

G R A H A M S T O W N

A SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL STUDY OF A SMALL SOUTH AFRICAN TOWN.

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Faculty of Social Science
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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
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BRIEF SUMMARY

This is intended to be only a very brief summary of the investigation. The reader is referred to Chapter XVI, pages 322 and following, for a complete summary of, and conclusions reached by, the investigation. Ad hoc hypotheses formulated as a result of the study are also given at the end of this chapter.

Little is known at present about the development, structure, and functions of small towns in the Union of South Africa, and there is a need to fill this gap in our knowledge. A study has been made of Grahamstown, a small South African town. This study is monographic and intensive in character, and heuristic in aim. Ad hoc hypotheses have been formulated on the basis of the findings of the study, and these must be tested by subsequent studies of other small towns.

Grahamstown, the subject of the study, was chosen largely for reasons of convenience, and also because of its interesting development. It is suggested that in many ways the town is possibly a typical small town, but at this stage we cannot know if this is so. Only the white population of the town was investigated, as it was necessary to limit research to manageable proportions, and in addition several studies have already been made of the non-white populations of the town. The analysis has been described as socio-ecological, as basically the methodological approach used is an attempt to wed the methods of the urban demographer and the social ecologist. Time and space are used as the two co-ordinates for the analysis, so that both a social historical and an ecological-demographic analysis of the town have been made.

The historical analysis of the development and functions of Grahamstown relies heavily on material collected from the early newspapers of the town. Grahamstown, once the most important town in the Eastern Cape Province, known as the "Emporium" and "Metropolis" of the Eastern Cape, and the most progressive town in the Colony, is to-day a small static town with, on the whole, relatively restricted influence. This fundamental change in the historical development of the town, hitherto unexplained, is the result of the changes in the socio-ecological make-up of the region around the town. Founded in 1812 as a strategic outpost on the frontier of the Colony, Grahamstown dominated a wide region; as the gateway to and the supply centre for, the frontier, the town flourished and reigned supreme. From the mid 19th. Century onwards the region began to change to a developed one, with the frontier more and more inland. Grahamstown, no longer a strategic outpost in a frontier region, lost its dominant ecological position to Port Elizabeth, the natural supply base for, and gateway to, the new settled region. As one town among many in the new settled region, Grahamstown gradually lost many of its former functions, and began to stagnate. The town is to-day mainly known for its important educational function. This function, a relic from the days of the town's zenith, has saved the town from complete stagnation. The town is what it is to-day largely because of the socio-ecological regional influences which have operated on it since its foundation.

To-day Grahamstown is located within the Port Elizabeth metropolitan district. The town is the centre of a wide variety of regional services of an ad hoc type, and the modal region served seems to be that settled by the 1820

Settlers - basically the town is mainly a supply centre for its surrounding rural areas. The demographic structure of the town reveals a static population. Growth of the white population has been practically static since about 1880, and the age structure is that of a stationary population. Particularly noticeable is the under-representation of the young working group in the population, and it is suggested that due to the lack of economic opportunities in the town, the young workers of the town, especially the unmarried males, migrate to larger urban areas to seek employment, and advancement. The sex-ratio of the population shows an excess of females, and this may be due to migration out of an excess of young males, and possibly migration in of older spinsters. Retired persons definitely migrate to the town to settle. The town, a predominantly English-speaking one, has practically no industries, and so the population contains a majority of workers engaged in professional, administrative, and commercial activities. This stresses the service and supply functions of the town.

The ecological analysis delineated various natural areas and zones in the town. The pattern approximates to patterns revealed by studies of American towns. Although the areas involved were relatively small, ecological differentiation was marked. The spatial distribution of demographic and other social phenomena was studied in detail.

The results of the study have allowed several ad hoc hypotheses concerning the development, functions, and structures of small towns in South Africa to be formulated. These may be tested by subsequent studies, and so ultimately knowledge and theories about our small towns may be built up.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

CHAPTER I

THE AIM, SCOPE, AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH OF THE STUDY

The present period in the development of society might well be termed the "metropolitan age" - the age when great cities and metropolitan regions have developed rapidly at a rate and to a size completely unparalleled in the history of the world.⁽¹⁾ It is an age to-day when more and more the "gesellschaft" type of society (as Tönnies called it) is overshadowing the "gemeinschaft" type of society:⁽²⁾ this is as true for South Africa as for the rest of the world. The "megapolis" order of existence,⁽³⁾ with its manifold problems of administration, economics, and social disorganisation and personal maladjustment, has naturally attracted most of the attention of social scientists. However, despite the world-wide population movements to towns and cities⁽⁴⁾ it is hardly possible, and probably most undesirable, that the total population outside rural areas could live in metropolitan areas. Consequently, it is justifiable to examine the structure and function of small towns in our present civilisation, particularly those in areas, hitherto regarded as undeveloped,

(1) Lewis Mumford: The Culture of Cities: Harcourt Brace, New York, 1938.

(2) F. Tönnies: "Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft" translated by C.P. Loomis as Fundamental Concepts of Sociology: New York, 1940.

(3) Mumford: op. cit., Ch. IV, p. 223ff.

(4) Report of the Native Laws Commission: U.G. 28/1948, Government Printer, Pretoria: p.5, para.6.

which are at the moment undergoing rapid industrialisation with concomitant urbanisation.

Few studies have been made of such towns. Writing on this point, a British author, thinking of British research, remarks:

"Much has been written about the problems of great cities, of their slums and new housing estates, whilst a wealth of literature has been devoted to the revival of the countryside. It is strange therefore that the social and community problems of small towns have been so singularly overlooked. A superficial age which tended to judge success by mere size has condemned many of them as failures; the main stream of life has passed them by" (5)

In South Africa the lack of such studies is even more evident. (6) Little is known about the many small towns scattered over the wide spaces of this land. The aim of this study, therefore, is to undertake an investigation of such a small South African town with a view to yielding a picture of its development, function, and structure. The study will be monographic and intensive in character aiming at providing an example, which it is hoped subsequent studies in this field may follow and improve upon, so that eventually it will be come possible to

(5) L.E. White: Small Towns: Their Social and Community Problems: National Council for Social Service, Great Britain, 1951: preface.

(6) See The Register of Current Research in the Humanities In South Africa, issued annually by the National Council for Social Research, Pretoria. In the period 1947-54 only one sociological study of a small South African town was reported - a project by D.G.H.F. Uys: 'n Sosio-grafiese Studie van Harrismith (p.41, 1951 Register.) Several studies of small towns by geographers are listed but they are not relevant. The only published study at the time of writing (1956) is in the Natal Regional Survey Series: Additional Report No. 3: Small Towns of Natal: A Socio-economic Sample Survey: University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1953.

construct a generalised picture of the characteristics of small towns in South Africa, and thus constitute a basis for their future planning.

The definition of a small town adopted for the purposes of this study is that used by L.E. White: a small town is one with a population between 4,000 and 40,000 inhabitants.⁽⁷⁾ The urban unit chosen is Grahamstown, popularly known as the "capital" of the Eastern Cape Province.⁽⁸⁾ At the time of the 1951 Census, Grahamstown had a total population of just under 24,000, with a European population of about eight-and-a-half thousand.⁽⁹⁾ In terms of the definition, the town is thus a "small town."

Grahamstown was chosen primarily because it is a university town, and so it would prove easy to obtain student-labour for making the necessary survey of the town: in this respect it is atypical. In addition, as will be mentioned in the study, Grahamstown has had a very interesting development, and while a static town to-day, it once was the most progressive town in the Cape Colony.⁽¹⁰⁾ A study of the town is likely to reveal the reasons why it stagnated after a most promising start, and so, perhaps, suggest why some of the other small towns in South Africa, which like Grahamstown were once flourishing towns, have stagnated and ceased to grow beyond the stage of a minor urban unit. Moreover, while in some respects - notably

(7) White: op. cit., Ch. I.

(8) The town was never officially made the capital of the Eastern Province, but is generally assumed to be such.

(9) Geographical Distribution of the Population, 1951 Census: Special Report No. 200: Bureau of Census and Statistics: Government Printer, Pretoria: p.17.

(10) D.H. Thomson: A Short History of Grahamstown: Grocott & Sherry, Grahamstown, 1952: foreword.

in terms of its educational function - Grahamstown is fairly unique among small towns in the Union, it is suggested that in most respects the town is typical.⁽¹¹⁾ A study of its functions might give an idea of the functions exercised by many towns of similar structure in South Africa. Finally, it is hoped to cast light upon the dynamics of growth and decline in towns of this scale.

In order to present a fairly full picture of Grahamstown, it was decided to study the development, functions, and structure of the town. Consequently, the study has been divided into two main sections - Part I: Grahamstown in the Past deals with the siting, development historically, and the expansion of functions of the town since its foundation in 1812 till the present time; Part II: Grahamstown To-day deals, firstly, with the regional setting and contemporary functions of the town, and later with a study of the internal structure of the town abstracted from the region. In this latter section the study has been limited entirely to the European area and population of the town. This was done for several reasons, the major one being the need to limit the study to proportions which could be managed with limited labour and available finance.⁽¹²⁾ Secondly, the Social Science Department of Rhodes University had

(11) Until more studies of South African small towns are made it is not possible to be sure of just how far Grahamstown is typical of small towns in the Union, and how far atypical.

(12) Apart from the use of student-labour for the household, and the housing surveys, the investigator had to work in the field alone. Even student-labour was not as plentiful as one could have wished.

already made several studies of the Non-European population of the town. While, therefore, something was known about the Non-European population of the town, virtually nothing was known about the European population. A final reason was the fact that generally more attention in South Africa has been given to the study of the Non-European than the European populations: it was felt, therefore, that a contribution to our knowledge of the European population in South African towns was needed. (13)

Summing up, the basic aim of this investigation is to make a study of a small South African town, in an attempt to fill a gap in our knowledge. As the study is monographic and heuristic, at this stage few generalised hypotheses can be tested. Hypotheses can be advanced, but should be left to further studies for testing. Such hypotheses, are of necessity, "ad hoc." This is not an ideal procedure in social research, but it was the only possible approach at this stage in the absence of studies in other areas in South Africa.

After defining the aim and scope of the study it was necessary to choose the methods which could be used for investigation of the field. Before deciding on the methods to be used, a study of the literature in the field of urban sociology was made in order to obtain an idea of the different methods used by research workers. The

(13) The manner in which the European population is intergrated with the Non-European is a study in itself, but even so some light is cast on the process by a study of one social ingredient - in this case the European.

bibliography at the end of the study gives some idea of the various studies of towns and their populations, or of aspects of them, which have been made by social scientists, and which have influenced the present study - it is not proposed to refer to them in detail here.

Briefly, such studies can be roughly divided into four main types depending on the methodological approach used: important examples of each are as follows:-

1. The type of study typified by West's study of Plainville,⁽¹⁴⁾ or the Lynds' study of Middletown:⁽¹⁵⁾ This type of study could be called a social anthropological study of towns, and yields information on social interaction patterns. Studies of social attitudes, beliefs, behaviour patterns, etc. are made. The major drawback of this type of study is that the methods used yield no study of the function of a town as a unit, or as a structure in itself, but only of the interaction of persons and institutions. This type of approach was not used in the study of Grahamstown.
2. The Social Survey Type of Study: This type of study is typified by Booth's study of London⁽¹⁶⁾ or Caradog-Jones' study of Merseyside⁽¹⁷⁾ or Rowntree's

(14) J. West: Plainville U.S.A.: Columbia University Press; Fifth Printing, 1948.

(15) R.S. Lynd and H.M. Lynd: Middletown: A Study in American Culture: Constable & Co., London 1929. Another example is W.L. Warner & P.S. Lunt: The Social Life of a Modern Community: Yale University Press, Newhaven 1944; or H. Miner: St. Denis: French Canadian Parish: Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1939.

(16) C. Booth & Others: Life and Labour of the People in London: 17 vols., Macmillan & Co., 1902.

(17) D. Caradog-Jones (ed.): The Social Survey of Merseyside: 3 vols. Liverpool University Press, 1934.

study of York.⁽¹⁸⁾ In South Africa, an example of this type of study is the Cape Town Survey⁽¹⁹⁾ conducted by the Social Science Department of the University of Cape Town. This type of study and the methods used in it have made a major contribution to our knowledge of towns and conditions within them - indeed, the social survey methods are most important in social science, and have been widely used. The methods used by this type of study have been utilised to some extent in this study of Grahamstown, mainly to gather information from European householders in the town.

3. Spatial Studies of Towns: This type of study includes both geographical and ecological studies of towns. The ecological studies of towns have been undertaken mainly by American sociologists, and have been developed and exploited particularly by the Chicago school of sociologists. Many examples of this type of study are to be found in the bibliography - to name only three of these studies, there is McKenzie's "Metropolitan Community"⁽²⁰⁾ or Thrasher's study of gangs in Chicago,⁽²¹⁾ or the reports of the Chicago Urban Analysis Project undertaken by the University

(18) B.S. Rowntree: Poverty: A Study of Town Life: Macmillan & Co., 1901.

(19) E. Batson: Social Survey of Cape Town: Social Science Department, University of Cape Town: Mimeographed.

(20) R.D. McKenzie: The Metropolitan Community: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., New York, 1933.

(21) F.M. Thrasher: The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago: Chicago University Press, Second Revised Edition, 1936.

of Chicago.⁽²²⁾ The geographical studies of towns have been made in the field of urban geography, and are to be distinguished from the social ecological studies mainly by the relative absence of a more sociological treatment, and a relative lack of a conceptual orientation. Examples of this type of study are Smailes' "The Geography of Towns"⁽²³⁾ or Dickinson's "The Western European City."⁽²⁴⁾ It is probably not unjust to the literature in the field of spatial studies of towns to sum the position up by stating that while social ecological studies of towns can and sometimes do include the use of geographical concepts, the reverse is not generally true, (although it must be admitted that there is a good deal of overlapping in the work of the social ecologist and the urban geographer.) The approach of the social ecologist generally seems to be a fuller, more rounded approach to the study of cities and towns than that of the pure geographer, for in addition to including all the main features of the geographical studies, social ecological studies include a sociological orientation, and an ecological conceptual framework not necessarily used in geographical studies. Ecological studies give a detailed idea of

(22) See the bibliography given in The Chicago Urban Analysis Project: A Summary Report: O.D. Duncan & B. Davis: Chicago University, Mimeographed, 1953.

(23) A.E. Smailes: The Geography of Towns: Hutchinson's University Library, 1953.

(24) R.E. Dickinson: The Western European City: A Geographical Interpretation: Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1951.

how a town, with its physical, sociological and economic aspects, is composed and distributed in space, and how its spatial patterns change. The methods used provide basic knowledge of the growth and rate of change in the physical and social structure of towns, and yield data which have made a major contribution to our knowledge of towns, both as spatial and as social entities. Ecological techniques and concepts were used throughout in the study of Grahamstown.

4. Town Planning Studies: This type of study is typified by the study of Edinburgh⁽²⁵⁾ or "County Town"⁽²⁶⁾ or Middlesborough.⁽²⁷⁾ In fact, such studies constitute a type of social survey for a town planning study. The literature in this field usually conveys by means of photographs, maps and literary descriptions a vivid, graphic idea of the town concerned, (which is more often than not not given by the other types of studies of towns.) Being collected solely for the purpose of Town Planning, the material often displays a lack of an analytical treatment beyond the elementary descriptive stage;⁽²⁸⁾ however the best writers in this field such

(25) P. Abercrombie; D. Plumstead: A Civic Survey and Plan for the City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1949.

(26) J. Glaisyer & Others: County Town: A Civic Survey for the Planning of Worcester: J. Murray, London, 1947.

(27) R. Glass: (ed.) The Social Background of a Plan: A Study of Middlesborough: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949.

(28) The Edinburgh Survey (op. cit.) is a typical example of this failing. For instance, the spatial relations of data are portrayed on maps, so that the geographical aspect of the phenomena is portrayed, but no attempt is made to study the ecological patterns or processes involved, despite the fact that one might well contend that a knowledge of these would be important for planning.

as Geddes and Abercrombie are well aware of the social factors involved in city planning⁽²⁹⁾ even if they do not always give these factors a detailed consideration.

In this study, it was decided to combine the types of approaches used by the latter three types of studies viz. the social survey, the ecological study, and the planning survey. A survey of the European Area is undertaken to collect data which could not be obtained in other ways.⁽³⁰⁾ Ecological techniques and concepts are used to give an idea of the manner in which the town functions as an entity in space. Finally, following the lead of some of the Town Planning studies, maps, photographs, and literary descriptions are used to portray the town, and present as vividly as possible a picture of Grahamstown.

In this study, the major analytical method and theoretical orientation used is that of social ecology. The conceptual and methodological orientation of social ecology is extremely useful when making a study of a town, and the value of the discipline for an understanding of urban organisation has been described by Park as follows:

(29) c.f. P. Abercrombie: Town and Country Planning: Home University Library: or his report in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population of Great Britain: H.M.S.O., London, 1939.

(30) Survey techniques are used to gather data. It must be noted however, that a good deal of the task of some of the social surveys (e.g. Booth's, Rowntree's - op. cit.) was to study poverty complexes - this aspect is minimised here, for an ecological rather than an economic study is the aim.

"Human ecology, as sociologists conceive it, seeks to emphasize not so much geography as space. In society we not only live together, but at the same time we live apart, and human relations can always be reckoned, with more or less accuracy, in terms of distance Since so much that students of society are ordinarily interested in seems to be intimately related to position, distribution, and movements in space, it is not impossible that all we ordinarily conceive as social may eventually be construed and described in terms of space and the changes of position of the individuals within the limits of a natural area It is because social relations are so frequently and so inevitably correlated with spacial relations; because physical distances, so frequently are, or seem to be, the indexes of social distances, that statistics have any significance whatever for sociology. And this is true, finally, because it is only as social and psychical facts can be reduced to, or correlated with, spacial facts that they can be measured at all." (31)

While Park has tended to overstate his case, he has nevertheless indicated the importance of space in society, and the concern of social ecology with spatial distributions of persons and institutions, and the related processes. It is felt that on the whole the full potentialities of social ecological techniques and concepts have not always been appreciated by sociologists outside America, when making studies of towns. Space and the occupancy of space is one of the basic social facts. In this study of Grahamstown this factor is taken to co-ordinate and give meaning to the various phenomena. All social phenomena occur in space, and towns and cities are essentially spatial entities - they can be studied abstracted from space, but space is an ultimate and final co-ordinate. To describe the structure and problems of a community independently of space is to fail to understand the patterns of interrelationships which are formed in a community. It is only by relating the aspects of a town back to the space in which it exists, and to the symbiotic, interacting, and interrelated complex of

(31) R.E. Park: The Urban Community as a Spacial Pattern and a Moral Order: in The Urban Community: W. Burgess (ed.), University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1926.

social forces operating in space (i.e. ecological forces and processes), that a town can be understood in a meaningful sense. Thus, while this study uses aspects of the approach of social surveyors, ecologists, and town planners, the main approach used is ecological.⁽³²⁾ Space, however, is not the only co-ordinate used. Space is related to time, for space relationships change in different periods: thus space and time are brought together to form a frame of reference and a social historical method is used in the initial stages of the study.

However, while the main emphasis of the study is ecological, it must not be supposed that it is intended to be solely a study in social ecology. The study of Grahams-town includes a consideration of phenomena not only on a spatial basis, but also as totalities abstracted from the space occupied by them. Thus it is that the demographic composition and structure of the European population, or the occupational structure of the European population of the town, is studied and compared with that for the Union of South Africa. A pure ecological study, without any consideration of wider totalities for the town as a single unit, would not have presented a full picture of the town.⁽³³⁾ Because part of the approach used is that of

(32) To date hardly any studies in the field of social ecology have been made in South Africa. As far as can be ascertained there is only one study in this field at the moment, viz. D. van Zyl: 'n Ekologiese Studie van Oudtshoorn: (Unpublished M.A. dissertation presented to Stellenbosch University, 1944.) An ecological study of Durban is currently being undertaken by the Dept. of Sociology and Social Work, University of Natal, Durban - begun in 1954, this study is to be published shortly.

(33) The limitation of many ecological studies of towns has been that while they are excellent studies in social ecology, they have lacked wider perspectives found e.g. in the studies of towns as totalities made by English sociologists. An attempt is made in this study to wed, however imperfectly, the approach of American social ecologists with that of English social surveyors.

the social surveyors, with their concern for totalities largely or entirely studied in isolation from the space which they occupy, parts of the study are demographic rather than ecological in character - though after the demographic study, spatial variations within the totality studied are examined. Consequently the study of Grahamstown has been called a "socio-ecological" study to indicate clearly that the study considers sociological topics not dealt with by studies which are confined to ecology.

A discussion of the specific methods used for the study of Grahamstown is given at appropriate places in the body of the text, and in the appendices.

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PART I

GRAHAMSTOWN IN THE PAST.

GRAHAMSTOWN IN THE PASTTHE EMERGENCE OF A COMMUNITY PROBLEMPREFACE

All reality is continuous; the "past", the "present", and the "future" are parts of a continuous stream of causally related events and phenomena. The "past" and the "present" are segments of time, identification at any instant being dependant on the frame of reference of the viewer - on his particular standpoint in the stream of time. The division into instants is not inherent in the nature of reality; there is no clear-cut division between past and present in the world that the scientist investigates - there is no watertight division between the two, making one independent of, and isolated from, the other. So it is, that any investigator into the nature, form, and behaviour of reality, or of any particular part thereof, cannot fully comprehend present phenomena, events and trends, without some reference to the past - to those past phenomena, events and trends which are significantly and causally related to the present that he wishes to study. This does not deny the value or permissibility of studies which are concerned solely with the present - for certain problems a frame of reference which contains only the present is not only satisfactory, but sometimes even essential. (1)

(1) In his book Foundations of Sociology (Macmillan Co., 1939) G.A. Lundberg contends, as one of his main themes, that science, and scientific studies are responses to problems, either intellectual or material problems. This being so, it is the problem concerned which determines whether a static study or a dynamic one is required. For many problems, a static study is all that is required, or all that is possible in terms of the time, finance and staff available

However, the limited role of static studies must be realized.

These remarks apply to the work of the sociologist, and equally to all scientists. In a study of any community, the sociologist can fully appreciate the problems and state of that community in the present only if he possesses some knowledge of the dynamics of the community in the past. Furthermore, it is only through a knowledge of the past that he is able to evaluate the present, and discern what trends have, and are, operating, and in what direction they are moving, and at what speed. It is often through an investigation of the past that he reveals problems in the present, and is able to throw the present condition of the community into its proper perspective.

In this study of Grahamstown, full cognisance is taken of this fact, and so the study has been made to cover the town in the past, and also in the present. Consequently, the part which follow is an historical study of the town, and forms half of the dichotomous study of Grahamstown - Past and Present. This historical study is not intended to be a full social history, but rather an outline of the main processes in time and space which have affected the town and its fortunes since the date of its foundation. Many incidents which would be of interest to the historian are either neglected entirely, or given a passing reference, while others, of more interest to the sociologist, are treated in greater detail. The approach is essentially that of the sociologist, rather than that of the historian.

This study of Grahamstown in the Past is concerned with what one might call "The Rise and Fall of Grahamstown", with particular reference to the socio-economic and ecological reasons for the decline of the town in later years. This

decline in the importance and power of the town is its most striking feature. "Once the most progressive town in the Cape", Grahamstown "is now more generally associated with the resting place of Rip van Winkle."⁽²⁾ Once dominating the whole of the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony, being "the Emporium of the East"⁽³⁾ and the political capital and leader of the Eastern Province, it is now a relative backwater redeemed from stagnation and decay mainly by its educational institutions. This decline has been a cardinal problem of Grahamstown, and so demands special attention.

There are no adequate historical monographs on the town. Only two books are what could be called local histories: one is Sheffield's "Story of the Settlement"⁽⁴⁾ and the other Thomson's "A Short History of Grahamstown".⁽⁵⁾ Sheffield wrote his book in 1884, so that he was still too close to the happenings he describes to be able to see clearly the problem of the decline of the town, and the causes for it; his work cannot help us much. Thomson's book is a brief history prepared for the town's "van Riebeeck Tercentenary Celebrations" in 1952, and does no more than point out the fact of the decline of the town,

(2) D.H. Thomson: A Short History of Grahamstown: op. cit., foreword.

(3) This title, apparently, was commonly applied to the town during the first part of the 19th. Century. As an example, see the Graham's Town Journal for December 25, 1852, (article quoting an article on Grahamstown by the "Fort Elizabeth Telegraph.") As another example of the use of this title, see J.C. Chase: The Cape of Good Hope and Delagoa Bay: published 1843, p. 43.

(4) T. Sheffield: The Story of the Settlement: Third Edition, 1912, Grocott & Sherry, Grahamstown.

(5) Op. cit.

without adequately explaining it. For the rest, other books make references to Grahamstown in passing, or in so far as the history of the town is related to some other topic. Examples of this type of book are the various travel books on South Africa which were published during the last century, various Colonial Annual Directories, and Cory's "The Rise of South Africa".⁽⁶⁾ The total information yielded by all these various sources, including the two histories mentioned above, is quite adequate for the early years of Grahamstown's history, but tends to be scanty for the period from roughly 1840 onwards. Most of the references are concerned in some detail with the establishment of the town, but their value declines once the stage of the fully established town is reached. They have little or no light to cast on the later period of the town's history - on the most important period of decline.

There is one other source of historical information, viz. the town's newspapers. The earliest of these, and the most important is the "Graham's Town Journal" which commenced publication at the end of 1831, and continues to the present time under the title of "Grocott's Daily Mail." It is mainly by means of information gleaned from this newspaper that an attempt is made here not only to provide a picture of Grahamstown at its height, but also and more especially, to explain the reasons for the town's decline, and so explain what Thomson calls "one of the historical enigmas of our time."⁽⁷⁾ A picture of the essential features of the town's fortunes in the past is presented.

(6) G.E. Cory: The Rise of South Africa: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910.

(7) Thomson: op. cit., see foreword.

The "rise" and the "decline" of Grahamstown are studied in relation to the structure and composition of the region surrounding Grahamstown, and important socio-ecological changes in the structure and economy of the region are used to explain changes in its fortunes. The use of regional socio-ecology provides a technique for unravelling the "enigma."

The sources used are derived from the Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown. A bibliography is given at the end of the study.

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PART A

THE RISE OF GRAHAMSTOWN.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
OF GRAHAMSTOWN.

PART A : THE RISE OF GRAHAMSTOWN

CHAPTER II

THE LOCATION AND EARLIEST FUNCTION OF THE TOWN

PERIOD I: 1812 - 1815: The Military Camp

The period begins in the Cape of Good Hope during the latter part of the first decade of the 19th. Century. By this date the Cape was already occupied for the second time by the British. On this occasion their occupation was to be permanent, and consequently to them fell the task, once that of the old Dutch government, of maintaining security, and law and order within the boundaries of the Colony.

At this time, the position on the Eastern frontier of the Cape was anything but stable. After the manner of the Malayan or Mau-Mau Terrorists to-day, the Kaffirs across the border of the Colony kept up a ceaseless guerilla warfare of constant attacks and cattle-stealing raids on the homesteads of the settlers in the frontier districts. Pillaging and murder being common, no one felt safe, and as Sheffield says, by "... 1809 affairs had come to such a pass that the safety and peace of the Settlement urgently demanded that the Kaffirs should be expelled from the Colony, and driven beyond the Fish River Boundary."⁽¹⁾ In short, military action was necessary to put a stop to this state of constant guerilla activity.

(1) Op. cit., Ch. VI, p. 61.

With the arrival on September 6th. 1811 of Sir John Cradock as the new Governor of the Colony, the old conciliatory policy which the previous Governor, Caledon, had pursued towards the Kaffirs, came to an end. Cradock realised that military action - and not conciliation - was required on the Eastern frontier: consequently he appointed, on 6th. October, 1811, a certain Colonel John Graham as commander of a force which was to be sent to restore order and security on the Eastern frontier of the Cape.⁽²⁾ Graham was to clear, for safe settlement by farmers, the country between the Sunday's and Fish Rivers⁽³⁾ expelling all Kaffirs⁽⁴⁾ across the Fish River. This river was a natural barrier bounding the Zuurveld: the strategy provided an obstacle to the re-entry of the Kaffirs into the Colony.

The military campaign, which started in December, 1811, proved to be a success. Sheffield⁽⁵⁾ claims that Colonel Graham drove about 20,000 Kaffirs through the Zuurveld, across the Fish River, capturing large numbers of cattle, and destroying crops and kraals left by the Kaffirs in their flight. This success in clearing the Zuurveld was, however, no guarantee that the frontier would remain clear of the Kaffirs for long. The government realised this; it perceived it would be folly to withdraw all armed forces permanently, thus leaving the frontier open once again to

(2) Cory: op. cit., Vol. I, Ch. III, p.236 ff.
Sheffield: op. cit., Ch. VII, p.70.

(3) Ibid: p. 72.

(4) The terms "Kaffirs" rather than the terms "Natives" or "Africans" is used only because this was the term in use at the time which is under discussion.

(5) Sheffield: op. cit., p. 61.

attack by marauding bands of Kaffirs from across the Fish River. As Cory remarks, ⁽⁶⁾ "it was realised that in their" (i.e. the Kaffirs') "unsettled state, and from their naturally adventurous and predatory disposition, no reliance could be placed upon the assumption that they would remain there." (i.e. beyond the Fish River.) "It was therefore decided to establish such a general system of precaution and defence that was best calculated to prevent them from returning." Cradock decided that the best plan was for the whole of the Cape Regiment to remain permanently stationed in the Zuurveld, and, in the words of Cory, "instructed Col. Graham to select for the military headquarters some suitable spot which also should admit of a number of settlers established themselves upon it."⁽⁷⁾ The ultimate origins of Grahamstown are implicit in the military instruction and the projected centre was both military and civilian in structure.

After the campaign of 1811-12, the Zuurveld was to be permanently garrisoned by the Cape Regiment. Its headquarters had to be both strategically located, and also be suitable for settlement by civilians - in other words, capable of supporting the development of a town with a civilian population in addition to the armed forces to be quartered there. As far as the strategic aspect was concerned, it was essential to have a site chosen which commanded the whole of the frontier along the Fish River, allowing counter-attacks against invaders to be made quickly and easily over the whole of the frontier and the Zuurveld.

(6) Cory: op. cit., pp.246-7.

(7) Ibid: do.

In Cory's words⁽⁸⁾ "The primary object in view was to have all parts of the irregular curve which is described by the Fish River easily accessible in a day's march from the headquarters."⁽⁹⁾

The history of the choice of these headquarters is interesting in that it shows that the final choice was made with a view to finding the site which would best fulfill the requirements outlined above. The story is as follows:-

On May 3rd., 1812, Col. Graham chose a site on the old farm Noutou, now Table Farm⁽¹⁰⁾ which had been abandoned in 1810. By 5th. May the Cape Regiment had already moved to the site, and building operations were commenced. However, before all the necessary building operations were completed, doubts arose as to whether the site was really as suitable as had at first been thought. Ensign Stockenstroom who knew the country well, recommended to Col. Graham that he reconsider his choice. Graham agreed, and all work was suspended while a further survey of the Zuurveld was made. The tale is now taken up by Stockenstroom:⁽¹¹⁾

"After a few days rest and reconnoitering the position, Col. Graham ordered me with a party of my men to escort him over the vicinity. I took him direct to an old

(8) Cory: op. cit., p.248.

(9) Map No. 5 in the atlas illustrates the regional setting of Grahamstown. It will be seen that a radius from the town of 22 miles includes nearly the whole length of the Fish River from a point north-west of the town (near the road to Bedford), to Trumpetter's Drift in the north-east. North of the town Fort Brown is only 14 miles from Grahams-town as the crow flies.

