

SPORT, SPACE AND SEGREGATION

PIETERMARITZBURG, 1900-1980

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ABSTRACT

Christopher Edmond MERRETT. *Sport, space and segregation: Pietermaritzburg, 1900-1980*
(February 2006).

Sport is located historically within its political, economic, cultural and social context in order to assess its role in human and spatial relations; and its meaning for various communities. This study aims to measure the impact of dominant ideology (imperialism, segregation and apartheid), the degree to which sport was used instrumentally by the authorities, and the extent to which it was seen as a site of struggle by the oppressed.

The main sources for this thesis were archival and published material emanating from the municipality. Before apartheid matured and became more secretive, they were remarkably candid about official aims and objectives. A wide variety of secondary sources was consulted; and interviews conducted.

The conclusion is that sport is an appropriate lens through which to view urban history and the relationships that shape it. Driven by a consistent ideological desire for White separateness, sport reflected social hegemony and assumptions about relative competence and ability. Instrumental use of sport by the local authority, apart from a skewed use of economic resources to unite whites and maintain their distance from other communities, was poorly regarded. This was because of the availability of other, coercive means of control and the dispensability of the individuals targeted. Black sportspersons were in effect squatters at impermanent facilities.

Black recreation was a challenge to White ideas about the use of urban space. For Africans, the controlled area preferred by the authorities was the beerhall, not the sports field. Effective resistance organised around sport emerged only when the authorities needed Asian and Coloured cooperation to implement group areas and at this point sport became a notable site of struggle. Ultimately sports facilities, originally a symbol of White civilisation and authority, became a potent emblem of the spatial conflict that characterised apartheid. They also reflected the fact that South African urban geography had always been an evolving saga of insiders and outsiders.

Sport provided the proponents of White dominance with a theatre for propaganda; while at the same time offering its protagonists a stage upon which to demonstrate their opposition. In this scenario hegemony was in a state of periodic flux.

For a more descriptive abstract of this thesis, *see* the section 'Final overview' on pages 353-356.

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CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF SPORTS FACILITIES

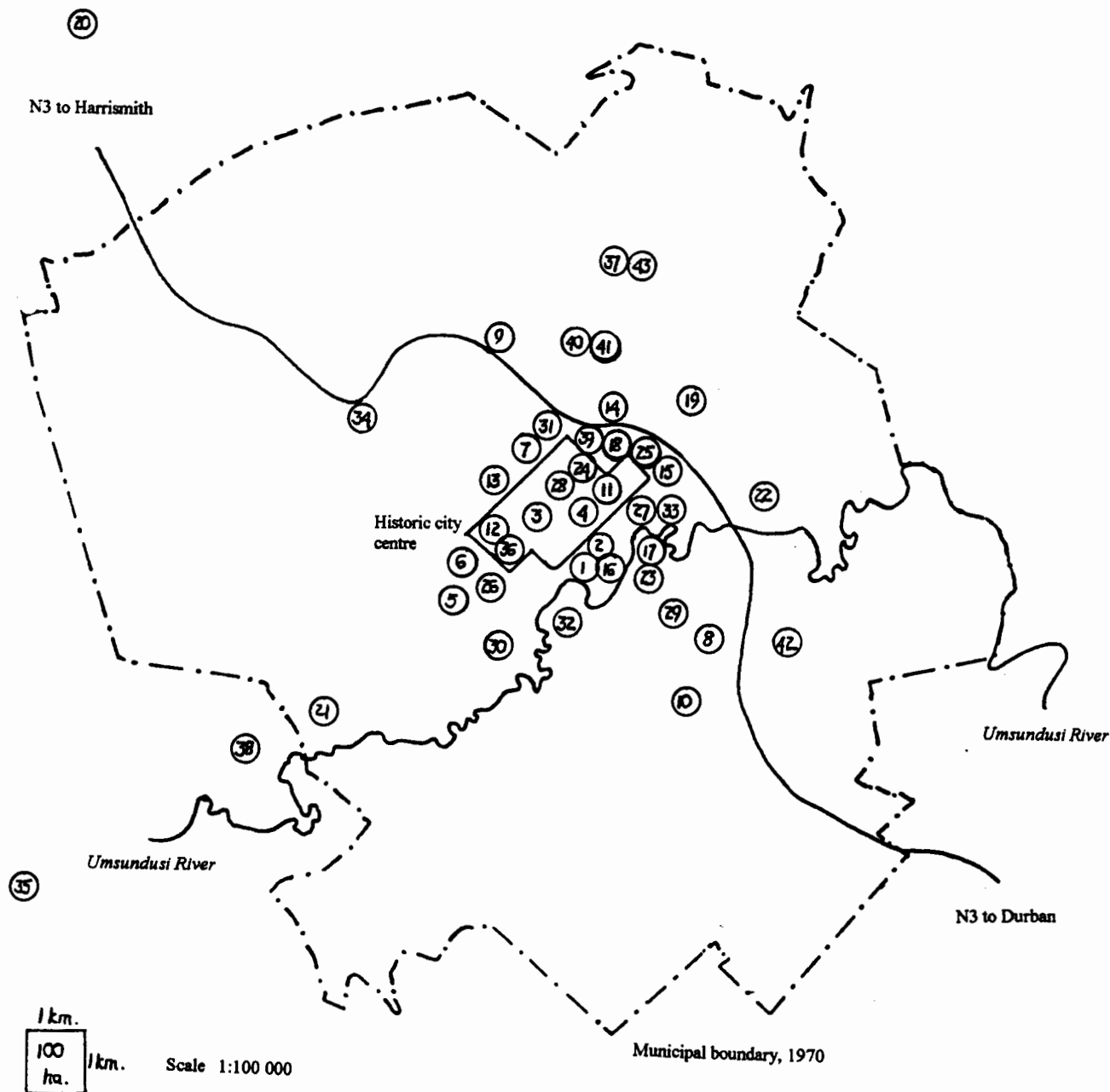
excluding various temporary facilities

		Originally	Later
C19 century	Alexandra Park and Oval	ALL	
	Buchanan Street Baths	W	
	Drill Hall	W	
	Military Recreation Ground	W	
	Polo Ground (Outspan 3)	W	
	Royal Agricultural Society Showgrounds	W	NR
	Scottsville Racecourse	ALL	
	Umsindusi Boating	W	
1904	Maritzburg Bowls Club	W	
1909	Maritzburg Golf Club (Scottsville)	W	
1917	Maritzburg East Bowls Club	W	
	Kershaw Park Tennis Courts	W	
1920	West End Park aka Pine Street SG	AF	C
1921	Maritzburg West Bowls Club	W	
	Maritzburg Croquet Club	W	
1923	Polo Ground (Willowbridge)	W	
	Victoria Bowls Club	W	
1924	Indian SG (Fitzsimmons)	AS	
1926	Open Air Baths	W	
	Woodburn Rugby Ground	W	
	Coloured Recreation Hall	C	
1937	East Street SG (Maqeleni)	C	AF
1931	Mountain Rise Golf Club	W	
	Country Club (Ketelfontein)	W	
1932	Edendale Road Sports Ground (Masons Mill)	AF/AS	
1934	Sobantu SG (temporary)	AF	
1935	Woodburn Bowls Club	W	
1936	East Street Men's Hostel	AF	
1937	Fitzsimmons Native SG (Tatham Memorial)	AF	C/AS
1938	Dales Park	W	
1939	Sobantu Community Hall	AF	
1947	Wanderers Club	W	
1940	Berg Street Coloured SG	C	AF
1941	Woodhouse Road NRG	AF	
1945	Camp Drift RG	AS	
1952	Chatterton Road SG	C	C/AS
	Jan Smuts Stadium	W	
1955	Collegians Club	W	
	Wylie Park	ALL	
1958	Chatterton Polo Ground	W	
	Wadley Stadium, Edendale	AF	
1961	C.G. Joliffe Swimming Baths	W	
1965	Berg Street Indian Swimming Baths	AS	
1966	Northdale Stadium	AS	

	Imbali football field	AF
	Brookside	AS
1968	Woodlands Stadium	C
	R.G. Pilditch Swimming Baths	C
	Maritzburg Golf Club (Hayfields)	W
1970	Imbali tennis courts	AF
1978	Northdale Swimming Baths	AS

KEY: AF = African; AS = Asian; C = Coloured; NR = Non-racial; W = White

PIETERMARITZBURG: SELECTED SPORTS FACILITIES



1. Alexandra Park including Oval, Maritzburg Bowls Club, Maritzburg Croquet Club, Victoria Bowls Club
2. Kershaw Park
3. Buchanan Street Baths
4. Drill Hall
5. Military Recreation Ground
6. Polo Ground (Outspan 3)
7. Royal Agricultural Society Showgrounds
8. Scottsville Racecourse
9. Rifle Range
10. Maritzburg Golf Club (Scottsville)
11. Maritzburg East Bowls Club
12. West End Park aka Pine Street SG
13. Maritzburg West Bowls Club
14. Polo Ground (Willowbridge)
15. Indian SG (Fitzsimmons)
16. Open Air Baths
17. Woodburn Rugby Ground
18. East Street SG (Maqeleni)
19. Mountain Rise Golf Club
20. Country Club (Ketelfontein)
21. Edendale Road Sports Ground (Masons Mill)

22. Sobantu SG
23. Woodburn Bowls Club
24. East Street Men's Hostel
25. Fitzsimmons Native SG (Tatham Memorial)
26. Dales Park
27. Wanderers Club
28. Berg Street Indian Swimming Baths
29. Woodhouse Road NRG
30. Camp Drift RG
31. Chatterton Road SG and Polo Ground
32. Jan Smuts Stadium
33. Collegians Club
34. Wylie Park
35. Wadley Stadium, Edendale
36. C.G. Joliffe Swimming Baths
37. Northdale Stadium
38. Imbali football field and tennis courts
39. Brookside
40. Woodlands Stadium
41. R.G. Pilditch Swimming Baths
42. Maritzburg Golf Club (Hayfields)
43. Northdale Swimming Baths

ABBREVIATIONS

AFA	African Football Association
AHS	Asiatic Housing Scheme
ANC	African National Congress
ASA	Allandale Sports Association
ASC	Anti-Segregation Council
BBA	Bantu Beer Account
BBPAA	Bantu Beer Profits Appropriation Account
BC	Bowling Club
BFA	Bantu Football Association
	Borough Fund Account
BRA	Bantu Revenue Account
BWA	Bantu Welfare Account
C&TBVRA	Chase and Town Bush Valleys Residents Association
CBSIA	Colonial Born and Settlers Indian Association
CC	Cricket Club
CCM	City Council minutes
CD&PRA	Camp Drift and Pentrich Residents Association
CE	City Engineer
CFA	City Fund Account
CI	Christian Institute
CLAC	Coloured Local Affairs Committee
comp.	compiler
CPS	Civilian Protection Services
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
CRC	Coloured Representative Council
CSG	Coloured Sports Ground
CWL	Coloured Welfare League
CYB	<i>Corporation Yearbook</i>
DCD	Department of Cooperation and Development
DDFA	Durban and District Football Association
DDICU	Durban and District Indian Cricket Union
DHA	<i>Debates of the House of Assembly</i>
DISGA	Durban Indian Sports Grounds Association
DJWC	Durban Joint Wards Committee
DNA	Department of Native Affairs
	Director of Native Affairs
DSR	Department of Sport and Recreation
ed.	editor or edited
EEBC	East End Bowling Club
EPS	Esther Payne Smith
FASA	Football Association of South Africa
FTGPC	Finance, Traffic and General Purposes Committee
GAA	Group Areas Act
GGS	Governor General's Shield
GMT	Greenwich Mean Time
HNP	Herstigte Nasionale Party
I-EJC	Indo-European Joint Council

ILAC	Indian Local Affairs Committee
ISA	Indian Sports Association
ISC	Indian Sports Committee
ISG	Indian Sports Ground
JI-EC	Joint Indo-European Council
KBA	Kafir Beer Account
LAC	Local Affairs Committee
LHC	Local Health Commission
LTAB	Land Tenure Advisory Board
MBC	Maritzburg Bowling Club
MBFA	Maritzburg Bantu Football Association
MCC	Maritzburg Cricket Club
MCFC	Maritzburg City Football Club
MCIFA	Maritzburg County Indian Football Association
MCPSC	Maritzburg City Professional Soccer Club
MCSB	Maritzburg Coloured Sports Board
MCU	Maritzburg Cricket Union
MDAFA	Maritzburg District African Football Association
MDBA	Maritzburg District Bowling Association
MDBFA	Maritzburg District Bantu Football Association
MDCU	Maritzburg District Cricket Union
MDFA	Maritzburg District Football Association
MDICU	Maritzburg District Indian Cricket Union
MDNFA	Maritzburg District Native Football Association
MFC	Maritzburg Football Club
MGC	Maritzburg Golf Club
MGRC	Municipal Golf and Recreation Club
MISA	Maritzburg Indian Sports Association
MLTA	Maritzburg Lawn Tennis Association
MP	Member of Parliament
MR&MC	Mountain Rise and Maristoba Club
MRGC	Mountain Rise Golf Club
MRRA	Mountain Rise Residents Association
MRSU	Maritzburg Rugby Sub Union
MRU	Maritzburg Rugby Union
MWBC	Maritzburg West Bowling Club
NAACA	Natal Amateur Athletics and Cycling Association
NAAU	Natal Amateur Athletics Union
NAD	Native Affairs Department
NAF	Native Administration Fund
NAFA	Natal African Football Association
NBFA	Natal Bantu Football Association
NCA	Natal Cricket Association
NCB	Natal Cricket Board
NCBIA	Natal Colonial Born Indian Association
NCWA	Natal Coloured Welfare Association
NCWL	Natal Coloured Welfare League
NFL	National Football League
NIA	Natal Indian Association
NIC	Natal Indian Congress

NICU	Natal Indian Cricket Union
NIFA	Natal Indian Football Association
NIJC	Natal Indian Judicial Commission
NILTU	Natal Indian Lawn Tennis Union
NLTA	Natives Lawn Tennis Association
NMA	Natal Municipal Association
NNFA	Northern Natal Football Association
NP	National Party
NRA	Native Revenue Account
NRC	Native Recruiting Company
NRG	Native Recreation Ground
NSA	Northdale Sports Association
NSF	Native Sports Federation (French Congo)
NSG	Native Sports Ground
NSL	National Soccer League
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
NV	Native Village
<i>NW</i>	<i>Natal Witness</i>
NWA	Native Welfare Account
NWS	Native Welfare Society
OB	Ossewabrandwag
P&CDRA	Pietermaritzburg & Camp Drift Residents Association
PCWL	Pietermaritzburg Coloured Welfare League
PFP	Progressive Federal Party
PJCEA	Pietermaritzburg Joint Council of Europeans and Africans
PLTA	Pietermaritzburg Lawn Tennis Association
PSA	Pietermaritzburg Sports Association
PSAKK	Pietermaritzburgse Skakelkomitee van Afrikaanse Kerke en Kulturliggame
PSWN	Pietermaritzburg Society for the Welfare of Natives
RADSA	Raisethorpe and District Sports Association
Rd	Road
RG	Recreation Ground
RSAA	Reservation of Separate Amenities Act
SAAAU	South African Amateur Athletics Union
SAACB	South African African Cricket Board
SAAFA	South African African Football Association
SAASF	South African Amateur Swimming Federation
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACA	South African Cricket Association
SACB	South African Cricket Board
SACBOC	South African Cricket Board of Control
SACOS	South African Council on Sport
SACU	South African Cricket Union
SADT	South African Development Trust
SAIC	South African Indian Congress
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SANAC	South African Native Affairs Commission
SANFA	South African Native Football Association
SANROC	South African Non Racial Olympic Committee

SAONGA	South African Olympic and National Games Association
SAPA	South African Polo Association
SAR	South African Railways
SARB	South African Rugby Board
SASA	South African Sports Association
SASF	South African Soccer Federation
SASL	South African Soccer League
SBA	Scottsville Burgesses Association
SCC	Slangspruit Community Council
SG	Sports Ground
SNA	Superintendent of Native Affairs
TC	Town Clerk
TCO	Town Clerk's Office
TLSA	Teachers League of South Africa
TMG	Tatham Memorial Ground
UDF	United Democratic Front
UM	Unity Movement
UP	United Party
	University Press
VBC	Victoria Bowling Club
VRC	Valleys Recreation Club
WBC	Woodburn Bowling Club
WDRA	Wembley District Ratepayers Association
WEBC	West End Bowling Club
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

All months in footnotes are abbreviated in the standard fashion.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As a small boy growing up in middle-class, middle England in the late 1950s it was natural that I should develop an interest in cricket. At junior school in Gloucestershire we went to the recreation ground to practise cricket, but I cannot remember playing in a match and in any case football was easier; and I was quite good at it. At boarding school in the late 1960s I became interested in the broader meanings of cricket, learning that it was more than just a sport and contained lessons about life and morality. This was the era of the well-educated radio commentator, most notably John Arlott, ex-policeman and poet, a man of liberal (and Liberal) politics and strong principles, organic intellectual, and someone who could find sane and meaningful connections between the game and life as a whole. Then came the D'Oliveira affair and the Stop the Seventy Tour Campaign. I was doing A-level Geography, of which South Africa was an important component, and my interests in cricket, politics and South Africa converged with a significance that was to have a profound influence upon my life. Everyone I respected in the public sphere was against the tour and the campaign, pronouncements and actions of Peter Hain made a deep impression.

In 1975 I ended up in South Africa. For a while I was only vaguely conscious of the political schisms in South African sport and unconcernedly watched Currie Cup matches at the Oval in Pietermaritzburg and at Newlands, while supporting in principle the boycott of South Africa. The Soweto Uprising of 1976 and the growing radicalisation of South African politics changed all that. Connections with the Black Sash and their advice offices, campus politics under the influence of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the white Left generally; and growing militancy from the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) convinced me that I wanted to get involved in non-racial sport.

So in September 1980 I found myself umpiring in a six-a-side tournament at Chatterton Road, a barren and windswept spot next to the national road from Durban to Johannesburg whose origins as Pietermaritzburg's municipal rubbish dump were all too evident from the subsidence in the outfield. My hours of listening to Test Match Special and reading of the laws paid off because I became the regular umpire for Aurora Cricket Club and stood in inter-district matches between Pietermaritzburg and other unions of the Natal Cricket Board (NCB) - Northern Districts (Ladysmith), Durban, Chatsworth, Stanger and Tongaat. Indeed, within eighteen extraordinary months I had officiated in two (Howa Bowl) inter-provincials played in Pietermaritzburg between Natal and Transvaal and Eastern Province.

We played most club cricket on matting, a symbol of deprivation; and in the early 1980s with Australian eight-ball overs, a deliberate indication of our distinctiveness. At the beginning of the 1981-82 season I became secretary of the Maritzburg District Cricket Union (MDCU), a position I held for six years, five of them under the chairpersonship of Rajen Moodley, a man for whom I had great respect.

SACOS was at the height of its influence and morale in the first half of the 1980s. It was a fascinating experience working in an atmosphere in which the laws and traditions of cricket were juxtaposed alongside ideas about social and political justice. In a sense, it was all an illusion. What bound us together was an abhorrence of apartheid. Take that away and the differences, except a love of cricket, were enormous. But the crusade of the time was a powerful and satisfying one in which the laws of the game became entwined with the political principles and disciplinary code within which we operated. The underlying ideology was not that of the African National Congress (although many individuals later became involved with its internal partner, the United Democratic Front, the UDF), but those of the Unity Movement, largely based in the Western Cape and little-known in Natal. The strict adherence of SACOS supporters to its principles was almost religious in its fervour, and usually rigidly applied, while issues were debated with an intellectual intensity generally unknown amongst sportspersons. The double standards resolution (which forbade any contact with the 'other side' of the sporting divide) was enforced with little by way of concession. The appeal of this way of life was that it was an antidote to most South Africans' compromises with apartheid: here at least, in this sliver of life, moral principles could be upheld, distancing us from the hypocrisy and ambivalence of existence in South Africa. It was all, in a real sense, a matter of faith

In the very early 1980s there was little opportunity for opposition to what appeared then to be the granite face of apartheid and its apparatchiks, the frontage of a system of grinding racist bureaucracy that had long demonstrated a penchant for considerable violence. The trade unions, the open universities and the non-racial sports movement were the only institutions that appeared to offer any sense of an alternative mode of socio-political organisation. In 1983, a broad front of anti-apartheid organisations emerged as the UDF, drawing together and re-energising the well-entrenched civil rights movement. Non-racial sport became one of an increasing number of sites of political activism and often a front for related activities. Summer Sunday mornings at the Tatham Memorial Ground watching cricket were ideal cover for clandestine political meetings, particularly from 1985 onwards when a partial State of Emergency (that did not affect Pietermaritzburg directly) quickly developed into a national Emergency lasting four years.

Umpiring in the heat of a Pietermaritzburg summer amongst sometimes fractious players was not the most relaxing way of spending one's weekends. Nor were Monday evening disciplinary hearings the best way to conserve one's patience. But they constituted an incredibly valuable experience and one of the most meaningful episodes of my life, one that is now perhaps invested with more than a modicum of nostalgia, lost comradeship and purpose. Cricket is a sport that evokes strong emotions and memories through its association with time and place, a fact that has not escaped creators of both prose and poetry such as Francis Thompson who wrote in his poem 'At Lord's':

For the field is full of shades as I near the shadowy coast
And a ghostly batsman plays to the bowling of a ghost
And I look through my tears on a soundless clapping host
As the run-stealers flicker to and fro
To and fro ...

With time we all harbour our ghostly players in the shadows of past grounds. Mine are there in those inadequate little venues - Chatterton, Brookside and Tatham, two of them barely recognisable now - strung along the freeway in Pietermaritzburg. The context was a fierce struggle about political and civic morality during a passage in South African history when the rule of law was cynically demolished by the government, and replaced by a police state run in the name of White supremacy.

The fall of apartheid was one of the last significant acts of the short twentieth century. South Africa was an isolated, although far from closed, society which seems fifteen years later almost unimaginable. We experienced a psychological sense of detachment from the rest of the world together with the practicalities of battling against an increasingly violent and often reckless security state. On the face of it life was normal, but one rarely forgot the lurking menace beneath. In these stressed circumstances, it required no great leap of mental effort to accept the unarguable truth that sport was an integral part of its surrounding social, political, cultural and economic life. To believe and argue otherwise would have been unconscionable.

Although my first publication on the history of sport appeared in 1983 (in *Sash Magazine*) it was John Laband who set me on my way as a sports historian by asking for a contribution to *Pietermaritzburg 1838-1988: a new portrait of an African city* (edited by him and Rob Haswell) on the topic of Black sport. Subsequently I have benefited enormously from the support and encouragement of friends in the Australian Society for Sports History, most notably Douglas Booth and Colin Tatz. Thanks are also due to Bruce Murray and Andre Odendaal for collaborative work.

I owe a considerable debt to those who welcomed me into non-racial cricket over twenty-five years ago through Aurora and the MDCU and provided me with such a rich and challenging hands-on experience of the politics of sport. Although ideologically divergent, Rajen Moodley and Mike Hickson (President and Vice-President of the MDCU) were significant influences on me. In Aurora, Roy Bunwarie (long-time President) and Malcolm McKenzie consciously and unconsciously assisted me in shaping many of my ideas about sport and society and helped in the construction of this thesis. Thank you too to all those cricketers in non-racial sport in Pietermaritzburg who made those experiences of the 1980s so rewarding and deepened my understanding of its history - Baby and Bully Haffajee, Amos Cassimjee, Farouk Ally, Mike Hart, Vis Naidoo, Tommy Nair, Viddy Naidoo, Krish Pillay and Neville Richardson spring to mind, but there were many others.

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- extra special thanks go to my wife Christine who has put up with protracted absences at my desk, whose love and practical and moral support has enabled me to finish this thesis, and who is now looking forward to a more normal life together.

In the pre-liberation era writers who opposed the apartheid government were accustomed to apologise for the use of its terminology, even though it was fundamental to an understanding of the South African condition. There is no longer any need to do this because, bizarre as it may sound, the democratically elected government of a free South Africa is also obsessed by race classification, although there is of course no longer any statutory basis for it. In this book the term *Asian* as an ethnic group is preferred to the more usual *Indian*, except where the latter relates directly to a specific edifice of apartheid such as a township.

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

As Holt observes, "Sport is pleasurable physical activity, which is normally organized and competitive but need not be so. No firm lines between 'sport' and 'physical recreation' have been drawn because none is appropriate."¹ One of the distinctions is the fact that sport has defined spatial and time limits and commonly accepted, usually internationally agreed, rules; recreation, leisure, play and games on the other hand, do not. Bale makes the point that "Recreation and play are ubiquitous, but because of its spatial specificity sport is relatively localised"; and passes the intriguing comment that "Virtually all sports are, in essence, struggles over space, but space that has carefully defined limits"; adding that "Sport-space compresses normal space in that it brings together people who would normally be unlikely to meet." His work on sports geography addresses the issue of "who plays what where."²

In the words of Brailsford, "ever since human beings began to live in organized communities, politics and play have been irresistibly entangled"³; but until the 1970s sport was a topic largely neglected by historians worldwide. It was considered trivial, autonomous, apolitical, and at best a peripheral issue in the context of social history. In the view of Mennell, "the problem with sports and games is that they are too stubbornly familiar a part of life in contemporary societies ... too easily taken for granted."⁴ The catalyst was the advent of cultural studies, which encouraged the idea that the relationship between culture, social organisation and power of various types could be investigated through sport, exposing previously unsuspected relationships. Modern sport, as a function of time and space, has become a significant topic of research for historians and geographers. Struma goes so far as to suggest that "the history of a society is incomplete until its sports history is understood ... such studies ... address the interests and experiences of dominant and/or subordinate groups in sport contexts, as well as issues such as control and power."⁵ Sport is an indicator of social, industrial and

¹ Holt, R. *Sport and the British: a modern history* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p.10.

² Bale, J. *Sports geography* (London: Routledge, 2nd ed., 2003), pp. 1, 11, 13.

³ Brailsford, D. *Sport, time and society: the British at play* (London: Routledge, 1991), p.45.

⁴ Mennell, S. *Norbert Elias: an introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), p.140.

⁵ Struma, N.L. Social history and sport in Coakley, J. and Dunning, E. (eds.). *Handbook of sports studies* (London: Sage, 2000), p.189.

ideological change, an important component of people's history. As well as physical space and place, it relates to demography, tradition, community dynamics, social class, work and leisure, popular culture and nationalism, all of these topics of interest to academics. As a repository of collective memory sport is of key interest to historians.

TIME AND SPACE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN SPORT

The period covered by this thesis falls within a distinct developmental phase in the history of sport and recreation, the modern or industrial. In this phase national organising bodies held sway, imposing standard rules that involved a code of manners. The standardisation of sport in the nineteenth century and its rapid internationalisation constituted an early form of globalisation. Sport was limited to precise periods of time and areas of space; and spectators began to exceed players in numbers. The former increasingly identified with regional and national teams and such loyalties took on significant meaning. Sport reflected and revealed social values, and also related to the exercise of political power. Given the status of Britain as the colonising power in Natal, consideration of the history of British sport is both logical and necessary.

Writing of pre-Reformation Britain, Brailsford argues that "the attitudes of the ruling class ... towards all popular play were always ambivalent. The perpetual objective of keeping the populace contented enough to accept their lot and fit and ready for any service they were called upon to perform was always likely to be tempered by suspicion of the anarchical nature, the strain of misrule, in much of popular play."⁶ In pre-modern European society the dividing line between work and leisure was indistinct since the former, based around agricultural activity sometimes supplemented by contracted-out piece work, hinged on the particular task at hand rather than given hours: people worked in terms of their immediate needs. Under these circumstances leisure hours could at times be extensive and Allison shows that "much traditional sport was on the fringes of social disorder, of riot, of vandalism and poaching."⁷ Popular culture was dissolute and boisterous, although Hargreaves points out that "it was not so much the activities in themselves that were repugnant to reformers, but the life-style of the lower orders that was seen as a threat."⁸ Urbanisation, in the opinion of Bailey, led to a "sour impatience with

⁶ Brailsford, D. *British sport: a social history* (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1992), p.11.

⁷ Allison, L. *The politics of sport* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1986), p.6.

⁸ Hargreaves, J. *Sport, power and culture: a social and historical analysis of popular sports in Britain* (Cambridge: Polity, 1986), p.35.

plebeian culture as morally offensive, socially subversive, and a general impediment to progress⁹; in other words, a genuine fear of the potential mob. But between 1780 and 1830 important changes took place. Thompson's 'average' English working man became "more disciplined, more subject to the productive tempo of 'the clock', more reserved and methodical, less violent and less spontaneous"¹⁰ in the use of leisure time. Significantly, hunting, prize-fighting and gambling, all questionable activities but enjoyed by the upper classes, were left unscathed and largely unreformed.

The sociologist Norbert Elias interprets this as a crucial phase in the modernising, civilising process characterised in particular by an increase in individual self control. In sport unacceptable behaviour, particularly that likely to cause physical injury, was penalised and rules were written to ensure an even contest. Elias provides a fascinating historical link (although not necessarily a causal relationship) with the parliamentarisation of political conflict in England from the eighteenth century onwards: the same people were involved in the pacification of both politics and pastimes (change in the latter he clumsily called 'sportization'). Amongst other factors rules were adopted, and constantly amended, in order to create the circumstances of a fair contest (weight divisions in boxing, off side in football and the leg before wicket law in cricket, for instance). The adoption of the Queensbury Rules in boxing is perhaps the most obvious example of the demise of traditional anarchic practice. Above all, there was radical change in use of the street: it ceased to be a place of play and recreation. Organised, non-localised, rule-bound sport increasingly began to take place within clearly demarcated and controlled spaces.¹¹

Leisure was to a greater extent divorced from work space and from traditional practice. Employer's time and employee's time became increasingly distinct: "when a man walked out of the factory gates in the big industrial city he was in a sense freer than in any previous age." But this created further middle-class fears about behaviour and control that demanded not only work discipline, but play discipline as well. Early Victorian working-class recreation centred on the public house was characterised by noise and drink, of concern to church, chapel, police, factory owners, and the middle classes in general. A more leisured society was something to be feared: a "dangerous frontier zone beyond the law and order of respectable society ... Popular recreations were viewed by middle-class

⁹ Bailey, P. *Leisure and class in Victorian England: rational recreation and the context for control, 1850-1885* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), p.3.

¹⁰ Thompson, E.P. *The making of the English working class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p.451.

¹¹ Mennell, S. *Norbert Elias*, pp.144, 147-148. Elias, N. The genesis of sport as a sociological problem and An essay on sport and violence in Elias, N. and Dunning, E. (eds.). *Quest for excitement: sport and leisure in the civilising process* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), pp.126-127, 151.

opinion as a series of nuisances.”¹² Britain in the second quarter of the nineteenth century was a country of political disaffection and social and health problems, to which the idea of ‘rational recreation’ appeared to be a possible antidote. The objective was to create mental and physical outlets that would diminish the attractiveness of radical politics. The parliamentary Select Committee on Drunkenness (1834) extended the idea, advising that parks and recreational facilities would reduce the influence and power of the publican and strong drink. Promotion of public recreational facilities was linked to the campaign for a shorter working day represented by, for example, the Ten Hours Bill of 1847. The Church and the temperance movement were strong allies of ‘rational recreation’.

Facilities were slow to develop, but the economic prosperity of the mid-nineteenth century and the spread of the railways played a significant part. Middle-class morality sought to control pleasure within a strict moral code, emphasising health and the management of time. One form was muscular Christianity, linking bodily well-being with duty and Godliness, although this rapidly became secularised, reduced to a matter of physical courage and endurance. Williams questions this, however, citing the continued presence and influence of church-based football and cricket clubs in local lower leagues up to the Second World War; and arguing that their support of ‘rational recreation’ remained significant.¹³ Contemporaneous codification, ‘autonomization’ in the words of Bourdieu, ensured “predictability and calculability, beyond local differences and particularisms.”¹⁴

From the 1860s the provision of public parks, baths and libraries in Britain reflected the extension of working-class leisure hours: Bank holidays, Saturday afternoons, early closing days and Wakes weeks. Parks, in the description of Clarke and Critcher, were “orderly and supervised areas of diversion from disorderly social, moral and political activities in city streets ... parks are not simply ‘space’, but a regulated and supervised space.”¹⁵ In effect space was licensed: football now took place at a designated ground, not in any public space, streets were cleared of perceived nuisances and transgressions stigmatised as breaches of the peace or loitering increasingly attracted sanction. Holt sums up the essence of Victorian sports morality as ‘play discipline’ comprising restraint in victory, acceptance of defeat, respect for rules and referees and a belief in team solidarity.¹⁶ All of these were

¹² Bailey, P. *Leisure and class in Victorian England*, pp. 4, 170, 173.

¹³ Williams, J. Recreational cricket in the Bolton area between the wars in Holt, R. (ed.). *Sport and the working class in modern Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p.112.

¹⁴ Bourdieu, P. Sport and social class. *Social science information* 17(6) 1978, p.824.

¹⁵ Clarke, J. and Critcher, C. *The devil makes work* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985), p.133.

¹⁶ Holt, R. *Sport and the British*, pp.104, 136.

indeed virtuous, but Bailey argues that while middle-class self-congratulation and self-righteousness prevailed, there was general reluctance to finance working-class recreational facilities and a tendency to increase social distance. This was reinforced by the cult of amateurism that excluded not only those earning a living from sport, but also “mechanic, artisan and labourer.”¹⁷ It allowed the middle class to segregate itself and as a result reinforce its identity. Allison shows that amateurism was not simply a rejection of material reward within sport, but the establishment of a culture valuing fairness, gentlemanly characteristics such as self-discipline, and what was considered ‘manly’ behaviour.¹⁸ Typical of the British and some elements of the American middle and upper classes, the amateur ethos found favour with colonial elites. It emphasised process as much as outcome, intrinsic reward and sportspersonship and facilitated the adoption of moral high ground, steeping itself in attitudes of chivalry and all-round ability (supposedly characteristic of the ancient Greeks) that were assumed not to exist in other contemporary societies. But this did not exclude the explicit harnessing of sporting virtues to winning imperial battles. Sport helped to create a hierarchy that enveloped the chosen with an aura or mystique, in the view of Hobsbawm and Ranger a constructed nostalgia and mythology, that encouraged a sense of superior otherness.¹⁹ Parallel to the growth of middle-class morality was a concern, shared by the Army, about national health standards particularly those of the working class. Its schools had little room for recreational facilities except for drill: children continued to use the street for play. But social control and embourgeoisment were not necessarily general nor complete and working-class adaptation was a significant factor. These quests around identity manifest in sport and recreational activity frequently revealed themselves, in the opinion of Clark, in struggles over space.²⁰

Metcalf’s study of east Northumberland looking at the period from 1850 to the Great War illustrates this well, as sport moved away from “public highways, disused wagonways, the moors and beaches, and on ground adjacent to inns or public houses...” to “... the confines of enclosed sporting grounds”, although the role of inns remained important. Pedestrianism (professional athletics) and cycle racing were banned from public roads in the 1870s and the authorities attempted, unsuccessfully, to remove potshare bowling from moors and beaches. By 1900 “municipal authorities had gained effective control of public space” and between 1897 and 1914 they established eleven parks and recreation grounds at public expense, although there were also as many provided by local communities. The Local

¹⁷ Bailey, P. *Leisure and class in Victorian England*, p. 110.

¹⁸ Allison, L. *Amateurism in sport: an analysis and a defence* (London: Cass, 2001), pp.18-19, 21-22, 27.

¹⁹ Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds.). *The invention of tradition* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), pp.263-307.

²⁰ Clark, H. Sites of resistance: place, ‘race’ and gender as sources of empowerment in Jackson, P. and Penrose, J. (eds.). *Constructions of race, place and nation* (London: UCL Press, 1993), p.140.

Government Acts of 1888 and 1894 that set up County Councils and Urban District Councils played an important part: “no longer could landowners unilaterally decide on land usage.” Such “territoriality for humans is a powerful geographic strategy to control people and things by controlling area ... a primary geographical expression of social power.” Sack goes on to explain that “territoriality’s changing functions help us to understand the historical relationships between society, space, and time.”²¹ Nevertheless, Metcalfe’s conclusion provides the cautionary comment that although colliery owners and local government officials in nineteenth century Northumberland were intent upon social control and did indeed confine sport in spatial terms, once new facilities were established miners used them to “create their own lives.” Recreation remained contested terrain. This was illustrated in particular by potshare bowling, which “reflected the traditions of the miners - their independence from outside, their love of gambling and sociability.” It had no standard rules, but relied upon custom and the negotiated conditions of each challenge. Played on public land, its participants accepted the vagaries of chance and the elements. In spite of the best efforts of authority to ban it from Town Moor, Newcastle from as early as 1805 it survived with the assistance of publicans and its demise after 1914 was a matter of change internal to the mining community.²²

Judgements about space are loosely described as moral geography. Keith argues that Baron Haussman, the Paris planner, characterised certain areas by “the unholy trinity of disease, crime and revolution.” This ‘darkness’, identifiable by the smell of the poor, he sought to limit in extent, thus securing the city for the bourgeoisie and a stable value for their property.²³ In the 1920s the French architect Le Corbusier wrote of applying the surgical knife to urban areas “deemed to be a threat” to the established social order. During the inter-war period in Britain areas regarded as ‘rough’ were demolished and redeveloped. One such was Windy Bank in Colne, Lancashire, an area notorious for its black economy and characterised by uncontrolled use of the street for pugilism amongst other activities.²⁴ Recurrent ‘moral panics’ demonstrated the “continuing need to define the contours of normality and to eliminate difference.” Sibley continues that “there is a history of imaginary

²¹ Sack, R.D. *Human territoriality* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1986), p.5.

²² Metcalfe, A. Sport and space: a case-study of the growth of recreational facilities in east Northumberland, 1850-1914. *International journal of the history of sport* 7(3) 1990, pp. 348, 350, 351, 354, 358, 361-362. Metcalfe, A. ‘Potshare bowling’ in the mining communities of east Northumberland, 1800-1914 in Holt, R. (ed.). *Sport and the working class in modern Britain* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1990), pp.32, 35-37, 43.

²³ Keith, M. Knowing your place: the imagined geographies of racial subordination in Philo, C. (comp.). *New words, new worlds: reconceptualising social and cultural geography* (Lampeter: Department of Geography, St. David’s University College, 1991), p.185.

²⁴ Tomlinson, A. Good times, bad times and the politics of leisure: working-class culture in the 1930s in a small northern English working-class community in Cantelon, H. and Hollands, R. (eds.). *Leisure, sport and working-class cultures: theory and history* (Toronto: Garmond, 1988), pp.49-51.

geographies which cast minorities, 'imperfect people', and a list of others who are seen to pose a threat to the dominant group in society as impure, polluting bodies or folk devils who are then located 'elsewhere' ... [such as] ... the edge of the city."²⁵ The key to this ordering of space is based on perception of deviation from a commonly accepted norm that threatens a boundary, the 'edge' of civilisation beyond which the uncivilised occupy what is considered peripheral space.²⁶ Thus a spatial hierarchy that lends itself to moral authority is established. Such marginalisation need not be simply literal, but is also measurable in terms of limited power, resources or rights. Plans to alter the urban geography of specific areas were regarded as a purification of defiled or depraved areas: public health schemes in their broadest sense are a means of social control. So too are parks and children's playgrounds that may be used for the purpose of exclusion. Colonial regimes were notorious for concern around the 'sanitation syndrome', which ceased to be a matter of health alone, but became a metaphor for Black contamination of White urban space and an excuse for permanent segregation. The decay and degeneracy associated with slums occupied by Black people gave rise to pathological fears and the theory that they belonged properly elsewhere. In this way space became associated with belonging on one hand, exclusion on the other; and the boundaries that developed became a natural and logical point of friction. Sport is thus an indubitable part of urban history, a factor in the ordering of space, adjustment to new conditions, conflict and hegemony, and the creation and maintenance of public order.

Only one major study of the history of physical recreation in an African urban setting has been identified and this is Phyllis Martin's impressive work on Brazzaville in the French Congo, which has considerable resonance for this study of Pietermaritzburg. Her research records the alienation of the land of indigenous peasant farmers in the 1930s as roads, parks and other recreational facilities were built for Whites. Football had established itself amongst Africans in the 1920s, but was played mainly in the streets of Poto-Poto until the local populace built their own stadium, opened in 1930. The insecurity of the authorities about African leisure time and their concern about perceived laziness, the health and efficiency of the work force, and potential disorder persuaded them of the virtues of organised recreation. Worker leisure time, as in early industrial Britain, "was seen as potentially threatening to the social order", especially since Africans were assumed to exist in a childlike state and required discipline. The need for an 'ordered' society was accentuated by the violence that had attended the imposition of French rule in Equatorial Africa. In the opinion of Martin, "Europeans could not

²⁵ Sibley, D. *Geographies of exclusion: society and difference in the West* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 40, 69, 85.

²⁶ Goldberg, D.T. 'Polluting the body politic': racist discourse and urban location in Cross, M. and Keith, M. (eds.) *Racism, the city and the state* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp.47-48, 55.

afford to hide behind the walls of segregated leisure.” The administration of football became a three-way struggle between the colonial authorities, the Roman Catholic Church and African players. The last had “little desire to see the tentacles of colonial authority reaching into their leisure”; but to the authorities uncontrolled football was a potential source of political unrest and disorder. A reformed Native Sports Federation (NSF) under European control was accordingly set up, rivalled by the Catholic Sports Federation that claimed the NSF had privileged access to municipal facilities. Players aligned themselves with the organisation that presented the best opportunities and the 1930s were regarded as a ‘golden age’ of African football in Brazzaville. However, the early promise from the NSF of material help was not realised, the inability to charge an entrance fee deprived clubs of finances, and a fundamental difference of opinion about the purpose of sport brought about the demise of the NSF in 1937. European administrators looked to military discipline to improve attendance at practices and general attitudes. Governor-General Eboue in 1941 promised a coercive regime designed to punish vagabonds and delinquents in terms of the *indigenat* (French colonial penal code); while simultaneously promoting sports clubs and recreational organisations. Both strategies were designed to control social behaviour. But post-war Brazzaville saw greater emphasis upon ‘rational recreation’ rather than repression.²⁷

Akyeampong and Ambler’s article-length work on the Copperbelt mirrors Martin’s study in a number of ways. They record the “reconceptions of time and space” that accompanied urbanisation and note that in British Central Africa of the 1930s and 1940s, “workers jealously protected leisure time and space, yet leisure impacted on productivity and colonial order.” When football was introduced in the 1920s, workers believed they should be paid for playing it, an indication of perceived similarities between work and organised sport that revolved around the control of time. Neither workers’ free time nor recreational space were easy for the authorities to control and this added to concerns about political unrest and moral issues. The connections between music, dance and drink made control of the beerhall an important issue. They also placed organised sport, a ‘purposeful’ activity, in a special light: “Colonial officials, European capitalists, and missionaries viewed [them] ... and the rules that characterized them as an important dimension of colonial hegemony.”²⁸

²⁷ Martin, P.M. *Leisure and society in colonial Brazzaville* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp.57, 61-62, 71, 83, 84, 85, 89, 104-108.

²⁸ Akyeampong, E. and Ambler, C. Leisure in African history: an introduction. *International journal of African historical studies* 35(1) 2002, pp.5, 7, 9, 11.

THEORIES OF SPORT

The idealistic view of sport promotes the attitude that it brings people together and improves life for everyone, “a parable of achievement and reward earned through struggle” in the words of Birrell.²⁹ Such a view is given weight by the fact that the existence of clear rules invests sport with an air of democracy and meritocracy. The assumption is made by some that if rules are followed (colloquially ‘playing the game’) and the individual competes hard and fairly, anyone with ability may succeed.

There can be little doubt that recreation in general and sport in particular can provide socio-emotional stability, socialisation and group integration, as well as upward socio-economic mobility, through the provision, in the words of Mangan, of a “set of symbols for believing and acting.”³⁰ This is an essentially instrumental view of sport from those who tend to argue that it operates according to standards that are above politics. Morgan points out that sport has “an uncanny ability to cloak itself in an aura of unreality despite its obvious, and increasingly conspicuous, ties to larger society.”³¹

One of the best-known idealist writers is Novak, who regards sport as a religious phenomenon, a central ritual of modern society in which stadia represent sacred space like monasteries and cathedrals. He sees play as fundamental to human existence on a par with art, prayer, worship, love and civilisation.³² Other writers also note the reverential orderliness assumed of sport, distinguished by rituals and taboos from the profane that surrounds it. The sports geographer, Bale, for instance, notes that sports places can be symbols of affection and emotion that help construct geographic memory, a process termed topophilia.³³ Jarvie and Hoberman both argue that sport can bind together communities that see themselves as under threat or marginalised.³⁴ The sociologists Elias and Dunning suggest that sport is mimetic of life; a form of theatre and a stage upon which reality is imitated “in a specially

²⁹ Birrell, S. Racial relations theories and sport: suggestions for a more critical analysis. *Sociology of sport journal* 6 (1989), p.212.

³⁰ Mangan, J.A. *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public school: the emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology* (Cambridge: CUP, 1981), p.206.

³¹ Morgan, W.J. *Leftist theories of sport: a critique and reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), p.63.

³² Novak, M. *The joy of sports: end zones, bases, baskets, balls, and the consecration of the American spirit* (New York: Basic, 1976), pp.xi-xii.

³³ Bale, J. *Sports geography*, p.19.

³⁴ Jarvie, G. Sport, nationalism and cultural identity in Allison, L. (ed.). *The changing politics of sport* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1993), p.61. Hoberman, J. Sport and ideology in the post-Communist age in Allison, L. (ed.). *The changing politics of sport*, pp. 18, 20.

constructed context with a minimum of injury to human beings.”³⁵

The popular idea that post Civil War Britain avoided violent revolution because representatives of antagonist classes mingled on the cricket field has about it an apocryphal air. However, historical evidence does exist to show that team sport can accentuate a sense of community transcending class. Tomlinson’s study of Lancashire League cricket in the town of Colne in the 1930s is a case in point. While the club committee consisted of local worthies, the team was of mixed origin, although predominately working class. The main loyalty was to the locality expressed through support of the cricketers who were judged on the strength of their contribution rather than their class, even at a time of economic stress. As Tomlinson describes it, “the vertical relations of class and status were central, but ... often superceded by the sense of shared community,” a ‘collective social identity’.³⁶

Marxists on the other hand argue that sport is a means of replenishing workers’ energies, reproducing the labour force and underwriting the circumstances for capitalist production. Eagleton writes, perhaps with a certain element of irony, “few more crafty ways of deflecting the populace from political action have been dreamt up”, but he compromises this case by arguing that “sport is where ordinary people can feel a corporate existence denied to them elsewhere, as well as practising a remarkable expertise to make up for other sorts of deprivation.”³⁷

Brohm, a writer in the tradition of Althusser, sees sport as ideologically repressive, legitimising the established order and bourgeois norms, depoliticising, commodifying and regimenting. Dunning interprets Brohm’s view of sport as an “ideological state apparatus” rather than an overtly repressive one.³⁸ Sport, Brohm believes, is the “new opiate of the people”, billed as peaceful and integrative, but in reality aggressive, violent and run by authoritarians. He argues that sport encourages self repression, diverts people from the reality of their situation and is “an ideal instrument for manipulating minds and bodies.” Brohm castigates idealistic thinking about breaking down barriers and creating equality that accompanies modern sport, highlighting instead the “fetishised state, the national flag, the hierarchy of the factory/barracks or the school/prison.” Although Brohm has a one-dimensional perspective, he does throw up useful ideas: that sport is an ideological apparatus, that it has been used as a socio-political

³⁵ Mennell, S. *Norbert Elias*, pp.142-144, 158.

³⁶ Tomlinson, A. *Good times, bad times and the politics of leisure: working-class culture in the 1930s in a small northern English working-class community*, pp.55-56.

³⁷ Eagleton, T. *The gatekeeper* (London: Penguin, 2001), pp.83-84.

³⁸ Dunning, E. *Sport matters: sociological studies of sport, violence and civilization* (London: Routledge, 1999), p.107.

safety valve, that it can be intellectually dulling and evoke acceptance of the status quo. All these claims are capable of proof in specific circumstances.³⁹

The major criticism of the Marxist view is that the accepted relationship between sport and capitalism - that they are “analogous to and resemble each other in many important respects”⁴⁰ - obscures contradictory evidence. Assumptions about sport as, for example, ‘false escapism’ oversimplify the role of human agency in the construction of culture. The error is to “judge the recipients according to the motives of the providers.”⁴¹ After all, recreation is not compulsory, nor can it be completely supervised. Above all there remains a question that compels an answer: even if sport is a tool of repression, why is it, and has it been, so popular?

The idea of sport as a form of control is not confined to Marxist writers, however. Coakley argues that since political power, material resources and opportunity are unequally distributed in society, it is impossible to argue that participation in sport can be free of such factors: “the very existence of sports in any society is connected with class relations.”⁴² The interests of the powerful include conformity to rules, discipline, and acceptable modes of behaviour: these create a general framework within which sport occurs. Hargreaves sums up by arguing that “on the whole, sports unify dominant groups and supporting classes, while disorganizing and fragmenting subordinate ones.”⁴³ Leisure is thus “always potentially an arena for cultural contestation between dominant and subordinate groups.”⁴⁴

Georges Magnane offers the view that sport “like every social fact ... is a perpetual creation of the men [sic.] who practise and organise it, and who are, in turn, transformed by their very creation.”⁴⁵ Jones echoes this, arguing that sport is “an historical process of contestation between and among social classes, by which dominant groups have to continually win over subordinate groups by means of

³⁹ Brohm, J-M. *Sport: a prison of measured time* (London: Ink Links, 1978), pp.7, 10-11, 15, 28, 33, 41, 57, 58, 69, 75-76, 78, 96, 113, 115, 174.

⁴⁰ Morgan, W.J. *Leftist theories of sport*, p.22.

⁴¹ Baxendale, J. Peter Bailey, “Leisure and class in Victorian England” in Barker, M. and Beezer, A. (eds.) *Reading into cultural studies* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.41.

⁴² Coakley, J.J. *Sport in society*, p.275.

⁴³ Hargreaves, J. *Sport, power and culture*, p.209.

⁴⁴ Clarke, J. and Critcher, C. *The devil makes work*, p.227.

⁴⁵ Magnane, G. *Sociologie du sport* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964), p.81 translated in Hoberman, J. *Sport and political ideology* (London: Heinemann, 1984), p.13.

concessions and compromises, accompanied at times by coercion.”⁴⁶ Sport is undoubtedly a part of everyday, public life and popular consciousness as Sugden and Bairner show in their study of Ireland.⁴⁷ Under these conditions, sport acts as a lens through which particular societies can be viewed for clues of deeper social meaning. One of the earliest studies was embodied in Frankenberg’s analysis of a pseudonymous Welsh village, Pentrediwaith (village of no work), on the Shropshire border in the 1950s. The development of sub-group behaviour and social breakdown resulted from disputes around the football team, its finances and facilities. Such was the animosity that the football team, formerly a symbol of village identity, eventually ceased to exist as a result of organisational tension.⁴⁸ This study showed that sport cannot be separated from surrounding social reality.

Thus, whether sport facilitates subordination or acts as a site of resistance depends upon circumstances, in particular access to resources. The outcome will reflect the degree to which hegemony is achieved; in other words, the level of consensual subordination and accommodation that results from both coercive and voluntary compliance with dominant norms. The application of hegemony theory to sport owes much to research into cultural history in Britain, and in particular the work of Hoggart, Williams and Thompson. Hegemonists accept the ingenuity and initiative of individuals and groups without underestimating the social and historical constraints that limit their aspirations and actions. Thus sport contains potential for autonomy as well as assimilation and co-option. A prominent historical example is Victorian Britain where socio-religious groups built bridges between dominant and subordinate classes, while engineering conformity with bourgeois respectability. Sport was a vehicle for middle-class hegemony and the inculcation of values such as the work ethic, time discipline, frugality, sobriety, respectability, respect for authority, and self reliance. This illustrates well Gramsci’s hegemony model in which a dominant group well resourced with wealth, knowledge and capacity establishes values and rules, exercises leadership and ensures that they become everyday practice, through a socially-binding acquiescence. The dominant portray this as ‘natural’ or ‘common sense’ as they seek compliance from the subaltern through co-option. Conformity as a means of securing order is established through economic factors, ideology, law, and force. Sport was central to this project of Victorian Britain, its characteristics of organisation and discipline particularly well suited to the creation of the respectable, clean living and physically healthy model adolescent.

⁴⁶ Jones, S.G. *Sport, politics and the working class: organised labour and sport in inter-war Britain* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1988), p.8.

⁴⁷ Sugden, J. and Bairner, A. *Sport, sectarianism and society in a divided Ireland* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1993).

⁴⁸ Frankenberg, R. *Village on the border: a social study of religion, politics and football in a North Wales community* (London: Cohen and West, 1957), pp.102-103, 106, 111-112, 114, 129, 152-153.

Power is rarely, if ever, exclusive. Relationships are not uniformly manipulated from one direction: individuals and groups make the best of circumstances, determining them as well as being determined by them. They have “meaningful social capacities to interpret roles and transform conditions through social interaction.”⁴⁹ Hegemony is both contestable, and frequently contested. In some cases an element of compromise legitimates the leadership role of the dominant fraction. Thus sport may be a factor of exploitation, but it may also liberate. As Donnelly puts it, society constrains individuals, yet it is also made by them: “the social world is not just something to be confronted by individuals, but it is continually constructed and reinvented by the participants.”⁵⁰ Murphy, Sheard and Waddington add that “power is always a question of relative balances, never of absolute possession or absolute deprivation.”⁵¹ Relations between people and power are subject to change, characterised by open ended-ness, fluidity and unpredictability. Individuals, and the groups of which they form specific parts, may react in a variety of ways ranging from conformity to innovation and from privatism (or retreat) to outright rebellion. Power may be represented by violence, authority, sanction, prestige or persuasion used in various combinations, but this is rarely a zero-sum game. In short, sport as a representative element of popular culture is, as Andrews and Loy put it, “a site of ideological struggle where individual lives and experiences are involved in a process of interpretive negotiation with the surrounding social structures.”⁵² Writing about the British working class, Holt explains that “in the search for new kinds of solidarity and new forms of social life to give shape and meaning to an industrial civilization, football proved to be a potent source of masculine cohesion ... supporters achieved symbolic citizenship.”⁵³

PURPOSE OF THIS THESIS

The purpose of this thesis is to document the history of physical recreation in Pietermaritzburg from 1900 to 1980 in order to identify the political, social, cultural and economic factors that shaped it; gauge the extent to which it conforms to various general theories of the historiography of sport described above; and establish the degree to which it is emblematic of the history of the city. This last point draws on Bandyopadhyay’s description (relating to the work of Guha) of sport as a “relational

⁴⁹ Rojek, C. *Capitalism and leisure theory* (London: Tavistock, 1985), p.162.

⁵⁰ Donnelly, P. Interpretive approaches to the sociology of sport in Coakley, J. and Dunning, E. (eds.). *Handbook of sports studies*, p.78.

⁵¹ Murphy, P., Sheard, K. and Waddington, I. Figural sociology and its application to sport in Coakley, J. and Dunning, E. (eds.). *Handbook of sports studies*, p.93.

⁵² Andrews, D.L. and Loy, J.W. *British cultural studies and sport*, p.269.

⁵³ Holt, R. *Sport and the British*, p.172.

idiom ...[reflecting] ... values, prejudices, divisions and unifying symbols of a society.”⁵⁴ The writer is also mindful of the need to address Maylam’s concern about South African urban historiography: “there is a kind of historiographical underdevelopment here - with the less-industrialised centres and smaller towns being marginalised.”⁵⁵ The time frame was chosen to mark the emergence of Pietermaritzburg as a recognisably modern city in the early twentieth century through to the point at which the National Party government claimed it had ‘depoliticised’ sport by exempting it from certain legislation. By this time, of course, sport had been thoroughly politicised by the influence of imperialism, segregation and apartheid so the government’s aspirations were palpably futile, but strictly speaking by 1980 direct intervention in the administration and organisation of sport, except at school level, was no longer government policy or practice. Autonomous sports bodies, free of overt government interference, were now theoretically able to operate as they wished within the context and limitations of apartheid society. This provides a suitable point at which to conclude this study.

It has now been generally accepted that ideology establishes the contours of sport: in the case of South Africa its twentieth century history was shaped by sequential ideologies that combined to produce a seamless narrative disposing of any notion that sport is an apolitical factor in society. At the century’s beginning Pietermaritzburg was a colonial capital still heavily imbued with an imperial ethos, although the military influence was on the wane. An unwilling transition to provincial capital in 1910 at the time of Union was marked by growing racial prejudice. This emerged in part out of census statistics that reinforced a long-term visceral fear of racial outnumbering and was the background to growing urban segregation in the inter-war years. After the Second World War there developed an aggressive White nationalism that co-existed alongside a slowly diminishing imperial sentiment. The main target of White racist animus was not the African population, which was a useful and controllable economic resource, but the Asian which was in commercial competition with the White community and not subject to pass controls and banishment to a convenient reserve. Anti-Asian legislation was passed during the 1940s and this, and existing segregation law, fed logically into the spatial consequences of apartheid measures such as the Population Registration, Group Areas (GAA) and Reservation of Separate Amenities Acts. This thesis will show that in spite of a liberal image, the officials and representatives of Pietermaritzburg by and large participated willingly, even enthusiastically, in the imposition of apartheid on their city. Thus from 1900 until 1980, the national government’s reform

⁵⁴ Bandyopadhyay, K. Sports history in India: prospects and problems. *International journal of the history of sport* 22(4) 2005, p.710.

⁵⁵ Maylam, P. Explaining the apartheid city: 20 years of South African urban historiography. *Journal of southern African studies* 21(1) 1995, p.21.

measures of the 1970s notwithstanding, the development of recreational facilities in Pietermaritzburg was heavily influenced by discriminatory economic and social factors belonging to ideologies of inclusion and exclusion.

The first direct intervention by government in sport occurred in 1956 in response to increasing international pressure. Government sought to draw Black sport into the mainstream by promoting a paternalistic model in which it would affiliate to officially-accepted White national bodies. The carrot was provided by various inducements and promises, the stick by applying brisk police state methods to those who remained outside the fold in organisations like the South African Sports Association and later the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee. From the mid 1950s until the assassination of Hendrik Verwoerd in 1966 the South African Government sent out a very clear message - there would be no mixed sport. Serious attempts were made to prevent multi-racial Black sport and to regulate spectators according to race. John Vorster, on the other hand, sought in limited ways to use sport as a tool of foreign policy and the threat of the boycott to rugby relations, particularly with New Zealand, led to further tactical amendments to the grand strategy of apartheid. Mixed sport was still impermissible, but gradually South Africa's 'nations' were allowed to play one another at various levels under the rubric of 'multi-nationalism'. By the mid to late 1970s it had occurred to apartheid's more flexible thinkers that reform around the highly public issue of sport could be used to legitimate the system to an increasingly hostile world and slowly recreation was disengaged from a range of repressive law. This signally failed to impress apartheid's critics, who argued that exceptionalism could not divorce sport from the harsh realities of surrounding society. The influences of legislation and government policy loom large over the later chapters of this thesis; but what were their exact consequences and what role did ideology play in the history of sport and recreation in Pietermaritzburg? Which theory of the historiography of sport provides the best fit?

South African sport is characterised by a history of discrimination. At the national level at the turn of the twentieth century there was a clear distinction between White sport and a multi-racial movement (participation by members of all Black communities) epitomised by the Barnato Board in cricket. But in the inter-war years the pressures of segregation exerted a centrifugal force that split multi-racial sport into its racial components. After the Second World War inter-racial Black sport played under umbrella controlling bodies began slowly to challenge the established order and by the end of the 1950s had evolved into (strictly speaking reverted to) multi-racialism. As will be shown, some of these trends were not reflected in the history of Pietermaritzburg's sport and recreation, but multi-racialism was evident by the early 1960s. During the following decade it evolved into non-racialism, a

term that indicated multi-racialism exercised in principle and in practice, actively engaging with the political process in alliance with anti-apartheid forces. The thesis will examine the extent to which this affected Pietermaritzburg prior to 1980.

