

Forced Removals in Greater Cape Town, 1948-1970

by **Martin Legassick**

Introduction

During and after the Second World War the African population of the Cape Peninsula grew enormously in number. Until at least the mid-1950s most black Africans lived not in official 'locations' such as Langa but in privately-owned and rented high density flats and houses along the docks-Observatory axis, scattered through the predominantly white and Coloured residential areas of Cape Town as plot owners or tenants -- and, mainly, under conditions of extreme squalor, in unregulated 'pondokkie' settlements in the peri-urban areas around the fringes of Cape Town.¹ In the 1950s, however, Cape Town "became a test case for influx control and racial segregation".² Government policy, implemented by local authorities, forcibly removed the African population to official 'locations' or endorsed them out of the area altogether.

African Population of the Cape Peninsula³

Year	Official	Estimates
1936	14,868	
1944		40,000
1945		80,000
1946	37,005	

¹ See *inter alia* J. Western, Outcast Cape Town (Cape Town, Human and Rousseau, 1981), p. 46; M. Budow, "Urban squatting in greater Cape Town, 1939-1948" (BA Honours, UCT, 1976); B. Kinkead-Weekes, "The solution of the African squatter problem in the 1950s" (Fourth CT History Workshop, 3-4 June 1983); A. Sayers "The Political economy of housing in the Western Cape, 1940-1960" (UCT, B Social Science Honours, 1984); B. Kinkead-Weekes "Africans in Cape Town: State Policy and Popular Resistance, 1936-1973", (Ph.D, UCT, 1992); K. Kondlo, "Miserable hovels and shanties on waterlogged wasteland: the political economy of peri-urban squatting in Cape Town, 1945-1960" (M.A., UCT, 1992); Kevin Greenback, "'Into the wild bushes of Nyanga: the growth, control and relocation of Cape Town's squatters, 1939-1955" (BA Honours, UCT, 1993); Y. Muthien, State and Resistance in South Africa, 1939-1965 (Avebury, Aldershot, 1994); H. H. Fast, "Pondoks, Houses and Hostels: a history of Nyanga 1946-1970, with a special focus on housing" (Ph.D, UCT, 1995); [James Meier](#), "'On the Margins': The Emergence and Growth of Squatter Settlements in Cape Town, 1939-1960" (Ph.D, University of Florida, 2000).

² [James Meier](#), "On the Margins", Chapter 7; Muthien, State and Resistance, p. 146

³ Kinkead-Weekes, "The squatter problem", p. 25; Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", pp. 99, 226; Fast, "Pondoks", pp. 36, 137-8; Kondlo, "Miserable hovels", p.78; Meier, "On the margins", Chapter 7

1948		170,000
1951	49, 793	65,000
1953		267,500
1954		80,000 105000
1955		309,000

Principles of policy towards Africans

Prior to 1948, while according to Kinkead-Weekes a policy of preference for coloured labour informed policy in the Western Cape, the national and local authorities established no clear or coherent policy to deal with the increase in African population, particularly in the 'squatter' settlements. However shortly after the election of the National Party government in 1948 the Minister of Native Affairs, Mr E.G. Jansen, said that a "question which will require very serious consideration is whether the population of Natives in the Western Province must not be reduced very drastically"⁴ In 1953 the Secretary for Native Affairs, W.M. Eiselen, complained of the "ring or outer circle of unplanned, uncontrollable and without exception illegal concentrations of Bantu who drift towards the cities" settled in camps which local authorities "cannot control"⁵ In 1954 the Manager of Native Affairs for the Cape Town City Council told ANC stalwart Dora Tamana and the young Ben Turok that "the policy of this government is to reduce the number of African families living in the Western Cape... The labour needs of the Peninsula are to be met by migratory labour".⁶ These as applied to the Western Cape were official articulations of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy (CLPP) which was formally introduced in 1954/5.⁷

During the 1950s various measures were put in place to tighten up influx of Africans into the Western Cape and to remove those 'illegally' present.⁸ The aim was to turn as many of the African population as possible at first into single migrant labourers, and later to eliminate them altogether. "The African family came under direct assault by the state."⁹ Thus housing built in Nyanga in the mid-1950s had to be convertible from family to single

⁴ Cape Times, 21/8/1948 quoted in B. Kinkead-Weekes, "The squatter problem", p. 7

⁵ W. M. Eiselen, paper to conference of Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs, July 1953, Grahamstown, quoted in Greenback, p. 60

⁶ New Age, 9/2/1956

⁷ See for example D. Hendrie, "The Coloured Labour preference policy: a chronology" in D. Horner(ed), Labour Preference, Influx Control and Squatters: Cape Town entering the 1980s (Cape Town, 1983); Y. Muthien, State and Resistance, pp. 73-6; B. Kinkead-Weekes "Africans in Cape Town", passim; I. Goldin, Making Race ()

⁸ These are dealt with in, for example Muthien, State and Resistance; Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town".

⁹ Meier, "On the margins", Chapter 7

accommodation, and then reconvertible to family accommodation for Coloureds.¹⁰ The period during which African entrants could legally seek for work in Cape Town was reduced in 1950 from two weeks to three days¹¹, a measure extended nationally in the 1952 Native Laws Amendment Act. In 1954 African women in the Western Cape were issued with work permits and in 1954/5 African men were issued with the new “reference books”(a new form of the *dompas*). This “was to have enormous ramifications for Africans in the Combined Municipalities. Within a year, these documents formed the basis upon which officials decided which families ‘qualified’ to remain in the Peninsula.”¹² At the end of 1959 the Native Affairs Department put an embargo on recruitment of new Africans to Cape Town.

Together with this there was the destruction of the unregulated areas of residence in which the majority of Africans were living, and their forcible removal into bachelor compounds and proclaimed ‘locations’ — involving “a spatial re-mapping of the Cape Peninsula.”¹³ Portions of the locations were designated as ‘emergency’ or transit camps where Africans were screened, ‘illegals’ sifted out for deportation, and those entitled to remain allocated location housing.

It is important to bear in mind that many Africans were forcibly removed right out of Cape Town (deportation) and not to other parts of the Peninsula. The claimants dealt with in this project appear to have been mainly those removed to locations within the present greater Cape Town.

These removals took place during the 1950s and early 1960s. In the 1970s, when administration of ‘Bantu affairs’ had been transferred to the central government, there were further removals.

Agencies of forced removal and the laws under which they acted

The local authorities responsible for the removals in the 1950s and 1960s were twofold: the Cape Divisional Council (Divco) and the Cape Town City Council (CTCC). Divco was given the powers of a urban local authority in 1944, and at the same time a Peninsula-wide conference of local authorities decided that African housing outside Cape Town and Simonstown would be the responsibility of Divco.¹⁴ In September 1973 control over “Bantu affairs” in Greater Cape Town was transferred to the Peninsula Bantu Affairs Administration Board which then became responsible for removals.

