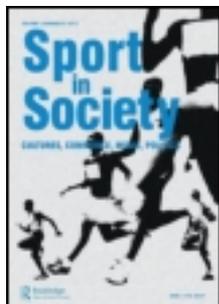


This article was downloaded by: [UQ Library]

On: 21 February 2013, At: 22:37

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Culture, Sport, Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/fcss19>

Deconstructing 'Indianness': Cricket and the articulation of Indian identities in Durban, 1900-32

Goolam Vahed^a

^a School of Social Sciences, University of Durban-Westville
Version of record first published: 06 Sep 2010.

To cite this article: Goolam Vahed (2003): Deconstructing 'Indianness': Cricket and the articulation of Indian identities in Durban, 1900-32, *Culture, Sport, Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, 6:2-3, 144-168

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14610980312331271579>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae, and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand, or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Deconstructing 'Indianness': Cricket and the Articulation of Indian Identities in Durban, 1900–32

GOOLAM VAHED

Indian immigrants arrived in South Africa in two waves; approximately 150,000 indentured labourers imported between 1860 and 1911 were followed by traders from the west coast of India. Use of the term 'Indian' suggested that the attribute 'Indianness' united them as a group in opposition to Whites, Coloureds and Africans.¹ Indians were seen by Africans, Coloureds and successive white Natal governments as a distinct group on the basis of skin colour, 'strange' culture and foreign origin. This study of Indian cricket questions the notion of a homogeneous and self-contained community prevalent in early literature, and probes the true nature of Indian identity in South Africa.² While Swan demystified Gandhi,³ and Padayachee and Vawda gave voice to Indian workers,⁴ this study will explore race, class, caste, ethnic, religious and linguistic differences among Indians,⁵ and how these were negotiated and articulated.⁶ This survey will also consider the role of sport and popular culture in defining ethnic, racial and class identities. Did sport reinforce differential identities in a highly stratified society, or serve as a link between whites, Africans and Indians, as well as between working and middle classes? Did sport become the commonality between these divergent groups, based on merit rather than status, to break down barriers and forge a truly unique South African culture, or did sport reinforce and cement differences?

ARRIVAL AND SETTLEMENT OF INDIANS

The arrival of Indian indentured labour on the sugar plantations of Natal, a province of South Africa, had significant consequences. While the government expected Indians to return to India, about 60 per cent

remained in the Colony after their contracts had expired. Traders, known as ‘passengers’ because they came at their own expense and initiative, gave permanence to the Indian presence. Most ‘free’ Indians, as those who had completed their indentures were known, grew fruit and vegetables for the local market on land rented or purchased from absentee landlords. Small numbers worked as shoemakers, clerks, cooks, domestics, laundry workers, plumbers, fishermen and tailors. Whites desired the outright coercion of Indians and became hostile as Indians challenged their dominance of local trade. White concerns increased as the numbers of Indians reached parity. By 1894, the Indian population of Natal of 46,000 exceeded the white population of 45,000.⁷ Whites used their political clout to subdue and dominate Indians after they achieved self-government from Britain in 1893. The new government viewed town planning, public health, trade arrangements and other public issues in terms of racial distinctions.⁸ Its objective was to force Indians to re-indenture or return to India upon completing their indenture, and to legally subordinate non-indentured Indians. The Indian Immigration Law of 1895 compelled Indian adults to pay an annual tax of £3, Act 8 of 1896 imposed franchise restrictions and the Immigration Restriction Act of 1897 gave the state power to control Indian entry.

Indian politics was dominated by trader elites. In 1894, they formed the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) whose strategy was primarily constitutional and consisted of issuing long petitions to private individuals and government officials. Most Indians could not afford the annual membership fee and 75 per cent of the NIC’s members were merchants, the balance being the educated elite. The secretary of the NIC was the great Indian nationalist leader Mahatma Gandhi.⁹ The 20-year struggle of Indians culminated in a national strike from October to December 1913. This was a spontaneous outburst against terrible working conditions, and a reaction to the realization that the poll tax meant perpetual indenture. Mass action was possible because merchants and workers shared a common position. Indians responded to the state’s use of race to subordinate them by adopting a practice of resistance based on race. The Indian Relief Act of 1914 made some concessions to Indians but left many issues unresolved. Gandhi therefore considered the Act a ‘Magna Carta’ for the Indians, providing them with breathing space to resolve their outstanding grievances.¹⁰

For whites, race was the most effective political and ideological means of ensuring a cheap labour supply, and was used to separate Natal’s

population into discrete groups by suggesting that Indians and Africans were naturally different and inferior. The privileged economic position of Indian elites was neutralized by their having to confront racism, which placed them in the same situation as workers. In response, middle-class Indians used the cause of their rejection, race, to formulate a strategy of resistance. The formation of a racial organization, the NIC, assisted in fostering and keeping alive a separate racial political identity. As far as non-Indians were concerned, Indians constituted a homogeneous community; the reality was different, however, and this study examines the relevance and importance of class, caste, ethnic, religious and linguistic differences among the Indians.

TABLE 6.1
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF DURBAN'S POPULATION

Year	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Africans	Total
1904	31,302	1,980	15,631	18,929	67,842
1921	46,113	4,000	16,400	29,011	95,524
1931	59,250	4,240	17,860	43,750	125,100
1936	88,065	7,336	80,384	63,762	239,547

Source: University of Natal, The Durban Housing Survey, 1952, p.35.

This study focuses on Durban, where most of Natal's Indians lived. During the period under review, Durban was a town of approximately 13,000 acres. It was chiefly a port and commercial centre with rudimentary industrial development.¹¹ As late as 1914, the Umgeni Sugar Company was planting cane on the 80 acre property 'Eastern Vlei', less than two miles north of the city centre.¹² Industry consisted mainly of metals and engineering firms which manufactured wagons and repaired imported machinery on the sugar estates, coal mines and in the shipping trade.¹³ The chief exports were coal, wool, hides, wattle bark, maize and whale oil.¹⁴ The Natal economy relied greatly on railway traffic from the Transvaal, and the trade from the mining centres of Transvaal and the Orange Free State, customs duties and railway receipts accounting for 69 per cent of Natal's revenue in 1908-9.¹⁵ Durban's economy was given momentum by the First World War, when local industries were given a fillip by restrictions on overseas trade and high freight costs, and 'enjoyed a high increase in their businesses'.¹⁶ Wartime demand for soap, matches, spirits, beer and explosives boosted industrial development,

Cricket and Indian Identities in Durban, 1900–32 147

while an oil refinery, flour mill and Hardening Works were started in 1915.¹⁷ As a result of this rapid growth, the boundaries of Durban were extended in 1932 from 13 to 70 square miles, which resulted in the incorporation of an additional 101,786 people.¹⁸ Indians made up a third of Durban's population during this period.

