

**THE SPATIAL PLANNING OF RACIAL RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN KING  
WILLIAM'S TOWN: 1826-1991**

**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts of  
Rhodes University.**

By

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**JANUARY 1997**

## ABSTRACT

This study investigates the spatial planning of racial residential segregation in King William's Town, including its former homeland township of Zwelitsha, from 1826 to 1991. The first settlement in the 'white' King William's Town, Brownlee Mission Station, was established in 1826. The town of King William's Town was developed from this settlement. The racial laws which were applied to segregate blacks nationally and locally came to an end in 1991. Primary sources of information were used to determine whether King William's Town was planned along racial lines and to determine the major role players who formulated and implemented the policy. Key sources were archival material, newspapers, maps, interviews, Deeds Office files and the work of other scholars.

The establishment of the town from its genesis as a mission station and a military base is traced and the effects of this legacy on racial separation is detailed. It was found that racial planning of residential areas in King William's Town had been practised in this small town for a long time (prior to the Group Areas Act). The implementation of this policy was marked by forced removal of blacks from areas which were regarded as being for whites. These predominantly African concentrations on the east bank of the Buffalo River were relocated to the west bank which was regarded as a black area. An anomalous incident was discovered in this study namely that these racial removals took place before the central state introduced national policy which compelled all local states to plan their residential areas along ethnic considerations. In parallel with the practice of segregation in King William's Town, the township of Zwelitsha was developed adjacent to the town by the government. As this thesis reveals, the development of Zwelitsha was intimately related to that of King William's Town.

The major role players in planning residential areas on racial basis were identified as the municipal Council of King William's Town. They were involved in planning racially segregated areas before and after the Group Areas Act. They (the Council) succeeded in closing all freehold locations in the town (1940) and forced the residents to become their tenants who rented dwellings in the west bank municipal location. There were attempts to incorporate this municipal location into the neighbouring homeland township of Zwelitsha. This move was eventually accomplished when all townships in the vicinity of King William's Town were amalgamated to form King William's Town Transitional Local Council in terms of the Local Government Transition Act of 1994 (Government Gazette No. 15468 of 2nd February 1994).

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

There are many people I have to thank for being helpful to me in the preparation of this document. I am indebted to Mr Nel, my promoter, for his guidance, moral support and positive attitude he displayed throughout the period of preparing this thesis.

I also wish to thank my friends; Mzo Sirayi and family in Pretoria, Brazet and Makay in Cape Town for accommodating me when I was collecting data in the archives. Aunt Hlehle and Bhut`S Mini are thanked for giving me moral support and making computer facilities available during the hours of need. A special thank is given to Zama, my brother, who worked tirelessly day and night typing this document. I am indebted to my wife Chwayi, children and Mtshana for being helpful and giving me time to complete my studies.

## **NOTE**

The term , Black is used in the text to refer to Africans, coloureds and Asiatics combined. In King William`s Town, Indians were the only Asiatics group which was also numerically the smallest. Therefore, when dealing with King William`s Town, the term, Indian, will be used to refer to the Asiatic group.

The Harvard system of referencing is used in this thesis. Primary material is however detailed at the end of each chapter, in an `End notes` section.

Currency used in this document are pounds (\$) and rands (R) depending on the period referred to in the text.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. INTRODUCTION

The current morphological forms of South African cities reflect features of the past colonial and apartheid planning systems (Christopher, 1988a; Lemon, 1991; Christopher, 1992; Maharaj, 1992). The emergence and development of racial segregation and the disestablishment of segregated locations in the vicinity of what used to be 'white' (group areas) areas has led to numerous studies of the geography of apartheid. These have tended to focus on large cities (e.g. Davies, 1981; Saunders, 1984a; Parnell, 1991). Small towns like King William's Town, have however received scant attention (Caldwell, 1991; Dullabh, 1994). This thesis sets out to partially address this imbalance by researching the evolving pattern of racial, residential segregation in King William's Town.

This initial motivation for the thesis followed the observation that a homeland township, Zwelitsha, existed in the vicinity of King William's Town. A subsequent investigation into the underlying causes of its development and its technical and physical separation from King William's Town brought to light considerable information about King William's Town's history. This led to the identification of the previous existence of black freehold locations in the 'white' town of King William's Town. These had been demolished in an attempt to make King William's Town a 'whites-only' town.

The municipal Council of King William's Town attempted to relocate all its black residents to segregated zones from its establishment (in the 1860s) up to 1990. It is surprising to notice that, King William's Town, as small as it was, was engaged in racial planning and relocation of blacks long before the enactment of the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Caldwell, 1991; Christopher, 1992).

In terms of time-span, this study will detail the spatial planning of racial residential segregation in King William's Town in the period from 1826 to 1991. 1826 marks the

beginning of the first formal settlement in King William's Town, namely, the Brownlee Mission Station. Most locations: Brownlee; Ridsdel; Tsolo and Bidhli were disestablished because of the racist policies of the local state of King William's Town by the mid-twentieth century. This process will be detailed in Chapters Four, Five and Six. The cut-off date, 1991, was selected because it was in that year that the Group Areas Act was scrapped and, consequently racial urban planning ceased nationally and locally.

## **1.2. STUDY AREA**

This study focuses on the development of racially segregated residential zones for blacks in King William's Town. As depicted on the maps (Figures 1 and 2) this town lies adjacent to Bisho, the current capital of the Eastern Cape Province. It is located approximately 50km inland from the port city of East London.

With the redrawing of municipal boundaries in 1995, King William's Town came to encompass eight, formerly racially segregated areas which now constitute the town's Transitional Local Council area (Figure 2). They are, Bisho, Dimbaza, Ilitha, Phakamisa, Tyutyu and most significantly Breidbach, Ginsberg and Zwelitsha. The planning of the latter three areas (Chapters Four, Seven and Eight) is linked to King William's Town and they illustrate how the central state imposed its racial residential planning upon the local state of King William's Town, including, the development of a homeland township (Zwelitsha) in the vicinity of 'white' town. This thesis focuses solely on the pre-1991 urban areas defined as King William's Town and its two associated and neighbouring, segregated urban areas, Zwelitsha and Breidbach, which historically, were linked to the evolving pattern of segregation in King William's Town. Bisho which is also now attached to King William's Town was not examined because no relocations took place to it as it was the case in the creation of Breidbach and Zwelitsha and it developed independent of King William's Town. The development of the other, newly incorporated centres during the apartheid era is an open ground for further research. The study of the King William's Town segregation will complement the work done in the broader area by Nel (1990a; 1990b) on East London, particularly since the two urban areas now adjoin each other in effect (see Figure 2).

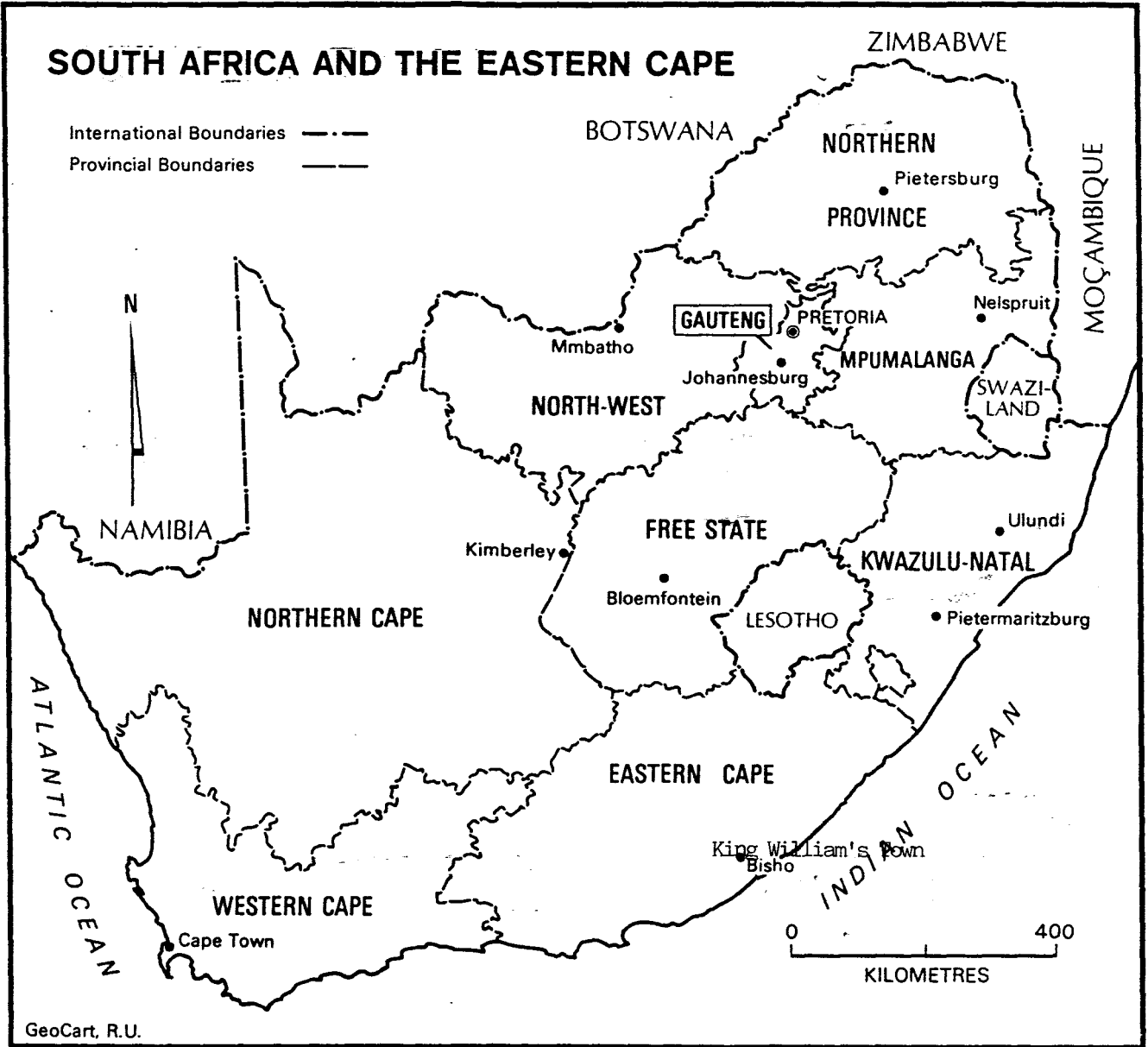
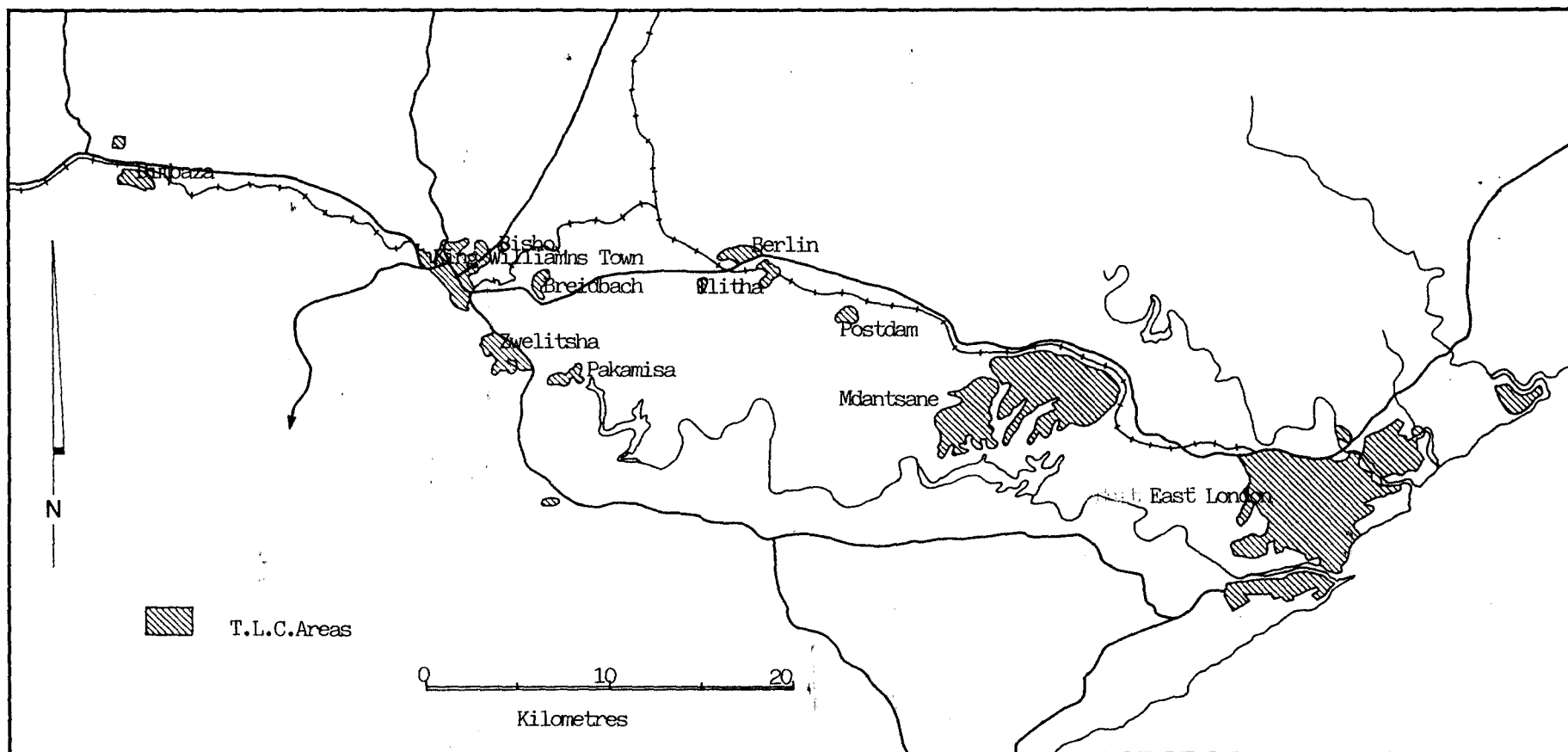


Figure 1: South Africa and the Eastern Cape, showing King William's Town, 1995.

Source: Rhodes University Geography Cartographic Section, 1995.



**Figure 2: East London and King William's Town: Transitional Local Council Areas, 1995.**

**Source:** East London Municipal Engineering Department, 1995; King William's Town Municipal Engineering Department, 1995.

**Note:** East London and Mdantsane constitute the East London Transitional Local Council Area. All other urban areas shown on the map have constituted the King William's Town Transitional Local Council Area since 1995.

### 1.3. THE CONTEXT

The study of racial residential segregation forms part of urban historical geography which is an important component of Human geography in South Africa. Urban geography studies *inter alia* the internal structure of cities (land-use zones). It considers how each land-use zone is located in relation to one another in response to centrifugal, centripetal and other forces such as legal controls. The specific forces that influenced the form of South African cities in particular were identified in previous studies conducted in the larger cities of South Africa. Although segregation exists elsewhere in the world, the influence of apartheid created unique urban patterns (Davies, 1981; Christopher, 1988a; Nel, 1990b; Smith, 1992; Christopher, 1992). This particular study hopes, not only, to contribute to the established knowledge on the theme of segregation in South African cities but attempts to establish whether such forces were applicable in the spatial planning of smaller South African towns, such as King William's Town.

It is a well publicized fact that South African towns are distinctly different from those of other countries. In American cities, for example, segregation of residential areas has generally been based on socio-economic factors (Kliot, 1982), whereas in South Africa it was based far more on race. Extensive research to identify the processes, patterns and results of segregation in South African cities has been undertaken by numerous researchers (Swanson, 1977; Lodge, 1987; Christopher, 1988b; Nel, 1990b; Parnell, 1991; Mabin, 1992; Maharaj, 1992; Reintges, 1992; Christopher, 1994a). To date however, few studies have attempted to identify whether similar processes and spatial results can be identified in the country's smaller towns such as King William's Town (Caldwell, 1987; 1991; Webb, 1993; Dullabh, 1994). The uniqueness of South African towns and cities justifies the search for unique urban patterns in smaller towns. In addition, the thesis will reveal and document urban communities which have lost their land because of apartheid policies.

Another motivation is to investigate the history of black residential areas in small towns which have received less attention compared to that of the whites. One of the reasons for the neglect of recording the historical facts concerning the distribution of the urban black residential areas is that historical records were originally recorded mainly by the whites, most

of whom supported the colonial government and the racist councils. Consequently, the role and place of black's urban history was either distorted or received scant attention. The researcher's intention is to point out that all race groups and their residential development in King William's Town need to receive cognizance.

The research seeks to identify and describe the places where urban blacks resided at different periods in King William's Town's history. The researcher will also investigate the mechanisms which were used to remove and relocate blacks and whether blacks accepted such relocation.

#### **1.4. THE STUDY'S FOCUS**

The study is developed around the hypothesis that blacks in King William's Town were spatially segregated on the basis of race, legal controls and discriminatory practices.

##### **1.4.1. AIM**

The aim of this research project is to detail the evolution of racial residential segregation in King William's Town, to document where blacks resided and the spatial impact of racist planning policies.

##### **1.4.2. OBJECTIVES**

The specific objectives are:

- to examine general literature relevant to racial residential segregation in South Africa;
- to document the major factors which, through time, have influenced the location and relocation of blacks in King William's Town;
- to detail the spatial results of the above and to discuss related socio-economic issues;

- to see if King William's Town approximated the general characteristics of the 'segregated' or 'apartheid' city types;
- to investigate the roles played by the local and the central states in the above;
- to relate the study to the relevant social, economic and historical context.

It is of paramount importance to outline how the aims and objectives will be accomplished. To facilitate the presentation of data and its discussion, the thesis has been divided into nine chapters the content of which are related to Maylam's (1990) four phases of urban development, namely, the pre-1923 phase, 1923-1950; 1950-1979; and post - 1979.

During the first phase there was no uniformity in the urban policies and practices in South Africa (Maylam, 1990). Certain municipalities played a prominent role in segregating blacks and Africans in particular. In some urban areas blacks were housed in compounds (Wilson and Ramphela, 1989) which were often associated with the mining industry (Kagan, 1978; Mabin, 1979 ). In other areas blacks were accommodated in locations, for example, in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and significantly, King William's Town (Swanson, 1977; Western, 1981; Beavon, 1982; Saunders, 1984a; Caldwell, 1987; Christopher, 1987b).

During the 1923 - 1950 phase significant growth in the manufacturing sector led to an increase in the rate of African urbanization. Whilst municipalities retained their power that of the central state increased. In compliance with the 1922 Stallard Commission's view that the right of Africans to be in urban areas rested solely on their willingness to submit to the white authority (Davenport, 1969), the state passed the Native (Urban Areas) Act 1923 which prevented Africans settling in urban areas, except in segregated locations (Unterhalter, 1987). Since the implementation of that law was not obligatory, not all local authorities implemented it. Urban areas which complied with it included Johannesburg, Kimberley, Cape Town, Durban (Kagan, 1978, 1979; Mabin 1979; Maylam, 1982; Saunders, 1984b). In King William's Town, no location was established under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act 1923. This Act was used only to enhance control of locations which were already in existence prior to the Act (Burton, 1958; Caldwell, 1987; 1991).

Another method used by the government to achieve the segregation of blacks was the introduction of the Slums Act of 1934 and the Housing Act of 1944 (1; Unterhalter, 1987). In terms of the two laws, municipalities were empowered to clear slums and provide new accommodation in segregated townships (Block and Wilkinson, 1982; Swart 1983; Truluck, 1991). In King William's Town, the freehold locations were declared slums under the provisions of the Slums Act of 1934 and ultimately they were disestablished in a controversial manner which is detailed in Chapters Five and Six.

In the early 1940s the World War stimulated industrial development which attracted labourers to the urban areas. There was however, inadequate housing in urban areas (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975; Mabin, 1986) and squatter settlements developed as a result (Manson, 1981). In a partial attempt to restrict the flow of people to major cities, the government tried to establish towns in the reserves (the future homelands) as well as a limited number of industries (Manson, 1981; Krige, 1990; Nel, 1990a). A textile industry and its segregated Homeland township, Zwelitsha were established in the vicinity of King William's Town in the 1940s. This will be detailed in Chapter Eight of this thesis. Ultimately Zwelitsha was to become a dormitory township for King William's Town's African work force. Zwelitsha however, failed to divert African migration to cities (Houghton, 1960).

During 1950 - 1979 (Phase Three), municipalities lost their ability to decide on racially related urban policies and the central state came to play a leading role (Maylam, 1990). The Group Areas Act of 1950 proclaimed separate group areas for people classified as white, African, coloured or Asian according to the 1950 Population Registration Act (2; Christopher, 1988a). Many local authorities, complied with the Group Areas Act and planned their cities accordingly (Western, 1981; Christopher, 1989b; 1994b). Some local Authorities did not comply with the 1950 Act and that led to conflict between the central state and local authorities (Lodge, 1987; Maylam, 1990). In King William's Town, a coloured group area, Breidbach was established in terms of the Group Areas Act (Burton, 1958) in this period. The Act which threatened the imposition of forced removals on Indians in King William's Town was not fulfilled (3). Blacks were largely already segregated by the time the Group Areas Act was enacted in King William's Town (Caldwell, 1987; 1991; Webb, 1993).

Phase Four was a period of growing government and municipal liberalism. Forced removals after 1980 took place at a slower pace and attempts to curtail African urbanization waned. Removals were instituted under various guises, such as the clearance of black spots; influx control and betterment planning (Mare, 1980; Walt, 1982; Marcus, 1983; Surplus People Project, 1989; Maylam, 1990). Zwelitsha was also meant to accommodate victims of forced removals. King Williams Town, which was inhabited predominantly by whites during this phase, was considered for inclusion in the Ciskei as the homeland's capital. The van der Walt Commission was established to investigate the possibility of making King William's Town Ciskei's capital town. In line with its pro-white leanings and its liberal approach to forced removals, the government heeded the feelings of the whites and abandoned that idea (4; Dullabh, 1994b).

Finally, after the scrapping of the Group Areas Act in 1991, King William's Town like other centres of South Africa 'legally' became racially integrated (5). Indices of segregation and dissimilarity could not be calculated because of the following reasons: coloured names could not be separated from those of whites. Secondly, there was a problem of identifying African servants living in town within their employers' premises. Thirdly, African tenants could not be identified from the available sources of information which were consulted. Lastly, access to census data could not be gained (Dullabh, 1994).

## **1.5. THESIS STRUCTURE**

Chapter Two of the thesis will be devoted to methodology. It contains description of the various sources of information which were consulted and explanations of why it was felt necessary to do so. Various problems which were encountered during the collection of data will also be outlined.

Chapter Three is a literature review. The empirical section of the thesis will describe the phases through which segregation evolved. Chapter Four will detail segregation processes in King William's Town which took place prior to 1923. Such processes will be described as they affected each race group viz. Africans, coloureds and Indians. The disestablishment of the African townships in the 1923 -1943 period will be discussed in the next two chapters.

Chapter Five will deal with the disestablishment of the Ridsdel location between 1923 and 1938. Chapter Six will be devoted to the demolition of Brownlee location between 1923-1942.

Chapter Seven will discuss the segregation of race groups in King William's Town in the period from 1923-1948 and thereafter from 1948 - 1991. Chapter Eight will focus on the development of the satellite town of Zwelitsha and the Ginsberg location from 1942-1991.

In Chapter Nine there will be a general discussion of the main trends of segregation in King William's Town and their comparison with other, similar urban areas. Chapter length and focus reflects on available information and the apparent focus of segregation endeavours.

## **1.6. CONCLUSION**

It has been indicated that King William's Town, despite it being a small centre, practised extreme forms of racism in its town planning. This resulted in it developing (prior to 1950), a morphological structure similar to the apartheid model relatively early in its history. This assertion will be examined and explained in the chapters which follow.

## **1.7. END NOTES**

1. Status of the Union of South Africa, 1934; 1944.
2. Ibid. 1950
3. Proclamation No. 164 of 13.5.1960
4. Cape Mercury, 4 .12. 1980
5. Deeds Office - King William's Town (D.O. KWT) Folio 1 - 1000

# **CHAPTER TWO**

## **METHODOLOGY FOR RESEARCHING THE EVOLUTION OF RACIAL RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**

### **2.1. INTRODUCTION**

This chapter will outline and discuss the methods used to determine the historical evolution of racial residential segregation of blacks in King William's Town and their changing spatial distribution, through time, in that urban area.

### **2.2. OBJECTIVES**

Specific research objectives which were determined to achieve the thesis aims were:

- to examine general literature relevant to racial residential segregation in South Africa;
- to document the major factors which, through time, have influenced the location and relocation of blacks in King William's Town;
- to detail the spatial results of the above and to discuss related socio-economic issues;
- to see if King William's Town approximated the general characteristics of the 'segregated' or 'apartheid' city types;
- to investigate the roles played by the local and the central states in the above;
- to relate the study to the relevant social, economic and historical context.

### **2.3. DATA COLLECTION**

This thesis is largely based on research undertaken using primary source material. These

sources of information are shown in Table 1. They included archival documents, articles from the newspapers, municipal files, deeds office files, directories, the South African Municipal Yearbook, interviews and research undertaken by various authors (e.g. Caldwell, 1991; Dullabh, 1994).

**TABLE .1: PRIMARY SOURCES USED TO DETERMINE THE SPARRIAL PLANNING OF RACIAL RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.**

SOURCE	TYPE OF SOURCE	LOCATION OF SOURCE
Sources to determine names and numbers of Africans, Coloureds and Indians who lived in KWT..	Commercial Directories	Rhodes Univ. Library Grahamstown Cory Library- Grahamstown Kaffrarian museum KWT,
	Telephone Directory	Rhodes Univ. Library Cory Library for Historical Research
	Town Directories Deeds Office Files	Cory Library for Historical Research King William's Town
Records used for determining factors influencing racial residential segregation.	Municipal Files and maps	KWT Municipal Health and Engineering Depts, Pta . Archives, Cape Archives, Kaffrarian Museum- KWT; Bisho & EL Municipal Engineering Dept..
	Newspaper articles : Imvo, Mercury, Daily Dispatch.	South African Library CT, Kaffrarian Museum KWT, Pta Archives & Cape Archives
	South African Municipal Yearbook.	Rhodes UnivLibrary., EL Municipal Library; KWT - Municipal Library.
	Interviews	Municipal staff/ black residents.

Note:KWT = King William's Town; Pta = Pretoria; CT = Cape Town; Univ. = University; Dept. = Department; EL = East London

## 2.4. PRIMARY SOURCES

### 2.4.1. DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVES

Files which were consulted in the state archives in Cape Town and Pretoria contained :

- a) Historical records of the establishment and disestablishment of black locations which existed on the east bank of the Buffalo River in King William's Town (which later became the 'white' group area), namely the Brownlee location and the Ridsdel

location;

- b) The history of the transformation of private (freehold) locations viz. Tsolo and Bidhli, which were located in the west bank of the Buffalo River (black group area), into the municipal location called Ginsberg;
- c) The establishment of an exclusive African township adjacent to King William's Town, namely Zwelitsha.
- d) The removal of Africans and whites from a piece of land which later became the coloured group area of Breidbach.
- e) The actual and attempted removal of blacks from the town to racially segregated municipal locations in terms of the Group Areas and other Acts.

These documents cover a period from 1826 to 1973. They are found in the Cape Archives Depot (Cape Town) and Central State Archives in Pretoria.

#### **2.4.2. DEEDS OFFICE FILES**

Documents which were consulted in the King William's Town deeds office contained the following data:

- a) Deeds of transfers. Names and details of all people who ever owned fixed property/ies in King William's Town are recorded. They also show when and why such properties were transferred from one owner to another. These documents made it partially possible to detect whether blacks owned immovable properties prior to and after the Group Areas Act in King William's Town.
- b) Folio Number - files. These documents contain comprehensive data on all ervens which exist or existed in King William's Town. For example; sites/ ervens which the council or Government acquired from blacks and ultimately transferred to whites because of racial laws are recorded in these files. All erfs or folios after 1950 in the folio files are marked (white group or coloured group or Asian group) according to the race of the owner.

#### **2.4.3. MAPS**

As site numbers were changed over the course of time, maps which corresponded to old erf numbers had to be consulted. Some of those maps were found in the Deeds Office. The use of folio/ erf numbers, together with appropriate maps, made it possible to identify specific areas where blacks had lived in King William's Town. Maps also show when black ervens later became white areas. Maps were also found in the Kaffarian museum, in the Engineering Departments of the municipality of King William's Town and East London, the Department of Planning in Bisho, Cory Library in the Rhodes University Library and the Cape and the Central State Archives in Cape Town and Pretoria respectively.

#### **2.4.4. DIRECTORIES**

Directories were used primarily to identify where Africans and Indians had lived in the 'white' areas of King William's Town prior to and after the Group Areas Act. It was not possible for the researcher to do the same with the coloureds as their names do not differ from those of whites. Since not all Africans had their names appearing in directories, other sources of information were also consulted.

#### **2.4.5. SOUTH AFRICAN MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOKS**

This source of information, published annually, was used to compile total population figures for racial groups living within King William's Town municipal area. This population data revealed the following trends:

- a) That King William's Town had four race groups of varying size. The smallest was and continues to be Indians.
- b) After the Group Areas Act was enforced in King William's Town, there was a substantial drop in the number of Africans living within the municipal area of King William's Town. This source covered the period from 1900 - 1991. The Municipal Year Book was found in East London municipal library and at Rhodes University library.

#### **2.4.6. NEWSPAPERS**

Local newspapers such as Imvo Zabantsundu (founded by an African politician and a former King William's Town resident, Jabavu), the Cape Mercury (published in King William's Town) and the Daily Dispatch (published in East London) contained detailed reports about racial issues and practices which affected blacks in King William's Town.

#### **2.4.7. MUNICIPAL FILES (NOT TRANSFERRED TO THE ARCHIVES)**

There were relatively few files located in the municipality of King William's Town. Several files from 1949 to 1972 were reported missing (Dullabh, 1994). However, those retrieved proved useful e.g. annual reports from the Municipal Department of Health. Files containing information about Zwelitsha were found in the Central State Archives in Pretoria.

#### **2.4.8. INTERVIEWS**

Interviews were conducted with staff members of the municipality of King William's Town as well as with old black people who lived in King William's Town and Zwelitsha. This was done to correlate the written, documentary information with oral urban history. In the majority of cases their information was mainly of a general nature and did not cover specific details such as dates. However, on the whole, their versions verified the written information.

#### **2.5. SECONDARY SOURCES**

Secondary sources which were consulted comprised journal articles and books. These were mostly used in literature review. Journal articles were obtained at Rhodes University Library, the Department of Geography Library at Rhodes University and through inter-library loan at Rhodes University. Books were obtained at Rhodes University Library and the University of Fort Hare.

## **2.6. ANALYSIS AND COMPILATION**

Following the research phase, information was synthesised, analysed and drafted and relevant maps were drawn. Comparison of King William's Town's experience with general information and models on South African cities helped to contextualise the experience of this town. This reflects on the changes through time which occurred in this town.

## **2.7. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED AND CONCLUSION**

Problems were encountered in the collection of data. These included missing municipal files in King William's Town. This problem was partially solved by making use of the Deeds Office files which provided information about all fixed properties in King William's Town.

Other sources of information, such as Directories, did not specify whether a person was a coloured or a white person. However, this problem was solved by checking Title Deeds or folio numbers in the Deeds Office where properties after 1950 were endorsed as Indian, coloured or white. Before 1950 the problem could not be solved except in cases where the document actually consulted specified that the person in question was a white or a coloured. After 1950, immovable properties were labelled in the deeds office and, in other documents, with the name of the race group to which the property belonged. It was then possible to identify coloured residential houses among those of whites.

In the chapters which follow, the results of the research described above are outlined.

# **CHAPTER THREE**

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **3.1. INTRODUCTION**

This chapter discusses the spatial evolution of and variations in the implementation of racial segregation in South African urban centres from the pre- 1923 to the post-1991 era. It involves the identification of the legal machinery which was used to divide urban space for different ethnic groups and the spatial results. As this research focuses on King William's Town, cross-reference will be made to that centre to identify those policies which were applicable there.

The division of the South African urban population into Africans, Asian, coloureds and whites is reflected in the urban spatial pattern (Christopher, 1984; Seethal, 1992; Mabin, 1994). It can be stated, at the outset, that racial residential segregation has been a reality for a considerable period of time (Roberts, 1994). It appears to have occurred in distinct phases namely, pre-1923; 1923-1950/52; 1950/52 - 1979, 1980 - 1990 (Maylam, 1990). A fifth phase, post - 1991, can also be included on the grounds that it was in that year that the Group Areas Act was repealed. This five-fold typology will parallel the subdivisions selected in this chapter, even though the four fold discussion forms the basis of this thesis.

### **3.2. URBAN RACIAL RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION BEFORE 1923**

Many South African urban centres were segregated long before 1923. This was made possible through the enactments of the four colonial and republican governments which existed prior to 1910 (Christopher, 1988b; 1989a). Segregation was initiated by whites who sought racial and residential exclusivity and the maintenance of political dominance over the numerically dominant indigenous people (Christopher, 1989a). In this phase, racial residential segregation was achieved through the implementation of restrictions such as on land ownership; franchise rights; pass laws; the use of religion and the sanitation syndrome.

### 3.2.1 RACIAL RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION BASED ON RELIGION

In many instances missionaries wittingly or unwittingly, encouraged the practise of segregation through their establishment of racially segregated locations. The earliest urban locations were established by the missionary societies as a means of protecting their African and coloured congregations from possible conflict with non-Christians and heathen practices (Christopher, 1989a). In Port Elizabeth, for example, the London Missionary Society established a mission station for the indigenous population in 1834 (Christopher, 1985, 1987a; Baines, 1989).

The first black location in King William's Town, namely, the Brownlee location, was established by Reverend John Brownlee on behalf of the of the London Missionary Society in 1826 for similar reasons (Webb, 1989; 1993). In many parts of South Africa, such as Natal, missionary societies owned the land on which locations were established (Rogers; 1933; 1949). This allowed mission blacks to build and own their own dwellings, a privilege which was not enjoyed in municipal locations.

In 1888 in Natal a law was passed stipulating that a condition for securing occupational rights in a missionary reserved area was payment of an annual rental by the mission residents. In 1903 the Natal Mission Reserves Act, No. 49 of 1903, provided that the mission reserves would be set apart solely for Native (African) converts. The Act provided for the removal of tribes who were not converted from the mission grounds (Rogers, 1933; 1949; Christopher, 1988b; 1990). In so doing the size of resident populations was controlled.

As missionary societies owned land within urban areas throughout the country, some local authorities, such as the King William's Town Borough Council resented the proximity of these black areas to the white areas. However, as this arrangement was approved by the central state, Africans attached to the mission could not be forced to relocate to Council locations by local authorities (see Natives (Urban Areas) Act No. 21 of 1923) (1). The conflict which resulted in King William's Town, between Council and government over this issue will be detailed in Chapter Five and Six of this thesis.

### 3.2.2 PASS LAWS AND LAND RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING AFRICANS

Pass Laws and land restrictions were introduced in the four colonies/ republics to segregate blacks from the white South African population prior to 1910 (Rogers, 1933; 1949).

### 3.2.3. CAPE COLONY

In the Cape Colony the earliest legislation which provided for the segregation of Africans was the 1847 Cape Colonial Ordinance. It provided powers to the colonial authorities to administer black locations (Christopher, 1988b; Nel, 1990b). The 1847 Ordinance was applicable in the Eastern District towns (the Eastern Cape towns) (Christopher, 1988b). Certain Africans in the Cape of Good Hope were enfranchised and had a right to own land as whites did. They were not spatially restricted (Rogers, 1933; 1949; Bickford-Smith, 1980, 1990; Christopher, 1994b).

In the Eastern Cape frontier towns of East London, King William's Town and Queenstown racial residential segregation was implemented by military government through the promulgation of the Native Pass Law. In terms of Section 7 of the Native Pass Law Act No. 22 of 1867 (2), all Africans, with the exception of the Fingo tribe, resident in the divisions of East London, Queenstown and King William's Town would be regarded as "Native Foreigners" in these districts, unless they were issued with citizenship certificates. Such certificates restricted the residence and movements of the bearers thereof to within their locations. Any African who wanted to proceed beyond the borders of the Cape Colony or those of his location could be apprehended and convicted of an offence and sentenced, unless he possessed a Pass stating his destination, time allowed to be in that place and particulars of the bearer (3; Chaskalson and Duncan, 1954; Unterhalter, 1987).

A Pass was issued only to Africans who possessed Certificates of Citizenship. Africans could qualify for such certificates on the following conditions: ownership of land within the Cape Colony; ownership of a house or building valued at ten pounds or more or possession of merits awarded by the Governor for being of good conduct and of possessing industrial habits. In addition to these conditions, Africans who had resided in the Cape Colony for seven consecutive years and those who had lived in the British Kaffaria previous to the

incorporation of that Colony within the Cape of Good Hope also qualified for Certificates of Citizenship (4; Savage, 1986).

The Native Pass Law discriminated amongst African tribes (i.e. Xhosas from Fingoes) and restricted the movement of Xhosa tribe to within their locations while, Fingoes were allowed to move freely in the King William's Town, East London and Queenstown divisions. Fingoes were favoured by the British colonial government because during the territorial wars between the white colonial forces and Xhosas e.g. during the 1850 - 1853 war, they had fought alongside the white military forces against Xhosas (Jenkins and Grindlay, 1897).

To prohibit access of Africans to white residential areas within the Cape of Good Hope, the Provincial Government introduced the Vagrancy Act of 1879 (Rogers, 1933; 1949). Although this Act did not specify the race targeted for restrictions, this was implied in its clauses. In terms of Sections 2; 4; 9 and 10 of the Vagrancy Act No.23 of 1879 (5), any person found wandering abroad and having no visible, lawful means was regarded an idle and disorderly person whom any resident magistrate, justice of the peace, field-cornet, police officer, inspector of native locations or owner or occupier of land could apprehend. This would lead to imprisonment of the "idle and disorderly person" for three months unless he gave a good and satisfactory account of himself. Areas where idle and disorderly persons were to be apprehended could include any farm, any dwelling-house, shop, store, stable, outhouse, garden, vineyard, kraal or other enclosed places (6). The fact that idle and disorderly persons, in terms of the Vagrancy Act, were defined as people moving on any streets or road without sufficient decent clothing, implied that they were probably actually Africans. Furthermore, the Vagrancy Act provided for the removal of squatters on waste Crown land and on land belonging to the missionary societies (7).

In terms of Section 2 of the Local Authorities Increased Powers Act, No. 30 of 1895, local authorities were empowered to make curfew regulations which prohibited and prevented the presence of blacks such as Xhosas; Fingoes; Basutos; Hottentots; Bushmen; Korannas; Griquas; Bechuanas, Zulus etc. in the streets, public places or thoroughfares within the limits of the jurisdiction of such local authority between 21H00 and 04H00 without a pass. This written pass or certificate was to be signed by an employer or such person authorised by that

local authority. Blacks who were exempted from the curfew regulations were the owners of immovable properties within such local authority and those who possessed certificates of good character which were issued annually by the Resident Magistrate (8; Rogers, 1933; 1949). In 1899 a further law was introduced, namely, the "Native Labour Locations Act No. 30 of 1899. This Act provided that industrial employers could house their workers in private locations. Africans who were not working would have to pay tax for residing in location houses while workers were exempted (Swanson, 1977).

From 1902 onwards Lord Milner's government tightened regulations which segregated Africans in urban areas. The government's fear of health hazards and concern for orderlines in cities resulted in an idea that blacks who migrated to cities as a result of industrialization, might be the cause of an increase of those problems. The Lagden Commission which was appointed to investigate the idea recommended the segregation of Africans into supervised locations where vagrants, alcoholics and prostitutes might not get access. The Native Reserve Locations Act of 1902 (Cape) was enacted to permit urban segregation of Africans (Davenport, 1971a; Swanson, 1977; Saunders, 1984a; Smit and Booysen, 1977; 1981; Baines, 1990; Swilling and Humphries, 1991). The Municipal ordinance of 1903 (Cape) (9) authorized Town Councils to lay out locations and regulate the housing of Africans by their employers. In 1905 Town Councils were given authority over locations by Milner's government (Davenport, 1971, 1991a; Reintges, 1989).

In King William's Town curfew regulations were implemented from 1912. However, Africans who owned land within the Borough were exempted. The Native and Asiatic Location Regulations for King William's Town of 1912 were promulgated on 14 June 1912 by the Divisional Council of King William's Town in the Provincial Gazette No. 199 under Section 147 of South African Act of 1909 and Act No. 27 of 1905 (10). The location and relocation of blacks in and from white King William's Town will be detailed in later Chapters.

#### **3.2.4. ORANGE FREE STATE**

Africans were prohibited from acquiring land in the Orange Free State except in the Moroka

Ward (Thaba Nchu) (Rogers, 1933; 1949). In the Moroka Ward, Africans could only transfer plots they owned to members of their immediate next-of-kin such as sisters, brothers, parents or grand children. This arrangement was terminated by Act No. 28 of 1924 (11) which made it lawful for any African owner of land in Moroka ward to transfer such plot to another member of the Barolong tribe (Rogers, 1933; 1949).

There were general pass provisions in the squatting laws (12). Pass Laws dealt with inward and outward passes and travelling passes (Rogers, 1933; 1949). The Orange Free State Ordinance of 1903 tightened restrictions on Africans who could not supply satisfactory proof that they were employed in a particular town (Davenport, 1971; 1991b).

### 3.2.5. NATAL COLONY

In the Colony of Natal Africans were restricted to only purchasing/owning land in certain townships of Zululand and mission land (Rogers, 1933; 1949; Baines, 1990; Christopher, 1994b). On the question of pass laws, Natal possessed Act No 48 of 1884 and Act No 52 of 1887. Regulations framed under these laws were published under government notice No 120 of 1910. The above laws pertained to outward and inward passes i.e. for entering or leaving Natal. There were also identification passes which were provided for in terms of Act No. 49 of 1901, as amended by Act No. 3 of 1904. Regulations framed under these Acts were published under Government Notice No. 199 of 1904 (Rogers, 1933; 1949; Baines, 1990; Davenport, 1971, 1991b).

In Natal the government practised a restrictive regime. Africans were discouraged from entering the towns and were employed on a migratory basis, being housed either by their employers or in municipal barracks in the case of Durban (Christopher, 1984). In comparison with Cape Town, Durban was more concerned about controlling than segregating its African population (Saunders, 1984a; Christopher, 1989b; Maylam, 1990).

Although the Natal Parliament had enacted the Natives Locations Act of 1904 which enabled municipalities to establish segregated locations, Durban City Council did not follow the example of Cape Town in the construction of such a location. Instead it built in 1915 and

1916 Baumannville, a small location comprising 120 cottages for family occupation. More significant, in Durban, was the creation in 1916, of its own Native Administration Department to control Durban's African population. This Department was financed from profits derived from the municipal monopoly of the sale and manufacture of sorghum beer for African consumption. The system was known as the 'Durban system' (Western, 1981; Maylam, 1990).

### **3.2.6. TRANSVAAL**

As regards the Republic of Transvaal, Africans could acquire land according to a stipulation of the Pretoria Convention of 1881. This Convention prescribed that land acquired by Africans had to be registered in the name of the Native Location Commissioner as a trustee for such owner. The view that the Native Affairs Commissioner had to be a trustee for Africans in the Transvaal was altered in 1905 following a court decision on the issue. From that year onwards Africans could have their land registered in their own names. This freedom to own land was curtailed by the Natives Land Act of 1913 (Rogers, 1933; 1949).

With regard to pass laws in the Transvaal, there were general pass laws and regulations for labour districts which were framed under the provisions of Proclamation No. 37 of 1901 as amended by Ordinance No. 21 of 1903. Special pass regulations for urban areas were framed under the Urban Areas Native Pass Act No. 18 of 1909. In addition, there were special provisions in Law No. 8 of 1893 which compelled Africans who lived in urban areas to carry municipal residential passes. (Rogers, 1933; 1949; Unterhalter, 1987).

### **3.2.7. COLOUREDS AND ASIATICS**

#### **3.2.7.1. Transvaal**

The Volksraad Besluit 159 of 1855, restricted land ownership rights to whites. This Act was repealed by Proclamation No. 34 of 1901 which allowed coloureds and Africans to own land in certain areas (Dison & Mohamed, 1960). In the Republic (later Colony) of Transvaal, Asiatics were prohibited in terms of Law No. 3 of 1885 from acquiring land except in Asiatic bazaars which were established in many urban centres. This law also empowered the

government, for reasons of sanitation, to restrict Asiatics, for residential and occupational purposes, in separate wards (Dison and Mohammed, 1960; Bhana & Brain 1990; Dullabh, 1994). In the Transvaal in the 1880s municipalities were allowed to confine Africans, coloureds and Indians in locations. However, segregation was not compulsory (Christopher, 1988b).

Coloureds were not permitted to reside on land classified as Class A in the Transvaal except in bazaars. Class A comprised of the mining regions of Johannesburg, Boksburg and Krugersdorp. This was provided for in terms of Section 7(2) of Gold Law Act No. 35 of 1908. If any person had acquired land falling under Class A under the provisions of Law No. 15 of 1898, such a person was prevented from transferring that land to coloureds in terms of Act No. 35 of 1908 (Dison and Mohamed, 1960).

Coloureds and Asiatics were further restricted by the Asiatics (Land and Trading) Amendment Act (Transvaal) No. 37 of 1919. This Act stipulated that coloured and Asiatics who had acquired land in the Transvaal outside the prescribed area (bazaars) were given a maximum period of two months as from 1 May 1919 to dispose of that land (see section 2 of Act No. 37 of 1919) (13; Dison and Mohamed, 1960). Coloured persons were only permitted to conduct business in government townships established in terms of Act No. 34 of 1905 (Dison and Mohammed, 1960).

### **3.2.7.2. Natal**

The Natal government allowed sugar plantation owners to bring indentured workers from India, the majority of whom settled permanently in South Africa (Unterhalter, 1987). The segregationist action in Durban was often directed against Indians who competed with whites for space and trade (Swanson, 1983; Maylam, 1990). Indians had no franchise rights (Christopher, 1994b). In Natal in the nineteenth century, municipalities were permitted to confine African and Indians in barracks (Christopher, 1988a). Measures to restrict the activities of Indian migrants in Durban were unsuccessful prior to 1910 because of imperial restraints. However, the Durban Corporation gained limited power in 1922 to exclude Asians from the accepted white areas (Christopher, 1989b).

### 3.2.7.3. Orange Free State

In terms of Ordinance No. 18 of 1884, Asians in the Orange Free State were classified as Africans which implied that they had to reside in African locations. In the following year (1885), Indians in this province were prohibited in terms of Ordinance No 1 of 1885 from acquiring or occupying land without the sanction of the Executive council (Van Aswagen 1960; Badat, 1985; Dullabh, 1994). The whites in the Orange Free State complained that Indian traders competed unfairly with them by offering lower prices to customers. This protest culminated in the enactment of Ordinance No. 29 of 1890 which prohibited all Asiatics from residing in the Orange Free State (Van Aswagen, 1960; Badat, 1985; Lemon, 1987; Christopher, 1989a; 1992). Coloureds in the Orange Free State resided in separate locations from those of Africans prior to 1923 (Christopher, 1987a; 1994b).

### 3.2.7.4. Cape of Good Hope

According to Christopher (1994b) in the Eastern Cape there was strict separation of residential areas for coloureds and Asiatics.

With regard to the segregation of Asiatics, they were a relatively small population group in the Cape Province. For example, in 1891 there were only 126 Indians in Port Elizabeth and in the Albany District, where Grahamstown is situated, they were 25. King William's Town, which is the point of focus for this study, had only 11 Indians in 1891 (Haines, 1994). As a consequence of the low numbers of Asiatics in the Cape, there were no laws restricting them before 1902. (Western, 1981; Dullabh, 1994). The policy of the government of the Cape Province during the pre-1923 phase was more permissive and lenient than in the Natal and Transvaal (Dullabh, 1994). This liberal attitude towards Asians in the Cape did not last for the rest of this phase however.

In terms of the Cape Immigration Act No. 47 of 1902 all Indian immigrants to the Cape had to undergo an education test. This Act was amended by the General Dealers Act of 1906 which required Indians to produce a permit to leave the Cape on a temporary basis (Dullabh, 1994). The Immigration Act was designed to exclude unskilled Indian labourers and traders

from immigrating to the Colony (Bradlow, 1979). The General Dealers Act of 1906 provided Cape municipalities with the option to grant, or refuse, the issuing of trade licences to Indians pending the adoption of that resolution by a two thirds majority of the local government councillors. In places where councillors felt threatened by Indians, e.g. in Grahamstown trade-licences were refused (Dullabh, 1994).

With regard to the segregation of Asians and coloureds in King Williams Town, it was found that coloureds lived in the same location as Africans namely, in the Ginsberg location throughout this phase. A few coloureds, African and Asians still resided in white parts of King William's Town although the Council was openly opposed to that. This issue will be discussed in detail in Chapter Eight.

### **3.2.8. SANITATION AND SEGREGATION**

The advent of contagious diseases, such as plague, throughout South Africa was used as a justification to introduce segregation in those urban centres where the diseases erupted. Although plague out-breaks were experienced in different parts of South Africa such as Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and in King William's Town, the reaction of the local states to the disease was identical (Christopher, 1987b; Caldwell, 1991).

Cape Town was the first (in 1898) South African city to be affected by the plague out-break. The disease was caused by the importation of forage for the British army from India, Argentina and Australia which carried plague bacillus in the rats and fleas which accompanied it. In February 1901 the first human victims of plague in Cape Town were Africans and coloureds who worked in the dock (Swanson, 1977; Saunders; 1984a; Caldwell, 1991). The Plague Administrators in Cape Town claimed that this disease was closely linked with the insanitary conditions under which Africans lived. The Medical Officer of Health of Cape Town directed that city sanitary inspectors should search and clean up African dwellings throughout the city. Plague Administrators planned to remove Africans from the city even though African plague victims were actually less than those who were coloureds or whites (Swanson, 1977; Saunders, 1984a).

The mayor of Cape Town expressed his wish for legislation which could be used to force urban Africans to relocate to a segregated location. The Council suggested the Locations Act of 1899 (Saunders, 1984b). Consequently a commission of enquiry made a recommendation that a government farm, called Uitvlugt, which was isolated from the white residential areas, was a favourable spot for the establishment of a location (Saunders, 1984a). Construction of dwellings in Uitvlugt commenced on 19 February, 1901. The Cape Town City Council approached the government to sanction the eviction of Africans and their relocation for sanitary reasons to the new location. Such eviction powers were provided in terms of Section 15 of the Public Health Amendment Act of 1897 which allowed the council to prevent the spread of contagious diseases. Section 15 of this Act stipulated that any African who refused to remove could be fined or imprisoned (Swanson, 1977; Saunders, 1984a). The plague outbreak in Cape Town was a cause for the government's establishment of an African location of Uitvlugt, later known as Ndabeni (Western, 1981; Saunders, 1984a).