Locations

The laws under which the local authorities acted were the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 (as amended in 1952 and 1955) and the Prohibition of Illegal Squatting Act 52 of 1951. The first of these acts made provision for the establishment of locations, and under section 9(1) it could be proclaimed in the Government Gazette that ‘natives’ (aside from some exempted) should reside in the location. Notices were for example

¹⁰ B. Kinkead-Weekes “Africans in Cape Town”, pp. 335-6; Fast, p. 191

¹¹ V. Bickford-Smith et al, Cape Town in the Twentieth Century: an illustrated social history, p. 174

¹² Fast, “Pondoks”, p. 140

¹³ Fast, “Pondoks”, p. 140

¹⁴ Fast, “Pondoks”, pp. 43-4

served on 'bachelors' in Windermere in terms of this section.¹⁵ This was a powerful measure for forced removals from non-location residence. In 1946 the whole of the Cape Peninsula was declared a proclaimed area under Section 23(1) of the 1945 Act.¹⁶ The Prohibition of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 was applied to all magisterial regions in greater Cape Town in 1952, and Divco was empowered to apply the Act in February 1954.¹⁷ It provided for the establishment of emergency camps and the removal of Africans squatting 'illegally' to such camps, the demolition of shanties without requiring a court order, and compelling Africans to live in a "Native location, village or hostel". It forced local authorities to cooperate in establishing emergency camps and demolishing illegal shacks.¹⁸

At the end of the Second World War the main location in the Cape Peninsula was Langa, (established in 1927 and run by the CTCC). Langa had a population of some 12,000 by 1954.¹⁹ In 1946 Nyanga was established as a location run by Divco.²⁰ "Construction of the location of Nyanga commenced in 1945. As shown by the Britten Enquiry of 1942, [its origin] lay in a desire to implement effectively pass controls in the outlying areas of Cape Town."²¹ By 1954 (by which time removals had begun) Nyanga had a population of 6500.²²

¹⁵ NTS 5314 77/313E, 99 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", p. 337. The relevant document was missing from this file when consulted in Pretoria in September 2001, but there was a page marker indicating it had been removed.

¹⁶ See Proclamation 74 of 1946 together with Government Notice 790 [Government Gazette 3630, 12/4/1946]: Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", p. 102.

¹⁷ Proclamations 105, 107, 109, 117 of 30/5/1952 in Government Gazette, 4853; see also Divco 24/6/1952; NAC 11/6/52. B. Kinkead-Weekes "Africans in Cape Town", p. 222; Muthien, State and Resistance, p. 171. For Divco see Fast, "Pondoks", p. 145.

¹⁸ That there was no need for a court order is asserted by Muthien, State and resistance, p. 171; Fast, "Pondoks", p. 145. However A. Silk, A shanty town in South Africa: the story of Modderdam, (Johannesburg, Ravan, 1981), pp. 83-85 mentions the amendment of this Act only in 1976 to circumvent the need for a court order, following test cases of it. Apparently the Housing (Emergency Powers) Act of 1945 prohibited the demolition of a dwelling without the permission of the Minister of Health and the Slums Act of 1934 required that alternative accommodation be made available before a court order could be issued for the demolition of a dwelling. For the Act see also Meier, "On the margins", Chapter 7

¹⁹ Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", pp. 330-331. There was also in fact Luyolo location on Red Hill in Simonstown, established in the 1890s. (See C. M. Elias, "The African in Simon's Town: a socio-historical study, 1816-1850" (Western Cape Roots and Realities conference, December 1985). Luyolo had a population of some 1400 in 1954. People from this location were forcibly removed to Gugulethu in 1965-6: see Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", pp.462-3.

²⁰ For Nyanga see Government Notice 148 of 18/1/46 Government Gazette, 3594 18/1/46; Government Notice 502 of 8/3/46 in Government Gazette 3614 8/3/47. A location was officially proclaimed in Retreat by Government Notice 2628 of 13/12/1946; it was scrapped in August 1954. There were also proposals for a location in Belville South in 1946, which like the Retreat location were eventually superseded by the decision to enlarge Nyanga. Kinkead-Weekes "Africans in Cape Town", pp. 119-123, 220-222

²¹ Fast, "Pondoks", pp. 43-4

In 1958 Nyanga West was established, run by the CTCC, and renamed Gugulethu in 1961.²³

The start of forced removals

In mid-1952 the municipalities of Goodwood, Parow and Bellville together with Divco took a decision to move all African squatters in their area into a controlled site-and-service 'transit camp' in Nyanga location. The removals began by late 1953, at first to the so-called "Mau-Mau" area in Nyanga, and, from May 1956 to the Nyanga transit camp.²⁴ By January 1955 the CTCC had also resolved to cooperate with plans to centralise squatters in controlled camps, and began to move African families legally in the municipal area into the Nyanga camp and remove 'bachelors' to Langa Thus "the stage was set for the massive squatter-clearance operation that ensued in the following five years."²⁵

In 1947 there were estimated to be 22 'black spots' with 5000 squatter shacks in Divco areas, which had increased to 5515 in the Divco, Goodwood, Parow and Bellville (Divco-GPB) areas in 1948 (with the largest concentrations being Cook's Bush with 852 people and Oakdale estate in Bellville with 1000 people). By 1951 there were estimated to be 17886 in the Divco-GPB area living in shacks. By 1952 there were 46 'black spots' in these areas, the largest at Sakkiesdorp²⁶ in Phillipi adjacent to Nyanga, and which was subsequently incorporated into Nyanga. Others included Cook's Bush in Grassy Park, Epping Forest; Lot JJ and Eureka Estate in Elsies River, Goodwood Acres, and Oakdale in Bellville.

In 1955 the largest concentrations of Africans in the Peninsula outside locations were estimated to be at Windermere (15000), in the northern areas (13000), in the city centre, Woodstock and Salt River (9300), in Retreat (5500), in Athlone/Rylands (5200), and in Cooks Bush (3800). In the same year it was estimated that Divco had 4800 squatter families to deal with and the CTCC 7-8000 squatter families and 17,000 bachelors. In 1956 it was estimated that in the Divco and Northern Municipality areas there were 12714 squatters. Of

²² Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", pp. 330-331

²³ Nyanga West was established by Government Notice 1697 of 14/11/1958 in terms of subsection 1(a) and (b) of the 1945 Natives Urban Areas Consolidation Act, [Government Gazette, 6139, p. 21]. For its renaming, and the choice of Gugulethu by the place names commission out of 10 names submitted see Cape Argus, 12/9/61 cited in S.V.Makosana, "Aspects of the historical development of Gugulethu, 1958-1987 with special reference to housing and education" (BA, Hons, UCT, 1988), p. 25

²⁴ Cape Times, 26/6/52; Advance, 29/10/1953; GN 4/4/6/2 Minutes of meeting 11/7/52 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "The squatter problem", p. 14; Kinkead-Weekes "Africans in Cape Town", p. 222; Fast, "Pondoks", pp. 98-136, 146

²⁵ See New Age, 9/12/1954; 3/3/55; Torch 18/1/55; GN 23A NAC report for submission to CC on 27 January 1955, cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "The squatter problem", p. 14; Kinkead-Weekes "Africans in Cape Town", p. 224. The most recent general history of Cape Town, V. Bickford Smith et al, Cape Town, p. 176 implies that removals only really began in 1958, some 4-5 years later than was in fact the case.

²⁶ By 1944 there were a number of squatter settlements with an estimated 3000 residents in Phillippi, including 800 in Sakkiesdorp, spread over 100 acres. These were then described as Cape Town's 'worst and largest pondokkie settlement' (Cape Times, 7/5/1946). For a description of conditions, see also a letter to the editor in Cape Times, 12/2/1944, Fast, "Pondoks", p. 52

these 5629 were in Divco areas in 867 shacks including 2668 at Cookes Bush and 1168 at Turners Bush. There were also 7085 squatters in 1120 shacks in Elsie's River.²⁷

Between 1953 and 1958, over 16,000 Africans were forcibly removed from shantytowns in the Divco, Bellville, Parow and Goodwood areas to tiny houses and self-built shacks in Nyanga.²⁸ In addition in this period the CTCC moved thousands of bachelors to Langa compounds. By June 1958 it could be reported that all African squatters had been cleared from the Divco area.²⁹ Thereafter big removals took place from Windermere, Retreat, Athlone etc in the CTCC area, mainly of families, to Gugulethu and to Nyanga. In both Windermere and Retreat the areas of the squatter camps were converted into subsidized housing for Coloureds.³⁰

A survey conducted in Nyanga as recently as 1983 discovered that of 200 respondents, 90% said they had been forced to move to the area, and 75% did not wish to remain there.³¹

The removals listed below all took place during the 1950s and 1960s save for those from Modderdam, Werkgenot and Unibel which were carried out in the 1970s by the Bantu Affairs Administration Board in the Peninsula.