INDIAN STRATIFICATION

Indians comprised a diverse grouping. Durban was home to a large working-class Indian population, primarily employed by the Durban Municipality and Natal Government Railways, which performed unskilled work such as street-sweeping and grass-cutting. In 1949, for example, workers and their dependents totalled almost 10,000 when the Indian population in the Old Borough of Durban was 25,000.¹⁹ Indian workers were among the lowest-paid in Durban and lived in appalling sub-economic municipal housing scattered across the city.²⁰ According to Councillor Knight, 'some Councillors have felt and said that the more wretchedly the Indians are housed and paid the more likely they will be willing to be repatriated' to India.²¹ When Indira Gandhi, the future Prime Minister of India, visited Durban in 1935 she referred to working-class housing as 'Durban's feudal rat hovel'.²² Indian traders occupied an important structural position. When they started to arrive in the 1870s, they could not compete with the established white businesses and built their shops and shacks on swampy land at the north-western periphery of the white business area, in the Grey-Victoria streets and Warwick Avenue areas. Later, as the Indian and white business areas expanded and impinged on each other, whites used the 1897 Dealer's License Act to restrict Indian traders to this area. Indians had greater access to capital and credit than Africans and dominated trade in this segregated Black business district.²³ The relationship between Indian traders and workers only went 'so far as trade and labour compelled them'.²⁴

In addition to workers and traders, a third social group among Indians was a professional class, mainly teachers and clerks, which emerged in Durban from the 1890s as the result of English-language education provided by mission schools.²⁵ Their numbers were small because of the lack of facilities and the poverty of parents; the Natal Population Census of 1904 showed that only 5,211 of 100,918 Indians were literate in English. Most educated Indians were Christians, mainly

Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Wesleyan-Methodists, who valued western education. Church missions were already established when Indians arrived in Natal. The Roman Catholic Church built a mission in Durban in 1853 under Father Sabon, who opened the first Durban school for Indian children in 1867; the Wesleyan Mission under Reverend R. Stott in 1862 opened a school in 1867; Anglicans began the St Aidans Mission in 1884 under Reverend Dr Lancelot Booth. By 1896, the Mission ran 15 schools in Natal.²⁶ E.A. Hammick, Archdeacon of Durban, observed in 1901 that 'the Indian, by coming to Natal has thrown off caste restrictions ... he is very anxious to cease being an Indian and tries to become English in all ways'.²⁷ Prominent Christian Indian families emerged, such as the Lawrence, Gabriel, Royeppen, Lazarus, Godfrey and Sigamony families, who used their knowledge of English to assume leadership roles in the civil service, politics, sports and education.²⁸ V. Lawrence typified the educated elite. A teacher, he married Josephine Gabriel, whose mother, Amonee, had come to South Africa as an indentured worker in 1901. According to Sylvia Lawrence, her father's strong desire to escape the 'coolie' image resulted in his giving all ten of his children a sound education and making them proficient in western musical instruments such as the piano, violin and saxophone.²⁹

THE VALUE OF SPORT

Durban's Indian elite saw sport as a means to instil discipline, implant a healthy value system and teach social values such as teamwork, allegiance to fellow players, respect for rules and authority and fortitude in the face of adversity. Joseph Royeppen, a colonial-born Indian who studied at Cambridge University, wrote in 1912 that sport had a 'greater purpose' than winning:

The battles of England have been won on the playing fields of Eton. As yet there are little signs of our battles being won upon our playing fields of South Africa ... so long as young men follow sports without eye or ear to their final value for us in this our adopted land of one continued struggle for honourable existence, but merely for the passing excitement and intoxication of the thing, our playing fields must continue to be, not the school and the training ground to higher calls of life and duty, but scenes of our sure damage and loss.³⁰

When Mahatma Gandhi was departing for India in 1914, he addressed the children at a farewell reception given in his honour. Gandhi said that the giving of prizes had a ‘demoralizing’ effect on children. He felt that sport was only beneficial when children competed ‘to show that they had been endeavouring to keep the physical portion of their being in fit and proper state’. This would demonstrate the ‘value of industry, the courage and the time that they put forth in a disciplined manner in order to gain that particular purpose in life’.³¹ Manilal Gandhi, son of Mahatma Gandhi and editor of *Indian Opinion*, which Mahatma Gandhi had started in 1903, agreed that sport had a vital role to play in moulding the character of Indians:

In South Africa, sports and athletics take a very prominent place in life ... This is a good habit in a new country like South Africa where Nature herself is always telling us to be healthy and strong. Football and cricket have a special value of their own. They teach people to play together, to play for the team, and to endure hardship, without becoming angry and losing one’s temper. All these things are of immense value in training people to be good South Africans.³²

ESTABLISHING THE GAME

Cricket has old roots in India.³³ By the middle of the nineteenth century, Bombay was the centre of Indian cricket, mainly through the Parsees who excelled at the game. From the 1890s, annual matches were played between the Parsees and the English, who were joined by Hindus in 1907 and Muslims in 1912 in a Quadrangular tournament.³⁴ Cricket was familiar to Indians who arrived in Natal. In Durban they played both football and cricket on grounds provided by the Durban Town Council (DTC or Council) in the Botanical Gardens area in 1886.³⁵ Soccer was more popular because it was less costly and took less time, important considerations for working-class Indians. Formally organized cricket began with the formation of the Durban District Indian Cricket Union (DDICU or Union) in 1901. Educated Indians formed the early cricket teams in Durban. The Standard Cricket Club, for example, was formed in September 1901 by educated Christians at a meeting at the St Aidan’s Boys Schoolroom, while the City Players Indian Cricket Club was formed in October 1901 by Reverend John Thomas, headmaster of the

Wesleyan School. These teams represented Anglican and Methodist Christians respectively. The chairman of the DDICU was A.H. Peters, a clerk at the Durban Court, and the secretary Frank B. Ernest, both Christians.³⁶

Teams competed for the Pandays Shield and Peters Bowl. The Shield was sponsored by Lutchman Panday who was born in Durban in 1874 to indentured parents and educated at the Boys' Model School. He joined a firm of lawyers in 1888 and served for five decades. Lutchman played competitive football and cricket, and served as an official on many sports bodies.³⁷ The 'Peters Bowl' was named after A.H. Peters, first president of DDICU and a pioneer in Indian sports. Teams and players varied from year to year. In 1910–11, the members of the Union were Pirates of India (Pirates), Greyville, Natal Government Railways (Railways), Higher Grade School (School) and Overport. Ottomans joined in 1911.³⁸ In 1915, Overport and Railways became defunct due to their players' involvement in the First World War. Indian Teachers and Star of India joined in 1919, Moslems in 1924, Moonlight and Centrals in 1925 and Kismet in 1932. The number of players fluctuated from season to season but averaged around a hundred. For example, there were 106 players during 1912–13.³⁹ Matches were played from 2:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. over two Saturdays to accommodate Christians who refused to play on Sundays on grounds of religion. A Sunday League was formed in October 1926 for non-Christians.⁴⁰

High registration fees constrained working-class participation, and made cricket an elitist undertaking. The annual subscription was £3.3.0 per team, which even trader and educated elites struggled to pay. In 1911, for example, School did not pay arrear registration fees until threatened with expulsion.⁴¹ From December 1912, teams were fined for failing to pay registration fees.⁴² In April 1913, £4.13.6 was owed to the Union.⁴³ The 1925 season began late because only two teams, School and Pirates, paid subscriptions.⁴⁴ While cricketers were denied equality with whites, this did not prevent them from mimicking the Colonial masters and behaving as gentlemen by observing the 'rules of the game'. Clubs were fined or points deducted if results were not submitted within 72 hours.⁴⁵ Schools and Ottomans, who played on 24 February 1923 without the sanction of the union, were warned not to organize matches without permission.⁴⁶ When the father of a Pirates player died, Greyville agreed to reschedule the match, but the Union refused.⁴⁷ In February 1926, clubs were advised to be clad 'in proper cricket costumes when

playing for respective clubs and should this instruction not be adhered to, the defaulting club will be dealt with as the Committee think fit'.⁴⁸

