

**“ARCHIVING APARTHEID”:
THE ARCHIVES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF BANTU
ADMINISTRATION, (PIETERMARITZBURG) AND THE
DRAKENSBERG ADMINISTRATION BOARD**

by

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Introduction

Archival collections are a part of history and they also make history possible. They provide the basis for a proper understanding of the past and this is especially important for us in South Africa to inform the development of our democracy. Public archives are funded by the state to serve the state and apartheid severely restricted access to information and suppressed people and their memories.

My objective in this dissertation is to introduce future researchers to important archives, particularly those of apartheid at the local and regional level. I examine two major archival groups: the Department of Bantu Administration, Pietermaritzburg (DBA)¹ and the Drakensberg Administration Board (DAB). To do this effectively, I feel it is important to introduce the researcher to some general ideas on the role of archives and the work of the archivist. The intention of the first two chapters is to provide the information base that illustrates and clarifies the role of archival repositories.

This dissertation is also intended to show the usefulness of these hitherto untapped archival records and examples of relevant files have been selected to highlight their research value. These records are important for geographers, political scientists, archivists, historians especially social historians, local authorities, employees of the Department

of Land Affairs and policy makers. In this way, I hope to bring about a greater appreciation of the records.

Local government for urban Africans was historically conceived and implemented chiefly as a means of control.² Initially this control was exercised through White municipalities³ who acted as 'guardians' of urban areas. Thus local government was structured on racial lines⁴. The development patterns of local authorities differed from one race group to the other and also from one province to the other. Urban black locations then, were places of manipulation, domination and control.⁵

During the apartheid period legislation compartmentalised various race groups into specific areas and legislation such as the Pass Laws restricted the movement of Africans in urban areas. Prior to the 1970s African areas were controlled by White local authorities who established Departments of Bantu Administration.

In this dissertation I discuss the archives of one such department, The Department of Bantu Administration, Pietermaritzburg (DBA), previously known as Municipal Native Affairs Department. DBA came about as a result of the 1923 Natives Urban Areas Act. One of the objectives of this thesis is to look at the documents of the DBA in particular, those relating to the administration of Sobantu Village which

¹The DBA has often been referred to as the BAD. Researchers should beware of this. In this thesis I have tried to use DBA as consistently as I can.

²A. Proctor. "Class, Struggle, Segregation and the City: A History of Sophiatown, 1905-1940". Labour: Townships and Protest Studies in the Social History of the Witwatersrand. B. Bozzoli. (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1979) 49-83.

³J. Grest. "The Crisis in Local Government in South Africa". State, Resistance and Change in South Africa. ed. P. Frankel, N. Pines and M. Swilling. (Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 1988) 89.

⁴S. Bekker. "Cities Straddling Homeland Boundaries". The Apartheid City and Beyond: Urbanization and Social Change in South Africa. (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press) 109.

⁵J. Robinson. "Power, Space and the City". Apartheid City and Beyond 297.

was established by DBA to house Africans in Pietermaritzburg. Sobantu Village has been the subject of extensive research over the years. The best known published item on Sobantu is in Pietermaritzburg, 1838-1988: A New Portrait of An African City.¹ There are however, several unpublished historical monographs such as H. L. Peel's dissertation which deals with the administrative history during the period 1924-1959. In any discussion of Sobantu the excellent work of Peel springs to mind. While this is useful for the background on Sobantu, it must be noted that she carried out her work in 1987 and admits to having experienced "difficulty in identifying sources on Sobantu."² Peel mentions that she found "the Pietermaritzburg Town Clerk files, useful but the period prior to the mid-1930s were unsorted, therefore inaccessible and those extending beyond 1955 fell in the closed period."³ This dissertation discusses the latter body of material.

Another work of relevance to Sobantu is S. M. Mkhize's MA dissertation, which has done a comparative analysis of anti-apartheid politics in Pietermaritzburg during the 1950s and 1980s. The main focus of his study is the formation of resistance crowds and deals with various

¹ See J Laband and R Haswell. Pietermaritzburg, 1838-1988: A New Portrait of An African City. (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1988).

² See H Peel. "Sobantu Village: An Administrative History of a Pietermaritzburg Township, 1924-1959". (Unpublished Honours Dissertation, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal, 1987).

³ Peel. "Sobantu Village." 154.

aspects of Sobantu's past. He argues that the 1960s and 1970s were years of extreme repression and there were few uprisings during the 1970s.¹ According to Mkhize from the 1960s to 1980s Sobantu became part of the socio-economic and political struggles.² He utilised the archives of the Town Clerk of Pietermaritzburg and carried out oral interviews with residents of Sobantu.

Since the preparation of this research new material has become public and there is now an enormous body of further information on Sobantu for researchers to use. This dissertation demonstrates that the variety and richness of these records leaves ample scope for researchers on Sobantu in the post-Peel period. What is more this archives group could also be used for research on particular aspects of African administration. As an Archivist I find the absence of sensitivity to urban African people on the local level a matter of concern. It was during the 1950s that urban Africans were subjected to harsh legislation so that apartheid could be realised. But as Le Roux has argued, generally very little attention has been placed on the role of Africans in the management of their interest at municipal level in South Africa.³ This archival collection could be used to fill this gap.

Control over African people was already a notable feature of the government but from 1971 onwards a significant development was taking

¹ See S M Mkhize. "Contexts, Resistance Crowds and Mass Mobilisation: A Comparative Analysis of Anti-Apartheid Politics in Pietermaritzburg during the 1950s and 1980s". (Unpublished MA Thesis, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal, 1998).

² See Mkhize. "Contexts, Resistance."

³ C. J. P. Le Roux. "The Role of TM Mapikela in the Municipal Administration of Black Affairs in Bloemfontein 1902-1945". *Historia* (1997, 42) 67-68.

place. The central government promulgated new restrictive regulations with the introduction of Administration Boards in terms of Act 45/1971. This meant that control was removed from municipalities, and African townships were placed under the jurisdiction of Administration Boards. For the first time in the history of African administration a central body in a demarcated region provided for the administration of African affairs and control was effectively tightened.

Administration Boards incorporated African communities into “highly authoritarian, regional, White staffed bureaucratic empires.”¹ So tough were these new bodies that “an institutional Berlin Wall had descended on towns and cities so that Africans geographical proximity to the White city became dissociated from the White patterns of administration, political participation and urban identity.”² The activities, as well as the general political framework within which these boards operated, remained relatively unchanged throughout the 1970s.

More generally, South Africa is currently going through a process of transformation that requires an understanding of the government policies initiated during the reign of the National Party. In the apartheid years Blacks were removed from rural areas and resettled in Black townships to fulfil the need for White labour demands. The whole issue of land and housing revolves around understanding the government policy which was initiated during this period. Forced removals caused great

¹ D. Atkinson, “One City Initiatives”. *Apartheid City in Transition*. M. Swilling, R. Humphries and K. Shubane. (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1991) 273.

² D. Atkinson, “One City Initiatives”. *Apartheid City in Transition* 273.

hardship and loss to many people and given the centrality of the land issue to our country's history this archives collection would appear to be especially important. In fact, it not only provides an insight into the past but also opens up new areas of research.

It is within the context of this that I situate my examination of the Archives of the Drakensberg Administration Board (DAB). As mentioned earlier the DAB was an attempt by central government to exercise tighter control on a regional level. Whilst undeniably a specific instrument of apartheid policy, the archives of the Drakensberg Administration Board is one of the few public records housed in the Pietermaritzburg Archives that comes close to giving an indication of how the policies of the day affected the lives of urban Africans. This is now possible through the opening of the archives of the Drakensberg Administration Board.

The publication by S. Bekker and R. Humphries From Control to Confusion: The Changing Role of Administration Boards¹ mentions the DAB. There is also an unpublished MA Thesis which R.G. Humphries completed in 1983 on "The Origins and Subsequent Development of Administration Boards."² Apart from this the DAB records have not to my knowledge been consulted by researchers.

I am in the fortunate position of having consulted these two archival

¹ S Bekker and R Humphries. From Control to Confusion: The Changing Role of Administration Boards (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1985).

² RG Humphries. "The Origin and Subsequent Development of Administration Boards." (Unpublished MA Thesis, Grahamstown, Rhodes University, 1983).

collections. This "inside" knowledge is an outgrowth of other archival activities and I am in a better position to provide information on the subject of the records, as well as the functional and administrative structure of the offices which created these documents.

Chapter One : The Archives And The Archivist

Archives

The word archive has several meanings. An archive can refer to the building which houses the archival collections (archives repository) but in this dissertation I use it in the sense of a collection of documents created and received by an office during its term of service, and which is subsequently transferred to an archival repository where it is preserved and made available to the public. In the broader sense archives are a key element in the preservation of memory and historical identity.

Archives consist of a wide and diverse variety of materials and may include letters, diaries, maps, photographs, video and audio-cassettes. The term archival group refers to a body of archival records accumulated by a particular individual, organisation or part of an organisation in the exercise of its functions and activities.

According to the National Archives Act archival records “protect enduring civic, legal, property and other rights. They meet the requirements of organisations in both public and private sectors, and individuals for permanent recorded evidence of their activities.”¹

¹ National Archives of South Africa Act. 1.

The Archivist

An Archivist is the person with the professional responsibility for the efficient management of archival collections and repositories. This official is the link between the creator of records and the user of the information contained therein. According to the Professional Code "the Archivist is responsible for ensuring the availability and use of permanently valuable archives by identification, acquisition, description and preservation."¹

Archivists are guardians of the documentary memory and capture the organisational and administrative history that envelops the records and gives them their meaning.

The role of the Archivist is crucial and frequently forgotten. Ellis sums it up appropriately:

The Archivist's career ...is one of service. He/she exists in order to make other people's work possible, unknown people for the most part and working very possibly on lines equally unknown: some of them perhaps in the quiet distant future and upon lines as yet unpredictable. His/her Creed, the Sanctity of Evidence; his/her Task, the Conservation of every scrap of Evidence attaching to the Documents committed to his/her care; his/her aim, to provide, without prejudice or afterthought, for all who wish to know, the Means of Knowledge.²

The primary task of the Archivist is the safekeeping of archives and the focus of his/her responsibility is establishing, equipping and maintaining effective repositories. It must be borne in mind that archival records are exceedingly vulnerable and can be affected by fire, water and

¹ "Professional Code for South African Archivists". *South African Archives Journal*, (1993, 35) 106-109.

² Judith Ellis. *Keeping Archives*. (Australia: DW Thorpe, 1993) 12.

direct sunlight. For this reason, the archivist needs to be aware of the most recent developments in the areas of economically viable preservation, pest control and the combating of fire and water hazards to reduce the risk factor to a minimum.

Appraisal

Before records can be transferred to an archives they need to be appraised. Records, whether they have archival value or not, can be defined as “recorded information regardless of form or medium created, received and preserved by an institution, organisation, agency or individual in pursuance of legal obligations or in the transaction of business.”¹ Public records are records created or received by public bodies which are fully governed by archival legislation. Prior to being transferred to an archives repository, they are the current records used in offices of public bodies.

It is through the process of records management that public archivists are involved in the management of public records from their creation and throughout their life cycle. “Records management encompasses the design, maintenance of records classification systems, appraisal of records, approval of microfilm and computer systems, training of public servants in records management and inspection of offices.”²

Thus permanently valuable records are identified timeously and properly

¹ Professional Code. *South African Archives Journal*, 106-109.

² “KwaZulu-Natal Project Task Group: Archives Services Position Paper on Archives and Public Records in KwaZulu-Natal”. *South African Archives Journal* (1996, 38) 50-75.

cared for before being transferred to an archival repository.

During an appraisal process archivists identify records with archival value and separate those records which lose their short term functional value. Thus appraisal determines which records become archival documents. Since all records cannot be permanently preserved appraisal allows for the destruction of records of ephemeral value.

Until the early 1990s archivists in South Africa drew their understanding and appraisal policy from the writings of the American Archivist T. R. Schellenberg. Schellenberg believed that archivists had to take charge of appraisal of public records. This approach stressed that records high in either informational or evidential value must be identified for permanent preservation.¹ All essential records must be preserved and the challenge for archivists lies in appraising public records for the permanent preservation for corporate and national memory.

But the increasing volume of records meant that answers to the appraisal problem had to be found as space was becoming a major problem (archivists were preserving 15% of records). In South Africa the impetus to a fresh look at appraisal (macro-appraisal) was provided as early as 1992 when Eric Ketelaar from the Netherlands Archives visited. It was Dr Terry Cook's visit to South Africa in November 1994 that heralded the breakthrough.² The term "macro appraisal was coined by

¹ See T. R. Schellenberg, The Management of Archives. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).

² John Roberts. "One Size Fits All? The Portability of the Canadian Macroappraisal." 11 June 1999. Research Paper for IMS 5010 Appraisal and Description

Terry Cook (Canadian Archivist)¹ who defined it as “appraisal that occurs before records per se are investigated or appraised”.² Dr Terry Cook was the Director of the Records Disposition Division at the National Archives of Canada (joined the National Archives in 1975 and specialised in natural resource records).³

Dr Cook’s visit was an important step forward and subsequent to this Verne Harris (Deputy Director of the National Archives) visited Canada and investigated their macro-appraisal program. As a result the National Archives (South African Appraisal Review Committee) adopted this approach based on an analysis of the Canadian and Dutch experiences. South Africa was not unique in this respect as macro appraisal has been implemented in Australia, Canada (as early as 1991), the Netherlands, Switzerland and in certain parts of the United States.⁴

The current appraisal policy of the National Archives (macro appraisal) is driven by the assumption that records have meaning within the contextual circumstances of their creation and contemporary use. Essentially “records are the products of processes that involve complex interactions between creators of records (structures, agencies, people), socio-historical trends and patterns (functions, activities, programmes and clients/customers/citizens). All these elements constitute the dynamic contextual milieu in which records are created. The purpose of appraisal is

¹ See Terry Cook. “From the Record to its Context: The Theory and Practice of Archival Appraisal since Jenkinson”. *South African Archives Journal* (1995, 37) 32-52.

² John Roberts. “One Size Fits All?”

³ *South African Archives Journal* (1995, 37) 156.

⁴ See John Roberts. “One Size Fits All?”

to secure an appropriate documentary reflection of this milieu. Records which provide the best - the richest, most focused evidence of this milieu have archival value."¹ In practice this means that only five percent of the richest archival documents will be preserved.

Arrangement

Retrieval of archives by arranging them according to internationally accepted principles is the second primary task of the Archivist. The basic character of archives as natural accumulation of documentary material requires different methods and techniques of arrangement from those used by libraries. While the latter classifies material according to predetermined subject categories, archives are classified according to the organisational structure which created them.

The retrieval process involves the compilation of inventories and other finding-aids so that groups of archives are rendered accessible to researchers. As we know, finding-aids play a leading role in enabling researchers to secure the required information, without it they would have no road map to follow and no action plan to produce desired results. The inventory, the most important finding aid, constitutes an excellent starting point for obtaining information about a particular archives group. The purpose of every inventory is to lead the researcher to the series, subseries

¹ Verne Harris. Exploring Archives: An Introduction To Archival Ideas and Practice in South Africa. (National Archives of South Africa: Pretoria, 1997) 21. See National Archives of South Africa, Appraisal Policy Guidelines, December 1998.

and subgroups of a particular archives. It consists of an item by item description of all records that can be found within a specific archival group and provides the user with contextual information to understand in broad terms, the significance of the group. The inventory indicates volume numbers and notes the period the records cover. In fact, the archives of each office is preserved and described as a separate entity.

To be able to determine the type of information contained in a particular archival collection, it is important to be aware of the period during which the office functioned, of its functions as such, and its location. Records are arranged to disclose their content and significance and to make them available effectively.

Verne Harris, Deputy Director of the National Archives has said “methods of arrangement vary from collection to collection the provenance (the original context of creation) of individual items must not be lost.”¹ The principle of provenance means that records should be arranged so as to show their source in an organic activity. In essence therefore the records of one department/organisation should not be merged with those of any other provenance.”² Provenance refers to the institution/organisation/agency or individual that created/accumulated and maintained the records in the transaction of business prior to their transfer to an archives repository.

According to Schellenberg archival records:

¹ Harris. Exploring Archives 28.

² Harris. Exploring Archives 29.

“were brought together, originally, in relation to activities that resulted in their production. If they are torn apart and rearranged under a subjective or other system of arrangement, much of the evidence of their source is obscured or lost. The content of individual documents that are the product of activity can be fully understood only in context with other documents that relate to the same activity. The way they were brought together is therefore significant.”¹

The second fundamental principle of arrangement is the principle of original order. This principle asserts that “items in an archives group should be kept in the order given them originally whenever this order tells us something meaningful about the circumstances of the items’ creation and contemporary use.”² Through the principle of provenance and original order to the arrangement of records, Archivists aim to enable users to interpret archives in context.

When consulting records the following must also be taken into consideration. Clearly, the circumstances that produce records are as important as the records themselves in understanding what they say. But there are stages in the life of a record which have to be considered as Verne Harris, has pointed out “archival records speak through many voices, including those of the archivists.”³

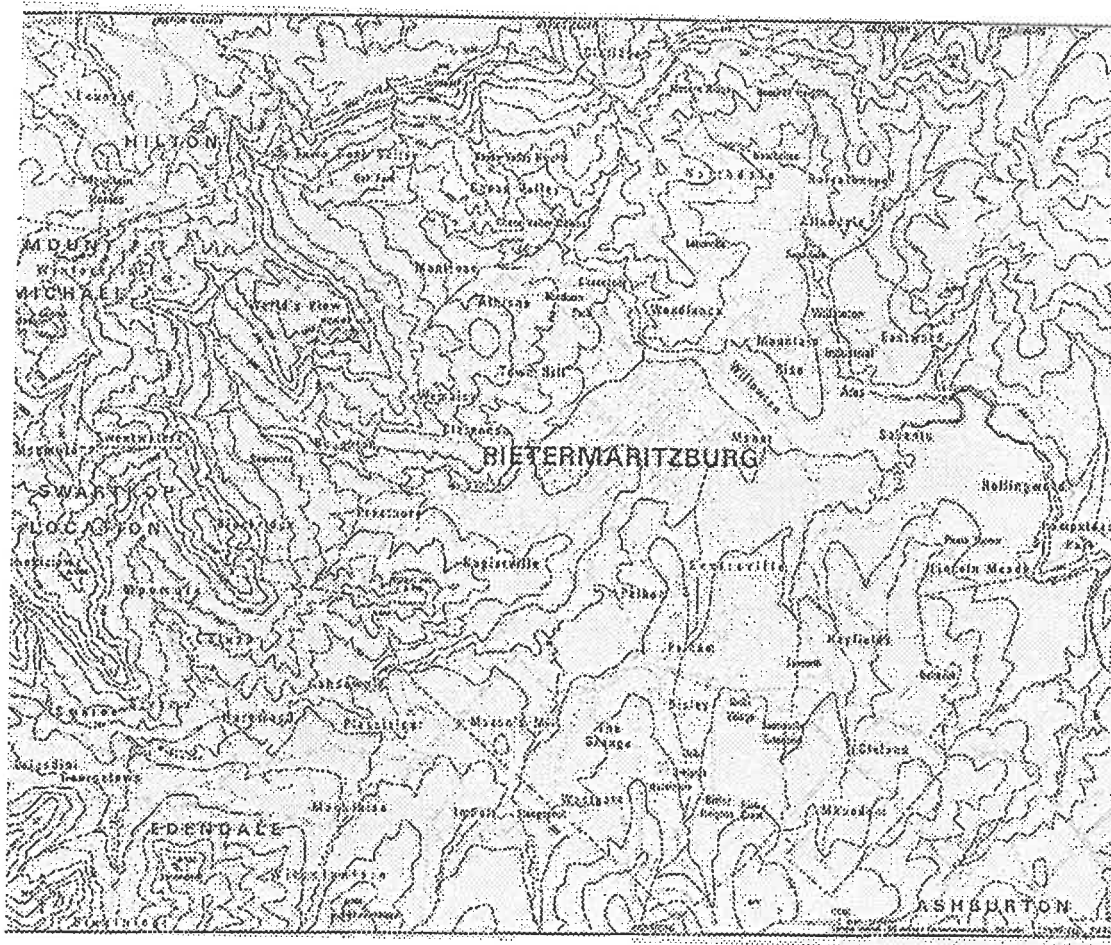
Most researchers take it for granted that research in an archives is concerned with searching for records relevant to one’s research topic. Interestingly, it also involves an interrogation of the file as records are created by people, used and kept by them. This perspective focuses

¹ Schellenberg. *Management of Archives* 92.