The history of sport and recreation was at one time considered too banal for the consideration of serious historians, but it has become accepted that it may contain important historical evidence, particularly about the exercise of power. In the case of a society strongly influenced by imperialism and racial prejudice, the history of sport in the Natal capital will be examined for evidence of domination and subordination and the effect of this on both the elite and the governed. Political decision-making regarding the use of economic and human resources is clearly a key factor. Sport as a site of a socio-economic struggle over resource allocation will be examined in order to address the question: how did sport reflect broader power relations in society in Pietermaritzburg?

Was this a straightforward process of using sport as a means to reproduce a healthy and compliant labour force, employing organised exercise as a diversion from political struggle as the Marxist sports historians would have us believe? To what extent was sport in Pietermaritzburg used for instrumental purposes, as a compensating factor or safety valve for political and economic tensions, for instance? The sociologist Norbert Elias concluded that organised recreation was a civilising and restraining force that could be employed to encourage a sense of community and social cohesion, while encouraging and enforcing more acceptable behaviour regarding noise and drink. This mirrored a belief in 'rational recreation', the constructive use of leisure time that gainfully occupied its participants while securing the society in which they lived. Brohm argues that organised sport is an integral part of an essentially repressive State apparatus that is used to legitimise the existing order and this theory will be tested against the evidence from a city that experienced the influences of imperialism, segregation and apartheid. To what extent did sport act as an agent of personal or group liberation; or was it a tool of repression and instrumentalism?

Historical studies of sport in other societies have clearly identified the concept of hegemony as a useful analytical tool. One of the means through which it has been exercised is racially-inspired assumption about aptitude and behaviour; and the creation of sports insiders and outsiders on the basis of ethnicity has been a classic case of the hegemonic use of power. Examples will be sought from the history of Pietermaritzburg's recreation together with evidence for any indication of assimilation, integration and upward mobility that the positivist theorists insist are implicit in sport in order to explore the question: how did hegemony manifest itself?

Hegemonic relationships are mimetic and socially binding, and are often used to explain political and economic stability that might otherwise be belied. But all such relationships are prey to a changing balance of power. Is it possible for a sporting code to be at the same time both an example of hegemonic domination and a site of struggle and resistance, a popular cultural form that makes possible, for instance, in Holt's example a self-awarded symbolic citizenship? This would appear to be an important question to answer in the context of a history of racially-based repression. In a situation in which a racially-defined elite has virtual monopoly control of financial and human resources, can sport be used as a counter-weight, a focus of oppositional struggle? Is the history of Pietermaritzburg's sport a manifestation of hegemony; or did it act as an effective arena of struggle? Was the city the Pentrediwaith of South Africa?

Prime Minister John Vorster is reputed to have said of apartheid that the only difference between White and Black South Africans was geography. This belief can be examined through historical struggles over space and place relating to physical recreation in Pietermaritzburg: they contain evidence about the socio-economic condition of the city. At the same time John Bale's concept of 'geographic memory' will be borne in mind as a possible link between affinity to place and its associations and the political struggle. Tight spatial control of recreation by the authorities in the exercise of socio-political power is a characteristic of modernising urban societies, as has been seen from the case studies above, and the extent of this tendency will be examined in Pietermaritzburg. To what extent did the pattern of recreational provision in Pietermaritzburg reflect a geography of belonging on one hand; and exclusion on the other, a spatial ordering involving the 'sanitation syndrome', marginalisation or banishment? Did this have an influence on urban development? The history of recreation suggests that it will provide insights into the struggle over space in Pietermaritzburg.

Martin's Brazzaville study provides a good reference point. The French colonists feared leisure time and required control and orderliness. The perception of the work force held by the authorities was one of laziness and lack of health and efficiency. Policy swung between paternalism and repression while the administration of football proved to be an area of opportunism and resistance for the indigenous population.

SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

This is the first general historical study of sport within the boundaries of a South African municipality. It is written, however, within the spirit of a current upsurge of revisionist writing on the history of South African sport that seeks to relate it to contemporary forces, reclaiming the essence of its political, social, economic and cultural significance, particularly in relation to black communities and their struggles. Recently published work of this sort, largely on cricket, has been produced by Alegi, Desai *et al.*, Murray and Merrett, and Odendaal.⁵⁶

The historiography of sport is covered by a range of secondary publications, many of them repetitive and heavily influenced by sociologists. As explained above, the number of relevant geographically-based case studies is very limited and Martin's work on Brazzaville aside there was no precedent to guide this research. John Western's late 1970s study of 'outcast' Cape Town was an inspiration to the writer rather than of direct relevance. On the other hand, the ideology of imperialism, including its links with sport, has been a fashionable topic for research and writing in recent years and is consequently well represented in the literature, as is the history of racial prejudice.

One of the problems for historians working on Pietermaritzburg is the fact that, in spite of its typification as a city redolent of Victorian imperial attitudes (in the 1980s it was fashionable for the cars of its inhabitants to be decorated with 'Last outpost of the British Empire' stickers) and its status as the capital of Natal, there is relatively little written about it compared with Durban. The two cities have decidedly different histories, so it would be extremely hard to make any inferences based on analysis of Durban, tempting though this might be, except in cases such as the beer monopoly where similarities can be verified in other sources. The published history of Pietermaritzburg says little about social conditions and, the work of Laband and Haswell aside, even less about sport. The social history of Pietermaritzburg is well scattered, often in unlikely places such as the memoirs of fleeting visitors such as Charles Fry and Margery Perham. Thompson is one of few historians who has written about the British culture of Pietermaritzburg and environs and the significance of schools and sport. Two biographies, those of the weightlifter Precious McKenzie and the writer Bessie Head, provide very limited coverage of the city's social history. Biographical work on Charles Llewellyn, the Coloured

⁵⁶ Alegi, P. *Laduma!: soccer, politics and society in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004). Murray, B. and Merrett, C. *Caught behind: race and politics in Springbok cricket* (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press and Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004). Odendaal, A. *Story of an African game* (Cape Town: Philip, 2003). Desai, A. *et al. Blacks in whites: a century of cricket struggles in KwaZulu-Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002).

cricketer who played for South Africa, has been published by this writer. Recent regional and national histories of cricket and football have touched upon Pietermaritzburg. Interviews with Roy Bunwarie and Mike Hickson, founding President and Secretary of Aurora Cricket Club respectively, were conducted by this writer in 1999 and are used in this thesis.

Without doubt the most valuable social history source is the *Corporation yearbook*, the publication of which fortunately spans the entire time frame of this thesis. Apart from a mayoral summary and the highly detailed reports of municipal departments, it includes very specific and valuable data in the City Treasurers's 'Annual (or sometimes Abstract) Statement of Accounts' and the Auditor's reports. For more than sixty years it contained candid and revealing comments about White attitudes to Black life in Pietermaritzburg, but these (together with financial detail) dwindled after 1970: with the reform of apartheid came a heightened degree of secrecy, justified as confidentiality, used to conceal the extent to which the South African condition remained essentially unaltered. This can be contrasted with the Union Government's TB Commission (1914) and Housing Commission (1920), which are refreshingly forthright about the state of the Black community and White attitudes towards it.

The history of the Asian community of Natal is, however, well documented (by writers from the subcontinent amongst others), although Coloured people are almost invisible. Even the sport history of the dominant White group is poorly recorded aside from the work of Morrell which provides invaluable information about the world of the male colonialist. This has been augmented by school magazines such as *The Hiltonian*, which gives rewarding insights into attitudes of the early twentieth century. Like the *Corporation yearbook*, the passage of years is matched by an increasing and disappointing reticence.

The segregation era of South Africa's history between the two World Wars is well served by the published literature as is the Asian penetration issue and the implementation of Group Areas, which built on previous discriminatory measures. Most of the extensive literature on the GAA is written by lawyers, not historians. Any historian of apartheid legislation inevitably leans heavily on the admirable *Survey of Race Relations* published by the South African Institute of Race Relations: for the purpose of this thesis the key volumes are those from 1956 onwards and these, and Horrell's encyclopaedic works on discriminatory law, were used extensively. Anti-apartheid writing on the sports issue is comprehensive and represented by the work of Brickhill, Draper and Brutus as well as Horrell, amongst others. This is augmented by references to Debates of the House of Assembly and Senate. The Brutus papers housed at the Borthwick Institute, University of York; and of the South African Department of

Sport and Recreation, held at State Archives in Pretoria, were also used in limited ways.

The minutes of the City Council proved a crucial resource to augment the *Yearbook*: for the early years they were provided with marginal keywords. Extracts of the minutes of City Council sub committees were found in files from the Town Clerk's Office (TCO). These proved invaluable and include correspondence with the public, internal memos and miscellaneous reports. But above all they reveal the only remaining trace of the papers of organisations such as the Indo-European Joint Council, the Pietermaritzburg Joint Council of Europeans and Africans, and other civic associations that blossomed from the 1940s to the 1960s. Similarly the TCO files contain a detailed, but sadly incomplete, record of African football that is not known to exist anywhere else. The *Natal Witness* was used to expand upon specific events or trends identified in the sources mentioned above. It was the only source for information on the apparently forgotten pavement issue and the primary record for the early history of Aurora, although as a whole it provides a poor record of the history of the city clearly having had national rather than local aspirations. During the period covered by this thesis it had a minimal amount to offer about Africans. In the immediate aftermath of the 1939-1945 war useful socio-economic overviews of the province by the University of Natal and the Natal Regional Survey were published; and in the early 1970s two surveys of Pietermaritzburg's sport and recreational provision were completed by Thornington Smith *et al.* and Schlemmer and Craven. The history of Sobantu has been written up by Peel.

Academic study and practical involvement long ago persuaded the writer that sport cannot be divorced from politics. For this reason, the history of recreation in Pietermaritzburg is considered in the context of its social and economic condition and structures of local government. This involves detailed discussion of governance (particularly that of disempowered communities), housing, poverty, health and population trends. These are considered to be as crucial to the history and geography of recreation as the distribution of financial and human resources. The development of Native administration is also regarded a key factor, reflected in policies such as the Durban system, the beer monopoly, and the overall functioning of the Native Revenue Account. While activities connected with beerhalls may not be classed as physical recreation, at the same time they cannot be divorced from the issue of the use of leisure time and the general socio-economic well-being of the African community, and thus feature frequently in this thesis.

The nineteenth century British origins of organised and codified sport and of the colony of

Natal are reflected strongly in the early part of this thesis. Where appropriate, comparisons are made with the sports history of neighbouring southern African states such as the Rhodesias (Zambia and Zimbabwe). A key piece of apartheid legislation, the GAA, is dealt with in great detail as a significant influence on the spatial distribution of sports facilities in Pietermaritzburg. Central government legislation becomes a significant factor from 1960 onwards as the reach of the South African police state increased in depth and breadth. The history of Aurora Cricket Club has been documented in detail and published.⁵⁷ It is frequently mentioned by writers and researchers and this has led to a degree of reactive scepticism in some quarters about its contemporary and long-term significance.⁵⁸ It is treated here as a highly important event in the history of Pietermaritzburg for two reasons. First, it showed that it was the law, not ruling party policy that was the ultimate sanction over social relations; and that legislation had exploitable loopholes for those who wished to seek them. Second, it demonstrated that sport could indeed function as a site of resistance.

⁵⁷ Hickson, M. The Aurora Cricket Club and South African cricket since isolation. *Reality* 11(4) 1979: 7-9. Merrett, C. Aurora: the challenge of non-racial cricket to the apartheid state of the mid 1970s. *International journal of the history of sport* 18(4) 2001: 95-122.

⁵⁸ The latest occurrence is a letter from Ismail Bhamjee published in *The Witness*, 1 Nov 2003. Bhamjee records the fact that two White players turned out for Young Natalians in the early 1960s, claiming improbably that this marks the beginning of integrated cricket in Pietermaritzburg.

CHAPTER ONE THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL RECREATION IN NINETEENTH CENTURY PIETERMARITZBURG AND THE IMPACT OF IMPERIALISM

THE ORIGINS OF PIETERMARITZBURG AND ITS RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Pietermaritzburg was founded in 1838 by Voortrekkers under Retief en route to 'die Baai' (Durban). By April of the following year, 120 erven had been granted to settlers. Piers and Cloete's 1845 cadastral map and the latter's topographic painting of 1844 show a rectangular town plan with eight named latitudinal streets and five un-named cross streets carefully planned between the Msundusi River and the Dorpspruit, whose waters were fed into the town by furrows.¹ The town was surrounded by six outspans. A Municipal Board with the power to enforce rates was established in 1848² and full borough status was awarded in 1854, at which point the town comprised 460 erven and 26 000 acres of townlands. In 1856 it became the capital of the Colony of Natal. The arrival of the British in 1843 had turned Pietermaritzburg into a garrison: Wills describes its components as the epitome of a colonial town with a military cantonment, nearby Government House and elite housing, market square and commercial quarter, and the administrative area.³ From the early 1860s with the arrival of Hindi- and Tamil-speaking Asiatic immigrants the lower (eastern) end of the town took on a different character comprising temples, market gardens, stores, and barracks occupied by the poorer fraction of this community. In upper Church Street and around the City Hall Muslim traders, popularly known as 'Arabs', flourished. Pietermaritzburg was already a segregated city - "immigrant-indigene segregation was marked from the very beginning" - but a few areas were mixed. Wills notes that the Asian community was the most highly segregated and the African population was more dispersed, partly because of its role as live-in domestic labour.⁴

The rape scare of December 1886 provides an insight into the nature of Pietermaritzburg's social order. The Pietermaritzburg Female Protection Society patrolled the streets and ejected Africans

¹ Reproduced in Laband, J. and Haswell, R. (eds.). *Pietermaritzburg 1838-1988: a new portrait of an African city* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter & Shooter, 1988), pp.22-23. Hattersley, A.F. *Pietermaritzburg panorama: a survey of one hundred years of an African city* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1938), p.18.

² *Twentieth century impressions of Natal: its people, commerce, industries and resources* ([Durban]: Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing, 1906), p.221.

³ Wills, T. The segregated city in Laband, J. and Haswell, R. (eds.). *Pietermaritzburg 1838-1988*, pp.33 & 35.

⁴ Wills, T. Segregation, separation and desegregation: Pietermaritzburg since 1910 in Guest, W. and Sellers, J.M. (eds.). *Receded tides of empire: aspects of the economic and social history of Natal and Zululand since 1910* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1994), pp.284-5, 288, 306.

from pavements. Significantly this was met with some physical resistance. On 6 December a meeting at the Theatre Royal attracted 700 Whites who called for the registration of Africans and the establishment of locations to counter 'Native outrages'. The evidence upon which this indignation was based was flimsy and the scare was over by January 1887: Martens points out that there were also issues regarding the control of White women at stake; and that this was a general assertion of White colonial masculinity. Like other moral panics it was linked to an economic recession. The focus of White male fears appears to have been educated male Africans, the *kholwa* and domestic servants who to various degrees had detached themselves from a rural, traditional background; and their objective the establishment of boundaries between Africans and White women. The purpose of the street march and its attendant physicality was to "intimidate black competitors and affirm settler conceptions of masculinity through violence." The fact that this crisis was short-lived may be explained by the fact that it led to legislation and hastened the move towards segregation.⁵

During the nineteenth century the population of the city grew steadily, as table 1 shows:

Table 1 Pietermaritzburg's population by community grouping, 1852-1898 (%)

	Total	Whites	Asians	Africans
1852	2 400	62.8		37.2
1860	3 771	61.9		38.1
1863	4 991	62.5	1.6	35.9
1880	10 151	59.2	7.4	32.6
1891	17 500	57.1	14.5	28.4
1898	24 595	57.2	14.4	28.3

For much of the nineteenth century Pietermaritzburg was essentially a military town to which was appended "a large agricultural village."⁶ Although horse racing predated their arrival and was widely popular, the military were responsible for the founding of the Turf Club in 1844 with races held on the western vlei. An observer of May 1859 described Pietermaritzburg as 'literally race ridden'.⁷ The army was a major factor in cricket and polo and recreation was elevated to a prominent position: officers of the garrison "played a noteworthy part in organising the pursuits of the community. They

⁵ Martens, J.C. Settler homes, manhood and 'houseboys': an analysis of Natal's rape scare of 1886. *Journal of southern African studies* 28(2) 2002, p.380-381, 384, 386-387, 394-395, 397, 399-400.

⁶ Hattersley, A.F. *Pietermaritzburg panorama*, p.71.

⁷ Hattersley, A.F. *Portrait of a city* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1951), pp.16 and 79.

were conspicuous in the world of sport.”⁸ The military parade ground at Fort Napier was adjacent to polo and recreation grounds at Mayor’s Walk.⁹ The city’s first football match was played between town and garrison on 26 September 1866, an apparently anarchic event which ended in a draw. The Pietermaritzburg County Football Club was founded in 1879, a development attributed by Alegi to the influx of working-class British soldiers involved in the Anglo-Zulu War.¹⁰ But by the end of the nineteenth century racing was in some disarray and sustained only as a parochial activity by the City Sporting Club.¹¹ The last imperial troops (of the South Staffordshire Regiment) were to leave in 1914, but their imprint remained in the form of sporting activity.

Up to the early 1860s Pietermaritzburg’s rural connections were evident in recreation: for example, contests organised by the Ploughing Club held on townlands North of Willow Bridge. The central Market Square was also a recreational venue: the first local rugby match was played there in 1870. Bands performed on the square and the eastern end was a venue for sports and general entertainment. Cricket also found a venue, presumably on the Longmarket Street pitch that “resembled ‘a dried-up watercourse’.” Some of the earliest by-laws, of the 1850s, had banned street recreation such as the bowling of hoops and flying of kites out of concern for the uncovered water furrows.¹²

West End Cricket Club (CC) was founded in 1851 and practices took place on vacant land in Church Street.¹³ There was soon an East End CC and on New Year’s Day 1852 a match was played in what was described as a ‘festival atmosphere’. By this time Olympic CC had been formed and in 1859 Pietermaritzburg CC was in existence, playing on Market Square. An inter-town cricket match was played between Durban and Pietermaritzburg as early as May 1860 when the journey between the two cities took three days. Cricket was ubiquitous but casual, featuring matches such as Married versus Single, Public Schools and Universities of Great Britain versus Colonists (1870) and UK Born versus The World (1878). The Garrison also fielded a prominent side. In 1870 a new ground ‘below Camp

⁸ Hattersley, A.F. *Pietermaritzburg panorama*, p.73.

⁹ Harrison, C.W.F. (comp. & ed.). *Natal: an illustrated official railway guide and handbook of general information* (London: Jennings, 1903), p.63.

¹⁰ Dominy, G. and Paterson, H. Fort Napier: the imperial base that shaped the city in Laband, J. and Haswell, R. (eds.) *Pietermaritzburg, 1838-1988*, pp.102-109. Hattersley, A.F. *Pietermaritzburg panorama*, pp.95-96. Alegi, P. *Laduma! : soccer, politics and society in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004), pp.15, 16.

¹¹ Ingram, J.F. *The story of an African city* (Pietermaritzburg: Coetser, 1898), p.157.

¹² Hattersley, A.F. *Portrait of a city*, pp. 22, 92.

¹³ Archer, R. and Bouillon, A. *The South African game: sport and racism* (London: Zed, 1982), p.81.

Gardens' was opened.¹⁴ The inter-town competition was revived in 1888, a period described as the golden era of the game in Natal: "in the 'eighties and 'nineties Maritzburg was a veritable cricket paradise."¹⁵ The most prominent Pietermaritzburg cricketer was C.O.H. Sewell who later captained Gloucestershire. Local leagues were established in Pietermaritzburg and Durban in the 1894-95 season and the winners contested the Dunne Cup. Pietermaritzburg was on the itinerary of the first England touring teams.¹⁶ Major R.G. Warton's 1889-90 side beat a Pietermaritzburg XXII by an innings and three runs (Briggs 11-34) and a Natal XV by an innings and ten runs in February 1890. The stronger side led by W.W. Read in 1891-92 beat a Pietermaritzburg XVIII by 10 wickets in February 1892, while Lord Hawke's 1895-96 team drew with a Pietermaritzburg XV. C.B. Fry scored 153 in the tourists' second innings and commented that the town was "like a cantonment town in the Punjab, if you take away half the temperature and add more greenery." The garrison played a major role in Pietermaritzburg's sport: Fry mentions entertainment by the 7th Hussars that included a game of polo.¹⁷ Hawke's 1898-99 tourists did not visit Natal.

The first public amenity was the Park (73 acres), established in 1863, although land had been allocated as early as 1850: "with commendable foresight, the Corporation determined that before the borough lands were extensively taken up by purchase or lease, they would benefit by the bitter experience of large English cities, and ... preserve open spaces as recreation grounds for the public."¹⁸ Alexandra Park was from the outset designed for both active and passive recreation and was a typical example of a Victorian amenity sparked by Sir Edwin Chadwick's English Health in Towns movement: "Victorian parks reflected the mood and mode of a period, provided through philanthropic gesture or sound commercial sense at a time when there was almost unrelieved squalor and misery in urban surroundings."¹⁹ The Superintendent, paid a salary of £120 per annum in 1866 plus a house and benefits, was a senior municipal official. Cricket quickly established itself, the first match being Pietermaritzburg versus Richmond on 13 March 1863. A riverside bath house was built in 1865 and by the 1870s, when Pietermaritzburg was spending twice as much on parks and street trees as Durban, Alexandra Park had a wooden pavilion and a pagoda. In 1880 a further plot on the other (North) side of

¹⁴ Henderson, J.T. Early cricket in Natal *in* Luckin, M.W. *The history of South African cricket* (Johannesburg: Hortor, 1915), pp. 86-89, 91-94.

¹⁵ Cypher [E.H. Holmes]. The history of Natal cricket *in* Luckin, M.W. *The history of South African cricket*, pp.63, 68.

¹⁶ Wynne-Thomas, P. *England on tour* (London: Hamlyn, 1982), pp. 29-30, 33-34, 38-39, 45-46.

¹⁷ Fry, C. *Life worth living: some phases of an Englishman* (London: Pavilion, 1986), pp.115-117.

¹⁸ Ingram, J.F. *The colony of Natal: an official illustrated handbook and railway guide* (London: Causton, 1895), pp.177-178.

¹⁹ Patmore, J.A. *Land and leisure* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), pp.18, 80.

the Msundusi River was named New (later Kershaw) Park. Four years later 13 acres were excised from Alexandra Park, but compensation of 8 acres was provided at the so-called Northern Park, undeveloped land that was eventually used for the Town Hill asylum, in an exchange of land that later (in 1926) became Settlers Park. Public demand for more parkland in the 1880s was rejected by the Corporation. By the 1890s it was reported that the Alexandra Park Oval was used four days per week in the cricket season. Football and athletics were as popular; with race meetings offering substantial prizes. The Jubilee Pavilion and bandstand were constructed in 1892. While the first major users of the Park were troops from the garrison, by the end of the century it was a burgesses' facility offering, apart from the sports already mentioned, boating, swimming, cycling, bowls, croquet, hockey, highland games, polo, rugby and golf. Police and military bands regularly played in Alexandra Park and there were ornamental gardens, a conservatory and a rose garden. Its role as a municipal asset was recognised by the different modes of transport provided to reach it: rickshas, horse-drawn bus (1893) and later (1905) tram.²⁰

The Botanical Gardens were established in 1874 on 41 hectares north west of the city on the Dorpspruit, largely for forestry and horticultural purposes, but three tree walks were laid out.²¹ The Buchanan Street baths were erected in the 1890s. Pietermaritzburg was also the headquarters of the Natal Cyclists Union and possessed two clubs, Speedwell and Rovers, although the track was in disrepair and road races were predominant, including an inter-town contest. Extraordinarily, the rhetoric surrounding sport was such that Pietermaritzburg in the 1890s was being touted as a city with a very healthy climate.²²

As early as 1857, during the first elections to the colonial Legislative Council, Africans were being described publically as barbarous, insolent and uncontrollable savages.²³ But West of Pietermaritzburg on the farm Welverdiend in the Edendale Valley, 100 Christian families of various Nguni backgrounds had in 1851 established the village of Georgetown, laid out in Voortrekker fashion and affiliated to the mission. Its key characteristic was freehold ownership. The farmers and artisans of the *kholwa* community began a process of capital accumulation, supplying maize and vegetables to Pietermaritzburg for instance: "the well-to-do in Edendale also employed servants. Their existence was

²⁰ McCracken, D. Parks and gardens in Laband, J. and Haswell, R. (eds.). *Pietermaritzburg, 1838-1988*, pp. 59-62.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.62.

²² Ingram, J.F. *The story of an African city*, pp.100, 157-159.

²³ Hattersley, A.F. *Pietermaritzburg panorama*, p.41.

little different from that of white colonists.”²⁴ A Victorian view concurred with this: “the loyalty of Natal’s Christianised natives is as noble and pure as that of the colonists themselves.”²⁵ The village had a main street, a church, store and substantial buildings and, most significant of all, a rudimentary local government structure established in a Trust linked to the Wesleyan Missionary Society. The Trust controlled unallotted farmland and was responsible for commonage, the graveyard, market place, streets, roads and paths; as well as forest and water resources; and had the right to levy rates, although this lacked administrative force.

Although the mission station was “steadily ... rending the veil of darkness from the native mind”²⁶, an application for municipal status was refused in 1882, the colonial government ignoring this opportunity to establish standard White local government practices amongst the respectable, loyal *khoiwa*. As well as the disturbing social effects of economic depression and the disruptive effects of customary law, there was no attempt to provide the African bourgeoisie of Georgetown with recreational facilities. As Meintjes points out, the people of Georgetown, workers and suppliers, were integral to the growth of Pietermaritzburg, but they were valued purely as labour units and, when they threatened to become economically competitive, legal obstacles were placed in their way by White colonialists.²⁷ By the end of the nineteenth century, White farming in the Natal Midlands was able to “triumph over its African counterpart”²⁸; while Asian market gardening had sprung up in the immediate vicinity of Pietermaritzburg. African prosperity was undermined by commercialisation of agriculture, access to imported food brought by the railway, drought, rinderpest, and exclusion from Pietermaritzburg’s Market Hall. From 1893, White farming interests became the main political influence in Natal with the establishment of responsible government and a series of restrictive laws was introduced.

²⁴ Meintjes, S. Edendale, 1851-1930: farmers to townspeople, market to labour reserve in Laband, J. and Haswell, R. (eds.). *Pietermaritzburg, 1838-1988*, p.66.

²⁵ Ingram, J.F. *The colony of Natal*, p.216.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.216.

²⁷ Meintjes, S. Edendale, 1851-1930, pp.67-69.

²⁸ Lambert, J. The Pietermaritzburg market and the transformation of the Natal Midlands in the colonial period in Laband, J. and Haswell, R. (eds.). *Pietermaritzburg, 1838-1988*, p.133.

PHYSICAL RECREATION AND BRITISH IMPERIALISM

By the end of the nineteenth century Natal was strongly influenced by an imperial ethic. Cricket was, of course, the imperial sport par excellence²⁹: “even ... a casual cricket practice was an enactment of ... superior physical and moral qualities.”³⁰ Cricket in particular evoked an image of rural England that formed a part of ethnic identity.³¹ The imperial package in the opinion of Sandiford and Beckles comprised Christianity, classics and cricket propagated as “the gospel of athleticism”; its terminology part of popular discourse.³² But all sports codes carried with them ethical metaphor and political symbolism purporting to provide the character necessary to overcome the physical and psychological obstacles to ruling subject peoples.³³ Thus, “the language of games became the language of adventure and the highest endeavour designed to sustain the young under fire, whether from fast bowlers or insurgent tribesmen.”³⁴ Hobson summed this up at the apogee of British power: “the sporting and military aspects of Imperialism form ... a very powerful basis of popular appeal.”³⁵ The idealisation of sport came about because it was seen as the best possible vehicle for various attributes that may be summarised as moral integrity coupled with a physical, even a robust and muscular, presence, “a means of moulding the perfect Englishman.”³⁶

Clearly sport engendered group cohesion: Kirk-Greene argues that the self-assurance it encouraged was fundamental to the confidence trick that permitted the dominance of thousands of indigenous people by a handful of Whites.³⁷ Hobsbawm and Ranger point out in similar vein that Whites needed to be a ‘convincing’ ruling class.³⁸ The empire could not have been held together for as

²⁹ See, for instance: Bailey, A. South Africa *in* Warner, P.F. *Imperial cricket* (London: London and Counties Press Association, 1912), p.315. Mangan, J.A. (ed.) *The cultural bond: sport, empire and society* (London: Cass, 1992), p.2. Sandiford, K.A.P. *Cricket and the Victorians* (Aldershot: Gower, 1994), pp.144-160. Barnett, C. *The collapse of British power* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1972), p.35.

³⁰ Collingham, E.M. *Imperial bodies: the physical experience of the Raj c.1800-1947* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001), p.141.

³¹ Brace, C. Finding England everywhere: regional identity and the construction of national identity, 1890-1940. *Ecumene* 6(1) 1999, p.92.

³² Sandiford, K.A.P. Imperialism, colonial education and the origins of West Indian cricket *in* Beckles, H. (ed.) *An area of conquest: popular democracy and West Indian cricket supremacy* (Kingston: Randle, 1994), pp. 2-3.

³³ Guttman, A. *Games and empires: modern sports and cultural imperialism* (New York: Columbia UP, 1994), p.64. Cain, P.J. and Hopkins, A.G. *British imperialism, 1688-2000* (Harlow: Longman, 2nd ed., 2001), p. 288.

³⁴ Bailey, P. *Leisure and class in Victorian England: rational recreation and the context for control, 1850-1885* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), p.127.

³⁵ Hobson, J.A. *Imperialism: a study* (London: Nisbet, 1902), p.226.

³⁶ Collingham, E.M. *Imperial bodies*, pp.52-53 and 104 .

³⁷ Kirk-Greene, A. Imperial administration and the athletic imperative: the case of the district officer in Africa *in* Baker, W.J. and Mangan, J.A. (eds.) *Sport in Africa: essays in social history* (New York: Africana, 1987), p.107.

³⁸ Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T.O. (eds.) *The invention of tradition* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), p.215.

long as it was through force, or the threat of force, alone. More extreme writers, particularly on the topic of cricket, were of the opinion that only people of British stock were capable of high achievement in sport and that this was the fundamental strength of the Empire.³⁹ In the minds of many, the Empire and sport were conflated: Birley points out that “the empire, like cricket, was hard to explain to outsiders, but like cricket it was a game that the British played.”⁴⁰ Lord Harris claimed that cricket had done more than any other single institution to hold the Empire together and he described the game as ‘God’s playing field’.⁴¹ Cricket’s supposed nobility, sense of fair play and generosity provided a set of symbols for belief and action and a system in which every White man would get his chance.⁴² Sport was the cement of Empire, a “wholesome expression of the naturalness of Empire”,⁴³ and the White South African obsession with it was remarked upon by Bryce as early as the 1890s

The comparative ease of life disposes the English part of the population to athletic sports, which are pursued with almost as much avidity as in Australia. Even one who thinks that in England the passion for them has gone beyond all reasonable limits, and has become a serious injury to education and to the taste for intellectual pleasures, may find in the character of the climate a justification for the devotion to cricket, in particular, which strikes him in South Africa.⁴⁴

While cricket was paraded as the Empire’s game and the “cultural bond of white imperial fraternity”⁴⁵, all sport was seen as promoting character, ethnic unity, self confidence and ascendancy. The British, it was thought, had a particular talent for games and this proficiency was conveniently linked to a genius for government⁴⁶: “it was in sports above all ... that the essence of Englishness, what distinguished us from the effete, inferior foreigner, was encouraged and expressed.”⁴⁷ Strenuous athleticism was extolled in school songs notable for their dogmatism, fervour, certainty and zeal coupled with an emotionalism and innocence that may be described as puerile inflexibility.⁴⁸ This is

³⁹ For example: Cooper, J.A. The British imperial spirit of sport and the war. *United empire* 7(9) 1916, pp.583-584, 593.

⁴⁰ Birley, D. *Playing the game: sport and British society, 1910-45* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1995), p.126.

⁴¹ Bradley, J. The MCC, society and empire in Mangan, J.A. (ed.). *The cultural bond*, p.27.

⁴² Mangan, J.A. Play up and play the game: Victorian and Edwardian public school vocabularies of motive. *British journal of educational studies* 23(3) 1975, p.333.

⁴³ Holt, R. *Sport and the British : a modern history* (Oxford, OUP, 1990), p.227.

⁴⁴ Bryce, J. *Impressions of South Africa* (London: Macmillan, 3rd ed., 1899), p.385.

⁴⁵ Mangan, J.A. *The games ethic and imperialism: aspects of the diffusion of an ideal* (London: Viking, 1986), p.110.

⁴⁶ Holt, R. *Sport and the British*, p.351.

⁴⁷ Dobbs, B. *Edwardians at play: sport, 1890-1914* (London: Pelham, 1973), p.78.

⁴⁸ Mangan, J.A. Play up and play the game, pp.324, 327.

evident in Natal schools at the turn of the century: "English Public School Boys were different from boys of other nationalities" due to their training in sports and games, "which peculiarly fitted them to face the responsibilities of life" that formed "so large a factor in making the British Empire."⁴⁹ Athletic ability, particularly physical courage, was confused with moral integrity. As Cypher wrote at the outset of the Great War, "with such traditions as Natal now possesses nothing less than a German occupation of the Province will kill the spirit of cricket which prevails."⁵⁰

There was but a short step from this set of values to open racism and a sense of otherness. Myth and mystique associated with sport, the laws and etiquette of cricket being a particularly good example, proved a great comfort and psychological prop in settler societies where the authority of a white minority was always fragile. Even in the late 1920s, Theodore Cook was able to write, "for the spirit of the best of all our sport is the one instinctive factor in the English character which no foreigner will ever vanquish."⁵¹ And it was not simply mental and physical ability, but style that set British sport apart: "the goal was not the back of the net but ascendancy to a higher plane of awareness of one's individual and *collective* role in life."⁵² This was epitomised by the all-rounder exuding sang-froid, eschewing practice and training.⁵³ Imperial sport, in the opinion of Black and Nauright, "sought to simultaneously impress and intimidate locals with its power and superiority."⁵⁴ Touring teams promoted not only a sporting ethos, but spread cultural patterns, standards and conventions using phrases like 'fighting spirit', 'British manhood', 'fair play' and 'hearty good fellowship'. This empty, cliched and jingoistic thinking was reinforced by the popular idea that Whites were cerebral whereas Blacks were characterised by brawn. This was supremely ironic because as Bourdieu argues, "glorification of sport as the training-ground of character ... always implies a certain anti-intellectualism."⁵⁵ Action was always preferable to reflection in a situation in which ideas were often considered effeminate: "character was cultivated; brains were disparaged ... many public school boys of limited academic ability, whose compensatory delight was muscle, became colonial farmers, ranchers

⁴⁹ *Hiltonian* 3, 1902, p.13.

⁵⁰ Cypher [E.H. Holmes]. *History of Natal cricket*, p.81.

⁵¹ Cook, T. *Character and sportsmanship* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1927), p.321.

⁵² Vasili, P. *The first black footballer: Arthur Wharton 1865-1930: an absence of memory* (London: Cass, 1998), p.78 [this writer's italics].

⁵³ Holt, R. *Sport and the British*, p.100.

⁵⁴ Black, D.R. and Nauright, J. *Rugby and the South African nation: sport, cultures and the new South Africa* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1998), p.26.

⁵⁵ Bourdieu, P. Sport and social class. *Social science information* 17(6) 1978, p.826 .

and planters.”⁵⁶ Mangan also notes the “secular trinity [of] imperialism, militarism and athleticism.”⁵⁷ Social Darwinism legitimised the process of colonisation and led to the mistaken idea, still prevalent, that “mystical biological factors somehow associated with ... skin color ... [are] ... an indicator of how people’s minds and bodies perform.”⁵⁸ In turn, this racist-imperial ethos encouraged a local white nationalism and there is some evidence that the January 1896 defeat of the MCC by Natal (in which Major Robert Montagu Poore scored an undefeated 107) excited local patriotic fervour, especially amongst schoolboys.⁵⁹ The virtues and character-building potential assumed of amateur sport proved particularly attractive within settler societies.

Before the Great War, sports writing contained numerous references to Britain as ‘Home’: in November 1909 the minutes of the Pietermaritzburg City Council recorded “the visit of the M.C.C. Team from Home.”⁶⁰ The Union was portrayed in diametrically opposite terms, particularly in Natal which “of all South Africa’s regions most closely resembles a colonial/settler frontier.”⁶¹ A book of biographical sketches of England players on the 1909-10 cricket tour describes them as arriving at the “short end of the Dark Continent.”⁶² References were made to the Mother Country and locals were routinely referred to as colonials. Predictably, the English captain and imperialist Pelham Warner had something to say: “wherever British men and women are gathered together there will the stumps be pitched.”⁶³ Cannadine sees the Empire “as about the familiar and domestic, as well as the different and the exotic - the comprehending and reordering of the foreign in parallel, analogous, equivalent, resemblant terms.” And thus it was that they “saw what they were conditioned, what they wanted, and what they expected, to see.”⁶⁴ Scruton throws further light upon this phenomenon by arguing that the English were a community of strangers bonded together only by common law, tradition and a code of manners with a predilection for recreating the familiar and guarding it in foreign places, the

⁵⁶ Mangan, J.A. *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public school: the emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology* (Cambridge: CUP, 1981), pp.107, 139.

⁵⁷ Mangan, J.A. *Play up and play the game*, p.324.

⁵⁸ Coakley, J.J. *Sport in society: issues and controversies* (St. Louis: Mosby, 5th ed., 1994), pp.242-243, 247.

⁵⁹ Hattersley, A.F. *Hilton portrait: South African public school, 1872-1945* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1945), p.53.

⁶⁰ CCM 4 Nov 1909. There is a particularly apposite example in Hyslop, J. *Jandamarra, my great-grandfather and the British Empire: reflections on family history, colonial war and the making of men and women* in Morrell, R. (ed.) *Changing men in southern Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2001), pp.141-155.

⁶¹ Dubow, S. *Racial segregation and the origins of apartheid in South Africa, 1919-1936* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), p.21.

⁶² Leveson Gower, H.D.G. *The MCC's South African tour, 1909-1910* (Cape Town: Metropolitan Advertising, 1909).

⁶³ Warner, P. *Imperial cricket*, p.ix.

⁶⁴ Cannadine, D. *Ornamentalism: how the British saw their Empire* (London: Penguin, 2001), pp.xix, 122 and 135.

domestication as it were of uncertain foreign parts. England was defined not by language, creed, nation nor even as a state, but as Home, a 'green and pleasant land' in the words of *Jerusalem*, which defines through an Arcadian construct its essential homeliness. England, argues Scruton, was (and is) a place of clubs, teams and a domesticity that maintained a sense of privacy.⁶⁵ It is even possible to argue that the very concept of England manifests itself most powerfully as the Home desired by Britons abroad: certainly this compulsion had a significant effect on the social and cultural history of Natal.

In the context of sport, the essential relationship was that of parent and child, the mature and the adolescent: "the Mother Country and her sturdy Australian and South African sons."⁶⁶ Even when South Africa beat England for the first time in a cricket test match (Johannesburg in 1905), this was turned to imperial advantage as it was held to show "that grit and courage which we are so proud of saying are inherent in the British race."⁶⁷ Local identity manifested itself as both White nationalism and imperial sentiment, a highly ambivalent compound; although it showed in ways that might be interpreted as deferential, creating a "mutual self-congratulation" also noted in Australian sports history and described by Beckles as 'cousin cricket'.⁶⁸ Perkin notes that beating England, the Mother Country, was a rite of passage for settler communities and an indicator, perhaps, of suitability for eventual dominion status.⁶⁹ Deference to the Metropolis in the sphere of sport has also been noted in the Caribbean, with "white West Indian colonials seeking approval and recognition of their achievements from their 'motherland' ... frantic ... in the quest for approval from the MCC."⁷⁰ Sport proved a suitably elastic bond. It was durable, but it allowed leeway for pupil to beat master and it provided a safety valve for local aspirations as long as overall metropolitan ascendancy was maintained.

This may explain why sport was a major factor in defining British space in foreign contexts in which "there was little of substance to bind together geographically divided and quite distinctive colonial locales."⁷¹ Although one quarter of the World's land mass was coloured red on the map, psychological security required the regularising of local conditions and the familiarity of established

⁶⁵ Scruton, R. *England: an elegy* (London: Chatto, 2000), pp.1-16, 20, 72, 108, 127.

⁶⁶ Warner, P.F. (ed.) *Imperial cricket*, p.ix.

⁶⁷ Warner, P.F. (ed.) *The MCC in South Africa* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1906), p.68.

⁶⁸ Adair, D. and Vamplew, W. *Sport in Australian history* (Melbourne: OUP, 1997), p.11. Morrell, R. *From boys to gentlemen: settler masculinity in colonial Natal, 1880-1920* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2001), p.17.

⁶⁹ Perkin, H. Teaching the nations how to play *in* Mangan, J.A. (ed.). *The cultural bond*, p.217.

⁷⁰ Stoddart, B. Sport, cultural imperialism and colonial response in the British Empire. *Comparative studies in society and history* 30(4) 1988, p.659.

⁷¹ Adas, M. "High" imperialism and the "new" history (Washington D.C.: American Historical Association, [1993]), p.15.

customs. As Spufford points out, the red portions of the map were no longer ‘abroad’ in the strict sense of the term: exotic and widely spaced parts of the World were “ultimately gathered in a British hand.”⁷² Baucom writes about the ‘geographic assurance’; of the Edwardian era which would have been sustained by “contagiously English places scattered throughout the British Empire” making up “England’s authentic and auratic architecture of belonging.”⁷³ Colls suggests that this assurance would have been assisted by the influence of Mercator’s projection and the centrality of Greenwich Mean Time (GMT).⁷⁴ One may even go so far as to emphasise the territoriality of the individual sports field and the psychological significance of the boundary. Certainly the club was a comforting reminder of England to people often fearful of their colonial context. Anywhere in the world a cricket ground, in particular, would be interpreted as a distinctive space of unquestionable British origin.⁷⁵ As Barnett puts it, “the playing field was a powerful instrument for inculcating common responses, common values and a common outlook.”⁷⁶ The consequential “accentuated Englishness”⁷⁷ produced sentiments of security and togetherness, but in the process demanded social conformity and racial exclusivity. Characteristically this manifested itself as an aloofness and haughtiness in which a sense of separateness, a natural reserve and an awareness of foreign space encouraged the creation of many ‘Little Englands’.⁷⁸ Leonard Woolf noted a staged theatricality in this posture of calm confidence and authoritative manner that demanded a deferential response within the context of an authoritarianism that was sensitive to “the slightest hint of a challenge to [imperial] dignity or authority.”⁷⁹

Bose notes the same process on the Asian sub-continent: “the British saw cricket as a way of keeping their own community together with little or no place there for the Indians.”⁸⁰ Imperial psychology was a mixture of insecurity and aggression, both of which found meaning in comforting symbols and familiar spaces. “The values and beliefs of the imperial world settled like a sediment in the

⁷² Spufford, F. *I may be some time: ice and the English imagination* (London: Faber, 1996), pp.249-250.

⁷³ Baucom, I. *Out of place: Englishness, Empire and the location of identity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1999), pp.17-18. Baucom argues that a sense of place was particularly important to the British as a ‘mongrel race’ (p.17).

⁷⁴ Colls, R. *The identity of England* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), p.238.

⁷⁵ Bale, J. *Landscapes of modern sport* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1994), pp.153-155.

⁷⁶ Barnett, C. *The collapse of British power*, p.35.

⁷⁷ Katz, W.R. *Rider Haggard and the fiction of empire: a critical study of British imperial fiction* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987), p.82.

⁷⁸ Morris, J. *Pax Britannica* (London: Faber, 1968), pp.146 and 153.

⁷⁹ Collingham, E. D. M. *Imperial bodies*, pp. 142 and 143 .

⁸⁰ Bose, M. *A history of Indian cricket* (London: Deutsch, 1990), p.19.

consciousness of the British people⁸¹; encouraging a complacent superiority. For the British colonial settler, sport was one of the storehouses of national memory. K.S. Ranjitsinhji, writing in the 1890s, captured this well in the South African context: “no doubt when people play the game on a rough jumble of veldt-grass and mine-tailings on the outskirts of Johannesburg, half the pleasure they find is the result of association of ideas. The feel of a bat and its sound against the ball bring back memories of the green turf and cool breezes of England.”⁸² But the uncertainty was constantly there, demanding the familiar: “the illusion of power was always greater than the force to sustain it (and the cohesiveness of British settler communities weaker than it seemed); when challenged, Britain could seldom for long hold what she had because she did not really have what she thought she held ... for in certain crucial respects ‘empire’ was a myth, an illusion based on a gigantic confidence trick perpetrated by rulers and accepted by the ruled.”⁸³

Thus social, and in colonial societies racial, distance was maintained as effective geographical distance shrank by the end of the nineteenth century. In Edwardian England, “middle-class bodies established a spatial hegemony, increasing significantly the number of places from which the non-select were excluded.”⁸⁴ Indeed, this very process in the sphere of recreation may have helped to define the middle classes more tightly. In Natal a segregationist policy was well entrenched during the nineteenth century and exclusive social institutions were the norm. Where Blacks had been integrated into South African recreation, as in the Cape, they were increasingly removed. Throughout the Empire, “social distances were considered an important and integral part of maintaining order.”⁸⁵ Marina Warner provides a startlingly apposite example from West Indian cricket that might equally well apply to Natal: “the lime demarcation lines in the turf that divided Englishmen from foreigners and natives could be rubbed out in the climate of the islands all too easily by passing feet.”⁸⁶ As Jarvie points out, the delineation of recreation was not predicated simply upon race but on an “ensemble of social relations characterizing the ... social formation.”⁸⁷ Indeed, as cricket’s most famous writer, C.L.R. James, points out (well before the globalisation of sport), cricket reflected local society. Interestingly and

⁸¹ Mackenzie, J.M. *Propaganda and empire: the manipulation of British public opinion* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1984), p.258.

⁸² Ranjitsinhji, K.S. *The jubilee book of cricket* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 2nd ed., 1897), p.449.

⁸³ Hyam, R. and Martin, G. *Reappraisals in British imperial history* (London: Macmillan, 1975), pp. 2, 5.

⁸⁴ Lowerson, J. *Sport and the English middle classes, 1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1993), p.16.

⁸⁵ Stoddart, B. Sport, cultural imperialism and the colonial response in the British Empire, p.662.

⁸⁶ Warner, M. Between the colonialist and the creole: family bonds, family boundaries in Chew, S. and Rutherford, A. (eds.). *Unbecoming daughters of the empire* (Sydney: Dangaroo, 1993), p.199. Marina Warner is the granddaughter of Sir Pelham.

⁸⁷ Jarvie, G. *Sport, racism and ethnicity* (London: Falmer, 1991), p.182.

significantly, the Natal of 1901 was a colony with a plantation economy and English cultural influence, a place in some ways more like the West Indies than the rest of South Africa.⁸⁸ And to take this analogy further, “while blacks worked for whites in the canefields, whites refused to play with blacks on the cricket fields.”⁸⁹

In the view of some, Natal was a place of officially-sanctioned savagery, repression and exploitation in which the concept of sport as part of a civilising mission could be no more than myth or wishful thinking. Certainly there was contempt for missionaries and educated Blacks, Africans in particular, in a “a society which does not want to find a common language.”⁹⁰ Badsha takes Beckles’ canefield analogy further:

The history and development of the ghetto mirrored the history and development of ... African, Indian and coloured ‘communities’ struggling against white society’s efforts to shape their identity as ‘non-white’ servants. Our colonial and apartheid masters were supremely successful in manipulating our memory, our relationships with each other, and our spaces in the ghetto and the city.⁹¹

This ghetto was increasingly reflected in the sphere of sport and recreation. But it was effectively subordinated to what Morrell terms an “intractable settler masculinity.” The strong Victorian social processes of inclusion and exclusion were accentuated by race and were articulated strongly in elite boarding schools from which men of far-reaching influence emerged. These schools represented not so much educational achievement, but settler values and saw themselves as “bastions of civilisation against the imagined threat of octopus-like black barbarity.” Schools generated powerful loyalties that lasted a lifetime. “Team spirit became an important part of hegemonic masculinity” and accentuated the role of sport, based in part on conformity in the shadow of violence: “you could be caned for not watching First XV rugby or for not remembering the names of the cricket or rugby teams.” The old school tie, job and sport constituted a powerful nexus in individual lives epitomised by the ‘Club’ representing “superiority and exclusiveness.” Freemasonry and other lodges pulled lower middle- and working-class males into this network to create a spirit of unity that mirrored a fear of non-conformity. At the end of the nineteenth century this social structure was still heavily influenced by the British military. Nevertheless, as Morrell points out clearly, colonial Natal society was not without powerful women. They tended to be more prominent in the rural economy and with time there was a shift from

⁸⁸ Brookes, E.H. *A South African pilgrimage* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1977), p.2.

⁸⁹ Beckles, H.M. *The development of West Indies cricket v.1. The age of nationalism* (London: Pluto, 1998), p.9. Beckles, H. The radical tradition in the culture of West Indian cricket, p.43.

⁹⁰ Gray, S. Introduction in Blackburn, D. *Leaven: a Black and White study* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1991), p.xvi.

⁹¹ Badsha, O. Imperial ghetto: people and rituals in a South African ghetto. *Social identities* 6(4) 2000, p.511.

frontier femininity to urban gentility as women moved out of production into social duties in the colonial capital. Women were key figures in well-established and well-connected White families, figures of day-to-day authority in colonial society and central to growing racism.⁹²

Sport was well established in Pietermaritzburg and the surrounding Natal Midlands from 1880 onwards and regular events in a range of sports codes attracted large crowds. Polo was introduced in 1887 and at first distinguished coloniser from colonised, as well as marking out social status and wealth. Rugby was increasingly promoted as the elite White sport, a game that epitomised a non-cerebral manhood: it “had become a symbol of white male success, exuberance, athleticism, solidity” that spread “hegemonic class and masculine values.” By comparison (association) football was played by lower-class Whites, Asians and, gradually, Africans. Soccer “came to the towns, backstreets and open public spaces ... emblematic of threatening, socially integrative forces within society.”⁹³ Sam Campbell called soccer a ‘coolie game’, dominated no doubt by waiters and bartenders.

⁹² Morrell, R. *From boys to gentlemen*, pp.17, 49, 55, 60, 65, 80, 107, 111, 119-121, 172, 225, 226, 231, 233, 249.

⁹³ *Ibid*, pp.23, 81, 91, 95, 96, 104.

CHAPTER TWO FROM THE TURN OF THE CENTURY TO THE END OF THE GREAT WAR, 1900-1918

RACIAL PREJUDICE

The racism of mid-Victorian England, the geographical origin of Natal's social mores, centred around the acceptance of stereotypes and, illogically in an entrepreneurial age, the denial to 'others' of individualism and self-improvement. This was much influenced by social Darwinism and eugenics. People were confined from birth to pre-determined and rigid hierarchical groups in what Lorimer describes as a "new pessimism about human nature."¹ In the words of Barzun, "the whole people claims superiority over all others: each democrat is an aristocrat. Such is the marvel of race: it is common ground for national cooperation and cultural autarky, and also an inexhaustible source of pride."² This thinking coincided conveniently with the belief that it was the natural role of Anglo-Saxons to rule supposedly weaker groups. A contemporary observer put this into an economic context by arguing that at the end of the nineteenth century temperate economies were becoming increasingly dependant upon tropical primary products, but these would not be "developed voluntarily by the natives themselves." Hobson conveniently justified White duty to supervise such development as a benefit to the whole world, although he also admitted to a parasitic relationship in which the urban trading, professional and official classes were showing signs of "laxity and torpor."³

Paternalist tendencies and a colour class dichotomy in the colonies engendered amongst "the ... articulate, influential wealthy middle class the cult of gentility ... [and] ... a greater social exclusiveness and arrogance."⁴ The puritanism of the English engendered a fear of physical contact and of consequent contamination, accompanied by a self confidence that they could go anywhere - a tribe, as it were, of untouchables. "[W]hite men wore ... the masks of omniscience and infallibility"⁵: "the white man, whatever his worth, was always something, or somebody, simply by virtue of his whiteness."⁶ Indeed there was a significant strand of British thinking that held that race consciousness was imperative for

¹ Lorimer, D.A. *Colour, class and the Victorians: English attitudes to the Negro in the mid-nineteenth century* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1978), p.202.

² Barzun, J. *Race: a study in superstition* (New York: Harper and Row, rev. ed., 1965, 1982 printing), p.178.

³ Hobson, J.A. *Imperialism: a study* (London: Nisbet, 1902), pp. 239- 240 and 296.

⁴ *Ibid*, p.210.

⁵ Hyam, R. and Martin, G. *Reappraisals in British imperial history* (London: Macmillan, 1975), p.5.

⁶ Gordon, P.C. *The moment of power: Britain's imperial epoch* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1970), p.142.

cultural and national survival - its absence would result in a loss of 'soul'. In the process individual habits seen as laudable were ascribed to a mass of people; and vice versa. Cecil Rhodes' imperial ambitions were predicated upon such beliefs.⁷

A significant aspect of this prejudice was the fact that there was no official or organised system of race classification at the time: judgments were based on crude biological assumptions that had no scientific rigour and were at most a reflection of ethnicity, lifestyle, appearance, and sometimes social standing and general acceptance; a "dense conceptual fog" generally assumed to be historical fact, but often dependent on the statute involved.⁸ Assumptions were made against the background of an accepted social hierarchy related to beliefs about varying levels of civilisation and the right to exercise power using archetypes constructed out of selective traits. Stripped of its pseudo-scientific aspects, racial prejudice was simply a matter of Whites defining themselves as different from everyone else and characterising them as a problem; in other words an ideological construct, "the creature of human minds, taking shape in the context of power, purpose, position, circumstance and time."⁹ This was further assisted by a confusion of assumed race with national identity and the destiny of the 'British Race', a contradiction in terms, but one that validated a governing role based on an assumed "biological and cultural birthright." The "superiority of the white Anglo-Saxon race was held to be both an explanation and a justification for the entire colonization project ... a natural, inevitable process and a moral duty."¹⁰

In Natal the reaction of a self-perceived beleaguered minority was to assert its homogeneity while exaggerating, through gross stereotyping, the otherness of communities that were not White. The frontier behaviour of South African White society impelled "religious, moral and cultural barriers between itself and its neighbours."¹¹ The emergence of an aggressive nationalism, based on the concept of the imperial British Race, "a message pictorially reinforced on biscuit-tins, sauce bottles, and cigarette cards" in the words of Holt¹², may be described in terms of a sporting metaphor: "the Empire was less about 'fair play' and equality before the law than about racial differentiation and inequality

⁷ Barzan, J. *Race: a study in superstition*, pp.186, 195, 221.

⁸ Posel, D. Race as common sense: racial classification in twentieth-century South Africa. *African studies review* 44(2) 2001, pp.91-92.

⁹ Sammons, J.T. 'Race' and sport: a critical historical examination. *Journal of sports history* 21(3) 1994, pp.203, 206.

¹⁰ Bush, J. *Edwardian ladies and imperial power* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2000), p.105.

¹¹ De Kiewiet, C.W. *A history of South Africa: social and economic* (London: OUP, 1941, 1975 printing), p.211.

¹² Holt, R. *Sport and the British: a modern history* (Oxford: OUP, 1990), p.351.

based on colour.”¹³ The spirituality that was assumed to be implicit in the British Empire and its recreational activities merged seamlessly into moral superiority, nowhere better illustrated than in Natal: “feelings of white, if not Anglo-Saxon, uniqueness imbued what was really just another tawdry form of racism with the aura of a religious movement.”¹⁴ As Morris puts it, the Empire was “a World apart”, embodying “ineradicable instincts of racial superiority”¹⁵ based on the belief that foreigners lacked the characteristic British virtues of fair play, courage and a sense of responsibility and duty. Put simply, South African national identity was based on racism in which “physical prowess in sport, hunting and outdoor pursuits defined pioneering, hyper-masculine ‘colonial man’ as a heroic husband to ‘colonial woman’, the bearer and protector of the white race.” Significantly, in this context Black men were “emasculated and infantilised”, and became, in common parlance, boys.¹⁶ Fear lay at the root of much of this racism: of crime, disease (race-hygiene), miscegenation, competition in the labour or commercial markets (cheap African labour and Asian traders), and military rebellion. Urbanisation exacerbated these fears, particularly the first two listed, and the bubonic plague outbreak in Natal of 1902-04 stimulated calls for African locations. Bubonic plague was popularly known as the Black Death and this assumed metaphoric significance. Ultimately, blackness in itself was seen as savage and threatening, creating and sustaining a fear of physical contact.¹⁷

This growing attitude would not have been ameliorated by knowledge of Pietermaritzburg’s changing demographics prior to the First World War, as shown in table 2.

Table 2 Pietermaritzburg’s population by community grouping, 1902-1918 (%)¹⁸

	Total	White/ Coloured	Asian	African
1902	34 700	56.1	13.5	30.2
1904	30 790	51.4	17.1	31.4
1911	29 365	47.3	22.8	29.9
1917	33 137	50.9	22.4	26.8
1918	34 888	50.9	21.8	27.3

¹³ Huttenback, R.A. No strangers within the gates. *Journal of imperial and Commonwealth history* 1, 1973, p.298.

¹⁴ Huttenback, R.A. The British Empire as a ‘white man’s country’: racial attitudes and immigration legislation in the colonies of white settlement. *Journal of British studies* 13(1) 1973, pp.109, 136.

¹⁵ Morris, J. *Pax Britannica: the climax of an empire* (London: Faber, 1968), pp. 131-132.

¹⁶ Bush, B. *Imperialism, race and resistance: Africa and Britain, 1919-1945* (London: Routledge, 1999), p.145.

¹⁷ Maylam, P. Explaining the apartheid city: 20 years of South African urban historiography. *Journal of southern African studies* 21(1) 1995, pp.24-25. Maylam, P. *South Africa’s racial past: the history and historiography of racism, segregation, and apartheid* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp.240-243.

¹⁸ CYB 1900, p.5; 1903, p.10; 1904, p.39; 1912, p.42; 1917, p.39; 1918, p.47.

The figures show a number of fluctuations due to the Anglo-Boer War and subsequent economic depression, but the overall trend is a diminution of the White and Coloured fraction of the population with a concomitant increase in that of persons of Asian extraction. By 1918 the White proportion of the borough's population had sunk to little more than half, even when the Coloured population was counted as White. A large part of the Coloured community was from St Helena or Mauritius. Their physical appearance, occupations in skilled trades, right to the franchise and clerical work - "good citizens in every sense" - meant that they could generally 'pass for White'.¹⁹

ATTITUDES TOWARDS ASIANS

Policy towards those in Natal at the end of the nineteenth century who were not White was characterised by growing control designed to protect 'civilised' Whites. The perceived threat by immigrants from the Asian subcontinent, particularly those urbanised, free individuals known as 'Arabs', led to a virulent racism. In British India they were assured by law of equality as citizens under the Crown, but Natal's assumptions were those of disease, lack of sanitation, low moral fibre and a poor standard of living. Asians were of use as labourers, but not welcome as permanent settlers. In terms of Act 30 of 1903²⁰, immigrants were subject to a strict English language test and an age ceiling of 16 for those joining families. The underlying fear was that of commercial competition and a number of controls were instituted against Asians as a whole. As late as 1880 the by-laws of both Durban and Pietermaritzburg required them to have a pass to be on the streets after 21h00.²¹ Laws regarding immigration (the 'Natal formula', an amalgam of bland law and harsh regulations), the franchise and licensing were used as a means of control, and Asians were legally declared to be 'uncivilised'. The franchise was denied to Asians on the apparently non-racist grounds that they had originated from a country without elective institutions; while licensing of businesses was managed with the clear intention of eliminating, particularly from urban areas, the competition provided by hard-working and challenging traders.²² The target date for repatriation was at one stage set as 1918.²³ Discrimination

¹⁹ Evans, M.S. *Black and white in south east Africa: a study in sociology* (London: Longmans Green, 2nd ed., 1916), p.298.

²⁰ For legislation pertaining to the period covered by this chapter see: *Ordinances, laws and acts of the Colony of Natal which refer specially to natives* (Pietermaritzburg: Davis, 1906). Ahrens, F.W. *Index (with cross references) to the ordinances, laws and acts (including Union acts) comprising the statutes of Natal from 1845 to 1919 ...* (Dundee: Ebenezer, 2nd ed., 1920). *By laws of the city and borough of Pietermaritzburg* (Pietermaritzburg: Davis, 1901).