IMPACT OF WIDER DEVELOPMENTS

Cricket was closely bound to society and affected by wider developments. Fixtures were suspended from October to December 1913 because of a strike by Indians in support of Gandhi's passive resistance campaign against anti-Indian policies. Fixtures resumed on 17 January 1914, 'as soon as normal conditions resumed'.⁴⁹ Cricket was also disrupted during the First World War. The Indian commercial and educated elites, eager to prove their loyalty to the British because, in the words of the *African Chronicle*, 'better prospects are awaiting us, under the aegis of the same Empire when it has emerged triumphantly from the present ordeal',⁵⁰ declared their 'loyalty to the King-Emperor, and readiness to serve the Crown in defence of the country'.⁵¹ An army camp was constructed in Stamford Hill Road for Indian volunteers who served as stretcher-bearers in East Africa. When Senator Marshall Campbell visited the camp in November 1915, he found the volunteers playing cricket. On 13 December 1915, a public meeting in the Town Hall bid farewell to the Bearer Corps. Cricketers Butler (Ottoman), Karrim (Ottoman), V.K. Naidoo (Railway), Anglia (Greyville), Thumbadoo and Sullaphen were part of the committee that arranged the farewell reception.⁵² School and Railways withdrew from the Union because many of their players served in the war. The secretary of DDICU reported in 1917 that he 'could not find words adequate enough to express my sentiments about these patriotic men who have answered the call of duty. We are proud of them and if they do not come back their memories will be revered by us'.⁵³ The 1918–19 season started late because of the 'terrible visitation of this pestilence – the influenza which has engaged us most of the time'.⁵⁴

Indian cricketers faced many problems, such as the lack of proper grounds, absence of grass wickets, torn and worn out mats and unmarked boundaries. There was no assistance from the Council. D. Kolipillai, an Indian teacher, reassured whites that Indian demands for better facilities 'do not advance any claim to political equality, but they do claim a treatment that will be kind, unselfish, just and tender – a treatment that will take into consideration what is best in them, and encourage them to make up what is lacking in them'.⁵⁵ Players had to

mark pitches and boundaries, peg stumps and lay out mats. Since grounds did not have huts, players were forced to change in front of spectators; there was petty thieving due to the absence of secure storage facilities and spectators suffered in hot and wet weather because there was no covered seating.⁵⁶ When Essop Manjoo, captain of Kismet, visited India in 1934, he was amazed by the amenities, limited to whites in Durban, and wrote excitedly to team-mates:

I saw one of the best grounds in the world, the Bombay Stadium, what a lovely ground and sitting accommodation, shelters all over, yes. I haven't seen one like that before in my life! I didn't know whether I was in India or America ... Another thing I saw which is unbelievable to your mind and eyes, unless you come and see for yourself, the Bombay Race Course, 3 stories and what a crowd and style.⁵⁷

Indians formed the Durban United Indian Sports Association (DUISA or Sports Association) in 1911 to press the Council for a ground. When an Indian criticized the project because it implied that Indians would lose their right to use existing public facilities,⁵⁸ J. Royeppen of the Sports Association explained that although facilities were theoretically open to all, in practice they were restricted to whites. DUISA was campaigning for the same facilities that whites enjoyed: 'proper turfing, drainage, fencing, and a pavilion with the necessary conveniences'.⁵⁹ The Sports Association made little progress. *Indian Opinion* noted in 1915 that 'after a lapse of so many years the Corporation were bound, in bare justice and fairness to all concerned, to materialise their promises'.⁶⁰ Despite persistent appeals, the Council informed DUISA in December 1921 that it intended to give the site set aside for Indians in 1912 to whites, and offer Indians an alternative site.⁶¹ A livid Royeppen wrote:

The Indian community are not making any 'claim' as if from today. They made their claim ten years ago and that claim was recognized by your Council and the resultant right was vouchsafed to the Indians. It is that right Indian sportsmen are concerned about now.⁶²

The Council eventually agreed in 1924 to lease 23 acres at the foot of Botanic Gardens. However, the 'onus of laying out and equipping the grounds be upon the Indian Sports Bodies'.⁶³ The new sports area was named Curries Fountain after Councillor H.W. Currie, town councillor

of Durban from 1863–66 and Mayor in 1879–80. Currie's Fountain was only opened in 1932.⁶⁴ Generally, Indians did not receive formal coaching, or possess personal equipment, as was the case with white cricketers. Cricket gear was shared, irrespective of whether the fit of pads and gloves was precise. The lack of equipment and practice facilities, absence of coaches and coaching, and the deplorable state of the pitches hindered the development of the game. After playing and practising in India, Manjoo wrote enthusiastically: 'I have learnt a great deal – If I stayed back one season more, I should have mastered it'.

ADMINISTRATORS AND ELITISM

There was a close relationship between cricket and the trader and educated elites. While some administrators were well-known sportsmen, others occupied leadership positions because they were articulate in English or were respected politicians and businessmen. Most administrators held official positions in multiple social, religious, educational, economic and political organizations, which had a detrimental effect on Indian cricket. This manifested itself in an unwillingness or inability to attend meetings to fulfil the work of the Union. In 1913, for example, only five of 16 meetings were held; the rest were called off because of a lack of quorum.⁶⁵ Such tardiness resulted in the Union resolving in December 1922 that delegates failing to attend two consecutive meetings would lose their right to represent the club.⁶⁶

Patrons of the Union, such as R.B. Chetty, J. Royeppen, Parsee and Sorabjee Rustomjee, R.K. Khan and J.K. Tandree, represented a 'Who's Who' of Indian society in Durban. The involvement of Parsee and Sorabjee Rustomjee was not surprising given their pre-eminence in trade and the fact that the small Parsee community were pioneers of cricket in India. Parsee Rustomjee, a general merchant, built an orphanage for children in 1903, was trustee of *Indian Opinion*, founder member of the Parsee Rustomjee Library, a prominent passive resister with Gandhi, and an outstanding sports leader: 'His house in Field Street was the house of the Indians and Indian sportsmen', remarked *Indian Opinion* upon his death.⁶⁷ Ramaswami Balaguru (R.B.) Chetty, who arrived from Mauritius in 1896, was proprietor of the Imperial Cigar Manufacturing and Trading Co. and Rex Printing Company. He was president of the Hindu Tamil Institute, donor to Sastri College and M.K. Gandhi Schools, as well as a senior member of the NIC.⁶⁸

Albert Christopher and Shaik Emamally, presidents of DDICU, occupied prominent social, economic, political and religious roles in Indian society. Emamally, who arrived in Durban in 1880 at the age of two with indentured parents and died in 1927, was proprietor of the Mineral Water Works. He was secretary and vice-president of the NIC, treasurer of the Mahatma Gandhi library, trustee of the Sports Association and life trustee of the May Street Mosque.⁶⁹ Advocate Albert Christopher was educated at the Higher Grade Indian School and called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in England. He served in the First World War and was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal. He was president of many political, sports, cultural and welfare organizations.⁷⁰ These individuals dominated cricket during the early period, both from a playing and an administrative point of view. In addition to their multiple positions, administrators had to cope with the deep poverty of the fledgling Indian community and racist practices of the local state.

