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LIVING IN THE MARGINS, FILLING IN THE GAPS:

THE MAKING OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY OF DURBAN.

A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY

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Abstract

The thesis examines the formation and evolution of a community borne of the offspring of settlers, locals, and immigrants from Mauritius, St. Helena and the Cape, who settled in the city of Durban. These disparate groups were drawn to each other by their 'sameness', as well as by their 'otherness' and pushed together by the state into a group named Coloured. The thesis charts institutions and spaces developed for the community by the authorities and those that were started by the group itself and follows the Coloured lives lived therein. Through life history interviews with community elders, and a weaving together of data from archives, newspapers and the literature, the thesis provides the first comprehensive piece of research on the history of Coloured community of Durban. The history shows that this Coloured community carved out a creolised place in the city on the margins of white, Indian and African life and culture. The small size of the group meant that it was less of a threat to any of the other major groups vying for dominance and was largely left alone; at the same time, a closeness in language and religion allowed the group access to Colonial and city authorities to gain various privileges. Apartheid ended special considerations, and the community reluctantly joined national movements for better conditions and equal rights. This history of Coloured people in Durban shows the evolution of a fluid, pragmatic and introspective group; reacting to outside forces through acts of survival and creating community and identity from within.

Acknowledgements

While researching and writing a thesis is by its very nature a solitary endeavour, there are a number of people to thank for their guidance and assistance. I should start at the beginning. This research really began as a way to make sense of the many stories that my parents, Edward Nichol and Christine (Rooks) Nichol, told of their lives growing up in Durban. They made great sacrifices to provide me with an education that went beyond the classroom. They are also responsible for my nurturing my curiosity and tenacity – both necessary skills when tackling a project of this size. While working in the field of International Education in Durban, I would place my American college students with Coloured homestay families in Wentworth and Newlands East and often lamented the lack of background information to give context to their experiences. My colleague and friend John Daniel encouraged me to take the lead and do the research myself. I treasure our discussions of research ideas over Bunnies at Goundens. Rest in peace JD – I miss your wise counsel.

As for the research itself – I am indebted to the 60 community elders who trusted me with their life stories. You are the soul of this thesis, and I can only hope that I have done your voices and memories justice. My home while conducting my fieldwork was in Greenwood Park with my Aunt Karen. I owe you a huge debt of gratitude - thank you making several important introductions for me, and for making sure there was an incredible meal and interesting conversation to come home to at the end of each day. Archives can be unfriendly places and I was fortunate to find two guardian angels early on in my research that helped me navigate these spaces - Nkosenye Ngidi at the Durban Archive Repository, and Mwele Cele at the Killie Campbell Centre. Both of these kind souls have since left these places, and I hope their

replacements are half as helpful to researchers as they were to me. A huge thank you to Sduduzo Chiliza my friend and research assistant. When I couldn't be in South Africa, scanning documents and visiting libraries, I could always trust Sdu to step in and get the job done. I have also had the generous assistance of my darling niece Kristina Nichol, and my amazing sister Carol Anne Manning who helped transcribe interviews for me with great care. Thank you!

I am deeply indebted to my advisor, Noor Nieftagodien, whose encouragement, support and patience has kept me progressing toward the final goal. Thank you for your gentle nudges and your insightful comments on my many drafts. Your wise counsel has been truly invaluable. Thank you also to Antonette Gouws of the History Workshop at Wits, for helping me navigate various deadlines, forms, and other such technical matters with care.

To my siblings Carol Anne, Mark and Chris, thank you for your unwavering interest and encouragement over the years. You also deserve a huge thank you for indulging my tangents about DNA testing, ships records, church records, and impromptu family research adventures to Newcastle.

Working a full-time job while researching and writing a thesis does not leave much by way of family time, let alone free time. My husband John and daughters Jamie and Layla have been understanding and supportive from the moment I began working on this thesis. We've had to spend time apart in different cities and on different continents whilst I conducted my research, and there have been many-a-year when the answer to "what shall we do" has been "I can't - I'm dissertating." They have tip-toed around me, left my piles of papers and books undisturbed, brought me cups of coffee, and told me when I'd had too many cups of coffee. Thank you for your patience, and never-ending inspiration; and above, thank you for your enduring love.

Dedication

To Edward Anthony Angelicus 'Baphile' Nichol (1931-2020)

As I was working on the final edits of this thesis, my father, Edward Anthony Angelicus Nichol, passed away. In many ways, this thesis is his. It was borne from his frequent, lively stories of growing up in Duchene in Durban, and his pride both his Zulu (Nxumalo) and Scottish (Nichol) ancestry. He had a profound effect on my life not only as a loving father, but also as my high school history teacher, from which, no doubt, my love of history as a discipline, and my desire to understand the lives and stories of ordinary people stems. My research became his research. He poured over print outs of my chapters and sent back copious comments – although sometimes his comments were even more stories that he had remembered when going over my work; and he used our weekly phone calls to discuss details and add colour and depth to my work. I am thankful he was able to read an *almost* final version of the thesis and give his approval. Ngiyabonga kakulu Da. You will always be my inspiration to work harder, treat everyone with compassion, and to tell interesting stories. Rest easy.

Table of Contents

Abstract 2
Acknowledgements 3
Dedication 5
Table of Contents 6
List of Figures 9
List of Tables 10
Abbreviations 11
List of Street Names 13
Map of Durban 15
CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION 16
Literature 18
A Durban Coloured Historiography 19
Identity and Creolisation 47
Coloured Identity in South Africa 55
Coloured Identity in Durban 58
Terminology 62
Reflections on Research 66
Life History Interviews 67
Archival Materials 72
Positionality 75
Outline of Chapters 77
CHAPTER 2 - MIGRATIONS AND FORMATIONS – 1820s to 1920s 80
Origins of Coloured People in Natal 81
'Half-castes' 81
Migration from the Islands 92
Coloured Immigrants from the Cape 98
Indian Connections 103
Becoming Coloured 104
Living Separate: Early Life in Durban 108
Inhabiting a Political Marginality 112
Education as a Civilising Project 120
Community Building and the Struggle for Sporting Facilities 138

Conclusion 142
CHAPTER 3 - THE SEGREGATION PERIOD (1930 to 1950): FORMALITY AND FLUIDITY 144
The Segregated City 146
Coloured Settlements: Resisting Pigeonholes 151
Challenges to Live, Opportunities to Connect 159
The Politics of Fluidity and the Illusion of Inclusion 164
Liberalism of the Coloured-European Joint Council 166
Defining Events of the 1940s 168
The Making of a Coloured Working Class 179
Little use for Trade Unions 189
Segregated Education with Ad Hoc Precision 192
The Education Landscape 197
Upward Mobility of the Teaching Profession 207
Building Community and Articulating Vision: The Natal Coloured Teachers' Society . 211
An Experiment in Higher Education 217
Conclusion 221
CHAPTER 4 - THE SEGREGATION PERIOD (1930 to 1950): CULTURAL SHAPE-SHIFTERS, LIVING IN AMBIGUITY 223
Enjoying the Everyday: Home, Food and Entertainment 223
Sport and Sports Grounds - An Imperfect Unifier 237
Community and Tradition in Religious Spaces 249
The Challenges of Economic Hardship 261
Conclusion 270
CHAPTER 5 - THE APARTHEID YEARS (1950 to 1980): CONSOLIDATION OF A COLOURED IDENTITY UNDER APARTHEID 272
National Politics, Redefining the Coloured Community 274
The End of the Coloured Vote 282
Redrawing of the City along Racial Lines 286
The Wins and Losses of Group Areas 294
'Privilege' in the Apartheid Economy 305
Increased Political Organising 315
Political Mobilisation 315
Entering National Politics 324
A Growth in Trade Union Activity 331

Asserting home-owners' interests 341
Housing Shortages and Community Organising 344
Conclusion 352
CHAPTER 6 - THE APARTHEID YEARS (1950 to 1980): NATIONAL EDUCATION AND STUDENT ACTIVISM 354
Growth in Demand for Education and the Constraints of Group Areas 355
Falling into Teaching and Increased Demand for Coloured Teachers 365
Women in the Teaching Service 369
Changes within the Natal Coloured Teachers' Society 371
Student Activism and the Impact of the Black Consciousness Movement 380
A Muted Response to Coloured Education 382
The Rise of Black Consciousness 384
Conclusion 390
CHAPTER 7 - THE APARTHEID YEARS (1950 to 1980): LIVING COLOURED 391
Leisure: Limited Spaces to Mix 391
Apartheid on the Sports Field 399
Religious Expression and a rise in Pentecostalism 421
The Social Issues of Dislocation 427
Conclusion 433
CONCLUSION 435
BIBLIOGRAPHY 445
Interviews 445
Private Photograph Collections 446
Newspapers and Periodicals 446
Archival Sources 446
Other Primary Sources 447
Secondary Sources 448

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Durban showing Coloured Areas before and after Group Areas 15
Figure 2: St Helenian children expelled from Queen Street School 133
Figure 3: Ferndale Football Club, Durban 1924 141
Figure 4: Map of Durban showing the old and new boundaries 1931 147
Figure 5: Annotated Aerial Map of Central Durban 153
Figure 6: Melbourne Road Flats 155
Figure 7: St Raphael's World War II Memorial 170
Figure 8: Meeting the Royal Family at Albert Park 1947 174
Figure 9: Africans "rushing into the Indian area." 176
Figure 10: Melbourne Road School, circa 1936 198
Figure 11: Umbilo Road High School 201
Figure 12: St Augustine's School 203
Figure 13: St Theresa's School 1934 204
Figure 14: The Duchene Darkies circa 1940 235
Figure 15: ACES Football Club 1948 242
Figure 16: Natal Coloured Team 1946 243
Figure 17: Natal Coloured Football Association 244
Figure 18: Shamrocks Cricket Club 1940-1941 247
Figure 19: St Raphael's Sunday School – boys, Circa 1946 255
Figure 20: St Raphael's Sunday School – girls, Circa 1946 256
Figure 21: Map of Durban City Council Revised Group Area Plans 1958 292
Figure 22: Executive of the Coloured People's Council of Action 318
Figure 23: Durban Coloured Federal Council 1963 320
Figure 24: George Peake at St Raphael's Hall 1961 322
Figure 25: Coloured Person's Representative Council 1969 327
Figure 26: EG Rooks (Social Democratic Party) and Dennis Young (Labour Party) 1975 330
Figure 27: GWIU Officials and Executive Council Members 1964-1967 335
Figure 28: The Flames winning a competition in their early years 396
Figure 29: Coloured Lifesavers Training 1960s 398
Figure 30: Rialto Football Club 403
Figure 31: New Orleans FC 1950s 404
Figure 32: Advertisement for the Natal vs Transvaal Inter-Race Tournament 409
Figure 33: Universals Cricket Club 1955/56 411
Figure 34: TeeSav Hockey Club 1954 414
Figure 35: Delfos Hockey Club 1960 416

List of Tables

Table 1: Durban's Population by Race – 1904 to 1949 151
Table 2: Manufacturing Employment in Greater Durban 1924-1954 180
Table 3: Relief Workers Durban 1932/1933 187
Table 4: Snapshot of Coloured Education in Natal 1946 206
Table 5: Teachers in Coloured Schools 210
Table 6: Existing Population Distribution in Group Area Zones 1951 288
Table 7: Employment by Industry in 1954 306
Table 8: Manufacturing Industry Workers - Durban 1952/53 307
Table 9: Apprenticeships in the Building Trade in Natal 312
Table 10: Enrolment of Coloured Pupils 1950-1964 357
Table 11: Cost to the province of Natal per pupil 1951-1962 358
Table 12: Durban Coloured Schools 1971 360

Abbreviations

ACA	Administration of Coloured Affairs
AEU	Amalgamated Engineering Union
APDUSA	African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa
APO	African People's Organisation
APS	Aborigines Protection Society
AZASO	Azanian Students' Organisation
BCESL	Coloured Legion of the British Commonwealth Ex-service League
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
CMVA	Cape Malay Vigilance Association
CPC	Coloured People's Congress
CPCA	Coloured People's Council of Action
CPRC	Coloured People's Representative Council
CPS	Civilian Protective Services
DBS	Durban Benevolent Society
DCCU	Durban Coloured Cricket Union
DCLAC	Durban Coloured Local Affairs Committee
DCFC	Durban Coloured Federal Council
DCSGA	Durban Colonial Sports Grounds Association
DDICU	Districts Indian Cricket Union
DHAC	Durban Housing Action Committee
FCPP	Federal Coloured People's Party
FCSW	Federated Council of Social Workers
FPL	Federation Professional League
FRAC	Franchise Action Committee
GADB	Group Areas Development Board
GWIU	Garment Workers' Industrial Union
MICWU	Motor Industry Coloured Workers Union
NAPA	Natal Amalgamated Political Association
NAPTOSA	National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa
NCB	Natal Cricket Board
NCCW	National Council for Coloured Women
NCWL	Natal Coloured Welfare League
NCCU	Natal Coloured Cricket Union
NCTS	Natal Coloured Teachers' Society
NFL	National Football League
NIC	Natal Indian Congress
NISB	Natal Inter-Race Soccer Board

NOSL	National Professional Soccer League
NTSC	Natal Teachers' Senior Certificate
NUCCAW	National Union of Commercial Catering and Allied Workers
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
SACBOB	South African Cricket Board of Control
SACPO	South African Coloured People's Organisation
SACTU	South African Congress of Trade Unions
SAIRR	South African Institute for Race Relations
SASF	South African Soccer Federation
SASL	South African Soccer League
SASO	South Africans Students' Organisation
SONAT	Society of Natal Teachers
SOYA	Society of Young Africa
TUCSA	Trade Union Council of South Africa
UCCA	Union Council for Coloured Affairs
UED	University Education Diploma
UNNES	University of Natal – Non-European Section
UTASA	Union of Teachers' Associations of South Africa
YCWM	Young Christian Workers' Movement

List of Street Names

Old Road Names	New Road Names
Albert Street	Ingcunce Road
Alice Street	Johannes Nkosi Street
Argyle Road	Sandile Thusi Road
Beatrice Street	Charlotte Maxeke Street
Bellair Road	Vusi Mzimele Road
Berea Road	King Dinuzulu Road
Brickfield Road	Felix Dlamini Road
Brickhill Road	Sylvester Ntuli Road
Broadway	Swapo Road
Broad Street	Dr Yusuf Dadoo Street
Berea Road	King Dinizulu Road
Cato Manor Road	Mary Thiphe Street
Centenary Road	M L Sultan Road
Commercial Road	Dr AB Xuma Street
Gale Street	Magwaza Maphalala Street
Grey Street	Dr Yusuf Dadoo Street
Field Street	Joe Slovo Street
Leopold Street	David Webster Street
Lorne Street	Ismail C Meer Street
Mansfield Road	Steve Biko Road
North Coast Road	Chris Hani Road
Old Dutch Road	Chris Ntuli Road
Old Fort Road	K E Masinga Road
Ordinance Road	Bram Fischer Road
Pine Street	Monty Naicker Road
Point Road	Mahatma Gandhi Road
Prince Alfred Street	Florence Nzama Street
Prince Edward Street	Dr Goonam Street
Queen Street	Denis Hurley Street
Russell Street	Joseph Nduli Street
Smith Street	Anton Lembede Street
Sparks Road	Moses Kotane Road
Stamfordhill Road	Mathews Meyiwa Rd
Victoria Street	Bertha Mkhize Street
Victoria Embankment	Margaret Mncadi Avenue
Walter Gilbert Road	Isaiah Ntshangase Road

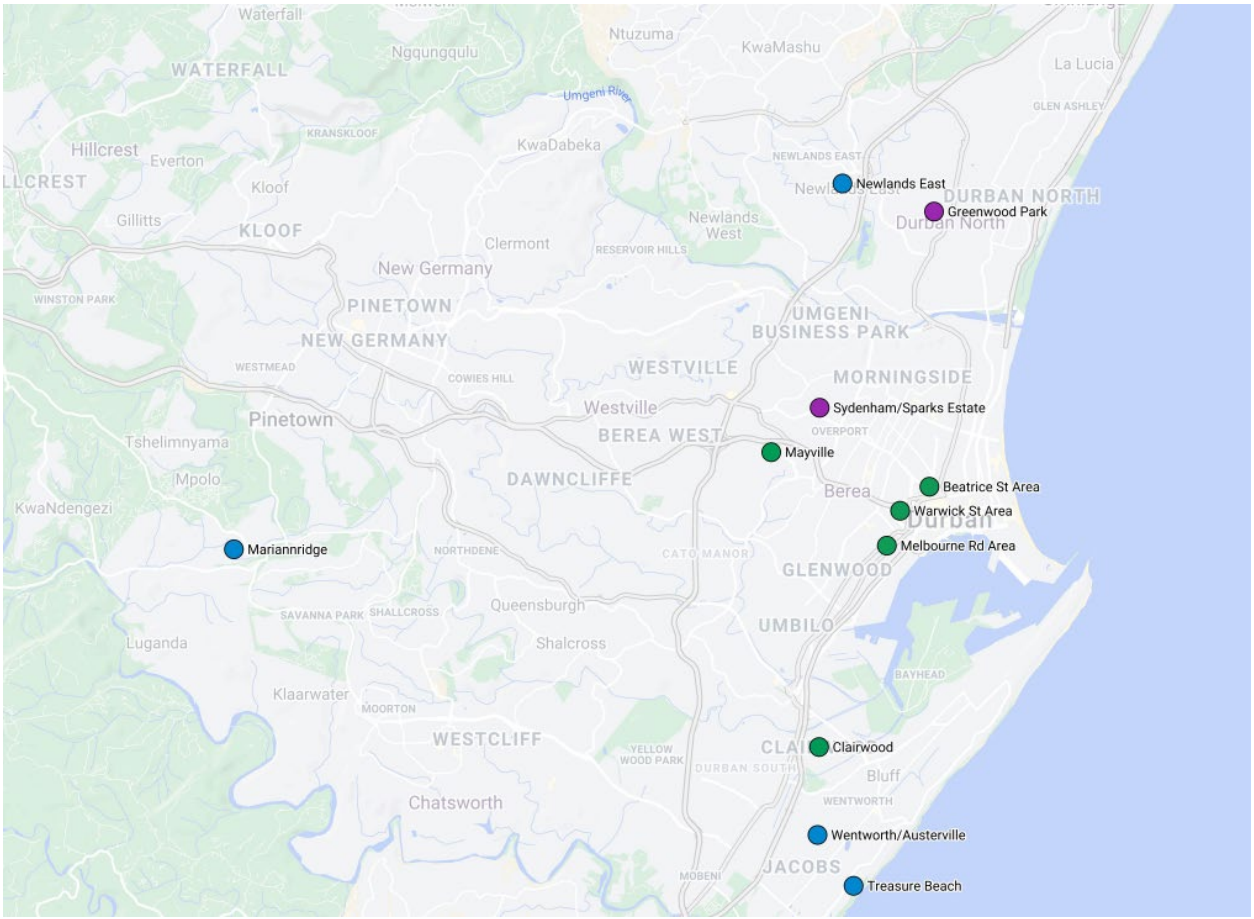
Warwick Avenue	Julius Nyerere Avenue
West Street	Dr Pixley KaSeme Street

Streets that no longer exist (space taken by the Durban University of Technology and the Western Freeway):

Acorn Road
Agnes Lane
Ajax Lane
Bentley Street
Douglas Lane
Etna Lane
Lancers Road
Lansdell Lane
Leathern Road
Milton Road
Neville Lane
Stratford Road
Syringa Ave
Throssells Place
Wills Road

Map of Durban

Figure 1: Map of Durban showing Coloured Areas before and after Group Areas



Coloured Areas Before Group Areas

- Beatrice Street Area
- Warwick Avenue Area
- Melbourne Road Area
- Mayville
- Clairwood
- Sydenham/Sparks Estate
- Greenwood Park

Coloured Areas After Group Areas

- Sydenham/Sparks Estate
- Greenwood Park
- Wentworth/Austerville
- Newlands East
- Mariannridge
- Treasure Beach

Source: *City of Durban*. Created in Google Maps, 13 February 2021.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> There is a gap, an emptiness in the local history museum. That space waits for us. It is opening. We must know where we come from, to understand how we've come to where we are. Our stories remain untold, our triumphs unheard of, our voices...unrecognised. We have to show ourselves or there will always be a hollow place where our pride should be. I want my children and their children's children to know of a Coloured place not rotting with division and inertia, but a Coloured place of power and diversity that they will not be ashamed to call...home.[1]

The history of Coloured people of Durban has received limited scholarly attention. While scholars now acknowledge the heterogeneity of Coloureds across South Africa, there is still a tendency to assume that a history of Coloureds in the Cape tells the story of all other South African contexts. It does not. The experiences of the Coloured people of Durban and their constructions of identity are specific to the locality, the history and the community that evolved there, making them fundamentally distinctive. Gqola notes that experiences and identities in the literature are often transported from the Cape and placed in other locations with different histories, such that:

> …conflation of 'coloured' with 'Western Cape coloured' occludes other coloured subjectivities that are constructed differently, both from within and in public discourse[2]

This thesis has two primary objectives. First, to help fill the gap in writing the history of the Coloured people of Durban, to tell the stories of the people, from the significant events and

[1] Lueen Conning, "A Coloured Place." In *Black South African Women: An Anthology of Plays*, ed Kathy Perkins, (Cape Town: Juta and Company, 1999), 37. Conning is a poet and playwright who grew up in Wentworth; she now by the name of Malika Ndlovu.

[2] Pumla Gqola, *What is Slavery to Me? Postcolonial/Slave Memory in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2010), 28-29.

names to the small, the ordinary and the everyday. These are the stories of our parents and their parents; a history that I could never read in a book as I could about European and British history, and later the history of settlers to Natal and their colonial conquests. In telling this history, the thesis examines how different groups of people came to Durban and were forced into, or created, their own spaces in the city, making connections and building communities. Recovering this early history allows for telling the stories of the offspring of miscegenation in the early days of the Natal Colony and the arrival of immigrants from St Helena and Mauritius in the late 19th century. It offers an account of a process of creolisation on the margins of the three culturally distinct groups of the city of Durban - British, Zulu and Indian - and the building of a common historical experience from the early days of the Natal Colony. The thesis examines the attempts by successive governments to structure society along racial lines using such mechanisms as the establishment of schools and churches solely for Coloured people. Throughout the apartheid years, oppressive legislation was pivotal in perverting and consolidating a particular group identity based on being a buffer between other groups. Within these confines, the community found ways between fluidity and bending, to exert control over their own lives. As Ashcroft argues: "what it means to have a history is the same as what it means to have a legitimate existence: history and legitimation go hand in hand, history legitimates 'us' and not others."[3] Coloured people in Durban have been denied a history, and this thesis offers a 'legitimising' account of the Coloured experience in Durban while situating the community in a discussion of some of the broader historical currents of the city.

[3] Bill Ashcroft, *Post-Colonial Transformation* (London: Routledge, 2001), 83.

The second aim of this study is to examine the creation of a shared sense of identity and community among the Coloured people of Durban, telling their story of fluidity and creolisation. The analysis is rooted in the assumption that race and social identities are constructed; affected and imposed by forces working from outside the community and fashioned by the agency of the people themselves. People create cohesion and community using shared space, and a common lived experience, response and action to their surroundings. The thesis demonstrates the complexity and nuance of the making of a Durban Coloured identity.

Literature

According to Adhikari, Coloureds have been: "written out of the narrative and marginalised to a few throwaway comments scattered through the text."[4] This insight is all the more fitting for places outside Cape Town. While there is not one comprehensive piece of academic work that traces the history of the Coloured community of Durban, several works representing a range of disciplines have been useful in piecing together the history of this group of people. Foremost has been a few published studies on Coloured people in Durban, generally based on particular locations and limited periods. Unpublished theses have proved to be useful in filling out an appropriately nuanced picture of the historiography and identity of the group. Next, given the relative lack of academic investigations into the Coloured experience, the more abundant literature on African and Indian histories was used to provide a context of the Durban landscape and comment on how Coloured people existed within the spaces of the city. Finally,

[4] Mohamed Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), 33.

as the thesis is also concerned with the formation of a group identity, this aspect of the work is anchored in an analysis of the theories of hybridity and creolisation and their application to the South African Coloured experience.

A Durban Coloured Historiography

In the mid-1950s liberal scholars at the University of Natal began researching race and segments of the city of Durban and, for the first time, began to include the small Coloured population as an integral part of the city.[5] Sociologist Leo Kuper took the lead and initiated an examination of Durban before the Group Areas Act using data and analysis based mainly on the 1951 census conducted before the final Group Area Proclamations were made.[6] Kuper taught Coloured students at the University of Natal non-European section, and he and his wife, Hilda, (a social anthropologist also based at the University of Natal) were known to invite them to their home for dinner and discussions. Kuper encouraged one of his first Coloured students in Sociology to continue to a Master's degree in the United States, but, unfortunately, family circumstances did not permit this.[7] While their share of the overall Kuper study is minimal, the inclusion of Coloureds influenced several other researchers at the University of Natal to take the community seriously. Jack Mann and Hamish Dickie-Clark were the first to focus on the Coloured community in the late 1950s, working in close collaboration and focusing on the 'marginal position' of Coloured people examined through the lens of the theory of marginality.

[5] Geoff Waters. "Liberalism Interruptus: Leo Kuper and the Durban school of oppositional empirical sociology of the 1950s and 1960s". *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 88, (January 2015), 43-61
[6] Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts and Ronald Davis, *Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1958).
[7] EN, personal interview, September 2011. The respondent was the student in question. He told a story of being invited to a fancy dinner at the Kuper's house with one of his Indian Sociology classmates and an array of Durban liberal intellectuals. While others where engrossed in polite dinner conversation, he and his friend were more concerned over which fork to use for which course, and what to do with the small cup of coffee that followed dinner. They managed to avoid embarrassment watching Hilda Kuper and copying everything she did.

The concept of the marginal man had gained currency in international academic spheres, based on the work of sociologists Robert Park and Everett Stonequist. Park first defined the marginal man in 1928, as one linked to migration, who broke off ties with an old home and way of being and began to forge new customs. Park noted that the marginal man was:

> …a cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now sought to find a place. He was a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused.[8]

Park initially wrote that Jewish people typified this concept of the marginal man but in later work expanded his thoughts on the marginal man to include the "mixed-race" person:

> The typical marginal man is a mixed blood, a Eurasian, mestizo, or mulatto, i.e., a man who by the very fact of his racial origin is predestined to occupy a position somewhere between the two cultures represented by his respective parents. If, in addition to this, the two races of which he is a product are so different in their physical characteristics that he bears on his face, as is true of the mulatto and the Eurasian, the evidence of his mixed origin; and if, in addition to that, the mixed-blood occupies, as he always tends to do, a separate caste or class - in such a situation all the factors are present to produce a specific type of mentality - i.e., intellectual and moral qualities which are characteristic of the cultural hybrid or the marginal man.[9]

Stonequist, a student of Park, also used 'mixed-race' people as an example of the marginal man. He noted, however, that racial factors are not the only ones that could create the marginal man. Instead, it was a position of being in a social and cultural middle ground that was critical in the creation of the marginal man. According to Stonequist:

> The person of mixed blood, by his dual biological and cultural origin, is identified with each group. His awareness of the conflict situation, mild

[8] Robert E Park, "Human migration and the marginal man," *American Journal of Sociology* 33, No 6 (May 1928): 892.
[9] Robert E Park, *Race and Culture* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950), 370.

> or acute, signifies that in looking at himself from the standpoint of each group he experiences the conflict as a personal problem. Thus his ambitions run counter to his feelings of self-respect: he would prefer recognition by the dominant race, but he resents its arrogance. A sense of superiority to one race is counter-balanced by a sense of inferiority to the other race. Pride and shame, love and hate, and other contradictory sentiments, mingle uneasily in his nature. The two cultures produce a dual pattern of identification and a divided loyalty, and the attempt to maintain self-respect transforms these feelings into an ambivalent attitude.[10]

The early scholarship on marginality is based on problematic assumptions of 'race' and miscegenation. While dated and influenced by context, it greatly influenced early scholars on Coloureds in Durban, both in perception and research design.

Jack Mann focused on the psychological implications of marginality in the Coloured community of Durban in the newly declared group area of Sparks Estate. Mann was interested in the marginality that existed at the intersection of white and Coloured relations in Durban, as he supposed Coloureds were culturally closer to whites than they were to Africans.[11] He took 50 Coloured people who could 'play white' as well as a mix of 63 white and Coloured high school children as subjects for his study, to investigate whether 'mixed' people, particularly those with 'high passability' faced the supposed psychological quandaries of the marginal man - psychological conflict, sense of inferiority, feelings of insecurity and self-pity.[12] Mann applied several instruments to his population to measure their psychological marginality and found his results to be inconclusive. He noted that his results:

> …deflate some of the more airy speculations that have been attached to the concept of marginality. Mixed-bloods are not necessarily more liable

[10] Everett Stonequist, "The Problem of the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology* 41, No 1 (July 1935): 6.
[11] Jack Mann, "Group Relations and the Marginal Personality," *Human Relations* (February 1, 1958): 80.
[12] Ibid, 82. These were people who by appearance could pass as white. Mann believed those who could pass as white might have a greater level of psychological concerns than their darker counterparts.

> to show peculiar signs of psychological upset than those who are better-privileged and of unmixed ancestry.[13]

Mann further stated that it was possible that any indications of psychological marginality may be temporarily based on the particular environment in which the group found themselves and certain psychological factors may be more readily ascribed to the individual rather than the group. As the study was conducted just after the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts had been promulgated, it is easy to understand why and how individuals who had just been moved from their homes may have exhibited some indication of psychological trauma.

Dickie-Clark's study on *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* was conducted in conjunction with Mann's research in Sparks Estate.[14] The methodology used for the study was a multi-step process of surveys and interviews of specific types of residents used to offer an analysis of the marginality of the community in the late 1950s and early 1960s.[15] Dickie-Clark examined the social organisation of the community - political affiliations, participation in voluntary associations, interactions with people of other races and interpersonal relationships within the community.[16] He noted at the start of his research that much of the work on marginality assumed that those in a marginal position had inherent

[13] Ibid, 87.

[14] Residents who remembered the Mann/Dickie Clarke research recall that the team used teachers who lived in the area as research assistants to collect their data. The area was likely chosen because of the familiarity of the research assistants, the proximity of the area to the university and the relative diversity in the community – particularly in terms of class, religion and origin story.

[15] The Mann/Dickie-Clark research team at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Natal, began by interviewing Coloured leaders and whites deeply involved in the workings of the Coloured community. The information from these interviews was used by a team of researchers to draw up a pilot survey. This was administered to 184 Sparks Estate households by a team of 11 Coloured teachers. From these households, a smaller sample of 50 people was interviewed. This group consisted of 25 people with high passability (identified by the Coloured teacher or research assistants) and 25 with medium to low passability and matched for economic, language and education.

[16] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966).

psychological difficulties such as irrationality, self-pity, insecurity and alienation. This, he lamented, was done at the expense of investigating the marginal situation itself and its effect on group processes and relations. Dickie-Clark agreed with Mann that there was no evidence that Durban Coloureds, as a group, exhibited psychological marginality.[17] He established, however, that they do inhabit a marginal situation based on their inclusion in the racial hierarchy of society:

> …the Durban Coloureds' marginal situation can be seen as one which is, in the first instance, determined by the dominant stratum's exclusion of the Coloured, and which, thereafter, through the interplay of the features of the situation, keeps the Coloured comparatively inactive and virtually unable to affect or change their situation in any but very minor ways. [18]

According to Dickie-Clark, the Coloured group employed various relational coping mechanisms to deal with their position of marginality within a strictly policed racial hierarchy, which included an internal colour bar or pigmentocracy, a high level of religious involvement and political apathy.[19]

Overall, the concept of marginality perpetuated long-held anxieties that mixing of cultures produced an inferior, confused people: "…the racially or culturally mixed 'marginal man' as a kind of unhappy, half-pathetic, half-comical caricature of the ideal to which he is presumed to aspire."[20] While Dickie Clark dispelled the myth of psychological inadequacies, he nonetheless painted a picture of a community still fraught with hindrances and divisions. There certainly were issues in the Coloured community (many caused by the policies of successive

[17] Ibid, 180.
[18] Ibid, 167.
[19] Ibid, 9. Colour bar, pigmentocracy or colourism, refer to the internal discrimination within the Coloured community which mimics that shown to the group by general society and includes prejudice based primarily on the shade of complexion, but can also extend to texture of hair and the shape of nose.
[20] Ibid, 22.

governments), but they became the focus for the limited scholarship on the Durban Coloured in the future. Additionally, the concept of marginality only saw this marginal person in relation to the other 'pure' cultures, as a responder, and missed the opportunity to see the group as a producer of their own culture, and to examine what that might be. Just as the apartheid definition of Coloured was based on not belonging to one of the other groups, so Dickie-Clarke's view of marginality perpetuated the assessment of Coloureds as being neither/nor and 'less than'.

Apart from his focus on marginality, Dickie-Clark also provided some important historical and situational information about Durban Coloureds.[21] He mistakenly echoed the prevailing view that the "origin" of the entire Coloured population of South Africa converge on a founding moment of colonisation in 1652, and thus painted Durban Coloureds with the same historical brush as Cape Coloureds. While this starting point does provide context to the overall governmental and societal attitude towards mixed peoples in South Africa, it missed the unique dynamics of Natal, particularly the mixing between British settlers and the Zulu peoples taking place across colonial Natal. Dickie-Clark acknowledged the presence of Mauritian and Saint Helenian ancestry in the Durban Coloured population and the special treatment these groups received, such as being listed as European in terms of voting rights. He suggested that some of these special rights were based on Durban Coloureds being culturally: "… no different from the whites." [22] This was taken as a given, with no discussion of the historical nuances or acculturation or mimicking processes at work.

[21] Ibid, 55.
[22] Ibid, 55, 83-93

Dickie Clark traced the political attitudes, actions and exclusions of Coloureds by the progressively restrictive laws promulgated by successive governments. He found that marginality meant that Durban Coloureds were reluctant to become involved in national politics preferring instead to join separate local Coloured organisations. He claimed that this was a necessary decision given that their specific needs were excluded from white organisations and would probably be overlooked in Indian and African political organisations. Socially, despite the 'parity' in cultures, there was little social contact between Coloureds and whites, except for Coloureds who played white, and this was attributed to the artificial barriers of segregation. Play-whites were lighter-skinned Coloureds who pretended or 'passed' as white in certain situations to take advantage of the many benefits that life as a white person held. Life pre-apartheid was flexible enough to be able to do this and maintain a Coloured existence as well. After apartheid, many play-whites chose to be formally classified as white and slipped into white society, turning their backs on their Coloured families. The research showed much social interaction with Indians and Africans, but that dwindled as the government exerted more control on segregation.[23] In the divide and conquer strategy employed by governments, Coloureds were given enough advantages over Indians and Africans by whites, to have white rule be in their best interests, and to refuse greater contact with Africans and Indians. Dickie-Clarke summed up his findings on the marginality of Coloureds:

> Essentially, the political marginal situation for the Durban Coloureds may be thought of as a complex of cross-pressures. Pushing them in one direction is the combination of their cultural whiteness, the remnants of social equality with the whites and their intermediate status as Coloureds. Counter to all this goes the large measure of social exclusion which they share with the other subordinate strata. In consequence, it may be argued that due to their marginal situation, the Durban Coloureds

[23] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 145-148.

> are faced with political choices which are so finely balanced that no single one outweighs any other at the present time. Further, that their refusal to throw in their lot with the Africans and Indians, their inability to support, wholeheartedly, any thoroughgoing political program and indeed their reluctance to have anything at all to do with politics are all consequences of their marginal situation.[24]

Dickie-Clark explained that the marginality of Coloureds would only subside when colour and race disappeared from the South African landscape. Finally, as a critique of the methodology used for the Mann and Dickie-Clark study, it must be noted that the research was not representative of the Durban Coloured community as a whole. It was limited to just one area of the city and, even then, the sample selected was such that it privileged the views of a small number of people who could pass as white over the majority of the population.

In the 1970s, Lawrence Schlemmer and colleagues from the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal continued the work on the Coloured Community and once again focused on the area of Sparks Estate-Sydenham. This was a community study commissioned by St Philomena's Children's Home, which was funded by the German Bishops' Fund (Bischflfliches Hilfswerk).[25] St Philomena's, a home for Coloured children, was forced to move to the Sparks Estate area from the white group area of Malvern in 1976 because of the group areas legislation. The purpose of the study was to provide the home with information on their new community as they planned to integrate the children in their care into local schools. Schlemmer presented Sparks Estate as a community of mostly artisans and salaried white-collar

[24] Hamish Dickie-Clark, "The Marginal Situation: A Contribution to Marginality Theory," *Social Forces* 44, No 3 (1966): 369.
[25] Lawrence Schlemmer, Margaret Victor and Fozia Fisher. *An Assessment of Some Prominent Issues Relating to Community Development in the Sparks Estate-Sydenham Community* (Durban: University of Natal, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, 1978).

workers, with few capital resources and minimal business infrastructure.[26] The researchers noted the diversity in the community:

> There is great heterogeneity in the community. While the majority are English-speaking Catholics, there are Muslims of Malay origin; there are darker-skinned Afrikaners; there are St. Helenians and Mauritians who had they emigrated to France would blend perfectly well with many people in the South.[27]

Also identified was a sense of pride at residing in the area of Sparks Estate, as well as a coherent sense of community within the area. However, as more 'outsiders' migrated to Durban from other regions of South Africa, a level of stratification based on class became more evident. Apartheid and the repressive hand of the state also reinforced community alienation from politics and resignation to accept the status quo.[28] The Schlemmer study found that the community valued involvement in religious activities, but suggested that this stemmed from a need to show piety and respectability, rather than the desire to devote time and effort to service and altruism. The study also pointed to the growing interest in Pentecostalism in the community as something more exciting and accessible.[29]

Politically the community was described as being marginalised as one would expect in 1970s apartheid South Africa but, in contrast to the Dickie-Clark study, the study showed that the community was now more interested in politics. More significant community-based movements following housing and education issues worked to galvanise residents into political action. Additionally, well-publicised structures such as the Labour Party, the Coloured Representative Council and the Local Affairs Committee made politics a part of people's

[26] Ibid, 12.
[27] Ibid, 15.
[28] Ibid, 16.
[29] Ibid, 54-56.

everyday lives.[30] Respondents were, however, ambivalent about segregation – some saw positives and some saw negatives; overall, they could not see either a way out or a peaceful solution to the political situation. In the ten years between the Dickie Clark and Schlemmer studies, the political structures and confines had created a more cohesive sense of Coloured group consciousness. Schlemmer documents with the following question and response related to self-identification:

> We asked our respondents: 'Do you ever wish that you were not a coloured person, but belonged to another group?' Roughly three-quarters of our respondents replied to this rather blunt and perhaps too challenging question that they never wished this (76%). Some 18% wished for a different classification sometimes and 6% wished for it often.[31]

Given the primary objective of the study, which was to assess community needs, the study had an overall negative bent and focused on problems that people experienced or perceived. Some of these were lack of housing, lack of recreational facilities, economic issues, unemployment, alcohol and drug abuse, crime, juvenile delinquency, family and marital issues, and education-related problems such as general disobedience and truancy. The research also mentioned that Coloured people experienced psychological marginality and problems of emotional adjustment, with: "…disturbed inter-personal relationships, social isolation, difficulties in interacting with peers, sensitivity to criticism and marital disharmony", despite the concept being debunked by Mann and Dickie-Clarke previously.[32] It is vital to bear in mind that this was a commissioned research project, the goal of which was to determine if programming was needed in the community, what form it could take and how St Philomena's Home could be involved. The

[30] Ibid, 85-87.
[31] Ibid, 68.
[32] Ibid, 81.

Schlemmer study offers an important checkpoint in academic writing on the community in the late 1970s but, given the overall negative tone, the study, unfortunately, perpetuated the stereotype of a maladjusted people in need of increased welfare services.[33] Community issues were presented without a more in-depth analysis of the role of apartheid laws and how they could be affecting turmoil. Additionally, given the commissioned nature of the study, it is possible that interview questions were leading and that responses and analyses were inflated in order to invite additional assistance from St Philomena's Home and the Catholic Church in Sparks Estate.

In the 1980s, Sheldon Rankin and colleagues, working out of the Institute for Social and Economic Research at the University of Durban-Westville, completed five consecutive Fact Papers focusing on the Coloured community of Durban. The first, *A Pilot Study Assessing the Problems Facing the Coloured Community of the Durban Metropolitan Area*, set the groundwork for the four others that would follow. All five studies again focused on problems within the community, but cast a wider net and looked at the entire community in Durban, not just Sparks Estate as the previous studies had done. Wentworth, Austerville, Treasure Beach, Sparks Estate, Greenwood Park, Newlands East and Mariannridge were included in this work. The remaining four studies examined housing, unmarried mothers, foster care and crime.

In his first paper, Rankin offered a short history of Coloureds in Natal. He began by acknowledging the three main groups in the community as "Euro-Africans", St Helenians and Mauritians, as well as the unique position of Coloureds in Natal who were given special political treatment such as the retention of the vote in the early years.[34] According to Rankin, the

[33] Ibid, 35-42.
[34] Sheldon Rankin, *A Pilot Study Assessing the Problems Facing the "Coloured" Community of the Durban Metropolitan Area* (Durban: Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, 1982), 6-7.

community was in a state of deprivation, experienced on three levels – cultural, political and socio-economic:

> 'Coloured' people in South Africa, as well as in the Durban area are in a state of relative deprivation as is surely the case for most Black people. What is pertinent in this discussion, however, is that the contention that the 'Coloured' community in Durban somehow enjoy a privileged position in relation to their fellow Blacks is invalid.[35]

The crux of this study was to uncover the problems in the community and Rankin approached these through interviews with individuals involved in, and familiar with, community service. Lack of both public housing and land for building were listed as the main issues faced by the community. Other problems cited were the lack of community services, such as inadequate bus services, poor roads, insufficient and inadequately equipped recreational facilities, too few local shops and a shortage of day-care for children. Social deviance which included illegitimacy, violence, alcoholism and rape, inadequate education facilities including a shortage of high and technical schools, lack of sporting equipment and playing fields, poor school facilities, a lack of teaching equipment and a general problem of low income and unemployment were also identified.[36]

The next paper from the Institute for Social and Economic Research was an effort by Rankin and Paul Tichmann that dealt specifically with the housing environment of Coloureds in Durban, particularly their attitudes and aspirations. The paper explained that, amid the housing shortage in the city, the voice of the community was missing from the debate. The housing shortages had reached a crisis point in the community with overcrowding in poorly-constructed sub-economic housing and outbuildings in people's back-yards being the norm. Space for new

[35] Ibid, 15-22.
[36] Ibid, 30-34.

homes was running out of the boxed-in Coloured group areas, and single-dwelling homes constructed of brick and tile, with a garden and in a low-density area were identified as the ideal housing to which people aspired.[37] Medium density, duplexes and semi-detached houses were also considered to be somewhat acceptable. Flats, which seemed to be the solution of the city to the housing problem, were not viewed as a wanted, safe or attractive option by community members.[38]

In the 1970s and 80s, the area of Austerville was considered dangerous and was portrayed in newspaper headlines such as: "Terror stalks Wentworth" and "Wentworth – a community at war with itself."[39] Graser and Rankin's study on crime sought to gain the perspective of people living Austerville to investigate the incidence and nature of criminality in the area. The study revealed a high incidence of crime that fell broadly into the categories of burglary, assault, rape, common assault and mugging. The majority of crimes were committed by young males but were not seen to be gang-related, and most crimes were motivated by frustration in the context of socio-economic deprivation.[40] The study offered some possible solutions to these problems, which included improved policing, better street lighting, improved security protocols at and around flats (which were even less policed than other parts of Austerville), improvement of educational institutions and opportunities and better and

[37] Sheldon Rankin and Paul Tichmann, *Housing Aspirations of the Coloured Community in Durban*, (Durban: Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, 1983), 10.
[38] Ibid, 30.
[39] Roland Graser and Sheldon Rankin, *Crime in Austerville*, Durban: Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville (1983), 1.
[40] Ibid, 18-21.

sustained community involvement.[41] Above all, however, the study emphasised that economic factors were to blame for the levels of crime:

> The major recommendation of this paper pertains, then, to the alleviation of poverty and its attendant conditions, which nourish violence. Until local poverty is substantially reduced and those who live in the township are given some stake in their future development, it cannot be expected that there will be a marked drop in the rate of crime in the area. Rather there will be a continuation of the status quo.[42]

Rankin completed two additional studies, one on illegitimacy and the other on foster care in the Coloured community.[43] Both studies were conducted at the request of Durban Child and Family Welfare, who were involved in the design and execution of the study. In the illegitimacy study, 30 pregnant, unmarried girls were interviewed at Addington antenatal clinic over three months to determine the reasons for, and consequences of, teenage pregnancy in the Coloured community. In the foster care study, foster families completed surveys to assess how Durban Child and Family Welfare and its social workers could best support them. The study revealed 231 children in foster care in 121 families (in Wentworth, Sydenham and Newlands East). The main reason for children being placed in foster care was the breakdown of the family unit and subsequent neglect of the child. In total, the Rankin-Institute for Social and Economic Research studies shed light on the leading social problems that beset the community in the 1980s. However, as important as these studies were, they presented limited historical analysis, and only as a cursory introduction to a discussion of problems besetting the community. They also

[41] Ibid, 41- 42.
[42] Ibid, 43.
[43] Sheldon Rankin, *Illegitimacy: A Study of a Small Sample of Young Unmarried Mothers in the "Coloured" Community of Durban,* Durban: Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, 1986; Sheldon Rankin, *Foster Care in the "Coloured" Community of Durban,* Durban: Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, 1983.

followed in the manner of Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer in that they focused on deficiencies and reinforced the idea of a hopeless group of disparate people. While there were certainly problems in these communities, the study built on previous research that reinforced the negative at the expense of a discussion of the historical cause of the problems, as well as the important positive initiatives and organisations that also existed in the community. An important note on this body of research is that Rankin and Tichmann were both products of Coloured education and Coloured group areas and these studies, therefore, marked the first significant scholarly research done on Durban Coloureds from within the community.

A recent addition to the published account of Durban Coloured lives and experiences has been Ashwin Desai's *Wentworth: The Beautiful Game and the Making of Place,* published in 2019. In this book, Desai focuses on the soccer club Leeds United and the role of sport, and soccer in particular, in creating a space for a new community to develop out of the fracture and displacement of Group Areas. With a personal and informal style, Desai presents a compelling story of Wentworth from its creation in the 1960s to present. He does this through oral histories of the players of Leeds United and several of their family members. Desai quotes Dolores Haden in warning that "Place is one of the trickiest words in the English language, a suitcase so overfilled one can never shut the lid."[44] Indeed, Desai notes that as the stories began, they kept coming, tapping into both pride and wounds that run deep. The Leeds team was a central force in creating a sense of belonging and home for players and supporters alike. To Desai, "this was the power of the game; to give people a sense of togetherness, pride even

[44] Ashwin Desai, Wentworth: The beautiful game and the making of place (Pietermaritzburg: UKZN Press, 2019), 1.

in a completely new environment forced upon them by apartheid's obsession with creating racially pure spaces of living."[45]

Wentworth is a presented as conflicted place - one burgeoning with raw sporting talent that bred camaraderie on and off the field, but one that was plagued by issues such as gangs, alcohol, drugs, housing shortages and unemployment that threatened to pull even the brightest players from the game. Gary Goldstone for example, one of the former players who holds central spot in the Leeds narrative, is described as a man of great talent, but as someone who was "always on the edge of being enveloped by drugs, fighting and gangs."[46] Hard living and an pervasive toxic masculinity abound throughout the book. Nonetheless, Desai also manages to paint a Wentworth as a place where people tried to build lives of normalcy, not only through sport, but also through activities such as gardening competitions, bands playing at the community centre, and religious observances.

Desai also sheds light on ongoing housing, employment, environmental and health issues in Wentworth. The refinery is rightfully portrayed as a spectre in the lives of the people of Wentworth. A problematic neighbour that promised jobs to the community, but instead brought immeasurable environmental and health damage with its toxic fumes. Despite living (or dying) with high rates of cancer and respiratory disease, the people of Wentworth seem unwilling or unable to mobilize to demand the removal the refinery, instead wanting industry to provide the jobs that were once promised, and investment in community organizations.[47]

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[45] Ibid, 46
[46] Ibid, 40
[47] Ibid, 221

Desai brings the story of Wentworth into the present discussing recent increases in gang warfare and drugs in the community. He effectively captures the sentiment of people who feel "sidelined."[48] Desai surmises, "all over Wentworth affirmative action goes by another name, a feeling of marginalization, of being pushed to the end of the queue."[49] In presenting young soccer talent and passion, Desai is hopeful that a team like New Cavaliers has the power that Leeds once had to reunite an ailing community. Finally, *Wentworth: The Beautiful Game and the Making of Place* is a welcomed addition to the literature on Durban Coloured, offering a nuanced and multi-dimensional account of the struggles and victories of the people of Wentworth.

Widening the historical lens, and delving back in time, the accounts the white chiefs of Natal, John Dunn and Francis Fynn, forebears of large clans of Natal Coloureds, have been instructive in constructing a Coloured historiography. Charles Ballard and Shirron Bramdeow offer two such interpretations from the 1980s that provide an understanding of these stories of origin while laying the groundwork for an examination of the experience of first-generation Coloureds and their role in the evolution of a Durban Coloured identity.[50] These works provide a notable contribution to the development of a Coloured history. Ballard focused on documenting John Dunn's life, career and the intricacies of his relationship with King Cetshwayo. In telling this history, Ballard also reported the outrage of Victorian Natal to Dunn's personal life – his marriages to one Coloured and 48 Zulu wives, and his 117 'half-caste'

[48] Ibid, 99
[49] Ibid, 194
[50] Charles Ballard, "The Transfrontiersman: The Career of John Dunn in Natal and Zululand 1834-1895" (PhD thesis, University of Natal, 1980); Charles Ballard, *John Dunn: The White Chief of Zululand*, (Craighall: AD Donker, 1985). Shirron Bramdeow, "Henry Francis Fynn and the Fynn Community in Natal 1824-1988" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1988).

children. Dunn's attitude to his children is addressed briefly in a discussion of his decision to educate them in both English and Zulu ways, and his directive that they not be allowed to socialise with either Europeans or African people.[51] The Ballard account gave a sense of how these offspring were viewed in colonial society and how they imagined themselves, occupying a literal social middle ground.

Shirron Bramdeow's 1998 MA thesis follows the life of Henry Francis Fynn, one of the first settlers of Natal. Fynn also infuriated colonial Natal with his decision to live among the Zulu and take on Zulu customs, including marrying multiple wives and having half-caste children.[52] When Fynn finally left Natal to return to the respectability of white life in the Cape, he left his children with their African mothers. Bramdeow reports that the mixed-race children of the Fynn brothers were caught between worlds; they married African or other 'half-caste' partners, and they were allowed political and economic, but not social interaction with Europeans.[53] The Ballard and Bramdeow work situated the unique experiences of these half-caste children in a comprehensive history of colonial Natal, explained their interactions with Europeans and Africans and the complex notions of identity that followed them through history.

With liberation on the horizon, the 1990s brought a renewed interest in researching Durban Coloureds. Several unpublished MA theses were completed, offering new insights and nuance to the experiences and identity of Coloured people in Durban. Some research was more technical, looking at the built environment or teacher education in the context of a post-

[51] Charles Ballard, *John Dunn: The White Chief of Zululand*, (Craighall: A.D. Donker, 1985), 225.
[52] Shirron Bramdeow, "Henry Francis Fynn and the Fynn Community in Natal 1824-1988" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1988), 39.
[53] Ibid, 120.

apartheid environment.[54] The research did, however, introduce new questions and approaches that marked a change from the earlier scholarship. A few that discuss and advance notions of a Durban Coloured identity and aspects of the group's collective history will be noted here.

Lorraine Fynn's MA thesis of 1991 investigated identity in general in the Sparks Estate-Sydenham area. Fynn, a teacher and resident of Sparks Estate-Sydenham, examined the development of both personal and social identity in a group of high school students and their parents and showed how identities were constructed and operated in a reciprocal system of relations with other groups in society. Fynn explained that Natal Coloureds enjoyed relative privilege in South Africa before the rise of apartheid, but that a quick succession of laws disturbed that position:

> This barrage of laws shattered the equanimity of the "coloureds" in Natal, causing them enter a period of crisis. Their identity and self-esteem were severely disoriented by the Race Classification laws which generally categorised them differently to the way they saw themselves.[55]

The removal of Coloureds from the voters' roll in 1956 marked a significant demotion of coloureds in Natal, which impacted the self-esteem of the community negatively and engendered a sense of shame during the apartheid years.[56] Fynn argued that this relegation corresponded to a decline in an already low involvement in politics for fear of losing more of an already a tenuous and limited position in society. Fynn's research, conducted 30 years after the

[54] See for example, Seymour Bedderson, "Neighbourhood Revitalization: the Case of Austerville, Durban" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1995) and, Parmosivea Bobby Soobrayan, "A Study of the Political Attitudes and Aspirations of Teachers: The Case of Coloured Teachers in the Greater Durban Area" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1990). From 1984, the University of Natal and University of Durban-Westville began accepting students of all races. Being able to attend local universities without special exemption meant that the numbers of Coloureds attending the university and the possibility of research on Coloured experiences and perspectives increased.
[55] Lorraine Fynn, "The Coloured Community of Durban: Changing Perceptions of Identity" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1991), 75.
[56] Ibid, 158.

start of apartheid, confirmed greater involvement in politics and an acknowledgement that politics could bring about change. There was, however, also a growing realisation, particularly among older respondents, that politics brought with it 'trouble'.[57] While members of the community were wary of formal politics, in practice they were involved in local causes using religious and community groups. Fynn claimed that young people began to forge a new political identity from the 1970s by participation in groups such as the Black Consciousness Movement. However, many were still wary about the benefits to their lives of potential changes. For example, the high school students interviewed were concerned about economic hardships that sanctions could bring.[58] In terms of religion, Fynn found the community to be very involved in religious activities and established that religion in the form of weekly church services, choral fellowship and youth organisations remained important for communities as it provided a space for personal peace and introspection. The political involvement of Christian leaders such as Catholic Bishop Dennis Hurley presented the community with role models who supported political action.[59]

Fynn's research also looked at a group identity and found that people identified strongly as Coloured. This was their experience, reinforced by laws such as the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts. However, they were not just resigned to being Coloured as an imposed classification: they were proud of having both black and white ancestry.[60] The advent of television to the South African landscape in 1976 was noted as an important moment in

[57] Ibid, 104. At the time of the research, the trial of Robert McBride and Greta Apelgren, Wentworth residents and activists, was underway for terrorist activities and was presented by respondents as a cautionary tale of the price of involvement in politics.
[58] Ibid, 108, 204-205.
[59] Ibid, 94-96, 205.
[60] Ibid, 145-147.

having representation in successful African American role models whose appearance often resembled their own.[61] The study provides an essential update of the Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer studies and gives a longitudinal view of some of the sociological changes that occurred in outlook and perception from the 1950s to the 1980s.

Vashna Jagarnath completed another relevant study in her 2005 MA thesis that examined the effects of apartheid legislation on the formation of contemporary Coloured identity in Sydenham.[62] Jagarnath was interested in how ordinary individuals understood and engaged with segregation and racial classification codified in the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts. Jagarnath located her study in Sydenham, the same area used by Dickie-Clark, Mann, Schlemmer and Fynn for their research, and conducted interviews with residents about their experiences moving into and living in the area. Coloured settlement in Sydenham was not new under Group Areas. The area had been home to people who were seen as, or who identified as, being Coloured since the 1930s, when the city began clearing slums and defining areas more deliberately according to race. In 1950, Sydenham was officially declared a Coloured Group Area for those defined as Coloured under the Population Registration Act, and people moved from across the city to live in the area. Jagarnath pointed out that residents considered Sydenham to be a particularly desirable place to live due to its proximity to the city, the fact that it had an established Coloured presence and it consisted of homes to be purchased or built which attracted a wealthier class of people.[63]

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[61] Ibid*,* 205.
[62] Vashna Jagarnath, "Social History Analysing the Recollections of Apartheid Legislation on People Living in Sydenham 1950-1980" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 2005).
[63] Ibid, 31.

The process of moving to Sydenham after the Group Areas Act was promulgated was complex. It was a move up for some but, for others, it broke families apart and destroyed bonds that had formed between people and places elsewhere in the city. Jagarnath's respondents revealed this complicated relationship and described their belonging to several communities based on: "… sharing a common historical background, memories of a historical event, racial classification or even religious affiliations, and Group Areas meant that they were confined to just the one based on their skin colour."[64] Jagarnath explored the experiences people had of being moved away from Indian neighbours and observed the irony of defending the perimeter of the new Sydenham Coloured community based on class differences. She details the ways in which newcomers to Sydenham, particularly those described by respondents as 'farm coloureds', who moved into the sub-economic high-rise flats built in the 1980s, were not welcomed and were seen as outsiders to this community.[65]

Finally, Jagarnath sought to understand the experiences and impact of racial classification on the lives of Sydenham residents. Fixing and policing the ambiguous racial category of Coloured was a difficult one for apartheid inspectors and, for the residents themselves, the actual act of classification was often random and pinned different classifications within the Coloured range on members of the same family. Where people were classified incorrectly, and a change was requested, witnesses were called, and affidavits written to attest to lived experiences that would lead to a re-classification.[66] Jagarnath also tackled colourism or an internal racial hierarchy, which persisted in Sydenham. This internal

[64] Ibid, 139.
[65] Ibid, 117.
[66] Ibid, 64-67.

discrimination was based on skin colour, hair texture, nose structure and perpetuated the racial anxieties of apartheid.[67] Being part of this Coloured community in Sydenham was thus:

> …a complex lexicon heavily laden with localised ideas of race, which informed not only where one fell within the racially informed hierarchy (as understandings of family histories, class, physicality and geography were shot through with racial anxieties and interpretations) but to an extent also determined jobs, relationships and living standards.[68]

Jagarnath's study provided a glimpse into how people experienced racial classification in the racially defined space of Sydenham and how the damage caused by these apartheid laws have persisted in Coloured communities.

The next body of scholarship examined focused on a broader history of the city of Durban to provide context to the experiences of Coloured people living in the city. This context was vital in developing an understanding of how the city functioned, why decisions were taken and how policies impacted people's lives across Durban. The scholarship on Durban is broad; thus, this thesis considers areas that advance an understanding of how the people would come to be classified as Coloured and how they experienced the city, looking particularly to African and Indian histories of the urban working class.

Scholars such as Maynard Swanson, Paul la Hausse, Paul Maylam and Iain Edwards laid the groundwork for capturing the early life of the city as it affected Black people. They described a Durban that attracted Africans from the rural areas to find work at the docks and in the developing industry and absorbed Indians free from indenture as well as wealthier

[67] Ibid, 80-86.
[68] Ibid, 135.

merchants from India who had immigrated to South Africa following the indentured.[69] According to La Hausse, by the 1900s the African population in the city had reached 18 000, and comprised:

> …four main sectors of the labour market: togt labour (comprising mainly dockworkers), ricksha-pullers, washermen and monthly servants. Workers in each sector were governed by relatively discrete sets of regulations designed to achieve the overall control of the workforce.[70]

The native population of rural Natal had been sufficiently organised into submission by Theophilus Shepstone's system of reserves and chiefs, and the flow of Africans into Durban was further controlled by additional regulations. For example, the togt system, introduced in 1874, required African labourers on the docks to register, pay fees, carry passes and accept certain maximum wages.[71]

While dealing with the African population who, according to the white authorities, had the potential to outnumber, overpower and 'contaminate' the social order of the white population, the city also had to contend with the Indian population. They were particularly

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[69] Maynard W Swanson, "The Durban System: Roots of Urban apartheid in colonial Natal" in *African Studies* 35 (1976): 159-176; Maynard W Swanson, "The Urban factor in Natal Native policy, 1843-1873," *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 3 (1980): 1-13; Paul le Hausse, "The Struggle for the City: Alcohol, the Ematsheni and Popular Culture in Durban, 1902-36" (MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1984); Paul La Hausse, "'The Cows of Nongoloza: Youth, Crime and Amalaita gangs in Durban, 1900–1936," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 16, No 1 (1990): 79-111; Paul Maylam, *The Local Evolution of Urban Apartheid: Influx Control: and Segregation in Durban, c1900-1951* History Workshop Conference, University of the Witwatersrand, 6-10th February, 1990; Paul Maylam, "The Black Belt: African Squatters in Durban, 1935-1950," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 17, No 3 (1983): 413-428; Iain Edwards, "Mkhumbane Our Home: A History of African Shantytown Society in Cato Manor Farm, 1946-1960" (PhD thesis, University of Natal, 1989). In addition to these works, Paul Maylam and Iain Edwards edited an important collection of essays that captured the various aspect of African life in the city in *The People's City: African Life in Twentieth-Century Durban*, ed Paul Maylam & Iain Edwards (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1996).

[70] Paul La Hausse, " 'The Cows of Nongoloza': Youth, Crime and Amalaita Gangs in Durban, 1900–1936," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 16, No 1 (1990): 82.

[71] Maynard W Swanson, "The Durban System: Roots of Urban Apartheid in Colonial Natal" *African Studies* 35 (1976): 162-165; Paul le Hausse, "The Struggle for the City: Alcohol, the Ematsheni and Popular Culture in Durban, 1902-36" (Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, 1984), 24-27.

concerned with those newly free from indenture and those wealthy enough to begin buying property and establishing businesses. City authorities were particularly concerned about the economic threat that Indians presented to white commercial interests:

> …they saw the Indians as a sophisticated and active menace to their own position in colonial society, competing for space, place, trade, and political influence with the imperial authority.[72]

During the early 1900s, the city became increasingly hostile to Africans and Indians, establishing influx control and segregation regulations to prevent these populations from encroaching on the white city. An additional factor that fuelled these attitudes was a fixation on sanitation issues in African and Indian settlements. White Natalians feared disease and contamination, and these concerns became the basis for controlling the 'nuisance' by moving people and excluding them from certain parts of the city. [73] African men were given temporary residence in the city only with proof of employment, dipped like cattle at cleansing stations for 'disease control', and accommodated in hostels. Indians were corralled into residential and economic ghettos, notably in the western vlei area at the foot of the Berea.[74]

Maylam reported a tightening of segregationist policies from the 1920s as an increase in industrialisation began to require a larger full-time labour force in the city, while the rural areas experienced harsher conditions:

> …[a] tightening of influx control measures in Durban was a response to the growing African influx into the city, brought on by a deterioration in the material position of rural Africans and by the expansion of Durban's industrial sector.[75]

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[72] Maynard W Swanson, " 'The Asiatic Menace': Creating Segregation in Durban, 1870-1900," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 16, No 4 (1983): 404.
[73] Maynard W Swanson, "The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909," *The Journal of African History*, Vol 18, No 3 (1977): 391.
[74] Maynard W Swanson, "The Durban System: Roots of Urban apartheid in colonial Natal" *African Studies* 35 (1976): 171-173.
[75] Paul Maylam, *The Local Evolution of Urban Apartheid: Influx Control: and Segregation in Durban, c1900-1951* (History Workshop Conference, University of the Witwatersrand, 6-10th February, 1990), 7.

A defining measure of the control placed around the lives of African men came in the sale of and access to, alcohol. The city took control of the production and sale of utshwala or African beer in municipal beer halls that then financed the hostels and barracks where African men were forced to live – a mechanism that became known as the Durban system. Municipal beerhalls became the focal point for African leisure time, but also of resistance, galvanised by the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU).[76] During the 1920s, African women also began to have a greater presence in the city as they migrated to escape rural poverty. Life in these areas, such as Cato Manor, offered more freedom from municipal scrutiny, a space for brewing traditional beer, for a shebeen culture to develop and for more significant labour and political mobilisation to occur.[77] According to La Hausse, the shebeens diverted workers and funds away from the Durban municipal beerhalls and were seen by authorities as dens of immorality and disease. In 1929, the Sydenham Local Administration and Health Board secured permission to establish their own beerhall and to ban all shebeens and traditional alcohol production in the area.[78] This threatened the livelihood of African women, as well as the leisure and cultural time of African men. In May 1929, the ICU organised several marches from the ICU hall in Durban to Sydenham in protest against the beerhall system that was fleecing the poorly paid African worker, and poor living conditions in the barracks and hostels. A boycott of all

[76] Paul le Hausse, "The Struggle for the City: Alcohol, the Ematsheni and Popular Culture in Durban, 1902-36" (MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1984); Paul La Hausse, "Drinking in a Cage: The Durban System and the 1929 Beer Hall Riots," *Africa Perspective* No 20 (1982): 63-75.
[77] Paul la Hausse, "The Struggle for the City: Alcohol, the Ematsheni and Popular Culture in Durban, 1902-36" (MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1984), 287.
[78] Paul La Hausse, "Drinking in a Cage: The Durban System and the 1929 Beer Hall Riots," *Africa Perspective* No 20 (1982): 68.

beerhalls ensued, and violent clashes erupted with police leaving eight people dead and 102 injured.[79]

Because of the proximity to, and relationships between, Coloureds and Indians, the history and experiences of the Indian community of Durban was of particular importance in understanding Coloured experiences in the city. Bill Freund explained that Coloureds played a role in bridging gaps between other groups in the city:

> Contact with Coloureds, particularly for Christians or Muslims who might share a bond of faith with them, was more intense than with Africans or whites. Indeed Coloured links with the latter groups in turn created more distinct influences on Indians.[80]

According to Freund, post-indentured working-class Indians settled on small pieces of land on the periphery of the city. They engaged in market gardening, which was hard work for all members of the family and provided very little profit. In areas such as Cato Manor, this small-scale agriculture soon gave way to more lucrative shack-renting to the growing African urban population.[81] Charging high rents to African people who were not earning much, led to increasingly contentious relationships between the two groups. This bitterness also extended to African customers and Indian shop owners over high prices and generally poor treatment, to produce the racial animosity that would eventually ignite the 1949 riots.[82] The Indian population also took up employment in the industrial sector, along with doing general municipal work and performing service work in homes and hotels. Indian workers began to

[79] Ibid, 69-72.
[80] Bill Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian working class of Durban 1910-1990.* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), 40.
[81] Ibid, 24-25.
[82] Iain Edwards, "Mkhumbane Our Home: A History of African Shantytown Society in Cato Manor Farm, 1946-1960" (PhD thesis, University of Natal, 1989), 9, 280.

organise into unions and, by 1943: "… there were as many as 34 trade unions with significant 'Indian' membership."[83] Competition for employment exacerbated racial divisions as Indian workers were easily replaced by African labour.[84] On the other end of the racial hierarchy, whites were angered by the direct economic competition from wealthier Indians who began to accumulate property and thrive in business ownership. The city, spurred on by white economic interests relied heavily on segregation and eventually Group Areas to remove the threat of Indian mobility.[85]

Finally, in a review of Durban literature, Len Rosenberg et al. have offered a detailed account of the unique multicultural area of the city, known interchangeably as Duchene, Casbah or simply 'town', with a discussion of institutions and spaces within this important Black contact zone. It was in this area that Indian merchants were allowed to own land and set up their businesses and where Indian life centred on institutions such as Curries Fountain sports grounds, the Grey Street Mosque, churches, Indian markets and schools.[86] The area was also significant to Africans in the city as it housed several important institutions such as African markets, the Bantu Social Centre and several African churches.[87] Although there were no restrictions as to where Coloured people could live in the city prior to the Group Areas Act, they congregated in this part of the city where they rented flats and cottages from Indian property owners. This zone was also where they shopped at Indian and African markets and where many attended school and church. The spaces and institutions detailed in the account and the

[83] Vishnu Padayachee, Shahid Vawda and Paul Tichmann, "Indian Workers and Trade Unions in Durban 1930-50," *Institute for Social and Economic Research Report No 20* (Durban: University of Durban Westville, 1985), viii.
[84] Bill Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban 1910-1990* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), 51.
[85] Ibid, 64-66.
[86] Leonard Rosenberg, Goolam Vahed, Aziz Hassim, Sam Moodley and Kogi Singh. *The Making of Place: The Warwick Junction Precinct, 1870s-1980s.* (Durban: Durban University of Technology, ROCs Project, 2013), 25.
[87] Ibid, 64-67.

relationships that formed in the area played a crucial role in the development of a particular Durban Coloured identity.

The scholarship on Africans and Indians in Durban has been central in determining a framework for this study. While the lives of Coloured people were not identical to those of the other groups examined, the accounts illuminate dominant attitudes that informed city decisions and processes. The histories provide context for how Coloured people may have experienced the city and navigated the often tense relationships that developed between whites, Indians and Africans. None of these interpretations of the city's history dwells much on the Coloured community in their interpretations, thus confirming the neglect and overall marginalisation of Coloured people in the historiography of Durban.

Identity and Creolisation

Underpinning this research is the argument that identity – cultural, ethnic or racial – is fluid, socially constructed and negotiated and renegotiated continuously between members of the group, with members of other groups and with the state. The work of preeminent cultural theorist Stuart Hall is particularly relevant here. In an influential piece published in 1990, Hall observed that the formation of identity occurs fluidly, and within a historical framework:

> …cultural identities come from somewhere, [and] have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power.[88]

Hall also supposes that these negotiations between and within groups occur in a space of reciprocity:

[88] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," In *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 225.

> Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally-constituted unity - an 'identity' in its traditional meaning (that is, an all-inclusive sameness, seamless, without internal differentiation).[89]

In this space of identity formation, the concept of hybridity is one that has often been applied to mixed folk, as Coloureds in South Africa are deemed to be. Hybridity is a concept borrowed from the field of botany, where the genetic material of two different species is combined to produce a third with characteristics inherited from its components. In the colonial lexicon, the term referred to the mixing of peoples, usually the white colonisers and the Black, indigenous population. The products of such miscegenation were typically labelled as bastards and half-castes with the deliberate derogatory connotation of being racially impure.

The use of the word hybrid in a discussion of identity has been criticised as being based on an essentialised view of race as something whole, with fixed boundaries. To Paul Gilroy, the presupposition of two pure cultures from whence the mixing occurs is problematic as it supposes: "… the lack of a means of adequately describing, let alone theorising, intermixture, fusion and syncretism without suggesting the existence of anterior 'uncontaminated' purities."[90] Gilroy insists that pure cultures and races do not exist and are constructed concepts: "… the idea of hybridity, of intermixture, presupposes two anterior purities ... I think there is not any purity; there is not any anterior purity ... Cultural production is not like mixing cocktails." [91] Other scholars have reclaimed and repurposed hybridity as a way to demonstrate

[89] Stuart Hall, "Who Needs 'Identity'?" in *Identity: a Reader*, eds. Paul du Gay, Jessica Evans and Peter Redman (London: Sage Publications, 2000), 4.
[90] Paul Gilroy, Between Camps: Nations, Culture and the Allure of Race (London: Penguin, 2000), 250.
[91] Paul Gilroy, "Black Cultural Politics: An Interview with Paul Gilroy by Timmy Lott," *Found Object* 4 (1994): 54-55.

the contestation and fractures in colonial control. In *The Location of Culture*, cultural theorist Homi Bhabha describes hybridisation as a subversive position where a third space, is carved between the oppression of colonialism and the repression of native tradition:

> Hybridity is the sign of the productivity of colonial power, it's shifting forces and fixities, it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that secure the 'pure' and original identity of authority). Hybridity…displays the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination.[92]

Additionally, Bhabha sees hybridity as a way to understand identity formation as a continuous mixing of cultures, religions and language – the multiple ways of borrowing between groups that have encountered each other throughout history where: "… all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity."[93] Bhabha argues that hybridity occurs in ambivalent spaces or: "… interstitial passages or space of translation, neither the one nor the Other, a third space of flux and negotiation between colonised and coloniser."[94] According to Bhabha:

> The intervention of the Third Space of enunciation, which makes the structure of meaning and reference an ambivalent process, destroys this mirror of representation in which cultural knowledge is customarily revealed as integrated, open, expanding code. Such an intervention quite properly challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as homogenising, unifying force, authenticated by originary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People. [95]

The discourse on hybridity allows consideration for the power of the in-between, such as the voice Bhabha brings, but the dominant usage of the term centres on the existence of purity. The concept of creolisation, on the other hand, while often used interchangeably with hybridity

[92] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 112.
[93] Homi Bhahba, "The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha," in *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference* ed. John Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 211.
[94] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 38.
[95] Ibid, 54.

or fusion, acknowledges the creation of something new, arising out of a mixture but forged by struggle. Indeed, creolisation offers another approach in describing new cultural production, relevant for understanding the Durban Coloured condition. Speaking on Coloured identity in the Cape, Zimitri Erasmus clarifies:

> …it is not sufficient to characterise coloured identity only with reference to its content. Much of what is distinctive about coloured identity is the condition of its making and re-making. For although all cultures partake of hybridity, coloured culture has been shaped under very specific conditions…hybridity refers to the condition of all cultural formations. Creolisation refers to cultural formations historically shaped by conditions of slavery.[96]

Creolisation provides a way to reflect on cultures dismissed as being marginal and impure and the process by which they developed. The concept has its roots in the history of colonisation of the Americas, where the word *criollo* was first used to describe Spaniards born in the colonies. The term came to refer to the new languages, and cultural formations born at the sites of violence and tension between coloniser and colonised, where this history brought about cultural, social and linguistic mixing. Edward Kamau Brathwaite pioneered discussions on the creation and meaning of creole cultures in colonised spaces, mainly as it related to his home country, Jamaica, as a process of new cultural identity. For Brathwaite, this was about a process that happened over time at the margins of, and in the tensions between, European and African culture and not about an end product of the creole.[97] He defined creolisation as:

> … a cultural process which … may be divided into two aspects of itself: ac/culturation, which is the yoking (by force and example, deriving from power/prestige) of one culture to another (in this case the enslaved/African to the European); and inter/culturation, which is an

[96] Zimitri Erasmus, "Introduction: Re-imagining Coloured Identities in Post-Apartheid South Africa" In *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspective on Coloured Identities in Cape Town*, ed. Zimitri Erasmus, (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001), 22.
[97] Edward Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770–1820* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

> unplanned, unstructured but osmotic relationship proceeding from this yoke. The creolisation which results (and it is process not a product), become the tentative cultural norm of the society.[98]

Martinique writer, Edouard Glissant, further articulates creolisation in Caribbean Discourse where he writes: "… it is no longer valid to glorify 'unique' origins that the race safeguards and prolongs."[99] Instead, he argues:

> … cultural elements brought together must be 'equivalents in value' for this creolisation to actually take effect. This means that if in the cultural elements some of which are underrepresented compared to others, creolisation does not really evolve. It happens, but on a hybrid mode and in an unjust manner.[100]

For Glissant, the plurality of creole culture, not privileging the coloniser's culture as any better than the colonised, is a direct attack on the very roots of colonisation and hegemony, where creolisation is:

> … the unstoppable conjunction despite misery, oppression, and lynching, the conjunction that opens up torrents of unpredictable results…, the unpredictability that terrifies those who refuse the very idea, if not the temptation, to mix, flow together, and share.[101]

Creolisation, therefore, goes beyond the simple meeting of cultures to question the oppressive historical terms on which the meeting happens, and beyond that, to examine the new identity that is produced therein.

Turning closer to home, Francoise Vergès describes creole identity on the former French Colony island nations of Reunion and Mauritius, where she determines the link between the experience in the Indian Ocean and the Americas: "Creole cultures are cultures of survival. They

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[98] Edward Brathwaite, *Contradictory Omens: Cultural Diversity and Integration in the Caribbean* (Mona: Savacou Publications, 1974), 6.
[99] Eduoard Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989), 140.
[100] Eduoard Glissant, *Introduction à Une Poétique du Divers, (*Paris, Gallimard, 1996), 17.
[101] Eduoard Glissant, *Faulkner, Mississippi,* trans. Barbara Lewis and Thomas Spear (New York: Farrar, 1999), 30.

were invented and elaborated upon an experience of destruction and erasure: destruction of social, cultural and political ties, erasure of native languages and cultures…"[102] Vergès believes that Creole societies show: "… mimicking, imitating and borrowing as sources of creativity" and have: "emerged as profoundly diverse and mobile". The difficulty of these societies was a lack of cultural particularism (demanded by others) to show distinctiveness and validity: "The foundations of the recognition of the Creole difference have remained a vexed question: if variety, change, fluidity, constant re-adaptation described the Creole difference, how can we demand recognition?"[103]

Vergès offers Creole cosmopolitanism as a basis for recognition. Creoles, in this context, found themselves at the crossroads of different cultures and defined themselves by their openness and willingness to build connections. According to Robert Baron and Ana C Cara:

> Creolization can thus liberate us conceptually from a notion of fixed or "finished" products in culture to a focus on cultures in transition, allowing us to grasp the "in-betweens," the ambiguous spaces, where cultural boundaries blur and disappear as hierarchical categories collapse into each other. At these interstices in creole societies, native cultural entities combine, recombine, and re-emerge, creating creole expressions that defy external analytical categories that place creolity at the margins. This dynamism in creole communities, and the absence of absolute cultural transparency in favour of fluidity, blurring, and obfuscation, has frequently led to the characterization of creole forms and behaviours as "impure".[104]

This idea resonates with Coloureds in general in South Africa and in Durban in particular. There is a perceived lack of tradition or core culture, epitomised in other groups by having distinct

[102] Francoise Vergès, "Vertigo and Emancipation, Creole Cosmopolitanism and Cultural Politics," *Theory, Culture & Society* 18, No 2–3 (2001): 170.
[103] Ibid, 171.
[104] Robert Baron and Ana C Cara, "Introduction. Creolization and Folklore: Cultural Creativity in Process," *Journal of American Folklore* 116*,* No 459 (Winter 2003): 4.

clothing, food and other indigenous traditions that make others in society doubt their authenticity and dismiss or urge them to join one of the other major groupings.

Moving the process of creolisation further out of the Caribbean and other post-colonial contexts, one must acknowledge those who believe that creolisation can be applied to several global contexts. Swedish anthropologist, Ulf Hannerz, argues that we exist in a world drawn together by extensive exchanges of people, ideas and information and that: "[in] the end, it seems, we are all being creolized."[105] Mary Louise Pratt argues that the process of creolisation can make sense in various contact zones, and Robin Cohen and Olivia Sheringham specify where these contact zones can occur – specifically they point to the port, plantations, islands and contemporary 'super-diverse' cities, as sites of creolisation.[106] Françoise Lionnet finds that:

> … postmodern global cities are the setting for new forms of creolized identities that are altering understandings of ethnic and national belonging across the world, even if established political and educational institutions do not always follow suit and adjust to this changing human landscape."[107]

Okwui Enwezor agrees that cities can be modern-day sites of creolisation, where oppression and struggle occur, different from that committed during colonisation but violent nonetheless, and where: "… new diasporic formations have reconfigured the space."[108]

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[105] Ulf Hannerz, "The World in Creolisation," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 57, No 4 (October 1987): 552, 557.
[106] Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone." *Profession* 91 (1991): 33-40; Robin Cohen and Olivia Sheringham, *Encountering Difference Diasporic Traces, Creolizing Spaces* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), 39-55.
[107] Françoise Lionnet, "Continents and Archipelagoes: From 'E Pluribus Unum' to Creolized Solidarities," *PMLA* 123, No 5 (October 2008): 1503.
[108] Okwui Enwezor, "Introduction." In *Creolite and Creolization: Documenta 11_Platform 3*, eds. Okwui Enwezor, Carlos Basualdo, Ute Meta Bauer, Susanne Ghez, Sarat Maharaj, Mark Nash and Octavio Zaya (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2003),16.

Glissant builds on his earlier work on creolisation, and adds his voice to the cry for relevance in applying creolisation to the cityscape:

> Although the plantation has vanished, creolization is still at work in our megalopolises, from Mexico City to Miami, from Los Angeles to Caracas, from Sao Paulo to Kingston, from New Orleans to San Juan, where the inferno of cement slums is merely an extension of the inferno of the sugarcane or cotton fields. All the Americas contain micro cultures, where pidgin becomes creole, where creoles return to pidgin ways, where languages are emerging or dying, where the old and rigid sense of identity is confronting the new and open way of creolization. This phenomenon probably has no political or economic power. But it is precious for mankind's imagination, it's capacity for invention.[109]

The application of creolisation to large modern urban contexts and more broadly to cultural globalisation is a shift, and there are some, particularly from former colonies, who challenge this application as appropriation and misunderstanding of the importance of a history of slavery and colonialism to the process of creolisation. While there is relevance in applying the theory or descriptor of creolisation of certain contexts in the modern world such as the trauma of modern migration and the creation of new forms of being in the diaspora against the rise of nationalism, care must be taken to not simply throw the term onto any instance of cultural mixing. Indeed, Sheller contends that creolisation is not: "… simply about moving and mixing elements, but was more precisely about processes of cultural 'regrounding' following experience of uprooting, or what Vergès refers to as 'cultures of survival'."[110]

[109] Edouard Glissant, "Creolization in the Making of the Americas," *Caribbean Quarterly* 54, No 1 (Mar 2008): 88-89.

[110] Mimi Sheller, "Creolization in Discourses of Global Culture," in *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*, ed. Sara Ahmed, Claudia Castaneda, Anne-Marie Fortier and Mimi Sheller (New York: Berg, 2003), 280.

Coloured Identity in South Africa

The scholarship on Coloured identity in South Africa has centred on the Cape experience. This focus is understandable, as the region was the first contact zone between settlers, indigenous peoples and slave labour, and it is home to the largest population of Coloured people in the country. In the post-apartheid landscape, the question of Coloured identity has received increased attention and analysis.[111] Adhikari explains that Coloured Identity has undergone a process of continuous transformation over time, but, within that fluidity, it has remained true to a set of consistencies. These stabilising themes are the desire to assimilate with the structures of power and to maintain relative privilege, occupying an intermediate position in a racial hierarchy, dealing with a preponderance of damaging stereotyping and subsequent shame and marginality of being positioned somewhere between black and white.[112] Adhikari further proposes three historiographical paradigms to describe the evolution of scholarship on Coloured history and identity, essentialist, instrumentalist and social constructivist. The essentialist view is based on the notion that Coloured identity is a racial identity, best explained by racial origins and determined by a racial mixture. Within the essentialist paradigm, Adhikari further defines three currents - traditionalist, liberal essentialist and progressive interpretationist. For those who fall in the traditionalist category, Coloured history is told with: "… racist values and assumptions prevalent in white supremacist South Africa."[113] Liberal

[111] Some important pre-1994 works include Richard Van der Ross, *Myths and Attitudes: An Inside Look at the Coloured People*, (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1979); Gavin Lewis, B*etween the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African "Coloured" Politics* (New York: St. Martin's, 1987); Ian Goldin, *Making Race: the Politics and Economics of Coloured Identity in South Africa,* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1987).
[112] Mohamed Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), xii-xiii.
[113] Mohamed Adhikari, "From Narratives of Miscegenation to Post-modernist Re-imagining: Towards a Historiography of Coloured Identity in South Africa," in *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*, ed. Mohamed Adhikari (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2009), 8.

essentialists, on the other hand, still look to miscegenation as the foundation of Coloured identity but do not necessarily see Coloured people as being inferior to whites. The final grouping in the essentialist category is the progressive interpretationist scholars who follow on from liberal essentialists and believe Coloured to be a separate race but include such components as personal freedom, interracial cooperation and individual merit as necessary ingredients for the actualisation of Coloureds and assimilation into mainstream white culture. The instrumentalist paradigm follows liberal ideals and is heavily influenced by the ideas of Black Consciousness. This type of scholarship is rejectionist, viewing Coloured identity solely as something that is imposed by the colonial and apartheid system, with little agency from the people themselves in the formation of what it means to be Coloured. Finally, Adhikari describes social constructionism as a paradigm of scholarship, which advocates the reclamation of the Coloured name and identity and the multitude of histories it carries. Social constructionism also sees Coloured identity as something that is formed in the interplay of laws and policies of authoritarian white rulers and the agency of Coloured people themselves produced it as: "… something that cannot be taken as a given, but is a product of human agency dependent on a complex interplay of historical social, cultural, political and other contingencies."[114]

Zimitri Erasmus has been influential in using creolisation as a theoretical framework for analysing the production of Coloured identity in South Africa. Erasmus follows the ideas espoused by social constructionism, but takes the notion further and offers that cultural fusion and translation formed over time at the nexus of domination and self-articulation, to make 'colouredness' a creolised cultural identity:

[114] Ibid,15.

