workers, the last made up mainly of male domestic workers (Maylam and Edwards, 1996: 3). Male domestic servants were referred to

as “kitchen boys”. Stark (1960: 366) viewed it as tradition for youth from the rural African reserves to work as “kitchen boys”. Workers were identified by colour-coded metal badges, yellow for rickshaw pullers, blue for laundrymen and white for togt workers. Females were employed mainly as nursemaids or nannies. “Togt boys” provided daily labour for stevedoring activities at the Point and were first accommodated at the Bell Street Barracks (Stark, 1960: 366). Other forms of employment opportunities included prostitution, trading in dagga (marijuana), animal skins and herbs, and, most importantly, beer brewing (La Hausse, 1996: 40). Also referred to as “Kaffir beer” by the authorities, traditional beer was brewed and sold all over the town.

Europeans had become concerned with the attitude of African 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 Africans working in town, and was considered as a rudimentary system of influx control (Swanson, 1961: 12). The Togt Labour Law of 1902, the Native Locations Act of 1904 and the Native Beer Act of 1908 were the key elements of the “Durban system”, which became the basis of “Native” administration. Swanson concluded that by the beginning of the twentieth century, Durban had become a leader in group racial legislation (Swanson, 1961: 15).

Beerhalls were soon built in other towns of Natal (La Hausse, 1988: 28). The Beer Act of 1908 allowed for the creation of a new financial account and the mayor of Durban eagerly announced that:

A new account, created under the Native Beer Act 23 of 1908, has come into existence...and judging from the results of the past few months' operations is likely to provide substantial funds, which, after deducting the of expenses of administration, are to be spent in the establishment of a Native Location and Schools and providing hospital accommodation or any other object in the interests of Natives (Mayor's Minutes, 1909: 27).

The separate financial account was created from the sale of beer and was later merged with the “Native Revenue Account”. Beer profits enabled the creation of a municipal Native Affairs Department (NAD) 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).

Although the Togt Law of 1902 and the Locations Act of 1904 started shifting African workers' accommodation to outlying areas, for the following three decades thereafter the town still experienced a huge increase in workers' compounds. By 1930 there were 136 privately owned compounds for African and Indian workers in the town, accommodating a total of 6 342 Africans and 246 Indians (Mayor's Minute, 1930: 57). These private compounds supplemented the municipal and government owned compounds.

5.2.2 Municipal Eating Houses

Due to frequent complaints about the insanitary conditions at the “Kaffir Market”, selling mainly cooked meat in Queen Street, the Council closed it down in 1906. However, due to representations made, the Council erected a municipal “Native Eating House”, installed new equipment and appointed an overseer. The Mayor reported positively on the new “innovation” in 1907:

This innovation... is proving most satisfactory, and of great benefit to Natives, who find it a kind of club where they can refresh themselves, meet their friends, and discuss their affairs, instead of prowling about in the dark and becoming a nuisance and a menace to the orderly conduct of the town. Special rooms are now being erected where the more educated class of Natives can eat and sleep while in town (Mayor’s Minute, 1907: 11).

Trading stalls and eating houses, which provided cooked meals, became a feature of all beerhalls that were subsequently built in various localities in the town, usually where large numbers of Africans were working or living. By 1909, three municipal eating houses had been established in the town (Mayor’s Minute, 1909: 27).

5.2.3 Beerhalls

At the beginning of the twentieth century the brewers had swelled in numbers and the Town Council began clamping down on the beer 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). By 1908, it was reported that the brewing and selling of “Native Beer” was being carried out in no fewer than 75 premises in the town, prompting the mayor to state his view on the matter.

I am strongly of the opinion that the better method of dealing with this question would be to confine the sole right of the manufacture and sale of Native Beer to the several Municipalities in the Colony (Mayor’s Minute, 1908: 19).

It was against this background that the Native Beer Act (No 23) of 1908 was enacted, allowing the municipalities of Natal to be the only brewers and sellers of sorghum beer. The “objectionable shebeens scattered throughout the town” were closed down (Mayor’s Minute, 1909: 16). This enabled the municipality of Durban to monopolise the brewing and selling of beer and criminalised African brewers, whilst generating substantial revenue for the council, which was used to build rudimentary facilities and fund the apparatus of control. The first beerhall in Durban was built in 1909 in Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) Street, adjacent to the “Native Eating House” established the previous year, depicted in Figure 40.

A number of beerhalls were subsequently built in town near hostels, main areas of African employment and at Cato Manor. All beerhalls were built with complementary eating houses and trading facilities. In 1933, there were five beerhalls with accompanying eating houses, located at Victoria Street, Bell Street, Prince Alfred Street, Umgeni and Maydon Wharf (Mayor’s Minute, 1933: 37). By 1949, two more were built at Rossburgh and Sydenham, bringing the total to seven beerhalls (Mayor’s Minute, 1949: 134). Although Durban boasted seven beerhalls with a total sale of 2 322 698 gallons of beer in 1949, they had become inadequate (Mayor’s Minute, 1949: 133/4). The Cato Manor beerhall opened at in 1952 (Mayor’s Minute, 1952: 5), whilst Dalton beerhall came into operation in 1954 (Mayor’s Minute, 1955: 55). By the late 1940s Durban was still a

leader in beer brewing and still received regular enquiries from various municipalities on matters related to brewing and brewery construction (Mayor's Minute, 1949: 133/4).

5.2.4 The Native Affairs Department (NAD), later the Bantu Administration Department (BAD).

The Bantu Administration Department (BAD) was inaugurated in 1916 under the leadership of John Marwick (Stark, 1960:164). At its inception the basic function of the department was to provide accommodation, register servants and to brew and sell "kaffir beer". The Durban department evolved over four decades into a large department which administered the complex and ever-changing legislation that governed the large African population. By 1960 the BAD encompassed a number of divisions responsible for different tasks. It was composed of an Administration Section; Bantu Areas Section, responsible for the administration of locations, townships and hostels; a Housing Section, responsible for housing matters; and the Beerhalls and Breweries Section, which controlled brewing in three breweries and the distribution of beer to nine beerhalls. It also included a Registration Section responsible for the registration of servants, influx control and administration of a labour bureau, the Welfare Section responsible for the provision of welfare services and recreation. In addition, there was an Inspectorate Section, which assisted in shack removal operations and the control and enforcement of Bantu urban areas legislation; and a Staff Section responsible for the 206 European and 1 666 African employees of the department (Stark, 1960: 164).

When Marwick was appointed as manager of the BAD he appointed the grandson of King Mpande, half-brother to Shaka and Dingaan, as his "head induna". Known as Pika Zulu ka Siteku ka Mpande, he dominated African affairs in Durban from 1916 until his death in 1958 and was considered as the patriarch of the Zulu nation. Stark (1960: 368) noted that it had become a tradition to employ members of Pika Zulu's family which in turn established a bond of friendship with the Zulu Royal House and became a cornerstone of the department's policy. Officials in the department had become "almost traditional friends" and Stark (1960: 368) cites examples of their attendance at Royal House funerals as part of the chief mourners at the ceremonies and the Paramount Chief in the 1960s, Cyprian Bhekuzulu, had a personal suite of rooms at the Somtseu Location.

It has always been the policy of the department to extend the hand of friendship to the Bantu through the person of their tribal chiefs. Every chief visiting the City is provided with accommodation and is provided with a free ration of kaffir beer, the traditional drink (Stark, 1960: 368).

The Native Administration Department (NAD) moved into a new building in 1930, located on Bram Fischer (Ordinance) Road (Mayor's Minute, 1930: 10), seen in Figure 21. It was located next to the municipal brewery built in 1913, depicted in Figure 19. This new building for the NAD could be considered as the control centre whilst the adjacent brewery was the means of control, generating the income to fund the operations of the NAD.

The new administration building included offices for senior officials of the NAD, but also accommodation to house the centralised functions of registration and medical examinations of thousands of work seekers. The design consisted of a single storied structure with a large enclosed courtyard (Jacobs and Kearney, 2018: 69). The courtyard and surrounding verandas were a design response to “the essential human dimension of the building – that is one where people would wait and queue – on benches and in the shade” (Jacobs and Kearney, 2018: 70).

Africans arriving to be inspected and registered would queue in Durnford Road behind and enter through a rear gateway onto a veranda opening onto the eastern side of the courtyard. This led directly to a large registration office with applicants for Togat badges and Ricksha licenses as well as women to the one side (Jacobs and Kearney, 2018: 69).

Medical examinations were also conducted at the NAD building, on the upper floor which housed a large waiting room, a doctor’s consulting office and a dispensary (Jacobs and Kearney, 2018: 70).

5.2.5 Control and restrictions on Africans’ movement

In 1933 the first steps were taken by the Native Affairs Department to organise Durban’s African labour by establishing a Native Labour Exchange which centralised the control over African labour required by the Corporation (Mayor’s Minute, 1933: 7). Similarly, an Indian Control Office was established under the control of the Borough Engineer, to register Indians employed by the municipality. Indian workers underwent medical examinations and each issued with a number and brass badge “which serves to identify him beyond doubt” and strengthened the Council’s control of its Indian workers (Mayor’s Minute, 1933: 5).

All African males entering employment in the city were required to undergo compulsory medical examinations, conducted at the NAD building. In 1937 the number of examinations totaled 58 577 and increased to 72 021 in 1938. The rejections of medical certificates were mainly due to venereal disease and tuberculosis (Mayor’s Minute, 1938: 67). In 1941 medical examination of Africans had risen to 83 561 which increased to 100 07 by 1943 (Mayor’s Minute, 1941: 84 and 1943: 92). It was also proposed that the medical examinations and registrations be extended to females, considered as “being in the best interest of Natives” (Mayor’s Minute, 1943: 10). By 1954 the scale of medical examinations over a period of a year totaled 121 495 (Mayor’s Minute, 1954: 123).

The Council could also control the urbanisation process and flow of labour from the rural areas by means of Native Commissioners. In 1944 the labour supply exceeded the demand and the flow of labour to the city was restricted by a request from the Council to the Chief Native Commissioner who informed all magistrates in Natal and Zululand to restrict the flow of labour to Durban until the situation improved (Mayor’s Minute, 1944: 91). In order to control the influx of Africans into the city and reducing the number of unemployed, the City Council enforced the provisions of Proclamation 39 of 1940. The “broad effect” was to make it illegal for Africans to be in Durban if unemployed, or not in possession of proof of potential employment (Mayor’s Minute, 1949: 36), referred to as “influx control”.

In 1952 these influx control measures were supplemented by reference books. In terms of the Native (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act) 1952, the Native Affairs Department started issuing reference books in Durban from April 1954. The new system required that all African males from 16 years of age carry a reference book. The old system of service contracts still applied to males younger than 16. By the end of July 1954, 38 000 reference books had been issued out of an anticipated total of 110 000 (Mayor's Minute, 1954: 32).

5.2.6 Municipal Breweries

J.M.L. Baumann who had been a town councillor and chairman of the Native Affairs, Police and Fire Brigade Committee, and which Baumannville was later named after, was also involved in the design of the first municipal brewery that that supplied Durban's municipal beerhalls. Baumann had started a bakery after his arrival in 1880, named East End Baumann Bread and Biscuit Factory, which was later renamed Bakers Ltd. He designed the brewery on behalf of the Municipal Native Administration, and with his knowledge of yeast for bread making, was able to organise a system of fermentation to produce beer that tried to emulate the traditional beer being brewed by Africans. The beer was made from "sprouted amabella" and had a low alcohol content. The new brewery consisted of several floors, with the top floor for sprouting the amabella which gravitated down to tanks for fermentation. The brewery, built in 1913, was the first of its kind in the Union, and the system was subsequently copied to some degree, by other municipalities and some mines. It was located on the corner of Bram Fischer (Ordinance) Road and Wyatt Roads adjacent to the Bantu Administration Department building (JML Baumann 1856-1946 Volume 2, extract from memoir by LG Baumann: 1993). A new wing with modern equipment was added in 1941 (Mayor's Minute, 1950: 29), depicted in Figure 19. Its operations ceased in 1964 when the new brewery in Sydney Road came into operation.

By 1949, the municipality operated three municipal breweries, each working to full capacity but were unable to keep up with demand. The main brewery was in Bram Fischer (Ordinance) Road, which was relocated due to the re-planning of the new railway station. The second was located in Sydenham and the third in Rossburgh. The latter two breweries were small and uneconomical (Mayor's Minute, 1949: 133).

5.2.7 Residential accommodation for Africans

As pointed out, accommodation for togt workers was planned since the early 1880s. The Bell Street Barracks established in 1890 could not accommodate the increasing numbers of workers. In 1904, the togt bye-laws under the Togg Act of 1902, were promulgated and a new Togg Barracks at the Point was opened. Togg workers paid a fee for accommodation and a togt badge, for "the privilege of working in the Borough" (Mayor's Minute, 1904: 6). The objective was, however, to have large number of togt workers "located in one spot under suitable police supervision and satisfactory sanitary conditions" (Mayor's Minute, 1904: 6). With the exception of Baumannville, only barracks and hostels, housing single male or female workers, became the only formal accommodation provided for Africans in the city. Workers also lived in private or industrial compounds meeting the needs of employers who preferred their labour to live close to the workplace (Maylam and Edwards, 1996: 4). The vast majority of togt labour lived wherever they could, including renting back-yard accommodation (La Hausse, 1996: 40).



Figure 19. The first municipal brewery in Durban, built in 1913. The beer was delivered by tank trailers to Durban's various beerhalls (LHM).



Figure 20. The interior of a typical beerhall in Durban (LHM).



Figure 21. The Bantu Administration Department (BAD) offices on Bram Fischer (Ordinance) Road (LHM).



Figure 22. Queues of work seekers in the courtyard at the Labour Bureau at the BAD (LHM).

5.2.7a *Baumannville*

The only family accommodation for Africans in the city was the small “Married Natives’ Quarters”, later re-named Baumannville. The first phase was completed in 1916 and eventually consisted of 120 two-roomed terraced apartments (University of Natal, 1952: 328), depicted in Figure 23. It was situated in the Eastern vlei sandwiched between the railway marshalling yards in Greyville in the West and Magazine Barracks for Indians employed by the municipality, in the East.



Figure 23. A street view of Baumannville, established in 1916 (UN 1959).

5.2.7b *Somtseu Location*

When the Native Administration Department was established in 1916, the only accommodation for Africans in the city was the togt barracks at Bell Street for single males and the small inadequate “Married Natives’ Quarters”, in the Eastern vlei. Marwick proposed “locations” for accommodating single males and started the Taylor Street Location, illustrated in Figure 29, later renamed “Somtseu”, the name given to Theophilus Shepstone by African people. Stark (1960: 365) noted that there had been considerable opposition to “being gathered together in locations” and at opposition meetings an African leader proposed Marwick’s name to be changed from “Muhle” (good) to “Mubi” (bad). Marwick sued the speaker for damages in a successful suit in the Supreme Court resulting in a collapse of opposition. The next housing scheme built for Africans was the Brook Street women’s hostel which was unique, being the first for a municipality

in South Africa. This hostel was popular and was relocated when a new women's' hostel was built in Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street. Pressure from industry in the Maydon Wharf industrial area resulted in the establishment of the Dalton Road hostel for single males (Stark, 1960: 365), seen in Figure 33. All hostels later made limited provision for visiting wives and in some hostels, provision was made for casual accommodation. In 1938 a new feature at Somtseu location was the provision of a quadrangle made up of 24 single rooms, equipped with hot-plates and wash hand basins (Mayor's Minute, 1938: 67). Prior to 1938 only dormitories, communal ablutions and cooking facilities were provided.

5.2.7c The "Native" Womens' Hostel, Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street.

Domestic service had been a predominantly African male dominated sector and the City Council had considered the employ of African females as servants for some time but their accommodation and training had been an obstacle until the mid-1920s. In 1925 the 'Native Womens' Hostel' was erected at the end of Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street, seen in Figure 30, which replaced the original hostel in Brook Street. The new hostel consisted of 80 bedrooms, a spacious dining hall, kitchens, bathrooms and wash-houses. Domestic service training was provided in the form of weekly classes in domestic science, hygiene and nursing (Mayor's Minute, 1925: 20). Additions to the hostel were made in 1938 to accommodate an additional 300 women (Mayor's Minute, 1938: 38).

5.2.7d "Native houses" and "kias".

African workers were also housed in accommodation provided by industrial and commercial concerns, private businesses and in various servants' quarters in blocks of flats, hotels, nursing homes and boarding houses (University of Natal, 1952: 316-19). These workers' quarters in the CBD were also referred to as "Kaffir/Native houses" on the 1931 maps, illustrated in Figures 24 and 25 (Insurance maps: 1931). This type of workers' accommodation was evident throughout the town maps compiled in 1931. In residential areas the servant accommodation was commonly referred to as "kias". This domestic servant accommodation, usually separated in an outbuilding away from the main house, consisted of one to five rooms. It was common practice for resident domestic servants to clandestinely shelter "friends who disappear at dawn" (University of Natal, 1952: 315).

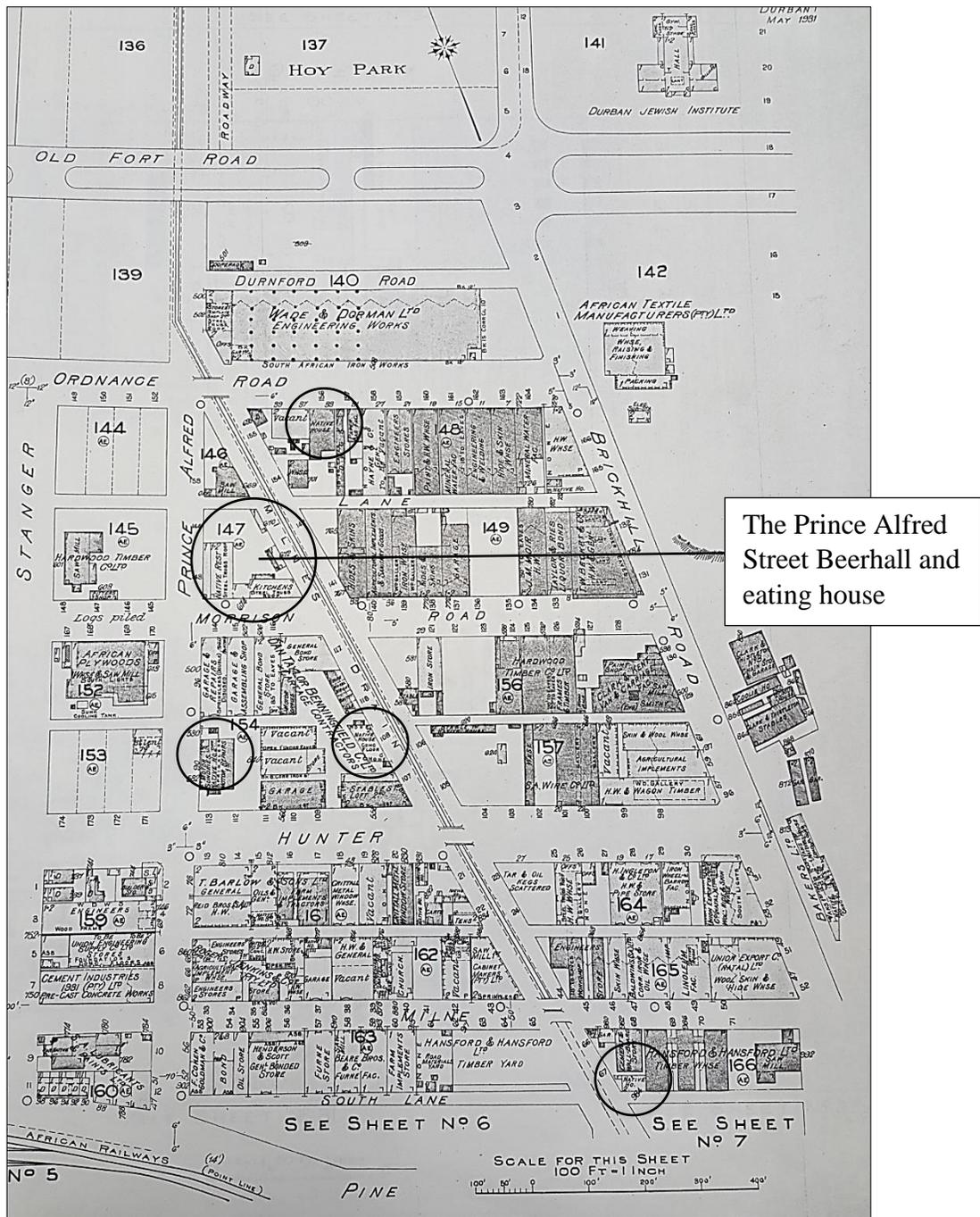


Figure 24. “Native Houses” and Beerhall/eating house, circled by the author, on the eastern end of the city (extract from Insurance maps: 1931).

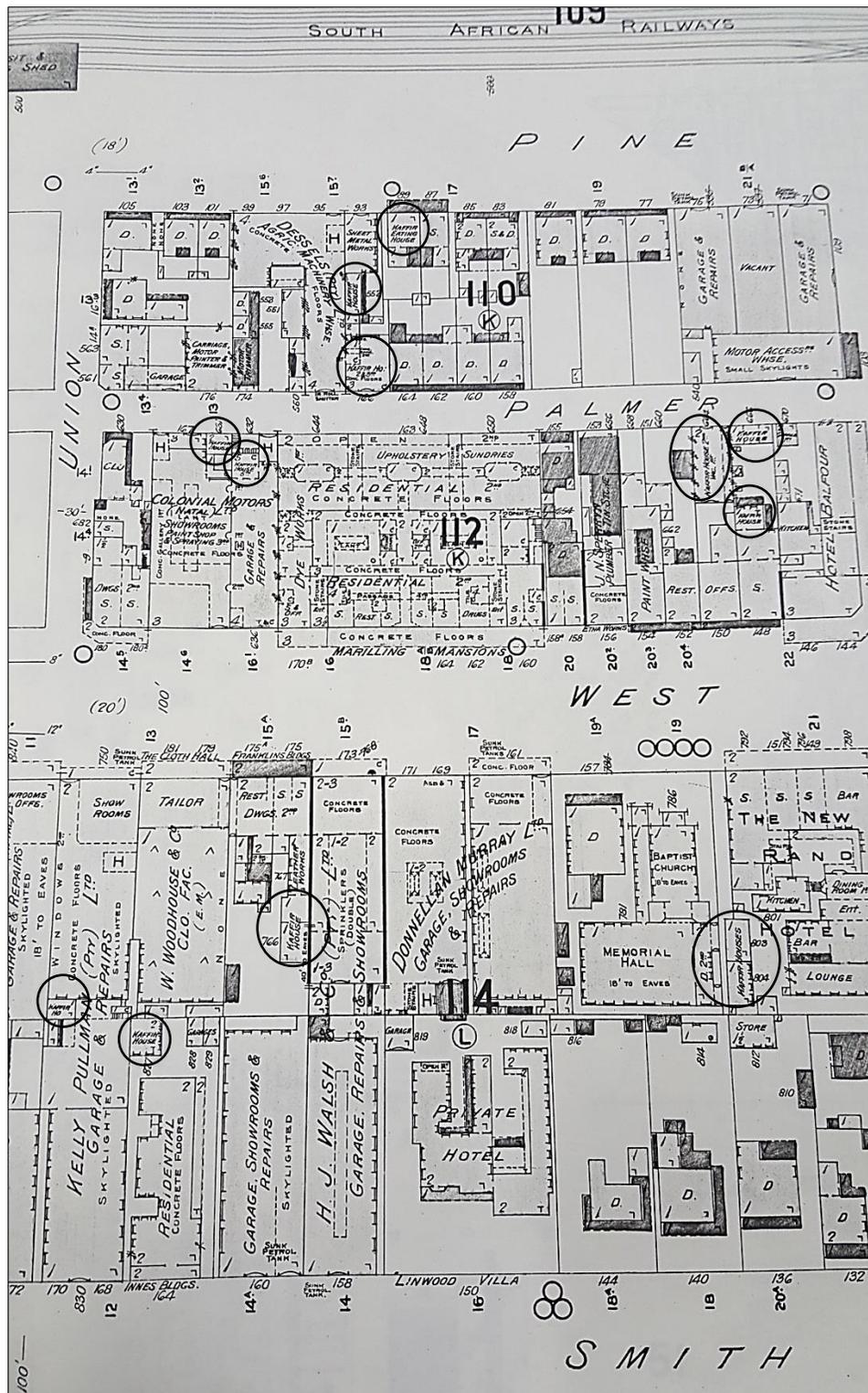


Figure 25. “Native/Kaffir Houses” and an eating house, circled by the author, in an area between Pine Street and Smith Street in the 1930s. A similar pattern of workers’ accommodation was found throughout the town maps (extract from Insurance maps, 1931).

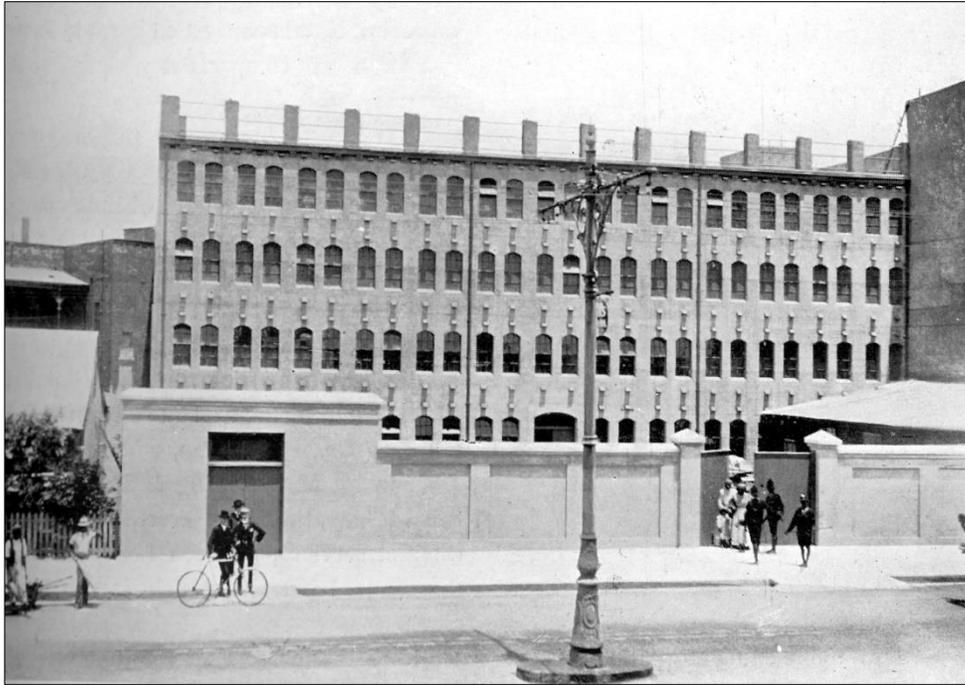


Figure 26. The African Boating Company (ABC) Barracks established at the beginning of the twentieth century at the Point (BK).



Figure 27. The Harbour Board “Native” Quarters, seen in the middle of photograph, was located between the commercial edge on Point Road and housing for White harbour workers. It existed since the late 1890s and was rebuilt in brick after 1906 (BK).

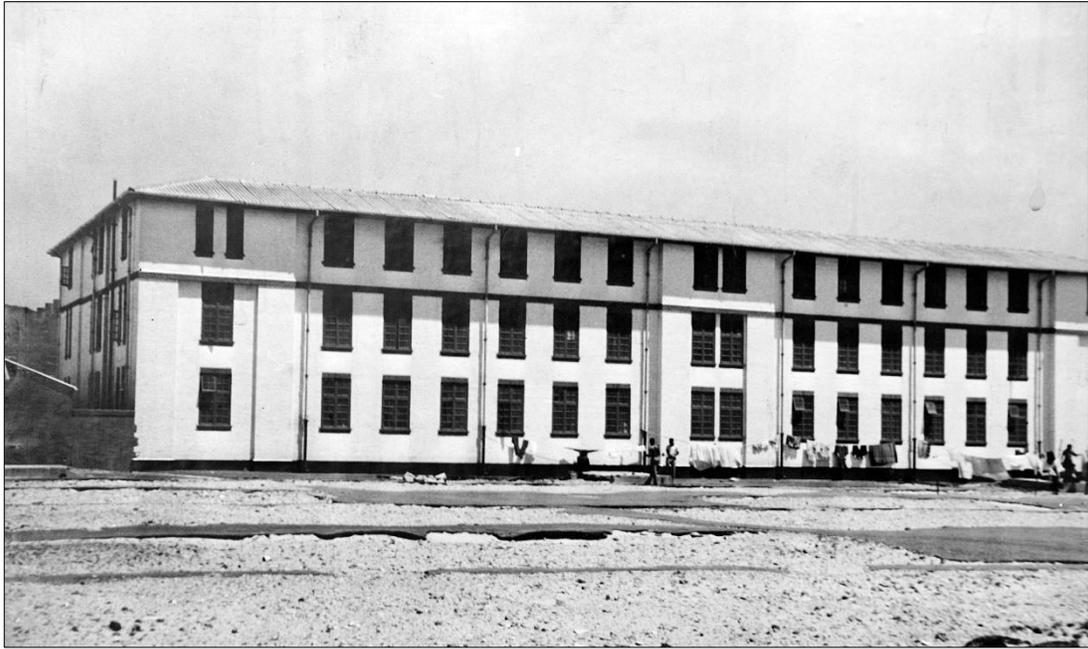


Figure 28. The Bell Street Barracks which was established in 1890 and rebuilt in brick in the 1920s (LHM).

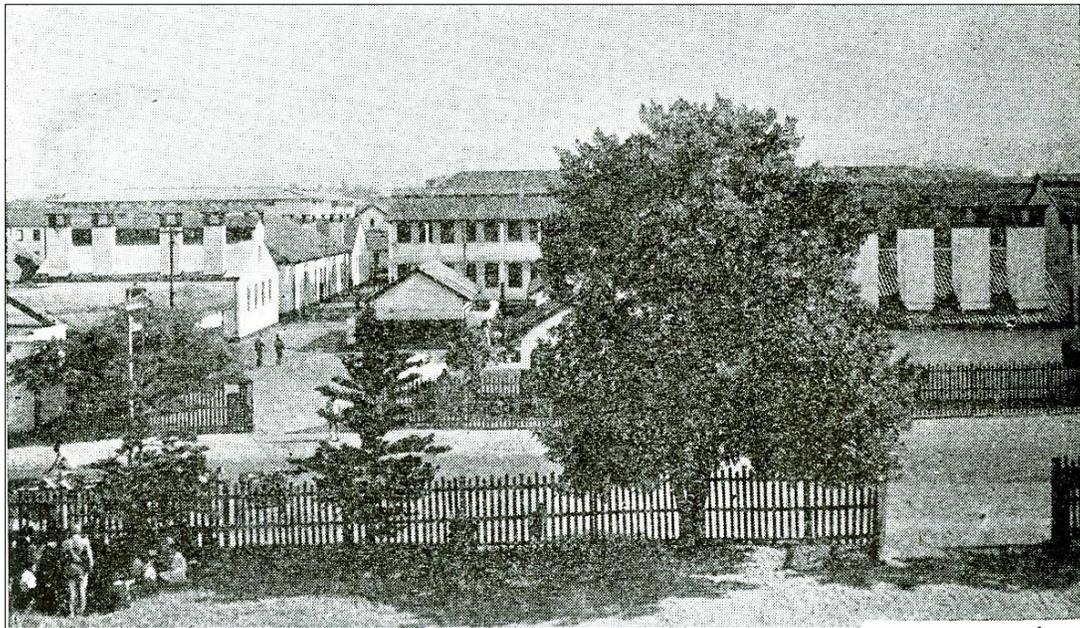


Figure 29. The Somtseu Road Location, established in 1916 (UN:1952).



Figure 30. The “Native” Womens’ Hostel on Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street (LHM).



Figure 31. Typical bathroom facilities at the Bell Street Barracks (LHM).



Figure 32. Typical interior of a dormitory in locations. *Natal Mercury*, 6 March 1978 (LHM).



Figure 33. Dalton Road Location, completed in 1934 (LHM).

5.2.8 Spatial convergence of the marginalised.

Whilst the focus in the early 1900s was mainly directed at controlling the increasing African population and their urbanisation process, a number of important public facilities for both Indians and Africans were established by the municipality at the beginning of the twentieth century, that played an important role in their urbanisation process. The siting and architecture of these facilities demonstrates the spatial practice of race making, as identified by Knowles (2003: 105). Africans and Indians were separated in almost all spheres of life including residential accommodation. However, from 1908 to the mid-1930s a number of important facilities for Africans and Indians were established in the north-western corner of the town, in an area that could be considered as the new edge of town by the turn of the century. It is also significant that these institutions were established adjacent to each other or in close proximity.

The old railway line that was located between Monty Naicker (Pine) and AB Xuma (Commercial) Streets after the 1860s, was redirected in 1894 (Johnston and Naidoo, 1990: 62), to pass the western edge of the cemetery, which would have been the edge of the Western vlei. It then looped around the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area running parallel to Johannes Nkosi (Alice) Street, before looping back to the new train station built in 1898, as illustrated in Figure 18. This new strip of land between the redirected railway line and the western edge of the cemetery, became Brook Street and it joined the convergence of Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) and Denis Hurley (Queen) Streets, as seen in Figures 34 and 35. The bridge that had been constructed over the railway line in the mid-1890s, was named and aligned to Victoria Street and became an important physical link to the Berea across the Western vlei to Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue. By 1932 Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue had been hardened and a double road constructed on a site that was formerly occupied by unsightly timber yards (Mayor's Minute, 1932: 1). This boulevard provided access to the new Centenary Road and provided a connection between the north and south coast road system, clear of the business centre of town (Mayor's Minute, 1933: 1).

The convergence of Denis Hurley (Queen), Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) and Brook Streets, at the Victoria Street bridge, became the nexus of Black Durban. This was the zone for four markets, a beerhall, an eating house, the Bantu Social Centre, a womens' hostel, informal trading and transport activities. This zone also included an important religious shrine, cemetery for Indians and Africans, a cathedral, church and a mosque. This was the zone where African and Indian urbanisation paths crossed, both figuratively and literally. This was the epicenter where the urbanisation process, that was referred to by Swanson (1961: 15) as "East meeting West in Africa", played out.

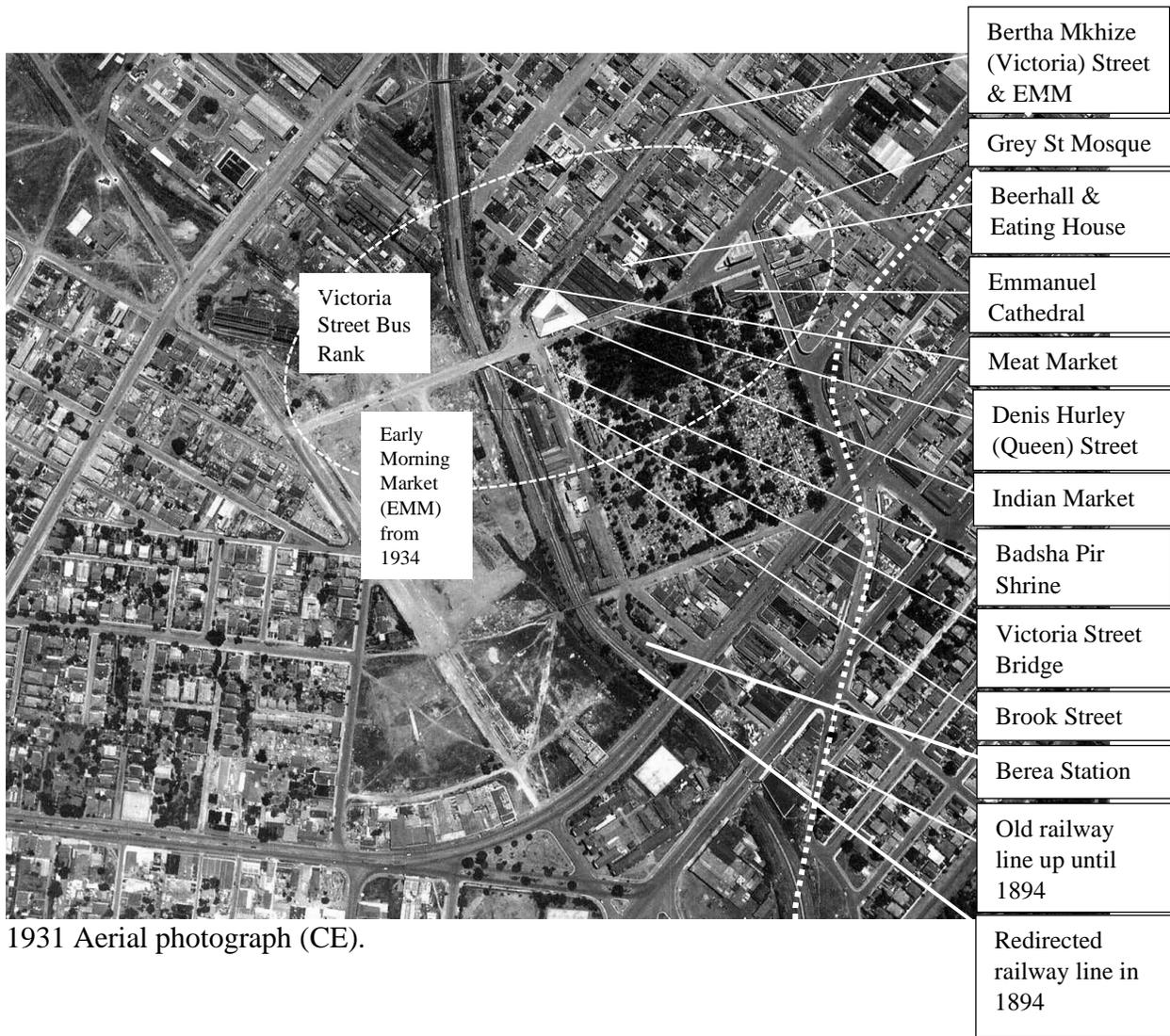
In what could be considered as the spatial convergence of the marginalised, a number of facilities for Indians and Africans were established by the municipality, in the zone described above, to the north-west of the White CBD. A barracks for municipal employees was first located in Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) Street before Magazine Barracks was built (Kearney, 2013: 1188) in 1880. When the St Helena immigrants were first discriminated against in the mid-1870s, plots were laid out north of Victoria Street, specifically for them. The first women's hostel for African females had been established in Brook Street, a "Native eating-house" established in Bertha Mkhize

(Victoria) Street in 1908, followed by the first beerhall in 1909 and a “Native Market”, trading in traditional attire, ceremonial goods and crafts, adjoining the beerhall. The Indian Market was established in 1910, adjacent to the Victoria Street beerhall and a “Native Meat Market” established across the street from the Indian Market. A street market for market gardeners was also established in 1910. It became known as the Early Morning Market (EMM) or “Squatters’ Market” and sold fresh produce from 4:30 am to 9:30 am, in the temporarily closed-off Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) Street. The EMM was relocated to Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue in 1934. The Bantu Social Centre established in 1933, was also initially located in Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) Street, in rented premises. Prior to the Womens’ Hostel being established in Yusuf Dadoo Street in 1926, it was located in Brook Street. In addition, a “non-European’ library was also established in Brook Street in 1951, depicted in Figure 110. These facilities, listed above, together with the Grey Street mosque and the Emmanuel Cathedral, became the social, trade, religion and transport zone for Blacks and is illustrated in Figures 34 and 35.

The realigned railway line, as can be seen in Figures 18 and 34, presented an opportunity to establish a new railway station on the western edge of the town. It was known as West End or Berea Station. Located to the south of Victoria Street bridge, it was the beginning of a transport node that was to develop from the early 1930s, after African and Indian entrepreneurs established an alternative bus public transport system for Blacks. The taxis and buses operated by African and Indian businessmen were transporting both Whites and Blacks cheaply from areas outside the borough’s boundaries and by 1932 had become competition for the city’s public transport services and revenue (Mayor’s Minute, 1932: 5). These buses converged on this important junction of rail, roads, markets, social and religious institutions and established the Victoria Street bus rank, at the end of the Victoria Street bridge, seen in Figures 34, 36, 37 and 38. This zone was to develop into an apartheid inter-modal transport hub during the apartheid period when the new Berea Station for Blacks was built in the mid-1980s, in the locality of the old Victoria Street bridge which had to be demolished, seen in Figures 35 and 39. The convenient ground level crossing over Victoria Street bridge, depicted in Figure 39, which served as a physical link and western entrance to the city for Black people was demolished, which changed the pedestrian, trade and transport dynamics of this zone ever since.

To the north-west of this African/Indian social, religion, trade and transport nexus, five very important institutions for Indians were established in the Western vlei, illustrated in Figure 36. A sports facility, a high school, a church and a hospital for Indians was established in an area below the Botanic Gardens. Currie’s Fountain sports ground was established in 1925; Sastri College opened in 1930; St Aidan’s Hospital in 1935; and St Anthony’s church and school in 1936. All these facilities became very important institutions in the urban life of Indians and provided for the commercial, educational, religious, health and sporting needs for many generations that followed. By the mid-1930s an alternative public transport system, which had been developed by Indian and African entrepreneurs, converged on this bridge known as the Victoria Street bus rank, located between the Indian and Early Morning Markets, seen in Figures 34, 35, 37, and 39.

The reiterative social practices and encounters around these two zones consisting of a sports/education/health node, and the other consisting of markets, beerhall, eating house, bus rank and worships sites, and the meaning and attachment to these spaces, is what defined these zones as distinct places.



1931 Aerial photograph (CE).

Figure 34. The Black social, trade, religion and transport nexus: the establishment of facilities for Africans and Indians at the convergence of Bertha Mkhize (Victoria), Denis Hurley (Queen) and Brook Streets, at the Victoria Street Bridge.

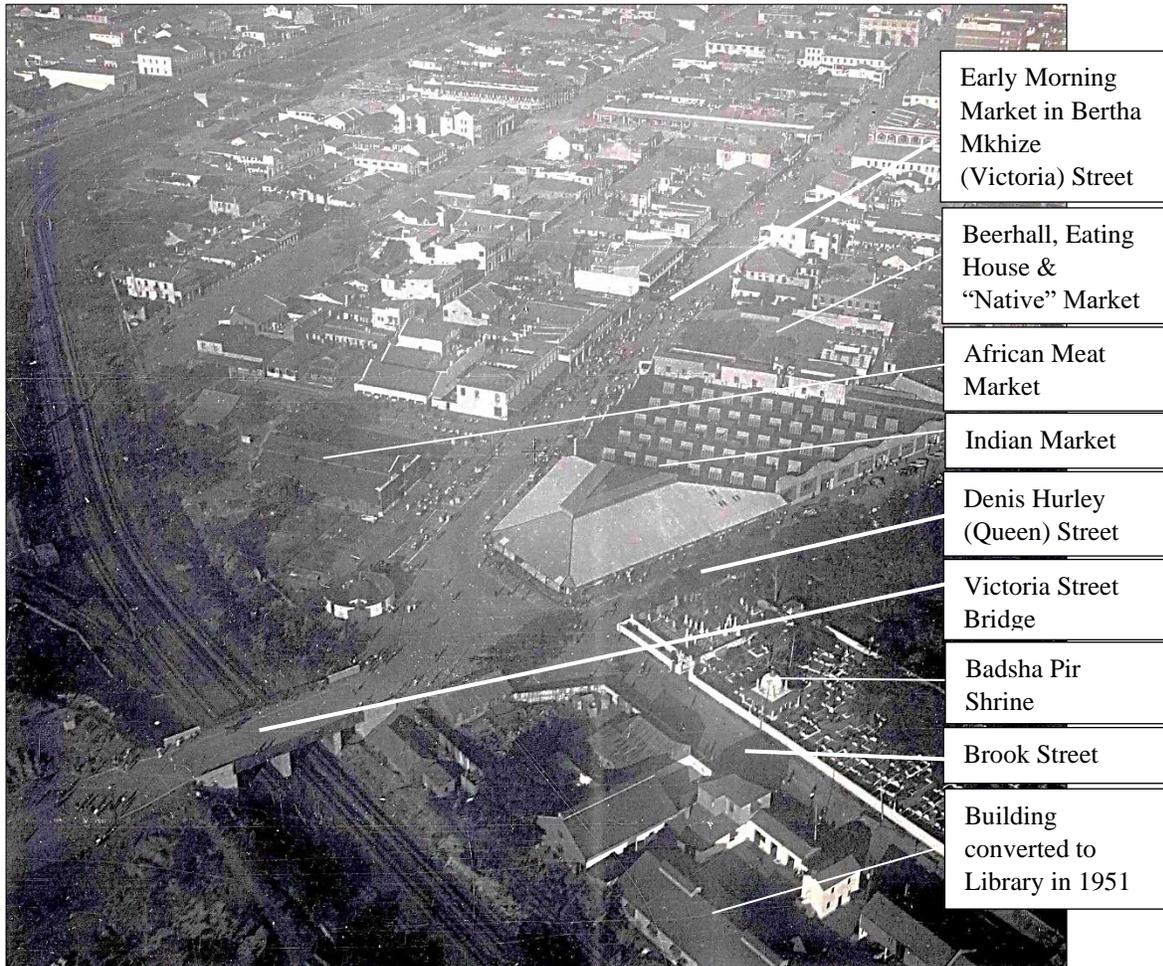


Figure 35. A 1931 oblique view of the facilities established in early 1900s, at the convergence of Bertha Mkhize (Victoria), Denis Hurley (Queen) and Brook Streets at the Victoria Street Bridge.

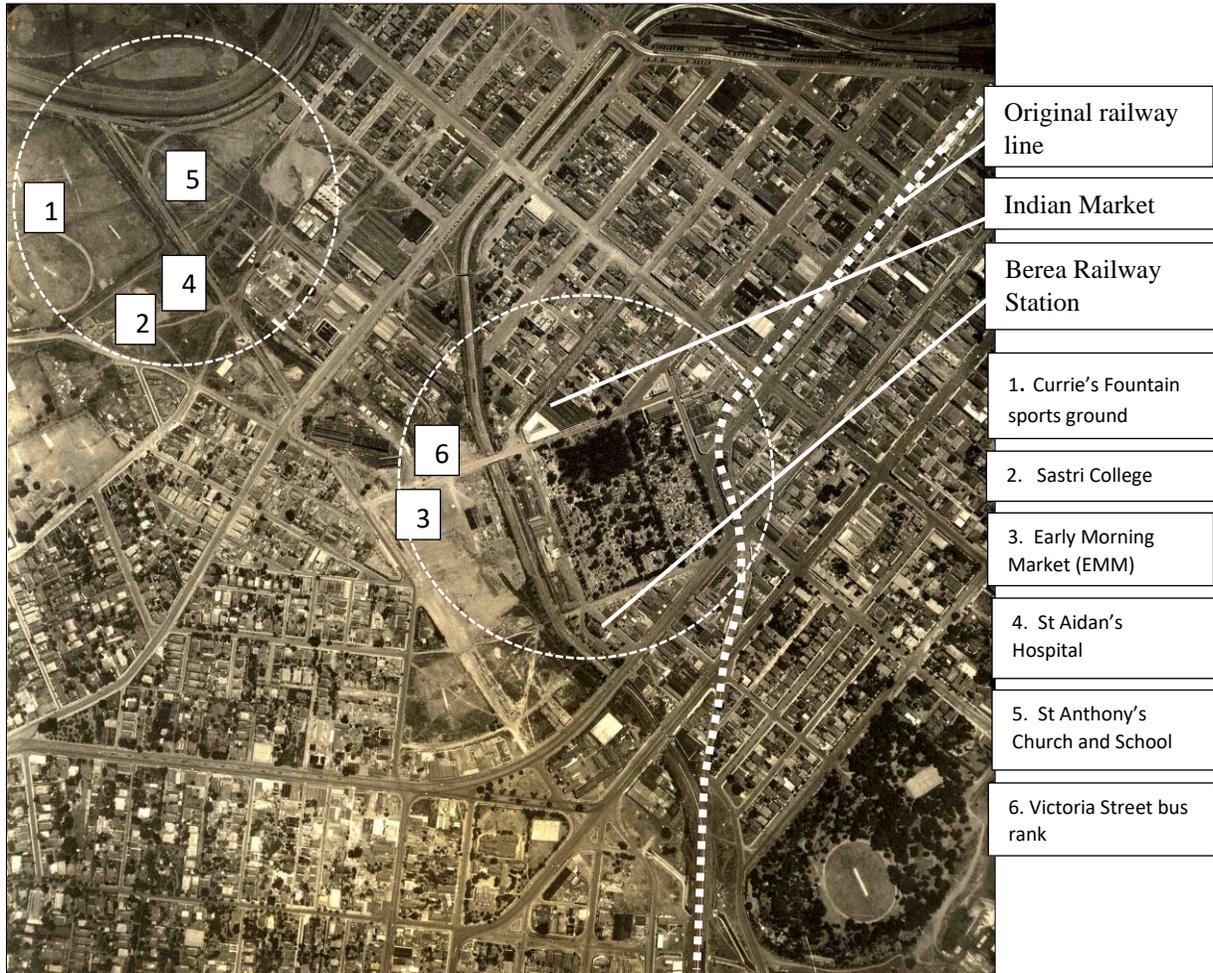


Figure 36. Markets, transport, sports, education, health and religion sites established in Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue and ML Sultan (Centenary) Road in the mid-1930s (1931 aerial photograph, City Engineers).



Figure 37. The Victoria Street bus rank in the 1940s and 1950s (KM).



Figure 38. Busses converging on the Victoria Street bus rank in the early 1950s. The Victoria Street bus rank and the Indian Market can be seen in the top left of the photograph and the Early Morning Market on the lower right. The entrance to the Badsha Pir shrine can be seen amongst the trees and the Emmanuel Cathedral spire in the distance (ZD).



(MV)



(GLDC)

Figure 39. The Victoria Street bridge was the Western entry into the city for Blacks, providing an important link between the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area and the Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue area.



Figure 40. The Victoria Street Beerhall established in 1909, (top) and Eating House established in 1908, below (LHM).



Figure 41. The “Native Market” adjacent to the Beerhall in Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) Street (LHM).



(MV)



Figure 42. An interior and exterior view of the Indian Market in Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) Street, prior to its destruction by a fire in 1973.



Figure 43. Scenes at the Early Morning or “Squatters’ Market” in the closed-off Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) Street, which existed in the street from 1910 to 1933 (LHM).

5.2.9 *The Early Morning Market (EMM) or “Squatters’ Market”.*

The market gardeners who had settled on the outskirts of the town, were predominantly Hindu ex-indentured or “free” Indians. When their five-year contracts expired, few renewed their indenture. Without capital or a trade, many turned to market gardening, hawking and fishing as a means of making a living. In 1885 there were 2 000 market gardeners in and around Durban. Land was purchased or rented from absentee landlords close to town. 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 Town Market, controlled by the Town Council (TC), but they experienced numerous difficulties. In 1890 a market was started in the courtyard of the Grey Street Mosque at a nominal fee. 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 dispute led the Council to construct a new market building at a new site on Victoria Street, controlled by the municipality. In 1910 the municipality opened a new building on Victoria Street, despite protests from the farmers that it 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, spices, fish, meat, birds, sweetmeats, curios and ice-cream (Vahed, 1999: 136). This became the famous Indian Market. The farmers still had no venue for selling their produce, resulting in an open-air street market being established by the Council in 1910, in Victoria Street, extending from Grey Street in the East to Brooke Street and the corner of the cemetery in the West.

The street market, depicted in Figure 43, was frequented daily by approximately 2 000 farmers and non-farmers, many of whom were women, who traded in vegetables, tobacco, betel leaves, fruit, boiled food, fish, chickens, eggs and ice cream. Horse-drawn spring carts were the main form of transportation for fresh produce and they were lined along both sides of the street, together with barrows and baskets and sacks to display the wares. Farmers squatted cross-legged next to their produce, hence the name of “Squatters’ Market”. It was also known as the Early Morning Market (EMM). 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 till 9am, thereafter a municipal water cart washed the street (Vahed, 1999: 136).

There were many complaints about the unhygienic conditions caused by congestion of carts combined with the manure and urine from the numerous animals. The Early Morning Market existed on the street for more than 20 years under trying circumstances. By the late 1920s everyone, especially the farmers wanted to be relocated to better facilities. 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 what was referred to as “the New Enclosure”, on the new Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue boulevard constructed in 1932. The removal of the EMM from the street to Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue was planned for 1 August 1932, but was delayed due to a proposal to provide a roof over the enclosure. The Council only planned for an enclosure with no protection from the elements and only after the market gardeners protested,

were the rudimentary roof structures constructed (Mayor's Minute, 1932: 7). The EMM which was finally opened in 1934, is depicted in Figures 44 to 46. More than a decade later, in 1946, 100 experimental stands were constructed of pre-cast concrete tables and slate tops (Mayor's Minute, 1946: 27).

The beerhall, meat market, Native Market, Indian Market and the Early Morning Market (EMM) existed side by side, from 1910. Although the EMM was relocated to Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue in 1934, it was still in close proximity to the Indian Market, which was largely destroyed by a fire in 1973.



Figure 44. The re-located Early Morning Market (EMM) to Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue in the 1934, above. A view of one of the aisles in the EMM in 1982, below (LHM).



Figure 45. Scenes inside and outside the Early Morning Market (EMM) in Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue (LHM).

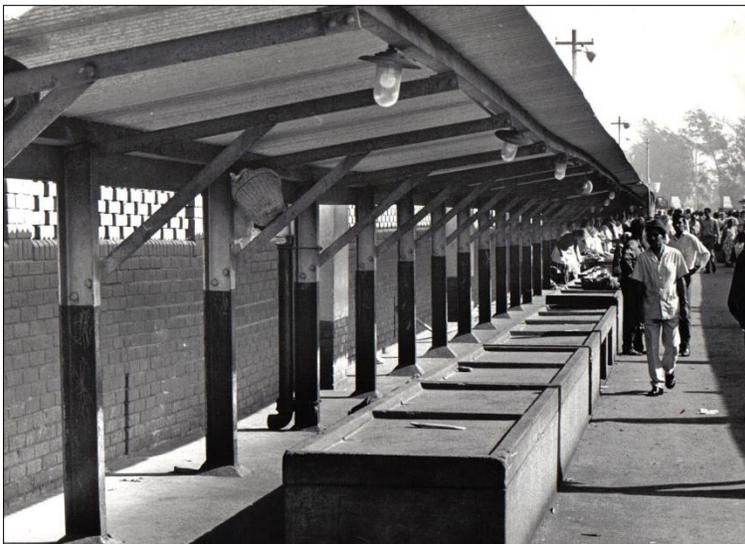


Figure 46. Scenes at the Early Morning Market (EMM) in Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue. The concrete tables, seen in the bottom photograph, were constructed by the Council in 1946 (LHM).

5.2.10 Currie's Fountain sports ground.

The most important place of gathering for Indians in Durban, since the beginning of the twentieth century, was Currie's Fountain sports ground. This sports ground was also flanked to the South and East by important educational, health and religion institutions for Indians, from 1930 onwards. Sastri College, St Anthony's church and school, together with St Aidan's Hospital established a sport, cultural, religion, education and health node.

Soccer was one of the popular sports amongst the Indian community and the City Council was approached in 1911 to provide a sports facility for their use. After a lengthy period of negotiations and correspondence, 21 acres of land at the lower end of the Botanic Gardens was finally leased to the Durban Indian Sports Ground Association (DISGA) in 1925, for a period of 25 years. The site was located in the Western vlei, which had been the location of Durban's first reliable water source in 1878, named Currie's Fountain. The sports ground assumed the name of the water tower that was located in the area 45 years previously and developed into the premier sports venue for Indian sporting activities. It was popularly known as "Curries".