African population of Cape Peninsula³²

Year	Official	Estimates
1957		105000
1960	75200 68352 60008	180000 100000
1970	115655	110000
1974		250000

²⁷ GN 15/4, Worrall's report, 19/4/1955 (cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", p.226); SAIRR, Report on Nyanga 31/10/1956 in SAIRR papers, Wits library, cited in Muthien, State and Resistance, pp.175-6, who also estimates that 70% of African people in Cape Town lived in squatter camps in 1957: Muthien, State and Resistance, p. 187. Also Fast, "Pondoks", p.137

²⁸ Fast, "Pondoks", p. 98

²⁹ Cape Argus, 9/6/58 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "The squatter problem", p. 21; Fast, "Pondoks", p. 111

³⁰ See Meier, "On the margins", Chapter 7

³¹ M.E. Dladla, "A socio-cultural community survey of the township Nyanga" (M Social Science, UCT, 1983)

³² Cape Times, 18/12/1957; Kondlo, "Miserable hovels", p. 78; Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", pp. 487, 545; NUSAS, Crossroads, 1979; C.M. Elias, A historical review of the supply of housing for urban Africans in the Cape Peninsula 1900-1982 (U Stel, Dept of Sociology, 1983), p. 122; Western, Outcast Cape Town, p. 288

1980	180,400	210000
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Population of Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu³³

Year	Langa	Nyanga	Gugulethu
1948		1,000	
1951	10,752	1100	
1952		1300	
1955		6200	
1958		18518	3,466
1959		19,446	
1960	11,714 (M 7260; F 4454)	21,750	12,048
1961	25,877		13,930
1967			46,972
1970	32,850 (M 29,012; F 3,838)	15,894 (M 9,771 F 6, 123)	43,828 (M 21,689 F 22,139)
1980	33,320	24,020	65.068

B: Moves from particular areas

Goodwood, Parow, Bellville, Eureka Estate, Elsies River (Qhoboshimfene), Marabastad

Divco was responsible for the removals in these areas, in which the African population numbered approximately 13,000 prior to the removals.³⁴ Removals appear to have begun early in 1954. Between January 1954 and May 1955, 966 shacks were demolished in the Divco and Northern Suburbs areas (though this could have included other parts of the Divo area). From May 1954 police raids in the Northern suburbs included orders to take up single accommodation in Nyanga.³⁵ By March 1955 so-called 'bachelor' Africans in these areas were being ordered to move into compounds in Nyanga. By October 1955 families in Bellville had received notices to move, and by December 1955 all 'bachelors' were reported to have been moved.

³³ Elias, "Historical Review", pp. 36, 66, 92; Fast, "Pondoks", pp. 134, 178

³⁴ M. Lipschitz and N.M. Greshoff, "Living Conditions in a Squatter's Camp", Race Relations Journal, 21, (4), 1954 describe conditions in Eureka Estate, Elsies River prior to the removals: the Xhosa-speaking section of this settlement was known as Marabastad and the Soth-speaking sections Maseru and Herschel.

³⁵ Muthien, State and Resistance, pp. 176-177

The transit camp in Nyanga was opened in May 1956, with families to be moved there to be screened to establish their status.³⁶ Already in March Kraaifontein residents were reported to have been moved to the camp. By April 800 African families from Goodwood, Parow and Bellville had been moved to Nyanga, and a further 200 families by mid-May. By September it was reported that Goodwood, Elsies River (Marabastad) and Vasco were being rapidly cleared of Africans who were being offered sites in Nyanga. "The momentum of removal was maintained by 'never-ending police raids' aimed at weeding out 'illegals' (particularly women) for processing through the judicial system and endorsing out of the area."³⁷

In January 1957 officials served notices on all African residents in Elsies River ordering people to move to Nyanga within a month. Demolitions were in progress by May, and people were being arrested and charged for refusing to move. New Age wrote that the arrests were "the culmination of months of forced removals, bulldozing of homes and utter misery for hundreds of African families in the Elsies River area."³⁸ 4709 people were removed to Nyanga in 1956 and 2499 in 1957, from Oakdale Estate in Bellville and from Goodwood (mainly Elsies River).³⁹

By January 1958 it was reported that African squatters had been removed from Bellville and Parow and most of Goodwood. Between 1951 and 1960, according to census figures, Africans were reduced from 4165 to 489 in the Goodwood area and from 2172 to 472 in the Bellville area.⁴⁰

Although the following figures relate to removals from the whole Divco area and not just from the northern suburbs, they are indicative. In 1956 an estimated 5000 families in Divco areas faced removal to Nyanga. By October there were 3158 people in the Nyanga transit camp as well as 1842 in Sakkiesdorp and Browns Camp gradually being transferred to the transit camp. Climbs to 8406 transit camp and 1246 others by November 1957. By June 1957 the 48 black spots in the combined Divco and northern suburbs area had been reduced to 3 and by 1959 all the shack areas in the Combined Area had been cleared. During 1959, 2508 families were moved to Nyanga, clearing up most of the squatting in Divco areas. At this time the population of the transit camp was 11474.⁴¹

Cook's Bush, De Klip (Grassy Park)

Divco was responsible for the removals from these areas, which prior to the removals

³⁶ For a description of it around this time, see "Nyanga Emergency Camp", South African Outlook, July 2, 1956, p. 110.

³⁷ Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", p. 332. For previous two paras see See Torch, 1/3/1955; 25/10/55; 22/11/55; 20/12/1955; 6/3/1956; 17/4/1956; 15/5/1956; 4/9/56; New Age, 29/3/1956; 9/2/56; 16/2/1956 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", pp. 331-2; "The squatter problem", p. 15

³⁸ See New Age, 24/1/57; 9/5/57; 27/6/1957 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "The squatter problem", pp. 15-16

³⁹ Fast, "Pondoks", p. 147

⁴⁰ Kinkead-Weekes, "The squatter problem", pp. 16-17; Muthien, State and Resistance, p. 177

⁴¹ Muthien, State and Resistance, p. 177; Cape Times, 6/6/1957; 11/2/1959; Fast, "Pondoks", p. 146. (Fast, pp. 147-154) (Where removed from, and elements of coercion.)

had some 2600-3900 Africans resident in them. The first dwellings in the second phase of Nyanga building were occupied by persons removed from Cook's Bush, in July 1953.⁴² Further removals from the area may have taken place early in 1955, though for the most part Divco was preoccupied with northern suburbs removals until the last quarter of 1957.⁴³ Some 400 African families in Cook's Bush were given notices in September 1957 ordering them to remove to Nyanga within 30 days, and shacks there began to be demolished early in October. Bachelors had apparently been removed from Cook's Bush earlier. After protest by residents, notices ordering removal to Nyanga within 1 week were again issued in January 1958, and demolition of the shacks followed.⁴⁴ The population of Cook's Bush was reduced from 2628 to 308 between August 1957 and February 1958.⁴⁵

Hout Bay

Early in Sept 1957 it was reported that Africans living in **Hout Bay** were being driven by Divco into Nyanga.⁴⁶

Windermere, Factreton, Kensington, Wingfield, Maitland

Windermere, its origins dating back to the 1920s, was the largest of the peri-urban squatter settlements.⁴⁷ Its heart was between the present 6th and 13th Avenues in Kensington.⁴⁸ The CTCC took over control of from Divco in 1943. At that time, over 20,000 people lived in approximately 1000 shacks there. The population estimate of 15,000 in 1954 was probably an under-estimate.⁴⁹