> In re-imagining coloured identities, we need to move beyond the notion that coloured identities are 'mixed race' identities. Rather we need to see them as cultural identities comprising detailed bodies of knowledge, specific cultural practices, memories, rituals and modes of being. . . . The result has been a highly specific and instantly recognizable cultural formation—not just a 'mixture', but a very particular 'mixture' comprising elements of British, Dutch, Malaysian, Khoi and other forms of African culture appropriated, translated and articulated in complex and subtle ways. These elements acquire their specific cultural meaning only once fused and translated.[115]

Erasmus applies the creolisation of Brathwaite and Glissant to the South African context, offering a more nuanced way to examine and make sense of Coloured identity as: "… cultural borrowing and creation" and the: "… construction of an identity out of elements of ruling and subaltern classes."[116] Erasmus further notes that Coloureds display:

> …early histories not only of loss, rupture, transportation, dislocation and discontinuity, but also of cultural creation and contestation in contexts of forced human and cultural heterogeneity and colonial dominance – histories of creolization.[117]

More broadly, this scholarship on Coloured identity and experiences have shifted the debate to an interest in examining and acknowledging the impact of the complex histories of slavery, colonialism and apartheid while at the same time acknowledging the importance of the agency of Coloureds themselves on the evolution of their identity. Erasmus explains:

> Coloured identities cannot be wished or explained away. Nor can they be subsumed under a national identity. We have to recognize that constructions of what it means to be "Coloured" have shaped particular black experiences in South Africa in a very real way and that these identities are meaningful to many. This requires respect for ordinary people and their subjective experiences which should be valued in their

[115] Zimitri Erasmus, "Introduction: Re-imagining Coloured Identities in Post-apartheid South Africa," in *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspective on Coloured Identities in Cape Town*, ed. Zimitri Erasmus, (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001), 22.
[116] Ibid, 16.
[117] Zimitri Erasmus, "Creolization, Colonial Citizenship(s) and Degeneracy: A Critique of Selected Histories of Sierra Leone and South Africa," *Current Sociology* 59, No 5 (September 2011): 639.

> own right; such experiences and identities are not simply white-imposed.[118]

Coloured Identity in Durban

The literature on identity and creolisation gives us an essential lens through which to view the Coloured community of Durban and to frame the documentation of history that follows in this dissertation. There is often a perceived lack of tradition and definitive outward manifestation of culture (epitomised by a distinctive way of dress, food, music and other typical indigenous traditions) that make others generally doubt the legitimacy of Coloured people, and creolisation offers a way to understand Coloured identity as one that can stand on its own terms.

In the early days of the Natal Colony, unions between early settlers and black women were often based on strategic traditional Zulu marriages, and the offspring were given an elevated status in Zulu society and taught English ways. The children of John Dunn, for example, were taught by governesses brought from Europe and later had their own school built for them in Mangete. These first-generation Coloureds carried a sense of pride in their background. Dominic Dunn, the son of John Dunn, speaks of this pride and the hope that the younger generations will not allow others to let them feel shame and inferiority:

> I want to say this now, that I have no fault to find with my Father and Mother for bringing me into this world of colour discrimination and segregation and where I was grilled and drilled as if I was an intruder in my own country. I excuse and forgive my parents for I also am the means of bringing other men and women into the world. And while the thought is with me I want to say that it is my earnest desire that none of my children, in the face of God, will ever be led to a deceitful belief that they are inferior to any other creatures in this world. God has created all and

[118] Zimitri Erasmus, "Introduction: Re-imagining Coloured Identities in Post-apartheid South Africa," in *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspective on Coloured Identities in Cape Town*, ed. Zimitri Erasmus (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001), 21.

> it has pleased him to have different colours in people. The blood that flows in my veins from an Englishman and an honest Zulu woman is no disgrace to me, nor should it be a disgrace to my children...[119]

Palmer suggests that this: "new 'race' of people separated themselves, finding others with similar backgrounds as theirs, and creating communities of intermediary people who were well versed in the cultures of those surrounding them (Afrikaner, Anglo, Swazi, Xhosa, and Zulu)."[120] As these cultural intermediaries migrated from the countryside to the polycultural port space of Durban, they met a steady influx of immigrants from Mauritius, St Helena and India, each bringing with them their own distinct history and culture. The Mauritian and St Helenian immigrants carried the complexity of their already fluid identities from their creole island homes. In Durban, these islanders were an anomaly, classified as honorary whites based on what the colonialists perceived to be their histories of civilisation. In the case of St Helenians, they came from a British Protectorate and imagined themselves as British, aspiring to: "… middle-class cosmopolitanism and respectability … Proud that, prior to 1948, their birth certificates stated that they were of St Helenian descent."[121] Despite this classification, which offered an elevated rank in society and access to better jobs and amenities, St Helenians and Mauritians lived among and married 'proper' Coloureds and Indians for decades.

In this space, these different groups clung together and negotiated their survival and solidarity under the racial ordering of the colonial city. The Durban situation finds commonality with other instances of creolisation where:

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[119] Dominic Dunn, "*This is my Country: The Memoirs of a Coloured South African*," 1955, KCM 98/54, Killie Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal.
[120] Fileve Palmer, "Through a Coloured Lens: Post-Apartheid Identity Formation Amongst Coloureds in KZN" (PhD thesis, Indiana University, 2015), 71.
[121] Carol Ann Muller, "Covers, Copies, and "Colo[u]redness" in Postwar Cape Town," *Cultural Analysis* 3 (2002): 25.

> …large parts of the population were living far from their original homes and in a society characterized by dominance and subjugation based on origin and skin color. Therefore, there was a high demand for social solidarity, cultural orientation, and a common language and identity. There was a need to make oneself feel at home in a situation of forced exile as well as a desire to (re-)create an identity and culture...[122]

Durban is a particular blend of all the contact zones that Cohen and Sheringham (2016) believe lend themselves to a process of fluidity and creolisation, port, plantation, island and 'super-diverse' city.[123] It is at once a diverse port city, next to the sugar plantations of Natal and bearing the legacy of the islands of Mauritius and St Helena. The remote cultural islands of 'mixedness' in Zululand and the Natal Midlands also provided fertile space for creolisation to occur. The city of Durban provided a landscape for these peoples to connect to the three large visible cultures, Zulu/African, Indian and British/white, and to forge something altogether quite different:

> …the independent fierceness of their Zulu and Swazi ancestors, the frontier spirit of their Afrikaner and British progenitors, and the ingenuity of their East Indian relations created a steadfast ability to maintain a separate Coloured identity, while simultaneously embracing elements of the foundation cultures.[124]

The Coloured people of Durban experienced a distinct history, moulded by the state, impacted by relations and interactions with British, Zulu and Indian neighbours, living on the margins and exhibiting agency in the production, articulation and contestation of their own creole identity.

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[122] Jacqueline Knörr, "Contemporary Creoleness; or, the World in Pidginization?" *Current Anthropology* 51, No 6 (December 2010):733.
[123] Robin Cohen and Olivia Sheringham, *Encountering Difference Diasporic Traces, Creolizing Spaces* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), 39-55.
[124] Fileve Palmer, "Through a Coloured Lens: Post-Apartheid Identity Formation Amongst Coloureds in KZN" (PhD thesis, Indiana University, 2015), 6.

The concepts of social constructionism, marginality, and creolization work together to provide a framework for the thesis, offering a critical discussion of how the theories were operationalised within the Coloured community of Durban. In terms of social constructionism, the history that follows details the arrival and melding together of several groups of people who lived, worked, played and worshipped together and developed an identity in response to their social surroundings. This identity was fluid and was formed amongst one another and in response to the dominant groups in the city. Certainly, some of the social constructs they faced was imposed through the policies by authorities (as it was with all other groups) such as with the establishment of Coloured-only schools and churches early in the development of a Coloured community, and later with the legally defined racial categories of apartheid. Nevertheless, some of the cohesiveness of identity was due also to the agency of people as they began their own sports teams and welfare organizations and made continuous decisions to move as a group through Durban society.

This movement through, and negotiation of life in Durban which will be explored, was always as a small marginal group on the edges of larger, more dominant groups in the city space – white, Black and Indian. Within this marginality, Coloured people were able to live fluid, flexible lives and a distinct grouping and culture was created. Marginality offered a space of relative privilege - always worse off than whites, but better off than Africans and Indians, and with the ability to move between groups. Marginality also led to an insular nature, distrusting of others, with an apparent need to protect this privilege. In the segregationist period, Coloured people had some political and economic power with fortunes being tightly intertwined with white benevolence and Indian relations. During apartheid, many of the privileges previously held were stripped away. The strictly policed racial categories made it impossible for Coloured

people to inhabit the liminal racial spaces to which they had grown accustomed. This, of course, was by design, as one of the very cornerstones of apartheid was to bring an end to this type of racial ambiguity. Apartheid also ended the pragmatic alliances that had been forged with those in power and brought about increasingly difficult economic conditions. Their overall position became more vulnerable, made all the more tenuous because of their small size. The marginal situation of the Durban Coloured community facilitated a process of creolization.

The creolization process in Durban was concerned with the cultural mix that occurred over time, embedded in the shared histories, shared spaces and shared struggles that being neither/nor, brought. These histories, spaces and struggles will be examined further throughout this account. The process of creolization was perhaps more apparent in the early days of cultural mixing between 'half-castes', Mauritians, St Helenians and others, but it continued throughout the segregationist era. During apartheid, the process was hastened, as the community found itself isolated, with its flexibility curtailed through brutally enforced segregation. The creolized group emerged in the 1980s with a Coloured identity ascribed to by most members, and with a sense of being a community nonetheless solidified.

Terminology

There are two terms used in this thesis that are contentious and require further explanation, these are community and Coloured.

Community: Governments have used the term community for political means. The apartheid government used community to group people together and justify separate development. It is evoked often by the current government in its attempt to bring local communities into the political process. At the root of the word though, is the idea of unity of people who band together with some common purpose, geographic occupancy or history. Cohen defines

community as: “the arena in which people acquire their most profound and substantial experience of social life outside the confines of the home. Community, therefore, is where one learns and continues to practice how to be social.”[125]

Just as identity is socially constructed, so the idea of belonging to some greater grouping of people is also socially constructed. According to Benedict Anderson, nations are ‘imagined communities’: “…because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”[126] Zulu identity has been discussed in much the same way, as a construct that is malleable and continuously evolving, based on language, cultural practices and historical traditions.[127] Indeed, the same could be said for Indian identity, as one that is not fixed, but fluid and evolving. Citizenship provides the boundaries for belonging to a fixed, bordered nation and, in the case of South Africa, apartheid categories and narratives functioned in much the same way, as a boundary to define communities. The boundaries, particularly for entry and exit to the Coloured group were made ‘thick’ and difficult to penetrate by apartheid laws, although still not fixed.[128] In this thesis, I use the term community to refer to this group of people who have developed a shared sense of identity and commonality (perhaps one of many) by living in shared spaces, sharing a common history and negotiating relationships with others and with the government in a particular way.

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[125] Anthony Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London: Tavistock, 1985), 15.
[126] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. (London: Verso, 1983), 6.
[127] Benedict Carton, John Laband and Jabulani Sithole, *Zulu Identities Being Zulu, Past and Present,* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal Press, 2008).
[128] For a discussion on national culture, integration and boundaries, see Will Kymlicka, “Territorial Boundaries: A Liberal Egalitarian Perspective” In *Boundaries and Justice: Diverse Ethical Perspectives*, ed David Miller and Sohail Hashmi, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Coloured: The terminology to describe Colouredness has evolved over the years by such terms as Half-Caste, Eurafrican, Coloured, Malay, Cape Coloured, Other Coloured, coloured, 'so-called' coloured, to current colloquial terms such as Bruinou or Kullid. The term was used uncritically when foisted on groups of heterogeneous peoples. During the anti-apartheid struggle, the term was rejected by those who refused to identify as Coloured and used 'so-called', as a sign of their discomfort with the arbitrary nature with which the classification was forced on people by colonial and apartheid regimes. Recently, however, there has been a resurgence in the use of the term Coloured. A reclamation of its meaning and acceptance of its social currency, with scholars using either the upper case or lower case 'c' on the word. Adhikari confirms that most members of this group talk today about being Coloured:

> Despite the emergence of a vocal, Coloured rejectionist voice within the non-racial democratic movement of the 1980s, the subsequent period has witnessed a resurgence of Colouredism, with many people who had rejected the identity re-embracing it. Fear of African majority rule, perceptions that Coloureds were being marginalised, a desire to counter pervasive negative stereotyping of Coloured people, and attempts at capitalizing on the newly democratic environment in pursuit of political agendas have all played a role in fuelling Coloured assertiveness in the new South Africa.[129]

The use of the term Coloured does not diminish the culpability of the colonial and apartheid systems in classification and hierarchisation; rather, it opens up the space to examine the historical, social and cultural framework, the agency of people in situating themselves and creating a necessarily elastic, often ambiguous and contradictory way of being. For Adhikari, the use of the term Coloured in the current context: "…is also an indication of the rapid change the identity is experiencing, in the post-apartheid environment, as old sensitivities die down and as

[129] Mohamed Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), 175.

new concerns and agendas impinge in people's consciousness."[130] Indeed, while conducting research in Durban in the mid-2000s on community development, I soon found out that using any term other than Coloured, across the age spectrum, labelled one as an outsider, who was out of touch with ordinary working-class Coloured people who inhabit the name quite unapologetically. There was no hesitation in the use of the word Coloured and irritation at the continued use of "so-called." A young woman from Wentworth, once told me quite forcefully: "… it is for us to be proud of being Coloured. Not so-called coloured, not "coloured" (*gesturing air quotes*) …I am a Coloured!"[131] This assertiveness is also a rejection of the multiple layers of shame that Coloureds have been forced to carry; being nameless is just another level of shame.

The use of the capital letter C is also significant. The capital letter, as you would use in the case of a proper noun, is used to signify political identities. Lori L Tharps of Temple University believes that: "when speaking of a culture, ethnicity or group of people, the name should be capitalised. Black with a capital B refers to people of the African diaspora. Lowercase black is simply a colour."[132] Adhikari quotes journalist Paul Stober who applies a similar logic to the Coloured debate: "… as a distinct Ethnic group with over three million members; we deserve a capital letter."[133] Zimitri Erasmus also chooses to use a capital letter for Coloured to signify "its continued official status as a race category. Simply writing 'coloured' as a descriptive

[130] Ibid, xv.
[131] Vanessa Nichol, "Exploring community benefits in community based learning: A study of an international community based learning initiative in Wentworth, Durban" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 2010), 60.
[132] Lori Tharps, "The Case for Black with a Capital B," in *New York Times Opinion,* 19th November, 2014. https://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/19/opinion/the-case-for-black-with-a-capital-b
[133] Mohamed Adhikari, Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), xv.

term erases its history, its contestation and its official status." [134] The capital C centres the discussion and validates the experiences of the people who identify as Coloured.

With regards to the other racial terms used in this dissertation, I follow common historical usage, noting that at times in quotations from official documents and other sources, other terms may be used. African or Native refers to the Zulu people of Natal; white refers to settlers mainly from Britain, sometimes also referred to as Europeans; Indian refers to the descendants of indentured labourers and 'passenger Indians', who came to Natal from the Indian subcontinent from 1860; Half-Caste, was used to describe the offspring of racially mixed (black and white) unions; and finally, Black refers to the political identification encompassing African, Indian and Coloured, that was popular with the Black Consciousness/anti-apartheid activists of the 1970s and 1980s. Other offensive terms that are found in this thesis, such as bastard, coolie, nigger and kaffir are used when dealing within historical context and when dealing with documents and language of the day. They are all used with recognition and understanding of their painful historical legacies.

Reflections on Research

This research grew out of family stories. Stories told by my father, born 1931, of his home town of Durban. The markets, rickshaws, the 'won't works' of Duchene, swimming in the bay, excitement on the soccer field at Stamford Road and the cast of characters at Melbourne Road and Umbilo High, the non-European section of the University of Natal and the characteristic Durban pastime of the inevitable pondering over the origin of the Bunny Chow. These stories

[134] Zimitri Erasmus, *Race Otherwise: Forging a New Humanism for South Africa*. (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2017), Scribd ebook, Notes, Chapter 1.

grew and took on new life during annual family trips from Rhodesia/Zimbabwe to Durban, even during a civil war when we would travel in convoy from Bulawayo to Beit Bridge under army escort. Once in Durban, the stories continued as we made the rounds to grandparents and what seemed like a never-ending stream of aunts, uncles and cousins. As we congregated and listened to our elders, or as we drove around the streets of apartheid Durban we would be told "that's where this used to be", and "that's where we used to do that." The stories told a rich and varied history of a city and a community that was much loved. As I grew older and began to search for different accounts of this history, I found that it was not well-documented in formal accounts of the city, save for a few lines here and there. The underlying methodology of this dissertation, therefore, was to seek the wisdom of the elders of the community once again by collecting life histories, to honour their shared memory and to help rebuild the history of the Coloured people of Durban.

Life History Interviews

> We are born and have our being in a place of memory. We chart our lives by everything we remember from the mundane moment to the majestic. We know ourselves through the art and act of remembering. Memories offer us a world where there is no death, where we are sustained by rituals of regard and recollection.[135]

Memory is precious. The memories shared by the participants in this study and the research they inspired were meant to recover and restore a history. Over a year, I collected 60 life history interviews with elder members of the community, each providing their family histories and rich detail about their personal experiences living, working, playing and worshipping in

[135] bell hooks, *Belonging: A Culture of Place* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 5.

Durban. The life histories were significant in developing a textured understanding of life and constructions of identity at different periods in Durban's history.

As Sharad Chari points out,

> While life histories cannot provide a general history of a time and place, even if such a thing were defensible, they provide a differentiated map of ways in which people who live through certain events connect their intimate sensibilities with a sense of their ability and inability to participate in broader social transformations. Finally, importantly, life histories tell us about popular theory and lived historiography, particularly in altered passages, un-cited quotations, seemingly intuitive wisdom and creative reinterpretations of classic texts.[136]

The sample for this study was chosen from the wider Coloured population of Durban with preference given to the 'elders' of the community. Age was an important factor as I attempted to capture the life histories of older members of the community who could remember and relate experiences and events over a more extended period. A slight deviation to this plan was seeking out the perspectives of younger participants with a firm grasp of more recent events. The oldest person at the time of the interview was in her early nineties and the youngest in his late fifties. Beyond age, I tried to make sure to represent the varied origins reflected in the community and included people who claimed St Helenian, Mauritian, British/Zulu, Griqua and Malay backgrounds. Gender was another important dynamic, and I tried to make sure I had a balance of male and female subjects. I was unfortunately not able to interview any visible members of the LGBTQ community, and this perspective is thus missing from this account. In seeking different religious perspectives and backgrounds, I talked to people who followed the major faiths practised in the Coloured community, Catholics, Anglicans, Muslims, New Apostolics and Pentecostals. Finally, care was taken to find interviewees who could speak to

[136] Sharad Chari, "Life Histories of Race and Space in the Making of Wentworth and Merebank, South Durban." *African Studies* 65, No 1 (July 2006): 112.

place and share details of their lives in specific Coloured locations both pre- and post-group areas and, within those spaces, give insight on specific locations that held importance for their lives. Places hold special significance for individuals and can also hold generations of community memory.[137] I did not purposely seek out a class or educational background but was still able to capture a range of consciousness and experience of ordinary people.

I began the research process by interviewing a few important family members and family friends first. Word spread about my research and interviews snowballed. As the research progressed, I was able to seek out community elders who represented particular perspectives or who were in some way custodians of a particular facet of community history. The process of conducting the life history interviews was unstructured and very personal to each situation. I had a general question guide, but I felt it necessary to let people tell their stories, as they wanted. I came to embrace the meandering way people told stories, taking detours along the way, as the deviations often revealed something new and important. When the interview slowed down, I used guiding questions to get the conversation restarted. Interviewees were encouraged to share family photographs and documents to capture what was important to them as individuals and families. The photographs and other memorabilia were often important to jog memories of not only what was in view, but additional stories of the people or places depicted or involved. Photographs were usually of groups, especially sports teams, taken at a studio as families did not usually own cameras. Personal archives were sparse and scattered in the diaspora. A surprisingly large number of people had not kept mementoes, often because they did not think that what they had was interesting or important. Sadly, even family members

[137] Edward Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," in *Public Memory*, ed. Kendall Phillips (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 17-44.

of prominent people who had been connected to politics or sports did not think their documents were worth keeping or could not remember which family member overseas might have some nugget of information. People did tend to keep smaller, more personal mementoes from their childhoods, such as sports certificates, and birth certificates from deceased family members, in a more deliberate way.

The interviews proved to be significant social encounters for the interviewees. Not only were the elders appreciative of the interest and an eager ear for their stories, but the interviews proved to be a forum for family members to join the conversation. In one instance, a family of two brothers, a sister and their three spouses invited me for tea to talk about their family history and lives. In another, an interviewee stopped mid-conversation to take me 'down the road' to meet her friend because they had just been talking about the 'good old days' and she wanted me to include this friend in the study. These group or family interviews were important, allowing community members to exchange thoughts and opinions about a shared past.

During the interviews, interviewees were encouraged to share stories about their origins and ancestors. Life histories can provide an essential expression of familial and communal memory. Discussing family histories with interviewees was a way to access more in-depth ancestral history that was not written but transmitted orally. These histories are part of a collective history that has been 'unremembered', buried in the shadows of shame in need of a project that Pumla Gqola calls 'rememorying'.[138] The life histories in this study deliver an

[138] Unremembering is the term that Pumla Gqola uses for describing: "a calculating act of exclusion and erasure" and rememorying" is a concept that she borrows from author Toni Morrison, to describe: "a filling in, recasting, relooking, reformulating (both of memory and history) outside historiography." See Pumla Gqola, *What is Slavery to Me? Postcolonial/Slave Memory in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2010), 8.

account of people's engagement with their own histories and multiple identities. They also give access to a deeper imagination of ancestral history to provide a more complete picture of Durban as a space for shaping a particular Coloured identity and community.

Daniel Schacter argues that memory is how we: "convert the fragmentary remains of experience into autobiographical narratives that endure over time and constitute the stories of our lives."[139] However, life history as a methodology, has been challenged as an unreliable knowledge form. One issue is the notion of bias in the interviewee's perspective. Bias is part of every form of communication, it is in the archives, in books and articles, and it is most certainly a part of life histories. Bias is also part of how I, as the researcher, analyse the stories told to me. Another issue often noted about life histories is that time distorts memories and, while some events might not be remembered years later, others may have occurred differently than remembered. Similarly, people might cling to only the romantic notions and not remember or want to present the negative. As Riessman notes: "we revise and edit the remembered past to square with our identities in the present."[140] Life stories are dynamic and the past, present and future can become intertwined in memory easily. Michel-Rolph Trouillot tells us:

> …facts about the past are never meaningless, the reasons why we remember some things and forget others. [Facts] become facts only because they matter in some sense [to someone] … facts are not created equal: the production of traces is always also the creation of silences.[141]

You cannot remove bias and romanticisation when working with life histories and perhaps that should not be the objective. In this dissertation, I have tried to acknowledge and decipher these

[139] Daniel Schacter, *Searching for Memory: The Brain, the Mind and the Past* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 71.
[140] Catherine Riessman, *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences* (Thousand Oaks CA: SAGE Publications, 2008), 8.
[141] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 29.

issues, by either writing about the bias or verifying the actual course of events by triangulation with other interviews and the literature. As Portelli states, these types of inconsistencies can be instructive in the position of the person being interviewed as they: "allow us to recognise the interests of the tellers, and the dreams and desires beneath them."[142]

Archival Materials

The lack of data on Durban Coloureds in the literature was echoed in the archives, this was true in the official collections of Natal and Durban, across Durban newspapers and in the personal records of community members. The Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository was helpful in accessing relevant background data on Natal found in the reports and correspondence of colonial officials. Very few records dealt directly with what we now understand as Coloured people or the constituent groups of the time. One obstacle was that, from the early days of the colony, the term Coloured was often used as a blanket term to describe all people who were not white. Thus, an archival entry might refer to the 'coloured races', making it difficult to discern exactly who was being discussed. Entries that used terms such as half-caste, half-coloured, St Helenian, Mauritian or Griqua were sparse but much clearer to apportion. The different designations and light treatment of these groups reflected the ambivalence shown to Coloureds in the colony and city and illustrated that authorities did not see them as a coherent group. Once they *were* considered as a group and referred to as such, their numbers were still small, and they posed no threat, either politically or economically, to those in power to take up much space in official records. The Pietermaritzburg archive did provide some information on issues such as immigration to the colony, education, housing and employment. The volumes on

[142] Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (New York: State University of New York Press: 1991), 2.

parliamentary debates of the Natal Colony were also useful, particularly in highlighting a paternalistic attitude to the group (particularly the products of miscegenation) in general. As Laura Ann Stoler advises, the colonial archives:

> …are not simply accounts of actions or records of what people thought happened. They are records of uncertainty and doubt in how people imagined they could and might make the rubrics of rule correspond to a changing imperial world. Not least they record anxious efforts to "catch up" with what was emergent and "becoming" in new colonial situations.[143]

The Killie Campbell Library was an essential repository for this research, smaller to find the way around and with incredibly helpful staff. Crucial documents found in this archive were Dominic Dunn's unpublished memoir and reports of various proceedings, including the 1906 Native Affairs Commission, the Commission on the 1949 Durban riots and the First National Coloured European Conference in 1933. The library also contained various books on research papers pertaining to the Coloured population in the Cape, documents collected by Lawrence Wood, United Party MP for Durban Berea and 'friend' to the Durban Coloured community, pamphlets from local schools and children's homes and research output from the Institute for Social and Economic Research at the University of Durban-Westville. The strength of the archive was undoubtedly its staff that searched for anything, and everything they thought could be helpful for the research, which included a cross-section of national, colonial/provincial and city information.

The Durban Archive Repository had critical documents from the Durban Corporation, particularly when looking at large projects in service provision to the community such as housing, sports grounds and schools. This type of document, such as those from the Town

[143] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 4.

Clerk, tended to be very procedural, dealing in dimensions and costs with no discussion of the people involved, or how authorities felt about them. By the rise of apartheid, Coloureds in the city were dealt with more plainly – as a defined category, living in their designated areas. Even in these defined roles, however, records were quite dry, for example, of the Durban Coloured Local Affairs. As with the Pietermaritzburg Archives, the Durban repository was like looking for a needle in a haystack. In all ventures into the official archives, it was essential to heed, as Laura Stoler cautioned, the: "…unexplored fault lines, ragged edges and unremarked disruptions to the seamless and smooth surface of colonialism's archival genres."[144] Official archives are often seen as repositories of truth, but they are imperfect, telling limited stories and preserving select histories. It was necessary to read into and around the documents in the archive to make sense of the data and to find the stories of Coloured Durban.

The National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA) Durban branch had a couple of dusty boxes that contained copies of the *Organiser*, the official newsletter of the Natal Coloured Teachers' Society (NCTS) and minutes of meetings. These were an invaluable window into the inner workings of the teaching fraternity in Natal, as well as their influence on the community. Unfortunately, the NCTS documents were incomplete, with publications and minutes from many years missing.

Newspaper archives presented a different problem. There were no Coloured newspapers or sections of newspapers dedicated to Coloured issues; there were not even Coloured reporters. The research, therefore, had to rely on how other people reported on Coloured people and communities, and how newspapers chose to exclude them from a

[144] Ibid, 52.

discussion of city happenings. The leading publications read within the community were *The Natal Daily News* (later *Daily News*), *The Natal Mercury* (later *The Mercury*), *The Sunday Tribune*, and *The Post*. Research in the period before apartheid revealed a few letters to the editor and passing references in articles. During the apartheid years, once the community was defined and fixed in the imagination of the city, regular, but mostly negative, stories appeared in newspapers, particularly about such matters as crime, poverty and the housing crisis of the 1970s. These articles justified the group areas keeping these crime-infested gangsters separate from the rest of civilised Durban.

Despite the shortage and shortcomings of archival information, it was still essential to consult the archives to offer context for the conditions that existed in the city and to discern the treatment received by Coloured people in official reports and proceedings. Archival data also allowed for a triangulation of the words of the interviewees to achieve a more accurate picture of life in Durban at the time.

Positionality

It is important to acknowledge my role in the research as both an insider and an outsider and to reflect on how my position affected the investigation.[145] While I do identify as Coloured and Black, I am not from Durban. My father was born in Newcastle in the Natal Midlands from a Zulu/Scottish mix and moved to Duchene in Durban as a young boy. He spoke only isiZulu for the first years of his life, was given both Zulu and English names, and taught that he should know and honour his both his Grandmother's Zulu and his Grandfather's Scottish sides. My

[145] Signe Bruskin, "Insider or Outsider? Exploring the Fluidity of the Roles Through Social Identity Theory," *Journal of Organizational Ethnography* 8, No 2 (July 2019): 159-170.

mother was born in Durban and raised in Sydenham in a relatively privileged St Helena family.[146] My parents left South Africa in the early 1960s initially planning to move to newly independent Ghana, but settling instead in what was then Rhodesia. I grew up in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, and my notions of being Coloured are borne of my experiences in the Rhodesian/Zimbabwean context. These included a war of liberation, living in the segregated Coloured group area of Barham Green, attending St Anthony's Coloured Catholic Church, but being one of the 'lucky ones' to attend a multiracial Catholic school at the Dominican Convent in the city centre. I came of age politically in the teargas-infused, anti-Mugabe student struggles of the early 1990s at the University of Zimbabwe. My parents insisted that we spend each December holiday in Durban, visiting a large extended family. The annual reminiscing provided a unique window on being a Durbanite, as we rotated between family in Sydenham, Greenwood Park and Newland East. I lived in the US for some time where Coloured was an old, derogatory term for African American people, so when curious acquaintances in the Midwest and California asked me what I 'was' I could not answer Coloured unless, as a newly arrived immigrant, I wanted to engage in an uncomfortable discussion of race and history. I began to shift my notions of being African and, for ease of explanation of my identity, to 'mixed'. The academic field of mixed race studies was an emerging field in the 1990s, and I found therein a connection to the exploration of multiracial and multicultural experiences. I moved to Durban in 2003 and lived there for eight years. It was while living on the North Coast, working in Cato Manor, visiting family and friends across the city and re-inhabiting a Coloured world, that the idea for this research was borne.

[146] Recent genetic testing show considerable South Asian ancestry in both of my parents, which gives personal credence to the relationships that developed between Coloured and Indian peoples in Durban.

I lived in Greenwood Park while conducting the interviews. Every single interview, or preliminary telephone call to set up the interview, contained some conversation about who I was, and who my people were. People wanted to place me, to know if they could trust me. My grandfather's name invariably came up. Edward George Rooks had been a prominent sports administrator, community welfare activist in the community and lay preacher in the Anglican Church and, not by choice, a politician. Although he is long since deceased, his name was instantly recognised by the older generations of the Durban Coloured community. It would often lead to interviewees telling me whether they agreed or disagreed with his politics and long conversations about their ideology. It was an entry point and one for which I am grateful. I was afforded insider status, and there was no question about whether I belonged because I had the family credentials. I could make connections about people we knew in common and, as is often the case with Coloured people, common relatives. This insider status made people feel comfortable telling me their stories because they understood that this was my history too. Nevertheless, I was an outsider to this community who missed social cues and spoke differently. My Zimbabwean background and American insights gave me the perspective to probe for clarity, ask for more in-depth explanations and ultimately take a higher altitude in my analysis of the life history interviews.

Outline of Chapters

This study provides a historiography of the Coloured people of Durban told through three time periods:

Chapter 2 presents the first period and background to the research, and traces the migration of various groups of marginal people to Colonial and early Durban, and explores how they blended

together to form a fluid community in Durban before 1930. The chapter gives an account of how the people who were the products of miscegenation in the early days of the Natal Colony interacted with immigrants from St Helena, Mauritius and the Cape in the late 19th century; and the process of how these people came to live together, forming separate yet interconnected Coloured lives. The chapter offers a social and political history of the period, looking at the role of the Colonial authorities and local government (Durban Corporation) in shaping the lives of this group of people, determining where they were allowed to live, go to school and work, and the experiences of people in the spaces of education, religion, political association and sport.

Chapters 3 and 4 deal with the Segregation period, 1930 to 1950, beginning in 1930 as the city boundaries were expanded to include spaces and peoples on the periphery and ending in 1950, after the city is shaken by the Durban race riots, a pivotal point in race relations in Durban.

Chapter 3 sets out the structural position of Coloureds in a context of emerging segregation and examines the strategies of the authorities to organize and define the city formally along racial lines and the ways in which Coloured people responded to these policies. The chapter follows issues of politics, education, economy and labour in the Coloured community. **Chapter 4** explores daily life in the Coloured enclaves of the city during the segregationist era. The character of the various precincts and the daily life carried out within their spaces are examined. Issues such as sports, leisure, religion and social issues uncover areas where a more organic identity was produced within this group.

Chapters 5, 6 and **7** explore the apartheid period beginning with the advent of the formal system of apartheid and ends in 1980 on the eve of a new climate of repression and activism in South Africa and in the Durban Coloured community. **Chapter 5** analyses how the community

was affected by and responded to Nationalist policies of Population Registration that boxed the people into a defined race group, Separate Representation that disenfranchised Coloured voters, and Group Areas moved them into the Coloured-only areas of Wentworth-Austerville, Sydenham-Sparks Estate and Greenwood Park. Other issues examined in this chapter are those governed by official policy, such as political organisation, and the economic organizing through trade unions. **Chapter 6** discusses the changes in the education system and the teaching fraternity, and examines the student activism that developed during this period. **Chapter 7** examines the everyday lives of Coloureds in the apartheid years, which saw numerous social, sporting and religious activities and formations that forged new bonds within Group Areas. By the early 1980s, the various threads making up the Durban Coloured community had been consolidated into a more cohesive community, with enough shared history that members no longer identified by their parts, as Mauritians or St Helenians for example, but rather as Coloured.

Finally, the **Conclusion** of the thesis contains a review of the complexities of the history of the community throughout the eras presented, the implications for the creation of a creolised identity and notes areas for future research.

CHAPTER 2

MIGRATIONS AND FORMATIONS – 1820s to 1920s

This chapter examines the beginning migrations and formations of the community that would become known as Coloured, in the Colonial period and early history of the city. The chapter traces how people from various places of origin with different histories, cultures and perspectives came together in the city of Durban and coalesced to form a fledgeling and fluid community. These people had different origins, miscegenation between white settlers and African women, immigration from St Helena and Mauritius and, in smaller numbers, migration from the Cape. As these groups settled in the city, it was common for them to congregate in 'brown' areas of Durban, living alongside Indian families, sharing lives and cultures. In the early city, they cleaved together, defined within a racialised context by their 'mixedness' and their cultural distance from the others in the city - African, Indian and white. To the Natal Colony and Durban authorities, these groups of people were first identified by their different origins, then included in an all-embracing group of coloured 'races' and, by the beginning of the 1900s, they were increasingly referred to as a distinct group known as Coloured. The marginality of the Coloured group – not being included in matters concerning Indians, Africans and whites, would become a defining factor in the making the community. The authorities were instrumental in shaping the lives of these Coloured people, based on this marginality - determining how they lived within the city, where they were allowed to live, go to school and work. Within these structures, the different groups blended in a process of creolization to form a fragmented and fluid but loosely integrated community.

Origins of Coloured People in Natal

'Half-castes'

In 1824, a small group of British traders led by Henry Francis Fynn arrived on the ship Julia, in a natural bay that had been spotted on a previous expedition up the east coast. They established a British settlement, which they named Port Natal, to take advantage of the harbour as part of a trade route and to establish trade networks between the Cape Colony and the interior.[1] The area, of course, was not theirs to conquer; it was part of the Zulu kingdom, although the immediate inhabitants were the amaTuli:

> …they managed to establish contact with the reluctant Mahamba (alias Matubane, alias Fica), regent of the emaTulini (later amaTuli) tribe of approximately 60 members who were inhabiting the vastness of isiBubulungu (nowadays known as the Bluff). These people were the destitute vassals of Shaka, King of the Zulu, eking out a precarious living on the Bluff. During this revolutionary time, Shaka exercised active hegemony over the whole of Natal. The amaTuli then were the first inhabitants living in the area now known as Durban.[2]

Other clans such as the amaCele, amaMbili, amaKomo and amaKwela are also mentioned as early inhabitants of the area around the time of the 1824 encounters.[3] In addition to making contact with the local clans, the new settlers made it their priority to seek out and forge a relationship with Shaka for permission to establish the settlement at Port Natal. Shaka, in turn, was also keen to make contact with the white men. He was eager to establish trade relations

[1] The settlement at Port Natal was named Durban by these early settlers to gain the support of Sir Benjamin D'Urban the governor of the Cape and representative of the British government. The name Durban stuck and, after Natal was annexed by the British in 1843, the town became a borough in 1856 under the official name of Durban.
[2] Anthony Cubbin, "Origins of Durban," *Contree* 23, (March 1988): 19.
[3] Colin de B Webb and John B Wright, *James Stuart Archive, Vol 3, of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1982), 33. For more on Zulu history around his time, see also, AT Bryant, *History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes* (Cape Town: Struik, 1964); Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Cape Town, 1998).

with them, and he saw their presence as a means to expand his Kingdom further into the Cape Colony.[4]

Shelagh O'Bryne Spencer, a genealogist working on Natal settler family history has traced the beginnings of several of Natal's Coloured families to the hunters and traders who brought their Khoi servants with them from the Cape or were 'given' local Zulu women as concubines or wives in the early days of the Natal Colony.[5] Indeed, Henry Francis Fynn and a number of the early traders and settlers were granted land for trading by the Zulu eNkosi and, in careful negotiations of politics and power, they were given Zulu wives. According to Shirron Bramdeow, Shaka gave Henry Francis Fynn nine wives - he took six for himself and gave the remaining three to his brother Frank:

> Wholo (Ogle) and Mbuyazi (Fynn) are the two who had the largest number of wives. The sexual intercourse with these wives took place on the Zulu plan; that is any woman required would be specially sent for. She would at nightfall, come to the man's house. The man would not go about to each woman's hut from time to time, carrying his blanket with him, as less important men are in the habit of doing.[6]

The Fynn brothers had many children from these unions and, while they did not live with them, Bramdeow asserts that they would visit and provide for them: "Although Fynn did not exert a paternal influence over his coloured children; he seemed concerned about their welfare."[7] Henry Francis Fynn discarded his African wives in favour of a white wife and respectable British life in the 1850s and, when he died, his wives and children were placed in the care of his

[4] Elizabeth A Eldredge, *The Creation of the Zulu Kingdom: War, Shaka, and the Consolidation of Power, 1815–1828* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 19.
[5] Shelagh O'Bryne Spencer, "Address to UKZN Graduands," *Natalia* 40 (2010): 121-145.
[6] Colin de B Webb and John B Wright, *James Stuart Archive, Vol 1, of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1976), 111.
[7] Shirron Bramdeow, "Henry Francis Fynn and the Fynn Community in Natal 1824-1988" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1988), 103.

isinduna. Vundhlase (the principal and very powerful wife of Francis Fynn and first Nguni matriarchal chief) raised Henry Fynn's 20 children with her own.[8] The Fynn children also held on to the chieftainships bestowed on their white fathers by Shaka. Duka Fynn, son of Henry Francis Fynn, became the iNkosi of the iziNkumbini and Msimbini clans. Francis Fynn was succeeded by his wife Vundlhase, who was succeeded by their sons Thomas Fynn and Charles Fynn.

Several well-known Durban Coloured clans such as the Fynns, Kings, Ogles, Nunns and Dunns can all trace their roots back to such negotiations and unions. In her autobiography, Agnes Lottering tells the story of her ancestor James Rorke who was hired by iNkosi Myeza of the Ubombo to rescue his son who had been captured in Swaziland. Rorke was successful and, as payment, Myeza offered him his daughter as a wife. Lottering says that Rorke could not refuse the iNkosi as to do so would have been considered disrespectful.[9] John Dunn (Jondani), another of these famous settler patriarchs, was made a chief by Cetshwayo and over several years solidified his position as chief with 49 Zulu wives with whom he had 117 recorded children. Dunn was skilled at moving between Zulu and British worlds. He earned the ire of the local missionaries who criticised him for deviating from a European lifestyle and living in the manner of the Zulus with his African wives and 'bastard' children. All the while, he was able to mix comfortably with the merchant elite of Durban.[10] This liminality of living in two worlds was passed on to the children of the settlers. On the one hand, they were: "propelled by social circumstances and white racism towards an African lifestyle, and they were partial towards African laws and values and even married African or 'coloured' women."[11] While, on the other

[8] Ibid, 100.
[9] Agnes Lottering, *Winnifred and Agnes: The True Story of Two Women* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2002), 8-10.
[10] Charles Ballard, *John Dunn: The White Chief of Zululand* (Craighall: A.D. Donker, 1985), 158.
[11] Shirron Bramdeow, *Henry Francis Fynn and the Fynn Community in Natal 1824-1988* (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1988), 129.

hand, many were afforded privileges that came with being white and having some financial support from their fathers. For example, when Natal became a separate colony in 1856, the franchise was granted to:

> "Every man except as hereinafter excepted above the age of twenty-one years who possesses any immovable property of the value of 50 pounds, or who rents any such property of the yearly value of 10 pounds, within any electoral district, and who is duly registered in manner hereinafter mentioned, shall be entitled to vote at the election of a member for such a district."[12]

The descendants of the first settlers who had some form of support and inheritance from their fathers had the means and were therefore entitled to vote.[13]

The authorities clearly saw these children of settler fathers and African mothers as something other than African. Debates in the Natal Parliament in the early 1900s reveal a people caught between two worlds:

> We have a very respectable set of people, a lot of half-castes, in Alfred, the descendants of the old pioneers of this Colony, and it would be a hardship to throw them back to Native Law. These families, the Fynns, and the Ogles, and the Joyces - anybody going to their houses could hardly tell the difference between them and the houses of Europeans. They are making every endeavour to educate their children, and to bring them up in the same manner as Europeans.[14]

These official discussions further revealed a paternalistic attitude of colonial officials to these offspring. They struggled to find a middle ground between encouraging illegitimate children and general "misconduct of character," and taking a position not to blame the children who

[12] Stanley Trapido, "Natal's non-racial Franchise, 1856", African Studies No 22 (1963), 29.
[13] Shirron Bramdeow, "Henry Francis Fynn and the Fynn Community in Natal 1824-1988" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1988), 129.
[14] Natal Colony, Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Natal: Fifth Session-Second Parliament, from May 17 to August 7, 1901, Vol XXX (Pietermaritzburg: WM Watson, 1901), 726-728.

generally led quiet, orderly lives, for the 'sins' of their parents.[15] These same people went before the Native Affairs Commission in 1906 as representatives of half-castes, describing lives that were separate from their African counterparts, but also separate from white settlers.[16]

Descendants of both Dunn and Fynn reference being treated differently by the African communities around them. This could be explained partially by the settler fathers creating a third reality and way of life for their mixed children. Ballard explains an acute awareness of difference developed:

> Dunn encountered situations related to social and racial matters that were non-existent in the average Zulu household. Dunn's deep involvement in the political economy of Natal and Zululand made it impossible for him to avoid European visitors. Government officials, British army officers, members of the British aristocracy and a host of sportsmen paid frequent visits to Dunn's various residences. Neither Dunn's wives nor his children were permitted to mix socially with the Europeans. Furthermore, Dunn's coloured children were discouraged from entering into anything more than superficial relationships with Africans.[17]

Ballard elaborates that the difference developed into tensions between Dunn's Coloured descendants and the Africans in his district over: "racial and class issues."[18] Dominic Dunn recounts his experiences of this social separation:

> In our home at Emoyeni, when I think back, there was a kind of segregation practised. But it did not have that name. My father kept to his whiteness in social matters, and his friends whom he entertained were usually white people of high position - we, the children, as coloureds, lived separately from the natives. There were no other white people nearby in those days for us to know whether we might have mixed socially with

[15] Natal Colony, Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Natal: Fifth Session-Second Parliament, from May 17 to August 7, 1901, Vol XXX (Pietermaritzburg: WM Watson, 1901), 507.
[16] Natal Colony, *Native Affairs Commission, 1906-1907, Evidence* (Pietermaritzburg: P Davis and Sons, 1907). At the turn of the 20th century the term coloured was not in use in Natal. People who would later be grouped together as coloured were identified by their origins as St Helenians, Mauritians, half-castes, Griquas and Cape Coloureds.
[17] Charles Ballard, "The Transfrontiersman: The Career of John Dunn in Natal and Zululand 1834-1895" (PhD thesis, University of Natal, 1980), 337-338.
[18] Ibid, 337.

> them. But, without any instruction, we knew that they were birds of another feather to us, and as there were social gulfs between us and the natives, so there was one between white people and ourselves.[19]

Dunn ensured that his children received a sound education to safeguard their westernisation and mobility. The children were first sent to the Anglican mission school at St Andrew's, and later Dunn had a school built for them, first at Mangete and then another at Emoyeni. They were taught by a series of European teachers and governesses. Dominic Dunn explains, "Maybe [my father] thought that by having his children baptised and belatedly encouraging education among them they would be able to maintain themselves at a higher level than the Zulu tribes folk all about them."[20]

In terms of livelihood, the offspring of Europeans and Africans living in various parts of Zululand and the Midlands mainly lived off the land. Those of limited means were subsistence farmers or worked for white farmers and those with property and access to finances farmed on a larger scale. According to Bramdeow:

> The Fynns took up independent occupations as farmers and transport riders. The Fynns in Umzimkulwana, Alfred County, were mainly independent peasant farmers. They kept livestock, poultry and grew a small quantity of pumpkins, madumbis, coffee and tobacco in addition to the chief crops of maize, sorghum and sweet potatoes.[21]

The Dunns in northern Zululand also owned land and were involved in farming. Once sugarcane was introduced to the Natal Colony, they turned to sugar production on their tracts of land and others had small business to support their community and the farming industry of the region.

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[19] Dominic Dunn, *"This is my Country. The Memoirs of a Coloured South African,"* KCM 98/54 Killie Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 1955.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Shirron Bramdeow, "Henry Francis Fynn and the Fynn Community in Natal 1824-1988" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1988), 110.

Robert Morrell, in his work on settler masculinity in the Natal Midlands, describes a colonial outpost mentality where there was an expectation that lonely settler men would become involved in sexual relations with African women.[22] However, while unions between white men and African women were the norm, they were overwhelmingly condemned by a Victorian attitude that found this mixing appalling, and a Colonial class that called for these types of moral indulgences to be stamped out. According to Morrell:

> European prestige and the purity of the Midland community was in jeopardy. Settlers and energetic clergymen set out to eradicate depravity. They proposed to illegalise inter-racial marriages and sexual intercourse, disenfranchise men guilty of such action and categorise the progeny of mixed marriages as 'black' (and therefore subject to customary African law).[23]

While debates in the Natal Parliament describe the number of half-caste children being born in the colony as unacceptable, although blame was not to be levied on the children:

> Considerable number of illegitimate children born in Natal. Public revenues to assist these half-coloured children would encourage – half-caste children, I am sorry to say. Now this thing is growing. Misconduct of character. Destitute should only apply to pure European children. However the decision is made not to blame the children for the sins of their parents.[24]

The Native Affairs Commission heard evidence in 1906 and 1907, which followed the passing of Act No1 of 1906, which classified half-castes as native:

> Native means and includes all members of the aboriginal races or tribes of Africa whether exempted or not from the operation of Native Law, and Griquas and Hottentots, and any person whose parents or either of them

[22] Robert Morrell, "From Boys to Gentlemen: Settler Masculinity in Colonial Natal, 1880-1920" (Pretoria: UNISA, 2001), 259-263.
[23] Ibid, 261.
[24] Natal Colony, Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Natal: Fifth Session-Second Parliament, from May 17 to August 7, 1901, Vol XXX (Pietermaritzburg: WM Watson, 1901), 507.

> come under the description of Natives, Griquas or Hottentots and the descendants of any such person.[25]

The law registered a grave concern with mixed unions and concubines as "very undesirable", and which "degraded and humiliated the white race in the eyes of the natives." [26] As for the children of these unions, the procedures of the Commission points to an ambivalent view of Coloureds, referred to throughout the proceedings as 'half-castes'. Sir Charles Saunders, Commissioner for Native Affairs in Zululand argued:

> …did not think that half-castes ought to be under native law, because they were, as a rule, people who tried to advance themselves…Quite a number of these men in Zululand were fully entitled to all the benefits of the European. They were a most respectable class of citizen. They leaned more to the European habits of living, and their aspirations were in the direction of Europeans.[27]

Mr Hayes, on the other hand, a farmer who was in contact with Africans for over 25 years, said that white men having illicit intercourse with African women should be punished and the offspring of such unions should be regarded as native.[28] The Commission's documents further indicate displeasure at this new class of people being formed in Zululand as something that could be a threat to the State. A threat not only to the purity of whiteness but also to the political dominance of the white minority. Cannon Pennington was fearful of the increase in numbers of half-castes in Natal and believed them to be: "… a great danger eventually, as they would have so much sympathy with the native, and hatred of the European."[29] In social terms, the threat was to the supposed purity of whiteness that these mixed offspring represented.

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[25] Shirron Bramdeow, "Henry Francis Fynn and the Fynn Community in Natal 1824-1988" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1988), 122.
[26] Natal Colony, *Native Affairs Commission, 1906-1907, Evidence* (Pietermaritzburg: P Davis and Sons), 46, 56.
[27] Ibid, 123. Considerations of privilege at the time were gendered; half-caste men are noted as being entitled to the benefits of being European, but no mention is made of women, who presumably would just follow their husbands.
[28] Ibid, 198.
[29] Ibid, 542.

This fear would underpin the establishment and nurturing of a group by colonial officials and missionaries, separate from their Zulu mothers, but never gaining entry to the world of their white fathers.

For their part, these half-castes were allowed to make submissions to the commission.[30] The group was represented in two separate meetings, the first was held at Inzingolweni where they were represented by Duka, Tom, Jim, William, John Henry and Bob Fynn, Charlie and Smith Adams, Isaac Clothier, Richard Hulley and eight others.[31] The second meeting, held at Umzinto, was attended by Samuel, John and Lewis Ogle, Harry, William, James and Thomas Fynn, James and William Goldstone, Lewis Reynolds, Henry Redman and Edward Landers. Several topics dominated the discussion, the most important being the general status of the group, a desire to be acknowledged as children of the first European pioneers and a general resentment at being treated as 'Natives':

> Tom Fynn asked how it came about that a father could bear a child and that it should be afterward thrust back into the status of its mother, where such was inferior to that of her husband? How was it that they should be thrust back on natives of the country? Their children, he added, should undoubtedly take the status of their father.[32]

The group also pointed out that they were stuck in limbo, where they were treated as European by 'Natives' and treated as 'Natives' by Europeans:

> They had always been looked upon as European by the natives. In various rebellions and disturbances they had always given their services to the Government, and thereby proved their loyalty. They asked the Government to consider what would be the result of pushing them back and forcing them to throw their lot in with the natives. It should be remembered that they had half of their father's blood in them and they

[30] Natal Colony, *Native Affairs Commission, 1906-1907, Half Castes* (Pietermaritzburg: P Davis and Sons, 1907), 985-989.
[31] Ibid, 985.
[32] Ibid, 985.

> felt injustice as keenly as any other European...Where a European lived with a native woman as his wife and brought up his children in European style, these children should have European rights and privileges.[33]

The various submissions to the Native Affairs Commission were an important articulation of self-definition by the group themselves. They saw themselves firmly as something other than African and were seeking acceptance and equal rights from Europeans.

Robert Morrell gives an account of the half-caste communities that grew in the Natal Midlands, the offspring of Zulu women and less important white men who came after the explorers. Bonfire Johnston was a child born to Otto Scott Mackenzie who died unmarried at the age of 39 in Richmond, Natal of the influenza epidemic in 1918. Mackenzie's will mentioned an illegitimate child (Bonfire) and made provision to leave him: "20 (twenty) black oxen together with waggon and gear complete." [34] Bonfire's mother, Nokulunga KaMbudula, known to Otto as Maisie, was first left the remaining oxen and waggon for Otto. However, he changed his mind while writing the will and left the remainder of his property to his brothers. With the will somewhat messy and unclear, the Master of the Supreme Court suggested that Bonfire be given maintenance and education costs. The Mackenzie brothers discredited Nokulunga to prevent this from happening:

> …the child is a male, and not a female, and as he is under the control of his mother, who is a native, and who would squander any money, which might be allowed to her for the child's maintenance and education, I do not propose to recognise his claim to any share in the estate, unless I am compelled to.[35]

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[33] Ibid, 989.
[34] Robert Morrell, *From Boys to Gentlemen: Settler Masculinity in Colonial Natal, 1880-1920* (Pretoria: UNISA, 2001), 262.
[35] Ibid, 263.

They further noted that Nokulunga had been lawfully married to another man (Sikundla) and, although divorced in 1916, they argued that the existence of the marriage removed any obligation to support Bonfire. Bonfire Johnston was effectively disinherited and left with nothing, a casualty of the disdain and hardening of position against first-generation Coloured children by the state and the settler community in Natal, in defence of whiteness. As the generational distance from the white parent grew and attitudes to race-mixing hardened, it appears that subsequent generations had a more straightforward position in a middle ground where being neither black nor white was expected.

African women had little no say or agency in these unions; their bodies were used as pawns to further trade, for pleasure and even to accumulate possessions from lobola paid for children or access to free farm labour.[36] The narratives of the period are written by white male settlers, colonial officials and missionaries. African people in general, but African women in particular, are silenced in these accounts. There are a few exceptions to this silencing that are worth noting: Rachel, the Khoekhoe servant in Francis Farewell's group, also the common-law wife of Farewell's carpenter, John Cane, who is mentioned in various settler accounts as someone who would be left in charge of the early settlement at Port Natal; and, Vundhlase principal wife of Frank Fynn.[37] Due to her position, much more is known of Vundhlase who became chief of the Izimkumbi after Frank Fynn's death. As chief, Vundhlase was appointed guardian of all the Fynn children (including Henry's 'neglected' children) by Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs. She held the chieftainship from 1838 to 1865, when she

[36] Ibid, 261.
[37] Shelagh O'Bryne Spencer, "Address to UKZN Graduands," *Natalia* 40 (2010): 123; Shirron Bramdeow, "Henry Francis Fynn and the Fynn Community in Natal 1824-1988" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1988), 100.

abdicated in favour of George Fynn, Frank's son from a different wife.[38] While the sexual relationships and the tales of miscegenation are essential in this study in describing how this branch of the Coloured community was born, it is vital to recognise the security and insight many of these unions provided to the settlers particularly in the early days of the colony.

The original group of people that would later constitute the Coloureds of Durban emanated from the previously mentioned experiences of miscegenation. They migrated to Durban from the South Coast, Zululand and the Midlands already with the understanding of being part of a separate, liminal group. They congregated in Durban from the late 19th century together with people from St Helena, Mauritius, and the Cape.

Migration from the Islands

Two groups of already creolised people who would become part of the Durban Coloured community were immigrants from the islands of Mauritius and St Helena, both part of the broader empire and system of slavery and indenture.

In 1850, the first group of about 50 creole immigrants from Mauritius arrived in Durban to lend their expertise to the growing sugar industry. They were recruited based on their experience in the Mauritian sugar industry, particularly their skills working in sugar mills. The sugar industry in Natal was unable to find adequate numbers of African workers willing to work on farms and turned to indentured labour from India, which had proved successful in the British

[38] Eva Aletta Jackson, "Four Women, Four Chiefships: Case Studies in Divergent Choices and Negations with Power of Amakhosikazi in Nineteenth Century Natal" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2014), 7. Interestingly, Jackson also notes that George Fynn did not rule very long and was succeeded briefly by his widow, Maria Ogle, the half-caste daughter of settler Henry Ogle.

colonies of Mauritius and the West Indies.[39] The Mauritian sugar industry had developed under successive French and British rule, built on slave labour:

> Slaves arrived shortly after French settlers colonised the island in December 1721, and slavery quickly became an integral component of local life. Perhaps as many as 101,000 bondmen and women reached Mauritius from eastern and western Africa, India, Madagascar and Southeast Asia between 1721 and 1810, the great majority of whom arrived between 1770 and 1810.[40]

When the British seized control of Mauritius in 1810, they enforced a ban on slavery by British subjects, but this did not stop the illegal slave trade and, by the 1820s, approximately 85% of the island population were slaves.[41] When slavery was finally abolished in 1834, the British turned to indenture as a means of fulfilling labour needs across the empire. In Mauritius, these indentured workers were brought from India, with smaller numbers coming from China, Madagascar, and Comoros to satisfy the growth of the sugar industry.[42]

At the time of the initial immigration to Durban, the Mauritian population was composed of post-indenture Indians, a light-skinned creole middle-class, dark-skinned working-class descendants of emancipated slaves and a small number of white Franco-Mauritian landowners.[43] Francoise Vergès, in her work on sites of creolization in the Indian Ocean, shows that the islands:

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[39] Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, *Inside Indian Indenture: A South African Story 1860-1914* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2010), 62-63; Rick Halpern, "Solving the 'Labour Problem': Race, Work and the State in the Sugar Industries of Louisiana and Natal, 1870-1910," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 30, No 1 (March 2004), 19-40.
[40] Richard Allen, "Capital, Illegal Slaves, Indentured Labourers and the Creation of a Sugar Plantation Economy in Mauritius, 1810-60," Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 36, No 2 (June 2008): 153.
[41] Richard Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen and Indentured Laborers in Colonial Mauritius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 13.
[42] Richard Allen, "Capital, Illegal Slaves, Indentured Labourers and the Creation of a Sugar Plantation Economy in Mauritius, 1810-60," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36, No 2 (June 2008): 152.
[43] Richard Sandbrook, "Origins of the Democratic Developmental State: Interrogating Mauritius," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 39, No 3 (2005): 555, 571.

> … belong neither to the African, nor to the Asian, the Islamic, or the European world. They exist at the interstices of these worlds. Their populations look beyond the horizon and retrace their links to Pondicherry, Calcutta, Beijing, Shanghai, Mombasa, Cape Town, Paris, London, Marseilles, Djibouti. Their cultures and populations emerged out of the diaspora-making machines of pre-European migrations, of slavery, imperialism, and current globalization.[44]

Between 1850 to 1865, Mauritians made their way to Durban, recruited for various forms of work. Besides those who came to work in the sugar mills and running sugar plantations, others came to build the railway line between Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The *Natal Mercury* reported that: "On April 1 1876, the *Acteae,* a barque of 300 tons, arrived in Durban with the first 100 labourers recruited on Mauritius to work on the construction of the railways."[45] The Mauritian immigrants came mainly, although not exclusively, from the middle-class creole group and were seen by white Natalians as being civilised in that they wore Western clothing, spoke French, had French surnames and practised Catholicism. They were identified in Durban as Mauritian and given certain privileges reserved for whites in Natal such as the right to vote and entry into white establishments.[46]

A similar creolised island culture was also found in the next group of people to arrive in Durban, artisans and domestic workers from St Helena recruited to work for settler families. The St Helenians spoke English, practised Protestantism and were regarded by themselves and others as being of mixed race. Daniel Yon, a native of St Helena, describes the island as having a long tradition of flux and fluidity:

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[44] Francoise Vergès, "Vertigo and Emancipation, Creole Cosmopolitanism and Cultural Politics," *Theory, Culture & Society* 18, No 2–3 (2001): 145.
[45] *The Natal Mercury*, 1 April 1876.
[46] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 55.

> …a place of movement and convergence, where racial identities are more mobile…where peoples from across the oceans were brought here through movement of peoples and goods from the early 1500s. East and West Africans, Indians, Javanese, Chinese, Europeans, Malagasy all found their way to this isolated island through a history of escaped slaves, exiled prisoners, indentured labourers, and colonialists. [47]

When St Helena was transferred from the Dutch East India Company to Britain in 1834, the island's importance as a way station on a trade route diminished, and the economy suffered. In the 1870s, an estimated one-third of the population left St Helena and headed for South Africa to search for work and better lives.[48]

The St Helenians began arriving in South Africa from 1872, and they continued to arrive in smaller numbers up to 1948. They came in search of better economic opportunities, and found work as domestic servants in the homes of white families, as wait staff in hotels and restaurants, while smaller numbers worked on the sugar plantations and the railways. An estimated 2000 out of an island population of 5000 ethnically and culturally mixed St Helenians left the island in search of better opportunities, with most settling in the Cape and Natal.[49] A report in the *Natal Mercury* describes the arrival of 221 passengers from St Helena in Durban Harbour:

> They seem to be mostly female, from 10 years of age to 20 years and a little over, and they looked a very decent lot of servants. They were of all colours - white, off-coloured, tawny and several shades of black; but all of them looked clean and well. There was no sickness of a dangerous type among them.[50]

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[47] Daniel Yon, "Race-Making/Race-Mixing: St. Helena and the South Atlantic World," *Social Dynamics* 33, No 2 (2007): 145.
[48] Daniel Middelkoop and Maarten van Hogenstijn, "Saints: Spatial Identities of the Citizens of Saint Helena" (Master's thesis, University of Utrecht, 2002), 60, http://sainthelenaisland.info/spatialidentitiesofthecitizensofsainthelena.pdf
[49] Alexander Schulenburg, "St. Helena: British Local History in the Context of Empire," *The Local Historian* 28, No 2 (1998): 113.
[50] *The Natal Mercury*, 2 October 1873.

Many immigrants from St Helena worked as domestic workers and in service industries. David Lincoln noted:

> Their command of the English language and their cultural affinity with British society doubtlessly gave them their appeal for such work, with that bastion of bourgeois British exclusivity, the Durban Club, said in the late 1800s to have employed only servants imported from St Helena.[51]

These immigrants from St Helena occupied a strange middle ground in Natal. They were subjects of a British Protectorate, tallied as white in colonial census figures, and they held on tightly to their notions of Britishness. Despite this sense of Britishness, they were identified as St Helenian and something other than white. This distinction, even from Mauritian immigrants, may have been a matter of class because, soon after their arrival, elements in the St Helena community were described in the *Natal Mercury* as being "immoral", "vicious and of a "low class", with noticeably "peculiar tone and faults of pronunciation."[52] The St Helenians settled in town, living among Indians and were offered a: "… block of land be laid off north of Victoria Street with lots in extent [of] ¼ erven to be offered on freehold for £40 each, payable in annual instalments with an interest rate of 6% ..." to build wood and iron houses.[53] The area was away from white areas and close to the Indian settlements and trading areas of the town. This segregation of the St Helenians by authorities likely had both a racial and a class component, the St Helena people came to South Africa to work as domestic servants for the wealthier settlers, and would not have had the means to live close to their employers on the Berea.

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[51] David Lincoln, "Mauritian settlers in South Africa: Ethnicity and the experience of 'Creole' émigrés, c. 1875–1920." *Immigrants & Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora* 13, No 1 (1994): 3.
[52] Rebecca Swartz and Johan Wassermann, "Britishness', Colonial Governance and Education: St Helenian Children in Colonial Natal in the 1870s," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 44, No 6 (2016): 893.
[53] Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository (NAB), Durban Town Clerk (3DBN), 5/2/7/1/2, Durban Town Council Sanitary Committee Report, 30 July 1875; NAB, 3DBN, 5/2/6/1/1, Durban Town Council Sanitary Committee Report, 13 December 1875.

In the Cape, and most likely, similarly in Natal, the St Helenians did not fit in with the other peoples they encountered:

> … [they] aspired to participation in a milieu of English middle-class cosmopolitanism and respectability. Some preferred to identify themselves as British, and certainly, most were proud that their birth certificates initially stated, of "mixed St. Helenian" rather than Cape Coloured descent. Culturally, they kept themselves apart from others of mixed race. On weekends, St Helenians gathered the extended family to play cards and sing around the piano. Most were church-going Christians.[54]

The Mauritian and St Helenian immigrants to Natal brought with them an understanding and experience of being 'mixed' in their homelands. In both of these places, they occupied liminal spaces, sites of creolisation, where they had each created new ways of being. They carried their own histories and silences of enslaved and indentured pasts, strong religious convictions, a fluidity in how they identified racially and culturally and pragmatism in how they related to colonial authorities. In Natal, their apparent westernisation, physical appearance that often tended towards whiteness, shared religious backgrounds and the relative level of education, translated into a perceived level of respectability and whiteness for members of the Mauritian and St Helena groups. The first arrivals defined themselves by their country of origin (Mauritian, St Helenian), rather than by the emerging racial categories in Natal, and they were also regarded as distinct groups by the authorities. Both groups were included as white in census figures, allowed to vote and afforded limited social privileges. At the end of the 19th century, Mauritians in Durban favoured living in the Greyville and Greenwood Park-Orange Grove area where they lived with working-class whites, as well as the Clairwood area which was predominately Indian; they attended Catholic church and went to white schools. St Helenians

[54] Carol Ann Muller, *Focus: Music of South Africa* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 170.

lived in the Indian areas of town, along with small numbers of Cape Coloureds and half-castes who were making their way to the city from Zululand and the Midlands; they attended Anglican church and went to white schools.

Coloured Immigrants from the Cape

The environment of slavery and movement of peoples at the Cape had brought slaves from Indonesia, India, Ceylon, Madagascar and Mozambique, together with settlers and slave masters, and indigenous Khoisan in what Denis-Constant describes as an "urban melting-pot."[55] In 1808 the slave trade was banned and, in 1814, the Cape officially became a British colony, but it was not until 1834 that the roughly 36 000 slaves of the Cape received emancipation. Adhikari notes that the emancipation of slaves and freedom to associate led to a shared economic and social status, as well as the formation of a collective identity that would eventually be referred to as Coloured.[56] It was these Cape Coloured and Khoi servants who accompanied traders and hunters to Natal.

Rachel was one of three servants who accompanied the original party of Frances Farewell to Port Natal in 1824. She is described in some accounts as Hottentot and in others as Coloured and, in several reports, she is described as trusted enough to be left in charge of the early settlement when Farewell and his men were out.[57] Another woman mentioned in the story of the early days of the Natal Colony was Catherine Pierce, the daughter of Frank Pierce

[55] Martin Denis-Constant, "What's in the Name, 'Coloured'?" in *Social Identities in the New South Africa: After Apartheid Vol 1*, ed. Abebe Zegeye (Roggebaai: Kwela Books, 2001), 250.
[56] Mohamed Adhikari, "Hope, fear, shame, frustration: continuity and change in the expression of coloured identity in white supremacist South Africa, 1910-1994," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 32, No 3 (September 2006): 469.
[57] Shelagh O'Bryne Spencer, "Address to UKZN Graduands," *Natalia* 40 (2010): 121-145; Anthony Cubbin, "Origins of Durban," *Contree* 23, (March 1988): 19-22.

(Robert Dunn's English assistant), and an unnamed woman of mixed origins from the Cape, who was employed in the Dunn household as a servant.[58] Catherine accompanied John Dunn on his journey to Zululand in 1857 and became his common-law wife. Catherine remained his paramount wife as he took on his many Zulu wives and she was reportedly the only wife whom Dunn allowed to enter a room unannounced. According to Charles Ballard:

> She aspired to being as 'European' as possible and condemned Dunn for his 'degenerate' social behaviour. Catherine also feared a loss of status and privilege, for each additional African wife taken by Dunn was seen as a potential rival for his favour. However, the threat to Catherine's position never materialized, for Dunn tried to soothe her feelings by elevating her to the status of a Great-Wife - a routine common in polygamous Zulu households. Catherine lived in a comfortable European style dwelling at Mangete with numerous African servants in attendance. She and her children - eight daughters and two sons - lived as Europeans, and they were better cared for materially than any other of Dunn's wives and children. Catherine's violent prejudice against Dunn's African wives was no doubt motivated out of fear and jealousy. But she justified her dislike for black wives on racial grounds - they were inferior because they were 'natives' and she was Coloured.[59]

Dominic Dunn explains that, in his will, John Dunn: "named his first wife, Catherine Pierce, and all her family as his chief beneficiaries. She inherited most of the furniture and effects together with 100 heads of cattle and 50 for each daughter."[60]

Besides the original servants that accompanied settlers, Coloured people from the Cape colony did not arrive in any one large group. Instead, there was a constant movement of Coloureds from the Cape in and out of the area. According to Nuttall, around 1900 the military authorities of the Natal Colony recruited several Coloured transport drivers from the Cape, and

[58] The background of Catherine's mother is unknown, contemporary accounts describe her as African, Cape Malay or Cape Coloured.
[59] Charles Ballard, *John Dunn: The White Chief of Zululand* (Craighall: AD Donker, 1985), 338-339.
[60] Dominic Dunn, *This is my Country. The Memoirs of a Coloured South African*, 1955, KCM 98/54, Killie Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

many of these men eventually settled in Natal with their families, particularly Pietermaritzburg.[61] Some of these Cape Coloured men were referred to as 'Cape Boys', Coloured men who had served in the Anglo-Boer war and, in the process, had developed a distinct identity and outlook. Ian Goldin reports that the British recruited these men into the war with the promise of equal rights. No such equality ever materialised, and the men were angry with the British for their misplaced loyalty. Additionally, they also suffered significant ill-treatment during the war at the hands of the Boer. These experiences all: "… served to stimulate awareness of an incipient Coloured identity."[62]

Throughout the years, other people made their way from the Cape to Durban, mainly in search of employment in the port city. Several Coloured Muslim or Malays arrived as tailors from Cape Town and Kimberly.[63] Malay as a separate identity was only constituted after the First World War, championed by Afrikaans-speaking intellectual and Commissioner of Coloured Affairs from 1950 to 1963, Izak David du Plessis. Jeppie contends:

> … the idea of a definitive and originally Malay background found its Muslim proponents among politically conservative Muslim elites in the twentieth-century. It inevitably found its white folklorists and ethnographers as well, most notably ID du Plessis, devoted to preserving aspects of the supposedly vanishing Malay culture, customs, language and so on. The separate national origin for the Muslims served excellently ruling class racialistic arguments and the development of segregationist policies.[64]

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[61] Nuttall, Neville. *Natal Education - 1849-1949: Then and Now*, (Durban: John Singleton & Williams Ltd, 1949), 28-30.
[62] Ian Goldin, *Making Race: the Politics and Economics of Coloured Identity in South Africa* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1987), 19.
[63] Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 164.
[64] Shamil Jeppie, "Commemoration and identities," in *Islam and the Question of Minorities,* ed. Tamara Sonn, (Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1996), 78.

Regardless of how they initially identified when they landed in Durban, these people came to be identified, and to identify themselves, as Malay. They were generally associated with Coloured people, treated as Coloured by city authorities and importantly, attended Coloured schools. They found themselves occupying a fluid middle ground between the other mixed peoples in the city and Muslim Indians, with whom they shared a faith and attended the same Mosques. [65] While they were not a homogenous group, over time they grew closer together, living in close proximity to one another and forming bonds through marriage. As their numbers grew, they were able to form their own separate sports teams, which became an integral part of their community and a foundation of their social lives; they organized their own mekaar or self-help society; and also formed their own Madrasa.[66] The presence of Malays in Durban led to an interesting phenomenon - that of Muslim Indians 'playing Malay': "… by registering as Malay, they became Coloured, which meant they could go to better schools, buy at more stores, travel to Transvaal without a permit and so on."[67]

Another constant trickle into the Coloured community of Durban was from people of Griqua origin, mainly from the Kokstad and Harding areas. The Griqua were descendants of indigenous Khoekhoe and San people, who intermingled with early settlers at the Cape and former slaves to form an ambiguous and fluid group of people. A branch of Griqua, led by Adam Kok III, trekked from the Cape and settled in an area known as No-Man's-Land in 1863.[68] Rev W Dower's Early Annals of Kokstad and East Griqualand, documents a difficult life in the early

[65] JD, personal interview, April 2012.
[66] ZF, personal interview, June 2012.
[67] Goolam Vahed, "The Quest for 'Malay' Identity in Apartheid South Africa," *Alternation* 11, No 1 (Jan 2004): 262.
[68] Edward Cavanagh, *The Griqua Past and the Limits of South African History, 1902-1994,* African Development Series (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), 7.

settlement on the slopes of Mount Frere and the eventual move to the new town known as Kokstad.[69] According to Dower, by the time Adam Kok III died in 1875, the community of Griqua in Kokstad was fractured and already moving out of the area to find better lives in places such as Harding, Pietermaritzburg and Durban. The Native Affairs Commission met with a group representing the Griqua community of Harding in 1907, with submissions being made by Petrus Ulbricht, Christian Rook, Sylvester Krotz and Tobias Balie.[70] The Griqua were subsistence farmers and pastoralists, and many earned a living chopping wood in the government forests.[71] The delegation of Griqua stressed that they had lived in Natal for some years and were generally happy, but they were concerned with how they were viewed and indeed how the government named them in the new laws to be promulgated. The Chairman of the Commission responded to the questions from the Griqua contingent with condescension: "[a]re you not allowed to do anything a white man can do?"[72] The Griqua delegation also wanted to register their concern with the immoral conduct of white men in the area, mainly policemen, who were impregnating their daughters. They invited the Commissioner to visit the local Sunday School to see that: "most of the children belonged to white fathers."[73]

[69] William Dower, *The Early Annals of Kokstad and East Griqualand* (Port Elizabeth: Jas Kemsley, 1902). https://archive.org/details/earlyannalsofkok00dowe/page/n6.
[70] Natal Colony, *Native Affairs Commission, 1906-1907, Griquas* (Pietermaritzburg: P Davis and Sons, 1907), 993-994.
[71] William Dower, *The Early Annals of Kokstad and East Griqualand* (Port Elizabeth: Jas Kemsley, 1902). https://archive.org/details/earlyannalsofkok00dowe/page/n6; Natal Colony, Native Affairs Commission, 1906-1907, Griqua (Pietermaritzburg: P Davis and Sons, 1907), 993-994.
[72] Natal Colony, *Native Affairs Commission, 1906-1907, Griquas* (Pietermaritzburg: P Davis and Sons, 1907), 993.
[73] Ibid, 994.

Indian Connections

As the Natal Colony looked to increase its production of sugar, the need for cooperative labour grew. Indentured labour from India had been successful in the Mauritian sugar industry, and authorities in Natal decided to follow their example. The first shipload of indentured labourers arrived in Durban aboard the *Truro* in 1860 and, by 1911, the number had grown to over 150 000.[74] The colonial administrators did all they could to discourage a settled Indian community from forming, and expected the workers to return to their homes in India at the end of the five-year indenture period. "Women were brought with great reluctance" and only because of a stipulation of the Indian government that, for every 100 men exported into indenture, 40 women had to be included.[75] At the end of indenture, Indian labourers turned to smallholder farming, buying property and developing a robust landowning presence particularly on the periphery of the early city. By 1885, there were an estimated 2000 market gardeners in and around Durban.[76] The indentured workers were followed by a group of passenger Indians who were free to engage in business. The community of passenger Indians also grew in number and wealth and became a threat to the economic power of the white population. The traders were also crucial in providing credit and job opportunities for post-indenture Indians. By the turn of the century, a settled community of upwardly mobile Indians had developed in Durban, an 'Asiatic menace' to an increasingly hostile white population.[77]

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[74] Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, *Inside Indian Indenture: A South African Story 1860-1914* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2010), 1. Desai and Vahed provide an extensive account of the experience and complexities of indenture.
[75] Jo Beall, "Women under indenture in colonial Natal, 1860-1911," in *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, ed. Cheryl Walker (Cape Town: David Philip, 1990), 147.
[76] Surendra Bhana and Joy Brain, *Setting Down Roots. Indian Migrants in South Africa 1860-1911* (Cape Town: David Philips, 1984), 45.
[77] Maynard W Swanson, "'The Asiatic Menace': Creating Segregation in Durban, 1870-1900," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 16, No 3 (1983), 401-421.

Despite competing for jobs with free Indians and the ability, in theory, to buy homes in white areas, Bill Freund suggested that there were strong Coloured-Indian social networks in Durban: "… contact with Coloureds, particularly for Christians and Muslims who might share a bond of faith with them was more intense than with African or Whites."[78] Indeed, in the early days, on the periphery and in the inner city, St Helenians, Mauritians, half-castes and Cape Coloureds rented homes from Indians and lived in the same dwellings and yards. This proximity led to the development of relationships between the two groups, whether sanctioned by families or not. The fate of the unions and any subsequent offspring were diverse; some of them ended in marriage but, given the religious and cultural differences, it is likely that many would have ended and any children were absorbed into their mother's community or ended up in a home.

Becoming Coloured

These disparate groups of 'brown' people, half-caste, Mauritian, St Helenian, Cape Coloured, Malay, Griqua, all entered the city as liminal beings who had lived between the colonised and the coloniser in what Homi Bhabha referred to as a 'Third Space.'[79] Once in Durban, itself a borderland and space of fluidity, these groups became physically bundled together, congregating in overlapping spaces of another liminal world, not belonging to Durban's white, Zulu or Indian societies.

No laws or policies prevented these people from living elsewhere in the city. However, economics and opportunity probably drove their decisions to live close to one another and to

[78] Bill Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban 1910-1990* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), 40.
[79] Homi Bhaba, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 54.

form networks with those with whom they shared a physical likeness and treatment. Dominic Dunn explains the affinity these people had for one another:

> Before the union of 1910 there was for us Coloureds a natural kind of segregation, which we all observed. The kinds of which made us be naturally drawn to people of our own economic status, tastes and colour. The country seemed big enough for all of us then…[80]

Even though Dunn uses the term Coloured, he wrote this in the 1950s. At the beginning of the 20th Century, the groups would become defined as Coloured, identified proudly according to their origins, and the term Coloured was used officially in Natal to describe anyone who was not white. Documents from the 1870s discussing St Helenian children expelled from a school describe the children interchangeably as St Helenian and Coloured.[81] While debates from the Natal Colony Parliament in 1901 show an official engagement with the term, there was also an acknowledgement that the term was ambiguous:

> Prime Minister: I want to ask, what is a "coloured" person?" Is there any definition which will possibly cover a "coloured person"? Is an octoroon a coloured person? And is an octoroon to be prevented from being out after a certain hour? Or is anyone with a less shade of colour than an octoroon, someone with the smallest shade of the tar brush, to be prevented from exercising his ordinary privileges?
> Greene: There have been instances where hardships have resulted from the operation of this clause. I do not know exactly how it is.
> Mr Woods: It is hard equally on the other side. There may be some of these gentlemen with a touch of the tarbrush. On the other hand, there may be some of them with a touch of the white brush. It will apply equally hard in both instances.
> Attorney General: The words "coloured person" means "any Hottentot, Coolie, Bushman, Lascar, or any of the people commonly called Kafirs, whether they are refugees from any of the surrounding Colonies or tribes,

[80] Dominic Dunn, *This is my Country: The Memoirs of a Coloured South African,* 1955, KCM 98/54, Killie Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal.
[81] NAB, CSO, 529 1875/2896, Memo TW Brooks, 11 October 1875; NAB, CSO, 536 1876/270, Minute paper TW Brooks, 14 February 1876.

> or belonging to the tribes originally in this Colony and its neighbourhood.[82]

Regardless of the ambiguities in terminology, Coloureds and their constituent parts were acknowledged as belonging in Natal with the right to work and to earn fair wages. Speaking in 1907, Mr Oliff of the Natal Legislature pointed out:

> …we have a large number of persons in the community, such as St. Helenas and coloured persons who have been born in the Colony, and who, in my opinion, have as much right here to work and earn a living as we ourselves have.[83]

At the turn of the century, Natal society wanted to present itself to the world as a wholly British outpost, and these various brown peoples were grouped together, all representing a slight to British sensibilities of racial purity. In *Old Durban*, George Russell warned against diluting and tarnishing "old British stock" to produce a: "whitey-brown people, subjects of some greater Britain, speaking the language of Volapuk, and ruling the destinies of the borough."[84] The idea of maintaining a pure sense of Britishness was held as the standard to attain, and the Zulu-speaking half-castes, French-speaking Mauritians and British-claiming St Helenians were an affront to this ideal.

From early on, there was overlap and interaction between these groups in the spaces they began to inhabit - residential, religious and educational. A turning point in inter-group interaction was the establishment of a Coloured government school exclusively for Mauritians,

[82] Natal Colony, Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Natal: Fifth Session of the Second Parliament, from May 17 to August 7, 1901, Vol XXX (Pietermaritzburg: WM Watson, 1901), 692. An octoroon is a term of the period that refers to person with one-eighth African ancestry, ie with one African great- grandparent.
[83] Natal Colony, Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Natal: Second Session of the Fifth Parliament, from June 25 to August 19, 1907, Vol XLII (Pietermaritzburg: WM Watson, 1907), 177.
[84] George Russell, *The History of Old Durban and Reminiscences of an Emigrant of 1850* (Durban: P Davis and Sons, 1899), 511. Volapuk was a constructed language that combined English, German and French developed in the late 1870s – the use here is to imply that Durban should remain 'pure'.

St Helenians, Cape Coloureds and half-castes. With the desire to maintain racial purity in white spaces, Colonial authorities sought to create a separate school that would combine "coloured children other than Natives and Indians."[85] Henry Bale, Attorney General described the murky territory of this group when proposing a segregated coloured school:

> There are in the Colony children of various colours. These children have demanded admission to the primary schools of the Colony and strong objection has been taken to their presence in these schools. I have found it one of the most difficult questions with which I have had to deal. I have asked for a definition of a coloured child, and I have suggested that I should like to know what particular tint should debar a child; but no one has been able to supply me with information as to the shade of colour that ought to debar a child from admission to the primary schools. These children are entitled to attend school and they ought to have schools of their own; and this is a departure to deal with this particular class. The strangest thing about it that even among coloured people, there are distinctions, and coloured people coming from one part of the Empire object to coloured people who come from another part of the Empire. The item is to provide for a school in Durban, and perhaps for one in Martizburg, to get over this difficulty. These coloured children other than Natives and Indians are entitled to consideration.[86]

The motion was passed, and the Natal Colony allocated £1000 to the building of a school for these people of various colours, who began to be socialised in a distinct category of otherness named as Coloured, not white, but also not Native or Indian. The space of the Coloured school was a clear shift in a collective and deliberate identification and socialisation of Durban Coloureds.

[85] Natal Colony, Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Natal: Fifth Session-Second Parliament, from May 17 to August 7, 1901, Vol XXX (Pietermaritzburg: WM Watson, 1901), 165.
[86] Natal Colony, Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Natal: Fifth Session-Second Parliament, from May 17 to August 7, 1901, Vol XXX (Pietermaritzburg: WM Watson, 1901), 165.

Living Separate: Early Life in Durban

The spaces of the city, and the shared experiences of people within those spaces, formed a foundation for the development of a Coloured identity in Durban. As creolised peoples, they came from St Helena, Mauritius, Zululand and the Cape, all carrying their own histories from places of physical and metaphorical mixing. They settled in the city, living together based initially on merely not being part of the dominant cultural groups, African, British and Indian. The spaces where they lived, worked, played and were educated together were thus crucial in the development of group connections and the beginnings of Coloured group identity.

The early city developed a dual outlook. The wealthier white settlers lived on the Berea overlooking the town and ocean and conducted their commercial activities in the centre of the city. Free Indians, Africans and half-castes from the rural areas and immigrants from St Helena and Mauritius lived in unregulated open spaces in and around Durban. Indian business owners were segregated in an area where they would not rival their white counterparts. Bill Freund describes the city as a:

> … string of Colonial commercial and residential islands set in a sea of cultivated shacklands...low slung, wood and iron houses, normally outside the municipal borders of the city in poorly supervised and defined zone that allowed a multiplicity of economic activity.[87]

The settler community were increasingly concerned with the 'unsanitary' habits of these new citizens who were living in poorly built, overcrowded slums. These areas were occupied by a mix of peoples including newly free indentured Indians, passenger Indians, Africans, St Helenians, Mauritians, half-castes and 'poor whites'. Brian Kearney explains the alarm that

[87] Bill Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian working class of Durban 1910-1990* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), 33.

ensued: "Victorian sanitation culture was planted on the soil of the Colony of Natal; it met headlong with different attitudes of African and Indian people who had come into urban life from rural origins."[88] An area of concern to the city was an overcrowded area with poorly constructed dwellings and unhealthy living conditions that attracted Natives, Indians and St Helenians near the western end of West Street.[89] These areas were sites of continued 'race-mixing' between Black and white, much to the alarm of the White settler community.[90] According to Paul La Hausse, public outcry against this mixing warned that Durban was fast becoming a "modern Babylon."[91] In a society that valued purity of race, Mr Jameson, a local city councillor described the mixing that took place in these areas as "exceedingly objectionable":

> There are a number of low class Europeans who associate with coloured people on the eastern and western vleis at Durban, and who almost make a living by signing passes of this nature…any person granting or issuing an order of liquor to any Indian or Native shall be deemed guilty of an offence.[92]

The zones that the settlers found intolerable became the world where many from the groups that would form the Coloured community, settled and mixed with Indian people. The most important of these spaces was the 'Coolie Location', the area that would later become known to locals as the Casbah, Duchene or 'town', a vibrant area of trading, religion and community:

> … a cheaper, denser, more lively zone where Indian traders catered for the custom of all races. At its heart was the Grey Street mosque around

[88] Brian Kearney, "Keep Your Town Sweet and Wholesome: The Inspector of Nuisances: A Narrative of Culture and Sanitation in Nineteenth Century Durban," *Historia* 57, No 1 (May 2012): 42.
[89] Ibid, 44.
[90] Maynard Swanson, "'The Asiatic Menace': Creating Segregation in Durban, 1870-1900," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 16, No 3 (1983): 405.
[91] Paul la Hausse, "Alcohol, The Ematsheni and Popular Culture in Durban, 1902-1936" in *The People's City: African Life in Twentieth-Century Durban*, ed. Paul Maylam & Iain Edwards (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press), 83.
[92] Natal Colony, Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Natal: Fourth Session of the First Parliament, from April 8 to June 1, 1896, Vol IV (Pietermaritzburg: WM Watson, 1896), 123.