IDENTITIES: RELIGIOUS, ETHNIC, LINGUISTIC, RACE AND CLASS

Durban's Indian cricketers formed teams on the basis of commonalities. These mirrored local neighbourhood, religious and class identities. There were differences of hierarchy between traders and indentured Indians. Traders were considered by the state (and considered themselves) 'Arab' because they were Muslim and wore Middle Eastern garb.⁷¹ Differences among Muslims based on language, region and class were reflected in the composition of teams. Ottomans was made up of Urdu-speaking traders and their shop assistants from Rander in Gujarat, India. In Natal, Urdu-speaking traders were known as *Miabhais*.⁷² Ottomans was formed in October 1911 at the home of Shiaku Peerbhai (S.P.) Butler.⁷³ Shiaka Peerbhai, who had come to South Africa in 1896, opened a retail store at 474 West Street. He was later joined by his wife and three brothers from India, Ahmed Peerbhai (A.P.), Rahman Peerbhai (R.P.) and Karrim Peerbhai (K.P.) Butler. All were prominent in Ottomans, and held official positions in the Union. The main benefactor of Ottomans was Abdul Hack Kazi, known as 'Kwamdhlambuzi' (Zulu for 'goat') among Zulus because of his love for meat. Kazi was born in Rander in 1876 and came to South Africa at the age of 13. He was educated in Rander and Boy's Model Schools in Durban. He owned a retail store in Field Street as well as several

branches throughout Natal. An indication of Kazi's wealth was that he was the first individual to own a Daimler in Durban, and was the envy of many whites. According to Mr Goolam Butler, grandson of S.P. Butler, most Ottomans' players worked for Kazi. In December 1914, for example, Ottomans requested that its fixtures be postponed because players were required to work late on Saturday due to Christmas shopping.⁷⁴

Employers provided boarding and lodging for shop assistants from India, who were usually young and single.⁷⁵ According to Goolam Butler, Kazi formed Ottomans to occupy the leisure time of his employees and prevent them from getting involved in vices, such as gambling. Ottomans had a strong Muslim identity. Thus, for example, when Muslims beat Parsees in Bombay in 1913, the *Mercury* reported that the 'local Muslim community is exceedingly jubilant over the news of the victory. The Durban Ottoman Cricket Club dispatched a cable message to the Islam Gymkhana of Bombay conveying Durban Moslems congratulations to the distinguished winners.'⁷⁶ The multiple subject positions of Ottomans' players became manifest against Greyville. Although Greyville contained non-Muslim players, its founding members, officials and the majority of players were Muslims, such as Shaik Emamally, Mahendeally Thajmoon, Hoosen 'Sonny' Buckus and Chand Noor Mahomed (C.N.M.) Khan, who were descendants of indentured Muslims. Among traders, descendants of indentured Muslims were known pejoratively as *Calcuttias* if they were from northern India and *Hyderabadees* if from the south. In addition to obvious differences of class, there were also differences of language, since indentured Muslims initially spoke Bihari, Bengali, Tamil and Telegu as opposed to the Urdu spoken by traders.

Emamally arrived in Natal in 1880 at the age of two with his indentured parents from Gurakhpur, Uttar Pradesh. Buckus, his brother, was born in Natal. Thajmoon was born in Durban in 1877 and educated at St Aidan's school. Khan was born of indentured parents in Durban in 1889. Educated at St Aidan's School, he was variously a cartage contractor, proprietor of the Orient Cinema which brought the first Indian movie to South Africa in 1926, and partner in Radio Record Trading Co. in Victoria Street. While Ajam Haffejee, a prominent member of Greyville, was from Gujarat, he had lived in England for 13 years, where he studied and was a clerk at the War office in London. He married a white English woman which, according to Butler, made him an 'outcast'

locally: 'He could not fit in with the Surtees because of this.' Intense rivalry between Ottomans and Greyville was connected to these class, ethnic and language differences. According to Butler:

I don't want to be rude, but when we played Greyville we said that we were playing the thirty three and one-third's. You know, they were children of indentured Muslims. When indentured Indians came, the English, although they were Christian, sent one woman per three men. One woman was shared by three men, so the children could not know for sure who the father was. It had to be one-third, one-third and one-third. (interview, 25 January 2001)

Yusuf Emamally, whose father played for Greyville, recalled that players of Ottomans constantly reminded them of their indentured heritage:

There was a lot of division among Muslims at the time. Ottomans did not like us because they thought that they were higher class. We also had non-Muslims like S. Shams, G.K. Singh and Jack Papa. They looked down on us. Even M.I. Yusuf did not escape this. When they could not get him out they would say 'Koja' (Black) to upset him, because most indentured Indians were from south India and darker. (interview, 13 June 2001)

Among traders, there were linguistic differences between Urdu and Gujarati-speakers. According to Goolam Butler, Gujarati Muslims displayed little interest in cricket until the 1920s, when 'old-man Akoojee', M.I.Badat, M.E. Jadwat, the Timols and Jeewas took up the game. Teams like Moslems and Kismet were not confined to Surtees. Kismet's 1932 constitution stated that membership was 'open to all Muslims of every class and sect, subject to rules'. However, 'the Committee shall have complete discretion either to accept or reject any application without assigning any reasons whatsoever'. They included Muslims from various language groups, but never non-Muslims. One informant recalled his futile attempt to get A. Stephens, regarded as the greatest Indian fast bowler, to join Moslems because he was not a Muslim. The category Muslim was thus not homogeneous. There was a hierarchy between indentured Muslims and traders, between Gujarati and Urdu-speaking Muslim traders, and between Miabhai and Hyderabaddee Urdu-speaking Muslims.

Ottomans were consistently the most successful team. Between 1911 and 1926, the club won the Peters Cup six times in nine seasons and

Pandays Shield three times in eight seasons. In his Annual Report for 1912, the secretary of the Union reported that Ottomans was successful because it was the only team ‘that consistently practiced’. Similarly, the secretary of Pirates blamed his team’s failures on lack of practice: ‘The members did not turn up to practice regularly last season, and that was the cause of their defeat, as it is evident that the upkeep of a team mainly depends on it.’⁷⁷ The secretary reported in 1926 that Ottomans won the Peters Bowl ‘for a number of years and if this same enthusiasm is shown by other clubs, the trophy may change hands’.⁷⁸ Kazi built a practice net behind his store in Field Street where shop assistants, with little else to do, practised during evenings and on weekends. Joseph Royeppen described a typical practice net in a letter to the Council:

A full size cricket pitch is laid out and is enclosed on both sides and the top portion by wire netting carried on wattle poles. The cricket pitch is 22 yards and the bowlers ‘run’ takes up the rest of the yard in line. The pitch is laid out in sand stone to take the cricket matting. (NAR, 30BN, 4/1/3/236, 17 July 1932)