Facilities for golfers, cyclists, athletes, tennis players and the ever-increasing number of soccer and cricket players were all catered for. This became the premier soccer ground in Durban, initially for the Indian community, but evolved into a sports and protest venue for Blacks. When the original lease expired in 1950, there were six soccer fields, four cricket pitches, three tennis courts, a quarter mile cinder track, a nine-hole golf course, a refreshment room and a clock tower. The Durban Golf Club (DGC) formerly known as the Durban Indian Golf Club was founded in 1928, and with the co-operation of the Durban Indian Sports Ground Association (DISGA), nine tees and greens were laid on the boundary fence of Currie's Fountain. This was the first golf course for Blacks in the country and the home of Indian golfers, particularly in Natal, for more than 25 years (Rosenberg et al, 2013a: 29). In the late 1940s boxing promoter Nat Moodley staged an open-air boxing tournament at "Curries", touted as the first "non-European" floodlit boxing tournament in the country (Rosenberg et al, 2013a: 25).

This same site had been the venue of a mass meeting in 1913, protesting against the £3 tax laws of the time, seen in Figure 47. The first major sports event occurred in 1934 when a visiting soccer team from India played an Indian 'national' team from South Africa. Since then, this sports ground developed into a major sports and political protest venue in Durban right until the early 1990s (Rosenberg et al: 2013a).

This was a major place of gathering, more than just a sports ground. This space played a major role in the sports, cultural and political lives of Blacks for more than six decades, since the 1930s (Rosenberg et al, 2013a), and is further elaborated on in politics, sports and struggle sites in section 5.4.



Figure 47. Thambi Naidoo addressing a mass meeting of over 6 000 people on the Durban Indian Football Ground during the 1913 strike (Indian Annual Settlers Issue: 1981).

5.2.11 Sastri College, St Aidan's Hospital, St Anthony's church and school.

The Catholic, Anglican and Methodist Missions played a significant role in the provision of 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 fulfilled this role. In 1874 a Methodist church and school was built in Queen Street and St Anthony's Catholic school in Prince Alfred Street in 1887 which later moved to better premises in 1906, when it occupied a building in Victoria Street (Nair and Naidoo, 2010: 14/19).

In the 1930s a number of educational institutions for Indians developed around the eastern end of Currie's Fountain. 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, seen in Figure 48, not only served as a high school and teachers' training centre, but it also accommodated the "non-European Section" of the University of Natal in parts of its facilities from 1936. "Non-European" students were prevented from studying at the Howard College site, with the result that a 'University' was started at Sastri College. Sastri College, which was built with funds collected from the Indian community, became one of the most important educational centres for Indians. St Anthony's school had outgrown its premises in Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) Street by the 1930s and a new school, which opened in 1936, was built adjacent to the St Anthony's Church on ML Sultan (Centenary) Road, seen in Figure 50.

Madrassahs run by mosques provided formal religious education for Muslims. The Anjuman Islam School attached to the West Street Mosque 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. Figure 51 depicts the Hindu Tamil Institute school and hall on the corner of Cross and Carlisle Streets, where Tamil classes were conducted after normal English class hours. The foundation stone was laid in 1939 and officially opened in 1940. It ceased operations in the 1980s when residents moved out of the area.

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 immediately urged for the establishment of a Mission hospital for the Indian population. Miss Olive Cole, a qualified nurse provided the financial assistance to establish the proposed hospital. A house was hired and converted into a 16-bed hospital. This became the first St Aidan's hospital which was officially opened in 1916 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). 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 located at Mission House in Cross Street. In January 1935, the third St Aidan's Hospital foundation stone was laid on a site acquired from the Durban Council in ML Sultan (Centenary) Road, adjacent to Sastri College, seen in Figure 49. In July 1936, the hospital was formally opened (Nair and Naidoo, 2010: 72).

What Cresswell (2004: 39) described as reiterative social practices, occurred at these sites which have been outlined above. The shopping, education, worship, sports and transport spheres of a community has been described, which were located in two zones. The first zone consisted of markets, a beerhall, eating house, bus rank and worships sites, at the convergence of Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) and Denis Hurley (Queen) Streets at the Victoria Street bridge, described previously. The second zone described above, was the sports, education, health and religion node. The reiterative social practices together with the meaning and attachment to these spaces is what defined these zones as distinct places. These social practices were located in zones that typify what Cresswell (2004: 7) referred to as "place" being "a meaningful location", which encompassed location, locale and a sense of place. Location refers to its geographic location and locale referring to the material setting for social relations whilst sense of place refers to the subjective and emotional attachment people have to places (Cresswell, 2004: 7).

Currie's Fountain sports ground and the surrounding schools and hospital established in the 1930s, also typify what Friedmann (2010: 157) identified as "centering", which was one of the characteristics important to place making, which is described as one or more "centers" or spaces of encounter and/or gathering. This zone was further developed in the late 1950s, when additional schools were constructed on land that was part of Currie's Fountain. This aspect will be elaborated on in chapter 6.



Figure 48. Sastri College established in 1930, was designed by Hermann Kallenbach, an architect and close friend of Gandhi (MV).



Figure 49. St Aidan's Hospital on ML Sultan (Centenary) Road, established in 1936 (MV).



Figure 50. St Anthony's Church on ML Sultan (Centenary) Road (MV).



Figure 51. The Hindu Tamil Institute in Cross Street (MV).

5.2.12 *The Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923*

Knowles (2003: 105) identified race making as “a people-centred set of spatial practices”. The legislation introduced in 1923 to exclude and control the urban residential settlement of Africans, demonstrates Knowles’ assertion. The enabling tool for this spatial practice was Section 5 (1) of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act 1923, which prevented Africans, with the exception of domestic servants, from settling in urban areas apart from a ‘Native’ Location, village, hostel or in licensed premises approved by the Council (Mayor’s Minute, 1937: 25). This 1923 Act was the foundation for the control and movement of African people in the cities and was subsequently amended and consolidated to gain better control. It was the enabling legislation for the provision of accommodation for Africans in urban areas. Employers were required to provide accommodation for their African workers and it included the government, the railways, the provincial administrations and municipalities, all of whom had to comply with this requirement. In Durban, much of the accommodation provided by the municipality and other employers of African labour took the form of compounds. The study by the University of Natal (1952: 315) described compounds as workers’ accommodation consisting of barracks and hostels. ‘Barracks’ refer to accommodation owned and provided rent-free by a range of employers such as industrial and commercial concerns, owners of hotels, nursing homes, government and municipal departments. The term ‘hostel’ referred exclusively to municipal-owned premises which accommodated workers of all kinds and rent was paid in some instances by residents and in others by their employers. Both barracks and hostels were generally overcrowded.

In 1936 the City Council (CC) formulated proposals, for the whole city to fall under the provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, in order to “exercise better control over Native Affairs generally”. Up until then the Council had resorted to partial palliative measures, by proclaiming portions of the city, as areas for African residence (Mayor’s Minute, 1936: 9). A year later permission was obtained, from the governor general, for the whole city to be proclaimed including the “added areas”, resulting in Proclamation No 29/136 operative from April 1937 (Mayor’s Minute, 1937: 25). The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937 prohibited Africans acquiring land in urban areas from non-Africans and limited African schools, churches and other institutions to the townships. The Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act 1945, consolidated the laws controlling the African presence in urban areas (Unterhalter, 1987: 152). The 1945 Act replaced the provisions of Act 21 of 1923 and Act 47 of 1937 and strictly specified the conditions under which Africans could work and live in urban areas.

By 1923 there were a total of 18 Indian barracks accommodating 911 workers and 119 private barracks for Africans accommodating 5 513 workers. By 1930 the privately owned barracks had risen to 136 accommodating 6 589 workers. Together with the more than 7 000 occupants in municipal and government barracks it amounted to an approximate total of 19 000 workers, some with families, living in barracks in Durban, just before World War II (Kearney, 2013: 1193).

In central Durban, with the exception of Baumannville, accommodation for Africans was only provided in municipal barracks and hostels built by the government and provincial departments, industrial and commercial concerns and in various servants' quarters in blocks of flats, hotels, nursing homes and boarding houses (Natal University, 1952: 316-19). Although illegal, it was not uncommon for Africans to work for Whites in return for accommodation in their backyards. Sleeping in the alleys of the Grey Street area was also common (Mayor's Minute, 1931: 21).

Outside the city centre, privately owned land was sold to Africans in 1930 and 1931 in quarter acre plots. This residential area was some distance from the city, located adjacent to Cato Manor and was called Chateau and Good Hope Estates, 42 and 49 acres in extent. The housing consisted mainly of wattle and daub shacks with a few concrete block dwellings with corrugated iron roof and wooden floors. Owners who did not occupy the land rented the land for shacks to be constructed. Forty plots were connected to the municipal water supply which became the water source for the rest of the community. Good Hope Estate had one Government school with accommodation for 250 and required two school sessions per day for the enrollment of over 400 pupils (University of Natal, 1952: 300-2).

5.2.13 African Trading

The commercial opportunities for Africans were largely restricted to trading stalls in the various Corporation compounds or street trading. The Licensing Officer who had been in charge from 1903 to 1934, described how trading amongst African workers was manipulated by his office to gain control over African trading:

At the time I took control of the Licensing Department... all Native eating houses were in private hands and with a few exceptions the class of persons running these places, and the establishments themselves, were unsatisfactory. Although the department took no steps to eliminate existing traders, it has pursued a consistent policy of restricting new licenses for this class of trade, and as a result very shortly it will have passed entirely to the control of the Municipal Native Administration Department, under whose care Natives in various Municipal compounds now carry on this trade... it is the only case in which we have ever tried to gradually eliminate any private trade... The number of licenses granted to Natives is negligible and they are mainly in respect of trading ventures in the Corporation compounds. As a rule, Natives show little aptitude for trade (G Molyneux. Mayor's Minute, 1933: 20).

However, a study by Swanson (1984: 61), outlined the rise of an African entrepreneurial class from the late nineteenth century, whose progress was impaired by a policy which excluded them from rights which could have secured opportunities. Swanson (1984: 62) noted that the "Durban system", founded on the municipal beer monopoly and administered by the Native Administration Department (NAD) should be viewed as "choking African enterprise" and checking the independent African presence in town. Swanson (1984: 60) drew attention to the fact that a substantial number of mission-based Christianised Africans, referred to as "Kholwa", were successful commercial producers of crops for the markets before the rise of the Indian farmers after the mid-1860s, whilst some were also involved in transport. By the mid-1920s there were very few African clerks, teachers, petty traders, interpreters and artisans but a small group of about 25 entrepreneurs ran businesses in the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street precinct, such as Charles Dube

who ran a hotel, eating house and general dealers shop in Queen Street, George Leno's shop in Carlisle Street, Martin Luthuli, AWG Champion and Bertha Mkhize also had businesses in Queen Street (Swanson, 1984: 63).

The study by Nesvag (2002) of the development of mass street trading in Durban examined the so-called "African traditional medicine" or *muthi* trade and identified it as an important part of Durban's street trade economy since its establishment around the beginning of the twentieth century. The *muthi* trade, which entails a complex classification system of herbal and animal medicines according to their traits, gathering methods, properties, 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 was one of the early legislative measures pertaining to the *muthi* trade and outlined the conditions under which *inyangas* (traditional doctors) and *sangomas* (diviners, spiritual healers) and herbalists were allowed to practice, obtain licenses, the fees to be charged and prohibited treatments and medicines (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 informal and formal markets that were established (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. The Natal Pharmaceutical Society began to feel the competition, resulting in a long and intense struggle that ensued between the *muthi* traders, through 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 or to the emerging townships (Nesvag 2002: 286).

Nesvag (2002: 284) concluded that African trading areas were established around the Native Meat Market in Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) Street and the nearby Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue area, illustrated in Figures 34 and 36. Adjacent to the African trade area was the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area, the thriving Indian commercial zone with a more formal 'shop-like' character as opposed to the smaller 'stall and pavement operation styles' of African traders. Both Indian and African trade areas were consolidated as "non-White" economic zones and a bustling trade area by the turn of the century. Other forms of street trading included meat, fruit, vegetables, second-hand clothes, transport services, prostitution, clothes washing and African beer. These activities however, were also driven into the peri-urban areas from the late 1930s and 1940s. Indians gradually took over most of the urban *muthi* trade and opened shops in the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street complex. Only a small and transitory street trade braved the law between the late 1940s and late 1970s (Nesvag, 2002: 286).

5.2.14 Sports and recreation facilities for Africans: Somtseu Road sports grounds and the Bantu Social Centre.

The study by Vahed (1998) examined how the “free time” of Africans had become a concern of the White authorities and employers, particularly after the 1929 riots in Durban. Vahed identified important features of the emerging leisure activities in the 1930s, as control and segregation along gender, class and more importantly, along racial lines. Free time was considered to lead to crime and drunkenness, illicit sexual behaviour and riots and had to be controlled to produce a fit and competent workforce. Vahed (1998: 72) outlined how sport and recreation was considered as an antidote to protest and militancy and also as a means to instill appropriate discipline amongst Africans. Parallel forms of sport and leisure structures were constructed between Whites, Indians and Africans, which had important consequences for identity and consciousness and was used to reinforce segregation. Africans spent virtually all their leisure time with other Africans, mainly males, and similarly, Indians spent their leisure time with other Indians (Vahed, 1998: 121). Segregation of sport was designed to enforce social distancing, considered crucial to the maintenance of law and order.

After the beerhall riots in 1929, the De Waal Commission called for the funding of Native recreation and welfare to diffuse unrest resulting in the appointment of a Native Welfare Officer in 1930, “charged with investigating complaints, grievances and of organising social entertainments, sports and recreation” (Mayor’s Minute, 1930: 10). His function was also to act as a liaison officer between the African people and the Council. The Native Welfare Officer became involved in every aspect of Africans’ recreation. The control over recreational activities included the control and ‘sanitisation’ of the traditional ngoma dance. The ngoma dance was a group dance from pre-colonial times and reflected Zulu strength and group identity. The authorities considered the ngoma dance as a nuisance and disturbance, and the military inferences in the performance stirred White fears (Vahed, 1998: 90).

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 (Vahed, 1998: 91). The ngoma dances were generally held at the Somtseu Road sports grounds and later the Bantu Social Centre, depicted in Figure 52. The Chief Constable saw the benefit of the dance as a means of attracting Africans away from the town centre during weekends and the Welfare Officer considered the ngoma dance as suitable for different constituencies - the dance for the “tribalised” and soccer for the “detrribalised”. The move from ‘tribalised’ to ‘detrribalised’, was considered by the authorities, to be fulfilled by the ngoma dance until Africans were ready for debates, tennis, football and other leisure activities (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). Free “bioscope” was introduced in 1930 at various African barracks and institutions, including the Womens’ hostel in Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street. The films were screened weekly at the various halls with the same projector. Indoor games such as draughts and ping-pong were provided and the Council actively encouraged football (Mayor’s Minute, 1930: 10).

In 1931, African soccer, cricket, tennis and athletics sports organisations met to discuss the centralisation of their activities and a Bantu Grounds Association was constituted. The Council

authorised for improvements for recreation grounds (Mayor's Minute, 1931: 5) and sports grounds were established near the Somtseu Road Location, adjacent to Magazine Barracks and Milne's Drain. A new cycle track and two cricket pitches were added in 1937 and provisions made for additional football fields to cope with the growth of the sport (Mayor's Minute, 1938: 67). By 1942, 18 acres had been set aside for the development of four additional soccer grounds, four tennis courts and a dance arena (Mayor's Minute, 1942: 10). Both Somtseu Road sports grounds for Africans, established in 1931, and Currie's Fountain sports ground for Indians, established in 1925, will be elaborated on later in this study.

The Council agreed to establish a Bantu Social Centre in 1930, "for Natives who desire to fraternise in an established and recognised centre" (Mayor's Minute, 1933: 7). The original proposal sought to combine the Centre with the eating house and beerhall but it was subsequently deemed advisable to locate it separately (Mayor's Minute, 1938: 67). Three years later the Council leased premises in Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) Street in 1933 "as a social meeting place for the Bantu". Due to increasing rentals, it was decided to relocate to a new site on Charlotte Maxeke (Beatrice) Street where a new building was erected in 1940, illustrated in Figure 53, funded jointly by the Borough and the Native Revenue Fund (Mayor's Minute, 1940: 13). The new Centre, considered the best of its kind in the Union, was opened by the Minister of Native Affairs in 1941 and boasted a spacious hall, billiard room, library, committee rooms and quarters for visiting delegates (Mayor's Minute, 1941: 18).

As part of the centenary celebrations honouring Dick King's ride for help in 1842, a municipal branch library was established at the Bantu Social Centre. It was named N'Dongeni Branch library to honour the "Native lad" who had accompanied Dick King on the early stages of his epic journey (Mayor's Minute, 1942: 16). The Centre was the venue for ngoma dancing, meetings of various sports bodies, bioscope shows, boxing contests, student conferences and evening adult classes (Vahed, 1998: 85). Up until the early 1930s, the social sphere of Africans' lives had been confined to the beerhalls and eating houses. It is only after the beerhall riots that important places of encounter and/or gathering or "centering" of place, as described by Friedmann (2010: 157), were established in the form of the Somtseu Road sports ground and the Bantu Social Centre.

5.2.15 Extension of the Borough boundary and the "Black Belt"

The spatial practice of race making was demonstrated again, when the extension of the borough boundary was considered to be the solution to the Indian housing "problem", which was described as "overwhelming" (Mayor's Minute, 1931: 20 Commission's report). The city officials were made aware of the "black belt menace" identified by the Commission, appointed in 1929 to consider the extension of the borough boundary. In its report in 1931 it described the "black belt" as hemming Durban in nearly from all sides and in some cases very close to good residential areas. The housing conditions in some of these peri-urban areas, particularly the "non-European" areas were described as being "deplorable in the extreme". The main reasons for these conditions were identified as the lack of housing provision within the Borough and the high cost of land resulting in settlements developing beyond the boundary. These areas were occupied mainly by Indians who owned the properties and who rented land to Africans for residential accommodation (Mayor's Minute, 1931: 13 Commission's report).



Figure 52. The Bantu Social Centre opened in Charlotte Maxeke (Beatrice) Street in 1941 (MV).

Durban's municipal boundaries were extended on 1 August 1932 and the former Health Boards functions were taken over by the Town Council (Mayor's Minute, 1932: 14). The extended boundary, illustrated in Figure 53, incorporated eight peri-urban areas and the size increased from 8 000 to 44 814 acres and the total population increased by 74 per cent made up of an additional 20 000 Europeans, 51 000 Indians, a few hundred Coloureds and 21 000 Africans. It was a significant change in the city's population racial structure. The incorporation of, what were referred to as "added areas", included South Coast Junction (Clairwood and Rossburgh), Umhlatuzana, Mayville, Sydenham, Umgeni, Red Hill, Greenwood Park and Durban North. These areas had developed largely uncontrolled under the jurisdiction of Health Boards, ill-equipped to control and manage housing development. Five of the eight areas were predominantly Indian occupied and although the city's surface area increased radically, the largely hilly terrain was considered as unsuitable for systematic housing development. In addition, the "non-European" housing that existed in these "added areas" were poorly constructed, creating an accentuated housing problem. The White population did not present a housing problem because most lived in reasonably constructed houses, but the Indian population and to a lesser extent the African population, lived in overcrowded conditions in poorly constructed "shanties and huts" that did not comply with municipal housing standards (University of Natal, 1952: 19/30/31).

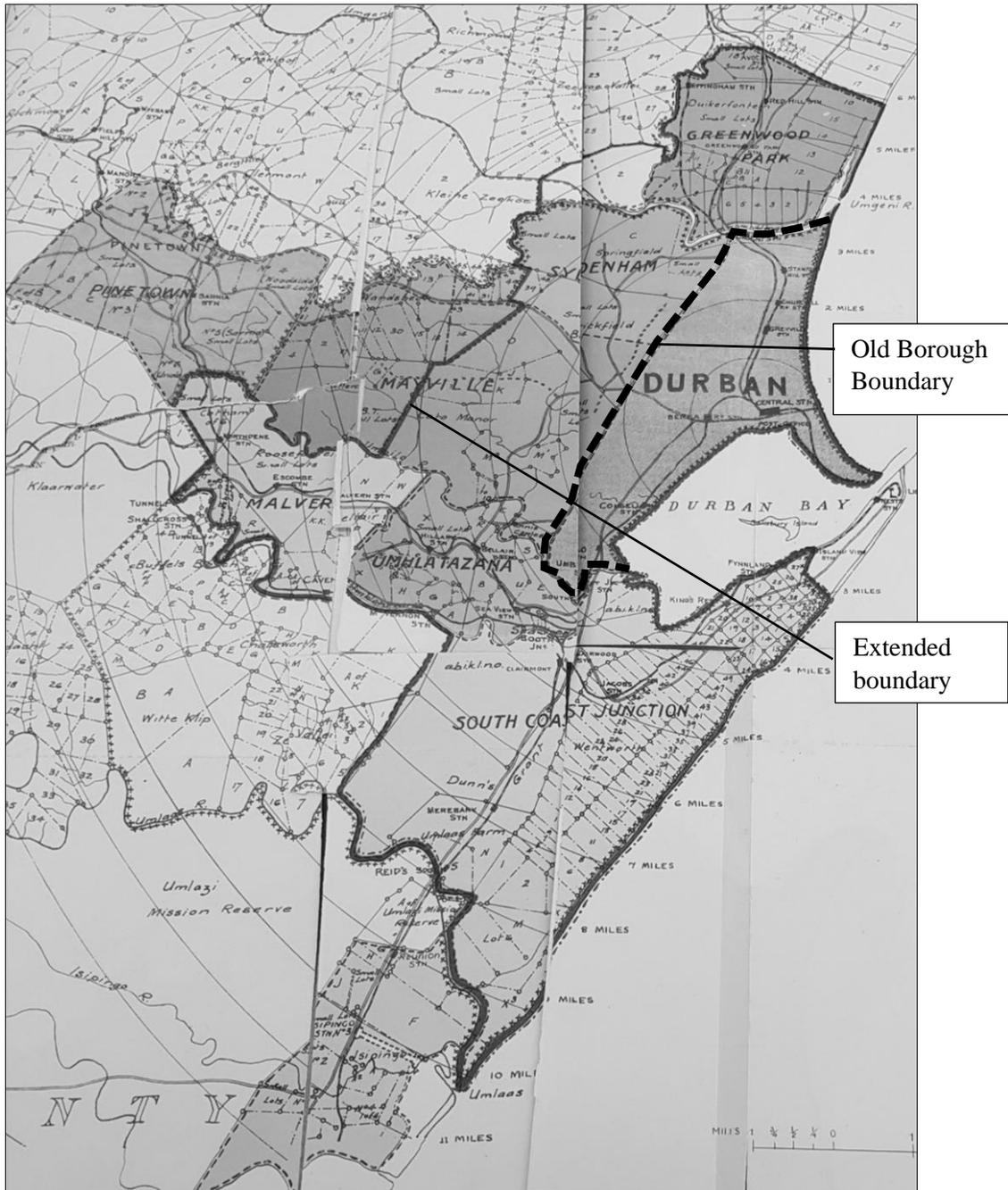


Figure 53. Durban's boundary extension in 1932 (Mayor's Minute: 1933).

5.2.16 The Slums Act, 1934 and Slum Zones, 1939.

No sooner had the borough boundary been extended, ostensibly as a potential solution to the Indian housing “problem”, a new set of legislative measures that were part of the authorities’ race making initiatives, were introduced. This set of measures focused on building standards and satisfactory sanitary provisions. The complaints about Indian housing in 1930s, were similar to complaints about slums in the Western vlei in the 1880s. This time it was about small flats and apartments erected mainly over shops and back yards, exploiting “every square foot of space” and generally unhygienic and inferior. There was also a marked tendency of Indians encroaching on areas previously occupied by poor-class Whites (Mayor’s Minute, 1930: 62). These old areas became the target of slums legislation in the early 1930s, when they were identified as slums in the built-up town areas. The shacks in the outlying added areas that had been incorporated when the boundary was extended in 1932, were also regarded as slums. Although the Public Health Act No 53/1934 and the Slums Act No 53 of 1934 had wide and drastic powers, its implementation was tedious. These Acts gave the Durban Town Council authority to clear areas considered to be slums, but alternate accommodation had to be found for displaced persons and meant engagement with many property owners. This led to regulations for the control and inspection of premises in defined zones being promulgated in 1939, to be applied to the built-up areas in the Old Borough, considered as a speedier method than 1934 Slums Act (University of Natal, 1952: 343).

Initially seven congested districts in the town were declared as slum zones in 1939. Later, zone 12 was to become the eighth of the ‘town’ zones. The areas identified were located between the Berea and the CBD and consisted mainly of old dwellings which had deteriorated and had previously been in White ownership and had since been occupied for the most part by Coloureds and Indians (University of Natal, 1952: 345). The eight declared zones in the built-up town areas are illustrated in Figure 54 and described by the University of Natal (1952: 351-4) as:

ZONE 1: 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.

This zone was the Beatrice street area, located to the north of the Grey Street precinct.

ZONE 2: Along Ascot Street to unnamed lane on boundary of Erf 76, Block AK, along unnamed lane to its junction with Raleigh Street, to boundary of South African Railways, along Umgeni Road to its junction with Ascot Street.

ZONE 3: Along Umgeni Road to its junction with Kent Road, along Kent Road to its junction with Stamford Hill Road, to Raleigh Street and along Raleigh Street to junction with Umgeni Road.

These two zones, described above, were in Greyville and became known as Block AK.

ZONE 4: Along Lancers Road to its junction with Wills Road, Wills Road to its junction with Old Dutch Road, to its junction with Acorn Road and along Acorn Road to its junction with Lancers Road.

ZONE 5: Along Old Dutch Road to its junction with Leathern Road, along Leathern Road to Mansfield Road, to its junction with Warwick Avenue and along Warwick Avenue to its junction with Old Dutch Road.

Zones 4 and 5, described above, were located at the foot of the Berea, to the west of Warwick Avenue, also known as the “Duchene”.

ZONE 6: Along Umbilo Road to its junction at Canada Road, to Gale Street junction, along Gale to Dalton Road, along Dalton to Melbourne Road, to Blake Road and its junction with Williams Road to Smith Street and along Smith Street to Gale Street and its junction with Berea Road and along Berea to junction with Umbilo Road.

ZONE 7: Along Umbilo Road to its junction with McDonald Road, along McDonald to Gale Street and Dalton Road to its junction with Umbilo Road.

Zone 6 and 7, described above, was located in the semi-industrial Gale Street/Umbilo Road/Dalton Road area.

ZONE 12: Along Sydenham Road to its junction with Cowey Road, along Cowey to the junction of an unnamed lane at the rear of properties fronting onto Madras Road, along the lane to Milner Road, along Milner to Avondale Road and along Avondale to its junction with Sydenham Road.

Zone 12 was the last of the town zones and was known as the Madras Road area, a small residential area located opposite the northern boundary of the Botanic Gardens (University of Natal, 1952: 166). The declared slum zones are illustrated in Figure 54.

Because of the deteriorating conditions in the outlying areas and an absence of practical legislation, suburban areas were added to the eight town zones in 1943. The north bank of the Umgeni River was declared Zone 8, Cato Manor (Booth Road) became Zone 9 and Happy Valley on the Bluff was Zone 10. Zone 11 consisting of the Karim Lane area at South Coast Junction, was proclaimed in 1944. All the areas declared as slum zones were occupied mainly, either by Indians and Coloureds or Africans, as in the case of Cato Manor and Happy Valley, on the Bluff. Seven years after the zones were declared, it was reported that a noticeable tendency was old structures being replaced with business premises on the ground floor and living accommodation at upper levels (University of Natal, 1952: 346).

All the declared slum zones in central Durban were predominantly occupied or owned by Indians, and also a substantial Coloured population. These slum zones identified in 1939 and added to until 1944, were in essence a major part of the urban Black presence in central Durban by the mid-1940s. The other additional Black areas not officially identified as slums, but were in fact the real slums, were to be found in the locations, hostels and barracks that had been created and maintained by the municipality. When “group areas” came into effect, all the slum zones became the obvious targets. Durban achieved City status in 1935 and by the late 1930s was still a model for

segregationist measures, evidenced by delegations from 20 areas who visited the city's "Native institutions" and to "study the monopoly system for the supply of Kaffir Beer", which was still copied and adopted in most cities (Mayor's Minute, 1938: 15), three decades after Durban had first started the race making practice that had become known as the "Durban system".

5.3 Spatial segregation-planning phase: 1940s and 1950s.

The spatial practice of race making was conceptualised on a grand scale when a long-term and permanent solution to the "non-European housing problem", as it was referred to, was formulated by the City Council from the early 1940s. After the two initial strands of segregation measures, focused firstly on Indians and then on Africans, the third much smaller Coloured group were incorporated in the long-term plans. The concern about the unsanitary and uncontrolled "black belt" that encircled the city, together with the slum zones identified in central Durban and the general shortage of housing, resulted in the formulation of a racially based spatial master plan. This master plan was referred to as a Racial Zoning Plan. The scale of the housing 'problem' required a long-term plan on large tracts of land, to be acquired on the periphery of the city.

Housing surveys conducted in the mid-1940s by the University of Natal (1952), concluded that the residential settlement pattern in Durban was marked by sharp contrasting White and Indian areas, governed by elevation and topography, segregating Whites and Indians both horizontally and vertically. The Whites settled on higher ground, based on climatic considerations and views, whilst Indians were relegated to the steeply sloping hillsides or low-lying flats. The Berea Ridge was exclusively occupied by Whites and the hilly inland areas by Indians. Both Indians and Whites occupied the higher density commercial core, but in distinctly different localities whilst the Bay fringe and beach was occupied by Whites. Indians resided on the flats at foot of the Berea between Greyville and Berea Road. This area was also one of the few and main area of racial overlap of Indian, Coloured and White residential accommodation, in an area between Stamford Hill and Berea Road. In the suburbs Whites settled on the higher ground of the Bluff and Montclair above the Clairwood flats, whilst Sherwood was an island above Black settlements below. The Seaview-Hillary spur developed along the rail line and Indians settled on the hillsides (University of Natal, 1952: 25).

5.3.1 The "Pegging" and "Ghetto" Acts.

The spatial dimension of race making was demonstrated again by the anti-Indian agitation that dominated the early 1940s when Whites became concerned with the spread of Indians into traditionally White residential areas, referred to the Indian "penetration" into White areas. The rapid increase of the Indian population created a demand for more housing that Whites in the old borough exploited. Maharaj (1992: 75) argued that owners in former elite areas in decay, disposed of their old dwellings to a ready Indian market. It was against this background that the Whites agitated. 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 the Broome Commissions of inquiry to investigate the "penetration" problem. Following the second Broome Commission Report in 1943, the government bowed to pressure from Whites 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 Indian “penetration” scare seems exaggerated in the context of natural growth patterns of cities. The Broome Commission’s report on the extent to which Indians acquired residential property in predominantly White areas since January 1927, focused on 512 properties in the old borough. Of the 512 properties, only 199 were acquired in areas totally apart from existing Indian areas. The rest were located in areas that were either contiguous or adjacent to old Indian areas. In addition, it was found that only 150 properties were actually occupied by Indians whilst the rest were still occupied by Whites. The Commission also concluded that the principle reason for the acquisition of properties by Indians was motivated by a desire for good investments (Mayor’s Minute, 1942: 17). This did not prevent White residents in municipal housing schemes in Morningside from submitting a petition to the Council insisting on a ban on Indian acquisition of properties in White municipal housing schemes, arguing that it was built with public funds. The Council agreed and paid for the notarial deed of servitude that had to be registered on properties of all White municipal housing schemes, not only the two schemes who started the request for the racially segregated property clause (Mayor’s Minute, 1942: 18).

The Council had started to define it as “the Indian problem” and the temporary three-year “Pegging Act” was not a satisfactory solution. In 1945 the Council sought a meeting with the Prime Minister, General Smuts, to agitate for its extension or different legislation to replace it. In February 1946 the Council together with the Natal Municipal Association met with the Prime Minister and three months later in June 1946, the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act No 28/1946 was promulgated. The Mayor proudly announced their success and declared that the new Act “in a certain measure gives effect to the City Council’s Radial Zoning proposals as contained in its Post-War Development Programme” (Mayor’s Minute, 1946: 31). The new Act extended the control over the ownership and occupation of property of Indians throughout Natal and Transvaal by creating “controlled” and “uncontrolled” areas. Commonly referred to as the “Ghetto Act”, because it was considered as a means to confine Indians into specific areas of trade and residence condemning them to overcrowded slums and locations (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000: 18). Controlled areas were reserved for White 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).

5.3.2 Racial Zoning Plan

Segregation measures intensified throughout the 1930s, such as the City Council’s proposal to establish a “Native Village” in the Clairwood area (Mayor’s Minute, 1930: 10) and a year later proposed housing “people with limited income” on corporation-owned land in Springfield and Wentworth (Mayor’s Minute, 1931: 7). In 1931 a new block erected at Addington hospital for Blacks was converted for use by Whites whilst a new general hospital for Blacks was planned at Congella (Mayor’s Minute, 1931: 5). At the same time a section of the beach was also set aside for use by Africans, areas for “Native taxi-cabs” demarcated in Beatrice and Albert Street and curfew regulations re-introduced (Mayor’s Minute, 1931: 6). By 1939, four years prior to the racial zoning plans that were to be formulated, a meeting was convened with local authorities, extending

from Amanzimtoti to Kloof, to discuss the segregation of the racial groups and the establishment of permanent locations around the city (Mayor's Minute, 1939: 14).

Gradual slum clearance and re-housing programmes during the pre-war years was integrated with a scheme for reserving areas for the various racial groups. The authorities realised that only extensive residential schemes would solve the housing problems (University of Natal, 1952: 343). By 1943 the idea of self-contained townships had become an "interesting trend" when the establishment of an Indian satellite township, "laid out on modern town planning lines and complete with all amenities as opposed to a number of dispersed housing schemes of limited capacity and scope for extension", was discussed (Mayor's Minutes, 1943: 135). In 1943 the Durban City Evaluator and Estates Manager submitted a "Racing Zoning" plan to the Durban Post-War Development Committee, and argued that all racial groups interests are best served by housing them in separate areas (University of Natal, 1952: 405). It was emphasised that the racial zones, with the exception of Blackhurst (Chesterville), were arranged to radiate from the city in such a manner to permit expansion of each zone beyond the present city boundaries. This concept of racial zoning was the genesis of what was to develop into the 'apartheid city' type as described by Davies (1963; 1981; 1991) and Christopher (1994). Large areas were designated for different race groups with the Whites 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 White areas. Indians were designated a major portion of Sydenham, Springfield, Clare Estate, Mayville, and southern parts of Bluff. Africans were designated the existing Chesterville and Lamont locations and its extension into the Native Reserve of Umlazi and Glebe lands (University of Natal, 1952: 406).

The study by the University of Natal (1952: 428) noted that race zoning, in some cases, was almost indistinguishable from slum clearance and general municipal housing programmes. The alternative accommodation required as a result of race zoning, was insignificant in comparison to the African and Indian housing required generally. The study concluded that the re-location of people affected by Group Areas into new housing, should be so attractive that they would voluntarily try to secure it. The racial zoning plan of 1943, was modified by the Provincial Post-War Works and Reconstruction Commission in 1944, illustrated in Figure 55, which set out a detailed scheme in nine different areas catering for Whites, Indians, Africans and Coloureds (University of Natal, 1952: 405). When the Group Areas Act of 1950 was enacted the mayor suggested that officials urgently work on adequately housing the 40 000 Africans but also work out a scheme of racial grouping with a view to implementing the Group Areas Act (University of Natal, 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, although the core of the 1943 proposals were retained. Figure 60 illustrates the final plan approved by the City Council in 1952, which became the blueprint for the implementation of Group Areas in Durban. The racial zoning plans developed over 9 years by city officials, which culminated in the 1952 approved plan, demonstrates what Knowles (2003: 105) identified as the spatial practice of race making.

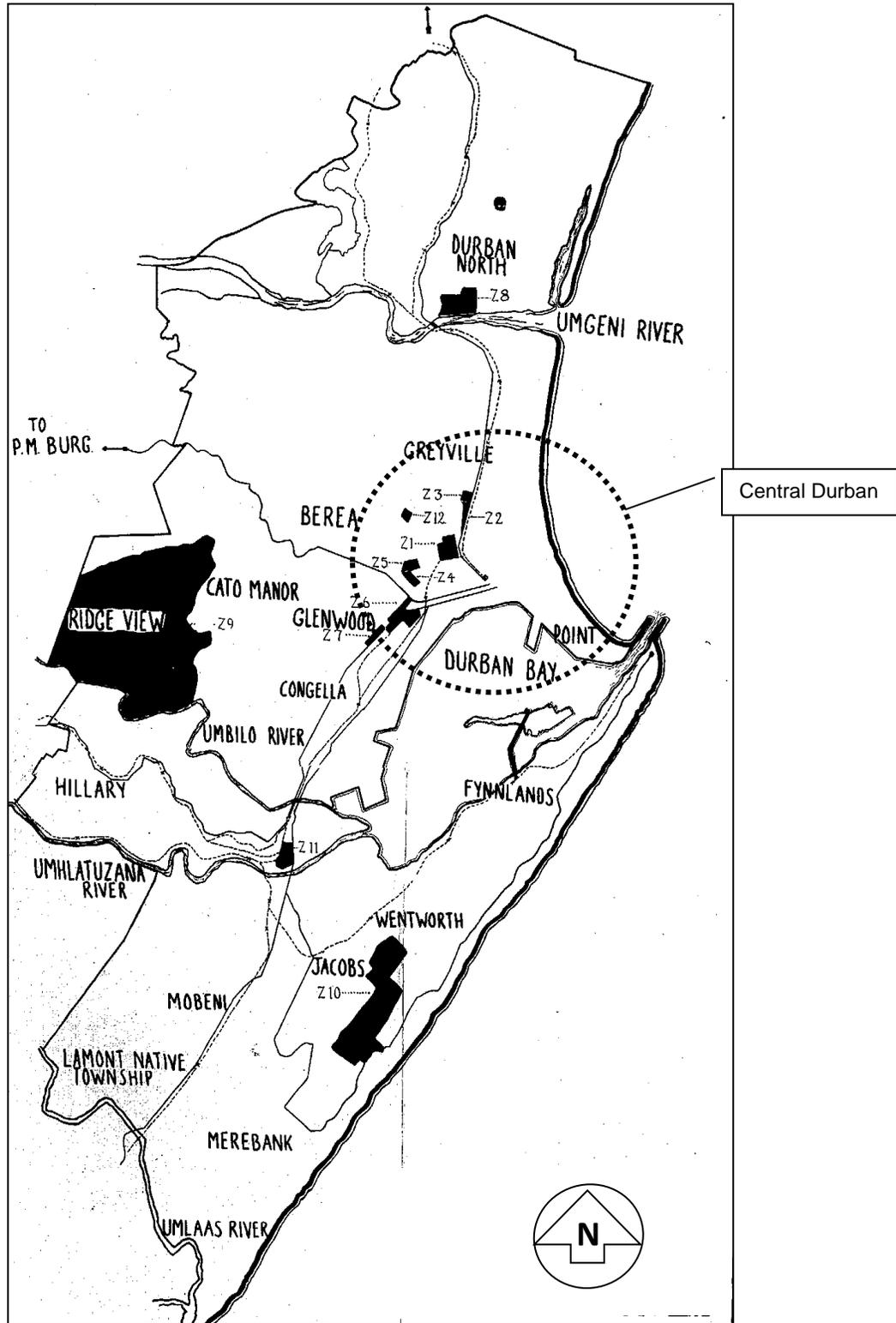


Figure 54. The 12 Slum Zones declared in Durban between 1939 and 1944 (University of Natal, 1952: 351a). Central Durban has been circled by the author.

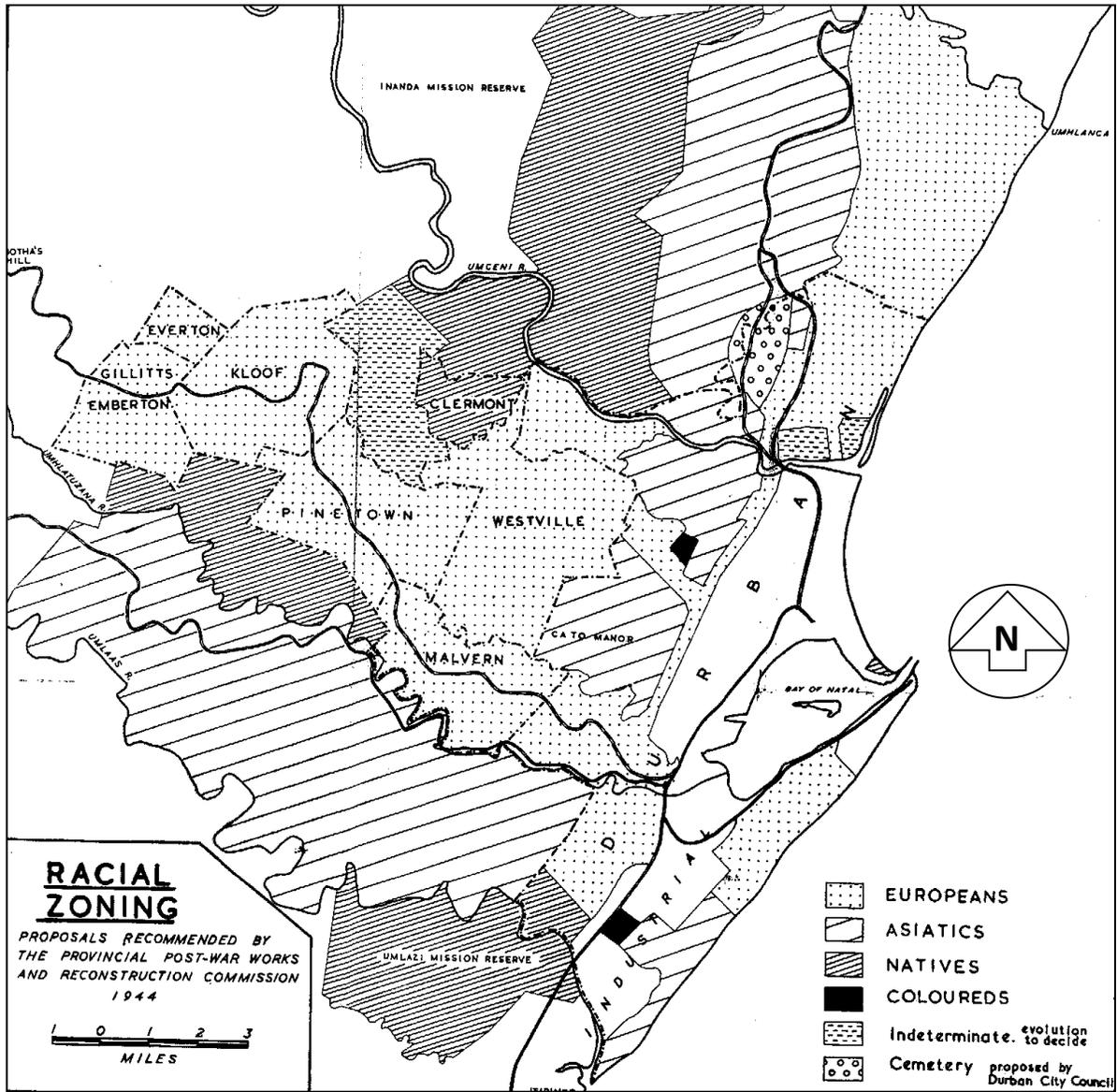


Figure 55. Race Zoning proposals by the Provincial Post-War Works and Reconstruction Commission in 1944 (University of Natal: 1952).

5.3.3 Coloureds.

Unlike Africans and Indians who were targeted by specific legislation, the much smaller Coloured population, who were also marginalised since the mid-1870s albeit to a lesser extent, was always regarded as part of the collective of “non-Whites”. In 1950, Coloureds were officially defined by the Population Registration Act, as people who could not be classified as European (White), African or Indian. Durban’s Coloured population was small as indicated by census statistics. In 1936 the Coloured population was 7 336 representing 3,1 per cent of the total population and by 1946 it had increased to 10 206, making up only 2,9 per cent of the total population. By the 1940s, Coloureds were included in the racial zoning proposals of 1943, and were henceforth to be officially separated from Indians and Africans.

Although the municipality had started a housing scheme of 64 dwellings for Coloureds in 1930, it could not be occupied by them “apparently due to prejudice and on the grounds of segregation”, and was eventually occupied by Whites (Mayor’s Minute, 1930: 62/xviii). A decade later, housing for Coloureds finally materialised in the form of the Melbourne Road flats completed in 1941, depicted in Figure 140. The flats in Melbourne Road for Coloureds and Kirkwood Avenue for Whites, were built on sites in semi-slum areas as part of the efforts to rehabilitate slums (University of Natal, 1952: 343). This municipal sub-economic scheme for Coloured families consisted of 64 rented flats on eight floors, consisting of two, three and four- roomed apartments (University of Natal, 1952: 244).

In 1943 the City Council acquired 25 acres of land in Sparks Estate to build municipal housing for Coloureds. Apart from Sparks Estate in the suburbs and the one block of 64 flats in Melbourne Road in Umbilo, Coloureds lived mainly in the same areas as Indians, particularly in the older and overcrowded parts of the city, at the base of the Berea, as tenants on Indian owned properties. In the mid-1940s it was estimated that approximately 90 percent of Coloureds were tenants, with very few owning properties. The acute housing shortage was exploited by landlords resulting in high rents and it was not uncommon that families could only afford to rent one room and shared kitchen and ablution facilities with other tenants, or even cooked outdoors. The shortage of housing resulted in a long waiting list for sub-economic municipal housing (University of Natal, 1952: 167/232). The University of Natal (1952: 240) concluded that only a small portion of Coloureds could afford to buy homes whilst some could only afford assisted schemes with a low deposit, referred to as economic schemes. The majority could only afford sub-economic schemes with low rentals.

As previously indicated, sports facilities for Indians were provided for at Currie’s Fountain sports grounds and Somtseu Road sports grounds provided for Africans whilst Lords grounds, in Alice Street was for Whites. Sports facilities for Coloureds were located in Stamford Hill adjacent to Athlone Drive. The grounds were subsequently leased by the City Council to the Defense Department during World War II. It had been used as a mule park connected to the export of these animals all over the world (Stark 1960: 129). After the war the Coloured community requested the sports grounds be returned for their use. Protracted negotiations ensued with the Defense Department until 1950, for the grounds be restored to its original condition and treated to safeguard against tetanus infections (Mayor’s Minute, 1950: 37). The grounds were used for soccer, cricket, hockey and tennis (Stark 1960: 129). No sooner had the grounds been reconstructed when they

had to be forfeited again. By the mid-1950s it had been decided to build the City Engineer's municipal offices on the site of the Old Fort sports grounds, the headquarters of the rugby fraternity. As a result, new facilities were planned at the King's Park agricultural showgrounds for a rugby stadium, a number of ancillary rugby and cricket grounds, a cycling track, athletics track and facilities for archery. The Coloured sports ground fell within this new sports precinct for Whites, resulting in a new sports ground being proposed for Coloureds in the Randles Road area (Mayor's Minute, 1950: 14). By 1960 the new facilities for Coloureds were located at Tills Crescent which included soccer, cricket and hockey grounds, tennis courts and a swimming pool (Stark 1960: 129).

By 1950 only 35 four-roomed municipal houses in Sparks Estate had been built. Ten built in 1939, 15 in 1949 and 10 in 1950. Under the sub-economic schemes, for rental, the municipality had only built 24 houses in Sparks Estate and the block of 64 flats in Melbourne Road. One house was built on a partly paid land scheme (University of Natal, 1952: 242/244). The small municipal housing schemes at Cato Manor and Springfield for Indians and Sparks Estate for Coloureds was an attempt at relieving the housing shortage and not part of slum clearance efforts. It had become clear to the City Council that a systematic and thorough process of slum clearance required several thousand new houses (University of Natal, 1952: 244/343).

5.3.4 African residential accommodation.

In contrast to the sharply differentiated pattern of Indian and White housing, there was a comparatively even distribution of African accommodation, according to the University of Natal (1952: 25). This even spread, it was argued, emphasised the African participation in the White domestic economy. This even distribution however, was due to the fact that African workers were housed in municipal controlled single sex hostels, barracks, industrial compounds and private servant quarters throughout the city, near or on sites of employment, from the Point to Greyville and Clairwood. Many private concerns, businesses and homes in residential areas provided accommodation for African servants. The provision of African workers' accommodation was prescribed by law and municipalities, the Railways and private concerns all had to comply. By 1946 there were seven hostels for African men and two for women, all seriously overcrowded (University of Natal, 1952: 325-327). Five of these hostels were located in the city. Somtseu Road Hostel for men comprising 4 456 beds, Bell Street Hostel for men with 1 175 beds, Ordinance Road Hostel for men containing 440 beds, the Grey Street Womens' Hostel 590 beds and Dalton Road Hostel for men with 1 656 beds. In the outlying areas, the SJ Smith Hostel for men was located near Merebank completed in 1949 accommodating 4 128 beds and the Jacobs Location 64 beds (University of Natal, 1952: 324/5).

Although the total African population in 1950 was in excess of 100 000 as illustrated in Figure 59, only 83 800 Africans were listed in various types of official accommodation, illustrated in Figure 56. Of this 83 800, only 13 000 people were accommodated in municipal accommodation in central Durban. In addition, only 838 people were accommodated in family housing in central Durban. The majority of workers in the city, such as domestic workers numbering 27 000, lived in servant quarters or "kias", followed by workers in private licensed and unlicensed premises, referred to as "kafir/native houses" totaling 21 600. It is the servants' quarters and private premises scattered

throughout the town, illustrated in Figures 24 and 25, that reflect an even distribution of African residential accommodation.

Municipal single quarters (men and women)	13 000
Municipal family housing	11 000
Corporation compounds	400
Railway and Government compounds	8 000
Licensed employers' premises	16 600
Unlicensed employers' premises	5 000
Domestics	27 000
Licensed private (Africans not employed by occupier)	2 300
Owned property	500
Total	83 800

Figure 56. Residential accommodation in 1950, for Africans in Durban (Mayor's Minute, 1950: 122).

Somtseu location, including casual beds	4 456 beds
Dalton Road location	1 656
Bell Street and Plymouth Road hostels	1 154
Jacobs location	625
Ordinance Road hostel	440
SJ Smith location, Merebank	4 128
Grey Street hostel	590
Total (Rounded off to 13 000 in Figure 56).	13 049 beds

Figure 57. Municipal hostels for African men and women in single quarters (Mayor's Minute, 1950: 122).

Location	No of units	Estimate of number of persons
Baumannville	120	838
Jacobs location	64	192
Lamont location	482	2 800
Chesterville location	1 265	6 000
Lamont Extension	200	1 000
Total	2 131	10 830 (rounded off to 11 000 in Figure 56)

Figure 58. Municipal family accommodation for Africans in 1950. No allowance was made for overcrowding (Mayor's Minute, 1950: 122).

By 1950, when ‘Group Areas’ became a threat to Indians and Coloureds, the access by Africans into the city and provision of their residential accommodation, had already been severely restricted by legislation which had been enacted since the 1920s. The residential accommodation for urban Africans had been prescribed since the Togat Act and subsequent Urban Areas of Act 1923 and all its amendments, which limited accommodation in the city to hostels, locations and approved and licensed private premises. By 1950 the records of official residential accommodation for Durban’s African population was 83 800, and is summarised in tables as illustrated in Figures 56 to 58.

5.3.5 Population estimates

Population estimates were only provided by the Durban Medical Officer of Health between census years and were based only on birth and death registrations not taking into account migration in and out of the city, making the estimates unreliable particularly with regard to Africans. The study by the University of Natal (1952: 33) noted that census evasion was common amongst Africans, particularly those whose presence in an urban area could be questioned. Generally, the estimates of the African population were underestimated. In 1948 for instance, the Health Department estimated 110 000 Africans but the Native Administration Department (NAD) pegged the population figures at 150 000. The NAD estimates would have been more accurate because this department was largely responsible for the control and entry of Africans into the city. Durban’s population in the census years of 1936, 1946 and 1951 is illustrated in Figure 59. By 1951 it can be noted that both the individual African and Indian population groups had exceeded the European population and the Coloured group were still a very small minority.

Race	1936	1946	1951
European	88 062	117 228	131 430
Indian	80 486	106 604	145 744
African	63 547	104 585	132 841
Coloured	7 417	10 830	16 104

Figure 59. Durban’s population in census years, 1936 to 1951 (University of Natal, 1952: 33/35).

5.3.6 Influx Control and the Bantu (*Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents*) Act, 1952.

In July 1949 Durban introduced influx control measures, empowered by the provisions in the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act 25 of 1945, henceforth controlling the entry of Africans into the city. This law also required employers of African labour to provide accommodation for their workers, but the Council however waived the rules pertaining to the provision of accommodation, pending the provision of workers’ housing. The temporary suspension clause it was argued, removed embarrassment to stevedoring companies of any shortage in togt labour for shipping at the port (Mayor’s Minute, 1950: 29). In the same year a conference was convened in Pretoria to discuss the establishment of a Native Labour Bureau throughout the country. The aim of the bureau was to register all African work-seekers entering the city. This included juveniles, females and anyone not engaged in his own business, trade or profession (Mayor’s Minutes, 1950:

30). Access into the city by Africans, was further controlled by the introduction of the Bantu (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952, which forced all African men and women to carry reference books or 'pass' books, containing their identity card, population classification, employment records, residence and taxes paid. Commonly known as the Pass Laws Act, it repealed the many regional pass laws and instituted one nationwide pass law. The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 abolished the limited parliamentary representation of Africans and defined what were referred to as Bantustans (Unterhalter, 1987: 153).

5.3.7 The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the Group Areas Act of 1950.

The spatial practice of race making was amplified by the concept of 'Group Areas' and was also extended to social relationships and marriage. Up until 1950, race making had been framed in terms of concerns about sanitation, health and building standards. After 1950, race making was about 'race', as defined by new legislation.

A major social and spatial engineering project, to be called Apartheid, was set in motion by the promulgation of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the Group Areas Act of 1950. The prohibition of marriages between Black and White people, the rigid race classification system informed by a combination of skin colour, language and decent, together with the proclamation of 'Group Areas', could be considered as the core of Apartheid. 'Group Areas' were proclaimed as separate areas for people classified as White, Indian, Coloured and African.

The Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 (GAA) aimed to establish separate areas for different racial groups and the reasons for its inception was that; the racial groups had reached different cultural stages, to avoid racial conflicts and that it was in the general interest of all race groups. South Africa's population was divided into six main race groups namely, White, 'Native', Coloured, Indian, Chinese and Malay. The Act expressly provided for the first three groups and the remaining three groups were created by a Governor General's Proclamation issued in terms of the Act (University of Natal, 1952: 409). Christopher (1994: 105) noted that total segregation (apartheid) was to be achieved instead of, what is referred to as, "the piecemeal results of colonial and Union segregationism", reducing contact between race groups and legally eliminating competition for urban space.

In the 1940s concerns about the Indian "penetration" into predominantly White residential areas in Durban, resulted in the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Act of 1943 (Pegging Act) and the more restrictive Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act of 1946 (Ghetto Act). These Acts were designed to restrict Indian occupation and ownership of land to certain clearly defined areas in towns. This was to be achieved by firstly, the prevention of inter-racial property transfers and secondly, by the establishment of a Land Tenure Advisory Board, who formulated plans for the permanent division of cities into White and Indian sectors (Christopher, 1994: 41). Because of Durban's leading experience in segregating the Indian population before 1950, it assisted with drawing up guidelines for demarcating group area boundaries, which was informally adopted by the Land Tenure Advisory Board (Christopher, 1994: 105). These guidelines were used throughout the country and Durban thus had a hand in the creation of apartheid cities countrywide.

The guidelines proposed that group areas be drawn on a sectoral pattern with compact blocks of land for each group, capable of extension outwards as the city grew. Group areas were to be separated by buffer strips of open land at least 30 meters wide, which were to act as barriers to movement and therefore restrict social contact. Accordingly, rivers, ridges, industrial areas and railways etc were incorporated into the town plan. Links between different groups were to be limited, preferably with no direct roads between the different group areas, but access only to commonly used parts of the city, for example the industrial or central business districts...The guidelines were subsequently systematized to form the model apartheid city (Christopher, 1994: 106).