(10) Thomson: op. cit., p.2, says that this farm is about 7 miles from the centre of Grahamstown. (It lies to the north-west of the town on the road to Riebeek East.)

(11) Stockenstroom: "Autobiography", Vol. I, p.62, as quoted by Cory, op. cit., p.248.

farm called Lucas Meyer's, which had been abandoned by the owner, and burnt by the Kaffirs; thence he ascended the Southern Ridge, whence he had a complete view of the west and the lower part of the Fish River to its mouth. We next returned to the old kraals, examined the springs, then galloped across the flat to Governor's Kop, then called Rand Kop, where he had a most extensive view of the Keiskama, the Tyumei, the Kat, Koonap and North Kowie Mountains, as well as the Upper Fish River as far as Esterhuis Poort. I pointed out to him the exact position of Trompetter's Drift and Hermanus Kraal, but humbly suggested that Meyer's was a more commanding position. He objected to the weakness of the water. I knew none stronger in the country. We galloped back to Meyer's then offsaddled under a tree, now near the centre of Graham's Town. Once more we started, again ascended some high land overlooking the country and the coast, and after some discussion with the member of his staff, the Colonel said: 'I prefer this to Nontoo (Noutoe.) It is a pity so much has been done there. At any rate, here we must have our headquarters immediately, and let those old walls' (12) (the ruined burnt remnants of the Boer's house near the tree mentioned above noticed) 'be covered in for the officers' mess.'

It was thus that the present site of Grahamstown was chosen for the proposed military headquarters in the Zuurveld. As can be seen from Stockenstroom's account the site gave a commanding view of the surrounding Zuurveld, and was within satisfactory striking distance of the Fish River.

(12) Cory: op. cit., in note 2, p.248, there is the following comment by Cory:

"This old house, which formed the beginning of Grahams-town, and which had been the homestead of the "Leenings Plaatz" or Loan Farm, De Rietfontein, was situated in the present Church Square, a few yards from the Cathedral Chancel, on the right hand side as one approaches the Railway Station ..."

The tree mentioned, he says, was a large mimosa, which stood in the middle of the present High Street. (A monument commemorates the site - see Plate No. II, p.5 in the Photographic Appendix, for a photograph of the monument - and stands almost opposite the present Post Office, about 58 yards west of the corner of High and Hill Streets. The wording on this monument reads: "On this spot stood the tree under which Lieutenant-Colonel Graham and Captain Stockenstroom decided upon the present site of the City of Grahamstown, June 1812.") A glance at Map No. 1 shows the location in the town of the present Church Square, which is roughly in the centre of the town, and from the contour map, (Map No. 4) may be seen to be situated upon a tongue of land in the centre of the hollow in which the town lies. Also see Col. Graham's description of the site, p.24 herein.

"It was then," as Sheffield says, ⁽¹³⁾ "in 1811 right on the very outskirts of the old Colony. Kafirland was at its very doors, and from no other spot could military operations be so successfully conducted as from here."

The site of the contonment is described in a letter of Col. Graham ⁽¹⁴⁾ to the Colonial Secretary, dated at Uitenhage, 14th. May, 1812:-

"The Headquarters of the Cape Regiment, formerly a loan farm occupied by the deceased Lucas Meyer," is "situated about a mile from the source of the Kowie River. The spot selected on which to build the Barracks is on an elevated tongue of land formed by the Kowie and another stream which joins it below the Barracks, and both of which can be led over almost every part of the said ground, by which, including the whole space under the level of the water course from where the dams must be constructed, downwards, 20 or 30 acres of land may be irrigated. Both these streams may also afford irrigation to 40 or 50 acres of gently sloping ground which forms their banks, ⁽¹⁵⁾ on the sides opposite to those on which the site of the barrack is chosen; above the watercourse on those sides (and also on the banks of the Kowie below the junction) there is a gentle ascent varying from a quarter to three-quarters of a mile in extent, from the bed of the river upwards, every bit of which is calculated for tillage. Higher up still, although the hills are too steep to be ploughed, they produce excellent pasture for cattle at all times and for sheep in summer. The Kowie River here runs easterly through 8 or 10 miles of a similar description of country, and is here and there joined by little streams of excellent water issuing from the small and generally well-wooded ravines by which this beautiful valley ⁽¹⁶⁾ is intersected. There is an abundance of excellent

(13) Sheffield: op. cit., Ch. XVI, p. 161.

(14) Cory: op. cit., Appendix to Ch. VIII, p. 250.

(15) In reading Graham's description of land on the banks of the Kowie being suitable for cultivation, it is interesting to note that to-day there are market gardens along the Kowie streams. (See Map No. 6 showing Land Utilisation in Grahamstown.) These gardens extend much further from Church Square than Graham seems to have envisaged. To-day the streams run only after a rainstorm, but the gardens are irrigated with water from boreholes sunk in or near the stream beds. Quite a number of the gardens lie outside the town itself, in the Belmont Valley, 1-2 miles or so away.

(16) Graham refers to the Belmont Valley.

timber within 2 or 3 miles of the Cantonment, and some very good close to it. The roads leading to this place are tolerably good and capable of improvement."

From Graham's description the site of Grahamstown was, it seems, well-suited for civilian settlement, and not solely for a strategic military outpost on the frontier. It met the twofold requirements laid down by Cradock. It was, in fact, from this site which Graham chose, that the future "Queen of the East"⁽¹⁷⁾ was to rise and reign.

Work was started, in June 1812, on the building of the headquarters on the site which Graham had finally chosen. The old farm house became the officers' mess, while the men were housed in 18 temporary huts. Stables were built nearby.⁽¹⁸⁾ These were the first buildings in the future town, and were situated roughly in and around the present Church Square. Land was granted to some officers of the regiment by Col. Lyster, (who was now in charge of the frontier) and these officers built houses for themselves.⁽¹⁹⁾ Thus the embryo town had been formed - but it was nothing more than a few crude buildings in the wilds of the Zuurveld.

This collection of huts, which formed the nucleus of the proposed frontier headquarters, had still to receive a name. This was officially given to it on 14th. August, 1812, in terms of the following government advertisement:-

(17) A title given to the town in an article on the town, in the Graham's Town Journal for 25 December, 1852.

(18) Cory: op. cit., p. 249. Also see Diagram No. 1, p. 29 herein, showing the layout of the rudimentary town as it was in 1814 when Knobel surveyed it.

(19) See Diagram No. 1, p. 29 herein for the location of these houses.

"His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief is pleased to notify and direct that the present Headquarter Cantonment of the Cape Regiment, situated in the Zuure Veld, which is also to be the future Residency of the Deputy Landdrost of Uitenhage, shall be henceforward designated and only acknowledged, by the name of Graham's Town, in testimony of His Excellency's Respect for the Services of Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, through whose able exertions the Kaffer Tribes have been expelled from that valuable district." (20)

Grahamstown was henceforward officially in existence, and the date of its official recognition was thus the 14th. August, 1812. The town was located - to use sociological rather than military terminology, for its spatial domination of the surrounding Zuurveld and regional control of the approaches to the Fish River, and the interior beyond. The location of Grahamstown was the result of its potential ecological domination of the surrounding region, of its good water supply and potentiality for the production of food. All these were necessary requirements for the site of a military post on an undeveloped frontier, where isolation and outflanking due to attacking bands of Kaffirs was not infrequent. The ecology and topography of the region determined its location: its first and primary function was strategic in nature - to defend and protect the frontier districts of the Eastern Cape.

In fact then, initially, both in location and function, Grahamstown was purely and simply an important outpost on the eastern fringes of the Cape Colony. This strategic character was to dominate and wield an important influence on the history of the town for a good part of the 19th. Century. It may be added that in this function also lay the main source of the further development of the town.

The dominance of Grahamstown over the region explains its subsequent importance as a trading centre, and why it became the "Emporium" and "Metropolis" of the Eastern frontier districts of the Cape Colony. This function was to change at a later date - was in fact to last only as long as the town was an outpost on the undeveloped frontier - and once the function was finally lost, the town stagnated.

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CHAPTER III

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF GRAHAMSTOWN.

(1) FIRST PHASE - The Planning of the Town, and the
Introduction of Facilities for
Civilian Settlement:

Grahamstown was not to remain long solely a military establishment. As has been pointed out previously⁽¹⁾ in the original directive to Col. Graham one of the conditions laid down by Cradock regarding the choice of the site for the headquarters was that it should be suitable also for settlement by civilians - Cory states that Cradock decided that the civilian character should be the predominant one.⁽²⁾ The town was made part of the Landdrostry of Uitenhage, and was to have its Deputy-Landdrost.⁽³⁾

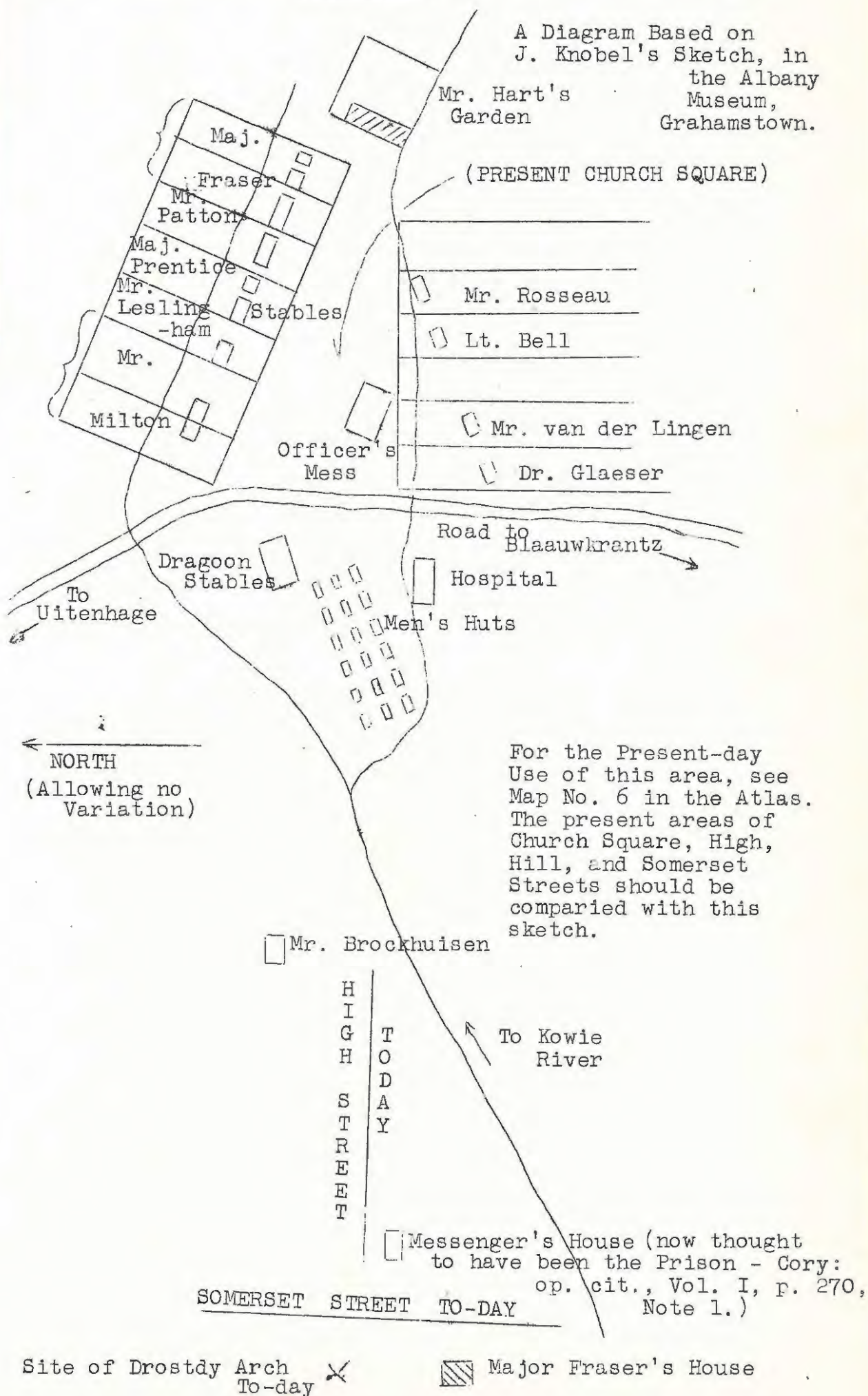
In November, 1812, the Deputy-Landdrost, Major Fraser, and the Commanding Officer of Grahamstown, (Col. Lyster), were instructed to select suitable spots on which to erect the first public buildings, which were, if possible, to be some distance away from the military installations. These buildings were to consist of a house for the Deputy-Landdrost, a prison, accommodation for the Messenger and Constable and two kaffir policemen. The site for these (see Diagram No. 1, p. 29 herein, and Diagram No. 2, p. 31 herein) was at the Drosdty, at the west end of High Street, while the military quarters were in the present Church Square. Thus, the first step had been taken towards the formation

(1) See page 21 above.

(2) Cory: op. cit., Ch. IX, p. 267.

(3) See Government Advertisement quoted on page 26 above.

DIAGRAM No. 1: GRAHAMSTOWN IN 1814 - TWO YEARS AFTER ITS FOUNDATION.



(PRESENT CHURCH SQUARE)

Mr. Rosseau.

Lt. Bell

Mr. van der Lingen

Dr. Glaeser

Road to
Blaauwkrantz

Hospital

Men's Huts

For the Present-day Use of this area, see Map No. 6 in the Atlas. The present areas of Church Square, High, Hill, and Somerset Streets should be compared with this sketch.


Mr. Brockhuysen

To Kowie
River

[~~Messenger's House (now thought to have been the Prison - Cory: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 270, Note 1.)~~

SOMERSET STREET TO-DAY

Site of Drostdy Arch ~~To-day~~

 Major Fraser's House

of a town, and the central axis of the town, High Street, had thus in fact been delimited.

Until this date (at the end of the first six months to a year of its existence) Grahamstown was little more than a name:⁽⁴⁾ apart from the military camp, there was nothing. In order to develop the town it was necessary to attract settlers. At first a rather indefinite scheme to sell plots of 50 x 150 paces at £1.10.0d. each was started, but by 1814, it took on a more definite shape, for in that year, J. Knobel, a land surveyor, was sent to Grahamstown for the purpose of "properly laying out the township."

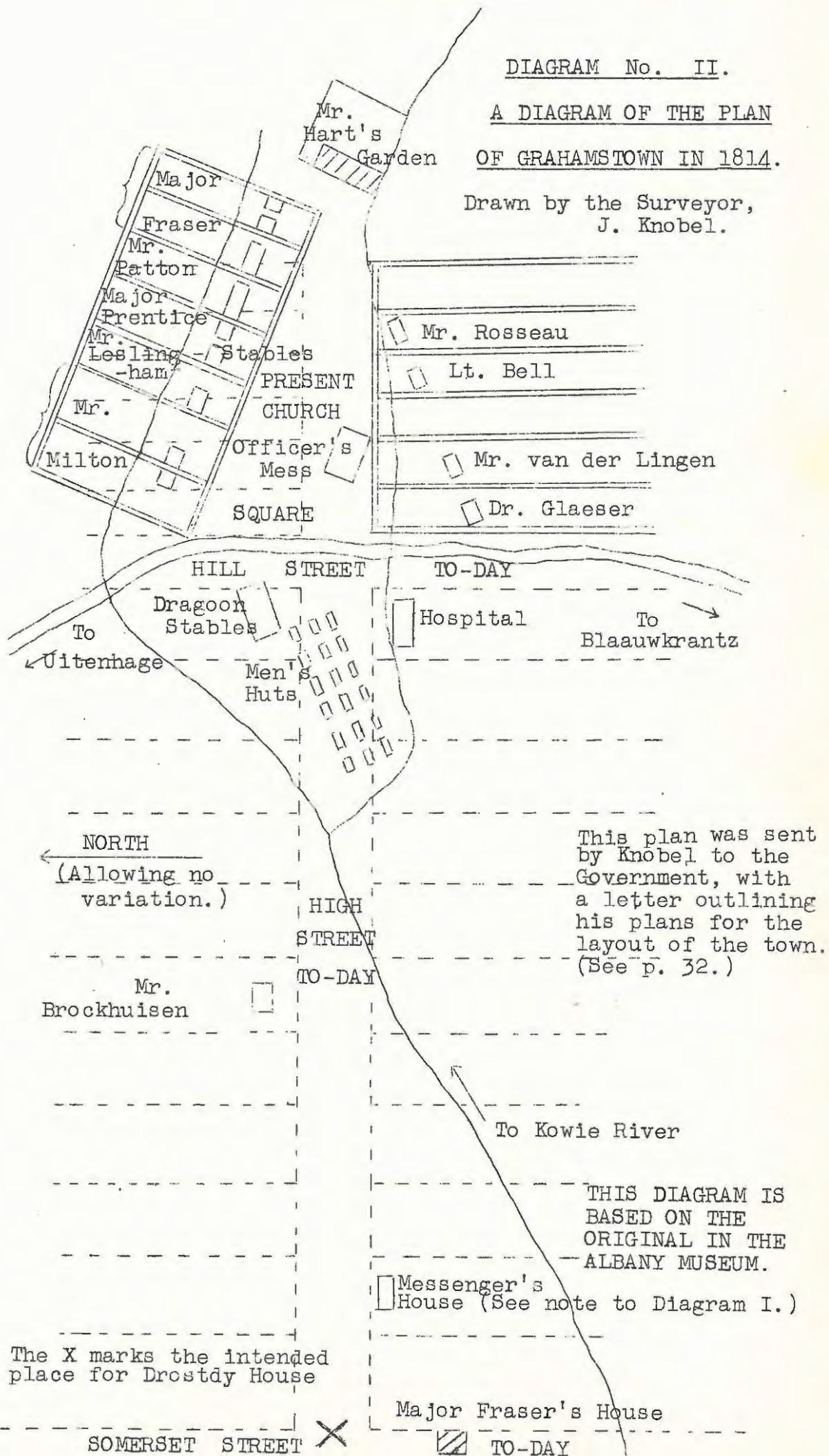
The town as it was when Knobel arrived in 1814 is shown in Diagram No. 1, page 29 above, which is based on his sketch of the place. As may be seen, it was nothing more than a military camp with a collection of almost 40 buildings - most of which we would describe as huts. The shells of the prison and messenger's house were already built, and Knobel took the former - even though he erroneously called it the messenger's house (see footnote to Diagram No. 1) - as the starting point for his measurements, and as the line of the future main street of the town (now the present High Street.) If one compares the following extracts from Knobel's letter to the Government and the sketch plan that he drew (a diagram of which is shown on page 31 below) with the plan of the town to-day (see Map No. 1 in the atlas), it will be seen that his scheme and layout have been carried out in the planning and development of the centre of the town. The broad pattern of the layout of the town was determined as early as 1814.

(4) Cory: op. cit., p. 269.

DIAGRAM No. II.

A DIAGRAM OF THE PLAN
OF GRAHAMSTOWN IN 1814.

Drawn by the Surveyor,
J. Knobel.



The following extracts from Knobel's letter to Cradock indicate this:-

"According to your wish I have begun the survey of this place by tracing the line on which the messenger's house is now building" (he meant the prison) "supposing that line to be made the south side of a straight street running from the spot where the Drostdy House is to be built, to the corner of the last lot as they are standing, but as the execution of that plan seems to have some difficulties, I have thought necessary, previous to measuring of any of the lots, to submit to you a sketch" (see Diagram No. 2, p. 31 above) "the dotted lines represent the lines on which the messenger's house is now begun and the places the officers would occupy if they were brought up so far as to face a street made on that line. Now you will perceive that the lots, being laid down in that manner, would not only bring the buildings now standing in an awkward position, but throw some of them entirely within the property of another person; besides the inconvenience, the north side the street would run just on the most elevated ground, and the street would not be made wider than about 105 feet, without interfering again with the buildings on the east corner." After further enumerating other difficulties, he continues: "The only way therefore to escape at least some of these inconveniences, appeared to me to be the following, to keep, with a very trifling alteration, the line on which the messenger's house is now begun all the way down, for the south side of the street, only allowing an opening to the road going through between Dr. Glaeser's lot and the hospital, by which means the line of houses on the lots on that side would be brought up above the watercourse, whereas the houses now standing are considerably below it; in consequence, a good deal of the best watered ground is rendered useless. The north side of the street, I would propose to run down from the Drostdy House to opposite the corner lot where the hospital now stands, leaving there a passage for the road from Uitenhage to come in, and the lots granted to the officers to remain as they are, only bringing them so far out as to allow them a space for building other houses in front of those now standing, and then from the opposite corners of the last two lots, a straight street might, if necessary, hereafter be extended in any length, which would be found most expedient, if in the direction marked in the sketch it would just bring the highest part of the ground in the middle of the street. This method would give the Drostdy House a view of the whole street, and although a triangular space would be left open,⁽⁵⁾ that space having the most elevated ground in its centre, might allow a very convenient situation for a church or any public building."⁽⁶⁾

(5) This footnote is given over the page.

(6) This footnote is given over the page.

Sir John Cradock decided that he would accept Knobel's recommendations and proposals for Grahamstown. He further decided that the erven on both sides of the main street would be sold by public auction, the conditions of sale being that the buyer must erect, within 18 months of purchase of the erf, a good house on the site, to be not less than 30 feet long, 13 feet deep, and 8 feet high, with walls of either stone, brick or mud. Failing this, he would forfeit all right to the property, which would revert to the Crown.

On May 8th., 1815, a Public Sale was held, and the erven on both sides of High Street were sold. In that year, the military camp was moved to Fort England, so that the nucleus of the town itself was left clear for development by settlers. It is from this time that we may date the beginnings of the development of the town itself apart from the military camp. Before 1815, it was still, to all intents and purposes,

(5) This triangular space referred to is now Church Square, part of which is occupied by the Anglican Cathedral Church of St. Michael and St. George. Too, from the steps of the main entrance, Rhodes University, (which now stands where the old Drostdy House once stood) one has a view of the whole of High Street as far as the Cathedral (see Plate No. LXXVII, p. 67 of the Photographic Appendix for a photograph taken of High Street from the main building, Rhodes University. Thus, Knobel's suggestions for High Street were carried out in detail - even to the point of using the open triangle in High Street for the site of a church.

(6) Cory: op. cit., pp. 269-271. (Also see photostatic copy of the original in the Cory Library, Rhodes University.) Cory remarks that in his plan Knobel ignored the military encampment - see Knobel's sketch, Diagram No. 2 above - probably because he knew that it was of a temporary nature. In 1815 the men's huts and stables were still standing, but had deteriorated so badly that they were no longer worth repairing, so that it was decided to move the camp. A spot one-and-a-half miles away was chosen, and there brick barracks were built. These barracks were first called the East Barracks, and then later were the Fort England Barracks. (Their site is to-day occupied by the present Fort England Mental Hospital, in the south-east corner of the town.)

solely a camp: ⁽⁷⁾ from 1815 onwards, the way was definitely open for civilian development - the town could begin to develop as a town, and not solely as a military outpost.

(ii) SECOND PHASE - The Development of the Town as a Centre of Civilian Settlement, and the Acquisition of Administrative and Commercial Functions:

PERIOD II: 1815 - 1820: The First Faint Signs of Civilian Development

On 7th. January, 1814, the District of Albany was created, and was defined as that portion of Uitenhage previously known as the Zuurveld. The Deputy-Landdrost of Uitenhage, who was resident in Grahamstown, was made the Landdrost of Graham's Town, under whose jurisdiction the new district fell. ⁽⁸⁾ This meant that Grahamstown was made the administrative and legal centre of the Zuurveld, and had begun to acquire its functional dominance over the surrounding country. Thus, by the middle of the second decade of the 19th. Century, hardly three years after its foundation, Grahamstown was already - in name

(7) Rev. J. Campbell: Travels in South Africa: 1815, Ch. IX, pp. 156-7. Campbell visited the town before 1815, and describes the houses as being built of mud and reeds. He speaks of some good gardens belonging to the officers, but makes no mention of any civilians.

(8) It is interesting to note that to-day Grahamstown is still the seat of the magistrate for Albany. Thus, the old Landdrost's functions, and his district, have been taken over to-day by the modern magistrate, (though the 1814 area of Albany has been much reduced, as development of the district necessitated the division of it into several smaller districts of a manageable size - one of these districts is still called "Albany.") In this respect at least, Grahamstown has retained to an extent the legal and administrative position that it held almost 140 years ago.

and theory at any rate - the military headquarters for the whole of the frontier of the Eastern Cape, and the administrative and legal centre for the surrounding Zuurveld. In fact, however, all this was largely on paper only, for the town itself was hardly more than a cluster of houses in the veld, while Albany was still almost completely undeveloped country.

In 1819, the Battle of Grahamstown⁽⁹⁾ in which the town was unsuccessfully besieged by attacking Kaffirs, took place. For our purposes, the battle is not of importance, except in so far as the defeat of the Kaffirs at Grahamstown saved the rest of the Eastern Province from invasion and stopped the movement of the Bantu tribes to the south, by turning them back across the Fish River. The town had proved its strategic value, and in the years ahead, was to do so more than once: in the words of Thomson it became "a guarantee of the permanence of European civilisation in the Zuurveld."⁽¹⁰⁾

Of more interest to us, however, is Cory's description of the ecology of the town at the time of the battle, for it gives us an idea of how little it had yet developed as a civilian centre. In 1819, Cory says⁽¹¹⁾ that the total number of buildings of all types in the town probably did not exceed thirty. The houses were scattered and far between. "The few houses which had been built on the erven sold in

(9) As is to be expected, writers have dealt fairly fully with the Battle of Grahamstown, and references to it abound. For a full account of the battle, and probably one of the best, see Cory: op. cit., Ch. XII, pp. 385-90.

(10) Thomson: op. cit., p. 2.

(11) Cory: op. cit., pp. 385 ff; he lists the houses which were there in 1819.

1815 gave no more than a suspicion that a street, the present High Street, was in the course of formation. The simple architecture of the buildings standing upon the rough grass veldt, and the three roads leading to the place being little more than tracks worn by wagons, the whole must have presented the appearance of a village community in its most primitive form." He considers that the 32 armed civilians among the defenders were probably the total male civilian population of the time. As he makes the total number of defenders (including the 32 male civilians) to have been 333 males, the total population of the town, including wives and children of the civilians and soldiers whose families lived in the town, can hardly have amounted to more than 400 persons of all races, - of these most would have been soldiers quartered at the East Barracks (later known as "Fort England.") In addition, while as far back as 1812 the first public buildings had been decided on, and sites chosen, the history of the almost interminable delays in their construction meant that the town was still, in effect, without public buildings. The contractors failed to complete the work and others who were called in repeated the process: each time legal wrangles over payment and forfeit of contracts added to the muddle.⁽¹²⁾

By the beginning of the third decade of the century, Grahamstown was already in existence, was the military headquarters on the Eastern frontier of the Cape, and was the administrative and legal centre for the surrounding Zuurveld. Yet it could hardly consider itself a civilian

(12) Cory: op. cit., passim.

settlement and a town as distinct from a fortified place. Despite the fact that, as has been shown, by 1815 it had already acquired facilities for civilian settlement in terms of the surveying of erven, and the placing of these erven on the market, few of the erven had yet been sold, and the proposed government buildings were no more than uncompleted shells, so that in fact, civilian development in the town was stagnant. In short, the town was still an embryonic cluster of buildings in a hollow in the Zuurveld. After the initial development following on the foundation of the town, stagnation had set in, and the town was static.⁽¹³⁾ After 1815 it stood waiting for some stimulus to awaken it and force it to develop and take upon itself the importance and authority that it was intended that it should have, but which still as yet existed largely in the realm of Government gazettes.

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PERIOD III: 1820 - 1830: The Advent of the 1820 Settlers,
and their Influence on the Development of
the Town: The Era of Rapid Development and
Expansion:

As far back as 1809, there had been suggestions for filling up the Eastern frontier areas of the Cape Colony with immigrants, and so creating a buffer between the Native tribes and the Colony proper.⁽¹⁴⁾ In that year, Col. Collings, the Frontier Commissioner, recommended the expulsion of the Kaffirs across the Fish River, and the

(13) See Appendix A for examples of this trend.

(14) Sheffield: op. cit., Ch. VI, p. 61.

settlement of the Zuurveld, to stop the inroads of the Kaffirs. As we have seen, the former course of action was carried out under the direction of Col. Graham in 1812, but until the date of the Battle of Grahamstown, the Eastern frontier had remained relatively undeveloped, and the "buffer" of settlers had never been created. Now, however, the time had arrived when that second proposal could be carried out.

The next factor in the development of Grahamstown came from Europe. After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Britain experienced a period of economic and social
(15)
dislocation. The progress of the Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions, together with the demobilisation of the army, and inflationary movements in Britain's economy, all helped to cause a technological unemployment, and dissatisfaction and poverty among the working classes. The riots of the time, involving machine-wrecking and rick-burning, and incidents like Peterloo in 1819, were symptoms of these processes. A policy had to be developed to ease the internal position, and emigration was suggested. Attention was drawn to the Cape as a suitable place for
(16)
emigration. Finally, in the House of Commons, in July 1819 it was decided on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to spend £50,000 on sending out some 4,000 settlers to the Eastern frontier of the Cape. Thus it was, that as a relief measure for unemployment and working class distress in Britain the immigration into the Cape of the "1820 Settlers"

(15) Cory: op. cit., Vol. II, Ch. I; also consult economic histories dealing with this period in Britain - see the bibliography at the end of this study.

(16) Sheffield: op. cit., Ch. IX.

came about.⁽¹⁷⁾

The Settlers were shipped to Algoa Bay (now Port Elizabeth) and thence taken overland to the Zuurveld, where they were given land. There they had to build their own dwellings, and learn how to farm in a strange climate, and live in country by no means free from attacks by the Kaffirs.⁽¹⁸⁾

Most of the Settlers were settled around the present area of Bathurst,⁽¹⁹⁾ which was beyond the immediate protection of Grahamstown. Consequently, in May 1820, Donkin the Acting-Governor of the time, chose a spot (now the town of Bathurst) which was to become the administrative centre of the settlement. The town that it was proposed to build there would be the seat of magistracy instead of Grahamstown, and would take precedence over Grahamstown. A provisional magistrate, Captain Trappes, was appointed in September 1820, and plans were drawn up for administrative buildings for the new town. It is not surprising, therefore, that with official blessing, Bathurst soon became the centre of rapid and enthusiastic growth. By June 1821 - about a year after its foundation - 20 houses had been built, and a church and school were planned.⁽²⁰⁾ It seemed that

(17) For a discussion of the coming of the 1820 Settlers see the issue of the Graham's Town Journal for May 23, 1870 (which commemorates the 50th. Anniversary of the landing of the Settlers): see the editorial "Origin and Progress of the Settlement of Albany, R. Godlonton", and the article by Rev. W. Sargeant "A Brief Historic Sketch of the Albany Settlement of 1820."

(18) For a description of the conditions governing the emigration from Britain, and of the experiences of the Settlers on the voyage, and then later in the Zuurveld, see Cory: op. cit., Vol. II, passim; also J. Goldswain: Chronicle: The Van Riebeeck Society, Vol. I, 1946, and Vol. II, 1949.

(19) Cory: op. cit., Vol. II, Ch. II, p. 61ff.

(20) Cory: op. cit., Ch. III, pp. 93 ff.

Grahamstown would lose its domination of the surrounding region, and would moreover, lose it to a younger and more vigorous rival.

This, however, was not to be.⁽²¹⁾ Lord Charles Somerset, then Governor of the Cape, returned from Britain, and on 8th. February 1822 countermanded Donkin's order and established Grahamstown as the major town in Albany. While Bathurst was a suitable focal point for supplying the immediate needs of the settlers, it lacked the wider regional importance which a dominant ecological setting gave to Grahamstown. It is not surprising, therefore, that the town finally remained the civil and military centre of the frontier.