The local states, in affected urban centres, resorted to the demolition of premises where the alleged insanitary conditions were said to exist and the residents were relocated to segregated locations. Demolition could involve whole locations, for example, in 1904 the 'Coolie' location in Johannesburg was deliberately destroyed by fire following the outbreak of plague and its residents were relocated in Klipspruit which was 12 miles to the south west of Johannesburg (Parnell, 1991).

In Port Elizabeth bubonic plague erupted at Gubbs location in April 1901. The Plague Board condemned some 600 dwellings as unfit for human habitation because of plague and displaced the occupants. Although not every dwelling in the affected location was condemned, all the Africans were relocated to the government township of New Brighton which was established for rehousing displaced plague victims. This new location was about 10 kilometres out of the town of Port Elizabeth. The Native Reserve Location Act of 1902 provided the Council of Port Elizabeth and other Councils with the means to expropriate contaminated premises and relocate residents in New Brighton (Christopher, 1987a).

In the case of Durban, the city Council used the "sanitation syndrome" to restrict Asians in particular. It was used as a weapon to forward discrimination which sprung from economic

jealousy, the unemployment fears of white artisans, trading rivalry and the political fears of whites of being dominated by Indians in the impending election in 1893 (Swanson, 1977).

The Indians in Durban were a special target of segregation based on the sanitation excuse. In the 1870s the city Council of Durban tried to establish an Indian location for the purpose of removing what it called, the breeding hovels and nursery grounds of disease, misery and discomfort. They viewed the Indian settlement as a menace to public health of the town. In the 1890s the Durban city Council attempted to impose municipal locations upon Indians in order to cure what the mayor said was social leprosy (Swanson, 1977).

In the same period, the Council of King Williams Town established the Ginsberg location to relocate Africans from the white town on account of the threat of plague, (Caldwell, 1991; Webb, 1993). The Council further attempted to close two of the black locations of King William's Town, Brownlee and Ridsdel, on account of alleged insanitary conditions. (Refer to Chapter Five and Six).

### **3.3. 1923 TO 1950 URBAN RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION**

Six main pieces of legislation were introduced by the central government in order to implement racial residential segregation during this period. These laws provided for the establishment of segregated urban location for Africans; the demolition of freehold dwellings or locations for alleged insanitary conditions; the establishment of a South African Native Trust which created homeland townships and the imposition of restrictions with regard to the acquisition and occupation of land by Asiatics in the Transvaal and in Natal (Rogers, 1949; Dison and Mohamed, 1960).

#### **3.3.1. LEGISLATION GOVERNING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AFRICAN LOCATIONS IN URBAN AREAS**

The Native (Urban Areas) Act No.21 of 1923 was the first uniform policy which could be applied in all the four provinces by municipalities to establish African locations (Davenport; 1969; Maylam, 1990). It marked the beginning of an era in which the role of local

authorities in allocating African residential zones in urban areas was authorised by the central government (Maylam, 1990; Davenport, 1991b).

The provisions of the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 were not obligatory hence few municipalities implemented them immediately (Maylam, 1990). The significance of the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 was in its long term implications and provision of control mechanisms and regulations. For example, in King William's Town, there was no location established as a result of this Act, but the Act was used to administer the Ginsberg location which was already in existence (Maylam, 1990; Caldwell, 1991). The act also served to provide a key foundation for later apartheid restrictions.

### **3.3.2. DEMOLITION OF PRIVATE DWELLINGS IN FREEHOLD LOCATIONS BASED ON ALLEGED INSANITARY CONDITIONS**

Integrated areas where blacks lived in major urban centres were often demolished through the implementation of the Slums Act No. 53 of 1934. This often resulted in racial residential segregation as the residents of demolished dwellings had to be relocated to segregated locations in terms of the Housing Act of 1919 (14; Christopher, 1994b). In King William's Town the Slums Act was used to demolish the long established locations of Brownlee and Ridsdel (see Chapter Five and Six).

### **3.3.3. THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE TRUST AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ZWELITSHA**

The African location of Zwelitsha, was established by the South African Native Trust (15). Zwelitsha, which was then a homeland township, but was functionally related to King William's Town, was constructed on government Trust property, namely the Stud farm. This township was the first of its kind attached to a major white town in South Africa (Christopher, 1994b). Other examples of segregated locations established by the Trust included the Umlazi township near Durban which was created by the Natal Native Trust (Manson, 1981).

### **3.3.4. RESTRICTIONS ON THE OCCUPATION OF LAND BY ASIATICS IN NATAL AND TRANSVAAL**

The prejudice of whites against Indians continued after 1923. This was the case, especially in the Natal and Transvaal, where they were subjected to a variety of discriminatory measures (Christopher, 1994b). Two main enactments which played a prominent role in this regard were the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act No. 35 of 1943 and the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act No. 28 of 1946 (15; Christopher, 1989a; 1994b)

In terms of Act No. 35 of 1943, restrictions were imposed on the acquisition and occupation of land by Asiatics in Durban and other areas in Natal which were to be designated by the Governor General, except under permit. (Dison & Mohamed 1960; Lemon 1987; Christopher, 1989a; Dullabh 1994). The Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act of 1946 was designed to confine the residence and acquisition of land by Asiatics in the Transvaal and Natal to rigidly defined areas earmarked for Indians only (Dison and Mohamed, 1960; Lemon, 1987; Christopher, 1994b). Transfer of fixed property without a permit between Asiatics and non-Asiatics was prohibited, except in controlled areas (Dullabh, 1994).

In order to accomplish the racial division of urban space between whites and Indians in the Transvaal and Natal towns, a Land Tenure Advisory Board was established to draw up a plan for the town concerned (Christopher, 1994b). The function of the Board was to investigate, and write a report which would advise the Minister of Interior on the desirability of declaring any area in the Transvaal for Indians (Dison and Mohamed, 1960). The procedure followed by the Land Tenure Board in proclaiming Indian Group Areas was identical to that of the later Group Areas Board and laid a base for its activity. This issue will be dealt with in Chapter Eight as far as King William's Town is concerned.

### **3.4. RACIAL RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION :1950 - 1979**

The period from 1950 was characterised by the introduction of the Group Areas Act of 1950 with its amendments. The purpose of the Act was to divide urban space according to the

different ethnic groups which were defined in terms of the Population Registration Act (Unterhalter, 1987; Nel, 1990a; Christopher; 1991b; 1994b; Roberts, 1994). Although the Group Areas Act was compulsory, it was not applied simultaneously in all urban centres. Consequently the degree of segregation varied between areas through time (Bromberger, 1988; Christopher, 1994b).

There were at least six main trends which could be discerned during this phase. These were:- a severe housing shortage for blacks (Davies, 1981; Lemon, 1991), the establishment of homeland townships (Manson, 1981; Nel, 1990a), integration of ethnic minorities contrary to the spirit of the Act (Maharaj, 1992; Christopher; 1994b), resistance to segregation (Platzky and Walker, 1985; Maylam, 1990; Posel, 1991), the voluntary application of apartheid by certain local authorities (Western, 1981) and lastly, ethnic variations in levels of segregation (Christopher, 1994a). These trends resulted from the activities of the Group Areas Board which was tasked to replan all urban areas on the basis of racial criteria (Dison and Mohamed; 1960; Swanson, 1968, 1976).

#### **3.4.1. THE GROUP AREAS BOARD: AN INSTRUMENT OF APARTHEID WHICH ENFORCED RACIAL RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION**

The Group Areas Board, initially known as the Land Tenure Advisory Board, was tasked in 1950, to draw up plans for and to declare group areas. The Group Areas Board had to draw up plans according to which different racial groups would be settled in racially exclusive areas separated by buffer strips (Western, 1981; Mandy, 1984; Christopher, 1989a). To accomplish its task the Board needed the assistance of local authorities i.e. their surveyors, engineers and planners. Local authorities which did not co-operate with the Board faced the risk of the Board independently implementing zoning plans for their town (Western; 1981, Lemon, 1987; Christopher, 1994b).

Although the Group Areas Board's proposals were submitted to local authorities and the public for their objections, it was the Minister of Interior and the Group Areas Board which had the final word (Dison and Mohamed, 1960; Davies, 1981; Christopher, 1991b; 1994a).

### **3.4.2. ESTABLISHMENT OF APARTHEID HOMELAND TOWNSHIPS ADJACENT TO WHITE TOWNS**

Mechanisms implemented to establish homeland townships in the vicinity of white towns varied from one local authority to another. In some instances the central government obliged a local authority to establish a segregated location for its African population outside its municipal boundary (Bekker, 1991). This happened in the case of East London (Nel, 1990). Although the East London Municipality had identified a site at AmaLinda to establish a location for its African population, Dr H.F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs rejected it in 1955 and approved his own chosen site which satisfied Group Areas Act requirements. He also threatened that the Municipality would not receive any housing loan unless it was located about 20km from East London. (Nel, 1990a, 16). Another example of the central state enforcing the Group Areas Act planning upon local authorities is the destruction of Sophiatown freehold location and the relocation of the residents at Meadowlands, fifteen miles away from Johannesburg CBD (Huddleston, 1956; Lodge, 1987). The destruction of Cato Manor in Durban was a result of Group Areas planning with the intention to relocate residents in a township which was to become part of KwaZulu homeland (Reintges, 1992; Maharaj, 1992). Garankuwa was established as a homeland township of Pretoria.

Homeland townships were also established on sites chosen by the local authorities concerned, but subject to the site's approval by the central government. The Durban City Council, for example, entered into negotiations in 1952 with the Natal East Ltd., the owners of land north of Durban to establish KwaMashu. In order to satisfy the central government's racist policy and the Group Areas Act, the Durban City Council was forced to relocate Indians who were living in the vicinity of the site and put up buffer zones between Indian neighbourhoods and the new site (Manson, 1981).

The Bantu Affairs Administration Act of 1971 provided for the establishment of administration boards to replace the dedicated units of local authorities in South Africa. The Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration Board took over control of KwaMashu in 1973. (Manson, 1981).

The case study of Zwelitsha revealed that the central government bought freehold land, through, the South African Native Trust on which to establish a homeland township (17).

### **3.4.3. EXCEPTIONS TO THE WHOLESALE APPLICATION OF THE GROUP AREAS ACT**

There were and are ethnic minorities in most urban centres such as the Cape Malay, Griqua, Cape Coloureds, Indians and Chinese (Christopher, 1991a; Parnell, 1991). The Group Areas Act initially identified the existence of three population groups, a division which was repeated in the Group Areas Act No. 77 of 1957, namely white, Africans (Natives) and coloureds. However, the Indian Group was later recognised as the fourth group (Dison and Mohamed, 1960).

The definition of these population groups, especially coloureds and Indians, made it possible that a white man or white woman could live in a coloured or Indian Group area if he or she was married to or co-habited with a member of those race groups (Dison and Mohamed, 1960; Western, 1981). Furthermore, on the basis of skin pigmentation, coloured persons could be classified as white or as coloureds (Dison and Mohamed, 1960; Christopher, 1994b). Therefore, these minority groups, who technically belonged to another race group such as a white man married to an Indian woman, and a white skinned-coloured person, made it possible to have racially mixed zones of residence. This was not deemed desirable in the spirit of the Group Areas Act (Christopher, 1994b).

Secondly, although the Group Areas Act stipulated that there should be no integration of races the state was forced to issue permits to individuals to reside in group areas of other races where the minority group was of a very small size and had no defined race group area or where no housing was available in the relevant group area (Christopher, 1988a, 1991b). Initially, the state was reluctant to issue such permits but it had no option especially in places where no such group areas had been proclaimed (Christopher, 1988a; 1994b). Another factor which promoted the integration of races was the question of domestic servants. The government did not forbid the residence of black domestic servants in white areas (Christopher, 1988a). This showed the failure of the Group Areas Act to separate races completely.

In the case of King William's Town, the council, had always been a staunch supporter of racially separated residential zones. They failed to establish an Indian Group Area, largely because of the small size of the population. The Indians always remained integrated with other race groups in King William's Town (Dullabh, 1994).

#### **3.4.4. HOW SOME LOCAL AUTHORITIES FACILITATED THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GROUP AREAS ACT**

The essential 'model' layout of the apartheid city was formulated by the Durban City Council. On 20 November 1950 the Durban City Council's Technical Sub-committee was appointed to draw up detailed zoning plans for Durban. This committee operated in conjunction with the National Party and the Durban City Council. It drew up basic principles which were to be followed in the implementation of the Group Areas Act planning throughout the country. Concerning residential zones, the sub-committee recommended that the boundaries between residential zones should be physical boundaries that discouraged contact of race groups. Each zone had to be located in such a way that residents could have access to place of work without traversing residential zones of other population groups. Each zone had to be of such a size that it would be possible to bestow it pseudo-independence from the main town (Davies, 1981; Western, 1981).

Durban was, therefore, used as a model of the apartheid city (Western, 1981; Mandy, 1984, Maharaj, 1991) and lay the spatial planning basis for other cities in the Union (Kuper, Watts, Davis, 1958; Unterhalter, 1987). The major Group Areas removals which took place in Durban were from Cato Manor (which had been zoned for whites) to KwaMashu an African township established in 1956 (Manson, 1981; Mabin, 1991; Posel, 1991). The Group Areas Act had an impact on the residential patterns of South African cities. The largely informal segregated settlement pattern in South African cities which was gradually formalised up to 1949, was made rigid by the 1950 statutory controls.

The policy of racially defined Group Areas started to fade away in the mid 1970s when illegal residents increasingly started to occupy white Group Areas for various reasons. In the mid 1970s, the cities and towns in South Africa were still not fully segregated despite

strict enforcement of the Act. Attempts by the government to redress this situation by offering incentives to "illegal" residents to relocate in other areas failed (Cloete, 1991; Christopher, 1994a). The government was forced to introduce the concept of free settlement areas in 1987 (Cloete, 1991; Christopher, 1994b). The King William's Town Council, implemented the Group Areas Act as early as 1956 and forcefully removed Africans from the 'white' town. These issues will be elaborated on in Chapter Seven.

#### **3.4.5. RESISTANCE TO RACIAL REMOVALS: HOW THE GOVERNMENT SUCCEEDED IN ENFORCING RACIAL SEGREGATION**

Some of the areas which the central government targeted for racial removals after 1950 were freehold locations. Prior to the enactment of the Group Areas Act, these areas had successfully resisted removal on legal grounds (Unterhalter, 1987, Maylam, 1990). The action taken by the government against the free hold locations of Johannesburg and many other centres was similar to what happened in King William's Town. It is therefore of comparative relevance to refer to Johannesburg and Cape Town locations by way of example in order to illustrate changes in the government's policy on the segregation. The freehold locations of Johannesburg, namely Sophiatown, Martindale and New Clare had a diverse population comprised of 54 000 Africans, 3 000 coloureds, 1 500 Indians and 686 Chinese in 1950, they lived on 3 000 freehold stands (Morris, 1981; Mandy, 1984; Lodge, 1987). The Government intended to abolish these locations because it had no direct control over the inhabitants as they possessed titles to the land. Secondly, political organisations opposed to the Government had become entrenched in such areas (Morris, 1981; Lodge, 1987).

In 1952 the government appointed a Resettlement Board to see to it that the freehold locations of Johannesburg were disestablished and their residents were removed to the municipal area of Meadowlands, 7 km. out of the city (Lodge, 1987; Mandy 1984). The Johannesburg City Council however opposed these plans of the government. It insisted that, if the residents of the freehold locations were removed, their freehold rights should be restored at the new site (Huddleston, 1956; Mandy, 1984; Lodge, 1987). To suppress the Johannesburg City Council's resistance, the Government enacted the Native Resettlement Act

of 1954 which provided for the removal of these freehold locations without granting similar rights elsewhere (Unterhalter, 1987).

Despite opposition from residents and the South African Institute of Race Relations, forceful removals were carried out in February 1955 with the use of military vehicles and armed escorts. By 1968 the Resettlement Board had relocated 22 500 families and 6 500 single persons to Meadowlands. A white suburb, Triomf, was later established at the site of Sophiatown (Morris, 1981; Mandy, 1984; Davenport, 1991; Pampalis, 1991).

A parallel case to that of Johannesburg was the abolition of the predominantly coloured township, District Six, against the wishes of the Cape Town City Council and the residents (Lemon, 1987). The case studies of Johannesburg and Cape Town contrast with developments in King William's Town where removals occurred much earlier. The freehold locations of the latter town, namely Ridsdel and Brownlee location, were abolished by the racist King William's Town Council prior to 1950.

#### **3.4.6. THE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT TO AFRICANS, COLOUREDS AND INDIANS**

The principle of segregation was forcefully implemented through the construction of vast African townships. These were located as far as possible from white residential areas but reasonably close to industrial areas. Spatial segregation was reinforced with buffer zones and by natural boundaries (Western, 1981; Hindson, 1983; Maylam, 1990; Beavon, 1992). Townships established in terms of the Group Areas Act were generally located in the vicinity of rubbish tips or sewage farms. For example KwaMashu in Durban was established close to the rubbish depots near the Umngeni River (Manson, 1981). Schornville was established in the vicinity of King William's Town's sewage disposal works. At the time that this township was established, the Group Areas Act had not yet been applied in King William's Town. The policy of the government towards Africans was clearly spelled out, that there was no place for the Native in the European community (Lemon, 1987).

By contrast, the government's policy was more ambivalent towards Asians. Employers found Indian labour useful while traders and businessmen feared competition (Lemon, 1987).

Indians were recognised as permanent residents of South Africa in 1961 (Lemon, 1987). On the question of coloureds, the Minister of Native Affairs (then Dr. Verwoerd) announced in 1970 that he had no vision about the future of coloureds as Africans would be relocated in the homelands. However, he was against coloureds integrating with whites (Christopher, 1994b). This indecisive position of the government towards coloureds and Indians resulted in the enactment of the Coloured Persons Representative Council Act of 1964. This Act provided for the establishment, in 1964, of the Coloured Representative Council as a basis for coloured parliament. The South African Indian Council was established in 1968 (Lemon, 1987; Pampallis, 1991).

Segregation of coloureds and Asians in Cape Town indicated a strong racist attitude of the government which was contrary to its general policy on Asians countrywide. District Six, an old residential area in Cape Town inhabited mostly by coloureds and Indians (98.7 %) and few whites (1.3 %), was proclaimed white in 1966. The coloureds and Indian properties valued at about R6 million rand in 1966 were acquired by the Community Development Board (Group Areas Board) in terms of the Slums Act of 1934 which was a mechanism used to disestablish black residential zones which were located within the white Group Areas. The Community Development Board, which was an arm of the Department of Community Development, was given powers in 1955 to purchase, sell and develop land with extensive powers of expropriation (Christopher, 1994b). Blacks who were removed from District Six were relocated at Cape Flats. The vacated area was renamed, Zonnebloem. In 1971 there were still 354 coloured families at District Six who were not yet relocated. In 1990 District Six was proclaimed a free settlement area (18; Western, 1981; Christopher, 1994b). Similar relocations took place elsewhere in the country.

While Indians and coloureds elsewhere were afforded a limited, token representation through their segregated Councils, Africans were physically and technically excluded from urban areas. In 1967, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development issued Circular No 27 of 1967 halted the expansion of existing African townships. Urban housing shortages were to be used as an excuse to force Africans to relocate in the homelands where they could own houses (Unterhalter, 1987; Nel, 1990a; Davenport, 1991b).

In terms of the Bantu Homeland's Citizenship Act of 1970 all Africans were declared to be the citizens of the Bantustans irrespective of whether they lived there or not (Unterhalter, 1987). It technically became a case that, after 1970, every African in South Africa was a member a Bantustan. In 1971 the Bantu Affairs Administration Act was enacted. This Act transferred control of local, African affairs, areas and policies from white local authorities to government Administrative Boards (Unterhalter, 1987; Christopher, 1994b). This implied that Africans, living in urban townships, no longer fell under the white local authorities control. In 1972 twenty two Administration Boards were established. Their duties were the same as those previously exercised by the white municipalities. Their source of revenue was derived mainly from rents and liquor sales. The Boards were also responsible for influx control - namely restricting additional Africans from entering 'white' towns (Bekker and Humphries, 1985; Maylam, 1990; Soni, 1991). In an attempt to democratize apartheid, the government enacted the Community Council Act of 1977 which established Community Councils, elected by the African residents of townships. Community Councils were unpopular as their functions were similar to those of the Boards. They lacked a financial base however (Bekker and Humphries, 1985; Maylam, 1990; Soni, 1991). The above discussion shows that Africans in urban areas were excluded from towns, spatially, administratively and financially.

#### **3.4.7. THE FAILURE OF APARTHEID PLANNING AS DEPICTED BY ACUTE HOUSING SHORTAGES**

After the 1976 Soweto uprisings, the government appointed the Cillie Commission. This Commission pointed out that the Group Areas Act had contributed to the riots. Housing shortages, lack of funding, high rents and the serious lack of services and facilities in most African townships were identified as major source of resentment (Morris, 1981; Soni, 1991).

The government responded, in 1978, by introducing home-ownership among Africans in terms of what was called 99 year - leasehold. To qualify for 99 year leasehold an individual had to possess Section 10 rights in terms of the Natives Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945 (Mandy, 1984; Unterhalter, 1987; Soni, 1991). In order to qualify for Section 10 rights, an African had have been born in an urban area and had to live there continuously or, he

should have worked for one employer without breaking a contract for ten years or, he should have lived lawfully and continuously in an urban area for fifteen years (Unterhalter, 1987).

The Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions recommended in 1979 that conditions under which Africans lived needed improvement (Mandy, 1984; Soni, 1991; Mabin, 1992). It was in the following period that the state introduced some changes affecting residential areas for blacks.

### **3.5. RACIAL RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION 1980-1990: REJECTION OF RACIST LOCAL AUTHORITIES**

The period after 1980 marked the beginning of the decline of urban apartheid (Shubane, 1991), as the process of reform detailed in section 3.4.7 was gradually applied. The South African government introduced local government for the African urban population, mainly as a mechanism of influx control and to accord them limited self rule (Shubane, 1991). The Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 provided for the establishment of elected local authorities for non - Bantustan urban Africans (Unterhalter, 1987). These 'Councils' were still subject to the absolute control of the Government. They suffered from a weak financial base (Bakker and Humphries, 1985; Todes and Watson, 1985; Maylam, 1990; Shubane, 1991; Seethal, 1992).

The working of the Group Areas Act was adversely affected by the decision taken by Transvaal Supreme Court. The court ruled that evictions under the Group Areas Act could only be effected if alternative accommodation could be made available (Christopher, 1991a). As coloured, Indian and African housing to relocate people was scarce, evictions under the Act virtually ceased, because of a standpoint upheld by the courts (Christopher, 1991a; 1994a).

During the 1983 election of Black Local Authorities there was a very low turn -out (e.g. 10.7% of the voters in Evaton). Some elected councillors resigned while others were assassinated as they were unpopular (Shubane, 1991). In 1984, the Black Communities Development Act reconstituted the Administration Boards as Development Boards. These Boards were empowered to register 99 year leasehold rights for township residents

(Unterhalter, 1987). The Community Development Boards were given powers to purchase, sell and develop land with extensive powers of expropriation (Christopher, 1994a).

While Africans were still subjected to apartheid policies as they were still not allowed in white urban areas, restrictions on coloured and Indians were effectively, if not legally lifted. In 1984 the Group Areas Amendment Act of 1984 made provision for the deproclamation of certain areas (for trading, commerce, professional practice and education). However, residential areas were still restricted according to the Group Areas Act (Unterhalter, 1987). This 1984 Act promoted the gradual development of 'Grey Areas' whereby Africans, Indians and coloureds flocked to the inner parts of white towns and cities where restrictions were lifted (Christopher, 1994a). There were also grey areas in King William's Town. (19).

Developments in 1985 brought relief to Indians in the Orange Free State. For the first time since 1890, Asians were allowed to settle there (Christopher, 1989b; 1992). In 1988 the Government enacted the Free Settlement Act of 1988 which provided for the demarcation of areas within cities where all races would be allowed to live. In most cities where this Act was effected such free areas were located on the peripheral areas and they comprised of underdeveloped plots (Christopher, 1991b; 1994a). Free settlement areas were proposed in King William's Town as well. (20; Seethal, 1991).

### **3.6. THE POST- 1991 PHASE**

The Black Communities Development Amendment Act of 1991 amended the Black Communities Development Act of 1984. The 1991 Act provided for the conversion of leasehold houses into ownership housing by Africans (21; Christopher, 1991b; 1994a).

This phase (post-1991) was characterised by the occupation of land around the edges of urban areas by Black Civil movements (Christopher, 1992). This was said to be part of the repossession of the land by blacks (Christopher, 1992; Roberts, 1994). Many of those informal settlement areas were subsequently declared black development areas by the Provincial Administrators and basic services were supplied. In other cases land prepared for African housing by local authorities were seized by civic associations to house a massive

influx of job seekers e.g. at the Mossel Bay gas project (22; Christopher, 1992).

The White Paper on Land Reform of 1991 did not address the issue of black land dispossession. The land which blacks were forced to leave had, in most cases, been bought by whites who had no intention of releasing it then. Communities which had tried to reoccupy land taken from them, for example Braklegte, Machaviestad and Doornkop had all experienced difficulties. It was stated in parliament that those blacks who had been removed had already been compensated (Roberts, 1994).

The spartial results of the repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1991 was that blacks who could afford to and wished to relocate, moved into more exclusive 'white' areas. In some areas such as Leondale, near Johannesburg, the process was quite rapid. Whites started selling their properties and moved elsewhere. In some areas, as a result of economic recession, some white people bought houses in 'coloured' areas e.g. near the centre of Cape Town whites bought houses at half the price of similar white houses (Smith, 1992; Roberts, 1994).

Smith (1994) observed that urban settlement patterns with differentiated housing and buffer zones dividing group areas of the past persisted after 1991. For poor black people living in townships or in homelands, Roberts (1994) observed that little change resulted from the repeal of the apartheid laws. They remained with problems of inadequate housing, overcrowding and unemployment. They continued to take up opportunities for migrant labour in the towns (Roberts, 1994). This implies that the poorer black population groups did not become racially intergrated as a result of the repeal of the racial laws:

The post-1991 era was marked by the enactment of the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994. It was a government's attempt to redress past injustices of the apartheid era by providing for the establishment of a Land Claims Commission and the Land Claims Court which had a task of investigating community land claims and recommending restoration of the land to its owners and compensation of the the land claimants (victims of forced removals)(Cole, 1995)

Christopher (1992) argues that the final appearance of the late-apartheid city model did not

comply with that outlined by Davies, (1981) and Western, (1981). The minority groups such as Indians and coloureds were not totally relocated to the peripheral regions of cities (Roberts, 1994). The case study of King William's Town supports Christopher's views.

### 3.7. CONCLUSION

The racial division of urban space in South Africa has been a reality from its genesis. Segregation levels display provincial and ethnic variations. The town of King William's Town proved to be an outstanding adherent of segregation policy. In the period preceding 1923; most big cities in South Africa and King William's Town established segregated locations. During the pre-1923 phase Indians were also subjected to racial residential segregation e.g. in the Orange Free State. During the 1923 to 1950 phase, the central state introduced national laws which could be applied to bring about segregation in cities. These were not compulsory e.g. the Slums Act, No. 53 of 1934. However, those which pertained to the Indians in the Transvaal and Natal were coercive e.g. Act No. 35 of 1943 and No. 28 of 1946. The Council of King William's Town had attempted but failed to establish an Indian group area during this phase.

In the period between 1950 and 1979 African townships, which had been established, were administratively divorced from towns of which they were geographically part. They were often declared part of the adjacent homelands and served as dormitory "towns" for the "white" cities.

The government introduced changes in its segregation policy between 1980 and 1990. Coloureds and Indians were enticed to join whites in what was called the tri-cameral parliament. Consequently, some of the segregation restrictions imposed on them were relaxed.

After 1991 South African cities' internal structure changed after the scrapping of the Group Areas Act. There-after, blacks were free to settle any where in towns and cities. However, it seems that a degree of racial intergration was caused mostly by blacks who could afford to buy expensive houses in the white suburbs although the boundaries of local authorities were redefined to include black townships where the majority of Africans lived.

### **3.8. END NOTES**

1. Cape Archives Depot ( CA). 9020/29/4, Secretary for Justice to Secre. Native Affairs 6.1.1931.
2. Cape of Good Hope Statutes, Ordinances and Proclamations, 1652 - 1879.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., 1652 - 1879.
5. Ibid.
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8. Ibid., 1894 - 1905.
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10. CA CCK 88/41/26 120 Provincial Secr to T/C, 17.6.1912; Cape Mercury, 8 July 1912.
11. Statues Of the Union Of S.A., 1924
12. Chapter CXXXIII of the Law Book and No. 4 of 1895.
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17. SAB, 461/305/2 No. 1352/305, SNA to CNC 1.12.1944.
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# **CHAPTER FOUR**

## **SEGREGATION IN KING WILLIAM'S TOWN 1826 - 1923**

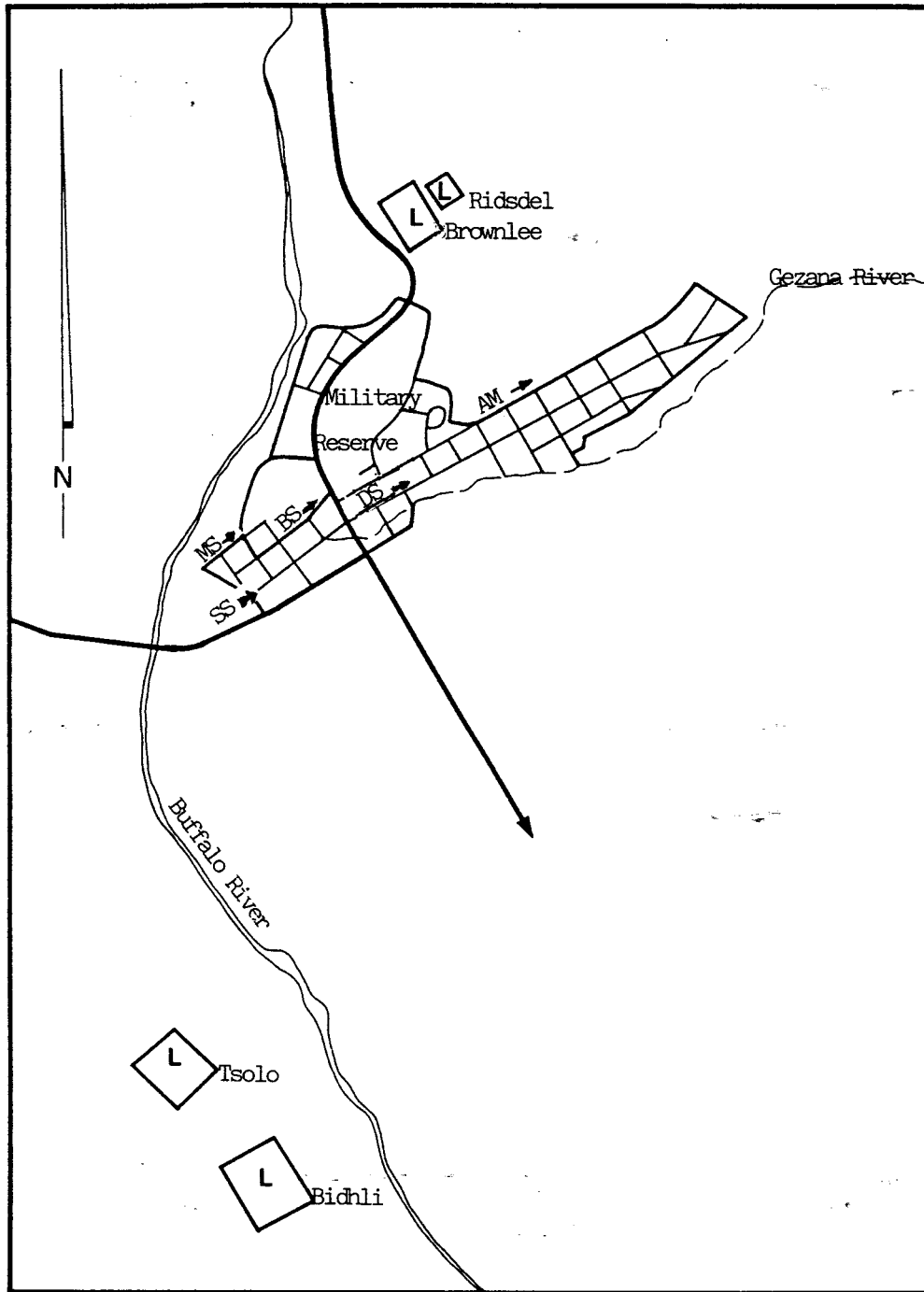
### **4.1. INTRODUCTION**

The principle of racial segregation was entrenched in King William's Town from the time of the establishment of the settlement. Local prejudice was often more extreme than colonial or national policy and, to a very real degree, anticipated later apartheid development. This chapter focuses on the establishment of segregated locations in King William's Town from the establishment of the settlement in 1826. It also describes the expansion of the 'white' urban area. An important component of this chapter is an examination of the Council's efforts to remove blacks from the 'white' town and relocate them to a municipal location. The role assumed by the central state in defending the black residents from being unfairly uprooted by the Council is an essential part of this chapter.

### **4.2. ORIGIN OF BLACK LOCATIONS AND THE FORMAL ESTABLISHMENT OF KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**

#### **4.2.1. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BROWNLEE LOCATION:1826**

The first settlement in the present urban area was the Brownlee Mission station. It was established in 1826 by Reverend John Brownlee of the London Missionary Society (Brass plaques in front of the magistrate's court in King William's Town and also on a milestone at Reserve Road King William's Town). The site of the Brownlee Mission Station is now occupied by the building called the "Residency" which was once the Mission house (see Figure 3). As this Figure depicts, the site of Brownlee Mission Station, the "Residency", was later bounded by Reserve road, Engineer's Lane, Oak Street and Prince Alfred Square and lay to the north of the town and to the west of the Gezana River (1).By 1832 the Brownlee Mission Station had grown to include a house for the missionary and his family, a dwelling for the assistant missionary and his family, a store room, the church building,



**Figure 3 King William's Town's Old Locations : 1826-1905**

**Source:** Burton, 1958; (83).

- KEY**  
 SS= Smith Street  
 BS=Berkely Street  
 MS=Mackinon Street  
 AM=Amatola Row Street  
 DS= Durban Street  
 L = Location

Scale 1 : 25 000

and, significantly, a large number of beehive - shaped huts occupied by Africans and an extensive garden and orchard (Burton, 1958; Holt, 1976; Webb, 1989).

#### **4.2.2. THE FORMAL ESTABLISHMENT OF KING WILLIAM'S TOWN:1835**

In December 1834, during a territorial war between Xhosa and British forces, the Brownlee Mission Station was destroyed. The missionary and his congregation fled. At the close of the war, and in the name of King William IV, who was at that time the ruling British monarch, the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'urban took possession of what was known as 'Xhosa-land' and incorporated it in the Cape Colony. He named it the "Province of Queen Adelaide " after the spouse of King William IV. On 24 May 1835, according to General Order No. 21, the Governor set apart a selected site for the building of a town, named, King William's Town. The Military Reserve (see Figure 3) was the first part of King William's Town which was demarcated in 1835 and consisted of Fort Hill, 400 huts-bungalows for soldiers, a prison, houses for officers, engineer's yards and offices, a military hospital, barracks, ordinance department and most significantly, the ruined Mission house. Brownlee's house was then reconstructed as the government house (Jenkins and Grindlay, 1897; Burton, 1958; Webb, 1985; 1989).

#### **4.2.3. THE ORIGIN OF THE FIRST LOCATIONS ON THE WEST BANK IN KING WILLIAM'S TOWN :1835**

In order to effectively occupy the new Province, a series of fortifications were hastily constructed in 1835 at strategic points around the town. Fort Hardinge was constructed on a western hill across the Buffalo River from King William's Town to protect the approach to the drift on the Buffalo River (Webb, 1985)(see Figure 3). A more significant point about this fort was that a large camp of Africans (of the Fingo clan ) was established alongside the Fort (Smith, 1901). According to Burton, (1958) and Taylor (1860), this camp was made up of two parts, Bidhli and Tsolo. Bidhli military camp (for some African soldiers) was under the headmen, James Bidhli who was the leader of 135 residents (men, women and children) and Tsolo was under Piet Cungwa who was the headman for 117 residents. Many of the residents worked in the emerging town. The settlements were established for the reasons

detailed in Chapter Three. The Fingo clan were exempted from being classified as native - foreigners because they possessed 'industrious habits' and had supported the white military forces during wars with other African tribes in the colony. Consequently, they were awarded land on individual quit rent/site rent. Bidhli and Tsolo locations were established by the military government (Taylor, 1860; Burton, 1958; Dison and Mohammed, 1960).

The site of Bidhli's huts and Piet Cungwa's huts (Tsolo) was opposite to the lower end of what was to become Wodenhouse Street (Taylor, 1860) (see Figure 3). At the time that these locations were established, the 'white' town was developing towards Fort Murray in direction to the present Zwelitsha township but had not grown beyond the Gezana River.

#### **4.2.4. THE DISESTABLISHMENT AND RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF KING WILLIAM'S TOWN AND THE FIRST FORCED RESETTLEMENT OF BLACKS :1847**

After the British government learned that 'Xhosa-land' had been annexed and the Province of Queen Adelaide created, the British Secretary of State for Colonies (Lord Glenelg) not seeking the added responsibility for the Crown, declared the Province of Queen Adelaide and its capital, King William's Town to be null and void. The official closing or disestablishment of King William's Town took place on 5 December 1835 (Jenkins and Grindlay, 1897; Burton, 1958; Webb, 1989). On 26 December 1835 the British Secretary of State issued the Treaty which allowed Africans who fled during the war to return to the 'Xhosa-land' (disbanded Province of Queen Adelaide). In line with the spirit of the Glenelg system (or Stockenström treaties), the military evacuated the Brownlee Mission Station in 1836. This permitted Rev. Brownlee, to resume his missionary work in 1837 among the amaNtinde clan which had also returned from exile (Burton, 1958; Webb, 1985; 1989). Brownlee's missionary work at this site continued unperturbed until the truce came to an end in 1846.

Following the outbreak of the 'War of the Axe' in 1846 between the Xhosas and the English, Brownlee fled the Brownlee Mission Station (Holt, 1976; Webb, 1989). The site of King William's Town was not used during the war. At the end of war, British

Kaffraria, initially a province under martial law, (Figure 4) was established and the military, once again appropriated the whole site of the Brownlee's Mission Station and all the buildings on it. The Mission house was repaired and used by the governor (Sir Harry Smith) as his house "the Residency" (Holt, 1976; Webb, 1989).

The two locations, Bidhli and Tsolo remained undisturbed on the west bank of the Buffalo River. After the war Brownlee attempted, in vain, to get his wife back. As a palliative, Brownlee was granted a piece of freehold land of 14 areas in extent located in the north eastern part of the King William's Town (see Appendix One and Two). Part of this land (three acres) was for the missionary's house and 11 acres was used for mission purposes. He was obliged to accept resettlement at this second site. On this new site Brownlee and his congregation set about building his mission and erecting new buildings, planting another garden and digging a new irrigation canal (Burton, 1958; Holt, 1976).

On 23 December 1847 Sir Harry Smith officially refounded King William's Town, this time as the capital of the colony of British Kaffraria (Burton, 1958). British Kaffraria was located between the Keiskamma River in the west and Great Kei River in the east (Jenkins and Grindlay, 1897). As Figure 4 shows, it was bisected by the Buffalo River on which King William's Town was located. The military governor, Smith, demarcated streets in King William's Town for civilian settlers after the military Reserve was rebuilt. These were Smith Street, Berkely and Mackinon Streets (see Figure 3). The figure shows that in 1847 the eastern boundary of King William's Town was the Gezana River (now Fleet Ditch). The area described above was later known as 'Old Town'. Two more streets, D'Urban Street and Amatola Row were later added as the settlement expanded. Smith Street was essentially the main street (and the road to Grahamstown) (Figure 3) and entered King William's Town via a drift at the bottom of the street (2; Webb, 1989).

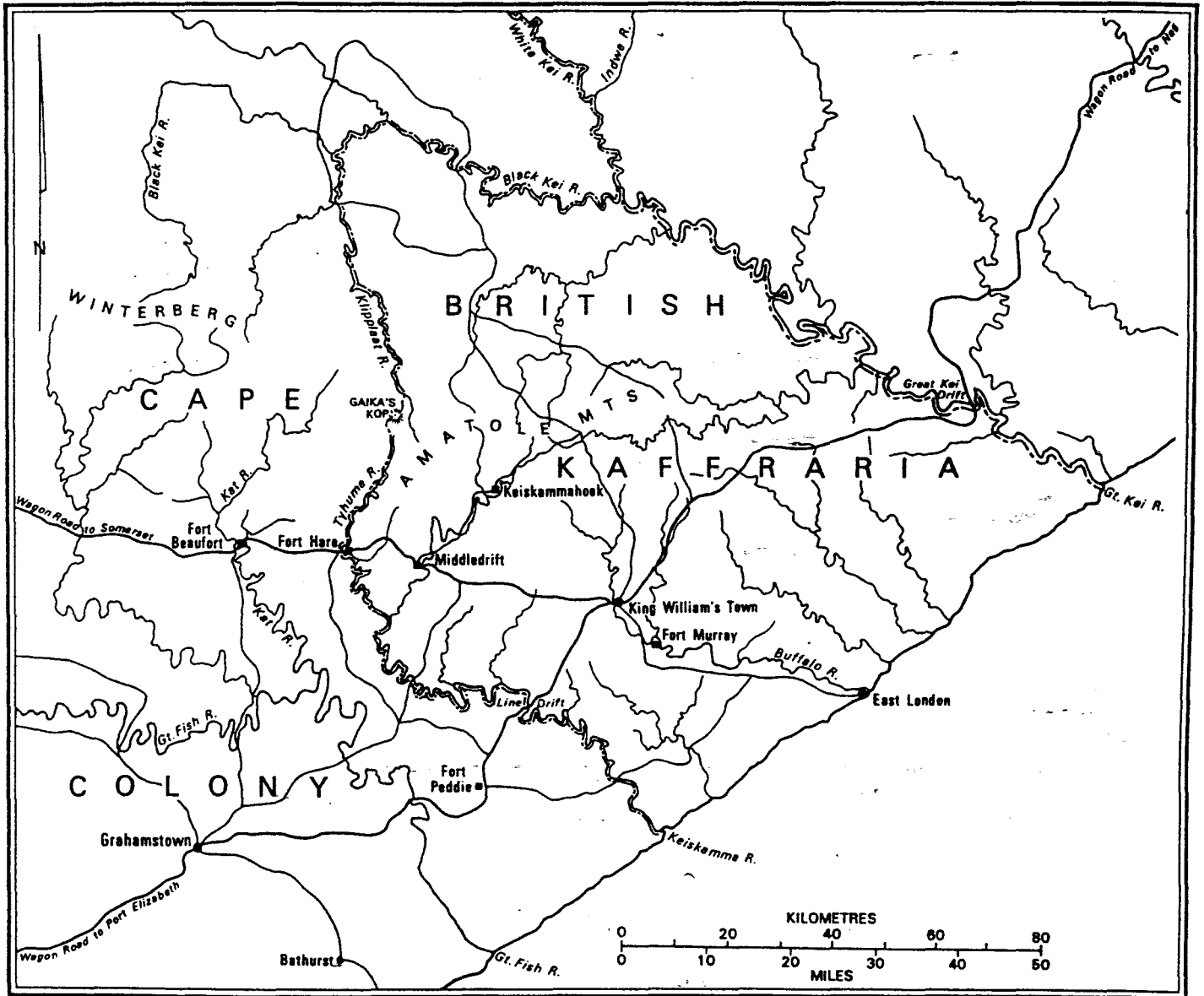


Figure 4: British Kaffraria map showing King William's Town as capital.

Source: Cartographic Section, Department of Geography, Rhodes University.

#### **4.2.5. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW BROWNLEE LOCATION AND THE RIDSDDEL LOCATION IN THE ERA OF MILITARY CONTROL**

On 24 December 1850 another territorial war broke out within British Kaffraria between the English and the Xhosa. Africans attached to the mission stations around King William's Town such as at Pirie, Peelson and Bethel were forced to flee to the Brownlee Mission Station because of the protection offered by the military. At this time Africans in the Brownlee Mission Station numbered some 3 000 persons. They occupied the area within and outside the 14 acres of the Brownlee Mission Station. This arrangement was sanctioned by the military government until the war terminated in 1853 (Jenkins and Grindlay, 1897; Thornton, 1907; 3). After the war had ended and the refugees had departed, in response to a request for more land, the military promised the mission authorities that they would reserve, for village purposes, a portion of the land on which the refugees had been temporarily located during the war. This land would be for use by mission station blacks. It was to become Brownlee location (eight acres) and the Ridsdel location (105 sites of 50 x 50 feet in extent each) (its extension) (Thornton, 1907). It appears that at this time, it was the policy of the London Missionary Society to encourage mission blacks to build huts on the land outside the original 14 acres and on that portion which was vacated by those refugees of 1850 (Thornton, 1907). In brief, the Brownlee Station (Appendix 2) consisted of three sites, namely, the 14 acres on which the mission house, the church hall, school and mission grounds for cultivation were found. Another piece of mission land was the contentious eight acres (Brownlee location) where the majority of Africans attached to the London Missionary Society had erected their dwelling houses. The third portion was Ridsdel, commonly known by its inhabitants as Mqhayi location (4).

The next phase in the saga began in 1854 with the appointment of Sir George Grey as Governor of the British Kaffraria. This event had a marked impact on the development and segregation of the town of King William's Town (Thornton, 1907). When Grey assumed office in 1854 he planned to 'westernize' Africans by opening up of British Kaffraria to white settlers, by supporting mission values and, most significant of all, by forcing Africans to join the labour market as migrant labourers in the Cape Colony and in British Kaffraria (Jenkins and Grindlay, 1897; Webb, 1989). King William's Town

featured high in the above scheme (Webb, 1989). The principle and practice of explicit racial residential segregation in King William's Town can be related to the above-mentioned policies.

In 1855 the Governor planned a complex for retired military personnel in King William's Town. A large number of small cottages were built in preparation for their arrival along Grey Street (see Figure 5). On Figure 5, Grey Street is located to the south of the town (Burton, 1958). The arrival of less retired soldiers than expected led to many of the cottages standing vacant in 1855/6. In March 1856 it was ordered that a temporary African hospital be built by combining eighteen of those cottages. This came about in response to the cattle killing disaster of 1856 - 57 and was established to provide for victims of the incidence (Burton, 1958; Webb, 1989). The hospital was the first African amenity not provided in King William's Town by the mission.

In 1857 some 2 362 white settlers of the British - German Legion were settled throughout British Kaffraria at specially selected sites. A site called German village which lay within the present borders of King William's Town was identified at the time. On Figure 5 the site is bounded by Alexandra Road, Lower Mount Street, Buffalo Road and the railway line to East London (Jenkins and Grindlay, 1897).

It should be noted that during the time of the military government, King William's Town was not as rigidly segregated as it was to become under the control of the Municipal Council of King William's Town. For example, the African hospital was permitted in the midst of white areas by the military.

#### **4.2.6. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BOROUGH COUNCIL OF KING WILLIAM'S TOWN :THE INTRODUCTION OF RIGID SEGREGATION POLICIES**

On 13 August 1860 King William's Town was proclaimed a municipal Borough. This was followed, on 22 February 1861, with the publication of a detailed Ordinance establishing the

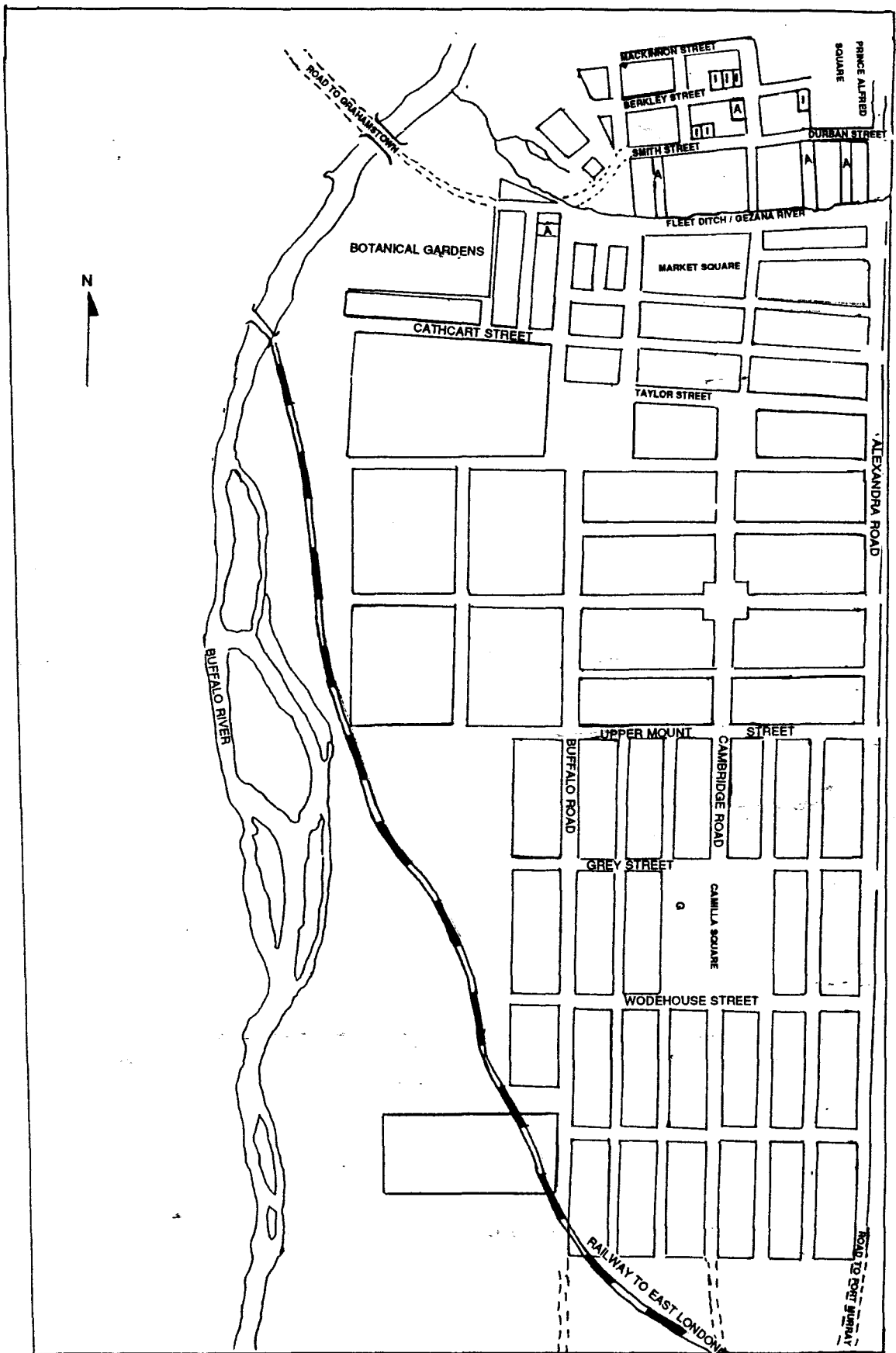


Figure 5: Racially Segregated Zones within Central / 'White' King William's Town, 1826-1950.