² Harris. *Exploring Archives* 29.

³ Verne Harris. “Claiming Less, Delivering More: A Critique of Positivist Formulations on Archives in South Africa”. *Archivaria* (1997, 44) 132-141.

attention on an examination of why, in what manner records were created as well as their subsequent use. Researchers can benefit from this scrutiny as this interrogation portrays the changes the document underwent over time. Above all, it stimulates questioning about the perception and purpose of the creator and this process gains added meaning when considering records of the apartheid era.



Map of Pietermaritzburg

Source: Pietmaritzburg 1838-1988. A New Portrait of an African City 4.

TABLE ONE

THE PIETERMARITZBURG ARCHIVES REPOSITORY
AND THE NATAL ARCHIVES DEPOT WITHIN THE
PRESENT AND PREVIOUS STATE STRUCTURES

CURRENT	FORMERLY
DEPARTMENT OF ARTS CULTURE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (DACST) MINISTER DEPUTY MINISTER DIRECTOR GENERAL	DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL EDUCATION
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA (NASA) NATIONAL ARCHIVIST DIRECTORATE	STATE ARCHIVES SERVICE
PIETERMARITZBURG ARCHIVES REPOSITORY (PAR) HEAD:PAR	NATAL ARCHIVES DEPOT (NAD)

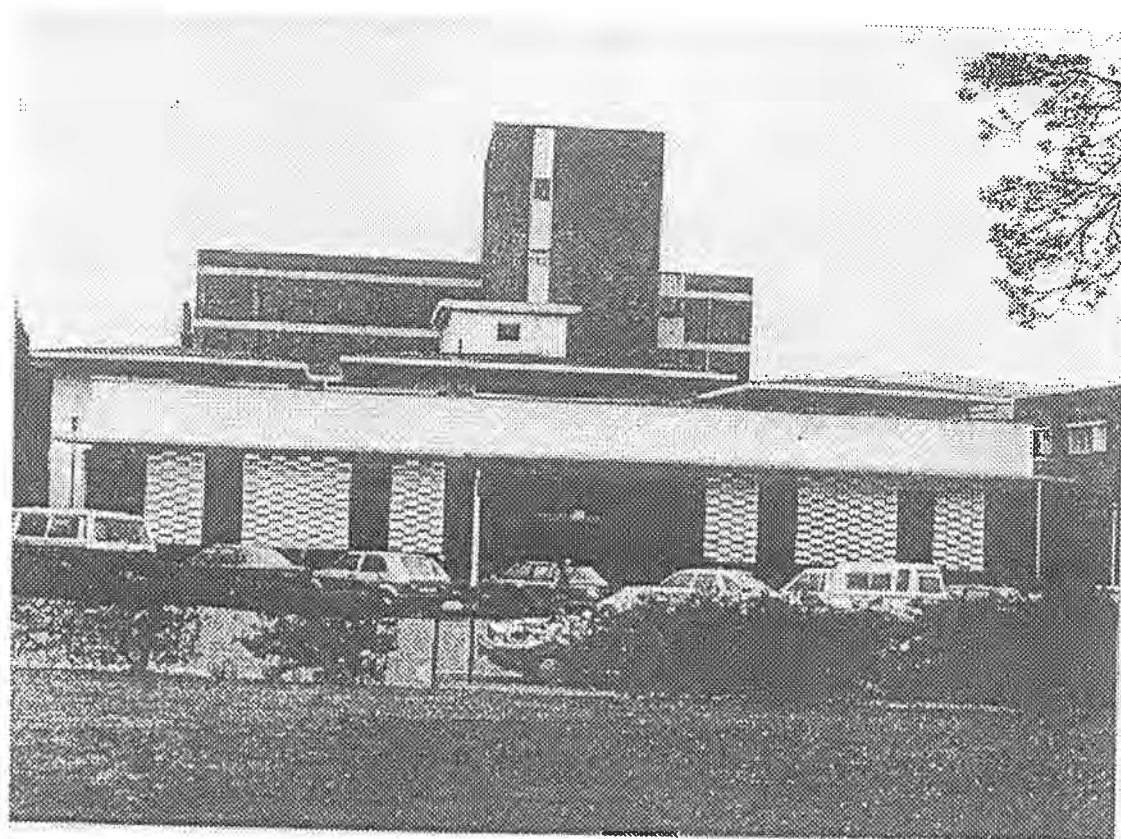


Photo of the Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository
Source: PAR Pictorial Collection C10054

Chapter Two: The Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository: Legislation and Change

Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository

The Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository (PAR) houses the official records of Kwa-Zulu Natal, dating from the earliest forms of colonial government to the present. These include the records of magistrates, local authorities and offices of the provincial government and are supplemented by collections of photographs, maps and non-public records. Accessibility is in accordance with the National Archives of South Africa Act No. 43/1996. Inventories are available and information on a significant proportion of the holdings can be obtained by means of the national automated archival information system in the Reading Room. PAR has space to preserve 15 000 linear metres of valuable records. The Reading Room is open from Monday to Friday (excluding public holidays) from 08h00 to 16h00 and on the second Saturday of every month from 08h30 to 12h00.

PAR is a provincial archive under the National Archives of South Africa (formerly State Archives) which is responsible for the rendering of a comprehensive archival service to government offices and offices of local authorities in South Africa. A primary function of the National Archives (NASA) is to preserve, care for and make archives available. NASA's head office is in Pretoria and under its jurisdiction fall the

archives repositories in each province. The National Archives falls under the central government's Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. NASA is responsible for the following: laying down policy, controlling the budget, administering staffing and other support functions. NASA also provides the following line functions: computerised retrieval, heraldic services, the management of film, video and sound archives and the restoration of archives. The Head of the Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository (PAR) is accountable to the National Archivist (formerly Director of Archives) in Pretoria. To understand this connection between NASA and PAR we need to examine the historical developments of the PAR.

Historical Developments of the PAR

PAR (previously known as the Natal Archives Depot) came into existence in the following way. In the early 1900s the first records were assembled under the part-time supervision of a government official. But, as there was no suitable storage facilities available, the documents of all government offices remained with the offices concerned, with the exception of the records of the Colonial Secretary which were housed in three basement rooms in the Colonial Building.¹

On the formation of the Union of South Africa on 31 May 1910 the responsibility for archives was transferred to central government with the

¹ State Archives Handbook. (Pretoria: State Archives, 1991). 3:11.

establishment of a unitary archives service which was placed under the Department of the Interior. The first legislation regarding archives was the Public Archives Act No. 9 of 1922 which provided for a central archives repository for the records of central government offices and for provincial archives repositories for archives of the provincial governments. D.W. Wills acted as part-time "Keeper of the Natal Archives"¹ (as he was employed full time by the Department of the Interior). Wills had no professional training or knowledge and was responsible for the control and supervision of the records. Since the accommodation allocated for the preservation of archival records was limited, he could not take further records into custody. Wills was later replaced by an official from the Office of the Natal Administrator.²

In March 1925 Natal received its first full time archives official when the Union Government appointed Mr M. J. A. Basson as Archivist for the province in Pietermaritzburg. Basson was a university graduate who gained valuable experience in the Cape Archives.³ He occupied the room on the first floor of the Colonial Building and storage space was extremely limited and inadequate as records were stored in the basement of the Colonial Building and in a room which served as his office and a Reading Room.⁴

A major accomplishment was the construction of an archives building in 1935 which was taken into use on 1 December 1936.⁵ Basson became Archivist of the Natal Archives Depot which is situated at 231 Pietermaritz Street. He was a remarkable archivist who had an exceptional

¹ Handbook 3:11.

² Handbook 3:27.

³ Handbook 3:28.

⁴ PAR. file 4/3/3/1/1. Accommodation. Buildings.

⁵ Handbook 3:16.

capacity for work. During the period 1925-1940 he transformed the archives into a well stocked and efficiently administered repository and succeeded in increasing the holdings from 3000 to 12 000 volumes. The presence of non-public records (previously known as accessions) is largely due to his interest and realisation of the value of collecting these records.

According to Basson:

Throughout the world the various states are devoting attention to the preservation of state documents and relics. This, however, is by a long way not sufficient, there are other sources of information with regard to the historic past of a country which cannot possibly be gleaned from state documents.¹

Basson died on 8 February 1940 at the age of forty one.² Not surprisingly, at the time of his death the archives had a total of 269 non-public records. In the words of Verne Harris, Basson was 'an archivist's archivist.'³ He is today best remembered for his accomplishments and leadership qualities.

In 1943 P.J. Venter signed correspondence as Archivist of the Natal Archives Depot.⁴ Shortly thereafter it seems that the position of Archivist was temporarily graded down to that of Assistant-Archivist and D.W. Krynauw was the responsible official during 1944-1946.⁵ From 31 January 1947 until 1 October 1957 P.C.O. Strydom held the post of Archivist and was succeeded by W.B. van der Vyver who worked from 1957 to 1961.⁶

¹ PAR. Non-Public Records. A1661: Address to Historical Society Durban, 11 September 1931. 1.

² Handbook, 3:29.

³ Verne Harris. MJA Basson: "An Archivist's Archivist". South African Archives Journal (1987, 29) 54.

⁴ NAR. ART 147. file TA16/3. This information was kindly provided by Ilma Brink, Principal Archivist of the National Archives.

⁵ NAR. ARH. 204. file. S1/6.

⁶ NAR ARH. 68. file 9/2/4.

Dr B.J.T. Leverton became Archivist at the Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository during the course of 1961 and he worked until 1978.¹ At about the same time there were racially segregated Reading Rooms and toilets. In the meanwhile the repository had been impeded by inadequate accommodation and had reached capacity. This resulted in the postponement of 14 to 16 tons of records of the Chief Magistrate, Durban which was not in the best interests of preservation.²

On 20 May 1957 six strong rooms, two offices and an extra research room were added.³ This development served to improve this situation. That year also saw the inclusion of a "high speed" lift to assist with the handling of documents and the repository had 11,65 kms for the storage of documents.⁴ Another feature is a specially designed loading zone which is protected by a portico structure and can be sealed off by electrically operated steel shutters.⁵

During August 1961 Dr Leverton (Chief) was approached by Mr Binns of The Spiritualist Church of South Africa (Pietermaritzburg Centre). Mr Binns wished to sell the properties at 22 and 24 Princess Street, which consisted of a church, outbuildings and a renovated house.⁶ The property adjoining the archives was owned by Messrs Wardkiss Hardware (Messrs Warden and Hotchkiss purchased this site in 1947),⁷ who utilised it as storage for hardware material. It was feared that if the

¹ Handbook. 3:27.

² PAR. file B/2. Behuising. Argiefgebou.

³ Handbook. 3:28.

⁴ PAR. file 4/3/3/1. Accommodation. Buildings.

⁵ PAR. file 4/3/3/1/1. Accommodation. Buildings.

⁶ PAR. file 13/2/6. Behuising. Aanbou van Argief Gebou.

⁷ PAR. file B/2. Behuising . Argiefgebou.



Photograph of MJA Basson

Source: PAR Pictorial Collection C7211

state did not act swiftly Messrs Wardkiss would purchase this property which the archives needed for future expansion. The state subsequently purchased the above-mentioned property.

With the implementation of the Archives Act No. 6 of 1962 the designation, Chief: Natal Archives was used from 1962 onwards.¹ Dr Leverton was succeeded by Mr F. Nel on 8 January 1979 and subsequently Mr F. Ferreira became the Chief. In 1990 Mr Ferreira was transferred to Pretoria and in the same year, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository had the first female Chief (Head from 1996) when Judith Hawley was promoted.

PAR subsequently developed into a fully-fledged and professionally administered repository. During the early 1980s the Chief had to motivate again for additional accommodation as storage space was insufficient and from 1990 onwards space was at a premium. In due course the repository was prevented from providing a full service as only a few small transfers could be accommodated.² As might be expected staff were hampered as they were unable to take archival records into safekeeping and in the meantime records were stored on top of shelves and in passages which hindered air circulation.³

¹ NAR. ARH 6. file S2/1/3.

² PAR. file 4/3/3/1/1. Accommodation. Buildings.

³ PAR. file 4/3/3/1/1. Accommodation. Buildings.

In July 1994 work on the addition of two more floors commenced and this was the culmination of the endeavours of many years of motivating for additions. These two floors were added to the existing four storey building and the lift shaft was extended. All the plans for the additional floors were based on the design of the first four floors with divided strong rooms and a rear exit on each floor for emergencies.¹ In this section of the building the height of the strong rooms is about 2 metres thus eliminating the use of ladders for the retrieval of records. The repository's holding capacity has been increased to 15,2 kms of records. On 16 April 1996 the two floors were formally opened by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Dr Ben Ngubane.

Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository is housed in a custom designed building which promises to accommodate growth into the twenty first century. The strong rooms (where the documents are housed) are all fire protected and the fire protection system which is an advanced one is monitored from the security control centre at the entrance to the building. This system is linked directly to the fire department and to the air-conditioning so that ducts leading into strong rooms shut off oxygen in the event of a fire. Carbon dioxide is ejected to quell fires and the system is operated on manual during the day and on automatic after hours. The security officers can tell at a glance in which strong room there is a fire and the air-conditioning system is controlled via the air-conditioning plant. The relative humidity in the strong rooms are maintained at 50-60%

¹ PAR. file 4/3/3/1. Accommodation. Buildings.

whilst the temperature is 12 to 18 degrees Celsius. These together with the absence of windows, the required lighting (fluorescent lights) and the extensive up to date fire system should ensure the good preservation of archives.

When the Durban Archives Repository (DAR) was established during 1989-1990 the Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository's service area was changed to the Natal interior. DAR is responsible for public archives for the coastal division and provides a Record Management service to all public offices in Kwa-Zulu Natal with the exception of the Kwa-Zulu areas. The Kwa-Zulu Archives Service (based in Ulundi) was established in 1991.¹ These three repositories will soon amalgamate (possibly in April 2001) to form the Kwa-Zulu Natal Archives Service when provincialisation takes place. This means that the National Archives will no longer be the Head Office and would serve the province in an advisory capacity.

The Provincial Archives Service Regions are as follows: Northern Region (Ulundi) includes the following areas: Babanango, Dannhauser, Dundee, Eshowe, Glencoe, Hlabisa, Ingwavuma, Lower Umfolozi, Mahlabatini, Mtonjaneni, Mtunzini, Newcastle, Ngotshe, Nkandhla, Nongoma, Nqutu, Paulpietersburg, Piet Retief/Pongola, Ubombo, Utrecht and Vryheid. The Coastal Region (Durban) covers Alfred, Camperdown, Chatsworth, Inanda, Lower Tugela, Mapumulo, Ndwedwe, Pinetown, Port Shepstone, Umbumbulu, Umlazi and Umzinto. Finally, the Midlands

¹ Verne Harris. 'Kwa-Zulu Natal Project Task Group: Archives Service- Position Paper on Archives and Public Records in Kwa-Zulu Natal'. *SA Archives Journal*. (1996, 38) 57.

Region (Pietermaritzburg) will encompass Bergville, Estcourt, Ixopo, Klip River, Kranskop, Lions River, Mount Currie, Msinga, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, Polela, Richmond, Umvoti, Underberg and Weenen.¹

Legislation

Further change has resulted and will continue to result, from the coming into power of South Africa's first democratic government in April 1994. Archival debate in South Africa has been dominated by a "transformation discourse that is informed by the assumption that archives require redefinition ... for a democratic South Africa."² Previous South African archival legislation, the Archives Act of 1922 and the Archives Act of 1962 as amended, was wedded to the past and did not embrace the principles of accountability and transparency. Public archives through its holdings by the very nature of apartheid's totalitarianism reflected apartheid. In the past the State Archives followed in the footsteps of apartheid and Archivists professional outlook was shaped by the policies of the government. There were separate Reading Rooms and toilets for Whites and non-Whites. The Reading Room for non -Whites had a separate entrance. During this period the Head of a repository had to ensure that he personally registered a first time researcher and had to display interest in the research being undertaken. This course of action

¹ Harris. 'Kwa-Zulu Natal Project Task Group'. *Archives Journal* 72.

² Verne Harris. "Transforming South African Archives : Discourse and Delivery". *SA Archives Journal* (1996, 38) 2. Redefining Archives: Public Archives and Society in Transition, 1990-1996" in *Archivaria* (1996,42) 6 -27.

was necessary because from time to time the Security division enquired about particular researchers. The Security Branch and the South African Police were also kept informed of the research undertaken by certain researchers.¹

This has all changed and today the so-called non-White Reading Room happens to be my office. At the time the staff were all Whites as it was until the mid-1980s that job reservation ensured that only Whites were appointed to professional positions.² In the early 1990s this also changed and the Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository was the first repository to have a mixed staff complement.

Undoubtedly, South African Archives have experienced significant changes in these past few years. As part of the democratisation of South Africa, archives legislation was revised and changed to keep pace with development and changing circumstances. This process led to the National Archives of South Africa Act No. 43/1996.

Act No. 43 of 1996 (National Archives of South Africa) charges the National Archives with the proper management and care of the records of national governmental bodies.³ This Act empowers the National Archives of South Africa to set standards for and provide support to provincial archives services. The goal of archival management is to preserve a balanced documentary memory of the South African society for future generations.