The CTCC was responsible for removals from Windermere, and it began by removing so-called 'bachelors' to compounds in Langa -- in the process breaking up family units. Removals had begun by April 1955 by which time 1216 'bachelors' had been moved. By mid-year a further 2500 had been moved. In November that year police conducted in Windermere the biggest pass raid to that date in Cape Town, and 1390 African men were served with notices to report within three days to the compounds in Langa. By April 1956 some 4000 'bachelors' had been removed to Langa and by November 1957 some 12,000.⁵⁰

⁴² See Cape Times 21/9/1953 cited in Fast, "Pondoks", p. 106

⁴³ See Torch, 1/3/1955 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "The squatter problem", p. 19

⁴⁴ See Torch, 8/10/57; New Age, 10/10/57; 23/1/58 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "The squatter problem", pp. 20-21; Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", p. 333-4; Muthien, State and Resistance, p. 177

⁴⁵ Fast, "Pondoks", p. 147

⁴⁶ Torch 3/9/57, Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", p. 333

⁴⁷ See C.C. Swart, "Windermere: from peri-urban area to suburb, 1920s to 1950s" (BA Honours, UCT, 1983)

⁴⁸ S. Field, "The power of exclusion: moving memories from Windermere to the Cape Flats, 1920s -1990s" (Ph.D, University of Essex, 1996), p.185

⁴⁹ Elias, "Historical review"; Fast, "Pondoks", p. 37; Muthien, State and Resistance, p. 173

⁵⁰ See Cape Times, 24/6/55; 26/11/55;25/11/57 New Age, 1/12/55; Torch, 29/11/55 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "The squatter problem", pp. 22-3; Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in

By February 1958, it was reported, the majority of the 'bachelors' had been moved to Langa — between 10 and 12,000 -- while moves of families were inhibited because there was no room for them in Nyanga and the 'emergency camp' at Nyanga West (Gugulethu) was not yet established. There were only 1500 shacks remaining in Windermere in April 1958.⁵¹

Nyanga West was proclaimed in July 1958 and roads, sewers, water and drainage were completed in it by December. The CTCC erected prefabricated galvanized iron sheds housing 4 families each, who if eligible were to be moved into permanent housing as it became available. The first two families were apparently moved from Windermere to the new camp on 19 December 1958. It was then estimated that 2500-2800 families remained in Windermere, of whom some 1200 were eligible to remain in Cape Town. Those estimated to be 'illegally' in Cape Town were split up, with men removed to Langa compounds and women endorsed out — unless the families had no home or family in the reserves, when they were classified as 'displaced' and allowed to erect their own shacks in Nyanga West until they could be absorbed in planned resettlement villages in the reserves.⁵²

The last of Windermere's 'bachelors' were removed to Langa at the end of 1959. By then the Windermere area, as Kensington-Factreton, had been declared a coloured Group Area.⁵³ By May that year there were 735 families from Windermere in Nyanga West. In 1959 about 100 families a month were being forcibly moved and by late 1959 it was said that one third of Windermere's Africans had been moved to the transit camp. In 1960 there were an estimated 3128 families in Nyanga West, from Windermere (but also from Retreat and Athlone). By 1961 1500 Windermere families had been moved to Nyanga and 1000 families remained in Windermere. By October 1963 it was reported there were a mere 30 families in Windermere, and Gugulethu's population was over 27,000. Windermere may have been finally cleared of Africans by 1965.⁵⁴

Retreat, Vrygrond, Blouville, Steenberg, Muizenberg

The City Council was responsible for the Retreat area where, as already mentioned, there had been a location declared between 1946 and 1954.⁵⁵ In 1954 the City Council began moving people from Retreat to Nyanga, withholding the issue of work permits to women in

Cape Town", pp. 337-338

⁵¹ See Cape Times, 25/4/58; Cape Argus, 10/1/58 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "The squatter problem", pp. 23-4; Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", p. 340-34; Muthien, State and Resistance, p. 174. Also Cape Times, 28/2/1958; Cape Times, 24/12/57 cited in Makosane, "Gugulethu", pp. 18-19

⁵² See Cape Argus, 4/7/58; Cape Times, 19/12/58 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "The squatter problem", p. 24; Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", p. 343; Cape Times 7/10/58 cited in Fast, "Pondoks", p. 234; Cape Times, 11/9/1958; 19/12/1958, cited in Field, "Power of exclusion", p.182

⁵³ Proclamation 153, Government Gazette, 6263, 24 July 1959 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", p. 344

⁵⁴ Cape Argus, 25/10/1963 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", p. 462; Cape Argus 4/3/1959 cited in Fast, "Pondoks", p. 235; Cape Argus 4/9/1959 from Field, "Power of exclusion", p. 183; Muthien, State and Resistance, pp.174-5

⁵⁵ See footnote 16. On the pre-removals history of Retreat see also A. Sayers, "Aspects of the Economic and Social History of Retreat, 1930-1950" (CAS, UCT, July 1986)

Blouvlei thus removing their rights to be in the area. In 1955 the Cape Chamber of Industries asked for these removals to be halted, which gave squatters a brief respite, mainly because Nyanga was not yet equipped with a transit camp to handle large numbers of people.⁵⁶

In 1956 Africans in Blouvlei got notices ordering them to demolish their huts and rebuild them at Nyanga.⁵⁷ 'Bachelors' were being removed from the Retreat area in 1957. The militant Dora Tamana led women's protests and was arrested in September. Families were being removed from Blouvlei by 1959. In March that year a fire in the squatter settlement left people homeless, and was suspected of having been set deliberately to force movement to Nyanga West.⁵⁸ Removals continued in 1960. In November 1961 2000 Steenberg residents signed a petition protesting forced removals to Nyanga West. Particular efforts were apparently made in the first half of 1962 to clear the remaining 648 African families from Blouvlei, Hardevlei, Vrygrond and Steenberg. This followed the declaration of Retreat as a Coloured Group Area in January 1961. All Africans were cleared from the area by 1965.⁵⁹

Athlone, Crawford, Gleemoor, Welcome Estate, Jakkalsvlei

The City Council was responsible for removals from these areas. Athlone was declared a coloured group area in mid-1957.⁶⁰ African 'Bachelors' were being removed from the area by February that year, while family removals may have begun only in 1959. The removals received an impetus from the newly-formed Group Areas Advisory Board which began buying up properties occupied by Africans and then liasing with the NAD and the CTCC to have them removed.⁶¹ Turner's Bush [where?], Jakkalsvlei, Surrey and Welcome Estates were cleared of 2219 residents between February 1958 and February 1959, who were apparently moved to Nyanga and not Nyanga West.⁶² In 1960 The Group Areas Advisory Board claimed that investigations showed some 400 African families living in Athlone, about 300 in Rylands, and some 60 in Duinefontein. By March that year the 'bachelors' involved had been moved to compounds, and before the end of 1960 families in Athlone had been

⁵⁶ Muthien, State and Resistance, p. 171-2

⁵⁷ New Age, 30/8/56 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "The squatter problem", p. 26; CA GN 9/21/1/27, Rogers to TC 27/2/1957 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", p. 338

⁵⁸ New Age 19/9/57; 6/12/57; 2/1/58; Torch 3/3/59 cited in Muthien, State and Resistance, p. 172; CA GN 23/5/4 Rogers to TC 30/4/1959; Torch, 10/3/1959; 10/11/1959 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", p. 345

⁵⁹ Declaration of a Group Area was by Proclamation 34, 21/1/1961 in Government Gazette, 6626, 10/2/1961. Also Letters from CA BAAB 274; Cape Times, 28/3/1962; Torch, 4/4/62 and letters from GN 5/2/2 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", pp. 460-461; Muthien, State and Resistance, pp. 171-3.