Source: (84)

**KEY**

- A=African Houses
- G=German Village
- I =Indian Houses

Municipal Corporation of King William's Town (5). A proclamation establishing bye-laws for the Borough was passed on 14 March 1862 and amended on 10 May 1862 (Jenkins and Grindlay, 1897). This was the first document which the Council produced to maintain health and sanitary conditions in the town. The proclamation did not, at this stage, imply any forced removals of people as was to become the case later.

After the establishment of the Council in 1861 and before the official establishment of municipal boundaries, the then Resident Missionary of the London Missionary Society requested the Governor to grant to the Society the additional land which the Mission's blacks occupied during the war. In response, the Governor declared in a letter dated 21 May 1861, that the said land would be reserved for village purposes, for use by station blacks. He was not, however, prepared to authorise the issue of title to it (6). This piece of land was to provoke considerable controversy for nearly 80 years and was to become the primary focus of local segregation endeavours in the town. Since the boundaries of the land in question had never been marked, dwellings for blacks had been built both within and outside the reserved area (7).

In the absence of a properly established administrative body for the two merged locations (Brownlee location and Ridsdel) the area outside the reserved area encouraged a sense of lawlessness amongst some of the residents. The missionary had no legal powers to deal with such incidents. The Council and the missionary blamed one another for rowdy scenes which ensued at Brownlee and Ridsdel locations but neither of them were prepared to take steps to control them (8).

Section 50 of Ordinance 9 of 1864 of British - Kaffraria complicated the question of the administration of Brownlee and Ridsdel locations. This Ordinance defined the municipal boundaries of King William's Town. A confusing clause of this Ordinance was that the land which had already been alienated, or set apart for any particular person or purposes was regarded as not part of the municipality although it might be geographically located within King William's Town (9). This and the fact that the

boundaries of the site had not been surveyed resulted in the residents of the two locations (Ridsdel and Brownlee) regarding themselves as part of the mission instead of the municipal area. These areas were to become a major source of contention in the town for several decades.

On 31 May 1873 the Natives Location Regulations of King William's Town were promulgated by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. In terms of Section 45 and 46 of the British Kaffraria Ordinance No. nine of 1864 and clause four of the Native Location Regulations, Africans and coloureds at Mqhayi/Ridsdel were obliged to pay a quarterly site rent to the Council. (10). The Council saw Ridsdel as part of the municipal area since it was not reserved for blacks prior to or after the definition of the municipal boundaries.

On 16 March 1882 the Council was notified that the government was contemplating a survey the Brownlee location (eight acres). The Council consented to the survey, however they stated that they were not prepared to waive their claim with regard to the supervision of the land to be surveyed (11). Prior to the survey the Council suggested to the government that Brownlee location residents should be relocated in the western bank of the Buffalo River where the other black locations, Bidhli and Tsolo were located. They promised to deal liberally with them (12). The government responded on the 17 April 1883 that the Brownlee location (eight acres) was not vested in the council and that the object of the survey was only to define its limits (13; Thorton, 1907).

While the survey was actually being undertaken the Council caused corporation notice No. 94 to be inserted in the "Cape Mercury" newspaper of the 18 April 1883. The notice stated that the Council had not consented to the alienation of the eight acres because they owned the land by virtue of British Kaffraria Ordinance No. Nine of 1864 (14). After the survey had been completed, the government issued a Certificate of Reservation dated 1 December 1883, (Appendix 1), but no Title Deed was issued.

On the certificate it was written that the land (eight acres) was reserved for village purposes for mission Africans and that the trustees were the mayor, the magistrate and the missionary, and their successors in those offices. The mission blacks had the right to use the land in question (15). It would appear that the colonial government was not keen to grant the mission blacks freehold land rights because they were not given title deeds and Ridsdel location was not surveyed and reserved for them. The question of Ridsdel location was left to the local state of King William's Town to resolve. On receipt of the Certificate of Reservation a meeting of Trustees was held on 10 February 1885 and the Rules of residence were adopted. According to Rule 8 all applications for a site for houses were to be made to the Missionary in charge of the Brownlee Mission Station (16).

The Council's intention to relocate its black population to the west bank of the Buffalo River was given impetus by the advent of plague outbreaks in King William's Town in 1901, 1903 and 1907 (Caldwell, 1991). The bubonic plague epidemic in South African cities in the Cape, Natal and Transvaal rationalized efforts to segregate Indians and Africans. Plague Administration focused on the Africans whom they associated with insanitary conditions that harboured plague. Preventative measures for plague were based on the provisions of Public Health Act of 1898 which provided for the coercive removal of the alleged plague carriers by the local authorities and their relocation to segregated locations (Swanson, 1977; Saunders, 1984a; Parnell, 1991). In response to the plague outbreak, the King William's Town Council took steps to segregate Africans, coloureds and Indians who lived in the 'disease - infested' areas. The council built a plague hospital and isolation camp for plague victims along the Buffalo River, two miles from town. Regulations which were framed in terms of the Public Health empowered the council to relocate the victims to these isolated structures (17; Caldwell, 1991).

The Council secured the passage of the King William's Town Borough Act (Private Bill) No. 27 of 1905 on 3 June 1905, to establish segregated location for blacks.

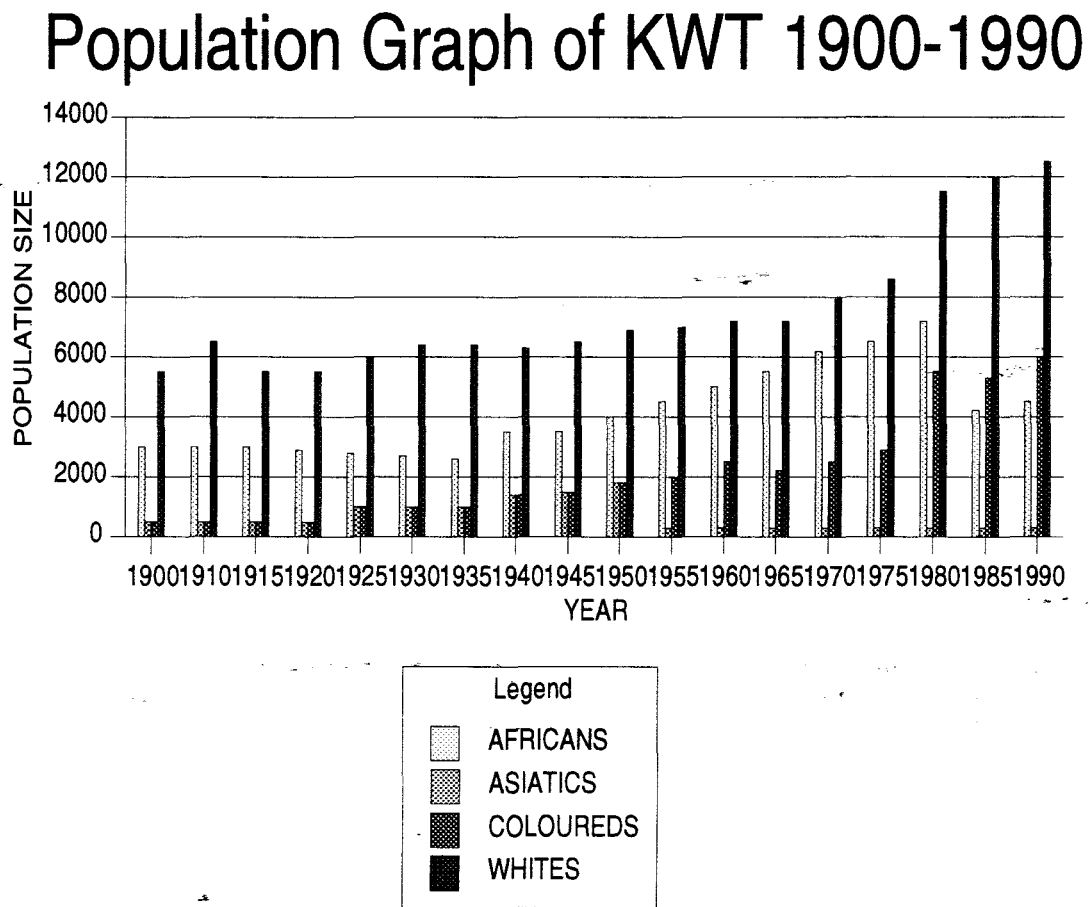
Section 41, 42 and 46 allowed them to compel certain categories of blacks to reside in such a location. Ginsberg location (see Figure 5), was established in 1906 in terms of the 1905 Act (18; Caldwell, 1991). Mr F. Ginsberg, who was a councillor and after whom this plague related location was named, approached the Medical Officer of Health (MOH) for the Colony, Dr. C.J. Gregory in 1907 to formulate specific regulations which were intended to relocate Africans, coloureds and Indians in King William's Town to the Ginsberg location away from their 'insanitary dwellings'. Franz Ginsberg elaborated about the Council's intentions for the segregated location in 1907. He stated that the council were anxious to devise means to control the social life of the 'Natives and Asiatics' in King William's Town. It was difficult for the Council to control those 'Natives' residing at Brownlee location because they owned dwellings which the council regarded as of inferior quality. As a result of their low value for rating purposes, the income derived from there was regarded as not enough to pay for the expenditure which the Council would incur to maintain the area in good sanitary condition. The Council anticipated that the area (Brownlee) would become a source of danger to the health of the white community. This could only be averted if Brownlee was relocated to the west bank (Ginsberg location) under direct municipal control. To keep the town in a 'good sanitary condition', the Council requested Dr Gregory to draft regulation which would compel Brownlee and Ridsdel location residents and those Natives and Asiatics from town to relocate to Ginsberg location (19).

After consultation with legal advisors and the provisions of the King William's Town Borough Act No.27 of 1905 on which the proposed regulations were to be based, the MOH (Gregory) found it difficult to allow for the relocation of all Natives and Asiatics. In terms of the 1905 Act, Natives and Asiatics who were owners of fixed property valued at at least £150 could not be forced to reside in locations. For this reason, residents of Brownlee, Ridsdel and others from the town who were enfranchised could not be removed. Ultimately the proposed location regulations ended up targeting African squatters living in the town as the group which was to be forced

to reside at the Ginsberg location because white residents were permitted to provide their domestic servants accommodation within the employer's premises (20).

### 4.3. THE POPULATION OF KING WILLIAM'S TOWN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF GINSBERG LOCATION

The following diagram (Figure 6) illustrates population change in King William's Town from 1900 to 1991. (21).



KWT : King William's Town

**Figure 6: The Bar Graph Showing the Population of King William's Town From 1900 to 1990.**

**Source: (21)**

The majority population group, as depicted in Figure 6 was white. The Asiatic group was in the minority. African residence in the adjacent reserve - homeland accounts for their relatively low numbers. The Council discriminated against all non-white races regardless. Evidence discussed in the rest of this thesis supports this conclusion.

#### **4.4. BLACK RESIDENTIAL AREAS OF KING WILLIAM'S TOWN PRIOR TO 1923**

During the pre - 1923 phase blacks lived in various parts of King William's Town . At that time the municipal boundary excluded the village of Breidbach which was to become the coloured group area of King William's Town in 1960 (22). A brief history of Breidbach will be outlined in section 4.4.6. Apart from a few persons in the 'white' town most blacks lived in various already existing segregated locations. These included Brownlee, Ridsdel (Mqhayi), Tsolo and Bidhli (Figure 3). As can be seen on Figure 3 the former two locations were to the east of the Buffalo River and therefore they contravened the Council's policy, namely that of relocating all blacks to the west bank of the Buffalo River. Secondly, Tsolo and Bidhli locations did not fully comply with the Council's wishes because blacks owned houses there which was against the policy of the Council. A summary of information about King William's Town locations is presented in Table 2.

As Table 2 depicts there were at least two major differences between locations, namely, it was only at Ginsberg where the residents paid hut rentals. In the other four locations, blacks paid site rentals. Secondly, sites at the Ginsberg were the smallest compared to other locations. This meant that it was advantageous to live in locations other than at Ginsberg for blacks who valued property ownership. Key features of the various locations will be detailed below.

**TABLE 2 : KING WILLIAM'S TOWN LOCATIONS 1910**

<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>SIZE OF STANDS</b>	<b>No. OF STANDS</b>	<b>RENT p/m.</b>	<b>RENT PER YEAR</b>
<b>Bidhli</b>	100 x 100 ft	35	10/- per site	£ 12-
<b>Brownlee</b>	8 acres	142	<b>Rates</b>	£ 42- 5- 0
<b>Ginsberg</b>	40 x 40 ft	135	7/6 per hut	£ 311-8-9
<b>Ridsdel</b>	50 x 50 ft	105	10/- per site	£ 52-10
<b>Tsolo</b>	50 x 50 ft	90	10/- per site	£ 40

Source: 23

#### **4.4.1. BIDHLI LOCATION**

This was one of the two twin locations on the west bank of the Buffalo River in King William's Town. It was located at the lower end of the Wodehouse street and was established in 1835. Huts were owned by residents who paid site rent to the Council. Dwellings were constructed of wattle and daub and were thatched. After the enactment of Act No. 27 of 1905, the Council issued a notice in 1906 to the hut owners to sell dwellings to the Council because they were required to relocate to the municipal location. (24). After the serving of the notice, the Council did not allow any transfer of sites/huts when their owners died or left King William's Town. Dwellings thus vacated then became the Council's property. As the council acquired houses Bidhli location gradually diminished and Ginsberg location developed in parallel.

The population of Bidhli location consisted of both Africans and coloureds. Bidhli was a family residential zone where husbands, wives and children lived together. They were mainly potentially economically active people. The original notice to vacate Bidhli location was not

heeded by the residents but despite their wishes, this location was closed 10 years after the notice was issued. The number of dwellings decreased from 35 (in 1906) to 21 (in 1912).

#### **4.4.2. TSOLO LOCATION**

There was no significant difference in form and appearance between Bidhli and Tsolo location except that there were more sites at Tsolo than at Bidhli (Table 2 ). Consequently, there were more residents at Tsolo (226 in 1910) than at Bidhli (93 in 1910) (26). Another difference was that Tsolo location continued to exist for a longer time than Bidhli. On account of its population size, it was decided that it would not be abolished in terms of the provisions of the 1905 Natives and Asiatics Location Regulations. It was instead to be regarded as a municipal location (27).

#### **4.4.3. GINSBERG LOCATION**

Ginsberg location developed on the site of Bidhli and Tsolo and initially consisted of dwellings absorbed from both. It was named after a councillor who was a proprietor of a leather/hides factory in King William's Town and whose labourers were the first occupiers of the wattle and daub huts acquired by the council from Bidhli and Tsolo location residents. These old huts gave a lot of trouble and cost a considerable amount to maintain (28). Ginsberg was founded in terms of Act No. 27 of 1905, and housed Africans, coloureds and Asiatics (29). The Council built three experimental huts between 1906 and 1908 which were made of hollow brick and concrete and had iron roofs. The three concrete dwellings and 132 wattle and daub huts constituted the Ginsberg location in 1910 (30).

#### **4.4.4. BROWNLEE LOCATION**

The Brownlee Mission Station consisted of two components namely the 14 acres plot and the controversial eight acres erf. As Appendix Two shows, on the 14 acres there was the resident missionary's residence occupying three acres while on the remaining 11 acres there were sites for a school building, church, arable land and ten dwellings for mission Africans. To the north

of the 14 acres plot, there was the eight acre lot where majority of mission blacks lived . For the purpose of this research the term, Brownlee location refers to the eight acres while Brownlee Mission Station encompasses the 14 acres and eight acres combined. The dwellings in Brownlee location were ordinary African huts/houses (see Appendix Three). Appendix Three shows Brownlee houses which were made of wood, mud, iron and daub. As is shown in (Table 2) Brownlee was the biggest black location in 1910 having 142 stands followed by the Ginsberg location 135 stands (1910). The residents of Brownlee location (Africans and coloureds) were generally genuine Mission residents some of whom worked in town. There were also sub- tenants who hired accommodation from house owners (31).

#### **4.4.5. RIDSDDEL/MQHAYI LOCATION**

There were no officially defined boundaries of the Ridsdel location. Prior to the survey and reservation of the controversial eight acres, mission blacks occupied a considerable area outside the 14 acres. The survey of Brownlee location (eight acres) left a large number of houses outside the reservation and the 14 acres. Those dwellings became known as Ridsdel/ Mqhayi location . There was no difference between the dwelling types and population characteristics of the Ridsdel and Brownlee locations. The residents regarded themselves as part of the Brownlee location even though the portion of land they occupied was neither surveyed nor reserved on their behalf (32).

The Council regarded the Ridsdel location as a casual settlement falling under its direct control. It regarded residents as individual squatters. For this reason it allotted sites to residents and levied a hut tax on them. However, the Council did nothing in terms of increasing their staff so as to make supervision of the areas more effective. The construction of two cesspits was the only intervention (33). After the council had been empowered to establish a location, in 1905, they issued a notice in 1906 to the residents and occupiers of huts at Ridsdel location intimating that the Council wanted to take over all the dwellings and to compensate the owners. As a justification, they claimed that better supervision and improvement of that location's sanitary condition would result at Ginsberg. The Ridsdel residents ignored the Council's notice (34). The Council then included the Ridsdel location as one of the locations which had to be abolished in terms of the proposed King William's

Town Natives and Asiatic Location Regulations of 1912 (35).

#### **4.4.6. BREIDBACH COLOURED TOWNSHIP (BACKGROUND)**

Breidbach (see Figure 2) became a coloured group area of King William's Town in 1960 after 122 years of existence as a multi-racial village. It was established by the British Kaffrarian government which ceded the site to the German Legion in 1857. The long established amaNtinde Africans were evicted by the military from the Breidbach site (36). Despite the tribe's passivity to coercive removals, the decision of the Breidbach Village Management Board to try and incorporate the remaining commonage of the amaNtinde, namely, Breidbach Outspan, provoked protest. Attempting to prevent further loss of their tribal land, Mr W.T. Brownlee (a magistrate) who was the son of the Rev. John Brownlee of the London Missionary Society, protested to the government on behalf of the clan about the Board's intended action of 1879. The Government did not sanction the incorporation as a result (37).

After 1879 the dispute over the AmaNtinde land issue was protracted without a finality. The government constituted a committee which submitted reports on the issue referred to as the Reports on Native Lands Commission Vol.1 and 2 of 1913. Despite this response, there was no indication as to how and when the tribe's grievances were to be considered by the government (38). After a long period of inaction, the Union government (Lands Department), published a Notice No.403 of 23 March 1917 in terms of Section One of Act No.13 of 1906. The Notice intimated that all persons desirous of raising objections to the incorporation of the Breidbach Outspan should do so before the 30 April 1917. The tribe and the Superintendent of Natives in King William's Town objected to the incorporation on 24 April 1917 (39). The issue was then left in abeyance until 15 years later. During that time (1917 to 1932) the tribe used the Breidbach Outspan for grazing and residential purposes. This implies that Breidbach area pre-existed as a multi-racial area. Its development as a coloured group area will be detailed in Chapter Seven.

#### **4.4.7. BLACK RESIDENTIAL AREAS WITHIN THE 'WHITE' TOWN OF KING WILLIAM'S TOWN PRIOR TO 1923.**

Blacks lived in various parts of King William's Town namely, the locations which have been described and in the white town in the pre-1923 phase. In the white town, they resided either in their own houses, hired premises or they lived in their employer's quarters.

##### **4.4.7.1. Black Freehold Properties**

Prior to 1923 numerous Africans, Indians and coloureds lived on freehold properties. Table 3 and Figure 5 indicate the houses owned by Africans in King William's Town. They were mainly located in Smith Street, Berkely Street and near the Botanical Gardens. As the maps show this was the oldest part of the town and was called 'Old Town' (40). Some Africans had acquired fixed properties in town before 1900 (41). Indian properties were mainly found in the Market Square area, blocks facing Cambridge road and along the Buffalo road (Dullabh, 1994). It was not possible to identify coloured properties in the 'white' town as their names could be easily confused with those of whites.

##### **4.4.7.2. Premises Rented by Blacks in the 'White' Town Prior to 1923**

Before 1923 black tenants in the 'white' town lived in boarding houses (Table 4) and in their employer's quarters. It was not possible to indicate their location diagrammatically or to provide statistics of those who lived in their employer's premises as domestic or other workers. Ministers of religion were housed in mission houses in the 'white' town e.g. G. Kakaza who stayed in a house in Cambridge Road (42).

There were, however, houses which were of geographical importance, namely, boarding houses. These premises which were generally owned by whites and rooms were let to blacks to supplement the owners' income. It is evident on Table 4 that the boarding houses were found mostly in the 'Old Town'. Examples of boarding houses included Mrs Magill's house at No. 6, Berkely Street Mrs Fraser's house, No. 24 Berkely Street and Mrs Sandows's house No. 6 Mackinon Street etc. In the majority of cases, boarding houses were raising a meagre income to pay i.a. municipal taxes (44).

**TABLE 3: AFRICAN HOUSES IN WHITE KING WILLIAM'S TOWN BEFORE 1923**

NAME	PLOT	DEEDS OF TRANSFER
Xiniwe P.	14A Smith Street	T400 / 1895
Soga W.D.	LOT.2. Smith Street	T414 / 1898
Jabavu A.M.	LOT.31.Botanical Gardens	T840 / 1905
Xiniwe E.	14A Smith Street	T369 / 1903
Bopi C.M.	LOT 6 Berkely Street	T557 / 1921
Skota T.D.M.	14A Smith Street	T787 / 1926
Tyamzashe B.J.P.	14A Smith Street	T787 / 1926
Xiniwe G.	14A Smith Street	T787 / 1926
Xiniwe M.R.	14A Smith Street	T787 / 1926
Ngesi Peter Matebese	14A Smith Street	T147 / 1930

Source: (43)

**TABLE 4: BOARDING HOUSES FOR BLACKS IN KING WILLIAM'S TOWN BEFORE 1923**

OWNER	BOARDING HOUSE	SOURCE
Mrs Magill	6 Berkely Street	SI.to T/C.27.5.1913
Mrs Fraser	14 Smith street	SI.to T/C.8.9.1915
Mrs C.A. Krugers	24 Berkery Street	SI.to T/C.8.7.1916
Mr H. Roberts	21 Smith Street	SI.to T/C.8.7.1916
Mrs Sandow	6 Mackinon Street	SI.to T/C.8.7.1916
Benevolent Society	8;10;12.Smith Street	SI.to T/C.8.7.1916

Source: (45)

#### 4.5. THE COUNCIL'S ATTEMPT TO RELOCATE BLACKS TO THE GINSBERG LOCATION: 1906 - 1909

In 1906 the Council drafted location regulations in terms of the provisions of Act No. 27 of

1905 to compel all blacks in King William's Town to reside in the Ginsberg location. As has been explained, certain categories of blacks could not be relocated. The Department of Public Health for the Colony objected to the inclusion of the Brownlee location as one of the locations which was to be removed. The reason was that the matter of the rights of the hut-holders was complicated (by the existence of a Certificate of Reservation) and that it needed a prolonged enquiry, negotiation and possibly the introduction of a special legislation in order to deprive the residents of their land rights (to the eight acres) (46).-- Consequently Brownlee location was exempted from the force of the location regulations (47).

In 1908 the council adopted another strategy to achieve its goal of removing all blacks from the east bank of the Buffalo River. Two Brownlee location inspection reports were submitted to the government which, instead of recommending an improvement of sanitary conditions there, suggested the relocation of this location (48). In response, the Department of Health for the Colony (under Dr Gregory) ruled out the proposition of removing Brownlee location on the grounds that it was not vested in the Council as it had existed prior to the proclamation of the 1864 Ordinance (49).

The Council then adopted a new approach proposing to exchange sites with the Brownlee residents (50). In response the government's Native Affairs Department, acting on the instruction of the then Prime Minister, requested the Council to furnish it with a definite scheme which would enable the government to judge whether the exchange would be fair to the residents. The Prime Minister said that he would not countenance any measures calculated by the council to deprive Brownlee residents of any legal and just rights (51). The government suggested that the proposed exchange of sites would also need the concurrence of the Brownlee residents. Based on these grounds the government recommended the appointment of representatives to facilitate such negotiations between the residents and the council (52). The Council accepted the government's suggestion and formed a sub-committee (on 19 May 1909) to consider the government's proposal (53). The Council resolved, on 21 July 1909, that the government be asked to appoint a Commission of Enquiry which would consider the

whole question of the removal of the Brownlee location (54).

#### **4.6. THE FIRST COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO THE BROWNLEE LOCATION QUESTION :1910**

The Native Affairs Commission sat in King William's Town on 7 February 1910 (55). The object of the Commission was to enquire into and report on the conditions under which the inhabitants of Brownlee location could be removed and resettled on a new site to be provided by the council (56). The residents were represented by a magistrate, W.T. Brownlee, the government by the Assistant Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Edward Newberry Thornton and the Council by Councillor Franz Ginsberg (57). Brownlee residents did not take part in the Commission even though it was debating their future. Mr Brownlee, who was one of the Commissioners, asserted out that the insanitary conditions at Brownlee location were not worse than those at the Ginsberg location. The rainy weather at the time of the inspection made it difficult for the residents to clean their premises. He was of the opinion that attempts could be made to improve the sanitary conditions without necessitating removals. However, the views of other two members of the Commission (Ginsberg and Thornton who had always supported the removal of this location) were adopted (58).

The Commission adopted the following recommendations:- that Brownlee residents be relocated to another site which they could choose but which the Council would need to approve. Residents had to be compensated for their dwellings, up to an inclusive total of £3 000. They had to volunteer to relocate to the new site. All the costs involved to carry out the Commission's recommendations had to be borne by the council (59). The council found the recommendations difficult to implement because of the high costs involved and the fact that they had already made their choice of a site on the west bank where they would relocate blacks to. For these reasons the Council resolved, on 14 December 1910, to enquire into the feasibility of an Act of Parliament being passed to enable them to remove the Brownlee location. The Act would allow the Council to force the Brownlee residents to relocate to Ginsberg location something which was ruled out by Ordinance No.9 of 1864 (Cape) and Act No.27 of 1905 which protected blacks' rights to their land (60).

Whilst the Council experienced difficulties in relocating Brownlee residents, it pursued other avenues to relocate other blacks from the town to the Ginsberg location.

#### **4.7. FORCED REMOVALS UNDER KING WILLIAM'S TOWN'S NATIVES AND ASIATIC LOCATION REGULATIONS OF 1912**

After the proclamation of the King William's Town's Natives and Asiatic Location Regulations in 1912, and the publishing of a notice under Regulation No. 2, Ridsdel residents were again served with a notice to quit Ridsdel. Regulation No. Two stated that from, and after a date fixed by the Council, it would not be lawful for any African or Asiatic to reside anywhere within the limits of the Borough except in the location provided by the Council. Exceptions to this regulation were the residents of Tsolo and Brownlee location, owners of the fixed properties exempted in terms of Act No.27 of 1905 and the employees of King William's Town white residents. These employees were to be housed by their employers with prior approval of such accommodation by the Council. As from 1912 the Ridsdel residents were issued with endorsed receipts after the payment of quarterly site rent. The endorsement stated that the receipt was issued subject to the occupier remaining in the occupation of the site at the pleasure of the Council. This implied that the Council was the landlord and the residents were tenants who could be evicted from the site anytime the Council wanted to (61).

On 13 August 1912 Ridsdel residents petitioned the Council protesting that the Ginsberg location was too far away to be moved to. They demanded that the Council should allocate them a portion of land close to the town on which they would build their own houses and that they had to be compensated for the houses they would be forced to vacate (62). The Council's response was that the petitioners should present their cases as individuals since it regarded them as individual squatters (63). After this petition, there were no developments in the issue of the proposed relocation until 1916 (64).

#### **4.8. THE 1913 NATIVES LAND ACT AND THE BROWNLEE QUESTION**

The Native Affairs Department did not enforce the implementation of the recommendations

of the 1910 Commission until 12 years later. This was because the Council did not have the money to compensate the residents and they were not prepared to allow them to choose a site where they would relocate to (65). One of the reasons for the delay was that the status of Brownlee location, with regard to the Natives Land Act of 1913, was not clear. The Acting Assistant Magistrate of Tamarha in the rural areas of King William's Town, declared on 29 September 1913 that Brownlee Mission Station was not situated in a scheduled Native area and was within the limits of King William's Town municipal area. This view was supported by the resident Missionary, Rev. John Harper who applied for the exemption of Brownlee location from being classified as a scheduled Native area (66).

The declaration that Brownlee location was outside a scheduled Native Area in terms of 1913 Native's Land Act further complicated the issue of the removal and administration of this location. The residents of Brownlee location did not want to submit to the absolute control of the council and wanted an independent administration. At the same time this location could not be administered as other Mission Stations falling within Native rural areas (67).

#### **4.9. FAILURE OF THE COUNCIL TO RELOCATE INDIANS TO A SEGREGATED LOCATION BEFORE 1923**

When the Natives And Asiatic Location Regulations of King William's Town were drafted, the Minister of Interior (General Smuts), objected to curfew regulations being applied against the Indian community, but consented to their being required to reside in a location on sanitary grounds. He regarded the Indian community to be law abiding but felt that the proposed restrictions on their movement might lead to difficulties (68). The King William's Town Native and Asiatic Location Regulations were approved and published in the Provincial Gazette No.199 of 4 June 1912 and came into operation on 1 October 1912 (69).

Despite the legal provisions which were sanctioned, these Regulations were never put into practice as far as the Indians were concerned. One of the reasons was the objection of Mr. F. Holly, a white landlord and a resident of King William's Town. When he learned of the Council's intention to build an Indian location at Gillam's Drift, he feared that his white tenants would leave his property in protest at being close to an Indian neighbourhood (70).

The Indian community responded to the discriminatory regulations in a letter to the council dated 26 July 1912 written by the lawyers Innes and Hutton on behalf of the British Indian Association of King William's Town. Indians complained, stating that they had business in town as hawkers of vegetables, fruit, butter, eggs, and other garden and farm products. If they were compelled to reside at a spot far distant from the Market Square, they would be severely handicapped. They would be compelled to abandon their calling and leave King William's Town for places elsewhere (71). The Council resolved that before any definite steps were taken in regard to relocating Indians their lawyers would be advised. There were no developments on the issue of an Indian location until after 1923 (72).

#### **4.10. THE USE OF THE SANITATION STRATEGY TO ATTEMPT TO EFFECT REMOVALS OF BLACKS**

On 14 December 1916 the Health committee of the Municipality of King William's Town inspected Brownlee and Ridsdel locations and suggested that sanitary conditions in these locations should be improved (73). The Health committee resolved on 15 January 1917 to consider how the 1910 Commission's report on the Brownlee Station offered a solution to the insanitary state of the location (74). It is ironic to observe that the Town Clerk of King William's Town identified the council as the cause of the insanitary conditions at Brownlee location. He remarked on 17 January 1917 that pit latrines at Brownlee were badly dilapidated. The Borough Ranger and Forester (D. McLaren) reported that these latrines were difficult to keep clean as they needed to be shifted at least once a month to a fresh site. He suggested that the bucket system which was used in other municipal locations should be installed at Brownlee (75). The Council ignored the Borough Ranger and Forester's suggestion. It decided on 29 January 1917 to consider whether Brownlee and the Ridsdel locations had to be included in the proposed waterborne sewerage scheme for the town as a whole. In the meantime the condition of the cesspits deteriorated (76).

Whilst the Council was trying to relocate Brownlee and Ridsdel location residents the process of the Council taking over control of houses at Bidhli and Tsolo locations was progressing. The last resident at Bidhli location (Peter Mpondo) vacated his premises in 1917 after he was paid £25 by the Council for his house (77). The Council was determined to stigmatise the

insanitary conditions at Brownlee because on 14 February 1918 the cesspits were reported to emit offensive odours to travellers while it appeared that the Council was making no efforts to abate the problem (78). The Town Clerk informed the Provincial Administrator in 1922 that the Council had resolved to relocate Brownlee location to another site in accordance with the recommendations of the 1910 Commission. For this reason the Council requested the government to sanction the exchange of the site and to pay the expenses involved (i.e. compensation to residents) (79).

The Secretary for Native Affairs responded on 28 September 1922 to the Council's request as follows:- since the residents had legal rights to the land they occupied at Brownlee, the Council had to secure a mutual agreement between the residents, the London Missionary Society and the Trustees concerning relocation to another site. The Secretary for Native Affairs pointed out that the Council was, in a way, responsible for the prevailing conditions at Brownlee location. The Secretary asked the magistrate to convene the said meeting (80).

One of the subtle devices the Council planned to use in order to achieve its goal was the issue of proposed waterborne sewerage. The London Missionary Society objected to its installation at Brownlee location because the council had intimated that it would debit the Society with the costs involved. The Society also saw it as an indirect method of taking over the mission reserve as the council would control the sewerage scheme and the residents. Before installing the scheme, the council had demanded that the land be vested with it. That proposal was rejected by the Society (81).

The magistrate did not convene the meeting suggested by the Secretary for Native Affairs. Instead, on 5 December 1922, the council resolved to enquire if some general clause could be inserted in the Urban Areas Bill which would give the council the necessary statutory authority to relocate the Brownlee people (82). Developments in the saga of Ridsdel and Brownlee after 1923 will be examined in Chapter Five and Six.

#### **4.11. CONCLUSION**

This chapter has discussed how King William's Town's black locations originated and how

the town developed. During this phase the segregated locations which were on the east bank of the Buffalo River were threatened with forced removals.

The oldest locations on the west bank of the Buffalo River were proclaimed by the military. As blacks owned houses there, the council gradually disestablished them and acquired the houses in order to let them to blacks in the area now called Ginsberg. In this way, the council gained greater control over the social lives of blacks in west bank locations than on the east bank.

Since blacks also lived in the white town, the council formulated the Natives and Asiatic Location Regulations of 1912 to try and facilitate the relocation of all blacks in King William's Town to the Ginsberg municipal location. These location regulations had a limited effect. This was because most urban blacks in the 'white town' were exempted for example, owners and occupiers of houses valued at £150 and those blacks who were employed by white residents of King William's Town could not be evicted if they were housed by their employers.

The Council could only refuse their residence in town if the intended accommodation was no longer available or was not meeting the requirements of the Public Health Act. No Indians were relocated because they protested against their proposed relocation and the fact that there was no established Indian location. One of the outstanding characteristics of this period was that the government was relatively more sympathetic to blacks than the council was and offered a degree of legal protection to them whenever the council attempted to evict them on unfair grounds. After 1923 the council hoped that the impending Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 would bestow it with the statutory authority to relocate all blacks in King William's Town to the municipal location of the Ginsberg.

#### **4.12. END NOTES**

1. Plan of King William's Town in British Kaffraria, 1848; 1849; Plan of King William's Town, 1908.
2. Kaffrarian Museum, No. W7369, King William's drawn by H.R. Brownlee; Plan of King William's Town 'King William's Town and East London Direction.
3. SAB, 8/358, No. 828/17/f.432 Dower to the Minister of NAD, 11 September 1917.
4. AC. 3KWT, J10, Nat. Aff. Comm. KWT to T/C, 30 March 1912.

5. King William's Town Gazette, 1861; South African Municipal year book 1955.
6. CA 3 KWT J3/1 AE4 Geoge Masdem to Beyers 21 May 1861.
7. CA 16/993/L46h Gregory, MOH, to T/C 1 December 1907.
8. CA 3KWT 4/1/150 J10 Thornton's report 14 October 1907.
9. CA 3KWT, 4/1/150 J10, Thornton's report, 14 October 1907
10. CA 3KWT 4/1/150/ J10 to Magistrate 27 October 1926.
11. CA 3KWT, 4/1/150 J10 Council to Govt. 13 July 1882; J10, Town Engineer to Todd, 13 March 1882.
12. CA 3KWT, 4/1/150 J10 T/C to Secr. Of Govt. 31 July 1882; 4/1/150; J10, Town Engineer to Assitant Commission of Crown land and Pub. Works 29 March 1882.
13. CA 5077, Govt. To Mayor, 17 April 1883.
14. Cape Mercury 18 April 1883; Cotporation Notice No. 94 of 18 April 1883; CA 18f B212/07, No. 12817/ F, 263 SNA to civil commission er, KWT 19 October 1907.
15. CA 3KWT 4/1/150 J10, A. de smidt, 1883; Civil commissioner to Mayor, 10 December 1883.
16. CA 3KWT 4/1/150, Rule of residence, 10 February 1885.
17. Cape Mercury, 15 March 1901; Notice No. 313, Government Gazette, No. 8323 of 29 May 1901.
18. CA B231/07 No. 12817/F.263 SNA to Civil Comm. 19 October 1907.
19. CA 18FB212/7, No. 12817/F/263, SNA to Civil Comm. 19 October 1907.
20. CA 15 955/L46B Gregory, MOH for Colony to Robertson, Wiley & King 18 November 1907; 3KWT 4/1/150, T/C to Res. Magistrate, 1 July 1908; No. 30 142/L46N, Gregory, MOH, to SNA, 25 February 1909.
21. South African Municipal year book 1912 - 1954; 1964 - 1973, Cape Mercury 1955 - 1968, 1974 - 1980; King William's Town Municipal Health Dept. Records 1985 - 1991.
22. Cape of Good Hope Statutes, 1900 - 1905; Deeds Office, KWT Breidbach folio.
23. CA 3KWT J10 1910 Nat. Aff. Comm. KWT to T/C 30 March 1912.
24. CA 3KWT 4/1/40 AE4 Council Minutes 8 July 1912.
25. CA 3KWT 4/1/40 Extract of letter from Borough Ranger and Forrester. Mr D. Mclcaren to TC dated 29 July 1912.
26. CA 3KWT, 4/1/40 AE4 J4 Native locations.
27. CA 13/55b/L46m Gregory, MOH to Ginsberg 26/27 July 1907.
28. CA No. 13.556, L46M, Gregory to T/C 15 Novenber 1910; CA 3KWT, 4/1/40 AE4 Borough Ranger and Forester's Report of 31 December 1914.
29. CA KWT 4/1/150 J10 Gregory, MOH 30 May 1910.
30. CA 3KWT J3, 1910 Native Affairs Commission.
31. CA Thornton, 1907, 3KWT 4/1/145 J3/16 Borough Engineer to MOH to Council 23 March 1938.
32. CA 3KWT, CNC to SNA 1926, Thornton, 1908.
33. CA 3KWT Thornton, 1908, CNC to SNA 1926.
34. CA 3KWT, 4/1/143, J3/1 T/C to magistrate 1 July 1908.
35. CA 3KWT 4/1/30, AE4, Major Soul 26 August 1912.
36. SAB, 8/385, Barnes and Ross to Secretary for Lands Pretoria, 24 April 1917; Dower to Minister for NAD, 11 September 1917.
37. SAB, NA, 8/385, Irvan (Chairman of select committee), report to the House of Assembly, 7 September 1883.
38. SAB, NA.8/385, SN/18/18, Res. Magistrate to Assist. Magistrate, 27 August 1917.
39. SAB, NA8/385, Barnes and Ross to Secr. For Lands 24 April 1917; 828/17/f, 432

- No.26/17, Superintendent of Natives, KWT to SNA 28 June 1917.
40. DO. T840/1905; 557/1921, T414/1898; 787/1926.
  41. DO T414/1889; T400/1895.
  42. Donaldson and Braby's Directory, 1913 to 1929.
  43. DO King William's Town - deeds transfers; RU Cory Library - King William's Town - visitors guide and residents handbook 1897 - 1898; RU Library - Directory - East London and Frontier Red book 1929; Donaldson and Braby's Cape Directory 1913 - 1929.
  44. CA 3KWT, 4/1/150 AE4, SI to T/C 8 July 1916; 17 September 1916.
  45. 3KWT 4/1/150 AE4 SI to T/C; 27 May 1913; 8 September 1915; 17 September 1916.
  46. CA 15/535/46/2, Gregory to Robertson, Wiley and King 1 November 1907.
  47. CA 14/673/L46B Gregory to Ginsberg 18 September 1907.
  48. CA 3KWT 4/1/143 J3/1 T/C to Magistrate; 30/142/L466 Dr Chute's report 29 April 1902; 3KWT 4/1/40 J3/1 Thornton's reports 5 February 1908.
  49. CA No. 16/515 L46B Gregory, 11 December 1908; No. 28/683 L46p Gregory 15 January 1909.
  50. CA T/C 3KWT 4/1/144 J3/2(1) (Woodrow) to Gregory MOH - Colony 19 March 1908.
  51. CA 37/584 L46L, Gregory 5 May 1909.
  52. CA. 37/451/L46h Gregory to SNA 29 April 1909; No. F263/1791 SNA April 1909.
  53. CA 4/1/144 J3/2(1) Council meeting 19 May 1909.
  54. CA 4/1/144 2(1) Council meeting 21 July 1909; 4/1/144 Woodrow T/C to MOH, 28 July 1909.
  55. CA 3KWT 4/1/144 J3/2(1) Council Minutes 12 January 1910; 43/L 46L Gregory May 1910.
  56. CA 3KWT 4/1/144 J3/2(1) Under Colonial Sec. To Ginsberg, January 1910.
  57. CA 3KWT 4/1/144 J3/2(1) No. 37, 923 Gregory 15 October 1909.
  58. CA L46H Minutes of Commission to Gregory May 1910.
  59. CA KWT 4/1/144 J3/2(1) SNA to Prime Minister, May 1909; No. 44/678 L46h Sec. to Administrator to T/C June 1910.
  60. CA 3KWT J3 Council meeting 14 December 1910; 13/15 February 1911.
  61. CA 3KWT J6/9 T/C to Magistrate, 27 January 1926.
  62. CA 3KWT 4/1/30 AE4, Major Soul to T/C 13 August 1912; Imvo zabaNtsundu, 9 July 1912.
  63. CA 3KWT 4/1/30 AE4 T/C to Soul 26 August 1912; Soul to T/C 9 September 1912.
  64. CA 3KWT J3/1 Health Comm. meeting 14 December 1916.
  65. CA No. L46C Act; Prov. Sec. to SNA 14 June 1911; No. 64/313, SNA to CNC 28 September 1922.
  66. CA No. 16/516/1913 Act Assit. Magistrate - Tamarha to Resident Magistrate - KWT 29 September 1913; No. 516/1913/2/588, Res. Magistrate to SNA 30 September 1913.
  67. Ca No. 516/1913/13/770 Resident Magistrate to SNA 10 December 1913; No. 826/13/P8814 SNA to Resident Magistrate 17 December 1913.
  68. CA AE4, Dept. of Interior (Whitaker) to T/C 16 April 1912.
  69. CA AE4, Council meeting 23 June 1912; Cape Mercury 8 July 1912 J4/10, report of the Borough Ranger & Forester 31 December 1914.
  70. CA AE4, Council meeting 8 July 1912.
  71. CA J10T/C to Robertson, Wiley & King, 25 July 1912; Robertson, Wiley and King to T/C 29 July 1912.
  72. CA AG.1882, 153/11, Council meeting 26 August 1912.
  73. CA 3KWT 56/31 J3/1 Health Committee meeting 14 & 18 December 1916 J3 & J6/3

Council meeting 8 January 1917.

74. CA 3/KWT 4/1/144 J3 & J6/3 Health Comm. meeting 15 January 1917.
75. CA 3/KWT 4/1/144 J3/1 No. 11274 T/C to Borough Ranger & Forester 17 January 1917;  
No. J3/1 No. 27 D. McLaren (B.R & F) to T/C 18 January 1917.
76. CA 3/KWT 4/1/144 J3/1 Health & General Purposes Committee 29 January 1917.
77. CA 3KWT, J5/9 Native locations, 1917.
78. CA 3KWT No. 7432/F. 1089, Magistrate to SNA 14 February 1918.
79. CA 3/KWT J3/1 T/C Prov. Secr. to SNA, 20 September 1922.
80. CA 64/313 SAB to CNC 28 September 1922.
81. CA 64/3/3 No. F.9. Medford to SNA 27 October 1922.
82. CA No. F.5/4/777, CNC to SNA 7 December 1922; No. 64/313 SNA to CNC, 14  
December 1922; Imvo zabaNtsundu, 10 June 1924.
83. Plan of King William's Town in the British Kaffraria, 1848; 10 September 1849; Plan of  
King William's Town, 1908.
84. Ibid.; King William's Town Plan No. W7369; King William's Town Planning  
Scheme, January 1948; June 1958; DO KWT, Transfer Numbers: 400/1895,  
414/1898, 840/1905, 369/1903, 557/1921, 787/1926, 147/1930 Folio 1 to 2500 King  
William's Town.

# **CHAPTER FIVE**

## **ABOLITION OF RIDSDDEL LOCATION 1923-1939**

### **5.1. INTRODUCTION**

In this Chapter and the next, Council efforts to remove African locations from the east bank and the Buffalo River prior to the apartheid era are discussed. The attention devoted to Ridsdel and Brownlee locations is because these areas were the key local government focus in terms of urban replanning in the current century. The Council of King William's Town had entertained false hopes that the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 would provide it with the statutory authority to relocate the residents of Ridsdel to the municipal location of Ginsberg. Its hopes were, however, thwarted by section 2(2) of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 which stipulated that no location should be removed without the consent of the Minister for Native Affairs (1). An integral part of this chapter is about the resistance of Ridsdel residents to forced removals and the support of the government's Native Affairs Department for them. Despite this, unfair eviction of the residents by the Council, proved to be unavoidable.

### **5.2. THE COUNCIL'S NOTICE TO BLACKS TO QUIT RIDSDDEL :1925**

A second Native Affairs Commission of enquiry sat in King William's Town in 1925 to investigate the removal of Brownlee Location (see Chapter Six), the Council then took steps to close the Ridsdel location. Residents of the latter location were served with notices by the Council on 10 December 1925 notifying them that the Council intended to abolish Ridsdel location. They were asked to notify the Council if they desired to rent dwellings at the municipal location of Ginsberg upon their removal from the Ridsdel location (2).

After having received complaints from Ridsdel residents about the said notice, the Chief Native Commissioner appointed the King William's Town magistrate to mediate between the Council and the Ridsdel residents (3). The magistrate questioned the Council's notice to the

Ridsdel residents as to whether it was not violating the provisions of Section 2 and 27 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, No.21 of 1923. As a follow up to the magistrate's question the Council compiled the history of Ridsdel location in order to respond to the Government (4).

### **5.3. DEBATE OVER WHETHER RIDSDDEL WAS A LOCATION IN TERMS OF ACT 21 OF 1923 OR A SQUATTER SETTLEMENT**

In order to answer the magistrate's question, a debate ensued as to whether Ridsdel was a location or a squatter settlement. Mr D. McLaren, the King William's Town Borough Ranger and Forester stated that Ridsdel location was an old location which had been in existence long before 1877. In those days it was regarded as part of the Brownlee Mission Station(5). However, the Council held a view contrary to the above. The Town Clerk maintained that the Ridsdel location was not lawfully established under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act No.21 of 1923 or any other law and therefore, the provisions of section 2 and 27 of the 1923 Act did not apply(6). The magistrate was convinced by the Town Clerk's statement and supported the latter's conclusion that Ridsdel was not a location established by any law repealed by Natives (Urban Areas) Act. It was therefore a squatter settlement (7).

After the failure of the residents to comply with the notice dated 10 December 1925, the Council resolved to refer the whole matter to the Borough solicitors with the instructions that they took such action as they deemed advisable to evict the 'squatters' (8). The Chief Native Commissioner of King William's Town however, did not agree with the magistrate. He supported the Ridsdel residents views on the grounds that the settlement was in existence before the municipality of King William's Town was established by Ordinance No.1 of 1861 which was repealed by Act No.9 of 1864. In addition, the King William's Town Borough Act of 1905 protected all existing rights, liabilities and engagements (see section 2(5) of Act No.27 of 1905). Therefore, Ridsdel was protected. In his opinion, the various notices issued by Town Clerk to residents of Ridsdel were irrelevant (9). The Secretary for Native Affairs concurred with the view expressed by the Chief Native Commissioner (10).

Despite this, the Council opposed the Native Affairs Department's views and instructed its solicitors to expedite the the issue (11). After the Council had instituted legal action in April

1926, the magistrate intercepted a letter written by Rev. Harper, who succeeded Reverend John Brownlee, of the London Missionary Society. The information contained in the letter asserted that the Ridsdel Location was formerly called 'Mqhayi Location'. It was "part of the Brownlee Mission Station formed by the Rev. John Brownlee" whom Rev. Harper, the author of the letter, took over from Brownlee who was in charge of the mission for 48 years (12). He stated that Mqhayi location was inhabited by both coloureds and Africans. It had never ceased to be part of the Brownlee Mission Station nor was it ever given up by the Missionary as part of his Mission sphere from the time the Brownlee Mission Station was moved from its original site (in Prince Alfred Square in King William's Town in ± 1835) (13). This letter would appear to have swung the sympathies of the magistrate.

After having read the above letter, the Town Clerk contended that Ridsdel was situated on commonage vested in the Council and was quite outside the contentious eight acres held under Certificate of Reservation. The letter was sent to the Council's lawyers for comment (14). The Council lawyers suggested that the Council should conduct an inspection of a particular hut/hovel at the Ridsdel location. Thereafter notices of eviction in terms of the Public Health Act of 1919, followed by summonses, could be served upon occupiers. This would enable a legal decision to be obtained at the least possible expense (15).