²¹ Ferguson-Davie, C.J. *The early history of Indians in Natal* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1977 printing), p.18.

²² Huttenback, R.A. No strangers within the gates, p.273, 276; Huttenback, R.A. Indians in South Africa, 1860-1914: the British imperial philosophy on trial. *English historical review* 81 (1966), p.281.

²³ Sacks, B. *South Africa: an imperial dilemma: non-Europeans and the British nation, 1902-1914* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967), p.214.

also took place with regard to public education and the consumption of alcohol. All indentured Asians who did not return to their places of origin were subject to an annual £3 poll tax. They were described abusively as the 'Asiatic curse' and the 'scum of Madras and Calcutta', even in the Natal legislature. In a significant indicator of territoriality they were sometimes pushed off pavements.²⁴ Such prejudice was implied in apparent concern about threats to public health which were rooted in attitudes relating to both race and class, although primarily the former since Asians were perceived as a homogeneous group. Freund describes anti-Asian racism as "often crude, and even violent."²⁵ "The British Indian was penalized not for his vices but for his virtues",²⁶ even when he displayed an acceptable measure of deference.

The *dukawallahs* of Pietermaritzburg, market gardeners and petty traders, hard-working and persevering pedlars, were vital to its economy. They hailed from the Surat and Porbandor areas of Gujarat in north-west India and identified themselves as 'British Indians'. Yet, as elsewhere, they were victim to the conservatism of the White commercial class and subject to xenophobia and persecution. In a sense they were the Jews of Pietermaritzburg.²⁷ During the Anglo-Boer War the Gandhian concept of imperial brotherhood was put to the test. In December 1899, sixty Asians were involved in conservancy work at Fort Napier hospital. Asians from Pietermaritzburg served as bearers in the Ambulance Corps on the Natal front in January and February 1900 and accomplished feats of endurance over long distances under fire. But Whites were suspicious of the long-term position of the Asian community and "the loyalty of Indians went unrewarded."²⁸

The irony of this situation was that Asians were vital to the economy of Natal, as indeed they were to other parts of the Empire such as the West Indies. Amongst other achievements the Asian community provided important banking facilities in the credit-starved economy: "the British Indian has enabled Natal to prosper" and had proved to be "steady, thrifty and law-abiding." However, "[t]he coolie is at once the salvation and the danger of Natal." Neame goes on to point out that the Asians'

²⁴ In Durban, in particular, there was conflict over street trading and Asians were seen as "distasteful ... repulsive .. and an impediment to achieving a 'beautiful' modern city", which was described in terms of White notions of cleanliness, attractiveness and orderliness. (Vahed, G.H. A 'public health nuisance': the Victoria Street early morning squatters market, 1910-1934. *South African history journal* 40, 1999, p.152). The tax was actually discontinued in 1914.

²⁵ Freund, W. *Insiders and outsiders: the Indian working class in Durban, 1910-1990* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1994), p.39.

²⁶ Sacks, B. *South Africa*, p.233.

²⁷ Padayachee, V. and Morrell, R. Indian merchants and dukawallahs in the Natal economy, c.1875-1914. *Journal of southern African studies* 17(1) 1991: 71-93.

²⁸ Vahed, G. Natal's Indians, the Empire and the South African War, 1899-1902. *New contree* 45 (1999), p.215.

value as unskilled labourers was resented when they became competitors: "He is taking up work which, in the climate of Natal, could be and should be performed by the white man."²⁹ The ambition and ability of Asians also encroached upon clerical work as well as agriculture and commerce and seriously threatened the concept of Natal as a White Man's country. The success of Asians was seen as a major challenge to the role played by Natal in absorbing Britain's surplus labour. The worst offenders with regard to anti-Asian racism, according to Sacks, were White shopkeepers, those "narrow-minded and parochial possessor[s] of the vote"; but they were symptomatic of Whites as a whole who wished to preserve "forever a part of the earth's surface." Sir Abe Bailey, the influential sports benefactor, believed that Asians should have no rights at all in South Africa and by the early 1920s he was recommending repatriation. Another proposal, the 'sucked orange policy', had workers finishing their contracts in India.³⁰ The overall effect of regulations and public opinion was to encourage the idea that the Asian population was not permanent. That this idea had popular support is explained by Huttenback's assessment of contemporary opinion that "God had preserved certain unique qualities to the 'British race' and they were lacking ... in ... Indians."³¹

Many Whites displayed greater antipathy with respect to Asians than they did towards Africans. Polak commented that "Natal Indians must be kept in bondage from the cradle to the grave." The attitudes of uncouth, minor functionaries had a worse effect on life in the Asian community than official policy and individuals were insulted everywhere: Swami Shankeranand was forced to sit outside a Pietermaritzburg tramcar, for instance. Asian ratepayers were excluded from the very municipal facilities they had contributed towards. The suicide rate amongst Natal Asians was higher (66 per million) than that of British India (39 per million), disease (pulmonary tuberculosis, malaria, enteric, dysentery and ankylostomiasis) was rife and depression frequent. Average annual savings were £1/1/2d. Poverty was exacerbated by the disastrous rise in the price of rice (a 160 pound bag that cost 24/- in 1914 was 42/- by 1917) during the Great War. Education received little official encouragement beyond Standard Four and Asians were excluded from the civil service except as translators.³² Although the Asian community raised funds for War Relief through sport - football, boxing and athletics - and volunteered for non-combatant roles, the Executive of the Natal Federation of Trade and Labour Unions called for a boycott of Asian painters in 1917 and the Returned Soldiers and Sailors

²⁹ Neame, L.E. *The Asiatic danger in the colonies* (London: Routledge, 1907), pp.17, 18, 29, 86.

³⁰ Sacks, B. *South Africa*, pp.226, 227, 255. Amongst other destinations, British Guiana was suggested.

³¹ Huttenback, R.A. *No strangers within the gates*, p.283.

³² Polak, H.S.L. *The Indians of South Africa: helots within the Empire and how they are treated* (Madras: Natesan, [1909]), pp. 4, 5-6, 25, 56, 63, 69.

League objected to Asians painting trams. Internal divisions within the Asian community - class, religion, origins, language, culture and origins - were significant, but largely invisible to White society.³³

The main sports of the Asian community were football and boxing, particularly amongst Christians (the Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Wesleyans had strong congregations) and service industry workers who spoke English and had contact with British working-class men.³⁴ Bandyopadhyay records the fact that football became a popular part of West Bengali culture during this period and that the British games ethic was celebrated alongside local nationalism.³⁵ Pietermaritzburg football teams participated in the Natal Indian Football Association league and by 1907 schools were playing in an inter-town competition.³⁶ Cricket was played by the middle classes and was suspended from October 1913 to mid January 1914 during the 'Indian strike' called by Gandhi. The City Players Indian Cricket Club (CC) had Wesleyan roots, Star of India CC was Muslim and Royals CC indicated an identification with Empire. In the 1903-04 season Maritzburg Indian CC undertook an unbeaten tour of the Transvaal, Pietermaritzburg cricket having been considerably boosted by refugees from the interior. The Maritzburg District Indian Cricket Union (MDICU) was formed on 1 January 1902. The Natal Indian Cricket Union (NICU, patron Sir Albert Hime) founded in January 1902 was at first based in Pietermaritzburg, although activity gradually faded away until by 1918 there was little active cricket in the city's Asian community. And in 1902 there had been a cycle race between Durban and Pietermaritzburg. A key figure in local sport was Charlie Nulliah (whose birth at Umgeni in 1861 made him one of the first Colonial-Born Indians) a sugar farmer and manufacturer of bricks in Pietermaritzburg. He was involved in cricket and football, president of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), the first Asian member of the City Sporting Club and a racehorse owner, and a Royal Agricultural Show exhibitor.³⁷ Indeed, sport may be seen as an antidote to racism and the inferior positions of Asians in colonial society: "Sports clubs were very important organisations in which officialdom and participation were as crucial as events on the sporting field themselves."³⁸

³³ Vahed, G. 'Give till it hurts': Durban's Indians and the First World War. *Journal of Natal and Zulu history* 19, 1999-2001, pp. 45, 49, 54-55, 57, 61.

³⁴ Alegi, P. *Laduma!: soccer, politics and society in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004), p.18.

³⁵ Bandyopadhyay, K. 1911 in retrospect: a revisionist perspective on a famous Indian sporting victory. *International journal of the history of sport* 21(3-4) 2004, p.378.

³⁶ Henning, C.G. *The indentured Indian in Natal (1860-1917)* (New Delhi: Promilla, 1993), pp.135-136, plate 40 on p.147.

³⁷ Desai, A. et al. *Blacks in whites: a century of cricket struggles in KwaZulu-Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), pp.31, 35, 51, 72-76.

³⁸ Freund, W. *Insiders and outsiders*, p.39.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS AFRICANS

Africans were treated as minors and with a "curious blend of paternalism, fear and contempt" that reinforced their subordinate status.³⁹ An observer associated with the Hilton College Mission noted an "inclination amongst schoolboys ... to be familiar with a Native one minute and kick him the next."⁴⁰ There was general agreement that the character of Africans was incompatible with urban life and commentary on this was often scathing: "While little affected by the finer side of the life of a nineteenth-century European city, he has not been slow to assimilate its more primitive and less worthy features ... he has been under influences for evil too potent for his powers of resistance." The assumed childlike attitude of Africans led to a belief that they were predisposed to imitative behaviour at the lowest common denominator such that in an urban setting they became demoralised and undesirable, living in the opinion of John X. Merriman, in a 'criminal university'.⁴¹ In the eyes of many there was a causal relationship between race, culture, morality and intelligence, and even a connection between physical appearance and cultural achievement. Africans, it was held, could not think in a discerning way and were thus vulnerable to propaganda while lacking in initiative and perseverance.⁴² This paranoia was compounded by a fear that the degeneration of Africans would in some fashion have a detrimental effect on certain Whites. The greatest nightmare, given the belief that urban Africans indulged in 'disgusting' sexual practices, involved miscegenation and the development of a 'half caste' nation: "South Africa has decided with no uncertain voice that she will have none of it."⁴³ One interpretation of the role of sport in the British colonial ethos is that games-playing reduced the potential for contact between White men and 'native women'.⁴⁴

A more disinterested view is provided by Evans who observed the "barbaric splendour and mighty physique of the ricksha-pullers, but nowhere is there any evidence of the work of the black man, nowhere any evidence that he participates in any of the comforts, conveniences, amenities seen on every hand." He was struck by the contrast between the "whirl and glitter of European civilisation" and "the

³⁹ Marks, S. *Reluctant rebellion: the 1906-8 disturbances in Natal* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), p.11.

⁴⁰ Proposed amendment (Hilton Mission). *Hiltonian* 9, 1906, p.49.

⁴¹ Loram, C.T. *The education of the South African native* (London: Longmans, Green, 1917), pp.9, 10.

⁴² Hetherington, P. *British paternalism and Africa, 1920-1940* (London: Cass, 1978), pp.80, 83-84.

⁴³ Loram, C.T. *The education of the South African native*, pp.34, 36.

⁴⁴ Clayton, A. Sport and African soldiers: the military diffusion of western sport throughout sub-Saharan Africa in Baker, W.J. and Mangan, J.A. (eds.). *Sport in Africa: essays in social history* (New York: Africana, 1987), p.121.

and semi-barbarous races, and all Indians introduced into this Colony as indentured labourers.”⁵⁶ All persons of colour on the streets after 21h00 were required to carry passes, a curfew practice that had been in place since 1869 (Law 15). African servants within the borough were strictly controlled and in particular they were required to wear identity badges.⁵⁷ The Native Locations Act (37 of 1896) had granted powers of demarcation, admission and exclusion, and laid down draconian powers concerning health. Four years later, Act 28 of 1902 (to make better provision in regard to the Togg labour system in boroughs) limited Africans entitled to be in urban areas to those owning or renting property, residential servants and registered Togg labourers, the last being liable to live in compounds in order to enforce “orderly behaviour of persons” (s.3). The Native Locations Act (Act 2 of 1904) made it possible to compel Africans to live in locations unless excluded by virtue of being freehold landowners, domestic servants employed by the month, or those exempted from Native law.⁵⁸

The bitter controversy that arose in Pietermaritzburg from 1903 onwards about the use of pavements is a significant example of the dynamics of the race-space conflict that reflects directly on urban recreation. In 1903 the Corporation considered the desirability of an amendment to the Municipal Corporations Act of 1902 to empower councils to establish by-laws to regulate Indians and Africans on footpaths.⁵⁹ As the local paper described it, “The majority of persons are agreed in condemning the practice of allowing natives and coloured persons generally to walk on the pavements of the City” and a memorial was addressed to the Corporation.⁶⁰ Their presence was described as ‘impertinent obstruction’ and a health hazard. There were now enough Whites in Pietermaritzburg, it was argued, to ban Blacks altogether from the pavements “to effectively prevent ladies and white men being impertinently jostled by offensive blacks.”⁶¹ By-law 2 gave the municipality powers in this regard but enforcement required prosecution under a sympathetic magistrate. Letter writers to the press panicked about health, complaining about “contagion from unsavoury blacks” and “Indians, who are usually filthier and more objectionable than the natives”; and even threatened vigilante action.⁶² Another objection was to the recreational use made of the street, for instance “boys practi[sing] their war dance

⁵⁶ *By laws of the city and borough of Pietermaritzburg* (Pietermaritzburg: Davis, 1901), s.306.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, ss.49, 307 and 312.

⁵⁸ Green, L.P. *History of local government in South Africa: an introduction* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 2nd ed., 1949), p.41.

⁵⁹ *CCM* 3 Mar 1903.

⁶⁰ Preserving the pavements. *NW* 24 Aug 1904, p.5. *CYB* 1903, p.9.

⁶¹ For whites only. *NW* 26 Aug 1904, p.5.

⁶² Letters from Asterisk, W.A. Goodwin and Satis Verborem. *NW* 26 Aug 1904, p.5.

on the pavement to the strains of a mouth organ.”⁶³ Less extreme opinion argued that Blacks needed civilising by drawing them into the market economy as customers at segregated counters; and suggested that pavement segregation could be achieved by the use of a white line.⁶⁴

On 9 November 1904, three African prison warders walking side by side in Church Street were ordered off the pavement. When they refused on the grounds that they were obstructing no-one, they were arrested and charged. Magistrate Moe acquitted them, ruling that by-law 2 could not be applied arbitrarily and unreasonably - if they had been obstructing anyone, they could have been ordered into single file, for instance. He decreed that the constable had exceeded his powers, but it is clear that he regretted arriving at this conclusion, advocating a law to prevent “outrages on white women.”⁶⁵ The matter was later debated by the City Council. Councillor Kershaw pointed out that banishing Blacks from the pavements was not possible and proposed a new by-law, described by the press as ‘nondescript’. By-law 2A gave the police liberty to act at their own discretion (“No person shall, contrary to orders or instructions of any Member of the Borough Police, walk on any sidewalk, footpath or pavement within the City”⁶⁶) to “remove objectionable natives from the footpaths”,⁶⁷ but it was opposed keenly as an unnecessary widening of their general powers. Councillor Holmes unsuccessfully tried to have the by-law rescinded but it was supported by the Natal Government, albeit for one year only with powers restricted to White police.⁶⁸ It expired in 1906 and failed to attract the Governor’s support again to the disappointment of the Chief Constable of Pietermaritzburg, who advocated “control of the most objectionable classes of persons who occasionally are a nuisance to the public, and particularly to ladies, on the streets.”⁶⁹ Even as late as 1912 the City Council adopted a motion calling for “statutory power ... giving councils throughout South Africa authority to control the use of footpaths by Natives.”⁷⁰

There was derisive comment from Durban about this affair and the whole episode was dismissed as a fiasco.⁷¹ But it was not unique because at the same time in Johannesburg the Rand

⁶³ Letter from J.M.P. *NW* 30 Aug 1904, p.6.

⁶⁴ Letters from W.A. Goodwin. *NW* 5 Sep 1904, p.3; and *Z. NW* 12 Sep 1904, p.7.

⁶⁵ Blacks on sidewalks. *NW* 14 Nov 1904, p.6.

⁶⁶ *CCM* 27 Nov 1902.

⁶⁷ *CYB* 1905, pp.62-63.

⁶⁸ *CCM* 10 Jan, 14 Feb 1905.

⁶⁹ *CYB* 1906, p.72.

⁷⁰ *CCM* 4 June 1912.

⁷¹ Natives on footpaths. *NW* 7 Dec 1904, p.5; Natives on footpaths: Durban papers’ comments. *NW* 9 Dec 1904, p.4.

Pioneers were demanding that, amongst other activities, Africans be prevented from riding bicycles.⁷² In Pietermaritzburg in 1904, by-law 322a was enacted forbidding ricksha pullers and other Coloured persons sitting or resting on seats reserved for White passengers. Posel suggests that ricksha pullers were seen as potentially subversive because of their freelance status and licence fees were used to control them. A memorial in 1905 from the small Chinese community of Pietermaritzburg asked for a special dispensation to travel in White rickshas on the grounds of their dress, cleanliness, law abiding behaviour and the fact that many Coloured persons managed to pass for White, but this was rejected by the same Council meeting that prohibited the handcuffing of a White to a person of another race.⁷³ These are good examples of the extreme sensitivity surrounding the issue of urban space and persons of colour. There were also regulations pertaining directly to sport: the Pietermaritzburg Park Regulations of 1904 (section 11 in terms of by-law 91) stipulated that “Kaffirs and Coolies are not allowed to use the seats about the Oval.”⁷⁴ Loram raises the matter of servants: “A common sight, even in such a comparatively wealthy town as Durban, is a dozen Native nurse boys and girls sprawling on the grass while their charges run about and over them. In many cases the conversation of these Natives is indescribably filthy.”⁷⁵ The proper role of the Black man was that of labourer, although often less than satisfactory: at Hilton College: “for many years we have had gangs of natives working spasmodically at the cricket ground but ... little progress was made in this way.”⁷⁶

A major influence on thinking about Africans was provided by the 1905 South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC) chaired by Godfrey Lagden. He believed that the physiognomy of Africans indicated a lack of intellect and went so far as to liken them to baboons.⁷⁷ SANAC took a decidedly paternalistic view without any real understanding of the social problems attendant upon rapid urbanisation. The emphasis was on labour supply, the health threat to Whites, the fear of low moral standards and the need to limit the drinking of Africans to kaffir beer with an alcohol content of less than 4% in view of the fear that intoxication would lead to savagery. SANAC concluded that distance of all types from Africans was the solution, except in the case of a selected few capable of absorbing Western mores (the logical outcome of the doctrine of ‘equal rights for civilised men’). Integration, SANAC decided, was not feasible because of the tendency of Africans to revert to an uncivilised state,

⁷² Denoon, D. *A grand illusion*, p.119.

⁷³ CCM 11 Apr, 9 May 1905. Posel, D. Amahashi: Durban’s ricksha pullers in Maylam, P. and Edwards, I (eds.). *The people’s city: African life in twentieth-century Durban* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1996), pp.204-205.

⁷⁴ CCM 3 Aug 1904. In July 1905 the terminology was diplomatically changed to read “No Native or Indian ...”

⁷⁵ Loram, C.T. *The education of the South African native*, p.34.

⁷⁶ *Hiltonian* 22, 1917, p.17.

⁷⁷ Denoon, D. *A grand illusion*, p.100.

thus confirming their nature as inferior beings requiring a firm hand and lessons in self control and morality. Urban White Natal was dependant upon African labour but perceived security, sanitation and moral issues required the restriction of its free movement. As the Transvaal magistrate and member of the Aborigines' Protection Society, A.E. Pease, put it, the African "was forbidden the sidewalk, footpath, and public park." The place of Africans in the political economy of Natal tended to produce amongst Whites a level of concern often amounting to hysterical panic. The colony was run by "an aristocracy of white men" at the time of Union and "[Africans] could not venture into most parks or watch sports contests on athletic grounds frequented by whites."⁷⁸

The dilemma facing White, urban Natalians was a need for Black labour at close hand while trying to ensure that it resided as far away as possible: "towns were white areas in which Africans were only labouring strangers." They also had at the turn of the twentieth century an intensely morbid view of crime, and although few serious offences crossed community boundaries, "the official, and the public, mind lived on the edge of an apocalypse in relation to these matters."⁷⁹ The space occupied by the tribal Zulu world was seen as the proper place for those perceived as uncivilised where they could vent their base instincts. The concept of the racial segregation of Africans in urban areas was well established in liberal thought at the turn of the century in terms of trusteeship and the "maintenance of social discipline and control."⁸⁰ Other objectives were the avoidance of contamination especially by those considered to be lower-class Whites whose danger lay in their potential to depreciate respect for the White community as a whole. The popularity of the eugenics movement, the fear of miscegenation and the alarm about the blurring of lines between White and Black led to sentiments that were hysterical in nature: for example, that Africans were unable to control themselves, over-emotional, prone to unbridled sensuality, riotous living and a weakness of the will.⁸¹ Africans were simply an undifferentiated Black mass denied individuality, unstable, dirty and primitive.⁸² Writing at the end of the Great War, J.S. Marwick put the popular view that "we stand *in loco parentis* to the Natives, whom we must guide and restrain like children."⁸³ Prevention of moral degeneration was seen as dependent on separation and control, although there was disagreement on the tactics to be employed

⁷⁸ Sacks, B. *South Africa*, pp.145-147, 151-153, 158, 190-191.

⁷⁹ Chanock, M. *The making of South African legal culture: fear, favour and prejudice* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), pp. 70, 402.

⁸⁰ Dubow, S. *Racial segregation and the origins of apartheid in South Africa, 1919-1936* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), p.23.

⁸¹ Chanock, M. *The making of South African legal culture*, pp.77-80.

⁸² Bush, B. *Imperialism, race and resistance*, pp.28-29.

⁸³ Marwick, J.S. The natives in the larger towns. *South African journal of science* 15 (1918-1919), p.599.

within this framework: possible influences ranged from emphasising the tribal to the inculcation of 'civilisation', although the idea of the Black Englishman was abandoned in view of the popularity of the belief in a distinct 'native mentality'.⁸⁴ The aim of the majority of Whites during the first two decades of the century was a simple one of supremacy through domination and a policy of divide and rule. The greatest fear involved a permanent and uncontrolled urban Black population.⁸⁵ Africans needed a firm hand according to this belief and this could be assisted by strict boundaries and minimal leniency.⁸⁶ The broad consensus about this resulted in a demand for docile labourers at low wages, freedom from their competition in skilled trades or commerce, and protection from their 'barbarism' or 'demoralization'. Whether Africans in urban areas were regarded as victims or a potential source of danger, or both, the answer was generally seen as separation. White popular opinion was almost entirely hostile to African advancement or Asian enterprise, but it was also jealous of its own constitutional rights and economic liberties, and before Union was constantly suspicious that London would diminish these.⁸⁷ In Pietermaritzburg in 1903 a prohibition was placed upon the sale or lease of Corporation land to either Asiatic or Coloured persons to the benefit of those of White descent.⁸⁸ But when a petition against the Coloured residents of Berg Street between Commercial Road and Boshoff Street was sent to the City Council, it was pointed out that it had no powers in this regard.⁸⁹

Control was inevitably costly and expenditure was acceptable only when it was a matter of protecting White interests or suppressing dangerous dissent. White Natalians in general lacked interest in the social consequences of the labour inflow from which they benefited, although officials put forward ideas about regulations they thought would prevent social breakdown. The Chief Magistrate of Durban in 1904, J.C.C. Chadwick, saw the city unequivocally as a White domain and a corrupting influence upon Blacks who thereby became a social menace. The Africans most clearly perceived as a threat were those involved in Togat labour because of their relative economic independence, increasing cost and personal freedom in spite of a pass system (regularly undermined by employers) that had been in place in urban Natal since 1873. The Native Reform League echoed the call of R.C. Alexander, Durban's police superintendent, for controls to prevent 'loafing' by Togat labourers and supported the move in Pietermaritzburg to ban Africans from pavements. The problem for Whites was that prosperity

⁸⁴ Dubow, S. *Racial segregation and the origins of apartheid in South Africa, 1919-1936*, pp.30, 34.

⁸⁵ Mesthrie, U. White dominance and control in Natal 1893 to 1903. *Journal of Natal and Zulu history* 7, 1984, pp.41, 44.

⁸⁶ Bush, J. *Edwardian ladies and imperial power* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2000), p.116.

⁸⁷ Swanson, M.W. The Durban system: roots of urban apartheid in colonial Natal. *African studies* 35(3-4) 1976, p. 162.

⁸⁸ CCM 20 Jan 1903.

⁸⁹ CCM 10 June 1914.

depended on growing economic inter-dependence and this increased the urgency of imposing control over urban life.⁹⁰ The African labour force was ideally required to be “diligent and docile by day, and invisible by night.”⁹¹ The exact nature of segregation was the subject of heated debate between the supporters of peri-urban locations; and central barracks or compounds. Traditionally the White merchants rejected the expensive idea of locations and showed little interest in social policy.

The debate about the place of African labour in urban South Africa was sharpened by an outbreak of bubonic plague in Natal in 1903. The subsequent return of Black labour to urban areas brought forth protests, sometimes bordering on the hysterical, and increased discussion about locations. The ‘sanitation syndrome’ equated disease and insanitary conditions with race, stimulating a call by Whites for tighter spatial definition of residential areas that amounted to a form of quarantine. Disease as social metaphor reinforced racial perceptions and justified the idea of the imposition of a cordon sanitaire around Africans.⁹² It was assumed, given Victorian fears about contagion, that disease spread from the poor to the better off, threatening the basis of society: areas of poor housing were feared as incubators of crime, illness and general moral decay. As Swanson sums up, the Whites of Natal “magnif[ie]d] symptoms of disorder ... consider[ing] African urbanization and independence a subversion of civilized society.”⁹³ He goes on to argue that “urbanization was seen as a pathology in African life and therefore a menace to ‘civilized’ (ie. White) society.”⁹⁴ La Hausse puts this more strongly, describing the “violent racism” of Durban which turned “the harshness of economic inequality back upon its victims as moral condemnation.”⁹⁵ Changes within urban African society in the first decade of the century accentuated White fears: the rise of the Ethiopian church, strengthening of a critical Black press, increased popularity of leita gangs, and diversification of political organisations such as the Natal Native Reform League were some of them.⁹⁶ Such developments were seen by the Whites of Natal as a threat to their culture, life and society. The White desire to contain Blacks because of the health and security hazards they purportedly represented was subverted by the need not to upset

⁹⁰ Swanson, M.W. The Durban system, pp162-168; Beavon, K.S.O. Black townships in South Africa. *South African geographical Journal* 64(1) 1982, p.7.

⁹¹ Maylam, P. Aspects of African urbanization in the Durban area before 1940 in Thompson, P.S. (ed.). *Natal in the Union, 1931-1961: a collection of papers on developments in Natal...* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, Department of Historical and Political Studies, 1981), p.2.

⁹² Swanson, M.W. The sanitation syndrome: bubonic plague and urban native policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909. *Journal of African history* 18(3) 1977, pp.387-388.

⁹³ Swanson, M.W. The Durban system, p.176.

⁹⁴ Swanson, M.W. The sanitation syndrome, p.408.

⁹⁵ La Hausse, P. Drinking in a cage. *Africa perspective* 20 (1982), pp.64, 66.

⁹⁶ Swanson, M.W. Urban origins of separate development. *Race* 10(1) 1968, p.37.

ratepayers and landowners.⁹⁷ Put simply, the dilemma was how to maintain a supply of Black labour while evading the costs of reproduction of that work force and maintaining racial dominance.⁹⁸ This in turn is the key to an understanding of the recreation issue. Officials supported by the population in general opted not for social development, but for increased powers of coercion to cope with the 'Asian Menace' and the 'African Social Pest'.⁹⁹

In the absence of recreational opportunities in urban areas, Africans socialised and drank. As early as 1891 restrictions, under the guise of concern about inter-tribal animosities (Act 5), were placed upon gatherings that brought together Africans from different homesteads. Public gatherings required authorisation by the magistrate. Under Act 38 of 1896, beer could be produced only under licence and the sale of liquor to Africans (who were also banned as barmen) and Indians was prohibited except under exemption. Act 5 of 1898, which regulated native assemblies, empowered the Governor-in-Council to make rules regarding feasting and beer drinking. Further controls were put in place in 1904, but the most important development of all was the passing in 1908 of the Native Beer Act which had enormous influence on the establishment of a paternalistic form of administration and socio-economic control, known popularly as the 'Durban System', which "went some way towards satisfying the prejudices of the city's white ratepayers."¹⁰⁰ The Act concerned itself with the production of Native beer made from kaffir corn containing less than 4% alcohol, more properly known as *utshwala*.¹⁰¹ In the view of Maharaj, "the beer monopoly basically represented a sophisticated form of coercion whereby workers were subsidizing their own reproduction and control at no cost to the local state and capital."¹⁰² More immediately it struck a blow at African self employment in urban areas. In theory, profit raised from beer halls and native eating places together with income derived from registration and fines was directed into the building of locations and African welfare projects. This was a sophisticated way of managing an urban Black population on behalf of an alliance of capital and local and national government; and amounted to a "municipal assault on the African informal sector."¹⁰³ It did not escape

⁹⁷ Torr, L. Providing for the 'better class native': the creation of Lamontville, 1923-1933. *South African geographical journal* 69(1) 1987, p. 32.

⁹⁸ Swanson, M.W. The sanitation syndrome, p. 394.

⁹⁹ Swanson, M.W. Urban origins of separate development, pp.33-34.

¹⁰⁰ Maylam, P. Municipal fraud: the operation of Durban's Native Revenue Account 1908-1953. *Journal of Natal and Zulu history* 11, 1988, p.91.

¹⁰¹ Other home-brewed products were *skokiaan* (made from yeast, sugar and warm water), *shimiyana* (yeast, sugar, syrup and potatoes) and more lethal concoctions that included battery acid.

¹⁰² Maharaj, B. The historical development of the apartheid local state in South Africa: the case of Durban. *International journal of urban and regional research* 20, 1996, p.594.

¹⁰³ Maylam, P. Aspects of African urbanization in the Durban area before 1940, p.5.

later censure: Cook described the 'Durban system' as "nothing short of disgusting" and argued that money spent on beer should be remitted to "families in the Territories." It was not only bad economics but also immoral as "responsibility is evaded and conscience is silenced ... by a system which builds hospitals with one hand and provides inmates with the other."¹⁰⁴ Beerhalls were to become known as drinking cages, condemned by Chief Albert Luthuli as a symbol of legal robbery. The profits were to be so large that municipal beer was known as 'pink gold'.¹⁰⁵

Debate about urban segregation was accompanied by mention of sport and recreation.

Marwick summed up the White attitudes as follows:

Their faculty for recreation is, in their native state, exceedingly limited. Whatever can be done to engage them in the pursuit of such amusement as affords healthy exercise or occupation of mind will constitute a gain upon their tendency to drift into vice and intemperance. The ordinary round of amusement followed by the uneducated Native is to meet with his fellows over a meal or pot of beer ... Mimic war dances, or competitions in a species of cake-walk with hand-clapping accompaniment, are almost the only forms of exercise indulged in. The educated Natives are being provided with recreation grounds, and in some centres there is a growing number of enthusiastic exponents of football and cricket.¹⁰⁶

In Marwick's view, Whites would do well to show a greater concern about the social conditions of Africans. As he quaintly put it, " participation of the society in social and recreational work among the Natives, will tend to tone down the asperities between the two races."¹⁰⁷

In Pietermaritzburg prior to the First World War there is no sign whatsoever that Marwick's views were given any credence. Instead, official reports are full of repetitive complaint about Africans and the consumption of illicit liquor, with mention from 1901 onwards of the idea of a Native Compound scheduled for construction on War Department land in Edendale Road. During the Anglo-Boer War irregular troops were also blamed for drunkenness and in 1904 the borough's intention to control beer brewing was announced in view of a perception that crime and drink were closely linked: the Acting Superintendent of Police reported that "street fights amongst Native boys" were on the

¹⁰⁴ Cook, A.J. *The Durban system: building locations on kaffir-beer* (Cape Town: South African Temperance Alliance, 1921), pp. 2, 4, 6.

¹⁰⁵ La Hausse, P. *Breweries, beerhalls and boycotts: a history of liquor in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1988), pp.4, 48-49.

¹⁰⁶ Marwick, J.S. *The natives in the larger towns*, p.606.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.610.

increase.¹⁰⁸ There was no attempt to provide alternative activities to drinking, only restrictions on the carrying of what were termed 'cudgels', but from 1905 there was clear intent to bring police coercion to bear on the problem.¹⁰⁹ In 1908 the Native High Court decided that *itywala* was exempt from the Liquor Act as it did not fall under the definition of an intoxicating substance, a perception that enraged municipal officials who noted, in florid and lurid terms, a "recent recrudescence of Isiskebenga nuisance" and "a Saturnalia of drinking and ... immorality among the Town Natives." The borough's Chief Constable, F.W.L. Moore, argued that *itywala* was highly intoxicating and used the issue to advocate municipal control of beer and the establishment of a location.¹¹⁰

He was soon to have his wish, as the Beer Act (23 of 1908) enabled the municipality to take control of the production and retail of beer from 14 February 1909. The beneficiary was the Native Administration Fund (NAF) which was to be used to defray the costs of the beer system plus those of a location, schools, hospitals and "Any other object in the interests of the Natives residing or resorting to a borough or township."¹¹¹ The beer was manufactured at the Togat Barracks and initially distributed through four beer halls (Camp Drift, Power Station, Retief Street and Ortmann Road) and an eating house (Commercial Road). Shebeens, "frequented by low class Native women",¹¹² were suppressed, but the problem moved across the borough boundary. The response was to set up a proclaimed area five miles in breadth, a cordon sanitaire, as it were, for controlled drinking. A memorial from a number of Africans petitioning for a production and storage allowance on their premises within the borough was rejected in mid 1909.¹¹³ La Hausse points out that beer brewing was symbolic of the independence of the Zulu peasantry; but to Whites beer gatherings were a recreational activity antipathetic to labour, and the presence of women brewers was suggestive of a permanent Black population.¹¹⁴ The town, it was announced, was "now free from Native drunkenness and immorality", although this seemed optimistic in the face of 1 353 reported cases of inebriation, albeit a 32% decline on the previous year.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸ CCM 5 Apr 1904. *CYB* 1904, p.129; 1905, p.60.

¹⁰⁹ *CYB* 1905, pp.16, 19.

¹¹⁰ *CYB* 1908, pp.19, 45. Peel, H. *Sobantu Village: an administrative history of a Pietermaritzburg township, 1924-1959* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, 1987 - History Honours essay), p.9.

¹¹¹ Native Beer Act (23 of 1908) s.21(e).

¹¹² *CYB* 1909, p.18.

¹¹³ CCM 8 June 1909.

¹¹⁴ La Hausse, P. The struggle for the city: alcohol, the Ematsheni and popular culture in Durban, 1902-1936 in Maylam, P. and Edwards, I. (eds.) *The people's city*, pp. 37, 39, 42.

¹¹⁵ *CYB* 1909, pp.17-18, 30.

The beer account was to prove highly successful and lucrative as the ingredients cost a mere 20% of revenue (the Durban figure was about 13%): in its first full year of reporting it involved revenue of £4 300, and £650 was carried forward as profit.¹¹⁶ By 1918, the profit totalled £9 599 and this in spite of regular small grants of £150 to Grey's Hospital, a one-off payment to the Native Women's Home in Church Street and over £2 500 (half of the total cost) for a Native ward at Grey's.¹¹⁷ However, the much-feared problems of crime, drunkenness and immorality surrounding shebeens were simply transplanted beyond the boundary of Pietermaritzburg because of loopholes in the regulations operative in the controlled zone. Drunken Africans were still to be found in town to the extent that the authorities were looking for ways "whereby the evil can be put down."¹¹⁸ This was made more difficult by the increasing numbers of Africans employed within the borough in the second decade of the twentieth century and a notable upsurge in breaches of the peace. The Chief Constable persistently blamed low-class Whites and Coloured persons for the illicit supply of liquor and the idea of a location was regularly promoted as a means of control and provision of better quality housing.¹¹⁹ In 1915 the beer hall at Zwartkop, built to cater for railway workers, was moved to Sutherlands on the road to Edendale, but without any effect on the illicit liquor problem and it too was eventually closed in 1917. By 1918 the catalogue of complaint about illegal provision of liquor included Africans pretending to be Coloured, and "low class Dutch."¹²⁰

The Borough Engineer made the perceptive statement in 1915 that African and Coloured labourers were housed in poor out buildings "without interest or control of their spiritual, moral or physical welfare" and suggested a municipal housing scheme. At the same time, his ambivalence was revealed by the opinion that Africans "with their native conditions and customs, in the heart of the City" were a 'menace' to health (susceptible to smallpox, plague and syphilis) and that single Black men were a danger to White and Coloured women.¹²¹ Yet nothing was done to provide for recreational facilities out of the NAF account: in 1916 the Auditor voiced the opinion that beer monies should be paid directly into the NAF rather than passing through the Borough Fund Account (BFA), although no evidence was presented of any untoward activity.¹²² In September 1917 the City Council noted that the

¹¹⁶ *CYB* 1910, pp.20-21. Abstract of Treasurer's accounts. *CYB* 1910, pp. 62-63; 1913, p.xii.

¹¹⁷ *CYB* 1914, p.16. *CCM* 1 Feb 1915.

¹¹⁸ *CYB* 1910, pp.21-22.

¹¹⁹ *CYB* 1911, pp.18, 33.

¹²⁰ *CYB* 1918, pp.32-33.

¹²¹ *CYB* 1915, p.119.

¹²² Abstract of Treasurer's accounts. *CYB* 1916, p.viii.

'skebenga' nuisance was "becoming intolerable in the Borough."¹²³

SPORT AND WHITE NATIONALISM

Parallel to, and reflective of, the increasing popularity of the idea of putting geographical distance between the races was the growing veneration of sport by Whites, a tendency that was most noticeable at the leading schools of the colony, which played a prominent role in first establishing then legitimising and conserving power structures.¹²⁴ Cricket and rugby in particular became icons of White virility. Alan Paton paints a particularly memorable picture of Maritzburg College during the Great War

a silence would fall over the whole field. A God was descending. He came from the high ground of the Victoria Hall to mix with mortals. He was dressed in the white shirt and flannels, and wore the blazer of the first eleven, which in our colours black, red and white was a sight to behold. His name was Arthur Clayton, he was eighteen years old, he walked as though he ruled the world.¹²⁵

Similarly, the football captain "[became] a demi-god", although Gray described the cult of school sport as a "monotonous tyranny exercised day after day."¹²⁶ As Hattersley put it, "in South Africa the popularity and reputation of a school tends to be judged largely by its achievements on the sports field."¹²⁷ The first headmaster of Hilton College, the Reverend W.O. Newnham, "was a strong supporter of [cricket] which taught a boy to play with a straight bat ... and to respect the rules of the game."¹²⁸ His successor, H.V. Ellis, was also devoted to games and their associated moral qualities. These, steeped in a colonial mentality, would only be required by those born to rule and lead. This involved "not only an exaggerated devotion to things British and in particular the British Crown, but a comfortable conviction that the Empire would forever occupy its rightful place in the scheme of things with lesser breeds kept firmly in their place."¹²⁹ In this schema "[sports] victories were looked on as confirmation that God was an Englishman smiling benignly as the sun never set on the vast territories

¹²³ CCM 4 Sep 1917.

¹²⁴ Tidrick, K. *Empire and the English character* (London: Tauris, 1990), p.218.

¹²⁵ Paton, A. *Towards the mountain: an autobiography* (Oxford: OUP, 1981), p.33.

¹²⁶ Gray, H.B. *The public schools and the Empire* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1913), pp.192-193.

¹²⁷ Hattersley, A.F. *Merchiston: a South African school, 1892-1953* (Cape Town: Balkema, 1953), p.54.

¹²⁸ Hattersley, A.F. *Hilton portrait: South African public school, 1872-1945* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1945), p.53.

¹²⁹ Randall, P. *Little England on the veld: the English private school system in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1982), p.90.

where Pax Britannica held its sway.¹³⁰ Increasing stress laid on sporting success, as well as good conduct, contributed to a strident and aggressive patriotism. In Ellis' view, the Sons of England and the Mother Country had a number of clear and heroic duties: to unify the Whites, deal with the barbarism and heathenism of the Natives, and train those of Asiatic descent; all of this "in spite of the enervating influence of a semi-tropic sun."¹³¹ Yet, argued Senator Churchill in a speech at Hilton College just before the outbreak of war, 'racialism' was unheard of at the school.¹³² A more sceptical, perhaps cynical, view may be heard from Roy Campbell who described this brand of education as comprising "an acquisitive instinct and a few brutal material appetites."¹³³ He was not alone in his view: as early as 1902 Hobson had identified a growing and distinct South African imperialism.¹³⁴ Nevertheless divisions within the White community were still reflected in sport: in 1902 Pietermaritzburg saw a cricket match played between Home Born and Colonials.¹³⁵ When local teams started beating touring sportsmen from England this was accepted in the context of "a certain vicarious pride in the achievements of transplanted Anglo-Saxons ... the ultimate triumph of Victorian imperialism" rather than as a negative reflection upon those from Home.¹³⁶ Imperial representatives, however, knew where their loyalties should lie: the 1909-10 MCC touring team stayed with Lord Methuen at Government House in Pietermaritzburg and he sent an encouraging cable after victory in the third test at Cape Town.¹³⁷

Sport was closely associated with major civic events in Pietermaritzburg, particularly those of a martial flavour, and marked out the region as a British colony rather than a South African province: "the public still looked mainly to the regiment at the Fort for the provision of sports and entertainment."¹³⁸ A military sports ground was established below Fort Napier near Mason's Mill in 1909 in exchange for the Willowbridge polo grounds. A visit by naval personnel in October 1908 included athletics and cycling in Alexandra Park.¹³⁹ Relatively large sums of money were spent on imperial events: in 1910, for instance, the visit of the Duke of Connaught, in South Africa for the opening of the Union Parliament, to Pietermaritzburg cost £399; that of Lord Gladstone, the Governor-

¹³⁰ Dobbs, B. *Edwardians at play, 1890-1914* (London: Pelham, 1973), p.18.

¹³¹ *Hiltonian* 3, 1902, p.13.

¹³² *Hiltonian* 17-18, 1913, p.17.

¹³³ Campbell, R. *Broken record: reminiscences* (London: Boriswood, 1934), p.20.

¹³⁴ Hobson, J.A. *Imperialism*, p.366.

¹³⁵ Brookes, E. *A South African pilgrimage* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1977), p.2.

¹³⁶ Sandiford, K.A.P. *Cricket and the Victorians* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1994), p.156.

¹³⁷ Leveson Gower, H. *Off and on the field* (London: Paul, 1953), p.162.

¹³⁸ Hattersley, A.F. *Pietermaritzburg panorama: a survey of one hundred years of an African city* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1958), p.114.

¹³⁹ *CYB* 1909, p.27.

upholding in their school life and on their playing fields all those fine traditions which we have come to know by the name 'British'.¹⁵² In Natal, there could be no doubt that British was synonymous with White.

There were exceptions to the race-space equation in South African sport, although in the case of Natal this seems to be limited to the example of a single cricketer, Charles Bennett Llewellyn. The question of his ethnicity rests on the origins of his mother, born Ann Elizabeth Rich in 1845 at Jamestown, St Helena.¹⁵³ By the 1870s a number of St Helenans had emigrated to Natal where they were regarded as being of mixed race.¹⁵⁴ Llewellyn was born in Pietermaritzburg in 1876. He played cricket in Natal as a White man, but was employed by the father of the cricketer Herby Taylor in Durban as a Coloured clerk.¹⁵⁵ Wilfred Rhodes, the Yorkshire all-rounder, described Llewellyn as "like a rather sunburned English player"; and J.M. Kilburn, the most reliable source on the topic, said that he was "dark-eyed and dark-skinned and South Africans called him coloured."¹⁵⁶ In the 1970s his daughter wrote a strongly-worded letter to the press protesting that he was White.¹⁵⁷ He played for Natal only from 1895 until 1899 when he effectively emigrated to England as a professional for Hampshire, although he continued to play spasmodically for South Africa until 1912. Suggestions of his 'otherness' are encouraged by the story that on the 1910-11 tour of Australia he was "ostracized and bullied by his team mates", particularly by J.H. Sinclair from whom he had to hide in the toilets,¹⁵⁸ although this story is probably apocryphal.

In fact he may not have experienced any actions that were overtly racist, but he would have been aware in Pietermaritzburg of the status of persons of St Helena descent. The Coloured community was well integrated, but increasingly vulnerable to deprecation because of increased racism directed at African and Asian community members. The *Natal Almanac* for the last years of the nineteenth century holds a clue to the question of Llewellyn's standing in Pietermaritzburg. Population figures are given under three headings: European, Indians and Natives. But to the first heading is appended, 'including St

¹⁵² *Hiltonian* 27, 1923, p.7.

¹⁵³ Natal Archives Depot CSO 2286.

¹⁵⁴ *Natal Almanac and Register* 1876, p.164.

¹⁵⁵ Odendaal, A. *Cricket in isolation: the politics of race and cricket in South Africa* (Cape Town: the Author, 1977), p.326.

¹⁵⁶ Kilburn, J.M. *Overthrows: a book of cricket* (London: Paul, 1975), pp.11, 13.

¹⁵⁷ Letter from Mrs Agatha Anderton *The Cricketer* 57(3) March 1976, p.29.

¹⁵⁸ Bowen, R. *Cricket: a history of its growth and development throughout the world* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1970), p.150. This story was also hotly denied by his daughter in the letter referred to above.

Helenans, etc.¹⁵⁹ Charles Llewellyn, in social if not official terms was deemed 'et cetera', literally of another category; considered, grudgingly perhaps, a White man but marked as different on account of his mother's origins. The *Almanac* was a well-used reference tool, a compendium of annual information about the province and Pietermaritzburg, and this categorisation of the population would have been widely known.¹⁶⁰ Llewellyn effectively exiled himself from Natal cricket from 1899 onwards and there is circumstantial evidence in the racial structure of Pietermaritzburg to suggest why. He was also a professional, South Africa's first in the sport of cricket, and in a climate of superior amateurism this would have been a fact held against him.

RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

In Britain a tradition of municipal recreational space based on donated or leased land may be traced back to the 1830s when a health lobby started promoting parks: "a consequence was that a major feature of the urban environment fell into municipal hands for public benefit; inspired by a concern for health, but with overtones of propriety and morality for the masses and with implications for the fostering of outdoor community recreation."¹⁶¹ At the turn of the twentieth century Pietermaritzburg's main recreational asset, Alexandra Park, fell into this mould. From 1900 to 1918 its net cost to the municipality, discounting gate monies and certain fees, was a massive £37 516, or £1 975 per annum, an average that had risen to £2 174 per annum over the period 1912-1918. In 1900 the Park accommodated cricket, football, rugby and cycling, although the cricket season was disrupted by the absence of the military and refugees occupied the pavilion. Nevertheless, football was thriving as a spectator sport. Annual athletics and cycling galas also took place. In 1900 the Park had been extended by ten acres through the addition of the shale quarry and the following year it was described as a focus for "recreation and pleasure";¹⁶² but in 1902 the "scarcity of native labour"¹⁶³ was blamed in part for poor conditions, particularly with regard to the cycle track. However, the importance of the Park was shown by the formation in March 1902 of the Pietermaritzburg Sports Association (PSA) to replace the

¹⁵⁹ *Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register* 1896, p.607.

¹⁶⁰ The separate and inferior identification of St Helenans is particularly noticeable in the years from 1908 onwards: the five employed by the Sanitary Department in 1908 were listed just below Whites in the hierarchy; the 1911 census enumerates "coloured persons enjoying European privileges"; a 1912 case of smallpox at 10 Bourke Street is identified with a person from St Helena; the Great War bonus to Council employees was 25/- per month to married White officers but only half that to "St Helenans"; and "St Helena boys" were blamed in 1918 for involvement in the illicit supply of liquor to Africans (*CYB* 1908, p.40; 1912, pp.42, 78; 1917, p.10; 1918, p.33).

¹⁶¹ Cherry, G.E. *Cities and plans* (London: Arnold, 1988), p.47.

¹⁶² *Mayor's minute* 1900-1901, p.28.

¹⁶³ *CYB* 1902, p.42.

increasingly inadequate Oval Committee. A colonial mentality is illustrated by City Council approval to employ, on a three-year contract, a 'labourer' from England to assist the Park Curator with tree planting at a monthly salary of £12.¹⁶⁴ At the same time a private scheme underwritten by W.H. Shepherd to the tune of half the budget of £4 810 was underway to upgrade both cycle track and cricket practice facilities. Electric light arrived in the Park as early as 1904, but there are references in municipal reports to unhappiness about the appearance of the cycling track area.¹⁶⁵ In spite of this problem, and a major drought coupled with economic depression, the Park was the venue for a visit by MCC (led by Pelham Warner) in 1906.

The amenities of the Park were added to in 1908 by the clearing of a three-mile stretch of the Umsindusi River for boating and swimming purposes. Economic depression encouraged the authorities to use White labour but F.W. Jameson, the Borough Engineer, noted that while it was three times more expensive than any other, "at no period has the measure of work done by this class of labour exceeded that of work done by coloured or native labour. As an average, I place from experience the measure of work done at 50 per cent. less than that of native labour."¹⁶⁶ No better evidence could be presented of the exploitation of African labour for White recreation. The cycle track was eventually completed in 1909 using funds raised by the Natal Amateur Athletics and Cycling Association (NAACA) and a public subscription of £300. In 1910 financial constraints were being mentioned as a problem, although a groundsman was appointed and the following year the Park was extended north of the river. Over the years 1909 to 1911 the Park absorbed 2.7-2.9% of the expenditure of the BFA. Municipal debt per head in 1912 was £33 (or £67 per White person) at a time when English towns carried a far lighter burden (on average £17 per head) as was the case with other South African municipalities. By 1915 this had been reduced marginally to £31/14/- per head.¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, all the facilities were reported as being in poor shape and the future of cricket was in some doubt as was Currie Cup rugby in 1913.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ CCM 7 Jan 1902. Clearly there was contention about the management of the Park for in 1903, when the Oval was replanted, success was forecast, "in spite of all the evil prognostications of the many pseudo-experts and knowalls, which the City is cursed with" (CYB 1903, p.52).

¹⁶⁵ Amongst "considerable discussion, and much difference of opinion", in 1905 the project was abandoned for reasons that remain obscure (CCM 4 Feb, 27 Nov 1902; CYB 1905, p.20).

¹⁶⁶ Problems of pollution from leaking underground drains and effluent from the brewery had apparently been resolved by construction of the Southern Intercepting Sewer. Such a scheme had been rejected in 1902 by the Borough Engineer because of the cost of rectifying pollution and an unwillingness to build a weir for fear of damaging the natural flow of the river (CYB 1908, p.31).

¹⁶⁷ Abstract of Treasurer's accounts in CYB 1912, p.x; 1915, p.ii.

¹⁶⁸ In February 1910 the PSA temporarily abandoned the practice of paying the borough ten per cent of gross takings and 33.3% of grandstand revenue in favour of a £150 annual payment for the services of the White groundsman and four African labourers, but had reverted to the old system by October 1911 (CCM 8 Feb 1910. CYB 1912, p.19).

Pietermaritzburg's second major sporting facility was the indoor Buchanan Street baths. The public was charged for their use, but it was accepted that they could not be self-supporting and the deficit was accommodated by the Water Supply Account from 1902 onwards. In the view of some "it [was] unfortunate that the advantages of such an institution are not appreciated to the extent of making it self-supporting."¹⁶⁹ The overall shortfall from 1900-1918 was £3 196, or £188 per annum. By 1910 it was facing competition from the river which was described as "one of the City's valuable assets both for swimming and boating."¹⁷⁰ The Buchanan Street baths had become more popular by 1912, with proposals for an extension even though the cutting by the Boating Club of rushes and removal of stumps, with the assistance of a Council grant, improved the condition of the Umsundusi River for swimming as well as angling: "the beauties of the river cannot be exaggerated."¹⁷¹ The river was promoted as a place that encouraged good health, recovering quickly enough from drought and then storms in 1912-13 for the Boating Club to host the Councillors, emphasising that pollution control had made it a civic asset. The Boating Stretch, three miles long, widened, deepened and cleaned, was noted as "the envy of all other inland towns of South Africa."¹⁷² A year later, the Umsindusi was described as "one of the prettiest river stretches in South Africa, and is one of the City's best attractions."¹⁷³ Swimming became something the borough promoted vigorously, even in tentative fashion for the Coloured community

I would like to see some provision made for the practice of this healthful exercise by the coloured section of the community, even if it were only by adapting a portion of the Umsindusi River for this purpose. The cost would not be much as all that would be required would be a shed for dressing, a coloured attendant, and because of the evening being the most suitable time for the coloured population, a couple of electric lights. Even if the admission fee were only a penny, I am of opinion [sic] that the revenue would cover the expenditure.¹⁷⁴

There is no evidence that this was ever followed up. The sensitivity surrounding water and racial exclusivity is perhaps illustrated by vigorous denials in 1916 of a newspaper report that a Black body had been found in Mason's Reservoir.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ Town Treasurer's report in *CYB* 1908, p.ix; 1911, pp.18,33.

¹⁷⁰ *CYB* 1910, p.17.

¹⁷¹ *Natal province: descriptive guide and official hand-book* (Durban: South African Railways, 1911), p.131. *CYB* 1912, p.13.

¹⁷² *CYB* 1913, pp.27, 74.

¹⁷³ *CYB* 1914, pp.91-92.

¹⁷⁴ *CYB* 1914, p.76.

¹⁷⁵ *CCM* 7 Nov 1916.

The third asset was the Scottsville Racecourse, purchased by the Corporation in 1902 from the Grand Stand Company and subsequently managed by the Transport Department. In 1904 it was suggested that its space be used for general recreation, especially practice. This possibility was strengthened in 1905 by the extension of the tramway. In 1909 the City Sporting Club announced that it could not afford the £40 per day charged for use of the racecourse and an arrangement was put in place whereby a nominal £12 per year was paid, plus upkeep. Poor attendance and financial difficulties dogged the course.

On occasion the Corporation proved remarkably generous to sport. In 1910 the cricket match between Natal and MCC lost money and since the Maritzburg Cricket Union (MCU) did not wish to trouble its guarantors, the City Council settled for ten guineas instead of £20/9/10d. In 1913 the same match was disrupted by poor weather and the Council refunded £30/7/10d.¹⁷⁶ In the meantime, the NAACA had been given £20 compensation as revenue had been lost when a meet had been cancelled because of the King's funeral.¹⁷⁷ In 1912, £50 was provided towards turfing of rugby pitches with the Maritzburg Rugby Union (MRU) contributing just £20; and the following year polo was offered £100 for levelling if it moved to the Racecourse, with £10 provided for a tournament in 1913 and another £6 for a cup in 1914.¹⁷⁸

The municipality also assisted other types of sporting activity with grants-in-aid from the BFA. From 1900 to 1918, total expenditure amounted to £1479 and it falls into two distinct periods. Before 1911, grants-in-aid were made exclusively to a variety of rifle associations and competitions, a total of £207/10/- at an annual rate of £17/6/-. Rifle associations for the defence of the colony had been legal since 1862 (Law 19), but they were barred to 'aboriginals' and their descendants. Their importance to settler societies has also been noted in Kenya and the Rhodesias: "White settlers saw themselves as aliens in a darkly hostile land."¹⁷⁹ From 1912 onwards other recreational activities were subsidised as reflected in table 3.

¹⁷⁶ CCM 1 Mar 1910, 5 May 1914.

¹⁷⁷ CCM 9 May 1911.

¹⁷⁸ CCM 10 Sep 1912; 4 Mar, 9 Sep 1913; 10 June 1914.

¹⁷⁹ Kennedy, D. *Islands of white: settler society in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), p.128.

Table 3: Municipal grants-in-aid for recreational purposes, 1900-1918

	£	%
Boating	600	40.6
YMCA gymnasium	350	23.7
Shooting	289	19.5
Bowling	150	10.1
Golf	<u>90</u>	6.1
	1479	

The influence of the authorities over recreational facilities was increased by Act 23 of 1906 that empowered the colonial government to acquire land by purchase or exchange for certain public purposes.¹⁸⁰ Even during the First World War, the municipality was able to find money to promote White sport. In 1916, for instance, the Maritzburg Bowling Club (MBC, established in Alexandra Park in 1904) was granted a loan of £300 for a new green at an interest rate of 6% over 12 years.¹⁸¹ Bowls was a sport much favoured by the municipality: in April 1917, after a petition to the Corporation in May 1916, the city's second club, East End, was formed on vacant corporation land with a loan to develop the green.¹⁸² Even in the midst of World War there was a clear municipal ambition to develop the city as a sports centre with an application from the Maritzburg Lawn Tennis Association (MLTA) to use a portion of Kershaw Park to build 12 courts, a pavilion and changing facilities, the aim being to share the Natal championships in alternate years with Durban. This was accomplished by a provincial ordinance in terms of Law 19 of 1872 that permitted the transfer of eleven acres of inalienable borough trust land (established in July 1863) to the Mayor and Councillors for use for recreational purposes.¹⁸³ The pre-eminent White Pietermaritzburg sport of the period is, predictably, cricket. Five pitches are listed for 1906, three of them in Alexandra Park (Oval, Track and Junior) and the others at Maritzburg

¹⁸⁰ In 1911 a children's playground was laid out in the Market Square with a bandstand financed by public subscription that amounted to £250 plus material donations. Golf, as a danger to other users, was removed from the Park in 1909 and granted a 100 acre site in Scottsville with a release from rates on both lease and buildings. In 1912, the Maritzburg Golf Club (MGC) was given a loan of £1000 at 4.5% repayable over 12 years for improvements and the lease was extended for another eleven years (CCM 8 Oct 1912). The arrangements were generous and in 1913 the terms of the loan for the second £500 were altered. The following year an extra grant of £7 was made to paint the clubhouse (CCM 3 Mar 1914).

¹⁸¹ Expansion of the number of greens (to three) was specifically designed to attract national tournaments, which would bring up to 300 people to the city for 10-12 days; and in 1917 it was reported that the loan had been "very judiciously expended and a first-class Bowling Green is the result." (CYB 1916, pp.9, 22; 1917, p.18. CCM 11 Apr 1916).

¹⁸² It included a children's playground and was somewhat effusively described, in an obvious attempt at justification, as a "beauty spot" that had replaced 'unsightly' vacant land. East End was granted a loan of £150 at 6% over 12 years and the children's playground was set up at a cost of £100 provided by the Corporation. In 1918 the loan to East End was increased to £200 over 15 years, plus £30 to cover equipment. Up to 1 June 1918 the Superintendent of Public Parks took responsibility for maintenance of the greens, but after that the club did so together with the children's playground on an annual grant of £15 (CYB 1917, p.18; 1918, pp.19-20. CCM 3 Apr 1917).

¹⁸³ The lease was for a period of 15 years and renewable, with courts to be built after the cessation of hostilities (CYB 1917, pp.22; 1918, p.20. CCM 8 Feb 1917. Pietermaritzburg Recreation Ordinance (9 of 1917)).

College and the Police recreation ground. There was considerable criticism of Pietermaritzburg practice pitches and outfields, and of the role of the Corporation.¹⁸⁴

Inhabitants of the city who were not White are noticeably absent from the above account of recreational activity. But in August 1917 there was a surprisingly successful challenge to the prevailing order. Clause 5 of the conditions for use of the Town Hall drawn up in 1902 decreed that when entertainment was involved, only Whites could be admitted. S.R. Naidoo's challenge argued that this was both unreasonable and ultra vires, and judgement was given against the Corporation on 28 December. The planned appeal was abandoned and clause 5 was deleted from the conditions. Henceforth, the hirer of the Hall would reserve the right of admission.