> which were alleyways full of petty traders and small-scale manufacturers, jewellers, watchmakers, tailors and scribes serving the illiterate.[93]

They congregated in these areas, pushed by Colonial authorities and pulled by a desire to form a community with others in similar circumstances. There was no formal policy concerning the segregation of urban spaces for St Helenians, Mauritians, Half-Castes, Cape Coloureds and Griquas. However, these people were constrained by financial means to rent and therein, to rent from willing landlords. St Helenians were encouraged to build their wood and iron homes on a block of land north of Victoria Street.[94] The area was located away from white settlements, close to the Indian areas of town. Dominic Dunn confirms that, by the time he arrived in Durban in the early 1900s, he was advised by his white employer to stay with the "other Coloureds", at the end of West Street. [95] The desire to live close to certain people suggests a sense of commonness, an emerging identity that was defined in the first instance by not being part of one of the main groups. Dunn suggests another converging attribute: "there was a self-segregation that occurred in Durban, which made us be naturally drawn to people of our own economic status, tastes and colour." [96]

The port was central to the creation of Durban and to the genesis of a Coloured community. It was the entry point by which the settlers and many of the disparate peoples, who would come to constitute the Coloured community, entered Natal. The port was also the reason that economic activity flourished in the city, transporting sugar and connecting the

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[93] Bill Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban 1910-1990* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), 3. The term 'Coolie Location' was coined by early white settlers to describe the area to the west of the town were Indian people were living and setting up shops.
[94] NAB, 3DBN, 5/2/7/1/2, Durban Town Council Sanitary Committee Report, 30 July 1875; NAB, 3DBN, 5/2/6/1/1, Durban Town Council Sanitary Committee Report, 13 December 1875.
[95] Dominic Dunn, *"This is my Country: The Memoirs of a Coloured South African,"* 1955, KCM 98/54, Killie Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal.
[96] Ibid.

mineral-rich interior of South Africa with the world. The port provided a gateway of goods and peoples to the mineral wealth of the interior, turning Durban into a cosmopolitan space:

> …[of] diasporic merchants from south China, and as well Malaysian and Arab journeyers who had need or desire to include the South African colonies within their commercial realms...poly-national 'cattlemen' or 'muleteers' that worked as hands on ships departing Argentinean, American and Australian ports and who often sought to – and did – disembark at Durban in search of work or passage through to the Rand…a group broadly defined as refugees, produced during the South African War and consisting largely of displaced uitlanders…[and] poorer Europeans.[97]

After the constitution of the Union of South Africa in 1910, Durban prospered as the gateway to the mineral-rich Witwatersrand and became the busiest port in the region. Industry developed around the city drawing workers from various parts of Natal and across South Africa. As the need for labour grew, people left their agrarian livelihoods and migrated to the city to be absorbed into its industrial and maritime core. Work became another equalising force where these various groups found semi-skilled jobs in the same industries, shipping and whaling, timber merchants and Falkirk Ironworks. Women typically worked in domestic service for wealthy white families. As Durban tried to package itself as a tourist destination and seaside resort, Coloured women found work in hotels and restaurants that developed along the coast.[98]

Interviewees were able to offer a picture based on the stories of their parents and grandparents:

> ...when the old people first started coming here, it was domestic work, and maybe whaling…they were a semi-skilled sort of people...[99]

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[97] Andrew MacDonald, "Strangers in a strange land: Undesirables and Border-controls in Colonial Durban, 1897-c.1910" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 2007), 23.

[98] Bill Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban 1910-1990.* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), 29-33; Vivian Bickford-Smith, "'Local Colour' and History in Promoting the Identity of Port Cities: The Case of Durban, c1890s–1950s," in *Port Towns & Urban Cultures: International Histories of the Waterfront, c1700 – 2000*, ed. Brad Beaven, Karl Bell and Robert James (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2016), 210-215.

[99] SD, personal interview, April 2012.

> My father was born in 1889. He worked for Durban Falkirk ironworks which later on became Defy. He was a moulder. They used to make stoves and pots and things. A lot of coloured people worked there, it was generations, father to son. That's where they all worked...My granny used to do the washing and ironing and my mother and her sister had to fetch the washing from the white people and deliver it back when it was finished.[100]

> My father left school, and went down Maydon Road, that's where James Brown and Hammer was, and he went to become a riveter on the ships, which was a semi-skilled worker…paid well, cause it was in great demand. And almost all the Coloured men were riveters in those days, it was like the welding is today you know, boiler making and all that type of thing.[101]

Thus, a diverse mixture of people of various origins, arranged by the tone of their skin and a shared sense of 'otherness', settled in and around the bustling hub of Durban living side by side with Indians, and within easy reach of jobs. These spaces of intermingling became an early and enduring touchpoint of shared experiences – joys and challenges that offered the prospect of developing close social and familial bonds. It was in these spaces where these groups were educated, where they lived, worked, played and worshipped and by these processes and within these institutions, a Durban Coloured identity was born.

Inhabiting a Political Marginality

The groups that would make up the Coloured community of Durban shared a sense of political ambiguity in the early days of the Natal Colony. One component of the social category that came to constitute Coloureds - the children of white settlers and African women described as half-caste at the time found themselves living between two worlds. On paper, half-caste males over 21 years of age with property were afforded similar rights to white males over the age of

[100] NP, personal interview, June 2012.
[101] BP, personal interview, June 2011.

21 in Natal, in that they had the right to vote.[102] Half-caste men also gave support to the white government in times of conflict. They saw themselves as members and subjects of the Natal Colony. Representatives to Native Affairs Commission of 1906 told the commissioners that, in times of strife, they had always thrown their lot in with the European: "In various rebellions and disturbances they had always given their services to the Government, and thereby proved their loyalty." [103] Dickie Clark mentions that Coloured men also generally served alongside white soldiers in the Anglo Boer war.[104] Sheila Patterson confirms this engagement:

> In Natal at the time of the Union there was, as in the Cape, no constitutional discrimination between white and Coloured persons from the time of the Charter in 1856. There was however evidence of hardening attitudes toward non-European groups even before the Union. Law no. 11 of 1865 and Act no. 8 of 1896 excluded Africans and Indians respectively from the enjoyment of political rights and privileges. The franchise amendment law of 1883 gave the vote to every male inhabitant of three years residence whose income was equal to £96 per year.[105]

It is also clear that socially and legally, as demonstrated by the evidence to the Native Affairs Commission as well as the Queen Street school-St Helenian case of the 1870s, that half-castes and St Helenians, even the wealthier ones, were not accepted by the increasingly colour-conscious white population of Natal.[106]

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[102] Natal Colony, *Native Affairs Commission, 1906-1907, Evidence* (Pietermaritzburg: P Davis and Sons, 1907), 129.
[103] Ibid, 989.
[104] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 55.
[105] Sheila Patterson, *Colour and Culture in South Africa: A Study of the Status of the Cape Coloured People within the Social Structure of the Union of South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1953), 49.
[106] Natal Colony, *Native Affairs Commission, 1906-1907, Evidence* (Pietermaritzburg: P Davis and Sons, 1907), 985-994; Rebecca Swartz and Johan Wassermann, "'Britishness', Colonial Governance and Education: St Helenian Children in Colonial Natal in the 1870s," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 44, No 6 (2016): 881-889.

The privileged class of first-generation Coloureds, the acknowledged sons of settlers, inhabited an even more complex world where they had assumed chieftainships of groups of African people. According to Bramdeow:

> The Fynns as chiefs worked closely with the magistrates in Alfred County and the annual magisterial reports, provided insight into the prevailing conditions in this division and on the Fynns as agriculturalists - furnishing information on the crops cultivated, the livestock reared and the number of agricultural implements they owned.[107]

To maintain their chieftainships, they were subject to Native law; but as 'white' chiefs, they were also set apart from the African people they governed and granted certain privileges reserved for Europeans, such as owning firearms and gunpowder. They were also part of the colonial machinery and collected hut taxes. There was, therefore, some expectation that these Coloureds would be accepted as equal by their white counterparts.

Many of the first generation Coloureds, however, were not recognised or cared for by their fathers and did not have the means or the knowledge to access the vote. Their stories are not easily accessible, and we can only infer that, if the privileged sons of chiefs failed to gain acceptance from both white and Black, they would likely have had an even more difficult time. As moral outrage to miscegenation grew in the white settler community, children of such unions (which did not stop, but just became increasingly clandestine) were treated poorly, often abandoned and targeted by authorities. Morrell observes that Coloureds in the Natal Midlands lived difficult lives: "There was thus a close correlation in the Midlands between coloured children and poverty. In this way, the divide between white and Black was consolidated with respective associations of wealth and poverty."

[107] Shirron Bramdeow, "Henry Francis Fynn and the Fynn Community in Natal 1824-1988" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1988), 12.

Additionally, while there is little documented evidence of mistreatment of Coloured children by the African communities, accounts of the descendants of Dunn and Fynn do mention being treated with mistrust by the 'natives' and referred to as outsiders and *abelungu* (Europeans). Half-caste children were thus often removed from their mother's communities or dropped off by their family members at mission stations. Juliette Milner-Thornton shows a parallel in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) where African mothers could be persuaded to allow their Coloured children to be taken to a Coloured boarding school: "… half-caste abandoned children in African villages were declared orphans because of their white fathers' absence, and these children were removed and institutionalised."[108] The idea that removal of the half-caste child from the 'heathen' African culture would supposedly hasten the process of their civilisation had currency in the settler communities and officialdom across the colonies. Given the ambiguity in entry and status in European and African worlds and the promotion of an in-between status by missionaries and the state, the small community of mixed races as it developed and shaped in consciousness, turned inwards with an emphasis on social welfare and community development.

Although there remained, considerable ambiguity about definitions of what and who constituted Coloured in the increasingly racialised colonial society, in Durban the authorities began to formally distinguish this new racial group from the early 20th Century. In education policy, discussions for officially segregated Coloured schools began from 1901, with the first coloured school built in Pietermaritzburg in 1903. The first city census to designate a Coloured

[108] Juliette Milner-Thornton, *The Long Shadow of the British Empire: The Ongoing Legacies of Race and Class in Zambia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 154. Embakwe in Plumtree (Esigodini), and St John's in Salisbury (Harare) were Catholic mission schools for Coloured children in Southern Rhodesia/Zimbabwe.

category came in Durban in 1902.[109] Prison reform at the Durban jail in 1905 also created a separate category of Coloured to save European prisoners from being classed with darker-skinned prisoners, and to ensure that even in jail, white people were treated with respect. Prior to this "Eurasians, natives of St. Helena and the Cape (excluding Kafirs), American Negroes, French Creoles, and West Indians" were all regarded as 'European'.[110] In the reform, this would be changed:

> The above divergent races, now classified alike as Europeans, may be found confined in the same cell, simply because they are supplied with the same kind and quantity of food. These inexact distinctions were universally condemned; and this notice of the matter, in conjunction with other points more less patent, should lead to an immediate revision of the rules. As regards racial distinctions, a re-classification was strongly urged, excluding so-called "Coloured" people from the category of Europeans, and placing them in a class by themselves.[111]

The formation of the Union of South Africa in May 1910, laid the basis for the development of a national dispensation for the classification of Coloureds, drawing on the experiences and policies of the former colonies and the Afrikaner republics. Under this new political reality, the state sharpened its tactics to deliberately exclude Black people from formal politics, thus reinforcing their status as subjects of white rule. In Natal, Coloureds held onto the franchise, but this did not offer many rights. Patterson explains: "… for the coloured people of

[109] Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts and Ronald Davis, *Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1958), 52. The number of Coloureds in the 1902 census was 747. Prior to 1902, they were included in the European number.
[110] Stephen Peté and Annie Devenish, Flogging, "Fear and Food: Punishment and Race in Colonial Natal," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31 No 1 (March 2005): 16.
[111] Report of Prison Reform Commission, GN 344 *Natal GG* No 3542A of 5 Jun 1906 par 26. Cited in Paul Swanepoel and Stephen Peté, "The Development of Racially Defined Punishment in Colonial Natal: The Early History of Durban's Point Prison," *Fundamina 25* No 2 (2019): 182.

Natal, their right to stand and serve as elected or nominated representatives in both houses of Parliament was, as with the Cape Coloured, removed by the South Africa Act of 1909."[112]

Organised Coloured politics of the Cape did not resonate in Natal. In 1910, the newly formed African Political Organisation (APO) held a Congress of Coloureds to discuss the increasingly prejudicial policies of the Union government. Every province, with the exception of Natal, sent a delegation. The lack of participation in this process was most probably due to the still emergent group identity, the small size of the group and their continued special status, which they did not want to jeopardise.[113] The APO attempted to make direct inroads in Durban, sending their chair, Dr Abdurahman, to address Durban Coloureds on 24th March 1926, at the Rawat Bio Hall in Victoria Street. Dr Abdurahman spoke about the need for unity among Africans, Coloureds and Indians to overcome their shared grievances. According to Gavin Lewis: "From the outset the APO's leaders stressed the moderation of their demands. Their faith lay in the principles of 19th-century Cape and British liberalism. Their goal was amalgamation into the existing white-dominated society, not social or economic revolution."[114] Dominic Dunn, writes of his exposure to the politics of the APO, and his views about politics:

> One Cape Coloured man however, whom I got to know came into my shop one day to show me a newspaper sponsored by the African Political Organization. I was attracted by it very much for a time. It appeared to crystallize my awakening feelings about the inferior status of all non-Europeans – Indians, Coloureds and Africans and their need to make a common cause; despite my deeper belief that politics could never solve the Coloured people's difficulties, especially their economic ones.[115]

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[112] Sheila Patterson, *Colour and Culture in South Africa: A Study of the Status of the Cape Coloured People within the Social Structure of the Union of South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1953), 40.
[113] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 58.
[114] Gavin Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African "Coloured" Politics* (New York: St. Martin's, 1987), 24.
[115] Dominic Dunn, *This is my Country: The Memoirs of a Coloured South African*, 1955, KCM 98/54, Killie Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Durban Coloureds had significantly less time to form a cohesive identity that could translate to a political voice than their counterparts in the Cape. Until now, they had identified according to their varied origins. The Cape Coloureds who moved to Durban would have had the knowledge and possible allegiances to political groups such as the APO. Other groups did not, half-castes coming from the countryside had been navigating loyalties to and exclusion from, white and African communities. At the same time, identity-fluid immigrants from Mauritius and St Helena found their position in Durban was one of political and social ambiguity, classified as whites and treated differently from the rest of the Coloured population in various matters such as public health.[116] As the group developed together in schools and other spaces of city life, they negotiated their participation in white political processes and relative advantage over their Indian and African counterparts, with day-to-day lives that spoke to relative discrimination. Dunn comments: "I did not notice that the same worries afflicted many other Coloured at the time, in Durban. They seemed content with what they were and how they were treated."[117]

In the workplace, Durban Coloureds found their footing progressively precarious after the end of the First World War. The state began to regulate the workplace, providing increasing privilege for white people. The Mines and Works Act, No 12 of 1911 and No 25 of 1926 for example, codified colour bar in mining and allied industry, reserving skilled operator and supervisory jobs for whites. This advantage was intensified by the 'civilised labour' policy from

[116] Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 163.
[117] Dominic Dunn, *This is my Country: The Memoirs of a Coloured South African,* 1955, KCM 98/54, Killie Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

the 1920s, where poor whites replaced African, Indian and Coloured workers.[118] According to Dickie-Clarke:

> … until then most trades were open to them (Coloureds) and although they got less pay than the whites, it was not much less. The movement of landless whites into towns led the government to end the laissez-faire phase and intervene on behalf of the whites...[119]

At the same time, the economic and social position of Indians and Africans in Natal, began to improve, impacting Coloured people: "… increasing acculturation of these groups reduced the relative 'usefulness' of Coloureds in semi-skilled, clerical and supervisory jobs for which there was now, of course, more competition."[120] Coloured workers were placed in an awkward, ambiguous position in the workplace of competing for jobs with Indians and Africans, yet officially defined, along with whites, by the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 - Section 9 (4), as 'workers'. This sense of entitlement and separation from Africans and Indians meant that Coloureds were less likely to join or form workers' rights organisations or trade unions in Durban.[121] In 1919, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) was started in Cape Town by Clements Kadalie. The ICU was the largest black trade union at the time, developing a strong following in Durban among African workers in the 1920s under the leadership of AWG Champion. The participation of Coloured workers in Durban, however, was negligible.

Members of the community spent their political energies fighting in direct consultation with authorities for every-day services. In education in the 1870s, the parents of St Helenian

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[118] Shirron Bramdeow, "Henry Francis Fynn and the Fynn Community in Natal 1824-1988" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1988), 133.
[119] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 58.
[120] Ibid, 59.
[121] Elsewhere in the country (for example in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth), Coloureds did join unions, including the ICU and smaller craft unions.

children took the case of their children expelled from white schools to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Later, in the realm of sports, the provision of sports grounds for the Coloured community spurred the formation of the Natal Amalgamated Political Association (NAPA) in the early 1920s. The NAPA's mandate was to work specifically for the Coloured community: "…[to] bring together the Coloured Community for their mutual benefit and industrial protection, the maintenance of their liberty, and the defence of their rights as citizens of the borough."[122] The formation of this association was a significant turning point in the political imagination of the Coloured community in Durban. It marks the first known, vocal group that specially referred to themselves as Coloured and as a community. The members also precisely defined what it recognised a Coloured to be: "… all civilised Coloured men other than Indian and Natives/Aboriginal or those under the Native Code."[123]

Education as a Civilising Project

Education, provided by the state and by missionaries, was a site of contestation over race and played a critical role in the creation of a Coloured identity in the early days of the Natal Colony. Sarah de Leeuw and Margo Greenwood state:

> Education is an expensive, rigorously maintained, and deeply historical project. Critically understanding and unpacking the underpinnings of education, particularly in its service to empiric efforts of dispossessing Indigenous peoples, offers insights into the operations of hegemonic social structures and systems of power.[124]

[122] Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 167.
[123] Ibid*,* 167.
[124] Sarah De Leeuw and Margo Greenwood, "History Lessons: What Empire, Education, and Indigenous Childhoods Teaches Us", in *Empire, Education, and Indigenous Childhoods: Nineteenth- Century Missionary Infant Schools in Three British Colonies*, ed. Helen May, Baljit Kaur and Larry Prochner (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd, 2014), xvi.

The education system of the Natal Colony was formulated by authorities in government and church according to race as part of a broader civilising project. It became a vital contact zone that brought together a disparate group of half-castes and brown immigrants and was pivotal in defining and maintaining a separate Coloured identity.

The Trinity - Religion, Education, and Welfare

Christian missionary education provided the earliest and perhaps the most critical factor in Coloured education in Natal. Norman Etherington described early Natal as: "… one of the most heavily missionized regions on earth."[125] The American Board of Missionaries had founded six mission stations by 1837, Wilson and Venable at the mouth of the Mhlathuze River, Champion and Grout near the mouth of the Tugela River and Adams and Lindley to the south of Port Natal. The Norwegian Missionary Society founded their first of twelve mission stations amongst the Zulu, from the mid-1840s. Etherington further notes:

> … by 1880 nine different societies were at work representing Methodist, Roman Catholic, Congregationalist, Lutheran, Anglican, and Presbyterian denominations. The home bases of the missionaries included England, France, Germany, Scotland, Norway, Sweden and the United States.[126]

The missionary imperative was the conversion of the African heathens to Christianity, coupled with the drive to provide primary education in reading and writing. To the missionaries, Christianity and Western Civilisation were also linked. In most cases, missionaries convinced their new converts to abandon traditional beliefs of ancestral worship and traditional practices

[125] Norman Etherington, "The Missionary Writing Machine in Nineteenth-Century Kwazulu-Natal," in *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions*, ed. Jamie Scott and Gareth Griffiths (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 37.
[126] Norman Etherington, "Social Theory and the Study of Christian Missions in Africa: A South African Case Study," J*ournal of the International African Institute* 47, No 1 (1977): 32.

such as polygamy and lobola. Switzer notes that: "…the use of ploughs and waggons, the building of upright houses, the weaving of clothes, the acceptance of Western medicine, the sending of children to school - these were regarded as the fruits of the Gospel."[127] From as early as the 1840s, a distinct community of African Christians, a mission-educated elite, were cultivated. These *amakholwa*, as they were known, had broken with traditionalism and adopted the English language, as well as European notions of dress, domestic life and family ties. They were described as being: “Christian, temperate, literate, honest and generally without malice."[128] The Colonial government began partially financing mission education from 1841 onwards as it suited them to be less involved but still assured that the ‘civilising’ work was being done.[129]

Writing in the mid-20th century, Neville Nuttall acknowledged that the central influence in the early education of Coloured people in Natal was mission education.[130] For the half-caste children of Natal, Christian missions were omnipresent, functioning at the intersection of education, religion and child welfare. Across the rural landscape of Zululand, mission stations provided education and religious training for Coloured children as part of their undertaking to convert heathens to Christianity. In the half-caste population, they found a group they believed needed saving from their non-Christian, thus uncivilised, existence. Half-caste children were sent or, at times, removed from African mothers and taken to mission stations to receive an education. Removed from African culture and immersed in the Christian civilising project, the hope was to save the burgeoning half-caste community from being consumed in a ‘Native’

[127] Lester Switzer, “The Problems of an African Mission in a White Dominated, Multi-Racial Society” (PhD thesis, University of Natal, 1971), 17.
[128] Absolom Vilakazi, *Zulu transformations.* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1965), 128.
[129] Abraham Behr and Ronald Macmillan, *Education in South Africa* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1971), 378.
[130] Neville Nuttall, *Natal Education - 1849-1949: Then and Now* (Durban: John Singleton & Williams Ltd, 1949), 29.

environment. Mission education in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe had a similar effect, which led to the development of a Coloured consciousness and community to the north of South Africa. To the missionaries, the mixed children were faultless products of these sinful unions, and they believed it was the moral duty of the white community, and the Church in particular, to ensure that these children were civilised. Of course, as they were not fully white, they had to be taught their intermediary position.[131] The most successful denomination active in the education and welfare of the group that would come to be known as Coloured in Natal were the Catholics.

Bishop Charles Jolivet was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Natal in 1874 and held the position until 1903. Under his stewardship, Catholic institutions flourished in the Colony. In 1884, the dioceses established the St Louis Catholic Church in Clairwood for Creole Mauritians and two years later erected a larger building. At the same time, the Rev. Mother Mary of the Cross opened a school for Indian and Mauritian girls, but this initiative was short-lived as it closed its doors in 1889.[132] Also opened in 1886 was St Philomena's Catholic School for Girls under the auspices of the Augustinian Order of the Mercy of Jesus and located on Chelmsford Road.[133] The school was initially opened for the children of the Mauritian and Indian women employed by the Sisters in a private clinic for white patients. "The women mentioned to the sisters that during the day their children had to be left unattended: danger could be expected from wild monkeys and roaming strangers."[134]

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[131] Julia Sierlis, "Urban space and 'Coloured' identities in Harare, Zimbabwe" (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1999), 112-115.
[132] St Louis Roman Catholic Church, http://www.stlouisrcc.co.za (Last accessed 18 May 2020).
[133] Neville Nuttall, *Natal Education - 1849-1949: Then and Now* (Durban: John Singleton & Williams Ltd, 1949), 31; Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 66-67.
[134] Ibid, 21.

According to Joy Brain, the sisters soon turned the school into an orphanage for indigent children:

> … the sisters were concerned about the welfare of destitute children, especially Coloured and Indian, from the time of their arrival in Natal. An orphanage was opened in one of the cottages on the Durban property in 1895, initially to care for the children of domestic workers…The Augustinian Sisters were able to obtain a small grant from the Education Department, and established a teacher's training class for Coloured students selected from its Standard 6 class.[135]

Also crucial in establishing the prominence of Catholicism in the Coloured community was the mission outreach in Zululand. Phillipe Denis notes that the Catholic Church created several mission stations that were important to the Coloured community. The first was the Marianhill community started in 1882 by Abbot Francis Pfanner, a Trappist monk. The apparent goal of the mission was to convert as many African people as possible. However, an unintended consequence was that the mission school served as a catchment zone for Coloureds from the Midlands. In 1883, Pfanner started Marianhill boys' school with a new creed for missions:

> We make no distinction of colour or religion. All the boys in our institute receive lodging, board and instruction without distinction, be he heathen, Mohammedan, Protestant or Catholic be he white or coloured, be he English, German, Italian or Native. They all sleep together in the same dormitory; they eat at the same table, get the same food and sit at the same desks at school. In South Africa one regards the natives, it would seem, only as half human beings, and believes they can be treated like cattle...We do not tolerate contempt or a disdainful attitude towards the Natives.[136]

St Anne's school for girls was founded a few years later in 1885 at Marianhill. It functioned along similar open lines as the boy's school, and with the overarching objective to train girls to

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[135] Joy Brain, "The Centenary of the Augustinian Sisters in Natal." *Natalia* 21 (1991): 64-65. http://www.natalia.org.za/Files/21/Natalia%20v21%20article%20p54-65%20C.pdf

[136] Rudolph Kneipp, *Mariannhill and its Apostolate: Origin and Growth of the Congregation of the Mariannhill Missionaries* (Reimlingen: Saint Joseph Mission Press, 1964), 70.

become: "proper Christian mothers."[137] Several half-caste children from the Natal Midlands were sent to Marianhill to equip them with the education and skills needed for a better life.

In 1895, on his deathbed, John Dunn called the commissioner of Eshowe and asked for his assistance to set up a mission station that would take care of the education of his children. The children had initially been taught by a series of governesses and private tutors, but Dunn wanted a more established system of education that would continue beyond his direction. He first asked the Protestants and, when they refused, he turned to the Catholics. Whatever the circumstances, the Catholics obliged and, after convincing Dunn's wives that they would not have to work on the mission or lose their lands, an existing building at the Dunn compound in Emoyeni was converted into a schoolhouse. With Emoyeni as an entry point to Zululand, other Catholic schools for half-caste children were established in Umzinto in 1897, Genazzano in 1899 and Umtwalini in 1903, furthering the depth and impact of the Catholic Church among the Coloured population of Natal.[138] One of these, St Vincent's school near Verulam was established by Dominican sisters for "Coloured boarders, children of European fathers and Native mothers."[139] The school had nine children in 1886, which grew to 24 in 1900 and offered a balanced education:

> Singing, drawing and needlework are taught in addition to the scheduled subjects. The children's ages range from 5 to 17 years, and the highest attainment are a little beyond the fourth standard. The results were an agreeable surprise, and abundantly exemplify the thorough teaching of the sisters.[140]

[137] Ramon Fynn, "Elizabeth Georgina Firmstone: Biography of a Great South African Teacher" (Master's thesis. University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2014), 43.
[138] Phillipe Denis, "Race, Politics and Religion: The First Catholic mission in Zululand (1895-1907)," *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 36, No 1 (May 2010): 8-9.
[139] Natal Colony, *Departmental Reports 1900*. (Pietermaritzburg: P Davis and Sons, 1901), 26
[140] Ibid, 26.

Bishop Jolivet then turned his sights to the building of a large Cathedral for the city of Durban. Saint Joseph's, founded in 1852, already existed just a few hundred yards away from the proposed site of the cathedral. Jolivet was able to physically dismantle St Josephs and move it to Greyville and then have the Emmanuel Cathedral built. Bishop Jolivet laid the first stone in January 1902, and the cathedral was dedicated in November 1904.[141] The Emmanuel Cathedral, located close to the Grey Street Mosque, became the spiritual home of the Coloured Catholics living in and around the area known as Duchene. Attached to the Cathedral, St Augustine's School was opened in 1907 by the Holy Family Sisters, to serve the Coloureds living in town and attending Emmanuel Cathedral and to ease the pressure of overcrowding at the white Catholic school in St Andrews Street. Given the hysteria taking place at government schools about St Helenian and Cape Coloured children mixing with white children, one can also assume that, in opening this new school, the diocese was also reacting to pressure from white Catholics parents. The diocese purchased a piece of land alongside Emmanuel Cathedral and, under the direction of the Holy Family Sisters, St Augustine's Coloured School was developed.[142]

Another important mission school in the Coloured community of Natal was Little Flower School, which opened in Ixopo in 1923. The school was founded by the same Trappists who had experienced so much success with their methods at Marianhill.[143] Finally, in 1925 the community of Augustinian sisters from St Philomena's School and Orphanage for girls established a home for Coloured boys. In 1925 they obtained a piece of land with three existing cottages in Mayville and established St Theresa's home for boys. Soon they were able to expand

[141] Emmanuel Cathedral: http://emmanuelcathedral.org.za/history (Last accessed 18 May 2020).
[142] Denis Hurley Centre: http://www.denishurleycentre.org/page/history-of-the-site (Last accessed 18 May 2020).
[143] Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 66-67.

and added St Theresa's School and St Theresa's Church. The three institutions school, church and orphanage, exemplified the universal role of the church in the Coloured community of Durban. In 1929 Father Hugo was appointed priest in charge of the parish of St Theresa's. He resided in one of the cottages next to the church, which became a focal point of a rapidly developing congregation.[144]

The Anglican Church was also involved in mission education in Natal and occupied an elevated position in the colony because of its affiliation with the British colonial authorities. The St Helenians arrived in Natal in the late 1870s, with their Anglican faith intact and looking to their church for assistance. In Pietermaritzburg, St Luke's was opened in 1882 by Bishop Macrorie to serve the Coloured community in the area. The church was known as the mother church of the St Helena community but was also home to a growing population of Griquas and Cape Coloureds.[145] In 1883, a day school known as the Good Shepherd Day School was opened by the Sisters of the Society of St John the Divine for the education of Coloured children.[146] The school received a grant from the government to assist in with running expenses. By 1896, the Diocesan Board of Education of the Anglican Church had determined that they would have three types of schools in the Cape and Natal Colonies based on race: Church Schools for European children; Mission Schools for mixed or Coloured children; and Native Schools for African children.[147] When Greyling Street government school for Coloured children opened,

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[144] Joy Brain, *Proclaiming the Good News. A Glimpse into the History of the Archdiocese of Durban (1850-2009)* (Strasbourg: Editions du Signe, 2010), 128.
[145] HEJ Goodyer, *The Story of a Mission* (Durban: St Raphaels, 1949), 15-16.
[146] Mandy Goedhals, "'The Upholding of the Sap from the Tree': The Reminiscences of Sister Monica Fanny SSJD," *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 37, No 2 (2011): 229.
[147] Phillipe Denis, "Race, Politics and Religion: The First Catholic Mission in Zululand (1895-1907)," *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 36, No 1 (May 2010): 8.

the government removed its grant, desks, books and other equipment from the Good Shepherd School. Sister Monica Fanny played a central role in the school remaining open, she arranged for new desks to be made by a local carpenter, asked local white schools to donate books and supplies and convinced the government to reinstate aid.[148]

In 1895, Miss Snell established a school known as St Cyprian's Mission for poor Coloured children at 7 Umgeni Road in Durban. Miss Snell collected donations from the parish of St Cyprians and other white Anglican parishes around Durban to keep the school afloat. The school moved several times and in 1920 opened in Hillary as St Monica's Diocesan Home for Coloured Girls.[149]

The Anglican Church in Durban began as an offshoot of St Luke's church in Pietermaritzburg. Fr Alston, the priest from St Luke's in Pietermaritzburg, visited Durban in 1917 to seek out members of his flock who had left Pietermaritzburg in search of work. He found that a few of the St Helenians had joined St Cyprians (Smith Street) and St Stephens (Point) and others had joined other denominations. Fr Alston, assisted by Miss Emily Landon, was determined to build an Anglican Coloured church in Durban that could be a home for the St Helena community.[150] Armed with just a list of former St Luke's parishioners now living in Durban, Miss Landon began by starting a Sunday school in the home of Aunt Sophia Abrahams at 29 Leopold Street. An early attendee remembered attending the Sunday school as a young boy:

> One bright Sunday afternoon in 1917, she called at our home to take us to Sunday school. It was quite an event seeing the figure in brown at our

[148] Mandy Goedhals, "'The Upholding of the Sap from the Tree': The Reminiscences of Sister Monica Fanny SSJD." *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 37, No 2 (2011): 229.
[149] St Monica's Children's Home: http://www.stmonicas.org.za/history (Last accessed 18 May 2020).
[150] HEJ Goodyer, *The Story of a Mission* (Durban: St Raphaels, 1949), 16.

> door. My sister, brother and I went off with her to a little house in Leopold Street and there we found eight or nine other children gathered together in the little sitting room. I remember how lustily we sang the well-known hymn, 'There is a green hill far away'.[151]

When Miss Landon made her home at 136 Old Dutch Road, she opened one room for Sunday school, and the numbers of attendees continued to grow. Fr Alston continued to come from St Luke's in Pietermaritzburg once a month to take confession and celebrate mass for the community. In January 1918, St Raphael's parish opened in a space rented from 'Arabs' at 87 Berea Road and furnished with help from St Cyprian's, St Paul's and various fundraising efforts from the community itself. After a few moves to rented spaces, in May 1922 the Durban Anglican Church Council purchased a piece of land on Stratford Road for St Raphael's Church and erected a wood and iron structure donated by St Stephen's church on the Point. "Many of our own people, including Mr Bredenkamp and the Lawlers, lent a hand and finally we had a Church standing in one of Durban's most notorious slum areas."[152] The first service in Stratford Road was held on 1st October 1922. The Mother's Union was started in June 1926 by Mrs Searle. St Raphael's was an important cultural centre in the Coloured community for all denominations, with plays, concerts and even political meetings all held in its spaces.

The defining of separate education for different groups of society was undoubtedly impacted by conversations happening in the colonial offices. Phillipe Denis confirms that the settler Church was "imbued with colonial prejudices" and worked within the racist attitudes of the day.[153] The Catholic Church was able to take advantage of a gap in service and, by a series of coincidences such as the Augustine sisters educating the children of their Mauritian helpers

[151] Ibid, 18.
[152] Ibid, 29.
[153] Phillipe Denis, "Race, Politics and Religion: The First Catholic Mission in Zululand (1895-1907)," *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 36, No1 (May 2010): 7.

and John Dunn's request for a mission school for his mixed offspring, became deeply rooted in Coloured education in Natal.

Colour and the Classroom: State Policy on Education

The state was slower to provide education in the Natal Colony to the general population and Coloureds specifically than the Christian missionaries. However, it was ultimately more important in determining overall policy frameworks. The State began providing education to the sons and daughters of settlers. The first government primary school in Natal was Boys Model School, which opened in Pietermaritzburg in 1849. The first government primary school in Durban was Queen Street School, which opened in 1850. The colonial government opened Pietermaritzburg's first high school in 1863, and Durban's high school came just three years later in 1866.[154] In 1856, Natal was granted representative government, and in the same year, enacted the first legislation for African education, Ordinance 2 of 1856, which guaranteed education to all children regardless of race who "conformed to European habits and customs."[155]

The first public school with a recorded Coloured intake in the province was the Verulam Day School, which opened in 1854 in Verulam north of Durban, the third-largest settlement in the Natal Colony. The school was run by Mr Champion and was affiliated with the Wesleyan settlers in the area. Of an intake of 40 to 50 students: "... 14 or 15 of whom were Coloured children belonging to the Native Christian Society."[156] Nuttall acknowledges that within the

[154] Abraham Behr and Ronald Macmillan, *Education in South Africa* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1971), 128.
[155] Ibid, 134, 382
[156] Neville Nuttall, *Natal Education - 1849-1949: Then and Now*, (Durban: John Singleton & Williams Ltd, 1949), 29; Amber Ramdass, "From Wesleyan Origins to Modern Times: A History of Verulam," *Natalia* 35 (2005): 57-62.

early records of the colony, the terms Native and Coloured were used interchangeably; but it is likely, given the settlement in the area, that at least some of the students were the offspring of African women and white traders or settlers.[157] In 1859, the Verulam Native Mission opened and Native children were funnelled to that school, leaving the original Verulam Day School for whites only. No records exist of what would have happened to any mixed children at the split in Verulam, as there was no official policy and this would have been left up to the school. However, as mixed children could generally attend white schools in these early days, one might assume that some were allowed to remain at the Verulam Day School.

As the population of mixed children in Natal grew, white families began to object to 'contamination' from half-castes. The wave of immigration from the Island of St Helena from the 1870s complicated education matters. As St Helena was a British Protectorate, St Helenians were British citizens and, despite their brown skin tones, they were tallied as white in Natal census figures and attended white schools.[158]

Settler society was not welcoming to the immigrant children and the presence of children from St Helena in schools produced tensions with education officials. A case that garnered much attention at that time was that of St Helena children attending Queen Street School in Durban. The school began admitting children from St Helenian families in 1873 and, by 1875, the school had about 25 St Helenian children in its enrolment. Swartz and Wasserman note:

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[157] Natal Law No 15 of 1869, Section (2): A Coloured Person shall mean any Hottentot, Coolie, Bushman, Lascar, or any of the people commonly called kaffirs, whether they are refugees from any of the surrounding states or tribes originally in this colony and its neighbourhood.

[158] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 55.

> At first, the presence of this group of immigrant children raised no objections, although their presence was noted and some were mentioned in local newspapers for their academic ability and 'good behaviour'.[159]

Soon white families became insistent that the children be removed from the school. The acting headmaster W J Hepworth refused admission to two particular St Helena children who were: "… of a colour bordering upon the black." The character of St Helenians, in general, was called into question with the suggestion that there was: "…a strong feeling of repugnance down here against the St Helena people, as a body, on account of their immorality."[160] T Warwick Brooks, Natal Superintendent of Education, directed the school to readmit the students, noting that colour was not to be a factor in their admission:

> I do not think that their colour should exclude these children provided (as is probably the case) that they have been brought up with the ideas and under the restraints of ordinary European civilization.[161]

The decision demonstrated a distinction between whiteness and civilisation, which would not hold for long. When a new principal, James Crowe, took over later in 1875, he re-examined the opposition of white parents to the presence of St Helenian children. White parents were reportedly withdrawing their children in protest and moving them to St Cyprian's Anglican government-aided school, which enforced an all-white student body. The parents found the presence of the mixed children dangerous, as they believed it would show their children that race-mixing was acceptable. Brooks caved in to pressure from the white families and expelled all St Helenian children from Queen Street School.

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[159] Rebecca Swartz and Johan Wassermann, "'Britishness', Colonial Governance and Education: St Helenian Children in Colonial Natal in the 1870s," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 44, No 6 (2016): 886.
[160] Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository (NAB), Colonial Secretary's Office (CSO), 536 1876/270, Acting Master of the Durban Government School to the Superintendent of Education.
[161] NAB, CSO, 536 1876/270, Minute Paper Superintendent of Education.

Figure 2: St Helenian children expelled from Queen Street School



Source: Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository (NAB), Colonial Secretary's Office (CSO), 536 187/3515, Coloured children ejected from a European school.

Brooks was particularly concerned and embarrassed at the removal of white girls from the school that was supposed to train girls of the Natal Colony to become teachers.[162] The St Helenian parents banded together as respectable British subjects and began a letter-writing campaign, arguing that their children had been expelled from Queen Street School because of their race and demanding to be fairly treated as they were "wholly English."[163] The case eventually made its way to the Aborigines Protection Society (APS), a British humanitarian organisation, which took the matter to the Colonial Secretary.[164] The APS cited an example of

[162] Rebecca Swartz and Johan Wassermann, "'Britishness', Colonial Governance and Education: St Helenian Children in Colonial Natal in the 1870s," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 44, No 6 (2016): 886-887.
[163] NAB, CSO, 536 1876/270, HC Crowley, RA Green, T Clarke to FN Broome.
[164] Rebecca Swartz and Johan Wassermann, "'Britishness', Colonial Governance and Education: St Helenian Children in Colonial Natal in the 1870s," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 44, No 6 (2016): 889.

the Sherrad sisters to strengthen their case that colour was at the root of the expulsion. The day after all St Helena children had been expelled, the two Sherrad sisters reported back to school. The younger of the two sisters who was fair in complexion was allowed to attend classes, while the older, darker sister, was sent home. The Colonial Office investigated the case and concluded that race was less of a factor in the expulsion of the children than class and behaviour and that the matter was simply a mistake. The St Helenian children were readmitted to Queen Street School, and the Colonial Office made it clear that education at government schools in Natal was open to all British subjects.[165]

The question of these children's schooling alongside, and contaminating the children of Natal elites remained a concern for white parents and local officials alike and plans to open a separate school for Coloured children (including St Helenians) began to take shape. The Queen Street case raised important questions about race in Natal. For the St Helena community, this was a public acknowledgement of their rights as British subjects, affirmed by the Colonial Office in Britain, which allowed them to maintain special privileges not afforded to other mixed peoples. At the same time, this was a public rejection by white society in Durban and fair warning that Britishness was qualified by race and class in white society.

Stemming from the Queen Street case, Robert Jameson, who would go on to become a city councillor and mayor of Durban, showed particular concern towards the welfare of St Helena immigrants and set up a night school in 1875 for St Helena boys who had been expelled from local schools. It is not clear how long the school lasted, presumably just until children were

[165] NAB, CSO, 536 1876/270, Memo from F Napier Broome re: APS Correspondence about the St Helena Children.

readmitted to the school. Still, it is interesting to note that the same Mr Jameson, led a call in the 1890s for the segregation of Indian people based on unsanitary living conditions.[166]

In 1901, the Natal Parliament debated the provision of a separate school in the colony for Coloured children other than Native and Indian. The Attorney General told parliament that while this was the most difficult decision he was called to make, the Natal Colony needed to provide separate schools for these Coloured children:

> These children are entitled to attend school and they ought to have schools of their own; and this is a departure to deal with this particular class. The strangest thing about it that even among coloured people there are distinctions, and coloured people coming from one part of the Empire object to coloured people who come from another part of the Empire. The item is to provide for a school in Durban, and perhaps for one in Martizburg, to get over this difficulty. These coloured children other than Natives and Indians, are entitled to consideration…We cannot, of course take away the children already in the schools. The Hon. Member will certainly recognise that it would be a great injustice to remove them. But there are comparitively few coloured children in our schools. There are, of course some, but not very many, because objection has been taken to their admission. But I do not intend to remove any child compulsorily; nor do I think I have the power to do so.[167]

The decision to provide separate schooling for this group of children marked a crystallisation in classification and segregation in Natal for this disparate group of people with different origins, into a collective known as Coloured.

The government built Greyling Street School for Coloured children in Pietermaritzburg, in 1902.[168] By 1904 there was still no progress on a school for Coloured children in Durban. In

[166] Brian Kearney, "Keep Your Town Sweet and Wholesome: The Inspector of Nuisances: A Narrative of Culture and Sanitation in Nineteenth Century Durban," *Historia* 57, No 1 (2012): 44. Robert Jameson was a businessmen, Councillor 1876-81 and 1889-1910, Mayor of Durban 1895-97 and Member of the Natal Legislative Council until 1910.

[167] Natal Colony, Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Natal: Fifth Session-Second Parliament, from May 17 to August 7, 1901, Vol XXX (Pietermaritzburg: WM Watson, 1901), 165.

[168] Greyling School was subsequently renamed Alston School after Fr William Alston, the priest at St Luke's Coloured Church for 38 years, who was instrumental in the opening of the school. See St Luke's Coloured Church, https://stlukespmb.co.za/history.

August 1904, the Superintendent of Education, Percy Barnett, wrote to the Public Works Department to complain that promises had been made to the Coloured people year after year for a government school of their own. More than merely the need to make good on promises to the Coloured people, Barnett was also concerned that obligations to his 'useful' white constituents were not being met: "In the meantime, they are taking places in white schools meant for white children, the Colony is merely breeding and multiplying hordes of 'hooligans' and alienating the goodwill of hundreds of useful citizens."[169]

Additionally, the position of mixed children enrolled at white schools was still tenuous and children were, at times, still being removed and sent to Indian or mission schools. The Natal Mercury pointed to additional cases where siblings were separated and sent to different schools based on appearance. "It is difficult to imagine anything more tactless or calculated to give pain than to differentiate between children of the same parents, as has been done in some cases."[170] In 1904, as a stopgap measure, Albert Street School was designated as a Coloured government school and, by 1905 there were 322 Coloured children in public schools in Durban.[171]

Discussions continued over the construction of a new Coloured school in Carlisle Street Durban near the Greyville racecourse to accommodate 500 students. However, the school was delayed and later opened as Carlisle Street Government Indian School, as the numbers of Indian children requiring education was far higher than that of coloureds.[172] The plan for a new

[169] NAB, Public Works Department (PWD), 2/116 PWD5760/1903/1, Minister of Education: Reports on Education School for Coloured Children Durban.
[170] *The Natal Mercury*, 21 September 1905.
[171] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 56; Neville Nuttall, *Natal Education - 1849-1949: Then and Now* (Durban: John Singleton & Williams Ltd, 1949), 32.
[172] NAB, PWD, 2/116 PWD5760/1903/1, Minister of Education: Reports on Education School for Coloured Children Durban.

Coloured school took some time to come to fruition and, in the meantime, conditions began to deteriorate in Albert Street School. In 1908, Member for Durban, Charles Henry Haggar urged the Colonial Secretary to look into the state of the school:

> We have in Durban a Mauritian school, commonly called a coloured school, for Mauritians and St. Helenas. I quite agree with what the Treasurer said the other day – the St Helenas particularly are excellent citizens, excellent workers, they are most progressive in their ideas, and no people appreciate education more than these people. But if you went to Durban and looked at the school provided there for these children, and looked at their accommodation, I'm sure you would cry shame on our government. Why I would not put cows in such a place, let alone children. It is simply a scandal, and I do hope that the Colonial Secretary will go down and have a good look over the place. These people have their rights, and education is their first right, and we cannot educate them properly unless they have a proper healthy environment, which is denied to them.[173]

In 1910, the Natal Education Department built Stamford Hill government-aided Primary School for white children, which accepted any students, including Coloureds, who could pay a fee of £10 a year.[174] For any male students continuing to high school, Coloured boys were allowed to attend Smith Street (Boys Model) School, a white school.[175]

Melbourne Road Coloured School was finally built some years later and opened in 1917. The location of Melbourne Road provided insight into the position of Coloureds as labourers in the city. The area was home to a large number of Coloured families who lived in the Gale Street and Melbourne, Blake and Umbilo Road areas and, importantly, it was located close to the newly expanded bay, an area earmarked for industrial development. In 1924 Umbilo Road School opened as the first Coloured high school in Durban not far from Melbourne Road School.

[173] Natal Colony, Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Natal: Third Session of the Fifth Parliament, from July 29 to August 31, 1908, Vol XLV (Pietermaritzburg: WM Watson, 1908), 229.
[174] Livingstone Primary School, http://livingstoneschool.co.za/our-history (Last accessed 18 May 2020).
[175] It should be noted, that there were no options for girls seeking further education during this period.

Umbilo Road School started from Standard 5 (Grade 7 in the current system) with a beginning intake of 48 pupils and allowed the authorities to consolidate all secondary classes for Coloured students in one location.[176] The location of the school, coupled with more facilities and resources for vocational education, provided a convenient supply of Coloured labour for nearby industry.

The Colonial government's approach to education in Natal in the early days was unstructured. Missionaries were allowed into the colony and Zululand to educate and 'civilise' Africans and later, the children of indentured Indian workers. The state gave grants to these mission schools to carry out this work. Not much thought was given to the education of the children who would come to be defined as Coloured. The parents of these children did however, demand education. They had been recipients of education elsewhere such as in St Helena, Mauritius and the Cape Colony, and they also acknowledged that education was needed for advancement in society. In the cities, these children attended schools with white children and, in the countryside, they attended mission schools with African children. As the outcry from white citizens over race and difference became unmanageable in white government schools, crystallised by the Queen Street case, the State also began to develop a separate education policy for this community, which they distinguished from Native and Indian populations as Coloured.

Community Building and the Struggle for Sporting Facilities

Sports were a critical area of community life for Coloured people in Durban and one where they felt compelled to organise. After the establishment of Coloured schools for people

[176] Neville Nuttall, *Natal Education - 1849-1949: Then and Now* (Durban: John Singleton & Williams Ltd, 1949), 31.

from St Helena, Mauritian, Cape Coloured and half-caste backgrounds in the early 1900s, sports teams developed within schools and neighbourhoods. With small numbers, the group did not have their own sports fields, and the city government preferred to let them use fields provided for other groups, scattered around the city. Soccer teams made use of school sports grounds, Congella municipal grounds, Curries Fountain (Indian) and Somtseu Road (African); but teams were at the mercy of Corporation officials and the needs of other communities in scheduling practices and matches. Cricket teams used the Congella municipal grounds or the Berea Flats ground belonging to the Durban and Districts Indian Cricket Union (DDICU).[177] An uneasy relationship developed between Coloureds and Indians over cricket and the use of sports grounds.

In October 1914, Coloureds were banned from the DDICU, as they were not of recognised Indian parentage and, in 1919, the DDICU banned Coloureds from umpiring Indian cricket matches. One of the complaints levelled against Coloureds was that they were: "too noisy and boisterous."[178] Muslim Coloureds from the Cape, later known as Malays, occupied a middle ground in that the government regarded them as Coloured and they attended Coloured schools and lived in Coloured enclaves, but they shared a religion with Muslim Indians.[179] When Coloureds were expelled from the Indian Cricket Union, Coloured Muslims were allowed to remain. This continued up until 1925, when the DDICU passed another resolution stating that

[177] Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 167.
[178] Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 168.
[179]For a discussion on the history and contestations of the name Malay, see Shamil Jeppie, "Reclassifications: Coloured, Malay, Muslim" in *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspective on Coloured Identities in Cape Town*, ed. Zimitri Erasmus (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001), 80-96; and Goolam Vahed, "The Quest for 'Malay' identity in Apartheid South Africa," *Alternation* 11, No 1 (Jan 2004), 256-283.

the union should comprise only Indians and that, despite a shared religion with some members of the Indian community, Coloured Muslims were still Coloured and had to leave.[180]

Coloureds across sporting codes began demanding their own sports facilities. In January 1924, Mr J Parizot of the Natal Amalgamated Political Association (NAPA) wrote to the Mayor of Durban requesting that the city give the Coloured community a piece of land to be used for recreational purposes.[181] The piece of land identified by the community was in the area of Stamford Hill and was large enough to provide space for tennis courts, cricket pitches and soccer grounds. The Durban Colonial Sports Grounds Association (DCSGA) was formed as an offshoot of NAPA, to negotiate with the Council over this issue.[182] The group that met with the Sports Committee of the Durban Council included members of the Coloured sporting leadership, DCSGA (IG Bredenkamp), NAPA (A Phillips, W Robinson and Fred Swanby), the Durban Colonial Football Association (J Dubroize and D Easthorpe), and the Durban Colonial Cricket Union (IE Langois, Joseph Abrahams and H Dixon). In January 1924, the Council agreed to lease ten acres at Stamford Hill Road to the Coloured community. The agreement stipulated that the grounds could only be used by people from the Coloured group, although Council documents suggest that they were unsure how to define this:

> Ordinance 14 of 1922, the solicitors advised, allowed the Council to restrict ownership to persons of European descent, Asiatics or Natives. Under what category if any, do the Coloured Community come? We might for instance introduce a clause prohibiting the use of the ground by people of European descent, but we are not sure this would meet the case as many Coloured people make claim to be Europeans.[183]

[180] Goolam Vahed, "Deconstructing 'Indianness': Cricket and the articulation of Indian identities in Durban, 1900-32," *Culture, Sport, Society* 6, No 2-3 (June 2003): 158-159.
[181] Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 167.
[182] Ibid, 167.
[183] Ibid, 168.

Figure 3: Ferndale Football Club, Durban 1924 [184]



Source: Hulley Collection

In 1926, the lease was finalised at 1 shilling per year, granted at the will of the Council, meaning that it could be removed if the Council needed the land. The Council made a grant of £1000 towards the development of the land into sports fields for different codes. The amount initially promised was £4000, this was reduced because the Council felt the size of the community that would use the grounds did not warrant such a large investment.[185] NAPA asked for a reconsideration, pointing to the recent 99-year lease for whites at Kingsmead grounds, with a

[184] Ferndale Football Club 1924 was one of the teams in the Coloured football league desperate for sports grounds. Back: A Sanders, S Finchell, H Lawler, J Gilbert, J Knipe, A Lawler, J Lawler, Middle: J Langois (President), E Montgomery, J Barnes (V Capt.), AG Montgomery (Capt.) J Coleman, C Macintyre, J DeBroize (President DCFA), J Fortune, A Abbot. The Ferndale team were winners of the Natal Centenary, Local 5-A-Side, and League Cups. Mr J DeBroize, was president of the Durban Colonial Football Association and was involved with negotiations with the Council for Stamford Hill Grounds. Ferndale captain, Alfred George Montgomery, was also a cricketer, who captained the Natal Coloured Cricket team to victory in the Sir David Harris cricket trophy in 1926. The Montgomery family were prominent sportsmen and in later years, sports administrators and community welfare activists.

[185] Ibid, 172.

£10000 grant for the development of the land. The Council re-examined the request and improved their offer marginally by providing trees and increasing the size of the leased land by 50 feet to make the laying of three fields possible.

Sports provided a significant way to build community and the provision of a venue to hold sports practices and, in the early 1920s, games became a cause around which to organise. The sports grounds were also an opportunity for spectators to mix socially and develop commonalities. Identity was still quite fragile in this period and the need to assert a cohesive Coloured voice from its many parts, both in disagreements with Indian sporting bodies and in negotiations with the city, was an essential step to the formation of the community.

Conclusion

The people who became known as Coloured came from distinct groups – half-caste, St Helenian, Mauritian, Cape Coloured, Griqua and Malay. They had made their way to the city of Durban from across the country and the oceans. Each group arrived in Durban with their own identities and unique set of historical experiences. They were cultural strangers who thought of themselves as separate groups defined by their origins. All of the groups occupied an ambiguous position in Durban, marginalised yet privileged, loosely bound together by virtue of not being African, Indian or White. They were able to live wherever they could afford but, as most were of limited means, they congregated in the older Indian areas of the city, renting from Indian landlords and, as they acquired the means, some bought homes in White or distinctly Mauritian areas. Most were allowed entry to White schools, the ability to vote and had access to better jobs than African and Indians. Within the group, Mauritians and St Helenians were further privileged with access to certain white social spaces. From the early

1900s, the Colony of Natal operationalised this distinction and created separate schools for mixed children from different backgrounds, referring to this diverse group collectively as Coloured. They would hold onto their original identifiers as well as their existence in negative terms (not white, African or Indian) for some time. However, according to the state and increasingly themselves, they were Coloured. The next chapters will detail the ways in which this small group, began to form deeper social and relational bonds around a shared and developing coloured consciousness, which would contribute to much clearer and widely accepted definition of what it meant to be Coloured in the city of Durban.

CHAPTER 3

THE SEGREGATION PERIOD (1930 to 1950): FORMALITY AND FLUIDITY

Chapters 3 and 4 deal with the Segregation Period – 1930 to 1950. The years between the expansion of the city boundaries and the beginning of apartheid where characterized by increasing segregation in the city of Durban, primarily aimed at the Indian and African residents who posed various threats to the white population. The small size of the Coloured population in Durban meant that white society – the authorities and population – did not feel threatened by their presence. They were thus left to live where they could afford and to exist and grow in their marginal space, moving between white, Indian and African groupings where they could.

The city space, particularly the area known as Duchene, was central to the development of what it meant to be Coloured in this period. The space was vibrant and mixed, with Coloureds living beside Indians and Africans, sharing important elements of daily life such as shopping and entertainment spaces. Nevertheless, the space and lives of Coloureds was also separate in many ways, particularly in terms of segregated education, religion, sports and employment. During this period, the community developed a growing sense of being Coloured, and carving out a place for itself in this middle space. Community leaders and an educated elite emerged that embraced the idea of Colouredness as a separate group, melded together from the disparate St Helenian, Mauritian, Griqua, Cape Coloured and 'Half-caste' roots. They developed the ability to be socially fluid and politically pragmatic, cultivating relationships with those in power to serve the welfare of the group.

The dynamics within the Coloured group were complicated, accepting of a community and group identity on the one hand, and fractured on the other - with class and origin as

significant points of contention. The middle class were able to buy homes and live comfortably, while those struggling economically had difficulty finding steady jobs and could only afford crowded shared housing. Those with Mauritian and St Helenian origins, often falling in the middle class category, believed themselves to better than others, particularly those with a stronger rural background. Within the imposed formality and structure of segregation, the Coloured community found a flexibility to move around the city and create their own processes and institutions to navigate their marginality.

Chapter 3 focuses on measures taken by city authorities to structure the city along racial lines, and ways in which Coloured people responded to these policies in areas concerning politics, education, economy and labour. In 1931, the Durban Borough Extension and Loan Ordinance was passed, extending the city boundaries to include peri-urban areas such as Mayville, Sydenham, Greenwood Park, Cato Manor, Springfield and Clairwood, including significant numbers of Indian, Coloured and African people in the make-up of the city. The expansion of the municipal boundaries signalled growth and development, as well as the Durban Corporation's desire for greater control over who was allowed to live in the city and surrounds. The incorporation of the peri-urban areas into the city was central to the industrial and segregationist strategies of borough authorities. With greater space and numbers of people under its control, the city worked to create order in urban areas, enacting and enforcing pervasive formal structures of segregation. This chapter examines how the lives of the diverse group of people called Coloured by the authorities, became ordered by the policies of the state and how they, through a process of organic development, increasingly saw themselves as a community. Coloureds in Durban enjoyed a few political rights, such as a qualified franchise and they were able to use influence with local councillors to organise around group needs such as

housing, social welfare and securing places for community gatherings such as sports grounds. Schools established exclusively for Coloured people flourished, as did the teaching professions, and the educational space became a primary site of identity-making. While city processes and group agency drew people together in a creole alignment, class differences, fluid movement into White, Indian and African life meant that full segregation was not achieved during this period. This chapter will examine the structural position of Coloureds, the emerging segregation and housing, processes at play and experiences of the young Coloured community navigating the city of Durban.

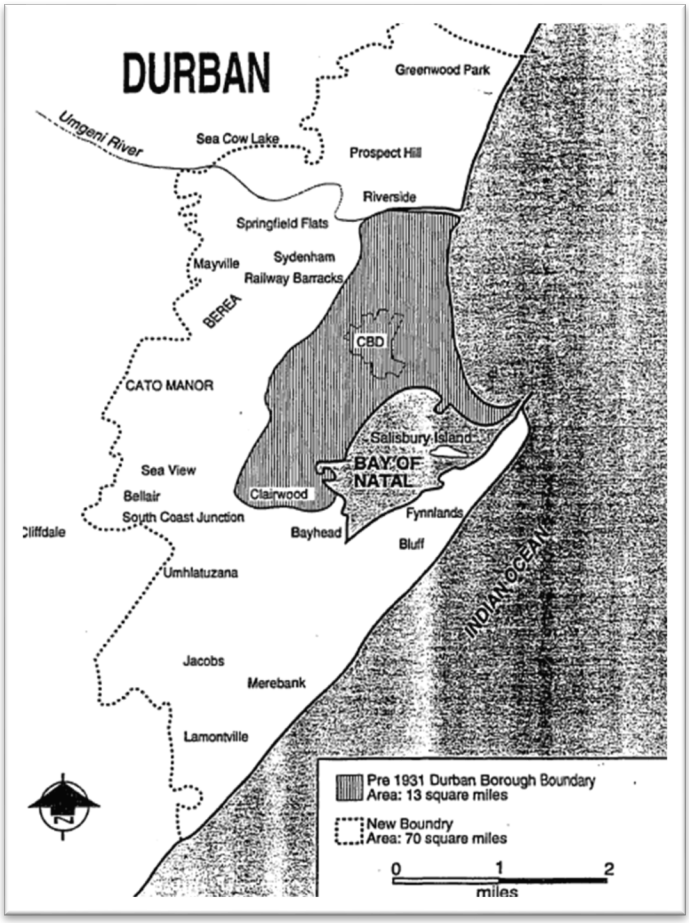
The Segregated City

When the boundaries of Durban were redrawn in 1929 to include the areas on the periphery, Coloureds numbered just 4 096 of a total population of 123 066 (approximately 3.3% of Durban's population.)[1] Whites were mostly settled in the higher positions on the Berea ridge, the Bluff and the beachfront and bay areas. Indians lived in the centre, concentrated between Greyville and Berea Road, with municipal employees housed in city barracks.[2] Coloureds lived with Indians in town and closer to the Bay and adjacent industrial area around Gale Street and Sydney Road. At the same time, the African population had largely been pushed out of the city.[3] Hostel and barracks dwellers were specifically registered to verified jobs, on the assumption that they would return to families in rural areas over weekends. There was one

[1] University of Natal. *The Durban Housing Survey: A Study of Housing in a Multi-racial Community* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1952), 35. The population at the time also comprised 42 180 Africans, 59 600 whites, and 17 190 Indians.
[2] Leonard Rosenberg, "A City Within a City: Vestiges of the Socio-spatial Imprint of Colonial and Apartheid Durban, from the 1870s to 1980s"(Master's thesis, Durban University of Technology, 2012).
[3] Bill Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban 1910-1990* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), 38.

female hostel in town, also with a strict curfew and permit registration processes in place. Various laws and controls barred African settlement in town including a law barring the transfer of land between Africans and other race groups in the city.[4] Burrows' study in the late 1940s revealed that, as was the case in other urban areas, many African domestic workers also lived in servants quarters or *khayas* in white suburban neighbourhoods.[5]

Figure 4: Map of Durban showing the old and new boundaries 1931



Source: Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts and Ronald Davis, *Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1958).

[4] Paul Maylam, "The Rise and Decline of Urban Apartheid in South Africa," *African Affairs* 89, No 354 (January 1990): 62.
[5] Burrows, Harry Raymond, "Some Basic problems in Housing Research," *South African Journal of Economics* 16, No 1 (December 1948): 11.

From the early 1930s, the Durban Corporation played a leading role in developing urban racial segregation that would be emulated across South Africa, despite formally espousing liberal ideas. Their policies were primarily directed at the Indian population to protect white interests and underpinned by racial, colonial ideas and the growing importance of industry. The effect on Coloureds was varied, determined by class, availability of accommodation, proximity to schools, churches and work. Due to their small size, Coloureds were not yet the focus of racial segregation but, at the same time, some areas of the city were becoming distinctively Coloured.

The relative absence of African people within the spaces of the city occupied by Coloureds and Indians is reflected in the life histories of people who lived in town but had limited encounters with African people. These encounters included visiting extended family members in rural areas, fleeting interactions with those Africans living in hostels and patronising Coloured-run shebeens. Some African families were known to pass as Coloured to stay in town:

> Africans were not allowed to live in town. In fact, an African family that lived close to us, very good friends of ours, had to change their name to Adams and they sent their kids to Coloured schools so they could stay in the area. I mean we knew they were African but they were our friends.[6]

Outside the city limits, Indian market gardeners worked the land, and Indian landlords rented small pieces of land to Coloured and African labourers needing easy and affordable access to the growing industrial base of the city. The city authorities regarded the peri-urban areas as a

[6] EN personal interview, September 2011; This 'passing for Coloured' would continue into apartheid where African families would change their names to English or Afrikaans versions of their Zulu names or something that sounded close enough, to attend Coloured schools, for example Ndlovu became Oliphant, Mkize became McKenzie and so on.

place where illicit activities and a culture of defiance against the state could flourish and the city needed to control and maintain order, particularly in those spaces.[7] The expansion of the municipal boundaries of Durban in 1930 gave the city authorities increased access to land for industrial development. It also provided control over its sources of African labour and the social lives of African people, some of whom were brewing and selling traditional beer and spirits, in direct competition with the Durban Corporation Beerhalls.[8] According to Freund, the new boundaries simultaneously made room for economic development and gave the city the ability to: "… control or eliminate undesirable, illegal and untaxed activities of all varieties and by inhabitants of all colours."[9]

After the expansion of the city boundaries, the population increased significantly, as it now included all the people living in peri-urban regions. The 1936 census showed 63 762 Africans, 88 065 whites, 80 384 Indians and 7 336 Coloureds.[10] With increased control over the new inhabitants of the city, the Durban Corporation began targeting Africans and Indians with measures of racial segregation. In the early 1930s, parts of Durban were proclaimed segregated under the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act. A series of influx control laws required African men to carry a pass that showed their employment status, which required their presence in the city,

[7] Timothy Nuttall, "Class, Race and Nation: African Politics in Durban, 1929-1949" (PhD thesis, Oxford University, 1997), 51-54.
[8] Jeffrey Popke, "Modernity's Abject Space: The Rise and Fall of Durban's Cato Manor" *Environment and Planning* 33 (2001): 742.
[9] Bill Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban 1910-1990* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), 25.
[10] University of Natal, *The Durban Housing Survey: A Study of Housing in a Multi-racial Community* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1952), 35. According to Hamish Dickie-Clark, the Coloured number in the data census may have been underreported as Mauritians and St Helenians were likely counted as whites. He further claims that the majority of the Coloured population of Durban in 1936 were of St Helenian and Mauritian background, although this is unsubstantiated and not confirmed in the life histories collected for this research.

and “thousands of Africans considered to be idle, dissolute, or disorderly were expelled from the city,” under the 1937 Native Laws Amendment Act.[11] The Corporation rolled out these measures sporadically so that the supply of labour for seasonal jobs would not be disrupted.[12] Additionally, slum clearance regulations such as the Public Health Act of 1919 and the Slums Act of 1934, although applied nationally, in Durban worked with the expansion of boundaries and gave the city of Durban sweeping authority to clear any area defined as a slum. In the 1940s, white businesses and ratepayers associations increased their mobilisation against the growing success and competition of Indian businesses and called on the city authorities to place restrictions on them.[13] The Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act of 1943, also known as the Pegging Act, stopped property transfers between Indians and whites. It was replaced by the permanent Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation, or Ghetto, Act of 1946 that extended to the whole of Natal and created controlled areas where property transfers between Indians and other races were prohibited, except by ministerial permit.[14] In 1943, the city began discussing plans to rezone the city into specific areas for the different racial groups arguing that separate residential areas would best serve the interests of all racial groups.[15] Durban was so successful in its planning and execution of racial segregation that it was regarded as a model in urban apartheid policy.[16]

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[11] Paul Maylam, “The Local Evolution of Urban Apartheid: Influx Control and Segregation in Durban, c.1900-1951,” A paper presented at the Wits History Workshop: Structure and Experience in the Making of Apartheid (February, 1990), 10. http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/handle/10539/7929.
[12] Ibid, 11.
[13] Jeremy Grest, “The Durban City Council and the ‘Indian Problem’: Local Politics in the 1940s,” *Collected Seminar Papers: Institute of Commonwealth Studies* 37 (1988): 88-95.
[14] Bill Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban 1910-1990* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), 23.
[15] University of Natal, *The Durban Housing Survey: A Study of Housing in a Multi-racial Community* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1952), 405.
[16] Paul La Hausse, “The Struggle for the City,” in *A People’s City: African Life in the Twentieth Century*, ed Paul Maylam and Iain Edwards (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1996), 47.

Table 1: Durban's Population by Race – 1904 to 1949

YEAR	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Africans	Total
1904	31 302	1 980	15 631	18 929	67 842
1921	46 113	4 000	16 400	29 011	93 515
1929	59 600	4 096	17 190	42 180	123 066
1931	59 250	4 240	17 860	43 750	125 100
1936	88 065	7 336	80 384	63 762	239 547
1949	129 683	11 280	123 165	109 543	373 771

Source: University of Natal, *The Durban Housing Survey: A Study of Housing in a Multi-racial Community* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1952), 35.

Amid this control of movement within the city of Durban, the comparatively small Coloured population was generally overlooked as it neither posed a threat to the white authority's vision and plans for the city nor did it challenge any of the three larger groups vying for space and economic relevance. Coloureds lived mainly in Indian areas in homes and yards owned by Indian landlords, and thus their settlement mirrored Indian patterns. The area with the largest Coloured settlement was known to residents as 'town', while the other areas with significant Coloured residency were Congella-Melbourne Road, Sydenham-Cato Manor; Clairwood-Merebank; Greenwood Park and the Point.

Coloured Settlements: Resisting Pigeonholes

Coloured people could purchase homes anywhere in the city if they had the means. Most Coloureds, however, did not have the financial resources to buy a home regardless of location, and, by the mid-1940s, only 7.7% of Coloured households owned their own homes.[17] Instead, Coloured families rented houses, flats and rooms from Indian landlords in predominantly Indian

[17] Harry Raymond Burrows, "Some Basic Problems in Housing Research," *South African Journal of Economics* 16, No 1 (December 1948): 10.

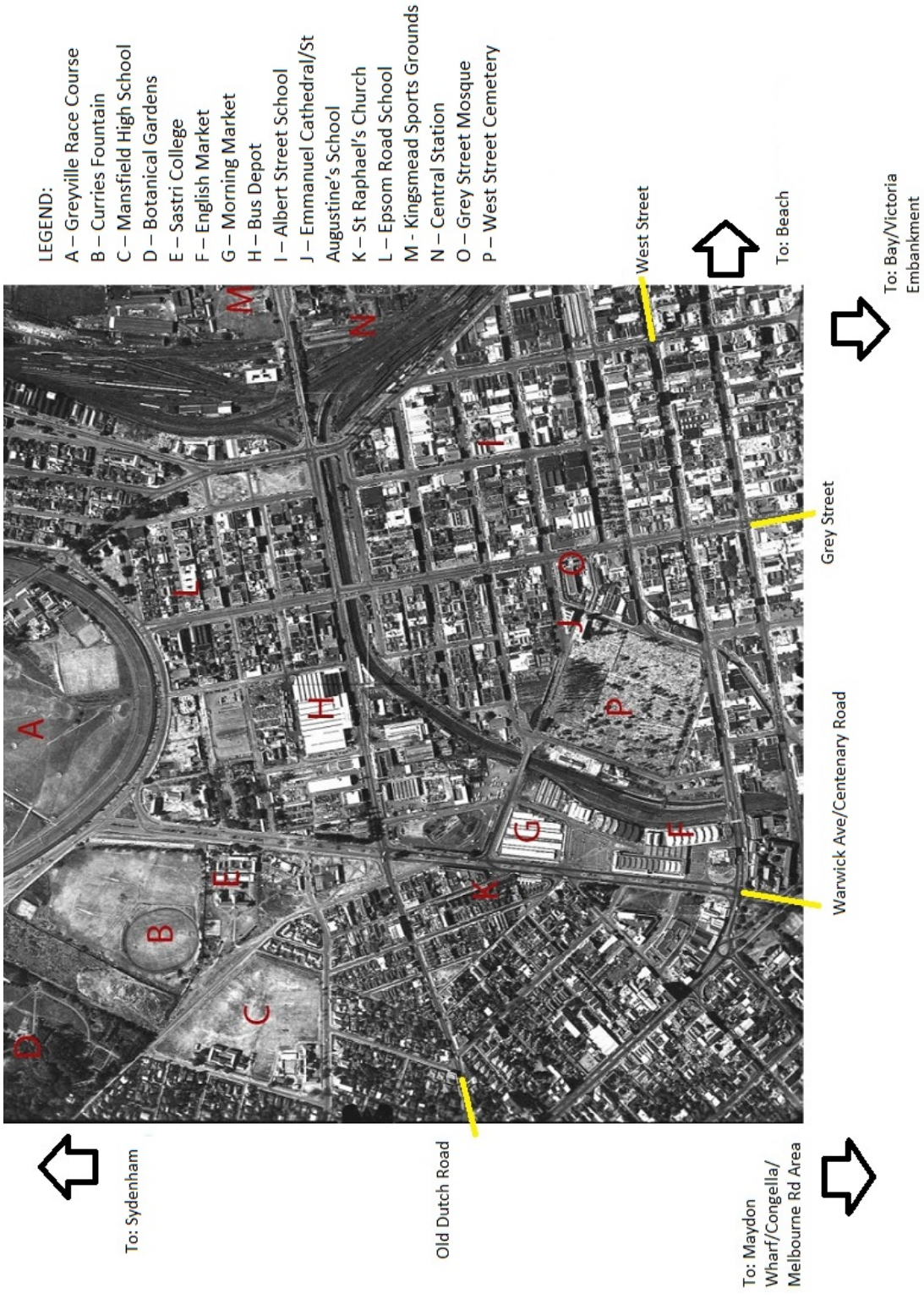
areas, notably in the: "… older and overcrowded parts of the city."[18] Coloured settlement in different regions of the city had distinctive characteristics, which supported mixing and interaction and contributed to the production of Colouredness in Durban.

The largest concentration of Coloured people in Durban, lived in town, the area close to the centre of Durban, known to colonial authorities as the 'Coolie Location', where post-indenture Indian labourers and traders began to settle from the 1870s.[19] Town was a district, which comprised three separate but connected neighbourhoods, Grey Street, Beatrice Street and the Old Dutch/Warwick Avenue areas. When St Helenians arrived in the colony, they were 'encouraged' by authorities to start a small enclave close by and, from the turn of the century, other groups began moving into the area following friends and family and finding willing Indian landlords.[20] The building of St Augustine's School in 1907 by the Catholic Church indicates the presence of a sizeable Coloured population in the area. The area was vibrant and desirable for its proximity to the CBD, services and social networks. According to Rosenberg, the area was:

> …referred to as the "Imperial Ghetto" or the "Duchene" and "Casbah" or simply "town" by the many who have frequented its markets, bus ranks, cinemas, schools, shops, cathedrals, mosques, and temples. It is known for its "bunny-chows", tea-rooms, saris, "American" clothing stores, spices, jewellers, tailors, the illegal betting game known as fah-fee (also Fafi), and the feared Duchene gang.[21]

[18] University of Natal, *The Durban Housing Survey: A Study of Housing in a Multi-racial Community* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1952), 27, 232.
[19] Bill Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban 1910-1990* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), 33.
[20] The St Helenian settlement was established in 1875 and was located north of Victoria Street. See NAB, 3DBN, 5/2/7/1/2, Durban Town Council Sanitary Committee Report, 30 July 1875 ; and NAB, 3DBN 5/2/6/1/1, Durban Town Council Sanitary Committee Report, 13 December 1875.
[21] Leonard Rosenberg, "Introduction," in *The Making of Place: The Warwick Junction Precinct, 1870s-1980s,* ed. Leonard Rosenberg, Goolam Vahed, Aziz Hassim, Sam Moodley and Kogi Singh (Durban: Durban University of Technology, ROCs Project, 2013), 7.

Figure 5: Annotated Aerial Map of Central Durban



Source: Adapted from City Engineer's Department Map 1951

Congella was an area of the city on the edge of the Warwick area, near Maydon Wharf and significant industrial concerns such as Lever Brothers (established in 1911) and Dunlop (established in 1935). The area was also home to two Coloured Government schools, Melbourne Road (established in 1917) and Umbilo Road School (established in 1924).

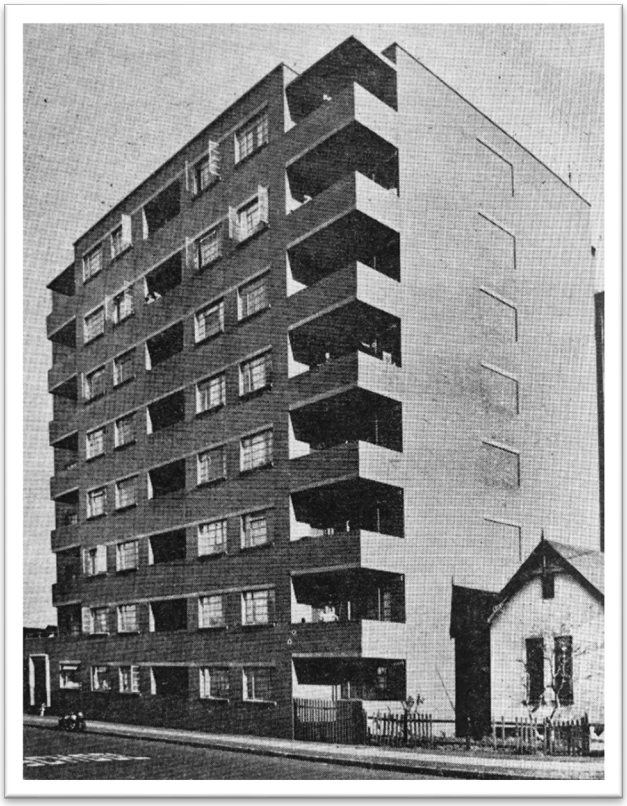
Consistent with the concentration of Coloured infrastructure in this part of the city, authorities earmarked the area for more substantial Coloured housing development in the early 1930s. The development was challenged by "organised Coloured opinion", notably from St Helenian and Mauritian segments, who were opposed to what they perceived as the segregation of Coloured people.[22]The Durban Health Officer reported: "Horseley Road Housing Scheme No 11, originally intended for Coloured occupation, was not taken up by Coloured people - apparently on account of prejudice on the grounds of segregation - and was ultimately occupied by Europeans."[23] The complicated and fractured nature of Coloured identity in this period meant that those who had historically been afforded higher privileges resisted being pigeonholed and segregated in Coloured-only areas, as they saw this as a death knell to their privilege and aspirations. In 1941, the City Council moved ahead regardless, with a small-scale Coloured housing initiative in the area and opened an eight-storey block of flats close to Melbourne and Umbilo Road schools.[24] Melbourne Road Flats provided 64 units for exclusive rental to Coloured people who earned a certain level of income. [25]

[22] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 60.
[23] Borough of Durban, Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health (August 1930), 56. https://archive.org/details/b31486678/mode/2up (Last accessed May 18th 2020).
[24] Durban Archives Repository (TBD), Town Clerk (3DBN), 634-ColHg, Report from City Treasurer on Housing, 28 October 1949.
[25] TBD, 3DBN, 634-ColHg, Report from City Treasurer on Housing, 31 August 1948; University of Natal, *The Durban Housing Survey: A Study of Housing in a Multi-racial Community* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1952), 242.

According to one of the first tenants of the flats:

> … you had to submit an affidavit as to your income, and if they found that you had gone over some limit, then they said you don't qualify anymore. And the people in Melbourne Road, we were so close, we had a lovely set of people, all Coloured people…eight floors with about eight flats on each floor…all families.[26]

Figure 6: Melbourne Road Flats



Source: University of Natal, *The Durban Housing Survey: A Study of Housing in a Multi-racial Community* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1952), 239a.

After World War II, the Congella area was identified by the city as being prime for industrial development, given its proximity to Maydon Wharf and the harbour and offered it at

[26] SD personal interview, April 2012.

favourable financial terms to businesses.[27] As the area took on an industrial character, Coloured people began to move out and seek housing in other areas. A resident of the area recalled his experiences in a shared home in Gale Street, the mixing that occurred in homes and having to leave abruptly in the late 1930s because of the industrial expansion:

> The City of Durban was very small. I mean the centre of the town was West Street and Smith Street. You had the beachfront. Hotels along the beachfront. Addington hospital there. Most white people lived in Umbilo, in Congella, and so forth. Gale Street, Melbourne road, Blake road, part of Umbilo Road those were all Coloured people. Hey there were a lot of Coloured people there…Well we were happy because there were a lot of us in Gale Street. It was actually a very big house, a very big cottage. With rooms at the back and there must have been about four or five families all living there. So there were a lot of us, a lot our age, all young. The children all grew up together…The housing was very short in Durban – especially for Coloureds. All the families living in the house were Coloured - the one woman, a Coloured woman had an African husband, and the one woman had children but I never ever saw the man, but he was an Indian. And her two youngest daughters were from this Indian man…Well we were forced to move from Gale Street because the owner of the place had sold it to somebody and they were going to build a factory or something. So we all had to move out. In fact one day we came home from school and we found that they were already knocking the walls down and so we ended up in Warwick Ave - that was about 1940.[28]

The Point area at the other end of the city was home to a unique barracks established for Coloured railway workers from the Cape and their families. While not much is written about this small community, an interviewee revealed:

> At Melbourne Road School, there was a contingent of children, boys that lived in the Point…These people came from upcountry, some came from the Northern Cape and all that, they came and worked for the railway here...And they were given a place in The Point there, Point Road you go right down, almost to the docks, they had a big, big barracks there and then they had a big, big, three stories or two stories, and these people

[27] May Katzen, *Industry in Greater Durban: Its Growth and Structure* (Pietermaritzburg: Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1961), 2.
[28] EN personal interview, September 2011.

> they all belong to the congregational church…these guys used to go around delivering goods that came on the railway…[29]

For a short time, the community living in the Point had their own soccer team known by children in town as "The Brazilians" because they spoke a foreign language (Afrikaans). When trucks replaced horses, the delivery jobs went to white drivers, and the Coloured men on the Point had to find other work, primarily in the shipbuilding and whaling industries.[30]

Sydenham, described in 1926 as a district occupied mainly by Indians, Africans and Coloureds, was incorporated into the city in 1931.[31] A former resident recalls living in a wood and iron house on what used to be an old dairy farm on Mallinson Road, surrounded by other Coloured families:

> There were lots of people up the road, down the road. There were a couple of Indians down the bottom, but it was mainly Coloured people around us…It was a small place, so you knew all your neighbours.[32]

Greenwood Park and Clairwood were areas where affluent Coloureds, mainly skilled artisans, bought homes and often lived closer to whites. The class divide often shadowed origins. People of Mauritian and St Helenian backgrounds, who had been able to achieve relative middle-class status, and were classified as white in some aspects of life, passed as white in others and preferred to keep themselves in or adjacent to white spaces.[33]

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[29] SD personal interview, April 2012.
[30] EN personal interview, September 2011.
[31] Julie Parle and Vanessa Noble, *The People's Hospital: A History of McCords, Durban 1890s-1970s*. (Pietermaritzburg: Natal Society Foundation, 2007), 68.
[32] CR personal interview, May 2014.
[33] Many Mauritian and St Helenians were by this time second or third generation inhabitants of Durban who would not have known any other home. They retained a connection to these far off places and to this identity. Their ambiguous position in society and otherness was also reinforced by the city and the unequal access they received to spaces and resources.

Greenwood Park became part of the city of Durban with the municipal boundary changes of 1931. Francis notes that, by the early 20th century, Greenwood Park was a white area, governed by the Greenwood Park District Committee. By 1897, Greenwood Park had a "railway station, school and community hall."[34] Wealthier Coloured families who settled in the area were often associated with the sugar mills to the north of the city. They were skilled workers of Mauritian background who earned enough money to buy their own homes. An interviewee confirmed that her father, a Mauritian who had worked in the sugar mills, grew up in the Orange Grove section of Greenwood Park in the early 1900s and that the area was home to several families of Mauritian extraction.[35] By the 1930s and 1940s, Greenwood Park was known as a place where Coloured people were able to buy their own homes. The perception was that residents of that area imagined themselves to be closer to white and preferred to socialise with their white neighbours:

> On one side of the North Coast road lived Coloured people and on this side White people. But a lot of those whites living in Redhill (that side of North Coast road) were poor whites. And a lot of those Coloured people would often rather associate with those poor whites then with the Coloureds where they were living. So it was funny, they would make friends with these poor white people, and they would love to sit on a Sunday afternoon on the veranda, you know houses then had those verandas, and have tea with these whites that they considered their friends. They didn't associate with the Coloured people; they associated with the whites.[36]

Clairwood had long been associated with the Mauritian community in Durban, going back to 1884 when the community's mother church, St Louis, was built in the area. The size of the Coloured population in the area was also large enough to warrant the building of a dedicated

[34] Lynette Francis, "Housing an Illegitimate Aristocracy - an Urban Profile of a Coloured Community in Greenwood Park from the 1950s to the 1970s" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 2001), 55.
[35] BM personal interview, August 2012.
[36] AD personal interview, August 2011.

primary school, Clairwood Coloured School, which opened in 1936. In the 1930s and 1940s, Clairwood was a multicultural area of some affluence, where those of Mauritian descent owned their own homes. A former resident explained:

> We all lived together, with the Whites...Indians, the Africans, we all were as one…I was staying with my granny's brother and his wife, they had their own property. In fact, most of them, the Mauritians, had their own property there...[37]

Challenges to Live, Opportunities to Connect

Within these different areas of Coloured settlement, housing took on particular characteristics. The overall racial makeup of these residential spaces was Indian, with distinct pockets of Coloured inhabitants. Many factors influenced where a Coloured person might settle, the most significant being community adhesion. People were drawn to areas where family members or people whom they knew from their home area, church or work already lived. Other factors that were important in determining where to live included proximity to schools, work and reliable transport. According to one interviewee, who moved several times in her youth, each time her family moved, they always tried to live with, or close to, other Coloured people:

> … you tended to look for a place with other Coloured families. I mean there was still a sort of cultural difference but not a hierarchical difference. I don't think it was hierarchical at all because those Afrikaners that lived next to us, they weren't wealthy or anything like that...they were a stable family, but we never thought of ourselves inferior. But we were different...I think we were closer to the Indian families than the White families.[38]

Communities were multicultural in the sense that Coloureds of various origins were sharing the same living, educational, religious and social spaces, but that they were also sharing living

[37] AC personal interview, June 2012.
[38] AB personal interview, April 2012.

spaces with other groups of people. Several interviewees mentioned living in neighbourhoods that included Indian, white and African people and having significant social contact between different groups. Living in shared spaces created a sense of community:

> We lived first in Stamford Hill road, where St Joseph's Church is - Argyll Road. We lived there for quite a while. And then we found this little house in Burman and Salisbury Avenue at the bottom of Burman Bush. It was 4 pounds a month. There were no strict segregated areas in those days so there were Afrikaans people and other English people all near us. But my biggest friend was an Afrikaans speaking boy, Vorster…Anyway, I had very good friends there. And there was a family in Umgeni road, the Meronis. Now some of them were quite dark and some of them were quite fair, a big family. And we were all friends, these Afrikaans boys and girls and us, and we'd build houses in the trees and we knew all the monkeys in the area.[39]

Another resident explained the mixed make-up of the Warwick area and the ways in which Coloured people coalesced within these shared spaces:

> The house was just a semi-detached cottage…But the whole area was mixed, there were blocks of flats around us and most of the flats were occupied by Coloured people. In fact the one flat, Naidoo's building had 12 flats – all Coloureds. And on the other side of us Mohan Court, I think 2/3rds of the people were Coloured. The rest were Indians…We were very good friends with everybody, Indians, Coloureds, whatever…Except when you had to go to school now you had to go to a Coloured school and these ous has to go to an Indian school.[40]

It was this very race mixing that was not acceptable to the authorities, and which drove their fixation with order and segregation. In 1937, AH Eaton, a United Party MP, told a public meeting that he had seen: "Europeans living cheek by jowl with natives and Indians," in Sea Cow Lake, parts of Overport and in the vicinity of Sydenham Road, while children of different races were playing together. He was adamant: "We will see these 'black spots' cleaned out. We

[39] AB personal interview, August 2011.
[40] EN personal interview, September 2011; The name Duchene is said to come from the pronunciation of Old Dutch Road by African people. Dutch became uDuch and then Duchene (prounounced Daasheen).

cannot hold up our heads until they are cleared."[41] It is interesting to note that the white people who lived near and associated with Coloured and Indian people were ostracised and termed poor whites by white society. They and the ambiguous Coloureds were an affront to the prevailing ideas of classist white supremacy.