It has already been noted that the settlers had to learn how to farm in a strange climate. Added to this, the fact that most of them were not farmers by profession,⁽²²⁾ made it not surprising that crop failures, due to lack of knowledge as well as misfortune, soon drove many off the land, into the nearby towns. There they sought to make a living by means of the trades that they pursued formerly in Britain, or by means of any work that they could find and which offered some prospect of keeping them alive.⁽²³⁾ Moreover, the fact that many of the settlers were, prior

(21) Ibid: Ch. IV, p. 134.

(22) See Cory: op. cit., Vol. II, Ch. I, p. 35.

(23) Sheffield: op. cit., Ch. XI, p. 126; also Thomson: op. cit., p. 15. This migration of the settlers to the towns reminds one of the movement of marginal farmers off the land, which we have seen in South Africa since the development of an industrial economy has replaced a subsistence one- in both cases failure to live off the land led to flight to the town in an attempt to earn a living. (See e.g. C.W. de Kiewiet: A Social and Economic History of South Africa: Oxford University Press, London, 1946, Ch. VIII.

to their emigration from Britain, town-dwellers who knew little, if anything, of life in the country, and who were now, moreover, placed in wild, undeveloped country which was intermittently raided by Kaffirs, provided an added reason why the towns even though they were mere hamlets, attracted many of the settlers. As a result, the population of the towns on the frontier increased, and it is only, in effect, from the time of the coming of the 1820 Settlers, and their movement off the land into the towns, that we find Grahamstown begins to develop significantly. It is after 1820 that we can date the rise of its importance and its ecological, sociological and economic domination of the surrounding region.

The immigration of the settlers into the Zuurveld contributed to the development of Grahamstown in several ways:-

1. The Development of the Zuurveld:

The advent of the settlers meant that a hitherto largely uninhabited area was gradually turned into an area of European settlement. This in itself had a stimulating effect on Grahamstown. The settlers needed things which barren veld does not supply, and the result was that Grahamstown began to be commercially important. It developed into a supply centre for the needs of the surrounding region, and as time went on, this characteristic became more and more prominent. In effect then, it meant that the settlement of the frontier areas created a demand for goods and services. Thereafter Grahamstown began to develop as a trading centre, and expanded commercial and trading establishments over and above the needs of the small town itself. It had to supply the region, and not just its own internal requirements; or

to put it another way, a regional demand had been created by the influx of settlers and Grahamstown expanded to meet this demand.

2. The Migration of the Settlers off the Land into the Towns:

As has been pointed out, the settlers did not fare too well on the land, and before long a movement off the land into the towns started. Bathurst, a town of local importance only, had failed to become the centre of the frontier, so that Grahamstown was the only town of any importance near to the main body of settlers. Consequently it attracted a good deal of those who left the land without serious competition from other urban areas. This influx of settlers into the town influenced it in several ways:

- (a) It increased the population and size of the town, stimulating development, so that for the first time Grahamstown began to take on the appearance of an urban area and not merely that of a settlement of soldiers with an added sprinkling of civilians. Houses and commercial establishments were built; the need became apparent for institutions such as churches and schools. Soon attention would have to be given to problems of town administration and organisation - the little hamlet was developing the needs and problems of an urban community.
- (b) It helped to develop trades and certain types of minor industries in the town, for many of the settlers set up business in their old trades, or in new ones. Under the stimulus of a ready market services such as the different branches of wholesale and retail appeared; industries such as building, wagon-building, smithing and leather and hide tanning

developed, or soon expanded if they were already in existence. The way was opened for the gradual emergence of a middle class in the town - occupational differentiation (always a sign of development) was to increase.⁽²⁴⁾

- (c) It meant that for the first time in the history of the town a supply of both skilled and unskilled European labour was more readily available to meet the increasing needs of the town and the region. It seems that in the past a shortage of labour had severely hampered the development of the town;⁽²⁵⁾ this obstacle impeding expansion was removed, and Grahamstown could make the most of its opportunities for development.

3. The Development of Trade with the Native Tribes:

The influx of the settlers into the frontier region meant that there came into existence a civilian population able to exploit the opportunities for trade with the Native tribes across the Fish River, afforded by the relative peace which followed the Battle of Grahamstown in 1819. Consequently, the settlement of the Zuurveld was soon followed by the development of a boom in trade with the tribes in the interior and Grahamstown, as the dominant town on the frontier, became the base camp for traders, and the centre through which

(24) For occupational differentiation as an index to urban development see F.B. Gillen: Distribution of Occupations as a City Yardstick: King's Press, N.Y., 1951.

(25) From Cory's various remarks about the construction of the public buildings of the town, it will be realised that the shortage of labour - especially skilled labour - was an important factor in the continual delays and difficulties with contractors experienced by the government in its attempts to get these buildings completed.

flowed all the incoming and outgoing articles involved in this trade. This fact contributed in no small measure to the growth of capital and the prosperity and commercial importance of the town. In short, the coming of the settlers meant the development of trade with the tribes across the Fish River, and so meant a considerable increase in the commercial importance of Grahamstown.

4. The Setting in Motion of "Vicious Circles":

The combined effect of the above trends was to set in motion "vicious circles" - (the well-known phenomenon of self-accelerating interrelated forces): increasing population, increasing demand for goods both by the region and the town itself, the presence of skilled and unskilled labour, together with an expanding market for its exploitation and for its products, and the developing trade with the Native tribes across the Fish River, all combined to attract further people and goods to the town - traders moved there to exploit the developing demand of the town, the region, and the Native tribes; more labour would be needed for the consequent expansion and development in the town, and so on. In fact, the accelerating and self-perpetuating cycle of growth and development which operates in any region undergoing rapid expansion had started, and was to continue for the next twenty to thirty years before it started to die away. It was, indeed, to continue for as long as Grahamstown remained the dominant town in an expanding region; as long as it was the supply centre for the frontier, and an outpost of civilisation on the borders of the Colony. For the time being at any rate, stagnation had gone, and Grahamstown was growing and expanding

Unfortunately, due to the lack of detailed population and economic statistics for the town at this period, it is in many cases difficult or impossible to go further than merely making general statements to illustrate the operation of the trends mentioned above. We turn now to examine the available data and to offer examples of the operation of the trends stated above and the effects they had on the town.

1. Increase in the Spatial Size and Population of the Town:

(a) Growth in the Number of Buildings and Private Houses

After 1820, with increasing population due to the migration of the settlers off the land, and due also to the wave of commercial prosperity caused by expanding trade, a building boom occurred in Grahamstown. There are various estimates of the number of buildings or houses in the town at different times, and these clearly show the growth of the town during the 'twenties. These estimates are as follows:-

<u>Year</u>	<u>Estimated No. Houses &/or Buildings in Grahamstown</u>
1814	18 <u>Buildings</u> approx., (excluding the temporary huts for the men) of which at the most 12 were <u>houses</u> . (26)
1819	30 <u>Buildings</u> of all types, at a maximum. (27)
1820	10 - 20 <u>Houses</u> . (28)
1820	20 - 25 buildings worthy to be called <u>houses</u> . (29)
1820	12 <u>Houses</u> approx. (30)
1821	80 <u>Houses</u> approx. (31)
1826-7	300+ <u>Houses</u> (32)
1830	417 <u>Houses</u> (excluding the barracks) (33)

(26) Counted from Knobel's sketch of the town in 1814, shown on p. 29 above.

(27) See the last paragraph, p. 35 above.

(See over the page for remaining footnotes)

The figures for the number of houses and/or buildings in Grahamstown, given above have been graphed on page 47, and this graph leaves no doubt at all as to the very marked building expansion which occurred in the town after 1820. According to these estimates, the number of houses in Grahamstown increased about twenty-fold during the decade 1820-1830. Prior to 1820, Grahamstown was stagnant and at an embryonic stage of development. The stimulus provided by the coming of the settlers made Grahamstown a town during the 'twenties. (34)

Describing the building expansion shown above, Thomson⁽³⁵⁾ says that it was the result of a rapid rise in the population of Grahamstown, together with the sudden access to wealth afforded it by the development of trade with the Kaffir tribes in the interior. He remarks that a vast building programme was undertaken, so that "whereas in 1822 High Street was no more than a well defined wagon track and Captain M.J. Sparks had asked to be shown the line of the street, in 1824 every erf was occupied, and conformed to a definite line; New, Hill and Bathurst Streets had taken shape; Church Square

(28) Sheffield: op. cit., Ch. XVII, p. 213: (note that these are houses and not buildings of all kinds as in the previous estimates.)

(29) Goldswain: op. cit., Vol. I, Ch. II, p. 24.

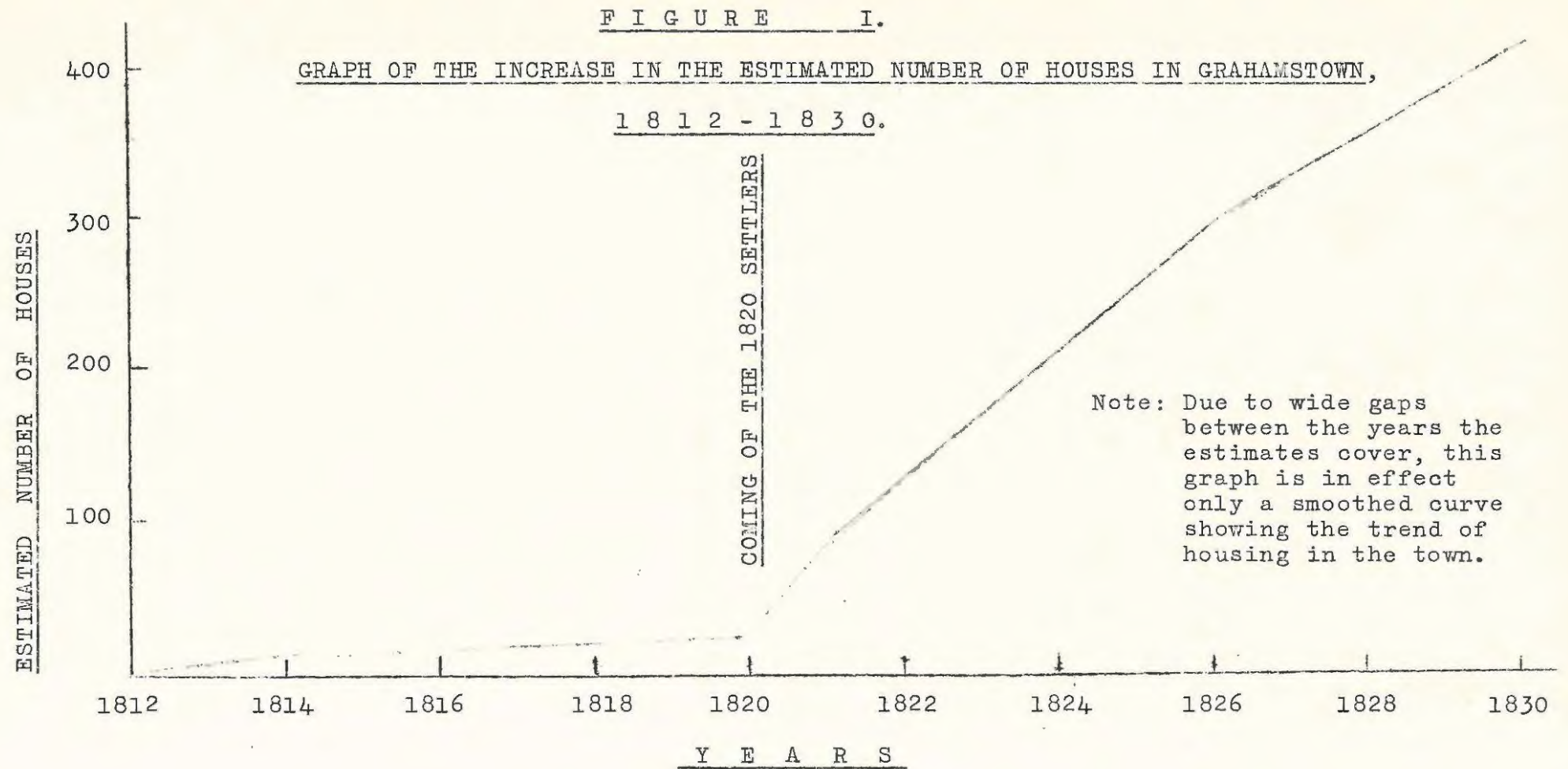
(30) J. Noble: Descriptive Handbook of the Cape Colony: 1875, Ch. VII, p. 187.

(31) G. Thompson: Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa: 1827, Part I, Ch. III, pp. 25-6.

(32) Ibid: Note that the book was published in 1827, and describes a visit shortly before this time - say about 1826-7.

(33) The South African Almanac and Directory for 1831, pp. 171-8.

(34) and (35) (See over the page)



was well populated; Bell (now called Worcester), African, Dundas, Beaufort, Somerset, Market and Laurence (sic) Streets had already been surveyed; and Settlers' Hill⁽³⁶⁾ had a thriving, if somewhat erratically dispersed community." Thomson then goes on to describe some of the more important buildings in the town which were built during this period of expansion.⁽³⁷⁾

Writing on this same point of building expansion, Sheffield says that the ".... progress made in the little township in the first eight years of the settlement was very rapid, no less than four hundred buildings having been erected in that time,"⁽³⁸⁾ so that there is no doubt about the building boom caused by the coming of the settlers. Visual evidence of this boom may be seen in the Photographic Appendix (q.v.) where it is possible to compare views of the town before and after the effects of the coming of the Settlers had made themselves felt.

(b) Growth in the Population of Grahamstown:

Estimates of the increase in the population of the

(34) Goldswain (one of the 1820 Settlers) did not think much of Grahamstown when he first saw it in 1820, and indeed wondered if the place was worthy to be called a town. (op. cit., p. 24.) In this attitude of Goldswain we can see reflected the undeveloped and stagnant state in which the town was before the Settlers arrived.

(35) Thomson: op. cit., p. 18.

(36) See Map No. 1 in the atlas, showing the location of these streets in the town. Settlers' Hill was a rather undefined area in the vicinity of St. Bartholomew Street, Cross Street, and thereabouts. Photographs of old houses still standing on Settlers' Hill may be seen in the Photographic Appendix.

(37) See his book (op. cit.) p. 19ff. Thomson describes the town (pp. 5-11) as it was in 1820 before this expansion took place, and it is interesting to compare this with the description which is quoted above.

(38) Sheffield: op. cit., Ch. XVI, pp. 167ff.

town during the 1820's are, unfortunately, far less numerous than are those for the number of houses in the town. However, such estimates as there are show the same trend of growth and expansion after 1820 which housing exhibits. The estimates are as follows:

Year	<u>Estimates of the Size of the Population of Grahamstown</u>		
1819	400 approximately (including soldiers) (39)		
1826	2,500 approximately	do.	(40)
1828	3,000 approximately	do.	(41)
1830	1,715 civilians (42)		

As there are but few estimates there is no point in graphing them. As they stand, they show clearly the increase in the population which took place during the 'twenties - in the ten years from 1819 to about 1829 the population increased over seven-fold. By 1830, there was a civilian population of 1,715, so there is no doubt that during the 'twenties Grahamstown finally outgrew the stage of a crude settlement in the wilds of the Zuurveld.

This increase in the population of Grahamstown played a cardinal part in the development of the town. The increase was due almost or entirely to the drift of settlers to the town. As has already been remarked the settlers were in many cases not suited to farming, so that village-urban life appeared attractive. Consequently once the contracts binding them to the land had expired,

(39) See p. 36 above.

(40) Thompson: op. cit., p. 26 - see footnote.

(41) C. Rose: Four Years in Southern Africa: 1829, Ch. III, pp. 45-6. Note that the date about which Rose was writing is not mentioned, so that it has been assumed to be roughly about 1828, or a short while before the publication.

(42) The South African Almanac and Directory for 1831, pp. 171-8.

there was, in the words of Thomson "a steady and continuous flow of settlers into the town. By May 1823 only 438 of the original 1,004 male adults remained on their locations,⁽⁴³⁾ and although not all of those who abandoned their farms found their way to Grahamstown, the percentage of those who did was sufficient to boost its population considerably."⁽⁴⁴⁾ Writing on the same point, a then contemporary writer, a certain Rev. Taylor⁽⁴⁵⁾ noted that the town received its life and proportion from the 1820 immigration. Those of the settlers who were "better adapted to mechanical, commercial and the literary pursuits than farming, soon left their "wattle and daub" huts in the country, and have gradually built up this flourishing town." (i.e. Grahamstown.) This exodus of settlers was mainly from the rural areas in the vicinity of Bathurst, Trappes Valley, Southwell, and similar areas within the dominance of Grahamstown.

Another factor in the exodus of settlers to Grahamstown, besides the unsuitability of many of them for farming, was the element of insecurity. Thomson writing on this point says "There were no Native irruptions on a large scale into the Colony between the years 1819 and 1834, but towards the middle of 1822 the Natives recommenced their nightly depredations of outlying holdings. The failure of the military settlement at Fredericksburg in neutral territory, and the removal of the military protection for the settlers, encouraged these thieving

(43) i.e. farms located by the government.

(44) Thomson: op. cit., p. 15.

(45) Rev. W. Taylor: Christian Adventure in South Africa: 1867, Ch. IV, p. 62.

expeditions and made life in the thickly wooded area unbearable to all except the most hardy pioneers. Consequently, Grahamstown and the admonitory presence of the barracks there, offered security and better hopes of prosperity, which many were not reluctant to accept."⁽⁴⁶⁾ Thus, in addition to the migration already mentioned in the previous paragraph, there was also a more gradual but steady exodus from settlements along the Fish River bordering the Colony. Both factors explain the rapid increase in the population of Grahamstown which took place during the 'twenties.

(c) Expansion of the Town Spatially:

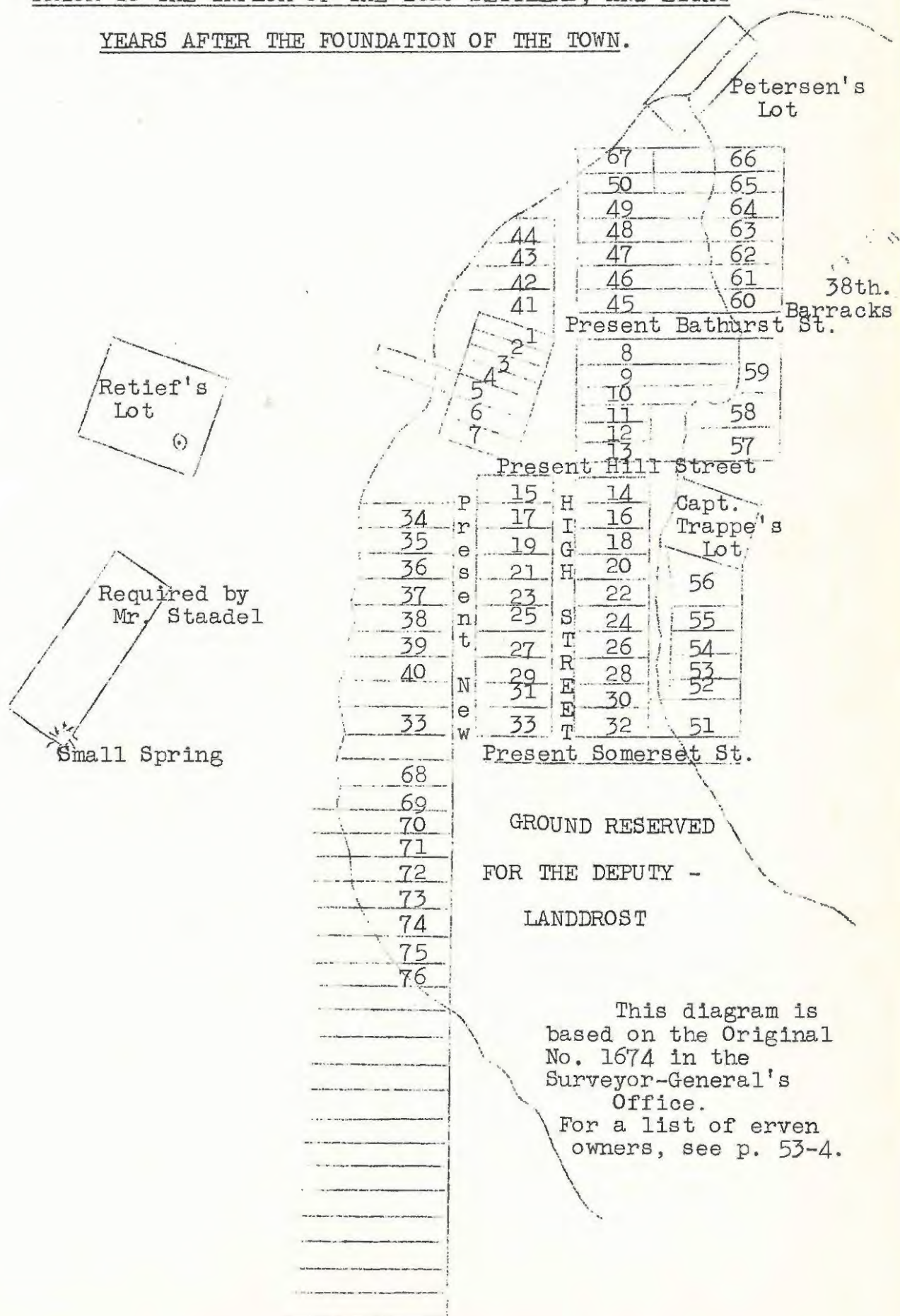
In Diagram No. 2, page 31 above, the extent of the town in 1814 has already been shown. On page 52 below, Diagram No. 3 shows the town as it was in 1820, just prior to the coming of the 1820 Settlers. Diagram No. 4, page 55 below shows the extent of the town in 1824, some four years after the coming of the Settlers. Comparing these diagrams, it will be seen that as late as 1820 - some eight years after the foundation of the town, no more than the centre of the present town was in existence. Beyond the present New Street, and part of the present High Street, there was nothing. By 1824, the picture had suddenly changed to one of a town which had expanded beyond the confines of its nucleus. In 1820, when the settlers arrived, Grahamstown appears from Diagram No. 3 to have been no more than a tiny settlement; four years later it is definitely a nucleated town. This rapid expansion which took place after the coming of the settlers

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 52.)

(46) Thomson: op. cit., p. 18.

DIAGRAM No. III.

A DIAGRAM OF THE PLAN OF GRAHAMSTOWN IN 1820, JUST
PRIOR TO THE INFLUX OF THE 1820 SETTLERS, AND EIGHT
YEARS AFTER THE FOUNDATION OF THE TOWN.



(SEE PAGE 59 FOR A CONTINUATION OF THE TEXT)

KEY TO PLAN OF GRAHAMSTOWN IN 1820 (DIAGRAM No. 3)

1. Major G.S. Fraser	17. Vacant
2. Lieut. H. Fraser	18. Government
3. Lieut. Paton	19. Vacant
4. Capt. M.J. Sparks	20. Government
5. Lieut. Ledingham	21. Vacant
6. Dr. W. Milton	22. The Deanery
7. Dr. W. Milton	23. Vacant
8. Green	24. W. Wathall
9. Giblin	25. Retief lived here
10. Huntley	26. A.B. Dietz
11. Fair	27. Vacant
12. Rafferty	28. A.B. Dietz
13. A.B. Dietz	29. Owned by Retief
14. Col. Willshire	30. Gaol
15. Dragoon Stables (ruins)	31. Retief's Trading Stores
16. Government	32. Messenger's House
	33. Mr. Potgieter

Proprietors of New Erven - 4th. June, 1820

34. R. Hart	44.
35. Adair	45. Col. Graham
36. W.R. Thompson	46. Col. Graham
37. Capt.s	47.
38. Heathcote	48. Lieut. Knight
39. Capt. D. Page	49. Lieut. Rogers
40. Capt. Wilson	50. R. Henman
41. H. Nourse	51. Capt. Somerset
42. Capt. M.J. Sparks	52. Capt. Aitchison
43. Lieut. Sparks	53. Capt. Smart

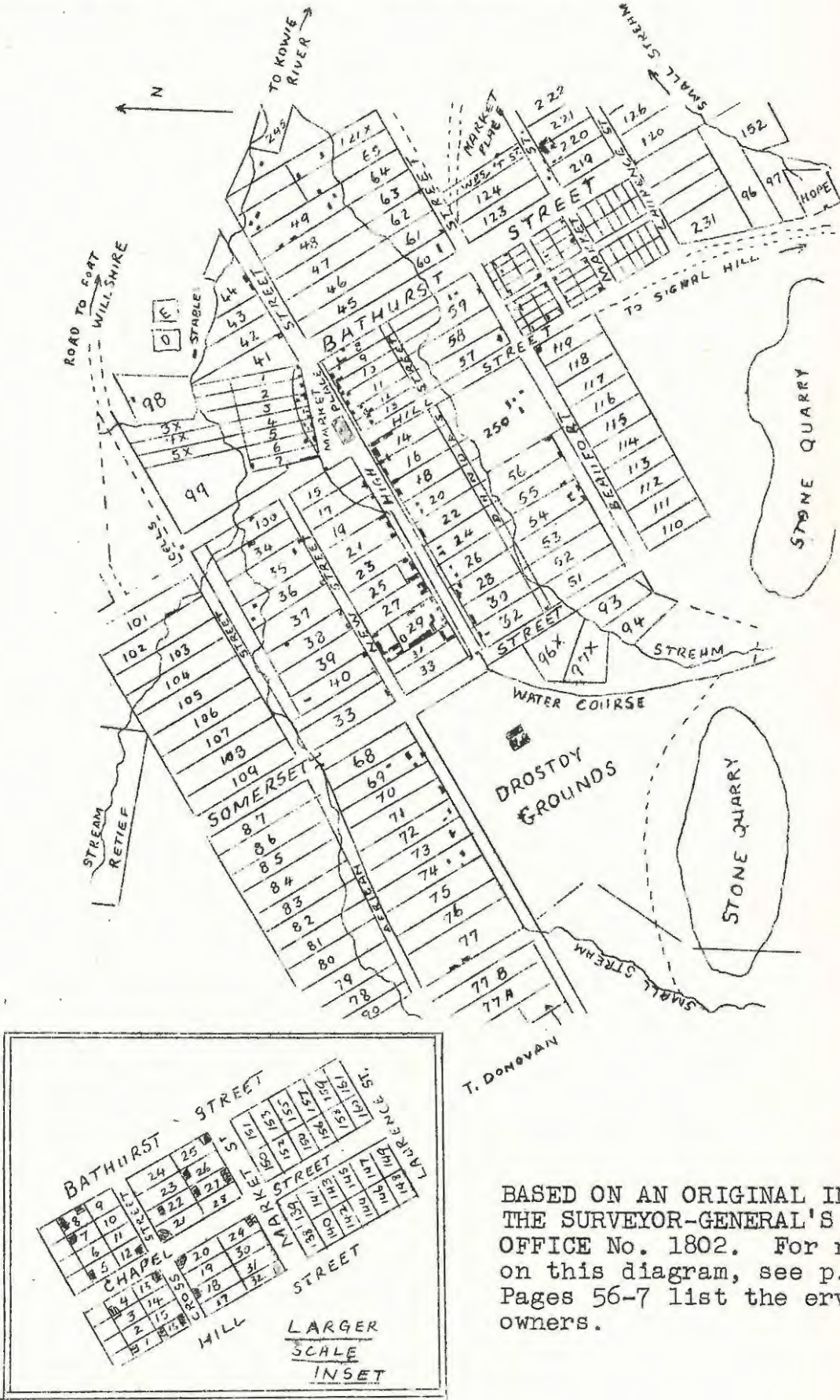
(Continued over page)

54. Capt. O'Reilley	67.
55. Lieut. Armstrong	68.
56. Capt. Trappes	69. Engineering Dept.
57. Major Jackson	70.
58. Adj. Blakeway	71.
59. Capt. Willcox	72. Lieut. Yates
60.	73. Truman
61.	74. Cornfield
62.	75. W. Smith
63.	76. M.J. Onkruidt
64.	77.
65.	78.
66. J. Durnford	79.

Note: This key is suggested by Thomson: op. cit., p. 9. The town was surveyed first by Knobel in 1814, and in June 1820 a second survey was undertaken and new erven marked out to the north of High Street, forming "New Street." (ibid. p. 10)

For a view of the town as it was in 1820, see the Photographic Appendix, p. 13.

DIAGRAM No. IV: A PLAN OF GRAHAMSTOWN IN 1824.



BASED ON AN ORIGINAL IN THE SURVEYOR-GENERAL'S OFFICE No. 1802. For notes on this diagram, see p. 58. Pages 56-7 list the erven owners.

KEY TO PLAN OF GRAHAMSTOWN IN 1824 (DIAGRAM No. 4)

1. Maj. Fraser	31. Retief
2. Van Rooyen	32. Messenger
3. Bertram	33. Retief
4. Capt. Sparks	34. Lee
5. G. Ledingham	35. Thompson
6. Stone	36. Thompson
7. Wichman	37. Goddard
8. Green	38. Bear
9. Giblin	39.
10. Huntley	40. Henman
11. Fair	41. Nourse
12. Ogilvie & Rafferty	42. Capt. Sparks
13. Dietz	43. Lieut. Sparks
14. Government	44. Maj. Taylor
15. Heugh	45. Mrs. Col. Graham
16. McDonald	46. Mrs. Col. Graham
17. Bertram	47. Dr. Clarke
18.	48. Lieut. Knight
19. Capt. Sparks	49. Lieut. Rogers
20. Barnes	50. Henman
21. Thompson	51. Retief
22.	52. Capt. Aitchison
23. Wienand	53. Capt. Smart
24. Wathall	54. Maj. O'Reilly
25. Comm. Stores	55. Lieut. Armstrong
26. Dietz	56. Howison
27. Bertram	57. Huntley
28. Dietz	58. Adj. Blakeway
29. Barracks	59. Adj. Blakeway
30. Prison	60. Dr. Campbell

(Continued over page.)

61. Macdonald	93. Capt. Emet
62. Macdonald	94. Capt. Emet
63. Macdonald	95.
64. Lieut. Pettingal	96. Hope
65. Maj. Ebhart	97. Hope
66. Maj. Ebhart	98. Ward
67. Durnford	99. Capt. Campbell
68. Retief	100. Huntley
69. Engineering Dept.	101. Ford
70. Lieut. Rutherford	102. Retief
71. Cornfield	103. Retief
72. Sgt. Finger	104. De Wet
73. Green	105. Retief
74. Green	106. Retief
75. Retief	107. Retief
76. Onkruydt	108. Rivers
77. Onkruydt	109. Rivers
78. Wathall	110. Stretch
79. Francis	111. Stretch
80. Lieut. Pettingal	112. Van Rooyen, Jnr.
81. Retief	113. Maj. O'Reilley
82. O'Meara	114. Jones
83. Retief	115. Conway
84. Retief	116. Biggs
85. Capt. Birch	117. Van Rooyen, Snr.
86. Phillips	118. Bester
87. Retief	119. Huntley
88. De Waal	120. Ogilvie
89. Walkemont	121.
90.	122.
91. Capt. Hope	123.
92. Capt. Hope	124.

NOTES

The above key to Diagram No. 4 is taken from Thomson: op. cit., p. 17. The diagram itself is based on an undated original in the Surveyor-General's Office, thought to be for the year 1824. (The Office's reference number for the plan is 1802; a photostatic copy of the original is in the Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown - the copy has been consulted). The diagram follows the example of Thomson (ibid. p. 16) of only showing the built-up area of the town, and excludes the undeveloped south-eastern portion of the town extending in a band to the Fort England Barracks. For an idea of the full extent of the town in 1824, see Map No. 2 in the atlas, showing the development of the street layout of Grahamstown. A comparison of the diagram with Map No. 1 shows that by 1824 quite a large portion of the present-day town was already in existence.