In January 1916 a Black Durban Teachers cricket team toured Pietermaritzburg. Their match versus Royals CC involved a wet and muddy pitch and an outfield plagued by long grass, facilities described as atrocious.¹⁸⁵ Other teams played were Star, a Maritzburg XI and Bull de Lang's XI. This Coloured team was played twice. It is not clear where these matches took place, but conditions were uniformly poor and there was a succession of low scores. The teachers' team included B. Sigamoney, who would later become an Anglican priest and a significant leader of the non-racial sports movement. Charlie Nulliah, prominent Asian businessman, was involved with the arrangements. The tour report makes mention of the 'boys at the front' and the Second [Stretcher]bearer Company, suggesting patriotic inclinations on the part of these cricketers.¹⁸⁶

SUMMARY

At the beginning of the twentieth century, "Pietermaritzburg was an important City with strong claims for improved amenities and more dignified public buildings."¹⁸⁷ During the period covered by this chapter, it began to develop into a modern town, its councillors and burgesses absorbed with the laying out of new suburbs and the provision of potable water, water-borne sewerage, new methods of

¹⁸⁴ Henderson, J. *South African cricketers annual* (Pietermaritzburg: Times), 1906, pp.90-99; 1907, p.103. The senior teams of 1906 were Zingari, Old Collegians, Standard (founded in 1886), Maritzburg Cricket Club (MCC), Guild, Pirates and Wesleyan Rangers. Others are listed as Natal Police, YMCA and Royals. The following year only four senior teams (Zingari, MCC, Old Collegians and Standard) are named with Wesleyan Rangers amongst the junior league. But there was also a strangely named Botanical League comprising Borough Police, Eureka, Wesleyan Rangers, Royals, Merrick's, Hoboes, Botanical, Pirates and Union: it complained that the MCU was taking insufficient interest in its affairs.

¹⁸⁵ CCM 12 Mar 1918.

¹⁸⁶ Desai, A. *et al. Blacks in whites*, p.51. Latest 15 Jan 1916, p.7.

¹⁸⁷ Hattersley, A.F. *Pietermaritzburg panorama*, p.109.

public transport and electricity. Financial difficulties and economic recession were not infrequent occurrences: the withdrawal of the British military, loss of colonial capital status (1910), East Coast fever (1904), rebellion (1906) and various business failures linked to the dumping of surplus stores were a few of the causes. Nevertheless, in spite of its administrative downgrading, the municipality managed to invest considerable capital in recreational facilities and these were to take on a distinct colonial form.¹⁸⁸ They were highly valued by the townspeople as well as by the Imperial military for a number of reasons. Sport was seen in ethical and moral terms as a factor contributing to social stability, a building block of virtue in the construction of a quintessentially British character. Similarly, sport evoked memories of a mystical 'Home', binding together colonists within a social and spatial framework that provided cohesive reassurance in a land of potential, and sometimes actual, menace. It figured prominently on imperial holidays and high days amidst flag waving patriotism and uplifting rhetoric. Team sport in particular was a factor in an emerging White nationalism that owed a dual, but unambiguous, loyalty to Crown and South Africa.

This instrumental use of sport encouraged an aloof attitude from which was constructed an otherness for those of different origins. Asians were feared in particular as effective business competitors and suspected of propagating disease. Africans were treated with patronising condescension, looked down upon from paternal heights as immature and thus in need of guidance and direction. But the childlike African was also capable in colonial eyes of depths of uncontrollable depravity. It was palpably obvious that the development of a modern town could not take place without Asian and African labour. But economic imperatives brought with them the potential for social juxtaposition, mixed residential areas for instance, which were to be avoided at all costs. This was achieved through various, but increasingly draconian, segregation measures.

Within the context of the White community sport was seen in a positivist light as uplifting and improving, reflected in the considerable resources allocated to it. But it was also used to create distance from others. There is no evidence to suggest that it was employed as a factor to reduce the crime, violence and drunkenness endlessly complained about of Africans. Their social problems, reflective of uncontrolled and exploitative urbanisation, were met, not by the provision of amenities, but by coercion, regimentation and, most extraordinary of all, by the establishment of a monopoly of

¹⁸⁸ Guest, B. *Economic development of the capital city 1838-1910* in Laband, J. and Haswell, R. (eds.). *Pietermaritzburg, 1838-1988: a new portrait of an African city* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter & Shooter, 1988), p.128. Wills, T. *Segregation, separation and desegregation: Pietermaritzburg since 1910* in Guest, W. and Sellers, J.M. (eds.). *Receded tides of empire: aspects of the economic and social history of Natal and Zululand since 1910* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1994), p.306.

controlled drinking. The considerable profits of this exercise were set aside for the cost of Native administration. The absence of facilities for those who were not White, despite their contribution to the local economy, indicates the point at which otherness became racism. Sport, it may be argued, brought together Whites but it divided the chosen from everyone else, emphasising their self-perceived superiority and an innate air of self-assurance.

CHAPTER THREE INTER-WAR YEARS, 1919-1939: THE WHITE, COLOURED AND ASIAN COMMUNITIES

In his 1938 history of Pietermaritzburg, Hattersley expresses the view that “little need be said of the post-war years, 1918-38.”¹ Other than a desire for a hurried conclusion to his book it is not clear what the author meant by this, but as far as the history of physical recreation is concerned it was an era of considerable significance. In sporting terms the inter-war self-image of South Africa was that of a small nation struggling against the odds to maintain standards. Recreational activity became part of South African ideology: “it is the outdoor life which the young man leads out in South Africa which prepares him for strenuous games of all kinds, and there is an inborn attraction for all kinds of sport.”² Frequent references were made to sport’s role in unifying Whites³, but at the same time writers drew comparisons between sport seen as typically English and that more characteristic of the Afrikaner.⁴ Some argued that sport should be drawing the White races together, while others felt that this was in fact taking place.⁵ But to a significant extent sport remained a symbol of divisions within the White community as well as considerable distance from the Black fraction of the population. This places sport at odds with the view that by the end of the 1920s there was a “tentative sense of collective white settler identity”, based in part on attitudes to the land. English-speaking South Africans saw themselves as a “kind of perpetual frontier” in the context of the Empire.⁶ The question of whether sport in Natal was part of an ‘imagined geography’ underpinning a sense of White nationhood remains open to debate.

¹ Hattersley, A.F. *Pietermaritzburg panorama: a survey of one hundred years of an African city* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1938), p.15.

² Ballantine, E.W. *The game in South Africa* in Sewell, E.H.D. *Rugby football up to date* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, [1921]), p.202.

³ For the unification of Whites see Webber, A.C. *The control of cricket in South Africa* in Luckin, M.W. *South African cricket, 1919-1927: a complete record of all South African cricket since the war* (Johannesburg: the Author, 1927), p.21. Paton, A. *Hofmeyr* (London: OUP, 1964), p.159.

⁴ Millin, S.G. *The people of South Africa*. (London: Constable, 1951), pp. 105, 198.

⁵ Pollock, W. *Talking about cricket* (London: Gollancz, 1941), p.121. Commaile, M. What is wrong with South Africa’s cricket? *Outspan* 14 (352) 24 November 1933, p.17. Silburn, P.A. *South Africa: white or black - or brown?* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1927), p.75.

⁶ Foster, J. ‘Land of contrasts’ or ‘Home we have always known’: the SAR&H and the imaginary geography of white South African nationhood, 1910-1930. *Journal of Southern African studies* 29(3) 2003, pp.658-659, 676.

POPULATION TRENDS

After the Great War and the 1921 census (of a total Natal population of 1 429 398, only 9.6% were reckoned to be White compared with 9.3% Asian, 0.8% Coloured and a massive 80.3% African) there was a growing realisation amongst Whites that their numerical inferiority was going to be rectified by neither natural increase, nor immigration. Even more alarming was the fact that the African population was urbanising rapidly and becoming dissatisfied, a function of the collapse of the reserves, wartime industrialisation, inflation, poverty and the militant example of White workers.⁷ The Natal English “were aware of the precariousness of their power” and prone to fears of being surrounded by people they regarded as barbarians.⁸ In Pietermaritzburg this demographic awareness would have been reinforced by the annual municipal census, which is reflected in tables 4 and 5. During the 1920s there was steady overall growth accompanied by a relative decline in the White portion of the population. The Coloured fraction, decreasingly seen as an appendix to the White community (although in 1920 it was still qualified as ‘enjoying European privileges’), expanded slightly; but more significant was rapid growth of the African population. This was a situation guaranteed to inspire a degree of White ethnic solidarity, particularly since there was an increasing awareness that the Afrikaans speaking part of the White community was growing disproportionately (*see* table 6). From 1880 to 1930 the White population grew by 3.08% pa., while the African fraction showed growth at twice that rate (7.76% pa.), but from 1934 onwards it went into decline. The White population began to recover proportionately, as did the Asian, and the Coloured community continued to grow.

The proportionate and absolute decline of the African population was a result of the Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923 and the imposition of increasingly stringent segregation. As was shown in earlier chapters, the White community was both acutely conscious of its ethnicity and anxious to a point of neurosis about the position of other groups. This situation was managed by “a belief in an innate and invincible white superiority ... racial superiority became a faith, and racial and social segregation a creed.”⁹ But this superiority was not entirely self-assured: in May 1925 a Hilton College Debating Society motion concerning the harmful effects of cinema was supported by 28 votes to 24 on the grounds, amongst others, that films “weakened British prestige amongst natives and Asiatics.”¹⁰ It is in

⁷ Bloch, R. and Wilkinson, P. Urban control and popular struggle. *Africa perspective* 20, 1982, p.13.

⁸ Thompson, P.S. Schools, sport and Britishness: young white Natal, 1902-1961. *South African historical journal* 45 (2001), p.223.

⁹ De Kiewiet, C.W. *A history of South Africa: social and economic* (London: OUP, 1941, 1975 printing), p.226.

¹⁰ *The Hiltonian* 33, 1925, p.38.

this context and within the knowledge of Pietermaritzburg's pattern of population growth that recreation in general, and sport in particular, was used as an instrument of White ethnic self consciousness based on a superior standard of living and the maintenance of physical distance; and the social control of others. This is a viewpoint reflected in the late 1930s by Hoernle:

Whites do not meet non-Whites on the football field or in any other sport. Any Whites taking part in such a match across the colour-line would probably be debarred by the Board, or Association, controlling that sport for Whites from ever again playing for a White team against another White team. 'Public' swimming baths are for the only public that counts, viz., the White public.¹¹

But some social contact did take place: Foster Bowley recalled inter-war cricket matches between White and Asian sides on the polo fields at Willowbridge, and these included inter-communal lunch.¹²

Table 4: Pietermaritzburg's population by community grouping, 1920-1939 (%)¹³

	Total	White	Coloured	Asian	African
1920	34 555	49.0	3.7	21.1	26.2
1925	40 033	47.8	4.1	18.2	29.9
1930	43 293	47.3	4.3	17.0	31.3
1934	46 466	48.0	4.5	17.6	29.9
1939	45 121	48.5	4.7	19.4	27.2

Table 5: Pietermaritzburg's population: annual growth rate, 1920-1939 (% p.a.)

1920-1925	4.0
1926-1930	1.6
1931-1934 ¹⁴	1.8
1936-1939	-0.6

¹¹ Hoernle, R.F.A. *South African native policy and the liberal spirit* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1945), p.34.

¹² *Sunday Tribune* 16 Sep 1973.

¹³ The population trends described in tables 4 to 6 are based on figures published in *CYB* for the years 1920 to 1939. There is no means of assessing their accuracy, especially with regard to that part of the community that was not White (in 1923, for instance, it was admitted that methods of recording Coloured births and deaths were defective) but it has been assumed that they were sufficiently precise for general trends to be inferred. See also Shannon, H.A. *Urbanization, 1904-1936. South African journal of economics* 5, 1937, p.189.

¹⁴ There was no municipal census in 1935.

Table 6: English and Afrikaans speakers amongst the White population, 1926-1939 (%)¹⁵

	English	Afrikaans
1926	88.4	11.6
1931	84.8	15.2
1936	81.1	18.9
1939	80.6	19.4

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM AND RECREATIONAL PROVISION

In Britain there had been since the late nineteenth century a tradition of provision of recreational facilities by local authorities, especially in the form of playing fields, swimming pools, tennis courts and bowling greens. From 1890 to 1914 there was an increase in juvenile delinquency: common offences were playing in the street, throwing stones or snowballs, sleeping out and trespassing. The demand for more facilities increased after the Great War, especially under pressure from the National Playing Fields Association (founded 1925 with royal patronage), which was associated with the Trade Union Congress; and the Central Council for Physical Recreation (1937). This coincided with the assumption by government of greater control over the social and economic life of the nation and ongoing fears about unorganised leisure. George Lansbury, as Commissioner for Works in the 1929-31 Labour government, was known as the 'Minister of the Open Air'. Some of his reforms included opening up parts of London's parks for public recreation and during the entire inter-war period, regardless of the government in power, there was a steady stream of central government legislation affecting sport and recreation. Expenditure on parks by urban authorities in England and Wales increased from £93/10/- per 1000 population in 1920-21 to £131/15/- in 1929-30, or 4% per annum. In Scotland equivalent expenditure nearly doubled between 1903-04 and 1929-30. During the inter-war years, 1919-39, 191 new public swimming baths were opened in England and Wales. Working- and lower middle-class people responded with particular enthusiasm for hiking, which led to conflict over access to rural land, and cycling. Municipal sporting ambition even extended to golf courses and the City of London maintained a course at Chingford in Essex. In the opinion of Brailsford, the "government inspired 'Keep Fit' movement of the thirties" was a "distant relation" of the fascist use of physical recreation in Germany.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Bowker in his study of Ashton-under-Lyne sounds a cautionary note. He reckons that £210 000 was spent in 20 years on parks and recreation grounds, which he describes as

¹⁵ In the mid 1930s, the language difference was tellingly described in terms of 'British' and 'Dutch' and in 1936 there is a probability that it was based simply upon the sound of surnames. By the end of the decade the modern terminology of 'English' and 'Afrikaans' was being employed (*CYB* 1934, p.36; 1936, p.43; 1938, p. 49).

¹⁶ Brailsford, D. *British sport: a social history* (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1992), p.117.

places of control and respectability designed to remove leisure activities from the streets. Municipal ideology strove for “orderliness, public decency and improvement”; but expenditure was carefully controlled and often cautious, given that the “Victorian legacy of sport as a private activity enjoyed by individuals at their own expense was strongly entrenched.”¹⁷

A version of this municipal socialism was evident in urban areas of Natal, but with significant differences that justify Hemson’s description as a perversion of its counterparts elsewhere.¹⁸ Publicly-funded facilities were intended for the exclusive use of Whites. “In South Africa the towns were expanded and beautified, and the amenities of modern life were introduced.”¹⁹ In Pietermaritzburg,²⁰ for instance, White sporting facilities enjoyed massive expansion by drawing on the public purse in a variety of ways: by development funding; granting of loans for the erection of buildings or land improvement; and annual grants-in-aid to private organisations. Land as well as finance was provided. The improvement of derelict land was vaguely defined; and the endowment of *public* facilities was consistently confused with private, although it would have occurred to few in the context of the inter-war years to confuse ‘the public’ with anyone without a White skin. Pietermaritzburg’s debt was considered high by the standards of the times, £27/12/- per head in 1919, for instance, and indicated the extent of municipal ambition. In 1924, ordinance 12 increased the borough’s borrowing powers by £600 000, the first such loan expansion since 1912.²¹ In 1934 a rates exemption was declared on land used for sport and recreation provided this was not for pure profit.²² Throughout the inter-war period there was continual evidence of a strong desire on the part of the Corporation for Pietermaritzburg to develop as an educational and residential centre, although by the end of the 1930s there was a clear realisation that light industrial growth would be required as well.

At considerable expense the municipality developed its public parks and swimming baths. Together they represented a significant drain on municipal revenue, an expense accepted specifically for

¹⁷ Bowker, D. Parks and baths: sport, recreation and municipal government in Ashton-under-Lyne between the wars in Holt, R. (ed.). *Sport and the working class in modern Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp.93-94.

¹⁸ Hemson, D. In the eye of the storm: dock-workers in Durban in Maylam, P. and Edwards, I. (eds.). *The people’s city: African life in twentieth-century Durban* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1996), p.150.

¹⁹ De Kiewiet, C.W. *A history of South Africa*, p.229.

²⁰ Examples are based on Merrett, C. Sport, racism and urban policy in South Africa: Pietermaritzburg, a case study. *Sporting traditions* 10(2) 1994, pp.100-110.

²¹ *CYB* 1919, p.9; 1924, p.13.

²² *CCM* 27 Feb 1934.

the maintenance of White health and recreational well-being.²³ Upgrading of the Park started immediately after the Great War. In 1921 the practice cricket wickets were reconstructed, improvements made to the rugby facilities (at a cost of £60 compared with their annual upkeep of £36) and the roadway improved. There was, however, an official view that the Park was not sufficiently appreciated, in spite of the fact that it catered for cricket, football, rugby, hockey and athletics and from 1926 a children's playground was provided.²⁴ Nevertheless, sporting occasions were able to draw very large crowds: a five-a-side football tournament on Union Day 1922 was attended by 7 000 spectators. The Corporation's interest in the boating potential of the Umsindusi River over the section flowing through the Park was revived in the mid-1920s and by 1929 some improvement was noted with a footpath being the most obvious. In 1935, D.H. Darvill, the City Engineer, reported on the river as follows: "it is incapable of being developed into a good boating river" because of floods, limited width, irregular depth and rapid falls. Darvill's best case was to dredge to a minimum depth of two feet to create a stretch of boating river 1780 yards long.²⁵ In spite of the cost of £1300, work proceeded in 1937 and 1938.

Alexandra Park Oval was a major centre for sport: in the first six months of 1931, for instance, it featured a three-day cricket match, Natal versus MCC; Natal versus Motherwell Football Club (who were to return in 1934); and the South African Bowling Tournament. A turf cricket wicket was first provided at the Oval on 21 October 1933 and by 1936 the practice facilities had been grassed as well: in 1937 responsibility for them was taken over by the Maritzburg Cricket Union (MCU). In 1938 further improvements were made to the sporting facilities in Alexandra Park, most notably asphaltting of the cycle track (to which the Natal Amateur Athletic and Cycling Association (NAACA) contributed just £150 of the total cost of £875); the laying of a cinder running track; and extensions to the Burger Street hockey fields for schoolgirl hockey at a cost of £750 and after considerable delay. On the eve of the Second World War, Alexandra Park was furnished with four full-sized cricket or football grounds with a movable stand and the condition of its facilities as a whole was described as 'excellent'.²⁶

The Corporation's enthusiasm for parks had its limitations, however. In 1884 land at Northern Park had been transferred to the Mayor and Council for use as a public park, botanical garden and recreation, but it was never used for any of these purposes and in 1909 it was sold to the Natal

²³ In 1937, for instance, they absorbed 5.16% of Council revenue, rising to 6.14% in 1939 although this declined to 5.8% in 1940. Alexandra Park operated at a deficit every year between 1919 and 1939, a sum that amounted to £78 011 or £3 714 per annum, but an attempt to sell a portion of it for residential development in 1924 was easily defeated.

²⁴ *CYB* 1922, p.17.

²⁵ *CCM* 19 Sep 1935.

²⁶ *CYB* 1940, p.107.

Government as an asylum (Town Hill Hospital). By way of compensation, 30 acres of town lands between Town Bush and Chase Valleys were reserved as parkland for residents of ward four, but no action ensued and in 1927 the Chase and Town Bush Valleys Residents' Association (C&TBVRA) asked for the matter to be legalised. In 1933 the idea of a public park on outspan three near the old polo ground was mooted after nearby land had been re-zoned for industrial use and in 1938 land (28 acres) was transferred to the Corporation for a public park (Dales Park). By 1938 South African Railways and Harbours were planning sub-economic housing for railway workers on the former polo ground. In 1934 a request for a park in ward 2 was made after land on outspan two had been zoned as a servitude.

From the late 1920s Alexandra Park was not only a site for White recreation, but also a significant factor in the local economy. Relief work for Whites was seen as an antidote to economic depression and commenced in April 1922 with a government subsidy of 1/9d per indigent married man per day, although the numbers involved were small: in 1928 they amounted to no more than eight workers. In 1930, eleven were at work in the Park. In 1932, £500 was voted for improvements including the road around the Oval and it was noted that "the work is being undertaken by white labour."²⁷ Unemployment was described as 'most distressing', inducing a 'feeling of helplessness'.²⁸ In 1931 a letter from the Acting Secretary for Labour urged municipalities to increase "the number of civilised labourers in ... regular employ."²⁹ With central government approval, the Council engaged 'civilised labourers' paid between 4/6d and 6/- per day from a Relief Capital Works Budget and in 1932, 41 out of 111 men so employed were working with the Parks Department. Tackling unemployment involved the dismissal of Black workers and reduction in the wages of others, but during 1933 relief work opportunities were extended to 'Euro-Africans' and Asians. Whites remained the largest contingent and included a 'benevolent' component of semi-fit unskilled men and a cohort of youths. The involvement of Asians was the result of intervention by the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and the approval of the Agent for the Government of India, the South African government providing a daily subsidy of 1/6d.³⁰ In 1933 relief workers were employed on widening and clearing the river through the Park between the Native High (Umgeni) Court and Victoria Bridge; and it was proposed that the extension of Woodburn Sports Ground across the Fox Hill Spruit be effected by a relief gang. The same year, work began on the Alexandra Park Rockery, a major undertaking built on a patch of barren waste land near the old quarry.

²⁷ *CYB* 1932, p.18.

²⁸ *CYB* 1932, pp.37-38.

²⁹ *CCM* 10 Nov 1931. The effect of this was most clearly seen on the railways and in local government and public works. In a response typical of the times, the City Council published a tender for the supply of municipal buses stipulating that assembly was to be done by White labour.

³⁰ *CYB* 1933, pp.25-26. *CCM* 25 Apr 1933.

It was the most obvious legacy of the relief work programme, still highly visible today, and was marketed by the municipality in the late 1930s as a beauty spot and important tourist attraction.³¹ At the height of this activity 238 men were working on it.³² Africans it was noted “feel the depression” and the Native Welfare Society was given a grant of £100.³³ The relief programme would have exacerbated indigence amongst Africans as the rate for Togh labour, now supplanted by higher paid workers, was 3/- in mid-1934.³⁴

It was widely acknowledged that capital works were expensive because of the public demand that ‘civilised’ (that is to say, White) labour would be used.³⁵ By 1936, the number of relief workers involved with parks had fallen to eight (although as late as 1939 there were still three) but the organisational power of White artisans was shown the following year by the formation of the Maritzburg Citizens’ Committee and the calling of a mass meeting in April that attracted 2 000 people, mainly to protest about perceived Union neglect.³⁶ The concerns of the White population were not solely economic: the demand for social segregation was reflected in changes in 1933 to the general by-laws (s.18) headed ‘Reservation of seats and other accommodation in public parks, gardens and recreation grounds and in the streets and public places of the Borough’. Clause one read as follows

The Council may legibly mark any seat, shelter or public convenience in any public park, garden or recreation ground or in any street or public place in the Borough with the words ‘Europeans only’, ‘Asiatics only’ or ‘Natives only’; and when any such seat, shelter or public convenience has been so marked it shall be reserved for use by the class named in such marking and by no other class.

This also applied to swings, see-saws, etc. in public places (in terms of s. 280 of Boroughs Ordinance 19 of 1924) and was strongly opposed by the NIC. In 1933 the Provincial Administration queried these provisions and the swings and see-saws were excised, but ‘apparatus’ and ‘equipment’ reappeared in 1936.³⁷

The Buchanan Street baths had a net deficit of £3 239 from 1919 to 1939 or £162 per annum;

³¹ *CYB* 1936, p.25; 1940, p.106. *CCM* 21 Aug, 10 Oct 1933.

³² *CYB* 1933, pp.27-28; 1935, p.37. The context is important: in 1933 the salaries of municipal employees were reduced by 1-10%, depending on rank, to be restored only in 1935.

³³ *CYB* 1933, p.87.

³⁴ *CCM* 31 July 1934.

³⁵ *CYB* 1936, p.12.

³⁶ *CYB* 1937, p.36.

³⁷ *CCM* 11 July 1933; 8 Dec 1936.

and from 1926 to 1939 the open air baths' net running costs amounted to £39 815 or £2 844 per annum. The idea of an open air facility was first mooted in 1912 and revived in 1920 with the particular support of schools and the presentation of two petitions, one carrying 800 signatures. Council was at first unsupportive because of the large capital sum required (this was finally reported in 1929 as £35 231) and anticipated revenue losses. But in 1921 the idea was accepted in principle after a great deal of public pressure and by 1923 the annual estimates included a sum of £5 000 for this purpose (out of total capital estimates of £123 000).³⁸ The open air baths were officially opened on 2 January 1926 an event celebrated by a gala involving visiting teams from Durban and the Transvaal. It was attended by 1 200 spectators and accompanied by much self congratulation: there was "no more picturesque and efficient open air swimming bath in the Union". The high cost of the project was easily justified: "in other towns in the Union it is recognised that the indirect benefits afforded to the community by the provision of swimming and bathing facilities justify the charge against revenue".³⁹ Costs borne by other city corporations elsewhere in South Africa were similar. During the 1930s juvenile unemployed labour was used to paint the baths.

In 1929 the Buchanan Street baths were closed in winter as a result of a lack of patrons and the Council considered their use by the Coloured community, but "this proposal did not find much favour" and the idea was dropped.⁴⁰ From 1930 they were closed to the general public and used solely by White schoolchildren with a significant improvement to the operating budget. The Alexandra Park open air baths continued to be a major expense. However, they even elicited approving comment from conservatives like Robert Dunlop, chair in 1934-35 of the Finance and General Purposes Committee, who made anti-Keynesian speeches and believed in financial stringency as the way out of Depression.⁴¹ Few words were spared in justifying the costs of the open air baths

The value of the Open Air Baths to the City can, however, hardly be computed in terms of pounds, shillings and pence, as they add more perhaps than any other single feature to the attractive amenities of the City. They are an inestimable boom (sic.) to the young community, of whom there are now comparatively few who have not acquired the necessary knowledge of swimming. Without such a Bath the City would be at a great

³⁸ The Market Square was a popular if unlikely location and predictably frowned upon by health officials. The recently acquired Woodburn property opposite Alexandra Park was considered, but presented technical problems regarding water mains and sewerage. Other possibilities were Kershaw Park, the corner of Burger Street and Commercial Road, and a site in Pietermaritz Street, but in 1923 an area at the old quarry at the entrance to the Park was settled upon.

³⁹ *NW* 5 Jan 1926, p.8. *CYB* 1926, p.31. *CCM* 8 July 1924.

⁴⁰ *CYB* 1929, p.26.

⁴¹ *CCM* 27 Nov 1934.

disadvantage in pressing its claim to be pre-eminently an educational centre with amenities unsurpassed by any town in the Union.⁴²

Swimming baths were a major site of anxiety for Whites in the sense of potential contact with persons of other races and in 1925 a draft Swimming Baths Ordinance included the power to restrict “the use of the baths premises at any one time solely to the Europeans, Coloured Persons, Asiatics or Natives”, and to regulate entry accordingly.⁴³

Another example of municipal largesse was to be found in the Municipal Golf and Recreation Club (MGRC, established 16 April 1931 to provide affordable golf for borough employees), which was granted space on the townlands at Mountain Rise to establish a nine-hole course opened on 16 April 1932. A loan of £500 was advanced in order to build a clubhouse. This was seen as a gesture on the part of the City Council in the interests of health. In 1939 plans were announced to expand the course to 18 holes and a loan of £700 was granted, but with the proviso that the municipality could build unfenced roads across the course. The plan had to be revised because the extra nine holes infringed upon the boundaries of the Indian Sports Ground.⁴⁴

The importance of children’s playgrounds was recognised by a City Council resolution as early as 1919 and the recreation site developed on the corner of Victoria Road and Chapel Street associated with West End Bowling Club (WEBC) was funded to the tune of £25.⁴⁵ But playgrounds sometimes came second to subsidised private development: when East End Bowling Club (EEBC) required a third green (constructed by the municipality against a 6% loan of £285) the local playground had to move to the corner of Burger and Retief Streets at a cost of £75. In 1925 a playground was demarcated for Scottsville at the corner of New England Road and King Edward Avenue in perpetuity. Even during the austere years of the Depression, the Council found resources to provide a playground in ward two at Havelock Road and Railway Street⁴⁶

PRIVATE CLUBS

The first municipal housing for Whites (20 units) was constructed only in 1926, but heavy

⁴² CCM 30 Nov 1928.

⁴³ CCM 7 Apr 1925.

⁴⁴ CYB 1932, p.30; 1939, p.18. CCM 25 Oct 1932; 9 July 1940. NW 11 Aug 1939, p.8.

⁴⁵ CCM 14 Oct 1919; 2 Mar 1920.

⁴⁶ CCM 1 June 1920; 6 Oct 1925; 13 Nov 1934.

subsidy of public recreational facilities was evident immediately after the Great War. Pietermaritzburg took this policy one step further by using loans, grants-in-aid and transfers to establish and fund private White recreational facilities (*see* table 7). As Hillebrand puts it, “the municipality and Government were expected to foot the bill for the grandiose setting in which people of quality could disport themselves”, pointing out that the private sector was reluctant to part with money.⁴⁷ The essence of this process is encapsulated in a tart exchange in the late 1920s and early 1930s between the Corporation and the borough’s auditors. In 1927 the auditor noted that “a considerable sum has been expended on the improvement of Corporation lands at the instance, and for the account, of Sporting Bodies.”⁴⁸ He subsequently remarked that such expenditure was not readily apparent to the ratepayers as it was obscured under various budgetary headings relating to land and buildings; justified, if necessary, as real improvement to the civic fabric. The auditor’s critical view was that “clubs and sporting bodies obtain undisturbed tenure of and pre-emptive right to ... valuable land.”⁴⁹ The City Treasurer’s disingenuous retort was that “these advances ...[are] ... for improving Town Estate, with the ultimate added benefit of being at no cost to the Corporation. Through the instrumentality of the various clubs, etc., derelict corners of the City have been transformed into pleasing spots.”⁵⁰ As the examples that follow will show, the cost to the ratepayers of Pietermaritzburg was considerable and this reflects not only the race-based approach to the distribution of municipal resources, but also a deference within White society towards status and relative wealth. Quite clearly the auditor did not share municipal officials’ exact definition of ‘improvement of the Town Estate’.⁵¹ The City Council believed it was following a “progressive policy in the matter of public improvement”⁵², which was true in the conventional sense where the development of water, electricity and sewerage was concerned, but unorthodox regarding the transfer of land for private recreational purposes.

Bowls was the first beneficiary of this generous policy and the construction costs of EEBC’s (later Maritzburg East BC) greens were borne by the Corporation. As the second green at EEBC was commissioned in February 1921, so work began at WEBC (later Maritzburg West BC). The first green at WEBC, which had a membership of 44, was constructed by the Parks Department against a 6% loan of £300 and opened by the Mayor. In the cases of both EEBC and WEBC, land and loans were provided

⁴⁷ Hillebrand, M. ‘A bad row of teeth’: Pietermaritzburg’s architecture in Laband, J. and Haswell, R. (eds.). *Pietermaritzburg, 1838-1988*, p.48.

⁴⁸ Annual statement of accounts. *CYB* 1927, p.xii.

⁴⁹ Annual statement of accounts. *CYB* 1930, p.xv.

⁵⁰ Annual statement of accounts. *CYB* 1932, p.xii.

⁵¹ Annual statement of accounts. *CYB* 1933, p.xiv.

⁵² *CYB* 1924, p.12.

while Maritzburg Bowling Club (MBC) had been situated on municipal land in Alexandra Park since 1902. MBC was in turn granted a loan of £500 for the erection of a clubhouse in 1924. In 1923, the Victoria Bowling Club (VBC) was granted land and a loan of £400; and in 1933 the costs of transporting shale to EEBC were borne by the Corporation.⁵³ In 1930 the Council gave the Maritzburg District Bowling Association (MDBA) a grant of £250 for a national bowling tournament including a garden party that involved 600 bowlers, and brought up to 2 000 visitors to Pietermaritzburg over two weeks.⁵⁴ In 1935, the VBC was granted more land in Alexandra Park and in the same year the new Woodburn Bowling Club (WBC) asked for a £500 loan for a green already under construction. The Council's response that drawing on Loan Funds might provide legal problems was the first acknowledgement that it had been overstepping its powers regarding recreation and funding (*see below*). For the meantime, the WBC received £250 from the Superannuation Fund, but it was eventually granted the full amount from the same source, later transferred to the Estates Capital Account.⁵⁵

Table 7 Indebtedness of sporting codes to the municipality, selected years 1929-1938 (£)

	1929	1932	1935	1938
Golf				
Private	3 249	2 990	2 990	2894
Municipal			472	721
Lawn tennis	2 938	2 848	2 742	2 659
Polo	1 622	1 422	1 182	896
Bowls	1 147	1 210	2 512	3 196
Country Club			2 890	3 044
Rugby	476	615	325	150
Croquet	81	81		
Hockey				123
Indian Sports Association		500	446	396
Coloured Sports Ground	692	710	631	541

Notes: (1) A total indebtedness of £10 475 in 1929 had grown by nearly 40% to £14 620 in 1938.

(2) The bowling clubs involved were Maritzburg, East End, West End, Victoria and Woodburn.

In Alexandra Park, croquet lawns, an off shoot of the MBC, were completed in February 1923 by the Curator of Parks with a municipal loan of £300. This recognised the needs of White women: at the foundation meeting held in April 1921 it had been noted that women were not entirely welcome in

⁵³ CCM 1 Mar 1921; 9 May 1922; 10 Apr 1923; 12 Feb 1924; 11 July 1933. *CYB* 1923, p.57.

⁵⁴ CCM 23 Sep 1930.

⁵⁵ CCM 12, 26 Feb, 9 Apr 1935.

bowling clubs, especially on Saturdays. The club was originally named the Maritzburg Ladies Croquet and Bowling Club, although from the start it had mixed membership (but only one male committee member by 1971).⁵⁶ The club was later to comment about its loan that “the terms of repayment must have been easy” and it was paid off by 1936.⁵⁷

The much-delayed Kershaw Park tennis development was eventually started in 1921, with a large municipal loan of £3 000 repayable over 30 years. It was opened on 26 June 1922 with the telling remark that “the Council has given considerable financial assistance to the [Pietermaritzburg Borough Lawn Tennis Association]”, qualified by the opinion that the facility was a great asset to the town.⁵⁸ It also enjoyed a free allocation of water. In this case the buildings and improvements were to revert to the Corporation in 1951 and the Association was scheduled to pay rent once the loan had been paid off, a process which it was hoped would be assisted by tournament profits. In 1923 the interest rate on the loan was reduced by 0.25% to 6%.⁵⁹

Not far from Kershaw Park on Durban Road was Woodburn, a property acquired in 1922 by the Corporation (together with The Finish, later to be part of Sobantu) for the low price of £7 000. A significant debate ensued about its exact use. The opposing proposals were a private country club similar to Bloemfontein’s Ramblers; and a municipal recreation ground run along the lines of Alexandra Park under the control of the Pietermaritzburg Sports Association (PSA). A subcommittee set up to look into the issue suggested a compromise involving municipal development and the handing over by instalments to a club. At the same time, new clubs of various codes were in search of venues and there was a need for a ground to host touring teams. Woodburn was seen as a significant part of Pietermaritzburg’s post-war development. The private enterprise solution was suggested by a number of codes which favoured the transfer of Woodburn to the trustees of a sports club to plan the ground and manage funds granted by Council for development and ongoing maintenance. The Maritzburg District Football Association (MDFA) opposed this plan and wanted municipal control ceded to a sports association. This was indeed the outcome, on the proposal of the Town Treasurer that Woodburn be “reserved for the benefit of burgesses as a whole and be controlled by the Council under the advice of

⁵⁶ *CYB* 1922, p.17; 1923, p.57. *Maritzburg Croquet Club Golden jubilee 1921-1971*. *CCM* 6 Sep 1921; 22 Aug 1922.

⁵⁷ Murgatroyd, P. *The Maritzburg Croquet Club* in Laband, J. and Haswell, R. (eds.). *Pietermaritzburg, 1838-1988*, p.259.

⁵⁸ *CYB* 1922, p.23.

⁵⁹ *CCM* 12 Apr 1921; 9 May 1922; 21 Aug 1923.

the Sports Association.⁶⁰ Furthermore, it was decided that the necessary work would be done by White relief labour at a cost of £1800, the comparable cost by Native or contract labour being £600. The relief gang was still working on the site, completing road works, in 1924. Woodburn had been earmarked for various sports, but in 1926 it was leased to the Maritzburg Rugby Sub Union (MRSU).⁶¹

The auditor's specific concerns about loans serve to illustrate the cavalier attitude adopted by the City Council to the funding of private clubs. From 1928, for instance, the loan to the Maritzburg Golf Club (MGC) had no security (a situation that unbelievably lasted until at least 1935) and the same applied to a portion of the loan to the South African Polo Association (SAPA) and the whole of that to the MRSU. In spite of this situation, the MGC's lease was extended in 1931 to cover 155 acres. Dissatisfaction with the rates levied was resolved in favour of the Club, and a new course was laid out at Kettlefontein (*see* Country Club below).⁶² Generally speaking the larger loans were paid off very slowly and this at a time when, in the auditor's words, the municipality was financially working on "the narrowest possible margin."⁶³ Interest owed on SAPA's loan was capitalised in 1931.⁶⁴ To add to the extraordinary situation regarding the MGC, from 1934 until 1938 no principal was paid off (an accumulated £578) and an agreement of 1937 guaranteeing security ignored this issue. Payments were resumed from 1938 and spread over the remaining period of the loan, but in 1939 the MGC was looking for the extension of its lease for another 20 years. In 1933 the Country Club leased an extra ten acres of land and had its interest rate reduced in 1935 from 7% to 6% in spite of the fact that there was no insurance agreement. Three years earlier, building regulations had been waived in its favour and two portions of town lands 165 acres in extent were leased at the nominal rent of 1/- per annum for 25 years.⁶⁵

But the most remarkable event of this period in relation to private recreational funding was the surcharging on 27 December 1934 under ordinances 12 of 1924 and 9 of 1931 of the City Treasurer to the value of £3 500 for illegal loans made to the Country Club and the MGC. The response was rapid.

⁶⁰ Woodburn Subcommittee 18 Apr 1923; 22 May 1924 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/3/183, file 793/1921 (Proposed use of portion of Woodburn property for sports purposes).

⁶¹ *CYB* 1927, p.29; 1931, p.20. It was originally decided that the City Council would recover 7.5% of the Woodburn gate for the first year rising to 15% from the second; with the MRSU, the leasee, responsible for maintenance carried out by the Superintendent of Public Parks and for erecting a pavilion. This proved unworkable and in 1931 the MRSU was given £100 to effect repairs and a promise of future grants-in-aid, thus relieving the borough of any further responsibility.

⁶² Annual statement of accounts. *CYB* 1929, p.xiv. *CYB* 1931, p.31. *CCM* 9 May 1933.

⁶³ Annual statement of accounts. *CYB* 1930, p.v.

⁶⁴ Annual statement of accounts. *CYB* 1931, p.xxii.

⁶⁵ *CCM* 23 Nov, 13 Dec 1932; 12 Sep 1933; 27 Aug 1935.

In March 1935 a private draft ordinance was tabled empowering support for sporting bodies in the form of buildings and grounds from Estates Loan Funds. The Pietermaritzburg Financial Adjustments and Extended Powers Ordinance (12 of 1935) enabled both past validation and future permission and resulted in the lifting of the surcharge through its s.6.⁶⁶ Some loans were, however, repaid such as that of the MBC. In 1938 the auditor noted defaulting on the part of the Kershaw Park Tennis Club over three years amounting to £227, but this did not deter the municipality from making a further loan of £25. From 1939, the Country Club was also failing to pay annual instalments on the principal of its loan. By 1940 the war and decreased membership were being blamed for failure to pay.⁶⁷

Table 8 Grants-in-aid by sporting code, 1919-1939 (£ total)

	Amount	%
Boating	2 064	23.7
Gymnastics (YMCA)	1 735	19.9
Rifle associations	1 090	12.5
Polo	1 069	12.3
Bowls	976	11.2
Rugby	586	6.7
Golf	300	3.4
Football	179	2.1
Lawn tennis	150	1.7
Croquet	100	1.1
Comrades Marathon	98	1.1
Olympic Games Association	50	0.6
Pietermaritzburg Sports Association	36	0.4
Swimming	25	0.3
Cricket	18	0.2
Hockey	11	0.1
Natal Coloured Welfare Association	135	1.5
Indian Sports Association	101	1.2
Total	8 723	

It is unclear whether the lists of grants-in-aid published in the Pietermaritzburg *Corporation yearbook* are complete as there are inexplicable oscillations in the funding pattern recorded. But the importance ascribed to boating is self evident from table 8, as is the well-funded position of the rifle associations, bowls, polo and golf, all of which had well-entrenched positions in specific sectors of Pietermaritzburg society. The case of polo is instructive. In 1923 the grounds between Mayor's Walk

⁶⁶ Annual statement of accounts. *CYB* 1934, p.xiii; 1935, p.xiii. *CCM* 1 Mar 1935.

⁶⁷ Annual statement of accounts *CYB* 1938-1940.

all seemed to thoroughly enjoy themselves.”⁸² Pietermaritzburg was thus part of an international network involving in 1922, it was estimated, 80 000 schools whose members heard the same standard message about unity, responsibility, duty and self sacrifice relating to those parts of the World coloured red on the map. Empire Day celebrations were for many years organised by the Sons of England Patriotic Lodge and by the late 1930s funded by an annual municipal grant of £50. Clergymen and civic dignitaries spoke of responsibility and duty to country and God, and there was much flag waving together with patriotic dances and drill. Mayoral hospitality was also extended to events such as the inter-town police cricket match of 22 February 1935.⁸³ Empire Day in 1935 was noted for large crowds that attended “the soccer matches at the native sports ground near Mountain Rise.”⁸⁴ White children marched to Alexandra Park for their sports day as usual. The visit of Prince George on 5 March 1934 was another occasion for segregated children’s sport, the White at Alexandra Park, Coloured at Pine Street Sports Ground, Indian at “the lower end of the town” (presumably Fitzsimmons Road) and African at the Native Village (NV). A Native ‘war dance’ was provided at the Racecourse.⁸⁵ The King’s Silver Jubilee in 1935 was marked by the usual sport in Alexandra Park together with children’s games at the NV, five-a-side football at Edendale Road Native Sports Ground (NSG) and football and dancing at Fitzsimmons Road NSG, which was also the start and finish of a cycle race to Albert Falls. On 7 March of that year, a Native ‘war dance’ was held for an Empire press delegation at the Oval.⁸⁶ The 12 May 1937 coronation of King George VI epitomised the values of the time. White celebrations, which included sport in Alexandra Park, were awarded £1 000, plus £200 for the floodlighting of the City Hall. The Coloured community was worth only £50, the Indian £75 and the African £60, plus a free issue of beer. The municipality donated a Coronation Cup to each of the Black football associations as a floating trophy. The Native Affairs Department (NAD) organised a five-a-side football tournament at Fitzsimmons Road NSG, cycle road races to Albert Falls and back, and dancing. There was also football at Edendale Road NSG and on the following day there were children’s sports at the NV.⁸⁷

The centenary of Pietermaritzburg on 23 October 1938 was marked by segregated sports events at Fitzsimmons Road NSG and the NV for Africans. Whites celebrated with a swimming gala at the Alexandra Park open air baths, a race meeting, golf at the MGC, and an athletics and cycling meet;

⁸² *CYB* 1928, p.36.

⁸³ *CYB* 1930, p.35; 1931, p.30; 1935, p.36.

⁸⁴ *NW* 25 May 1935, p.13.

⁸⁵ *CYB* 1934, p.26.

⁸⁶ *CYB* 1935, pp.22, 37, 105.

⁸⁷ *CYB* 1937, pp.26, 132, 134. *CCM* 11 March 1937.

while the children had massed drill and dancing. Looking back on these events, the official account commented upon “ample provision for sport, with our healthy climate and our natural and charming surroundings”⁸⁸, a statement informed by a singularly Eurocentric slant. The Black fraction of the funding was £400 out of £3 750 and the NIC’s request for £110 rather than £75 to cater for 4 000 schoolchildren was refused.⁸⁹ Visits by teams from the metropolis continued to elicit considerable expensive deference even in the late 1930s.⁹⁰

Three years earlier, an official view was broadcast that Pietermaritzburg was the healthiest town in South Africa for Whites, together with an admission that the same could not be said for the remainder of the borough’s populace. An unsourced letter written to the press by a person absent from Pietermaritzburg for fifteen years, and quoted by the Mayor in 1939, noted the “good feeling that exists between all sections of the community ... Maritzburg sets an example of happy co-operation ... [and] ... friendliness ... between individuals of the two white races.” The writer argued that following Union, Pietermaritzburg had been a ‘defeatist’ city⁹¹ and there can be no doubt that part at least of its resuscitation can be ascribed to the development and use of recreational facilities. This fits with Gordon’s view that “White settlers’ communities thus tended to become little pink or white islands of smugness in the sea of color surrounding them, holding the power, position, possessions, and pride denied to the other race.”⁹²

ROLE OF BLACKS IN RECREATION

Blacks were relegated to the role of servants of White sport. One of the most telling descriptions relating to Natal involves a cricket match on the Reef in the 1920s

Out in the centre of the oval Sixpence, the ground boy, is methodically rolling up the mat. As he wheels away the pitch he chants a tune of his kraal-land, a low-toned

⁸⁸ *CYB* 1939, p.42.

⁸⁹ *CCM* 21 Apr, 11 Oct 1938.

⁹⁰ Finance, Etc. Comm., 9 Feb, 25 May 1939; 14 Mar 1940. G.W. Boyes, Secretary MCU to TC, 1 May 1939 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/343, file 1547/1939 (Visit of MCC team to PMBurg ... 1939). The match played in 1939 between Natal and the touring MCC drew £140 from the municipality for an extra stand at Alexandra Park; a guarantee of £44/10/- against further expenses; and a civic reception. The Secretary of the MCU later listed various problems he had encountered with the Natal Cricket Association (NCA) which resulted in the grant of £35/16/- of the guarantee, arguing that “the staging of the match here provided an amenity which was greatly appreciated by the burgesses and also benefitted (sic.) both directly and indirectly the City as a whole.” Half of the Council’s entitlement from the gate takings was later returned to the MCU, less the portion of the guarantee.

⁹¹ *CYB* 1936, p.75; 1939, pp.28-29.

⁹² Gordon, D.C. *The moment of power: Britain’s imperial epoch* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p.142.

drawing song that his proud ancestors were wont to sing as night fell over Zululand.⁹³

This imagery based upon cliched stereotyping is highly significant: a servant so lowly that he cannot be dignified by his real name, working in White man's territory, his mind occupied by a supposedly idyllic homeland hundreds of miles away. Duffus imparts anonymity in another passage, this time on schools cricket, when he describes "the native, Jim Fish ... pulling up the last strip of matting."⁹⁴ In the hierarchy of inter-war sport, Asians were at best supervisors or waiters and Africans were labourers; and none of them were dignified by their own names. The beautification of White urban areas and development of their recreational facilities were part of the Black man's burden. When labour was required, special permits were available. In December 1939, for instance, the Maritzburg West Bowling Club (MWBC) was granted a monthly licence to house a caretaker and his family on the premises, as long as no complaints were raised about the children.⁹⁵

In 1923 the owners of Meldrum's Recreation Ground on the river at Boshoff Street refused an offer from a purchaser described as non-White, but almost certainly from the Asian community. The Finance and General Purposes Committee of the City Council recorded the "highest appreciation of [the owner's] public spirited action in thus preventing what undoubtedly would have resulted in the amenities of the district and river being detrimentally affected."⁹⁶ Attitudes to sport and race are also clearly delineated in the legislation enabling censorship of film. The Entertainments (Censorship) Act (no.28, 1931) withheld approval of films showing "pugilistic encounters between Europeans and non-Europeans" and "scenes of intermingling of Europeans and non-Europeans" [s.5(2)(q) and (r)].

The racial hierarchy that had developed in sport in Pietermaritzburg during the early part of the twentieth century, and was by the 1930s becoming glaringly evident, was paralleled elsewhere, in India for instance.⁹⁷ In the 1890s, Lord Harris as Governor of Bombay had set up separate gymkhanas for Hindus, Muslims and Parsees on reclaimed land which led to quadrangular and then pentangular cricket

⁹³ Duffus, L. *Cricketers of the veld* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, 1947), pp.5-6.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p.11. Jack Fingleton noted the 'grotesque sight' at Kingsmead in Durban of a long centipede of tarpaulin carried by Asians in white uniforms when it rained Fingleton, J. *Cricket crisis: bodyline and other lines* (London: Pavilion, 1985), p.222). On 14 March 1939, the last day of the Timeless Test at Durban, "at 3.15pm. an Indian came out with a tray of cool drinks"; while during the Natal match of the same MCC tour of 1938-9, "a small army of bare-footed non-Europeans periodically sall[ie]d forth, armed with brooms, to sweep away the water from the wicket covers." (Pollock, W. *Talking about cricket* (London: Gollancz, 1941), p.116, 152).

⁹⁵ Bush, B *Imperialism, race and resistance*, p.135. CCM 14 Nov 1939.

⁹⁶ City Council Finance and General Purposes Committee, 11 Sep 1923.

⁹⁷ In the 1930s the Bombay Gymkhana would not accept Christian Indians as players although by 1937 it has to relent with the formation of a team called The Rest participating the Pentangular (Guha, R. *Cricket and politics in colonial India. Past and present* 161(1998), p.164.

tournaments that had their origins in inter-communal cricket first played in the 1880s. The struggle over land on the Bombay Maidan between Indian cricketers and White polo players has an echo in Pietermaritzburg (*see p.m*). In Bombay polo players invaded cricket's space in pursuit of the puck while spectators' carriages also infringed on the outfield. The Parsees, whose cricket was pushed onto unsuitable ground, appealed to the Governor. This was seen as a challenge to the authority of the Raj, in particular its military arm, which regarded polo as part of the security apparatus. Even an appeal to Lord Harris, the Governor-General and first-class cricketer, failed to alter the situation.⁹⁸

THE COLOURED COMMUNITY AND RECREATION

Prior to the Great War, Pietermaritzburg's small Coloured community, although recognised as a distinctive entity, was generally regarded as an off shoot of the White sector of society and often enumerated as a group with 'European privileges'. In a number of ways the life of cricketer Charles Bennett Llewellyn is testimony to this (page nn). Coloured people usually passed as members of the group amongst whom they habitually lived. But during the inter-war years growing White racism, and perhaps a fear of rapid Coloured population growth (in relative terms), widened the gulf between the two communities. In the words of Dickie-Clarke, "their situation was clearly a marginal one in that there was complete cultural similarity but incomplete acceptance and participation in the White system of social relationships."⁹⁹ In some ways the Coloured community may be likened to the Anglo-Indians "whose ambiguous identity," in the words of Cooper and Stoler, "caused considerable worry to officials concerned with the social markers of British power."¹⁰⁰ The Pensions Act (1925) defined Coloured persons as those who fell into no other group. There was a growing belief that the illegal supply of alcohol to Africans was the responsibility of "Mauritians, St Helenas, Cape coloured", exempted from the Liquor Act (1928) and increasingly blamed by police for a general increase in crime, especially breaches of the peace. Complaints about drunkenness at Sutherlands (modern day Imbali township) were linked to access provided by 'coloured buses' and condemnation of the Coloured population became a constant refrain.¹⁰¹ Questioning of the moral calibre of persons of mixed race was common place in

⁹⁸ For the history of Indian cricket *see* Majumdar, B. Cricket in colonial India: the Bombay Pentangular, 1892-1946. *International journal of the history of sport* 19(2-3) 2002, pp.157-188. Guha, R. *A corner of a foreign field: the Indian history of a British sport* (London: Picador, 2002), pp.20-26.

⁹⁹ Dickie-Clarke, H.F. *The marginal situation: a sociological study of a Coloured group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), p.56.

¹⁰⁰ Cooper, F. and Stoler, A.L. Tensions of empire: colonial control and visions of rule. *American ethnologist* 16(1989), p.613.

¹⁰¹ *CYB* 1923, p.27; 1924, pp.21, 38-39.

British socio-political thinking of the time.¹⁰²

In general during the 1920s and 1930s, the economic position of Coloured people in Pietermaritzburg declined as a result of labour legislation; and the attitude of the authorities hardened, for instance over the segregation of schools. An increasing fear of the African urban population encouraged condemnation of anyone who was not obviously White. A formerly respected and respectable part of the community became stigmatised as predisposed to drink, prone to violence and degenerate; and stereotyped as lazy and unstable. Existing fears of miscegenation were further stimulated and this situation was exacerbated by an in-migration of Coloured persons from the Cape and competition for clerical jobs posed by Asians and Africans.¹⁰³ When the Prince of Wales visited the city in June 1925 the headmaster of the Greyling Street Government School withdrew his children from the festivities after protests from parents. They objected to the fact that after the general welcome at the railway station, Coloured children were to have a sports day separate from White pupils, at the “top end of the Park.” In the end 460 Coloured children participated, organised by the Coloured Welfare League and the Sunday schools of two parishes.¹⁰⁴ In 1931 the White PSA protested to the City Council about the operation of a Sunday Football League on the Coloured Sports Ground, although the reasons for the complaint are obscure.¹⁰⁵ On 4 March 1934 non-White persons (including, presumably, members of both the Coloured and Asian communities) were ejected from a ‘sacred concert’ at the City Hall. This caused the Council severe embarrassment and a letter of apology was directed by the Mayor to the Natal Coloured Welfare Association (NCWA), the Colonial Born and Settlers Indian Association (CBSIA, founded 1933 representing workers and the poor) and the NIC. There was even a suggestion that any legal costs incurred might be retrieved.¹⁰⁶

By 1930 there was official recognition of the effect of the Depression on the Coloured community, some of whose members were moving into accommodation below Retief Street and even into Asian barracks: “they feel the hardship and indignity of being forced to live in the Indian area of the town” was a typical White view.¹⁰⁷ There is evidence of economic hardship in mortality figures: in the 1933-34 reporting year, 72% of Coloured deaths were of persons under the age of 45, many of them

¹⁰² Rich, P. *Race and empire in British politics* (Cambridge: CUP, 2nd ed., 1990), p.133.

¹⁰³ An indication of the practical effect of growing racism directed against Coloured people was the decision in 1919 not to issue driving licences to them for fear that “unfair competition [is] likely to be introduced.” (CCM 4 Mar 1919).

¹⁰⁴ NW 9 June 1925, p.1, 11 June 1925, p.8.

¹⁰⁵ CCM 22 Sep 1931.

¹⁰⁶ CCM 16 Mar 1934.

¹⁰⁷ CYB 1930, p.73.

caused by preventable diseases. Clearly this was not a healthy community that had benefited from a recreational culture. The 1935 municipal survey conducted in terms of the Slums Act (53, 1934) showed that Coloured persons were living in uninhabitable dwellings at Maryvale, Camp Drift, Hathorn's Hill, Fitzsimmons, New Scotland and at City East. Coloured people accounted for 7.5% of those found to be in condemned housing, but they constituted only 4.5% of the borough population. The 1936 death rate standing at 17.5 per thousand was twice that of Whites: the death rates for tuberculosis and enteric were fifteen and eleven times as high respectively. The borough Medical Officer commented that "the non-Europeans ... are much less healthy" due to overcrowded accommodation and ignorance, and deplored the loss of life through "diseases of dirt and bad housing."¹⁰⁸ He advocated better housing, improved nutrition and a programme of physical education under the auspices of the Department of Education.

Nor was the Coloured community immune to the uncertainty that was the fate of the non-White population of any South African city: in 1938 it was discovered that the Coloured Sports Ground (CSG) situated on outspan three was under threat. A new ground was envisaged and a local businessman, H.V. Marsh JP, pledged £1 000 towards the cost of a swimming bath on condition that the balance be found by the Corporation and that work start at once. Marsh was clearly irritated by the languid reaction of the Council and upset to hear that the proposed new site of the CSG was to be in Rifle Range Road towards Chase Valley. Other sites near Chatterton Road and the Showgrounds were suggested and rejected, but in 1939 the CSG's land was indeed handed over to the province for the erection of an Asian school with compensation provided in terms of lot 355 (erven 50-51 in Boom Street). Marsh's munificent gesture was spurned: "after very careful consideration of the proposal, the Council was very reluctantly compelled to advise Mr Marsh that his kind offer could not be accepted, it being felt that the cost of erecting and running a Bath would be too great a burden on the City",¹⁰⁹ an extraordinary statement given the resources poured into the Alexandra Park open air baths for Whites. The opinion of a Council sub-committee was more blunt: the "time was not opportune" because of the financial burden posed by housing development, slum clearance and other works for the Coloured community.¹¹⁰ Marsh's restrained response was that "I regret this exceedingly ...", describing this "much-needed amenity for this section of our community."¹¹¹ However, by the outbreak of the Second World War, Coloured recreation had become a recognised municipal project. The estimated expenditure on a new ground was

¹⁰⁸ *CYB* 1936, p.76.

¹⁰⁹ *CYB* 1939, p.55.

¹¹⁰ City Council sub-committee 14 Apr 1939 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/3/291, file 504/1938 (Proposed swimming bath for Coloured community).

¹¹¹ H.V. Marsh to TC 5 May 1939 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/3/291, file 504/1938 (Proposed swimming bath for Coloured community).

£616, its location identified as the East end of Berg Street at the foot of Hathorn's Hill, a facility to replace the "former Pine Street ground." A pavilion with toilets and turfing were listed as capital projects: in 1940 the ground had two football pitches and two (hard) cricket pitches. The Congregational Church in Greyling Street was acquired as a Coloured Recreational Hall and two tennis courts were planned at the outbreak of war. A housing scheme was also listed.¹¹² But in the inter-war period the Coloured Welfare Association had received a mere £135, or 1.5% of the total disbursed, in grants-in-aid (*see* table 8).

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE INDIAN COMMUNITY AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

The effect of the 1919 Asiatic Inquiry Commission was to encourage stereotypical images of Asians remitting funds to India, living in inferior and unclean conditions, representing an alien culture, and unfairly undercutting white commerce; although it stopped short of recommending compulsory repatriation. Pegging legislation affected Asians in Northern Natal from the early twentieth century, but worse was to follow: a recommendation by the Lange Commission of 1920 for repatriation, albeit voluntary. The Young Committee of 1933-34, which visited Pietermaritzburg, looked at countries to which Asians might be sent and regarded a high proportion of Asians resident in Natal as potential emigrants to British Guiana, North Borneo or New Guinea. By December 1940, 17 542 assisted passages had been arranged, largely from Natal.¹¹³

During the inter-war period Asians benefited from improved education and were increasingly turning to wage labour; while on the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg market gardening flourished. In 1922, a provincial ordinance was enacted against 'penetration', that is to say the movement of successful Asian traders into White business areas, by permitting racial clauses in title deeds (Ordinance 14); and the following year this was extended from Durban to the whole of Natal. The 1924 Class Areas Bill introduced the idea of residential or trading areas based on 'common racial characteristics' and was followed by the 1925 Areas Reservation and Registration (Further Provision) Bill that suggested residential segregation. Both had an undermining effect on the Asian community, labelling it as 'alien'. The result of a Hilton College Debating Society meeting on 9 May 1925 may be taken as indicative of feelings about Asians at this time: a motion entitled 'All Indians should be deported from this country'

¹¹² *CYB* 1940, pp.13, 17, 36, 107. *CCM* 24 Sep 1940.

¹¹³ Young, J. (chair). *Report of the Indian Colonization Enquiry Committee for 1933-4* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1934, UG23/34), pp.13-14.

was supported by 25 votes to 11 and accompanied by comments about “unclean creatures of a low type” living in “filthy habitations”.¹¹⁴ In 1925, at the time of the Prince of Wales’ visit, Asian schoolchildren had their sports day on the Market Square: “a quaint gathering amidst the City’s hub-bub! Joining in the celebrations and yet in their Oriental way”, in the words of a *Natal Witness* reporter.¹¹⁵

The degree of racism directed against Asians was demonstrated by another Hilton College debate four years later. Asians were characterised as waiters and gardeners, but castigated as diseased, untrustworthy, living in hovels that disfigured the landscape, dangerous drivers of buses and the consumers of obnoxious foreign curry and rice. Attitudes towards Asians revealed deep-seated paranoia. Africans, on the other hand, were persons of fine physique who ate mealies and thereby supported the local economy.¹¹⁶ Asians were deprived of the municipal franchise in 1925 by the Natal Boroughs Ordinance although anti-Asian draft legislation in the national Parliament was withdrawn after contact with the Indian government. This resulted in the April 1926 Joint Communique between South Africa and India, establishing the need to “safeguard the maintenance of Western standards of life in South Africa by just and legitimate means”; and the Cape Town Agreement in which strict immigration controls were agreed, purportedly for improved social provision.¹¹⁷ Westernised Asians, it seems to have been established, were free to stay although D.F.Malan described them in 1925 as an ‘alien element’. The idea of relocation of the mass of Natal Asians to a third country persisted and was particularly popular in Natal. As they had done at the turn of the twentieth century, many Asians adopted a strong sense of British identity as well as maintaining close ties with India itself: “Indians persisted in placing themselves within an imperial identity by reinforcing their loyalty to Empire.”¹¹⁸ Protests against anti-Asian discriminatory legislation in the 1920s described people of Asiatic descent as ‘British people of Natal!’¹¹⁹

Amongst some Whites and some Asians there was a shared view that economic integration

¹¹⁴ *The Hiltonian* 35, 1925, p.37.