There was a critical shortage of housing for Coloured people in Durban. White and Indian property owners controlled the rental market, and only Indians would agree to rent to Coloured tenants. In this tight housing market, Indian landlords often exploited their tenants, charging high rents and requiring non-refundable deposits for rooms:

> So acute was the shortage of accommodation for the Coloured people, the rent which is demanded is paid; so too, is the 'goodwill' deposit required by some landlords before a room can be occupied. Furthermore, this deposit, sometimes quite considerable, does not ensure the continued occupancy of the room, since no written contract or receipt is given. Nor does it appear that such a fee is ever returned. Any suggestion of complaining to the authorities would make it impossible to retain occupancy or to rent alternative accommodation; the rent would be increased beyond the tenant's ability to pay, or a 'relative' of the landlord would 'move in'. In either case the family would be compelled to move out and begin an almost impossible search for a new home.[42]

The shortage of accommodation meant that Coloured people often had no choice but to accept housing of a low standard. Thus while Indians and Coloured lived closely, and for the most part got on well with one another, there was an underlying current of 'being taken advantage of.' According to the 1936 census, the Coloured community occupied 1 066 separate dwellings in the city. Of this number, 924 were houses and less than half of the total number were constructed of brick, stone or concrete, with the balance built of wood, iron and other more

[41] *Indian Opinion*, June 25 1937.
[42] University of Natal, *The Durban Housing Survey: A Study of Housing in a Multi-racial Community* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1952), 233.

temporary materials.[43] Overcrowding was also an issue, as several families would crowd together in a house to afford the rent.[44] Burrows confirms that, in the 1940s, 30.8% of Coloured households occupied one room only, and 27.0% consisted of seven or more people.[45] Congestion made for poor living conditions. Families who crowded into one room had to share a kitchen, bathroom and toilet with the other occupants of the house and these communal facilities were often in the yard. A former Duchene resident recalled that sometimes as many as 20 people would share their three-bedroom cottage in Etna Lane, in order to cover the rent:

> Coloureds, Africans, Indians. Ya. What could you do. One family in one room. There's no lounge, there was like a little breakfast room there, they used to call it those years, which they call now a dining room. But then you had a bed there, somebody is sleeping there.[46]

As the Coloured community in Durban grew, housing became its most pressing need and community leaders began to lobby the Council to provide municipal housing. In 1939, the Council opened a housing scheme for Coloureds in Sydenham, with ten homes sold to those who were able to secure loans and the erection of 24 rented sub-economic houses.[47] A further 25 houses of each type (sale or rent) were planned.[48] The City Council completed a development of flats in Melbourne Road in 1941 exclusively for Coloured occupation. Also in discussion by the end of the 1930s, was a plan by the Council to move the Indian and Coloured

[43] Ibid, 234.
[44] Ibid, 232.
[45] Harry Raymond Burrows, "Some Basic problems in Housing Research," *South African Journal of Economics* 16, No 1 (December 1948): 10.
[46] SB personal interview, April 2012; University of Natal, *The Durban Housing Survey: A Study of Housing in a Multi-racial Community* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1952), 232.
[47] Vashna Jagarnath, "Social History Analysing the Recollections of Apartheid Legislation on People Living in Sydenham 1950-1980" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 2005), 32; University of Natal, *The Durban Housing Survey: A Study of Housing in a Multi-racial Community* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1952), 242-244.
[48] TBD, 3DBN, 634-ColHg, Report from City Treasurer on Housing, 28 October 1949.

populations from Clairwood to a new Merebank-Wentworth housing scheme, designed to clear the slums and to segregate the two groups into formal residential zones that would have the added benefit of providing labour for the adjacent industrial area. The plans for the housing scheme allocated an area of 1 050 acres for Indians at Merebank, and 235 acres were zoned for Coloureds at Wentworth.[49] The Council recommended that, given the need and the shortage of available land, Coloureds be housed in flats in Wentworth.[50] In 1946 it was estimated that the Coloured population required 1 200 economic and 1 800 sub-economic houses to ease the current housing shortage, but these numbers did not factor in the future growth of the young population and continued migration into the city. By 1947, the Council had embarked on a plan to provide a further 150 economic and 400 sub-economic housing units for Coloureds in Sydenham-Sparks Estate, with two additional developments for adjacent areas named Sparks extension and Springfield extension that would provide 250 economic and 250 sub-economic houses.[51]

The living situations and conditions gave the Coloured group, drawn from different origins, a space to form bonds with each other and diverse neighbours. It also gave enduring common issues around which to organise.

[49] Dowlat Bagwandeen, "The Question of Indian Penetration in the Durban Area and Indian Politics: 1940-1946" (PhD thesis, University of Natal, 1983), 125-127. https://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/handle/10413/8711.
[50] University of Natal, *The Durban Housing Survey: A Study of Housing in a Multi-racial Community* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1952), 400.
[51] TBD, 3DBN, 634-ColH, Minutes of Subcommittee on Housing, 21 August 1947.

The Politics of Fluidity and the Illusion of Inclusion

Before 1930, there was no distinction in voting rights between white and Coloured men in Natal, as the same property and residence qualifications applied.[52] The effectiveness of the Coloured vote was negligible, however, given the number of Coloured voters in the province. This value was diluted even further with the enfranchisement of white women in 1930. In 1931 the property qualification for white men was removed, which change was extended to Mauritian and St Helenian men who, although regarded as Coloured, were recorded as white for voting purposes. This inclusion in white politics added to the ambiguity and fluidity of Coloured people and the sense of superiority felt by those with Mauritian and St Helenian origins. Patterson points to the 1937 Government Commission on Coloured people which noted this anomaly in Natal: "… where St Helenians and Mauritians might be enrolled in the voters' list as 'Europeans', although many of them are listed in the census returns under 'Mixed and other Coloureds'."[53] It was a state of affairs the government sought to undermine. In 1946, the Electoral Consolidation Act set the voting qualification for Coloured men as ownership of immovable property of not less than £50 or hire of the same at not less than £10 a year, or a wage of not less than £96 per year and residency in the Union of not less than three years. Dickie-Clark comments on the ever-moving goalposts thus: "… one of the qualifications for the municipal vote is registration as a parliamentary voter; hence even when concentrated in a municipal ward, there are too few Coloured voters in Durban to bring too much pressure to

[52] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 96.
[53] Sheila Patterson, *Colour and Culture in South Africa: A Study of the Status of the Cape Coloured People within the Social Structure of the Union of South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1953), 49.

bear on candidates."[54] Indeed, even with exceptions in place, no Coloured in Natal ever served on the provincial or municipal councils. Thus, the inclusion of Coloureds in the formal political processes of the city and province was more an illusion of inclusion that only served to accentuate a sense that their political interests were best served with alliances to white political processes and alienation from African and Indian politics.

Political organising in Durban followed general cues from developments in the Coloured community in the Cape, tempered with a generally cautious, self-preserving outlook that had been cultivated by experiences of liminality. Politics among Cape Town's Coloured population was altogether more dynamic and contested. The APO occupied a dominant role in the first half of the 20th century, and its political approach echoed those of the moderate leaders of the ANC. Its views primarily represented the interests of the educated elite. However, especially from the 1930s, a younger generation of political activists challenged Abdurahman and articulated more radical ideas. An important expression of these ideas was the Non-European Unity Movement, established in the early 1940s. The dynamism and radicalisation found in the Cape did not gain traction among Durban's Coloured population. This was likely due to a combination of its small size, marginalisation from the political dynamics in the Cape, as well as the nominal size of its educated elite. Coloureds in Durban also had liberal access to sympathetic city officials making the need for radical representation less pressing.

Again, looking to the Cape, Coloureds from Durban participated in the First National Coloured-European Conference, held in Cape Town in June 1933. Their part was minimal, but their presence suggested an aspiration to be part of some national Coloured identity and cause.

[54] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 97.

Mention of Durban Coloureds at the conference proceedings is brief and, unsurprisingly, they seemed most concerned with jobs and their general economic needs:

> Mr AC Blaauw, who spoke on behalf of the Coloured Relief Workers of Durban urged that the Government be asked to establish a labour exchange at Durban, criticizing the policy in Natal, which privileged European labour. He suggested that government might appoint Coloured citizens to such jobs as porters, shunters, messengers and convict guards.[55]

The Durban Municipality had initiated several public works or relief projects where the unemployed, including Coloured men, could seek temporary employment. Relief work included roadworks and quarry projects, but certain types of jobs were reserved for whites and remuneration was based on race.[56] The request at the conference was indicative of the insular and complex position of the Coloured community, failing to see their own relative position of privilege while at the same time concerned for the practical matters affecting them.

Liberalism of the Coloured-European Joint Council

The 1930s were characterised by an increased focus on social welfare projects from the local state, which coincided with similar international efforts following the Great Depression. These projects had obvious racial connotations across South Africa and included the establishment of local councils for different race groups.[57] The Joint Council movement took inspiration from two American academics, Dr Thomas Jesse Jones and Dr James Aggrey, who visited South Africa in 1921 on a trip sponsored by the Phelps-Stokes Foundation, to examine education for Africans.

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[55] Report of the Proceedings, *First National Coloured-European Conference June 1933* (Cape Town: Atlas Printing Works, 1933), 17.
[56] David Edley, "The Years of the Red Dust: Aspects of the Effects of the Great Depression on Natal, 1929-1933" (PhD thesis, University of Natal, 1994), 273-282. https://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/handle/10413/6383.
[57] Peter Kallaway, "Welfare and education in British colonial Africa and South Africa during the 1930s and 1940s," *Paedagogica Historica* 41, No 3 (2005): 349.

The pair made contact on their visit with liberals such as Dr Loram (Chief Inspector of Education in Natal) and JD Rheinallt Jones (Secretary for the Witwatersrand Council of Education.) They suggested interracial councils as a means to promote goodwill between the various racial groups in South Africa. The first of these councils was the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans, established in Johannesburg in 1921.[58] In Durban, the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives was formed in 1922, with members drawn mainly from the educated elites of the community. John Langalibalele Dube, founding president of the South African Native National Congress (later ANC), for example, was a founding member of the Durban Joint Council of Europeans and Natives. On the 'European' side, membership comprised local city council members, clergy and business people.[59] These councils had no real power but functioned to give local government and liberal white society a view into the various communities and an opportunity to be seen to be addressing community issues and needs. The Durban Coloured European Joint Council took some time to come to fruition and was only formed in 1934. It was probably less pressing because of the size of the community and the fact that they already had access to local government. From the outset, the council was used as a forum to discuss the living conditions and needs of Coloured people in the city. It is unclear how many of these discussions turned into action. The council membership was selected from prominent members of the Durban Coloured sports and welfare worlds such as Joe Fataar, Alfred Abrahams and Edward Rooks.[60]

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[58] Ellen Hellmann, *The South African Institute of Race Relations 1929-1979: A Short History* (Johannesburg: The South African Institute of Race Relations, 1979), 5.
[59] Timothy Nuttal, "Class, Race and Nation: African Politics in Durban, 1929-1949" (PhD thesis, Oxford University, 1997), 33.
[60] Natal Regional Inter-Race Conference. *Race Relations: Official Journal of the South African Institute of Race Relations* II, No I (December 1934—January 1935): 128.

Defining Events of the 1940s

During the 1940s, two important events took place, which highlighted the conflicted and marginal position of Coloureds in Durban. The Second World War was of course not a Durban event, but it was experienced in a particular way in the Durban Coloured community as an economic blight for some and for others, a way to show an affiliation with Britain. The second event was the 1949 Durban riots, where Coloured people sided with and assisted their Indian neighbours from African rioters. Both events were etched in the memory of community members and speak to the identity of the community at the time.

World War II

The Second World War loomed large in the experiences of Coloured people in Durban and particularly for those living in town; daily life was governed by the war. Coloured men across South Africa joined the war in the Cape Corps, a unit specifically for Coloureds. They were sent to "East Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Northern Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa."[61] Many men from the Coloured community in Durban joined the war effort by enlisting in the Merchant Navy, which was responsible for delivering troops and supplies around the world. The men who joined the Merchant Navy were employed and received a wage, an important factor in a community with unstable employment. The Merchant Navy was thought to be a safe option as it was non-combative. A former member of the Merchant Navy recalled:

> I joined the navy, the merchant navy, it was during the war...it was in the 40s. Our commission was running troops from South Africa to the Middle East, against the Germans. It was the Indian Malay Corps, it was the African Malay Corps army and then it was the Cape Corps. Soldiers from here...the east coast of South Africa, picking up Italian prisoners, you know where the war started in Abyssinia, the Italians and went right up

[61] Jacob Mohlamme, "Soldiers without Reward: Africans in South Africa's Wars," *South African Military Journal* 10, No 1 (1995): 33-37. http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol101jm.

> to what you call it, Mombasa, East Africa, Aiden, Red Sea, Egypt, Karachi, Mumbai, Sri Lanka, what's the other island before you get to South Africa? Madagascar? Yes, all that stayed for years, what you call it...I was in the navy doing war service. and a half years. We were taking troops in convoy, a lot of our people never came back, and different ships, they were torpedoed, sunk, gone, we were just lucky to get back to, what you call it, go through all that. We were away for about two or three months a time. Right round you know, picking up, dropping...one time we had a shipload, a shipload of Punjabis, which we were going to drop them in India.[62]

Some young men of St Helena and Mauritian background decided not to enlist with the Cape Corps, the regiment open to Coloured people because they regarded themselves as superior to them. Instead, they entered the war as white men:

> My father was accepted as white and that's why he was able to volunteer without any question in the Royal Durban Light Infantry, and during the war he fought in North Africa. It wasn't even questioned. On his birth certificate, it says white. On my mother's birth certificate is Mauritian.[63]

Racial segregation thus permeated the war effort. A canteen for Coloured troops passing through Durban during the War was established at Raphael's Anglican Church hall in 1941. Fr Robinson, the parish priest, explained:

> We were asked by the authorities to open a canteen for Coloured troops. We were only too glad to perform this necessary service. The canteen was opened in the Hall by the Mayor of Durban (R. Rupert Ellis Brown) on Friday August 1st, 1941. In addition to the hundreds of Coloured Servicemen who made use of it, we had the pleasure of entertaining the Grenadier Guards when they were stationed at the Mansfield Road School. A very loyal band of women ran the canteen day and night.[64]

[62] SD personal interview, May 2012.
[63] AD personal interview, August 2011.
[64] HEJ Goodyer, *The Story of a Mission* (Durban: St Raphaels, 1949), 57.

Most young men who enlisted did so for economic reasons and worked in the Merchant Navy as firefighters, trimmers, greasers and mess room boys.[65] An estimated 33 Coloured men from Durban lost their lives at sea during the Second World War.

Figure 7: St Raphael's World War II Memorial



Source: HEJ Goodyer, *The Story of a Mission* (Durban: St Raphael's, 1949), 70.

The SS Nova Scotia, South Africa's worst sea disaster, took five men from the community. The ship was bringing captured Italian soldiers from East Africa, when it was struck by three

[65] Information on each ship and crew can be found at www.U.boat.com.

torpedoes from a German U-Boat on 28th November 1942. The ship sank, killing "765 Italian POWs, 134 British and South African guards and 118 crew members." [66] In 1949 the congregation of St Raphael's Anglican Church erected a memorial dedicated to the loss of Coloured lives in the war.

Given the size and prominence of the Durban harbour, the city was a strategic stopover for ships on their way to North Africa and the Far East. British and Allied troops and seamen in the Merchant Navy stopped off regularly in the port, making the waters off Durban a potential target for German U-Boat and submarine attacks and the threat of an air attack ever-present. Residents remember air raid drills at school and having to blackout their windows. These measures were in response to several unidentified aeroplanes spotted over Durban in 1942. The planes were later discovered to belong to the Japanese Imperial Navy, conducting surveillance of the east coast of Africa.[67] Members of the community recall following blackout procedures:

> We used to sit, paint the windows black, that started when I was staying at St Theresa's...then you used to hear the siren, then all lights need to be off, no lights should be shining, all the windows, everybody was painting the windows black, so that the light doesn't show, so they won't know where to bomb.[68]

Frugal families made their own blackout curtains:

> I remember the years of the blackouts, when we had to cover every window and I used to spend all my holidays with my Grandmother, at that time she lived in Umgeni Road, with my aunt, and I had to sit with her. She wasn't going to go and buy special blackout curtains. So I had to sit down with her and mix flour and water into a paste and paste newspapers onto one another, and roll them up like a blind. And that's what covered

[66] Allan Jackson, Facts about Durban, https://www.fad.co.za/Resources/Nova/novascotia.htm
[67] Andre Wessels, "South Africa and the War against Japan 1941-1945," *Military History Journal* 10, No 3 (June 1996): 81-90. http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol103aw.html.
[68] AC, personal interview, June 2012.

> the windows during the whole of the war. If you had a speck of light, the CPS – the Civilian Protective Services – was a special force for the war, and if you had one little streak of light, you were fined.[69]

Children going to school had to wear nametag disks around their necks so that they could be reunited with family in the event of an air raid. Racially segregated food rationing was instituted with Coloured people having to collect their rations from Melbourne Road School. The CPS for the Duchene area was based at St Raphael's Anglican Church and some of the volunteers in this civilian force were Coloured.[70]

Certain food items became scarce during the war, and by 1944, the government organized a food distribution system under the Food Control Organisation. Depots were established in the cities to supply people with products that were in short supply, with mobile units that transported food directly to the people in their residential areas.[71] Many products were still available in the shops, but shop owners began implementing a system of conditional buying. If a customer wanted to buy a pound of rice, they had also to buy several other things they did not need. At Government Depots, people were able to buy just the required basics. The Depots in central Durban were racially segregated, with a mobile depot truck for Coloureds in Melbourne Road, and a similar depot for Indians in Warwick Avenue. In reality, because identity within Duchene was so fluid, Coloureds who lived close to Warwick Ave were allowed to use the Indian depot, either because of sympathetic employees at the Depot or because it was simply too tricky to police who was Indian and who was Coloured. A Coloured resident of Etna Lane recalls using the Indian depot at Warwick Ave:

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[69] AD, personal interview, August 2011.
[70] MP, personal interview, April 2012.
[71] James Tinley, *South African Food and Agriculture in World War II* (The Food Research Institute, Stanford California: Stanford University Press, 1954), 28.

> The army truck used to come on a Friday and Saturday; it used to come to Warwick Avenue, park - that was the depot for Duchene. And you would queue up...There was no rice, you couldn't buy butter, condensed milk and all these things - you couldn't buy it during the war…Our staple diet was mealie rice; everybody ate mealie rice...[72]

The war also impacted sports life. The Stamford Hill sports grounds were taken away from Coloured people and used for military purposes, and sporting activity was paused. Melbourne Road school did, however, step in and allowed the community to use the school sports fields for soccer.[73] The end of the war brought relief to the city and the small coloured community:

> I can still remember the day the war was finished too. Everybody was using those things that you turn around and makes Crrrr, we had those things and people were blowing whistles, and you just heard bells ringing all over [church bells], you heard the ships that were in the harbour blowing. I can still remember we went on the corner to listen to everything. Everybody was so excited that the war had ended.[74]

Globally and elsewhere in SA, the war promised freedom from fascism and the protection of democracy, spurring demands for freedoms in colonial contexts and the USA. In Durban, the war left a booming economy, but the optimism and joy of victory was dampened by a rise in Afrikaner nationalism around the country. The small insular Coloured community did not appear concerned with these broader questions; those that enlisted did so either as a show of British solidarity or for the economic benefits of simply having a job. British aspirations and loyalties seemed rewarded after the war in 1947 when the British Royal family visited South Africa at the invitation of General Jan Smuts. For the Royals, the visit was a gesture to the Empire to show thanks for the support in the war. For Smuts, the invitation was an attempt to stem the tide of growing Afrikaner nationalism ahead of elections in 1948. The Royal family

[72] NP, personal interview, June 2012.
[73] EN, personal interview, April 2011.
[74] MP, personal interview, April 2012.

visited Durban from Thursday 20th March to Sunday 23rd March 1947, and the city held separate meetings and presentations for different racial sectors of the population.

Figure 8: Meeting the Royal Family at Albert Park 1947



Source: Rooks Collection.

A ten-minute appearance for Durban Coloureds was held at Albert Park on Saturday, 22nd March at 3.25 pm, and consisted of members of the Joint Coloured European Council and others such as the members of the Girl Guides, greeting the Royal family.[75] The crowd who prepared and stood to get a glimpse of the British royals were delighted with even such a brief, segregated encounter.

[75] The Royal Visit: Official Commemorative Programme (Durban: The Durban City Council, 1947), 16; SD personal interview, May 2012. Community members who greeted Royal family included JV Holland, J Dunn, A Geldenhuis, EG Rooks and G Lawler.

Increased Coloured and Indian Solidarity in the 1949 Race Riots

The second formative event on the Durban historical landscape were the 1949 race riots. On January 14th 1949, traumatic race riots occurred in Durban that highlighted the tensions between African and Indian people in the city and fuelled deep mistrust in the decades that followed. Angered by an assault on an adolescent African boy by an Indian shopkeeper and fuelled by local authorities, Africans took to the streets, directing their anger at Indian people and Indian-owned shops and homes.[76] According to Edwards and Nuttall, the losses were immense:

> One hundred forty-two people died and at least 1 087 were injured. Mobs of Africans rampaged through areas within the city attacking Indians and looting and destroying Indian-owned property. During the conflict, 87 Africans, 50 Indians, one white and four 'unidentified' people died. One factory, 58 stores and 247 dwellings were destroyed; two factories, 652 stores and 1 285 dwellings were damaged.[77]

Coloured people were not directly targeted in any of the violence but remember the incident vividly. One interviewee noted that Coloured men working in factories saw African men making weapons: "I remember people that worked in factories, they said they saw these Africans were sharpening and making weapons in the factories, but they did not know what it was for."[78] Coloured people had various experiences with the riots. Parents, fearing they could become targets, kept their children, particularly those who looked Indian, at home. "When it started, we

[76] The official report of the incident that sparked the riot stated: "A Native boy, 14 years of age, had words with an Indian shop assistant, 16 years of age, and slapped the latter's face. The Indian youth lodged a complaint with his employer, also an Indian, who came out of the Indian Market to Victoria Street and assaulted the Native boy. In the tussle, the Native's head accidentally crashed through the glass of a shop window." Union of South Africa, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Riots in Durban* (Cape Town: Government Printer, 1949), 5.
[77] Iain Edwards and Timothy Nuttall, Seizing the Moment: *The January 1949 Riots, Proletarian Populism and the Structures of African Urban Life in Durban During the Late 1940s*, (paper presented at Wits History Workshop, Structure and Experience in the Making of Apartheid, 6-10th February 1990), 1. http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/handle/10539/7791
[78] BP, personal interview, April 2014.

were in Albert St School. Anybody with straight hair could not come to school; anybody who looked like an Indian had to stay at home."[79] The narrative in the newspapers of the day, also read by Coloureds, portrayed the Africans as savages on the rampage in the city, a group to be feared. Coloured youth also took advantage of the riots to join in with looting:

> … we going into town stealing boxes from the broken, break the windows, take the clothes out, take the boxes, carrying them back to Etna Lane...Meet up with the Africans, I talked Zulu, they let us pass, think we one of them, cause I could talk Zulu. During the riots we went all over. Now I used to like reading, go in one shop, steal all the books, bring them home, come to read. And whatever they used to steal...they bring it and we stand and share it, you take a tin of beans, you take this share it among everybody.[80]

Figure 9: Africans "rushing into the Indian area."



Source: *Natal Daily News*, January 14 1949.

Generally, the Coloured community stepped in where they could and offered assistance and protection to their Indian neighbours:

[79] NP, personal interview, June 2012.
[80] SB, personal interview, April 2012.

> Let me tell you about our Coloured women, the most bravest women I've ever known, my mother was one of them. Mrs Spies, Mrs Reid, just to give you an example...they stood in Old Dutch Road for the Africans not to go into the Lanes; not to go into Etna Lane, Stratford Rd, Wills Rd and all those places. The Coloured women stood in Old Dutch Road. I was ten years old and clinging onto my mother, my sister is clinging on that side, and they wearing aprons. And we clinging on as these impis are coming. Thousands…smashing windows as they come, looking for Indians. The Coloured woman stood and we stood, and we panicking…They went up, never went into the lanes, and that's where was everybody, we had them in our flats, in our rooms, wherever we could, that's where we had the Indians.[81]

The sense of camaraderie between Coloured and Indian continued after the riots, as numbers of displaced Indian families were accommodated in St Augustine's school until they felt safe to return to their homes.[82] Another interviewee noted that white businesses and white people were left unscathed, reinforcing conspiracy theories and the position of the Natal Indian Congress at the time, that the riots were purposefully instigated by the state, to drive a further wedge between Africans and Indians and to give the city a concrete reason for increased segregation:

> These riots were instigated by the whites. I stayed in Lavender Court and they started down there by the Macheni, they came up Old Dutch Road, thousands, and the leader, the leader was not Black, he had painted his face black but he was not Black, I could see that, although I was small, I wasn't stupid also, I could see that. He was egging them on, leading them, he led them past our Lavender Court past where Berea centre is now up Berea Road where the freeway is now, over toll gate and into Cato Manor, and that's where they wreaked havoc. They murdered and murdered and raped so many 100s of women, which you don't read about, you don't hear one word but they raped 100s of Indian women in Cato Manor...and there were no police to be seen…divide and rule.[83]

[81] NP, personal interview, June 2012.
[82] Paddy Kearney, *Guardian of the Light: Denis Hurley, Renewing the Church, Opposing Apartheid* (New York: Continuum, 2009), 58.
[83] BP, personal interview, April 2014.

The presence of white agent provocateurs in blackface leading the mob and the numbers of women raped is likely an exaggeration. Still, there were reported white bystanders and looters, and the City did not send in the police until the second day of the violence, further fuelling conspiracy theories. The sentiment of apprehension, as well as mistrust of the City as an instigator in the unrest, is clear.[84] While there were no reports of Coloureds as victims (or perpetrators,) the 1949 riots revealed the divisions and anger that had been growing between Indians and Africans in the city and placed Coloureds in the familiar position of having to choose sides. The relationships that had developed between Indian and Coloured people and the sheer physical and visual proximity between the two groups led Coloured people to place their sympathy with Indian people in the city. The language used by the media portraying Africans as crazed instigators and perpetrators of violence also played a role in determining where Coloureds placed their loyalty. Those with closer ties to African people, while not condoning the acts of violence, acknowledged that Indian shopkeepers did often discriminate against African (and sometimes Coloured) people.[85] The prejudices encapsulated in the 1949 riots left an enduring scar of racial suspicion on the city of Durban and contributed to authority's objectives to reinforce racial segregation.

Due to its size, the Coloured population of Durban were marginal actors in the main events that shaped the politics and social relations in the city. Aware of their lack of influence on either official politics or the emerging progressive political movements (for example, the Doctors' Pact between African and Indian leaders), Coloureds tended to focus attention on more local matters affecting the welfare and particular group interests.

[84] For a full account of the 1949 riots/pogrom, see Jon Soske, *Internal Frontiers: African Nationalism and the Indian Diaspora in Twentieth-Century South Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2017), 101-128.
[85] EN, Personal Interview, September 2011.

The Making of a Coloured Working Class

After the Great Depression, the port became the lifeblood of the city providing access to the lucrative interior of the country. Accordingly to David Edley, Durban was:

> … the logical place for the development of industries dependent on imported raw materials or semi-processed materials. This accounts for the high concentration of industries such as the chemical industry (particularly paints, fertilizers, crude oil refining, soaps and edible oils), textile and clothing industry, and other miscellaneous industries such as tea blending and packaging, printing and stationery in the Durban region. The development of industries involved in the processing of local raw materials, especially sugar and wattle, was also a logical development.[86]

The industrial expansion in Durban brought with it the arrival of Coloureds from other parts of the country seeking relief from the effects of the Great Depression. Edley notes that the arrival of these other Coloureds to Durban only added to the unemployment issues for the largely semi-skilled resident Coloured workforce.[87] As unemployment in the community rose, the Town Council developed public relief works for the unemployed in the city, and records show that eighty Coloured men were employed in relief efforts in 1932, dropping slightly to 72 men in 1933/34.[88]

According to Padayachee, Vawda and Tichmann, at the time about half of all Coloured workers were said to be unskilled and half- or semi-skilled working in manufacturing jobs.[89] The Apprenticeship Act of 1922 set the educational qualifications for apprenticeships in numerous trades to Standard 6. After leaving school, young men would use family and community

[86] David Edley, "The Years of the Red Dust: Aspects of the Effects of the Great Depression on Natal, 1929-1933" (PhD thesis, University of Natal, 1994), 45. https://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/handle/10413/6383
[87] Ibid, 214.
[88] Ibid, 215.
[89] Vishnu Padayachee, Shahid Vawda and Paul Tichmann, "Indian Workers and Trade Unions in Durban 1930-50," *Institute for Social and Economic Research Report No 20* (Durban: University of Durban Westville, 1985), 39.

contacts to find apprenticeships in industry, particularly in welding, boiler making and building. Most received on the job training.[90] After five years they could take a trade exam and get their papers as qualified, skilled artisans. Those with Standard 6 could do an apprenticeship and take evening classes at Melbourne Road School. While the Natal Technical College oversaw all technical training in Durban, their campus was closed to all Black students. Instruction was provided to Coloured students in evening classes at Melbourne Road School.[91]

Table 2: Manufacturing Employment in Greater Durban 1924-1954

Year	Europeans	Africans	Indians	Coloureds	Total
1924/25	7 848	11 787	5 237	723	25 595
1929/30	9 367	11 109	4 681	856	26 013
1934/35	10 634	10 887	5 647	978	28 146
1939/40	13 565	17 528	8 450	1 531	41 074
1944/45	15 251	28 878	11 549	2 195	57 873
1949/50	21 096	41 062	13 711	3 019	78 888
1953/54	23 737	47 709	16 827	3 912	92 185

Source: Vishnu Padayachee, Shahid Vawda and Paul Tichmann, "Indian Workers and Trade Unions in Durban 1930-50," *Institute for Social and Economic Research Report No 20* (Durban: University of Durban Westville, 1985), 33.

While there was no official policy of job reservation for Coloureds in Natal, the government's labour policy enacted a colour bar, mainly to benefit whites, but with some benefit accruing to Coloureds. Specific industries and companies hired Coloured workers and, in many cases, job placements were passed down and encouraged in families and even within

[90] *The Natal Mercury*, 9 July 1937.
[91] Sheila Patterson, *Colour and Culture in South Africa: A Study of the Status of the Cape Coloured People within the Social Structure of the Union of South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1953), 102.

various subsections of the community. It was not uncommon for sisters and cousins to work at the same factory or for children to work at the same place as their parents:

> [My father] worked for Durban Falkirk Ironworks which later on became Defy. He was a moulder. They used to make stoves and pots and things. A lot of Coloured people worked there, it was generations, father to son. That's where they all worked.[92]

The Lion Match company was a place where the 'fairer' Coloureds often found work, in what was described by interviewees as a family atmosphere:

> My parents met at the Match factory, got married eventually. My sisters also worked at the Match factory, all three of them. It was a tradition … that was our life. And then there were lots of Coloured people working there.[93]

The Lion Match company was also known for holding dances and sports days to build fellowship amongst its employees.[94]

Other companies that routinely hired Coloured people were the Slipper factory and the Parthenon paint factory, located in the Congella industrial area close to Maydon Wharf, where a number of Coloureds lived. This was the area chosen by the city to build Melbourne Road and Umbilo Road Schools to educate Coloureds and, later, Melbourne Road flats to house them. A former worker at the Slipper Factory explained:

> I worked for a paint factory, they call them Plascon now, and then I didn't stay there too long, then I went to the Slipper Factory. Remember I didn't have a trade, I never had a trade…Now Slipper Factory was right in the backyard of Melbourne Road flats. Slipper factory was in Gale Street, ya…It was mainly Coloured people there, one or two Africans maybe, something like that, but it was mainly Coloured people.[95]

[92] NP, personal interview, June 2012.
[93] AD, personal interview, August 2011.
[94] AD, personal interview, August 2011.
[95] SD, personal interview, April 2012.

Family and church networks were, therefore, crucial for entry into the workforce. People who came to Durban from the Catholic mission stations in northern Natal report finding job placements via the Church, either from a factory owner who was Catholic or a former mission student who was now working in Durban. Ellis Brown Company, a manufacturer of coffee and tea and Thompson and Savage, clothing manufacturers, are noted as being places where Roman Catholic girls often found work.

Coloured women were restricted to industrial employment and domestic service, with a large number of women employed in the textile industry and many engaging in part-time work.[96] By the 1930s, Coloured women had entered the factory, working mainly in the textile industry.[97] Edley describes conditions in the industry:

> … working conditions were poor but, surprisingly, wages for white and "coloured" women, who formed the backbone of the industry, were higher than in other areas of the Union. The working week had been fixed at 45 hours, compared to other areas, where as many as 50 hours were worked.[98]

Piecework was common in the garment industry and, by law, this type of work did not fall under any minimum wage requirements. In 1934, the Natal Garment Workers' Union was formed to protect workers in the textile and garment industries.[99] The industry grew in the city and in importance to the Coloured community and, in 1944, 700 out of a total of 6 900 workers in the textile industry in Durban were Coloured; increasing to 2 129 out of 15 988 by 1955.[100]

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[96] John Burrows, "Natal's Labour Resources and Industry in Greater Durban" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1959), 125.
[97] *The Natal Mercury*, 24 July, 1936.
[98] David Edley, "The Years of the Red Dust: Aspects of the Effects of the Great Depression on Natal, 1929-1933" (PhD thesis, University of Natal, 1994), 60. https://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/handle/10413/6383
[99] Ibid, 60.
[100] Vishnu Padayachee, Shahid Vawda and Paul Tichmann, "Indian Workers and Trade Unions in Durban 1930-50," *Institute for Social and Economic Research Report No 20* (Durban: University of Durban Westville, 1985), 34.

Thompson and Savage, or TeeSavs as it was commonly known, and Monarchs Clothing Factory employed Coloured women for many years.

The port provided employment opportunities for citizens of Durban. Coloured men found work on sugar boats and whalers:

> …my uncle worked on the sugar boats and he always brought fish home. Sugar boats were little boats - small ships that carried sugar from before the present set up. They carried sugar from Durban to East London, PE, Cape Town - it was a regular thing. But later on of course they built the sugar terminals and they dispensed with these ships, but at the time this was the way of transporting sugar to the Cape. And he worked on the sugar boats for years. So there was all this fish in the house because I think on their trips back they used to catch fish.[101]

Whaling was a vital industry in Durban, started by Norwegian interests in 1907 to supply local and European markets with sought-after whale products. A whaling job was seasonal and lasted from March to September, as it was dependant on the migration pattern of the whales. During the war, whaling continued and supplied ration-starved locals with whale meat. The whaling industry in Durban included the ships or catchers that whaled off the coast of Durban and made trips to the Antarctic, whale factory ships that operated at sea and a whale factory, once the largest land-based whaling station in the world, located below the Bluff.[102]

Other general shipping jobs were also available to Coloured men. A seaman recalled following his father who worked on the ships as a cook in the 1940s:

> … he was also working on the ships, he worked there and he was a cook and baker. He got his ticket at the Royal Baking School in London…You know your baking ticket, so you could get on a ship...He passed his exams in catering, the Royal Baking School, but they called it a ticket in those days, and he got it there, which allowed him now to get onto the British ships.[103]

[101] EN, personal interview, September 2011.
[102] Allan Jackson, Facts about Durban, https://www.fad.co.za/Resources/whaling/whaling.htm
[103] HD, personal interview, May 2012.

Coloured men with deep connections and understanding of rural communities acted as cultural and linguistic interpreters and for mines in northern Natal and on the Rand, and businesses in Durban. People who spoke isiZulu or isiXhosa were able to get work recruiting and transporting African workers to the mines or other places of employment:

> There was a man there; he rented a room, he used to transport and recruit Africans from the Transkei. He used to go there in his car, load these blokes into his car and bring them to Durban. Sometimes they would sleep on the veranda there and then he had a contract with some mining company. So they became mine workers. He was a sort of early labour broker he used to get commission for these blokes and they used to go up to Joburg to work on the gold mines. He was originally from the Eastern Cape there, Pondoland, so he knew the set up there.[104]

Besides working in the textile and clothing industries, other jobs that were deemed suitable for women in the community were domestic work, nursing and teaching. An interviewee from Ladysmith, was sent to school at St Philomena's as a young girl in the late 1920s. It was there that the sisters identified her as a future teacher: "The girls that I schooled with, you either had to become a nurse or a teacher … or a dressmaker or a factory hand, those were the four." [105] Domestic work for white families was another occupation available to Coloured girls, particularly in the 1920s and 30s.[106] Then, as more and more hotels opened on the Durban beachfront and the Bluff to attract the white tourist trade, the option of part-time cleaning and other forms of char-work in hotels opened up. According to one interviewee:

> They worked in hotels and homes, my granny used to do the washing and ironing and my mother and her sister had to fetch the washing from the white people and deliver it back when it was finished.[107]

[104] EN, personal interview, September 2011.
[105] AS, personal interview, August 2011.
[106] *The Natal Mercury*, 24 July 1936.
[107] NP, personal interview, June 2012.

There was no specific place tasked with training Coloured nurses in Natal and, while it was an option, it was not a common profession. The Coloured section of Addington Hospital employed white nurses and Coloured nurse aids. Mission hospitals provided some space for a few Coloured girls to train as nurses, nurse aids and midwives alongside their African and Indian peers.[108] Any Coloured nurses would have been trained at hospitals in the Cape or Transvaal. Girls who wanted to become nurses or nurse-aids would need to serve an apprenticeship at a hospital or go to another city, such as Cape Town or Johannesburg, to train as a nurse. One interviewee recalls wanting to be a nurse in the 1940s:

> I left school, I was 16. So you must remember I wanted to be a nurse, we got the forms from the Sacred Heart in Cape Town, and it was, I still remember, 36 pounds a year. My mother couldn't afford that, it was very expensive. So I had go and work, I got a job at Thomson and Savage…I had a hell of a family to support.[109]

Income figures for Coloureds are rare, but Burrows provides a useful comparison of average wages to those received by Indians in industry:

> A moderately intelligent guess for Indian incomes in 1936 suggests an average income of £5 per month per occupied person. In 1940 this was estimated to be about £8 a month, with typical family incomes ranging between £8-£12 a month. For comparison it may be noted that in 1936/37, the average annual non-European wage in industry was £52 per annum, in 1941/2, £72, and in 1943/44, £93. The average wage paid to Indians in manufacturing industry in 1942/43 was £110, which is a little less than that paid to Coloureds, in 1944/45 it was £145, the Coloured rate again being a few pounds higher.[110]

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[108] The three mission hospitals were St Mary's Catholic Hospital in Marianhill, St Aiden's Anglican Hospital for Indians in Mayville, and McCord's Zulu Hospital in Berea affiliated with the Congregationalist Church, which trained several generations of African girls from Inanda Seminary.

[109] SB, personal interview, April 2012.

[110] Harry Raymond Burrows. "An Approach to the Indian problem of South Africa," *South African Journal of Economics* 15, No 3 (September 1947): 167.

Whether it was a lack of an entrepreneurial spirit, a lack of financial means or a lack of trading experience, there are very few examples of Coloured people being able to start their own formal businesses in the city. An exception was a cluster of tearooms owned by Mauritian families in the Gale Street and Melbourne Road area. The most well-known, on Blake Road, was owned by the Le Tang family. Coloured people living throughout the town area patronised the tearoom but, given its location, it was especially important to people living in Melbourne Road flats and children on their way to and from Melbourne Road Schools. Domingo Shirt and Clothing was another exception. It was started by the Domingos, a Malay family of skilled tailors, who migrated to Durban from the Cape in the early 1930s. The Domingos began with a small operation of personal tailoring and were able to build the company into a factory in Turner Ave, with 40 machinists hired from the local community.[111]

After the Great War and the Great Depression, the Durban economy began to see some slow industrial growth in the 1930s. The development in the city, coupled with poor conditions elsewhere in the union (including the rural areas), attracted immigrants seeking better opportunities. While the numbers of jobs were growing in the city, factory owners preferred cheaper migrant labour that could be controlled in hostels with no room for collective bargaining. Nattrass and Seekings show that, following post-depression international trends, the government embarked on a national policy to assist families facing economic hardship. However, in keeping with skewed racial policies, these efforts where targeted at poor whites, with trailing benefits and services to struggling Coloureds and minimal assistance to Africans

[111] JD, personal interview, April 2012; Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 164.

and Indians living in poverty.[112] Indeed, the measures were meant to maintain a social and economic hierarchy with whites firmly on top. Edley reports that, in Durban, white, Indian and Coloured workers were involved in relief projects, with white workers given preference for certain types of jobs and higher wages, and by the end of 1933 there were a total of 1400 relief workers in the city. While Coloured workers were offered work relief, the number of people covered was minimal. For the African community, the situation was harsher still, as the drive to push native people back to the rural areas meant that any relief work for Africans was located in rural areas, repairing and building roads and stock dams and, in many cases, these men were paid in maize and not cash.[113] By 1944, 70% of Indians, 38% of the Coloureds, 25% of Africans and 5% of whites lived below the poverty line.[114]

Table 3: Relief Workers Durban 1932/1933

Old Section	315
New Section – whites	484
New Section – Coloureds	80
Semi-fit (Stone breakers)	30
Permanent European Labourers	195
Indian Relief Workers	296
Total	**1400**

Source: David Edley, "The Years of the Red Dust: Aspects of the Effects of the Great Depression on Natal, 1929-1933" (PhD thesis, University of Natal, 1994), 277.

[112] Jeremy Seekings and Nicoli Nattrass, *Class, Race and Inequality in South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 76.
[113] David Edley, "The Years of the Red Dust: Aspects of the Effects of the Great Depression on Natal, 1929-1933" (PhD thesis, University of Natal, 1994), 264. https://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/handle/10413/6383
[114] Vishnu Padayachee, Shahid Vawda and Paul Tichmann, "Indian Workers and Trade Unions in Durban 1930-50," *Institute for Social and Economic Research Report No 20* (Durban: University of Durban Westville, 1985), 43.

According to Seekings and Nattrass, other safety nets providing coverage from the realities of unemployment were the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1941 and the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1946. Both acted as social security for the unemployed, aimed at urban white, Coloured and Indian workers in factory or industrial jobs. The measures did not apply to African workers or to domestic, mine, agricultural, government or railway jobs. The payments to the unemployed depended on earnings while employed.[115] The employment of women, regardless of racial group, was not considered essential to the family to warrant any social welfare policies and programmes from local or provincial authorities. The reality, though was far from this and women, particularly single mothers, were profoundly impacted by the harsh economic conditions.

The overall position of Coloured families was additionally precarious as single-family renters with little control over their housing situation and rental costs. Unlike African families, few had rural homes and family to return to and, unlike Indian families, familial wealth was not pooled. Additionally, as semi-skilled and unskilled labourers, they were at the mercy of piece jobs and easily replaced by cheaper, more plentiful labour options. Burrows notes that, by 1943, despite the city having gone through a strong economic recovery, poverty was still a reality among Coloured families in Durban:

> The N.U.C. survey estimated that in 1943 the weekly expenditure required to feed, house and clothe (at the barest minimum) an average Durban family in the four racial groups was a follows: Europeans 3.1.0; Coloureds 3.9.6; Indians 3.13.0; Africans, 1.6.0. The income of 40% of Coloureds were below the indicated level, with another 20% liable at any time to be plunged into similar poverty.[116]

[115] Jeremy Seekings and Nicoli Nattrass, *Class, Race and Inequality in South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 85-86.
[116] Harry Raymond Burrows, "Some Basic problems in Housing Research," *South African Journal of Economics* 16, No 1 (December 1948): 17-18.

Little use for Trade Unions

The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 (and the Wage Act of 1925) allowed the formation of white, Coloured and Indian unions as well as the establishment of bargaining councils for union members and employers. African workers were not able to unionise formally:

> African workers were excluded from the definition of employee laid down in the Industrial Conciliation Act and thus could not belong to registered trade unions. As a result unions with White, Coloured or Indian membership (or some combination thereof) that wished to register but had an African membership could form a "parallel" African union to overcome these problems of registration. Such parallel African unions may have been administered jointly with the registered union.[117]

While Coloureds did belong to several trade unions, membership was not a priority, and there is no evidence of intense organising for, or by, the Coloured workers in Durban. [118] The job situation was precarious enough and their numbers so low, that Coloured workers who did join the union of their trade, did so to ensure practical matters of higher wages and better conditions and not for any more significant ideology of worker equality. Additionally, the family and Church networks used in finding work made people less likely to do anything to disrupt the status quo, as it could affect the economic situation of the family and the entire community.

The 1920s saw African Trade Unionism flourish with the rise of the ICU, the dockworker strike of 1927 and the 1929 beerhall riots but, by the 1930s, the Durban Corporation was trying various methods to appease African workers with the appointment of a new Native Welfare

[117] Vishnu Padayachee, Shahid Vawda and Paul Tichmann, "Indian Workers and Trade Unions in Durban 1930-50," *Institute for Social and Economic Research Report No 20* (Durban: University of Durban Westville, 1985), 178.
[118] Trade Unions in Durban with Coloured membership included the Natal Furniture Worker's industrial union with 53 Europeans, 340 Indians and 35 Coloureds in 1942; and the Natal Liquor and Catering Trade Employees Union included 2 115 Indian, 392 European and 35 Coloureds in 1943. See Vishnu Padayachee, Shahid Vawda and Paul Tichmann, "Indian Workers and Trade Unions in Durban 1930-50," *Institute for Social and Economic Research Report No 20* (Durban: University of Durban Westville, 1985), 52-55.

Officer to oversee leisure activities for the African population in the city.[119] Conversely, the 1930s were characterised by:

> … large-scale employment of Indians in the manufacturing industry and other sectors of wage employment. By the second half of the 1930s no less than 60 per cent of Indians employed in Natal were engaged as non-agricultural workers by the sugar-milling and secondary manufacturing industries as well as by local municipalities.[120]

These growing numbers meant that Indian worker resistance was also on the rise. A crucial strike in the Durban labour landscape took place at Falkirk's in 1937 when some 400 workers, both Indian and African, organised a strike to protest the dismissal of 16 of their colleagues, 15 Indians and one African. Falkirk's was one of the places that Coloured men could count on for work, but Coloureds did not participate in the main 1937 strikes. According to Freund: "Coloured and White workers had struck work earlier, engendering the conflict in initially, but they did not participate in the main part of the strike and were not locked out."[121] Padayachee, Vawda and Tichmann confirm that white and Coloured members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) had: "… used the numerical weight of the non-organised Indian and African workers in support of their demands for wage increases, but then cast them aside once they had struck a deal for themselves with management."[122] There was no memory of the strike or any labour action in this period from any of the people interviewed in this study. Freund points to the attitude of white industry to rely on the separation of workers along

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[119] Paul Maylam, "Introduction: The Struggle for Space in Twentieth Century Durban," in *A People's City: African Life in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Paul Maylam and Iain Edwards (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1996), 12.
[120] Vishnu Padayachee, Shahid Vawda and Paul Tichmann, "Indian Workers and Trade Unions in Durban 1930-50," *Institute for Social and Economic Research Report No 20* (Durban: University of Durban Westville, 1985), vii.
[121] Bill Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian working class of Durban 1910-1990* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), 54.
[122] Vishnu Padayachee, Shahid Vawda and Paul Tichmann, "Indian Workers and Trade Unions in Durban 1930-50," *Institute for Social and Economic Research Report No 20* (Durban: University of Durban Westville, 1985), 89.

colour lines to weaken the force of the labour movement. The Falkirk Strike showed that, at the time, Coloureds preferred to throw their lot in with white workers and were not seen as reliable allies in the labour movement by Indian and African workers.

Dunlop, which opened in 1934, was a site of industrial action from late 1942 to early 1943. Dunlop was another company that hired Coloured men and, although no mention is made of Coloured involvement in the strike, the industrial action was important for both labour and race relations in the city. The strike was called to protest the dismissal of Indian workers, ostensibly for a shortage of raw materials but, in reality, to be replaced by cheaper migrant African labour. Five hundred workers, mainly Indians, went on strike and were promptly charged under the Industrial Conciliation Act and Masters and Servants Act and replaced by cheaper African migrant workers. The Dunlop strike provided an excuse to replace an increasingly assertive Indian labour force with a cheaper, more plentiful migrant African labour force and deeply scarred Indo-African relations in the city. After the strike, the Zulu newspaper *Inkundla ya Bantu* warned African workers to be wary of being organised by Indians who spoke about equality in the workplace but then did nothing to further that cause of equality in other areas of life: “They exploit African members to further the case of the Indian and Coloured in getting higher wages and insisting on asking less for the African 'because he is not recognised'.”[123] These comments underscore a simmering animosity between Indians and Africans that reached a crisis point in the 1949 race riots.

[123] *Inkundla ya Bantu*, 30 October 1943, reported in Baruch Hirson, “A Trade Union Organiser in Durban: MB Yengwa 1943-44,” *Journal of Natal and Zulu History XI*, (1988), 39.

Segregated Education with Ad Hoc Precision

The school was perhaps the most crucial space where a Coloured identity was both imposed by the state and church, albeit in different ways, and nurtured and consolidated by teachers and fellow students. Johnson explains: "… education acts as an agent of social control – it implants norms, values, myths, beliefs, and ideology that legitimates and reinforces the existing stratification."[124] As discussed in the previous chapter, this process started in the 1870s when St Helena and Cape Coloured children were temporarily banned from white schools, which eventually led to the establishment of Albert Street School as the first Coloured-only government school in Durban in 1904. Segregated education justified and normalised racial difference, and the education space became a crucial arena for the small community to assert autonomy and to consolidate a Coloured identity. In the education process, children classified as Coloured were educated at Coloured schools in segregated Coloured areas by mainly Coloured teachers.[125] According to Sheila Patterson, the significance of segregation in education on identity formation was profound:

> It is often at school that a child is first definitely classified as a Coloured or a European, a procedure which determines the whole course of his future. The educational segregation of the 3 non-European groups in South Africa has probably contributed greatly to the success of the 'divide and rule' policy. As European children from the moment they enter school become conscious of their own superiority to "hotnot" children and "piccanins", so the Coloured child in his segregated schooling with its preferential provisions, tends to gain a sense of superiority to the African, who in turn feels superior on account of his "pure blood".[126]

[124] Walton Johnson, "Education: Keystone of Apartheid," *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 13, No 3 (African Education and Social Stratification, Autumn 1982): 222.
[125] Ibid, 214-237.
[126] Sheila Patterson, *Colour and Culture in South Africa: A Study of the Status of the Cape Coloured People within the Social Structure of the Union of South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1953), 262. This quotation was in reference to the situation in the Cape, which mirrored that in Natal and thus, while the terminology of hotnot might be specific to the Cape, the larger sentiment of segregation and education holds.

School was often the place where one was called a Coloured for the first time and where children learned who was Coloured and who was not. A former student at Melbourne Road School recalls being told he was Coloured when he started school at in the mid-1930s. When he found out he was a Coloured, he also learned from his peers about the different backgrounds within the group:

> … although everyone living in this complex in Gale Street was Coloured and the people living around us were Coloured, I did not really know I was a Coloured until I went to school. And then I was told there you know you are a Coloured. You are a Coloured, we are Coloureds. Somewhere along the line they told us, the teachers told us we were Coloureds. And the other thing I realized, I found out when I went to school was that there were different types of Coloureds. I mean to me they were all the same, but then we get there and the one chap says ah I'm a Mauritian and the other chap says I'm a St Helena and the other chap says I'm a Cape Coloured, the other says he's a Cape Malay. You know, that type of thing and suddenly you discover there are 6 or 7 different types of Coloureds. I was just a Coloured. I wasn't a Cape Coloured, I wasn't a Cape Malay I wasn't St Helena, I wasn't a Mauritian. I was just a Coloured. And the majority of us were just Coloureds…A Coloured was a Coloured in school. I think the white teachers didn't know the difference. To them we were all Coloureds, as far as I know. [127]

Despite being in segregated Coloured schools for some time, people still clung to their constitutive identities within an emerging but fragmented Coloured identity. The state also regarded Chinese people as Coloureds, and there were several Chinese students at Coloured schools in Durban. Melanie Yap and Dianne Leong Man confirm:

> Because the Durban Chinese Community was made up of only a handful of families, no Chinese school was ever established there. Durban did, however, produce a significant proportion of the first Chinese students at the University of the Witwatersrand in the 1940s, most of whom had attended Coloured schools such as St Augustine's, Albert Street, Malvern Road (sic) and Umbilo Road.[128]

[127] EN, personal interview, September 2011.
[128] Melanie Yap and Dianne Leong Man, *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: The History of the Chinese in South Africa* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1996), 303.

Coloured Identity was still fluid, children came to school with their parent's concepts of identity, of being, for example, St Helenian or Malay, but schools became the primary site of Coloured identity production. In these demarcated Coloured educational spaces, more unified Coloured identity was produced by everyday interaction; friendships formed, and the reinforcement of the term Coloured as a descriptor of anyone from one of these groups.

Segregation created in the educational space was not uniform, and particular schools were sites of racial contestation. Within a context of relative privilege, where Coloured schools were afforded more resources than Indian and African schools, some Coloured parents began to get protective over 'their' schools and education system. Recalling the issue of the St Helena children who were removed from Queen Street white school in the 1870s, conversely, in the 1930s, Coloured families began complaining about children who were 'too Zulu' occupying spaces in Coloured schools. Both ends of the spectrum were mostly about protecting access to whiteness and privilege. A report by the Superintendent of Education in 1938 reveals:

> While this approximation of Coloured to White gives trouble at one end of the scale, one of the District Inspectors has found new trouble at the other end. He has seen in Coloured Schools children who are to all intents Natives in appearance and upbringing. Some of the Coloured parents protest that these children should be excluded from Coloured Schools.[129]

It was further mentioned: "… the admission of illegitimate children of Coloured men and Zulu women to our Coloured Schools is causing us some difficulty. Some Coloured parents object strongly to the presence of these children whom they maintain are not Coloured, but Zulu."[130] These types of discussions revealed the emergence of a self-definition of Colouredness, who was a Coloured, who was not and who could access resources made available to Coloured

[129] Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository (NAB), Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) 152/2/437, Superintendent of Education to Legal Adviser, 09 March 1938.
[130] NAB, NPA, 152/2/437, Illegitimate Coloured Children: Admission to Coloured Schools, 25 September 1942.

people. To the people contesting the presence of certain children in Coloured schools, Colouredness meant some distance from African, including a physical appearance of looking less African. The porous nature of the community was fading with the need to protect relative privilege by reinforcing the boundaries (real and imagined) between Coloureds and Africans in particular. In 1946, the Provincial Secretary attended a meeting of Sydenham parents, where they requested a formal system to bar 'less than' Coloureds from their schools, noting:

> The Europeans object to and were protected by law against the admission of "colour" into their schools until and unless this "colour" had reached a certain degree of attenuation. The Coloured people should be accorded the same right viz. to object to the admission to a Coloured school of a child who had insufficient European blood to permit of his classification as Coloured.[131]

At the other end of the spectrum was Epsom Road School, a primary school for white boys in the area of the Greyville racecourse that was used as a military hospital during World War I. The Greyville area was a mixed one, with whites, Coloureds and Indians living near one another. It was known in the Coloured community that the fairer boys would be sent to Epsom Road, and they would 'play white' for access to better education and better opportunities. It was an accepted phenomenon, both among 'play whites' and the whites in the area who must have known some of these families from living in the same neighbourhood, and also for the school officials who continually accepted these children into the school. This highlights the degree of informality and fluidity about racial identity in this area at this time. One interviewee reported that her brother, who played white to attend Epsom Road, led an otherwise Coloured life:

> … well, he led a normal life as a Coloured. But when they went to school as long as you were fair and you had brown hair and everything was fine,

[131] NAB, NPA, 152/2/437, Director of Education, 26 August 1946.

> you just got passed off as white. And that's how come he went to Epsom Road School. The other kids in the area all knew he was going to Epsom Road but nobody made fun of him. Everybody else went to Albert Street School or St Augustine's or Melbourne Road.[132]

Natal Ordinance No 23 of 1942 set the colour bar test so that no child could be admitted to a white school unless the headmaster was satisfied that the child was of pure white parentage for three generations on both sides. As this was impossible to apply, the headmaster at a school like Epsom Road just used physical features to classify children as white. Dickie-Clarke mentions an unnamed white school (presumably Epsom Road) that admitted students who: "in the opinion of the headmaster were white."[133] This practice confirms Debbie Posel's argument that in the 1940s, the application of racial identities and segregation tended to be ad hoc, left to the discretion of individuals, such as this principal.[134] These practices served to foster more anxiety over the pervasive and specific physical characteristics that were rewarded by the state and society – whiter skin, straighter hair, pointier nose.

As more Coloured children started attending Epsom Road, including some that were darker and from outside the Greyville area, white families began to complain to the authorities and removed their children from the school. Coloured boys who 'remained fair' and could still pass by the time high school admission came around, were sent to Mansfield Road High School. Family accounts confirm that several boys did, in fact, use their schooling at Epsom road as a segue into white life and society. Russell speaks to the confusion that families in this position often experienced in the face of hardening classification:

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[132] MP, personal interview, April 2012.
[133] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 60.
[134] Deborah Posel, "Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth Century South Africa," *African Studies Review* 44, No 2 (2001): 89-98.

> One of the most interesting features of this group of passers is the genuine confusion which they themselves experience as to their proper racial classification. This was particularly evident in a series of interviews with a group of adolescent school boys from this group, in which they described themselves as 'Europeans', and described the school they attended as a 'mixed' school for Coloureds and Europeans. Later discussing the children of the neighbourhood they spoke of how they fought with European children of the neighbourhood. "The Europeans call us Bushmen". The parents of these children displayed similar confusion. After describing themselves as Europeans they would talk detachedly and sometimes critically of "the Europeans around here", contrasting "the Europeans" with "us". In terms of social relations this group was the most isolated of all groups in the neighbourhood, associating freely with neither Whites nor Coloureds, nor very frequently amongst themselves.[135]

Thus within the segregated educational space Coloured identity was being created and policed. The anxiety around 'race' in society led to these two illustrations – the first of protecting Coloured education and privilege from Africans and second pushing further to gain access to white education and privilege.

The Education Landscape

The Coloured education space grew in size and importance to the community in the 1930s and 1940s. Albert Street School and Melbourne Road School were the two main government primary schools for Coloureds. Both schools were co-educational, although Albert Street only allowed boys until Standard 1 after which they were transferred automatically to Melbourne Road School. Girls could continue at Albert Street or Melbourne Road up to Standard 5. Malay girls generally went to Albert Street. Old pupils recall that almost all the teachers at both schools in this period were white. White teachers were lauded by the education department and Coloured families alike as providing a sound education to Coloured children equal to that

[135] Margo Russell, "Study of a South African Inter-racial Neighbourhood" (Master's thesis, Institute for Social Research: University of Natal, 1961), 114.

received by white children. However, sometimes the same white teachers were questionably qualified and ill-suited to the education process:

> Mr Retief, he took us for Afrikaans. And I learned absolutely no Afrikaans! And the reason why we didn't learn any Afrikaans was this man was not a teacher, he was a doorman in a Dutch Reformed Church and every morning when he came to take us for Afrikaans he would close the doors, close the window and start praying…So he would stand there in front of us and pray. "Close your eyes class, and pray". And now you know – blokes are naughty that's the time they start throwing things around. Imagine for the whole year that's all we did was pray. And every now and then he would peep with one eye and he curses in Afrikaans.[136]

Figure 10: Melbourne Road School, circa 1936



Source: Lawler Collection.

Coloured schools in Natal and elsewhere in the union, relative to their African and Indian counterparts, fell under the same authority as white schools, followed the white

[136] EN, personal interview, September 2011.

curriculum, were inspected by white inspectors and ostensibly afforded a higher standard of education.[137] This relative advantage was, of course, tempered by overcrowding, inferior teaching and resources, a more impoverished home environment and limited prospects compared to white children taught the same curriculum.[138]

With the challenging economic conditions of the time, class was a defining factor among school children. Children from more impoverished families wore unofficial khaki uniforms to save on buying clothing. A student at Melbourne Road in the 1930s reminisced: "… there were no uniforms and most of us poorer Coloureds wore khaki trousers, khaki shirts or white shirts and khaki trousers. That was a normal thing - no shoes."[139] Following post-depression international trends and stemming from national policy to assist families facing economic hardship, the government began implementing feeding schemes in Coloured Schools to treat undernourishment and malnutrition in children. Albert Road and Melbourne Road both had a full soup kitchen that played an essential role in feeding poorer children. For some children, it was the only meal they received:

> At Melbourne Road, we were fed. We had a soup kitchen, for the poorer children. Well I was in that category. We got a bowl of soup and a half a slice of bread, plus pudding. That was for lunch. Meat was very welcome. Later on when we were in Standard 4, the Standard 4s were given proper meals, knife and fork and so on. Rice, samp, whatever. When we were in Standard 4, we didn't get soup, we got, you know, proper meals. We went up to Standard 4 there and then high school started at Umbilo from Standard 5.[140]

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[137] Sheila Patterson, *Colour and Culture in South Africa: A Study of the Status of the Cape Coloured People within the Social Structure of the Union of South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1953), 103-104.
[138] Ibid, 104.
[139] EN, personal interview, September 2011.
[140] EN, personal interview, September 2011.

According to Peter Kallaway, the government formalised school feeding schemes in 1943 and provided lunch to children regardless of race and economic standing.[141] At this point, lunches became less stigmatised as something only for the poor children and were available to anyone who wanted a hot meal.

In 1936 a third, Coloured primary school was opened in Clairwood to serve the resident community of Coloureds, many of whom were of Mauritian descent. Before the building of Clairwood School, Coloureds in the area report that it was normal for children to attend Indian schools, as travelling to town each day for school was not feasible. Nuttall explains the facilities of Clairwood School:

> At Clairwood School, which was opened in 1936, provision is made for nearly all the normal school activities – the Woodwork and Domestic Science Rooms are excellently equipped, there are two tennis courts, and a flourishing Hockey Club. The school has taken the lead in the cultural activities of the Coloured community, more especially Music.[142]

When Umbilo Road High School opened in 1924, it was the only high school for Coloureds in Durban. The principal of the Umbilo Road was Francis Bechet, a Mauritian, who had an enormous impact on the Coloured community of Durban. According to Fr Danker, Bechet had been brought to Durban by the Mauritian community to establish a Mauritian, French-medium school in Mount Edgecombe. As plans for the Mauritian school faltered, Bechet instead joined the government service, and consequently, the Mauritian school collapsed.[143] Bechet began his teaching career in Durban in 1915 and retired in December 1947. He was the patron of the Natal Coloured Teachers' Society from its inception in 1933 until his retirement.[144]

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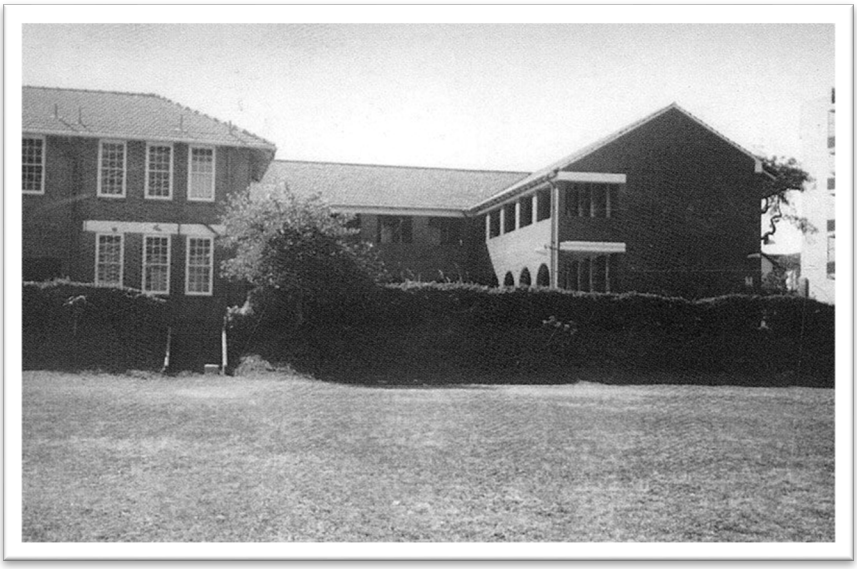
[141] Peter Kallaway, "Policy Challenges for Education in the 'New' South Africa: The Case for School Feeding in the Context of Social and Economic Reconstruction," *Transformation* 31 (1996): 3-5.
[142] Neville Nuttall, *Natal Education - 1849-1949: Then and Now* (Durban: John Singleton & Williams Ltd, 1949), 31.
[143] AD, personal interview, August 2011.
[144] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1947).

In its early days, Umbilo High School was staffed with a full complement of white teachers, and the experiences of the students was generally a good one:

> … I'm not going to say all of the White teachers were bad teachers, there were some good teachers...but there were some that just wrote on the board and nothing else. There was an Afrikaner guy...you could smell liquor on him every day, he was the guy that used to whack us...We had a very good maths teacher at one stage, English teacher, it varied depending on which grade you were in. But again now, my experience of that school was I think a happy one.[145]

Figure 11: Umbilo Road High School



Source: Umbilo Secondary School, http://www.umbilosecondary.co.za/about/history-of-umbilo-secondary-school/

Umbilo is also credited as bringing structured, organised sports to the lives of pupils. The school had three sports houses named after the Antarctic explorers, Scott, Wilson and Bowers, and

[145] JD, personal interview, April 2012.

inter-house sports provided a venue for youth to engage in various codes of sport, both during and after school.

Francis suggests that, in the 1940s, there were sufficient numbers of Coloureds living in Greenwood Park for the area to be widely regarded as a Coloured area. Parkhill High School was handed over to the Coloured community living Greenwood Park in the early 1940s. Parkhill had been a white school before the extension of the city boundaries in 1930. While it was a white school, it was accepted practice that Coloured students who lived in the area would attend school there. By the 1940s Parkhill had been given to the Coloured people living in the Greenwood Park area. Parkhill High school was regarded by Coloureds in Durban as an elite school, most probably due to the presence of wealthier Coloureds of Mauritian and St Helena backgrounds living in Greenwood Park. By the 1950s, there were two Coloured schools in the area, Briardene Primary and Parkhill High.[146]

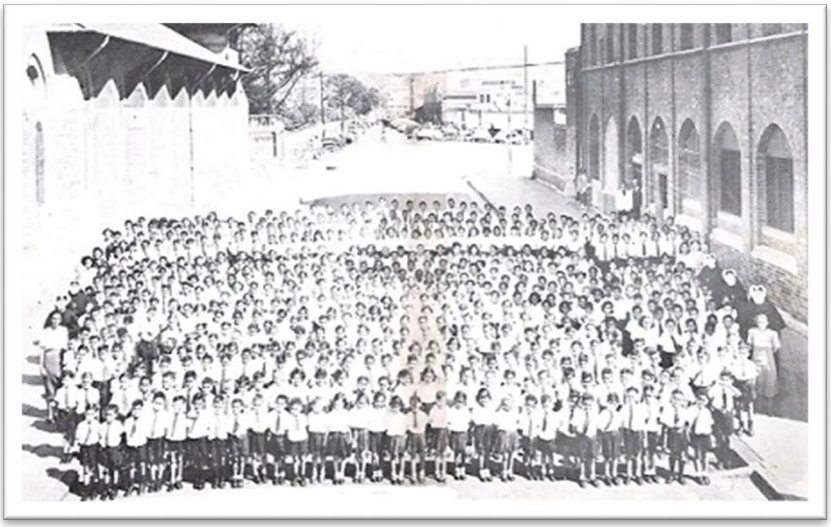
As the area around the Emmanuel Cathedral developed into a thriving Coloured community, so the enrolment and prominence of St Augustine's School, that had been open since 1907, grew. Catholic immigrants coming to Durban from mission stations and schools were sent to Emmanuel Cathedral and directed to send their children to St Augustine's School. Archbishop Dennis Hurley, while a young curate at Emmanuel Cathedral, described the school as small but vibrant:

> In those days the playground for the school was Cemetery Lane and what a buzzing, stirring scene that was during lunch break. Every possible game seemed to be happening in the narrow space and the joyous sounds rose to the heavens like a nuclear explosion…Those were very happy days for me on my first pastoral assignment as the most junior curate at the Cathedral. They seemed to be happy days for St Augustine's too, though

[146] Lynette Francis, "Housing an Illegitimate Aristocracy - an Urban Profile of a Coloured Community in Greenwood Park from the 1950's to the 1970's" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 2001), 114.

it was dreadfully cramped and crowded in the narrow confines of the Cathedral Centre and Cemetery Lane.[147]

Figure 12: St Augustine's School



Source: www.denishurleycentre.org/page/history-of-the-site.

Church schools received a subsidy from the government, and St Augustine's was able to provide a partial feeding scheme for children. Based on the subsidy and augmented by donations from local businesses, children were given something to eat each day. Teachers in Church schools were generally paid less than their counterparts teaching at government schools. The Natal Department of Education made a grant to state-aided mission schools and, from this amount, the school would need to allocate funds to salaries and facilities. The wages were often supplemented by any additional revenue the school was able to earn. In 1942, the department took over the payment of salaries for all teachers, regardless of whether they were in a state,

[147] Denis Hurley Centre: http://www.denishurleycentre.org/page/history-of-the-site (Last accessed 18 May 2020). St Augustine's School eventually moved to bigger premises opposite the Greyville Race Course in 1957.

church or private school.[148] At church schools, the feeding schemes were dependent on donations and were far less substantial than those at government schools. A former pupil recalls her school lunches:

> … quarter pint of milk, an apple, and a cake or a doughnut or something or a sometimes a sandwich, but every day we received a meal from there. The dairies used to donate that, and the bakeries donated that, and whoever else was involved in the charity organisations. They helped us a long way.[149]

St Theresa's Children's Home was started in 1925 by a community of German Augustinian sisters. However, it was not until 1932 that St Theresa's School was completed to take care of the educational needs of the 'homeboys', as they were known, and the children of the surrounding community. St Theresa's became a much-needed community school in Sydenham.

Figure 13: St Theresa's School 1934



Source: St Theresa's Home Archives.

[148] Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 65.
[149] HD, personal interview, May 2012.

As a children's home and boarding school, St Theresa's had a soup kitchen where all children (including day scholars) received a meal:

> We all ate from the soup kitchen. On a Friday it was a slice of brown bread, a banana and a cup of cocoa - we loved Friday…Other days we got cabbage soup, or they gave you just bread and tea, but there was always something for everybody in the week. You ate at school - lunchtime. And then when it was our turn to help serve in the soup kitchen then you took the best - you found the best bone to put in your plate.[150]

In 1950, St Theresa's stopped catering for private boarders. Poet Don Mattera, who attended St Theresa's as a boarder from Johannesburg from 1942 to 1950, recalls: "The home, we were told, would become an orphanage because younger boys with more urgent welfare needs were going to take our places."[151] The school nonetheless continued to thrive and accept all day scholars.

Church schools were said to have a more open racial policy; however, that was not the experience of Fr Danker who recalls trying to get a place at Marist Brothers School, a white Catholic school, in the 1940s:

> After St Augustine's, my mother felt that I should go to a good Catholic school. So she took me to the Marist Brothers School in Ridge Road. That was a pure white school, even though it was Catholic. The only people of colour, although they would never admit it, were those who were Lebanese or what we called in those days, Syrians. They were not acceptable as white people then, they were only considered white when the Nationalist Government took over and they were all issued with white ID cards. Then they were elevated...Anyhow, those boys were admitted. My mother was told that there was no room for me. I was coming from St Augustine's school; they knew that, so they said there was no room. But on that same day, quite a number of white boys were accepted.[152]

[150] CR, personal interview, May 2014.
[151] Don Mattera, *Memory is the Weapon* (Florida, SA: African Perspectives, 2012), 42.
[152] Albert Danker, personal interview, August 2011.

The Natal Consolidated Education Ordinance of 1942 made education compulsory for all white and Coloured children in the province from the seventh to the 15th year.[153] For Coloured children, however, the ordinance only applied if the child lived within three miles of a Coloured School. Education was compulsory for white children, whether there was a school in the immediate vicinity or not.[154] The fact that education was not free made these regulations mostly unenforceable, but education was still valued by Coloured families who saw it as a way to improve their standing.[155]

Table 4: Snapshot of Coloured Education in Natal 1946

Government Coloured Schools	19
Government-aided Coloured Schools	13
Government-aided Coloured Farm Schools	2
Total No of Coloured Schools	34
Total No of Coloured Pupils 1946	5 682
Total No of Coloured Pupils 1945	5 511
No of Coloured Principals	10 = 29%
No of Coloured Hostels	3
No of Secondary Schools	2
Standard 6 Examination Passes: 1945 (Continuation)	145
Standard 6 Examination Passes: 1945 (Leaving)	75
Standard 6 Examination Passes: 1946 (Continuation)	214
Standard 6 Examination Passes: 1946 (Leaving)	68

Source: Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (September 1947), 7.

[153] Sigrid Steinberg, *The Statesman's Year-Book 1966-67: The One-Volume Encyclopaedia of all Nations* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), 262; Abraham Behr, *New Perspectives in South African Education: A Review of Education in South Africa, 1652-1984* (Durban: Butterworths, 1984), 239.
[154] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1948), 28.
[155] Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 20; Abraham Behr, *New Perspectives in South African Education: A Review of Education in South Africa, 1652-1984* (Durban: Butterworths, 1984), 239.

Table 4 provides a snapshot of education in Natal in 1946. At that time, there were a total of 34 schools across the province (19 government, 13 government-aided and two government-aided farm schools), serving 5 682 children and rising to 6 173 in 1949 (compared to only 322 in 1902); a testament to both the growth of the population and the importance of education in the community.[156] Also significant is the number of Coloured principals, ten in 1946. The head of school position was a domain kept for whites, and the growing number of Coloured principals suggests the development of the intelligentsia of the community.

Upward Mobility of the Teaching Profession

Teachers were respected members of the community who played an important role in the development of a Coloured identity. As the educated elites, they occupied a position of privilege, able to exert considerable influence on their students and the greater population, particularly as they were acknowledged as being transmitters of knowledge that could hold the key to upward mobility. As Adhikari explains: "For many Coloureds, education held the promise of higher social status within their community as well as an escape from manual labour."[157] The elevated status of teachers, particularly those from humble backgrounds, was the very proof that education could lift one's economic and social status. Teachers were also early transmitters of cultural values, showing through classroom lesson plans and by setting an example for students, what it was to be a Coloured.

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[156] Neville Nuttall, *Natal Education - 1849-1949: Then and Now*, (Durban: John Singleton & Williams Ltd, 1949), 29-32; and Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1946).

[157] Mohamed Adhikari, "Coloured Identity and the Politics of Coloured Education: The Origin of the Teachers' League of South Africa," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 27, No 1 (1994): 115. Adhikari was of course speaking about the Cape but the same was true for Durban, where teachers were held in high regard and considered part of the community elite.

In 1929, there were 86 white, 18 Coloured and 5 Indian teachers employed in Government and Government-aided Coloured schools in Natal. [158] The training of Coloured teachers in Natal was conducted on an ad hoc basis. They were either trained at colleges in the Cape or came through a system of pupil-to-teacher training in mission schools that had been functioning since the late 1800s.[159] Horrell explains that, in some cases, up-and-coming students who had passed Grade 8 were sent to colleges such as St Chad's, an Anglican boarding school in Ladysmith, for a two-year course in teacher training.[160] The Government established a teacher training class at St Philomena's for students with Grade 8, but the number of teachers coming out of these venues was still not sufficient to meet the need for Coloured teachers.[161] Seeing the need for both high school education and teacher training, the government opened Umbilo Road School in 1924 with plans to professionalise Coloured teacher training with a centralised two-year teacher training programme. The first three students entered the teacher training programme at Umbilo in 1931 and, by 1933, 11 teachers had passed through its ranks.[162]

Once they had qualified, these new teachers found limited options for job placement. White teachers had a monopoly on postings to Coloured government schools in the city of Durban, and newly-qualified teachers were thus sent to less desirable schools in far-flung areas of Natal:

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[158] Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 70.
[159] Ibid, 21. In Natal, this tradition dated back to 1896, when Rev Sister Mary of the Cross, financially unable to employ qualified teachers in her day schools for Indian and Mauritian girls, started to train her own pupils to teach.
[160] Ibid, 70.
[161] Neville Nuttall, *Natal Education - 1849-1949: Then and Now* (Durban: John Singleton & Williams Ltd, 1949), 29.
[162] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (Dec 1947), 18; Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 70.

> … some of my mates went on and became teachers…but what did they do with them, what did they do with him? Take the guy and go and dump him in the country, a lot of guys, friends of mine that we grew up with went further - high school, and they were sent to places like, the very same places that Khoi people come from. Go and teach over there, ya.[163]

As white teachers began joining the war effort in the early 1940s, the idea of Coloured children being taught by Coloured teachers began to take root, both as a strategy of the department of education and due to campaigning by Coloured teachers themselves. With many more potential posts to fill, the teacher-training programme at Umbilo became that much more crucial to the community. Students were actively encouraged to become teachers with bursaries offered to promising students. A teacher who went through the early training programme at Umbilo notes:

> … it was a two year course, and after the two years we were lucky, Mr Bechet was principal, and after the two years somehow they offered a third course and they were offering it with a bursary. And I accepted that bursary, Mr Bechet said to me there's a bursary, only one bursary left, and I hopped into that and went back for a year.[164]

The numbers of Coloured teachers in Coloured Government and Government-aided Schools grew steadily, a testament to the Umbilo teacher-training programme. In 1940, there were 66 Coloured teachers in Coloured schools - none had university degrees, 50 had teaching certificates and 16 had no formal teaching qualification.[165] By 1946 there were 102 Coloured teachers employed in Coloured schools and 18 in Indian schools across Natal.

[163] SD, personal interview, April 2012.
[164] AS, personal interview, August 2011.
[165] In contrast, of the 115 white teachers employed in Coloured Schools, 24 were graduates, 55 held teaching certificates and 36 had no formal teaching qualification.

Table 5: Teachers in Coloured Schools

	White	Coloured	Indian
1936	93	29	1
1940	115	66	1
1946	114	102	2

Source: Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 70

Umbilo offered three different types of teaching certificates to start increasing the numbers and improve the skills of Coloured teachers. These were T5: two years training post-Standard 6; T4: two years training post-Standard 7; and T3 (2nd class): one-year training post-Junior Certificate. In 1947, the Natal Department of Education set up a commission to look at teacher qualifications and training. The commission included Frances Bechet, principal of Umbilo High School, who acted as the group's authority on Coloured education. Based on recommendations of the commission, several reforms took effect from January 1948. These included changes to the syllabus of the teacher-training programme and the creation of a pathway for older teachers, already in schools but without formal qualifications, to sit for exams without having to resign their teaching positions and enrol as students at Umbilo to gain a T3. The reforms provided more opportunities to those teachers in the profession who wanted to improve their qualifications and salaries.[166] The teacher-training programme at Umbilo was not well funded, but between 1931 and 1946, it was able to graduate some 111 teachers.[167] HA Knight, a lecturer at Umbilo, described the work of the teacher-training programme:

[166] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (Sept 1947).
[167] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (Dec 1947), 18.

> We have had our ups and downs at the training centre. Those of you who belong to our cradle days will recall the difficulties under which we laboured – no classrooms, little or no equipment, no facilities for practical teaching. But gradually these difficulties are being overcome. We now have a fine classroom (though we badly need another) with equipment accumulated over the years, and we have facilities for teaching practice at Albert Street, Clairwood and Melbourne Road schools, where helpful trained teachers take a kindly interest in our fledgelings.[168]

Although still small in number, the increase in Coloured teachers contributed to the growth of the Coloured elite. They became the primary transmitters of knowledge and indeed of a Coloured identity to the children in their community.

Building Community and Articulating Vision: The Natal Coloured Teachers' Society

Coloured teachers began to organise around their particular interests and, for the first time, became an organised, increasingly influential voice of a recognised and respected elite group. In 1932, the small Coloured teaching community formed the Natal Coloured Teachers' Society to represent the group to the Natal Department of Education on employment conditions such as teacher training and salary.[169] It also functioned as a body that could share experiences and techniques between colleagues, including those in the remote regions of the province. The first president was Taffie Whitehead, succeeded quickly by Harry Lawler after Whitehead drowned at Durban Beach. Other early presidents were EG "Bobby" Bredencamp, member of the Communist Party of South Africa who went on to become a doctor, Robert Crowley, the first Coloured Principal of Clairwood and Melbourne Road Schools, Fred Holloway, Leslie John Lewis and Kenneth Manwaring.[170] All of these early influential leaders had origins either in St Helena or in the Cape and had early access to education. Other members who were active in the

[168] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (Dec 1947).
[169] SONAT, *The Society of Natal Teachers: Its History, Aims and Achievements* (Durban: SONAT).
[170] Ibid.

executive in the late 1940s and 1950s included PC Johnson, MM Renton, Miss I Rose, CA Tifflin, A van der Merwe, D Isaacs, T de Vries, R Greeves, MR Lewis, GR Lewis, Miss M Louis, Miss T Augustin, HW Williams, Miss M Brady, Miss E Brady and M Renton. This was the first time that a group of Coloured women were involved so prominently in an organization – a testament to their role in the educational space as teachers and transmitters of identity and culture.

The society collected a minimal subscription, which was used for funding an annual conference and, from 1945, for publishing the *Organiser*, a quarterly newsletter. The organisation covered all corners of the Natal province and, as it represented the educated elite of the community, had a sizeable impact on the teaching community and, by extension, the consolidation of an emergent Coloured identity of the children in their care. The *Organiser* newsletter was an important tool for the teaching collective in Natal and a space for the articulation of the ideas of the educators. The newsletter concerned itself with discussing issues common to teachers, informing members of developments in the teaching profession and producing educational pieces written by members across the teaching community in the province of Natal. An essential goal of the members was an articulation of the Coloured experience, to:

> … awaken and retain the interest of all teachers in the province…as a means of welding the teachers into a unified body, ranged behind the Society in its struggle for an upward educational trend…the magazine must present matter of vital interest to the teachers, which by interpretation, means material written by Coloured teachers for Coloured teachers.[171]

Members were also conscious of the role of the body and teachers in general in challenging the negative stereotypes of Coloured people in the city, and in showing their respectability:

[171] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (September 1947).

