

AN EXAMINATION OF THE FACTORS INFLUENCING THE SPATIAL  
DISTRIBUTION OF THE INDIAN COMMUNITIES IN GRAHAMSTOWN,  
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN, QUEENSTOWN AND UITENHAGE  
FROM 1880 TO 1991.

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## ABSTRACT

This study examines the factors influencing the spatial distribution of the Indian communities of Grahamstown, King William's Town, Queenstown and Uitenhage from 1880 to 1991. Primary sources of information were used to determine both the spatial distribution of the four communities and the factors influencing the distribution found. These primary sources included the use of directories, municipal and archival sources of information, interviews as well the work of various authors.

The study found that the spatial distribution of Indians in the four study areas were similar with the Indians occupying residential and commercial premises in the central areas of the urban centres. After 1980 there was a substantial movement to other areas. Prior to 1950 the municipalities played an important role in influencing spatial distribution. However, after the introduction of the Group Areas Act, the government controlled Indian spatial distribution. Thus the Group Areas Act was the most important factor affecting Indian spatial distribution. Indians in small urban centres in the Cape Province were segregated and their spatial distribution was controlled both prior to and after 1950. Anti-Indian legislation and restrictions were the main factors influencing Indian spatial distribution.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This study examines the spatial distribution of the Indian<sup>1</sup> communities of Grahamstown, King William's Town, Queenstown and Uitenhage from 1880 to 1991. The thesis focuses on the Indian communities of small urban centres in the Cape Province since little geographic research has been undertaken in this field.

Historical geography studies the "evolution of the man-made landscape including an attempt to unravel its origins and reconstruct its appearance at significant times" (Christopher, 1977, 11). This study examines the changes in Indian spatial distribution over time as well as the processes that brought about change. Thus it examines the "imprint of the past upon the landscape of the present" (Christopher, 1977, 11).

The first Indians came to Natal in 1860 to work on the sugar plantations. After 1870 Indians dispersed to the Cape Province and settled in the four study areas (see Figure 1.1). As the number of Indian immigrants increased in South Africa, whites began to perceive them as an economic, political and social threat. This resulted in the introduction of legislation to restrict Indian immigration, their economic progress, their rights to own and occupy land and premises as well as their rights to vote. These discriminatory measures were enforced to bring about segregation, which was expressed spatially in South African towns and cities. The aim of the study is to assess whether Indians were segregated in the four study areas and if that segregation was apparent in the spatial distribution.

The study starts by examining the Indian community, their social organisation and the spatial structure of Indian cities and villages. It is important to understand the social and spatial organisation of Indian society as on arrival in South Africa, Indian immigrants had to adapt to a new social and spatial structure. The thesis will assess whether Indian social organisation influenced spatial distribution in South Africa. Divisions exist amongst all communities and these divisions are expressed in space, therefore Chapter 2 provides information on the Indians that will be helpful to determine whether divisions amongst the Indians influenced spatial distribution in South Africa.

Chapters 3 and 4 examined segregation in South Africa prior to and after 1950. The literature consulted focused mainly on the major urban centres where the Indian community was larger. Little research on the Indians in small urban centres was undertaken and this can be attributed to the size of the Indian community in small urban centres, especially in the Cape Province. Table 1.1 clearly shows that there were fewer Indians in the Cape Province and these communities were small compared to that of Natal and the Transvaal.

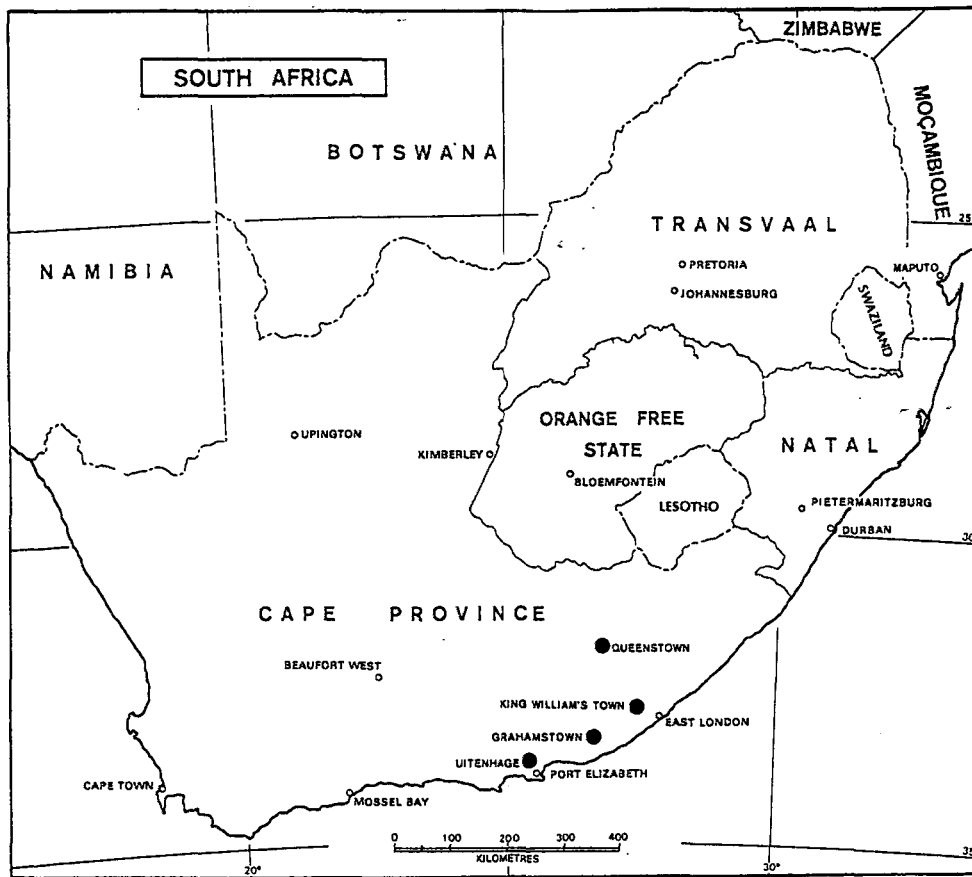


Figure 1.1 Orientation map

Table 1.1 Indian population in major centres and study areas 1921-1991

	1921	1936	1946	1951	1960	1970	1980	1985	1991
<b>NATAL</b>									
Durban	16893	80486	106604	147264	208314	297796	158647	125159	122352
<b>TRANSVAAL</b>									
Pretoria	1693	2744	4179	5631	7378	11275	15731	17823	20284
Johannesburg	6214	9918	15147	19811	23639	38246	51849	56689	64343
<b>CAPE PROVINCE</b>									
Cape Town	2219	3446	6125	6790	7220	9262	26318#	27706#	20090#
Kimberley	920	969	941	1115	1035	957	1225	1202	1475
Port Elizabeth	2208	2380	3218	3937	3801	4816	6627	6914	8497
East London	660	811	1227	1548	1722	1972	2425	2690	3553
Grahamstown	143	122	181	178	191	229	321*	379*	469*
King William's Town	68	113	93	106	139	131	158	231	572
Queenstown	81	67	90	122	131	125	174	205	209
Uitenhage	160	225	287	373	396	409	553	432	1051

# Includes Simonstown, Wynberg and Goodwood  
\* Albany District

Source:

1921-1970: Population of South Africa 1904-1970, Report No 02-05-12, The Government Printer, Pretoria dated 1976.

1980 and 1985: Population Census 1985, CSS report No 02-85-01.

1991: Population Census 1991: Geographical Distribution of the population with a review for 1970-1991, CSS report No 03-01-02 (1991).

There is a very important relationship between Indian population size and the implementation of legislation and segregation in South Africa. The number of Indians in each province was important as one finds that where the Indian population was large, as in Natal and the Transvaal, Indians were regarded as a threat resulting in restrictions and segregation. In small urban centres, such as the four study areas, the Indian population was small and the processes bringing about segregation were different thus affecting Indians in smaller centres in a different way. The differences between small and large urban centres and the attitude towards Indians is important to understand. The lack of research on the Cape Indian community allows this thesis to contribute to the little geographic research that has been undertaken on the Cape Indian community.

Politics played an important role in influencing spatial distribution as colonial and post-colonial policies varied and brought about different types of cities with different levels of segregation. For example apartheid policies required the relocation of population groups and resulted in the Apartheid city. The study therefore not only describes the spatial distribution but examines the role of the government, the municipalities and the Indian communities in determining Indian spatial distribution. The main questions posed are firstly, what was the spatial distribution of the four communities over time and secondly what influenced Indian spatial distribution. A review of the relevant literature was used to contextualise the study as a whole and formed the basis of Chapters 3 and 4.

Primary and secondary sources of information were also used. The sources used for determining the spatial distribution, as well as the problems encountered during the data collection and mapping, are discussed in Chapter 5. The spatial distribution of the four Indian communities from 1880 to 1991 was determined by collecting data from directory, archival and municipal sources of information, which was then plotted. Chapters 6 and 7 discuss the spatial distribution of the Indians for each study area and describe the patterns and changes that were uncovered. The factors that were responsible for the spatial distribution were determined by using archival and municipal records and files, newspaper articles, interviews and research undertaken by various authors. Archival and municipal sources of information were referenced as endnotes. The spatial distribution of the four Indian communities were

then compared and the findings were related to models of South African cities.

#### Endnotes

In South Africa four main population groups were identified with the introduction of the Population Registration Act of 1950. These groups were Indian, White, coloured and Black (African). The term black is used to refer to all population groups that were not classified as White in terms of the Population Registration Act of 1950, thus Indian, coloured and Blacks. The term Asiatic will mean Indian and Chinese.

## CHAPTER 2: SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND SPATIAL STRUCTURE

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine the social organisation of the Indians who came to South Africa. Indian villages and cities are examined to show the important relationship between social organisation and spatial structure in Indian society. On arrival in South Africa Indians had to adapt to new social and spatial structures. Some traditional aspects of the Indian social organisation continued to influence spatial location in the South African city. This chapter is important as it illustrates the impact of cultural differences such as caste, occupation and religion on Indian spatial structure and how, in a different social and spatial structure, change took place.

### 2.2 INDIAN GROUPS

The Indian immigrants who came to South Africa consisted of two main groups, the indentured Indians and the passenger Indians. Indentured labourers were the first to arrive in 1860 to work on the sugar plantations in Natal and were mainly Tamil and Telegu speaking Hindus from South India. A small percentage of Muslims and Hindus from North India also became indentured labourers. The importation of Indian indentured labour was not continuous. It was stopped in 1866 after Indians complained about the bad treatment they had received (Bhana and Brain, 1990) and commenced again in 1872. Between 1860 and 1911 a total of 152,000 indentured labourers entered South Africa (Lazarus, 1962).

The idea of introducing Indian indentured labour to the Cape Colony was also considered several times between 1874 and 1879, but the Colonial Government refused these requests (Bradlow, 1979). For example a Grahamstown farmer requested Indian indentured labour in 1902, but the government refused, suggesting that native labour from the Transkeian territories be used. The government also refused the Cape Orchard Company, who felt that there was a shortage of labour in the Cape, saying that they were not prepared to introduce Indian labour to the Cape Colony. There was a small number of Indians in the Cape at the time, but the farmers were reluctant to hire them as they demanded high wages<sup>1</sup>. The fact that the government did not want Indian indentured labour in the Cape Colony explains why few Indians settled there.

Indentured Indians, having completed their indentureship, came to be known as Free Indians with full British citizenship and were probably the first to move to the Cape Colony after 1870 with the

discovery of diamonds in Kimberley (Bagwandeem, 1989, Brain, 1985, Haines, 1981).

Indentured Indians were followed by passenger Indians, who initially came to serve the needs of the indentured Indians who had settled in Natal. The majority arrived between 1896 and 1900 and came after they heard about the favourable opportunities in South Africa. From Natal they moved to the Transvaal and eventually to the Cape Province.

The passenger Indians, like the indentured Indians, were a heterogenous group consisting of Hindi and Gujarati speaking Hindus, Urdu and Gujarati speaking Muslims from the north of India and a small proportion of Tamil and Telegu speaking Hindus from the south of India (Bradlow, 1979, Kuper, 1967). The Muslims and the North Indian Hindus however made up the bulk of the passenger Indians (Bhana and Brain, 1990) while a small percentage of South Indian Hindus also came. Table 2.1 shows that the passenger Indians not only came from different parts of India but also had different languages and religions, which meant that each group had its own social organisation, thereby influencing the spatial structure in different ways.

Table 2.1 Passenger Indians: Religion, language and place of origin

RELIGION	PLACE OF ORIGIN	MAIN LANGUAGE SPOKEN
Hindu	North India	Gujerati, Hindi
Hindu	South India	Tamil, Telegu
Muslim	North India	Gujerati, Urdu, Memon, Kokeny and Marathi

Source: Bughwan, 1979, 470.

As shown earlier most Indians settled in Natal and the Transvaal. Table 1.1 clearly showed that the number of Indians in the Cape towns were small compared to cities and towns in the other Provinces. In 1891 there were 126 Indians in Port Elizabeth, 11 in King William's Town and 25 in the Albany District in which Grahamstown is located (Haines, 1981). The passenger Indians were the main group to settle in the Cape. The restrictions placed on Indians in Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State (discussed in Chapter 3) encouraged Indians to move to the Cape where there were no laws prior to 1902. The South African War also played an important role as a small number of Indians in the Transvaal moved away from the war and came to the Cape Province (Haines, 1981). Many settled on their way to the major or inland centres, especially where family and friends were present, thus making "kinship networks" important in the choice of the urban centre where Indians settled (Bhana and Brain,

1990, 42). By the end of the nineteenth century Indians could be found in most urban centres throughout South Africa (Badat, 1985).

Unrestricted trade prospects prior to 1906 principally attracted Indians to the Cape Colony as they wanted to become independent businessmen (Bhana and Brain, 1990). Kimberley serves as an example in this regard. Indian traders flocked there to take advantage of the trade opportunities created after the discovery of diamonds. By 1891 there were 915 Indians in Kimberley.

It is important to note that not all passenger Indians came with the intention of trading as many only became traders after they arrived. Bhana and Brain (1990) show that the passenger Indians came from towns and villages that were in close proximity to each other, which again suggests that an informal network of communication operated to spread the news of opportunities in South Africa. Arkin (1989) indicates that by 1910 there were 1718 traders and hawkers in the Cape Province compared to 3622 in the Transvaal and 4961 in Natal.

## 2.3 SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND ADAPTATION OF INDIANS

The components of social organisation that had been important in influencing spatial structure and location in India were the closely interlinked factors of caste and occupation. These factors affected Indians who came to South Africa as they had to adapt to a different spatial structure.

### 2.3.1 Caste

Social organisation of Indian society was based on the caste system, which is a form of social stratification (Horvarth, 1972). "The caste system is the most intensely hierarchical organisation of society in existence; the accident of birth is the absolute determinant of a man's caste, and hence his standing in society" (Spate and Learmonth, 1967, 164). According to Kuper (1967) one is born into a caste group and remains within this social unit for life or until certain caste laws are broken. No upward mobility is possible. The idea of purity is fundamental with social contact through eating, touching and association between different caste groups being prohibited (Kuper, 1967). Caste laws and prejudice govern aspects such as marriage, food and occupation (Nowbath, 1953). Caste discrimination is prohibited in India but despite this there are 3000 castes in India (Spate and Learmonth, 1967). Discrimination based on caste is still prevalent in Indian villages but has fallen away in bigger urban centres.

Kuper (1967) states that Hindu society is divided into five varna caste categories (see Table 2.2) with the Brahmins (priests) at the top of the hierarchy followed by the Kshatriyas (warriors and rulers) and the Vaishyas (traders). These three categories are regarded as the twice born and receive special privileges unlike the Sudras (labourers) and the untouchables who are at the bottom of this hierarchy. The hierarchy is based on purity of occupation and knowledge of the scriptures (Kuper, 1967).

Caste is also very closely related to occupation. According to Beales (1974) the five major castes (priestly, vegetarian, clean, unclean and polluted) have a duty to perform to ensure the smooth operation of the community on all spheres (Beales, 1974). These five categories have further subdivisions which are complex and will thus not be discussed. Dumont (1980) states that Muslims are also divided into groups of graded status which is similar to the Hindu hierarchy as shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Muslim and Hindu caste divisions

MAIN MUSLIM CASTE GROUP	MUSLIM SUB-CASTE	HINDU EQUIVALENT
Ashraf (Nobles)	a) Saiyad	Brahmin (priest)
	b) Shaikh	Brahmin (priest)
	c) Pathan (Afghans)	Kshatriyas (warriors & rulers)
	d) Mughal	Kshatriyas (warriors & rulers)
Common People	a) Converts	eg Hindus who converted
	b) Professional groups	Artisan castes (traders)
	c) Converted untouchables	Untouchables (labourers)

Source: Dumont, 1980, 207

Kuper (1967) argues that the caste system amongst South African Hindus is unique as it is not strictly adhered to. In South Africa, Hindus have selected and retained only certain aspects of the caste system while abandoning those that have become irrelevant in a new society where rigid caste laws could not be adhered to because spatial segregation of castes was not possible (Nowbath, 1953, Kuper, 1960). Muslims use sect, place of origin and language rather than caste as a means of social stratification in South Africa (Kuper, 1967) which also shows that caste became unimportant. South African Indians were no longer in a society where they could differentiate themselves according to caste since race became the most important distinguishing factor. If caste had been strictly practised in South Africa,

Indian residential group areas would not only be differentiated in terms of class, but also in terms of caste as had been in urban centres in India. This differentiation will be shown below.

As pointed out the Indians who came to South Africa differed in terms of culture, religion and language. When they arrived in South Africa they had to adapt to a new, western way of life. Initially, they resisted change (Ramphal, 1989) by remaining socially separate from other race groups (Ghai and Ghai, 1965) and being selective in adopting western ways. Change, however began with the process of immigration, when people of different castes were forced to travel together for long periods of time thereby breaking a number of caste laws. Once they settled they were forced to marry across caste lines because they were unable to find wives and husbands of the same caste in South Africa and could not afford to go to India to get married (Kuper, 1967). The indentured Indians who were financially unable to maintain ties with India were more prone to change than the more wealthy passenger Indians. The passenger Indians went to India for religious and economic reasons and to get married within their caste group, thereby preserving the purity of the caste group (Jayawardena, 1968, Bughwan, 1989). On arrival in South Africa, many Indians either lived together or in close proximity to each other, despite caste differences, due to a lack of accommodation and because they came from the same villages. It is thought that caste has become irrelevant in South Africa because social contact, through eating, touching and association is permitted (Kuper, 1956) and western ways of life have allowed social mobility through the acquisition of wealth. In South Africa different caste groups get together for social functions, use the same temples and even intermarry, however a degree of caste consciousness is still prevalent (Kuper, 1967, Nowbath, 1953). In most urban centres in South Africa caste groupings have their own associations showing that caste consciousness is present despite the fact that Kuper (1967) maintains that language, rather than caste, is a symbol of unity and that marriage occurs within religious and language units rather than within caste groups (Kuper, 1967).

In South Africa the passenger Indians initially remained socially separate from the indentured Indians (Pillay, Naidoo and Dangor, 1989), social interaction between the Hindus and the Muslims was limited (Kuper, 1967) and intermarriage was unacceptable (Bradlow, 1979). Living in mixed areas, however, meant that passenger and indentured Indians as well as Muslims and Hindus often lived close to each other, interacting when necessary but remaining separate and conscious of their cultural and religious background. Thus although there was spatial co-existence there was distinct social separation.

There is no longer a correlation between occupation and caste names. Some caste occupations are still practised today but others have been abandoned because there was no demand for these occupations

in South Africa (Kuper, 1967). Hindus who belong to a particular caste and occupation perceive themselves as a group and are conscious of their position in the caste hierarchy even though the caste occupations practised in India have been abandoned. Alternative means of earning a living had to be sought even if it meant breaking caste laws. These new occupations are discussed below.

### 2.3.2 Occupations

In India caste determined occupation, and both were closely interlinked. Each caste in India had a specific function or occupation and depending on both the caste and occupation, the spatial location was determined. Higher caste groups, whose occupations were pure were more centrally located within the spatial structure. The lowest caste groups (labourers) were usually segregated from the higher castes and were often situated on the periphery of the village or town. Social position and occupation therefore determined spatial location in India.

It is important to note that the perception that all indentured Indians were unskilled and from the lowest castes is incorrect (Brain, 1985), as they were not only from different religious and language groups as shown earlier but they were also from various levels of society, that is different caste groups (Haines, 1981, Lazarus, 1962, Bhana and Brain, 1990). Besides the plantation labourers a group of indentured labourers who came as "special servants" also arrived in Natal. They were selected by the emigration agents to work as waiters, chefs, carriage drivers, dhobies (laundrymen) and grooms (Bhana and Brain, 1990). These services required skill and experience thus showing that the indentured Indians were not unskilled as generally believed. Free Indians and passenger Indians also took up a wide range of occupations which shows that they too were not unskilled.

In South Africa trading was preferred by most Indians. Hawking, retail general dealing, shoemaking and the laundry business were common trades amongst the Hindus (Bhana and Brain, 1990) while the Muslims tended to become wholesalers and retail general dealers and butchers (Haines, 1981).

The success of passenger Indians in business (Bhana and Brain, 1990) was the main cause for the introduction of trade restrictions on Indians. Despite attempts by the Government and white businessmen to eliminate the Indian trader the Indians continued to prosper. On arrival the pioneers worked until they had enough money to go into business. Initially they would sell fruit and vegetables and later open shops. When more money was at hand the rest of the family would be called from India, usually the male relatives first, (Haines, 1981) or fellow villagers. They in turn would work for their sponsor until sufficient capital was accumulated to open a business of their own. They were often

financed by members of the family or local community (Jayawardena, 1968).

The social organisation of Indian society was based on caste and the relationship between this social organisation and Indian spatial structure will now be examined.

## 2.4 SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF INDIAN URBAN CENTRES

It is important to examine the effects of social organisation on the urban structure of Indian cities since India has a long urban history dating to 2500-1500BC (Nagpaul, 1988) with most of the population living in small rural villages. The social organisation of Indian immigrants may have influenced their spatial distribution in South Africa. Ancient Indian cities were segregated according to caste. This is similar to pre-colonial African cities that were segregated in terms of ethnic groups (King, 1990).

### 2.4.1 Indian villages

Indian villages from inception had a set structure comprising mud and thatch dwellings surrounded by a wall. Studies of these villages show that little change occurred in terms of social or spatial structure over time. The type of settlement and the building material used, however, varied depending on the region. Caste segregation was however an important characteristic of Indian villages but this too varied from province to province with no one village being the same as another. Nevertheless Indian villages were planned and "within a seemingly chaotic agglomeration there is, as a rule, a strong differentiation, that of the separate quarters for various castes" (Spate and Learmonth, 1967, 199). The layout of two Indian villages will be examined below to show that spatial location was determined by caste.

Mayer (1960) found that in Ramkheri (see Figure 2.1) caste segregation was mirrored in the layout. The village was territorially divided into wards each being defined in terms of terrain, village activities and caste differences (Mayer, 1960). The lowest caste group had their own temple and wells and were not allowed to use public places. Table 2.3 shows the caste divisions and Figure 2.1a-2.1d illustrates the spatial distribution of these five caste groups in Ramkheri.

The brahmans, the highest in the caste hierarchy were centrally located as Figure 2.1a shows and were surrounded by castes from divisions 2 and 3 (see Figure 2.1 b, c). The Muslims, who occupied a small portion of the village, seem to intermix with castes from division 4. Most importantly the spatial distribution of the lowest castes in division 5 (Table 2.3 and Figure 2.1 d) shows that they were

segregated from the other groups and were located on the periphery of the village.

Table 2.3 Caste divisions in Ramkheri

Division 1	Brahman						
Division 2	Rajput	rosain	tobacco-curer	Division 3	Carpenter		
	Barber		Potter		Gardener	Smith, Farmer	Bairagi
	Oil-presser		Dairyman			Tailor	
Division 4		Goatherd					
		Bhilala					
		Mina					
		Nath					
Division 5		Drummer					
	Weaver		Balai Babai				
		Tanner					
		Sweeper					

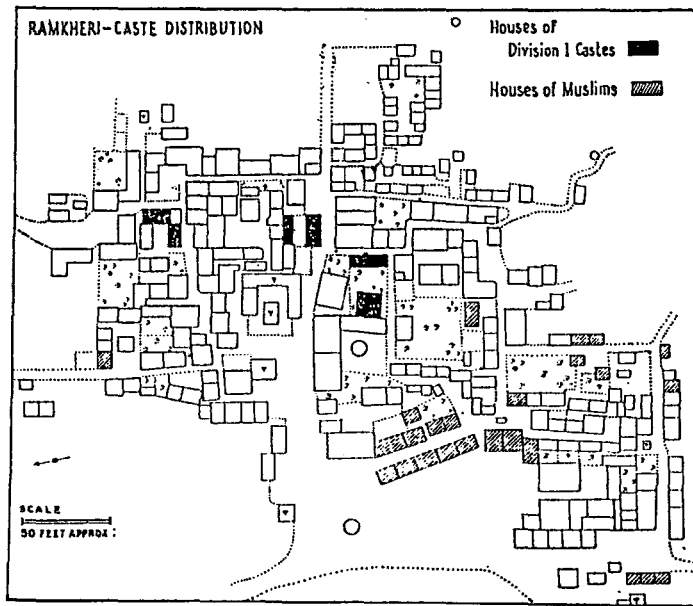


Figure 2.1a

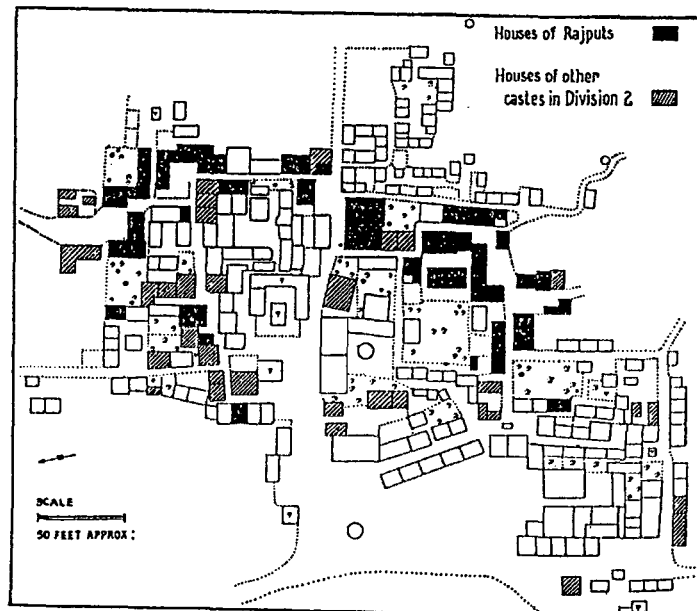


Figure 2.1b

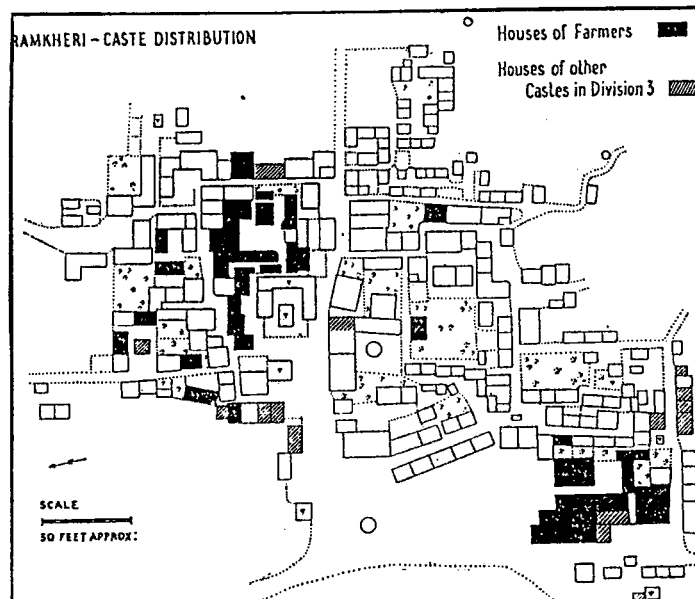


Figure 2.1c

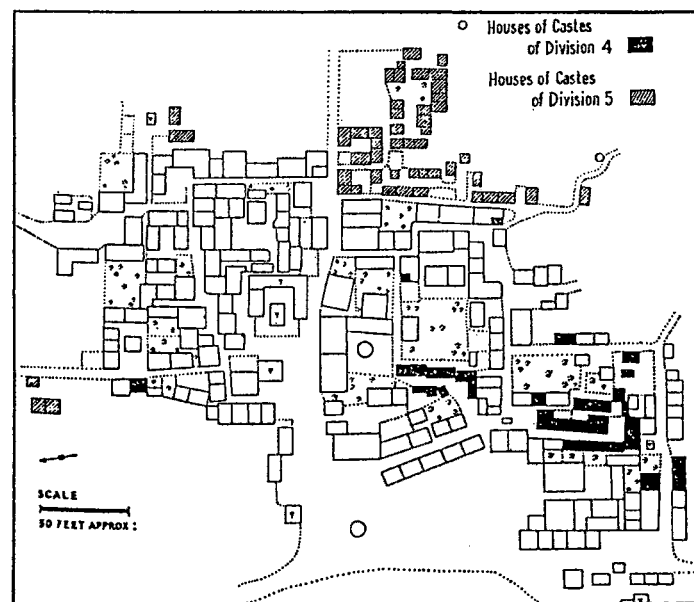


Figure 2.1d

Figure 2.1 Distribution of Castes in Ramkheri  
Source: Mayer, 1960

The second village is Aminbhavi (see Figure 2.2), a walled agricultural village situated in northwestern Mysore and dating back to the 13th century AD. The layout here also shows caste division. The higher castes occupied the best sites with large compounds. Harijans, who are the lowest caste group were located in subvillages (cheris), beyond the wall. These can be compared to South African locations (Spate and Learmonth, 1967). Segregation between religious groups also appears to be prevalent as

the Muslims are spatially separate from the Hindus.

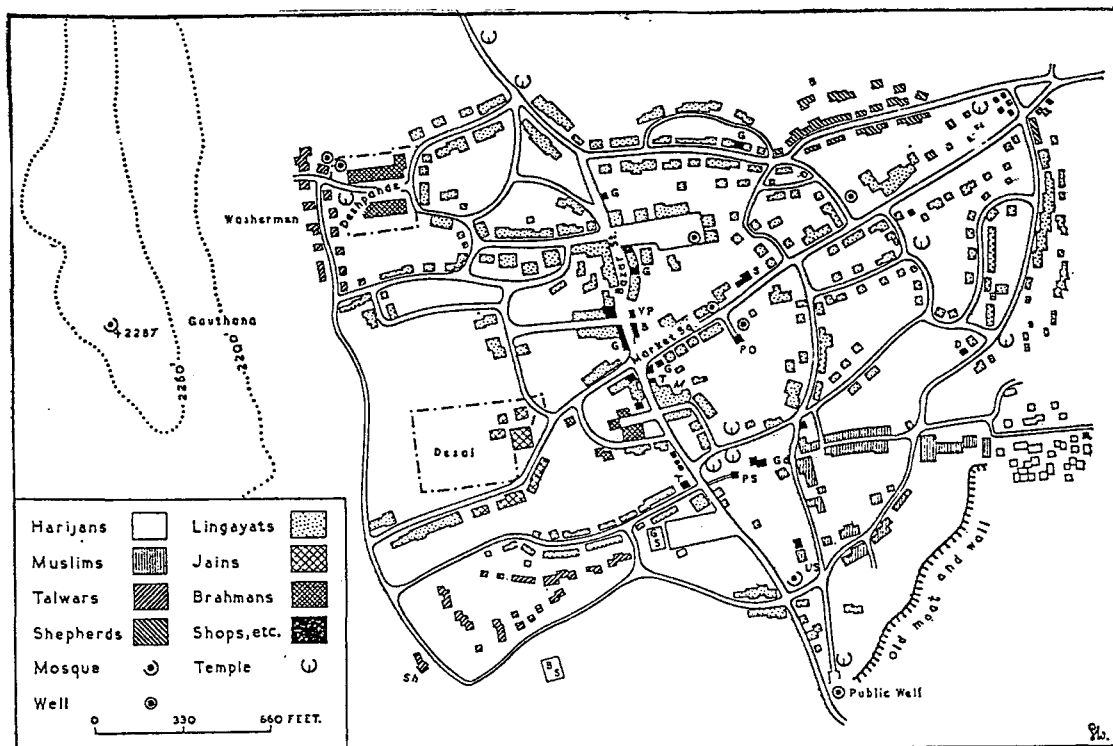


Figure 2.2 Distribution of caste and religious groups in Aminbhavi

Source: Spate and Learmonth, 1967

The layout of both villages show that caste was an important determinant of spatial location. The lower castes, in particular were segregated occupying peripheral areas of the village.

#### 2.4.2 Indian colonial cities

Colonial cities according to King (1976) resulted from contact between a non-western society and a western industrial society. Two cities, indigenous and colonial are found in India and each has a different layout. According to King (1990) spatial segregation in terms of race, culture, occupation and socio-economic status was a characteristic feature of many colonial cities in Asia and Africa in the late 19th and 20th centuries.

The arrival of the British had no immediate effect on the Indian social, economic and cultural life as India was already socially and politically developed (Cohn, 1968). Prior to the arrival of the British, India had been invaded at various points in time by different cultural groups. These groups introduced

new social and spatial structures which influenced and changed the layout of Indian cities over time. European urban planning was however introduced with the colonization process. Indian cities had to be restructured to deal with the needs and policies of Britain (King, 1990). Colonialism brought the establishment of commercial and administrative cities and traditional centres became less important (Nagpaul, 1988). In both pre-colonial and colonial Indian cities, caste was an important factor determining spatial distribution, especially where dual cities occurred and the indigenous city remained unchanged.

King (1976), who studied Delhi and New Delhi, argues that culture must be considered when explaining the utilization and modification of space as it affects the structure or layout. The indigenous city was usually walled and unplanned with irregular streets (Nagpaul, 1988). The narrow streets lead off a single main road to neighbourhoods that were occupied by people with the same language, religion and geographic origin. Caste segregation was found in the indigenous city. Traditional crafts and customs were found and small scale industry with craftsmen and traders working and residing on the same premises (King, 1976). This was replicated in South Africa as most Indian traders lived on their business premises. King (1976), however, found that after colonialism, due to social mobility, caste and occupation no longer bound peoples geographic distribution.

New Delhi on the other hand, was planned with government offices and buildings, gardens, residential neighbourhoods with large homes and gardens, shopping centres and a dominant city centre (Nagpaul, 1988). These European cities were often separated by a railway line from the Indian indigenous city. In South Africa too, barriers were used to separate whites from blacks. Where military cantonments existed, small Indian enclaves with bazaars were found on the periphery of the European city as troops were banned from entering the Indian city (Spate and Learmonth, 1967). In South Africa Indian bazaars also occurred and were located on the periphery of the white CBD and were deliberate creations by the government. After the British left India the European city changed in terms of function as Indians moved into the spaces created by the British but the indigenous city remained the same. This suggests that the Indians from the indigenous city were unable to practise caste segregation in the European city. The social organisation of the Indians from the indigenous city was not suited for the spatial structure of the European city. In the same way Indians who came to South Africa could not practise caste segregation in a spatial structure that was based on racial segregation. Caste laws were broken and social mobility gave rise to a new social organisation. In South Africa the spatial structure of India could not be replicated but certain aspects of the social organisation were maintained and may have affected spatial distribution.

## 2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter showed that the Indians who came to South Africa were a heterogenous group who had to adapt to new social, cultural and spatial structures on arrival in South Africa. Indians were familiar with segregation on arrival in South Africa but this particular type of segregation was as a result of an important relationship between social organisation and spatial structure. The examples used showed that social organisation had a strong influence in India as it was expressed in the layout of Indian towns and villages. In India caste, occupation and religion determined spatial distribution but on arrival in South Africa these aspects of the Indian community lost importance as new factors determined spatial distribution. The chapters that follow will show which factors affected spatial distribution in South Africa.

### Endnotes

- 1) 1902 AGR 453, 3374, Introduction of coolie for farm work in 1901.

## CHAPTER 3: SEGREGATION PRE-1950

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine formal and informal segregation measures enforced against Indians in South Africa prior to 1950 and the spatial manifestation of these measures. After 1950, with the introduction of the Group Areas Act, Indians were formally segregated on a national level. The Group Areas Act will be examined in Chapter 4. To provide a general context, colonialism and the emergence of segregation, will be discussed.

Cities do not remain the same but evolve over time. Their structure is modified by political, economic and social processes. In South Africa, colonial and apartheid policies gave rise to distinctly structured cities. The chapter will look at the urban structure that resulted because of colonial policies in South Africa. The location of the Indians within the South African colonial city will be examined as it will be related to the spatial distribution of the Indians in the four study areas.

### 3.2 COLONIALISM

Horvath (1972) argues that colonialism is difficult to define but it refers to a period when European settlers established colonies in Africa and Asia. This led to the creation of towns and cities where the settlers resided permanently. According to King (1976) the colonial city can be defined as an urban area in colonial society most typically characterized by the physical segregation of its ethnic and cultural component groups.

In most colonial cities there were two population groups. The colonizer, who were usually the minority, and the colonized. The latter group could either live side by side with the colonizer (assimilation) or be segregated (Horvath, 1972). In Africa the indigenous groups were present with the establishment of the colonial settlement and were usually segregated from the Europeans who were racially, culturally and religiously different (King, 1985). This was also the case in South Africa. A dominance-dependency relationship resulted which was mirrored in the spatial organization of the city with the indigenous population located on the outskirts of the city and the Europeans occupying the best land (Simon, 1984a).

A third group, the immigrant group, also appears to have an important position in the colonial city. This group, usually Indians in Africa, held an intermediate socio-economic status (Simon, 1984a).

According to Simon (1984a) this immigrant group is religiously and culturally different from the settlers and have further language and religious divisions within their own group. They were segregated from the settlers and in most cases competed for land and trade. The degree of segregation depended on the attitude of the colonists towards the group (Christopher, 1984). It is obvious that the Indians who came to South Africa belong to this group as they were not only different in terms of culture and religion from both the colonizers and indigenous peoples, but they also had subdivisions as shown in Chapter 2. Later sections will demonstrate that in South Africa the attitude of the colonizers was negative towards the Indians and efforts were made to segregate Indians from the whites and diminish their ability to compete in the acquisition of land and in trading.

The most important characteristic of the colonial city was that these groups settled in spatially segregated areas (Christopher, 1983). According to Lemon (1991) colonial cities were highly but not completely segregated. Different types of colonial cities have been identified by various authors. Christopher (1984) distinguished between the North African and South African colonial city. The difference between the two was that the North African colonial city, unlike the South African colonial city, had a pre-existing indigenous urban settlement (Christopher, 1984). The spatial structure of South African colonial cities differed from that of North Africa. In the North African colonial city the European and the African cities coexisted, while in the South African city there was only one urban settlement.

O'Connor (1983) identifies six types of African colonial cities, the Indigenous, the Islamic, the Dual, the Hybrid, the Colonial and the European. In each of these, segregation was an important characteristic. The European city, where settlers remained permanently, applies to South Africa and is the same as the colonial city described by Christopher (1984). For detailed discussions on the cities mentioned refer to the work of O'Connor (1983), Christopher (1984) and Fox (1989). Studies of African cities have shown that the immigrant group, usually Indians, were separated residentially and this makes these works relevant to this study. Telkamp and Ross (1985), King (1976, 1980, 1985), O'Connor (1983), Winters (1982) and Fox (1989) have made important contributions to literature on colonial cities. These works are also important as colonial policies were similar all over the world and therefore these studies can be related to South African colonial cities.

The process of colonization was important as it influenced the layout of the city in that colonists were "seeking to establish what was often new and precarious holds on conquered territory, anxious therefore to build visible symbols of authority and domination, concerned also to house their servants in the style of life to which they were accustomed" (Hall, 1988, 183). Colonial cities were established

by Europeans for the administrative, religious, defense, trade and communicative purposes of Europeans. (Christopher, 1984, King, 1980). Planners, who were usually government or military officials (Christopher, 1984) had an important role to play as they were responsible for the planning of the settlement and therefore the layout. Both the initial planning and the later development and expansion of the city was influenced by the values and ideas of the planner. Planning ideas, such as the garden city, were imported from Europe (King, 1985) and for this reason colonial cities all over the world were similar in structure. One must remember that in South Africa there were no pre-existing cities and land was plentiful to allow the planners to create low density, spacious cities (Christopher, 1984).

People were segregated by natural or artificial barriers (Western, 1986). In tropical Africa whites, who feared malaria, felt a need to be segregated by a quarter mile of land from black areas as this was the flying distance of a mosquito (Frenkel and Western, 1988). In Africa most of the European settlements were established on high lying ground while the African population were confined to the low lying areas. Topography was therefore used to symbolize power and wealth (Winter, 1982). Whites preferred to live on high lying ground where the air was healthier thus protecting themselves from tropical diseases (Hall, 1988).

Race, as well as other forms of stratification, is reflected in the layout of the colonial city. As shown in Chapter 2 caste and socio-economic divisions were expressed in the layout of Indian cities. The socio-economic ordering of society was also reflected in the layout of the city. Income was an important criterion as there was an apparent relationship between economic status and race. One thus finds that the white high income group occupied elevated areas and the best land, while the blacks lived on the low lying periphery of the city. In South Africa the African population was present at the time these colonial cities were established but were confined to the outskirts of the settlements (Christopher, 1984). Africans were not regarded as part of the urban population as cities were perceived as the "domain of the white man". They were only allowed to enter the city as labourers to "administer to the white man's needs" (Rich, 1978, Davenport, 1971, Christopher, 1987a, 4). The Indians and coloureds who were middle class occupied an intermediate position in the city (Lemon, 1991). In American cities the poor usually reside in the expensive central parts of the city where individual dwelling units are cheaper as a result of high density occupation. However, in South Africa the opposite occurred with the poor residing on the periphery thus having to bear high transport costs.

While the establishment of colonial cities created racially segregated living areas, racial residential

segregation is a universal phenomenon and a common characteristic of many western and plural societies (Maasdorp and Pillay, 1977, Hart, 1989). People who are of the same race or socio-economic class tend to cluster, voluntarily, in particular neighbourhoods for example high levels of segregation can be found in Britain, United States of America (USA), Canada, New Zealand and Australia (Hart, 1989). South Africa is different to elsewhere as racial residential segregation was enforced by law.

Racial segregation, both formal and informal, has existed in South Africa for a long time. In South Africa racially segregated areas came about with the establishment of colonial urban settlements. According to Western (1981) racial prejudice was the main motive for introducing segregatory measures which were refined to maintain political dominance and to protect whites from commercial competition, disease and crime (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987). By 1910 Blacks, coloureds and Indians were either living in mixed areas that were located on the periphery of the central business district (CBD) or in segregated areas which were on the outskirts of the city or town (Lemon, 1987, Christopher, 1990).

### 3.3 FORMAL SEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA PRE-1950

Prior to 1910 South Africa basically consisted of three British (Natal, Transvaal and Cape) and one Boer (Orange Free State) colony, each with its own laws. After unification in 1910 these colonies became the four provinces presently in existence. Besides national legislation each province had its own legislative measures. The legislation affecting Indians in South Africa prior to 1950 is summarised in Table 3.1 and will be discussed, showing that segregation existed in all four provinces with the establishment of urban centres but that the level of segregation and means of implementation varied from province to province. Legislation to reduce and control the entry of Indians was introduced. Indians already in the country were restricted in terms of trade, land ownership and occupation as well as the franchise. Depending on the attitude of each province towards Indians, they were either allowed to live where they liked, were segregated or not allowed to settle. In other words racial discrimination became spatial racial segregation (Christopher, 1984, 74).

Table 3.1 clearly shows that Natal and the Transvaal were the provinces with the greatest number of restrictions. This can be attributed to the high number of Indians in these provinces and the fact that Natal was the first area of Indian occupation. The number of Indians and the attitude towards them in each province influenced the amount of legislation introduced. The main reasons for enforcing restrictions can be ascribed to a number of factors. According to Swanson (1983) the Natal Indians

Table 3.1: Legislation affecting Indians in South Africa

Date	Union 1910-1946	Natal	Transvaal	Orange Free State	Cape Province
1859		Law No.14: Provided for the introduction of Indians into Natal.			
1859		Law No.15: Enabled private individuals to introduce Indians at their own expense.			
1870		Law No.2: Amended and consolidated laws relating to the introduction of Indian immigrants into Natal.			
1884				Ordinance 18: Indians classified as Black, could not vote or own land and only reside and trade in Black location.	
1885			Law 3: Coolies, Arabs and other Asiatic Act: Asiatics had no political rights and could only reside in segregated areas, certain streets, wards or locations.	Ordinance 1: Indians could not purchase or rent fixed property or land without permission.	
1890				Ordinance 29: Indians not allowed to enter the Orange Free State.	
1892					Indians disenfranchised unless own property valued at 75 pounds.
1894					Municipalities could request power to create locations.
1895		Law No.17: Tax of three pounds imposed on Indians after period of indenture expired. Failure to pay the tax resulted in re-indenture, imprisonment or deportation to India.			
1896		The Franchise Act: Indians were withdrawn from parliamentary franchise.			
1897		The Dealer's Licences Act No.18: Restrictions placed on wholesale and retail trading licences. Licensing officer could issue licence with consent of Town Council.			
1897		The Immigration Restriction Act: Total prohibition of free immigration to Natal, imposed an education test on all intending immigrants.			
1898			Law 15: Indians were prohibited from working in gold mining areas.		
1899			Regulations for separation of trading and residential areas in Transvaal towns.		
1900		Act No.1: Immigration law and laws relating to indentured Indians made more severe.			
1902			Peace Preservation Ordinance.		Cape Immigration Act No. 47 required an education test.
1903		Immigration Restriction Act.			
1905			The Immigration Restriction Act: Indians could only enter the Transvaal if they were issued with a special permit.		
1906		Act No.3: Amended 1903 Act and increased restrictions on Indian movement.	Johannesburg Municipal Ordinance: Municipality could provide locations and bazaars.		Cape Immigration Act was amended to allow Indians to leave the Cape on a temporary basis. After 1907 a permit was needed to leave which had to be produced on return.
1906					General Dealer's Act - control of licences and trade hours.
1907			The Immigration Act No.15: Total prohibition of Indians to the Transvaal.		
1907			The Education Act No.25: Segregation of schools with compulsory education for whites only.		
1908		Proclamation No.93: Indians prohibited from travelling through the Transkei without a permit.	The Township Amendment Act, Law 34: Residence in the town, restricted to domestic servants. Indians could only reside and trade in segregated areas.		
1908			The Gold Law, Act 35: Indians prohibited from residing or trading in proclaimed areas.		
1908			The Asiatic Registration Amendment Act No.36: Indians were required to register and carry passes.		
1910		The Education Act No.6: Compulsory education for whites only.			
1912	Municipal Ordinance No. 10				
1913	The Immigration Regulation Act: Asian immigrants prohibited.			Immigration Regulation Act No. 22: Indians prohibited from visiting or travelling through the Orange Free State without a permit. Could stay for more than 24 hours.	
1914	Indian Relief Act: Amended 1913 Immigration Act allowing the wives of Indian immigrants to enter more freely.				
1919			Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Act No.37: prohibition on the issuing of new trading licences after 1 May 1919.		
1922		Town Council acquired powers to restrict ownership and occupation of both of land to any particular race by inserting restrictive clauses in the title deeds or leases.			
1924		The Township Franchise Ordinance: Indians lost municipal franchise.			
1924		The Durban Land Alienation Ordinance: Durban Municipality received the power to sell land to Indians under restrictive conditions.			
1925				The General Dealers' Control Ordinance: Municipality receive powers to either grant or refuse trading licences.	
1927	The Immigration and Indian Relief Act.				
1927	The Nationality and Flag Act: Indians not recognised as South African citizens.				
1931	The Immigration Amendment Act: further restrictions.				
1932			The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act: amended in 1934, 1935 and 1937 and provided for separate areas for Asiatics, restricting the acquisition and occupation of property.		
1934	The Slums Act.				
1935		The Rural Dealers Licensing Ordinance: The granting of trading licences in rural areas limited.			
1937	The Immigration Amendment Act: further restrictions.				
1939			The Asiatic Land and Trading Act: Asiatics could only trade in their own areas, if Indians wanted to occupy premises outside the bazaar they required permission from the Minister.		
1940		The Durban Extended Powers Ordinance: Municipal authorities received extensive powers to tax and deal with municipal matters according to their own discretion.			
1943		The Pawning Act: Indians were prohibited from residing on or from buying property or land from whites in Durban, except under permit.			
1945		The Special Housing Act: Housing Board received powers to expropriate Indians with the aim of segregating them.			
1946		The Asiatic Land Tenure Act and Indian Representation Act No.28: The acquisition and occupation of land by Indians was restricted. Transfer of fixed property between Asiatics and non-Asiatics was prohibited without a permit, except in controlled areas.	The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act 28: Further restrictions were placed on the acquisition and occupation of property by Asiatics.		

Source: Pather, 1960, Bhana and Brain, 1990, Badat, 1985, Maasdorp and Pillay, 1977, Bagwandeen, 1989, Bradlow, 1979

during the 1870s emerged as a commercial and propertied class and the increase in their numbers resulted in the whites seeing them as a menace to their economic, social and political position in colonial society competing for space, place and trade.

### 3.3.1 Immigration

Table 3.1 shows that the first law restricting Indian immigration was introduced in the Orange Free State. Compared to the other three provinces, the Orange Free State, which became an independent republic in 1854, was the only area where Indians were severely restricted and even banned from entering. Indians moved to the Orange Free State in the 1870s and by 1904, according to the census, there were 253 Asiatics (Van Aswegen, 1969, 40). This very small Indian community was regarded as an economic, political and social threat to the whites who demanded legislation to curb their progress within and influx into the Orange Free State (Van Aswegen, 1979). A number of anti-Indian petitions were instituted mainly by white traders who demanded that Indians be barred from owning property and trading in their State (Badat, 1985). The whites resented the Indians as they feared that the Orange Free State would become as "overstroomt" with Indians as Natal was (Van Aswegen, 1969, 31). The whites felt that the Indians were of little use as they did not work for them. Furthermore they did not comprise a market for the whites as they mainly utilized eastern goods and sent all their money back to India (Van Aswegen, 1969). The final piece of legislation that applied to the Indians in the Orange Free State was the National Immigration Regulation Act No. 22 of 1913 which did not allow Indians to visit or travel through the Orange Free State or remain there for more than 24 hours (Badat, 1985). This legislation remained in the statute books until 1986, when it was repealed (Brijlal, 1989).

In Natal measures to restrict Indians' rights were frequently put before the Natal legislature. The British government, however, refused to introduce harsh measures in fear that the Indian government might stop the flow of Indian labour to Natal. It was only after 1893, when Natal received independent government that it could introduce legislation against Indian immigration, trade and franchise without disagreement from the colonial government. Prior to this the "Natal formula", which comprised an English literacy test was supposed to appear non-discriminatory in terms of race. However it was discriminatory as it was used to ensure that only whites entered Natal (Huttenback, 1973, 136). The Immigration Restriction Act of 1897, passed by the Natal government, was also based on the education test and limited Indians from entering Natal thus preventing them from gaining the upper hand in terms of property ownership, trade and voting rights (Harcourt, 1977).

In the Transvaal, too, restrictions were placed on Indian immigration. At the end of the South African War, the Peace Preservation Ordinance of 1902, was introduced to regulate the entry of Indians returning to the Transvaal after the war. Indians could only enter if they had proof of pre-war residence in the Transvaal. The Asiatic Law Amendment Act No. 2 of 1907 was introduced, whereby all Indians had to register with the government to establish legal rights of residence in the Transvaal. The Immigration Act No. 15 of 1907 required an education test which prevented the growth of the Indian population in the Transvaal (Pachai, 1979, Badat, 1985).

The situation for the Indian seemed to be better in the Cape Province as there were few laws restricting them (see Table 3.1). Prior to 1892 there was little anti-Indian prejudice amongst the whites. In fact the whites in the Cape protested against the bad treatment Indians were receiving in the Transvaal (Bradlow, 1979). In the Cape, unlike Natal and the Transvaal, legislation against the Indians was not deemed necessary as the Indians were few in number and did not pose a threat in any way (Western, 1981). The Cape Province was therefore more permissive than the other Provinces during the initial period of settlement. It was only once the Indians increased in number and the government feared that they would have to cope with the same problems as Natal and Transvaal, especially with regard to their influx, that legislation was introduced. The anti-Indian feelings which were constantly expressed in other parts of the country finally arrived in the Cape.

In 1901, a conference to discuss the issue of immigration and the prohibition of undesirable immigrants to the Cape, was held as a result of pressure from small towns and municipalities demanding legislation similar to that of Natal (Bhana and Brain, 1990). The Cape Immigration Act No. 47 of 1902, which required an education test, was implemented and was the first law restricting immigration into the Cape. The Act was not intended to interfere with the already settled Indian, rather it was introduced to exclude Indian unskilled labourers and traders (Bradlow, 1979). The Act was amended in 1906 to allow Indians who had left the Cape temporarily to return. No Indian leaving the Cape after 1907 could return without a permit (Bhana and Brain, 1990) which the person had obtained prior to their departure from the Cape and which served as proof of their residence in the Cape. The Act was effective as the number of Indians entering the Cape dropped after the Act was passed (Badat, 1985). Badat (1985) shows that in 1903, prior to the 1906 Act, 1646 Indians entered the Cape while in 1908 and 1909, 387 and 445 respectively, entered (Badat, 1985, 49). Shipping companies also turned away passengers at Bombay if they felt they were not likely to pass the entrance literacy test on arrival at Cape Town. When the Indians could no longer enter the Cape ports they entered at Beira and came to the Cape Province via Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) (Bradlow, 1979). It was also found

that Asiatic shipping crews deserted steamers at Cape Town and evaded taking the literacy required by the Immigration Act.<sup>1</sup>

The measures in each of the provinces prior to Union in 1910 controlled Indian numbers but in 1913 the Immigration Regulation Act prohibited Indian immigration into the Union and movement between the provinces on a national level. Table 3.1 shows that most national legislation relating to Indians focused on immigration. The Indian Relief Act of 1914 amended the Immigration Act of 1913 allowing the wives of Indian immigrants to enter South Africa more freely.

The Class Areas Bill of 1924 came about after the Government appointed the Asiatic Inquiry Commission to look at ways of dealing with the increasing number of Indians and the associated problems. The commission recommended that the Indians be segregated in special areas. This bill however lapsed when the Smuts Government fell in 1924. Malan who subsequently came into power, introduced the Areas Reservation and Immigration Bill of 1925 which called for compulsory segregation and the reduction of Indians number in South Africa (Bagwandeem, 1989). In 1927 a voluntary repatriation scheme was introduced by the government. This scheme offered a free passage to India and a cash bonus of 20 pounds which was doubled to 40 pounds to serve as an incentive. Between 1927 and 1954 a total of 17 000 Indians left South Africa under this scheme (Badat, 1985, 60). Reducing the number of Indians was seen as the solution to all the problems.

### 3.3.2 Trade

The presence of Indian traders and hawkers evoked much anti-Indian agitation in all four provinces and this culminated in the introduction of legislation restricting trade and the acquisition and occupation of property. The Natal Indians, who took every opportunity to progress commercially, were a threat to white businessmen and were regarded as the "sharpest thorn in the flesh of the European" (Bagwandeem, 1989, 5). The Dealer's Licences Act of 1897 and the Rural Dealer's Licensing Ordinance was introduced to regulate and reduce Indian trade in Natal. In the Transvaal trading licences were only issued to those with registration certificates (Badat, 1985). Separate Indian trade areas (bazaars) were created but the municipalities were unable to force Indians to trade there. These measures were not effective and further restrictions were introduced in 1902, 1908, 1919, 1925 and 1939. As in the other provinces, Indian traders in the Transvaal seemed to be a serious problem and legislation relating to locations, bazaars and land acquisition and occupation were imposed to prevent integration.

In the Cape too, Indians were competing with white traders thus precipitating the introduction of the General Dealer's Act of 1906 which resulted in a reduction of Indians entering the Cape. Prior to 1906 trading licences were freely available to Indians in the Cape on payment of a three pound fee. However the General Dealers Act, which was introduced to reduce commercial competition, empowered local authorities to either grant or refuse trading licences. Existing traders were not affected but new applicants were not issued with licences unless the application was recommended by the local authority by a two thirds majority. It is interesting to point out that many councillors serving on the council were themselves traders, which made it less likely for them to approve new licences. Hawkers, in particular, were affected as they had to reapply annually for licences as white traders wanted their numbers reduced (Bradlow, 1979). In both East London and Port Elizabeth Indians protested against the trade restrictions.<sup>2</sup>

Indians in East London felt that harsher regulations were unnecessary as they were already subjected to the drastic regulations imposed by the General Dealers Act of 1906 which prevented Indians from obtaining new trade licenses.<sup>3</sup> The Indians, who were mainly hawkers, objected to proposed amendments in 1915 relating to fruit and vegetable vendors as they felt that it was aimed at them. The amendment required hawkers and pedlars to register annually and to carry a badge and licence.<sup>4</sup> The municipality could therefore control the number of hawkers.

### 3.3.3 Ownership and occupation of land

Transvaal had the most stringent and widespread legislation relating to the segregation of Indians and the control of land ownership and occupation. The main reason for introducing legislation to restrict Indian ownership and occupation of land occurred due to the increase of Indian numbers in white areas. In the Transvaal, Law 3 of 1885 required residential segregation from an early stage. In Natal the first law relating to the ownership and occupation of land was introduced in 1922. In Durban, as whites moved out of the central residential areas to the suburbs, Indians either moved into the vacated areas or bought property in these areas for investment purposes. This movement is the same as the diffusion process found in first world cities but was perceived by the Durban residents and municipality as a process of penetration (Maasdorp and Pillay, 1977). Table 3.1 shows that in both Natal and the Transvaal legislation was directed at preventing this invasive process. In the Transvaal unlike Natal the aim of the laws were to segregate rather than control Indians.

In the Orange Free State Indians were classified as Blacks by means of Ordinance 18 of 1884 which meant that they could not vote and could only live and trade in the Black location. Ordinance 1 of

1885 also denied Indians the right to purchase or rent fixed property or land without the permission of the Executive Council (Badat, 1985). This legislation did not ban Indians altogether but it restricted their influx as they were unable to occupy or own premises for residential or commercial purposes (Van Aswegen, 1969). Those trading in the Orange Free State prior to the introduction of the legislation were permitted to continue to trade until 1887 after which time their trading licences were not renewed (Badat, 1985, 50). The Indians appealed to the British High Commissioner in Cape Town, but the Orange Free State wanted no increase in the number of Indians (Van Aswegen, 1979). In 1888, 12 petitions were submitted by the whites to the Boer government. Only three of these supported the presence of Indian traders in the Orange Free State arguing that the Indian traders were cheaper than the whites (Van Aswegen, 1969). The majority were therefore against Indian traders. In 1890, Indians were completely barred from entering the Orange Free State by the implementation of Ordinance 29 (Badat, 1985, Van Aswegen, 1979).

At a national level the Slums Act of 1934 stipulated that premises may be declared a slum if any building failed to meet certain minimum requirements, or if it needed to be repaired, was overcrowded or a health hazard (Trump, 1979). Since there were no laws controlling Indian ownership and occupation of land in the Cape besides the Act allowing certain municipalities to establish locations the Slums Act was used by other municipalities in the Cape Province to enforce segregation. The Act allowed them to rezone, evict and expropriate occupants of slum dwellings (Parnell, 1988) and was mostly used to clear mixed racial areas and to move people to racially segregated public housing areas (Robinson, 1992).

### 3.3.4 Sanitation and segregation

The "sanitation syndrome" a term coined after the outbreak of plague referred to the excessive concern of municipalities with sanitation. Sanitation was the main reason given for implementing segregatory legislation which in fact was being undertaken because of economic jealousy, unemployment, fears of white artisans and trading rivalry of white shopkeepers and political fear of electoral swamping. Indians together with Blacks and coloureds, became the target of the sanitation syndrome because they too lived in overcrowded areas and were seen to be a danger to public health (Swanson, 1977). Attempts to create locations in Natal had failed and municipalities resorted to sanitary building codes and vagrancy laws (Swanson, 1983). Most whites in Natal demanded that the Indians be repatriated (Pachai, 1979).

Unlike Natal, Indians in the Transvaal were forced by law to reside and trade in locations and bazaars. Law 3 of 1885 was the first move in South Africa to make provision for separate residential and trade areas for Indians (Bhana and Brain, 1990). Indians were defined as coloured and were required to carry passes (Badat, 1985). They were also prevented from using pavements and trams (Potgieter, 1980). The Indians protested against the law and were supported by the British Imperial Authority who stated that separate residential areas could only be provided on grounds of sanitation (Bhana and Brain, 1990). The Johannesburg municipality therefore used sanitation and economic reasons to bring about segregation. By the 1890s two locations were established in Johannesburg, but few Indians moved there (Potgieter, 1980, Randell and Desai, 1967). In 1899 the Transvaal government proposed that locations be set aside and that after June 1899 no trader be issued licences to trade outside these locations. However the South African War broke out and nothing came of these proposals (Bhana and Brain, 1990).

Prior to 1950 there was no government legislation restricting Indian occupation and ownership of land in the Cape. The outbreak of plague and the fear of the spread of the disease played a significant role in the establishment of locations as was the case in Natal and the Transvaal. In 1894, at an Imperial Congress, it was decided that legislation for the creation of locations was necessary and that municipalities could request the power to segregate and fix locations if it wanted to (Bradlow, 1979). Municipalities in the Cape Province thus had the power to create locations if they wanted.

Caldwell (1991) however says that locations for Blacks did exist in the Eastern Cape prior to the outbreak of plague but that they were "traditional" settlements rather than "legal" municipal created areas (Caldwell, 1991, 9). The outbreak of plague was used as an excuse to segregate blacks. This is clearly illustrated by Caldwell (1991) who showed that in 1898, Europeans petitioned for Blacks to be moved out of King William's Town but this was only achieved after the outbreak of the plague.

The enforcement of the East London Municipal Amendment Act of 1895, which empowered the municipality to establish locations, was unique in the Cape Province. East London being the only urban centre where an Indian location was established in 1903 (Fox, Nel and Reintges, 1991, Bradlow, 1979, Nel 1990). As in the other Provinces few Indians moved there. The fact that the East London municipality wanted locations for Indians shows the degree of fear and racial discrimination that existed. The outbreak of plague in 1901 added to the municipality's eagerness to establish an Indian location as they were a "peculiarly plague-spreading people" (quoted in Christopher, 1987a, 7).

Indians could only live and trade in certain areas of East London even if they were exempted from the Act. To be exempted the Indian or Black had to own property to the value of 75 pounds. If an Indian did not possess an exemption certificate he could be forced to live in the location. The Indians resisted moving to the location by means of petitions and complaints to the municipality and the colonial government, and it was only in 1934 that the location was closed (Nel, 1990, Bhana and Brain, 1990). The Indians began to protest after a number of them were prosecuted for not carrying passes and for living outside prescribed areas. Indian shopkeepers in East London also protested after they were issued with notices by the municipality to vacate their premises within 14 days and to move to the location. The municipality defended the Act saying that it was introduced to deal with Blacks and Indians who were living under undesirable circumstances and whose mode of life was a menace to health. It was not aimed at people exempted from the Act but rather those who were perceived as a health risk.<sup>4</sup>

Municipalities in the Cape, who were influenced by measures taken in bigger urban centres, also played an important role by initiating municipal ordained segregation. Municipal ordinances were discriminatory and segregationist forbidding Indians from using certain streets and public places at certain times without a pass (Huttenback, 1966). In East London for example Indians had to carry passes at all times and could not walk on the pavements of the main streets (Bradlow, 1979).

Attempts to create Indian locations in the Cape were thus limited to East London and were a failure there. Indians however were living in Malay locations in certain urban centres such as Kimberley (Bhana and Brain, 1990). The steps taken in East London clearly show the anti-Indian sentiment that prevailed there.

### 3.3.5 Restrictions on franchise

As the number of Indians increased legislation to disenfranchise them was enforced as whites feared political domination. Even though the number of Indians in Natal was greater than that of the Transvaal the first law disenfranchising Indians was introduced in the Transvaal in 1885. It was only in 1896 that the Indians in Natal lost their right to vote despite the larger number of Indians there. In 1893 the 46000 strong Indian population of Durban outnumbered the white population of 45 000 (Pachai, 1979). Whites who feared the loss of political control demanded that steps be taken to reduce and control Indian numbers by means of immigration laws and to disenfranchise them. The Franchise Act of 1896 was the result. Table 3.1 shows that Indians in the Transvaal were disenfranchised in 1885 while the Indians in the Cape lost their rights to vote in 1892. Despite the very small number of Indians in the

Cape Province, Indians were denied the right to vote in 1892 unless they could write their name, address and occupation in English and if they owned property to the value of 75 pounds (Huttenback, 1966, 281). In the Orange Free State Indians were not allowed to vote as they were classified as Black by Ordinance 18 of 1884.

As British citizens, Indians were supposed to be free to enter, travel and reside wherever they liked but all the legislation discussed above prevented this. The situation in the Cape was better than the Transvaal and Natal as there were no laws restricting the ownership and occupation of land. However, immigration and trade restrictions did exist as Table 3.1 indicates. It would appear as if the few laws that did exist in the Cape were successful because there were few Indians there, unlike Natal and the Transvaal where the Indian population was larger. The large amount of legislation and continuous amendments to this in Natal and the Transvaal seem to suggest the measures were ineffective unlike the few laws that existed in the Cape Province dealing with the same type of issues. This also illustrates that legislation affecting Indians existed in all four provinces but that the level of segregation it brought about and the implementation thereof varied from province to province.

### 3.4 INFORMAL SEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA PRE-1950

Table 3.1 clearly shows that the Cape Province had few legal measures to segregate and control Indians. Informal measures were therefore used to deal with problems similar to those in the other provinces after attempts to enforce municipal regulations were unsuccessful. There is no literature specific to the four urban centres being studied that deal with informal segregation prior to 1950. Studies on other centres in the Cape can, however, be used to give an idea of the type of methods used. Christopher (1987a) has made important contributions in this regard. Urban centres in the Cape prior to 1950 were segregated with black locations being found on the periphery of cities and small racially mixed enclaves being located within the town or city (Lemon, 1991). Due to the liberal approach in the Cape (Western, 1981), one finds a lower level of segregation compared to the other provinces. Smaller urban centres, where the Indian communities were small and not perceived as a problem, also showed a lower segregation level. Christopher (1990) found that there were regional differences in the level of segregation with Eastern Cape towns being more segregated than Western Cape towns. East London as mentioned earlier can be singled out in the Eastern Cape where the municipality was empowered in 1895 to segregate Indians in a special location (Maasdorp and Pillay, 1977).

White prejudice ensured segregation in the Cape Province. Informal means were used to impose segregation indirectly and on a voluntary basis. Indians were segregated or allowed to live in mixed or white areas depending on the attitude of the municipality. Christopher (1983, 1988) and Swanson (1983) both argue that prior to 1950 racial discrimination and a conflict in spatial demands were important factors controlling Indian peoples' location. High property prices, the refusal of trading licences and the use of racial clauses in title deeds were used to keep Indians out of certain areas.

High property prices function very simply. Only Indians who could afford property were able to acquire and or occupy such property. Furthermore, often property for sale in certain white areas was not advertised and this also prevented the infiltration of "undesirable groups".

Where Indian traders were a threat to white traders, municipalities could, by using the General Dealers Act of 1906, refuse trading licences and in this way control the location of Indian traders. This resulted in exclusively Indian trade areas as in Durban (Kuper, Watts and Davies, 1958). The refusal of trading licences therefore affected the spatial distribution of Indian traders as they were excluded from certain areas. This in turn affected Indian residential distribution since most Indians lived on their business premises.

Racially restrictive clauses were used in Port Elizabeth (Christopher, 1988), Cape Town (Western, 1981) and by law in Natal (Maharaj, 1992, Kuper, Watts and Davies, 1958). Indians were excluded from certain areas by the insertion of racial clauses in property title deeds to prevent ownership and occupation of property by people other than the desired racial group (Christopher, 1988). This resulted in racially exclusive areas (Kuper, Watts and Davies, 1958) as Indians and coloureds could only move into areas where such clauses were not used (Christopher, 1988).

Both the formal and informal measures, therefore, restricted Indians and affected them spatially as it prevented them from living and trading where they wanted to. The urban structure that these formal and informal measures created will now be examined.

### 3.5 URBAN STRUCTURE OF SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES PRE-1950.

The city that developed prior to 1950 will be examined to show and explain the structure and morphology of the city that arose in the colonial period. Chapter 4 will concentrate on the city that developed after the Group Areas Act of 1950. The distribution of the population groups within these

colonial cities with particular reference to the Indian group will be examined.

### 3.5.1 The South African colonial city

All cities in South Africa are colonial in origin as there were no urban centres, by European standards, prior to colonialism (King, 1985). The spatial organization of these multi-ethnic cities was complex and showed racial segregation as the main characteristic from an early stage (Davies, 1981). South African society was also socially and economically organised resulting in residential class segregation. According to Christopher (1989, 253) cities were segregated prior to 1910 but the level of segregation depended on the province and the political policies that were applied there. The earlier sections also showed this to be the case.

Various authors have used different terms to refer to cities that developed over time. Prior to 1950 two types of cities have been identified, the colonial and segregated city. The first applies to cities prior to 1910, while the segregated city emerged after 1923 with the introduction of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act. Some authors however refer to the city that came about after 1910 as the segregated city. This study will not attempt to distinguish between colonial and segregated cities but will focus on the city structure prior to 1950.

The segregation or colonial city model (see Figure 3.1) applied to cities prior to the implementation of the Group Areas Act. Even though there were no laws at a national level enforcing spatial segregation, there were signs of discrimination and spatial segregation brought about by provincial legislation, municipal regulations and informal processes as shown earlier.

Indians, coloureds and Malays mainly lived in mixed areas that were usually located on the periphery of the CBD. In some urban centres a small percentage of Indians lived in Black or Malay locations. The Indian community's distribution often mirrored the distribution of economic activities rather than any race or ethnic distribution (Western, 1978).