¹¹⁵ *NW* 11 June 1925, p.7.

¹¹⁶ *The Hiltonian* 40, 1929, p.32: the debate concluded (by 27 to 14) that Asian labour should be replaced by African. Tielman Roos made speeches denouncing solicitors for sending their Asian clerks to court to issue summonses where they ‘rubbed shoulders’ with White girls. In certain offices, he complained, “Indians dictated letters to European girls ... [t]o allow ... [this] ... was an insult to the white race.” (Aiyar, P. S. *The Indian problem in South Africa* (Durban: African Chronicle, 1925), pp.52-53).

¹¹⁷ Broome, F. (chair). *Report of the Indian Penetration Commission*, p.7. Jain, P. C. *Indians in South Africa: political economy of race relations* (Delhi: Kalinga, 1999), p.39. Joshi, P.S. *The tyranny of colour: a study of the Indian problem in South Africa* ([S.l.]: the Author, 1942), p.113.

¹¹⁸ Vahed, G. The making of ‘Indianness’: Indian politics in South Africa during the 1930s and 1940s. *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 17 (1997), p.8.

¹¹⁹ Aiyar, P.S. *The Indian problem in South Africa*, p.54.

could be ignored, and might even be of mutual benefit, as long as residential segregation was strictly enforced. But in Pietermaritzburg antipathy towards the Asian community from Whites increased during the inter-war years and as early as 1922 there was a request for the removal of the occupants of 18 Shepstone Avenue on the grounds that it was in an “exclusively European area.”¹²⁰ In 1924 a deputation of the Young South Africa Society demanded from the Mayor a separate market for Asians and the replacement of Asian workers by Whites. At the same time, the delegation objected to Asian traffic pointsmen, demanding their removal in favour of Whites and this was indeed done at two significant junctions later in the year, a move objected to by the Natal Colonial Born Indian Association (NCBIA). The City Council rejected by 12-2 the idea of dismissing all those in municipal employ except interpreters and night soil removers, a proposal so extreme that it illustrates well the prejudice against Asians. Nevertheless, a motion favouring the employment of Whites, Coloureds and Africans, rather than Asians, was supported by the City Council in 1924.¹²¹ In a Hilton College debate of 1930, one of the speakers, R.B. Shaw, offensively described Pietermaritzburg as “this unhealthily situated town with a large coolie population”. Much of the official discourse centred on supposed threats to public health.¹²²

The tendency for Asians to use market garden plots at New Scotland and Camp Drift on which to build was described just after the Great War as injurious to health. The main areas of settlement, apart from City East, where in 1924 another barracks was constructed, were New Scotland, Pentrich and Hathorn’s Hill, whose dwellings on half acre plots were described as ‘hovels’ with pit privies that lacked running water and refuse removal facilities.¹²³ The Pentrich settlement, consisting of 166 acres belonging to the Corporation and the Forsyth and Bodasingh estates, sited on the banks of the Umsindusi River was subject to flooding and ideal for market gardening on plots of varying size up to two acres. Inhabitants were served by pit privies and standpipes, and three roads. The area lacked surface drainage, refuse removal and any properly designated recreational facilities. Of the 183 dwellings that housed 1717 residents in 1930 at an average of 9.4 persons per dwelling, 133 (occupied by 250 families, half of them Asian and the other half African) were decreed unfit for habitation and all the others required upgrading. A similar situation applied at Hathorn’s Hill at the east end of the city, where 105 acres of market garden supported 83 dwellings, 76 of them condemned.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ CCM 11 Apr 1922. These particular premises were later condemned as insanitary.

¹²¹ CCM 13 May, 9, 20 Sep, 7 Oct 1924.

¹²² *Hiltonian* 42, 1930, p.33.

¹²³ CYB 1921, p.60; 1923, pp.54, 56; 1924, p.64.

¹²⁴ CYB 1930, pp.73-74, 77.

During the early 1930s a main preoccupation of borough officials was the forced removal of Africans from areas of Asian informal settlement to the new NV. Meanwhile, protests against 'penetration' continued: in 1934 land at the foot of Howick Road was sold to Asians, raising fears that a barracks would be erected on the site and reviving calls for land reserved to Whites. The sale of lots in newly developed areas of the city, such as that between Sanders Road and the Racecourse in 1937, routinely restricted ownership and occupation to persons of White descent, a stipulation vigorously opposed by the NIC, which regarded it as an abrogation of the 1926 Cape Town Agreement. Earlier, the NIC had objected to by-laws excluding Asian hawkers of fruit from the city centre where they were described by police as a 'nuisance'.¹²⁵ In December 1933 an interest in 'class' segregation was rekindled by the fact that an "Indian had acquired a considerable holding in one of the most promising suburbs in the neighbourhood of the Botanical Gardens."¹²⁶ In 1940 the collection of evidence of 'penetration' began, justified by the fact that, by almost all Whites, Asians were considered to be a 'problem'.¹²⁷ When the 'penetration' of the period 1927-1940 was investigated, there were found to be a mere 16 cases in Pietermaritzburg.¹²⁸

Burrows' survey of health among Asian families in Natal at the beginning of the Second World War suggested that nutritional standards were low, in part because the price of rice was high. He noted deficiencies of calcium and vitamins A and B, concluding that "although the percentage of income spent on food is very high ... malnutrition is very bad amongst the Indian community ... [and] a very large number of people are not even getting a sufficient quantity of food." As a result, "children are often weak, under-nourished, and under-weight."¹²⁹ Pneumonia, tuberculosis and various intestinal infections were also listed as problems. The state of health of the Asian community in Pietermaritzburg is revealed by a mortality pattern for 1934 in which 66% of deaths were under the age of 45 mainly from ailments of the lung, intestine and preventable disease. Malaria was also an intermittent problem. At Camp Drift (Pentrich, the Pietermaritzburg equivalent in some senses of Durban's Cato Manor), a settlement of about 1 000 persons of which 80% were Asian, 61% of the houses, wattle and daub or wood and iron, were found to be uninhabitable: "disgusting dwellings ... which require immediate demolition on public health grounds" and were popularly thought to be a source of infectious disease and a danger to the city

¹²⁵ CCM 25 Sep 1934; 14 Jan 1936; 22 Mar, 24 Aug 1937.

¹²⁶ CCM 12 Dec 1933. This was an era of increasing support for segregation: new cashiers' offices for the City Treasurer were labelled 'Europeans only' in 1939. The following year segregation notices appeared at the Market and removal of the non-White section of Grey's Hospital was suggested.

¹²⁷ CCM 23 May 1939; 9, 23 Apr 1940.

¹²⁸ Wills, T. The segregated city in Laband, J. and Haswell, R. (eds.), *Pietermaritzburg 1838-1988*, p.39.

¹²⁹ Burrows, H.R. *Indian life and labour in Natal* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, [1943]), p.32.

as a whole.¹³⁰ A City East survey under the Slums Act found Asian barracks with an average room density of 3.05 persons in poor sanitary conditions. The 1935 municipal survey conducted in terms of the same Act showed that Asian persons were living in uninhabitable dwellings at Camp Drift, Hathorn's Hill, Foxon and Maharaj Locations, Fitzsimmons and in the city itself.¹³¹ Indian people accounted for 58% of those found to be in condemned housing, but they constituted only 17.6% of the borough population. The view that the Slums Act was "an anti-Indian enactment which was bound to result in expropriation of Indian-owned properties" is debatable, although it had its origins in the Public Health Act (1919) that saw disease in racial terms.¹³² But there were justified fears that market garden land was specifically earmarked for expropriation and the Slums Act eventually paved the way for implementation of apartheid legislation.

The idea that the largely Asian peri-urban townships of Cremorne and Raisethorpe (described as a place of "unwholesome conditions"¹³³), seen as part of a Black belt encircling Pietermaritzburg and presenting a health hazard to the whole city, should be incorporated into the municipality was rejected in 1937 by the City Council after representations by the province. At the same time, a sub-economic housing scheme was proposed for the Town Lands north-west of the Greytown Road at Mountain Rise Cemetery, an area of 125 acres. This was opposed in particular by the NIC after a protest meeting held on 14 March 1937 that demanded housing development at Camp Drift where an Asian community had lived since the turn of the century, but this was rejected by the City Council. A small number of Asians lived in two compounds, provided for the sewage farm and the scavenging gang. The economic position of the Asian community at this time is indicated by the fact that while incomes ranged from £2/12/- to £4/4/- per month, sub-economic rentals were placed along a scale of 32/- to 36/- per month.¹³⁴ In 1939 a small Asian housing scheme of 50 units known as Sastri Square (after Srinivasa Sastri, Agent-General of India in South Africa) was started between Boom and Greyling Streets. There was a strong bond between factory workers and labourers that depended on football and this was assisted by the open ground around which the houses were built.¹³⁵

In India it has been noted that in the early twentieth century sport helped to break down social

¹³⁰ *CYB* 1934, p.88; 1936, p.22; 1937, p.25.

¹³¹ One such building was Poynton's Barracks at 491-499 Church Street, whose demolition was demanded in 1937.

¹³² Joshi, P.S. *The tyranny of colour*, pp.201, 226.

¹³³ *CCM* 21 June 1937.

¹³⁴ *CYB* 1939, p.124; 1940, p.96.

¹³⁵ *CYB* 1939, p.17. Naidoo, N. Recalling village life *The Witness* 29 Oct 2004.

distance in small ways when Indians “who dressed and behaved like [the English]” were admitted to tennis and other clubs.¹³⁶ The position of Asians amongst the people of Pietermaritzburg during the inter-war years was fragile. The burgesses of Scottsville, for instance, through their representations about the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill asked that its provisions be made compulsory. Apart from a small middle class of traders and professionals, the Asian community was working-class, characterised by poor health, relatively short life expectancy and a generally low standard of housing. Little or no concern was expressed for the health and welfare of the community, save as a preventative measure to protect Whites. The attitude of White-controlled municipal authorities was one of conspicuous neglect, but nevertheless Asians acquired sufficient economic power to establish schools and various social facilities. Cricket, like tennis, was played by wealthier members of the Asian community. Its administrators were generally eminent in other fields and used sport to acquire further prestige. Although they adopted a radical stance on the issue of sports segregation, the leading administrators often hailed from relatively conservative backgrounds.

In 1921 the Town Clerk suggested to the Indian Sports Committee (ISC) that ten acres on the Greytown Road opposite the Indian High School that could accommodate three sports fields might be used at the pleasure of Council. He offered a maximum matching grant of £100 to establish and fence the facility, but there is no evidence that this was ever accepted.¹³⁷ Cricket was using a portion of the Willowbridge polo ground where Ottomans, a touring side from Johannesburg, played in January 1921. By the 1930s the community had access to the Edendale Road SG (from 1932) and its one major recreational asset, the Indian Sports Ground (ISG) at the foot of Mountain Rise between Burger and Prince Alfred Streets. In 1931 a loan was made to the Indian Sports Association (ISA): there was a move amongst members of the City Council to delay its implementation until the ground was inspected, although this amendment was defeated. During the same year a loan of £500 at 6% over 20 years was approved for the erection of a pavilion. But over the inter-war period as a whole the ISA received a paltry £101 in grants-in-aid, or 1.2% of the total (*see* table 8). In a move typical of domino style racial displacement, the ISG took over most of the NSG next door at Fitzsimmons in 1940 during the ‘pleasure of Council’ and used it for golf.¹³⁸ In spite of these problems Asian cricket in Pietermaritzburg thrived and Royals won the provincial club championship (Panday’s Shield) four times during the late 1930s while Ted Chetty captained Natal. One of the town’s strongest Asian sides, Orientals, was founded in

¹³⁶ Collingham, E. M. *Imperial bodies: the physical experience of the Raj, c.1800-1947* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001), p.198.

¹³⁷ D.Paton, TC to ISC, 31 Oct 1921 *in* PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (Maritzburg Indian Sports Association).

¹³⁸ Note by TC, 29 Aug 1939 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/280, file 126/3 (Extension of Mountain Rise Golf Course). *CYB* 1940, p.35.

1922 by the Cassimjee, Rawat and Bayat families, 'moneyed traders' with NIC links operating in the vicinity of the Market Square. Their companies ran boarding houses for employees, potential recruits for Orientals sides, and maintained strong links with the Mohammedan School in West Street. The original name for the club, Ottomans, was turned down as Turkish-sounding. During the 1930s it was able to afford a White coach from England, by the name of Deane.¹³⁹ A tennis club, Mayfair, was founded in December 1934 and it was noted that Indian courts were available in Boom Street.¹⁴⁰

In the late 1930s some consideration was given to the needs of schoolchildren and there were cordial exchanges between the Council and the NIC worried that "Indian children use main and side streets as their playground."¹⁴¹ This is given added significance by virtue of the fact that the issue of an Asian playground had been on the City Council's agenda since 1934. A site near the Berg Street hostel was rejected as more suitable for African recreation. The City Engineer suggested that legal measures be taken against overcrowding, followed by the development of a housing scheme that included playgrounds, such as that proposed for Hathorn's Hill. He anticipated opposition to this from property owners and landlords and further protest about the idea that land used for backyard market gardening should be converted to recreational space.¹⁴² In 1939 a site between Church and Pietermaritz Streets below Retief was suggested but again rejected, and the Indo-European Joint Council (I-EJC) was later to make the crucial point that "it does not appear ... to be the Council's policy to encourage [Indian children] to use the Alexandra Park, where they are from time to time warned off the swings etc."¹⁴³

The saga of a swimming pool for Asians was also instructive. In 1938 application was made by the NIC on the grounds that "Indians as ratepayers and burgesses are not given their full share in enjoying the amenities of the City" and that the lack of a bath was a "long felt grievance."¹⁴⁴ The CBSIA agreed and added that swimming would be good for the health of the community.¹⁴⁵ But, in spite of the

¹³⁹ Desai, A. *et al. Blacks in whites: a century of cricket struggles in KwaZulu-Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), pp. 77, 84, 88-89.

¹⁴⁰ *NW* 22 Dec 1934, p.3.

¹⁴¹ NIC to TC, 19 Nov 1938 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 376, files 1436/1938 and 242/10 (Suggested playground for Indian children).

¹⁴² City Engineer to TC, 24 June 1935, 28 Nov 1938, 3 Nov 1939 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 376, files 1436/1938 and 242/10 (Suggested playground for Indian children).

¹⁴³ Indo-European Joint Council to TC, 17 Mar 1941 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 376, files 1436/1938 and 242/10 (Suggested playground for Indian children).

¹⁴⁴ V.K. Pillay and C. Zachariah, Secretaries, NIC to TC, 26 Nov 1938 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/3/339, file 1464/1938 (Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association swimming bath for Indians).

¹⁴⁵ S. Rathanam, Secretary CBSIA to TC, 28 Nov 1938 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/3/339, file 1464/1938 (Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association swimming bath for Indians).

fact that the City Treasurer pointed out to the Town Clerk that loans 18 and 19 (Public buildings capital account) included unallocated sums amounting to £15 000, the Council decided that it was not “in a position financially to consider [the] proposal at the present time.”¹⁴⁶ Correspondence about the swimming bath took place amidst general complaints concerning the upkeep of Asian areas of Pietermaritzburg: a petition was circulated in 1936 about the “deplorable state of the footpaths existing in Berg Street, below Retief Street” and listed six other streets. Two years later there was a complaint that nothing had been done: “Indian localities have always been neglected” and in 1939 all the Council could manage was the feeble response that the programme for the year had been fixed and no further work could be authorised.¹⁴⁷ Continuing evidence of prejudice against Asians was in evidence in the late 1930s. In September 1938, the Indian Women’s Association was refused use of the City Hall and, although this decision was reversed, the balconies were still reserved for Whites.¹⁴⁸

SUMMARY

The inter-war years were thus, in spite of Hattersley’s opinion, a highly significant period in the history of Pietermaritzburg in which increasing racism expressed itself through segregation, illustrated in a number of ways by recreation. In its most graphic form this involved the expropriation of common resources in the name of the public, transferring them into private, exclusively White hands in a fashion that was invisible to scrutiny, although it did not escape the critical eye of the Auditor. Due deference was paid to the White social elite, favourable financial arrangements were made and ‘The Club’ became entrenched as a key social-economic and political institution. It was a bastion of White nationalist, overwhelmingly English-speaking, sentiment that retained during this period its strong allegiance to the Crown and imperial values. These were only too evident in the regular Royal and military visits and annual commemorations such as Empire Day, at which sport was an invariable centre piece.

Ethnic awareness was an overwhelming factor in day-to-day life, reflected in sport, which was used as a divisive factor in the life of the city. A pre-eminent White fear was the contagious potential of contact with Black persons, although segregation was enforced by custom rather than through statute or by-law. Much was made in official pronouncements of the healthy climate of the city. Municipal

¹⁴⁶ City Treasurer to TC, 19 Dec 1938; Finance, Etc. Committee 9 Feb 1939 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/339, file 1464/1938 (Colonial Born and Settlers’ Indian Association swimming bath for Indians).

¹⁴⁷ K. Subramoney, Secretary CBSIA to TC, 28 Oct 1936; S. Rathanam, Secretary CBSIA to TC, 28 Nov 1938; City Council Works, Etc. Committee 1 Feb 1939 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/339, file 1465/1938 (Colonial Born and Settlers’ Indian Association: petition re condition of footpaths below Retief Street).

¹⁴⁸ CCM 27 Sep 1938.

ambition was considerable in terms of educational, residential and light industrial development, and this was matched by generous investment in facilities for ball games and swimming and the development of Alexandra Park. All sectors of the White population were well catered for and recreational development played a part in relief work and the political economy of the Great Depression.

Black inhabitants of Pietermaritzburg played a peripheral role in White recreation as servants and labourers. But their more general place in the White consciousness led to growing marginalisation and alienation. Coloured persons were increasingly accused of being the cause of African crime, particularly that related to drinking; and their standard of health and housing set them aside from Whites. The attitude of officialdom, reflected in poor funding for the CWA and the rejection of the offer by H.V. Marsh to help fund a swimming bath, indicate that the Coloured population was increasingly an embarrassment and a forgotten fragment of Pietermaritzburg society, a far cry from the turn of the century when it was barely distinguishable from the Whites.

The Asian fraction of the population was demonised, abused and disliked to such an extent that there was support for its repatriation. The small middle-class component was largely ignored, inter-race social cricket notwithstanding, in spite of its strong identity with and loyalty to the imperial order. The growing White fear was of 'penetration', that is to say the move of wealthy Indians into commerce and residential areas deemed by custom to be White. Pietermaritzburg's Asians were characterised more generally by shack settlements in peri-urban market garden areas with low standards of nutrition, part of the much-feared Black belt threatening to surround and engulf perceived civilised values in Pietermaritzburg. The position of this community was fragile in the extreme and consequently neglected as shown by the bathing facilities issue, although it did generate its own progress on the recreational front. This did not prevent the Asian community playing a buffer role typical of colonial African societies in which its recreational facilities had begun by 1940 to displace those of Africans.

CHAPTER FOUR INTER-WAR YEARS, 1919-1939: THE AFRICAN COMMUNITY

THE GROWTH OF SEGREGATION AND THE NATIVE VILLAGE

Like all South African towns, Pietermaritzburg was beset by a fundamental contradiction: the economic need for cheap African labour, but a visceral desire to maximise distance from its social consequences. Africans in Pietermaritzburg immediately after the Great War comprised domestic workers on monthly contracts (many of them males as young as 10), Togg labourers, washermen and ricksha pullers (*abawini*, particularly prone to health problems such as pneumonia). They were also predominately male: the municipality was strongly opposed to both the presence of women and the popularity of their home-brew. There were strong objections from the burgesses of ward seven about a barracks for single African men (mainly known as 'store boys') in the Fitzsimmons area. This was even touted as a suitable site for a location because of its proximity to the city and utilities, but the City Council was divided. The objections were several and predictable: lowered property prices; use of a prosperous residential area as a thoroughfare; and the proximity of a location as well as the Indian quarter and Mountain Rise sanitary depot to Whites. But they also touched on the hysterical: parents of ward seven "view[ed] with the greatest alarm the proposed site from the point of view of their daughters and the increased risk of black peril"; while a lack of security would be "a perpetual nuisance and nightmare, as well as a source of danger". The burgesses of ward seven felt that the "growing insolent attitude of Natives" required a more distant site. Similarly, an African school planned for the city centre was thought more suitable for New Scotland Road.¹

At the same time, labour grew more difficult to obtain, wages increased markedly and the authorities became agitated about the activities of 'skebengas'. The most notable incident was an attack on police in Mayor's Walk on 6 November 1920 in which Police Sergeant Davidson was badly injured. The Commercial Road amalaita gang of about 55 armed men had crossed Alexandra Park and headed for the polo ground (in what is now Winston Road) in search of their opponents, the Greyville gang, for a stick fight. En route they behaved in an aggressive way towards Whites they encountered. In what was termed a 'skebenga riot', eight policemen were assaulted but the newspaper report of the court case mentions the firing of three shots that can only have come from the police and seem to have provoked

¹ CCM 11 Feb, 4 Mar, 1 July 1919; 9 July 1920.

significantly it was rooted in existing convention.¹⁷ Anderson links increased segregation in sport with growing nationalism, which manifested itself in different ways in the White community.¹⁸ In Natal an alliance between municipalities and the White working class, in a classic demonstration of patronage, dominated local politics in the 1930s and encouraged an increasingly racist discourse that centred on the doctrine of 'civilised labour'. Maharaj explains that in Durban "there was a concern to facilitate capital accumulation, regulate and repress black labour, and to cater for the needs of the white working class ... the local state became heavily involved in the provision of the social means of reproduction ... [it] pioneered a unique system whereby African workers contributed to the cost of their own reproduction."¹⁹ These are the classic symptoms of internal colonialism in which distinct ethnic groups identified with specific territory and with different legal status are linked to another group in politically and economically highly skewed relationships.²⁰

As early as 1922 a Natal provincial ordinance made possible racial clauses in property sales, which were reinforced by neighbourhood covenants and the machinations of estate agents. The favoured policy on segregation in urban areas followed the Rhodesian model of 'native villages'. In his 1920s treatise on native policy, Brookes promoted them in terms of secure tenure, reduction of immorality, regulation of the labour supply, the inculcation of an ethos of work, as well as removal of the dangers of an insecure community. Small-scale market gardening, he suggested, would help the domestic economy and "add to the amenities of *European* life in the town"; but he conspicuously failed to mention anything about recreational facilities.²¹

Although Natal already possessed the legal means to authorise the creation and control of native locations, it was the Natives (Urban Areas) Act (1923), "the most racially repressive legislation anywhere in the world"²², that empowered local authorities to order Africans to live in them. The early years of the century saw a "violent racism" directed at Blacks in general and a demand, from an

¹⁷ Dubow, S. *The elaboration of segregationist ideology in* Beinart, W. and Dubow, S. *Segregation and apartheid in twentieth-century South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1995), p.145.

¹⁸ Anderson, P. G. *An investigation into the effect of race and politics on the development of South African sport (1970-1979)* (Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, 1979), p.63.

¹⁹ Maharaj, B. The historical development of the apartheid local state in South Africa: the case of Durban. *International journal of urban and regional research* 20 (1996), p.598.

²⁰ Mare, G. Non racialism in the struggle against apartheid. *Society in transition* 34(1) 2003, p.18.

²¹ Brookes, E. H. *The history of native policy in South Africa from 1830 to the present day* (Cape Town: Nasionale Pers, 1924), p.350. This writer's emphasis.

²² Parnell, S. Race, power and urban control: Johannesburg's inner city slum-yards, 1910-1923. *Journal of southern African studies* 29(3) 2003, p.615.

increasingly militant White working class, for more sophisticated and repressive state controls.²³ The Act represented the spirit of the Stallard Commission that had seen ministration to the needs of Whites as the only role for Africans in urban areas. It established administrative, financial and residential segregation and tight influx control. Henceforth, Africans were to be permitted to live in towns, but subject to labour requirements determined by the monitoring of incomers, registration of service contracts, and deportation of unwanted migrants. Their presence in towns was simply that of 'useful labour units'. The legislation satisfied a White desire for regularity, order and control over Africans throughout urban South Africa under the guise of slum clearance and health control, establishing in law the popular concept that towns were a White preserve in which Africans were transients. In effect Africans in towns were treated as if they were foreigners, an attitude that was to prove highly resilient. The original Bill had contained references to freehold location tenure, but it was absent from the promulgated Act.²⁴

The health issue was crucial and defined in stark racial terms that revealed worry about contagion and a great deal of moral superiority. A fear of 'plague spots' and the 'miasmatic spread' of disease was common, together with worries about tuberculosis and smallpox in relation to domestic labour. Crime and drinking were linked in the knowledge that kaffir beer was laced by golden syrup, brandy or meths to boost its potency. Drink was thought to turn Africans into a sexually aggressive danger to White women in particular. An image of infection, immorality and uncontrolled savagery was thus attached to African urban dwellers by Whites, together with the ultimate fear of miscegenation: "urban segregation had become necessary to save both Africans and the cities from each other."²⁵ The aim of the legislation was simple: to limit "the number of Africans in the cities ... defining where and how they might live." This was based, furthermore on a commonly-held belief that the rural reserves constituted a 'natural' environment and were fundamentally healthy places in spite of evidence to the contrary.²⁶ On 1 January 1924, Pietermaritzburg was declared a proclaimed area in terms of s.12 of the Act. At this point it was a town, in Black terms, of Council barracks and peripheral slums.²⁷

²³ La Hausse, P. Drinking in a cage. *Africa perspective* 20 (1982), p.64.

²⁴ Davenport, T.R.H. African townsmen?: South African natives (urban areas) legislation through the years. *African affairs* 68, 1969, p.98.

²⁵ Swanson, M. The sanitation syndrome in Beinart, W. and Dubow, S. *Segregation and apartheid in twentieth-century South Africa*, p.38.

²⁶ Parnell, S. Negotiating segregation: pre-parliamentary debate over the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923. *African studies* 57(2) 1998, p.152.

²⁷ Lester, A. *From colonization to democracy: a new historical geography of South Africa* (London: Tauris, 1996), p.87.

Although locations were in a sense a symbol of the permanence of an African minority in urban areas, in reality they also represented uncertainty. They were often constructed on highly marginal land and there was widespread opposition to the idea of freehold that should have been implicit in the concept of a Black middle class: cities were to remain pre-eminently sanitised White spaces and Africans were to be an impermanent element.²⁸ Influential writers on native policy even at the end of the 1920s were still employing extreme terms with regard to the African population. Duncan wrote of the Black industrial worker: "his standard of life is that of a barbarian"; and that it would be "fatal to a civilised race to live in daily contact with and in dependence upon the services of an uncivilised subject race." Africans, declared Duncan, needed to be raised to a civilised level and the absence of such a mission would lead to the demoralisation of Whites.²⁹ The problem was that the ability of the native reserves to underwrite the African urban population decreased markedly after the 1914-18 World War. The result was a rapid rise in the number of Africans in the cities and the simultaneous development of both repressive measures and concessions. Although the presence of Africans in urban areas had become an irrefutable and irreversible fact, Whites still preferred to pretend that they were not there or would, some day, disappear altogether back to a rural homeland. The idea of even a token middle class African population in urban areas with freehold rights was anathema to many Whites. One of the objections was that Africans would forget why they were in urban areas: in other words, location conditions could be too comfortable, diverting attention from the fact that cities were White. Consequently, there was opposition to housing and transport schemes on the grounds that the permanence of native villages was far from assured. There was also the argument that to make the villages pleasant would attract too many potential residents. Brookes later illustrated the problem with an example apposite to this thesis

In one of the largest Union municipalities, an urgent and generally admitted need existed for the setting aside of a Native Recreation Ground. The matter was referred to a series of public meetings at which the Ratepayers' Associations of the various Wards were represented. The ratepayers of the north agreed that ground was necessary and suggested that it might be laid out in the south, east or west. The ratepayers of the south suggested east, west or north. The ratepayers of the east suggested north, south or west; and the ratepayers of the west suggested south, east or north. In the event no

²⁸ Rich, P. *Ministering to the white man's needs: the development of urban segregation in South Africa, 1913-1923. African studies* 37(2) 1978, p.182.

²⁹ Duncan, P. *Suggestions for a native policy* ([Johannesburg]: CNA, 1927, originally published 1912), pp. 3, 8-9.

Recreation Ground was granted.³⁰

Yet Connell and other planners writing at the end of the 1930s pointed out that while White residential suburbs would automatically make use of the “the general educational, *recreational* and amusement facilities of the city ... there is no such universal centre for the urban Native population.” An African township, they noted, because of “the abnormal social position of the Bantu”, had to cater for all its needs, including “recreational facilities, its sportsgrounds and meeting places.” They concluded that “the planning of a township must become the planning of a town.”³¹

The campaign by burgesses of Pietermaritzburg’s ward seven (*see* p.110) achieved its purpose and the next suggestion regarding a Native location involved a site on the Bishopstowe Road near the sewage farm. Africans preferred Mason’s Mill on the west side of the city en route to Edendale, but there were problems of utility supply and the potential for pollution. The development costs for utilities at £7 870 were more than double those of Bishopstowe Road. In 1921 sites for a Native Village (NV) were also looked at near the Havelock Road electrical power station, at Fort Napier, and in ward eight. The general condition of Africans was regarded as very unsatisfactory and a way out of this dilemma was seen as the development of a location. This, it was felt, would also address the issue of the exploitation of Africans by some Whites and Asians who rented out insanitary accommodation. But even as late as 1924 the concept of the NV was being strongly opposed in favour of a hostel to accommodate a more temporary population of 1 400 single men, which was opened on 1 July 1925. During the same year a Superintendent of Native Affairs (SNA) was appointed by the municipality in the light of the 1923 Act. The idea of a NV was finally endorsed by the City Council, which then organised a plebiscite of White voters. The Town Clerk’s notice dated 22 June 1925 drew attention to the fact that Africans were living in poor conditions amidst Asians, and that the argument for a village centred on the need for an area “where the married town native with his wife and family may live in decency and under more healthy conditions than at present.”³² The Bishopstowe Road site was strongly endorsed over Mason’s Mill.³³ Acceptance of the idea of the NV was a triumph for a liberal, reformist

³⁰ Brookes, E. H. *The colour problems of South Africa: being the Phelps Stokes Lectures, 1933 delivered at the University of Cape Town* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, [1934]), p.69.

³¹ Connell, P.H. *et al. Native housing: a collective thesis* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1939), p.40.

³² *NW* 24 June 1925, p.4.

³³ The turn out was 18.1% and the Bishopstowe Road site was supported by 70% of voters. Outside the polling station at the City Hall were about 100 Africans, some of them calling for a vote for the Mason’s Mill plan (*NW* 30 June 1925, p.5). The Mason’s Mill site involved part of a public outspan and its alienation would have caused a major outcry amongst Whites. Similarly the outcome resulted in objections from the Mountain Rise Residents Association (MRRRA) arguing that they “had already more than sufficient undesirable institutions” and that the planned NV should be sited closer to Table Mountain (*CCM* 3 Nov 1925).

paternalism. Its anxiety about the development of a comfortable, Western orientated middle class coincided with the interests of those segregationists keen to isolate and put at a distance perceived problems of disease, noise and criminality. Ministerial approval was given on 20 November 1926 and it became one of 237 townships to be established in South Africa between 1924 and 1937.³⁴ In July 1925 the East Street men's hostel was opened. The Mayor commented that it provided "better accommodation on proper lines" and that the premises were "economically laid out", although significantly there appeared to have been no Africans present to witness the official ceremony.³⁵

In view of the availability of the first ten houses at the NV in January 1928, portions of wards seven and eight (the East End of the town near the Dorpspruit) were proclaimed under s.5 of the 1923 Act during the year. Nonetheless rooms in back yards remained popular as they symbolised freedom in the face of local bureaucracy and the authorities saw fit to note that the first houses were occupied voluntarily. By 1929 the official view was that Africans were now 'satisfied' with houses at Sobantu and grateful after initial antagonism from "Native agitators ... busy all through the year."³⁶ Its population had reached 372, leaving few Africans in wards seven and eight other than servants and exempted individuals.³⁷ On 1 September 1931 the entire borough was proclaimed under s.12 of the Act (the idea had first been mooted in 1929) and forced removals gathered pace, most notably from properties at Camp Drift and Hathorn's Hill (600 people) because of "the considerable number of native families living in them"³⁸ and to "prevent the spread of tin shacks on the outskirts of the town"³⁹; although Edendale and Swartkop remained uncontrolled. Exemptions were, however, granted to some Africans living in the New Scotland area in partial response to the appeal of Chief Sioka (who was later deposed from his position). The NV, with all its deficiencies and a total lack of amenities, became a source of White civic pride: delegates to a Conference of Native Teachers were "loud in their praise"; while members of the Native Economic Commission were convinced that "they had seen nothing more orderly or tidy."⁴⁰

³⁴ Lester, A., Nel, E. and Binns, T. *South Africa, past, present and future: gold at the end of the rainbow?* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), p.158.

³⁵ *NW* 2 July 1925, p.7.

³⁶ *CYB* 1929, p.88.

³⁷ *CCM* 16 Jan 1929. The existence of the NV gave added impetus to complaints like that of J.W. Allison about an African club in Upper Church Street.

³⁸ *CYB* 1931, p.20.

³⁹ *CYB* 1932, p.19.

⁴⁰ *CYB* 1931, pp.18, 30.

In the late 1920s Margery Perham passed through Pietermaritzburg briefly, sympathising with the plight of municipal officials whom she saw as applying segregation in terms of Hertzogian policies rather than a “reasonably liberal atmosphere within the limits of racial division.” She described Sobantu’s houses as “delightful little cottages ... the best I had seen in the whole of South Africa”, mentioning their cleanliness and orderliness.⁴¹ The paternalistic, civilising and improving element in this process of forced relocation was often little more than a thin veneer. In a 1932 account of ward eight, Natives are “removed”, shacks “demolished” and one of the worst quarters of the borough “wiped out” with the ejection of “shebeeners and other persons of evil repute.” The area was consequently now “quiet and orderly”, “another step forward in the improvement of conditions under which Natives live in our midst.” Similarly at Camp Drift cleaning up of the area involved “the moving of the Natives from the shacks.” The bulk of the African population was removed and their buildings demolished. At the same time, the NV was recorded as “more popular with the Natives.” Nor were complaints those of Whites alone as in 1932 a protest was received from the East Street mosque about noise made by Africans on the corner of Longmarket Street.⁴²

Segregation tightened during this period of the mid- 1930s. Separate sections of Mountain Rise Cemetery were demarcated and Africans were moved from Chatterton Road and Boom Street accompanied by the demolition of dwellings. Licensing of ‘Native housing’ within the proclaimed area of Pietermaritzburg became tighter and in 1933 there were 157 prosecutions for “harbouring Natives.”⁴³ The next step was removal of Africans from the city centre with the demolition of the Pietermaritz Street Beer Hall and Native Market, which was relocated to the east end of the city on the corner of Berg and Retief Streets on 11 December 1934. One of the reasons for relocation was the “large number of Natives ... often congregated on the footpath, etc., ... a source of annoyance to the neighbourhood for a number of years.”⁴⁴ The move was hailed by the new Manager of the Native Affairs Department (NAD), R.E. Stevens, who succeeded Ballenden in 1927, as best for the City. Coloured and Asian residents did not agree and protested against the move to the Berg Street/Retief Street area.⁴⁵ Another contentious issue was the sale of beer on Sunday. H.C. Lugg, the Natal Native Commissioner believed that this would diminish the demand for illicit brew but he was opposed by a

⁴¹ Perham, M. *African apprenticeship: an autobiographical journey in southern Africa, 1929* (London: Faber, 1974), p.178. The peri-urban Asian settlements around Durban she described as “sordid tin huts and messy-looking ... bits of farming” (p.179).

⁴² *CYB* 1932, pp.80, 84; 1933, p.18. *CCM* 23 Feb 1932.

⁴³ *CYB* 1933, p.86; 1934, p.96.

⁴⁴ *CYB* 1935, p.108.

⁴⁵ *CCM* 10 Apr 1934.

majority of the Pietermaritzburg City Council.⁴⁶ At the same time removals and demolition were taking place at Maryvale (West of Mountain Rise). In 1935, 102 prosecutions took place under the Natives Administration Act.

During the same year, the municipal survey conducted in terms of the Slums Act showed that Africans were living in uninhabitable dwellings at Maryvale, Camp Drift, Slangspruit, Hathorn's Hill, Foxon and Maharaj Locations, Fitzsimmons, New Scotland and in the city itself.⁴⁷ Africans accounted for 33% of those found to be in condemned housing, just a little more than their proportion (30%) of the borough population and health inspections in the name of the Slums Act provided an excuse for police raids.⁴⁸ In 1934 the city Medical Officer, Dr C.C.P. Anning found that both Town Bush and Chase Valleys contained African and Asian housing that could only be described as insanitary slums in which enteric and TB flourished.⁴⁹ In 1936 attention turned to Sutherlands on the borough boundary, the Union Government authorities demolishing shacks and relocating their inhabitants beyond a three mile cordon further into the Edendale valley.⁵⁰ Three years earlier the municipality had rejected the idea of incorporating Sutherlands (and New England) and even refused to participate in a provincial committee investigating these areas.⁵¹ A popular White perception saw the town becoming surrounded by a peri-urban 'black belt' of informal housing at Plessislaer, Sutherlands and Edendale in the south-west and Cremorne and Raisethorpe to the north-east, posing a health hazard generally described as the 'menace' and symbolised by shebeens and prostitution.⁵² Within the city in 1936 there were 1269 prosecutions for harbouring or failing to register Africans, or for breach of curfew regulations. The irony of the situation was that some of the housing located in the 'Black belt' belonged to Asians or Whites. They were assisting in the provision of the very cheap labour, deprived of basic facilities and amenities, upon which the White economy was predicated.⁵³

The Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act (1937) aimed to tighten segregation still further,

⁴⁶ *NW* 12 Dec 1934, p.9.

⁴⁷ Some such properties belonged to Whites: condemned wood and iron dwellings on lot 715 of the Town Lands belonged to the Tatham family, for instance (*CCM* 26 Mar 1935).

⁴⁸ Parnell, S. *Race, power and urban control*, p.634.

⁴⁹ *NW* 11 Dec 1934, p.11.

⁵⁰ *CYB* 1936, p.109.

⁵¹ *CCM* 28 Feb 1933.

⁵² Peel, H. *Sobantu village: an administrative history of a Pietermaritzburg township, 1924-1959* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, 1987 - History Honours essay), p.22.

⁵³ Maylam, P. The 'black belt': African squatters in Durban, 1935-1950. *Canadian journal of African studies* 17(3) 1983, p.413.

particularly in relation to matters pertaining to religion, education and general culture, and it even possessed a clause permitting the closure of churches.⁵⁴ Some of its impact was overtaken by the labour demands of World War Two and neutralised, but nevertheless the passing of the Act did signify the beginnings of the first serious attempt at influx control.⁵⁵ It became impossible for an African to acquire urban land, except from another African, without the permission of the Governor-General. Freehold tenure for Africans in urban areas was banned and municipalities took on their “characteristic dual form” in which a modern town was juxtaposed with a poorly equipped location separated by a buffer zone.⁵⁶ Segregation was accompanied by the steady immiseration of the African population caught between a depressed wage structure that assumed a supportive rural resource base, and high rents resulting from the inflated costs of White labour.⁵⁷ This represented the success of Stallardism and the interests of a labour aristocracy, achieved through the agencies of pass laws and denial of land tenure to Africans, an outcome that Smuts failed to counter.⁵⁸ In Pietermaritzburg at the time of the Amendment Act, the NV comprised 254 houses containing 1 100 people and in the city there were three hostels, in East Street, Ortmann Road (converted Togh barracks) and Church Street (women). The concept of Africans as the lurking danger within had been highlighted in 1934 with the discovery of a high incidence of venereal disease: “it is now clear that in the past a great deal of dangerous infection must have been present in the town unknown to burgesses.”⁵⁹ This fear of contagion, inflamed by the ‘black belt’ scare increased at the end of the 1930s with the Medical Officer of Health highlighting the absence of pure water and sanitation and the danger the belt posed to the White urban population. At the outset of the Second World War, 75% of Africans in Pietermaritzburg were registered servants. The municipality’s control over the African population was enhanced by regulations under the Urban Areas Act that granted powers to search private premises without a warrant in pursuit of contraventions: only those in work, bona fide temporary visitors and work seekers with permits were allowed in the city. In 1939 prosecutions numbered 1 555 and there was still no solution to the perceived problem of the ‘black belt’, the only recourse of a rapidly urbanising African population in search of family life. The

⁵⁴ Bloch, R. and Wilkinson, P. Urban control and popular struggle, p.7.

⁵⁵ Davenport, T.R.H. African townsmen?, pp.101-102, 104. Davenport, T.R.H. Historical background of the apartheid city to 1948 in Swilling, M. Humphries, R. and Shubane, K. (eds.). *Apartheid city in transition* (Cape Town: OUP, 1991), pp.8, 11.

⁵⁶ Wills, T.W. The segregated city in Laband, J. and Haswell, R. (eds.). *Pietermaritzburg, 1838-1988: a new portrait of an African city* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter & Shooter, 1988), pp.246-250.

⁵⁷ Jones, J.D.R. Social and economic condition of the urban native in Schapera, I (ed.). *Western civilization and the natives of South Africa* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1934, 1967 printing), p.179.

⁵⁸ Davenport, T.R.H. The triumph of Colonel Stallard: the transformation of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act between 1923 and 1937. *South African historical journal* 2 (1970), pp.77, 78.

⁵⁹ *CYB* 1934, p.85.

Government Commission of Enquiry into Peri-Urban Areas suggested that a health committee should be set up over a five-mile cordon around Pietermaritzburg based on a declining scale of provincial funding and on technical help from Pietermaritzburg, but the borough opposed this in spite of concern about epidemic disease.⁶⁰

BEER AND THE NATIVE REVENUE ACCOUNT (NRA)

Proclaimed urban areas were to be financed by self-balancing NRAs administered by Native Affairs Departments (NADs). Each NRA was dependant upon income derived from rents from houses and hostel rooms, pass and service contract registration fees, fines for contravention of by-laws, and the sale of beer (the Kaffir Beer Account). This provision was designed to assist local authorities to avoid the financial burden of increased African urbanisation by laying the foundation of "a viable fiscal basis for locations that would not drain the white city purses."⁶¹ Members of the White working class were particularly opposed to any subsidy of African locations. But there was a general fear of strong drink (alcohol content of more than 3%) and its effect on Africans: the content of kaffir beer was deliberately kept low.⁶²

In the opinion of Maylam, administration of the Durban NRA "involved a fair amount of crookery" and almost every year in the 1930s there were serious questions posed by central government about the enormous surplus on the beer account (nearly £420 000 by 1947) and the charging of administrative and policing costs. "The Durban local state was a law unto itself in these financial matters" as well as "unprincipled, fraudulent and parsimonious."⁶³ As Torr puts it, "the 'Durban System' soon gained notoriety for the large profits which accrued to its NRA from the municipal beer monopoly"⁶⁴ and according to Swanson, "beer revenues became the key financial support of a more intensive and comprehensive programme of paternalistic administration."⁶⁵ In effect, the beer surplus

⁶⁰ *CYB* 1940, pp.93-95.

⁶¹ Parnell, S. *Negotiating segregation*, p.148.

⁶² La Hausse, P. The struggle for the city: alcohol, Ematsheni and popular culture in Durban, 1902-1936 in Maylam, P. and Edwards, I. (eds.). *The people's city: African life in twentieth-century Durban* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1996), pp.34, 43. Edgar, R.R. (ed.). *An African American in South Africa: the travel notes of Ralph J. Bunche, 28 September 1937 - 1 January 1938* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992), p.299.

⁶³ Maylam, P. Municipal fraud: the operation of Durban's Native Revenue Account 1908-1953. *Journal of Natal and Zulu history* 11 (1988), p.71.

⁶⁴ Torr, L. Lamontville: Durban's model village: the realities of township life, 1934-1960. *Journal of Natal and Zulu history* 10 (1987), p.104.

⁶⁵ Swanson, M. W. The Durban system: roots of urban apartheid in colonial Natal. *African studies* 35(3-4) 1976, p.174.

was being used to control Africans and subsidise Whites, while welfare spending remained paltry. Some expenditure on recreation did, however, derive from the NRA. Pretoria's concern that municipalities should bear the costs of control was based on the fear that the abuse of the NRA would be a cause for unrest. "Beer halls have been both resented and frequented by the urban Africans. They perceive them as instruments of their poverty and symbols of government oppression, yet recognize that they meet certain social and recreational needs" becoming "social, recreational and entrepreneurial centres for Africans in the borough."⁶⁶ Yet they were consistently rejected by the African elite and by women in general, who favoured, for various reasons, the shebeen tradition. Hellmann in her 1933 survey of Rooiyard near Johannesburg found that in African townships the main form of recreation was drinking, which led to a host of social problems.⁶⁷ Her findings were echoed in the polemical writings of Stakesby Lewis

no amenities obtained from the 'profits' on beer can possibly compensate for the material loss sustained by the community, apart from the injurious effect on the character of the people. Such amenities are bought with the blood of the victims.⁶⁸

He listed the consequential evils as malnutrition, disease and delinquency.⁶⁹

Before the promulgation of the Urban Areas Act in 1923, the administration of Africans in Pietermaritzburg was financed from three sources: the Native Registration Department which drew income from fees and ricksha licences (vehicles and pullers); the Togg Fund whose income was likewise dependant upon fees; and the Native Administration Fund (NAF). The last drew its considerable income from beer sales (*see* table 9, which indicates that the average annual profit over the period 1919-1939 was £3 149), insep⁷⁰, bail, fees and rents. Its expenditure went towards diminishing the Native Eating House deficit and on grants to the Native Ward at Grey's Hospital and the Native Women's Hostel. These "grants and contributions in the interests of the Natives" were consistent with the purpose of the Fund, but the Auditor regularly criticised certain expenditure, such as police services and sanitary removal: "it is regretted that it is necessary to call attention year after year to the levy made on the Fund."⁷¹ The miscellaneous element of expenditure was considerable and although the

⁶⁶ Du Plooy, P. African reaction to the beerhalls in Laband, J. and Haswell, R. (eds.). *Pietermaritzburg, 1838-1988*, p.142.

⁶⁷ Hellman, E. *Rooiyard: a sociological survey of an urban native slum yard* (Manchester: Manchester University Press for the Institute of Social Research, University of Zambia, 1969), pp.93-94.

⁶⁸ Lewis, S. *Kaffir beer halls: the failure of an experiment* (Johannesburg: the Author, 1941), p.29.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.30-33.

⁷⁰ This was an Anglicisation of *izinsipho* which is Zulu for beer dregs from which small-beer could be made (Doke, C.M. and Vilakazi, B.W. *Zulu-English dictionary* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2nd ed., 1972), p.599.

⁷¹ Auditors' report CYB 1921, pp.xii, xiv.

NAF received 4% interest from the Borough Fund, the Auditor expressed the hope in 1922 that the Urban Areas Act would clarify and regularise the issue of levies. In 1923 he articulated a further concern, this time that indirect transfers were being made to the Borough Fund in the form of architect's fees for a new brewery building that was never built.⁷² As La Hausse points out, the beerhall was a "disguised form of taxation."⁷³

Table 9: Profit from the sale of beer, 1919-1939 (£)

1919	2 502	1930	4 188
1920	629	1931	6 557
1921	3 504	1932	3 417
1922	5 478	1933	3 012
1923	3 191	1934	1 921
1924	1 321	1935	1 565
1925	2 586	1936	2 016
1926	3 241	1937	2 787
1927	2 300	1938	2 888
1928	5 232	1939	3 790
1929	4 124		

In 1923, in terms of the Urban Areas Act, the NAF and Togat Fund were merged into the NRA. At the end of 1923 the balance transferred was over £12 000 and the Auditor pointed out it was intended for the "welfare of the Natives."⁷⁴ From 1924 this was to include schools as well as the existing recipients and in 1925 capital grants were also made, to the Men's Hostel and the Edendale Road Eating House. A sum of £1 000 was charged to the NRA for police services, so the profits derived from drinking by Africans were now indeed all the more obviously employed for their control. By 1926 the auditor was more sanguine, approving of investments in Union Government and Pietermaritzburg Corporation stock. In that same year 71.4% of the NRA's income - from Togat and other registration fees, a fee from the Borough Fund regarding registration, the sale of insepun and sacks, and revenue from the hostels, eating house and beer halls - was derived from liquor sales. By 1928 this had risen to 77.6%, although it then began to decline proportionately as rents from the NV began to flow and by 1938 had reached a low of 35.4%. The NRA was the conduit for income and expenditure for the NV and the hostels from 1927, but the only clear indication of recreational provision concerned money transferred to the Native Welfare Society (NWS) for the bioscope (£120 in

⁷² Auditors' report *CYB* 1922, p.xvi; 1923, p.xiv.

⁷³ La Hausse, P. The message of the warriors: the ICU, the labouring poor and the making of a popular political culture in Durban, 1925-1930 in Bonner, P. et al. *Holding their ground: class, locality and culture in 19th and 20th century South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1989), p.43.

⁷⁴ Auditors' report *CYB* 1924, pp.xiv-xv.

1928 and 1929). Capital funds for the NV were provided against a 5.25% Durban Corporation loan of £30 000.

This situation began to change in the 1930s. From 1930 to 1940 sums varying between £1 186 and £1 643 were set aside each year for 'Native welfare', which covered the Native Ward at Grey's Hospital, schools, an infant clinic, prisoners' aid and even the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, plus the bioscope run by the NWS. In 1930, the 'Native Football Association' was rewarded with £10, but from thereon such expenditure is labelled simply as 'Native recreation', as in table 10. In 1934, expenditure on recreation amounted to 9% of the welfare vote, but the following year it sank back again to a more typical 2.2%. Indeed, in 1935 expenditure on the bioscope exceeded that on physical recreation by nearly five times. For the remainder of the decade the bioscope grant exceeded that of recreation grounds in every year. But from 1936 onwards the accounts of the NV reflected a maintenance vote that provided for sports grounds and other unnamed facilities as shown in table 11. It is thus unclear exactly how much was spent on the NV recreation ground, but from 1938 onwards dissatisfaction was being voiced by at least one resident who submitted a long list of grievances that included the absence of sports facilities. The complainant was G.F. Khumalo of house 363. His character is hard to assess,⁷⁵ but his questions lacked nothing by way of insight: "what steps are being taken by the Council for the betterment of conditions of living among the Bantu of this place? Who is responsible for this corrupt administration of Native Affairs?" The Town Clerk's unsympathetic response was brusque: "the Committee has no intention whatever of giving your suggestions serious consideration."⁷⁶

Table 10 Expenditure on 'Native recreation' from the NRA, 1931-1939 (£)

1931	42
1932	50
1933	36
1934	133
1935	29
1936	32
1937	25
1938	108
1939	170

⁷⁵ He was described by R.E. Stevens, the NAD Manager, as a person of "unbalanced mind", who had deserted his post in Zululand and then been removed from the Sobantu school for alleged ill-treatment of children. Khumalo was a persistent critic of White administration, called for Native rule and the removal of the Manager, and was arrested for non-payment of rent (NAD to TC, 2 Mar 1938 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/139, file 492/1938 (Complaints re Native Village Scheme)).

⁷⁶ G.F. Khumalo to TC, 24 Feb, 9 July 1938; TC to G.F. Khumalo, 30 June 1938 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/139, file 492/1938 (Complaints re Native Village Scheme).

Table 11 Expenditure from the Native Village operating budget on maintenance of recreation and other facilities, 1936-1939 (£)

1936	15
1937	46
1938	8
1939	14

In the early 1930s, the auditors disallowed a number of administrative charges made against the NRA, forcing their referral to the Minister who later approved them after delays that often amounted to years. Randall, a close observer of the 1930s, had very critical comment to direct at Durban's management of the NRA. The situation in Pietermaritzburg was not dissimilar with occasional deficits offset against an accumulated surplus. On 31 July 1937 the combined surpluses of the capital and revenue accounts amounted to over £28 000. In an opinion rare at the time for its sense of social justice, Randall argued that there "is no justification for the use of these profits to finance a considerable portion of the capital expenditure on Natives, or to relieve the White taxpayers of their moral duty to subsidize the poorer classes of citizens."⁷⁷ Randall was forthright in his opinion that this was a regressive, unjust policy based on class, that the financial resource base of African communities was insufficient to provide basic social and health needs and that there was moral justification for a subsidy by the wealthy. Brookes agreed with him, criticising "fiscal segregation" as unsound, "theoretically and practically."⁷⁸ However, "it was not until about the 1940s in South, Central and East Africa, that the notion of a legitimate and permanent African presence in the urban areas came to be taken seriously."⁷⁹ Up to that point it had been considered to be a community of temporary migrants and the consequences of urbanisation were regarded as a disservice to it.

MORALISING OF AFRICAN LEISURE TIME

The problems of Africans living on the margins of urban life were ignored by White officialdom, which relied on missionaries and philanthropists to provide minimal levels of social stability. C.T.Loram, Chief Inspector of Native Education in Natal, was one of the supporters of managed leisure time for Africans in the paternalistic tradition of Ray Phillips of the American Mission Board that aimed to guide promising individuals into acceptance by the dominant culture; redemption through White tutelage.

⁷⁷ Randall, R.J. Some reflections on the social policy of certain municipalities towards the natives within their boundaries. *South African journal of economics* 7 (1939), p.170.

⁷⁸ Brookes, E.H. Native administration in South Africa in Schapera, I. (ed.). *Western civilization and the natives of South Africa*, p.257.

⁷⁹ Davenport, T.R.H. African townsmen?, p.95.

Margaret Ballinger later criticised Natal liberalism as hypocritical, operating behind a veneer of sophistication, and described the Whites of the province as mean-spirited, half educated and led by social and political climbers.⁸⁰ This was a view reflected in opinion vented in the Pietermaritzburg City Council in the late 1930s to the effect that the basic issue was "Native behaviour and control."⁸¹ In the aftermath of the Great War the City Council supported in principle the idea of night schools for Africans run by missionaries, but greater emphasis was placed upon the beer monopoly, which was strongly endorsed by officials in Pietermaritzburg and linked to a decrease in crime and the suppression of shebeens.⁸²

By the mid-1920s some of the resultant optimism was beginning to evaporate with a growing realisation that beer sales were declining and illegal drinking had moved across the municipal boundary beyond police jurisdiction, especially in the district of Sutherlands (later the township of Imbali). This development and a new eruption of crime was again blamed upon the sale of hard liquor to Africans by Coloured persons, particularly those identified as originating from Mauritius and St Helena.⁸³ There was also a problem of meths drinking amongst a section of the African population. Whites interpreted these types of drinking as a threat to the social order and the reaction of the authorities was to open in 1924 a new, centrally-located beerhall and eating house on the corner of Commercial Road and Pietermaritz Street. This was deemed by the authorities to be an unqualified success based on the belief that "filling men with grain beer would cause them to forget their demands for higher pay and political rights" and that contentment would follow in the confines of a place seen as a leisure facility.⁸⁴ The official verdict was that "all seem to be quite contented ... The eating house is meeting the needs of the Natives and appears to be appreciated." There was also a weekly bioscope, "the means of providing entertainment for Natives who might otherwise wander aimlessly about the streets."⁸⁵

This complacent approach to the question of leisure time and recreation for Africans was the context for a police campaign in 1925-26 against "well known native loafers."⁸⁶ But there were also signs of a more realistic and constructive approach from the first SNA, Graham Ballenden⁸⁷:

⁸⁰ Bush, B. *Imperialism, race and resistance*, pp.39, 153, 196.

⁸¹ CCM 23 Aug 1938.

⁸² CYB 1922, p.25.

⁸³ CYB 1924, pp.24, 38-39.

⁸⁴ Ambler, C. Alcohol, racial segregation and popular politics in Northern Rhodesia. *Journal of African history* 31 (1990), pp.298, 302.

⁸⁵ CYB 1925, pp.25-26. Emphasis was placed upon the 'orderly conduct' of traders and customers (the eating house comprised stands and tables), the 'wholesome' nature of the food at 3d per plate, and the cleanliness of the premises.

⁸⁶ CYB 1926, p.51.

⁸⁷ Appointed in 1925.

There is a crying need for the improvement in the lot of natives in the City. Natives are badly neglected in the matter of facilities for healthy recreation. I find that there is only one ground set aside for them by the Council, and that is on the Edendale Road near Mason's Mill, about 3 miles from the Town Hall. Apart from any other reason the City cannot afford to allow this state of affairs to continue. Some opportunity must be provided for the native population to indulge in healthy games, but, as the average domestic servant gets very little time off, any grounds set aside for their use should be as convenient to the centre of the City as possible. It must be further realised that because of the very meagre wages natives are paid they are in greater need of assistance than any other section of the community ... Unless attention is paid to this side of the native life in the City, only evil can result.⁸⁸

In the mid-1920s, domestic and other servants comprised 7 472 (58%) of a total African population of 12 869 within the municipality living in *kias* at the bottom of white gardens. Bizley records that the context within which servants worked was feudal: time off in mid-afternoon from 3pm to 5pm was generally spent sitting on the pavements, sometimes playing a musical instrument.⁸⁹ Phillips described monotonous lives and uninteresting jobs: "their leisure time is largely a blank so far as wholesome, worthwhile activities are concerned." Amongst other problems he mentioned street corner gambling.⁹⁰ Night schools were much in favour with the authorities and seven of them were open four nights a week in 1927-28 for the benefit of young domestic servants "who otherwise would probably spend their leisure hours in the streets. In addition to these schools supplying the Natives with elementary education they also serve to prevent them from swelling the ranks of the sikebhenga gangs."⁹¹ Although the political unrest of 1929 barely affected Pietermaritzburg, there was pressure for a boycott of the beerhalls.⁹² The authorities were waiting for the passage of 1923 Act's amendment that was expected to contain curfew provisions and measures to control dancing.⁹³ The curfew, from 22h0 to 04h00, came into force by proclamation on 1 October 1930, but passes were available to "known respectable Natives

⁸⁸ *CYB* 1926, pp.56-57. Ballenden later worked in Johannesburg and in 1933 claimed that officially-encouraged sport had reduced drunkenness (by 75%), the number of casualty cases at the non-White hospital, and involvement in politics (Phillips, R.E. *The Bantu in the city: a study of cultural adjustment on the Witwatersrand* (Alice: Lovedale, 1938), p.311).

⁸⁹ Bizley, W.H. Servants in the 1920s and 1930s in Laband, J and Haswell, R. (eds.). *Pietermaritzburg, 1838-1988*, p.80.

⁹⁰ Phillips, R.E. *The Bantu in the city*, p.292.

⁹¹ *CYB* 1928, p.81. *CCM* 3 June 1930.

⁹² *CYB* 1929, p.25.

⁹³ *CYB* 1929, p.41.