According to Goolam Butler, as a result of this practice net:

Ottomans had an advantage. They had the facilities and time and were the only ones to practise. Everything was found for them. They ate, slept, worked and played cricket. What else was there to do? Other Indians had to hunt for a living. (interview, 25 January 2001)

Latest reported in 1917 that ‘since the advent of Ottoman in our Union they have evinced a keenness for the game which surpasses that of the other teams. They are punctual, attend to practice, and, above all, are fully equipped with the required gear.’⁷⁹ Patrons of other teams provided similar facilities in later years. This, together with other financial incentives, ensured that cricket was dominated by teams sponsored by traders. Writing about one of his key players, Essop Manjoo advised Kismet’s secretary from India that I.A. Timol:

is our right hand today – therefore I want you to look after him well during the off season, because this lad is young. Keep your eyes open on this boy. Please see that Timol gets something for his 100 wickets, a trouser and a boot will do. I hope you’ll try for this, and give it from our club money. If I was there, I should have given him myself but now it is your duty to work for it, and give something

... For our good, I suggest that every month end our boys must try and have a good junk [party], and it will cost you 5/- extra a month. Invite all our players only for eats, and keep them together, it will help us a long way. It may look curious to others, but I know you'll agree with me.⁸⁰

Class factors were pivotal in the success of Ottomans initially, and other Muslim clubs later. Class determined who could and could not participate in formal cricket. In November 1918, B. Nobin, M. Chinswami and T. Gabriel formed a cricket association for Durban's waiters who could not get time off on Saturdays to play in the regular league.⁸¹ In 1922–23, Durban's waiters applied to join the Union. Their representative, Thomas Gabriel, requested that games be completed at 6:00 p.m. as waiters at leading hotels began work at 6:30 p.m. The Union, however, insisted that games finish at 6:30 p.m., forcing Gabriel and his band of working-class cricketers to withdraw their application.⁸² Formal cricket was dominated by merchants and educated Indians who founded the earliest clubs and remained active as players and administrators.

According to Surendra Bhana, who has written extensively on Indians in South Africa, in the 'unique circumstances in which the notion of "Indianness" became crystallized in South Africa, it became racialized in the creation of White supremacist rule'.⁸³ The social structure in Natal militated against class organization. The racialization of class made race a point of reference in personal and group behaviour, and made race boundaries meaningful for members. Thus, when Coloured clubs Congella United, Union and Comets requested permission to use its ground in December 1912, DDICU's president R. Bughwan felt that although Coloureds had treated Indians 'very poorly' in sport, the Union should accede to the request to show them that 'we are not the same kind of sportsman as they are'.⁸⁴ From October 1914, Coloureds were barred from participating in the Union as members; in fact, all 'applications for registration from those not of Indian parentage as recognised by the law of the country be refused'.⁸⁵ In 1919, DDICU 'resolved that under no circumstances Coloureds be allowed to umpire matches'.⁸⁶ 'One of Your Readers' even complained to *Latest*:

I certainly do not appreciate the inclusion of Coloured sporting items in the Indian Sports Columns of 'The Latest' as I observed last week ... I feel that the publication of notes of the Coloured

sporting bodies is a gross abuse of the Indian columns, and entirely uncalled for. Coloured sportsmen do not generally participate in or interest themselves in Indian sports, and a rowdy and boisterous section of the Coloured sporting community have at all times abused Indian sports, and never patronise our shows at any time. This being so, why should you publish their sporting news?⁸⁷

Many Indians objected to membership by Malays. ‘Malay’ is a historical description that refers to Coloured Muslims of the Western Cape, a small number of whom made their way to Natal. Being ‘Malay’ distinguished them from the larger population termed Coloured, as well as from Indian Muslims who arrived in the nineteenth century.⁸⁸ In October 1914, Sigamony proposed that ‘as a matter of privilege Malays be allowed to take part in one Union match’.⁸⁹ In October 1923, R.E. Moodley and S.L. Singh moved to have Malays barred from the Union, but their proposal was defeated. In November 1924, Singh proposed that Malays be allowed to participate in 1924 ‘as a concession’, but be excluded from 1925. Delegates voted in favour. This shows the importance of race identity since nine of the 12 delegates were Muslims, but voted against other Muslims on the basis of race.⁹⁰ A resolution was adopted that the Union should be composed of Indians only.⁹¹ The Natal Indian Cricket Union (NICU) voted against Malay participation in 1926,⁹² while DDICU turned down an invitation to play a visiting Malay XI from Cape Town in January 1927.⁹³

Indians flirted briefly with non-racialism in January 1913 when DDICU affiliated to the South African Coloured Cricket Board (SACCB), which had been formed in 1902. SACCB ‘did not recognise any distinction amongst the various sporting peoples of South Africa, whether by creed, Nationality or otherwise’.⁹⁴ Teams competed for the Barnato Cup which had been donated by Sir David Harris, president of De Beers Consolidated Mines. DDICU sent a team to the 1913 tournament in Kimberley, which represented ‘Natal’. A Finance Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Parsee Rustomjee, who urged local traders to contribute financially because the team represented ‘the community’ and it was the duty of merchants to ‘assist it to do justice to the reputation of Natal Indians’.⁹⁵ Blazers were made compulsory for players, who had to pay for them or forfeit their place in the team. Lalla, Huck and Bughwan withdrew for financial reasons.⁹⁶ The blazer had a green body with gold braid, the national colours of white South African cricket.⁹⁷

The tournament was dominated by Western Province, with Natal losing all its matches. The experience, according to a reporter, was 'an eye opener to almost all the Natal men who, because of an occasional score put together by them, have plumed themselves as cricketers of knowledge and experience'.⁹⁸ *Tsala Ea Batho*, a Kimberley newspaper, reported that the tournament,

brought from Natal the finest type of British Indians, natives of Natal who ever graced any company with their presence. Sociable, refined, gentlemanly, scholarly, they seemed to combine these qualities in a manner which captivated all who came in contact with them, and could scarcely have had a more enthusiastic reception than was accorded these modest sons of tea and sugar planters.⁹⁹

Players and officials were particularly touched by the kind gestures of the Indians of Kimberley. The Union's secretary, Mahabeer, remarked in his report that 'any reference to this tournament would be incomplete were no allusion made to the hearty hospitality of the good people of Kimberley to your men during their stay there'.¹⁰⁰ Bonds with Indians from other parts of South Africa were often enduring. In February 1914, a banquet was held in honour of Amod Mohammed of Kimberley when he visited Durban.¹⁰¹ The Union affiliated to SACCB in 1914, with Sigamony and Christopher elected as its delegates. However, the SACCB meeting scheduled for November 1915 was cancelled because of the First World War.¹⁰² Thus ended the brief flirtation of Durban's Indians with non-racial cricket.

While Indians did not forge a broader alliance with other Blacks in South Africa, many saw themselves as part of the British imperial order. Soodyall, who served in the First World War and managed a team of South African Indian sportsmen to India in 1922, attempted to get South African Indians to participate in the Quadrangular tournament. Soodyall explained why:

Our mission to India is twofold; first to see more of our beloved Motherland and learn more of Englishmen, who are a very interesting race of people, and despite the fact that they rule India, we South Africans found them to be very impartial in their kindness and courtesy towards strangers. They showed us marked kindness and I personally feel that there are some very loyal and patriotic

Cricket and Indian Identities in Durban, 1900–32 161

Englishmen in India who really feel for India, and who are ready to shoulder the burdens of India and ready to assist Indians in every possible manner. Some Englishmen in India are the real gems of the English race. Anti-Indians of the 'Sahib' class are a very negligible quantity.