The model shows a city with a racially segregated spatial organization with zones of racial integration and a core-periphery relationship between race and class (Davies, 1981). The model also has the following characteristics: A dominant white CBD is found with a CBD frame together with a subordinate and peripheral Indian CBD (Davies, 1981). An Indian CBD usually occurs in cities where the Indian community is large, for example Johannesburg, Pietermaritzburg and Durban (Lemon, 1991). There is a white residential core with low density suburban extensions in areas with the best

land. These areas are differentiated in terms of socio-economic status and are similar spatially to American cities, which make these areas first world in character. In Durban, centrally located Indian, Chinese and coloured residential enclaves are found in older inner residential areas. The Indians are also located in the central areas but peripheral to the evolving white CBD. Most importantly, zones of racial mixing occurs (Davies, 1981). In South Africa, the occurrence of mixed zones were not regarded as a natural process as in multi-ethnic cities elsewhere in the world but were rather seen as penetration thus the legislation to prevent Indian ownership and occupation of land and property.

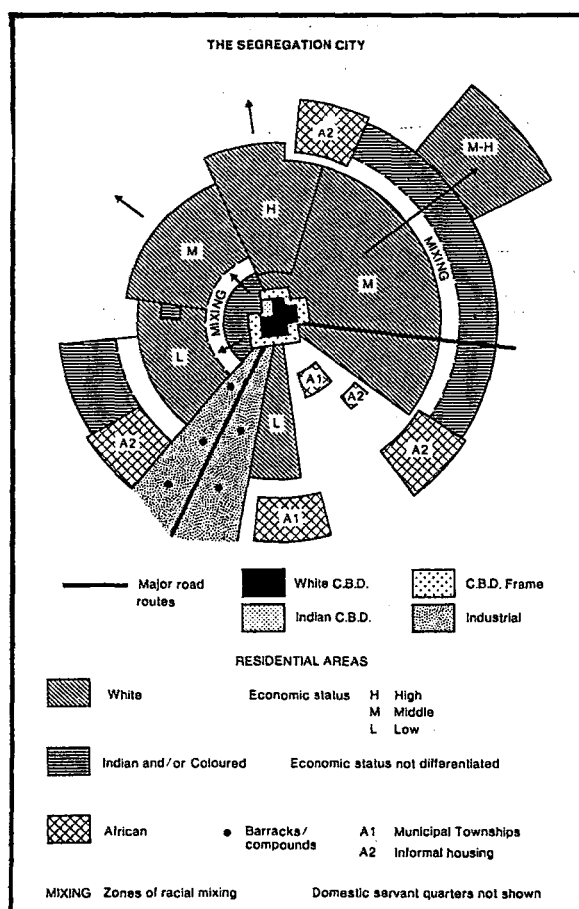


Figure 3.1 Segregation City Model

Source: Lemon, 1991, 7

Urban centres in the Cape Province such as Cape Town and Port Elizabeth conformed to Davies' model as Indians, coloureds and Blacks were mainly resident in old centrally located areas with pockets of mixing occurring in poorer and working class areas. In Cape Town Indians were clustered in the old areas with 94% of residences attached to shops (Western, 1981). Hindu and Muslims lived and worked beside Malays and coloureds. The Malays and Muslims clustered around mosques in well defined districts (Scott, 1955).

### 3.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown how the development of segregatory measures in all four Provinces restricted Indians in terms of immigration, occupation and ownership of land and trade. It has also shown that legislation affecting Indians increased over time and eventually spread to the Cape where initially no discriminatory or segregatory legislation existed. The spatial structure brought about by formal and informal segregatory measures was examined by looking at the Segregation city model. Indians were located in racially mixed areas and Indian trade area on the periphery of the white CBD. The preceding sections contextualises this study since it will assist in comparing the measures and spatial structure that evolved to the four study areas. Later sections will assess the applicability of the model to the four study areas.

#### Endnotes

- 1) GH 35/229, 234, 2 May 1904, British Indians of East London.
- 2) GH 1/457, 42, 1894, Position of Indians resident in Cape Colony.
- 3) PAS 2/176, L26a, 1912, East London Municipal regulations.
- 4) PAS 2/176, L26a, 1915, correspondence Administrator Union Government to Mayor.

## CHAPTER 4: SEGREGATION 1950-1991

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine the formal and informal means of segregation after 1950. The Group Areas Act was introduced by the government after the measures, discussed in Chapter 3, failed to bring about the desired level of segregation. This Act, its mechanisms and effects will be discussed. The role of the government, municipalities and Indian communities in group area proclamations will also be reviewed. The Group Areas Act became the main means of segregation and for this reason informal segregatory measures were necessary only where for various reasons no group areas were available for people to live in. The chapter will also look at desegregation and the establishment of grey areas, free trade areas and free settlement areas which took place prior to the abolition of the Group Areas Act in 1991.

After the introduction of the Group Areas Act geographers began to investigate the role of politics and the state in the creation of urban areas as they realised that space had a political character. A fair number of studies were undertaken over the years giving an account of the history of the Act, its implementation, effects and demise. General work describing the Act include that of Horrell (1966), Dison and Mohamed (1960), Henochsberg (1950), Kirkwood (1951) and others. The effects of the Act have been documented by Horrell (1956), Pickard-Cambridge (1987), Christopher (1987b, 1988, 1989, 1990 and 1991a), Davies (1981) and Mabin (1986) who show the relationship between the Group Areas Act and urban planning. Davies (1981), Christopher (1983, 1987a, 1988), Lemon (1989, 1991) and Hart (1988) illustrate the urban structure that resulted because of the Act whereas Western (1978, 1981) illustrates the urban experience of those affected by the Group Areas Act.

Most of the studies and case studies dealing with the Group Areas Act refer to the Indian population and are significant as they show what the situation in the Cape Province at various points in time was like. The most important works on group areas in the Cape Province were undertaken by Christopher (1987b, 1988, 1991b) and Davies (1971) for Port Elizabeth, Davenport (1981) for Grahamstown and Nel (1990) for East London.

### 4.2 THE GROUP AREAS ACT: DEFINITION

In the Cape Province there was no legislation restricting the acquisition and occupation of property. The Slums Act and other informal measures that had been developed to segregate Indians proved

inadequate in keeping blacks, especially Indians, from moving into predominantly white areas, resulting in a commission being appointed in 1948 to investigate and report on the desirability of introducing legislation to control the ownership and occupation of land by Asiatics. The Land Tenure Advisory Board requested information, from each municipality in the Cape, on the concentration of Asiatics within their municipalities.<sup>1</sup>

The Group Areas Act was introduced in 1950 and allowed the government to provide for the establishment of group areas and to control the acquisition and occupation of immovable property, land and premises (Kirkwood, 1951). The government controlled inter-racial property transactions and restricted the spatial distribution and movement of all races. It therefore had the power to determine where people of different races could live and trade. The Act became the most important factor influencing the spatial distribution of the Indian community after 1950. It provided all the mechanisms necessary to control and segregate all race groups residentially and commercially in separate group areas (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987). These mechanisms will be discussed below.

The government's main aim in implementing group areas was total racial segregation (Nel, 1990). Blacks, most of whom lived in mixed areas, would have to be relocated to eliminate any such areas that existed in South African cities (Pirie, 1984a). Reordering and reshaping was necessary to transform the Segregation City into the Apartheid City.

#### 4.2.1 Mechanisms of the Act affecting the creation of the apartheid city

The Population Registration Act was central to the Group Areas Act since it required compulsory race classification. Three main population groups were identified: white, African and coloured. The coloured group was subdivided and included Indian, Chinese and Malay. The Indians were only declared permanent residents of South Africa in 1961. Prior to this, as discussed previously, they were regarded as foreigners and were to be repatriated (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987). Once people were classified according to race they could be segregated into group areas that had been defined for them by the government.

Different types of areas were identified by the Act. These areas included controlled areas, specified areas, defined areas and future group areas, all of which served as intermediate areas that would maintain the situation until group areas per se were proclaimed. Besides these there were also buffer zones and use or Section 19 areas (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987). It is necessary to point out the differences between these areas as they will be referred to in Chapter 7.

According to Proclamation Number 71 of 1951 the whole of the Cape Province was declared a controlled area which meant that the Group Areas Act applied but no specific group areas were introduced. The occupation and ownership of property was controlled to preserve the status quo until further investigations (Davies, 1971). As such, different race groups were allowed to continue to live side by side.

According to Proclamation Number 220 of 1951, the Cape Province was defined as a specified area. The specified area fell within a controlled area and confined the occupation of property to a particular race group (Davies, 1971). Its aim was to prevent further black penetration into white areas. No property transfer between different races was permitted without a permit. Persons could only trade in specified areas if they were of the same race as the owner of a property they occupied (Kirkwood, 1951).

Defined areas were areas within specified areas. These areas were usually racially mixed, considered suitable for proclamation as group areas but not immediately required (Lemon, 1991). Development was frozen until the area was proclaimed a group area and no buildings could be altered or erected without a permit (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987). The race of the occupier was determined by the Minister, while the use of buildings in such an area was decided by the State President (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987).

Future group areas were areas that were investigated and found to be suitable but not proclaimed a group area as it was not immediately required. The use and development of the area was controlled (Davies, 1971).

Group areas could be of three kinds. Firstly for ownership by one race group only. Secondly for occupation by one race group and thirdly for both ownership and occupation by one race group. Occupation and ownership of property was restricted to the race group for which the area was proclaimed. Disqualified persons had to acquire a permit to allow them to own or occupy property, for residential and commercial purposes, in an area proclaimed for another race group.

Buffer zones were natural or man-made barriers which separated group areas and maintained a distance between the different race groups (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987). Industrial and commercial belts of land were also used. Vacant land was usually avoided (Lemon, 1987). Ownership and occupation of land and property within these areas were controlled.

Use areas or section 19 areas, which were a part of defined areas, were introduced by the Group Areas Amendment Act of 1961 to confine the use of land and buildings for specific purposes (Davies, 1971). Use Areas allowed disqualified Indian and coloured traders, who could not be resettled in separate trade areas, to trade in areas other than their own (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987). This was often the case in small towns where the size of the Indian community made a separate trade area uneconomical. They were therefore allowed to remain on their existing premises with a permit and this will be shown to occur in the four study areas. The municipality decided on the degree of freedom it would give Indians to trade outside their own group areas.

### 4.3 THE GROUP AREAS ACT: ADMINISTRATION

The Group Areas Act was administered by different bodies over time. These Boards were the Land Tenure Advisory Board, the Group Areas Board, the Group Area Development Board and the Community Development Board. The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning administered the Act after 1984. These bodies and some of the main functions are discussed in order to assist in understanding later sections.

#### 4.3.1 Boards established for the administration of the Act

The Land Tenure Advisory Board (LTAB) was established before the Land Tenure Act of 1946 came into operation and was responsible for the administration of the Group Areas Act after it was introduced in 1950. The Group Areas Board replaced the LTAB in 1955. The Group Area Development Board also came into existence in 1955 after the introduction of the Group Area Development Act and was affiliated to the Group Areas Board since its main function was to develop new group areas. The Community Development Board, replaced the Group Area Development Board in 1966 after the implementation of the Community Development Act of 1966. The planning of group areas, a function which included the development of housing, the resettlement of disqualified persons and urban renewal was administered by this Board after government approval (Lemon, 1987, Davies, 1971).

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning was introduced in 1984. It consisted of three divisions representing Indians, coloureds and whites. Each had the power to advise the Minister as to which race should occupy a particular area, the desirability of proclaiming group areas and buffer zones. It further had the power to issue eviction notices to disqualified persons but only if alternative accommodation was available. This department was responsible for the proclamation, deproclamation

and extensions of group areas and the proclamation of free trade areas (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987).

The main functions of these bodies were to investigate, proclaim, deproclaim and develop group areas.

The most important steps involved in proclaiming and deproclaiming areas are discussed below.

#### 4.3.2 Steps involved in proclaiming, or deproclaiming group areas.

1. Proposals, from interested individuals or bodies, were submitted to the regional office of the Board or Department in charge of the administration of the Act.
2. The Regional Director submitted a report of his findings to the head office of the Board or Department, where it was studied and evaluated by the various branches concerned.
3. An advertisement was placed in the local newspaper asking for written representations from the public who were thus given an opportunity to intervene to prevent the proclamation of areas they were not satisfied with.
4. If there were objections from the public, the Chairman of the Board or Department appointed a committee from members of its Board or Department to carry out an investigation and to draw up a report taking into consideration the written representations received. The investigating committee could decide to hold a public hearing to determine if an area was necessary or to decide on an area to recommend to the Minister. The municipality, who had more knowledge of the town, played an important role as its views could influence the Boards final decision as will be shown in the four study areas.
5. The committee's report was sent to the own affairs administrators in the Tricameral Parliament who sent their written comments before the report was considered by the Board or Department. These could influence the final decision. After the 1980s the Tricameral Parliament had an important role despite its opposition to the Group Areas Act. Coloured and Indian Ministers of Parliament were compelled, due to a housing shortage, to request the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning to proclaim and extend group areas.
6. The final recommendations were submitted to the Minister of the Board or Department of Constitutional Development and Planning. Depending on his decision a draft proposal was either submitted to the State President for approval or the matter was referred back to the Board for further consideration (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987).

#### 4.3.3 The role of the government, municipalities and Indian communities in group area zoning.

Mather (1985) argues that studies on the Group Areas Act and segregation in South Africa ignore the issues surrounding the involvement and interaction of the various organisations such as government agencies, the Land Tenure Advisory Board, Reference and Planning Committees, city councils and community organisations. Both the government and the community were involved when proposing group areas and implementing the Act (Mather, 1985). Recent studies have looked at the role of the municipality and the government and the interaction between these two groups and the community.

With the introduction of the Group Areas Act municipalities lost control over local affairs (Nel, 1990). However they had an important role to play in group area zoning. The attitude of the municipality towards the different population groups determined the specific outcome of the Group Areas Act. The municipalities, when responsible for zoning, drew up plans that often were to the disadvantage of blacks since the municipalities were influenced and pressurized by their white electorate (McCarthy and Smit, 1984). However, they also acted in the black group's best interests objecting to proposals that would cause hardships. In the study there appeared to be a conflict in interests with the government wanting segregation, the municipalities wanting the best for everybody and the Indian community wanting the situation to remain unchanged. This conflict of interests affected the outcome of the Group Areas Act and thus the spatial distribution of Indians in the four study areas.

The size of the Indian population in urban centres also affected the outcome of the Group Areas Act. In the large urban centres such as Durban and Port Elizabeth, where the Indian communities were of a substantial size and where they were living and trading in mixed areas, the implementation of the Group Areas Act tended to occur soon after 1950. In smaller urban centres such as the study areas on the other hand, where the Indian communities were smaller in size and less of a "problem", the implementation of the Group Areas Act seemed to be delayed. This was mainly due to the fact that the municipalities were against separate areas for such small communities. This study will show that the municipalities supported the Indian communities in the smaller centres and often tried to persuade the government to leave the Indians where they were. In the larger centres the attitude towards the Indian communities was totally different with the municipalities regarding the Indians as their main problem that had to be dealt with as soon as possible.

The government required that municipalities cooperate with regard to group area zoning and group area implementation (Lemon, 1991). The municipalities were required to provide the Board or Department concerned with experienced surveyors, engineers and planners, who were familiar with local conditions and needs. If the municipalities did not cooperate the Board or Department imposed its own, completely arbitrary and often unsuitable zoning plans (Lemon, 1987). This was the case in Cape Town where the Cape Town City Council refused to cooperate with the Government. The Council found that the Act was impossible to implement as blacks were scattered throughout Cape Town and their removal would be costly and cause too much hardship. The Government drew up its own plans that were not acceptable to the Cape Town City Council (Horrell, 1956). Where the municipalities refused to cooperate the long term interests of the communities were not taken into consideration as the Government was not aware of what was best for the communities. A

municipality's willingness to cooperate with the government is clearly also important in determining the final outcome of the Group Areas Act and thus the structure of the urban centre. With the centralisation of control little regard was given to the contributions of the local authorities. The role of the government, municipalities and Indian communities are thus important aspects to assess in relation to the four study areas.

Indian organisations in the Cape Province were social and religious rather than political (Bradlow, 1979). After the introduction of the Group Areas Act these organisations, especially in small urban centres, acquired an important function. They became a link between the municipality and the Indian community. During the period after the introduction of the Group Areas Act, many local associations and organisations called on their local authorities to reject the Group Areas Act and to refuse to render assistance to the government (Davies, 1971). Small communities had no government appointed organisation to represent them and municipalities consulted members of the Indian Association on matters relating to group areas. The local, unofficial, Indian associations of Grahamstown, Queenstown, Uitenhage and King William's Town played an important role in delaying the Group Areas Act. They opposed group area proposals and removals and placed pressure on the municipalities to preserve the status quo. These associations also worked with the municipalities, informing them what the communities wanted.

The Group Areas Amendment Act of 1962 made provision for the establishment of Consultative committees or Management committees. The Consultative committees had the power to advise white municipal councils about the provision of municipal services in Indian areas. They functioned in an advisory and consultative capacity and had little input when it came to group area zoning. The Management committees had a higher level of authority than the Consultative committees as the municipality could delegate some of its power to the committees. The aim of the establishment of the Management committees was that they would eventually be replaced by fully fledged municipal councils for Indian areas (Cloete, 1986). As with the Indian associations the Indian Management Committees (IMC) functioned as a link between the Indian community, municipality and government acting on the Indian community's behalf, cooperating and negotiating for the provision of housing (R. Bhana, personal interview, 1993). The only study area that had an IMC was Uitenhage and it played an important role as it influenced the municipality and the government. The Uitenhage Indian Management Committee also encouraged permit applications, the proclamation and extension of group areas and the provision of much needed housing even though they were against the Group Areas Act.

In 1988 the Indian Management Committees were given more powers which included commenting on and making representations with regard to licence applications, selling and letting business and residential premises within the Indian area, granting permission for the erection or use of temporary or movable structures, cancelling trading licences, making recommendations in respect of group area permit applications and approving building plans within the Indian area.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4.4 THE GROUP AREAS ACT: EFFECTS

Horrell (1956) was one of the first authors to examine the effects of the Group Areas Act. The Act has had economic, social and psychological effects on the Indian and coloured population (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987, Urban Foundation, 1990a). This was also found by Western (1981) who focused on the effects of relocation and the experience of the coloured population in Cape Town. Relocation and urban renewal schemes were a result of the Group Areas Act and had effects that will be discussed below.

##### 4.4.1 Relocation and urban renewal

According to Maasdorp and Pillay (1977) relocation in developed countries occurs where urban renewal is proposed and where residential congestion must be alleviated. In developing countries on the other hand relocation occurs as a result of shanty town clearance. In South Africa relocation occurred for all the above reasons. Urban renewal schemes were often used as a disguise to remove blacks from mixed areas (Hart, 1988) for example in Grahamstown and King William's Town. The construction of roads, municipal or government offices were alternatively planned for areas with a mixed racial composition as in Uitenhage. Houses in such areas became slums as the occupiers were not permitted to alter or repair the buildings. These buildings were then declared slums and demolished even if there was a shortage of housing (Hart, 1988). This happened in Grahamstown, King William's Town and Uitenhage.

The Group Areas Act, instead of preventing slums, actually gave rise to them. Where areas were frozen for redevelopment, houses were deliberately allowed to become slum dwellings. (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987). Where houses were demolished, central parcels of vacant land were often left undeveloped resulting in a loss of revenue to the municipality (Maasdorp and Pillay, 1977, Urban Foundation, 1990a). District Six in Cape Town, North End in East London and South End in Port Elizabeth serve as examples where blacks were removed by force whereafter housing was demolished and no development occurred for many years.

Between 1960 and 1980 approximately half a million people were displaced for the purposes of implementing the Group Areas Act (Pirie, 1983). As Table 4.1 indicates, the Indians were the main group affected by relocation. No figures were provided for the Black population since they were not only removed under the Group Areas Act but also under the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951, the Black Resettlement Act of 1954 and various other pieces of legislation (Platzsky and Walker, 1985, 141).

Table 4.1 : Removals from 1966 to August 1984

	MOVED FROM RESIDENCE	MOVED FROM BUSINESS
WHITES	2418	54
INDIAN	40067	2530
COLOURED	3691	187

Source: Schlemmer, 1986, 6

Relocation was a traumatic experience (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987) as it led to the fragmentation and destruction of communities at a physical and social level (Lemon, 1991, Hart, 1988). Besides being uprooted, communities lost homes, schools, places of religion and recreation (Lemon, 1991, Pirie, 1984a). Houses were demolished even though there were long waiting lists for housing in the group areas (De Coning, 1986).

In the smaller urban centres where Indian communities were small and not immediately affected by the Group Areas Act they suffered years of insecurity and uncertainty before group areas were eventually proclaimed (Lemon, 1991, Pickard-Cambridge, 1987). The lack of funds and the fact that alternative accommodation had to be available before people could be evicted retarded the application of the Act. Indians in the four study areas were also faced with removal or the possibility of removal and felt the effects of the Act discussed above.

The Group Areas Act was implemented in all South African urban centres from 1950 onwards, however it was not always successfully implemented especially in small urban centres. During the 1980s many urban centres either had racially mixed areas or such areas were beginning to emerge, especially in smaller urban centres and those urban centres where group areas were not proclaimed for all the race groups. Just prior to the repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1991 attempts to legalise these mixed areas were made and thus the discussion of desegregation.

## 4.5 DESEGREGATION

Literature on the process of desegregation that commenced in the 1980s has focused on grey areas, free settlement areas and free trade areas. It is important to look at such areas since they occurred in the four study areas. Grey areas and the changes in legislation that followed because of the emergence of grey areas will be examined. Free trade areas and free settlement areas were the result of legislated change and will also be examined.

### 4.5.1 Grey Areas

In Britain and the USA inner city suburbs are occupied by the poor and blacks and this is perceived as a normal process (Rule, 1989). In South Africa, however, grey areas (the occupation of white areas by blacks) were illegal. The main cause for grey areas was the failure of the Group Areas Act. The low demand for housing in the white areas and a shortage of suitable accommodation in group areas led to people contravening the Group Areas Act (Rule, 1988). The white areas had better housing, were closer to work and were crime free (Garside, 1987). The nominee system, where a legal resident rented or bought property and rented or resold the property to an illegal resident, gave rise to grey areas (Lemon, 1991, Elder, 1990).

The main consequence of greying was white flight where whites left areas because of the influx of blacks (Fick et. al, 1988). Residents feared that neighbourhoods would decline physically, that the value of their properties would drop and that crime would increase. However, this was proven wrong as property values actually increased after blacks moved in (Rule, 1989, Fick et. al, 1988). Nell (1986) also argued that property prices would increase rather than decline in mixed areas. The fear of slums was also unnecessary as the majority of poor blacks remained in the townships (Schlemmer, 1986) and only those families who could afford to move did so.

People were allowed to remain in grey areas, illegally, as no alternative accommodation was available. The case between the State and Govender in 1986 contributed to the government's lenient attitude as the ruling in this case stated that no person could be expropriated unless alternative accommodation was provided. This precedent caused the number of group area prosecutions to decrease (Pirie, 1987, Schlemmer, 1986).

In smaller centres such as East London the municipality turned a blind eye to mixed areas (Fox, Nel and Reintges, 1991, Pickard-Cambridge, 1987). A number of municipalities applied to the government

to allow blacks to live in areas of their choice for example East London, Port Elizabeth, Durban and Cape Town (Pirie, 1987). Liberal white municipalities even demanded the repeal of the Group Areas Act (Lemon, 1991).

#### 4.5.2 Free trade areas and free settlement areas

The emergence of grey areas and pressure for reform forced the government to reassess its segregation policies. The government became more permissive and made attempts to facilitate grey areas rather than trying to prevent them. By the mid 1980s the government had a more flexible approach to the granting of permits to blacks, who wanted to reside in white areas (Urban Foundation, 1990a). This started mainly in the large urban centres. There were a number of official enquiries into desegregation further illustrating the government's willingness to change its policies (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987).

The Group Areas Act of 1966 provides for non-racial trade areas according to Section 19 of the Act (Lemon, 1991) but these were only used where disqualified traders could not be relocated to areas of their own. After 1978 disqualified traders were assured that they would not have to move however they were forcibly removed up until 1982 (Pirie, 1984b). The Group Areas Amendment Act of 1977 provided for revision regarding Section 19 areas. Existing group areas could be deproclaimed to create multi-racial trade areas on a permit basis, for example Salt River and Woodstock in Cape Town (Pirie, 1984b).

In 1978 the Riekert Commission, which criticised the Group Areas Act, recommended that the commercial provisions of the Group Areas Act be abolished and that free trade areas be created or that municipalities be allowed to request free trade areas (Pirie, 1984b, Pirie, 1986). The government responded favourably stating that it would open trade areas only if such action did not result in residential mixing. After the Riekert Commission's recommendations the government became more lenient and revised the Group Areas Act but only with regard to commercial activity (Pirie, 1986). The government was unwilling to tolerate mixed residential areas but would accept racially mixed commercial areas as it wanted to promote small business enterprise and create a black middle class (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987).

In the 1980s the government began to play a more passive role allowing municipalities to initiate group area proposals and proclamations by applying to the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning when land was required for group areas. The municipalities also had the power to advise the government on the issuing of permits (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987). Previously the municipalities

had the power to recommend permits but the municipalities' views were not taken seriously. One of the themes of the thesis will be to show that after the repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1991 the municipality again, after 40 years, took control over local affairs.

In 1981 the Prime Minister wanted to open the trade areas to all races (Pirie, 1986) as blacks were trading illegally in white trade areas anyway by means of the nominee system and minority shareholding (Pirie, 1984b, Pirie, 1986, Pickard-Cambridge, 1987). The Group Areas Amendment Act No. 62 of 1982 opened CBDs to coloureds and Indians (Pirie, 1984b).

In 1984 the Strydom Committee Report recommended the desegregation of CBDs on application by local authorities. The Group Areas Amendment Act of 1984 acknowledged the recommendation as it provided for local authorities, organisations and the minister to submit requests to have areas investigated for purposes of declaring them free trade areas. By October 1985, 46 municipalities had applied for free trade areas (Lemon, 1987).

In 1987 the President's Council Report made a number of recommendations after considering the consolidation of the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act and Slums Act. Some of the recommendations were:

1. Open areas (free settlement areas) should be created by either rezoning existing areas or by proclaiming new areas.
2. All land zoned for non-residential purposes should be opened for occupation by all races.
3. Local authorities, residents or management committees, rather than the government, must decide to change the status of areas.
4. Local authorities must be authorised to grant exemption with regard to residential occupation.
5. Local authorities must create open areas in and around CBDs (Cilliers, 1989, 65).

In 1988 four bills, namely Free Settlement Area Bill, Local Government Affairs and Free Settlement Area Bill, Slums Bill and Group Areas Amendment Bill, were tabled in Parliament (Cilliers, 1989). Hereafter the legislation regarding Section 19 areas were amended to allow disqualified persons to trade in such areas without a permit (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987). This however did not apply to the entire CBD but only Section 19 areas. By 1988 there were 90 free trade areas (open CBDs), half of which were in the Cape Province (Lemon, 1991). The Free Settlement Areas Act, which allowed racial mixing to occur with government sanction (Elder, 1990), was passed in 1989 and the Separate Amenities Act was repealed in 1990. The Group Areas Act was eventually repealed in 1991, which

meant that people of all races could live and trade where they liked without a permit.

In the study areas Indians were accommodated in white areas with a permit and were threatened from time to time with eviction. It is important to note that when CBDs were opened only those blacks already located in the CBD benefitted as premises were not always available for new traders to move in.

The Group Areas Act was an unnecessary intrusion upon normal residential settlement patterns (Urban Foundation, 1990b). The four study areas prove this as Indians managed to remain in white areas. Therefore grey areas have been a part of small urban centres for many years.

#### 4.6 INFORMAL SEGREGATION 1950-1991

The Group Areas Act was the main factor controlling spatial distribution between 1950 and 1991 and therefore informal measures were not as prevalent as in the pre-1950 period. The availability of permits did, however, play an important role where no group areas existed for Indians. The government could either grant or deny permits. This, however, depended on the municipality who could either recommend that the permit be granted to the applicant or denied. In this way the municipality indirectly controlled the spatial distribution of the Indians.

In the Indian group areas no permit was required so Indians could live and trade anywhere within the area. Depending on socio-economic status, they could live in low, middle or high class sections of the area. Affordability was therefore an important factor. Voluntary segregation, the availability and affordability of property can be regarded as factors influencing spatial distribution in both large and small urban centres. After the repeal of the Group Areas Act, economic competitiveness in the housing market will become important.

As shown, the Group Areas Act determined the spatial distribution of all race groups in South Africa. The city structure that arose because of group area policies will now be examined to determine where in the apartheid city Indians were supposed to be located.

## 4.7 URBAN STRUCTURE OF SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES AFTER 1950

### 4.7.1 Introduction

The segregation or colonial city that came about prior to 1950 was examined in Chapter 3. This section will look at the morphology of cities and the models applicable to the post-1950 period. The first model is that of the apartheid city model that developed after the introduction of the Group Areas Act. The second model, the modernized apartheid city model, applies to the period after 1986 and can be identified as an intermediate stage, when legislation was not strictly enforced. No model for the post apartheid period, after the repeal of the Group Areas Act, was found in the literature. However, the possible structure has been examined by Lemon (1991) and Smith (1992) and will be discussed below.

The work on cities by Davies (1981), Western (1986), Simon (1989), Lemon (1991) and Smith (1992) are important as these can be related to this study to see if the location of the Indian community in the four urban centres conform to the spatial distribution and structure proposed by these authors. Furthermore the models developed by Davies (1981) and Simon (1989) can be used to see if the four study areas, with reference to the Indians, changed from segregated cities to apartheid cities.

### 4.7.2 The Apartheid city

In the apartheid city (Figure 4.1) each race group was required by the Group Areas Act to live and trade in its own government proclaimed area (Pickard-Cambridge, 1987). No racially mixed areas were allowed. Unlike the segregation city model the apartheid city was more structured and highly segregated. The city, inherited from the colonial era (Christopher, 1987a) had to be reshaped and reordered, by means of relocation policies to increase segregation (Lemon, 1991, Christopher, 1988, Simon, 1984b).

According to Davies (1981) the apartheid city had to conform to a number of planning criteria. It is important to mention these as it will be helpful to know what the government had in mind when zoning proposals were made in the four study areas. Each race group had to have its own residential area with sufficient space for future development. No racially mixed areas would be allowed. Strong natural or man-made barriers had to separate group areas and if neither were available open space could be used as buffer zones to prevent contact and interaction between races. A sectoral design was ideal as it would allow for travel routes that minimized movement through other group areas. Each race group had to have access to and from the central work area where interaction between groups was

permissible (Davies, 1981).

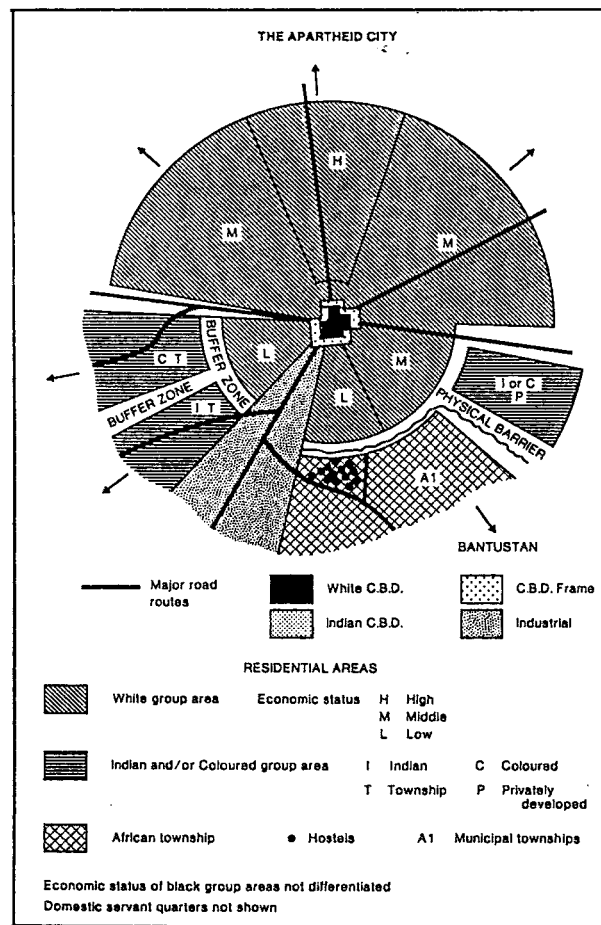


Figure 4.1 The Apartheid city model

Source: Lemon, 1991, 12

The apartheid city should also have a separate CBD for the Indians located close to the edge of the white CBD. White residential areas, were differentiated according to socio-economic status and thus resembled first world cities (Davies, 1981). The main characteristics of the apartheid city were therefore separate group areas and separate trade areas with buffer zones between areas of different races.

Remnants of the segregation city, such as racially mixed areas, remained after the introduction of apartheid policies. The apartheid city and the segregation city have shared characteristics. Segregation is common to both models but was enforced by law in the apartheid era. The result was not uniformly structured cities. Rather physical, historical, economic, social and political factors have brought about cities that are varied in specific spatial structure (Lemon, 1991) but that share common principles.

### 4.7.3 The Modernized Apartheid city

Simon (1989) referred to Davies's apartheid city model but amended it to make provision for the changes that had taken place since 1981. The Group Areas Act was applied less stringently after 1986 and reform measures that included the desegregation of amenities, mixed residential areas, free trade areas and free settlement areas were introduced. Simon's modernized apartheid city includes free trade areas and open residential areas (see Figure 4.2) which were obviously absent from Davies's apartheid city model.

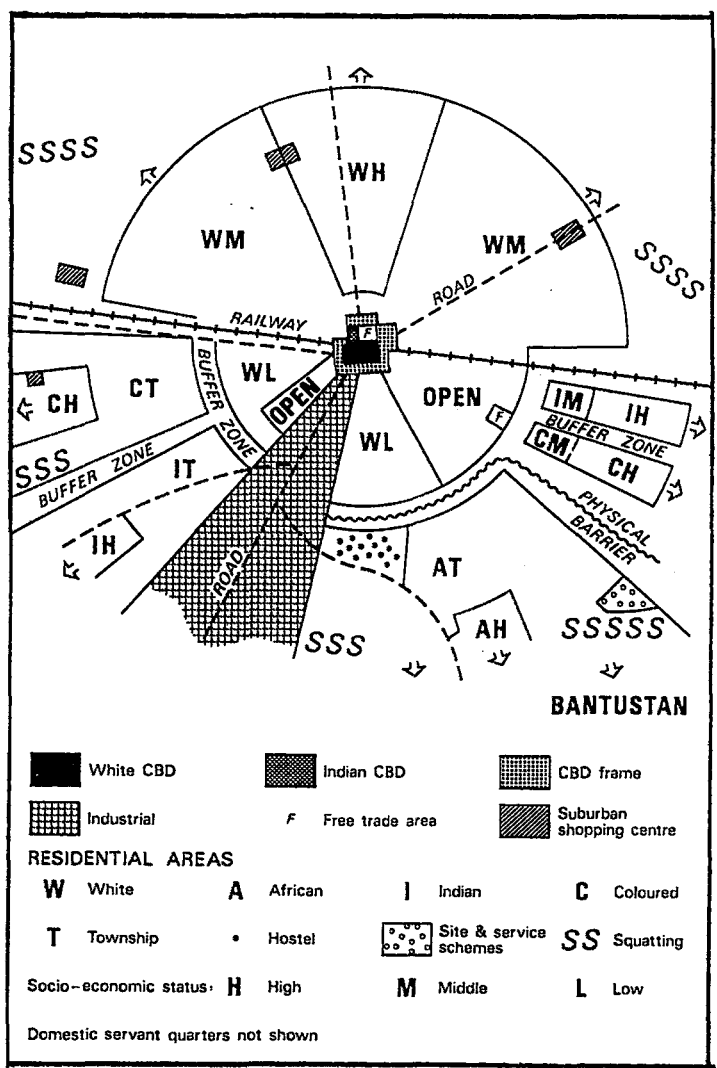


Figure 4.2 The Modernized Apartheid city

Source: Simon, 1989, 193

### 4.7.4 The Post-Apartheid City

The repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1991 has not resulted in instant racial integration but has initiated a gradual process of change that will be influenced by the spatial patterns that were created

by apartheid (Christopher, 1990). Since the pattern of racial residential segregation is unlikely to change in the near future (Elder, 1990), the shadow of apartheid will be evident in the geography of the South African city for decades to come (Wills, 1991).

While the simple repeal of the Group Areas Act has not yet resulted in major structural changes within the South African city, the actions of the apartheid government will be important in determining the structure of the post-apartheid city. Whatever the nature of these actions, the level of segregation is expected to decline (Smith, 1992). Studies on post-colonial cities can be helpful in predicting future scenarios and the spatial distribution of Indians within the post-apartheid city. In post-colonial cities segregation remained long after independence (Simon, 1984b) and racial segregation was replaced by class stratification. In Windhoek the repeal of the Group Areas Act was not followed by immediate integration (Simon, 1991). Therefore, as mentioned earlier, integration will be a slow process. It is predicted that grey areas will become greyer and new racially mixed areas will be created. European areas in post-colonial cities became Black upper class areas after the whites left (Winters, 1982). In South Africa the future of white areas depends on whether whites remain or leave. Indians and coloureds are likely to move into white residential areas while Blacks move into white, Indian and coloured areas. The poor will remain segregated as only those who can climb the socio-economic ladder will be able to move into better residential areas (Smith, 1992). Smith (1992) also argues that segregation will be maintained informally in conservative towns by local authorities, who will acquire an important role in structuring their cities. The South African city, in the future will thus possibly revert to a combination of the segregation city model and the apartheid city model.

#### 4.8 CONCLUSION

"One is one's address" (Western, 1981, 80) and "People are place and place is people" (Hart, 1988, 625) sums up the goal of the Group Areas Act. Blacks were forced to move from homes and businesses occupied for many years. With the introduction of the Act spatial distribution was no longer determined by social and economic forces but rather by law. The Group Areas Act, as demonstrated in the discussion of the models, has had spatial implications (Maharaj, 1992) as it has reshaped the urban landscape dramatically (Pirie, 1986). Segregation increased over time with indices of segregation approaching 100% (Lemon, 1987).

Christopher (1987a, 1988), Davies (1981) and Western (1981) all argue that the Group Areas Act became the most important factor controlling spatial distribution in both metropolitan and small urban

centres after 1950. Chapter 7 will examine the implementation of the Group Areas Act in the four study areas to see if it restricted Indian movement or if it confined Indians to segregated areas. The spatial distribution of Indians within the urban structure that emerged after 1950 will be assessed.

### Endnotes

- 1) Grahamstown Municipal File No. G6/1, volume 1.
- 2) Pachai, 1988, Uitenhage Indian Management Committee File No. I.5 (a) volume 9), pages 1-2.

## CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY FOR ASCERTAINING INDIAN SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE FOUR STUDY AREAS

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will outline and discuss the methods used to determine the spatial distribution of the Indian community in the four study areas. The sources used and the problems encountered in the data collection will be examined. Five objectives were set for determining the spatial distribution and the factors affecting that distribution. These are:

1. Determine the spatial distribution of the four Indian communities from 1880 to 1991. Collect data from directory and municipal sources of information;
2. Graphically represent the data on maps;
3. Uncover and describe patterns and changes in the spatial distribution of the Indian communities over time, using the maps produced;
4. Determine the factors that influenced the spatial distribution by using archival and municipal records and files, newspaper articles, interviews and the work of other authors;
5. Compare the spatial distribution of the four Indian communities and discuss the findings, relating this to the models of South African cities described previously.

Primary sources of information shown in Table 5.1 were used for both the first and fourth objective of the study. All the sources used to determine the spatial distribution in each study area are summarized in Table 5.2. These sources together with the problems encountered in the research process will be discussed, in an attempt to give the reader an idea of the complexity of the data collection. It must be pointed out that despite the problems encountered with the data and the compilation of the maps, the maps clearly show the spatial distribution of the majority of Indians in each urban centre. Interviews and the cross referencing of data and maps were methods used to corroborate accuracy in the study. Before discussing the sources used to determine the spatial distribution, the sources used to determine the factors affecting the spatial distribution will be mentioned.

Table 5.1 Directory and Municipal sources

Source	Source Type	Location of Source
Directory sources used for spatial distribution maps	Commercial directories	Rhodes University Library, Cory Library for Historical Research, Port Elizabeth Main Library, Kaffrarian Museum, East London Museum
	Telephone directories	Rhodes University Library, Cory Library for Historical Research, The Drostdy Museum
	Town directories	Cory Library for Historical Research, Kaffrarian Museum, The Drostdy Museum, Port Elizabeth Main Library, The Daily Representative newspaper office
Municipal records used for spatial distribution maps	Rates:-annual analysis interim	Municipalities, Cape Archives, Intermediate Archives Depot
	Property valuation and assessment rolls	Municipalities, Cape Archives
	Property transfer register	Municipalities, Cape Archives
	Electricity payment records	Municipalities, Cape Archives
	Water cash books	Cape Archives
	Road tax register	Cape Archives
	Voter's roll	Cory Library for Historical Research, Cape Archives, Albany Museum
	Municipal files	Municipalities, Intermediate Archives Depot
Sources used for determining factors influencing spatial distribution	Archival files	Cape Archives
	Interviews	Municipal staff and members of Indian community
	Municipal files	Municipalities, Cape Archives, Intermediate Archives Depot
	Newspaper articles	Rhodes University Library, Cory Library for Historical Research, E.P. Herald Library

## 5.2 SOURCES USED TO DETERMINE THE FACTORS AFFECTING SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

Archival and municipal files, newspaper articles and interviews were used to determine the factors influencing the spatial distribution of the four Indian communities and are briefly discussed below. Another important source of information was research undertaken by various authors. For a detailed discussion on the literature consulted refer to Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

### 5.2.1 Archival files

Selected archival files were consulted at the Cape Archives Depot. These covered the period 1860-1950 and provided information on the arrival and settlement of Indians in South Africa, laws affecting Indians in the Cape Province and the degree of racial discrimination that existed. There were also files specific to each of the study areas, dealing with municipal matters such as municipal regulations.

### 5.2.2 Municipal files

The group areas correspondence files for each study area provided information on what happened in terms of the Group Areas Act. The files included correspondence between the municipalities, the government and its boards and the Indian communities dealing with group areas and other related matters. For example, urban renewal, Indian housing, Indian areas, group area proposals and proclamations. The Indian Management Committee minutes (1973-1991) for Uitenhage were also consulted (see Appendix A1). The information gathered from the files was related to the distribution maps to see if the Group Areas Act influenced the spatial distribution of the four Indian communities. The files for the period 1949-1991 were held by the municipalities except for King William's Town where the files (1949-1972) were missing and Uitenhage where the files (1941-1968) were held by the Intermediate Archives Depot (Port Elizabeth).

The Department of Development and Provincial Affairs was approached for information regarding group areas in the four study areas but permission to release this information was denied as the Department perceived the information as confidential. However, the municipal group areas correspondence files together with the interviews provided the information required.

### 5.2.3 Newspaper articles

Newspaper articles (see Table 5.1) were used to extract information on group area proposals and proclamations. The articles consulted were also useful as they provided an indication of government, municipal and Indian intentions and opinions.

### 5.2.4 Interviews

Interviews were conducted as another method of explaining why Indians lived and traded where they did and to check the accuracy of the data collected. Personnel from the four municipalities were interviewed to determine their role in implementing the Group Areas Act. The questions were open-ended and aimed at finding out the spatial distribution of the Indian communities and the proposals and proclamation of Indian residential and trade areas.

Interviews were also conducted with members of the four Indian communities. Open-ended questions were asked to provide information on why and how changes in location had occurred. These interviews were not useful as the Indian community failed to give accurate information especially for the period prior to 1980 and their responses did not always correspond to the information found in the group areas correspondence files.

### 5.3 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION DATA

Directory and municipal sources of information provided data on the spatial distribution of the four Indian communities (see Table 5.2). Names, addresses and other details, such as occupation or commercial activities, pertaining to the Indian community were gathered for the period 1880-1991 at intervals of approximately five years (1880, 1885, 1890, etc.). The year 1880 was chosen as this was the period after which Indians arrived in the Cape Province. The data collected from the directory sources were compared to the data gathered from the municipal sources and the most detailed were selected. That which had the most Indian names was chosen. Data from the various sources were also combined where possible to make the data more accurate. For example data for the same year from the East London Frontier Red Book and the General Directory of South Africa were combined with data collected from the rates records. Data collected for different years were also combined (for example 1925, 1926 and 1927). The years chosen for each centre are not the same as Table 5.3 shows but are as close as possible to ensure comparability. Choosing the years depended on the availability of data and the accuracy of that data. For example the year 1965 was chosen for Grahamstown instead of 1960 as the source/s of information was more reliable than that of 1960 (Table 5.3).

Table 5.2 Sources used for spatial distribution maps

	GRAHAMSTOWN	KING WILLIAM'S TOWN	QUEENSTOWN	UITENHAGE
DIRECTORY SOURCES	1905/6 Slater's Grahamstown Year Book and Directory 1907/8 Slater's Grahamstown Year Book and Directory 1921 Port Elizabeth - Midlands Directory 1921 Donaldson and Braby's Cape Directory 1935 Cape Times Directory 1933 Telephone Directory 1935 South African Indian Who's Who Directory 1945 Cape Times Directory 1950 Cape Times Directory 1949/50 Eastern Province Directory 1965 Grahamstown Directory 1972 Grahamstown Directory 1983 Telephone Directory 1991 Telephone Directory	1899 General Directory of South Africa 1905 General Directory of South Africa 1908 East London & Frontier Red Book 1910 East London & Frontier Red Book 1925 East London & Frontier Red Book 1925 Dennis Edward's Business Directory of Southern and Central Africa 1925 Donaldson Cape Directory 1935 East London & Frontier Red Book 1948 East London & Frontier Red Book 1950 Cape Times Directory 1955 Telephone Directory 1955 Cape Times Directory 1960 Cape Times Directory 1990/1 Braby's King William's Town Directory	1905 General Directory of South Africa 1906 East London & Frontier Red Book 1908 East London & Frontier Red Book 1925 East London & Frontier Red Book 1925 Donaldson Cape Directory 1935 East London & Frontier Red Book 1950 Cape Times Directory 1960 Queenstown Directory 1970 Queenstown Directory 1981 Queenstown Directory 1991 Telephone Directory	1921 Port Elizabeth - Midlands Directory 1950 Cape Times Directory 1949/50 Eastern Province Directory 1952 Donaldson's Port Elizabeth - Uitenhage Directory 1952 Uitenhage Residential Directory, Business Guide and Year Book 1960 Cape Times Directory 1991 Telephone Directory
MUNICIPAL RECORDS	1897 Voter's roll 1899 Municipal rates 1903 Voter's roll 1905-9 Municipal rates 1924/5 Voter's roll 1927 Valuation roll 1927/8 Voter's roll 1933/4 Voter's roll 1935 Voter's roll 1945 Valuation roll 1949 List of Indian property owners 1951 List of Non-Whites in White group areas 1972 List of Indians in White group areas 1972 List of Indians in White and Coloured group areas 1991 Electricity payment printout	1984 Survey of Indian community undertaken by the municipality 1991 List of Indian occupiers in white residential areas 1991 Electricity payment printout	1967 List of Indian property owners and occupiers 1991 Rates	1974 List of Indians in and outside Indian group area 1978 Petition by Indians 1983 List of Indian names and other details 1984 Survey of Indian community 1985 List of Indians with trading licences 1991 Electricity payment printout
ARCHIVAL RECORDS	1899-1903 Municipal rates 1925 Water rates 1933/5 Property owner's register	1905/6 Valuation roll		1895 Rates 1896/8 Assessment roll 1900 Assessment roll 1901 Rates 1905 Assessment roll 1908/10 Assessment roll 1915 Rates 1916/7 Assessment roll 1927/9 Rates 1952 Group Area survey 1961/2 List of Indian owned and occupied property 1966 List of Indians with trading licences

Note: Directory, municipal and archival sources listed in Table 5.2 are referenced at the end.

Table 5.3 Years chosen for spatial distribution maps

GRAHAMSTOWN	KING WILLIAM'S TOWN	QUEENSTOWN	UITENHAGE
1899-1909	1899-1910		1895-1905
		1905-1908	1910
			1915-1917
1921			1921
1927	1925	1925	1927
1935	1935	1935	
1945			
1950	1950	1950	1952
	1955		
1965	1960	1960	1960-1966
1972	1972	1970	1974-1978
1983	1984	1981	1984
1991	1991	1991	1991

### 5.3.1 Problems encountered with the spatial distribution data collection

The general problems encountered during the data collection from the directory and municipal sources will now be discussed. It was difficult, when collecting the names of Indian residents, to distinguish between Muslim and Malay names. For example a surname such as Mohamed could be Muslim or Malay. If the name was Malay it would have to be left out since the study excludes the Malay community who are not classified as Indian. Where uncertainty existed all the names were collected and later, through interviews, it was established if the families were Muslim or Malay. If this could not be determined the names were plotted and indicated as either Muslim or undetermined.

A further problem occurred when a resident's name appeared in one source but not in another. In some cases, where Indians had three names and used two, confusion resulted. For example if the person's name was Ragha Kara Morar, it could appear in the information sources as Ragha Morar, Morar Kara or Kara Ragha and it could be misinterpreted as being different people's names. Occasionally an Indian's name would only appear for the first time many years after he had arrived in the urban centre. It was also difficult to determine from business names if the business belonged to an Indian or not. In most cases Indian businesses were named after the owner, for example Parbhoo's Fruiterer, but Imperial Bakery, Express Dry Cleaners or Harry's Shoe Repairs posed a problem. In some of the directories where the name of the proprietor was given this problem was eliminated. Since most Indians resided on their business premises, business addresses could be compared to Indian residential

addresses. If the addresses were the same one could assume that the business belonged to an Indian. If the same person's name appeared twice with two different addresses, the one address could be regarded as the residential and the other as the business address. For example, in King William's Town, Nathoo Morar was listed twice with two addresses; 71 Cambridge Road and 98 Alexandra Road. It was often not possible to determine which was residential and which was commercial unless reference was made to other sources of information. However this did not affect the study in any way as the aim was to plot every Indian occupied property rather than determine whether the property was residential or commercial. It is vital to note that the sources of information were used in combination and each source was cross referenced wherever possible to ensure that all the data collected and presented was as accurate as possible.

### 5.3.2 Directory Sources

As Table 5.1 indicates, three types of directories were consulted. Various local libraries and museums held these directory sources: commercial directories, telephone directories and town directories.

#### a) Commercial Directories

The commercial directories provided the names and addresses of businessmen in each urban centre and also gave an indication of the type of commercial activity conducted. Most of these directories also had a listing of each centre's residents. The resident listing was preferred, as the commercial directory section often only listed the most prominent Indian businesses. The East London Frontier Red Book (1924) for King William's Town (see Figure 5.1 below) can be used to illustrate this problem. Figure 5.1 shows page 563 which gives the names of three Indian fruiterers but in the commercial directory section, page 577, none of these names appear under the fruiterer listing. Instead, the name of an Indian who is both a fruiterer and general dealer is listed. Despite this, the names were collected from the resident listing of the directories as most Indians were businessmen and resided on their business premises. This was an excellent source of information as the majority of Indians in each centre could be traced.

**TRANSKEI TRADING CO., Queenstown, for Ladies' Black  
Cordovan and White Cotton Stockings.**

Moore, W., Wagon Maker, 95 Buffalo Road  
 Morali Kara, Fruiterer, 71 Cambridge Road  
 Morgan, H., Basket Maker, 3 Bank St.; res., 37 Durban Street  
 Morgan, C., Editor, "Cape Mercury," 61 Alexandra Road  
 Morgan, F. B., Motorist, 13 Cathcart Street  
 Moriarty, D., Printer, 61, Victoria Street  
 Morris and Mowlem, Agricultural Implement Dealers and Motor Garage  
 Taylor Street and Maclean Square  
 Morris, H. M., Milk Vendor, 2, Alice Street  
 Morwood, R., Salesman, 8 Queen's Street  
 Morwood, R. G., Machinist, Reserve Road  
 Mourant, E. C., 16 Arthur Street  
 Mowlem, J., Merchant, Hill Street  
 Muir, D., Plumber, 65 Alice Street  
 Muller, G., Confectioner, 29 Thomas Street  
 Muller, F. J., S.A.P., Reserve  
 Muller, F. C., 2 Pottinger Street  
 Mullin, J. H. P., Dipping Tank Inspector, Balasi.  
 Mullin, T. B., Court Messenger, Goold Street  
 Mullin Bros., Dairymen, White's Farm, Reserve  
 Munday, W., General Dealer, 54 Louisa Street  
 Mundell, J., 35 Alice Street  
 Mundell, Mrs. W., 36, Buffalo Road  
 Mundell, H. W., 35, Victoria Street  
 Murgatroyd, F., Electrician, 39 Market Street  
 Murray, E. P., Divisional Council Inspector  
 Murray, Miss G., 33 Amatola Row  
 Murray, H. W., Solicitor, Downing Street res., Ballassi Mill

National Bank, Maclean Street  
 Nathoo, M., Fruiterer, 71 Cambridge Road  
 Nathoo, M., Fruiterer, 98 Alexandra Road  
 Naude, J. A., Fishmonger, 70 Buffalo Road  
 Naude, T. J., 8 Alice Street  
 Naude, S. P., 15 McKinnon Street  
 Naude, J. H. A., Machinist, 122 Alexandra Road  
 Naude, S. J., 10 Louisa Street  
 Naude, F. J. W., Clicker, 24 McKinnon Street  
 Navro, H., Farmers' Supply Stores, Fleet Street  
 Nel, A. H., Sexton, Cemetery, 15 Goold Street  
 Nel, J., Butcher, 14 Peter Street  
 Nel, Mrs. A., 31 Wodehouse Street  
 Nel, P. J., Blacksmith, 95 Buffalo Road  
 Nel, I. F., 31 Thomas Street  
 Nel, J., 28 Alice Street  
 Nelson, G. A., 21 Cambridge Road  
 Nelson, Y. C., 18 Berkley Street  
 Nettleton, Miss M., 31 Amatola Row  
 Newby, L. B. Sec., British Kaffraria Savings Bank, Maclean Square;  
 res., 6 Innes Street  
 Newcombe, P. A., 6 Pottinger Street  
 Newell, C., Draper, Reserve Road  
 Newell Bros., Drapers and Outfitters, Maclean Square  
 Niagara Mineral Waterworks (Bluett, R. W.), Alexandra Road  
 Nicholson, J. H., Printer and Decorator, 53 Alexandra Rd.; res.,  
 41 Thomas Street  
 Nicol, J., Govt. Veterinary Surgeon, Reserve Road  
 Nieuwhoudt, C., Gaol Guard, Reserve Road  
 Ninneman, A., Storeman, 80 Louisa Street

**TRANSKEI TRADING CO., Queenstown, for Bull Dog Shawls,  
60 x 64in. and 66 x 70in.**

## Dairies.

Brooks, H., New street  
 Honey, C. W., Peter street  
 Kidson, M., L., 13 Thomas street  
 Kopke, C., 42 Henry street  
 Land, J. R., Buffalo road  
 Morris, H. M., 2 Alice street  
 Mullin Bros., Reserve, White's Farm  
 Quickelberg, E., 26, Arthur street

## Dental Surgeons.

Briggs & Halley, Alexandra road  
 Frere, C. C., 25 Taylor street  
 Sharpe, J., Theatre buildings  
 Spencer, G. Ross, Library buildings

## Doctors.

Brownlee, Dr. J. I., 74 Alexandra rd  
 Burton, Dr. A. W., 37 Ayliff street  
 Bligh Wall, Dr. C. P., District Sur-  
 geon, Sun buildings  
 Gutsche, Dr. P., Downing street  
 Pringle, Dr. R. N., M.O.H., Alexan-  
 dra road  
 Schulze, Dr. C. F., 29 Ayliff st.

## Drapers and Outfitters.

Baker, Baker & Co., Maclean st.  
 Beauchamp Booth & Co., Maclean st.  
 CUTHBERT & CO., LTD., 108 Cam-  
 bridge road (see advt.)  
 Gibberd, Bryant & Co., Maclean st.  
 Newell Bros., Cambridge road  
 Owen & Son, 17, Maclean street  
 Wilken, Mrs. I., corner Cambridge rd.  
 and Leopold st.  
 Wilken, S., Market square

## Engineers and Machinists.

Boorman, P., 22, Thomas street  
 Burton & Co., Arthur street  
 Cavanagh, J., Fleet street  
 Fischer, T. J. P., Market street  
 Linstrom, C., Alexandra road  
 MORRIS & MOWLEM, Taylor st. (see  
 advt.)  
 Symons, R., Buffalo road  
 Young, W. J. A., 15 Amatola Row

## Fancy Goods Dealers.

Baker, Baker & Co., Downing st  
 Jay, C. P., & Co., 8 Maclean st.  
 Werner Bros., Maclean street

## Farriers

Cavanagh, J., Fleet street  
 Lawson, A., Bridge street

## Fishmongers.

Naude, J. A., Buffalo road  
 Solomon J. 97 Cambridge road

## Fruiterers.

Gonar, L. & Co., 128, Alexandra road  
 Maude, E. C., 108 Cambridge road  
 Rowles Bros., 122 Cambridge road

## Garages.

Burton & Co., Union Garage, Arthur st  
 KAFFRARIAN MOTOR MART,  
 Taylor street (see advt.)  
 MORRIS & MOWLEM, Maclean sq.  
 (see advt.)  
 Prinsloo, J., 15 Market street  
 Symons, R., Buffalo road

## General Dealers.

Albrecht, F. F., 100 Cambridge road  
 Assness, Mrs. A. M., Buffalo road  
 Ballack, G., 24 Louisa street  
 Blumberg, Bros., Market square  
 Born, H., 2 Berkley street  
 Chideckel, D., Market sq.  
 Cohen Bros., 1 Goold st.  
 Crawford, A., 3 Durban st.  
 Devantier, J., Brownlee's Station  
 Edelstein, M. & Co., 26 Market sq.  
 Garner, D. G., 101 Cambridge road  
 Gonar, L. & Co., 128 Alexandra road  
 Handson, C. & Co., Cambridge road  
 Izally, J., 75 Cambridge road  
 Izralieth Mrs. E., 82 Alexander road  
 Kabelsky, I., 48 Smith st.  
 Klein, S., 58 Reserve road  
 Mardon, A. C. J., 57 Cambridge road  
 Meier, J., Mrs., Bridge st.  
 Meinke, O., 15 Mount street, and 73  
 Louisa street  
 Radue, 45 Reserve road  
 Simpson, A., 1 Amatola row  
 Werner, P., 35 and 37 Buffalo road  
 Wilken, S., 60 Buffalo road  
 Wilken, Mrs. I., 106 Cambridge road  
 Williams & Co., 56 Alexandra rd.

## Gunsmiths.

Donian, O., Market st.  
 Fischer, T. J. P., Market street

Figure 5.1 King William's Town: Commercial Directory

Source: East London Frontier Red Book, 1924, Standard Printing Company, East London, 563, 577.

The only specifically Indian commercial directory consulted was the "South African Indian Who's Who Directory". The most prominent members of each community were listed and biographical details given. Figure 5.2 shows extracts from this directory.





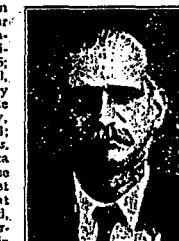

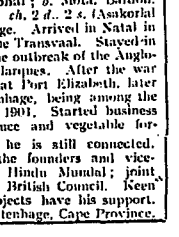
<p><b>DHIKHA</b> Kalan ; b. Bombay City, 1883; <i>educ.</i> Bombay. Came to South Africa in 1902, settling at Port Elizabeth. Opened own business in Port Elizabeth, traded for 15 years; transferred business interests to Uitenhage, started as general dealer at which he is now engaged. Has large landed in- terests both in Port Elizabeth and Uiten- hage. <i>Public activities</i> : Former chairman, Cape British Indian Council (Uitenhage branch); ex-chairman, Uitenhage Hindu Mundal. Has always aided all deserving objects, and is widely respected by all sections of the com- munity. <i>Address</i> : (Business) 16, Dale St. (Hes.) 13, Philip St., Uitenhage, Cape Province.</p>		<p><b>TIRY</b>, Sheikh Allie ; b. Mahad, dist Kolaba ; <i>educ.</i> Mahad and Uiten- hage. Settled in Uitenhage. Started business in the meat trade, proprietor of Cosmopolitan Butchery. <i>Public activities</i> : Committee member of the Cape British Indian Council. Has taken a prominent part in all matters affecting the Indian community. Is a liberal donor to all deserving movements. Travelled extensively both in India and the Union. <i>Address</i> : 335, Caledon St., Phone 161 Tel. Address : "Tiry," Uitenhage, Cape Province.</p>	
<p><b>NAGAN</b>, Munlen Samy ; b. Port Louis, Mauritius, 1881. 3 children: Soo- bramoney, Lutchmeo &amp; Moorgasan (wife of G. Doraswami). Came to South Africa in 1896, landed at Durban. After a short stay in Durban went to Jo- hannesburg, stayed till the outbreak of the Boer War, and then came to Port Elizabeth. Later proceeded to Cradock, where started business as a general dealer, conducting it for three years. Transferred business interests to Queenstown, where he carried on the largest Indian business in that area, afterwards moved to Graham- stown. In 1913 took up permanent residence in Port Elizabeth, where he has since been engaged in business. Is also a large property owner. <i>Public activities</i> : Commenced in the Transvaal, one of those who started and became its treas., the Mauritius Hindu Friendly Society, which was registered with the Transvaal Republic. In Port Elizabeth he has been connected with all public affairs affecting Indians; was treas. of the Cape British Indian Council (Port Elizabeth branch) for many years; has been one of the trustees of the Siva Soobramonium Ayalam; former presdt., Saraswati Educational Institute, now its v.-presdt. <i>Address</i> : 53a-55, South Union St., Port Elizabeth, Cape Province</p>		<p><b>SONNE</b>, Kalanje Pursotham; b. Kurel Supa; dist. Navasari, 1879. Came to South Africa in 1902, first stayed in Cape Town, after two years' resi- dence in Vryburg, where started general dealer's business, went to Grahamstown, in 1907, where opened business as general dealer; he is proprie- tor of the African Laundry. In India follows the occupation of a goldsmith and farmer. <i>Public work</i> : Was chairman of the British Indian Assocn., Grahams- town, and has been prominently connected, since the commencement of his stay, with the public work of the city. <i>Address</i> : 2, Cobden St., Phone 367, Grahamstown, Cape Province. (In India) Kurel Supa, Post Munsad, via Navasari, Bombay, India.</p>	
<p><b>NAIDOO</b>, Marayan Joseph; b. Palangatur, Nagpur, dist. Coimba- tore, Madras Presi- dency, December, 1875; <i>educ.</i> private school, Nagpur; married only daughter of the late Arumugam Chetty, Grahamstown, in 1901; 8 children, 3 d., 5 s. Came to South Africa in 1896, settled in Cape Province. First conducted business at De Aar and Rosemead, eventually took up per- manent residence in Grahamstown, where in business as general dealer and wholesale produce merchant. <i>Public work</i> : Has been connected with all matters affecting the Indian community, of which he is one of its leading and respected members. One of the founders of the Grahamstown British Indian Assocn., presdt. since its inception 1906-1922. Has travelled widely both in South Africa and in India. Keen on education, having three of his sons educated at St. Joseph's College, Ceylon, two of whom are engaged in legal studies. <i>Address</i> : 9, New St., Phone 215, Tel., "Naidoo," Grahamstown, Cape Province.</p>		<p><b>GAJJAR</b>, Laloo Trikamdas; b. Vedchha dist. Surat, 1883; <i>educ.</i> Vedchha. Two daughters and five sons, Maganlal, Chotalal, Naginlal, Harilal and Kalyanjee. Came to South Africa in 1905, first settled in Cape Town, a year afterwards moved to Uitenhage, where he started business as fruit and vegetable forwarding agent; has two branch stores, also a cabinet and furniture manufacturing department. <i>Public activities</i> : One of the leading Indian public men in this area, and has always been associated with all matters affecting the Indian community; presdt., Uitenhage Hindu Mundal, repsd. this centre at the Hindu Maha Sabha Conference in Durban, 1934; v.-presdt., Cape British Indian Council. <i>Address</i> : 4, John St., Phone 184, Uitenhage, Cape Province.</p>	
		<p><b>DHIKHA BHA I</b>, Karabhal; b. Mota, Bardoli; dist. Surat, 1865; <i>educ.</i> Mota. ch. 2 d., 2 s. (Ankorlal and Maganlal), born Uitenhage. Arrived in Natal in 1895 and then proceeded to the Transvaal. Stayed in Sprengers for three years. At the outbreak of the Anglo- Boer War went to Lourecoo Marquas. After the war came to the Cape, residing at Port Elizabeth, later deciding to proceed to Uitenhage, being among the first Indians to settle there, 1901. Started business as general dealer and produce and vegetable for- warding agent, with which he is still connected. <i>Public activities</i> : One of the founders and vice- chairman of the Uitenhage Hindu Mundal; joint chairman of the Cape British Indian Council. Keen on education, all worthy objects have his support. <i>Address</i> : 112, Market St., Uitenhage, Cape Province.</p>	

Figure 5.2 Example of entries in "South African India. Who's Who Directory"

Source: Bramdaw, D. (editor), 1935: South African Indian Who's Who Directory, The Natal Witness, Ltd, Pietermaritzburg, Pages 42, 43, 104, 110, 127, 146, 155, 168.

### b) Telephone Directories

The telephone directories consulted listed the names and addresses of people who owned telephones and therefore did not cover the entire Indian community in each urban centre. Directories for the period prior to 1950 could not be found. Only two directories for the 1950's were found in the Cory Library for Historical Research (see Table 5.1). However directories for the post-1980 period were available. Some of the Indian names found in the Telephone Directory for 1955 are given below in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Grahamstown, King William's Town and Uitenhage: Examples of Indian names from Telephone Directory 1955

URBAN CENTRE	NAME	ADDRESS	NUMBER
Grahamstown	Du Mora, Outfitters, Shoes, Drapery	17 High Street	567
	Dullabh F, Gnrl Dlr	1 Albany Road	551
	Dullabh G F	3a Market Street	1007
	Dullabh G F	11 High Street	1550
King William's Town	Morar Bros, Gnrl Dlrs, Mchts	15 Durban Street	654
	Morar & Co, Fruitr, Gnrl Dlr	77 Cambridge Road	788
	Do	112 Cambridge Road	386
	Naidoo C K, Fruit Shop	81 Cambridge Road	597
	Nuways Store, Gnrl Dlrs, Fruits	20 Market Square	332
	Parbhoo V J, Gnrl Dlr	Alexandra Road	787
	Patel Bros	28 Market Square	212
Uitenhage	Bhagwan P & Sons, Gnrl Dlr, Greengrocer	3 Constitution Road	1458
	Bhana & Sons	31 Gibbon Street	651
	Bombay Fruiters, Confctnrs, Grcrs	46 Constitution Road	289

Source: Telephone Directory, 1955, Maister Publicity (Pty) Ltd, Cape Town.

### c) Town Directories

Town directories were an accurate source of information as they provided the names and addresses of all the residents and businessmen in each urban centre. At the end of each directory a street directory was also included that showed the occupier's street address. Unfortunately these directories were not available for all four centres, especially for the period prior to 1950. An example of a town directory together with a section from the street directory is given below in Figure 5.3.

Examples of Indian names from Town Directory

Daya H & M 13 High Street

Dullabh F 1 Albany Road 551

Dullabh F 13 Chapel Street

Dullabh G 3a Market Street

Dullabh U F 7 Spring Street 1865

Dullabh G F (Grahamstown Laundry) 9-11 High Street 1550

Du Mora Outfitters 17 High Street 561

Du Mora M 7 Campbell Street

Extract from Street Directory.

CHAPEL STREET (E5)		
2a Steffens, S. J.	13 Dullabh, F.	
3 Mr. Bosman.	14	
4 & 6 Hartwell, F. J. Snr.	15 Levey, R. C.	785
Smith, J. E.	16 Human, N. J.	951
5	17	
6	18	
7 Parker, H.	19	
8 Everton, Mr.	20 Basson, E. M.	
8 Oosthuizen, Izak D.	21	
9 Jekels, A. A.	22 Mrs. Moon.	
10	23	
11 Abboo, B.	24 Mr. Sammy.	
12 Gopal, D.	25 Herselman, H. J.	
13 Opperman, J. V.	Skea, J. Carpenter	1680

HIGH STREET (DE5)		
1 Matthews, G.	24 & 26 Kingston House.	
1, 3 & 5 Handley and Sons:	Hewson, E.	214 & 1383
Butchers: Mr. D. H.	Benson, L. R. P.	
Handley	25 Grand Hotel.	
347 & 397	25 Shanti Stores	1555
2 Walter & Co.	27 Grand Hotel: De Jager.	
2107	J. A. J. No. 9	1822
4 & 6 M. S. Radomsky and	28 Kingston House.	
Co. Mr. Abraham Ra-	29 Grand Hotel, Mr. A. C.	
domsky	Keey	574
113 & 1180	30	
5 See 1 and 3.	31 Miller's Chemist	68
6	32 Central News Agency	1967
7a Kallan, N.	33 Citrus Board. (C. Lom-	
9 & 11 Grahamstown Laun-	bard)	
dry.	33a Crouse, I. M.	
Mr. G. F. Dullabh and	34 Lewis Stores: Pieteron,	
Mr. G. Kallan.	P. J.	1942
8	35 Goodhope Bicycle Ser-	
10	vices: Mr. W. L. Frier	409
12a Ace Cash Store: Pot-	35a Mostert, D.	
gieter, P. P.	36 Hewitt & Palmer:	
12 Gem Stores. Birt, L. F.	P. Bryant	729 & 365
1370	37 Bi-Rite Furnishing Mart	1927
13 Patel, D.	38 Knight & Co. Shoe	
14 A. B. Stores.	Stores: Mr. D. Quick	47
15 Daya, H.	39 Kingsley Motor Services:	
16 E.P. Refrigerator Com-	A. K. Rautenbach	577
pany	40 Grocott & Sherry:	
642	Messrs. T. H. & W. V.	
17 Du Mora, Outfitters	Grocott	36,
567	472, 1221, 1222, 1223	
18 & 20 Dick's Bakery	41 Commemoration Meth-	
50 & 417	odist Church of S.A.	
19 Goodwill Grocers	42/44 Checkers Stores	30
1201		
20 Dick's Bakery.		
21 & 23 Laher, E. H.		
1514		
22 Shaw Hall.		
23 Africa House		
90		
Patel, R. K.		
25, 27 & 29 Grand Hotel		
12		

Figure 5.3 Grahamstown: Town Directory 1965

Source: Grahamstown Publicity Association Directory, 1965, Grahamstown Publicity Association, Grahamstown, 46-7, 88-9 and 99.