... this privilege ... appreciated ... and valued."⁹⁴ The value of the Amendment Act and its regulations was seen in "exercising control over the Native populations."⁹⁵

The De Waal Commission looking into the 1929 beerhall riots and boycott in Durban faithfully recorded the majority White view that "the Durban system had created a generally healthy environment for the African worker."⁹⁶ This was an elliptical way of saying that workers were in fact bearing the costs of their own reproduction, the salaries of bureaucrats, police and municipal departments through consumption of alcohol and frequent inebriation. There was concern about potential radicalisation of the African middle class and the spread of Zulu nationalism across the urban/rural divide. By way of protection, the government was armed with the provisions of the Urban Areas Act regarding general rights of entry to the municipal area and the Riotous Assemblies Act in terms of prohibiting meetings and banishing individuals.⁹⁷

A prime concern of the Durban NAD was the control of the African popular culture that existed outside the discipline of the work place including the shebeen, amalaita gangs, ngoma group dancing, dance halls, church choirs and football.⁹⁸ Similarly in Rhodesia there was pressure for regulation of African recreation, boxing in particular, so as to reduce "pandemonium" and "vice."⁹⁹ In Uganda and Northern Rhodesia football was encouraged as a "moral purgative distraction" from what was regarded by colonial officials as sexually suggestive dancing.¹⁰⁰ In Pietermaritzburg there had developed amongst Whites a fear of free time for Africans: that it would lead inevitably to crime, alcoholism, illicit sex and, perhaps most worrying of all, radical political activity. Ngoma was seen by Whites as threatening because of its apparent military connotations and connections with amalaita gangs.¹⁰¹ This led, logically, to instrumental use of recreation: J.T. Rawlins, Durban's first Native Welfare Officer appointed in 1931,

⁹⁴ *CYB* 1931, p.81.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁹⁶ La Hausse, P. *Drinking in a cage*, p.72.

⁹⁷ In the aftermath of the unrest in Durban, solutions were sought in an advisory board, the building of a location for married Africans (which already existed in Pietermaritzburg), and the provision of recreation facilities.

⁹⁸ Ambler, C. *Alcohol, racial segregation and popular politics in Northern Rhodesia*, pp.290-294.

⁹⁹ Ranger, T. *Pugilism and pathology: African boxing and the black urban experience in Southern Rhodesia* in Baker, W. J. and Mangan, J. (eds.). *A. Sport in Africa: essays in social history* (New York: Africana, 1987), pp.198, 203.

¹⁰⁰ Mangan, J.A. *Ethics and ethnocentricity: imperial education in British tropical Africa* in Baker, W.J. and Mangan, J.A. (eds.). *Sport in Africa*, p.152.

¹⁰¹ Torr, L. *Providing for the 'better class native': the creation of Lamontville*. *South African geographical journal* 69(1) 1987, p.34. Erlmann, V. *But hope does not kill: black popular music in Durban, 1913-1939* in Maylam, P. and Edwards, I (eds.). *The people's city*, pp. 84, 86-87.

saw his job as that of controlling the “superfluous energy” of the populace.¹⁰² This was in line with the findings of the Phelps Stokes Commission on Africa of the 1930s which argued that Blacks should be “taught to play healthfully.”¹⁰³ Black sports activities in municipal areas were thus often a result of a desire for social control at a time of militancy and feared revolution, a safety valve for “animal instincts” and “superfluous energy” that would encourage development of a law-abiding and contented, that is to say non-political, African populace.¹⁰⁴ Eddie Roux complained that the opportunity to participate in sport was a diversion that lowered attendances at CPSA meetings in the early 1930s. At the time organised physical recreation had distinctly fascist undertones.¹⁰⁵

In Johannesburg Ballenden argued that sport for Africans cost little to organise in relation to its benefit provided local communities were encouraged to administer their own affairs. Atkinson, reflecting Ballenden’s views in the liberal journal *South African Outlook*, made the point in 1933 that White dismissiveness of African sport undervalued playing and organisational standards. The value of fencing was emphasised: “any large municipality could safely regard the cost of enclosing a ground as a recoverable loan.”¹⁰⁶ Recreation was seen in the long term as a potential saving on police and health services as well as a palliative. The liberal view hoped that sport would encourage better African workers and neighbours.¹⁰⁷

In Pietermaritzburg instrumental use of African recreation described a particular trajectory. As in Durban the local state became increasingly involved in controlling the leisure time of Africans in the hope of encouraging a middle class and diverting the spare time of workers. As expressed by the Manager of the NAD to Pretoria in 1934, there was a constant fear of Africans “leading idle or

¹⁰² Vahed, G. Control of African leisure time in Durban in the 1930s. *Journal of Natal and Zulu history* 18 (1998) pp.70-74.

¹⁰³ Phillips, R.E. *The bantu are coming: phases of South Africa's race problems* (London: SCM Press, 2nd ed., 1930), p.130. The Chief Constable of Durban, W.A. Alexander, supported the provision of sports fields to counter the “evil influence” and “vicious examples” of Cartwright Flats, the venue for Black political gatherings and scene on 16 December 1930 of the police killing of Johannes Nkosi and three other members of the CPSA (La Hausse, P. The dispersal of the regiments: African popular protest in Durban, 1930. *Journal of Natal and Zulu history* 19 (1987), pp.94, 96).

¹⁰⁴ Maylam, P. Shackled by the contradictions: the municipal response to African urbanization in Durban, 1920-1950. *African urban studies* 14 (1982), p.12.

¹⁰⁵ Koch, E. ‘Without visible means of subsistence’: slumyard culture in Johannesburg 1918-1940 in Bozzoli, B. (ed.) *Town and countryside in the Transvaal: capitalist penetration and popular response* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1983), p.168.

¹⁰⁶ Atkinson, T. Recreation for urban natives. *South African outlook* 63(749) 1933, p.197.

¹⁰⁷ Badenhorst, C. and Mathee, C. Tribal recreation and recreating tribalism: culture, leisure and social control on South Africa’s gold mines. *Journal of southern African studies* 23(3) 1997, p.473. Badenhorst, C.M. and Rogerson, C. ‘Teach the native to play’: social control and organized black sport on the Witwatersrand, 1920-1939. *GeoJournal* 12(2) 1986, p.201.

disorderly lives.”¹⁰⁸ African football, in the words of Cobley, developed “in the backyard slums, dusty townships, and squatter camps which were mushrooming on the fringes of the white urban area”¹⁰⁹, and became a symbol of assimilation and aspiration. A dialogue between the Pietermaritzburg City Council and African football had started in 1920 when a request was made for the use of the West End Park on outspan 3 bordering Pine Street and the polo ground. This was granted in 1922, but by the following year another ground was being requested.¹¹⁰ Permission was given for another pitch at West End Park and two grounds were allotted at Mason’s Mill with access by railway. But this was not a disinterested move and engendered considerable opposition. The White Maritzburg District Football Association (MDFA) based at the Drill Hall was anxious to use West End while Black clubs were not keen to relocate close to the shebeens at Sutherlands.¹¹¹ The municipal authorities were clearly set upon removing Black football from the town itself, in spite of rejection of Mason’s Mill by no less than 15 clubs, and offered £25 to make the move more attractive. The Maritzburg District Native Football Association (MDNFA) compared its treatment unfavourably with that of its equivalents in Durban, Ladysmith and Dundee and pointed out that it was anticipating two divisions of eight clubs each. However, by April 1923 it was officially recorded that the “Native Football Association had given up the ground used by them near Pine Street.”¹¹²

There is evidence to show that African football in Pietermaritzburg in the immediate aftermath of the Great War was strongly influenced by radical politics and Aledi names E.O. Msimang as one of the main proponents. Pietermaritzburg refused to join the Natal Native Football Association (NNFA) because Durban had a White President, Douglas Evans. His removal was demanded, but Durban declined and the NNFA was formed with Dundee and Ladysmith to the exclusion of the radicals, although Evans resigned in 1923 and Pietermaritzburg joined the NNFA two years later.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ CCM 9 Oct 1934.

¹⁰⁹ Cobley, A.G. *The rules of the game: struggles in black recreation and social welfare policy in South Africa* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood, 1997), p.20.

¹¹⁰ Letters from W.M. Zondi, Sec, MDNFA 17 Mar 1920; A.J. Sililo, Pres, MDNFA 14 Mar 1921; E.O. Msimang, Sec, MDNFA 23 Feb 1922 and P. Dube, Sec, MDNFA 9 Mar 1923 & 6 Feb 1924, all to TT in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/307, file 275/1924 A-D (Maritzburg District Native Football Association).

¹¹¹ TT to MDNFA, 25 May 1923; Sec, PSA to TT, 31 Mar 1924; P.J. Dube, Sec, MDNFA to Finance & General (sic) Comm, 9 Apr 1924; TC to P.J. Dube, Sec, MDNFA, 29 Apr 1924 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/307, file 275/1924 A-D (Maritzburg District Native Football Association).

¹¹² P.Dube, Sec, MDNFA to TC, 11 Apr 1923; Finance, Etc. Committee, 12 Apr and 29 May 1923 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/307, file 311/1923 (Maritzburg District Native Football Association).

¹¹³ Aledi, P. *Laduma!: soccer, politics and society in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004), pp.26-27.

In 1930 the first Native Sports Gala, partly funded by the municipality and attended by Whites who “shewed their sympathy with Native aspirations”, was held at the Old Showgrounds, featuring the marathon, high jump and the “usual athletic events.”¹¹⁴ After complaints about the remoteness of Mason’s Mill sports ground, land in Edendale Road next to the Indian School was leased from South African Railways and Harbours in January 1933 as the home ground of the MDNFA at £1 per annum. Mason’s Mill ground had no fence (which meant that matches involving a gate, a crucial issue in African football, were played at the Drill Hall) and the land was zoned for ultimate industrial use. The NAD Manager, pointing out that “large crowds of Natives are now interested spectators of the matches which take place on the new ground”, asked for fencing at Edendale Road Native Sports Ground (NSG), which was not forthcoming. Five years later he commented that “native recreation grounds will always be required in connection with this Department and as the years go by will doubtless be more difficult to obtain. The piece of ground under discussion is not in a European area”; and proposed either acquisition of the land or a long-term, 20-year lease.¹¹⁵

In 1935 the Governor-General of South Africa offered a shield for a competition between African football clubs: “in the Capitals of each Province there would thus be instituted a perpetual competition amongst the Natives in celebration of the Silver Jubilee. If this is a feasible proposition His Excellency will be pleased to donate a similar Shield to your Native football Clubs ... the donation of a Shield would ... act as an incentive to more football being played by the Native youth of your city.”¹¹⁶ This was accepted and the two provincial bodies controlling African football (that is the Natal Bantu Football Association, NBFA, and the Natal African Football Association, NAFA; which were generally seen respectively as conservative and well-disposed to municipal authority; and inclined to radicalism) formed a joint committee, the first final being played in Pietermaritzburg at Edendale Road.¹¹⁷ The same venue was also used for the second final, in 1936, when it was noted that many of the spectators watched from outside the ground. While there were problems with grounds in Durban arising from organisational schism, the Manager of the NAD in Pietermaritzburg noted the friendly rivalry between the two

¹¹⁴ *CYB* 1931, p.86.

¹¹⁵ Sec, MDNFA to City Council, 12 May 1931; TC’s note, 27 Jan 1932; Native Administration, Etc. Committee, 7 Nov 1932; Manager, NAD to TC, 2 June 1933, 12 Apr 1938 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/3/307, files 489/1931 and 754/1938 (Proposed use of railway land on Edendale Road for native sports ground).

¹¹⁶ Lord Hyde, Comptroller, Government House to Mayor, 12 Mar 1935 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 356-7, file 199/14 (Governor-General’s Shield: native football clubs).

¹¹⁷ Manager of NAD to TC, 13 May, 16 Aug, 25 Nov 1935; 10 Nov 1936 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 356-7, file 199/14 (Governor-General’s Shield: native football clubs) *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 356-7, file 199/14 (Governor-General’s Shield: native football clubs). Badenhorst, C.M. Mines, missionaries and the municipality: organised African sport and recreation in Johannesburg, c.1920-1950 (Kingston: Queen’s University, 1992 - PhD thesis), pp.296, 298-299, 301.

controlling groups and argued that relations amongst African football players had been improved by the introduction of the Governor-General's Shield Competition. By April 1937 the competition had collapsed in Natal apart from Pietermaritzburg, where a special concession was granted by the NAFA out of respect for the Governor-General. The Pietermaritzburg NAD provided a loan in 1935, but this was not necessary in 1936 when gates improved.¹¹⁸

Alegi argues that the competition "sparked excitement ... football in urban South Africa created an arena of cultural autonomy and opportunity that relieved the lives of people deeply affected by the drudgery of unemployment and the painful constraints of institutional racism."¹¹⁹ As well as recognition of football as a major means of African recreation, there was the weekly bioscope at the NV using the outside wall of the market. In 1935 sketch plans were drawn up for a recreation hall at the village. There was also the Native Schools Football League on Saturday mornings at Edendale Road NSG with competition for the Education Department Shield. The Edendale Road NSG was fenced so as to regulate crowds and the Bantu Cricket Club operating from Fitzsimmons was presented with kit from the NAD. In March 1934 the Pietermaritzburg and District Cricket Union was formed. African cricket's origins were at Edendale Mission Station and a strong link was maintained with the church.¹²⁰ The Mayor was the patron and the game was considered as middle class by Black and White alike. From 1934 the New Year's Day Sports was held in the NV.

According to municipal figures, 82% of deaths amongst Africans occurred below the age of 45, from lung disease, TB and preventable or controllable diseases amongst other causes. Malaria and enteric thrived in dwellings in low-lying areas east and west of the city that the municipality described as "hovels"; and TB was ascribed to such accommodation. But it is pertinent to note that, health aside, the Manager of the NAD was serving removal orders on Africans under provincial notice 513 of 1933 on the grounds of behaviour as well as health in response to complaints about unruly conduct at dance halls. The municipality had in fact made provision for extended hours of opening (before 2pm and after 10.55pm), but was then faced with a petition for the closure of the Camp Drift Native Dance Hall.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Sec, DDFA to Sec, Governor-General's Shield Committee, 26 Aug 1936; S.T. Khumalo, Sec, NAFA to Sec, Governor-General's Shield Committee, 10 Apr 1937; Sec, Governor-General's Shield Committee to Manager, NAD, 17 May 1937 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 356-7, file 199/14 (Governor-General's Shield: native football clubs). The city was one of the few places in the Union where the competition did not go into decline.

¹¹⁹ Alegi, P. *Playing to the gallery: sport, cultural performance, and social identity in South Africa, 1920s-1945. International journal of African historical studies* 35(1) 2002, p.26.

¹²⁰ Desai, A. *et al. Blacks in whites: a century of cricket struggles in KwaZulu Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), p.139.

¹²¹ CCM 12 June 1934.

Attention was also directed towards the accommodation and control of native dancing (a gumboot dance popular in Durban had been named after Maritzburg¹²²) with the NAD Manager suggesting a site on townlands near the Scottsville golf course where “no persons ... are likely to be ... annoyed by the noise of the Natives singing”. This was vetoed by the Native Administration Committee, which proposed the centre of the Racecourse for *ndhlamu* dancing. The Scottsville Residents’ Association predictably expressed general sympathy for the Council’s efforts and the needs of Africans - but objected to the site.¹²³

From the mid-1930s onwards Whites began officially to express a degree of smug satisfaction about the situation regarding Africans in Pietermaritzburg: “the behaviour of Natives in the City during the past year has been good, and compared very favourably with other parts of the Union”; while “visitors to the City who have inspected the Native Village have been loud in their praise of the efforts of the Corporation in the interests of Natives.”¹²⁴ The main symbol of African sport in the city had become the Fitzsimmons NSG, a 9.6 acre site demarcated by the extensions of Prince Alfred and Burger Streets, formerly used by Asians. It consisted of two turf football grounds surrounded by a cycle and running track and included the Tatham Memorial Pavilion erected in memory of Frederic Spencer Tatham. It was opened on 28 July 1937 by the Governor-General, Sir Patrick Duncan, an investment of time by the powerful that indicates the seriousness with which African recreation was now taken. The events of that day provided a useful cameo of contemporary attitudes towards Africans and sport. Duncan spoke of the pavilion as “testimony to the growing consciousness of the Europeans towards the needs of natives ... [allowing them] to enjoy a useful and healthy life.” He went on to add that for “too long ... had the Europeans forgotten the needs of the native who had come to town to work for him; too long had the natives’ amusements been overlooked. The grounds would enable the native to live like a human being and would provide for him the sport that the Europeans required themselves.” Duncan expressed a sense of *noblesse oblige* and a clear understanding of the concept of rational recreation. Mrs Tatham did so as well, speaking of the ground as a place to “learn the lessons that games teach of goodwill and fair play.” Mr O. Msimang, president of the South African Native Football Association (SANFA), put forward the view that Whites had brought light into darkness and that previously the only sport of Africans had been fighting. He also expressed pleasure in being a subject of His Majesty.¹²⁵ The Maritzburg District Bantu

¹²² Erlmann, V. *But hope does not kill*, p.85.

¹²³ Manager, NAD to TC, 27 Feb 1936; Native Administration, Etc. Comm, 2 Mar 1936; Scottsville RA to TC, 29 Apr 1936 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 374, file 260/1936 (Suggested allocation of site at Scottsville for native dances).

¹²⁴ *CYB* 1936, pp.23-24.

¹²⁵ *NW* 29 July 1937, pp.1, 9.

Football Association (MDBFA) was later to describe “these magnificent grounds [as] a pride to the municipality as well as to the natives ... We, natives of Pietermaritzburg are profoundly grateful and indebted to the burgesses of the city” for equipment and maintenance.¹²⁶

But the tranquil picture painted by Whites had other dimensions, involving considerable tension over the control of sports facilities. From 1936 the MDBFA put pressure on the NAD to improve the waterlogged facilities available to it at Fitzsimmons Road.¹²⁷ This 2.5 acre ground had been made available from 1928, prior to which land later built upon by the firm Eddels had been used (1926-1927). MDBFA claimed to have exhausted most of its funds on the grounds although an NAD annual grant of £5, later raised to £10, was awarded. The NAD withheld the new Tatham Memorial Ground for the 1938-39 season with the offer of an alternative ground at the NV, fearing that W.A.E. Manyoni, President of the MDBFA was trying to wrest control of the pavilion and the surrounding facility.¹²⁸ The Secretary of the MDBFA, J.J. Magwaza claimed “gross injustice” and, in a relatively mild letter, asked that the NAD should receive a delegation from his Association. The response of the Town Clerk was anger at the “improper terms in which you have chosen to address a highly respected officer of the Municipal Service” and announced that the Mayor was withdrawing his patronage. Magwaza agreed to excise the improper language, but pointed out that A.T. Allison had been elected Patron as a Councillor before becoming Mayor.¹²⁹ The crisis deepened further in late 1939 when the Council released the Tatham ground for three days a year for athletics and for a further day to the rival MDFAFA, even though the MDBFA had a lease, paid £30 annual rent and had an arrangement with the NAD to maintain the ground.¹³⁰ The MDBFA was so incensed over the issue of these four days that it obtained legal advice and its lawyers wrote to the Town Clerk. They emphasised the fact that the MDBFA had funded fencing and maintained an adjacent patch of ground at Fitzsimmons since 1926 (Council’s records say 1930), organised 20 clubs and received their first grant in 1937. The MDBFA “controll[ed] Bantu football in Pietermaritzburg, and the District, in so far as concerns the schools of the working class of Native.”

¹²⁶ MDBFA. *Annual report and financial statement* 1943, p.13. The pavilion cost £1 330, of which £525 emanated from the memorial fund (*CYB* 1936, p.31). Work had begun on the ground in 1936 with £250 from the City Fund Revenue Account. Its total cost was £2283/9/2d.

¹²⁷ W.A.E. Manyoni, Pres, MDBFA to TC, 16, 24 July 1938 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/322, file 1047/1938 (Maritzburg Bantu Football Association re Native Recreation Ground, Fitzsimmons Road).

¹²⁸ Manager, NAD to TC, 27 July 1938 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/322, file 1047/1938 (Maritzburg Bantu Football Association re Native Recreation Ground, Fitzsimmons Road).

¹²⁹ J.J. Magwaza, Secretary, MDBFA to Manager, NAD, 16, 23 Oct 1939; TC to J.J. Magwaza, Sec, MDBFA, 16 Oct 1939 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/322, file 1047/1938 (Maritzburg Bantu Football Association re Native Recreation Ground, Fitzsimmons Road).

¹³⁰ Native Administration, Etc. Committee, 8 Nov 1939 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/322, file 1047/1938 (Maritzburg Bantu Football Association re Native Recreation Ground, Fitzsimmons Road).

Various spurious claims about control of the Tatham NSG were made together with a complaint of “unjust treatment” and the assertion that football should take precedence over all other sports. MDBFA officials claimed that they were keeping the peace in a volatile situation and asked that they be given sole charge of ground and pavilion.¹³¹ The Manager of the NAD countered that the ground was designed for all the Africans of Pietermaritzburg: “the Bantu Football Association only represents one portion of the Natives of Pietermaritzburg”, although it had use of the Tatham NSG on all days of the year bar four.¹³² This episode was four years later described by the MDBFA as “an unfortunate misunderstanding” with the hope that the war would encourage better relations.¹³³

A sports day, bolstered by a grant of £10, was duly held on 7 August 1939¹³⁴ replacing a five-a-side football contest involving 200 players on whose behalf the MDBFA demanded “just and fair treatment” since “our soccer football comes first”. The MDBFA argued that football was better supported and that it had to raise £30 annual rent, calling the actions of the municipality “a show of superiority uncalled for and unfair.”¹³⁵ The Manager of the NAD pointed out that the MDBFA had already held two tournaments with gates on public holidays (at which numerous non-paying spectators were seen outside the fence) and that it was the turn of a general sports day. Beforehand, “suitable prizes donated by local merchants in town were placed on view at Berg Street hall, where they excited great interest amongst the Natives .”¹³⁶ Tatham NSG, he reiterated, was for the African public in general: “a record crowd of Natives attended these sports which went off very smoothly”; and plans were in place for an annual event.¹³⁷

In the 1930s there was increased consciousness of the activities of Africans en masse. The CID observed Sunday meetings on the Market Square and reported that they were orderly, but expressed a

¹³¹ McGibbon and Brokensha [lawyers] to TC, 8 Dec 1939 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/322, file 1047/1938 (Maritzburg Bantu Football Association re Native Recreation Ground, Fitzsimmons Road).

¹³² Manager, NAD to TC, 21 Dec 1939 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/322, file 1047/1938 (Maritzburg Bantu Football Association re Native Recreation Ground, Fitzsimmons Road).

¹³³ MDBFA *Annual report and financial statement* 1943, pp.13, 14.

¹³⁴ A pamphlet advertised foot, bicycle, sack, hurdle and obstacle races, a tug-of-war, a bucket race for women and a dancing competition, with children’s events in the morning.

¹³⁵ J.J. Magwaza, Secretary, MDBFA to Mayor, 7 July 1939; J.J. Magwaza to TC, 7 July 1939 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/355, file 1886/39 (Native sports meeting at Fitzsimmons Road).

¹³⁶ Manager, NAD to TC, 17 July 1939 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/355, file 1886/39 (Native sports meeting at Fitzsimmons Road). *CYB* 1940, p.109.

¹³⁷ Manager, NAD to TC, 11 Aug 1939 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/355, file 1886/39 (Native sports meeting at Fitzsimmons Road). The day also included rickshaw racing (*NW* 8 Aug 1939, p.9).

preference for the use of the new Native Beer Hall in Retief Street.¹³⁸ According to the NAD Manager, complaints had been aired in the press about Sunday afternoons in Market Square since 1931. Amongst other problems was the use of the area and Longmarket Street for cycle races, “in addition to which the congregating of a large number of Natives in the centre of the town is undesirable.”¹³⁹ So great was the concern that the idea of selling beer at the Beer Hall on Sundays was debated from 1934 onwards and in 1936 the Council agreed to such a move, referring the matter to the Minister of Native Affairs. Sunday beer sales were vehemently opposed by the Bantu Ministers’ Association as a suspicious matter and of demoralising intent. The ministers denounced the suggested move as likely to stir base passions and lead to the squandering of limited income.¹⁴⁰ The Minister may have taken the same view, but in any case rejected the application as it had been refused in both Pinetown and Vryheid. Opposite the Men’s Hostel, courts were constructed for the Natives Lawn Tennis Association (NLTA) and goal posts were erected at the back. In 1935 the NAD developed a definite policy to close Market Square to Black recreational use, although it clearly had misgivings: this “might result in the Natives, who usually gather there, drifting into Church Street and other parts of the town. Again there might be efforts by the Native agitators to oppose the regulations by concerted action although the agitators (late I.C.U.) have not a very large or enthusiastic following at present.” It was noted that there were two football grounds available to Africans¹⁴¹ and that native dancing had venues on vacant ground next to the Berg Street hostel and the power station beer hall. Boxing, which had become an important part of African urban life with potential for control, also took place at the former. The view was that “it might not be considered necessary to set aside any other piece of ground for the exclusive use of Natives.”¹⁴² The Council also bore in mind that the Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act gave it the power to identify public places in terms of the regulation of their use by Africans as long as equivalent facilities were available for other communities.

On Sunday afternoons in the late 1930s the Superintendent organised dancing on vacant land next to the Berg Street Men’s Hostel and this attracted an audience of up to 500, “who otherwise would be scattered about the Market Square or the centre of the town with nothing to do.”¹⁴³ In 1937 Africans were issued with a pamphlet about behaving themselves on public streets. After several years of prevarication, in February 1938 it was decided to open an Native Recreation Ground (NRG), containing

¹³⁸ Native Administration, Etc. Comm, 3 June 1935 in PMA 3/PMB 4/2/133, file 250/1938 (Natives congregating on Market Square).

¹³⁹ Manager, NAD to TC, 7 June 1935 in PMA 3/PMB 4/2/133, file 250/1938 (Natives congregating on Market Square).

¹⁴⁰ CCM 24 Nov 1936.

¹⁴¹ Edendale Road and Fitzsimmons, the latter including a running and cycling track and Sunday afternoon supervision.

¹⁴² Manager, NAD to TC, 26 Sep 1935 in PMA 3/PMB 4/2/133, file 250/1938 (Natives congregating on Market Square).

¹⁴³ CYB 1936, p.109.

children's recreational equipment and a tennis court, in Berg Street opposite the beer hall. This was accompanied by a pamphlet in Zulu which, translated into English, said "it has been noticed that the Market Square is no longer suitable as a recreation ground for Natives on Sunday afternoons owing to the numbers of Natives and the kind of sport indulged in there." Various facilities where Natives may "meet and enjoy themselves in games without being disturbed" were listed and promoted as "beautiful, specially constructed and free of traffic danger."¹⁴⁴ On 23 May the Council approved the regulation of the Berg Street NRG in the following way: "no non-Native shall enter those portions of the urban area of Pietermaritzburg known as the Berg Street Native Recreation Ground, Fitzsimmons Road Native Sports Ground and the Edendale Road Native Sports Ground without the permission of the Manager, Municipal Native Administration Department."¹⁴⁵ The ruling about Market Square finally came into operation on 5 February 1939 when a group of 50 Africans and a few stragglers were ejected and told to go to Berg Street NRG. This was enforced under a regulation of May 1938 which decreed that "no Native shall loiter or take part in any congregation or meeting of Natives on that part of the urban area of Pietermaritzburg ... known as Market Square."¹⁴⁶ Apparently, "there was no sign of dissatisfaction amongst the Natives" at the action taken.¹⁴⁷ In February 1939, a sports meeting with dancing held at Fitzsimmons NSG was contrasted with the emptiness of the Market Square to the satisfaction of the authorities. At the beginning of the Second World War use of Fitzsimmons NSG and Berg Street NRG was well-established. Boxing took place at Fitzsimmons where gloves were supplied. The football pitches were used by the BFA while the AFA remained at Edendale Road NSG. All of these facilities "depriv[ed] the Market Square of its former popularity with the Natives."¹⁴⁸

In early 1937 the City Council noted the activities of amalaita gangs, a national concern in relation to young Black men and ritualised masculinity in urban areas; but by contrast in 1938 the municipality announced that "the behaviour of the Natives in the Village during the year has been excellent, although constant control and supervision is necessary to prevent the illicit manufacture of Native beer."¹⁴⁹ During 1939 a community hall was constructed at the NV and race relations were described very clearly around social behaviour: "the peaceful co-operation between white and black is symbolised in the excellent beer hall, market and recreation ground provided for the Natives by the

¹⁴⁴ Manager, NAD to TC, 12 May 1938 in PMA 3/PMB 4/2/133, file 250/1938 (Natives congregating on Market Square).

¹⁴⁵ CCM 23 May 1938.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Manager, NAD to TC, 6 Feb 1939 in PMA 3/PMB 4/2/133, file 250/1938 (Natives congregating on Market Square).

¹⁴⁸ CYB 1940, p.108.

¹⁴⁹ CYB 1938, pp.122-123. CCM 12 Jan 1937.

Municipality.”¹⁵⁰ By this time the NV had increased to 354 houses and 1 500 people. During the same year, the Berg Street tennis courts rented by the African Tennis Association were opened by Mrs E.E.M. Russell. Tennis was regarded as a middle-class recreation, reflected in club names (a Durban example is Daffodils), and in 1939 an annual inter-city match with Durban was established. Nevertheless, Sunday beer sales were started at the Berg Street Hostel in 1939 to diminish the popularity of ‘black belt’ shebeens and a decrease in loitering and drunkenness was noted.¹⁵¹

White perceptions of Africans and recreation were highlighted on the eve of the Second World War with the visit to Pietermaritzburg of the Danish gymnastics team. During the inter-war period concern had been raised about White degeneration in view of the fact that Blacks undertook all the physical work. Afrikaner concern about gymnastics was connected with right wing politics, but an interest was also shown by the Governor-General, Sir Patrick Duncan. The Danes described African dancing as lacking control, demonic, and holding potential trouble for the police. This reflected the perceptions of White burgesses who saw Blacks in terms of physicality, Whites as cerebral. But controlled physical education such as gymnastics was regarded as supplementing White mental ability, providing strength, character and acceptable social behaviour.¹⁵²

INTERNAL POLITICS OF AFRICAN SPORT

For Africans the dominant sport was football and there was often a political air about its administration: in Durban, for instance, many officials possessed well-known links with the ANC. In effect, football administration constituted surrogate political activity with a strong sense of resistance to White interference. The administration of African sport was formalistic and formulaic, mimicking both parliamentary practice and political activity. Elderly officials had considerable influence and the position of President was akin to chief. Terms like ‘House’ and ‘Cabinet’ were much in vogue and complaints were dealt with in the “manner of a magistrate’s court.”¹⁵³ An example from Pietermaritzburg in 1922 illustrates this well. Willie Sakela, captain of Unity FC, protesting about a goal scored by Come Agains

¹⁵⁰ *CYB* 1939, p.29. The hall, described predictably as “handsome” and whose final cost was £3 300, was opened in Oct 1939 by Edgar Brookes (*CYB* 1940, p.16).

¹⁵¹ This did not stop complaints, however, with adverse comments made about Africans congregating on shop verandahs in the city on rainy days or when waiting for the Pullman (complaint by R.E. Harper *CCM* 8 Oct 1940).

¹⁵² Bonde, H. The white man’s body: Danish gymnasts in South Africa, 1939. *South African historical journal* 44 (2001), pp.143, 149, 154, 156-157, 159-160.

¹⁵³ Kuper, L. Politics of football: the Durban and District African Football Association in Kuper, L. *An African bourgeoisie: race, class and politics in South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p.349. This was still evident in non-racial sport in Pietermaritzburg in the 1980s.

FC, asked that Messrs Griffin and Young of the English Football Association (presumably the White league run by the MDFA) arbitrate. This was highly ironic given the hostility of Pietermaritzburg's African football players to the Durban body's White President. The secretary of the MDNFA, E.O. Msimang, sensibly supported the referee's decision and said that nothing in the constitution nor the competition rules provided for such arbitration. Sakela's response was to threaten an interdict or suspension of the MDNFA since "my club is greatly dissatisfied with the judgement of the President in Counsel (sic.)"; and the threat to go to court was repeated to the Town Treasurer.¹⁵⁴ Debates could be so lengthy that meetings went on all night. The emphasis upon ritual and constitutionalism has been described as "vicarious participation in the European social structure ... a substitute for the exercise of power."¹⁵⁵ In this sense, the authorities had achieved exactly what they wanted: sport as substitute for political activity. A symbol of this was the fact that officials would lead teams on to the field of play. Fissiparous tendencies within sport pointed to underlying political tensions and rivalries. Opposition to White power extended so far as to condone Black corruption and critics of this were accused of selling out. There were also strong oligarchic tendencies. Many members were excluded from official positions as result of lack of proficiency in English and ignorance of procedure. Kuper uses, perhaps in exaggerated form, the image of the one-party state.¹⁵⁶

The main theme surrounding African sport in Natal in the 1930s was the increasing role played by the local state in the control of leisure time in relation to both venues and behaviour; as well as the encouragement of a middle class. Africans resisted White influence and attempted to assert some form of independence. Sport was an important component of African life and, as Millin indelicately put it, "even Kaffirs have their tennis and cricket and football clubs."¹⁵⁷ In the opinion of Vahed, "the rigid segregation between Whites, Indians and Africans had important consequences for identity and consciousness. Sport reinforced segregation rather than fostered assimilation."¹⁵⁸ The sports facilities of Africans were generally limited to streets, slum yards and waste ground. Copley argues that the search for recreational space by Africans was part of their struggle for "recognition and acceptance"¹⁵⁹; and in

¹⁵⁴ W. Sakela, Sec, Unity FC to E.O. Msimang, Sec, MDNFA, 6, 13 Sep 1922; E.O. Msimang, Sec, MDNFA to W. Sakela, Sec, Unity FC, 11 Sep 1922; W. Sakela, Sec, Unity FC to TT, 23 Sep 1922 in 3/PMB 4/3/307, file 275/1924 (A-D) (Maritzburg District Native Football Association).

¹⁵⁵ Kuper, L. Politics of football: the Durban and District African Football Association in *An African bourgeoisie*, p.351.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.353.

¹⁵⁷ Millin, S.G. *The South Africans* (London: Constable, new ed., 1934), p.109.

¹⁵⁸ Vahed, G. Control of African leisure time in Durban in the 1930s, p.121.

¹⁵⁹ Copley, A.G. *The rules of the game*, p.25.

his catalogue of grievances articulated by Africans, Jabavu listed the segregation of parks.¹⁶⁰ While football presented “one of the few opportunities open to the Zulu for release from the anxiety and tensions of anomic urban life”, according to Scotch “the supernatural is enlisted in every possible way” yielding “examples of the basic similarities of the ritual and ceremony used ... by football teams and formerly by army regiments.”¹⁶¹

COMRADES MARATHON

White attitudes to blacks in the context of sport and recreation are well illustrated by the history of the Comrades Marathon. Inaugurated by a group of Great War veterans, it was run each year from 1921 onwards between Pietermaritzburg and Durban, or vice versa. One of the race's great figures, A.F.H. Newton, a winner five times (1922-25 and 1927) resumed running at the advanced age of 39 expressly to publicise his dispute with the authorities over compensation for farmland at *Ihluku*, near Harding, on which he had grown cotton and tobacco. As the local paper described it, “after farming for over twenty years in Natal he discovers his farm in the middle of a ‘black area’ where hundreds of kaffirs are allowed to settle.”¹⁶² The race was initially a White ex-servicemen's fun run and the first was subsidised by the Pietermaritzburg municipality to the substantial tune of £25.¹⁶³ In 1927 the race's founder, Vic Clapham, was quoted as saying that “the sports grounds of the British Empire were the training ground for soldiers”, linking this to “the heart to carry on just as the boys carried on on the fields of Flanders, on the sands of Egypt.”¹⁶⁴ The echo of militarism in the race was long lasting, the finish for down runs being at the Durban Light Infantry Drill Hall. In 1931 the MOTHS donated as the team prize the Gunga Din Shield, a military symbol comprising an electroplated steel helmet mounted on a teak base, a highly ironic object since the central figure of Kipling's poem would not have been permitted to take part in the race.

Until 1951, the Comrades Marathon was run on Empire Day (24th May), a South African public

¹⁶⁰ Jabavu, D.D.T. Bantu grievances in Schapera, I (ed.). *Western civilization and the natives of South Africa* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1934, 1967 printing), p.298.

¹⁶¹ Scotch, N.A. Magic, sorcery and football among urban Zulu: a case of reinterpretation under acculturation. *Journal of conflict resolution* 5(1) 1961, p.73.

¹⁶² *NW* 29 May 1923. Unfortunately, his athletic achievements failed to impress the authorities and having been offered only what he called prairie price he left for Bulawayo in 1925. After his 1927 win, he further explained his attitude to running “I learned to run for one thing only, viz., to obtain common justice from the Union Government, and thereby make the position safer for Natal settlers in the future” (*Natal Advertiser* 25 May 1927). His account may not be strictly true as there is evidence of earlier long distance running by Newton from Durban to Greenwood Park before the Great War.

¹⁶³ *CCM* 8 June 1921.

¹⁶⁴ *NW* 24 May 1927.

holiday (from 1910) linked to appropriate celebrations. These included loyal and patriotic speeches from civic dignitaries already described. Due deference was paid to anyone connected to Britain: of H.J. Phillips, second in the inaugural marathon, it was said that he was a “very successful cross-country runner *at home*.”¹⁶⁵ During the 1930s, the Comrades increasingly became an imperial symbol. In 1933 the Sons of England marked the race by laying a wreath at Dick King’s statue on the Durban Esplanade.¹⁶⁶ The following year the Mayor of Durban, Percy Osborn, sent a message to his Pietermaritzburg equivalent invoking King’s ride and commenting approvingly on “Afrikaans- and English-speaking South Africans, who, in the world of sport only recognise and appreciate the true sporting spirit that has done so much for the British Empire.”¹⁶⁷ Throughout the 1930s there was regular correspondence between Vic Clapham, now secretary of the Comrades Marathon, and the Pietermaritzburg City Council. In his search for funds, Clapham extolled the virtues of the race: “it teaches self-control, makes for healthier young men - therefore better fathers later on and generally makes our young fellows better citizens.”¹⁶⁸ Comrades Marathon letterheads carried the slogans “Empire Day is Marathon Day” and “Easily the Most Strenuous Athletic Event in the World.” The new secretary wrote to the Town Clerk in 1940, “the chain then forged [in the Great War] is still having new links added year by year” and referred to General Jan Smuts and the building of stamina.¹⁶⁹ The message of White nationalism within the context of an underlying imperialism is clear and it was augmented by hints about publicity value, although this did not readily elicit municipal funding. The prize and medal fund grant of £12/10/- in 1930 was followed by nothing in 1931 and a reduced grant, after opposition from Councillor Allison, from 1932 onwards of £7/10/-. By 1940 it had been lowered to £5.

Black athletes were to prove an intractable and embarrassing problem for the race organisers. Their running ability could hardly be denied as Zulu postmen had maintained an efficient delivery system on foot during the nineteenth century between Pietermaritzburg and the coast. Seventy four thousand Black soldiers served in the South African forces in the Great War, but their participation in the

¹⁶⁵ *NW* 28 May 1921 [this writer’s italics].

¹⁶⁶ *NW* 26 May 1933.

¹⁶⁷ *NW* 24 May 1934.

¹⁶⁸ V. Clapham to Corporation, 26 Apr 1937 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 392, file 265/2 (Comrades Marathon). This may be read in conjunction with the text of the message carried by the winner in May 1935 from the Mayor of Pietermaritzburg to his counterpart in Durban: “in the great race on foot which is taking place today both Afrikaans and English speaking South Africans are participating, and the friendly rivalry and sporting spirit shown by all concerned augurs well for the unity of the two races in South Africa” (Mayor, Pietermaritzburg to Mayor, Durban 23 May 1935 in 3/PMB 4/3/198 file 508/1935 (Comrades Marathon: application for contribution towards prize and medal fund)). The reverse message from the previous year’s race concluded “Afrikaans and English speaking South Africans ... recognise and appreciate the true sporting spirit that has done so much for the British Empire” (Mayor, Durban to Mayor, Pietermaritzburg 23 May 1934 in 3/PMB 4/3/198 files 317/1934 (Comrades Marathon: application for contribution towards prize and medal fund)).

¹⁶⁹ W.R. du Bois to TC, 15 Apr 1940 in 3/PMB C batch 392, file 265/2 (Comrades Marathon).

Comrades Marathon was not welcome, although on the Western Front running had been used as a safety valve and a means to maintain morale and discipline.¹⁷⁰ Early accounts of the Comrades relegated Blacks to the status of the childlike and incredulous: a story of disbelief (*Haul!*) is related about a Black bystander told that Newton had reached Umlaas Road from Durban in a day. In 1931 M. Schneider ran from Bulawayo en route to Pietermaritzburg as part of his training (although this seems to have ceased as early as Pietersburg). Asked by “two native women why he was running [he] told them that his wife had run away and he was chasing her.” The *Natal Witness* smugly reported the Black women as saying they had not spotted her.¹⁷¹ Blacks were portrayed as gullible and imitative spectators: “a solitary European onlooker loudly clapped to have it taken up on the other side of the road by an admiring native.”¹⁷² When the first Black unofficial runner took part in 1935, the reportage was patronising: “interest was added to the race by a native unofficial entrant who at the Star and Garter was well up. Several cheers and ‘good lucks’ were shouted to him by Whites standing by the roadside ... The native passed ... still maintaining a good stride”¹⁷³, but ran off into oblivion as far as the press was concerned. He was almost certainly Robert Mtshali, who was “given a rousing cheer when he jogged complacently around the finishing circuit ... he was the recipient of a small presentation from Councillor K. Shearer.”¹⁷⁴

Similar racism is evident in references to Asians. In 1936 it was recorded that “motorists were very considerate, with the exception of a few Indian taxis.”¹⁷⁵ In 1936 the Town Clerk of Colenso wrote to his Pietermaritzburg counterpart regarding a parallel marathon for Black runners. All knowledge of this was denied,¹⁷⁶ but between 1937 and 1939 SunCrush organised such a race. In 1938 the finish was at the Indian Sports Ground in Pietermaritzburg where the Mayor presented the SunCrush floating trophy donated by Daly’s of Durban. The winning time by G. Murugasen in 1939 would have earned him third

¹⁷⁰ Grundlingh, A. *Fighting their own war: South African blacks and the First World War* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1987), p.108. On demobilisation, various pre-War promises regarding cattle, land, the poll tax and pass laws were not kept; and Black soldiers received a “suit of plain clothes” or £1/10/-. For Whites there were resettlement options and £4 for clothing (Stanford, W.E. and Beves, P.S. *Reports dealing with the subject of returned soldiers ...* (Cape Town: Cape Times, 1920, UG 1920: 22).

¹⁷¹ *NW* 25 May 1931.

¹⁷² *NW* 26 May 1930. In the Hamite tradition of South African ideology Black characters were seen as “comic objects or passive victims” (Heywood, C. *A history of South African literature* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), p.118).

¹⁷³ *NW* 25 May 1935.

¹⁷⁴ Alexander, M. *The Comrades Marathon story* (Craighall: Delta, 3rd ed., 1985), p. 107. The *Natal Witness* had the grace to record as number 27 in the list of 35 finishers a “Native competitor” with a time of 9 hours 40 minutes and 40 seconds. One of those who followed him home was noted as having been “knocked down by a native taxi” (*NW* 25 May 1935, p.11).

¹⁷⁵ *NW* 27 May 1938.

¹⁷⁶ TC, Colenso to TC, 29 July 1936; TC to TC, Colenso, 4 Aug 1936 in 3/PMB 4/3/205, file 843/1936 (Suggested marathon race for Natives).

place in that year's Comrades, in which he could play only the role of unattached second. Vehicles driven by Asians continued to be the villains of the Comrades.

SUMMARY

During the inter-war period, separate destinies based on race were seen as a legitimate and acceptable basis to social and cultural organisation, although Whites showed no willingness to abandon economic inter-dependence. Writing of popular culture in Cape Town's District Six, Nasson records that "an awareness of living a culturally defined way of life ... was a matter of distancing and security."¹⁷⁷ In this case he writes about a subaltern formation, but the sentiments expressed fit Whites in Natal in the inter-war years. Urban areas were aggressively defended, not just as White space but also as part of a British social order, increasingly subject to bureaucratic control. Segregation policy, which suited a wide range of White interests, sprang from but in turn reinforced racial prejudice. Africans were caricatured in a variety of ways, but due deference was expected and at best trusteeship and paternalism were in turn duly bestowed. They were simultaneously considered a threat and a menace described most frequently in relation to disease. Africans were thus an exploitable resource that bore the cost of its own reproduction, a criminal disease-ridden class, and a childlike and inept group requiring protection for its own good.

The White view of the economic position of urbanised Africans ranged from those who favoured migrancy to those who preferred a settled population. Locations resulted from the latter philosophy, but in the short term promised more stability than they delivered. The reality, which had a major effect on the development of locations, was that of controlled uncertainty and impermanence. And in Pietermaritzburg the NV was created as a result of military-style forced removals and the demolition of dwellings in the name of slum clearance. The 'Durban system' of self-financing African urban administration was enthusiastically adopted in Pietermaritzburg, with the attendant implications of deprivation and repression. In Durban itself there is strong evidence of gross maladministration. But although criticism was directed at the Pietermaritzburg authorities for expenditure that was judged unfair and referred to the Minister, there is no evidence of great impropriety. The source of funding for the NV gradually moved away from beer to rents, but physical recreation fared poorly and clearly attendance at the bioscope was seen as more important by the authorities. In short, the fiscal policy employed towards the NV was indicative of an attitude predisposed to treat Africans as temporary sojourners in the urban area.

¹⁷⁷ Nasson, B. She preferred living in a cage with Harry the snake catcher: towards an oral history of popular leisure and class expression in District Six, Cape Town, c 1920-1950 in Bonner, P. *et al. Holding their ground: class, locality and culture in 19th and 20th century South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1989), p.305.

In Victorian Britain there had been great concern about working-class use of spare time and appropriate and acceptable leisure activities. In Natal this class issue was naturally dominated by race. The struggle for Africans was twofold: that of challenging White assumptions; and the defence of what the authorities regarded as illegitimately utilised space.¹⁷⁸ In Pietermaritzburg this took a number of forms related to the use of recreational time. Immediately after the Great War the White view of African recreation, and one vigorously pursued by the police, amounted to little more than the beerhall which doubled as a source of income for Native administration. The challenge to this came from shebeens, even after they were moved across the borough boundary and further away from the exclusion zone. The initial reaction from the authorities was to improve the standard and standing of the beerhall and to provide eating houses, but with the appointment of a Secretary (later Manager) of Native Affairs a more subtle approach to African recreation was developed. During the 1930s, the Edendale NSG was joined by the recreation ground at the Native Village, the Fitzsimmons NSG and the Berg Street NRG; and competitive White style sport, especially football and athletics with their tournaments and galas, was actively promoted and encouraged. A primary motive lay in the contestation of space; and White anxiety that Market Square, other central areas and the pavements of the city would be overwhelmed by uncontrolled, 'alien' cultural forms. The potential use of African spare time was much feared as it was the only opportunity left for the expression of repressed aspirations. The official objective was an urban African population that was stable, healthy and apolitical; and team sport was an attractive catalyst.

The White view of this situation as it developed during the 1930s was imbued with condescension and a misplaced air of complacency concerning supposedly placid and compliant Africans. The reality was significantly different and, although it had no immediate effect on social and political conditions in Pietermaritzburg, there would be future significance. The dispute over control of the Tatham NSG was a harbinger of the use of social issues as a catalyst for political struggle; and the amending legislation of 1930 that empowered the municipal authorities to set aside facilities for the exclusive use of Africans was a similar indication of future developments. Basically the inter-war history of Pietermaritzburg reflects Maylam and Edwards' view of Durban: its history "has been about the contesting of space ... The closing down of physical space for the underclasses also served to limit their access to other forms of space, economic, cultural and political."¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Maharaj, B. The integrated community apartheid could not destroy: the Warwick Avenue triangle. *Journal of southern African studies* 25(2) 1999, p.249.

¹⁷⁹ Maylam, P. and Edwards, I. (eds.). *The people's city*, p.26.

CHAPTER FIVE WARTIME AND THE BEGINNINGS OF APARTHEID, 1940-1949

BACKGROUND

Official municipal censuses took place in Pietermaritzburg in 1940 and 1946. Total population growth over the decade represented almost exactly one quarter, or 2.5% per annum (*see table 12*). The White fraction of the population declined in a relative sense while all other communities remained stable or increased slightly. However, this was not necessarily the perception of the municipality, especially during the war years, as a series of annual census estimates produced wildly inaccurate statistics showing the White fraction as high as 52.6% in 1945 and an Asian figure of 24.0% in the same year; while the Coloured and African proportions were underestimated accordingly. The reasons for this are unclear.

Table 12: Pietermaritzburg's population by community grouping, 1940-1949 (%)

	Total	White	Coloured	Asian	African
1940	46 355	49.0	4.2	19.1	27.9
1946	55 933	46.7	4.6	18.7	30.0
1949	57 937	46.8	5.0	19.2	28.9

At the beginning of the Second World War, The Gardens, a sub-economic housing scheme for Whites near the northern, well-established suburb of Prestbury was mooted, with a parallel development for the Coloured community. At the same time officials continued a "policy of cleaning up the urban area of Pietermaritzburg"¹ in terms of the Native Administration and Slums Acts with particular reference (through the withdrawal of licences) to the Foxon and Maharaj Locations and certain city streets - Zeederberg, Greyling and Madras. Native schools were closed at Buchanan, Church and Symons Streets in the centre of the city and a new establishment opened at Slangspruit. Police prosecutions under the Native Administration Act totalled 2825. Meanwhile the provincial authorities agreed in principle (Ordinance 20, 1941) to the idea of local health boards that would control the peri-urban areas. In effect these boards would function as local authorities, although amongst the list of responsibilities and powers no mention was made of recreational facilities.²

¹ *CYB* 1941, p.22.

² Rogers, H. *Native administration in the Union of South Africa* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 2nd ed., 1949), pp.179-180.

By 1942, under wartime constraints, housing development and enforcement of the Slums Act had slowed down considerably. But a Public Health Area, of a theoretical five mile radius from Pietermaritzburg had been established for Edendale (which included 500 members of the Asian community as late as 1944), Plessislaer and Slangspruit. It fell under the Local Health Commission (LHC) established in 1941. Incorporation was not on the agenda because of White burgesses' fear of the cost, estimated by the City Engineer of Johannesburg at £250 000 per square mile for roads, water, lighting, sewerage and refuse removal; but control was necessary for the implementation of public health measures. In this area a previous lack of administrative authority had produced, in predictable terminology, "a real menace to our urban community"; an "ever present source of anxiety" in the words of the Thornton (Urban Areas) Commission of 1938-39.³ In 1943 a proposal, supported by the City Council, was put forward regarding a township at Ashdown to absorb congestion at Machibisa and Skoonplaats and, with overwhelming optimism, solve "the Maritzburg peri-urban problem."⁴

In 1943 an acute housing shortage was noted in the borough itself because of war-time conditions. Rumours that an unrestricted land sale was about to take place that would convert Mountain Rise (or nearby areas) into an 'Asian village' drew strong protest. Concern continued to be raised about peri-urban areas of Pietermaritzburg other than Edendale such as Raisethorpe (noted in 1940 as 80% Asian and 20% Coloured and White), Ockert's Kraal, New England, Hollingwood, Mkondeni and Slangspruit where there was no local government control.⁵ The borough was prepared to absorb the first two if the Local Health Commission accepted responsibility for the others, but at the end of the war there was no finality on this issue except that the LHC had established a measure of control at Slangspruit and accepted responsibility for malaria in all areas. Mkondeni settlement, part of a southern belt encircling Pietermaritzburg from New England to Fox Hill and Plessislaer, had been demolished. This uncertainty was to prevail until the end of the decade, by which time a proposal was put forward in the context of increasing concern about the growth of shack settlements at Raisethorpe. In September 1948 the municipality offered to incorporate this area together with parts of Hollingwood and New England. Lincoln Meade, Ockert's Kraal, Cleland and Dunveria were to remain under the control of the Local Health Commission. There was a sense that gradually the menacing 'black belt' was being brought under acceptable levels of surveillance and control, and during the 1940s a census of the area within five miles of the borough boundary was undertaken. This sense might in part have been

³ CYB 1942, p.36. Wilkes, E.C. *Provincial government in Natal: a survey of the powers and functions of the Natal Provincial Administration ...* (Durban: the Author, [195-]), pp.15-16.

⁴ CCM 8 June 1943.

⁵ CE to TC, 9 Sep 1940 in PMA C batch 302, file 141/4 (Indian Penetration Commission).

encouraged by the belief that Pietermaritzburg was destined to remain an administrative, educational and commercial centre: industrial development was opposed by influential segments of municipal politics.⁶

In spite of budgetary constraints, the anticipated end to the war stimulated planning on the housing front. Houses for returning White servicemen were built at Manor, Howard Road and Winston Road. Plans were drawn up for a Coloured sub-economic suburb at Fitzsimmons, but no provision was made for Asians. One hundred more houses were planned at Sobantu and expansion was anticipated at The Finish, adjacent land acquired by the municipality in 1946 for £3 637. Other areas of housing development were to be found at Oriibi Road extension, Stott Road in Prestbury and Carter's Estate in Athlone. Plans were also announced for industrial development at Mountain Rise, which would severely affect recreational facilities for all three Black communities, and along the Edendale Road. Significantly, land transferred to the military during the war at Oriibi was returned specifically for the ownership and use of Whites.⁷

THE PENETRATION ISSUE

It is self evident that the shape of South African life, recreation included, in the early twentieth century was determined by segregation. This was based upon both social custom and political policy during the years of colonial and dominion rule. But from 1948, when the National Party came to power in Pretoria, both custom and much loosely framed legislation was codified in apartheid law. In the case of Natal there was a precursor to this development in the form of legislation that emerged from the Asian 'penetration' issue.

During the inter-war period there was a growing tendency towards the Westernisation of Natal Asians, but a concomitant reluctance by municipalities to match this with adequate civic amenities. This became a source of conflict with Whites.⁸ Such neglect was one of several reasons why Asian property owners started moving into traditionally White areas, a development known as 'penetration'. The reaction was to set up a succession of commissions, first under Minister of the Interior, Harry

⁶ Wills, T. Segregation, separation and desegregation: Pietermaritzburg since 1910 in Guest, W. and Sellers, J.M. (eds.). *Receded tides of empire: aspects of the economic and social history of Natal and Zululand since 1910* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1994), pp.289-290.

⁷ CCM 28 Apr 1942.

⁸ Bagwandeen, D. Smuts and the Ghetto Act of 1946. *Journal of Natal and Zulu history* 7 (1984), p. 57.

Lawrence (1939-1941) and then Justice Sir Francis Broome (1940-1942 and 1943). The first Broome Commission (that also included commissioners A.E. Charter and N. Smit) reported on 25 July 1941. It considered changes that had taken place in urban areas of Natal since 1 January 1927, although it had problems defining the exact extent of White areas at that time.⁹ In its investigation into matters of property acquisition and occupation, it was the latter upon which attention was focussed because of concerns about depreciation.¹⁰ Broome noted that there was no statutory restriction on Asians and both the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and the Natal Indian Association (NIA) pointed out the “lack of civic amenities in the predominately Indian areas”, a phenomenon the Commission somewhat naively and casually ascribed to forgetful neglect.¹¹ The problem of penetration, decided Broome and his colleagues, “does not appear to be serious.”¹²

Broome visited Pietermaritzburg in February and March 1941, but his investigation elicited far less interest or comment than was the case in Durban. Its work sheds useful light, however, upon socio-economic conditions of Asians in the Pietermaritzburg area and touches specifically on the recreation issue. In 1940 the Licensing Officer had noted that Asian traders were operating from the upper and lower ends of town, as well as Retief Street Extension, and at New Scotland, Edendale Road and Camp Drift.¹³ In 1940 Camp Drift had a population of 1 820 or 20% of the Asian population of Pietermaritzburg. Most were market gardeners or hawkers and living in conditions of poverty: the NIA pointed out that “the lack of Municipal amenities in localities where Indians reside and the disregard shown towards improving the same” had resulted in a mere 12 cases of penetration between 1929 and 1937. Broome agreed with this view and argued that most Asian residential development was simply an extension of existing areas. The NIA noted that the Boom Street housing scheme had been completed only in 1940, that active discrimination in the granting and withholding of trading licences was widespread, and that municipal neglect persisted in spite of a continued drift of Asians from rural areas.¹⁴ These were sentiments broadly shared by the NIC. Between 1 January 1927 and 31 January

⁹ Calpin, G.H. *Indians in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1949), p. 155.

¹⁰ Broome, F. (chair). *Report of the Indian Penetration Commission* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1942, UG 39/41), pp. 1, 4-5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 64. The main complaints came from the old borough of Durban. Three hundred and twenty eight cases of penetration, residential and commercial, were identified, 98 (30%) of them outside the Durban municipality. Acquisition and occupation featured in 163 cases (50%), acquisition without occupation in 129 (39%), and occupation without acquisition in 36 (11%).

¹³ Licensing Officer to TC, 12 July 1940 in PMA C batch 302, file 141/4 (Indian Penetration Commission).

¹⁴ Memo by NIA to Judicial Commission on Indian Penetration, 7 Jan 1941; Justice Broome to TC, 16 June 1941 in PMA C batch 302, file 141/4 (Indian Penetration Commission).

1941, 202 sites were sold by the Pietermaritzburg Council with anti-Asiatic clauses.¹⁵ On 10 March 1941 the NIA submitted a list of questions to be raised before the Broome Commission and it included “civic amenities provided ... in the sphere of sports for Indian adults and Indian children”; and “the number of seats provided for non-Europeans at the Oval, Alexandra Park and also at the Market Gardens.” It would appear that these and other topics were ruled irrelevant by Broome.¹⁶

Broome was generally sympathetic towards the plight of Asians: “we visited some predominately Indian areas [of Durban] in which the standard of civic amenities was deplorably low, and we can well understand that the inhabitants of those areas would go elsewhere if they could.”¹⁷ Closely-settled areas lacked roads, drainage, electricity and even piped water. These were seen as reasons for penetration, as well as population spillover due to land shortages, together with upward mobility of Asians and White flight from certain areas. Nevertheless, there is from the Commission also an echo of anti-Asian sentiment from the turn of the century: “the Indian trader with his lower standard of living, with his energies concentrated more upon business and less upon recreation, has not neglected his opportunity.”¹⁸ The White inhabitants of French and Topham Roads would no doubt have agreed, objecting as they did in 1942 to the “infiltration of Indians”; and in the same year “penetration” was noted at Mountain Rise.¹⁹ Broome even suggested that penetration might contain an element of defiance against segregation; but the main reason, he argued, was a cultural preference in the Indian community for investment in immoveable property, emphasised since the Joint Communique of 1926 by a new-found sense of security.²⁰ Broome’s initial findings were slated by Natal’s White population: “the figures denied the evidence of sight, sound and smell.”²¹ By this time the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act (35 of 1943, the Pegging Act) had been promulgated and it was subsequently made retrospective to 22 March 1943. It cemented existing property owning patterns and was supported by Harry Lawrence, who argued that it allowed municipalities the time to make amends for neglect of Indian areas, as well as by the Natal Municipal Association (NMA).²²

¹⁵ TC to NIA, 25 Jan 1941 in PMA C batch 302, file 141/4 (Indian Penetration Commission).

¹⁶ NIA to TC, 10 Mar 1941; TC’s notes on an interview with Justice Broome, 14 Mar 1941 in PMA C batch 302, file 141/4 (Indian Penetration Commission).

¹⁷ Broome, F. (chair). *Report of the Indian Penetration Commission*, p.69.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.73.

¹⁹ CCM 14 Apr and 13 Oct 1942.

²⁰ Broome, F. (chair). *Report of the Indian Penetration Commission*, pp.73-76.

²¹ Calpin, G.H. *Indians in South Africa*, p.168. Renewing its work, the Commission found another 326 cases of penetration in Durban, in the Berea area in particular.

²² Calpin, G.H. *Indians in South Africa*, pp.169-172. White, W.B. The evolution of Indian policy in Natal, 1943-1945 in Thompson, P.S. (ed.). *Natal in the Union, 1931-1961: a collection of papers on developments in Natal ...* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, Department of Historical and Political Studies, 1981), p.7.