The second object is to create a really good relationship between Indians and the Englishmen on the pitch, learn more of the real game of cricket, how to field, keep wicket, bowl and learn the arts and rudiments of the game, as experts do before they become famous batsmen. We want to also be masters of this famous game. Englishmen have become famous throughout the world on account of their fine sporting qualities. We want Indian Hobbs and Meads, and we are going to have them.¹⁰³

Britishness extended to language. For example, delegates refused permission to H. Dada to speak in Hindi at a Union meeting, which led to bitter discord. The chairman compromised by allowing Dada to speak in Hindi for that meeting only. Dada expressed 'regret that notwithstanding the members all understood the Hindi language yet they objected to him being heard in that language'. An angry Dada stormed out of the meeting without the sanction of the chairman and was prohibited from participating in future meetings.¹⁰⁴ Although Indians were denied equal rights, the Union sent a letter of congratulation to white Natal cricketer Herbie Taylor for scoring 250 against Transvaal in December 1913.¹⁰⁵ In July 1914, a letter was sent to the white Natal Cricket Association informing it of 'the appreciative sense of your Union relative to the great and only victory by Natal over England and for the magnificent batting and bowling by H.W. Taylor, A.D. Nourse and C.P. Carter'. This gesture was particularly striking given that Indians had been involved in a lengthy passive resistance campaign against the state from October to December 1913, and that Emamally and Christopher were active participants in that struggle. On 10 October 1914, the Union cancelled fixtures to allow members to participate in a sports meeting called by the Mayor to raise funds for the War.¹⁰⁶

FOSTERING 'INDIANNES'

'Indianness' was fostered in a number of ways. This included playing against Indians from other parts of Natal and South Africa as well as visiting India. For example, when Ottomans of Johannesburg toured Durban in February 1914, in addition to a formal banquet by the Union, officials also entertained the team individually.¹⁰⁷ Local Indian cricketers kept a keen eye on developments in the Indian world. In September 1915, the Union sent a telegram to Prince Ranjitsingh: 'Durban Indian cricketers sympathize with you in your sad accident. Hope well again in the best possible time.'¹⁰⁸

The highlight for many Indians was a tour to India in 1922. Mahatma Gandhi, who departed from South Africa in 1914, sent a message that students at Indian colleges were keen to meet South Africans to find out more about the country.¹⁰⁹ The visit was delayed by the First World War but came to fruition in 1922 when a team visited Calcutta, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Aligarh, Delhi, Ajmere, Madras, Poona, Bungalow and Agra.¹¹⁰ They took a letter from the Mayor of Durban, Fleming Johnston, testifying that they were 'respected not only by their fellow-Indians in the field of sport, but also by the European community'.¹¹¹ According to the manager, Soodyall, many of the best sportsmen could not tour because workers were unable to get leave for five months.¹¹² While the team lost most of its games, Albert Christopher was proud that they had 'shown to the Motherland that her sons away from home are doing everything to uphold its honour and ancient traditions'.¹¹³ Indians continued to identify with India, as use of 'Motherland' by Christopher suggests. Essop Manjoo echoed similar sentiments when he wrote about a match between England and India in 1944:

Many spoke for India, and said a lot about *our* cricketers, but I know why they lost. Look at *our* team. Names on the paper, *we* are very strong on paper but when *we* go to field, there is something wrong with *us*. [Author's emphasis] ... After my visit to the Motherland, I am coming home with tears in my eyes. I am leaving behind friends and relatives and my family here don't want me to leave. Anyhow, I am leaving them behind and God knows when I will see them again. (Manjoo Collection, see n57)

Durban's Indians played cricket informally with Indians in other parts of Natal, and attempted to establish a Natal union. In August 1913,

DDICU sent a letter to C. Nulliah and G. Narrandes of Pietermaritzburg proposing this but did not receive a reply.¹¹⁴ In October 1914, Sigamony and Sullaphen of Durban arranged to meet B.M. Ally of Pietermaritzburg. However, the meeting did not materialize because Ally insisted that they meet in Pietermaritzburg, while Sigamony wanted the first meeting to take place in Durban, which he considered Natal's 'Sporting Centre'.¹¹⁵ In December 1917 and September 1918, DDICU again wrote to Pietermaritzburg but did not receive a reply.¹¹⁶ A meeting eventually took place during a match between Pietermaritzburg and Durban at the Albert Park Oval on 5 April 1920, where Durban won 'by an innings and odd'. While the meeting failed to form a union, Shanker, DDICU's secretary, felt that 'matches of this nature should be encouraged as much as possible, as it will improve the standard of play and create friendly relationships between all concerned'.¹¹⁷

Delegates from Durban and Pietermaritzburg eventually formed Natal Union at the home of Parsee Rustomjee in 1923, with Albert Christopher elected president.¹¹⁸ Annual matches between Durban and Pietermaritzburg forged unity. For example, when Durban played Pietermaritzburg in January 1926, a subscription list was opened amongst officials and clubs in Durban. Meals and socials that accompanied the matches forged close relationships.¹¹⁹ In January 1926, Durban advised NICU that it could not play on Sundays because of its Christian players.¹²⁰ From 1925, champion teams from Durban and Pietermaritzburg competed for the Panday Shield.¹²¹ There were regular games between Indians from Durban, Stanger, Dundee, Ladysmith, Newcastle and other parts of Natal.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has sought to unravel 'Indianness' and draw attention to the complexity of Indian identities in Durban. The thrust of the paper is that 'Indianness' did not identify who the Indians really were. Sometimes, Indians were Hindus, Muslims or Christians, sometimes they were Surtee or Calcuttia or Miabhai Muslims, sometimes they were workers or traders or educated elites, sometimes they were Tamils or Telegus or Gujaratis, sometimes they were Indians in relation to Whites, Africans, Coloureds and Malays, and so on. Indian cricket teams reflected particular identities. Greyville from central Durban and Sydenham to the west of the city reflected local neighbourhood identities; School was made up

of the Christian educated elite who occupied a particular niche in the evolving class structure among Indians. Railways was made up of descendants of indentured Indians who had worked for the Natal Government Railways. Pirates of India and Ottomans reflected transnational identities and solidarity with India or the wider Muslim world. DDICU fostered a local identity by confining membership to players living within the official boundaries of Durban. M.H. Christian, for example, was de-registered in January 1918 because he had moved residence a few miles outside Durban.¹²²

Cricket created and cemented race identity at local and national levels. During the 1913 tournament in Kimberley, for example, some Coloured players did not participate because they opposed the inclusion of educated Africans.¹²³ Coloured cricketers broke away from SACCB in 1926 and formed the South African Independent Coloured Cricket Board, which prohibited the participation of Indians, Africans and Malays. In 1932, SACCB was dealt another blow when Africans formed the South African Bantu Cricket Board. Thereafter SACCB only represented Malays. Indians formed the South African Indian Cricket Union in 1940 to organize matches between Indian provincial teams throughout South Africa. Cricket was thus divided racially and remained so until 1961 when Africans, Coloureds, Malays and Indians joined in a new body.