### 5.3.3 Municipal Records

Municipal records were another source of information consulted to provide details on the location of the four Indian communities over time. Rates records, valuation or assessment rolls, property transfer registers, electricity payment records, road tax registers and municipal voters rolls were consulted (see Table 5.1). The records for each municipality, for the period prior to 1950, were held by the Cape Archives. Certain files were however kept by the municipalities, as were the records for the period after-1950.

A number of municipal files, such as group area correspondence files, housing files and Indian group area files were also consulted. A list of all the municipal files consulted appears in Appendix A1. These files were held by the four municipalities and the Intermediate Archives Depot (Port Elizabeth). Files for Uitenhage (1941-1967) were found at the Intermediate Archives Depot while the files for King William's Town (1949-1971) had been lost. One group area survey of Uitenhage, was held by the Intermediate Archives Depot. This survey was very useful as it provided the names and details of Indian property owners and tenants. An example of the data extracted from this file, appears in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Uitenhage: Examples of entries taken from Group Area Survey 1952

NAME	DESCRIPTION	SITUATION
D.R. Lalla	laundry & dwelling	Lot A of A3 Cuyler
F.K. Pillay	shop & dwelling	Rem. of 2 of 3 Cuyler
P. Bhagwan	shop & dwelling	Lot 18 of 7 of 17 of 6 Railway

Source: Group Area Survey 1952, File No. 207A, Intermediate Archives Depot, Port Elizabeth.

Annual rates, analysis rates, interim rates, valuation and assessment rolls provided information on property owners and the property owned. Postal addresses or property descriptions (erf numbers, lot numbers and block numbers or letters) and the value of the properties owned were given. The names of occupiers and tenants were also provided in the earlier records as Table 5.6 below illustrates.

Table 5.6 Uitenhage: Names of Indian occupiers of property taken from Rates Records 1895, 1915 and 1927.

SOURCE	WARD	OWNER	OCCUPIER	DESCRIPTION	SITUATION
RATES 1895			Samey Naiken	shop & dwelling	corner of Union Lane and Market Street
RATES 1915	3	Luyt	Ranchod Lalla	shop & dwelling	Erf 3(1/4) John Street Right side down from Caledon to Durban
RATES 1927-1929	3	Luyt	Ranchod Lalla	dwelling	2 John Street

Sources: Rates 1895, File No. 3/UIT, 7/6/8, Cape Archives Depot.

Rates 1915, File No. 3/UIT, 7/6/15, Cape Archives Depot.

Rates 1927-1929, File No. 3/UIT, 7/6/19, Cape Archives Depot.

The analysis rates and interim rates only listed the names of property owners. Often no property descriptions were given in the early annual rates records and only the street name was provided. Table 5.7 illustrates this with an example from the Grahamstown Rates 1905-1909. Appendix A2 shows a photocopy of the original record. Note also that the early records were handwritten which made it difficult to identify names. Nevertheless, analysis, interim and annual rates records used in conjunction with other sources of information created more accurate data.

Table 5.7 Grahamstown: Entries from Rates 1905-9

SITUATION	DESCRIPTION	PROPRIETOR	OCCUPIER
New Street	House	Lappen Arthur. E.	
	Shop	Lamb Juo	Naidoo J.
	Hotel	do	
	House	Tilt H.	Simon H.

Source: Rates 1905-9, Grahamstown Municipality.

Current rate records provided the name of the property owner and the erf number of the property. It was difficult to determine the race of a property owner if it was listed under a company. An example would be Poxkei Pty (King William's Town), Kaytee Investments or Patholm Investments (Queenstown). Property owned by the Community Development Board posed a problem too, as Indian occupiers of such property were not listed except for Queenstown.

Valuation rolls were utilized for King William's Town and Queenstown and were only available for 1965 and 1972 providing the names of property owners, their postal addresses and erf numbers. Table

5.8 and 5.9 show some of the information taken from the Grahamstown Interim General Valuation 1926 and the Grahamstown Valuation Roll 1945. Appendix A3 includes a copy of a page from the Valuation Roll of 1945.

Table 5.8 Grahamstown: Interim General Valuation 1926

OWNER	ADDRESS	OCCUPIER	TENANT	VALUE	SITUATION	DESCRIPTION
Davies, Mrs Emily Silverstone	8 Park Road, Kimberley	Samy, N.S.H.			Ward 4, 24 Chapel Street	dwelling
Dold, Stanley James	Church Square		Pillay V. N.	600	13, 15, 17, 19 High Street	shops
			Charley M.J.	600		
			-	500		
			-	500		
				2200		

Source: Grahamstown Interim General Valuation 1926, Grahamstown Municipality

Table 5.9 Grahamstown: Valuation Roll 1945

NO.	OWNER	ADDRESS	OCCUPIER	SITUATION	DESCRIPTION
348	Daya Harjaven	11 High Street	Patel M.	13 High Street	shop
			Daya M.	15 High Street	shop
			Umley J.	17 High Street	shop
			Belligan & Fry	19 High Street	shop
313	Daya Morar	11 High Street	Jacobs P.	5 Campbell Street	dwelling
			Jasson M.	7 Campbell Street	dwelling

Source: Grahamstown Valuation Roll 1945, Grahamstown Municipality

Assessment rolls were mainly used for Uitenhage as Table 5.2 indicates and provided information on property occupation as shown in Table 5.10 below.

Table 5.10 Uitenhage: Assessment Roll 1905

WARD	OCCUPIER	DESCRIPTION	SITUATION
2	R.S. Naiken	shop & dwelling	Erf 16 next to corner of Union Lane

Source: Uitenhage Assessment Roll, File No. 3/UIT, 6/1/1/7, Cape Archives Depot.

The property transfer register only showed the property transferred and not the property owned in a particular year. They stated the name of the buyer and seller of the property as well as the property's description and the date of transfer (see Table 5.11 and 5.12). This source was used in conjunction with other sources of information.

Table 5.11 King William's Town: Data from Property Transfer Register 1922-1938

BUYER	SELLER	DATE OF TRANSFER	STREET ADDRESS	DESCRIPTION
B. Parbhoo	E. Proctor	21-2-22	Smith Street	Ptn block CG, ward 1
R. Kara & D. Narsai	A. Miles	8-8-34	Alexandra Road	Lot 1, block B
D. Narsai	P. Ngesi	12-4-38	Smith Street	Freehold lot
A. Mahomed	E. Pearce	17-6-38	Berkley Street	Lot 1

Source: King William's Town Property Transfer Register 1921-1928 and 1928-1938, File No. 4/KWT, 6/2/1 and 6/2/2, Cape Archives Depot.

Table 5.12 King William's Town: Data from property transfer register 1967-1991

BUYER	SELLER	DATE OF TRANSFER	DESCRIPTION
N. Ranchod	P. Edwards	10-5-70	Erf 600
L.D. Morar	Community Development Board	8-4-75	Rem. extent of erf 783 & 784
P. Kana et. al	W. Burger	25-5-76	Erf 2494
C. Kockjem	M. & D. Daya Pty Ltd	4-12-81	Rem. extent of erf 787

Source: King William's Town, Property transfer register 1967-1991, King William's Town Municipality.

Computer printouts of electricity payment records were utilized for 1991 to collect the names and addresses or erf numbers of Indian residents in Grahamstown, King William's Town and Uitenhage. These printouts were accurate as they covered the entire community. Early electricity records, which were only found for Grahamstown (1925 and 1930) were used as a reference source as it only listed the names of electricity consumers.

Water cash books were available for Grahamstown and dated: 1902-1909, 1914, 1915, 1918, 1922, 1925 and 1928. Only the names of a few residents and the street names were given and this source was thus used in combination with other sources of information.

A further reference source, road tax registers, were available for Grahamstown and dated 1919-1922, 1923-1926, 1927-1931 and 1932-1935 but were not used. The first two provided the names of tax payers and street names, while the latter two provided street addresses rather than street names which were more accurate.

Municipal voters' rolls were available for Grahamstown and Uitenhage and listed the names, addresses and occupation of voters together with the value of the property owned by the voter (see Table 5.13). To qualify as a voter the resident had to own property to a certain value before being listed on the municipal voters' roll.

Table 5.13 Grahamstown: Voters' Roll 1924-1925.

NUMBER	NAME	OCCUPATION	ADDRESS	VALUE	OWNER/OCCUPIER
70	Deva Mitha	fruiterer	Bathurst Street	350 pounds	occupier
83	Dullab, Fakir	bootmaker	High Street	221 pounds	occupier
183	Kalan, Naisha	laundryman	High Street	164 pounds	occupier
301	I.ala, Deva	bootmaker	High Street	164 pounds	occupier
305	Patel, K. Parbhoo	fruiterer	Bathurst Street	1,020 pounds	occupier
312	Pillav, V. Moonsamy	fruiterer	Spring Street	300 pounds	joint owner
313	Pillay, V. Vljiaragam	fruiterer	Spring Street	300 pounds	joint owner

Source: Grahamstown Voters' Roll 1924-1925, Grocott and Sherry, Grahamstown, Pages 77, 84, 85 and 91, held by 1820 Settlers Museum, Grahamstown.

#### 5.3.4 Sources not consulted

Census enumeration tract records and deed records were not consulted for information relating to the distribution of the four Indian communities. The census enumeration tract records and maps (post-1950), which are held by the Central Statistical Services (CSS), were not consulted because permission to do so was denied by the CSS. These records and maps would have provided detailed information on the spatial distribution of each race group in each enumeration tract of the four urban centres. These same records dated pre-1950 which are held by the State Archives (Pretoria) were also not accessible.

## 5.4 MAP COLLECTION AND COMPILATION

To achieve the second objective of the study, which was to graphically represent the data collected for the different years chosen, maps had to be collected. The maps used included street plans, lot and erf number maps, street address maps, fire insurance plans and group area plans for the period 1890-1991 (see Table 5.14). A discussion of the maps used, the problems encountered with the maps and the mapping process will now follow.

Table 5.14 Maps collected for four urban centres

	STREET PLANS	LOT & ERF NUMBER MAPS	STREET ADDRESS MAPS	FIRE INSURANCE PLANS
GRAHAMSTOWN	1909 1934 1991	1924 1948 1987 1991		1925
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN	1890	1902 1953 1959	1991	
QUEENSTOWN	1991	1907 1991	1991	1926
UITENHAGE	1984 1991	1990	1990	1931

The maps consulted did not all correspond to the dates chosen from the data sources to show the spatial distribution for each study area. All of the maps collected were compared to identify changes in the block shape and the size of each urban centre over time. Examples of the maps collected appear in Figures 5.4 to 5.12.

### 5.4.1 Type of maps consulted

The street plans, lot and erf number maps, street address maps and fire insurance plans were not available for all four centres as Table 5.14 indicates.

Street plans, which show the layout of street blocks and the names of streets, were used as a reference source to provide information on changes in block shapes and street patterns and also to determine the size of each urban centre for different periods in time.

The lot and erf number maps were required as a reference source to plot data with property descriptions of lot and erf numbers and block letters. Three types of maps fell under this category; old

and present day maps showing only erf numbers; compilation noting sheets that showed not only present erf numbers but also old block numbers or letters and old lot and erf numbers; present day erf number maps showing street address numbers (see Figures 5.4-5.12). Early lot and erf number maps were not readily available as Table 5.14 shows. The plotting of data was problematic when erf numbers had changed over time and no maps existed to show when or how the numbers had been altered. Table 5.15, which shows data for 1919, 1973 and 1991 for Queenstown, indicates that the erf numbers changed twice but no map has been found with the erf numbers for the 1973 data. Below Figure 5.4 (Queenstown 1907) and Figure 5.5 (Queenstown 1991) show the street block referred to in Table 5.15.

Table 5.15 Queenstown: Indian Occupants of erf 14 in 1919, 1973 and 1991

DATE	NAME OF OCCUPIER	STREET ADDRESS	SITUATION
1919	Ramasamy Ramie	Bowker Street	Erf 14
1973	D.J. Naidoo	82 Robinson Street	Erf 587-590 (constituting 3690)
1991	D.L. Pillay	10-12 Bowker Street	Erf 4460

Source: Assessment Roll, 1909-1919, File No. 4/QTN, 6/1/3/3, Cape Archives Depot.  
 1973 General Valuation, Queenstown Municipality.  
 1991 Municipal Rates, Queenstown Municipality.

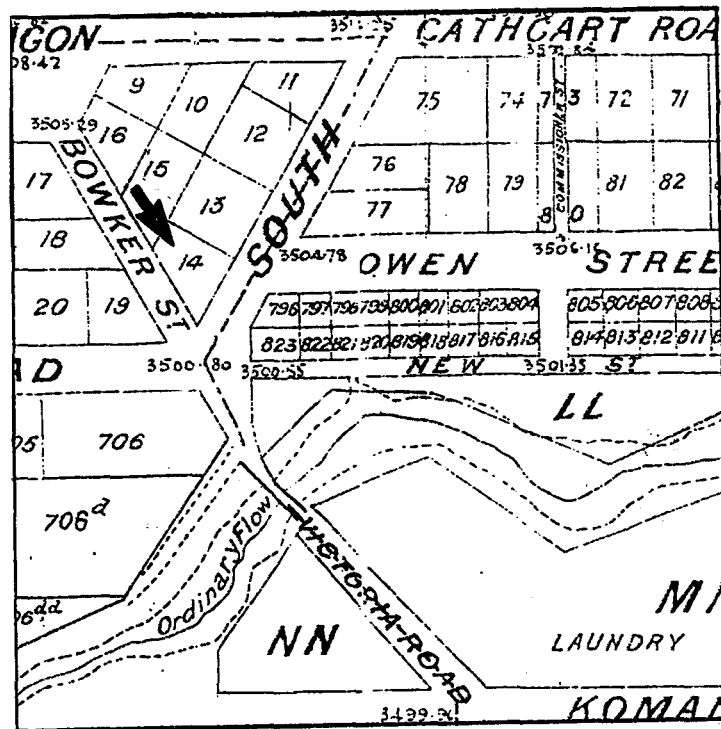


Figure 5.4 Queenstown: Erf 14, 1907

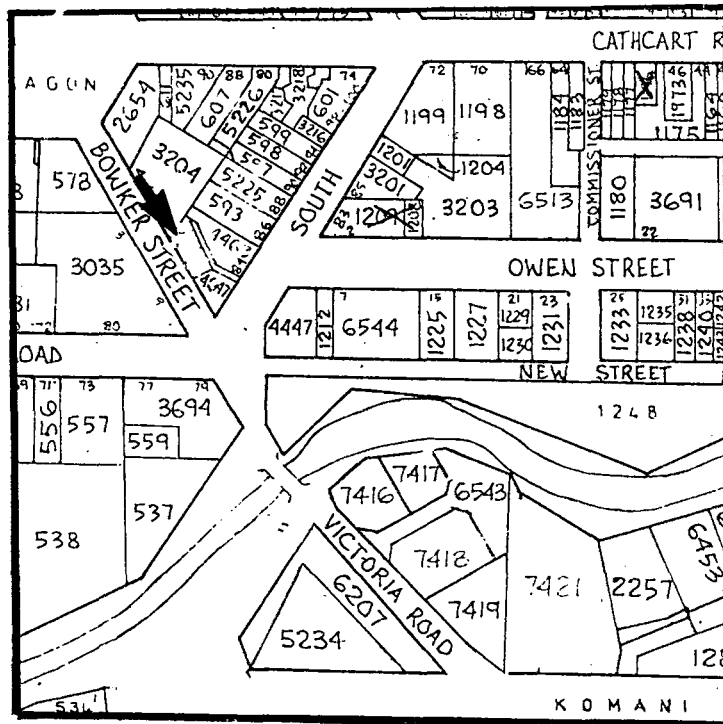


Figure 5.5 Queenstown: Erf 4460, 1991

Only two erf number maps were found for Queenstown, 1907 and 1991 and these show different erf numbers as Figures 5.4 and 5.5 indicate. The date of change could not be determined. The street addresses shown in Table 5.15 were different but the erf was the same. Without the 1991 street address map (Figure 5.5), data with changed erf numbers would have been impossible to plot.

Erf number maps showing the changed numbers over time were fortunately available for King William's Town (see Figures 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8) making data easy to plot. Figures 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8 also show how, over time, street blocks were altered, erven consolidated and subdivided.

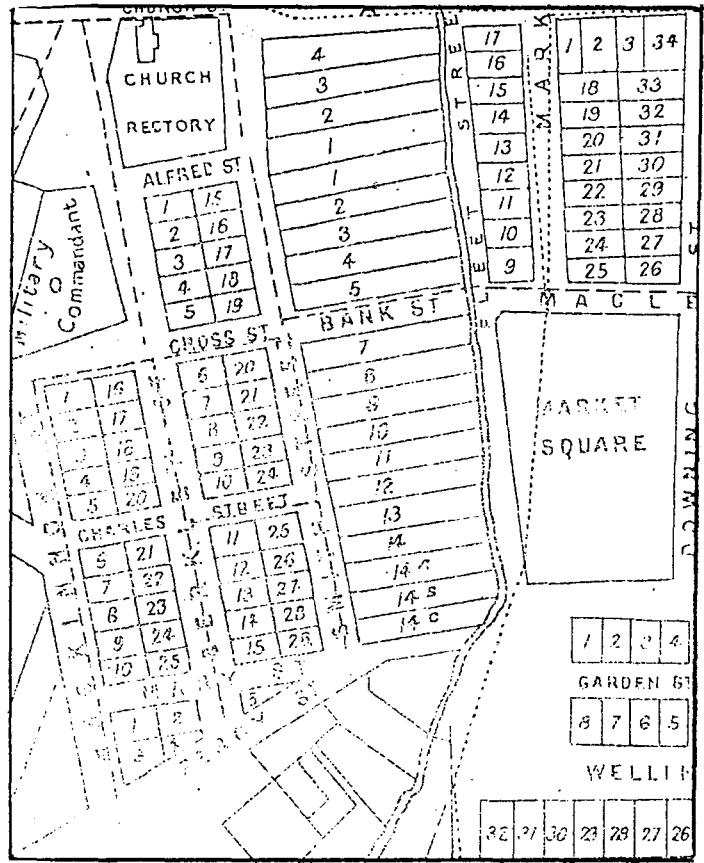


Figure 5.6 King William's Town: Market Square area 1902

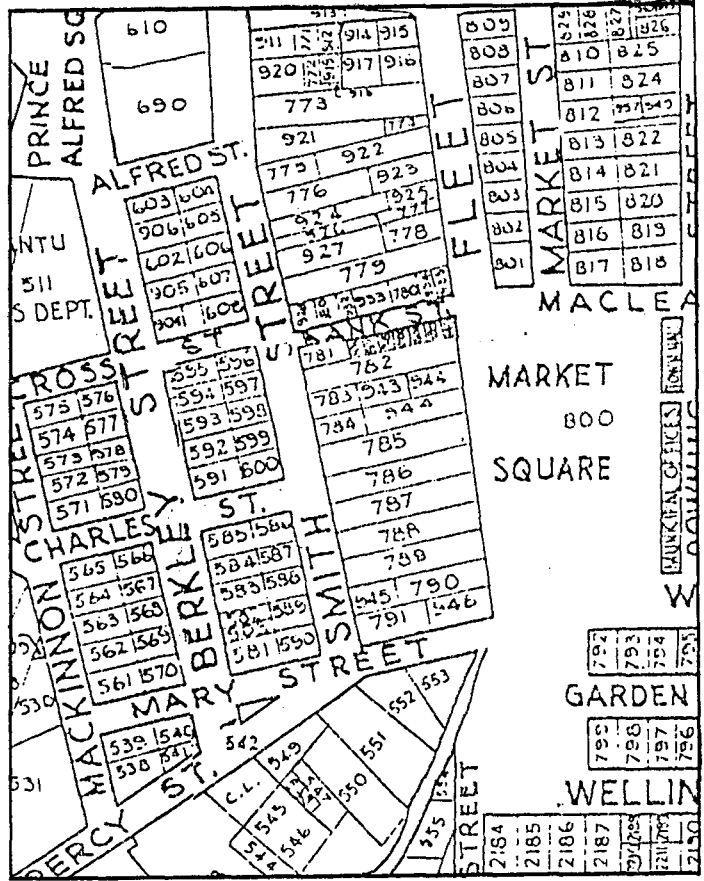


Figure 5.7 King William's Town: Market Square area 1959

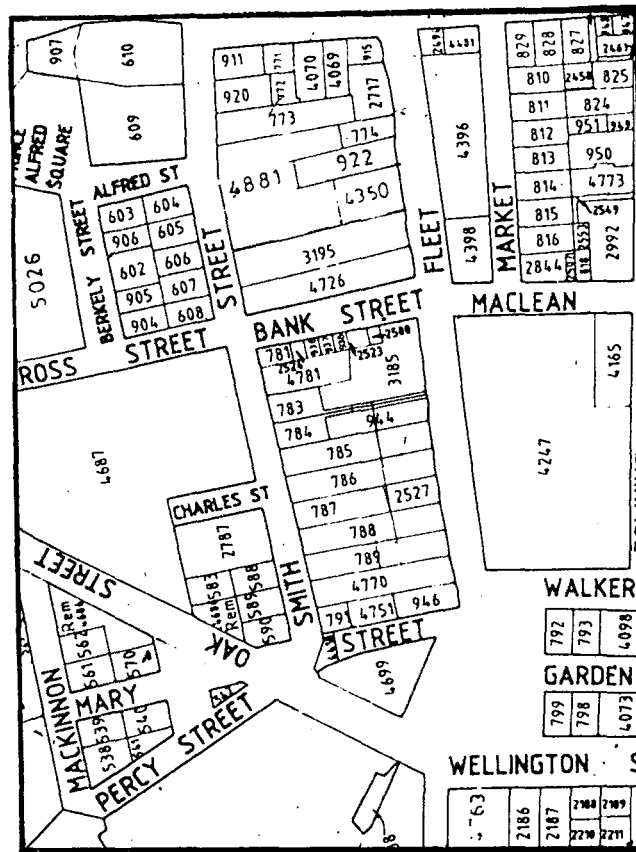


Figure 5.8 King William's Town: Market Square area 1991

Compilation noting sheets were available for Grahamstown, King William's Town and Uitenhage and were useful as they showed old lot and erf numbers, present erf numbers and the subdivision and consolidation of erven. However problems did occur where blocks had changed due to subdivision and consolidation of erven. It was possible at times to determine when new streets were built by looking at erven adjacent to the street or road and the date showing when subdivision or consolidation took place. If the dates that appeared in the erven were different to the surrounding erven in the same block (ie. later) one could assume that the date indicated the time the road was built (see Figure 5.9 below). The modern street layout, as shown in Figure 5.10, could also indicate new streets and the subdivision of blocks.

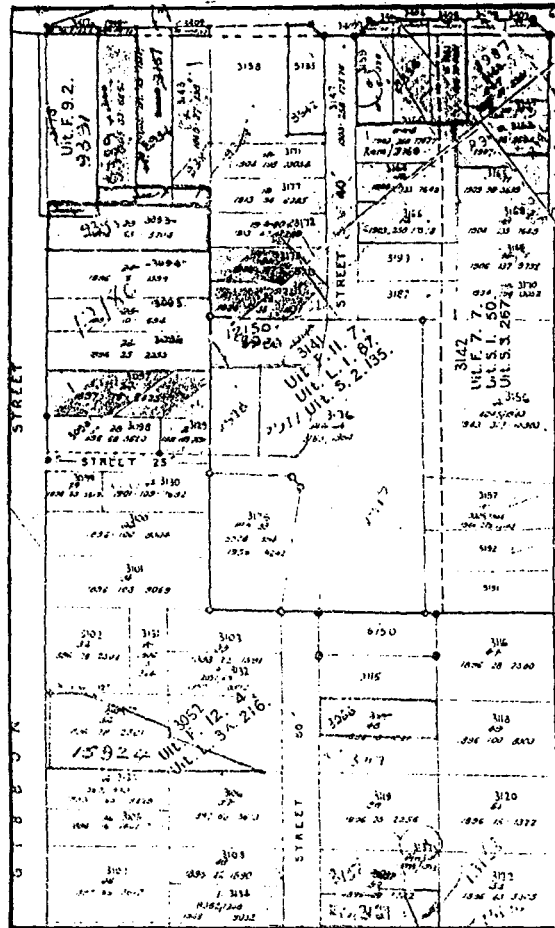


Figure 5.9 Uitenhage: Compilation Noting Sheet 1948

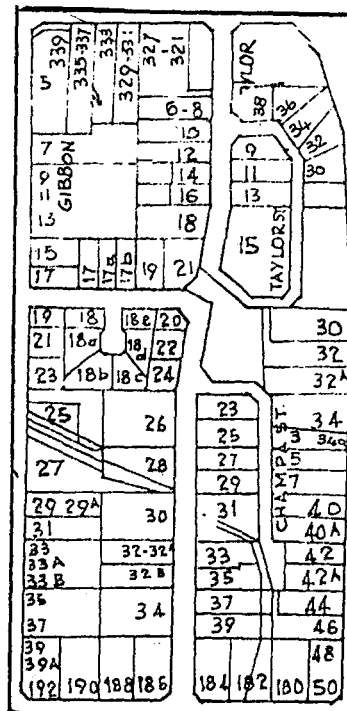


Figure 5.10 Uitenhage: Street Address Map 1991

Present erven maps were simple and easy to use as every plot in the urban centre has a different number, unlike the old lot and erf number maps where erf numbers were repeated in each block. When plotting the earlier data with block and erf numbers, the many numbers on the maps became confusing when two or more erven with the same numbers appeared in the same block. Present erven maps were available for all four urban centres and made the mapping of rates and electricity data very easy and accurate. As already shown, the erf number map for Queenstown also shows the street address/es for every erf.

Street address maps (see Figures 5.5, 5.10) were the most useful, but were not available for Grahamstown. These maps were of great assistance when problems with the plotting was experienced. Street addresses, where given, could be mapped without difficulty. Where street numbers changed, they only changed in a few blocks. For example in Uitenhage where existing street blocks were subdivided into smaller erven. These maps could therefore be used when plotting the earliest data with street addresses.

Fire insurance plans were not available for King William's Town. Two types of plans were found. Key plans, which showed the entire urban centre, indicated erf and lot numbers and those areas on the map that were on separate detailed sheets. The key plans were only found for Grahamstown and Queenstown. Sheets showing different parts of the urban centres gave detailed information on the type of building, the building material, street addresses, number of floors, etc. These sheets were found for Grahamstown, Queenstown and Uitenhage but only a few sheets were available and did not cover the entire urban centre. Only one sheet, covering two street blocks, was found for Uitenhage and showed the street numbers before the change in the 1930s (see Figure 5.11).

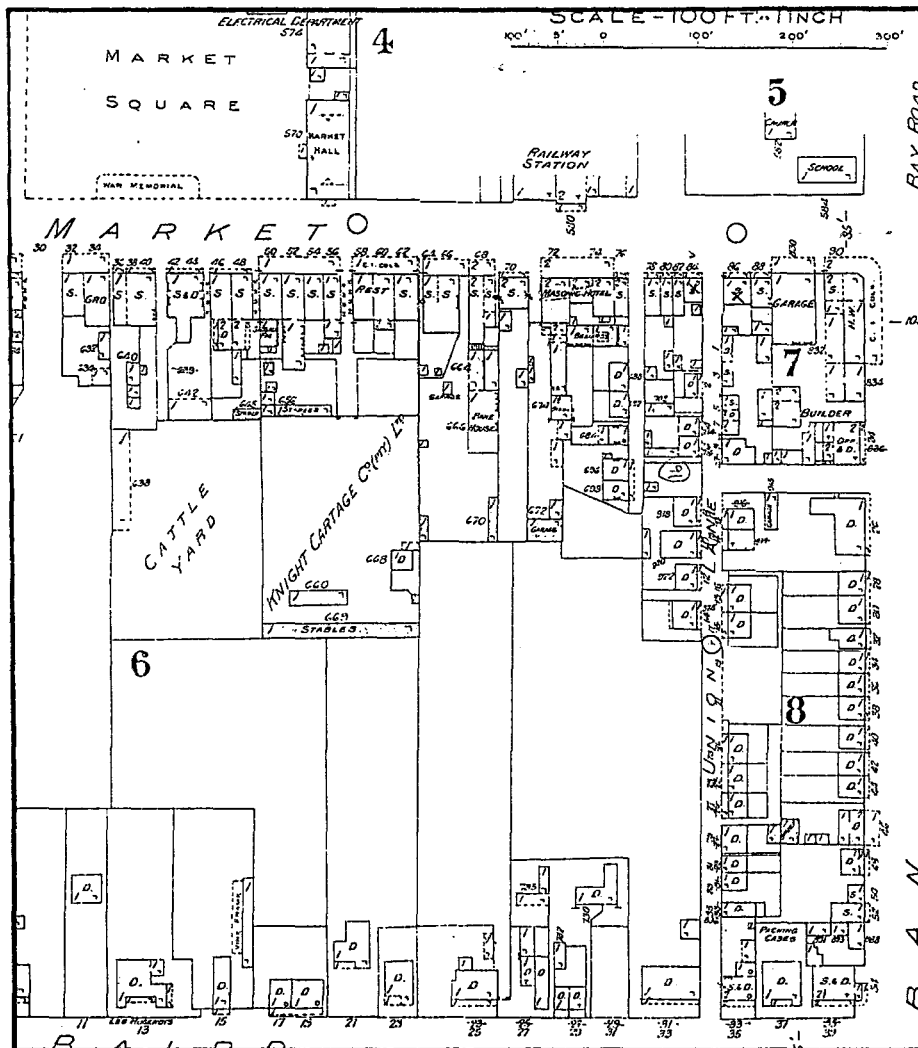


Figure 5.11 Uitenhage: Portion of Fire Insurance Plan 1931

The group area plans that were consulted showed group area proposals and proclamations for each study area and were mainly found in the group area correspondence files for each municipality. Plans for King William's Town could not be consulted for the period 1950-1972 because the files for this period were missing.

#### 5.4.2 Plotting of data

Once the maps were collected, photocopies were made of the erf number and street address maps. The data gathered from the directory and municipal sources were plotted on the photocopied maps. The Indian occupied properties for the different years in each urban centre were marked on these maps. Every street address that was collected, was plotted. If one Indian occupied two different properties

(eg. 7 Spring Street and 21 New Street in Grahamstown), both these properties were recorded as the one may have been the residential and the other the business premises. But if one property (eg. 2 John Street in Uitenhage) was occupied for both residential and business purposes it was recorded once. If three families occupied three properties that were on the same erf (eg 4 Owen Street, 4a Owen Street and 4b Owen Street in Queenstown), all three of these properties were plotted.

The number of Indian occupied properties in each block were then counted. Rather than show the percentage of Indian occupation in each block it was decided to show the number of Indian occupied properties in each block. This was decided after difficulty was experienced in trying to determine the exact number of erven in each block over time. As already pointed out, erf numbers changed and maps were not available to show all of the changes. Problems occurred when there was no map showing how blocks were subdivided. If more than one person occupied a block or erf it was difficult to determine the percentage of Indian occupiers in such a block or erf as one would have to determine the total number of occupiers of all race groups to be able to determine the number of erven/plots in each block. Since data was only collected for the Indian community it was not possible to determine the number of erven in each block. Furthermore, due to time constraints, data on the other race groups could not be collected. The fire insurance plan of Grahamstown (see Figure 5.12) and the data in Table 5.16 below, serves as an example to illustrate this problem.

Table 5.16 Grahamstown: Indian property ownership of erf 49 in 1962

DATE	PROPERTY OWNER	SITUATION OF PROPERTY
1962	British Indian Ass.	Portion of Erf 49
	Gopal, A. et. al	Lot 1, part of a portion of Erf 49
	Govind, E. et. al	Portion of Erf 49
	Govind, E. et. al	Portion of Erf 49

Source: Indian Property Ownership 1962, File No. G6/1, Volume 2, Grahamstown Municipality.

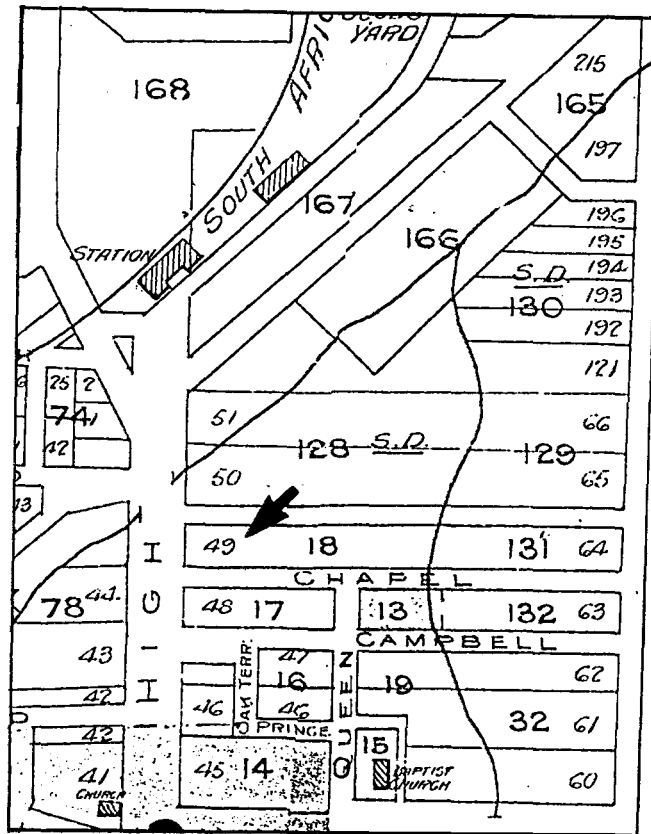


Figure 5.12 Grahamstown: Portion of Fire Insurance Plan 1925

As Figure 5.12 indicates, erf 49 is shown as one large block. The manner in which this erf is subdivided is not shown, therefore it was not possible to determine the percentage of Indians without determining the number of other races occupying erf 49.

After the extent of Indian occupation for each urban centre was determined from the photocopied maps, the maps required for the plotting of the data for each urban centre could be drawn. Before these maps could be produced, all the maps collected were examined to determine when and how changes in street blocks occurred. The maps, when drawn, were changed wherever possible to comply with the changes that occurred over time. In other words data for 1950 had to be plotted on a map that showed the street blocks as they were in 1950. However this was not always possible. Table 5.17 shows which maps were used to produce spatial distribution maps.

Table 5.17 Maps used for spatial distribution maps

URBAN CENTRE	DATE	MAP TYPE
GRAHAMSTOWN	1987	Street plan
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN	1991	Street address map
QUEENSTOWN	1991	Erf number & street address map
UITENHAGE	1991	Street address map

Figures 5.13, 5.14, 5.15 and 5.16 show the central area included in the spatial distribution maps produced. Once the maps for each urban centre were drawn the spatial distribution of each community had to be shown. This was done by using five shading categories to show the number of Indian occupied properties in each block. The categories chosen were: 0, 1-3, 4-6, 7-9 and 10+. A further indication was also given as to the type of Indians occupying each block. The symbols used were H for North Indian Hindu, S for South Indian Hindu, M for North Indian Muslim and U for when the identity of the occupier was not ascertained (either Indian, coloured or Malay). Indicating the type of Indian occupant was necessary to determine if segregation amongst the groups existed. The blocks occupied by Indians in Grahamstown and Queenstown in the initial period of settlement were not determined because the data sources merely mentioned the streets in which Indians were located and for this reason symbols were used instead of shading.

## 5.5 CONCLUSION

This discussion of the various sources and methods illustrate that the data collection in this project was a complex and slow process. The examples provided indicate the type of problems encountered, however these problems were usually overcome by the cross referencing of information sources. The data presented is therefore fairly accurate.

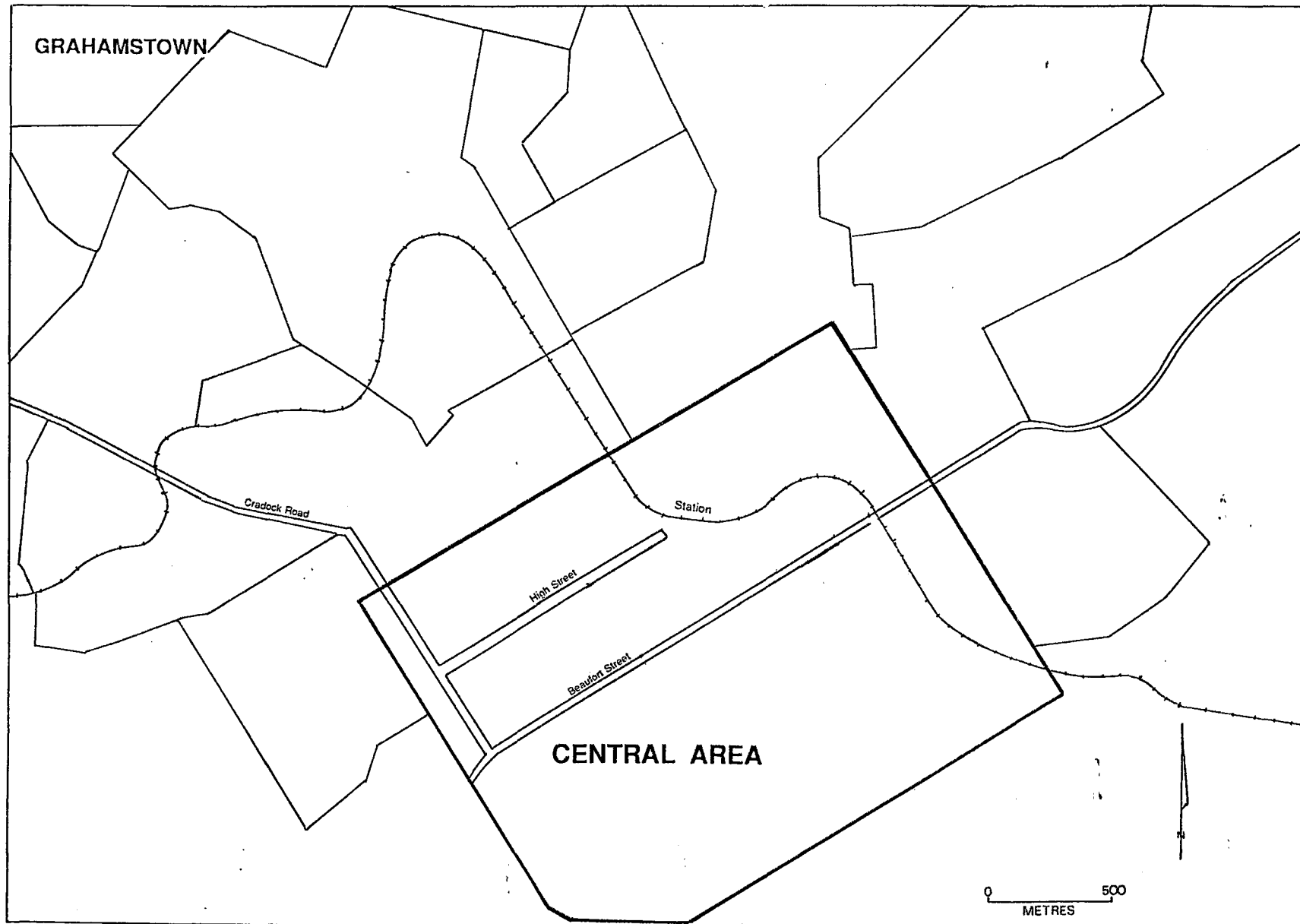


Figure 5.13 Grahamstown: Central area

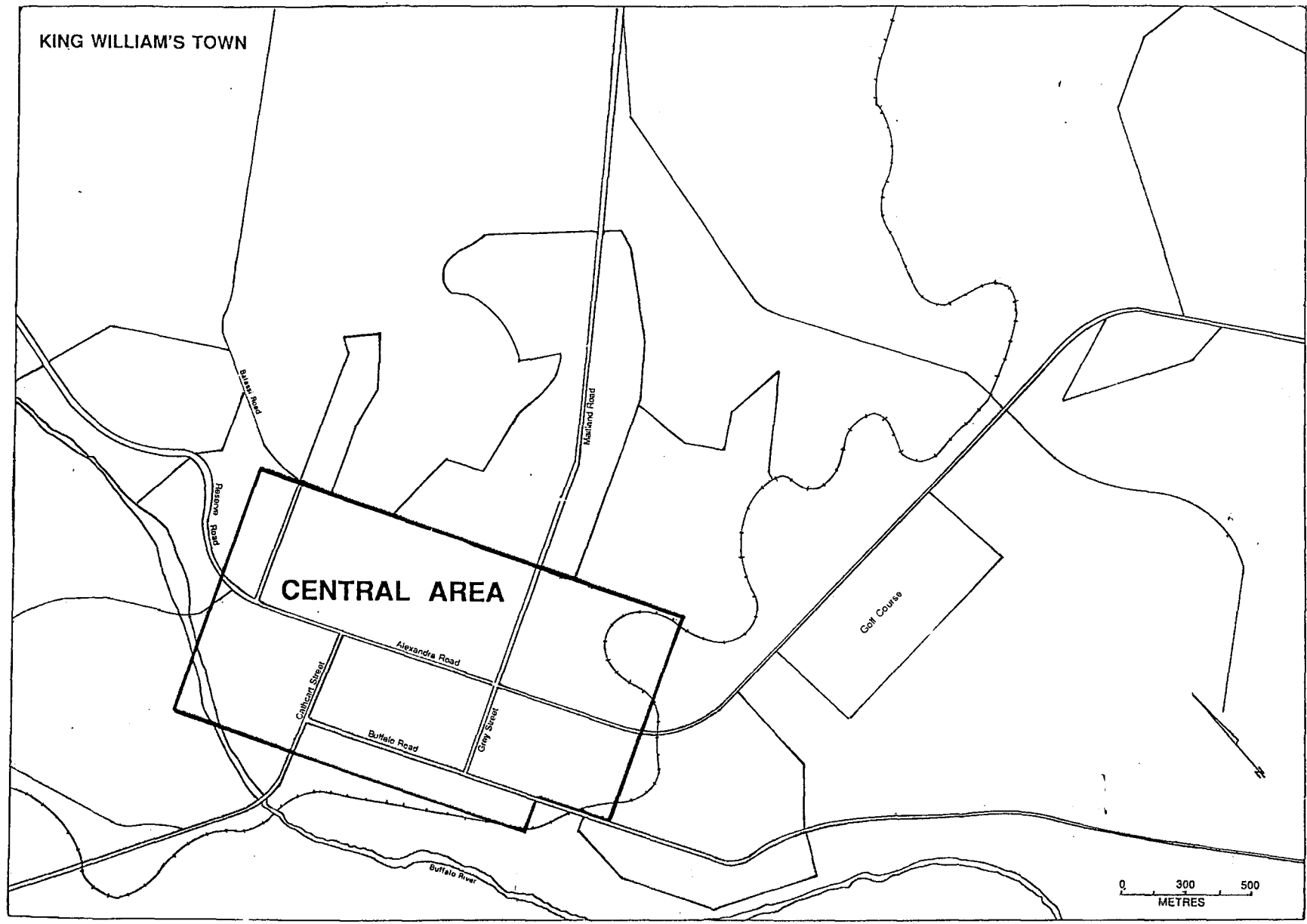


Figure 5.14 King William's Town: Central area

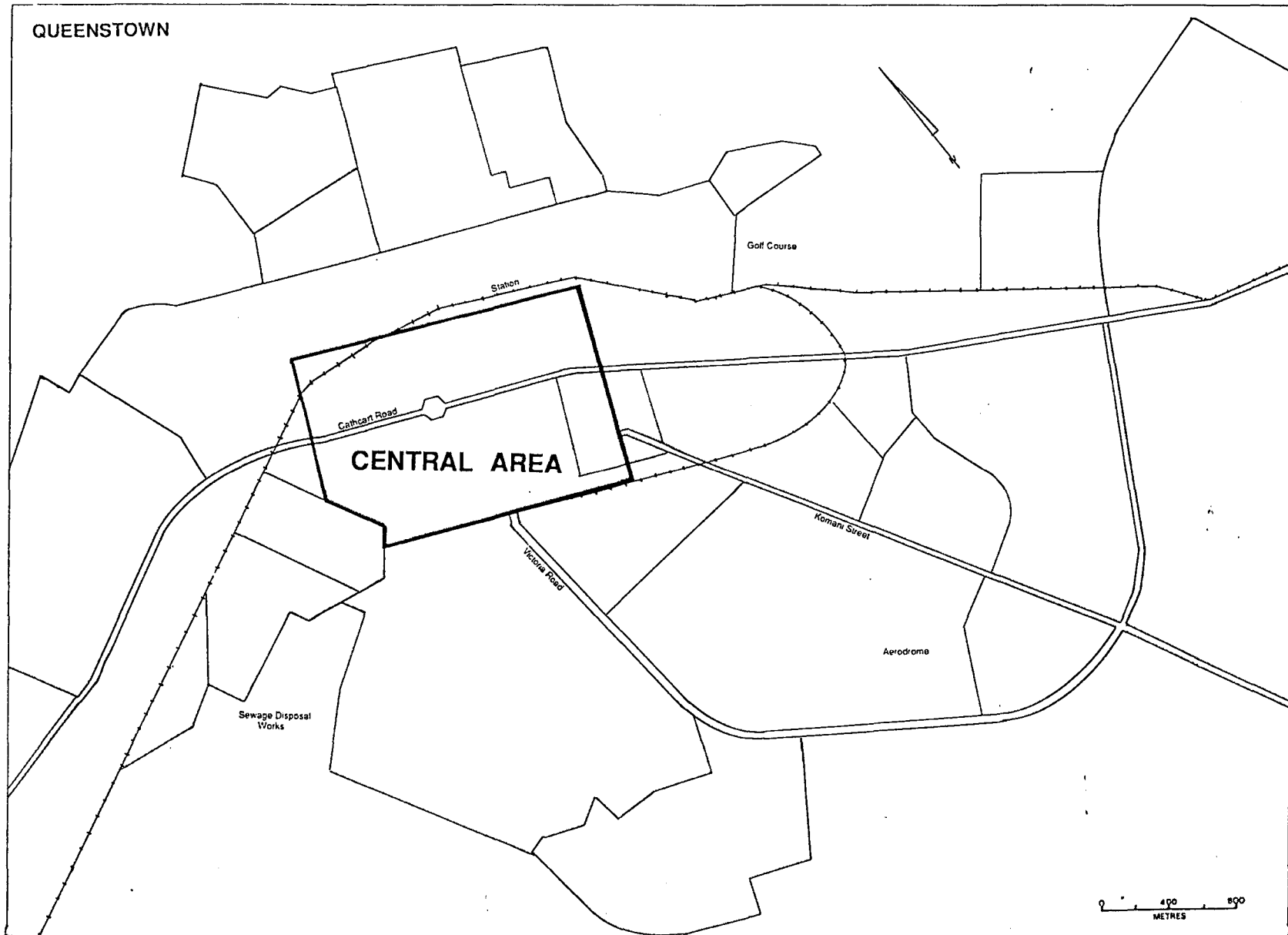


Figure 5.15 Queenstown: Central area

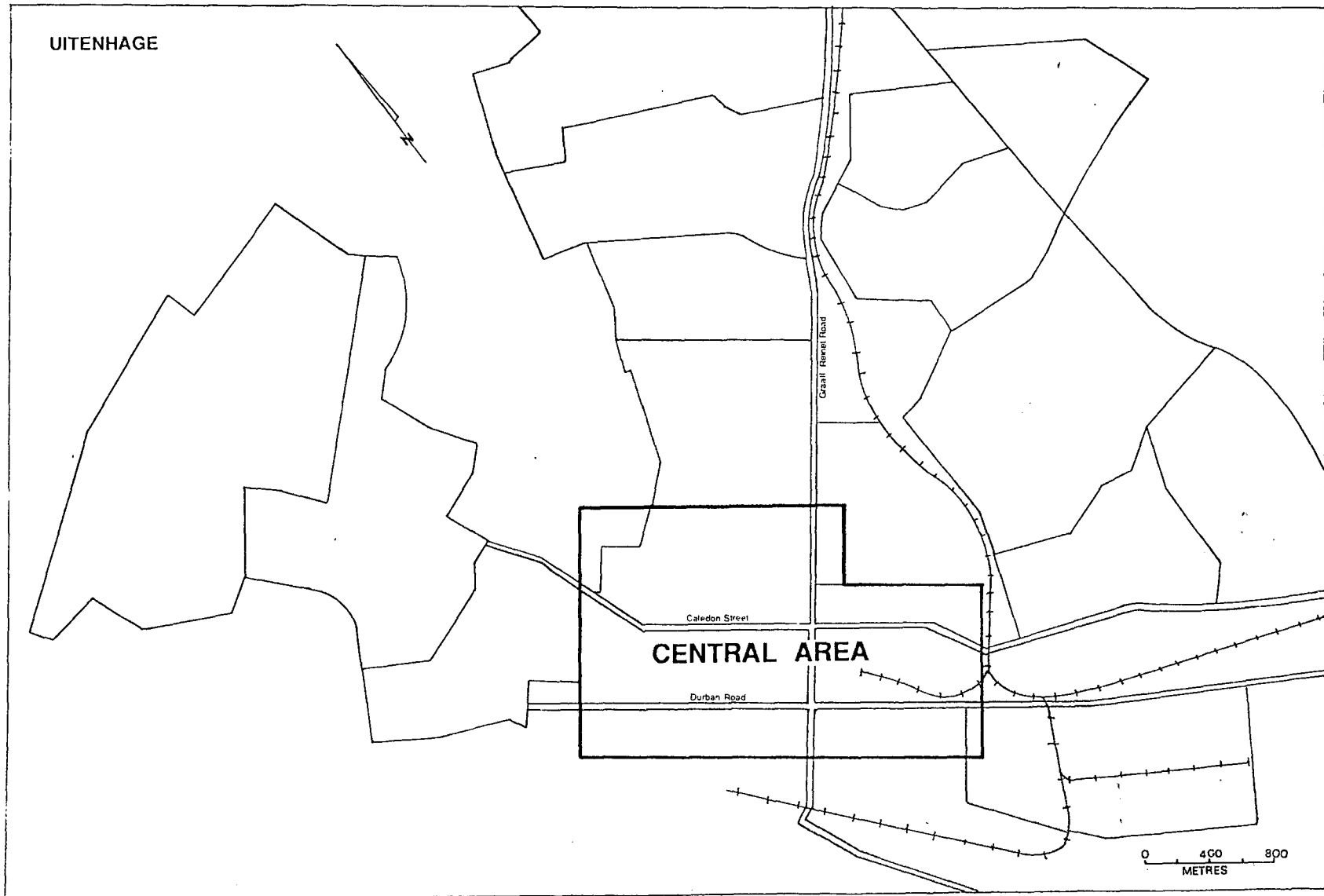


Figure 5.16 Uitenhage: Central area

## CHAPTER 6: SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDIANS PRE-1950

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine the spatial distribution of the Indian community in Grahamstown, King William's Town, Queenstown and Uitenhage from the 1890s to 1950. A description of the location of the Indian community of each centre from the earliest date of settlement to 1950 will be provided with reference to maps and tables. The factors affecting Indian spatial distribution in South Africa as a whole were discussed in Chapter 3. The factors responsible for the spatial distribution found in the four study areas will be discussed below. The spatial distribution of the Indian communities will also be related to the Segregation city model.

The Indian communities lived in and around the central business district (CBD) thus the spatial distribution maps cover the CBD and the surrounding area. Figures 5.13 to 5.16 in Chapter 5 depict the area included for the spatial distribution maps. Reference will also be made to tables that were compiled from data gathered from the directory and municipal sources of information. These tables provide information on the number of Indian occupied blocks and properties in each urban centre for the period 1890 to 1991. As mentioned in Chapter 5 the spatial distribution maps were shaded and symbols used to indicate the type of Indian occupant. The first maps for Grahamstown and Queenstown (see Figures 6.2 and 6.12) show that symbols rather than shading were used to indicate the approximate Indian spatial distribution. This was done because the exact blocks occupied by Indians could not be determined from the data sources consulted.

Figure 6.1, 6.7, 6.11 and 6.15 serve as base maps and show the main streets referred to in the discussion below. The numbers indicate Indian occupied blocks referred to in Tables 6.3, 6.7, 6.12 and 6.16 and are placed at the beginning of the discussion of each urban centre to allow for easy reference. The blocks were numbered in such a way as to show the blocks as they became occupied by Indians over time.

### 6.2 GRAHAMSTOWN

#### 6.2.1 Spatial Distribution 1897-1950

Figure 6.2 shows that according to the voters' roll of 1897, the first area of Indian occupation was near Fort England Hospital. The New Street area and the lower High Street area were subsequent areas of settlement. In general, the location of Indians was confined to the peripheral areas of the white business and residential areas.

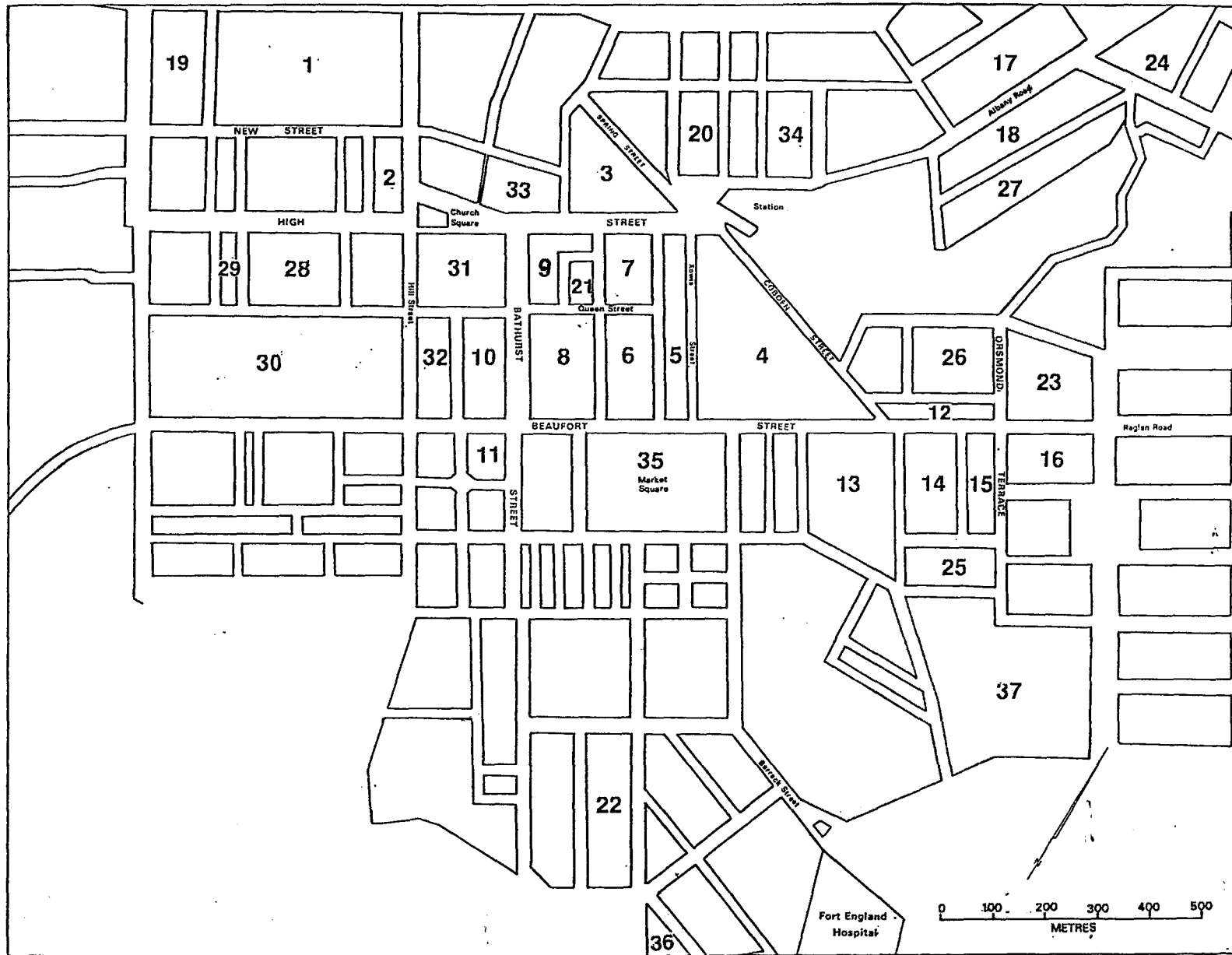


Figure 6.1 Grahamstown block numbers,

Figures 6.2 to 6.6 illustrates that between 1909 and 1945 fixed areas of settlement were established with Indians spreading to neighbouring blocks. The distribution, however, remained stable with no major shifts in location. The blocks with the highest concentration were the initial blocks of occupation. That is the lower High Street area and the New Street area. Indians dispersed to more peripheral blocks and the number of Indian occupied properties increased over time. The lower High Street area was a racially mixed area and this explains the high number of Indians there. As Table 6.1 shows, the number of blocks occupied by Indians from 1921 to 1945 remained more or less the same. Eleven blocks were occupied by Indians in 1921, fifteen in 1927, fourteen in 1935 and twelve in 1945.

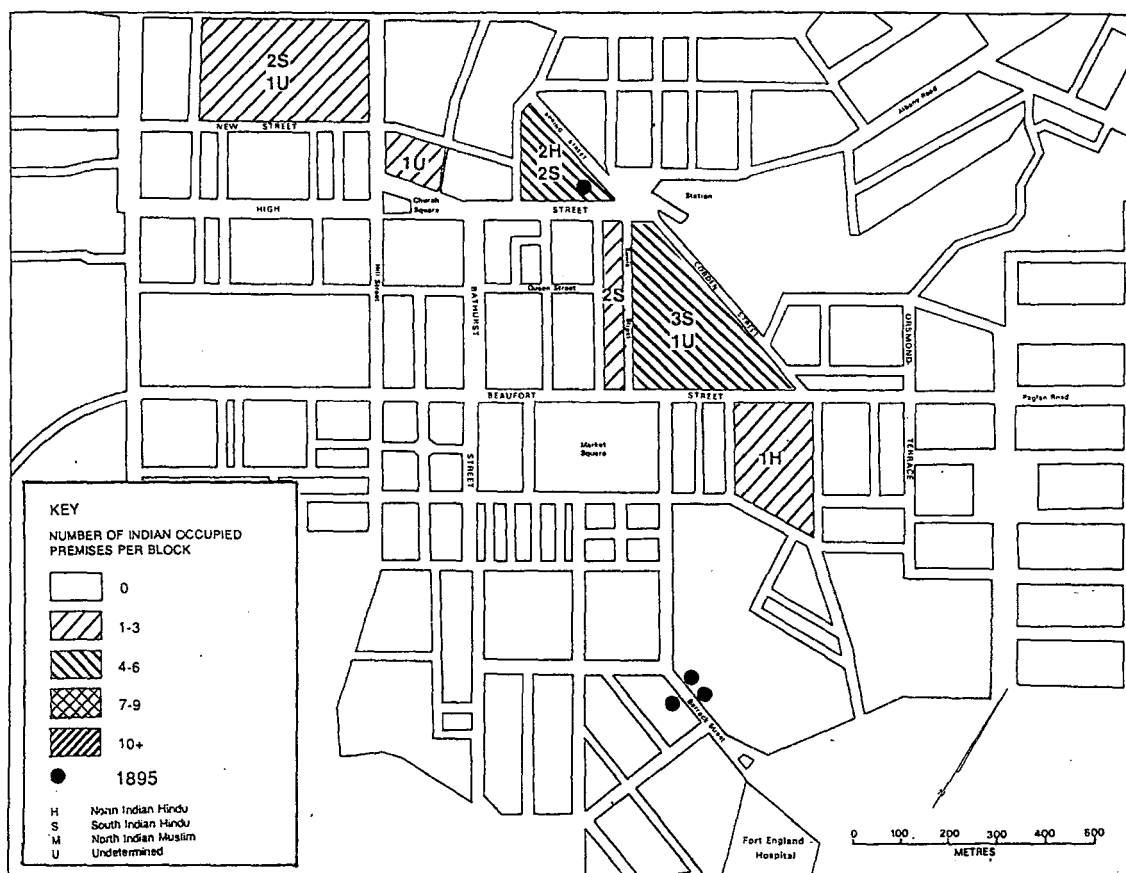


Figure 6.2 Grahamstown Spatial Distribution 1897-1909.

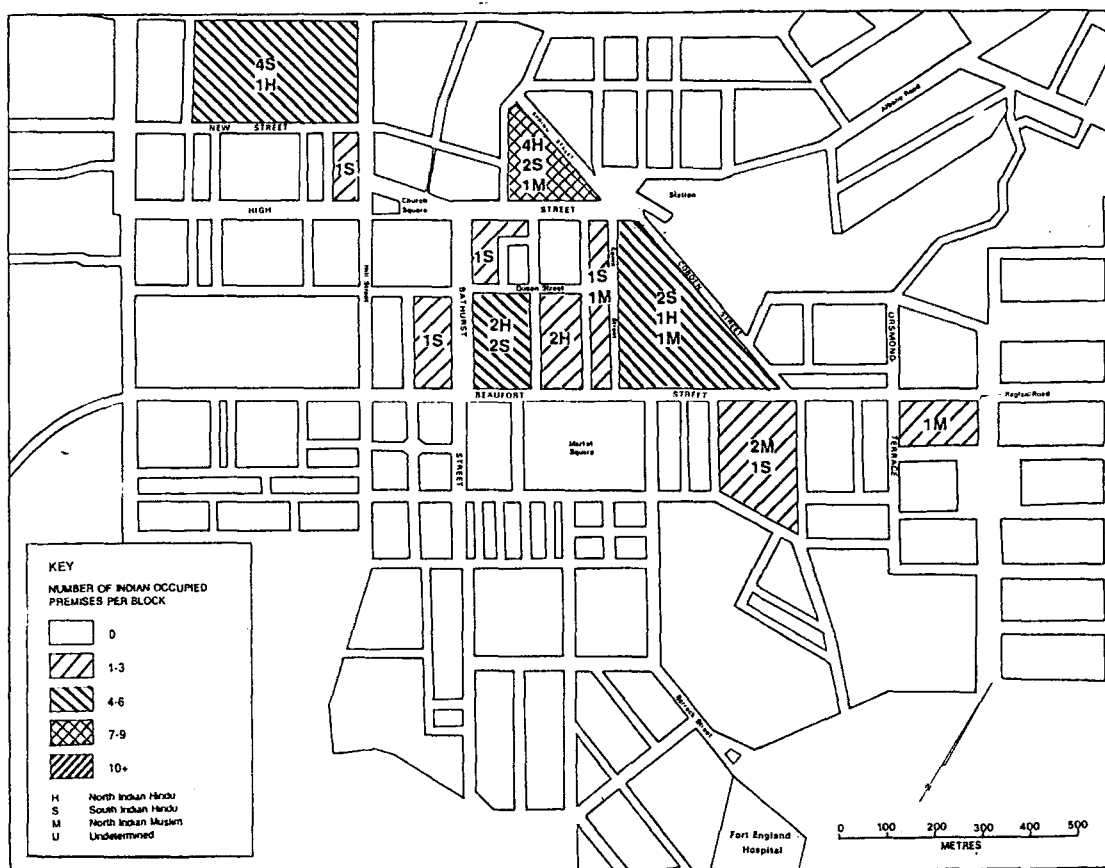


Figure 6.3 Grahamstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1921

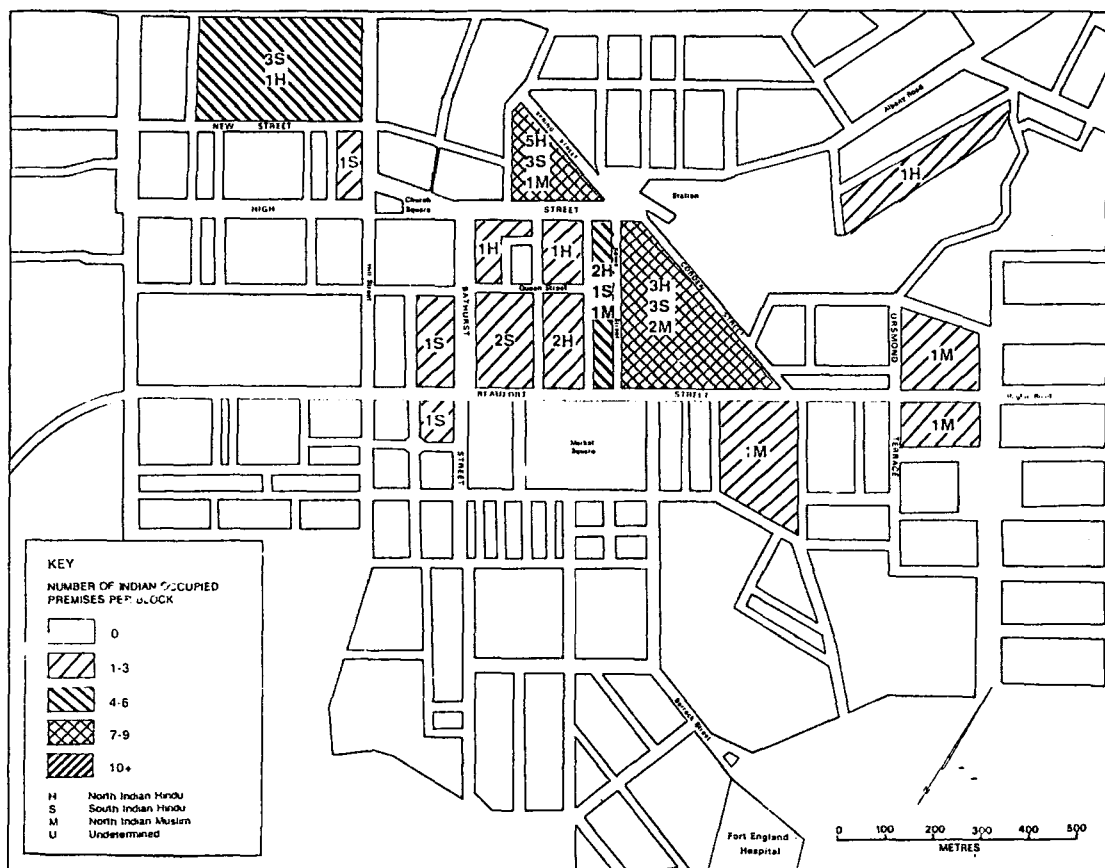


Figure 6.4 Grahamstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1927

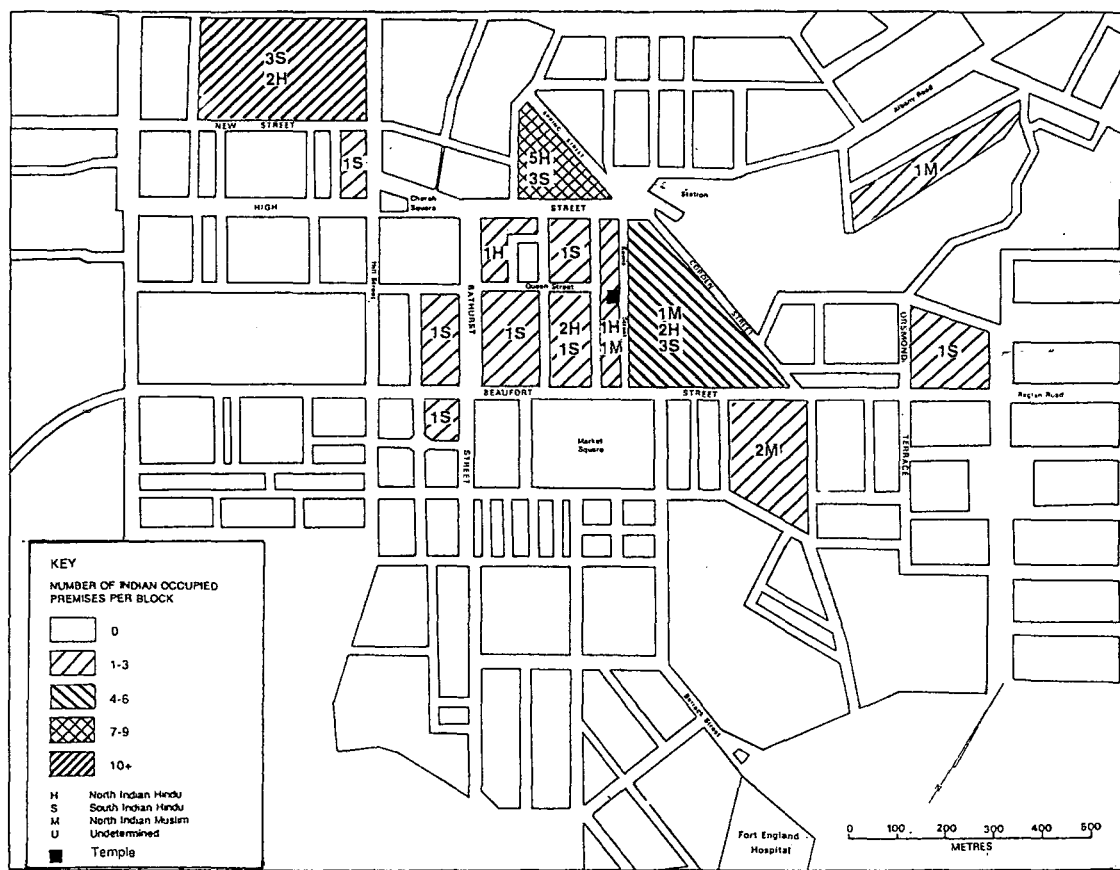


Figure 6.5 Grahamstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1935

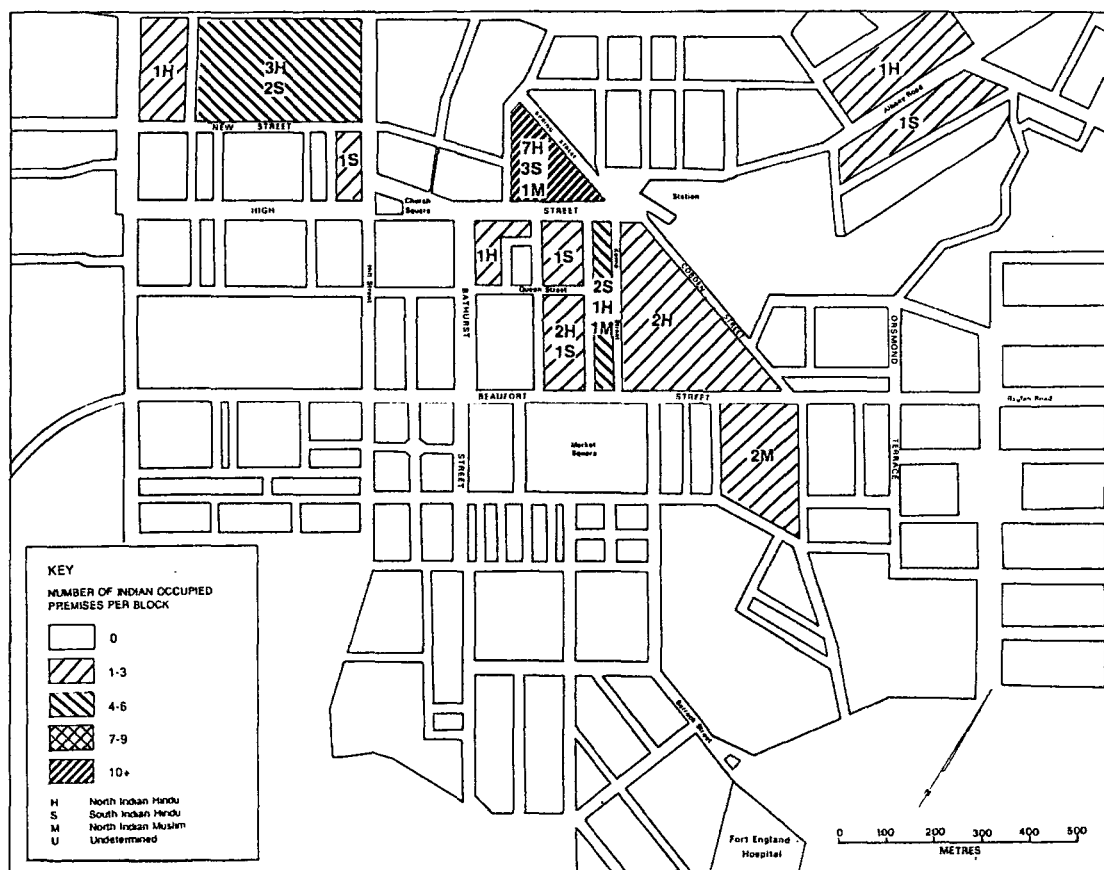


Figure 6.6 Grahamstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1945

Table 6.1 Grahamstown: Number of Indian occupied blocks 1921-1991

YEAR	Number of Indian occupied blocks	Number of Indian occupied blocks with more than one Indian occupied premises
1921	11	7
1927	15	6
1935	14	6
1945	12	6
1950	14	4
1965	16	4
1972	15	10
1983*	17	9
1991*	29	10

\* Information for 1983 and 1991 applies to central area of Grahamstown only.