¹ PAR. file 8/2. Vol. 1 and Vol. 2. Registrateur.

² See Harris, "Redefining Archives". *Archivaria* 6 -27.

³ G. Calitz, *Introducing Archives and The National Archives of South Africa* (Pretoria: National Archives of South Africa, 1998) 6.

Even more important is that the “closed period” has been reduced from thirty years to twenty years. What this means in practical terms is that public records older than twenty years will be unrestricted. At the same time, it must be noted that access to archives can be denied for the following reasons: to preserve records and to prevent records that contain defamatory, libellous or personal information becoming available.

In terms of the National Archives of South Africa Act, No. 43/1996: Section 12 (1): “Subject to any other Act of Parliament which deals with access to public records- (a) a public record in the custody of the National Archives shall be available for public access if a period of twenty years has elapsed since the end of the year in which the record came into existence;” and (b) “access to a public record in respect of which a period of less than twenty years has elapsed since the end of the year in which the record came into existence may be given by the National Archivist upon request.”¹ On receiving an application for access to closed archives, the Head of that repository submits a report to the National Archivist for approval. Permission to consult the files is always subject to the condition that no photocopies of the records are made. The National Archivist may refuse access to a record on the grounds of its fragile condition, provided that there shall be a right of appeal to the Archives Commission against the refusal (Section 12 (3) of the Act). The Minister may make regulations as to the admission of the public to archives repositories and the making available of records for public access.

¹ PAR. file P16/1/1. Access to Public Records: Procedure. dd. 1997-06-06.

The following are some of the reasons on which a request for access can be refused: when the information is declared confidential in terms of legislation other than the National Archives of South Africa Act No. 43 of 1996 and any information which is damaging to the security, defence or international relations of South Africa.¹ Information which might damage the legal, financial interests of the state, a private organisation or an individual if disclosed, also any information supplied to the state in confidence, or which might prejudice the legal enforcement or administration of the law if disclosed. Or information which might endanger the life or physical safety of any person if disclosed and which might prejudice the fair trial of a person or the impartial adjudication of a particular case if disclosed. Finally, information concerning the personal affairs of any person (including a deceased person) or the disclosure of information having commercial value, including trade secrets, which might lead to such value being diminished or destroyed.²

The Archival Record And “Native“ Administration

It is important that these new systems, evolved in pursuit of more democratic policies, are considered in the context of the previous ones

¹ PAR. file P16/1/1. Access to Public Records: Procedure. dd, 1997-06-06.

² PAR. file P16/1/1. Access to Public Records: Procedure . Annexure A. dd, 1997-06-06.

which come out of the apartheid system. Like it or not, there is no escaping the fact, that apartheid marked the archival record as it did all aspects of South Africa's social existence.

The National Archives of South Africa has admitted that its collections due to their past area of collection mandate reflect overwhelmingly the point of view of the government of the day - ie. the White point of view and especially apartheid.¹ As a government office its task was to act as a keeper of records which reflect the ideological direction of the state. The policy of apartheid ensured that most records of the state machinery were well processed and preserved but little effort was made to acquire records that fell outside the state machinery. Thus collection focussed on prominent people in the fields of politics, military, government and local administrations, judicature and economic affairs.² Because they represent existing power structures the archives are dominated by records which refer to the powerful i.e. the Whites. Most of the researchers (the bulk of which are White) visit the archives to trace their family trees as their records are well documented. As far as the Indians are concerned it is difficult to trace their family trees as they were listed as "coolies" in the Indentured Immigrants Registers. Secondly, there is a problem with the Indian surnames as interpreters were used and the spelling varied. Also, females were given the first names of their fathers or the first names of their husbands in the case of married

¹ State Archives Service Regional Procedure Manual: Free State/Natal Region. (Pretoria: State Archives, 1992). 47.

² See Harris. "Redefining Archives". *Archivaria* 6 -27.

females, for example if Radha was married to Raj her name was Radha Raj. As a result of this we now have a fractured sense of identity.

There are very few records that originate from African communities. Less attention was paid to the processes and mechanisms by which ordinary people developed, thus:

South African history which is really significant is that which tells us about the every day life of the people, how they lived, what they thought, and what they worked at, when they did think and work, what they produced and what and where they marketed, and the whole of their social organisation. Such history of South Africa remains to be written.¹

The apartheid state provided for the establishment of a “unified native policy” and the creation of a national system of “Native Administration” and the terms “native”, “bantú” and “black” were widely used during this period. These terms referred to the African section of the population. The term African will be used and where appropriate the terms “native” and “Bantu” will be retained. In order to understand “Native Administration”, it is necessary to understand the name changes that the central department underwent over the years.

In 1910 the Department of Native Affairs was established and became the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in 1958. From 1978 it continued as the Department of Plural Relations and

¹ Quoted by C. van Onselen. The Seed is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine: A South African Sharecropper 1894-1985. (Cape Town: David Philip, 1996) 14.

Development and changed its name for the fourth time in 1979, to become the Department of Co-operation and Development.¹ The Department of Co-operation and Development was dissolved on 31 August 1985 and in the same year the Department of Development Aid came into existence but was abolished in 1992.

During the period 1910-1922 African townships were administered by the Department of Native Affairs (central government). In terms of the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 White local authorities administered Black townships and Black Advisory Boards were established. This board consisted of six members, three of whom were nominated by the City Council and the remainder were elected by the residents.² Advisory Board members were employed as part-time officials of the local authority.

Two Holdings In The PAR

On 26 May 1987 the records of the Department of Bantu Administration, Pietermaritzburg (which roughly cover the period 1914 to 1977) were transferred to the Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.³ The Department of Bantu Administration, Pietermaritzburg (DBA) was previously known as Municipal Native Administration Department. It must be noted that when the documents were transferred to the Pietermaritzburg Archives the

¹ RG Humphries, "The Origin and Subsequent Development of Administration Boards." (Unpublished MA Thesis, Grahamstown, Rhodes University, 1983). xi.

² H Peel. "Sobantu Village: An Administrative History of a Pietermaritzburg Township, 1924-1959". (Unpublished Honours Dissertation, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal, 1987). 17.

³ This is an Unsorted Group and the archives are to be found in boxes from No.1 to 79. A transfer list is available.

file on the African National Congress was not transferred. Files were destroyed in terms of a limited disposal authority (this type of authority is granted to an office to effect the destruction of certain archives only and is usually granted for the destruction of an office that has closed down).¹ But according to a Mrs Perks who worked in the Community Services Office, Mayville, Durban and was responsible for the transfer of these documents, some of the files were destroyed in error and the reason appears to be the continual shifting from office to office. A reasonable assumption based on the conspicuous absence of this file is that files were selectively destroyed by offices of origin. This might then to a certain extent explain how government offices destroyed files to protect their interests during the apartheid era (the so-called selective destruction of public records).²

On the whole the documents are in a reasonably good condition. There are however, volumes which are in disrepair as the flimsy paper has become torn, while others show a tendency to fold. The documents are unbound and contain loose documents placed in paper folders. Each folder/file contains documents dealing with a specific subject.

The archives of the Department of Bantu Administration, Pietermaritzburg consist mainly of letters received and despatched. Judging from the contents of the documents it would seem that the officials of this Department were sensitive to public opinion as

¹ State Archives Handbook. 6:51.

² See Verne Harris. Exploring Archives: An Introduction to Archival Ideas and Practice in South Africa. (Pretoria: National Archives of South Africa, 2000).

numerous newspaper articles on various subjects on "Native Administration" form part of this archives. This is most unusual as newspapers are made up of fragile paper that becomes brittle and breaks up.

As a result of duplication copies of Minutes of Meetings of the Sobantu Advisory Board are to be found in most files. Missing from the archives are photographs especially the annual photograph of the Advisory Board members. Attempts were made to trace these photographs but to date none of these could be tracked down. One of the disappointing features of this group is the failure of the office to have kept more of its own records.

In terms of Act 45/1971 control of African administration outside the "homelands" was transferred from municipalities to Administration Boards in accordance with the grand apartheid design. This Act, the Bantu Affairs Administration Board Act, allowed the government to exercise tighter control over the implementation of policy. The National Party-controlled Drakensberg Administration Board took over control of African administration from the municipality of Pietermaritzburg. Community Councils were established in 1977 in terms of Act No. 125/1977. Decisions were taken by Community Councils but were implemented by Administration Boards. In terms of the Black Local Authorities Act No. 102/1982, African townships were to be controlled by Black Local

Authorities and Community Councils were to be abolished.

The archives of the Drakensberg Administration Board (DAB) which cover the period 1973-1983 were transferred to the Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository in 1987.¹ These records deal with inter alia legislation, finance, buildings, reports, labour, liquor ("kaffir" beer, later called "bantu" beer and then sorghum beer), housing, essential services, minutes of meetings and population registration. It consists of correspondence files which are in a good condition. However, some of the print on papers on these files consist of the paper of facsimile machines which fade rapidly. The records are in English and Afrikaans. Although routine documentation of a low priority was found correspondence in these files reflect that the DAB was an instrument of apartheid. There is no evidence of confidential files although a few items have confidential written on them.²

¹ This is an Unsorted group and a transfer list is available. Some of these records fall in the closed period.

² I have constructed an overview of the files of the DBA and DAB, which are to be found as Appendix 1 and 2 at the end of chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter Three: The Archives of the Department of Bantu Administration, Pietermaritzburg (DBA) (previously called the Municipal Native Affairs Department, MNAD)

Introduction

Prior to World War One, comparatively few Africans lived permanently in any concentrated area in Pietermaritzburg and little regulation of this group occurred until the 1920s. There was no official residential area for Africans within the borough, some Africans lived on the premises of their employers, while others inhabited shacks in slum areas around Hathorn's Hill, Townbush and Camps Drift.¹ However during the period 1914-1918, Africans moved to Pietermaritzburg in increasing numbers, and this meant that the authorities in Pietermaritzburg were unable to provide essential services for the growing number of Africans living under their jurisdiction.

Under the segregationist policies before 1948 the authorities viewed the towns as sites to be occupied and controlled by Whites. It was this that prompted a key piece of legislation, namely the Natives (Urban Areas Act of 1923), which aimed at imposing conditions on places of African occupation known as locations. Section 5 provided, roughly, that the Governor-General may proclaim all or any specified portion of an urban

area under this section of the Act; after which every African residing therein, with certain exceptions, must take up his or her residence in a "Native" location, village or hostel.² The object of this section being to remove all Africans other than domestic servants from the town and to segregate them. This act served as the basis for various subsequent amendments to legislation in an attempt to curb Black urbanisation. The 1923 Act gave the authorities the power to force Africans to live in segregated townships and strengthened the pass system which controlled the movement of Africans seeking work and homes in towns. Furthermore, municipalities had to create Native Revenue Accounts which were to be credited with all the revenue derived from location administration. Finance could be accrued to the Revenue Account from rents, fines and registration fees.³ Provision was made for the establishment of lucrative municipal monopolies on the sale of beer. While this constituted a valuable source of income it antagonised would-be domestic brewers.⁴

The Department Of Bantu Administration, Pietermaritzburg

Although the 1923 Act was discretionary, Pietermaritzburg established

¹ "Sobantu Village 50th Anniversary Brochure". 5.

² PAR. DBA. file 15/19. South African Institute of Race Relations 1963-1968.

³ RG Humphries. "The Origin and Subsequent Development of Administration Boards." (Unpublished MA Thesis, Grahamstown, Rhodes University, 1983). 5.

⁴ H Peel. "Sobantu Village: An Administrative History of a Pietermaritzburg Township, 1924-1959". (Unpublished Honours Dissertation, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal, 1987). 17.

a municipal department to deal with African administration. In November 1924 the City Corporation took over the Native Women's Hostel in Church Street which had been controlled by a Committee of local women as a private institution since 1913 and in 1925 built a portion of a Native Men's Hostel in East Street.¹

Although the question of a village for housing Africans in Pietermaritzburg, had been discussed for years no decision was taken. It is easy, with the hindsight of history, to see the trend. To the authorities of the day, decision making about a location was inevitably put aside. After much local controversy the site of the "Native Village" was selected and an administration was soon organized.

On 1 March 1921, the Corporation of Pietermaritzburg (Finance Committee) held a meeting with Mr J. S. Marwick (Superintendent of Native Affairs, Durban) on the subject of a suggested appointment of a Superintendent of Native Affairs, Pietermaritzburg. According to Marwick "the aim should be to appoint an official who would have full powers and who would be trusted by the Council."²

In 1925, the first Superintendent of Native Affairs, Mr G. Ballenden was appointed.³ Ballenden was responsible for the Municipal Native Administration Department (MNAD) and was required to advise the Council on all matters related to the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act and

¹ PAR. DBA. file 15/19. South African Institute of Race Relations 1963-1968.

² PAR. DBA. file 9/1. Appointment of Director 1925-1963.

³ This was later changed to Manager of the Native Administration Department Corporation Year Book 1931-1932 80.

to carry out the instructions of the Council.¹ He resigned on 1 March 1927 to take up his position as Manager, Native Affairs, Johannesburg and was replaced by Mr R. E. Stevens (became Manager, MNAD) on 10 August 1927.² Mr Stevens was previously a commissioned officer in the South African Police.³ In 1948 the manager, Mr Stevens was replaced by Mr D. N. Bang.⁴ Prior to joining the DBA, Mr Bang worked in the office of the Chief Native Commissioner and the railways.⁵ He resigned in 1963 to take up a position at the University of Natal.⁶

An essential factor in the success of this location system was the fact that the Superintendent was part of a much larger hierarchy. His office and the Town Council were always subject to higher authorities in the national bureaucracy that included the Chief Native Commissioner of Natal, and ultimately the Secretary for Native Affairs in Pretoria. From the beginning, then, African urban administration in Pietermaritzburg was conducted in a technocratic and bureaucratic way designed to exclude African involvement.

The Department of Bantu Administration, Pietermaritzburg was a local office that dealt directly with the office of the Town Clerk of Pietermaritzburg. Initially the offices of the DBA were situated in Otto Street, Pietermaritzburg but in 1965 new premises were built at the corner

¹ See Corporation Year Book, 1924-1925.

² Corporation Year Book, 1927-1928 22.

³ PAR. DBA. file 23/12. Enquiry on Economic Health & Social Conditions of Natives in Urban Areas 1941.

⁴ PAR. DBA. file 30/8. Godfrey Kumalo 1938-1965.

⁵ PAR. DBA. file 2/5. Transport to Native Village 1959-1968.

⁶ PAR. DBA. file 2/5. Transport to Native Village 1959-1968.

of Pietermaritz and Slatter Street. A 100 year old Victorian house at 380 Pietermaritz Street was demolished to make way for offices of the DBA. This house was built partly of shale and brick with arched windows on the gable side and for many years John Meek, a Londoner (who became a journalist) owned this house and his son-in-law David Slatter, usher of the Legislative Council inherited it. In 1870 the house was occupied by Theodore G. Crowley, Chief Clerk of the Colonial Office and later Colonial Auditor for Natal. Robert D. Clark, third headmaster of Maritzburg College was the last of the Victorian gentry to have lived here.¹ The offices were occupied in October 1966 and cost R153 890 to build.

With this overview I now turn to examine the files in the DBA in more detail. This is to provide a meaningful, integrated image of the urban landscape under control of the DBA. These records form a rich and valuable source of information on municipal control at the local level. What is more they reflect the unique way in which urban Africans were governed. An important development was the creation and development of Sobantu Village.

This archival collection contains newspaper articles which highlight what the administration of the time regarded as important. Newspapers are an indispensable record of public and private events and as far as this archives group is concerned it is an important documentary source. For example there are articles on the installation of Chief Gatsha Butelezi in

¹ PAR. DBA. file 20/3. Erection of New Office for BAD 1928-1968.

1957 as Chief of the Buthelezi tribe as well as articles (photos) etc. on the funeral of the late Chief Langalake Ngcobo, an influential and highly respected Chief with jurisdiction in Pietermaritzburg, New Hanover, Greytown, Howick, Impendhle, Ixopo, Richmond and Camperdown areas. Chief Ngcobo the ruler of the Funze (Fuze) tribe since 1919, died on 4 August 1957.¹

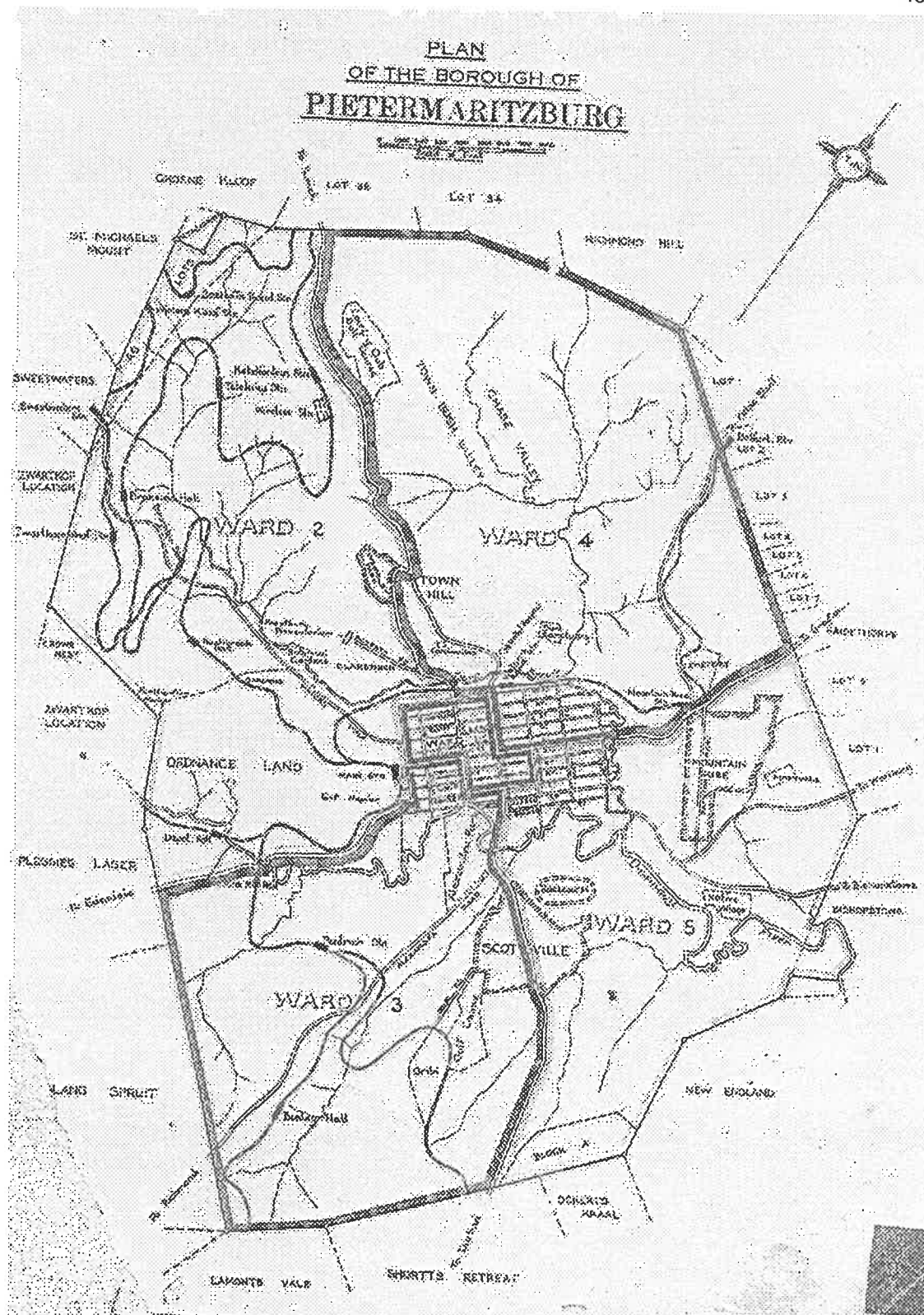
Sobantu Village

By way of introduction it is necessary to trace the historical development of Sobantu Village. Sobantu Village (known as the Native Village until 1947) is located about five kilometres to the east of Pietermaritzburg city centre in Kwa Zulu Natal. This village lay three miles from the centre of town and lies in a valley bounded by the Bayne's Spruit and Umsinduzi river, while to the east it is bounded by the farming area of Bishopstowe.² Sobantu Village was named after Bishop Colenso, who is known to have done a lot of good work among Africans.³ He can best be described as the champion of the Zulus as they were his main concern. Bishop Colenso became widely known and loved as Sobantu (which means Father of the

¹ PAR. DBA. file 32/4. Appointment of Chief for City Natives 1936-1967.