Durban's mayor proudly announced in 1950 that the Group Areas Bill "should contribute considerably towards the solution of the problems which we have faced in Durban for some time in regard to racial harmony and goodwill" (Mayor's Minute, 1950: 1). At the mayor's instigation a technical sub-committee was appointed by the Council in November 1950, to examine and report on the racial zoning proposals formulated by various committees since 1943. He proudly announced that "this is probably the most important step taken in the past twenty years in the planning and development of Durban" (Mayor's Minute, 1951: 2). The mayor boasted that "Durban has given the lead to the rest of the Union in planning to implement the relative clauses of the Act with their far-reaching effects on the future of the City" (Mayor's Minute, 1951: 1). The Technical Committee was informed by all the previous 'race zoning' proposals that started in 1943, and many of the earlier ideas were embodied in the new proposals. Where differences existed with previous proposals, it was due to the fact that the committee could plan in a framework with considerably increased legislative powers and with a great deal of information that was previously not readily available (University of Natal, 1952: 418). The Race Zoning Plan for Durban was approved on 5 May 1952 (University of Natal: 1952) and is illustrated in Figure 60. This plan became the blueprint for creating apartheid Durban.

5.3.8 The Group Areas Board (GAB).

Whilst the 1940s were devoted to containing the spread of Indians and devising racial zoning plans, the 1950s was devoted to planning the implementation of Group Areas legislation. The Land Tenure Advisory Board established in 1946 to draw up clearly defined Indian areas in cities, used the guidelines that Durban had assisted in formulating, together with suggestions from municipalities, political parties and other interested parties, in the reordering of South African cities (Christopher, 1994: 106). The Land Tenure Advisory Board was renamed the Group Areas Board (GAB) in 1955. The process that unfolded to declare 'group areas' was long and complex. Firstly, the municipality had to formulate proposals which were followed by public hearings, thereafter the GAB made recommendations and sought ministerial approval before the final proclamation was published in the Government Gazette. The administrative machinery to give effect to the act was only introduced in 1955 when the Group Areas Development Act provided a mechanism for expropriation and land development (Christopher, 1994: 105).

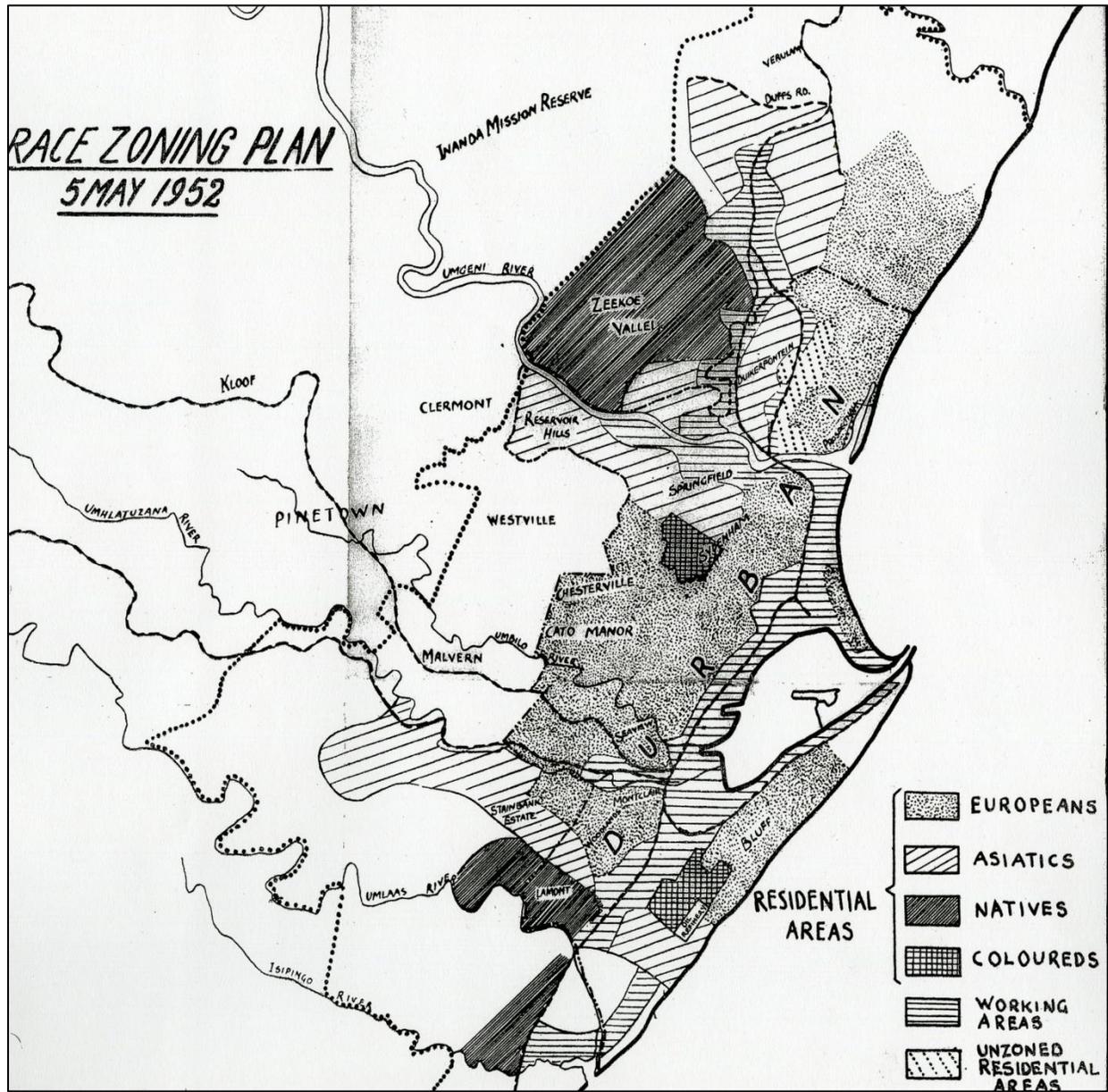


Figure 60. The approved Race Zoning Plan for Durban, 5 May 1952 (University of Natal: 1952).

The removal of African people from central or White urban areas was addressed by a series of measures passed by previous administrations and by means of tightening residential control legislation through the Bantu (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952 (Christopher, 1994: 122). Although the GAA did affect Africans, Christopher (1994: 105) argued that it was largely specifically applicable to the other race groups because the Ministry of Native Affairs and its successors were sufficiently powerful to retain control over the African population through separate legislation, such as the Natives Resettlement Act of 1954. This act provided the mechanism to remove African owners and tenants from the city. The Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act of 1955 was introduced to remove concentrations of Africans from urban areas, such as servants in blocks of flats in the city. The Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, with its various amendments had provided the basic framework for the establishment and control of African townships (Christopher, 1994: 122).

A number of public hearings were held by the Group Areas Board (GAB) in Durban. The GAB, and subsequently the Community Development Board (CDB), were 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 set procedures for regulating the sale of property in the open market as well as expropriation of properties under a system of public acquisition for Group Area development (Lemon, 1987: 217).

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 White Group Areas. Kuper (1958) concluded that Indians were mainly affected and the Board had accepted the principle of reserving the residential core of Durban for Whites (Kuper, 1958: 207). Blacks were mainly affected in 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 White displacement of less than 12 000 (Kuper, 1958: 192).

The Group Areas Board finally advertised their proposals for the proclamation of some Group Areas for occupation and ownerships, in October 1959. Large parts of Durban, occupied by Blacks were declared for White occupation. 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 KwaMashu. The Indian zones were placed between the White 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 planned to be radically transformed.

5.4 Convergence of the marginalised: Politics, sports and struggle sites.

Resistance to unfair treatment and discriminatory practices and legislation aimed at Africans and Indians was taken up by their respective political parties and workers' unions, such as the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), the African National Congress (ANC), the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP). This resistance, however, was largely ineffectual until the different racially constituted political parties started to collaborate and merge their political initiatives.

From the mid-1940s to mid-1980s, significant changes in political and sports formations occurred, changing from ethnic to multi-racial and finally non-racial organisations. These changes were formulated and advocated from the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street precinct, at "Red Square", Currie's Fountain sports ground, Cartwright's Flats and 86 Charlotte Maxeke (Beatrice) Street (Moodley: 2013b: 239-265). The localities of these sites are illustrated in Figure 61. In the late 1920s an open veld at the corner of Johannes Nkosi (Alice) Street and Ingcuze (Umgeni) Road, known as Cartwright's Flats, was the preferred venue for mass meetings by the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU). The narrow strip of land between, what was previously known as Pine and Commercial Streets, that was once occupied by the original railway line, was subsequently converted to a public park. The tree lined park on the corner of the formerly Grey and Commercial Street was officially named John Nicol Square, but was commonly referred to as "Red Square" by the SACP (interview: 15 February 2019), because it was a site for political rallies and protest meetings, depicted in Figures 62 and 64.

The ten-point programme, illustrated in Figure 63, which included "The removal of Colour Bar restrictions from all spheres of life", was adopted in 1944 by the Anti-Segregation Council (ASC), on this site. Thereafter, Currie's Fountain sports ground, popularly known as "Curries", became the main site for protests and mass meetings from the mid-1940s to the early 1990s, depicted in Figures 65 to 71 (Rosenberg et al, 2013a). This sports ground is listed as one of the major struggle sites, in *Top Sites in South Africa: Struggle*, by Harrison (2004) and is also listed, together with 69 other sites, in *The world that made Mandela, A Heritage Trail, 70 sites of significance* (Callinicos: 2000).

Both "Red Square" and "Curries" were public spaces, one a public park and the other a sports field, suitable for mass meetings. There were however, a number of other important smaller venues, such as community halls, church halls or offices in rented premises where political activity or community projects and student political programmes were planned and implemented from. One such an important venue was Lakhani Chambers, in Saville Street, which housed the offices of the ANC, NIC and seven trade Unions (Moodley, 2013b: 250). The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) that emerged in the 1970s, headed by Steve Biko, was based in premises at 86 Charlotte Maxeke (Beatrice) Street. This is another site of political significance because it spawned and represented a new movement conceived by Black students. The building and the adjacent church, became the home of the BCM between 1969 and 1977, housing a number of community, student, cultural, youth and religious organisations, notably the South African Students

Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC) (Moodley, 2013b: 253). The locality of these places of gathering are illustrated in Figure 61.

5.4.1 Changes in political formations.

Gandhi founded the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) in 1894 and the African National Congress (ANC) was established in 1912. Initially both the NIC and ANC's strategies were primarily constitutional and comprised petitions to private persons, government officials and letters to newspapers. In 1913, a year before he left South Africa, Gandhi initiated a strike by Indian workers at the coal mines in Northern Natal, in protest against the £3 tax law. The strike spread to the sugar plantations on the north and south coasts of Natal and to the Durban. To mobilise support Thambi Naidoo, one of Gandhi's supporters, addressed a mass meeting in 1913, seen in Figures 47 and 65, at a site that became a sports ground for the Indian community, known as Currie's Fountain (Rosenberg et al, 2013a: 231/2).

Resistance by African workers resulted in strikes by ricksha-pullers in 1918, coal workers in 1919 and dock workers in 1920, with further strikes between 1925 and 1927 led by dock-workers (Maylam and Edwards, 1996: 10). Durban was described as the "storm centre" in the 1920s. Until 1927 African resistance was initiated by workers airing their grievances. The transformation from docility to militancy by workers' movements is ascribed to the rise of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), led by AWG Champion in Durban (Hemson, 1996: 152). The ICU was based in rented premises in David Webster (Leopold) Street for its head office and Workers' Club. The ICU initiated the beerhall boycott in 1929 and the pass-burning campaign in 1930 (Maylam and Edwards, 1996: 11). The anti-pass campaign was held at Cartwright's Flats on 16 December 1930, on a public holiday then popularly known as Dingaan's Day, a celebration of the defeat of the Zulus at Blood River/Ncome in 1838. At this event the police shot and killed Johannes Nkosi, an ANC and CPSA member (Moodley, 2013b: 241), and the street is currently named after him.

Similar to the NIC, the ANC was also initially dominated by an African petite bourgeoisie and traditional chiefs, concerned mainly with availability of land for Africans. The leadership consisted of doctors, lawyers, clergy, writers and chiefs who sought to gain rights for Africans by constitutional means, modelled on Gandhi's approach (O'Malley, 2008: 61). According to O'Malley (2008: 62), the ANC had a very small support base before the mid-1940s, which changed in the late 1940s when the ANC was "rescued" by the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) in Johannesburg, led by a new crop of leaders – Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu – who provided a new sense of urgency and direction to the movement. The ANC redefined itself as an African nationalist movement and changed tactics, calling for mass mobilisation, boycotts, civil disobedience, strikes and non-cooperation. Although the ANC was part of the Congress Alliance, it was not fully committed to the idea of non-racialism and its membership was restricted to Africans until 1969 (O'Malley, 2008: 63).

In 1943 the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) was established, embracing a wide range of existing political, trade union, civic, cultural and social organisations under a non-racial banner. NEUM proposed a united resistance movement (Moodley, 2013b: 245). A more radical political leadership in the Indian Congress emerged in the 1940s, such as Monty Naicker in Durban and Yusuf Dadoo in Johannesburg. Monty Naicker opposed the moderate leadership of A.I. Kajeje in the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and in 1944 he co-founded and was the first chairperson of the Anti-Segregation Council (ASC) (Naidoo, 2006: 320). In 1944 at a mass meeting at “Red Square”, called by leading members of NEUM and the ASC, the “ten point” programme depicted in Figure 63, was approved and challenged the NIC to adopt it as a programme of action henceforth. Titled, “The People Demand”, it listed ten demands, amongst others, the rejection of the Pretoria Agreement, the unconditional repeal of the “Pegging Act”, franchise on the Common Roll, housing without segregation, compulsory education and the removal of colour bar restrictions from all spheres of life (*The Leader* 9 December, 1944 and 24 July, 1987). Monty Naicker was elected president of the NIC in 1945, at a mass meeting of NIC Congress held at Currie’s Fountain, illustrated in Figure 66, when 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” became regular occurrences in 1946 (*The Leader* 16 October, 1987). The public park was replaced by a multi-level parking garage in 1967 (*Natal Mercury* 5 November, 1992).

Meer (*The Leader* 24 July, 1987), argued that the movement which started with the Anti-Segregation Council in 1944, set the tone for what followed in the next decade. Firstly, the Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946, followed by the Congress Alliance of 1949, the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and culminating in the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Congress of the People (COP) in Kliptown in 1955. The NIC, under Naicker’s leadership, launched the Passive Resistance Campaign in Durban in June 1946, in opposition to 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 passive resisters occupied the “resistance plot” on the corner of Gale Street and Umbilo Road. In 1947 the “Doctor’s Pact” 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). It was the first declaration of co-operation between African and Indian political parties.

However, this political co-operation between leaders faced a challenge when race riots erupted two years later. An altercation between an Indian shopkeeper and a young African boy, who sustained a head injury in Victoria Street outside the Indian Market, sparked a violent attack by Africans on Indian people in 1949. A wave of race riots, starting at the Indian Market in Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) Street, spreading to Cato Manor and further afield, lasted three days and resulted in a loss of 142 lives and 1087 injured (*The 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” (*The Leader* 13 May, 1988). Meer (*The Leader* 13 May, 1988), noted that the 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.

Mass meetings in opposition to the Group Areas Bill were held at “Red Square” in May 1950 depicted in Figure 64, where both ANC and NIC leaders, such as Dr. S.S. Moroka and Dr. Monty Naicker addressed the crowd (*The 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” in April 1952. The Defiance Campaign of 1952 lasted for nine months and ended after numerous laws were introduced that made virtually all forms of non-violent protest a crime. More than 8 000 South Africans of all races served terms of imprisonment during this period (*The Leader* 17 March, 1989).

Shortly after the Defiance Campaign, the notion of a Freedom Charter was mooted in 1953. The decision to establish the Congress of the People (COP), for the formulation of the Freedom Charter planned to be adopted in 1955, was announced at the ANC’s annual conference in 1953. The Congress Alliance, tasked to draw up the Freedom Charter, included the ANC, the Congress of Democrats (Whites), the South African Coloured Organisation, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Council of Trade Unions (SACTU), and the predominantly White Federation of South African Women (FSAW) (O’Malley, 2008: 63). Mass bannings ensued soon thereafter. Against the backdrop of bannings and intimidation, the Freedom Charter was adopted by the Congress of the People on a soccer ground in Kliptown in 1955. Some of the banned NIC and ANC leaders together with many others, totaling 156 people, were the accused in the first mass treason trial in 1956. The 156 people were accused of High Treason for their roles and contribution to the planning and adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955 (Naidoo: 2006).

Protests against the Group Areas Act were held throughout the 1950s, one of the largest taking place at Currie’s Fountain on 26 June 1958, when approximately 15 000 protestors attended. Organised jointly by the ANC and NIC, as a mass protest and prayer meeting against the Group Areas Act, other oppressive legislation and for the release of the treason trialists (Rosenberg et al, 2013a: 239). In 1960 the ANC and Pan African Congress (PAC) were banned under the Unlawful Organisations Act, eliminating the leadership by imprisonment, leaders going into exile or underground. When Chief Albert Luthuli was granted a visa to travel to Oslo to receive his Nobel Peace Prize, Monty Naicker and the NIC organised a farewell and mass meeting to honour Luthuli at Currie’s Fountain on 9 November 1961. The ANC resorted to the armed struggle on 16 December 1962, when the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed (Rosenberg et al, 2013a: 249).

The bannings, house-arrests, the Treason Trial and subsequent imprisonment of many political leaders resulted in a lull in political activity in the early 1960s. Political activity was resurrected by the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) that emerged in the late 1960s, with the formation of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) in 1969. From 1969 to 1977, 86 Charlotte Maxeke (Beatrice) Street was the home of several organisations, including SASO, involved in

programmes on health, youth, religious, women, student, cultural and political activities. Amongst the first group of the BCM leadership, included Steve Biko, Debs Matshoba, Strini Moodley, Barney Pityana, Willie Nhlapo, Mhthuli ka Shezi and Johnny Issels, amongst others. The Black People's Convention (BPC) which was established in 1971 and officially constituted in Pietermaritzburg in 1972, also shared space in SASO offices and space offered by Revelation music library in CNR House in Cross Street (Moodley, 2013b: 253-4).

When residents were affected by Group Areas proclamations, the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) which had been dormant due to the bannings and imprisonment of many of its members and leaders, was revived by protesting and taking up the cause of the residents in the area. The NIC formed an ad-hoc committee in Bolton Hall in Albert Street to stage a protest and protect vulnerable tenants (Moodley, 2013b: 254).

Side by side with BCM activities in the Durban Central area, the first of the NIC's activities after the imprisonment of its members and the bannings of the ANC and PAC began. A Multi-racial Committee for Clemency of Political Prisoners was formed in January 1971. Key members were Adv. Louis Skweyiya, Richard Turner, Alan Paton, Archbishop Hurley, Alex Borain and Sushilla and Ela Gandhi. On the 31 May, using the boycott of Republic Day, a mass meeting was held to remind people about the imprisoned leaders on Robben Island and about the banned organisations (Moodley, 2013b: 254).

The NIC was formally revived in October 1971, primarily representing the Indian community and to focus on civic work. Although the BCM and NIC had differences, with the BCM calling for "think Black not Indian", both organisations worked together on issues of commonality despite differences in ideology and strategies. By 1973 most of the leadership of the BCM was banned or under house arrest. The BPC organised the Pro-Frelimo rally at Currie's Fountain in 1974, depicted in Figure 69, which was planned to celebrate Mozambique's newfound independence. The violent clash with police at the banned rally was followed by arrests and detention without trial of a number of SASO/BPC leaders in 1975, nine of which were charged and convicted under the Terrorism Act and imprisoned (Moodley, 2013b: 254-9).

In the 1980s the United Democratic Front (UDF) and COSATU trade union continued the struggle against apartheid and "Curries" became the main venue where these struggles were staged from. The 1980s witnessed COSATU May Day rallies, annual general meetings and rallies by the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW), the South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU) and the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO). "Curries" also hosted a number of UDF rallies and Inkatha Freedom Party (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 we Sizwe (MK) rally in 1993 when the liberation army disbanded into a People's Army (Rosenberg et al, 2013a: 258-299). Some of these events are depicted in Figures 70 and 71.

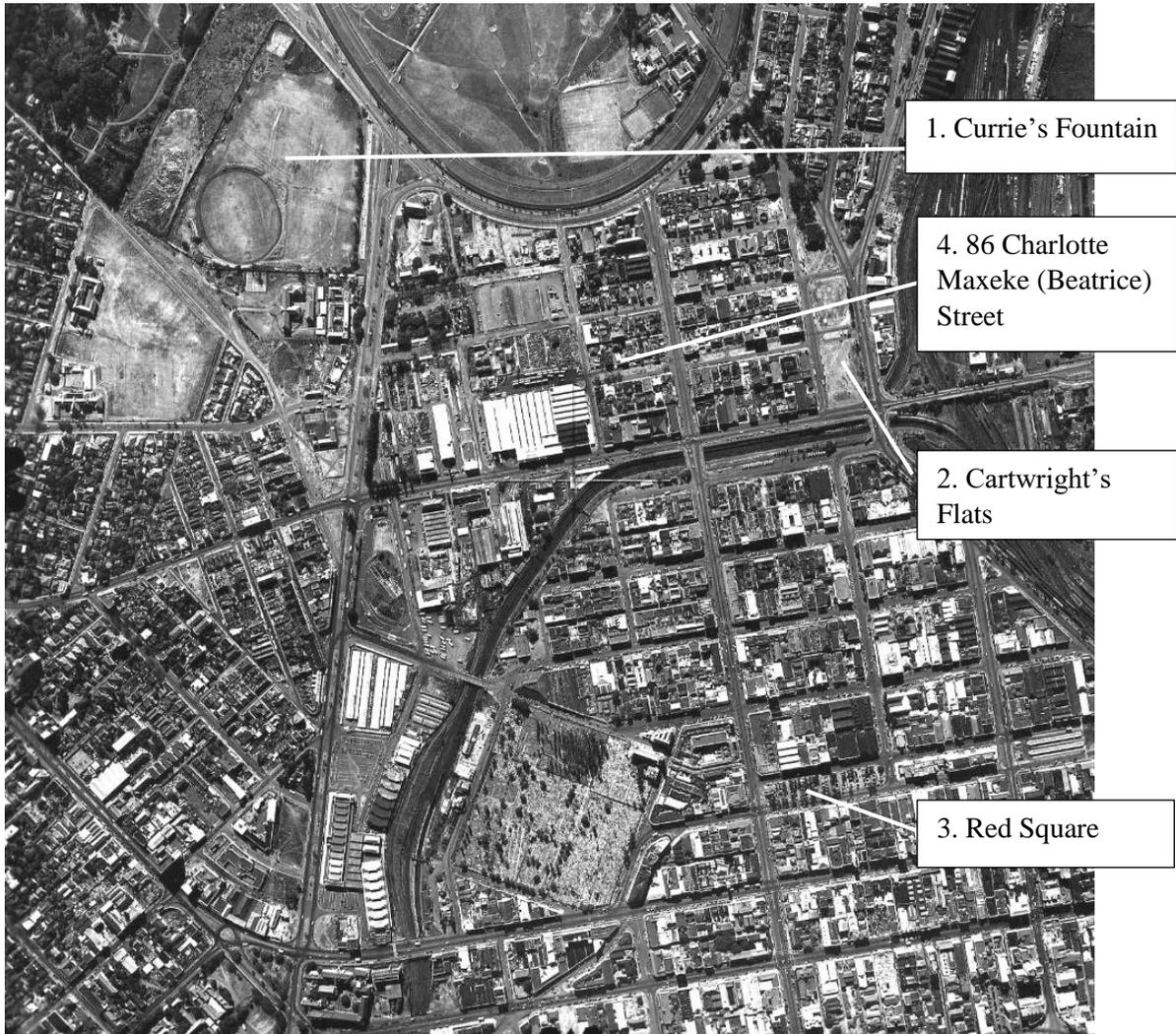


Figure 61. Political protest sites and sites of political significance. 1. Currie's Fountain, 2. Cartwright's Flats, 3. "Red Square", 4. 86 Charlotte Maxeke (Beatrice) Street (1951 Aerial photograph, City Engineer's Department).



Figure 62. Mass meetings held at “Red Square” in the 1940s and 1950s (LHM).

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THE PEOPLE DEMAND

- ❶ 1. *Rejection of Pretoria Agreement.*
- ❷ 2. *Vetoing of (i) Residential, (ii) Expropriation and (iii) Housing Board Ordinances.*
- ❸ 3. *Unconditional Repeal of "Pegging" Act.*
- ❹ 4. *Appeal to world opinion and immediate resignation of the High Commissioner.*
- ❺ 6. *Franchise on the Common Roll.*
- ❻ 5. *Immediate Resignation of Indian members on the Natal Indian Judicial Commission and its complete boycott.*
- ❼ 7. *Removal of Provincial Barriers.*
- ❽ 8. *Free and Compulsory Education.*
- ❾ 9. *Housing, without Segregation.*
- ❿ 10. *Removal of Colour Bar restrictions from all spheres of life.*

The above 10-point Programme was unanimously approved by the huge Mass Meeting at the Red Square on 3rd December, 1944. It is the Programme which the Natal Indian Congress has been asked to adopt right from the commencement.

Will present leaders of the Congress accede to the wishes of the people?

Issued by The Anti-Segregation Council, Box 2100, Durban, representing 20 Organisations with 15,000 members.

**Anti-Segregation Councils
"Ten Point" Advertisement.**

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Figure 63. The 10-Point plan formulated by the Anti-Segregation Council and adopted at "Red Square" in 1944 (*The Leader* 9 December, 1944 and 24 July, 1987).



Figure 64. Dr. Moroka of the ANC addressing a meeting held at "Red Square" in 1950 (LHM).



Figure 65. A mass meeting in protest against the £3 Tax Law in 1913, on a field that became the sports ground for the Indian community (GV).

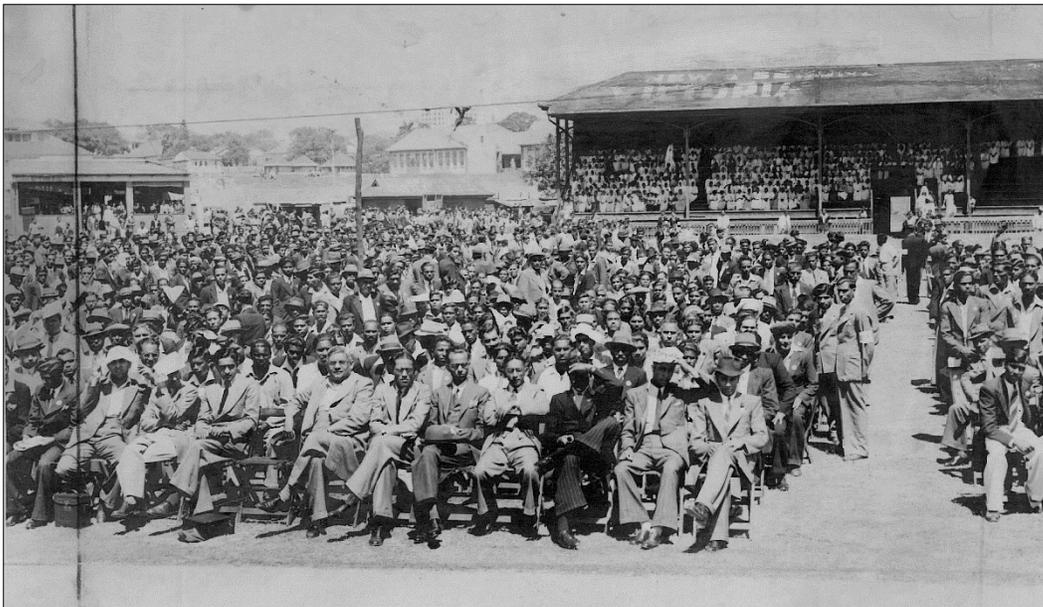


Figure 66. The Natal Indian Congress (NIC) election held at Currie's Fountain in 1945, when Monty Naicker was elected president (GV).



Figure 67. Moses Mabhida and Monty Naicker, (in foreground), at the Freedom Rally held at Curries' Fountain in 1956 (LHM).



Figure 68. The well attended Freedom Day Rally at Currie's Fountain in 1956 (LHM).



(VR)



(Natal Mercury, 26 September 1974).

Figure 69. The banned Frelimo Rally held outside Currie's Fountain in 1974 and the response by the police, in photograph below.



Figure 70. The Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU) rally at Currie's Fountain in 1986 (RM).

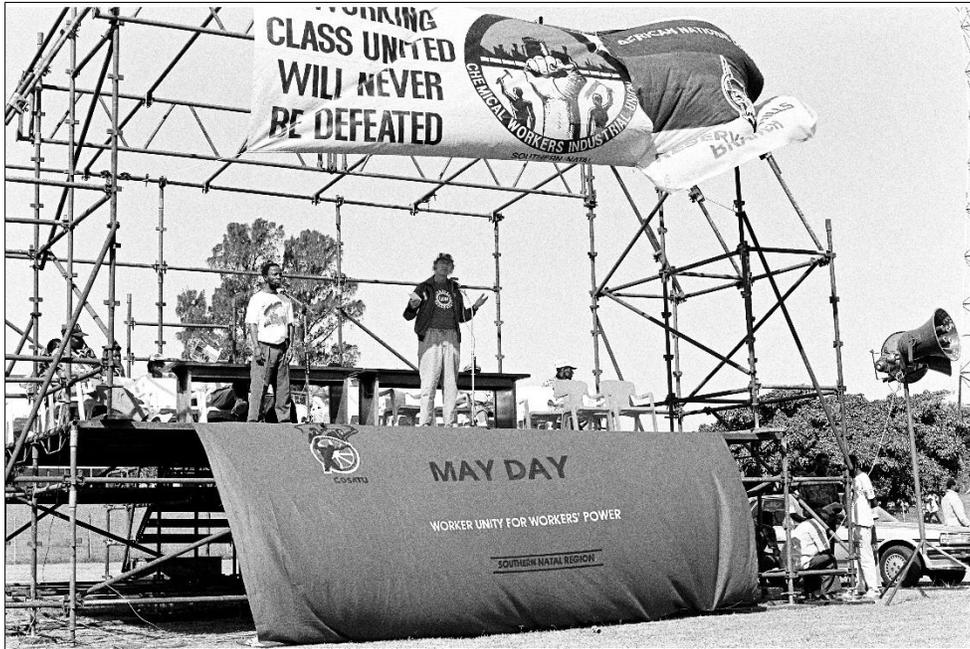


Figure 71. A COSATU May Day Rally at Currie's Fountain, above and the Umkhonto we Sizwe rally before its disbandment, below (RM).

5.4.2 Transformation in soccer administration

From 1948, a year after the Doctor's Pact of mutual co-operation between the ANC and NIC/TIC, the African football association and the Coloured football association started discussions in Johannesburg to form a unified federation encompassing the African, Indian and Coloured football associations. A.J. Albertyn of the Coloured association and Dan Twala the secretary of African soccer association organised a second round of talks in 1950 in Cape Town, where delegates of the two associations formed the Federation of South African Football Associations. Twala and Albertyn were elected as President and Secretary, respectively, tasked with drafting a constitution (Rosenberg et al, 2013a: 38).

In 1951 the African and Coloured associations, together with the Indian soccer association approved the Federation's constitution and the South African Soccer Federation (SASF) was established at Currie's Fountain on 30 September 1951 (Rosenberg et al, 2013a: 39). 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). Prior to 1951 soccer was organised on a racial basis, with separate associations for Africans, Coloureds and Indians and their leagues played at separate soccer grounds. Currie's Fountain was the venue for Indian sport and the Somtseu Road soccer grounds for African sport whilst the Coloured sports grounds was located in the Stamford Hill area, before being relocated to Tills Crescent sports ground. Sports facilities for Whites were located on Ordinance Road, rugby at the Track grounds and Kingsmead for cricket.

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) argued 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 of 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 multi-racial to a non-racial organisation. Albertyn proposed that the African, Indian and Coloured national associations which constituted the SASF, be replaced by new non-racial provincial associations. 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 non-racial South African Soccer League (SASL), was also launched at Currie's Fountain in 1961 (Rosenberg et al, 2013a: 54). In 1969 the non-racial Federation Professional League (FPL) was established (Rosenberg, 2013a: 56). 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 and finally non-racial federations and Currie's Fountain was the epicenter of these changes in Durban. Some of the numerous sporting events at Currie's Fountain, is depicted in Figures 72 to 78.

Osman (2014), who was a sports administrator and one of many protagonists of non-racialism in sport in Durban, drew attention to another important aspect of the historical importance of Currie's Fountain. Not only was it the venue for sports activities, it also served as a training ground for budding journalists in the alternate media and in so doing, provided the media exposure for the non-racial sports struggle.

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 the historic venue Currie's Fountain.

This exposure in the alternate media was vital to the non-racial sports struggle as part of the total anti-apartheid campaign, also because the predominantly White establishment Media virtually ignored Non-White Sport (Osman, 2014: 35-36).

Friedmann (2010: 154) identified additional characteristics of place-making at a neighbourhood scale. In addition to the reiterative social practices of inclusiveness, performability and dynamic quality, identified by Creswell (2004), Friedmann argued that places must be small, inhabited, valued or cherished and have spaces of encounter and gathering, referred to as "centering" of place (Friedmann, 2010: 155). In relation to the "centering" of place, Friedmann (2010: 157) pointed out "that certain sites are endowed with a sense of the sacred". Currie's Fountain is one such site that

could be considered as 'sacred'. Not only did it serve as a sports facility for the Indian community, it also served as a gathering space for cultural, political and music events. It served as a sports facility for scholars, adults, amateurs and professionals. As a protest venue it hosted events organised by numerous different workers' unions and political organisations from 1913 to the early 1990s. Currie's Fountain, together with the surrounding schools such as Sastri College, St Aidan's Hospital, St Anthony's church and school, ML Sultan Technical College, Orient and Gandhi-Desai Schools were certainly valued, cherished and meaning invested, another important place-making characteristic according to Cresswell (2004: 10) and Friedmann (2010: 155). Currie's Fountain in particular, but also the surrounding educational institutions, encapsulated what Harvey (1996: 304) referred to as, "place is space which has historical meanings". The historical meanings of this space are encapsulated in but a few of the images depicted in Figures 65 to 78.

Currie's Fountain was the site of confluence of sports, politics, identity and the struggle for a non-racial South Africa.



Figure 72. One of the first of many important soccer fixtures played at Currie's Fountain, was a match in 1934 between a visiting team from India and a South African Indian team.



Figure 73. Currie's Fountain boasted a nine-hole golf course before the sports fields were reconfigured in the mid-1950s (JN).



Figure 74. In the early 1950s before the sport ground was reconfigured, Currie's Fountain hosted a few motorcycle and car racing events (AB).

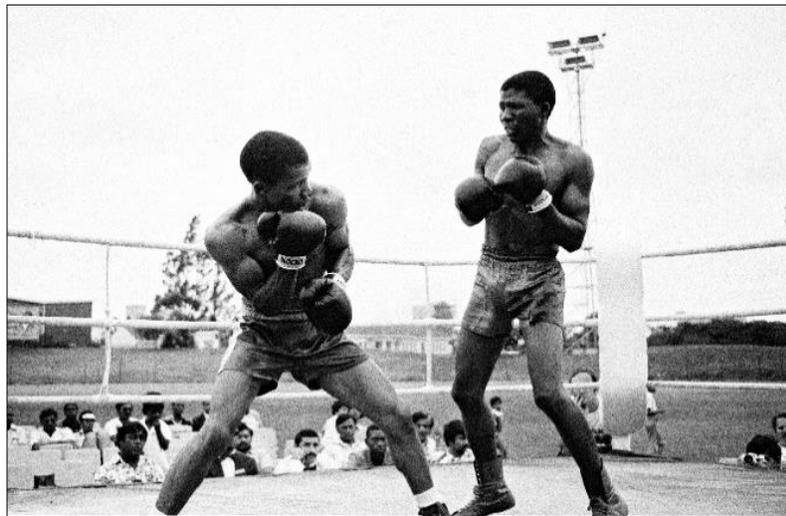
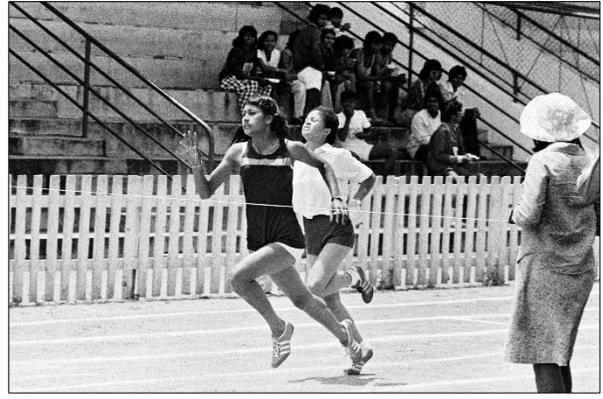
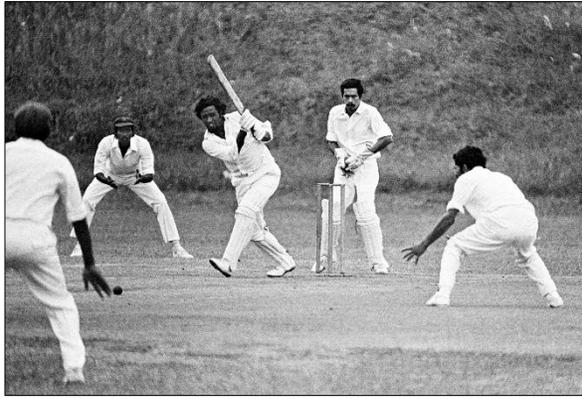


Figure 75. Soccer was the main sport at Currie's Fountain, but it also hosted cricket matches, inter-school athletics, boxing and karate tournaments (RK).



Figure 76. The Indian and African teams that were part of the popular inter-race soccer league which was played at Currie's Fountain from the early 1950s to early 1960s. Note the Orient Islamic school and the ML Sultan Technical College in the background (IP).



Figure 77. Currie's Fountain hosted the popular Federation Professional League (FPL) soccer matches and beauty queen parades before the soccer match (BAHA & RK).



Figure 78. The Federation Professional League (FPL) cup finals were well patronised, seen in the bottom photograph. One of the many memorable contests were matches between Sundowns and Berea in the 1970s, seen in the top photograph (RK).

CHAPTER 6

THE APARTHEID CITY:

THE REMOVAL OF THE URBAN BLACK PRESENCE IN CENTRAL DURBAN, 1960s TO 1980s.

Chapter 5 outlined the residential accommodation of Blacks, their reiterative social practices, of shopping, schooling, worshipping, socialising and recreation. It also outlined the historical meaning of spaces, which established Black place/s in the White urban space. The extent to which these routine activities were ‘textured’ by race and ethnicity and their mode of interaction with the built environment, is what Knowles (2003: 99) argued as contributing to the ‘racing of space’. Chapter 5 thus described how the marginalised urban spaces for Blacks evolved from the spatial practice of ‘race making’ (Knowles, 2003: 105).

The evolution of a Black urban presence in three main zones during the colonial and pre-apartheid periods has been identified as;

1. the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area which expanded to the north and northwest, into the Western vlei
2. the Barracks and hostels on the Eastern vlei and
3. the Barracks at the Point.

Place at neighbourhood scale was identified by Friedmann (2010: 154) as spaces that were small, inhabited, cherished and had spaces of encounter and gathering. These places at the scale of neighbourhoods are outlined below, together with the removal process of its inhabitants to allocated ‘Group Areas’, another race making spatial practice, supported and reinforced by racial legislation.

Whilst the 1940s and 1950s were devoted to planning for a long-term solution to the “non-European housing problem”, the 1960s to 1980s were devoted to the implementation of what was first referred to as “racial zoning plans” in the 1940s, which morphed into Group Areas in the 1950s. The spatial practice of ‘race making’, that had been in existence in Durban since the late nineteenth century on a small scale, acquired official status in the form of a master plan framed in Town Planning terminology, but conceptualised as the spatial division and strategic distribution of the four race groups, on a macro scale. Simultaneously the City embarked on a major infrastructure programme of freeways, dams, new townships, sewerage works and a railway network to serve the townships. Within the city centre, designated for Whites, a major expansion and modernisation programme was planned, extending from the City Hall to the Umgeni River in the North.

The implementation phase of removing Black people from the Durban city centre, into their respective Group Areas, was dependent on the acquisition of large tracts of land. Land was identified in outlying areas to the North and South of the city, for the construction of racially defined townships or ‘dormitory towns’ for Africans, Indians and Coloureds. The removal process from the city could only commence after parts of these townships had been constructed. The

establishment of new townships and forced removals/resettlement were interrelated phenomena and could be considered as two sides of the same coin. The removal of Black residents in Cato Manor had been an objective of the City Council since the 1930s and was the top priority. KwaMashu township was planned for this purpose and construction started in 1957, followed by Umlazi township in 1961, both for African occupation. Chatsworth township for the Indian group was started in 1962 and the City Council adopted a resolution in 1964 to acquire land in Phoenix/Mt Edgecombe for another Indian township, to the North of the city. The first phase of economic houses for Coloured people in the township of Wentworth, referred to as the Merebank/Wentworth scheme by officials, was completed in 1961. The Merebank housing scheme for Indians also commenced at the same time as the adjacent Coloured housing scheme and the first phase was completed in 1962.

The townships were not only regarded as urgent, but were also designed on a massive scale. The construction of tens of thousands of economic and sub-economic houses, services and roads, in a number of outlying locations around the city, at a fast-track pace, was a massive undertaking and unprecedented. In addition to the urgency and scale of housing required, was the construction of feeder roads, new railway lines, additional water and sewerage infrastructure to support the new housing schemes. Up until the early 1950s, the City Council (CC) had built municipal housing at a rate of a few hundred houses, in stages, reaching a few thousand after many years. To illustrate the magnitude of the undertaking the City Engineer, who was tasked with the implementation, outlined the scale as: 20 000 houses for Indians, to accommodate 160 000 people and a total of 230 000 residents to be accommodated in two townships for Africans (Mayor's Minute, 1961/2: 43). This was anticipated to be achieved over a period of approximately seven years.

Durban's bleaching process started on the outskirts of the city in 1958 and shifted to the inner city in the early 1960s, firstly targeting municipal barracks and hostels accommodating Indian and African workers. In addition, the streets were patrolled and premises inspected throughout the city, clamping down on the "harbouring" of Africans on private premises. African domestic servants and workers in approved and licensed private accommodation were the only two groups that were permitted to be in the urban area. The evacuation of Africans, coupled with restrictions on their presence in the city started before the Group Area proclamations of 1963, when Indian and Coloured residential areas around Botanic Gardens, Greyville and Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue, were proclaimed as White Group Areas.

The administration of the Group Areas Act became the responsibility of the City Engineer's Department in 1956. This task was fulfilled by Alec Kinmont, "known as a firm man and renowned for action and for getting things done" (Lynsky, 1982: 72). Kinmont who had been the deputy, became the Chief City and Water Engineer in 1955. He renamed the City and Water Engineer's Department to City Engineer's Department, re-organised it into branches and divisions and the previously separate Water Division, was absorbed into the different branches. Importantly, he also established two subsidiary branches namely the Native Housing and Administration departments. The City Engineer's operations which were located in ten different localities in the city, was consolidated. Kinmont suggested the site for the new seven-storey office block building which was erected on KE Masinga (Old Fort) Road and opened in 1957. In his ten-year tenure he almost doubled the staff component to 11 280 and the capital account grew from R3.5 million to R21 million (Lynsky, 1982: 65).

6.1 The establishment of racially defined townships.

6.1.1 KwaMashu Township

Kinmont had the responsibility of getting the long-awaited KwaMashu township off the ground. Capital funds for major projects became available in the mid-1950s and construction started on the KwaMashu housing scheme in 1957, intended to house the majority of Cato Manor residents. A special Native Housing Branch, divorced from the main department with its own infrastructure, was based in the cane fields north of the city. A construction team of 2 000 men built the new houses and laid the services (Lynsky, 1982: 68). KwaMashu was proclaimed “a location and Native village” on 25 July 1958 (Mayor’s Minute, 1958/59: 22). By end of July 1958, 378 houses were handed over to occupants and within a year more than 1 500 houses had been completed. Over a period of one year, the speed of construction rose from 7, 5 to 11,5 houses that were completed per day, inclusive of the completion of a 1 200-bed hostel. The fast tempo of construction assisted in the reduction of building costs (Mayor’s Minute, 1958/59: 5).

To further reduce building construction costs, the City Council devised a scheme of buying building materials in bulk and employing African building contractors on labour-only agreements. The contractors employed their own labour, whilst the City Engineer’s department supervised and assisted with scaffolding, concrete mixers and other building equipment. A substantial reduction in costs of the houses was achieved, whilst, it was claimed, maintaining a high standard of workmanship (Mayor’s Minute, 1958/59: 105). The success of the large housing schemes for Africans depended largely on the employment of skilled African builders, at considerably lower rates of payment than their White counterparts. The City Council planned to emulate this scheme by the use of Indian builders for the proposed Indian housing schemes (Mayor’s Minute, 1959/60: 11).

At its inception, KwaMashu was planned to consist of ten neighbourhoods for families and one neighbourhood for hostels for single males. Each neighbourhood was planned with its own school, small shopping centre, recreational facilities, churches and a central cemetery. A future Township Centre was planned to serve the township as a whole which would ultimately contain a hall, offices, a major shopping centre and public buildings. Four-roomed and two-roomed houses, with a toilet and shower were built at a cost of about R500 and R360 respectively (University of Natal, 1965: 36). In 1968, a decade after the first houses were built, work started on the final neighbourhood in KwaMashu, whilst a new adjacent township called Ntuzuma, was established in 1970 (Lynsky, 1982: 82).

Forced removals in Cato Manor started in 1958 and by August, an area referred to as “Raincoat”, was completely cleared and the residents resettled in KwaMashu (Mayor’s Minute, 1958/59: 20), as illustrated in Figure 79. The removals, constant police raids on illicit beer brewing operations and the destruction of drums of illicit liquor found buried on vacant ground (Mayor’s Minute, 1958/59: 20), sparked what the City Council referred to as “organised disturbances”, which started on 18 June 1959. The protest, started by the women of Cato Manor against the sale of beer at municipal beerhalls, led to a sustained boycott of all beerhalls. The Council acknowledged that one of the main reasons for the unrest was their action taken to combat illicit beer brewing coupled with the implementation of “some features of Government legislation” (Mayor’s Minute, 1958/59: 1). The City had tried to acquire land at the Umlazi Mission Reserve for a housing scheme for

years, without success. The protests and police action, which resulted in violence and destruction of municipal property in Cato Manor, included the burning of Cato Manor beerhall (La Hausse, 1988: 63).

6.1.2 Umlazi Township

The Umlazi Mission Reserve was created by a deed of grant in 1862 and by 1946 had been occupied for 84 years. When it was established it was a fairly remote rural reserve separated from Durban by an unbridged river. It was intended to provide “homes where the Natives might live a rural life on lines somewhat more progressive than those in the neighbouring tribal locations” (Mayor’s Minute, 1946: 16). By 1946 it was still semi-rural and consisted of sugar cane and banana plantations and orchards of mangoes, avocado pears and citrus (Mayor’s Minute, 1946: 16).

In 1942 a housing scheme was prepared for the Umlazi Mission Land and approved by the City Council (CC). The acquisition of the land awaited the consent of the Minister of Native Affairs (Mayor’s Minute, 1942: 7). By 1945 the CC was still seeking approval from the Minister of Native Affairs for the acquisition of Umlazi Mission Reserve. The Minister, disagreed with the CC proposals, citing reasons of possible alternative sites and the displacement of existing occupants consisting of 950 families totaling 5 150 people. The residents occupied allotments for cultivation purposes with 2 200 acres under cultivation (Mayor’s Minute, 1946: 16/7). After the violent confrontation between the womens’ protest action and police in Cato Manor in 1959, the Minister of Bantu Administration finally approved the “urbanization” of the Umlazi Mission Reserve (Mayor’s Minute, 1958/59: 1).

Construction commenced in June 1961 on the Umlazi housing scheme, depicted in Figure 81, with an anticipated construction rate of 12 to 15 houses per day by the end of 1961 (Mayor’s Minute, 1960/61: 9). It was located approximately 20 kilometers south of the city centre and was planned to be much bigger than KwaMashu, with toilets provided within the houses and new split-level techniques for building on the steep slopes introduced (Lynsky, 1982: 68). By 1962 a total of 2 325 type 51/9 houses had been constructed, at an average construction rate of 13,5 houses per day (Mayor’s Minute, 1961/62: 26/48). Umlazi was officially opened by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in June 1965 at the new soccer stadium (Mayor’s Minute, 1964/65: 4).

6.1.3 Chatsworth Township

The City Council (CC) sought to acquire land in Umhlatuzana for an Indian township in 1958, to accommodate approximately 14 000 houses (Desai and Vahed, 2013: 25). The Indian housing scheme was named Chatsworth township, depicted in Figure 80, and was subsequently planned to accommodate 150 000 residents in 20 000 houses. Construction started in 1962 with contractors building the houses and the CC building the roads and services (Lynsky, 1982: 68). Like KwaMashu and Umlazi, it was built in stages and each new development was referred to as a ‘unit’. The housing consisted of sub-economic housing for rental, economic housing that could eventually be purchased and land sold on auction. The first four units comprised 5 721 houses, of which 4 742 were built by the CC and 979 by individuals, through a loan scheme to approved applicants (Desai and Vahed, 2013: 25). The construction of the new township displaced an established farming community of banana growers. The CC refused to provide alternative farming

land or pay market-related prices for their land and the farming community were consequently resettled in Chatsworth (Desai and Vahed, 2013: 26).

6.1.4 Merebank/Wentworth Townships

Proposals to establish Indian and Coloured municipal housing schemes, referred to by the Council as the Merebank/Wentworth scheme, were planned since the early 1940s. Prior to 1943 municipal housing for Indians and Coloureds were focused on areas in Springfield and Sparks Estate respectively. The Merebank/Wentworth schemes were conceived on a much smaller scale, compared to KwaMashu, Umlazi and Chatsworth. In 1943 it was planned to accommodate 670 sites for Coloureds and 1200 sites for Indians (Mayor's Minute, 1943: 5). In 1962, almost two decades later, the first phase of the Merebank housing scheme for Indians consisting of 1704 four-roomed houses and 924 two-roomed houses were completed (Mayor's Minute, 1961/62: 14). The first section of the Merebank/Wentworth housing scheme for Coloureds was completed in 1961 (Mayor's Minute, 1960/61: 11) and an additional 161 houses completed by 1962, with a further 212 sub-economic houses planned (Mayor's Minute, 1961/62: 14/48). In 1967 a further 195 semi-detached double storey structures were completed (Mayor's Minute, 1966/67: 4). A large site for Coloured housing was proposed in the Duikerfontein area in 1963, (to become known as Newlands East Township), north of the city (Mayor's Minute, 1962/63: 4).

6.1.5 Town Planning

Group Areas legislation did not only affect residential areas but also the provision of separate recreational, educational and public transport spheres of Black peoples' lives. By 1959 the Town Planning Department had prepared and outline master plan for the City, based on separate residential areas, schools, recreational areas, community centres, public swimming pools and suburban markets for the different race groups. Within central Durban, planned for Whites, town planning schemes were prepared for Snell Parade, new Kingsmead, new Magistrates Courts, a new Civic Centre and a site for the new prison. These proposals were integrated with new road networks and shopping centre proposals. Detailed proposals for KwaMashu neighbourhoods 3 to 8 were completed. In addition, volumes of work in connection with permits and Group Area determinations of Section 18 of the GAA No 77 of 1957 had to be carried out. The City Engineer's Department also dealt with many enquiries from private and professional representatives, pertaining to Group Areas and racial zoning, including conducting many racial zoning surveys for various parts of the city (Mayor's Minute, 1959: 58). In 1961 the city's boundaries were further extended by the incorporation of Chatsworth, the Island View area and the North Eastern extremity of the Bluff (Mayor's Minute, 1961/62: 2/17).



Figure 79. Scenes of residents from “Raincoat” in Cato Manor (top photographs), being relocated to the newly established KwaMashu township (middle and below), in 1958 (LHM).

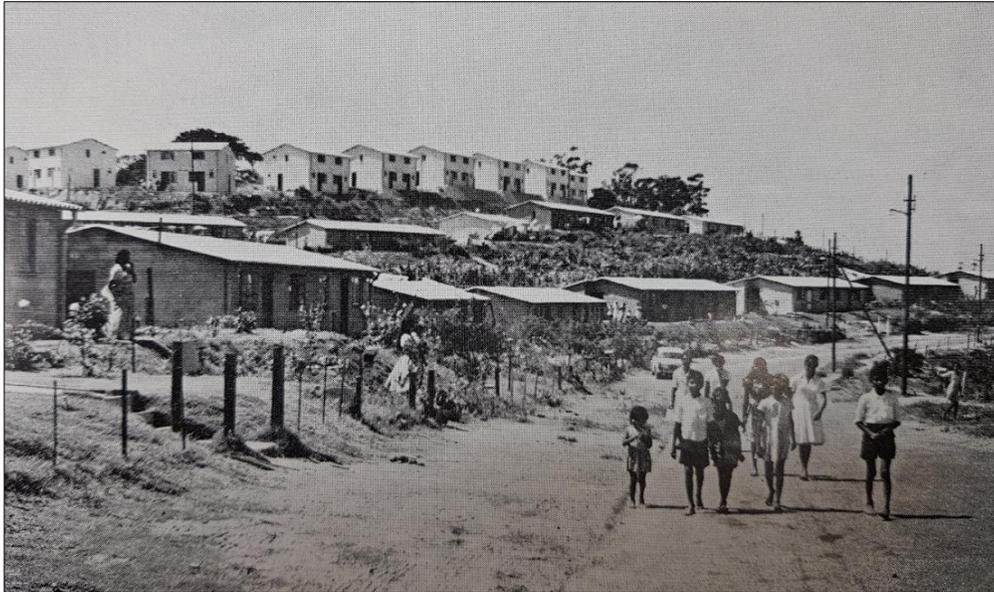


Figure 80. A street scene and a typical neighbourhood in Chatsworth township for Indians in the 1960s (Mayor's Minute).

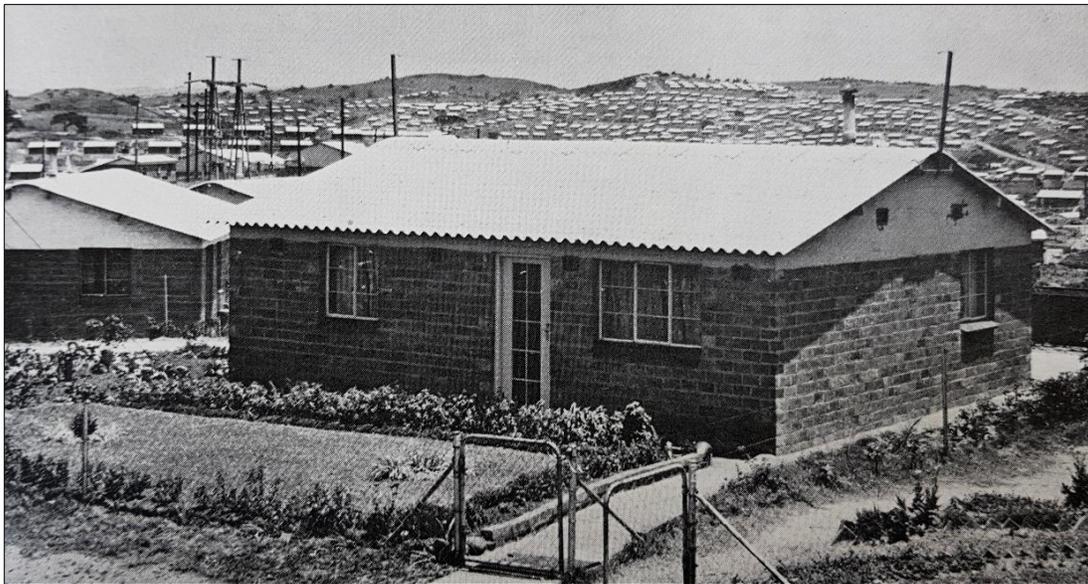


Figure 81. A view of part of the Umlazi township and a typical house for Africans in the 1960s (Mayor's Minute).