Table 6.2 illustrates that in 1927 eleven blocks had been continuously occupied by Indians since 1921, while in 1935 ten blocks were continuously occupied by Indians since 1921. Table 6.3 also shows that the same blocks were occupied in 1927 and 1935. This high number of continuously occupied blocks suggest that the spatial distribution was stable with little change or spread to new blocks.

Table 6.2 Grahamstown: Number of blocks continuously occupied by Indians 1921-1991

YEAR	Number of blocks continuously occupied by Indians
1921-1927	11
1921-1935	10
1921-1945	8
1921-1950	8
1921-1965	8
1921-1972	8
1921-1983*	8
1921-1991*	8
1950-1991*	10

\* Information for 1983 and 1991 applies to central area of Grahamstown only.

Table 6.3 Grahamstown: Number of Indian occupied properties in each block.

Block No.	1921	1927	1935	1945	1950	1965	1972	1983*	1991#
1	5	4	5	5	3	6	4	4	7
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	5
3	7	9	8	11	9	13	13	8	9
4	4	8	6	2	3	2	2	2	4
5	2	4	2	4	1	3	2	1	4
6	2	2	3	3	3	3	2	2	2
7	4	2	1					4	6
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1						1
10	3	1	2	2	1	3	3	2	1
11	1	1						1	
12		1	1	1		1	2		2
13		1	1						
14		1	1						
15			1					1	1
16				1	1	1	1	1	1
17				1	1	1	1		
18				1	1	1	1	1	1
19					1	1	2		1
20					1				
21						1	1	6	1
22						1	1	1	
23						1			
24								2	1
25								1	1
26									2
27									1
28									1
29									1
30									2
31									1
32									1
33									1
34									1
35									1
36									1

\* In 1983 there were three Indian families located outside the central area

# In 1991 there were three Indian families located outside the central area of Grahamstown and there were twenty three Indian families located in the Indian Group Area.

Figures 6.2 to 6.6 show that the different Indian groups lived together in the same blocks thus no caste or religious segregation occurred. According to the interviews no caste segregation existed but caste consciousness was prevalent. It appears that the relations between the groups were good as by 1935 the North Indians and South Indians, together, built the temple situated in Kowie Street (see Figure 6.5). Table 6.4 shows the number of North Indian Hindu, South Indian Hindu and Muslim occupied premises from 1899 to 1991. Certain groups did predominate in a number of blocks but this has to be examined with reference to their number Table 6.4 clearly shows that the South Indian group were the majority in the initial stages of settlement in Grahamstown but were soon outnumbered by the North Indians Hindus.

Table 6.4 Grahamstown: Number of premises occupied by South Indian Hindus, North Indian Hindus and Muslims

YEAR	SOUTH INDIAN HINDU	NORTH INDIAN HINDU	MUSLIM	UNKNOWN
1899-1909	6	1	0	5
1921	15	10	6	0
1927	15	15	8	0
1935	16	13	5	0
1945	11	18	4	0
1950	7	16	3	0
1965	11	24	4	2
1972	10	24	5	0
1983	4	33	5	0
1991	15	62	10	0

### 6.2.2 Factors influencing spatial distribution

Before discussing the factors affecting Indians in Grahamstown some general points need to be made that apply to all four urban centres.

Political factors were most important from the initial period of settlement, restricting movement into and within South Africa and therefore also influencing the number of Indians settling in the four study areas. National and provincial restrictions on Indian immigration and trade discussed in Chapter 3 influenced spatial distribution indirectly. The immigration restrictions reduced the number of Indians

settling in the Cape Province and thus the number of Indians in the four study areas. The refusal of trade licences by the municipality controlled and reduced the number of Indian traders. It could be used to control spatial distribution by keeping Indians out of certain areas or confining them to one particular area.

In general the reasons for settling in the four urban centres can be attributed to the trading opportunities available as well as the presence of family in the study areas (Christopher, personal interview, 1991). It was also found that people from the same Indian villages or districts, regardless of caste, tended to take up residence in the same urban centres in South Africa. This indicates that a special communication network existed where Indians, once settled, called fellow villagers. The interviews indicated that this special network also existed in Grahamstown, King William's Town and Uitenhage. In all four study areas trade opportunities were, however, responsible for the influx of Indians.

In Grahamstown, as mentioned earlier, the lower High Street area was a racially mixed area thus property was cheaper. High rents may have excluded Indians from areas such as the CBD. Therefore spatial distribution was affected by financial ability to acquire and rent property and the availability of property. Since there were no restrictions on property ownership many wealthy Indians bought property for investment purposes which they rented to fellow Indians or other groups. Indians also competed amongst themselves for property. The acquisition of property allowed movement to other blocks thereby affecting spatial distribution. Population increase also had a direct effect on spatial distribution in all four study areas as it resulted in an increase in the number of Indian occupied properties per block as well as an increase in the number of Indian occupied blocks. Figures 6.2 to 6.6 show that in Grahamstown population increase had the same effect. The extended family system also affected spatial distribution because fewer properties were occupied by Indians, especially in the early years of settlement. Once the extended family, which was the common family structure in India, was replaced by smaller nuclear families the number of Indian occupied properties increased. Therefore an increase in the number of Indian occupied properties was not always a result of population increase.

The high concentration of Indians in the lower High street area can be ascribed to the fact that this area was racially mixed. The block with the highest concentration from 1921 to 1945 was the area where most of the Indian businesses were located. Most of the families in this block lived on their business premises and this may be the reason why Indians were less dispersed in Grahamstown. The high number of Indians in the area bounded by High Street, Bathurst Street, Beaufort Street and Cobden Street can be ascribed to the fact that the area was a racially mixed area and the property and

rent was therefore cheaper. According to the Grahamstown Fire Insurance Key Plan of 1925 the buildings in this area were of a poor condition thus cheaper than buildings in the New Street area where properties were of a better quality. The New Street block, between 1921 and 1945, accommodated four to five Indian families. As in High Street the properties in New Street were occupied for both businesses and residential purposes. Indians were therefore located on the periphery of the CBD. In Grahamstown (see Table 6.5) as elsewhere most of the Indians were businessmen rather than employees and lived on their business premises. Therefore the location of businesses also determined Indian residential distribution.

Table 6.5 Occupations of Indians in four study areas in the initial period of settlement

OCCUPATION	GRAHAMSTOWN		KING WILLIAM'S TOWN		QUEENSTOWN		UITENHAGE	
	1899-1909	1921	1899-1910	1925	1905-1908	1925	1895-1905	1921
Hawker	1	4	0	0	1	1	0	0
Laundry	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
General dealer, grocer, fruiterer	5	10	8	8	15	6	10	14
Shoe repairs	1	4	3	1	2	1	0	3
Cook	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Market agent	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gardener	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Butcher	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Barber	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	0
Manufacturer	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Cab proprietor	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Wholesaler	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Court Interpreter	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Waiter	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tailor	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Undetermined	3	0	1	0	1	0	2	0

The municipalities played an important role in enforcing and maintaining a degree of segregation prior to the introduction of the Group Areas Act. The attitude of the municipality towards Indians depended on the degree of racial discrimination enforced by whites and the pressure they exerted on the municipality to introduce segregatory regulations. Municipalities could introduce regulations to ensure and promote the health, safety and general welfare of the population of the town. They had the power

to introduce regulations with regard to trade, food, streets, buildings and markets. Any service or trade that involved the safety or health of the public could be controlled. For example barbers, bakeries, butcheries, laundries and hawkers could be supervised.

The municipality could determine the spatial location of Indian traders by either granting or refusing trade licences. The Grahamstown Municipality Act No. 12 of 1878 allowed the municipality to control the issuing of trade and other licences. If the municipality did not want a new Indian business to be opened in a particular area it could refuse the licence thereby controlling spatial distribution.

The Grahamstown Municipal Act No. 18 of 1902 did not repeal the 1878 Act but allowed the municipality additional powers. The municipality could introduce building regulations similar to the Slums Act of 1934. Buildings that were not up to standard could be demolished. It also allowed the municipality to regulate the "licensing of coolies". Restrictions on hawking were also implemented with the introduction of Act No. 18 to control the number of hawkers. The municipality could control, inspect and licence eating houses, restaurants and tea shops to ensure the general health of the community.

After 1910 the Local Government or Municipal Ordinance of 1912 was implemented to modify and unify the municipal regulations in each Province. However according to Green (1957), the municipalities of Grahamstown, East London, King William's Town, Port Elizabeth, Queenstown and Uitenhage were exempted from this Ordinance which meant that these municipalities had their own special regulations. Regulations that were formulated prior to the Act were not repealed. Since Grahamstown was exempted from the Municipal Ordinance of 1912 all the regulations such as the market regulations that were passed prior to 1912 remained. Therefore, in addition to its own regulations the Grahamstown municipality as well as the other three study areas could, if they wished, apply the regulations set out by the Municipal Ordinance of 1912. The Grahamstown municipality had the power to establish Indian locations but it did not do so. Ordinance 18 of 1917 allowed the Council to retain laws relating to native and Asiatic locations. The reason no Indian locations were established in the four study areas can be attributed to two factors. Firstly the Indian community was small. Secondly Indians, because most owned property, would have been exempted from municipal regulations. Therefore the municipality would not be able to force them to reside in locations. If Indians were located in Black locations it would have been because of a lack of affordable premises in the white area.

Municipal regulations were discriminatory. The market regulations in Grahamstown can be used as an example to show the degree of racial discrimination that prevailed. The regulations called for segregation in the market where the market master would not accept bids for goods from blacks unless they were standing in areas appointed to them.<sup>1</sup> This resulted in much protest from the Indians and Chinese.

"Non-whites were kept in their place" in Grahamstown. When delivering laundry or selling vegetables to whites, Indians had to use the trader's gate or rather back entrance (Mr Naran, interview, 1990). According to Torlesse (1993) well educated and wealthy Indians were respected and accepted by whites in Grahamstown. The market regulations, however, suggest that Indian traders were a economic threat.

The General Dealers Act of 1906 (discussed in Chapter 3) allowed municipalities to regulate trade by means of licences and the fixing of trade hours. In 1907 a Cape Town trader complained about the treatment of Indian traders in the Cape Province as licences were being refused for no reason. He felt that many of the municipal councillors who were traders themselves were protecting themselves from competition by refusing licences to Indians.<sup>2</sup> The government replied that they could not intervene because under the provisions of the Act the local authority had the power to refuse licences provided that two thirds of the councillors were in favour of such a refusal.<sup>3</sup>

Licences were also refused in Grahamstown. Here, too, councillors were businessmen themselves and refused licences to Grahamstown Indians if they felt threatened (Torlesse, 1993). Local white traders also signed petitions against the granting of trade licences to Indians. For example in 1926, 96 persons signed a petition against the granting of a licence to Ismail Mohammed who wanted to open a general dealers store at 35 Beaufort Street. The Council decided to refuse the licence even after a second petition was signed by 191 persons in support of the licence application (Torlesse, 1993, 47). At one stage the Council agreed to sign a petition to revoke all Indian trader's licences but this did not happen (Southey, 1984, 41).

Indians also instigated the signing of petitions when they feared competition. Mr Naran of Grahamstown said that when he wanted to open a laundry another Indian protested (Mr Naran, personal interview, 1989). Mr Patel, an Indian, also sent a letter to the Council protesting Mohamed Ismail's application for a general dealer licence. In spite of all the problems in getting licences in Grahamstown in 1931 for example there were 26 licensed general dealers and fresh produce dealers

as well as eight hawkers (Torlesse, 1993, 47). In Grahamstown new Indian traders seemed to be an economic threat to whites as well as to Indians. The refusal of trade licences was therefore an important way to control the number of Indian traders and in this way also spatial distribution. If the municipality felt that an Indian trader was an economic threat or if the municipality did not approve of the location of the business premises, licences could be refused and in this way control Indian business distribution.

Occupations also affected spatial distribution. In Grahamstown hawkers lived near the market. Figure 6.2 further shows that the Fort England Hospital area was the first area of settlement according to the voter's roll of 1897. The presence of gardens in this area explains why these Indians, who were gardeners, located there. The fact that they were South Indians implies that they may have been ex-indentured Indians thus gardening as an occupation. They may have supplied the market and the hospital with fresh produce (Mr Naidoo, personal interview, 1989).

Prior to 1950 landuse zoning was also used as a means of control. The Townships Ordinance No 33 of 1934 not only allowed the municipality to zone the town but it could establish townships and provide for the preparation of town planning schemes. Therefore if an area was zoned for residential purposes no shops or factories were allowed (Mr Roussouw, personal interview, 1991) and therefore the municipality had another means of controlling Indian movement. Racial clauses may have been used as in Port Elizabeth to control spatial distribution but no reference to such clauses was found for Grahamstown or the other three study areas.

The main factors influencing the spatial distribution of Indians in Grahamstown were thus affordability and availability of property, occupation, population size, municipal attitude and the issuing of trade licences.

## 6.3 KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

### 6.3.1 Spatial distribution 1899-1950

In the initial period of settlement the occupation of blocks was inconsistent. From 1925 to 1950 there were areas of fixed settlement but within these areas blocks were not continuously occupied. There were three main areas of concentration, namely the Market Square area, blocks fronting Cambridge Road and Buffalo Road (see Figure 6.8 and 6.9).

The map dated 1899-1910 (Figure 6.8), shows that between 1899 and 1905 eleven blocks were occupied by Indians. Table 6.6 and 6.7 shows that all these blocks were not occupied at the same time. In 1899 block number 2 was occupied and in 1905 block number 2, 3, 4 and 5 were occupied. In 1908 block number 6 to 11 were occupied. The spatial distribution for this period, the movement from one block to another, suggests that Indians were free to live and trade where they liked and there were no restrictions on movement.

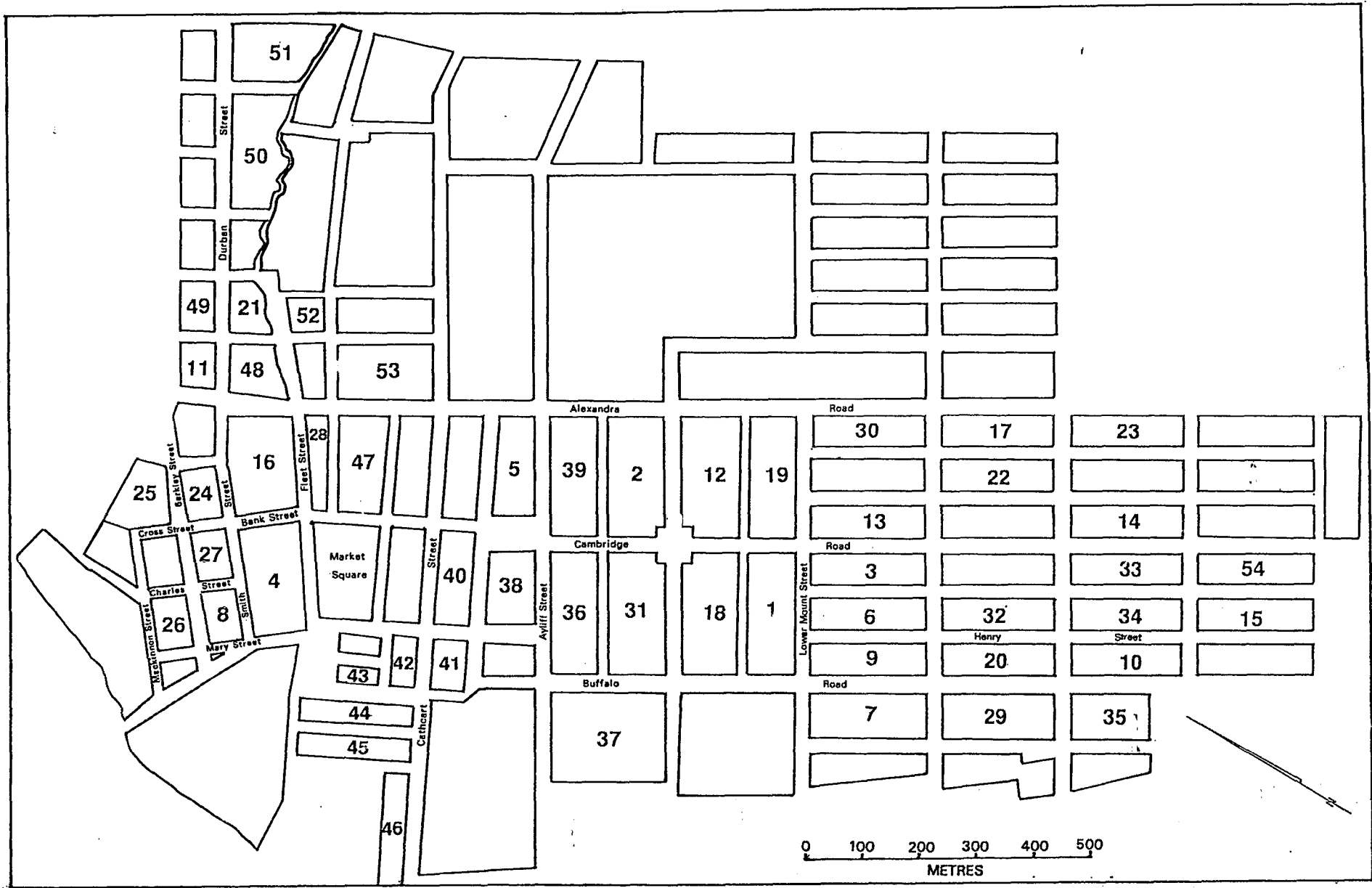


Figure 6.7 King William's Town: Block numbers

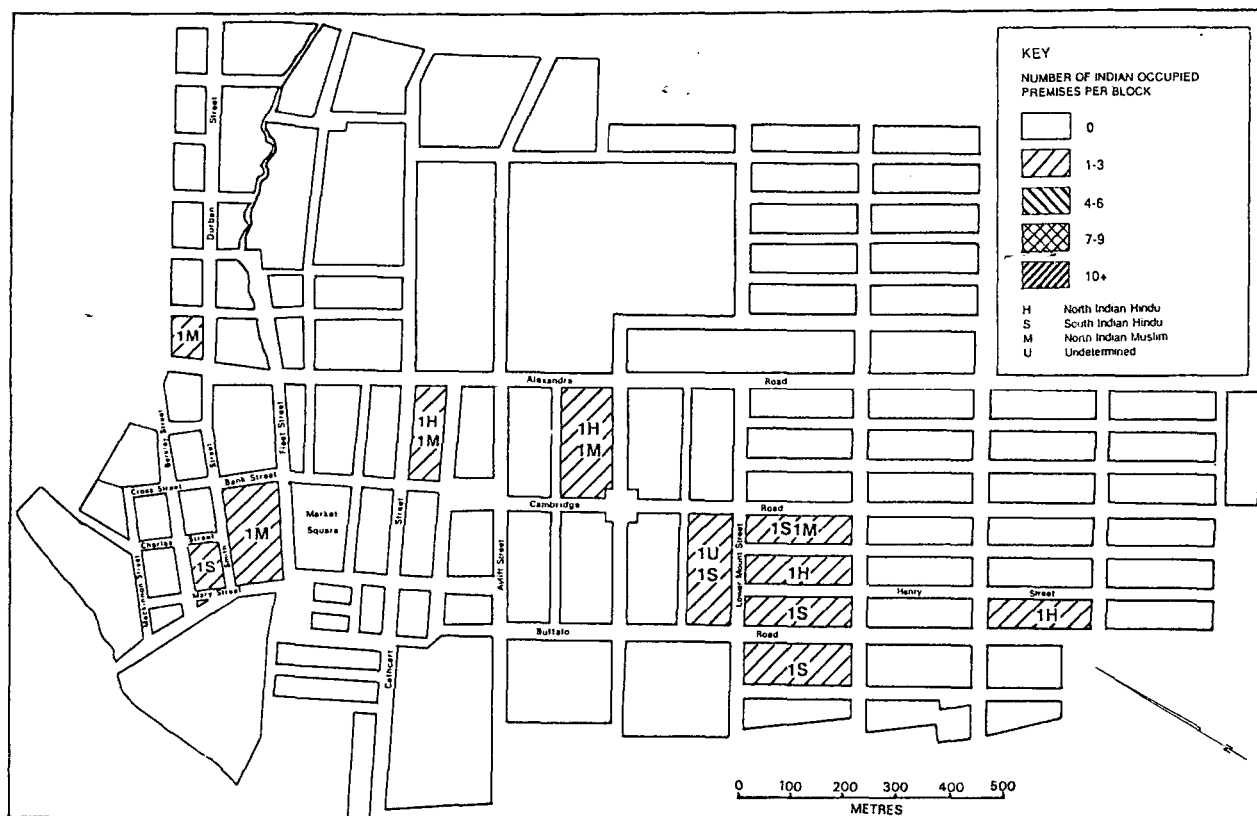


Figure 6.8 King William's Town Indian Spatial Distribution 1899-1905

Table 6.6 King William's Town: Number of Indian occupied blocks 1899-1991

YEAR	Number of Indian occupied blocks	Number of Indian occupied blocks with more than one Indian occupied premises
1899	1	0
1905/6	4	2
1908	4	0
1910	3	0
1925	9	1
1935	12	3
1948/50	11	4
1955	13	3
1960	10	2
1984	18	7
1991*	48	27

\* Information for 1991 applies for the central area of King William's Town only.



40								2
41								1
42								1
43								1
44								2
45								1
46								1
47								1
48								3
49								2
50								1
51								1
52								2
53								1

\* Information for 1991 applies to the central area of King William's Town only.

Figure 6.9, the map for 1925, indicates that nine blocks were occupied. Alexandra Road to the northeast and Buffalo Road to the southwest appear to operate as segregating lines as no Indians were located southwest of Buffalo Road and only one Indian occupied premises was located northeast of Alexandra Road, however this Indian was situated in the block northwest of Durban street suggesting that the area southeast of the stream was an exclusively white area. Only one block was occupied northwest of the Market Square compared to two in the 1905-1908 period.

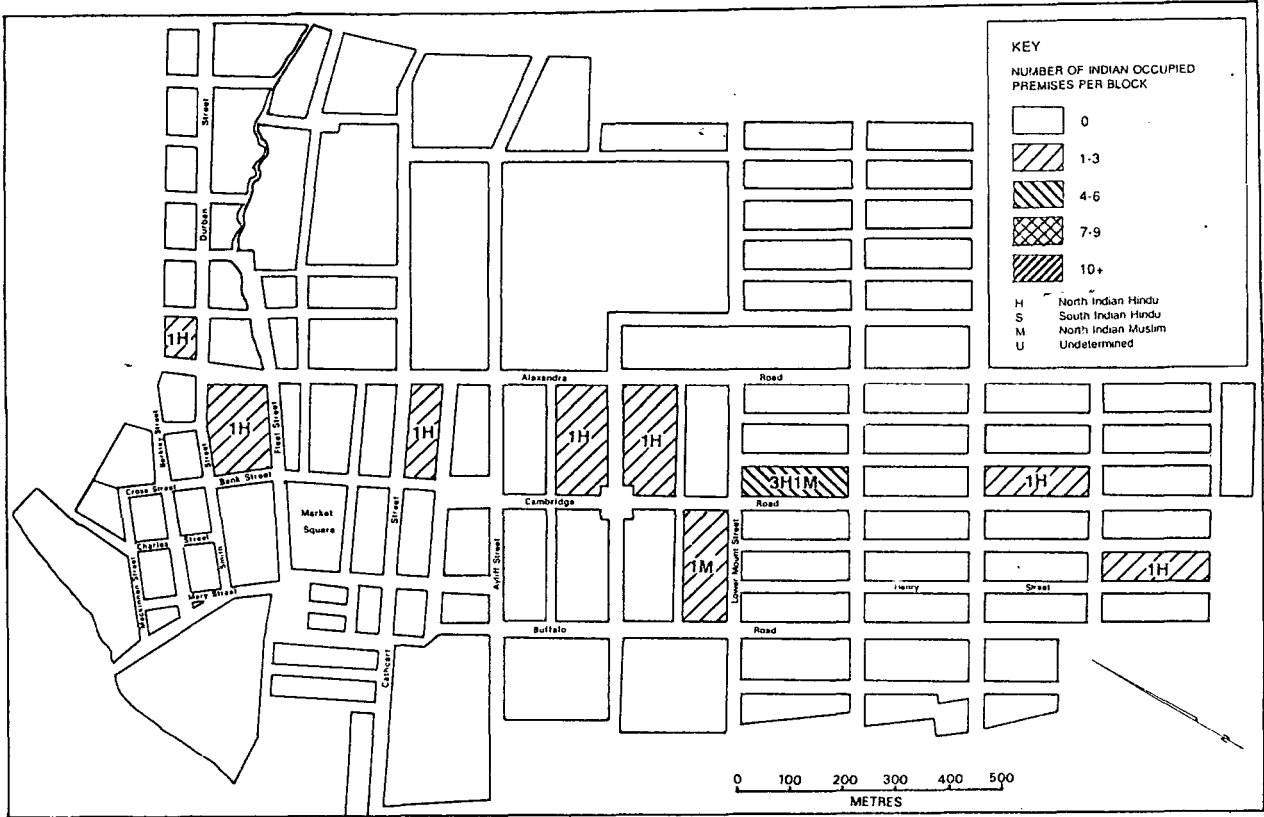


Figure 6.9 King William's Town Indian Spatial Distribution 1925

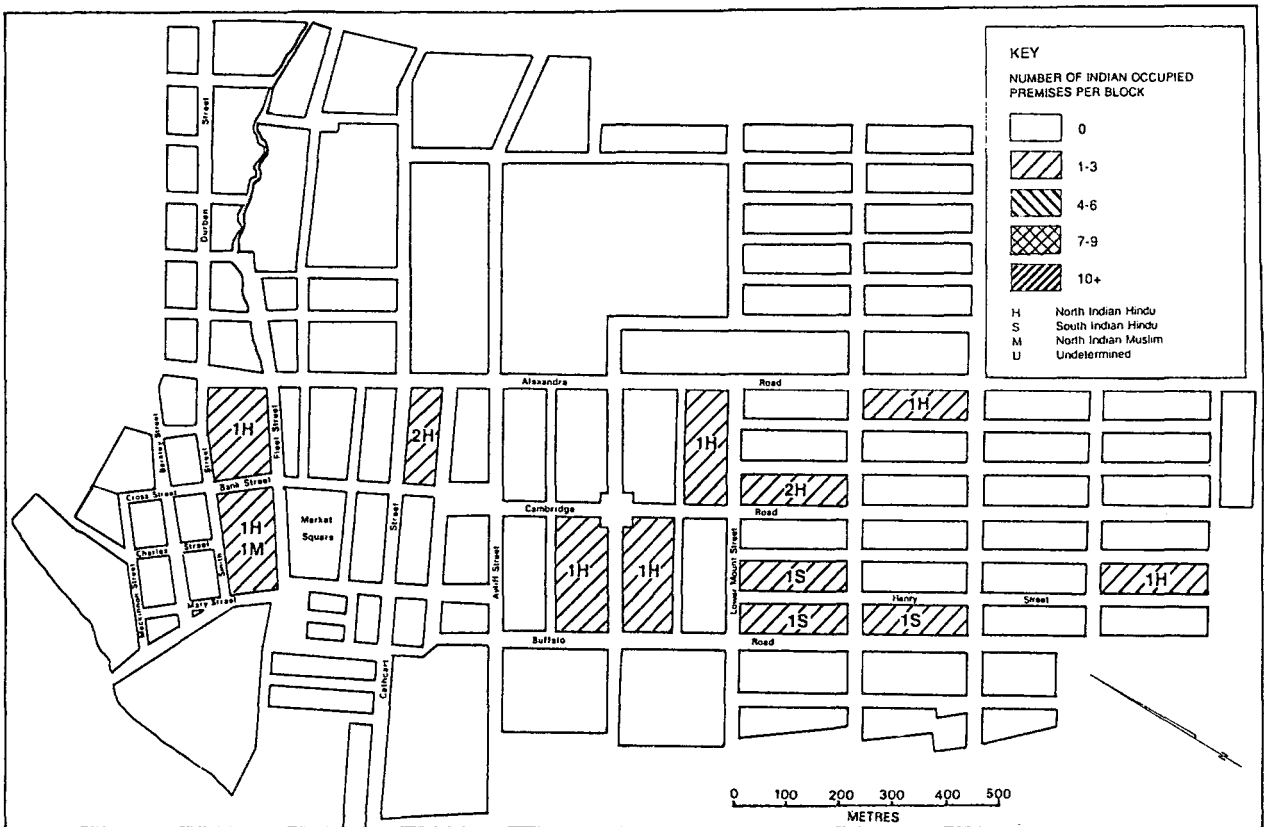


Figure 6.10 King William's Town Indian Spatial Distribution 1935

Between 1921 and 1945 the Indian population had doubled to 113. The number of blocks occupied by Indians increased from nine in 1925 to twelve in 1935 (see Table 6.6). Figure 6.10 shows that the distribution in 1935 was similar to that of 1925. In 1935 there were only three blocks with more than one Indian occupied premises, which suggests that the distribution was not confined to any particular blocks and that the Indians' location was more dispersed than Grahamstown. None of the blocks occupied by Indians had more than two Indian occupiers and only four blocks were continuously occupied from 1925 to 1935 (see Tables 6.7 and 6.8). The Indian community's location seemed to be concentrated in the area between Buffalo and Alexandra Road. Between 1935 and 1950 the spatial distribution was more or less the same as Table 6.7 shows that most of the blocks occupied by Indians in 1935 were also occupied in 1950.

Table 6.8 King William's Town: Number of blocks continuously occupied by Indians 1925-1991

YEAR	Number of blocks continuously occupied by Indians
1925-1935	4
1925-1950	2
1925-1955	2
1925-1960	2
1925-1984	1
1925-1991	1
1950-1991	5

\* Information for 1991 applies for the central area of King William's Town only.

In King William's Town a relationship between the number of Indian occupied blocks, population size and the continuous occupation of blocks was found. Data shows that where the number of blocks with more than one Indian occupied premises was high, as in Queenstown and/or where the number of blocks continuously occupied was high, for example Grahamstown, the distribution remained stable over time. Tables 6.7 and 6.8 clearly show that the number of blocks continuously occupied in King William's Town was lower than the other three urban centres suggesting that the distribution was not fixed. Figures 6.8 to 6.10 also show this to be the case. These figures also show that despite an apparent unstable population there were no major shifts in location except for a spread to peripheral blocks around the initial areas of settlement.

No segregation between Indian groups themselves was found in King William's Town. Segregation was not possible as Figures 6.13 and 6.14 as well as Table 6.6 show that few blocks had more than

one Indian occupied premises which meant that Indians were dispersed.

### 6.3.2 Factors influencing spatial distribution

In King William's Town most of the North Indian Hindu families were from the same village, Navsari, (Mr Dhayal, personal interview, 1990) which shows that the presence of fellow villagers influenced the selection of the urban centre. Table 6.9 also shows the presence of a larger North Indian community which further verifies this point.

Table 6.9 King William's Town: Number of premises occupied by South Indians, North Indians and Muslims

YEAR	SOUTH INDIAN HINDU	NORTH INDIAN HINDU	MUSLIM	UNKNOWN
1899	0	0	1	0
1905/6	1	2	4	0
1908	4	0	1	0
1910	1	4	2	0
1925	0	10	2	0
1935	3	8	1	0
1950	3	10	2	0
1955	1	10	6	0
1960	1	7	4	0
1972	3	7	3	3
1984	9	12	8	0
1991	31	42	34	7

The municipal attitude towards Indians in King William's Town was not favourable. Municipal regulations severely restricted this small Indian community who were regarded as a health threat. However, as discussed in Chapter 3 segregatory regulations may have been introduced with other motives in mind such as economic jealousy.

An unusual pattern of settlement was uncovered in King William's Town. The spatial distribution of the Indian community was very inconsistent in the initial period of settlement with continuous movement from one block to another. The movement between blocks in King William's Town suggests that there were no restrictions on movement. However, the Indians were controlled.

In 1893 the King William's Town municipality complained to the Colonial Secretary about the increase in the number of Asiatics (Bradlow, 1979). There were three Black locations in King William's Town by 1900 and according to Caldwell (1991) Indians were also residing in these locations. These must have been Indians who were regarded as a health threat as Figure 6.8 shows that Indians were also located in the central area. Therefore not all Indians were residing in the location. The data sources consulted did not provide the names of Indians who were residing in the location and therefore the maps do not show their distribution.

It was only after 1905, with the introduction of the King William's Town Borough Act No. 27 of 1905 and later the Municipal Ordinance No. 10 of 1912 that the municipality could set aside areas for natives and Asiatics. Only Indians who did not own property would have had to reside in the locations as Indians who owned property were exempted from these regulations. Thus not all Indians were residing in the location, rather the poorer Indians who were regarded as a health risk and thus segregated. Those exempted from these regulations had to own property to the value of 150 pounds and also had to be in possession of a certificate of good character which had to be renewed annually. The fact that those exempted from the regulations were also restricted as they were only allowed to reside in certain areas within the municipality<sup>4</sup> is very important to this study since no such regulations were implemented in the other three study areas. The areas prohibited to Indians could not be determined but this had to have influenced Indian spatial distribution. The spatial distribution maps for the period 1899 to 1925 do not show any signs of segregation as Indians were scattered throughout the urban centre. The blocks occupied by Indians in 1905 and 1925 (see Figures 6.8 and 6.9) may have been the areas where Indians were permitted to live. The movement between blocks may have been within the prescribed areas set aside for exempted Indians or else the regulations were not strictly adhered to. These measures were the same as those introduced in East London which suggests that the King William's Town municipality was influenced by the steps taken in East London. Indians' spatial distribution was controlled since they could only reside and trade where the municipality wanted them to. Even within the location the municipality exerted control by determining rents, taxes and restricting trading. The hours when Indians were allowed to use streets and public places without a pass could also be determined by the municipality.

Besides these restrictions, occupation, as was found in Grahamstown also influenced spatial distribution. Table 6.5 shows that the Indians of King William's Town were either general dealers, fruiterers or grocers and were located wherever business premises were available and affordable. Businesses were also located close to the market and within racially mixed areas where they could

serve their market. The regulations discussed above prevented trade in the location but the General Dealer's Act of 1906 may have been used to restrict exempted Indians. The location of Indian businesses could have been controlled by the refusal of trading licences. Thus if the municipality was not in favour of the location of an Indian business it could deny such a licence application. Unfortunately no evidence of trade licence refusal was found in the sources consulted. As in Grahamstown, business location also determined residential location, as most Indians resided on their business premises.

The main factors affecting Indian spatial distribution in King William's Town seemed to be the affordability and availability of property within prescribed areas. The availability of trade licences and proximity to market and black or mixed areas were also important.

The fact that municipality complained about the influx of Indians into King William's Town together with the introduction of discriminatory regulations shows that Indians were not very welcome. Despite this a separate Indian location was not established even though the municipality had the power to do so. This was probably as a result of the small size of the Indian population and due also to the fact that most Indians were exempted from the regulations anyway and therefore were not forced to live in the Black location. While the regulations suggest that Indian spatial distribution was strictly controlled, the maps show that Indians seemed free to move, thus indicating that the regulations were not adhered to.

## 6.4 QUEENSTOWN

### 6.4.1 Spatial distribution 1905-1950

Figures 6.12 and 6.13 indicate the initial areas of Indian occupation which include the Scanlan Street area and the blocks surrounding the hexagon. These areas were also the areas of highest concentration in later years. Fixed areas of settlement occurred after 1925 with different blocks being occupied over time. The number of Indian occupied premises per block increased over time as Figure 6.13 illustrates. The spatial distribution of the Indian community remained stable from 1925 to 1950.

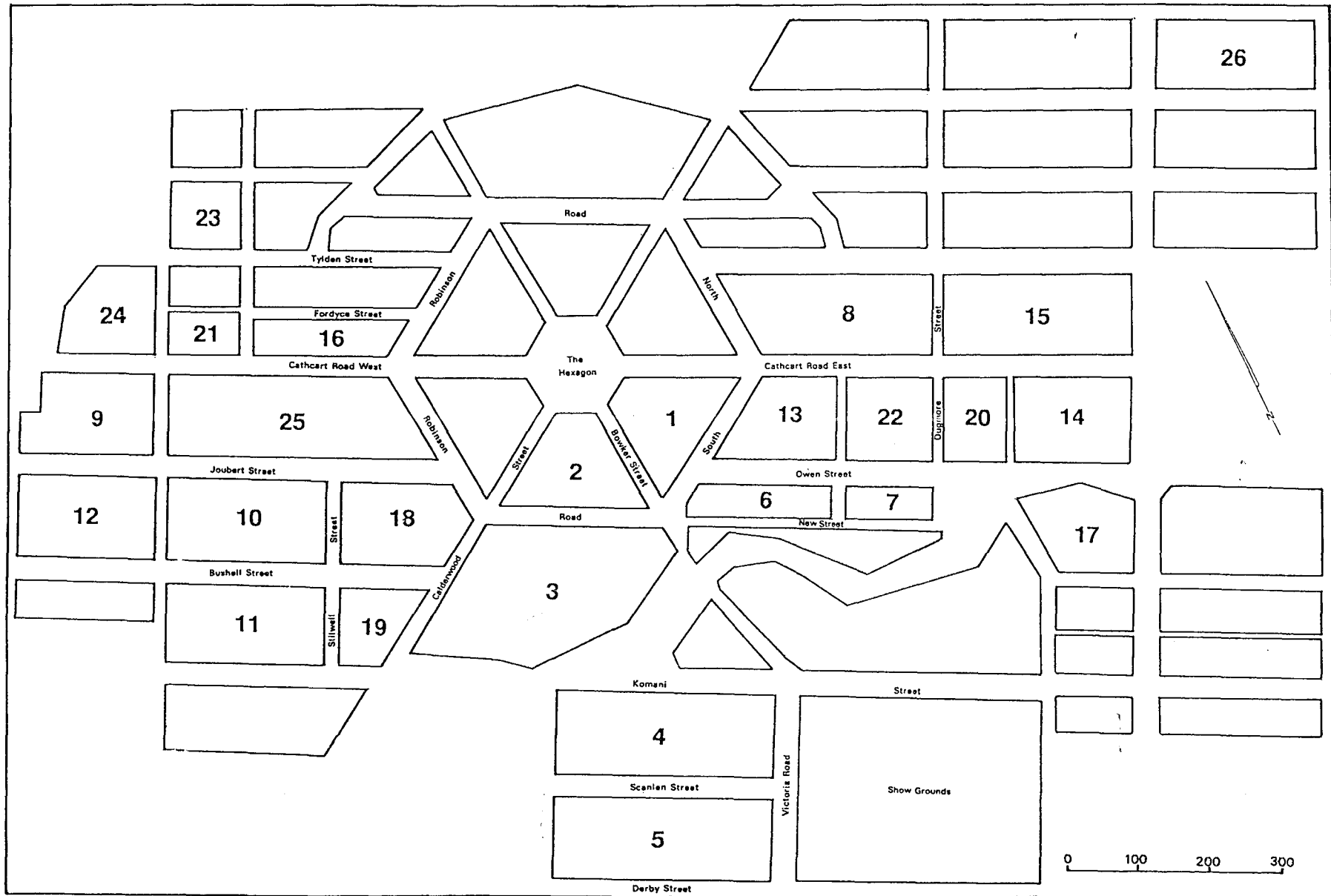


Figure 6.11 Queenstown: Block numbers

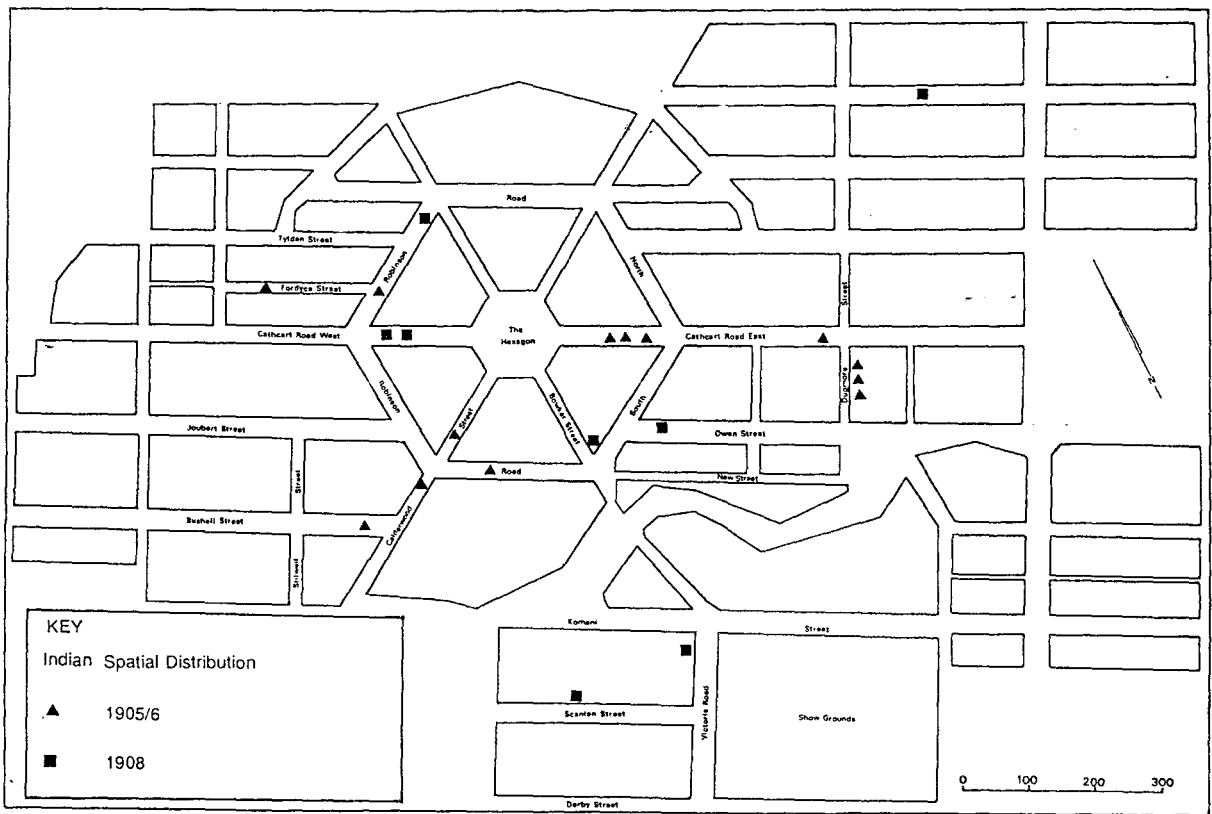


Figure 6.12 Queenstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1905-1908

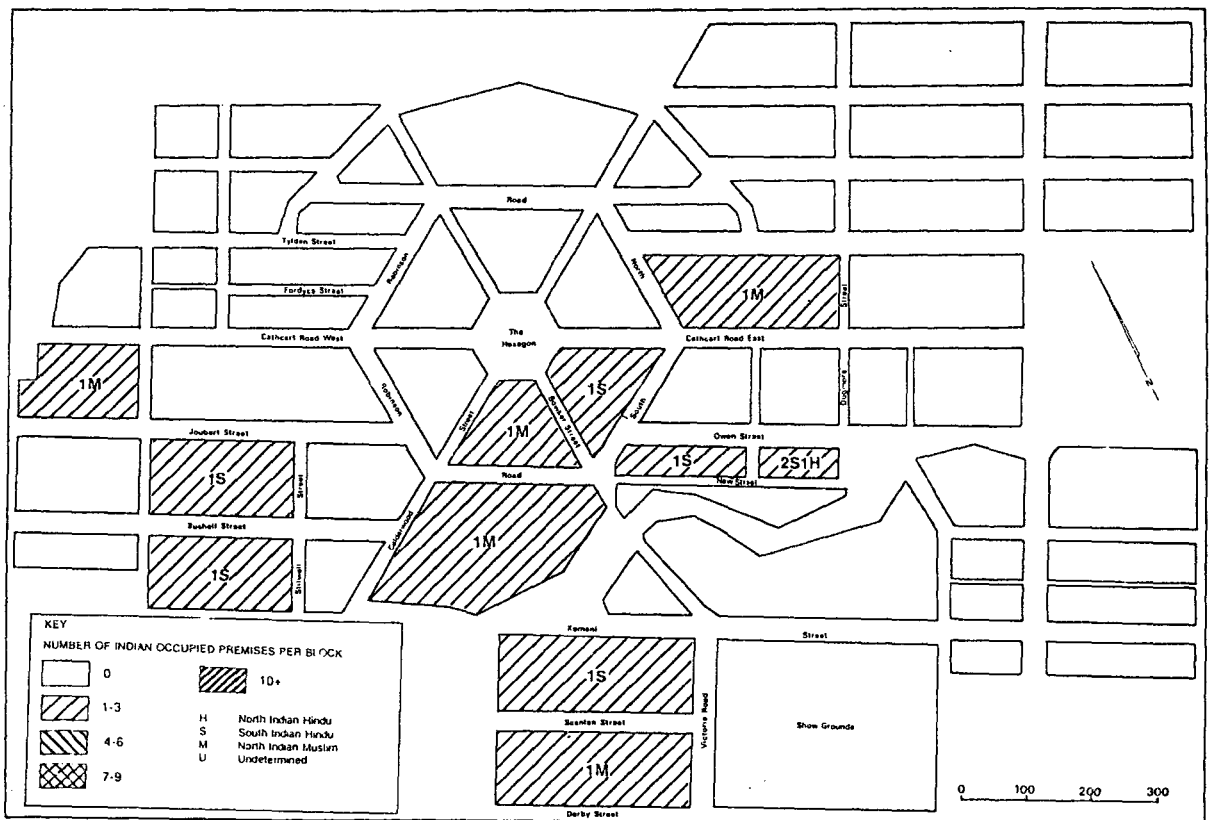


Figure 6.13 Queenstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1925

The map for 1925, Figure 6.13 and Table 6.10, show that eleven blocks were occupied by Indians. Ten of these blocks were south of Cathcart Road and only one of these blocks accommodated more than one Indian family. Cathcart Road, it seems, formed a barrier, as only one block north of Cathcart Road was occupied by Indians.

Table 6.10 Queenstown: Number of Indian occupied blocks 1925-1991

YEAR	Number of Indian occupied blocks	Number of Indian occupied blocks with more than one Indian occupied premises
1925	11	1
1935	13	6
1950	14	9
1960	14	10
1970	11	7
1981	11	6
1991*	15	9

\* Information for 1991 applies to the central area of Queenstown only.

Figure 6.14 shows that the area southeast of the hexagon and the Derby Street area was the area of highest concentration. Movement did occur as blocks that were occupied in 1925 were not occupied by Indians in 1935 and the occupation of new blocks occurred. There was a spread to peripheral blocks as in Grahamstown and King William's Town. The number of blocks occupied by Indians increased to thirteen in 1935. As Table 6.10 illustrates six of these thirteen blocks had more than one Indian family compared to 1925 where only one block accommodated more than one Indian family. Seven blocks were continuously occupied from 1925 to 1935 as Table 6.11 shows. There were sixty seven Indians in Queenstown in 1936 in contrast to eighty one in 1921. Despite this decrease in the population size there was an increase, as Table 6.12 indicates, in the number of Indian occupied premises in certain blocks. The data collected from the directory and municipal sources of information and used in the tables does not necessarily correspond to the census figures. The increase in the number of Indian occupied premises per block despite the population decrease may be due to the break up of the extended family system and the change to smaller nuclear family units. The availability of premises may have also led to the increase in the number of Indian occupied premises.

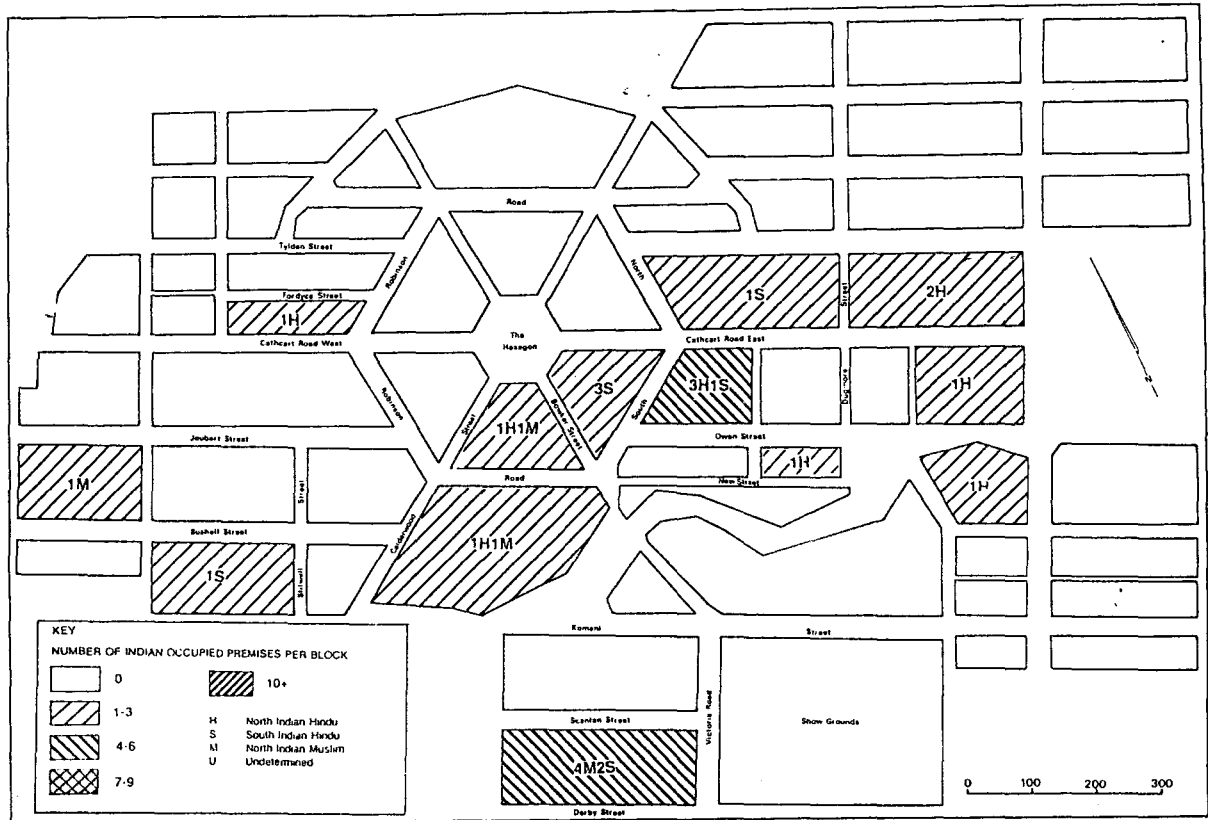


Figure 6.14 Queenstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1935

Table 6.11 Queenstown: Number of blocks continuously occupied by Indians 1925-1991

YEAR	Number of blocks continuously occupied by Indians
1925-1935	7
1925-1950	6
1925-1960	6
1925-1970	3
1925-1981	2
1925-1991	2
1950-1991	7

\*Information for 1991 applies to the central area of Queenstown only.

Table 6.12 Queenstown: Number of Indian occupied premises in each block 1925-1991.

Block No.	1925	1935	1950	1960	1970	1981	1991*
1	1	3	6	5	4	3	6
2	1	2	2	1			
3	1	2	2	1			1
4	1		2	4	5	11	12
5	1	6	4	4	3	7	12
6	1						1
7	3	1	1	2	1		
8	1	1	1	1			
9	1						
10	1						
11	1	1				1	
12		1	1				
13		4	4	5	8	4	8
14		1	2	1	1	1	6
15		2					
16		1	2	2	2	2	2
17		1					
18			1	2	1		
19			1	2	1	2	
20			3	2	2	1	3
21				2	2	1	3
22						1	2
23							1
24							1
25							1
26							1

\*Information for 1991 applies to central area of Queenstown only.

The distribution of Indians in Queenstown was more consistent than that of King William's Town. The high number of blocks continuously occupied by Indians as well as the increase of Indian occupied premises within these blocks corroborates this.

No segregation amongst Indian groups was found because, as in Grahamstown and King William's Town, Indians from different groups lived and traded together in the same blocks (see Figures 6.13 and 6.14). Table 6.13 indicates that the South Indians predominated therefore the high number of

South Indians per block was expected. Compared to Grahamstown and King William's Town the Muslim community of Queenstown was bigger.

Table 6.13 Queenstown: Number of premises occupied by South Indians, North Indians and Muslims

YEAR	SOUTH INDIAN HINDU	NORTH INDIAN HINDU	MUSLIM	UNKNOWN
1905/6	11	1	0	1
1908	4	1	2	1
1925	7	1	5	0
1935	8	9	7	1
1950	15	9	7	0
1960	13	10	10	0
1970	18	9	4	0
1981	19	10	5	0
1991	32	28	21	0

#### 6.4.2 Factors influencing spatial distribution

In Queenstown, as in Grahamstown and King William's Town, the municipality was given the power "to make all such sanitary and other regulations for the preservation of the health of the inhabitants of the town and of natives and others residing within the native locations as may be decided advisable" (Davenport, 1971, 1). This meant that the municipality was empowered to segregate groups for sanitary reasons. Indians may have been living in the Black locations in Queenstown but no reference was found to prove this in the literature consulted. The Queenstown Municipality Act No. 39 of 1879 introduced building regulations similar to that of the Slums Act of 1934. The Act also empowered the municipality to regulate and maintain markets and issue licences. Therefore Indian traders could be controlled from an early stage. In addition the General Dealer's Act of 1906 allowed the municipality to restrict black traders. As in Grahamstown and King William's Town most Indians were general dealers, fruiterers or grocers as shown in Table 6.5. Indian traders in Queenstown, as in Grahamstown, were perceived as an economic threat as licences to traders were also refused here. For example Ismail Essop's application for a general dealer licence in 1919 was denied because the municipality felt that there were sufficient general dealers in the area. The attorney, appealing on Essop's behalf, felt that the application was refused because the applicant was an Indian.<sup>5</sup> Therefore the municipality could control the number of Indian traders, and if the municipality did not approve of the type of business or the location of such a business, licence could be refused. The municipality could therefore control spatial distribution.

The blocks northeast of Cathcart Road were part of the white residential area and thus property was more expensive there compared to the area southwest of Cathcart Road, which was a racially mixed area. Premises in the latter area were cheaper and probably more accessible to Indians thus explaining the higher number of Indian occupied blocks in this area.

The main factors affecting residential and commercial spatial distribution in Queenstown would thus be the availability and affordability of premises. Indians, before applying for a trading licence first had to find premises that were affordable. If the municipality had no objection the trading licence would be granted. The municipality's decision to grant the licence would depend on the type of business and the number of such businesses already owned by Indians. Pressure on the municipality from white businessmen was also important. If the municipality felt that a new Indian business would consequently lead to competition with white businesses the licence could be denied. Thus the refusal of trading licences affected spatial distribution as the Indian would be prevented from locating businesses in certain areas. Since most Indians lived on their business premises the refusal of licences also affected residential location. Indians tended to locate their businesses wherever trade was good and most businesses were situated on pedestrian routes to and from Black and coloured areas.

## 6.5 UTENHAGE

### 6.5.1 Spatial distribution 1895-1950

The Indian community in Uitenhage was bigger from the initial period of settlement compared to the Indian communities of the other three centres (see Table 1.1). The presence of Malays and two mosques in the central area of Uitenhage as well as trade opportunities played an important role in attracting Indians, especially Muslims. Malays, who were the first Muslims in the Eastern Cape, settled in Uitenhage after leaving Cape Town in the 1800s (Bhana and Brain, 1990, Rochlin, 1956). By 1840 there were 150 Malays in Uitenhage and by 1849 a mosque had been built. There were 194 Malays in Uitenhage in 1891 compared to 22 in Grahamstown, 5 in King William's Town and 4 in Queenstown and this suggests that Indians were able to settle in larger numbers without being perceived as an unwanted "influx" as in King William's Town. However, mention is made by Herholdt (1988) of a Malay location and this indicates that segregation already existed by the time the Indian community came to Uitenhage. In Uitenhage as in King William's Town Indians were residing in locations, but no names were found in the sources consulted and therefore their distribution is not shown on the spatial distribution maps. According to Adler (1990) in 1947 there were 18 Indians in the Uitenhage location and in 1951 there were 126.

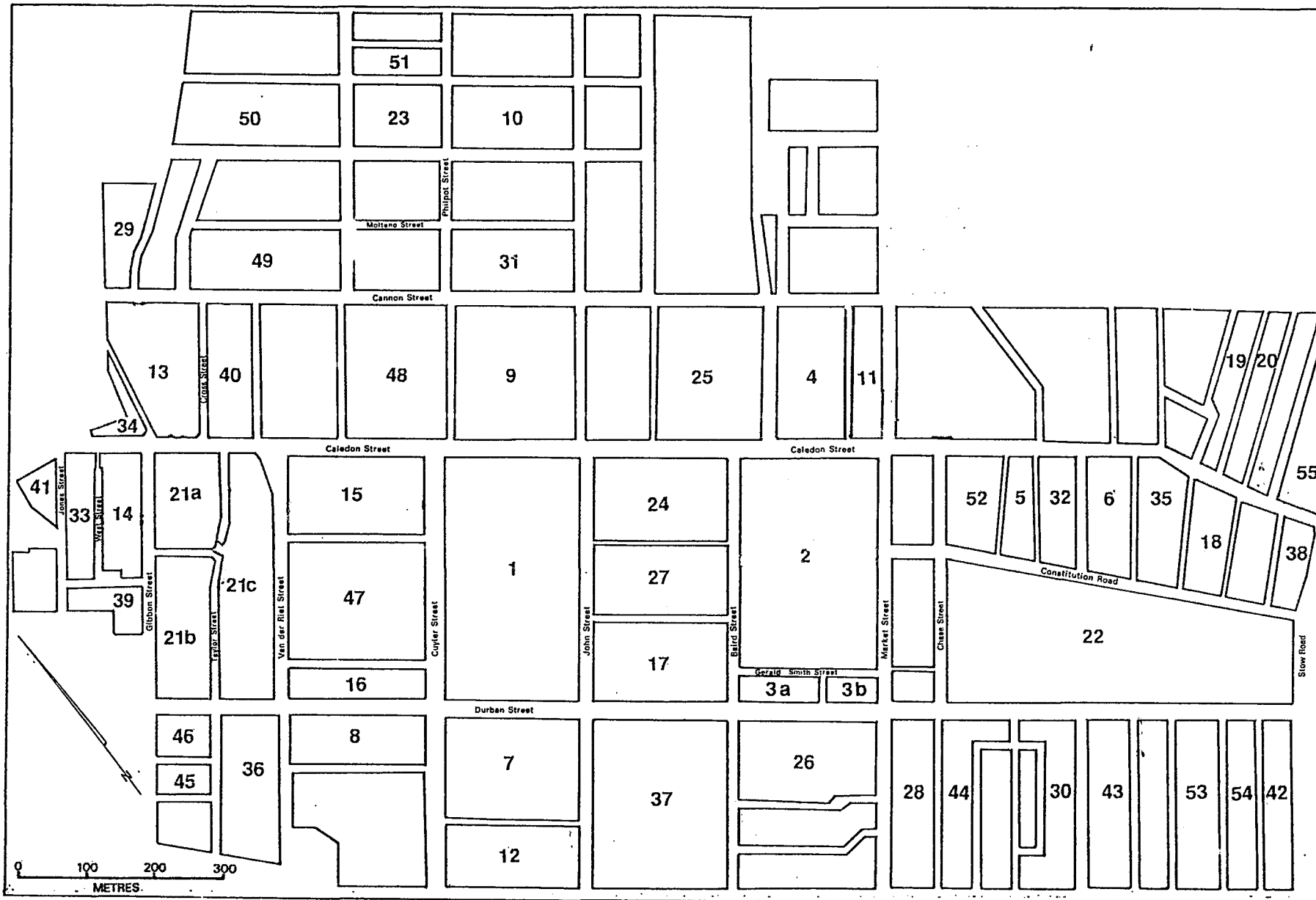


Figure 6.15 Uitenhage: Block numbers

Figure 6.10, the map dated 1895 to 1905, shows that the Indian community's distribution was scattered. The initial areas of Indian settlement were the properties fronting on to Market Street, Constitution Road, John Street and Durban Street. The number of Indians occupying blocks varied from between one to three occupants. Most of the blocks occupied by Indians were in the Market Street area, the area bounded by Market Street, Durban Road, Baird Street and Caledon Street.

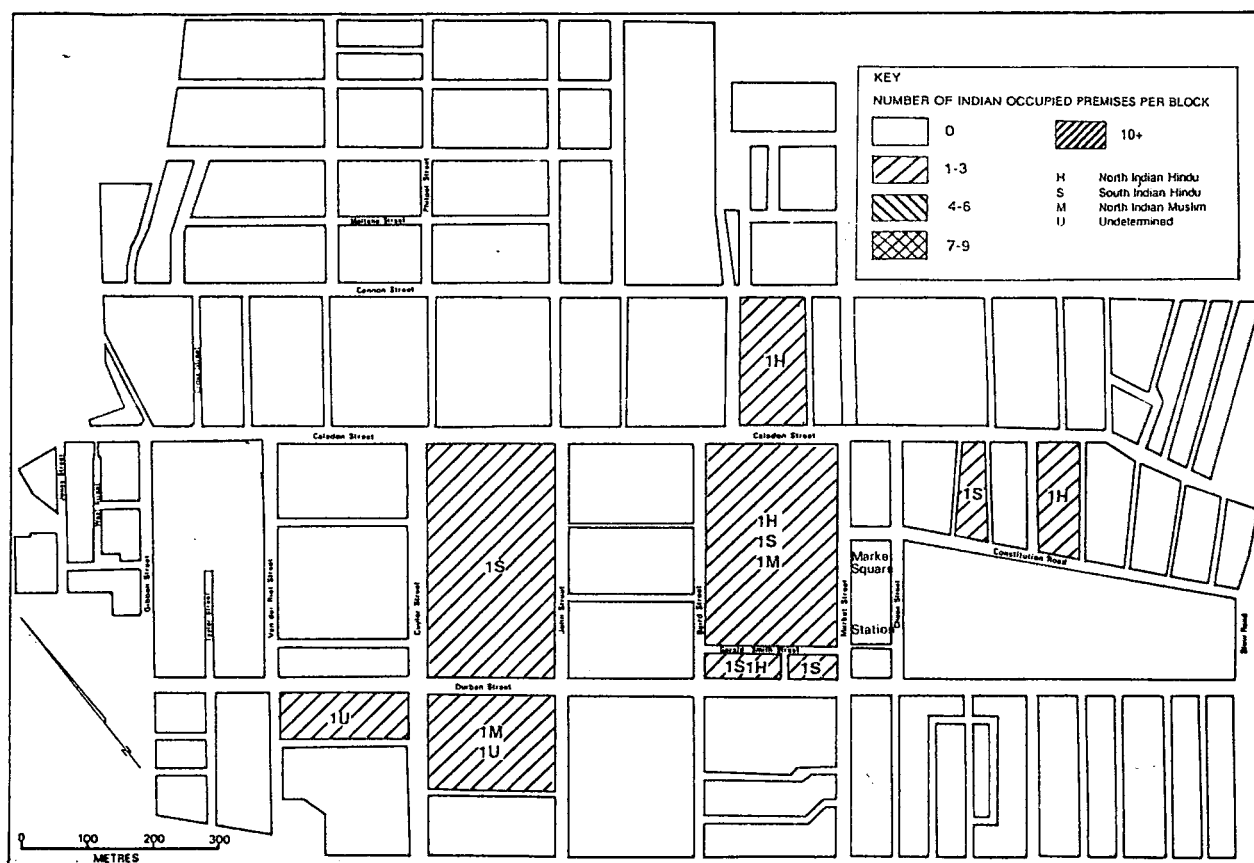


Figure 6.16 Uitenhage Indian Spatial Distribution 1895-1905

Figures 6.16 to 6.18 shows that in the initial period of settlement the Indians were scattered throughout the CBD with different blocks being occupied over time. These initial blocks of settlement became the main areas of occupation and included the Market Street area and the John Street area. The distribution remained stable after 1921 with minor shifts to peripheral blocks.

In 1908, as Figure 6.17 and Table 6.14 indicate, eleven blocks were occupied by Indians. Three of these blocks had more than one Indian occupant. The highest concentration occurred in the Market Street area with an increase in the number of Indians in the John Street area. There was also a significant spread to the area northeast of Caledon Street. In 1905 only one block above Caledon Street

was occupied by Indians compared to five in 1908 (see Figures 6.16 and 6.17). According to the data collected, only one block southwest of Durban Street and only one block in the Constitution Road area was occupied by Indians in 1908. Three blocks that were occupied by Indians in 1905 no longer accommodated Indians in 1908, therefore movement had taken place.