² C Napier and P Mtinkulu. "Pietermaritzburg's Sobantu Village A Case Study of Control and Violence in a Natal Township". (Unpublished Paper presented at a seminar Department of Development Administration and Politics, University of South Africa, Pretoria, occasional Paper No. 1/1989) 2.

³ The Natal Witness. 4 December 1986. See J. Guy. The Heretic: A Study of John William Colenso 1814-1883. (Johannesburg : Ravan Press, 1983).



Plan of the Borough of Pietermaritzburg
Source: PAR. Map Collection M2/81

People).

The township was to be entirely self-financing so as not to be a drain on White tax payers. Income from a municipal beer hall, from rents and fines went into a Native Revenue Account which financed the village. These payments met all the expenses of the DBA. A key feature of the village was that it catered solely for “married natives not living on the premises of their employer.” Prospective tenants had to be male, married, and employed in Pietermaritzburg. Their lodgings were to accommodate their wives, children, parents and brothers or sisters. The family was entitled to the house as long as the male occupier continued to live and work in Pietermaritzburg.”¹ Anyone else had to apply for a lodger’s permit and live in a hostel.

Education was attended to fairly early. The first school was provided by the Congregational, Presbyterian and the Roman Catholic denominations in church buildings as they had wider premises where children could play. On the other hand, the other denominations had no wide premises but allowed their buildings for night schools for working parents.²

As this administrative structure emerged, so the location developed. Houses were built at a slow level and construction of the first 100 houses began in 1927 and were ready for occupation in 1928. The first house in Sobantu No. 1 was allocated to Mr Sikhosana and his family. In 1929 the

¹ Peel. “Sobantu Village” . 68.

² Sobantu Village 50th Anniversary Brochure. 3.

following picture emerges. Of the 100 houses built only 92 were occupied and the earth floors were replaced by brick. Only fifty houses were fenced with each having its own garden. Inevitably the residents responded favourably to this by planting flowers and vegetables. The roads were shaped by the City Engineers Department and street lights were fixed by the Electricity Department. At the end of July 1929 the population was 372 and consisted of 92 males over 21; 77 males under 21; 107 females over 21; 96 females under 21.¹

In 1930 a school was built and this was followed in 1946 by an infant school.² Consideration was given to the construction of a high school which was established three years later.³ Health services started in the early thirties with one nurse who resided at the Women's Hostel and she used a bicycle to travel to and fro. At the time House No. 206 was used as a clinic and this changed during the late thirties when two nurses were responsible for the dispensary and midwifery.⁴ Although the Council ensured that the new clinic room and offices were built in 1943, it was only in the late fifties that the number of nurses increased to three, ie. district nurse, clinic nurse and home visiting nurse.⁵

From 1 November 1935, Shaik Yusoof commenced a daily bus service between the town and village.⁶ This was replaced with a municipal bus service in 1937.⁷ The following streets were named in Sobantu:

¹ Corporation Year Book 1928-1929. 86-88.

² Corporation Year Book 1946-1947. 26.

³ Corporation Year Book, 1948-1949. 87.

⁴ Peel, "Sobantu Village". 82.

⁵ Peel, "Sobantu Village". 82.

⁶ Corporation Year Book, 1936-1937. 110.

⁷ Corporation Year Book, 1936-1937. 134.

Mendi, Sobantu, Tshaka, Mgeni, Umsunduzi, Kambula, Jubilee, Somtsewu, Mpande, Nandi, Ekukanyeni, Kwezi and Gardiner Street.¹ These streets commemorated, honoured and paid respect to African and White leaders and rivers. It is by no coincidence that these names were selected. Its emphasis on the importance of Zulu leaders heritage as an agent of cultural identity was timely. These names were a symbolic gesture which was used for historical reasons as there was much to be gained by leaving the Zulu connection intact.

In 1938 the Marjorie Pope-Ellis bequest, funded a weaving school, which provided regular employment for a small group of women while they trained.² The Weaving School initially started on the farm at Ashburton and moved to Sobantu in June 1939, after the death of Marjorie Pope-Ellis.¹ It was during the 1914-1918 War that Miss Pope-Ellis, who was in her early 20's, and serving as an ambulance driver in the Scottish Women's Corps in Serbia, conceived the idea of starting a weaving school at her mother's farm at Ashburton. When she noticed Serbian women weaving beautiful patterns from their beadwork she thought this occupation would be suitable for the illiterate Zulu girls on the farm. Miss Pope-Ellis believed that it would provide them with some financial benefit and prevent them from straying in the town.² From then on, Marjorie Pope-Ellis became intensely interested in weaving and devoted the rest of her life to the craft. After the war, she and a war comrade, Miss Florence Harvey travelled to the latter's home in Canada

¹ Corporation Year Book, 1936-1937. 110.

² Peel. "Sobantu Village". 70.

and visited another wartime comrade in Santa Barbara, California. Here Miss Pope-Ellis took a course of weaving at the local state college and attended another course at the London School of Weaving. She and her friend with a few hand looms and spinning wheels converted a disused stable in 1931.³

The school opened with five pupils and bales of raw wool were purchased from Durban. Miss Pope-Ellis returned to Serbia to study the Serbian method of dyeing.⁴ On her death on 17 September 1938 Marjorie Pope-Ellis left a bequest of R500 to fund a new school on condition that this sum was augmented by the government and the Pietermaritzburg Corporation.⁵ In 1964 the artist Barbara Tyrrell's help was sought because the designs were worn threadbare through constant tracings. Barbara Tyrrell's designs of Zulu characters intermingled with designs of bushmen, animals, flora and beadwork produced a remarkable effect.

As Sobantu Village developed it acquired the reputation of being a model village. Employment varied from office clerks, nurses, teachers down to labourers doing heavy manual work. The men lived at home and the average distance from the place of employment was three to six miles. Many if not most of the community were Zulus.⁶

¹ Peel, "Sobantu Village". 137.

² PAR. DBA. file 12/1. Establishment of the School of Weaving 1938-1968.

³ PAR. DBA. file 12/1. Establishment of the School of Weaving 1938-1968.

⁴ PAR. DBA. file 12/1. Establishment of the School of Weaving 1938-1968.

⁵ PAR. DBA. file 12/1. Establishment of the School of Weaving 1938-1968.

⁶ PAR. DBA. file 22/43. National War Memorial Health Foundation 1947-1954.



Photograph of Marjorie Pope-Ellis
Source: PAR. Pictorial Collection . C8906

Godfrey Francis Kumalo

This archives group also contain numerous letters of Godfrey Francis Kumalo. Peel, Mkhize mention Kumalo briefly and Paul la Hausse cites him as an example of a picaresque figure who, “unscrupulously used missionary education and trickery to manoeuvre within the apartheid structures.”¹ These letters are of great value to historians as they are the reflection of the mindset of an educated African in Pietermaritzburg at the time. Kumalo was a prolific and articulate letter writer and in his letters we find a forceful personality reflecting upon his experiences in his fight against White authority.

These letters are fascinating and provide an important window through which issues about Sobantu Village are viewed and highlighted. Often in written documents there is the interposing presence of the White bureaucracy who interpreted and recorded the information. But these letters that the officialdom collected remain overwhelmingly Kumalo's own work filled with rich detail and comment. Their value lies not only in that they tell us a story from the angle of the people, but at the same time reveal the mind and personality of Kumalo himself. It is not possible to describe each and every letter of Kumalo, suffice to say his letters show him to be educated, shrewd, capable, but also malicious, courageous and towards the end bitter. Kumalo's letters contain currents of anger and hatred, while some are typed, the bulk are written by hand.

The details of Kumalo's early life remain obscure. He came to Sobantu in June 1935. From the little that we know, he was a teacher who had twelve children. Initially, he taught at Sobantu Village but when complaints emerged about his alleged ill-treatment of pupils, he was transferred to a school in Zululand. Kumalo left the profession in early 1938.²

Next, he turned to boot and shoe (leather) repairs in the city centre and was in trouble before long. Apparently, he began organising Coloured and African workers at his firm into a multiracial alliance. From 1944 he worked from home as a shoemaker thus enabling him to be more independent of authority.³ He continued to write numerous grandiose letters to the DBA and City Council. He tried to exert pressure on the DBA and the following extract demonstrates his view of the DBA:

Whilst the municipal authorities pride themselves of a beautiful model African township, we cannot help feeling that it is the pride of hypocrites, because of the soul destroying treatment meted out to people living there. A grave yard may also look beautiful to a casual observer, but to a deep thinker who knows what lies buried underneath the white stones and flowers it is not so beautiful. What is the good of building up a beautiful house, when people being inside cannot enjoy a healthy wholesome life?"⁴

¹ See P. la Hausse. "Who was Elias Khuzwayo". *Apartheid's Genesis 1935 - 1962*, P. Bonner, P. Delius and D. Posel (eds). Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1993) 75.

² PAR. DBA. file 30/8. Godfrey Kumalo 1938-1965.

³ PAR. DBA. file 30/8. Godfrey Kumalo 1938-1965. 3/PMB. file 4/4/2/340. TC 197/21. Confidential letter from Manager to the Native Commissioner, Pietermaritzburg, dated 12 February 1953.

⁴ PAR. DBA. file 30/8. Godfrey Kumalo 1938-1965.

Kumalo believed that the government should be obliged to ensure that Sobantu was governed under tribal law. He argued that this would benefit the Africans as it was in their best interests. Consequently he welcomed the Bantu Authorities Act as an attempt to improve the living conditions of Africans in urban areas. Kumalo believed the Bantu Authorities Act and Bantu Education Act should serve as a basis for similar legislation for the urban areas. It is no secret that like the Bantu Authorities Act, the Bantu Education Act was highly skewed towards the demands and needs of Whites. To Kumalo whatever the inadequacies of the above-mentioned acts, they provided the essential glue so that African dignity, pride and self-confidence could be enhanced and with some adroitness wider horizons could be advanced. He rejected municipal control because the residents were ruled by a White superintendent who was helped by an assistant superintendent, also White from 1942. These officials controlled an induna, maintenance workers, clerks and municipal police.¹

Kumalo's activities were labelled as subversive and the DBA regarded him as an agitator and a suspected communist. His house was searched by the CID as he was seen as a danger to smooth urban administration. Officialdom viewed him as "a red hot anti-White and in many of his letters and circulars he openly attacks White supremacy, the colour bar, and discriminatory laws."²

¹ Peel. "Sobantu Village". 44-46.

² PAR. DBA. file 30/8. Godfrey Kumalo 1938-1965.

For Kumalo the DBA's control was repressive and he made a series of recommendations which in his opinion made it more efficient. He tried to help Africans to break their reliance on Whites by initiating the formation of various organisations. His ideas were in line with people like Dube who advocated African unity. J.L. Dube an African Christian was president of the South African Native Congress, which later became the African National Congress. An interesting comparison can be made between Kumalo and Dube. Dube criticised J.S. Marwick manager of the Municipal Native Affairs Department, Durban by claiming that Marwick's "administration led to mistrust and hatred between Black and White." Like Kumalo he attacked Marwick personally and claimed that "Marwick due to his administration should be known as Mubi (bad or evil) and not as Muhle (good/kind). Marwick sued him for defamation."¹

Kumalo fought with members of the Advisory Board and when he was not elected to the board, he blamed them. This board did not completely satisfy Kumalo's ideal for African municipal representation, because it rendered them only a limited voice in their own affairs. His militant and confrontational style did not accord very well with the board. As far as the members of the Advisory Board were concerned Kumalo was:

a thorn in the flesh. His activities were against the spirit of the board and its intended functions; as shown by the letters occasionally written by him to the Manager, Town Clerk, the board, Kumalo's campaign against the introduction of the permit system. His uncouth utterances at public meetings called by him ... The Board was of the opinion that

¹ A. Mouton, "Introduction". A Lecture on the Natives in the larger Towns. (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1993) 4.

Mr Kumalo's presence in Sobantu Village was and is against the interests of the residents in general and detrimental to the younger generation in particular who might copy such practised attitude against authority of the Administration. He has shown beyond any shadow of doubt dissatisfaction"¹

Kumalo was evicted in December 1955 for overdue rent and henceforth lived in Edendale from where he continued writing his letters.

Superintendent Ward

On the other side of the fence the files contain useful information on the superintendent, Stanley St. John Ward (an ex-policeman) who like most other township superintendents, was a man of modest education and standing.² Mr T.W. McAllister was the village superintendent during 1932 to 1958 and Mr St John Ward was assistant superintendent from 1942. Ward became superintendent when McAllister retired in 1958. The residents were unhappy about this appointment and believed this post should have been advertised and a suitably qualified stranger selected in preference to elevating an employee who made himself unpopular.³ This issue was subsequently raised with the Sobantu Village Advisory Board but Ward remained the superintendent. Mr R.V. Taylor was his assistant.

Ward overrode the bounds of his authority, and went to the extent of

¹ PAR. DBA. file 30/8. Godfrey Kumalo 1938-1965.

² L. Torr. "Lamontville". The People's City African Life in Twentieth-Century Durban. P. Maylam and I. Edwards eds. (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1996) 253.

³ PAR. DBA. file 22/31. Juvenile Delinquency 1950-1960.

carrying out prosecutions and liquor raids personally. He had wide-ranging powers that gave him enormous and unchecked powers in the village and assumed the role of policeman as he ruled with absolute authority. With the help of the municipal police force, Ward assumed far greater powers than he was supposed to have and was thus in a position to stamp out all signs of anti-White sentiment. It is within the context of this that we must situate our understanding of Sobantu. As mentioned earlier it was Kumalo who fought against municipal control.

The powers the superintendent exercised over the inhabitants was extraordinary and on arrival newcomers had to report to the Registering Officer at KwaMbilakhahlela to obtain a permit and had to live at the hostel as they were liable to arrest if they slept elsewhere. As soon as employment was obtained the contract of service (valid for one year) had to be registered. Newcomers were given instructions on how to walk. For instance, they had to remember to walk in a respectful manner (to walk in a line) on the pavements and were not allowed to walk in groups as this caused obstruction. Of course it did not stop here as Africans were told that when they spoke they must not shout or use any foul language. Likewise, the making of tshwala in the rooms was forbidden and they had to go to beer halls for refreshment.¹

So far we might be tempted to say that Ward's behaviour was reflective of the bureaucracy of the time. As Torr has argued "in these locations, a location superintendent responsible for the local authority ruled with

¹ PAR. DBA. file 30/7. Behaviour and Control of Natives in City 1930-1964.

absolute authority aided by his specially recruited municipal police force concerned with implementing dozens of laws.”¹ However through Mkhize we gain a true glimpse of Ward’s character when he argues that “he also victimised many widows in Sobantu by ordering them to be evicted from Sobantu... his limited knowledge of Zulu made him utter words which were insulting and derogatory, ... if you were summoned to his office you knew that you were going to be humiliated.”²

Ward was an unusually cruel person, and was called “Nqaveni,” because he reminded Sobantu residents of a notorious murderer/rapist of that name.³ By all accounts he was a brutal collector of rents and was equally ruthless in removing all who entered the township illegally. Township residents feared any dealings with him, because of his tendency to maltreat all who entered his office. He ensured no illegal residents were housed by keeping a card pinned on the back of each tenant’s door that listed all the family members legally resident there.⁴ His superiors, though, were hamstrung by various flaws in township legislation and could not bring him to book when he overstepped. Because he could not be disciplined, Ward in effect was given a free hand in Sobantu.⁵

Mr St John Ward, in his drive to contain and control the people,

¹ L.Torr, “Lamontville - Durban’s Model Village: the Realities of Township Life, 1934-1960.” *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*. (1987, 10) 105.

² S M Mkhize, “Contexts, Resistance Crowds and Mass Mobilisation: A Comparative Analysis of Anti-Apartheid Politics in Pietermaritzburg during the 1950s and 1980s”. (Unpublished MA Thesis, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal, 1998). 73-74.

³ Interview with Truman Magubane by Ruth Lundie on 11 November 1998. Recording the Anti-Apartheid Struggle in KwaZulu Natal, Oral History Project of the Alan Paton Centre, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. Also See Mkhize. “Contexts, Resistance.”

⁴ Interview with Truman Magubane by Ruth Lundie on 11 November 1998.

⁵ PAR. 3/PMB. TC207/201. Vol 4/5/555. Letter by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner to the Town Clerk, dated 5 April 1963.

was responsible for a stricter control in the village, a regime which the residents apparently disliked. It is understood that after the riots he was threatened by an anonymous telephone caller, who stated that unless he was removed from the village his life would be in danger.¹ Even Ward himself admitted that "there had been friction between him and the residents at times."² There were very few social areas in Sobantu that were free from the watchful and wary eyes of the superintendent. Although it was against government policy for the White superintendent and assistant superintendent (McAllister) to live in the village, they lived in Sobantu and were relocated after the riots in 1959 but continued to report for duty. Over the weekend of 14-16 August 1959 riots broke out in Sobantu. Three schools were burnt and much of the High School and Higher Primary were extensively damaged.³

In a letter (undated, presumably written after the 1959 riots) to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Pietermaritzburg, the Manager Bang wrote as follows:

For some years now the superintendent has been very conscientious in his endeavours to rid the village of various kinds of offenders as the result of which he has become very unpopular. The feeling against him is therefore very strong. He has five children, and one does not have to leave much to the imagination to realise the many risks which his family would incur by living in the village."⁴

¹ Natal Witness. 26 August 1959.