Significantly it represented the first time that statutory restrictions had been placed upon Asian occupation or ownership of land in Natal.²³

The Finance Committee of the Pietermaritzburg City Council was anxious to be included in Broome's further investigations and to be placed in a position to prevent further penetration. In October it met national politicians and officials, including the Chairman of the Asiatic Affairs Advisory Board and Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs.²⁴ A plan of the borough dated 9 August 1943 showed recent examples of penetration in the centre of town, the Bellevue area and Echo Road. The Valuation Officer estimated the net number of cases of penetration at only 124 between 1 January 1927 and 30 April 1943. By 1945 his figure rose to 210 for the central area (such as Mayors Walk, Havelock Road and Railway Street) with another 34 elsewhere in the borough.²⁵ During 1944 a number of submissions were made to the Natal Indian Judicial Commission (NIJC). The Pentrich and Camp Drift Residents Association (P&CDRA) pointed out, for instance, that its area had been the home of an Asian community since the turn of the century, that its members were trying to become Westernised and its properties were collectively valued at £40 000, the best being worth about £600. The area was renowned for poor drainage with standing pools of stagnant water. Under the Slums Act, buildings were removed without compensatory accommodation and in spite of their position as ratepayers, civic amenities were non-existent, a state of affairs related to the fact that while they were represented by ward one councillors, they had no vote.²⁶

The April 1944 Pretoria Agreement devised by A.I. Kajee and accepted by Prime Minister . Smuts was designed to "release urban areas from 'pegging' restrictions and instead envisaged racially mixed boards to supervise the occupation of dwellings in these areas."²⁷ Kajee was from that tendency of the NIC that had favoured voluntary segregation and he had once visited Pietermaritzburg "to personally intervene and prevent an Indian from purchasing property in a predominately Indian area."²⁸ The Pretoria Agreement instead released a stream of racist sentiment from Natal Whites: "there was

²³ Van Reenen, T.H. *Land: its ownership and occupation in South Africa: a treatise in the Group Areas Act* (Cape Town: Juta, 1962), p.78.

²⁴ Finance, Etc Comm 25 Feb, 21 Oct 1943 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 302, file 141/4 (Indian Penetration Commission).

²⁵ P.J. Newsom, Valuation Officer to TC, 12 June 1943 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 303, file 141/8 aux (The Indian question). P.J. Newsom, Valuation Officer report dated 10 Oct 1945 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 304, file 141/8 (The Indian question).

²⁶ Memo from A.G. Pillay, chair P&CDRA to NIJC, 10 May 1944 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 304, file 141/8 (The Indian question). Evidence before NIJC sitting in Pietermaritzburg presented by the P&CDRA represented by A.G.Pillay and D.R. Singh, 14 June 1944 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/291, file 141/8 (The Indian question).

²⁷ Lawrence, J. *Harry Lawrence* (Cape Town: Philip, 1978), p.198.

²⁸ Maharaj, B. Cooperation ... consultation and consent: the failure of voluntary segregation in Durban (1920-1945). *South African geographical journal* 85(2) 2003, p.137.

much stirring of the blood in Natal: sober-minded citizens, whose public conduct was otherwise impeccable, talked openly of recruiting a Ku-Klux-Klan to deal with Indians who, having bought houses in White areas, insisted on occupying them.”²⁹ Much of this poisonous sentiment emanated from the neo-fascist Durban Joint Wards Committee (DJWC, Secretary Grove Shaw) whose literature was available in Pietermaritzburg. A pamphlet circulating in August 1945 rejected social and political equality and portrayed Blacks as ‘semi-barbaric’. Significantly, it admitted that “from the economic point of view, Europeans cannot compete with the Indians” and demanded “that European standards and political supremacy shall prevail in South Africa at all costs - for all time” [capitalised in original] for fear of subordination. The target of the DJWC was what it described as the Asian merchant class intent upon “the Indianisation of Natal.”³⁰ The influence of these sentiments on attitudes in Pietermaritzburg is unknown, although the Town Clerk’s records contain a few letters objecting to Asian tenants moving into properties in Church Street in the centre of town, which by 1946 was described as an “Asiatic centre.”³¹ In its correspondence with the Administrator of Natal, D.E. Mitchell, the DJWC accused the government of indifference to White interests in the face of Asian “aggression” and criticised the Broome Commission for circulating “virulent propaganda ... In less liberal countries than ours this ... would not be tolerated.”³² Organisations like the DJWC, with the backing of the Durban City Council, argued that “sport, amusement and entertainment are provided for [Asians] ... In short, all the amenities of civilised life are made available.” Claims on these lines reached the bounds of credibility: “in every possible way the Indian is encouraged to indulge in Sport, and freely avails himself of the opportunities presented to him.”³³

Those who opposed the Pegging Act such as the Mayor of Pietermaritzburg, Mrs E. E. M. Russell, argued that occupational control was a contradiction in a context of economic freedom. The anticipated unrestricted status of 252 acres at Hathorns Hill would have epitomised this freedom but the City Council refused to act, creating further mistrust between it and the NIC. Within the Pietermaritzburg Corporation there were those who thought the Pretoria Agreement far too lenient and argued that acquisition was the key factor, and a problem.³⁴ The Pegging Act was extended in 1944 to the whole of Natal by dint of a Residential Property Regulation Ordinance in spite of the Kajee

²⁹ Calpin, G.H. *Indians in South Africa*, p.200.

³⁰ DJWC pamphlet of Aug 1945 in PMA C batch 304, file 141/8 (The Indian question).

³¹ G. Hurworth of 387 Church Street to TC, 17 Jan 1946 in PMA C batch 304, file 141/8 (The Indian question).

³² DJWC to Administrator, 3 & 29 Aug 1945 in PMA C batch 304, file 141/8 (The Indian question).

³³ *The Indian in Natal: is he the victim of oppression?* (Durban: City Council and DJWC, [194-]), pp.[1], [4].

³⁴ *CYB* 1944, pp.38-39.

Agreement, putting a stop to an unrestricted sales in the Mountain Rise and Hathorn's Hill areas.³⁵

In 1946, the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act (the Ghetto Act) was passed, imposing restrictions on the acquisition and occupation of previously White-owned property by Indians. The original intention of this legislation was to exchange control of Asian land tenure for a communal parliamentary franchise, which may explain why the debate was at that time the longest in South African parliamentary history. This compromise fell through as Smuts, who unequivocally saw Durban as a White city, and the South African government appeased White reactionaries from the Dominion and National Parties, both of which still favoured repatriation of the Asian community. Leader of the National Party, D.F. Malan, spoke about winning the war in Europe but losing it to the Asians of South Africa. An example of opposition to the compromise is provided by G.V.O Bulkeley of Mountain Rise in Pietermaritzburg: "it would appear both incongruous and as leading to disharmony for the ordinary affairs of Natal citizens to be voted upon by persons of Oriental descent."³⁶ On 3 May 1946 the South African Indian Congress (SAIC)'s M.D. Barmania addressing the Senate as a petitioner had denounced the Bill as reflecting the "private prejudices of a few Europeans with vested interests" regarded by many in the Indian community as imperial jingoists. He accused a number of the Bill's greatest proponents of having lost valuable real estate business to Asians, continuing: "the broad European view is that so long as the Indian is a labourer and a servant he is accepted as being useful to the community, but once [he] rises above the position of a servant he is looked upon as a menace."³⁷ It was a measure designed to "keep the non-European people as helots in South Africa."³⁸

Section one of the Ghetto Act dealt with the sale, acquisition and occupation of fixed property within controlled areas retrospective to 21 January 1946, after which no inter-racial property transactions were legal. The uncontrolled areas in Pietermaritzburg specified in the Act lay North of Hathorn's Hill and West of the cemetery (area 18); and between Greytown and Rosedale Roads (area 17). It is worth pointing out that Pietermaritzburg had pre-empted this legislation by embedding in conditions of sale restrictions on ownership and occupation to persons of White descent (except occupation by servants): lots in Woodhouse, Riverton and Hosking Roads were sold under such

³⁵ CCM 9, 25 Jan, 6 Feb 1945.

³⁶ G.V.O. Bulkeley, 116 Royston Road to Sec, Pietermaritzburg Municipal Council [sic.], 31 Jan 1947 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/75, file 141/2 (The Indian question).

³⁷ Senate. *Debates* 3 May 1946, cols. 1453-1454.

³⁸ Bagwandeem, D. Smuts and the Ghetto Act of 1946, p. 67. Hofmeyr originally objected to it as prejudicial, but eventually succumbed to the notion of communal franchise. Only Hyman Basner (Native Representative) opposed it, his filibustering resulting in suspension from the Senate (Basner, M. *Am I an African?: the political memoirs of H.M. Basner* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1993), p.180).

stipulations in 1942.³⁹ Promulgation of the Act resulted in a middle-class led passive resistance campaign with moral support from the government of India. The SAIC had passed resolutions of loyalty to Britain in 1939 and it, and many individuals who had fought on the Allied side, felt betrayed.⁴⁰ Yusuf Dadoo argued that the Ghetto Act would bring “economic and social ruin” to Asian communities through overcrowding and congestion.⁴¹ Dr G.M. Naicker of the NIC characterised the Act as designed for the economic strangulation and social degradation of the Asian community.⁴²

Asians were pressured from two sides, as they were being replaced in the labour force by Africans who were considered both cheaper and less militant in the work place. Social and political tensions led in April 1944 to the formation of the Anti-Segregation Council (ASC), a broad front of organisations that included sports bodies, but more importantly the NIC. The ASC was a no-compromise body that called for equal citizenship. A passive resistance campaign amongst Natal Asians lasted from 1946 to 1948.⁴³ As Vahed astutely observes, “Indian militancy did not automatically lead to support for non-racial political alliances.”⁴⁴ Some Asians, even at one stage members of the SAIC, accepted that residential segregation was necessary, and welcomed it believing that it would release land for expansion, but argued for commercial integration in the interests of business.⁴⁵ Whites were relieved by the passage of the Ghetto Act, but feared concessions might be made in respect of the municipal vote.⁴⁶ After the war the claim to British identity by some Natal Asians and the link to the Raj that was discernible in the 1920s and 1930s diminished significantly. More obvious was a secular tendency that crossed religious, language and caste divisions and united around the politics of sport. The ASC, for instance, brought together professionals and trade unionists and their connections in

³⁹ CCM, 13 Jan 1942.

⁴⁰ Calpin, G.H. *Indians in South Africa*, pp. 183, 187.

⁴¹ Dadoo, Y.M. *Facts about the Ghetto Act* (Durban: Killie Campbell Africana Library, 1993 - first published by the Communist Party of South Africa, 1946), p.8.

⁴² Joshi, P.S. *The struggle for equality* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1951), p.234. This is by no means far-fetched because dislike of Indians was so acute in Natal that it is generally accepted that many Whites openly sided with Africans in the 1949 Durban riots: Joshi asks why they were not quelled as rapidly as the Johannesburg mine workers' strike.

⁴³ In 1947 this embraced a boycott by the NIC of the Royal Visit, but in Durban the Indian Royal Visit Committee included representatives from the Durban and District Indian Cricket Union (DDICU) and the Natal Indian Football Association (NIFA): 65 000 attended the celebrations at Curries Fountain.

⁴⁴ Vahed, G. The making of 'Indianness': Indian politics in South Africa during the 1930s and 1940s. *Journal of Natal and Zulu history* 19 (1997), p.36.

⁴⁵ Calpin, G.H. *Indians in South Africa*, p. 193; White, W.B. The evolution of Indian policy in Natal, 1943-1945, p.7.

⁴⁶ In 1947 a poll on separate Indian representation on the Durban City Council was defeated by the massive margin of 15066 votes to 1639 (9.8%).

religious, social, sporting and cultural organisations thus broadening the base of radical politics.⁴⁷

PUBLIC PARKS, SPORTSFIELDS AND SWIMMING BATHS

In spite of the constraints and stringencies of war-time conditions, there was a consistent willingness to spend on public recreational facilities, although with the predictable racial basis. In 1949 the Private Township Ordinance was adopted: this made provision for a Town and Regional Planning Commission amongst whose tasks was the formulation of urban policy that included 'places of recreation'. An added dimension was the provision made for troops stationed in Pietermaritzburg. Their presence, it was announced, had "brought a new and more vigorous atmosphere to the life of our City ... contribut[ing] ... towards the general progress and well-being of the community."⁴⁸ In 1942, two football grounds were set aside in Alexandra Park for Polish troops and by the middle of the war facilities were over-extended. There was conflict over cricket facilities in Alexandra Park with complaints of military high-handedness regarding use of pitches without permission and the attitude towards grounds staff.⁴⁹ The issue of Black troops stationed in Pietermaritzburg posed other problems. In 1941 there were up to 500 Black military personnel in the city at one time and it was suggested that they should be temporarily accommodated at the Native Hall in Berg Street. The following year it was decided not to proceed with this plan. Instead a Coloured Soldiers' club, run by the Salvation Army, was built in Otto Street, although there was no provision for physical recreation.⁵⁰

The rapidly escalating figure for parks (*see* table 13) can be accounted for in part by the assumption of additional responsibilities such as cemeteries. In 1945, nearly 7% of municipal revenue was spent on parks and just over 2% on baths and this total figure of about 9% was repeated the following year, but by 1948 parks alone were absorbing nearly 10%. Relief gangs established during the Depression were still a feature of the city at the beginning of the war, but the number of workers assigned to parks was minimal. The development of recreational facilities did not entirely preclude groups that were not White, as will be demonstrated. One of the main projects of the Parks Department during the war years was the construction of children's playgrounds. These appeared at Roberts

⁴⁷ Bhana, S. Indianness reconfigured, 1944-1960: the Natal Indian Congress in South Africa. *Comparative studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27(2) 1997, pp. 100, 103. Bagwandeem, D. *A people on trial - for breaching racism: the struggle for land and housing of the Indian people of Natal, 1940-1946* (Durban: Madiba, 1991), p.198.

⁴⁸ CYB 1941, pp. 26-27.

⁴⁹ Letter from Captain H.W. Oosthuis, R. Wakeford and J.H. Baillie to Sec, Maritzburg Cricket Union, 4 Jan 1944; PSA to TC, 25 Apr 1944 *in* 3/PMB 4/4/2/307, file 149/65 (Sporting facilities at Alexandra Park for military units).

⁵⁰ Native Administration, Etc. Committee, 1 Dec 1941, 13 Feb 1942; General Purposes Sub Committee, 31 Aug 1942 *in* 3/PMB 4/4/2/305, file 149/31 (Recreational facilities for non-European troops).

Road/Chapel Street and Gardens in 1943; near the Dorpspruit in 1944; and Havelock Road, East Street and Sastri Square in 1945; locations indicating clearly that they were not intended for the sole use of Whites. The only major project for adult White sport during the war was an improvement in 1945 to cricket facilities at the Alexandra Park Oval. Nevertheless, at the end of the war the Town Clerk was able to report a total of 17 bowling greens at seven clubs; and two rugby, two cricket and four football grounds, all grassed.⁵¹

Table 13: Net costs of parks and public baths, 1940-1949(£)

	Parks	Public baths
1940	6 249	2 696
1941	5 749	2 677
1942	6 233	2 469
1943	7 748	2 518
1944	10 698	2 863
1945	13 362	3 998
1946	15 752	3 238
1947	18 730	3 716
1948	20 977	3 790
1949	19 702	4 476

Immediately after the war a further playground was added at Camp Drift and next door a football and cricket ground was provided. An elaborate picnic site was established at Chase Valley and this was later to become a point of contention. By 1947 post-war reconstruction was beginning to benefit recreational facilities. The athletics and cycle track was upgraded to become one of the best in South Africa; and in 1949 three new hockey fields were constructed in Alexandra Park, for which a budget of £20 000 was made available. Equipment worth £500 was ordered for the playgrounds and the Coloured Social Centre was provided with swings and see-saws. Children's facilities and playgrounds remained the main focus of post-war spending. However, in 1948 a long overdue start was made to the Sobantu sports ground. The Polo Club made a successful application to the City Council for land additional to the field at Willowbridge: in the end 15 acres was provided on the Baynes Drift Road near the townlands boundary.⁵²

⁵¹ TC to Dower, Wahl Advertising Co., Johannesburg, 8 Oct 1945 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 374, file 242/1 (Recreation and sports grounds: general).

⁵² *CYB* 1946, pp. 28, 113; 1947, pp. 109-110; 1948, pp. 78-79, 82; 1949, p.24. Market and Parks Committee, 10 June 1946 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 376, file 242/19 (Provision of additional sports grounds at Woodburn or Alexandra Park). Pietermaritzburg and District Polo Club to TC, 28 Feb 1949 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/95, file 162/15 (Pietermaritzburg and District Polo Club: application for lease or use of land for temporary polo ground).

Early in the war a conflict broke out amongst Whites. The Reverend J.E. van Heerden approached the Council wanting to revive an “old-time past-time” and requesting a “piece of historical land.” The land in question, about 500 square feet in front of the Voortrekker Church, he argued, was populated by hobos and their fires and “also minopolized (sic) by native and Indian cricket and football players.” When told that the area was zoned as a children’s playground, van Heerden duly applied for land in Alexandra Park.⁵³ The response of the Superintendent of Public Parks was highly significant. Suggesting a location outside the Park, for instance in Pine Street South, he reasoned, “to the best of my knowledge this is the first application for an area to be set aside as a sports centre where the membership will be confined to one section of the Community and if the request is granted may result in application for similar facilities from other Societies such as the Son’s (sic) of England, Caledonian Oddfellows and various religious bodies.”⁵⁴ He seems oblivious of the fact that just such a policy of spatial segregation and inclusion/exclusion had been rapidly gaining in popularity on racial grounds amongst the White population. The Town Clerk supported this hypocrisy, replying that a portion of a public park cannot be “restricted to one section of the community only.”⁵⁵ Van Heerden and the Secretary of the Jukskeilaer pointed out that the courts would be open to ‘all’, English and Afrikaans speaking, but that only Whites could become members, and provision for members of the Indian and Coloured communities could be made elsewhere.⁵⁶ Land was set aside for two playing areas in 1941, but it is unclear if these were built as in 1942 van Heerden repeated his request for land in town on the unconvincing grounds of petrol shortages. This was turned down.⁵⁷

In 1941 the open air and Buchanan Street baths were made available to White troops and the use of the former was extended in March 1942 to the Currie Cup championship. In 1943 it was suggested that “poorer Europeans ... get hot baths” on a reserved day each week at Buchanan Street,

⁵³ Reverend van Heerden, NGK Voortrekker-Gemeente, 13 Apr 1940; TC to van Heerden, 6 May 1940 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 366, file 215/5 (Application by Rev. van Heerden for land near Voortrekker Church for purpose of throwing the jukskei) and file 215/8 (Application for jukskei courts in Alexandra Park: Rev. J.E. van Heerden).

⁵⁴ Superintendent of Public Parks to van Heerden, 3 Dec 1940 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 366, file 215/5 (Application by Rev. Van Heerden for land near Voortrekker Church for purpose of throwing the jukskei) and file 215/8 (Application for jukskei courts in Alexandra Park: Rev. J.E. van Heerden).

⁵⁵ TC to van Heerden, 6 May, 24 Dec 1940 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 366, file 215/5 (Application by Rev. Van Heerden for land near Voortrekker Church for purpose of throwing the jukskei) and file 215/8 (Application for jukskei courts in Alexandra Park: Rev. J.E. van Heerden).

⁵⁶ van Heerden to TC, 27 Dec 1940; Mnr van der Merwe, Sekretaris Voortrekker Jukskeilaer to TC, 8 Feb 1941 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 366, file 215/5 (Application by Rev. Van Heerden for land near Voortrekker Church for purpose of throwing the jukskei) and file 215/8 (Application for jukskei courts in Alexandra Park: Rev. J.E. van Heerden).

⁵⁷ van Heerden to Mayor, 10 Nov 1942 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 366, file 215/5 (Application by Rev. Van Heerden for land near Voortrekker Church for purpose of throwing the jukskei) and file 215/8 (Application for jukskei courts in Alexandra Park: Rev. J.E. van Heerden).

but the Town Clerk rejected this as schools had exclusive use.⁵⁸ The issue of swimming had already been introduced earlier that year with Councillor A.G. Lugsdin advocating the setting aside of land in the Pine Street area (a site on Cloete Road was recommended) for new facilities: “open-air swimming baths and paddling pools ... for both Europeans and non-Europeans.”⁵⁹ Lugsdin’s reference to the latter was probably restricted to the Coloured urban population. The Town Clerk felt that the chances of permission to build baths in Pine Street were slight. Water sport was increasingly becoming a popular, high investment activity for Whites: in March 1949 the South African Swimming and Water Polo Championships were held in Pietermaritzburg and stands, diving boards and additional lighting were provided at the open air baths. Increased night time usage was subsequently noted.⁶⁰

FUNDING OF PRIVATE SPORT

Table 14: Grants-in-aid from municipal budget by sporting code, 1940-1949 (£ total)

	Amount	%
Polo	1 213	16.1
Gymnastics (YMCA)	1 100	14.6
Bowls	976	13.0
Lawn tennis	825	11.0
Rugby	705	9.4
Cricket	641	8.5
Golf	400	5.3
Boating	360	4.8
Pietermaritzburg Sports Association	350	4.7
Empire Day	150	2.0
Olympic Games Association	50	0.7
Rifle associations	45	0.6
Athletics and cycling	40	0.5
Croquet	30	0.4
Comrades Marathon	25	0.3
Hockey	10	0.1
Badminton	10	0.1
Natal Coloured Welfare League	473	6.3
Indian Sports Association	132	1.8
African football	5	-.
Total	7 530	

⁵⁸ Works, Etc. Comm, 8 Sep 1943 in PMA 3/PMB/C batch 424, file 299/17 (Buchanan Street baths: hot bathing facilities for poor community).

⁵⁹ CCM 9 Feb, 25 May 1943.

⁶⁰ TC to H.C. Hillermann, Pietermaritzburg District Schools Swimming Association, 27 Aug 1947 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/165, file 299/10 (Suggested erection of new swimming bath in the Pine Street area by Pietermaritzburg Schools Swimming Association). *CYB* 1949, pp. 19, 54-55, 71.

Council reacted in a variety of ways to appeals made on the strength of wartime conditions. For instance, in 1940 Standard Cricket Club indicated that it would close its ground as so many of its members were in the forces, but appealed for a grant to maintain it arguing that it was an asset to the northern approach to the city on what had been “rough and unkempt ground.” Standard also argued that there was an obligation to preserve sports facilities for future demobilisation.⁶¹ They were successful in their appeal, but rugby received an unsympathetic response to a request for an increase as did the croquet players who finally received a special (one-off) grant only in 1945. Polo had its grant reduced to £75 in 1942.⁶²

The effect of the war on club membership, and therefore finances, was recognised at an early stage together with provision of special grants or alteration to loan arrangements. As a result, loans were suspended for the duration (*see* table 15). In two cases from 1941, 50% of interest payment was waived and a year’s worth of unpaid interest was capitalised. As the war progressed the number of beneficiaries increased. The unpaid interest of two bodies was liquidated and by 1945 interest in suspense amounted to £951.

Table 15: Suspended payments on loans to sports bodies as at January 1946 (£)

	Principal	Interest	
Polo	790		
Country Club (golf)	615	492	
Lawn tennis	373	349	
Country Club (bowls)	92	110	
Mountain Rise Golf Club	88		
Woodburn Bowling Club	80		
Rugby		100	
Totals	2038	1051	3089

In January 1946 the City Treasurer listed six sporting bodies owing £9091 in respect of loans dating back to 1922.⁶³ The greatest beneficiary was the Country Club (golf and bowls - £3 896) followed by Kershaw Park (tennis - £2 865), polo (£790) and Woodburn Bowling Club (£765), all private and

⁶¹ Pres, Standard CC to TC, 6 Nov 1940 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 292, file 130/10 (Application by Standard Cricket Club for grant).

⁶² Finance, Etc Comm, 12 July 1943 *in* 3/PMB C batch 293, file 130/26 (Maritzburg Rugby Sub Union: application for increased grant of £120 per annum). Correspondence between Maritzburg Croquet Club and TC, 25 Oct 1944 to 25 Oct 1947 *in* 3/PMB C batch 294, file 130/42 (Maritzburg Croquet Club: application for a grant). CCM 8 Dec 1942.

⁶³ City Treasurer to TC, 24 Jan 1946 *in* 3/PMB 4/4/2/18, file 31/2 (Loans to sporting bodies: suspended payments).

indeed exclusive organisations; followed by the more egalitarian Mountain Rise Golf Club (MRGC, £675) and rugby (£100). By contrast, the amounts owed by the Indian Sports Association (ISA) and the Natal Coloured Welfare Association (NCWA) had diminished during the war by 33% and 38% respectively to £238 and £313 and in 1946 the ISA cleared its debt. However, no part of the suspended interest was repaid and tennis and the Country Club defaulted still further. In the case of Kershaw Park tennis, £349 of suspended interest was recapitalised. This was opposed by the auditor in terms of s.6 of Ordinance 12 of 1935 and reversed in 1947. It was revealed that over 23 years the club's debt of £3000 had been reduced by a mere £134/11/4d (4.49%): in the words of the auditor, this "position cannot be regarded as other than unsatisfactory."⁶⁴ From 1947 onwards new loans were made, to the Country Club and polo, both of which still owed considerable sums of money and the total sum still outstanding in 1949 amounted to £16 708.

Not all experiences of the City Council Loan Fund were positive. Council would not accede to a request for suspension of interest payments from 1941 made by MRGC. An appeal for an interest rate reduction was also denied. As a result of halved numbers due to the war, by 1946 the MRGC had declared itself unable to carry on and asked that the Council take over, construct an eighteen hole course and lease it to them. An alternative proposal was put forward in 1947: a 40 year lease, additional land and a loan of £5 000. The response fell far short of the request: a £100 grant, provided subscriptions and green fees were increased by 50% and repayment of principal was extended to another 15 years. Although a £4 500 loan was eventually secured (amalgamated with the existing loan) and extra land leased, MRGC was required to build a clubhouse. In April 1949 it made the unsuccessful and irregular suggestion that repayment of interest and principal should be suspended, except for that portion that could be paid out of the annual grant of £100.⁶⁵ Polo received even less sympathy. In 1946 the South African Polo Association (SAPA) pointed out that its pre-war annual grant had been £100 plus a rates rebate; and that a rent rebate had been applied during the war years. Two tournaments had recently been held, but the costs of ground maintenance to provide a sufficiently high standard of play were considerable. SAPA argued that polo drew visitors to Pietermaritzburg, but a loan of £700 and a continued grant of £100 were less than it required.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Annual statement of accounts *CYB* 1946, pp.ix-x.

⁶⁵ Finance, Etc. Comm 25 Apr 1940, 27 Mar, 9 Oct 1941, 8 July 1946, 17 Feb, 3 Apr, 23 Dec 1947, 20 Apr, 17 Oct 1949 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/80 file 126/3 (Extension of Mountain Rise Golf Course).

⁶⁶ Sec, SAPA to CT, 27 Dec 1946, 7 Feb 1947; CT to SAPA, 3 Feb 1947 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/80, file 130/11 (Application for grant-in-aid: SA Polo Association).

ASIAN AND COLOURED RECREATION

The issue of swimming and members of the Coloured community was again brought to the attention of the City Council in 1940 by the Pietermaritzburg District Schools Swimming Association: “many of them live in the lower areas of the town where floods occasionally occur. These floods are frequently accompanied by a loss of life which could be avoided if facilities for swimming were available. Furthermore the climate frequently results in use being made of the Umsindusi and the Dorp Spruit for bathing purposes and, as both these streams are infested with the germ of Bilharzia, the door is being opened to the spread of the disease and further propagation of the germs.” The response from the Town Clerk was standard and predictable: “the City Council regrets that it is unable at present to accede to your Association’s request.”⁶⁷ The matter of swimming had also been taken up by the Asian community during sittings of the NIJC. The Joint Indo-European Council (JI-EC) suggested a pool utilising purified water from the Dorpspruit and criticised the Council for its unwillingness to accept the running costs of such a facility.⁶⁸ The P&CDRA voiced similar opinions and the NIC summed up the general situation: “boyds [sic.] are found using the Dorpspruit and various ponds, a dangerous improvisation for baths, exposing themselves to the dangers of Bilharzia and its kindred diseases.”⁶⁹ The municipality was urged to provide a swimming bath for the Asian community. After the floods of 14 January 1947 there was comment about African and Coloured children swimming in the Umsundusi River and Dorpspruit and the dangers of bilharzia (also found in Chase Valley and at Brookside brickyards) were emphasised.⁷⁰

There is little published material reflecting the life of the Coloured community⁷¹, but the biography of Precious McKenzie (born 1936 as Precious Joseph, McKenzie being his maternal grandfather’s name) provides fragmentary clues. McKenzie experienced a neglected, at times abused, childhood as a result of his mother’s alcoholism. One set of foster parents had to give him up because he looked too dark and for the same reason he was kept out of Coloured schools. He recalls playing football in the street, pole vaulting the Dorpspruit and climbing Hathorns Hill while living at the eastern end of Pietermaritzburg. At New Scotland he watched White children riding horses and having moved

⁶⁷ A.S. Webster, Sec, Pietermaritzburg District Schools Swimming Association to TC, 27 Nov 1940; TC to PDSSA, 24 Dec 1940 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 266, file 75/3 (Suggested swimming bath for Coloured community).

⁶⁸ Minutes of proceedings of the public sittings of the NIJC, 4th-5th, 13-14 June 1944 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 303, file 141/8 aux (The Indian question).

⁶⁹ NIC (Pietermaritzburg) memo to NIJC, 14 June 1944 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 303, file 141/8 aux (The Indian question).

⁷⁰ CYB 1947, p. 94.

⁷¹ Both primary and secondary material is indeed sparse, but Gillian Stead Eilersen gives a few further clues in her *Bessie Head: thunder behind her ears: her life and writing* (Claremont: Philip, 1995), pp.3-19.

yet again to Raisethorpe, he swam in a stream used for washing clothes and watched stick fighting.⁷²

During the war years public space increasingly became a matter of contestation amidst increasing racial tension. In January 1940 an application for the use of the City Hall for Indian boxing was rejected while, significantly, the City Council was making an official request for representation on the commission looking into Indian 'penetration'; and in early 1942 the Newcastle Hindu Young Men's Association was similarly refused.⁷³ In the early evening of 31 January 1941, Cassim Suleman, a businessman of 320 Longmarket Street was ejected from an unmarked bench in the City Gardens by a White policeman and had to sit on the pavement instead. The District Commandant of the South African Police explained that the policeman in question remained unidentified, no specific instructions had been issued and a recurrence would be avoided.⁷⁴ This incident bears out Jain's description of a "troubled peace" between Whites and Indians in the early 1940s in which there was "continuing white invective and incitement against Indians."⁷⁵ In 1942 businesses established a routine of closing on Wednesday afternoons for Civilian Protection Services (CPS) training, but it was noticed that Asian shop owners were not complying.⁷⁶ In 1943 the issue took on new dimensions when the Natal Council of Women complained about the "undesirable conditions prevailing in public parks and gardens, brought about by the congregation of Non-European [predominately African] nurse girls with European children in their charge." The Market Master added his contribution: "malpractices are carried out in the afternoons - during which time there are many of the male fraternity paying amorous attentions to these native nurse girls, with the result that the children are neglected."⁷⁷

In 1944 the Parks Superintendent was complaining about the defiance shown by members of the Asian community towards signs reading 'Europeans only', hinting darkly, "by whom they were removed needs little thought." Elaborating further, he said, "they either reply we will not move, prosecute us if you wish, or leave very reluctantly with the remark, there is no notice to say we cannot

⁷² Connock, M. *The Precious McKenzie story* (London: Pelham, 1975).

⁷³ CCM 18 Jan, 13 Feb, 29 Mar 1940; 13 Jan 1942.

⁷⁴ Sec, NIA to TC, 6 Feb 1941; SAP District Commissioner to TC, 23 Apr 1941 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 364, file 215/9 (Seats in Town Gardens and Alexandra Park).

⁷⁵ Jain, P.C. *Indians in South Africa: political economy of race relations* (Delhi, Kalinga, 1999), p.40. The assault on 29 December 1941 of an Asian by the Market Master was marked by a mass meeting of the NIA, the second in three months, at the V.D. Sabha Hall. The chairperson Dr Peters referred to "alleged shameful incidents ... [and] ... callous and unscrupulous treatment." The cause seems to have been an attempt to segregate areas within the market itself and there was a call for an enquiry and an end to discrimination (NW 31 Dec 1941, p.5).

⁷⁶ CCM 26 May 1942.

⁷⁷ TC to South African Police, 30 Aug 1943; Market Master to TC, 7 Oct 1943 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 364, file 215/20 (Control of nurse girls in public parks and gardens).

use them, and other remarks bearing upon the point of their equality etc.” The following year he became more agitated, complaining somewhat incoherently about the overcrowding of the City Gardens, picnic grounds and the Rockery: “[the] poorer type of coloureds has introduced drink which in turn brings certain types of women consequently drunken brawls and fights are frequent ... At times the picnic grounds are swarmed with Indians and Seats and Equipment are not available to Europeans.” The antidote was seen clearly as strictly segregated facilities. Opinion sought by the Town Clerk in 1945 suggested that it was illegal to exclude anyone from a public park, but portions could be set aside for specific use in terms of municipal regulations. The advice given was to “temporise” until new separate facilities could be made available.⁷⁸ Certain Whites did not escape the general air of disapproval: “disreputable europeans and others [are] frequently seen consorting with Coloured or Native girls and ... liquor is very often drunk or passed” in the City Gardens. The police explained that such fraternisation was not illegal as long as the laws of decency and immorality were obeyed, nor were Black soldiers courting in the gardens infringing the law.⁷⁹

During the war years use of space in the city centre became a contested issue. On Saturday 20 November 1943, “hooligans in uniform”, in the words of the editor of the *Natal Witness*, stormed the City Hall in an effort to break up the annual dance organised by the Maritzburg Coloured Welfare League under the patronage of the Mayor. The soldiers were in transit (440 000 personnel passed through Pietermaritzburg during the war years), not local, but the subsequent inquiry showed that they had been incited by civilians including railway personnel. Severe assaults took place and there was criticism of the military for its insufficient and dilatory response.⁸⁰ In a sense this incident represented a collision between relatively liberal local practice and radical segregation sentiment imported from elsewhere: one soldier commented that he was fighting for “freedom.” However, locals took a prominent part and comments from the crowd suggested that the Ossewabrandwag (OB) might have been involved. The subsequent inquiry held at Oribi showed that liquor was not a factor and suggested that the presence in large numbers of the Cape Corps had hardened local attitudes. Facilities at the Hay Paddock transit camp were criticised, but shown to cover a wide range of activities, including cricket

⁷⁸ Superintendent of Public Parks to TC, 16 June 1944, 1 Feb 1945; F.B. Burchell to TC, 6 Feb 1945 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 364, file 215/9 (Seats in Town Gardens and Alexandra Park).

⁷⁹ TC to SAP, 26 Feb 1945; District Commandant, SAP to TC, 1 Mar 1945 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 364, file 215/20 (Control of nurse girls in public parks and gardens).

⁸⁰ There was also feeling that officers had not taken matters seriously enough and Colonel A.G. McKenzie duly apologised for this. Coloured women and soldiers were badly beaten in both the vicinity of the City Hall and elsewhere and this military riot was finally ended with tear gas. The rioters reputedly threatened at one point to dynamite the City Hall in protest at the fact that it had been let out to the Coloured community. The Mayor, Mrs E.E.M. Russell stood in the foyer of the City Hall trying to defuse the situation. In response to the suggestion that Coloured people would not be allowed to use the City Hall in Johannesburg, she responded that this was Pietermaritzburg.

and boxing. There is evidence that the riot contained elements of protest against the military authorities.⁸¹

Attitudes to the use of public space varied. In September 1944, a Dawn of Victory Cavalcade sought permission for a "Parade of Natives", from the Beer Hall via Church Street to Alexandra Park involving two hundred people and culminating in a war dance. Approval was rapidly given.⁸² The display in Alexandra Park lasted several days and was attended by thousands: a major attraction was India House and the Café Taj Mahal.⁸³ But VE-Day celebrations were segregated: the Native commemoration was held at Berg Street RG where 1 000 people were addressed by the Mayor, Mrs Russell.⁸⁴ The issue of Black boxing at the City Hall returned to haunt the City Council in late 1947. Seaman Chetty, the Durban promoter, was turned down and no reason was given, although a Coloured community concert was held in the Hall on 22 December. Philip Jonsson, writing in the *Natal Witness* noted that the Durban City Hall was used for Black boxing, which was well supported by Whites; but "the majority of the [Pietermaritzburg] City Council regards sport with resignation rather than approbation."⁸⁵

Several cases illustrate the increasing tendency to demarcate recreational space racially. A plot on the Dorpspruit at the eastern end of Prince Alfred and Bulwer Streets on the boundary of areas traditionally regarded as White and Asian was clearly defined as reserved for use as a White park or children's playground.⁸⁶ In October 1944 an application was made by the Pietermaritzburg Co-operative Society to use Alexandra Park for a football match "between two Native League Teams, in aid of our Navy Week Fund" but it was turned down without explanation.⁸⁷ In 1948 the P&CDRA raised the question of cycling facilities for Blacks, pointing out that there was talent but nowhere to train except on dangerous public roads. Use of the Alexandra Park track on certain days was requested.

⁸¹ *NW* 22 Nov 1943, p.2; 23 Nov 1943, p.1; 24 Nov 1943, pp.1,4; 25 Nov 1943, pp.1,3; 26 Nov 1943, pp.1,4.

⁸² Secretary, Dawn of Victory Cavalcade to TC, 6 Sep 1944; TC to Sec, DVC, 8 Sep 1944 *in* (Applications to hold processions in city streets).

⁸³ *NW* 13 Sep 1944, p.3.

⁸⁴ *NW* 10 May 1945, p.6. Then in May 1946 a march organised by the Pietermaritzburg Food Action Committee in the Longmarket, Retief, Church and Thomas Street area was banned at the last moment. Speakers included Nilly Peters (Communist Party of South Africa) and Dr M.R. Peters (NIC) and the protest, under the slogan "Hands Off People's Food", was about hoarding, black marketeering and unequal food distribution (T.M. Maistry, Sec, Pietermaritzburg Food Action Committee, 25 May 1946; Flyer announcing Mass Meeting in People's Square, 26 May 1946 *in* (Applications to hold processions in city streets)).

⁸⁵ *NW* 13 Dec 1947, p.11.

⁸⁶ Works, Etc. Comm, 18 Aug 1943 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 364, file 215/21 (Reclaimed area adjoining Dorp Spruit ...).

⁸⁷ C.V. Perry, Secretary Pietermaritzburg Co-operative Society to TC, 11 Oct 1944; TC to Perry, 26 Oct 1944 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 364, file 215/24 (Applications to hold Non-European events in Alexandra Park).

The Superintendent of Public Parks regarded this as the “thin end of the wedge ... [to] be followed by later requests to hold cycling meetings on the same ground. Incidentally there are no dressing room, ablution or sanitary facilities available for non-Europeans, and it would hardly be wise to permit the use of the European dressing rooms etc.” The (White) Pietermaritzburg Sports Association objected to the application in no uncertain terms: “the inevitable use of the ablution rooms and lavatories by both races is a state of affairs which could not be tolerated and would raise an immediate outcry among the inhabitants of this City.” The main objection was clearly the shared use of facilities. The P&CDRA response was conciliatory and even submissive, pointing out the total absence of facilities, and asking for the track on “one or two afternoons” when Whites did not require it: “we assure you that the track and grounds would be left in the same condition in which we found it (sic).”⁸⁸ The following year Mario Ghello, World champion cyclist, visited Pietermaritzburg and no effort was spared to provide lights and poles free of charge for floodlighting.⁸⁹

The large Asian communities at Pentrich, Plessislaer and Camp Drift had since the early 1930s had access to a recreation ground at Masons Mill on the Edendale Road primarily used by Africans. From 1935 this was situated near the Esther Payne Smith (EPS) School. In March 1940 the Secretary of the Maritzburg County Indian Football Association explained that it was required by up to eight teams and asked for a grant, citing examples from Mayville and Sea View in Durban. He pointed out that there were no toilets, shade, shelter or fence and that water was only available from a disused connection at the old EPS School; and expanded upon its social role: “this Association has been a medium to maintain order and discipline among the young men, in keeping them away from vagrancy and trouble which could be substantiated by the Police Sergeant of the Topham Road Station.” This approach prompted the municipality to scarify and roll the ground and instal a tap, but this was the limit of assistance until 1944 when a grant of £15/15/- was awarded.⁹⁰ In 1947 there was a complaint from the Superintendent of Parks that the P&CDRA had made no effort to maintain the ground since it was handed over in April 1946 and that unchecked grass and weeds created a picture of neglect.⁹¹ The NIC had pointed out in 1944 that the ground was allocated at the “pleasure of the Council” and was

⁸⁸ B.Poodhan, Sec, P&CDRA to TC, 27 Mar, 16 June 1948; SPP to TC, 2 Apr 1948; Sec, PSA to TC, 8 Apr 1948 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 366, file 215/4/40 (Cinder running track in Alexandra Park).

⁸⁹ CCM 22 Mar 1949 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 366, file 215/4/40 (Cinder running track in Alexandra Park). Maritzburg Wheelers did, however, have to pay for cable and units consumed.

⁹⁰ K.R. Singh, Secretary, MCIFA to TC, 7 Feb, 7 Mar 1940; M. Roopsamy to TC, 27 Mar 1940; TC to Sec, MCIFA, 22 Apr 1940, 4 Apr 1944; J. Pillay, Sec, MCIFA to TC, 1 Apr 1943; M. Beharie, Sec, MCIFA to TC, 2 Mar 1944 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/138, file 242/2 (Indian recreation grounds on the Edendale Road near Mason’s Mill). Apparently Sergeant Gaffney had assisted in securing Edendale Rd ground in 1935.

⁹¹ Superintendent of Public Parks to TC, 20 Mar 1947 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/138, file 242/2. (Indian recreation grounds on the Edendale Road near Mason’s Mill).

regarded only as temporary.⁹²

The investigations around 'penetration' threw up a certain amount of detail about the state of public recreational facilities for members of the Asian (and Coloured) communities in the 1940s in Pietermaritzburg. The overall picture was one of stark neglect and a struggle to acquire the most basic of facilities. The saga of the campaign for playgrounds for Asian children continued throughout the war and at its end St Paul's was asking for facilities equal to those of "native" children to prevent play that was damaging the church.⁹³ The situation was summed up in 1943 by the JI-EC in an application for a children's playground and an adult park at the lower end of town near the Dorpspruit: "at present [Indians] have no facilities such as is so lavishly granted to Europeans in this City." The matter of the park and playground was apparently being looked into with "sympathetic consideration." A year later the JI-EC was voicing its opinions more strongly, describing children "whose only playgrounds now are the lanes, pavements and gutters" and making the obvious connection with a lack of representation on the City Council.⁹⁴ These views were so wildly at variance with that of officialdom as to suggest major differences of perception: "the Council endeavours to the best of its ability to provide civic amenities to all sections of the community in consonance with their requirements."⁹⁵ Evidence given to the NIJC by two unionists in July 1944 paints a very different picture, accentuated by the use of language: "there are no recreational facilities at all. There are no grounds, or there are no playgrounds for children, even."⁹⁶

Before the war had ended the P&CDRA wrote to the Town Clerk expressing the view that "a few swings would be most welcome." The response announced a proposed development between the river and Charles and Glynn Roads for football, tennis, hockey and bowls plus an Oval for cricket.⁹⁷ In early 1946 the P&CDRA pointed out that delay exacerbated the problem of keeping young people out

⁹² NIC (Pietermaritzburg) memo to NIJC, 14 June 1944 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 303, file 141/8 aux (The Indian question).

⁹³ Vestry Clerk of St Paul's Indian Mission Church to TC, 4 June 1945 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 376, files 1436/1938 and 242/10 (Suggested playground for Indian children).

⁹⁴ M.Langley, Secretary, JI-EC to TC, 29 Mar 1943; TC to JI-EC, 10 June 1943 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 364, file 215/18 (Suggested park for Indian community). JI-EC to Natal Indian Judicial Commission, undated [1944] in PMA 3/PMB C batch 304, file 141/8 (The Indian question).

⁹⁵ City Council memo to NIJC, 8 June 1944 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 304, file 141/8 (The Indian question).

⁹⁶ Evidence by E.I. Moolla, Chemical Workers Industrial Union and S.N. Mungal, Maritzburg Indian Municipal Employees Union to the NIJC, undated July 1944 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 304, file 141/8 (The Indian question).

⁹⁷ P&CDRA to TC, 10 Apr 1945; TC to P&CDRA, 25 Oct 1945 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 377, file 242/22/40 (Recreation ground for Non-Europeans in Pentrich and Camps Drift area).

of trouble in the absence of recreational facilities.⁹⁸ The football ground was handed over in August, after continued use of the Edendale Road SG had elicited unfavourable comments from the Manager of the Native Affairs Department.⁹⁹ A request for permission to play golf at Camp Drift RG was accompanied by a claim that the area also had three athletic clubs and a cricket union. The riverine location presented drainage problems while the absence of toilets was also a major issue: “spectators and the players are compelled to relieve themselves out in the open field. This my Association feels, is not in the best interest of health” [and] “the temporary lavatories as provided have also collapsed during a thunder storm.”¹⁰⁰ The delays, it was explained in 1949, were caused by possible expansion by South African Railways.¹⁰¹ In town the situation was better: in August 1949 land at the junction of East and Loop Streets created by a deviation of the Dorpspruit was earmarked for “a Non-European childrens playground.”¹⁰²

The issue of general recreational space for the Coloured community during the 1940s serves as a further illustration of the dynamics of recreation, segregation and space. Having been moved from Pine Street to Berg Street Coloured Sports Ground (CSG, between Dorpspruit and the railway), football players pointed out that “cattle are continually roaming over the fields and in wet weather on newly made up ground it is easy to imagine the result.”¹⁰³ At Pine Street, based on local initiative and a Council loan of £710, a turf pitch had been played on since 1928 together with a cricket wicket of broken brick covered with cinders and surfaced with ant heap.¹⁰⁴ This was acknowledged by plans to turf the pitch and provide a pavilion. But the move from Pine Street had also left the cricketers inadequately provisioned and the resultant disorganisation had ended with the sports association defaulting on its loan instalment of £64. Berg Street CSG was handed over in November 1940, the pavilion followed in February 1941, and in July responsibility for maintenance was transferred to the Natal Coloured Welfare League (NCWL - motto, “United we stand, divided we fall”) in return for an annual grant. The NCWL reported a deficit of £47 in 1941-42 in respect of tennis, cricket and hockey

⁹⁸ P&CDRA to CE, 15 Feb 1946 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 377, file 242/22/40 (Recreation ground for Non-Europeans in Pentrich and Camps Drift area).

⁹⁹ Manager, NAD to Maritzburg District African Football Association, 10 May 1946 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 377, file 242/22/40 (Recreation ground for Non-Europeans in Pentrich and Camps Drift area).

¹⁰⁰ P&CDRA to CE, 28 May, 17 Nov 1947 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 377, file 242/22/40 (Recreation ground for Non-Europeans in Pentrich and Camps Drift area).

¹⁰¹ TC to P&CDRA, 21 Sep 1949 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 377, file 242/22/40 (Recreation ground for Non-Europeans in Pentrich and Camps Drift area).

¹⁰² Finance, Etc. Comm, 23 Aug 1949 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 376, file 242/19 (Provision of additional sports grounds at Woodburn or Alexandra Park).

¹⁰³ Superintendent of Parks to TC, 10 Apr 1940 *in* 3/PMB 4/5/609, file 242/3 (Coloured sports grounds).

¹⁰⁴ G.G. Heathcote, Sec, NCWL to TC, 29 Mar, 23 Sep 1940 *in* 3/PMB 4/5/609, file 242/3 (Coloured sports grounds).

because of problems maintaining Berg Street CSG, which was prone to flooding. A successful application was made to double the grant.¹⁰⁵ Another of its problems was that it was used as a thoroughfare by Asian and African residents of Hathorns Hill even while play was in progress.¹⁰⁶ The City Council raised the grant to £50, but declined to do anything about canalising the Dorpspruit. In May 1942 there was a proposal to purchase 47 Zeederberg Street for Coloured recreational purposes, but nothing came of this.¹⁰⁷ In early 1945 the CSG was described as being “in a terrible state”, dominated by weed and rank grass and it was then flooded. The view of the Town Clerk was that “regular maintenance had not been carried out in a satisfactory manner up to the time of the flooding. It is considered that if the ground had been given reasonable and regular attention no great inconvenience would have been occasioned from the Dorp Spruit overflow.”¹⁰⁸

In 1941 five hockey clubs made use of the social centre ground in Greyling Street, but visiting teams were played at the White facility. At the social centre three tennis courts were also built in the period 1941-42. In 1942 the General Purposes Sub-Committee turned down the idea of Coloured hockey grounds, although Councillor Eleanor Russell was negotiating with the railway for land in the Victoria Road area.¹⁰⁹ In 1943 land at Armitage’s old brickyard in the Chatterton Road area entered the equation as a suitable venue for hockey and an eventual substitute for the existing CSG, but this required removal of an Asian tenant.¹¹⁰ The disturbance at the City Hall involving Coloured troops in November 1943 alerted the Council to a need and it was suggested that “the general principle of affording assistance to the Coloured community when public feeling has died down, be approved.”¹¹¹ In 1947 the Town Clerk noted, “the rubbish dump area in the vicinity of the Bird Sanctuary is spacious enough to provide ample accommodation for the sports facilities [athletics/cycle track] suggested by the Coloured Welfare Sports Association”, but the area was zoned for industrial development.¹¹² At an inspection of the CSG on 5 June 1947, “discussion ensued regarding the unauthorised use of the Sports Ground and the interference by Indians with members of the Coloured Community” and eight acres at Chatterton were suggested as a

¹⁰⁵ NCWL 1941-42 financial statement; T.R. Apollos, Sec, NCWL to TC, 19 June 1942; TC to NCWL, 30 Nov 1942 in 3/PMB C batch 293, file 130/25 (Natal Coloured Welfare League: application for increased grant).

¹⁰⁶ Works Etc. Comm, 17 Apr 1945 in 3/PMB 4/5/609, file 242/3 (Coloured sports grounds).

¹⁰⁷ CCM 12 May 1942.

¹⁰⁸ E.F. Diaz, Sec, NCWL to TC, 22 Mar 1945; 25 Feb 1946. TC to NCWL, 7 Mar 1946; TC’s note, 6 Mar 1946 in 3/PMB 4/5/609, file 242/3 (Coloured sports grounds).

¹⁰⁹ General Purposes Sub-Comm, 30 Mar 1942. Finance, Etc. Comm, 28 May 1942 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/12 (Suggested hockey grounds for Coloured community).

¹¹⁰ General Purposes Sub-Comm, 17 May 1943 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/12 (Suggested hockey grounds for Coloured community).

¹¹¹ CCM 23 Nov 1943.

¹¹² TC’s memo, 26 May 1947 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/12 (Suggested hockey grounds for Coloured community).

substitute.¹¹³

Another option for Coloured sport was the Native Sports Ground (NSG) due to be relocated to Sobantu. Nevertheless, the Market and Parks Committee favoured Chatterton as a green, recreational lung, in opposition to the plans of the Housing, Estates and Post War Planning Committee.¹¹⁴ The CSG's cricket and football fields were increasingly threatened by work on the Dorpspruit. In 1948 the Manager of the Native Affairs Department (NAD) entered the debate, noting that "Fitzsimmons Road ground [Tatham NSG] provides amusement for a large number of kitchen boys on Sunday afternoons"; suggesting that Berg Street CSG be used by Africans.¹¹⁵ A White view of the plan to place Coloured sports grounds at Chatterton was expressed by the Superintendent of Public Parks: "obviously, the [C&TBVCA] objects to the Coloured Sports Grounds being situated at the entrance to the valley"; and the City Engineer: "apart from the fact that the Chatterton Road Area has been set aside for industries, it is considered that on no account should the Council consider introducing any non-European Activity into the Chatterton Road Area."¹¹⁶ The C&TBVCA suggested that the existing hockey fields be moved to Retief Street extension. The City Engineer proposed to use Tatham NSG for Coloured housing; and develop an Asian sports ground next to the polo ground and a NSG at Brookside.¹¹⁷ The overall situation was clarified in 1948 with the abandonment of plans for industrial development in the Chatterton Road area.¹¹⁸

Although the emphasis during the war years was on racial segregation there were also signs of times to come with evidence of inter-racial football. The MDBFA reported, "your Council succeeded in bringing about better harmony among the clubs ... and non-European inter-racial matches for the first time in the history of Pietermaritzburg."¹¹⁹

¹¹³ Market and Parks Comm, 23 June 1947 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/12 (Suggested hockey grounds for Coloured community).

¹¹⁴ Housing, Estates and Post War Planning Comm, 30 Oct 1947 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/11 (Proposed new Coloured Sports Ground in the Chatterton Road area).

¹¹⁵ Manager, NAD to TC, 3 June 1948 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/11 (Proposed new Coloured Sports Ground in the Chatterton Road area).

¹¹⁶ Superintendent of Public Parks to TC, 18 June 1948. CE to TC, 21 June 1948 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/11 (Proposed new Coloured Sports Ground in the Chatterton Road area).

¹¹⁷ Market and Parks Comm, 22, 28 June 1948 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/11 (Proposed new Coloured Sports Ground in the Chatterton Road area).

¹¹⁸ Housing, Estates and Post War Planning Comm, 1 Nov 1948 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/11 (Proposed new Coloured Sports Ground in the Chatterton Road area).

¹¹⁹ MDBFA. *Annual report and financial statement* 1943, pp.4-5.

HEALTH AND RELATED ISSUES

After the 1939-45 war, a survey of the African and Asian communities in the Pietermaritzburg rural township of Edendale showed deficiencies in Vitamin A and calcium as well as “diets deficient both in quantity and in many of the nutrients which are to-day considered necessary for the maintenance of health ... more often than not indicat[ing] a state of malnourishment.”¹²⁰ In 1946 Dr D. Landau of the Local Health Commission found that maize and meat (three times a week) were the main staples in Edendale. Only 14% of the population had access to milk and potatoes and under 5% to vegetables (except tomatoes, cabbage and beans) and eggs. Africans grew few vegetables and depended on the Asian community for these.¹²¹ Apart from dietary deficiencies, a generally low standard of living was attributed to disease, overcrowding and the poor quality of water. Recreational provision consisted of two playing fields, “ill-kept and for the most part unused”, although in 1948, 66 more acres were being provided. The survey noted one cricket club in the Asian area of Mount Partridge and commented that cricket “require[s] relatively expensive equipment and properly kept grounds.”¹²² Clearly neither of these, nor many other essentials, were in sufficient supply in the Edendale Valley of the late 1940s.

Speaking in Pietermaritzburg in July 1943 the Indian representative in South Africa, Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, pointed out that in 1937 47% of Asians were under the age of 15 and only 13% over 45, with an annual birthrate of 3.7%. He claimed that half of Asian children attended primary school but reminded his audience that Natal had only one secondary school for the community.¹²³ The work of Burrows amplifies this picture: although proportions of incomes spent on food were high, quality and quantity were deficient, in particular with regard to calcium and Vitamin A, milk and animal fats. A survey undertaken in Durban revealed deficiencies of 45% in calories, 70% in protein, 57% in fats and 90-100% in vitamins. Bronchitis, TB and pneumonia, intestinal infections and enteric were rife. Burrows made special note of the “deplorable” lack of amenities.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ University of Natal. Department of Economics. *Experiment at Edendale: a study of non-European settlement with special reference to food expenditure and nutrition* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1951), p. 234.

¹²¹ *NW* 4 May 1946, p.1.

¹²² University of Natal. Department of Economics. *Experiment at Edendale*, p.77.

¹²³ Khan, S.A. *The Indian in Natal* ([Durban]: Aboobaker Moosa, [1943]), pp.10, 14.

¹²⁴ Burrows, R. *Indian life and labour in Natal* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1952), pp.37-38, 49, 54. On 14 May 1946 the Pietermaritzburg Food Action Committee made a special distribution of controlled-price rice to 1 000 people (a few of them White) at Knipe Street (*NW* 15 May 1946, p.1).

**Table 16: Mortality: proportion of deaths under the age of 45 by community grouping, 1940-1949
(% range)**

White	16 - 25
Coloured	56 - 73
Asian	56 - 68
African	64 - 80
Black overall	60 - 73

Ranges are shown in table 16 as severe oscillations in the statistics from year to year seem to have no pattern and may simply mean erratic record keeping, especially where Africans were concerned. The main causes of Black deaths were bowel infections, enteric, TB and syphilis. During the 1940s, malaria remained a problem on the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg at Bishopstowe and Slangspruit. In 1944 there was a serious smallpox outbreak, followed in 1945 by polio and an increase in TB. The City Medical Officer commented that "figures once again show how much better the expectation of life is for Europeans than for the other classes of the community."¹²⁵ For example, the incidence of TB for Blacks was 5.4 per thousand (average 3.0) and of enteric 1.92 (1.14). Amongst the Asian and Coloured communities the high incidence of TB was related to poor housing conditions. In Durban, Edwards records, there were five African deaths per day from the disease.¹²⁶

In June 1940, slum abolition regulations were used to clear Maryvale. During the war Africans were removed from various areas of the town such as the city centre, Fitzsimmons, Town Bush Valley and Scottsville, twelve years after forced relocation had begun. Subletting by Asians to Africans at Camp Drift was also disallowed. Charges under the Urban Areas Act increased to 2 473 and 42% of them related to breaking of the curfew regulations. White views about Africans in the city were becoming gradually more extreme. A motion proposed by Councillor Manning in January 1940 to the City Council read: "that, in view of the increasing number of disorderly, undesirable Native Loafers in the City at the present time, the Government Department of Native Affairs be again requested to take such steps as may be possible under the provisions of Section 17(2) of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act by committing such Natives to a Government Farm Colony."¹²⁷ At the end of the war a bizarre exchange took place about work colonies. Guy Dunning of Durban suggested that all unemployed urban Blacks

¹²⁵ *CYB* 1945, p.68.

¹²⁶ Edwards, I. *Swing the assegai peacefully?: 'New Africa', Mkhumbane, the Co-operative Movement and attempts to transform Durban society in the late nineteen-forties* in Bonner, P. *et al. Holding their ground: class, locality and culture in 19th and 20th century South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1989), p.68.

¹²⁷ *CCM* 9 Jan 1940.

should be forced into Native Service Battalions using “military drill and training.”¹²⁸ A City Council committee put forward the view that “the scheme contained much that was good ... [but] ... considered that compulsory camps would not commend themselves to the Native people.” The government was in 1945 looking at a Work Colonies Bill to control “idle and disorderly Natives found in urban areas.” Detention in work colonies for “developing and improving their physical condition by means of physical training suited to their particular capacities and needs ... correcting under suitable psychiatric or psychological supervision, behaviour disabilities which impede proper social adjustment.” Plans were already in place for such colonies.¹²⁹

AFRICAN RECREATION

In November 1941 a census of Africans in the borough revealed a total population of 10 121, distributed as shown in table 17:

Table 17: Africans in the borough by accommodation category, 1941

Sobantu	770
Hostels and compounds	2 372
Employers' premises	4 861
Other	2 118

In spite of government policy, the majority of Africans still lived in White suburbs, a fact that led to regular comment. In September 1940 a petition by six shopkeepers to the Mayor summarised complaints about the “nuisance caused by Natives congregating under our verandahs in wet weather, and causing great inconvenience to our Customers. This state of affairs in (sic) unfair both to us, who pay large Rents and Rates, and to the Natives who have nowhere else to shelter.”¹³⁰ In March 1941 Togh labourers were the cause of complaint and the police were instructed to direct them to 16 Otto Street in terms of provincial notice 403/1938, the measure designed to prevent Sunday afternoon sport on the

¹²⁸ Guy Dunning memo, 25 May 1945 in 3/PMB C batch 356, file 199/15 (G.L.A. Dunning: Native service camps for solving of Native problems).

¹²⁹ Native Administration Comm, 20 Aug 1945. SNA to Dunning, 3 Oct 1945 in 3/PMB C batch 356, file 199/15 (G.L.A. Dunning: native service camps for solving of native problems).

¹³⁰ Petition to the Mayor, 30 Sep 1940 in 3/PMB C batch 368, file 220/6 (Petition re Natives congregating in wet weather outside business premises, Church Street). The next month Messrs R.E. Harper of 279 Church Street were assured that the Pullman booking offices would be moved to Prince Edward Street near the municipal NAD and the problem would disappear (TC to Messrs R.E. Harper, 25 Oct 1940 in 3/PMB C batch 368, file 220/6 (Petition re Natives congregating in wet weather outside business premises, Church Street)).