⁶⁰ Proclamation 190, 21/6/1957 in Government Gazette, 5900, 5 July 1957

⁶¹ CA GN 9/21/1/27, Rogers to TC 27/2/1957; GN 23/5/4, Rogers to TC, 30/4/1959; and letters from BAAB 274 and GN 4/4/1/25 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, "Africans in Cape Town", pp. 338, 345

⁶² Fast, "Pondoks", p. 147

moved to Gugulethu.⁶³

City centre

Schotse Kloof (Bokaap) was declared a Malay Group Area in July 1957 and preparations for removal of Africans began in mid-1959 with the drawing up of a list of some 70 families.⁶⁴ African ‘bachelors’ were being removed from the area in 1960 and 1961, and it was reported cleared of Africans by June 1963.⁶⁵

Most of houses completed in Nyanga West towards the end of 1963 seem to have been earmarked for those evicted from central city area.⁶⁶

Newlands

Before the end of 1955 300 Africans were evicted from **Newlands** by the CTCC.⁶⁷

Modderdam, Unibel, Werkgenot

The removals at Modderdam, Unibel and Werkgenot took place considerably later (in the 1970s) by which time control of ‘Bantu affairs’ in the Greater Cape Town area had been transferred to the Peninsula Bantu Administration Board. These three squatter settlements developed around the University of the Western Cape from about 1974.

When Werkgenot had about 100 shacks there was an attempt to bulldozer it on the night of October 25 1974. According to Silk, this was stopped because the raid had no legal foundation. Charges were eventually brought against the police and officials who had attempted to demolish the camp for malicious damage to property.⁶⁸

The population of Modderdam grew from about 400 to 10000 between June and December 1976. It was demolished during the week following 8 August 1977. Silk writes that “As the camp was razed, squatters chanted hymns and freedom songs, charged columns of policemen, and hurled furniture onto Modderdam Road. Many burnt down their own shacks. Police used dogs and teargas to disperse the crowds of hymn-singers, spectators and demonstrators. Several squatters were hospitalized with dog bites. One woman, treated for chest pains, was discharged back to the camp with instructions to rest in bed for two weeks. Two women in labour were rushed to an emergency room. A third gave birth to a girl under a plastic tarpaulin next to the sidewalk. As a bulldozer approached one shack, a government official heard a baby scream. He ran into the shanty and yanked a two-week old boy from his

⁶³ Letters from CA BAAB 274, cited in Kinkead-Weekes, “Africans in Cape Town”, p. 460

⁶⁴ Proclamation 190, 21/6/1957 in Government Gazette, 5/7/1957. See also CA GN 4/4/1/25 CBC to TC 3/6/1959 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, “Africans in Cape Town”, p. 345

⁶⁵ Letters from CA GN 4/4/1/25 and BAAB 274; BAAB 274 Geddie to DCD regional under-secretary, 5/6/63 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, “Africans in Cape Town”, pp. 461-2

⁶⁶ Kinkead-Weekes, “Africans in Cape Town”, p. 462

⁶⁷ Torch 10/1/56 cited in Kinkead-Weekes, “The squatter problem”, p. 21; Kinkead-Weekes, “Africans in Cape Town”, p. 338

⁶⁸ Cape Times, 15-21/3/1975 cited in Silk, Modderdam, pp. 82-3. Silk states that “Under the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, 1951, a shanty could not be destroyed without a court order or the permission of the landowner. Furthermore, a squatter’s property could not be damaged in the demolition even if a court order was obtained”

mother's arms. 'God knows it is an inhumane task', he told a reporter as he cuddled the child, 'but I am trying to make it as humane as possible.'"⁶⁹

Werkgenot, with a population of 5000, was demolished on 25 August 1977 and Unibel, with a population of 15,000, between 16 and 20 January 1978.⁷⁰

Appendix: Notes on forced removals outside Greater Cape Town

Grabouw (Klipkop, Newtown)

After the second world war apple farming began in Grabouw and attracted much coloured and african labour. "Omdat Kleurlinge maklik werk by die fabrieke, saagmeulens, pakstore en by die boere kan kry, het die toestroming van Kleurling en Naturelle op groot skaal geskied. Daar was nie huise for hulle nie en 'n plakkers-euwel het ontstaan. Kleurlinge en Naturelle het 'n beleid van deurmekaarwonery gevolg".⁷¹ In 1951 a number of 'natives' and coloureds were evicted from the farm Hopedale and resettled in an emergency camp on a section of the Grabouw common which became known as Newtown. By early 1952 there were 26 coloured shacks (150 people) and 39 'native' shacks there (175 people); and in 1952 it was estimated that the total 'native' population the district of Grabouw was 1500, 200 of them working in the town itself. In May 1951 the Secretary to the Grabouw Town Council requested the Department of Forestry to sell the Council land for coloured and 'native' locations.⁷² The Department of Forestry was initially unwilling, then offered the land at an exorbitant price.⁷³ In December 1960 the Chief Commissioner for Bantu affairs in the Western Cape wrote to the Secretary of BAO saying that "toestande in die plakkerskamp te Grabouw is uiters onbevredigend en dit is noodsaaklik dat die Bantoes so spoedig moontlik behoorlik gehuisves word. U word derhalwe versoek om u invloed by Behuisingskantoor te gebruik om in 'n poging om die aanlegplan voltooi te kry."⁷⁴ However eventually agreement was reached and a 'native' location was established in July 1961.⁷⁵ A census was taken of 'natives' living in the squatter camp New Town in 1957.⁷⁶ In 1960 there were estimated to be

⁶⁹ Silk, Modderdam, pp. 1-2. Also 102, 130-153

⁷⁰ Silk, Modderdam, pp. 7, 158, 167; Western, Outcast Cape Town, pp. 305-306

⁷¹ PA NTS 6157 628/313N Grabouw: establishment of location, quoted from report of 17-18/10/1951 in *Gesamenlike verslag aangaande Naturelle en Kleurling-aangeleenthede te Grabouw*, 1/2/1952

⁷² PA NTS 6157 628/313N Grabouw: establishment of location, *Gesamenlike verslag aangaande Naturelle en Kleurling-aangeleenthede te Grabouw*, 1/2/1952. A census in 1951 estimated the 'native' population of the squatter camp to be 103 male, 59 women and 151 children: Stadsgebiedkommissaris, Wes-Kaapland to SNA 20/9/1955.

⁷³ PA NTS 6157 628/313N, F.H. de J Brownlee, Urban Areas Commissioner, Cape Western Area, Minutes of meeting... 2/7/1952

⁷⁴ PA BAO 9412 Grabouw: steedelijke swart woongebiede, Hoofbantoekommissaris, Wes Kaapland to Sek, BAO, 14/12/1960

⁷⁵ Proclamation 266 in *Government Gazette* 21/7/1961

⁷⁶ PA NTS 6157 628/313N Grabouw: establishment of locations, Town Clerk to Stadsgebiedkommissaris 13/10/1958

154 single 'natives' living in the proclaimed area of Grabouw and 30 families legally present.⁷⁷ In 1959 it was agreed that the divisional council of Caledon would administer 'native affairs' (urban areas and labour legislation) within the municipality of Grabouw, and this agreement was renewed in 1967.⁷⁸

By 1963 however the 'Bantu affairs' officials in the Western Cape were opposed to the existence of this location, and wanted only a small hostel scheme for single men.⁷⁹ Subsequently the location fell within the area demarcated for coloureds under the Group Areas Act proclamation for the district.⁸⁰ In October 1968 the location was deproclaimed.⁸¹

"In 1965", wrote white liberals to the Prime Minister, "the commonage was declared a white area and the Municipality ceased to collect ground rents [from the squatters, for water and sanitation]. About this time the Coloured township of Pineview was completed and most of the Coloured people living in Newtown were moved there. We were told by the Town Clerk that although the Municipality had bought land for a Bantu location as well, and accepted tenders for building there, a telegram received from Pretoria put a stop to further progress, and since that day no satisfactory solution has been found to the problem of Newtown. We understand the land in question is still a proclaimed Bantu township. Meanwhile the Bantu population of Newtown, between 40 and 50 families, is left with nowhere to go.