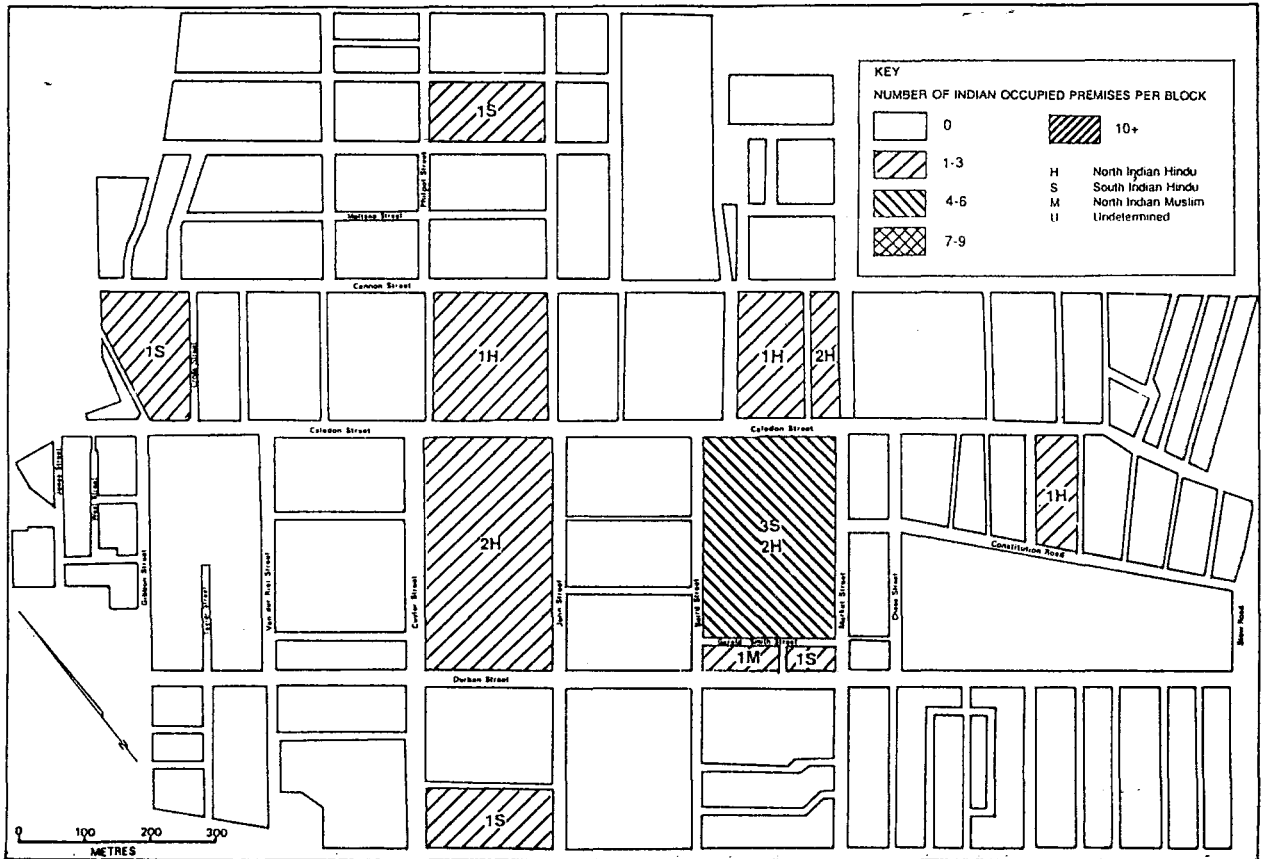


Figure 6.17 Uitenhage Indian Spatial Distribution 1908-10

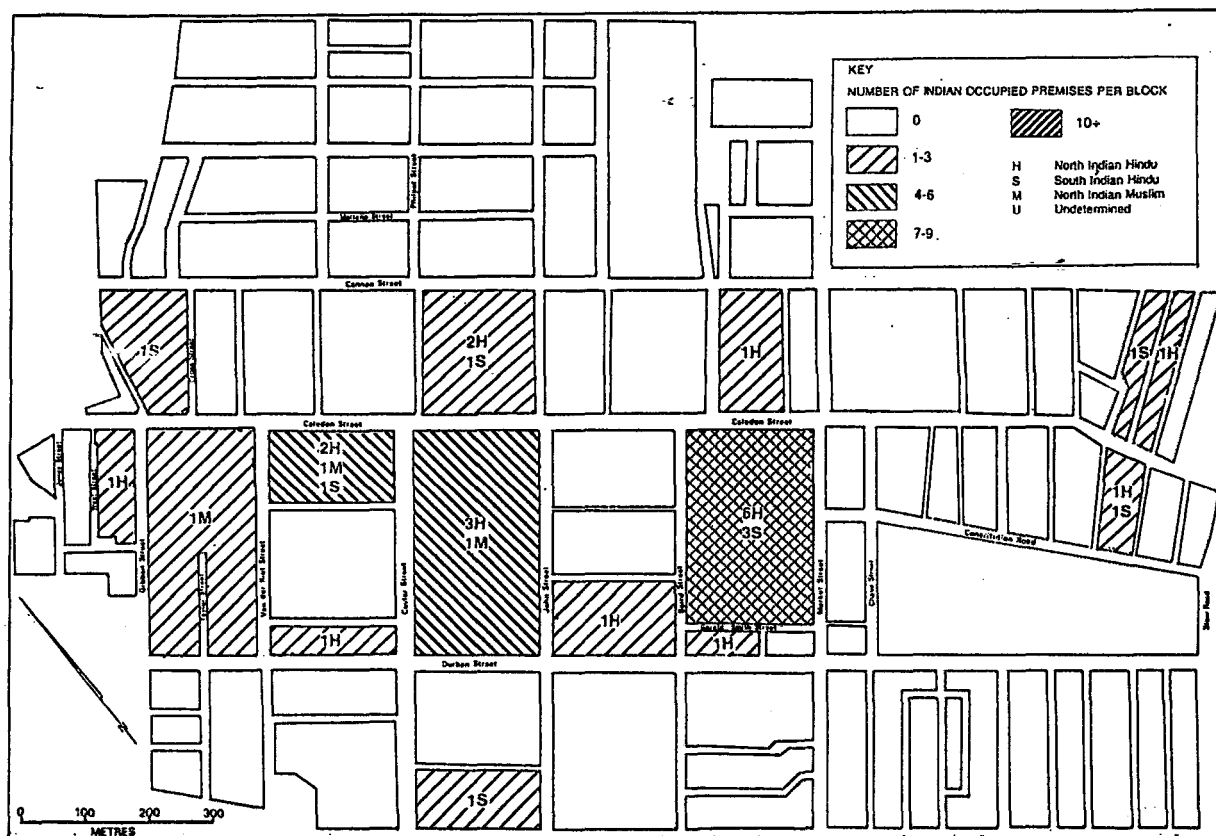


Figure 6.18 Uitenhage Indian Spatial Distribution 1915-17

Figure 6.18, the map dated 1915/7 shows that four blocks were occupied by Indians northwest of Cuyler Street, between Caledon Street and Durban Street, compared to Figure 6.17 which shows that in 1908 no Indians were located in this area. A movement to the area northwest of Cuyler Street therefore occurred. From Figure 6.18 and Table 6.14 it can be seen that fifteen blocks were occupied by Indians with five of these blocks accommodating more than one Indian family. Seven of these blocks were continuously occupied by Indians between 1908 and 1917 as indicated in Table 6.15.

In 1921, as Figure 6.19 and Table 6.14 shows there were twelve blocks occupied by Indian and seven of these blocks had more than one Indian in each block. As Table 6.15 indicates five blocks were continuously occupied by Indians since 1908. There had been shifts from the Market Street area to the John Street area and the blocks fronting Caledon Street, between Van der Riet and Cuyler Street.

Table 6.14 Uitenhage: Number of Indian occupied blocks 1895-1991

YEAR	Number of Indian occupied blocks	Number of Indian occupied blocks with more than one Indian occupied premises
1895	2	0
1898	1	0
1905	8	1
1908/10	11	3
1915/17	15	5
1921	12	7
1927/9	14	5
1950	28	17
1960/6	25	7*
1974/8	24	15
1984*	32	15
1991*	38	22

\* Information for 1984 and 1991 applies to the central area of Uitenhage only.

Table 6.15 Uitenhage: Number of blocks continuously occupied by Indians 1908-1991

YEAR	Number of blocks continuously occupied by Indians
1908-1917	7
1908-1921	5
1908-1929	4
1908-1950	3
1908-1966	3
1908-1978	3
1908-1984	3
1908-1991	3
1950-1991	16

\* Information for 1984 and 1991 applies to the central area of Uitenhage only.

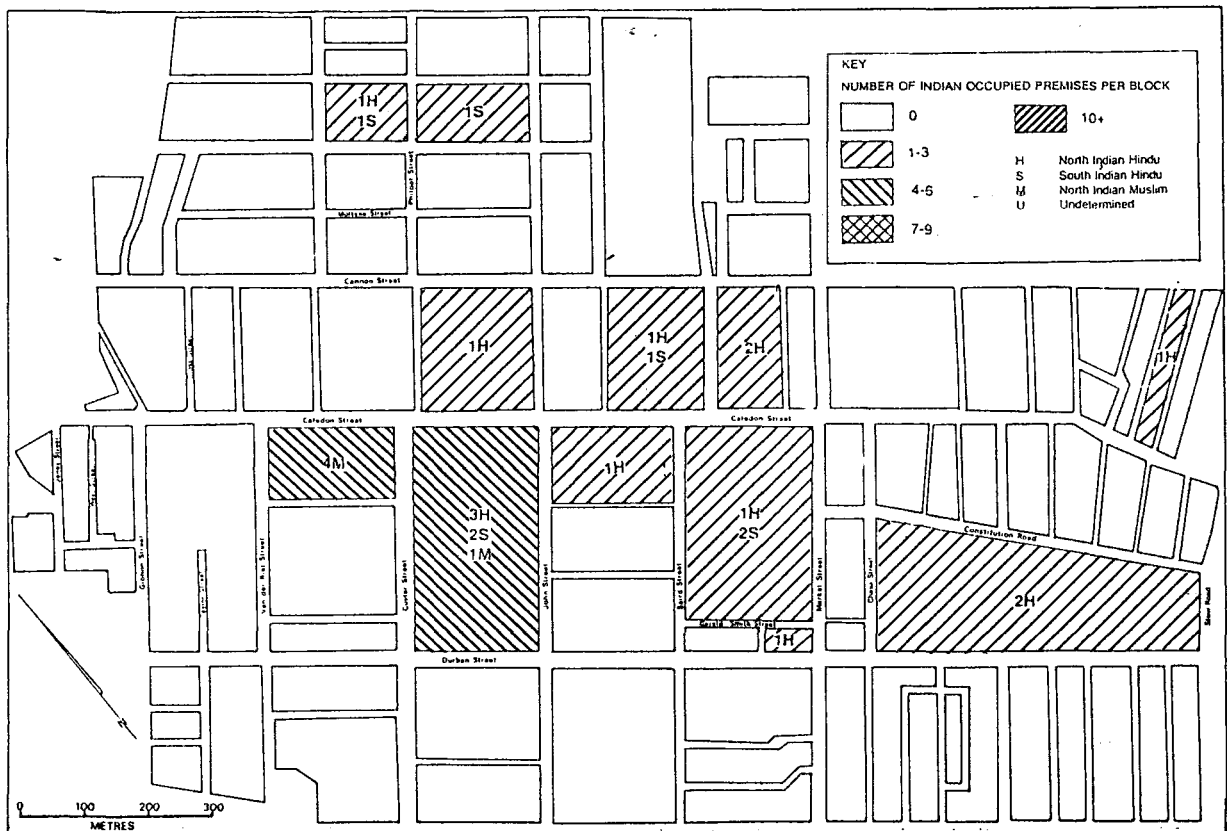


Figure 6.19 Uitenhage Indian Spatial Distribution 1921

According to Figure 6.20, the map for 1927/9, the Indian community was located in fourteen blocks. Five of the fourteen blocks accommodated more than one Indian family. The number of Indian occupants decreased in the Market Street area which consists of the block bounded by Caledon Street, Market Street, Durban Street and Baird Street. The John Street area, the block bounded by Caledon Street, Durban Street, John Street and Cuyler Street also experienced a decrease in Indian occupants. The spatial distribution for 1927/9 shows that there were no more than three Indian occupied premises per block and only four blocks were continuously occupied since 1908. Table 6.16 also shows that blocks were discontinuously occupied suggesting that the spatial distribution was not fixed. Between 1927 and 1950 the spatial distribution remained in the same areas. Table 6.16 shows that there was an increase in the number of Indian occupied blocks as well as an increase in the number of Indian occupied premises per block. Movement to other areas thus occurred.

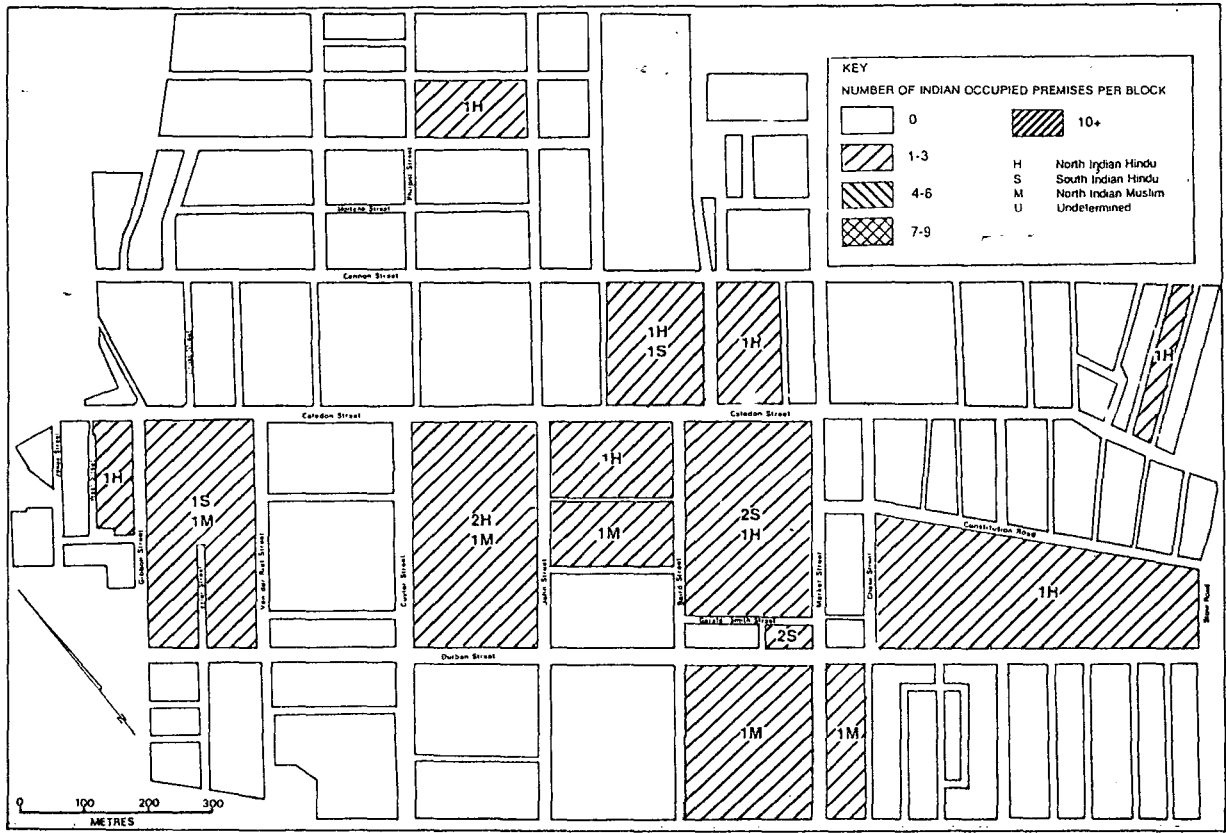


Figure 6.20 Uitenhage Indian Spatial Distribution 1927-9

Table 6.16 Uitenhage: Number of Indian occupied premises in each block 1895-1991

	1895-1905	1908/10	1915/17	1921	1927/9	1950	1960/6	1974/8	1984*	1991*
1	1	2	4	6	3	4	4	3	7	5
2	3	5	9	3	3	4	4	2	2	8
3a&b	3	2	1	1	2	8	8	8	8	13
4	1	1	1	2	1					
5	1						1	2	1	2
6	1	1				2	1	1	2	2
7	2						2	1	1	1
8	1								1	1
9		1	3	1				1	1	
10		1		1	1	1				
11		2				1				
12		1	1							
13		1	1			5	1	2	9	9
14			1		1	3	3	10	10	12
15			4	4		5	1	1	4	3
16			1			2	3	2	5	3
17			1				1		1	1
18			2			2	1	1	1	2
19			1	1						1
20			1	1	1	2	1	1	1	
21a,b & c			1		2	12	13	28	32	41
22				2	1	1	1	1	1	6
23				2		4	1	3	1	2
24				2	1	2	1		1	2
25				1	2					
26					1					
27					1					
28					1					
29						1	1		1	
30						2	1	1	1	1
31						1		1	1	2
32						1		2	2	1
33						1		3	8	8
34						1	1	2	2	1

35						2	1		1	
36						1				3
37						2				
38						1				
39							1			
40								2	3	4
41								2	2	1
42									1	4
43									1	
44									2	
45									1	2
46										1
47										1
48										1
49										3
50										1
51										1
52										1
53										1
54										1
55										1

\* Information for 1984 and 1991 applies to the central area of Uitenhage only.

### 6.5.2 Factors influencing spatial distribution

There were only 39 Indians in Uitenhage in 1899 (Bradlow, 1979, 135) and they were scattered throughout the CBD which suggests that there were no segregatory restrictions. A few may have been living in the Malay area in the initial period of settlement particularly the Muslim families but unfortunately no reference to such residents were found. The area northwest of Van der Riet Street was mainly occupied by blacks. In Uitenhage, however, unlike Grahamstown and King William's Town Indians seemed to be located in the central part of the urban centre, similar to the situation in Queenstown. The block with the highest concentration in 1910 and 1917 (see Figures 6.17 and 6.18) was situated opposite the market and the station. As in the other study areas Table 6.5 shows that general dealers, fruiterers and grocers were the main occupations. Since most of the Indians were

mainly general dealers, grocers and fruiterers they located near the market and it would thus seem as if the type of business influenced spatial distribution. This area of high concentration (see Figure 6.18) may have also been the main Indian business area as in Grahamstown where the High Street area was the main trading area. Business location further affected residential distribution as Indians preferred to reside on their business premises.

The Uitenhage Municipal Act No. 30 of 1877 allowed the municipality to regulate the issuing of trade and other licences. The Uitenhage Municipality Act No. 15 of 1904, in addition to licences and sanitary provisions, introduced market and building regulations. The Act also made direct reference to Indians as it provided for licensing and supervising of "coolies" and licence tariffs and charges could be fixed by the municipality. Whether these measures were implemented could not be determined as no reference to the application of the Act was found in the archival files consulted. The fact that the municipality introduced measures to restrict Indian traders suggests that Indians were regarded as a problem, as in Grahamstown and Queenstown. The Act also enabled the municipality to establish and regulate locations for Asiatics and natives. Trade within the location was prohibited. As in King William's Town the municipality could fix areas within the urban centre where Indians were allowed to reside. Whether areas were set aside for Indians was not determined. However, as in King William's Town Indians could be segregated if they did not own property to the value of 75 pounds. Most Indians owned property and thus would have been exempted from the restrictions forcing Indians to live in locations. These regulations were not repealed after the Municipal Ordinance No. 10 of 1912 as Uitenhage was exempted from the Act and could retain any regulations that had been passed prior to 1912.

In May 1909 the Indian laundry in John Street was perceived to be a health risk and the owner was instructed to wash clothes in the river (Fowlds, Uitenhage Municipal Diary, 1905-1909). Soon after in 1912 municipal regulations relating to laundries and cleaning businesses were introduced to prevent the spread of disease. A certificate of registration from the Council was required by owners of laundries which was not transferable from one person to another. Application was free and the owner of such a business had to reapply annually in writing. The municipality could therefore regulate the number of laundries if it wanted to. In Uitenhage, unlike Grahamstown and Queenstown, Chinese traders were a problem and, it was claimed, were causing white shopkeepers to suffer unfair competition as Chinese shops opened from 5am to midnight (Fowlds, Uitenhage Municipal Diary, 1905-1909). The General Dealer's Act of 1906, however, allowed the municipality to fix trading hours and shops were required to close at 8pm. In Grahamstown the municipality allowed Indians to open

their stores both day and night except on Sundays. These measures taken by the Uitenhage municipality reduced the number of Chinese traders from 125 to 67. The decrease was due to the fact that it was mainly after 8pm that the Chinese did the bulk of their business (Fowlds, Uitenhage Municipal Diary, 1905-1909). The Indian traders in Uitenhage were surely also affected by these new trading hours. If the number of Indian traders dropped as a result of the restrictions there would have been a decrease in the number of Indian occupied premises. The spatial distribution maps (see Figures 6.16 and 6.17) do not in fact show any significant decrease in Indian occupied premises.

Table 6.17 Uitenhage: Number of premises occupied by South Indian Hindus, North Indian Hindus and Muslims

YEAR	SOUTH INDIAN HINDU	NORTH INDIAN HINDU	MUSLIM	UNKNOWN
1895	1	0	0	1
1901	1	0	0	0
1905	4	1	2	2
1910	7	9	1	0
1915/7	9	20	3	0
1921	6	14	5	0
1927/9	7	9	5	1
1950	5	46	21	0
1960/6	3	35	11	3
1974/8	10	54	8	4
1984	13	65	28	5
1991	48	105	25	29

The move to blocks outside the initial areas of settlement was mainly due to economic factors. The main area of Indian occupation occurred southwest of Caledon Street, therefore in the racially mixed part of the urban centre. There seemed to be no restriction on movement despite the regulations discussed above. In Uitenhage too, Indians mostly resided on their business premises. Thus business location determined residential spatial distribution. As in the other three urban centres the availability and affordability of property affected spatial distribution. In 1907 there were 200 empty houses in Uitenhage (Fowlds, Uitenhage Municipal Diary 1904-1914). However, not all of these houses were affordable to Indians. If these houses were situated in predominantly white areas high property prices and rents would have prevented Indians from moving into these areas.

In 1906 the Uitenhage municipality could reduce the number of occupants in overcrowded dwellings and could also expropriate the owner or occupier of such buildings in Uitenhage. Thus if the municipality wanted to remove Indians from certain areas it could do so. The Slums Act of 1934 also allowed the municipality to expropriate residents of slum dwellings and could be used in all four urban centres to remove unwanted racial groups from certain premises. The Slums Act could have been used to remove Indians in the four study areas prior to 1950 but no reference to such removals were found.

In 1925 whites petitioned and demanded that the Uitenhage Council prohibit the sale of property to coloureds and Asiatics. This implies that the Indians were moving into predominantly white areas and were regarded as a problem. The spatial distribution maps of 1917 and 1921 (see Figures 6.18 and 6.19) show that Indians were moving to blocks northeast of Caledon Street. The Town Clerk then asked the government if legislation could be introduced to make the sale of property to certain sections of the community illegal, but they replied that legislation applying to Asiatics would soon be introduced.<sup>6</sup> In the same year the Uitenhage municipality took further steps by asking the East London municipality if any legislation dealing with the leasing, acquisition or ownership of property to Indians in residential areas existed, as Indians were moving into better class areas.

In Uitenhage the presence of family was important. For example Bhikha Kalan (see Figure 5.2) was responsible for bringing many Indian families to Uitenhage (Mrs Kooverjee and Mr Prag, personal interviews, 1990). He not only had the financial means to do so but also owned property which he rented to these families, thus influencing spatial distribution. He was also one of the few Indians who owned and occupied premises northeast of Caledon Street.

No segregation of Indian groups was found as Indians lived and traded within the same blocks as was the case in Grahamstown, King William's Town and Queenstown. Occupation seemed to be an important factor in influencing spatial distribution as shown earlier. Table 6.5 shows that there was only one butcher in Uitenhage owned by Tiry (see Figure 5.2). This butchery was located close to the Malay area as it catered for the Muslim community.

## 6.6 SUMMARY

In all four urban centres, areas of racial mixing occurred. There were also exclusively white areas where no Indians lived. Certain roads served as buffer zones to separate white areas from black or mixed areas. Areas of high Indian concentration, where Indians lived and traded in close proximity to each other, were identified in Grahamstown and Uitenhage. In Grahamstown the location of the

temple seemed to be the focus around which Indians lived. In Uitenhage too the presence of the mosque and the distribution of the Malay community may have influenced the spatial distribution of Muslims.

In all four urban centres the spatial distribution of the Indian community was stable over time. There was movement between blocks within the CBD and surrounding area but no major shifts in location occurred.

The high number of Indian occupied premises per block and the high number of blocks continuously occupied by Indians in Grahamstown and Queenstown, suggests that the spatial distribution was stable. Unlike King William's Town where the number of Indian occupied premises per block and the number of blocks continuously occupied by Indians was low, suggesting a more dispersed and less concentrated distribution.

Both formal and informal measures were used by the municipality and government to control Indian residential and commercial distribution. The municipality's attitude towards Indians determined the degree of racial discrimination and thus the level of segregation in each urban centre. The availability and affordability of property and trading licences played an important role. The presence of family and friends determined the number of Indians in each urban centre. The location of businesses depended on occupation as well as the availability of trade licences that were issued by the municipalities. The municipalities of King William's Town and Uitenhage were empowered to create locations and could pass regulations to segregate Indians if they wanted to, but no Indian locations were established. It was only in King William's Town where regulations prohibited Indians from living and trading in certain areas.

No segregation between the three Indian groups was found. Caste segregation was also not found but caste consciousness seemed to be prevalent. Indians could voluntarily segregate themselves from other Indians or other races. However, from the interviews the relationship between different groups seemed good. In Grahamstown Indians belonging to different caste groups lived and worked together (Mr Naran, personal interview, 1990) in the initial years of settlement. As mentioned earlier, Indians from the same village had close ties and often lived together and assisted each other financially despite caste differences. Once a business was established the rest of a family or fellow villagers would be summoned from India.

It is important to consider occupation as a determinant of spatial distribution in the initial period of settlement. On arrival most Indians had to abandon caste occupations and learn new skills. The only caste groups that were able to use their skills were leather workers and washermen who opened shoe repairing shops and laundries respectively. These were found in the study areas. Hawking and trading, which required little skill and experience, also became popular. Table 6.5 shows that in each urban centre most of the Indians became general dealers, fruiterers and grocers. These traders were an economic threat to white businessmen who thus pressurised the municipality to reduce their numbers and to restrict them spatially. Indian traders were therefore excluded from certain areas if trading licences were refused by the municipality. The situation in the Cape was similar to the Transvaal and Natal with regard to Indian traders who posed an economic threat. Table 6.5 unfortunately does not show the number of hawkers which according to the interviews was the main source of income in the very early years of settlement. Most Indians therefore began as hawkers and later opened shops. Hawking required no premises and was therefore ideal for new Indian immigrants. This was especially the case in Uitenhage where a number of Indians became hawkers before opening shops. Bhika Kara (see Figure 5.2) arrived as early as 1901 and was one of the first Indians to settle in Uitenhage. He started as a hawker before opening a shop (Mr Kara, personal interview, 1990). Once enough money was acquired they looked for business premises.

In all four study areas a number of general trends or patterns were found. In Grahamstown, King William's Town and Uitenhage Indians settled close to the market (see Figures 6.5, 6.10, 6.16). The location of the station may have also been important in these three urban centres. Property costs and rent in the core of the CBD were high therefore Indians preferred to locate their businesses on the periphery of the CBD where trade was good and premises were available and affordable. Since Indians relied mainly on black trade they tended to locate their businesses on pedestrian routes used by Blacks and coloureds, between the locations and the CBD. In King William's Town, Queenstown and Uitenhage Indian businesses were close to locations. Indian businessmen clustered in certain areas as was found in all four study areas and this may have been due to cheaper rents, better trade, the availability of premises or the availability of trade licences.

## 6.7 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDIANS IN RELATION TO THE SEGREGATION CITY MODEL

The Segregation city model discussed in Chapter 3 shows that Indians were mainly located in racially mixed zones and that a separate Indian business area existed. The model also shows that Indians were located in a segregated Indian and/or coloured area. Segregation was a characteristic of the model but racial mixing was permitted unlike the Apartheid city model discussed in Chapter 4.

In all four study areas Indians were scattered throughout the central area in racially mixed areas. As in the model these zones of racial mixing occurred on the periphery of the CBD thus, to a certain extent that were segregated from predominantly white residential areas. No segregated Indian areas were found in the four study areas.

In terms of trade areas one finds that in Grahamstown and Uitenhage Indian trade areas were identified. The lower High Street accommodated most of the Indian businesses in Grahamstown, while in Uitenhage the blocks surrounding the market had the highest number of Indian occupied properties and was the main area of Indian business. Unlike Grahamstown, King William's Town did not have a business area as Indians were not really concentrated in any separate area. However, as in the other study areas Indian businesses also occurred throughout the CBD. It is important to note that in all four study areas Indians tended to live on their business premises.

The maps for all four study areas do not show that Indians were segregated. However, certain municipalities such as King William's Town controlled Indian spatial distribution by means of municipal regulations, thereby maintaining a certain level of segregation.

It would seem that the spatial distribution of the Indians in Grahamstown and Uitenhage conform most closely to the Segregation city model, as both had racially mixed areas and Indian trade areas. King William's Town and Queenstown partly comply with the model as Indians were located in racially mixed areas but no trade areas were identified. All four centres differ from the model as no segregated Indian areas were found and Indians were not only confined to racially mixed areas. Indians lived and traded in the central areas and moved into predominantly white areas over time.

## 6.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter not only showed the spatial distribution of the Indian community from the initial period of settlement to 1950 but also examined the factors influencing that distribution. Political and economic factors determined the spatial distribution of Indians either directly or indirectly prior to 1950. The municipality played a very important role in controlling Indian spatial distribution as has been shown for the four study areas. The main factors affecting Indian spatial distribution prior to 1950 were the availability of premises and trade licences, the affordability of property and premises, occupation and municipal regulations.

### Endnotes

- 1) PAS 2/87, L3c, 2-9-1909, letter Acting Imperial Chinese Consulate to Colonial Secretary.
- 2) GH 1/494-122, 12-11-1907, letter Mahmoud Churchward to the Earl of Elgin.
- 3) GH 23/113, 10-3-1908, letter Governor of Cape of Good Hope to Earl of Elgin.
- 4) PAS 2/256 (L48a), King William's Town regulations.
- 5) PAS 2/955 L120/C/244, 2-7-1919, letter Provincial Secretary to attorney.
- 6) 3/ELN 964, 1755, 11-9-1925, correspondence Uitenhage municipality to East London Municipality.

## CHAPTER 7: SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDIANS AFTER 1950

### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter examined the spatial distribution of the Indians in the four study areas from 1880 to 1950. This chapter will discuss the situation after 1950 and the spatial effects of the implementation of the Group Areas Act on the four Indian communities. The Group Areas Act came into operation in all urban centres in the Cape Province after proclamation 71 of 1951. The role of the government, municipalities and Indian communities will be assessed to see if their decisions and actions affected the outcome of the Group Areas Act and thus the spatial distribution of the four communities. It is important to note, that as shown in Chapter 6, most Indians after 1950 still resided on their business premises. Therefore residential distribution depended largely on business location. In Chapter 6 the spatial distribution of the four Indian communities was related to the Segregation city model. The spatial distribution of Indians in this chapter will be related to the Apartheid city model and Modernized Apartheid city model to see if there are any similarities.

The implementation of the Group Areas Act as discussed in Chapter 4 brought about an increase in segregation. Indians had to be segregated into separate residential and trade areas as no racially mixed areas were permitted by the Act. The proposals and proclamation of Indian residential and business areas will be examined and the role of the government, municipalities and the Indian communities in the implementation of the Act will be highlighted, as it affected the spatial structure of the urban centre. The way in which the municipalities and the Indian communities dealt with the implementation of the Act will be discussed. The information for King William's Town prior to 1972 was missing and for this reason the initial steps taken in this urban centre will not be examined.

### 7.2 GRAHAMSTOWN: SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION 1950-1991

#### 7.2.1 Spatial distribution

Figures 7.1 to 7.4 show that between 1950 and 1983 there were no major shifts in the location of Indians. Table 6.2 and 6.3 clearly show that the number of blocks continuously occupied by Indians remained more or less the same thus little movement to other blocks occurred. The spatial distribution of Indians in Grahamstown thus remained relatively fixed after the introduction of the Group Areas Act. The areas of highest concentration were the lower High Street area and the New Street area. There was an increase in the number of Indian occupied premises in certain blocks over time as indicated on the maps. The fact that no segregation between the different Indian groups occurred after 1950 can be seen in Figures 7.1 to 7.4 which show that the various groups lived and traded in the same blocks.

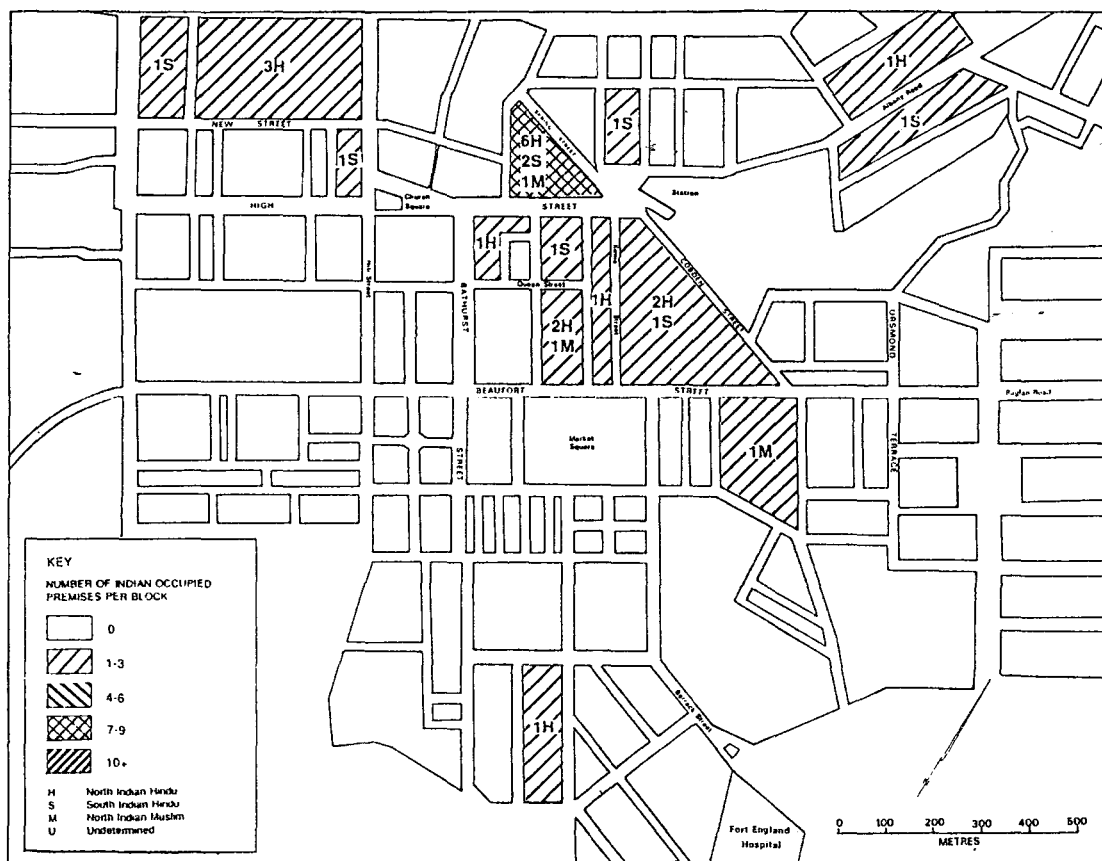


Figure 7.1 Grahamstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1950

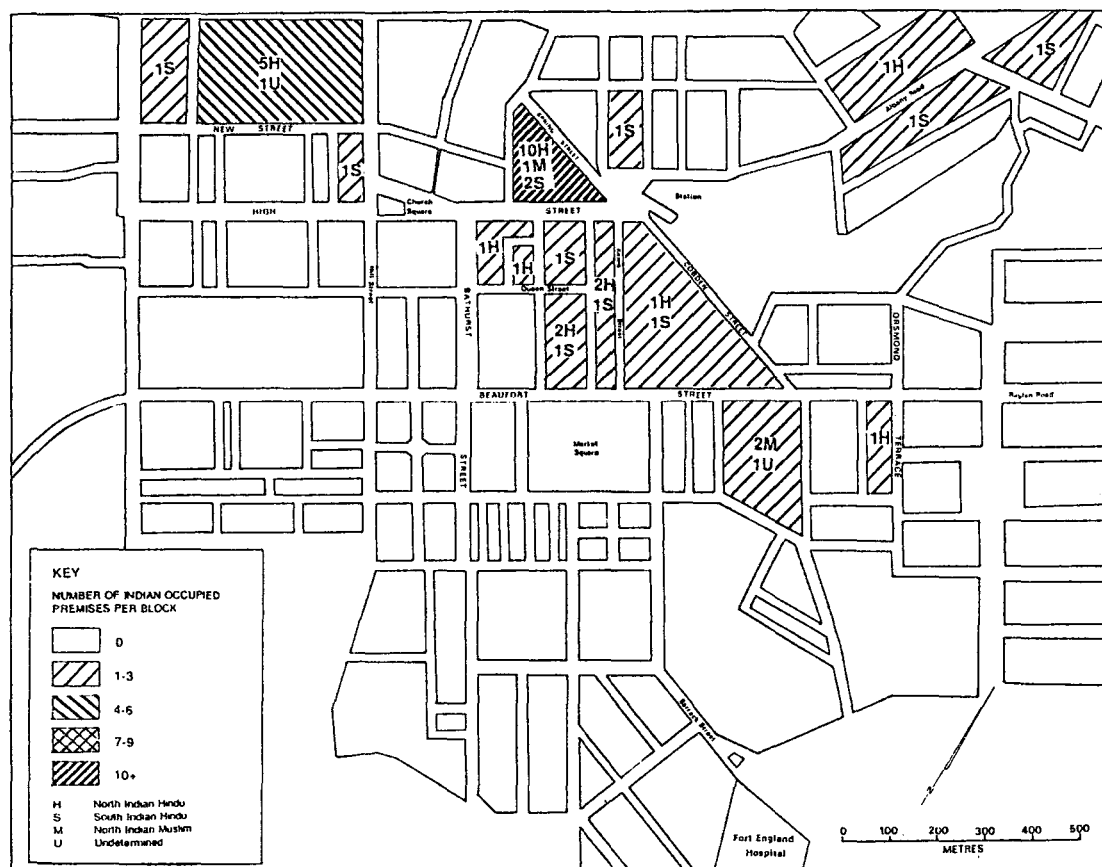


Figure 7.2 Grahamstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1965

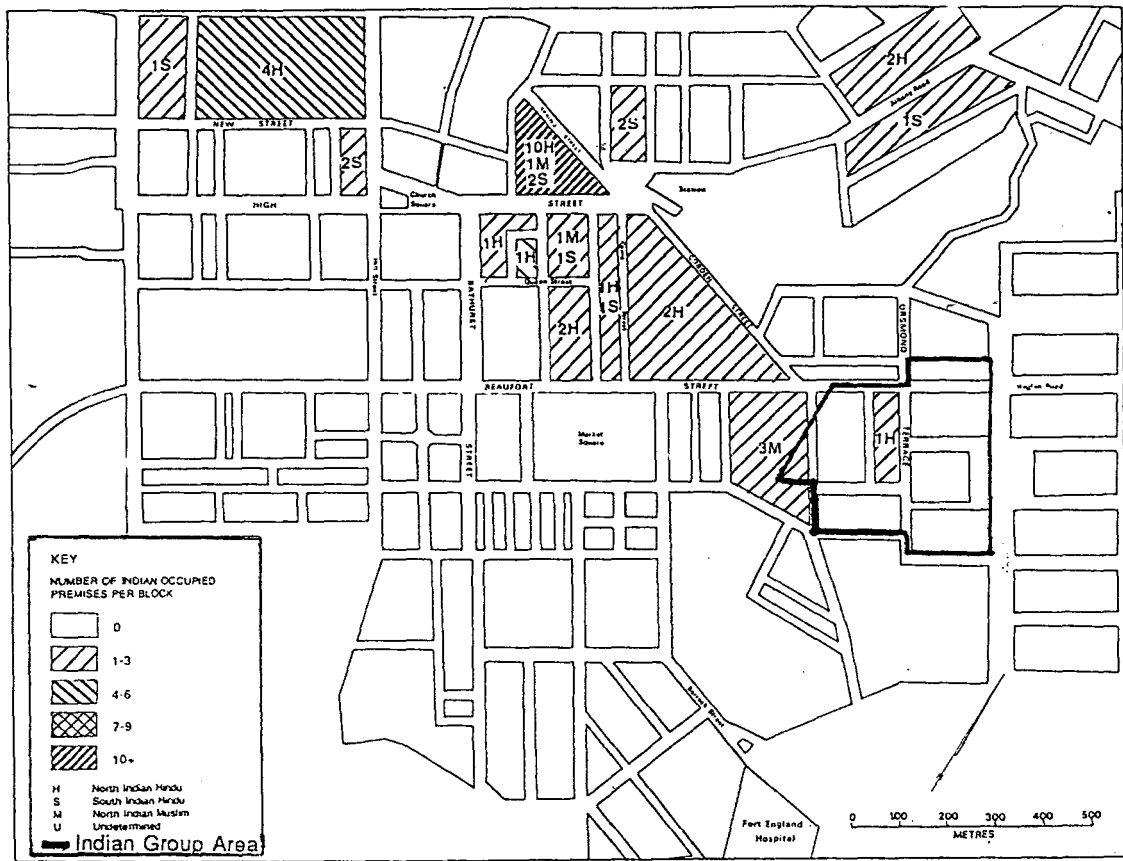


Figure 7.3 Grahamstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1972

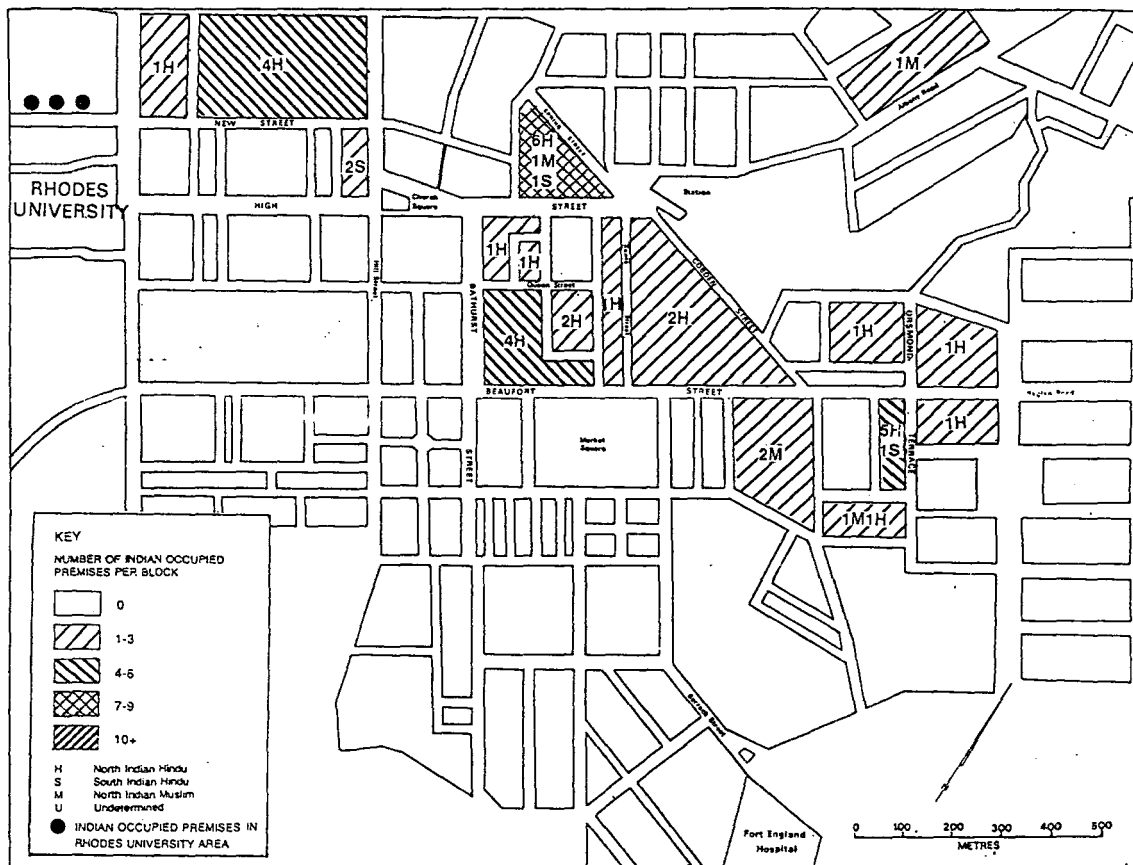


Figure 7.4 Grahamstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1983

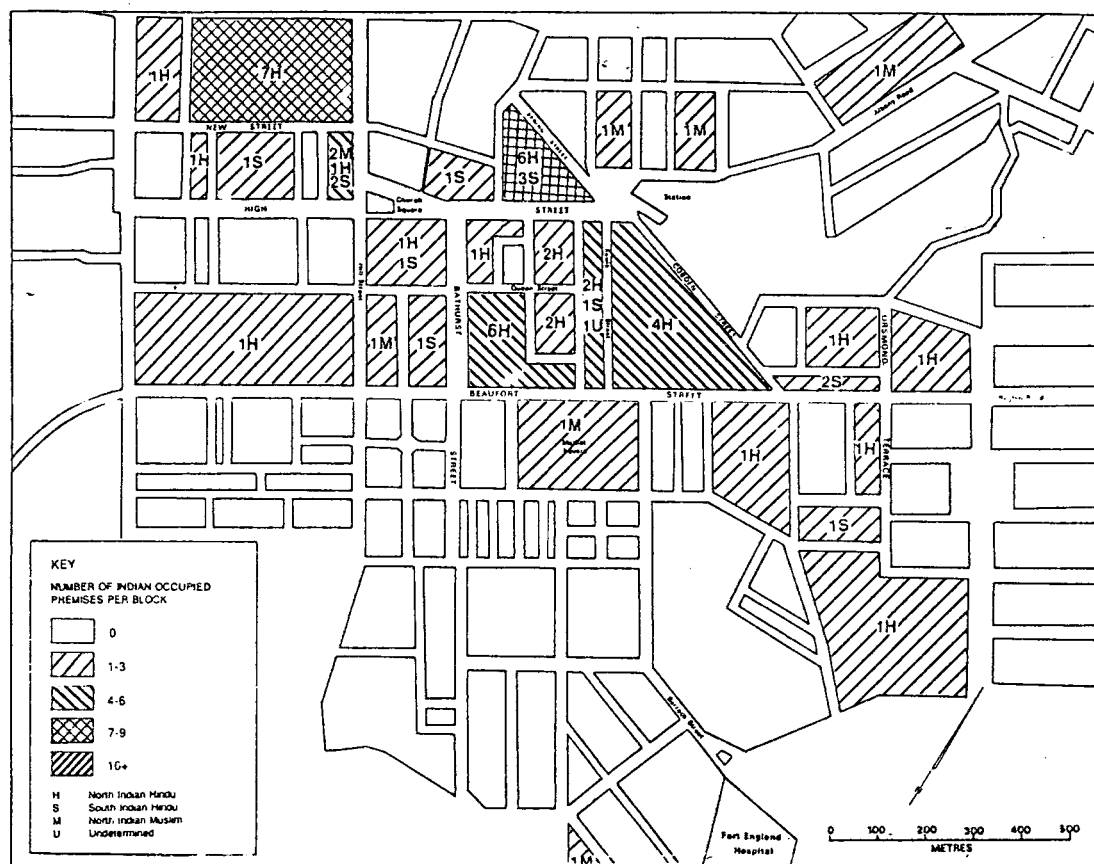


Figure 7.5 Grahamstown Indian Spatial Distribution in central area 1991

Grahamstown in 1991, shows a dramatic increase in the number of Indian occupied premises per block. In 1983 Oatlands North was proclaimed as an Indian residential group area (Figure 7.6) and accommodated 23 Indian families by 1991. One would assume that the movement to the Indian group area, that occurred after 1983 would have resulted in a decrease in the number of Indian occupied premises in the central area of Grahamstown. However, the number of blocks occupied by Indians as well as the number of Indian occupied premises per block increased (see Figure 7.5 and Tables 6.1 and 6.3). The reason for this was that the Indians only moved their residences to the Indian group area, while the businesses remained where they were and new businesses were established. Therefore in Grahamstown business location no longer determined residential distribution. The spatial distribution of Indians in 1991 (see Figure 7.5) also shows a spread of businesses into the core of the white CBD. This occurred because of free trade areas and the opening of the CBD to all race groups.

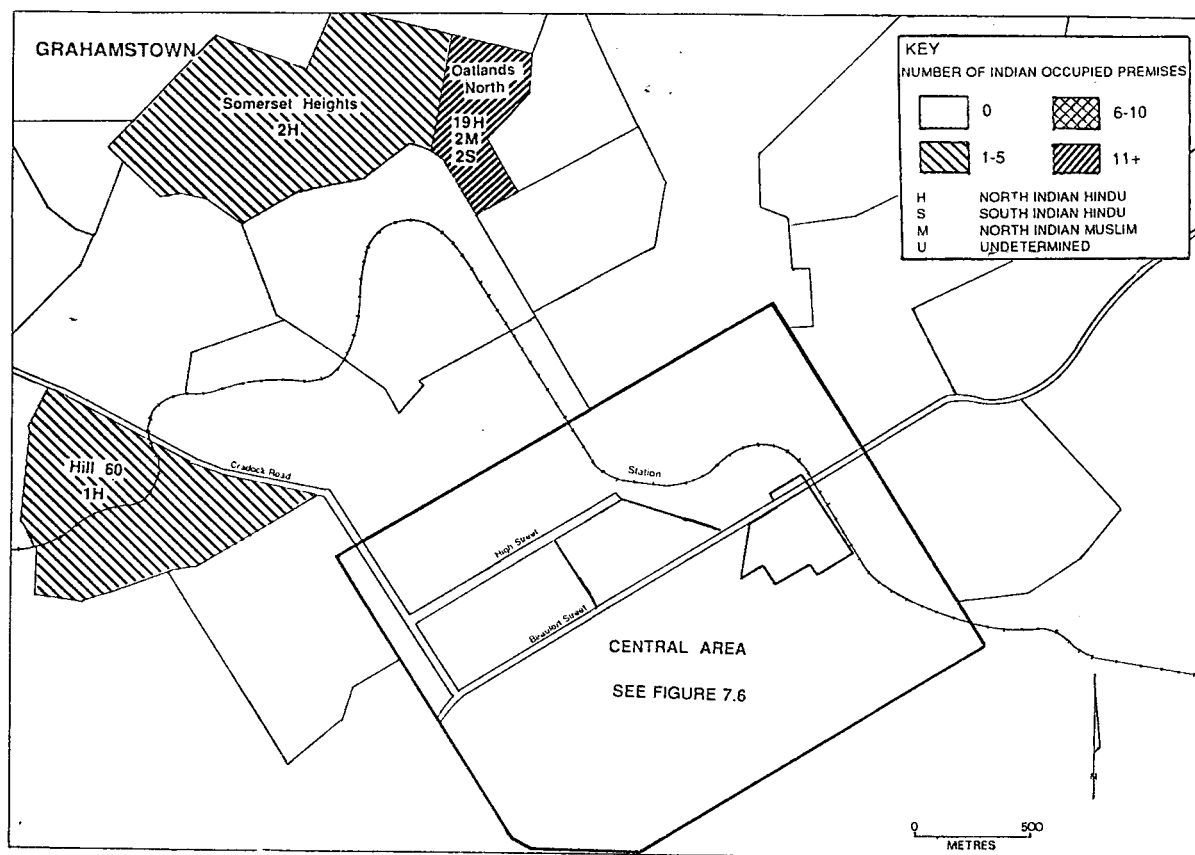


Figure 7.6 Grahamstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1991

Figure 7.6 shows that Indians had moved to white suburbs. Two Indian families were residing in Somerset Heights and one family in Hill 60. In 1991 Indians were not only located in the central area and white CBD of Grahamstown but were also residing in the Indian group area and white suburbs. The highest concentration of Indians was found in the Indian area, the lower High Street area and the New Street area. This movement to white areas shows the changing attitude of the government towards group areas as discussed in Chapter 4. The Group Areas Act was no longer strictly enforced but movement to white areas occurred with government approval as permits were required. After the repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1991 the municipality rather than central government became important in controlling spatial distribution.

### 7.2.2 Implementation of Group Areas Act: Residential areas

In January 1949, the Land Tenure Advisory Board (LTAB) visited Grahamstown to discuss the Asiatic concentration in the urban centre. They also requested information regarding Indian ownership and occupation of property, which was provided by the Town Clerk in April 1949.<sup>1</sup>

In 1955, the first zoning proposals were put forward by the Grahamstown Council. Thus the first step towards transforming Grahamstown into an Apartheid city was taken then. The area bounded by High, Bathurst, Beaufort and Cobden Streets, also referred to as the Frozen Zone (see Figure 7.6), was the first area of concern to the government after the introduction of the Group Areas Act as it was a racially mixed area close to the CBD and therefore did not comply with the Act. Development was frozen to maintain the situation as it was and to control property transfer from one race to another thereby excluding further black movement into the area. As shown in Chapter 3 movement of blacks into white areas was the main concern in Natal and the Transvaal and was the main reason for introducing legislation to restrict Indian occupation and ownership of property.

A portion of the Frozen Zone was proposed in 1955 as an Indian Group Area and is shown on Figure 7.7. Figure 7.1 shows that in 1950 there were few Indian occupied premises in the proposed area. The Group Area Select Committee (GASC), appointed by municipal officials to deal with the application of the Group Areas Act in Grahamstown initially felt that the situation in Grahamstown was satisfactory and that no zoning be undertaken as adequate control was being exercised. But the GASC submitted plans to the Council for approval and recommended that the plans be accepted or else the LTAB would draw up their own plans, which the Council might disapprove of. The Council was strongly against the application of the Group Areas Act and agreed with the GASC recommendations to accept the plans as they feared the LTAB may intervene. A matter of concern to the Council was that if the plans drawn up by the GASC were accepted, the whites would be the main section of the community to be disturbed.<sup>2</sup>

The Council, who felt that group areas were unnecessary in Grahamstown, reluctantly decided to zone in co-operation with the LTAB, but would not zone for the Indian and Chinese as these communities were too small to be regarded as a group.<sup>3</sup>

The LTAB, however, made it clear that the status quo could not be maintained and that an area would have to be proclaimed for the Indian community. The LTAB would not allow Grahamstown to be exempted from the Group Areas Act.<sup>4</sup> This statement clearly shows that the government had the final say.

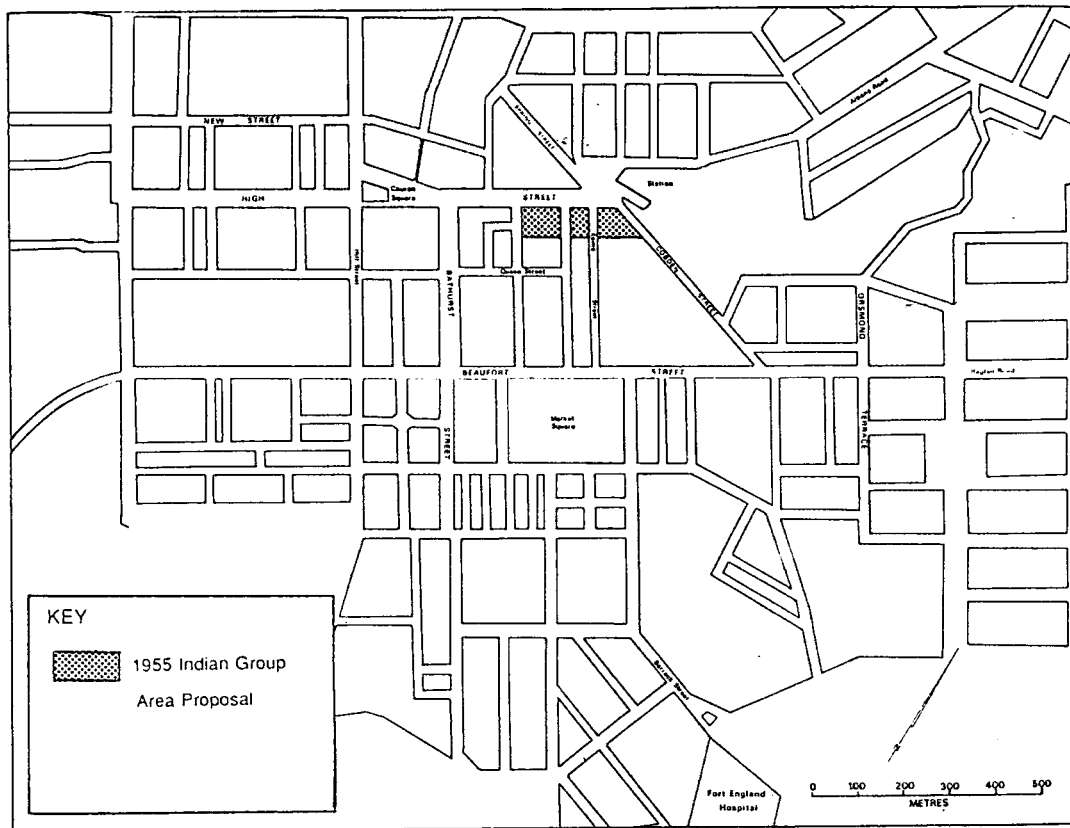


Figure 7.7 1955 Indian Group Area Proposal

The Council felt that providing a separate Indian trade area was economically inadvisable. The Council also feared that the creation of an Indian group area would result in an influx of Indians from other urban centres.<sup>5</sup> The Indian community, aware of the Government's proposal to resettle Indians, were afraid that they would be forced to move to the bigger centres such as Port Elizabeth and East London where the Government proposed to establish large Indian group areas to accommodate Indians from the small urban centres.<sup>6</sup>

In 1959 the Council, still insisting that Grahamstown be exempted from the Act, reluctantly submitted proposals to the Group Areas Board (GAB). No Indian group area was proposed as the Council felt that when the need arose, an Indian area could be set aside for future occupation.<sup>7</sup> The Council's fears were realised when the GAB rejected their proposals and drew up their own. The plans drawn by the GAB made provision for an Indian group area (see Figure 7.8). This proposal was actually better than the 1955 Council proposal as it included the block (block number 3) with the highest number of Indian occupied premises (see Figures 7.1 and 7.2). The Indian community hall was also situated within the proposed area. The Council was strongly opposed to the proposal as whites were the main group who would have had to move. The Council was, however, willing to provide areas for future development.<sup>8</sup>

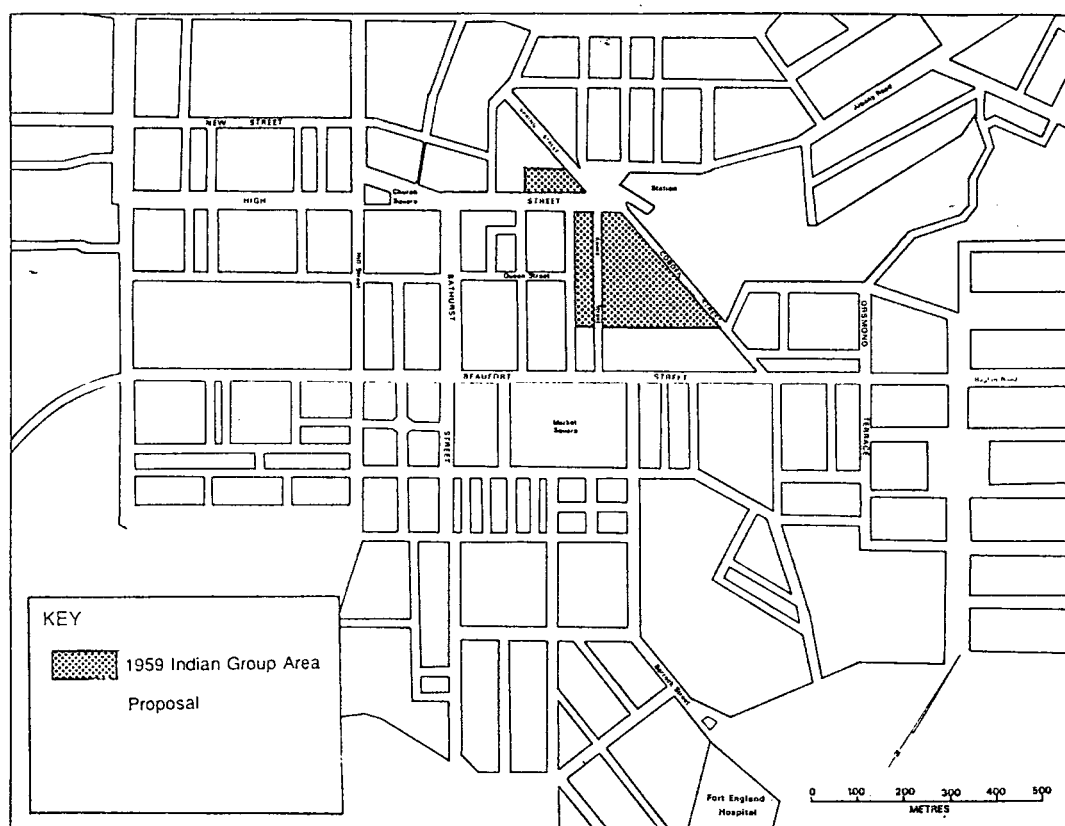


Figure 7.8 Grahamstown Indian group area proposal

The white community living in the Frozen Zone also felt that the Indians should remain where they were. This also became apparent after the Council received a petition from seventy-two white residents in the Frozen Zone opposing the GAB's proposals. Their main motivation was that they themselves did not want to be moved out of the area.<sup>9</sup>

After all the proposals the GAB informed the Council in July 1959 that Grahamstown would be left alone for an indefinite period. It suggested that the Council take active steps to formulate acceptable proposals for submission to the Board, when called upon to do so.<sup>10</sup> The GAB therefore wanted to give the Council more time to draw up proposals. The Council then decided to draw plans that would cause the least hardship as they realised that group areas were inevitably going to be proclaimed.<sup>11</sup>

The Council was asked at a special meeting with the GAB in September 1963 to submit its proposals as the Board felt that Grahamstown was the only place where the Group Areas Act was not being

enforced. The Council once again asked the GAB if the Indians could remain where they were, but the GAB said that a residential area had to be established. The area could either be declared an Indian group area or else the Indians could be accommodated within the area with permits.<sup>12</sup> The Council was therefore happy with the spatial distribution of the Indians but the government was not.

The Finance and General Purpose Committee (FGPC) of the municipality recommended that the Council undertake the zoning in co-operation with the GAB as the local authorities had a better knowledge of Grahamstown. They also recommended that the Council only zone for the Indians if the GAB asked for such proposals. The FGPC further said that zoning areas for the whites and coloureds would have negative implications on the future residential and economic security of the Indians.<sup>13</sup> The Council was aware of the effects that the Group areas Act would have on the Indian community.

The Indian community were asked by the Council if they wanted the Council to submit proposals for an Indian group area to the Department of Community Development (DCD).<sup>14</sup> Both the Indian and Chinese communities replied that they were small communities and did not want group areas as it would result in economic ruin. The Indian community then asked if an area could be provided where all the different race groups could be accommodated.<sup>15</sup> The Council then advised the DCD of the Indian and Chinese communities opinion and supported the suggestion made by the Indian community.<sup>16</sup> This demonstrates that the Council seemed to have a good relationship with the Indian community.

After a number of proposals the Government eventually proclaimed the first white and coloured areas in 1970 (see Figure 7.9). No Indian area was proclaimed. The coloured and Black areas proclaimed by the government did not conform to the group area principle of radial planning as discussed in Chapter 4. Blacks would have to cross the coloured group area to reach the CBD which was unacceptable in terms of the Group Areas Act (Davenport, 1981).

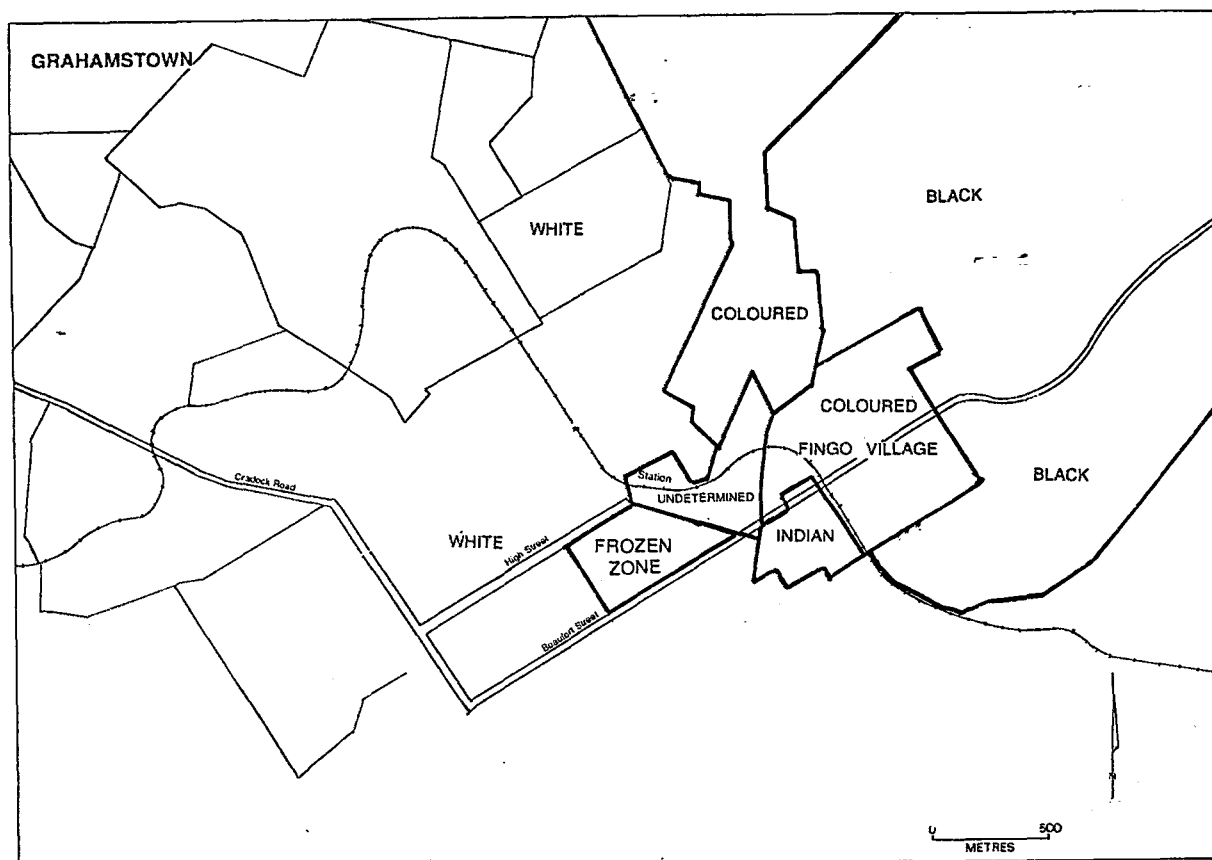


Figure 7.9 1970 Group Area proclamations includes Indian area proclaimed in 1972.

After 1970 there was a change in the Indian community's attitude as they approached a local attorney to write to the Council asking for an area to be demarcated for residential and business purposes for the future expansion of the Indian community.<sup>17</sup> The Council responded to the Indian community's request by submitting a proposal for an Indian residential and business area to the DCD for investigation. The Council did not, however, consult the Indian community.<sup>18</sup> Figure 7.9 shows the area proposed and proclaimed for Indians in 1972. The proclaimed area was a portion of Fingo Village, a Black location, most of which was declared coloured in 1970. The Black inhabitants, who resided in this area would have to relocate to Committees Drift, 45km outside Grahamstown. The Committees Drift proposal was introduced in October 1969 by the Bantu Affairs Department as part of the homelands policy (Nuttall, 1972). However they were not moved to Committees Drift and the Indian group area was not replanned for the Indian community, but remained a mixed area. In March 1971 there were 10 whites, 101 coloureds and 202 Blacks in the proposed Indian group area.<sup>19</sup> Despite the absence of Indians in this area and all the objections from the Blacks and whites residing there, it was proclaimed an Indian group area in October 1972.<sup>20</sup>

Figure 7.3, the spatial distribution map for 1972, shows that there was one Indian occupied premises in the proclaimed Indian area compared to ten in the Frozen Zone. The spatial distribution of the Indian community was not considered when the group area was proclaimed. The Frozen zone, where most of the Indians were located, should have been proclaimed as it would have caused less hardship for the Indians. The area was not proclaimed Indian as white families would have had to be removed. The number of Indian families in the Indian group area increased from one in 1972 to nine in 1983 (see Figures 7.3 and 7.4) even though the houses were in a poor condition. The Municipal health department issued notices to the owners of affected property and once the black occupiers moved out, the houses in bad condition were demolished.<sup>21</sup> Indians moved to the Indian group area as houses became available and no permits were required to occupy these houses.

By 1973 the planning proposals for the Indian group area were complete and made provision for a residential and commercial area.<sup>22</sup> A meeting was held with the Indian community in April 1975 at which the plans of the Indian group area were discussed. Soon after, however, the Indian community requested that they be permitted to remain where they were. The Indian community no longer wanted the Indian area. The Council supported this request.<sup>23</sup>

In 1979 the Indian community were still unwilling to move to the Indian group area even though the area was to be replanned. This was mainly due to the fact that there were still black families in the area and therefore properties were not available. The Black residents in Fingo Village had nowhere to go as the Committees Drift plan never materialised. A further contributing factor was the bad condition of the housing.<sup>24</sup> The Indian community did not want to take a part of Fingo Village away from the Black community. This resulted in the DCD suggesting that a portion of the Frozen Zone be developed as an Indian residential area.<sup>25</sup> Thus the government acknowledged the Indian community's unwillingness to move. The Council's response was positive as it called for the investigation of the above proposal.<sup>26</sup> The coloured area and a portion of the Indian area in Fingo Village was deproclaimed in February 1981.<sup>27</sup> The investigation for the deproclamation of the rest of the Indian group area followed and proposals for a new Indian group area commenced.<sup>28</sup> The Indian group area was finally deproclaimed and rezoned for light industrial purposes but the Frozen Zone was not proclaimed Indian. Instead the Indians were asked to move out of this area. Initially the government proposed the Frozen Zone for Indians but then it was not keen to accommodate Indians there. This may have been because whites, as earlier, would have to move and because the area was surrounded by white areas.