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can be clearly seen by inspecting Map No. 2 (in the atlas) showing the stages in the development of the street layout of the town. This map shows that as early as 1820 only the centre of the town was in existence, but that in contrast by 1824 a good portion of the present streets had come into existence, and that within the long narrow band in which the town at that time was being built, a fairly complex street system had been surveyed. (Note the use of the word "surveyed" - at this date nearly all the street were still raw veld.) Looking at this map, one can say that the development of the street pattern of the town in the four years after 1820 was about twice that of the development in the preceeding eight years of the town's existence. In fact, by 1824 roughly a quarter of the present streets were already surveyed, leaving one in no doubt as to the sudden spatial expansion which occurred in the town subsequent to the coming of the 1820 Settlers to Albany.

(d) Changes in the Number of Land Owners, and
in the Amount of Land in the Town Owned:

Another instance of growth in Grahamstown after the coming of the settlers is the increase in the number of erven owners, and the number of owned erven in the town which occurred after 1820. This increase is clearly shown in Appendix A, which analyses the data provided by the lists of land owners in Grahamstown given on pages 53-4 and 56-7 above. The conclusions resulting from this analysis are as follows:-

1. After 1820, the rate of increase in the number of owned erven in the town expanded suddenly, virtually doubling the pre-1820 rate of increase. This sudden

increase was almost entirely due to a large increase, after the coming of the settlers, of the number of erven in the town which were owned by civilians.

2. After 1820, a very marked increase in the number of civilian land owners in Grahamstown occurred. The number of army personnel owning land did not increase markedly.
3. After 1820 the average number of erven per owner increased, and this increase was more marked among civilians than among army officers owning erven.
4. After the founding and laying-out of Grahamstown, and the initial development associated with this, a period of stagnation set in. This stagnation was purely civilian in character, and did not affect the military population. It was only after 1820, with the coming of the settlers, that this stagnation was arrested and replaced by a wave of civilian expansion, which resulted in a marked increase in the number of civilian land owners in the town, and an increase in the amount of land they owned, i.e. the number of erven per owner increased.

These changes in the number of land owners and the number of erven in Grahamstown owned by civilians thus show that development occurred in the town after 1820. As society is an interrelated, interacting whole, so that expansion and development in one segment tends to cause expansion and development sooner or later in other parts of the whole, we may take these changes as an index of the general development in the town which followed the influx of the settlers into Albany, and later into the town itself. The results of Appendix A therefore bear out the contention

that it was the 1820 Settlers who really made Grahamstown a town, and that the town can rightly be called "The Settlers' City." It was not natural increase, but an influx of new immigrants which established the town.

2. Increase in the Commercial Importance and Activity of Grahamstown:

As has been pointed out, after the coming of the settlers, a prosperous trade with the interior tribes developed, and Grahamstown was the main gateway through which this trade flowed both in and out. The major item involved in this trade was undoubtedly ivory - so much so that an ivory boom developed, resulting in a rush of people to join in the trade in an attempt to become rich. Thomson⁽⁴⁷⁾ says that discounting illegal traffickers - of whom there were many - in 1823 there were 174 registered licencees in the ivory trade. During 1824, fairs were started at Fort Willshire (situated across the Fish River on the banks of the Keiskama River).⁽⁴⁸⁾ From July onwards, special licenses from the Landdrost of Albany were issued for traders to trade with the Kaffirs at the fort. On Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays between the hours of 9 a.m. and 4 p.m. in Winter, and 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. in Summer, these fairs were conducted. The traders with their wagons left Grahamstown on the previous afternoon (Tuesday) and returned over the weekend once the fair was over. The traders bartered such articles as beads, brass buttons, brass wire, mirrors, knives, scissors, picks, hoes, blankets, and so on. In return they received commodities such as

(47) Thomson: op. cit., p. 18.

(48) Cory: op. cit., Vol. II, Ch. IV, pp. 178ff.

ivory, hides and gum. The returns of the Market Master at the fair - usually a sergeant - are interesting, for they show the volume of transactions involved. Returns for part of 1824 and 1825 show that in about 7 months 50,441 lbs. of ivory were bartered from the Kaffirs, as well as about 16,800 lbs. of gum and 15,000 hides. Thomson, while he does not give the dates, says that in six months over 16 tons of ivory were bartered at Fort Willshire alone; he goes on to remark that in two years 46,575 hides passed through Albany, saying that "to capitalize on this trade" (i.e. the one in hides) "many subsidiary industries sprang into life and tanners in particular made handsome profits." (49)

All this trade naturally resulted in Grahamstown mushrooming into a flourishing commercial centre, and it is easy to appreciate why Thomson rates this trade with its "sudden access to wealth" as the most important single cause producing the rapid expansion of Grahamstown during the 'twenties. (50)

"The South African Almanac and Directory for 1831" gives an interesting picture of the trade of Grahamstown at the beginning of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century: it provides us with statistics of a more detailed nature than the broad statements made above. Table I below shows the returns from traders in Grahamstown for the year 1830, giving the value of exports from the town. (51)

(49) Thomson: op. cit., p. 18.

(50) Ibid.

(51) See p. 184 of the Directory. The returns have been re-arranged and are given in rank order.

TABLE I

EXPORT FROM GRAHAMSTOWN DURING 1830. (52)

	£.	s.	d.
1. Dry Hides	£9,992:	8:	0
2. Raw Hides	£9,039:	12:	0
3. Salted Beef and Pork	£3,576:	0:	0
4. Butter	£3,267:	10:	0
5. Ivory	£2,264:	0:	0
6. Horns	£2,175:	0:	0
7. Tallow	£1,617:	0:	0
8. Buck and Sheep Skins	£1,470:	11:	0
9. Ostrich Feathers	£ 405:	0:	0
10. Soap	£ 250:	0:	0
11. Gum	£ 9:	7:	6
T O T A L	£34,066:	8:	6

This table shows that by the end of the 'twenties the exports from Grahamstown were already quite considerable: note the figures quoted are in terms of the value of the £ in 1830, when the relative value of the pound was considerably higher than it is to-day. These exports together with goods imported for the needs of the town, the district, and the Kaffir trade, must have added up to a relatively important volume of trade. The exports are fairly varied in character, showing that by the beginning of the fourth decade of the 19th. century, trade in Grahamstown involved far more than ivory, hides and skins. (53)

(52) Apparently most of the goods were exported to Cape Town. See the Graham's Town Journal for 17th. January, 1833 - article on the trade of the town.

(53) Unfortunately no records of imports into the town during this period were discovered. It is likely that the volume of imports was similar to the volume of exports from Grahamstown.

There is no information available concerning trade with the farmers in the district, separate from the trade with the Kaffir tribes. Apparently the former trade, while not nearly as lucrative or spectacular as the latter, was of sufficient volume to be importance, for Sheffield speaks of the inhabitants of Grahamstown "enjoying a large trade with the natives and with the farmers in the surrounding districts," adding that they "prospered marvelously."⁽⁵⁴⁾ At all events, the total volume of trade (i.e. the volume of Native trade and the volume of trade with the farmers, taken together) was of sufficient size to make trade, by the beginning of the 'thirties, the most important activity and function of Grahamstown.

3. Industries in the Town:

Unfortunately, there are no details available showing what industries were in existence in the town at this time, but we may deduce from the building activity involved in the increase in houses which occurred in Grahamstown during the 'twenties, that there must have been a flourishing building industry in the town. When we remember that trade with the Kaffirs involved the use of wagons for transport, and when we read for example in the Directory for 1831 that the Grahamstown Market Register showed that between 1st. October, 1829 and 30th. September, 1830, 1,402 wagons entered the local Grahamstown Market laden with produce, we realise that the wagon traffic on the frontier must have been quite considerable.⁽⁵⁵⁾

(54) Sheffield: op. cit., Ch. XVI, pp. 167ff.

(55) See the Graham's Town Journal, February 23rd. and March 2nd., 1866 - articles on wagon building in the town.

We know that at this time Grahamstown was producing wagons, so that wagon building and associated industries existed in the town, and it is likely that a good deal of activity was involved. In addition, it has already been noted that subsidiary industries came into existence in the town to deal with the thriving trade in hides and skins - we know that tanning and its associated industries existed in the town. While it is impossible to make any statements about the extent of industries in Grahamstown at this time, it is possible, therefore, to argue that following the coming of the 1820 Settlers, and the trends that their coming set in motion, industries, which had been hitherto largely non-existent began to develop in Grahamstown.

Summing up, the rapid increase in the population of Grahamstown and the development of a thriving trade with the surrounding districts and the Kaffir tribes in the interior (both of which were caused by the coming of the settlers) were the two main elements responsible for the expansion and development which occurred in the town during the 'twenties. The various trends which have been outlined add up to a picture of Grahamstown having by 1824 or 1825 "emerged from the state of a village, and assumed that of a town."⁽⁵⁶⁾ By the beginning of 1830, Grahamstown according to Cory,⁽⁵⁷⁾ had become the chief centre of development in the Eastern Cape. As he says, "large places of business came into existence; these together with the increased waggon traffic and the growth of the chief market

(56) Cory: op. cit., Vol. II, Ch. V, p. 191.

(57) Ibid: Ch. X, p. 431.

for all kinds of produce, made Grahamstown the metropolis of the East." Pursuing this point, we read a description of the town in 1830 in the Directory for 1831,⁽⁵⁸⁾ which we abstract as follows:-

Grahamstown is described as the principal town of the Eastern Province. It contained 417 houses, and had 1,715 inhabitants excluding the Military and the barracks occupied by them. The only public buildings of the time of any importance were the gaol, Government House (which was still incomplete) and St. George's Church, which was capable of seating 700 persons. "The plan of Graham's Town is simple. The principal streets run from east to west, and are crossed by others at right angles. Nothing more irregular, however, can be conceived, than the manner in which the buildings are disposed, but being intermingled with orchards and gardens, and intersected by hollows forming channels for the several rivulets that supply the inhabitants with water, the coup d'oeil is pleasing and romantic." By 1830 the town had a Reading Society, a Subscription Library, and printing offices (which had been recently established.) In addition to St. George's (which was Anglican), it also had a Wesleyan Church capable of holding 450, a Presbyterian Church capable of holding 300, and a Baptist Church capable of holding 250 persons - indeed, by 1830 one could no longer call Grahamstown anything less than a town

As a result of the coming of the 1820 Settlers to the Eastern Province, and of the trends that their entry set in motion, Grahamstown finally took on the shape of a town, and ceased to be merely a military camp. By the

(58) The South African Almanac and Directory, 1831: pp. 171ff.

beginning of the 1830's - almost two decades after its foundation, Grahamstown was thriving and expanding, and was prospering commercially. This expansion and development has been described in some detail, and the underlying causes have been analysed, as it is this period in the history of Grahamstown that is important for an understanding of the future history of the town. In the 'twenties - in this era of rapid expansion and development and of increasing prosperity and power following the coming of the settlers - lay both the seeds of the not far distant zenith of Grahamstown, and as yet unsuspected the seeds of her decline. Grahamstown, by the beginning of the 1830's was the commercial centre for the frontier (being the gateway for all the trade flowing in and out of the frontier and the interior beyond.) She dominated the whole of the frontier economically, administratively and strategically. She was the most rapidly expanding town in the whole of the Eastern Province, and seemed well set for a dominating and prosperous role in the future. All this was ultimately due to the historical accident of the immigration of the 1820 Settlers into the Zuurveld. Internal migration following external migration into the region had led to a new centralisation and concentration of population, which favourably affected Grahamstown as the focal point of the region - the 1820 Settlement made Grahamstown.

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CHAPTER IV.DEVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION IN GRAHAMSTOWN DURING THE
YEARS OF UNRIVALLED POWER AND DOMINATION.PERIOD IV: 1830 - 1840: The Metropolis and Emporium
of the Eastern Province

By the beginning of the 1830's, Grahamstown had grown by comparison with the little military camp that it had been originally. It had added to its primary and earliest function of defence in several ways. No longer was it only the military headquarters on the frontier; to the function of strategic defence it had added the functions of the administrative and legal centre for the frontier, and was now also the commercial supply centre for the frontier, and the main base for trade with the Kaffir tribes in the interior - it was, in fact, the gateway to the interior of South Africa.⁽¹⁾ All this has already been shown. The town dominated the surrounding region strategically, administratively, legally, commercially and ecologically. In the phase in the town's development which is now to be reviewed, the commercial domination wielded by the town was to steadily increase, till it became the most important characteristic exhibited by the town. To this domination was to be added others - that of cultural and political domination of the region. These new functions of commercial, cultural and political

(1) A description applied to the town by Miss M. Kannemeyer, then librarian in the Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, during a discussion with the writer in 1951. She remarked that the route to the interior of South Africa lay through Grahamstown, and that hunters, explorers, traders and missionaries, and goods moving to or from the interior, all passed through Grahamstown.

dominance⁽²⁾ extended the town's domination far beyond the boundaries of the district of Albany. Hitherto, when speaking of the dominance of Grahamstown, we have always referred to it as extending only over the district of Albany and the frontier. Now, however, we find that the region involved becomes the whole of the Eastern Province, including areas far removed from the frontier, (such as Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage.) Indeed, Grahamstown had started its existence with a single function - that of strategic defence, but after the 'twenties had seen the town find its feet and grow with the influx of the Settlers, Grahamstown was to add not only to the number of functions that it exercised, but was also to add very greatly to the area that these functions covered. Ecologically, the region which Grahamstown dominated was constantly expanding in extent while the power of the domination was also growing steadily Grahamstown was pulling more and more under its sway, so that before long people were beginning to call the town the "Metropolis of the East" (i.e. the Eastern Province.)

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Thus far in the historical study of the town, the various histories have yielded abundant data, so that secondary sources have been used. Once we come to the 1830's when Grahamstown had reached the stage of an established and thriving town, the data provided by secondary sources tends to become insufficient for our purposes. The various authors are interested in

(2) The term "dominance" is an ecological technical term, and is used as such.

the early history of the town, but once its struggle for survival is past, they seem to take its subsequent history for granted. Thus, from this stage onwards increasing reliance is placed on primary sources for a knowledge of the history of the town. The most important primary source is the "Graham's Town Journal" which commenced publication towards the end of 1831. The remaining sections of this historical study of the town are based mainly on material gathered from the pages of this newspaper.

We now turn to study some of the important developments which took place in Grahamstown during the 'thirties. As far as possible, the developments have been grouped under different headings:

1. Commercial Expansion and Developments in the Town:

References to commercial expansion in Grahamstown during the 'thirties are not numerous, and it seems as if historians, having once shown the emergence of commerce in Grahamstown during the 1820's, took the further developments of the town's trade and commerce for granted. Too, as there is only one reference in the town's own newspaper (the "Graham's Town Journal") to the state of trade in the town, all other references being for the Eastern Province as a whole, it seems as if the people of Grahamstown themselves also took the wave of commercial expansion and prosperity which began in the mid 1820's, very much for granted. In other words, both for historians and for the townspeople of the time there was no problem - the town was expanding and thriving, and that is all there was to it. It is only once the town's trade and commerce began to decline in later years, that one finds references

to Grahamstown's trade - as long as there was no problem, no one felt the need to discuss it. However, there are available many indirect indices which show that during the 1830's the town's commerce must have continued to flourish and expand. A good deal of these indices concern the development in the town of financial institutions; these will be discussed later. We turn to study the references to, and some indices of, development in the town's commerce:-

There is one single and direct reference of importance concerning the town's trade, and this is to be found in the issue of the "Graham's Town Journal" for January 17th. 1833. In an article on the trade of the town, the "Journal" is discussing and quoting extracts from the "South African Directory for 1833" which has an article on the frontier trade. The following are relevant extracts from the article in the "Journal."

A table is given which shows the exports from Grahamstown for the year 1832. The table was compiled from 'authenticated returns furnished by the different traders at Graham's Town.' This table is given below, with the contents re-organised into rank order.

(SEE TABLE II OVER THE PAGE)

TABLE IIEXPORTS FROM GRAHAMSTOWN DURING 1832.

1.	Green Hides	£18,145: 4: 0
2.	Dry Hides	£11,886: 0: 0
3.	Tallow	£ 4,820:12: 0
4.	Salted Beef and Pork	£ 3,700: 0: 0
5.	Horns	£ 3,600: 0: 0
6.	Butter	£ 3,080:10: 0
7.	Buck and Sheep Skins	£ 2,400: 0: 0
8.	Ivory	£ 1,800: 7: 6
9.	Sole Leather	£ 504: 0: 0
10.	Wool	£ 407: 4: 0
11.	Ostrich Feathers	£ 303: 0: 0
12.	Soap	£ 230:15: 0
13.	Buck and Sheep Skins (tanned)	£ 100: 0: 0
14.	Candles	£ 100: 0: 0
15.	Wheat	£ 95: 0: 0
16.	Wheaten Meal	£ 78: 0: 0
17.	Barley	£ 30: 0: 0
18.	Aloes	£ 10: 0: 0

T O T A L

£51,290:12: 6

It is interesting to compare this table with the one for 1830 (Table I, page 63 above). It will be seen that in two years the value of the exports from Grahamstown increased by about £17,000, and the variety of goods exported had increased from eleven to eighteen varieties. This suggests that the trade of Grahamstown was definitely expanding, making the town even more important commercially than it had been at the end of the third decade of the century.

Most of this produce was sent to merchantile houses in Cape Town, in exchange for the manufactures of India and Europe, according to the article, which goes on to mention that the balance of trade on the frontier was in favour of imports. This means that if the exports amounted to over £51,000, then the total volume of trade handled by Grahamstown during the early 1830's must have been over £100,000 (in terms of the 1830 value of the £).

Handling a comparatively large volume of trade, it is easy to appreciate why Grahamstown earned the title of "Emporium of the East" (i.e. Eastern Province) at this time. Port Elizabeth was no more than a landing point for Grahamstown, and certainly neither it nor any other town could compare with Grahamstown in commercial importance. During the 1830's, Grahamstown was the most important commercial centre in the Eastern Province.

Returning to the article we read:

"The Public Market at Graham's Town, which is held every day, except Sundays, exhibits a very lively and amusing scene. Here is met the farmer from the most distant extremities of the Colony, with his wagons laden with curiosities, such as skins of wild animals, ostrich feathers, ivory, and the crude but deadly weapons of the Bushmen and Bechuanas. (4) Here also is to be seen the enterprising settler just returned from a six months trading journey in the interior, with a cargo of hides or ivory, together with the rich fur dresses or cloaks of the natives of distant regions visited by him in the course of his peregrination. By the market register it appears that between 1st. October, 1831 and the 30th. September, 1832, 1,906 wagons entered the market laden with produce, and the following quantities of the several articles enumerated there sold to the highest bidders ..."

The table of the commodities sold is as follows:-

TABLE III

RECORDS OF PRODUCE SOLD ON THE GRAHAMSTOWN MUNICIPAL MARKET,
1st. OCTOBER 1831 TO 30th. SEPTEMBER 1832.

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Average Current Price</u>
Brandy	89 <u>leaguers</u>	£12: 0: 0 <u>leaguer</u>
Wine	4 <u>do.</u>	5: 0: 0 <u>do.</u>
Meal	4,042 <u>muids</u>	1: 1: 0 <u>muid</u>
Wheat	320 <u>do.</u>	1: 0: 0 <u>do.</u>
Barley	1,757 <u>do.</u>	4: 0 <u>do.</u>
Oats	1,115 <u>do.</u>	3: 0 <u>do.</u>
Indian Corn	153 <u>do.</u>	6: 6 <u>do.</u>
Salt	1,840 <u>do.</u>	8: 0 <u>do.</u>
Dried Fruits	3,559 <u>lbs.</u>	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ <u>lb.</u>
Raisins	9,905 <u>do.</u>	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ <u>do.</u>
Tobacco	14,944 <u>do.</u>	3 <u>do.</u>
Bed Feathers	139 <u>do.</u>	2: 0 <u>do.</u>
Wool	3,243 <u>do.</u>	6 <u>do.</u>
Tiger Skins (sic)	77 <u>number</u>	12: 0 <u>each</u>

(CONTINUED OVER PAGE)

TABLE III

RECORDS OF PRODUCE SOLD ON THE GRAHAMSTOWN MUNICIPAL MARKET,
1st. OCTOBER 1831 TO 30th. SEPTEMBER 1832.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 73)

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Average Current Price</u>
Raw or Green Hides	10,730 <u>number</u>	£ 0: 10: 0 <u>each</u>
Dry Hides	487 <u>do.</u>	4: 0 <u>do.</u>
Buck Skins	11,130 <u>do.</u>	1: 3 <u>do.</u>
Horns	24,663 <u>do.</u>	2: 5: 0 <u>per 100</u>
Kid and Calf Skins	2,564 <u>number</u>	2: 6 <u>each</u>
Oat Hay	150,203 <u>lbs.</u>	3: 0 <u>100 lbs.</u>
Oxen	100 <u>number</u>	1: 5: 0 <u>each</u>
Cows	90 <u>do.</u>	1: 0: 0 <u>do.</u>

This table leaves no doubt as to the activity which must have been evinced by the Grahamstown Market, and suggests that Grahamstown was the marketing centre for the produce of the whole frontier district. While during the year ending September 30th. 1832, 1,906 wagons entered the market, the number of wagons entering the market during the year ending 30th. September, 1830, was 1,402.⁽⁵⁾ Thus, in two years the annual number of wagons coming to the Grahamstown Market increased by just over 500. This again, is an index of the continued commercial expansion which the town at this time was enjoying, and emphasises that the town was still increasing its economic importance.

Turning to the question of the town as the "Emporium of the East" we study some of the remarks the contemporary authors made about the town at this time. An officer⁽⁶⁾ who was in South Africa at the time, described Grahamstown as the centre to which "the inhabitants of the inland

(4) Note the wide geographical spread of the region served by the market at Grahamstown.

(5) See p. 64 above.

(6) Lieut. J.W.D. Moodie: Ten Years in South Africa: 1835, Vol. II, Ch. XV, pp. 302-303.

parts of the colony ... came ... for their supplies of imported goods." Another writer, writing much later in the century, said that Grahamstown "formed the emporium of the frontier trade"⁽⁷⁾ adding that direct trade of the town with Europe started about 1830. This remark is borne out by the advertisements appearing in the pages of the "Journal" during the 1830's, advertising that the merchants of Grahamstown were importing goods into the town direct from overseas. Finally, another traveller, describing the town as it was during the late 1830's says "Grahamstown is the emporium of the eastern frontier districts, and its main streets present a scene of incessant commercial activity; while almost every article, whether of utility or ornament, may be as readily obtained as in most of the provincial towns of the mother country."⁽⁸⁾ Supporting this latter statement, an examination of the advertisements appearing in the pages of the "Graham's Town Journal" shows that the merchants of the town were offering for sale a wide variety of goods ranging from pianos and clocks to clothes, draperies, millinery, books, stationery, and office equipment; and from groceries to arms, tools, hardware and general household requisites. The impression is unavoidable that at this date Grahamstown was selling all the latest goods that were obtainable in Europe; this supports Chase's statement quoted above. The pages of the "Journal" at this time were filled always with advertisements of "latest arrivals" from Britain and

(7) J. Noble: Descriptive Handbook of the Cape Colony: 1875, Ch. VII, p. 185.

(8) J.C. Chase: The Cape of Good Hope and Delgoa Bay: 1843, p. 43.

Europe on sale in Grahamstown's shops. During the 'thirties at any rate, Grahamstown definitely was the emporium of the eastern frontier of the Colony. She was a primary importer from overseas, a secondary importer of goods produced in the Colony, and a distributor of high status to a wide regional area.

Apart from trade with the farmers of the frontier district, and trade with the Kaffir tribes beyond, there was another important source of commercial activity in the town at this date - this was the army. The pages of the "Journal" contain frequent and often page-long advertisements in which the commissariat calls for tenders to meet the needs of the army on the frontier. The tenders called for range from repairs to arms, supply of paints and tools, to the provision of food, fodder and transport. Grahamstown, being the headquarters for the frontier, required most of the goods and services called for, the rest being for the various military posts along the frontier. The frequency of the advertisements, and the volume of goods and services called for indicate that the demands of the commissariat must have provided a considerable source of income to the merchants and contractors of Grahamstown. (This was especially so, of course, every time there was a Kaffir War, when the military expenditure increased greatly.) In all events, the supply of the needs of the commissariat was an important commercial activity of the town, and a factor in the growing commercial importance of Grahamstown

This growing importance of the town was emphasised by the publication at the end of December 1831 of the first edition of the "Graham's Town Journal" No town is

able to publish its own newspaper until it has reached a certain stage of economic and population development; the printing and publishing of the "Journal" indicates that Grahamstown had developed beyond the stage of mere survival. In the words of the editor, "the importance of Graham's Town as a Commercial Station alone, seems sufficient to entitle it to a Local Newspaper, or in other words, appears to insure adequate remuneration to the Proprietor."⁽⁹⁾ The appearance of the "Journal", which was not only the first newspaper in the town, but also the first newspaper to be printed and published in the whole of the Eastern Province, is not only a cultural but also a socio-economic phenomenon of some importance, and shows not only the extent of the development of the town, but also as the first newspaper in the province, indicates the predominant economic position occupied by Grahamstown at this date. The town had, in the words of the editor, "risen into an importance second to Cape Town only."⁽¹⁰⁾

A further index of the increasing economic activity and prosperity of the time is given in an editorial in the "Journal" for 16th. March, 1832, where the editor discusses the "Report of the Committee for Emigration." This report, produced by the committee which existed in the town at the time, says that in Grahamstown there existed a great demand for labour of every description. The committee puts this demand down to the fact that the working classes were more and more changing their occupations

(9) The editorial, Graham's Town Journal, December 30th., 1831.

(10) Ibid.

to either trade with the Kaffirs, or to farming (after having bought a farm with their savings.) The result was a continual depletion in the ranks of the working classes in the town. The occupational mobility revealed by this report is a very good index of rapid economic expansion and development occurring in the town, for in a period of commercial stagnation, there would be little or no opportunity for working class inhabitants of the town to become either traders, or save sufficient capital to be able to set out as farmers. The fact that they could profitably leave their old employments for trading or farming definitely suggests that Grahamstown must have still been in the throes of rapid and consequently highly mobile economic change.

Other indices of the strength of the town's commercial prosperity are provided by the construction as a private venture by the businessmen of Grahamstown of the Howieson's Poort road (started in 1832);⁽¹¹⁾ the construction by means of public subscription of the road to Woest Hill;⁽¹²⁾ and the erection by means of public subscription of a "Commercial Hall" in 1833.⁽¹³⁾

2. The Emergence of Financial Institutions in the Town:

Until the beginning of the 1830's, financial institutions had been completely absent in the town. Now

(11) Cory: op. cit., Vol. III, p. 239.

(12) Ibid., p. 240. Both roads, especially that through Howieson's Poort, had to traverse difficult terrain, and must have been costly ventures.

(13) Cory: op. cit., Vol. II, Ch. X, p. 432; also the Journal for March 7th., 1833. This building was intended to be a kind of stock exchange, as well as to provide a theatre, ball room, and public assembly rooms. No commercial use was ever found for the building, which was sold to the Government in 1843 for a Court House.

the increasing commercial activity of the town made their existence essential. Indeed, the emergence of financial institutions is the best index we have of the increasing commercial expansion and importance of the town. From this time onwards, financial institutions such as a savings bank, insurance agencies, companies, and banks began to be established in Grahamstown.

As far as it is possible to ascertain, the first sign of development in the town of any financial institution was in January 1832 when the establishment of an agency of the "South African Life and Fire Assurance Company" (with its headquarters in Cape Town) was advertised.⁽¹⁴⁾ As an index of the commercial development and activity in the town, this fact is most important, for it is only when a community has embarked upon commercial enterprises to any extent that it will attract an institution such as an insurance company. In a sense this incident marks finally the passing away of the subsistence economy of the town which had been dominant before the coming of the settlers, and the recognition by company directors of the importance of Grahamstown.

Soon after the establishment of an insurance agency in Grahamstown, a branch of a Savings Bank was opened in the town.⁽¹⁵⁾ A year after its opening the branch had 117 depositors on the books, nearly all of whom were townspeople.⁽¹⁶⁾ The balance on hand was £560: 4: 0d.

(14) Graham's Town Journal: January 20th., 1832.

(15) See the Journal for 16th. February 1832, for an advertisement of the opening of the branch on the 18th. February 1832.

(16) Journal: January 17th., 1833. See extract published from the first annual report of the branch.

By 1837 the branch could report that at the end of 1836 the total number of accounts open had risen to 207, and the balance to £5,157:11:11¹/₄d.⁽¹⁷⁾ This shows that by the 'thirties the people of Grahamstown were prosperous enough to be able to save - the increase in the balance deposited reflects the continued commercial prosperity experienced by the town.

Grahamstown also began to develop financial institutions of its own. On 28th. February 1833⁽¹⁸⁾ a "Graham's Town Joint Stock Company" was formed by merchants of the town for the purpose of importing merino sheep from the Continent, so that the flocks in the Colony could be improved. Later this company decided to draw capital from a wider field covering the whole of the Eastern Province, and became "The Eastern Province Joint Stock Sheep Farm Association." It seems certain that this company, originally formed in Grahamstown, was the first financial institution covering the Eastern Province as a unit, and it foreshadows the not far distant future when Grahamstown was to become the financial capital of the Eastern Province.

The first bank in the town was a branch of the "Cape of Good Hope Bank," established in the town in 1838.⁽¹⁹⁾ However, the townspeople were most dissatisfied with the terms offered by the bank,⁽²⁰⁾ and a few months later floated their own bank, called the "Eastern Province Bank" with a capital of £40,000. This venture was followed in

(17) Journal: January 19th., 1837.

(18) Journal: March 7th., 1833.

(19) Journal: August 31st. 1838 - advertisement.

(20) Journal: September 6th., 1838 - editorial; also the issue of the 25th. October, 1838 - advertisement.

1839 by the formation in the town of an insurance company known as the "Albany Fire Insurance Company."⁽²¹⁾ In the same year another insurance company, the "Eastern Province Fire and Life Assurance Company" with a capital of £20,000 was formed in Grahamstown.⁽²²⁾ As the latter half of the 'thirties also saw the establishment in the town of branch offices of two other insurance companies (the "Cape of Good Hope Fire Assurance Company"⁽²³⁾ and the "Alliance Life Assurance Company"⁽²⁴⁾) by the end of the 'thirties the town had three outside insurance companies represented in the town, a branch of a savings bank, a branch of a commercial bank, as well as a commercial bank and two insurance companies of its own. The capital invested in all these financial institutions must have amounted to quite an appreciable amount, and reflects the commercial prosperity of the town. For the first time in its history, Grahamstown was becoming financially important. Banks are designed not only for savings but for loans: thus Grahamstown was extending financial controls for the provision of capital throughout the region, and so was expanding mortgage control over the region. The town was thriving, and the strength of its domination was increasing.

3. Cultural Developments in the Town during the 1830's:

By the 'thirties Grahamstown had - as can be seen from the expansion described previously - become an

(21) Journal: August 29th., 1839 - report on the company.

(22) Ibid: advertisement.

(23) Journal: September 1st., 1836 - advertisement.

(24) Journal: October 25th., 1838 - advertisement.

established town, and was no longer a crude settlement in the veld. The first initial hardships and struggles were over, so that now the struggle for existence no longer dominated the lives of the townspeople. The town was commercially important, and as the development of financial institutions and capital investment shows, the townspeople were prospering. The time had come when the inhabitants - or at least some of them - could turn their thoughts and energies from the necessity for bare subsistence and survival towards the creation of additional social institutions and the development of cultural amenities in the town.⁽²⁵⁾ Cultural developments on any significant scale can only occur once a community has advanced beyond subsistence level. The cultural developments which are shortly to be described are, in the last resort, the result of the wave of expansion, development and prosperity which the town experienced following the coming of the 1820 Settlers.