² Natal Witness. 25 September 1959.

³ PAR. DBA. file 30/9 Riots and Unrest in Pietermaritzburg 1960-1967

⁴ PAR. DBA. file 30/9. Riots and Unrest in Pietermaritzburg 1960-1967.

Manager, Bang wrote to the Town Clerk in November 1959 with regard to the superintendent Ward. Apparently Mr Ward was given 1 600 potatoes to hand out to the residents of Sobantu as the manager thought that it was the ideal opportunity for the Superintendent in a practical way to show his interest in the residents. According to the manager "through no fault of his own, Ward has become unpopular with many of the residents, so I felt that a service of this nature would go a long way in improving his position, which has in fact happened, for the residents have been loud in their praise over his gesture ... My main concern was to build up Mr Ward's position.¹ Clearly no attempt was made to find out why the superintendent was unpopular with the residents. This was typical of the bureaucracy of the time. Ward was removed from Sobantu Village on 23 June 1976 and transferred as the Director of Finance, Drakensberg Bantu Administration Board.²

The above discussion clearly indicates that the files in the DBA archives can be supplemented with that of the Archives of the Town Clerk, Pietermaritzburg (housed in the Pietermaritzburg Archives) as well as the Alan Paton Centre (based at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg), Oral History Project. Since the superintendent acted on behalf of the DBA, his actions reflect the bureaucracy in operation at the time and is important when considering the impact it had on the ordinary individual.

¹ PAR. DBA. file 22/17. Distribution of Oranges, Eggs etc 1941-1968.

² PAR. DBA. file 2/8. Postal Facilities at Native Village 1926-1977.

Blood Apartheid

The file on suggested native donors for blood transfusion contains interesting information on racial prejudice in the apartheid era. In 1956 the South African Medical and Dental Council suggested the principle be adopted of labelling blood on the basis of racial origin. Blood donated by Whites were to have a plain white circular label. The blood grouping of Africans although the same as that of Whites, were to be stored separately with black labels to prevent the possibility of it being transferred into a White patient.¹

According to an article in the Natal Witness, during September 1956 medical circles admitted freely that blood apartheid was the result of public prejudice in South Africa.² Blood apartheid was to be introduced following heavy pressure from the Union, Department of Health, and this originated at Cabinet level. Two arguments were used by the supporters of racial apartheid in blood transfusion. One was based on sensitising blood group antigens and the other on the incidence of disease. The risk of sensitisation and a consequent transfusion reaction in the recipient was alleged to be greater because certain sensitising blood antigens occur more frequently in Africans for example the V factor.³

But in clinical treatment the only consideration was that the donor's and patient's blood had to be the same. An eminent London specialist

¹PAR. DBA. file 22/32. Suggested Native Donors for Blood transfusion 1950-1968.

²Natal Witness, September 1956

³PAR. DBA. file 22/32. Suggested Native Donors for Blood transfusion 1950-1968.

mentioned that there were some very noticeable differences between the blood of different nations as well as between Blacks and Whites. These differences were important only to scientists tracing origins, but in blood transfusion differences were unimportant. The specialist also pointed out that blood in transfusions, lasted only four months at the outside and there was no trace of the donors blood after this time.¹

According to the Senior Medical Officer, Duff Scott Memorial Native Hospital, Stilfontein during the last war thousands of pints of blood (some of Negro origin) were transfused in the field to all races in the forces and no ill-effects were noticed.²

In fact it was during this period that African blood donors were desperately needed. The Maritzburg Blood Transfusion found difficulty in meeting the demand for blood from Edendale Hospital and several schemes for obtaining Africans as blood donors were discussed. It was suggested that a morning bleed be held once a week for African employees of the Natal Provincial Administration. Another suggestion was that Africans bled should have the morning off duty and that each donor should receive two meat pies and a quantity of African beer after donating blood.³ There is also information on the Natal Blood Transfusion Centre and the blood bank under the control of one council.⁴

In 1962 Mr Norman Henwood went to Durban to donate blood but was refused. He was told that no person over the age of 65 years was

¹ PAR. DBA. file 22/32. Suggested Native Donors for Blood transfusion 1950-1968.

² PAR. DBA. file 22/32. Suggested Native Donors for Blood transfusion 1950-1968.

³ PAR. DBA. file 22/32. Suggested Native Donors for Blood transfusion 1950-1968.

⁴ PAR. DBA. file 22/32. Suggested Native Donors for Blood transfusion 1950-1968.

permitted to give blood. Mr Henwood became upset because he was healthy and strong.¹ Unfortunately all this information was collected from newspapers at the time by the officials of the DBA but the office itself did not generate any correspondence in this regard. This type of information would serve admirably for researchers who have an interest in medical history during the apartheid era.

Group Areas Act

In 1950 the Group Areas Act was passed which resulted in the removal of many South Africans. In terms of this Act elaborate plans were drawn up for cities to be divided into racially exclusive zones for occupation and restricted trading rights for all Black people. The Group Areas proposals were controversial, not only because they provoked political resistance but because they were financially costly for the government to implement. By this stage too, there were long disputes between municipalities and central government over who should bear the costs of re-locating thousands of people.

There is interesting correspondence on the Group Areas based on newspaper articles. In an article on Group Areas, a 62 year old school, St Hilda's College for Native girls which was situated 10 miles from Ladysmith was closed by the Group Areas Act because it fell in a

¹ PAR. DBA. file 22/32. Suggested Native Donors for Blood transfusion 1950-1968.

proclaimed White area.¹ St Hilda's College was founded in 1897 by Miss Ellen Margaret Cooke who was the principal until she retired in 1947. Besides normal academic work classes were also conducted in cookery, housecraft, needlework, knitting, spinning and weaving.²

A particularly interesting group of documents relate to the effect of the Group Areas Act on sport and entertainment. As will be seen Group Area restrictions applied not merely to ownership and occupation of domestic and business premises, but also to the provisions of amenities for entertainment and access to the Royal Showgrounds.

African soccer players were barred from using the showgrounds in Pietermaritzburg to play professional soccer. In 1963 the Royal Agricultural Society made an application for permission to continue the matches but was turned down by the DBA and no reason was given for the refusal.¹ When enquiries were made the following reasons were provided: the Department was against Africans playing outside their own areas and was of the opinion that Africans as a community received no financial benefit from integrated soccer.²

According to a representative of the South African Soccer League's Working Committee, Mr D. S. Maharaj, the Royal Agricultural Society had applied in April 1962 to the Group Areas Board for permission for Coloureds, Indians and Africans to play integrated soccer at the showgrounds. The Board gave permission subject to the approval of the Departments' of Coloured and Indian Affairs and Bantu

¹ The Natal Witness, 2 December 1959.

² PAR. DBA. file 20/20. Group Areas Act 1944-1966.

Administration. While the former approved the latter refused permission on 8 August 1963 and officials were forced to change the venue to the Fitzsimmons Road Indian Sports ground.³ But this ground could only seat a maximum of 3000 in comparison to 12 000 at the showgrounds and as far as seating was concerned the new venue only had 750 seats while the showgrounds could seat 3 500. No other sports ground for non-White professional soccer was available. In terms of the law Africans had to attend sports in their own areas, however concessions could be made for them to attend soccer matches in a White area.⁴

Aside from these issues the file also contains an article on attendance of the Royal Agricultural Society in Pietermaritzburg. Apparently non-Whites could attend on particular days and this was a result of negotiations between the Royal Agricultural Society and government departments regarding mixed gatherings during June 1965. As to be expected entrance was to be in certain areas, for example three areas around the arena were to be allocated to non-Whites and these were as follows: one on the left near the Witness stand, the other opposite the gate leading to the railway loading and the third near the entrance, close to Hall A. Separate catering facilities we also provided.⁵ On 10 November 1965 the Royal Agricultural Society of Natal applied for a permit to allow non-Whites to attend on all days. This was in response to a boycott initiated in 1965 by the Indian community of Pietermaritzburg because the government had allowed

¹ PAR. DBA. file 20/20. Group Areas Act 1944-1966.

² PAR. DBA. file 20/20. Group Areas Act 1944-1966.

³ PAR. DBA. file 20/20. Group Areas Act 1944-1966.

⁴ PAR. DBA. file 20/20. Group Areas Act 1944-1966.

⁵ PAR. DBA. file 20/20. Group Areas Act 1944-1966.

non-Whites to attend on three days only.¹ Obviously the boycott had an adverse effect on attendance. The Royal Agricultural Show has been a part of Pietermaritzburg's history for a long time. In 1851 the society was formed and the first show "Pietermaritzburg Fair " was held on 23 December 1851. During 1889 a small site to the south of the city was obtained and the society moved in 1902 to its present site on the north of the city. Through the assent of King Edward IV in 1904 the society was granted royal status and South Africa's first "Royal Show" took place a year later.² The show is always dependent on attendance figures and even scholars are encouraged to attend. But there were many times over the years that other race groups boycotted this show.

The implementation of the Group Areas Act meant that certain areas were reserved for different race groups but most government departments at the time employed mostly Whites and only jobs lower down the ranks were occupied by other races. Certain government jobs were reserved for certain Whites (protected employment) such as the Post Office who employed Whites from the lower ranks ie. people who did not have a good education and lacked basic skills. When other race groups visited institutions such as the Post Office, they experienced difficulty in communicating and there was no real service to speak of.

The Indo-European Joint Council (consisted of Whites and Indians) and the Maritzburg Joint Council with similar bodies in other centres was

¹ PAR. DBA. file 20/20. Group Areas Act 1944-1966.

² The Natal Witness Supplement, 26 May 2000.

established around 1927. Mr W.R. Martin was the Chairman. This Council served as the clearing house for race relations all over the country and made representations in 1962 to the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs on the grounds that all customers were Indians and consequently an Indian staff would be more suitable in terms of efficiency and goodwill.¹ As a result the Post Office in lower Church Street was staffed entirely by Indians. The lower part of Church Street (down town) was restricted for non-Whites who could trade and establish their businesses in this area. What this file fails to tell us is who formed part of the Council (ie. names of the members) and was this the only representation that they made in Pietermaritzburg ?

The following are good examples of "petty apartheid". The file on Registration, Regulations and Directions contains an interesting circular from the Department of Native Affairs, Pretoria dated 1954. The department's policy was that Africans could only be in White areas because a certain number of Africans is essential to meet the labour requirements of the area. This circular arose because a photographic company employed an African to photograph passing pedestrians on the pavement of a particular town. As far as the department was concerned entrepreneurs such as the photographic company should not be allowed to remain in the area.²

Another file on the behaviour and control of "natives" in the city

¹ PAR. DBA. files 22/49 and 22/50. PMB Joint Council of European & Africans 1956-1962 and Joint Council of Europeans & Indians 1954-1963.

² PAR. DBA. file 4/1/1. Registration Regulations 1928-1961.

contains the following type of information. The Manager sent a letter to the Licensing Officer, Pietermaritzburg. Apparently complaints were received that "natives" were seen sitting on the curbs consuming food outside tea-rooms in the city centre. The food was purchased from tea rooms and was eaten directly outside. Since there was an African restaurant built in the city centre, the manager felt that this practice was undesirable and when these tea room licences were being renewed, cognisance of this practice should be taken into account.¹

Edendale

This archives group also contains information on Edendale which although limited provide insight into the situation at Edendale before the Group Areas Act. Edendale is a peri-urban area, sixteen square miles in extent (8,410 acres), the centre of which lies six and half miles to the west of Pietermaritzburg. It was administered by the Local Health Commission and on 1 April 1942 declared a public Health area with the Health Department being instituted in 1944.² The large African population were mainly a mixture of Natal African people of diverse origin who had been living in the area for two or three generations. There was a fairly large land-owning class but the largest proportion of Africans belonged to the

¹ PAR. DBA. file 30/7. Behaviour and Control of Natives in City 1930-1964.

² See S.M. Meintjies. "Edendale 1850-1906. A Case Study of Rural Transformation and Class Formation in an African Mission in Natal." (Unpublished PHD Thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1988).

tenant class. In 1950 there were approximately 3 500 houses in Edendale of which about 2 861 were occupied by blacks.¹

Regarding housing there were two Commission housing schemes, one of which was the sub-economic at Ashdown where 225 houses were completed. The other scheme at Siyamu comprised twenty three houses, where the occupants could buy the properties over a thirty year period and the majority of the other houses were wattle and daub. A percentage of these were built according to standards laid down by the Local Health Commission to replace shacks which had deteriorated beyond repair. The main road running through Edendale was macadamised but other roads leading from this were graded earth roads. A small proportion of the residents obtained water free from stand pipes along the main road but many of the residents used polluted well and river water. In 1950 there were twelve government and government-aided African schools in Edendale. Many of these were housed in church and other halls. At the time there were also three nursery schools which catered for 233 children.²

A little known fact was that at the time there were 304 Whites living in Edendale. They lived in 38 houses, the majority of which were brick/wood and iron mostly at Plessislaer and in the vicinity of the Edendale station. Most of these people were employed by the tanneries or on the

¹ PAR. DBA. file 22/43. National War Memorial Health Foundation 1947-1954.

² PAR. DBA. file 22/43. National War Memorial Health Foundation 1947-1954.

railway while others worked in Pietermaritzburg. Their children attended schools in Pietermaritzburg.¹

In 1950 1 420 Indians (mainly Moslems and Hindus) occupied 354 houses in Edendale. Their houses were constructed of brick, wood and iron/ wattle and daub. The type of house depended to a large extent on the financial circumstances of the family. This sector of the population lived on Plessislaer and Mount Partridge although isolated Indian properties were scattered throughout the area. A number of the Indians were shopkeepers and market gardeners, while others were employed by the tanneries and as labourers. They constituted the bulk of Edendale's hawkers and pedlars. A total of 679 children attended the three government-aided Indian schools.²

Of all the communities in Edendale the Coloured community was the smallest with 205 people. This sector of the population were very poor and lived in the same area as the Africans. They occupied 30 houses that were constructed of wattle and daub. The majority were tannery employees or worked as labourers. Since there was no school for the this sector of the population it is presumed that the children attended the same schools as Africans.³

Since 1952 the Edendale YMCA had been trying to meet some of the physical, social and spiritual needs of the Edendale community. The YMCA building was the only social centre at Edendale and provided

¹ PAR. DBA. file 22/43. National War Memorial Health Foundation 1947-1954.

² PAR. DBA. file 22/43. National War Memorial Health Foundation 1947-1954.

³ PAR. DBA. file 22/43. National War Memorial Health Foundation 1947-1954.

a venue for social functions including facilities for boxing, weight-lifting, tennis, ballroom dancing, table tennis, photography, sewing and typing classes.¹

In June 1959 the Secretary of the African Women's Society, Edendale was tried on 12 charges of fraud. Elizabeth Mhlongo was convicted on 8 charges and sentenced to five and half months compulsory labour. The fraud emanated from cards which she had printed in her capacity as Secretary and which purported to authorise other private persons to carry out the type of business which they desired.² As a result of the conviction and the action of the Secretary, the Police at Plessislaer wrote to the Registrar of Welfare Organisation and applied for the removal of this organisation from the list stating that the name of this organisation merely served as a shield and suggested embezzlement and false pretences.³

In sum it can be stated that this archival group can be used for research in various fields. It is impossible to discuss the contents of each and every file but those that I have selected illustrate something of the range and potential of the archive for researchers.

¹ PAR, DBA, file 22/41, YMCA Establishment for Africans 1962-1964.

² PAR, DBA, file 22/48, Formation of Branch of National Council of African Women 1952-1962.

³ PAR, DBA, file 22/48, Formation of Branch of National Council of African Women 1952-1962.

APPENDIX ONE

List of Files in the DBA Archives:

FILE	DESCRIPTION	PERIOD
1/6	Wage Determination Act	1936-1966
2/1	Plans: Imbali	1967-1968
2/2	Imbali No. 4	1958-1965
2/2/1	Bantu Housing	1926-1964
2/5	Transport to Native Village	1959-1968
2/6	Electricity Sobantu Village	1929-1967
2/7	General Health and Sanitary Conditions	1931-1967
2/8	Postal facilities Native Village	1926-1977
2/9	Education Levy	1960-1963
2/9/1	Bantu Schools	1950-1967
2/10	Curbing of Roads Sobantu	1928-1968
2/12	Trading Hall & Market SV	1928-1968
2/13	Water Supply Sobantu	1937-1966
2/17	Occupation of New Cottages SV	1951-1965
2/18	Erection of Recreation Hall SV	1935-1963
2/20	Sub Economic Housing	1938-1958
2/21	Creche Sobantu	1939-1964
2/22	Suggested Homes for Aged & Indigent Blacks	1963-1968
2/22/1	Offer by Miss Judson to erect Cottage	1943-1962
2/23	Telephones at SV	1929-1967
2/26	Street Name Plates in SV	1933-1966
2/27	Policing Sobantu	1966
2/32	Church Site Applications Sobantu	1938-1968
2/33	Employment of Black Artisans	1948-1959
2/33/1	Black Artisans Application 1945	1945-1967
2/36	Suggested Sale of Plots to Blacks in Urban Areas	1934-1964
2/38	Medical Services in Locations	1936-1968
2/39	Advisory Board Sobantu	1950-1963
2/65	Liquor Outlet Sobantu	1964-1965
3/23	Establishment Beer Houses	1950-1962
3/25	Supply of Liquor to Natives	1949-1961
4/1/1	Registration Regulations	1928-1961
4/1/9	Influx Control	1966-1968
4/10	Permission to enter PMB	1959-1968
4/19	Influx Control	1943-1963
4/19/1	Directives Influx Control	1938-1966