#### **5.4. THE COUNCIL'S USE OF THE SANITARY REPORT TO JUSTIFY ITS ATTEMPTS TO CLOSE RIDSDDEL LOCATION**

The Department of Native Affairs decided to intervene in order that a just solution on the issue of the proposed removal of Ridsdel location could be arrived at (16). The Native Affairs Department asked the Council, in view of the long establishment of the Ridsdel settlement, and its close association with the Brownlee Location, to extend the same treatment to the Ridsdel residents which it was prepared to give to the residents of the Brownlee location (17).

Despite this the Council resolved, in 1929 to try their lawyers' suggestions and to instruct the Sanitary Inspector to investigate the situation at Brownlee and Ridsdel locations and to report. The objective was to take action against individual residents with a view to effecting

their removal on account of the alleged insanitary conditions of their respective premises (18). The Sanitary Inspector reported on 12 December 1929 that conditions in the Ridsdel location were far worse than in the Brownlee Location. He recommended that it should be demolished in terms of section 7(3) of Public Health Act No. 36 of 1919 (19). The Council resolved to take action to abolish Ridsdel and to prepare accommodation for the residents at the municipal location of Ginsberg and its extension of Leightonville (20). With regard to the mechanism to be used to close the Ridsdel location, the Council realised that the consent of the Minister was essential in terms of Section 27(3) of Act 21 of 1923 (Natives (Urban Areas) Act). The afore-mentioned letter from Rev. John Harper had proved that Ridsdel was an 'old' location. Therefore, it could not be demolished without the Minister's consent. The Council resolved to make representations to the Government through the local member of Parliament with the view to the passing of appropriate legislation to achieve their goal (21).

It was three years before the Council again pursued the issue. The earlier report by the Sanitary Inspector that there were no conveniences provided for the residents of the Ridsdel location and the view that it was a menace to public health was used as a basis for the Council's resolution of 14 December 1933. The Council resolved to give (129 men, 174 women, 187 children) persons residing at the Ridsdel location three months' notice, as from the 1 January 1934 and that it was the Council's intention to demolish the whole location without paying compensation to the occupiers. (22).

### **5.5. OPPOSITION TO THE PROPOSED DEMOLITION OF RIDSDDEL LOCATION**

One of the liberal whites in King William's Town, Herbert B. Hutton, wrote to the Editor of the "Cape Mercury" newspaper. He said that the Council's notice to the Ridsdel residents had no morality, no justice and made no sense as the three months' notice, first published on the 24 January 1934, was due to expire on 31 March 1934. Furthermore, there was no evidence to prove the alleged menace to public health. He argued that the Council's claim that the Ridsdel location had been a menace to the public health indicated that the Council officials were guilty of dereliction of duty. As the Council claimed that it had absolute control of the Ridsdel location, it should have kept Ridsdel clean (23).

Claiming to represent the views of many burgesses, R.W. Rose Innes also published his criticisms of the Council in the "Cape Mercury" newspaper. He remarked that the notices were not served to the occupiers of sites at the Ridsdel location for an unknown reason. Secondly, the Council had not provided sanitary conveniences yet the residents paid the Council a substantial amount which was enough to meet that expense. The proposed demolition of houses, without compensation, was therefore most unjust. Rose Innes stressed, that in his opinion, and that of other burgesses, Africans were decent and clean people (24).

The Council, realising that the period of 'three months' notice was not realistic, extended the notice period to June 1934. Furthermore, they resolved that special rental concessions would be offered to those persons desiring to take up residence in the Ginsberg locations (25). The residents of Ridsdel location petitioned the Council in a letter dated 13 February 1934. They objected to being evicted without being compensated and with no offer of a site on which to build their own houses (26). The residents also requested the Chief Native Commissioner to use his influence to persuade the Council to exercise a more tolerant attitude in the formulation of a scheme satisfactory to the residents (27).

At a Special Council Meeting with the petitioners held on the 19 February 1934, Rev. James Rune, a resident of Ridsdel referred to the petition presented to the Council. He said that residents would request sympathetic consideration on the following issues:

The residents wanted to relocate to a site where they could build their own houses and they wanted compensation for their dwellings, the school and church buildings because demolition of Ridsdel would mean that they would lose those structures (28). In response the Council said that the demolition of Ridsdel was in the interests of the health of people at Ridsdel, Brownlee and in town. It would be too costly to sewer the two locations, so the best alternative was the establishment of another location in close proximity to Ginsberg located on the west bank of Buffalo River (29).

#### **5.6. THE NATIVE AFFAIRS COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY ON THE RIDSDDEL QUESTION: 1934**

As the Department of Native Affairs had also received a copy of the petition from the

residents, the Department was determined to offer its services to assist in effecting a reasonable settlement (30). The Minister of Native Affairs Department informed the Council that he would visit King William's Town to meet the Council, Ridsdel residents and interested parties such as Rose Innes and Canon Hanley. Canon Hanley was the Chairman of the Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu and R.W. Rose Innes was a legal advisor to blacks at Ridsdel location (31). The Native Affairs Commission of enquiry was appointed by the Minister and directed to meet on 20 June 1934 (32). Dr A.W. Roberts, Senator P. le Roux van Niekerk and P. van Biljon Esq. were appointed as the Native Affairs Commissioners.

The purpose of the meeting of the Native Affairs Commission with the Council and residents on the 20 and 21 June 1934 was:

- a) To investigate and issue a report to the Minister on certain complaints by the inhabitants of Ridsdel location concerning the notice served to the residents by the Council;
- b) To decide how far the Department of Native Affairs could give its approval to a loan of £ 13 500 applied for by the Council to extend the Ginsberg Location and build 111 wattle and daub huts in order to resettle Ridsdel residents (33).

At the Commission hearing in 1934, the residents repeated the demands contained in their petition presented at a special Council meeting on 19 February 1934. Residents further maintained that the Council could easily improve the existing location by instituting more sanitary conveniences (34). After listening to the Council and the residents, the Native Affairs Commission made the following comments. The Council was acting correctly in its decision to place the black residents of King William's Town under its control at the Ginsberg Location. The fact that Ridsdel was very dilapidated was attributed to the negligence of the location Superintendent in the carrying out of his duties. From a health point of view, Ridsdel was better sited than Ginsberg. Of the 60 houses, possibly one quarter were decently built, the remainder could, perhaps, be improved. With more supervision and the institution of a pail system of sanitary removals, the location would compare favourably with other black locations in the Union (35).

In addition, the residents' view that they would lose their freedom in the Ginsberg Location

was accepted as a valid point by the Commission. They also recommended that :

- a) The Council should allow the inhabitants of Ridsdel a period, probably one year, wherein applications would be received for new sites in the proposed extension of Ginsberg Location.
- b) That every applicant should receive suitable compensation for the dwelling in Ridsdel vacated by him or her. Award of compensation should be made by a compensation commission consisting of representatives of the Council, the Department of Native Affairs and Ridsdel location inhabitants. The owner of the demolished dwelling should be able to choose between receiving the amount in cash or as a reduction in future monthly rentals.
- c) That after the period allowed for applications had expired, the Council could order the remainder of the residents to leave without further notice and without compensation.
- d) The Commission conditionally recommended the Council's loan application for approval.

All of the above had to be accomplished with the least possible inconvenience and without malevolent handling of the blacks. (36).

Following on the Native Affairs Commission's recommendations, a "Round-Table Conference" was held on the 26 June 1934. Members in attendance were the Council, representatives of the residents of Ridsdel location, the Rev. Canon Hanley and R.W. Rose-Innes together with white members of the Joint Council who were present to support the residents of the Ridsdel location (37). Canon Hanley had drawn up a memorandum together with the Ridsdel residents which stated that the residents rejected the proposed site above the Ginsberg location because it was rocky. Secondly, the Ridsdel residents regarded themselves as freemen and landowners and, as the children of the church, who did not want to be associated with other blacks who lived in the Council location as tenants. The residents suggested two alternative sites, one within the town (near the rifle range) and the other one in the vicinity of the Brownlee Location (at Balasi Hill). They wanted to be compensated for the houses to be demolished at the Ridsdel location and the church and school buildings. The Ridsdel residents wanted to build their own houses at the new site or to have a bucket sewerage system provided by the Council at the Ridsdel (38).

Despite a motivation in support of the residents by Rose Innes and Hanley who said that, in Bloemfontein, blacks were allowed to build their own houses, the Council would not yield to the proposals of the residents. The Council argued that in Bloemfontein houses were built of burnt brick in accordance with municipal regulations. Furthermore, there were many semi-skilled black masons and carpenters to do the work, but this was not the situation in King William's Town. The Council felt that all sources of negotiations were exhausted and that any position against them amounted to defiance against the Council's attempts to remove a menace to the public health and would lead to the encouragement of crime (39). The Council resolved that no compensation would be given to the inhabitants of Ridsdel unless they were prepared to move to a site selected by Council (40). In conclusion, the Council resolved that the only course open was to proceed in terms of the Public Health Act of 1919 (41).

#### **5.7. THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH'S SUPPORT FOR THE COUNCIL, 1934**

In 1934 the Council successfully won the support of the Department of Public Health. Disparities between the views of this department and that of Native Affairs were successfully manipulated by the Council to achieve their goals. On 30 June 1934 the Council informed the Department of Public Health that the only course open was to effect the demolition of the insanitary dwellings at the Ridsdel location under the Public Health Act of 1919. The Council also applied for the Slums Act to be applied to King William's Town (42).

The Department of Public Health transmitted a memorandum to the Native Affairs Department. It indicated the position which the Public Health Department held with regard to the necessity for the removal of Ridsdel. The Department of Public Health stated that the proposals of the Council for dealing with the Ridsdel Location carried their fullest support. The Department, for various reasons, was unable to commend the institution of a pail system of sanitary removals at Ridsdel which had been suggested by the Native Affairs Department. The only valid proposal was that of the Council's whereby blacks of Ridsdel location were to be relocated at a site served by the water-borne sewerage in the proposed extension of the Ginsberg location (43).

Chapter VIII of the Public Health Act, No. 36 of 1919 and/or the Slums Act No. 53 of 1934 were quoted by the Department of Public Health as the mechanisms at the disposal of the Council to bring an end to what it said constituted a grave nuisance (the Ridsdel location). The Native Affairs Department was urged to co-operate with the Council by approving the loan of £ 13 500 for financing the proposed relocation scheme (44).

The Council held a meeting on 30 July 1934 on the issue of the removal of Ridsdel Location. It was resolved to extend the notice of removal until the 31 December 1934. Furthermore, it was agreed that compensation would be paid to the residents in terms of the conditions suggested by the Native Affairs Commission of 20 June 1934 (see Section 5.6). It was resolved that in the event of Ridsdel residents failing to appoint a member of the compensation commission, the other two members would appoint a third member. It was also resolved that every applicant for a dwelling in Ginsberg would be given a house as soon as one became available and that the process should take place in as short a period as possible in order to allow the speedy demolition of applicants' house at Ridsdel (45).

On the 3 August 1934 the Chief Native Commissioner recommended for approval the loan application made by the Council to facilitate the demolition of the Ridsdel location after he read the reply of the Council to the earlier recommendations (46) of the Commission (47). The Minister of Native Affairs indicated that he was prepared to accept the proposals of the Council and to recommend the loan application on condition that the period of notice for the evacuation of Ridsdel would not be less than twelve months (48). The Council extended the notice accordingly and fixed it at 30 June 1935 (49).

The Native Affairs Department had suggested that the compensation be paid in cash unless residents specified that they preferred a rental credit. The amount would be arrived at by the Compensation Commission plus an amount equal to 25 percent of such valuation for the inconvenience to which the residents of Ridsdel were put by reason of their removal. Ridsdel residents would be compensated irrespective of whether they relocated to Ginsberg or outside the municipal area (50). It was decided that the Inspector of Works in East London should be an umpire and an impartial third party on the Compensation Commissions (51). One of the remaining hurdles for the Council was the question of the source of funds from which to pay

compensation. There was no legal sanction for the utilization of loan funds under the Housing Act for paying compensation (52). The amount for compensation was estimated by the Council at between £ 400 to £ 500 (53).

#### **5.8. NOTICE TO RIDSDDEL RESIDENTS TO DEMOLISH THEIR OWN DWELLINGS, 1935**

The Council resolved, on 10 January 1935 to serve a notice upon the owners and residents of Ridsdel location calling upon them to vacate their premises on or before 30 June 1935, and to cause the demolition of their own buildings by that date. After the expiration of the notice, applications for compensation would no longer be entertained (54). That notice stated that dwellings were available in the Ginsberg location for persons who desired to continue to reside in King William's Town (55).

The legal representatives of the Ridsdel location residents, (Messrs Tate, Chubb & Dickson) in their letter dated 3 June 1935 requested the Council to consider the following:

- a) That the notice to quit Ridsdel be extended until 31 December 1935.
- b) That 75 % of the compensation should be paid at once and that the balance of 25% after demolition of the building in question.

The Council agreed to extend the deadline but rejected the last suggestion (56). In a subsequent communication of 14 June 1935 Bate, Chubb & Dickson argued that by delaying payment of compensation until demolition, the owners of the houses would be faced with the difficulty that they would have no habitation. They argued that partial compensation should be paid at once and the balance on demolition of dwellings (56). The Council agreed to this (57).

#### **5.9. THE DISPARITY BETWEEN THE AMOUNT OF COMPENSATION DECIDED ON BY THE RESIDENTS AND BY THE COUNCIL**

The Council entered into an agreement on 28 June 1935 with an influential resident of the Ridsdel location (Mr. T. Mvalo), to use his influence with the residents to persuade them to

peacefully vacate the premises (58). On the 26 September 1935 the Town Clerk reported that out of the total number of dwellings in Ridsdel Location, 55 (of the 60) residents had sent in forms (Appendix Four) on which they assessed the value of their respective dwellings. As Appendix Four indicates the total amount involved was £ 3 783. The Council instructed the Town Clerk and the Borough Engineer to carefully assess the valuation of each case and to arrive at an amount which they deemed to be reasonable (59). On the 29 October 1935 the Borough Engineer (H.M. Tait) submitted details (Appendix Four) showing a total valuation for the 60 properties of £ 1 240, as against the residents claims amounting to £ 3 783 for 55 dwellings. The Borough Engineer stated that the actual intrinsic value of the buildings was, in most cases nil because the great majority of buildings were made of wattle and daub, or scrap iron. Roofs were constructed either of thatch or of scrap or corrugated iron. Each wattle and daub rondavel with thatched roof was valued at £ 10. Each additional room was valued in comparison with the size of the rondavel (60).

It will be noted in Appendix Four that the valuations arrived at by the residents of the Ridsdel location were greater than those of the Borough Engineer. Despite the disparity, the Council resolved to issue a further notice to the residents of the Ridsdel location informing them that the Council was prepared to award compensation on the basis arrived at by the Borough Engineer. That offer remained open until 31 December 1935. In the event of the owners failing to notify acceptance of the offer by the time stated, legal proceedings would be instituted to effect the removal of the buildings (61).

A communication signed by four residents of Ridsdel was submitted to the Council on the 18 December 1935. It contended that the valuations of their dwellings by the Borough Engineer were inadequate and requested that the valuations be referred for arbitration as recommended by the Native Affairs Commission. It was further requested that an extension of two months i.e. to 29 February 1936 be granted in order to allow for arbitration. In response the Council expressed the opinion that the Borough Engineer's valuations had been most liberal and that there was every possibility that the arbitrator's valuations would be below those of the Council. It was resolved to allow an arbitrator's valuation for those residents who wanted it and that, for them, notice for removal was extended for two months. It was further resolved that the claims regarded by Town Clerk as reasonable would be paid

out from Council funds and recovered from a loan to be applied for (62). The residents were not satisfied with this action taken by the Council. The Local Secretary for the Ridsdel location, Jerry Tema wrote to the Chief Native Commissioner on the 31 December 1935 and asked for an interview on 8 January 1936 where the said residents could substantiate their cause of dissatisfaction with the Council. The letter alleged that the Council had violated the decisions of the 1934 Native Affairs Commission of enquiry. It also claimed that the Council had contravened the Act No. 21 of 1923 which protected Ridsdel from what Tema called "brutality treatment which was very bad in the eyes of justice." (63).

A deputation of Ridsdel residents interviewed the Acting Chief Native Commissioner of King William's Town on the 8 January 1936. The residents' spokesmen also complained that the residents were being chased away by the Council. The residents stated that they had asked for a place where they could live but had been refused. While they were still waiting for a reply from government for a place outside the Municipal area where they could build for themselves, the Council, had in the interim, stated that the residents should leave by the end of February 1936. The residents rejected Ginsberg location because residents had to pay rent - money which they did not have (64).

The Acting Native Commissioner, reiterated some points made earlier that there was no land outside the municipal area which the Government could make available to the Ridsdel residents. On the question of possible evictions due to arrear rentals, he said that the Council would be reasonable with those in arrears. In response to the above meeting, the Town Clerk stated that the Council would not take undue advantage of Section 17, (I) & (2) of Act 21 of 1923. It agreed it would act sympathetically in the removals (65). The Council however, could not allow blacks to build their own dwellings as it was requested (66).

A deputation of the Ridsdel Location residents then went to Pretoria where they interviewed the Secretary for Native Affairs on 4 February 1936. The deputation asked

that the Government should give Ridsdel residents land outside of the municipal area in order that they might be able to build for themselves. They also tried to establish when the Council had acquired ownership or control of the Ridsdel location because residents lived there prior to the area falling under and within the municipal boundaries. The Secretary could not answer, but stated that the Council had acted generously and had the answer to the ownership of Ridsdel (67).

The Department of Native Affairs declared its support for the Council in its statement that it was using the status of the residents as tenants to evict them (68). The swing in the Native Affairs Department was caused by a number of factors. It was persuaded by the Department of Public Health which cited its deep concern about 'public health' as a reason to support removal of a black location. Secondly, the NAD had been convinced by the Commissions of Enquiry it had appointed to investigate the issue. They had recommended removal of the location on condition that the Council was prepared to pay the residents compensation. For a long time the Council had refused to meet this precondition claiming that they had no funds. Because the Public Health Department was prepared to authorise the use of public money (state funds) to support a local state in order to carry out racial removals under the pretext that it was abating a 'nuisance', this enabled the Council to accept the said condition it had previously refused to meet. The NAD was not certain about the ownership of the Ridsdel location. The Council claimed that it had acquired control of land at Ridsdel by virtue of Act 9 of 1864 (Cape) (69). This assertion was debatable as information above suggests.

#### **5.10. THE FINAL ABOLITION OF RIDSDDEL LOCATION**

By January 1936 some of the Ridsdel residents had demolished their own dwellings (70). Of the original 60 houses, 22 owners refused to demolish their dwellings because they wanted them to be valued by an arbitrator (71). The Council did not refuse arbitration but threatened that, unless some indication was received by the end of February 1936 that the residents accepted the compensation offered, the residents would be forcefully ejected (72). The Native

Affairs Department supported the Council's decision that it should not make any further concessions apart from paying compensation and relocating residents to the municipal location under hygienic conditions (73). Consequently, the remaining 22 properties were inspected and valued on 26 March 1936 by the Inspector of Works and the Clerk of Works of the Public Works Department (see Appendix Four) (74). By that stage, only one owner (out of the 22) had demolished his dwelling. The rest (21 property owners) were then notified by the location Superintendent (D. McLaren) that unless they demolished their dwellings and gave up possession of the sites unlawfully occupied by them in Ridsdel location within fourteen days from 17 September 1936, they would be sued and forfeit the compensation offered (75). At the expiry of fourteen days on 7 October 1936 the Council served notice to sue one of the defaulters who was resisting forced removal (Jery Tema) (76). This resident was not prepared to demolish his dwelling despite the efforts of his own lawyers (77). The defiant, Jery Tema, pleaded on 28 January 1937 in the magistrate court that Ridsdel location land and dwellings belonged to the residents as they had paid a quarterly ground rent of 10/- which they regarded as rates. Therefore, in his opinion, all the notices served upon the Ridsdel residents were unlawful (78). In their defence, the Council replied that as Jerry had applied for compensation he had indirectly accepted the directive to leave Ridsdel (79). On 9 February 1937 the Council obtained judgement for the ejection of Jerry Tema from Ridsdel location site No. 93 (80).

A subsequent petition of Ridsdel residents to the Minister for the Native Affairs Department dated 5 April 1937 opposing the ejection order, was turned down by that Department (81). Thereafter the Government was no longer prepared to intervene in the matter (82). Having succeeded in obtaining the eviction order against Tema, the Council asked the Secretary of Public Health to secure a loan on behalf of the Council in terms of section 17(3) of the Slums Act 1934 which empowered local authorities to borrow money for acquiring a slum area (83).

It was reported on 10 March 1938 that all buildings at the Ridsdel location had been demolished. It is apparent that the Central Housing Board and the Council manipulated the Slums Act 1934 because, in the afore-mentioned court case, the Council was given the eviction order on the understanding that Jerry Tema occupied Ridsdel location illegally.

However, the two bodies mentioned above applied through the Slums Act 1934 for a loan to expropriate Ridsdel (which was already vacated). This Act applied to the private property of residents and by implication, Ridsdel was a private property being declared a slum (84). Racist ideology clearly prevailed and the Council proceeded with its plans. Despite the irregularity mentioned above, the loan of £1 075 for the expropriation was approved on 10 March 1938 under Section 17, Act No.53/1934 (85).

In concluding the issue of the abolition of the Ridsdel location, one other problem confronted the Council. The Secretary for Native Affairs told the Council that, as the Ridsdel area had been regarded as commonage by the Council, it was inconsistent that the Slums Act should be applied. He questioned the loan of £1 075 to be raised for the acquisition of the area (86). The Native Affairs Department directed that the Council should repay the loan from the Council's General Account because the removal of Ridsdel location was undoubtedly to the advantage and welfare of the whites of the King William's Town as increased land values would accrue to them (87).

Two contradictory ideas were created by the process of the demolition of Ridsdel location. The eviction of the 21 residents by the Council proved that Ridsdel location was on land belonging to the Council and was illegally occupied by the residents. However, the approval of a loan to expropriate Ridsdel in terms of the Act 1934 revealed that the Ridsdel location was a slum property belonging to the residents. The Council was unfair to the residents. Laws were manipulated and the collaboration of the Public Health Department ensured the enforcement of racial discrimination.

## **5.11. CONCLUSION**

The procedure followed in the demolition of the two free hold locations of King William's Town, the Brownlee (discussed in the next Chapter) and Ridsdel locations was the same, namely; the application of the Slums Act 1934 as amended. Their removal was unfair because not all the dwellings which were demolished were unfit for human habitation according to the sanitary reports which were compiled.

As described in the Public Health Act No. 36 of 1919, each dwelling should have been assessed individually. The Slums Act permitted the Council to seize all land declared slum area even if the majority of houses there were not slums. The Public Health Act was not in accord with this procedure as it provided for the demolition of an unfit dwelling. It is on that point in particular that the demolition of the two locations is regarded as prejudicial.

The Department of Public Health collaborated with the Council and manipulated the law to evict blacks. For example, the Council obtained the eviction order from the local Magistrate's court to evict 21 Ridsdel residents whom they said occupied municipal sites and dwellings (Ridsdel location) illegally. However, the Council's use of the Slums Act implied that the residents were owners of slum premises (the Ridsdel Location). The residents were, therefore, victimised. The Native Affairs Department was more sympathetic even though it could not avert the effects of the Council's discrimination on the residents in the end. It should be noted that the question of accommodating the Ridsdel residents received less attention from the Council than their removal from the site. The loan which was received by the Council for the purpose of 'acquiring slum premises' was not used for building houses for the residents. The latter were required to demolish their houses first before claiming compensation. It is not clear how many of them secured accommodation at Ginsberg location as houses there were reported to be in short supply by the Council.

#### **5.12. END NOTES**

1. Status of the Union of S.A. 1923.
2. CA J6/9 minutes of health and General Purpose, 26 January 1926.
3. CA 3/KWT 4/1/145, No. 5/21 J3/16 CNC to Magistrate 9 December 1925.
4. CA J6/9 No. 3/21 Magistrate to T/C 11 December 1925.
5. CA J6/9, magistrate to CNC, 29 January 1926.
6. CA J6/9 Magistrate to Chief Native Commissioner 29 January 1926 No. 2/21.
7. CA J6/9 Council meeting 10 February 1926 re. Ridsdel location : Abolition of CAJ 69 Town Clerk to Messrs Robertson, Wiley & King 4 February 1926 No. 1.302.
8. CA No. 5/21 CNC to SNA1 February 1926.
9. CA NA 56/31 SNA to CNC 8 April 1926; No. J/9 No. 3/21 Magistrate to T/C 27 April 1926.
10. CA J6/9 No. 1295 T/C to Robertson, Wiley & King 29 April 1926.
11. CA No. 3/21/6 Magistrate to CNC 18 December 1926 in 5/21.
12. CA J6/9 No. 3/21/6, Magistrate to Town Clerk, 7 June 1926, John Harper to Wilson, 17 May 1926 re Ridsdel Location.
13. CA J6/9 No. 1708, Town Clerk to Robertson, Wiley & King 17 June 1926; J6/9; No. 2266 Town Clerk to Magistrate 12 August 1926.
14. CA J6/9, No. 67126 Robetson, Wiley & King to Town Clerk 13 August 1926.
15. CA No. NA 56/31 Secretary for Native Affairs to Chief Native Comm. 13 December 1926 in file No. 5/210.
16. CA NA 56/21 SNA to CNC 16 February 1927; No. 3/21/6 No. C9102 Magistrate to T/C 16 February 1927; No. 3/21/6 No. C9102 Magistrate to T/C 22 February 1927.

17. CA J3/16 minutes of H & GPC 3 December 1929 : Ridsdel & Brownlee location.
18. CA J6/16 Meeting of H & GPC 18 December-1929; Sanitary Inspector to Public Health Comm. the 12 December 1929.
19. CA J3/9 & J3/16 Meeting of 9 December 1929 H & GPC 12 February 1930; Council Meeting of 20 January 1930.
20. CA J6/9 Meeting of H & GPC 8 April 1930, Council Meeting of 14 April 1930.
21. CA J6/9 Council Meeting 11 December 1933; Meeting of H & GPC 14 December 1933; Cape Mercury, 24 January 1934; 21 May 1934; CA 2/16/13/5 CNC 28 February 1934.
22. The Cape Mercury 25 January 1934.
23. The Cape Mercury 29 January 1934.
24. CA J6/9 Notice to all occupiers of premises of Ridsdel 26 March 1934, Meeting of Health and General Purposes Committee, 7 February 1934, Cape Mercury 29 January 1934.
25. CA J6/9 petition to the Mayor and the Councillors 13 February 1934.
26. CA J6/9, Balfour, Bovana, Tema, Sidayiya, to CNC 13 February 1934.
27. Cape Mercury, 20 February 1934.
28. Cape Mercury, 20 February 1934; CA J6/9 Council Meeting, 1934.
29. CA No. 56/31 SNA to CNC 9 March 1934; Cape Mercury 21 May 1934.
30. CA 56/31 No. 2/16/B/5 telegram from Pretoria - Government to Gaika King William's Town 12 June 1934; 2/16/B/5 CNC to Native Commissioner 12 June 1934.
31. CA J6/9 No. 2/6/6 Acting Additional Native Comm. to T/C 13 June 1934; Council meeting 19 June 1934.
32. CA J6/9 Native Affairs Commission in King William's Town : Investigation of a dispute between Council and inhabitants of Ridsdel: 20 & 21 June 1934; T/C to Chief Secretary, NAD 21 June 1934.
33. CA J6/9, meeting of Native Affairs Commission of enquiry in King William's Town 20 & 21 June 1934; Cape Mercury, 26 June 1934.
34. CA J6/9 minutes of Native Affairs Commission in King William's Town on 20 & 21 June 1934; Cape Mercury, 26 June 1934; ZH9/25 T/C to Secretary Public Health 30 June 1934.
35. CA J6/9 minutes of Native Affairs Commission in King William's Town on 20 & 21 June 1934; Cape Mercury 26 June 1934; ZH9/25 T/C to Secretary Public Health 30 June 1934.
36. CA J6/9 to Secretary Native Affairs Commission 29 June 1934; Cape Mercury, 26 June 1934.
37. Cape Mercury 26 June 1934.
38. CA J6/9 T/C to Secretary Native Affairs Commission 29 June 1934; Cape Mercury 26 June 1934; Council meeting 29 June 1934.
39. CA J6/9 Council meeting, 25 June 1934.
40. CA J6/9 T/C to Secretary Native Affairs 30 June 1934.
41. CA J6/9 & ZH9/25, T/C to Secretary for Public Health 30 June 1934; Cape Mercury, 30 June 1934.
42. CA J6/9 Report of T/C re: Ridsdel Location, 30 July 1934.
43. CA J6/9 & ZH9/25 memorandum from Secretary for Public Health to Native Affairs Department, 30 July 1934; Council meeting 30 July 1934.
44. CA J6/9 & ZH9/25 Council meeting, 30 July 1934; Cape Mercury 1934.
45. Council meeting of 30 July 1934.
46. CA 2/16/ B/6 CNC to SNA 3 August 1934.
47. CA No. 64/313 SNA to CNC 23 August 1934; No. 2/16/B/5 CNC to T/C 25 August 1934.
48. CA ZH9/25 T/C to CNC 28 August 1934.
49. CA No. 64/313 SNA to CNC 8 September 1934; No. 2/16/B/5 CNC to T/C Cape Mercury 12 September 1934.
50. CA PE 3/1173; 2/16/B/5 CNC to SNA 10 October 1934.
51. CA MCK 109/93/182 Secretary - Central Housing Board to Provincial Secretary, 19 September 1934; No. 2/16/B/5, CNC to T/C 11 September 1934.
52. CA J6/9 T/C Finance & Law Committee 8 January 1935.
53. CA J6/9 Finance and law Committee meeting, 10 January 1935.
54. CA J6/9 Borough of King William's Town notice: Ridsdel Location March 1935.
55. CA J6/9 JAL/IFM Bate, Chubb & 13 June 1935; GS J6/9 at Bate, Chubb & Dickson, 12 June 1936; Cape Mercury, 15 June 1935.
56. CA J6/9 JAC/IMF Bate, Chubb & Dickson to T/C 14 June 1935.
57. Cape Mercury, 15 June 1935.
58. CA J6/9 Case No. 364 of 1935, Theodore Mvalo and Harris Morvis Gray T/C, Magistrate court KWT, Nov.

- 1935, Finance and Law Committee meeting 3 & 16 & 3 September 1935, 7 November 1935; Cape Mercury, 15 October 1935.
59. CA J6/9 meeting of Finance and Law Committee 26 September 1935 re: Ridsdel Location; Cape Mercury, 15 October 1935.
  60. CA J6/9 Borough Engineer to Finance & Finance & Law Committee, 29 October 1935; CA J6/9 HM Tait, Borough Engineer: Schedule of valuations, 29 October 1935 meeting of Finance and Law Committee, 7 November 1935.
  61. CA J6/9 meeting of Finance and Law Committee meeting 7 November 1935; D McLaren, to Booy Montongwana, 2 December 1935.
  62. CA J6/9 meeting of finance and Law Committee, 18 December 1935.
  63. CA J6/9 J Tema - Local Secretary Ridsdel location, to CNC 31 December 1935; 2/16/B/5 Acting CNC to Local Secretary Ridsdel Location, 7 October 1936.
  64. CA No. 2/16/B/5 Acting CNC - Notes of meeting of Acting CNC and deputation of Ridsdel residents - 8 January 1936; 2/16/B/5 Acting CNC to T/C 10 January 1936.
  65. CA J6/9, T/C to Acting CNC 11 January 1936.
  66. CA J6/9 T/C to Acting CNC 16 January 1936.
  67. CA No. 65/313 SNA Cape Town: Ridsdel location King William's Town, 4 February 1936; Cape Mercury 10 February 1936; No. 2/16/B/5 CNC to T/C 25 February 1936.
  68. CA NA 64/313, SNA to Mr E.W. Balfour, 20 February 1936; Cape Mercury, 10 February 1936; No. 1/16/B/5 Acting CNC to T/C 10 January 1936.
  69. CA J6/9 T/C to CNC 26 February 1936.
  70. CA G/S, J6/9 to Atherstone, Ersq, 13 January 1936.
  71. CA G/S J6/9 T/C to Acting CNC 11 January 1936; No. 2/16/1936; No. 2/16/B/5, AG to T/C 15 January 1936.
  72. CA J6/9, T/C to CNC 18 February 1936.
  73. CA No. 64/313, SNA to Balfour, 20 February 1936.
  74. CA PWD2566. Secr. Public works to SNA 4 September 1936, No. 64/313, SNA to CNC 15 April 1936.
  75. CA J6/9 D McLaren Location. Superintendent to 21 Ridsdel residents 17 September 1936.
  76. CA J6/9 Robertson Wiley and King to Atherstone 7 October 1936.
  77. CA J6/9, Atherstone to Robertson, Wiley and King 27 October 1936.
  78. CA J6/9 Case No. 508 of 1936, Council vs Tema, magistrate court - KWT 28 January 1937.
  79. CA J6/9 case no. 508/1936 magistrate court of KWT Council vs Jerry Tema, 2 February 1937.
  80. CA J6/9 case No. 508/1936 Municipality of KWT and Jerry Tema, 9 February 1937.
  81. CA J6/9, Jonas, Nkosa et.al. to Minister - NAD 5 April 1937
  82. CA No. 22/16/B/5, CNC to SNA 30 April 1937; No. 64/313(A)SNA to CNC 21 April 1937.
  83. CA G/S J6/9 T/C to Secretary Public Health 19 March 1937.
  84. CA No. 164/93/182J. Saunders: Secretary: Central Housing Board to Provincial Secretary, 10 March 1938, No. 2/6/6 NC to 5 October 1938.
  85. CA No. 164/93/183, Secr. Central Housing Board to Prov. Secr. 10 March 1938; AF ½/ T/C to SNA 22 February 1939 No. 64/313/C, SNA to CNC 23 March 1939.
  86. CA No. 64/313/C SNA to CNC 10 July 1939.
  87. CA No. 2/16/38/4, CNC to 30 September 1939; No. AF ½, T/C to SNA 20 November 1939; 64/313/C SNA to CNC 20 December 1939.

# CHAPTER SIX

## ABOLITION OF BROWNLEE LOCATION 1923-1941

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding Chapter the fate of Ridsdel was discussed. In parallel, Brownlee was also subjected to racially forced replanning. In the inter-war period, the attention of the town Council of King William's Town was also focused on Brownlee Mission Station in general and the Brownlee location in particular. Appendix Two shows that Brownlee location (eight acres) was in the middle section of the Brownlee Mission Station reserve. To the north of it lay the Ridsdel location, and to the south of it was the mission ground where the church, school and a few dwelling houses were situated on 14 acres of land. This chapter discusses the evolving methods used by the Council in its attempts to close Brownlee location. The Council was so imbued with racism that it had made it a policy that all Africans in King William's Town had to be deprived of home ownership and had to be relocated as tenants to the Council location, west of the Buffalo river. Brownlee location (Appendix Two) was a very contentious issue because it lay on the east bank of the Buffalo river which the Council viewed as a 'whites' only area. In addition, it lay on Crown land and its residents owned the houses in which they lived. The Council was further impeded in its designs through the involvement of the mission (London Missionary Society) in the location and the government's Native Affairs Department. This chapter is a case study of the gradual loss of home ownership, the closure of the location and the story of how people were forced to become Council tenants.

The chapter also reveals the steps taken by the government and the Native Affairs Department in particular, to defend the black residents who lived on Crown land from being unfairly evicted by the Council. However, to complicate the issue, other government departments such as the Public Health Department and the Department of Justice collaborated with the Council. Eventually, the residents were evicted through a controversial application of the Slums Act No.53 of 1934. The residents in turn received unfair compensation for their condemned

properties.

## **6.2. WHY THE COUNCIL COULD NOT APPLY THE NATIVES (URBAN AREAS) ACT NO.21 OF 1923**

Prior to 1923 the Council did not have the £ 3 000 stipulated by the Native Affairs Commission of 1910 to compensate the residents as a condition for their removal to another site. It is apparent that the Council hoped that the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 would provide the means to close Brownlee location without obliging them to pay the aforesaid amount (1). The Natives (Urban Areas) Act was passed on 14 June 1923. Its terms were made applicable in King William's Town in terms of proclamation No. 302 of 1924. This proclamation stipulated that as from 1 January 1925 all Africans, other than exempted in terms of Section five of Act would have to reside in a location. The exempted Africans included the owners of dwellings of a value of £ 75 or more, voters in the Cape of Good Hope, residents of mission stations etc. (2). As the residents of Brownlee location owned houses and their location belonged to the London Missionary Society, the Council was not able to close it through applying the Act. This reality however, did not hinder the Council in its efforts to close the location.

## **6.3. THE COUNCIL'S ABORTIVE ATTEMPT TO MOVE THE RESIDENTS IN 1924**

On 27 October 1924 the Council resolved to compensate the Brownlee residents by using a loan it had acquired to build dwellings at the Ginsberg location for Africans who were to be moved out of the 'white' town of King William's Town and relocated in the municipal location (3). The residents of Brownlee location objected to the Council's intention to relocate them to Ginsberg location. They insisted that they should be compensated in cash and allowed to choose the site to which they would be relocated (4). The Native Affairs Department supported the residents because their demands paralleled the recommendations of the 1910 Native Affairs Commission (5). The Council was thus prevented from pursuing its own course of action and it was apparent that the government intended to abide by the 1910 ruling.

#### **6.4. CONFLICT BETWEEN THE COUNCIL AND THE PRIME MINISTER OVER THE PROPOSED REMOVAL OF BROWNLEE LOCATION**

The seriousness with which the Council treated the issue and the degree to which they were prepared to go became apparent when on 2 September 1925 the Prime Minister, General Hertzog, visited King William's Town. During his meeting with the Council, the mayor accused the government of being responsible for the alleged insanitary conditions in the Brownlee location. He called upon the government, as an owner of the location, to control the 'nuisance' there at its own expense. The municipality deemed the government to be the owner by virtue of the fact that the magistrate was one of the trustees and the fact that a Certificate of Reservation in respect of Brownlee location had been issued by the government. The Prime Minister objected to the Council's claims but promised to look further into the issue (6).

#### **6.5. THE SECOND NATIVE AFFAIRS COMMISSION ON THE PROPOSED REMOVAL OF BROWNLEE: 1925**

A response to the claims made against the government was quick in coming. On 9 October 1925 three parliamentary advisors of the Minister of Native Affairs, namely, Dr. Roberts, Dr. Loram and General Lemmer and their secretary Mr. Medford (who are hereafter referred to as the Native Affairs Commission of 1925), visited King William's Town. This was at the instruction of Prime Minister who was also the Minister of Native Affairs. They held a meeting with the Council, the resident missionary of Brownlee location and a white lawyer, Mr Hutton. The latter was nominated by Council without the residents' consent (7). The Native Affairs Commission of 1925 did not interview the residents nor did it entertain petitions from them. It confined itself to the issue of whether the Brownlee location should be removed and if so, on what conditions (8).

The 1925 Commission concluded that the Brownlee location should be removed and that its residents should be compensated. It, however, differed from that of 1910 on the question of the proposed site of relocation and the conditions of tenure there. It recommended that Brownlee residents should be relocated to a municipal location under the Natives (Urban

Areas) Act of 1923 (9).

On 23 October 1925 W.T. Brownlee, appealed to the Prime Minister to influence the Council to implement the recommendation of 1910 Commission which the residents deemed favourable to them (10). In response the Secretary for Native Affairs assured Mr Brownlee that the rights of the residents concerned would be kept in mind (11). On 2 February 1926 the Secretary for Native Affairs instructed the magistrate to negotiate with the Brownlee residents and the Council to ensure that the Brownlee issue was settled amicably (12). A meeting between the magistrate and the Brownlee residents held on 10 February 1926 was fruitless. According to the magistrate, the residents' opposition to being resettled in a municipal location was a result of having been influenced by the political ideology of the ICU (Industrial and Commercial Workers Union) (13).

Soon afterwards the Prime Minister voiced his support for the residents. It would appear that the Prime Minister was opposed to the forceful relocation of the residents and that he wanted a solution to the issue which was acceptable to both parties. He therefore informed the magistrate that the residents were exercising their legal rights to refuse forceful relocation. Only an Act of Parliament could deprive them of that. He instructed the magistrate to act as an arbitrator between Council and the residents in solving the issue (14). The Council however, refused arbitration and demanded that residents be relocated into a municipal location (15). The Council co-opted the support of the magistrate during a joint inspection of a site for a municipal location extension planned by the Borough Engineer (16). As a result on 21 May 1926, the Magistrate (H. Britten) urged the residents to accept, unconditionally, the site offered. It would appear that the magistrate had been influenced by the Council and supported the site they had chosen for the residents. He contradicted the Prime Minister's instruction which directed him to act as a neutral person in solving the issue. The residents however, refused (17).

## **6.6. THE COUNCIL'S FOCUS ON SANITATION ISSUES**

On 7 February 1927 the Council referred the issue of the proposed removal of Brownlee location to their lawyers (18). On the lawyers' suggestion, the Council resolved to take action

against individual residents and occupiers of the allegedly insanitary dwellings, with a view to effect their removal (19). The residents objected to the Council's intended course of action because they saw it as a violation of their legal rights (20). It was revealed by Dr. Pringle, the Council's Medical Officer of Health, on 28 January 1929 that the insanitary conditions existed in only a few dwellings. The main issue was the absence of sanitary conveniences. In response to the residents' opposition, the Council resolved to hold its proposed action in abeyance (21).

#### **6.7. AN INDIRECT APPROACH TO EFFECT REMOVAL OF BROWNLEE LOCATION 1929**

As all previous steps had failed to remove Brownlee location on a voluntary basis, the Council resolved, on 8 February 1929, to ask the residents to submit a definite scheme in terms of which they would be prepared to voluntarily leave Brownlee location (22). The Town Clerk invited the Brownlee location committee to his office with the view of facilitating matters and assisting them to place their views clearly before the Council (23). The Town Clerk however misinformed the Council that the Brownlee location committee, representing the residents, had accepted the Council's chosen site. When this became known, the committee disputed that assertion and put the record straight. They stated that they favoured a site outside the municipal boundary of King William's Town where they could build their own houses after they had received compensation (24).

#### **6.8. THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S PUBLIC HEALTH DEPARTMENT IN THE REMOVAL OF BROWNLEE LOCATION**

In 1929 the Brownlee issue became a national one when the Council acquired an ally, the Public Health Department. Senior members of that Department, included Dr Gregory, the then Medical Officer of Health for the Cape and Dr Edward Thornton who had been involved in the removal of Africans and coloureds of King William's Town from the east bank of the Buffalo river to the Ginsberg location as far back as 1912 (refer to 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7). The Department of Public Health had a long history of involvement in the relocation process of blacks in King William's Town and it appeared to be sympathetic to the local government.

On 29 August 1929 the government Secretary for Public Health asked for advice and assistance from the Secretary for Native Affairs to effect the compulsory evacuation of the Brownlee residents in order to remove, what he called, the menace to the health of the town (25). The Secretary for Native Affairs suggested that the King William's Town Council should use the Public Health Act No.36 of 1919 to remove the insanitary dwellings but not the whole location (26). In response the Council's Health and General Purposes Committee once again decided (on 3 December 1929) to take action against individual residents and occupiers of insanitary dwellings with a view to effecting their removal (27).

A subsequent sanitary report on Brownlee location dated 12 December 1929 revealed that, of the total 147 dwellings, between 60 and 70 percent were in a good condition. Approximately 50 percent of the remainder could be repaired. The remaining dwellings were tin shanties which, in the opinion of report writers, warranted demolition. There were apparently no sanitary conveniences for the location and the school (28).

On the basis of the sanitary report, the Council resolved on 3 March 1930 to serve notice in terms of the Public Health of 1919 on the Trustees of Brownlee location calling on them to remove the menace to public health (29). This implied that the insanitary dwellings were to be removed and not the whole location. In addition to that, sanitary conveniences had to be erected for use by all mission blacks there. In response, Henry Wilson, the resident missionary, refused to accept the responsibility of cleaning up the location. He contended that the Council had been carrying out such a duty in compliance with section 44 and 63 of Ordinance No.9 of 1864. In terms of this ordinance the Council charged rates from the residents of the location in question. The Council had erected two cesspit toilets from the funds collected in order to abate or prevent a nuisance. For an unknown reason the Council had derelicted that duty provided for in the ordinance (30).

The Council did not succeed in shifting its responsibility for cleaning up Brownlee location as provided for in the Ordinance of 1864. Ultimately the Council considered other methods to bring about demolition of Brownlee location. It requested the Minister of Native Affairs Department to introduce special legislation to effect the closing of the Brownlee location. Although this request was declined, the Minister promised to visit King William's Town to

assist in resolution of the issue (31).

## **6.9. THE MINISTER OF NATIVE AFFAIR'S VISIT TO KING WILLIAM'S TOWN IN 1930 AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS**

It was stated that the Minister of Native Affairs' intended visit to King William's Town was to obtain as much information as possible concerning the complicated Brownlee issue (32). However, the Council saw the Minister's visit as an opportunity to urge him to initiate a special Act in Parliament which would provide for the cancellation of the Certificate of Reservation issued in favour of three trustees so that the land in question would become the Council's. In that way the it would fall under the direct control of the Council (33).

In order to convince the Minister to yield to the Council's proposal, the Council compiled a sanitary report on Brownlee location which was dated 27 August 1930. However, the report came out in favour of the residents in that it revealed that the 150 dwellings were clean in appearance, and many residents were plastering their dwellings. It made mention of two cesspit closets erected by the Council for the population which in 1930 numbered some 750. There was no organised rubbish collection and kraals were reported to be the source of fly breeding. The report stated that Tuberculosis at Brownlee location was 5.4 per thousand while in the Ginsberg it was 3.8 per thousand (34).

At the meeting on 5 September 1930 the Minister for Native Affairs refused to sanction the demolition of Brownlee location as requested by the Council (35). The Minister's decision was based, amongst other things, on the residents' petition presented at the meeting. The petitioners had stated that the Council's intentions were based on prejudice because of the alleged insanitary conditions. They added that Brownlee Mission location was a private property which was not under municipal control and that they were prepared to defend their legal rights even in the Supreme Court (36).

Shortly thereafter, the Secretary for Public Health pleaded with the Secretary for Native Affairs for the Native Affairs Department to assist the Council in solving the difficult issue of the Brownlee (37). In response the Minister of Native Affairs Department promised to

carefully consider the matter (38). The Council resolved on 30 January 1931 to send a delegation to Cape Town to ask the Government to pass a special Act of Parliament for the demolition of the Brownlee location (39). Having learned about the Council's intentions, the Brownlee location residents sent a deputation to the Native Commissioner where they submitted a petition about Brownlee location's future. The residents proposed the appointment of a Government headman and the establishment of Brownlee as a crown location under the provisions of the Mission Stations Act of 1909. The Native Commissioner responded that Brownlee location was too small and it could not hope to produce sufficient revenue for the services which its Board would be required to maintain. Secondly, it was unlikely that the government would establish a crown location on a piece of land which was entirely surrounded by municipal land (40).

The Brownlee issue reached a *cul-de-sac* position because the Council's proposals to demolish the location were unacceptable to the residents. On the other hand, the residents' proposals about the governance of Brownlee location under the provisions of the Mission Station Locations Act of 1909 could not be implemented for the reason that the area was too small (41). Because of the difficulties which attached to Brownlee location, the Council left the Brownlee issue in abeyance in 1933 with no definite solution.

#### **6.10. DEMOLITION OF BROWNLEE LOCATION THROUGH THE USE OF THE SLUMS ACT OF 1934**

On 15 June 1934 the Town Clerk suggested to the Council that it should use the newly released Slums Act of 1934 to abolish Brownlee location. An advantage of this Act, according to the Town Clerk, was that the declaration of a slum could not be invalidated by the fact that other suitable accommodation for the slum occupiers was not available. The local authority was not bound to provide such other accommodation in such instances (42). The Council did not however pursue the issue of applying the Slums Act until 1937 because their attention was focussed on the demolition of Ridsdel location in 1934 (see Chapter Five). It was only on 19 January 1937 that C. Newell (a lawyer resident in King William's Town) reported in terms of the Slums Act of 1934, that a nuisance existed at Brownlee location (43). The next step was taken on 2 February 1937 when the Chief Health Inspector of the

Municipality inspected the alleged slum premises and confirmed their existence (44). The Council, in consequence, resolved to remove the entire slum area (45).

As the Council had, for many decades, failed to relocate the entire Brownlee location to another site, it grabbed the opportunity to do so by applying the Slums Act. To accomplish this goal, the Town Clerk informed the Secretary for the Central Housing Board on 17 February 1937 that the Council intended to remove about 800 to 900 African and coloured residents of the Brownlee location in terms of the Slums Act of 1934. He also asked for the advice and assistance of the Public Health Department to carry its mission successfully. This Department had shown support to the Council previously and therefore it could not let them down at that instance (46). The Council clearly intended to acquire control over the contentious eight acres of land held under the Certificate of Reservation, plus the 14 acres which belonged to the London Missionary Society (47).

On 22 March 1937 the Secretary for Public Health (Dr E.N. Thornton) who had supported the removal of Brownlee location prior to 1910, confirmed that Section 17 of the Slums Act of 1934 could be applied to acquire the said premises by the Council (48). The Council then sought legal advice as to whom a Slums Act notice had to be served on in respect of the eight acres between the trustees and the residents (49). The Council focussed on the relocation of the eight acres because of its desire to concentrate all blacks in King William's Town in the Ginsberg location on the west bank. Very few (under 10) dwellings were located on the 14 acres in addition to the white missionary's house the church and school (50).

The Secretary for Public Health suggested that the Council could serve notice on a limited number of residents who lived in the worst houses. He added that the Central Housing Board would not allow a place to be declared a Slum unless there were places for the dispossessed occupiers to go to. He promised the Council that the Board would consider the Council's application for a housing loan sympathetically (51). Although the Town Clerk had earlier said that there was no necessity to provide alternative housing to slum dwellers, the reality was different. The declaration of Slums involved consultation with other state departments such as the Native Affairs Department and Central Housing Board which had to sanction the declaration.