During the 1830's the following societies were formed in Grahamstown: a Horticultural Society,⁽²⁶⁾ a Benevolent Society called "The Albany Brethren" formed in April 1830,⁽²⁷⁾ a Temperance Society (1831)⁽²⁸⁾ the "Graham's Town Reading Society" (date of formation unknown)⁽²⁹⁾ an Agricultural Society for the whole of the Eastern Province (1834),⁽³⁰⁾ a "Subscription and Circulating Library" (1834),⁽³¹⁾ - this library was known as the "Albany Circulating Library", the

(25) Cory: op. cit., Vol. II, Ch. X.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Journal: December 30th., 1831.

(29) do. : May 30th., 1833.

(30) do. : January 16th., 1834.

(31) do. : January 30th., 1834.

"Albany and Somerset Turf Club" which held meetings at Grahamstown (this club was probably formed in 1834, as it is for this date that the first advertisements appear in the "Journal"), a "District Branch of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge" (1835),⁽³²⁾ the "Graham's Town Auxiliary to the London Missionary Society" (date of foundation unknown - this society first advertises in the "Journal" in 1836), the "Graham's Town Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society" (probably formed in 1835 or 1836),⁽³³⁾ "The Albany Church Missionary Association" (1837),⁽³⁴⁾ the "Graham's Town Theatrical Amateur Company" (1837),⁽³⁵⁾ an Amateur Musical Society (date unknown - first advertisements of the society appear in 1838),⁽³⁶⁾ and finally a "Literary Society" which had been formed for the purpose of "obtaining useful knowledge, in order to diffuse it and intimating rhetoric, literature, and science" (1839).⁽³⁷⁾ By this date the Albany Freemason Lodge, which had been formed in 1828, was very active. and by 1837 was embarked upon the building of a new "Masonic Hall and School Room".⁽³⁸⁾

Thus, by the end of the 1830's Grahamstown already possessed quite a wide variety of societies whose activities ranged from amateur theatricals, racing and temperance work to reading and supporting missionary work. These different societies had varying fortunes, some finding it

(32) Journal: March 27th., 1835.

(33) do. : March 9th., 1837.

(34) do. : April 27th., 1837.

(35) do. : November 23rd., 1837.

(36) do. : July 12th., 1838.

(37) do. : March 28th., 1839.

(38) do. : June 29th., 1837; also see the Records of the Albany Lodge, No. 389, E.C.: Grocott & Sherry, Grahamstown, 1928: p. 6.

difficult to obtain much support, while others flourished.⁽³⁹⁾
 The formation of all these societies does show that the town was beginning to develop some cultural amenities, and was developing beyond the state of a rude frontier post. By the 'thirties, the town could already boast of having a Fancy Dress Ball given in the Barracks by the Military,⁽⁴⁰⁾ and of a Grand Subscription Ball held in the Commercial Hall under the patronage of the Governor and Lieut. Governor of the Colony.⁽⁴¹⁾ In short, Grahamstown was beginning to embark upon the pleasures and activities of civilised life, and the grim, unleisured struggle of the pioneering days was quickly fading into the shrouds of the past. The town was beginning to develop cultural amenities and activities worthy of the second most important town in the Colony.

While the adults were forming clubs and societies to occupy their minds and to use their leisure time, developments were taking place in the town for the purpose of occupying the minds and time of their children - if the adults were forming their clubs, the children were having schools established to turn them into educated and worthy citizens of the "Settlers' City." From the 'thirties onwards we find increasing references to the existence of schools in the town. In 1831, the "Graham's Town Infant School" was founded, and by 1832 the number of children attending was seventy-two.⁽⁴²⁾ We read of the existence

(39) Journal: December 19th., 1839 - editorial.

(40) do. : July 13th., 1832.

(41) do. : August 23rd., 1838.

(42) do. : January 3rd., 1833.

of a "Graham's Town Grammar School"⁽⁴³⁾ and later of the "Wesleyan School of Industry for Girls" which gave daily instruction for about 40 girls irrespective of race or nationality.⁽⁴⁴⁾ In 1839 a "Wesleyan Proprietary Grammar and Commercial School" was opened.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In addition to these educational institutions, there were several private individuals in the town who ran "schools" of their own - the number of pupils so catered for never seems to have been more than about a dozen pupils to a private "school."⁽⁴⁶⁾ In fact, a clergyman and several spinsters, widows and gentlemen in Grahamstown ran private "schools" of their own. Whatever might have been the case earlier in the history of the town, there can be no doubt that by the 1830's Grahamstown was starting to cater for the education of the younger generation, and, if the advertisements in the pages of the "Journal" are anything to go by, the town already had far more educational institutions than any other town in the Eastern Province.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Even while it was yet a centre of commerce, Grahamstown was not forgetting education - already the torch of learning was beginning to burn in the town.

(43) The first reference in the Journal to this school occurred in 1833 - see issue of July 11th., 1833.

(44) The first reference in the Journal to this school occurred in 1839 - see issue of February 21st., 1839.

(45) Journal: April 4th., 1839.

(46) For example, we read in an advertisement in 1833 that a Mrs. Campbell had established a school at her residence for the "daily instruction of Young Ladies in English, French and Italian Literature, History, Ancient and Modern Geography, with the use of the Globes, the elements of Natural Philosophy, Writing, Composition, Arithmetic, Music, Dancing and Drawing", the hours of instruction being from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. (See Journal: March 14th., 1833.)

(47) See next page for footnote.

4. Social and Political Developments in the Town:

Of all the developments which took place in Grahams-town during the 1830's, few were as important as the publication on December 30th., 1831 of the first number of the "Graham's Town Journal" - the first newspaper in the town and in the whole of the Eastern Province. Starting as a small four page paper with three columns to a page, and measuring 11" x 13½" per page, by January 1839 it had grown to a four paged paper with five columns to a page, and the pages measuring 15" x 19". From the very beginning, the paper was more than a local newspaper, and served the whole of the Eastern Province. On the whole, the editorials have little bearing on the private affairs of Grahamstown, but concern the welfare and problems of the whole of the Eastern Province. Robert Godlonton, the editor, writes about the plight of the Colonists, the state of the frontier and Kaffir depredations, Emigrant Farmers (the Voortrekkers), and defends the attitude and behaviour of the frontier dwellers towards the Kaffirs, hotly disputing the criticisms and theories of arm chair critics in Cape Town. The impression gained from these pages is that Grahamstown was unmistakeably the capital of the frontier, the rallying point of the frontiersmen, the voice of the Eastern Province. There is evident a distinct current of rivalry and hostility between Cape Town, the seat of government, the secure arm chair of critics and philanthropists, and Grahamstown, the provincial

(47) At this time the "Journal" was the only newspaper in the Eastern Province, While it contains advertisements of schools in other towns, those for schools in Grahamstown far outnumber advertisements from any other town. (As the biggest town in the Province, it is to be expected that Grahamstown had the most schools.)

capital of the frontier, the centre of the settlers, the focal point of the Eastern Province. In reflecting all this, in being the mouthpiece of the province in its demand for security and safeguards against the Kaffirs, and its repudiation of charges of cruelty and prejudice against the Kaffirs on its borders, the "Journal" reflects the fact that Grahamstown itself was politically the capital of the Eastern Province, and was the leader of the frontier.

The fact that the region served by the "Journal" included the whole of the Eastern Province is not only revealed by the contents of the editorials and the articles in the paper, but also by the advertisements, which come in from Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth, from Fort Beaufort and Graaff-Reinet, and the surrounding small towns and outposts. It was not for nothing that the subsidiary title of the "Journal" was "The Cape of Good Hope Eastern Province Register". Quite apart from any indications given by contemporary authors, the pages of the "Journal" in themselves show to the reader that at this time there were only two metropolitan regions in South Africa - that of Cape Town, and Grahamstown. The region of Cape Town was the Western Province, while Grahamstown's region was the whole of the Eastern Province.

The "Journal" was an important means of extending the regional dominance, and the power of the domination exerted by Grahamstown. As the only newspaper in the Eastern Province, the "Journal" conferred on Grahamstown the advantage of being the only source of locally published news and ideas. Sociologically the paper was both an instrument, and an index, of Grahamstown's dominant role

in the affairs of the frontier region.

As a town with a rapidly increasing population, and considerable commercial importance, Grahamstown had reached the stage where some form of local government was essential. It is not surprising therefore that the 1830's see the formation of a municipality in the town:

It is not necessary to go into the details of the creation of a municipality for Grahamstown.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Suffice it to state that after several years of negotiation with the Colonial Government, on 7th. April, 1837, Municipal Regulations for Grahamstown were promulgated in the Government Gazette.⁽⁴⁹⁾ In terms of these regulations seven municipal commissioners were elected by the townspeople on May 30th., and thereafter several municipal officials were appointed, and a six-penny rate imposed on the rateable property in the town, which was valued at £12,000.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The town had thus taken the first step in the direction of acquiring municipal finances, and was in a position to exercise some control over its hitherto unattractive and sprawling physical development.⁽⁵¹⁾ Legally Grahamstown had at last been recognised officially as a town, and as far as can be ascertained, was the first town in the Eastern Province to acquire municipal status.

(48) See Cory: op. cit., Vol. III, Ch. IX; also the Journal: June 9th., 1836; September 1st, 1836; October 13th., 1836; November 3rd., 1836; January 12th., 1837.

(49) Journal: April 20th., 1837 gives a full reprint of of these regulations. It is interesting to note that the 1837 delimitation of the town is practically the same as the present built-up European Area.

(50) Cory: *ibid.*, p. 426.

(51) Cory: *ibid.*, Ch. IX; Thomson: op cit., p. 28 for a description of the unattractiveness of the town.

Another important social development which was becoming increasingly obvious by this time, was the emergence of a middle class in the town. In the early pioneering days, Grahamstown's population consisted of officials, officers, the rank and file of the army, and ordinary civilians; strictly speaking there was no civilian professional class or commercial class in the town. Now as a result of the commercial expansion occurring in the town, and the general social developments taking place, increasing social differentiation began to be evident. The expansion in the town was causing, inevitably, social stratification, and occupational differentiation. From the pages of the "Journal" it is evident that by the 1830's the town had in existence a professional class of lawyers, auctioneers, agents, doctors, civil servants, teachers and clergymen with a goodly number of merchants and shopkeepers as well. It was the emergence of this class which probably explains the development in the town of all the societies and clubs described previously, for they would be the people with leisure and inclination for cultural activities. In all events, the emergence of this class is an index of the development the town was experiencing - a sign that it was outgrowing the pioneering stage.

In connection with this question of the class structure of the town at this time, the comments of a contemporary writer are interesting. He considered that there were six social classes in the town, and these he listed as follows:- (52)

(52) Moodie: op. cit., Vol. II, Ch. XV, pp. 302-5; also Ch. III, pp. 49-54.

- (1) Civil Officials
- (2) Military (mainly officers?)
- (3) Merchants - with one or two exceptions all retailers. They constituted the middle class, and most of them had risen from the ranks of the working class.
- (4) Mechanics and Artisans
- (5) European labourers - mainly discharged soldiers, and as a class drunken and dissolute.
- (6) Hottentots.

Moodie, the author, remarks that classes (4) and (5) can rise in the social scale fairly easily, it being comparatively easy in Grahamstown at the time for one to move into the trader and merchant class (due to the great scope for trade during these early years.) His classification again emphasises that the town was a centre of civil administration, the military headquarters on the frontier, and a trading centre, and supports the contentions which have already been made about the structure and functions of Grahamstown.

Finally, a political development which occurred at this time was the increasing interest taken by the inhabitants of Grahamstown in public affairs. The pages of the "Journal" during the 'thirties frequently contain advertisements and reports of public meetings held in the town, and of petitions and memorials drawn up by the townspeople. The two main issues of the time were security on the frontier - the problem of adequate protection against the Kaffirs, and the demand for some form of government for the Eastern Province apart from that in Cape Town - a demand which ultimately resulted in the appointment of a Lieut. Governor for the Eastern Province. The pages of the "Journal" give the impression that the people of the town

were to the forefront in any political movement. Indeed, from this time we may date the rise of that spirit of political leadership and aggressiveness which was characteristic of the town for the next 20 to 30 years - which was characteristic of the town until the time when it finally relinquished political leadership of the Eastern Province to its sister, Port Elizabeth.

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Summing up, we may bring together the previous sections in this history of the town and state that by 1840, Grahamstown, the "Metropolis of the East" at the height of its power, exhibited the following characteristics and exercised the following functions:-

(i) Military Headquarters on the Frontier:

Grahamstown, as the result of the reasons for its very foundation, was the military headquarters on the frontier, the headquarters of the army in the Eastern Province. It owed this function to its dominant ecological position in the wilds of the Zuurveld; from the town radiated all the military roads to the outposts on the frontier, making the town the strategic centre of defence for the Eastern Province.

(ii) The Centre of Military Expenditure:

As a result of being the military headquarters, Grahamstown was the seat of the Commissariat for the army in the Eastern Province, making it the centre of military expenditure on the frontier, and in the Eastern Province as a whole. By the 1840's the size of this expenditure in Grahamstown was estimated to be about £150,000 per

annum (in terms of the existing value of the £ at that time), which contributed in no small measure to the town's commerce. (53)

(iii) The Administrative and Judicial Centre of Albany:

As has been shown, very soon after its foundation Grahamstown was made the administrative and judicial centre of Albany, and this function still was retained by the town. This function was the result of Government policy.

(iv) The Emporium of the Eastern Province:

Grahamstown, because of its dominant ecological position on the frontier, was the supply centre for the frontier, and the centre of trade with the Kaffir tribes in the interior, and with the farmers on the frontier. As a result of the flourishing commerce thus built up, the town established itself as the emporium of the Province.

(v) The Gateway to the Interior:

As a result of its dominant ecological position in the relatively undeveloped frontier region, Grahams-town was the gateway to the frontier and the interior of South Africa beyond. Consequently through its streets moved the stream of persons moving into or out of the frontier districts of the Colony, or of the interior of South Africa generally. As the entrance to the frontier districts, it dispatched all the exports of the region, and ordered and handled all the imports coming in; as the base camp for explorers, hunters and traders penetrating the interior, its market handled the sale of most of the ivory, hides, feathers and curios brought back from the interior. All this helped in no small measure to make

(53) Journal: August 15th., 1844 - editorial.

the town the emporium of the province - that is to say, its dominant ecological position as the gateway to the frontier and the interior beyond, with its consequent opportunities for trade, played a fundamental part in making the town the "Emporium of the East."

(vi) The Financial Centre on the Frontier:

At this time, Grahamstown was the most important centre of financial institutions on the frontier, and judging from the frequency of advertisements in the pages of the "Journal" was also the most important financial centre in the Eastern Province. As the emporium of the Eastern Province, it was understandable Grahamstown should also be the most important financial centre in the Province at the time.

(vii) The Political Leader and Mouthpiece of the Province:

As the largest and most important town in the Eastern Province, as the centre of commerce and finance, Grahamstown was inevitably the political leader of the Province. Possessing the only paper in the Province, it was the rallying point of the opinions of the Eastern Province, and its natural centre of focus.

(viii) The Cultural Leader on the Frontier:

As has been shown, by the 1840's Grahamstown was steadily developing cultural amenities, and was creating a cultural life of its own. Grahamstown being the largest and most important town on the frontier, thus was inevitably the cultural leader on the frontier, and set the example for other towns.

(ix) The Largest and Most Important Town in the Province:

At this time, Grahamstown was the largest and most important town in the Eastern Province, with a total of

about 4,000 inhabitants and soldiers in its population.⁽⁵⁴⁾ It had the biggest population, and economically, sociologically dominated the rest of the Province.

(x) The Most Progressive Town in the Cape Colony:

Riding as it was on a wave of unparalleled and unequalled development and expansion, Grahamstown was the most progressive town in the Cape Colony.

(xi) The Metropolis of the Eastern Province:

Grahamstown, as a result of the characteristics and functions described above, was the "Metropolis" of the Eastern Province. It was the largest, most important and most prosperous town in the Province, and dominated the whole of the Eastern Districts of the Cape Colony.

Of the functions and characteristics listed above, nearly all ultimately depended on the importance of the trade and commerce of the town, and the development and expansion thereby caused. There is no doubt that the most important aspect of the town was ultimately commerce and trade - as the editor of the "Journal" wrote, not only the prosperity but the very existence of the town at this time depended upon trade.⁽⁵⁵⁾ As the town's trade rested primarily upon the town being the supply centre for, and the gateway to, the frontier and the interior, and secondly upon the town being the headquarters and the seat of the army and its Commissariat - all of which ultimately rested upon the town's dominant and commanding ecological position in an undeveloped frontier region, -

(54) J. Backhouse: A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa: (1844) p. 174 refers to 1838.

(55) Journal: August 15th., 1844 - editorial.

the town's importance and power can ultimately be traced back to the ecological position occupied by it. The ecology of Grahamstown and its surrounding region explains fundamentally why the town was "Queen of the East": one could say that it was the region which made Grahamstown!

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PART B

THE DECLINE OF GRAHAMSTOWN.

PART B : THE DECLINE OF GRAHAMSTOWN.

We have now reached the turning point in Grahamstown's history. By the 1840's the town was firmly established, year by year growing steadily. At the height of its importance as the dominant town in the Eastern Province, it was now no longer the crude military outpost it had once been. If, however, the 'forties show Grahamstown at the height of its power, they also show something else - signs of growing competition from other towns for Grahamstown's position of supremacy and domination, signs of a struggle to capture the rich prize of trade. Indeed, we no sooner see the town at the climax of its power, undisputed leader of the Eastern Province, than almost immediately afterwards we begin to see disturbing signs of doubt and fear about the safety of the town's position. The hour of triumph also brings with it the first sombre warning notes of incipient decline

So it is that from now onwards in this outline of the town's history we no longer concentrate on developments and growth in the town, but instead turn to study the growing signs of competition and struggle for Grahamstown's position, and to observe the determined struggle of the town to retain its throne as the dominant town in the Eastern Province, and to watch the gradual decline of the town to a decidedly subordinate position. From now on we ignore further growth and developments in the town. The town was established, and the problem is no longer one of growth. That Grahamstown did continue to develop culturally and commercially, and expand spatially

is evident from even a casual perusal of the pages of the "Journal",⁽¹⁾ but this no longer is of interest for us. The question of importance is why Grahamstown lost its dominant position in the Eastern Province. To answer the question will be the task of this section.

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- (1) Appendix B contains a list compiled from the pages of the "Journal" showing some of the developments which occurred in Grahamstown during the 1840's. This list is given to show that the town did continue to develop and expand. On this point of further growth we must distinguish between absolute and relative growth. Absolutely, the town continued to grow up to the present time. For instance, see Map No. 3 showing the town in 1863, and Map No. 30 showing Land Use in the town to-day, and compare them with Diagrams No. 1, 3, and 4, for evidence of spatial growth. Also see the Photographic Appendix, and compare views of the town at different dates. Relative to other towns, however, Grahamstown not only ceased to grow, but declined after the zenith of its power had been reached by about 1840-1850. In the early days Grahamstown grew relatively and absolutely; to-day its growth is only absolute, being negative relatively. (See Part B of Part II below.)

CHAPTER V.GRAHAMSTOWN'S DAWNING AWARENESS OF DANGEROUS
COMPETITION FOR ITS HITHERTO UNRIVALLED POSITION.

PERIOD V : 1840 - 1850: The First Signs of Competition
for Grahamstown's Supremacy in the Eastern
Province.

During the 'thirties, there had been no sign in the pages of the "Graham's Town Journal" of any fears about the position of Grahamstown as the major town in, and the commercial centre of, the Eastern Province. The 1840's, however, see a change in tone. Till then the town's position as "Emporium of the East" had been taken completely for granted. In an editorial in the "Journal" for August 15th., 1844, we see for the first time that people in Grahamstown were slowly beginning to realise that the town could no longer keep her rich prize of commerce without an effort. The editor writes about the question of the proposal to rescind the tax imposed by the municipality on produce brought into the town and sold privately outside the confines of the Municipal Market. Supporting the rescission of this tax, the editor writes that not only the prosperity, but the very existence of the town depends upon trade, and that the people of the town must do all that they can to attract and encourage trade with the town. He remarks that Grahamstown

".... has been termed the "Emporium of the Eastern Province", and hence to maintain this high position there must be something to attract and to concentrate trade - in other words, to make this particular point the most desirable one to which it can be directed. It may not be unprofitable to consider carefully what it really is which gives Graham's Town that

"pre-eminence in trade which it enjoys over the other districts. Take first its disadvantages: It is an inland town, without any facilities of water communication - nor can it boast of any peculiar advantages in respect to roads. It lies in a valley, to enter which it is necessary to deviate somewhat from the direct line of road leading from Cape Town, from Port Elizabeth, and from the Kowie, to the (2) immediate frontier, and also to the interior districts. To counterbalance these - it is the headquarters of the military, with a Commissariat Chest from which is issued little short of £150,000 annually - and in addition to this, it is situated in the centre of the Albany District, inhabited by a population possessing a sufficient share of intelligence, combined with great enterprise, activity and industry.

"Let it however be kept carefully in view that all these characteristics are rapidly and widely extending themselves, and are naturally operating upon the surrounding districts as they have acted upon this. THERE IS COMPETITION ABROAD, AND WHICH WE AS A COMMUNITY MUST BE PREPARED TO ENCOUNTER OR FALL IGNOBLY FROM THAT STATION WE HAVE HITHERTO MAINTAINED. (3) This military expenditure alone, will never ensure the prosperity of the town; and it would be unwise to place undue dependence upon it, seeing that it is uncertain, and that, not only as to duration, but also as to amount. (4) To be permanently and substantially prosperous, Graham's Town must act upon a principle of self dependence - it must foster its trade, of which the transit or carrying branch forms an important item - thus have more legitimate sources of success to depend on than those which are contingent upon the movements of the troops.

"Keeping these points in mind, it will be seen at a glance, that the true policy of the town is to drawn hither by every possible means the trade of the other districts"

The whole tone of the sections of this editorial

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- (2) While this may have been true in some measure, Grahamstown was nevertheless the centre from which the military roads to the frontier radiated - it was the gateway to the frontier.
- (3) The capitals are mine.
- (4) There was always the risk, as the frontier region developed, and the actual frontier of the Colony was pushed further and further away from Grahamstown, that the military headquarters and Commissariat would be moved from Grahamstown to some town nearer the scene of danger. While in 1812 Grahamstown was the scene of action, by 1840 it was becoming rather far removed from the actual frontier of the Colony.

quoted above shows that the halcyon days when Grahamstown handled most of the trade of the frontier without any outside competition endangering its monopoly had disappeared. The editorial serves both as an index of the emergence of competition in the Eastern Province for the position of supremacy, and also reveals the dawning awareness of the businessmen of Grahamstown of this fact. Indeed, the region was developing - competition was abroad, and other towns as they became more and more developed, were threatening to draw off the trade of the town. The days when Grahamstown was located in a relatively undeveloped region were gone - the ecology of the region was changing from that of an undeveloped frontier to one of an expanding and developing region - and with the changing ecology, came the threat of competition for the supremacy which Grahamstown had held. The golden days of power when the town was an outpost on the frontier were gone; Grahamstown was now one town among others, and the struggle for domination had commenced.

Reading through the "Graham's Town Journal", we find the next reference to this problem of growing competition from outside less than a year after the editorial which has just been quoted. In the issue for March 6th., 1845, there is a report of a meeting which had been held in Grahamstown for the purpose of electing a Board of Road Commissioners for Albany under a new Road Ordinance for the Colony. At this meeting a certain Mr. Jarvis

"....dwelt at considerable length upon the importance of the inhabitants of Graham's Town consulting their own interest in the choice of Commissioners."

He contended that every main road should be made to pass through the town

".... but once teach people that a better road to Fort Beaufort was from Slaai Kraal across the flat, or that it was desirable to avoid Howison's Poort, and not to enter Graham's Town - and the doom of the town would be sealed."

Commenting on this statement, the editor, in an article says that while some little apprehension about the future of the town was expressed at this public meeting, the Commissariat Chest, situated as it is in Grahamstown, acts as a loadstone, drawing trade to the town; consequently he allows himself to be optimistic about the future of the town. For our purposes, the mere fact that apprehension about the future of the town could be expressed at a public meeting is significant, for it shows that the days when the future prosperity of the town was taken completely for granted had gone, and the people of Grahamstown were beginning to feel that perhaps the future of the town was not quite as rosy as it had once been.

The mid 1840's afford another index of a slightly different nature, but one which shows clearly the growing competition. In the "Journal" for April 24th., 1845, there is an advertisement which states that in May there was to take place the publication of the first number of "The Eastern Province Herald," which paper was to provide a medium of Public Communication for Port Elizabeth and those places having connection with it.⁽⁵⁾ Thus, no longer was Grahamstown to be the sole possessor of a newspaper in the Eastern Province - no longer was the town to provide, through the medium of the pages of the

(5) The "Eastern Province Herald" is still being published at the present time, and has a circulation which completely overshadows that of the now purely local Grahamstown paper "Grocott's Daily Mail", which is the present-day successor of the "Journal."

Colonial Times 1840

"Journal", the sole mouthpiece for the Eastern Province. Other towns in the Province were developing, and were creating institutions of their own which were gradually making them independent of Grahamstown - and all this, of course, endangered the supremacy and domination of the town.

Another note of warning about the future of the town is expressed in the "Journal" in an editorial for August 7th., 1845. The editorial is on the subject of roads and their importance for Grahamstown. The editor stresses the importance of easy and quick communication, and asks if, as a community, the people of Grahamstown are alive to the importance of this subject and are doing all that they possibly can to improve communications and remove all obstacles to speedy and easy transport, thus ".... facilitating trade." He goes on to write as follows:-

"We have no fear for the future advancement of Grahamstown if this subject has but that share of attention to which from its intrinsic importance it is so well entitled."

He remarks that the editor of the Port Elizabeth paper (the "Eastern Province Herald") is advocating a direct road from Port Elizabeth to Somerset and then over Bruntjes Hoogte to the North Eastern Boundary of the Colony. While the "Journal's" editor is not against this scheme, which would in effect be by-passing Grahamstown and rob it of much of its importance and trade consequent upon its being the gateway to the frontier, he says that:

".... nevertheless while it is thus being advocated, let not the people of Graham's Town and Albany remain in a state of listless indifference to the subject. We honour our Port Elizabeth compatriots for their zeal and intelligence, but at the same time we would not have the people of this town to fall behind them in either of these respects. Let them not fancy that they will continue to command the chief trade of the Province, unless they show a clear title to the distinction: Graham's Town as an Emporium of

trade possesses great advantages of position. It is the centre from whence diverge all the military roads to the immediate frontier - to Kaffraria, and to the wide country to the N.E. To those who will take the trouble of estimating the expenditure of the military, and of the various missionary societies, taking into account also the growing trade with the natives beyond the Colonial boundary, the importance of Graham's Town will at once be appreciated, nor need there be much fear of its stability as the Capital of the Province, unless that claim should be lost by the people's own folly and indifference to their own evident interests. By permitting the roads of the District to remain in their present disgraceful state, while in other quarters new lines of communication are opened, will be a ready way of diverting our legitimate trade into other channels, and we shall richly deserve all the consequences which must result from such egregious folly."

A further index of growing competition from other towns is evident in the pages of the "Journal" by 1848. By that year we see from advertisements that other towns in the Province were beginning to form their own banks - were developing financial institutions of their own which were making them more and more independent of Grahamstown. By this time we find that there is a Port Elizabeth Bank, a Fort Beaufort Bank, and a Graaff-Reinet Bank. The town's financial domination of the region was being challenged, and decentralisation was destroying its monopoly of financial control.

Of all the growing rivals which were threatening Grahamstown during the 'forties, by far the most dangerous was undoubtedly Port Elizabeth. By this time Grahamstown was apparently beginning to feel the competition resulting from the increasing development which was taking place in that port. Previously, Port Elizabeth had been far less developed than Grahamstown, but as the supply port for Grahamstown and also as the major supply port for the Eastern Province as a whole, Port Elizabeth began to develop and threaten Grahamstown's unrivalled position. As early as this time, we consequently see the businessmen of Grahamstown thinking about the development of a port nearer the town, and looking for one which would not rival the town, but rather, if possible, add to its

importance. Thus it is that Grahamstown began to turn her eyes to the Kowie, and the first of many attempts to develop a harbour there begins. As early as 1843 we see in an issue of the "Journal"⁽⁶⁾ an advertisement stating that it was hoped to form "The Graham's Town, Bathurst and Kowie Shipping Company." This company, it was proposed, would start off with two iron ships, and would not only carry goods to the Kowie, but would trade with Mauritius and Cape Town as well. The prospectus includes the following data:-

Estimated cost per ton of goods received from Cape Town via Port Elizabeth	£4: 7: 6.
Time taken for delivery from Cape Town (including overland waggon transport)	21 days
Estimated cost per ton of goods received from Cape Town via the Kowie	£3:12: 6.
Time taken for delivery from Cape Town (including overland waggon transport)	9 days, and 6 hrs.

The longer wagon trip from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown explained the greater cost and delay involved in receiving goods sent via Port Elizabeth.

This proposed company hoped to cut costs on goods ordered by the town, and obviate the long delay involved in ordering goods via Port Elizabeth. Its total capital was to be £6,000 - a very moderate sum for the task involved, even in terms of the 1840 value of the £.

This venture is not only an index of the formation of companies which was characteristic of Grahamstown at this period, but far more significantly, it is a sign of the pressure which the increasing development of Port Elizabeth was beginning to exert upon the town, and marks the beginning of the attempts of Grahamstown to counter this competition, and become independent of the port as

(6) Journal: February 27th., 1843.

a supply point. The formation of this company marks the beginning of the struggle of the townspeople to save Grahamstown from falling under the domination of Port Elizabeth, and so from ceasing to be the major town in the Province.

In connection with this attempt to create a harbour at the Kowie, and also in the light of the above remarks, an editorial in the "Journal" for August 10th., 1850 is important. The editor writes of the resistance by Port Elizabeth to the development of the Kowie as a port: He contends that Port Elizabeth wants to keep its monopoly as the supply-port for the frontier and the interior beyond. He then goes on to mention the scheme to open a direct road from Port Elizabeth to the frontier district via the Zuurberg (thus cutting out Grahamstown). On this point he writes:

"Our Port Elizabeth friends dwell exultingly on the opening up of a direct road through the rugged Zuurberg into the inland Districts, and Graham's Town has been not unfrequently twitted with its isolation occasioned by this and other road improvements, from the great lines of traffic...."

The whole tone of this remarks shows clearly the spirit of competition which was facing Grahamstown, and in a nutshell states the problem of the town - the fight to avoid relegation to a position of relative unimportance and isolation - and this problem was the key problem of the town for the next twenty years at least.

By the end of the 1840's, therefore, it is evident that there were definite signs of competition from other towns for Grahamstown's hitherto unrivalled position of commercial and ecological dominance. Too, the townspeople were aware of this problem, and were beginning to

realise that the future of the town was in danger of being anything but glorious and rosy. The main threat to the town by this time undoubtedly came from Port Elizabeth, who while being still less powerful commercially and ecologically than Grahamstown⁽⁷⁾ was yearly growing more dangerous to the future position of the once "Queen of the East." In fact, the problem facing Grahamstown had emerged - the future was to show how she tried to meet it.

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(7) See e.g. the Journal for August 24th., 1850, where the value of insurance policies taken out in Grahams-town with the Cape of Good Hope Mutual Life Assurance Society was £92,550 as against only £11,300 for Port Elizabeth; again see the issue for July 13th., 1858, where assets of the town's banks were given as being £506,921:18: Od. as against £334,834:11: 2d. for Port Elizabeth's banks - suggesting that Grahamstown was as yet still dominant over Port Elizabeth.