File	Description	Period
4/20	Production of False Documents	1935-1964
4/21	Native Labour Statistic	1949-1961
4/22	Municipal Passes	1950-1960
4/23	Registration Regulations	1950-1964
4/24	Employment of Better Class Natives	1957-1964
4/25	Contracts for Corp. Dept.	1967-1968
4/26	Labour Bureau	1960-1966
4/26/1	Directives Decided Cases Labour Bureau	1951-1966
4/27	Passes for Women	1954-1968
4/27/1	Registration of Females	1940-1959
4/28	Purchase of Van	1955-1968
5/1	Native Mens Hostel	1918-1938
5/3	Quotations & Purchase of Equipment	1965-1966
5/4	Tariff for Accident Mens Hostel	1962-1966
5/6	Health and Sanitary East Street Mens Hostel	1929-1967
5/12	Instructions to support Mens Hostel	1925-1960
5/13	Thefts from Mens Hostel	1938-1967
5/14	General Correspondence Mens Hostel	1938-1967
5/15	Suggested Comm. Feeding Mens Hostel	1944-1966
5/17	Grey's Patient Mens Hostel	1944-1963
5/19	Liquor Outlet East Street	1961-1964
6/1	Establishment of Womens Hostel	1914-1965
6/5	N. Womens Hostel Health & Sanitation Conditions	1927-1967
6/7	Accommodation of Patients from Greys to Womens Hostel	1946-1962
6/14	General Correspondence Womens Hostel	1929-1960
6/16	Fumigation and Vermin Control at Hostel	1933-1958
7/3	Licensing of Premises	1960-1965
7/4	Contravention Sec Urban Areas Consolidated	1931-1966
8/1/1	Recreation Directives	1938-1960
8/6	Fitzsimmons Road	1934-1951
8/7	Recreation Ground Berg Street	1935-1968
8/8	Recreation Ground Sobantu	1932-1966
8/9	Recreation Ground Scottsville	1936-1959
8/10	Recreation Ground Slangspruit	1944-1950
8/13	Native Dancing Competitions	1930-1965
8/14	All Day Sports for Africans	1939-1968
8/15	Establishment of Social Centre	1957-1968
8/16	Annual Flower Show Sobantu	1934-1961
8/17	Agricultural Show Swartkop	1934-1964
8/18	Governor-General Shield Competition	1950-1953
8/19	Pietermaritzburg African Football Association	1952-1966
8/20	Pietermaritzburg Football Association	1952-1966
8/23	Pietermaritzburg and District Lawn Tennis Association	1931-1966
8/24	Non-European Circulating Library	1937-1968

File	Description	Period
8/26	Native School Shows	1935-1954
8/28	Permission for Natives to hold Meetings in City	1937-1953
8/29	Pathfinder Bugle Band	1935-1966
8/30	Proposed Swimming Bath for Non-European	1936-1966
8/31	Establishment of Reading Room	1949-1976
8/32	Recreational Grounds in Town Hill	1957
8/33	East Street Sports Ground	1952-1963
8/34	Recreation Ground in Havelock Road	1953-1960
8/35	Formation of Baseball Club	1963-1964
8/37	Establishment of Library Sobantu	1949-1976
9/1	Appointment of Director	1925-1963
9/34	Institute of Managers of Non- European Affairs	1964-1965
10/6	Conference of Heads of Departments	1925-1968
10/7	Instructions from Council	1926-1968
10/14	Minutes of Meetings	1959-1968
10/14/1	Minutes of Native Admin. Committee Meetings	1961-1963
10/15	Municipal Employees Summoned as Jurymen	1928-1951
11/3	Estimates	1930-1968
11/3/2	Estimates: Directives	1941-1967
11/11	Statements of Revenue	1936-1960
11/16	Destruction of Old Records	1926-1967
11/19	Native Tax and Development	1938-1951
12/1	Establishment of School of Weaving	1938-1968
12/11	School of Weaving Sale of Articles	1949-1964
12/18	Exhibition of Articles from School of Weaving	1938-1967
12/20	Weaving School Agencies in Rhodesia	1941-1966
12/21	Weaving School Information to Institutions	1940-1956
12/22	Weaving School Sundry Agencies in Union	1940-1967
13/1	Monthly Reports	1964-1969
13/1/1	Monthly Reports Other Depts.	1968
13/3	Reports put by Manager	1938-1939
13/3	Reports put by Manager	1960-1967
13/4	Municipal Monopoly of Beer	1937-1968
13/4/1	Brewery of Bantu Beer Directives	1935-1968
13/5	Reports of the NMA	1959-1962
14/1	Proposed Amendment to Urban Areas Act	1963-1968
14/1/1	Proposed Amendment to Urban Areas Act Directives	1934-1967
14/2	Regulations for Registration of Natives	1928-1955
14/3	Village and Hostel Regulations	1938-1966
14/3/1	Village and Hostel Regulations of other Towns	1925-1963
14/4	Regulations for the Control of Beer	1929-1967
14/4/1	Policy and Precedent	1930-1956
14/5R	Permits Retail Sprouted Grain Regulations	1949-1962

File	Description	Period
14/5W	Sprouted Grain Regulations & Permits	1956-1961
14/5P	Sprouted Grain Regulations Permits to Produce Malt	1949-1956
14/5	Amendments to Regulations Sale & Supply Sprouted Grain	1950-1966
14/6	Regulations Urban Areas Act Power of Search by Police	1939-1958
14/7	Closing Public Parks to Natives & Regulations Market Square	1931-1967
14/7	Schools	1973-1975
14/8	Curfew Regulations	1928-1967
14/9/1	Directives Decided Cases Licensing of Premises	1934-1966
14/10	Dance Hall and Holding of Public Meetings	1929-1961
14/11	Suggested Regulations Natives Carrying Sticks	1937-1952
14/13	Amendments to Regulations Urban Areas Act	1931-1964
14/14	Proposed Regulations for Trading in Municipal Inst.	1941-1947
14/15	Act for Regulations of Native Building Artisans	1950-1967
14/16	Native Services Levy Act	1952-1953
15/2	National Europ. Bantu Conference	1929-1955
15/3	Annual Conference of Natal Bantu	1931-1961
15/4	Conference in Cape Town re Housing & Slum Elimination	1935
15/6	Black Conference in P.M.B.	1935
15/7	Methodist Church Conference in P.M.B.	1932-1961
15/8	Conference of T.B. Association held in Durban	1936-1950
15/9	S.A. Medical Association Conference P.M.B.	1936-1966
15/10	Scientific Conference P.M.B.	1937-1959
15/11	Daughter of Africa Conference	1938-1962
15/12	Conference of S.A. Advisory Boards	1956-1958
15/14	Natal Bantu Ministers Conference	1933-1963
15/15	Conference of Zulu Society to be held in P.M.B.	1939-1947
15/16	Conference of Black Chiefs in P.M.B.	1941-1967
15/17	Natal Diocesan Conference in P.M.B.	1941-1961
15/18	Bantu Welfare Workers Conference	1940-1957
15/19	S.A. Institute of Race Relations	1963-1968
15/20	Natal Bantu Students Association Conference	1943-1956
15/21	S.A. National Conference in Post & Planning Social Welfare	1943-1946
15/22	Annual Congress Catholic African Union Conference P.M.B.	1935-1956
15/23	Conference of Institute Town Clerks S.A.	1946-1964
15/24	Conference of Bantu Baptist Church	1947-1964
15/25	Conference Association Municipal Undertaking	1950-1951
15/26	Bantu Presbyterian Church Annual Assembly	1950-1967
15/27	Suggested Conference of SA Bureau Racial Affairs	1951-1968
15/28	Conference Institute of Treasurer & Accountant	1959-1965
15/29	Institute of Manager of Black Affairs	1951-1968
15/30	Conference of Native Commissioners	1957-1962
15/31	National Sunday School Conference	1961
16/1	Section 9 Abattoir Road	1960-1968

File	Description	Period
16/2	Section 9 Prestbury	1948-1961
17/1	Contravention Sec. 15 Urban Areas Act	1933-1950
17/8	Contravention Sprouted Grain Regulations	1936-1960
17/10	Illicit Brewing & Sale of Bantu Beer	1933-1966
17/11	Contraventions Notice non-Blacks entering Black sports grounds	1947-1950
18/1	Exemption Paragraph J. Sub.2. Sec.3 Urban Areas Act	1929-1965
18/5	Curfew Exemption & Special Passes	1957-1965
18/6	Liquor Acts Exemption	1938-1961
19/1	Suggested Erection New Native Brewery	1948-1968
19/4/1	Jabula Bantu Beer	1963-1968
19/5	Equipment for Bantu Brewery	1930-1964
19/6	Analysis of Native Beer	1928-1964
19/7	Sale of Izinsepu & Sacks (Isinsipho= Waste Grain)	1932-1968
19/8	Transport of Native Beer	1930-1968
19/11	New Apparatus for Market of Beer	1938-1959
19/13	Sale of Pig Food from Brewery Beer Houses	1951-1968
19/14	Water Supply at Native Brewery	1935-1966
19/16	Kaffir Beer Sales	1959-1962
19/18	Supply of Bantu Beer to Council	1965-1966
20/1	Rickshas in City Street	1936-1951
20/3	Erection of New Office DBA	1928-1968
20/6	General Correspondence	1959-1963
20/9	Census	1928-1950
20/12	Newspaper Cuttings	1966-1968
20/20	Group Areas Act	1944-1966
22/8	Instructions to Blacks in City	1936-1964
22/9	Circulars to Black Cyclists	1932-1955
22/10	Daughters of Africa & Women's African Society	1937-1964
22/14	Transport Facilities for Natives in City	1960-1968
22/17	Distribution of Oranges, Eggs	1941-1968
22/20	Native Agriculture & Establishment of Native Market	1938-1967
22/21	Financial Protection of Natives	1925-1956
22/22	Christmas Cheer	1962-1965
22/23	Malnutrition amongst Natives	1965-1968
22/24	Free Use of Halls for Charitable Purposes	1930-1967
22/25	Trained Nurses Association	1944-1960
22/26	Staffing Non-European Hospital Mtn. Rise	1926-1942
22/27	Trade Unions Amongst Natives	1943-1944
22/28	Drinking Water in City Streets	1923-1967
22/29	Suggested Formation St John Ambulance	1933-1968
22/31	Dept. of Social Welfare Premises Detention of Juveniles	1962-1968
22/32	Suggested Native Donors for Blood Transfusion	1950-1968
22/34	Celebrations for Natives in Pietermaritzburg	1957-1966
22/35	Concerts organized by Natives in aid of Charities	1935-1959
22/36	Health Conditions	1952-1955

File	Description	Period
22/37	Visit of Native School Children to P.M.B. Picnic	1929-1965
22/40	Child Welfare Society Children Daily Collection	1948-1967
22/41	YMCA establishment for Africans	1962-1964
22/42	Natal University Bursaries	1951-1967
22/43	National War Memorial Health Foundation	1947-1954
22/45	Registration of Charitable Organisations Welfare Act	1950-1966
22/47	National Veld Trust Soil Erosion	1946-1968
22/48	Formation of Branch National Council of African Women	1952-1962
22/49	PMB Joint Council of European & Africans	1956-1962
22/50	Joint Council of Europeans & Indians	1954-1963
22/52	Idle Natives	1961
23/1	Commissioner Re. Areas not under Govt. Control	1924-1945
23/2	Committee of Enquiry Tuberculosis & War Veterans	1939
23/3	Interdept. Committee Poor relief & Charitable Institutions	1937-1951
23/6	Native Farm Labour	1967
23/10	Committee of Enquiry Native Urban Areas	1934-1948
23/12	Enquiry Health & Social Conditions Natives Urban Areas	1941
23/20	Enquiry into Native Laws	1946-1951
23/21	Commissions on Native Education	1948-1951
23/22	Commission of Enquiry Abuse of Dagga	1950-1968
23/23	Enquiry on Natives Living on Reserves	1967-1968
23/25	Committee Native Juvenile. Establishment Bantu Youth Clubs	1951-1966
23/26	Enquiry on Native Taxation	1951-1960
23/29	Commission of Enquiry Financial Relations Local Authorities	1965
24/1	Information to Bloemfontein	1930-1961
24/4	Information to Richmond	1931-1962
24/8	Information to Howick	1934-1968
24/28	Information to Krugersdorp	1930-1949
24/60	Govt. Bantu Affairs Depts. Other than P.M.B.	1925-1964
24/74	General Information to Native Commissioner	1962-1967
25/1	Premises occupied by Natives not Approved by M.O.H.	1963-1968
25/2	Housing of Native Employees	1935-1966
25/3	Plans submitted by City Engineer	1929-1967
25/7	New Scotland Native Location	1937-1945
25/8	Natives residing Corporation Town Lands	1968
25/9	Edendale & Plessislaer Influx of Natives	1961-1968
25/10	Natives living on Maharaj's Location	1933-1956
25/11	Contraventions Urban Areas Act	1933-1940
25/12	Residence of Natives Maryvale Mtn. Rise	1928-1967
25/14	Housing Natives Raisethorpe	1950-1967
25/15	Estates Department	1967
25/16	Locations in the Sky	1953-1968
25/17	Suggested Hostel Accommodation Better Class Natives	1947-1962
25/18	Urban Development Bantu Areas	1960-1967

File	Description	Period
26/2	Native Services Levy Act	1965-1968
26/3	Information to National Council by Women	1938-1954
26/4	Information to PMB Rotary Club	1931-1962
26/5	SPCA	1927-1960
26/6	Publicity Association	1930-1963
26/7	Anti-Tuberculosis Association Natal	1965-1967
26/10	Federated Womens Institute	1930-1960
26/11	National Development Foundation	1953-1954
26/12	Formation of School Deaf Natives Natal	1955-1958
27/1	Native Mens Hostel	1926-1968
28/3	Tenders accepted	1966-1968
28/6	Re-organisation General Stores Dept.	1927-1961
30/2	Deportation of Natives	1938-1966
30/3	Mendi Memorial Club	1932-1967
30/4	Disturbances Non-European Troops	1942-1943
30/5	Suspected fraud Amongst Natives	1927-1967
30/7	Behaviour and Control of Natives in City	1930-1964
30/8	Godfrey Kumalo Subversive Activities	1938-1965
30/9	Riots and Unrest P.M.B.	1960-1967
31/1	Emergency Measures Declaration of War	1939-1945
31/7	Meat Control	1963-1968
31/9	Civilian Protective Services for Natives	1942-1948
31/14	African Dawn of Victory Cavalcade	1944-1945
31/15	Assistance given to Native Soldiers	1943-1967
31/16	Defence Dept. Schemes Distribution of Clothes to Natives	1943-1949
31/18	Food Control War Period	1946-1955
32/1	Representation of Natives Act	1938-1951
32/2	Election of Member for Representative Council	1936-1954
32/3	Suggested Representations Natives on Town Councils	1942-1965
32/4	Appointment of Chief for City Natives	1936-1967
32/5	Purchase of Land Urban Areas by Natives	1932-1959
32/6	Applications of Slums Act	1936-1939
32/9	Bantu Authorities Act 1952	1960
32/10	Bantu Education Act	1964
32/11	Bantu Admin Liaison Committees	1961-1967
33/1	Unemployment Insurance Act	1946-1966
34/1	Establishment Native Mens Hostel Havelock Road	1946-1966
35/1	Suggested Native Womens Hostel Oribi	1948-1968
36/1	Exemption from Services Levy Act	1958
36/1/1	Bantu Services Levy Act	1953
36/2	Native Services Levy Act	1965-1968
36/4	Transport Services Levy Act	1957-1961
37/1	Native Passes	1957-1968
37/1/1	Issue of Reference Books	1955-1964
37/2	Pass Laws	1960-1963

TABLE TWO

STRUCTURE OF THE DAB¹	
HEAD OFFICE ADMINISTRATION	
CHAIRMAN	
VICE-CHAIRMAN	
CHIEF DIRECTOR	
DIRECTOR OF ADMINISTRATION = POLICY	
DIRECTOR OF FINANCE = SUFFICIENT INCOME	
DIRECTOR OF LABOUR & HOUSING = LABOUR BUREAUS/	
HOUSES	
DIRECTOR OF COMMERCE =	SALE OF BANTU BEER
(DEPT. OF LIQUOR) = BREWERIES	
AREA OFFICES = EACH AREA HAD AN AREA MANAGER	
WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WHOLE TOWNSHIP AND HAD	
DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE RESIDENTS = HOUSING, LABOUR,	
BREWERIES.	

¹ This table shows how the DAB was set up.

Chapter Four: The Archives Of The Drakensberg Administration Board (DAB)

By way of introduction it is necessary to trace the historical development of the events leading up to the introduction of Administration Boards (Act 45/1971). This will show that control was always part and parcel of the governments overall strategy. The period between 1968 and 1971 was important with regard to urban Black administration. As Humphries has argued the institution of one year contracts, the extension of the labour bureaux system to the homelands, homeland citizenship for every African and the restrictions on urban housing were important preludes to the introduction of administration boards.¹

The Department of Bantu Administration and Development circulated the first draft of the administration board Bill to the municipalities in May 1969 and it was gazetted on 15 December 1970.² This bill was intended to create administration boards which would end municipal responsibility for urban Black administration. It was felt that municipalities especially those dominated by the United Party were not implementing the rigid control required by apartheid policy. The Bantu Affairs Administration Act 45 of 1971 was the government's attempt to

¹RG Humphries. "The Origin and Subsequent Development of Administration Boards." (Unpublished MA Thesis, Grahamstown, Rhodes University, 1983). 163-164.

² M. Horrell. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa. (Johannesburg: Institute of Race Relations, 1971) 132.

enable the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to exercise tighter control over the implementation of policy. It is worth noting here that the Ministerial powers to appointment of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the boards was one way of achieving this.

Boards were to have wide powers to acquire, develop or dispose of land for African occupation and to raise loans for the purpose. Their responsibilities included housing and the allocation of labour. They were vested with all the rights, powers, functions and duties of a local authority in terms of legislation relating to Africans and (after consultation with the Administrator concerned) all relevant provincial ordinances.¹ All assets (including land), and the rights, liabilities and obligations of a local authority or of the Government in respect of areas transferred to the board would devolve on the board on mutually-agreed conditions. Boards were to derive funds from money which immediately prior to the date of transfer, stood to the credit of the Bantu Revenue Account of any urban local authority involved.²

The Bantu Affairs Administration Act

To understand the worth of the DAB we must consider the Act under which it operated. In terms of Act 45/1971 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development could declare any area outside the

¹ Horrell. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1971. 135.

² Horrell. A Survey of Race Relations 1971. 135-136.

homelands to be a Bantu Affairs Administration area. A Bantu Affairs Administration Board would be set up for each area and the Minister had the power to appoint the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and as many other members he deemed necessary. A knowledge of Bantu labour matters in agriculture, commerce and industry was a requirement. Each Local Authority concerned had to submit a list of names so that the Minister could select Members who had a wide knowledge of the local authority.¹

Finally, one or more members had to be persons in the full time employment of the state and appointed for such periods as the Minister decided. Each member had to have an alternate and any member who in the opinion of the Minister had been found guilty of misconduct or neglect of duty, or who was unable to adequately fulfil his functions would then be removed from office by the Minister.²

As far as meetings of the board were concerned, ordinary meetings were to be held monthly and special meetings when necessary. Meetings were normally open to the public and press, but if the Board considered that any matter could be dealt with privately then the press were to be excluded from such meetings.³

It was an offence for a board employee to disclose any information acquired in the course of duties unless the person had the board's consent. Each board consisted of an Executive Committee with a Chairman (the

¹ Horrell. A Survey of Race Relations 1971 133.

² Horrell. A Survey of Race Relations 1971 132-133.