Sport was not a medium of cross-racial contact. It could not be in circumstances where the colonial census tagged Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Whites as 'races' and defined racial political identities through the force of law. In such circumstances, as Mahmood Mamdani, a specialist on East Africa, points out, identities become frozen; there are very clear differences 'between those who are said to belong and those who are said not to belong, between insiders entitled to rights and outsiders deprived of these rights'.¹²⁴ The attempts of Indian traders to protect class interests were rebuffed in a setting where the law treated them, divided them and categorized them on the basis of race. The construction of parallel forms meant that sport did not transcend the sectional divisions of Durban's social order. On the other hand, Indians were in contact with other Indians in Durban, Natal, South Africa and India. This is not to suggest that Indians constituted a homogeneous entity. There was conflict and tension among Indians, but they were 'Indians' in relation to other South Africans.

Cricket and Indian Identities in Durban, 1900–32

165

INTERVIEWS

There are very few informants surviving from the period studied, or even people who have a vivid recollection of these distant events:

Mr Goolam Butler, 25 January 2001. Mr Butler was born on 5 July 1912. His father was a founder member of Ottomans.

Mr Yusuf Emamally, 13 June 2001. Born 8 November 1917. His father was a founder member of Greyville and an official of DDICU.

Miss Sylvia Lawrence, daughter of V. Lawrence, 30 March 1989.

NOTES

1. Even though the author's position is that there are no biologically differentiated race groups to which we can attribute specific features, question marks have not been used for terms like 'race', 'African', 'Black', 'White', 'Coloured' and 'Indian'. While some of these terms may not have a foundation in social science they are used here because they have been widely internalized by most South Africans, are used freely in political discourse and debates, and continue to be accepted in official post-apartheid record keeping such as the census, applications for funding and jobs, and labour regulations.
2. See P.S. Aiyar, *The Indian Problem in South Africa* (Durban: African Chronicle Printing Works, 1925); G.H. Calpin, *Indians in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shuter, 1949); P.S. Joshi, *The Tyranny of Colour. A Study of the Indian Problem in South Africa* (New York: Kennikat Press, 1973, original 1949); H.S.L. Polak, *The Indians of South Africa. Helots within the Empire and How They are Treated* (Durban: G.A. Natesan & Co., 1909).
3. M. Swan, *Gandhi. The South African Experience* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985). Mahatma Gandhi arrived in South Africa in 1893 to represent an Indian trader in a legal case against another Indian trader. Shortly after his arrival, the Natal and Transvaal governments, provinces within South Africa, passed restrictive laws against Indians. Gandhi was persuaded by Indians to lead their struggle against these laws. He remained in South Africa until 1914. Prior to Swan, most of the work was hagiographic and presented Gandhi as the champion of Indians of all classes. Swan, however, argues convincingly that Gandhi primarily protected the interests of Indian trading classes.
4. V. Padayachee and S. Vawda, 'Indian Workers and Worker Action in Durban, 1935–1945', *South African Historical Journal*, 40 (May 1999), 154–78.
5. Since there is constant reference to race, ethnicity, class and community, these will be defined for the purposes of this study. Differences of religion, language and customs are so great amongst Indians that it is more accurate to look at them as a racial group comprised of a number of ethnic groups. While race was an identity imposed on Indians by others, ethnicity was self-imposed and became relevant in relations amongst Indians. In this study, race and ethnicity are used interchangeably though clear differences exist. As far as class is concerned, as Cohen has noted, 'a person's class is established by nothing but his objective place in the network of ownership relations, however difficult it may be to identify such places neatly'. Community refers to both a sense of shared identity as well as a group with a fixed local territory.
6. The task of reconstructing the story of Indian cricket in Durban is arduous given the paucity of written records. This study is based on newspaper accounts, the few records that have survived and oral testimony. The richest source was *The Latest*, a little known sporting newspaper that existed from 1910 to 1927. Although its focus was primarily on white sports, *Latest* included a fortnightly article on 'Indian Happenings' from 1914. The minutes of meetings of the Durban and District Indian Cricket Union, 1911–26 was a rare and invaluable record that assisted greatly in this study.

7. C.G. Henning, *The Indentured Indian in Natal* (New Delhi: Promilla & Co., 1993), p.81.
8. M.W. Swanson, 'The Asiatic Menace: Creating Segregation in Durban, 1870-1900', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 16, 3 (1983), 421.
9. Swan, *Gandhi*, p.51.
10. Calpin, *Indians in South Africa*, p.36.
11. M. Katzen, *Industry in Greater Durban* (Durban: University of Natal Press, 1961), p.1.
12. B.S. Young, 'The Industrial Geography of the Durban Region' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Natal, 1972), p.72.
13. Katzen, *Industry in Greater Durban*, pp.33-85.
14. Standard Bank Archives (SBA), INSP 1/1/209, Durban 1905-29, July 1913.
15. B. Guest and J. Sellers, 'Introduction', *Receded Tides of Empire: Aspects of the Economic and Social History of Natal and Zululand since 1910* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1994), p.2.
16. SBA, INSP 1/1/209, Durban 1905-29, 17 June 1916.
17. SBA, INSP 1/1/209, Durban 1905-29, 21 July 1915.
18. *Mayor's Minute*, 1933: p.62.
19. NAR, 3/DBN, 4/1/3/2052, City Health Dept. to Town Clerk, 9 Sept. 1949. The Old Borough refers to Durban before its boundaries were extended in 1932.
20. B. Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders. The Indian Working Class of Durban 1910-1990* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995).
21. *Indian Opinion*, 3 Dec. 1926.
22. *Indian Opinion*, 6 Aug. 1935.
23. Swanson, 'The Asiatic Menace: Creating Segregation in Durban, 1870-1900', 401-21.
24. Swan, *Gandhi*, p.4.
25. J. Brain, *Christian Indians in Natal* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp.198-9.
26. J.B. Brain, 'Religion, Missionaries and Indentured Indians', in S. Bhana (ed.), *Essays on Indentured Indians in Natal* (Leeds: Peepal Tree Press, 1991), pp.219-23.
27. Synod Reports, Diocese of Natal, May 1901.
28. Brain, 'Religion, Missionaries and Indentured Indians', pp.219-23.
29. Interview with Sylvia Lawrence, daughter of V. Lawrence, 30 March 1989. Whites used 'coolie' to refer to Indians in a disparaging way. As Valentine Daniel has shown, 'coolie' is a mixture of Gujarati and Tamil terms that has to do with denial of personhood and suggestions of someone devoid of morals. V. Daniel and J. Breman, 'The Making of a Coolie', in H. Bernstein, E. Valentine Daniel and T. Brass (eds), *Plantations, Proletarians and Peasants in Colonial Asia* (London: Frank Cass, 1992), pp.268-95.
30. *Indian Opinion*, 5 Oct. 1912.
31. *Indian Opinion*, 2 Sept. 1914.
32. *Indian Opinion*, 18 Feb. 1927.
33. For a general discussion of the spread of sport during the imperial era see J.A. Mangan, *The Game Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* (London: Frank Cass, 1985).
34. M. Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1990), pp. 32-3.
35. *Shaan*, March/April 1998.
36. *Colonial Indian News (CIN)*, 1 Nov. 1901.
37. D. Bramdaw, *South Africa Indian WHO'S WHO and Commercial Directory 1936-37* (Pietermaritzburg: Natal Witness Ltd., 1935), p.153.
38. Annual General Meeting of DDICU (AGM), Oct. 1911.
39. AGM, 1915-16, 12 Sept. 1915.
40. *Latest*, 13 Nov. 1926.
41. Com. Meeting, 28 Oct. 1911.
42. Com. Meeting, 23 Dec. 1912.
43. Com. Meeting, 29 April 1913.
44. Com. Meeting, 29 Oct. 1925.
45. Com. Meeting, 23 Dec. 1912.
46. Com. Meeting, 28 Feb. 1923.
47. Com. Meeting, 26 March 1923.
48. Com. Meeting, 23 Feb. 1926.