6.2 Bleaching central Durban.

As directed by the National Transport Commission in 1958, total segregation on Durban's public bus transport system was to be affected by 1st January 1959, but was subsequently postponed to January 1960. Durban started applying apartheid measures on public transport in stages and the first steps towards the implementation of total segregation, was enforced in 1959 on routes to the Point, South Beach and Marine Parade, which were reserved for Whites only. The total segregation policy resulted in heavy financial losses to the City (Mayor's Minute, 1959: 26). Segregation of the beaches started in 1950, when an area of the beach was set aside for Africans. It consisted of change rooms, showers and part-time African lifesavers in attendance (Mayors' Minute 1950: 127). In 1962 the planning of separate facilities for Indians and Coloureds on the northern areas of the beach commenced (Mayor's Minute, 1961/62: 11).

After setting up the processes and machinery for developing segregated townships, segregating public transport and beaches, the City directed its attention to the removal of Africans, Indians and Coloureds, from the city centre. This evacuation and resettlement process, affected African, Indians and Coloureds at different periods, by different laws and processes. In central Durban, this removal process started in earnest in the late 1950s. In accordance with Government policy to restrict African residential areas to townships, Africans were the first to be systematically removed from the city centre. Starting with African residential accommodation, the Bell Street Barracks and Ordinance Road Barracks were evacuated over a weekend in 1959 and the men from both institutions re-housed at the newly built hostel in KwaMashu (Mayor's Minute, 1958/59: 21). Baumannville family quarters was completely cleared in 1961 (Mayor's M 1960/61: 22). Somtseu Road Location for single males was evacuated in 1962 and residents from both locations were also relocated to KwaMashu (Mayor's Minute, 1962/63: 24). By 1964, Cato Manor was virtually eliminated and KwaMashu was practically complete, with 15 000 houses and 12 000 hostel residents, in the planned 17 000 bed hostel accommodation (Mayor's Minute, 1963/64: 5).

6.2.1 Group Area Proclamations

During November 1961, the Group Areas Board (GAB) conducted a public enquiry on the desirability or otherwise, of proclaiming a portion of central Durban either for the White or the Indian Group. The area in question included the Grey Street Indian area, Currie's Fountain, Block AK, a portion of Block G and the Warwick Avenue/Old Dutch Road area. In July 1962 a further enquiry was conducted to proclaim 12 areas within the City as Group Areas (Mayor's Minute, 1961/62: 38). On the outskirts of the city, the GAB proclaimed portions of Chatsworth and Sparks Estate for the Indian and Coloured groups respectively in 1962. The City Engineer's Department also conducted fieldwork for evidence and compiled reports for GAB enquiries related to the Grey Street/Warwick Avenue area, Riverside, Botanic Gardens area, Merebank/Wentworth, Seaview and Hillary (Mayor's Minute, 1961/62: 52).

Group Areas proclamations for specific areas of the city occurred at different periods over two decades, from the late 1950s to the early 1980s, as can be seen in the summary in Figure 82 compiled by the Surplus People Project, Natal (1983: 127). Not included in the Surplus People Projects' summary, is the Grey Street Indian area that was finally proclaimed an Indian Group Area for business and residential purposes in 1983.

	Area	Proclamation	Date	Population affected	
1	Rossburgh Seaview Bellair Hillary	White	1958	Indians Coloureds Africans	6100 500 3300
2	Woodlands Montclair	White	1958	Indians Coloureds Africans	150 30 1600
3	Sparks Estate	Coloured	1950s	Whites Indians Africans	250 10500 1050
4	Bluff	White	1958	Indians Africans Coloured	840 3359 181
5	Cato manor	White	1958	Indians Africans	40000 120000
6	Wentworth	White	1958	Indians	1320
7	Central Durban	White	1959	Indians Coloureds	533 200
8	Chatsworth	Indian	1959	Coloureds Africans	323 1012
9	Duikerfontein	Coloured	1960	Whites Indians	1200 1300
10	Shallcross	Indian		Africans	570 hh
11	Botanic Gardens	White	1963	Indians Coloureds Africans	500 140 530

Figure 82. Summary of Group Areas proclamations, Durban. (Surplus People Project, Natal, 1983: 127).

Area	Proclamation	Date	Population affected		
12	Marriott road	White	1963	Indians	1080
				Coloureds	170
				Africans	530
13	Block AK	White	1963	Indians	5000 hh
14	Riverside	White	1963	Indians	2770
				Coloureds	130
				Africans	70
15	Prospect Hall	White	1963	Indians	3150
				Coloureds	110
				Africans	100
16	Austerville	Coloured	1963		
17	Treasure Beach	Coloured	1963		
18	Merebank	Indian	1963		
19	Isipingo	Indian	1963		
20	Effingham Heights	Indian	1967		
21	La Lucia	White	1970		
22	Glenwood	White	1970		
23	Block G	White	1970		
24	Phoenix	Indian	1970		
25	Newlands	Coloured	1972		
26	Grey Street	Indian, for business purposes only	1973		
27	Cato Manor	Re-proclamation as Indian	1980		

Figure 82 continued. Summary of Group Areas proclamations in Durban, (Surplus People Project, Natal, 1983: 127).

6.2.2 The removal of the “idle and undesirable”.

From the beginning of 1961, Section 29, Act 25 of 1945 was enforced, aimed at the removal of the “idle and undesirable” found in the city (Mayor’s Minute, 1961/62: 96). The Inspectorate Section of the Bantu Administration Department (BAD) actively cleared the streets in the city of “undesirable Bantu”, using van patrols which checked the credentials of Africans and their requisite documentation which permitted their presence in central Durban (Mayor’s Minute, 1960/61: 86). Offenders were forced to leave the urban area and repeat offenders were either deported from the city for periods ranging from five to fifteen years or sent as labour to farm colonies (Mayor’s Minute, 1961/62: 96). As housing became available in KwaMashu, Africans residing on private premises in the central part of the city, Glenwood and Umbilo were removed. Only domestic servants and workers in licensed premises were permitted in the city. In 1963 the Mayor proudly announced that “all that area can now be regarded as being free of the illegal harbouring of Bantu”. Between 1962 and 1963 over 100 000 inspections were carried out, with 16 890 prosecutions for “harbouring” Africans (Mayor’s Minute, 1962/63: 14). Africans traders were also forced out of the city and confined to African areas, by the application of the Urban Areas Consolidated Act 25 of 1945 (Mayor’s Minute, 1962/63: 4). The municipal brewery in Ordinance Road was replaced with a larger modern brewery out of town, in Congella, which was completed in 1964 (Mayor’s Minute, 1964: 4). The Bell Street beerhall was closed in July 1965 (Mayor’s Minute, 1964: 15), whilst the Prince Alfred and Victoria Street beerhalls were closed down on 31 December 1968 and December 1969 respectively (Mayor’s Minute, 1970/71: 18).

6.2.3 Modern White Durban: a city in a hurry.

Modern Durban, for Whites, was to be achieved in the period between the mid-1960s to mid-1980s. To achieve this vision, two important interventions were made by the City Council in the mid-1960s. The first was the creation of the Department of Special Works and the second was the conception of a master plan for central Durban, designed by international planning consultants. In the two decades after World War II, Durban had experienced extraordinary development, but infrastructure projects had not kept apace resulting in a huge backlog. By 1964 it had become apparent that a huge capital expenditure programme, over a relatively short period, was needed to catch up with the backlog of infrastructure projects. The City was committed to projects such as the urban freeway scheme, three new sewerage schemes, a water scheme and a new beach reclamation scheme recommended by a CSIR study (Lynsky, 1982: 74). The City Council’s solution was the creation of a City Engineer’s Department ‘clone’, a new department totally divorced but housed in the same building on KE Masinga (Old Fort) Road (Lynsky, 1982: 78). Alec Kinmont who had reached retirement in 1964 and was re-appointed as Director of the Department of Special Works, tasked with completing the capital projects in five years, boasted that Durban had become “a city in a hurry” (Lynsky, 1982: 72).

The traffic plans approved in 1954 only began in earnest after the establishment of the Special Works Department. The southern freeway and Albert Park traffic interchange was completed in 1967 but progress on the western freeway entering the city was still slow. The 12-lane sunken western freeway was a major undertaking which received sustained public and press criticism, was dubbed “Kinmont’s Canyon”. Numerous expropriations involving 314 properties had to be undertaken as well as the relocation of underground services in Berea Road, whilst the

recommendations for the entry on Old Dutch Road was still to be finalised by a new traffic study (Lynsky, 1982: 79). The establishment of the Special Works Department also coincided with two other important planning initiatives. The first was the completion of an Outline Master Plan for Durban in 1964. The master plan was the culmination of the work by the Town Planning Division, established in 1949, to draft a plan for the city which allocated land uses for residential, industry, open spaces and racial occupation. The second and more important far-reaching proposal, was the master plan for the central part of the city, designed by urban planning consultants, Holford and Kantorowich.

When the city embarked on future expansion proposals for the CBD in the mid-1960s, the transportation plans supported and reinforced segregation. 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 whilst progress on “Kinmont’s Canyon” was slow. The transport plan was reviewed and consolidated when an opportunity arose to expand the CBD in the mid-1960s. The decision by the South African Railway authorities to build a new through-station in Greyville, presented an opportunity for the congested CBD to grow in a northerly direction. The main Durban Railway Station conveniently located in 1898, together with the ancillary workshops had become a barrier to growth and circulation in the CBD. The relocation of the railway station presented an opportunity for the northern expansion of the CBD, which the City Council had discussed since the 1940s. The transportation proposals that started in 1957, were reviewed and incorporated into a more comprehensive transportation study in 1966, by consultants De Leuw Cather, embracing the whole Durban metropolitan area, involving both public, private, road and rail transport (Holford and Kantorowich, 1968: 32).

International planning consultants, Lord Holford and Professor Kantorowich, were appointed by the City Council in 1965 to plan the future development of the land between the City Hall and the Umgeni River. Both Holford and Kantorowich had South African roots. William Holford had lived in Hillbrow and studied in Cape Town before furthering his architecture studies at Liverpool University. By the 1960s, William Holford had become Lord Holford of Kemp Town and was ranked as one of the best 10 architects in the world. He was responsible for the design which transformed Canberra in Australia, “from a dull little town of 35 000 inhabitants into a garden city of 72 000 people, as the federal capital of Australia” (*Daily News*, 23 June 1965). Kantorowich studied at Wits in Johannesburg, practiced in Cape Town, before accepting a professorship in Planning in the United Kingdom. The Durban commission and brief to Holford and Kantorowich was further extended to include making recommendations for any other parts of the City that may materially affect the area being planned (Holford and Kantorowich, 1968: 2). Although not located in the study area, the Holford proposals had major implications for the Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue area, as illustrated in Figures 91 and 97. The western freeway conceived by Kinmont, culminated in a network of fly-overs that were designed by De Leuw Cather to divert around or to enter the city, illustrated in Figure 91. The designs, seen in Figures 92 and 93, created mega inter-transport terminals for Blacks on the edge of the White CBD, as summarised by Holford:

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).

Transportation consultants, De Leuw Cather and Associates were appointed in 1966 to prepare a transportation plan which was integrated with Holford's proposals and presented to the Council in 1968. Both the Holford and Kantorowich master plan and the De Leuw Cather transport proposals were a 20-year vision to be achieved by 1985. Work on 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*. The spatial practice of race making (Knowles, 2003: 105) was reinforced by the new design of the extended urban space and public transport network in Holford's proposals, illustrated in Figures 84 and 85. The Durban of the future (1985) was planned as a city for Whites and Blacks entering the city was confined to the periphery of the CBD. The spatial plans, transportation routes and nodes, in the form of train stations and bus terminals already segregated in 1968, as illustrated in Figures 86 and 87, was reinforced as illustrated in Figures 92 to 94. It was argued that the only feasible solution for the distribution of Blacks to town, was by rail, because of the advent of a rail service to Chatsworth and Umlazi (De Leuw Cather, Vol 2 1968: 89).

The Council accepted Holford's proposals in principle, but due to numerous factors, was not implemented fully (Lynsky, 1982: 83). The workers' compound in the eastern vlei that had been cleared and relocated, by the mid-1960s, was located within Holford and Kantorowich's study area and had become prime property. The new prison, central police station, Magistrates courts, office park and new railway station, which were located in the Eastern vlei as illustrated in Figures 85 and 97, were aspects of Holford's plan that were implemented. Another aspect of the master plan that was implemented, although outside the study area, was a portion of the transport interchange proposed in the Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue area, depicted in Figures 91 and 97. The combination of Group Areas proclamations of 1963 and the construction of the transport interchange, had a major impact on the Black 'town' that had developed on the edge of the city for Whites. The rudimentary settlements that had been established in the Western vlei since the 1870s, which had developed into a "city within a City" by the 1960s, was partially destroyed (Rosenberg: 2012).

Although not located within the study area of the original design brief to Holford and Kantorowich, the Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue area was an integral part of the transportation plans, that supported Holford's vision for the modern White Durban. The area on the lower slope of the Berea, on either side of Chris Ntuli (Old Dutch) Road approaching Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue, that were identified as slums zones in the 1930s, subjected to racial 'pegging' in the 1940s and proclaimed a White Group Area in 1963, became the focus for the new transport proposals. These residential areas were to be traversed by new multi-lane freeways, fly-overs and railways that were planned to skirt the CBD, illustrated in Figures 91 and 97. The southern and western freeways were planned to converge on Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue, becoming the main entrance and exit point, as well as connecting the south and north without traversing the city centre, illustrated in Figure 91. The proposal entailed a major overhead traffic interchange, a new major train station for Blacks and the consolidation of the fragmented bus termini that were previously in three different localities. Train stations for Blacks were proposed at Berea Station, Leopold Station and

Durban Station as well as additional stations proposed along the rail line on the Esplanade and at the Point, as illustrated in Figure 92.

De Leuw Cather proposed a central bus terminal for Black commuters, for buses used on routes not served by rail. The proposed terminal was conceived as an inter-modal transfer station for bus-train interchange, to be sited on top of the proposed Leopold Street Railway Station, which was located below a proposed freeway, illustrated in Figure 93. It was conveniently situated, close to the Indian area which would free the CBD of buses. All transfers by Blacks – 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 were not implemented, 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 Blacks is illustrated in Figures 93 and 94. The transportation proposals by De Leuw Cather, which supported Holford and Kantorowich's master plan, had major implications for the areas in the Western and Eastern *vleis*, circled in Figures 84 and 97. Because the Leopold Street bus and train station were not implemented, the Victoria Street rank was relocated into a new consolidated terminal North of the Early Morning Market in the mid-1980s, as depicted in Figure 96.

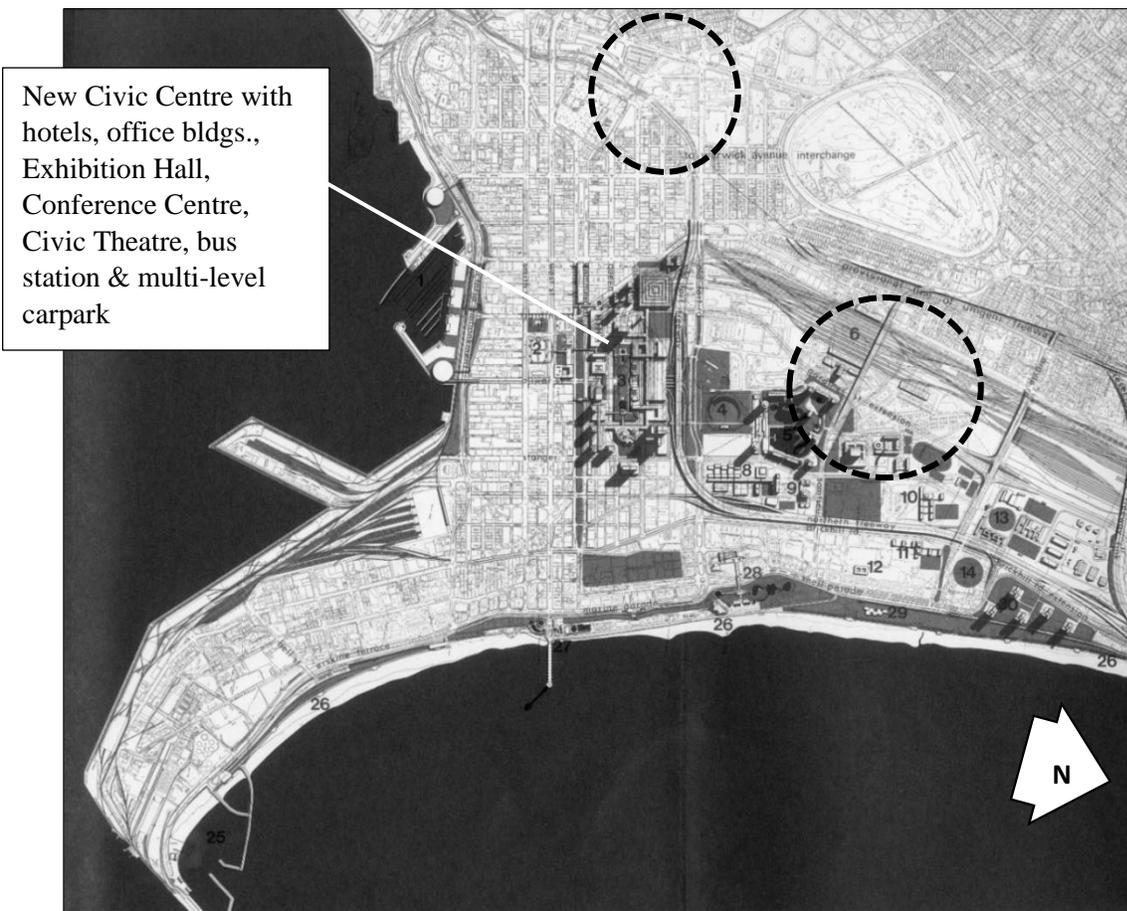


Figure 84. The Holford and Kantorowich Master Plan for Durban (Holford and Kantorowich: 1968). The city was planned to expand in a northerly direction into the erstwhile Eastern vlei, after the Durban Station was relocated. The affected areas in the Eastern and Western *vleis* has been circled by the author.

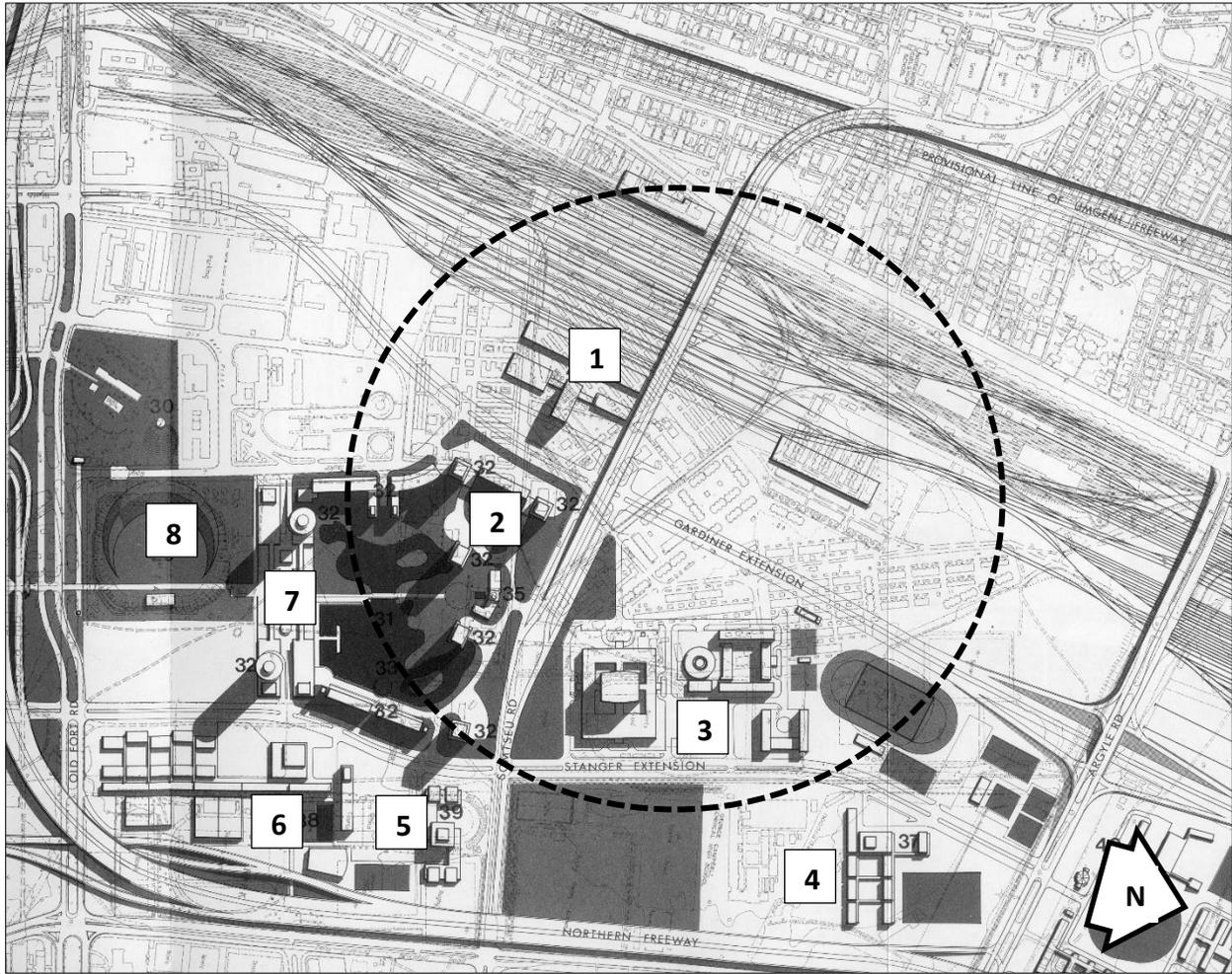


Figure 85. Details of a part of Holford and Kantorowich’s proposals for the Eastern vlei. The workers’ compound, that was removed in the early 1960s, has been circled by the author.

1. New Main Station & GPO sorting office
2. Kingsmead Towers residential blocks around a lake
3. Magistrates Courts and SA Police Divisional Headquarters with sports facilities
4. Secondary School
5. University of Natal City Buildings
6. Natal Technical College
7. Local shopping centre with parking below
8. Kingsmead Cricket ground.



Figure 88. Winterton Walk bus rank in the 1960s, serving Indians, Coloureds and Africans.



Figure 89. The PUTCO bus rank on ML Sultan (Centenary) Road in the 1960s, serving Africans.



Figure 90. The Victoria Street bus rank for Indians, Coloureds and Africans in the 1950s, located between the Indian Market and the EMM (KM).

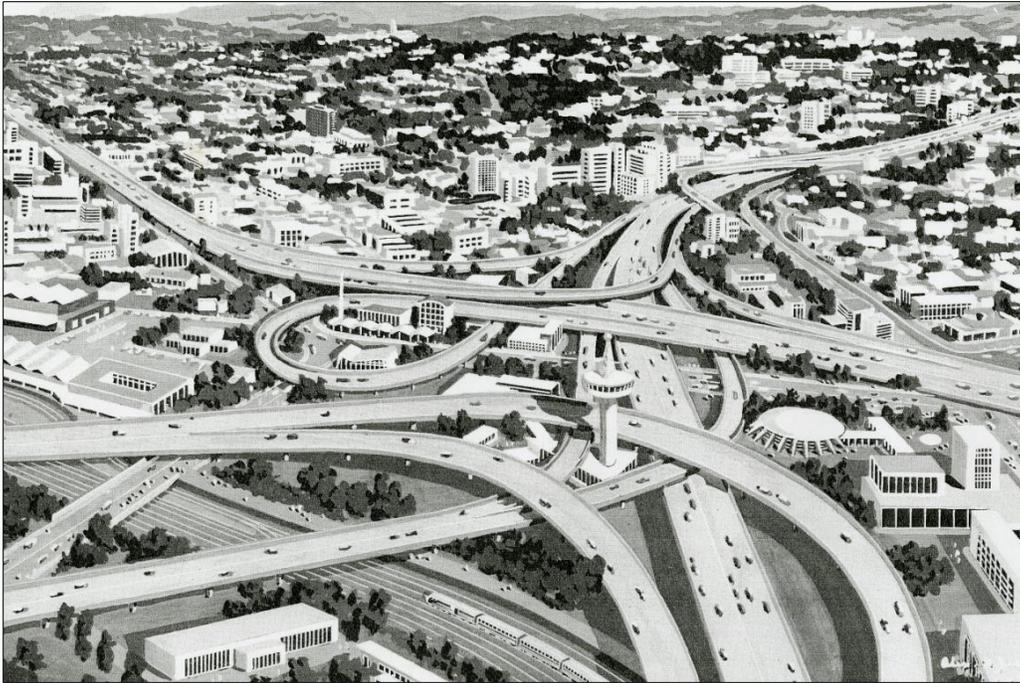


Figure 91. The recommended Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue Interchange in 1968 by De Leuw Cather Associates, illustrating the connections to the Umbilo, Western and inner ring freeways, as well as the central area penetrating spur (De Leuw Cather: 1968).

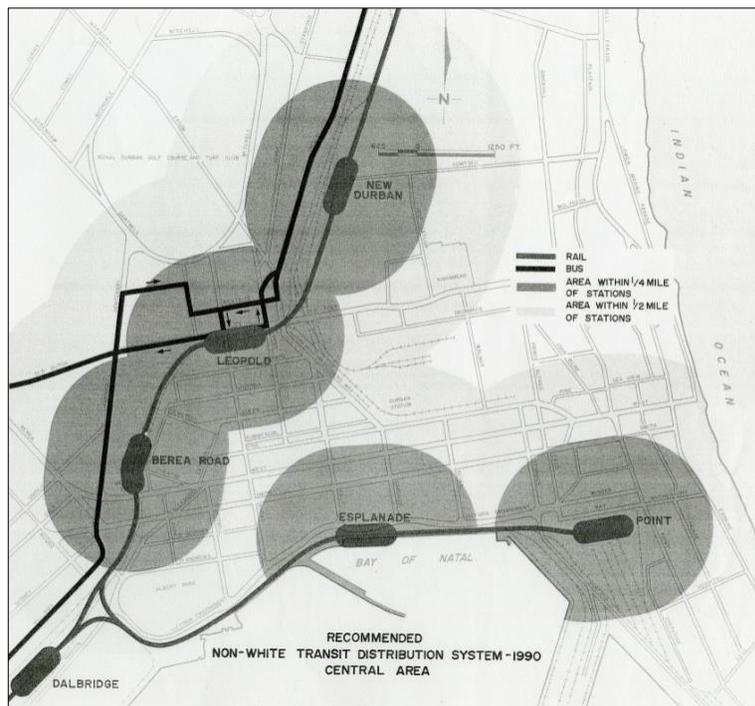


Figure 92. Recommended transit distribution systems for Blacks in Durban by 1990. (De Leuw Cather: 1968). Designed to contain Blacks, working in the city, to the periphery of the White CBD.

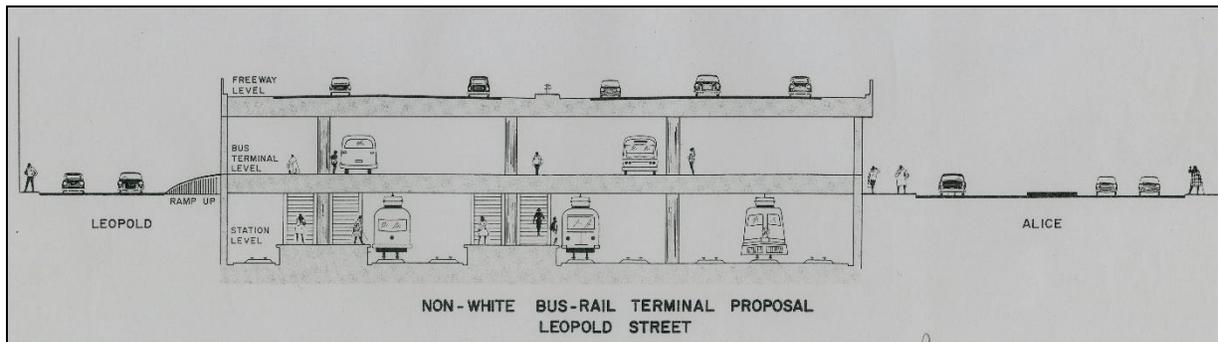
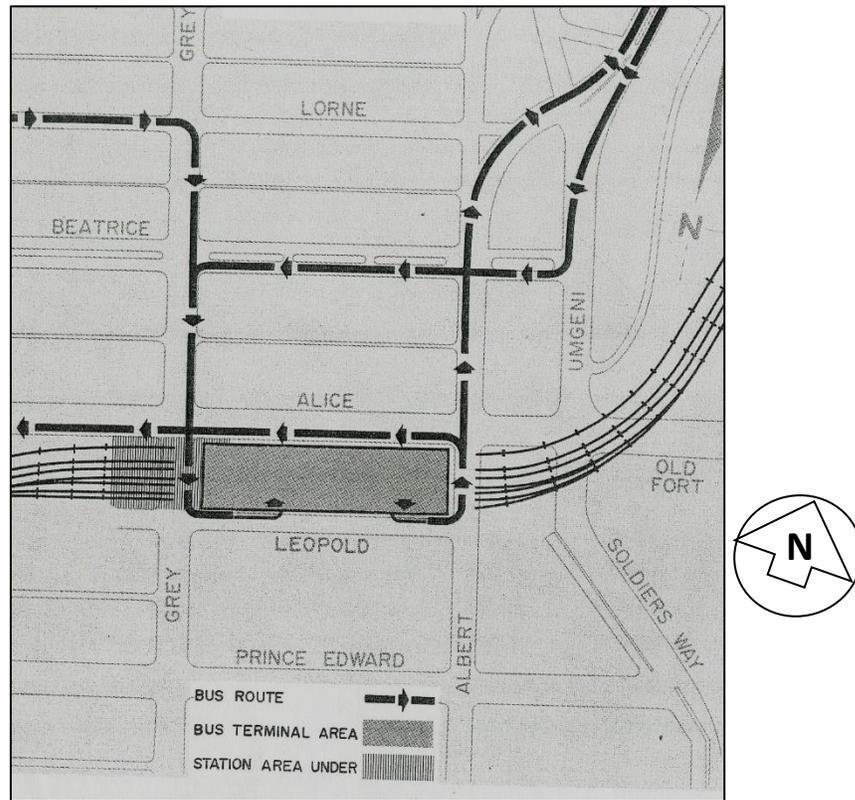


Figure 93. A plan and section of the rudimentary proposals for Leopold Street Bus-Rail Terminal for Blacks in 1968. The bus terminal was located below a freeway and above the train station, sandwiched between major roads (De Leuw Cather: 1968).

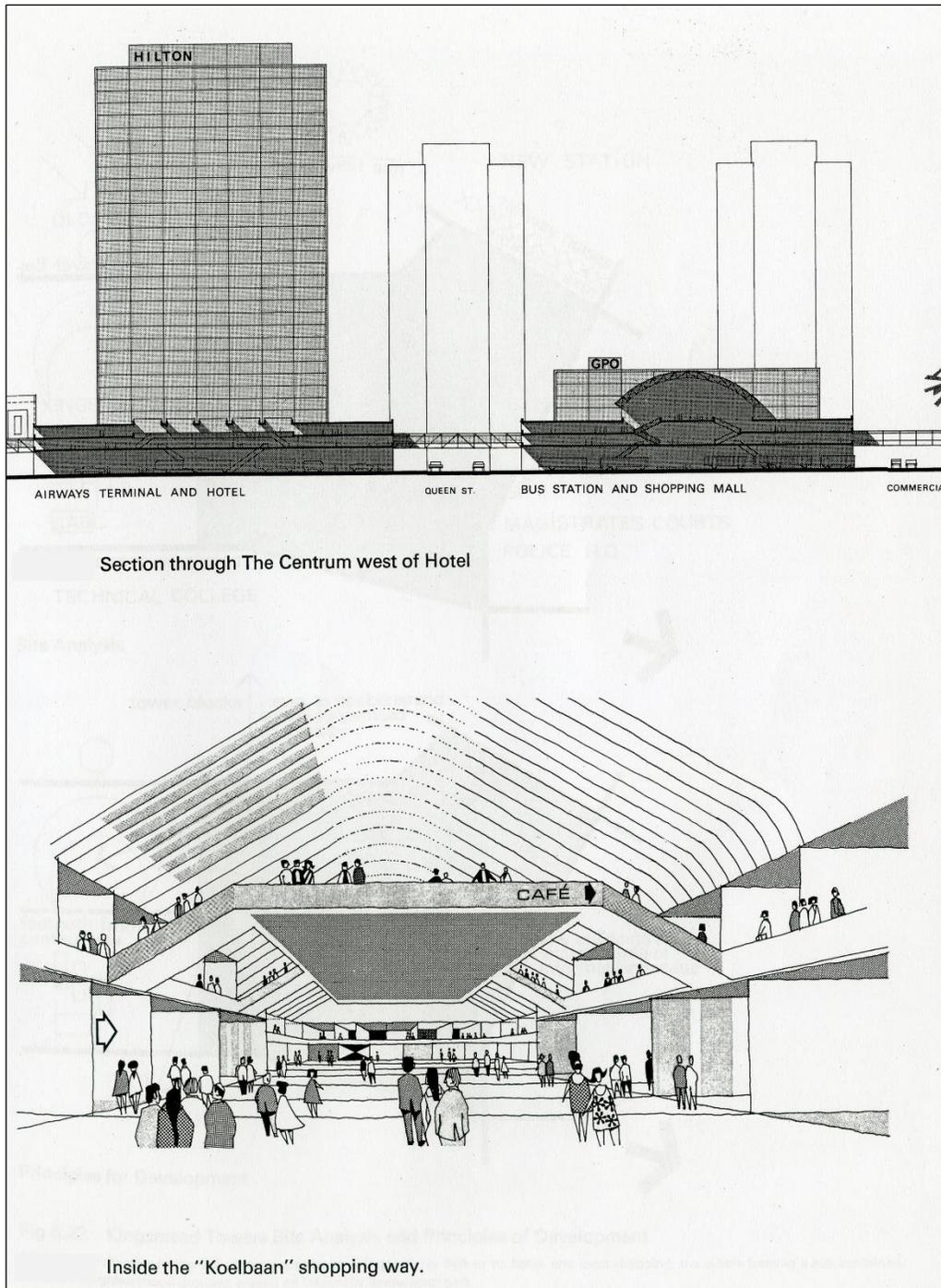


Figure 94. Contrasting transport terminal proposals for Whites, located in the city centre. A bus terminal and 'Koelbaan' shopping facility with overhead connecting bridges between buildings (De Leuw Cather: 1968).



Figure 95. Buses approaching the Victoria Street bus rank in 1950. Note the Early Morning Market (EMM) wall on the lower left and the residential/commercial buildings on Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue in the distance (ZD).



Figure 96. In the mid-1980s the multiple bus ranks were consolidated into the Victoria Street bus rank, which was relocated to the north of the EMM, below the fly-over in the distance. The Early Morning Market can be seen on the left and the steps leading to the new Berea Station in the foreground (GLDC).

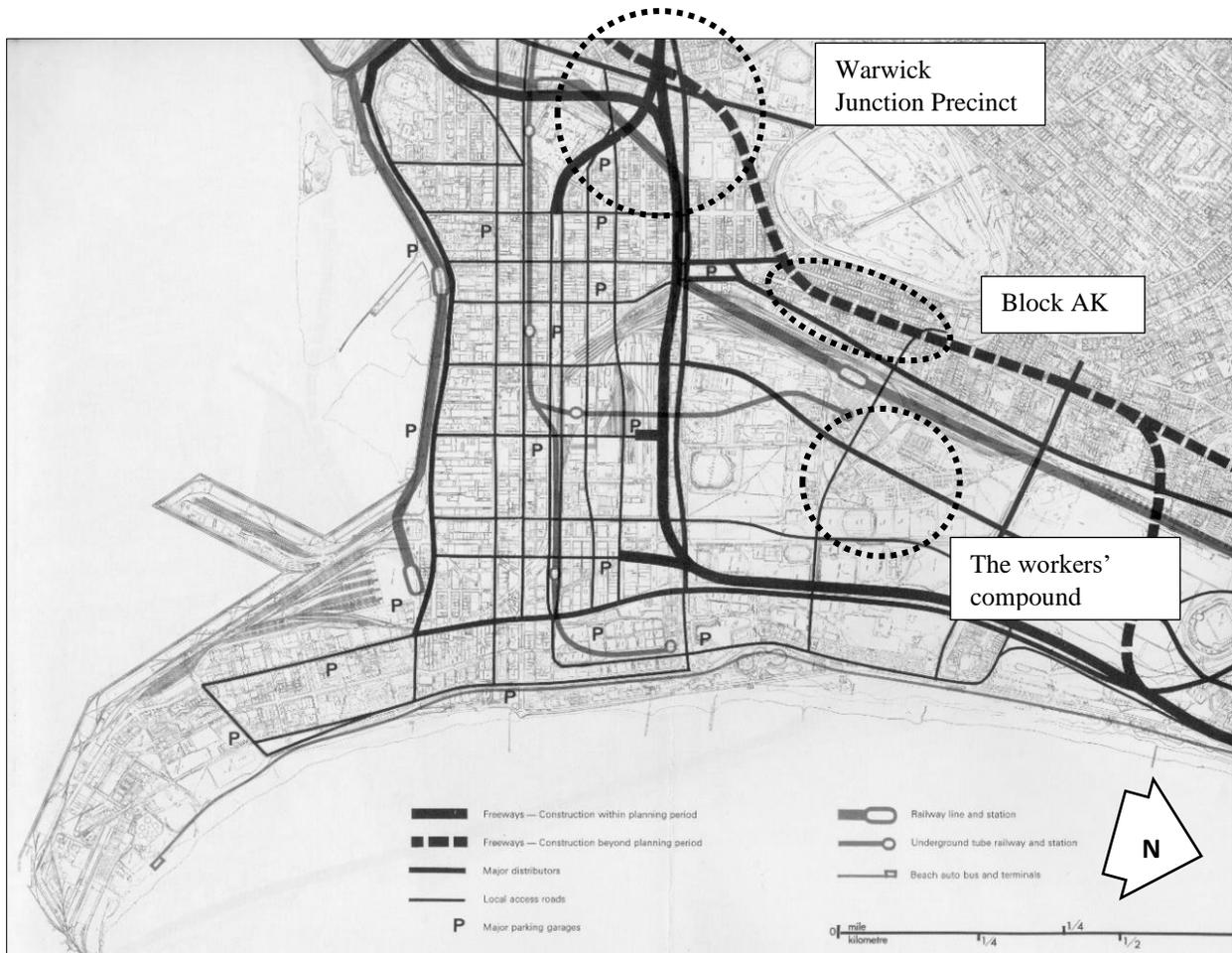


Figure 97. The road and rail network proposed by Holford and Kantorowich and the De Leuw Cather transport engineers in 1968, which had major implications for the Eastern vlei, parts of the Western vlei and Block AK, circled by the author.

6.3 Removals from the Black “town” in the Western vlei.

Cohen’s (1985) focus on the meaning of the term ‘community’, concluded that it was also symbolically constructed “as a system of values, norms, and moral codes which provide a sense of identity within a bounded whole to its members” (Cohen, 1985: 12). The element of distinction or difference to others is what Cohen (1985: 9) referred to as the “boundary”, which encapsulates the identity of a community and is largely symbolic. Cohen argued that the use of the term ‘community’ implies two related suggestions, the first being that members of the group have something in common which, secondly, distinguishes them in a significant way from members of other putative groups. The term expresses a relational idea (Cohen, 1985: 12). The distinction between “community” and “neighbourhood”, is that neighbourhoods are located within the larger community and are considered to be much smaller, such as a few houses or at most a few blocks of houses (Davies and Herbert, 1993: 6).

As indicated previously Davies and Herbert (1993: 6) identified “place communities” as areas which have characteristics that sets them apart from other areas or parts of the city. They are situated within the larger settlement, subsidiary to the city and can be considered as subunits within the urban place. The study, *A City within a city* (Rosenberg, 2012: 64), identified the markers or “boundaries” by which “place communities” were also symbolically constructed in the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP). The neighbourhoods, referred to as the “districts” by residents and gang members describing their territories in “town”, were often expressed 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, both described the inter-relationship of their neighbourhoods, both in spirit and geographically, between “town” and Currie’s Fountain. They described how local street gangs resident in different residential areas and the soccer team from the “district” developed neighbourhood allegiances and identity. Residents of a particular neighbourhood, together with the local street gangs, would support particular soccer teams, on and off the field. The local gangs represented and provided protection in the “district” against rival gangs and the soccer team represented the “district” against rival soccer teams from different areas (Rosenberg, 2012: 64).

Omar Badsha was raised 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, Warwickshires and Berea United. Badsha recalled watching soccer at “Currie’s” where even the seating arrangements were largely determined by the “district” you came from (Rosenberg, 2012: 65).

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 Duchene 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).

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 the different residential neighbourhoods, Currie's Fountain, gangs, soccer teams and the allegiances of 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 Curries? Well our little games mimicked the weekend sporting events at Curries and we took on the names of soccer, cricket and athletic stars of Curries Fountain. So central Durban was very much a surround of Curries, in spirit and geographically...

Soccer was the main sport at Currie's and on Saturday mornings there was a Garment Workers' League played between four or five 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 three 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 cottage 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 clashes were not sport related. On the soccer field Crimson's support came from young residents like me from the area. On Sundays, led by Crimson officials, we made our way in a large contingent to Curries 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 abuzz on Sunday evenings (Osman, 2014: 30-33).

The relationship between gangs, territories or "districts" and soccer is illustrated in the memoir of Edward "Ettie" Abrahams, a famous soccer player in the late-1950s, who played for Rialto Football Club from 1958 and went on to play for Fulham in the English first division soccer league in 1961. Ettie lived in Sydenham and regularly had to catch a bus at night from the bus rank in Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue, after a soccer match and visiting a teammate who lived in Leopold Street.

One of these nights my life and dreams were almost shattered – a memory so disturbing it is forever preserved in my mind. While walking along Warwick Avenue in the dead of night, I was suddenly confronted by a gang of cutthroats who were hell-bent on venting their avenging anger on me. Apparently, one of their kind had been set upon by a bunch of thugs earlier that evening and was in a terrible state of anguish.

I was frozen with fear to say the least. All I could hear above the pounding of my accelerated heart-beat was: “Poke ‘im! Don’t chune! Poke ‘im!”.

As I finally braced myself for the worst, a bloodied figure stepped to the fore with his arms outstretched like Christ on the crucifix and assertively exclaimed: “Hey manne, dis is O’ Ettie of Rialto. No, no, loss him, he’s okay! No, lakka O’Ets, you k’n waai. But we gunning your broers”. Miraculously, the menacing anger abated as the blood-coated figure to whom I was forever grateful took charge of the situation. The blade of his tongue immediately lowered the blades in hands.

And so, by virtue of being a Rialto player, my life was spared... (Abrahams, 2009: 12).

Black “place communities” were established in the zone formed by an arc one kilometer to the North-West of the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey)/Monty Naicker (Pine) Street intersection. What started out as an Indian business and residential quarters on the edge of the city’s three main streets in the 1870s, became what Freund (1995: 33) described as the core of Indian Durban. After expansion into the Western vlei since the 1930s, the area developed into the Black “town” or a “City within a city”, complete with residential, commercial, educational, health, cultural, religious, sports, entertainment, struggle and transport sites - all located between Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street and the base of the Berea (Rosenberg: 2012), illustrated in Figure 98. Different parts of the area were referred to as the “Imperial Ghetto” (Badsha: 2001), the “Casbah” (Hassim: 2008) and the “Duchene” (Hassim: 2009). Rosenberg (2012) referred to the collective of these neighbourhoods, or “place communities” as the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP). The interstitial zone, depicted in Figures 105 and 106, which extended from Greyville racecourse in the North to Anton Lambede Street in the South, was the erstwhile Western vlei. It was located between the two mixed residential/commercial neighbourhoods and developed into a sport, educational, health, transport and trading zone. The changes to this zone from the 1900s can be seen in Figure 105, to the 1930s in Figures 106 and 1984 in Figure 107. It is the collective of the two residential/commercial neighbourhoods or “place communities” and the educational/sports/trading zone illustrated in Figures 98 and 99, that developed from a “dual CBD” (Rajah:1981) to a “City within a city”, referred to as Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP) by Rosenberg (2012). Peripheral to the WJP was the Madras Road area, Block AK, the Melbourne Road flats, Dalton Road Hostel and Beerhall, indicated in Figure 98.



Figure 98. The neighbourhoods that comprised the Black “town” by the 1960s. The “Duchene” 1 and Ritson Road area 1.1, the Grey Street area 2, and the sports/educational/trade and transport zone 3, collectively referred to as the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP).

Peripheral areas: The Madras Road area 4, Block AK 5, Melbourne Road flats, Dalton Hostel and Beerhall 6.

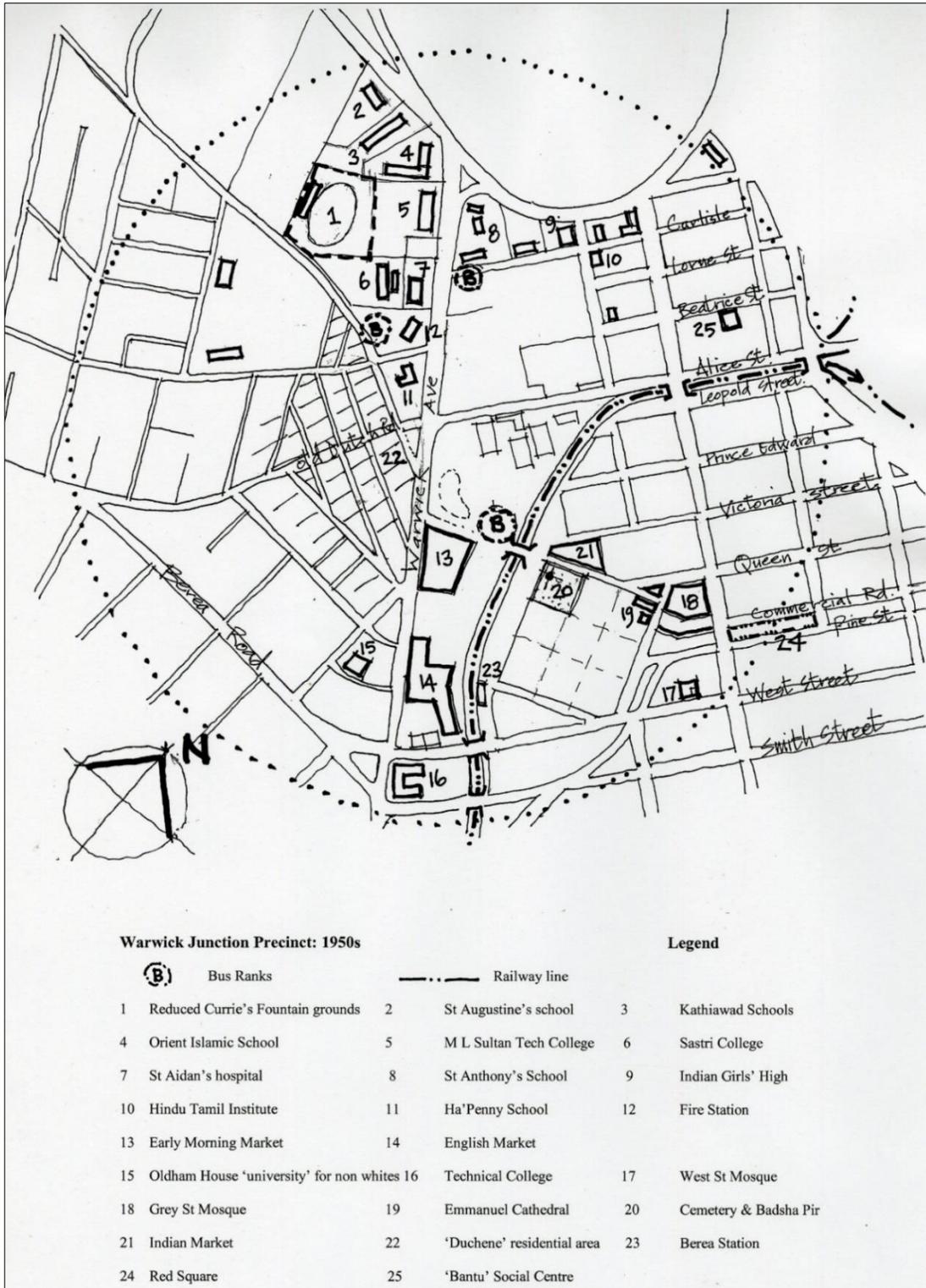


Figure 99. The residential/commercial areas and institutions that comprised the Warwick Junction Precinct or, the Black “town” which had developed to the north-west of the Grey Street area by the 1950s (Rosenberg: 2012).

6.3.1 Implementation of transportation proposals: freeways, fly-overs, bus terminus and train station.

Before Group Areas removals from the Warwick Junction Precinct (WJP) commenced, parts of the area had already been expropriated and buildings demolished to allow for the construction of the western freeway and the transport interchange proposed in 1968 by De Leuw Cather, transport engineers. The transport interchange proposals changed and important spatial nexus of the Black “town”. The confluence of Bertha Mkhize (Victoria), Denis Hurley (Queen) and Brook Street together with the important institutions for Indian and Africans, established since the turn of the century as discussed in chapter 5, was radically changed. The Indian Market, located at the confluence of important roads and commercial activities, had burnt down under mysterious circumstances in 1973, allowing the long-awaited proposed road extensions to commence, depicted in Figure 101. The Indian Market together with properties on the eastern edge of the cemetery occupied an important part of the new freeway system. Figure 100 depicts the twin viaducts, named the Eilat Viaducts, proposed by De Leuw Cather, which started in 1974. The roads avoided the Emmanuel Cathedral, seen in Figure 102, but 1 400 remains in the West Street cemetery had to be removed and re-interred (Lynsky, 1982: 84). Residential properties on both sides of Chris Ntuli (Old Dutch) Road were also expropriated and demolished, to make way for the western freeway entering and exiting the city, as seen in Figures 100 and 101.

The Eilat Viaducts, the Leopold Street freeways and the structure of a future road over the railway line was completed by the mid-1980s. The old Victoria Street Bridge was demolished and was replaced by the new Berea Station, the main train station for Blacks, illustrated in Figures 102, 104 and 107. The triangular portion of land below the Viaduct, north of the Early Morning Market became a formalised bus terminal named the Victoria Street Bus Terminus, depicted in Figure 96. Mini-bus taxi ranks gravitated to this area when the mini-bus taxi industry was formally established in 1987.



Figure 100. The Eilat Viaducts under construction in the mid-1970s and changes to the residential neighbourhood, west of Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue.

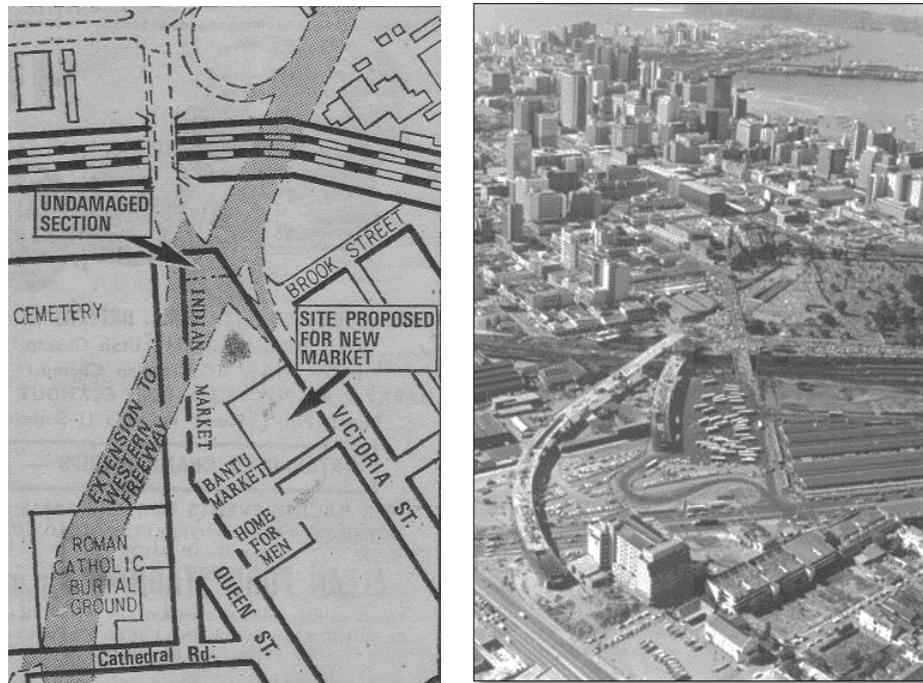
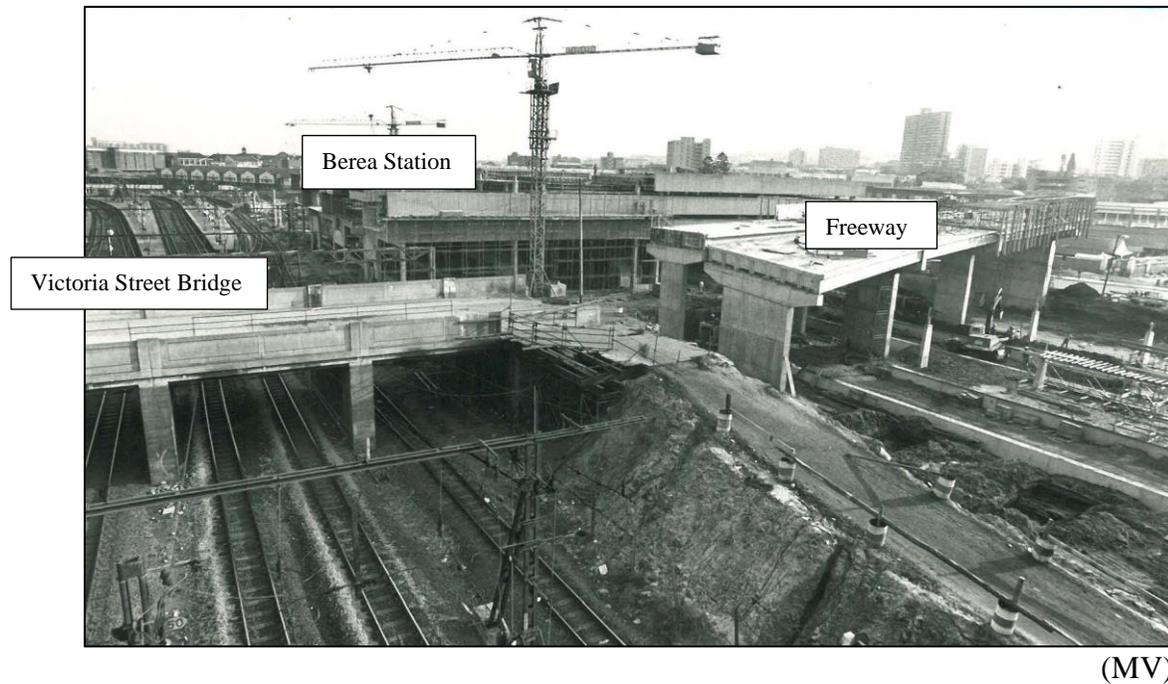


Figure 101. A drawing and photograph of the western freeway and its impact on the Indian Market site, the Roman Catholic burial ground and the Cathedral which was separated from the cemetery.



(MV)

Figure 102. The Victoria Street Bridge which had been in existence since the 1890s, and provided an important western entry point into the city for Blacks, was demolished in the 1980s, to make way for the expanded rail tracks, the new Berea Station and freeway over the railway line.