CHAPTER VI.GRAHAMSTOWN'S STRUGGLE TO AVOID LOSS OF
DOMINANCE AND RELATIVE DECLINE.PERIOD VI : 1850 - 1875: The Losing Battle:

By the middle of the Nineteenth Century, the problem facing Grahamstown was clear; the next quarter century with which we are now concerned saw the attempt on the part of the townspeople to meet this problem, and their losing battle in this respect. The fight to save Grahamstown from losing her pre-eminent position in the Eastern Province was fought consciously, and with an awareness of what was at stake. We now turn to the pages of the "Journal" to trace the stages in this fight, and see how the fortunes of the town fared.

In tracing the history of the struggle during the next quarter century, no attempt has been made to group the material according to subject matter, but instead, the data are dealt with in chronological order. An analysis of the data, and comments on it will follow in a subsequent chapter.

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1. The Fortunes of Grahamstown during the 'Fifties:

The 'fifties open with the people of Grahamstown continuing their interest in, and efforts to secure, a port at the Kowie, mainly in the hope that such a port would bolster up the future of the trade of the town, and would help to make the town independent of her growing rival, Port Elizabeth. In the "Journal" for March 29th., 1851, there is an article stating that the Kowie as a port was cheaper and more desirable for Grahamstown

merchants than Port Elizabeth. As an example of this contention, the following figures are given: One ton of sugar, of value £20, costs the following when landed at Port Elizabeth and the Kowie respectively:-

(a) Present (War) Prices:⁽¹⁾

<u>Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown</u>		<u>Kowie to Grahamstown</u>	
Freight Charges	15: 0	Freight Charges	£1: 1: 0
Agency	3: 9	Agency	3: 9
Landing	5: 3	Landing	4: 3
Carriage @ 8/- per 100 lbs.	£8:16: 0	Carriage @ 2/6 per 100 lbs.	2:15: 0
Insurance @ 3% ⁽²⁾	12: 0	Insurance @ 6% ⁽²⁾	1: 4: 0
	<u>£10:12: 0</u>		<u>£5: 8: 0</u>

Thus, there was a saving of £5: 4: 0d. per ton, or about 25% of the value of the sugar, when Kowie was used as a port instead of Port Elizabeth.

(b) Peace Prices:

<u>Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown</u>		<u>Kowie to Grahamstown</u>	
Freight Charges	15: 0	Freight Charges	£1: 1: 0
Agency	3: 9	Agency	3: 9
Landing	5: 3	Landing	4: 3
Carriage @ 3/6 per 100 lbs.	£3:17: 0	Carriage @ 1/- per 100 lbs.	1: 2: 0
	<u>£5: 1: 0</u>		<u>£2:11: 0</u>

Thus, in peacetime, there was a saving (according to these figures) of £2:10: 0d. per ton when goods were dispatched to Grahamstown via Kowie instead of Port Elizabeth.

(1) A Kaffir War was in progress, and hence the figures for both war and peace prices.

(2) Insurance rates during the war were higher for Kowie than Port Elizabeth, due to the proximity of the former to the fighting.

About a year after this article, there again appears one in the pages of the "Journal"⁽³⁾ dealing with the development of the Kowie. In this article, the writer says that "with a sea-port at the Kowie, Graham's Town from its position must become the Entrepot for the trade of the Frontier Districts, and for the Sovereignty and a large trade with the West will be created", thus showing the hopes that people in Grahamstown were pinning to the development of a port at the Kowie. Again on this point, we note an editorial in another newspaper printed in Grahamstown - the "Cape Frontier Times."⁽⁴⁾ The editor writes as follows:

"It has long been fully apparent that unless a sea-port can be opened on the coast of Lower Albany, Graham's Town will speedily sink into obscurity and decay The road from the interior districts to Port Elizabeth, over the Zuurberg, will be the grave of its commercial prosperity, and the bulk of the population will be compelled to seek employment for themselves and an outlet for their floating capital in other places, unless its trade and importance can be maintained by the opening of a sea-port in its vicinity."

The editor then goes on to say that "the time is probably not far distant" when the commissariat will be moved, as a natural consequence of development in the Eastern Province, to the frontier at Fort Beaufort, Kingwilliams-town, or some other town nearby. He writes:

"Take away the trade and military expenditure from the town, and you destroy the sources of the existence of all classes of inhabitants, excepting the officials Our Port Elizabeth friends are, of course, very desirous of retaining in their hands the monopoly of the Frontier export and import trade."⁽⁵⁾

Therefore, he asserts, Port Elizabeth is resisting the

(3) Journal: January 3rd., 1852.

(4) The Cape Frontier Times: January 6th., 1851.

(5) This article suggests that already the monopoly of imports and exports had passed from Grahamstown's control.

development of the Kowie as another port.⁽⁶⁾ He remarks that Port Elizabeth contends that the prosperity of Grahamstown depends upon its road communications with Port Elizabeth, but this he denies.

"It is, however, well known to all interested cavillers that a port for Albany will alone maintain the prosperity of the capital of this district" (i.e. Grahamstown) "and it is repeated that, unless this indispensable want can be supplied, this town as a place of trade will be ruined. Already is the capital that created and has maintained its commercial importance for so many years, commencing to flow into other channels."

He remarks that eventually all the principal mercantile houses in Grahamstown will have their houses of business in Port Elizabeth with branches in other towns on the frontier, and will supply goods direct from Port Elizabeth independently of Grahamstown, and that likewise the produce of the interior will be sent direct to Port Elizabeth for shipment.⁽⁷⁾ He claims that this rather gloomy picture is not at all exaggerated, and therefore the capital required for the development of a port at the Kowie could appropriately be called "a fund for the preservation of Graham's Town from commercial wreck and total ruin." If Grahamstown obtained a port at the Kowie, it would, he thinks, make Grahamstown more prosperous than it had ever been before, but if it failed to obtain a port there,

".... then the prosperity of Graham's Town will soon

(6) On this point, Miss M. Kannemeyers, librarian of the Cory Library, Rhodes University in 1952, contended that Cape Town also resisted the development of the Kowie because it would mean less capital would be available for Table Bay. Furthermore, the development of the Kowie became politically bound up with the Separatist Movement of the Eastern Province, and so did not receive the support of the Western Province. (Interview, July 1952.)

(7) This eventually came true - c.f. Journal: August 11th., 1871, and May 3rd., 1872 - editorials.

pass away - its streets will be almost untrodden - its noble places of public worship will be deserted, and little more will be left along with the untenanted buildings but the remembrance of its former greatness, that will be departed forever."

At the moment we are not concerned with the truth historically of what the editor of the "Cape Frontier Times" foresaw. It is sufficient for our purposes that this editorial reflects the fear that Grahamstown's future was in jeopardy, and also shows the reason why the town was anxious to obtain a port at the Kowie - the Kowie scheme was, in fact, an attempt on the part of the town to solve the problem of threatening competition from other Eastern Province towns, especially Port Elizabeth.

The question naturally arose, when the "Times" editor put these arguments, whether the development of Kowie would not ultimately affect Grahamstown adversely, and whether the new port would not, in the long run, ruin the town with further competition. The editor replies to all these questions in the "Cape Frontier Times" for January 17th., 1852. His contention is that Grahamstown need not fear all these eventualities. Oxen from the interior, he remarks, die when they go into Lower Albany⁽⁸⁾ so that Grahamstown will always remain a distribution centre for the Kowie. Local oxen would make the trips to and from the port, and inland farmers and traders would never venture beyond Grahamstown for fear of losing their cattle. Thus, as the clearing house for the Kowie, Grahamstown would remain, he contends, the emporium of the frontier trade.

It is not our purpose to criticise the truth or

(8) The cause for this alleged disease is not evident.

otherwise of the arguments which the editor puts forward - at the moment we are concerned with the stages in the town's fight to stave off loss of trade and commerce, and consequent decline. One of the ways in which Grahamstown was trying to meet her problems was by developing a port at the Kowie. In furtherance of the scheme for a port at the Kowie, in 1852 "The Kowie Harbour Improvement Company" with a capital of £50,000 was formed.⁽⁹⁾ For better or worse the people of Grahamstown were going to push on with their Kowie scheme in the hope that it would bolster up the commercial future of the town.

So far the pages of the "Journal" have portrayed Grahamstown through the eyes of its townspeople. However in the issue of January 24th., 1852, we obtain a glimpse of the town as seen by its rival Port Elizabeth. The "Journal" publishes extracts from an article which had appeared in "The Port Elizabeth Telegraph." The main theme of this article is that the rising town of Kowie will undermine and ruin Grahamstown.

"There is no help for the decline of Graham's Town, or rather for its losing a portion of its trade. It has always been looked upon as a mushroom, its prosperity has been developed mainly by the military expenditure, the boer trade in connection therewith, and the Kaffir trade..." all of which are "...evanescent causes; for the Buffalo" (i.e. East London) "and King William's Town have changed the military trade - the Boers don't make long journeys now - every district has its town."⁽¹⁰⁾

The article goes on to contend that Port Elizabeth is undermining the mushroom Grahamstown - all of which the editor of the "Journal" attacks as propaganda designed to injure the scheme for the development of the Kowie as a port,

(9) Journal: January 24th., 1852 - see prospectus of company.

(10) Emphasis mine.

and goes to some lengths to refute by arguing that the Kowie will free Grahamstown of Port Elizabeth, and make Grahamstown flourish as a commercial centre.

A further article on Grahamstown was published by the "Port Elizabeth Telegraph", for in the "Journal" for December 25th., 1852, there is another article which quotes extracts from the "Telegraph." The latter was discussing the rival merits of Uitenhage and Grahams-town as the capital of the Eastern Province, should representative government be given to the Province. The "Telegraph" writes:

"Circumstances, which have now almost ceased to operate, combined at the moment to create and foster trade around this Eastern City" (i.e. Grahamstown) "but with the advance of the tide of civilisation this Border City has been partially overwhelmed, and the reflux of the wave hardly lays bare a section of the once thriving emporium. Other frontier towns have drained off, little by little, the supplies which once flowed through the streets of Graham's Town; and with the downfall of her trade, and the withdrawal of the Heads of Departments, there has been a decline in the healthful commercial aspect of the place. Visitors who knew her in her prime, are forcibly reminded that the glory has departed out of her. This decline has been brought about by no fault in her commercial community - no want of energy in her working classes. Causes over which she had no control have combined together to rob her of her dignity and her title of the emporium of the Eastern Province, and have cast into the lap of other communities the profits which she once drew from monopoly. Few but residents in Graham's Town will be disposed to deny our view of this subject. It is too notorious to need further comment.... Causes have conspired to put her without the range of the gradually increasing circle of trade She is without the pale of the rapidly increasing trade flowing towards the North and the East and consequently not in any sense the centre of action. (11)

In a comment on these statements, the editor of the "Journal" contended that "every point here set forth respecting Grahamstown is misstated, and must necessarily be imputed to gross ignorance or something worse." In

(11) Emphasis mine. The "Telegraph" asserts that the town is no longer ecologically dominant in the region.

addition the editor published a reply by a correspondent to the attacks made on the town by the "Telegraph." The following are important extracts from this reply:

The article contends that Port Elizabeth owes everything to Grahamstown.

"The wealth she has amassed was scattered liberally and lavishly at her feet; she had to but stoop and collect it. It was the natural consequence of her being the sluiceway to the Eastern Districts. The merchants of Graham's Town founded her, and gave to her a destiny prouder than their own. They toiled, grubbed and sowed, but lost all; she alone reaps the golden harvest"

However, the article goes on, Grahamstown will turn away from Port Elizabeth to the Kowie - and as a result Port Elizabeth will lose forever "the portals of this enormous traffic." (i.e. the traffic of Grahamstown.) The article continues:

"Graham's Town has been her" (i.e. Port Elizabeth's) "fat goose, which she has plucked to the skin, down and all; but bare as she is, she is content to take the Kowie bubble in her leanness, and to shake off her ungrateful companion; for there is a force and energy about her, though at present humbled in the dust from war and misfortune, which will raise her once more to the proud eminence of Queen of the East, and by the aid of the Kowie bubble will recover her lost possessions, and know how to keep them."

The correspondent goes on to say that the tide of commerce has turned in favour of Port Elizabeth, not because of any predilection of the frontier to throw their trade into her lap and give her the monopoly of Eastern Province commerce,

"....but solely from the misfortunes of the frontier, which rendered an approach to Graham's Town impracticable, and for a time turns the current of her trade to Port Elizabeth."

He says that when the Kowie Harbour is a reality, there will be a great artery of commerce through Grahamstown, and Port Elizabeth will be a backwater. Port Elizabeth itself he likens to an adder which is ready to sting at the first chance the bosom which nurtured it.

These articles are most important, for they reveal clearly that Grahamstown was experiencing very serious competition, and that Port Elizabeth was the main rival. Indeed, when a correspondent of the "Journal" in the course of an article replying to the attacks of the "Telegraph" in effect admits the truth of these attacks, and says that Port Elizabeth "alone reaps the golden harvest" of trade and commercial prosperity, there can be no doubt as to the seriousness of the threat which Port Elizabeth was presenting to the future of Grahamstown. All these statements are indices of the trends which were operating upon Grahamstown - these trends were tending to strip the town of her earlier wealth, importance and power, and to transfer these to a new regional centre.

While Grahamstown was, by this time, already losing much of her former trade and commerce, and consequently much of her former importance and power, we must not imagine that it had completely disappeared. The process of decline and of relative - if not absolute - stagnation, was a slow and long-drawn out one, spread out over many decades. So it is that we still read, for instance, of merchandise from the interior being sold in Grahamstown by the traders - showing that Grahamstown still retained some of her function as gateway to the interior. We read for example of a sale on the Municipal Market of 11,000 lbs. of ivory, 150 lbs. white ostrich feathers, 200 Karosses, and curious brought from the interior.⁽¹²⁾ Again, in 1853 there is a very big sale on the Municipal Market of 13,200 lbs. of ivory, 80 lbs. white ostrich feathers, and 170 Karosses

(12) Journal: March 3rd., 1852.

which were brought from the interior by the trader Hume.⁽¹³⁾ The picture is still the same by the end of the 'fifties, for in 1858 there was a sale of 6,250 lbs. ivory, 100 lbs. white ostrich feathers, 44 lbs. coloured ostrich feathers, 44 lbs. black ostrich feathers, 105 Karosses, 10 "tiger" (leopard?) skins and 3 lion skins.⁽¹⁴⁾ On a rather different plane, we read in 1853 that Grahamstown was to become the future residence of a Lieut. Governor for the Eastern Province, a Judge, a Solicitor-General, and a Deputy-Surveyor General.⁽¹⁵⁾ In addition the town was to have a branch office for the Registry of Deeds. Again, the half-yearly balance sheets published in the "Journal" in 1858 for the various banks in the Eastern Province showed that the figures for the Grahamstown banks topped those for the Port Elizabeth or Graaff-Reinet banks by a total of several hundred thousand pounds.⁽¹⁶⁾ The town had not yet lost all her former prestige and domination, but it was, as has been shown above, in the process of doing so, and was fighting to avoid relegation to the position of a relative backwater.

The other side of the picture was, as we have already seen above, that Port Elizabeth was rapidly expanding and increasing her power in the Eastern Province. During the 'fifties we read, for instance, that she formed the "Commercial Bank of Port Elizabeth" with a capital of £100,000:⁽¹⁷⁾ a "Guardian Assurance and Trust Company" also with a capital of £100,000;⁽¹⁸⁾ and a "Standard Bank of Port Elizabeth" with a capital of £250,000.⁽¹⁹⁾

(13) Journal: February 22nd., 1853.

(14) Ibid.: February 6th., 1858.

(15) Cape Frontier Times: December 13th., 1853.

(16) Journal: July 13th., 1858.

(17) Ibid.: December 7th., 1852.

(18) Cape Frontier Times: September 13th., 1853.

(19) Journal: August 8th., 1857.

Again, we learn that the total value of imports through Port Elizabeth for the year ending 5th. January, 1853 was £579,036, while the total value of exports was £364,919 - making the total value of goods handled by the port the best part of a million pounds in terms of the 1850 value of the £. ⁽²⁰⁾ As the major port in the Eastern Province, Port Elizabeth therefore must have been one of the major towns in the Colony, and was a rival to Table Bay Harbour. On this point, in 1857 the revenue from customs dues at Port Elizabeth amounted to £145,000 while that for Cape Town was only £103,000; in 1859 the figures were £133,000 and £115,000 respectively. ⁽²¹⁾ Thus, during these two years at any rate, Port Elizabeth had a higher revenue from customs dues than did Cape Town. In short, the town was a very serious rival for Grahamstown, and was steadily growing in importance and power.

Towards the end of the 1850's we find the first references in the "Journal" to the question of railways in the Eastern Province - a question which was to trouble the minds of the people of Grahamstown and of the neighbouring towns for the next twenty years or so before it was finally settled. Two possible routes from Port Elizabeth to the interior were considered - via Grahams-town, and via Graaff-Reinet. ⁽²²⁾ Grahamstown viewed the

(20) Journal: February 12th., 1853.

(21) Ibid.: October 16th., 1860.

(22) Ibid.: May 12th., 1857; September 1st., 1857.

prospect of the Graaff-Reinet route with concern, considering that such a route would produce the town's downfall by draining off her trade. However, a good deal of wrangling was still to be involved before the issue was finally settled in the 1870's

Finally, the end of the 1850's sees the people of Grahamstown persevering in their attempts to develop a harbour at the Kowie. In 1858 there was formed in Grahamstown the "Kowie Harbour, Landing and Warehousing Company" for the purpose of "Landing, Shipping, Storing, and Forwarding Produce and Merchandise: Pressing and Packing Wool and Forrage, including the employment of a Steam Tug, Hydraulic Presses, and other appliances."⁽²³⁾ The capital of this company was to be £15,000 - an extremely small sum.

Summing up the importance of the 'fifties for the history of Grahamstown, we find that during the earlier part of the decade, several rather sombre and even dismal utterances about the future of the town were made in the town's newspapers, showing that the town was by now definitely facing serious outside competition for the position of emporium of the Province, and that Grahamstown's dominant position was being endangered by the development of towns in other parts of the Province. Of the various rival towns, Port Elizabeth threatened Grahamstown's position most.

The citizens of Grahamstown attempted to meet this growing competition by striving to develop a port at the

(23) Journal: July 20th., 1858.

Kowie in the hope that this would secure the tottering future of the town. Finally, we find towards the latter part of the decade that the thorny issue of railway construction and rail routes had made its appearance, and there were already signs that the people of Grahamstown were to use the chance of obtaining a main line through the town as another means of trying to counteract the waning commercial and shifting ecological importance of the town (though this second means of trying to solve the town's problems only became really important in the affairs of Grahamstown during the 1870's).

Grahamstown's problem has been stated very clearly: we now also know the two ways in which the town would try to solve it The next task is to trace the fortunes of these two attempted solutions.

2. The Decade 1860 - 1870: A Static Period:

During the 'sixties, the Eastern Province made further attempts to obtain railways for the area, and Grahamstown was to the forefront in attempting to secure a main line through the town. It is not proposed here to go into a detailed study of the railway issue during this decade.⁽²⁴⁾ It is sufficient to say that during the earlier part of the decade nothing came of the various attempts and surveys, mainly because of a failure on the part of the Province to secure adequate financial backing for the proposed railway construction programme. During the latter part of the decade the whole of the Colony was⁽²⁵⁾ experiencing a depression, so for the time being further

(24) See Appendix D for an outline of developments during the 'sixties.

(25) Journal: August 6th., 1866 - editorial; September 29th., 1869.

attempts to obtain a railway for the Province were shelved.

As with the railway, so it was with the Kowie harbour during the 'sixties - no important developments took place. Grahamstown was still trying to build up an important port which could compete with Port Elizabeth. True, we read of ships using the Kowie harbour,⁽²⁶⁾ but the number involved was not large enough to materially alter the situation from that prevailing during the 'fifties.

Development, therefore, was static during the 1860's.

3. The 'Seventies - The Closing Phases of the Struggle:

With the 1870's the static picture of the 1860's altered abruptly. Up to this time, the competition between the various towns in the Eastern Province had been, except for occasional outbreaks, rather subdued. Now the struggle for power, wealth and domination was fanned into a fierce flame by the discovery of diamonds. By 1870 the rush to the Kimberley diamond fields had begun,⁽²⁷⁾ and with it began the scramble for wealth, both on the part of individuals and communities as a whole. The people of Grahamstown once again became keenly aware of the problem of the future of the town. A sub-leader in the "Journal" for 1870 sets the tone of the attitude of the townspeople:⁽²⁸⁾

"If Grahamstown, by virtue of natural advantages of site or endowments of any kind, could not help succeeding, its fortunes might be left to take care of themselves, and its citizens might swear an oath and keep it with an equal mind in the hollow Lotus-land to live and lie reclined, on the hills like gods together, careless of the ordinary anxieties

(27) See e.g. Journal: January 29th., 1868, or July 19th., 1869.

(28) Journal: August 26th., 1870.

of less lucky people. But it is no use shutting eyes to the fact that Grahamstown has to make its own fortune, if fortune it is to have. It is not a sea-port, through which whatever commerce the Province has must come and go. It has not at its door any mine of raw materials to give it manufactures. The district immediately around it is not rich in productive industries friendly to the creation of a busy market. Grahamstown has to make itself by foresight, unity and untiring effort. If it does not help itself, it is useless to look for help elsewhere.... the main thing is for the citizens to invoke themselves, and to see what they themselves can do, and what they can get their allies and friends here and elsewhere to help them to do. as a commercial city really dependent on its trade, Grahamstown should be anxious to share in the traffic which the probable Diamond rush may cause." (29)

With the diamond rush, the battle of the routes to the diamond fields started, and Grahamstown joined in the struggle. Indeed, the town's attempts to obtain a port at the Kowie, and the desire to see the town served by a main line took on a greater significance than ever before; these two issues became linked up with the question of possible routes from the coast to the fields, and with the chance of securing some of the trade and commerce that the opening of the fields offered. (30)

As far as the development of the Kowie was concerned, these hopes were given a blow when the proposed government loan of £50,000 for development purposes was defeated in the Cape Parliament. (31) In a sub-leader at this time, the editor of the "Journal" writes that the Kowie harbour probably never had had enough money spent on it to make it a first class port, and that consequently capitalists and ships were scared off as a result of the threat of the abandonment of the harbour works, which was forever hanging

(29) Also see Journal: September 7th., 1870 - sub-leader.

(30) Journal: April 7th., 1871 - see speeches made at a Public Meeting on the topic of a monthly steam ship service to the Kowie.

(31) Journal: July 28th., 1871.

over the port. For all her efforts for the Kowie, Grahamstown had little to show but her hopes, and that was to remain the position, for in 1870 the 'Kowie Harbour Improvement Company' was dissolved by the Lt. Governor of the Colony.⁽³²⁾ This action meant a virtual admission of failure on the part of Grahamstown to develop the port, and taken together with the refusal of Parliament in 1871 to grant a loan for further harbour works (mentioned above) signified the end of the possibility of a port at the Kowie as a solution for Grahamstown's problems. The question of rail routes still remained as a possible solution:

With the annexation of the diamond fields in 1871,⁽³³⁾ the problem of transport to the fields made the question of a decision in the matter of possible rail routes absolutely imperative. The Governor of the Colony suggested to the Cape Parliament that an impartial survey of the various suggested routes to the diamond fields should be made, and that only then should the final route to be taken by the railway be chosen.⁽³⁴⁾ That this enquiry was to be "impartial" shows that the Governor was under considerable pressure, and that more than engineering and financial factors were involved.

Two editorials in the "Journal" at this time are revealing, for they illustrate not only the fears of the townspeople, but also represent an admission of the true state of the economic prosperity of the town. The first editorial is concerned with proving that the railway from

(32) Journal: July 6th., 1870.

(33) Journal: November 1st., 1871 - proclamation of annexation of the diamond fields by the Cape Colony.

(34) Journal: August 7th., 1871: Governor's Minute.

Port Elizabeth to the interior should pass through Grahamstown. The editor contends that Grahamstown presents a "great goods and passenger depot" and therefore should be on the main line. He goes on:

"It must be remembered that the traffic through Grahamstown is as great as ever - that it is indeed greater than ever. The trade of the city may have fallen off, but that does not affect that question of traffic. It is not the mercantile transactions of a place that supply a railway, but the demand for transport. Granted that less of up-country business is done in High-street now, than formerly, - granted that nothing like so much wool is brought here as in the old palmy days when Grahamstown had merchants, - granted that the outlying storekeepers do not get their supplies from the old city houses, now no more, - granted all this, still the wool from a score of wealthy districts comes down to this city and imported goods pass through it to the interior centres of distribution as before. Similarly, all who have to travel to and from the Bay, and the East and North East, pass through Grahamstown. As a reservoir for traffic supply, it is unequalled by any place in South Africa. It would be an enormous financial blunder in planning the Great Trunk Line to turn it off sharp at any point below Grahamstown .."(35)

Coupled with the statements made above about the decline in the trading and commercial importance of the town, the following editorial reveals the true position of the town:

"Port Elizabeth is slowly, but surely, taking the place in politics which, from its size, population, and commanding mercantile position it should have occupied long ago. For some time, Grahamstown did its duty as the, in that day, largest and most prominent town of the East Through various causes, Grahamstown no longer exercises its former influence. This is partly to be attributed to the growth of other towns. Port Elizabeth especially has within the last 12 or 16 years, reaped the advantages of a seaboard position and it now surpasses all Eastern towns in its number of population, the magnitude of its trade, and in the powers of its wealth"(36)

Barely thirty years after the zenith of the town, it is admitted that Grahamstown has declined - its trade had fallen off, its old mercantile houses were no more, and it was no longer the largest or most prominent town in

(35) Journal: August 11th., 1871.

(36) Ibid. : May 3rd., 1872.

the Eastern Province. In point of fact, it is admitted that what the town had feared all along would happen, had actually come to pass. Thus the attempts to secure a main railway line through the town were almost in the nature of a rearguard action, pursued with an intensity of purpose born of despair. By this date the military headquarters had been withdrawn from Grahamstown⁽³⁷⁾ so that yet another source of importance and domination on which the town had once rested had gone. The "Queen of the East" was steadily losing her old roles, her old importance, and the "City of the Saints" was already taking shape

By the end of 1872, the Cape Colony had been granted Responsible Government, and Mr. Molteno became the first Prime Minister.⁽³⁸⁾ The question of railway development in the Eastern Province was therefore now in the hands of the Molteno Ministry. Unfortunately for Grahams-town, the Ministry was not in favour of the line going through the town. This resulted in several public meetings on the railway issue being held in the town,⁽³⁹⁾ and the drawing up of a petition to the Cape Parliament, demanding that the proposed railway line from Port Elizabeth should pass through Grahamstown.⁽⁴⁰⁾ While it seemed certain that a line through Grahamstown would be far more expensive than a line which by-passed Grahamstown through easier country about twenty or thirty miles to the west of the town, the townspeople nevertheless demanded that the line

(37) The "Journal" does not mention the exact date when this occurred, but the editorial of May 6th., 1872 suggests that it must have occurred round about 1870 or so.

(38) Journal: December 9th., 1872 - editorial.

(39) Ibid.: October 17th., 1873; June 1st., 1874 - see editorials.

(40) Ibid.: May 11th., 1874: a copy of the petition is published. Also see editorial for June 8th., 1874 - the editor states this was the biggest petition in Grahamstown's history.

should pass through Grahamstown. An editorial in the "Journal" expresses their viewpoint: (41)

"We admit that it will be more costly to bring the railway to Grahamstown than to carry it more directly through Bushman's River Poort: we admit that it will take more time to construct it, and that it is possible that the permanent cost of working it may be greater; but then we set against all this the total sacrifice of the capital that has been expended in making Grahamstown what she is - a loss that the country could scarcely bear, in addition to the burdens that the projected railway will entail It is not necessary then to show any further that the fate of Grahamstown depends on having the direct main line passing within her boundary The only real vital question for Grahamstown is, shall we be connected by rail with the rest of the country in such a manner that we may at least, without excessive cost to the rest of the colony, be able to hold our own; or shall we be so connected that all our present trade shall be drawn away, and our future left without hope? Our only chance then is to secure the passage of the main trunk Northern line through this city ..."

Alas for the hopes of the townspeople! - in an editorial in the issue of June 8th., 1874, the editor states that it now definitely known that the report of the engineer surveying the line to the interior was against having the direct line pass through Grahamstown, but instead proposed that the town be placed on a branch line joining the main line in the Great Fish River Valley. From the engineering point of view this was the cheapest and easiest route. Whether the government would accept this report, or would instead yield to Grahamstown's petition to be on the main line remained to be seen.

This chapter has shown and continually stressed the problem of growing outside competition, and the loss of prosperity and power which was facing Grahamstown. It has shown the two directions in which Grahamstown tried to meet this threat - by trying to develop a port at the

(41) Journal: May 24th., 1874.

Kowie, and secure a main railway line through the town. The struggle had gone on for over twenty years, and now the final outcome of its all was at hand. We pass on without further comment to the next chapter, where this outcome is described

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CHAPTER VII.THE FAILURE OF GRAHAMSTOWN TO SOLVE ITS PROBLEMSPERIOD VII : 1875-6: Failure and Admission of Defeat:

In 1875, we read in the pages of the "Journal" that Grahamstown was not to have her long cherished wish of a main railway line through the town come true, but that the town was instead to be located on a branch line some thirty or forty miles off the main line from Port Elizabeth to the diamond fields.⁽¹⁾ The editor writes:-

"It will be remembered that when the battle of the routes was fought, it was contended by Grahamstown that the line should be brought through the city. This was declared by Parliament and Government to be impossible. We were told that if the physical difficulties were all but, the financial difficulties were quite insuperable. 'That is to say', said Mr. Scott,⁽²⁾ 'the cost of the construction of the main line via Grahamstown to Cradock would exceed the cost of Construction of the direct line to Cradock by £530,000: and that it would exceed the cost of the branch line to Grahamstown via Hell Poort by £230,000, which would suffice for the construction of thirty-eight miles of railway (additional) at £6,000 per mile.'"

The editor remarks that all Grahamstown's efforts were of no avail. The town then consequently turned its attention to a Kowie - Grahamstown railway line, but received no more from the Government than promises which were never fulfilled.

The battle of the routes was over - and Grahamstown had failed in her attempts to secure a main line route. The town was no longer the gateway to the interior; Port Elizabeth, as the terminal of the line had become the gateway, and Grahamstown was on a branch line, cut off from the main stream of the traffic to the interior -

(1) Journal: September 27th., 1875.

(2) He was the government's railway engineer.

gone forever were the days when traffic to and from the interior streamed through the town. With the dying wagon traffic, (for the wagons could not compete with the railway for very long) the town was, from a transport point of view at any rate, in a backwater cut off from the main stream. As trade always follows routes of communication, the town was more and more with the passing of the years to become a commercial backwater - no more than a supply centre for the surrounding farming community. Too, as was admitted by the editor of the "Journal" in 1872,⁽³⁾ Port Elizabeth had by now well and truly taken over the domination of the Eastern Province from Grahamstown. The town had failed to obtain a port at the Kowie, so that the two ways in which she had tried to meet her problems, and combat outside competition, had both come to nought. All that now remained by the mid years of the 'seventies was for the town to finally admit the truth of all this, and recognise its fate This final admission and recognition is to be found in the pages of the "Journal". Our last reference to this paper which has figured so prominently as a source in this historical sketch of the town is to be found in the issue of August 14th., 1876. The editorial is the "Swan Song" of the once "Queen of the East." The editor is writing of a trade depression in Europe, and of the fact that the trade in the Colony was being affected, and was on the decline. Turning to write of Grahamstown, he says:-

"Some localities will naturally, however, feel it less than others, and among these Grahamstown will hold a foremost place. We are far from making a boast of our immunity, for in proportion as we suffer less in times of adversity, so we benefit less in times of prosperity, and the reflection is

(3) See p. 123 above.

hardly a pleasant one when we ask what are our prospects of trade or of becoming a centre of any importance in the future.