> Let us refute the allegation that shiftlessness is the 'badge of all our tribe'. All sections of plural society look down on the Eurafricans efforts as ephemeral. In our instance, let us prove them wrong.[172]

These goals seemed to be aimed at convincing white society of the equal position of Coloureds in the teaching profession and Durban society. Part of the strategy in changing these stereotypes of Coloureds was the development of a creative cultural tradition among the children of the community that mimicked that found in white society. From 1933 the NCTS sponsored an annual Eisteddfod competition to support and showcase music, dancing, singing and spoken English and Afrikaans talent. Prizes were given to winners in various categories and the Society awarded small bursaries to students wanting to further their studies in some aspect of the arts. ME Brady, writing in the *Organiser* encouraged teachers to use their classrooms and influence to improve the standing and prospects of the Coloured community:

> It is the duty then of all responsible persons, especially of teachers, to do all in their power to encourage interest in the Natal Coloured Cultural Society, to help raise the cultural standard of our community. It will be only through the attainment of a high cultural standard, that we will become a success as a community, and can take our rightful place among others. We need doctors, nurses, lawyers, musicians, speakers, writers, and, above all, leaders, so let us do our share to make them.[173]

The *Organiser* was also a forum to highlight the work being done in Coloured Schools and to collect and share a set of best practices. Mangete School in Zululand was, for example, offered as an example of a school with an all Coloured staff that was able to provide a sound education with excellent facilities, including domestic science equipment, sewing machines, timber and woodworking tools and a borehole. The school also boasted good attendance, despite children travelling distances, and served as a cultural centre that hosted a youth club, women's

[172] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1946), 21.
[173] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1946), 14.

organisation and a health care centre where the community could receive immunisations. The example set by Mangete School was used within the NCTS membership to develop awareness for facilities and strategies for community building in the rural areas. The political suggestion of the account was that it was yet another way to bolster a sense of Coloured nationalism and counter the negative stereotypes held of Coloured people:

> … give lie to the jibe that the coloured is "degenerate". It is, one may boldly say, the story of what is happening at all schools where coloureds are given authority. It is the sign of progress for the coloured nation of the future.[174]

Practical matters, such as salaries and pensions, were also dealt with, but the approach of the organisation was to advocate, not to agitate. The Society often made comparisons of salaries and benefits between Coloured and white teachers, voicing their expectations of parity, and indignation when equality was not forthcoming. In this regard, the Natal Coloured Teachers' Society mirrored the Teacher's League of South Africa of Coloured teachers in Cape Town and concerned with working to bring about change as part of the educational system.[175] On the question of salaries, the NCTS sent formal letters to the Education Department on behalf of its members noting: "… the European teachers have been granted an increase in their salaries, and we are anxiously waiting our turn."[176] With no official response, the *Organiser* reported, "The European teachers have been given their new salary scale. The Indian teachers have been officially notified that this scale does not apply to them. My letter to the Department asking for

[174] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (September 1947), 21.
[175] Mohamed Adhikari, "Teachers League of South Africa 1914-40" (Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, 1986); Mohamed Adhikari, "Coloured Identity and the Politics of Coloured Education: The Origin of the Teachers' League of South Africa," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 27, No 1 (1994), 101-126.
[176] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (September 1947), 7.

our position to be clarified is 'receiving attention'."[177] There is no evidence that the requests for salary increases went beyond polite letter writing and waiting patiently for a response.

The comparisons between white and Coloured also shed light on the unequal power dynamics and growing resentment at being ill-treated. A story is described in the *Organiser* of a group of teachers in a country school who were visited in the evening in one of their homes by an inspector. They were treated poorly by a rude inspector and threatened with insubordination for their attitude, which included not standing when the inspector entered the room. The member asks:

> Is service or servility required of a European teacher? Are we to leap from our seats as if stung by a wasp every time we meet an inspector? In trams, buses, cinemas, sports grounds. Must we be ever on the alert to do homage, to cringe in abject humility, to bear the stamp of obsequiousness.[178]

An interesting point for discussion at the 1948 conference of the Society was a motion to engage with the Natal Education Department regarding a revision of primary school textbooks to: "… eliminate anything likely to engender race-hatred or inculcate a sense of inferiority; and to foster a love of South African subjects, instead of subjects designed for British children in Schools in the British Isles."[179] This was an important signal that teachers were thinking and talking about race and identity as a community and in the classroom. Additionally, the previous inclination of some members of the community to defend their Britishness was shifting. Unfortunately, the timing was not right for official discussions of this nature, particularly given the political shift in the country and the approaching victory of the National Party in 1948.

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[177] Ibid, 7.
[178] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1946), 19.
[179] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1948).

In 1947, the Natal Indian Teachers' Society approached the Natal Coloured Teachers' Society to discuss forming a Non-European federation, in keeping with the inter-race cooperation seen on the sports fields at this time. The Natal Indian Teachers' Society had been in existence since 1925, playing a similar role to the NCTS in trying to negotiate with the government for better conditions in schools and better salaries for members. Conditions in Indian Schools were even direr than those in Coloured Schools, the numbers of children seeking education far outstripped places in schools and salaries were lower than those paid to Coloured teachers. The NCTS put the idea to its members, but it was not well-received. Coloured teachers, in a situation of relative privilege, did not want to join with their Indian counterparts, and risk their position. They voted against a proposed federation. Moreover, the idea of being labelled as 'Non-European' was highly offensive to members of the society. F Holloway, a respected member of the NCTS, wrote in the *Organiser*:

> The dictionary defines "European" as a "descendant of Europeans", and the prefix 'Non" as "not". Hence the term or opprobrium, cannot reasonably be applied to coloured persons, in whose veins is the blood of Europeans…yet it is surprising to note how eager the press, the philanthropic associations, the political organizations are to rhapsodize on the Non-European theme. This attitude is entirely incorrect. It may be suitable for the Education Department's convenience to do so. But it is time a halt is called to the state of affairs. And the duty of the NCTS is to attack immediately and with concentrated vigour, the policy in force of grouping coloureds and coloured schools as non-European. The Education department should be made to realize our viewpoint; that coloureds are of European descent; that we are a nation community; a separate identity; that as such we object to the classification extended to us; and we are not prepared to accept, in the future, the epithet being hurled at us in print…the coloured teachers, as the accredited intelligentsia of the community, must give the lead in the matter, not only by demand, but by action. There must be a withdrawal, or holding aloof, from any organization, function or institution under the "non-European" nomenclature. Purely "coloured" facilities must be requested, and when impossible to procure, the coloured teachers, as a body, are capable of turning to other sources for the extension of such aid or facility. No

> Coloured teacher enters any public institution through the "non-European" entrance; he does not travel in the "non-European sections of the trams and railway; it is right to expect that he does not regard himself as such; therefore non-acceptance of the name from his employer should be the foremost of his moral battles.[180]

The idea of being classed as non-European and joining a non-European union roused the educated elite of the community to vocalise their assertion of a nationalistic Coloured identity in Natal. Their demand for purely Coloured facilities is at once a realisation that they were not going to achieve inclusion in white education and processes and also a struggle to ensure they did not lose their white-adjacent privileges by being grouped with those considered to be lower in the racial hierarchy of the day. As numbers of teachers grew, so did the membership and reach of the NCTS and these sentiments of Coloured identity and nationhood, particularly in the context of apartheid, were spread to students in Coloured schools across Natal.

An Experiment in Higher Education

The creation of an educated elite received a boost in May 1936, when the University of Natal opened a non-European section for part-time classes at Sastri College.[181] The education of Black students at the university level in Natal was championed by Mabel Palmer, a lecturer in Economics and Economic History, and the first intake of this 'non-European Section' comprised 19 students, 11 Indians, 6 Africans and 2 Coloureds. Palmer described the college as a place where:

> All races are admitted, except Europeans; the largest number comes from Natal's Indian community, the next largest which is growing both in proportion and in absolute number, from the Bantu. There are also Coloured (i.e. half-caste) and occasionally Chinese students. With the

[180] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (September 1947), 3-4.
[181] Sastri College was a private Indian High School founded in 1929 by Strinivasa Sastri an agent from India who initially came to Durban to discuss the repatriation of indentured worker to India with colonial authorities.

> rarest of exceptions, these all work and play happily together. There are an increasing number of women students.[182]

The enrolment of Coloureds at the University of Natal-Non European Section (UN-NES) was small but grew steadily from two students in 1936 to 13 in 1954 and, finally, to 43 in 1962.[183] The students were taught by white lecturers part-time at Sastri College in the evening and at weekends. The lecturers were hired specifically to teach the Black students, but this changed eventually, and the preferred mechanism was to use the professors who regularly taught at the University of Natal. Most of the students went on to become teachers and would work as teachers in the day and in the evening and weekends attend university classes to work on their degrees.

While some lecturers, such as sociology professor and prominent member of the Liberal Party Prof Leo Kuper, were trying to integrate the university, leadership believed firmly in segregation. One of Kuper's former students explains:

> … he (Kuper) was fighting a losing battle because the principal of the university the vice-chancellor, a chap by the name of Malherbe told us once that in his opinion non-whites are not the equal of whites at Matric. We need the other 3 or 4 years of university to bring us up to that level. And so as far as he was concerned undergraduate classes must be separate but he doesn't mind them meeting at post-graduate level…(but) even the post-graduate students were separated. When I was doing UED (teaching diploma) I was a post-graduate student, but we still had separate classes.[184]

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[182] Mabel Palmer, "Higher Education in Natal," *African Affairs* 50, No 199 (April 1951): 134-139.
[183] Ibid, 72; Surendra Bhana and Goolam Vahed, "'Colours Do Not Mix': Segregated Classes at the University of Natal, 1936-1959," *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 29 (2011): 73. According to Bhana and Vahed the complete enrolment were as follows,"19 students in 1936, (11 Indians, 6 Africans, and 2 Coloureds), 69 (7 Africans, 2 so-called Coloureds, and 60 Indians) in 1940, 136 (12 Africans, 4 so-called Coloureds, and 120 Indians) in 1945, and 222 (57 Africans, 9 Coloureds, and 156 Indians) in 1950."
[184] EN, personal interview, September 2011.

Coloured students at the UN-NES recall that it did not cost very much money to attend the university. Students were given a substantial fee remission and, for those students who lived in town, they could live at home and save on accommodation and food costs and bus fares. To cut down on the cost of books, students made use of a small, poorly-stocked library located behind Sastri College. All facilities, particularly the library, were inferior when compared to the main campus:

> …in 1943 there were 16 books per student (2 100 books for 131 students) in that Library compared with 31 at Howard College (4 500 books for 145 students) and 38 in the Commerce Library (6 000 books for 156 students). The disparity was particularly galling in view of the fact that, unlike Engineering and Commerce students, the 'non-Europeans' were taking what were supposed to be reading-intensive arts/social science subjects but their Library could provide little more than basic textbooks.[185]

The majority of students who attended the university did so as a way to enter the teaching profession. Those students were required to do an additional one-year post-graduate professional course after their Bachelor's degree, leading to the University Education Diploma (UED). Due to their advanced level of education, these teachers were immediately in line for positions to teach in high schools with higher salaries than their training college counterparts.[186] Graduation ceremonies were contentious issues as students from NES were seated separately from white graduates and had to wait until the white students had all received their degrees before they could walk through as a block group. Students protested what they saw as a final insult, and many boycotted their own graduation ceremonies,

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[185] Bill Guest, *Stella Aurorae: The History of a South African University. Volume 1. Natal University College (1909-1949)* (Pietermaritzburg: Natal Society Foundation, 2015), 207. https://www.natalia.org.za/Files/Publications/Stella%20Aurorae.pdf

[186] Young graduates of the UN-NES report facing hostility from older teachers, both white and Coloured, over their better conditions and their perceived know-it-all-attitude.

preferring to graduate in absentia.[187] While certainly flawed in its segregationist policies, the university offered a space for Black students to receive a university education and to interact with each other. For many, this was the first time African, Indian and Coloured people were able to form friendships on an equal basis, which led to a higher level of political awareness. As these more politically conscious, educated people mainly went into the teaching profession, they took their more liberal views into schools and into the Natal Coloured Teachers' Society.

Education policy was the cornerstone of both the colonial and the apartheid mechanisms of separation and control. Coloured schools were a reality in Durban from 1903, corralling people from various backgrounds who did not fall into racial categories of African, white or Indian. Within these spaces, a Coloured identity evolved, imposed by state and produced by Coloured people themselves. A dichotomy developed where some members of the community policed the margins of what it was to be Coloured, guarding the privileges that being closer to white brought in the colonial context and parents complained about children attending Coloured schools, which were too Zulu. At the same time, fluidity allowed fairer-skinned children to play-white and attend white schools.[188] The case of the prominent Coloured headmaster, who wrote in the pages of the *Organiser* of Coloured equality, sent his darker-skinned child to a Coloured School and his lighter-skinned child to a white school is an unfortunate display of the responses and conflicts the system prompted. Coloured teachers began organising and meeting collectively from 1933 and, from their publications and conference proceedings, it is clear that they had a particular Coloured worldview, which they imparted to the students in their care. Part of this philosophy came from the ordinary lives they

[187] AD, personal interview, August 2011.
[188] Social fluidly remained in the spaces between Coloured and Indian and Coloured and African for some time, until racial categories and attitudes began to harden under apartheid.

led in the Coloured spaces of Durban, and the struggles they faced as educators, inadequate training, unequal pay, chronic shortages of teachers, inadequate facilities for students and being watched and disciplined by authorities. They were seen as the educated elite of the community but were from the same ordinary backgrounds as everyone else in their neighbourhoods. The only difference was that they either aspired to or stumbled into, one of the few professional jobs open to Coloured men and women. These myriad experiences formed the context of their lessons with students and interactions with their community and gave them agency in the production of a particular Durban Coloured identity.

Conclusion

During the interwar years, the City of Durban led the country in the development of segregationist policies, particularly concerning the residential segregation of Indians and Africans. Legislation was developed to create racial order in urban areas. While these policies did not directly target the newly emergent Coloured group, they mainly occupied Indian residential spaces, became further distanced from Africans and formed closer bonds with Indians. Within these Indian spaces, the diverse collection of peoples, thrown together by government, society and circumstance sought each other out and began to cleave together. The young community was characterised by fluidity and relative privilege. Fluidity, itself a privilege, meant being able to move in and out of white, African and Indian spaces in ways that others could not. Privileges existed, relative to Africans and Indians, but they were often less favourable than they seemed. Coloured men had the vote, but this did not translate to political representation, political gains were made by seeking favour with white city councillors and sponsors. Workers could join white unions, but jobs were still scarce and pay, and working

conditions were closer to the Indian workers from whom they were made to feel alienated. Education was delivered by white teachers using the white curriculum, but many of these same teachers were underqualified and Coloured schools operated at a fraction of the budgets set for white schools. Coloured teachers formed the Natal Coloured Teachers' Society and began to articulate a nationalistic outlook. Coloureds accessed white hospitals, but only in a Coloured wing. The attitude of whites to Coloureds oscillated somewhere between calculated divide and rule and benevolent guilt. In this problematic middle space, the Coloured community in Durban turned inwards and began to delineate a community and way of life. By shared experiences in living spaces, political representation, work and education, all performed at the margins of white, African and Indian, a cohesive group consciousness began to develop that would prepare the group for the prospects of segregation in the apartheid era.

CHAPTER 4

THE SEGREGATION PERIOD (1930 to 1950): CULTURAL SHAPE-SHIFTERS, LIVING IN AMBIGUITY

In the 1930s and 1940s as Durban's authorities began more deliberately to impose segregationist policies, people who were negotiating a Coloured existence managed to carve out flexible spaces for their everyday lives. This chapter examines the ambiguity of daily life within Coloured enclaves - in homes, streets, market places, sports fields, churches, cinemas, beaches and on dance floors. Daily life also included the social ills of shebeens and gangs. Coloured people articulated their liminality both by arranging themselves in their new community and making space for mixed interactions with other Durbanites. Coloured people became cultural shape-shifters, inhabiting cultural hybridity. For those who could pass (as white, Indian or African) a choice could be made for everyday life to also include passing in and out of spaces meant for other groups and to choose when to do so. It was a complex but formative time in the development of the community. This chapter examines spaces of everyday life that were less regulated by authorities to determine the articulations and negotiations of a Coloured identity.

Enjoying the Everyday: Home, Food and Entertainment

An examination of the everyday practices of ordinary people allows a unique view into the strategies and interactions that came with moving through, living in and making a life in the city

of Durban as a Coloured person.[1] Everyday experiences illustrate people living their ordinary lives, negotiating daily ambiguities, interacting with other groups of peoples and active in moulding their own identity.

Work in the home was gendered, with women, even those who held fulltime jobs, taking care of the home. Children were expected to do chores around the home and the roles that girls and boys were assigned also followed gendered lines. Girls would help with cooking, cutting and wetting old newspaper to use as toilet paper and polishing floors. Boys would be sent to buy coal and wood and would be tasked with chopping the wood, cleaning out the coal stove and making the fire that would heat the water for bathing. Markets played a central role in the lives of Coloured Durbanites. Accessibility and affordability were critical to families maintaining relatively healthy diets. Those who lived in town could walk easily to and from the market, while those who lived further afield took rickshaws or buses to reach their destination. Members of the community regularly interacted with all four markets in the area, the Early Morning or Squatters' Market in Warwick Avenue, the enclosed Indian Market in Victoria Street, the City or English Market in Warwick Avenue and the African Meat Market in Victoria Street.

The Early Morning or Squatters' Market was a space for Indian market gardeners to sell their produce. The name Squatters' Market was derived from the way that sellers would squat or crouch on the ground beside their produce at the original location of the market in Victoria Street from the early 1900s. In 1934, responding to numerous and longstanding complaints

[1] The study of the everyday has its roots in the Annales school, Alltagsgeschichte (the history of everyday life) from Germany, and 'microhistory' in Italy and France which emphasizes ordinary people in their daily lives as agents of history and change.

about the exposure of sellers, congestion in the street and concerns about public health issues, the City Council provided an enclosed space for the market gardeners. The space was an open-sided structure with concrete tables and, most importantly for traders, a roof offering protection from the elements.[2] The Early Morning Squatters' Market, also known as Bottom Market, was an essential part of everyday life. The Indian Market was located on Victoria Street and was known as the Victoria Street or Top Market. The market sold groceries, some vegetables, spices, trinkets, meat and fish. The market could be reached easily via a pedestrian bridge over the railway line at Victoria Street. The third market in the area that served the Coloured community was the English Market, located in Warwick Ave, close to the Indian Market. The English Market was relocated from Victoria Street to a large brick building on Warwick Ave in 1934. The market sold a wide variety of goods, produce, poultry, preserves, bread and confectionery, all sold by white shop owners.

Markets were spaces of interaction, where Coloureds (and others) could mingle with other Durbanites, who came from different segregated residential areas. The Indian Market was universally patronised by the community; it was familiar and held most items they needed at reasonable prices. Singh's Mutton Market was a firm favourite. It had a large butchery on the corner of Etna and Warwick Avenue, across from one of the entrances to the Squatters' Market, as well as a stall inside the Indian Market. The African Meat Market in Victoria Street was popular for cheaper cuts of beef, used for stews and curries, and for beef bones that were used in making soup. Some, however, saw it as rougher and dirtier.[3] The English Market was

[2] Goolam Vahed, "A 'Public Health Nuisance': The Victoria Street Early Morning Squatters Market, 1910–1934," *South African Historical Journal* 40, No 1, (May 1999): 151-152.
[3] EN, personal interview, September 2011.

cleaner and more expensive than the Squatters' and Indian Markets. Many Coloured customers felt out of place and were not treated well by shopkeepers and white customers. Although there were no restrictions on who could shop at the English Market, the perception among some in the community was that those Coloureds who did go to the English Market regularly could either pass as white or were those who wanted to assert an English identity. [4] A frequent patron of the English Market, who did in fact play white in some areas of her life, explained her preference, making note that this was a 'white' market:

> Where we liked to shop was the English market. This was white-owned butchers, stalls, all white-owned – vegetables, cheeses, bakery. Everything you could buy in there. And then you'd go on the side was a whole row of butchers and they were all white-owned as well. But anyone could buy. And that was the English market.[5]

The tearoom was a Durban institution. Rosenberg describes tearooms as: "'Mom and Dad' operations located on virtually every corner of the precinct. And they served most needs – from the pint of milk, the loaf of bread, and the morning newspaper." [6] The community formed close relationships with the owners of their local tearoom. Some allowed their customers to take goods on account and settle their bill weekly and others, such as the Montana tearoom on Warwick Ave, allowed neighbourhood children to use their fridges to set their jelly on a Saturday to be ready in time for Sunday lunch.

Coloureds had an eclectic cuisine; it reflected the mixed character of the population, influenced by the world around them and their own histories. Food eaten in the community

[4] EN, personal interview, September 2011.
[5] CI, personal interview, April 2014.
[6] Aziz Hassim and Goolam Vahed, "Trade and Commerce in the Precinct," in *The Making of Place: The Warwick Junction Precinct, 1870s-1980s,* ed. Leonard Rosenberg, Goolam Vahed, Aziz Hassim, Sam Moodley and Kogi Singh (Durban: Durban University of Technology, ROCs Project, 2013), 183.

was a mixture of different types of cuisines, representing the cultures represented in the community - Zulu food, such as sorghum (*mabela*), *phutu*, spinach and *amasi*, English stews and roasts and Indian curries. The proximity to the sea and the religious observance for Catholics eating fish on a Friday meant that seafood also formed a regular part of the diet. An interviewee recalled his varied family diet:

> Breakfast was usually porridge and tea. Mostly mealie meal, but in my house they used to like Maltabella. Except they called it *Mabela* or something like that. And then tea with milk and sugar. And they had a way of fermenting the stuff so that it was sour when you ate it. It was very nice. We liked it. Occasionally, occasionally, and this was very occasionally, we had oats. But it was mostly pap porridge - mealie meal. Supper was usually curry and rice, or curry and *phutu*, or stew and *phutu*, stew and rice. Fridays was fish day. We never ate anything else but fish on a Friday. In fact one of the first meals I remember eating was fish curry, and the way they make it here with tamarind – the South Indian way. We were small kids eating curry – hot curry – eating chillies. We used to plant chillies in the garden, chillies were very cheap. We used to actually pickle our own chillies. Chillies, carrots, onions in a bottle, fill it up with vinegar and leave it for a few days and then you eat it…Pluck is the lungs, liver, heart, kidneys all in one and ey it makes a nice curry! But people who don't like liver won't like it, but we used to like it. I used to like it. Chop it up and make it into a curry. Only people who made pluck curry were Durbanites and they got it from the Indians, and it had to be strong. [7]

English food was also part of the diet. Community members interviewed mentioned eating stews, roasts, custard, and jelly, and at Christmas, the ubiquitous 'tickie' pudding with silver coins boiled and baked in was always on the menu. Those with Mauritian roots would cook Mauritian food:

> Some of our food was Mauritian. We used to call it Boullion, like a bouillabaisse, which was taking the fish head and making soup...and dhal, and lentils, you know that kind of stuff my mother used to cook. And

[7] EN, personal interview, June 2012.

> spinach, cook that up. I think they were brought up on that, so we ate the same.[8]

Sunday lunch was a big production for most families, with an assortment of roasts, salads, curry and rice or roti and puddings, even if it was only jelly and custard. For those who were not as well off, Sunday lunch included the meat that may have been missing from their plates during the week. Generally, families could not afford refrigerators, so perishables such as milk and meat had to be bought fresh:

> And those days there were no fridges. So we had a thing called an ice chest; it was a wooden structure with a door. And we used to go to Richards Road off Lancers Road, the cold storage, we used to go and buy blocks of ice and bring it and put it in the chest. That was for the weekend. We used to buy meat once a week, nobody could afford meat…So we used to keep our meat there….We had to queue up at Singh's mutton market. And put that meat on the ice, and our pudding like jelly and custard and all those things that we have on the weekend. That ice used to last for Saturday and Sunday, by Sunday evening it's melted.[9]

The Coloured Community's relationship with food particularly in terms of the markets where they shopped and the cuisine they cooked highlight interactions in the city and multiple influences.

Social spaces provide opportunities to gather, find a sense of belonging and consolidate common bonds. The ways in which people spend their leisure time highlight a collective public identity: "… are markers, or signifiers of social identity."[10] Playing and watching sport occupied a prominent role in the leisure time of the Coloured community. Other activities that people did for fun included watching movies, music and dances and participation in various youth

[8] BM, personal interview, August 2012.
[9] NP, personal interview, June 2012.
[10] Roger Spalding and Alyson Brown. *Entertainment, Leisure and Identities* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 1.

organisations. There was a degree of fluidity and mixing across racial divides in social spaces, but the leisure activities primarily offered another environment to form group bonds.

Cinema has had a place in the landscape of Durban since the first permanent cinema in South Africa, the Electric Theatre, opened in West Street in 1919. Just a year later the first cinema for Indian, African and Coloured people opened on the corner of Alice and Grey Streets.[11] These two venues, one for whites and another for everyone else, would have given the early Coloured population of Durban a taste of motion pictures whichever side of the colour divide they chose to take. In the 1930s and 1940s, as the leisure time of African men in hostels was carefully orchestrated to quell any opportunity for vice, organisation and protest, the Native Welfare Officer of the Durban Council organised a weekly cinema showing in the hostel. It was common for Coloured boys and teens that lived in the area to pay a small entrance fee and also attend these bioscopes with the African hostel dwellers. In keeping with the tensions between African and Indian workers at the time, Indians were not welcome at the hostel. Girls were generally not allowed by Coloured parents to enter the hostels. An interviewee recalled visiting the hostel as a child:

> Once a week on a Wednesday we went to 'Penny Bioscope' in the location. That was a name that we used for the place – you've seen that place in Dalton road. We called it a location but it was a place for African workers in Durban, for men…Every Wednesday evening we went to Bioscope there. Paid a penny. We sat on benches and we saw some of the great movies of the day - Shirley Temple, Judy Garland, Our Gang, Mickey Rooney. And the best pictures were the Westerns. Buck Jones, Tom Hicks, Ken Maynard. Wild Bill - that was the best. Ya, but Africans had colour bar. They allowed us to come in. Coloureds. But if anyone looked like an Indian, they chased them away.[12]

[11] *The Mercury*, 28 July 2009.
[12] EN, personal interview, September 2011.

According to Hassim and Vahed, in the late 1930s, African Consolidated Cinemas opened two bioscopes in the Grey Street area that catered to the growing urban Indian population - the Victoria Picture Palace and the Royal Picture Palace. In 1939, the Moosa and Kajee families established the first Indian-owned Avalon Theatre in Victoria Street.[13] For the large Indian community, Indian movies were a vital connection to a distant land and heritage but, for the Coloured community, the movie theatre was a popular outing when English language films were on the bill. Also noteworthy was the newsreel that preceded the movie, particularly during the war years. The Avalon, the Royal and the Vic were mainstays in the entertainment repertoire of the Coloured youth in the 1940s:

> … on a Saturday we'd go to 5 o'clock bioscope in Victoria Street, that's the one thing that everyone did, at least mothers allowed you to do that… there used to be three bioscopes, it used to be the Avalon, the Royal and there was a place called the Vic which was a very old dilapidated thing, but it'd depend on what showed where.[14]

A number of the movies that were shown were serials that kept people coming back each week for the next instalment:

> Bioscope was in that time, we all went to bioscope to see Westerns and all that, serials...Westerns and, the two I can remember I know was Old Atwood with Kit Carson, there was film Won Shoo, that's a Chinese thing. They used to show a little bit every day. Every Monday we would go see that guy, every Friday that one. It would carry on. It was all in town so we used to walk.[15]

[13] Aziz Hassim and Goolam Vahed, "Trade and Commerce in the Precinct," in *The Making of Place: The Warwick Junction Precinct, 1870s-1980s,* ed. Leonard Rosenberg, Goolam Vahed, Aziz Hassim, Sam Moodley and Kogi Singh (Durban: Durban University of Technology, ROCs Project, 2013), 183.
[14] AD, personal interview, August 2011.
[15] BL, personal interview, May 2012.

Community members interviewed all mentioned going to the bioscope with other Coloureds, mostly friends from school or family members. Thus, while the theatre spaces were mixed, they were not necessarily spaces where people *went* to mix. Other forms of entertainment, such as dances, concerts and other events often held in halls, tended to be more community-based and Coloured-exclusive activities.

The community found musical inspiration from their varied cultural backgrounds as well as their eclectic surroundings. Hymns and choirs came from a strong church influence; the undeniable influence of immigrants from the Cape with their infectious langarm and vastrap-ghoema rhythm; the sounds of marabi echoing through the worker's hostels; and sailors and soldiers passing through the port city bringing with them music and dance styles from their homes and travels. From the late 1930s, access to the world of the motion picture opened the ears of the community to the rhythms of the big screens, jazz greats such as Duke Ellington, big bands such as Benny Goodman and crooners such as Bing Crosby became instant favourites. Music was also present and accessible to a growing middle class by popular gramophone records becoming available in the record stores of the city centre and Grey Street Area.

With a varied soundtrack of influences, dancing and dances were a popular pastime across cultures and economic groups. Families and friends held impromptu parties in back yards and local shebeens where bands of self-taught musicians would entertain their neighbours and dancing would invariably ensue. A Duchene resident shared memories of the prominence of music in the area:

> Duchene was a happy-go-lucky community. Everybody was music-wise; played music. We used to gather at people's yards and holes over

> weekends and chaps used to play. And that was our heritage, you know the Coloured people, that was our music. The guitar, banjo, uke. [16]

Live bands were hired in more formal settings, and on big occasions such as dances for social clubs, fundraisers for sports or welfare societies, weddings and work parties. Indian bands, whose members lived in the same areas and who often had Coloured band members, were known to offer good entertainment. A famous Coloured band of the time was the Johannesburg-based Sonny's Jazz Revellers who travelled all over South Africa and played regularly in Durban for concerts and large events.

> … every year they had a fantastic dance – the Match factory dance. My parents were great dancers…And they used to get me to come with them to decorate. The most splendid decorations. I remember this one year when the whole hall was covered with this artificial grapevine with huge bunches of purple grapes hanging down, beautiful. "Sonny's Jazz Revellers" was the band, you know. We were not allowed at the dance, but we decorated.[17]

Ballroom dancing was growing in popularity across South Africa, and it became fashionable to invite the British figurehead governor-general to events, because of their social influence and connection with high society in Britain.[18] There is evidence that the higher echelons of Coloured society of Durban followed this protocol and, in June 1939, Mr Joe Fataar extended an invitation to Governor-General Duncan to attend a Coloured community dance.[19] Dances and dancing were important pastimes for the community:

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[16] NP, personal interview, June 2012.
[17] AD, personal interview, August 2011.
[18] Alida Green, "The Great War and a New Dance Beat: Opening the South African Dance Floor," *Historia* 60, No 1 (May 2015): 63.
[19] Alida Green, "Entering the Ballroom : a History of Ballroom Dancing in South Africa to the Mid Twentieth Century," *South African Journal of Cultural History* 21, No 1 (July 2007): 107. It is unclear if Governor-General Duncan attended the dance but it is quite unlikely as there is no record of his attendance at any Durban Coloured event.

> We danced at the Emmanuel Cathedral, we danced in Greyville at St Mary's, we danced at the Mutual Hall in Moore Road...we also danced in the City Hall...We had ballroom dancing, we had ballroom championships, you know...We had enough entertainment, enough entertainment, all us Coloureds.[20]

'Nigger Bands' were brought to Durban by immigrants from Cape Town. While the term used in Cape Town for this form of expression is Coon Carnival, in Durban the offensive term 'Nigger Bands' was used to describe the events and activities. Minstrel songs and dances were already a part of colonial Durban, with evidence of a local white minstrel troupe in Durban as early as 1858, performing in blackface to local white audiences and the American Christy Minstrels who visited the city in 1865.[21] In 1880 a 'kafir Christy Minstrels' group of Black South Africans operated in Durban, and Orpheus M McAdoo and the Jubilee Singers were a group of vaudeville-style African American performers who toured South Africa in the 1890s.[22] The word 'nigger' was also used to describe this genre with terms like 'nigger part singing' and 'acting the nigger' in circulation at the time.[23] It appears that the Coloured population continued to use the term uncritically, much as they did the term 'niggerball' for the hard, black sweets they ate at the time. In Cape Town, the Carnival is historically rooted in emancipation and temporary release from servitude at New Year, but manifests in an inclusive celebration of neighbourhood and a shared heritage of bondage.[24] In Durban, removed from the cultural context of the Tweede Nuwe Jaar of the Cape, the Coloured Community took the act of Minstrelry and

[20] SD, personal interview, April 2012.
[21] Charles Hamm, *Putting Popular Music in its Place* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 170.
[22] Veit Earlman, "'A Feeling of Prejudice': Orpheus M. McAdoo and the Jubilee Singers in South Africa 1890 to 1898," *Journal of Southern African Studies*14, No 3 (April 1988): 331-350.
[23] David Coplan, *In Township Tonight! Three Centuries of South African Black City Music and Theatre* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2007), 50.
[24] Vivian Bickford-Smi*th, Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town: Group Identity and Social Practice, 1875-1902* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 187.

Christmas Bands and made it into their own year-end celebration filled with music, costume and competition between different neighbourhoods. The bands were veritable pied pipers, touring their neighbourhoods going from yard to yard, playing music, singing, drinking and eating followed by groups of children and revellers. Troupes would come from the different areas with Coloured populations, Melbourne Road, Duchene, Beatrice Road, Greenwood Park, Greyville/Avondale, and membership was open to anyone who showed an interest, irrespective of background or religion:

> We had coon carnivals here, the Nigger Bands or whatever you want to call it, they walked the streets and entertained the people over Christmas time. Each area made their own bands, they had guitars and things and banjos. Coloureds, mixed, there were Malays, could be both. And they would dress up like they do in Cape Town...They walked around the streets and came to certain houses to play, they're also collecting money while they're playing.[25]

> And when it comes to the end of the year, when it's Nigger Band time, every district had their band and all our costumes were secret…Everybody had to paint their faces. They used to make these beautiful costumes, and the hats, with frills...So wherever we heard that music playing, we'd just leave whatever we were doing and run to that place. We used to walk with our troop, like Sydenham had theirs, Greenwood Park had theirs, and Duchene was ours. We'd walk straight down to the beachfront from Alice Street. That would be in December, before and after Christmas and then we used to have a competition on New Year's Day at Curries fountain.[26]

The Nigger Bands represented a moment in Durban Coloured history when a particular notion of colouredness from the Cape was transported to Durban where it became a space for the spectrum of Durban coloured identities, St Helena, Mauritian, Cape, Malay, 'proper Coloured' to share and make their own.

[25] BL, personal interview, May 2012.
[26] NP, personal interview, June 2012.

Figure 14: The Duchene Darkies circa 1940 [27]



Source: *Southlands*, 17 May 2017

It is unclear exactly when and why the 'Nigger Bands' ended. The Broadway Giants was the troupe that won the competition in 1963, so it seems likely that, with the movement of peoples and enforcing of Group Areas, bands separated and the tradition died.[28]

During this period, some Coloured people used their flexible status and ambiguous physical appearance to access white spaces in the city. Coloureds had the franchise, and St Helenians and Mauritians often possessed birth certificates that noted they were white. Still, for the most part, however, they lived Coloured lives, living among Coloured people, going to

[27] Duchene Darkies Band. Back: Rodger Lecur, Blues Crowie, unknown, Alfie Isaacs, David Kydd. Seated: Hendry Rose, William Alfred Timm, Henry Crowie and unknown.
[28] *Daily News*, 21 May 2015.

Coloured schools, playing for Coloured sports teams and associating with Coloured friends. Spaces reserved for whites were off-limits for anyone who did not look white, regardless of what a birth certificate might say. Some Coloureds, who were fairer skinned, were able to access spaces and services that were reserved for whites, sections of the buses reserved for whites, restaurants, theatres and bioscopes, revealing the instability of the supposedly discrete identity categories. Before the advent of the green ID document, some in the community took advantage of a more fluid attitude to colour and occupying spaces governed by the colour bar:

> We had the amphitheatre at the beachfront…it was whites only but I just used to go all over the show and take my friends with me and we'd dance and have a wonderful time and get on the big wheel.[29]

The decision to access those white spaces, which were off-limits to the rest of the Coloured community, was often fraught with inconsistencies and distress, even among families:

> Now my granny she wasn't very fair, she was like me. But I don't know how come when she got her pension every month during the December and July months (children were at home on holiday), she'd take my two sisters, the younger one and the one that comes before me. They used to go to bioscope with her to the Roxy. That was in West Street, the white bioscope. She used to take them with her because they were fair so they could go. And they used to sit there in the bioscope nearly the whole day 'cos in that bioscope you could sit as long as you wanted to, you just watched the movies. And then they'd show like three movies and they'd show those movies again. And then they used to give you a cup of milk or a cool drink or whatever. So every month when she got her pension in those two months, she'd take Lila one day and the next week she'll take Loretta. But she never took me or my other sister because we not so fair. It made me feel terrible, it made me feel bad, I used to cry because I couldn't go.[30]

[29] AS, personal interview, August 2011.
[30] MP, personal interview, April 2012.

As racial identities became increasingly inflexible, play-whites known as such were shunned by others in the community. Community members reflect on having no time for play-whites or referred to them as 'traitors' or 'fools'.[31] Depending on how embedded in white Durban they were, they risked being outed by other Coloureds and losing their privileges. Vaid acknowledges this form of power:

> … when you lived in Greenwood Park, you were lucky 'cause you used to get on the white buses 'cause the drivers were all play-white. So they could not tell you, you could not get on the bus because they should not be driving.[32]

Sport and Sports Grounds - An Imperfect Unifier

Sport was an important community builder, with active soccer and cricket leagues providing camaraderie between Coloured people across Durban and Natal on and off the fields. The community had fought hard for a sports ground, but by the early 1930s, Stamford Hill grounds lay unused and in disrepair. The Coloured community, hard hit by the Depression, could not afford the setup and maintenance of the grounds and Durban Coloured Sports Grounds Association (DCGSA) was defunct. The City Council, for its part, did not see the rationale in funding a sports grounds for such a small community. The community was also hindered by a dispute over who belonged in the Coloured community, pivoting on the inclusion/exclusion of Malays. Desai et al., explain that in 1935 two groups approached the City Council for assistance to revitalise the sports grounds, the Federated Council of Social Workers (FCSW) and the Natal

[31] EN, personal interview, September 2011; KS, personal interview, June 2012.
[32] Aliya Vaid, "Generational Transmission of Identity: A Study of Four Women of Colour" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal 2008): 32.

Coloured Welfare League (NCWL). The FCSW wanted custody and stewardship of the sports grounds but sought to exclude Malays in order to perpetuate notions of proximity to whiteness. Malays were ostracized by the FCSW and other elements within the Coloured group because of their faith and connection to Muslim Indians, which some believe called into question their commitment to the Coloured community. The constitution of the FCSW emphasized their desire to be seen as white, as it restricted membership to: "… persons of European descent, who enjoy the right of the European status, and are members of the Christian faith." The FCSW brought a petition to the City Council signed by over 250 Coloured people in Durban supporting its claim to represent the community and effectively ban Malay players from using the Coloured sports grounds.[33] The NCWL countered the claim of the FCSW of representing the community, by claiming itself to represent a more extensive and diverse membership. Through its leadership the NCWL brought together the members of several important organisations – chairman J Fataar represented the Malay community, secretary EG Rooks was chairman of the Coloured Football Association, vice-chairman A Geldenhuis was chairmen of the Congregational Church Men's Society, and organiser W Lawler was chairman of the Coloured People's Aid Society.[34] The stance of the NCWL was that Malays were part of the Durban Coloured community and as such, they should be able to use the Stamford Hill Grounds.

[33] Given that the Coloured population was around 7 336 in 1936, this figure of 250 signatures represented less than 4% of the population. Why the City Council took this number to be representative of support for the FCSW, is more likely due to a connection between members of the FCSW and the City Council than their having full support of the community.

[34] Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 167.

In 1936, the Council showed its support for the FCSW, believing it to represent the community, and transferred the lease of the Stamford Hill Sports Grounds from the old Durban Coloured Sports Grounds Association (DCGSA) to the FCSW. Malay teams and players were now not allowed to take part in any games or events at the Stamford Hill grounds. The Malay community and their allies within the NCWL began immediate protests. They lobbied the Council with help from members of the Coloured and European Joint Council, until it removed the FCSW as custodians of Stamford Hill and, in adept political manoeuvring, a newly resurrected DCGSA was once again put in control of the sports grounds. This new DCGSA, clearly orchestrated by the NCWL, presented themselves as the original custodian of the Stamford Hill Sports Grounds, with the support of numerous groups in the community. [35]

In the early 1940s with the onset of the war, the military requisitioned the Stamford Hill sports grounds as a venue for training horses and mules, and the community found itself once again with no sports fields. Community members recall that Melbourne Road School stepped in for a few years and allowed the Coloured teams to use the school fields for soccer matches. Cricket and hockey could not be accommodated on the school grounds and were put on sabbatical.[36] In 1944, the City Council allowed the community the use of West Ridge Park for sport. The fields were uneven and in even worse condition than Stamford Hill. By the Council's own admission, the grounds were a: "… rough ungraded surface" that had to be kept short

[35] ibid, 177. Some of the groups supporting the new DCGSA included, the Coloured and European Joint Council, the Natal Coloured Welfare League, the Christian League of Social Workers, Cape Malay Vigilance Association, National Council of Social Workers, Coloured Peoples' Aid Society, Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, Universal Men's Club as well as the Cricket, Football, Tennis and Athletic Unions.
[36] EN, personal interview, September 2011.

manually.[37] However, after four years of having no sporting home, the community accepted the gesture and matches picked up once again. Unfortunately, almost immediately, the Coloured sportsmen and fans faced judgement and objection from the white families living around the West Ridge Park grounds, complaining about their presence in their community each weekend. Letters to the Town Clerk from residents of Mayville referred to: "these people" who make an "awful, infernal row", of "noise and turmoil".[38] The Council found itself stuck between two unhappy groups. The Coloureds who had been moved off their regular grounds, who were trying to sustain a substandard ground with no financial means; and the vocal whites who made it very clear that they did not want these loud brown people in their neighbourhood. The response of the Council was not to respond. They were able to maintain the status quo until 1952 when the army vacated Stamford Hill Grounds and Coloureds were allowed to move back.

The Coloured community, now back at Stamford Hill Grounds, still did not have much disposable income to finance any building or renovations and the Council was reluctant to assist:

> Coloureds and Africans had nothing. The Africans had their one advantage; they had numbers so they could charge entrance fees at the gate. I mean if there were 20 spectators at a Coloured soccer match that was a lot…there was no gate fares, there was nothing. You just walked in, there was no fence around the ground. And the sports was completely amateur; the clubs had to pay to join the association and that money, it wasn't a lot of money, part of the money was used to maintain the grounds. The council didn't give them any money. It gave them the grounds but it didn't give any money to develop the grounds…I remember as a young chap, representing a soccer club, attending the meetings. Because we used to have meetings every month, the association – representatives of the Durban Coloured Football Association. We go

[37] Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 178.
[38] Ibid, 179.

> there have our meetings, we couldn't even afford to pay for the venue where we went so I don't know who paid for that…But there was no money, occasionally they held dances to make ends meet, but otherwise they didn't have a 'godfather'.[39]

Despite the struggle surrounding the procurement of a venue to play, the love of sports, particularly soccer, grew and became intertwined in the community. Not much sport was played at primary school level, and children took it upon themselves to form their own teams in their neighbourhoods:

> *W*e formed our own club in the area. Everyone that stayed in the road, we took all the boys and said you're in a football team, whether you could play or not…Ya, that's in the road, it was so strange, we didn't go look for everyone. Just make a team in the road going down, we just got all the boys and said right, we're playing football, that's our team, and we made jerseys and things like that….We went around getting donations, at that age to try and raise funds...we were around 10, 11…When we got to the next division you see then we formed a new team…Ajax Rangers, just above Etna Lane you find Ajax Lane it's called... So there was a man, Mr Abrahams, Alfie Abrahams, he was a very keen churchman at St Raphael's and a sportsman and he started this Ajax Rangers, again within our roads you see, so we played as Ajax Rangers.[40]

Clubs for older players were also started by, or affiliated with, certain families or organised by area. While soccer was by far the most popular sport in the community, clubs such as Pirates had both soccer and cricket teams, and it was not uncommon for players to participate in both codes, made possible by the seasonal nature of the games.[41] The Montgomery family formed Pirates Football Club and, later in the 1940s, the Lawler family formed Universals. Another prominent team in the 1930s and 1940s was Aces, and the Malay community had its own soccer club, Berea Rovers. In Pietermaritzburg, the Dutlow family founded Railway Soccer Club.

[39] EN, personal interview, September 2011.
[40] BL, personal interview, May 2012.
[41] EN, personal interview, September 2011.

Soccer players of note included the Starkey brothers, Jack and Nicky, George and Reggie Montgomery and Albie Eksteen.

Young soccer fans in Duchene were spoiled for choice of teams to support, moving effortlessly in their support for Coloured, Indian and African teams:

> …Warwick Ave Yorkshires was an "avenues" team. You see there was a woman's hockey team the Yorkshires, and so these youngsters they were a few years older than me, they decided to form a men's soccer team to complement the Women's hockey team. So, they called it the Yorkshires. …we supported Yorkshires at the Coloured Grounds, on Sundays we supported the Indians at Curries Fountain. The local Indian team was Warwickshires. And then on Sundays we supported Berea at Curries. And we also used to go to Somtseu and shout for the African teams, and the African team we supported was Bushbucks, so we moved around.[42]

Figure 15: ACES Football Club 1948 [43]



Source: Facebook: History of Non-Racial Football in South Africa, Renée Covelé Lucas August 26, 2013.

[42] EN, personal interview, September 2011.

[43] Aces team members included: Cyril Covele, Mr Rose, Albie Eksteen, Philip Norkie, Joe Harrington, Bonny Brothers, Anstey Johnston, Robert Richen, Abie Eckstein, Bonnie-boy Richen, Hodnett, Harold Knowles, Ray Mahomet, and Crowlius Riley.

The South African Coloured Soccer Tournament was an important event in the sporting calendar. This was an inter-provincial tournament played between teams representing Natal, the Cape and the Transvaal and held biannually since 1933, sponsored by Stuttafords Department Store.[44] Tournament winners would walk away with the Stuttafords trophy and bragging rights. The Natal Coloured team was selected from the various clubs that made up the Natal Coloured Football League.

Figure 16: Natal Coloured Team 1946[45]



Source: Rooks Collection

[44] Peter Alegi, *African Soccerscapes: How a Continent Changed the World's Game* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), 25.

[45] The team were joint winners of the SA Coloured Tournament (the Stuttafords Cup) played in Cape Town in 1946. Team and management: AG Wood, C. Decroaches, G Montgomery, H Baxter, A Wilson, R. Richards, R Yon, R Montgomery, W DeVries, E Sampson, A Wood (Chairman NCFA), D Woodroffe, K Dutlow (Cpt), E Rooks (Manager and Pres NCFA), J Starkey (V Cpt), R Mohomet, G Benjamin (V Pres NCFA)

As Alegi notes, these types of racially segregated tournaments were part of the colonial landscape across Africa and, in South Africa, consisted of the Currie Cup for whites (established in 1892), the Sam China Cup for Indians (established in 1903) and the Maroka Baloyi Cup for Africans (started in 1931, but known as the Bakers Cup prior to 1938).

Figure 17: Natal Coloured Football Association[46]



Source: Daniels Collection

In 1946, the Natal Inter-Race Board was formed as a partnership between the Natal African Football Association (NAFA), the Natal Indian Football Association (NIFA) and the Natal Coloured Football Association (NCFA), to promote understanding and shared experience between the three groups. At the centre of the goals of the Natal Inter-Race Soccer Board was

[46] Members of the Natal Natal Coloured Football Association circa 1946, Back: J Daniels, D Isaacs, N. Middleton, B. Lawler. Middle: Potter, unknown, D Woodroffe, unknown, Adams. Bottom: G Benjamin, A Wood, EG Rooks, A Lucioli, G Montgomery.

the organisation of a soccer tournament between racially segregated Coloured, Indian and African teams composed of players from all over Natal; to provide a venue for ordinary Black and brown people to meet and compete across increasingly tense racial divides. The Natal Inter-Race Soccer Board was modelled on the Transvaal Inter-Race Board, formed in 1935 to develop interracial cooperation between Africans, Indians, and Coloureds on and off the soccer field.[47] Initial discussions for the Natal structure involved Reverend Bernard Sigamoney who was from Durban, but instrumental in the Transvaal body.[48] The first AGM of the Natal Inter-Race Soccer Board was held in 1946. In his Master's thesis, Mphumeleli Ngidi underscores the context of the city at the time, at the end of the war when there was a growing rivalry for jobs between Africans and Indians and the spectre of apartheid looming with the rise of the Nationalist party.[49] The NISB aimed to: "… bridge the racial divide in sport between Africans, Indians, and Coloureds in Natal."[50] The board of NISB, elected at the inaugural AGM were: President - EG Rooks, Vice President - AC Maseko, Secretary and Treasurer - George Singh, Auditors - Wolpert and Alfred 'Alf' Abrahams, and Patron - Dr DDT Jabavu. Besides Rooks and Abrahams, the other members representing the NCSB were G Montgomery and AF Woods.

[47] Mphumeleli Ngidi, "The Natal Inter-Race Soccer Tournament of the 1950s: Reinforcing or Undermining Race Identities?" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2013), 50.
[48] Reverend Bernard Sigamoney, an Indian Anglican priest, prominent trade unionist, sports administrator and social activist was central to the Transvaal Inter-Race Board and spearheaded the movement for a similar body in his home of Natal. Sigamoney was also influential in the life of EG Rooks. 'Uncle Benny', as he was known in the Rooks family was related to EG Rooks by marriage, Sigamoney's wife, Georgina Williams, was the sister of Rooks' mother Emily Williams and Sigamoney became a mentor to Rooks in the fields of sports and matters of the Anglican Church, where Rooks became a lay preacher at St. Raphaels.
[49] Mphumeleli Ngidi, "The Natal Inter-Race Soccer Tournament of the 1950s: Reinforcing or Undermining Race Identities?" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2013), 49.
[50] Ibid, 52.

The inaugural match of the NISB was held on 14th August 1946, at Curries Fountain between the Indians and the Coloureds to a reported crowd of over 3 000 spectators. The Coloured team won the match 2-1 with goals scored by Josephs and Montgomery.[51] The 1946 final was played at Curries Fountain on 15th September 1946, between the African and Coloured teams. The *IlangaLaseNatali* newspaper reported a large crowd of spectators numbering between 8 000 and 10 000.[52] The African team trounced the Coloured team 3-0, with the *Ilanga* newspaper boasting:

> Babhonya amaKhaladi ... bawakhombisa ukuthi angabafana siyawazala khona azohlalaazi futhi ukuthi ibhola alidlalwa ngomlomo lidlalwa ngezinyawo.[53]
> Translation: They beat ('thrashed') the Coloureds... they showed them that they were different, we gave birth to them and they will always know that football is not a game played with your mouth, it's played by the feet.

Coloureds had a reputation of being loud and colourful with their language and this quote is a jab at that, coupled with a more insidious racialised attitude that Coloureds were, in fact, the children of African women and needed to be mindful of their place before their 'elders'. The Coloured population would not have read the newspaper, but it is interesting to see how their African counterparts viewed them. The Inter-Race tournament was held in 1947 and 1948 but was cancelled in 1949 after the race riots. It picked up again briefly in the 1950s. The 'inter-racial' events were popular at a time when the countervailing processes of solidifying racial boundaries were gaining traction, where people across racial groups had minimal contact. They

[51] *Leader*, 29 June 1946.
[52] *IlangaLaseNatali*, 21 September 1946.
[53] *IlangaLaseNatali*, 19 October 1946.

were an experiment into a path that moved the game and the country away from orchestrated racial segregation and balkanization.

While soccer was the most popular sport in the community, cricket also had a sizable following, particularly amongst the 'British' St Helenians and Malays. Community members recall playing cricket in the streets from an early age with tennis balls and bats fashioned from pieces of plank. The cricket clubs that were active before the war included Swifts from the Gale St/Melbourne Road Area and Shamrocks from the Overport area.

Figure 18: Shamrocks Cricket Club 1940-1941[54]



Source: Montgomery Collection

[54] Shamrocks Cricket Club 1940-1940 - Back row: G Bruce, R Montgomery, E Lorton, H Lorton, J Meintjes, E Lorton, Seated: W Williams, E Montgomery, F Williams, H Hayden, G Montgomery. Bottom: W Yon and H Leo.

Shamrocks players were considered the elite of the Durban Coloured society.[55] While Desai et al., takes this to mean they were fair-skinned, these families were also prominent in political and church spheres. Players associated with Swifts included Ronnie and Dennie Eastthorpe, H Maggot, H Cochrane, V Wilson, R Clarke, the Augustine brothers, N Ray and C Haynes. While Rosslyns was a Malay team, made up of families such as the Domingos, Scheuders and Fataars.

After the war cricket teams playing in the league included Rosslyns, Good Hopes, Pirates, Comrades, Oaks and Silver Leafs. Good Hopes and Rosslyns were exclusively Malay, Comrades was started by a group of ex-servicemen who had served in the Second World War, and Silver Leaf was a short-lived team made up of artisans from the Cape. Oaks was founded by Joe Abrahams and was the first Coloured team to field a Malay player, Ishmael 'Miley' Peck. Towards the late 1940s Oaks briefly became the team of a young, 13-year-old Solly Kirsten. Kirsten left Oaks for Rosslyns in 1950 to join the team on tour to Cape Town. [56] Pirates Cricket Club was started in 1939, as an offshoot of Pirates Football Club, both associated with the Montgomery family. In an interview with Desai, Reggie Montgomery recalled that: "Pirates was a family team … on occasions all 11 players were either Lawlers or Montgomerys. The families were related by marriage. Ernest Montgomery's wife Mabel was the sister of Polly, wife of

[55] Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 175.
[56] Goolam Vahed, "The Quest for 'Malay' identity in Apartheid South Africa," *Alternation* 11, No 1 (Jan 2004), 256-283.

Percy Lawler."[57] When Pirates could no longer cater for all the players who wanted to play, a testament to the popularity of the game at the time, the Lawlers branched off to form another club, Universals, in 1951.[58]

The Malay sporting community in Durban experienced many difficulties, being expelled in 1925 by the Indian league for not being Indian and also being rejected by the Coloured League during the DCSGA/Stamford Hill debacle for not being Coloured. Despite the difficulties, or perhaps because of them, Malay cricket thrived and remained at the centre of a tightknit Malay community. The games and social events were fondly remembered:

> They were lovely occasions. And the thing about the Malays was that they sang, they sang and they loved to sing...and once a year they all went on a picnic. Just about everybody in the community. It was Rosslyns cricket club and everyone could come...there were two Malay clubs there, they used to also come…There was a strong core of a Malay community.[59]

The community that formed around sport between various segments of the Coloured community in the debate over whether to include Malays was an important marker in an internal articulation of a Durban Coloured identity.

Community and Tradition in Religious Spaces

Religious spaces remained central in the lives of Coloured Durbanites and in their articulation of what it meant to be Coloured. In addition to being an obvious avenue for the expression of

[57] Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 164. The families were also connected in that George and Ernest Montgomery's sister Gertrude married Frank Lawler. Incidentally, the other Montgomery sister Mary Florence married EG Rooks.
[58] EN, personal interview, September 2011; and BL, personal interview, May 2012.
[59] JD, personal interview, April 2012.

beliefs, churches were also a weekly organising force in people's lives, providing opportunities for networking, socialising and belonging. The community was predominantly Christian, with the population being composed mainly of Mauritian and mission/Eurafrican Catholics and St Helenian Anglicans. Much like other aspects of life at this time, religion was also segregated. Across denominations, churches were segregated and people worshipped in their own Coloured churches. The establishment of a Coloured Catholic church for Mauritians in Clairwood in 1884 and a Coloured Anglican church for St Helenians in Pietermaritzburg in 1882 show that the religious institutions were early purveyors of racial segregation. The Emmanuel Catholic Cathedral in town was an exception to this, and the church opened its doors to all races. It was, however, clearly operating within white sensibilities and practised selective segregation in seating, club membership and the roles that various groups were allowed to play in the church. Separate priests were also assigned to minister to the white and Coloured parishioners respectively. There does not appear to have been any dissonance in the teachings of the church of neighbourly love and unity, and the contradictory concept of racial segregation practised in the religious sphere. This is not a uniquely Coloured or even South African phenomenon. Racially segregated religious communities existed throughout South Africa and in other parts of the world.

In the 1930s and 1940s, Mauritian Coloureds had their own church in Clairwood, St Louis, and even if families moved out of Clairwood for any reason, many would return to their mother church on a Sunday morning. While English was spoken at St Louis, a French patois was

spoken by some of the community elders.[60] St Theresa's home/school/church was officially built in 1925 for Coloured children. While the home privileged Coloured children, it also accepted some African and Indian children. Former boarder at the school, poet Don Mattera, in his memoir *Memory is the Weapon* confirms that: "… the institution was officially built for coloured children, but Catholic policy was open and non-selective."[61] In addition to the homeboys, St Theresa's Church also began to draw a congregation from families living around the Sydenham and Mayville areas. Father Charles Hugo joined St Theresa's in 1929 and was deeply involved in the growth of the home, school and outreach into what would soon become a designated Coloured area. According to Brain:

> Father Hugo was not a strong man, never owned a car but was an inveterate visitor of families and a promoter of a beautiful liturgy. He fought hard to ensure that people of colour were allowed to settle in the area.[62]

Father Hugo was a strong presence in the Sydenham area, at St Theresa's and, later, at St Anne's, until his death in 1969.

For Catholics living in or close to town, the Emmanuel Cathedral was their spiritual home. The Cathedral was supposedly racially mixed, with integrated services for anyone who wished to attend. However, as Paddy Kearney writes, in the Cathedral segregation took on a different form:

> The cathedral parish had a few Zulu-speaking members, and Indians had their own church nearby: Emmanuel Cathedral was dominated by whites, though there was a sizeable group of Coloured parishioners who lived in the inner city, within walking distance or easy reach by public

[60] AC, personal interview, June 2012.
[61] Don Mattera, *Memory is the Weapon* (Florida, SA: African Perspectives, 2012), 42.
[62] Joy Brain, *Proclaiming the Good News. A Glimpse into the History of the Archdiocese of Durban (1850-2009)* (Strasbourg: Editions du Signe, 2010), 128.

> transportation. The women worked in clothing factories, and men were artisans and tradesmen, many working as welders in the shipyards. A few had their own businesses. Coloureds and whites were ministered to separately; Father Joseph L'Henoret was specifically charged with responsibility for the coloureds. At Mass, they were expected to sit in the aisles and were not allowed to be altar servers, ushers or choir members. They also had their own separate organization for young women.[63]

Fr Albert Danker recalled the 'problem' of being a Coloured altar server:

> …the policy, unwritten policy, of the Cathedral that anybody in the Cathedral with any responsibility was white or white Mauritian, or so-called Syrians. No Coloured boys were allowed to serve at the altar in the cathedral, only white boys. Fr L'Henoret said to me, "would you like to serve at Mass." And I said yes, if I could. And he said "Good, you can come and serve my Mass." Well, he wasn't allowed to say Mass at the main altar. We celebrated Mass at 6.30 in the morning on the side altar. No Coloured boys were allowed to serve at the altar in the cathedral, only white boys. Well he invited me to be his altar server. Not on the main altar, and not on Sundays, only on weekdays.[64]

Father Danker also recalled more of the racism experienced in the Church and the sense that change was needed:

> When Archbishop Hurley came, he did a wonderful job. I mean he was determined that these things would break down. He was interested, in the 1940s …47 and 48…in starting an organization for men. So, he called a meeting of all of us. And there was a white organization, so-called, Knights of da Gama, only white men. And he said he wanted to start this organization of all men and all that, and one fellow got up in those Knights and he said "we are a white organization, and we intend to stay as such!" You know Archbishop Hurley was so embarrassed. Half of us stood up and started walking out, and he begged us to stay. These were lay people.[65]

It was moments like this that encouraged Fr Danker to join the priesthood and work alongside Archbishop Hurley in making changes from within church structures. For children who went to

[63] Paddy Kearney, *Guardian of the Light: Denis Hurley, Renewing the Church, Opposing Apartheid* (New York: Continuum, 2009), 43.
[64] Albert Danker, personal interview, August 2011.
[65] Albert Danker, personal interview, August 2011.

St Augustine's or St Theresa's School, Catholicism permeated all aspects of life, home, school and church. Don Mattera recalls the all-encompassing role that the Church played in the lives of students at St Theresa's:

> Although we were never forced to become Catholic, prayer became a way of life so that we lived Catholic, laughed, played, slept and even ate Catholic. Most of us had no choice but to become Catholic.[66]

Religion was important in the everyday, but also in the ceremonial. Interviewees recalled the pomp and circumstance of joining citywide Church celebrations such as Corpus Christi in June, where thousands of Catholics of all races, from all over the city paraded from the Cathedral down Queen Street to Albert Park:

> It was THE event, and we were so proud to walk in that procession. You know for kids, it was a wonderful occasion. With all the girls in white and all the first communion children for that year and they would be throwing petals in front of the Blessed Sacrament. With the Archbishop walking with them. Bishop de Lalle before Hurley was appointed in 1947.[67]

The other major denomination of the community was the Anglican faith and St Raphael's Church, built in 1922, was the mother church for Coloured Anglicans in Durban. People would travel by bus and foot from all over Durban to attend church on a Sunday:

> Every Sunday. With my mother and my granny…Coloured people had to go to a Coloured church, Indians to an Indian church, Blacks to a Black church. We Coloureds belonged to St Raphael's. That was our Coloured Anglican Church, the only one, there was no other church for us.[68]

According to Father Goodyer, the physical church was an old wood and iron structure inherited from St Stephens on the Point and moved to Stratford Road in the heart of the Duchene area.

[66] Don Mattera, *Memory is the Weapon* (Florida, SA: African Perspectives, 2012), 42.
[67] AD, personal interview, August 2011.
[68] NP, personal interview, June 2012.

The congregation began a building fund and, on 23rd June 1937, the foundation stone was laid for the new brick church. The church was a unifying force in the community with active clubs and organisations including the Mother's Union, the Church Men's Society, Brownies and Girl Guides, Church Lads Brigade, a servers guild and church girls brigade, all providing community for the congregation and broader community by hosting teas, talks, plays, dances and congregational picnics.[69]

St Raphael's was central in the development of the wider Durban Coloured community, not just for Anglicans. Given the British origins of the city of Durban, city leaders such as the members of the Durban City Council tended to be members of the Anglican Church and the parish priest and his lay leaders had an opportunity to meet and interact with city officials during various church meetings, such as the annual church Synod.[70] The priest at St Raphael's would also meet with other priests to discuss the needs of his parishioners, and these priests would, in turn, talk to their parishioners who might be able to assist. A number of the lay leaders of St Raphael's were of St Helenian origin and thus already imagined themselves, and most importantly were nominally regarded by society, as British subjects, and thus afforded a higher level of access and influence:

> Most of the Coloured people belonged to St Raphael's at that time, the elite, you know the Lawlers, the Abrahams, the Roberts, the elite of Durban. They were big shots of the Council; they had good jobs, suit and tie, soccer administrators, cricket administrators. Never worked manually, they all had more cushy jobs.[71]

[69] HEJ Goodyer, *The Story of a Mission* (Durban: St Raphael's, 1949), 50.
[70] EN, personal interview, September 2011.
[71] NP, personal interview, June 2012.

During the war years, St Raphael's was also selected by the city as the site for a canteen for Coloured troops and was the headquarters for the area Civilian Protection Services from 1942. When Fr Robinson, the parish priest of 13 years, died in 1945, his role as an influencer and Community ally was acknowledged by one of the church's leaders:

> During the thirteen years that Father Robinson had ministered to us he always had in mind the welfare of the Coloured Community as a whole. He was not only Priest-in-Charge of St Raphael's, but he was a friend of the whole community and many facilities gained for our people were due largely to his influence and initiative. To him is due the credit for obtaining sports facilities at Mayville, the clearance of some of Durban's slums areas, the founding of the Coloured and European Joint Council, the Juvenile Affairs Board (non-statutory). It was really through his efforts that the hostel and Day Nursery were established. It will be agreed that the leaders in many organizations working in the interest of our people are products of St Raphael's Mission.[72]

Figure 19: St Raphael's Sunday School – boys, Circa 1946



Source: Paulson Collection

[72] HEJ Goodyer, *The Story of a Mission* (Durban: St Raphael's, 1949), 61.

Figure 20: St Raphael's Sunday School – girls, Circa 1946



Source: Paulson Collection

Groups of people who moved to Durban from various parts of the Cape, particularly those tracing their roots to the Griqua community, belonged to the Congregational Church. The London Missionary Society of the Congregational Church had a long history of mission outreach among the Griqua people and formerly enslaved peoples of the Cape and, as people moved across the country, they held onto their faith.[73] The main (white) Congregational Church based in Aliwal Street built a small church for the Coloured congregation in Lorne Street. A member of the church recalls:

> …the Congregational church had a church in Lorne Street just for Coloureds. And Coloureds came from all over the town if they were Congregationalists. Even if they had to take two or three buses - that is where they worshipped.[74]

[73] Harry Dugmore, "'Knowing all the names': The Ebenezer Congregational Church and the creation of community among the coloured population of Johannesburg 1894-1939," *Collected Seminar Papers, Institute of Commonwealth Studies* 44 (1992): 66.
[74] EN, personal interview, April 2011.

The Pentecostal movement began to gain ground in the Coloured community in the 1930s and 1940s. Pentecostalism was already starting to take root in the Indian communities in Durban in the 1920s, and the appeal to Coloureds was a natural progression.[75] Full Gospel Church, Bethesda (which affiliated to Full Gospel), the New Apostolic Mission and the Assemblies of God were the four groups that developed in Natal, appealing to disillusioned Christians and Hindus alike. The New Apostolic Church began to do outreach in the Coloured Community and started a church in Clairwood. Coloured Pentecostals were joined by new immigrants from areas such as Kimberly where the church had already been making headway. One congregant who lived in Gale Street remembers travelling from town to Clairwood to attend church:

> We had to go by bus, come back with my mother, she used to wait for us while we were at Sunday School...we were all Coloured people going there…The church was very good to my mother because she felt she had a little place there as sister with the sisterhood, that was her, cause she was religious and she needed to belong somewhere.[76]

The Bethshan Gospel Mission was founded on 10th August 1940 by Pastor Fridtjof Langeland-Hansen, the son of Norwegian missionaries, in a vacant butchery in Sparks Road. The church stayed in this small location for 14 years, attracting Indian and Coloured families, before moving to larger facilities in Alpine Road in 1954. The church also established Bethshan Children's

[75] Joy Brain, "Moving from the Margins to the Mainstream: The Roman Catholic Church," in *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, ed. Richard Elphick and Trevor Davenport (Oxford: James Currey, 1997), 291.
[76] AB, personal interview, May 2012.

Home for orphaned and destitute Coloured and Indian children, which opened its doors in 1945.[77] According to Pillay, opening a Children's home was unusual for a Pentecostal church:

> Pentecostal churches have generally played down their social responsibilities and have emphasised the 'salvation of the soul' as the chief aim of mission. While they do assist their poor members, such aid is informal and seen as incidental to the main mission, and is generally confined to members.[78]

There were numerous organisations for the young people of the community to join, many affiliated with churches. They were usually Coloured branches of these organisations, and membership was generally restricted to Coloureds. In 1907 the Boy Scouts were formed in Britain by Baden Powel who had spent time in South Africa during the Boer War. In South Africa, troops began forming as early as 1908, in racially segregated sections, the Boy Scouts Association of the Union for whites, Pathfinders for Africans, the Coloured Boy Scouts for Coloureds and the Indian Boy Scouts for Indians. In 1936, the South African Scout Council formed a federation of the various racially-based scout associations at a meeting in Durban attended by Powell.[79] Coloured Boy Scout troops were started at schools and churches, and there were two troops in Durban in the 1940s, one at the Emmanuel Cathedral/St Augustine's School and another at St Theresa's:

> At the Cathedral, he (Fr Lennerecht) started a Boy Scout group, only Coloured boys would come. He started a club for boys and he started a badminton group – he started so many things… So we had all these things going on in the Emmanuel Hall and in order to raise funds, he would organize dances once month to raise funds for the club…and they used to go down the South Coast to Pennington every year.[80]

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[77] The Life and Work of Borghild Gudrun. http://www.ebenezercc.org/Fridtjof_Langeland-Hansen.pdf
[78] Gerald Pillay, *Religion at the Limits? Pentecostalism among South African Indians* (Institute for Theological Research: UNISA Press, 1994), 52.
[79] Tara Chand Sharma, *Scouting as a co-Curricular Activity* (New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 2003), 118.
[80] AD, personal interview, August 2011.

> I probably joined round about either towards the end of 1946 or beginning of 1947. A few of us friends decided to join together. St Augustine's – it was attached to St Augustine's school. The Cathedral there. They had another Coloured group at St Theresa's I think. Those were the Coloured groups, but they had Africans and whites and so forth. The scoutmaster was Albert Danker… He had left school and done his Matric and so forth when he became a scoutmaster. I was 14 or 15. And our Chaplin was a priest by the name of Joseph Theobald OMI. We used to meet on Friday evenings. So we went to Church – Benediction and so forth as part of the arrangement. I mean all the boys in the scouts were Catholic, there were a couple of non-Catholics, but it was just these blokes that probably didn't have any church, so they sort of drifted into the Catholic Church.[81]

A name that became synonymous with the Boys Brigade in Durban was Sam 'Blessie' Draai, who was involved with the organisation from 1935 until his death in 2015. With a motto of 'Sure and Steadfast', the Boys Brigade movement began in Glasgow in 1883 to provide a space for boys who had grown too old for Sunday School but still needed direction in their lives.[82] The precursor to the Boys Brigade in the Durban Coloured community had been the Church Lads Brigade, affiliated with the Anglican Church at St Raphael's in Strafford Road, and only open to parishioners of St Raphael's. In 1935, a 13-year-old Draai joined as a founder member of a new Coloured chapter of the Boys Brigade based at the Congregational Church in Lorne Street. The inter-denominational body taught the boys how to drill and play instruments, but also about tolerance and building bridges between different churches, groups and cultures and how to live a healthy life.[83]

[81] EN, personal interview, September 2011.
[82] Boys Brigade Durban, *1st Company 75th Anniversary Brochure* (Durban, 2010).
[83] SD, personal interview, May 2012.

Similar to the Boy Scouts and the Boys Brigade, the Girl Guides offered a space for young Coloured girls to meet regularly and develop life and leadership skills. The girls joined groups from their primary schools or churches and progressed through different levels:

> I was in the choir in the church, I played a big part in the church, 'cause I opened up the guides…I was running the guides, brownies, guides. When the queen came down we met her, she shook hands with all of us girl guides, you know. 1940s - that was our amusement, it was only bioscope and that. It's all about planting and looking after, first aid, and going out to different areas, and see how they live, it's just things like that, they still do it today, scouts and the guides and all.[84]

> …you had your meetings once a week at school, once a month we met (for an Anglican Church Service) and after the service there were cool drinks and treats for the children, you know, and they had a special guide's sports, and then you often went to meet at other guides where they were. But it was always, it was never interracial or anything like that. We went camping many times and guess where we camped….Greenwood Park school grounds, there was even a cow there, that's how primitive...and my mother was still very upset because we were out in the grounds, in a tent but it was Greenwood Park…[85]

Community members mentioned that membership in organizations like the Scouts, Girl Guides and the Boys Brigade was common among Coloured youth. These institutions contributed to the socialisation of youth with discipline, gendered morals and reinforcing a Coloured racial identity. Belonging to a federal structure, defined by race, contributed to the development of a worldview in which 'race' was normalised and one's interactions, even as children, occurred as members of a particular 'racial group'.

Religion, brought by various denominations played an important role in the production of a Coloured identity. Coloured-only Churches were established early in the history of the city

[84] SB, personal interview, April 2012.
[85] AB, personal interview, May 2012.

as segregated institutions and were central to the idea of community and self-identity. By pioneering and conforming to segregation, the Church including Children's groups added its moral authority to the status quo of segregation and the establishment of a hyper-racialised society.

The Challenges of Economic Hardship

The difficult economic conditions led to health and social issues developing within the community. Particular sections of town were known as being home to shebeens, prostitution and gangs. The Duchene area had several shebeens that sprung up in backyards and flats, mostly run by single women or groups of single women, who earned a living with these activities. It is interesting to note that, in all the cases mentioned by interviewees, the women running these establishments were from a recent Zulu background with extended family living in the rural areas and outskirts of Durban. One interviewee whose home was a shebeen, regularly visited family in Cato Manor and Chesterville, suggesting a link between the shebeens of the African periphery and the Coloured city. [86] It is likely that these familial links provided accessed to a knowledge base of brewing techniques as well as mechanisms to conceal brewing from the authorities. Under the Liquor Bill of 1926, the sale of different types of alcohol was restricted according to race. Iain Edwards reports that: "… until the early 1960s it was illegal for the vast majority of Africans to either purchase or consume 'white man's liquor': spirits, fortified and natural wines and beer produced commercially by major companies."[87] Legally,

[86] EN, personal interview, September 2011.
[87] Iain Edwards, "Shebeen Queens: Illicit Liquor and the Social Structure of Drinking Dens in Cato Manor," *Agenda* 3 (1988): 77.

African people could only be served the low alcohol content beer brewed for them by the city and found at municipal beer halls. The shebeen owners would brew their own beer and employ runners who went to white and Indian bars to buy an assortment of beer and spirits. They would then sell it to patrons of any colour who might want to patronise their establishments. The perception among other residents was that these shebeens were dens of iniquity, echoing similar sentiments of the local authorities of establishments in Cato Manor. These shebeens were a particular affront to the section of the Coloured society that wanted to emphasise their respectability and closeness to whiteness. One former resident was clear that, while there were actual brothels that existed, these shebeens were not brothels: "But they were not into brothels … I mean if somebody went and took a room there and did their thing ya, but it was not … but they would not make a business of it."[88] During the war years, soldiers also knew of the shebeens of Duchene, and used to visit:

> Etna Lane was known for having the shebeens and.....ey, I won't tell you lies, you know during the war when the soldiers came here, especially the Australian soldiers, they were the worst. They used to hang on the buses, jump into rickshaws and don't pay, get drunk. The Aussies, bad ous, they even knew Etna Lane…Etna Lane was notorious; everyone knew Etna Lane. There was joints all over.[89]

Poverty and economic uncertainty also led to the formation of gangs in the Coloured community, particularly in the 1940s and 50s. Despite living in the same neighbourhoods, Indian and Coloured gangs operated separately along racial lines, with very few instances of cross-over. The reason for this separation despite living in the same areas, was probably the friendships that formed at segregated schools. The gang members were often out of work

[88] DN, personal interview, April 2012.
[89] NP, personal interview, June 2012.

youths who loitered on the streets engaging in petty crime, gambling and carrying the bags of market-goers for tips. Gangs were separated by area:

> Etna Lane was, what can I say, it was like Casbah, shebeens, brothels, fighting. But it was just one merry family, let's face it. Now they used to call that Duchene, and Beatrice Street was another gang, Victoria Street was another gang, that's how it was…Old Dutch Road, Etna Lane, Wills Road, Agnes Road, all those were called Duchene. And Victoria Street, all those around the bioscope, Grey Street, Victoria Street and then the others from Beatrice Street...and going up...that was another gang there, Coloured gangs.[90]

A number of these youths also made money by working as runners for the shebeens owners. Given the perilous economic position of young men, gangs became places to pass the time with other out of work peers. Interviewees, some with family members who belonged to gangs and others who were members of gangs themselves, gave a rather romanticised version of the gangsters of this era:

> … the gangsters respected the people. If they saw mothers and grannies coming from the market with baskets, they would run and help to carry. They would never interfere with our women, our cousins and our sisters and our mothers. Going in the evening to church, to St Raphael's, going to Avalon cinema you had to walk over the bridge through the market on Victoria Street. A woman never used to fear… [they used to] hang around…They stood around, they gambled - 5 cents here, 10 cents here you know.[91]

The less romantic side is that gang members were involved in extortion and protection rackets for Indian businesses in the area and this, and the scope of gang activity in general, would grow in the coming years. The protection of Coloured women by these gangsters shows a sense duty and solidarity to protect members of the same group. Those same protections were offered to

[90] SB, personal interview, April 2012.
[91] NP, personal interview, April 2011.

the gangsters who were often described as being 'naughty'. While 'naughty' is a word perhaps more apt for describing a child (rather than grown men engaging in criminal behaviour), it nevertheless suggests permissiveness alongside the protection on offer.

Malnutrition was a common problem among children, and feeding schemes at schools were a tactic of the government to at least provide children at school with one meal. Overcrowding led to tuberculosis among Indians and Coloureds alike, particularly as many social and living spaces were shared and overcrowded. In 1944, Durban experienced an outbreak of poliomyelitis. *The Star* newspaper reported that the total number of polio cases throughout the Union stood at 213, with Durban having almost half of all documented cases. The situation was regarded as: "… the most serious in years" and a warning was issued that people should be aware that the virus might be carried in milk and sewage.[92] People recall being told that the poliovirus was carried in milk and that milk should be boiled at all times before drinking, and that absolute vigilance regarding keeping flies off the food was adhered to in Coloured homes.[93]

Addington hospital on the beachfront served Coloureds and whites, although there was a separate wing for Coloureds:

> Addington Hospital had the Coloured wards, the Coloured men were in Ward 10. They had 2 parts of Ward 10. They had the surgical and the medical. And upstairs they had the women's ward – ward 11. There were also whites in Addington, but not in those wards. And all the doctors were white, all the nurses were white, the only Coloureds you had at the hospital were the nurse aids - the orderlies. Everything was free. One thing nice about being a Coloured in those days was the Coloured hospital

[92] *The Star*, 24 November 1944.
[93] EN, personal interview, September 2011.

there were very few people. It was a white hospital with a Coloured wing."[94]

A preventative layer of community healthcare was started in Durban in the late 1940s. While it mainly served Indian and Africans, there were of course Coloureds who made use of them by virtue of where they were located. The Institute of Family and Community Health founded by Sydney and Emily Kark, and supported by the Smuts government, opened centres across Natal, but most relevant to the Coloured population of Durban would have been the centres in Clairwood and Springfield-Sydenham. The Institute trained health educators in the community who could visit homes and schools to talk to families about nutrition, immunisations and other critical preventative and public health measures. These public health initiatives aimed at poor African and Indian communities did not fare well in the climate of the Nationalist government post-1948, and ultimately all centres were forced to close down.

While several charitable organisations were established to assist people in need in Durban, the oldest and largest was the Durban Benevolent Society (DBS), formed in 1855. The Benevolent Society received funding from the city and street collections and assisted white families in need. There is also early evidence of the society assisting and representing Coloured families in Durban.[95] Assistance to Coloureds by the DBS was about 21 per cent of the organisation's total budget in 1932.[96]

[94] EN, personal interview, September 2011.
[95] It was the Durban Benevolent Society that facilitated the entry of children from St Helena to white schools as early as the 1870s.
[96] David Edley, "The Years of the Red Dust: Aspects of the Effects of the Great Depression on Natal, 1929-1933" (PhD thesis, University of Natal, 1994), 294. https://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/handle/10413/6383

The Coloured-European Joint Council formed in 1934 was tasked with discussing and strategising on the needs of the Coloured community. While it was largely a toothless political body, the Joint Council was also a forum for Coloured leaders to call on, and put pressure on, the city council, business leaders and institutions such as the Child Welfare Society, to work on issues facing Coloureds. The Community Chest was a coordinating body that was established in the early 1930s to streamline requests for funds from charities with donations from companies in Durban. Monies were given to charitable organisations, although not in an equal or proportionate manner. Of the £15 000 collected in 1931, £7 500 was given to the Durban Benevolent Home and Aged Women's Home while the two Coloured institutions receiving money received much smaller amounts. St Monica's Home for Coloured Children received £160 and St Theresa's Orphanage for Coloured Boys £300.[97]

There were also some welfare organisations that developed in the community and, while their exact scope is unclear, it seems that they each functioned to present community needs to the city and provincial government and to liaise with organisations such as the Joint Council and the Child Welfare Society to find sources of assistance for specific projects affecting Coloured people. These organisations included the Natal Coloured Welfare League, the Coloured People's Aid Society and the Federated Council of Social Workers.

As poverty increased in Durban, authorities became increasingly concerned with the impact on children and, in turn, the problems that came with having vagrant children roaming the streets of Durban. The state, persuaded by philanthropists, engaged social welfare

[97] *The Natal Mercury*, 1 February 1931.

programmes to provide assistance targeted at children. The Children's Act of 1913 and the Mother's Pension amendment of 1921 affected a state social grant that reflected the opinion that impoverished and troubled children should remain with their families bolstered by government assistance, and that removal from families should be a "last resort."[98] While the Act made no mention of race, it was designed with the white child in mind and applied almost exclusively to whites.

In 1918 a group of white philanthropists formed the Durban Child Welfare Society to assist white children needing financial and emotional assistance and, soon after that, the Durban municipality established its own Child Welfare Department. Despite pleas from liberal citizens to drop its colour bar and assist all children in Durban, the city consistently defined the purview of the welfare department as being white and Coloured children.[99]

Pillay explains that poverty and indigence were highest among African and Indian populations but, with the government unwilling to address the situation, the onus fell on the communities themselves to address their problems. Indian children were forced to work in family gardens or seek formal employment as waiters, cooks and even office 'boys', to supplement and bolster family incomes.[100] For Africans, there was a breakdown of the family systems in rural areas with men working in towns and mines and living in single-sex hostels. Untethered children would leave the rural areas for the city and find themselves on the streets. Additionally, many illegitimate children were born to women who came to the cities from rural

[98] Marijke Du Toit, "'Anginayo Ngisho Indibilishi!' (I don't have a penny!): The Gender Politics of 'Native Welfare' in Durban, 1930–1939," *South African Historical Journal* 66, No 2, (2014): 291-319
[99] Gengatharen Pillay, "A Study of Indigent Children in Durban between 1900 and 1945" (Master's thesis, University of Durban-Westville, 2002), 30.
[100] Ibid, 33.

areas to find work. In 1921, the Indian community rallied and established The Aryan Benevolent Society, eventually convincing white business and the provincial government to assist with donations and grants. The Durban Indian Child Welfare Society was formed in 1927 by a members of the Durban Indian Women's Organisation with donations from the Natal Indian Congress, the public and a little assistance from the municipality. African children living on the streets and running afoul of the law were given a place in a series of private homes set up by people involved in the justice system which became weary of seeing street children in their courtrooms for petty theft and vagrancy. From the 1930s, African Christian women, along with their liberal white counterparts, were successful in encouraging the municipality to form the Durban Bantu Child Welfare Society in 1932.[101]

There were no state institutions for Coloured children in Durban. By extension of societal norms at the time and the middle space occupied by Coloureds, the Durban Children Welfare Society nominally covered Coloured children. The Coloured community did not start their own child welfare society and were able to receive just enough support and assistance from the white organisations or from Churches to keep child welfare needs met at a basic level. Additionally, children were able to access government-assisted feeding schemes at schools at least once a day to stem malnutrition. However, the heavy work for the Coloured community in child welfare services was done by the Churches. The four primary homes for neglected, abused, and orphaned Coloured children were all run by religious institutions who received funding from church, state and private sources. These were St Philomena's and St Theresa's

[101] Marijke Du Toit, "'Anginayo Ngisho Indibilishi!' (I don't have a penny!): The Gender Politics of 'Native Welfare' in Durban, 1930–1939," *South African Historical Journal* 66, No 2, (2014): 292.

(Catholic), St Monica's (Anglican) and Bethshan (Bethshan Mission). The number of homes for Coloured children in Durban relative to the small size of the Coloured community suggests that poverty in Durban and rural catchment areas for missions was significant. It is also probable that, in a context of hypersensitivity and a general fear of immorality and race-mixing, that mixed children born to single African or Indian mothers would have been taken to missions and homes for Coloured children, either voluntarily or by force, for them to be given the perceived relative advantages of a Coloured life. Similarly, mixed children born to white mothers would have been taken to these homes to save the family from societal shame. Don Mattera describes some of these boys from St Theresa's Home:

> There were African and Indian boys, but among the Coloureds, some were so fair that they could easily have passed for white. These were the offspring of white and Black, whose mothers did not want to risk embarrassment. And so the home was a dumping ground for children whom the nuns had to clean, care for and mould into good Catholic Christians. The institution was officially built for Coloured children, but Catholic policy was open and non-selective. [102]

Mattera, who lived as a boarder at St Theresa's in the 1940s, was sent from Johannesburg to receive a good English, Catholic education. He provides some valuable insight into the life inside the walls of a children's home in those days:

> There were only boys at the home, most of them orphans. The boarders or private pupils wore their own clothes, whereas the orphans wore khaki shirts and trousers. On Sundays the special blue shirt and navy blue trousers may have given the impression that the orphans were well-dressed, but it was not the case. Boarders, like myself, mostly wore good shoes and during the winter months it was painful to see barefooted boys with cracked heels, chapped lips and hands, braving the cold. It was not that the nuns didn't care, but the state subsidy did not provide cash for shoes.

[102] Don Mattera, *Memory is the Weapon* (Florida, SA: African Perspectives, 2012), 41-42.