## 6.11. THE PROPOSED REHOUSING SCHEME FOR THE BROWNLEE RESIDENTS

The Ginsberg location was established in terms of the King William's Town Borough Act of 1905. As the Act did not make provision for the separation of Africans, coloureds or Indians, residents of Ginsberg and its extension, Leightonville, were racially mixed. In an attempt to comply with the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 which sought the separation of African locations from those of other races, the Council planned to concentrate Africans in Ginsberg and coloureds in at Leightonville. The Council informed the Secretary of Public Health about this arrangement on 26 May 1937 as it influenced the removal of Brownlee residents (52). In 1937 there were 129 dwellings at Brownlee location eight acre site of which 39 belonged to coloureds and 90 to Africans (53). In order to plan for the rehousing of Brownlee residents, the Council submitted the following information to the Secretary for Public Health (Table 5).

**TABLE 5: HOUSING STATISTICS AT GINSBERG AND LEIGHTONVILLE**

	A AFRICANS	B COLOUREDS	C TOTAL
1. Population			
Leightonville	112	217	329
Ginsberg	620	158	778
Total	732	375	1 107
2. Families			
Leightonville	20	35	55
Ginsberg	151	32	183
Total	171	67	238
3. Houses			
Leightonville			209
Ginsberg			78
Total			287

Source: (54)

Table 5 shows that there were 238 families resident in the Ginsberg and its extension Leightonville. The total number of houses was 287. This means that the number of unoccupied houses was 49 ( $287 - 238 = 49$ ). The Council proposed to build 80 houses in addition to the 49 vacant houses to provide for all the 129 Brownlee location residents (55).

## **6.12. THE CONTROVERSIAL ISSUING OF THE SLUMS ACT NOTICE**

On 4 January 1938 the Medical Officer of Health (MOH), R.E. Meaker, reported in terms of the Slums Act, that in his opinion, a nuisance existed in Brownlee location (eight acres site). The M.O.H.'s report was based on an inspection. In terms of the Act any premises which did not have sufficient and wholesome water supply available within a reasonable distance would qualify as being a nuisance (56).

On 17 January 1938 the Council resolved to issue a notice in terms of Section 4 and 5 of the Slums Act on the owners of Slums premises. The owners of dwellings would be called on to appear before the Council to show cause why the premises in question should not be declared a slum (57). There was uncertainty whether to serve the notice on the three trustees or on the residents of Brownlee location. Before the notice could be issued, the Council consulted its lawyers (58). Based on the lawyer's suggestion, the Medical Officer of Health was instructed to select specific houses on which the alleged nuisance existed and then to report accordingly. Out of 129 houses, the MOH identified six houses, namely F2; F3; F4; F5; F6 and G9 (see photographs in Appendix Three). He reported that they did conform with the requirements of the second schedule of the said Act which targeted premises which were exceedingly dirty or were so situated so as to be liable to favour the spread of any infectious diseases (59). The fact that only six premises were identified as slums out of 129 premises clearly showed that the Council was unfair in using the the Slums Act. Previous inspection reports had revealed that the majority of houses in Brownlee location were in a good condition.

In pursuit of its callous intention, on 11 April 1938, the Council resolved to treat the whole of Brownlee location, including the 14 acres as one premise on which a nuisance existed to serve the notice in terms of Section 4(1) of Slums Act 1934 and decided to serve the notice upon the Trustees only (60). This was done on 19 April 1938. The Magistrate, mayor and the resident missionary were called upon to appear before the Council on 10 May 1938 to indicate why Brownlee should not be declared a slum (61). In the citation court held on 10 May 1938, the Trustees did not oppose the declaration of Brownlee as a Slum (62).

The residents of Brownlee location only appealed against the declaration of their location as a slum after the time of ten days stipulated in the Act had elapsed (63). The residents contended that they were being unfairly treated by the Council because they were not called upon to appear in the citation court to defend their dwellings from being declared slums. Secondly, they argued that only six dwellings were the only clear cut cases proved to be slums out of a total of 129 dwellings. In general, they claimed, houses at Brownlee were better than in Municipal locations countrywide. They stated that the declaration was unfair and was meant to transfer them to another site without justifiable reasons except prejudice (64). On 11 July 1938 the Council submitted the residents objections with its comments to the Minister for Public Health (65).

It should be noted that the issuing of the notice of declaring Brownlee location a slum was full of contradictions. For example, the residents of Brownlee who were the actual owners of the slum dwellings were not served with the notice which went instead to the trustees. Therefore the whole process was grossly unfair.

#### **6.13. APPROVAL OF THE EXPROPRIATION OF BROWNLEE LOCATION**

In order to expedite the approval of the expropriation of Brownlee location by a Minister of state, the Town Clerk approached a Senator in Cape Town (Mr C.H. Malcomess) and requested him to urge the Minister of Public Health, the Minister of Interior or the Minister of Native Affairs to consent to the expropriation (66). Ministerial approval, in terms of Slums Act, for the expropriation of Brownlee location was announced on 7 September 1938 by the Secretary for Public Health (67). This department, once again showed clear support for the Council's racial policies. Approval of expropriation was given subject to the land being reused for a housing scheme or if that was impossible, the land would be sold and the money obtained from its sale would be used to finance a housing scheme elsewhere (68).

#### **6.14. STEPS TAKEN TO EVICT BROWNLEE RESIDENTS**

The Town Clerk asked the Secretary for Public Health to expedite the cancellation of the Certificate of Reservation under which the 8 acres site was held by the three trustees. After

consulting with the Secretary for the Department of Lands, the Secretary for Public Health replied to the Town Clerk that the procedure was for the Council to pay compensation to the Trustees as a condition of the cancellation of the Certificate of Reservation. After it was cancelled, the eight acres of land would become crown land which would then be granted to the Council in terms of Act No.15 of 1887 (69). In addition to the payment of compensation to the trustees the Department of Lands stated that the Trustees had to furnish the Department of Lands with a written consent for the transfer of the land in question in terms of the Slums Act (70). On 20 September 1938 the Council submitted a document signed by the Trustees consenting to the cancellation of the Certificate of Reservation (71).

The Council then used bullying tactics whereby the owners of dwellings at Brownlee location were issued with a threatening notice. This notice stated that the "Municipality of King William's Town, with the approval of the Minister of Public Health had decided to acquire by expropriation the Brownlee location. The owners of dwellings were required to state within 30 days the amount they required for the purchase of their properties. However, if the Council felt that the amount claimed was excessive, an arbitrator would be appointed and his decision would be final (72).

Instead of paying the owners of dwellings the money they claimed, the Council instructed its Borough Engineer to compile his own list of property values which, in most cases, were far less than what the residents had claimed (details are contained in the sample of houses in Table 6). According to the sample of property values in Table 6, the total values for six houses were : £ 74; £ 196 and £ 357 respectively. The smallest value was that of the arbitrator (based on municipal values of houses for rates) and the biggest was that of the house owners. The Borough Engineer's values were more than the municipal values for rates. The Council resolved to pay out compensation from its own funds according to the smallest figure chosen between the owner's and that of the Borough Engineer (73).

Residents who did not comply with the notice were threatened that they would be offered the municipal/arbitrator's stipulated amount of compensation. Secondly, the residents were put at a disadvantage in that they had to demolish their dwellings first before the Council could compensate them (74).

**TABLE 6: EVALUATION OF SOME BROWNLEE HOUSES**

No.	OWNER	MUNICIPAL VALUATION	OWNER'S CLAIM	B. Eng's VALUATION
C. 5.	Songoni Mxoli	9-0-0	90-0-0	£ 35
C.7.	Theo Nkungwana	6-0-0	50-0-0	£ 30
E.2.	Abbie Mxoli	22-10-0	120-0-0	£ 65
G.4.	Henry Jasson	8-0-0	30-0-0	£ 25
M.6	Philip Busack	5-0-0	15-0-0	£ 15.0.0
M.14	Dinah Raxa	15-0-0	20-0-0	£ 12.0.0
L.6.	Diederick Davids	4-0-0	12-0-0	£ 4
L.2.	Hilda Marx	5-0-0	20-0-0	£ 10
		£ 74-10-0	£ 357.0.0	£ 196

Source: (104)

Note: B. Eng = Borough Engineer

The dissatisfaction caused among the residents of Brownlee location was so great that on 15 October 1938, the President of Cape African Congress, Mr J.A. Calata, appealed on their behalf to the Council and the magistrate to allay the resident's fears. He said that residents would accept a transfer to another site if conditions of tenure there would be the same as those which they had in Brownlee namely, to build their own houses and to be exempted from the provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 (75). The Council and the magistrate did not respond to Mr J.A. Calata's requests but urged the residents, through Calata, to comply with the Slums Act of 1934 and to resettle in the municipal locations (76).

As the number of claims for compensation increased, the Council applied on 24 October 1938, to the Central Housing Board for approval of the issue of a loan of £ 5 200 (77). This loan application was approved by the Administrator on 2 June 1939 (78).

## **6.15. THE NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT'S PUNISHMENT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THEIR RACIST ATTITUDE**

The Native Affairs Department of the government was clearly not pleased with developments. They ruled that fifty percent of the loan required to expropriate Brownlee location should be repaid from the Council's own General Account and fifty percent from the Council's Native Revenue Account. The reason advanced was that the removal of the location would benefit the whites of King William's Town from increased land values after the removal of slum. The Native Revenue Account from which the money was to be deducted would be reimbursed from the money obtained from the sale of Brownlee location (79). The fact that the Council had to repay the loan from its General Account implied that it was forced to pay for the unfair removal of Brownlee location, a position it had rejected since the question of compensation was discussed as early as 1910. The Council had always maintained that it had no money to compensate the Brownlee residents.

The Council was not pleased with the Native Affairs Department's directive to repay the loan from its own funds. The reason for its dissatisfaction was that the loan was granted by the Provincial Secretary and authorised by the Administrator on condition that the Council would sell the land acquired (Brownlee location) and then use the proceeds of such sale to repay the loan (80). The Native Affairs Department's directive was in conflict with this condition (81). The second reason for the Council's dissatisfaction with the Native Affairs' Department was that in the Council's point of view Brownlee residents benefitted from the demolition of their location because they were removed from the insanitary ground where there was a danger of infectious diseases. As far as the Council was concerned the dwellings at Brownlee location were valueless because they were slums. Therefore, compensation paid was not for the value of the buildings but just a "gratuity for sentimental reasons", that is, consolation for a reason of giving up premises that had been dear to the occupiers thereof (82).

## **6.16. THE FINAL DEMOLITION OF BROWNLEE LOCATION**

In November 1939 a rumour spread amongst the Brownlee location residents that the Council

had intimated that all properties of Brownlee location had to be vacated before 25 December 1939. It was also alleged that any person who failed to demolish his/her dwelling by that time would forfeit compensation (83). The Town Clerk indirectly confirmed the rumour when he told one of the residents that the Council could not guarantee any extension of time for removal from Brownlee beyond December 1939 (84). The threat of receiving no compensation resulted in Brownlee residents demolishing their dwellings in large numbers. This exceeded the number of available Council houses in the Ginsberg location (85). Table 7 and Appendix Five show the number of dwellings which were demolished at Brownlee location and the period of demolition:

**TABLE:7. DEMOLITION OF BROWNLEE LOCATION 1939/1940**

NO. OF DWELLINGS DEMOLISHED	COMPENSATION PAID (£)	DATE DEMOLITION COMPLETED
26	847	9.12.1939
58	2 397	7.2.1940
24	863	27.3.1940
17	785	3.6.1940
5	201	3.9.1940
Total 130	5 093 28 legal cost 17 survey & re. g. 5 138	

Source: (86)

Table 7 should be read in conjunction with Appendix Five which shows, amongst other things, the occupation of the owners of the demolished dwellings. It is evident from Appendix Six that some of the Brownlee location residents were not working and therefore they had no income with which to build new houses or to hire accommodation in municipal locations. Council action was harsh in that many poor location residents were deprived of home ownership and forced to become Council tenants (Appendix Five).

Table 7 shows that Brownlee location was demolished in less than a year (from December 1939 to September 1940). This high rate of demolition of houses by their owners led to a dearth of new housing for the Brownlee residents. The Town Clerk attempted to justify the shortage of housing accommodation when he stated that the residents had ignored repeated efforts by the Council to ascertain the number of dwellings they would require in the new location. It was claimed that it was therefore impossible to obtain reliable information as the

majority of the residents showed a determination to resist expropriation until the last moment (87). On 10 January 1940 the Town Clerk reported that all available accommodation at the Ginsberg location had been taken up (88). The new housing scheme had not been completed prior to the demolition of Brownlee location (89).

The Council aggravated the desperate housing position of the Brownlee residents by delaying payment of compensation. A house-owner had to demolish his or her own dwelling before claiming compensation (90). This was not paid immediately after demolition. The Council had first to compile a schedule of demolished dwellings showing the amounts to be paid to residents. The Provincial Secretary would then send the loan to the Council. Although the Town Clerk reported on 30 April 1940, that all houses at Brownlee location had been demolished (91), as Table 7 and Appendix Five show, by September 1940 the Council was still waiting for part of the loan of £5 200.

Another delay in the payment of compensation was ascribed to the Council which sanctioned persons to demolish dwellings without checking whether they were the rightful owners of the dwellings. When it came to payment however, the Council would check whether the claimant was the rightful owner of that dwelling. In some cases checking took long periods of time, particularly in cases where owners lived outside King William's Town (92). It is logical that the amount of compensation received should have been used to build another house elsewhere. In the case of Brownlee location residents however, they were not allowed to build new houses, but could only rent houses at Ginsberg (93). It is apparent that residents of Brownlee location were left in a state of despair by the Council. All of them were forced to vacate Brownlee location. Some of them had no money to rent Council houses. Even those who had means found it difficult to find a place to rent in the Ginsberg location.

#### **6.17. THE RELOCATION OF THE BROWNLEE SCHOOL AND COUNCIL'S ACQUISITION OF THE REMAINING 14 ACRES OF MISSION LAND**

The Town Clerk reported on 16 May 1940 that there was a need to close the Brownlee location Primary school attended by the 200 black pupils whose parents had, technically, been relocated to the Ginsberg location. He suggested that the Council should apply to the

Minister of Native Affairs under section 6(1) of Natives (Urban Areas) Act No.21 of 1923 for authority to direct the owners of the Brownlee school to cease conducting this school. He also suggested that the Minister should authorise the erection of a school at the Ginsberg location (94). The Town Clerk proposed to acquire the school building at Brownlee location from the London Missionary Society whose trustees were the C.U.S.A. (Congregational Union of South Africa) for £500. This amount was for the demolition of the school at Brownlee and the erection of another one at the Ginsberg location (95).

The owners of the Brownlee school, the C.U.S.A. voiced no objection to the Council's proposals to expropriate their Primary school (96). The Council's action however once again provoked the Native Affairs Department to act and to punish the Council for the reason that the removal of the school in question was seen as a strategy calculated to remove blacks in the vicinity of white areas. Therefore the Council had to pay for the cost involved because the disappearance of blacks in the locality would lead to increased land values for white properties. This Native Affairs Department then directed that, as was the case with Brownlee location, 50% of the £500 for expropriation of Brownlee Primary school would be paid from the Council's General Account and another 50% from the Council's Native Revenue Account (97).

In its defence, the Council tried to twist the law to its advantage, by arguing that the school was situated, on land outside of the condemned eight acres site. For that reason the school could not be expropriated in terms of the Slums Act. Since the 14 acres site was a freehold property, owned by the C.U.S.A., the Council argued that it was on land falling outside the jurisdiction of the urban area of King William's Town. It was for that reason that the Council referred to section 6 of the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 which provided that the Minister of Native Affairs had to prevent congregations of blacks in the vicinity of an urban area's boundary (98; 99). It should be remembered that the Council had condemned the whole Brownlee location as a slum based on inspection report of only six houses and the use of the Slums Act. However, when the Council was forced to pay the costs for demolition of the school, it contradicted itself by saying that the area where the school was situated was not a slum and it was outside King William's Town. Based on the argument that the 14 acres site of Brownlee location was outside the municipal boundary, the Council applied to the

Minister for Native Affairs to pay the amount of £500 to remove the school (100).

The Native Affairs Department concurred and approved a grant of £500 on 23 September 1940 to the C.U.S.A. for the closing of Brownlee Primary school and the erection of one in the Ginsberg location (101). Consequently, the Council ordered the C.U.S.A. to discontinue to the Brownlee school within six months from 4 October 1940 and to erect a new school in the Ginsberg (102). The Minister of Native Affairs approved the new school on 3 June 1941. This approval marked the official closing of old black locations in the 'white' King William's Town (103).

## **6.18. CONCLUSION**

The Council used sanitary conditions as an excuse to abolish the Brownlee location. Since this reason was not a genuine one, the Council did not apply the normal Public Health Act of 1919 which was designed to remove individual insanitary dwellings.

The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 could not be applied to force blacks in the Brownlee location to relocate in the municipal location as residents were property owners and were therefore protected. For a time, the Native Affairs Department also protected the Brownlee location residents from being unfairly evicted. This department sent a Commission of Enquiry to King William's Town to attempt to forge an amicable settlement. They also stipulated that if they were removed, the blacks should be compensated.

The Council secured its will through a 'loop hole', namely the support of the Public Health Department and the Slums Act No.53 of 1934. This Act was initially intended for use in bigger cities but the Public Health Department sanctioned that it could be used to demolish Brownlee location. The declaration of Brownlee location as a slum was unfair because out of 129 houses, only six houses were inspected and found to be slums. In addition to that injustice all the owners of those 129 dwellings were not called upon to defend the declaration of their houses slums as required by the Slums Act. In response, the Native Affairs Department 'punished' the Council for its 'racist' evictions by demanding that half of the expenses for expropriation should be repaid from the Council's coffers.

It is apparent that Brownlee location residents were forced to demolish their dwellings and were not allowed ownership rights elsewhere in the town. The only option available to them was to rent Municipal houses which were in short supply. The Council proved its legal skill when they outwitted the Native Affairs Department into paying for the removals which benefitted the Council. Although the Native Affairs Department had instructed the Council to pay the cost for the demolition of the Brownlee location primary school, the Council found a 'loop hole', namely the Native (Urban areas) Act of 1923 which left all expenses involved in the relocation of this school with the Department of Native Affairs.

The residents of Brownlee location suffered an injustice at the hands of the Council which worked in conjunction with the Public Health Department to enforce what was clearly an eviction based on tenuous legal grounds. This display of pre-apartheid racism, was surprising for the time and indicates the degree to which prejudice existed in white society in King William's Town. The fact that the Council was clearly more extreme in its approach than the Native Affairs Department reinforces this assertion. By 1941, with the exception of a few blacks living in the 'white' town, all concentrations of blacks settlement had been shifted across the *cordon sanitaire* of the Buffalo River.

## 6.19. END NOTES

1. CA 64/313, JSA/AB, SNA to 14 and 28 September 1922; CA F5/4/777, CNC to SNA 7 December 1922; Cape Mercury 1924.
2. Cape Mercury, 8 July 1924; 29 October 1924; CA J6/9, report of Special Committee - King William's Town 27 October 1924.
3. CA J3/16, T/C to CNC 28 October 1924; Cape Mercury, 30 October 1924.
4. CA J3/16(1) Qalinge, Balfour et.al. Petition to SNA, 22 November 1924; No. 56/31, Brownlee to SNA, 22 November 1924.
5. CA No. F5/3/5023, Council meeting 26 January 1925.
6. Cape Mercury, 3 September 1925; CA No.56/31; Brownlee to SNA, 7 September 1925; No.53/31, SNA to CNC 23 September 1925.
7. CA J3/16, Native Affairs Commission, 9 October 1925; Report of Special Committee on Brownlee station, 27 October 1925; No. F.9 Medford to Minister for NAD 21 October 1925.
8. CA F.9 Medford - confidential report to Minister for NAD 21 October 1925; Native Affairs Commission Minutes, 9 October 1925.
9. CA F.9 Medford to Prime Minister, 21 October 1925; J3/16, Native Affairs Commission Minutes, 9 October 1925; Council meeting 12 October 1925.
10. CA 56/31, Brownlee to Hertzog, 23 October 1925; Cape Mercury, 9 October 1925.
11. CA No.56/31, SNA to Brownlee 28 October 1925.
12. CA No.56/31, SNA to CNC 2 February 1926; No.5/3, CNC to Magistrate, 4 February 1926.
13. CA No. 3/21/5, Magistrate to CNC 17 & 23 February 1926.
14. CA J3/16, No. 5/3 CNC to T/C 23 March 1926; J3/16 Council meeting 29 March 1926.
15. CA J3/16, T/C to Magistrate, 30 March 1926.

16. CA J3/16 Council meeting, 30 April 1926; 10 May 1926; J3/16, No.1445; T/C to Magistrate 14 May 1926; NA 56/31, SNA to CNC 21 May 1926.
17. CA No.3/21/5 meeting of Magistrate and residents at Brownlee station 21 May 1926; NA56/31, SNA to CNC 23 June 1926 Mama et.al. to Magistrate 7 December 1926.
18. CA J3/16 No. 868, T/C to Messrs Robertson, Wiley and King, 28 March 1927.
19. CA J3/20, Council meeting 14 January 1929.
20. CA J3/1 No. D 3001, Qalinge to T/C, 17 January 1929; 19 January 1929.
21. CA J3/1, Council meeting 28 January 1929; Cape Mercury, 29 January 1929.
22. CA J3/16, Meeting of Finance & Law & Health and General Purposes Committee, 8 February 1929; J3/1 G/S, T/C to Qalinge, 9 February 1929.
23. CA J3/16, T/C to Mayor, 15 May 1929; J3/16, G/S Council meeting, 20 May 1929.
24. CA J3/16, Qalinge to Mayor, 20 March 1929; Council meeting 20 May 1929.
25. CA 45/147/13 No. D3761, Secretary Public Health to SNA, 29 August 1929; J3/16, T/C to Secretary Public Health, 31 August 1929.
26. CA NA.56/31, SNA to Secretary Public Health, 26 September 1929.
27. CA J3/16, H & G.P.C. meeting 3 December 1929; 12 February 1930.
28. CA J3/16 Borough Sanitary Inspector to Public Health Committee, 12 December 1929.
29. CA J3/1, G.C., T/C to Wilson, 11 March 1930; T/C to Magistrate 12 March 1930.
30. CA J3/16, Wilson to T/C, 22 March 1930.
31. CA J3/16, H & G.P.C. meeting 10 June 1930, Council meeting, 16 June 1930; No. 2/16/1/1, CNC to T/C, 16 July 1930; NA56/31 SNA to T/C 17 July 1930.
32. CA J3/16, G/S, T/C to Rev Wilson, 12 August 1930.
33. CA J3/16, T/S, T/C to Secretary, Central Housing Board, 18 August 1930; 64/31 No.89/182 Secr. Public Health to SNA 22 August 1930.
34. CA J3/16, Dr L. Fourie, Assistant Health Officer, King William's Town to Secr. Public Health, 27 August 1930.
35. CA G/S, J3/16, T/C to Secr. Public Health, 8 August 1930; J3/16 Special Council meeting with Minister for NAD, 5 September 1930.
36. CA J3/16; Petitioners - Balfour, Qalinge et al to Minister for NAD, 5 September 1930.
37. CA, 56/31 No147/13, Secr. Public Health to SNA 15 September 1930.
38. CA J3/16 G/S, T/C to Secr. Central Housing Board, 22 September 1930.
39. CA J3/16, Meeting of Finance & Law Committee 30 January 1930.
40. CA No. 2/6/2, Additional Native Comm. To Magistrate at Nat. Comm. 22 February 1932; No.2/2/1, Magistrate to CNC, 24 February 1932.
41. Cape Mercury, 24 January 1934.
42. CA J3/16, T/C to Mayor 15 June 1934.
43. CA J3/1, No. E1425, Newell to T/C 19 January 1937.
44. CA M.I. Chief Health Inspector to T/C 2 February 1937.
45. CA J3/1, Meeting of H & G.P.C. 2 February 1937; 3 March 1937; T/C to Newel, 3 February 1937, Council meeting 8 February 1937.
46. CA J3/16, G/S T/C to Secr. Central Housing Board, 17 February 1937, 19 March 1937.
47. CA J3/16, T/C to H & G.P.C. 19 March 1937.
48. CA C.T. 297 No. E1648, Secr. Public Health to T/C 22 March 1937.
49. CA J3/16, H & G.P.C. 31 March 1937; T/C to Robertson, Wiley & King, 24 April 1937.
50. CA J3/16, T/C to H & G.P.C. 19 March 1937.
51. CA J3/16, Council Meeting with Thornton 26 March 1937.
52. CA J3/16, T/C Memo for a meeting with Thornton 26 May 1937.
53. CA J3/16, G/S, T/C to Dower, Secr. C.U.S.A. 22 June 1937.
54. CA J3/16, G/S Memo for Council meeting with Secr. Public Health 26 May 1937.
55. CA J3/16, T/C to Council 26 May 1937.
56. CA Slums Act No. 53 of 1934; J3/16 Meaker (MOH) to H & GPC 4 January 1938.
57. CA J3/16, Council meeting, 17 January 1938.
58. CA J3/16 Council meeting, 17 January 1938.
59. CA J3/16, MOH, 6 reports on F2 - F6, G9 houses Brownlee Location, 23 March 1938.
60. CA J3/16, Council Meeting, 11 April 1938.

61. CA J3/16, T/C to Weir, Fraser and Robertson, 14 acres, 19 April 1938.
62. CA J3/16, Council Meeting, 10 May 1938.
63. CA J3/16; Mtsheme to Magistrate, 27 May 1938; No.E 2890, Dower, Turpin to T/C, 14 June 1938.
64. CA J3/16, H & GPC meeting 5 July 1938; No.E 2890, Dower & Turpin to T/C 14 June 1938, T/C to Secr. Central Housing Board, 2 July 1938.
65. CA J3/16, Council meeting 11 July 1938.
66. CA J3/16, T/C to Senator, C.H. Malcomess, 26 August 1938; J3/16 Malcomess to T/C 29 August 1938.
67. CA No.34/276/182, Secr. Public Health to T/C, 7 September 1938; J3/16, T/C to Provincial Representative - Lands Dept. 9 September 1938.
68. CA No. 334/276/182, Secr. Public Health to T/C 7 September 1938.
69. CA J3/16, No.179/93/182 Secr. Public Health to T/C, 12 September 1938, J3/16 Council meeting 13 September 1938.
70. CA J3/16, C.9750/1, Provincial Representative, Land Dept. To T/C 17 September 1938.
71. CA J3/16, T/C to Prov. Lands Dept. , 20 September 1938.
72. CA J3/16, Council meeting, 20 September 1938; H & GPC meeting 6 October 1938.
73. CA J3/16, Council meeting 10 October 1938; H & GPC meeting 6 October 1938.
74. CA J3/16, Council meeting 10 October 1938; J3/16, T/C to Shapiro, 19 October 1938.
75. CA J3/16, Calata President Cape African Congress to Mayor & Magistrate 15 October 1938.
76. CA J3/16, T/C to Pres. Cape African Congress 20.20.1938; No.13/11/2; Magistrate to Pres. Cape African Congress 17 October 1937.
77. Brownlee Location, CA J3/16, T/C to Secr. Central Housing Board, 24 October 1938; No. 41/276/182, Secr. Central Housing Board to Prov. Secr. 16 January 1939.
78. CA No. L48/H/9, Prov. Secr. To T/C 2 June 1939; J3/16, Finance & Law Committee meeting, 8 June 1939.
79. CA No. 56/31. SNA to CNC, 10 November 1939; No.64/313/C, SNA to T/C, 20 December 1939.
80. CA J3/16, Finance and Law Committee 8 June 1939; L.48/H/9, Prov. Secr. To T/C 2 June 1939.
81. CA J3/16, No.2/6/7, NC to T/C, 19 September 1939.
82. CA J3/16, G/S No.AF1/2, T/C to NC 27 September 1939.
83. CA J3/16, No.E4605, Magabela to T/C 30 November 1939.
84. CA J3/16, T/C to Magabela, 30 November 1939.
85. CA J3/16, Nkungwana to T/C 20 December 1939.
86. CA. J3/16, T/C to Prov. Secr. 9.12.1939; CA. J3/16, T/C to Prov. Secr. 7.2.1939; CA. J3/16, T/C to Prov. Secr. 27.3.1940; CA. J3/16, T/C to Prov. Secr. 3.6.1940; CA. J3/16, T/C to Prov. Secr. 3.9.1940; CA. L48/H/9, Prov. Secr. to T/C 3.10.1940.
87. C.A. J3/16, Works Committee meeting, 8.1.1940.
88. C.A. G/S, J3/16, T/C to Wilkem Esq. 10.1.1940.
89. C.A. J3/16, Workers Committee meeting, 8.1.1940.
90. C.A. G/S, J3/16, T/C to Atherstone Esq. 15.8.1939; NE 77/39, N.C. to T/C 6.2.1940; No.L48/H/9, Prov. Secr. to T/C, 22.11.1939.
91. CA G/S, J3/16, T/C to Council, 30 April 1940.
92. C.A. No.2/13/3/101, N.C. Johannesburg to N.C., King William's Town, 27.8.1940.
93. CA J3/16, T/C to Protector of Natives - Kimberley, 29 July 1940.
94. CA J3/16, G/S, T/C to NC 16 May 1940.
95. CA J3/16, G/S T/C to NC 16 May 1940; J3/16, No.2/6/7, Acting NC to T/C 24 June 1940.
96. CA No.E5296, Fraser and Tyamzashe to T/C 10 - 12 July 1940; J3/16, T/C to Miller, 12 July 1940.
97. CA No. 2/6/7, Acting NC to T/C, 24 June 1940.
98. CA J3/16, G/S T/C to NC , 25 June 1940.
99. CA J3/16, H & GPC meeting , 7 August 1940; J3/10, T/C to NC 14 August 1940.
100. CA J3/16, H & GPC meeting, 7 August 1940; G/S, J3/16, T/C to CNC, 14 August 1940.
101. CA No.2/9/2/1, NC to T/C, 23 September 1940.
102. CA J3/16, meeting of non-European Admin. Committee, 4 October 1940; T/C to Miller, 25 September 1940.
103. CA No. 2/9/2/1, Acting NC to T/C 19 March 1941; 3 June 1941.
104. CA J3/16, Borough Engineer to MOH., 21 March 1938; T/C to Shapiro, chairman of Health and General Purposes Committee, 19 October 1938.

# **CHAPTER SEVEN**

## **THE REMOVAL OF BLACKS FROM THE 'WHITE' TOWN 1923 - 1991**

### **7.1. INTRODUCTION**

Whereas previous chapters have dealt with the removal of locations, this chapter details the processes affecting the relatively small number of black residents in the 'white' town in the present century. The process of racial residential segregation in the 'white' town of King William's Town manifested itself in four distinct phases (the first is discussed in Chapter Four) which were similar to those identified by Maylam (1990). Two of the three major national racial laws were used to effect the removals and the relocation of blacks to the west bank of Buffalo River. They were the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, the Slums Act of 1934 and the Group Areas Act of 1950. The Council initially entertained the false hope that the first mentioned Act would enable them to get rid of all blacks from the 'white' town, a process which they had started to carry out through the King William's Town Natives and Asiatic Location Regulations of 1912. As the Council's goal was not reached, they implemented the Slums Act of 1934 which brought a partial achievement of their (Council's) racist objectives.

Although some local authorities in the country were reluctant to apply the later racial residential segregation prescribed by the Group Areas Act, the Council of King William's Town voluntarily co-operated with the Group Areas Board. To their dismay, a complete 'apartheid city' model could not be adopted in King William's Town because of the resistance of some races to the forced removals which the Board and the Council planned to carry out. These issues form the basis of this chapter.

### **7.2. THE 1923-1950 PHASE**

In this phase, the attempt by the Council to remove the black population as a whole from the 'white' town to the segregated locations will be examined, as well as the reasons why

they failed to fully attain this objective. This section also outlines how some blacks were evicted by the Council during this period.

### 7.2.1. AFRICANS

The King William's Town Natives and the Asiatic Location Regulations of 1912 which operated until 31 December 1924 in this town exempted certain categories of blacks from being relocated to the segregated location of Ginsberg (1). The Council hoped that the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, which was enacted on 14 June 1923, and whose provisions were made applicable in King William's Town as from 1 January 1925, would enable them to relocate exempted Africans to the west bank of the Buffalo River (2).

Section 5(1) of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act No.21 of 1923 identified the categories of blacks who could not be forced to relocate to segregated locations as being the same as those which were listed in the King Williams Town Borough Act of 1905 on which the Natives and Asiatic Location Regulations were based. These were: registered owners of immovable property within the urban area to the value of £75, or more registered parliamentary voters in the Cape of Good Hope, residents of mission houses and domestic employees (3).

The Chief Native Commissioner of King William's Town explained to the Council that the 1923 Act would assist the Council to relocate African squatters to the Ginsberg location (4). In 1925 the Council attempted to apply the provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 to remove what they regarded as a squatter settlement, in the 'white' town, namely, Ridsdel location (see Chapter Five) (5). Following the resistance of the black residents in the 'white' town (Ridsdel location), the Council became convinced that those residents were actually fixed property owners who could not be removed through the Act (No.21 of 1923)(6). The saga of Ridsdel subsequent to this was discussed in Chapter Five.

In addition to African fixed property owners at Brownlee and Ridsdel locations (see Chapter Five and Six), there were other African house owners in the 'white' town as is shown in Table 8. They included the following : Soga, K.; Xiniwe, E.; Skota, T.D.M.; Tyamzashe, B.J.P.; Moko,R. and Bukula, H.G. Their properties were to be found along Smith- Durban

Street (see Table 8). Table 8 shows African properties which were sold between 1923 and 1950 only. These properties were to be found in Old Town (see Figure 5). This list excludes Africans who were tenants and servants, for which no records existed, and owners who did not sell their property in this period.

**TABLE 8: AFRICAN PROPERTIES IN KING WILLIAM'S TOWN AND THEIR DISPOSAL 1923-1950.**

ERF	OWNER	DATE OF DISPOSAL	BUYER	RACE OF
2 Smith Street	Soga K.	1925	Alperstein G.	White
14a Smith Street	Xiniwe E.	1926	Xiniwe M.R.	African
			Skota T.D.M.	African
			Tyamzashe B.J.P.	African
			Xiniwe G.	African
14a Smith Street	Xiniwe M.R.	1930	Ngesi P.Matebese	African
	Skota T.D.M.	1930	Narsai D.	African
	Tyamzashe B.J.P.	1930	Narsai D.	African
	Xiniwe G.	1930	Narsai D.	African
14a Smith Street	Ngesi P. Matebese	1938	Narsai D.	Indians
6 Berkely Str.	Moko R.	1929	Wilson H.	White
3 Durban Str.	Bukula M.G.	1924	Mason G.	Asiatic

Source: (7).

### 7.2.2. INDIANS

Dullabh (1994) found that Indians in King William's Town remained located near market places in the period between 1923-1950. The location of these premises was determined by their need to access such areas for economic reasons and the ability of the Indians to buy them. Therefore, Indians were free to settle anywhere in town. The King William's Town Location Regulations of 1912 did not force them out of town as had been intended, since no location was established for Indians. During the 1923-1950 phase, the national urban policies restricting Indians were applied only in the Transvaal and Natal namely, The Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Act of 1943 and the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act No. 28 of 1946.

Indians in King William's Town were located mainly along Cambridge Road, Buffalo Road, Alexandra Road and Smith Streets (see Figure 5). Smith was the Main Street. They resided in affordable business premises (Dullabh, 1994). As the town developed from the north to the south, it followed Alexandra and Buffalo Road. Although the Council could control (restrict) the number of Indians in King William's Town through refusing trading licences, this was never done (Dullabh 1994). One of the reasons was that Indians were always limited in number. During the period under discussion, Indians numbered less than 241 persons. Their number ranged between 100 (in 1900) to 241 (in 1991) (8).

### **7.2.3. COLOUREDS**

Although coloured squatters were relocated to the segregated location of Ginsberg through the King William's Town's Native and Asiatic Location Regulations of 1912 and the Slums Act of 1934, it was not possible to identify those who had owned fixed properties in the 'white' town. The reason was that in the Deeds Office and other sources of information consulted, the names of coloureds could not be identified (separated) from those of whites. This research difficulty was overcome in the next phase (1951-1980) because coloured properties were labelled "Coloured group" on the records (9).

### **7.3. THE 1951-1979 PHASE**

The Council took steps to separate the coloured population from the Africans in this period since the two groups lived together in the Ginsberg location. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 prescribed that Africans and coloureds had to live separately (Rogers, 1933). The application of this provision of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 was delayed to this period because the white Council had been less concerned about this type of racial mixing than it was about removing black locations from white areas. Schornville was established as a result for housing coloureds and houses they vacated at Ginsberg were to be let to Africans.

The first coloured group area in the King William's Town Division was proclaimed at Breidbach in 1960. This was followed by the proclamation of group areas in the King William's Town municipal area in 1968. Forced removals, which were intended to remove

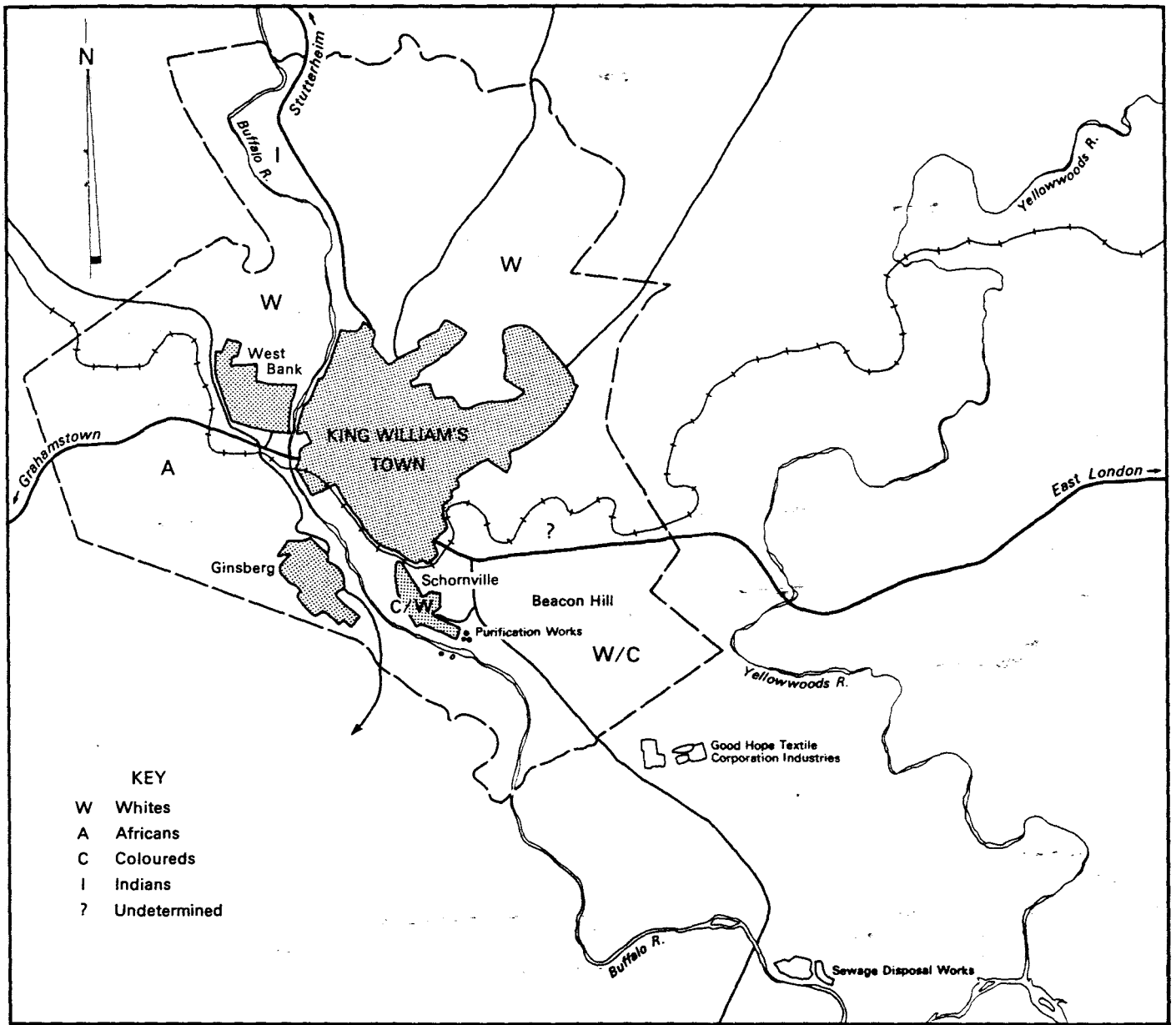
Africans and whites from the zones of other races, took place thereafter.

### **7.3.1. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHORNVILLE FOR COLOUREDS IN 1954 IN TERMS OF ACT NO. 21 OF 1923.**

Schorndville initially developed as a result of racial removals enforced in terms of Section 4 (2) (b) of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act No.21 of 1923. This Act provided that where there were coloured persons resident in a location proclaimed for Africans, that the coloureds would be allowed to continue residing there until such time that a suitable accommodation elsewhere became available. The Council built housing units (Extension 11) for coloureds on the east bank of the Buffalo River, (see Schorndville in Figure 7) in the area traditionally regarded as being for whites in 1954 (10). Extension 11 was called Schorndville in honour of Mr A.L. Schorn who was the chairman of the Borough Council and Non-European Administration Committee (11).

In compliance with the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, which prescribed the separation of coloureds from Africans (12), the Council set the target date of 31 December 1962 as the time by which all coloureds from the Ginsberg location were to be relocated to Schorndville (13). The Council envisaged that houses which were to be vacated by coloureds at Ginsberg, would be made available to Africans, thus alleviating the housing shortage for Africans (14). In 1954 the Township Board approved a 51 acre site which made provision for 200 erfes, for the establishment of Extension 11(15).

The Group Areas Act had not yet been proclaimed in King William's Town at the time of the development of Extension 11. Its site however possessed characteristics similar to those which were presented by the Durban City Council's Technical (City-planning) Sub-Committee for Group Areas planning (Western, 1981), namely, the physical location of Extension 11 discouraged contact between races in neighbouring residential zones (16). Quite clearly the King William's Town municipality was guided by the essential principles of the Group Areas Act. This is further reflected in the fact that the site, as shown in Figure 7, was completely hemmed by a butt welding site (Beacon Hill), a sewage disposal works site (Purification Works), the Buffalo River and the railway line (17). The Council justified the



**Figure 7: Group Areas Proposal in King William's Town, 1967**

**Source: (51)**

site by intimating that it was the only one available which prevented the trespass of one race group on the area of another one. Furthermore it was located close to industries (18). The local authority was clearly intent in enforcing the government's racially restrictive laws. Extension 11 was to have a freehold land tenure system and both rental and purchase houses were provided. Houses ranged from three to four roomed houses valued at £328 and £689 respectively (19; Burton, 1958).

Schornville had been partly completed in 1959. At that time 100 houses had been built by the Council on the 200 dwelling plots provided. Twenty plots were set aside for churches, schools, a hall, clinic and recreational grounds (Burton, 1958; 20). Coloureds who could not build for themselves on the 80 vacant plots were allowed to rent one of the 100 municipal houses which were also available for sale. A deposit of £25 was required from house buyers (21). The Council assisted owner-builders by arranging with the National Housing Scheme to lend money to approved persons (22).

The vacant plots, which cost between £25 to £30, were all sold to owner-builders (23). Extension 11 however, could not accommodate the approximately 2020 members of the coloured population of King William's Town, most of whom still resided in the Ginsberg location in 1958 (24). Therefore, the Council's intention of relocating coloureds from Ginsberg and from the white town to Schornville by 31 December 1962 failed because of the housing shortage. This date was extended, at the suggestion of the Secretary for Bantu Administration, to 31 December 1965 (25).

Appendix Six shows that coloureds bought 63 residential erven in Schornville between 1958-1963. In 1968 however the situation altered dramatically when Schornville was proclaimed as a white group area. Consequently, only one erf was bought by a coloured between 1970-1973 (see Appendix Six). This implies that the Group Areas Act had a detrimental impact on the sale of houses to coloureds. After Schornville was deproclaimed as a white group area in 1978, the number of coloureds who bought erven increased again between 1978 and 1989 (see Appendix Six).

### **7.3.2. PROCLAMATION OF THE GROUP AREA IN BREIDBACH IN 1960 IN TERMS OF ACT No. 77 OF 1957.**

In the previous phase (prior to 1923) it was explained how the village of Breidbach originated from forced removals of the amaNtinde by the British Kaffrarian government. The Africans claim to the remaining land (a portion called Breidbach Outspan) was finally dismissed by the Breidbach Village Management Board, the Divisional Council of King William's Town and the Native Affairs Department on 14 October 1955 (27).

After the dismissal of the Africans claim, the government proclaimed Breidbach as a group area for whites and coloureds in terms of the Group Areas Act of 1957. In terms of Proclamation No. 164 of 13 May 1960, the coloured group area was the built up area of Breidbach (Figure 8). The greatest part of Breidbach, mostly commonage as shown in Figure 8 was proclaimed for white (28; Dullabh, 1964). At the time Breidbach was not yet incorporated in King William's Town. It was however planned to accommodate coloureds from the town and surrounding areas. At the time, the group areas were proclaimed, plots were owned by blacks and whites in the proposed coloured group area (29). Group Areas removals only took place fifteen years after the proclamation however (30) (see Section 7.3.4).

### **7.3.3. THE PROCLAMATION OF THE GROUP AREAS ACT IN KING WILLIAM'S TOWN: 1968**

#### **7.3.3.1. Group Area's Proposal : 1967**

In 1967 the Group Areas Act Board drew up a plan (Figure 7) showing proposed Group Areas for King William's Town (31). According to Figure 7, the African Group Area would be the Ginsberg location. The white town and the surrounding farms were zoned for whites (32). The proposed Indian Group Area was the former of Brownlee/ Ridsdel site along Reserve road. In addition to this site, an alternate Indian group area was proposed in 1977. It was along the national road to East London on the western side of Breidbach (33; Dullabh, 1994).

The proposed coloured group areas were Schornville and the Beacon Hill site which was

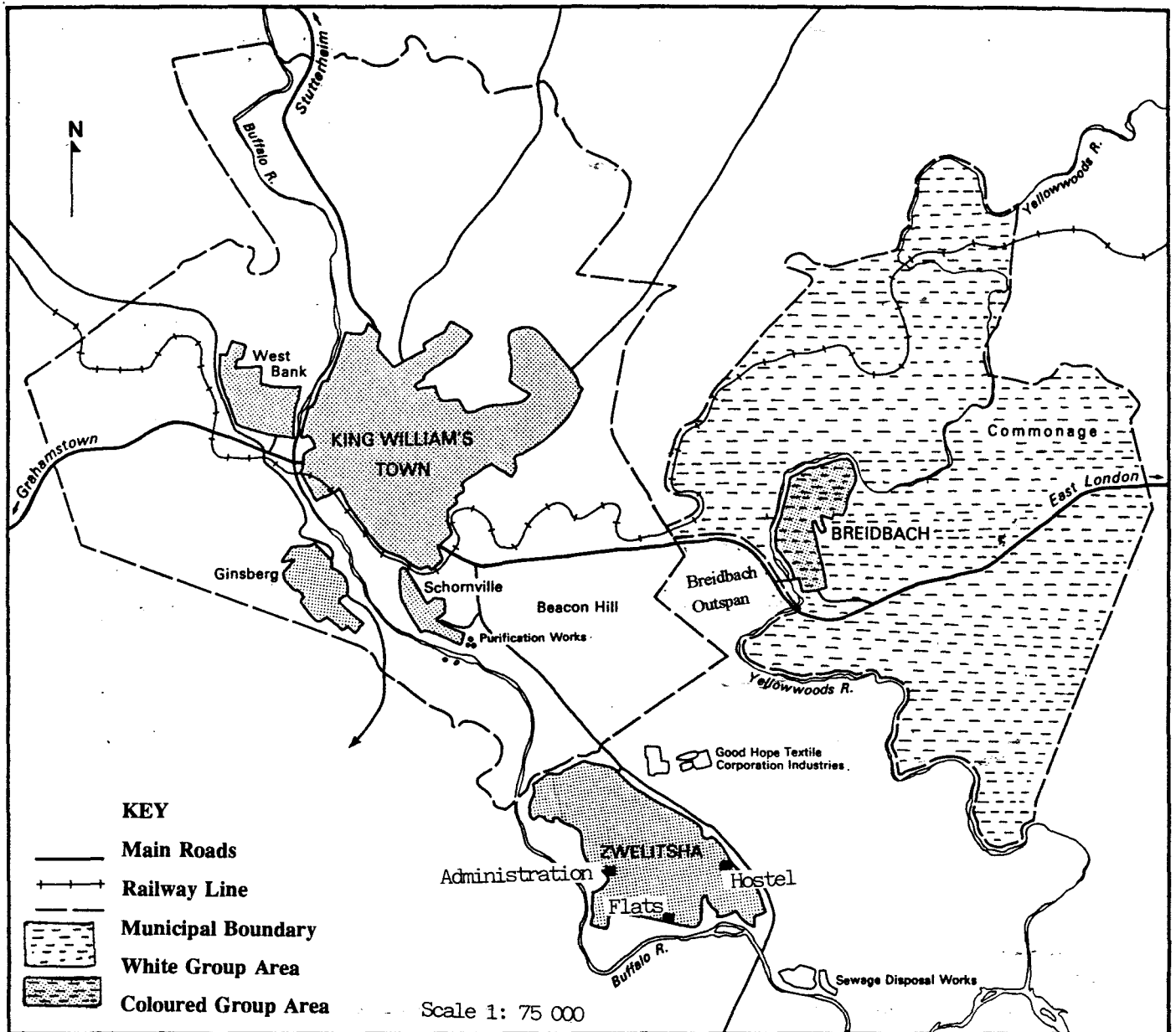


Figure 8: Breidbach Group Areas and Zwelitsha Homeland Township, 1960.

Source: (52)

located close to Schornville. The Council had previously made an application for the approval of Beacon Hill as a coloured township as an extension for Schornville. Approval of the site had been blocked by the government because group areas in King William's Town had not yet been declared (34). Despite this, the Council supported the Group Areas Board's proposals shown in Figure 7. These were then submitted to the government for final approval.