The fact must be acknowledged that the trade of Grahamstown is rapidly becoming restricted to such articles of personal necessity or luxury as we require for the consumption of our inhabitants. The butcher and baker, the grocer and general store-keeper can live comfortably without having their sleep disturbed by the reports of European markets. Except as a matter of general interest, a fall of a penny in wool does not in any way affect us. We live in a kind of "Sleepy Hollow", we have enough for our wants and to spare, but the benefit we confer on the rest of the world is simply that of a consumer. People would not think to look so at the string of wagons in our streets, but in reality they present little or nothing, they are simply passing through the town from one outspan to another, and for all the good we derive, except an appearance of business in our High-street, they might be away altogether.

We consume, but we produce nothing; we take, but give nothing to the outside world in return. That this will be so still more largely in years to come is undeniable; it has been brought about by our own act and deed; and the time is come that we should recognize the fact.... There is a straight line from Port Elizabeth to Cradock, which will take all the produce down from that part of the country to the sea, and we have the traverse line to East London, which will drain off all the produce from the northwards and the eastward in the direction of that port, so that Grahamstown is placed as it were in a cul-de-sac — on a siding, at the end of a blind alley which leads nowhere. Our branch line connecting us with the main railway to the Bay will serve for the local passenger traffic and that is all, but as far as trade is concerned Grahamstown and Port Alfred are we are afraid doomed. "

The editor wonders if perhaps Grahamstown would not have done better to have fought for a line from the Kowie through Grahamstown, Fort Beaufort and Queenstown, and ensured their trade by that means, rather than to have demanded a line from Port Elizabeth. This was futile speculation, and he concludes:

"What therefore is to be our future? Rejoicing in a magnificent climate, and beautiful scenery, a well built town with churches and good schools, and to which it would only require a little enterprise to add places of popular amusement, Grahamstown might become the Saratoga of South Africa, to which all, even from distant parts of the Colony, would resort, who might be in search of either health or relaxation. A good and attractive holiday resort

"is an unquestionable desideratum in this Province, and as the prospects of Grahamstown as regards contributing to this business of the outside world look, to say the least of it, so problematical, it might be well if she were at least to attempt to contribute to its pleasure."

And so, at last, the warnings and grim prophetic notes about the future of the town which were first heard in the town in the 'forties and the 'fifties, had come to pass. The fate of the town had been finally sealed just over 60 years after the town's foundation. Gone forever was the once proud, dominant city of Grahamstown - the "Metropolis of the East" was in future to be "Sleepy Hollow" and "The City of the Saints." She was now abjured, having failed to become a Manchester, to become a Bath or Brighton, or if possible, a Blackpool.

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CHAPTER VIII.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES UNDERLYING GRAHAMSTOWN'S DECLINE⁽¹⁾

Now that the stages in the decline of Grahamstown have been outlined, it is necessary to pull together all the previous material and summarise the causes for this relative decline, and account for this loss by the town of so many functions, and so much of its domination and power:

In attempting to understand the reasons why Grahamstown declined, it is of vital importance to understand the reasons for, and the basis of, the town's early prosperity and importance. On pages 91-95 above the reasons why the town became the "Metropolis" of the Eastern Province have been summarised; it is not proposed to repeat these reasons in detail. Basically, Grahamstown was founded because it could and did dominate the frontier strategically and ecologically. As has been said on page 95, the town owed nearly everything to being an outpost of civilisation on the borders of the undeveloped interior - i.e. to the nature of its region and its regional setting. Up to 1820 therefore, it was in fact the only town of any importance in the Zuurveld. With the coming of the 1820 Settlers, the town by virtue of its position and importance as the headquarters in the Zuurveld, attracted many of the settlers, and with the increase in its population, the town developed

(1) Absolutely Grahamstown has grown and developed, if not in all aspects, at least in a good many since 1876. To-day however, she is relatively a shadow of her former self, and has been outstripped by many towns in South Africa over which she was once dominant.

very rapidly. Too, as the dominant town in the region, it became the natural base camp for the Kaffir trade. Thus, the decade 1820-29 put the town in a very advantageous position, and gave it a wonderful start and opportunity in terms of development over all the other towns in the province: no other town benefitted so greatly from the 1820 Settlement or the interior trade as did Grahamstown. This period in the history of the town laid the foundation on which the domination of the "Metropolis of the East" was built. Fundamentally, as has already been shown on pages 91-95 all this rested upon the ecological position of the town in the region - rested upon the town being an outpost, a centre of development in an undeveloped region. Grahamstown, in short, basically owed its domination to the nature of the region. As the headquarters for the frontier, and as the supply centre for the whole region, and the gateway to the interior, the town had the monopoly of trade and commerce. In fact, Grahamstown reigned as an outpost on the frontier - a frontier town.

By the 1840's the Eastern Province was beginning to show signs of internal development. As is inevitable, sooner or later a frontier region is likely to develop into a more developed and settled region. The Eastern Province was, in fact, doing just this. This meant that the region in which Grahamstown was situated, and over which the town dominated, was changing its ecological organisation - the region was becoming more and more a developing region, and was no longer a frontier region. This change in the ecology of the region spelt the doom of Grahamstown. Change the ecology of the region, and the position of Grahamstown in the region would be altered

ecologically, and hence economically, politically, culturally, and sociologically.

With the passage of time, the changing nature of the region affected the position and functions of Grahamstown in the following ways:-

1. The change of the region from an undeveloped frontier to one in which development and expansion was occurring, meant that competition was emerging. The development and growth of towns in the province meant that Grahamstown's monopoly was being threatened. Especially Port Elizabeth, which before the 'forties had been an undeveloped bay, was beginning to develop - mainly in response at first to the great trade of Grahamstown - and as the major port for the province, was beginning to rival Grahamstown in importance, and as a centre of trade.
2. The expanding area of the region meant that gradually the frontier was moving further and further away from Grahamstown. This resulted ultimately in the removal of the headquarters from the town to a position nearer the actual frontier, and the removal too of the commissariat. Thus, the gradual change of the region robbed the town of the very reason for its foundation, and by the 1870's, with more or less permanent peace in the country, Grahamstown was no longer strategically important. With the loss of the military, the town lost a good deal of her income and trade - perhaps to the value of about £150,000 per annum, (in terms of the 1840 value of the £.)
3. One of the major sources of early Grahamstown's importance was the fact that the town was the centre of the trade with the interior. Development of

the region gradually dried up this trade - for the trade, essentially in ivory, hides and skins, was trade characteristic only of an undeveloped region, of the wilds. The elephants and ostriches and game were gradually killed off, and with the encroachment of European civilisation, the Natives were gradually deprived of their land and their cattle, so that all in all the booming trade in ivory, feathers, and hides and skins inevitably dried up at its very source with the slow encroachment of civilisation. Too, the development of other towns such as Kingwilliamstown, Queenstown and East London meant that what trade remained did not all flow through Grahamstown - other competitors in the field drained it off. Decentralisation was occurring, and the article from the "Port Elizabeth Telegraph" quoted on page 113 above, assessed the situation accurately. Together therefore with the drying up of this trade, and with the emergence of other towns that drained off some of the trade, Grahamstown found that a very important source of its erstwhile prosperity and importance was vanishing.

4. The development of the region also affected the town's position as the "Emporium of the East." Grahamstown originally was the most developed town in the province, and as the gateway to the frontier, had been the supply centre for the Eastern Province. The development of Port Elizabeth at one end, and of independent towns at the other end of the supply lines made Grahamstown's position as a supply centre redundant. Once towns had passed beyond a certain stage of development, they were able to act as supply centres for their own small

regions, and found it easier to order direct from Port Elizabeth (the port of entry into the province) rather than from Grahamstown. There was no longer one supply centre - Grahamstown - but many decentralised centres such as Cradock, Kingwilliamstown and Queenstown, all being supplied mainly from Port Elizabeth, which as the "sluice gates" of the province was inevitably the new base camp for supply. Thus, with development, decentralisation of Grahamstown's functions of distribution to smaller towns scattered over the province; and centralisation of imports and exports, (supply) in Port Elizabeth, (instead of the previous decentralisation where Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth had jointly shared this function, with Grahamstown as the point of actual supply, and Port Elizabeth as the point of entry or exit), robbed the town of its function of emporium of the province. Decentralisation to smaller towns of the function of distribution, and centralisation of dispatch, supply and ordering in Port Elizabeth, doomed Grahamstown's commercial prospects. In fact, the development of the region inevitably doomed the town, because of the redistribution of centralised and decentralised functions that it entailed.

5. Grahamstown had been the gateway to the interior.

With the development of the road over the Zuurberg there was now a direct route from Port Elizabeth to the interior to the north-west. This partly drained off trade from Grahamstown. Secondly, the development of Port Elizabeth, and the superior ecological location of the port to that of Grahamstown, merely an inland town, inevitably made Port Elizabeth the gateway to

the province. Thus on the one hand the gateway to the province shifted to Port Elizabeth with the development of the town. On the other hand, the development of other towns nearer the frontier created many possible gateways to the interior. The monopoly of being the gateway to the interior, which Grahamstown had held was due solely to the fact that the town had been an outpost of development in an undeveloped region. With development, this function passed to towns nearer the frontier - to towns which were outposts. In 1812 Grahamstown was on the very outskirts of the Colony, and so could not but be a gateway. By 1870 it was in the hinterland, behind the frontier region, and so no longer the gateway. Development bringing new routes of communication, territorial expansion of the region, and the growth of towns, doomed the position of the town as gateway to the interior.

6. With the loss of trade, Grahamstown inevitably ceased to be the financial centre on the frontier. Port Elizabeth as the most important commercial centre in the Eastern Province, took this role over. Similarly the town also lost its political leadership to Port Elizabeth.
7. With the loss of nearly all her functions except that of being an administrative and legal centre for Albany, and the legal centre for the Eastern Province (as the seat of the Eastern Districts Division of the Supreme Court), Grahamstown consequently ceased to be the metropolis of the Eastern Province. This role passed to Port Elizabeth, which was the ecologically dominant town in the developing, wider region, being the supply

port for the province. As the terminus of the railway to the interior, it was the focus of most of the trade of the province, and attracted industry and commerce. The mantle of Grahamstown had fallen on Port Elizabeth - and this was inevitable, for once the region became developed, the ecological position of the latter port was infinitely superior to that of Grahamstown, and indeed was superior to the location of any other town in the Eastern Province. The "Queen of the East" was now Port Elizabeth

It is clear that the whole strength and weakness of Grahamstown lay in the fact that she was an outpost on the frontier - lay in her dominant regional setting in an undeveloped region. The 1820's, with the influx of the settlers, and the development of trade, developed fully the potentialities of Grahamstown as an outpost in an undeveloped region. However, from the 'forties onwards, further development caused a transition from a frontier to a settled, developing region, and as a result the weaknesses of the town's position as an outpost became apparent. As the region inevitably developed, Grahamstown lost her dominant position as an outpost. Other towns were better able to fulfill the functions which once she, and only she, had been in a position to fulfill. It was too true that the causes for her power and importance were but evanescent - as in the 'fifties already the "Port Elizabeth Telegraph" had, as we now realise, so truly stated. The fact that the region was a frontier one, could never be more than transitory. We must disagree with the editor of the "Journal" - the fate of the town was not due to any fault of the townspeople - it was, in the words of the "Telegraph" (see page 113 above) due to "causes over which

she had no control with the advance of the tide of civilisation ..." the town was "overwhelmed. ... There" was "no help for the decline of Grahamstown." Change the nature and structure of its region, and Grahamstown was doomed.

In the light of the above arguments we may turn to examine the two ways that Grahamstown tried to stave off her decline. As far as the Kowie was concerned, had it ever developed, it would sooner or later have cut out Grahamstown as Port Elizabeth did — whatever the editor of the "Journal" may have contended to the contrary. For a time the port might have bolstered up the trade of the town, but sooner or later with better transport, the Kowie would have taken over the functions of supply from Grahamstown, so that the last state of Grahamstown would have been worse than the first. Secondly, as far as the railway line was concerned, it might have helped the town at first, but it most certainly could never have been more than a partial solution of the town's problems. For a while it might have made the town again a supply centre and a receiving depot, but sooner or later development would have either caused lines to radiate out from the town, cutting out the town itself as a centre of trade, or goods would have been dispatched direct to Port Elizabeth. Thus it would be like the pineapple trains which pass through the town to-day on their way to canneries or the ports for export, but which contribute next to nothing to the commerce or prosperity of the town itself. In this respect, the townspeople during the mid and later years of the 19th. Century were too optimistic; it is doubtful if a railway would have done the town much good.

The problems facing Grahamstown appeared long before the railway issue, and were essentially too fundamental to be solved by so superficial a remedy. The whole trouble was that the region had changed its nature - and Grahamstown, founded as an outpost, was doomed in a more developed era. We may echo the words of the "Port Elizabeth Telegraph" by saying that there was no remedy for the decline of the town.

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We may sum up the whole of the material so far presented by stating that it is only in terms of regional ecology that we are able to understand the glory of Grahamstown, and her subsequent decline. The processes affecting both the glory and decline of the town are ultimately inextricably bound up with the socio-ecological processes which were in operation in the Eastern Province from the time of 1812 onwards. This conclusion has possible important theoretical implications for studies of other South African towns - this point is discussed in the last chapter of this thesis.

In tracing the history of the town, we have found that the decline of the town was sooner or later inevitable - that the seeds of the town's zenith and glory contained the germs of decay and stagnation. Grahamstown, the outpost, would in time become Grahamstown, the "Sleepy Hollow" - the advancing tide of civilisation in the Eastern Province would leave the town behind, no longer an outpost and an important trading centre, but a centre of sedate peace.

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PART C.

ADAPTION AND READJUSTMENT.

PART C : ADAPTION AND READJUSTMENT.CHAPTER IX.THE ACQUISITION OF NEW AND COMPENSATORY FUNCTIONS.PERIOD VIII : 1876 - 1957: "Sleepy Hollow":

What, then, we might ask with the editor of the "Journal", was to be the future of Grahamstown? The town's trade and prosperity had gone, and nearly all her old functions had been taken over by other towns. Grahams-town was, as the editor said in 1876, a mere consumer, a town with virtually no industries. The editor envisaged that perhaps the town could become a popular holiday resort, a centre of amusement, but even this was not to be.

Grahamstown, once called the "Metropolis and Emporium of the East" has to-day become one of the major educational centres in the Union of South Africa. As will be shown in subsequent sections of this thesis, students come to the schools, colleges, and university of the town from far and wide, both within and without the borders of the Union. The function of education has replaced that of commerce, and learning that of war.

As was mentioned on page 85 above, even at the height of its power, Grahamstown seemed to have a number of schools, and early on in the history of the town, education was an important function of the town. During the mid years of the 19th. Century, when the town was beginning to experience dangerous outside competition, the cultural institutions of the town were being developed and consolidated. It is during the years that the town was fighting grimly and consciously to retain its commerce

and trade, and its old functions and importance, that we see the emergence of schools which now make the town known beyond the boundaries of South Africa. The Convent was established in 1849; St. Andrew's College in 1855; the Diocesan School for Girls in 1874; St. Aidan's College in 1876; while later in 1883 St. Peter's Home, out of which grew the Grahamstown Training College and the School of Music was founded; Kingswood College was founded in 1894; while at the beginning of this century, Rhodes University College was founded (in 1904.) Other schools and educational institutions which have now either ceased to exist, or which were moved to other towns, were also in existence during the latter part of the 19th. Century.⁽¹⁾ So it was that during the years of losing battles, Grahamstown witnessed the development of important educational institutions in the town. The function of education gradually emerged in the place of dying trade and commerce, till in 1912 already Wright, writing a postscript to Sheffield's "Story of the Settlement"⁽²⁾ could say of the town one hundred years after its foundation:

"The prosperity of Grahamstown now rests very largely upon the success of its educational establishments which have been brought to a standard of excellence which places the city in a position second to none among the seats of learning in the Union."⁽²⁾

Thus, in education the town was to find a compensatory function, which would still make Grahamstown important beyond the mere confines of the surrounding farms and dorps.

Grahamstown has had to adapt itself to the life of

(1) Sheffield: op. cit., see final section written in 1912 by Wright.

(2) Ibid.

a community serving the surrounding farmers and smaller towns. In this respect, it has retained to a lesser extent than formerly the function of being a supply centre, an emporium. The town is still the administrative centre for Albany - though Albany to-day comprises but a part of the area once included in this district, and it is the seat of the Supreme Court for the Eastern Province - though how long it will be before this latter function is claimed by Port Elizabeth is doubtful - the retention by the town of institutional control is the result of administrative lag. The town too is the centre of the Church of the Province of South Africa's Diocese of Grahamstown - and here too it retains an earlier function. For the most part, however, all the former functions are gone, and Grahamstown is now known almost entirely for its educational institutions - and it is these institutions which probably have saved the town from complete stagnation and isolation. Therefore apart from education, the town appears to have acquired virtually no new functions which are exercised on a large scale, but rather has retained mere fragments of old functions instead. As Thomson says:

"Instead of a busy metropolis teeming with bustling crowds, restless transport, towering buildings and smoking chimneys..." it is a "... serene and academic city. Its many institutions connect it with farms, villages and towns throughout Southern Africa. Its fame as the "City of Saints" extends beyond the Seas." (3)

Thus, as an education centre, Grahamstown dominates a far wider region than she once ever did commercially or economically. Perhaps her domination is now less

(3) Thomson: op. cit., p. 34.

spectacular, less glittering, but it is there nevertheless in a different guise. Grahamstown has probably been very fortunate, for in education it found a function that helped to keep the town alive. All too easily the town could have decayed after the loss of its commercial importance, but to-day the town is still developing and expanding absolutely, if no longer relatively as well. The rate of growth has slowed down very much, but the town is still growing. Whether or not her fate is a misfortune or not depends on one's social philosophy - Tönnies, with his preference for the "gemeinschaft" type of community would probably have said the town is better off than Port Elizabeth with its industries and sprawling confusion. In all events, the town has successfully managed to preserve, albeit in a different form, some of her old domination, and region-wide importance. Once she gave the frontier safety, and goods and services. To-day she has not given the world pleasure instead, as the editor of the "Journal" in 1876 hoped that she might - but at least she has done the next best and given the world learning!

PART II

GRAHAMSTOWN TO - DAY

GRAHAMSTOWN TO-DAYINTRODUCTION

The historical background of Grahamstown has been traced in Part I of the study. This second part of the study deals with Grahamstown to-day. This survey of the town to-day is not a full survey of how the town functions and exists. Such a study, however tempting, is of far too great a magnitude to be possible for one investigator to undertake. Instead, this analysis is concerned with a few selected aspects of the European Area and population of the town, and the social phenomena relating thereunto. The aspects which have been chosen for study are those which figure importantly in the life and structure of any town. They have been studied from a demographic and ecological angle, or from what one might term a "socio-ecological" angle.

The limitations of the investigation were those imposed by the limitations of time and labour, and the definition of the field of reference. This latter confines us to the European section of the town. While the European, Coloured, and Native communities in the town live together in symbiotic relations with one another, the European community has a sufficiently independent life of its own to make an abstract study of it possible. While a good deal is known about conditions prevailing in the Native locations in the town, and something is known about the Coloured location, practically nothing is known about the European population and area of the town, so that the necessity for a study exists. The study has been limited to a few of the most significant aspects of the European population and the area in which it lives.

P A R T A

GRAHAMSTOWN : ITS TOPOGRAPHY AND ITS REGION

GRAHAMSTOWN TO - DAYPART A : THE TOWN, ITS TOPOGRAPHY, AND ITS REGIONCHAPTER X.NOTES ON THE TOPOGRAPHY AND APPEARANCE OF THE TOWN, AND ITS REGIONAL SETTING.(a) Grahamstown and its District:

Before proceeding to the analysis of the present-day town, it is necessary to attempt to give some brief idea of the present town itself and its surroundings.⁽¹⁾ In the absence of any comprehensive research into the topography of the town and the geography of the whole region,⁽²⁾ it is possible to provide only a literary description of the setting of the town:

Grahamstown is a small, predominantly English-speaking town in the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope. The total population of the town amounts to almost twenty-four thousand, of which almost nine thousand are Europeans.⁽³⁾ The town is the capital of the Magisterial

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- (1) See especially the Photographic Appendix - this will give a far more vivid impression of the town itself and its environs than any written description can.
- (2) Fairly detailed information about the geological composition of the town and district is available as the result of the research work undertaken by the Department of Geology of Rhodes University, but this is not relevant for our study. The Geography Department of the University only knew of one study - a thesis - which investigated the geography of the region, as no large scale investigation has been made in the area.
- (3) Special Report No. 200: Bureau of Census and Statistics: The Geographical Distribution of the Population, 1951 Census: Government Printer, Pretoria: p. 17. According to this report, the European population of the town ranks as thirty-first in size in South Africa. (The European population includes a number of students whose home towns are outside Grahamstown - see pages 161 - 163.

District of Albany,⁽⁴⁾ and lies on a ridge overlooking the sea - the sea can be seen distinctly with the naked eye on a clear day if one stands on one of the hills to the south of the town. The height of the centre of the town (measured at the Cathedral in Church Square) is 1,776 feet above sea level. The nearest point on the coast is 28 miles away. Port Alfred, (referred to before as the Kowie), once to have been the port for Grahamstown, lies on the coast 37 miles away by road to the south-east of the town, and along with other favourite spots such as Kleinemond, Kasouga, Kariega, and Kenton-on-Sea, is a popular coastal resort for a day's or a weekend's outing for the inhabitants of Grahamstown. Port Elizabeth, the nearest city and port, is 83 miles by road away to the south-west, and is reached by means of an excellent tarred National road. (Port Elizabeth has a population of just over 188,000, of which 78,000 odd persons are Europeans.)⁽⁵⁾

The relative position of Grahamstown geographically can be seen from Map No. 5, showing the regional setting of the town; the positions of Port Elizabeth, Port Alfred, and other nearby towns can be studied. Diagram No. 5, page 152 below relates the geographical location of the town to a wider area, and shows the extent of the present district of Albany.

The town itself lies in a large basin or wide valley amid the typical rolling hills of the Eastern Province. This basin is more or less enclosed except for the south-eastern corner, which empties into the Belmont Valley, and down which the Kowie streams flow - after a

(4) In this respect Grahamstown retains a function which it acquired in 1814. (See p. 34 above.) The present size of Albany has become smaller than it was in 1814, when it became the district under the Landdrost at Grahamstown.

rainstorm! A good idea of the contours of the town itself can be obtained from Map No. 4, (a contour map of the town). Unfortunately, the map only shows the built-up area of the town, but it will be appreciated that the town lies in a basin when it is stated that the hills to the north, east and west of the town rise to an average of 2,100 odd feet, or about 300 feet above the level of the centre of the town, and that the hills to the south of the town rise to over 2,300 feet, with the highest point at Dassie Krantz near the wireless station being about 2,500 feet above sea level, or between 500 and 700 feet above the level of the centre of the town.⁽⁶⁾

The area covered by the town has numerous stream beds and this fact has definitely influenced the ecology of the town - this will be discussed later in this study.

Along the ridge of hills forming the south side of the basin runs a pine forest, planted by the Municipality, and this forest constitutes a prominent and attractive feature of the landscape of the town.⁽⁷⁾ (Once this ridge was bare, as the photographs of paintings of the town in the early days clearly show.) The other slopes of the basin are either being steadily built up, or are grass and bush covered. It should be noted that part of the eastern slope is occupied by the Native Location, and that expansion is gradually filling up the whole area on that side of the town in a broad arc.

(5) Special Report No. 200: op. cit., p. 5. Walmer is included with Port Elizabeth as the two administrative units are one ecological unit.

(6) See contour map prepared by Prof. E.D. Mountain (Professor of Geology at Rhodes University) in the Albany Museum, Grahamstown.

(7) Photograph No. LXX in the appendix gives some idea of the prominence of this forest, (which unfortunately was badly damaged by a 5-day fire in September 1955.)

The countryside surrounding the town is within easy reach, and unlike the countryside surrounding all metropolitan areas, is completely natural and unspoilt (as photographs in the appendix show - see especially Photographs No. CXXX - CXXVI.) Most parts of the town are within a half-an-hour's walk of either the natural open spaces, or the pine forest, while 10-15 minutes run by car takes one to beauty spots which might easily be miles away from any town, instead of nearby to Grahamstown. Inhabitants living on the fringes of the town - such as Westhill or upper Settler's Hill - literally have the country on their doorsteps. On the whole, most of the country around the town is the hilly bush country of the Eastern Province, characteristically dotted with aloes in parts. Especially towards the coast, this bush is the thick, impenetrable scrub which caused so much trouble with the application of the Spoor Laws in the days of Lord Charles Somerset. Elsewhere, mainly inland to the north of the town, one finds more open grassy flat stretches - the more open pasturage of the Zuurveld over which the early Kaffir Wars took place. Rainfall in the area averages about 28 inches a year, with a mean humidity of 77%. The shade temperature averages about 50° to 74°⁽⁸⁾ Farenheit.

The district surrounding the town is mainly a farming one, producing citrus, and especially nearer the coast, pineapples. In the more sheltered parts, sub-tropical fruits such as paw-paws and bananas are grown, though not

(8) Grahamstown - The Capital City of the Eastern Province: A Resume of its Commercial and Social Amenities: Issued by the City Council of Grahamstown.

on a large scale. Cattle do very well in this area, and sheep are also farmed, mainly in the more inland parts of the district. Market garden produce is also grown, but on the whole only to supply local needs. Industries are practically non-existent, and known mineral resources (apart from clay, and to a lesser extent, quartzite deposits, both found in the Grahamstown area), are not important.⁽⁹⁾

Grahamstown itself is a quiet, sedate little town, with wide main streets, and an abundance of trees - the town could easily be called a city of trees with its forest, and tree-lined streets and gardens.⁽¹⁰⁾ The town looks remarkably fresh and clean with its clear atmosphere - a big contrast with the grime and smoke of its metropolitan neighbour, Port Elizabeth.⁽¹¹⁾ The European area of the town⁽¹²⁾ with which we are concerned in this study, covers about three to three-and-a-half square miles, and has about 170 streets and lanes, most of which are now tarred.⁽¹³⁾ Much of the architecture of the business centre of the town is still the sedate and at times rather ornate Victorian style of the last century, while some buildings show the architecture of an even earlier date - all of which is a symptom of the rather static nature of the town's life.⁽¹⁴⁾ Visitors

(9) See J.V.L. Rennie: "The Eastern Province as a Geographical Region": The South African Geographical Journal: April, 1945: pp. 1 - 27.

(10) See Photographs No. LXII - LXX in the appendix.

(11) Notice the absence of smoke in the views of the town shown in Photographs No. LXII - LXX.

(12) Map No. 1 delineates this area.

(13) Based on a count made during a survey undertaken by the investigator to determine land use in the town.

(14) Photographs No. LXXX - LXLII particularly illustrate the styles of architecture to be found in the town.

are often heard to remark on the English appearance of the town⁽¹⁵⁾ (a fact which reminds one that the town was built largely by the 1820 Settlers and their descendants.) The town is mainly known elsewhere for its schools, colleges, Training College, and University, and while the commercial men of the town sometimes seem to resent all this emphasis on the educational side of the town's life: for the rest, apart from administrative functions, the town can hardly claim to be more than a service centre for the surrounding farming community - just an ordinary country town in fact.⁽¹⁶⁾ Industries in the town are few, and apart from one or two possible exceptions such as the Potteries, and the Brick Fields, not important - never by any stretch of imagination could the town be called an industrial town, but rather would be classified as a non-industrial urban area.

Generally then, in contrast to big cities such as Port Elizabeth or Johannesburg, Grahamstown appears to

(15) Sometimes the town is considered to be "Scottish" in appearance - c.f. H.V. Morton: In Search of South Africa: Methuen & Co., Ltd., London, 1948: pp. 155 - 168.

(16) c.f. Report on the Location of Industry in Great Britain: Political and Economic Planning, London, 1939: pp. 158 - 168 discuss the different types of towns and the classification of these types. Grahamstown is, in terms of their classification, undoubtedly a school and university town, but like most towns it is composite in character. (p. 158, *ibid.*) While the town could also be classified as a Cathedral City (and its administrative functions would fit in here), it would be nearer the truth to rather say that its other main characteristic is that of a Country Town (even though its population is far bigger than that laid down in the report for British conditions.) At Christmastide when all the educational institutions are closed, the town has the reputation of being "dead", so that one realises that apart from education, and possibly to a lesser extent, administration, the town has little else but to serve the surrounding farming community. (A fairly detailed analysis of the various functions of the town to-day is provided below in the remaining sections of this chapter.)

the visitor as a town which still partakes something of the leisure of days gone by - days when the pace of the ox ruled the hearts and minds of men - a town probably like a hundred of others in South Africa, and despite all its educational facilities, not so very different from small towns scattered far and wide over the wide spaces of this land just a small town existing in the age of metropolitan dominance.

(b) Grahamstown in its Present Regional Setting:

The regional setting and relative ecological position of any community always play an important part in determining the nature of the life and structure of the community. Indeed, the historical analysis of Grahamstown's development, given above in Part I of this thesis, reveals just how important these factors can be in the life of a community. Therefore it is important for us to make some study of this question in connection with Grahamstown to-day. (17)

In view of the absence of any previous research into this question, any adequate and full study of the topic would entail an investigation in its own right, with a separate field of reference. This clearly cannot be undertaken within the limits of the present study. Consequently the notes below present no more than the broad outlines of the present-day position of the town in its region:

- - - - -

I. External Influences on, and Links with Grahamstown:

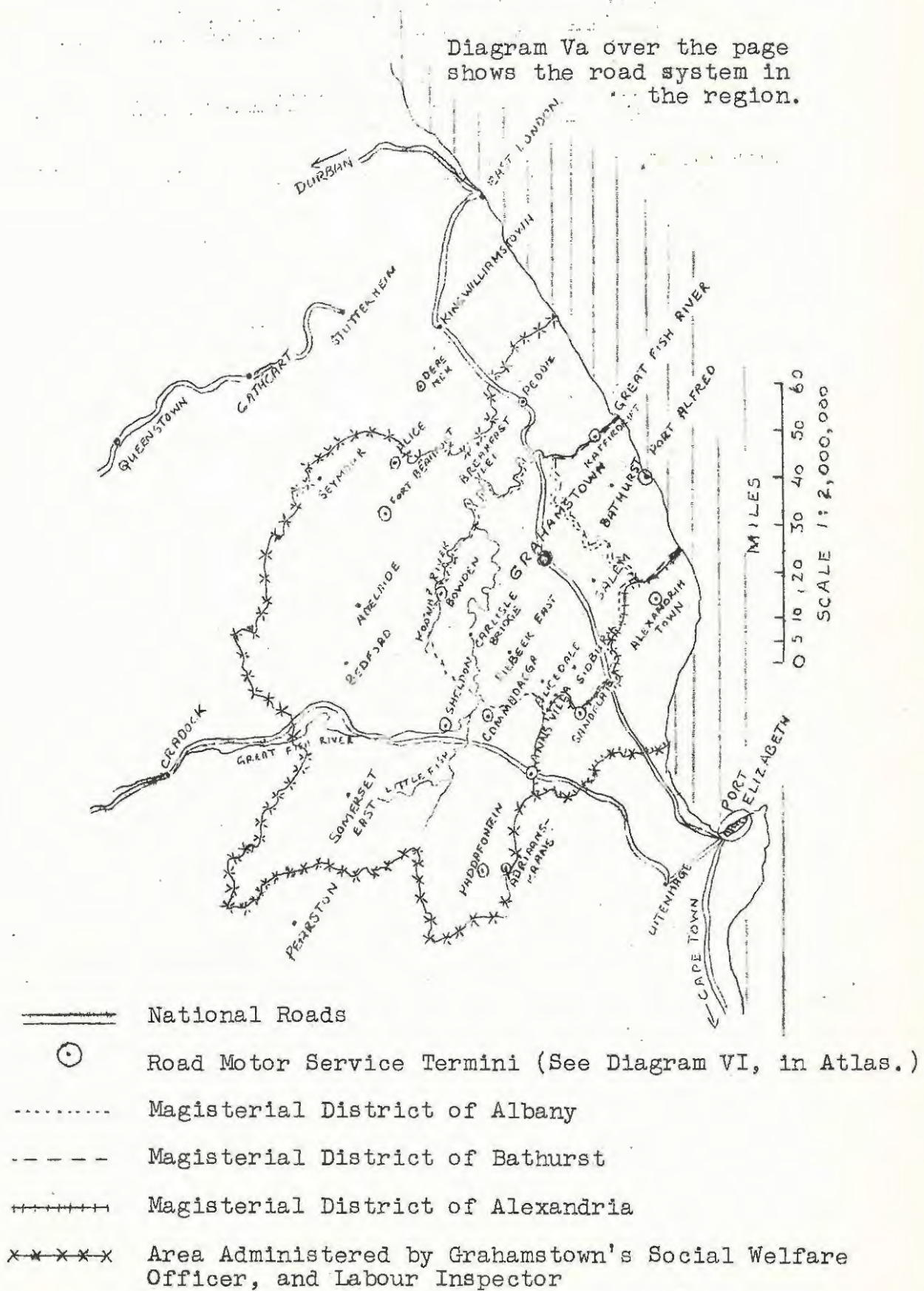
The spatial setting of Grahamstown in its region is shown in Map No. 5 in the atlas, while Diagram No. 5, page

(17) See A.E. Smailes: The Geography of Towns: Hutchinson's University Library, 1953: Ch. VII for a discussion on the regions or "urban fields" of towns. The bibliography at the end of this study also gives additional references to this topic.