> …the boys from the home were a special breed: tough, hardened and definitely more mature than the well-fed day-pupils. We arranged our own concerts and festivals with the help of the nuns and our supervisors, Mr Joyce and Mr Joubert-King. St Theresa's boys excelled in every kind of sport and were especially outstanding in the martial arts. This was to benefit me on my appetites and those of us who had friends among the day-pupils used whatever money they gave us to buy extra food like beans and bread. Brown sugar baked in an old tin, to which we would add peanuts, produced our home-grown toffee called thumbs or tamalaykee. The older boys often sold the toffee in the dormitories at night after lights-out. The crunching sound as the boys bit into their brittle toffee was a sort of lullaby, a sweet way to end the day. We often stole green avocado pears from the privately owned yards surrounding the home. We would wrap them in paper and bury them in a secret place for consumption at a later date. But the boys had a way of sniffing out food – like hungry dogs, so that when you returned to retrieve your pears, a gaping hole greeted you with disappointment.[103]

Conclusion

During the inter-war years, Durban Coloureds found themselves in an ambiguous environment where both elements of segregation and mixing were part of official policies and structured their everyday life experiences. In social and everyday experiences, Coloured people developed strategies of survival and self-preservation as they negotiated their way through uncertainty. A false sense of privilege and closeness to whiteness promoted reliance on white institutions, while purposefully fostering a sense of alienation and of superiority to Africans and Indians. In sports, community leaders lobbied the Durban Corporation for segregated sports facilities, which they were given, but without a means of maintaining fields. Coloureds were ostensibly covered by white welfare agencies and policies, but without sufficient assistance to break out

[103] Don Mattera, *Memory is the Weapon* (Florida, SA: African Perspectives, 2012), 41-42.

of a cycle of poverty; they were lulled into believing it was not necessary to take on challenges in the community. The group had small numbers, little internal wealth and no wealthy sponsors and had to rely on churches and handouts. Coloured people were given just enough privilege to keep them as allies to whites and separate from Africans and Indians and not enough to result in any meaningful benefits. In this problematic middle space, the Coloured community in Durban turned inwards and began to delineate a protective, pragmatic way of life. By shared experiences in sport, religion and everyday activities, all performed at the margins of white, African and Indian communities, a more cohesive group consciousness developed that would prepare the group for the enforced segregation of the apartheid era.

CHAPTER 5

THE APARTHEID YEARS (1950 to 1980): CONSOLIDATION OF A COLOURED IDENTITY UNDER APARTHEID

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 will deal with the Apartheid Years 1950 to 1980. In pre-apartheid segregationist Durban, Coloureds occupied a relatively elevated and fluid position in an increasingly segregated environment. They had become used to limited privileges, and their small size meant they were not seen as a threat to any other group. Coloured people made community with each other, developing a notion of being Coloured, while at the same time still having a high level of connection and interaction with other groups in the city. Apartheid upset this comfortable fluidity and position of relative privilege.

The changing legislative framework of apartheid brought about significant changes to the lives of Coloured people in Durban. Decisions affecting daily lives were now controlled at a national level and applied to anyone classified as Coloured in any part of South Africa. The special privileges and relationships of patronage with local officials no longer carried any weight. The community found itself more marginalized than before. They lost the right to vote and the ability to occupy different racial and cultural spaces as they were now required to register as various forms of Coloured. They found themselves placed in segregated residential silos with little contact between old neighbours and reclassified family members. Within this highly regulated and segregated environment, the process of creolization was hastened through an intense period of shared history and shared experiences within the Group Areas of

Wentworth, Sydenham and Greenwood Park. New immigrants from other parts of Zululand and the Eastern Cape made their way to Durban ousted from their homes by Group Areas regulations. Their presence put a strain on already limited resources, particularly sub-economic housing and brought attention to class differences. They were nonetheless absorbed into the community and the group cleaved together once again to consolidate a Coloured identity, now based on fear and suspicion of the other, having little contact with life outside Coloured areas. The period was also characterised by a political awakening within the community. Early on, the changes brought about by apartheid, led community leaders to join national Coloured political movements to fight for common needs and representation. Towards the end of the period, a generational divide emerged as young people, galvanised by dire economic and social issues including a housing crisis and deficiencies in the educational system, turned to more radical political ideals espoused by the Black Consciousness Movement. The thesis ends in 1980 as the apartheid government was becoming more repressive and the anti-apartheid movement intensified its actions both inside and outside South Africa.

Chapter 5 explores the changes and challenges in the lives of Coloured people brought about by the defining apartheid legislation of Population Registration, Separate Representation, and Group Areas; as well as issues governed by official policy, such as political organisation, the economy and education, which weighed heavily on the evolution of group identity. Until the 1950s, Coloured people in Durban had been able to occupy a multicultural middle ground, living primarily Coloured lives but within that position, finding myriad opportunities for racial and cultural fluidity. The election of the National Party in 1948 and the formalised policies of apartheid impacted Coloureds in significant ways. Every facet of life was based on an official,

policed classification of being Coloured under the Population Registration Act. Living areas were predetermined, and the Group Areas Act orchestrated the relocation of people to exclusive race-specific areas, isolating and consolidating communities. This chapter will examine how the apartheid policies of the state, enforced and carried out by the Durban City Council, succeeded in promoting a particular Coloured identity in Durban and how, against and for various aspects of policy, people were able to create and produce their own identity in Coloured spaces and by Coloured institutions. By the beginning of the 1980s the various threads making up the Durban Coloured community had been consolidated into a more cohesive community with enough shared history that members no longer identified by their original heritage, but rather as Coloured.

National Politics, Redefining the Coloured Community

The triumph of the National Party in 1948 elections heralded an intensification and codification of the segregationist policies and laws already in place in Natal and the rest of South Africa. The new government moved quickly to establish a new defining set of apartheid policies to ensure a far-reaching system of racial segregation and white domination. The underpinnings of the apartheid system which had a deep and profound impact on the lives and identity of the Coloured population of Durban were the Population Registration Act (1950), the Separation of Voters Act (1951) and the Group Areas Act (1950).

The Apartheid government was concerned with ordering South African society to prevent white society descending into what they perceived through racist lenses as the chaos of African urbanisation and the threat of rampant miscegenation. The policies of racial separatism

and cultural nationalism were an attempt by the state to develop rigid racial categories and to suppress the mixing and perceived dilution of culture across the South African racial and cultural landscape. The Population Registration Act No 30 of 1950, a central tenet of apartheid, defined and fixed racial identities as follows:

> A white person is one who in appearance is, or who is generally accepted as, a white person, but does not include a person who although in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a Coloured person. A native is a person who is in fact or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa. A Coloured person is a person who is not a white person nor a native.[1]

Coloureds as a group were a particularly inconvenient and messy grouping for authorities to contain. Posel quotes the National Senate debates that proclaim: "… 'racial mixture of blood [was] an evil thing', bringing biological, moral, and social pollution."[2] Determining who exactly was a Coloured had always presented problems for officials and the system of racial classification offered the authorities a tool to define people based on race categorically, and then to use these fixed definitions as the basis for all life and movement within the apartheid state. Posel demonstrates the shifts in racial classification (both formal and informal):

> Race was to be the critical and overriding fault line: the fundamental organizing principle for the allocation of all resources and opportunities, the basis of all spatial demarcation, planning and development, the boundary for all social interaction, as well as the primary category in terms of which this social and moral order was described and defended.[3]

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[1] Deborah Posel, "What's in a Name? Racial Categorizations Under Apartheid and Their Afterlife," *Transformations: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 47 (2001): 56.
[2] Deborah Posel, "Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth Century South Africa," *African Studies Review* 44, No 2 (2001): 100.
[3] Deborah Posel, "What's in a Name? Racial Categorizations Under Apartheid and Their Afterlife," *Transformations: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 47 (2001): 58.

Official classification codified the existence of a Coloured community based on its marginality; not being white, not being black and, specifically in the case of Durban, not being Indian. It confirmed the status of relative privilege and, at the same time, a loss of the freedom of fluidity. Racial identities in the Durban Coloured community were still somewhat fluid until this point. There was a lived Coloured identity, but it existed at the margins of African, Indian and white society. Coloured people very often experienced a dynamic racial identity, aligning themselves with different groups depending on circumstance and potential benefit or family connections.

In her analysis of racial classification, Posel confirms that: "A person could have been considered 'Coloured' in respect of one realm of experience (such as access to modes of work) and 'native' in another (for example, in contracting a customary marriage through the payment of lobola)."[4] In Durban, someone may have lived with a mix of Coloured and Indian people and attended Coloured schools but used white public transport and attended white bioscopes and bars. This fluidity was particularly offensive to a system where order and fixedness were predominant aspects of racial ideology. The amendments to the 1950 Act sought to tighten up racial classification and introduced a classification board, an elaborate formal legal apparatus, to investigate and adjudicate on people's race.

> As from 1 August 1966 it became compulsory for all citizens of the Republic over the age of 16 years to be able to produce identity cards, on which the racial group of the holder is. Until then, large numbers of people on the racial borderline had apparently not submitted themselves for classification.[5]

[4] Ibid, 57-58.
[5]Muriel Horrell, *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968), 23.

Definitive registration of races at the hands of government officials was now mandated, and rigid observance of racial boundaries became the norm. The test of this racial purity rested with a government employee who looked at physical appearance along with information of where a person lived and worked to determine racial classification. [6] For the majority of Durban Coloureds, the classification was merely a formality, and they were not adversely affected, as long as their appearance and daily acceptance fit their classification as Coloured. There was a visual sorting process that happened informally on the street, from bus drivers to shop owners, deciding who was white and who was not, who could ride a particular bus, who could sit where on a white bus or who could sit in a restaurant. This was not entirely new, as informal racialization had been present before, but it became more strictly observed and enforced during apartheid. For some, however, the process of classification was a contested one that brought pain and conflict to families:

> …when those [ID] cards came out, then the police started getting hard, and the government started getting hard. They said you have to have those cards. And they were talking about your hair, and they were talking are you Coloured, are you this…But when I was already now starting to go to high school when now the family started getting these cards. I wasn't yet 16, I didn't have to get it. But my sister was older than me, she had a white boyfriend, and I could see what's happening, but you know when you don't want to face up to it. They were trying to force me to go a white bioscope. I would cry my eyes out because I knew I didn't fit in and all these people are going to look at me and all that... And I didn't want my mother to lose her place and my aunties to lose theirs – have to take their children out of the white schools, and didn't want them to lose their homes where they were living because of me…And so I decided well, and that was just after I turned 16, I'm going to get a card, but I going to get a Coloured card. Because I can look in the mirror and I can see what I see…And from that time my family sort of cut me off. Because you

[6] Deborah Posel, "Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth Century South Africa." *African Studies Review* 44, No 2 (2001): 105.

> couldn't. They were scared…I went through hell because my family was split.[7]

In Durban, a further dynamic was the special dispensation that those with St Helenian and Mauritian heritage still received. Some Mauritians and St Helenians were in possession of white birth certificates even though they may have lived among Coloured people and gone to Coloured schools. Dickie-Clarke mentions a public house in Durban that had a sign denoting: 'Mauritians and Whites only'.[8] One Mauritian interviewee recalled her decision to 'become' Coloured, and the declaration she was asked to make to renounce any claim to whiteness:

> When it came to getting an ID, I chose not to be white because I identified basically more with Coloured people in the city. You know I had become friends with people in the city and then there was [boyfriend], he had a Coloured ID and I had a white birth certificate, not white Mauritian, but I could choose. So when it was time to get an ID I had to go down to Home Affairs. You had to take your mother and your father, their documentation, and I applied for Coloured. I actually had to sign the form to say that in no way would I discredit in whatever way my family who have white IDs.[9]

Another, whose assignment as white at birth did not match her darker appearance, decided to apply for a Coloured ID, but the decision meant she had to cut off ties with her lighter-skinned family, who became white:

> I had to make a choice and I wasn't going to be a purple person that's for sure. A dark person putting powder on. I used to say, I'm not going to be a purple person. The Mauritian people. Almost everyone. Nobody wanted to be a Coloured. They all wanted to be white. All the Mauritians. They were all like that. A lot of them that even came to live in Clairwood. There were some that when they moved out there they came to Clairwood. And some went as white and they married into whites. Their families are white. I got a cousin that lived in Marine Drive. He still lives there, married

[7] YH, personal interview, June 2012
[8] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 78.
[9] BM, personal interview, April 2012.

> white, his children are white, they didn't know me all those years. Even my own sister. When my mother got sick she was crying, she sent for me and so on. But I didn't want to go there in the day in case everyone saw me and got her into trouble. Imagine she gets turned out of her place. And people used to look through their windows and report them and all that type of thing.[10]

Due to the relatively high number of Mauritian people in the Durban Coloured community, the issue of 'becoming white' loomed larger than in other parts of the country, and caused generational trauma that is still being felt.

Where race and classification were contested, the legal process took over. The same person who had to cut off ties with her now white family members was called to testify in a court case against her uncle who was living as white in the white suburb of Seaview:

> And I'll never forget my aunt and my uncle…used to stay in Seaview, and somebody must have reported them, I don't know who visited them, or they must have went to a wedding and saw dark people there, and I was summoned to the High Court…I had to go to this court. First time in the court. I didn't know what to expect. They had this court 'in camera'. And I'm not a liar. I've never ever been a liar. I don't want to take an oath and be a liar. So I tried to answer to the best of my ability, but at the same time I was stubborn. I wasn't going to get them into trouble, or let them lose their home. I knew them very well. They used to come and sleep there by us when they were younger and all that. They asked me questions, "Have you seen these people." I looked at them like they were vague and I said "I know who they are." And then they said "Are they related to you?"" I said I know who they are, but I don't see them, I don't mix with them." Which was true. I didn't mix with them. And everything they asked me questions about I said, "I don't mix with them. I don't know when last I saw them." Because that was the truth. I said, "Do you want me to tell you a lie. I don't lie but I haven't been to their place." You know this carried on and on. And fortunately they all had straight hair; they couldn't pick their hair out. But then they decided just to let me go. So that was that. And they carried on living in Seaview.[11]

[10] YH, personal interview, June 2012
[11] YH, personal interview, June 2012

Exposing relatives who had turned white would have caused them to give up their white privilege and may have had legal implications which placed a great deal of guilt and anger on Coloured relatives who were then disowned by these same relatives. By the 1960s, the Coloured category had been expanded to include subcategories such as Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Other Asiatic and Other Coloured. To the apartheid ideologues, these classifications became less arbitrary and more specific in their definition of race, but there nonetheless remained space for manipulation and a way to create more division. Many Durban Coloureds, for example, were classified as Cape Coloured despite having never set foot in the Cape, and the term Other Coloured became a slur in the community, an after-thought. One interviewee recalls making fun of the Other Coloureds:

> …on the small green card I was Cape Coloured or Coloured. I can't remember. But not Other Coloured. We used to tease other children when they were classified Other Coloured. We used to say "ey you a 'Other' Coloured"…I think it's just what they wanted. To classify you, separate you.[12]

A group that confounded the race classifiers in Durban were the Zanzibaris, descendants of freed slaves brought to Durban between 1873 and 1877, by arrangement between the Lieutenant Governor of Natal and the British Consul General of Zanzibar. The Zanzibaris were actually a mixed group from northern Mozambique, Tanzania, Comoros, Zanzibar, Malawi and Somalia. They were referred to as Zanzibaris because they were rerouted from the island of Zanzibar to Natal.[13] Oosthuizen explains that the arrangement was meant to provide additional labour on the sugar cane plantations. The freed slaves had been considered African, with a

[12] JB, personal interview, June 2012.
[13] Gerhardus Oosthuizen, "Islam among the Zanzibaris of South Africa," *History of Religions* 31, No 3 (February 1992): 305-306.

special dispensation for being 'Liberated Africans', but their work and welfare were administered by the Protector of Indian Immigrants, and because of this, they became associated with Indians. Furthermore, they practised the Islamic religion and developed close ties to the Indian Muslims of Durban as a way to safeguard this. The Zanzibaris were settled on a piece of land on the Bluff owned by the Juma Musjid Trust and known as Kingsrest. Under apartheid, the Bluff was declared a white Group Area, leaving the Zanzibaris with no home and the City Council with a dilemma in terms of how to classify and where to resettle them. The Juma Musjid Trust stepped in and convinced the Manager of Bantu Administration that these were not pure African people and that they should be reclassified Coloured. Members of the Ratepayers Association in the Coloured area of Wentworth objected to the reclassification on the grounds of religion. The objection did not hold up as Malay people were also Muslim and were classified as Coloured. The Zanzibaris were reclassified from African to Coloured: Other Asiatic. However, in 1962 because of their Muslim faith, the Zanzibari were moved from Kingsrest and settled in Section 20 of the Indian area of Chatsworth. A few Zanzibari families did decide to move to Coloured areas of Sydenham and Wentworth.[14]

In Durban, as elsewhere, the imposition of rigid racial classification was difficult, and even traumatic, for everyone. For Coloureds, it was especially the case because the legislation was particularly concerned to clarify and codify this 'left-over' category.

[14] Zubeda Seedat, "The Zanzibaris in Durban: A Social Anthropological Study of the Muslim Descendants of African Freed Slaves Living in the Indian area of Chatsworth" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1973).

The End of the Coloured Vote

At the start of the period under examination, Coloured males in Natal held the parliamentary and municipal franchise with property qualifications. While the vote did not yield any direct Coloured representation in the province, this apparent electoral equality was a source of pride, respectability and lobbying power among the Coloured middle class and political elite in Durban.[15] Dickie-Clarke calculates that in 1955, only 638 of the approximately 5 000 eligible Coloured men, had registered to vote in Durban. He surmises that the number was low because of apathy and not necessarily because of not meeting property or residency qualifications. In March 1951, the Separate Representation of the Voters Act No 46 of 1951 was pushed through Parliament to strip Coloureds in Natal and the Cape of the vote.[16] The South Africa Act of 1909, which had initially given Coloureds the right to vote, stipulated that changes to the franchise be made with a two-thirds majority. The bill to strip Coloureds of the vote passed with just an ordinary majority.

The measures to disenfranchise Coloured people were met with stiff and widespread opposition in the Cape. The Franchise Action Committee (FRAC) was a broad coalition of organisations from across the Coloured political spectrum at the centre of the opposition.[17] FRAC organised mass demonstrations, including a march on Parliament in May 1951 of over

[15] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 96-97.
[16] Sheila Patterson, *Colour and Culture in South Africa: A Study of the Status of the Cape Coloured People within the Social Structure of the Union of South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1953), 40. Coloureds in the Transvaal and the OFS did not ever have the right to vote.
[17] Gavin Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African 'Coloured' Politics* (New York: St. Martin's, 1987), 267.

50 000 people and a strike or stay-away in April that kept shops closed and schoolchildren at home.[18] FRAC was succeeded by the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO) which continued to pressure the government with protest action. The Separate Representation of the Voters Act was challenged by the opposition United Party and effectively struck down in 1952.[19]

Opposition to the disenfranchisement of Coloureds in Natal was led by the Coloured People's Council of Action (CPCA). The CPCA was formed in Durban in 1953 by Dr Ralph Hendrickse, a young medical doctor from Cape Town who was interning at McCord Hospital.[20] Hendrickse had strong ties to the political elite of the Cape, as his wife, Begum Abdurahman, was the daughter of Abdullah Abdurahman, founder of the APO, and half-sister of Zainunnissa 'Cissie' Gool, member of the Communist Party at the forefront of FRAC and SACPO organising. The executive of the CPCA comprised P Rose (Vice-Chairman), J Domingo (Secretary) and members EG Rooks, E Montgomery, N Geldenhuys and EC Swales. The group claimed to represent all groups in the Coloured community throughout Natal and pledged to fight not only for Coloured rights but also for: "… full franchise for all South Africans irrespective of race, colour or creed."[21] The appeal of the CPCA in Natal was probably not as broad-based as they declared since they represented mainly the small political elite and middle class who found

[18] Heidi Villa-Vicencio, "Colour, Citizenship and Constitutionalism: An Oral History of Political Identity among Middle-Class Coloured People with Special Reference to the Formation of the Coloured Advisory Council in 1943 and the Removal of the Male Franchise in 1956" (MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1995), 74.
[19] Gavin Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African 'Coloured' Politics* (New York: St. Martin's, 1987), 267-268.
[20] Krishna Somers, "In Memoriam: Ralph George Hendrickse," *South African Medical Journal* 100, No 12 (December 2010): 810.
[21] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group*: (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 125;

their political position in jeopardy. However, since they were championing the franchise for all South Africans (including those Coloureds without the vote because of property restrictions), this could have appealed to a broader cross-section of the population. In 1953, members of the CPCA travelled to Cape Town to appear before the Commission of Enquiry into the Separate Representation of Voters Act in Cape Town to express opposition to continuing moves by the government to disenfranchise Coloureds. The memorandum presented to the Commission by the delegation from Natal warned that the removal of Coloureds from the voter's roll would: "… lead to the political murder of future generations of Coloured people."[22] Dr Hendrickse told *Advance* newspaper: "No self-respecting Coloured man will agree to the political destruction of the entire community." He pointed to the corroding of Coloured rights, losing the right of free movement, free residence, the right to marry whom they pleased and the right to defend their own country and noted this as a defining point where Natal Coloureds were making a stand.[23] For Mauritians and St Helenians in the Durban Coloured community, the passing of the bill would also mean the end of the unique position they inhabited. In 1955, the Minister of the Interior made it clear that the legislation would apply equally to them noting, "… there is no such class of person as Mauritians."[24] The government was determined to terminate the special status of the groups, which had been an important source of pride, distinctiveness since their arrival. Thus, while the Mauritians and St Helenians might not have necessarily agreed

[22] *Advance Newspaper*, 11th February 1954.
http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/?inventory_enhanced/U/Collections&c=204305/R/CULL0001-3-5
[23] Ibid.
[24] Hamish Dickie-Clarke, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 64.

with fighting for the voting rights for South Africans of all races, they were willing to support the CPCA to safeguard their own privileged position.

The government, however, remained committed to their plan to remove all Coloureds from the voters' roll and, in 1956, after some political acrobatics, they passed the South African Act (Amendment) Bill with the required majority of votes.[25] The Act reinstated the Separation of Voters Act, which removed Coloureds from the common voters' roll, ended any further registrations and set up a new separate Coloured council. Around 500 Coloured men in Natal who were already on the voters' roll were allowed to keep the franchise, including those classified as Mauritian or St Helenian, who until then had been regarded as white when it came to the vote.[26] Nevertheless, the loss of political capital eroded the faith of Durban Coloureds in their elevated position, who until then believed that there was a role for them in the political system.[27] There was disappointment in realising they were merely political pawns:

> Coloured people were allowed to vote you see...If you're in good standing, no crime behind you, if you worked...Imagine, the white people picking you up in a car taking you to vote…but you're only voting for whites that's the thing...Then they just took you off the voters roll...We were political football, Coloured people.[28]

Despite the small number of Coloured voters in Durban and the lack of direct representation, their vote had given them lobbying power and a seat at certain decision-making tables in the

[25] Gavin Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African 'Coloured' Politics* (New York: St. Martin's, 1987), 269.
[26] Hamish Dickie-Clarke, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 97.
[27] Roy Du Pre, "Confrontation, Co-option and Collaboration: The Response and Reaction of the Labour Party of South Africa to Government Policy, 1965-1984" (PhD thesis, Rhodes University, 1994), 17-18. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/11984970.pdf
[28] BL, personal interview, May 2012.

city. Loss of respectability, which was associated with proximity to whites, and included sharing the vote (however, circumscribed), was also a key issue.

Redrawing of the City along Racial Lines

A cornerstone of apartheid ideology was the complete segregation of races. While this had largely been the case in Durban before the advent of apartheid thanks to the city's zoning and influx control legislation, Coloureds were not explicitly barred from settling where they chose, and there had always been movement and mixing around the edges in Durban. The Durban City Council had used the Slums Act of 1934, the Pegging Act of 1943 and the Ghetto Act of 1946 to effectively segregate the city before the advent of Group areas. There were, of course, small multiracial pockets in the city and Coloureds mainly lived in Indian areas.

The Group Areas Act No 41 was introduced into Parliament in 1950. This was an all-embracing plan laid out by the National Government for each local authority to implement to set up specific contained living areas for particular race groups. The introduction of the act was not preceded by a commission of enquiry or study, as it was accepted as: "… an inevitable part of apartheid".[29] The Durban City Council agreed with the tenets of residential segregation proposed by the Group Areas Act and moved quickly to define their vision of a sanitised and segregated city by appointing a technical sub-committee to handle the task of carving up the city even further.[30] In 1951 the population of Durban to be divided was approximately 432 670,

[29] Alan Mabin, "Comprehensive Segregation: the Origins of the Group Areas Act and its Planning Apparatuses," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18, No 2 (June 1992): 406.
[30] Hamilton Southworth, "Strangling South Africa's Cities: Resistance to Group Areas in Durban during the 1950s," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 24, No 1 (1991): 8.

made of almost equal numbers of whites, Indians and Africans. Whites represented 30% (129 801), Indians 34% (147 108), Africans 32% (138 454) and a small Coloured population of just 4% (17307).[31] The authorities used a combination of economic, social and ideological arguments to determine where to place particular race groups in Durban. The committee began from the premise that contact between different races caused conflict: "… the juxtaposition of races of different cultures has tended to produce conflict – not necessarily overt or manifesting itself at its geographic source, but often ultimately producing diffused inter-racial antipathy".[32] The goals of the planning committee were to dismantle areas where mixing was occurring, to create vast townships for Africans and Indians and to keep African and white residential areas far apart from each other. The imperative was also to ensure that each group was placed in reasonable proximity to their areas of employment, with ample resources for shopping and recreation to prevent creep into the areas of other groups. The additional imperative was to put an immediate stop to Indian competition and penetration into white spaces. Whites and Africans were to be separated physically by buffer zones of Coloured or Indian areas or by "natural or other barriers," and, "… townships were to be designed in such a way that they could be cordoned off in the event of riot or rebellion, and the resistance suppressed in open streets."[33]

[31] Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts and Ronald Davis, *Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1958), 50-51.
[32] City of Durban, First Report of the Technical Sub-Committee on Race Zoning, 22 June 1951, 5-6.
[33] Paul Maylam, "The Rise and Decline of Urban Apartheid in South Africa," *African Affairs* 89, No 354 (January 1990): 70; Alan Mabin, "Comprehensive Segregation: the Origins of the Group Areas Act and its Planning Apparatuses," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18, No 2 (June 1992): 413-414.

Table 6: Existing Population Distribution in Group Area Zones 1951

District	Race Zone	White	Indian	Coloured	'Natives'	Total
Umlazi-Lamont	'Natives'	47	6	6	9 828	9 887
Isipingo Rail, S Stainbank, Rural Umhlatuzana	'Natives'	236	3 581	92	649	4 558
Bluff	Whites	7 253	2 253	179	3 101	12 786
Jacobs	Coloureds	1 755	1 099	77	958	3 909
Seaview, Hillary, Bellair	Indians	7 894	6 298	488	3 359	17 499
N Stainbank, Umhlatuzana	Indians	45	4 337	25	4 110	8 517
Beach and Berea	Whites	69 591	3 620	1 457	21 845	96 513
Cato Manor, Springfield, Sydenham, Reservoir Hills	Whites	6 551	57 261	5 481	39 478	108 771
Westville	Whites	1 592	2 457	104	1 800	5 953
Prospect Hall, Riverside, Durban North	Whites	11 857	6 052	461	5 636	24 006
Glenashley-Umhlanga	Whites	300	225	10	80	615
Malacca Road	Coloureds	19	2 195	15	556	2 785
Glen Anil	Coloureds	38	619	11	638	1 306
Duikerfontein	Indians	2 178	6 495	504	1 719	10 896
Duffs Road-Phoenix	Indians	73	1 783	29	1 005	2 896
Sea Cow Lake	'Natives'	1	1 983	22	133	2 139
Zeekoe Valley	'Natives'	65	3 508	22	3 209	6 800
Total		109 495	103 772	8 983	98 104	319 836

Source: Bridgemohan Maharaj, "The Group Areas Act in Durban: Central - Local State Relations" (PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1992), 318.

The rhetoric at the time was that Group Areas would apply to all races equally, but there was little doubt that the white population would receive unequal protection and that, in Durban, the Indian community would suffer the most significant turmoil and financial impact.[34]

The first plan outlined by the Durban City Council in 1951 called for the movement of approximately 40% of the city's population, 80 000 Africans, 70 000 Indians 12 000 whites and 8 500 Coloureds, from their current homes to the new areas designated for their race.[35] This required a massive re-ordering of the city along racial lines, with all the inconveniences and traumas associated with the National Party's programme of forced removals. The declaration of group areas in Durban was preceded by representations to the city council or the Group Areas Board by ratepayers associations or political organisations. While the concept of removing African, Indian and Coloured people from the city was supported in general by white constituents, even the small numbers of whites affected by the proposed moves were unacceptable and protest ensued.

In response to these criticisms, an alternate plan was put forth on 5th August 1952, that outlined the relocation of approximately 49% of the city's Indians, 50% of its Coloureds and 51% of its African population but only 2.4% of the city's white population.[36] Under this new plan, only approximately 3 100 whites would need to be relocated, a situation that was much more acceptable to the establishment. Various groups appeared before the Group Areas Board to

[34] Bridgemohan Maharaj, "The Group Areas Act in Durban: Central - Local State Relations" (PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1992), 270.
[35] Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts and Ronald Davis, *Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1958), 15; Note that the city's population at the time was approximately 432 670, made up of 30% white, 34% Indian, 32% African and only 4% Coloured.
[36] Hamilton Southworth, "Strangling South Africa's Cities: Resistance to Group Areas in Durban during the 1950s," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 24, No 1 (1991): 8-9.

dispute the measures. There was determined resistance from Indian groups, who stood to lose the most in the proposed removals. The Natal Indian Congress (NIC) argued that the Act placed an unjust level of burden on Indian people who were being punished for their economic success. The NIC, Indian ratepayers associations and allies in the white community, made repeated pleas for reconsideration and repeal, made formal representations and staged protest marches in the city. The African National Congress also made similar protestations, calling the Durban City Council negligent and callous in the care of its African citizens.[37]

An area of contention and protest throughout the Group Areas deliberations was Cato Manor. Initially declared a white area with a small Coloured zone, the plans for Cato Manor meant the movement of large numbers of Africans and Indians and devastating loss of property and community spaces to Indians. The NIC led a concerted campaign to appeal for a change to the Group Areas allocation for Cato Manor, and their efforts led to a major division in the Durban City Council over whether Cato Manor should be granted to whites or Indians; both owned significant amounts of property and, for Indians, the area was a cultural hub. The NIC explained the magnitude of loss:

> In Cato Manor 25,798 Indians, 2,107 Coloureds and 28,298 Africans will be shifted, Indians will lose 2891 acres of land and 2,444 dwellings valued at £1,685,350. Coloureds and Africans will lose over 70 acres of land and 133 dwellings valued at £25,940.[38]

Despite pleas and protests, the revised plan submitted to the Durban City Council was adopted in November 1952, with just a few amendments and the eventual decision in 1958 confirmed

[37] Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts and Ronald Davis, *Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1958), 183.
[38] Speech of the President of the Natal Indian Congress, 11th Annual Provincial Conference, Durban, 21 November 1958, 31. http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdfo/AD1137/AD1137-Ee1-1-002-jpeg.pdf

the entire Cato Manor area as a white area. A determining factor in making the final decision was the rationale that the area: "… was the main gateway to Durban from the inland and that it had to be kept in white ownership."[39] The Durban City Council worked in tandem with the Group Areas Board and the SAIRR noted:

> … the Government has largely 'rubber stamped' the City Council's proposals of 1953 for the areas now proclaimed. These virtually allocated to Europeans all areas demanded by them - irrespective of whether or not it entailed the removal of non-Europeans from the few racially mixed areas or from totally segregated non-white areas. The original proposals went to the extreme in inequality of sacrifice.[40]

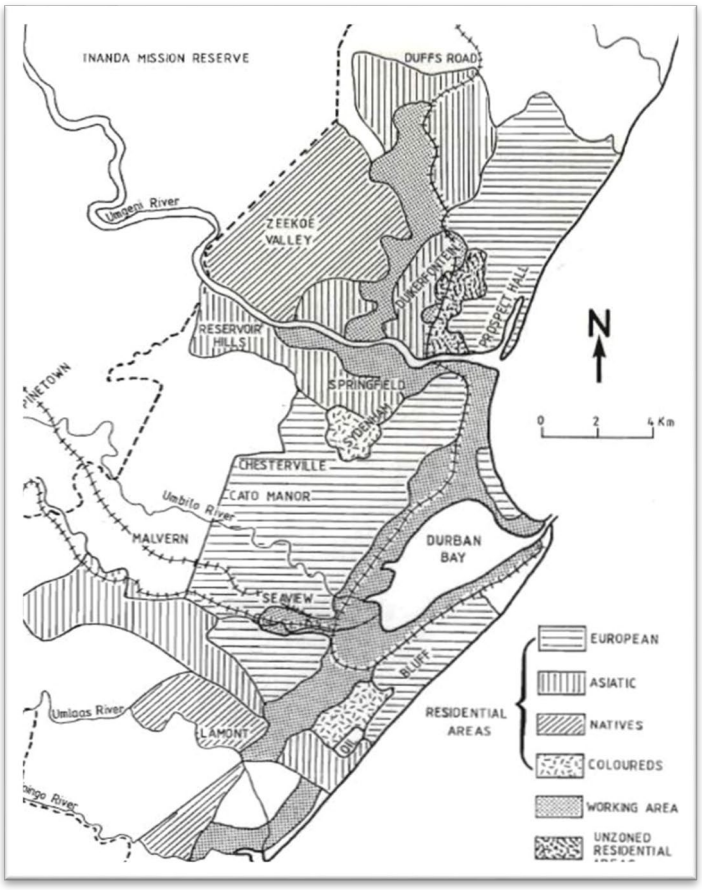
The Group Areas Act itself made no provision for compensation for property that would have to be abandoned in the areas where people could no longer live and operate businesses. This was later provided by the Group Areas Development Act of 1955 (updated by the Community Development Act of 1966) that set up a body known as the Group Areas Development Board (GADB), to oversee the mechanism of how Group Areas properties could be bought and sold.[41] In 1957, the government proposed an amendment to the Act which would place the entire financial responsibility: "… to provide housing and other services in areas demarcated for resettlement of persons of various groups" on the local authority. The GADB would also be able to force the local authority to purchase any such area after it had been developed by the Board:

> … if the local authority failed to supply the housing and other services considered … necessary, the Minister … might authorise the Board to assume the full powers of a local authority. It would itself provide the

[39] Bridgemohan Maharaj, "The Group Areas Act in Durban: Central - Local State Relations" (PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1992), 419.
[40] South African Institute of Race Relations, *Natal Coastal Region - Group Areas Press Statement*, 17 June 1958.
[41] Bridgemohan Maharaj, "The Group Areas Act in Durban: Central - Local State Relations" (PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1992), 283.

services. The expenses would be recovered from the local authority by court action. [42]

Figure 21: Map of Durban City Council Revised Group Area Plans 1958



Source: Bridgemohan Maharaj, "The Group Areas Act in Durban: Central - Local State Relations" (PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1992), 336.

This was a point of departure for the Durban City Council that could not afford to bear the cost of Group Areas, and Cato Manor became the focal point of the struggle between local and national government. The city wanted to overturn its earlier Cato Manor zoning and return at least a portion of the area to Indian control. The National government insisted that the

[42] Muriel Horrell, *A Survey of Race Relations in South African 1957-8* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations Survey on Race Relations, 1958), 89.

proclamation stand, moves began and according to Southworth: "… by 1961, the national government won the Group Areas conflict, defeating a weakened City Council and a divided and impoverished non-white opposition." [43] There was little chance that any compensation for property would be fair and, in most cases, a complicated system was employed where the value of property was set by the GADB (often for a fraction of its worth) and then resold later for much higher prices.[44]

Delays in the implementation of the proposals were quite common throughout the country, often caused by lack of funding for housing and tension between spheres of government over who should take financial responsibility for implementing policies and legal challenges. An area in Durban that had significant delays and eventually defied the Group Area regulations was the Duchene-Warwick area, where people lingered in their homes refusing to move to townships. An interviewee described the area: "… many of those houses were still there in the 1960s and 1970s … even after Group Areas, Coloureds lived there, Indians lived there. The area was affected, but I mean Group Areas was not something that took place overnight."[45] Most residents of the Warwick area did move out, driven by the: "… inevitability of resettlement and … [their desire to] get into the queue for new housing as soon as possible."[46] However, some were able to evade and resist relocation, right up until the mid-

[43] Hamilton Southworth, "Strangling South Africa's Cities: Resistance to Group Areas in Durban during the 1950s," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 24, No 1 (1991): 30.
[44] Uma Mesthrie, "Tinkering and Tampering: A Decade of the Group Areas Act (1950–1960)," *South African Historical Journal* 28, No 1 (May 1993): 177-202.
[45] EN, personal interview, September 2011.
[46]Gavin Maasdorp and PA Ellison," Beyond Cato Manor," in From Shantytown to Township, ed. Gavin Maasdorp and ASB Humphreys, (Cape Town, 1 975), 63; Bridgemohan Maharaj, "The Integrated Community Apartheid Could Not Destroy: The Warwick Avenue Triangle in Durban," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 25, No 2 (June 1999): 249-266.

1980s when around 2000 Coloured and Indian residents still occupied their homes in the Warwick area.[47] According to Maharaj, the Durban City Council was ambivalent and contradictory in its attitude to enforcing Group Areas in the Warwick area. This became more apparent as, with less support from the national government than expected, the financial burden of the programme became evident.[48] Additionally, the council did not have a place to move people as the lists for houses in places such as Phoenix and Newlands East were already too long and so leaving them where they were was more convenient.

The Wins and Losses of Group Areas

Even though there was a Coloured community that had been living and evolving in Durban for many decades, it was loosely defined and fluid in nature. Group Areas solidified that Coloured identity. Trotter explains that Group Areas:

> … substantiated this commonality in a most elemental way, limiting residential mobility to within areas legally prescribed as 'coloured'. It is these institutionally produced effects – not so much the administrative process of classification – that radically reshaped coloured people's experience in the last half-century, giving concrete social, spatial and political expression to the coloured racial category. Group Areas united coloured people as a group in a fashion unprecedented in South African history.[49]

[47] Bridgemohan Maharaj, "The Integrated Community Apartheid Could Not Destroy: The Warwick Avenue Triangle in Durban," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 25, No 2 (June 1999): 256. Maharaj notes that in 1989 the area was officially declared a Free Settlement Area, still housing about 160 Indian, 100 Coloured, 80 white and ten African families.

[48] Brij Maharaj, "Segregation, Desegregation and De-Racialisation: Racial Politics and the City of Durban," In *(D)urban Vortex*, ed Bill Freund and Vishnu Padayachee, (Pietermaritzburg : University of Natal press, 2002), 177.

[49] Henry Trotter, "Trauma and Memory: The Impact of Apartheid-era Forced Removals on Coloured Identity in Cape Town," in *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*, ed. Mohamed Adhikari (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2009), 71.

The 1958 Group Areas proclamations in Durban created three Coloured areas. In the south, the Jacobs-Wentworth area close to industry around the newly approved refinery; in the north, Greenwood Park-Red Hill, a portion of the area known as Duikerfontein; and a central location in Sydenham.

Coloured segregation in Durban was not as urgent an imperative as it was in the Cape where the Coloured population was much larger and Kuper et al. observe that, to the city council, Coloureds were the: "… most favoured of the Non-European groups."[50] This was one instance where the ties between white authorities and Coloured politicians and their political influence (albeit limited) proved useful. While large numbers (relative to the size of the community) were affected and moved according to Group Areas, it was directly related to the fact that their living situation was so entwined with that of Indians and not because the community was targeted. The favour shown to Coloureds played out in areas that were allocated to Coloureds. The only area initially earmarked as a Coloured area was Wentworth. Group areas were devised giving proximity to work areas and, as Coloureds were described as a: "… relatively minor group in the labour force, occurring chiefly in the southern industrial area and the Maydon Wharf/Congella districts," the placement of one of the Coloured areas in Wentworth was in keeping with that consideration.[51]

Neither Sydenham nor Greenwood Park was originally intended as Coloured group areas. At the time, Sydenham was: "… the only developed Coloured community in Durban", and

[50] Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts and Ronald Davis, *Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1958), 183.
[51] University of Natal, *The Durban Housing Survey: A Study of Housing in a Multi-Racial Community* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1952), 421.

after some additional discussion and lobbying by Coloured groups and political leaders, some of whom already lived in Sydenham, the Durban City Council agreed to allow Coloureds to remain in Sydenham.[52] The Coloured Housing Scheme at Sparks Road at the time comprised 84 houses (with plans for expansion) and, according to Maharaj, the declaration of Sydenham as a Coloured area was made at the expense of some 10 500 Indians who called the area home.[53] Similarly, the Greenwood Park area was not initially listed as a Coloured area, but here too the sympathetic treatment of Coloureds in the Group Areas deliberations seem to have played a role in the designation of the area. Duikerfontein, the larger area of which Greenwood Park was a part, was once an area of sugar cane farms and home to a diverse population of Indians, whites and Coloureds. Kuper explains that, since 1946, the Durban City Council had encouraged Indian settlement in the area and many assumed Greenwood Park would be zoned as an Indian Group Area.[54] At the same time, however, there was also a sizeable Coloured settlement in the area where the wealthier members of the community-owned homes. In the Group Areas deliberations, this area was first unzoned and then variously zoned for whites and Indians. Eventually, 140 acres of the Eastern Greenwood Park section of Duikerfontein (with a population of 625 whites, 640 Indians and 100 Coloureds) was carved out as a Coloured zone to cater for some 1 500 Coloureds who lived north of the Umgeni. The decision to create an area for Coloureds in this part of the city was influenced by the fact that there was already an

[52] Bridgemohan Maharaj, "The Group Areas Act in Durban: Central - Local State Relations" (PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1992), 416.
[53] Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts and Ronald Davis, *Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1958), 200.
[54] Leo Kuper, "Durban - the Wakkerstrom of Natal," *Contact: Newspaper of the Liberal Party of South Africa*. (November 1957).

established Coloured presence with two Coloured schools in the area (Parkhill and Briardene).[55] In discussing this decision, officials of the city council warned that the Group Area designations: "… should not engender in them (Coloureds) the feeling that they are being sacrificed to the two major groups."[56]

Relatively few Coloureds joined in the protests against the Group Areas Acts. There were some in the community with philosophical objections to racial segregation who openly denounced Group Areas. EC Swales of the APO (Natal branch) for example, addressed a Natal Indian Congress (NIC) Conference on Group Areas at Bharat Hall in May 1956 to give a report on the Group Areas Act and the Coloured people.[57] A reason behind the general silence of Coloured people was that only a small number were financially impacted by the measures. Those who owned property lived mainly in areas that were already declared Coloured Group areas, Greenwood Park and Sydenham, and the majority of the community that until now had been renting saw Group Areas as a way to finally own their homes and attain financial security. Kuper, Watts and Davis confirm:

> Their objections, at the Group Areas hearings in Durban, related to the whole principle of compulsory segregation, which they attacked as contrary to the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God, and as an ill-conceived attempt to promote racial harmony. They were opposed to confinement in segregated areas for the rest of their days and pointed out that many Coloureds had passed into the European group. It is impossible to say to what extent these views were representative.

[55] Bridgemohan Maharaj, "The Group Areas Act in Durban: Central - Local State Relations" (PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1992), 413.
[56] *Natal Daily News*, 10 August 1953.
[57] Natal Indian Congress, Agenda for Conference on Group Areas. http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdfo/AD1812/AD1812-El3-2-001-jpeg.pdf; other speakers included Archie Gumede of the ANC, Alan Paton of the Liberal Party and Lilian Ngoyi of the African Women's Federation.

> Exercising the municipal vote, though in small numbers, they have other channels for making their reactions known. They are a divided community, and some sections in fact favour racial zoning, as a means of preserving their more privileged position in relation to other Non-European groups.[58]

The Durban Coloured Federal Council (DCFC), a group that represented a cross-section of Coloured groups in Durban, seemed to be in favour of the declaration of Group Areas when they: "… complained to the Group Areas Board about the delay in proclaiming group areas for Coloureds."[59]

Group Areas was a complex situation for the Coloured people of Durban, with gains and losses. There were very few forced removals, unlike the mass evictions that were taking place in other parts of South Africa, where families and their belongings were loaded into trucks and dumped in unknown places. The community of renters moved willingly to Coloured-only areas, enticed by the promise of homeownership. For many, not only in the Coloured community, Group Areas provided a push to purchase property, offering greater security of tenure:

> The thing that stands out in my mind, when it comes to Sydenham, the birth of Sydenham, is that our Coloured people were able to own their own property. That was, any guy, my age or any guy of any age in that area would tell you the same. Never. Always lived in an Indian backyard and then this coming to Sydenham…My parents couldn't afford that but I could...[60]

> … up 'til then we weren't a property-owning community. We rented, we were quite satisfied to rent…We could buy if we wanted to, but we didn't. But now when the Group Areas came in, it forced us to buy you see, which was a good thing, but it wasn't our own volition at all, we were forced to

[58] Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts and Ronald Davis, *Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1958), 183.
[59] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 128.
[60] SD, personal interview, April 2012.

> buy because our community never wanted to own property...Many people say Group Areas was a good thing because it made us property owners, which is true but we didn't do it because we wanted to become property owners.[61]

Those who could not afford to buy a home were given the possibility of renting a single-family home from the Council who they believed would provide a more a stable environment than dealing with shared homes and unscrupulous landlords. While relations with Indian people had been varied and mostly communal there was still a bitterness towards Indian landlords who for years had taken advantage of Coloured renters. People knew the declared Coloured areas themselves since Coloured families had been living in Sydenham and Greenwood Park for some years, and this proved a comforting factor of knowing what to expect. While Wentworth was a new site, the surrounding areas of the Bluff, Clairwood/Merebank and Happy Valley were familiar. Moving and rebuilding lives, social networks and institutions no matter the area, was traumatic nonetheless. A resident of Duchene described being uprooted and torn from friends and familiar sights and patterns of life:

> We lived in town, our neighbours were Indian, Coloureds...up the road was some white people, but we were a strong community that looked after each other, and we really loved living in town, for no other reason except we didn't know better, we were not exposed to any other thing so that's all we knew and that's all we clung onto. That existing in town, it was lovely while we experienced it, and then the Group Areas Act was introduced and it was like physically tearing the community apart. Indians, Chatsworth, unit 7, all my friends still live in that particular unit because they moved on out en mass....All the Coloureds were moved to Wentworth. We were given a house in Croton Road, and all the others around that area overlooking the oil refinery, all town people, there's your key, there's your little house. Go. And those that were fortunate enough to be able to buy a house in Greenwood Park, it was the only other area, there was Sydenham of course, and you know, that was it…we

[61] BP, personal interview, June 2011.

> really didn't want to move, we didn't want to leave, it's only because we were forced to…that's all we knew and that's all we wanted and it was just torn apart from us.[62]

There was a small group of Coloured property owners who lost their homes and were financially impacted because of Group Areas. One such individual recalls losing his new family home in town:

> We moved to Station Road and my mother bought a house. It was a huge house, big bedrooms…my grandfather was fixing it up slowly…one day a lawyer came and visited us and said according to the apartheid law, a Coloured person can't come in to stay where the whites are staying previously and then that was it. Then they paid us a little bit of money. We had just stayed there two years. And then just to recompense us a little bit of money that we had paid for the house, they actually robbed us…So that's how we lost our house, and we never owned a house after that until now when they gave us our flats here (Sydenham). I'll never forget it because my mother pulled tongues at this lawyer as he was walking out the door and as a little boy I thought why my mother's acting so childish. But she was very upset because it was a dream for her to have a house.[63]

Class constructions and distinctions within the Coloured community were instrumental in its formation and evolution, and the moves to new Group Areas laid bare class dynamics that had been less obvious before. Most people rented before but where people moved and whether they could afford to build a house or live in a council flat was an unspoken indictment of their financial means. Families with less secure jobs, no savings and no chance of getting a loan for building, were forced to rent newly constructed sub-economic flats and houses from the Council. Fowler explains that there was a class hierarchy in these three Coloured Group Areas,

[62] AG, personal interview, April 2012.
[63] KS, personal interview, June 2012.

based on the distance to the city, type of dwelling and whether the home was purchased or provided by the council.[64]

Greenwood Park was seen as the most desirable area. It was a wealthier area that consisted of larger homes which could be bought. It had been settled early on by Mauritian people who, even at the time of Group Areas, retained the vote. There was a perception among residents and outsiders alike that people who lived in Greenwood Park were 'closer to white.' Lynette Francis describes the relative affluence of Greenwood Park:

> …by the 1950s, GWP coloureds had earned the reputation of being economically progressive, socially aloof and politically conservative. By the 1960s, GWP had a few doctors (three were named by a respondent), several teachers and numerous building contractors. It was generally felt that coloureds in GWP earned more than the average earnings of their counterparts in Sydenham or Wentworth. This opinion was obviously formed by the fact that the price of property in the area exceeded that of the other major coloured areas. For example, by the early 1960s land in GWP was sold for about R4000 whilst complete houses were sold for this amount in Sydenham. If one considers that by 1966, the average monthly per capita income of Durban coloureds was R22.50 and that the interest rate was from 7,5 % 61 to 8,5% (i.e. from 1965-1966), with bond payments restricted by law, to 25% of one's earnings, then coloureds who bought in GWP had to have been from the higher income group.[65]

Sydenham was close to the city with several schools and other community organisations providing deeper community roots than in other areas. It also provided homes to own, but with plans for council houses and flats for rental. Middle-class families with some savings and those who were lucky to have good jobs were able to buy houses or build:

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[64] Deborah Anne Fowler, "The Residential Environment of Sparks Estate as Cognized by Members of the 'community'" (Honours thesis, University of Natal, 1982), 40.

[65] Lynette Francis, "Housing an Illegitimate Aristocracy - An Urban Profile of a Coloured Community in Greenwood Park from the 1950's to the 1970's" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 2001), 57-58.

> At that time, I couldn't afford 250 pounds for a piece of land here. But those that were working for Lever Brothers and had permanent jobs their companies bought it for them and they borrowed maybe 4000 pounds to build the house. So that's how it started, people coming from town staying in Sydenham.[66]

Sydenham also became home to a small Malay community. The Cape Malay Vigilance Association (CMVA) proposed Asherville as a Malay area to the Group Areas Board.[67] They were unsuccessful with their request and were told to make their homes in one of the three declared Coloured areas. [68] The strength of the small Malay community had been their social cohesiveness, and this was disturbed by group areas which scattered them in the three Coloured areas and most likely further diluted the group by intermarriage. The CMVA encouraged Malay families to stay together and to live in Sparks Estate, closer to those in the Coloured community who had been allied to the Malay community in various struggles. A member of the Malay community recalls the genesis of this plan:

> We used to say Mayflower Road should have been 'Malay' flower road…They would have tried to stick together, and (Baku) Domingo was the guy. I know that when this area just started, he was the one to get my mum and dad motivated to come and live out here. And I remember him telling them that they were trying to get the Malays all in maybe one or two roads. And so this road had quite a few Malay families.[69]

[66] NP, personal interview, June 2012.
[67] Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 190. The executive of the CMVA comprised Solly Kirsten, Cassim Jaffar, Baku Domingo, Munchie Boomgard and T Schreuder.
[68] Goolam Vahed, "The Quest for 'Malay' identity in Apartheid South Africa," *Alternation* 11, No 1 (Jan 2004): 25.
[69] ZF, personal interview, May 2014.

Finally, Wentworth was located furthest from the city. It was relatively unknown to the community with sub-economic corporation houses and flats as well as land for building houses, based on income level and was seen as being the least desirable. The area was created:

> … from a combination of peri-urban farmland, a mixture of housing stock for Navy subalterns and railway workers, a former concentration camp for Boer prisoners … and a swampy informal settlement next to the refinery site with the ironic name "Happy Valley".[70]

Wentworth became a place where 'foreigners' from areas such as the Transkei were resettled. A new resident of Wentworth recalls the process and sense of urgency in needing to get a place before the 'outsiders' took everything:

> This was 1965. We paid 20-pound deposit and 4 pound 10 a month to pay off on the house ownership. We paid that to the council. So in all it came to 3 400 - that was the cost of the house. And it took us a lifetime to pay it. So anyway I wasn't entitled to that house because I was an artisan, a qualified artisan. We had to buy property and build, we couldn't get a council house. The council houses were for people that were like below the bread line and things like that, people that worked for the GPO, labourers and that. So I told my boss, please, this application, just write here that I'm getting a less wage and all that. Because there's foreigners getting these places and we are from here, my parents paid tax here, our parents are from here and we are born here, and people from all over the country are getting council houses here. So I had to do that to get a council house.[71]

The move to Wentworth was more traumatic for people than moving to either Greenwood Park or Sydenham. Wentworth was further from town and residents had to travel longer distances to access work, school, shopping, sports facilities, friends and families in other areas, adding to their financial burden:

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[70] Sharad Chari, "How do Activists Act?: Conceiving Counterhegemony in Durban," in *Counterhegemony in the Colony and Postcolony*, ed. John Chalcraft and Yaseen Noorani (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 255.
[71] NP, personal interview, June 2012.

> … they just send you a letter to tell you that this area has been proclaimed whatever, and you have to relocate…And so this is what happened. They just sent us a letter and you had to go out and view this house. Of course, I cried and cried, but there was nothing. We just had to take it. It was just the thought of living **out there** in Wentworth. I've lived in town all my life, and now suddenly we're going to live **out there**.[72]

Wentworth was situated close to the port and in the middle of an area of heavy industry. This was in keeping with the specific design of Group Areas to place people close to areas of employment. Louis Botha airport opened in 1953, and the country's first oil refinery opened in 1954, and soon both became defining elements of the Wentworth landscape and an imposing presence in the lives of the community. The cruel irony, of course, is that the industry in the area did not provide sufficient employment for the community and would become the source of health and environmental concerns in years to come. Sharad Chari notes:

> The Group Areas Act was something of a blessing in that it offered improved housing to Coloureds, and therefore, it would seem, drew them into a structural relationship of complicity with the planners of apartheid. However, this complicity was primarily a presumption, and residents drawn from far and wide into cramped flats next to refineries found their lives shaped by new forms of violence and constraint.[73]

While settlement in Greenwood Park, Sydenham and Wentworth followed these basic patterns, there was still a mix of income levels in each area. These general plans did affect the types of housing provided in each area, which in turn, affected housing struggles and produced lingering social problems.

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[72] CI, personal interview, April 2014.

[73] Sharad Chari, "Post-Apartheid Livelihood Struggles in Wentworth, South Durban," in *The Development Decade? Economic and Social Change in South Africa 1999-2004,* ed. Vishnu Padayachee (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006), 427-428.

‘Privilege’ in the Apartheid Economy

Coloured people occupied a relatively privileged position in the economic sphere, especially in relation to Africans and Indians in the city.[74] Understanding this position of privilege provides context that helps to explain the identity and political choices made by Coloureds. The period after World War II was characterised by economic growth and increased labour requirements, but tempered by a repressive government with laws curtailing freedoms. The South African economy grew consistently, and Durban became a centre for industry and manufacturing, particularly in the areas of Mobeni, Amanzimtoti, Jacobs and Pinetown.[75] Freund notes that in this period: “… the growth of Durban was more rapid, for the first time since World War I, than of South Africa as a whole.”[76] The transport networks of the city were vital in this growth as the city became a gateway to the rest of the country. The port, rail system and a larger Louis Botha airport, completed in 1951, all served to make the city and surrounds more accessible to goods and visitors. Durban businesses that fared well during the economic boom and provided important employment opportunities to the city were Motor Assemblies, Frame (textiles), Bakers biscuits, Dunlop, the Stanvac oil refinery, the Anglo-American paper Mill, Unilever, clothing, metal and paint factories.[77]

[74] Sheila Patterson, *Colour and Culture in South Africa: A Study of the Status of the Cape Coloured People within the Social Structure of the Union of South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1953), 81.
[75] Imraan Valodia, “Trade Policy and Industrial Development in Durban,” *Transformation* 39 (1999): 73.
[76] Bill Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban 1910-1990* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), 77.
[77] Bill Freund, “The City of Durban: Towards a Structural Analysis of the Economic Growth and Character of a South African City.” In *Africa's Urban Past*, ed. David Anderson and Richard Rathbone (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2000), 152.

Table 7: Employment by Industry in 1954

Class	Whites		Africans		Indians		Coloureds		All	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Clothing	1 627	7	5 473	12	6 759	40	2 129	54	15 988	17
Construction	3 330	14	10 369	22	609	4	197	5	14 505	16
Chemicals	4 297	18	7 354	15	673	4	137	4	12 461	14
Engineering [78]	3 277	14	5 907	12	1 306	8	526	13	11 016	12
Food	1 760	7	5 917	12	2 387	14	103	3	10 167	11
Transport [79]	1 785	8	2 624	6	335	2	538	14	5 282	6
Paper	1 530	6	1 452	3	1 320	8	45	1	4 347	5
Furniture	821	4	1 567	3	1 485	9	72	2	3 945	4
Others	1 388	6	2 556	5	1 861	11	146	4	5 951	6
Total - Private	19 815	83	43 219	91	16 735	99	3 893	100	83 662	91
Total - Public	3 922	17	4 490	9	92	1	19	0	8 523	9
TOTAL	23 737	100	47 709	100	16 827	100	3 912	100	92 185	100

Source: John Burrows, *The Population and Labour Resources of Natal.* (Pietermaritzburg: Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1959), 183.

Job patterns in the 1950s were mostly a continuation of those seen before where Coloured men took up trades, and Coloured women were concentrated in the textile and textile-related industries. Employment figures from the 1954 Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission show Coloured workers as 4.2% of the total Durban workforce, present in all manufacturing industries, but with the largest concentration in clothing and textiles. There were smaller but still significant, numbers in engineering due to skilled and semi-skilled workers

[78] Workers in the 'Engineering' category include those in the manufacturing sector, including the automobile sector.
[79] Workers in the 'Transport' category include those who operate a means of transport - drivers of cars, taxis, vans, trains, seamen etc.

in industries related to the port and shipyards and transport, which would have included those who worked on the ships and railways. The growth in the economy also spurred building developments in the region and, over time, this opened more positions in the building trade such as bricklaying, plastering, carpentry, painting, electrical work and plumbing.[80]

The Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission data also revealed that the vast majority of Coloured people held wage-earning, blue-collar positions in the private sector, with just a handful in management and only three noted as being proprietors of their own businesses. Thus, while employment was full, it was relatively low-level and not very well-paid. One consideration though, is that any official data would not take into account the unknown numbers of Coloured people who played-white to access better, higher-paying jobs.

Table 8: Manufacturing Industry Workers - Durban 1952/53

RACIAL GROUP	WORKING PROPRIETORS		MANAGERS, CLERICAL		WAGE EARNERS		TOTAL WORKERS	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
'Europeans'	393	1.7	7 244	31.2	15 563	67.1	23 200	100
'Natives'	1	0	230	0.5	46 436	99.5	46 667	100
Indians	292	1.8	354	2.2	15 517	96.0	16 163	100
Coloureds	3	0.1	11	0.3	3 651	99.6	3 665	100
All Races	689	0.8	7 839	8.7	81 167	90.5	89 695	100

Source: John Burrows, *The Population and Labour Resources of Natal.* (Pietermaritzburg: Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1959), 183.

[80] NP, personal interview, June 2012.

Family and community networks were still crucial in sourcing employment. Family members and friends were always on the lookout for an open position for someone from the community. Church networks, once vital in simply sourcing jobs, now became an important means to advancement in fields or companies not usually available to Coloureds. Companies needed additional employees and deciding to open up positions to Coloureds would go to the clergy for recommendations of potential candidates. Fr Hugo, the Catholic priest in Sydenham, was such a reference point:

> I got an offer of a job at a company called HJ Stranix. They used to sell fridges (Fridgidaires) and there were not many companies that sold fridges. In those days, furniture shops didn't sell stoves and fridges. They employed one guy a Mr Brooks, he was working there as a spray painter - when the fridges get damaged then he repairs them and he used to paint them. They wanted a clerk to work in the spare parts department and he spoke to Fr Hugo and he said I must go there. I got a job there and I worked there for quite some time. He was the first coloured - there were about a hundred people working there and he was the first coloured and I was the second. Very few coloureds had the job that I was doing. It was all white people doing it - that time you know how the restriction was...in those days in the fifties and sixties coloureds couldn't get that type of work, as a clerk.[81]

The automobile sector was an important place of employment for Coloured men and companies like Dunlop, Motor Assemblies and Sprites Caravans were common employers:

> All the boys we grew up worked there, so when we got our time, they just got us a job there until we could get an apprenticeship...It was a living job, not much, they started us with R13 a week at that time…The first year I worked in the assembly plant, where we put the chassis, the engines and everything on, and then I got promoted to the body shop, where they made the bodies....Majority were Coloureds…Coloureds did everything on the cars, the Black ous mostly worked in rubbing down the cars…and the foremen were whites.[82]

[81] DR, personal interview, June 2012.
[82] HD, personal interview, May 2012.

The port, the lifeblood of the Durban economy still offered a valuable source of employment to the men of the community. Jobs on the whaling boats were available but were known to be bitterly cold, particularly on trips to the Antarctic. Despite the hardships, whaling jobs were lucrative. While someone working at Motor Assemblies might earn R20 a month, whalers earned R300 a month for six months. In addition to this, they would be given a bonus at the end of a good season. Some whalers might try to get another job on another ship in the offseason or a land job in Durban. Others, however, were content to stay at home until the next whaling trip. Jobs on board cargo ships were also available and gave sailors an essential window to the world around them.[83] The skilled jobs on ships were reserved for whites, but Coloureds were hired as assistants. As white job reservation was phased out, Coloureds were accepted as apprentice boilermakers, welders and fitters in the shipbuilding industry.[84]

Regardless of the industry, discrepancies between the different groups in terms of pay and overall treatment were stark. An employee at a radio manufacturer remembered his Christmas bonus in the mid-1950s as a turning point in his employment trajectory:

> …the white workers in the factory were given bonuses. I don't know how much they were given but they were given envelopes with money. The Coloured chaps were given a couple of pints of beer. And the Africans – there were 2 Africans working with us, they were given cokes…And we had one Indian bloke working with us, he was the French polisher – very good French polisher – they shine the furniture and make it shine so. He was good. I don't know what they gave him, but I suppose they probably would have given him money as well because he was a craftsman, he knew his work. Ya, that decided me to pack up and go back to school.[85]

[83] HD, personal interview, May 2012.
[84] *The Post*, 14 March 2018.
[85] EN, personal interview, September 2011.

The textile industries continued to employ large numbers of Coloured women. By 1955, there were 1 310 Coloureds out of 5 412 workers in the garment industry in Durban, a large percentage, given the small size of the community.[86] Diamond Edge in Milner Street and Brickhill Road was an employer of Coloured women in Durban before they moved to Pietermaritzburg. Frame Group, Feltex slipper factory in Jacobs and Studio Styles in Greenwood Park, Durban Overalls in Umbilo Road and Sterling Clothing were all employers that consistently hired Coloured women. Thompson and Savage (TeeSavs) however, remained the primary employer for women in the community. Many young women had a job waiting for them as soon as they left school in Standard 6, recommended by a family member already working there. Salaries at TeeSavs were seen as being fair; employees earned a base wage with extra paid per piece completed. A former TeeSavs worker explained:

> I worked at TeeSavs until…1963. You reach the top salary - it was 4 Pound 12. It was piece work - if you did extra they paid you on that extra. Each garment you did, like if you did pants, putting the fly on, maybe it was 7 pence. If you put a band on it was 1 and 6, so it all depends on what you did. And then you put the amount you did, each bundle was marked in alphabetical order and the number in the bundle. So you had to write all that in your book and then if you did anything over that 4 pounds 12 then you'd get extra. I was just earning ordinary - like I used to come home sometimes with 5 pounds something.[87]

Many large manufacturing concerns, including textile and clothing factories, began to relocate to the periphery of the city in the 1960s, close to cheap and plentiful labour in places such as Hammarsdale, Tongaat, Stanger, Verulam, Isipingo and Pinetown. The textile industry was in

[86] B Madari, "A Historical Investigation into the Garment Industry in Natal with Specific Reference to the Garment Worker's Industrial Union (Natal)" (Honours thesis, University of Durban-Westville, 1986), 36.
[87] MP, personal interview, April 2012.

decline, faced with cheaper imports from Rhodesia and Japan, and they needed to find ways of remaining competitive.[88] The jobs once occupied by Coloured women were taken over by Indian and, after some time, African women, both of whom were paid less than Coloured women. By 1969, 70 out of 95 factories in the garment industry in the Durban area reported that they employed no Coloured workers, and that Indians made up approximately 70% of the total industrial labour force.[89] Coloured women who left the garment industry found work in the retail sector, in positions vacated by white women who were being offered better positions in administration and management, as well as in the teaching profession.

Nursing was another career option for women, but there was no place in Natal to train Coloured nurses. Addington Hospital had a Coloured wing, staffed by white nurses, where Coloureds could train as auxiliary nurses or nurse helpers who functioned somewhere between a nurse and a cleaner.[90] As in the years before, a few spots were available at McCord's which was an African Hospital and at St Aiden's, the Indian Hospital. Any other Coloured girl wanting to become a nurse had to bear the cost of travelling to and from, and having to live away from home in either Johannesburg or Cape Town, to fulfil that dream. The 1957 Nursing Act ensured that no Black nurse would be appointed over a white nurse. The Act made provision for a council to be made up of white nurses and midwives, which would be responsible for

[88] Nelson Sambureni, "The Apartheid City and its Labouring Class: African Workers and the Independent Trade Union movement in Durban, 1959-1985" (PhD thesis, University of South Africa, 1997), 31.
[89] Bruce Young, "The Industrial Geography of the Durban Region" (PhD thesis, University of Natal, 1972), 290.
[90] MB, personal interview, June 2012.

registering, on separate registers, African, Indian and Coloured Nurses. By 1972, Coloured and Indian nursing sisters earned 59% and African sisters 47% of white sisters' salaries.[91]

The economy of the city continued to expand and, by the beginning of 1966, about 5.14% of the total Durban workforce of 87 500 were Coloured, mainly in skilled and semi-skilled categories.[92] The conscription of white men into the army in 1967 meant that more openings for apprenticeships became available to coloured men. In the building industry, the number of Coloured men in apprenticeships increased by 160% between 1965 and 1969.

Table 9: Apprenticeships in the Building Trade in Natal

	White	Coloured	'Asian'	Total
1965	**284**	**152**	**27**	**463**
1966	**260**	**247**	**38**	**445**
1967	**239**	**282**	**50**	**571**
1968	**211**	**331**	**60**	**602**
1969	**170**	**396**	**100**	**666**

Source: *Property Mail* (supplement to Financial Mail), 20 February 1970.

Apprentices worked in industry and took part-time classes in technical fields at the Natal Technical College. Horrell reports that, in 1961, 435 students were enrolled in the Durban and Pietermaritzburg campuses.[93] In the 1970s, LC Johnson Technical College for Coloureds was

[91] Muriel Horrell, *The African Homelands of South Africa, (*Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1973), 16.
[92] Nelson Sambureni, "The Apartheid City and its Labouring Class: African Workers and the Independent Trade Union Movement in Durban, 1959-1985" (PhD thesis, University of South Africa, 1997), 40. This was an increase from the mid-1950s number of 4.2% and the workforce at this time also included 20,57 % white, 27.42% Indians and 46,9 % African workers.
[93] Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 91.

opened to provide training, primarily in the engineering and building fields. The College occupied the old premises of Melbourne Road School. The location made sense as a technical training school as it was surrounded by various industries.

There was little tradition of entrepreneurship in the Coloured community, with most people not having the access to start-up funds for a business. There was also safety in working for someone else and taking home a steady pay check. There were, of course, some exceptions such as Domingo's Shirt and Clothing factory. After the implementation of Group Areas, Coloured businesses were forced to operate only in Coloured areas. These included Robbie's Tea Room in Sydenham, owned by Mr Carmichael who had moved to Durban from the Transkei. O Rooks owned two businesses in Sparks Road, a general store known as Handy Store and Circle R, a fresh produce store.[94] In Greenwood Park, Zam and Top of the Rock were the local tearooms in the 1960s and 70s.[95] Entrepreneurship did not flourish as it did in other communities. Schlemmer describes this lack of business development in Sydenham-Sparks Estate in 1978:

> Although there are twenty-two small businesses listed in Sparks Estate, local residents play a minimal role in the management and ownership of these. A large area has been set aside for business development but due to the high price of land and other factors, the response has been poor. As indicated earlier, the purchasing power of the community largely benefits other areas and groups.[96]

[94] MP, personal interview, May 2012.
[95] Lynette Francis, *Housing an Illegitimate Aristocracy - An Urban Profile of a Coloured Community in Greenwood Park from the 1950's to the 1970's* (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 2001), 115.
[96] Lawrence Schlemmer, Margaret Victor and Fozia Fisher, *An Assessment of some Prominent Issues Relating to Community Development in the Sparks Estate-Sydenham Community,* (Durban: University of Natal, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, 1978), 19.

In the 1970s, the apartheid system came under increasing strain, economic growth faltered and the country went into recession. Coloureds, like other black people, were particularly hard hit by increasing levels of unemployment. Schlemmer, whose research was undertaken from the mid-1970s confirms that unemployment was high in the Sparks Estate-Sydenham Community:

> At present the amount of unemployment among Coloured people in Durban is a problem of alarming proportions. It has grown since our fieldwork, at which time there appeared to be a roughly 10% rate of unemployment. What is significant is that our results show that there is marginally more mature male unemployment than male youth unemployment; i.e. the breadwinners of families and not only extra earners are affected (among women, however, there is significantly more youth unemployment than mature age unemployment). At the time of our survey, the duration of unemployment was low - 40% having been unemployed for 6 months or less; some 60% for 12 months or less. Also, at the time of the survey, some 55 - 60% of the unemployment was due to personal factors (health, neurosis, behaviour factors, selectivity in jobs taken, etc.) and not to the state of the economy. This would suggest that even in times of economic prosperity, an unemployment problem independent of total job availability is likely to exist in the area. In particular, young people not able to find employment choose to remain unemployed.[97]

The high levels of unemployment were being experienced around the same time as the community were also facing a housing crisis, and people were becoming increasingly angry. The facade of Durban Coloured exceptionalism and privilege began to crumble, and the discontented either began to pay more attention to unions and political movements or sink further into criminality and social despair.

[97] Ibid, 42-43.

Increased Political Organising

In the apartheid era, political positions became more complex, formed mainly in response to what was happening on the national stage, the removal of the vote from Coloured men, formal classification as Coloureds and segregated living areas. These measures produced a reaction among community leaders to organise politically to reverse these injustices. The threats to the Durban Coloured community were now national, and local lobbying and political patronage were no longer addressing issues being experienced. The pragmatic older generation of Coloured leaders still advocated small incremental community improvements but began to expand their outlook and joined with politicians from across South Africa to form the Labour Party and to take part in the controversial Coloured Persons Representative Council. Labour unions, started clamouring for more decisive political action. In the middle of these positions, the community had a growing middle class that was complacent and apolitical.

Political Mobilisation

There were several political parties active in Durban during the apartheid period which had varied success in galvanising the population. Each had evolving outlooks as the politics of the country became altered by apartheid. The African People's Organisation (APO) and the Conservative Kleurlingbond were small branches of national political parties present in Durban and, although neither found much favour with Durban people, they are mentioned briefly to give a complete picture of the political landscape.

The African People's Organisation (APO), formed in Cape Town in 1902, was the oldest Coloured political organisation in South Africa. It had a small branch in Natal that provided a

connection with political developments in the Cape, the discussion of a Coloured identity and which followed events affecting Coloured people across South Africa more broadly. At the end of the 1940s, the APO, led in Natal by Chairman EC Swales, with GM Poole as Hon. Secretary and Treasurer LA Smith, had still not made much of an impact in Durban.[98] At the time, the influence of the APO in the Cape was in decline and, in Natal, their small membership collaborated with the ANC (Natal) and the NIC against apartheid and to fight for democracy. According to Virrana, the Natal branch of the APO joined the NIC, the ANC (Natal) and the Communist Party (Durban) to organise a meeting at Red Square in May 1950 where:

> … several resolutions were adopted including one that condemned the Minister of Justice for banning the Freedom Day meeting and demonstrations in the Transvaal because it regarded such arbitrary action as an affront to the freedom of speech and assembly.[99]

On 31st March 1951, the executive committee of the APO (Natal) invited the executive committee of the ANC (Natal), led by AWG Champion to a meeting held at St Raphael's Hall. The two organisations planned a protest meeting against the government's decision to remove Coloured voters from the Common Roll, as the Separate Representation of Voters Bill intended to do and to push for voting rights for all South Africans. The result was another mass meeting held on 6th May 1951 to demand full citizenship and voting rights for all of South Africans.[100]

During the same period, a local branch of the Kleurlingbond was established in Durban.[101] The Kleurlingbond: "… attempted to build support for a separate, self-conscious

[98] Durban Archives Repository (TBD), Town Clerks Files (3/DBN), 643j-ColHg, Letter from APO to the Town Clerk.
[99] Balaguru Virrana, "Black Political Resistance in Natal" (Master's thesis, University of Durban-Westville, 1994), 81.
[100] Ibid, 114.
[101] A branch of the Transvaalse Kleuring Volksbond (Transvaal Coloured People's Association).

coloured nation."[102] The group was championed by members of the small Dutch Reformed Church in Sparks Estate: "… under the patronage of a White member of the Nationalist Party."[103] The organisation found little support among Coloureds in Durban and soon disbanded. While this organisation was a poorly supported and short-lived part of the Durban political scene, it is important as a reflection of the breadth of views in the community.

The Coloured People's Council of Action (CPCA) was formed in 1953 and led the fight against the Separate Representation of Voters Bill in Durban.[104] A statement of the Council in 1953 noted:

> The Coloured people have had their full share of compromise and betrayal, and have turned their backs on the likes of George Golding and his yes-men…The present generation have their eyes fixed on the goal of full democratic rights, and this is what we shall strive for, fearlessly and persistently.

They saw this as a line drawn in the sand for all suppressed people and a way of sending a signal to the government that their policies will not be tolerated.[105]The CPCA claimed to represent all the different sections of the Coloured community throughout the province of Natal and centred its action on the threat being made to the Coloured vote. The crisis over the vote created a coordinated effort of resistance between the Cape and Natal, and the ordinarily insular view of Durban Coloureds was expanded to take on a wider stance, calling for voting rights for all South Africans, regardless of race. The apartheid government was, however,

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[102] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 124.
[103] Ibid, 124.
[104] See section on The End of the Coloured Vote for more on the CPCA.
[105] *Advance Newspaper*, 1 July 1954.
http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdfo/CULL0001/CULL0001-3-23-01-jpeg.pdf

steadfast in their plan to remove Coloureds from the voter's roll in line with their overarching vision of a segregated South Africa and passed the South African Amendment Act in 1956.

Figure 22: Executive of the Coloured People's Council of Action[106]



Source: *Advance Newspaper*, 11 February 1954

The CPCA lost its momentum when the inflexibility of the government became apparent; it was also affected by the departure of Dr Hendrickse from South Africa in 1955.[107] Support in the community for the CPCA was mixed. The more conservative saw it as being too closely aligned to the radical politics of the Cape and supporters note that the leadership of the Council was simply: "… too ahead of its time for Durban."[108] Dickie Clarke mentions that this friction was

[106] The executive of the Council was comprised of R Hendrickse (Chairman), P Rose (Vice-Chairman), J Domingo (Secretary) and members EG Rooks, E Montgomery, N Geldenhuys and EC Swales.
[107] The Hendrickse family were subject to police harassment and intimidation while living in Durban. They left South Africa in 1955 and Dr Hendrickse did specialist training in pediatrics in Edinburgh. He went on to specialise in tropical pediatrics achieving acclaim in his field in Nigeria and Britain.
[108] KR, personal interview, June 2012.

evident in a meeting in Sparks Estate, where the organisation: "… met with strong resistance and cries of 'that's the Unity Movement, we don't want that' and 'it's got too much to do with the Bantus and the Indians.'"[109] The South African Amendment Act passed in 1956 and, by 1958, the CPCA had collapsed. The efforts of a progressive, educated elite to align coloured politics in Durban to the broader non-racial movement of the 1950s had gained some traction in the early 1950s, but from the mid-1950s the focus of the community seemed to be more on efforts to defend their local interests. Inevitably, this led also led to a greater emphasis on Colouredness.

The Durban Coloured Federal Council (DCFC) was founded in 1959 as a welfare organisation, established to: "… develop the social, economic, education and general welfare of the Coloured community."[110] The leadership of the DCFC included some of the same people who had been involved in CPCA, and it brought together smaller organisations in Durban to better coordinate the voice of Durban Coloured population. The DCFC counted in its membership the Natal Coloured Teachers' Society (NCTS), The Durban Coloured Sports Ground Association (DCSGA), the Coloured Ratepayers Associations of Wards IV, X and XIV, Durban branches of the National Council for Coloured Women (NCCW) and the Coloured Legion of the British Commonwealth Ex-Service League (BCESL). What is striking about the DCFC is that its executive and membership was made up of both and men and women, most likely due to its beginnings as a welfare organisation and the diversity in its constituent membership.

[109] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 125.
[110] Ibid, 121.

Figure 23: Durban Coloured Federal Council 1963 [111]



Source: Rooks Collection

The group claimed to represent 25 000 Coloureds and, while that would have been difficult to assess, Dickie-Clarke describes the group as: "… the most representative expression of Coloured opinion in Durban."[112] The DCFC may have started out as a welfare organisation, but it became impossible to separate welfare from politics, and they were soon drawn into a more political role, filling the void to represent and speak for the community where necessary.

[111] The Durban Coloured Federal Council 1963 - Seated D Bruce, F Lambert (secretary), C Tifflin (1st vice-president), EG Rooks (president), K Lue (2nd vice-president), F Ecksteen, D Bowers (treasurer). 1st Row: S de Lange, M Rooks, M Smith, L Tifflin, W Feeke, U Richards, A Bengtson. 2nd Row: D Davis, G Grant, M Parker, F Fynn, C Noel, W Crawford (3rd vice-president), T Nassiep, P Wheatley. 3rd Row: J Pretorius, S Trow, R Sutherland, L Calasse, J Richards, M Jones, A Fisher, T de Lange.
[112] Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation*, 127.

Although the organization was focused on local matters, as the largest and most representative formation of Coloureds in Durban, the DCFC held the possibility of linking the community to national Coloured political movements. In 1961 the DCFC was approached by the Coloured People's Congress to participate in a national Coloured Convention to be held in Cape Town.[113]

The DCFC's interaction with the CPC brought into sharp relief the contradictions and anxieties in Durban's Coloured political landscape. In May 1961, the DCFC hosted a meeting of the Durban Coloured community with George Peake at St Raphael's Church. Peake was a newly elected member of the Cape Town City Council and an outspoken critic of the apartheid government. He was also a leader in the Coloured People's Congress (CPC), formerly the South African Coloured People's Organisation. He was banned in 1955, detained without charge in 1960, and was a target of the security police as he travelled around the country including on this trip to Durban to mobilise support for a Coloured Convention.[114]

The meeting was well-attended, as the constituent members of the DCFC brought out all of their members to hear the argument for Durban to support the Coloured Convention. During his visit to Durban, Peake evaded the police and was smuggled out of the meeting by community members:

> … when he came he stayed by my mother's house which they didn't expect. They had a big meeting at St Raphael's hall. They had thousands of people, thousands. Stratford Road was full all over, and this man spoke. The police tried to come to arrest him but the crowd...they couldn't get through. The crowd were like sardines. And how we got him out? Quentin and them pushed him through the window into Etna Lane and then the car was there waiting for him. They put him in the car and they took him

[113] The Coloured People's Congress was part of the Congress Alliance, but attempted to mobilise in the first instance around a Coloured identity.
[114] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 127; https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/george-edward-peake

around and he went to my mother and he stayed there. So no-one knew where he was, the police were looking all over for him because now he was talking against the government. And they had loudspeakers all outside. You see they didn't know what was happening till it was too late. …The crowd was so many, Stratford Rd was full but you could still hear him talking because they had loudspeakers all over. He was talking about politics, the government. He was a Coloured man and the crowd was all Coloureds. Coloureds came from everywhere around here, Stanger, Maritzburg all over.[115]

Figure 24: George Peake at St Raphael's Hall 1961 [116]



Source: *New Age*, Thursday 25 May 1961

The leadership of the DCFC clearly stated its opposition to the policy of apartheid and to discrimination on the basis of race, colour or creed and the size of the crowd at the Peake rally indicated that many in the community were ready for a more radical approach. Some of the membership, however, viewed participation in the convention as too political and too risky for Durban. A majority of the leadership (15 out of 22) decided to join the Coloured National

[115] MP, personal interview, April 2012.
[116] *New Age Newspaper*, 25th May 1961. http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/nav7n3261.pdf

Convention. Only four voted against, and three abstained, but the opposition came from important groups with the broadest support in the community: the Natal Coloured Teachers' Society representing the influential teaching community; the Durban Coloured Sports Ground Association an established group representing the sporting community that had led the successful charge for a Coloured sports ground; and the Ratepayers Associations representing home owners in the community. According to Dickie-Clarke, the DCFC sent a delegation to the Coloured Convention but had hoped for a more convincing mandate from the community. In his view, Durban's Coloured population was not ready to risk their relative privilege by venturing too far out and supporting liberation for all.[117]

In July 1961 a national convention of Coloured organisations from across South Africa met to discuss their frustration with the Nationalist government. The official Convention pamphlet, 'Why a Coloured National Convention' set the tone of the meeting, stating:

> We would like to stress at the outset that we are not organising this Convention in order to ''gang up" with persons of other race-groups against others. Some people say that we should have nothing to do with Africans because we have nothing in common with them. This is utter folly. We could mention several important factors which we do have in common with them. There is our common humanity, there is our common South Africanism, there is a great deal of common discrimination under South African laws and there is in regard to a great and growing number of Africans, a common Western view of life.[118]

The representatives from Coloured organisations across South Africa, including the DCFC, made a commitment to champion a non-racial democratic country. Back in Durban, the internal

[117] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 127-128.
[118] Planning Committee of the South African National Coloured Convention. *Why a Coloured National Convention.* (Cape Town: Kingsway Printing, June 1961), 3.

opposition and distancing from the position taken at the Coloured Convention led the DCFC to tone down their political rhetoric and focus on solving the individual, local issues that the community brought their way.[119] Thus, while the leadership of the DCFC may have supported the Congress movement's calls for a non-racial South Africa (the sentiment had been part of their founding principles) they were caught in a difficult position and pushed to act locally in a way that was more in keeping with their role as a welfare organisation protecting its people. As the government became even more repressive and detentions and banning orders became a common occurrence, the DCFC embraced political pragmatism and found a dual role of working as a local welfare organisation to bring about small incremental change to the Coloured community. In the repressive conditions of the 1960s, the CPC was unable to build on the initiative of the national convention and, as a result, the possibility of being part of a movement promoting non-racialism faded away. Some leaders of the DCFC did, however, reconnect with national politics when they participated in the founding of the Labour Party.

Entering National Politics

The South African Amendment Act of 1956 that stripped the vote from Coloureds also established a Coloured advisory body, the Union Council for Coloured Affairs (UCCA), to advise the government on issues concerning Coloured people. The body, which came into existence in 1959, was made up of 27 members, 12 elected and 15 nominated and, of those nominated, provincial representation was broken down as follows: Cape - eight, Transvaal - four, Natal -

[119] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 69, 128.

two and Orange Free State - one. Coloured people boycotted the elections, and the candidates stood virtually unopposed. The UCCA was labelled: "… the most despised, abject and sterile coterie on the South African political scene."[120]

PW Botha, the Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs and soon to be Minister of Coloured Affairs, announced to Parliament in early 1961 the intention to reorganise the UCCA as a body with higher legislative power, offering parallel development for Coloureds.[121] An act establishing the Coloured Persons Representative Council (CPRC) was passed in 1964, giving the body 60 members, 40 of these were to be elected and 20 nominated by the president. All Coloured citizens over 21, including women, could vote for these representatives, giving Coloured women and Coloureds in the OFS and Transvaal the right to vote for the first time.[122] Elections were held in September 1969, and the first session of the Council commenced in November of the same year.