³ Horrell. A Survey of Race Relations 1971 132-133.

appointed Chairman of the board), Vice-Chairman, and one or three other members of the board, to exercise powers and perform the board's functions between meetings.¹

The staff of the board consisted of persons in the service of a local authority who could be seconded, together with those employees the Board appointed. A Chief Executive officer known as the Chief Director was appointed by the Minister on the board's recommendation.² In other words members of the boards were constituted from representatives of local authorities, industry and agriculture as the three main employees of African labour.

Act 45/1971 (Bantu Affairs Administration Board) gave the new Administration Boards responsibility for administering urban Black townships, implementing influx control and providing housing. They therefore had tremendously wide-ranging responsibilities, which included:

servicing township land ... for housing development of new land. It is also responsible for the allocation of that housing to the individual to whom that housing is allocated. It also decides where to grant a site permit. It is also the authority which approves the building plans if a vacant stand is granted. It acts as the township manager, the township planner, it makes the by-laws, it polices the township by-laws, it is the licensing authority for all businesses, industry and housing, it is the only licensed vendor of liquor, it is the policer of the influx control legislation and finally, through the commissioner's courts it is involved in the judicial function.³

The Bantu Affairs Administration Board Act was promulgated on 26

¹ Horrell. A Survey of Race Relations 1971. 134.

² Horrell. A Survey of Race Relations 1971. 134-135.

³ S. Bekker and R. Humphries. From Control to Confusion: The Changing Role of Administration Boards. (Pietermaritzburg; Shuter and Shooter, 1985) 23.

November 1971. On 27 November 1972, the first administration boards started functioning and by September 1973, the entire country outside the homelands was divided into 22 administration board areas with jurisdiction over important aspects of administration in both urban and rural areas. There were seven boards in the Cape, Natal and Orange Free State had three each and the Transvaal nine.¹ Administration boards in Natal were the Port Natal Administration Board, Northern Natal Administration Board and Drakensberg Administration Board.

Under Section 2 (1) (c) of the Bantu Affairs Administration Act 45 of 1971, the Drakensberg Administration Board was established. In terms of Government Notice No. 1001 dated 15th June 1973 the DAB came into being on the 1st August 1973 (initially called The Drakensberg Bantu Affairs Administration Board) but the name was changed to the Drakensberg Administration Board in 1978.² The boards area embraced 16 magisterial districts namely: Bergville, Camperdown, Estcourt, Impendle, Ixopo, Klip River, Kranskop, Lions River, Mooi River, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, Polela, Richmond, Umvoti, Underberg and Weenen. Within these districts 25 local authorities dealing with African Administration were taken over by the board. For the purposes of administration these areas were divided into four sections namely: Pietermaritzburg (which included Camperdown, Impendhle, Ixopo, Howick, New Hanover, Bulwer, Richmond and Underberg), Ladysmith

¹ R.G. Humphries. "The Origins of Administration Boards". 166.

² PAR. Archives of the Drakensberg Administration Board. file 01.26. Legislation and Regulations. 1973-1979. Government Gazette No. 6095 dated 30 June 1978.

(included Bergvile), Estcourt (areas included were Mooi River and Weenen) and Greytown (included Kranskop). Area offices were established in each of these centres which were controlled by Area Managers.¹ The Head Office of the DAB was based in Pietermaritzburg and offices were initially leased in the Trust Bank Building. In 1976 property was purchased at 158 Longmarket Street (Braemar House).²

Section 10 (5) of Act 45/1971 stipulated that all former municipal employees who were serving in the "Bantu" Administration section of their respective local authorities at the time the board was established, were to be seconded to the service to the board for a maximum period of six months during which period they had to accept an offer of employment by the board or return to their former employers. A total of 92 staff members were absorbed into the services of the board and further staff were appointed. During the period 31st July 1974 the staff complement was as follows: White Staff: Head Quarters = 36, Area Offices = 107; Black Staff: Area Offices: Establishment = 335, Labourers: 673.³

On 1 April 1979 the DAB and the Northern Natal Administration Board amalgamated.⁴ Mr P.R.T. Nel became Chairman and Mr Karl Eggers (previous Chairman) became Vice-Chairman. In 1984 the Drakensberg Administration Board amalgamated with the Port Natal

¹ PAR. DAB. file 01.33. General. Annual Report of the Chairman 31.7.1974.

² PAR. DAB. file 01.23. Headquarters Premises. 1973-1974.

³ PAR. DAB. file 01.33. General. Annual Report of the Chairman 31.7.1974.

⁴ PAR. DAB. file 9/2/3. Record Management. 1979-1983.



Magisterial Districts of the DAB
Source: PAR. DAB. file 01.15.

Administration Board to form the Natalia Development Board. Administration Boards were disbanded in 1986 and control was transferred to the Natal Provincial Administration.¹

According to Karl Eggers, first Chairman of the DAB "our main duty towards the (African) people (was) to provide sufficient housing with all services and especially to give attention to human relationships."² It is no secret that Administration Boards were viewed as having no real feelings for the welfare of the people. The belief was that they were just another mechanism of control. As Bekker and Humphries have pointed out "boards are unpopular bodies in the public eye and important ones in the government eye."³ As far as these boards were concerned the will to tackle real problems diminished because residents were seen as problems to be controlled and not as constituents to be served.⁴

Further, in line with government policy at the time and as might be expected these boards were staffed by all-White civil servants who were supposedly experts in the field of administration.⁵ Many residents viewed the boards as a step towards complete subjugation under apartheid.⁶ As Frankel put it "most view the choice between a White board and a municipality as one between the devil and the deep."⁷ Administrative

¹ H Peel. "Sobantu Village: An Administrative History of a Pietermaritzburg Township, 1924-1959". (Unpublished Honours Dissertation, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal, 1987). 147. NB: The Durban Archives houses the records of the Port Natal Administration Board.

² Natal Witness, 30 April 1974.

³ Bekker and Humphries. Control to Confusion 15.

⁴ N. Mandy. "Local Government, Finance and Institutional Reform". Apartheid City in Transition. M. Swilling, R. Humphries and K. Shubane. (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1991) 121.

⁵ D.V. Soni. "The Apartheid State and Black Housing Struggles". The Apartheid City and Beyond: Urbanization and Social Change in South Africa. (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press) 43.

⁶ Bekker and Humphries. Control to Confusion, 15.

⁷ Frankel, "Soweto Urban Politics, Poverty and Race in Apartheid Society." (Unpublished PHD Thesis, Princeton University, 1982) 162

discontinuities were also aggravated by the tight control exercised over the various administration boards by central government.¹

Structure Of The DAB

A study of the archives of the DAB helps us to understand the structure and functions of the DAB. The Drakensberg Administration Board was organised in the following way: Head Office Administration and Area Administration. The Head Office Administration's offices were initially based in the Trust Bank Building and consisted of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and twenty one members as Councillors, the Chief Director (E.A. Goedeke), Director of Administration (M.W. Sluman), Director of Finance (S.E.T. Fourie), Director of Labour / Housing (G.A. Irons) and Director of Commerce (J.M. van Wyk).² From the Head Office (headquarters) policy decisions, instructions and directives were communicated to the Area Manager down to the most junior official.

The Area Manager, Pietermaritzburg was based at 390 Pietermaritz Street. This official (was previously known as the Director of Bantu Administration). The Area Offices carried out labour requirements for employers, housing for employees and remained in direct contact with the

¹ Frankel. "Soweto Urban Politics". 163.

² PAR. DAB. file 01.02. General. 1974-1979.

public.

As far as the **Department of Administration** was concerned its duty was to see that the policy of the board was carried out, to liaise with the area offices, to carry out all legal and secretarial aspects, arranging of board meetings, to ensure the implementation of decisions taken and to deal with staff and other administrative matters.¹

Since the board was legally a self supporting body, the **Department of Finance's** responsibility was to ensure that there was sufficient income for the development of housing and schools. Bantu Revenue Accounts from the local authorities were also taken over by the Director of Finance. But services such as engineering and medical remained a duty of the local authority. The board derived its income from labour bureau and registration fees (Labour Act 67/1964), transport levy fund (Act 53/1957); this was used for subsidising bus fares of African employees on certain bus routes, services levy fund (Act 64/1952) for the development of African townships for roads, sewers, water and drainage, licensing of premises (Section 9 of Act 25/1945), fines, rentals, lodgers fees, electricity charges, site rentals, trading rents, school levy of 20cents per month for maintenance of school buildings and for financing of new schools, sale of Bantu beer (Act 63/1962) and sale of European liquor (Act 30/1928). Apparently, the board received only 20 percent of the profits from the sale of European liquor as the balance went to the state.² The

¹ PAR. DAB. file 01.30 Vol. 1. General Natal Employers Association. 1973.

² PAR. DAB. file 01.33. General. Annual Report of the Chairman 31.7.1974.

Department of Liquor had three beer breweries in Pietermaritzburg, Estcourt and Ladysmith. Pietermaritzburg started packaging "bantu" beer in 1970 and in 1973 the figure stood at 2 million litres. "Bantu" beer because of its high nutritional value was classified as a beverage and consisted of malt, brewers grits, yeast and water. The profits were spent on community halls, trading centres, soccer fields, subsidising of rentals (in terms of Section 19 (3) of Act 25/1945).¹

The **Department of Housing** was responsible for houses in the boards area and in the Bantu Homelands with the board acting as agents of the Bantu Trust, in erecting houses and assisting with financing.²

Finally the **labour department**: an African who was resident within an urban African township had direct access to the local labour bureau. Once unemployed he had to report to the Superintendent and was referred to the local labour bureau where a workseeker's permit was issued allowing him to seek work within such a prescribed area. As far as the tribal bureau was concerned it looked after the interests of the Africans in the homelands and was administered by a chief. Reference books of workseekers were endorsed accordingly and once medically examined, they were sent to prospective employers for acceptance or rejection. In terms of Section 26 of Act 45/1971, an African who qualified in terms of Section 10 of Act 25/1945 was free to move around within the boards area of jurisdiction.³ But should that person

¹ PAR. DAB. file 01.33 General. Annual Report of the Chairman 31.7.1974

² PAR. DAB. file 01.30 Vol. 1. General Natal Employers Association. 1973.

³ PAR. DAB. file 01.30. Vol.1. General Natal Employers Association. 1973.

decide to work outside this area then he would be disqualified and lose the right of residence. Workseekers were thus compelled to work in particular areas.

From the above it can be seen that the records cover a broad area and contain information on the different departments. They also provide information on the various areas that fell under the board's control.

Sobantu Village

As mentioned earlier control of Sobantu was transferred to the DAB. But not much was done by the Board because development of Sobantu Village was frozen in terms of the Group Areas Act because it bordered a White area, and was therefore incompatible with apartheid policy. It was recommended that Sobantu be converted into cottage type hostels for single African males (approximately ten thousand) and the families living in Sobantu were to be moved to Imbali township. The township of Imbali was first proposed in October 1955 when the City Council was told by the Minister for Native Affairs that further extensions to Sobantu township would not be allowed. Approval for the township was received in June 1958 but construction only began in the mid-1960s.¹

In 1974 the Town Clerk wrote that "because of sociological and other

¹ M. Butler and A. Hartley. Imbali. (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1993) 7.

considerations the City Council recently made strong representations for the retention of Sobantu Village as a family village.”¹ The Town Council were “gravely concerned over the fact that Sobantu Village, which exists as a desirable “Bantu” residential township for “Bantu” families, maybe changed in character. The Council considers that the conversion of the area to hostel accommodation for “Bantu” males only would be a retrograde step with detrimental consequences not only to the future inhabitants, but the community generally... Sobantu Village as it now exists, providing accommodation for “Bantu” families, is ideally situated as a happily placed unit existing adjacent to a large industrial area. It is a self-contained establishment, existing without detrimental effects to the surrounding areas, and the Council considers this situation should be perpetuated.”²

But householders in Sobantu were adamant that they did not want to move.³ According to one householder “I have lived here since I was a little girl, when my father planted the trees my own children now play in. Now I hear we all have to go. We have bought a radiogram, fridge and stove. What will happen to them at Imbali where there is no electricity.”⁴ As a newspaper put it “easily the most deplorable feature of the government’s implementation of apartheid is the roughshod manner in which it moves

¹ PAR. 3/PMB. TC207/212. Vol. 4/5/557. Letter from Town Clerk to the Secretary, Pietermaritzburg and District Chamber of Commerce, dated 11 October 1974.

Also See PAR. DAB. file 06.07. Vol. 1. Housing Township and Villages. 1973-1977.

² PAR. DAB. file 06.07. Vol. 1. Housing Township and Villages. 1973-1977.

³ Natal Mercury, 1 May 1974. Natal Witness, 17 May 1974.

⁴ Natal Mercury, 1 May 1974.

whole populations by decree, seemingly without thought or care for the human misery its action often causes.”¹

It therefore should come as no surprise that the DAB remained silent on this issue. As Mr Simon Khwela (Chairman of Township Advisory Board in Imbali) mentioned “we are in the dark about the thinking behind many schemes undertaken by them.”² This silence did not stop the City Council who in 1976 wrote to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner and the Chief Director of DAB “... according to press reports, that the government is now prepared to sell land in certain areas to the African community, the City Council makes a very strong plea to the Government to reconsider its policy regarding Sobantu Village and strongly recommends that an opportunity be now given to Africans to buy land in that area.”³

The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner Natal responded that “... this decision if you consider the implications to be a complete departure from present government policy regarding the re-settlement of urban bantu residential areas in the homelands.”⁴ The DAB’s response was home-ownership scheme would in fact apply to Imbali and Ashdown and not to Sobantu.⁵

In 1977 rents went up in Sobantu. As a result of this increase it would cost the same to rent a house as to own one under the home ownership scheme announced by the government in August 1976. This

¹ Natal Mercury, 12 May 1974.

² Natal Witness, 6 August 1976.

³ PAR. DAB. file 06.07. Vol. 1. Housing Township and Villages. 1973-1977.

⁴ PAR. DAB. file 06.07. Vol. 1. Housing Township and Villages. 1973-1977.

⁵ PAR. DAB. file 06.07. Vol. 1. Housing Township and Villages. 1973-1977.

scheme meant that Africans could buy their houses but not the land on which it stood under a thirty year old leasehold agreement with the DAB.¹ When the Drakensberg Administration Board proposed these rent increases in Sobantu the residents were informed at a residents' meeting on 1 February 1977. The residents reaction was that "they deplore the short notice given to them and wanted to know why this was done as the proposed increases were never discussed at a residents' meeting in Sobantu."² According to the Advisory Board, the Area Manager (Mr Dobson) had at a meeting in August 1976 and asked the board not to discuss the proposed increased rentals with the residents. Certain houses in the village were dilapidated and in need of urgent repair - why then are the increases also applicable to these houses."³ In some cases rent was to be increased by about 50 percent. The DAB could have raised the rents periodically as service charges increased but they were set on imposing one hike. This was how the DAB operated.

East Griqualand

Another file contains an important official account of East Griqualand. The incorporation of East Griqualand into Natal was part of a huge land dispute because Chief Matanzima (Transkei) claimed that East Griqualand should be incorporated into the Transkei, on the grounds that

¹ Natal Witness, 24 November 1976.

² PAR. DAB. file 06.07. Vol. 1. Housing Township and Villages. 1973-1977.

³ PAR. DAB. file 06.07. Vol. 1. Housing Township and Villages. 1973-1977.

the Parliament of the Union of South Africa had illegally expropriated parts of the Transkei in 1913 and 1936.¹

A Committee of Inquiry into the possible incorporation of East Griqualand into Natal submitted its findings to the Administrators of the Provinces of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal during October 1976. According to the report: East Griqualand had for the past 115 years been inhabited by Griqua, Coloured and White, the declared policy of the South African government was that the area would continue to be administered as such. The suggestion (by Chief Matanzima) that East Griqualand should be incorporated into the Transkei should be discounted as this area was never a "Bantu" territory.²

There was also the suggestion that East Griqualand belonged to the Pondo, Chief Faku and should revert to the Mpondo. Accordingly, the report set out to show why this suggestion should also be discounted. The first historical record showed that Nomansland was so-called, had been vacant and uninhabited until the arrival of the Griqua in 1863. As early as 1834 Faku suggested to Uys that the area be used for the establishment of a Boer buffer state to protect the Mpondo from Zulu aggression. The Mpondo never occupied or effectively controlled the area, its climate and

¹ See L Gordon, S. Blignaut, S. Moroney, C. Cooper. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa (Johannesburg: Institute of Race Relations, 1977).

² PAR. DAB. file 04.60. Incorporation of East Griqualand. 1977-1979.

ecology made it intractable for them agriculturally. By 1860 the Zulu power had been effectively contained and the Mpondo had no need of the territory as an advanced defence zone against danger from the north.¹

By virtue of the Treaty of Amity of 1844 whereby the Mpondo "Treaty State" was called into being Faku could lay claim to the territory. But even by that treaty, it was merely his paramountcy over the area that was acknowledged. Before Adam Kok moved there he sought permission from the British and there were small groups of "Bantu" living in areas bordering the territory. According to the report what has been acquired can easily be relinquished in the same way as prior to the Griquas moving there, Sir Walter Currie obtained cession from the territory during March 1861 for use by the British Government. After the cession, Faku acquiesced in the Griqua occupation and settlement of the territory and at no time thereafter was the area ever used for Mpondo settlement or farming. On this basis the Mpondo could lay no just claim to the territory.²

According to the report East Griqualand was settled by the Griquas but tamed developed, conserved and beautified by the White man and the government's declared policy of maintaining it as a mainly White and Coloured area is therefore founded on firm ground. As a result East Griqualand was incorporated into Natal on 1st April 1978 (The Alteration

¹ PAR. DAB. file 04.60. Incorporation of East Griqualand. 1977-1979.

² PAR. DAB. file 04.60. Incorporation of East Griqualand. 1977 - 1979.

of Provincial Boundaries Act No. 36/1978, Government Gazette No. 5941 dated 20th March 1978).¹ Although it was discussed as far back as 1975 the incorporation only took place on 1 April 1978.²

Complaints

It is interesting to see from the file on "labour complaints" how dissatisfied White employers of black labour were with the board. The growing unpopularity with employees of the DAB can be seen from the following examples. In 1976 the Ladysmith and District Farmers' Association complained to the Secretary of the Natal Agricultural Union that it had serious doubts and reservations on the subject of Administration Boards and called for a suspension of the DAB. Farmers were becoming steadily disenchanted with the registration of farm labour and the 40cents levy. In Ladysmith farmers were angry by the refusal of Mr Peter McCallum (DAB Manager) to meet and discuss grievances. According to Mr Thys Wessels (President of the Ladysmith Farmers' Association) "as far as we can ascertain from local officials, the board is not making any intelligent use of the information collected and lacks facilities, ability and determination to do so ... apart from being a source of revenue for the board, the board's dealings with the farming community was futile, completely and highly unproductive, a complete waste of valuable manpower and thus conducive to inflation. The board's claim

¹ PAR. DAB. file 04.60. Incorporation of East Griqualand. 1977 - 1979.