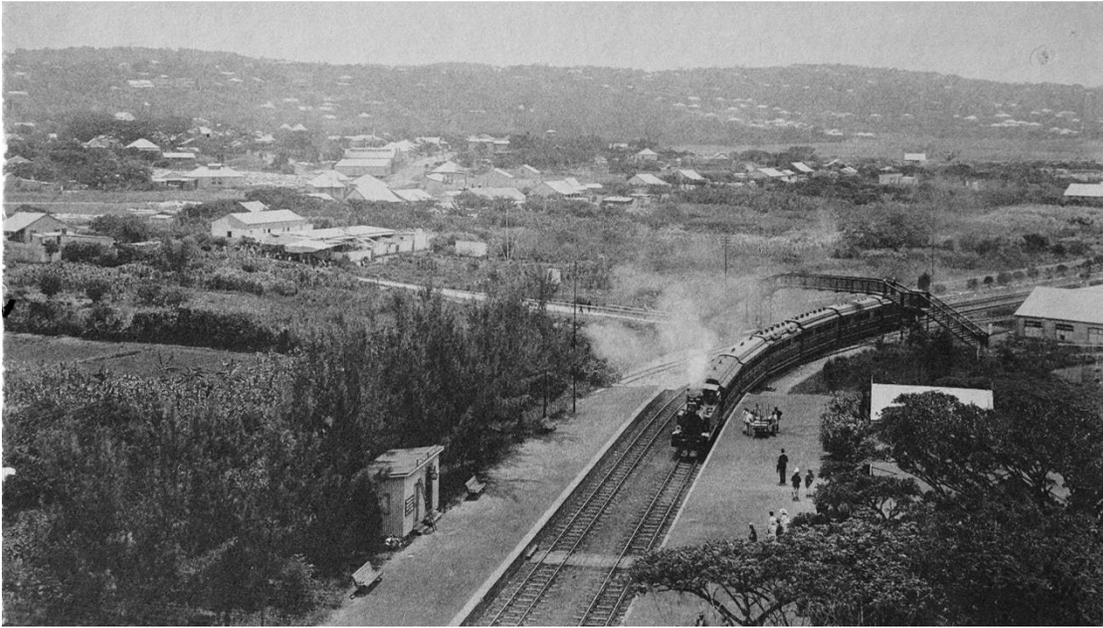
(GLDC)

Figure 103. The new Victoria Street Market in 1990 replaced the old Indian Market which was destroyed by a fire in 1973.



(GLDC)

Figure 104. The new Berea Station for Black commuters in the mid-1980s. These stairs and a walk through the station, before descending another flight of stairs, was the only route to get to and from the Grey Street precinct. This route replaced the street-level crossing over the original Victoria Street bridge.



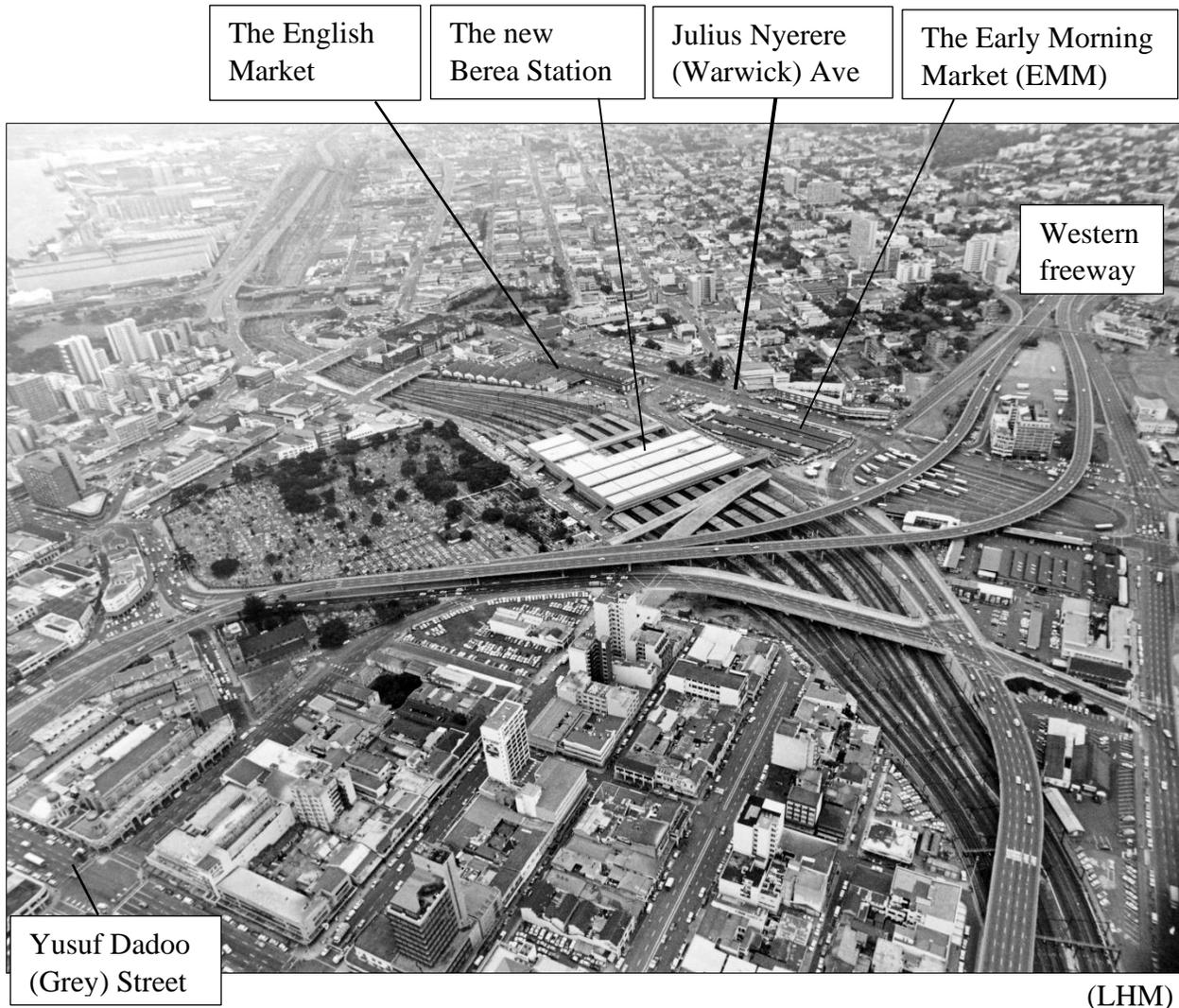
(LHM)

Figure 105. A view in 1903 of the Western vlei adjacent to the railway line. Berea Station is seen in the foreground on the right. Note the market gardening activities in the vlei.



(CE)

Figure 106. A 1931 aerial view of the lower Berea and the vacant interstitial space between the town centre and the Berea, which was the original Western vlei (seen above in Figure 105), after being drained and reclaimed. Note the completed Early Morning Market enclosure but Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue had not been formalised.



(LHM)

Figure 107. A 1984 aerial view from the East, illustrating the major changes between the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area and Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue area. A major railway network, the new Berea Station, the Western freeway, fly-overs, the Early Morning Market (EMM) and English Market, all occupied the space that was once the Western vlei.

6.3.2 Sport, education, health, trade and transport zone (numbered 3 in Figure 98).

In chapter 5, an important “centering” of place was described. Currie’s Fountain and the surrounding schools and hospital established in the 1930s, typify what Friedmann (2010: 157) identified as “centering”, which was one of the characteristics important to place making. The importance and sense of attachment to this distinct *place* described in chapter 5, was further extended and reinforced in the 1950s, by the establishment of five additional schools adjacent to a much-reduced Currie’s Fountain sports ground.

Currie’s Fountain sports ground was established as a sports facility for Indians in 1925. The prestigious Sastri College built adjacent to Currie’s Fountain was opened in 1930, followed by Durban Indian Girls’ High in 1930, St Aidan’s Hospital in 1936, St Anthony’s School and Church in 1936 and the Methodist School, all for the use by the Indian community (Rosenberg et al, 2013b: 119). By the 1940s there was a desperate need for more land for Indian educational facilities, funded by different cultural organisations and a philanthropist, Mr. M.L. Sultan. Anti-Indian agitation during this period when the Pegging Act was introduced, resulted in very little land being available for Indian building developments. This resulted in a search for suitable land for educational institutions. Orient Islamic School, searched for land for 15 years because of objections by White residents to the erection of an Indian educational institution in White areas (Vahed and Waetjen, 2015: 196). Finding a site for the erection of ML Sultan Technical College, suffered a similar fate.

After a number of sites by various Indian organisations were investigated without success, the City Council decided to sub-divide Currie’s Fountain sports ground and allocated a substantial part of the sports facility for school developments. The lease of the land to the Durban Indian Sports Ground Association had expired in 1950 and by 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 1930s, mentioned above. The educational facilities built in the mid-1950s, 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, the Gandhi Desai State Aided Secondary School and the St Augustine’s School for Coloureds, illustrated in Figure 108. The hard struggle for education by the Indian community in Durban, ranging from building elementary and high schools, teacher training facilities and providing technical and vernacular education, is encapsulated in the history of these cherished educational institutions that developed around Currie’s Fountain from the late 1930s to the late 1950s (Singh, 2013b: 109-156) and (Vahed and Waetjen: 2015).

Currie’s Fountain sports ground was radically reduced in size, shown in Figure 108. A new grandstand, one soccer field, cricket pitches and an athletics track were re-built and opened in 1958. With the exception of St Augustine’s School, all the educational institutions were built with funds raised by the Indian 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 and sport zone, illustrated in Figures 98 and 108, and depicted in Figures 111 to 116. Some schools had a high and primary school functioning from the same premises, located on different floors, or different buildings. All the schools were built on small pieces of land resulting in school sports

activities and physical education sessions being conducted at the much-reduced Currie's Fountain sports ground.

As far as library services for Blacks were concerned, the early schools served as depots for the Durban municipal library. In 1943 the Albert Street Coloured School and Sydenham Government Coloured School were listed as two of the ten schools for "non-European" library depots. The Bantu Social Centre, the Women's hostel in Grey Street, St Faith's Mission and the Taylor Street Native School, later named Loram School, were listed as depots serving Africans. Carlisle Street and Dartnell Crescent Indian Schools together with Sastri College served as library depots for Indians (Mayor's Minute, 1943: 85). In 1950 the Melbourne Road school for Coloureds was listed as one of the depots receiving 70 books (Mayor's Minute, 1950: 115).

The Ndongeni Bantu Branch Library which was opened on 15 June 1942 served as branch of the Durban municipal library and was housed in the Bantu Social Centre. It was named after the young African servant who had accompanied Dick King on his famous ride (Albertyn, 1969: 137). The mayor reported in 1943 that numerous talks on a wide range of topics were organised at the centre, referred to as a club for African men. A room with all the necessary fittings, light, cleaning and supervision was provided for free by the Social Centre. Two years after its opening, the authorities considered this branch library as having become the intellectual and cultural centre for progressive African men and women. It was used by workers, nurses, scholars, adults studying for university degrees and prominent visitors from rural areas and cities outside Natal. In 1944 it had a membership of 453 and a collection of nearly 2000 books, White daily magazines and literature of the Institute of Race Relations (Mayor's Minute, 1944: 84). Ten years later this library was relocated to the Brook Street library.

A "non-European" library service started in July 1950 to complement the twenty schools and institutions which received boxes of books, considered as depots. The service, in the form of a travelling library, in a converted bus depicted in Figure 109, proved to be very popular. In the same year the Council planned a temporary library for "non-Europeans" and allocated certain Corporation buildings in Brook Street for this purpose (Mayor's Minute, 1950: 26). The Brook Street library, depicted in Figure 110, was officially opened by the mayor in 1951, with the books being provided from the former travelling library. The Ndongeni Bantu Branch Library was subsequently transferred to this library in 1954. The Brook Street Library was subsequently relocated to Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) Street in 1962 (Mayor's Minute, 1961/62: 31).

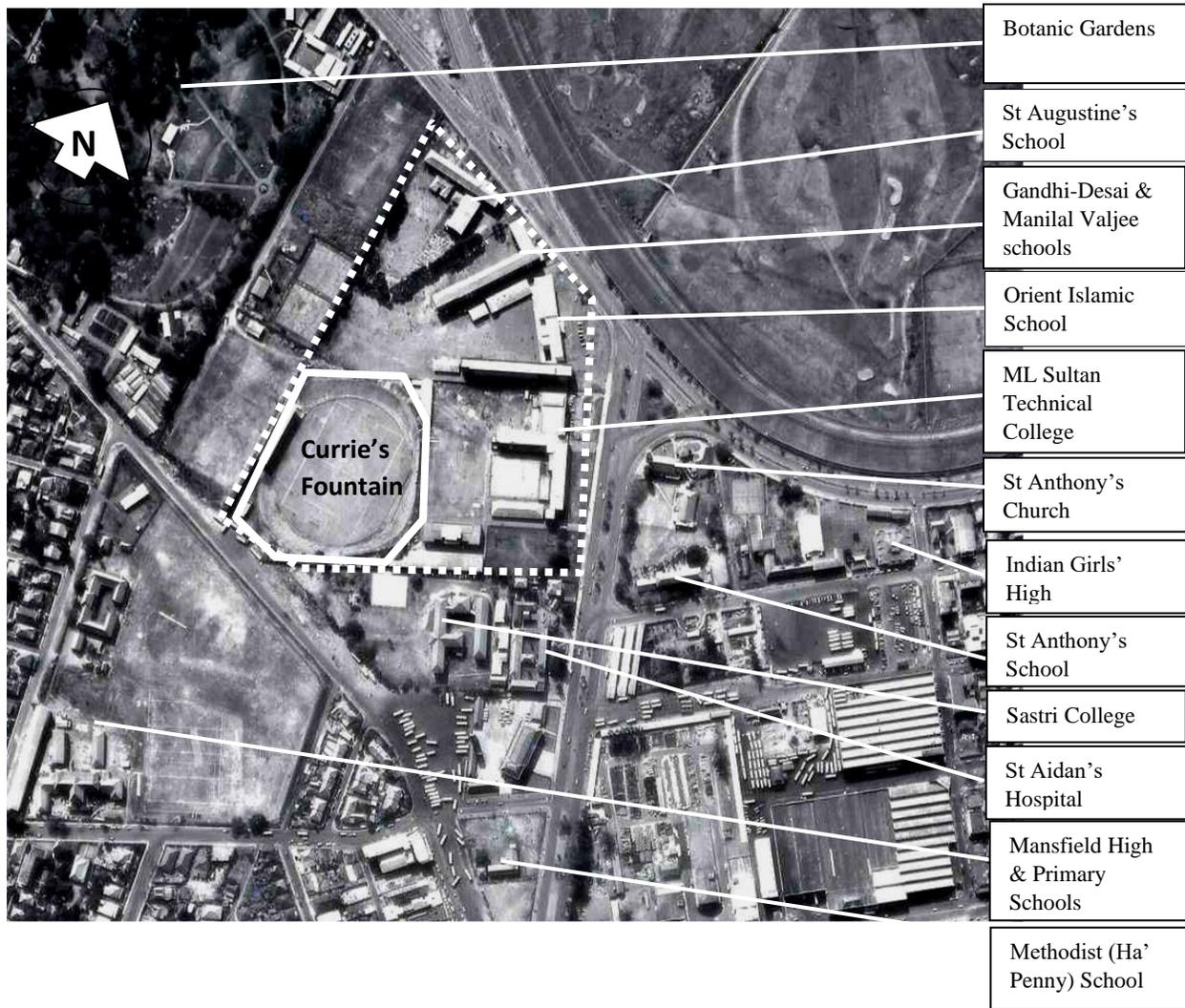


Figure 108. A 1963 aerial view of the much-reduced Currie's Fountain sports ground and the additional educational institutions built in the 1950s, complementing the sports, health and educational zone that had been established by the 1930s (Rosenberg, 2012: 92).



Figure 109. The “non-European” travelling library in a converted bus (Mayor’s Minute).



Figure 110. The Brook Street branch library for “non-Europeans”, established in 1951 (Mayor’s Minute).



Figure 111. The Dartnell Crescent Indian Girls' School (MV).



Figure 112. The Gandhi-Desai and Manilal Valjee primary and secondary schools (MV).



Figure 113. The Orient Islamic School (MV).

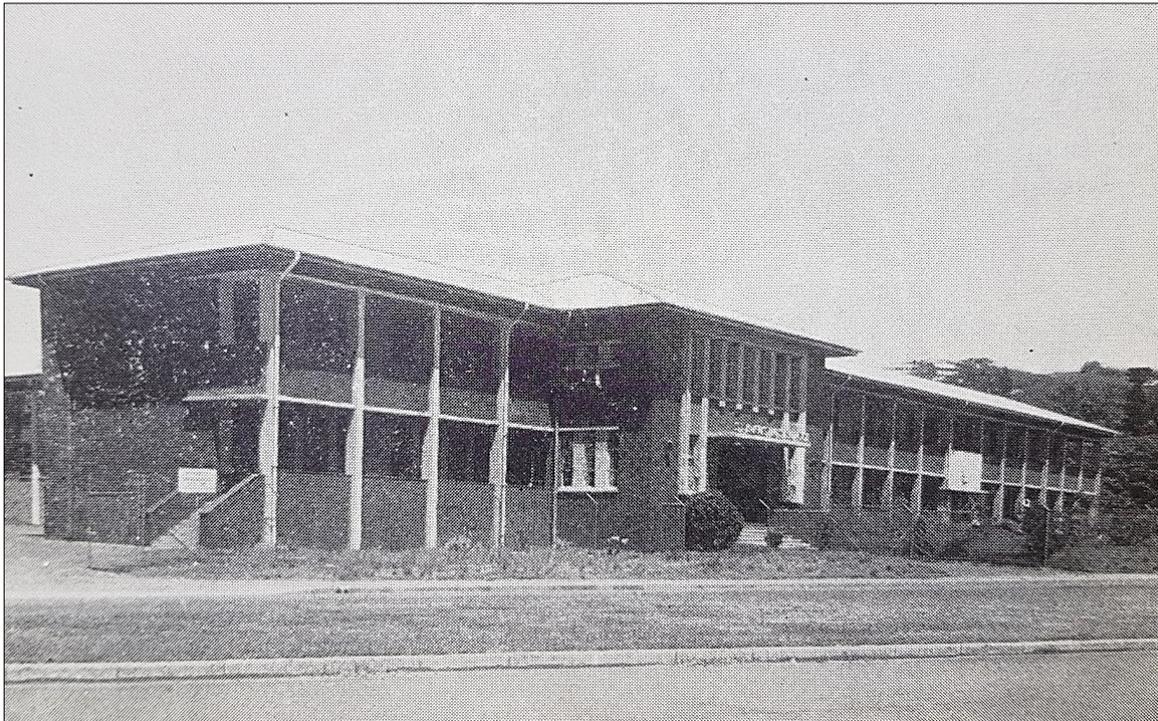


Figure 114. The St Augustine's school for Coloureds (Stark: 1960).



Figure 115. The Indian Girls' High school in Carlisle Street (MV).



Figure 116. The ML Sultan Technical College established in 1956 on ML Sultan (Centenary) Road.

6.3.3 Residential areas:

A number of “place communities” (Davies and Herbert (1993: 6), are outlined below. These were distinct communities because of their locality, racial composition, their aesthetics, quality of the building fabric and they were considered as slums by the authorities since the late 1930s.

6.3.3a *The Warwick Avenue Area or “Duchene” (numbered 1, in Figures 98 and 117).*

The residential and commercial area, west of Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue, illustrated in Figures 98 and 117 has been referred to as the “Duchene” (Hassim: 2009: 83), the name derived from Old Dutch Road, the main thoroughfare through the area. Numerous properties on either side of Old Dutch Road (renamed Chris Ntuli), was expropriated from the late 1950s for the construction of the western freeway entering the city. The western freeway became a major barrier and physically divided the old “Duchene” neighbourhood, illustrated in Figure 117, into two parts. The part to the north of the freeway, was zoned for educational purposes and allocated to Technikon Natal, a White tertiary education institution. The remaining area south of the freeway, became known as the Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT) in the 1980s. Different forms of forced removal procedures were implemented in these two areas. The removal of residents from the WAT was the responsibility of the City Council, and on the site zoned for educational purposes, the task was ceded to the Natal College for Advanced Technical Education (Technikon Natal). The removals were achieved with the co-operation of the then National Government, National Education Department, Community Development, the Durban City Council and the then Natal College for Advanced Technical Education, from the early 1970 to the mid-1980s (correspondence, DUT archives). The destruction of the “Duchene” bears similarities to District Six in Cape Town, such as: the removal of an old multi-racial neighbourhood, consisting of a mix of residential and business premises in close proximity to the CBD, famous institutions and notorious inhabitants, displaced by a White educational institution and freeway.

The dense residential area consisted of small plots on either side of, what was then known as Old Dutch Road, and was traversed by a series of cross streets such as Wills, Leathern, Agnes, Stratford and Etna Lane. It was an old residential area bordering the Western vlei and was the least desirable land in the late nineteenth century given its proximity to the Western vlei, illustrated in Figures 18, 105 and 106. Indians had settled in the Western vlei by the late 1870s and is thus an old part of Durban that changed radically after the vlei was drained and commercial activity increased in the 1930s. The Greyville racecourse was developed in the vlei followed by Currie’s Fountain sports ground in 1925, Sastri College in 1930, the Early Morning Market (EMM) in 1934 and St Aidan’s Hospital, St Anthony’s Church and school in the mid-1930s. Informal bus ranks developed around these new amenities since the 1930s and in particular the busy EMM and Indian Market. Businesses flourished and its central location and proximity to schools, a sports facility, transport nodes and markets made it a highly desirable residential area for Indians and Coloureds.

The neighbourhood consisted of a mix of single dwellings, semi-detached houses, multi-storey blocks of flats, a cinema, churches and numerous businesses such as supermarkets, tea-rooms, hairdressing salons, hardware shops, a printer, shoe stores, embroidery shop, laundry and the popular Old Dutch Butchery. It also boasted its own soccer team such as Berea Football Club and the notorious street gang called the “Duchenes” (Interview, 11 November 2017). The area was

also home to the popular Currie's Fountain soccer stadium and the "Non-European" Section of the University of Natal, based at Sastri College. The "Duchene" was a community, consisting of predominantly Indians in residential properties and businesses but it also included a few Whites, and some Coloureds, mainly in rented accommodation whilst Africans lived in servant quarters (Interview, 11 November 2017). This residential area had been the subject of a number of legislative measures since the late 1930s when it was identified as part of ten slum zones in the late 1930s and the Commissions of Enquiry in 1941 and 1942, resulting in the "Pegging Act" which confined the spread of Indians into traditional White areas.

This high-density residential and business area to the west of Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue, was proclaimed a White 'group area' in 1963. The Black residents had to find alternative residential and business accommodation or wait until a house or business site was allocated to them in their respective racially defined townships, that were still in the process of being constructed. Part of the "Duchene" was identified as a site for the new Berea Campus by the Director of the then Natal College for Advanced Technical Education (which became Technikon Natal), and was subsequently zoned for educational purposes by the City Council in 1972. The numerous White residents on the western part of the site also had to sell their properties to the Technikon. The educational institution played a leading role in the removal process.

Technikon Natal initiated the valuation of the properties, negotiated the sale price and sent requests to the National Education Department for funds to acquire the properties. The Technikon also motivated to Government Departments for expropriations, instructed and coordinated the demolishers, moved and relocated tenants within different buildings on the site, with the assistance of the Department of Community Development. In addition, the Technikon also collected rent from numerous tenants, living in blocks of flats or houses that were already sold to the Technikon, while waiting for a house or other accommodation to become available in the townships or elsewhere (Interview, 11 November 2017). The Technikon also had to submit a motivation to the National Government for the decontrol of certain properties between Etna Lane and Warwick Avenue which fell under the protection of rent control legislation. After more than a decade of removals a group of tenants still living in flats, which had been sold to the Technikon, resisted relocation. The educational institution approached the court to force the last remaining tenants and businesses to vacate (DUT archives).

The process of acquiring the 214 properties, on the site allocated to Technikon Natal, illustrated in Figure 118 started in 1973 and demolition and clearing commenced in early 1974, illustrated in Figures 119 to 123. Hundreds of, White, Indian and Coloured residents and African workers in servant quarters, had to vacate the area. From the mid-1970s until 1984 the Technikon also had to co-exist and manage numerous tenants that still occupied businesses and flats on parts of the site, particularly the eastern end of the site between Etna Lane and Warwick Avenue. Whilst the site was being cleared of deteriorated building stock, structurally sound and substantial buildings were retained and refurbished for use by the Technikon. Retained residential buildings were gradually occupied and put to new use by the educational institution. Construction of the new buildings for the new Berea Campus started in 1982 and was built in phases, depicted in Figure 123. In the early 1980s, numerous remaining tenants resisted relocation until the matter was settled in court from 1982 to 1984. For the Technikon, it was a major milestone achieved when the complete site was finally vacated in January 1985, 12 years after the first acquisitions of residential property. The

214 properties were consolidated into one site for the Technikon Natal. For many of the residents it was a life changing experiences to give up their way of life and sense of community in ‘town’ and they reluctantly accepted the new bleak and monotonous environments in the outlying townships, separated from their old neighbours, friends and established social life (Interview, 11 November 2017).

6.3.3b The Ritson Road area (numbered 1.1 in Figures 98 and 118).

Ritson Road is located along the western boundary of two White schools, known as Mansfield Primary and Mansfield High Schools, and connects Steve Biko (Mansfield) Road and Winterton Walk. A narrow one-way street named Heswall Road, leads off Ritson Road and loops back to Steve Biko (Mansfield) Road. This area was a multiracial neighbourhood, which was part of the “Duchene” and the surrounding Currie’s Fountain area. It was separated from the rest of the multiracial community, by the two White schools and their sports fields, illustrated in Figures 117 and 118. Of note is the large size of these sports fields for two schools, in relation to the size of Currie’s Fountain, which was meant to serve the Indian community as a whole.

The Ritson Road area was home to a number of well-known Indian families who were politically active and who were journalists in the alternative press, such as Fatima and Ismail Meer, and the Bramdhaws who owned in *The Leader* newspaper. In a collection of essays on what Durban means, *Durban in a word* (Stewart: 2008), one of writers reflected on her childhood and growing up in the Ritson Road area:

I spent my early childhood playing amongst children in a racially integrated neighbourhood on the lower Berea where the streets would be lined with heavily laden mango, guava, pawpaw and banana trees, Dutch apples and kumquats. There were Indian and English-speaking families and Afrikaners, various hues of so-called coloured people, ranging from ‘play whites’ to the more proudly coloured and even a black lawyer.

I recall that he had a purple Lincoln Continental, a Mercedes Benz and even a Volkswagen, which invariably filled up half of the narrow street. He had a Zulu chauffeur and the whole entourage consisting of an Indian nanny and numerous children would be taken to school each morning. We would all glare in amazement at this grand sight.

Heswall Road must have been a fascinating place to warrant two sociologists to study the interracial interactions of the residents of the streets...It was quite remarkable how people lived so harmoniously together until the Group Areas Act came as a bolt from the blue to disrupt a beautiful neighbourhood (Rajab, 2008: 125).

AC Meer who had been vice president of the Natal Indian Congress and was a historian for *The Leader* newspaper, wrote a series titled ‘*I Remember*’ between 1986 and 1989, as personal reminiscences of the 1940s and 1950s. The ‘*I Remember*’ series was also based on the news coverage that featured in *The Leader* before and during that period. AC Meer and numerous family members lived in the area and he described their residential locations as the “Meer Faria”. The “Meer Faria” described the localities of the Meer families, forming a ‘Z’ shape, with houses or flats in Ritson Road, Steve Biko (Mansfield) Road and Etna Lane. Eight Meer homes in the area were vacated because of the Group Areas Act. And, similar to many other families, were scattered

in the various racially designated areas of Reservoir Hills, Isipingo Beach, Sydenham and Puntan's Hill (*The Leader* 23 May 1986 and 6 June 1986).

Residents of the Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT), on the southern side of the Western freeway illustrated in Figure 117, resisted relocation from the early 1970s up until the late 1980s when the City Council finally abandoned the idea of relocating residents. In the early 1970s, about 1 700 families were given notice to vacate and many properties were also expropriated for construction of the Western Freeway. By the mid-1980s about 350 families were still living in the WAT and with the formation and activism by the Durban Central Resident's Association (DCRA), originally called the Warwick Avenue Resident's Association, evictions were successfully stopped. However, the 'frozen' status from the 1960s to mid-1980s resulted in a serious deterioration of the area and high crime levels. After securing free settlement status, residents cleaned up their neighbourhood, initiated crime fighting campaigns, built a park and engaged with urban planners to re-design their neighbourhood, depicted in Figure 124. The WAT became synonymous with resistance to evictions and forced removals from the 1980s and the DCRA's successes at WAT, gave impetus to the "Stop the Group Areas" campaign locally and nationally. Maharaj's study (1999), noted that the WAT was one of the few multi-racial, inner-city areas that survived the destruction of the forced removals process.

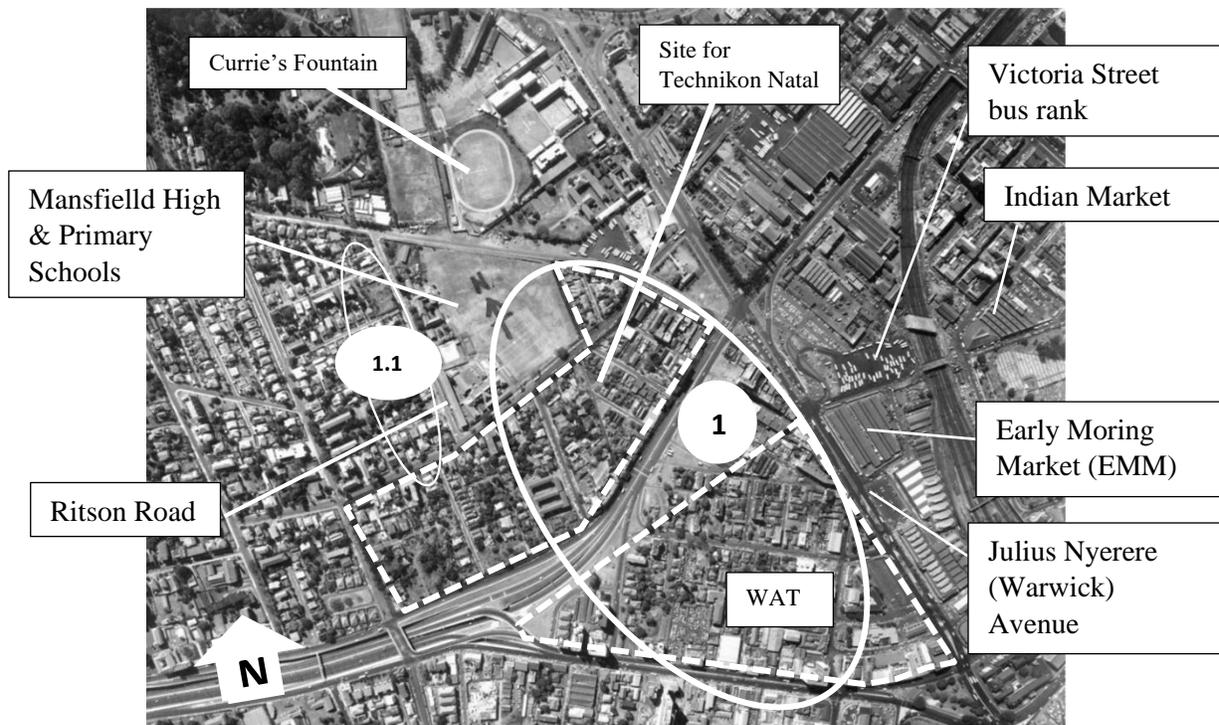


Figure 117. The "Duchene" neighbourhood 1, and Ritson Road area 1.1, in the early 1970s, illustrating the site zoned educational and allocated to Technikon Natal. The neighbourhood south of the freeway became known as the Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT), in the 1980s.

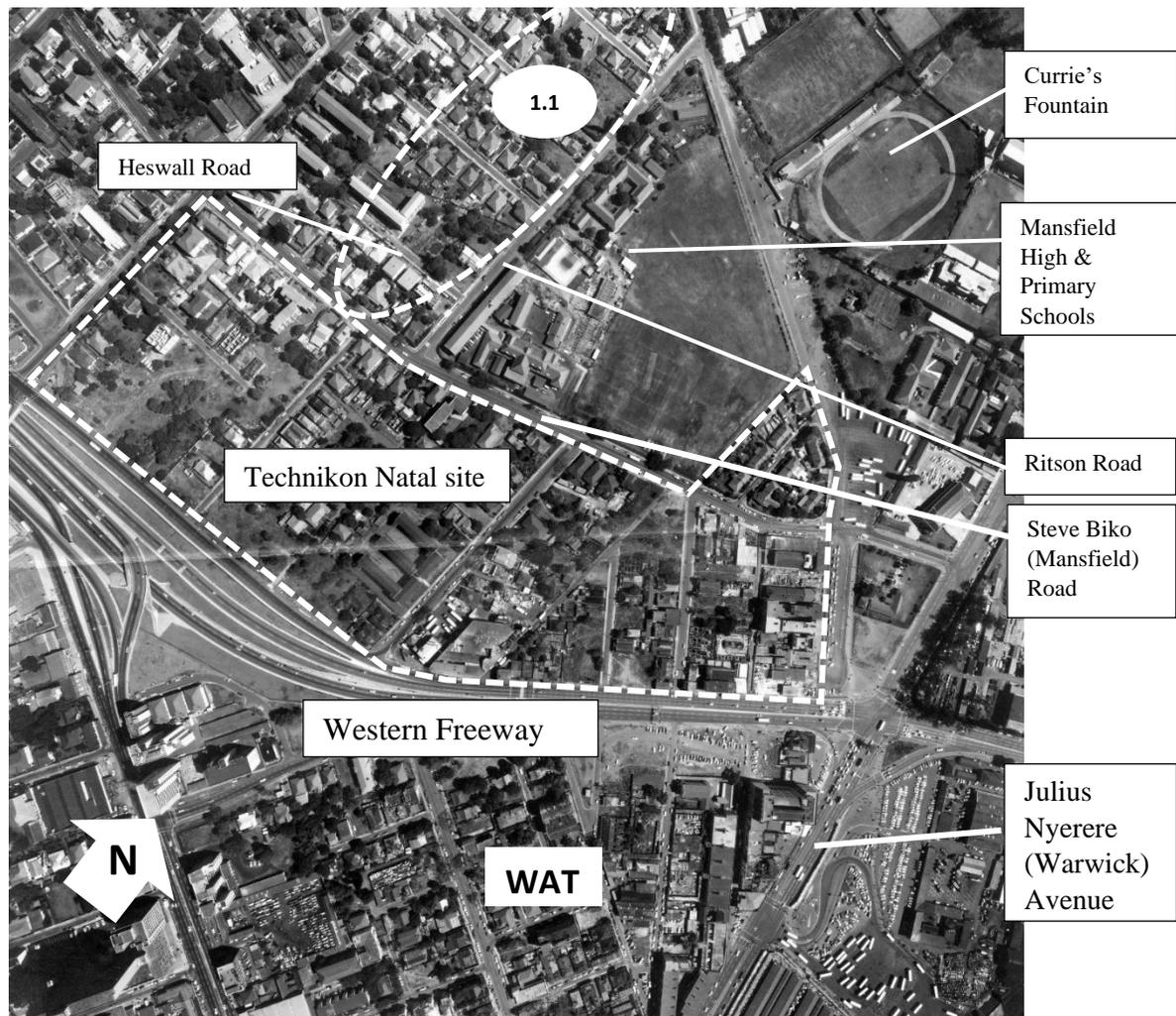


Figure 118. The area which was zoned for educational purposes and all the residents on 214 properties had to vacate and relocate. The new Berea Campus for the Technikon Natal, for Whites, was built on this site. Numerous properties along Chris Ntuli (Old Dutch) Road were also expropriated, because of the Western freeway construction. A multiracial community also lived in the Ritson Road area, numbered 1.1



Figure 119. Demolition of old houses in progress and the mayoress, Sybil Hotz, posing on the bulldozer at a sod turning ceremony on the site in 1982 (DUT Archives).

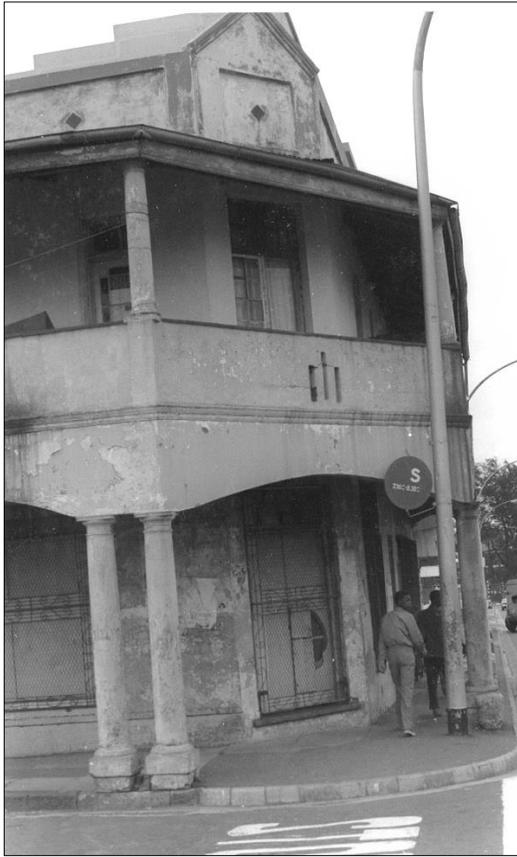


Figure 120. After many years of stagnation, the residential neighbourhood between Steve Biko (Mansfield) Road and Old Dutch Road had deteriorated. These photographs provide glimpses of the old residential character of the area (DUT Archives).



Figure 121. Most buildings were demolished, but a few buildings were retained for use by the Technikon. The top photograph depicts children playing in front of their sub-economic block of flats for Whites, in the background. This building, was retained by the Technikon for student accommodation (DUT Archives).



Figure 122. A number of substantial blocks of flats were also demolished. The buildings in the top and bottom photographs were retained for use by Technikon Natal (DUT Archives).



Figure 123. The site after it was cleared of all old buildings not required for re-use by the Technikon, whilst the new buildings, shown below, were being constructed (DUT Archives).



Figure 124. The Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT) area. Residents cleaning up their neighbourhood (top and middle photographs) and accompanying inspections by Council authorities in the mid-1980s, urging the authorities to upgrade their neighbourhood (bottom) (IM).

6.3.3c The Madras Road Area (numbered 4 in Figure 98).

More than 100 Indian families that lived in the Sydenham-Madras-Avondale Road area, North of Botanic Gardens, as illustrated in Figure 125, were given notice to vacate when the Group Areas proclamations in 1963 declared their area for White ownership and occupation. Residents were given notice to vacate by 1 December 1964 and relocate to Chatsworth. Those who failed to vacate were liable to a R400 fine or up to two years in prison. Properties had to be sold to the Department of Community Development. Some of the residents had lived in the area for 65 years. Nearly all the residents were “of humble means” and could not afford to buy homes elsewhere. Some residents also had small businesses that they could not relocate to Chatsworth (*Daily News* 26 November 1964).

By March 1965, there were still 50 families in the area who made an appeal to the then Minister of Community Development PW Botha, for permits to continue living in their homes until they found suitable accommodation. Their plea to the Minister followed a refusal for permits by the Department of Community Development in Durban. They wrote letters reminding Botha that he and his predecessors had previously given assurances that no one would be moved out of their premises, as a result of the Group Areas Act, until suitable alternative accommodation had been found. However, Durban officials viewed the area as a slum because it was one of the 12 slum zones identified after 1939. The Durban City Council indicated that residents would eventually have to relocate because of a new town planning scheme (*Natal Mercury*, 3 March 1965). By 1966, the few who remained were served notices of expropriation by the Department of Community Development and were given less than 30 days to sell their properties to the Department (*Daily News*, 17 May 1966).

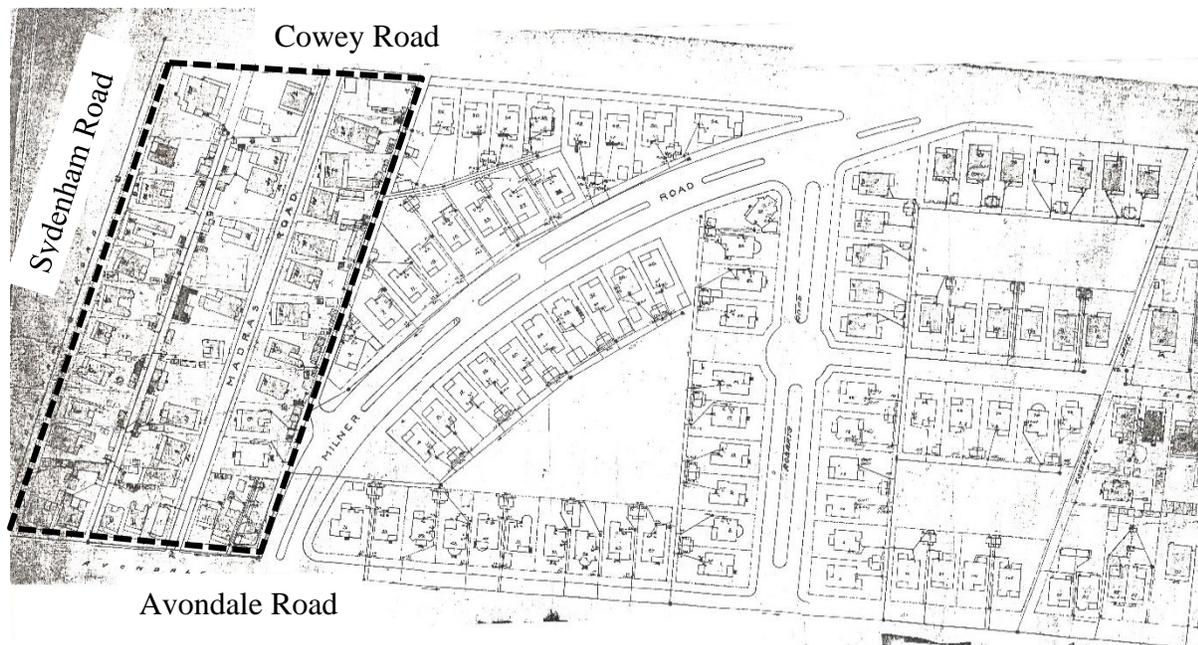


Figure 125. The locality of the Madras Road residential area, that was identified as one of the 12 slum zones and declared a White Group Area in 1963 (UKZN AL).

About another 20 wealthy Indian families who lived in Currie Road, Cowey Road and Eleventh Avenue also had to vacate. Among the prominent families affected were SM Lockhat, MI and GHE Paruk. The Paruk family had lived in the area for more than 50 years and the Lockhats for 30 years (*Daily News*, 2 December 1964). There were also a number of more affluent Indian families, who owned properties in the Avondale Road area depicted in Figure 126. These properties were part of the Indian penetration scare in the 1940s and the subject of Indian “penetration” commissions in the 1940s. These families also had to vacate their homes in the 1960s.

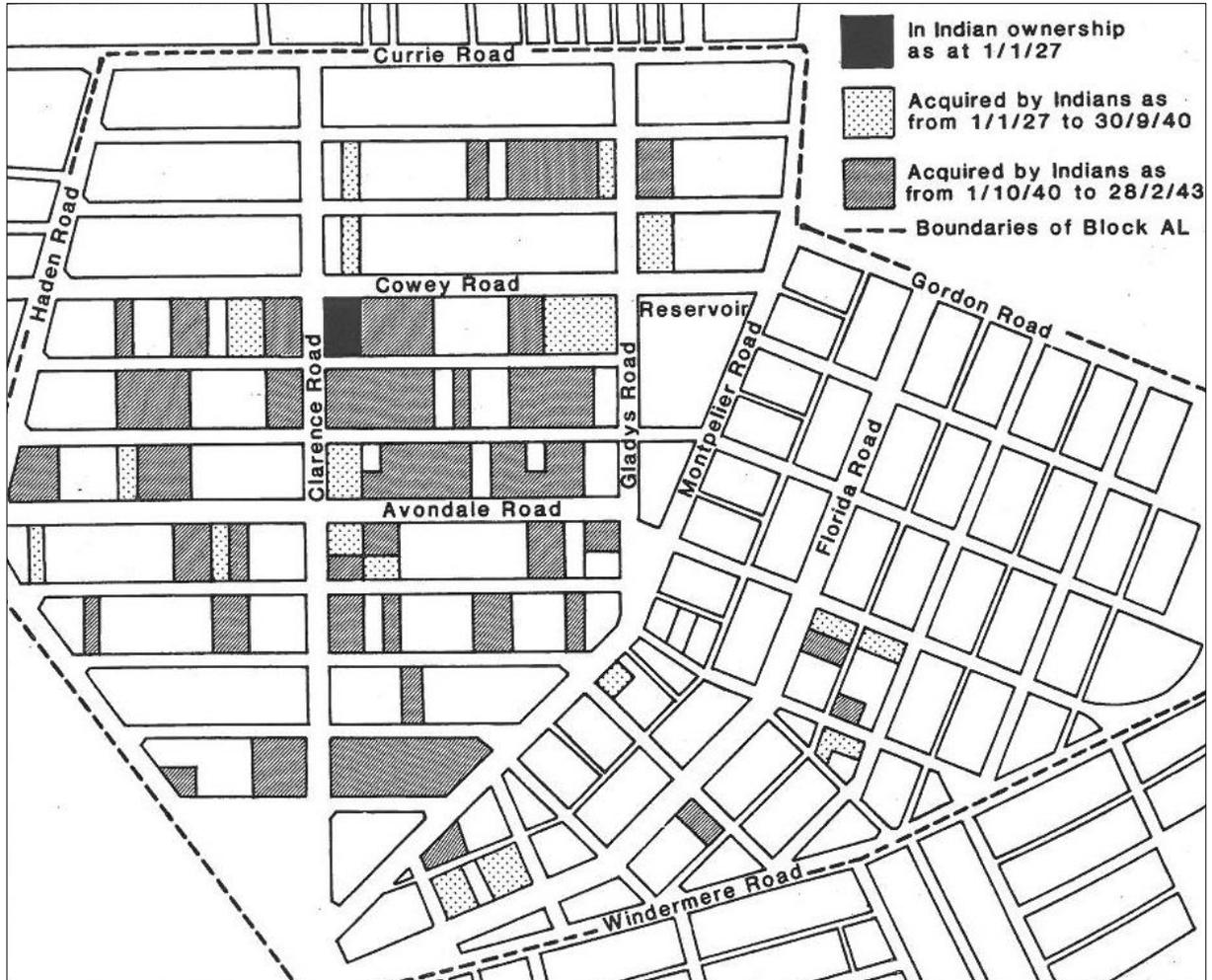


Figure 126. Indian-owned properties in the Avondale Road area between 1927 and 1943 which were the subject of the Indian “penetration” commissions in the 1940s (Christopher, 1994: 41).

6.3.3d Block AK (numbered 5 in Figure 98).

The nondescript name of ‘Block AK’ is synonymous with the Group Areas Act, forced removals and the heartache it accompanied in Durban in the 1960s. To the ex-residents their neighbourhood was known as Greyville, just like the race course it was adjacent to. ‘Block AK’ is the technical reference to a locality on the town plan, which lies east of Greyville Race Course and is bounded by Kolling Road in the north, Epsom Road in the south, Umgeni Road in the east and Mitchell Road in the west, totaling 317 properties, illustrated in Figures 127 and 131. After being declared as a White Group Area in 1963 a process of acquisition and expropriation of properties started in 1969. At the request of the City Council, it was designated as an Urban Renewal area in terms of the Community Development Act and was ‘frozen’ in 1968 for a period of ten years, which was later extended for a further ten years until September 1988. The 1955 Group Areas Development Act provided the necessary machinery for expropriating land from residents displaced in terms of the Group Areas Act, and paying them compensation at a controlled price (interview: 16 May 2019).

The properties in Block AK were gradually expropriated by the Department of Community Development in terms of an expropriation notice issued in 1969 and by 1978 all privately owned land by both Indians and Whites had been expropriated. All buildings, depicted in Figures 128 to 130, with the exception of the Greyville school building and the May Street mosque, were demolished by 1980, seen in the 1986 photograph in Figure 132. Property owners who received compensation for expropriated properties were paid in relation to market prices at the time of proclamation in 1963 and not the date of the expropriation notice of 1969. Many suffered financial loss due to unrealistic valuations and resorted to arbitration measures with the Department of Community Development to no avail. After the expropriations commenced in 1969 the area deteriorated as a result of homes being vacated and the proliferation of rubbish dumps and scrap heaps. Government interference through the freezing of development depressed the market value of land despite the stimulus of the new Durban Station built on Umgeni Road adjacent to Block AK. The City Engineer's Department maintained that freezing was necessary in order to allow for the coordinated re-planning of the whole area including new traffic routes (interview: 16 May 2019).

The area was re-subdivided and land to the west of First Avenue was zoned for general residential development and land to the east for general business. In the 1980s, with the release and auctioning of land in the area zoned for business, development finally got off the ground with the building of warehouses, shops, light industrial factories and general business premises in First Avenue and the May Street area. The land around the new station was reserved for business, warehousing and light industry while the Mitchell Road remained residential, fronting onto the Greyville Race Course (interview: 16 May 2019). This is the area made up of 120 properties, depicted in Figure 132, which has been the subject of a land claims process and is still vacant 55 years after the Group Area proclamations of 1963.

Ex-resident, Mohammed Vahed, who was born and grew up in Greyville, remembered his neighbourhood, depicted in Figures 128 to 130, as a vibrant, multi-cultural community where a strong community spirit prevailed and Eid, Diwali and Christmas were celebrated by all. The streets were abuzz with soccer, cricket, hop-skotch and “gullie dander” games. He recalled their amenities such as schools, a mosque and shops, while Greyville racecourse was their unofficial

training ground and athletic stadium. Apartheid was not apparent in the neighbourhood and they were reminded of it when boarding buses, going in to town and to the beach. Petty street gangs hung out at street corners but did not interfere with locals. Sporting skills were acquired on the streets when not running and outwitting policemen trying to confiscate their soccer balls (e mail communication: M Vahed, 26 June 2019).

Mohammed’s family home was located in First Avenue and was sandwiched between the Ranch Hotel and the JT Ross Construction Company, both White-owned. They were initially offered compensation of R2 000 in 1970 which they refused and resisted for a few years producing an offer to purchase letter from the White neighbours, willing to buy their house at a higher price. They had to resort to arbitration but did not succeed because although the area was zoned for White occupation, properties could only be sold to the Group Areas Board. His family was eventually forced to sell it to the Group Areas Board and they became tenants in their own property whilst searching for alternative accommodation (e mail communication: M Vahed, 26 June 2019). He recalled the day when the bulldozers moved in.

It was a very emotional period when the bulldozers started bulldozing homes. Everyone cried together because we all felt like one large family. Many families tried resisting but their belongings were thrown on the street. Neighbours rallied together to accommodate displaced families until they found alternative accommodation. The houses were solid structures and demolition gangs with wrecking ball equipment took days to demolish individual homes. Having rented our own property for the last few years we were one of the last few families to leave in 1980 because the area was deserted and had become dangerous. It was the saddest period of our lives. All displaced families had to relocate to Chatsworth or elsewhere and resulted in family break ups and in some instances death of family members due to the trauma and heartbreak (e-mail communication: M Vahed, 26 June 2019).

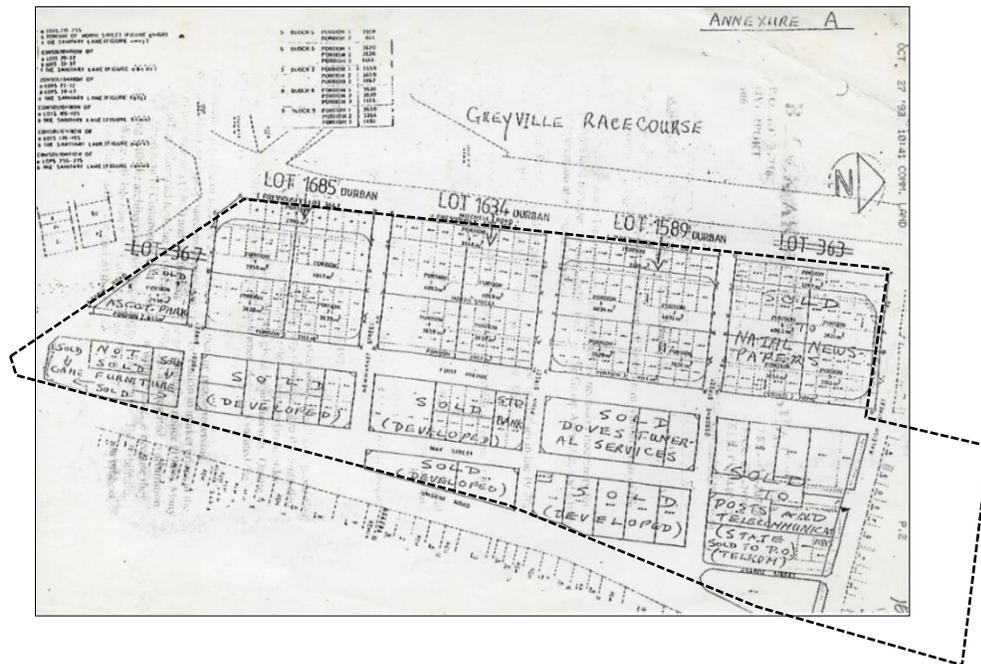


Figure 127. The extent of Block AK indicating properties sold to commercial concerns and Natal Newspapers (MV).



Figure 128. The May Street Mosque, in the top photograph, was one of the few buildings which were not demolished. Tourists Garage on the corner of Epsom and First Avenue, all the homes and business premises were demolished (MV).



Figure 129. Substantial homes and business premises were all affected and had to be vacated and were demolished (MV).



Figure 130. The Gandhi School building, in the bottom photograph, was saved from demolition, but the grand homes seen above were all demolished (MV).



Figure 131. An aerial view in 1972 of the Block AK residential and business districts.



Figure 132. A view from the south of the vacated Block AK residential district in 1986, with trees the only remnants of the old neighbourhood (BP).

6.3.3e *The Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street precinct (numbered 2 in Figure 98).*

The Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area, numbered 2 in Figure 98 and depicted in Figures 133 to 139, was the most concentrated Indian commercial complex in South Africa in the 1960s. Located to the North-West of the White CBD, it was bounded by Ingcuze (Albert) Road, Monty Naicker (Pine) Street, Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street, Pixley Kaseme (West) Street, Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue and Gladys Manzi (Mitchell) Road. In the late 1960s, the 418 properties in the area were 95 per cent Indian owned and 97 per cent Indian occupied; comprising 130 light industries, 90 wholesalers, 30 restaurants, six luxury cinemas, 125 professionals, consisting of mostly doctors and attorneys, a Technical College, churches, temple, mosques and the Victoria Street Indian Market with 300 stalls (*Daily News* 13 March, 1969).

This Indian area became the trading and shopping area for Indians, Coloureds and Africans and developed into what Rajah (1981: 78) referred to as the “dual CBD” and was described by Freund as the “core of Indian Durban” (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 (Freund, 1995: 33).

This part of the city had become “town” to Blacks and was 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. Because of its mixed use and variety of functions and services, Hassim (2008: 69) referred to the area as the “Casbah” or a “village within a city”. Rosenberg (2012: 69) argued that it was a city in its own right because it had all the elements that make up a city. Not only because of the commercial, residential, religious, recreational, health and educational functions, but because the area also 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 boasted its own newspapers, celebrities, journalists, sports stars, beauty queens, intelligentsia, professionals, sports and political organisations, including the underworld of gangs, prostitution, protection rackets, and gambling schools. Apart from being the main shopping area, it also provided entertainment in the form of nightclubs and cinemas. Hassim (2013b: 177) outlined the various cinemas, referred to as “bioscopes”, that were located the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area from the 1930s to 1980s. In the 1930s the Victoria Picture Palace was established, followed by the Royal Picture Palace. In the 1940s the Moosa and Kajee families established the Avalon Theatre Group and built the Avalon and Albert cinemas. A number of other cinemas such as the Raj, Naaz, Shiraz, Isfahan, Topaz and the massive Shah Jehan followed, depicted in Figures 138 and 139.