DIAGRAM No. V.

GRAHAMSTOWN IN ITS REGIONAL SETTING TO-DAY.

(Also See Map No. 5, in the Atlas.)



152a.

DIAGRAM No. Va.

GRAHAMSTOWN IN ITS REGIONAL SETTING TO-DAY.

The Road*System in the Region, 1953.



National Roads are indicated by Solid Lines

District and Secondary Roads are indicated by dotted lines. Minor roads are not shown.

The scale is 1:2,000,000 - i.e. the same as Diagram V.

152 does the same, however relating the town to a wider area. Examining Diagram No. 5 it will be seen that Grahams-town has two cities, both seaports, near to it. One is East London, 112 miles away by a tarred National Road to the north-east of the town, while the other is Port Elizabeth, 83 miles by tarred National Road to the south-west. From what will be said subsequently, it is evident that Grahamstown is situated within the metropolitan region of Port Elizabeth, (East London apparently exerts comparatively little influence on the town.) This metropolitan dominance of Port Elizabeth dates from the 19th. Century, as was shown in Part I of this study. This domination is thus a perpetuation of a historical phenomenon. The present-day domination of Grahamstown by Port Elizabeth can be seen in several ways:-

People in Grahamstown obtain daily, except over the weekend, copies of the "Eastern Province Herald" - a daily paper published in Port Elizabeth. Over the weekend, they obtain copies of the "Saturday Evening Post" - a weekend paper also published in Port Elizabeth by the proprietors of the "Herald." Copies of these papers are delivered daily to Grahamstown by a special van belonging to the proprietors of the papers, and reach the town only a matter of a few hours after the publication of the papers. Figures about the circulation of the papers in Grahamstown could not be obtained from the proprietors, so that it is not possible to present any statistics. However, gauging from the size of the bundles of newspapers delivered to the local agent of the "Herald" and "Post" in Grahamstown the circulation must amount to several hundred copies of each paper. While details about the circulation of the local newspaper, the "Grocott's Daily Mail" were also

refused by the owners, there seems little doubt that the "Herald" does afford serious competition to the local paper, and instances do occur where townspeople subscribe to the Port Elizabeth paper and not the local paper. As the local "Mail" is only published from Mondays to Fridays it is to be expected that Grahamstownians rely on Port Elizabeth for their weekend paper. It was not possible to obtain full details of the circulation of East London newspapers in Grahamstown, but according to the figures supplied by one of the two periodical suppliers in the town it is not likely that more than a few dozen copies of any East London paper reach the town - and indeed, the circulation of Johannesburg and Cape Town papers in the town exceed the East London figure. Therefore, even though no statistics are available, there is no doubt that Grahamstown definitely lies within the metropolitan region dominated by the Port Elizabeth papers, and this in an index of the fact that Grahamstown lies within the metropolitan region of Port Elizabeth and not East London. (18)

As far as medical services are concerned, apart from facilities provided by psychiatrists at the Fort England Mental Hospital, Grahamstown has no medical specialists at the moment. Patients requiring specialist attention are sent to Port Elizabeth where all except very specialised treatment, such as for instance brain surgery, can be given. Whether it is an eye specialist, a skin specialist, an ear, nose and throat specialist, etc that is required, it is to Port Elizabeth that Grahamstown people go. East

(18) The Chicago School of social ecologists developed the method of using newspaper circulation as a criterion of metropolitan dominance. See e.g. R.E. Park: "Urbanisation and Newspaper Circulation" in the American Journal of Sociology: Vol.35, pp. 60-79, July 1929.

London, a smaller city,⁽¹⁹⁾ has fewer doctors and specialists than Port Elizabeth,⁽²⁰⁾ and being about forty miles further to travel by road than Port Elizabeth, it is understandable why Port Elizabeth and not East London dominates Grahamstown..... In short, it is Port Elizabeth which provides Grahamstown with metropolitan medical services.

In Part I of this study it has been shown that from the middle of the Nineteenth Century onwards, Port Elizabeth gradually outstripped Grahamstown as a commercial centre, and eventually became the major commercial centre of the Eastern Province. There can be no doubt that the position has remained the same during this century, and that Port Elizabeth is still the commercial hub of the province. This being so, Grahamstown inevitably is still dominated commercially by the port. If it is to a large shopping centre that people in Grahamstown wish to go, then it is to Port Elizabeth that they go for a day's shopping expedition. If it is office equipment, or repairs to office equipment, that is required, then it is to agents in that city that Grahamstown must turn. It is from Port Elizabeth that local garagemen obtain their new cars, or spare parts. While the development of communications has led to the centralisation of many of the wholesalers in still bigger cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town, nevertheless there are wholesale firms such as wholesale/manufacturing chemists, building material and glass manufacturers and wholesalers, etc. to which

(19) East London's total population, including Collondale, at the 1951 Census was 91,190 persons, of which 43,946 were Europeans. (Special Report No. 200: op. cit., p. 5) Port Elizabeth's population is given on p. 146 above.

(20) See Appendix E for comparative details.

Grahamstown looks for supplies. These are all indices of the fact that Port Elizabeth is the commercial metropolis dominating Grahamstown's region.

Communications play a vital role in assisting a city to exert its domination, and the fact that Grahamstown is well linked with Port Elizabeth by means of the railway train and bus services is another index of the fact that Port Elizabeth dominates Grahamstown. The town is linked with Port Elizabeth nine times a week by buses operating to and from Grahamstown. Twice a week an ordinary railway bus runs to Port Elizabeth and back; five times a week a special luxury bus for Europeans only operates there and back; and twice a week the luxury bus service operating from Cape Town to Durban links Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown. In addition to these services, which are operated by the South African Railways, a train leaves Grahamstown for Port Elizabeth twice every day, except Sundays, when it only runs once a day; and a train from Port Elizabeth enters the town twice a day on weekdays, and once on Sundays.⁽²¹⁾ In terms of the road system, Port Elizabeth is without any doubt the easiest town or city near Grahamstown to reach by car, and until recently was the only town which could be reached by a road which was tarred the whole way. Only when there are landslides in Howiesons's Poort near the town, or very rare flooding of the road nearer the coast, is this road to Port Elizabeth ever likely to be dangerous or impassible to traffic, and when all the other roads out of Grahamstown have been impassible after heavy rains, this one can still be traversed in comfort

(21) These train services also connect up with trains to East London, and the rest of South Africa and the Rhodesias.

and safety. Excepting the newly completed National Road to East London, the rest of the roads which radiate out from Grahamstown are not as yet tarred for any great distance, and in wet weather can and do deteriorate very badly. Thus again, it is towards Port Elizabeth that communications, either by road or by bus and train, draw Grahamstown.

Culturally Grahamstown is on the whole independent of Port Elizabeth, and probably due to the fact that the town has so many colleges, schools, and its own Training College and University (which all engage in cultural activities, most of which are nearly always open to the general public of the town,) Grahamstown has a cultural life of its own unaffected by Port Elizabeth's influence. However, occasionally Grahamstownians go down to Port Elizabeth for a cricket or rugby test match, or to watch some other important inter-provincial match, or for the staging of a show such as "Oklohoma" - all these are forms of cultural activity which only a metropolis such as Port Elizabeth can provide - but these excursions are not very frequent, so that for most of the time Grahamstown's inhabitants find their cultural activities fully catered for by the town's own facilities and amenities.

For the rest, without making a special and lengthy study of the topic, it is not possible to comment further on how Port Elizabeth dominates Grahamstown. The few notes given above however do indicate quite clearly that Grahamstown lies within the metropolitan region of Port Elizabeth, and that that city does exercise some influence on Grahamstown. Since the time of the Nineteenth Century

Port Elizabeth has been the metropolis of the Eastern Province, and East London has been the traditional capital of the Border region - i.e. the land beyond the Fish River. This ecological division of domination is seen to still persist at the present time.

- - - - -

II. The Influence of Grahamstown on its Region:

We now turn to examine Grahamstown's own influence on its surrounding region, and the extent of this region:

1. The Spatial Layout of the Region Surrounding Grahamstown:

The location of Grahamstown, and its immediate surroundings are shown in Map No. 5 in the atlas. A study of this map yields the following facts:-

(a) Apart from Port Elizabeth, (the metropolitan centre), and Uitenhage, its satellite, Grahamstown is the only town of any noticeable size in the area shown on Map No. 5, and so is the only town of size in the area south of the Fish River. (22)
(This area was the frontier area during the early days of the Nineteenth Century.)

(b) Examining the distribution of the black dots which mark the location of isolated buildings, churches

(22) Statistics showing the population of the larger towns in the area depicted in Map No. 5 and Diagram No. 5 bear out the fact that apart from Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, its satellite, and of course, East London away to the north-east, Grahamstown has the largest population of Europeans in the area. Comparative figures from the 1951 Census (Special Report No. 200: op. cit., passim.) are as follows:

Port Elizabeth*	78,670	Europeans	188,892	Total
East London*	43,946	do.	91,190	do.
Uitenhage	14,272	do.	38,724	do.
Grahamstown	8,680	do.	23,767	do.
Kingwilliamstown	6,397	do.	12,456	do.

(* includes Walmer; * includes Collondale.)

Queenstown has a slightly larger population than Grahamstown, but this town is well in the Border region.

missions, stores, hotels, post offices and police posts - which mark in fact, small isolated centres of habitation - it will be seen that apart from the immediate area surrounding Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, the only other zone where the black dots are well concentrated is in the area surrounding Grahamstown, (mainly to the south and east of the town and extending towards the coast, stretching roughly from Alexandria up as far as Grahamstown itself.) This area is the one which was intensively settled by the 1820 Settlers, and as in the 19th. Century, so to-day Grahamstown is the only major town in this area. In other words, this map shows that the area occupied by the 1820 Settlers is still to-day more intensively settled than the rest of the Eastern Province north of Port Elizabeth, and Grahamstown, once the centre of the Settlement, is still the centre of this area, and the major town in the region. In this respect, Grahamstown has retained one of its very early functions in the area bordering on the Fish River.

- (c) Map No. 5 shows, by the absence of any other town of comparative size in the area immediately south of the Fish River, that the area is mainly a farming one, fairly intensively settled. This inevitably indicates that Grahamstown, as the only town of size, must perforce provide services for this area - and here again, the town has retained its historical function of being the service centre and emporium for the surrounding farming community created by the 1820 Settlement.

2. The Road System in the Region:

Map No. 5 and Diagram No. 5 give the road system in the region around Grahamstown. From Grahamstown, the roads branch out to all points of the compass, and the town is the jumping-off point for Peddie, Kingwilliamstown, East London and beyond; for Breakfastvlei and the Amatola Basin; for Fort Beaufort and Queenstown; for Bedford, Cradock and the interior to the north. In the region nearer Grahamstown, roads branch out to Riebeek East, Alicedale, and out to the coast and places like Bathurst, Port Alfred, Kasouga, Kenton-on-Sea, and Alexandria. From a communications point of view, Grahamstown is the centre of a web of roads radiating out to the area occupied by the 1820 Settlers, and to the Fish River and the interior beyond. This road system at a glance stamps Grahamstown as a centre for the surrounding areas, and its banks, shops, market and stock fair, and doctors, dentists, hospital, schools, colleges, and Training College and University, and other cultural amenities draw the farmers and their children along these roads to the town itself. In addition Grahamstown appears as the gateway to the land beyond the Fish River, and provides an alternative route to the north by road to that provided by the road over the Zuurberg pass - and here it preserves a function which lingers on from the days of the Nineteenth Century.

3. Grahamstown's Influence Educationally:

As an educational town, Grahamstown exerts an educational influence far beyond the confines of its surrounding district, and its well-known schools, colleges, Training College and University attract scholars and students from far and wide. The region in this respect is a very large one, and does not correspond with the one defined by the other facets of the

town's influence, and so constitutes a special field of Grahamstown's influence. The following table, compiled by the investigator from data collected from the educational institutions in the town shows the extent to which Grahams-town draws scholars and students from all over Southern Africa. The table is self-explanatory:

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION BY HOME ADDRESS OF PARENT OF FULL-TIME SCHOLARS
AND STUDENTS IN GRAHAMSTOWN, 1952 - 3.

GEOGRAPHICAL AREA	No. of Scholars/ Students	% of 3,978	TOTAL FOR REGION	No.	% of 3,978
<u>CAPE PROVINCE:</u>					
Cape Town	71	1.78	Western Province	156	3.92
Rest of Western Province	85	2.14			
South-Western Districts	46	1.15	South-W. Districts	46	1.15
Grahamstown	1,642	41.28	Eastern Province	2,168	54.50
Port Elizabeth	218	7.74			
Rest of Eastern Province	308	5.48			
East London	146	3.67	Border & Transkei	343	8.62
Rest of Border & Transkei	197	4.95			
Rest of Cape Province	162	4.08	Rest of Cape	162	4.08
TOTAL FOR CAPE PROVINCE	2,875	72.27	TOTAL	2,875	72.27
<u>ORANGE FREE STATE:</u>					
Bloemfontein	24	0.61	O.F.S.	85	2.14
Rest of O.F.S.	61	1.53			
TOTAL FOR O.F.S.	85	2.14	TOTAL	85	2.14
<u>NATAL:</u>					
Durban	22	0.55	Natal	61	1.53
Rest of Natal	39	0.98			
TOTAL FOR NATAL	61	1.53	TOTAL	61	1.53

(Continued over page.)

TABLE IV.

(Continued)

GEOGRAPHICAL AREA	No. of Scholars Students	% of 3,978	TOTAL FOR REGION	No.	%
<u>TRANSVAAL:</u>					
Johannesburg	252	6.34	Witwaters-		
Rest of 'Rand	66	1.66	rand	318	8.00
Pretoria	59	1.48	Rest of		
Rest of Transvaal	69	1.73	Transvaal	128	3.21
TOTAL FOR TRANSVAAL	446	11.21	TOTAL	446	11.21
TOTAL FOR UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	3,467	87.15	UNION	3,467	87.15
<u>SOUTH WEST AFRICA:</u>	32	0.80	TOTAL	32	0.80
<u>SOUTHERN RHODESIA:</u>					
Bulawayo	97	2.44			
Salisbury	75	1.88	Southern		
Rest of Southern Rhodesia	101	2.54	Rhodesia	273	6.86
TOTAL FOR SOUTHERN RHODESIA	273	6.86	TOTAL	273	6.86
<u>NORTHERN RHODESIA:</u>	146	3.67	TOTAL	146	3.67
<u>REST OF AFRICA:</u>					
<u>Southern Africa:</u>					
Basutoland	4	0.10			
Bechuanaland	1	0.03	Rest of		
Swaziland	5	0.12	Southern		
Portugese E. Africa	7	0.18	Africa	17	0.43
<u>Northern Africa:</u>					
Belgian Congo	7	0.17			
Gold Coast	1	0.03			
Kenya	8	0.20	Northern		
Nigeria	1	0.03	Africa	33	0.83
Nyasaland	8	0.20			
Tanganyika	8	0.20			
TOTAL FOR REST OF AFRICA	50	1.26	TOTAL	50	1.26
<u>REST OF WORLD:</u>					
England	4	0.10			
France	1	0.03	Rest of		
Malaya	1	0.03	World	9	0.23
Persian Gulf	3	0.07			
TOTAL FOR REST OF WORLD	9	0.23	TOTAL	9	0.23
<u>NO ADDRESS GIVEN:</u>	1	0.03	TOTAL	1	0.03
GRAND TOTAL	3,978	100.00	TOTAL	3,978	100.00

TABLE IVa.

SUMMARY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF HOME ADDRESSES OF SCHOLARS
AND STUDENTS IN GRAHAMSTOWN

1952 - 1953.

HOME ADDRESS OF SCHOLAR/STUDENT	No.	%
Cape Province	2,875	72.27
Orange Free State	85	2.14
Natal	61	1.53
Transvaal	446	11.21
TOTAL FOR UNION	3.467	87.15
South West Africa	32	0.80
Southern Rhodesia	273	6.86
Northern Rhodesia	146	3.67
TOTAL FOR SOUTH WEST AFRICA & THE RHODESIAS	451	11.33
Rest of Southern Africa	17	0.43
Northern Africa	33	0.83
Rest of the World	9	0.23
TOTAL FOR REST OF AFRICA AND REST OF THE WORLD	59	1.49
NO ADDRESS GIVEN	1	0.03
GRAND TOTAL	3,978	100.00

The above tables are derived from data collected from the registers of all educational institutions in the town except the Grahamstown Technical Institute and the Johan Carinus Art Centre which both take only part-time students/scholars. In all eighteen institutions ranging from a nursery school to the University supplied data. The figures are for 1952, except in the instance of the Convent Junior and High Schools, which are for 1953. (These two schools promised figures in 1952, but the figures were only obtained in 1953.) The figures for towns include cases from the immediate districts of the towns (i.e. instances where the postal address was P.O., P.O. Box, or P.B. of a town were included in the count for the town concerned.)

Examining Table IV it will be seen that 1,642 scholars and students (or 41.28%) were from Grahamstown itself and its surrounding district. The remaining 2,336 scholars and students (or 58.72%) came from beyond the town, and not only from the rest of South Africa, but also beyond the borders of the Union as well. This illustrates just how far afield the educational influence of the town extends.

Grahamstown not only influences its region educationally through its schools, colleges, Training College and University, but also by means of the provision of nature study and science exhibits which its Albany Museum sends out to schools.⁽²³⁾ Since 1936 the Albany Museum, Grahamstown, has been supplying an increasing number of schools with cases of exhibits ranging from collections of weeds, shells and fossils, to stone implements and small animals. In 1951, 165 schools in an area ranging from Oudtshoorn in the south to Franklin near the Natal border in the north, and bounded roughly by a north-south line running from Prieska to Knysna were supplied with cases of exhibits. On the whole most of the schools concerned are in the Eastern Province and Border regions. Of the 165 schools, 63 were town schools, and 102 were country schools; 32 schools were Non-European. This again is an index of how far Grahamstown extends its educational influence.

Summing up, Grahamstown's influence in the sphere of education spreads far beyond the town, reaching from Cape Town up into Northern Africa, so that there can be no doubt that the town dominates a very extensive region from an educational point of view. Within this region, the strongest influence is exerted on the Eastern Cape.

(23) South African Museums Association Bulletin: Vol. 4, No. 5, March 1948:pp. 122-6: A Rothman: "Twelve Years of School Service at the Albany Museum."

4. Railway Bus Services Operating from Grahamstown:

Diagram No. 6 in the atlas gives a diagrammatic representation of the bus services operating from Grahams-town. Diagram No. 5, page 152 above, shows the termini of these bus services. The two diagrams give an idea of the region which Grahamstown dominates from a transport point of view,⁽²⁴⁾ and show that the town is the centre of a fairly extensive system of bus services which radiate out from Grahamstown, and link the region with the railway station at Grahamstown. They reveal Grahamstown as a service town - in this instance serving the country by means of the passenger-light goods services provided by the S.A.R. buses. Within the same region unscheduled goods buses operate when and if required, provided a certain minimum load is available for transport. Thus, citrus is transported from farms to the Bathurst Farmers Union's Packing Factory in the town during the citrus season. No data about these unscheduled services were obtainable from the S.A.R. authorities, as records for unscheduled services apart from scheduled services are not kept. However, there is no doubt that Grahamstown is an important road transportation depot for quite a wide region, (this region is portrayed by Diagram No. 6.)

5. Regional Controls Exercised by Grahamstown:

(i) The Seat of the Supreme Court:

Grahamstown is the seat of the Eastern Districts Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa. The region in this instance is a very large one, and stretches from Humansdorp

(24) The technique of using bus services to demarcate regions dominated by towns was developed by Green: c.f. F.H.W. Green: "Urban Hinterlands in England and Wales: An Analysis of Bus Services": Geographical Journal: Vol. 116, 1950.

and Jansenville in the south to the border of Natal in the north, and from the coast in the east to Hanover and Murraysburg in the west. The full list of districts, as supplied by the Registrar of the Court, is as follows:-

TOWNS AND DISTRICTS UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE EASTERN DISTRICTS LOCAL DIVISION OF THE SUPREME COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Where a name is given in brackets after the name of the town, it indicates the Magisterial District in which the town is situated. This is done only in cases where confusion as to the district concerned might arise.

Aberdeen	Hanover	New Bethesda
Adelaide	Hamburg	Nqamakwe
Alexandria	Herschel	Rhodes (Barkley
Alice (Victoria East)	Hofmeyer (Maraisburg)	Riebeek East /East)
Aliwal North	Humansdorp	Pearston
Alicedale	Idutywa	Peddie
Barkly East	Indwe	Port Elizabeth
Bathurst	Jansenville	Port Alfred
Bizana	Keiskama Hoek	Port St. Johns
Burghersdorp (Albert)	Kentani	Queenstown
Bedford	Kokstad (Mt. Currie)	Quumbu
Butterworth	Kei Road	Salem
Cala	Kingwilliamstown	Seymour (Stocken-
Cathcart	Komgha	Sidbury /stroom)
Clumber (Albany)	Lady Frere	Sterkstroom
Cofimvaba	Lady Grey	Steynsburg
Commadagga	Libode	Somerset East
Colesberg	Lovedale	Stutterheim
Craddock	Lusikisiki	Tabankulu
Dordrecht	Maclear	Tarkastad (Tarka)
East London	Matatiele	Tsolo
Elliott	Middeldrift	Tsomo
Elliottdale	Middleburg	Uitenhage
Engcoba	Molteno	Umtata
Flagstaff	Mount Ayliff	Umzinkulu
Fort Beaufort	Mount Fletcher	Venterstad
Grahamstown	Mount Frere	Willowvale
Glen Grey	Murraysburg	Whittlesea
Graaff-Reinet	Mqanduli	

(Steytlerville is included for criminal but not civil cases.)

In being the seat of the Supreme Court for the Eastern Districts, Grahamstown is retaining a function which it acquired during the 19th. Century, and in terms of this function dominates a wide area.

(ii) Capital of the Magisterial District of Albany:

Grahamstown is the seat of the magistracy for the district of Albany, and in this respect the town also

retains a historical function, although the present-day area of Albany has been reduced from the size it once was, in order to make it more manageable in size. Diagram No. 5 shows the present-day extent of Albany.

(iii) Social Welfare and Labour Office Centre:

Grahamstown is the headquarters for a large area served by the Grahamstown offices of the Social Welfare Department, and the Labour Inspector of the Department of Labour. This area is shown in Diagram No. 5, and consists of the following magisterial districts: Albany, Alexandria, Bathurst, Peddie, Victoria East, Stockenström, Fort Beaufort, Adelaide, Bedford, and Somerset East. The main towns in these districts are Grahamstown, Alexandria, Bathurst, Port Alfred, Peddie, Alice, Seymour, Fort Beaufort, Adelaide, Bedford, Somerset East, Alicedale, and Riebeeck East. This function is a modern one, and dates from the time of the development of social services in South Africa.

(iv) Diocesan Headquarters:

Grahamstown is the centre of the Diocese of Grahams-town of the Church of the Province of South Africa; this function dates from the mid 19th. Century, (although to-day the size of the diocese has been reduced to make it a more manageable size.) The area covered by the diocese is bounded by the magisterial districts of Humansdorp, Uitenhage, Somerset East, Pearston, Cradock, Middelburg, Colesburg, east along the Orange River to Barkley East, Indwe, Lady Frere, Queenstown, Cathcart, Stutterheim, and Komgha on the coast. This means that the diocese extends from Humansdorp in the south along the coast to Komgha, then up north-west to Barkley East to the Orange River, and then from Colesburg in a rough line south to Humansdorp. This diocese thus is a large one, and is another aspect of the town's regional

dominance.

6. General Notes:

Grahamstown is the regional centre of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, and serves the Eastern Province, Border and Transkei areas. Most of the programmes relayed are from Johannesburg, so in itself Grahamstown does not influence the culture of the area through radio programmes. Grahamstown is also important as one of the major control points in the S.A.B.C.'s national network of landlines, and is responsible for feeding programmes from all over South Africa into the correct channels. Thus, from a broadcasting point of view, it plays an important technical role in the national network of the S.A.B.C.

Grahamstown has a provincial hospital (known as Settlers' Hospital) and so serves the surrounding district with medical and hospitalisation services. Other towns with hospitals are Kingwilliamstown, Fort Beaufort, Bedford, and to the south, Port Elizabeth. Grahamstown serves the area within the rough circle formed by these other towns. Its sub-region probably extends as far as the Fish River to the north, and somewhere near Alexandria in the south. The ambulance service operated by the Grahamstown Municipality serves only the magisterial district of Albany, and it is only with special permission that the ambulance goes beyond this area - as it occasionally does - to towns such as Bathurst and Port Alfred. Thus, in so far as the hospital's emergency cases received by ambulance are concerned, Albany is the region served.

The town also possesses a Chronic Sick Hospital, (known as the Prince Alfred Hospital). This hospital is

under the Cape Provincial Administration, and is one of three of its kind in the Union. Consequently the region it serves is a large one, but on the whole most of the cases come from the Eastern Province and Border regions. In addition to this institution, Grahamstown also possesses a mental hospital, called the Fort England Mental Hospital. This hospital also serves an area wider than the immediate district around the town, though naturally most of the patients come from the Eastern Province As far as doctors in the town are concerned, it was not possible to obtain an idea of the distribution of the addresses of patients treated, but it is likely that only the immediate area around the town is served, and that consequently Albany is the region involved.

Due to the resistances engendered by a competitive economy, it was not possible to obtain any details about the sub-region dominated and served by Grahamstown's economic activities. The impression gained from living in the town is a definite one that Grahamstown is a shopping and service centre for the districts of Albany and Bathurst, and to a lesser extent Alexandria. It is suggested that with its larger shops, and better facilities for services, Grahamstown is the regional centre for the area previously defined as the area of the 1820 Settlement. (See page 159 above.) Both a perusal of the list of out-of-town subscribers to the Grahamstown Library, and a study of the count of car number plates taken during a stock fair in the town (Grahamstown is one of the few towns in the Union that still holds a monthly stock fair) bear this impression out. Perhaps about two-thirds of the country visitors into Grahamstown come from the district of Albany, and about one-fifth from the Bathurst district, and the remainder from Alexandria.

While it was not possible to obtain permission to analyse the circulation of the town's local paper, "Grocott's Daily Mail", it is known that this paper is sent to subscribers outside the town, but it is impossible to say how wide the region is that is affected. A study of advertisements appearing in the paper reveals that out-of-town advertisements are nearly always from Bathurst and Port Alfred, suggesting that these two districts are the only districts apart from Albany which are affected to any extent by this newspaper.

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III. Conclusions:

1. Grahamstown is undoubtedly within the metropolitan region of Port Elizabeth, and is under the ecological domination of that city. This fact is a continuation of the position as it was at the end of the 19th. Century.
2. In terms of communications, Grahamstown is well-linked with Port Elizabeth and the rest of South Africa. Despite the fact that it is on a railway branch line, it has managed to keep contact with the outside world, and is not isolated.
3. Within its own region, Grahamstown still exercises a number of functions which it possessed during the 19th. Century. On the administrative plane it still dominates a wide region, while on the educational plane its influence reaches well beyond the borders of the Union of South Africa. On these two planes, the town cannot be viewed as a rural backwater.
4. During the 19th. Century the major facet of the domination of the town was undoubtedly commercial. Of this function very little remains to-day, and it would seem that the town is purely a service centre for the surrounding farming

area. The extent of the region which Grahamstown serves as a service and supply town varies with the function that one examines. It is probably true to say that the modal region defined by these service functions corresponds approximately with the area settled by the 1820 Settlers - that Grahamstown is still the centre of what was once the "Settlement." For these functions, the Fish River is probably still, as in the past, the northern boundary of Grahamstown's service region. The districts of Albany, Bathurst, and to a lesser extent, Alexandria, would form the outline of this region.

5. From the foregoing comments, it would appear that Grahamstown, while in comparison with the days of its glory in the 19th. Century is to-day a relative backwater, nevertheless is in terms of the functions it still exercises and the regions it serves, not as isolated or as much a backwater as might at first be supposed. A surprising proportion of the domination it once wielded still survives in one form or another. The town certainly does not appear isolated, and if it appears to the spectator - to use the words of the editor of the "Journal" in 1876, a "Sleepy Hollow" it is certainly not dead! Beneath the sedate surface of the "City of the Saints" there is still some of the importance and domination once wielded in days gone by, and despite the rather static nature of the town's life, it yet plays an important part in the world of to-day round about it - a small town that perhaps has been rather lucky to salvage so much of its importance from the wreck of its past glories

Grahamstown is to-day the centre of a wide variety of regional services of an "ad hoc" type, each function having its appropriate area, limited or extensive, and the

constant focal point is the city itself: Functionally regarded it still plays a large part in the administration of a large area, and has held its own in some fields, notably legal and educational, against Port Elizabeth and East London, which in other fields have absorbed some of her earlier functions. There is, however, pressure to remove these functions to Port Elizabeth - there is constant demand for the University to be divided so that one section functions at Port Elizabeth: East London has also made similar demands. It is possible, that in the next decade that these demands will not be disregarded. Again, the pressures to remove the seat of the Eastern Districts Local Division of the Supreme Court to Port Elizabeth are insistent, but the Grahamstown lawyers are a powerful interest who can always be calculated to state a good case against their Port Elizabeth brethren in the Side Bars. Be this as it may, we still have a paradox: Grahamstown, the small "Sleepy Hollow" with its old-fashioned buildings in the main street, yet serves areas and dominates regions far beyond the town - and yet retains its air of being a quiet country town. Whether the town will ever flourish again on the relative scale that it once experienced seems unlikely in the foreseeable future, but it is possible that if changes in the socio-ecological structure of the region ever occur, they may once again affect the town favourably.... It is evident that the present regional setting and functions of Grahamstown are intimately related to historical changes that have occurred in the structure and composition of the region around the town, and provide a norm against which other small towns in the Union can be compared.

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