"In September of this year [1967]", they continued, "notices were pinned on the doors of the houses advising the occupants that under Section 6 of Act 25 of 1945 they were now living there illegally and must leave forthwith. Since then 2 houses have been knocked down, notice having been given of that intention but without prior provision of other accommodation for the families in them. The livelihood of the Bantu in Newtown has been made more precarious by the fact that at the end of last year the Bantu Affairs Department issued a directive to all employers in the Municipal area that they should no longer employ Bantu labour, thus excluding also the women who have for years worked in the local canning factory."⁸²

The local labour officer claimed to the magistrate that the aim of establishing the Newtown emergency camp was to use it as a "transit camp until such time as the families could be repatriated." Only recently had the "repatriation and.. resettlement scheme" been started. "Initially we had some success until well meaning citizens usually connected with the 'Black Sash' — like the petitioners — started given [sic] advice to the effect that bantu

⁷⁷ PA NTS 6157 628/313N Grabouw: establishment of locations, Bestuurder, Bantoe-Administrasie Afdeling, Caledon to Town Clerk, Grabouw 15/1/1960

⁷⁸ PA BAO 74 1/1226 Grabouw: urban administration, Town Clerk, Grabouw to Sek, BAO, 18/7/1961; Proclamation 1019 in Government Gazette, 7/7/1967

⁷⁹ PA BAO 9412 19/1226 Grabouw: steedelijke swart woongebiede, Hoofbantoesaakekommissaris, Wes-Kaapland to Sek, BAO 7/5/1963; Sek BAO to HBSK 16/9/1963

⁸⁰ See PA BAO 9412 19/1226 Grabouw: steedelijke swart woongebiede, Town Clerk Grabouw, to Hoofbantoesaakekommissaris, 3/3/1964; PA BAO 1200 16/1226 Grabouw: Racial Zoning

⁸¹ Proclamation 1912 in Government Gazette 18/10/1968

⁸² PA BAO 9412 19/1226, Mrs M Murray and others to Prime Minister, 19/10/1967. See also Cape Argus 18/10/1967

should refuse to leave as they had a qualified right to remain within the Grabouw Municipal area... They were also advised to ignore orders issued by this Department.” He stated that only 31 families were living in Newtown. He agreed that a site had been proclaimed for a “bantou township” in Grabouw but stated there was no need for such a location because “only 24 bantu are employed” in Grabouw and they could easily be replaced by coloureds. He appealed to the Minister of the BAD to reject the petition and “to render help so that the inhabitants of this squatters camp can be removed as soon as possible.”⁸³

The government reply to the white liberals was that Newtown was to be demolished “and the Bantu families resettled in accordance with Government policy, within the Bantu homelands... it will be entirely in the interests of those Bantu concerned to be removed to the Bantu homelands... If it were not for the few whites who, for reasons of their own, advised the Bantu not to cooperate with the [BAD]... these families could long have been properly housed in healthy surroundings where the children could be educated while the men folk could carry on with their work elsewhere.”⁸⁴ In fact, according to the claimants, most of the families were forcibly relocated in the notorious Dimbaza resettlement camp.

In reply, the white liberals stressed that many of the “Bantu concerned” were designated as residents of Grabouw in their reference books, and a number of families had “lived in the area for many years, or have been born here, and their roots are in Grabouw” and gave an example.⁸⁵ The labour officer in Grabouw denied that any “bantou” with rights to remain had been repatriated, save for those who had been advised to do so by another Black Sash member, Miss Denniston.⁸⁶

Claimants also stated they had been evicted from Klipkop, another part of Grabouw which is now a wealthy white suburb. No records of these removals could be found in the archives.

Worcester (Sakkiesdorp)

The Worcester magisterial district was proclaimed for registration of service contracts in 1944.⁸⁷ In 1946 the ‘native’ population was estimated at 5000, with about one sixth living in the town. The remainder lived in the proclaimed native location (sometimes known as the Umzimkulu location) in 90 sub-economic houses, and in an area called Sakkiesdorp, sections of which fell within the native location, and where there were some 300 shacks.⁸⁸ There was also in Worcester a coloured squatter camp (Goeie Hoop) occupied by 250 families, the first such camp proclaimed under the Prohibition of Illegal Squatting Act 52 of 1951.⁸⁹ There was

⁸³ PA BAO 9412 19/1226 S.P. Breunissen, Labour Officer to the Magistrate, Grabouw, 4/12/1967

⁸⁴ PA BAO 9412 19/1226 J. Engelbrecht, Administrative Control Officer, to Mrs M. Murray, 13/4/1968

⁸⁵ PA BAO 9412 19/1226 Mrs M. Murray et al to Administrative Control Officer, BAD, 9/5/1968

⁸⁶ PA BAO 9412 19/1226 S.P. Breunissen, Manager NAD to Magistrate, Grabouw, 28/8/1968

⁸⁷ CA 3/WOC 1/1/1/34, Report, Manager, NEAD, 6/7/55

⁸⁸ PA NTS 6105 340/313N, H.S. Gear and C.W. Slarke, “Proposed New Location: Worcester”, 10/5/1946

⁸⁹ The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act 52 of 1951 was applied to the magisterial

also an 'old location' for coloureds — an area between Rainier Street and Le Seuer Street in which coloureds built their own houses on municipal land. By 1951 there were 497 huts in Sakkiesdorp (614 by May 1954). In houses and temporary structures south of Durban Street there were possibly 300 'native' families at the end of 1953. At that time there were estimated to be 1250 native families in Worcester altogether. In September 1951 there were 2343 natives in service in Worcester and in July 1954 2518.⁹⁰

From at least 1945 a new location for 'natives' was under consideration for Worcester. "In view of the increasing infiltration of Natives into the town proper... and the already overcrowded and unsatisfactory conditions which prevail in the non-European quarters and at Sakkiesdorp, the Council should be pressed to treat the new location scheme as a matter of extreme urgency."⁹¹ In 1954 the Worcester Council stated that: "Die doel is om die hele naturelle bevolking van Worcester uiteindelik daar [in the new location] te vestig."⁹² In October 1955, after much debate, it was finally called Zwelethemba.⁹³ The

district of Worcester with effect from 5 October 1951: Proclamation 214 of 1951, (5/10/51) [Government Gazette, 4702]

⁹⁰ CA 3/WOC 1/1/32, A. H. Stander, Mayor's Memorandum, 5/7/54; A. H. Stander, "Hervestiging van Naturelle Woonagtig in teenswoordige Naturelle-Lokasie", 23/7/54; 3/WOC 1/1/34 J. Gunter, Manager NEAD, Report, 4/11/55

⁹¹ PA NTS 6105 340/313N C.W. Slarke to SNA "Worcester: extension of location", 8/1/1945; H.S. Gear and C.W. Slarke, "Proposed New Location: Worcester", 10/5/1946; PA NTS 4402 340/313, J.J du Pre le Roux and C.W. Slarke to SNA, 2/7/1945;

⁹² CA 3/WOC 1/1/32, A. Stander, Mayor's Memorandum, 5/7/54. Contradictorily, however, in March 1950 the Non-European Affairs Committee [NNEAC] of the Worcester Council resolved to allow extensions to Sakkiesdorp: CA 3/WOC 1/2/6/1/2, Minutes of Non-European Affairs Committee (NEAC), 15/3/50, item 3(a). The new location was proclaimed by Government Notice 728, 6/4/1950 [Government Gazette, 4355].