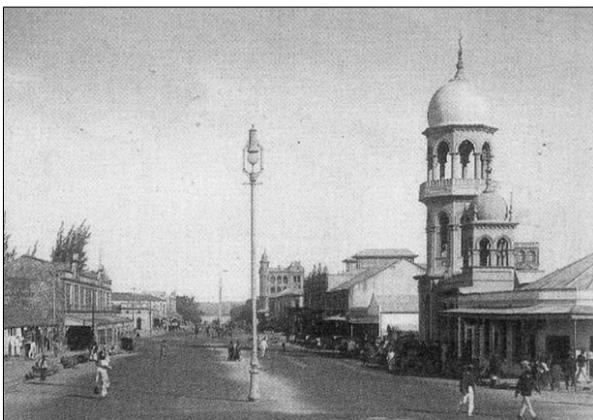
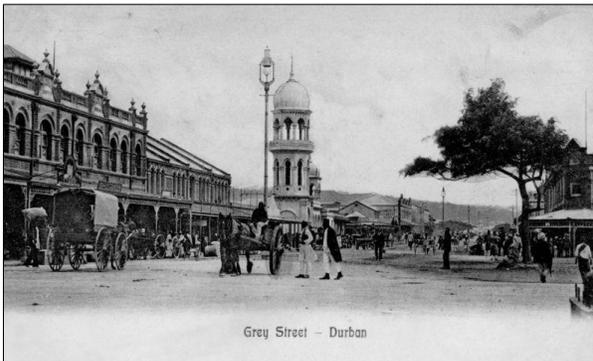
The Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street precinct faced uncertainty when the Department of Planning announced in 1969 that it was examining the desirability of zoning the complex as an area either for Whites or Indians. The Indian community also feared the loss of M.L. Sultan Technical College and four high schools, namely Sastri College, Orient, Gandhi-Desai and St Anthony’s. In addition, fears that Currie’s Fountain sports ground, St Aidan’s Mission Hospital and the Early Morning

Market (EMM), could also to be affected. The five main Indian cinemas, the Shiraz, Avalon, Naaz, Albert and Raj were also potentially affected, if it was decided that cinemas for Indians should be situated only in areas set aside for their residential use (*Natal Mercury* 22 February, 1969).

After years of uncertainty the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area was finally proclaimed as an Indian Group Area in 1973, for trading and light industrial, but not for residential purposes. The estimated 13 000 residents had to vacate the area (Lemon, 1987: 253). The proclamation however, excluded the important educational and cultural complex consisting of Currie's Fountain, five schools, a hospital, churches and a market, illustrated in Figures 108 and 112 to 116. However, the area was affected by years of uncertainty and lack of development, whilst surrounding areas had gradually been vacated of residents and businesses. By 1981 only half of the residents had relocated and in 1983 Indian residents were finally allowed to live legally in the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area (Lemon, 1987: 253).

The Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area in Durban, the Newcastle and Pietermaritzburg Indian CBDs are the few Indian business districts in South Africa which survived the urban removal process. Durban's Indian CBD has remained largely intact apart from changes resulting from freeway and train station construction. The convergence of Denis Hurley (Queen), Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) and Brook Streets and the Victoria Street Bridge was the most affected by changes as a result of freeway and railway construction. This zone which changed considerably, is illustrated in Figures 100 to 107, and was discussed previously as the zone of convergence of African and Indian urbanisation paths. The Meat Market, Beerhall and eating house were closed down and demolished. The Indian Market which was largely destroyed by a fire in 1973, was finally rebuilt 17 years later, on the remainder of the old site and the site previously occupied by the Victoria Street beerhall, eating house and market, depicted in Figure 103. The Victoria Street bridge was demolished and replaced by the new Berea Station, depicted in Figures 102, 104 and 107. A number of properties opposite the eastern edge of the cemetery were expropriated and the Emmanuel Cathedral was also separated from the cemetery as a result of the Eilat Viaducts that entered and exited the city at this point, depicted in Figures 101 and 107.

Some of the facilities, institutions, shops, streetscapes and general character of the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area are depicted in Figures 133 to 139.



(LHM).
(GLDC).
Figure 133. Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street, dominated by the Grey Street mosque, in the late nineteenth century on the left and in the 1950s and 1960s on the right.



Figure 134. The Bodasing's Building that housed the popular Victory Lounge on the corner of Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) and Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) Streets (MV).

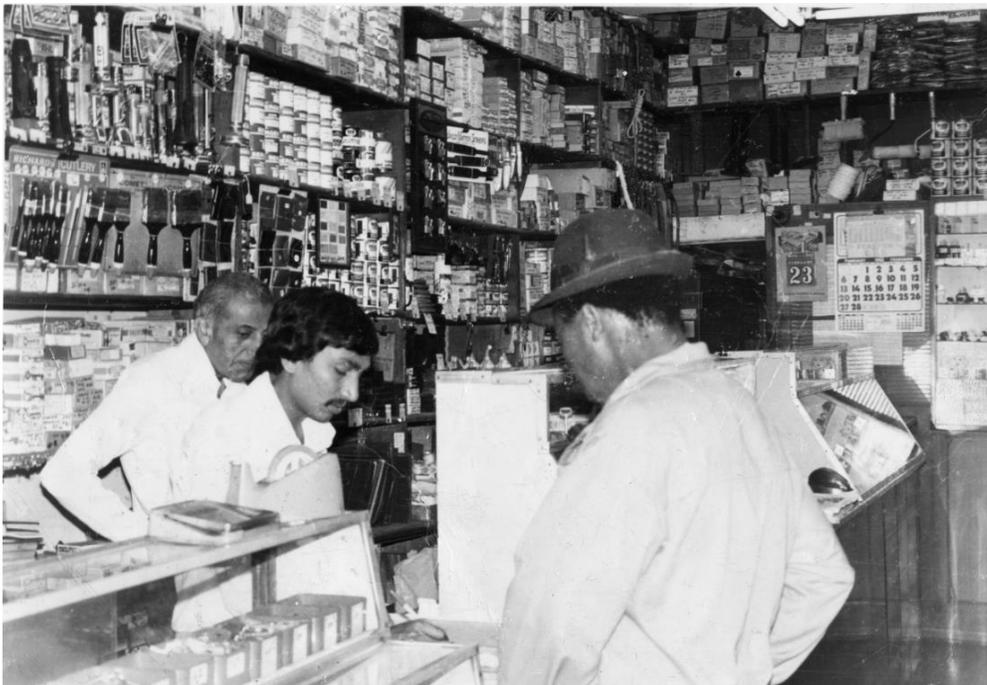


Figure 135. The interior of a typical General Dealer store in the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street precinct (GV).



Figure 136. Clothing stores, shoe stores and tailors in the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street precinct (GV).



Figure 137. A typical street scene in the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street precinct in the 1970s (GLDC).



Figure 138. Cinemas were popular popular centres of entertainment in the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street precinct from the 1930s to the 1980s. The Naaz and Avalon cinema on Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) Street (top) and the Albert cinema on Inguce (Albert) Street (below) (MV).



Figure 139. Other popular cinemas were the Raj, Naaz and the Shah Jehan cinemas (GLDC).

6.3.3f Peripheral areas: Melbourne Road flats, Dalton Road Hostel and Beerhall (numbered 6 in Figure 98).

A much smaller Black presence on Sydney and Melbourne Roads existed and was located within specific buildings like the Dalton Road hostel and beerhall for Africans depicted in Figure 141 and the Melbourne Road flats for Coloureds, depicted in Figure 140. These buildings and its occupants escaped the forced removals process and was still in existence after the mid-1980s.



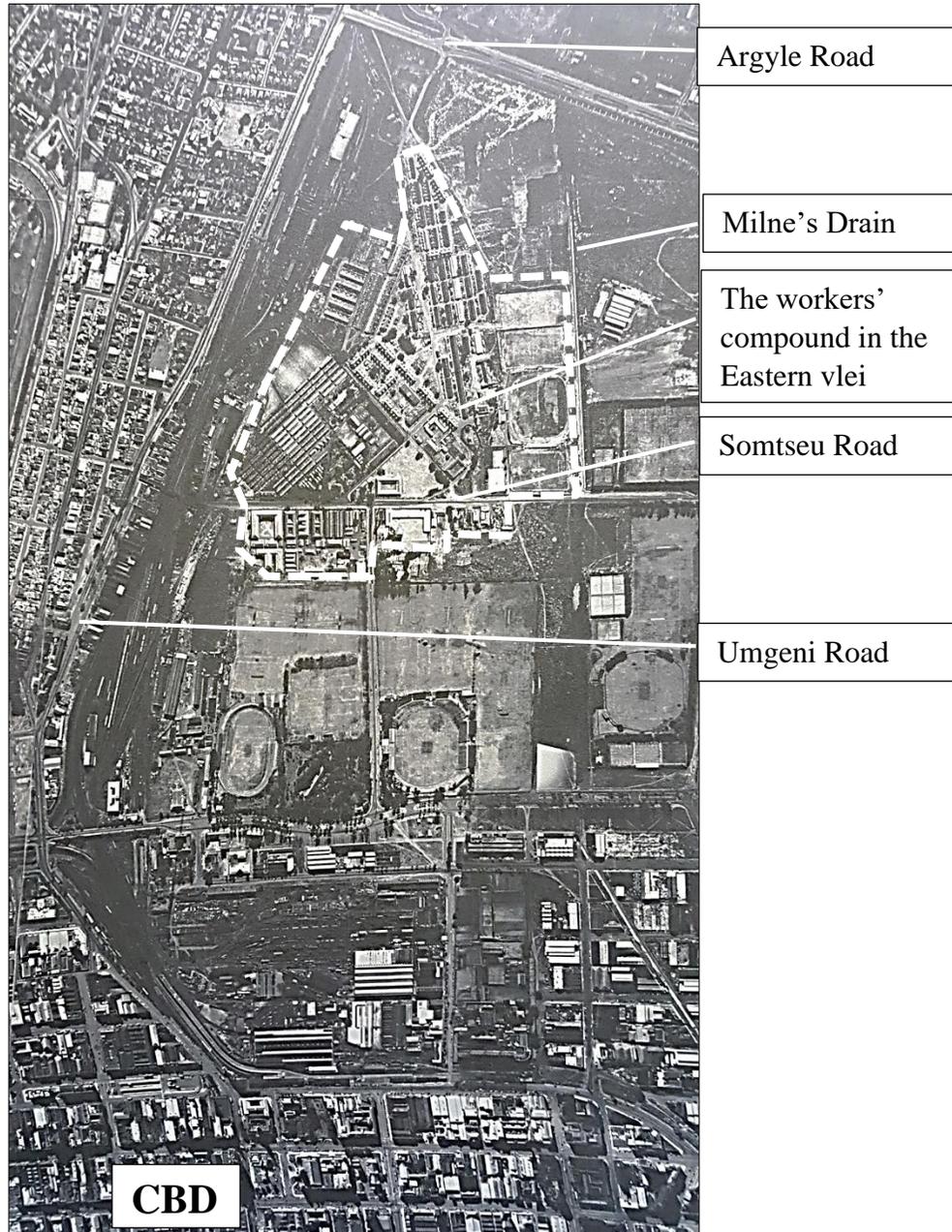
Figure 140. The Melbourne Road flats completed in 1941, specifically for Coloureds, survived the forced removal process (University of Natal: 1952).



Figure 141. The Dalton Road Beerhall, eating house and trading facilities on Sydney Road. The buildings are still in existence (Mayor's Minute).

6.4 Removal of the workers' compound in the Eastern Vlei

What can be described as a workers' compound, consisting of various types of residential accommodation for African and Indian workers employed by the municipality and the railways, was located in the Eastern vlei, north of the White CBD, illustrated in Figure 142. The first barracks for Indians was established 1880, followed by various forms of accommodation for African workers, since 1916.



1951 Aerial photograph (CE).

Figure 142. The location of the workers' compound in the Eastern vlei, in relation to the White CBD.

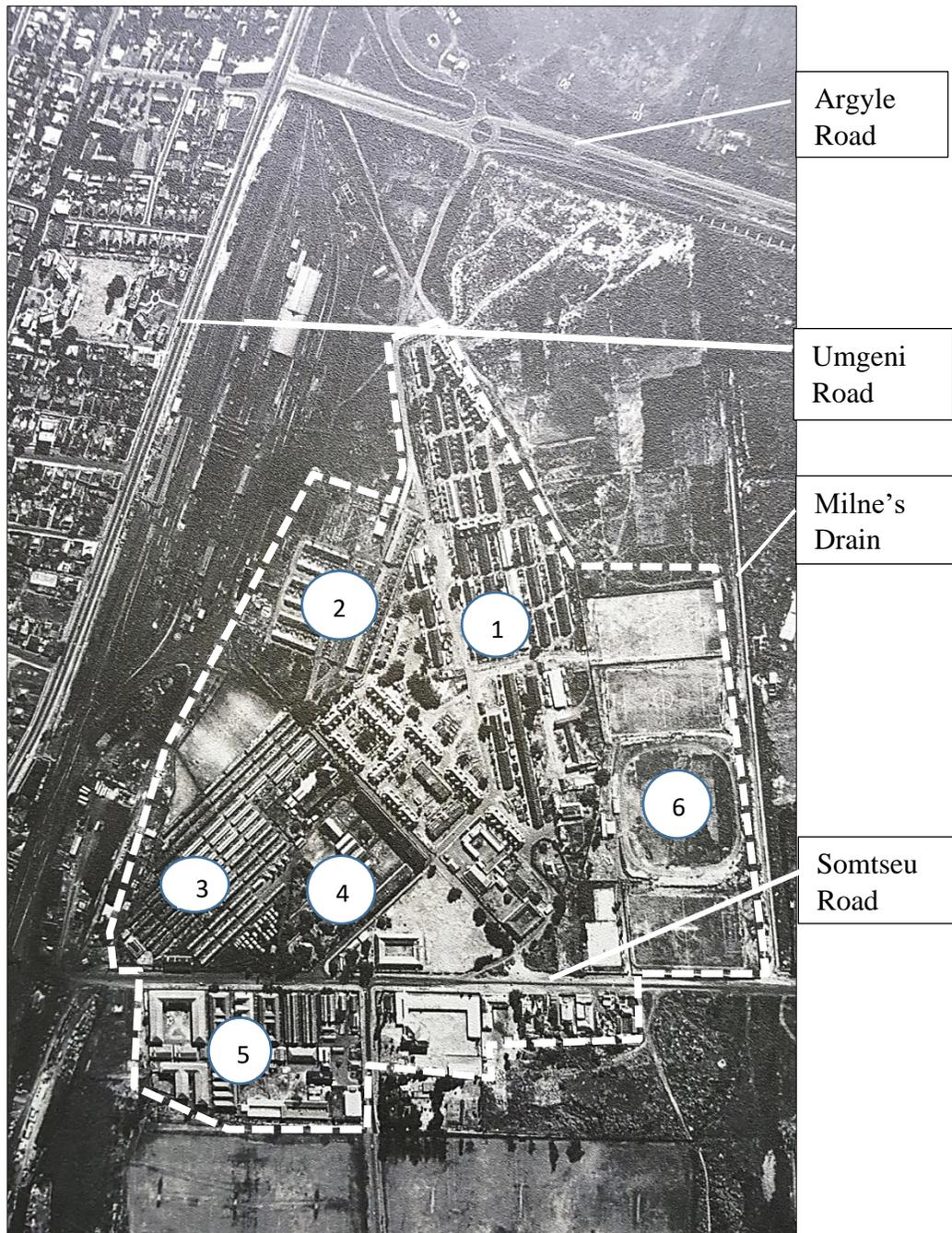


Figure 143. The workers' compound in the Eastern vlei, consisting of 1. Magazine Barracks, 2. Baumannville, 3. Railway Barracks for Indian workers, 4. Railway Barracks for African workers, 5. Somtseu Location for African workers and 6. Somtseu Road sports grounds for Africans.

6.4.1 Magazine Barracks (numbered 1 in Figure 143).

Kearney (2013: 1188) noted that the Durban Town Council started building “coolie barracks” for their Indian employees and their families, as early as 1864, in a small wood and iron building at the west end of Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) Street. When the municipality applied to the Protector of Indian Immigrants in 1874 for 100 workers, a new site on a higher and dry portion of the eastern vlei close to the military powder magazines was chosen. The building completed in 1880 (Mayor’s Minute, 1880: 5), became known as the Magazine barracks, depicted in Figures 13, 144 and 145. The location of this barracks was the beginnings of what became a substantial labour compound for Africans and Indians. In 1916 Baumannville, was established adjacent to Magazine Barracks. These were followed by the Railway Barracks for both Indian and African employees of the Railways and Somtseu Road Location for single African male workers. Each section was provided with superintendents’ quarters and later two temples, as well as primary schools for both African and Indian children, were established (Interview: 20 November 2017). A police station and sports facilities for Africans and Indians formed part of the workers’ complex, illustrated in Figures 143 and 144.

Since 1912, Magazine Barracks fell under the control of the Durban City Council and became the main labour barracks to accommodate Indian workers employed by the municipality. By the late 1940s the Durban City Council employed approximately 2 000 Indian workers, of whom 1 500 were labourers, whilst others were messengers, office assistants and health visitors. Nearly half of these employees and their families, totaling 4 460 people, were housed in Magazine Barracks. The provision of accommodation was conditional on at least one member of the family being employed by the municipality (Interview: 20 November 2017). In 1949 improvements were made by the addition of ablution facilities for each flat in the double-storey and hollow block buildings, facilities for drying clothes and some of the roads were tarred to reduce dust. The badly deteriorated wood-and-iron structures were continually repaired and by 1950, four blocks had been re-roofed and electric plugs and hotplates installed (University of Natal, 1959: 284-6).

As a form of identity, residents named the various sub-neighbourhoods within the barracks, as the *Casbah*, *Temple Villas*, *Sunrise* and *Clyde’s districts*, and the more modern section designed around a courtyard, was named *London Square*. A popular outdoor gathering place under trees, was named “four trees”. This was the men’s’ social gathering space (Interview: 20 November 2017). Other amenities included the Drama Hall, a small library, a temple, the Depot Road Primary School for boys from Magazine and Railway barracks and a primary school for girls called Temple Girls School, located on the Vishnu Hindu Temple site, as illustrated in Figure 144. Two soccer grounds adjacent to the soccer grounds for Africans were for the use of Magazine Barracks residents. A superintendent’s house was also located at the barracks. Depot Road School was directly opposite Loram School for African children from Baumannville. Loram School became a school for Indians when Baumannville and the Somtseu Hostels were demolished and residents moved to KwaMashu in the early 1960s (Interview: 20 November 2017).

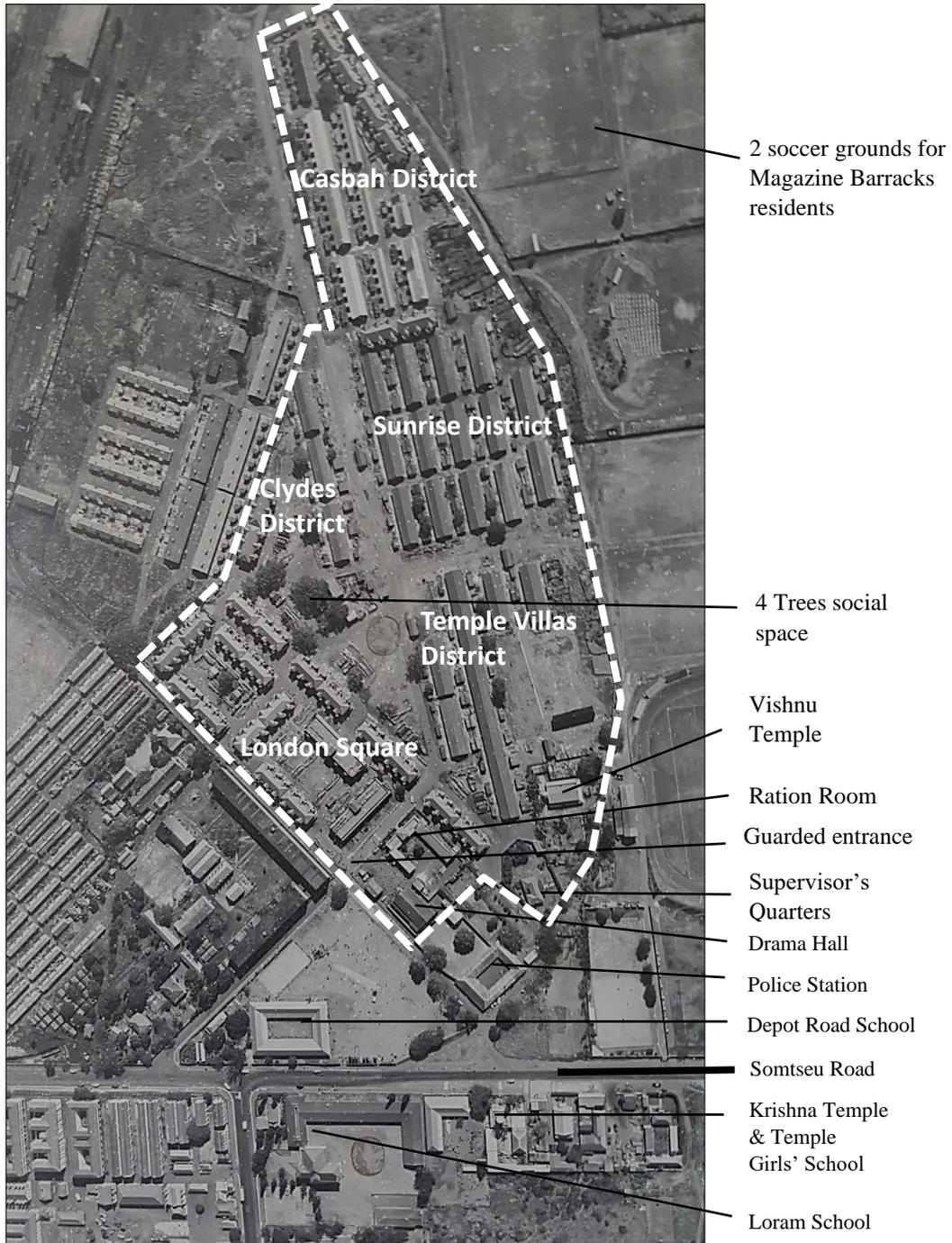


Figure 144. Magazine Barracks for Indian municipal staff and their families, including schools, temples and police station.

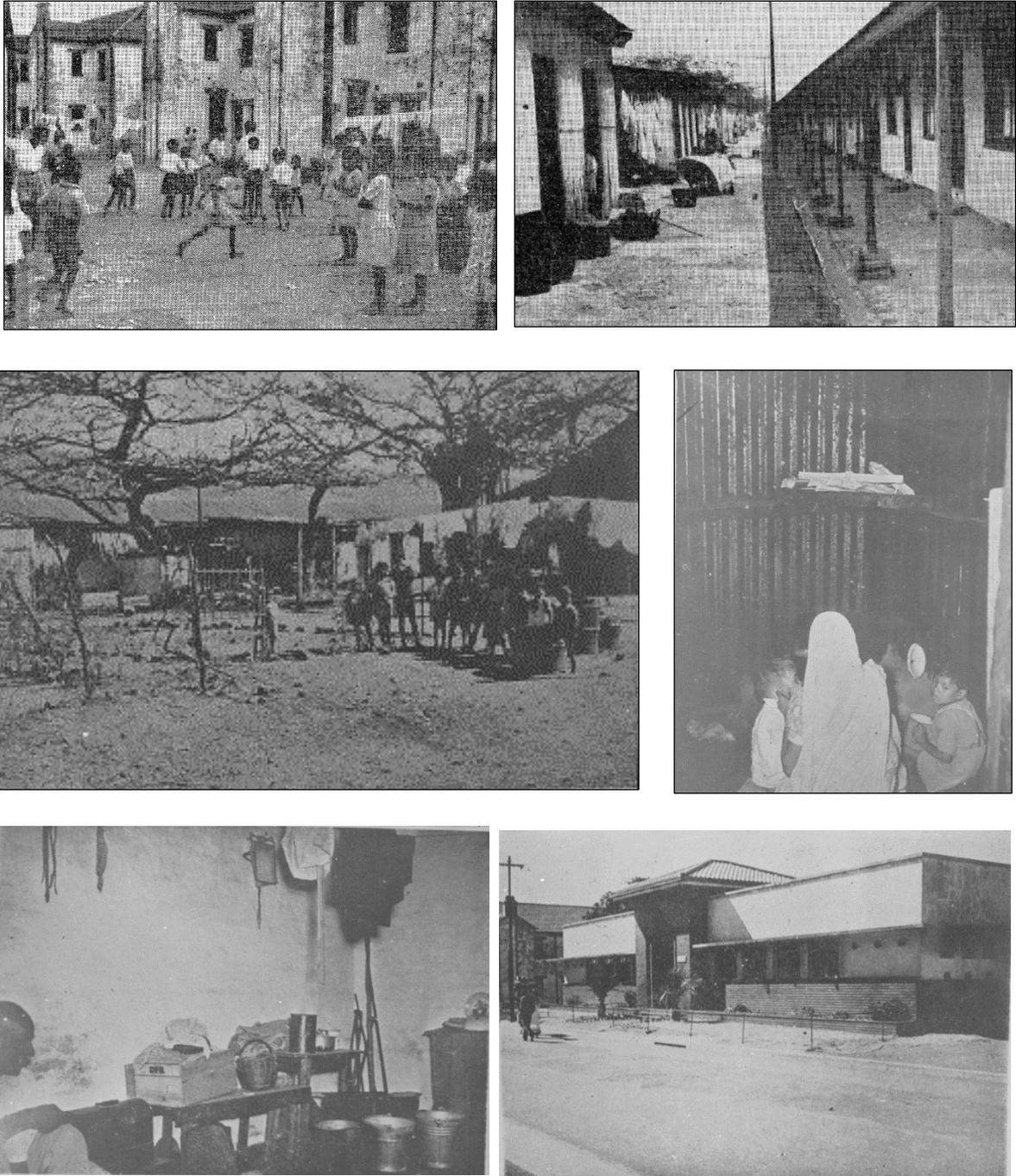


Figure 145. Views and interior of Magazine Barracks and the ration room for Indian municipal employees and their families (GLDC).

6.4.2 Railway Barracks and Railway Location (numbered 3 and 4 in Figure 143).

The residential accommodation for Indian labourers of the Natal Government Railways and Harbour, known as Railway Barracks, was established in 1881. Located on Somtseu Road near Magazine Barracks, which housed Indian municipal employees. Accommodation for African male labourers who were also employed by the Railways, was referred to as Railway Location and was located adjacent to Railway Barracks for Indian workers (Railway Barracks Souvenir brochure, 16 November 2014). Although both sets of workers' accommodation provided for Railway employees, the type of accommodation contrasted starkly.

The Railway Location for African workers consisted of an L-shaped three-storey block of dormitory rooms for males and separate buildings housing communal kitchens and ablutions. Within the complex for Indian and African workers, stood a hospital for Railways' workers, a recreation hall and accommodation for a White supervisor (Interview: 3 November 2017). In contrast, the buildings accommodating Indian workers, although very rudimentary and overcrowded, provided for workers and their families. Accommodation was conditional on at least one member of the family being employed by the Railways, in places such as Greyville Loco, Durban Central Railway Station, workshops, Point Docks, Cato Creek and within the Railway Barracks. As part of their remuneration, the railways provided families with weekly rations for basic foodstuffs and monthly rations for coal and wood which had to be collected from the Ration Room and coal yard. Food rations consisted of dhol, salt, mealie rice, oil, potatoes, three tins of pilchards and mutton on the last Friday of the month (Railway Barracks Souvenir brochure, 16 November 2014).

The housing consisted of single-story brick structures arranged in a grid layout resembling a military camp, enclosed with a guardhouse at the entrance controlled by Sirdars, as illustrated in Figure 147. The structures were arranged in 68 blocks, each containing eight rooms, totaling 588 rooms. Rooms were allocated according to family size, generally two or three rooms per family. The two or three rooms, per family, were used for cooking, sleeping and living space. The 68 residential blocks, three communal ablution blocks, two communal shower buildings and washing areas, a ration room, wood and coal yard, two temples and a sports field, completed the complex known as Railway Barracks (Interview: 3 November 2017). The recreation hall served as a venue for film shows, wedding celebrations and Sunday School sessions. The Shree Emperumal Temple, seen in Figure 148, and the Small Temple served the Hindu residents, whilst two rooms within the barracks, were used for church services and Sunday school classes for Christian residents. Muslim residents attended the May Street Mosque in Greyville (Block AK). Vernacular classes in Telegu and Tamil were also conducted in two rooms at the temple. Sports and recreational activities were held at the sports field at the back of the barracks (Railway Barracks Souvenir brochure, 16 November 2014).

The poorly paid workers, in both the Magazine and Railway Barracks, recognised the importance of education to improve their children's' futures. The older generations, who had very little or no education, generally only vernacular education taught privately, ensured that their children received western education. They understood that western education was key to better employment opportunities and a better quality of life. With their meagre earning they made tremendous sacrifices to educate their children (Railway Barracks Souvenir brochure, 16 November 2014).

The Depot Road Government Indian School for boys, established in 1895, originally known as the Natal Railway Government Indian School, and the Tamil Girls School provided primary education for children from Railway Barracks and Magazine Barracks. The Temple Girls School was established in 1954. The location of these schools is illustrated in Figure 144. A number of pupils also attended the Greyville School, located to the west of Umgeni Road. The Depot Road School could not cope with the numbers of learners and a platoon system, of morning and afternoon classes was started. Classes were also conducted outdoors under the shelter of trees and some classes were held in the Drama Hall at Magazine Barracks. For high school education, pupils attended Durban Indian Girls High, Gandhi Desai, Clairwood High, Orient Islamic High School or Sastri College. Railway Barracks residents were proud that their children and grandchildren had become, amongst others, teachers, doctors, lawyers, lecturers and engineers (Railway Barracks Souvenir brochure, 16 November 2014).

Although the residents had different backgrounds, languages, religions, cultures, living in overcrowded rudimentary facilities, they attest to a strong sense of community that prevailed. Their close proximity of living quarters, communal ablutions, communal washing facilities, employment in similar settings and experiencing similar hardship, resulted in a close-knit community (Interview: 3 November 2017). They supported each other in times of need, attended religious and cultural celebrations together, organised sports, cultural, educational and music events within the barracks, which created close bonds between families and residents as a whole (Railway Barracks Souvenir brochure, 16 November 2014). Within the Railway Barracks complex, sub-identities and affiliations to sports clubs fostered sub-layers of identities. Different areas or districts were given names, such as *Warlock City*, *Starlach 17*, *Broadway and Silverose*, names often derived from popular movies of that period. These names created a sense of identity and allowed residents to describe the area or part of the complex they resided in (Interview: 3 November 2017). Sports formations also contributed to other sub layers of identity based on places of employment within the Railways labyrinth. A soccer league was organised by the South African Railways and Harbours Football Association between teams from the various places employment, such as teams named Greyville Loco, Port Goods Superintendent (PGS), T. Jetty and Systems Managers Office (SMO). The soccer league was played on the sports field at the back of the barracks and became the focal point for residents over weekends to socialise and engage in friendly rivalry (Railway Barracks Souvenir brochure, 16 November 2014).

Talk of relocation of residents started in 1964 and the actual relocation process commenced in 1965 and was completed by 1966. Residents were relocated to two-bedroomed houses, with living room, kitchen, and ablutions. The majority were relocated to Unit 5 (Croftdene), whilst a few were relocated to Unit 3 and 7 in Chatsworth (Interview: 3 November 2017). The ex-residents of the numerous barracks consider it important that their histories be recognised and the important role played by their impoverished parents and grandparents, in helping to build the Natal's railway system and their role in maintaining Durban's parks, gardens, cleaning and sanitation systems. They also stressed that the history of the barracks was not only about the hardships of poor people who helped build Durban, but more a story about triumph (Durban Municipal Pensioners Club souvenir brochure, 8 November 2014).

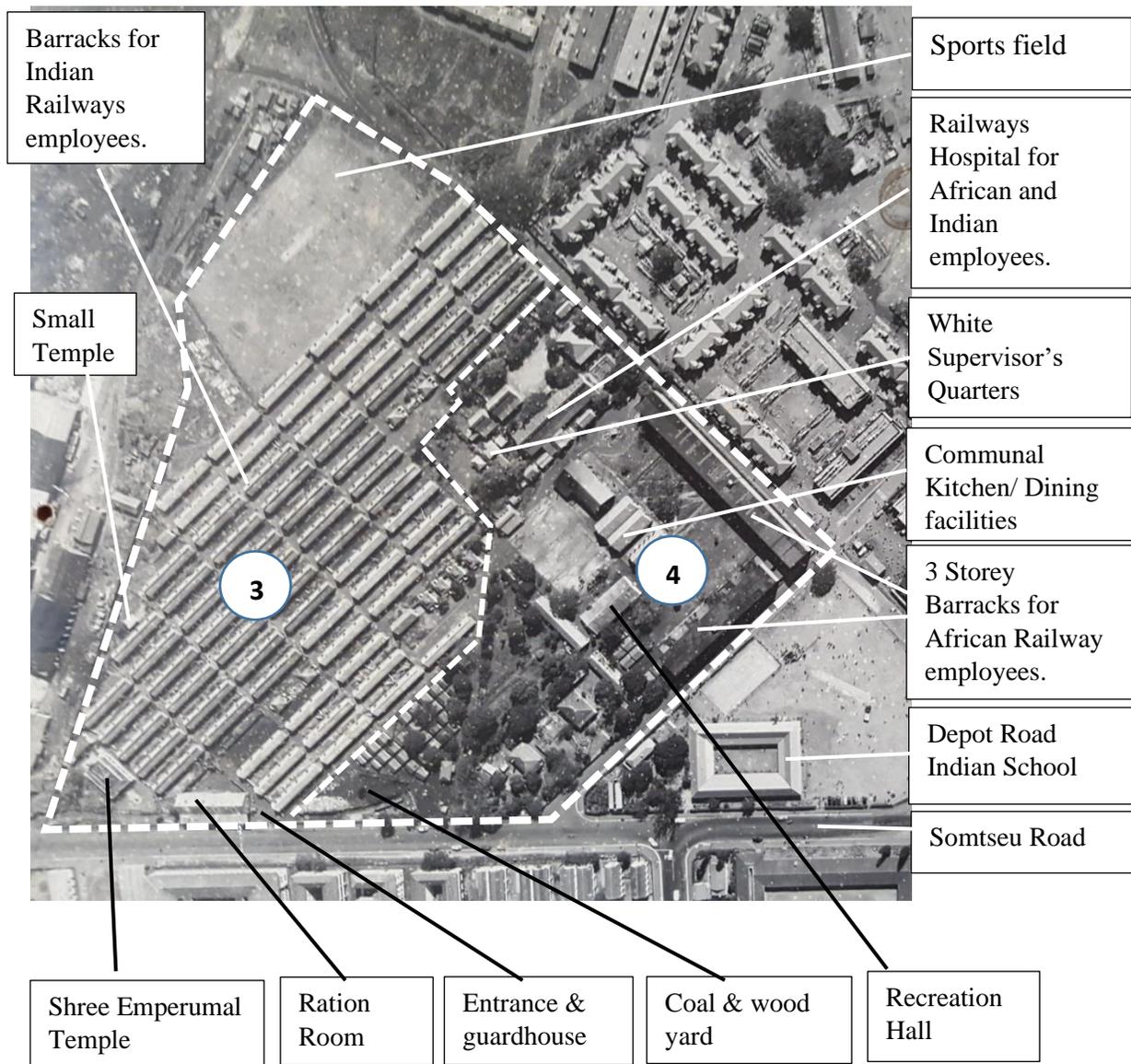
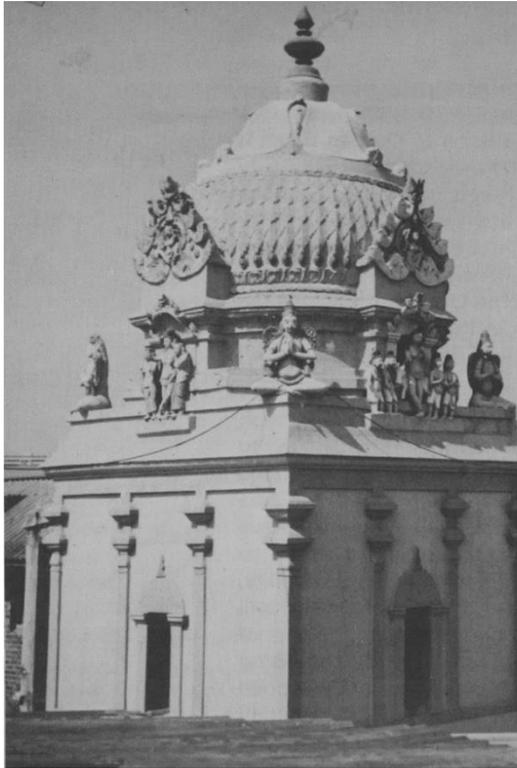


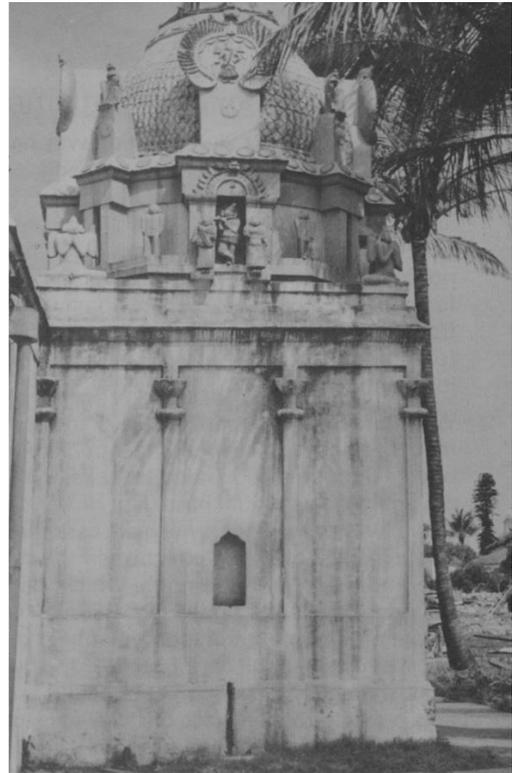
Figure 147. Railway Barracks, 3 and Railway Location, 4 for Indian and African employees of the SAR & H.



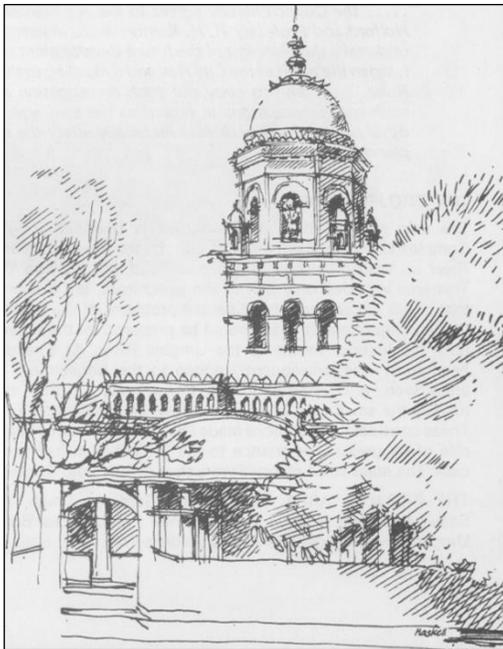
Figure 148. The interior and views of the Shree Emperumal Temple at the Railway Barracks. These photographs were taken after residents were relocated (BK).



The Shree Emperumal Temple



The Vishnu Temple



A sketch of the Krishna Temple built in 1898, on the left, in Somtseu Road.

During the redevelopments planned by Holford and Kantorowich in the 1960s, the two temples above were demolished when the new Railway Station and Magistrates Courts were built

Figure 149. The three temples that served the Railway Barracks and Magazine Barracks communities in the Somtseu Road area (Holford and Kantorowich: 1968).

6.4.3 Baumannville (numbered 2 in Figure 143)

The site selected in the Eastern vlei as early as 1873, for an African location, eventually became the site for the “Married Natives’ Quarters” which was built in phases. The first 36 cottages were completed in 1916 and an additional 24 cottages were added in 1919. The last 60 cottages were completed in 1928, making up a total of 120 cottages for families, built over a period of twelve years (University of Natal, 1959: 2). In 1940 the “Married Natives’ Quarters” was renamed as Baumannville in honour of JML Baumann who had been the chairman of Native Administration Committee and who was instrumental in the establishment of the housing scheme. Simultaneously, the Depot Road Location was renamed Somtseu Location (extract JML Baumann memoir, 1993).

Baumannville, illustrated in Figures 150 to 152, was the only family accommodation provided for Africans in the city and the University of Natal (1959: 1), argued that it was a significant shift by the city authorities, who had accepted that Africans were permanent town-dwellers and were entitled to live with their families. Residents were selected on the basis of having being married by Christian rites, were educated and had the status of clerks, teachers and interpreters (University of Natal, 1959: 3). The houses consisted of two-roomed 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, shower and a water tap were provided in each yard (University of Natal, 1952: 328).

The rudimentary two-roomed accommodation was woefully inadequate and overcrowding was rife leading to temporary and illegal structures being erected to enclose the back *stoep* for additional space for sleeping, for use as a kitchen, dining-room or “beer-parlour” (University of Natal, 1959: 6). The houses were arranged in parallel rows with tarred roads in-between with little greenery and was described as drab and dreary, shabby, unpainted and a shroud of dust from the railway yards hanging over everything (University of Natal, 1959: 4). The study by the University of Natal (1959: 19), noted the presence of 26 Coloureds within a total population of 775 in 1954, which was ascribed as a legacy of the early days when Coloureds were classed with Africans for administrative purposes and when intermarriage between the two groups were more common.

Known to the residents as *eKwatazi*, derived from ‘quarters’, it boasted its own soccer team named All City Blacks (Interview: 26 January 2017). Other amenities included, a small shop at the entrance to the complex, a communal laundry built in 1945 and a nursery school, called Ekujabuleni (the place of rejoicing), built in 1951 by the Durban Girls’ College Old Girls Guild, depicted in Figure 152. Two residential cottages were used by the Bantu Child Welfare Society from 1938 as an Infants’ Home, catering for abandoned children or children removed from unsuitable homes. The laundry was the most important development in the economic life of Baumannville, because it was used by a large proportion of the women to earn or augment their incomes by doing the laundry for Whites living on the beachfront. A church was built in Somtseu Road in 1917 and the first school in the area was built in 1920 (University of Natal, 1959: 8). Baumannville, was owned by the Durban City Council and the day to day administration was carried out by a superintendent from Native Administration Department.

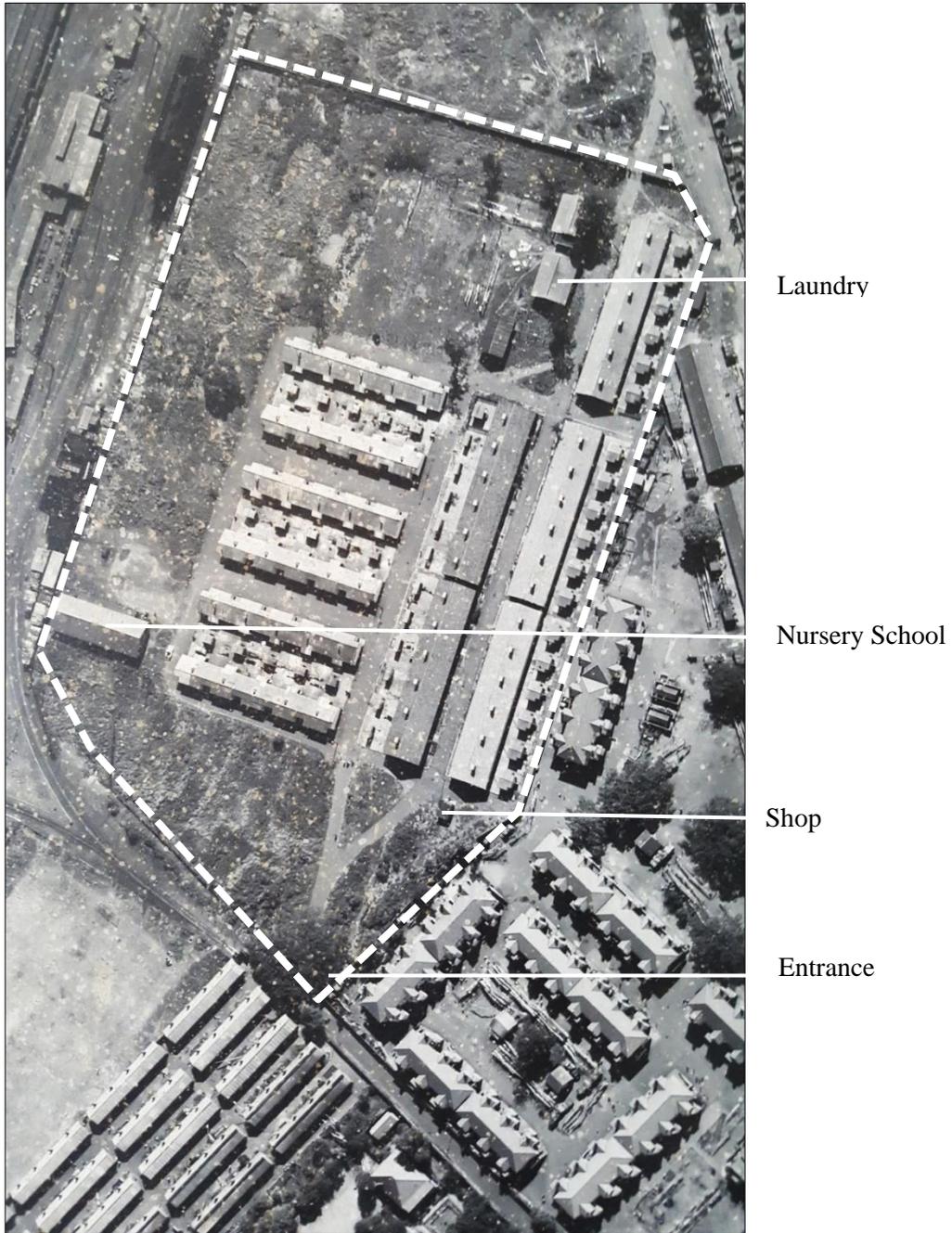


Figure 150. An aerial view of Baumannville family quarters for Africans.

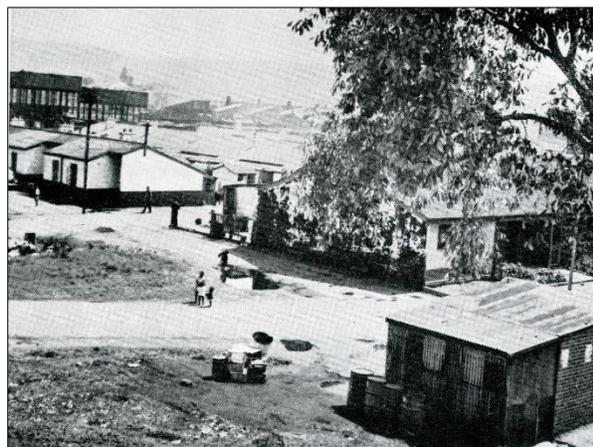
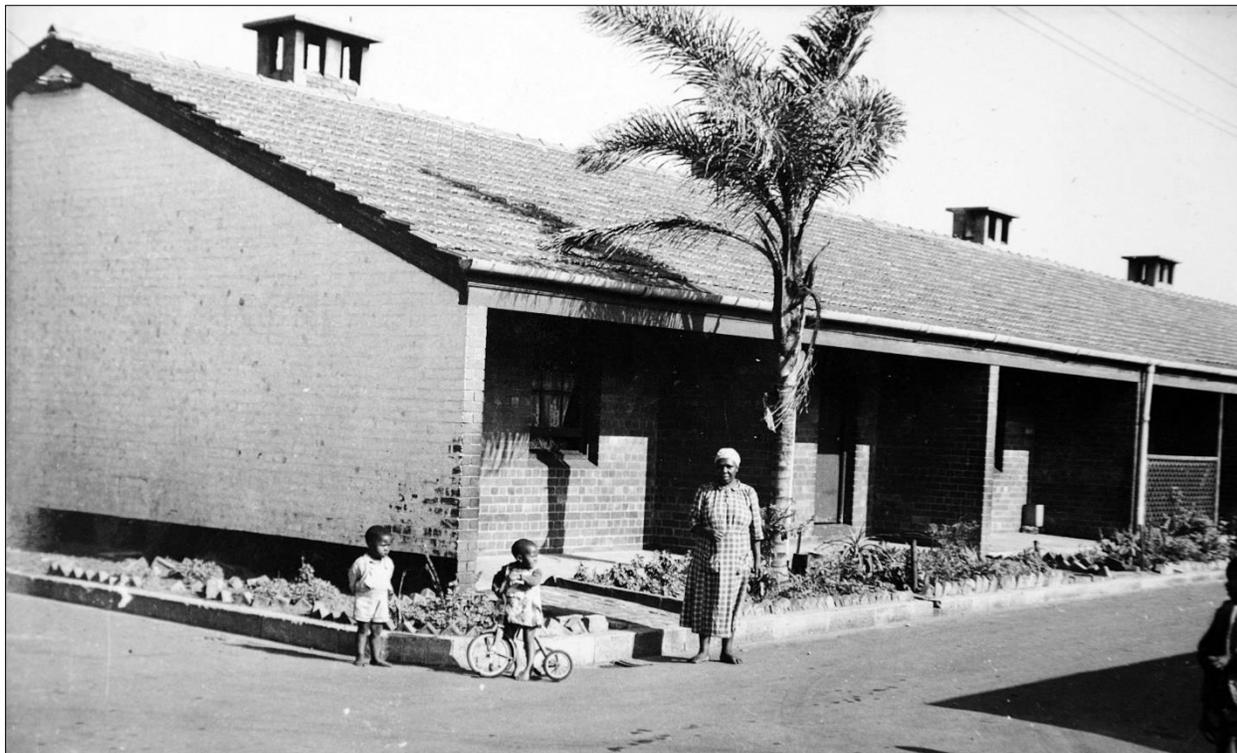


Figure 151. Views of the Baumannville family quarters for Africans in the 1950s (LHM & UN:1959).

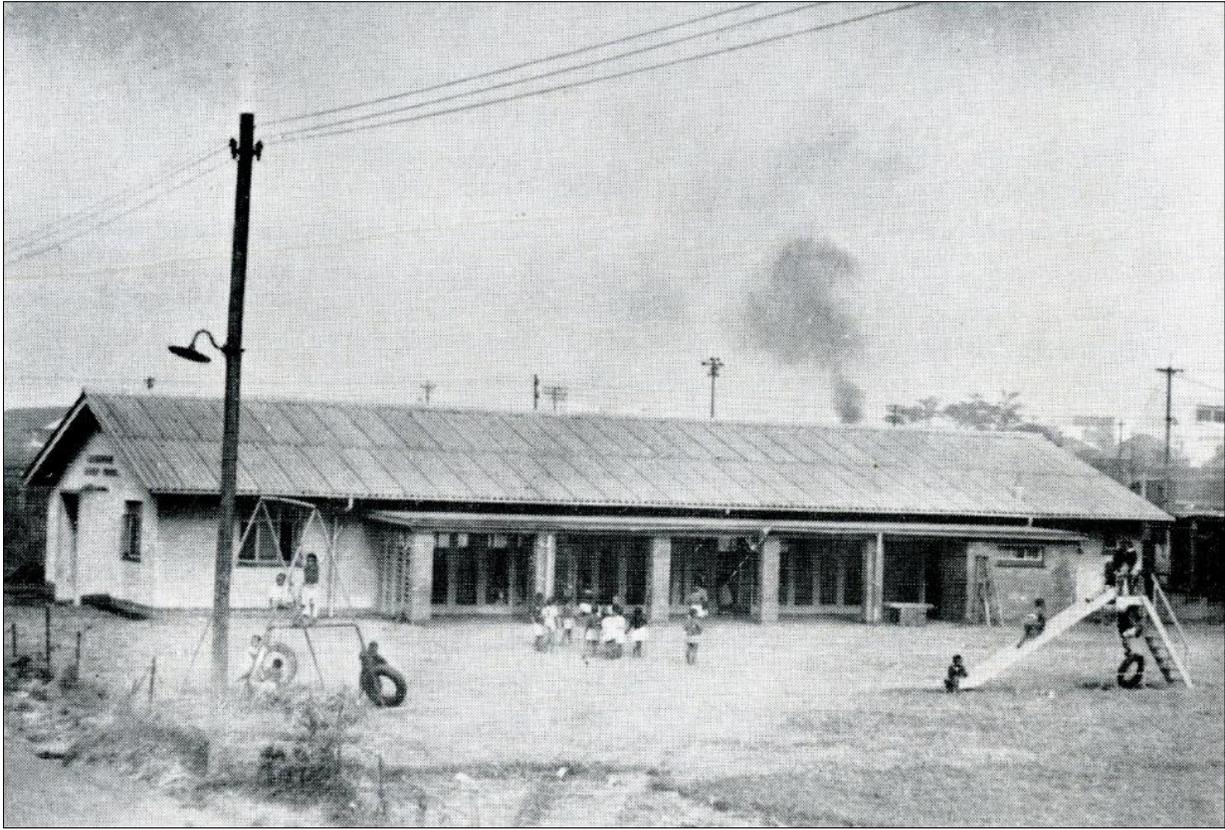


Figure 152. Baumannville nursery school and laundry (bottom right) (UN:1959).

In 1942 extensions were made to the Jeff Taylor School (Mayor's Minute, 1942: 10), a year later the Department of Education raised the status to a secondary school and renamed the school Loram Secondary School. It absorbed temporary branch schools existing in various parts of the city. Provision were made for additional classrooms, a refreshment hall and staff rooms (Mayor's Minute, 1943: 92).



Figure 153. Loram School buildings and classes (LHM and UN:1959).

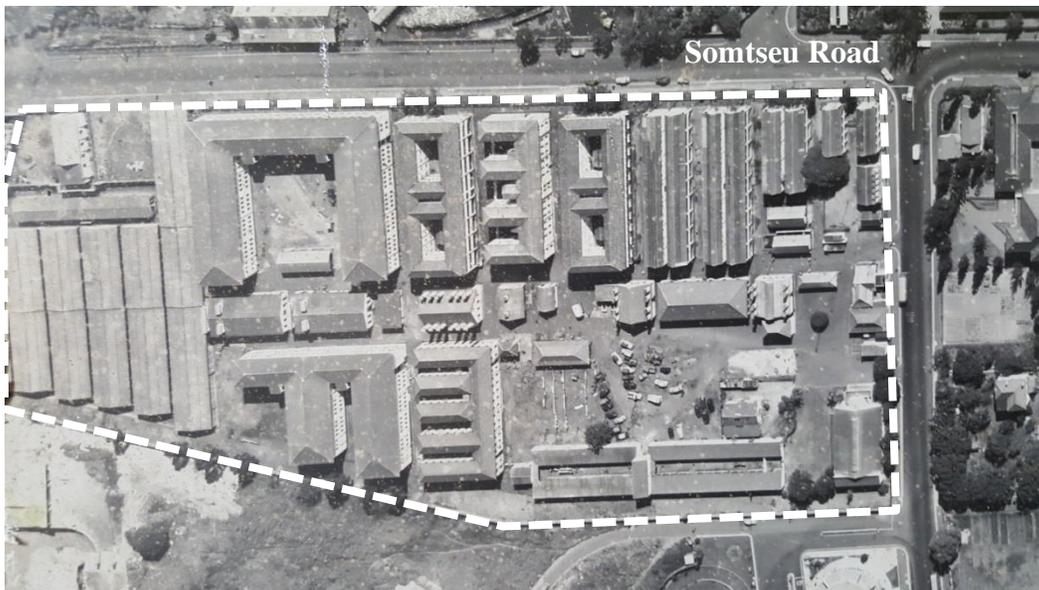


Figure 154. The Somtseu Road Location for African male workers (LHM).