Cricket and Indian Identities in Durban, 1900–32

167

49. *AGM*, 1914–15, 8 July 1914.
50. *African Chronicle*, 16 Oct. 1916.
51. *African Chronicle*, 2 Sept. 1914.
52. Com. Meeting, 17 Nov. 1915.
53. *Annual Report of DDICU (Annual Report)* 8 Dec. 1917.
54. Com. Meeting, 11 Dec. 1918.
55. *Indian Opinion*, 11 June 1910.
56. Com. Meeting, 20 Nov. 1912.
57. These letters form part of a collection of Kismet correspondence meticulously preserved by its former player and administrator, M.E. Jadwat. His son Baboo Jadwat allowed me to examine the material in Sept. 2001.
58. *Indian Opinion*, 11 May 1912.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Indian Opinion*, 3 March 1915.
61. NAR (Natal Archives Repository), 3/DBN, 4/1/2/164, Letter from Town Clerk to A. Christopher, 2 Dec. 1921.
62. NAR, 3/DBN, 4/1/2/164, Royeppen to Town Clerk, 14 Dec. 1921.
63. NAR, 3/DBN, 4/1/2/1165, Extract from the Minutes of DTC Meeting, 6 March 1924.
64. Brochure commemorating installation of floodlights at Curries Fountain, Nov. 1964.
65. *AGM*, 8 Aug. 1914.
66. Com. Meeting, 6 Dec. 1922.
67. *Indian Opinion*, 27 March 1925.
68. Bramdaw, *South Africa Indian WHO'S WHO*, p.23.
69. *Indian Opinion*, 28 June 1927.
70. Bramdaw, *South Africa Indian WHO'S WHO*, p.76.
71. G.H.M. Vahed, 'The Making of Indian Identity in Durban, 1914–1949' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1995), p.31.
72. The origins of this term are probably to be found in the fact that many of their first names included the suffix Mia such as Goolam Mia. *Bhai* means brother.
73. *African Chronicle*, 14 Oct. 1911.
74. *Latest*, 17 Dec. 1914.
75. K. Hiralal, 'The Natal Indian Trader – A Struggle for Survival' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Durban-Westville, 1991), pp.262–88.
76. *Natal Mercury*, 16 Sept. 1913.
77. *Natal Mercury*, 27 Sept. 1913.
78. Annual Report, 1925–26, 17 Aug. 1926.
79. *Latest*, 17 March 1917.
80. From Kismet correspondence; see Footnote 57 above.
81. *Latest*, 6 Dec. 1918.
82. Com. Meeting, 28 Oct. 1922.
83. S. Bhana, 'Indianness Reconfigured, 1944–1960: The Natal Indian Congress in South Africa', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 27, 2 (1997), 100–7
84. Com. Meeting, 23 Dec. 1912.
85. Com. Meeting, 8 Oct. 1914.
86. Com. Meeting, 5 Nov. 1919.
87. *Latest*, 22 July 1922.
88. S. Jeppie, 'Re-classifications: Coloured, Malay, Muslim', in Z. Erasmus, *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place. New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town* (Cape Town: Kwela Books and SA History Online, 2001).
89. *Latest*, 29 Oct. 1914.
90. The 12 members were S. Emamally, S.L. Singh, M. Thajmoon, A. Haffejee, C.N.M. Khan, C. Rajpaul Singh, M. Johns, E.H.I. Motala, R.P. Butler, M.S. Badat, R.J. Moodley, A.I. Bux, and S.V. Rajah.
91. Com. Meeting, 11 Dec. 1924.
92. Annual Report, 1925–26, 17 Aug. 1926.
93. *Latest*, 8 Jan. 1927.

94. Com. Meeting, 24 Jan. 1923.
95. *Latest*, 8 March 1913.
96. Com. Meeting, 10 March 1913.
97. Annual Report, 1912–13, Aug. 1913.
98. *Latest*, 5 April 1913.
99. *Tsala Ea Batho*, 12 April 1913.
100. Annual Report, 1912–13, 9 Aug. 1913.
101. Annual Report, 1913–14, 8 July 1914.
102. Com. Meeting, 17 Nov. 1915.
103. *Latest*, 13 Dec. 1924.
104. Com. Meeting, 27 March. 1918.
105. *Latest*, 19 Dec. 1913.
106. Com. Meeting, 8 Oct. 1914.
107. Annual Report, 8 July 1914.
108. Com. Meeting, 9 Sept. 1915.
109. *Ind. Opinion*, 3 March 1915.
110. The contingent, known as 'Christopher's Contingent' after its manager, Advocate Albert Christopher, included Schraj Raj (teacher at Depot Road school); E. Sewsunkar Sham (headmaster at Umhloti School); A. Ramithlal (President of the Hindu Young Men's Society); J.M. Soodyall (Higher Grade School who served as a stretcher bearer during the First World War, being awarded a British War Star and Silver Badge); P. Moosa (St Aidan's School); A.H. Seedat (Higher Grade Indian School); R. Ramith (Government Aided School); A. Gafoor (Durban Government Elementary School); Ajmath A. Gany (Durban Government Elementary School); G. Doorsamy (Higher Grade Indian School); P.B. Singh (Higher Grade Indian School).
111. K. Reddy, *The Other Side: A Miscellany of Cricket in Natal* (Durban: KwaZulu-Natal Cricket Union, 1999).
112. *Statesman*, 15 Jan. 1922.
113. *Latest*, 15 April 1922.
114. Com. Meeting, 17 Aug. 1913.
115. Com. Meeting, 8 Oct. 1914.
116. AGM, 1 Oct. 1919.
117. Annual Report, 16 Oct. 1920.
118. Com. Meeting, 18 Dec. 1925.
119. Annual Report, 1925–26, 17 Aug. 1926.
120. Com. Meeting, 18 Jan. 1926.
121. Annual Report 1925–26, 17 Aug. 1926.
122. Com. Meeting, 30 Jan. 1918.
123. *Latest*, 3 May 1913.
124. M. Mamdani, 'Making Sense of Non-Revolutionary Violence: Some Lessons from the Rwandan Genocide', Frantz Fanon Lecture, University of Durban-Westville, 8 Aug. 2001, p. 47.