#### **7.3.3.2. Group Areas Proclamation in King William's Town: 1968**

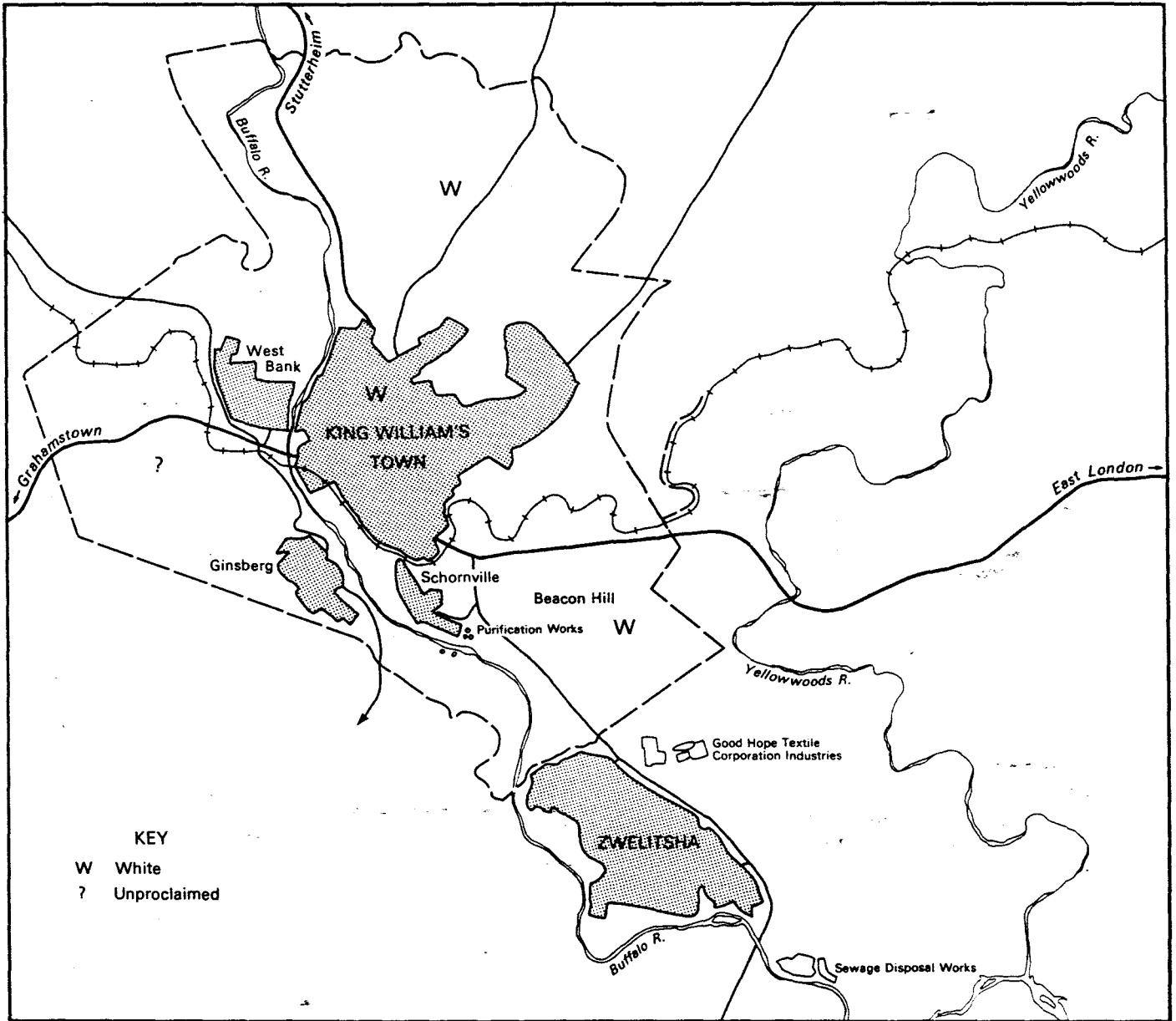
On 2 August 1968 the government approved the Group Areas (Figure 9) for King William's Town (35). In terms of Proclamation No. 212 of 1968, the white Group Areas in King William's Town were declared as the whole municipal area of King William's Town, shown in Figure 8, which excluded the Ginsberg location (36). Subsequently, in the Deeds Office in King William's Town all fixed properties were marked to indicate the race of their owners (37). Those belonging to coloureds and Indians were further marked (endorsed) as being affected by section 16 (3) (b) of the Group Areas Act No. 77 of 1957. That inscription implied that the said properties had to be re-occupied by whites instead of blacks (38).

#### **7.3.4. GROUP AREAS ACT REMOVALS IN KING WILLIAM'S TOWN : 1956**

Group Areas Act removals in King William's Town took place from 1956, twelve years before the Group Areas were officially proclaimed in town. Removals initially targeted those population groups or individuals who had been exempted from the operation of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923.

##### **7.3.4.1. Africans**

One of the earliest victims of the Group Areas Act removals in King William's Town was Mildred Buzo. She leased the Temperance Hotel which was situated on lot 14 A Smith Street, Market Square (in the Old Town) up to 1956. She used it as a boarding house for blacks and Africans in particular. The Group Areas Board issued her with a six - months notice on 2 May 1956 to the effect that she had to close the hotel to African tenants as their stay there was in conflict with the Group Areas Act. The school children who were still housed in the boarding house were instructed to relocate in the Ginsberg location (39). Other examples of



**Figure 9: King William's Town Group Areas Proclamation, 1968.**

**Source: (79)**

Africans removed from King William's Town prior to 1968 included Fetsha Thole, a Minister of religion who lived at Reserve Road up to 1960 who relocated to a house No. 245 in Zwelitsha (40). In addition, there was John Peteni, a medical doctor who operated at Cambridge Road up to 1962. He moved to a house which he bought at Zwelitsha (No. 1593) on 25 February 1958 (41).

When the Group Areas Board forced the Africans at the Temperance Hotel to vacate the premises, there were no vacant houses at the Ginsberg location where they could be relocated to. As a result, a number of families from the urban area of King William's Town were rehoused at Zwelitsha because of the appalling shortage of housing in the Ginsberg location. During the period between 1956 and 1990 the researcher could not identify any African freehold residential properties in the white group area of King William's Town (42). This implies that Africans were totally racially segregated (excluding domestic servants).

#### 7.3.4.2. Coloureds

Seventeen coloured families were removed by the Council from the Old Town in 1977 and relocated to a dilapidated wooden building in Breidbach which the coloureds referred to as 'Plankies Rama'. This wooden structure had no drainage, running water, electricity, sewerage, paving or rubbish removal. The families were poor and some of who depended on state old age or disability pensions. They had to share six pit toilets and they collected water from a tap half a kilometre from their rooms. Most families rented two rooms for which they paid R5 a room per month to the Council (43).

After the proclamation of the Group Areas Act in King William's Town in 1968, there were coloureds who continued to own fixed properties in the King William's Town white group area other than in Schiornville which was a predominantly coloured township. Mr Richard Wilgar Nichols's plot No.579 and Mr Michael Bossr's erf No.592 were located in Old Town. They sold the said properties in 1973 and 1976 respectively to the Community Development Board because of the provisions of Section 16(3) (b) of the Group Areas Act No.77 of 1957 which prescribed that they had to be reoccupied by whites because they were located in a white group area(44).

### 7.3.4.3. Indians

Dullabh (1994) found that Indians in King William's Town continued to reside in the 'white' town and were not moved to Group Area. Although Indian group areas had been proposed earlier and in 1984 on the Balasi Road, no Indians were ever relocated there (Dullabh, 1994). The Council did however purchase several Indian owned erven located on one street block in 1984. These were consolidated into one erf 4687 (44). The Council sold this erf to a white business group, the King William's Town nominees in 1984 (45). It was planned that this land would be developed for the building of a supermarket and would provide for parking for 300 vehicles (46). The Indians affected relocated elsewhere in the 'white' town.

The residents of other Indian properties which were identified as having been affected by the Group Areas Act (see Table 9) were not removed, as had happened to those whose properties come to constitute erf 4687. These were mostly found on the eastern part of the town along Cambridge Road, Alexandra and Buffalo Road (see Table 9). Some Indians, for example; Morar K.K., Naidoo C.K. and Mason ,C. registered their properties under their white lawyers' names while they remained living in them (47).

It was discovered in the Deeds Office that eight Indian properties, which were endorsed as affected properties in terms of Section 16(3) (b) of the Group Areas Act No. 77 of 1957, were purchased by the Council through the Community Development Board (48). The affected properties had, technically, to be re-occupied by whites (49). These properties were all located in Old Town. They were part of the erven which were sold to the white business group, King William's Town Nominees. They are detailed on Table 9. Although the properties indicated in the Table were endorsed in terms of Group Areas Act, no Indians were relocated to proclaimed group areas in King William's Town (Dullabh, 1994).

**TABLE 9 : INDIAN OWNED PROPERTIES AFFECTED BY THE GROUP AREAS ACT 1957.**

ERF	OWNER	RACE
1 Berkely Street	Naran M.T.	Indian
16 Berkely Street	Jackson S	Indian
17 Berkely Street	Jackson S	Indian
18 Berkely Street	Peer E	Indian
25 Berkely Street	Singharam	Indian
10 Smith Street	Morar	Indian
23 Smith Street	Cassium	Indian
24 Smith Street	Naran	Indian

Source: (50)

**7.3.5. GROUP AREAS REMOVALS AT BREIDBACH**

The Department of Community Development suggested to the Council in 1964 that the government should develop Breidbach as a coloured group area. The Council agreed on condition that all expenses involved would be borne by the Government (53). In 1964 the coloured population totalled 2 039 persons and the legally available housing was only 200 units (at Shornville) (Ratio 1:10 per house) (54). Being pressed by the housing shortage for coloureds, the Council held a meeting in 1966 with the Department of Planning, the Department of Community Development and the Divisional Council of King William's Town. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the removal of the whites at Breidbach who were on land to be used for the proposed housing scheme (55).

Owing to local pressure from coloureds, the King William's Town Council made several approaches to incorporate Breidbach into the municipal area but these attempts were previously resisted by the Divisional Council of King William's Town and the Breidbach Village Management Board (56). The Department of Planning, through the Group Areas Board, conducted a public inquiry on 20 March 1970 into the desirability of extending the existing coloured group area of Breidbach to include about 170 hectare of commonage and about 121 hectares of privately owned land. There were no objections to the proposal and the owners of land only requested that they be adequately compensated (57).

The Borough Council decided to buy the land needed for the housing development through the Community Development Board in 1983 (58). In 1975 the land at Breidbach was officially incorporated into King William's Town (59). Appendix Seven shows that 81 erven, of varying sizes, were purchased from white and Africans at Breibach through the Community Development Board. The Council started to acquire these plots between 1975 to 1984 and whites and Africans were removed to King William's Town and Zwelitsha respectively. It was on this land that the Council started to build the coloured township of Breidbach in 1976. The acquisition of the land at Breidbach, can be regarded as fulfilling Group Areas Act ideals because coloured persons who lived in houses at that village were not removed nor were their properties acquired by the Council. As the greater part of the land purchased by the Council was the commonage, the owners were not living on the properties bought. The Council started to acquire land at Breidbach in 1975 and the building of the first sub-economic, low cost economic housing units began in 1977. They were built in an area called Extension One. Provision was made for 259 sub-economic housing units, 85 low cost economic units, 41 high cost economic units and 79 ervens for private development in this extension (60). Extension Two comprised 47 ervens for private development while extension 3 was planned for schools (61).

Extension One was declared an approved township in 1980 (62). The first 344 houses at Breidbach had been completed and occupied by coloureds from King William's Town by March 1980 when the Minister of Community Development, Mr Marais Steyn officially opened the township (63). The failure of the Group Areas Act to address the housing question in King William's Town is indicated by the fact that it took twelve years (1968-1980) for the development of housing in the proclaimed coloured group area at Breidbach to occur. The housing backlog for coloureds resulted in the deproclamation of Schornville as white area by Proclamation No. 251 of 1978. This meant that, as from 1978, it was no longer necessary for the coloureds, then estimated at 4 433 persons to leave Schornville (64).

#### **7.4. THE 1980 - 1990 PHASE**

This phase was characterised by the gradual decline in the enforcement of residential apartheid and the failure of the authorities to address all the housing needs in King William's

Town. Salient features of this phase include, the limited expansion of the Breidbach housing scheme, the resistance of Indians to removals and the sanction of African fixed properties in King William's Town.

#### 7.4.1. COLOUREDS

Breidbach was originally planned as a regional coloured housing scheme. The subsequent decision to remove all coloureds from King William's Town meant that the Breidbach housing scheme was inadequate to cope with all the coloureds, in the region. This indicated the failure of the apartheid system which was characterised by the unnecessary racial duplication of housing and services provision.

The Breidbach township, extension No. Four, was approved as a township by Provincial Notice No. 4 316. This extension provided sites for 216 sub-economic units and 28 economic units (65). By 1984 a total of 441 dwellings had been built at Breidbach (in Extensions One and Four) (66). By 1984 the Breidbach housing scheme proved insufficient to cope with the housing needs of coloureds and there were still 241 applicants on the waiting list (67).

Coloureds complained that houses at Breidbach were too costly and they regarded them as being 'not road worthy' because they required extensive repairs. They claimed that the Council of King William's Town had assured them that houses would sell at about R7 000 but they were priced at between R 14 000 to R 17 000 (68). The claim that houses at Breidbach were of poor quality was proved correct in 1989 when they were flooded. The municipality had failed to dig channels which would have enabled proper drainage (69). The Council contributed to the problem of coloured housing at Breidbach. After the demolition of 'Plankies Rama' and the relocation of the residents to Council houses at Breidbach in 1985, the chairman of the Breidbach Management Committee, Mr Mike Bossr, who had condemned the shack settlement, used the building material of the demolished structure to erect a shack settlement on his own land. His tenants paid him R5 monthly rent (70). The development of shacks at Breibach was a response to the housing shortages and the unfairness of the apartheid system.

#### **7.4.2. INDIANS**

Some Indians resisted the Group Areas Act. The Mayor of King William's Town, Mr Radue, stated in 1989 that there was no area in King William's Town designated exclusively for Indians. As was the case elsewhere in the country, where no formal area existed, permits were granted to enable Indians to reside in an area set aside for a different population group (i.e. in the white areas). He added that the Indian community was small (216 in 1989) and consisted of prominent businessmen who had lived there for decades (71).

The Free Settlement Board's idea of opening the Balaze Estates (on the eastern part of King William's Town) in May 1990 as a Free Settlement area was opposed by Indians. Dr Raghavjee, a prominent Indian businessman, reacted to the proposal in 1990 that Balaze Estate would not normalise a healthy non-racial society. He was of the opinion that only Africans, coloureds and Indians would opt to buy and build houses in Balaze Estates. Whites would live there out of desperation (72). As a result, Indians were never relocated in King William's Town .

#### **7.4.3. AFRICANS**

During this phase, a change in national policy resulted in the re-establishment of African fixed properties in King William's Town (73). The CBD in King William's Town was opened to all races in 1986 for commercial purposes (Dullabh, 1994). By February 1987 twenty-one African traders, including Mr Jake and Mrs Sikiti had become owners of shops in King William's Town (74). Africans, as property owners, had disappeared from this town forty years previously. During this phase Africans continued to reside in the homeland township of Zwelitsha and in the 'independent' developmental area of Ginsberg which was under its own African Council (Black Community Council) (75).

#### **7.5. THE POST - 1991 PHASE**

The repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1991 permitted a number of Africans to buy residential houses in King William's Town (76). This was a change since they had previously only been

allowed to live in Ginsberg and Zwelitsha. The population in King William's Town (excluding Zwelitsha) in 1991 consisted of 12 098 whites; 5 993 coloureds; 4 331 Africans and 241 Asiatic, totaling 22 663, who were legally able to live as integrated community (77). Race was no longer is a determining factor in deciding residential zones for each race group. It should be stressed that Indians remained in the white Group Areas in King William's Town throughout. The coloureds were moved to Schornville and Breidbach (78).

## 7.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter has detailed the process of racial residential segregation in the 'white' part of King William's Town, namely the area located east of the Buffalo river. This process manifested itself in four main phases. The first phase (prior to 1923) was discussed in Chapter Four. During the period 1923 to 1950, the operation of the King William's Town's private bill, namely the King William's Town Borough Act No. 27 of 1905 was amended by the Natives (Urban Areas) Act No. 21 of 1923. The Council carried out forced removals of black squatters from the white town to the Ginsberg municipal location through Act No. 27 of 1905. The operation of influx control, carried out in terms of the Natives and Asiatic (Locations), came to an end on 31 December 1924. It should be noted that the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 enforced the same racial control as the 1905 Act. This meant that the Council had initiated removals of squatters from urban areas long prior to it becoming a national policy in 1923. It is apparent that the broad provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 had already been applied in King William's Town as early as 1912. Therefore this Act had no immediate effect in the process of racial segregation applied in this town.

The Council had attempted to remove black freehold houses in the white town (in Ridsdel and Brownlee locations) initially through the 1905 Act and later the 1923 Act. After failing to achieve its goal, the Council implemented the Slums Act of 1934 which, at that time, was meant to be applied in large cities rather than in small towns. Black freehold properties, which were in the rest of the 'white' town, remained occupied by them throughout this phase. Many blacks exempted from the operation of the 1905 Act and the 1923 Act and remained in white areas until after 1950. Prior to 1950 national laws which discriminated

against Indians were only enforced in Natal and Transvaal. So, in King William's Town, Indians were not discriminated against in terms of being forced to live in certain defined areas. They tended to settle near to market places.

The 1951 to 1979 phase was marked by Council attempts to implement the Group Areas Act prior to its official proclamation in King William's Town. The Council established Schornville in terms of the Natives (Urban Area) Act of 1923. However, the layout and siting of the township resembled that which was prescribed by the Group Areas Act of 1950. Co-operation between the Council and the Group Areas Board resulted in Group Areas removals taking place in King William's Town as from 1956 instead of only after the 1968 proclamation. The Council acquired the coloured Group Area at Breidbach and developed it for the town's coloured population. Whites and Africans who had been land owners at Breidbach, were relocated to the 'white' town (whites) and to Zwelitsha (Africans). The Council houses at Breidbach were not satisfactory in terms of quality. The proposed Indian Group Areas near Breidbach (in 1977) were not approved by the Government.

There was an effective cessation in the process of racial segregation in the period from 1980 to 1990. This was shown by the failure of the van der Walt Commission to gain local support for incorporating King William's Town into the Ciskei homeland. There was also a change in national policies on segregation. This led to opening up of the CBD to all races. Furthermore, the Indians successfully resisted to be relocated in a proposed group area in 1984.

The period from 1991 was marked by the scrapping of racial laws (Group Areas Act) which has permitted all races (black and white) to live anywhere without restrictions. In King William's Town the effect of the scrapping of racial laws has resulted in the inclusion of former homeland townships of the ex-Ciskei into the King William's Town Transitional Local Council. (Figure 2).

## **7.7. END NOTES**

1. CA J3/16, No. F.9, Medford to Minister of Native Affairs 21 October 1925; No. 56/31. SNA to CNC KWT 7 December 1925.
2. Proclamation No. 302 of 1924; 3KWT, 4/1/40 AE4, Council meeting 18 December 1924.

3. Statutes of South Africa, 1923.
4. CA 3 KWT, 4/1/40, J3, No.5/3 CNC to T/C 22 January 1925, J3/16, Council meeting, 2 July 1925.
5. CA J6/9, No. 3/21, Magistrate to T/C 11 December 1925.
6. CA J6/9 Council meeting, 1 February 1926.
7. D.O. KWT, 369/1903; 179/1925; 787/1925; 147/1930; 404/1938.
8. KWT, Municipal Health Department, 1985 - 1991 Annual report.
9. Deeds Office, KWT, Extension 11, 1954 - 1990.
10. Mercury, 27 March 1954.
11. Mercury, 23 July 1957.
12. CA 13 55b/L46 M. Gregory (MOH) to Ginsberg 26/27 July 1916; 3KWT, 4/40 J4/9 AE4, Council meeting, 4 September 1916.
13. SAB, No.9/23/2/54, (NC to SNA, 6 October 1956; Mercury, 10 May 1960.
14. Mercury, 23 July 1957.
15. DO Folio 21 - 271 Ext. 11 KWT.
16. Cape Mercury, 27 March 1954.
17. Cape Mercury, 27 March 1954.
18. Cape Mercury, 1 & 29 Month 1954.
19. Cape Mercury, 19 August 1958.
20. Cape Mercury, 10 September 1959.
21. Cape Mercury, 10 September 1959; 10 May 1960.
22. Cape Mercury, 10 May 1960.
23. Cape Mercury, 10 & 14 Month 1960.
24. Cape Mercury, 24 January 1959.
25. Cape Mercury, 12 June 1964.
26. DO KWT Extension No. Folio 1 - 217.
27. SAB, 8/358, No. 95/10, CNC (Cape) to SNA 14 October 1955.
28. DO KWT Breidbach, 1960; Procl. No. 164 in Government Gazette No. 6442 of 13 May 1960.
29. DO KWT, Breidbach, T1159/1950; T1788/1946.
30. DO KWT, Breidbach, T770/1975; T1850/1975; T2628/1975.
31. Cape Mercury, 5 April 1967.
32. Cape Mercury, 5 April 1967.
33. Cape Mercury, 5 April 1967.
34. Cape Mercury, 23 February 1967.
35. Cape Mercury, 8 August 1968; Proclamation No.212 in Government Gazette No.2140 of 2 February 1968
36. Proclamation No. 212 in Government Gazette No. 2140 of 2 August 1968.
37. DO KWT, Folio 599; 592, 589.
38. DO KWT Folio 575; 579; 589.
39. SAB, PG 351/1/12, du Preez, Secretary Group Areas Board to Buzo, 2 May 1965; 64/313h, No.19/243, CNC to SNA, 31 October 1956.
40. SAB, NTS, 7868,6/2/1331/3, part/ Woonperseel, Zwelitsha, 1956 - 1973.
41. SAB, No. N2/2/3/1 in NTS 78b8 61/2/1331/3 part 1 Admin. Off. to Chief Bant. Comm. 19 April 1963.
42. SAB, N.2/12/3/1/8/1 Brigg A.O. Zwel. to Bant. Affr. Comm. 6 October 1959; No.461/305(15) Secr. Bant. Admin. & Davel to Chief Ban. Affr. Comm. 5 March 1962.
43. Cape Mercury, 15 march 1984; 17 January 1985.
44. DT KWT T3855/1984.
45. DTT 3855/1984.
46. Cape Mercury, 6 September 1984.
47. DT KWT 2759/1981; 2653/1970; 2433/1971; 262/1970.
48. DT KWT To/1980; 2816/1973.
49. Statutes of the Union of South Africa 1957.
50. DO KWT 572/1979; 288/1976; 789/1979; 625/1979; 2047/198; 2816/1973; 4208/1884; 262/1975; 161/1975; 1766/1979.
51. Cape Mercury, 5 April 1967; 23 February 1967.
52. DO KWT Breidbach, 1960; Procl. No. 164 in Government Gazette No. 6442 of 13 May 1960.
53. Cape Mercury, 8 May 1964; 29 May 1964.
54. Cape Mercury, 18 September 1964; DO, KWT, Extension 11.

55. Cape Mercury, 19 January 1966; 23 March 1966.
56. Cape Mercury, 27 March 1970.
57. Cape Mercury, 27 March 1980.
58. Cape Mercury, 20 March 1983.
59. Cape Mercury, 27 March 1980.
60. Cape Mercury, 27 March 1980; DO KWT, Breidbach, Folio 1 - 277.
61. Cape Mercury, 27 March 1980.
62. Provincial Gazette No. 4108 of 6 June 1980; DO KWT, Breidbach, Ext.No. 1.
63. Cape Mercury, 27 March 1980; 11 September 1980.
64. KWT Municipal Department of Health and Social Services annual report 1979 in July 1979.
65. Cape Mercury, 27 March 1980; DT KWT Breidbach Ext. 4 Folio 1 - 277.
66. Cape Mercury, 5 April 1984.
67. Cape Mercury, 5 April 1984.
68. Cape Mercury, 5 April 1984.
69. Cape Mercury, 23 January 1989.
70. Cape Mercury, 10 April 1986.
71. Cape Mercury, 1 June 1989; KWT Borough Engineer's Statistics in 1989 Municipal Health Department Annual report.
72. Cape Mercury, 3 May 1990.
73. Cape Mercury, 12 February 1987.
74. Cape Mercury, 12 February 1987.
75. DO KWT, Ginsberg Township File No. AF. 6/5/1/7.
76. DT KWT Folio 401, 410.
77. KWT Borough Engineer's Statistics in Municipal Health Department annual report for 1991.
78. DT KWT, Extension 11.
79. Cape Mercury, 8 August 1968; Proclamation No.212 of 1968; Government Gazette No.2140 of 2 August 1968.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **SEGREGATION OF AFRICANS TO GINSBERG AND ZWELITSHA : 1937 - 1991**

#### **8.1. INTRODUCTION**

This chapter focuses on the development of the two racially segregated African locations in the King William's Town area namely: Ginsberg and the neighbouring homeland township of Zwelitsha. Prior to 1994, the two locations which are now part of the King William's Town Transitional Local Council area, were technically separated from the 'white' town. Ginsberg originated as a municipal location while Zwelitsha developed as a Ciskeian homeland township, but one to which King William's Town's residents were moved. The central state gave them both 'municipal' status in terms of the governance of segregated 'town Councils'. This broad process was achieved through the implementation of the provisions of racial laws such as the, King William's Town Borough Act of 1905, Mission Station's Act No. 29 of 1909 (Cape); Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923; Native Trust and Land Act of 1936; Act No. 22/1940; Proclamation of Rural Villages Act No. 362 of 1948; Proclamation No. 227 of 1955; Regulations for Administration and Control of Townships in Bantu Areas; Proclamation 293 of 1962; Township Amendment Act No. 16 of 1982; and Community Development Act No. 4 of 1984 (1).

The segregation process pertaining to these locations, is detailed in a comparative basis focusing on aspects such as sites, settlers, land tenure systems, administration, housing and the operation of each township. Discussion is based on how these variables changed over time in each location. The juxtaposition of Ginsberg and Zwelitsha is

intended to show how the above - mentioned laws were applied by the central state to segregate the two locations from the 'white' town. Zwelitsha, though it was technically outside King William's Town, became intimately involved in racial relocations from the town and there were plans to incorporate Ginsberg in Zwelitsha. This chapter will detail how Zwelitsha and Ginsberg changed their roles between 1937 and 1991 from that of being residential zones to those of being African 'towns' in the vicinity of 'white' King William's Town.

## **8.2. 1937 TO 1952: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GINSBERG AND ZWELITSHA**

### **8.2.1. GINSBERG LOCATION**

It was explained in Chapter Four that the Ginsberg location was established in terms of the King William's Town Borough Act of 1905. This Act was amended by the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 which perpetuated the idea of not allowing home ownership among Africans at the Ginsberg location (2). Residents there were obliged to become Council tenants (Chapter Four).

Houses built by the Council at Ginsberg, through the use of central state funds, are detailed in Appendix Eight. There were 245 single roomed houses and 342 houses which ranged between two to five rooms (4). No new houses were built at the Ginsberg location after 1946 until the end of this phase (1952). This resulted in a critical housing shortage. Scarcity of housing in segregated municipal townships of South Africa was a deliberate strategy used by the central state of South Africa as a mechanism to control the influx of blacks to urban areas (Unterhalter, 1987). This was the case with the Ginsberg location. Zwelitsha presented a different picture from that of the Ginsberg. Houses of a better quality (four-roomed houses instead of single roomed houses) were built at Zwelitsha to the extent that they were in excess than their demand. This will be detailed below.

## **8.2.2. ZWELITSHA**

### **8.2.2.1. The Site for Zwelitsha**

In 1937, in terms of the Native Trust and Land Act No. 18 of 1936, the South African Native Trust bought the following properties from the late, white, land owner, Mr E.J. Dredge: the Race course and Grand Stand properties. They cost £ 11 077 - 10 - 0. This freehold land was in the King William's Town District and was situated on the eastern side of the Fort Murray Road from King William's Town. Another plot of land bought by the Trust from Mr Dredge was the Stud Farm, which was 900 acres in extent and was situated on the western side of the Fort Murray Road from King William's Town (6). Zwelitsha (Figure 8) was built on the Stud Farm.

The Native Trust and Land Act No.18 of 1936 was enacted to proclaim land which was going to become part of the future Reserves/ Bantustans. Africans who lived in white rural areas outside the Reserves were classified by the 1936 Act as 'squatters' who had to be relocated to the Reserves. The Native Affairs Department observed, in 1944, that the Ciskei area was heavily overpopulated and overstocked and the white farms in its vicinity were overburdened with African squatters. Zwelitsha was intended become a settlement to which squatters were to be relocated (7).

The Native Affairs Department planned 2 000 housing units at the site according to layout plan no. 1696/45 prepared by the Department's professional staff (8). The estimated capital cost was £ 1 585 000. The 2 000 included houses which were to be built by the settlers themselves on vacant sites (9). In a meeting of the Native Affairs Commissioners and the Native Affairs Department's technical officers held in Pretoria on 20 November 1944, it was resolved to commence with the erection of the first 50 thatched two roomed dwellings at Zwelitsha at a cost not exceeding £100 each dwelling (10). The site for Zwelitsha township, the Stud Farm, was inspected for housing suitability on 20 February 1945 by the Assistant Health Officer of the

government (Mr J.J. du Preez le Roux) (11). The Secretary for Native Affairs (Mr G. Mears) stated in 1946, that Zwelitsha was to become a pilot village in which the experience gained in its erection, settlement and administration were to be of the greatest value in coming years. The Native Affairs Department intended to reduce the rate of migration of the African working class from the Ciskei to cities which was blamed for the deterioration of the economy in the Reserve. This was because the migration of economically active people left the Reserves with economically inactive people, such as the very young and very old, who could not develop the rural areas. Zwelitsha was, therefore, established as an attempt to reverse rural to city migration process and to promote urbanisation in a rural setting (12).

The process of building residential houses at Zwelitsha commenced in 1946. It was carried out by African builders and masons who were trained by the National Housing Board. Building plans were prepared by the government's Engineering Section (13). Zwelitsha township was proclaimed as a 'rural village' in terms of proclamation No. 362 of 1948 which was applied to Zwelitsha by government notice No. 107 of 21 January 1949 (14). Table 10 provides details of the types of houses which were built in Zwelitsha from 1946. Table 11 shows the number of houses which were built.

Table 11 shows that a hostel was built at Zwelitsha township. This was done to accommodate single workers from the recently established Good Hope Textile Corporation factory. The hostel had the capacity to accommodate 240 persons. This table also shows that houses at Zwelitsha were first occupied in 1947. They were then only allocated to the people who worked in the township and were employed by the Government in the South African Native Trust and Native Affairs Department (17). As Table 11 shows, there were 29 occupied houses and 50 vacant ones in 1949.

**TABLE 10 : TYPES OF HOUSES AT ZWELITSHA**

TYPE	PLAN No.	TOTAL AREA OF BUILDING Sq. FEET	No. OF ROOMS	PURCHASE PRICE 30 YEARS
S.	1636/44	482	3	218
S.3	1872/46	493	3	329
R	C937	693	4	464
Modified Q.	1574/44	528	4	540
Revised R.	2306/48	693	4	709
L.	2624/49	619	4	536
M.	2625/49	614	4	540
S.4A	2775/49	558	4	441
Rev. S.4A	2775/49	558	4	368
Z.	Skinner type	568	4	404
J.3.	3041/51	506	4	274

Source: (15).

**TABLE 11: COMPLETION AND OCCUPATION OF HOUSES AT ZWELITSHA 1946 - 1955**

PERIOD	HOUSES COMPLETED			HOUSES OCCUPIED	HOUSES VACANT
	OLD	NEW	TOTAL		
1946	50	50		-	50
1947	50	7	57	7	50
1948	57	16	73	23	50
1949	6	73	79	29	50
1950	79	233	312 (+ Hostel 240 beds)	231 152	81
1951	312	298	610	532	78
1952	610	180	790	594	196
1953	790	144	934	687	247
1954	934	933-1	933	880	53
1955	933	0	933	919	14

Source: (16).

Note: Old' means houses built up to the previous year.'New' means houses built in that year).

### **8.2.2.2. Establishment of A Border Industry Intended to Sustain The Homeland Township of Zwelitsha**

#### **(a) *Reasons For The Establishment Of The Good Hope Textile Corporation Factory.***

The development of Zwelitsha township neighbouring King William's Town was linked with the establishment of the Good Hope Textile Corporation (G.H.T.C.) factory ( see Figure 8), a property of the Industrial Development Corporation and Calico Printers of Great Britain. This factory was built on the South African Native Trust property, namely the Race Course and Grand Stand (18). It can be seen on Figure 8 that the G.H.T.C. factory was established adjacent to the former Stud Farm (Zwelitsha). The objective of the government in establishing a factory in the vicinity of Zwelitsha was to build an African 'close settlement', meaning that the township would be self-sufficient in terms of urban functions and that African residents of Zwelitsha were intended to get jobs in the area. The Native Affairs Department anticipated that the factory employees would be housed at the Zwelitsha township (19).

The G.H.T.C. factory was established in terms of the provisions of Act No. 22 of 1940, which introduced the principle of financial assistance by the central state for the development of industries in the Union of South Africa (20). Construction of the G.H.T.C. factory commenced in 1946 (21). The textile factory was partially completed and operational by 1950. It employed African youths who were first trained as machine operatives (22).

#### **(b) *The Relationship Between The Good Hope Textile Corporation And Zwelitsha.***

On 1 April 1950 the G.H.T.C. commenced accommodating 152 factory operatives in the completed hostel in Zwelitsha (23). The hostel was built at Zwelitsha in Zone 4 for single factory operatives. The G.H.T.C. also began accommodating its labour force in some of the first 50 thatched cottages in 1951. Other workers of the G.H.T.C. lived in family houses at Zwelitsha, surrounding rural areas and Ginsberg location (24). Appendix Nine shows the employment of Zwelitsha residents.

Appendix Nine shows that houses at Zwelitsha were divided into three categories, namely; the hostel, the fifty thatched cottages and family houses. In the former two categories, the G.H.T.C. accommodated some of its single workers. Some of its married workers and their

families were accommodated in the family houses. Other lessees who occupied family houses at Zwelitsha were government employees who worked at Zwelitsha and people who operated businesses in the location. Despite the government's plans to the contrary, some family houses at Zwelitsha were occupied by tenants who were employed in other urban areas, including King William's Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, East London and Bloemfontein. Very few unemployed people stayed at Zwelitsha between 1951 to 1952. The number of factory employees resident at the Zwelitsha hostel fluctuated. For example, in 1950 there were 152 but in 1952 this had dropped to 94. Reasons for this change in numbers will be detailed forthwith. The rest of the 1 028 employees of G.H.T.C. commuted from the surrounding rural areas near Zwelitsha and from the Ginsberg municipal location. It was estimated that, when completed, the factory would require 2 500 male African employees (26).

The above discussion reveals that by the end of 1952, the majority of G.H.T.C. factory employees lived outside Zwelitsha location. The factory had concentrated on employing young African males which was contrary to the Native Affairs Department's proposition that it should engage family members who had been evicted from the Border farms. The G.H.T.C. had found it difficult to implement the Department's segregation policy because the evicted squatters did not all have the necessary skills to qualify for selection as workers in the factory. This indicated the failure of the segregation policy (influx control) of confining Africans to homeland townships where they were expected to find work in the border industries instead of migrating to cities in search for work.

### **8.2.3. INFLUX CONTROL IN THE SEGREGATED TOWNSHIPS OF GINSBERG AND ZWELITSHA**

#### **8.2.3.1. Ginsberg Location**

In the period from 1937 to 1952, the admission policy of the Native Affairs Department regarding tenants at the Ginsberg and Zwelitsha was inflexible. It made the relocation of residents of settlers between these two locations almost impossible, despite their close proximity. The Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 imposed restrictions under which applications for residence at Ginsberg location could be turned down. Section 17(1) of the Act provided that Africans who were habitually unemployed or who were leading an 'idle,

dissolute or disorderly life' could be arrested in the township or their application for residence at Ginsberg could be refused (27).

#### 8.2.3.2. Zwelitsha

In 1946 the Secretary for Native Affairs (Mr G. Mears) made it clear that Zwelitsha would only accommodate landless squatter Africans from the Border farms and Ciskei who would provide a labour force required by the G.H.T.C. factory (28). The NAD's racist selection policy of settlers at Zwelitsha was challenged by the Urban Planning Council. This was an advisory body to the Native Affairs Department, which was appointed in 1946, and consisted of all parties affected by the Zwelitsha settlement namely: the Borough Council of King William's Town, the Industrial Development Corporation, the NAD and representatives of Africans (29).

The Urban Planning Council recommended that all civil servants who were in need of accommodation and any family which had a bread winner should be admitted to Zwelitsha on condition that they lived an orderly life (30). The Urban Planning Council had observed that municipalities in general were reluctant to provide accommodation for state employees. Consequently there was a great shortage of housing for them in municipal areas (31). The Secretary for Native Affairs objected to the Urban Planning Council's proposals and argued that it was not the Department's responsibility to provide housing for Africans employed within municipal areas (32).

The Native Commissioner of East London commented, on 18 October 1949, that the only applications to reside in Zwelitsha he had received were from Africans working in urban areas whom he regarded as a 'desirable' type and who were skilled in useful trades. He had to refuse them because of the NAD's rigid policy. Since the NAD's ideal settlers were not seeking accommodation in sufficient numbers, this had resulted in the supply of houses exceeding the demand (refer to Table 11) (33).

The NAD's selection policy was undermined by the industrial authorities. On 29 August 1949 the Good Hope Textile Corporation factory engaged youths, most of whom were not

resident at Zwelitsha and whose parents were not landless squatters as the NAD had insisted. The G.H.T.C. representative (Mr Bowden) threatened that, if those youths and their parents were not absorbed in Zwelitsha, that the G.H.T.C. would be forced to erect its own compound for its workers outside Zwelitsha (34). The NAD; however, insisted that Zwelitsha should absorb surplus squatters from the Ciskei rural areas (35).

In 1952 the single G.H.T.C. employees resident in the 50 cottages and hostel at Zwelitsha were accused of creating a problem for the township authorities. Mr. Erasmus, the Administrative Officer for Zwelitsha complained that no screening was done at the G.H.T.C. factory when employment was offered to youths of the required age groups. This resulted in criminals finding employment there. Consequently gangs aggravated delinquency and had a bad influence in the township (36). The youths allegedly committed crimes such as assaults, common and aggravated, thefts, public violence, faction fighting, gambling, molesting residents and pestered them for accommodation (37).

The Industrial Development Corporation remarked that NAD had erected dwellings at Zwelitsha which were considerably in advance of the economic social status of those people employed at the factory. They did not have the ability to pay and the youths of 16 years of age employed in the factory were unable to fit in the pattern of living expected at Zwelitsha (38). The Corporation's statement was proved correct by the fact that even those who had secured houses at Zwelitsha were later evicted for rent default. Section 9(2) of proclamation 362/1948 provided for the termination of occupation rights for tenants who were in arrears with their rentals (39).

The Administrative Officer for Zwelitsha concurred with the Industrial Development Corporation that the rents were too high for the squatters evicted from Border farms and for poorly paid labourers (40). As applications for residence at Zwelitsha from the squatters from Border farms were insufficient, the Secretary for Native Affairs proposed on 26 July 1951 that Zwelitsha should be restricted to under 1 000 houses because of the difficulty of finding sufficient, suitable settlers. This did not happen because the NAD later reviewed its admission policy which resulted in the increase in the number of people who could qualify for admission at Zwelitsha (41). Other factors which caused a dearth of Zwelitsha lessees

were a factory strike and alleged 'sedition' preached in the township in 1952 (42).

The NAD reviewed its selection policy on 1 October 1952. The restriction of only accepting landless African squatters was lifted (43). State employees from urban areas were to be admitted as residents for the first time at Zwelitsha. By the end of 1952, of the 790 houses completed, 196 were vacant. This number excludes the hostel (44). This move created residential openings for King William's Town people.

The above discussion indicates that the Central State's insistence on admitting a specific socio-economic group at Zwelitsha was met with opposition and failed on practical grounds. Eventually this policy had to be altered in order to accommodate a broader category of settlers. This helped to make Zwelitsha a place of residence for workers from King William's Town.

### **8.3. THE 1953 - 1982 PHASE**

This section commences in 1953 because it was the year settlers at Zwelitsha were supposed to buy the houses they had occupied for the previous five years. Prior to 1953 they had to pay rent and were not allowed to own the houses. The cut-off date of 1982 in this section was the year in which Zwelitsha was given 'municipal' status and, subsequently, a 'town Council' was appointed. In this way, a township was technically converted into a 'town'. In parallel there was an escalating of housing shortage at the Ginsberg location. Attempts were made by the central state to exclude this township from 'white' King William's Town and it was planned that it should form part of the homeland of the Ciskei.

#### **8.3.1. GINSBERG LOCATION**

Houses were last built at the Ginsberg location in 1946. In order to alleviate the consequent housing shortage, the Chief Native Commissioner stated that coloureds would be removed from the Ginsberg location to a new coloured location by 1962. Houses they would vacate were then to be let to Africans (45). By 1959 approximately 50 state employees and their families from the urban area of King William's Town were allowed to rent houses in

Zwelitsha due to the appalling shortage of housing in the Ginsberg municipal location (46).

In 1962 the hold of the apartheid state was taken one step further when the concept of incorporating Ginsberg into Zwelitsha was proposed. A joint Committee of Councillors, representatives of the Bantu Affairs Department and officials of the municipality of King William's Town was appointed to investigate the incorporation of the Ginsberg location into the Bantu Township of Zwelitsha under Proclamation R.293 of 1962 (47). A proposal to this effect was submitted to the Group Areas Board on 24 April 1967. This was refused because the question of the incorporation of Ginsberg location into the Ciskei was not yet finalised. In consequence, Ginsberg was not, officially, proclaimed as an African area in terms of the Group Areas Act, in 1968 and remained as an African location of King William's Town (48). In 1978, the administration of Ginsberg was taken over by the Eastern Cape Administration Board. Thereafter the residents blamed that Board for the persistent housing shortage and poor maintenance of houses (49). No more houses were built, despite many complaints. In 1981 the African population stood at 7 000 (see Figure 6), occupying 747 houses at Ginsberg. Commenting in April 1981 before a decision about the proposed incorporation of King William's Town into the Ciskei (van der Walt Commission) was announced, Dr Koornhof stated that the government's intention was that Ginsberg would form part of Ciskei (50). It can be seen in Figure 6 that the number of Africans in King William's Town dropped after 1981 from about 7 000 to about 4 000. It would appear that African tenants in King William's Town relocated in the newly independent homeland of the Ciskei after the Minister's announcement.

### **8.3.2. ZWELITSHA**

#### **8.3.2.1. How The Land Tenure System Was Used to Enforce Segregation in Zwelitsha**

Section 11 of Proclamation No. 362 of 1948, paragraph 8 dealing with the certificate of occupation of houses at Zwelitsha and the Secretary for Native Affairs' minute No.461/305/15 of 18 December 1952 guaranteed that houses at Zwelitsha were to be sold to tenants of good character after five years in occupation of the houses at Zwelitsha (51). The freehold land tenure system at Zwelitsha was based on racial policy which was contained in the conditions of sale (52).

The NAD also drafted deeds of grant which allowed it to maintain the Xhosa as the only race group which was eligible to buy houses at Zwelitsha (53). This freehold land tenure system which was to be enjoyed at Zwelitsha was based on the following legislation; the Mission Stations Act No. 29 of 1909 (Cape) and Proclamation R.293 of 1962. On the basis of this legislation, which allowed freehold in the Reserves but not in 'white' South Africa, Africans were to be allocated sites on which they would build. The improvements (house) on the building plot were to be regarded as the property of the occupier. In the case of Zwelitsha, the South African Native Trust would not lose ownership of the land. The Minister of the Internal Affairs and Land Tenure would not approve of the land transfer to any other person except to an African from the Reserve of Ciskei. (54). A directive to sell houses and vacant plots at Zwelitsha was issued in Pretoria on 5 January 1956 (55). Table 12 shows the number of houses and plots sold in Zwelitsha from 1956 to 1962.

**TABLE 12 : SALE OF HOUSES AND VACANT PLOTS AT ZWELITSHA 1956 - 1962**

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>VACANT PLOTS SOLD</b>	<b>HOUSES SOLD</b>
1956	-	13
1957	3	133
1958	3	22
1959	3	132
1960	7	60
1961	-	13
1962	-	8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>381</b>

Source: (56)

At the time that houses were sold to qualifying tenants (in 1956) the title deeds were not yet finalised (57). In order to be eligible to buy a house at Zwelitsha, settlers (Africans) should have occupied the dwellings at Zwelitsha for the previous five years and be of good character. The purchasers had to sign a declaration to the effect that they were in a position to meet the financial commitments involved and that they had no legal interests in any other land. They

had to pay a registration fee of £1-0-0 (58). Prices and types of houses are shown in Table 10. The values of houses ranged from £218 (S. type) to £709 (Revised R. Type).

Residents were allowed to pay for the houses which they bought in monthly instalments. It would, however, appear that some purchasers could not afford to pay for their houses. Proclamation No. 227 of 1955 provided for the eviction of payment defaulters and the cancellation of their Deeds of Grant (59). The fact that Zwelitsha was the only Xhosa African urban township in 1959 where African people could buy houses, caused an influx of settlers at Zwelitsha. The Administrative Officer for Zwelitsha (Brigg), reported on 6 October 1959 that the number of applicants for houses far exceeded the number of vacant houses which were available (60). By 1960 all the houses which had been built were occupied (61). NAD's delay to issue title deeds led to defaults in the payment of housing purchase instalment as Appendix Ten shows.

Appendix Ten shows that some property owners were more than one year in arrear with their instalments. For example, owners of houses no. 267; 370; 397; 512; 610; 621 (63). Having purchased the houses, buyers were no longer subject to the provisions of proclamation No. 362 of 1948 relating to the recovery of arrear rentals. As they did not yet have the deeds of grant then, it was not possible for the location authorities to evict them (64).

The Administrative Officer (Mr. Brigg), observed that the payment default shown in Appendix Ten was caused by financial constraints. He reported that the average monthly wage of settlers was between £10 and £12 while the site rent of vacant plots where the settlers had to erect buildings within two months after the payment of the site fee, cost between £46.4.2 and £15.4.2. NAD houses cost between £218 and £709 (Table 10) (65).

Title deeds were issued at Zwelitsha from 1961 retrospectively (66). These documents contained conditions which were derived from the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act No. 29 of 1909, quitrent title for surveyed locations, under proclamation No. 117 and 119 of 1931, freehold title used in Umlazi Township-Durban under Proclamation No. 69 of 1951 and sub-section (2) of section 23 Native Administration Act, No. 38 of 1927 (67).

### 8.3.2.2. Sanitation and Segregation : Zwelitsha

The Deeds of Grant also allowed for the cancellation of the title under Proclamation No. 227 of 1955 and for recovery of the purchase instalments and service charges (68). The Deeds of Grant entitled purchasers of houses and plots to occupy them, they owned the house but not the land. Those occupation rights could be transferred only to other Africans belonging to the Xhosa ethnic group (69). Apartheid administration at Zwelitsha was entrenched in terms of Proclamation 293 of 1962 (Regulations for the Administration and Control of Townships in Bantu areas) as a segregated township (70).

Unlike in 'white' King William's Town where there was water - borne sewerage, the sanitary services at Zwelitsha were based on the bucket system provided by 41 Bhaca labourers (a tribe from the Transkei Reserve) who were desperate for jobs. Sewerage removals were made every second night, but the operation was not altogether satisfactory. The contents of the pails were transferred to a mobile tanker and, in the vast majority of cases, pails were replaced in the lavatories without being thoroughly washed and disinfected. In addition, it was estimated that more than 50% of the pails were not leak - proof. Consequently the lavatories were not hygienic. On 24 February 1960 the death rate from gastro- enteritis among infants under the age of one year in Zwelitsha was said to be about 120 per annum and poor sanitary services was regarded as a contributory cause (71).

The insanitary conditions were aggravated by the development of shacks which were condoned by the township administrators. One of the earliest cases of informal settlements to develop at Zwelitsha was reported in 1960. It was a compound consisting of 8 small rooms for housing the 41 Bhaca labourers. As it was inadequate, the gang erected 30 "pondokies" with bush poles and cardboard. The township authorities were reluctant to dismantle those insanitary structures without providing proper housing for them. They feared that it would be very difficult to engage any other person to do the job done by the Bhaca labourers. The development of shacks and poor insanitary conditions at Zwelitsha was a result of inadequate provision made by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (72).

### 8.3.2.3. Apartheid Administration in Zwelitsha: 1953

The NAD decided that control of the township would be exercised by a committee appointed by the NAD (73). The Zwelitsha Board of Control was established in 1953 (74). Enquiries for the purchase of houses were to be submitted by residents to the Board. The latter would liaise between the Administrative Officer and the residents (75). The Board suffered from frustration and its impotence due to its lacking of legal status. The absence of defined powers and duties detracted from its standing in the eyes of the local community. It did, however, render valued service to the Administrative Officer, principally in assisting to control the influx of unauthorised persons into the township (76).

In 1959 the Administrative Officer expressed his wish to establish a Bantu Authority in Zwelitsha. He thought that this would create a more cohesive spirit in the administration of the township (77). A Bantu Authority was based on a legal Act, the Bantu Authorities Act No. 68 of 1951. This Act placed the administration of certain aspects of the lives of rural Africans in the hands of Bantu Tribal, Regional and Territorial Authorities with executive, administrative and judicial functions. The Bantu Authorities Act gave the government the base for implementing its policy of retribalizing the Africans and installing government supported chiefs (Unterhalter, 1987; Davenport, 1991b; Riley, 1991).

The financial administration at Zwelitsha was based on a very weak base. Revenue was derived, primarily, from rentals, service charges and the sale of houses and sites. Other sources included lodger's fees and rents for the use of township facilities such as the hall and stadium. This revenue was used for the provision and maintenance of general township services and the payment of salaries for Town Council members and employees (78).

Housing shortages prevailed throughout the 1960's (79). The waiting list for houses in 1967 stood at 300 units (80). To further implement segregation policy in Zwelitsha, on 19 March 1971 the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, established the Township Council of Zwelitsha in terms of proclamation R293 of 1962 (81). To assist the newly established Township Council to cope with the housing shortage, the South African Government constructed high density dwellings in the form of

three-storey walk-up flats in 1977. As can be seen on Figure 8 they were situated east of the Buffalo river and to the north - west of the pre-existing township. However, the buildings experienced vandalism and high occupancy turnover. Additional dwelling houses were also built at Zwelitsha to meet increased demand (82).