² PAR. DAB. file 04.60. Incorporation of East Griqualand. 1977-1979.

that they need the information to monitor individuals' movements for security reasons is invalidated by its inability to trace defaulters, and its willingness to take money about full details about individual labourers.”¹

In this regard it is worth mentioning that there is much more about the attitude of White employers of Black labour towards the DAB. Mrs Brennan (of the Woodlands Tenants' Association) wrote to the Chief Commissioner and complained that on Thursday 19 October 1978 officials of the DAB gained access to homes in the Woodlands flat complex. She enquired whether the officials who conducted the raid coerced the caretaker to open the doors of the flats with his master key and whether the same officials coerced the domestic workers to admit to various questions and threatened action against them? According to Mrs Brennan “we do vehemently protest at the invasion by your officials on the privacy of our homes without the presence of any members of the household ... This despicable manner of your officials cannot and will not be condoned. Please be advised that our Association will not be responsible for any violent confrontation between residents and your officials should these lowly tactics, not becoming of any human person be repeated. This does not auger well for better relations in our city.”²

The official response was that: “no request was made by anyone for a

¹ PAR. DAB. file 05.04. Vol. 1. Complaints. 1973-1979.

² PAR. DAB. file 05.04. Vol. 1. Complaints. 1973-1979.

raid of the area concerned. This was merely a routine inspection in terms of Act 24/1945, Act 67/1964 and Act 29/1972. The regulations contained in these acts are applicable to all areas within Pietermaritzburg ... The officials who conducted the inspection did not coerce the caretaker to open the door and the domestic servants were not coerced to admit to questions, neither where they threatened ... eight employers in this area were prosecuted it appears that inspection of this area was justified.”¹ These intrusions into the private lives of people with their racist philosophy led the DAB to carry out raids when the residents were at work. Apartheid from this perspective constituted the enforcement of these rules. When confronted with complaints the DAB justified their actions by referring to legislation and there is no doubt that during this era there were many rules and regulations. However, the records imply that the DAB used legislation as an excuse for their actions.

The following incident demonstrates the DAB enmeshed in its own red tape and gives a sense of how carefully control was exercised. During August 1975, a Mrs A.J. Humphreys (member of the public) complained to the Secretary, Action Line of the Daily News. The Daily News offered a service to people who had complaints and initially the public phoned through to Action Line (which consisted of about two to three reporters) and were requested to lodge their complaint in writing. Action Line then

¹ PAR. DAB. file 05.04. Vol. 1. Complaints. 1973-1979.

investigated and attempted to resolve the problem.¹ This culminated in publicity of the complaint and it was these fears which prompted a quick response. With this in mind let us consider the following incident in detail.

An inspector arrived at Mrs Humphreys residence and found an African (Umsleg) working in the garden. Apparently this African was employed as a labourer by the Pietermaritzburg Corporation and the Humphreys were informed that they had no right to allow an African to work in the garden whilst he was employed by the corporation and if he injured himself by sticking a fork with his foot the Humphreys would be in serious trouble. They were fined R10 (admission of guilt) for an alleged offence under the Urban Areas Consolidation Act. Apparently, this African Umsleg approached Mrs Humphreys of Chasedene, Conifer Road about 25 years ago and mentioned that he liked gardening. Mrs Humphreys explained to him that she was not in a position to employ or pay him. She did suggest that he was welcome to potter about in her garden (Umsleg was the son of her father-in-laws labourer on his Highflats farm). Umsleg worked shifts and disliked spending time with the Africans at the hostel and since he enjoyed gardening, he asked Mrs Humphreys if she would allow him to spend time pottering in her garden. He subsequently purchased seeds and took what produce he required. The inspector insisted that Umsleg leave and ignored the fact that the Humphreys were not paying him. Mrs Humphreys approached Action

¹ This information was kindly provided by Trevor Bruce, News Editor of the Daily News.

Line who referred her to the public prosecutor who reiterated that no African could be employed by two people but Umsleg could continue working in the garden if no payment was made.¹

Action Line followed this up by contacting the Chief Director of the DAB who replied that Mrs Humphreys was not compelled to pay the fine. The Chief Director (Mr E.A. Goedeke) replied "in terms of the Bantu Labour Act No. 67/1964) any person who employs/provides work for an African is entitled to register this person for employment. Remuneration was not a pre-requisite for registration."² Mr Goedeke referred Action Line to regulation of Chapter 8 of the Bantu Labour Regulations (Government Notice No. R1892, dated 3 December 1965). But, Action Line could find nothing relevant to this case and contacted Mr Goedeke again. On 18 February 1976 he informed Action Line that Mrs Humphreys had been improperly charged for a contravention of Section 10 of the Bantu Urban Areas Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945. The Daily News headline sums up the situation "We boobed over Umsleg the happy gardener, admit officials."³

What follow up action did Mr Goedeke take with the area office after this incident? On 5 March 1976 he wrote to the Area Manager as follows:

... A copy of a report published in the 4th March 1976 issue of the Daily News is attached for your information. Quite obviously Mr Humphreys' was wrongly charged albeit he paid an Admission of Guilt and this has led to adverse criticism of the Board and its officials.

¹ PAR. DAB. file 05.12. Vol. 1. Labour Prosecutions. 1974-1979.

² PAR. DAB. file 05.12. Vol. 1. Labour Prosecutions. 1974-1979.

³ PAR. DAB. file 05.12. Vol. 1. Labour Prosecutions. 1974-1979.
See Daily News, 4 March 1976.

As I see it, Mr Humphreys should never have been charged at all, but as it was decided to charge him the charge should have been for a contravention of Regulation 15(3) (b), of Chapter 8 of the Bantu Labour Regulations. Due to this technical omission Mr Humphreys will succeed either on appeal or review. I shall be glad if you will take steps to ensure that a similar situation does not occur in the future.¹

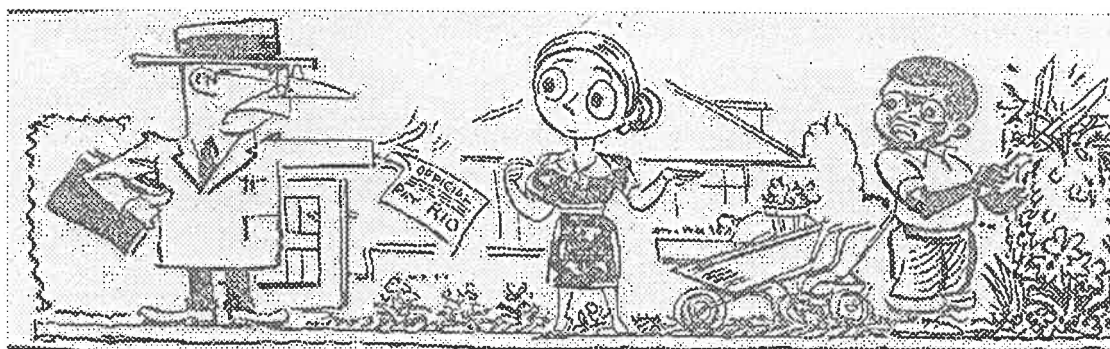
On 17 March 1976 the Area Manager, Pietermaritzburg (Mr D.S. Dobson) in further correspondence stated "to avoid a similar situation in the future, the inspectors will have to have guidance. The above letter makes it clear that Mr Humphreys should in the circumstances not have been charged. As the inspectors constantly find this type of employment, with similar reasons being advanced for the presence of Africans in gardens or shops uniformity is essential. With this in mind could the circumstances be indicated where the inspectors should not institute prosecutions."²

The Chief Director responded on 9 April 1976 and the tone of the letter suggests that he was not impressed. According to him Africans employed in private domestic premises cannot be equated with employment in shops or other business undertakings where Acts such as the Workmens Compensation, Transport Levy, Wage Determination Rates etc. apply. While it was not his intention to prescribe to Inspectors as to which offences to charge for and the circumstances surrounding Mr Humphreys were such that he was of the opinion that the Inspector concerned could well have used his discretion and refrained from

¹ PAR. DAB. file 05.12. Vol. 1. Labour Prosecutions. 1974-1979.

² PAR. DAB. file 05.12. Vol. 1. Labour Prosecutions. 1974-1979.

prosecuting.¹ This example clearly illustrates that the Inspector did not have to prosecute the Humphreys but the Chief Director initially found a reason to cover the incident and justified the action thereby playing down the importance. But he privately conceded in correspondence to the Area Manager that the Inspector should not have prosecuted.



Cartoon: "We boobed over Umsleg the happy gardener, admit officials."

Source: The Daily News, 4 March 1976

¹ PAR. DAB, file 05.12. Vol. 1. Labour Prosecutions. 1974-1979.

Community Councils

When the DAB took over control of the various townships from the municipalities they also became involved with the Advisory Boards (created in terms of Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923) in these areas. During the reign of the board there were combined Advisory Boards.¹ But with widespread violence in the townships the Advisory Boards were dissolved and the Community Council system was introduced by virtue of the Community Councils Act No. 125/1977.² This legislation was to give Africans limited control as they were to be regarded as municipalities in the small and was an attempt by the state to defuse township struggles which had exploded in the mid-1970s. The Community Councils Act was the first attempt by the Department of Co-operation and Development to institute in urban areas quasi-local authority structures which held the promise of granting substantially more than purely advisory powers to urban Black residents. In practice decisions were taken by Community Councils and were implemented by Administration Boards.

Community Councils were entrusted with the following powers, the allocation of accommodation and trading sites and the maintenance of essential services. These Community Councils were administrative extensions of the Administration Board. Their task was to collect higher rents and service charges to finance the upgrading of township programmes. The government's reform of local government between 1977

¹ PAR. DAB. file 06.19: Vol. 2. Advisory Board Pietermaritzburg. 1973-1977.

² PAR. DAB. file 3/8/1. Raads en Komiteevergaderings. 1981-1983.

and 1983 gave Community Councils few new powers but greatly extended responsibilities.

This form of local government was used by the state to divide and control urban Africans. These Councils were responsible for a range of unpopular state policies which included rent increases and evictions. Furthermore, these Black Councils had to sign a Memorandum of Agreement on Co-operation and Understanding with the DAB. The Board acted as agent regarding all the maintenance and administrative services by way of this agreement. Certain officials were seconded to the Councils in an Advisory capacity to assist in this process of local government. Council Chambers were also built for them. Community Councils consisted mainly of businessmen and traders who were intent on pursuing their own interests and in larger urban areas lacked any real popular legitimacy where council election polls often fell below 10 percent.”¹ Community Councils were abolished in terms of the Black Local Authorities Act No. 102/1982. The government shifted responsibility to non-legitimate black local authorities.

¹ P. Maylam. “The Rise and Decline of Urban Apartheid in South Africa” African Affairs. (1990, 89) 57-84.

APPENDIX TWO

[Some explanatory Notes on the Filing System]

DESCRIPTION OF FILES IN THE DAB		
File	Description	Period
01.01-		
01.35	Board General	1973-1979
02.01-		
02.74	Administration	1973-1979
03.01-		
03.64	Finance	1973-1979
04.01-		
04.64	Liquor and Bantu Beer	1973-1979
05.01-		
05.27	Labour	1973-1979
06.01-		
06.44	Housing	1973-1979
07.01-		
07.16	Head Office Building	1973-1979

A filing system is a plan whereby an institution arranges its correspondence to serve its needs. It enables an institution to execute its functions in an efficient manner, in that all correspondence is filed logically and can be traced easily when required. (DAB came into existence on 1 August 1973 and ceased existence on 31 March 1979 = first filing system). On 1 April 1979 the DAB amalgamated with the Northern Natal Administration Board to form a new enlarged DAB and on the same day a new filing system was introduced = second filing system).

This filing system covers the period 1 August 1973 to 31 March 1979. The archives are placed in Boxes numbered from 1-130.

Second Filing System.

FILE	DESCRIPTION	PERIOD
1/1-		
1/3/11	Wetgewing/Legislation	1979-1983
2/B-		
2/4/6	Organisasie/Organisation	1979-1983
3/1/B-		
3/8/9/92	Eie Raads en Komiteevergaderings/ Private Council and Committee Meetings	1979-1983
4/1/B-		
4/11/1	Personeel/Staff	1979-1983
5/1/B-		
5/15/9	Finansies/Finance	1979-1983
6/1/B-		
6/2/20/103	Geboue en Terreine/ Buildings & Grounds	1979-1983
7/1/B-		
7/3/2	Huishoudelike Voorrade- Dienste en Akkommodasie/Supplies Services & Accommodation	1979-1983
8/B-		
8/5	Tenders	1979-1983
9/B-		
9/5	Rekordbeheer/Record Management	1979-1983
10/B-		
10/3	Opgawes en Verslae/ Returns and Reports	1979-1983
11/1/B-		
11/3/2	Reklame en Inligting/Advertising & Information	1979-1983

FILE	DESCRIPTION	PERIOD
12/B-		
12/6	Feeste en Sosiale Verkeer/Festivals	1979-1983
13/B-		
13/2/3/33	Organisasies/Organisation	1979-1983
14/1-		
14/7/3	Regspiegling/Admin. of Justice	1979-1983
15/1/B-		
15/2/6/B	Handel Bedrywe en Nywerhede/ Trade & Industry	1979-1983
16/B-		
16/9	Dorpsstigting/Erection of Villages	1979-1983
17/1/B-		
17/6/1	Noodsaaklike Dienste/Essential Services	1979-1983
18/1/1-		
18/16/1/3	Gemeenskapsdienste/Community Services	1979-1983
19/B-		
19/5/3	Arbeid/Labour	1979-1983
20/1/1/B-		
20/4/1	Huisvesting en Verblyfbeheer/ Accommodation	1979-1983
21/1/B-		
21/3/1/106	Bevolkingsregistrasie/Population Registration	1980-1983

These records are placed in Box 1 - 240.

Conclusion

This dissertation serves to introduce researchers to a body of largely unused records held in the Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository. Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository (PAR) is one of the repositories of the National Archives of South Africa. PAR is responsible for the acquisition, preservation and making available of public and non-public records with enduring value for use officially and by the general public.

South Africa has since 1910 developed different forms of African Administration. With the promulgation of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 Sobantu Village was created and Africans in Pietermaritzburg were controlled by the Department of Bantu Administration (DBA) which fell directly under the Pietermaritzburg Municipality. Municipalities were required to keep separate Native Revenue Accounts which financed Municipal Native Administration Departments, later called Department of Bantu Administration. The Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923 was an attempt to control urban Africans at their place of work and were expelled from the urban areas for vagrancy, idleness and failure to pay rent.

But it was really with the ascendancy of the National Party in 1948, that the earlier policies of segregation were transformed into the grandplan of apartheid. Thus the government was able to tighten control and enforce apartheid legislation. This was to be clearly seen in 1971 when Administration Boards came into being. As a result control of African townships like Sobantu was transferred to the Drakensberg Bantu Affairs Administration Board in 1973.

This dissertation has endeavoured to capture the significance of archival records of urban Africans who were first under municipal control and later controlled by the Drakensberg Administration Board. The objective has been to encourage fresh directions in research with the hope of seeing history in a fresh light. While simultaneously reflecting on control, it also hints at the significance of the DAB records and the attempt of total control during the apartheid era. Local case studies enable us to investigate specific characteristics rather than to generalise on a nation wide basis. The overall apartheid plan is well-known and the day to day workings is more obscure. But in the records of the Department of Bantu Administration, Pietermaritzburg and Drakensberg Administration Board, as this dissertation has tried to demonstrate there are various examples of petty apartheid which have not been researched. The more widespread use of archives is the goal of all archival endeavour and it is hoped that future researchers utilise these valuable records.

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file 13/2/6 Behuising. Aanbou van Argief Gebou.

file P16/1/1 Access to Public Records:Procedure. dd.1997-06-06 and
Annexure A. dd.1997-06-06.

Archives of the Department of Bantu Administration, Pietermaritzburg (DBA)

file 2/5 Transport to Native Village 1959-1968

file 2/8 Postal Facilities at Native Village 1926-1977

file 4/1/1 Registration Regulations 1928-1961

file 9/1 Appointment of Director 1925-1963

file 12/1 Establishment of School of Weaving 1938-1968

file 15/19 South African institute of Race Relations 1963-1968

file 20/3 Erection of New Office for BAD 1928-1968

file 20/20 Group Areas Act 1944-1966

file 22/17 Distribution of Oranges, Eggs etc 1941-1968

file 22/31 Juvenile Delinquency 1950-1960

file 22/32 Suggested Native Donors for Blood Transfusion 1950-1968

file 22/41 YMCA Establishment for Africans 1962-1964

file 22/43 National War Memorial Health Foundation 1947-1954

file 22/48 Formation of Branch of National Council of African Women
1952-1962

file 22/49 PMB Joint Council of European & Africans 1956-1962

file 22/50 Joint Council of Europeans & Indians 1954-1963

file 23/12 Enquiry on Economic Health & Social Conditions of
Natives in Urban Areas 1941

file 30/7 Behaviour and Control of Natives in City 1930-1964

file 30/8 Godfrey Kumalo 1938-1965

file 30/9 Riots and Unrest in Pietermaritzburg 1960-1967

file 32/4 Appointment of Chief for City Natives 1936-1967

Archives of the Town Clerk, Pietermaritzburg (3/PMB)

Vol. 4/4/2/340 TC197/21

Vol. 4/5/555 TC207/201

Vol. 4/5/557 TC207/212

Archives of the Drakensberg Administration Board (DAB)

file 01.02 General 1974-1979

file 01.15 Appointment to Board Vol.1 1973-1978

file 01.23 Headquarters Premises 1973-1974

file 01.26 Legislation and Regulations 1973-1979

file 01.30 Vol. 1 General Natal Employers Association 1973

file 01.33 General. Annual Report of the Chairman 31.7.1974

file 04.60 Incorporation of East Griqualand 1977-1979

file 05.04 Vol. 1 Complaints 1973-1979

file 05.12. Vol. 1 Labour Prosecutions 1974-1979

file 06.07 Vol. 1 Housing Township and Villages 1973-1977

file 06.19 Vol. 2. Advisory Board, Pietermaritzburg 1973-1977

file 3/8/1 Raads en Komiteevergaderings 1981-1983

file 9/2/3 Record Management 1979-1983

PAR Non-Public Records

A1661

PAR Pictorial Collection

C7211

C8906

C10054

PAR Map Collection

M2/81

National Archives Repository (NAR)

ARH 6 file S2/1/3

ARH 68 file 9/2/4

ARH 204 file S1/6

ART 147. file TA16/3.

Alan Paton Centre, University of Natal

**Recording the Anti-Apartheid Struggle in KwaZulul Natal, Oral
History Project of the Alan Paton Centre 98 AB27.**

Interview with Truman Magubane by Ruth Lundie on 11 November 1998.

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