In 1980, the Council proposed two totally different areas for Indians. The first area was Currie Park and the second Cradock Heights (see Figure 7.10). The FGPC preferred Currie Park as Cradock Heights<sup>29</sup> was too large and already proclaimed a white group area. Furthermore, this was the only area available for whites and would be costly to develop.<sup>30</sup> The Council also felt that sub-economic housing, even for whites, would be unsuitable in this area. The Indian community were in favour of Cradock Heights as it was not only close to the schools but it also offered easy access to the CBD.<sup>31</sup> The main objection to the Cradock Heights area came from white residents who felt that the building of low income housing would decrease their property values.<sup>32</sup>

The fact that the Council was against the Cradock Heights proposal and that the Indian group area was deproclaimed resulted in the Grahamstown Indian Association suggesting that the Council consider the Oatlands North area (see Figure 7.10). At this stage the Indians in the Frozen Zone were also being pressurized by the government to vacate the area. The chairman of the Grahamstown Indian Association, said that the Indian community would forget about the Cradock Heights proposal if the Council approved of the Oatlands North area and if the cost of development was compatible to the Cradock Heights area.<sup>33</sup> The Indian community, in need of housing, thus used manipulation in attempt to get the best area. However, the FGPC decided to ask the DCD to proclaim two areas, one for economic housing and the other for sub-economic housing.<sup>34</sup>

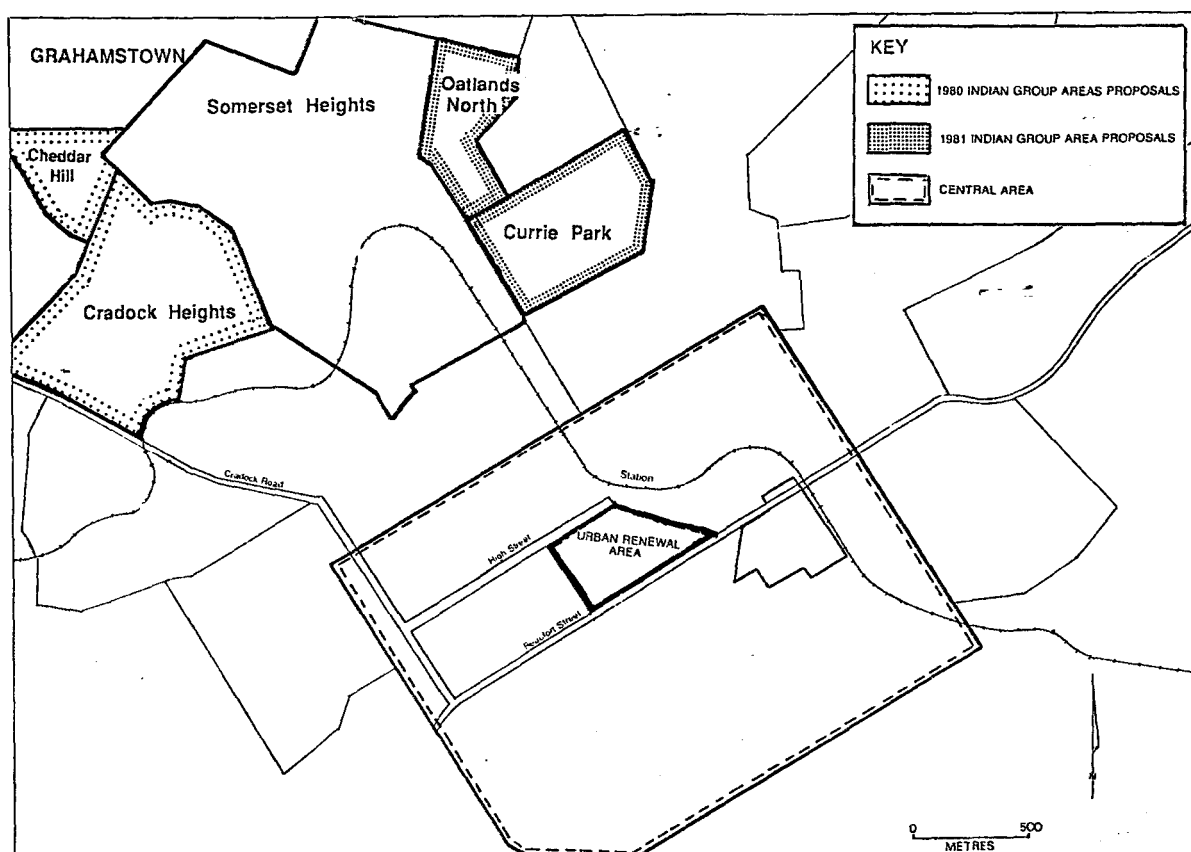


Figure 7.10 Grahamstown Indian group area proposals

The Council wanted an Indian area sufficient in size to accommodate the existing families. This area would have to provide for future development and the area chosen should not be surrounded by white areas. Thus the area had to comply with group area planning principles. Three proposals were made by the Council to the DCD. The first was that the Indians remain where they were and that a small area be proclaimed for future expansion. The second proposal was that two areas be proclaimed, one a low income and the other a high income area. A portion of the Frozen Zone, was suggested as a low income area while the Oatlands North area was proposed as a high income area (see Figure 7.10). The third proposal was that Cheddar Hill be proclaimed as a residential area for both low and high income groups. The Council and the Indian community agreed on Cheddar Hill and an investigation followed.<sup>35</sup> A group areas hearing was held in November 1981 where Somerset Heights residents objected to the proposal and the construction of sub-economic housing.<sup>36</sup> The Council on the other hand approved of the area and suggested a buffer zone be created to make the area acceptable to the Somerset Heights residents.<sup>37</sup> In December 1981 23 white residents objected to the Oatlands North proposal by means of a petition that indicated a preference for Currie Park for the Indian community.<sup>38</sup> The Council was aware that the construction of sub-economic housing in Cradock Heights would be

a problem and wanted to satisfy the white community.

The Grahamstown Indian Association asked the DCD if the Group Areas Act could be withdrawn as that would alleviate the critical housing shortage and it would allow the five families who were expropriated from the Frozen Zone in June 1982 to find alternative accommodation. The Grahamstown Indian Association also stated that the whites would always object to proposals and thereby delay matters. The Indians, they suggested, should be allowed to acquire homes on the open estate market.<sup>39</sup> Besides the fact that houses were available and affordable the Indians would fit in as they had been living amongst the whites for years.<sup>40</sup> In 1985, for instance, more than 40 houses were on the market and most whites interviewed by the Eastern Province Herald in 1983 indicated that they had no objections to Indians buying property in white areas where they could afford to.<sup>41</sup>

In March 1983, almost a year after the proposals were submitted to the DCD, the Council asked the DCD why no decision had been made and why there was a delay in the proclamation.<sup>42</sup> After much effort by the Indian community to prevent the proclamation of this, the second Indian area, Oatlands North was proclaimed in 1983.<sup>43</sup> The chairman of the Grahamstown Indian Association accepted the area but stressed that while it objected to the Group Areas Act in principle it was forced by the housing shortage to accept the concept of a separate residential area. He asked the Council to allow the new area to develop as an expansion area and that the families residing in town not be disturbed. The Council responded by saying that the families living on their business premises would have to move as soon as possible.<sup>44</sup> Since the Council initially proposed that Indians remain where they were one would have expected the Council to support the Grahamstown Indian Association's suggestion. There seemed to be little consensus as the Community Development Board said that the Indians would not be forced to build in the new Indian area<sup>45</sup> while the municipality gave the impression that Indians would not be permitted to stay in white areas. These different statements also resulted in confusion amongst the Indian community. The Council seemed keen to move the Indians out of the white areas as they encouraged the Indians to build houses by stating that if only those families who needed houses moved to the Indian area the plots would sell at R1400 but if all the families moved the price would be R8000. However the plots eventually sold at R6500.<sup>46</sup>

There were approximately eight Indian families who needed housing and were in favour of the Indian group area. The rest of the community wanted to remain where they were as they feared that once an Indian group area existed they would be forced to move. Even though the majority were against the area most of the plots in Oatlands North were sold and developed. There were still a number of

families residing in the CBD as they could not afford to build houses or could not afford the sub-economic housing. Families already resident in the Fingo Village area had to make their second move to Oatlands North and would have to build at prices much higher than in 1972.<sup>47</sup> The Group Areas Act had thus ultimately affected the Indian community both economically and spatially.

The DCD informed the Town Clerk that all the Indians would have to be resettled by the end of March 1985.<sup>48</sup> Seven sub-economic houses were built for pensioners but were of a poor standard and failed to blend in with the surrounding houses. The pensioners furthermore have found it difficult to pay the high rent. In 1988 the rent was R169 and the tenants received a pension of R162.

Figure 7.6 shows that Indians were located in white areas despite the proclamation of the Indian group area just prior to the repeal of the Group Areas Act. The proposed repeal of the Act was the main reason movement into white areas was permitted.

The Indians located in the Frozen Zone were at various times issued with expropriation notices. This area was a controlled area until it was declared an urban renewal area in 1976. This meant that no property could be occupied, acquired or altered without a permit. In January 1981 the DCD decided to give the residents and tenants six months to vacate the premises as the houses had to be demolished and the area redeveloped.<sup>49</sup> The public objected to the redevelopment of the Frozen Zone as they felt that the historic buildings in the area should not be demolished but preserved.<sup>50</sup> Indian families expropriated from the area lost money, homes and businesses when they sold their properties at low prices to the DCD. The Indian community hall that was built in 1934 and used for religious, social and cultural functions was demolished in 1983. A compensation of R4000 was paid while the community had to raise a sum of R250 000 to build a new temple in the Indian group area.<sup>51</sup> The Indian families residing in the area were forced to seek alternative accommodation in 1983 even though no finality on the Indian group area issue was reached. A number of families however had to wait until the Indian group area was proclaimed and developed as they had nowhere to go. Indians in this area were affected by the Act as they were forced to move. The area was deliberately declared an urban renewal area to remove all the black occupants.

An important issue was that of alternative accommodation for expropriated families. According to the Group Areas Act it is the responsibility of the Community Development Board to provide accommodation as discussed in Chapter 4. However in Grahamstown the Board seemed to place this responsibility in the hands of the municipality.<sup>52</sup>

### 7.2.3 Implementation of the Group Areas Act: Business areas

Various proposals were made from 1955 to 1991 for an Indian business area but the Indian businessmen did not want to be uprooted. The Council and the white community also attempted to convince the government to allow Indian businesses to remain where they were. The Indian community continuously appealed to the Council to allow them to stay where they were.

The first area proposed in 1955 is indicated on Figure 7.11. Most of the Indian businesses were located in this area (see Figure 7.1).<sup>53</sup> The Indian group area proclaimed in 1972 made provision for a business site which is shown on Figure 7.11.<sup>54</sup> A business complex was planned but nothing came of this as the area was never developed. The Indian community objected to the complex by sending a petition to the Minister of Indian Affairs objecting to the Fingo Village business complex. The DCD replied that they could not allow the Indian businessmen to remain in their businesses and they would have to be resettled in alternative premises as soon as it could be provided. The DCD, unlike the Indian community, felt that the business complex would not cause hardship or a loss of clientele but rather improve business.<sup>55</sup>

The Indian Executive Council, a government body that visited Grahamstown for a meeting in 1976, decided to make representations to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Indian Affairs to consider the position of the Indian businessmen in small urban centres. Their appeal was that businessmen live and trade on their existing premises with a permit and that any future development be confined to an Indian group area.<sup>56</sup> The Council and the white community supported the representations made by the Indian Executive Council.<sup>57</sup> The Council supported the proposal as they feared that the creation of an Indian business area would result in an influx of Indians into Grahamstown.<sup>58</sup>

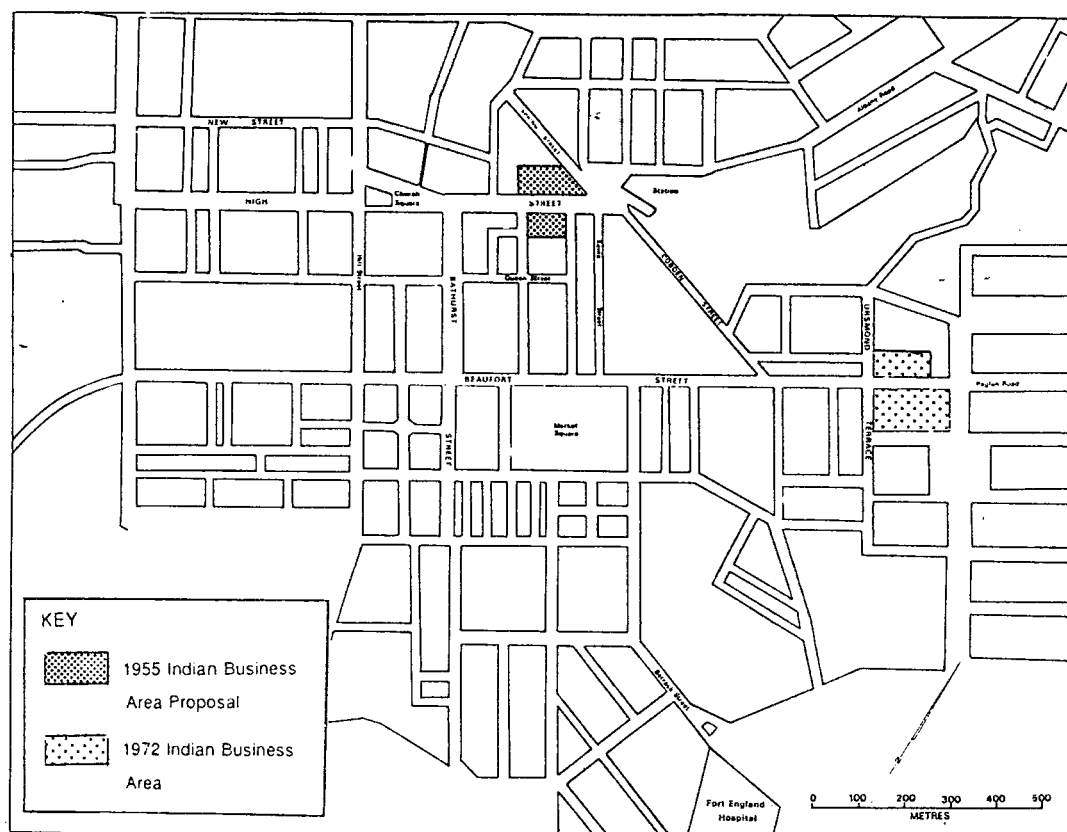


Figure 7.11 Grahamstown Indian business area proposal and business site

Indian traders in the Frozen Zone were given notice to move out of the area in 1976 even though the business area was not developed in Fingo Village. They would have to move to other premises in the CBD and acquire permits for this purpose. It was only in October 1978 that a free trade area for Indians was first mentioned. The proposal for a free trade area in Grahamstown supports the change of attitude (discussed in Chapter 4) by the Government to accommodate rather than move Indian businessmen. The Council considered two areas, the High Street and the New Street area (see Figure 7.12). The Council were doubtful if the DCD would allow the proclamation of two areas.<sup>59</sup>

The Grahamstown Indian Association approved of the area but wanted Indian traders who were living on their business premises to remain there until alternative accommodation, such as a fully developed residential area, became available. The Grahamstown Indian Association further said that property outside the proposed free trade area should not be affected.<sup>60</sup> The Indian community seemed to be exerting pressure on the Council for a residential area and they wanted the Indian businesses to remain where they were.

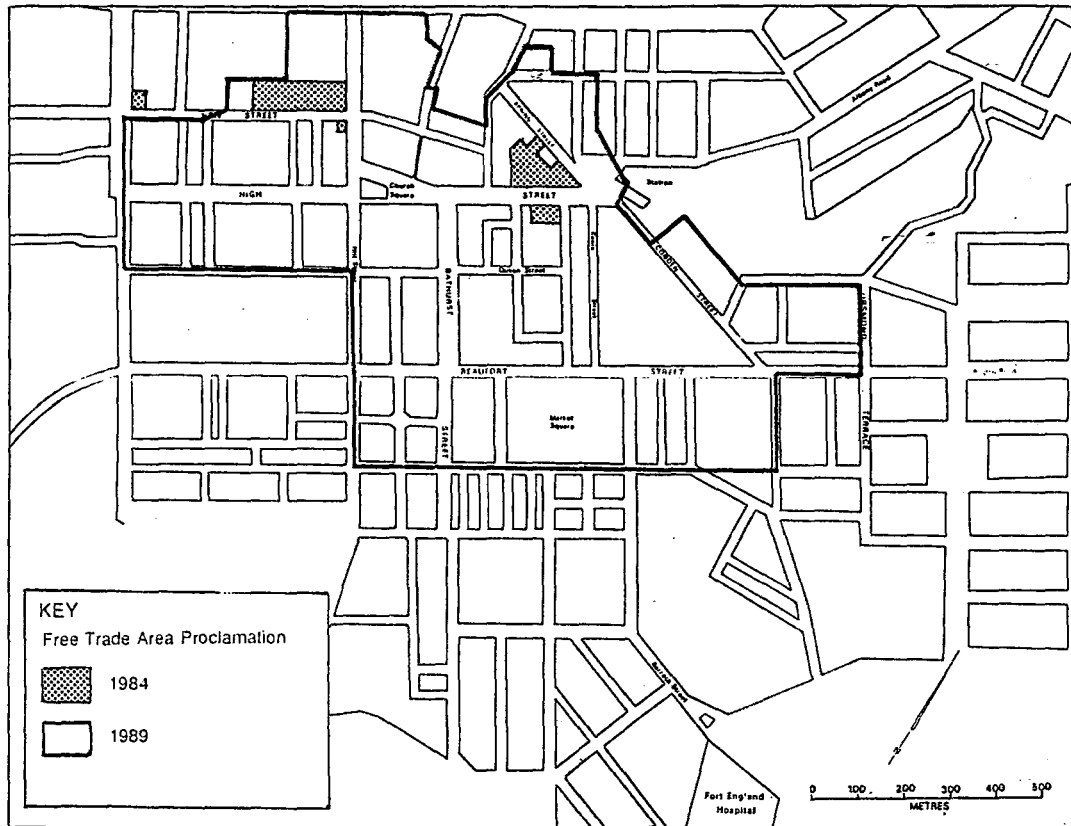


Figure 7.12 Grahamstown free trade areas

In May 1979 the DCD informed the Council that they were considering zoning individual erven as free trade areas and wanted the Council's reaction to this proposal.<sup>61</sup> In June 1979 the Council asked that Indian owned properties outside the proposed free trade area and outside the Frozen Zone be declared free trade areas.<sup>62</sup> It was only two years later in February 1981 that the investigation of the proposed free trade area was advertised.<sup>63</sup>

A meeting with the GAB was held in March 1981. Minister R. Bhana, member of the South African Indian Council and Chairman of the Port Elizabeth Indian Management Committee, suggested that the entire CBD should be declared a Section 19 free trade area. But the GAB pointed out that this would be problematic as no residential rights would be allowed in Section 19 free trade areas. In Grahamstown most of the Indians were living on their business premises and this would pose as a problem (see Figure 7.4). The GAB were then asked to extend the proposed Section 19 area but the GAB refused to do so. The Council therefore had no option but to accept the proposals as they were.<sup>64</sup> This again shows that the Council was helpless because the government made the final decisions.

The first Section 19 area was proclaimed in March 1984<sup>65</sup> and included the block bounded by High Street and Spring Street (see Figure 7.12). The New Street area that was included in the proposals was not proclaimed.<sup>66</sup> The Council then resubmitted the New Street area proposal to the DCD for proclamation but the DCD replied that the area was omitted from the previous proposal because the Minister was opposed to the area. The DCD also pointed out that free trade areas were not primarily for resettling affected Indian businesses but were created as an area for all races to establish themselves.<sup>67</sup> The Council was very unhappy as they felt that the proclaimed area was inadequate to accommodate all the races let alone the Indian businesses. They asked the DCD to reinvestigate the matter as a much larger area was needed.<sup>68</sup> The areas indicated on Figure 7.12 were then proclaimed. In 1988 the entire CBD (see Figure 7.12) was opened to all races and at present, after the repeal of the Group Areas Act, Indians and other races are no longer restricted to the free trade area. The spatial distribution in 1991 (Figure 7.5) shows that the Indians were trading in the CBD and surrounding area with most of the Indian traders in the initial areas of settlement. Thus no Indians were evicted or forced to move.

The Grahamstown municipality throughout the zoning process attempted to evade the proposal and proclamation of Indian areas. But the government continuously pressurised the municipality forcing them to eventually proclaim an area. The lack of housing also forced Indians to ask for an area. Indians moved to the Indian group area but no movement of businesses occurred. Thus the Group Areas Act influenced residential spatial distribution and caused unnecessary hardship for the Indian community.

### 7.3 KING WILLIAM'S TOWN 1950-1991

#### 7.3.1 Spatial Distribution 1950-1991

Chapter 6 showed that Indians in King William's Town were restricted from an early date by municipal regulations that required Indians to either live in the Black locations or, if exempted, in prescribed areas. Figures 7.13 to 7.16 show that between 1950 and 1984 Indians were still located in the same areas occupied prior to 1950. The areas of settlement remained fixed with a spread to other blocks within these set areas and neighbouring areas as was the case in Grahamstown. No significant shifts in location were identified for the period 1950 to 1984. The only major difference was the increase in the number of Indian occupied premises per block over time. The three main areas of concentration, namely the Market Square area, the blocks fronting Cambridge Road and Buffalo Street, mentioned in Chapter 6, still applied after 1950.



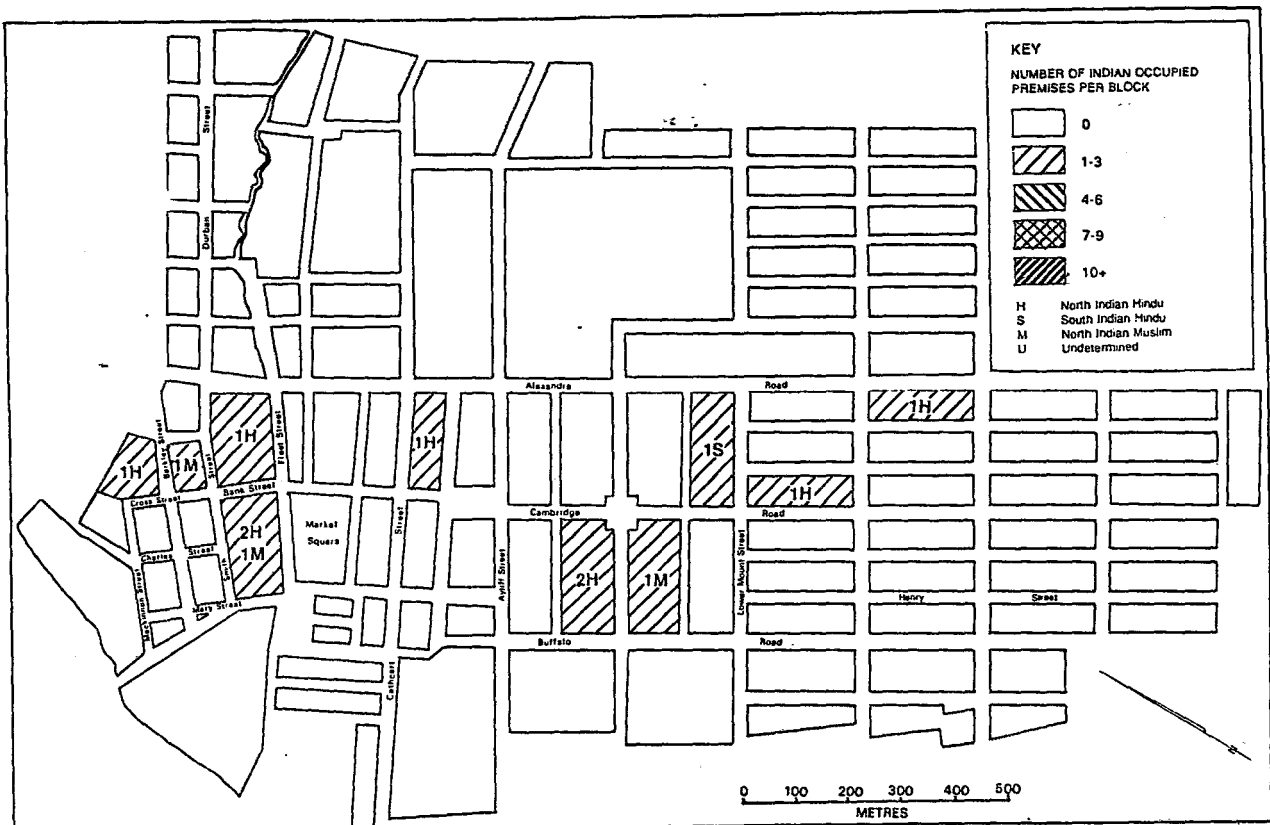


Figure 7.15 King William's Town Indian Spatial Distribution 1960

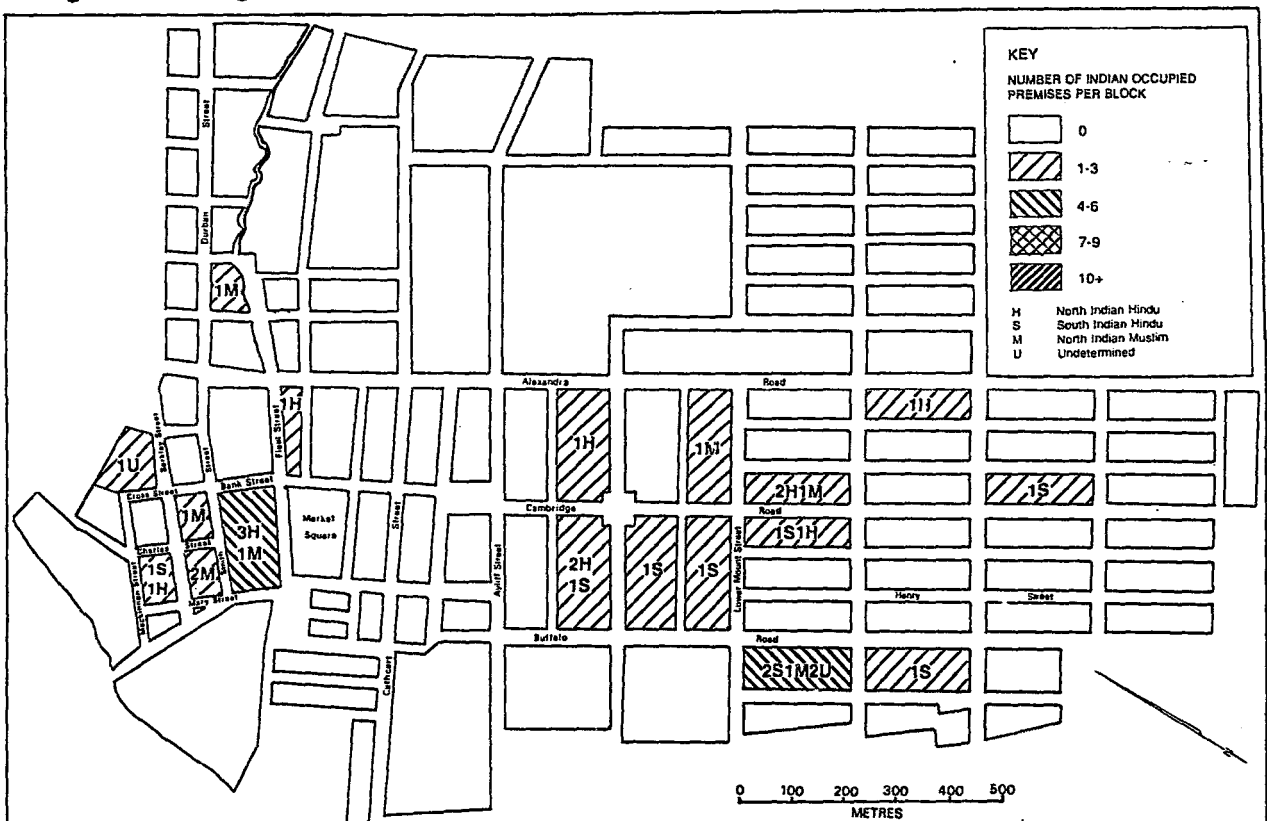


Figure 7.16 King William's Town Indian Spatial Distribution 1984

Figure 7.13, the map for 1950, shows that only one block was occupied by Indians northwest of Market Square in 1950 whereas in 1955 five blocks were occupied in this area. In Chapter 6 it was shown that segregation between the Indian groups was not found. This also applies to the period after 1950 when the various groups continued to live and trade in the same blocks as was the case in Grahamstown.

In 1984 (see Figure 7.16) there was only one Indian occupied premises northeast of Alexandra Road but in 1991 there were eight (see Figure 7.17) which meant that Indians dispersed to this area. In 1984, seventy six years since 1908, two blocks were occupied southwest of Buffalo Road. One of these blocks had five Indian occupied premises. The number of blocks occupied by Indians increased from ten in 1960 to eighteen in 1984. There were only two blocks in 1960 (see Figure 7.15) that had more than three Indian occupied premises. Table 6.8 shows that only one block was continuously occupied from 1925 to 1984 and five from 1950 to 1991 which suggests that after 1950 the distribution became more fixed.

Table 6.7 shows that the number of Indian occupied premises per block remained low after 1950, between one and four with five being the highest number in a block in 1984. Unlike Grahamstown, where the number of Indians per block was as high as nine and eleven in the early pre-1950 period. This suggests that in Grahamstown the spatial distribution of Indians was more fixed from the initial period of settlement.

A dramatic increase in the number of blocks occupied by Indians can be seen on Figure 7.17, the map showing the central area of King William's Town in 1991. Almost every block on this map was occupied by Indians, thus illustrating a spread to the core of the CBD. Tables 6.6 and 6.7 further illustrate this increase as it shows that the number of blocks increased from eighteen in 1984 to forty seven in 1991. Table 6.6 shows that twenty six of the forty seven blocks accommodated more than one Indian occupied premises. As mentioned earlier Indians dispersed to the area northeast of Alexandra Road and the number of Indian occupied premises in the area northwest of Market Square occurred. The highest concentration was found in the block northwest of Market Square and the block southwest of Buffalo Road. After 1984 there was also a movement to suburban areas. Eighteen Indian families moved to white residential areas situated outside the central area depicted on Figure 7.18.

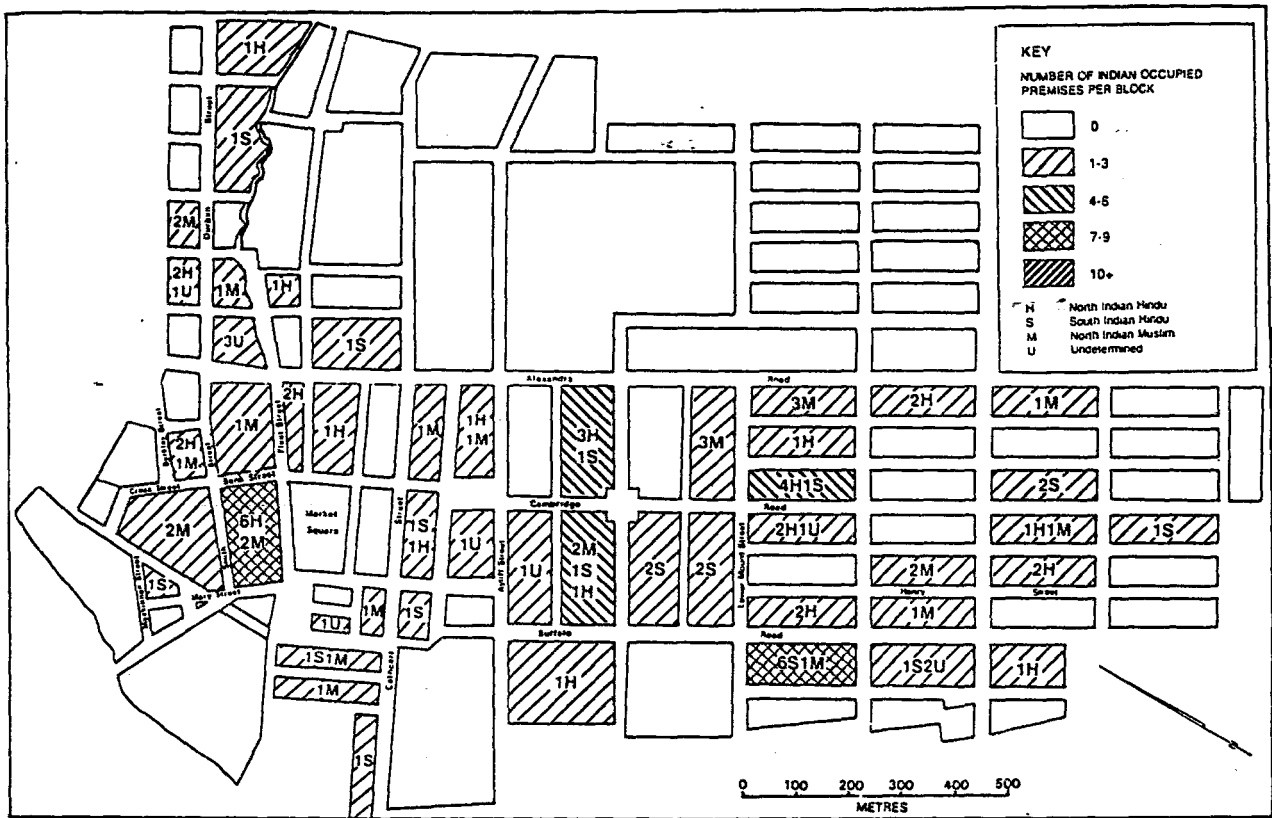


Figure 7.17 King William's Town Indian Spatial Distribution in central area 1991

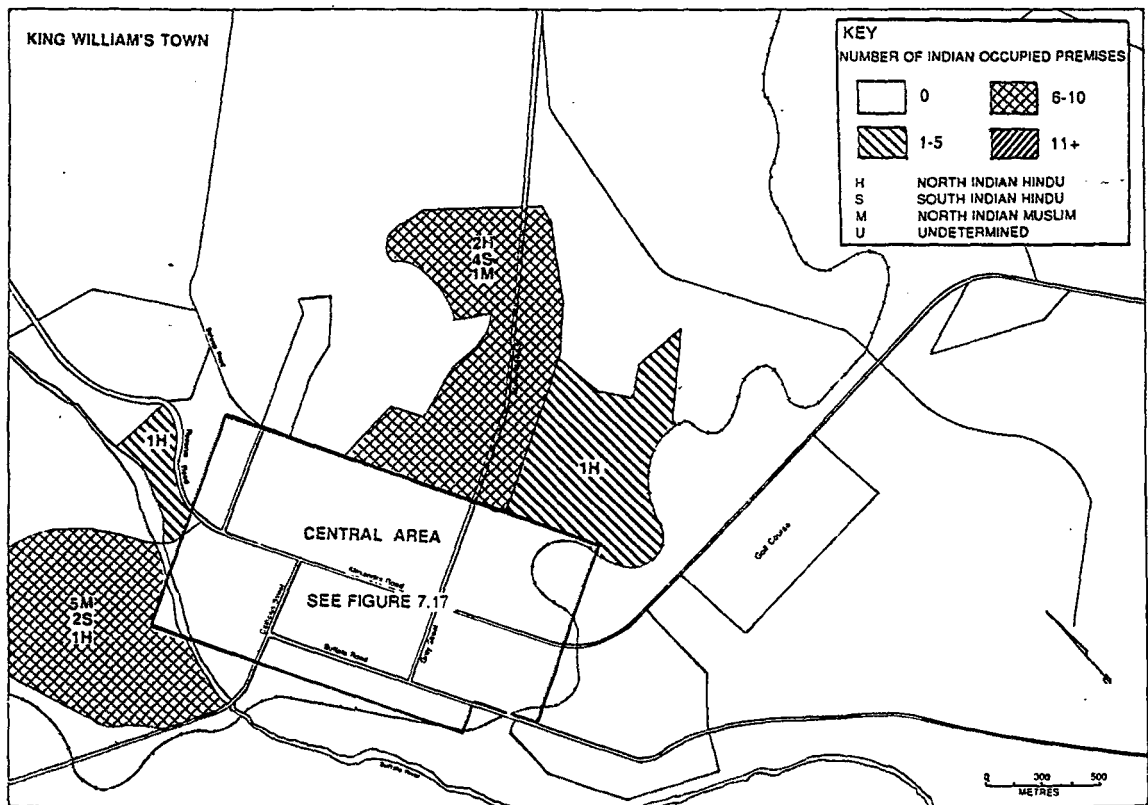


Figure 7.18 King William's Town Indian Spatial Distribution 1991

### 7.3.2 Implementation of the Group Areas Act: Residential areas

It is important to note that the group areas correspondence files for the period 1949 to 1971 could not be found. For this reason it was difficult to determine what happened in terms of the Group Areas Act for the period prior to 1971. The municipality was also very unhelpful, refusing to provide maps and dates of proclamations.

According to Proclamation 164 of 1960 the white group area was proclaimed. The coloured group area, Breidbach (see Figure 7.19), was also proclaimed in 1960. Therefore the preliminary steps of a race survey and the visit to King William's Town by the LTAB had to have taken place as in Grahamstown. All black occupied properties in the white area were defined by Proclamation 165 of 5 July 1963. Once an area was defined no buildings could be altered, erected or occupied without a permit.

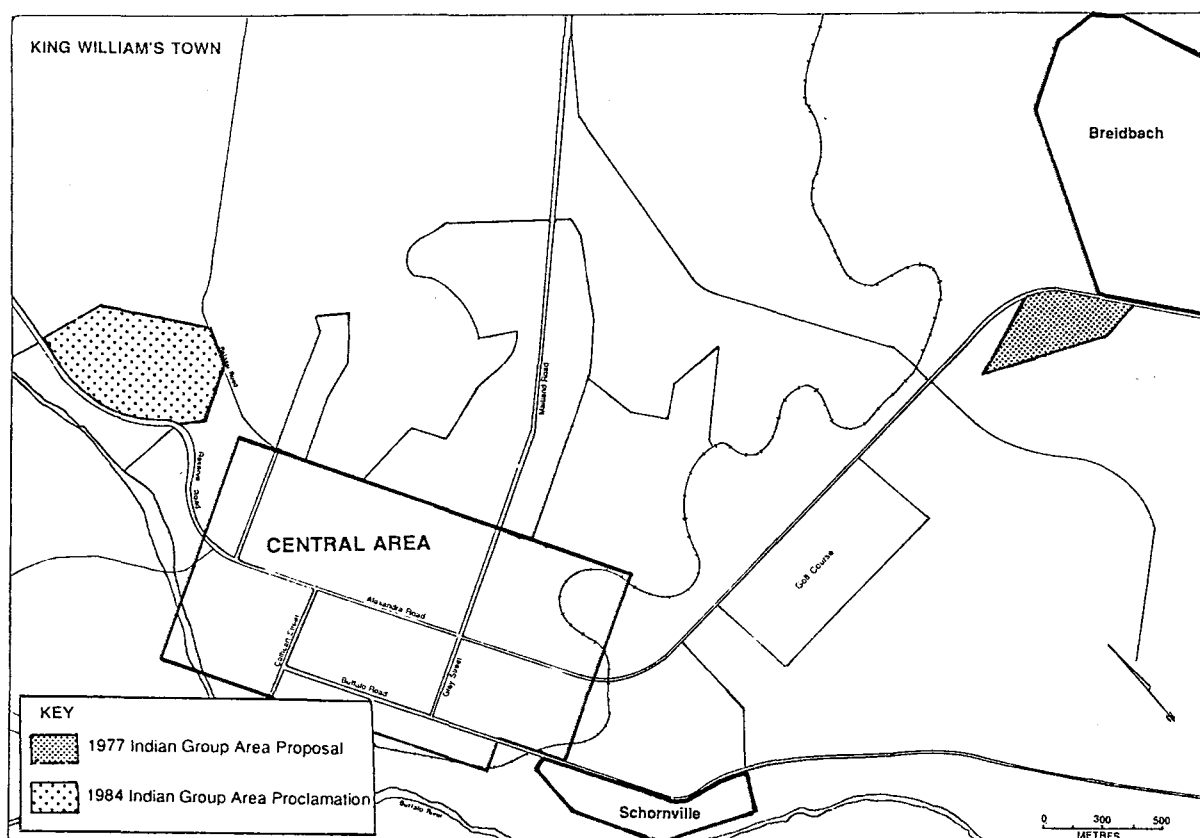


Figure 7.19 King William's Town Group areas proposals and proclamations

The Indians spatial distribution did not change after 1950 as it was only in October 1984, 34 years after the implementation of the Group Areas Act that an Indian group area (see Figure 7.19) was proclaimed. The main reason being that the Department of Community Development (DCD) felt that the Indian community was too small to have an area of their own. A housing shortage resulted as the Indian population increased over time and the families were living in overcrowded and unsatisfactory conditions.<sup>69</sup> The fact that the DCD perceived the Indian community as being too small for a group area is significant since in Grahamstown the government insisted on an Indian area even though the Grahamstown Council had argued that the community was too small to warrant the establishment of a group area.

The King William's Town Council was undecided about the Indian community. They firstly suggested that the Indian families move into the houses vacated by the coloured families in Schornville<sup>70</sup> (see Figure 7.19). Schornville was a mixed area, proclaimed white by Proclamation 212 of 1968. In the 1970s the Coloured Person's Representative Council, a local non-governmental organisation, requested that the area be deproclaimed as a white group area as this would allow the coloured families still residing in Schornville to stay there legally. The DCD wanted to move these families to Breidbach, but if Schornville was declared a controlled area these families would be allowed to remain in the area. The GAB made it clear that they did not want Indians purchasing property in Schornville.<sup>71</sup> The Department of Planning then proposed that Schornville (See Figure 7.19) be deproclaimed as a white group area and declared a controlled area. The Council did not know what the motives of the Department of Planning were, but they were concerned about the property and future planning of the proposed area if it was declared a controlled area. The Council was also upset as the Department had not provided detailed information and as such they were unable to comment on proposals "emanating from a higher authority" without the background information required. The Council therefore had little input. However the Council had no objection to the proposal.<sup>72</sup> Schornville was deproclaimed white by proclamation 251 of 1978.

The Council had a change of mind in 1976 as it then decided that group areas should be provided for the Indians since they were scattered all over the CBD. Furthermore, the Indian community's traditional communal lifestyle was disappearing and making way for the nuclear family and therefore housing was needed.<sup>73</sup> An Indian area was proposed in 1977 (see Figure 7.19). This Indian area was situated on the outskirts of King William's Town on the national road and was separated from the coloured group area, Breidbach. This area would be acceptable as it would conform to apartheid planning principles. The Town Engineer was opposed to this area and suggested that an area closer

to the CBD be proposed to allow the Indians to be closer to their businesses.<sup>74</sup> The Council then proposed the area on the Ballasi Road that was eventually proclaimed Indian in 1984 (see Figure 7.19). This area also conformed to the Apartheid city model. The Indian community, who were consulted, approved of the proposed area which included space for future expansion, a requirement in terms of group area planning principles.<sup>75</sup> It appeared to the Council that even though the Indian community were satisfied with the proposed area they were reluctant to actually move there as they were afraid of losing the businesses premises they were occupying. If an area was proclaimed it would mean that the Indians, who were occupying dwellings attached to their businesses, would have to vacate the residential portions of their premises and let these to whites.<sup>76</sup> Indians in Grahamstown had faced the same fear of relocation and uncertainty.

Before the Council submitted its proposals to the DCD for approval in July 1980 it again asked the Indian community what it felt about the proposed area.<sup>77</sup> The Indian Association replied that they accepted the area.<sup>78</sup>

A point of special interest is that in 1979 the Van der Walt Commission, who investigated the reasons for the delay in the resettlement of Blacks to the homelands, made a recommendation that King William's Town be incorporated into the Ciskei. This also resulted in a delay in the proclamation of the Indian group area. The Council urged the GAB to proceed with the proclamation of the Indian group area as the delay was causing hardship in terms of overcrowding. The Council felt that the incorporation of King William's Town into the Ciskei would take years and they were totally against the Commission's recommendations.<sup>79</sup> Even though the Council were initially against the establishment of an Indian group area they began to exert pressure on the government as they were anxious to establish a township for the Indian community who were residing and trading in white areas something that was not allowed in terms of the Group Areas Act.<sup>80</sup>

In 1987 the Council decided to appoint planners from East London to design the township. The plans were then given to the Indian Association for approval. The Indian Association asked to meet with the Council, but only if the Council agreed in writing to provide a school site. The Indian community were therefore exerting pressure on the Council and making demands. The Council was totally against the Indian Association's request as they felt that the Indian community was too small to justify a school site<sup>81</sup>.

As in Grahamstown the assistance of Minister R. Bhana, representative in the House of Delegates, was

called in after the Council felt that they had reached a stalemate position in the planning of the area. He recommended that the planning be stopped as he was of the opinion that the Indians were unwilling to move to the new area. He further stated that it was unlikely that the Government would pressurize the Council to develop the area. The planning of the area was then shelved in 1987.<sup>82</sup> It would seem that the Indian community knew that if they insisted on the school site the Council would stop the development of the area. The recommendations made by the Minister influenced the Council. It must, however, be noted that it was the government who was responsible for making the final decision and who did not insist on the planning and development of the area due to the fact that central government policy with regard to group areas was undergoing change.

Indian families were therefore permitted to move into white residential areas soon after the planning of the Indian group area was abandoned. In Grahamstown on the other hand Indians moved mainly to the Indian group area. There were no objections from the Council or the white residents because no area was developed in King William's Town. Indians continued to live and trade with a permit in "white" areas until the repeal of the Group Areas Act as Figure 7.17 shows.

In 1976, the Market Square area, a racially mixed, predominantly residential area, was proposed and later proclaimed an urban renewal area by the Council (see Figure 7.20). Premises occupied by blacks were defined in 1963 which meant that development was frozen and that no buildings could be altered or erected without a permit. Furthermore, the government could control the occupation of these properties by deciding which race could occupy such premises. The area would be replanned to raise the standard and the Council began to purchase property affected by the replanning.<sup>83</sup> By August 1976 the Council had purchased eleven properties in the area. Many of these properties were affected by road widening or new road proposals. The blocks that were affected by the redevelopment plans accommodated Indians. It seems therefore that the planning deliberately included the blocks with Indian residents and other black groups to enable the removal of these groups from the area. The urban renewal proclamation was therefore an excuse to remove the blacks from the area.

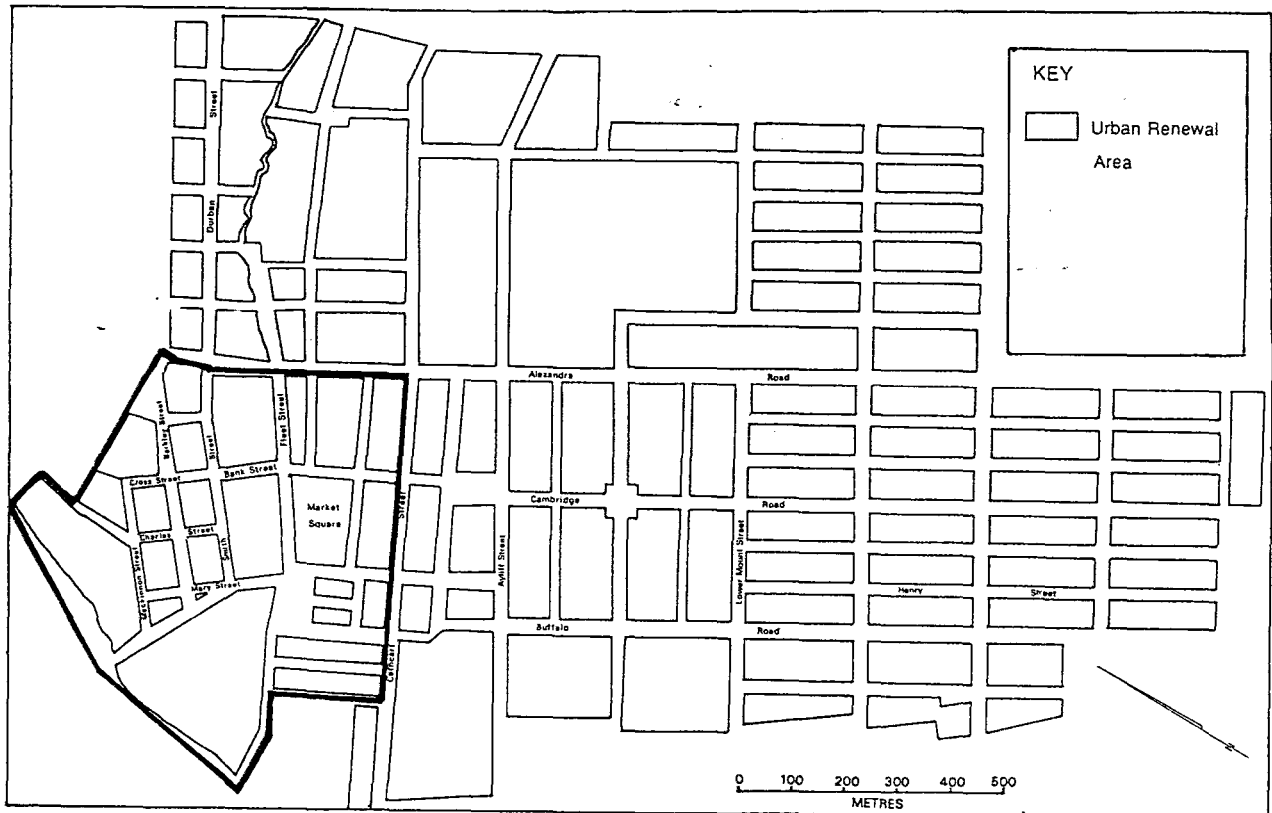


Figure 7.20 King William's Town urban renewal area

As in Grahamstown the urban renewal scheme was a step towards transforming the Segregation city into the Apartheid city. The urban renewal of the frozen zone in Grahamstown was also implemented to remove the blacks from the area. The King William's Town Council, in 1976, considered declaring certain properties as slums and in this manner force the tenants to move.<sup>84</sup> A sub-committee was appointed by the Council in 1979 to investigate the development of the urban renewal area and recommended that the houses vacated be let to whites only and that the housing in poor condition be demolished. The sub-committee wanted no blacks in the area. The Town Clerk would decide whether the houses would be relet or demolished.<sup>85</sup> The Council also made it clear that no accommodation would be made available to Indians who applied to stay in the area. In 1981 the Council declared all the property it owned in the area as slums and the houses were demolished once the tenants vacated the properties.<sup>86</sup> In King William's Town the municipality was making decisions about removal unlike in Grahamstown where the DCD dealt with relocation and removals.

### 7.3.3 Implementation of the Group Areas Act: Business areas

In May 1978, when the Council met with the regional representatives of the DCD and the Department of Planning, the possibility of establishing a free trade area was discussed. This was in line with national trends. Such an area would allow the Indian businesses to remain in the white group area instead of moving to the proposed Indian group area. Indians who were living on their business premises would have to incorporate their residential premises into the existing business premises or relet the residential section of the property to white tenants. Grahamstown Indians experienced the same problem.

In 1978 the DCD considered a portion of the urban renewal area as a free trade area (see Figure 7.21). The DCD would provide the funds to establish a business complex and would attend to the replanning of the area. As in Grahamstown a business complex was proposed. The Indian community were then approached for their viewpoint on the matter.<sup>87</sup> The response of the Indian community could not be determined from the files consulted.

The Council seemed poorly informed and confused about the free trade area issue and told the Department of Planning and the Environment that it would not consider the matter because it had too little information at its disposal with regard to the policy of the DCD and the Department of Planning and the Environment. They then asked to meet with the two departments to discuss matters relating to free trade areas and the resettlement plans for the Indian community.<sup>88</sup>

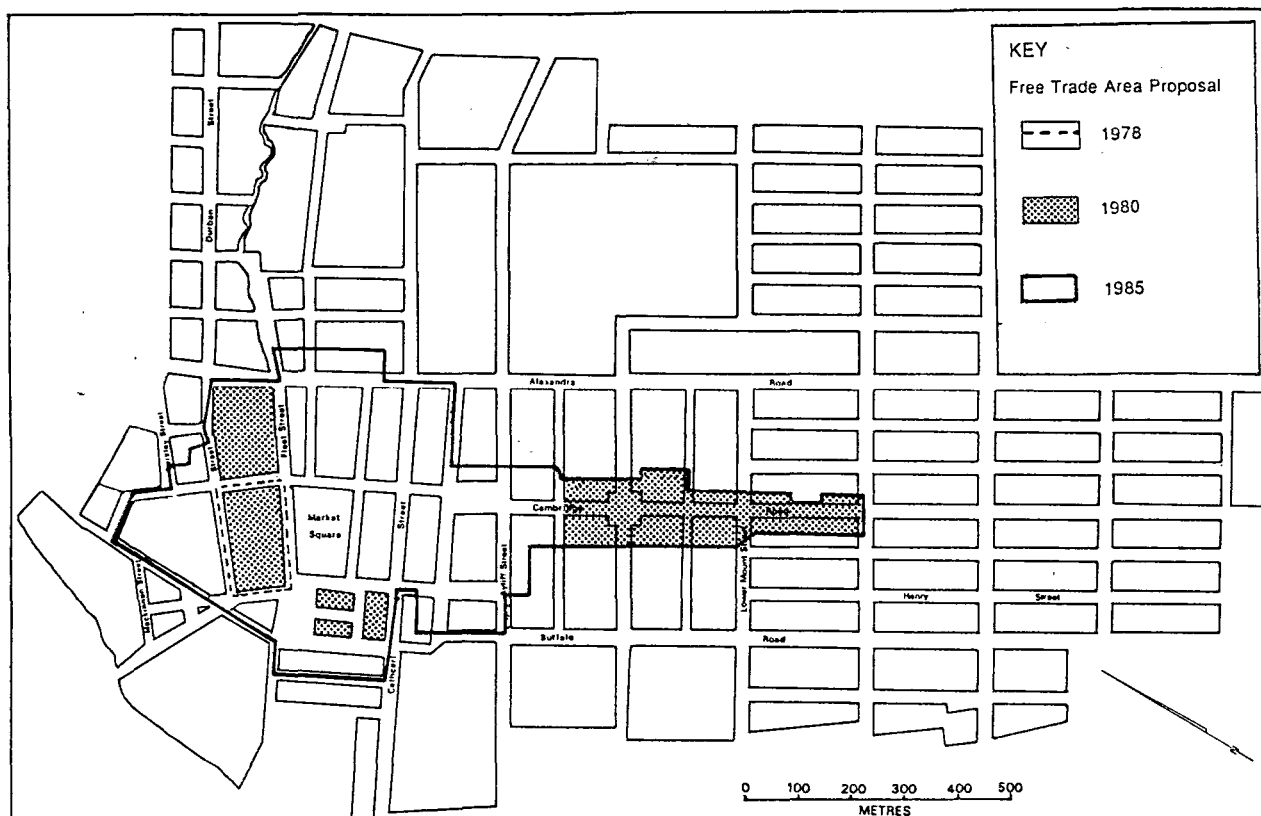


Figure 7.21 King William's Town free trade area proposals and proclamations

In June 1979 the Department of Environmental Planning and Energy (formerly Community Development Board) said that they were prepared to consider the proclamation of individual erven in the white group area as Section 19 free trade areas. The same proposal was made in Grahamstown. If this proposal was accepted by the Council and the Indian community the proclamation of a single Section 19 free trade area would fall away.<sup>89</sup> The government thus tried to facilitate Indian businessmen by proclaiming individual erven rather than forcing Indians to move into one free trade area.

In June 1980 the Council applied to the DCD for the proclamation of three free trade areas (see Figure 7.21) and the Council also wanted single erven, occupied by Indians, to be proclaimed as Section 19 free trade areas.<sup>90</sup> The Council did not apply for the entire CBD to be opened to all race groups even though the Department suggested it but the Council indicated that they were in favour of the CBD being declared a free trade area.<sup>91</sup>

The DCD's proposals were advertised in the local newspaper for investigation but the Council's recommendation that individual erven be zoned was excluded from these proposals.<sup>92</sup> The Indian

Association objected to the advertised proposals,<sup>93</sup> but this objection was disregarded showing that the Indian community of King William's Town had little influence. A public hearing was held in October 1981 but nothing came of this proposal because the area did not receive public approval.

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning (formerly DCD) for the second time suggested that the entire CBD be considered as a free trade area. The Council then applied for the entire CBD (see Figure 7.21) to be opened to all races and also that businesses outside the CBD be proclaimed as free trade areas.<sup>94</sup> The CBD was eventually opened to all races in 1986.<sup>95</sup> With the repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1991 Indians no longer needed a permit to trade as all areas were opened to all races.

Since the Indian community of King William's Town was smaller than that of Grahamstown the municipality seemed to make decisions without much input from the Indian community. The government rather than the municipality seemed to have supported the Indians, especially the businessmen. Even though an Indian group area was proclaimed it was not developed thus Indians did not move there and the spatial distribution of Indians after 1950 remained as it had been before the passing of the Group Areas Act. The actions of the municipality and the Indian community delayed the proclamation of an Indian area and thus they influenced spatial distribution.

## 7.4 QUEENSTOWN 1950-1991

### 7.4.1 Spatial Distribution 1950-1991

The spatial distribution of the Queenstown Indian community from 1950 to 1991 remained stable with Indians occupying the same areas that they had occupied as prior to 1950 with movement to blocks within the areas of highest concentration as well as to blocks peripheral to these (see Figures 7.22 to 7.26). This was also found to be the case in Grahamstown and King William's Town. As in the other two urban centres there was an increase in the number of Indian occupied blocks as well as an increase in the number of Indian occupied premises per block over time. There was also a dispersal to areas outside the central area of Queenstown after the 1980s as was the case in Grahamstown and King William's Town.

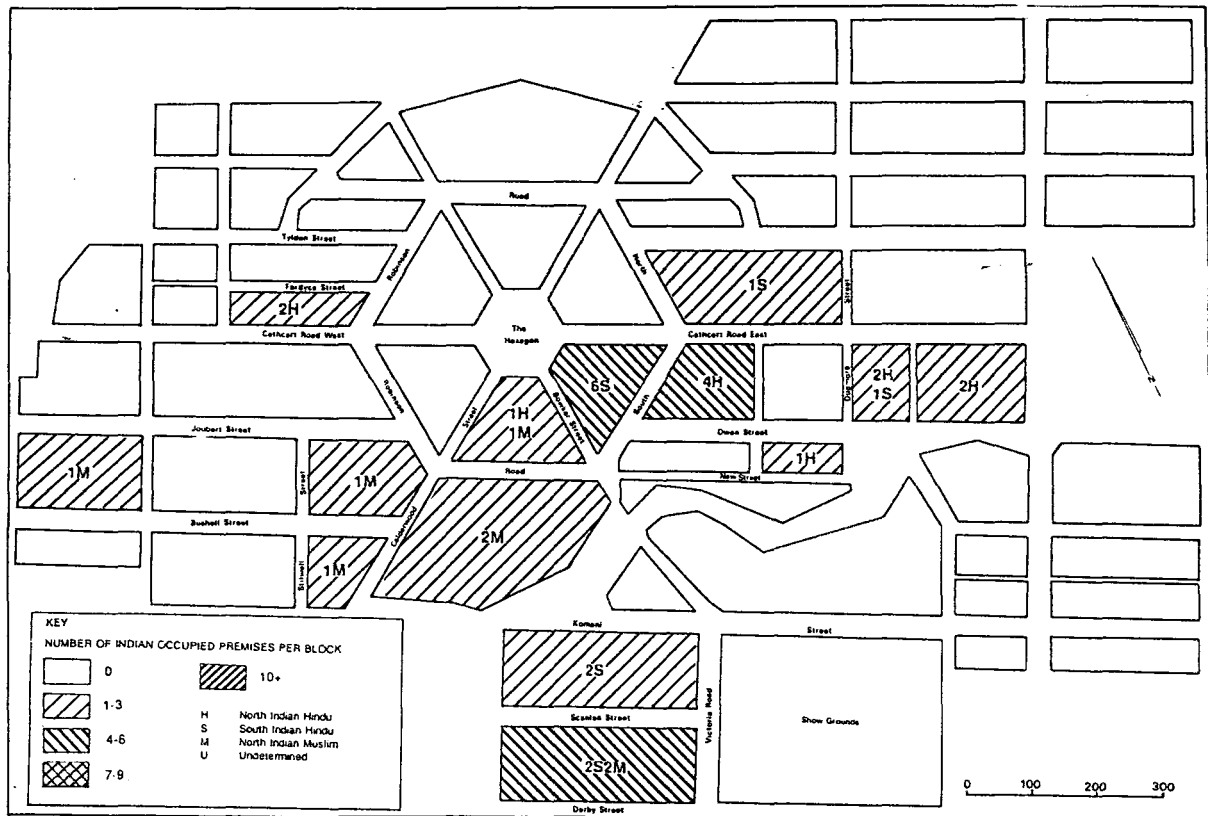


Figure 7.22 Queenstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1950

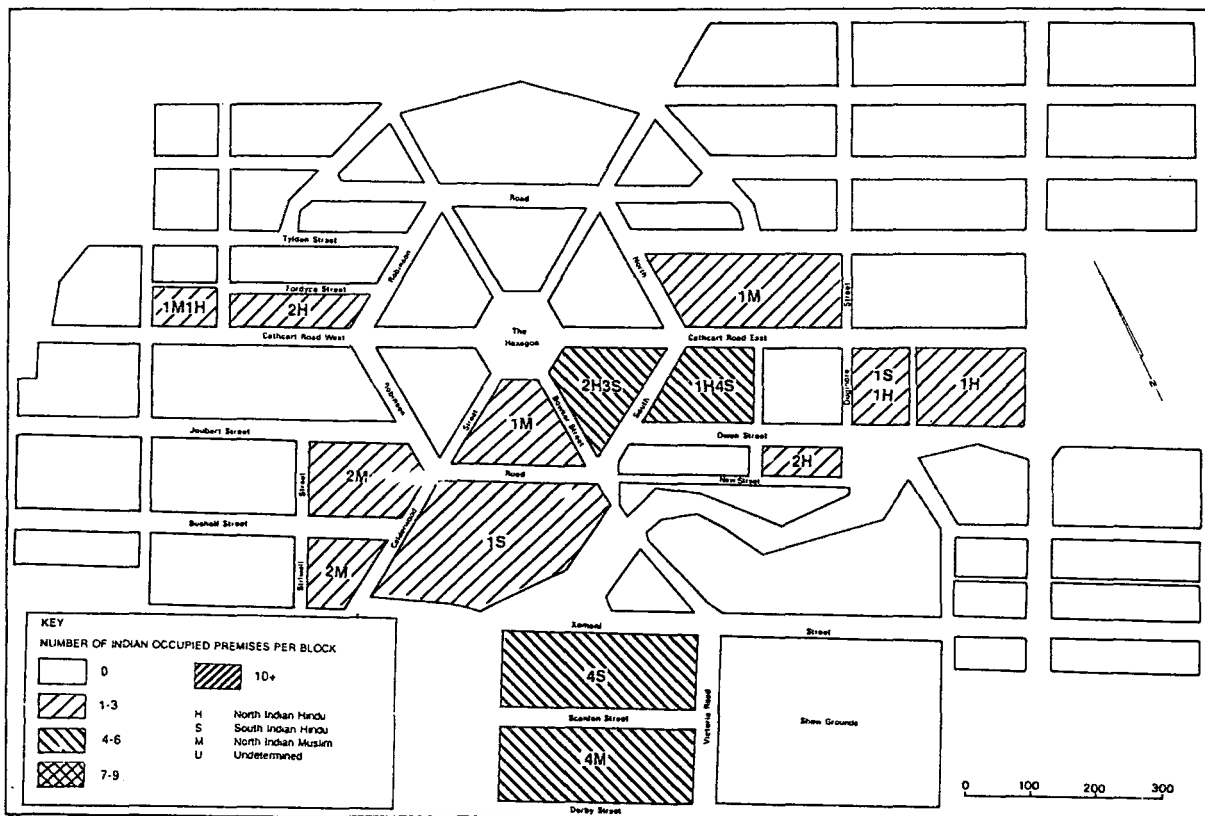


Figure 7.23 Queenstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1960

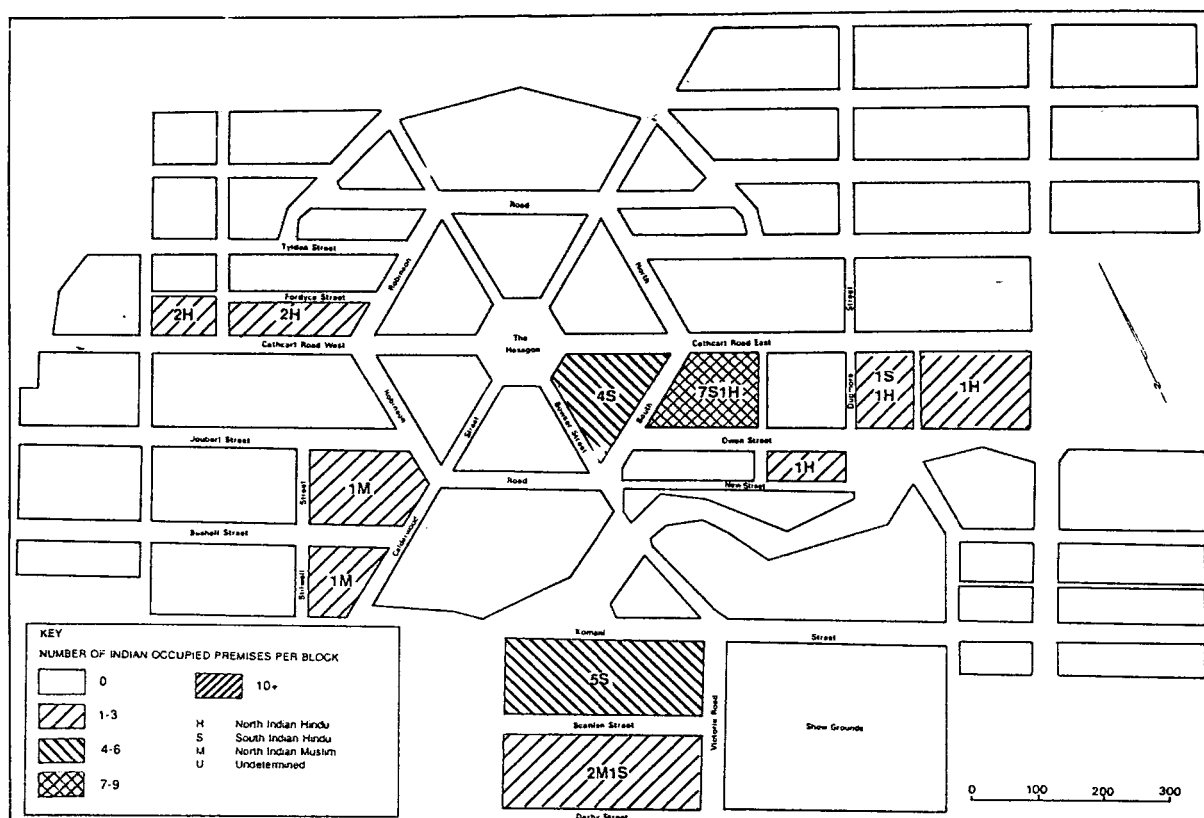


Figure 7.24 Queenstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1970

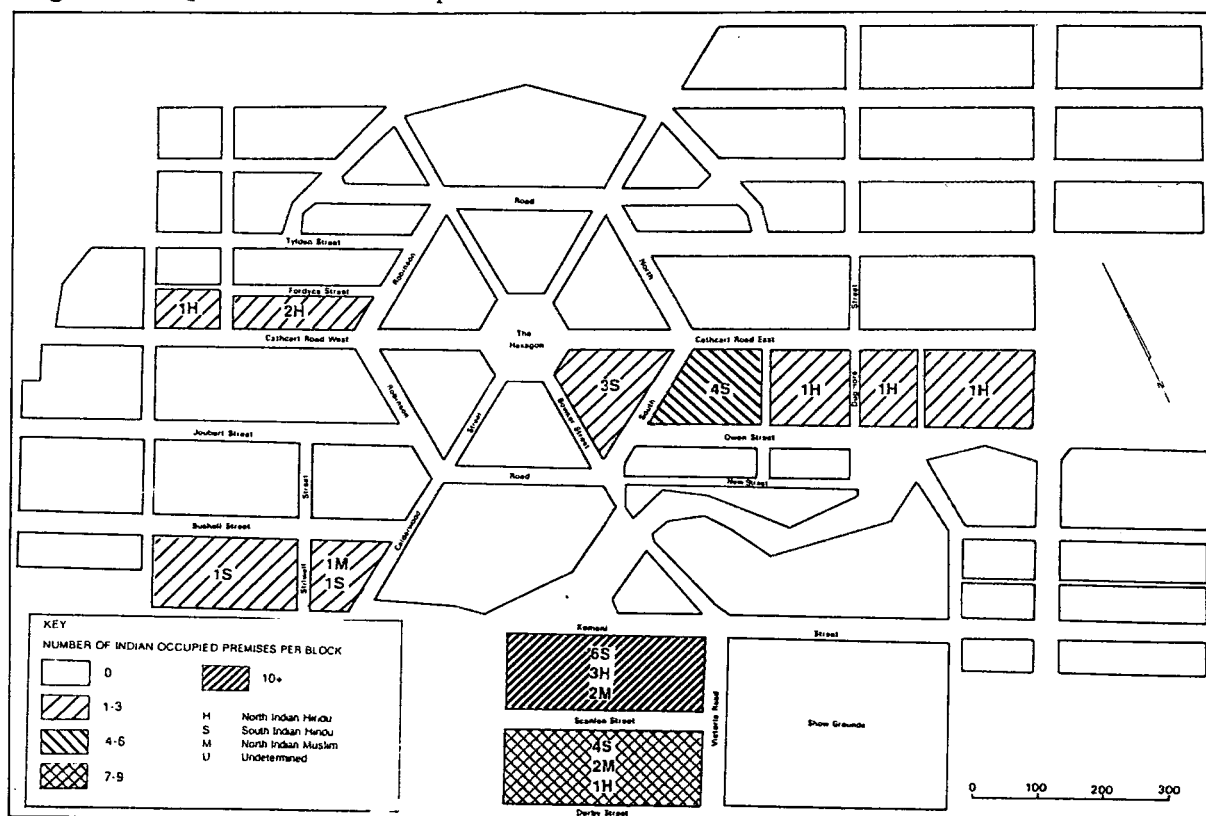


Figure 7.25 Queenstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1981

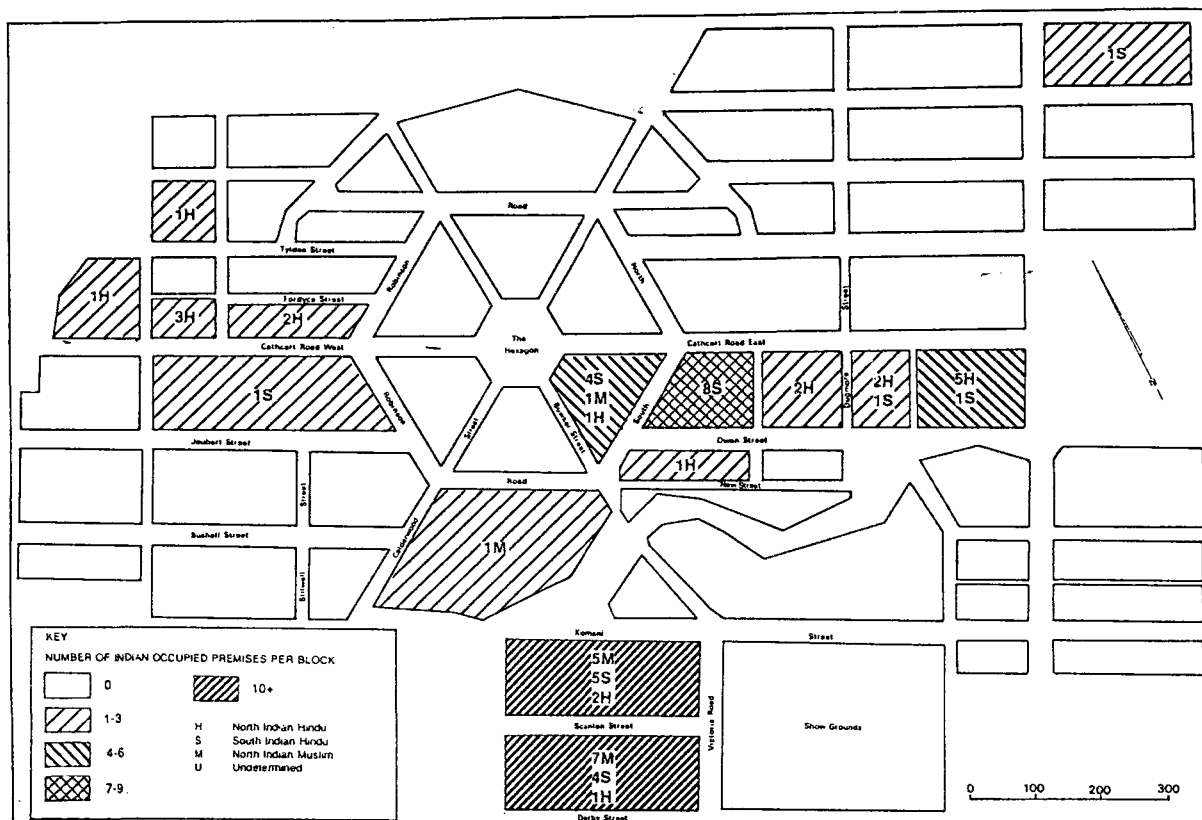


Figure 7.26 Queenstown Indian Spatial Distribution in central area 1991

Little change occurred for the period 1950 to 1970 (see Figures 7.22, 7.23 and 7.24). The number of blocks occupied by Indians, as well as the blocks with more than one Indian occupied premises, remained more or less the same (see Table 6.7). The areas of highest Indian concentration for the period 1950 to 1991 were the blocks southeast of the hexagon and the Scanlan Street area.