6.4.4 The Somtseu Road Location (numbered 5 in Figure 143).

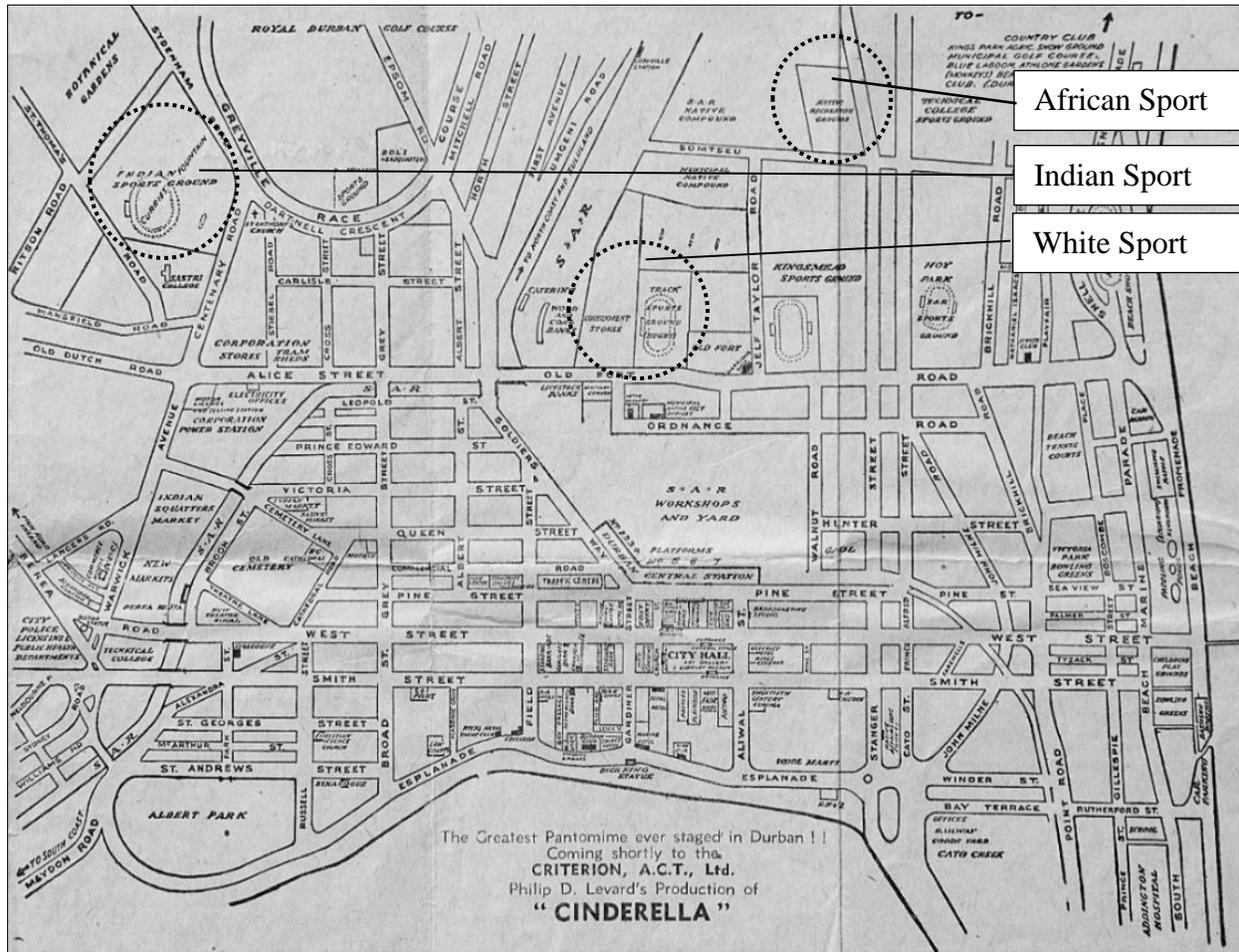
The need for an African “Location” was raised as early as 1863 and land at the end of Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street was recommended for this purpose. Ten years later, the Town Council became alarmed at the selling and leasing of properties in town to African and Indians and appointed a committee in 1873 to select a suitable site for a location which was identified on a high and dry portion of the Eastern vlei, where Baumannville was to be built forty years later. A “Location” was envisaged as a compound where Africans could have their own eating houses, schools, churches, playgrounds, licensed beer-houses and a minimum housing standard maintained. It was also seen as a means of protecting Africans from the influence of the White liquor sellers (University of Natal, 1959: 2). The Location did not materialise and renewed calls for an African Location were made in 1886, on the basis of controlling the liquor trade, minimising theft and assault, reducing the risks of fire and epidemic contagion amongst Europeans. In 1889 the Superintendent of Police also called for a Native Location to be erected in the Eastern vlei. An agreement on the choice of site caused lengthy delays and the building was referred to as Depot Road Location for 624 single African males, later to be renamed as Somtseu Location (University of Natal, 1959: 2).

The Somtseu Road Location, depicted in Figures 29 and 154, also known as ‘*Umsinzini*’ (Interview: 26 January 2017), was administered by a superintendent. Visiting Zulu chiefs were provided with living quarters which helped re-establish Durban Councils’ links with Zulu Chiefdom. Accommodation was provided for visiting wives for short periods of time. Accommodation consisted of dormitories for 10-11 people and single rooms for teachers, clerks and Indunas. The hostel had communal taps, bathrooms, toilets, cooking facilities and eating facilities. By 1921 a total of 12 806 men stayed in this hostel, this increased to 16 481 in 1922 and 18 197 in 1923. By 1961 about 7 000 men were still staying in this hostel and in 1962 residents were relocated to hostels in KwaMashu (Mayor’s Minute, 1962/63: 24).

6.4.5 Somtseu Road sports grounds (numbered 6 in Figure 143).

The sports facilities at Somtseu Road was the main sports centre for Africans in central Durban. Currie’s Fountain sports ground was the main sports venue for Indians and the Track or ‘Lords’ and Kingsmead sports facilities for Whites, illustrated in Figure 155. In the outlying African residential areas, sport facilities were provided at SJ Smith hostel in Merebank, which had a range of sports facilities but Chesterville, Lamont, Dalton Road and Jacobs only consisted of a soccer field or two. The recreation facilities for this complex of workers’ accommodation was referred to as the Somtseu Road sports grounds. First established in the early 1930s, by 1950 it consisted of two soccer fields for Indians from Magazine Barracks and three soccer fields, two cricket pitches and four tennis courts for Africans. It also sported a tarred and banked cycle track and a ngoma dance arena. A pavilion, facing the main soccer field, provided tiered seating, ablutions and change rooms, depicted in Figures 156 and 157. The cycle track and ngoma dance arena was well patronised and the floodlit soccer field enabled evening dance practice for ngoma dancers. Soccer, the most popular sport, was organised into 140 soccer clubs, affiliated to the Durban and District African Football Association, who arranged league matches on week-ends and public holidays. Cricket was not as popular but the tennis courts were in demand. Amateur boxing flourished and

monthly tournaments were held at the hostel recreation halls and at the Bantu Social Centre, whilst films were screened weekly at five hostels in the city (Mayor's Minute, 1950: 127/8). The Somtseu Road sports ground ceased to exist in the early 1960s.



(Street map: undated, LHM)

Figure 155. Localities of sports grounds, circled, for the different race groups in Durban. Currie's Fountain for Indians, the Track Ground for Whites and Somtseu Road grounds for Africans.

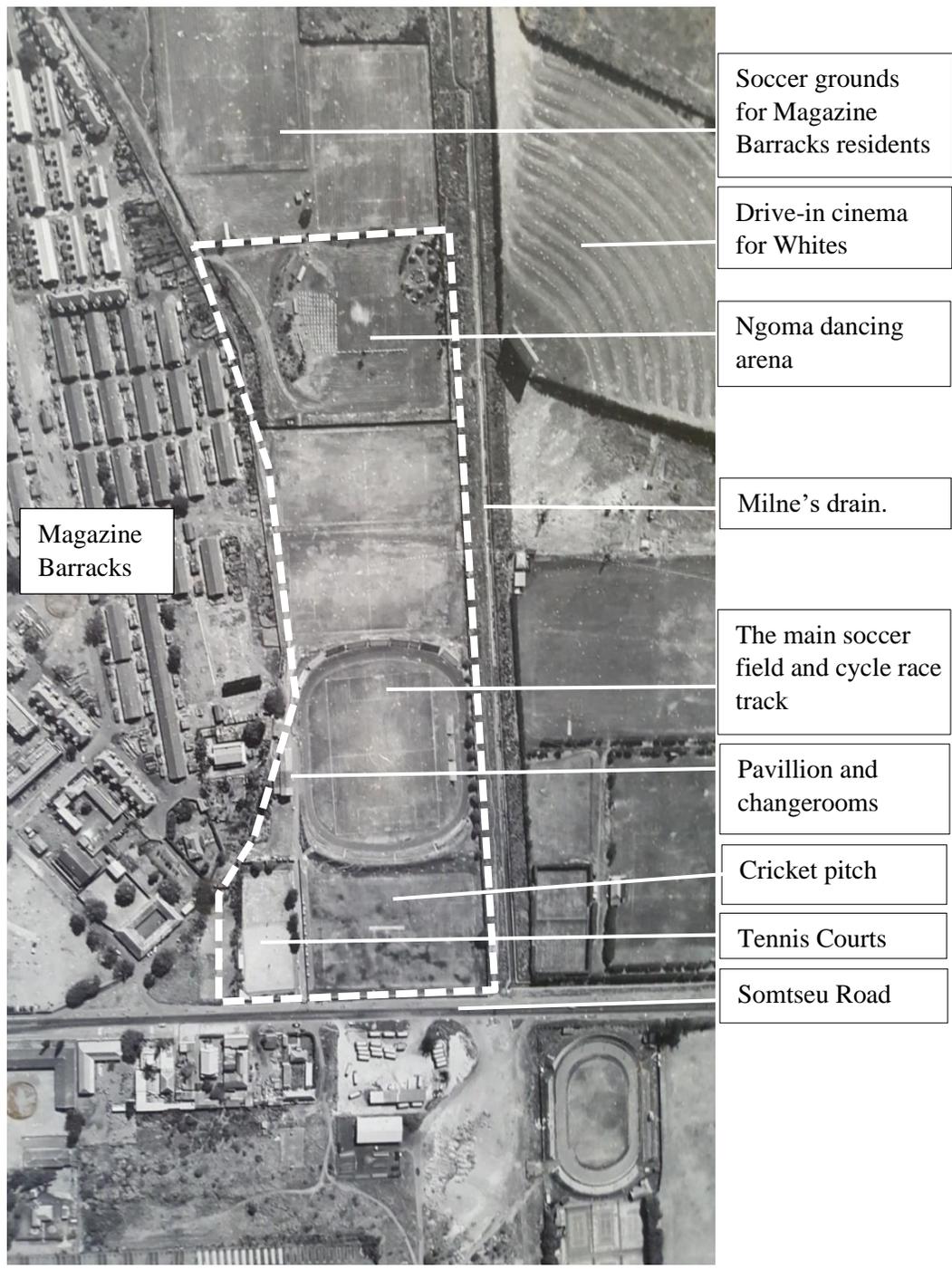


Figure 156. An aerial view of the Somtseu Road sports grounds for Africans.

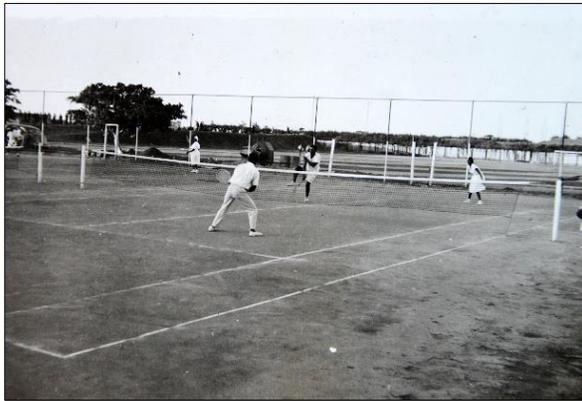


Figure 157. Various sports and associated activities at the Somtseu Road sports grounds (LHM).

6.5 Removals at the Point and Salisbury Island.

6.5.1 Barracks' at the Point

During the early phase of Durban's establishment, the Point was the main arrival and exit point for all visitors, immigrants and for indentured and migrant workers arriving or departing by boat, in what was then referred to as Port Natal. When indentured Indians arrived their first experience was a short stay at the quarantine station on the Bluff where they were examined before leaving for the cane fields (Pillay et al, 2002: 11). The town centre on the northern shore of the Bay was formally laid out in 1840, whilst the Point developed mainly during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century (Kearney: 2013). The Point comprised of a tapering spur of land south of Bell Street, culminating at the harbour mouth. Described as the historical centre of the harbour by Kearney (2013: xiii), it was controlled and managed by the third Harbour Board who governed it with its own rules and regulations. It also functioned like a small port town with a very varied land use and a population from diverse origins working, living, trading or passing through, resulting in what Kearney (2013: 1389) described as "a socially rich cultural melting pot", made up of a large transient community and a relatively small permanent population.

Kearney (2013: 1279) described how the divergent architectural images of functional sheds, public and commercial buildings and their juxtaposed construction techniques of wood, iron and brick buildings, set within an organic plan, "resulted in a townscape of excitement, complex historical layering and contradiction". The main elements of the Point were the water edges, both the bay and the ocean, referred to as Back Beach. The beach played a secondary role to the Bay edge which was used for wharfs and quays. Point Road, the main thoroughfare that led to the town centre, together with a few cross roads and back streets was another key component of this area. Whilst the quayside was dominated by large sheds and the train station, the buildings along the eastern side of Point Road included a police station, a fire station, commercial establishments related to shipping, hotels and boarding houses.

By the beginning of the twentieth century small clusters of houses were built for European residents, like the Port Captain, pilots and harbour officials, whilst a Black presence had been established on the back streets and between the sand dunes of Back Beach, largely in wood and iron barracks for workers. Kearney (2013: 1309) noted that during the development of the Point, it was a common occurrence for various sections of the port and private contractors to seek places for workers' accommodation. This resulted in barracks being constructed, which accommodated African and Indian workers employed by harbour authorities, the Railways or private businesses, becoming part of the building fabric (Kearney, 2013: 1309). A notable difference between African and Indian workers' accommodation, was that Indian workers were accommodated together with their families, whilst accommodation for African workers only provided for working males.

The Indian and Native Cantonment, commonly known as "Bamboo Square", one of the early informal settlements for the marginalised, had a tenuous existence between the sand dunes from the late 1860s and was first relocated before being demolished in 1903. The Bell Street Barracks, first established in 1890 for African togt workers and rebuilt in the 1920s, was one of the larger and older barracks to be found at the Point. This residential accommodation, in communal dormitories, a beerhall and eating house formed part of the complex for African workers from 1890 until 1959, when the Bell Street Barracks residents were relocated to hostels in KwaMashu.

The Bell Street beerhall was operational for more than 5 years thereafter, before being closed in July 1965 (Mayor's Minute, 1964/65: 15). Barracks for Indian workers in the Port Captain's department were built on the southern extremity of the Point. It was built in stages in wood and iron and later brickwork, from 1870 to 1898 whilst another set of barracks was built in Alexandra Road in 1904. The accommodation seemed to be based on an Indian prototype, typically consisting of rooms over three floors arranged around a courtyard which contained communal kitchens and ablutions facilities (Kearney, 2013: 1310), illustrated in Figure 146.

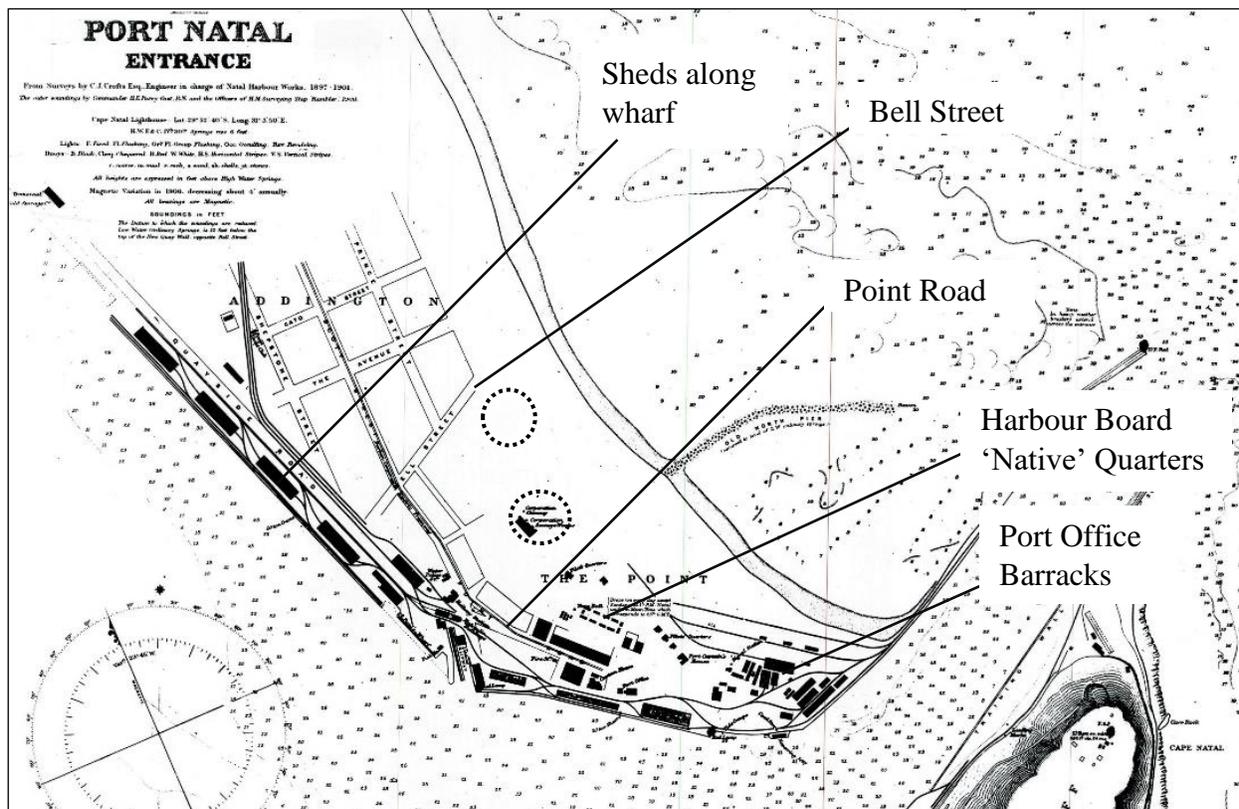
Many Indians were employed by the South African Railways and Harbours (SAR&H) and stevedoring companies as labourers, employees in various sheds along the wharf and as boat drivers. When their education improved, some were employed in clerical positions, whilst others were employed as waiters in hotels (Pillay et al, 2002: 9). These Indian workers and their families were accommodated in different barracks located in the Point area. Pillay et al, (2002: 13-15) outlined a number of barracks of small groups, called *koottams* in Tamil, or neighbourhoods (Pillay et al, 2002: 7), that collectively encompassed a community at the Point. The Port Office Barracks, situated at the end of Point Road, illustrated in Figures 158, 159 and 162, housed workers employed at the Port Office. Depot Barracks, also known as Indian Immigration Hospital, housed Indian medical personnel on the hospital premises. Nicol Compound and the Togh Barracks owned by Indian businessmen Akka and Moosa Brothers accommodated Indian casual labourers. ABC Barracks housed Indian and African employees of the SAR & H. The Lamp Barracks was located adjacent to the Bell Street barracks for African casual workers.

The Natal Colonial Government built a hospital for indentured Indians, known as Depot Road Hospital which was located in Shepstone Street, illustrated in Figure 160. This hospital was exclusively for Indians whilst a few were admitted to Addington Hospital for specialist attention. It housed *lascars* (Indian seamen), before they were deployed on ships and it also catered for sick Indian municipal employees. During the period of voluntary expatriation of ex-indentured Indians to India after their indenture terms had expired, it provided temporary accommodation until their transport arrangements to India were concluded (Pillay et al, 2002: 55). Indians were also employed as nursing staff and labourers in various departments at Addington Hospital and were accommodated on the hospital premises. These employees organised concerts and religious festivals on the hospital premises that were also attended by neighbouring residents from the various barracks at the Point (Pillay et al, 2002: 56).

This Indian community of barracks' residents, although dispersed in various buildings in the Point area, organised cultural, sports, educational and music events that contributed to a sense of community, not only specific to the Point, but also as a community of barracks' residents as a whole. The Point Indian Young Men's Society established in the 1920s, helped to start an English and vernacular school in a wood and iron structure in Shepstone Street. Older children walked to Depot Road School in Somtseu Road, or St Anthony's and Mitchell Crescent School in Carlisle Street. The community staged cultural shows to raise funds for the upkeep of the school (Pillay et al, 2002: 25). Colourful cultural festivals, like the Purtassi Prayers were held annually on a large scale at the Lamp Barracks. Other cultural events like the thirukuttu (six foot) dance were performed under marquees improvised from railway tents. Although sports facilities did not exist at the Point, the Point Rangers Football Club represented the Point Indian community and competed with other clubs on the sports field at Magazine Barracks or Currie's Fountain. Worship

sites did not exist in the Point area and Hindu residents travelled to the Umgeni Road Temple whilst the Muslims attended the Grey Street Mosque (Pillay et al, 2002: 57-65).

A small Indian business enterprise was located at the Point. A number of general dealer shops existed in the area, the largest being in Bell Street owned by Akka and Moosa brothers who also owned several homes who were let to tenants. The Dayal family had a thriving business in Southampton Street whilst the Pillays had a grocery, tearoom and outfitters in Albert Road. Some women from the barracks were hawkers selling fruit and vegetables. The Lawsons, living on their own property in Prince Street, was the first Indian family to own rickshas, which they hired to rickshaw pullers (Pillay et al, 2002: 52-59). The important Indian business enterprise at the Point was the fishing industry established and run by a small community who lived on Salisbury Island.



(UKZN AL)

Figure 158. The Point in 1901, depicting the harbour-related buildings clustered along the quay edge, along Point Road and at the harbour entrance. The Bell Street Barracks and Bamboo Square which have been circled by the author, were not indicated on the plan.

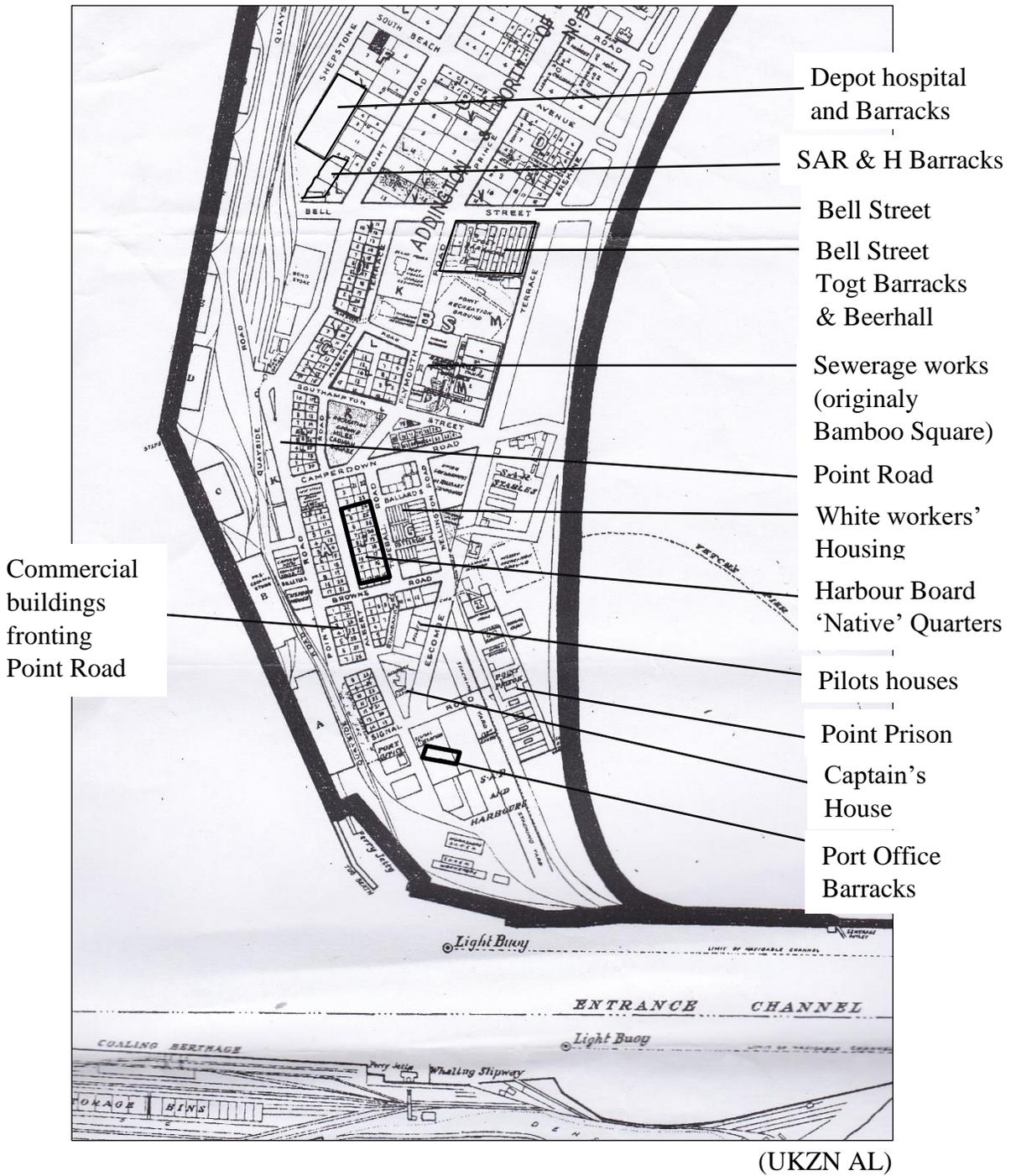


Figure 159. A layout of the Point in 1946.

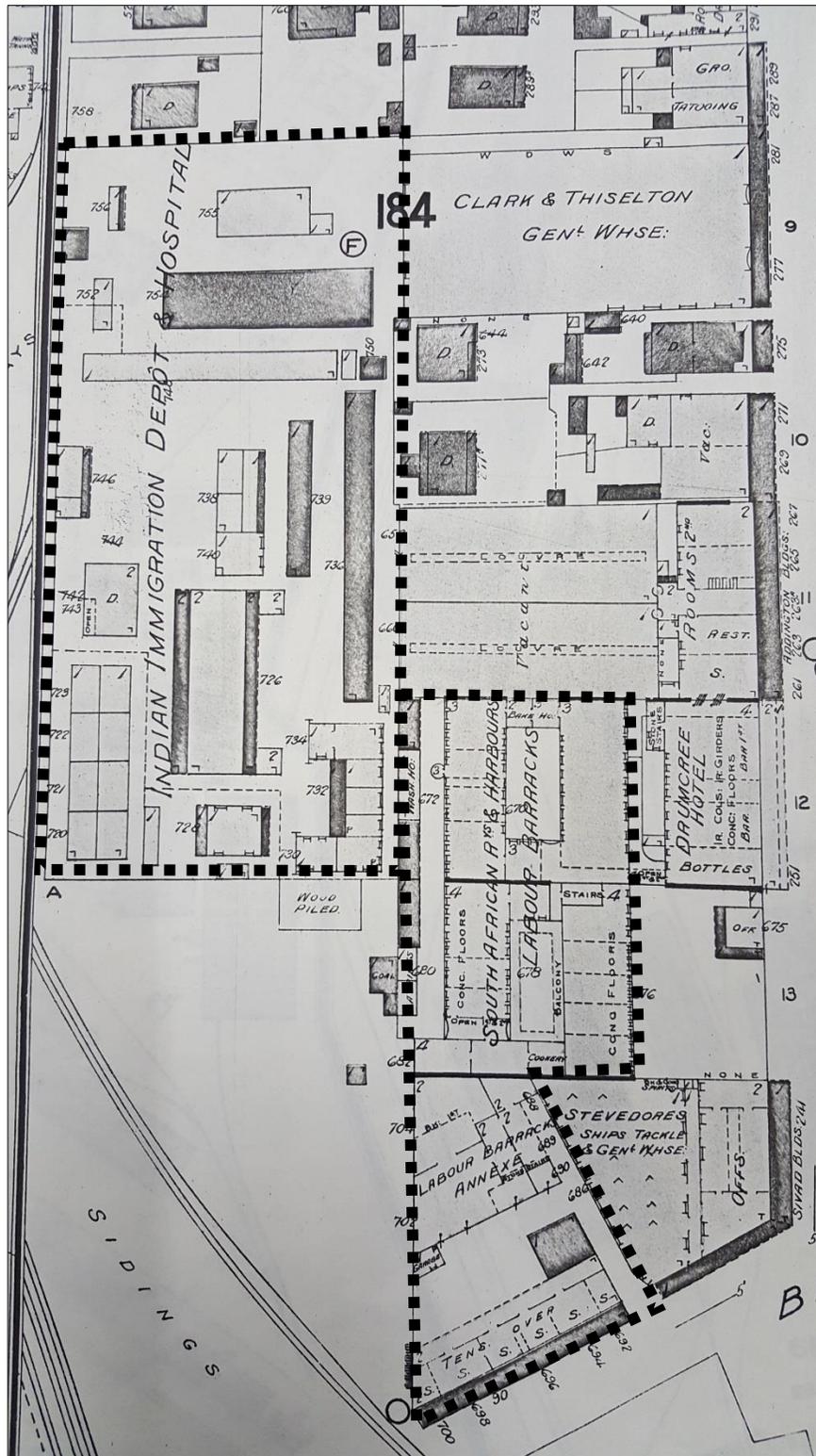
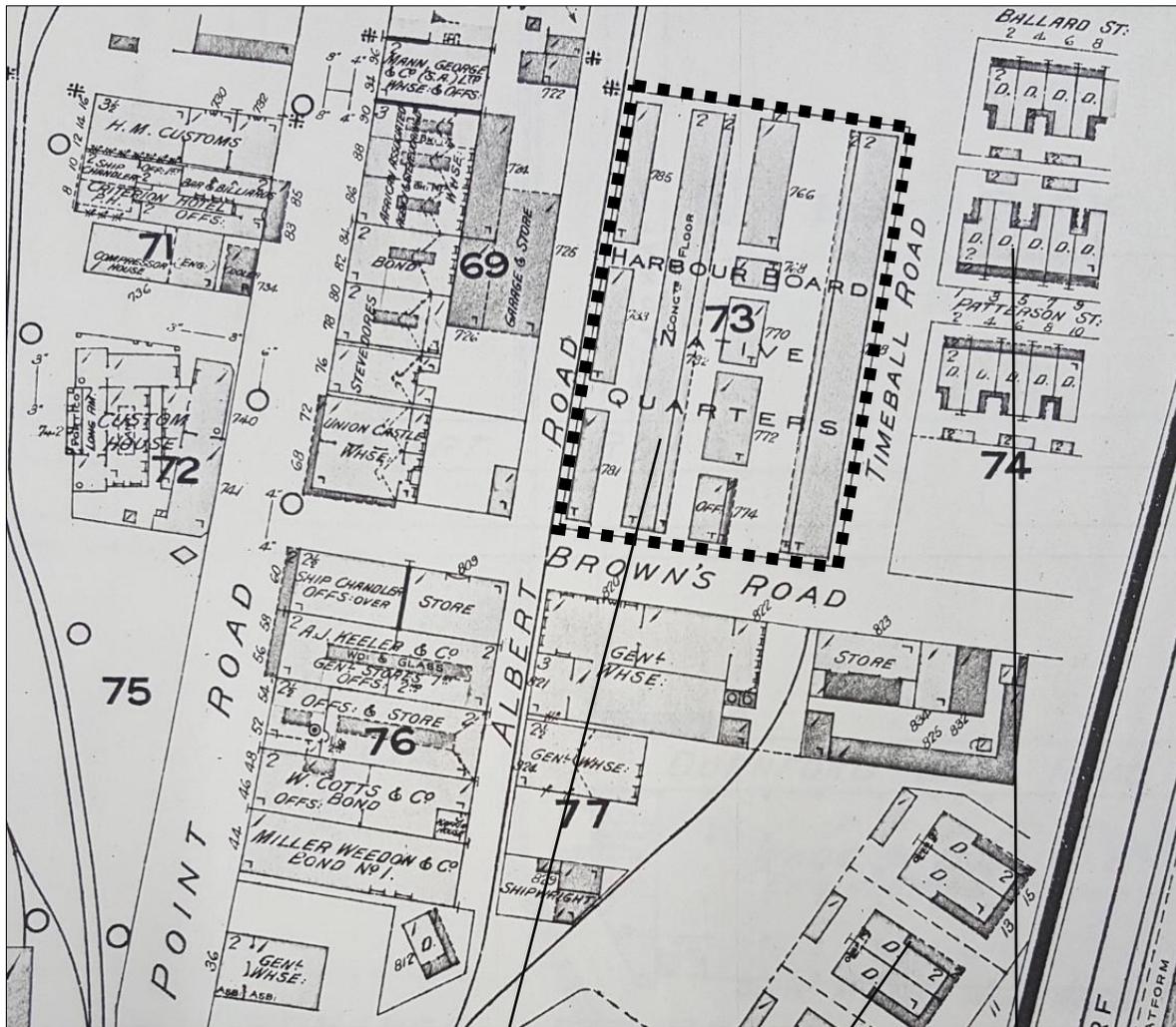


Figure 160. The Indian Immigration Depot Hospital and Barracks and the SAR & H Barracks on Shepstone/Bell Street corner (1931 Insurance Maps).

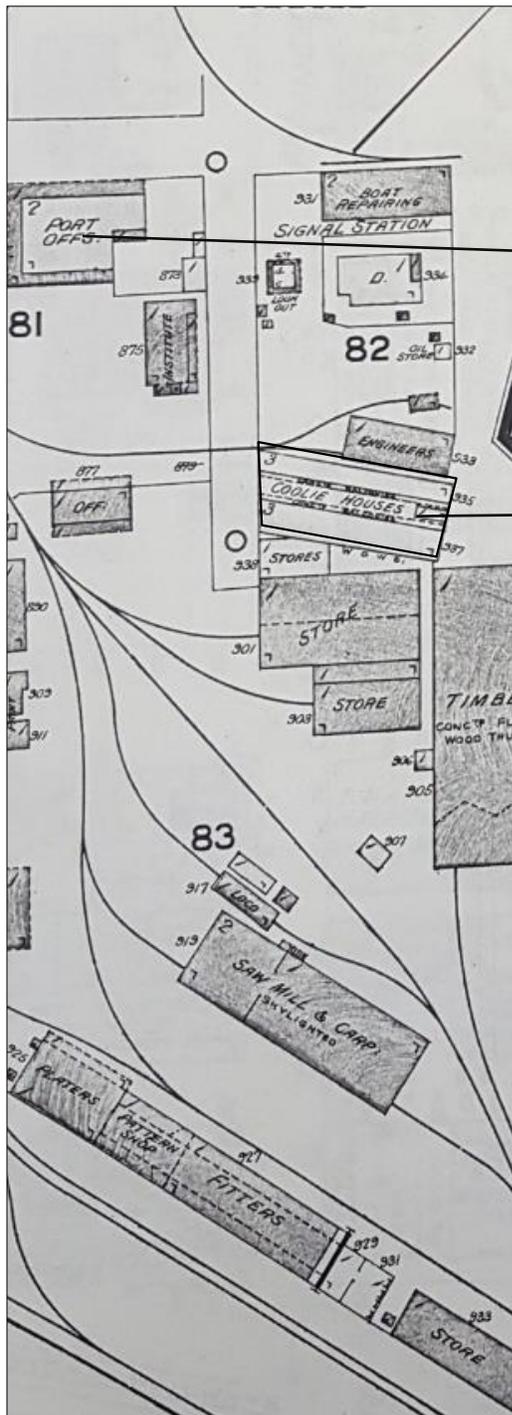


Harbour Board
"Native" Quarters

Pilots houses

White workers'
Housing

Figure 161. The Harbour Board "Native" Quarters on Albert Road (1931 Insurance Maps).



Port Office

Port Office
Barracks



Figure 162. The Port Office Barracks located between sheds, stores and railway lines (extract from 1931 Insurance maps and BK).

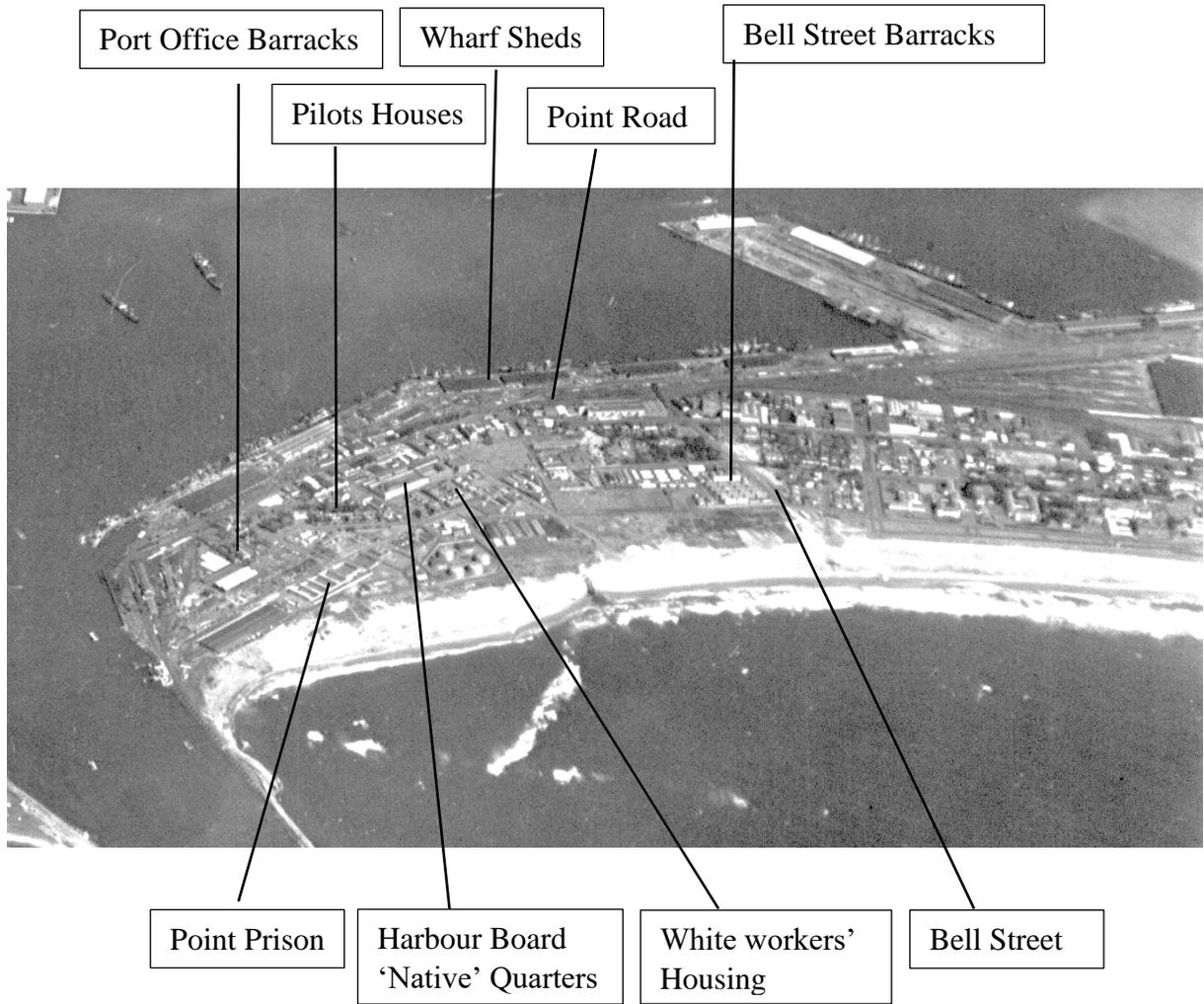


Figure 163. An aerial view from the East of the Point in 1948 (AG).

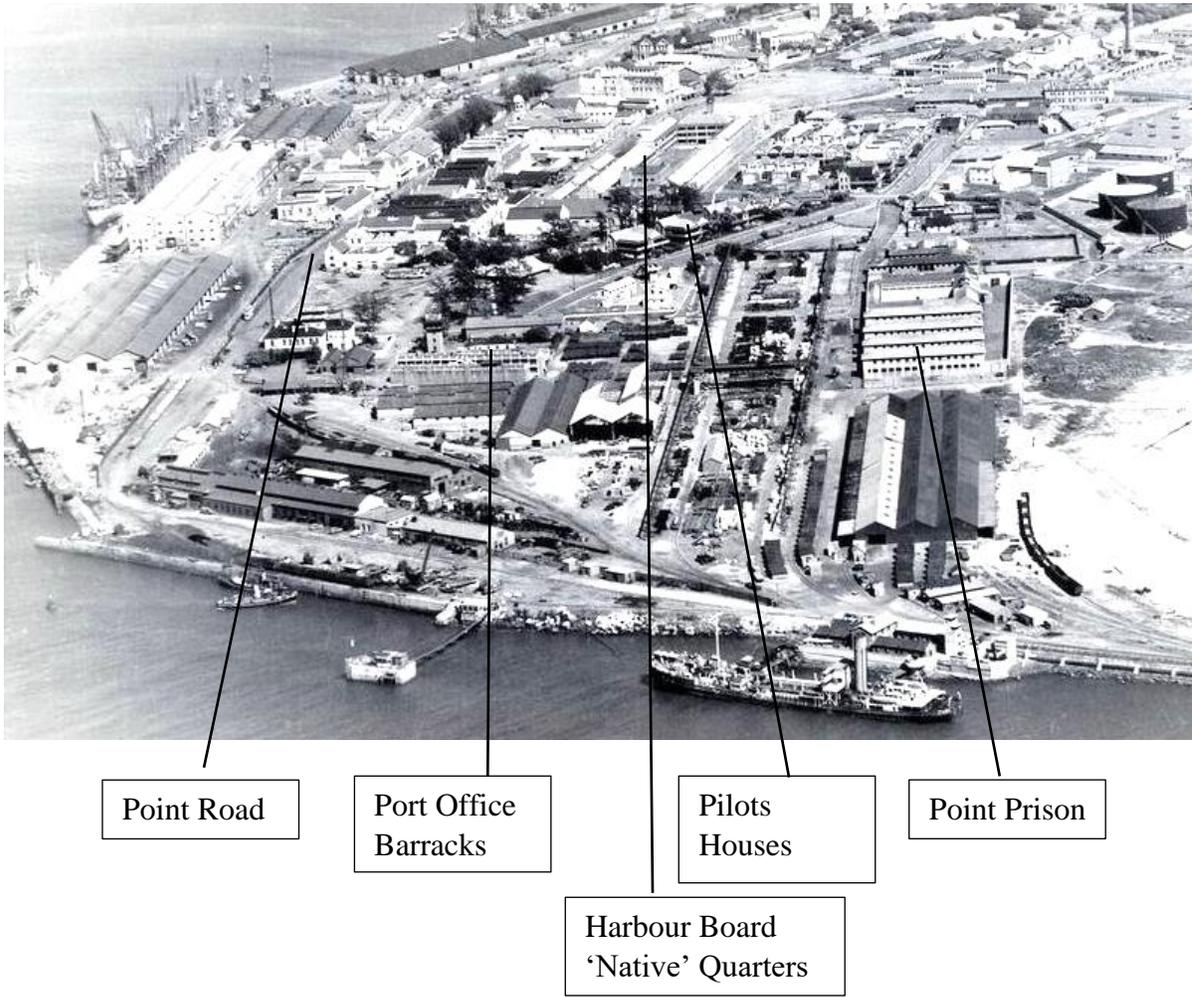


Figure 164. An aerial view of the southern portion of the Point in the 1960s (AG).

6.5.2 Salisbury Island fishing community.

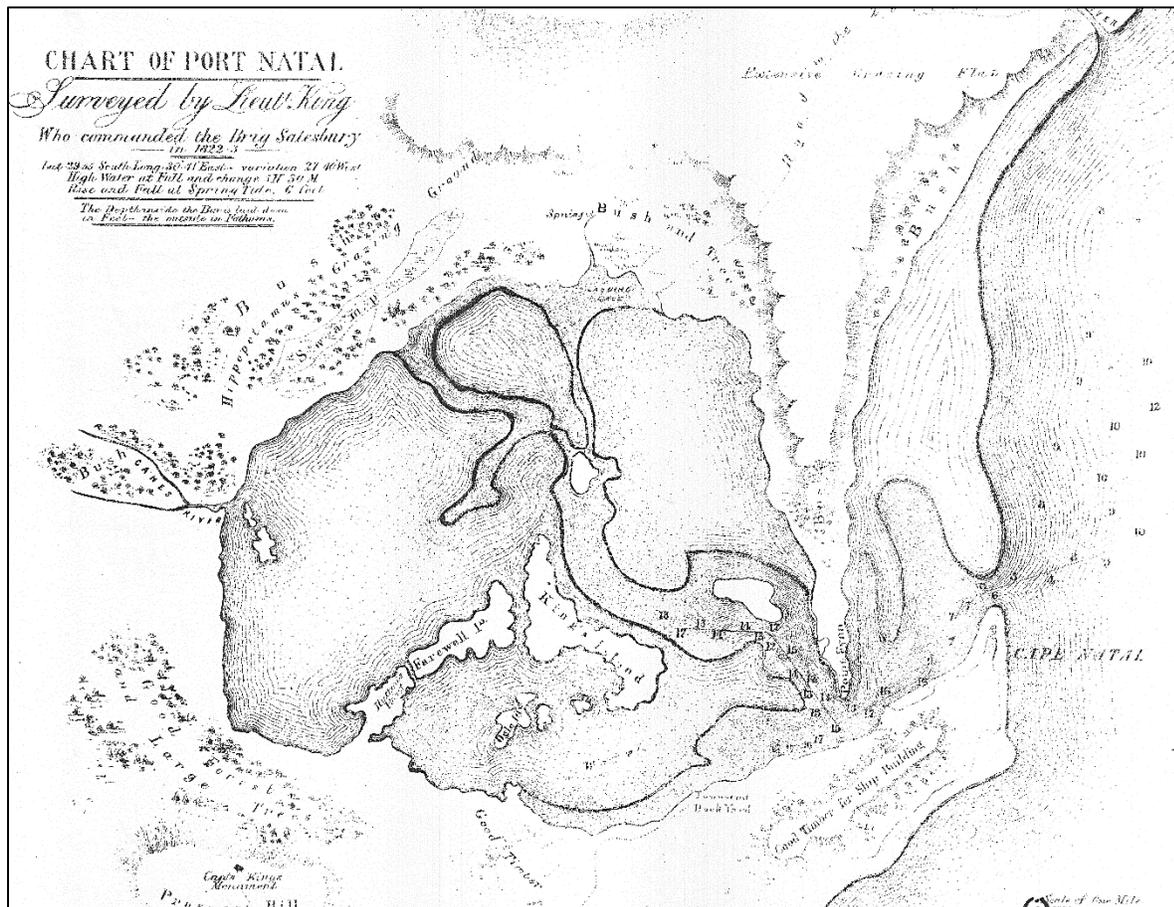


Figure 165. A survey of the Bay in 1822/3 by Lieutenant King prior to the establishment of Port Natal in 1824 (BK).

During the nineteenth century there were a number of islands in the Bay of Port Natal, as it was then known. Lieutenant King, who had surveyed the bay on his earlier excursion in 1822/3, named four of the six islands as King's, Farewell, Ogle and Hutton, as illustrated in Figure 165. The largest island he named King's which subsequently became known as Salisbury, named after one of the ships he had commanded in 1823. Although much of the western shores of the island was covered in mangroves, the gently sloping shores of the island made it an ideal location for boat building from the 1870s (Kearney, 2013: 1377). A community of ex-indentured Indians settled on this island and made a living from fishing. Govender and Chetty (2014: 62) dates the establishment of this fishing community as early as 1865, when a group from the first batch of "free" Indians, migrated together with their families from Ifafa, Reunion and Isipingo sugar mills, to settle on the island to make a living. Kearney (2013: 1341) supports this claim, noting that two fishermen named Abboyer and Sawauth, claimed in 1880 that they had lived on the island since 1865. Some indentured Indians had fishing skills and during their indenture they only fished at night, boarding

trains bound for the harbour, thereafter rowing across the Bay and together with Indian dock workers from the Point Barracks', fished on the shores of Salisbury Island. The fisherfolk who settled on the island employed the seine-netting fishing technique, which was an organised activity of a number of boats crews with large nets working in tandem with a land crew (Govender and Chetty, 2014: 63).

The fishermen, together with their families and workers, depicted in Figure 166, fished in the harbour and what was known as Back Beach and caught fish, crayfish, shrimps and crabs using boats, nets, crab pots and wire mesh traps. Kraal-fishing, consisting of structures anchored on the harbour bed and placed in cross currents which trapped the fish, were also used usually by men and women who were employed by day and who fished at night (Govender and Chetty, 2014: 70). Through their skill and seine-netting techniques they caught large quantities of fish, becoming a commercial enterprise by 1870, with Salisbury Island becoming the centre of the first commercial fishing industry (Govender and Chetty, 2014: 74). With skills acquired from their home villages along coastal regions of South India, the early fishermen weaved their own nets and built their own boats, known as "banana boats" because of their shape, on the shores of Salisbury Island and Fynnlands. The flat-bottomed boats with bent bows were designed to traverse shallow waters, glide the breakers and negotiate hidden rocks carrying up to six men on the oars, heavy nets or several tons of fish (Govender and Chetty, 2014: 58).

This fishing community was not only known for their fishing skills but also for a famous rescue carried out by Mariemuthoo Padavatan, a leader of the small community, together with five men, when the Umgeni River flooded in 1917. The Springfield Flats on the banks of the Umgeni River, with its rich soil conditions was home to about 2 500 market gardeners and a settlement known as Tin Town. When the Umgeni burst its banks in a massive flood in 1917 the settlement was submerged and survivors clung onto the roofs of their homes. Mariemuthoo and his crew launched their boat in the Umgeni River and after five trips into the raging waters, rescued a total of 176 people, becoming known as the "Padavatan Six" (Govender and Chetty, 2014: 129). This heroic deed was part of Indian local history and the M Padavatan Primary School in Chatsworth was named in honour of the leader of this group (Scott, 2013: 33).

Scott (2013: 31-47) traced the journey of removals of this fishing community from Salisbury Island to Fynnlands in 1901, then to Bayhead in the early 1960s and finally to Chatsworth. The small fishing community on Salisbury Island initially consisted of 218 people, with each family leasing a plot. Most of the fish caught was sold as dry fish whilst fresh fish was sold in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. In 1901 when the Harbour Board required the Island for a quarantine hospital, an alternative location was provided at Fynnlands where lots were allocated on the bay. A small fishing village of 32 houses built on stilts to prevent flooding during spring tides, was established on the edge of the Bay. It was a small community with a high degree of intermarriage between families resulting in Mariemuthoo Padavatan, one of the original leaders, together with his brothers, sons and cousins forming the core of the village (Scott, 2013: 32). By the 1950s the fishermen prospered and some bought houses adjacent to the village, at the lower end of Bluff Road, creating a node of Indian-owned properties. At its peak the seine-netting industry involved 40 boats working off Addington Beach (Scott, 2013: 33).

The period between 1905 to 1940, is described by Govender and Chetty (2013: 21), as the height of the seine-netting enterprise, consisting of a community of about 1 000 people, the majority of which were employed by a small group of pioneer seine-netters, known as Master Fishermen and their descendants. Known as the Fishing Village, it was located on the south-east part of the Bay below Fynnlands Station, consisting of a close-knit fishing community formed around the core of Master Fishermen, who owned the boats, equipment, licenses and who were also the landlords of the village. The villagers built their homes on stilts to clear high tide, but only the Master Fishermen built substantial homes with wrap-around verandahs, whilst the workers lived in shacks on swampy ground (Govender and Chetty, 2013: 106). One such Master Fishermen's home was the Karupan brothers' house, a large colonial wood and iron house that was the iconic landmark of the Village and featured on Durban's postcards (Govender and Chetty, 2013: 109).

In 1960 the fishing village was removed when mangrove swamps were reclaimed and an oil storage tank development by the Railways Administration was commenced. Because the Bluff had been proclaimed as a White Group Area, seven Indian homes were expropriated under Group Areas legislation and the families were relocated to Bayhead and Chatsworth (Scott, 2013: 34). In 1961 the Master Fishermen and their workforce had to demolish their Village and relocate to Bayhead, several kilometers west of the former Fishing Village. The villagers dismantled their wood and iron homes to be reassembled at Bayhead which was supposed to be a temporary relocation for 18 months, because Chatsworth was still being built. The temporary settlement at Bayhead was smaller, consisting of 29 units from the original 39 units in the old village. The temporary arrangement lasted for five years before residents had to finally relocate in 1965 to Havenside, Bayview and Arena Park in Chatsworth. The residents were dispersed in the sprawling Chatsworth Township, far from the sea, disintegrating a once close-knit community (Govender and Chetty, 2013: 232).



Figure 166. The fishermen and their workers on Salisbury Island (LHM).

6.5.3 The University College for Indians (UNICOL).

Sixty years after the Indian fishing community on Salisbury Island were relocated, a new educational institution for Indians was established on the island, in disused military facilities. In October 1960, the Minister of Education unexpectedly announced that a University College (UNICOL) was to be established for Indians, in terms of the Extension of University Education Act 45 of 1959 and was to become operational by 1 November 1960 (Vahed, 2013: 22). Although many sectors of the Indian community including political, cultural and religious organisations had initially protested against the creation of a separate ‘university’ or ‘bush-college’ for Indians there was no viable alternative, resulting in the first students being registered in February 1961 (Vahed, 2013: 40). The College was established in a disused Navy camp on Salisbury Island, accessible only by a ferry boat, illustrated in Figures 167 to 169. It started with facilities for about 100 students in only two Faculties, Arts and Science and included a hostel for males and females. In 1965, Faculties of Commerce, Administration and Education was established together with the introduction of courses in Law, Fine Arts, Social Sciences, Accountancy, Librarianship and Pharmacy. The University College fell under the aegis of the University of South Africa (UNISA) and followed its syllabus and examinations (Vahed, 2013: 22). In 1969 the University College was elevated to University status, assumed academic autonomy in 1971, relocated to a newly constructed facility in Westville and was renamed the University of Durban-Westville (Moodley and Pather, 2011: 12).

Vahed (2013: 44) concluded that most students at UNICOL adopted a utilitarian attitude, whilst the education was seen as beneficial, they did not enjoy the other associated aspects of university life. A strict dress code applied and students were barred from forming a students’ representative council, or committees and prevented from conducting meetings at their discretion or from inviting speakers of their choice to campus. Contrary to what critics had feared, the students did not meekly accept the status quo, evident by the many political activists that emerged from this institution. Despite the separation and control and whether one accepted or approved of the segregated institution or not, Vahed (2013: 44) argued that the university became “an incubator for critical thought and student activism”, which produced a generation of professionals. Of the many activists of that generation of the late 1960s, two of the ‘island’ students, Saths Cooper and Strini Moodley became prominent leaders in the BCM and were subsequently imprisoned on Robben Island in the 1970s for their political activities. Some of the other alumni of the College became prominent activists, journalists, political leaders, academics, lawyers or politicians (Moodley and Pather, 2011: 65).