Once plans for the formation and structure of the CPRC were announced, the Federal Coloured People's Party (FCPP) was established in 1964 by Tom Swartz, member of the UCCA and long-time supporter of the separate development of Coloureds. The formation of the FCPP prompted a group of concerned politicians and activists from across the spectrum to come together and form another party to contest CPRC elections. They intended to stand against the Federal Party in CPRC elections, and to any oppose action that would perpetuate the

[120] Pierre Hugo, *Quislings or Realists? A Documentary Study of Coloured Politics in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1978), 437. The membership of the CPRC was based on provincial representation and Natal was allowed 2 nominated and 3 elected members.
[121] David Saks, "The Failure of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and its Constitutional Repercussions 1956-1985" (Master's thesis, Rhodes University, 1991), 47.
[122] Ibid, 62.

segregation of Coloured people in South Africa. The founding members of the Labour Party met in Cape Town in 1965. Natal was represented by Kenny Lue and EG Rooks of the DCFC and Norman Middleton, a member of the Liberal Party. All three men were active in sports administration and community welfare – Lue and Rooks in Durban, and Middleton in Pietermaritzburg. In 1966, Richard Van der Ross was elected as the first leader of the Labour Party. The organization claimed to oppose the government's segregationist policies and vowed to use its contradictory position in the CPRC to fight for all South Africans.[123] They intended to make the Council: "… unworkable through gaining control of it and then refusing to cooperate."[124] Elections were held in September 1969, contested by five parties - the Federal Party, the Labour Party, and three smaller parties, the Conservative Party, the Republican Party and the National Coloured People's Party. The Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), which had strong support in the Cape, but only a small base in Durban, organised a boycott of the elections. The polls attracted only 48.7% of the registered voters across the country, a demonstration of the success of the NEUM boycott of the CPRC which it had labelled an 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.'[125] The Labour Party found itself in an awkward position. Van der Ross noted later in an interview:

> The boycottist ethic had a very strong undercurrent influence, but we believed this to be unproductive. Our only alternative therefore was to form another political party and participate in order to expose the

[123] Roy Du Pre, "Confrontation, Co-option and Collaboration: The Response and Reaction of the Labour Party of South Africa to Government Policy, 1965-1984" (PhD thesis, Rhodes University, 1994), xxii. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/11984970.pdf
[124] David Saks, "The Failure of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and its Constitutional Repercussions 1956-1985" (Master's thesis, Rhodes University, 1991), 56.
[125] Trevor Abrahams, "Coloured Politics in South Africa: The Quislings Trek into the Abyss," *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies* 12, No 3 (1983): 248.

> inadequacy of the C.P.R.C. It would have been a poor show if the pro-separate development parties went unchallenged.[126]

The Labour Party won 26 out of 40 seats despite the financial and campaigning assistance given to the Federal party by the Afrikaner Broederbond.[127]

Figure 25: Coloured Person's Representative Council 1969



Source: Independent Newspapers Archive, The University of Cape Town. http://www.digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/islandora/object/islandora%3A16000

In Natal, the Labour Party won its three seats by wide margins. The community put its trust in veteran community and sports figures; EG Rooks won in Greenwood Park/Sydenham, the more radical Norman Middleton won the seat in Wentworth and the Natal country seat was won by ED Dunn. The nominated member, EC Swales, was the former Chairman of the APO Durban

[126] Richard van der Ross, Interview in David Saks, "The Failure of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and its Constitutional Repercussions 1956-1985" (Master's thesis, Rhodes University, 1991), 55.
[127] Ibid, 65.

Branch. Turnout was low in Natal, but it was difficult to distinguish between those who stayed away from the polls due to opposition to the CPRC as an organ of apartheid, and those who simply succumbed to apathy. The CPRC was troubled from the beginning. The government, packed the body with nominees from the Federal Party, giving the party a narrow majority, and appointed Tom Swartz, leader of the Federal party who had lost his election, as chairman.[128] The opening ceremony was held on 6th November 1969, and Prime Minister BJ Vorster officiated. The Labour Party boycotted the event, but after the ceremonies were over, they joined the session and went to work.[129] The CPRC was responsible for 'governing' Coloured people – particularly in the areas of local government, community welfare, agriculture and education. In practice, however, their actual power was minimal, as they lacked control over their budget. According to Schlemmer:

> The size of the budget of the Coloured Persons Representative Council, however, is determined by the White cabinet; a source of great conflict since this critical feature of official Coloured politics epitomizes the secondary status of the political powers granted to Coloured people.[130]

Changes in the Labour Party in 1970 saw an ascent to leadership of an anti-collaboration/Black Consciousness ideology. Sonny Leon became the party leader, Rev HJ Hendrickse national chairman and Norman Middleton, the member representing Wentworth, the national vice-chairman. Middleton rose to prominence in the party, particularly in Natal,

[128] F Alex Mouton, "Personifying the Coloured Community: Sonny Leon and the Ambiguities of the Politics of Co-option and Resistance in the Apartheid State," *Kleio* 34, No 1 (2002): 35.
[129] David Saks, "The Failure of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and its Constitutional Repercussions 1956-1985" (Master's thesis, Rhodes University, 1991), 80.
[130] Lawrence Schlemmer, Margaret Victor and Fozia Fisher, *An Assessment of some Prominent Issues Relating to Community Development in the Sparks Estate-Sydenham Community,* (Durban: University of Natal, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, 1978), 58.

often at loggerheads with the by now 'old man' of Natal Coloured politics, EG Rooks. The two were at the centre of a rift in the Labour Party in the early 1970s. In 1971, Sonny Leon and Middleton met with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, executive officer of the newly established Zulu Territorial Authority, much to the chagrin of Rooks who believed that, as Natal leader of the Labour Party, he should have been consulted.[131] Middleton and Buthelezi developed deep, and controversial ties and Middleton brokered this first meeting which eventually led to the formation of a Black alliance between the Labour Party, the Reform Party (Indian) and Inkatha in 1975.[132] Rooks had held the mantle of Coloured politics in Durban for many years and was offended by what he believed were the devious actions of both Middleton and Leon. Rooks openly criticised Leon for acting without a mandate from the party for the meeting and for meddling in Natal politics without consulting him for the broader context. Rooks also managed to offend Buthelezi by calling him a: "… so-called Zulu King."[133] It is likely too that Rooks found the meeting and potential relationship with Buthelezi as too radical a departure from the cautious brand of Durban politics he had crafted for decades. Rooks resigned from the Labour Party in anger and, in 1972, joined the Social Democratic Party, a new party started by E Domingo, former Transvaal leader of the Labour Party. The Social Democratic Party criticised Labour for being hypocrites, for "… making use of the Council while claiming to reject it, and for

[131] David Saks, "The Failure of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and its Constitutional Repercussions 1956-1985" (Master's thesis, Rhodes University, 1991), 88.
[132] Gerhard Mare and Georgina Hamilton, *An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and the Politics of 'Loyal Resistance',* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1987), 157-163. As in interesting aside, Buthelezi, speaking at Middleton's funeral in 2015, revealed that, early in their relationship, they discovered that their mothers had been cousins, see "Obituary: Norman Stewart Middleton," *Natalia* 45, (December 2015): 100.
[133] *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1971.

rejecting dialogue with the Government. It accepted the CPRC as a stepping stone to full, common citizenship with the whites and as a means to attaining socio-economic upliftment of the Coloured people in the interim."[134] When Domingo died unexpectedly, Rooks took over as leader of the Social Democratic Party. In the 1975 elections, Rooks and the Social Democrats lost the Greenwood Park-Sydenham seat to Dennis Young of the Labour Party; Rooks ran with a slogan of a 'Lifetime of Service', and Young ran as the 'Young Blood'.

Figure 26: EG Rooks (Social Democratic Party) and Dennis Young (Labour Party) 1975



Source: Independent Newspapers Archive, The University of Cape Town. http://www.digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/islandora/object/islandora%3A15989

The Labour Party fared well overall in the 1975 elections, gaining 31 elected seats. The voter turnout was lower than in 1969 with only 25% of registered voters showing up to the polls.[135]

[134] David Saks, "The Failure of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and its Constitutional Repercussions 1956-1985" (Master's thesis, Rhodes University, 1991), 98-99.
[135] F Alex Mouton, "Personifying the Coloured Community: Sonny Leon and the Ambiguities of the Politics of Co-option and Resistance in the Apartheid State," *Kleio* 34, No 1 (2002): 38.

By 1978, Sonny Leon had resigned from the executive and the Labour party had lost its majority in the CPRC. Rev Allan Hendrickse took over as the national leader of the party, with Norman Middleton as deputy leader.[136]

The CPRC was finally dissolved by the Minister of Coloured Relations in 1979. One of the lingering effects of the CPRC and the prominence of the Labour Party with its branches spreading out into the countryside, was that, by the 1980s, the Coloured Community in Durban that had been for many years apolitical and apathetic, was now more aware and politicised than ever before.

A Growth in Trade Union Activity

A priority of apartheid legislation was to remove the possibility for interracial collaboration in any form. Collaboration in the workplace was especially dangerous, and the Nationalist Government understood the power of organised labour. Directly following their election win in 1948, the government began an attack on trade unions. In 1950, the Suppression of Communism Act was passed, and it quickly became a way to jail and intimidate trade unionists. A Communist was defined quite broadly as someone who encouraged: "… any political, industrial, social or economic change in the Union by the promotion of disturbances or disorder, by unlawful acts or omissions or by the threat of such acts and omissions."[137] Next, the government passed the 1952 Native Laws Amendment Act that codified influx control, and

[136] Middleton also maintained a prominent role in the anti-apartheid sports boycott movement but was increasingly ostracised in SACOS for the double standard of criticising the apartheid system whilst being a paid member of the apartheid tricameral parliament. Middleton and SACOS eventually parted ways in 1977. See Douglas Booth, "The South African Council on Sport and the Political Antinomies of the Sports Boycott," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 23, No 1 (March 1997), 58.

[137] Suppression of Communism Act, Act No 44 of 1950. http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/leg19500717028020044

the 1953 Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act that: "… established industrial relations machinery for proletarianized Africans" and pushed labour disputes concerning African workers to a council with white oversight.[138] The 1956 Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act exacted a form of trade union apartheid – where Africans were not defined as employees and as such, could not form trade unions, nor could they join or form mixed trade unions.[139] Coloureds and Indians were set up in unions parallel to their white counterparts. For Coloured workers in Durban, union membership was seen as a way to access benefits such as medical aid and pension rather than as a form of political organising. One Coloured union member confirms his reasons for joining a union were not for any political ideology, but rather for the benefits:

> At that particular time we belonged to the White union, Motor Industry Employees Union…Coloureds and the Indians belonged, but we couldn't hold office in that White union, only Whites could hold office...so the Coloureds were just members…mainly because of the medical aid and the pension fund and things like that, the social security benefits.[140]

When the split brought about by the Industrial Conciliation regulations was being implemented in the early 1960s, the white Motor Industry Employees Union paid its Coloured and Indian members a fee to attend a meeting to discuss forming a separate 'brown' union. A union member remembers the fee being paid as a motivation to attend:

> I remember the first time I went to a trade union meeting, because they were giving out one rands each, that was 10 bob at that time, to get people to attend, so we went to the meeting.....And it wasn't law, but the White unions were jumping on this now and saying look we got to separate...[141]

[138] Alex Lichtenstein, "Making Apartheid Work: African Trade Unions and the 1953 Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act in South Africa," *The Journal of African History* 46, No 2 (2005): 296.
[139] Ibid, 293-314.
[140] EE, personal interview, May 2012.
[141] Ibid.

The Motor Industry Coloured Workers Union (MICWU) was formed from this meeting, as a separate union with a seat on the Industrial Council. However, as a member of the union (and later of the executive) recalls, the fee paid to the executive of the Coloured union compromised their decisions:

> Our guys got together and said right, okay they will separate. The White motor industry, MIEU said look, we'll give you so much money, that's when these guys - Lionel Rampono became the first secretary of the union, general secretary...they formed this new union, they called it Motor Industry Coloured Workers Union and they transferred all the members, Coloured and Indian members into this union, and they got a seat on the industrial, that time what they call the Industrial Council...So on the Industrial Council, what you had was the employees union and you had two White unions with the motor industry union, which was the White clerical workers, the motor industry employee union, White artisans and you had us, the Motor Industry Coloured Workers Union...But you're up against at that particular time, I know they were up against basically three unions, the White union, the two White unions and the employee association. And we also had, well this is my opinion, we also had 'yes' people in the union...they just sat there and agreed with the white unions because they got paid a meeting fee…[142]

According to Hemson, Industrial Councils reached far into the South African labour dynamic in the 1960s and 1970s, and played an important role in making bargaining procedures and benefit negotiations for its white, Indian and Coloured members' routine. This effectively meant that these workers had a venue to meet their needs and were less likely to engage in strike action or to throw their weight behind the demands of non-unionised Africans in their own industries. Hemson explains that: "… the expansion of industrial councils in particular helps to explain the declining militancy of White, Coloured and Indian workers." [143] This was certainly

[142] Ibid.
[143] David Hemson, "Trade Unionism and the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa," *Capital and Class* 2, No 3 (1978): 4.

the case with the majority of Coloured union members whose needs were being met and had little incentive to take part in industrial action.

As white workers were drafted into white-collar and managerial positions, Coloured and Indian workers were given more opportunities for advancement in the motor industry. MICWU contributed to this general upward mobility and professionalisation of Coloured artisans in Durban by applying rules for gaining artisan status that white unions had been using for years:

> … the White unions, these guys that were coming from overseas, immigrants, they used to come here and then the White union will rep them and give them an A card, and A card was a journeyman card, artisan. And whether or not they had the experience they were just given them. So we said okay, let us look at our guys, 'cause a lot of them have experience, they weren't apprenticed but they got that level. So the constitution then stated that the agreement, the main agreement of the motor industry stated, if you got 5 years' experience, and you could prove it, you could get an A card, if you had 3 years' experience you could get a B card and go for a trade test, once you pass your trade test then you're qualified...[144]

Another union that played an important role in the lives of Durban Coloured workers was the Garment Workers Industrial Union (GWIU), founded in 1932 in Durban by Jimmy Bolton and led, during periods of sickness and after his death in the 1960s, by his wife Harriet Bolton. Bolton Hall, in Albert Street was purchased in 1949 and became a central point of the Union. Community members remember the space being used for many meetings and functions and the place where they would go to seek help such as small scholarships. For members, the benefits of belonging to the union, also meant making use of the Sick Fund Clinic which was equipped with a: "Dental Unit, an X-Ray plant, Dispensary and Surgical equipment."[145]

[144] EE, personal interview, May 2012.
[145] B Madari, "A Historical Investigation into the Garment Industry in Natal with Specific Reference to the Garment Worker's Industrial Union (Natal)" (Honours thesis, University of Durban-Westville, 1986), 31.

Figure 27: GWIU Officials and Executive Council Members 1964-1967 [146]



Source: *Souvenir Brochure: Golden Jubilee Garment Workers Industrial Union 1938-1983*

As women were drawn into retail employment in clothing and department stores such as Norman Ansteys and Payne Brothers in the city centre, the need for representation became apparent. An organiser for the National Union of Commercial Catering and Allied Workers (NUCCAW) from the mid-60s describes her introduction to the union, based on trying to remedy poor working conditions:

> I worked for Payne Brothers in the office and then I used to go downstairs where the girls, all Coloured girls, were putting labels on the clothes. Very bad conditions. Then they were always complaining, we had a pokey little canteen for Coloureds - a separate canteen - there were quite a lot of Coloured girls working there and the canteen was so small. And those years we smoked inside, so it was smokey. The white women, they could

[146] Garment Workers Industrial Union Officials, 1964-1967. Back: M Haniff, M Khan, AE Naidoo, J Augustine, M Viranna. Middle: E Thomas, K Ogle, R Starkey (typist), E Beaumont, O Bowers, A Patterson, Front: M Bowers (organiser), I Muckdoom, (trustee), H Bolton (secretary/treasurer), MA Hoosen (chairman), S Anthony (trustee), MS Stanley (organiser).

> eat in the restaurant that the public used, there was a space where they could sit and have their teas. An Indian guy came into the shop and I said what are you doing here and he said I'm from the union…so he started talking and he told me about the union… So he organised a meeting and I got a few of my friends…and they brought some of their friends and we got together. And here was a guy from Cape Town that came and he spoke to us about unions. People were scared but we all were keen and we said we'll join. I think we had to pay 25 cents. That was a Saturday afternoon. So, Monday I went back to work and they gave me a few cards and said talk to other people and get them to join.[147]

The management of Payne Brothers tried to stop the formation of the union in their store and gave the organiser an ultimatum to stop organising or lose her job. She chose the union, motivated in large part by her involvement with the Young Christian Workers' Movement (YCWM), and encouragement from family members who belonged to the builders union. [148] She joined the union as a part-time organiser and was paid for the number of people she recruited:

> So I went, and it was like carte blanche. I went all over and got my friends and their friends and aunties, uncles and whoever was working and I got them to sign up…And eventually I signed up enough people and they employed me full time…so that's when I started working for the union – 1969.[149]

Members of these unions were also given a certain amount of coverage by their affiliation with the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA). TUCSA was the umbrella organisation representing registered industry unions formed in 1954 as the South African Trade Union Council. Forrest describes TUCSA as: "… a moderate non-political federation which upheld free-

[147] AR, personal interview, June 2012.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.

market principles and was principally engaged in orthodox union wage bargaining." [150] Since only registered trade unions could become TUCSA members and, as Africans were not allowed to join Trade Unions, the body was effectively segregated. In 1962, TUCSA changed this policy and tried to organise African workers in an African section, but this was short-lived and, in 1967, it once again excluded African workers to appease its conservative white members who wanted to see the government's separatist policies upheld. TUCSA cut ties with its African trade unions in 1969 only to reverse the policy again in 1974 after the 1973 strikes, reluctantly realising the need for African and independent unions in their membership and pushed by the more progressive forces within their ranks.

African workers instead joined the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), established in 1955. SACTU became politically involved in resisting apartheid and aligned itself to the ANC. Ray Alexander, writing as R Braverman, notes that the government accepted SACTU existence and activism for a few years, but eventually responded with heavy repression and bans on SACTU leaders and organisers.[151] As industry grew, African labour organisation was severely restricted, and the wages of African workers remained dismally poor. Sambureni indicates that in the 1960s resistance was present but took on more passive forms, such as sabotage, pilfering, absenteeism, go-slows and boycotting particularly exploitative

[150] Kally Forrest, *Metal that Will not Bend: The National Union Of Metalworkers Of South Africa, 1980-1995* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2011), 36.
[151] RE Braverman, "Trade Union Apartheid," *The African Communist* 29 (Second Quarter 1967). http:// http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/Acn2967.0001.9976.000.029.1967.7.pdf. RE Braverman was the pen name of Rachel Alexander Simons or Ray Alexander, a leader in the South African Communist Party in the 1930s, a women's rights activist and trade unionist.

employees.[152] The discontent was eventually spurred on by increasing worker conscientisation by groups such as BCM and the YCWM and underground activists, leading several of rolling strikes in Durban across multiple industries and involving an estimated 70 000 workers in 1973.[153] The 1973 strikes were a wakeup call to the simmering anger of the African people and the power of a directed labour movement.[154] The strikes encouraged a flurry of union activity across the country, with thousands of workers joining benefit funds such as the General Factory Workers Benefit Fund (GFWBF) an organisation that: "… administered benefits for workers and provided a forum for the discussion of factory problems." [155] The government tried to refocus labour by the Bantu Labour Relations Act of 1973, which channelled worker disputes to employer-run committees in an organisation. It also established the Wiehahn Commission to look into possible labour reforms. Based on the findings of this commission, the previously limited description of 'employee' was redefined to include African workers in an amendment of the Industrial Conciliation Act in 1979. This change in definition meant that both African and 'mixed' trade unions were allowed to exist.[156]

While Durban's Coloured workers were able to join unions, they were segregated bodies closely aligned to white unions, making their experience far removed from the low wages and harsh conditions faced by African workers. Coloured unions were set up to take their cues and

[152] Nelson Sambureni, "The Apartheid City and its Labouring Class: African Workers and the Independent Trade Union Movement in Durban, 1959-1985" (PhD thesis, University of South Africa, 1997), 193-213.
[153] David Hemson, "Beyond the Frontier of Control: Trade Unionism and the Labour Markets in the Durban Docks," *Transformation* 30 (1996): 84.
[154] Kally Forrest, *Metal that Will not Bend: The National Union Of Metalworkers Of South Africa, 1980-1995* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2011), 10.
[155] Ibid, 13. Harriet Bolton of the Garment Workers Industrial Union was instrumental in the GFWBF as were young intellectuals from University of Natal such as Rick Turner and David Hemson.
[156] Nelson Sambureni, "The Apartheid City and its Labouring Class: African Workers and the Independent Trade Union Movement in Durban, 1959-1985" (PhD thesis, University of South Africa, 1997), 244-270.

pay allegiance to white unions. The labour system mirrored the political structures in the city, governed by patronage between Coloured people and white benefactors. While the reason for the close affiliation may have been calculated on the part of white unions to keep Coloureds deliberately away from organising with Africans, or it may have stemmed from a genuine concern with the welfare of Coloured workers. However, it formed the underlying mechanism of keeping Coloured workers away from mass labour movements in Durban.

The Young Christian Workers Movement (YCWM) represented a compelling mix of politics, religion and labour movement. The movement was started in Belgium in 1925 by Fr Joseph Cardijn, a young Catholic priest, and took root in Johannesburg in 1949. After his ordination in 1955, Fr Albert Danker was sent by his order to learn about the Young Christian Workers (YCW). He attended the movement's world council in Rome in 1957 and thereafter visited the movement's offices in Paris, Belgium and London to learn what he could to strengthen the fledgeling movement in South Africa.[157] When Danker returned to South Africa, he was appointed national chaplain of the movement. He established the national headquarters of the YCWM in Congella, Durban, eventually employing a full-time national staff. The methods of the YCWM were put to use in the South African context. Danker explains:

> Cardijn, the founder of the Young Christian Workers had this method. He developed this method which in fact is a normal method of intellectual development and reasoning if you like. See situations in which you are living, and all the circumstances of your life there and those at work, at home, leisure time – see what the situation is. Now reflect upon that, and reflect in the light of the gospel. What would Jesus say about the situation? You take for example a girl, one day in a meeting she said, "You know, next week I'm going for an eye test". "Oh." So we talked about her going for an eye test. Where is she working? She is working at a factory

[157] Fr Albert Danker Biography, Dictionary of African Christian Biography. https://dacb.org/stories/southafrica/danker-albert/

> in Jacobs making carpets, and there are a lot of girls working there with her. And most of them are having eye tests, and having to wear glasses. "Oh, we must know more about that situation". Find out more. "Why are you all going? Your eyes are being affected". We discovered that the lighting was extremely bad. They never considered those girls' circumstances, they just worked, copying these patterns, you know…"Good, now what are going to do about that?" Discuss action now. She went back there and she asked these other girls, "Look here, is this right? All of us are going for eye tests. What can we do about it?" Well they went on a delegation to the boss and all that, and demanded that the lighting in the place should be improved. And it was done. See, Reflect, Act. There was a method. So it was life seen in the light of the gospel.[158]

The YCWM was non-racial, non-denominational and popular among both men and women. As the movement grew in Durban, the security branch harassed members and movement leaders. In 1969, Fr Danker had his passport confiscated for six years to prevent him travelling and was harassed continually to provide the constitution of the movement. His response was: "We've got no constitution, here is the Bible!"[159] Danker spent 15 years as national chaplain of the YCWM and, during this time, he encouraged many youth from the Coloured community to join the movement and interact with members from all over Durban. A number of people who were involved in the YCWM describe it as a defining part of their political awakening. It served as an incubator for political thought and awareness for what was happening across the city in other communities. It provided an important venue for people to mix outside their segregated lives and, as Van Kessel explains:

> YCW deserves to be more widely known because of its importance as a conduit for notions of liberation theology and third world socialism

[158] Albert Danker, personal interview, August 2011.
[159] Ibid.

> to the world of working youth as well as a training ground for a remarkable crop of talented and committed leaders.[160]

Asserting home-owners' interests

As people became homeowners in their new group areas, they became more protective of their immediate surroundings. Ratepayers associations in the areas of Sydenham and Greenwood Park gave them the space to do this. Ratepayers associations were formed for residents to meet and discuss issues in their communities and to take requests to develop the infrastructure to the municipality. The ratepayer's associations used connections with white city councillors to push through developments such as street lights, footpaths, issues with municipal housing, transport, the servicing of septic tanks and the provision recreational facilities for the community in their particular areas.[161] Although they were not political organisations, the ratepayer's associations were significant in that they gave ordinary residents, rather than just a few community leaders, a voice in their community and the ability to interface with the city. The ratepayer's associations, by their nature of people living and coming together to tackle common issues, built a sense of common purpose in the new group areas. Meetings of the Mayville, Sydenham, Overport and Districts Ratepayer's Association could gather up to 150 people to discuss specific issues facing the neighbourhood, such as required services and political affiliations.[162] With the marginalisation of the DCFC, some community members noted

[160] Ineke Van Kessel, *Beyond our Wildest Dreams: The United Democratic Front and the Transformation of South Africa* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000), 161.
[161] Ibid, 139; Lynette Francis, "Housing an Illegitimate Aristocracy - an Urban Profile of a Coloured Community in Greenwood Park from the 1950's to the 1970's" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 2001), 110.
[162] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 139.

that the ratepayer's association became a mechanism for community interface with the municipality and became the de facto political representation at the local level:

> … we had a ratepayer's…that was the extent of our politics basically, was again, you're in an area, a group area and you had try and see what you could do and get the best out of a city council that couldn't care two hoots about it. The other ratepayers was in Redhill. So that was the extent of our what's a name, I mean there was no politics that we could participate in at that particular time, so we just concentrated on the civic needs of the community…just you know, Coloureds, so you're in a Coloured organisation, you had to go there and you were representing Coloureds basically, so I suppose that's the only thing.[163]

The local outlook of the ratepayer's association was that it was 'safe', and an extension of previously effective mechanisms of seeking favour with local councillors to enact incremental local improvements. However, in the changed political environment, these methods became increasingly ineffectual, and Dickie-Clarke confirms that ratepayer's meetings often brought: "… bitter expressions of resentment against the Durban City Council which 'did things for the Europeans which it will not do for us'."[164] Indeed, Coloured leaders became increasingly aware of the: "… callous indifference" of local councillors towards the needs of their communities.[165]

An additional instrument for encouraging dialogue between the community and the City Council was the Durban Local Coloured Affairs Committee (DLCAC). The Local Affairs Committees were established in terms of Section 28 of the Group Areas Act, 1966, as:

[163] EE, personal interview, May 2012.
[164] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 140.
[165] *Sunday Tribune*, 24 July 1966.

"… consultative and management committees in any Group Area situated in any area under the jurisdiction of a Local Authority."[166] The Joint Indian and Coloured Affairs Advisory Committee of the 1950s were transformed into the Durban Coloured Local Affairs Council (DCLAC) for Coloureds and three committees representing Indian areas. Local affairs committees had no power and existed only in an advisory capacity to the white-controlled municipal authorities. By the 1980s, all Indian and Coloured local committees in Natal were elected. [167]

The DCLAC was closely linked to the Ratepayer's Associations; it took up issues and grievances from civic organisations and brought them for discussion in regularly scheduled meetings with the municipality.[168] A reading of the minutes of committee meetings shows that issues discussed included such matters as streetlights, road repairs, storm water drainage, provision and maintenance of sports grounds and the building of libraries. The most often discussed grievance of the DCLAC right into the 1980s was the critical shortage of housing across the community. Francis concludes:

> … the Durban LAC yielded very little benefits. This body had no executive powers. It merely acted in an advisory capacity to white political structures such as the City Council…Often, their grievances were dismissed, particularly if they were perceived as challenging the socio-political order.[169]

The DCLAC, much like the ratepayer's associations, seemed to encourage the old patronage style of local politics that the older community members were used to employing, that had

[166] Israel Tsatsire, Kishore Raga, John Taylor and Eric Nealer, "Historical overview of specific local government transformatory developments in South Africa," *New Contree: A Journal of Historical and Human Sciences for Southern Africa* 57 (May 2009): 138.
[167] Anthony Lemon, "Restructuring the Local State in South Arica: Regional Service Councils, Redistribution and Legitimacy," in *Urban and Regional Change in Southern Africa*, ed David Smith (New York: Routledge, 1992), 2.
[168] Lynette Francis, "Housing an Illegitimate Aristocracy - An Urban Profile of a Coloured Community in Greenwood Park from the 1950's to the 1970's" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 2001), 63.
[169] Ibid, 63.

been beneficial in fulfilling community needs. However, in the new apartheid context, they simply gave the illusion of inclusion and rendered local leadership powerless and ineffective.

Housing Shortages and Community Organising

The creation of group areas initially brought some opportunities for homeownership but, as state investment in these areas declined, housing became a source of struggle for the Coloured community. Housing for Coloureds during apartheid also reveals a greater class distinction and, perhaps, awareness thereof. This was important in terms of identity and consciousness. Migration to the city and a growing population brought an increased demand for housing which far outstrip the supply. According to Francis:

> Between 1936 and 1961, 3580 new houses or flats were needed in Durban in order to remedy overcrowding in coloured areas. This situation was compounded by forced removals. Even though houses were being demolished and coloureds were being forced to vacate areas zoned for white occupation, alternative accommodation was not provided…In the meantime, the coloured population was increasing at a rate of 2,5% a year. As a result, coloureds were becoming increasingly dependent on the public sector to provide housing.[170]

The population more than doubled from 24 000 in 1958 to 50 000 in 1973, when the waiting period for a house on the municipal list was at least ten years long. [171] The housing shortage showed a distinct class differentiation, where poorer people could not benefit from access to home-ownership and were relegated to poorly constructed, makeshift flats and outbuildings.

[170] Lynette Francis, "Housing an Illegitimate Aristocracy - an Urban Profile of a Coloured Community in Greenwood Park from the 1950's to the 1970's" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 2001), 127.
[171] Lawrence Schlemmer, Margaret Victor and Fozia Fisher, *An Assessment of Some Prominent Issues Relating to Community Development in the Sparks Estate-Sydenham Community* (Durban: University of Natal, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, 1978), 17.

As the Durban City Council tried to cut costs, the sub-economic housing that was being built in Wentworth and Sydenham was of questionable quality. In 1965, the Durban Coloured Federal Council appealed to the Secretary of Coloured Affairs to reconsider plans to provide Coloured housing with no electricity, baths or internal doors.[172] The housing shortage deepened and it was estimated that: "… 11 000 Coloured people and 112 000 Indians were on the waiting list for housing in Durban alone, despite the fact that the Coloured group in the Durban area was small. Many others had probably not entered their names."[173]

By the 1970s, the housing shortage had reached critical proportions. Housing took up much of the time of the Durban Local Coloured Affairs Committee with issues such as lighting, storm drains and open space dominating the discussions. In 1971, it was noted in deliberations that the City Council had not planned for any growth in the Coloured community. Newlands East had been proposed as an area for Coloured Housing as early as 1963 but was not supported by the Housing Committee because of lack of funds. A public enquiry on the Coloured housing shortage held in 1970 noted that Marianhill, another potential Coloured settlement area was, "remote and inaccessible for the people working in the Durban area."[174] According to Schlemmer et al., more than 50% of properties in Sparks Estate contained two or more households and those with bigger yards built extensions and outbuildings to provide additional accommodation for family members.[175]

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[172] Durban Coloured Federal Council, Memorandum to J Bosman, Secretary of Coloured Affairs, 1965.
[173] *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 March 1964
[174] Minutes of Meeting, Durban Local Coloured Affairs Committee, 26 August 1971.
[175] Lawrence Schlemmer, Margaret Victor and Fozia Fisher. *An Assessment of Some Prominent Issues Relating to Community Development in the Sparks Estate-Sydenham Community* (Durban: University of Natal, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, 1978), 35.

Several housing incidents galvanised the Durban Coloured community into taking action. In Sparks Estate/Sydenham, the municipality built about 80 corrugated iron shacks to temporarily ease the housing shortage. The community was outraged, and the ratepayers association led protest action that included physically tearing down the structures and declaring that the Coloured community demanded the respect of proper accommodation.[176] In 1975, 45 homes (later adjusted to 33) were earmarked for expropriation in Sparks Estate in Villa Road and along Tills Crescent, to make way for a high-rise sub-economic development. The proposal offered the community 1 225 flats to ease the housing shortage at the expense of 45 established homes, arguing that, in a built-up area such as Sparks Estate with little open space, options to ease the housing shortage were limited. For the people of Sparks Estate, this was time to take a stand. There was empty, unzoned land between Sparks Estate and the white area of Sherwood that could have been used for the development instead of expropriating land. It was obvious the city council did not want to put the flats next to the white area. Mr Des Easthorpe, whose house was among the ones selected, commented: "… we will not budge – even when the bulldozers arrive to demolish our homes. We were moved from Cato Manor; we were moved from other areas, now we have to move again. This time we are staying put."[177] The Save Our Homes Committee, was formed by a group community activists led by Jeanie Noel who mobilised inside and outside the community to stop the expropriation.[178] Noel was instrumental in organising several gatherings to rally support for this new round of forced

[176] EY, personal interview, May 2014.
[177] *Sunday Tribune*, 26 January 1975.
[178] Noel and Meer would go on to form the Black Woman's Federation with Winnie Mandela and spend time in jail over their protest action.

removals, including a gathering of 3 000 women in Sparks Estate addressed by Indian academic and activist, Fatima Meer, and Gina Mering of the Council of Jewish Women as well as a meeting held at the Emmanuel Cathedral Hall led by Bishop Dennis Hurley.[179] The Coloured Peoples Representative Council (CPRC) also took note of the dispute and, in August 1975, the executive of the CPRC flew to Durban to hold a meeting of the Labour Party at the Sparks Estate Community Centre to hear community grievances. Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party, led the proceedings.[180]

The Save Our Home Committee made their position clear: "… we will stand firm on what we believe is our right as South African citizens. They are going to have to bulldoze us over our dead bodies."[181] An additional argument made was that, apart from forcing families from their homes, the plan lacked foresight in addressing how an additional 1 225 families could move into the area without a thought to the strain the increase in population would place on already limited resources such as schools, transportation, social services and recreation facilities. Over the course of the dispute, however, many of the families agreed to sell to the council and, in December 1975, the council increased their offer to the remaining holdouts, which included a guaranteed offer of new plots in the buffer zone between Sparks Estate and Sherwood.[182]

While the Villa Road land expropriation saga was able to rouse various facets of the community to take a stand against the city council as an instrument of apartheid, it also exposed some problematic forces in the community. It showed a lack of cohesiveness, the Save

[179] *Mercury*, 8 August 1975.
[180] *Daily News*, 19 August 1975.
[181] *Mercury*, 30 July 1975.
[182] *Daily News*, 9 October 1975.

Our Homes Committee was ostensibly working for the good of the people whose homes had been expropriated, but in the process, were accused of bullying them, speaking for them without consultation and using their situation to further individual political aims. The entire saga also revealed a complex classist element to keep poorer flat dwellers from 'ruining' Sparks Estate, bringing in a 'bad element' to middle-class Sydenham and turning it into another Wentworth. A community member elaborates:

> There was a strong stand against that, not having flats in our area. And it was good but it came from an elite type of mindset, it came from a privileged position, you know you don't build these kind of flats in Durban. And yes it worked but it worked because they weren't going to have that there.[183]

Wentworth had a different set of critical housing issues. Much of the public housing in Wentworth had been built on lowland with inadequate drainage that caused a host of issues such as flooding, shifting and crumbling foundations and blocked sewers. Leaking roofs were left unchecked until mould began to grow in apartments. Calls to the city council by community members and organisations such as the Wentworth Resident Action Group, tasked with bringing a list of grievances to the city council, went unheard and, in general, public housing was left to deteriorate into appalling states.[184] The intense housing shortage in the city also meant that alternatives to these conditions were non-existent and it was not uncommon to find three families sharing a two-bedroom flat or living in makeshift shacks. The Social Work Department of the University of Natal reported in 1972 that 66% of all Coloured houses in

[183] EY, personal interview, May 2014.
[184] *Mercury*, 30 May 1974.

Wentworth were overcrowded.[185] The majority of newcomers to Durban were from areas like Harding, Kokstad, the South Coast, Zululand and the Transkei and they and settled mainly in Wentworth. With the housing shortage so dire, they were forced to make do with any shelter they could find, and with less access to established networks, they had less support in their struggles.

In 1976, a distressing situation brought attention to the scale of the problem and humanised the crisis in Wentworth. A young girl was admitted to Addington Hospital with an acute stomach illness. Investigation revealed that she had been living in an outdoor toilet in Austerville with her mother and sibling. The family could not find or afford any suitable housing.[186] The case also brought to light the lack of social infrastructure in Wentworth, the inadequacy of street lighting, transport services, public amenities, recreation for children and the lack of effective policing which led to high rates of gang violence and crime. In addition to the dismal housing conditions, the community was struggling with alcoholism and an increasing level of mental health issues.[187] The housing and social issues led to a profound sense of despair as well as increased anger, some of which was channelled into political action and militancy among the youth.

The housing issues in the wealthier area of Greenwood Park where most people owned their own homes, pale in comparison to Wentworth, but existed nonetheless and highlighted the municipality's indifference to the Coloured community, regardless of class. The area had far

[185] Sheldon Rankin, *A Pilot Study Assessing the Problems Facing the "Coloured" Community of the Durban Metropolitan Area* (Durban: Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, 1982), 8-9.
[186] *Daily News*, 18 February 1976.
[187] *Daily News*, 3 March 1975.

less infrastructure and social resources than Sparks Estate. There was one, unfinished, sports field, no community library or playgrounds and the municipality was slow to repair roads and service septic tanks and soak pits.[188] Francis also points to the 1957 Housing Act loan scheme that made it easier for middle-class families to obtain housing loans as contributing to a housing crisis for families who earned too much to qualify for a loan.[189] These people were often found living in outbuildings or living illegally in Indian areas where they were forced to pay exorbitant rents.[190]

In the midst of the housing shortage and poor conditions in existing council housing, the Durban City Council, desperate for money to fund new housing developments, announced a plan to increase rents by up to 110% in 700 housing units in Wentworth, Sparks Estate and Melbourne Road.[191] Community meetings, discussions in the Local Affairs Committee (LAC) and meetings between LAC members, Charles Tifflin and Eddie Smith, and the Minister of Community Development brought a delay in implementation and an eventual lowering of increases.[192] These various housing issues caused anger and animosity towards the city and national government, and brought the community together, igniting a spark of activism, particularly amongst women. The activism was fuelled by the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), as well as by union action and the general unrest in the city. It was also the genesis of student protest, particularly amongst students from Wentworth in the 1980s. As Dennis Young,

[188] Lynette Francis, "Housing an Illegitimate Aristocracy - an Urban Profile of a Coloured Community in Greenwood Park from the 1950's to the 1970's" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 2001), 107.
[189] Ibid, 127.
[190] *Daily News*, 8 February 1977.
[191] *Daily News*, 11 July 1977; *Daily News,* 13 July 1977; *Mercury,* 20 July 1977.
[192] *Daily News,* 8 February 1978.

CPRC member for Greenwood Park and Sparks Estate commented, the issues with Coloured housing and consequent protest could have been avoided if: "… government did not waste the tax-payers' money on unproductive activities such as apartheid institutions and separate development projects."[193]

Community action was instrumental in spurring the development of new homes in Newlands and Mariannridge, but both townships were erected in a hurry and services were poor and slow to be developed.[194] Mariannridge in the Pinetown area was opened in 1976 with 602 housing units, and Newlands East offered its first houses for occupation in 1978. Some of the first people offered homes in Newlands East, had been on the Council waiting list since 1963. The development called for an additional 4 000 dwellings to be built by 1980. This would consist of four-bedroom houses that would sell for R19 500; semidetached houses that would sell for R11 900 or be rented for R63 or R104 per month depending on income and sub-economic houses that would be rented for between R30 and R48 per month.[195]

The municipality rushed to build the housing units to quell protest action from the community but, in their hurry, overlooked the provision of basic services and facilities such as schools, shops, sports fields, post office, telephones and police presence in the new township. Newlands East was some distance from the city and from the schools in Sydenham and Greenwood Park. There was one bus service in the morning and another in the afternoon to and from the city centre to cater for workers and school children.[196] This proved to be

[193] *Daily News,* 24 August 1977.
[194] Lynette Francis, "Housing an Illegitimate Aristocracy - an Urban Profile of a Coloured Community in Greenwood Park from the 1950's to the 1970's" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 2001), 127.
[195] *Mercury,* 23 May 1978.
[196] *Sunday Tribune*, 8 July 1979.

inadequate, and truancy and dropout rates became major concerns. By the end of 1979, many of these facilities were being built including a junior and a senior school which came online in 1980.

Struggles with housing continued into the 1980s when rents increased by 15% on Council housing schemes. A coalition of over 21 organisations from Indian and Coloured areas formed the Durban Housing Action Committee (DHAC) in 1980, with DK Singh as chairman and Pravin Gordhan and Virgil Bonhomme as co-secretaries. Rent boycotts were called in several areas across the city including Sydenham and Newlands East, as the DHAC warned: "… the people are desperate and getting aggressive."[197]

Conclusion

The years up to 1980 under apartheid were a complicated time for the Coloured people of Durban. The advent of apartheid fundamentally changed their relationship with the city, with their fellow Durbanites and with each other. Population Registration ended the fluidity with which Coloured people were able to negotiate and live their marginal lives in Durban. It was no longer possible to shift so easily between worlds and alliances. Group Areas separated the four official racial groups into their own residential areas. The three original group areas stratified the group according to class, with Greenwood Park as an area for the wealthier in the community, Sydenham for the middle class and Wentworth associated with middle and lower-income families. The loss of the vote was a symbolic blow to the community. Rather than being practically damaging, it signalled a fundamental change in how the government viewed and

[197] *Sunday Tribune*, 11 May 1980.

interacted with Coloureds. Political organising became more outward and nationally focused in response to the laws being formulated and the political structures set up for Coloureds in and across South Africa. This included involvement in establishing the Labour party and participation in the CPRC. The economy of the city expanded in the 1950s and 1960s, and people were able to find employment as artisans and in the building trade. An influx of job seekers from rural Natal and other parts of the country added to the diversity of the community but also put a strain on resources and services and a mistrust of outsiders. When the economy contracted in the 1970s, the strain was even more distressing. As economic hardships worsened, community members began to turn to activism and protest, particularly around housing and poor social services, leading to further intensified political engagement into the 1980s.

CHAPTER 6

THE APARTHEID YEARS (1950 to 1980): NATIONAL EDUCATION AND STUDENT ACTIVISM

Education continued to be a primary site of identity formation under apartheid. The rigid observance of racial boundaries by the Population Registration Act put an end to the informality and fluidity of racial identity that had been possible for Coloureds at the margins of educational spaces. In Coloured areas, Coloured teachers taught Coloured children bound by a specific curriculum, with reduced funding per student and inadequate facilities. The apartheid project removed any special considerations shown to Coloureds in Natal by consolidating Coloured education across South Africa under the Department of Coloured Affairs.[1] The movement of Coloured people to group areas from across the city as well as from areas outside Durban increased the need for physical schools in particular locations. There was also an increased need for Coloured teachers to replace white teachers, making teacher training a fundamental goal of the education system. The teaching profession became central to the community: first as nurturers of a Coloured culture; second as one of the primary sources of middle-class employment in the community; and third as a concentration of political influence and training ground for the intelligentsia and youth conscientisation. Students meanwhile, at the receiving end of this concentization, and increasingly angered by unequal access, a

[1] Freda Troup, *Forbidden Pastures: Education under Apartheid* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1976):49.

struggling education system and poverty, began to look towards political movements such as the Black Consciousness Movement.

Growth in Demand for Education and the Constraints of Group Areas

During the 1950s and 1960s, enrolment at Coloured schools jumped quite significantly as people from other areas arrived in Durban, drawn by the promise of employment in a booming economy or pushed from small and rural communities by the Group Areas Act. Many new residents came from the South Coast and Zululand. As areas were designated for particular racial groups, small Coloured populations in small towns were left without a designated Coloured areas in which to live, and forced to relocate to larger centres with Coloured Group Areas. The government began moving students according to racial classification to existing facilities and building schools in new areas to match their racial classification. A second high school, Bechet High School, was opened in 1955 and named after the former Headmaster of Umbilo Road, Francis Bechet. Students attending Umbilo Road School in Grades IV and above were told to report to the new high school in January 1955. The new high school was in located in Sydenham, an area that was proposed although not yet officially demarcated as a Coloured group area. Umbilo Road was to remain open, but with a changed focus to educating students in Standards 4, 5 and 6. Students from the primary schools of Melbourne Road, Albert Street and Clairwood in Standards 4, 5 and 6 were also directed to start school at Umbilo at the beginning of the new year.[2]

[2] Letter from Inspector of Schools Mr Farquhar, Natal Department of Education to 'concerned parents'. 4th January 1955.

The movement of people led to an increase in demand for limited spaces and schools soon became over-crowded and facilities strained. The platoon system, or double-shift classes, was employed at several schools to accommodate a larger number of students. Schools would hold classes in the morning with one group of students and a second round of classes in the afternoon with a second group. At Sydenham Primary School, teachers report that junior primary classes were held in the mornings at the Congregational church on the corner of Rippon and Randles Roads. Every afternoon, teachers had to take their teaching materials, pack them away in cupboards and then go across the road to teach the older students.

As areas were declared, schools were changed in racial designation to fit the new group. Spearman Road School in Sydenham was originally opened as an Indian school but when the area was declared a Coloured area, Indian students were forced to move out, and the school was handed over to Coloured Affairs. In Greenwood Park, the white population of Greenwood Park Primary School was relocated to Northcrest Primary School in Durban North at the end of 1965. Mr GE Lewis, the principal at Briardene School was instructed to report with his staff and students from Standards 2, 3 and 4 to Greenwood Park School at the beginning of January 1966. Standard 5 pupils from Parkhill High School were also moved to Greenwood Park Primary.[3] In Wentworth, Austerville, Assegai, Durban East Primary and Northgate all had their beginnings during this period, accommodating the new and rapidly growing population. By

[3] *Northglen News*, January 20 2016. https://northglennews.co.za/73493/greenwood-park-primary-celebrates-50-years/

1964, enrolment at Coloured schools in Natal had grown significantly, from 6 546 in 1950 to 15 056, an increase of about 130%.[4]

Table 10: Enrolment of Coloured Pupils 1950-1964

Year	Total Enrolment
1950	6 546
1957	7 769
1960	11 694
1963	12 345
1964	15 056

Source: Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 67.

In 1965, the Durban Coloured Federal Council sent an official memorandum to DJ Bosman, the Secretary of Coloured Affairs, on behalf of the Coloured population of Durban. The memorandum addressed some of the major education issues affecting the community. The most significant issue raised was that of overcrowding and, in particular, the existence of the platoon system, which was unacceptable for both students and teachers. The memorandum also mentioned that bursaries which had previously been available for Coloured children when education was under the Natal Department of Education, were now no longer available, leaving many disadvantaged students even further deprived. The lack of school clinics was another concern. The DCFC complained that, while a number of school clinics staffed by school nurses

[4] Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 67.

had existed prior to 1965, these had ceased to operate under the new dispensation and instead parents were being told to take children needing medical assistance elsewhere.[5]

Government investment in the education of Coloured children had always been disparate. Coloured education was well-funded when compared to education for Indian and African children, but lacking when compared to education for white children. Under apartheid, the gap in funding between whites and Coloureds increased, although Horrell notes that Coloured education in Natal was still better funded than Coloured education in the Cape. In 1960 the cost per Coloured child in Natal was R 71.22 compared to R 60.60 in the Cape.[6]

Table 11: Cost to the province of Natal per pupil 1951-1962 [7]

	Whites	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**African**
1951-1952	92.00	55.94	10.40	4.40
1956-1957	116.20	77.12	-	-
1960-1961	137.40	71.22	-	-
1962: State Schools	158.00	96.00	68.00	-
1962: State-Aided Schools	-	58.00	47.00	-

Source: Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 85.

Some of the complaints of losses reported by the Durban Coloured Federal Council are directly attributed to the government spending less on the education of Coloured people in

[5] Durban Coloured Federal Council, Memorandum to J Bosman, Secretary of Coloured Affairs, 1965.
[6] Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 85
[7] All figures are quoted in Rands.

Natal. By 1975, the gap between expenditure on white and Coloured education had grown to R500 spent on each white pupil each year, to between R97 and R110 per annum spent on a Coloured child in Natal. [8] In 1969, the Coloured Persons Representative Council (CPRC) and its governing body, the Administration of Coloured Affairs (ACA), began to administer Coloured education.[9] Members of the CPRC were intimately aware of all the shortcomings of the educational system within their communities, and this change in oversight does correspond with new schools being built in Coloured areas. However, new initiatives were only implemented if they were in line with the overall strategies and budgetary restrictions of the apartheid government. The CPRC and their budget were strictly controlled, and no major changes were made without the consent of the white government.

By 1971, the apartheid apparatus had corralled children into schools in Group Areas, converting schools from one race group to another and constructing new schools where necessary, but several schools remained functioning outside Group Areas - Melbourne Road, Epsom Road, Umbilo Road, St Augustine's and St Philomena's. The government had not yet found a way to accommodate their pupils in Coloured Group Area schools.[10]

In 1969 Rippon Road School was opened in Sydenham, providing some relief for the over-crowding, and the double shift that had been in operation for ten years at Sydenham Primary School ended. Melbourne Road Primary School in the Umbilo road-Congella area,

[8] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1975), 3.
[9] Abraham Behr, *New Perspectives in South African Education: A Review of Education in South Africa, 1652-1984* (Durban: Butterworths, 1984), 241.
[10] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1969), 1.

remained in operation until 1975 when teachers, students and resources were all transferred to a new school - Charles Hugo Primary School in Sydenham.

Table 12: Durban Coloured Schools 1971

	Primary Schools	High Schools
Out of Group Areas	Melbourne Road Epsom Road St Augustine's St Philomena's	Umbilo Road
Sydenham	Sydenham Primary Rippon Road St Theresa's	Bechet High
Wentworth	Merebank Austerville Primary Assegai Primary Durban East	Wentworth High
Greenwood Park	Briardene Greenwood Park	Parkhill

Source: Adapted from Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (May 1971) and Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1972).

It was clear that the easing of congestion in Sydenham received some attention from local politicians and, in 1979, Sydenham Primary School moved to new, larger premises in Clare Road. According to Schlemmer et al., the educational environment had improved substantially for the Sydenham area and, by 1978, area schools had a total enrolment of 3 139 and the platoon system was no longer in use; however, classrooms were filled to the maximum legal capacity of 45 pupils. A shortcoming in the Sydenham education landscape, however, was that authorities had failed to provide any schools in the area that offered Standards 6 and 7. For

some time, Children had to travel to town to attend Umbilo Road or even further to Greenwood Park to attend Parkhill. This was disruptive for children and families and contributed to a high level of truancy and an: "… excessively high school drop-out rate" in Sydenham.[11] An organisation called the Joint Education Committee was formed in Sydenham to advance the construction of a new high school for the area. The issue of truancy among the Coloured population was a cause of alarm to teachers and the NCTS at one point even discussed taking legal action against parents or guardians to force greater parental oversight in the educational process and asked Coloured Affairs for a school Attendance Office to be reinstated.[12]

In Wentworth, the area was in desperate need of a high school as students had to travel to Umbilo, Bechet or Parkhill and truancy rates were high. In 1971, Wentworth High School opened and soon after in 1974, Fairvale High School opened - both providing much-needed continuity of education to Wentworth youth. Umbilo Road School remained in town until 1989 when it was finally moved to a new location in Wentworth. Because of the high cost of housing in Greenwood Park, the area did not have as large an influx of residents as Wentworth and Sydenham did, and no other schools were built in the area. In 1976 and 1977 the facilities at Parkhill were slightly expanded to accommodate students who came to the school from other areas and most likely, by this time, to manage deteriorating infrastructure.[13] Francis confirms

[11] Lawrence Schlemmer, Margaret Victor and Fozia Fisher, *An Assessment of Some Prominent Issues Relating to Community Development in the Sparks Estate-Sydenham Community,* (Durban: University of Natal, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, 1978), 18.
[12] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (May 1971), 18.
[13] Lynette Francis, "Housing an Illegitimate Aristocracy - An Urban Profile of a Coloured Community in Greenwood Park from the 1950's to the 1970's" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, 2001), 114.

that: “Apart from the addition of a few prefabricated classrooms in Greenwood Park Primary School, no extensive renovations, upgrading or improvements were made to the primary school in the period 1950 to 1970s.”[14]

Churches remained an important part of primary school education during the apartheid era, but as government provision of education expanded, the role of church schools in the Coloured community diminished. Church schools were by this time state-aided and thus received an allocation from the government to cover salaries, a rental fee to the church, the upkeep of facilities and equipment and the provision of books. Group Areas left many church schools in limbo when they and their Coloured children found themselves in white areas. In 1969, St Monica's Diocesan Home for Coloured Girls was moved to temporary accommodation in Austerville and soon after to Treasure Beach in 1973 where the decision was made to cease all teaching functions. Similarly, St Philomena's Home continued in the now white suburb of Malvern until 1976. The home eventually relocated to Sydenham and ceased its educational functions, integrating children into area schools. St Augustine’s School remained in Greyville.

Epsom Road School continued to be a problem; it was a white school in lower Berea with a significant enrolment of lighter-skinned Coloured children. As more Coloured children started attending Epsom Road, including some that were darker and some from outside the Greyville community, white families began to complain to the authorities and moved their children out. By the late 1950s, the school had a predominantly Coloured enrolment, yet the

[14] Ibid, 114.

official classification as a white school remained, with a white staff and superior resources. A former pupil recalls:

> Epsom Road School was officially a white school, but there weren't any whites there really. There were people who looked like whites. But it was officially a white school the whole time I was there. I knew we not white, of course. But you get people, the guys I used to move around with in school they had that opinion that they were white because they said they white…mostly those from Greyville, Stamford Road area. There were people from Sydenham too…There was no secondary school so the darker ones went on to Bechet, and the fair ones went to Mansfield Road School.[15]

Hunter believes that Epsom Road School and close-by high school, Mansfield Road School, were allowed to continue to admit these 'questionable' children (as well as poorer and working-class whites), to provide a buffer and keep them from seeking places in upper-class white schools on the Berea:

> A former teacher from a top Berea boys' school described an informal system of zoning whereby the school used Mansfield, a working-class white school located down the Berea ridge close to the black education complex, as a buffer to keep out undesirable students who did not live close to the elite school. 'Every day we used to thank the Lord for Mansfield,' he told me. This former teacher, now in his seventies, also suggested that admissions processes could utilise pseudoscientific measures of race, such as the infamous 'pencil test' that assessed a person's race from their hair texture: You see, Mansfield, in the days of apartheid or what have you, a lot of the kids that went there were Coloured. They wouldn't have them here [the prestigious Berea school]. I mean one of the tests they did – I mean it was bloody Germany all over again. The kid would apply here and the Head would say, yes OK, and then he wasn't sure if he might be Coloured or something. Because if he was Coloured, well, he could have slightly frizzy hair, although if he had more predominantly the white genes then he probably had smooth hair. But one of the tricks is they ... put a pencil in the guy's hair – and if it doesn't fall out then you don't accept him. I mean really, you know. And, of

[15] KS, personal interview, June 2012.

> course, the Coloureds, a lot of them did go into Mansfield or what have you.[16]

Some of the school's pupils were on the borderline of white and Coloured, and backlogs in classification and probably also evasion in classification led to what some described as a 'tragedy' of having no race.[17] In 1962 Epsom Road School was officially declared a Coloured school, although now it was a different type of anomaly - a Coloured School in a white group area - and it remained so until the late 1970s.

Under apartheid, there was greater and more rigid enforcement of racial segregation of schools, reinforced by the moving schools to Group Areas. These moves were coupled with changes to the curriculum, designed for particular race groups. While there were some initial improvements in schooling for Coloureds in this period, such as a relatively high expenditure per student (compared to Indians and Africans), an end to the platoon system and generally more children in schools, there was a significant decline from the late 1970s. As state investment in Coloured education declined, facilities in Coloured schools began to deteriorate. The educational system under Group Areas was further strained by overcrowding and truancy, and the community as a whole was suffering at the same time with a housing crisis and growing unemployment figures. The relative privilege experienced by Coloureds in the first half of the 20th Century continued in the first period of apartheid, especially in terms of access to housing, employment and education. However, from the early 1970s the secondary status of Coloureds became more apparent as socio-economic problems deepened.

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[16] Mark Hunter, *Race for Education: Gender, White Tone, and Schooling in South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 37.
[17] *Natal Mercury*, 28 February 1962.

Falling into Teaching and Increased Demand for Coloured Teachers

Bechet College opened in Sydenham in 1955 as the first teacher training facility in Durban. Coloured teachers were needed in larger numbers to fill the posts formerly held by white teachers in Coloured schools and for the new Coloured schools that would be needed in the new Coloured Group Areas. The college was attached to Bechet High School, and it provided a convenient pathway where students could progress from high school directly to a teacher training programme. The first class had an initial enrolment of 38 students.[18] When it opened, Bechet offered three teaching qualifications: Natal Teacher's Senior Certificate (NTSC) which was a two-year program to be completed after Standard 8; the Natal Teacher's Diploma (NTD) also a two-year program which was completed after Standard 10; and the Natal Teacher's Senior Diploma (NTSD) which was a three-year course completed after gaining a Senior Certificate. Bechet High School and Bechet Training College were eventually separated in 1979, and Bechet Training College moved to a new location in Greyville.[19]

In the 1950s and early 1960s, teaching was still an uncommon profession in the community as most children left school early to work in factories and retail to supplement their family's income. For those who did continue with secondary school education, teaching was one of the only professions available in Durban.[20] Two teachers tell similar stories, more than a decade apart, of 'falling into' a career in teaching:

> Then they said ah well, Standard 8, you can go and work and so on. (I looked) here, there, there and everywhere, it was the end of the year –

[18] Bechet College, *20th Anniversary Brochure - 1955-1975* (Durban: Bechet College, 1975).
[19] Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 71.
[20] Ibid, 64.

> nothing available. Eventually my father said look, he's doing nothing here, let him go back to school. So then I ended up matriculating in 1958 at Bechet secondary and the only option then, they couldn't afford to send me to university…so eventually we just ended up entering the teacher's diploma…and in those days it was only a two year teacher's diploma.[21]
>
> …you didn't have much of a choice. I mean doctors? Come on, unheard of. Lawyers? I mean come on man, you're joking, you're crazy, you're reaching for the stars. So, the next thing above being a journeyman was a teacher. Most cases there was no choice, if you managed to get to JC in those days then you could become, you didn't even have to go to matric, you know, you could become a JC teacher. Obviously, the standard went higher as we got older and you had to matriculate.[22]

By 1960, the growth of the population, the direction of the government to staff all Coloured schools with Coloured teachers, an influx of job seekers to Durban and the new configuration of schools under Group Areas, had all contributed to an increased need for teachers. According to Horrell, the number of Coloured teachers in Natal increased from 143 in 1950 to 389 in 1960 to cope with the growth. The numbers of white teachers in Coloured schools remained relatively constant with 115 in 1950 and 125 in 1960. In 1960, 29 Coloured students were registered for the Senior Certificate and 31 for the Diploma. However, the pass rates were not very encouraging and, at the end of 1961, only 8 had passed the Senior Certificate and 13 the Diploma.[23]

As Coloured teachers began to replace the white teachers in Coloured schools, they were kept separate from their white counterparts, not allowed to share toilets and staff rooms. The first Coloured teachers in a staff of white teachers recall their experiences:

[21] JJ, personal interview, May 2012.
[22] AG, personal interview, April 2012.
[23] Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 70-71.

> They just put all the whites there [Umbilo]. That's why in fact I got the post at Umbilo Road, because they were trying to keep the whites, but now the apartheid regime said these schools must go to Coloureds…So all the Coloured teachers, you qualified at Bechet, but you must go to Hluthikulu, you must go to Nxambeni…all those. So I was one of those very first people. In fact when I used to tell people I'm teaching at Umbilo…Ha…are you telling us the truth, there are only white teachers at Umbilo Road. I said no there are Coloured teachers. There are 4 of us. That was like that. Even now when I came, we only had one toilet for Coloureds…whites had their own toilets…separate staff room yes, too. We had our own staff room.[24]

> They had a hostel attached to Bechet High School…I couldn't use the same toilets as the White teachers...So here's the big Bechet school block, here's the Bechet hostel, I had to walk across this sort of quadrangle every time I wanted to use the toilet, to use the student's toilet at the hostel. And you won't understand that I used to hold it half the day 'cause I didn't want the whole upstairs and downstairs to see me going to the toilet.[25]

While the training of teachers in Durban was progressing, and more women were being recruited from school into the profession, the numbers coming out of training programmes could not keep up with the demand. To speed up the process of replacing white teachers in Natal, the Department of Education also began recruiting more teachers from the Transvaal and the Cape:

> I started teaching in Pietermaritzburg in 1957. That was my first job. I taught at Alston secondary school…by the time I got there, there was a definite move to get the whites out. I suppose it was also part of the government's policy…the Coloured teachers that were at Alston when I got there were from places like Kimberley – they were not locals…there must have been about 15 of us, new teachers. Men and women. And many of the whites were moved out – gradually they were replaced by Coloureds...[26]

[24] HA, personal interview, April 2012.
[25] AD, personal interview, August 2011.
[26] EN, personal interview, September 2011.

The Coloured Person's Education Act of 1963 brought several changes to teacher training and the teaching profession. In 1969, two additional training programmes were approved at Bechet, an M+3 and a JC+2 (LPES) training course. The M+3 course was problematic as it was not open to university graduates hoping to professionalise and add a teaching certificate to their credentials. University graduates in the system laid complaints to the NCTS and Coloured Affairs and were left feeling like: "… second class teachers."[27] In the 1970s teacher training at all Coloured training colleges in South Africa was revised to offer the following courses: the Lower Primary Teachers Certificate (LPTC) - a two-year post-Junior Certificate course open only to women; the Primary Teachers Certificate (PTC) - a two-year post-Senior Certificate course for men and women; the Primary Teachers Diploma (PTD) - a three-year post-Senior Certificate course also for men and women; and the LPTC (Special Course) gave female teachers already in possession of an LPTC the opportunity to take additional coursework to specialise in areas such as Music, Fine Art, Physical Education, Domestic Science and Needlework.[28]

At a 1971 SAIRR Conference on Coloured Education, Des Rampono, Rector of Bechet Training College complained that, of the 2500 Coloured students training to be teachers across South Africa, 60% only have their Junior Certificate. To Rampono, this was inadequate, and it revealed an urgent need to create incentives to encourage people to go into the teaching profession rather than the more compelling jobs available in industry.[29] The conundrum for the system in Natal was that Bechet Training College was at full capacity and the lack of physical

[27] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1969), 6.
[28] Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 133.
[29] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (May 1971), 6.

space made the addition of classes impossible, thus perpetuating the shortage of teachers.[30] Outside Bechet, part-time study at UNISA was the only practical option for those with matric. In 1979, Bechet finally moved to its own premises near the Greyville racecourse where it remained until it was merged with Edgewood College of Education in 1994.

Women in the Teaching Service

In 1954, the government announced its policy to recruit more women as primary school teachers. Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs, announced the shift for Bantu schools, but the change was applied equally to Coloured education. The government argued that hiring more women as teachers would save money as they were paid lower salaries than men, but also that: "… women are generally better than men in handling small children." [31] The recruitment and training of Coloured women could not keep up with the demand in schools in the province. Horrell reports that at the end of 1969, 122 white female teachers were dismissed from Coloured schools, but were rehired quickly when suitably qualified Coloured women personnel could not be found to replace them.[32] When Coloured teacher training was revised in 1970, the LPTC was reserved for women in an attempt to direct women specifically into primary school teaching.[33]

[30] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1969), 6.
[31] Freda Troup, *Forbidden Pastures: Education under Apartheid* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1976), 40.
[32] Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 131-133.
[33] Ibid, 133.

The position of married women teachers was always tenuous during the days of the Natal Department of Education and, similarly so when education was taken over by Coloured Affairs. Women were required to resign from their teaching posts when they got married, and any previous service fell away, including leave accumulated. If a married teacher was re-appointed, it was as a temporary teacher, with no access to benefits.[34]

> …you married you had to resign, when you had leave for your babies, you had two months off and then you went back but that was considered broken service. So as a result, I basically got very little pension at the end of the day because we were always classified as 'temporary indefinite'. You never had a permanent post because you were married, you were classified as temporary indefinite, only the single women who never married, gained in that aspect, it really was totally unfair.[35]

One of the inconsistencies of the drive for teacher recruitment and training was that salaries, particular those for women, were not competitive. Newly qualified teachers report that becoming a teacher meant they delayed their wage-earning for two years and, in some cases, they earned less and had fewer benefits than friends working in factories:

> In 1962 when I started teaching…I started with 19 pound 10 and if you failed Afrikaans they took 5 pounds off your salary so then you earned 14 pounds 10, but I passed so I was earning 19 pound 10…One of my friends worked at TeeSav in the factory, she was earning 25 pounds per month - and she got maternity benefits and unemployment.[36]

With the shortage of teachers, the administrators of Coloured education regularly re-employed married women teachers on a 'temporary permanent' basis, subject to a three months' notice of termination.[37] The education department finally began offering tenure to married women in

[34] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (May 1971), 14.
[35] BM, personal interview, April 2012.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Muriel Horrell, *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), 131.

the 1970s, in 1970 married white women teachers were granted permanent positions, and this was extended to married Indian women in 1977 and to married African women in 1980. Coloured women were the last group to enjoy the right to permanent teaching positions as married women, with that change only coming in 1984. It was not until 1995 that women teachers would receive maternity leave and pension fund benefits.

Changes within the Natal Coloured Teachers' Society

The Natal Coloured Teachers' Society (NCTS) emerged as an important mouthpiece for Coloured teachers in Natal and was a fertile breeding ground for developing an intelligentsia since it was formed in the 1930s. In the late 1950s, a concerted effort was made to take the organisation from being Durban-centric to one that was more inclusive of other parts of the province. In 1957, the Midlands chapter of the NCTS was formed by some younger teachers:

> … before that the Natal Coloured Teachers' Society was really a Durban teachers' society. They had no connection with teachers outside Durban, and so we formed our own branch in Pietermaritzburg. Well, you didn't join the union. Because in those days if you were a Coloured teacher, they automatically took off money from your salary for a teacher society whether you joined or not. You were joined, you were automatically a member. So we felt that teachers' society represented teachers in Durban – they had no connection with people outside Durban. And as part of the teaching fraternity we should also be part of the thing. They were getting our fees, and you know they could also represent us as well. The most important function was to fight for better wages. It was a trade union. They didn't call it a trade union, but it was…I suppose the Coloured Teachers' society just like other teacher's societies they talk about educational things like the standard of education and all that. But most of that was decided and you know. So in the end you were fighting for wages and that type of thing.[38]

[38] EN, personal interview, September 2011.

In July of 1962, some of these younger teachers, many of them university graduates, staged a rebellion at the annual conference of the NCTS held at St Augustine's School, unseating the old guard from the executive. One of the main points of contention was the decision of the executive to withdraw support for the Durban Coloured Federal Council at the Coloured Convention, ostensibly withdrawing support for a non-racial democratic South Africa. The new president was Edward Smith from Ladysmith; the other office-bearers were Maurice Lewis from Harding (treasurer), Edward Nichol from Pietermaritzburg (secretary) and Hugh Africa from Ixopo (deputy secretary).[39] The new executive was squarely opposed to the imposition of a system of Coloured education and represented a wider geographic catchment and outlook than previously seen in the NTSC. A number of those elected to the executive were either based at schools outside Durban or had roots in smaller towns in Natal. These were the products of the Coloured education system of the 1930s and 40s, generally from 'Euro-African' backgrounds and who identified above all as Coloured.[40] This change in leadership and perspective represented a shift in outlook of the organisation and mirrored the tensions in the community at large about acceptance of apartheid tactics and methods of opposition to the system. Quite notably some members of the old guard were also called out for their hypocrisy of publically representing the Coloured intelligentsia while simultaneously playing white in some aspects of their private lives.[41] The 1963 Conference held at Parkhill on the eve of Coloured Education,

[39] EN, personal interview, September 2011; Africa became secretary when Nichol left South Africa to teach in Rhodesia. Africa went on to receive a doctorate in the USA later become Director of Studies in the early years of the University of Namibia, and Vice Chancellor of Vista University.
[40] EN, personal interview, September 2011; HA, personal interview, April 2012.
[41] One prominent member of the old executive of the NCTS reportedly enrolled his darker-skinned children at Coloured schools and lighter-skinned children at white schools.

reaffirmed this rift in the NCTS. Some of these tensions are visible in the minutes of the executive of the NCTS and, in 1964, the *Organiser* was criticised for printing personal attacks against current and former members.[42]

Despite the change of leadership, practical matters of teaching and teacher training still dominated the business of the NCTS. The 1966 conference of the NCTS, for example, was largely focused on the changes that were taking place in schools as a result of Coloured Education and the handover of education to Coloured Affairs. Some of the issues raised were: a lack of space to accommodate Standard Four students; the need for clerical staff at all schools to assist principals; the need for more options allowing teachers to improve qualifications; a medical aid scheme for Coloured teachers comparable to the one provided for white teachers; assistance for teachers affected by the housing crisis; and the temporary status assigned to married women.[43]

While the NCTS looked to the bread and butter issues facing teachers and schools, it still managed to keep the larger issues on its radar. In 1962, the NCTS registered a collective disagreement with the philosophy of Coloured Education: "The NCTS is opposed to the transference of Coloured education from the provinces. No benefits can accrue from such a change – on the contrary, a decided number of disadvantages would come about."[44] At an address given to the Natal Youth Conference on 6th October 1962, Ken Manwaring, principal of Parkhill School and ex-president of the NCTS shared an optimistic reflection of non-racialism:

[42] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, minutes of the meeting of the executive, October 1964.
[43] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1967), 4-11.
[44] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (March 1962), reported in Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1974), 16.

> Perhaps the greatest contribution the Coloured community can make will be their philosophy of life – the easy tolerance which makes us accept all who are not accepted elsewhere…We have no barriers dividing us from other race groups; we are richly ready and eager to extend the hand of friendship to all. This is the land of our birth and we know no other…If we are joint heirs in this country, we do not claim more than our inheritance. We are willing to share with other races whether it be sorrow or joy, good times or bad, cultural heritage or future prosperity.[45]

In 1975, Maurice Lewis headmaster of Wentworth High school made clear:

> As I think on the events that are crowding in upon this country of ours – even though we dwell in the suburbs of full citizenship – one fact pulsates like the reverberating beat of steel hammer on anvil. And that is, that the multi-racial (call it multi-national, if you wish) issue in our lives is the dominant and most urgent factor – one that requires immediate and meaningful attention. [46]

A recurring theme of the NCTS during this period was that of the exceptionalism of the Coloured educational experience in Natal prior to the takeover by Coloured Affairs, as well as disappointment at being treated the same as other Coloureds across the country. This sentiment was highlighted in a letter to the *Organiser* by WJ Greeves titled "Natal Continues to Pay the Price", where the damages caused to Natal education under the direction of the Department of Coloured Affairs were documented. These included the loss of an attendance officer and an escalating problem of truancy; crumbling infrastructure; the loss of an effective maintenance system for school buildings and grounds (which included the reduction in cleaning and caretaking staff); and the system struggling to cope with more students and fewer teachers.

[45] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1974), 16.
[46] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1974), 3; Lewis was president of the NCTS and the Union of Teachers' Associations, UTASA, the body that was formed in 1969 to represent all Coloured teachers unions in SA. Lewis also had a brief tenure as headmaster of Inanda Seminary from 1977 to 1979.

Greeves argued:

> The sound educational system that we enjoyed in Natal before 1964 had led us to expect progress: instead, even the most optimistic are beginning to realise that the education of the Coloured pupil in Natal has suffered by centralization.[47]

The NCTS also marked their disapproval with the administration for its role in the mismanagement and destruction of the high standards previously enjoyed by Coloured Schools in the province:

> All of you must have been struck by the severity of working for a department hamstrung by what is called "Financial Stringency." Adult education classes have been restricted, maintenance and repair work stopped, and essential equipment such as grass-cutting machines not supplied. Our school grounds look atrocious, and there appears to be not the slightest possibility of this equipment being provided in the ensuing year. If less white (and highly paid) officials were employed by the administration, and less money spent in their mad careering round the countryside on so-called official visits of "guidance and inspection" there would be an enormous saving of finance for real educational purposes. And when one considers the mediocre calibre of so many of these officials, their obnoxious attitude, and the very little real help they provide I their visits to schools, the urgency of a reduction in their numbers and official trips becomes very apparent.[48]

Once again in 1975, the *Organiser* published an article which took the department to task for their negligence and irreparable damage to the teaching profession:

> The eleven years since transfer of Education have been years of extreme frustration, the result of inefficient administration of the educational machine; gross negligence in many fields of performance; an arrogant "we know best what is to be done" attitude on the part of the authorities; and a disdainful disregard of what education should really mean. All the foregoing, coupled with over-officious officialdom, including that of our own coloured community holding official posts, and a calibre of administration that can largely only be euphemistically described as

[47] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (May 1971), 9.
[48] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1972), 3.

> mediocre or worse have resulted in making the teaching profession lose that lustre and glory it once held for us.[49]

The NCTS continued to make salary parity one of their key platforms, and even though salaries were increased over time, no indication was given of how raises were arrived at, and any increases given did not keep up with the cost of living.[50] Moreover, the discrepancies across racial groups for doing the same job remained stark. By 1973, the starting salaries of male teachers was as follows, R71 per month for African teachers, R123 per month for Coloured and Indian teachers and R209 per month for their white counterparts.[51] Morris Lewis, president of the NCTS, wrote in the *Organiser* of October 1974 that the teachers' society had made a plea to the administration that the difference in salaries was plainly discriminatory. He warned that continued discrimination would soon be accepted as normal and acceptable. The pleas to administration received an acknowledgement and a message of sympathy. Lewis relayed these sentiments to the members of the NCTS with the retort: "I wish I could live on sympathy."[52]

Lewis is also credited with opening up the debate in the NCTS between non-racialism and coloured-centric politics, and inviting Black speakers to address the members of the society. He wanted to make sure Coloured teachers were exposed to the scope of the injustices taking place across the country and in other communities from which Coloureds had been cut off. These speakers included MC Mdamse, Minister of Education of the Transkei, RS Naidoo, Burnwood High and Professor Fatima Meer from the University of Natal. Fatima Meer's keynote

[49] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1975), 3.
[50] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1972), 3.
[51] Freda Troup, *Forbidden Pastures: Education under Apartheid* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1976), 41.
[52] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1974), 3.

address at the NCTS Conference in June 1974 was focused on multi-racial education. Meer described the harsh conditions of Bantu education, and the role of Coloured education in the scheme of apartheid to supply a semi-skilled labour force for white industry. Meer gave a glimpse of a different path forward:

> The operative system of multi-racial education is pernicious, evil, and inhuman. It must be destroyed and replaced by a new system which will take into account in proportionately equal measures the economic, cultural and spiritual needs of South Africa's peoples, and constitute them into a single nation.[53]

As Coloured politics and education policy was now a national matter, the Union of Teacher's Associations of South Africa was formed in Durban on 16th December 1969, by representatives of five coloured teachers unions from across the four South African provinces as well as the teaching corps of South West Africa.[54] The establishment of UTASA gave the 22 480 teachers employed by Coloured Affairs one voice on the numerous issues affecting Coloured schools and teachers across the country. These were numerous, and included: staffing scales, appointments, stock, accommodation, compulsory education, maintenance of school grounds, salaries of caretakers, cleaners and teachers, medical aid scheme, group life insurance scheme, the examination system, the inspector system, admission of five-year-olds, school hostels, centralised control of education, acceleration of the school building programme, differentiated education, the Erica Theron Commission, urgent repairs at schools, senior appointments at training colleges and political interference in appointments, promotions, and posts.[55]

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[53] Fatima Meer, "Education in a Multi-Racial South Africa." Opening address to the 41st Annual Conference of the Natal Coloured Teachers' Society. Durban June 1974.
[54] Union of Teacher's Associations of South Africa, *Annual Magazine* (Cape Town: Union of Teacher's Associations of South Africa, 1975), 1.
[55] Ibid, 2.

While Natalians accepted UTASA as a coordinating body that would deal with the general welfare of education under the administration, they still held on to the idea that Natal was exceptional and vowed to: "… reserve the right to broach matters directly affecting conditions in Natal, with the Administration."[56] Also interesting was their stance on the role of teaching Afrikaans in schools. Standardised tests in Afrikaans were criticised for putting English-speaking children in Natal at a disadvantage. In addition to the 'foreignness' of the language, the NCTS also pointed out that: "… the language is seen as being the language of separate development, group areas, and restrictions. The language is regarded with suspicion and distaste by Natal Coloureds."[57] Education, political representation, health care and many other aspects of life had been more advantageous for Natal Coloureds than Coloureds in other parts of the country, mainly due to their connections with the British rulers of Natal, and the realisation that they were no longer afforded special status was a difficult one.

One of the significant gains of membership in UTASA was the negotiation of a state-aided medical aid scheme in 1976 for all Coloured teachers, including widows, pensioners and married women.[58] The body was also involved at the international level, thus allowing for exposure to teaching and teaching conditions around the world. UTASA participated in the African Regional Conference of the World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession held in Malawi in 1974, interacting with teachers from Uganda, Kenya, Rhodesia, Malawi, Swaziland, Botswana and from further afield, the USA, Switzerland and Demark. The conference also provided a space for the South African delegates from separate white, African

[56] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1972), 7.
[57] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (June 1969), 4.
[58] *Sunday Times Extra*, 18 April 1976.

and Coloured unions to begin talks outside the country to set up a non-racial union of South African teachers.

By the end of the 1970s, the NCTS was faltering. The damage to the teaching profession and the body that represented it was evident in falling membership. While the disillusionment may have been with the entire education system, the NCTS suffered nonetheless. Membership was no longer automatic, and teachers now had to specifically pay dues and organise stop payments to join the society. Issues of the *Organiser* published lists of teachers by school, indicating those who were members and those who were not to encourage (or perhaps shame) people into membership. Whether they were members or not, all teachers reaped any benefits from the negotiations and communications of the NCTS. With an increasing cost of living and many competing expenses, the decision to stay away from the NCTS was partially a financial one; but since the two groups found to be most resistant to joining were married women and new teachers just out of college, the resistance also came more from not feeling represented by the body and seeing the NCTS as not being worth the money and effort.[59]

The changing political dynamics of Natal and the country as a whole resulted in shifts in the political orientation and voice of teachers. In 1981, the organisation dropped Coloured from its name, and it became the Society of Natal Teachers (SONAT). The new executive comprised Mr Austin Green-Thompson (president), Des Rampono (vice president), JA Vollenhoven and TA Davis (treasurer). In the 1980s, SONAT: "… declared itself a community organisation since it had never divorced itself from the aspirations and frustrations of pupils and their parents."[60] It also

[59] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (August 1979), 1.
[60] SONAT, *The Society of Natal Teachers: Its History, Aims and Achievements* (Durban: SONAT).

acknowledged its opposition to all facets of separate education and offered support to student boycotts in the 1980s. In the late 1980s, the Society of Natal Teachers aligned itself with the Mass Democratic Movement and adopted the Freedom Charter.

Student Activism and the Impact of the Black Consciousness Movement

Just as there was little political activism in the general Durban Coloured population, student activism was virtually non-existent in the community in the 1950s and 1960s. The University of Natal, non-European section, formed the centre of political activism in Durban in the 1950s, but more so for African and Indian students. The number of Coloured students who passed through its doors was marginal, and the radical ideas that filtered into the community were equally minimal.[61] Coloured students were also new to politics, not knowing their place in a political discussion and not coming from the dire positions in which their African and Indian classmates found themselves. The Group Areas struggle in Durban, for example, was not as pressing an issue for Coloureds as it was for Africans and Indians. There were still some instances of opposition to the government and to injustices; but these were not wide-scale movements, they were isolated incidents of personal activism that mainly developed from exposure in educational settings. One university student described first becoming aware of politics while at the University of Natal in the mid-1950s and boycotting his segregated graduation:

> The first time I became aware of politics was at university but I never belonged to any group. I went to the student meetings and the Black student society - never got involved. The only time I was sort of touched was when I graduated with my first degree, with my BA, we boycotted the graduation…because they didn't have, the two, the Black section and

[61] Surendra Bhana and Goolam Vahed, "'Colours Do Not Mix': Segregated Classes at the University of Natal, 1936-1959," *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 29 (2011): 66-100.

> the White section, we graduated together but not in Alphabetical order, all the White students graduated first and the Coloured, Indian and Black students, we were mixed, went second. And we were all asked not to go, because we had quite a, it was a flourishing, thriving Black students, a lot of those people went to Robben Island and all, you know… so we graduated in absentia.[62]

The Durban Students Union was an active student organisation at the university in the 1950s. They began reaching out to Indian and Coloured high school students to form a membership pipeline, but recruiting in Coloured high schools proved difficult:

> The students at Bechet generally were not particularly interested. You know, apathetic… To go into a political organization you know what I mean, to them it was foreign. It was foreign. It was difficult to recruit amongst Coloureds here. I started handing out pamphlets at the school there trying to organize a meeting, then I was victimized for that because Ingall (the Headmaster) didn't want that at all. He started chasing the students and threatening us.[63]

This outreach led some to join Unity Movement aligned organisations such as the Society of Young Africa (SOYA) and later the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa (APDUSA), and become more involved in political organising. Yusuf Joe Jacobs who would go on to become Rector of the Bechet College of Education in the mid-1980s, describes SOYA as a radical group who were:

> …being trained for more, for the future, you know, for politics. But to do that you know, you had to read Karl Marx, you had to understand the Russian Revolution, what it was about and this that and the other.[64]

This political activity also came at a cost, and Jacobs found himself at loggerheads with both the state and his family:

[62] AD, personal interview, August 2011.
[63] Joe Jacobs, personal interview, May 2012.
[64] Ibid.

> … my sisters and brothers weren't interested in my political views. But my mother was vehemently against it, because she saw the dangers. And then of course the special branch started raiding our house, we were living, we had returned to Valgees building when the special branch was following us, and then they started raiding. Come and raid your house. Search. Take your things. Throw everything about, looking for banned materials, or bombs or things or what have you. Of course, it really became a bit frightening for us.[65]

A Muted Response to Coloured Education

The introduction of Coloured education in the 1960s, was a catalyst for teachers in the Cape to voice their opposition against a system that would perpetuate existing class structures and prepare Coloured students to be nothing more than workers and artisans. Opposition among teachers in Natal, however, was more muted. In the early 1950s, Coloured teachers in Natal and the Transvaal had been officially barred from joining political organisations or participating in political activities.[66] In practical terms, this was not really an issue, given the apolitical nature of Natal Coloureds in general, but may also have contributed to their political indifference. From the 1930s teachers had joined the NCTS which was involved in welfare societies and groups such as the Durban Coloured Federal Council (DCFC), but, notably, the NTSC pulled its support from the DCFC soon as it became too political and joined the Coloured Convention in 1961. While the NCTS did note their disapproval of Coloured Education, it was stilted and ambiguous. Soudien explains the general apolitical nature of Durban teachers:

> … and one teacher also from Durban, possibly in an attempt to justify their inactivity in the area whether there had been any attempt to change or challenge the introduction of Coloured Education, said, "who are you going to challenge?...The moment they thought you were trying to

[65] Ibid.
[66] Sheila Patterson, *Colour and Culture in South Africa: A Study of the Status of the Cape Coloured People within the Social Structure of the Union of South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1953), 278.

> be…er…subversive, rebellious or anything like that, they would just come down on you and told you to pack up and go…We couldn't use anything…We were very young people, Twenty, twenty-one. These things didn't affect us. All we were interested in was sport, schoolwork and girls and this and that.[67]

The inexperience of young teachers, a lack of context of political criticism in Durban and threats of punitive measures such as a transfer to 'backwards' rural schools or even dismissal, all contributed to the lack of response from Durban teachers. What did emerge as a form of protest in the 1960s, and much more in line with the boycott-nature of Natalians, was an increase in Coloured teachers leaving South Africa for English-speaking African countries, particularly Ghana, Malawi, Zambia and Rhodesia. They were drawn by better salaries and working conditions and pushed from South Africa by apartheid, registering their disagreement with being forced to teach a Coloured curriculum that defined them as being 'less than'. The political and philosophical distance between teachers and the system, with the principal as the representative of that system, speaks to some of the issues faced by teachers during the period including, control by regulation, inadequate consultation, a feeling of being watched, a general fear of voicing opinions and of intimidation.[68]

The 1960s were a time of intense suppression, banning and intimidation. What little political organising there was, had been severely weakened, halted or driven underground. John Daniel, president of the student organisation NUSAS (National Union of SA Students) in 1966, and again in 1968, noted in a 1976 interview:

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[67] Crain Soudien, "Teachers' Responses to the Introduction of Apartheid Education," in *The History of Education under Apartheid, 1948-1994: The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall Be Opened*, ed. Peter Kallaway (New York: P. Lang, 2002), 220.
[68] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (May 1971), 6.

> It looked like that was the end of the internal radical resistance...I was in NUSAS in 1966, 1967, 1968 and there really seemed to be nothing going on. Everybody was either - inside completely demoralized, or outside. I think that SASO (South Africans Students' Organisation) was the beginning of the resurgence.[69]

The Rise of Black Consciousness

As the harsh reality of life under apartheid became more evident, younger groups became more politically aware, and a more critical approach began to emerge. The 1970s saw a greater level of awareness of the inequalities of apartheid both within the teaching network and the student body. SASO, led by Steve Biko, with its ideology of Black Consciousness, had a small but significant impact on the Coloured community in Durban. Biko was a student at the University of Natal, Faculty of Medicine and he lived at the Alan Taylor residence in Wentworth. The students living in residence in Wentworth often encouraged young boys from the community to join them in soccer games, and this close contact led to a natural introduction to political thought. Black Consciousness ideology soon found a space to thrive, particularly in Wentworth, amidst the growing anger over poor housing and hard living conditions, and also with young students at Bechet school and teacher training college in Sydenham. Biko defined Black Consciousness as:

> "… the realisation by the Black man of the need to rally with his brothers around the cause of their oppression - the blackness of their skin - and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude."[70]

[69] Gwendolen Carter, "Interview, John Daniel," *Aluka Topic #442: Regional links-Refugee-host country relationships*, 1976. http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/ora19760600.000.009.000.pdf
[70] Steve Biko, "White Racism and Black Consciousness," in *I Write What I like,* ed. Aelred Stubbs (London: The Bowerdean Press, 1978), 92.