The 1970 map, Figure 7.24, shows that there were sixteen Indian occupied premises in the area southeast of the hexagon. The blocks with the highest concentration were occupied by South Indians (see Figure 7.24). This may have been due to the higher number of South Indians or could have been due to segregation within the Indian community. In 1970 there were a total of eighteen South Indian Hindu occupied premises compared to only nine North Indian Hindu premises. Figure 7.24 however shows that mixing of the different Indian groups did occur in certain blocks as in Grahamstown and King William's town thus the size of the South Indian community rather than segregation was important. The size of the Indian group affected the number of blocks occupied by that group, as the greater the number of premises occupied, the greater the number of blocks occupied. For example in 1960 there were ten Muslim occupied premises in six blocks compared to four Muslim occupied premises in 1970 located in only three blocks.

In 1981 (see Figure 7.25) eleven blocks were occupied by Indians, six of these blocks had more than one Indian occupied property. As Table 6.8 shows, only two blocks had been continuously occupied by Indians since 1925. The highest concentration occurred in the Derby Street area where eighteen properties were occupied by Indians. The size of the Indian community, as Table 1.1 shows, increased from 174 to 205 between 1980 and 1985. The increase in the number of Indian occupied premises could have been a result of an influx of Indians from other areas.

Figures 7.26 and 7.27, the maps for 1991, show a marked change although the areas of concentration remained the same. Most importantly, Indians were not only found in the central area of the urban centre (see Figure 7.26), but also in four other residential areas. In 1991, Aloveale, one of the coloured residential areas (see Figure 7.27), had thirteen Indian occupants. Other areas include New Rest with one occupant, Bergsig with 2 Indian families and Westbourne with 2 Indian residents. The number of Indian occupied blocks increased to fifteen and nine of these blocks had more than one Indian occupied premises. Indians had moved into the core of the CBD as nine blocks fronting onto Cathcart Road, were occupied by Indians. The number of Indian occupants in the Derby Street area increased as Figure 7.26 and Table 6.9 shows. As Table 6.8 shows only two blocks were continuously occupied between 1925 and 1991 compared to seven blocks between 1950 and 1991. This implies that the spatial distribution of the Indian community became more stable after 1950.

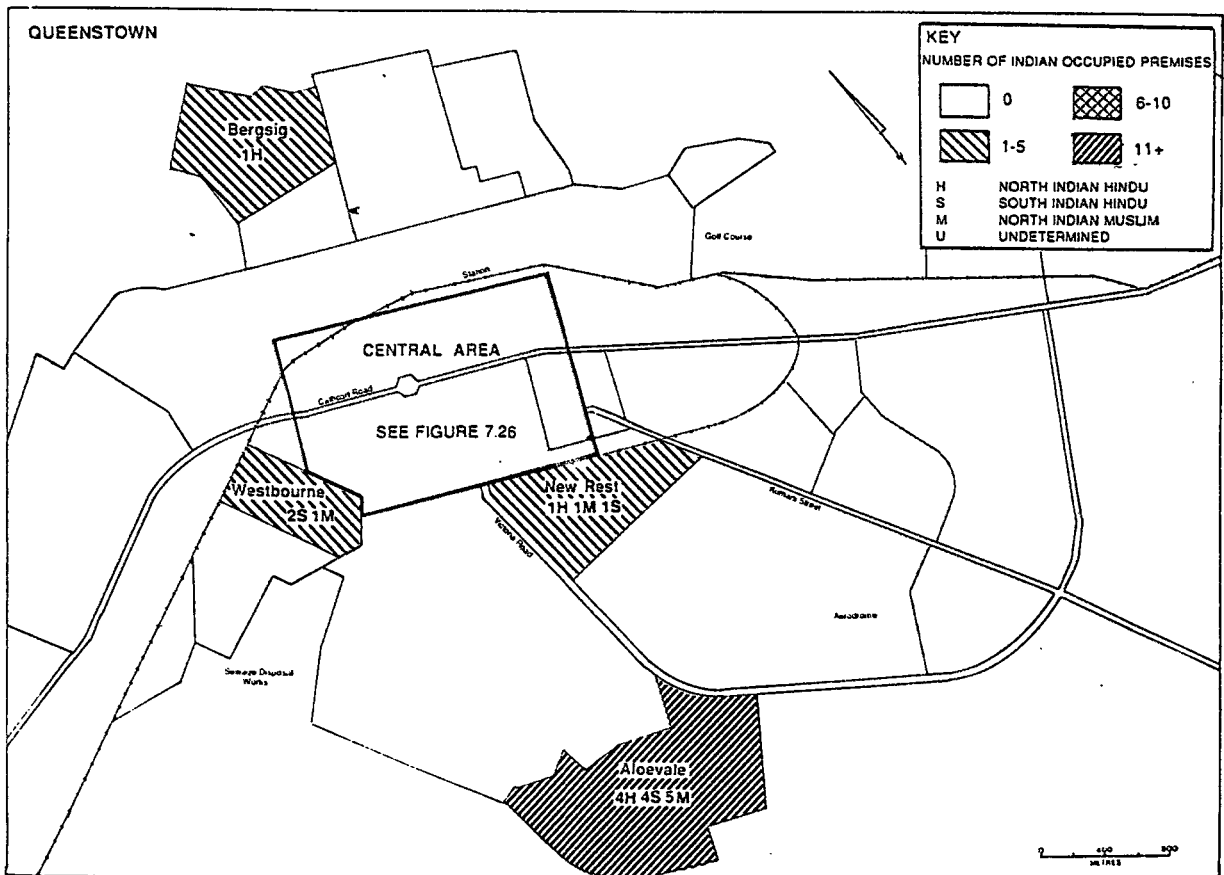


Figure 7.27 Queenstown Indian Spatial Distribution 1991

#### 7.4.2 Implementation of the Group Areas Act: Residential areas

In 1950 the Indian community were living and trading in premises situated in the CBD and the surrounding areas as shown above. In 1951 white residents petitioned and complained that Indians were moving into dwellings vacated by whites, especially in Bushell Street, Calderwood Street, Stilwell Street and Joubert Street<sup>96</sup> (See Figure 7.22). The Council, on the other hand were confident that no intrusion could take place as the Group Areas Act prevented the transfer of property between whites and blacks by means of the permit system.<sup>97</sup> The Queenstown Council, as that of Grahamstown, was in fact against the Group Areas Act as they felt that segregation was being accomplished without it.<sup>98</sup> In 1954 a portion of the white community were still against the Indian community as the Queenstown Skakel Komitee van Afrikaanse Verenigings requested that the Council apply for separate group areas for Indians, coloureds and Blacks.<sup>99</sup> Since Queenstown was declared a controlled area the Council felt that there was no rush to establish group areas because there was sufficient control over the transfer of property.<sup>100</sup>

The area between Derby Street and Scanlan Street was proposed as an Indian group area in 1955 (see Figure 7.28). The Indian community informally asked for the area indicated as A on Figure 7.29, but the LTAB, fearing the influx of Indians from other urban centres, refused and said that the area was too large.<sup>101</sup>

In Grahamstown the Council, and not the LTAB feared the influx of Indians from elsewhere. As in Grahamstown and King William's Town the Queenstown Council was very undecided about the future of the Indian and Chinese communities. The Council seemed concerned about the future needs of the Indian community and were against the uprooting of Indian businesses.<sup>102</sup> Thus the same concerns and attitudes as were found in Grahamstown and King William's Town were experienced in Queenstown. The following recommendations were made by the Queenstown Council. The first was that the initial area proposed be set aside as a small residential township (see Figure 7.29). The second suggestion was that all the Indian businesses remain where they were, that is in the CBD. The third recommendation was that the area between Derby Street and Scanlan Street be set aside as an open trade area for the Indian and Chinese communities.<sup>103</sup> The Indian Rate Payers' Association rejected the proposals for a residential and a business area as they felt that the proposed residential area was too small to provide for future expansion. The area was also situated near the sewage works and therefore subjected to unpleasant smells. The Indian community preferred Komani Park or Queensview, the areas close to the aerodrome (see Figure 7.29). They were totally against a separate

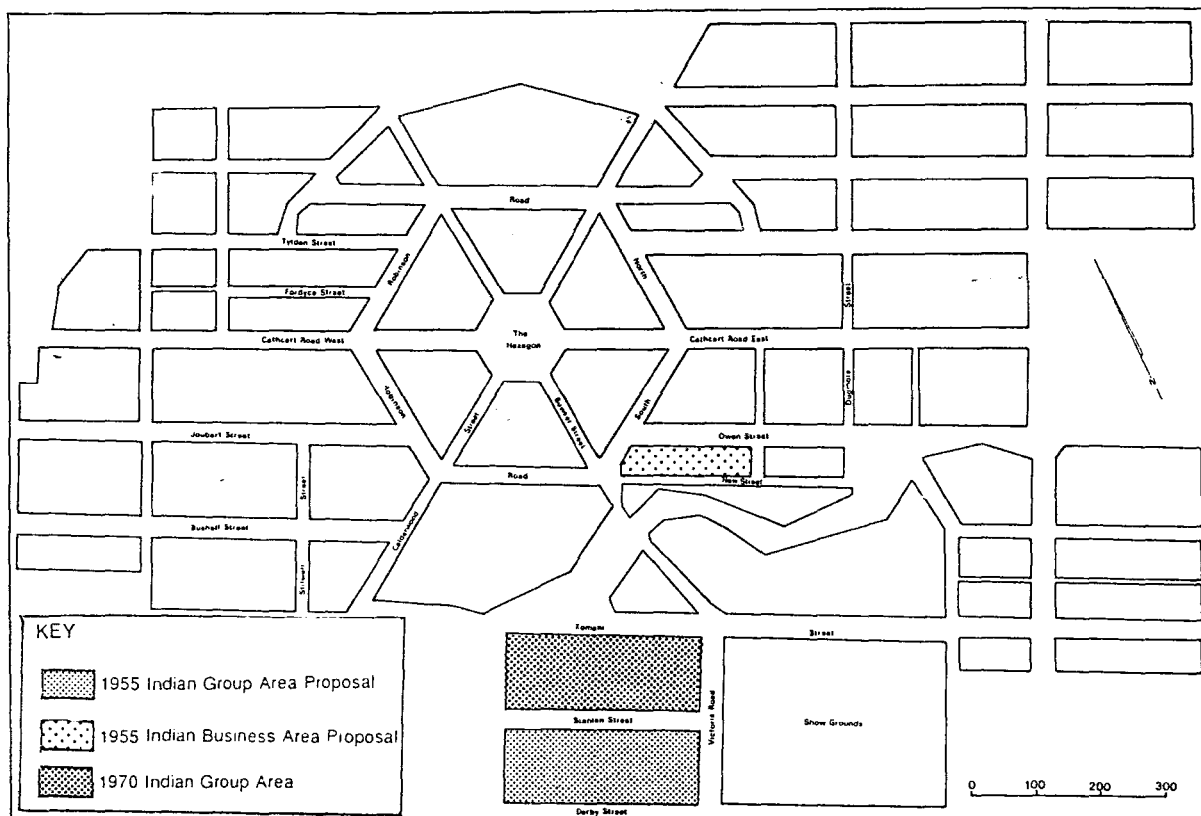


Figure 7.28 Queenstown Indian group area proposals and proclamation

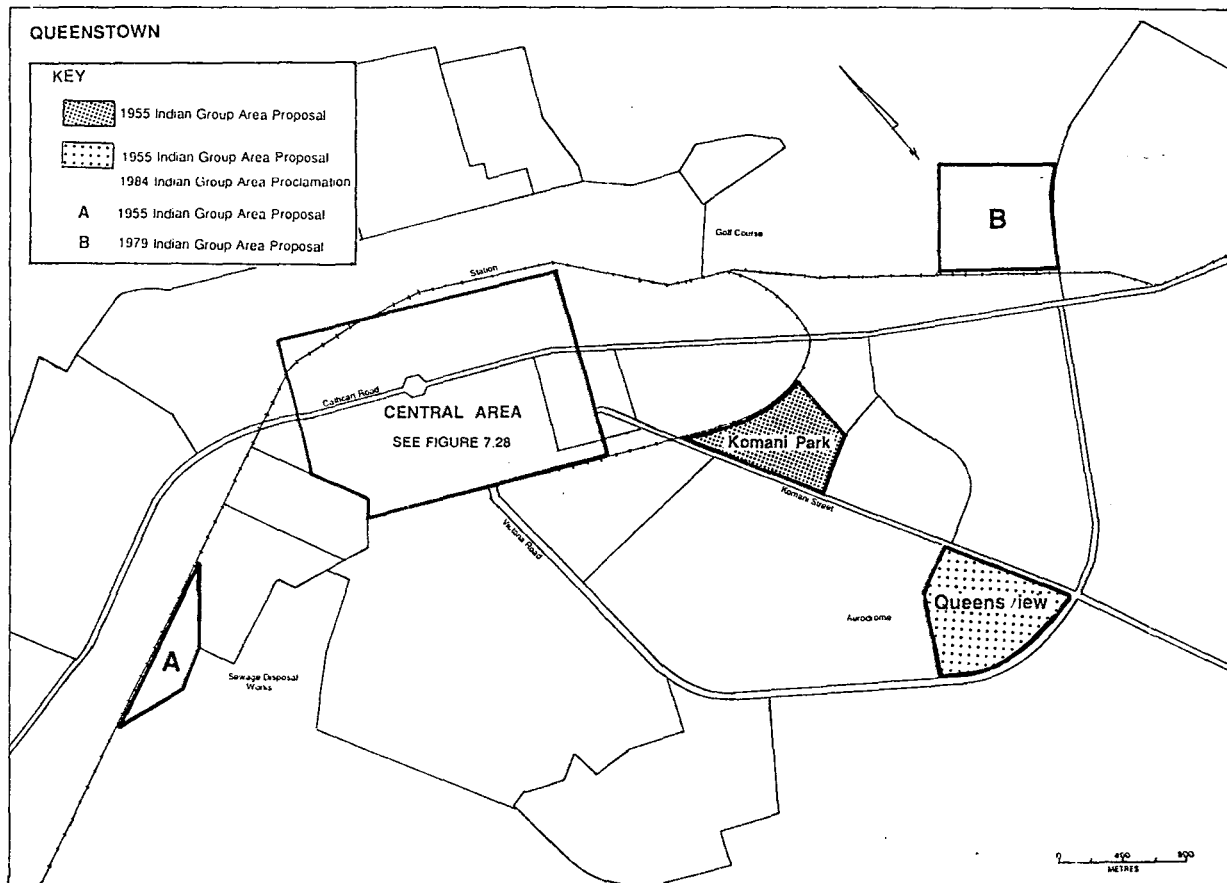


Figure 7.29 Queenstown Indian group area proposals and proclamations

business area as they feared that they would not be able to make a living confined in one small area. In Grahamstown the Indians also felt that a separate trade area would result in economic ruin. Instead the Indian Rate Payers' Association suggested that the block between Owen Street and New Street (see Figure 7.28) be set aside as a business area.<sup>104</sup>

The following proposals were made by the Council to the LTAB. The first was that Indian businesses remain where they were under special permit. Secondly, that the block between Komani Street and Scanlan Street be set aside as a future business area. Thirdly, that Queensview and the area indicated as A on Figure 7.29) be proposed as residential areas. The block between Scanlan Street and Derby Street was proposed as a Chinese residential and business area.<sup>105</sup>

The LTAB's opinion at this stage was that there was no need to set aside a separate area for the Indian and Chinese communities as these communities were too small as had been the case in Grahamstown and King William's Town. These groups could remain where they were with special permits. For this reason, when the Council submitted its proposals to the LTAB in 1955, no provision was made for the Indian and Chinese communities.<sup>106</sup>

In June 1956 the Council argued that even though the Indian community was small provision had to be made for the future increase of the community.<sup>107</sup> Thus the Queenstown municipality, like the King William's Town municipality, changed its mind. For this reason new proposals were submitted which included the two previously proposed residential areas.<sup>108</sup> In October 1956 the following areas were advertised by the GAB for investigation. The block between Komani Street and Scanlan Street was proposed as a white or Indian area while the block between Derby Street and Scanlan Street was proposed as a white or Chinese area. Queensview (see Figure 7.29) was proposed as an Indian group area.<sup>109</sup> Unlike Grahamstown where the Indian community asked for an area the Council took the initiative and requested an area for Indians as in King William's Town.

The Queenstown Skakel Komitee van Afrikaanse Verenigings played an important role in Queenstown. As in Grahamstown where the white residents petitioned and objected to various proposals the Skakel Komitee objected to the proposals mentioned above. They stated that they wanted no Indians or Chinese in the block between Derby Street and Komani Street nor in area A. They felt that Queensview was more suitable for the Indian community. There were no objections to the areas proposed for the coloureds and the Blacks.

This organisation was definitely against the Indian community and wanted them removed from the white areas. They suggested that all Indian owned and occupied property be demolished and that municipal or Government buildings be erected in its place. Indian businesses, they said, must be taken over by the municipality or the Government or some private company. Each race group must have its own area. They said that the Indian and Chinese only took advantage of the other race groups and did not contribute to the income of the town. The organisation further said that if the Indians were not satisfied with the GAB's decision, they could leave Queenstown.<sup>110</sup>

This influenced the Council's actions. Previously the Council wanted the businesses to remain in the CBD and were only keen on the establishment of an Indian residential area. However in December 1957, they requested that the block between Owen Street and New Street (see Figure 7.28) be cleared of all Indians and coloureds as they wanted to eliminate black ownership and occupation of property in this area but only once an alternative area became available.<sup>111</sup> The Queenstown Skakel Komitee van Afrikaanse Verenigings sets Queenstown apart from the two study areas, already discussed where whites were against the removal of Indians from white areas.

The Council did not know who to please, the Indian community or the Queenstown Skakel Komitee van Afrikaanse Verenigings. This became apparent after the Council informed the GAB in July 1958 that there were still problems regarding the Indian and Chinese communities. The Council could not decide which area to propose for the Indian community, Queensview or the block between Derby Street and Komani Street. The Council felt that the Chinese and Indian groups were too small to form a self-supporting community and for this reason they should not be moved to the outskirts of Queenstown but rather be allowed to remain in the white area with permits.<sup>112</sup> Thus contrary to the Council's initial approach of asking for an Indian group area there seemed to be a change in attitude.

In July 1962, the white and coloured group areas were proclaimed. The block between Komani Street and Derby Street was left as a controlled area, with the exception of the row of erven fronting onto Victoria Road which were proclaimed white. This controlled area would be used as a residential and business area to resettle Indians once they moved out of the white group area. The remainder of the municipal area was a controlled area and all the black owned and occupied property in the white group area would have to be sold to the GAB.<sup>113</sup>

The Council was unhappy about the erven fronting Victoria Street as these were proclaimed as part of the white group area instead of being proclaimed Indian. Only three of these properties were

occupied by whites. The rest of these erven were occupied by Indians. The Council therefore asked the Minister if the erven could be acquired and occupied by Indians who were at that time located in the white group area but wished to move to the Indian group area.<sup>114</sup> The DCD wanted Indians to occupy but not acquire property in the Komani Street area. Only once an Indian group area was proclaimed would it permit the acquisition of property in this area.<sup>115</sup> The government therefore had strict control over the ownership and occupation of property.

During a visit to Queenstown in November 1964, the DCD informed the Council, as it did in Grahamstown, that its policy was to eventually remove all Indians from small urban centres and to resettle them in special townships in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban. It assured the Council, however that existing property ownership would not be disturbed<sup>116</sup> but that people would not be allowed to occupy these properties. The Department wanted all Indians situated in the white group area to be moved to the Komani Street area. It therefore wanted to purchase erf 517 in Victoria Road, that belonged to the Council, to resettle Indians from the white group area. But when the Council refused to sell to the Department it threatened the Council by saying that it had the power to expropriate land that it required for development, but preferred not to.<sup>117</sup> The government therefore made it clear that they wanted the Council to cooperate as they were in control.

In July 1967 the GAB advertised its proposals for an Indian group area. According to Council records there were eight Indian families resident in the white group area and 19 in the Derby Street area at this stage. The data collected for the distribution maps show on the other hand that in 1960 there were eight properties occupied by Indians in the Komani Street area while there were 28 properties occupied in the white group area. In 1970 the same number of Indian occupied properties were found in the Komani Street area and 22 Indian occupied properties were situated in the white group area. The Council felt that the proposed area was too large and the boundary needed to be amended.<sup>118</sup> They wanted the area bounded by Komani Street, Victoria Road and Derby Street (see Figure 7.28) but only if the Chinese community, the majority of who were located in this area, were allowed to remain in the proposed area. The other alternative was to proclaim the area between Komani Street and Scanlan Street as an Indian group area. As earlier the Council were still against the creation of an Indian group area. They argued that Queenstown had no problem as segregation was achieved without the Group Areas Act.<sup>119</sup> This was the Council's initial approach but after pressure from the government and the Queenstownse Skakel Komitee van Afrikaanse Verenigings the Council was forced to propose areas. In March 1970, after all the different proposals, the area between Komani Street and Scanlan Street (see Figure 7.28) was finally proclaimed an Indian group area.<sup>120</sup>

In 1978 the Indian community informed the Council that the proclaimed area was unsafe and that they wanted a new area where they would be able to build their own homes. A bigger area was needed to accommodate Indian industrialists who were coming from Durban.<sup>121</sup> The DCD were against the idea of having two Indian group areas and would rather improve the existing area with Departmental funds. The Department then prepared layout plans for the Indian group area which was referred to the Council and the Indian community for comments.<sup>122</sup> The government were not keen to proclaim another area and seemed unconcerned about the problems being experienced. In Grahamstown the government also made a similar attempt after Indians refused to move to the Indian area situated in Fingo Village. They decided to redevelop the area.

A change was then noted in January 1979 when an advertisement to investigate the proclamation of an additional Indian group area was placed in a local newspaper by the Department of Planning and Environment.<sup>123</sup> Two areas, a portion of Queensview and the area marked B was advertised (see Figure 7.29). The Council said that they were not in favour of two Indian group areas and that if a new area was proclaimed the old Indian area would be declared an open trade area and Indians would not be permitted to reside there.<sup>124</sup>

The Town Engineer preferred having two areas but realized that the DCD would not allow this. He suggested that if two areas were proclaimed then the poorer Indians could remain in the old Indian group area. The DCD agreed to allow Indians already in the proclaimed Indian group area to remain there and to establish businesses there. But no new residents would be allowed to move into the proclaimed Indian group area. The DCD further stressed that a new area would only be proclaimed if all the Indians agreed to move there.<sup>125</sup> Grahamstown can once again be compared to Queenstown as there too a high income area and a low income area was proposed by the Council. Furthermore the Indians in Grahamstown were also told that if all were prepared to move to the area the plots would be cheaper. Thus similar strategies were employed to convince all Indians to move.

At a meeting in November 1979 it was resolved that the Indian community decide on an area by themselves. If they still wanted the Komani Street area it could be divided into a residential and a business section and in addition an area could then be proclaimed for residential purposes.<sup>126</sup>

In 1981 the Council applied for a portion of Queensview (see Figure 7.29) to be proclaimed as an Indian group area. The DCD had no objection and said that the Council could plan the area while they waited for the proclamation.<sup>127</sup> In May 1982 the Indian community objected to the proposed Indian

group area, but this objection was ignored, as in October 1984 the old area was deproclaimed and proclaimed a Section 19 area.<sup>128</sup> This was followed by the proclamation of Queensview as the Indian group area. The objection from the Indian community shows the indecision on the part of the Indian community.

In October 1985 the DCD said that the Indian families had to be encouraged to move to the new area. By 1988 Queensview was developed but only sixteen Indian families were willing to move there. Figure 7.25 shows that most of the Indians were located in the Scanlan Street area, thus in the old Indian group area.

After consulting Minister R. Bhana, who advised the Council to shelve the development of the Indian group area, the Council had Queensview deproclaimed as an Indian group area and sold it to the Department of Public Works and Land Affairs. In King William's Town too the Minister had an influence on the development of the Indian group area. The Council then decided to accommodate the Indians under the proposed Free Settlement Act (see Chapter 4) or under the permit system. At this stage Indians were already settled in elite white residential areas but permits were not granted easily. The Council were willing to allow Indians to acquire and occupy property in the white group area on condition that the application be considered on merit, that the family was from Queenstown and that the family had played a role in the economy of Queenstown. A further important precondition was that the neighbours of the property in question had no objection to the applicants acquiring or occupying the property.<sup>129</sup> In May 1988 an Indian resident of Queenstown applied for a permit to acquire and occupy a R90 000 house in the white group area. The Council supported the application for the permit and the neighbours had no objections, but the permit was refused in November 1988 by the Cape Provincial Administration.<sup>130</sup> Rate Payers' Association members felt that the application should have been granted. The Chairman of the Eastern Cape Countrywide Rate Payers' Association, suggested that the Council, being an autonomous body, should allow the Indian family to acquire and occupy the property in question. The Council, however replied that it had to abide by the laws of the country and could not allow people to contravene the Group Areas Act.<sup>131</sup> The government therefore were still controlling spatial distribution.

#### 7.4.3 Implementation of Group Areas Act: Business areas

As in Grahamstown and King William's town the Queenstown Council always wanted the Indian community to stay where they were when it came to their business location but because of pressure

from the Government the Council was forced to act differently. The DCD wanted to use the erven fronting on to Victoria Road to re-establish Indian businessmen from the white group area. These erven were proclaimed as part of the white group area in 1970 as mentioned above.<sup>132</sup> The Council had no objection to the proposal as long as the Chinese were not uprooted.<sup>133</sup> The Indian businessmen in the Indian group area requested that they be allowed to remain where they were. The Council supported the request and made representations to the DCD accordingly in July 1973.<sup>134</sup>

In 1976 Indian businessmen in the white group area received notices from the DCD to vacate their premises and move to the Indian group area where a shopping complex was being planned. Once again, as in Grahamstown and King William's Town there is the planning of a business complex. The Council was against this move and accused the DCD of going against their word. This however demonstrates that the government made the final decision. The DCD initially agreed to leave the Indian businesses in the white group area provided that the Indians move residentially to the Indian group area.<sup>135</sup> The GAB, however continued with the plans for the shopping complex and approached the Indian businessmen to establish the size and nature of the shops required. Some of the businessmen refused to co-operate and gave no information.<sup>136</sup> Therefore it seems that the government could make the decisions but they were unable to force the Indian community or the Council to co-operate.

At a meeting in April 1978 the Council made it clear that it wanted the Indian businesses to remain in the white group area and that the Indian group area be used for residential purposes only. The Indian businessmen were undecided and confused. Some were willing to move to the Indian group area, as the DCD requested, while others wanted to remain in the white group area. The Indian businessmen were under the impression that they were compelled to comply with the demands of the DCD. They did not want a shopping complex but felt that new businesses should be opened in the Indian group area if the need arose. They suggested that the erven set aside for the shopping complex be subdivided and offered to Indians to develop themselves.<sup>137</sup>

It would seem as if the Council exerted pressure on the government on behalf of the Indian community. The DCD then informed the Town Clerk that the Indian businesses could remain in the white group area but would have to move, residentially, to the Indian group area.<sup>138</sup> The Council therefore did influence the government.

In 1983 the proposal for a open trade area for all races drew negative reaction from the Queenstown Afrikaanse Sake Kamer who objected to the proposal and suggested that Section 19 areas be used as

a test area first before a whole area was declared open.<sup>139</sup> Once again there was intervention from whites to enforce segregation. The Queenstown Chamber of Commerce requested the Council to apply for the CBD to be declared a free trade area. The Council supported the suggestion and decided that as soon as the Group Areas Amendment Act took effect in 1984 it would apply for the deproclamation of the Section 19 use area and the proclamation of a free trade area. The old Indian group area was then included in the free trade area proposals,<sup>140</sup> as shown on Figure 7.30. In October 1984 the Indian

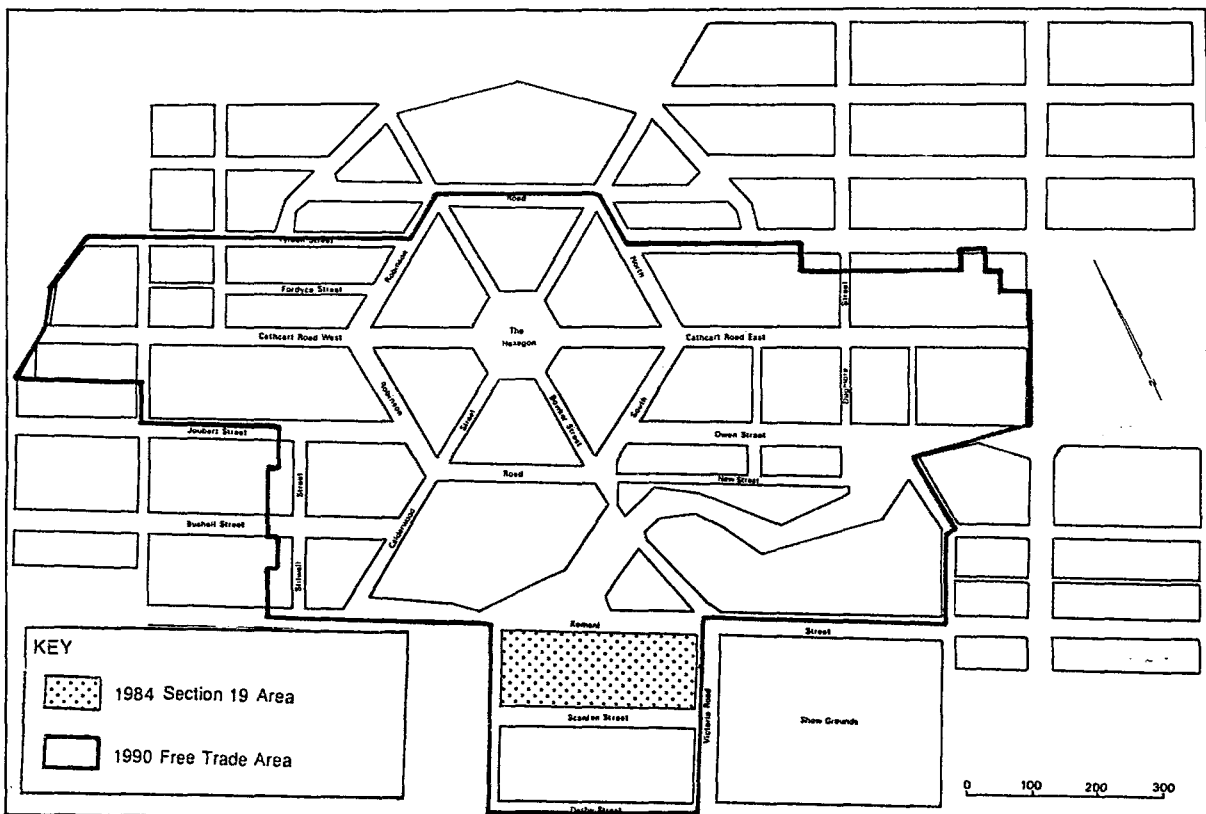


Figure 7.30 Queenstown Business areas

group area was proclaimed a Section 19 use area.<sup>141</sup> The Queenstown Afrikaanse Sake Kamer in 1986 objected to the opening of the CBD to all races but in 1990 the CBD was proclaimed a free trade area (see Figure 7.30)<sup>142</sup> thus disregarding the objection received from the Queenstown Afrikaanse Sake Kamer.

The Queenstown Council's recommendations were seldom taken seriously by the government. Both the Council and the Indian community appeared to be very undecided. The Indian community did not



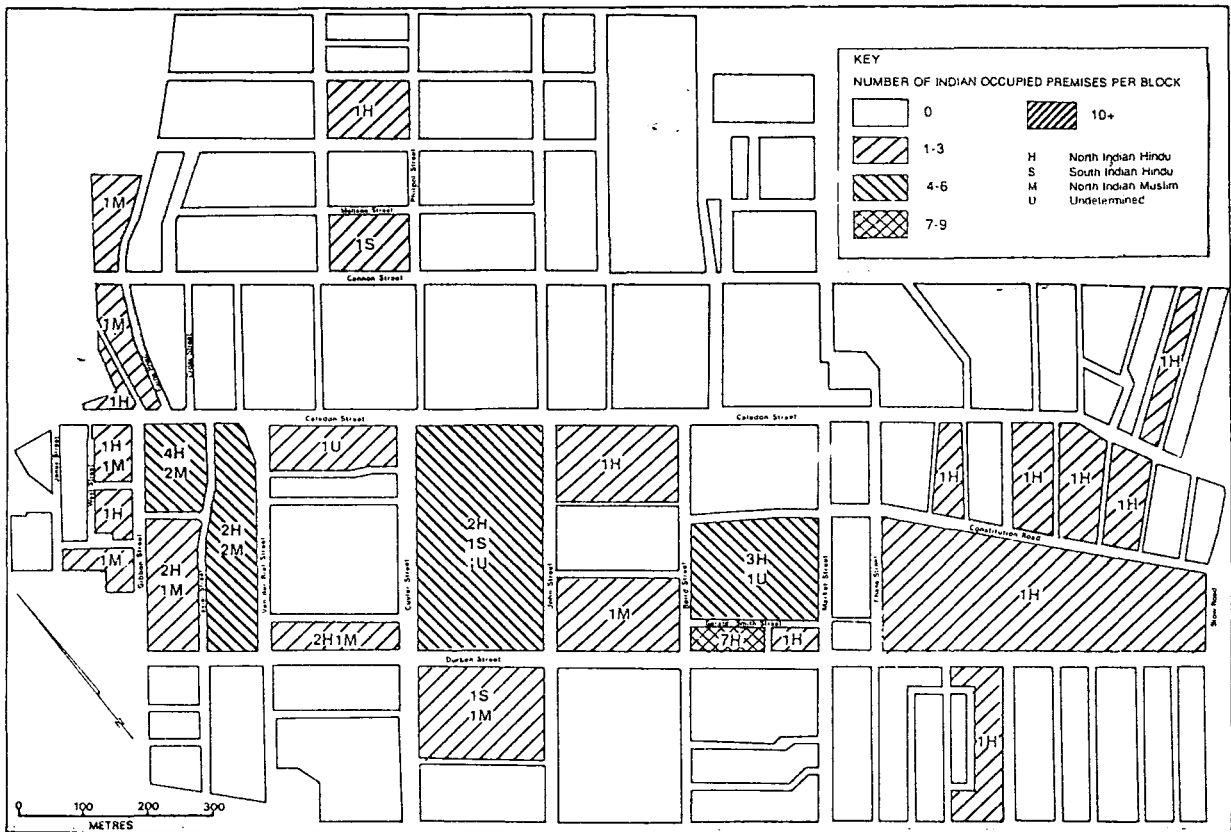


Figure 7.32 Uitenhage Indian Spatial Distribution 1960-66

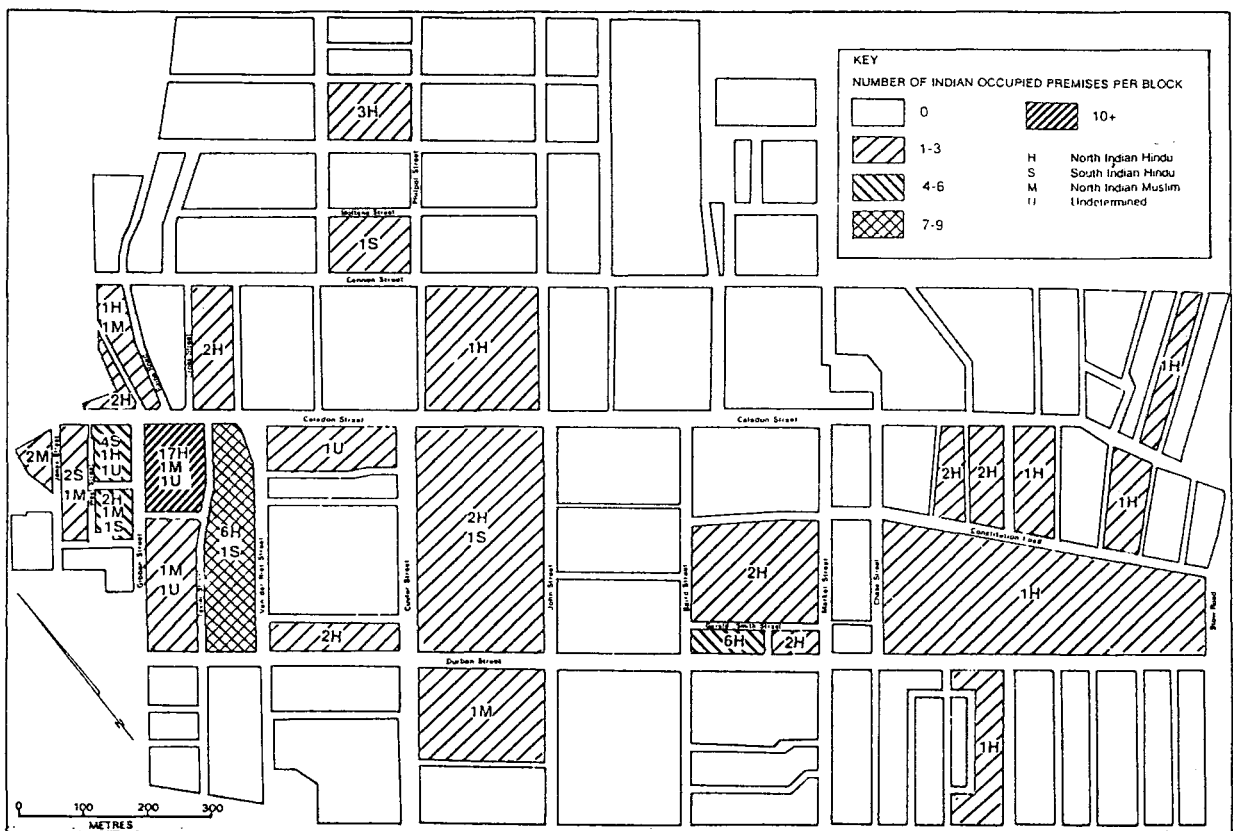


Figure 7.33 Uitenhage Indian Spatial Distribution 1974-78

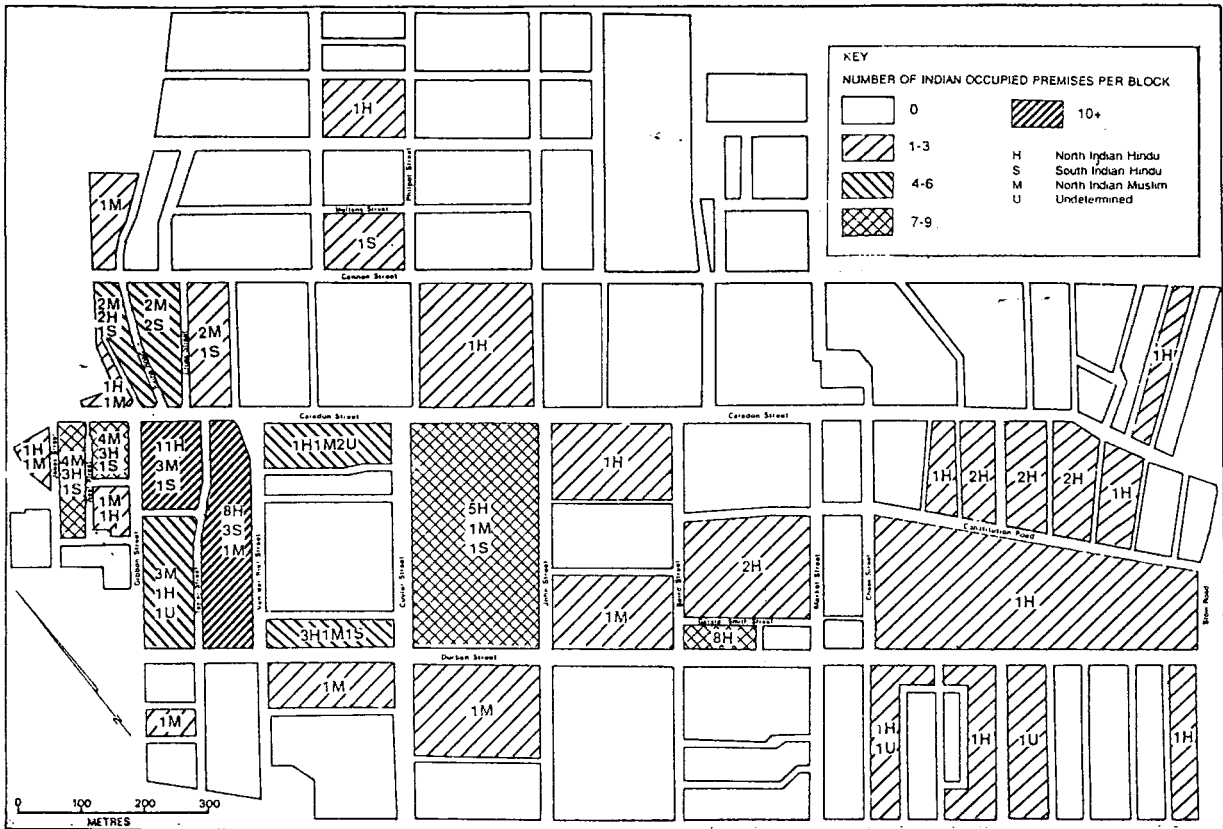


Figure 7.34 Uitenhage Indian Spatial Distribution 1984-5

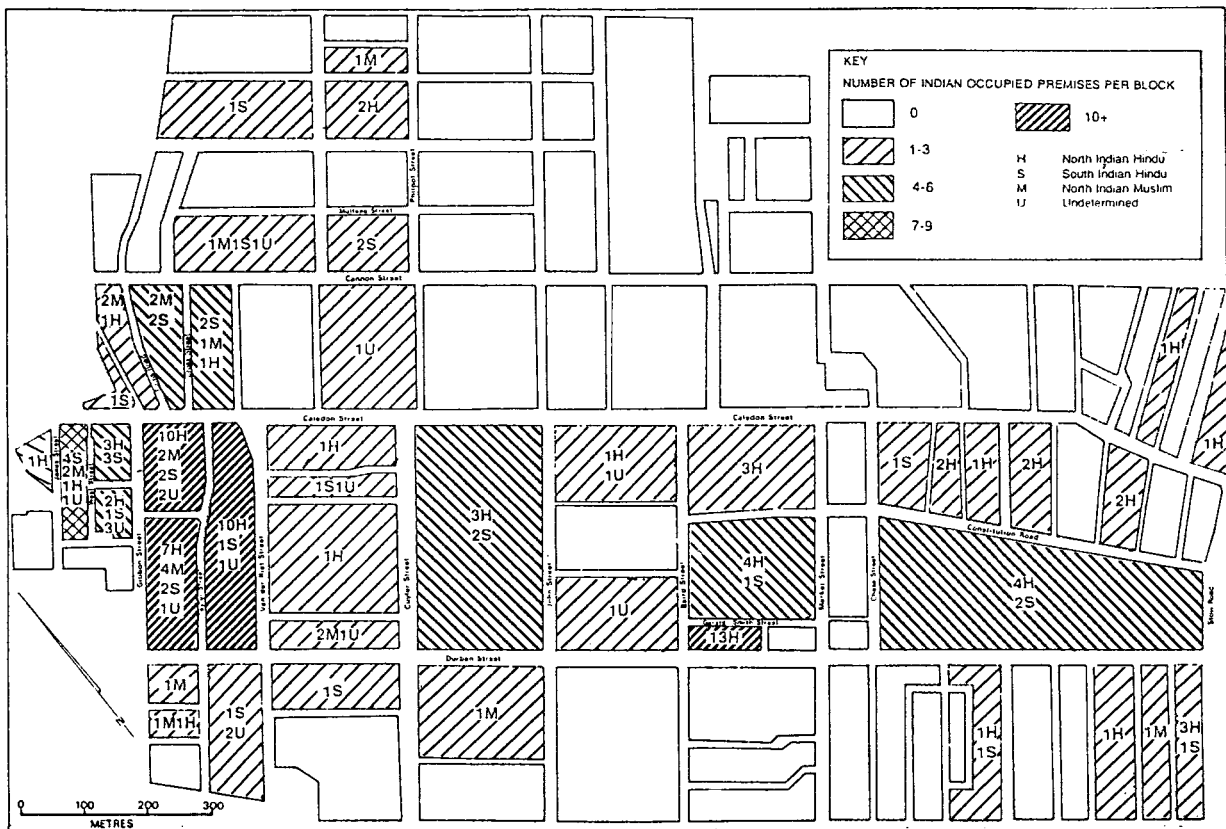


Figure 7.35 Uitenhage Indian Spatial Distribution in central area 1991

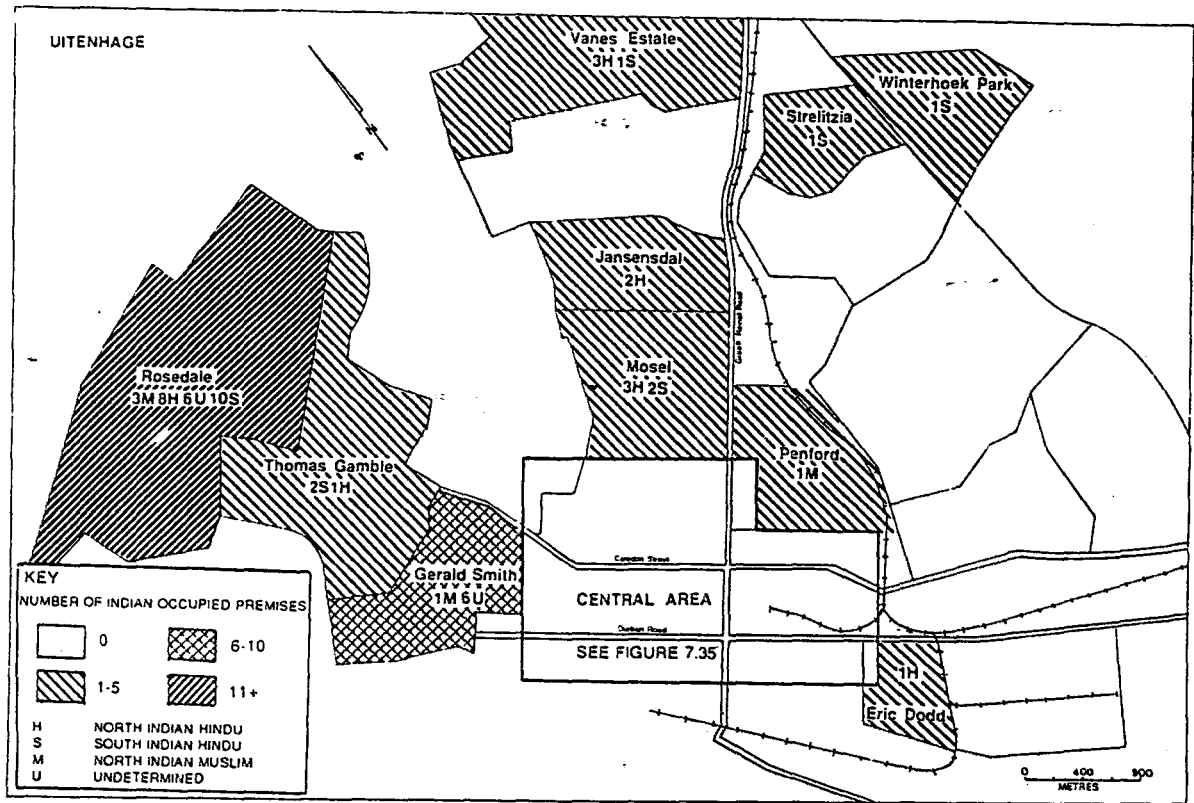


Figure 7.36 Uitenhage Indian Spatial Distribution 1991

Between 1950 and 1991 Indians in Uitenhage were located in the central area with the highest concentration occurring in the Market Street area and the Taylor Street area . The Taylor Street area was proclaimed an Indian group area in 1967 which explains the increase in the number of Indian occupied premises.

Figure 7.31 and Table 6.14, show that in 1950 twenty eight blocks were occupied by Indians. Tables 6.15 and 6.16 show that seventeen of these blocks were continuously occupied by Indians since 1908. Eight of the blocks occupied were situated northeast of Caledon Street. Figure 7.31 and Table 6.12 clearly indicate an increase in the number of Indian occupied premises in the Taylor Street block. Compared to only two Indian occupied premises in 1927/9, the Taylor Street block accommodated twelve Indian occupied premises in 1950.

Figure 7.35, the map for 1991, illustrates an increase in the number of Indian occupied blocks. Thirty eight blocks were occupied in the CBD and surrounding area. Twenty two of the blocks had more than one Indian occupied premises as Table 6.14 shows. Figure 7.36 shows that a significant number of

Indians were living in white and coloured residential areas. Thus, as in the other four study areas there was a movement to areas situated outside the central area.

Table 6.15 indicates the number of blocks continuously occupied by Indians. Only sixteen blocks were occupied continuously by Indians between 1910 and 1991. The number of blocks continuously occupied by Indians between 1950 to 1991 was higher suggesting that after 1950 as in the other study areas the spatial distribution became more fixed. This also implies that Indian spatial distribution was controlled as movement only occurred to Indian areas. Where the distribution did not change one finds that the Indians were confined to areas they occupied prior to 1950 as the Group Areas Act froze their spatial distribution. This applies to all four study areas.

#### 7.5.2 Implementation of the Group Areas Act: Residential areas

Prior to the introduction of the Group Areas Act, the Slums Act of 1934 (see Chapter 6) was used to control the distribution of blacks in Uitenhage. No reference to the use of the Slums Act was found in the files consulted for the other centres but the Act was obviously used. The Uitenhage Council was pleased with the success of the Act, which came into operation in 1938, as it led to the demolition of a number of slum properties and brought about an improvement in the housing conditions.<sup>143</sup> The municipality and not the government was controlling the spatial distribution of blacks prior to the Group Areas Act.

In 1949 the LTAB visited Uitenhage as it did in the other three study areas to determine the Asiatic concentration. After the introduction of the Group Areas Act, the LTAB suggested that residential areas be zoned first and that the Council keep group area planning principles (see Chapter 4) in mind. The first was that the urban centre should be zoned to have a radial structure and the second was that buffer zones be provided to separate group areas.<sup>144</sup>

The Council was in two minds about completing the race survey that was started in 1951 but decided that it would go ahead with the survey as the different races were already grouped into separate areas.<sup>145</sup> However in July 1952 the Council resolved not to submit zoning proposals,<sup>146</sup> but applied for more time to complete the survey as this, they felt, would give the Government the impression that they were complying with the Group Areas Act. The extension would also allow the Council more time to decide whether group areas were necessary in Uitenhage or not.<sup>147</sup> This decision was taken by the Council after they heard that the Cape Town Council was warned that if proposals were not drawn up on a voluntary basis, to comply with the Group Areas Act, the GAB would do the zoning

themselves.<sup>148</sup> The Council twice requested an extension to complete the survey and the LTAB granted both these extensions saying that if the Council required more time it would have no objections.<sup>149</sup> This indicates that the LTAB reacted leniently towards municipalities who showed co-operation. The survey was eventually completed in October 1952.<sup>150</sup>

The Council did not want to provide separate areas for the coloureds, Indians, Chinese and Malays. Instead, to prevent hardship, they wanted one area for all the small black groups. The Council, however, doubted that the LTAB would agree to this suggestion.<sup>151</sup> The special committee, appointed in 1952 to prepare group area proposals, found the group area situation in Uitenhage to be complex and felt as they had in Grahamstown and Queenstown, that the time was not right for the establishment of group areas.<sup>152</sup>

The LTAB, in July 1953, asked the Council if they wanted to define property owned by blacks as this would prevent undesirable infiltration.<sup>153</sup> In Queenstown the white community complained about black movement into white areas. The Uitenhage Indian Congress responded negatively to the decision taken by the Council to define property. As in Grahamstown they urged the Council to consult the Indian community before any further steps were taken.<sup>154</sup>

The Uitenhage Indian Congress influenced the Council as they referred the matter back to the Committee for further consideration. This was also done to remove suspicion on the part of the blacks that the Council was acting against their interests. The Indian community told the Council that they should wait for the LTAB to ask for proposals and not take the initiative in proposing areas. In Grahamstown, too, the Indian community told the Council to only submit proposals if they were asked to do so.

The Uitenhage Council, as the other three municipalities, was particularly concerned about the Indian and Chinese businessmen. The LTAB and the RPC, established by the government, then attempted to talk the Council into preparing plans by saying that the Council had a better knowledge of the local conditions and would be in the best position to draw up the proposals that would cause the least hardship. The Council wanted to prevent any further infiltration. It seems as if the Council who previously felt that there was sufficient control were influenced by the LTAB as they wanted infiltration to be eliminated.

Once again the Council was influenced by the meeting held with the LTAB and the RPC as the

Council reconsidered the matter regarding the definition of property and zoning proposals. Initially it decided to define certain properties in the white group area as this would serve as a temporary measure to prevent infiltration pending the establishment of group areas. Furthermore they were concerned about the mixed areas that existed in Uitenhage as these were unacceptable to the Government. Figure 7.31 shows where the Indians were located in 1950. The Uitenhage Council, thinking along the same lines eventually decided to take the initiative and draw up zoning proposals as it felt that it had a "better knowledge" of the local situation.<sup>155</sup>

The LTAB wanted no mixed areas and reminded the Council, as it did in the other study areas, that no pockets of blacks would be tolerated and that buffer zones would have to be created. Therefore Uitenhage had to be restructured to conform to the Apartheid city model. After three years had passed and no proposals were received the LTAB threatened the Council by saying that if proposals were not received in the near future the RPC would prepare its own plans without consulting the Council.<sup>156</sup> The government were therefore exerting pressure on the municipality.

In November 1955 the Council's proposals were amended to comply with suggestions made by the LTAB. Unfortunately no maps of these proposals were found in the municipal records. These amended plans made provision for future expansion and included one unbroken area for each race group. The Council decided not to consult the communities in question as this would only result in criticism and further delays. They were determined to have areas proposed and did not want anything to come in the way of progress. They were especially concerned about achieving total segregation which they felt was difficult to achieve compared to just residential segregation.<sup>157</sup>

The Council, however, was unhappy about the amendments that were required by the LTAB and could not decide what to do about the zoning proposals. Some councillors felt that the zoning should be left to the LTAB.<sup>158</sup> In March 1956 the Town Clerk informed the LTAB that the Council had decided to leave the zoning to the Board.<sup>159</sup> They explained that they had co-operated with the initial planning but were not in favour of the amendments required as it would result in hardship and therefore they no longer wanted to be involved. The Council had once again changed their mind. Initially the Council was against the immediate application of the Act but then they were enthusiastic about zoning to prevent penetration and hardship. In the end they decided to leave the zoning to the LTAB who knew little of the local conditions. The Council appeared to be very undecided, on the one hand they wanted to co-operate with the Government and on the other hand they wanted to draw up plans that would benefit the community.<sup>160</sup>

In November 1956 the GAB, formerly the LTAB, received three proposals after inviting interested parties to respond. One of these was from the Chinese community. The Council did not submit any proposals to the GAB as the Indian, Malay and coloured communities asked the Council not to. In fact they asked that Uitenhage be exempted from the Group Areas Act as had Grahamstown.<sup>161</sup> The Council was threatened by the GAB after it refused to submit proposals but it appeared that the Council was not interested in the Group Areas Act nor were they disturbed by the threats or else they would have submitted proposals. They did, however, consider the matter but again no agreement could be reached as to who should draw up the plans, the Council or the GAB.<sup>162</sup> The Town Clerk then informed the GAB that the Council would not submit proposals.

In October 1961 the Council sent information requested by the DCD and said that a separate Indian area was not necessary.<sup>163</sup> The survey showed that there were 25 Indian families residing in Uitenhage.<sup>164</sup> According to Figure 7.32, for 1960-1966, it was found that 53 properties were occupied by Indians which means that there were almost certainly more than 25 families.

The Council once again changed its mind and drew up proposals in 1962. The black associations, to show their opposition to the Group Areas Act, wrote a letter to the DCD requesting that Uitenhage be left as a specified area.<sup>165</sup> The Uitenhage Civic Association and the Uitenhage Hindu Mandal, on behalf of the Indians also submitted a plea to the DCD to leave the Indians alone as there were only a handful of families who had been in Uitenhage for many years. They emphasised that they were unable to purchase property without a permit as Uitenhage was a specified area. They feared that the creation of group areas would lead to the loss of finance, the loss of established businesses, the loss of livelihoods, the loss of property, the loss of decentralised positions and the loss of European contacts.<sup>166</sup> In 1962 all Indian and Chinese owned properties were eventually defined to enable the Council to control the occupation, extension and alteration of buildings.<sup>167</sup>

In 1963 the GAB advertised group area proposals after visiting Uitenhage, but these were not the same areas proposed by the Council. These proposals were also not found in the municipal records. The Council now supported the establishment of residential areas for the Indian and Chinese communities as they felt that they were economically capable of building houses.<sup>168</sup> As in King William's Town the need for housing forced the Council to ask for future Indian group areas.

The Indian group area was proclaimed in 1967 together with the white, coloured and Chinese areas (see Figure 7.37) and the Council prepared redevelopment plans for the Indian area. The Council sent its

replanning proposals of the Indian and Chinese group areas to the DCD.<sup>169</sup> These plans included the Ring Road proposal (see Figure 7.37) which was introduced to serve as a buffer between group areas.<sup>170</sup> The road also passed through a number of blocks in the proclaimed buffer zones where different racial groups were residing. These groups would have to move out to eliminate mixed areas.<sup>171</sup> An important question to ask is if the Ring Road was deliberately proposed to remove blacks from the area and in this way facilitate the creation of group areas since in Grahamstown and King William's Town urban renewal projects such as this were used for the same purpose. In March 1973 the group area proclamation of 1967 was amended to make provision for this road.

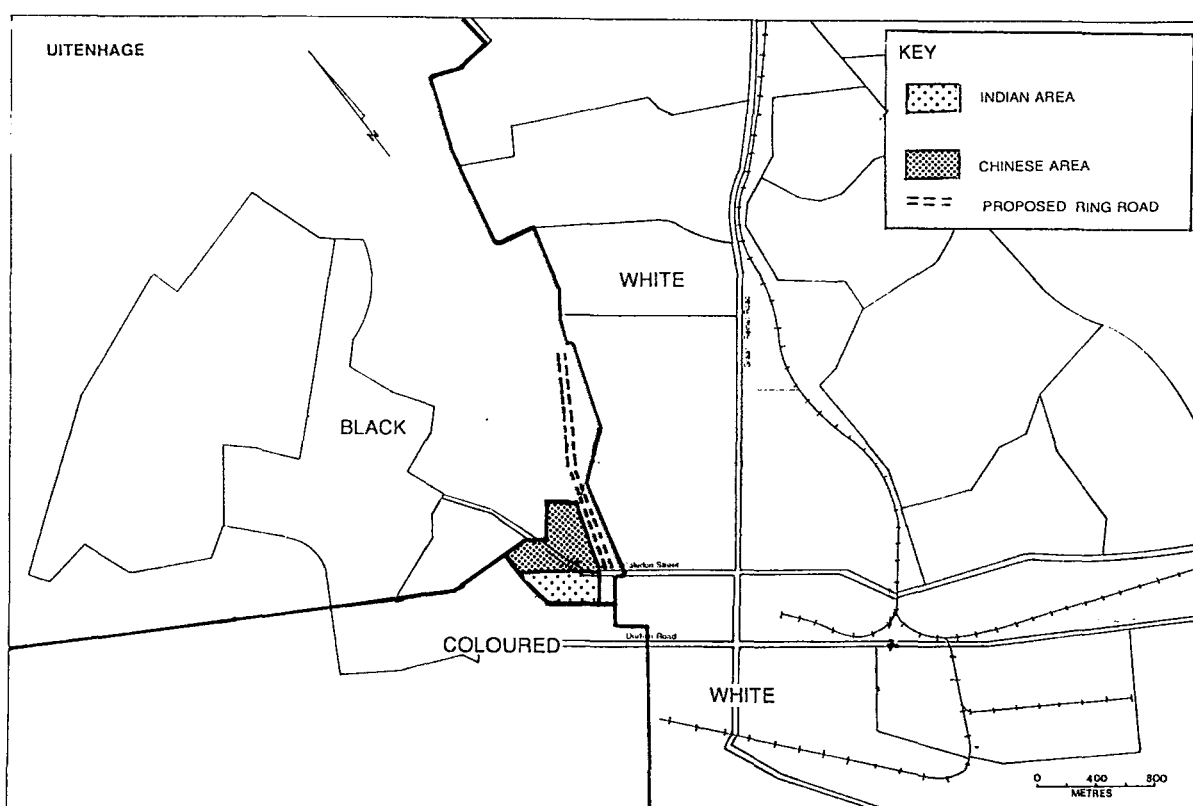


Figure 3.7 Uitenhage Group area proclamations

In 1972 the Town Clerk informed the DCD that the replanning of the Indian group area had become a matter of extreme urgency and that the proposed redevelopment of the Indian group area be treated as an urban renewal scheme for the purpose of slum clearance and redevelopment.<sup>172</sup> Once the area was frozen a permit would be necessary for any alteration or renovation.

The Uitenhage Civic Association, in April 1973, approved of the Indian group area being declared an urban renewal area for redevelopment purposes. They also wanted the Council to consult them on

matters concerning this area as they wanted to form a consultative committee to assist the Council.<sup>173</sup> The IMC therefore wanted to be involved. The area was declared as an urban renewal area. In 1974-8 the number of Indian occupied premises increased in the Indian group area compared to 1960-66 (see Figures 7.32 and 7.33) The problem was that there were still 26 coloured families in the Indian group area.<sup>174</sup>

The Indian Management Committee (IMC), which was established in 1976 to assist with matters relating to Indian group areas, asked the Council to consult them on matters affecting the Indian community and the Indian group area as they were willing to assist the Council. The IMC was a government recognised organisation representing the Uitenhage Indian community. Before the Council released any information to the IMC they first asked the Government.<sup>175</sup> The DCD had no objection and said that two members of the IMC could serve on the State Committee.<sup>176</sup> The establishment of the IMC in Uitenhage consequently created a stronger link with the Council and the government. The IMC could represent the Indian community and have a more positive input with regard to the development of the Indian area. The Council and the IMC were supposed to work together, but IMC in Uitenhage continuously accused the Council for not consulting them before decisions were made.

In 1977 the redevelopment plans for the Indian group area were approved. The Indian community however did not approve of the plans. The Indian community wanted the planning of the Indian group area to be scrapped as the land for residential and other purposes was insufficient. They also said that three religious sites and not only one was required. Furthermore, the Cat River Canal was a flood hazard. Scrapping the plans, they stated, would not result in an influx of Indians from other centres.<sup>177</sup> The fear of an influx of Indians was thus common to all four study areas.

The Town Clerk asked the DCD to extend the Indian group area by deproclaiming the Chinese group area (see Figure 7.37) and proclaiming it Indian.<sup>178</sup> The Municipality, too, felt that the Indian group area was too small, but the government disagreed.

The pace of development increased after the Government intervened. The IMC wanted the Chinese area for the development of high class housing as the erven in the Indian group area for self building were too small.<sup>179</sup> The Council supported the suggestion and applied for the extension of the Indian group area. In May 1979 the coloured families in the Indian group area received notices to vacate the area.<sup>180</sup>

The Chinese group area was deproclaimed and left controlled in 1980 and later proclaimed Indian in 1982. This meant that no subdivision, alteration or renovation could occur within this area without a permit.<sup>181</sup> The area was frozen for a period of ten years for the purposes of slum clearance and redevelopment.<sup>182</sup>

The Indian community became impatient as they told the Council that they could no longer wait for housing as the overcrowded conditions that they experienced was becoming worse. But they were informed that the development would only commence once the pegging and servicing of the area was complete and the funds were available.<sup>183</sup> The IMC were against the Group Areas Act but were forced to accept it as housing was desperately needed. This committee then decided to ask the Council to persuade private developers to assist with the housing.<sup>184</sup> The extension of the Indian group area was advertised in April 1982 and the area was proclaimed in December 1983<sup>185</sup> (see Figure 7.38). The IMC was upset with the slow rate of progress and threatened the Council by saying that if no progress was made in terms of the construction of the housing by the end of November 1982 the committee would cease to exist.<sup>186</sup> The IMC demanded the construction of 15 economic houses and a block of flats and the right to choose the site.<sup>187</sup>

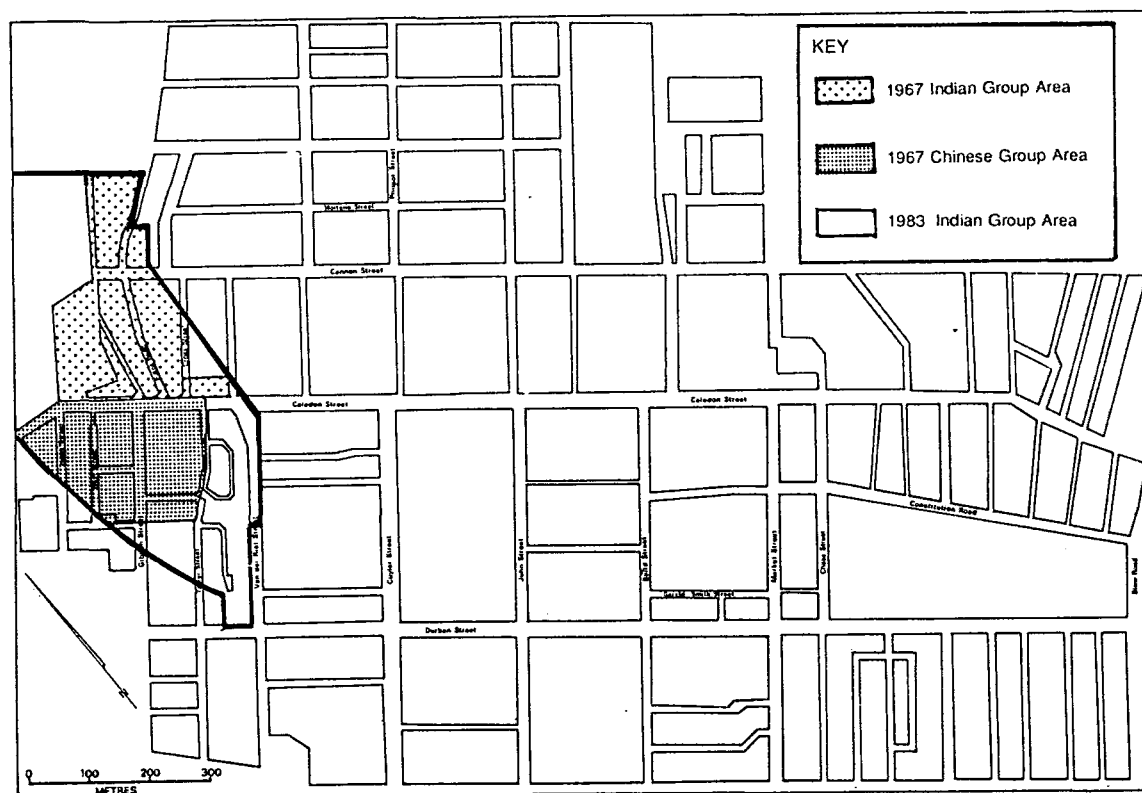


Figure 7.38 Uitenhage Indian area

It is important to note that the IMC suspended its operations in February 1983<sup>188</sup> as they were tired of the little progress that had been achieved and felt that they were wasting their time. This did influence the Council as in May 1983 the Council met with the IMC to inform them that the development of the Indian group area would soon commence. The Council hoped that the steps taken would result in the IMC re-establishing itself.<sup>189</sup> The servicing of the 50 erven in the Indian group area was complete by November 1983 but there were no funds available to start the construction of the houses. The DCD provided bridging finance for the construction of the 30 economic and sub-economic houses.<sup>190</sup> The Indian community were disturbed by the demolition of approximately 40 houses that had been vacated by coloured families since 1977. They felt that these houses should have been offered to the Indian community instead of being demolished.<sup>191</sup>

By September 1984 the development in the Indian group area had begun.<sup>192</sup> The Department informed the Council that it no longer intended to build the proposed Ring Road as there was no need for it.<sup>193</sup> The Municipality in collaboration with the IMC drew up the plans for the additional Indian group area in 1985.<sup>194</sup> The first of the ten sub-economic houses were complete in September 1986 and by the end of June 1987 the remaining 20 were ready for occupation.<sup>195</sup> This meant that the number of Indian occupied premises in the Indian group area would increase. Figure 7.35 clearly indicates an increase.

In 1987 the Council was preparing the redevelopment plans of the old Chinese area, which was frozen until 1990.<sup>196</sup> The Indian families moved into the economic and sub-economic houses but they were unable to pay the rent.<sup>197</sup> In 1988 the self build erven in the Indian group area, which the IMC felt were too small, were released for sale.<sup>198</sup>

The Town Clerk threatened the Indian community by warning Minister R. Bhana that it had submitted detailed layout plans to the IMC but no comments had been received for four years. The Council said that if no response was received it would go ahead with the planning process without consulting the IMC.<sup>199</sup> The Government on the other hand seemed to play a less important role and were concerned as they had not been consulted since 1984. The Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture asked the Council if they could assist in any way with the redevelopment of the Indian group area.<sup>200</sup>

The IMC played an important role in Uitenhage as the little input they had made resulted in the construction of much needed housing. In 1991 Indians were located in the Indian group area thus the Group Areas Act did influence their spatial distribution resulting in an increase in the number of Indians in the proclaimed Indian area. Indians were also located in white and coloured residential areas (see Figure 7.36).