⁹³ CA 3/WOC 1/1/31, Minutes of Location Advisory Board (LAB), 8/3/54, 4. Proposals that location be called Nokufa (people will stay there for ever) [2 votes for] and Mziwabantu (dwelling place of the Bantu people) [3 votes for]; Minutes of NEAC, 11/3/54, 3(c), Rejects name Mziwabantu; Minutes LAB, 5/4/54, 4. Name, Recommend following names in order of preference: Ikwezi (Morning Star), Khaya'kulu (great home), Emlanjeni (by the river); 3/WOC 1/2/6/1/3, Minutes of NEAC, 8/4/54, 4(b) Resolved to recommend the name Ikwezi (Morning Star); 3/WOC 1/1/32, Manager NEAD, Report, 1/7/54, item 6. Names Ikwezi and Emlanjeni given to Place Names Commission in letter of 9 June because must give two alternative names. 3/WOC 1/2/6/1/3 [and 3/WOC 1/1/32] Minutes of NEAC, 13/7/54, 2(f) resolved that Khayakulu be second alternative name; 3/WOC 1/1/32, D. J. Rademan, Location Superintendent, Report on Native Affairs, 1/9/54 1. Ikwezi, Kayakulu and Emlanjeni are not acceptable because clash with existing names. Need another name and two alternatives; 3/WOC 1/1/33, Minutes LAB, 3/2/55, 5. Names. Following submitted: Mnqwazi (hat); Thatha (take); Ikaya phumla (home-rest) and by Mr Mtwazi Khaya lam (my home), Zwelethemba (place, country of hope) "NB this name is more attractive and is in general more acceptable."; 3/WOC 1/2/6/1/3 [and 3/WOC 1/1/33], Minutes of NEAC, 14/2/55, 5(b) Resolved to recommend that following proposed names in order of preference be submitted to the Postmaster. Zwelethemba — Place (Country) of Hope. Literally it means a country with a bright prospect. Ikhaya Phumla meaning The Home Rest. Khaya lam meaning My Home; 3/WOC 1/1/34, Report of Manager NEAD, 4/11/55,

Worcester Council resolved on 23rd July 1953 to apply to the Department of Native Affairs for a proclamation under 9 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act 25 of 1945 to provide that all natives (save those excepted in that section) should live in the Council's locations.⁹⁴

Early in 1954 removal of 'natives' to the new location began. The Worcester Council decided that the order of precedence for moving should be: "(i) Natives living in the town amongst the European community [in Parker Street]; (ii) Natives living in Parkers Dam and Roodekamp [squatter camps]; (iii) Natives living in Sakkiesdorp; (iv) Natives living in the [90] sub-economic houses ("die witblokke") in the existing Native location."⁹⁵ In April the Manager for Non-European Affairs reported that all 2 and 3 roomed houses in the new location had been allocated to Natives residing in town. Though there were still 66 4-roomed dwellings to be allocated, there were not enough native families in town able to pay the required rent on them. The NEAC decided to allocate the 4-roomed houses to Native tenants in the 90 sub-economic houses in the old location who qualified for them. Other families in the old location should be removed to Sakkiesdorp. It should be established whether any of the families living at the river-end of Sakkiesdorp qualified for the 4-roomed houses in the new location, and those that did should be allocated them.⁹⁶

By June 1954, 100 of the 276 houses in the new location had been occupied and by July 1954, though by early July 24 of the four-roomed houses had not yet been allocated. Most of these houses were occupied by natives moved from the town, though there were plans to build another 248 houses for natives moved from Sakkiesdorp.⁹⁷ By February 1955 210 hut owners and 43 lodger families had been moved from Sakkiesdorp, and there were about 500 families still living in Sakkiesdorp. The NAD was proposing the establishment of a temporary squatter camp in the new location, to which the remaining people could be moved and then evicted from the town altogether. The Council pointed out that those still living in Sakkiesdorp were those who had been resident in Worcester longest.⁹⁸ In September 1955 the building in the new location of a further 300 houses and 150 hostel-type dwellings (into which the remaining 300 families in the old location would be moved) was approved by the NAD.⁹⁹

item 1. Postmaster wrote on 26/10/55 that name Zwelethemba has been approved.

⁹⁴ CA 3/WOC 1/1/1/31, Report of Manager, Non-European Affairs Department (NEAD), 5/2/54, item 1. See also PA NTS 5329 340/313E Town Clerk, Worcester, to Stadsgebiede Kommissaris, Cape Town, 10/8/1953; Stadsgebiedkommissaris to SNA, 15/8/1953

⁹⁵ CA 3/WOC 1/1/1/31, Minutes of Worcester Council, 28/1/54, item 8(b), Resolution 67/54

⁹⁶ CA 3/WOC 1/1/1/31, Manager, NEAD, Report, 2/4/54; 3/WOC 1/2/6/1/3, Minutes of NEAC, 8/4/1954, , item 3(a). The Manager proposed to allocate the houses made vacant in the old location to Natives living in town who didn't qualify for 4-roomed houses.

⁹⁷ CA 3/WOC 1/1/1/31, Minutes of Location Advisory Board, 3/6/54; 3/WOC 1/1/1/32 A. Stander, Mayor's Memorandum, 5/7/54; 3/WOC 1/1/1/32, Manager NEAD, Report, 1/7/54; 3/WOC 1/1/1/32 A. H. Stander to SNA, 26/5/54

⁹⁸ CA 3/WOC 1/1/1/33, J. Gunter, Manager NEAD, Addendum Report, 5/2/55

⁹⁹ CA 3/WOC 1/1/1/34, Report, Manager NEAD, 2/9/55; 3/WOC 1/1/1/33, Minutes

After a visit by the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs to the town on June 18 1954, followed by considerable discussion and correspondence, the NAD instructed the Council that it would be necessary only to pay a nominal amount of £2 compensation for inconvenience (ongerief), together with free transport for the removals.¹⁰⁰ In November 1954 the Location Advisory Board complained that £2 was inadequate compensation.¹⁰¹

Ceres (Sakkiesbaai)

While in 1938 the census counted only 3 male ‘natives’ and one female in Ceres, by 1945 there were estimated to be 700, and by 1951 possibly 1000. In 1945 250 of these were concentrated in an area to the south of the town adjoining the ‘coloured area’, in 46 shacks made mostly of sacking. By 1951 some 96 families, comprising 700 people, occupied this area.¹⁰² The area, about ten morgen, was called Sakkiesdorp, and was proclaimed as an emergency camp in 1954, and deproclaimed in 1965.¹⁰³ The establishment of an official location was recommended by officials from 1945.¹⁰⁴ In 1951 the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act was applied to Ceres.¹⁰⁵ Though the municipality dragged its feet, a location was eventually proclaimed in May 1958, called Nduli.¹⁰⁶ Group Areas for whites and coloureds were proclaimed in 1959.¹⁰⁷ Removals of ‘natives’ living in the town of Ceres outside the location took place at least between 1960 and 1965: it was estimated there were 300 families living in the town in June 1960, 86 in June 1962 and 22 in June 1965.¹⁰⁸

of Council, 24/3/55

¹⁰⁰ CA 3/WOC 1/1/1/31, Minutes of Council, 24/6/54, item 28; 3/WOC 1/1/1/32, A.H. Stander, Manager NEAD, 28/6/1954 “Verwydering gesinne uit Sakkiesdorp na Nuwe Lokasie. [See USNA to TC, 25/6/1954?] 3/WOC 1/1/1/32 A.H. Stander, Hervestiging van Naturelle woonagtig in teenswoordige Naturelle-lokasie, 23/7/54 with annexures; 3/WOC 1/1/1/32, Minutes of Council, 30/7/54, item 2; 3/WOC 1/1/1/32, Town Clerks report to NEAC, 10/8/54; 3/WOC 1/2/6/1/3 [and 3/WOC 1/1/1/32], Minutes of NEAC, 16/8/54, item 4(c); 3/WOC 1/1/1/32, Memo by Town Clerk to Council Meeting of 19/8/54, dated 17/8/54; 3/WOC 1/1/1/32, Minutes of Council meeting of 19/8/54, item 3(b).