In accordance with the provisions of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, Zwelitsha became the seat for the parliament of the Ciskei Homeland as from 1973. This political role increased job opportunities at Zwelitsha and hence the demand for housing (Davenport, 1991b; Riley, 1991). In 1980 Zwelitsha was declared to be the seat of the National Administration for the self-governing state of the Ciskei. The most significant impact of this change in role was the sudden increase in employment opportunities available at the newly constructed central administration offices in Zwelitsha. They were located along the Buffalo river and to the north west of the Zwelitsha township (83). In this way Zwelitsha changed its role from being a dormitory township to a temporary, homeland administrative centre. The resultant expectations of employment opportunities led to a large influx of people into Zwelitsha. Physical and administrative constraints prevented Zwelitsha from expanding however. In 1981, Ciskei became independent and a new capital city was established at Bisho, eight kilometres north of Zwelitsha (84).

Proclamation no. R293 of 1962 was amended by Township Amendment Act, No. 16 of 1982. In terms of this Act, Zwelitsha came to fall under the authority of the Minister of Internal Affairs and Land Tenure of Ciskei. The Minister was responsible for designating a Town Council to administer the township according to regulations of this Act (85). Zwelitsha therefore changed in terms of its status from being a dormitory township to a 'municipal' area in an 'independent' country. However, there was a dual form of administration whereby this township continued to operate under proclamation R293 (Regulations for Administration and Control of Townships in Bantu Areas), yet Act 16 of 1982, the Township Amendment Act was in force. Councillors were appointed by the Government instead of by popular vote and were to liaise between the Government and the residents. Consequently they were not recognised by the community. That situation made it very difficult for the Township Manager to administer the township effectively. The break in communication chain frustrated the effective operation of services (86).

#### **8.4. 1983-1991: EFFECTIVE SELF-GOVERNMENT IN ZWELITSHA AND GINSBERG LOCATIONS**

During the period from 1984 to 1991, housing conditions at Ginsberg and Zwelitsha deteriorated. Inadequate and poor housing at Zwelitsha resulted from the ineffectiveness of the administrative process which was carried out by the 'Council' of Zwelitsha. By contrast, the Ginsberg location experienced an increase in the number of houses following the establishment of a racially separate community Council. The most significant feature was that Africans were allowed to own houses in the Ginsberg location from 1987, a privilege which had been enjoyed at Zwelitsha as early as 1956.

##### **8.4.1. GINSBERG**

Dr Koornhof, the then Minister of the Department of Co-operation and Development, announced in 1984 that the Ginsberg location would be upgraded with government funds. He presented the plans of the recently established Development Board, which was an apartheid body responsible for developing African areas (87). This upgrading was to happen after the Ginsberg location was technically excluded from the 'white' town and given 'local self-government' (88).

After the Eastern Cape Development Board (ECDB) was established in terms of section 3(1) of the Community Development Act of 1984, the government approved the expenditure of R 6,6 million, in 1984. This was to be spent on upgrading Ginsberg township to eliminate overcrowding and to build more housing units (89). The ECDB purchased the Ginsberg location from the Council of King William's Town on September 1985 (90). Ginsberg was sub-divided into six smaller erven. These were surveyed between 1986 and 1988 and demarcated into residential erven as shown on Table 13.

**TABLE 13 : NEW ERVEN IN THE GINSBERG LOCATION AND THEIR TRANSFERENCE TO THE AFRICAN LOCAL AUTHORITY ( BLACK COMMUNITY COUNCIL).**

<b>GINSBERG ERF NUMBERS</b>	<b>ERFS FOR RESIDENCE</b>	<b>DATE ACQUIRED BY GINSBERG COMMUNITY COUNCIL FROM CDB</b>
<b>4905</b>	<b>555</b>	<b>9. 4. 1987</b>
<b>4934</b>	<b>777</b>	<b>8. 4 .1988</b>
<b>4933</b>	<b>374</b>	<b>8. 4. 1988</b>
<b>4930</b>	<b>439</b>	<b>24. 11. 1992</b>
<b>4931</b>	<b>312</b>	<b>8. 4. 1988</b>
<b>4932</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>24. 11. 1992</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2 612</b>	

**Source: (91).**

**Note: CDB = Community Development Board**

It is evident from Table 13 that the Ginsberg Black Community Council acquired 2 457 surveyed residential plots between 1987 and 1988. The purpose of the sale was to exclude Ginsberg from the 'white' town and to make the location an independent black 'town'. There were 1450 serviced residential sites which were to be made available for sale exclusively to Africans. The actual number of houses which were built from the funds promised by Dr. Koornhof was still however less than the existing demand. Only 125 houses were actually built. The existing 763 were to be upgraded (renovated) (92). As from 1987 Africans commenced the purchase of houses in the Ginsberg location (93). It was the first time that residents at the Ginsberg location could buy houses. Simultaneously, Africans were technically excluded from the 'white' King William's Town and were confined in what was called "Ginsberg developmental area" under the administration of a Community Council. This area was effectively identical to the then independent homelands in that it was a spatial restricted area in which Africans were permitted to buy land and houses.

#### 8.4.2. ZWELITSHA

Because of the lack of effective administration and housing supply, the number of informal shacks escalated (94). By 1984 there were 30 000 people at Zwelitsha and the residential land was 157ha. This resulted in a density of 191 people per hectare. This is in contrast to an accepted gross population density for a town like Zwelitsha of 80 people per hectare (95). The Directorate of Planning for Ciskei found that shacks were erected on vacant stands or on existing, developed sites. There were as many as fourteen shacks on a plot of 1 085 m<sup>2</sup>. Although no formal, detailed research about shacks was undertaken, it was estimated that about 75% of residential sites had shacks on them in 1990. A shack settlement, locally known as Kuwait in Zwelitsha, had approximately 3000 shacks in it (96).

Informal discussions held between the researcher and the Ciskei Directorate of Planning (Mr Nkatu), Mr Tim Lange who worked in the Engineering section at King William's Town municipality building and local residents of Zwelitsha namely, Mr N. Skalika and Mrs Mngaza, revealed that many shacks were occupied by people who had no alternative accommodation. In other cases the owners of the main houses lived in shacks and leased their houses. A large number of shacks-dwellers were low-income, rural people who had migrated to Zwelitsha in search of employment and the advantages of urban life style (97). It was revealed that a number of shacks were occupied by weekly commuters who worked in Bisho and King William's Town but who also lived in either Mdantsane or other settlements (98). Shacks emerged primarily because there was a general shortage of low income housing (99). It was difficult to obtain objective information on the number of shack dwellers. Informal housing was calculated from aerial photography by the state (100). Table 14 shows the number of formal houses and shacks in Zwelitsha.

It was not possible to retrieve further information from archival sources because of a lack of proper administration during the period of the 'Town Council' at Zwelitsha and arson which destroyed the rent office and records which were kept inside in 1990. However, it is obvious that Zwelitsha had reached a position which was contrary to the original plans of the NAD i.e. 'a model township of 2 000 houses which did not have an appearance of a slum.' Shacks had become a key feature of this township. The economic and accommodation crises in the

homeland caused the deterioration of this township's housing conditions. The official population including shack dwellers was 40 200 1991 (102).

**TABLE 14: HOUSING AVAILABLE AT ZWELITSHA IN 1991**

<b>TYPE</b>	<b>NUMBER</b>
<b>Shacks</b>	<b>± 3000</b>
<b>Purchase Houses</b>	<b>2498</b>
<b>Rented Houses</b>	<b>357</b>
<b>Flats</b>	<b>249</b>
<b>Hostels (beds)</b>	<b>203</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>± 6 307</b>

Source: (101).

## 8.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed aspects of the process of racial residential segregation in King William's Town by juxtaposing its African municipal location and the adjacent homeland township. Salient trends identified in large South African cities are discernable in the study area. The most outstanding feature was the control of housing by the local and the central states. In the Ginsberg municipal location, only limited houses were provided compared to their demand and most were on a tenant system basis. By contrast, settlers at Zwelitsha enjoyed privileges of home ownership which their counterparts did not have. A variety of house types were available to them on a rented basis or freehold. These conditions attracted more applicants for residence at Zwelitsha than at the Ginsberg.

Influx control was a prominent practice in the two study areas. The basis on which applications for residence were approved, was on racial and economic grounds. Only Africans (from the Xhosa ethnic group) with 'industrial habits' were admissible.

It has been shown that the two townships had, at different stages of their development, been

subjected to the governance by the state appointed Councils. In conclusion, the above proves that King William's Town, though small experienced parallel trends to big South African cities which implemented racial residential planning. Close links between Zwelitsha and King William's Town physically and in terms of the residence of King William's Town workers make Zwelitsha an integral part of the evolving pattern of racially based segregation in the town.

## 8.6. END NOTES

1. SAB, 461/305/8, No. 72/74C9, CNC to SNA, 18 October 1949, 461/305/15, SNA to 20 June 1952; Statutes of South Africa, 1948; 1982; 1984.
2. SAB, J4/76 N9/23/2(1) Questionnaire N.A. T/C to NC 20 June 1956.
3. CA J3/16 Borough Engineer's Office : Statistical info. Native Locations 26 May 1937; SAB, J4/76, T/C to CNC (KWT), 20 June 1956.
4. Proclamation No. 677 of 1952 old, 19 September 1952.
5. SAB, J4/67 No. 418/313, Native Advisory Board Congress annual conference, annexure 'C' 7 - 10 January 1957.
6. KWT Kaffrarian Museum, Robertson, Wiley & King to Mayor of KWT, 25 February 1944.
7. SAB, 461/305/2 Native Affairs Comm. minutes of meeting in Pretoria dated, 20 November 1946.
8. SAB, No.461/305/3, Sen. Engineer to SNA 26 April 1946.
9. SAB, 461/305/1 Senior Engineer, to SNA, 26 May 1951.
10. SAB, 721/327, in 461/305/2, minister of Native Affairs, 30 November 194 : Native Affairs Comm. meeting 20 November 1944.
11. SAB, 461/305/2, Assistant Health Officer to Deputy Health Officer, Cape Town, 3 March 1945.
12. SAB, 461/305/2, to CNC, 5 April 1946.
13. SAB, 461/305/3 No. 2/44/2/1, Council meeting 29 January 1947; 461/305/1 Sen. Engineer to SNA 26 May 1951.
14. SAB, 461/305/15 No.142/12/3/1/3 NC to CNC 13 February 1953; NTS 461/305/6 No.1/435, Dodds to Surveyor General, 18 December 1958.
15. SAB, No. 461/305/3 (87) SNA to Secr. Public Health, 1 April 1946.
16. SAB, 461/305/3, Admin. Off. Zwel. to U/Secr. Develt., 6 February 1950; SAB, 461/305/3, No. 2/44/2/7, Admin. Off. to NC.; SAB, 461/305/17, No. 2/44/2/7, Admin. Off. Nov. 1951 - March 1952 Report, 8 March 1952; SAB, 461/305/17, No. 2/44/2/7 Admin. Off. to NC 31 December 1952; SAB, 461/305/17, No.9/23/2 Admin. Off. to NC 23 & 25 January 1954; SAB, 461/305/17, No.9/23/2 Admin. Off. to NC 12 October 1955.
17. SAB, 2/29/3, Magistrate to HM Tyamzashe, 13 July 1948.
18. SAB, 461/305/8 No.72/74 C9, CNC to SNA, 18 October 1949.
19. SAB, 757/408C, Cowan to Gold, 17 April 1953.
20. SAB, 461/305/8, No.72/74 C9, CNC to SNA, 18 October 1949.
21. SAB, 461/305/3 GM, DP,G. Mears, SNA to CNC 5 April 1946.
22. SAB, 461/305/8 No. 72/74C9, CNC to SNA 18 October 1949.
23. SAB, 64/313/3 -IDC & NAD meeting 30 October 1952; SAB, 461/305/3 No.2/44/2/7, Admin. Off. Zwelitsha report of 17/1 - 30/4/50 dated 1 June 1950.
24. SAB, No. 2/44/2-7 Admin. Off. Zwel. report for September - October 1951.
25. SAB, 461/305/17, No. 2/12/3/8/1 NC to CNC, 8 July 1952; SAB, 461/305/3, No.72/74 C.32, CNC to SNA, 23 October 1952.
26. SAB, 757/408C R. Cowan, Man. Direct. of GHTC to R.G. Gold, NC for KWT 17 April 1953; 461/305(3) meeting of GHTC, IDC of SA and NAD in KWT 30 October 1952.
27. SA Statutes, 1923; SAB, 64/313/L, Ref. C/K8/29. Secr. School Board No.3 to T/C KWT, 18 September 1965.
28. SAB, 461/305, SNA to Secr. Public Health, 30 March 1946.

29. SAB, 461/305, SNA to CNC, 5 April 1946.
30. SAB, 461/305/1 No.72/74/C13; CNC Heerden, Erasmus & Peteni to Native Comm. KWT, 9 June 1947.
31. SAB, 461/305/8 No.72/14C9 CNC to SNA, 9 July 1949; 18 October 1949.
32. SAB, No.461/305(8) SNA to CNC 30 July 1949; SAB, No.461/305/8, SNA to CNC 8 December 1947.
33. SAB, NTS 461/305/8 No.72/74C9 to SNA 18 October 1949.
34. SAB, ref. 2/44/2/10/1, NC minutes of meeting of CNC; (Cape) GHTC & Admin. Off. Zwelitsha on 22 August 1949 dated 29 August 1949.
35. SAB, No.461/305/8 SNA to CNC, 24 September 1949.
36. SAB, 461/305/3, No.2/44/3/21 Erasmus (AD) to NC 14 March 1952.
37. SAB, 461/305/3, No.2/44/3/21, Admin. Off. to NC 14 March 1952.
38. SAB, 461/305/3 meeting of IDC and NAD in KWT on 30 October 1952.
39. SAB, 461/305/17 No. 9/23/2, Admin. Off. Zwelitsha to NC KWT 25 January 1954; SAB, 461/305 No.2/44/3/7 LEE/AHE Admin. Off. to NC, 18 March 1952.
40. SAB, 2/44/3/7 Admin. Off. Zwel. Report April to June 1952.
41. SAB, 461/305/3 SNA to CNC 26 May 1951.
42. SAB, N9/23/2, Admin. 30 September 1952; quarter ending 31 December 1952; 461/305/3 No. 72. 74C.32 CNC to SNA, 23 October 1952.
43. SAB, 461/305/3, SNA to CNC 1 November 1952; No.72/74/C CNC to 1 November 1952.
44. SAB, 461/305/17 Admin. Off. to 31 December 1952.
45. SAB, No.9/23/2/54 No.83.41 CNC to SNA 1 February 1955; 16 October 1956; Cape Mercury, 10 May 1960 p2.
46. SAB, No.2/2/12/3/1/8/1, Admin. Off. Zwel. to Bantu. AAF. Comm. 6 October 1959.
47. Cape Mercury, 13 August 1965 p.2; SAB, 61/1331/3 No.13/9/3 Sen. Supt. T/ship Zwel. to Bantu. Comm. 28 April 1967.
48. Cape Mercury, 5 April 1967; 8 August 1968.
49. Cape Mercury, 12 November 1981; 17 December 1981.
50. Cape Mercury, 19 February 1981; 23 April 1981.
51. SAB, 461/305 No.12/3/1/3 NC to CNC, 13 February 1953 and 27 July 1953.
52. SAB, N2/12/3/1/3 RGG/EL NC to CNC 27 July 1953; 461/305/15, No.72/74C13, CNC to SNA 3 August 1953.
53. SAB, No.72/74C/13, CNC to SNA, 1 November 1952; No.2/12/3/1/3, NC to CNC, 13 February 1953.
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58. SAB, No. 9/9/2. E. J. Brigg - Admin. Off. to NC - KWT 1 & 2 May 1957.
59. SAB, No.2/12/3/1/3/4 in 461/305/15, Bowan, NC KWT to CNC 17 June 1958.
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62. SAB, E. J. Brigg; AO Zwelitsha to Bantu Affairs Comm. 2 October 1959, N9/9/2/1 in file N2/12/3/1/4.
63. SAB, 461/305/15 SNA to CNC 2 October 1956.
64. SAB, No. 9/9/2 -1 Admin. Off. to NC 3 June 1958.
65. SAB, G.58/1331/3/1, 19 April 1962; T61/2/1331/3 No.2/12/2/10. vol.1 Admin. Off. to Bant. AAF. Comm. 9 August 1962.
66. SAB, BAO No.61/1331/3 and 61/1331/15 Secr. Bant. Admin. & Develt. to Chief bant. Affairs Comm. 12 May & 5 July 1961.
67. SAB, SNA to CNC to SNA 1 November 1952, No.72/74 C13.
68. SAB, 461/305/15 SNA to CNC (Cape) 8 December 1952 461/305/15 No.71/1331 Chief B/AAF. Comm. (Eastern Cape) to Secr. B/Admin. and Develt. 11 March 1961.
69. SAB, No.2/12/3/1/3 NC to SNA, 17 February 1952; No.461/305/15 SNA to CNC 20 June 1952.
70. SAB, T61/2/1331/3 N./3/9/3 Sen. Supt. Bnat. T/ship Zwel. Bant. Aff. Comm. KWT, 28 April 1967; SAB, T61/2/1331/3, No. 49/N13/2/1/7/6 Chief Bantu Affairs Comm. Eastern Cape to Secr. , BAD. 21 June 1967.
71. SAB, No.2/12/3/1/8/1, Brig. Admin. Off. Zwel. to bant. Aff. Comm. 6 October 1959; 461/305/17,

- RMFS/AHE Engineer to Regional Engineer - KWT 24 February 1960.
72. SAB, 461/305/17, No.2/12/3/1/8/1 Chief Bantu Affairs Comm. to Secr. Bant. Admin. & Devel. 1 March 1960.
  73. SAB, 461/305/6 No.83/173, CNC to SNA 13 March 1946.
  74. SAB, No.9/15/3/1 LEE/SJS Admin. Off. Zwel. to NC 9 March 1954; N2/12/3/1/3/ NC to CNC 27 July 1953; 12 March 1954.
  75. N.9/15/3-1 LEE/SJS; Admin. Off. to NC, 9 March 1954.
  76. SAB, N.2/12/3/1/8, Brigg (Admin. Off. Zwel.) to Bant. AAF. Comm. 6 October 1959.
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  78. Directorate of Planning - Presiding Ciskei (DPPC) Rosmarin & Associates, E8006/1 Zwelitsha December 1985.
  79. SAB, N.13/9/3, Sen. Supt. B/Township Zwel. to Sabina 20 December 1966.
  80. SAB, BAD T61/2/1331/3 N.2/11/10/4, Chief Bantu Affairs Comm. to Secr. BAD, 8 March 1967.
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  84. DPP E8006, 1985.
  85. Zwelitsha framework plan report, June 1986, No. E006 and December 1985 No.E8006/1.
  86. DPP, Ciskei Zwelitsha E8006/1 December 1985.
  87. Cape Mercury, 9 February 1984; 12 December 1985.
  88. Cape Mercury, 12 December 1985.
  89. Cape Mercury, 10 May 1984; DO KWT T488/1986.
  90. DO T488/1986; T6580/1992.
  91. Deeds Office - KWT : Ginsberg Township File No. AF.6/5/1/7; T489/1968; T6364/1992; Govt. Notice No.21 of 2 January 1987.
  92. Cape Mercury, 14 August 1986.
  93. DO KWT Ginsberg, Folio 196; 268; 354; 379; Cape Mercury, 30 April 1987.
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  95. DPP, Ciskei, Zwelitsha Framework Kplaa E8006/1 December 1985.
  96. DPW - Ciskei No. Cis 300/mi oil.dr.1. Zwelitsha report 1992.
  97. Zwelitsha Statutes report June 1992; DPW - Ciskei No. Cis 300/mi oil.dr.1.
  98. Zwelitsha framework Plan report December 1985 No. E8006/1.
  99. Statutes report Zwelitsha, June 1992, No. Cis 300.mi. oil.dr.1.
  100. Cis 300/mi oil. dr/1 Status report Zwel. June 1992.
  101. Statutes report Zwelitsha, June 1992 cis 300/mi oil dr.1.
  102. DPP, E8006/1 - Zwelitsha framework plan; Department of Public Works Ciskei June 1992 report CIS 300/Mi oil.dr.1.

# **CHAPTER NINE**

## **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

### **9.1. INTRODUCTION**

The hypothesis which was stated in chapter one will be rejected or accepted based on the facts which have been presented in the previous six chapters. In addition, in this chapter the experience of King William's Town will be assessed to determine the degree to which this town possessed the general characteristics of the 'apartheid' city type. As racial planning was directed by the local and the central state, as in other towns, there will also be an assessment to establish which body was the primary initiator and implementer of racial residential segregation. Finally, this study will be contextualised within the relevant social, economic and historical contexts.

### **9.2. ACCEPTANCE OR REJECTION OF HYPOTHESIS**

The hypothesis that blacks in King William's Town were spatially segregated in terms of their different residential areas on the basis of race is accepted. Racial removals took place from what were often initially integrated parts of King William's Town. Blacks were relocated from there in mono-racial locations. It needs to be pointed out that integration, in this sense, refers to blacks living in 'white' areas and coloureds and Africans living in the same areas.

### **9.3. RACIAL REMOVALS IN KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**

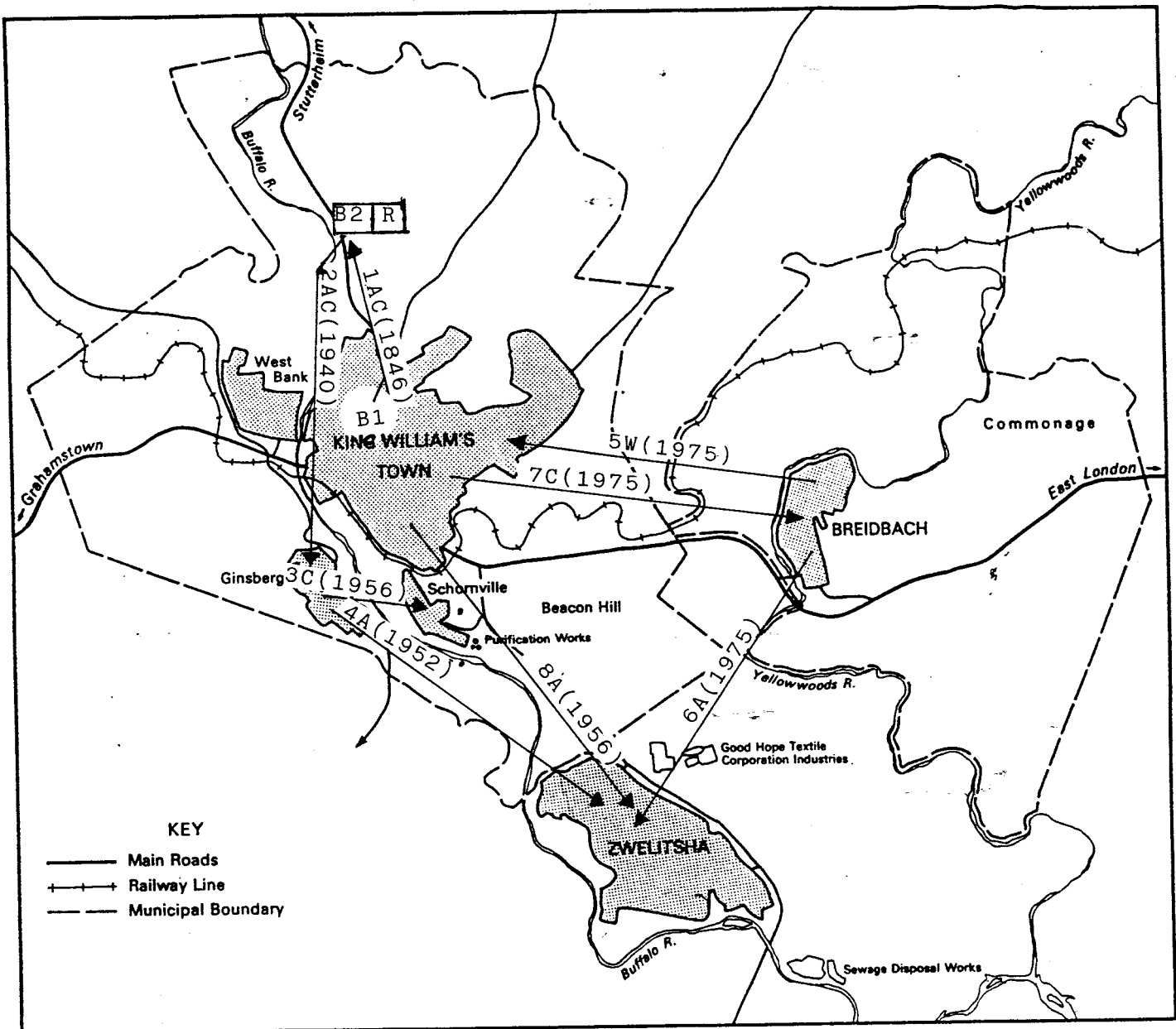
The forced removals which took place in King William's Town have been discussed, in detail, in Chapters Four to Eight. As each of these chapters dealt with removals from a particular area in this town, it is deemed appropriate to present the evidence as a whole in order to establish a complete image of what happened in King William's Town.

The following diagram (Figure 10) summarises what is discussed about racial removals in this thesis. This diagram (Figure 10), depicts that King William's Town locations were physically separated from the main town by rivers. The Buffalo River separated the Ginsberg location from the town while its tributaries the Sweetwaters Stream separated Zwelitsha from the town and the Yellowwoods River marked the western boundary of the coloured Group Area of Breidbach). It appears that the establishment of the locations on such sites was intended to effect physical separation of races by means of buffer zones namely open space, the rivers and their valleys (Davies, 1979; Western, 1981). Schornville was enclosed by industries (situated at Beacon Hill), purification works, the railway line and the Buffalo River (see Figure Ten).

It is also evident from Figure 10 that blacks moved from the original Brownlee Mission Station (arrow no. 1AC in 1846) situated in the 'white' town to the two locations of Brownlee and Ridsdel on the town's northern outskirts on a temporary basis. Ultimately the two locations were disestablished in 1938 and 1940 and their residents relocated to the Ginsberg location (arrow no. 2AC).

The diagram (Figure 10) shows that there were population movements from locations to other locations. For example, coloureds moved from the Ginsberg location to Schornville in 1956 (arrow no.3C). After the proclamation of the Group Areas Act in the village of Breidbach, in 1960, the long established whites and Africans, moved from the village and were replaced by coloureds (arrows no. 5W, 6A and 7C). Africans settled in Zwelitsha (see arrow no.6A) while whites relocated to the town (see arrow no.5W). Immigrants to Zwelitsha came from the Ginsberg location (arrow no.4A), 'white' King William's Town (arrow no.8A) as well as parts of the Ciskei Reserve/ homeland.

Coloureds in Schornville came from the 'white' town and from the Ginsberg location. The dates and the circumstances which led to the above population movements are detailed in Chapters Four to Eight.



**Figure 10: Flow Diagram Showing Population Movements in King William's Town, 1826 - 1991**

**Source:** As detailed in Chapters Four to Eight.

**Key:**

- B1 = Brownlee Mission Station on first site
- B2 = Brownlee location on second site
- R = Ridsdel location
- A = Africans
- C = coloureds
- W = whites
- 1956 = approximate year of population movement
- arrow = direction of population movement

#### **9.4. MONO-RACIAL LOCATIONS OF KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**

After the completion of the process of racial relocation through the disestablishment of racially integrated locations and zones in King William's Town, each racial group lived in the designated areas. Four mono-racial locations were established, namely: Ginsberg and Zwelitsha for Africans; and Schornville and Breidbach for coloureds. King William's Town might have been completely 'white' had it not have been the Indians who did not have their own segregated group area. They lived among whites.

#### **9.5. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE APARTHEID CITY EVIDENT IN KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**

The general characteristics of the apartheid city type, as formulated by the Durban City's Technical Subcommittee, were detailed in Chapter Three. As was mentioned earlier, the residential zones of King William's Town complied with those principles because each area was planned for occupation by single race groups between 1954 and 1991. In addition physical or man-made barriers existed between residential zones (Davies, 1981). As is shown in Figure 10 these included, rivers, the railway line, industries and the sewerage works (water purification works). In addition, each zone came to acquire its own independent or semi-independent local authority which was separate from that of the 'white' town of King William's Town. Limited exceptions to the absolute application of the Group Areas Act are detailed in Chapter Seven.

The racial zones of King William's Town had access to places of work. There was, consequently, no need to pass through the residential areas of other race groups to reach places of work. For example, Figure 10 shows that there is a road from the Ginsberg location to the town which crosses the Buffalo river. Schornville is close to industries and is attached to the Buffalo road which leads to the CBD of King William's Town. Zwelitsha is connected to King William's Town by the King William's Town to Mount Coke Road. The Good Hope Textile industries provides work for the adjacent Zwelitsha residents.

Breidbach is connected to King William's Town by the national road (N.2) to East London.

King William's Town further complied with another of the principles of apartheid city planning as outlined by Davies (1981) and Western (1981), namely that African group areas were to be large enough to accommodate future population growth. In addition, they had to project towards nearby reserves to facilitate possible amalgamation with the homeland. As Figure 10 depicts, King William's Town is located in the vicinity of the homeland of the Ciskei. The point made above proves the idea that King William's Town qualifies to be classified as having a typically apartheid city plan which existed in the larger cities of South Africa. It is now necessary to identify the major role player here which planned King William's Town on a racial basis.

#### **9.6. THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL STATE AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN PLANNING RACIAL ZONES OF KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**

The Council of King William's Town advocated the separation of races as early as 1861, the year when it came into existence. They (the Council), scrupulously implemented this policy despite the fact that the central government, prior to the apartheid era, was not wholly committed to such an idea. Details of this view are evident in Chapters Four, Five and Six of this thesis. The Council had, for a long time, attempted to establish an Asiatic location in King William's Town (see Chapter Eight for details) where the Indians were to be relocated to.

The oppressive behaviour of the King William's Town Council towards its urban blacks, prior to the passage of the Group Areas Act was rare among contemporary town councils e.g. compared with Johannesburg City Council (Lodge, 1987; Parnell, 1991). Prior to 1950, the government did not enforce the rigid and compulsory segregation which was applied after 1950 yet, the Council was determined to implement racial planning. This attribute of racism, possessed by the King William's Town Council, was a distinctive feature of the town, especially when one considers the manner in which racial removals were implemented by the Council (refer to Chapter Five).

Nationally segregation was led by different authorities in each phase. It was pointed out by Maylam (1990) that after 1950 segregation was applied by the central state and local state

efforts were largely ineffective. This was also the case with King William's Town. The Council (the local state) led the segregation process prior to 1950 when it closed two black locations (Brownlee and Ridsdel) which were adjacent to the 'white' town of King William's Town. However, there was one exception in the case of King William's Town. The central state established the segregated homeland township of Zwelitsha prior to 1950.

In Chapter Five it was revealed that six houses in a black location were condemned as unfit for human habitation. However, a total of 129 houses in that location were demolished at the Council's unproven allegation that they were insanitary. The government's Native Affairs Department was dismayed about this unfair practice. Prior to 1950 the local state pursued a policy of segregation which appeared to be extreme even in the eyes of a central state department. It should be understood that the racist policies which were effected by the central state after 1950 were ubiquitous in South African towns. When the Group Areas Act was passed the town was already almost completely segregated on racial lines. Removals of coloured people and the proposed removal of Indians were the only major features of this phase.

#### **9.7. THE VALUE OF THIS THESIS IN RELATION TO ITS SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND HISTORICAL CONTEXTS**

This urban historical study of King William's Town is significant for multiple reasons. From a social and economic point of view, the eastern frontier towns form tourist attractive cores on account of their rich history of being the first contact points in South Africa between whites and Xhosa speaking Africans. As these historical sites have traditionally presented a predominantly white image in the region, this study projects an image of black residence and economic activities. The fact that King William's Town developed from a site which was a black location (i.e. Brownlee Mission Station) received less attention in earlier or previous studies (e.g. Webb, 1989; Caldwell, 1990; Dullabh, 1994). Such a site may be an attraction to tourists especially, liberal urban geographers who do not succumb to the idea that towns were started by whites only. Examples of spots which are regarded as possible tourist attractions are the sites of the locations which were unjustifiably demolished because of Council's racist policy.

The revelation that certain freehold lands were unfairly expropriated by the Council (Chapter Five) has certain property and financial implications. The dispossessed Africans might well claim their lost lands from the commission set up by the present government. The Department of Lands is currently (in 1996) writing laws which are intended to protect people's rights to land (Land Tenure Reform) so that they may not be unfairly and illegally evicted in the coming period. It is also engaged in processing land claims lodged by people who lost it unfairly during and prior to the apartheid era (1). Examples of people who were unfairly evicted include the residents of District Six, Sophiatown, Cato Manor and most significantly, Ridsdel and Brownlee locations.

From a historical perspective, this study highlights the role which blacks, especially Africans played in the genesis of town which later marginalised them. A vivid monument of the role played by Africans in the building of King William's Town is to be found in the emblem of the Borough Council of King William's Town. This emblem has Xhosa traditional huts and a Xhosa Slogan, 'Eqonce Malichume' meaning 'King William's Town should prosper'. The relevance of the emblem and the slogan lies in the fact that it was Africans who built the first location in King William's Town. They also brought wealth to this town by digging a furrow from the northern reaches of the Gezana River to the town in order to irrigate orchards and gardens which brought the first trade to the town. Furthermore their dwellings were let to newcomers in town who did not have accommodation.

Socially unjust practices of the past, prior to the demise of apartheid, were associated with the central state. However, as this study has shown, the local state (Council) played a leading role in segregating blacks in this town. Furthermore, the study set up to test the bona-fides of the Council in expropriating the land from blacks. Since the Council effected forced removals about fifty years ago, under the pretext that the land was improperly used by Africans, this study will compare the use to which such confiscated land has since been put.

When the researcher visited the area in 1995, it was apparent that the vacated land (the sites of Brownlee and Ridsdel locations) was still not utilized. Only natural vegetation (bushes and shrubs) had grown there, no development had taken place. This implies that the Council

had no intention of developing the land in question. They sought to chase away blacks from the vicinity of the 'white' town. Therefore, this vacant lot can be a potential subject for resettlement negotiations between the black community and the present Council of King William's Town. The Council could either return the land in question to the former owners or their successors or commence a relevant project which would benefit both parties concerned in a spirit of reconciliation.

Finally, most studies have concentrated their focus on cities such as Cape Town, (Saunders, 1984b; Western, 1981); Johannesburg (Manday, 1984; Lodge, 1987); Durban (Maharaj, 1992; Manson, 1981); Bloemfontein (Krige, 1990; Mabin, 1994); Port Elizabeth (Christopher, 1987b; 1988a) and East London (Nel, 1990b; 1991). This study looks at an effectively neglected dimension i.e. the parallel process happening in towns. From a geographic point of view, it is indisputable that even small towns in South Africa, like King William's Town, cannot be analysed in terms of their morphological regions according to the western type of models. The towns, like the cities, have uniquely South African plans, namely - segregationist and apartheid plans. This study has proved this opinion to be a correct one.

#### **9.8. END NOTES**

1. Daily Dispatch, 22 October 1996.

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#### i) Cape Archives(CA)

The following files,originating from the Municipality of King William's Town were consulted.Dates indicate the time period covered by each volume.Archival reference number, KAB. 3/KWT:-

<u>Band Number</u>	<u>Volume Number</u>	<u>Title</u>
AG 1882	153/11	King William's Town Natives and Asiatic location Regulations 1911-1911
AG 1882	153A/11	Native Affairs Commission 1910-1911
4/1/146	J4/21	Visit of Native Affairs Commission to King William's Town
3A/26	1/2/6/1/1	Brownlee location committee minutes 1880-1888
4/1/150	J6/9	Ridsdel location 1912-1936
4/1/150	J6/1	Illness in Ridsdel location,1913
1233	1719	Brownlee location Commission,1910
4/1/144	J3/16	Removal of Brownlee and Ridsdel location,1925-1938
4/1/145	J3/16	Removal of Brownlee,1938-1943
4/1/145	J3/16	Removal of Brownlee 1922-1926

The following files originating from various Government sources pertaining to King William's Town were consulted:

<u>Band Number</u>	<u>Volume Number</u>	<u>Title</u>
PAS 2/737	L48/C86	King William's Town municipality-Brownlee location, 1922-1924
PAS 2/27	L46H	Brownlee location Commission, 1909-1910
CCK 120	N9/15/3	Ridsdel location,King William's Town, 1925-1939
PAS 2/259	L48/C/20	Breidbach Village Management Board-application for abolition of , 1912-1917

#### ii) Central State Archives (SAB)

The following files, pertaining to King William's Town were consulted.Dates indicate the time period covered by each volume.Archival reference number, SAB:

<u>Band Number</u>	<u>Volume Number</u>	<u>Title</u>
NTS 180	56/31	Brownlee and Ridsdel, 1909-1924
NTS 4219	64/313	Establishment of locations and hostels. Regulations in King William's Town 1926-1961

BAD 7868	T61/2/1331/3 Vol.1&3	Zwelitsha housing, 1947-1962
NTS 3019	461/305/1	Zwelitsha / Stud farm, 1945
NTS 3020	461/305/2	Zwelitsha / Stud farm, 1956
NTS 3022	461/305/3	Zwelitsha / Stud farm, 1956-1961
NTS 3023	461/305/4	Zwelitsha / Stud farm, 1961
NTS 3023	461/305/6	Regulations:Zwelitsha,1946-1948
NTS 3024	461/305/10	Zwelitsha / Stud farm, 1960
NTS 3026	461/305/17	Zwelitsha / Stud farm, 1949-1960
NTS 7868	T61/2/1331/3	Zwelitsha/Stud farm ,sale of plots,1956-1967
BAD 6078	J78/1835	Zwelitsha hostel,1947-1962
BAD 5297	G59/2/1/1331/3	Zwelitsha housing,1962-1966
BAD 5101A	G57/6/1331/3	Zwelitsha/Stud farm 1964-1972
BAD 5156	58/4/1331/3	Zwelitsha/ Stud farm, 1962
BAD 5297	G59/2/1331/3	Zwelitsha / Stud farm,1961-1963
URU 955	90	Locations ,King William's Town Municipality,1925-1957
BAD N2/11/3	T61/2/1331/3/1	Sale of plots at Zwelitsha,1962-1969
URU 3136	2332	Natives Urban Areas Act, King William's Town, 1953
LDE 540	7209	Ginsberg township,1910

### iii) Newspaper Articles

Cape Mercury, 1900-1991  
Daily Dispatch, 1957-1996  
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Eastern Province Herald, 1991  
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### iv) Directories

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### v) South African Municipal Yearbook,1924-1991

### vi) Statutes

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vii) Interviews

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Rosmarin and Associates, 1985: Zwelitsha framework plan report, vol.1 and 2 No.E8006/1, Directorate of Planning and Presidency-Ciskei.

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ix) Deeds Office Files

Folio/Erf number files

Breidbach folios No.1 to 1221

King William's Town folios No.1 to 3500

Schornville, folios 1 to 300

Deeds of transfers

Breidbach:

1980/2258; 1981/2686; 1982/3491; 1989/4058; 1977/1841; 1978/1204; 1980/1120; 1979/2064  
1950/1159; 1946/1788; 1975/770; 1975/2628; 1978/573; 1978/1048; 1976/573; 1984/1451

Ginsberg:

1940/692; 1946/72; 1986/487; 1986/488; 1986/489; 1987/486; 1987/794; 1988/914; 1988/915;  
1988/916

King William's Town:

1921/557; 1929/30; 1926/787; 1898/414; 1930/147; 1903/369; 1895/400; 1955/655; 1959/804;  
1903/369; 1925/179; 1925/787; 1930/147; 1930/404; 1984/3855; 1973/2816; 1976/1824;  
1981/2759; 1970/2653; 1971/2433; 1970/262; 1979/272; 1976/288; 1979/789; 1979/625;  
1978/2047; 1973/2816; 1984/4208; 1975/262; 1975/161; 1986/488; 1992/6280; 1940/455;  
1962/162; 1959/804; 1947/158; 1954/970; 1948/1306; 1938/644

x) Site Visits

Milestone at Reserve Road, King William's Town

Brass plaque near magistrate court, King William's Town

Brownlee Mission Station's two sites

xi) Maps and Photographs

Maps which were used in this thesis were found from the following places:

Cape Archives:

Diagram of Brownlee Mission Station,(Appendix Two) drawn by George Mackinon, 28 December 1849

Certificate of Reservation (Appendix One) drawn by A.de Smidt, Surveyor General, 1 December 1883.

Certificate of Reservation in Tait, H.M.,March 1938

Photographs of Brownlee location houses (Appendix Three) taken by H.M. Tait (MOH of King William's Town) on 23 March 1938.

King William's Town Kaffrarian Museum:

King William's Town in British Kaffraria,January 1848 drawn by Royal Engineers

Plan of King William's Town in British Kaffraria, 1849 drawn by Royal Engineers

Plan of King William's Town,1908,drawn by Anglo-American Agency

King William's Town Plan 1948 , No.W32, by Dickson, Borough Engineer

King William's Town Planning Scheme ,1968 by Town Planning Office,Cape Provincial Administration

Plan Of King William's Town No.W7369 by H.R. Brownlee

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King William's Town T.L.C. areas, 1995

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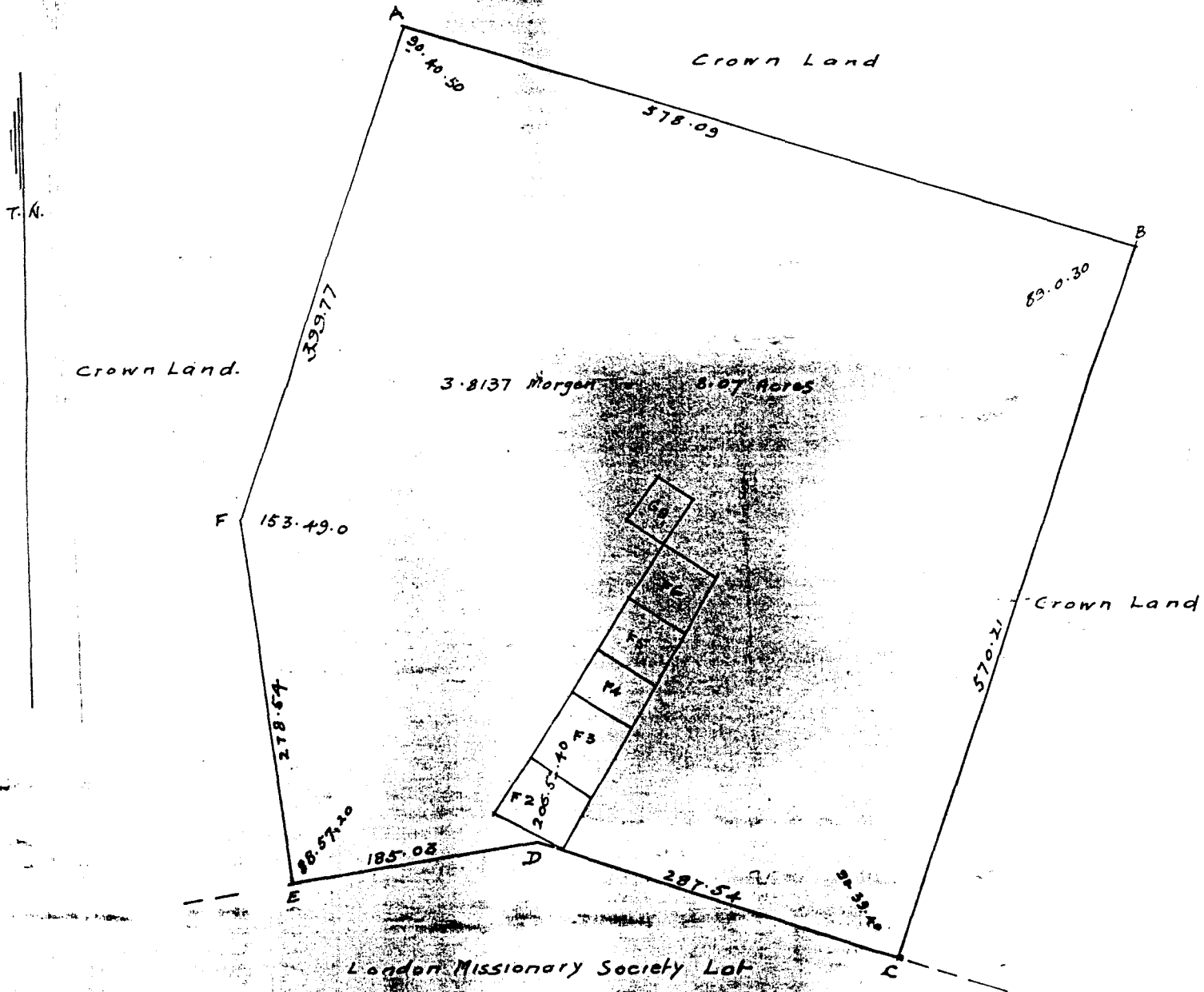
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# APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 : Certificate of Reservation

Certificate of Reservation 1 Dec 1883.  
Part of Brownlee's Location.  
Township of King Williams Town.

Scale:-



London Missionary Society Lot

May 1937  
 G. J. Omas's dorp  
 Govt. Land Surveyor

Position of Properties E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, E6 & G9

as shown above ascertained by me H. W. Tait  
 Barr. Engineer  
 MARCH 1938.

V.A.

CERTIFICATE OF RESERVATION.

Under authority of the Government conveyed by letters of the Honourable the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, No.1779, dated 10th June 1882, and No.913, dated 13th March 1883, I do hereby certify that the Civil Commissioner of the District of King William's Town the Mayor of King William's Town and the Resident Missionary of the London Missionary Society at King William's Town, for the time being, and their successors in Office, as trustees for the Natives residing at the Central Station of the said Missionary Society, have the right to use a certain piece of land situated in the Division of King William's Town, Field Cornetcy No.9, adjoining the said Central Station, being part of the land known as "Brownlee Station", in extent three morgen, four hundred and sixty seven square roods and eight hundred and fifty two thousandths of a square rood (3 mor. 467 Sq.Rds.), Cape Measure, or Eight Acres, English Measure; and represented and described in the diagram hereunto annexed.

Given under my hand at Cape Town this first day of December, 1883.

Sgd. A.de Smidt.

Surveyor General.

## APPENDIX 2: Brownlee Mission Station

(Brownlee Mission area of 14 acres, Brownlee location-the contentious eight acres and the Ridsdel location)

19

The ground marked yellow in this plan is allotted as a free grant to the London Missionary Society and the ground marked green is allotted as the private residence of the Reverend J. Brownlee, on the understanding that Mr Brownlee shall if required pay such quitrent as Government shall think proper to demand.

By order of His Excellency the  
High Commissioner.

Sgd. G.W. Mackinnon  
Col. and Ch. Comm.

King William's Town,

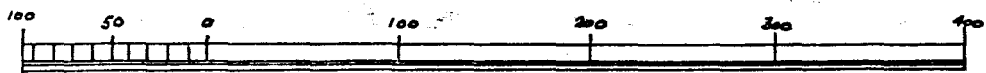
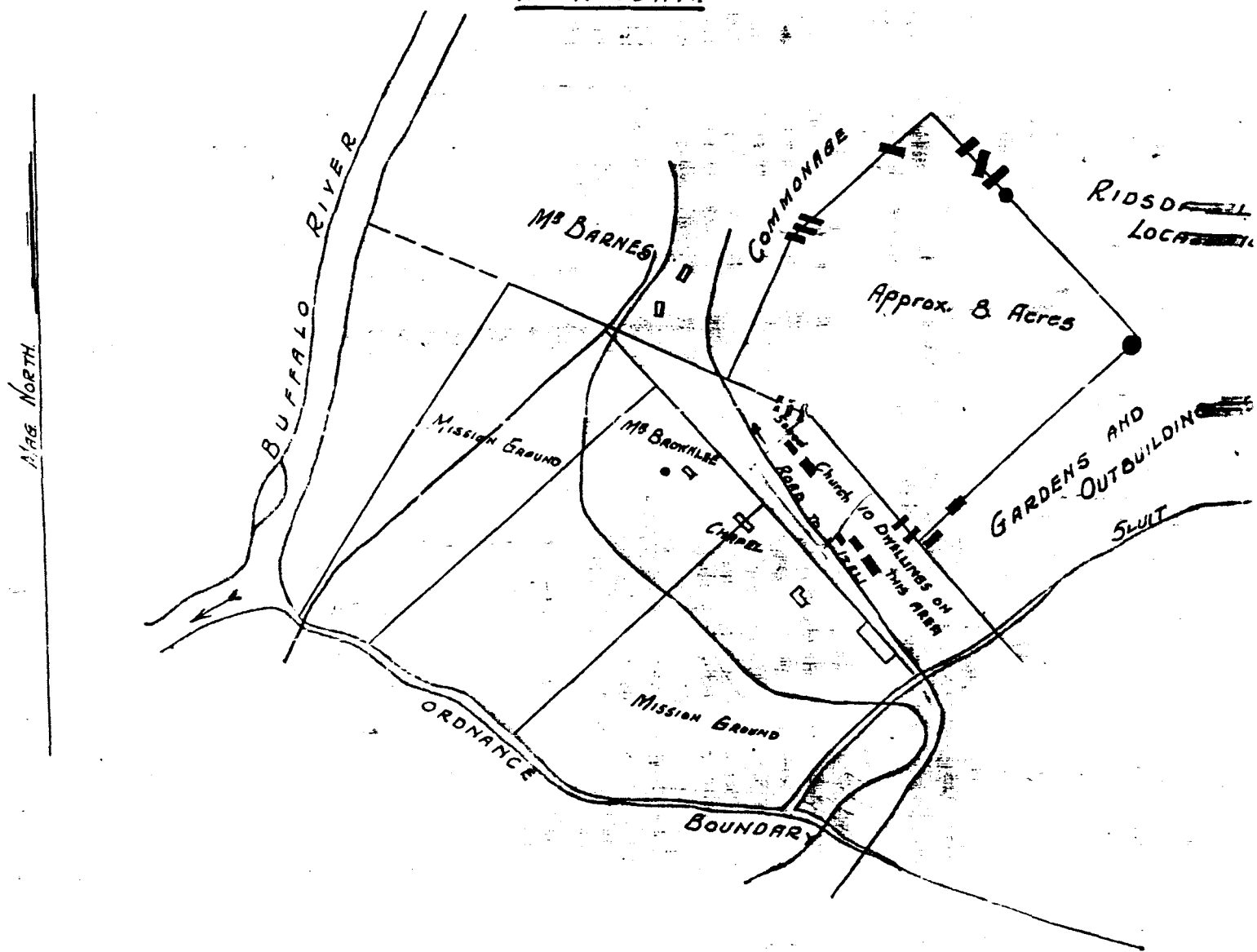
28th December, 1849.