A student from Bechet recalls being introduced to the Black Consciousness Movement at a meeting in Austerville-Wentworth:

> I remember a public meeting in Austerville, and I spoke at that public meeting and from there I was invited to a rally at Alan Taylor residence where there was a launch of SASO, South African Students Organization. It was essentially a Black student's movement and from that I started to know more people in the Black Consciousness movement and began to do things. For instance, we had the bread boycott, we got very involved with the bread boycott when the price of bread was just being pushed up. And then we were protesting against segregation on buses, so we got onto the bus rank and we distributed leaflets there and some of the guys were arrested…charged for causing feelings of racial hostility….From that trial, Saths Cooper and Strini Moodley were very involved with then the organising of the Frelimo rally, without knowing we were caught up in collaborations, the leadership of the movement was caught up in collaborating with Mozambique and the political struggles there in Lourenço Marques. Frelimo took over there and we were busy with organizing a Frelimo rally at Curries Fountain, and there Strini and Saths were arrested and put on Robben Island…[71]

Given the issues of poverty in the Wentworth community, in particular, one might have expected BCM to attract a larger following. The membership was small due to several factors, the general disinterest in political ideas, the fact that Coloured people did not fully see themselves as being oppressed (even in such oppressive situations as existed in Wentworth) and, finally, they did not imagine themselves as being Black or having much in common with the Black experience. A former BCM member describes the passive, apolitical nature of the majority of the community:

> Durban Coloureds weren't…as a group they weren't political, I don't know if that's a good thing or a bad thing but we chose not to get involved, but we should have. We sort of accepted the status quo, you know, we accepted what was happening that we were all in four different compartments and we accepted that we were. 'I'm alright Jack.' I'm in my

[71] EY, personal interview, May 2014.

> compartment and I've got a job and a house and a wife and children and, but to get involved? But the thing is we all can't be political, we can't, ya. So it just never happened in Durban, it never happened.[72]

Adhikari points out a parallel rise of Black Consciousness ideology in the Cape during the same period also with those who were more educated:

> From the latter half of the 1970s onwards, starting with the popularisation of Black Consciousness ideology, the nature of coloured identity became an extremely contentious issue as increasing numbers of educated and politicised people who had been classified 'coloured' under the Population Registration Act rejected the identity. Colouredness increasingly came to be viewed as an artificial categorisation imposed on society by the ruling minority as part of its divide-and-rule strategies.[73]

The rejection of the Labour Party and the CPRC also played a critical role in the development of political consciousness in the Coloured community. The political meetings, election campaigns, disagreements of positions and election boycotts, gave people an awareness of politics and a place in the political process. Once interested in politics, a sense of frustration with the Labour Party and led some activists to seek other, more radical political outlets:

> … and then we realised the Labour Party is going nowhere, in fact, perpetuating the system…and that's how we became exposed to the United Democratic Front (UDF) which was just a front for the ANC, they were banned at the time, so you could not use the term ANC, so it was United Democratic Front. And we started working on civic issues hey, destabilising, you know that sort of thing.[74]

> I was at Bechet, Standard 6 (early 70s) and that's when I first met Dempsey Noel who was married to Jeanie Noel...and so he had a very great impact in terms of my political consciousness and development at that stage. Because at that stage they established the Labour Youth Organization. Noel was key to it and Virgil Bonhomme and Jeanie and they seemed to be strategizing the organization with very small

[72] BP, personal interview, June 2011.
[73] Mohamed Adhikari, "Hope, Fear, Shame, Frustration: Continuity and Change in the Expression of Coloured Identity in White Supremacist South Africa, 1910–1994," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 32, No 3, 2006: 471.
[74] LN, personal interview, April 2012.

> meetings…and that led me into the Black Consciousness Movement. And that lead me into meeting people like Steve Biko, Sam Moodley, Strini Moodley, Saths Cooper, very strong Black Consciousness minds. So we did things like going to schools in townships, assisting to paint schools, setting up vegetable gardens in schools, and it was all community activity, very, not political you know but they were obviously using that as strategy to begin to impact our thinking and the way we thought about the politics and the route that the country was taking.[75]

There were also initial connections between the Labour Party and the BCM. In the early years, there were some young BC adherents who gravitated to the Labour Party but, after a while, they began to criticise the party's involvement in apartheid structures:

> Initially, the Black Consciousness Movement supported the Labour Party or rather engaged with the Labour Party, even in that first election, to really test the field the government was now playing into. But when they went then the route of the tri-cameral parliament their whole political trend came preposterous and became not the kind of thing we wanted to identify with, which was further and further polarizing people on racial lines, and at the same time creating a great deal of violence between Indian and Coloured and African people, Black African. And by setting us up that way, it was drawing Coloured and Indian people closer to them because they were now feeling more threatened by this growing majority that could be a better opponent to apartheid.[76]

Activists who were becoming more radical than family and friends experienced the personal conflict of being at odds with respected community elders and family members who believed that they were still working for the overall welfare of the Coloured community:

> …they were trying to tell the community like you know let's cooperate with the government's new scheme. The government wants to give us a Coloured parliament and things like that. And we need to cooperate with them and so on, and then we'll get something for ourselves, for Coloureds, Coloured people. And of course we were opposed to that…we wanted the full franchise for everyone. Everyone to vote, the right to vote

[75] EY, personal interview, May 2014.
[76] EY, personal interview, May 2014.

> and the right to be elected to parliament. And we saw this as a bit of a sellout and so on. So that's where the clashes came in.[77]
>
> I became trapped between two, divergent views, participation with government and its organs of creating separate parliaments for different racial groups and on the other hand I was involved with the Black Consciousness Movement and there we were talking about not being defined by the colour of your skin but being defined by your consciousness, your awareness, of who you are and that every person is a person because they are a person not because of the colour of their skin, or colour of their eyes, or the texture of their hair. And on the other hand I've come out of activity, not just come out of, I'm still part of activity within the Labour Party, it is through the Labour Party that I met the people in the Black Consciousness Movement...[78]

The political activism and affiliations with the BCM spilt over to the younger generation, paving the way for the next group of activists who would come of age in the 1980s and become involved in the United Democratic Front, particularly with organizations like the United Committee of Concern that had an important following in Natal.

Conscientised teachers had an impact on their students, which eventually led to a greater demand for a non-racial educational system and was critical in the student movements of the 1980s. Teachers were able to raise the consciousness of their students by employing the lessons of the BCM in the classroom:

> …in my classroom teaching I was very conscious and so when I taught history, I taught history with that kind of consciousness raising all the time. And the kids responded. I mean I had an occasion in class, you know they used to have the Republic Day celebrations, you know you go out on that day, you get a bun and a coke and you go home earlier, you had a half a day and that, but my class chose that they will not go out for a celebration. So when I related that to my principal it was clear that I had influenced them. I did not influence the decision, I influenced the consciousness and they then made a choice that they did not want to identify. They were standard 3s, they were very young but children are

[77] JJ, personal interview, June 2012.
[78] EY, personal interview, May 2014.

> influenced when they are very young…so of course if your class is not celebrating then you're obviously the guilty party. So what that then does, is it puts a whole tirade of question and investigation. You're walking in on a Monday morning and suddenly the principal is standing outside your door to inspect you or he's sending for your books, you know to see if your marking is up to date, the schedules, here you have to put your work, the pressure is just piled on top of you and you seem to get more and more work.[79]

However, as contact and communication with other parts of the country improved, shifts occurring in the Cape in the 1970s and 80s were mirrored in parts of Durban and soon schools were becoming sites of politicisation. Kumi Naidoo points out that although: "… Durban did not feature prominently in the 1976 student uprisings … there were attempts in some 'Coloured' high schools to join the protest, but they did not come to fruition."[80] The 1980s saw an increase in political consciousness and expression at Coloured schools: students in Wentworth formed the first branch of COSAS in a non-African township, and Bechet High School in Sydenham was one of the first schools in the whole of Durban to join the protest action. Bechet Teacher Training College (attached to Bechet High School) was also the site of a branch of the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO), formed under Robert McBride. [81] McBride would go on to join Mkonto we Sizwe and was jailed for his role in the bombing of the "Why Not" Restaurant and Magoo's Bar in Durban in 1986.

[79] EY, personal interview, May 2014.
[80] Kumi Naidoo, "The Politics of Youth Resistance in the 1980s: The Dilemmas of a Differentiated Durban," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18, No 1 (March 1992): 149.
[81] Ibid, 157.

Conclusion

Under Apartheid, Coloured education was introduced in schools enforcing a milder, yet similarly insidious, form of social control as Bantu Education. Under the new education system, Coloured youths were to be educated for their place in society as artisans. The exceptionalism of Natal Education came to an end as all Coloured schools across the country regardless of location were controlled centrally by the Department of Coloured Affairs. Within the classroom, the government mandated that Coloured children be taught by Coloured teachers driving the demand for teachers in the community. For schools in Natal, these changes also meant reduced funding and an end to special scholarships and programs for Natal Coloured children. The movement of people into Group Areas either with no schools in their designated group area or lacking adequate space, led to persistent issues such as overcrowding, the dreaded platoon system, and children having to take public buses long distances to reach school. The NCTS had a change of guard in the 1960s, and a new younger leadership that was less tolerant of maintaining the status quo than the old leadership had been, emerged. They pushed for better compensation, working conditions and fairer benefits, and also worked to introduce members to non-racialism. As discontent with Bantu and Coloured education increased in other parts of the country, the educational space became a site of resistance, and as life under apartheid became more difficult and oppressive, young people in Durban became more politically aware. The educational space proved to be an important venue for galvanizing a small but important group of young people into aligning themselves to Black Consciousness and the emerging student struggles in the Cape.

CHAPTER 7

THE APARTHEID YEARS (1950 to 1980): LIVING COLOURED

The new dispensation of apartheid brought with it numerous changes and challenges to the daily lives of Coloured people in Durban. Some interaction across racially defined Durban was carved out within sports and recreation spaces, but these were limited and still operated in an overall context of separation of difference. The increasing restrictions placed on Coloured people, were compounded by a downturn in the economy, which resulted in precarious social conditions and hardships. Uprooted from old social networks and facing myriad new burdens, Coloured people found new avenues of community production and social fellowship that allowed for elaboration and consolidation of a Coloured identity in Durban.

Leisure: Limited Spaces to Mix

In the social sphere, apartheid was based on preventing any mixing between racial groups in spaces where social interactions might occur. The National Party pursued petty apartheid with considerable ideological vigour in order to erase any form of racial mixing and to ensure the creation of pure white spaces. However, interaction among Blacks, especially Coloureds and Indians persisted in inter-race and non-racial sporting events which, while monitored, seemed to receive a special dispensation from authorities to continue, but which were careful to keep whites separated from Blacks. Social spaces for Indians and Coloureds were hard for authorities to define and separate and so a fair amount of mixing did continue. The size of the community and their financial means, for example, did not warrant separate bioscopes, bars or dance hall

venues and, instead of banning all contact, the authorities turned a blind eye and allowed social mixing to continue between Indians and Coloureds. As in the previous period covered, the most popular ways to spend leisure time for Coloureds was at the bioscope, dances, ballroom dancing and band competitions and at the beach.

The old bioscopes of the 1930s and 40s, the Victoria Picture Palace, Royal Picture Palace and the Avalon Theatre in Victoria Street, were still in use if a little shabby. They were supplemented in the 1950s and 60s with some new establishments, Naaz Cinema (1953), Shah Jehan Cinema (1956), the Scala (1959) and the Shiraz (1968). All were geared to an Indian clientele, and the owners had to seek permission to allow people of different races to attend the same venue. Indian owners would allow Coloureds to enter freely, but Africans were usually turned away as Apartheid was more forcefully implemented. An incident at the Avalon Bioscope illustrates these restrictions. In the mid-1950s, a group of friends from UN-NES, a Coloured, two Indians and one African, attempted to enter the bioscope. The African was denied entry, but the others were allowed to buy their tickets. The group protested and pleaded with the owners to allow the entire group entry, but eventually, all left vowing to boycott the bioscope. The African student kicked out of the bioscope was Raymond Mzizi Kunene, already the holder of an honours degree from UN-NES and future Poet Laureate of South Africa.[82] In 1958, the government approved an application to allow Chinese, Indians and Coloureds to attend the same cinemas but denied entry to Africans.[83] Jagarnath explains that

[82] EN, personal interview, September 2011.
[83] Vashna Jagarnath, "Indian Cinema in Durban: Urban Segregation, Business and the Visions of Identity from the 1950s to the 1970s," in *City Flicks. Cinema, Urban Worlds and Modernities in India and Beyond*, ed. Preben Kaarsholm (Roskilde: International Development Studies, Roskilde University, 2002), 171.

several persistent applications were made to the Group Areas Board by the owners of the cinemas to allow Africans entry. They used the argument that allowing Africans into bioscopes would provide a public service of preventing unwanted loitering on the streets of Durban. The Group Area Board eventually gave permission and allowed the bioscopes to seat small percentages of Africans, depending on the size of the theatre, and only in segregated seating.[84] There were no restrictions placed on Coloured entry and seating in the Indian bioscopes. Community members recall that going to the movies was an occasion that was planned for among friends or on special occasions such as break-up-day at school and that both men and women would dress up for the outing.[85]

Popular social gatherings of the day included dances, "Battle of the Bands" competitions, Debutante (Debs) Balls, beauty pageants and house parties. Some events such as the Debs Ball were completely Coloured affairs, held in a rented hall, possibly even the City Hall; while other events and performances allowed mixing between Indians and Coloureds, supporting some continued interaction between these groups.

A venue that was consistently mentioned by community members as significant was the Himalaya Hotel that opened in 1956 to provide a licenced hotel and function space for the Indian community, and used also by Coloureds:

> It was very posh, and everything of significance happened there…From the late 60s...It was the only place that you could gather socially... It was a place where we could gather on a Saturday afternoon...2 to 6 you could buy drinks, you had your drinks, and you have bands playing for you and you could dance the afternoon away. In the evenings the Himalaya had formal dances, where you dressed in collar and tie… Ya, and you had your 2 floors, the Kilimanjaro and the Summit, and you would go there from 8

[84] Ibid, 172.
[85] BP, personal interview, June 2011.

> to 12, and you were able to dance…And you know the Himalaya of course was the venue for, not just dancing…the ratepayer's association had an annual pageant, the Miss Durban Pageant…It was very posh at the time, it was beautifully appointed, that's where you had your so-called posh functions, and prior to that, we would have had to hire the City Hall, get a permit to have a function at the City Hall...But otherwise any other competition or fundraising effort, or dances and that, was held at the Himalaya. So it was situated in town, but people from all the areas came through to that venue.[86]

The emphasis on the 'poshness' of the venue and of the high-brow activities held therein, such as the pageant and ballroom dancing, is striking here, and signals a continued desire for respectability.

Music was an important part of the life of the community, and many bands were mixed with Coloured and Indians performing together. Talent shows and Battle of the Band competitions were often used by venues such as the Himalaya to select their house bands, and these offered an incentive for young musicians to come together to earn prize money and contracts. Some of the bands of the era included Happy Hearts, the Crescendos and Dukes Combo, Sam's Latin Kings, Stepping Stones, El Toros, Wild things, Big 4, the Jets, Kreme, the Cheyennes, Blue Ricks, the Blue Jewels, the Insects, the Santiago Dance Band, Los Pepitos, El Remos, the Raiders, and the Flames.[87]

The Flames hold a special place in the memory of the Coloured community as they were a local band from Sydenham that achieved national and international success. The band was formed in 1964 by the Fataar brothers Steve, Ricky, and 'Brother' (Edries). Eugene Champion, Edries Fredericks and Blondie Chaplin occupied the position of lead singer at different times.

[86] AG, personal interview, April 2012.
[87] The Kinsey Report, http://thekinseyreport.com (last accessed 18 May 2020).

The Flames recorded and toured all over South Africa, achieving much success, particularly with their rendition of the song 'For Your Precious Love'. The group caught the attention of the Beach Boys, were signed to their Brother label and spent two years in the US recording music. The band split in 1971 but Ricky and Blondie stayed on to tour with the Beach Boys and furthered their music careers overseas.[88] The Fataar brothers had humble beginnings but a strong family support system:

> They used to practice in the lounge and so it was no fences and everything open…Auntie Cookie used to live next door and she didn't like the music. Although there were times when it was ok, you know what I mean. They were all young and everybody was ok. As they got older I suppose they wanted their privacy too. But for us growing up…it didn't bother us because it became a way of life. It was just, well the boys need to go and play, and it just happened. It wasn't something that they decided well they gonna have to have this band. He (Steve) was just playing…because he enjoyed the guitar and whatnot and then they decided they having a band.[89]

Steve Fataar credited the community of Sydenham with developing the love that he and his brothers had for music:

> There was always music being played somewhere in the area. The community hall had live music every weekend and sometimes during the week. Also, people used to play music at the clinic and the library. The sports clubs also always had music events. I remember lying in my bed at night and hearing music drifting through the air. Guys who could play guitar sat on street corners and practised. How we learnt to sing harmonies so well was by singing with those street musicians.[90]

[88] Duncan Park, "An Unsung Dialogue: Music, Society and the Flames" (Master's thesis, Rhodes University, 2016), 75.
[89] ZF, personal interview, June 2012.
[90] Duncan Park, "An Unsung Dialogue: Music, Society and the Flames" (Master's thesis, Rhodes University, 2016), 78.

Figure 28: The Flames winning a competition in their early years



Source: Fataar Collection

Community Centres often become the glue for a community, providing a space for various activities and gatherings to take place. The Sparks Estate Community Centre became such a space, a hive of activity, hosting dances, plays, children's groups and competitions and containing a community library and gym. It was seen as a beacon, not only for the immediate Sparks Estate community but, as there was no similar space in Greenwood Park and nothing until much later in Wentworth, it became a symbol of community for the greater Coloured Community of Durban. The building was erected by the Durban Rotary Club as a memorial to Coloured servicemen lost in the two world wars.[91] Over the years the community centre housed numerous events including a boxing club, concerts, talent shows, dances, nativity plays,

[91] SD, personal interview, April 2012.

dance lessons, adult education classes, church meetings, choir practice, political meetings and events, ratepayer's association meetings, bingo and the Boys Brigade.[92] Several social spaces remained shared by Coloureds and Indians under apartheid, where the two groups were generally lumped together as the racial groups between Africans and whites. However, within the designated group areas, within venues such as the Sparks Estate Community Centre, and later, the Wentworth Community Centre, mixing did not usually occur.

The Durban beachfront remained a popular leisure destination for the Coloured community and, in this period, not much changed as the beachfront had been segregated since 1930. The prime spots with the best facilities were reserved for whites, and smaller sections of the beach were set aside for others. There was a small stretch reserved for Coloureds situated next to an equally sized small beach reserved for Indians, while the African beach was furthest away from the white beach located near the Blue Lagoon. The white beaches had better facilities, including shark nets: "… to create safe, protected swimming areas."[93] During the height of apartheid, Coloured beaches were required to have Coloured lifeguards. The first Coloured lifesavers in the early 1940s would train at the Durban Bay as there was no Coloured swimming pool in the city.[94]

[92] HA, personal interview, April 2012.
[93] Jayne Rogerson, "'Kicking Sand in the Face of Apartheid': Segregated Beaches in South Africa," *Bulletin of Geography Socio-economic Series* 35 (2017): 101.
[94] KS, personal interview, June 2012.

Figure 29: Coloured Lifesavers Training 1960s



Source: Barbeau Collection.

Despite the politics of where to swim, a lack of facilities and who the lifesavers were, community members felt a sense of ownership over their little stretch of beach and recall the good times spent there with family and friends:

> I remember they had all trees and bush up on the bank and everyone would take a basket and we'd picnic under those trees for shade. Then the children would go down and swim. It was very nice…near where the Snake Park was, around the Elangeni.[95]

> The hockey girls used to go even after hockey to walk on the beach. Sundays if there's nothing to do you go to the beach - Marine Parade. The South Beach was white and then you had a little Coloured strip on Marine Parade, and then you had the Indian beach next to the Coloured beach, there wasn't much mixing hey, and then the Black beach further down near the Blue Lagoon, and that was a fishing beach so no went.[96]

[95] CI, personal interview, April 2014.
[96] AD, personal interview, August 2011.

People who live, work and worship together, naturally also spend their leisure time together. Coloured people claimed their own recreational spaces where they could, with little class distinction in leisure activities. The small size and limited means of the community however, meant they had limited facilities for entertainment and authorities turned a blind eye to continued interaction and shared spaces with Indians.

Apartheid on the Sports Field

The sports environment was a central aspect of life in the Durban Coloured community, and people spent much leisure time playing sports or as spectators. Sports were played at school, in community leagues, organised among work colleagues and at city and provincial levels, all offering a mechanism to build social networks and instil a sense of belonging. The teams and developments in the sporting world were often a reflection of the linkages between the Coloured community and politics in the city. Many sports administrators were called on to step outside the sporting arena to assist with community welfare and to use their influence and connections as a foray into politics. One area where this was clear was in the fight for sports grounds which had begun decades earlier but continued to be a cause for which local leaders were prepared to take a stand.

In the 1950 and 1960s, the campaign for sports facilities was a constant struggle. The Durban City Council in 1952 moved the Coloured community back to Stamford Hill, their pre-war grounds, which was in a deplorable condition: "… when the army finished with Stamford Hill, those mules and donkeys running up and down there - they messed that ground up."[97] The

[97] EN, personal interview, September 2011.

Council would not take responsibility to fix the field and was only prepared to match funds collected from the Durban Coloured Sports Grounds Association (DCSGA) for improvements. According to Desai et al., the council short-changed the community by not spending the full allocation on the repairs to the grounds intended by the Union government as compensation for the use during war times.[98] Nonetheless, the community was happy to be back at Stamford Hill:

> Everything was catered for - hockey, cricket, football, we all played on the same grounds. But there were no like floodlights or stands or anything. We only got that after the war. When they handed the grounds back after the war they put up a stand, a concrete stand for us, it wasn't really completed but they gave it to us, it's the only time we had seats otherwise we sat where we could. And we had a tin shanty for the caretaker of the grounds, Mr Phillip Isaacs, he had a tin shanty there. He lived there and he sold eats from the ground, like popcorn and chips and that type of thing, and that's how he made his living.[99]

The community had no sooner returned to the Stamford Hill Grounds than they were abruptly informed that the site was required for a white equestrian facility. Stamford Hill grounds was a Coloured facility in an area earmarked as a White Group Area, and the City Council was interested in facilitating a change in the racial use of the facilities in the area. In return for moving, the Council promised a full sports complex with a swimming pool, fields and tennis court. [100] With better facilities on offer, people were happy with the deal. The area identified for the Coloured sports grounds was 15 occupied acres, located off Brickfield Road. Seventy-two families, mostly Indian, a Hindu temple and a madrasah were sent notices of expropriation

[98] Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 180.
[99] BL, personal interview, May 2012.
[100] EN, personal interview, September 2011.

in 1956. Despite numerous petitions and protests, the Council went ahead with evictions and demolitions and began developing the land into Tills Crescent grounds in 1958, for the sole use of Coloureds. With apartheid now in full swing, the lease dictated that: "… the said Lot and any buildings to be erected thereon shall be leased to and occupied by persons of the Coloured Race Group only," with 'Natives' and 'Asiatics' allowed only as workers or spectators.[101] This moment illustrates the callousness of the apartheid authorities and their strategy to pit potential allies against each other. In order to claim a site for white use, in particular, for horses, Coloureds were moved from a place of community pride and historical use to a site already occupied by Indians. The forced removal of Indian families and the destruction of homes and places of worship was particularly cruel and traumatic, and the added insult was that Indian people were barred from playing on the Tills Crescent grounds.

The DCSGA may not have been happy with how Tills Crescent came into existence, but they acquiesced with little objection. In return, they were granted a bigger and arguably better sporting home than Stamford Hill. Once completed however, Tills Crescent proved to be a sub-par facility: "… we had a half-built stadium, the ground was terrible, no change room, oh my word, but our guys couldn't fight…they weren't prepared to fight for us."[102] *The Daily News* was similarly unimpressed with the grounds: "Tills Crescent - a poor excuse for anything, let alone an inter-provincial cricket ground. There's a matting wicket, a bumpy outfield, a sorry-looking drag grey 'grandstand' and a lively crowd, which watches equally lively – and good – cricket."[103]

[101] Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 196.
[102] EE, personal interview, May 2012.
[103] *Daily News*, 27 February 1973.

Tills Crescent became the centre of all Coloured sport in Durban, small for the growing Coloured population, but a home nonetheless:

> Tills was the only Coloured sports ground at that time. They eventually got another one in Wentworth but it was quite a long time afterwards. They always had to come and play here. We were really restricted. We used to play cricket there in the summer then we had soccer and we had rugby and we had tennis and hockey. We had all those sports under one roof - you had to control all that. And it wasn't enough. You know there were 4 tennis courts, so the most people that could play on those courts was 16 (doubles). If 20 people turn up to play, 4 are not going to get a chance. Then Westridge Park tennis courts - half of them are empty! That really hurt you. Because that was only for whites. Why did they have to have all those tennis courts and we have to be so restricted. Then we used to play soccer, if you start the first game at 8 o'clock in the morning and sometimes at 6 o'clock you still playing! Because there's not enough space you know.[104]

Soccer remained the most popular sporting code in the community, and the amateur coloured league brought crowds to the grounds on match day. The amateur league, administered by the Natal Coloured Football Association, was made up of neighbourhood teams and was an important place of identity formation for the Coloured community. Clubs and teams that were affiliated (from overlapping eras) included Yorkshire, Arsenal, Clayton Lads, Rialto, Aces, Dunlop, New Orleans, Pirates and Checkers, Clairmont, Sydenham, Yorkshires, Leeds United and, Greenwood Park Rebels. Teams were formed by youths who might live on a particular road or neighbourhood or who were friends at school. Rialto, for example, was formed in 1958, by a group of friends from Umbilo Road High School. In his 2009 memoir, Rialto player Ettie Abrahams recalled his 'halcyon days,' training on the beachfront, at Kenfield grounds in

[104] DR, personal interview, June 2012.

Overport and occasionally stealing practice in Albert Park, but being chased away as it was a whites-only facility.[105]

Figure 30: Rialto Football Club



Source: Powys Collection

New Orleans, another important team, hailed from Duchene and were known as: "The Wonder Boys from Warwick Avenue." Some of their outstanding players included Bernie Crowie, Putu Strydom, Peter Minnie, Royston Matches, Tommy Crowie, John Stanley and Basil Petersen.[106] Other notable amateur teams were Clayton Lads FC and Motherwell FC with players such as Erroll Dunn and Vicky Hulley, Ninny George, Alfie Clark, Raymond Lewis, Gerald

[105] Edward "Ettie" Abrahams, *Eddy of Time: Rialto FC 1958-1961.* Self Published, 2009; Rialto players included Ettie Abrahams, Tyrone Kazmer, Morris Brooks, Lionel Gruen, Reginald Yon, Dennis Easthorpe, Merlyn Powys, Kenny Winters, Kenny Williams, Harold Van der Merwe, Moses Strydom, Tucker Parsons, Arthur Niekerk, Basil Manning, Russel McKenzie, Lawrence Knipe, Myron Fynn, Raymond Gaillard and Lawrence Hulley.
[106] NP, personal interview, June 2012.

Stephens, Edwin (Goofy) Fredericks, Ian Crowie, Alan (Pokey) Johnathan, Pat Blair, Gary Crawford, Preston Julius, Scara Petersen and Boy Blair.[107]

Figure 31: New Orleans FC 1950s[108]



Source: The Kinsey Report. http://sasoccer.thekinseyreport.com/new%20orleans.htm

A tragic moment that stands out in Durban soccer history pre-Group Areas, was a car accident that occurred in July 1958. Members of the Natal Coloured soccer team were travelling to Cape Town to take part in the Stuttaford Cup. Two members of the Natal Coloured team, Noel 'Boney' Rooks and Otto Forbey, lost their lives in an accident just outside Kokstad. Boney's younger brother Trevor 'Spuds' Alston Rooks, who was travelling as a supporter, was also killed in the accident. Rooks and Forbey were also members of amateur club Clayton Lads formed in 1954 with members Victor Hulley, Freddy Harms, Cecil Williams, Lionel Homiel, Errol Dunn,

[107] The Kinsey Report. http://sasoccer.thekinseyreport.com/index.htm, (Last accessed 18 May 2020).
[108] New Orleans FC: Back: J Heslop, T Crowie, Steenkamp, B Crowie, D De Lange, R. Matches, N Oakes. Front: C Bloem, B. Petersen, S Meyer, J Stanley, P Fynn.

Jackie Bezuidenhout, Harry Smith, Stoffels, Cecil Williams and Sonny de Vries. The club was started by a group of friends from Sydenham, but a number of the players came from the Warwick Ave area. After the accident, the community was devastated, and the team collapsed.[109]

Segregation was applied to amateur club football just as it was applied to every other facet of life. Players who joined Indian or African clubs had to falsify their registration with the club as the appropriate racial group and risk any repercussions of being caught by authorities:

> We had to go and play in the Coloured league, you couldn't go and register (in the) Indian league or any other league and I know when I played in the Indian league, first I played for when I moved down to Overport...they had to register me under another name. So I had a Indian name that I didn't know of, when they took the cards up we just sat here...and the same thing for when we played for…the African League, so we don't go up in the front, we just go and play after them and then they don't see anything. So you had that ya, it was that separation throughout, it went even right to the bottom that you couldn't go and play…and it was so stupid. And there were people that would enforce that...so you had that separation even in sport, in different organisations…you had the Coloureds, the Indians, Africans.[110]

As soccer was an extramural activity, it often took a toll on personal and work lives. Practice and tournament schedules were gruelling, and commitment to the game could be expensive. Players were expected to pay for their kit, registration fees and travel costs to practice and games. In the early 1960s, professional teams, sponsored by wealthy Indian businesspeople began to offer an alternative for talented and ambitious players:

> …about that time that professional soccer was coming to South Africa amongst the whites, so non-whites also started thinking of professionalism. And so these Indian teams, were poaching on some of our best players. People like Lionel Hamiel, George Francis all moved

[109] CR, personal interview, May 2014.
[110] EE, personal interview, May 2012.

> toward playing for the Indian teams because they were being paid. Not you know, they weren't being paid what players are being paid now, but at least they didn't have to pay their own fees and all that. Coz when it was completely amateur each player had to pay their own registration fees and all that. You paid to play…so our teams became casualties. We couldn't compete with the Indians…They were just poaching all the top players, from the Coloureds, from the Africans and so on. So we couldn't really compete against these blokes.[111]

In 1961, the South African Soccer Federation (SASF) formed the professional South African Soccer League (SASL). The SASL was followed by the Federation Professional League (FPL), formed in 1969, and was considered a rival to the white National Football League (NFL) and the African National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) and was regarded as the peak of non-racial soccer in South Africa. The first teams comprising the FPL were decidedly Natal-focused, with the exception of one team from the Transvaal, Avalon Athletics, Aces United, Verulam Suburbs, Manning Rangers, Maritzburg City, Chatsworth Rovers and Transvaal United but, in just a few years, the league grew to include Berea, Cape Town Spurs, Glenville, Bluebells, Dynamos, Swaraj and Sundowns.[112] The cup finals of the FPL were highlights of the soccer calendar and huge community events, with the name of the trophy taking the name of the sponsor. The tournament was sponsored by the United Tobacco Company in the 1960s, Mainstay in the 1960s and 1970s and, Coca Cola in the 1970s. The FPL disbanded in 1990 to join the NPSL in forming the National Soccer League.[113]

[111] EN, personal interview, September 2011.
[112] Other teams at various times of the league's existence included, Orlando Pirates, Moroko Swallows, Real Fighters, Cape Ramblers, Black Pool United, Lincoln City, Hearts, Tongaat Crusaders, Cape Rangers and Leeds.
[113] *The Post*, 30 September 2015.

The amateur league continued, but it had to compete with the show and spectacle of the professional league. Many standout players from the amateur league were recruited into professional teams, and amateur teams like Leeds United from Wentworth and Spearman Lads from Sydenham became important feeders to professional teams.[114] Professionalisation undermined the community base of amateur sport, and the amateur league suffered a loss in stature and importance in the identity formation of the Coloured community. There was a sense of bitterness for some, at the corporatisation of the game that had, until that point, been an expression of neighbourhood and community. Nonetheless, players could not be faulted for wanting to play in the best possible competitive environments. Professionalisation, ironically, also created the possibility for inter-race sport, both multi-racial and non-racial.

A team that traversed amateur and professional status was Leeds United of Wentworth. After the Group Areas was enacted, soccer took on an important role in establishing community ties and belonging. An area like Wentworth was made up of groups coming from all over Durban, the Transkei and Zululand, and soccer provided a common denominator for all and a space to work on aggression felt from displacement. Leeds United, an amateur side formed in the early mid 60s in Wentworth, was one such rallying point.[115] The Leeds United players navigated a changing apartheid landscape, challenging economic and housing situations, and a brutal epidemic of gangs and illicit substances to forge community both on and off the field. Dire economic situations meant that in the 1970s, players would leave the club to join professional sides such as Berea and Aces United, also leaving Wentworth to chase

[114] See Ashwin Desai, Wentworth: The Beautiful Game and the Making of Place (Pietermaritzburg: UKZN press).
[115] Ashwin Desai, Wentworth: The Beautiful Game and the Making of Place (Pietermaritzburg: UKZN press), 30.

employment in other parts of the country. In 1979, Leeds was promoted to the FPL and in 1982 moved to the NPSL, delighting fans with wins against the likes of Kaiser Chiefs, before faltering by the late 1980s. [116] As the outlook of the team changed, it became a casualty of professionalism, losing the nurturing effect it had on the Wentworth community.

Inter-Race games continued briefly in the 1950s after fixtures were cancelled in the wake of the 1949 riots. Racial tensions in the city were still high after the riots, but the games continued without incident. The first match was held at Curries Fountain in July 1950, between the Coloureds and Africans. The Coloured team won 5-3; while the overall tournament that year was won by the Indian team.[117] In 1953, the Natal and Transvaal Inter-Race Boards joined forces to organise a game between the provincial all-stars. The Natal team was dominated by Indian players and B Seale and A Joseph made up the Coloured contribution to the side. Transvaal beat the home team 4-3 in front of a multi-racial crowd of over 12 000 at Curries Fountain, and the format gave South African football a taste of what a multi-racial team could look like.[118]

In a parallel development, the inter-race model moved to the national level with the formation of the South African Soccer Federation (SASF), an umbrella organisation built on ideals of pan-Africanism that offered a Black response to the all-white South African Football Association (SAFA). Formed in 1951, SASF was made up of the three Black football associations, the SAAFA (South African African Football Association), SAIFA (South African Indian Football

[116] Ibid, 135-136.
[117] Mphumeleli Ngidi, "The Natal Inter-Race Soccer Tournament of the 1950s: Reinforcing or Undermining Race Identities?" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2013), 66.
[118] Mphumeleli Ngidi, "The Natal Inter-Race Soccer Tournament of the 1950s: Reinforcing or Undermining Race Identities?" (Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2013), 88-89.

Association) and SACFA (South African Coloured Football Association). Ngidi lists the founding executive of SASF as: M John (SAIFA), JH Alves (SACFA), EC Jali (SAAFA), George Singh (honorary secretary), Albert Christopher (vice-president), EG Rooks (vice-president), SL Singh (president), RV Ngcobo (vice-president), and A Harry Naidoo (honorary treasurer).[119]

Figure 32: Advertisement for the Natal vs Transvaal Inter-Race Tournament



Source: Advance, 13 August 1953.

In 1956, the Minister of the Interior, Theophilus Dönges, banned mixed-race sport. The Inter-Race and SASF games continued nonetheless under the watchful eye of the apartheid government, while anti-apartheid activists put pressure on international sporting bodies. 1960 was, however, a pivotal point in inter-race soccer. A riot broke out between spectators at a

[119] Mphumeleli Ngidi, "Inter-race soccer and the 1960 riots in Durban, South Africa," *Historia* 59, No 2 (2014): 326.

game at Curries Fountain between the African and Indian teams.[120] The unrest played into the hands of the government and local opponents of inter-racial mixing of any kind and opened the wounds of the 1949 Cato Manor Riots. The SASF had no option but to leave behind inter-race and turn to non-racial soccer and, shortly after the riot, a resolution was passed regarding their rejection of segregation in sport. The decision of the SASF executive was unanimous:

> All racial barriers were to be removed and inter-race tournaments abolished as they were perceived to encourage racial friction. It was also agreed to form provincial non-racial soccer boards under the aegis of the SASF and to "embrace professional soccer alongside amateurism".[121]

The Inter-Race were only marginally successful in forging relationships between different race groups as fans tended to support the teams of their own race groups. The rivalry seen particularly between Africans and Indians supporters highlights this dynamic.

In 1964, Norman Middleton, member of the Labour Party, became president of SASF and, sometime later, president of the South African Council of Sport (SACOS). Both organisations worked to draw world attention to apartheid and called on sporting bodies to isolate South Africa.[122] In 1974 and again in 1976, Middleton was invited to address FIFA to discuss banning South Africa. He was denied a passport for both of these trips, unless he undertook, in writing, not to do or say anything that might jeopardise South African sportsmen and women competing in international sport. Middleton consistently refused to give this assurance. [123]

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[120] Ibid, 335.
[121] Ibid, 339.
[122] Ben Khoapa, *Black Review 1972* (Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1973), 193. http://www.disa.ukzn.ac.za/br19720376435400000001972
[123] Nalini Naidoo, "Obituary: Norman Stewart Middleton 1921-2015," *Natalia* 45 (2015): 100-101.

Although soccer remained at the top of the sporting hierarchy, several other sporting codes played an important part in the life of the community. According to Desai et al., cricket was dominated by Universals, Pirates, Shamrocks, Goodhopes and Rosslyns. With the league being so small, matches between Durban and Pietermaritzburg teams, Wanderers, Perseverance, Primrose and Railways were important fixtures in the cricket and social calendar.

Figure 33: Universals Cricket Club 1955/56 [124]



Source: Lawler Collection

[124] Universals Cricket Club: Winners Durban Coloured Cricket Association League and Inter-City Cup. R Easthorpe, L Isaacs, D Cooper, N Williamson, L Abrahams, E Lawler, W Plaatjes, B Lucioli (chairman), K Searle (captain), D Davis (vice captain) E Searle (patron), B Lawler (secretary), H Seale, L Dolley.

Nationally, Coloureds competed in a bi-annual inter-province tournament for the Sir David Harris Trophy.[125] In 1958, a dispute between Coloured and Malay cricketers revived persistent divisions in some sections of the Coloured community over whether Malays belonged to Coloured or Indian Leagues. The dispute occurred over two team members from the Malay team, Rosslyns who had been suspended for breaking a rule in football while playing for Yorkshires FC. They were suspended from all codes of sport until they had met their obligations to the football association. Despite their suspension, they appeared in a game against Pirates which Rosslyns won. The cricket union, under the chairmanship of Vic Lawler, disqualified Rosslyns and awarded the points from the game to Pirates.[126] The incident caused ill will between the cricket administrators and was seen as a Malay vs Coloured affair. Rosslyns pulled out of the Durban Coloured Cricket Union (DCCU) to form their own Barnato league.[127] The new Malay cricket union was small with five teams fielding several high school players - Rosslyns, Young Rosslyns, Violets, Caledonians and Victorians.[128] It was not long before the iciness thawed between the Coloured and Malay unions, the Barnato league disbanded and most of the Malay teams re-joined the Coloured union.[129]

In the 1950s an inter-race cricket board was formed, mirroring developments in soccer. The inaugural game between Indians and Coloureds took place in 1955 and was won by the

[125]Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 186-194.
[126] BL, personal interview, May 2012.
[127] BL, personal interview, May 2012.
[128] Ibid.
[129] The Barnato league in Durban was not sustainable due to the small size of the Malay community and, when the league folded, Victorians joined the Indian league and Caledonians and Violets closed down. Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 190.

Indian team which consistently dominated the tournament for the Seedat Brothers Trophy. African cricketers joined the tournament in 1956 but, in a number of instances, did not have enough players to field a team. As with soccer, the philosophy of inter-race sporting events began to lose favour. Nationally the Indian, Coloured and Malay cricket boards all joined the non-racial South African Cricket Board of Control (SACBOB) in 1958 and, in Durban in 1961, a non-racial cricket board was formed. S Bridgemohan was named as the president and Solly Kirsten the secretary and captain of the first-ever Natal non-racial team. Under Vic Lawler and Abu Bakr Domingo, Coloured and Malay teams merged to form an independent body that functioned in the non-racial Natal Cricket Board (NCB). Desai et al., believe that there was some protectionism in that decision, as Coloured players would not have fared well against stronger Indian players.[130] This separation was taken further in 1965 when the Durban Coloureds and Malays left the NCB and joined with the Maritzburg Coloured Cricket Association to form the Natal Coloured Cricket Union (NCCU) under the leadership of Vic Lawler, falling back on those old Coloured-only inter-city games of the early 1950s. Several players left Coloured teams to join the NCB teams for the opportunity to play at a more competitive level, and in 1969, the Coloured/Malay-Durban/Martizburg union known as MarBan, affiliated back to the NCB.[131]

In the 1970s, attempts were made to introduce non-racial cricket to Natal. These efforts were unsuccessful, hampered by in-fighting, questioning loyalties as well as by the poor facilities afforded to African, Indian and Coloured players, and state repression. In the late 1970s, Pirates club cricket, one of the first Coloured cricket clubs in Durban, made the decision

[130] Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed, *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 227.
[131] Ibid, 229.

to join the white Durban and District Union. The argument of the team's management was that the move gave their players access to better facilities, better coaching and a higher level of competition. A number of players left other Coloured clubs to join Pirates for the chance to take advantage of these benefits; but there were those who did not want to be associated with the white union whose overtures at inclusion were not seen to be genuine. The move caused a major rift in Coloured cricket, and harkened back to the days when people in the community who were of St Helena descent, the main proponents of cricket, saw themselves as closer to white and their cricket as a factor of their claim to respectability and whiteness.

Hockey was a popular sport among women in the Durban Coloured community. An appreciation for the game was cultivated in high school and afterwards in a league that featured Yorkshires from the Duchene area, Berea hockey club for Malay women, started by Baku Domingo, and TeeSavs, and a team sponsored by Thompson and Savage the clothing factory where many Coloured women worked.[132] Teams that joined the league later included Checkers, Goldfields and Sydenham, Santana, Delfos, Redhill Rebels, Spearman Lassies and Diamond H. Diamond H was another company that employed Coloured women; they manufactured switches for Defy stoves. The companies sponsored hockey sticks, balls and kit for their players. However, the popularity of the game came from the early start girls received at school and the fact that it was community-driven, there were numerous places to practice and that it was not an expensive game to play. In the late sixties, white clubs began to recruit from the Coloured amateur leagues.

[132] SB, personal interview, April 2012.

Figure 34: TeeSav Hockey Club 1954 [133]



Source: Rooks Collection.

Those players with real talent took the opportunity for better facilities and nurturing of skill. A former player explains the developments that drew women to play for white clubs:

> …they (white clubs) got pressure from the international people. Whites were playing hockey and Coloureds were playing hockey, there were no black Africans and no Indians playing hockey. So the only people they could get to make their teams mixed up were the Coloureds. So before the Coloured girls could say whoa they were all gone. They came and snapped them all up.[134]

Coloured hockey clubs once a site of community building and fellowship among women, suffered the same fate that soccer teams had experienced when the professional leagues began, and they all eventually closed.

[133] Team members: M Lue, E Lue, M Carey, S Rooks, M Prince, D Norris, B Powys, Y Frulin, O Anderson, S Lawrence, M Houston, M Raymond, C Jasmin.
[134] DR, personal interview, June 2012.

Figure 35: Delfos Hockey Club 1960 [135]



Source: Hulley Collection.

Athletics training and competitions occurred mainly with school sports. Inter-house competitions from primary to high school were the first introduction to athletics for most Coloured children. At high school level, Coloured high schools formed the Natal Coloured Sports Association, and in this slightly larger pool, students were introduced to more competition and better training. In 1974, Coloured schools joined the Natal High Schools Sports Federation, a predominantly Indian body of 52 affiliated schools across nine codes, which included athletics, football, cricket, netball, swimming, tennis, table tennis, volleyball and hockey.[136] For athletes with a passion for athletics, the only way to take their sport forward was to join an Indian club

[135] The Delfos team included: B Johnson, U Sissing, A Montgomery, A Sissing, J Montgomery, D Kidd, B Montgomery, S Sissing, D Calvert, Hurley, and C Raytiu.
[136] Natal Coloured Teachers' Society, *Organiser* (Durban, June 1974), 28.

such as Alpine, Avondale, Baumanville, Rosebank, Rovers and Springbok. An athlete from the community recalls:

> I joined a club here Avondale, and it was lovely. Every month there were sports meetings held at Curries Fountain, running. About once a month in 1953, '54. Cycling used to be the same, they used to have cycling, we used to cycle in the same track we used to run on. At Curries - there's a football pitch in the centre, there was grass around so we'd run around there. 1952 to '56, 4 years I belonged to that Avondale Athletic Club...It was an Indian club, cause we so much in the minority here we didn't have, we had to join all the Indian things. The Avondale Athletic and Cycling club…And Avondale was right by the racecourse there, ya the club was there, and we used to train every Tuesday and Thursday evening.[137]

The Indian Clubs belonged to the South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control formed in 1946, to providing a space for Africans, Coloureds and Indians to participate in athletic competitions.[138] The foundation members of this body were Western Province, Natal and Griqualand West. A former athlete explains his participation in a National Black Championship:

> I represented Natal at the South African championships in 1954 but it was the Black South African championships, we weren't allowed to run against the Whites. But you could run against anyone else. It was just White and non-White. Just like in soccer they had the South African Indians, South African Coloureds, you know that time when they used to have interracial. Well there it was separate but in sports it was all 3 of us lumped together as non-Whites, and we had our South African championships in Paarl.[139]

Sam 'Blessie' Draai, a stalwart of the Coloured Community in Durban, is remembered for his love of community, his leadership of the Boys Brigade and also for his determination to

[137] BP, personal interview, June 2011.
[138] Francois Cleopas, "Contexting and Ad Hoc Athletics unity in Natal, 1945-48," S*outh African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation* 35, No 2 (2013): 21.
[139] BP, personal interview, June 2011.

compete in the Comrades Marathon. The Comrades is an ultra-marathon started in 1921 and run between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, with the direction of the race changing each year. Draai ran his first Comrades Marathon in 1964. It was an unofficial run because 'non-whites' were barred from official entry into the marathon. Draai was the first Coloured to run the marathon and only the second person of colour in the history of the race.[140] Draai described his humble beginnings and his love of running:

> You know when I started work…I used to go to work like a schoolboy, short pants and that's all I had, that's all I had, just ordinary what you call it to go to work…there was a gymnasium in Victoria Street, Sunny Moodley's Gymnasium. That's where I used to spend all my time, every day I used to go to the gym, I was always athletic. I was a track athlete, I was a, what you call it, a marathon runner…My life has been that of an athlete…I've run 18 Comrades marathons, from 1964…They couldn't interfere with me, they couldn't do anything. And there were a lot of white guys that were for me...they would put up a battle for me...If you don't want to give Sam a medal just give him a blazer…

Draai participated in 18 Comrades Marathons, nine unofficial times between 1964 and 1974 and nine times after, he was officially allowed to enter the competition in 1975. He received eight silver medals (for runs of 7hrs 30min and below) and eight bronze medals (for runs of under 11hrs 00min and below), some of which were retroactively awarded. He received his official green number, 1258, an honour awarded to athletes who complete ten runs.[141]

Sports were also an obvious forum for resistance to apartheid. The National Party banned mixed sports teams in 1956 as part of their segregationist policies and determined that the country could only be represented at the international level by white sportspeople and sports teams. A series of organisations were formed [Committee for International Recognition,

[140] *The Overport Sun*, 5 June 2015.
[141] Sam Draai, personal interview, May 2012.

South African Sports Association (SASA) and the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC)] to lobby international federations to recognise non-racial sports associations in South Africa.[142] The lobbying was effective in generating an international outcry against apartheid on the sporting field, and several important signals were sent to the South African government to show that the sporting community would not accept their discriminatory practices on the international stage. International disapproval began in 1956 when the International Table Tennis Federation ousted the all-white South African Table Tennis Union. Recognition of the injustices in South Africa spread as the apartheid government hardened their attitude to multiracial sport. In 1961, FIFA suspended the all-white Football Association of South Africa (FASA). FASA tried to circumvent the suspension and included a few Black players into its fold, and in 1963 the FIFA ban was lifted. However, FASA was still not representative of the country's actual football community and did not help its cause in the international community by announcing plans to send a whites-only team to compete in the 1966 World Cup. FASA was suspended once again in 1964 to ensure that the all-white South African team did not take part in the games. In 1964, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) did not invite South Africa to take part in the Tokyo Olympics, and in 1970, South Africa was ousted from the body.

Undeterred, the South African government issued Proclamation R26 of 1965 which prohibited any disqualified persons from attending a place of entertainment and introduced an unclear system of permits required to seek permission to attend an event. In 1967, the

[142] Chris Bolsmann, "Apartheid and Sports in South Africa," in *Sports Around the World: History, Culture, and Practice*, ed John Nauright and Charles Parrish (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 2012), 90-93.

government dug its heels in, and banned mixed sport at any level in the country.[143] In 1970, South Africa was ousted from the International Cricket Conference, and the South African tour to England was cancelled. By the middle of 1970, South Africa was all but completely isolated. In 1971, the government responded by announcing a new policy of multinational sport in an attempt to appease both the international sporting community and local supporters. The policy allowed interracial teams to represent the country in international sporting events, but many teams in the country would still be organised according to national (racial) group.

In 1973, the South African Council of Sport (SACOS) was established by nine non-racial sporting organisations, mainly Indian and Coloured, to use sport as a platform to demand an end to apartheid. Normal Middleton, representing the South African Soccer Federation (SAFA), was elected president and Hassan Howa of the South African Cricket Board of Control (SACBOC) became vice president. The organisation coined the term: "… no normal sport in an abnormal society."[144] Middleton was increasingly criticised for maintaining his paid role in the Labour party that, in essence, collaborated with the apartheid government, while at the same time, trying to end apartheid via sport and his role in SACOS. He was eventually expelled from SACOS in 1977.[145]

The government now agreed to multi-racialism in sport, but with permission from the Minister of Sport, although club and league sport would remain segregated. These concessions

[143] Christopher Merrett, *Sport, Space and Recreation: Politics and Society in Pietermaritzburg* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal Press, 2009), 228-229.
[144] Christopher Saunders, Martin Legassick, and Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie, "Aboveground Activity in the 1970s" in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa: Vol 2, 1970-1980*. SADET, 847-899. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2006), 855.
[145] Douglas Booth, The South African Council on Sport and the Political Antinomies of the Sports Boycott, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 23, No 1 (March 1997), 58.

did not win over the international sporting community, and the South African government changed direction in 1979, introducing a new policy of autonomous sport. All discriminatory language was scrubbed from sports policies in the hopes that South Africa could be seen as overcoming its past challenges and once again be welcomed into the International sporting community. In reality, nothing much changed in terms of racial integration in any sporting codes and, consequently, continued pressure from anti-apartheid groups meant that isolation from international bodies only increased in the 1980s.[146]

Religious Expression and a rise in Pentecostalism

The Durban Coloured community was deeply invested in organised religion, and this prominence of faith continued through the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Segregation in churches had largely been the norm until then, with some mixing in certain groups, notably in town at Emmanuel Catholic Cathedral. However, as people moved into their designated group areas, segregation became solidified in religion as it did in other facets of life. Churches within group areas took on a unifying role to bring together people who had been uprooted from their homes and communities. Churches created new welcoming communities, becoming cultural centres and working to restore and heal social schisms in areas like Wentworth.

In 1966, Dickie-Clark reported a breakdown of religious affiliation in the community as, 92% Christian (44% Catholic, 24% Anglican, 14% other English-Protestant; 9% other Christian

[146] Richard Lapchick, "South Africa: Sport and Apartheid Politics," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 445, Contemporary Issues in Sport (September 1979): 155-165.

sects, 1% Afrikaans-Protestant), 6% Muslim, 1% Hindu with few people identifying as Jewish.[147] By the late 1970s, these numbers had shifted slightly with Schlemmer finding a large number of churches and many people who actively engaged in church activities. Christian denominations remained the dominant form of religious expression in the community with the religious breakdown, representative of the wider Durban Coloured population as follows, Roman Catholic had increased to 57%, Anglican decreased to 18%, Pentecostal groups were now reported separately as 12%, other English language Protestants were reported at 7%, and the Dutch Reformed Church remained fairly constant at 1%. In the non-Christian group, Muslims decreased slightly to 4% and a newly emerged category of people with no religious affiliation was recorded at 1%.[148] Fynn notes that church attendance across Christian faiths dipped slightly between 1956 and 1976. This decrease was likely caused by people having to move far away from their church communities because of group areas and taking time to build new networks in their new areas.[149]

Catholicism remained the biggest religion among Coloureds in Durban, a demonstration of the foundation built by missionaries in the community and the influence of Catholic schools and organisations such as St Augustine's, St Theresa's, St Philomena's, Children of Mary, Christian Life Group and the Young Christian Workers Movement that fostered a sense of loyalty and responsibility. The increase in Catholics in the 1960s and 70s follows the general

[147] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 84.
[148] Lawrence Schlemmer, Margaret Victor and Fozia Fisher, *An Assessment of Some Prominent Issues Relating to Community Development in the Sparks Estate-Sydenham Community* (Durban: University of Natal, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, 1978), 17.
[149] Lorraine Fynn, "The Coloured Community of Durban: Changing Perceptions of Identity" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1991), 89.

growth in the Coloured population in the city and is most likely linked to people moving to the city from rural areas. A significant chapter in the Durban Catholic story is that of Albert Danker, Cyril Carey and Charles Langois, the first three Coloured priests ordained in Durban in 1955. They all attended Umbilo Road together in the same grade up to Matric and, in 1950, were admitted to the noviciate for their first year of study to enter the priesthood. Fr Danker described the significance for the community and the challenges the three priests faced:

> We were the first Coloured fellows from Natal to enter the priesthood. Not all were happy about that. Even among the priests. They thought that we would be not respected, or we would be disadvantaged or whatever. Anyhow, we were very welcomed at Maritzburg. It was a wonderful period of time. We did 2 years there and then we moved to Cedara for 4 years of theology…We were ordained in 1955. It was a rather extraordinary event for the Coloured people in Durban. Here were these 3 Coloured boys being ordained priests. It was a big thing at the Cathedral in Durban. Archbishop Hurley was a young Bishop then. He was so pleased and delighted about that.[150]

Once ordained, Fr Danker filled several roles, including Chaplain of the Young Christian Workers Movement where he was questioned by the Special Branch and denied a passport for travel overseas. During that period of political turmoil, Danker notes that one of the most challenging situations occurred when he was appointed parish priest of Assumption church in Umbilo. The white congregation was not welcoming to the new Coloured priest, even sending a delegation to the Bishop to protest his appointment at their church. Some even left the church rather than have a Coloured priest at the helm. Danker explained that, distressingly, the most opposition to his appointment came from play-whites, mainly from the Mauritian community, some of whom he knew:

[150] Albert Danker, personal interview, June 2012.

> And you know where I had the worst trouble, from Coloured people, who didn't want to be Coloured people! And I knew them. "If you don't say anything about me…I won't say anything about you." That was the attitude. Some of them had been forced to move from Greyville, which was declared a white area, and they moved to the other part of Durban, and they managed to stay in white areas. But they were not noticeable, and some looked white. But they were not. I knew them.[151]

Danker also found racism within the clergy, particularly when he was voted to the position of Superior in the Oblate order:

> Another event was my surprise that I should have been voted, the majority of priests being white, who voted for me to be their Superior. I mean 1 or 2 threatened to leave the province. I was not surprised because they were not interested in black people. We had a generation of White priests from Ireland who seemed to have many prejudices, and who really had no contact with Black or Coloured people before they arrived here.

Fr Danker was eventually appointed parish priest of St Anne's in Sydenham, another role which he cherished as a 'coming home' having come from the broader Coloured community. The other two priests ordained with him in 1955 also led distinguished careers in the church. Fr Charles Langois was the assistant to Archbishop Dennis Hurley for many years. Fr Cyril Carey was well known for his work at Christ the King parish in Wentworth and particularly well-respected for his work and community building with Wentworth's tumultuous social issues.

In 1954, the Anglican diocese asked Fr Goodyer, the priest at St Raphael's in Stratford Road, to relocate to St John's in Rippon Road, Sparks Estate. The area was newly gazetted as a Coloured group area, Coloured people were moving into the area, and the formerly white congregation were encouraged to worship at white Anglican churches.[152] Fr Goodyer and the

[151] Albert Danker, personal interview, June 2012.
[152] NP, personal interview, June 2012.

presence of many of the old St Raphael's stalwarts at the new church encouraged people to make the transition to St John's. St Raphael's did still manage to draw a congregation from various Coloured areas for some time, a testament to the community that had built the church and thrived there for many years. St Raphael's Anglican Church in Stratford Road, for example, still drew its congregation from all over Durban every Sunday until it too became a victim of Group Areas. The two churches merged to form the parish of St Raphael's at St John's. Finally, in 1978, the old St Raphael's building was demolished to make way for the overpass into the city.

Other Christian denominations existed in the population in various but smaller numbers. Members of the Congregational Church had a small but well-attended church in Rippon Road in Sparks Estate. The Dutch Reformed Church was very small and, according to Dickie-Clark, a minister was sent to Durban in the mid-1950s to take care of the congregation.[153] A Sydenham resident recalls that the Dutch Reformed Church failed to attract a congregation because it was so strongly associated with apartheid:

> Coloured people did not want to be associated with the Dutch Reformed Church, and so that chap had a very hard time to get people to come to Church. I mean I know a number of blokes who came from the Free State and who were Dutch Reformed there, but when they came to Durban, they changed quickly.[154]

The biggest shift in the religious makeup and outlook of the community was the striking increase in the popularity of Pentecostalism. The two Pentecostal denominations that were present in the 1950s were Bethshan Gospel Mission, which moved from a rented butcher shop

[153] Hamish Dickie-Clark, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 84.
[154] EN, personal interview, September 2011.

on Sparks Road to its own church building in Overport in 1954, and the Apostolic Faith, which grew in numbers as people moved to Durban from the Cape and Free State in the 1950s and 60s. Schlemmer notes that in the 1970s the community experienced striking growth in Pentecostal "tent churches" modelled after American evangelicals and preaching the prosperity theology of material wealth as a symbol of God's blessings. Within new group areas and amidst social upheaval, Pentecostalism found resonance in poorer Indian and Coloured communities in Durban, bringing refuge from daily struggles while also fulfilling the need for a spiritual connection. Schlemmer et al. agree:

> … it would seem that the quality of the religious life in general is a blend of pietism and a search for panaceas … It has been frequently reported to us that the established churches in the area are losing members to 'tent' churches and newer, more expressive denominations.[155]

Community members explained that, compared with older churches, that they were drawn to the Pentecostal services as they were: "… captivating, allowing for freer emotive expression."[156] Pillay confirms the Pentecostalism phenomenon sweeping communities seeking control in uncertain times:

> During the times of socio-economic crisis and cultural upheaval that was largely the result of apartheid legislation, churches like Bethesda gave succour to people caught between the old, traditional Indian life and culture, rapidly passing away, and new, Western secular life. They gave to their members a feeling of continuity with an old culture and helped to foster their socio-psychological well-being. They provided a level of social cohesion sufficient to cope in difficult circumstances and to develop a relatively well large middle class despite their disenfranchisement.

[155] Lawrence Schlemmer, Margaret Victor and Fozia Fisher, *An Assessment of Some Prominent Issues Relating to Community Development in the Sparks Estate-Sydenham Community,* (Durban: University of Natal, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, 1978), 53-54.
[156] Schlemmer, Victor and Fisher, *An Assessment of Some Prominent*, 55.

> Pentecostal churches inadvertently contributed to social stability by creating surrogate communities for their members.[157]

The Social Issues of Dislocation

The social issues such as gangs that had been present in the community continued into the 1960s and followed the community as it moved to Group Areas. In fact, many social difficulties continued under apartheid, intensified by the trauma of economic hardships and leaving familiar networks behind. Even though people were still living in pre-group areas, gangs gained prominence in the community, providing a different form of community for boys and young men, albeit an anti-social one. The gangs of the 1950s and 60s were no longer just out-of-work 'walkers and turners' engaging in petty crime; they were transformed into networks of criminals. Gangs such as the Duchenes, the Crimson League and the Salots ruled the Grey Street area and, although former residents of the area remember the gangs with a sense of romantic nostalgia, they were nonetheless criminal organisations involved in criminal activity. A former member of the Duchenes describes the gang, a mixed Indian and Coloured collective:

> Duchene used to rule because those times the Africans had to be separate, it was Coloureds and Indians…Coloureds and Indians were mixed…Because, here in Durban everywhere we went to was Indians. We went to the bioscope it belonged to Indians, we got in the bus it belonged to Indians, got into a taxi it belonged to Indians. That's how it was. So everybody feared, even when Crimson League went to jail they made sure they got bailed out quick. Cos they feared, once they go inside, they finished. They get tortured inside plus get blackmailed. Tell your people we want 100 pound now otherwise you dead. The Indians thought they controlled the place. It was heavy those days. Now we having war with Crimson League, now they controlling Victoria St, Grey Street…Mondays

[157] Gerald Pillay, "Community Service and Conversion: Christianity among Indian South Africans", in *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Cultural & Social History*, ed. Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, (Cape Town: David Philip, 1997), 287.

> we used to go to the Royal Bioscope, we used to go 50 strong, we went to enemy territory, those we had war with. We go into their district, the bioscope is in their district and nothing was going to stop us from going to see our show. 50 strong, and if they were foolish enough to try anything, because they know that we were a plucky gang, we feared nothing, don't care who you are, we're coming. And if you get involved, you go to jail, you finished, cos Duchene controls (the jail).[158]

The gangs fought each other, but rarely hurt anyone who was not connected to a rival gang.

They were most concerned with preserving their territory from a rival gang:

> …they fought each other quite often…fortunately for us those days guns were unheard, firearms and things, it normally was fistfights...and knives, if it reached that point, somebody would draw a knife and stab somebody, but firearms and that sort of thing was unheard of. And it was just over silly things, like territory, if somebody from Sydenham came to Durban to try and court a young lady or vice versa you know, they would say these are our cherries you can't come here and do this and that sort of thing, you know.[159]

The gangster scene began to intensify and become more professional in the Grey Street area, becoming involved in extortion, assault, prostitution and the control of taxis. The gangs were at the centre of the taxi wars in the Grey Street area, Durban's Little Chicago, in the 1950s, a turf war to control which allied taxis got business.[160] These gangs were also intertwined with the soccer clubs. Teams from particular areas and their supporters would be protected and often defined by the gang that was associated with their area. In the case of the Crimson League, they had their own Crimson League Football Club, and they were known to call on players and supporters to help them in turf wars.[161] In the 1950s and 60s gangs were involved in

[158] NP, personal interview, June 2012.
[159] AG, personal interview, April 2012.
[160] Riason Naidoo, "The Indian in DRUM in the 1950s" (Master's thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 2007), 104, 114.
[161] Leonard Rosenberg, "A City Within a City: Vestiges of the Socio-spatial Imprint of Colonial and Apartheid Durban, from the 1870s to 1980s" (Master's thesis, Durban University of Technology, 2012), 67.

prostitution rackets which were organised in houses and flats and concentrated on the constant supply of sailors docking at the port. These were not streetwalkers, but rather girls who either had a schedule of regular customers who they met in bars near the docks or else their customers were brought to them by taxi.[162] As the gangs in town became involved in prostitution, they would control the taxis, girls and the bars frequented by sailors. The taxis would wait to pick up newly arrived sailors and then deliver them to particular bars or directly to houses and flats with particular girls based on their gang affiliation. The areas known for these activities were Etna Lane, Adams Flats, Kent Road and Umgeni Road.[163]

As Group Areas uprooted and dislocated people from established social networks, it also revealed and exacerbated class differences and social challenges already present in the community. In the relatively wealthier neighbourhood of Greenwood Park, homeowners experienced fewer social concerns, supported by schools, churches and sports clubs. Although they had no community centre and their sports ground came later, residents of Greenwood Park had the financial means to participate where they chose and were not lacking for recreation or community engagement. In Sparks Estate, networks either already existed or were easier to build among middle-class residents, churches and resources such as a community hall and sports field and engaged community leadership. Despite all the community structures, the lower-income areas of sub-economic housing, in particular the high-rise blocks of flats, did prove to be a locus of social troubles after some time.

[162] Henry Trotter, "Dockside Prostitution in South African Ports," *History Compass* 6, No 3 (2008): 674-675.
[163] NP, personal interview, June 2012.

Wentworth was a mix of people thrown together from different parts of the city and groups who had been displaced from other regions. In this new area, people struggled to build new networks, and there was an absence of persuasive leadership to bring these groups of people together. There were few recreational facilities and organisations serving the community, for example, in 1971, there were only six service organisations in Wentworth, an inadequate number for the over 15 000 residents.[164] Under Group Areas, Wentworth was a conglomeration of social problems, a higher number of low-income residents, chronic poverty and unemployment, poor living conditions (such as overcrowding in poorly built flats), crime, gang activity, drug and alcohol use, truancy and a correspondingly high level of mental health issues.[165]

Wentworth was also reported as having a high level of crime, with 20% of homes having at least one victim of a crime.[166] The most common crimes reported were burglary, assault, rape or attempted rape and mugging.[167] Some of the suggestions for remedies proposed to combat the levels of crime in the community at the time were increased police patrols, better street lighting, improved security measures at flats, improved education facilities and recreation resources. Additionally, Rankin suggested that community organisations embark on various programmes to improve community participation.[168] It is important to state that the incidence of crime was high, not because of some inherent criminality of Coloureds, but rather

[164] Roland Graser and Sheldon Rankin, *Crime in Austerville* (Durban: The Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, 1983), 16.
[165] Ibid, 40-42.
[166] Roland Graser and Sheldon Rankin, *Crime in Austerville* (Durban: The Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, 1983),34; Comparable statistics of victimisation for other areas in South Africa at the time: Soweto 28%, Cape Flats 15% and Eesterust, 20%.
[167] Ibid, 18.
[168] Ibid, 40-42.

because of a mix of factors related to economic status and a sense of frustration and lack of control in the political processes and lack of opportunity for advancement.

Some of the criminality was attributed to gangs. Group Areas had forced the old gangsters out of their territories in town, and they either gave up their ways or set up their networks in new areas. Life in the new residential areas came with issues that provided a ripe breeding ground for the establishment of new gangs. In the poverty and economic uncertainty of Wentworth, parts of Sydenham and later Newlands East, young men found a different type of community and gang activity began to thrive.[169] High dropout and truancy rates provided new growth for the gangs of Austerville and Newlands East. Rankin reported that almost 1 200 children travelled to schools outside their residential areas, making the incidence of truancy high and leading to school dropouts and poorer prospects for mobility.[170] Another contributing factor in the formation of these gangs was the friction caused by mixing many new groups together in such problematic conditions. A resident at the time recalls the scale of the gangs in Wentworth:

> Let me tell you, if you knew gangsterism in Wentworth then, it was on a much broader scale…like when the flats were built, we lived in the flats..'76. I mean you'd find 20/30 men, we not talking about school boys, men...middle to late20's/30's walking down the flats, they would take the bush knives...and just hit on the windows.[171]

In a relatively small community, gangs proliferated. Rostron points to the brutality of the gangs in Wentworth, "occasionally a knifing would take place in broad daylight; some had their

[169] NP, personal interview, June 2012
[170] Sheldon Rankin, *A Pilot Study Assessing the Problems Facing the "Coloured" Community of the Durban Metropolitan Area* (Durban: Institute for Social & Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, 1982), 33.
[171] RP, personal interview, June 2012.

stomachs slit open or organs sliced off, and late one afternoon in front of a large crowd, the Woodstock Vultures burned a victim alive."[172] Some of the main gangs of the apartheid era in Wentworth were the Trucks, the Drain Rats, the Woodstock Vultures, the Heartbreakers, and the Destroyers. Lorraine Fynn contends that these: "… splits and divisions erupt into open gang warfare occasionally, and often innocent people are slain or injured in the fracas."[173] Indeed it was said to be dangerous *not* to belong to a gang in Wentworth.[174] When the local soccer team Leeds United played their matches, crime and gang activity is said to have decreased in Wentworth – such was their power to bring the community to the sports grounds.[175]

An issue within the Durban Coloured community that deserves comment was a seemingly high rate of illegitimate children. The issue of illegitimate Coloured children in Natal had a historic component, in that had been linked to the 'promiscuity' of the African women who bore unwanted half-caste children as well as the need for the high number of Coloured children's homes in Durban to accommodate them. In 1978, Sheldon Rankin reported that, for the period 1967-1970, 48.22% of the total births were illegitimate and, in 1978, 37.39% of the total births were illegitimate.[176] Indeed, the consequences of having children out of wedlock, especially when those children are born into poverty, can lead to the dire consequence of neglected children in dysfunctional families, perpetuated cycles of violence, poor education,

[172] Bryan Rostron, *Till Babylon Comes* (London: Coronet Books, 1991), 37.
[173] Lorraine Fynn, "The Coloured Community of Durban: Changing Perceptions of Identity" (Master's thesis, University of Natal, 1991), 132.
[174] *The Daily News*, 21 Feb 1978.
[175] *The Mercury*, 17 October 2017.
[176] Sheldon Rankin, *A Pilot Study Assessing the Problems Facing the "Coloured" Community of the Durban Metropolitan Area* (Durban: Institute for Social & Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, 1982), 22; Sheldon Rankin, *Illegitimacy: A Study of a Small Sample of Young Unmarried Mothers in the "Coloured" Community of Durban,* (Durban: Institute for Social & Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, 1986), 1.

and substance abuse. What is striking is that the continual narrative of Coloured girls having illegitimate children is an unfortunate one that firstly removes responsibility from the fathers of the children and perpetuates the unfortunate stigma and shame of over-sexualisation and promiscuity that Coloured women carry historically.

Conclusion

Apartheid governed every aspect of life; it dictated and influenced sports and manifested in how people expressed their faith and spent their leisure time. Sports remained central to the community and, on the sports fields, inter-race sports gave way to multiracial sports and finally non-racial sports. Amateur soccer leagues were overshadowed by professional sports, and although it allowed top players to excel and play at a higher level of competition, many saw this as the beginning of the end of community sports. Religion remained segregated, with Catholicism still the largest denomination in the community. The most significant shift in terms of religion was the growth in Pentecostal churches that offered just the right blend of optimism and engagement to new members with a theology of prosperity that appealed to unemployed and underemployed Durbanites. The myriad social problems besetting the community can also be traced to life under a repressive regime. Social problems of crime and gangsterism, alcohol and drug abuse stemmed from poverty, unemployment and a growing sense of hopelessness. Finally, the period saw fundamental changes in Coloured lives. The boundaries set by classification defined the community negatively in terms of being lacking and associated with impurity. This had not been the experience of most Durban Coloureds before then, they had been afforded a fair degree of privilege in the city, and each segment of the community had

been proud of their varied origins. Reports of gangsterism and crime unfortunately branded Coloured men as knife-wielding gangsters and those of illegitimate children branded Coloured women as promiscuous. These themes in Coloured identity are not confined to Durban and are indicative of how Coloured people in South Africa were imagined in the apartheid era and beyond.

Despite these changes in state policies and the daily lives of Coloured people, there was limited contestation during apartheid about what it meant to be a Coloured in Durban. From the mid-1970s, young people began to question racial identities, including that of being Coloured, from the ideological and political perspectives of Black Consciousness and non-racialism. This generational questioning marked a brief but important moment in an otherwise widely accepted racialized identity.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has constructed a history of the Coloured people of Durban and attempted to situate the community in a discussion of the broader historical context of the city and the country. The research assembled thin archival material and even thinner literature with life-history interviews collected from people who lived within in the varied branches of Durban's Coloured community. Archival sources were utilised to triangulate and contextualise the words of the interviewees and to investigate the treatment of the community in official reports. The research was centred on life-history interviews as a way to insert the voice and lived experiences of these ordinary people of the community into the history of the city and to address the many silences of the archives. The thesis is, therefore, about filling in gaps of knowledge about a community that has occupied a marginal space in the city of Durban: *Living in the Margins, Filling in the Gaps.* The thesis shifts the debate about the Coloured community of Durban from essentialist and racist paradigms to one that is nuanced and situated in the broader social and political currents in Durban and South Africa. It also raises important political and theoretical issues on how we understand marginality, hybridity and creoleness.

The origins of the community lie in stories of migration and immigrant struggles to make a home and a living. These are stories of the half-caste or Eurafrican children borne to Zulu women from relationships with British settlers, immigrants from Mauritius and St Helena and Coloured, Malay and Griqua peoples who migrated to Durban from the Cape Colony. These early groups to Natal cleaved together as immigrants often do, initially with little more in common than the shades of brown skin they inhabited. They were pushed together and drawn

to one another to form common bonds, and certain areas became known as the places where newcomers could join these networks of Coloureds. They found welcome among the other outsiders in Durban, the indentured labourers and merchants from India. Although they lived among Indian families, they were still considered separate by the authorities, principally because Indians were seen as having a tight, clearly defined 'race'. The Indians of Durban were, of course, not homogeneous, with the most apparent social cleavages being religion, caste and language.

Additionally, the half-castes were the children of white settlers and, for some in power, there was a moral imperative to do right by them in a paternalistic way. Many were thus raised with a European outlook, either by white fathers or by white nuns in mission schools. The St Helenians and Mauritians also received a special dispensation in the Natal Colony, the St Helenians were Anglican and self-identified as British subjects, and the Mauritians were also seen as being more European, particularly in that they practised Catholicism and spoke French. These various groups of creole peoples had lives that encompassed multiple moments of intercultural contact – they lived amongst Indians, some had close contact with African relatives, they were counted as white in census records, attended white schools and had the right to vote and live where they could afford, as the white citizenry of Durban did. The small size of this population meant that their proximity to whiteness was not yet perceived as a threat to the racial order of Durban, and was thus tolerated.

As Victorian ideas of racial purity permeated the Natal Colony, these groups were more consistently referred to by the authorities as Coloured and further distanced from the white population. The spaces where Coloureds from different backgrounds lived and shared

experiences, schools, sports fields, workplaces and brown living zones of the city, became important sites of coloured socialisation and identity building and critical sites of creolization. Welfare groups working out of church communities and sports organisations began to take shape and laboured to provide resources that were needed but not being supplied by the city. Members of the St Helenian branch of the community often took the lead in lobbying and negotiating with city officials as they had established connections that came from being British and from their shared Anglican religion. Coloureds lacked physical numbers as well as economic and political strength and thus tended not to be confrontational when seeking resources. Education was a critical space where Coloured identity and community was built. Until 1903, Coloured children in Durban attended white schools. However, white people became increasingly fearful of prolonged interaction between their children and Coloured children and lobbied the city to establish separate schools for Coloured children. These segregated Coloured schools became places of critical importance where identity was both imposed by the state and nurtured by teachers and fellow students. Churches, particularly the Catholic Church, were able to position themselves at a nexus of religion, welfare, education and job networks, and occupied an overarching presence in the lives of Coloured people.

Despite being treated separately by the city, interactions with the Indians with whom they lived was unavoidable, as was a significant amount of mixing and sharing of culture. Africans were discouraged from making their lives in the city, and there was just a small African elite present from the end of the 19th century, workers living in hostels and a few families who 'played Coloured' to enable them to live in the city. Coloureds with strong African roots still kept ties to African families in rural areas and townships around the city. Coloured people

enjoyed the flexibility to play white, and even 'play Indian' and 'play African', depending on the situation and the potential benefits of the situation. Interactions between fluid Coloureds and the other city inhabitants were complex, multidirectional and multifaceted.

During the Segregationist period 1930 to 1950, the city government of Durban established policies to segregate the inhabitants of the city. The small Coloured community occupied a marginal position within the city, but in this context and in this period, their marginality was a benefit. Coloureds were not seen as a threat by any other group, and were allowed to develop with minimal interference. Coloured people were allowed to live wherever they could afford; and while most lived amongst Indian people, those with the economic means, could choose to make their homes in wealthier white areas. Other areas of their social and daily lives, such as schools, churches, sports teams were segregated, and within these spaces and institutions, Coloured people built for themselves a community with everyday experiences and struggles. The patronage of white politicians and city leaders was important in giving the community certain concessions and privileges but also one of the reasons they remained beholden to them and unwilling to build stronger political alliances with Indians or Africans. Nonetheless, they maintained their position as cultural shape-shifters, still inhabiting spaces and lives of cultural hybridity.

During the apartheid period 1950 to 1980, laws enforced hardened racial categories and separated multi-ethnic pockets of the city. In a system built on 'racial purity' and rigid racial categories, the fluidity of Coloureds and the implication of 'race-mixing' was not acceptable. Marginality in the context of apartheid was experienced differently than before – Coloured people were defined as the "other" and as "impure", and the relative freedom they enjoyed

from previous fluidity was interrupted. Zoë Wicomb argues that Coloureds were made to bear the burden of miscegenation and the 'shame' of having: "… mated with the coloniser."[1] Apartheid codified the shame of being a Coloured. Population registration defined what each racial group was, and Group Areas moved people to living areas according to these classifications where further mixing would be carefully policed. Wentworth/Austerville, Sydenham/Sparks Estate and Greenwood Park were the only areas where Coloureds were allowed to live. Churches, schools, sports teams, already segregated, were under more scrutiny. Politically, the community suffered a loss of privilege and found representation in welfare organisations, unions and in lobbying for local needs. Additionally, Coloured Durbanites now found that decisions affecting their day-to-day lives were being directed at a national level and were applied to all who were classified as Coloured throughout the country. Any special privileges or exceptional influence that they had previously held with city leaders and in processes were of little or no consequence in the new dispensation. Local leaders joined national Coloured political movements with counterparts from all over South Africa. Natal Coloureds, an English-speaking minority within this group strived even within these larger movements to make their unique history and needs known. There was a loss of control, a loss of knowing how to act and how to bring about change. Attention to the community in terms of services provided, diminished. When national systems demanded participation in national political parties, the leaders led the community into the Labour and the CPRC. The Black Consciousness movement had an important impact on this conscientisation, particularly in

[1] Zoë Wicomb, "Shame and Identity: The Case of the Coloured in South Africa," in *Writing South Africa: Literature, Apartheid, and Democracy, 1970-1995*, ed Derek Attridge and Rosemary Jolly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 91.

student movements and directly affecting struggles around a lack of resources in terms of housing, general living conditions and educational resources. By the end of the 1970s, there was still apoliticism and disillusionment with the political processes offered in any scenario, but the community was much more engaged in activism and protest than ever before. The growing marginalisation of the community led to struggle which produced a process of creolization.

The educational space and the attitudes and contributions of teachers were also fundamental to the nurturing of a Natal Coloured identity. From 1950 to 1980 schools were transferred from the province to the national Department of Coloured Affairs. The demand for schools and places for the growing population grew exponentially, leading to the platoon system, overcrowding and strained resources. Energies were consumed with building schools and churning out teachers to meet increased demands. By the late 1970s, students were becoming politicised, and schools were turning into sites of discontent and activism against apartheid. The teachings of Black Consciousness resonated with school students as they experienced declining resources at their schools and their communities faced struggles over unacceptable housing conditions and declining social issues. High Schools such as Bechet in Sydenham, Fairvale in Wentworth and Parkhill in Greenwood Park, all became sites of discontent and activism among the youth. Black Consciousness allowed a small measure of self-pride to regain a foothold in the community, but much work would be needed to heal the wounds of apartheid and the division and apathy in the community.

History, whether of family or community, is the story of identity. The documentation of the history of the Coloured community of Durban is thus also a documentation of the evolution of a still-developing group identity. Creolisation provides a useful lens to make sense of this

ambiguous fluid group, where Coloured identity was and, still is, constantly changing, negotiated and renegotiated continuously in response to internal and external factors. To some, Coloured identity was simply imposed by apartheid and accepted; however, history shows a more nuanced process of an identity that was imposed by colonial authorities and weaponised during apartheid but expressed and defined by agency and survival by the community itself. This is the hybridity that Bhaba told us would occur: ''… interstitial passages or space of translation, neither the one nor the other, a third space of flux."[2] Marginalised individuals made daily decisions that may have included using a variety of identity options depending on the context. There was agency also in building political alliances to protect and nurture a small introspective community. Indeed, Coloured identity was formed in policies and institutions received from the state and consciously produced and manipulated by the necessity of routine choices. The historical lens shows us that Durban Coloured identity and community was created in as much as the Indian and Zulu identities were created in the city, with both external forces and internal actions urging people into a community. The process of creolization is thus an accurate description of the migration, mixing, marginalization, segregation, and continual disenfranchisement and dislocation that produced the Coloured community of Durban. The 'stain' of creolization in the Durban Coloured community to the unaware, is the lack of a culture that one can wear or serve on a plate. But, the creole identity is also the strength of the community – it signals a history that carries a piece of other groups, albeit transformed into something new.

[2] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 38.

It is my hope that this dissertation has established the Coloured community as an integral part of the fabric of the city of Durban with a right to occupy space in the city, to demand services, clean air and housing. This starting point provides a rich springboard for further explorations of and in the community. There are several areas that appear ripe for further research. This particular research ended in 1980, but the story continued. This dissertation has created a historical footprint for the community, but there are still many more stories to tell. It would be useful to complete the history of the Coloured people of Durban with the resistance and mass movements of the 1980s, the euphoria and uncertainty of the 1990s, and the struggles of the 2000s. Examining the shapes and formations of Colouredness in Durban to current times would be a worthwhile endeavour.

Some of the discussions I had while conducting this research demonstrated the need to collectively move away from the shame that Coloureds have been made to carry. A written history is a start in this endeavour, but additional research into current developments would also be helpful to follow the organic development of an identity and community pride. For example, the movement to reclaim a 'brown' consciousness with names like Kullid and Bruino being used, give young people permission to speak freely about their experiences without having to pick a side and eventually resting on and celebrating a mixed, creole culture. In terms of identity, another dynamic in the ever-changing world of identity is that people are now more likely to express the way they simultaneously inhabit multiple identities. Research into where Coloured identity fits in this multiplicity would be valuable, as would a discussion of the other identities important to members of the Durban Coloured community.

There must exist more documentation on the historical experiences of Coloured people throughout Natal that needs to be explored. Archives of parliamentary debates, diaries, court cases, missionary documents not readily available will probably hold additional stories of the community. Similarly, efforts to engage in a wider collection of personal memorabilia have been started in Durban by different people, and these endeavours must be continued to document the richness of experience and expression. A deeper examination of the relationships between Coloured, Indians and Africans in the city would also be useful, and an analysis of Indian and African newspapers would be an interesting addition to determining the place of the Coloured in the historical landscape of Durban. A further piece of research acknowledging the importance of teachers in the development of a Coloured Identity would be to examine the teachers who left South African in the 1960s to teach in Rhodesia and Zambia in particular. Their impact on the development of a collective Southern African Coloured identity could be interesting, particularly in terms of adding to a body of work on the Coloured or mixed diaspora.

I am taken back to the quotation that was the genesis of this study:

> There is a gap, an emptiness in the local history museum. That space waits for us. It is opening. We must know where we come from, to understand how we've come to where we are. Our stories remain untold, our triumphs unheard of, our voices...unrecognised. We have to show ourselves or there will always be a hollow place where our pride should be. I want my children and their children's children to know of a Coloured place not rotting with division and inertia, but a Coloured place of power and diversity that they will not be ashamed to call...home. [3]

[3] Lueen Conning, "A Coloured Place." In *Black South African Women: An Anthology of Plays*, ed Kathy Perkins, (Cape Town: Juta and Company, 1999), 37.

It is my hope that this dissertation has uncovered and documented a history worthy of sharing and of further study. One that recognises the diversity of the people who came to be known as Coloured, the complexity of their story, the reality of their struggles and their place in the landscape of the city of Durban. Finally, I am a reminded of a community elder who I had the great fortune to meet while conducting life history interviews, and who left me with this sage reflection on Durban Coloured identity:

> I don't have a problem being Coloured, I have a problem with people that don't understand what Coloured means. Coloured is really a conglomerate of things you know, it's not a specific racial divide, or something like that...it's a whole spectrum, isn't it? History, culture, struggle. It's just a whole spectrum.[4]

[4] JD, personal interview, April 2012.

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