¹⁰¹ CA 3/WOC 1/1/1/32, Minutes of Meeting of Location Advisory Board, 8/11/54

¹⁰² PA NTS 4502 568/313 Ceres Municipality, Report of H.S. Gear and C.W. Slarke, 23/5/1945; Letter from women residents of Ceres location, 6/4/1951; PA NTS 6509 568/313S Ceres: squatting, Stadsgebiedkommissaris, Wes Kaapland to SNA 19/5/1951

¹⁰³ Proclamation 2243 in Government Gazette 5367, 5/11/1954; Proclamation 1870 in Government Gazette 26/11/1965

¹⁰⁴ PA NTS 4502 568/313 Ceres Municipality, Report of H.S. Gear and C.W. Slarke, 23/5/1945; PA NTS 6509 568/313S Ceres: squatting H.H.L Smuts to Town Clerk, Ceres 1/8/1952

¹⁰⁵ Proclamation 222 in Government Gazette 6/10/1951

¹⁰⁶ Proclamation 746 in Government Gazette 30/5/1958

¹⁰⁷ Proclamation 300 of [1959]. A further group area for coloureds was proclaimed between Ceres and Prince Alfred Hamlet in 1972.

¹⁰⁸ PA BAO 57 1/1116 Ceres: Urban administration, Memo, F.C. Greyvenstein,

Robertson (Muiskraal, Silvertown, Bodorp)

As the result of pressure from the NAD, a 'native' location called Muiskraalkop was proclaimed in Robertson in September 1945 (and deproclaimed in February 1960).¹⁰⁹ Soon after its proclamation ratepayers objected to its existence and a new site was identified 300 yards further to the south-east.¹¹⁰ Because of continued resistance from ratepayers, however, there were substantial delays in proclaiming the new area as an official location. In the 1950s it appears anyway that a substantial proportion of Robertson's 'native' population did not live in the location. In 1950, for example, it was stated by the urban areas commissioner that many 'natives' "woon in krotte onder baie ongesonde toestande in die kleurling woonbuurt van die dorp."¹¹¹ He wanted proclamation 66 of 1945 repealed in favour of a proclamation giving the town council greater powers over influx control. In May 1956 Robertson was proclaimed under Section 23 of the 1945 Urban Areas Act.¹¹²

Delay in establishing the new location continued through the 1950s.¹¹³ It, to be known as Nkqubela, was only eventually proclaimed in February 1960.¹¹⁴ By 1968 there were 36 family houses in it, and hostel accommodation for 208 people.¹¹⁵ The area of the divisional council of Robertson became a stedelike plaaslike bestuur from March 1963.¹¹⁶

Forced removals of 'natives' took place sporadically through the 1960s and 1970s. Some 80 families who did not qualify for housing remained in Muiskraalkop after its deproclamation. In 1968 it would seem that some 18 "Bantu families" were still living in the coloured area of Silvertown and should be moved to the location, and that 29 families remained in what was now described as the "plakker-kamp" of Muiskraalkop. The town clerk claimed in July 1968 that in total 49 families had to be removed. BAD officials wanted hostel single quarters converted to house families who qualified for urban residence, but the Town clerk wanted houses built in the location rather than hostel accommodation converted.¹¹⁷ Removals from Muiskraalkop and Silvertown continued until at least 1970, and in that year

Administrative Control Officer, Urban Areas, 3/11/1965

¹⁰⁹ Government Notice 1669 of 14/9/1945; Proclamation 174 of 12/2/1960

¹¹⁰ PA NTS 4522 598/313N, H.H.L. Smuts, Inspekteur van Stadsgebiede, "Verslag oor inspeksie: Robertson", 12/10/1949

¹¹¹ H.H.L. Smuts, Stadsgebiedskommissaris, Wes-Kaapland to SNA 14/7/1950

¹¹² Proclamation 88 in Government Gazette 25/5/1956

¹¹³ See for example H.H.L. Smuts, Stadsgebiedskommissaris, Wes-Kaapland to Town Clerk, Robertson, 14/5/1951

¹¹⁴ Proclamation 174 in Government Gazette 12/2/1960. It was redefined by Proclamation 1941, Government Gazette 6/11/1970.

¹¹⁵ PA BAO Town Clerk, Robertson to Magistrate, Robertson, 16/9/1968

¹¹⁶ PA BAO 103 1/1584 Robertson, Sek BAO to Prov Sec, Cape Town, 8/3/1963

¹¹⁷ PA BAO 9469 598/313N FB, Memorandum, 13/5/1968; Town Clerk, Robertson to Bantoesakekommissaris, Robertson, 15/7/1968; HoofBantoesakeKommissaris, Wes-Kaapland, to Sek BAO, 8/11/1968

the location of Nkqubela was redefined.¹¹⁸

Montagu

According to the 1951 census there were 141 'natives' in Montagu, 90 of them contract labourers on a water scheme and most of the remainder apparently housed at hotels and factories.¹¹⁹ In 1955 a 'native affairs' official visited Montagu and could declare that "daar bestaan geen plakker toestande nie."¹²⁰ In 1956 the town clerk wrote to the Secretary for Native Affairs that the council "oor geen naturellelokasie beskik nie en alle pogings word aangewend om die instroming van naturelle to bekamp." Coloureds were used for labour, and 'natives' only seasonally in factories, housed on the premises. "Sodra die seisoentyd verstreke is keer hulle na hul onderskeie tuistes terug." From 1963 the area of Montagu covered by the municipality and the divisional council was administered as regards 'native affairs' by the municipality of Robertson. The area of the divisional council of Montague was proclaimed for influx control under section 23 of Act 25 of 1945 from 22 February 1963.¹²¹ Group Areas were declared in Montagu in 1965 and added to in 1967.¹²²

¹¹⁸ PA BAO 9469 598/313N Town Clerk to Streekverteenwoordiger, Department van Gemeenskapsbou, 6/5/1970; Hoofbantoesakekommissaris, Wes-Kaapland to Sek, BAO 25/6/197; Proclamation 1936, Government Gazette 2915, 6/11/1970

¹¹⁹ PA NTS 6616 1018/313T Montagu. Establishment of townships, Town Clerk to SNA, 28/11/1956

¹²⁰ PA NTS 6514 1018/313S Montagu - squatting, Stadsgebiedkommissaris, Wes Kaapland, to SNA 12/12/1955

¹²¹ PA BAO 1/1584 Robertson, Minutes, Special Meeting of Montagu Divisional Council 21/12/1962; Ooreenkoms between Robertson municipality and Montagu Divisional Council, 22/2/1963

¹²² Proclamation 70, Government Gazette 2/4/1965; Proclamation 122 Government Gazette [1967]