Vol 6811  
A

ANNEX

DIAGRAM OF BROWNLEE STATION.

K. W. TOWN.



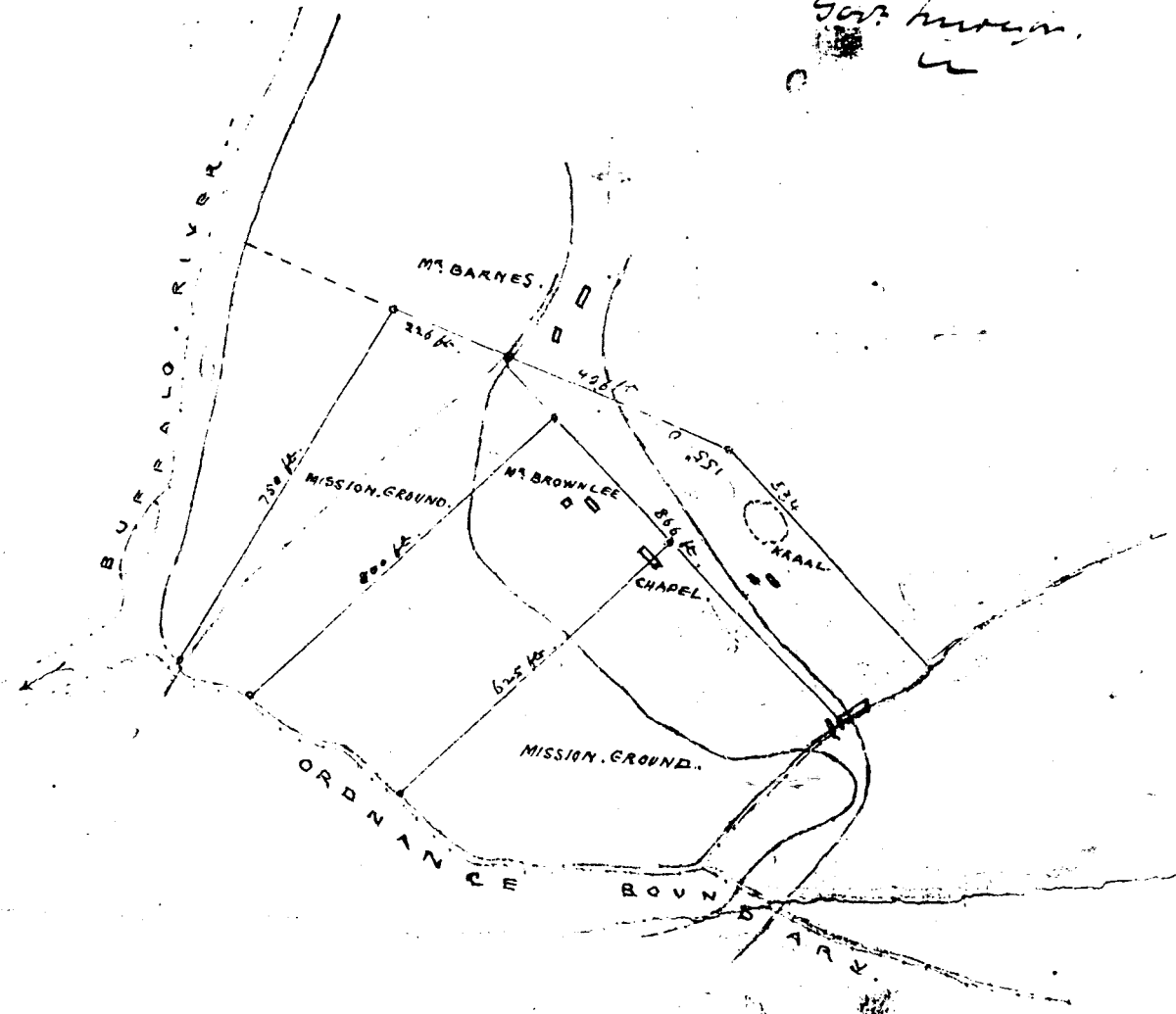
SCALE 100 YARDS TO AN INCH.

DWELLINGS SHOWN THUS ■ ●

Copy diagram of Mission ground. Brownlee Station.

Mrs. Van Rensen  
Gov. Brownlee.

MAG. NORTH.



50 0 100 200 300 400  
SCALE. 100 YARDS TO AN INCH.

of M. Hill, Captain  
Royal Engineers

The ground marked yellow in this plan is allotted as a free grant for the use of the London Missionary Society, and the ground marked green is allotted as the private residence of the Rev. J. Brownlee, on the understanding that Rev. Brownlee shall be required, for each quarter as the Government shall think proper to demand.

King Wm. Down  
Dec. 28<sup>th</sup> 1849.

By order of His Excellency  
The High Commissioner  
Geo. Mackinnon  
Col. & Adj. Comdr.

George Mackinnon

APPENDIX 3 : Brownlee Location Houses

(condemned in terms of the Slums Act  
of 1934)



Phone 343,  
P.O. Box 53,

*Public Health Department,*

*King Williams' Town,*

All communications to be  
addressed to the  
~~Chief Health Inspector~~

Medical Officer of Health.

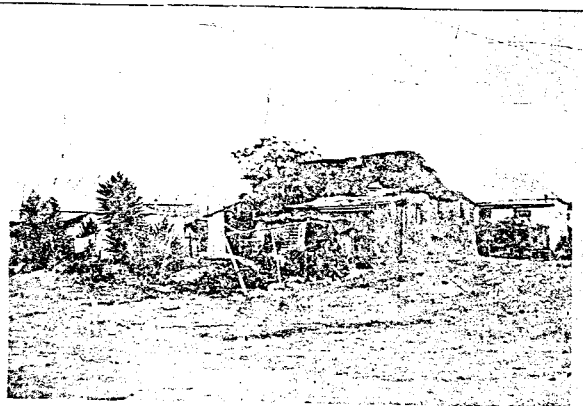
23rd March,

1938

Office Hours:

8.30 to 9.30 a.m.

2 to 2.30 p.m.



Photograph of described premises No. F 2  
Brownlee Station.

Taken by R. M. Tait, Esq.



Phone 343.

P.O. Box 38.

*Public Health Department,*

*King Williams' Town,*

All communications to be  
addressed to the

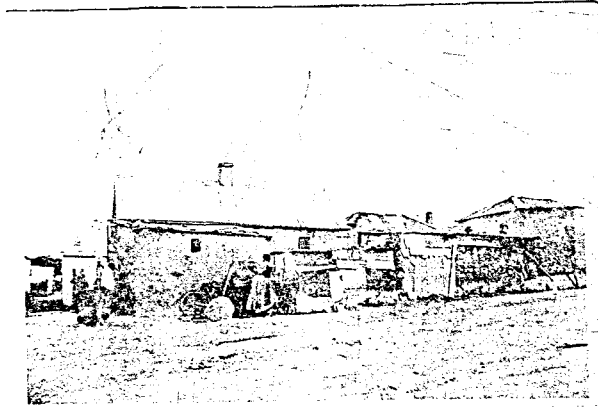
~~Chief Health Inspector~~ Medical Officer of Health.

Office Hours:

8.30 to 9.30 a.m.

2 to 2.30 p.m.

143



Photograph of described premises No. F 3

Brownlee Station.

Taken by H. M. Tait, Esq.



Phone 343,

P.O. Box 33,

*Public Health Department,*

*King Williams' Town,*

All communications to be  
addressed to the

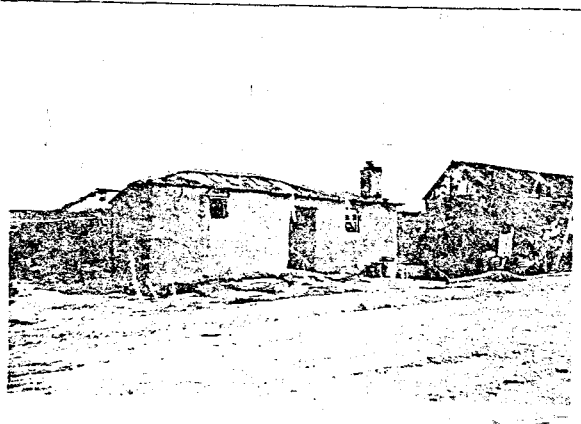
~~Chief Health Inspector~~ Medical Officer of Health.

23rd March, 1933.

Office Hours:

8.30 to 9.30 a.m.

2 to 2.30 p.m.



Photograph of described premises No. F 4

Brownlee Station.

Taken by H. M. Tait, Esq.



Phone 343.

P.O. Box 33.

*Public Health Department,*

*King Williams' Town,*

All communications to be  
addressed to the  
Chief Health Inspector.

Medical Officer of Health.

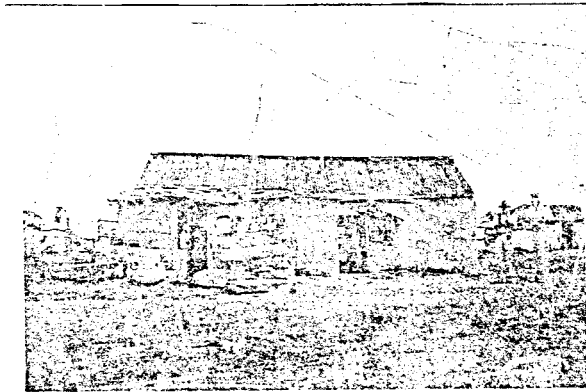
23rd March,

1913.

Office Hours:

8.30 to 9.30 a.m.

2 to 2.30 p.m.



Photograph of described premises No. F 5

Brownlee Station.

Taken by H. M. Tait, Esq.



Phone 345,  
P.O. Box 33,

*Public Health Department,*

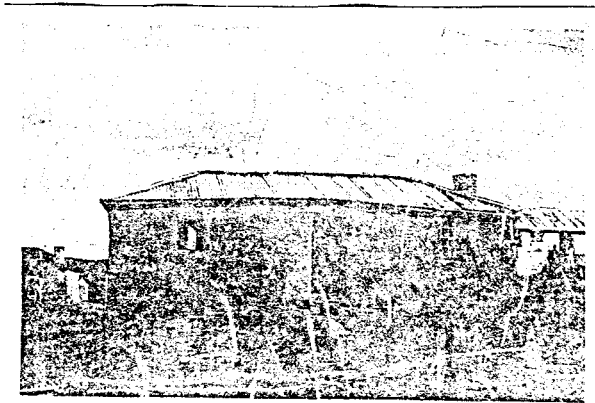
*King Williams' Town,*

All communications to be  
addressed to the  
~~CHIEF HEALTH OFFICER~~

Medical Officer of Health.

23rd March, 1933

Office Hours:  
8.30 to 9.30 a.m.  
2 to 2.30 p.m.



Photograph of described premises No. F 6

Brownlee Station.

Taken by H. M. Tait, Esq.



Phone 343,

P.O. Box 33,

*Public Health Department,*

*King William's Town,*

All communications to be  
addressed to the

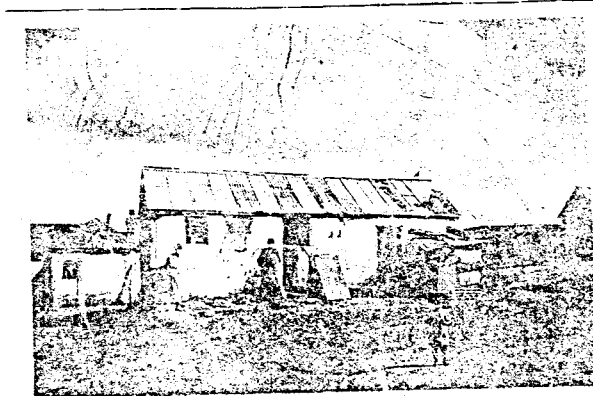
~~Chief Health Officer~~ Medical Officer of Health.

23rd March, 1933.

Office Hours:

8.30 to 9.30 a.m.

2 to 2.30 p.m.



Photograph of described premises No. G 9

Brownlee Station.

Taken by H. M. Tait, Esc.

## APPENDIX 4 :Valuation of Ridsdel Location

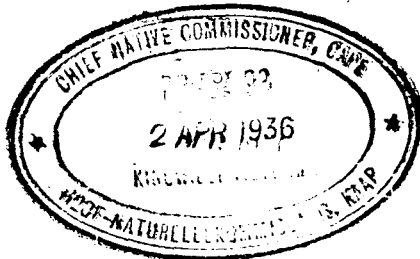
(House values compiled by the residents, the  
Borough Engineer and the Inspector of Works)

RIDSDEL LOCATION.

APPLICATION FOR COMPENSATION FOR REMOVAL OF DWELLING.

Name.	No. of Dwelling.	No. of Rooms.	Is Dwelling owned by Applicant.	How was Dwelling acquired.	Amount of Compensation Claimed.
Jessie Mboni	2	7	Yes.	By Inheritance.	£ 108.
Esher Maki	3	3	"	Purchased.	50.
Mini Mtuma	3	5	"	"	45.
Mrs. John Cezula	4	7	"	Built.	160.
Qanawe Qopo	6	3	"	Purchased.	45.
Mrs. Ben Mkencele	9	9	"	Built.	150.
Jack Nkunge	12	3	"	"	40.
Nofanti Jobela	13	6	"	Purchased.	57.
Nontaba Mlindazwe	14	8	"	Built.	106.
Maggie Dewa	17	5	"	Purchased.	75.
Mercy Bashman	27	2	No.	"	50.
Banati Teketi	28	3	No.	Built.	75.
Notana	29	3	Yes.	Purchased.	40.
M. Ben Mkencele	33	3	No.	"	35.
Kopi Nelani	34	1	Yes.	"	25.
Mpaipeli Jongile	34b	4	"	"	97.
Tom Gwelana	38	4	"	Built.	40.
Nosimse Gwalana	38				25.
Stemela Jeku	39	1	Yes.	Built.	12.
Charlie Magqaza	42	4	"	Purchased.	45.
Tom Mahe	43	4	"	Built.	80.
Fred Sidayiya	48	2	"	"	28.
Mrs. Peter Mbatsha	50	3	"	By Inheritance.	25.
Joseph Sogidashe	51	6	"	Purchased.	87.
Jane Kele	54	2	"	Built.	45.
Albert Nkwentsha	55	4	"	Purchased.	90.
Samuel Magele	56	1	No.	"	35.
Annie Klaas	57	3	Yes.	By Inheritance.	30.
Skrishi Momfu	61	3	"	Built.	65.
Nomfolozi Mahe	64	1	"	By Inheritance.	25.
Nowatsha Kewana	67	2	"	Purchased.	30.
Louisa Nose	68	6	"	By Inheritance.	70.
F. i Sidayiya	71	1	"	Built.	10.
Willie Mavakala	73	3	"	Purchased.	20.
Henry Elson	75	3	"	"	30.
Margie Mkosana	76	6	"	"	65.
Jane Mama	77	6	"	Built.	70.
Jeffrey Gqoloda	78	12	"	Purchased.	350.
Nosimse Gwelana	79				36.
Datini Tengela	79	9	Yes.	Built.	83.
Nosayini Kondlo	81	2	"	Purchased.	35.
Ida Maneli	83	4	No.	Built.	45.
Nonine Ndzima	84	4	Yes.	Purchased.	105.
Mary Konza	85	4	"	By Inheritance.	100.
Ernest Mtampo	86	5	"	"	78.
Lizzie Tonisi	88	1	"	Purchased.	10.
Noneyi Ngxitimba	89	3	"	Built.	25.
Eunice Simon Banzi	91	9	"	Purchased.	200.
Jerry Tema	93				110.
Petross Jantjes	94	3	No.	Built.	36.
Schriner Mkencele	96	3	No.	By Inheritance.	40.
Smanga Mbali	98				100.
Gando Maku	98	6	Yes.	By Inheritance.	50.
Mary Balt	100	6	"	"	150.
Maggie Dewa	106	10	"	"	135.

3783



In Reply Please Quote  
In Antwoord naam a.s.b. aan

No...P.E...3/1173

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.—UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA.

OFFICE OF THE—KANTOOR VAN DIE Public Works Department,

LMW/EG

EAST LONDON.

1st April, 1936.

Town Clerk,  
KINGWILLIAMSTOWN.

Sir,

RIDSDEL LOCATION:

I beg to advise you that I made a valuation of the remaining buildings on the 27th ultimo.

My valuations are:-

<u>Name.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Valuation.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Valuation</u>
Jessie Mboni	2	£36	Annie Klaas	57	£14
Esher Maki	3	9	Qanwe Qapo	60	5
Mrs. John Cezula	4	14	Skrishi Momfu	61	9
Montaba Mlindazwel	4	31	Nosimse Gwelana	79	34
Mercy Bashman	27	13	Nosayini Kondlo	81	14
Banati Teketi	28A	9	Ida Manoli	83	17
Tom Mahe	43	21	Lizzie Tonisi	88	8
Nomfolozi Mahe	49	4	Eunice S. Banzi	91	38
Mrs. P. Mbatsha	50	5	Walter Jonas	92	22
Joseph Sogidashe	51	12	Jerry Tema	93	44
Jane Kele	54	6	Mantselen	99	14

The above shows my valuations amounting in all to £379 which includes an allowance made for inconvenience caused in connection with the removal.

I have the honour to be,  
sir,  
Your obedient servant,

ACTG: INSPECTOR OF WORKS:  
P.W.D. EAST LONDON.

Chief Native Commissioner,  
KING WILLIAMS TOWN.

For your information please.

Your file No. 2/16/B/5<sup>1</sup> refers.

*L. J. Laker*  
ACTG: INSPECTOR OF WORKS:  
P.W.D. EAST LONDON.

*See  
all  
Records*

*dated 21.2.36*

RUIDSEL LOCATION.

APPLICATION FOR COMPENSATION FOR REMOVAL OF DWELLINGS.

NAME	No of DWELLING	No of ROOMS	IS DWELLING OWNED BY APPLICANT?	How was Dwelling acquired	Amount of compensation claimed	Borough Engineer's VALUATION		
						£		
Jessie Mboni	2	7	Yes	Inherited	108	42	0	0
Esher Maki	3	3	Yes	Purchased	50	8	0	0
Mrs. John Cezula	4	7	Yes	Built	160	17	0	0
Mrs. Ben Mkencele	9	9	Yes	Built	150	60	0	0
Jack Mkunge	12	3	Yes	Built	40	8	0	0
Mofanti Jobela	13	6	Yes	Purchased	57	29	0	0
Montaba Mlindazwe	14	8	Yes	Built	106	36	0	0
Maggie Dowa	17	5	Yes	Purchased	75	19	0	0
Mercy Bashman	27	2	No	Purchased	50	8	10	0
Banati Teketi	28A	3	No	Built	75	10	5	0
James Kaana	28B	3				2	0	0
Notana	29	3	Yes	Purchased	40	7	0	0
Mrs. Ben Mkencele	33	3	No	Purchased	35	15	10	0
Ropi Nelani	34A	1	Yes	Purchased	25	8	0	0
Mpaipeli Jongile	34B	4	Yes	Purchased	97	30	0	0
Tom Gwelana	38	4	Yes	Built	40	14	10	0
Stemela Jeku	39	1	Yes	Built	12	4	5	0
Charlie Magqaza	42	4	Yes	Purchased	45	12	0	0
Tom Mahe	43	4	Yes	Built	80	14	10	0
Booy Montongwana	44	1				6	0	0
Fred Sidayiya	48	2	Yes	Built	28	15	0	0
Nomfolozi Mahe	49	1	Yes	Inherited	25	5	0	0
Mrs Peter Mbatsha	50	3	Yes	Inherited	25	6	0	0
Joseph Sogidashe	51	6	Yes	Purchased	87	12	0	0
Jane Kele	54	2	Yes	Built	45	7	0	0
Albert Nkwentsha	55	4	Yes	Purchased	90	18	0	0
Samuel Magele	56	1	No	Purchased	35	2	0	0
Annie Klaas	57	3	Yes	Inherited	30	10	0	0
Qanawe Qopo	60	3	Yes	Purchased	45	6	0	0
Skrishi Momfu	61	3	Yes	Built	65	8	0	0
Mini Mtuma	65	5	Yes	Purchased	45	22	0	0
Mowatsha Kewana	67	2	Yes	Purchased	30	9	10	0
Louisa Nose	68	6	Yes	Inherited	70	31	0	0
Noma Fuba	70	3				9	0	0
Fred Sidayiya	71	1	Yes	Built	10	5	0	0
Willie Mavakala	73	3	Yes	Purchased	20	11	0	0
Henry Elson	75	3	Yes	Purchased	30	13	0	0
Margie Mkosana	76	6	Yes	Purchased	65	25	0	0
Jane Mama	77	6	Yes	Built	70	40	10	0
Jeffrey Gqoloda	78	12	Yes	Purchased	350	105	0	0
Nosimse Gwelana	79	9	Yes	Built	83	40	0	0
Agnes Tone	80	1				3	0	0
Nosayini Kondlo	81	2	Yes	Purchased	35	12	0	0
Mabe	82	3				16	0	0
Ida Maneli	83	4	No	Built	45	20	0	0
Nonine Ndzima	84	4	Yes	Purchased	105	26	0	0
Mary Konza	85	4	Yes	Inherited	100	22	0	0
Ernest Mtampo	86	5	Yes	Inherited	78	24	0	0
Lizzie Tonisi	88	1	Yes	Purchased	10	9	0	0
Noneyi Ngxitimba	89	3	Yes	Built	25	10	0	0
Eunice Simon Banzi	91	9	Yes	Purchased	200	38	0	0
Walter Jonas	92	6				22	10	0
Jerry Tema	93	8			110	30	0	0
Petross Jantjes	94	3	No	Built	36	10	0	0
Schriner Mkencele	96	3	No	Inherited	40	15	0	0
Smanga Mbali	98	6			100	46	0	0
Forward.....					3377	1055	0	0

NAME	No of DWELLING	No of Rooms	IS DWELLING OWNED BY APPLICANT	How was Dwelling acquired	Amount of compensation claimed	Borough Engineer's VALUATION		
Brought Forward					£ 3377	1055	0	0
Mantelen	99	5				16	0	0
Mary Birt	100	6	Yes	Inherited	150	27	0	0
Vet Booi	101	2				7	0	0
Maggie Dewa	106	10	Yes	Inherited	135	135	0	0
					<u>£3662</u>	<u>£1240</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

(C. 1. 1)

J6/9

RIDSDEL LOCATION.

13/11/4936

STATEMENT SHOWING VALUATIONS PLACED ON THE REMAINING  
DWELLINGS AT RIDSDEL LOCATION BY THE INSPECTOR OF WORKS,  
PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT, AND THE BOROUGH ENGINEER.

Name.	Hut No.	Insp. of Works' Valuation.	B. Engineer's Valuation.
Jessie Mboni	2	36- 0- 0	42- 0- 0
Esher Maki	3	9- 0- 0	8- 0- 0
Mrs. John Cezula	4	14- 0- 0	17- 0- 0
Montaba Mlindazwe	14	31- 0- 0	36- 0- 0
Mercy Bashman	27	13- 0- 0	8-10- 0
Danati Teketi	28A	9- 0- 0	10- 5- 0
Tom Mahe	43	21- 0- 0	14-10- 0
Nomfolozi Mahe	4964	4- 0- 0	5- 0- 0
<del>Mrs. P. Mbatsha</del>	<del>50</del>	<del>5- 0- 0</del>	<del>6- 0- 0</del>
Joseph Sogidashe	51	12- 0- 0	12- 0- 0
Jane Kele	54	6- 0- 0	7- 0- 0
Annie Klaas	57	14- 0- 0	10- 0- 0
Qanwe Qapo	60	5- 0- 0	6- 0- 0
Skrishi Momfu	61	9- 0- 0	8- 0- 0
simse Gwelana	79	34- 0- 0	40- 0- 0
Nosayini Kondlo	81	14- 0- 0	12- 0- 0
ida Maneli	83	17- 0- 0	20- 0- 0
Lizzie Tonisi	88	8- 0- 0	9- 0- 0
Eunice S. Banzi	91	38- 0- 0	38- 0- 0
Walter Jonas	92	22- 0- 0	22-10- 0
Jerry Tema	93	44- 0- 0	30- 0- 0
Mantelen	<u>99</u>	<u>14- 0- 0</u>	<u>16- 0- 0</u>
	<u>22</u>	<u>£379- 0- 0</u>	<u>£377-15- 0</u>

Hut No.50, although included in this list, has been demolished.

Valuations shown above are correct.  
Inspector  
Engineer

13  
7  
2  
22

APPENDIX 5 : Valuation Of Brownlee Location  
Houses And Occupation Of The  
Residents

	House Number	Name of Owner	Occupation of Owner	Compensation	Date of Demolition
1	A3	Nobantu Mgcumbi	NW, LR	£ 85	7-2-1940
2	A 4	Regina Ndengele	NW, LR	49	7-2-1940
3	A5	Paul Gatyana	N/A	40	3-6-1940
4	A6	Hariet Mcako	NW, 2 sons work at Hepworths & Co.	32	27-3-1940
5	A8	Samuel Rune	Works for J.W. Weir & Co.	22	3-6-1940
6	A10	Philipina Williams	Son works	32	27-3-1940
7	A12	Anna Kwankwa	Washwoman, LR	24	9-12-1939
8	A13	Matthew Njikelana	N/A	20	7-2-1940
9	A14	N/A	N/A	23	7-2-1940
10	B2	Lagina Maki	Washwoman, LR	27	7-2-1940
11	B3	George Ruiters	Car driver for King Clothing & Co.	24	9-12-1939
12	B4	N/A	N/A	15	7-2-1940
13	B6	Willie Ntana	NW, LR	22	3-9-1940
14	B7	N/A	N/A	56	7-2-1940
15	B8	James Mananga	Ex-Policeman	76	3-6-1940
16	B9	Rachel Bovana	N/A	20	7-2-1940
17	B10	Annie Stompies	Washwoman, LR	23	9-12-1939
18	B11	Lina Magodla	NW, LR	37	3-6-1940
19	B12	Maria Makopela	NW, LR	55	7-2-1940
20	B13	Maggie Panase	LR	28	3-6-1940
21	B14	N/A	N/A	17	7-2-1940
22	B16	Isiah Magasela	Bootmaker, LR	85	7-2-1940
23	B18	Susan Mangese	NW, LR	36	27-3-1940
	House Number	Name of Owner	Occupation of Owner	Compensation	Date of Demolition
24	B19	Bassi Bata	N/A	28	9-12-1939
25	C2	Douglas Ulana	N/A	35	9-12-1939
26	C3	Julia Tyayana	NW, LR, Son works	55	27-3-1940
27	C4	N/A	N/A	45	27-3-1940
28	C5	N/A	N/A	35	7-2-1940
29	C7	M.D. Nkungwana	Teacher	30	27-3-1940
30	C 8	Kate Haman	Washwoman, LR	26	7-2-1940

33	D2	William Davids	NW, LR	35	9-12-1939
34	D3	Charley Cony Bease	Wife works in E.L.	55	27-3-1940
35	D4	N/A	N/A	38	3-9-1940
36	D5	Shadrick Notyelana	Sells sheepfeet	20	27-3-1940
37	D7	Euclid Botwana	N/A	40	9-12-1939
38	D8	Alfred Danile	LR	36	27-3-1940
39.	D9	Linah Stotenywa	NW, LR	25	7-2-1940
40.	D10	Majoni MKosana	NW, LR	35	3-9-1940
41.	D11	N/A	N/A	47	7-2-1940
42.	D11a	Lenah Magabela	N/A	90	7-2-1940
43.	D12	N/A	N/A	18	7-2-1940
44.	E2	Abbie Mxoli	N/A	65	9-12-1939
45.	E 3	Sarah Arends	Washwoman	30	9-12-1939
46.	E4	Oliver Stokwe	NW, sell vegetables, LR	40	3-6-1940
47.	F1	Stoffel Botha	Saddler Harness maker	155	7-2-1940
48.	F2	Willie Swart	N/A	23	3-6-1940
49.	F3	Marry Kwaza	NW, LR	42	3-6-1940
50.	F4	Maggie Plaatjies	NW, LR	24	7-2-1940
51.	F5	Esther Mbaunga	N/A	21	7-2-1940
52.	F6	Elenor Hlwati	N/A	20	7-2-1940
53.	G1	N/A	N/A	36	3-9-1940
54.	G2	Alfred Mkwelo	NW, Mother & brother works	50	7-2-1940
55.	G4	Henry Jassin	Works at King Clothing Factory	25	27-3-1940
56.	G5	David Ostrich	Car driver for Dyer & Dyer	75	7-2-1940
57.	G6	Jesama Hange	Works in town, LR	30	7-2-1940
58.	G7	Oliver Mhalla	Works at Hilners	26	27-3-1940
59.	G 8	Stephen Mabudla	Works at Tannery, LR	24	7-2-1940
60.	G9	Charles Herbert	Works at Tannery	24	27-3-1940
61.	G11	Elizabeth Mtozakhe	NW, LR	32	9-12-1939
62	H1	Patrick Shaw	Works at Flemming's garage	70	3-9-1940

63.	H 2	Regina Ngxelwana	NW, Son works	49	27-3-1940
64.	H3	Stephen Fourie	Works at Tannery	65	7-2-1940
65.	H4	Flora Ostrich	N/A	30	9-12-1939

66.	H5	N/A	N/A	15	7-2-1940
67.	H6	Benjamin Plaatjies	Works for Port Tailor	130	7-2-1940
68.	H 7	Nowatch Khwene	NW, LR	22	27-3-1940
69.	H 9	Nathaniel Mgoli	Collector Native Tax	75	9-12-1939
70.	H10	Sidney Zondani	NW, Wife works at Girl's hostel	35	3-6-1940
71.	H11	Sidney Zondani	NW, Stays with sister	20	3-6-1940
72.	H12	James Rune	NW, Ex-Minister	30	3-6-1940
73.	H13	James Peju	NW, LR	21	27-3-1940
74.	H14	Dorothea Mapoti	Works, LR	43	7-2-1940
75.	HI4	Mary Damas	Works	11	9-12-1939
76.	J1	William Raigner	Sells wood & vegetables	110	7-2-1940
	House Number	Name of owner	Occupation of Owner	Compensation	Date of Demolition
77.	J2	Peter Peters	Works for Bridgeford	15	7-2-1940
78.	J3	Emlie Mema	Son works in Jhb	10	27-3-1940
79.	J6	Legina Mthweneni	Son works, C.T.	40	7-2-1940
80.	J7	Violet Gcotoza (part)	N/A	5	9-12-1939
81.	J7a	Lily Ncamshe	NW, got private means	20	27-3-1940
82.	J8	Jane Nogwebela	NW, Son works at Reff Boots	35	7-2-1940
83.	J 9	Samuel Ntshweti	N/A	30	9-12-1939
84.	J10	July Tyebu	NW, (Coffee shop)	26	7-2-1940
85.	J13	Mary Damas	Works for Mardow	25	7-2-1940
86.	J18	Julius Poropp	Works at Flemming's garage	30	9-12-1939
87.	K1	John Taxi	Dairyman	150	3-6-1940
88.	K 2	Klass Taai	N/A	30	7-2-1940
89.	K3	Ephraim Tosi	N/A	52	7-2-1940
90.	K4	Christian Swanepoel	Son works for Dexter	40	9-12-1939
91.	K5	Jurie Botwana	Native Taxi driver, LR	24	7-2-1940
92.	K6	Ouma Mdikingo	NW, Son works	50	7-2-1940
93.	K8	Nonine Ndlungwana	Makes & sells cakes	8	7-2-1940
94.	K9	Ganda Maku	N/A	15	9-12-1939
95.	K10	Alice Mfula	NW, LR	40	27-3-1940

	House Number	Name of Owner	Occupation of Owner	Compensation	Date of Demolition
96.	K11	Pansy Lister	NW, LR	32	3-6-1940
97.	K12	N/A	N/A	9	7-2-1940
	House Number	Name of Owner	Occupation of Owner	Compensation	Date of eviction
98.	K13	Nora Ngoyi	Husband work for Council, LR	50	27-3-1940
99.	K15	Maria Mangcu	N/A	30	7-2-1940
100.	K18	Gracie Swart	N/A	41	9-12-1939
101.	L1	Ina Bedla Soga	NW, Keeps boarders	80	9-12-1939
102.	L 2	Hilda Mary	Works for Mr Pottinger	10	7-2-1940
103.	L 3	Carl Matthews	Works at Native Commission's office	80	9-12-1939
104.	L 4	Emlie Rune	Works for Mr Sadler	40	7-2-1940
105.	L 5	Abraham Schoeman	Works for Symon's Contractor cartage	10	9-12-1939
106.	L6	Diederick Davids	Works for Council (part time)	4	9-12-1939
107.	L7	Mini Mfundi	NW, LR	65	3-6-1940
108.	L8	Beatrice Jonas	School teacher at Brownlee Mission School	100	7-2-1940
109.	M1	William Mgadle	Wife works for Rev. Patternon, LR	25	3-6-1940
110.	M2	Jack Gochman	Car driver for J.W. Weir	35	7-2-1940
111.	M 3	Pati Bovana	Works at Standard Bank	25	27-3-1940
112.	M 4	Shadrack Mtshemla	N/A	45	7-2-1940
113.	M5	Peter Fourie	Car driver for Mr Wiley	42	7-2-1940
114.	M6	Philip Busack	NW	15	9-12-1939

	House Number	Name of Owner	Occupation of Owner	Compensation	Date of Demolition
115.	M8	Liza Nyamkazi	NW, LR	70	27-3-1940
116.	M9	Matilda Nombona	LR	35	27-3-1940
117.	M10	N/A	N/A	65	3-6-1940
118.	M11	N/A	N/A	55	7-2-1940
119.	M12	Anna Cata	N/A	30	7-2-1940
120.	M14	Dinah Raxa	N/A	12	7-2-1940
121.	M16	Geddes Mbelu or Ellen Matamo	N/A	55	3-6-1940
122.	M19	Charlie Guwala	Local Preacher	17	9-12-1939
123.	M20	N/A	N/A	25	7-2-1940
124.	N1	Templer Qalinge	Works at Harrisons Chemist, LR	35	7-2-1940
125.	N 2	Mamase Mtsolo	Works at Newell Bros., LR	40	27-3-1940
126.	N3	Andrew Plaatjies	Mason & Handyman	65	27-3-1940
127.	N4	Peter Thate	Coloured Taxi driver	30	7-2-1940
128.	N5	Jery Tema	NW, LR	40	7-2-1940
129.	N6	Jane Hlwati	2 Sons work, LR	40	7-2-1940
130.	N7	N/A	N/A	24	7-2-1940
			TOTAL	£ 5093	
			LEGAL EXPENSES	£ 28	
			SURVEY AND REGISTRATION	£ 17	
			TOTAL	£ 5138	

Appendix 5 : Particulars of Blacks evicted by the Council from Brownlee location in King William's Town 1939/1940.

{NOTE : NW = Not Working; LR = Let Rooms; N/A = No information Available}

### SUMMARY BROWNLEE STATION

(i) <u>Population</u> :	Men	=	235	
	Women	=	331	
	Children	=	<u>466</u>	
	TOTAL	=	1032	
(ii) <u>Dwellings</u> :	Situated on 8 Acres			= 109
(iii)	Situated on Congegational Union			= 16
(iv)	Situated on Commonage			= <u>4</u>
	<b>TOTAL</b>			= 129 (for 1937)

(v) <u>Population Composition</u> :	90 African families	
	39 Coloured families	
	<b>TOTAL</b>	129 Families

(vi) <u>Occupation</u> :		
	No. of owners whose occupation was assessed	= 88
	No. of owners not assessed	= <u>41</u>
	<b>TOTAL</b>	= 129

Reason for not being assessed

(4 owners lived in commonage and 37 owners lived outside KWT, their dwellings were occupied by other people  
TOTAL = 41).

(vii) The most common occupation/ source of income	= To let rooms
	= 38 owners

(viii) Ability to pay rent

Families earning sufficient income to pay rent	= 42
Families without sufficient income to pay rent	= <u>46</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	= 88

(ix) Sources :

- \*CA., R.E. Meaker, MOH to H. & G.P.C. 4.1.1938 in J3/16;  
Letter from Prov. Secr. T/C dated 3.10.1940, No. L48/H/9 in J3/16 ; Letters from T/C to Prov. Secr. dated 9.12.1937, 3.6.1940, 7.2.1940 ; No. G/S in J3/16.
- \*CA. Borough Engineer's report on rehousing dated 3.11.1937 in Minutes of Ordinary Council meeting on 8.11.1937 in J3/16.
- \*CA. Shadrack Mtshemla to , in J3/16.
- \*CA. NC to T/C 10.1.1940 No.2/40 in J3/16.
- \*CA. Nkungwana to T/C 20.12.39 J3/6, Bovana 22.11.39 J3/6.
- \*CA. NC to T/C 25.6.40 No.2/6/7 in J3/16.
- \*CA. Borough Engineer to MOH 12&21.3.1938 in J3/16.
- \*CA. T/C to NC 10.1.1940 in J3/16.
- \*CA. NC to T/C 6.1.1940 in J3/16.

APPENDIX 6: Sale of Houses and Plots at  
Schornville

<b>PERIOD</b>	<b>ERF PURCHASED AND HOUSES BUILT/ PURCHASED</b>	<b>ERF NUMBERS</b>
1958-1961	63	21-23; 28; 34; 36-38; 40; 43; 44; 46-56; 59; 60; 62; 66-69; 71; 72; 74-77; 79-85; 87-92; 97; 139-144; 147-152; 167.
1962-1965	8	26; 27; 30; 33; 39; 70; 73; 188
1966-1969	6	25; 31; 32; 41; 57; 95
1970-1973	1	61
1974-1981	2	179; 187
1978-1981	12	24; 29; 42; 137; 161; 168; 169; 171; 183; 184; 190; 198
1982-1985	16	115; 123; 149; 153 170; 175; 178; 181; 186; 192; 194; 195; 196 199; 201; 212
1986-1989	22	116; 118; 119; 120; 122; 130 ;132; 136; 138; 156; 162; 172; 176; 177; 193; 197; 200; 202; 203; 204; 205; 210
1990-1991	11	99; 105; 126; 131; 159; 163; 173; 185; 191; 209; 211
<b>TOTAL =34</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>141 ERFS</b>

Source: Deeds Office, King William's Town Extension 11, Folio 1-217

APPENDIX 7 : GROUP AREAS REMOVALS AT  
BREIDBACH

## GROUP AREAS REMOVALS IN BREIDBACH

ER F	SIZE	FIRST GRANTED TO	YEAR	LAST TRANSFEREE	DATE ACQUIRED BY COUNCIL/ CBD
9	45 Acres 22 poles	Awe E.	1865	Awe E.	1984
10	45 Acres 22 poles	Keth J.	1865	Awe E.	1984
11	45 Acres 22 poles	Schult J.	1865	Awe E.	1984
13	28 Acres	Grapentein F.	1865	Awe E.	1984
14	26 Acres	Kock Joy	1876	Awe E.	1984
18	10 Morgan 520 roods	Rehjel D.T.	1876	Awe E.	1984
51	4047 m <sup>2</sup>	Goertz F.	1864	Leppan H.	1978
52	4047 m <sup>2</sup>	Buschmann L.	1864	Leppan H.	1978
53	4047 m <sup>2</sup>	Reichel F.	1864	Leppan H.	1976
54	4047 m <sup>2</sup>	Behr L.	1864	Berr L.	1976
55	4047 m <sup>2</sup>	Iigen J.	1864	Cumming S.V.	1978
56	4047 m <sup>2</sup>	Hieper R.	1864	Cumming S.V.	1976
57	4047 m <sup>2</sup>	Kuhlmann W.E.	1864	Cumming S.V.	1976
58	4047 m <sup>2</sup>	Bischoff J.	1864	Thompson T.	1976
59	4047 m <sup>2</sup>	Gottlieb V.	1864	Ntoni Y.	1975
60	4047 m <sup>2</sup>	Schmidt F.	1864	Ntoni Y.	1975
61	4047 m <sup>2</sup>	Gerardy L.	1864	Ntoni Y.	1975
62	4047 m <sup>2</sup>	Buschmann L.	1864	Snyman R.	1976
63	4047 m <sup>2</sup>	Schult J.	1864	Esben S.	1976
64	5682 m <sup>2</sup>	Dyosi T.	1910	Jamani T.	1976
65	419 roods <sup>2</sup>	Dyosi T.	1910	Jamani T.	1975
68	1 Morgan 190 roods	Sawyer G.	1908	Juria J.	1976

-Continue

69	7081 roods <sup>2</sup>	Ncapo B.	1908	Ngxonono P.	1975
70	1352m <sup>2</sup>	Ncapo B.	1910	Ngxonono P.	1975
71	4856m <sup>2</sup>	Klingner W.	1864	Ngxonono P.	1975
72	5496m <sup>2</sup>	Ncapo B.	1910	Ngxonono P.	1975
73	5896m <sup>2</sup>	Ncapo B.	1908	Ngxonono P.	1975
74	587 roods <sup>2</sup>	Makubalo A.	1908	Ntoni F.	1975
75	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Robetson T.	1886	Ngxonono P.	1975
76	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Robetson T.	1886	Ngxonono P.	1975
77	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Robetson T.	1886	Ngxonono P.	1975
78	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Robetson T.	1886	Ngxonono P.	1975
79	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Kleinschrot C.	1864	Ngxonono P.	1975
80	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Robetson T.	1886	Ngxonono P.	1975
81	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Robetson T.	1886	Ngxonono P.	1975
82	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Robetson T.	1886	Ngxonono P.	1975
83	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Robetson T.	1886	Ngxonono P.	1975
84	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Connolly R.	1880	Ngxonono P.	1975
85	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Connolly R.	1880	Ngxonono P.	1975
86	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Connolly R.	1880	Ngxonono P.	1975
87	7198m <sup>2</sup>	Sawyer G.	1908	Sawyer G.	1975
88	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Robetson T.	1886	Robertson T.	1975
89	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Robetson T.	1886	Ngxonono P.	1975
90	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Siyo J.	1897	Ntoni A.	1975
91	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Siyo J.	1897	Dyosi Ntoni	1975
92	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Kruger C.A.	1927	Ntoni F.	1975

- Continue

93	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Siyo J.	1897	Ntoni F.	1975
94	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Rautenbach J.		Ntoni F.	
95	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Siyo J.	1897	Dyosini Ntoni	1975
96	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Siyo J.	1897	Ntoni Dyosini	1975
97	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Siyo J.	1897	Ntoni Dyosini	1975
98	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Drude F.	1864	Ntoni Dyosini	1975
99	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Buschmann L.	1864	Ntoni Dyosini	1975
100	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Rautenbach J.	1897	Ntoni Dyosini	1975
101	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Rautenbach J.	1897	Ntoni Dyosini	1975
102	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Kruger C.	1927	Ntoni Dyosini	1975
103	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Iigen C.	1864	Iigen A.	1976
104	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Meyer N.	1864	Iigen A.	1975
105	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Mehnet F.	1865	Iigen A.	1975
106	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Phillippe A.	1864	Benjamin Ntoni	1977
107	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Rantenbach J.	1897	Ntoni Dyosi	1975
108	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Fussenegger A.	1864	Esben B.	1976
109	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Kulwa J.	1897	Kulwa J.	1975
110	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Kulwa J.	1897	Kulwa J.	1976
111	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Lehmann C.	1864	Tokom F.T.	1976
112	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Els F.C.	1897	Pieters W.	1976
114	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Helwing W.	1897	Rintoul F.	1976
115	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Holzhausen A.	1864	Williams W.	1978
116	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Monnig H.	1864	Weimers	1976
117	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Frohbos H.	1897	Weimers	1976

- Continue

119	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Mathes H.	1897	Tutu J.	1977
120	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Lenzesky R.	1897	Tokom D.	1977
121	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Lieberum H.	1897	Eksteen G.	1978
122	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Brenzel D.	1897	Cramford A.	1978
123	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Bruner J.	1897	Cramford A.	1978
124	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Drude F.	1897	Bossr M.	1977
125	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Behling W.	1897	Mahomed G.	1976
126	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Lehmann C.	1897	Mahomed G.	1976
127	4047m <sup>2</sup>	Bygenhold TG	1897	-	1976
563	-	RSA State Grant	1897	-	1978
376	-	State Grant	1897	-	1975
377	-	State Grant	1897	-	1978
478	-		1897	Timothy	1976
561	-	RSA Grant	1976	Council	1977

SOURCE : D.O. K.W.T. Breidbach :

1975 Transfer Nos. 770; 1850; 2628; 4468

1976 Transfer Abs : 440; 441; 573; 723; 1234; 1276; 1501 ; 1750; 1782; 1784;  
1946; 2404; 2411.

1977 Transfer Nos. : 211; 638; 1074; 1233; 1327; 2227

1978 Transfer Nos. : 119; 156; 305; 1203; 1358; 2078

1984 Transfer Nos. : 1451

APPENDIX 8 : HOUSES BUILT AT GINSBERG  
LOCATION

**Appendix 8 : HOUSES BUILT AT THE GINSBERG LOCATION IN KING WILLIAM'S TOWN 1923-1946**

DATE OF SCHEME	COST	DETAILS
Prior to 1923	-	148 huts (132 wattle & duab + 16 Concrete huts)
1923 - 1926	18, 980	78 Concrete Huts (single rooms) 12-3 Roomed houses 1-4 Roomed houses 48-2 Roomed houses 3 Store rooms
1934	13, 500	116-1 Roomed houses 4-2 Roomed houses 15-3 Roomed houses 1-4 Roomed houses
1937	-	287 Houses
1939	23, 000	2 -Blocks of 6 single rooms 2 -Blocks of 5 single rooms 29-1 Roomed houses 48-2 Roomed houses 16-3 Roomed houses 17-4 Roomed houses 4-5 Roomed houses
1945	15, 000	14-4 Roomed houses 6-3 Roomed houses
1946	19, 826	50-2 Roomed houses

Source: (3 in Chapter Eight)

APPENDIX 9 : EMPLOYMENT OF ZWELITSHA  
LESSEES

Appendix 9: EMPLOYMENT OF ZWELITSHA LESSEES 1951 TO 1952

EMPLOYER	TYPE OF RESIDENCE	NO OF PEOPLE	TOTAL
GHTC	HOSTEL	94	94
	THATCHED COTTAGES	252	252
	OTHER HOUSES	129	129
	TOTAL = 475		
GOVERNMENT-ZWELITSHA	HOSTEL	-	
	THATCHED COTTAGES	-	223
	OTHER HOUSES	223	
	TOTAL = 223		
URBAN AREAS	HOSTEL	-	0
	THATCHED COTTAGES	-	0
	OTHER HOUSES	68	68
	TOTAL = 68		
KWT	HOSTEL	-	0
	THATCHED COTTAGES	-	0
	OTHER HOUSES	39	39
	TOTAL = 39		
OWN BUSINESS	HOSTEL	-	0
	THATCHED COTTAGES	-	0
	OTHER HOUSES	20	20
	TOTAL = 20		
UNEMPLOYED	HOSTEL	-	0
	THATCHED COTTAGES	-	0
	OTHER HOUSE	3	3
	TOTAL = 3		
TOTAL	HOSTEL	94	94
	THATCHED COTTAGES	252	252
	OTHER HOUSES	582	582
	TOTAL = 828		828

Source : (25 in Chapter Eight)

APPENDIX 10 : ZWELITSHA RESIDENTS IN  
ARREARS WITH THEIR INSTALMENTS OF  
PURCHASING HOUSES IN 1959

## PURCHASE INSTALMENT DEFAULTERS

HOUSE NO.	NAME	PERIOD	MONT HS OWING	TOTAL AMOUNT OWING (£)
144	A. Nongauza	Apr-Aug 1959	5	14-11-8
157	R. Nongauza	Mar-Aug 1959	6	13-1-6
241	T. Kakaza	Mar-Aug 1959	6	17-10-0
267	A. Shupinyeneng	Jun 1958-1959	15	43-15-0
309	D. Rigala	May-Aug 1959	4	7-9-0
370	A. Nkwentsha	Apr 1958-Aug 1959	15	31-14-8
397	J. Pebane	May 1958-Aug 1959	14	39-4-0
407	J. Ndabange	April-Aug 1959	5	12-5-0
422	W. Qengwa	March-Aug 1959	6	13-1-6
506	M. Jonase	May-Aug 1959	4	7-17-0
512	J. Ngetu	May 1958-Aug 1959	16	31-12-0
517	T. Matshini	May-Aug 1959	4	6-17-0
518	Tolbert Fuma	May-Aug 1959	4	6-17-0
525	Noble Kati	Sept 1958-Aug 1959	12	35-0-0
564	Moses Papiyane	April-Aug 1959	5	14-11-0
576	Robert Maguga	April-Aug 1959	5	8-10-10
610	Edward Bobo	Jun 1958-Aug 1959	15	29-16-0
615	A. Mkuzangwe	March-Aug 1959	6	17-10-0
621	Elijah Bobo	Aug 1958-Aug 1959	13	22-4-2
675	Jim Zandi Miti	March-Aug 1959	6	10-5-0
683	Manini Mxaka	Feb-August 1959	7	20-8-4
688	Alfred Guma	May-August 1959	4	11-13-4
991	Jane Majiza	May-August 1959	4	8-14-4

1026	Killick Nkasane	May-August 1959	4	11-13-4
1048	Frank Zingxondo	Mar-August 1959	6	10-5-0
1064	Jackson Tshaka	May-August 1959	4	7-18-0
1073	Filis Bungxu	April-August 1959	5	14-11-9
1079	Velile Mgelezana	Mar-August 1959	6	10-5-0
1084	Lutando Vantyi	Jan-August 1959	8	13-13-4
1090	Enoch Cisiwe	Feb-August 1959	7	11-19-2
1093	Hermanns Motseki	April-August 1959	5	9-19-6
1094	Bartimears Nodada	May-August 1959	4	11-13-4
1132	George Mdebuka	Oct;58-Aug 1959	11	32-1-8
1602	Radford Ngxe	May'58-Aug 1959	4	6-16-8
1625	January Xegwana	Oct'58-Aug 1959	11	25-12-3
1672	Isaac Voyi	May-August 1959	4	11-13-4
1704	Timothy Sinali	Feb-August 1959	7	13-16-6
1757	Ralph Vena	May-August 1959	4	11-13-4

Source : (62 in Chapter Eight)