### 7.5.3 Implementation of the Group Areas Act: Business areas

The Council wanted Indian Businesses to move out of the white group areas but Indians were only willing to move residentially to the Indian group areas. In 1954 the Reference and Planning Committee, who was appointed to assist with the group areas zoning, was against the Indian and Chinese businessmen saying that they controlled the trade which was unfair to the coloured traders. They strongly recommended that group areas be zoned to allow coloured traders the opportunities to progress in their own areas.<sup>201</sup>

In 1962 the establishment of a free trade area was suggested by a local attorney who heard that the Municipality intended to submit zoning proposals to the government. A free trade area, he said, would not be in contradiction with the Group Areas Act and would solve the Municipality's zoning problems as it would mean that black businesses could remain in the white group area.<sup>202</sup> Uitenhage was thus the first study area where a free trade area was suggested.

The Council responded positively by drawing up free trade area proposals in 1962 which were submitted to the DCD for consideration. The area proposed (see Figure 7.39) included the north side of Durban Street, both sides of John Street, from Durban Street to Caledon Road, and a small section of Cross Street.<sup>203</sup>

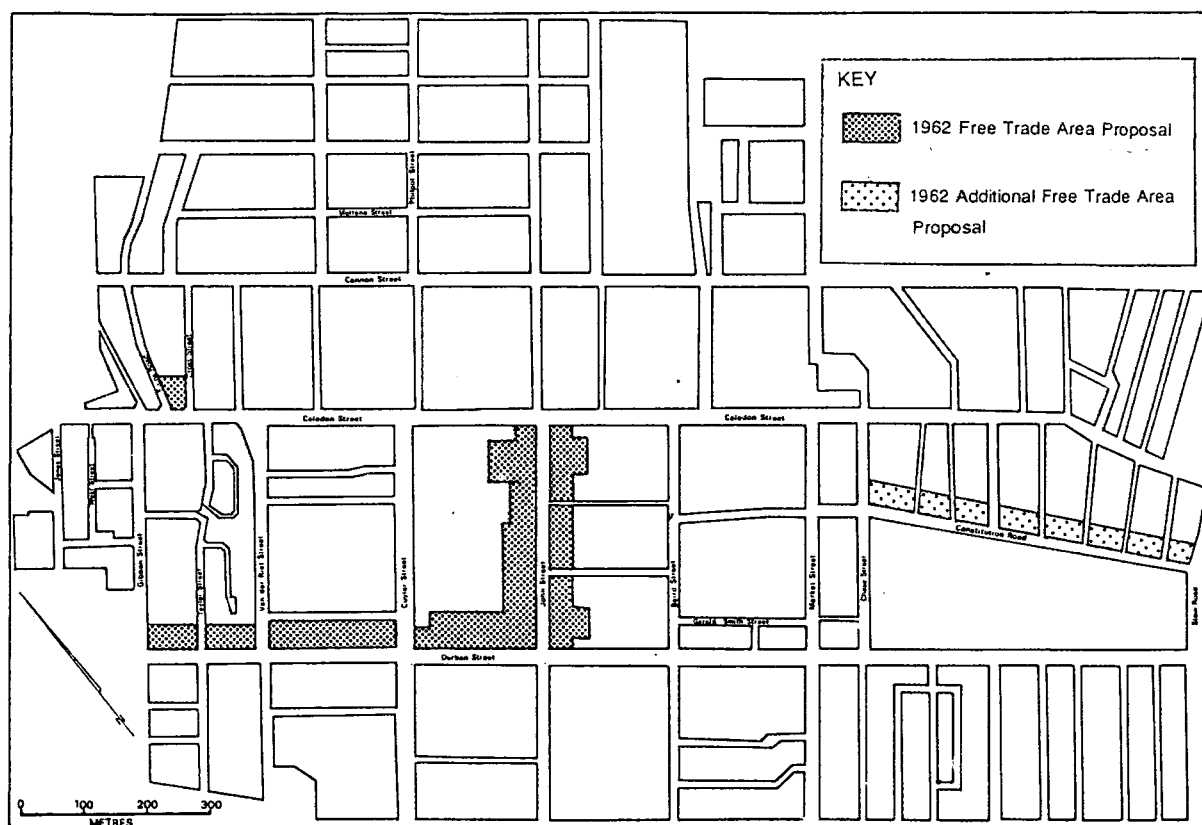


Figure 7.39 Uitenhage Business area proposals

The Uitenhage Civic Indian Association was against the proposals as they felt that the area was too small and that they would not be able to make a living. All the businessmen in one area would be like "parasite living on parasite".<sup>204</sup> They also feared the loss of their homes. The Council then decided that it would be better if the Indian and Chinese could remain in the white group area. The Constitution Road area (see Figure 7.39) was then proposed in 1962 as a free trade area, where many of the Indian businesses were already situated according to the municipality.<sup>205</sup> The area proposed comprised the north side of Constitution Road for its length from Chase Street to Stow Road.<sup>206</sup> Figures 7.31 and 7.32 show that in 1950 and 1960-66 there were only 8 and 4 Indian occupied premises respectively. The maps clearly show that most of the Indians were not located in the this area.

In July 1963 the GAB advertised its free trade area proposals but these did not include the proposals submitted by the Municipality.<sup>207</sup> No free trade area was proclaimed and the Technical sub-committee could not decide whether the Indian businesses should stay in the white group area or move to the Indian group area, where a business complex was being planned in the site set aside for this purpose (see Figure 7.40). The Director of Local Government suggested that the DCD acquire the properties of non-conforming businessmen in the white group area and that the Indian traders move to the business complex. The Council would provide the roads and services for the complex.<sup>208</sup> Once again as in the other three study areas there was the planning of a business complex.

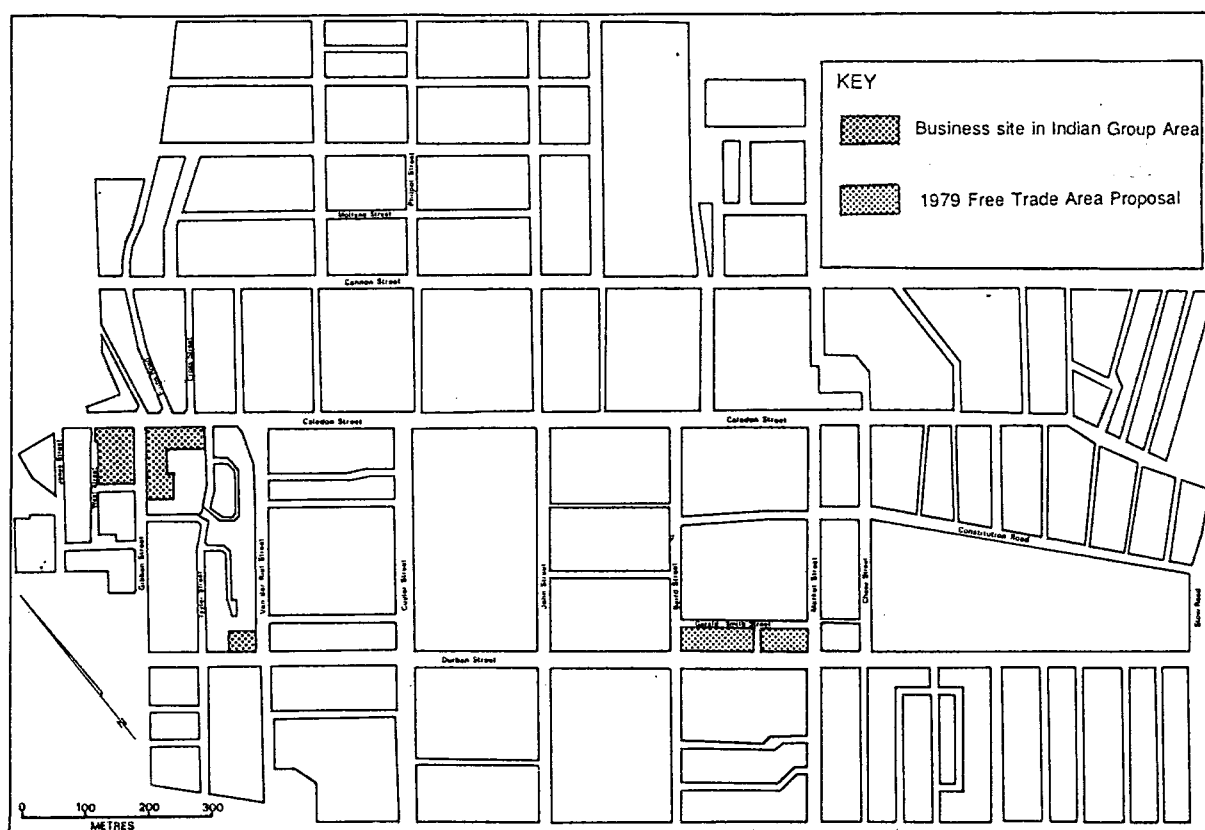


Figure 7.40 Uitenhage Business areas

According to municipal records there were 20 Indian businesses inside and 33 Indian businesses outside the Indian group area at this stage.<sup>209</sup> The Council decided that businesses outside the Indian group area would not be disturbed<sup>210</sup> as these businesses were well placed and no complaints were received from white residents or businessmen. New businesses, however, would only be allowed to open in the Indian group area. The Council stressed that all Indians would have to move residentially to the Indian group area.<sup>211</sup>

By August 1977 no finality had been reached and the IMC objected to the establishment of a business complex as they feared that it would result in economic ruin. A fear common to all four study areas. The DCD assured the IMC, as it did the Grahamstown and Queenstown Indian communities, that the complex would generate business and would be successful. They also tried to influence the IMC by making the proposal more attractive, for example by promising parking facilities.<sup>212</sup> The State Committee could not reach consensus. Some members feared that outside Indians would open businesses in Uitenhage if local Indians were forced to move their businesses to the Indian group area. The Council had no power to prevent one Indian from selling his business to another and the Council could not refuse a trading license on the grounds that the applicant was not a local resident or businessman.<sup>213</sup> As in Grahamstown and Queenstown the Council feared an influx of Indians from other urban centres.

The State Committee eventually paid attention to the IMC's objections and indicated that the Indian businesses could remain in the white group area but the businessmen would have to improve their premises. The Committee would not allow any movement from one premises to another, or the opening of new businesses. The Indian businessmen in the white group area would only be permitted to move to premises in the Indian group area if premises became available.<sup>214</sup> The government still controlled the spatial distribution of Indian businessmen.

Instead of building a business complex in the Indian group area the DCD decided in 1978 to establish Section 19 areas and therefore invited suggestions from the Council and the IMC. The IMC welcomed the proposal but only if existing businesses could remain in the white areas. But the DCD stressed that the Indian community were misunderstanding government policy which was that no Indian would be allowed to stay in the white group area and that they would eventually have to resettle residentially in the Indian group area and move their businesses to the Indian group area or Section 19 areas. The Council supported the IMC in opposing the movement of Indian businesses.

In 1979 the State Committee proposed the north side of Durban Street between Market Street and Baird Street as a free trade area (see Figure 7.40). The Department of Planning and the Environment, after investigating the proposals,<sup>215</sup> informed the Council that they were prepared to proclaim individual Indian businesses as Section 19 areas.<sup>216</sup> However the Council only wanted erven zoned for business purposes to be considered.

A further area was suggested by the Council in 1979 for consideration as a free trade area. The area proposed included the north and south side of Durban Street between Cuyler Street and Van der Riet Street<sup>217</sup> (see Figure 7.41) and was proclaimed as a Section 19 use area in December 1983.<sup>218</sup> The Indian community actually wanted the entire CBD to be opened to all races.

With the introduction of the new Section 19 (Group Areas Amendment Act) the existing Section 19 area had to be deproclaimed in May 1983 and readvertised as a free trade area. The IMC requested a free trade area for all races.<sup>219</sup> It was thereafter decided by the State Committee that the CBD be opened to all races but that the existing free trade area proclaimed in 1983 be reproclaimed in terms of the new Section 19 amendment to include the CBD as free trade area.<sup>220</sup> The Council submitted the proposal which was proclaimed in 1989 (see Figure 7.41). In 1990 the IMC requested the opening of the whole of Uitenhage<sup>221</sup> but soon after in 1991 the Group Areas Act was repealed and this was no longer necessary.

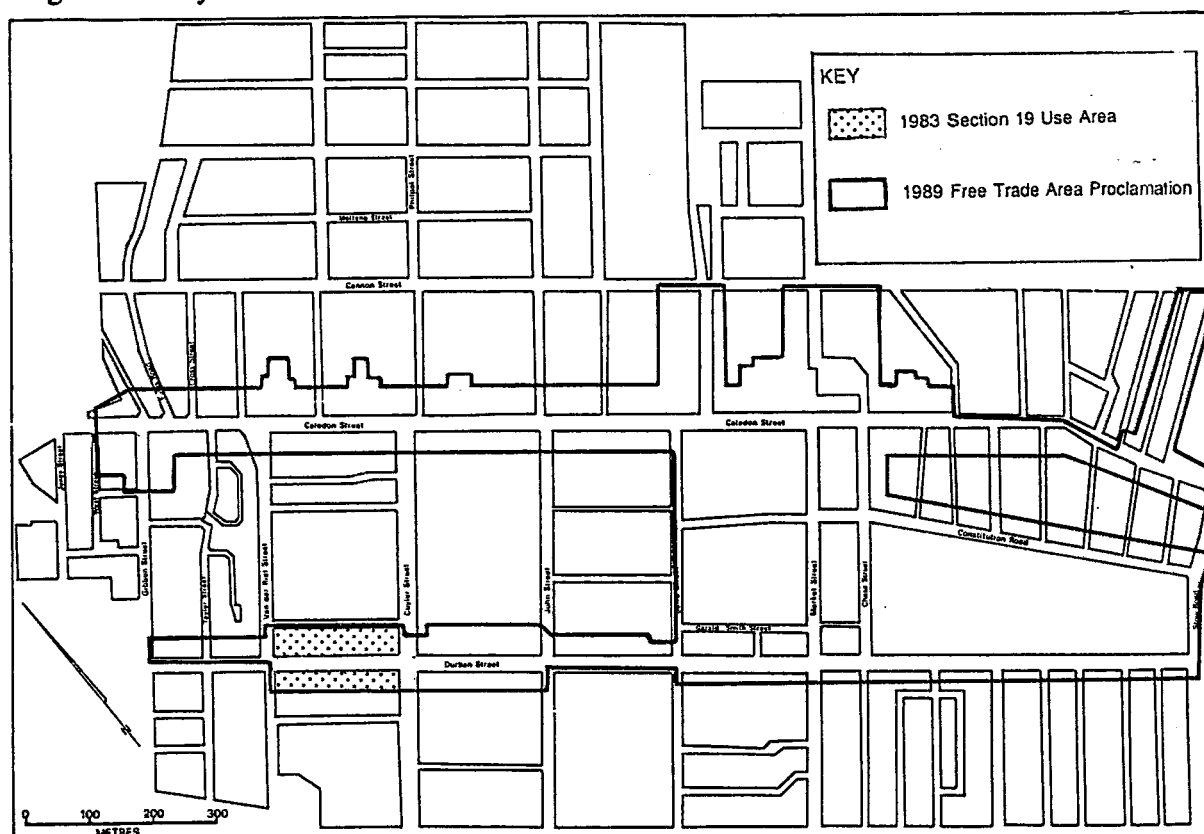


Figure 7.41 Uitenhage Business area proclamations

In Uitenhage too the actions of the municipality and the Indian community affected spatial distribution. Unlike the other centres the Indian community played a more active role as the Indian Management Committee was established specifically to deal with the development of the Indian group area. There was also more pressure from the government for the establishment of a group area given the size of the Indian community in Uitenhage.

## 7.6 SUMMARY

It can be appreciated that the Group Areas Act and its repeal was the main factor influencing the spatial distribution of Indians after 1950. The interaction between the municipalities, the government and the Indian community influenced the outcome of the Group Areas Act in each of the centres.

It was found that where Indian areas were proposed or proclaimed the number of Indian occupied premises increased. In Grahamstown and Uitenhage where Indian group areas were developed an extensive movement to these areas took place. In all four study areas there was a dispersal to suburban areas after the 1980s. Thus the spatial distribution of the Indian communities were affected by group area proposals, proclamations as well as changing apartheid policies.

After 1950 mixed areas were still present despite the Group Areas Act. It failed to bring about total segregation and was delayed in small urban centres. Uitenhage was the first study area where an Indian group area was proclaimed in 1967. In Queenstown an area was proclaimed in 1970 and in Grahamstown the first Indian area was proclaimed in 1972 followed by a second area in 1983. In King William's Town the Indian area was only proclaimed in 1984. Prior to the proclamation of areas Indians were confined to the initial areas of settlement and managed to live and trade in white areas without being relocated.

In small urban centres the Group Areas Act was used to control Indians rather than segregate them. Attempts to segregate Indians occurred but the spatial distribution of Indian businessmen hampered this process. The municipalities initially preferred to accommodate and control Indians by means of the permit system. Any change in the spatial distribution of the Indian community after 1950 occurred with government approval. Unlike prior to 1950 where the municipality controlled Indian spatial distribution the government became the main actor. The government and municipalities views and actions were important in determining the outcome of the Group Areas Act. They would either allow freedom of movement or restrict distribution. The relationship between the Indian community and the municipality was also important. Plans were not just imposed by the government, but rather all three groups were involved and had a role to play in structuring the city.

The maps and tables showed that the Indian community became more segregated from the other race groups over time in Grahamstown and Uitenhage where Indian group areas were created. The maps however also show that the Indians resided and traded in the central areas of the four study areas prior

to and after the introduction of the Group Areas Act. In terms of the Group Areas Act where Indian group areas were proclaimed all Indians should have been removed from white and mixed areas. However this did not occur as the number of Indians in all four centres increased in the central areas instead of decreasing. Even though the proclamation of group areas were delayed in Grahamstown and Uitenhage and not successful in Queenstown and King William's Town segregation increased as the Group Areas Act was used to control the spatial distribution of the Indian community.

The municipalities were forced to comply with the Group Areas Act but their attitude and actions were important as it determined the pace of progress. They could either cooperate and bring about change or they could delay the rate of progress. The fact that the municipalities were undecided added to the delay.

All four municipalities were undecided as they did not know what to do about the Indian community and were concerned about the Indian traders. The municipalities and Indian communities were also opposed to the establishment of Indian shopping complexes (Bhana, personal interview, 1993) which were proposed in each of the study areas.

The Uitenhage municipality, in particular, were very inconsistent when it came to decision making. In King William's Town and Queenstown the Indian communities succeeded in their attempts to stay in white areas as the areas that were proclaimed were not developed. In Grahamstown and Uitenhage the Indian community asked for a residential area. Local Indian associations played an important role in this regard, asking for areas because housing was desperately required. The Indian community were also tired of waiting for areas to be proclaimed or developed.

In 1976 the Uitenhage Indian Management Committee (IMC) was established in an advisory capacity. This Committee played an important role by threatening and manipulating the municipality. This Committee also functioned as a link between the municipality and the Indian community. The municipality always supported the Indian community, but were forced to accept the Group Areas Act and proclaim areas and used those sections of the Act that were most useful.

Group area proclamations occurred mainly due to government pressure. In all four urban centres there was an initial delay in zoning as the municipalities felt that group areas were unnecessary especially for the small Indian communities. Later they changed their mind either because of local or government pressure.

It would appear that the Indians of King William's Town were the least affected by the Group Areas Act. Mixed areas in Grahamstown and King William's Town were declared as urban renewal areas in an attempt to remove Indians and coloureds. Housing in the area was declared slums, residents were expropriated and buildings were demolished. In Grahamstown the attempt was successful as blacks were removed. In King William's Town on the other hand the area remained mixed with the Indians benefitting as the area was later declared for Indian trade. Both urban centres found an improvement in the area with new houses and flats.

According to Nel (1990) the major feature of apartheid was haphazard planning by the State. In East London spatial change was brought about by the Group Areas Act and the state played an important role. Nel (1990) also argues that the Indian community managed to evade segregation measures to a limited degree both prior to and after 1950. In this study it was found that the government, municipality and the Indian community influenced spatial distribution. The government, however, was the main actor after the introduction of the Group Areas Act, which was the major factor affecting the spatial distribution of the Indian communities. The delay caused much tension for the small Indian communities who lost homes and well established businesses where expropriation occurred. The Act, in the end was unnecessary as both the government and the municipalities turned a blind eye to greying in the 1980s. Despite this change in government attitude towards group areas it still maintained control as it could refuse permits that made such moves legal.

In Queenstown and Uitenhage for example permit applications by two Indian families were refused even though the municipality and neighbours had no objections. Close to the repeal of the Act the issuing of permits became a formality (Malan, personal interview, 1991).

Property was available just prior to the repeal of the Group Areas Act and this explains the movement to white areas.. In Grahamstown there were 221 erven available in white, coloured and Indian areas (Malan, personal interview, 1991). In Uitenhage there were approximately 600 erven for sale in August 1991, 37 of which was in the Indian group area (Roussouw, personal interview, 1991). Property was also readily available in King William's Town (Marais, personal interview, 1991).

With overcrowding there was a demand for housing and an increase in the number of permit applications. Indians were forced to ask for areas where they could build housing as they were not allowed to occupy or purchase property in white areas without a permit. It was only after 1986 that these were more easily granted. Prior to the proclamation of an Indian group area the municipality

tended to recommend the granting of permits to Indians. After the Indian group area was proclaimed the municipality encouraged the government to deny the application for permits by Indians. Where the development of the Indian group area was shelved the council would recommend that permits be approved on condition that the neighbours of the property in question did not object. When the establishment of free trade areas was considered permit applications to occupy business premises were often denied. The municipality informed applicants that the government did not want to extend the number of Indian business premises and for this reason the application was denied. Free trade areas merely froze Indian business location and legalised Indian traders who were contravening the Act.

There was an increase in the number of Indian occupied blocks after 1980 when almost all the blocks in the central area of each study area was occupied by Indians. This increase came about due to the government's positive reaction to grey areas and free trade areas. The fact that Indians moved to the Indian area in Grahamstown and Uitenhage also influenced the government to be more lenient in terms of business location as Indian traders could not reside on their business premises.

If one compares the spatial distribution of Indians in small urban centres to bigger centres one finds that the distribution prior to 1950 was the same. Indians resided and traded in mixed areas in and around the CBD. After 1950 the situation was different. In the bigger centres group areas were created soon after the introduction of the Group Areas Act and Indians were removed, as soon as possible from white and racially mixed areas. Because the Group Areas Act was strictly enforced the result was a racially segregated city. In the smaller centres, however, no group areas were created until the 1970's. The Act not only froze the Indian community's location as it was in 1950 but it was also used to control the movement of Indians and their infiltration into white areas. No Indian could move or acquire property without a permit. In all four study areas no immediate change in the spatial distribution was identified after 1950 and Indians were permitted to live and trade in the central areas and the mixed areas of the urban centre.

The municipality's attitude towards Indians and the Group Areas Act and the fact that the Indian communities were small was responsible for the delay and failure of the Group Areas Act in the smaller urban centres. Where areas were proclaimed Indians resisted movement and only moved there if they needed housing. Only those who wanted to move did so with the rest remaining in white areas with a permit. In smaller urban centres the Indians suffered more as they had to wait for a long period of time before an area was proposed and proclaimed. In Grahamstown Indians were evicted. Once the area was proclaimed many years passed before it was developed and this resulted in high housing

costs. In King William's Town and Queenstown Indian areas were proclaimed but Indians never moved there thus residents were very uncertain about their future location.

Grey areas that emerged in big urban centres after 1980 were present in small urban centres throughout the group area period and the government was trying to remove these as they were a contradiction in terms of the Act. These grey areas set small centres apart as they did not conform to the apartheid city model.

### 7.7 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDIANS IN RELATION TO APARTHEID CITY MODELS

Indian group areas were proclaimed in the four study areas but Indians remained in the white areas. In Grahamstown, Queenstown and Uitenhage Indians moved to the Indian areas but only residentially. Because the proclamation of group areas failed to remove Indians from white areas the structure of these urban centres did not conform to the Apartheid city model. Rather the Modernized Apartheid city model applied to the urban centres during the apartheid period. The Indian group areas did conform spatially to the model as the various planning principles were taken into consideration, but the spatial distribution of the Indians was the problem. After the 1980s, as shown, Indians moved into white residential areas thus following a national trend as after the 1980s the Group Areas Act was applied less stringently.

The Group Areas Act in all four study areas merely froze Indian spatial distribution bringing little change to the central areas. Thus these urban centres were not transformed into apartheid cities. The spatial structure regarding the other race groups did comply with the Apartheid city model as these areas were radial in structure (see Figures 7.42-7.45).

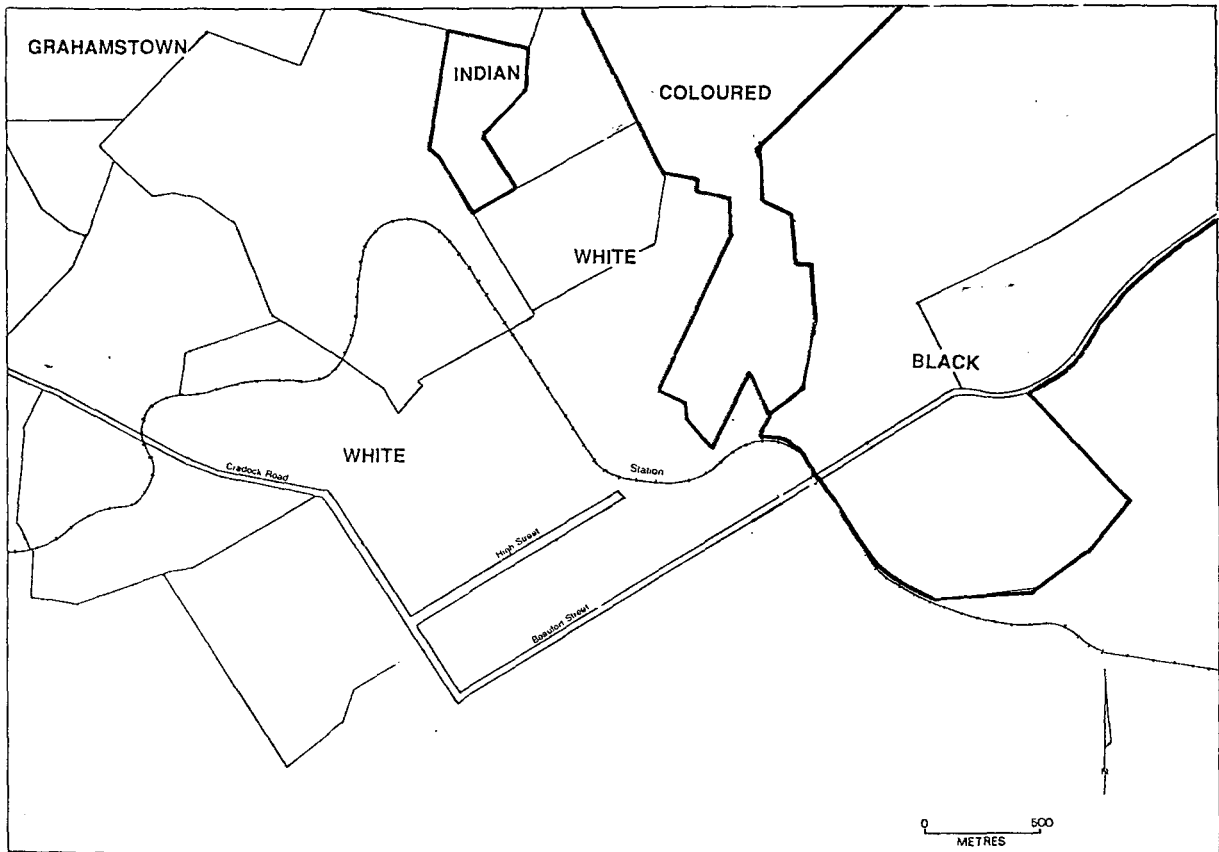


Figure 7.42 Grahamstown: Racial zoning prior to repeal of Group Areas Act

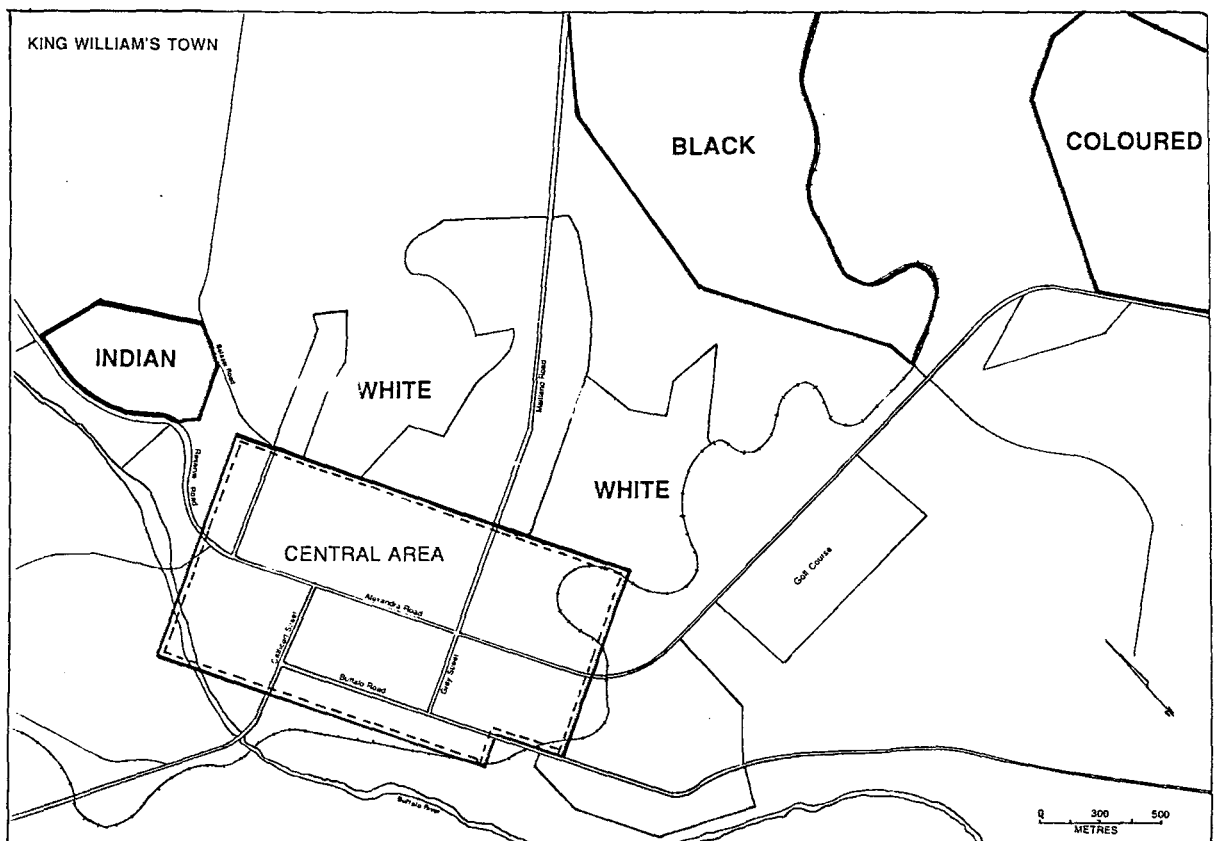


Figure 7.43 King William's Town: Racial zoning prior to repeal of Group Areas Act

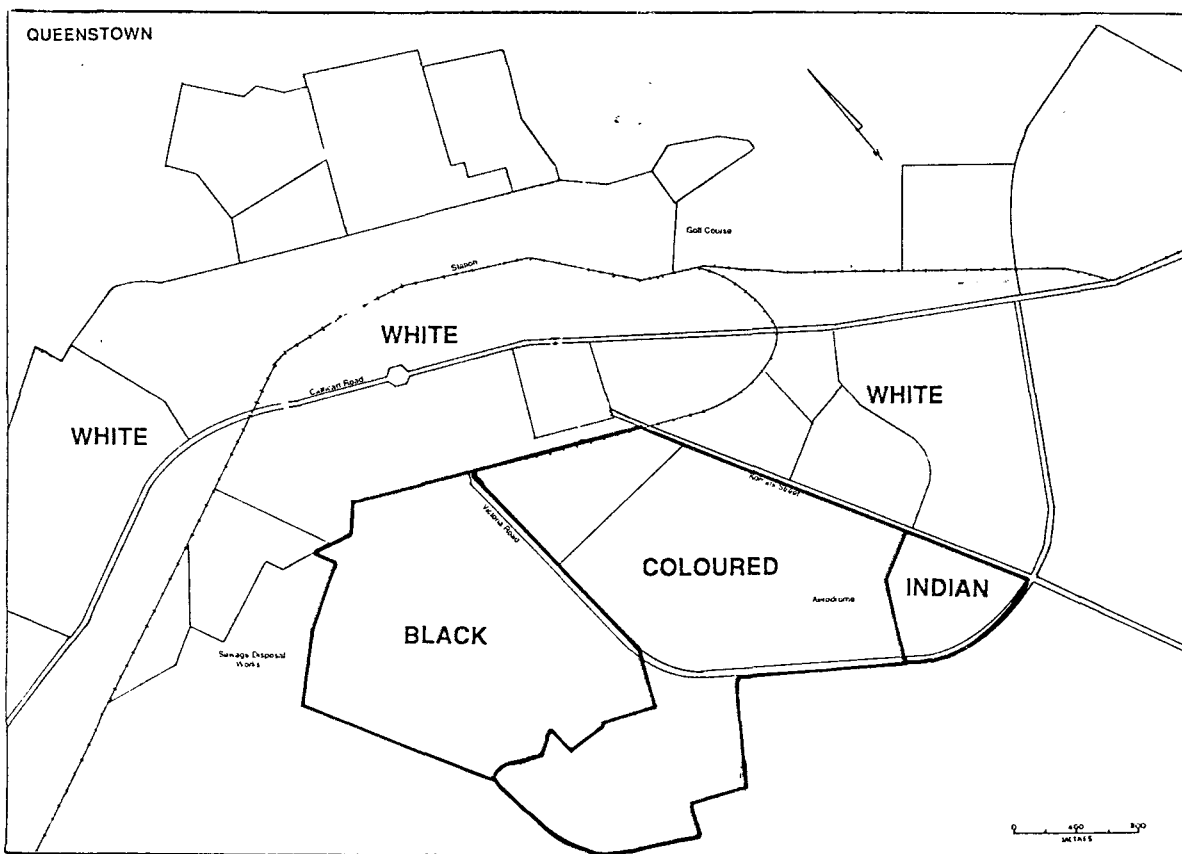


Figure 7.44 Queenstown: Racial zoning prior to repeal of Group Areas Act

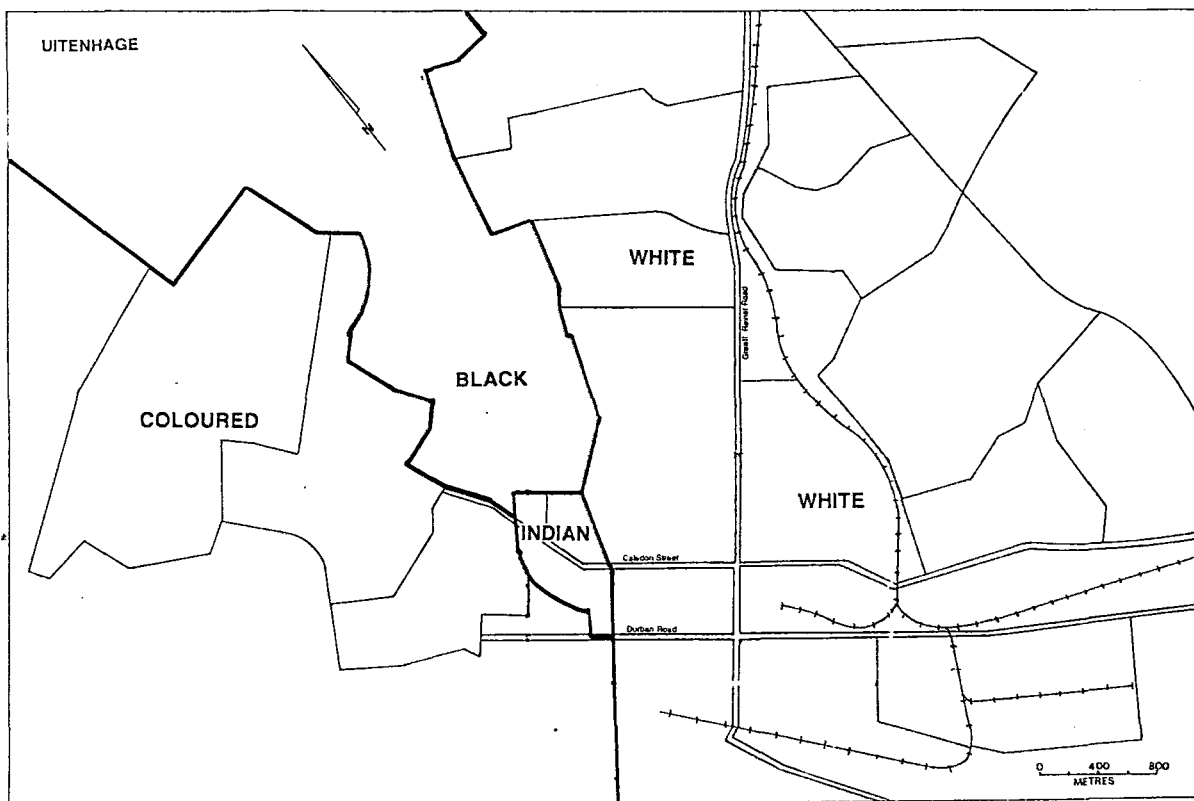


Figure 7.45 Uitenhage: Racial zoning prior to repeal of Group Areas Act

## Endnotes

- 1) Grahamstown Municipality (hereafter GM), G6/1 volume 1, 3-12-48, letter Land Tenure Advisory Board (LTAB) to Town Clerk (TC).  
GM, G6/1 volume 1, 1-4-49, letter TC to LTAB.
- 2) GM, G6/1 volume 1, 24-8-55, Council minutes.
- 3) GM, G6/1 volume 1, 24-8-55, Council minutes.
- 4) GM, G6/1 volume 1, 25-1-56, Select Committee report on meeting with LTAB.
- 5) GM, G6/1 volume 1, 25-1-56, Select Committee report on meeting with LTAB.
- 6) E.P. Herald, 17-5-57.  
Grocotts Mail, 31-3-58.
- 7) GM, G6/1 volume 2, 25-2-59, Council minutes.
- 8) GM, G6/1 volume 2, 25-2-59, Council minutes.
- 9) GM, G6/1 volume 2, February 1959, letter and petition Mr. H. Radomsky to TC.
- 10) GM, G6/1 volume 2, 2-7-59, letter GAB to TC.
- 11) GM, G6/1 volume 2, 27-7-59, memorandum Councillor Addleson to TC.
- 12) GM, G3/1 volume 1, 12-9-63, special meeting minutes.
- 13) GM, G3/1 volume 1, 16-9-63, FGPC minutes.
- 14) GM, G3/1 volume 1, 2-10-63, letter TC to chairman of British Indian Association.  
GM, G3/1 volume 1, 3-10-63, letter TC to chairman of Chinese Association.
- 15) GM, G3/1 volume 1, 6-10-63, letter Chinese Association to TC.  
GM, G3/1 volume 1, 7-10-63, letter Grahamstown Indian Association to TC.  
GM, G3/1 volume 1, 7-10-63, letter Grahamstown Indian Association to TC.
- 16) GM, G3/1 volume 1, 8-10-63, Sub-committee minutes.  
GM, G3/1 volume 1, 17-10-63, Sub-committee minutes.
- 17) GM, G3/1 volume 2, 15-4-70, letter attorney to TC.
- 18) GM, G3/1 volume 2, 6-10-70, letter TC to attorneys (Wheeldon, Rushmere and Cole).
- 19) GM, G3/1 volume 2, 16-3-71, Council minutes.
- 20) GM, G3/1 volume 3, October 1972, Government Gazette (GG hereafter) proclamation number 261.
- 21) GM, G3/1 volume 4, January 1975, letter Bantu Affairs Administration Board to TC.
- 22) GM, report on planning of Indian group area, June 1973 and November 1974.  
GM, G3/1 volume 4, 8-11-74, letter TC to Department of Community Development (DCD).
- 23) GM, G3/1 volume 4, 9-4-75, letter TC to J.N. Naidoo  
GM, G3/1 volume 4, 14-5-75, FGPC minutes.
- 24) GM, G3/1 volume 5, 28-6-79, letter TC to DCD.  
GM, G3/1 volume 5, 13-11-79, letter DCD to TC.
- 25) GM, G3/1 volume 5, 28-11-79, Council minutes.
- 26) GM, G3/1 volume 5, 28-11-79, minutes.  
GM, G3/1 volume 5, 26-3-80, minutes.
- 27) GG, 6-2-81, proclamation number 23.
- 28) E.P. Herald, 6-2-81.
- 29) GM, G3/1 volume 5, 26-3-80, minutes.
- 30) Eastern Province Herald 1-12-84.
- 31) GM, G3/1 volume 5, 29-4-80, Grahamstown Indian Association to TC.
- 32) Grocott's Mail 23-11-81, 1-12-81.
- 33) GM, G3/1 volume 6, 31-3-81, special meeting minutes (GAB).
- 34) GM, G3/1 volume 6, 15-4-81, FGPC minutes.
- 35) GM, G3/1 volume 6, 12-5-81, letter TC to DCD.  
GM, G3/1 volume 6, 30-9-81, Council minutes.  
E.P. Herald, 20-10-81.
- 36) GM, G3/1 volume 6, 20-11-81, memorandum TC to Mayor.
- 37) GM, G3/1 volume 6, 3-12-81, letter TC to DCD.
- 38) GM, G3/1 volume 6, 17-12-81, letter TC to DCD.
- 39) Grocott's Mail 15-2-83.
- 40) GM, G1/1 volume 1, 4-2-83, letter Grahamstown Indian Association to DCD.
- 41) Grocott's Mail 9-8-85, Eastern Province Herald 14-3-83.
- 42) GM, G1/1 volume 1, 2-3-83, letter Mr. Moorcroft to DCD.
- 43) GG, 13-5-83, Proclamation No.70.  
Grocott's Mail 8-3-83, 3-2-84.  
Eastern Province Herald 24-3-83.
- 44) Grocott's Mail 8-3-83, 8-5-83.

- 45) Grocott's Mail 19-5-83.
- 46) Grocott's Mail 15-9-83, 1-12-84.
- 47) GG, 2-3-84, Proclamation No 20.
- 48) GM, G1/1 volume 1, 11-3-84, DCD.
- 49) GM, G3/1 volume 6, 15-1-81, letter Department Community Development and State Auxillary Services to TC.
- 50) Grocotts Mail 25-5-76, 13-8-76, 17-8-76, 22-12-83.
- 51) Grocott's Mail 20-1-81
- 52) Grocott's Mail 20-1-81.
- 53) GM, 1958 proposal.
- 54) GM, Fingo Village free trade area proposal and Proc No 261 of 1972.
- 55) GM, G3/1 volume 4, 12-6-75, petition from Indian community.  
GM, G3/1 volume 4, 15-8-75, letter DCD to Grahamstown Indian Association.
- 56) GM, G3/1 volume 4, 27-4-76, special meeting minutes (Indian Executive Council).
- 57) GM, G3/1 volume 4, 7-5-76, letter TC to South African Indian Council (Mr. Reddy).
- 58) GM, G3/1 volume 4, 28-4-76, Council minutes.
- 59) GM, G3/1 volume 4 and 5, 25-10-78, Council minutes.
- 60) GM, G3/2 volume 1, 12-3-79, letter Grahamstown Indian Association to TC.
- 61) GM, G3/2 volume 1, 7-5-79, letter DCD to TC.
- 62) GM, G3/2 volume 1, 27-6-79, Council minutes.
- 63) E.P. Herald, 6-2-81.
- 64) GM, G3/1 volume 6, 31-3-81, special meeting minutes (GAB).
- 65) GG, 2-3-84, proclamation number 20.
- 66) GM, G1/1 volume 1, 14-3-84, minutes.
- 67) GM, G1/1 volume 1, 14-4-84, letter DCD to TC.
- 68) GM, G1/1 volume 2, 1-5-85, letter TC to DCD.
- 69) King William's Town Municipality (hereafter KM), E2/3, 18-9-74, Social Services Committee (SSC) minutes.
- 70) KM, E2/3, 18-9-74, Social Services Committee minutes.
- 71) KM, E2/3, 31-1-78, Council minutes.
- 72) KM, E2/3, 16-1-78, Report number 1/78, TC to Special Council meeting.
- 73) KM, E2/3, 8-10-76, letter TC to Department of Planning and the Enviroment.
- 74) KM, E2/8, 16-5-77, memorandum Borough Engineer to TC.
- 75) KM, E2/8, 16-5-78, FGPC minutes.  
KM, E2/3, 24-6-80, Council minutes.
- 76) KM, E2/8, 13-12-78, letter TC to Department of Planning and the Environment.
- 77) KM, E2/3, 24-7-80, letter TC to DCD.  
KM, E2/8, 15-3-79, letter TC to the chairman of the Indian Association.
- 78) KM, E2/8, 10-4-79, letter Indian Association to TC.
- 79) KM, E2/3 17-12-80, letter TC to DCD.
- 80) KM, E3/31, 15-10-84, Council minutes.
- 81) KM, K2, 10-11-87, SSC minutes.
- 82) KM, K2, 10-11-87, SCC minutes.
- 83) KM, E2/1/8, 22-1-76, WC minutes.
- 84) KM, E2/1/8, 10-8-76, WC minutes.
- 85) KM, E2/8, 4-12-79, SSC minutes.
- 86) KM, E2/1/8, 3-4-81, letter TC to Mr. M. Govender.
- 87) KM, E2/8, 16-5-78, FGPC minutes.
- 88) KM, E2/8, 13-12-78, letter TC to Department of Planning and the Enviroment.
- 89) KM, E2/3, 5-6-79, WC minutes.
- 90) KM, E2/3, 24-6-80, Council minutes.
- 91) KM, E2/3, 24-7-80, letter TC to DCD.
- 92) KM, E2/3, 17-7-81, Daily Dispatch.
- 93) KM, E2/3, 25-8-81, Council minutes.
- 94) KM, E2/3, 19-3-85, Council minutes.
- 95) GG, 19-3-85,proclamation number 19.
- 96) Queenstown Municipality (hereafter QM), 136/1/7 volume 1, 23-10-51, letter white resident to Town Clerk (TC).
- 97) QM, 136/1/7 volume 1, 2-11-51, letter TC to white residents.
- 98) QM, 136/1/7 volume 1, 16-6-53, letter TC to Headmaster of St Andrews Mission School.
- 99) QM, 136/1/7 volume 1, 16-3-54, letter Queenstown Skakel Komitee van Afrikaanse Verenigings to TC.
- 100) QM, 136/1/7 volume 1, 5-5-54, letter TC to Queenstown Skakel Komitee van Afrikaanse Verenigings.
- 101) QM, 136/1/7 volume 1, 26-2-55, special meeting minutes.
- 102) QM, 136/1/7 volume 1, 3-3-55, special meeting minutes.

- 103) QM, 136/1/7 volume 1, 3-3-55, special meeting minutes.
- 104) QM, 136/1/7 volume 1, 10-3-55, special meeting minutes.
- 105) QM, 136/1/7 volume 1, 14-3-55, special meeting minutes.
- 106) QM, 136/1/7 volume 1, 8-12-55, Report on LTAB's visit to Queenstown.
- 107) QM, 136/3/7 volume 2, 13-6-56, TC to GAB.
- 108) QM, 136/3/7 volume 2, 13-6-56, TC to LTAB.
- 109) QM, 136/3/7 volume 2, October 1956, newspaper article (newspaper unknown).
- 110) QM, 136/3/7 volume 2, 28-11-56, Queenstownse Skakel Komitee van Afrikaanse Verenigings to GAB.
- 111) QM, 136/3/7 volume 2, 20-12-57, TC to GAB.
- 112) QM, 136/3/7 volume 2, 25-7-58, TC to GAB.
- 113) QM, 136/3/7 volume 3, July 1962, newspaper article (newspaper unknown).
- 114) QM, 136/3/7 volume 4, 18-3-63, TC to Minister DCD.
- 115) QM, 136/3/7 volume 4, September 1963, report of meeting between TC, Mayor and DCD.
- 116) QM, 136/3/7 volume 4, 12-11-64, Finance and General Purpose Committee (FGPC) minutes.
- 117) QM, 136/3/7 volume 4, 13-4-66, Council minutes.
- 118) QM, 136/3/7 volume 5, July 1967, newspaper article (newspaper unknown).
- 119) QM, 136/3/7 volume 5, July 1967, Council's comments on advertisement in newspaper.
- 120) Government Gazette, Proclamation No 100 of 26-3-70.
- 121) QM, 136/3/7 volume 7, 10-4-78, special meeting minutes.
- 122) QM, 136/3/7 volume 7, 12-4-78, special meeting minutes.
- 123) QM, 136/3/7 volume 8, 12-1-79, newspaper article, The Representative.
- 124) QM, 136/3/7 volume 9, 14-2-79, memorandum Town Engineer to TC.
- 125) QM, 136/3/7 volume 9, 25-1-79, memorandum Town Engineer to TC.
- 126) QM, 136/3/7 volume 9, 7-11-79, special meeting minutes.
- 127) QM, 136/3/7 volume 12, 12-5-81, General Action Committee minutes.
- 128) QM, 136/3/7 volume 12, 11-5-82, petition to TC.  
Government Gazette, Proclamation No 175 of 5-10-84.
- 129) QM, 136/3/7 volume 16, 26-4-88, Council minutes.
- 130) The Representative 18-11-88, Sunday Times Extra 27-11-88.
- 131) The Representative 27-11-88.
- 132) QM, 136/3/7 volume 6, 15-2-73, letter Department of Planning and the Environment to TC.
- 133) QM, 136/3/7 volume 6, 18-7-73, letter TC to Department of Planning and the Environment.
- 134) QM, 136/3/7 volume 6, 24-7-73, FGPC minutes.
- 135) QM, 136/3/7 volume 7, 31-8-76, letter TC to DCD.
- 136) QM, 136/3/7 volume 7, 21-9-76, FGPC and Publicity Committee minutes.
- 137) QM, 136/3/7 volume 7, 10-4-78, special meeting minutes.
- 138) QM, 136/3/7 volume 7, 25-4-78, letter DCD to TC.
- 139) QM, 136/3/7 volume 13, 16-8-83, letter Queenstown Afrikaanse Sake Kamer to TC.
- 140) QM, 136/3/7 volume 14, 12-3-85, General Action Committee minutes.
- 141) QM, 136/3/7 volume 14, 5-10-84, GG proclamation 175.
- 142) QM, 136/3/7 volume 15, 8-3-86, letter Queenstownse Skakel Komitee to Departement van Staatkundige Ontwikkeling en Beplanning.  
QM, 136/3/7 volume 17, 23-11-90, GG proclamation 189.
- 143) Uitenhage Municipality (hereafter UM), 135 volume 3, 8-1-41, letter Town Clerk (TC) to Department of Public Health.  
UM, 135 volume 3, 22-12-41, letter Health Inspector to TC.
- 144) UM, 207 volume 1, 15-8-51, Council minutes.
- 145) UM, 207 volume 1, 5-12-51, Finance and General Purpose Committee (FGPC) minutes.
- 146) UM, 207 volume 1, 15-7-52, FGPC minutes.
- 147) UM, 207 volume 1, 18-8-52, report TC to mayor.
- 148) Evening Post, 21-7-52.
- 149) UM, 207 volume 1, 26-8-52, letter LTAB to TC.  
UM, 207 volume 1, 15-9-52, FGPC minutes.  
UM, 207 volume 1, 23-9-52, letter LTAB to TC.
- 150) UM, 207 volume 1, 11-10-52, FGPC report.  
UM, 207 volume 1, 20-10-52, Council minutes.
- 151) UM, 207 volume 1, 16-11-52, Council minutes.
- 152) UM, 207 volume 1, 6-12-52, FGPC report.
- 153) UM, 207 volume 2, 27-7-53, letter LTAB to TC.
- 154) UM, 207 volume 2, 21-9-53, letter Uitenhage Indian Congress to mayor.
- 155) UM, 207 volume 2, 10-7-54, FGPC minutes.

- 156) UM, 207 volume 2, 30-11-54, LTAB report to TC.  
UM, 207 volume 2, 4-12-54, TC report to FGPC.
- 157) UM, 207 volume 3, 7-12-55, TC report to FGPC.
- 158) UM, 207 volume 3, 12-12-55, FGPC minutes.
- 159) UM, 207 volume 3, 28-3-56, letter TC to LTAB.
- 160) UM, 207 volume 3, 3-8-56, letter TC to G.J. Smith.
- 161) UM, 207 volume 3, 6-11-56, Evening Post.
- 162) UM, 207 volume 4, 17-7-61, FGPC minutes.
- 163) UM, 207 volume 4, 28-10-61, letter DCD to TC.
- 164) UM, 207 volume 4, 24-10-61, letter Chief Health Inspector to TC.
- 165) UM, 207 volume 4, 1-6-62, letter Local non-european associations to DCD.
- 166) UM, 207 volume 4, 1-6-62, letter Uitenhage Civic Indian Association and Uitenhage Hindu Mandal to DCD.
- 167) UM, 207 volume 4, letter TC to Engineer.
- 168) UM, 207 volume 5, 20-8-63, letter TC to GAB.
- 169) UM, G2(a) volume 1, 10-7-69, letter TC to DCD.
- 170) UM, G2(a) volume 1, 14-9-69, Planning Committee minutes.
- 171) Eastern Province Herald, 10-3-73.
- 172) UM, G2(e) volume 1, 4-8-72, letter TC to DCD.
- 173) UM, G2(a) volume 1, 11-4-73, letter Uitenhage Civic Association to TC.
- 174) UM, G2(e) volume 1, 4-6-74, State Committee minutes.
- 175) UM, G2(e) volume 2, 4-5-72, FGPC report.
- 176) UM, G2(e) volume 2, 8-8-77, letter DCD to TC.
- 177) UM, I.5(a) volume 1, 28-3-78, letter IMC to TC.
- 178) UM, G2(e) volume 2, 28-4-78, letter TC to DCD.
- 179) UM, G2(e) volume 3, 6-12-78, State Committee minutes.
- 180) UM, G2(e) volume 3, 16-3-79, notice in Government Gazette.
- 181) UM, G2(e) volume 4, 7-3-80, letter DCD to TC.
- 182) UM, G2(e) volume 4, 12-12-80, GG, Notice No 2552 & 7327.
- 183) UM, G2(e) volume 4, 28-10-81, letter IMC to TC.
- 184) UM, I.5(a) volume 4, 24-2-82, IMC minutes.
- 185) UM, G2(e) volume 5, 28-4-82, Eastern Province Herald.  
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- 186) UM, I.5(a) volume 4, 16-7-82, letter IMC to TC.
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## CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

The thesis set out to determine the spatial distribution of the Indian communities of Grahamstown, King William's Town, Queenstown and Uitenhage and the factors influencing that spatial distribution from 1890 to 1991. The main aim of the thesis was to determine if Indians were segregated in small urban centres and if so how they were segregated. The thesis has shown that Indians were segregated in the four study areas. Segregation was achieved by local and central government by both formal and informal means. The spatial distribution found in reality and plotted on the maps presented showed little segregation despite the measures taken by the municipalities and the government to segregate Indians from other race groups. Where group areas were proclaimed Indians did become more segregated over time. After 1980, however segregation decreased due to changing political policies.

Formal and informal measures were used by the municipalities and government to segregate blacks. Indians in the Cape Province were not strictly segregated as in Natal and the Transvaal as the Indian communities were smaller and less of an economic, social and political threat. Attempts to segregate Indians in the Cape Province were made but these attempts were unsuccessful in totally segregating Indians. Legislation restricting Indian occupation and ownership in the Cape Province were non-existent and the municipalities controlled Indian spatial distribution by informal means. After 1950, with the introduction of the Group Areas Act all black groups had to be segregated and cities had to be restructured to bring about total segregation. The Group Areas Act was therefore the main factor affecting spatial distribution after 1950. Despite the introduction of the Group Areas Act Indian spatial distribution did not show segregation as the Act failed to bring about total segregation. This was due to the fact that the Indian communities were small. Thus there seems to be a relationship between population size and segregation. The level of segregation in small urban centres differs from that of larger urban centres where the Indian communities are larger and pose different threats and pressures. Thus the spatial distribution of Indians in small urban centres differ from that of major urban centres.

Municipalities were sympathetic towards Indians in small urban centres. Different processes and dynamics were in operation in small urban centres thus the spatial distribution of Indians in small urban centres did not change much. Depending on the municipality and their attitude towards Indians, as well as the attitude of the local whites, Indians would be segregated or allowed to reside and trade where they liked. In smaller urban centres Indians did pose a threat which explains the introduction of restrictions.

Between 1950 and the time of the repeal of the Group Areas Act the actions of the municipalities, government, pressure groups and Indian associations all influenced spatial distribution. After the repeal

of the Group Areas Act, however, the government no longer determined spatial distribution. Rather the municipalities, as they had done before 1950, gained control over local matters. In the future the new government will be important in influencing space as new policies will be introduced. It was shown that apartheid and segregation of races did not disappear in post-colonial and post-apartheid cities rather remnants of the apartheid structure will remain. Economic, social and other divisions exist in all societies and must not be ignored as they affect spatial distribution. Thus segregation will always be a part of the urban structure.

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 1983 List of Indian names and other details, I.5(a), volume 5 (Uitenhage Municipality).  
 1984 Survey of Indian community, H.12, volume 1 (Uitenhage Municipality).  
 1985 List of Indians with trading licences, G2(e), volume 8 (Uitenhage Municipality).  
 1991 Electricity payment printout (Uitenhage Municipality).

## ARCHIVAL RECORDS

### Grahamstown

1899-1903 Municipal rates, Cape Archives Depot (CA hereafter) 3/AY 8/4/5.  
 1925 Water rates, CA 3/AY 8/3/11.  
 1933/5 Property owner's register, CA 3/AY.

## King William's Town

1905/6 Valuation roll, CA 3/KWT 7/2/4.

## Uitenhage

1895 Rates, CA 3/UIT 7/6/8.

1896/8 Assessment roll, CA 3/UIT 6/1/1/5.

1900 Assessment roll, CA 3/UIT 6/1/1/6.

1901 Rates, CA 3/UIT 7/6/9.

1905 Assessment roll, CA 3/UIT 6/1/1/7.

1908/10 Assessment roll, CA 3/UIT 6/1/1/8.

1915 Rates, CA 3/UIT 7/6/15.

1916/7 Assessment roll, CA 3/UIT 6/1/21.

1927/9 Rates, CA 3/UIT 7/6/19.

1952 Group Area survey, Intermediate Archives Depot, Port Elizabeth (IA hereafter) 207(A) volume 1.

1961/2 List of Indian owned and occupied property, IA 207 volume 5.

1966 List of Indians with trading licences, IA 207 volume 5.

## INTERVIEWS

Professor A.J Christopher, Department of Geography, University of Port Elizabeth, 1991.

Mr C. Malan, Grahamstown Municipality, 1991, 1992 and 1993.

Mr Marrais, King William's Town Municipality, 1991

Mr Roussouw, Uitenhage Municipality, 1991.

Mr R. Bhana, former Minister, House of Delegates, Port Elizabeth, 1992.

Mr G. Naran, Grahamstown, 1989, 1990.

Mr R. Naidoo, Grahamstown, 1989.

Mr M.Dhayal, King William's Town, 1990.

Mrs P. Kooverjee, Uitenhage, 1990.

Mr V. Prag, Uitenhage, 1990.

Mr Kara, Uitenhage, 1990

APPENDIX A1

APPENDIX A1: Municipal files consulted

GRAHAMSTOWN

MUNICIPALITY

File Name	Date	File Number
Group Areas Act General	1948-1956	G6/1 Volume 1
Group Areas Act General	1956-1962	G6/1 Volume 2
Group Areas Act General	1963-1969	G3/1 Volume 1
Group Areas Act General	1970-1971	G3/1 Volume 2
Group Areas Act General	Jan 1972-Oct 1974	G3/1 Volume 3
Group Areas Act General	Nov 1974-Jun 1978	G3/1 Volume 4
Group Areas Act General	Jul 1978-Aug 1980	G3/1 Volume 5
Group Areas Act General	Sep 1980-Dec 1981	G3/1 Volume 6
Group Areas Act General	Jan 1982-Apr 1984	G1/1 Volume 1
Group Areas Act General	May 1984-Dec 1990	G1/1 Volume 2
Indian Free Trade Area	Mar 1970-Aug 1979	G3/2 Volume 1

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

MUNICIPALITY

File Name	Date	File Number
Group Areas Act	Jan 1971-Dec 1978	E.2/3
Group Areas Act	Jan 1979-Dec 1981	E.2/3
Group Areas Act	Jan 1982-Dec 1984	E.2/3
Group Areas Act	Jan 1985-Dec 1986	E.2/3
Group Areas Act	Jan 1987-Dec 1988	E.2/3
Group Areas Act	Jan 1989-Dec 1990	E.2/3
Group Areas Act	Jan 1990-Dec 1990	E.2/3
Group Areas Act	Jan 1991-Jun 1991	E.2/3
Urban Renewal	1975-1984	E.2/1/8
Indian Residential Township	1975-1984	E.2/8
Indian Residential Township	1983-1987	E.3/31
Indian Affairs	1985-1988	K.2

QUEENSTOWN

MUNICIPALITY

Group Areas Act files consulted:

Date	File Number
Oct 1951-Jun 1956	136/1/7 Volume 1
Jun 1956-Apr 1960	136/3/7 Volume 2
Apr 1960-Mar 1963	136/3/7 Volume 3
Mar 1963-Jul 1967	136/3/7 Volume 4
Jul 1967-May 1971	136/3/7 Volume 5
Jun 1971-Oct 1975	136/3/7 Volume 6
Feb 1976-Jun 1978	136/3/7 Volume 7
Jun 1978-Jan 1979	136/3/7 Volume 8
Jan 1979-Nov 1979	136/3/7 Volume 9
Nov 1979-May 1980	136/3/7 Volume 10
May 1980-Feb 1981	136/3/7 Volume 11
Feb 1981-May 1983	136/3/7 Volume 12

May 1983-Aug 1984	136/3/7 Volume 13
Sep 1984-Feb 1986	136/3/7 Volume 14
Feb 1986-Apr 1987	136/3/7 Volume 15
Apr 1987-Nov 1989	136/3/7 Volume 16
Nov 1989-Jul 1991	136/3/7 Volume 17

UITENHAGE

MUNICIPALITY

Group Area and Bufferstrip files consulted

Date	File Number
1969-Dec 1975	G2(e) Volume 1
Jan 1976-Oct 1978	G2(e) Volume 2
Nov 1978-Dec 1979	G2(e) Volume 3
Jan 1980-Jan 1982	G2(e) Volume 4
Feb 1982-May 1983	G2(e) Volume 5
Jun 1983-Aug 1984	G2(e) Volume 6
Sep 1984-Jul 1985	G2(e) Volume 7
Aug 1985-May 1988	G2(e) Volume 8
Jun 1988-Dec 1989	G2(e) Volume 9
Jan 1990-Jul 1991	G2(e) Volume 10

Other Group Area Files

Jan 1968-Sep 1973	Group Area Boundaries	G2(a) Volume 1
Jan 1968-Jul 1982	Group Areas, Resettlement and Slum Clearance	G2(c) Volume 1
Aug 1982-Jul 1991	Group Areas, Resettlement and Slum Clearance	G2(c) Volume 2
Feb 1967-Nov 1977	Group Areas and Separate Development	G2(d) Volume 1

Indian Management Committee files consulted

Date	File number
Sep 1975-Feb 1978	I.5(a) Volume 1
Mar 1978-Dec 1979	I.5(a) Volume 2
Jan 1980-Nov 1981	I.5(a) Volume 3
Dec 1981-Dec 1982	I.5(a) Volume 4
Jan 1983-Jun 1984	I.5(a) Volume 5
Jul 1984-Mar 1986	I.5(a) Volume 6
Apr 1986-Jun 1987	I.5(a) Volume 7
Jul 1987-Jul 1988	I.5(a) Volume 8
Aug 1988-Dec 1988	I.5(a) Volume 9
Jan 1989-Feb 1990	I.5(a) Volume 10
Mar 1990-Jul 1991	I.5(a) Volume 11

Housing Construction files (Indian community)

Date	File Number
Dec 1983-Jun 1985	H.12 Volume 1
Jul 1985-Feb 1986	H.12 Volume 2
Mar 1986-Jan 1987	H.12 Volume 3
Feb 1987-Nov 1987	H.12 Volume 4
Dec 1987-Oct 1988	H.12 Volume 5

INTERMEDIATE ARCHIVES DEPOT

File Name	Date	File Number
Slums Act	1941-1967	135 Volume 3
Group Survey	1952/3	207A
Group Areas Act	Nov 1950-Apr 1953	207 Volume 1
Group Areas Act	May 1953-Jun 1955	207 Volume 2
Group Areas Act	Jul 1955-May 1960	207 Volume 3
Group Areas Act	Jun 1960-May 1963	207 Volume 4
Group Areas Act	Jun 1963-Mar 1967	207 Volume 5
Town Planning, Deterioration of Residential Areas	1966-1967	

APPENDIX A2

No.	Situation.	Description of Property.	Name of Proprietor.	Name of Occupier.	Assessed Val.
	<i>Milner Hill St</i>	House	<i>Swain Jno Est.</i>	<i>McLeod H H</i>	<i>1500</i>
		"	<i>Box Messeri Stephen</i>	<i>Thomas Alf.</i>	<i>750</i>
		"	<i>do</i>	<i>Cumming Chas Mrs</i>	<i>750</i>
	<i>Hill Street</i>	Ground	<i>Lappan Jno</i>		<i>150</i>
		Shop 8	<i>Walker David Est</i>	<i>Brooks Jas Gils.</i>	<i>750</i>
		"	<i>Lappan A E</i>	<i>Bekker Helenis</i>	<i>900</i>
		Shop 8	<i>Cooper Selina &amp; Susan</i>		<i>700</i>
		do 8	<i>Easton E Mrs.</i>	<i>£600 &amp; £300</i>	<i>900</i>
		Shops 5	<i>Luke Geo Est 2450 cap</i>	<i>Mrs Easton &amp; Jas. Bong</i>	<i>900</i>
		do 8	<i>Alston Ham, Edwin Lower</i>	<i>Prenter Frank's Eyacke Geo</i>	<i>900</i>
		photo studio	"	<i>Thorn Miss</i>	<i>550</i>
		Shop	<i>Walker David Est.</i>	<i>Fargher Chas V</i>	<i>550</i>
	<i>new Mrs E. B. C. Hoole</i>		<i>Roberts C J Est.</i>	<i>Easton Arthur</i>	<i>900</i>
		"	<i>White A Mrs.</i>	<i>Dettmer Hermann</i>	<i>900</i>
		"	"	<i>McLeod &amp; son</i>	<i>800</i>
		" 8	<i>Thompson Jas E</i>	<i>White Alf N</i>	<i>800</i>
		"	<i>Gardle &amp; Co</i>		<i>1400</i>
		"	<i>Page Oliver (W. D. Hoole)</i>	<i>Long Jas.</i>	<i>1600</i>
	<i>New Street</i>	"	<i>Lappan Arthur E</i>		<i>275</i>
		Shop	<i>Lamb Jno</i>	<i>Naidoo J</i>	<i>200</i>
		Hotel	<i>do</i>		<i>250</i>
		"	<i>Lill Tho H H</i>	<i>Simon H H</i>	<i>250</i>

Valuer's No. Skatters No.	NAME OF OWNER (in full) NAAM VAN EIGENAAR (volledig)	Postal Address (in full) Posadres (volledig) GRAHAMSTOWN.	Name of Occupier Naam van Gebruiker	Portions Let Separately Gedeeltes Afsonderlik Verhuur			Situation of Property Ligging van Eiendom YARD NO. 4 GRAHAMSTOWN.	Description of Property Beskrywing van Eiendom	Area of Property Grootte van Sq. Feet Vk. Voe
				Tenant Huurder	Description Beskrywing	Value Waarde £			
24	Cornock, Horace Lyons	c/o 33 Bathurst Street	Mitton, Jacobus S.				39 Bathurst Street, Site, shop, lavatories.	1173	
25	-do-	-do-	Waterson, John Kitch				31 Bathurst Street, Site, chemist	1104	
26	-do-	-do-	Owner				33 & 35 Bathurst Street, Site, shop, store- rooms.	3784	
27	-do-	c/o Cornock H.L., 33 Bathurst Street,	Plantjes, Jan				Dundas Street, Site, dwelling, lavatory, garages, storeroom.	12820	
2	Mosers, Cuthbert & Co.,	c/o 62 High Street,	Owners Rook Cuthberts	Pt Shop -do-	Site Bldgs 700 1105 1500 2230 2000 3333	Total 1805 3590 5393	62 High Street, Site, shop, lavatory, repair shop, verandah.	5773	
482	Daniels, Thomas Charles	2 Napier Street	Owner				2 Napier Street, Site, dwelling, lavatories, shed, bathrooms, verandah.	10500	
348	Daya, Margaven	11 High Street, 13, 15, 17, 19	Patel, Mapdabago Daya, Morgan Umley, Jackson Dalligan & Fry, Hendrik & Ivan	Shop -do- -do- -do-	300 250 200 120	450 500 950 500 550 1050 350 400 750 270 290 560 1370 1740 3310	13, 15, 17, 19 High Street, Site, shops, lavatory storeroom, & verandah.	23204	
313	Daya, Moses <i>Mosar</i>	11 High Street,	5 Campbell Street Jacobs, Peter 7 Campbell Street, Jasson, Moses	Dwelling Dwelling	160 25	440 465 433 460 873 925	6 & 7 Campbell Street, Site, dwelling, lavatories, garage, storeroom.	5016	
31	De Villiers, David Johannes	22 Hill Street,	Owners				Ext. 10 & 13, 22 Hill Street, Site, garage, lavatories, storeroom, shop.	11600	

Appendix A2 Grahamstown Valuation Roll 1945