Singh (2013b) examined the provision of educational facilities from the beginning of the twentieth century to the 1980s and documented 15 educational institutions for Indians, Coloureds and Africans in the Warwick Junction Precinct. The Natal Government did not consider the education of Indians as their responsibility. Largely through the efforts of the Christian Missions, the first primary schools and a hospital were established for Indians in Durban. The Anglican Mission had established St Aidan’s Hospital and St Faith’s Church and school for Africans, whilst the Catholic Mission established St Anthony’s School and the Methodist Mission established a Methodist School known as ‘Ha’Penny’ School. Through the efforts of Srinivasa Sastri, India’s Agent-General in South Africa and financial contributions from the Indian community, Sastri College high school was opened in 1930. Benefactors like ML Sultan, religious and cultural organisations and

fundraising efforts within the Indian community helped establish ML Sultan Technical College, the Hindu-Tamil School, Orient Islamic Institute, Gandhi-Desai and Manilal Valjee Schools (Singh, 2013b: 109-156). The educational zone formed by these educational institutions, are illustrated in Figure 108. Blacks could only acquire a university education in Johannesburg at WITS and the University of Cape Town (UCT) from 1936, considered as ‘open’ universities, although they were excluded from various social activities and prohibited from staying on campus. The University College of Fort Hare accepted Indian students from the early 1920s (Vahed: 2013: 25).

The Natal University College (NU), later named the University of Natal (UN), was the first higher education institution in Natal, based in Pietermaritzburg in 1910 and subsequently in premises of the Durban Technical College in 1922, before being established on its present site in Glenwood in 1931. Vahed (2013) and Singh (2013b) outlined the segregated and separate ‘university’ established by the UN for Black students. The UN refused admission of Indian students as early as 1916 and again from the 1920s to 1930s. Largely through the efforts of Dr Mabel Palmer, a staff member at the UN, a separate “Non-European Section” of the University of Natal was established in 1936, on a part-time basis in premises at Sastri College. Singh (2013b: 148) outlined the establishment of the “non-European Section” of the UN that first existed on Sastri College premises from 1936 to 1957, before being relocated to Lancers Road. A Bachelor of Arts degree was the only course on offer and classes began with 19 students, on Friday evenings, Saturdays and Sundays. The UN built additional huts behind the main school building when student numbers increased. In 1957 the “non-European Section” relocated to another building in Lancers Road, referred to as City Buildings. Lectures continued at Sastri College until the end of 1957, twenty years after its inception. In 1958 the UN acquired a warehouse opposite City Buildings on Lancers Road and converted it into lecture rooms. This building was known as Marian Buildings and according to Singh (2013b: 149), who was a student in this facility, the “lecture rooms were overcrowded, sports and recreation facilities were non-existent, reference and library books were limited and the ethos of an institution of higher learning totally absent”.

The enrolment of Black students at the “non-European Section” increased from 19 (6 Africans, 11 Indians and 2 Coloureds) in 1936, to 222 (57 Africans, 9 Coloureds and 156 Indians) in 1950. By 1960 the enrollment had increased to 558 (Vahed, 2013: 24). When the National Party Government introduced the Separate University Education Bill in 1957, which became law in 1959 as the Extension of the University Education Act 45 of 1959, new racially-based universities were established. Bellville in the Western Cape for Coloureds, Salisbury Island for Indians, Ngoye in Zululand for Zulus, Turfloop in Gauteng for Sotho-Twanas and Fort Hare was restricted to Xhosas (Vahed, 2013: 27). It is within this context that Black students who had previously been segregated from their White counterparts as “non-Europeans”, were further segregated along race and ethnic divides.

Singh (2013b: 148) noted that between the late 1940s and 1950s the Indian, Coloured and African students, who had previously been educated in racially separated primary and high schools, started forming bonds across the racial divide and shared a common bond as Blacks. Together with the Medical School for Black students, a combined Students’ Representative Council (SRC) was formed in 1959 which held demonstrations in 1960 to protest against segregated seating and the ‘Whites first’ policy at graduation ceremonies. It is within this context that the establishment of a

University College for Indians was unexpectedly announced in 1960 by the Minister of Education. The Indian University College was established on the island when the process of removals of Blacks and their associated facilities from central Durban, was about to commence. UNICOL relocated in 1971 when new facilities had been constructed adjacent to the more affluent Reservoir Hills Indian suburb and was named the University of Durban-Westville.



Figure 167. Students travelled daily by ferry boat to the University College on the island (GLDC).



(Moodley and Pather: 2011)

Figure 168. An aerial view of Salisbury Island in 1967. The new pier at Salisbury Island in the foreground and the University College can be seen on the southern edge of the Island, shown in a dotted line by the author.

29. Administration Block. 27. Store. 32. Library. 28. Psychology. 13. Arts. 56. Hostel. 67. Cafeteria. 12. Physics, Chemistry, Pharmacy and Students' Common Room. 9. Sporting Grounds. 10. Tennis Courts. 11. Education, Geography and Geology. 16. Education. 1. Swimming-bath. 17. Botany and Zoology. 15. Hall. 3B. Hostel. 24. Gymnasium.

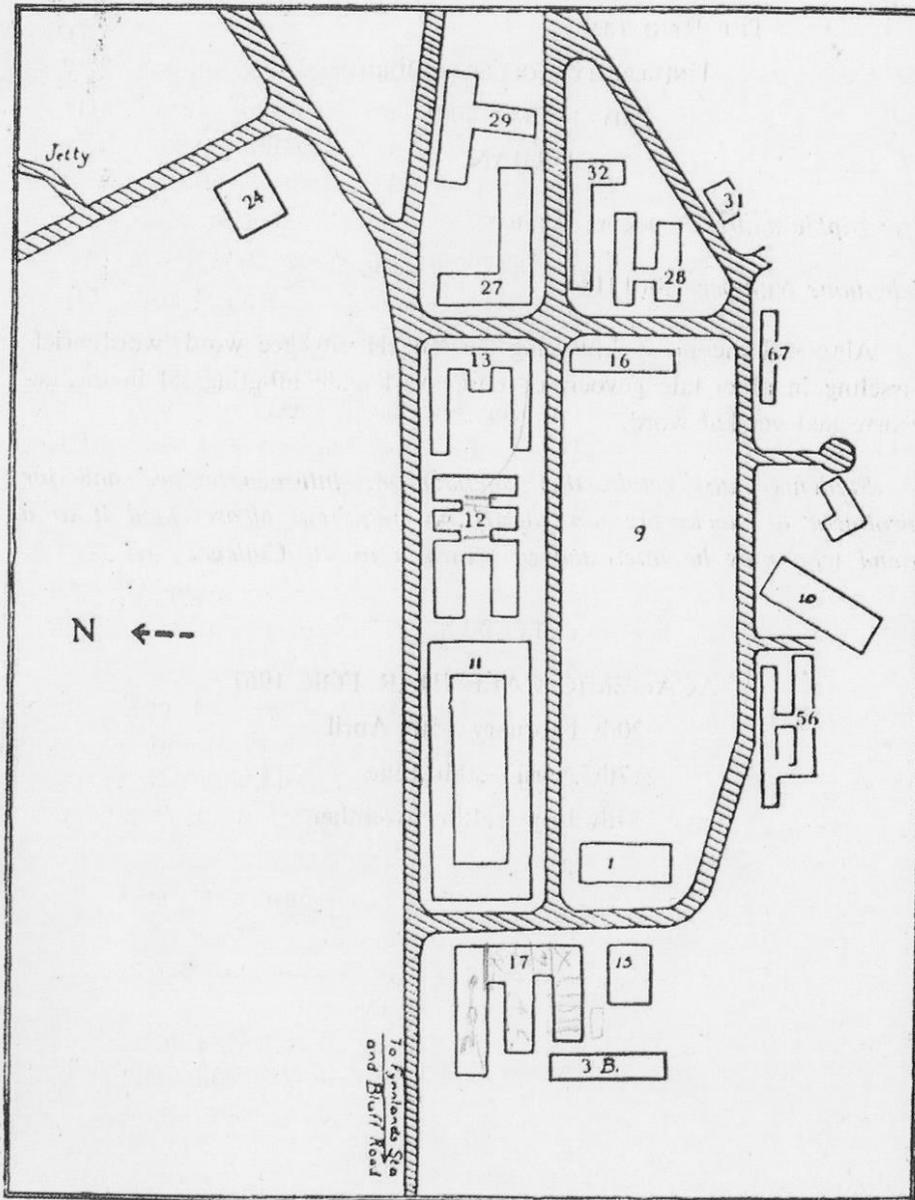


Figure 169. A layout of the University College on Salisbury Island (Moodley and Pather: 2011).

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

As indicated in chapter 1 and elaborated on in chapter 2 and 5, the living, cultural, political and commercial urban space, occupied by the collective of African, Indian and Coloured people, referred to as a Black presence in this study, was distinct yet “invisible” as possible to the dominant White class, during the colonial and apartheid periods. Chapter 2 outlined this invisibility in Durban’s urban history narrative, particularly its spatial development and built environment. Chapter 5 elaborated on how this Black presence was marginalised and chapter 6 described how it was subsequently bleached from the White urban space by the process of forced removals. As indicated in chapter 1, this marginalisation creates the general impression that Blacks did not occupy urban space and were not part of the evolution of Durban, apart from the Grey Street ‘Indian quarter’. The bleaching of Durban’s urban space, conceived as White or European, started in earnest in the 1960s and continued until the mid-1980s, yet this socio-spatial re-organisation of its urban space has been neglected and thus largely undocumented.

Chapter 1 acknowledged that some studies have since examined Durban’s multicultural character and composition during the colonial and apartheid periods, but these studies have focused on either the African or Indian urban experience, with a paucity of information on Coloureds and the subject of forced removals. As pointed out, these studies focused on specific aspects such as residential, traders or workers’ issues, resulting in a racially fragmented and incomplete picture of what a collective Black urban presence consisted of, before and after forced removals.

The contribution that this thesis makes to Durban’s urban history, is to identify the previously ‘invisible’ living, educational, commercial, religious, sports and political space, occupied by Blacks. The Black presence is made ‘visible’ by identifying, describing and illustrating *what* this space consisted of, *where*, *when* and *how* it was created and removed from the White city. Also, of importance to the urban history narrative of Durban, is the use of maps, diagrams and photographic material, which not only depict the character and architectural qualities of the urban Black presence, but also integrates it within the spatial development of the city until the mid-1980s.

Chapter 4 outlined the approach adopted to obtain a composite picture of a collective Black urban presence. Previous relevant studies, although racially compartmentalised, were integrated with archival research on Blacks and their social activities and institutions in the city. This was complemented by oral history obtained from interviews and brochures, newspapers, maps and photographs. An important component of this study is to present the previously ‘invisible’ presence, in two and three-dimensional ‘proof’. Thus, much of the research centred around producing a composite picture of the spatial arrangement and aesthetics of the Black presence in the city, by the use of maps, diagrams, aerial and street level photographs.

Chapter 3 elaborated on how built environments were shaped by a past which celebrated some of its “monuments and markings”, whilst omitting some of that past. Chapter 3 also outlined the framework adopted to examine the spatial evolution of Durban and to demonstrate the connection between space and race, by locating where, when, how and why Black place communities developed. The spatial practice of race making was demonstrated in chapter 5 and 6, by an examination of White attitudes and legislation introduced that enabled the spatial clustering of

Blacks into undesirable spaces, during the development of Durban from the 1870s to the 1980s. Various legislative measures were identified over different periods in the city's development, that enabled the spatial practice of separating Blacks from Whites, socially and spatially, before finally being removed from the central city from the 1960s. Different legislative measures were used to control the entry and occupation of urban space by Africans and Indians, similarly, their removal was also achieved by the use of different legislation. Chapter 5 examined the establishment of a Black presence from the 1870s to the 1950s, and the racing of space by legislation. Chapter 6 focused on place making processes and the removal of "place communities" from the city. It identified place/s at neighbourhood scale, its composition, and how and when it was removed.

7.1 The racing of space

In a census in 1862, a Black presence in the fledgling town of 2 567 European residents, consisted of 1 593 Africans, 153 Indians and no record of Coloureds. One of the strands that contributed to the race group that became known as Coloureds, was the settlement of St Helena immigrants in the mid-1870s. An early reference to a separate "mixed and others" group, that became classified as Coloured, was in a census conducted in 1904. The census listed 31 302 Europeans, 18 929 "Natives", 15 631 Indians and 1 980 "mixed and others": consisting of Griquas, Hottentots, St Helenians, "Coloured Cape people" and Mauritians (Mayor's Minute, 1904: 70).

The processes and mechanisms employed to marginalise and exercise control over Africans, Indians and Coloureds, varied between race groups, as outlined in Chapter 5. The focus of segregation was initially directed at the two larger race groups, the African and Indian population, over different periods in the city's development. First, legislative measures were introduced in the late nineteenth century to control Indian immigration and trade, particularly the location of Indian trading. The White settlers' concerns from the 1870s about Indians settling in their midst, whilst they considered their habits and customs as repugnant, and "are about as prolific as rabbits", prompted the introduction of legislation to create segregation within Durban's fledgling urban settlement, represented by the three main streets, West, Smith and Pine Streets. Immigration restrictions and the Retail Dealers' Licensing Acts of 1897 restricted immigration and provided a mechanism to create separate Indian and/or African trading areas.

These control measures, introduced in the late nineteenth century to control Indian settlement and trade was followed by legislation directed at the increasing African population at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Beer, Togg and Locations Acts of the early twentieth century, marked the beginnings of an influx control system for African labour, which was further developed into the notorious "Durban system", administered by the Native Administration Department (NAD), later to become the Bantu Administration Department (BAD). The apparatus of control over Africans' presence in the city was funded by the municipal monopoly on the manufacture and sale of "Kaffir beer". The basic ingredients of the "Durban system" were breweries, beerhalls and barracks. The monopoly on brewing allowed it to be produced on a large scale in breweries and sold in municipal beerhalls. This system criminalised African petty brewers, exerted control over their social space and used the profits from beer sales to build accommodation in the form of barracks or hostels. The monopoly on the beer trade was the glue that made the control over employment, residential accommodation and social space, possible. It was a lucrative business which provided the funds that built beerhalls, rudimentary residential accommodation, a school, a

social centre and recreational facilities for Africans. The “Durban system” essentially made African males fund, through the beer they consumed, the construction of rudimentary facilities and the administration that controlled and policed their lives,

After the introduction of the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, residential accommodation for Africans, was linked to employment by making employers responsible for their housing provision. This act entrenched the provision of hostels, barracks and private barracks for African workers. The municipality, the railways, harbour, commercial enterprises, nursing homes including blocks of residential flats, all had to comply with this requirement. This act was amended several times to further extend the control over Africans entering the city, their residential accommodation, social, recreational and commercial space. The control over the recreational and sports sphere was introduced in 1930, with the appointment of a Native Welfare Officer.

Race is made in the ways people conduct themselves, in how they look and what they wear and their interactions with each other (Knowles, 2003: 49). At the beginning of the twentieth century “race making” (Knowles, 2003: 80) was extended into clothing when Africans in domestic employ, were “more suitably” attired in a European boys’ tunic, referred to as a “picanin” or “kitchen suit”. Ostensibly designed for “kitchen boys” it became the de-facto uniform for all African male domestic servants, until the 1960s. The “kitchen suit”, which was conceived in Durban and mass produced by an esteemed citizen, Benjamin Greenacre, was an identification measure that reinforced the general trend of surveillance, hygiene and control over African males. Interestingly, whilst the “kitchen suit” denigrated African males, it also served as a kind of ‘passport’, which allowed African males into White homesteads and made their presence in White neighbourhoods and White social and private space acceptable. Although the “kitchen suit” was eventually sold countrywide, in a choice of three colours, white was the preferred colour choice for this domestic servant uniform for more than 60 years.

Space for building development in the old Durban borough had become limited by the late 1920s, which had been exacerbated by the extensive and undesirable Western and Eastern *vleis*, which were still undergoing improved drainage and land reclamation schemes. The City Council realised the need for more housing, particularly for the increasing Indian population, initially perceived as “the Indian problem”. The extension of the borough’s boundary, ostensibly for more space for African and Indian housing, only accentuated the extent of the African and Indian housing “problem”. The boundary extension, formalised in 1932, not only changed the physical extent of the city, but radically changed its overall population, and more importantly, its racial structure. An additional 51 000 Indians, a few 100 Coloureds and 21 000 Africans fell under the control of the City Council (CC). The hygiene and housing standards applied by the CC in the old borough was largely non-existent in the “added areas”, which were described as a “black belt” surrounding the city, resulting from “shack farming” in-lieu of banana farming. The older residential areas within the old borough, particularly around the Western vlei, also came under scrutiny after the introduction of the Slums Act of 1934. Between 1939 and 1944, these areas in the old borough together with the “black belt” of shacks, in particular Cato Manor, were declared as part of 12 slum zones in the city.

The so-called slums, were the result of the lack of housing for Africans, Indians and Coloureds in the city. The high cost of land, anti-Indian and anti-African sentiments, restrictive laws particularly

regarding rights to own and occupy property by Africans, severely restricted the provision of housing in the city. The majority of Africans were accommodated in hostels, municipal barracks, employer and private barracks and small outlying municipal family housing schemes in Lamont and Chesterville. Domestic servants were housed in outbuildings, named “kias”, in White residential areas. Indian housing provision was limited to barracks for municipal, harbour and railway employees. The bulk of Indian housing was located in the Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street complex and on the lower slopes of the Berea from Greyville to Berea Road. Coloureds largely lived in these Indian areas on the lower slopes of the Berea, as tenants. Municipal housing provision for Coloureds first materialised in 1941 when the Melbourne Road flats were completed whilst a small housing scheme for Coloureds was also established in Sparks Estate on the outskirts of the city.

The lack of housing was compounded in the 1940s, when the Trading and Occupation of Land Act (“Pegging Act”) and the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act (“Ghetto Act”), was introduced to “peg” the further expansion or “penetration”, as it was referred to, of Indian property ownership and occupation. The pegging of property ownership largely affected the area at the foot of the Berea. Whilst coming to grips with the lack of housing for Africans and Indians, which created the slum conditions by the City Council’s own admission, racial zoning plans were formulated from 1943 onwards. The proposals were revised over a number of years, before being approved in 1952 as the “Racial Zoning” plan, which provided the framework that guided the creation of Group Areas from the 1950s to 1980s. It is evident that the concept of “racial zoning” as envisaged by Durban, was no different to “group areas” envisaged by the Afrikaner Nationalist Party. Both concepts were spatial in nature, based on race criteria, except that Durban had conceptualised it seven years prior to the Nationalist Government.

The Population Registration Act of 1949 and the Group Areas Act of 1950, could be considered as marking the official start of what became known as ‘apartheid’, the Afrikaans term for separateness. Although separateness had always been practiced, particularly in Durban, it was piecemeal and although driven by race considerations, it was not guided by a cohesive ideology. The Group Areas Act of 1950, provided the much sought after legislation and ideology to implement the racial zoning plans formulated in 1943, as a masterplan for future housing provision for Durban’s growing multiracial population. The ideology of apartheid was based on separating the different race groups, defined by the Population Registration Act, ostensibly to reduce points of conflict. Durban’s previous experience with segregating Indians was drawn upon to assist with the formulation of a spatial framework, or template, to create “group areas”, which were used by other cities to spatially re-organise their urban spaces on a racial basis.

Armed with a framework the task fell to the Land Tenure Advisory Board, renamed as the Group Areas Board, to formulate proposals for the proclamation of different racial “group areas”. The approved racial zoning plan of 1952 was unpacked in more detail and public hearings conducted and representations made by affected parties. The Group Areas Board made final representations to Government, who promulgated and announced Group Areas proclamations for central Durban, on the 4 October 1963. The 1963 proclamations affected Indian and Coloured residential areas in central Durban, the same areas identified as inner-city slums in 1939. After 24 years of improvements to the slums, they now had to be removed. Concerns about slums, lack of acceptable housing and the scale of the (Black) “problem” in the 1930s, was first framed as a health issue,

which evolved into a racial zoning solution by the 1940s, which then fused with a political ideology in 1950, to be re-framed as Group Areas, to reduce friction between races. The minimisation of friction was the basis for bleaching the cities and it was touted as an inconvenient but necessary consequence, to achieve racial harmony.

7.2 The settlement pattern

Chapter 3 outlined the theoretical growth models used to describe the urban settlement patterns of cities. Davies (1963 and 1981) analysed South African cities and developed growth models which illustrated the spatial change from a segregated to an apartheid city type. Davies (1963: 16), identified three variables considered important in the interpretation of city growth patterns, namely:

1. The significance of site peculiarities
2. The functional category of the city
3. The racial composition of the population and the socio-political context.

The last variable was the most significant in the analysis of South African cities (Davies, 1963: 16). Davies (1963 and 1981) concluded that Durban's growth pattern generally resembled the concentric zonal pattern which changed into a sectoral pattern, with the application of the Group Areas Act, illustrated in Figures 2 to 4. These diagrams, however, do not provide the detail of the growth pattern at the core of the models, identified as the White and Indian CBD's, the CBD frame and area of mixing, illustrated in Figures 2 and 3.

Durban's unique site conditions, its function as a port city and the socio-political context was examined to gain an understanding of the evolution of the core, or heart of the city. By applying these three variables identified by Davies, this study suggests an eccentric zonal formation, an adaptation of the concentric zonal formation. Eccentric zones are a more accurate representation in the case of Durban's evolution, because of the unique set of site and socio-political conditions. The site peculiarities such as the bay, a dry portion of land between two marshlands, the densely forested Berea hills and a sea frontage, were the main elements that influenced the city's urban settlement pattern. Durban was also the only city in the country, which had a significant Indian population, in addition to the African population. Kearney (1984: 21) noted that during the early development of the city, it resembled a nodal pattern of dispersed clusters of dwellings, evident in the Congella, Point and Town nodes, illustrated in Figure 170. The Town centre on the northern end of the bay developed earlier and independently from the Point, and was flanked by two marshlands, separating it from the Berea in the west and the sea frontage in the east. This study suggests that unique site features such as the two marshlands, Berea hills and the bay edge skewed a zonal pattern to an eccentric zonal formation, illustrated in Figure 170 and 171. By superimposing the eccentric zonal pattern over maps depicting the growth of the city centre from 1855 to 1903, 1963 and 1985, provides a composite spatial view of a Black presence and its removal from central Durban, from the 1900s to 1985. The influence of site features or peculiarities and the socio-political context, which enabled the spatial practice of race making in Durban, is illustrated in Figures 170 to 173.

When Durban acquired borough status in 1854, the settlement pattern around the Bay of Natal consisted of three dispersed clusters of settlements at varying stages of development. Congella, a small residential settlement was established by the Boer trekkers at the western end of the bay, a substantial town laid out on the northern shore of the bay and a rudimentary settlement near the harbour mouth at the Point (Kearney, 1984: 21), illustrated in Figure 170. The Point served the maritime interests, the function of the settlement, but spatially developed independently from the town centre. In 1860 these two parts of the settlement was connected by a railway line, the first in South Africa.

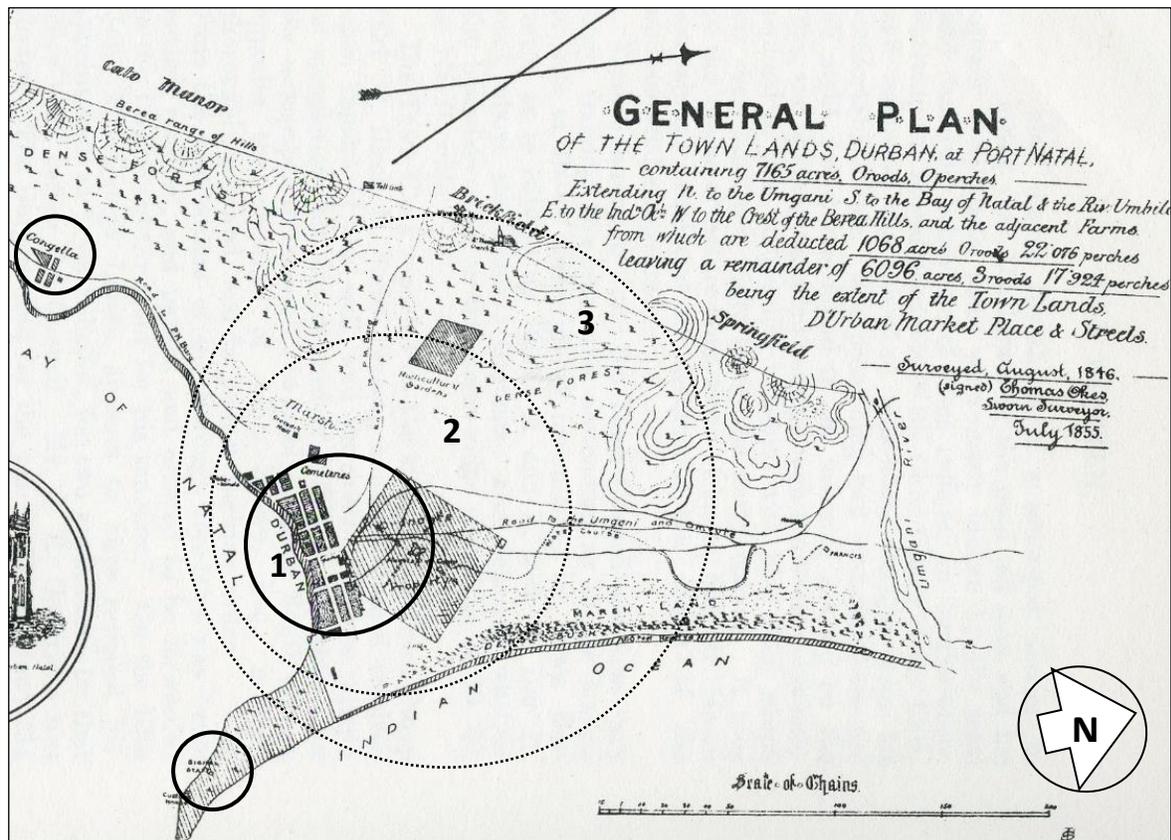


Figure 170. The three settlement nodes in Durban, 1855. Congella, the Point and the Town centre. The unique site feature suggests the Town subsequently developed in an eccentric zonal formation which has been superimposed by the author, on the 1855 map by Russell (1899).

Three distinct zones in the town are identified in the settlement pattern that had been established by the early 1900s, more than 60 years after the town was formally laid out in 1840. These three zones represent the old borough, that stretched up to Ridge Road on the Berea ridge. Zone 1 is the formal establishment of the town and the commercial centre, whilst zone 3 represents the residential hills of the Berea. Zone 2 represents the interstitial zone, the undesirable Western and Eastern vleis.

The heart, Zone 1, represents the fledgling town centre which was established on a dry portion of land. With the Market Square roughly at the centre, it includes all the streets, the cemetery on the western outskirts and the Fort on the northern outskirts of the town. Ordinance Land, for military purposes had been demarcated north of the town centre. The three main transport routes to the south, north and west, had been established and the Horticultural (Botanic) Gardens had been demarcated out of town, at the base of the densely forested hills of the Berea. By the 1850s, an Indian, African or Coloured presence had not been a factor in the development of the town.

By the early 1900s, the settlement pattern had reached the borough's boundary, on the Berea Ridge, depicted in Figure 171. The densely forested Berea hills of the 1850s, had been replaced by residential areas, represented by Zone 3. Parts of these residential areas projected into zone 2 and were buildable areas on the low-lying areas bordering the *vleis*. These areas were laid out in smaller blocks and property sizes and would originally have been occupied by lower class Whites. These residential areas bordering the *vleis*, eventually became racially mixed areas, occupied by Whites, Indian and Coloureds.

The interstitial space between the town centre and the Berea which was largely vacant at the beginning of the twentieth century, is depicted in Figure 171 and represents zone 2. This zone comprised the Eastern and Western *vleis*, which were undesirable areas due to the prevalence of mosquitos and the miasma that prevailed over the area making it unhealthy localities. Parts of the vlei was utilised for functions such as sports fields and a racecourse. The spatial practice of race making was achieved by locating Blacks in this undesirable zone. The first barracks for Indian municipal employees had been established in the Eastern vlei, whilst Indian informal settlements had been established in the Western vlei and formal residential and trading areas had been established at the west end of West Street and the Grey Street area, illustrated in Figure 171. Chapter 5 and 6 outlined the Indian "dual CBD" which developed outwards, for over 60 years towards the northwest straddling the Western vlei, whilst also spreading to the north adjacent to the Umgeni Road, another Black residential/commercial zone engineered by the Retail Dealers Licensing Act of 1897. Part of Salisbury Island was used for a University College for Indians from 1961 to 1971. In 1963, before the removals process had commenced, the Black presence which had been established over a period of more than 80 years and had developed substantially since the beginning of the twentieth century, is depicted in Figure 172.

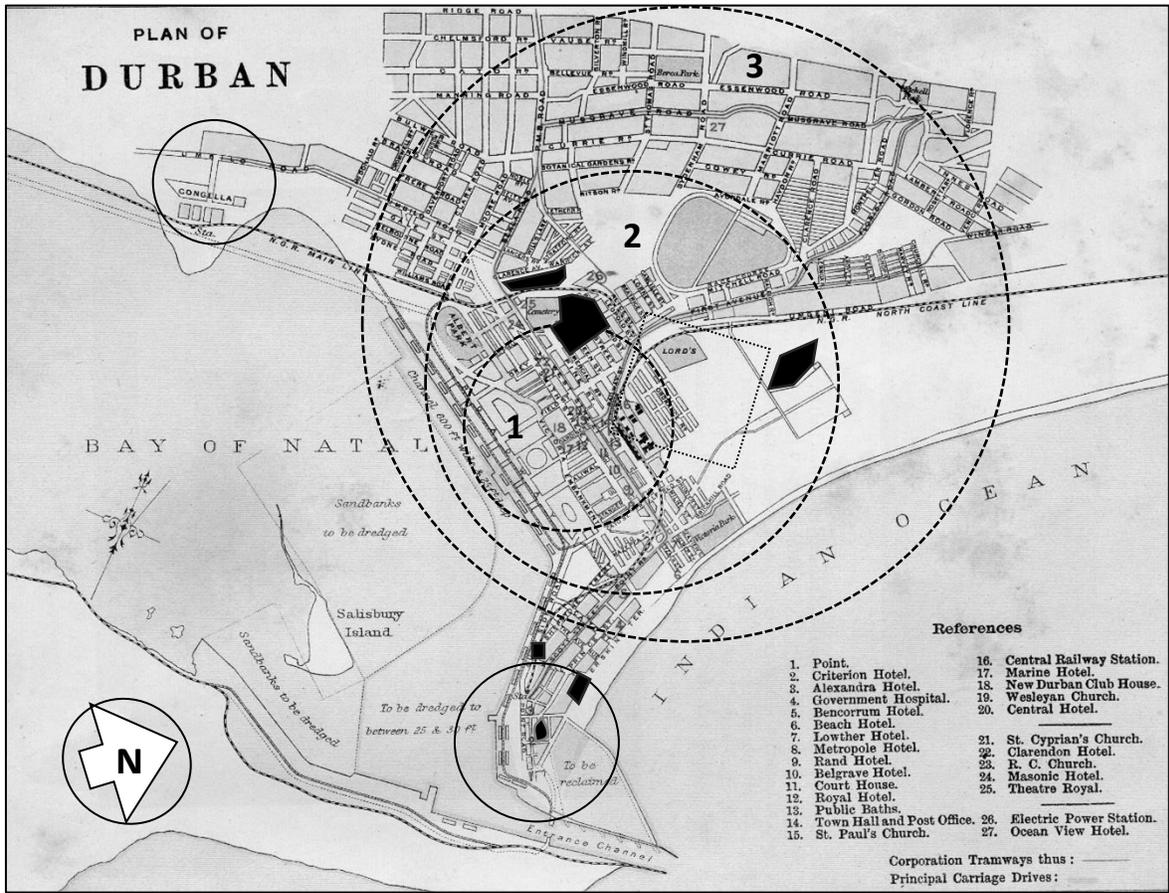
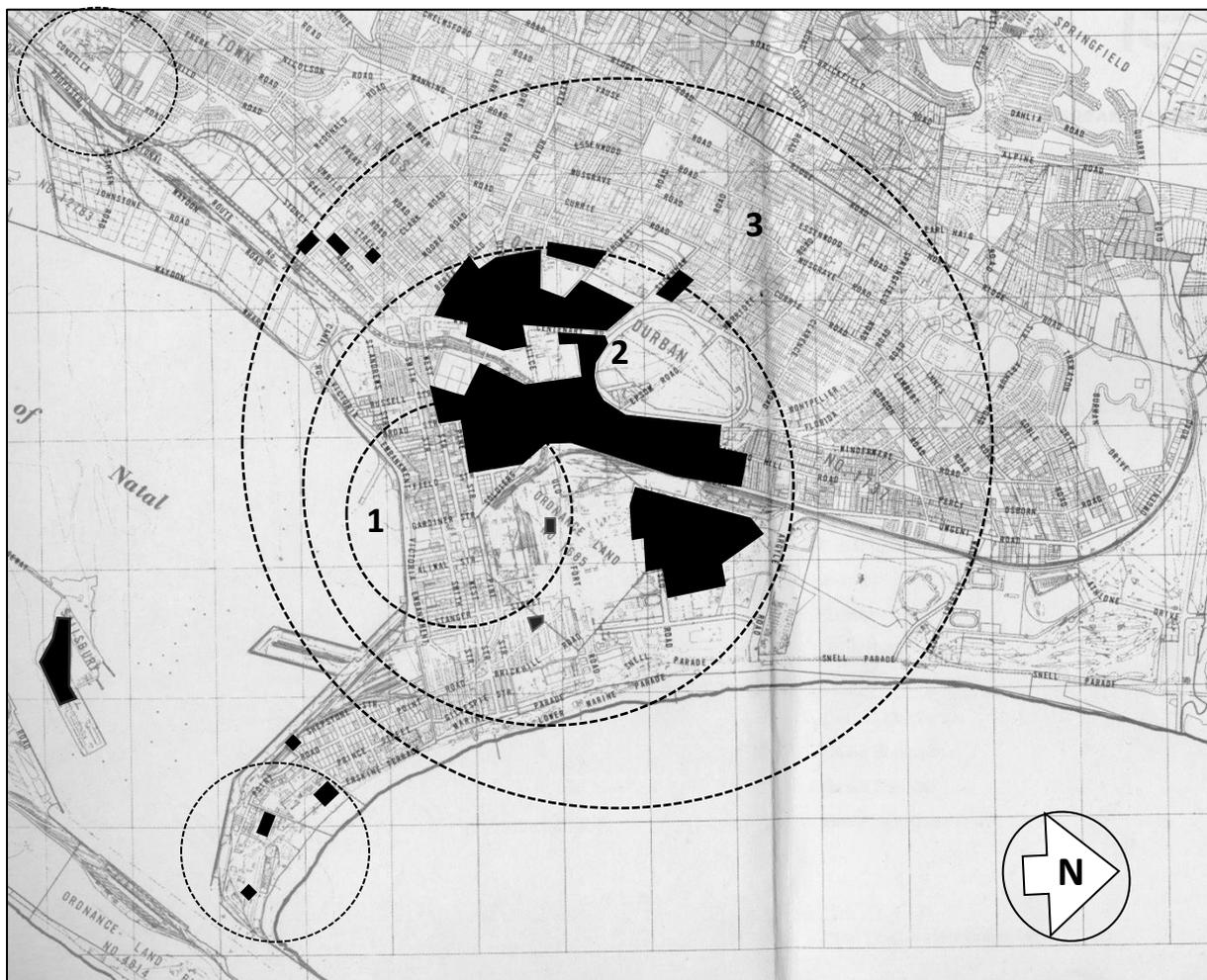


Figure 171. The Black presence in Durban by 1903: Eccentric zones superimposed, by the author, on a 1903 map by Harrison (1903).



1963 map (CE)

Figure 172. The Black presence in Durban in the early 1960s: Eccentric zones superimposed by the author on a 1963 map.

The remaining parts of a Black presence in 1985 is illustrated in Figure 173. The areas that survived the bleaching process were the Warwick Avenue Triangle, the Early Moring Market, Victoria Street Bus Rank and the Grey Street complex, together with the sports/education/religion/health node around Currie's Fountain. The new Berea Station, for Black commuters, became part of the remaining Black presence from the mid-1980s. In the Eastern vlei, the Krishna Temple and the Loram school buildings were the only remnants of the workers' compound. The Harbour "Native Quarters" at the Point, the peripheral Melbourne Road flats for Coloureds and the Dalton Hostel and beerhall for Africans also survived. In Block AK, the May Street mosque and Gandhi School were the only remnants. The brewery had been demolished but the Native Administration building in Bram Fischer (Ordinance) Road, was still in existence by 1985. The Prince Alfred Street Beerhall was still in existence, although not functioning as such.



1985 aerial photograph (CE)

Figure 173. Durban 1985. The Black urban presence in 1985, reduced to shaded areas. The new Berea Station for Black commuters became part of the remaining Black presence.

7.3 Place making

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the spatial practice of race making was already evident in the town. An Indian, African and St Helenian presence had already been formally established in three main areas in the town. The three main areas, as illustrated in Figure 171, were:

1. The Eastern vlei
2. The Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street area and Western vlei
3. The Point

The Grey Street area had developed as the Indian commercial and residential hub, occupied mainly by the trading class, whilst Indian workers were accommodated in municipal barracks in the Eastern vlei. Indian informal settlements were established in the Western vlei and an informal racially mixed settlement, called Bamboo Square, had been established at the Point. A barracks for 'togt' or African day workers was also in existence at the Point. This locational pattern of a Black presence which had been established by the end of the nineteenth century, depicted in Figure 171, remained unchanged for 60 years but was developed further into larger zones for workers' accommodation, commercial, sports, educational, health, religion and cultural uses, illustrated in Figure 172.

7.3.1 Eastern vlei

By 1871, the Town Council considered the establishment of "Kafir and Coolie villages" in the Eastern vlei where "all coloured people" would be compelled to live. Three years later a site was selected, for this purpose, on a high and dry portion of the Eastern vlei. Although the Town Council tried to establish an Indian location on the eastern vlei, from the early 1870s, it did not succeed. Magazine Barracks, for Indian municipal employees and their families, named after the powder magazine building in its vicinity, was built in 1880 in wood and iron structures in the Eastern vlei on the site first identified in 1874. It was hoped that this Indian worker's settlement would encourage the establishment of an Indian location in the Eastern vlei. Although plots were laid out for leasing, for this purpose, it was unsuccessful. Railway Barrack for Indians employed by the railways was established soon after, adjacent to Magazine Barracks.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, after the establishment of a Native Affairs Department, three "locations" for Africans were established, adjacent to Magazine and Railway Barracks for Indians. The first was the "Married Natives' Quarters", later renamed Baumannville, which was established as the first family accommodation for Africans in the city in 1916. The second set of accommodation was the Somtseu Location for African males, which was also established in 1916 on Somtseu Road. The third, was the Railway Location for Africans, built adjacent to the Railway Barracks for Indians. This complex for railway employees also boasted a hospital, specifically for African and Indian railway employees. This cluster of workers' accommodation was later complemented by African and Indian schools, three temples, a church, a small library, a hall, sports grounds and a police station.

7.3.2 The Western vlei, the Grey Street area, Ritson and Madras Road areas and Block AK.

Indians squatted on land at the foot of the Berea by the early 1870s, on land leased from trustees of insolvent estates or land abandoned to the Council. A number of informal Indian “Locations” had developed on the Western vlei by 1880. Indians who preferred to be located close to the town, settled at the west end of West Street and bounding the Western vlei by 1875. The area was referred to by Whites as, “Coolie Location”. Later the St Helenians also settled in this area and residential plots were laid out, north of Victoria Street, specifically for St Helena immigrants. The first barracks for Indian municipal employees was first established at the west end of Victoria Street in 1864. When the cemetery was extended in 1864, the northwestern corner was set aside for the burial of Africans and Indians. Complaints about the erection of “coolie dwellings” in the town prompted the Town Council to resort to legislative measures to prevent Indians settling in the midst of Whites.

The 1897 Retail Dealers’ Licensing Act was instrumental in steering Indians from the three main streets and confined Indian commerce to ward 4. Ward 4 was located north of the first railway line which ran parallel to Pine Street and marked the edge of the fledgling town. The three main streets were considered to be for Whites. Ward 4 evolved into the “Coolie town” or “Indian Quarter”, with Grey Street its main street, dominated by the Grey Street Mosque established in 1881 and a fresh produce market operational in its courtyard by 1890.

When the railway line was rerouted around the western end of the cemetery, a bridge was constructed over the railway, at the convergence of Bertha Mkhize (Victoria) and Denis Hurley (Queen) Streets. The bridge was an extension of Victoria Street and was known as the Victoria Street Bridge that provided access to and from the Grey Street precinct to the Berea across the Western vlei. From the beginning of the twentieth century, and in particular after the Western vlei had been drained and the EMM established on Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue in 1934, this link between Grey Street and Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue across Victoria Street bridge, developed into a major social, commercial, religion and transport node for Blacks. Chapter 5 described how the urbanisation paths of Africans and Indians literally converged, intersected and also came into conflict, in this zone.

This zone of convergence contained the Grey Street mosque, Emmanuel Cathedral, the St Anthony’s church (before being relocated in 1936), the Badsha Pir shrine and the Indian and African cemetery established in 1864. The Victoria Street beerhall and eating house, the first and main beerhall in the city, was adjoined by four markets; the Early Morning Market (EMM) which existed as a street market in the temporarily closed-off Victoria Street, the Indian Market, the meat market and the Native Market. A Social Centre for Africans complemented the social space provided by the beerhall and eating house. The Berea Station was located on Brook Street, which also accommodated a clinic for Africans and a “non-European” library by 1951. When the EMM was relocated to the west of Victoria Street Bridge on Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue in the early 1930s, it shifted some of the commercial activity to Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue and became the catalyst for commercial development and the location of the Victoria Street bus rank.

With the introduction of trains as the main transportation system, to and from the racially defined townships, this zone became the major inter-modal transportation hub for Blacks, in the apartheid

period. This zone also experienced the most change, not directly because of Group Area removals, but because of the transportation and traffic plans formulated in the mid-1960s by international urban planners and transport engineers. The Western freeway entry and exit systems, the overhead Eilat viaducts and the massively widened railway lines, straddled by the new Berea railway station for Blacks, carved out massive chunks and vertically and horizontally dissected this once empty urban space, that was once a vlei.

The densely populated residential area at the base of the Berea, at the intersection of Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue and Chris Ntuli (Old Dutch) Road, referred to as the “Duchene”, was an old residential area already established by the 1890s. The small plots sizes were indicative of a lower class residential area, bordering the mosquito prone Western vlei, which would have been an undesirable location in the late nineteenth century. “Coolie dwellings” had been built in the Western vlei from the early 1870s, which would likely have contributed to the undesirability of the area. Photographs in 1903 indicate market gardens and, judging by the attire of the people, an Indian presence.

After the Western vlei was drained and land reclaimed, Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue was hardened in 1932, as a two-lane boulevard and became a more convenient route connecting the northern and southern traffic routes, by avoiding the city centre. The Early Morning Market (EMM), the English Market and the Victoria Street bus rank were all established in the mid-1930s in the erstwhile Western vlei and were the catalysts for the development of a new commercial and transport node. Because of the business opportunities presented by the new commercial node, more Indians acquired properties in this area and in the late 1930s, it was identified as one of the 12 slums zones in the city. By the early 1940s the same area became the subject of the Indian “penetration” commission, resulting in the pegging or further expansion of Indian property ownership. However, businesses thrived and its proximity to Yusuf Dadoo (Grey) Street, the markets, transport, schools, the “non-European” section of University of Natal and Currie’s Fountain, made it a much sought after residential area.

Numerous properties were expropriated from the late 1950s for the construction of the Western freeway entering the city, which dissected the old neighbourhood and became a major barrier between its two parts. In 1963, it was one of a number of areas, that were declared as White group areas. The area on the northern end of the Western freeway was zoned for educational purposes in the early 1970s, prompting the removal of the residents. Technikon Natal, a White educational institution who benefitted from acquiring prime property close to the city centre, with the help of government, managed the removal process of mostly Indian and Coloured residents. The removal process culminated in court proceedings from 1982 to 1984, resulting in the removal of the last residents by 1985, 12 years after the removal process first commenced.

The residents of the remainder of the old “Duchene” neighbourhood, south of the Western freeway, known as Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT) in the 1980s, resisted removals and relocation and spawned the Durban Housing Action Committee, an activist organisation which provided sustained and organised resistance to forced removals in the 1980s. Many residents eventually relocated over the years after their old residential area was physically scarred by years of neglect and stagnation. This old part of Durban was subjected to the Slums Act, “Pegging Act” and the

Group Areas Act, but one of the few racially integrated communities in the country, that survived the destructive removal process and was largely still physically in existence in the late 1980s.

Unfortunately, the residents on the new Technikon Natal site, the Ritson and Madras Road residents as well as Block AK residents, were forcibly removed from the mid-1960s and all traces of their existence were obliterated by the mid-1980s. The Grey Street residential and commercial complex, largely survived the Group Areas scourge. After years of uncertainty and lack of development, it was first proclaimed as an Indian commercial area in 1973, ostensibly to force the more than 13 000 residents out of the area. In 1983, most residents were still living in the area when it was finally proclaimed as an Indian Group Area, but two decades of uncertainty and lack of development had taken its toll on the once vibrant and colourful “Casbah” and the remaining “Duchene”, or WAT community.

7.3.3 The sport, educational, religion and health zone in the Western vlei.

The educational/religion/health and sports zone, which developed around Currie’s Fountain sports ground from 1925 to the late 1950s, had become home to seven Indian schools, one Coloured school, one African school, a hospital and three churches, which surrounded Currie’s Fountain on three sides. All the facilities were built and funded largely by the Indian community over three decades and represented the cultural, sports, educational, health and religious heart of the Durban’s Indian community. This urban space demonstrates the characteristics of place making, which (Friedmann, 2010: 155) referred to as the “centering” of place/s, which refers to spaces of encounter and/or gathering.

Fortunately, this centering of place represented by this educational, sports, health and religion node, survived Group Areas and forced removals. All these facilities were still in existence in the 1990s, but the removal of the surrounding residential areas and the establishment of schools and sports facilities in the new townships, had a negative impact on the schools and sports activities at Currie’s Fountain sports ground. Currie’s Fountain however, entered a new phase of purpose and increasingly became a political protest site, synonymous with the non-racial sports and political struggle. After the birth of COSATU and the United Democratic Front (UDF), the political activities at Currie’s Fountain intensified, becoming the venue for numerous workers’ union and youth day rallies. When exiled political parties were unbanned, the ANC Womens’ League and the South African Communist Party (SACP) staged homecoming rallies at Currie’s Fountain. One of the last significant political events before the democratic elections in 1994, was a ceremony befitting the historical lineage of the site, when Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the military wing of the ANC disbanded to become a Peoples’ Army in 1993.

7.3.4 The Point

To cater for the labour needs of the harbour, shipping and commercial activities at the Point, an African “togt” or day workers’ wood and iron barracks was established in 1890 on Bell Street at the Point. An informal settlement had also been established between the sand dunes at the Point, officially known as the “Coolie and Native Cantonment”, but commonly referred to as “Bamboo Square”. This informal settlement housed Indians, “Natives of all tribes”, St Helenians, Malays, some Chinese and a few Europeans. The unsanitary conditions and building standards at Bamboo Square and its inhabitants was a source of major concern to the Council for decades and after being

in existence from the 1860s, it was finally demolished in 1903. Besides the Togh Barracks on Bell Street for African workers and the Bamboo Square informal settlement, a number of other barracks for employees of the Railways and Harbour and commercial concerns were established at the beginning of the twentieth century for Indians and Africans. The Indian Immigration Hospital and its associated Depot Barracks was another important health and residential facility for Indians at the Point. Indian fishermen and their families, who settled on Salisbury Island from 1865 onwards, established a fishing community and a thriving commercial fishing industry in Durban. The fishing community was first relocated to Fynnlands in 1901, then to Bayhead in the early 1960s before being relocated to Chatsworth in 1965.

Whilst Indians were being relocated to Chatsworth in the 1960s, a University College for Indians was established in a disused Navy camp on Salisbury Island. Against a backdrop of opposition to “bush colleges”, the University College opened in 1961 and developed into a number of faculties, whilst a new University for Indians was planned and constructed in Westville. The College was relocated to the new University of Durban-Westville in 1971.

7.4 The bleaching process

Before the process of removing Blacks from the city could commence, the vast racially defined townships first had to be built, starting with KwaMashu township for Africans in 1957. Whilst the first big township for Africans was being planned in the late 1950s, the Group Areas Board and the Department of Community Development was established to manage and implement Group Areas legislation, which largely affected Indians and Coloureds. The removal of Cato Manor, on the outskirts of the city, had been a priority since the 1940s and as soon as the first batch of houses were completed in KwaMashu in 1958, the removal of Cato Manor residents started.

The process of bleaching central Durban commenced when Ordinance Road and Bell Street Barracks were vacated over a weekend in 1959, followed by Baumannville and Somtseu Road Location by 1962. All residents were relocated to KwaMashu and resettled in the new houses and the hostel for men. In addition to removing African residential accommodation from the city centre, influx control measures were tightened and the BAD patrolled the streets and inspected premises throughout the city, for the “idle and undesirable”. Providing accommodation for Africans was referred to as “harbouring” and was outlawed, prompting inspections and prosecutions to remove Africans from the city centre and White suburbs. Only domestic servants in White residential areas, hotels and flats together with African workers accommodated in licensed premises were permitted in Durban by the early 1960s.

Although the GAA did affect Africans, as Christopher (1994: 105) noted, it was largely specifically applicable to Indians and Coloureds, because the Ministry of Native Affairs were sufficiently powerful to retain control over the African population through separate legislation, such as the Natives Resettlement Act of 1954 which provided the mechanism to remove African owners and tenants from the city. The Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act of 1955 was introduced to remove concentrations of Africans from urban areas, such as servants in blocks of flats in the city. The Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, with its various amendments

provided the basic framework for the establishment and control of African Townships (Christopher, 1994: 122).

Similarly, Indians who were accommodated in Magazine and Railway Barracks were the first to be removed and relocated in 1964 and 1965, to the newly established Chatsworth Indian township. The workers' compound that had developed from the 1880s, into a substantial Indian and African workers' complex of residential accommodation, together with rudimentary educational, religion and sports facilities, was obliterated by the mid-1960s. The eastern vlei had become prime property in the mid-1960s, when the city embarked on a master plan for Durban, to be achieved by 1985. Office parks, the central prison, magistrates court, an educational institution and modern sports facilities were located in the previously undesirable, mosquito infested Eastern vlei.

The 1963 Group Area proclamations targeted the slums zones identified in 1939, surrounding the Western vlei, the Botanic Gardens area and the base of the Berea. Black areas to the West of Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue, or "Duchene", the Madras Road and Block AK neighbourhoods were all proclaimed as 'group areas' for Whites, in 1963. Residents in the small Madras Road area had to vacate and relocate to Chatsworth by the end of 1964 and by 1966 the few remaining properties were served expropriation notices. Block AK property owners, both White and Indian were served expropriation notices in 1969 and by 1978 all privately owned land had been expropriated and all the buildings had been demolished by 1980, except the May Street mosque and the Greyville school. Development was effectively 'frozen' from 1968 to 1988. Large parts are still vacant in 2019, 56 years after the Group Area proclamations.

The removal of residents in the Julius Nyerere (Warwick) Avenue neighbourhood started in earnest in the early 1970s when the removal of residents on 214 properties, in the area north of the freeway was started by Technikon Natal from 1973 to 1985. The Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT) residents, located south of the Western freeway, resisted relocation from the early 1970s to the late 1980s. Although many residents eventually relocated and large parts became derelict, substantial parts remained intact by the late 1980s when the relocation plans were abandoned. By the mid-1980s, the bleaching process was incomplete and abandoned, whilst a new process of "greying" the city had started. Figure 173 illustrates the remaining Black presence in 1985.

Although a major part of Durban's urban history, sadly, the forced removals of established communities and remaining parts of tangible heritage, which have been identified and described, have not been acknowledged by the new democratic government that came into power in 1994. As a result, the remaining areas of tangible heritage, such as Currie's Fountain, the Prince Alfred Street and Dalton Road Beerhalls, Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT), the Early Morning Market (EMM), May Street mosque, the Harbour Board 'Native' Quarters and the still largely vacant Block AK, have not been included in the local, provincial or national heritage estate. An exception to this neglect, is the headquarters of the infamous Native Administration Department (NAD) on Bram Fischer (Ordinance Road). This building has been restored and converted into offices and a museum, named KwaMuhle Museum. The museum displays include photographs and information on the 'Durban System' and a few photographs of the forced removals at Mkhumbane (Cato Manor).

Block AK, which could be considered as a ‘monument’ to the folly of forced removals, because it is still largely vacant and forlorn. The erstwhile Beerhalls at Prince Alfred Street and Dalton Road have been repurposed but do not acknowledge nor serve as reminders of the notorious ‘Durban system’. Currie’s Fountain, probably the most important historical site in Durban, given its natural, sports and political heritage, is largely forgotten. It is still used as a sports ground and meeting or protest venue but is not supported or marketed by the city as a site of heritage significance.

This lack of acknowledgement, neglect and apathy regarding Black heritage sites in Durban, is an area for future research. Given the trauma and dispossession experienced by so many communities, not only in Durban, but South Africa as a whole, the legacy of apartheid spatial planning and how remaining sites of tangible heritage could be celebrated, utilised and serve as reminders of a dark past, is an important and necessary research area in need of exploration.

GLOSSARY

Barracks. The dictionary definition is a building or group of buildings used to house soldiers; any large building used for temporary accommodation or any unadorned, unattractive building. However, this term is used as defined by *The Durban Housing Survey* (University of Natal, 1952: 315), as accommodation owned and provided rent-free by a range of employers such as industrial and commercial concerns, owners of hotels, nursing homes, government and municipal departments. The buildings were rudimentary, unadorned, unattractive and generally accommodated Indian workers and their families.

Hostel. The dictionary definition is any of various types of supervised, inexpensive lodging houses or residences for groups of people such as students, the homeless, or young travelers. However, this term is used as defined by *The Durban Housing Survey* (University of Natal, 1952: 315), as residential accommodation referring exclusively to municipal-owned premises which accommodated African workers of all kinds and rent was paid in some instances by residents and in others by their employers. Generally, hostels were exclusively for working African males or females, never families.

Kia or Kias. The name commonly given to outbuildings in residential areas, occupied by African domestic servants, and set apart from the main house (The Durban Housing Survey, University of Natal, 1952: 308). Derived from the Zulu term for dwelling or home as ‘kaya’.

Location. In the South African context, it has been used to describe a small residential area for Black residents. As early as the 1870s the term ‘Location’ was used to describe the unplanned residential areas of Indians in Durban. The Durban authorities also tried to establish a planned “Indian Location” in the Eastern vlei. By 1889 the mayor proposed a registration system for African workers and “locating its floating Native population” to exercise supervision and control, and stressed that registration and ‘Location’ go hand in hand.

Picanin suit or Kitchen suit. Piccanin is shortened from piccaninny, referring to an African child, and is considered offensive. The term “Picanin suit” was used by Strutt (1975: 348/9) who outlined the history of fashion in South Africa from 1652 to 1900 and traced the history of this garment for servants to the late nineteenth century. The garment was offensive to male domestic servants, referred to as “kitchen boy” or “house-boy” (Russell, 1899: 216-218).

Racing of space. A term used by Knowles (2003) in *Race and social analysis*, to describe how space is racialized. Knowles describe “race making” as a people-centred set of spatial practices, and that “space contains important information about racial grammar as forms of social practice to which race gives rise”. Space is described as a “composite, active, archive of politics and individual agency, and is, in this capacity, part of race making” (Knowles, 2003: 79-80).

Togt workers. Casual or daily workers. Hemson D, (1979) surmises it is connected in some way with the words *dock* or *day* and hence has its origins in daily labour as utilised on the Durban harbour. The word was used in the Cape for many years to describe workers employed by the day (Kearney B, 2013). Russell G, (1899: 216) described “laundrymen” who, by the 1850s established the “Togt” principle, “being paid by results, or in other words by the job”.

Vlei. A low-lying stretch of soggy ground; a marsh. [Afrikaans, from Dutch *vallei*].

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