Market Square.¹³¹ Extraordinarily, the pavement issue returned to the city at the beginning of the war, although at the instigation of an outsider:

on the footpaths of Church Street, Longmarket Street and Commercial Road, there are just as many Natives and Indians as white people, and unless our wives and daughters are to be trampled underfoot, they have to make way for these Natives and Indians. In view of the terrible murder of a white woman by a Native last week in a street of Pietermaritzburg ... we are unanimously decided that, unless your Council takes some definite steps in this matter, we country people will take things in hand and start a veritable 'clean-up' in Pietermaritzburg and remove Indians and Natives from the pavements of certain streets. We consider there are sufficient sections of the town where they can collect on the pavements. Your council can hardly take exception if we are prepared to defend the right of the white man ... and I have to assure you that we shall obtain the support of the entire white population."¹³²

The grassing of a corner at the foot of Roberts Road in 1943 was applauded because it "was a refuge for undesirable[sic] natives."¹³³ There were numerous complaints about recreational noise made by Africans in White residential areas in the late evening.¹³⁴

A letter to the Medical Officer of Health in 1946 complains about the situation in Longmarket Street with "Natives in considerable numbers ... purchasing bread & jam [and] ... sitting on the kerb or leaning against the walls of the tearoom and neighbouring stores." The writer sympathises with them and suggests a shelter in Market Square.¹³⁵ In some quarters there was a growing awareness of the deficiencies of African urban life. In 1941, the Manager of the NAD suggested a Native RG in the Scottsville area and in May a temporary ground was opened in Woodhouse Road extension.¹³⁶ This brought forth a stream of protests, the most colourful being from Brother Paul, the Principal of St Charles College:

My first objection is based upon health reasons. The habits of natives are well known.

¹³¹ Manager, NAD to TC, 13 Mar 1941 *in* 3/PMB 4/4/2/133, file 180/7 (Suggested removal of Togt Natives from Market Square).

¹³² Letter from Rud Meyer, Seven Oaks to TC, 26 Mar 1940 *in* 3/PMB 4/4/2/257, file 79/4 (Complaint re Natives and Indians on certain pavements).

¹³³ Parks Department report, 31 July 1943 *in* 3/PMB C batch 349, file 188/10 (Parks Department ...).

¹³⁴ TC to District Commandant, SAP, 9 May 1941 *in* 3/PMB C batch 356, file 199/5/40 (Rowdyism by Natives).

¹³⁵ W.I. Shippey to Medical Officer of Health, 8 Mar 1946 *in* PMA 3/PMB/4/4/2/115, file 180/2 (Shelter for natives on Market Square).

¹³⁶ Native Administration, Etc Commission, 6 Feb, 5 May 1941 *in* 3/PMB C batch 374, file 242/8 (Proposed recreation ground for Natives at Scottsville).

No regulations will prevent them from defiling the outskirts of the ground and the neighbourhood generally. In dry weather, the wind will bring into St Charles' College the defiled dust from such ground with its millions of disease germs ... [pupils will find themselves] ... surrounded by natives ... The notorious black belt with its physical and moral dangers is near enough to the city without this.¹³⁷

The lawyer J. Leslie Smith wrote to the Town Clerk on behalf of a Mrs Henwood worried about her security and about theft: "she already has sufficient difficulty in dealing with native servants ... the position will become quite impossible if all the Scottsville natives are to congregate regularly almost at her back door."¹³⁸ Captain B.H. Henwood of the South African Air Force expressed fears about girls walking home from St John's High School "in case they met native loafers"; and about depreciation and damage to business, "the last thing I expected from men who are supposed to watch the interests of those away from home."¹³⁹ In view of strong protest, the matter was set aside; and when a plot of ten acres was offered next to the river it was rejected on the grounds that other land was available.¹⁴⁰ Officialdom clearly recognised the ameliorative value of action to counter "repeated complaints from householders at Scottsville about Natives gathering in the streets laughing and singing, to the annoyance of the residents."¹⁴¹ A site east of the golf course was nominated for a football pitch and a beer hall and market. Townlands in Woodhouse Road were identified as suitable for football and athletics and it was hoped that "progress [could] be made with the removal of groups of Natives from street corners, particularly on Sunday afternoons; a condition of affairs which has already been the subject of complaint from a number of burgesses."¹⁴² A particular concern of the 1940s was maintenance of a White corridor from Scottsville to Mountain Rise via Burger Street and linked to this was a suggestion about a "big and properly equipped sportsground in the vicinity of the Native Village."¹⁴³

There were other examples. In 1942, W. Judson, Secretary of the Pietermaritzburg Society for

¹³⁷ Brother Paul, Principal, St Charles College to TC, 25 Sep 1941 in 3/PMB C batch 374, file 242/8 (Proposed recreation ground for Natives at Scottsville).

¹³⁸ J. Leslie Smith on behalf of Mrs Henwood to TC, 25 Sep 1941 in 3/PMB C batch 374, file 242/8 (Proposed recreation ground for Natives at Scottsville).

¹³⁹ Captain B.H. Henwood, SAAF to TC, 29 Sep 1940 (sic - should be 1941) in 3/PMB C batch 374, file 242/8 (Proposed recreation ground for Natives at Scottsville).

¹⁴⁰ CCM 18 May 1943.

¹⁴¹ Manager, NAD to TC, 16 Jan 1941 in 3/PMB C batch 374, file 260/1936 (Suggested allocation of site at Scottsville for native dances).

¹⁴² Chairman, Native Affairs Committee and Manager, NAD to TC, 22 Apr 1941 in 3/PMB C batch 374, file 260/1936 (Suggested allocation of site at Scottsville for native dances).

¹⁴³ CE to TC, 26 May 1941 in 3/PMB C batch 374, file 260/1936 (Suggested allocation of site at Scottsville for native dances).

the Welfare of Natives (PSWN), put forward the idea of a recreation ground near the station or in Mayor's Walk as "the distances to the present grounds are so great for Natives employed in the large number of residential streets in this neighbourhood, whose times off are very limited." The PSWN offered to help provide a pavilion for such a ground, but the matter was passed on to the councillors for wards one and two, an alternative site in Quarry Road was suggested and the matter faded into oblivion.¹⁴⁴ The potential of organised recreation was nonetheless recognised by the authorities and annual sports days were held at Fitzsimmons SG. In 1940 a contribution was made by the Native Recruiting Company (NRC) and as food and drink was no longer provided for children the burden on the Native Revenue Account (NRA) was further reduced. This proved immensely unpopular and the following year money was found for ginger beer and buns for the children. 'Bantu sports' had about them more an air of the fairground or playground than serious athletics: in 1945 a pamphlet advertised flat, sack, three-legged and cycle races for children and adults. "Madam the Mayor" donated a guinea towards the expenses and attended the proceedings.¹⁴⁵ Women's football was described by the local paper as "humorous entertainment."¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the all-day sports held at Fitzsimmons on 1 August 1949 seem, through the eyes of municipal officials, to have been successful: "the meeting was well attended and the Natives were very well behaved."¹⁴⁷

Football had shown itself to be well-tailored to urban African life; in the words of Alegi, "the leviathan of black sport."¹⁴⁸ The Black press tended to link it with 'advancement' and 'progress'. Its role as a site of political struggle continued, although the issues were usually disguised as administrative or procedural. There were two football associations in Pietermaritzburg, the Maritzburg District African Football Association (MDAFA at Edendale Road) and the Maritzburg District Bantu Football Association (MDBFA at Fitzsimmons). The former adopted a more independent, radical and sometimes Africanist political stance that brought it into conflict with the NAD and its rival, a pattern that was also evident in Johannesburg (MDAFA was one of eleven branches of the South African African Football

¹⁴⁴ W. Judson, Sec, PSWN to TC, 8 Aug 1942; Finance, Etc. Comm, 20 Aug, 13 Oct 1942; TC to Councillors A.C. Thompson and A.G. Lugsdin, 13 Oct 1942 in 3/PMB C batch 376, file 242/13 (Suggested recreation ground for Non-Europeans in Mayor's Walk area).

¹⁴⁵ Manager, NAD to TC, 6 July, 24 Aug 1940; 8 Sep 1941; 13 Aug 1945; Pamphlet headed 'Bantu sports', 6 Aug 1945 in 3/PMB C batch 353, file 197/10 (Annual sports at Fitzsimmons Road grounds).

¹⁴⁶ *NW* 5 Aug 1947, p.1.

¹⁴⁷ *CYB* 1950, p.92.

¹⁴⁸ Alegi, P. Playing to the gallery: sport, cultural performance, and social identity in South Africa, 1920s-1945. *International journal of African historical studies* 35(1) 2002), p.38.

Association).¹⁴⁹ The dispute over Tatham Memorial Ground lingered on during the early years of the war, the MDBFA angry that the body from which it had broken away in 1926 was allowed use of what it regarded as its facilities. The municipality argued that grounds were for everyone and that it had stuck to the agreement. It rejected MDBFA's request for a longer lease or sole use as cycling, boxing and dancing also used the ground.¹⁵⁰ In 1943, however, an agreement was reached after a joint meeting in which the MDAFA was awarded the right to use TMG for two days a year. This effectively eliminated MDBFA's claim to take over the ground, about which there were also complaints around maintenance and basic facilities.¹⁵¹ In 1946, however, the MDAFA announced that it was not seeking use of Fitzsimmons because it wanted to avoid conflict. At the same time it said that it was looking forward to development at Sobantu. The usual grant (£10 per annum) was denied to the MDAFA ostensibly because of a promise by the South African Railways Compound Manager that he would maintain Edendale Road SG at no charge in exchange for occasional use. There is also evidence that cheap convict labour had been used.¹⁵² But it is clear that the MDAFA's connections with Asian football and their use of Edendale Road SG were a cause of antagonism from the NAD. The sports ground was badly neglected. There were no sanitary facilities - men used the railway compound and women simply went without - nor shelter against the sun.¹⁵³ In 1948 the NAD Manager, R.E. Stevens, suggested that teams accepting suspended members from another should be excluded.¹⁵⁴ At this stage both he and the Mayor were being sued by the MDAFA over events surrounding the Governor-General's Shield (GGS), actions that were described as being "of a frivolous nature." The MDBFA continued to use Fitzsimmons, but amidst increasing concern about Sunday afternoon disturbances a police presence was suggested by Councillor Young. The request for a White constable indicated that the threat was taken seriously.¹⁵⁵

The football politics of the time were byzantine in their complexity and are now hard to unravel

¹⁴⁹ Badenhorst, C.M. *Mines, missionaries and the municipality: organised African sport and recreation in Johannesburg, c.1920-1950* (Kingston: Queen's University, 1992 - PhD thesis), pp.289-290. Couzens, T. *An introduction to the history of football in South Africa* in Bozzoli, B. *Town and countryside in the Transvaal: capitalist penetration and popular response* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1983), p. 210. Cobby, A.G. *The rules of the game: struggles in black recreation and social welfare policy in South Africa* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood, 1997), p.25.

¹⁵⁰ TC to McGibbon and Brokensha, 17 Feb, 19 Mar 1940 in 3/PMB 4/3/322, file 1047/1938 (Maritzburg Bantu Football Association re Native Recreation Ground, Fitzsimmons Road).

¹⁵¹ Manager, NAD to TC, 11 Feb 1943. Native Administration, Etc Comm, 14 Feb 1943 in 3/PMB 4/3/322, file 1047/1938 (Maritzburg Bantu Football Association re Native Recreation Ground, Fitzsimmons Road).

¹⁵² R.S. Mthembu, Sec, MDAFA, 13 Feb 1946; Manager, NAD to TC, 14 Feb 1946 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/140, file 242/3 (Edendale Road Native Sports Ground).

¹⁵³ Manager, NAD to TC, 29 Feb, 29 Mar 1940; 15 Feb 1945 in 3/PMB C batch 374, file 242/4 (Native Sports Ground, Edendale Road).

¹⁵⁴ Manager, NAD to TC, 22 Mar 1948 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/140, file 242/3 (Edendale Road Native Sports Ground).

¹⁵⁵ Native Administration, Etc Comm, 10 Mar 1949 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/140, file 242/3 (Edendale Road Native Sports Ground). CCM, 29 Mar 1949

given the limited scope of the surviving correspondence. The GGS Executive Committee (three representatives of each association with the NAD Manager as Chair) and a Board of Control (five persons) had operated up to 1942, when the President of the MDBFA announced that he had lost confidence in the Board and asked the Manager to assume control. At the same time the MDAFA was prevented from participation by its provincial body. There was an attempt to revive the Board in 1943 but the two parties remained antagonistic mainly, in the view of the MDBFA, because of past antagonisms although this was a disingenuous view.¹⁵⁶ In 1945 and 1946, at the instigation and under the control of the municipality, the two associations agreed to contribute two teams each to an effective KO cup from the semi-final stage. But in 1947, “we had two sets of officials purporting to speak on behalf of the [MD] African Football Association.”¹⁵⁷ MDBFA nominated Callies FC and Winter Roses FC, while MDAFA put forward the names of Assegai and Standard. Harry Gwala’s faction of the MDAFA, however, favoured Stars of Hope FC rather than Standard and the semi-final due to be played in November 1947 was postponed pending a legal outcome. In 1947 the MDAFA brought an interdict against R.E. Stevens as the GGS administrator, but this was dismissed with costs (which remained unpaid). Its purpose was to prevent Standard FC and Assegai FC competing in the GGSC and T.A. Nene and H.A. Mkize operating as officials of the MDAFA. Nene and Mkize had been ousted at meetings of 9 August and 13 September, but their expulsion had been reversed by the Natal African Football Association (a decision supported by the municipality) and had gone to appeal. The new executive included Gwala who appealed to the South African African Football Association (SAAFA) and was in turn rejected at a SGM on 20 October 1947 - to be replaced by H.A. Mkize. A further interdict requiring the Administrator of the GGS to repudiate Standard FC, Nene and Mkize was brought by Samson Radebe, Manager, Stars of Hope FC and the MDAFA on 29 November 1947. The Manager of the NAD had attempted to organise the semi-final involving Standard not realising that an interim interdict was in force, but the match “did not take place owing to the fact that Gwala and his supporters turned up at the ground and threatened violence if the teams who were there attempted to play, so no match took place.”¹⁵⁸

Ostensibly the dispute was about competition rules but it clearly contained evidence of fissures

¹⁵⁶ MDBFA. *Annual report and financial statement* 1943, pp. 14-15. John Zulu, President, MDBFA, 16 Apr 1942. Manager, NAD, ‘Memorandum regarding Governor-General’s Shield’, [undated] in 3/PMB C batch 356-357, file 199/14 (Governor-General’s Shield: native football clubs). Much of the detail that follows is taken from: Interdict, case 2280/1947, 14 Nov 1947 with affidavits. Interim interdict, case 2366/47 with affidavits, 29 Nov 1947. Counter affidavits, 3 Dec 1947, also in 3/PMB C batch 356-357, file 199/14 (Governor-General’s Shield: native football clubs). *CYB* 1950, p.91.

¹⁵⁷ F.B. Burchell, ‘Litigation re football matches GG’s Shield’, 30 July 1948 in 3/PMB C batch 356-357, file 199/14 (Governor-General’s Shield: native football clubs).

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

within the African community. The Mayor in a counter affidavit of 3 December 1947 argued that the authorities had the right to determine competing teams and that the dispute was internal to the MDAFA. Strictly speaking he was correct, but ignored the realities of African urban life. George Tshezi, a member of the original MDAFA Executive put it thus in his affidavit of 3 December 1947: "S. Mazibuko, P. Kumalo and T.H. Gwala are leading a portion of the members of the Association against the lawful authority of Nene ... and the attitude of these men in preventing the completion of Governor-General's Shield Competition is causing annoyance and unrest among the Bantu Native population of Maritzburg."¹⁵⁹ The advice of the municipality's legal adviser, F.B. Burchell was that the NAD Manager had been incorrectly cited instead of the Mayor and costs were sought from Gwala, but the matter was not resolved. Burchell recommended redrafting of the GGS rules to prevent "disputes between the natives themselves."¹⁶⁰ The semi-final match was eventually played at Edendale Road SG on 13 December and Standard beat Winter Roses 2-1. The authorities, fearing a breach of the peace, stationed 20 police and a pick up nearby but "when the opposition Natives saw this show of force they disappeared from the ground and the match was played without any further incident."¹⁶¹ The final was held at Fitzsimmons Road SG on 20 December between Standard (MDAFA) and Callies (MDBFA) and won by the former.

This did not, however, bring an end to the dispute, which Gwala described as one "that threatens bloodshed." Gwala subsequently claimed that he had been properly elected secretary of the MDAFA on 8 February 1948, but his opponents set up a separate meeting and elected Raymond Kuzwayo instead. Gwala claimed that the NAD Manager was acting unfairly towards his faction and excluding it from Edendale Road SG.¹⁶² Football had in fact been suspended. NAFA continued to back Nene as President of MDAFA and the SAAFA seems not to have adjudicated on the issue. In July 1948, the President of NAFA dismissed the authority of SAAFA and declared that "the association under Mazibuko and T. Gwala is not recognised by my Association and is considered a rebel Association."¹⁶³ The 24 December 1949 final of the Governor-General's silver Jubilee Shield was contested by Zebra and Rebellions, both significantly of the BFA.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ Counter affidavits, 3 Dec 1947 *in* 3/PMB C batch 356-357, file 199/14 (Governor-General's Shield: native football clubs).

¹⁶⁰ Memo by F.B. Burchell, Legal Adviser to the City Council, 24 Nov 1947 *in* 3/PMB C batch 356-357, file 199/14 (Governor-General's Shield: Native football clubs).

¹⁶¹ Manager, NAD to TC, 9 Jan 1948 *in* 3/PMB C batch 356-357, file 199/14 (Governor-General's Shield: native football clubs).

¹⁶² T.H. Gwala to TC, 14 Apr 1948 *in* 3/PMB C batch 356-357, file 199/14 (Governor-General's Shield: native football clubs).

¹⁶³ H.M. Molife, Pres, NAFA to Manager, NAD, 6 July 1948 *in* 3/PMB C batch 356-357, file 199/14 (Governor-General's Shield: Native football clubs).

¹⁶⁴ *CYB* 1950, p.91.

A study of African football in Bulawayo in the 1940s¹⁶⁵ identifies some characteristics readily recognisable in Pietermaritzburg during the same era: political manoeuvring, personal disputes and squabbling, accompanied by accusations of fraud. The specific issue was a transfer of authority over football from the African Welfare Society to the City Council, seen as a source of unwelcome control, which resulted in a lengthy boycott. The conclusion in the case of Bulawayo was that the assertion of identity in uncertain and often hostile surroundings was a factor. The stakes were high as football gave meaning to urban life and was “a symbolic arena for the making of African identity.”¹⁶⁶ Urban life was hostile and poverty-stricken, the football team a place of support, advice and the remaking of tradition and identity. Some of the critical figures, as with Harry Gwala in Pietermaritzburg, had a political role or were to become politicians, which was consonant with the fact that in the late 1940s football was being identified with African political advance and progress.¹⁶⁷ The similarities between Bulawayo and Pietermaritzburg are striking.

The failure of Sobantu (the Native Village, officially named only in 1947) to grow more quickly was a consequence of many factors, but amongst them were its location, the complex, patronising bureaucracy that administered it, and the refusal by government to allow freehold tenure in spite of support for this from some municipal officials. The population of Sobantu consisted of a stable workforce employed in the city, but in spite of this and sub-economic rents, arrears were a problem. By 1949 there were three schools and a main form of recreation was the regular film show. The only football pitch was the temporary facility provided in 1934 while an attempt in 1948 to acquire a swimming pool was unsuccessful. A plot of vacant land had accommodated swings since 1941.¹⁶⁸ It had been announced as early as 1943 that the football pitch was to be built over and part of the Finish, a neighbouring property, was described as suitable for a new recreation ground.¹⁶⁹ To a certain extent this tallied with contemporary township planning theory. Floyd argued that “barracks-like monotony” could be relieved by open parks and green space, but insisted that for organised recreation young people could travel to pre-existing facilities elsewhere. His standard for a White town of 10 000 inhabitants was a 14 morgen recreation ground shared with schools - two rugby fields, an athletics track, a football/hockey field, cricket pitch, two bowling greens, ten tennis courts and jukskei pitches - and this, he felt, was also needed

¹⁶⁵ Stuart, O. *Players, workers, protestors: social change and soccer in colonial Zimbabwe* in MacClancey, J. (ed.). *Sport, identity and ethnicity* (Oxford: Berg, 1996), pp.168-169.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.177.

¹⁶⁷ Couzens, T. An introduction to the history of football in South Africa in Bozzoli, B. (ed.). *Town and countryside in the Transvaal* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1983), p. 210.

¹⁶⁸ Peel, H.L. *Sobantu Village: an administrative history of Pietermaritzburg's township, 1924-1959*. (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, 1987 - Honours essay in History), pp.45, 54, 59-62, 68, 69, 77-78. *CYB* 1941, p.98.

¹⁶⁹ Manager, NAD to TC, 20 Sep 1943 in 3/PMB C batch 361, file 207/38 (Recreation ground at Native Village).

“for the Non-European population.” He likened townships to suburbs but saw them as protected areas under White guardianship. It was a sign of the times that he described the need for space for Dingaan’s Day gatherings.¹⁷⁰ However, the facilities of Sobantu, including the recreational, hardly fitted its supposed role of a home for a community of aspirant bourgeois. There was clearly some opposition to the Advisory Board: G.T. Kumalo writing to the newspaper in 1944 denounced it and demanded a Village Council and social centre.¹⁷¹

At East Street Men’s Hostel recreational time was occupied by broadcast war news, “interspersed with Native songs and music.”¹⁷² An African Civil Guard was formed under the direction of the police and in 1943 the Mayor reported that “the behaviour of the Natives resident or employed in the City during the year has been very good.”¹⁷³ Nevertheless, the following year there was a major crackdown on registration and in 1946 there were 2420 prosecutions under the Urban Areas Act and the start of a card index system to maintain surveillance over the movements of African women with permits. By 1947 the Act was being administered by the South African Police at a time when the Men’s Hostel accommodated 700 people per night. Tight influx control was connected to a claim that there were no remaining shanties in the borough. The end of the war saw the appointment of the first African social worker, Wilfred Msimang, one of whose tasks was the organisation of Sunday afternoon sport at the Tatham SG. When the Kaffir Beer Profits Enquiry Commission visited Pietermaritzburg on 16 and 17 November 1945, it was “most favourably impressed by the Council’s provision for the general welfare of the Native population of the city.”¹⁷⁴ The 21st birthday of Princess Elizabeth on 21 April 1947 was celebrated by all-day sports at Sobantu for children subsidised from the City Fund, although the behaviour of Africans during the year was described as merely satisfactory. Another sports day, for adults, took place on 4 August 1947 at Tatham SG. In 1948 race relations were classified as friendly and indeed a specific point was made in 1949 to record the fact that there was no evidence of racial tension. The Manager of the NAD argued that “the general behaviour of the Natives in this city has been very good, and for their behaviour they are to be commended ... When conducted around the various Municipal Native Institutions in the City visitors are loud in their praise of the amenities offered, and say that it is not hard to see why this city should have earned such a good reputation for inter-racial

¹⁷⁰ Floyd, T.B. *Township layout* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1951), pp.26-27, 66, 68-69, 71-72. Floyd, T.B. *Better local government for South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, [1952]), p.192.

¹⁷¹ *NW* 4 Sep 1944, p.2.

¹⁷² *CYB* 1941, p.99.

¹⁷³ *CYB* 1943, p.26.

¹⁷⁴ *CYB* 1946, p.27.

harmony.¹⁷⁵ It was upon this apparently successful note that the first Manager of the NAD, R.E. Stevens (1928-1949) retired, to be succeeded by D.N. Bang.

During the 1940s African facilities for physical recreation thus consisted of Tatham SG (Fitzsimmons Road), Edendale Road SG and temporary facilities at Sobantu. Edendale Road was well used by South African Railways, which had two teams in the MDFAFA league and therefore benefited from municipal investment in recreational facilities.¹⁷⁶ In 1940 the Manager of the NAD declared that since Fitzsimmons was no longer used by the MDBFA a portion would be handed over to the ISA.¹⁷⁷ In 1948 it was announced that any thought of expansion at Fitzsimmons must be shelved because of plans for a Pietermaritzburg by-pass (national road).¹⁷⁸

The first annual report of the Local Health Commission, chaired by T.M. Wadley, in 1943 stated that the Edendale and District Public Health Area is “practically devoid” of recreational facilities. At the same time, the first mention was made of recreation in the former peri-urban (black belt) areas of Pietermaritzburg, now part of the borough.¹⁷⁹ The Slangspruit Community Committee (SCC) wrote to the Town Clerk requesting use of ground next to the Anglican Church and formerly used by the Government Native School as a playground and community recreation facility.¹⁸⁰ The Townlands Ranger suggested a rent of 2/6d, but the Manager of the NAD denounced the SCC as a self-appointed group fraudulently using the name of the school.¹⁸¹ The City Council, however, approved the request provided no grant was expected, nor buildings erected.¹⁸²

Edendale (with an estimated population of 15-20 000 in 1943 and thus said to constitute the third largest urban settlement in Natal) was described as symptomatic of a “diseased economy”, similar to Clermont in Durban, Alexandra and Evaton on the Reef, “all ideal breeding places for crime, disease and discontent, all characterised by abject poverty ... where few of the amenities of civilised town life are

¹⁷⁵ *CYB* 1949, p.86.

¹⁷⁶ Manager, NAD to TC, 29 Feb 1940 *in* 3/PMB C batch 374, file 242/4 (Native Sports Ground, Edendale Road).

¹⁷⁷ Manager, NAD to MBFA, 8 May 1948 *in* 3/PMB 4/4/2/210, file 242/2 (Fitzsimmons Road Sports Ground).

¹⁷⁸ Manager, NAD to TC, 15 Jan 1940 *in* 3/PMB 4/3/307, file 754/1938 (Proposed use of railway land on Edendale Road for Native Sports Ground).

¹⁷⁹ Local Health Commission of Natal. *First annual report, 1 November 1941 to 31 March 1943*.

¹⁸⁰ E.M.Shandu, SCC to TC, 29 Dec 1943 *in* 3/PMB C batch 376, file 242/15 (Suggested use of certain land at Slangspruit as sportsground).

¹⁸¹ Townlands Ranger to TC, 13 Jan 1944. Manager, NAD to TC, 27 Jan 1944 *in* 3/PMB C batch 376, file 242/15 (Suggested use of certain land at Slangspruit as sportsground).

¹⁸² Finance, Etc. Comm, 1 Feb 1944 *in* 3/PMB C batch 376, file 242/15 (Suggested use of certain land at Slangspruit as sportsground).

available to the inhabitants.” This “depressing and dangerous situation”¹⁸³ was attributed to sheer neglect, although Guenalt and Reedman pointed out that the structure of South African local government militated against the improvement of poor peri-urban areas. Until the early 1940s Edendale had no system of local government at all. Guenalt and Reedman compared the poverty and low health standards of Edendale and similar areas with the state of workers in English towns exactly one hundred years earlier, noting how progress with regard to epidemic diseases and general health standards, for instance, was made only after the installation of strong local government structures.¹⁸⁴

In 1941 the NRA recorded a surplus of £2 936, bringing its balance to £10 286. During the Second World War, some local authorities made transfers to their NRAs from the general rates fund but in other cases, such as Pietermaritzburg, the NRA was obliged to pay a fee to the municipality for administrative services. Thus in 1941 part of its expenditure was a credit to the City Fund Account of £897, a practice that persisted until 1944. This was in spite of the advice of the Smit report of 1942 on urban Natives pointing out that given levels of poverty an adequate level of services could not be met entirely out of direct and indirect taxation of Africans and that the General Revenue Account should also be used out of recognition of the African contribution to the local community.¹⁸⁵

Table 18: Profit from the sale of kafir beer and expenditure on African recreation, 1940-1949 (£)

	Profit	Expenditure on recreation
1940	5 327	112
1941	6 998	155
1942	15 301	113
1943	9 972	114
1944	11 213	145
1945	8 472	208
1946	3 551	326
1947	3 861	331
1948	4 862	442
1949	8 224	294

During the period 1940-1944 the proportion of the NRA provided by beer profits increased from 56% to

¹⁸³ Guenalt, P.H. and Reedman, J.N. *South Africa's forgotten towns: problems of urban growth and local government* (Johannesburg: Society of Friends of Africa, 1945 – South African affairs pamphlet; 6), p.4.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.7-8, 28-29. When the Public Health Area was proclaimed, Edendale's only water supply was the river, which was also the main sewer. It was reckoned that it would require £50 000 to provide necessary water, sanitation, river bridges and road improvements. An Advisory Board was appointed and this was seen as pointing the way to local involvement in development that was recommended to include the employment of African labour.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.24.

63% and from November 1943 Sunday beer sales at Ortman Road were extended. The findings of the November 1945 Kafir Beer Profits Inquiry suggested that the annual subvention of recreational facilities amounted to £275 from large surpluses generated during the war years. In addition, “an amount of £1650:0:0d was paid by the City Funds for the establishment of a Native sports ground [presumably Tatham] in the city.”¹⁸⁶

Under the Native Laws Amendment Act (36 of 1944), the Kafir Beer Account (KBA) became chargeable only with certain expenditure which included “any service, expenditure or grant ... certified ... as being calculated to improve the social or recreational amenities available for the native residents within the area of the urban local authority, or otherwise promote the social welfare of such residents.”¹⁸⁷ Control shifted away from the municipality to Pretoria. Profit was massive - in 1945, £8472 of £15 320 revenue or 55% - but in 1946 the price of kafir corn was decontrolled and rose to £5 per bag compared with the pre-war maximum of £1/5/-. The KBA began to experience a net loss from 1946 onwards, although it picked up again from 1948. In 1949 beer was selling at 1/6d per gallon and the gradual diminution of the KBA and Native Welfare Account (NWA) continued. From 3 August 1945 domestic brewing was permitted at Sobantu. This was not a success - “a marked deterioration in the behaviour of the Natives at the village”¹⁸⁸ was noted - although blame was conveniently laid on Africans from town. In 1948 a permit system was introduced using sprouted grain regulations to control domestic brewing bearing in mind that an earlier allocation of four gallons per household had led to drunkenness and disorder.

SUMMARY

During the Second World War the process of residential segregation slowed down, only to be accentuated at its end by housing projects designed for White service personnel. The establishment of the Local Health Commission for Edendale signified the beginnings of White confidence that the ‘Black belt’ issue was now being solved, although no provision for recreation was seriously considered. While the Broome Commission had a relatively low-key effect on Pietermaritzburg compared with Durban, evidence placed before it illustrated the plight of the Asian community regarding social and recreational facilities. Broome’s response - that amongst Asians the business imperative was so strong that recreation

¹⁸⁶ Memo by municipality to Kaffir Beer Profits Enquiry Committee, 22 Oct 1945 in 3/PMB 4/4/2/256, file 78/22 (Committee of Enquiry re Kaffir Beer Profits).

¹⁸⁷ Holmes. I.Q. *Local government finance in South Africa* (Durban: Butterworth, 1949), p.132.

¹⁸⁸ *CYB* 1946, p.119.

was relatively unimportant - suggested that White perceptions had altered little since the turn of the century. The Ghetto Act of 1946 constituted a fault line, a defining legislated gesture, that was to alter the relationship between the Asian community and Whites until the reform of the apartheid system in the early 1980s.

The highly favourable financial arrangements made for White sport compared with the treatment accorded Black facilities during the 1940s in effect assigned a price to segregated recreation. Moreover, the best favoured, the Country Club and Kershaw Park Tennis, suggested discrimination between classes of the White community. The debate around jukskei illustrated other tensions amongst Whites. Contestation around the use of space by different ethnic groups was heightened by the unusual circumstances of the War, which posed questions for the prevailing colonial racial order. Police, officials and the public all showed aggressive or unhelpful attitudes towards Black use of urban space, indicating a desire for tighter control that pre-empted apartheid legislation. One influential factor was a fear of radical politics given respectability in the immediate post-war climate from the Soviet Union's position amongst the victorious United Nations.

This underlay a heightened desire to separate Black groups from one another and in particular to isolate the Asian community where imperial inclinations were being replaced by an interest in left-wing radicalism. The issue of swimming for the Coloured and Asian communities involved danger to health, including loss of life, yet the municipality made no effort to rectify this situation. It did, however, pay some attention to the position of recreational facilities for the Coloured population and, in spite of general neglect of the Berg Street SG, by the end of the decade it had been established that the Chatterton Road site would be used to establish a facility for this community.

Average standards of living, housing and health among Black communities were alarmingly low as shown by mortality patterns and as acknowledged officially by the Chief Medical Officer. In spite of the existence of the Native Village, most Africans still lived in Pietermaritzburg itself, although increasingly in controlled premises of various sorts. Their presence in White areas during time off work was considered by most Whites to be a nuisance and this developed in some cases into extreme views. On the part of a few Whites, officials and the public, there was sympathy for Africans or an appreciation of the instrumental value of recreation. Thus, amidst considerable controversy, recreational provision was suggested for Africans in various parts of Scottsville and at Havelock Road near the White residential areas of Mayor's Walk and Prestbury. In fact nothing transpired and complacent and simplistic official attitudes grew up around so-called Bantu sports held at the Tatham SG on high days and holidays. The

failure of Sobantu to grow, for a variety of reasons, is reflected in its chronic lack of recreational space. There is evidence to show that Pietermaritzburg was one of the municipal authorities whose attitude towards the NRA at the beginning of the Second World War was not entirely sympathetic to its original purpose, but the 1944 Amendment Act provided clarity about the use of profit from beer sales. It also presaged greater control from Pretoria of the urban life of Africans.

The history of African football during the 1940s illustrates the extent to which the governance of sport became a surrogate for meaningful political activity. Football was used as a weapon against the White establishment, but also as a vehicle for struggle within different strands of African society, conservative and radical. Accompanying this growing politicisation were distinct undertones of violence.

CHAPTER SIX GROUP AREAS AND GOVERNMENT SPORTS POLICY, 1950-1959:

PART 1

GROUP AREAS

The first statute of the apartheid era to have a significant influence upon sport was the Group Areas Act (41 of 1950, the GAA), one of the “vast array of criminal measures which exists in South Africa to control the occupation of land.”¹ Its role, described in its long title, was “control of the acquisition of immovable property and the occupation of land and premises” in areas defined by race within urban South Africa; although a more blunt description gave its purpose as “clean[ing] up the penetrated areas.”² The fact that it was a highly complex piece of legislation, recognised by Prime Minister D.F. Malan as the “most important of all apartheid measures”³ and fundamental to so many facets of government ideology, was to have severe consequences for sport and recreation. Building upon the provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act (21 of 1923) and its 1937 amendment, it brought within the orbit of urban segregation Asian and Coloured communities, the latter for the first time. The property of Coloured people had not been legally constrained before; but for South Africans of Asian extraction extant anti-penetration legislation was strengthened. Africans were not considered a permanent part of South African cities.

The significance of the GAA was that racial sectors for Whites, Asians and Coloureds could now be created in urban areas. This was the official objective of apartheid: the achievement of self-sufficient, racially-defined socio-economic units, although ironically its only hope of fulfilment was, from the very outset, *economic integration* coupled with social segregation. The roles of dominator and dominated in South African society could be maintained, it was thought, by social distance and territoriality. The National Party argued that this would avoid “friction”⁴, although in reality the purpose was social control, distance and dominance, what was more forthrightly described as

¹ Schoombee, J.T. *An evaluation of aspects of group areas legislation in South Africa* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1987 - LLD thesis), p.124. Other legislation included the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (1951) and the Trespass Act (1959).

² South African Bureau of Racial Affairs. *Group areas and residential segregation: papers read at the Third Annual Conference ...* ([S.l.]: SABRA, 1952), p.16.

³ Kirkwood, K. *The Group Areas Act* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, [1951]), p.5.

⁴ Western, J. *Outcast Cape Town* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), p.85.

preserving 'Western civilisation'.⁵ White racism directed towards Asian South Africans is illustrated by a government report published as late as 1950: "the European inhabitants of Natal ... did not want the Indian and they feared the curses which they believed would come upon the country with the advent of the Indian." The report even went on to mention repatriation.⁶

For the purpose of Group Areas, South Africans were assigned to categories described in terms of appearance, habits and way of life, descent, or general acceptance by a particular community⁷; which, amongst many other repercussions, would determine the context within which each could be involved in sport. The White group was the most exclusive, the Coloured the most inclusive. Individuals were made members of groups on the basis of a set of presumptions [s.35], so that a person could be assumed to be White in terms of the 1950 Act on the basis of appearance "until the contrary [is] proved." The African group was defined in terms of "fact ... or general acceptance"; and the Coloured group involved everyone else.⁸ By proclamation 73 of 30 March 1951, three new groups (Asian, Chinese and Malay) were created. The allocation of persons to communities depended to a significant extent on social acceptance and sometimes later resulted in the reclassification of numbers of people. Western argued that "one is one's address. In this way ... group areas aid[ed] in racial definition"⁹; a view supported by Schoombee who found that acceptance rather than descent was crucial for Group Areas purposes.¹⁰ The ban on miscegenation was designed to prevent the social boundary between Whites and everyone else becoming less clear, thus threatening territoriality even further.

It is important to appreciate that in spite of the promulgation of the Population Registration Act (1950), with its "hankering for totalizing order, positioning the eye of the state at the pinnacle of an orderly bureaucracy with a panoramic view of the racial landscape ... [and] ... panoptic surveillance of racial boundaries"¹¹, the basis of Verwoerdian separation remained social rather than biological. Thus appearance and social habits tended to determine the future of individuals while 'race' was a matter of

⁵ Kirkwood, K. *The Group Areas Act*, p.6.

⁶ Van der Merwe, D.S. (ed.). *Extract from Joint Report of the Asiatic Land Tenure Laws Amendment Committee and the Land Tenure Act Amendments Committee* (UG 49-'50), p.5.

⁷ Van Reenen, T.H. *Land: its ownership and occupation in South Africa: a treatise in the Group Areas Act* (Cape Town: Juta, 1962), p.112.

⁸ Henochsberg, E.S. *An explanation of the Group Areas Act, 1950* (Durban: Butterworth, 1950), p.24.

⁹ Western, J. *Outcast Cape Town*, p.80.

¹⁰ Schoombee, J.T. *An evaluation of aspects of group areas legislation in South Africa*, p.60.

¹¹ Posel, D. Race as common sense: racial classification in twentieth-century South Africa. *African studies review* 44(2) 2001, p.100.

common acceptance defined by White assumptions. Official powers in this regard were wide-ranging and gave rise to extraordinary situations, some no doubt apocryphal such as the classification of men into African and Coloured categories based on their involvement in association or rugby football. It can be argued that the implementation of apartheid was significantly assisted by its congruence with existing social reality, although it would not have been possible without “surveillance and control by a state animated by fantasies of omniscience as much as omnipotence.”¹² In the view of Giliomee this was fuelled by Dutch Reformed Church theology and belief about ethnic self-determination.¹³

The foundation stone of the GAA was the ‘controlled area’ in which the racial status quo was preserved by “attributing to immovable property, land and premises the race classification of the owner.”¹⁴ Provision was made for the zoning of areas for either occupation [s.3(1)(a) specified areas] or ownership only [s.3(1)(b)].¹⁵ Group areas [s.3(2)], the apotheosis of apartheid development, had a more radical purpose: to achieve racially pure ownership and occupation (based on the principle of “one property, one colour”) rather than simply preserve the status quo.¹⁶ The immediate focus was on occupation, and thereby use, and this was to be highlighted by non-residential buffer zones scheduled for development as parks, sports fields or industrial sites.¹⁷

Much was made of the fact that exceptions could be made, by permit, to many aspects of the legislation. In terms of s.14(3) of the 1950 Act, “the Minister may take into consideration the relative needs of any group concerned, in regard to housing, the amenities of life and educational and *recreational* facilities.”¹⁸ The tightest control was exercised in Natal and the Transvaal and the earliest implementation of the GAA was felt in Durban, presumably in recognition of the penetration issue of the mid-1940s and the riots of 1949. The concept of the self-contained Indian township was pioneered by the Durban City Council.¹⁹ With the passage of time, the definition of the term occupation became more and more crucial. Occupation had a direct bearing on concepts of community and ethnicity, which

¹² Ibid., p.109.

¹³ Giliomee, H. The making of the apartheid plan. *Journal of southern African studies* 29(2) 2003, p.391.

¹⁴ Schoombee, J.T. *An evaluation of aspects of group areas legislation in South Africa*, p.69.

¹⁵ Higgs, B. *The Group Areas Act and its effects* (New York: United Nations, [197-]), p.3.

¹⁶ Schoombee, J.T. *An evaluation of aspects of group areas legislation in South Africa*, p.75; Hiemstra, V.G. *The Group Areas Act* (Cape Town: Juta, 1953), p.10.

¹⁷ Rousseau, F.P. *Handbook on the Group Areas Act (Act no.77 of 1957)* (Cape Town: Juta, 1960), p.13.

¹⁸ Henochsberg, E.S. *An explanation of the Group Areas Act, 1950*, p.20[This writer’s emphasis]. In certain open areas the right was retained to freedom of occupation, but not ownership unless allowed under permit. In practice, open areas functioned on the basis of White ownership and occupation by others (Hiemstra, V.G. *The Group Areas Act*, p.29).

¹⁹ Kirkwood, K. *The Group Area Act*, p.21.

the government was at pains to define and control.

The definition of occupation caused persistent problems for the enforcers of the GAA and this has particular relevance to the recreation issue. Occupation was held to mean "habitual physical presence or physical presence for a substantial period of time."²⁰ The first part of this interpretation derived from the case of *Madrassa Anjuman Islamia v. Johannesburg Municipal Council* and involved any activity dependent upon regular attendance over time.²¹ While this distinguished between walking down a road or shopping and attending an educational institution, there were many activities which could not be so clearly differentiated.²² Under the 1950 Act, guests and other transients were exempt.²³ But attendance at cinemas was held to be occupation until the case of *Fen Sam Jackson v. Conradie, N.O. and Another* of 1955, in which a contrary view was taken.²⁴

Some legal authorities attempted to define occupation as any utilisation of space, which might include activities as mundane as parking a car. An amendment to the 1957 GAA [s.1(4)] made it possible to define by proclamation precise activities deemed occupation, such as attendance at cinemas, restaurants and tea-rooms, and clubs

any provision of this Act relating to the occupation of land or premises shall apply also with reference to any person who is at any time present in or upon any land or premises ... for a *substantial period of time* or for the purpose of attending any place of public entertainment or partaking of any refreshments at a place where refreshments are served or as a member or guest in any club, as if his presence constituted occupation of such land or premises

Definitions of the phrases italicised above by the writer predictably exercised the minds of lawyers, some of whom argued that they were void for vagueness. It was difficult to decide exactly what constituted a 'substantial period of time', a 'place of public entertainment' or, indeed, a 'club'.²⁵ Certainly the aim of the 1957 amendment was to create social apartheid of a sort apparently not envisaged by the original legislation. This would have been supported by many Whites: in May 1954, on their own initiative, girls from Natal Training College in Pietermaritzburg played a netball match

²⁰ Schoombee, J.T. *An evaluation of aspects of group areas legislation in South Africa*, p.25.

²¹ Hiemstra, V.G. *The Group Areas Act*, p.31.

²² Rousseau, F.P. *Handbook on the Group Areas Act (Act no. 77 of 1957)*, p.22.

²³ Henochsberg, E.S. *An explanation of the Group Areas Act, 1950*, p.14.

²⁴ Rousseau, F.P. *Handbook on the Group Areas Act (Act no. 77 of 1957)*, p.22. The case was reported in *South African law reports* 1955 (4), pp.266-271.

²⁵ Schoombee, J.T. *An evaluation of aspects of group areas legislation in South Africa*, pp.244-248.

against a team from the Asian community. The local National Party chair, Jan Richter, called for a boycott of the college by Afrikaans speakers.²⁶

Participation at church services, it was felt, would not be defined as occupation, but “the proclamation could well be enlarged in its scope to place the attendance of non-whites at sporting events of national or international significance under permit control.”²⁷ In general, vagueness was the rule and there consequently developed a tendency to apply for permits in order to avoid possible prosecution. The impression began to gain ground, especially amongst a White community predisposed to deference to government policy, that all mixed activity was illegal without a permit. Proclamation 164 of 1958 excluded racially disqualified persons from public cinemas except under GAA permits. These tended to be granted in urban areas so long as there were separate entrances, toilets and seating provision. African cinemas were organised by township managers. The official aim of the proclamation was to avoid friction, but the overall effect in the view of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) was an “infringement upon personal liberty and a further barrier to African recreation and cultural development.”²⁸

For the purpose of the GAA, a company constituted “any corporate or unincorporate association of persons, and any registered or unregistered corporate body other than a statutory body.”²⁹ The controlling interest would be vested according to the racial group of the majority of members, which posed a problem for mixed race voluntary organisations like sports clubs. But if the disqualified group constituted a minority of the members, leasing of immovable property would not constitute an offence.

Schoombee argued that “the key concepts of control under the Act relate to land and human relationships with land”, and asked “why this focus on land and rights to land?” in an era when moveable and intangible assets could create far greater wealth.³⁰ The answer seems to lie in the fact that social engineering on the scale required of apartheid embodied economic, political and military needs that collectively ascribed to land great weight in terms of maintaining White hegemony. Nor was it the GAA alone that affected sporting activity. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (49 of 1953,

²⁶ *NW* 8 July 1954, p.1.

²⁷ Rousseau, F.P. *Handbook on the Group Areas Act (Act no.77 of 1957)*, p.22.

²⁸ *SRR* 1958-9, p.296.

²⁹ Rousseau, F.P. *Handbook on the Group Areas Act (Act no.77 of 1957)*, p.21, quoting s.1(1)(v) of the GAA.

³⁰ Schoombee, J.T. *An evaluation of aspects of group areas legislation in South Africa*, p.62.

RSAA) allowed for the allocation of space for any particular racial group in premises and vehicles [s.2], even if relative provision was unequal [s.3]. The exclusion of persons was based on the crude measure of appearance. The RSAA imposed tighter spatial controls than the GAA, as it related to specific facilities and for time spans that were short-lived. The use of a park, for instance, could be restricted under the RSAA, whereas the occupation test of the GAA would have been hard to apply. The Liquor Act was also central to social apartheid and would have a seriously inhibiting effect upon mixed sport. In 1957 a new Group Areas Act (77 of 1957) was promulgated. A consequent proclamation (164 of 4 July 1958) was entitled "control of mixed attendance at cinemas, restaurants and clubs" and defined occupation as attendance at a cinema, sitting in a restaurant or similar establishment, or presence as a guest at a club. The last provision appeared to be a major threat to mixed sport.³¹

Segregation in the pre-apartheid city was a function of social distance, both voluntary and imposed, fashioned by class development. Though legal controls had existed, these were not necessarily comprehensive in design or application. Under the apartheid regime, the objective was to minimise the need for each group of South Africans to use another's space. According to the Durban City Council's Technical Subcommittee, each group area should be large enough for, amongst other facilities, recreational space. This was also seen as a potential buffer between different areas. It suggested that the pre-existing pattern of settlement and facilities should not be a "material consideration" in terms of future planning.³² Durban showed great enthusiasm for segregation through group areas planning and provided examples for the country as a whole. In pursuit of the concept of the 'ethnocity', owners and occupiers of houses were given various lengths of time to vacate their properties, although disqualified owners of businesses could continue ownership during their lifetimes. Many Black sportspersons were the victims of relocation in urban areas as communities disintegrated or were forcibly broken up: amendments to the GAA gave the police growing powers of entry and seizure and its political arm, the security branch, became increasingly involved.³³ The Minister was empowered to remove any area, other than a White group area, from municipal authority if he deemed that it was not properly administered.³⁴

³¹ Ibid., pp.200, 253-254.

³² Goldberg, D.T. 'Polluting the body politic': racist discourse and urban location in Cross, M. and Keith, M. (eds.). *Racism, the city and the state* (London: Routledge, 1993), p.50.

³³ Rousseau, F.P. *Handbook on the Group Areas Act (Act no.77 of 1957)*, p.49.

³⁴ Henochsberg, E.S. *An explanation of the Group Areas Act, 1950*, pp.16-17.

One of the major problems regarding all facilities, including recreational, was uncertainty: as Horrell put it, a sword of Damocles hung over communities. In some cases this persisted for many years inhibiting any form of development. Plans for group areas were drawn up long before they were implemented. Land values fell ahead of determination of basic value and rose in areas to which it was suspected people were to be moved. In other words, the consequence was a depreciation of land values in Coloured and Asian areas that were usually of no great attraction to White buyers; and an increase in prices in those restricted areas designed for an inflow of displaced persons.³⁵ In Pietermaritzburg, for instance, land at Northdale, designated an Asian area, which had been unsaleable suddenly rose in value; while the reverse happened to Asian land, for example at Camp Drift, proclaimed White. The Asian community was described by Maasdorp and Pillay as “land hungry”, ruled by “scarcity prices” that amounted to a subsidy of White property values.³⁶ Small businesses as well as social networks were destroyed, and the new Asian areas conspicuously lacked amenities.³⁷ The NIC was of the opinion that the administration of group areas was designed to encourage repatriation. In his study of Cato Manor in Durban, Maharaj describes a comparable situation as “legalised pillage.”³⁸

By the end of the 1950s, the draconian control over land use explicit in the GAA was entrenching social apartheid. It was applied by an officious and reactionary bureaucracy protected by an illegitimate Parliament and conservative court decisions. The permit system entrenched White domination by wielding the power to grant or withhold privileges and facilities. South African law criminalised behaviour that in free societies would be regarded as both normal and beyond the bounds of state control. For instance, the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953 made it possible to institute prosecutions after any gathering, including a sports meeting, that might be seen as a demonstration against apartheid laws. The seed was thus sown for the bizarre situation in which the political police and apartheid officials took a keen interest in activities as innocuous as football and cricket matches. Nevertheless, the government did not find the occasional use of land easy to control. It was one matter to determine a racial housing pattern governed by title deeds, but another to police the unpredictable use made of recreation grounds. The problem lay in the legal definition of occupation and arguments about what constituted a substantial period of time. Through the RSAA, the authorities found it relatively

³⁵ Horrell, M. *The Group Areas Act: its effect on human beings* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1956), pp.116.

³⁶ Maasdorp, G. and Pillay, N. *Urban relocation and racial segregation: the case of Indian South Africans* (Durban: Department of Economics, University of Natal, 1977), pp.177, 179.

³⁷ Freund, B. *Insiders and outsiders: the Indian working class in Durban, 1910-1990* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1994), pp.65, 73-76.

³⁸ Maharaj, B. The Group Areas Act and community destruction in South Africa: the struggle for Cato Manor in Durban. *Urban forum* 5(2) 1994, pp.8-9.

easy to monitor access to specific facilities, especially if liquor licences were involved. But the control of open space was to prove a continual problem and one that was never fully solved by the drafters of legislation and the framers of proclamations on behalf of the government. This was to prove particularly important for the struggles around non-racial sport.

The GAA was particularly damaging to the small Pietermaritzburg Coloured population, hitherto a cohesive community existing on the margins of White society with a number of consequential benefits. The Minister of the Interior announced that it would be subject to total residential segregation and this was particularly resented by that fraction of a largely Afro-European community that traced its origins to Mauritius or St Helena. It tended to be English speaking, Roman Catholic, self-consciously respectable and relatively prosperous, and some of its individuals were able to 'pass for White'. This was of special significance as the Population Registration Act used both appearance and acceptance as a basis for classification. Coloured Maritzburgers were still on the common electoral roll until 1956 and had enjoyed the same rights as Whites regarding residence, movement, property, privacy and other fundamental freedoms. In the words of Dickie-Clark, "White facilities for recreation and entertainments [were to become] closed to Coloureds not fair enough to pass", excluded entirely from the "White system of social relations." For Coloured people, "the claim of cultural similarity to equality of treatment has been swept aside", although evidence of recreational provision in Pietermaritzburg shows this process to have started several decades earlier.³⁹ Precious McKenzie, who had returned to Pietermaritzburg and become a highly promising weightlifter, was at Christmas 1958 forbidden by the South African Weightlifting Union from giving a demonstration as part of the main programme at the YMCA, although the White audience stayed on afterwards to watch him.⁴⁰

The political temper of White Pietermaritzburg at this time indicated intermittent signs of political revolt. There was a great deal for burgesses to protest about: the abolition of British subject status and of the right to appeal to the Privy Council; the end of Empire Day; enforcement of bilingualism; and removal of the Union Jack as a national symbol and of 'God save the Queen' as an anthem, for example.⁴¹ On 20 March 1951 a protest meeting was held at the City Hall to object to the proposed removal of the Coloured franchise. The 2000 inside the Hall, and an overflow of 300, heard phrases such as "the moral authority of Parliament", "subversion of the very foundations of public life"

³⁹ Dickie-Clark, H.F. *The marginal situation: a sociological situation study of a Coloured group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), pp.74, 103, 105.

⁴⁰ Connock, M. *The Precious McKenzie story* (London: Pelham, 1975), p.112.

⁴¹ Thompson, P.S. *The British civic culture of Natal South Africa, 1902-1961* (Howick: Brevitas, 1999), pp.72-73.

and the “sanctity of our Constitution” in defence of the South Africa Act.⁴² A *Natal Witness* editorial recorded “a great and honest anger ... a searing contempt.”⁴³ As Thompson notes, there was a “collective emotional reaction against the government [that] practically fixed the outlook of a generation.”⁴⁴ But vigorous rhetoric never turned into anything more than muted, law-abiding protest. At the same time there was, predictably, greater ambivalence about social discrimination: the partial segregation of buses (Blacks at the back) started in 1959 at the insistence of the Local Road Transport Board, although it was delayed by a temporary interdict.⁴⁵

PIETERMARITZBURG: POPULATION, HOUSING AND HEALTH

During the decade that preceded the shooting at Sharpeville, Pietermaritzburg grew in area; and at an unprecedented rate in terms of population numbers (*see* table 19). But more important than the annual growth rate of 7% was a sharp proportionate decline in the White population which, coupled with stability in the Coloured and African communities, signified the fact that the Asian group was becoming increasingly influential. On 1 April 1950, Raisethorpe and parts of New England were incorporated into the borough, while other areas that had constituted the city’s ‘Black belt’, including Edendale and Slangspruit, remained under local health authority control. A provincial grant of £15 000 was provided for Raisethorpe so that essential amenities could be provided within five years. Nine years later, on 1 January 1959, Allandale, a property of 74 acres, was also incorporated, part of the development of the northern margins of Pietermaritzburg as an Asian group area.⁴⁶

Table 19: Pietermaritzburg’s population by community grouping, 1950-1959 (%)

	Total	White	Coloured	Asian	African
1950	60 112	46.5	5.1	19.0	29.4
1956	87 101	39.8	4.8	27.0	28.4
1959	102 577	37.5	4.9	28.8	28.8

⁴² *CYB* 1951, pp.30-31.

⁴³ *NW* 22 Mar 1951, p.4. On 9 Apr 1957 the City Council made a unanimous decision that the Union Jack would continue to be flown on the City Hall as representative of Pietermaritzburg sentiment, even though it had “ceased to have official status” as a symbol of the Commonwealth connection. The *Natal Witness* was lukewarm in its response, criticising the Council for “flaunting” the flag, which it regarded as an anachronism (*CYB* 1957, p.39; *NW* 6 Apr 1957, p.4).

⁴⁴ Thompson, P.S. *The British civic culture of Natal South Africa, 1902-1961*, p. 126.

⁴⁵ *CYB* 1959, p.33.

⁴⁶ Proclamation 43 in the Natal Provincial Gazette of 14 June 1951 assigned Raisethorpe to ward 4 and New England to ward 5. The Administrator was given the task of looking into the status of Sweetwaters, Winterskloof, Hilton Road and Cedara.

The 'Black belt' remained an issue in local politics, however. In March 1950 the Manager of the municipal Native Affairs Department (NAD) recorded his concern about the "influx of loafers and ... traffickers"⁴⁷ to the city and, noting the over-subscription of Sobantu's houses by 1 035 applicants, suggested that tightening of regulations in the peri-urban area was the way forward to relieve various concerns. In May 1950 the Chief Native Commissioner raised the questions of overcrowding in Sobantu and Africans now living in Pietermaritzburg by virtue of the incorporation of Raisethorpe, noting that part of Slangspruit was a released area in terms of land legislation.⁴⁸

Early in the decade slum clearance remained retarded because of post-war conditions, although some backyard buildings were demolished. 'National' housing loans made possible limited development as shown in table 20. But from as early as 1952 the spatial development of Pietermaritzburg was dominated by the requirements of the GAA described above. A racial survey of the city was well underway by March 1951 and in 1953 requests were made to Pretoria for equitable alternatives, compensation for artificially depreciated property and African freehold: at the time there was a shortfall of 1 350 sub economic and low cost dwellings. Land Tenure Advisory Board (LTAB) hearings were finally held for ten days in June and July 1954. Inevitably suburban housing development was seriously delayed by uncertainty, a situation that affected the Asian community in particular, although temporary municipal housing was provided at Hathorns Hill in the mid-1950s. In 1957 it was recorded that "considerable hardship and unrest" existed amongst the Coloured and Asian communities because of the malign effect of the GAA on housing provision.⁴⁹

The problems of the Asian community were illustrated in 1951 by an Indo-European Joint Council (I-EJC) delegation to the City Council. It pointed out that Camp Drift was a working-class area whose housing stock could only be of interest to poor Whites, who would in any case probably not be able to afford it. Its "industrious and law-abiding inhabitants", the delegation argued, should remain

⁴⁷ Manager, NAD to TC, 20 Mar 1950; Native Administration, Etc. Comm, 20 Mar 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/122, file 197/5 (Congregation of natives within five miles of the borough boundary).

⁴⁸ Chief Native Commissioner to TC, 3 May 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/122, file 197/5 (Congregation of natives within five miles of the borough boundary). Attitudes to two small settlements of Africans, Hollingwood (population 400 by 1954) and Ockert's Kraal (477), in the 'Black belt' are revealing. Applications by Africans in Hollingwood to let their property to other Africans were blocked and, although both areas were regarded as 'Black spots', their residents were considered long-term and this required the allocation of alternative accommodation (Chief Native Commissioner to Urban Areas Commissioner, 20 Apr 1954; Manager, NAD to TC, 5 June 1954 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/122, file 197/5 (Congregation of natives within five miles of the borough boundary)).

⁴⁹ CYB 1957, p.35. This echoed the opinion of the Maritzburg Benevolent Society four years earlier when it recorded at its 1953 AGM that "the Coloured people are still our big problem. The conditions under which some of them live are shocking." (NW 30 Nov 1953, p.5). At the same time some of the Asian population still lived in nineteenth century style compounds.

at Camp Drift in a designated area, especially since 750 children attended nearby schools at Sutherland and Mount Partridge.⁵⁰

Table 20: Housing schemes in Pietermaritzburg during the 1950s

Population group	Name and (Locality)
White	Riverbend (Manor) Gardens (Prestbury) Northern Park
Coloured	Fitzsimmons Woodlands Township 1
Asian	Lower Berg Street Raisethorpe Northdale 1 and 2

Meanwhile, at the beginning of the 1950s Sobantu comprised 545 houses occupied by just over 3 000 people, a township still characterised by communal water supply, ablution blocks and laundries. By 1954 the number of houses had risen to 807 and the residents to 4 842, indicative of lower densities. These would have included 25 dwellings built for policemen, teachers and NAD clerks “located on land adjoining the Village but otherwise well segregated from Europeans and other areas by large tracts of vacant land.” The detail noted is revealing: “towards the south the nearest European was about 700 yards distant but there was a natural boundary in the Umsinduzi River about 500 yards away.”⁵¹ In mid-decade about 22% of the city’s Africans lived in Sobantu, the first economic housing scheme for earners of more than £15 per month having started in 1953. The time was now right for owner-built houses on leased land, but in spite of municipal support the LTAB advised that other than two small additions, no further extensions would be permitted. A buffer zone of 40 acres, on which no building, plantation or sports field was to be located, was recommended.⁵² In 1956, the removal of Sobantu was scheduled for completion by 1986. Protest was immediate and vociferous, much of it stressing the example Sobantu set for township development, although clearly this did not stretch to recreational facilities. The local White inhabitants of Bishopstowe favoured removal, however, and this remained an

⁵⁰ Finance, Etc. Comm, 15 Aug 1951 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/4, file 8/4 (Asiatic Land Tenure Act: general).

⁵¹ Native Administration, Etc. Comm, 18 Dec 1951 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/75, file 140/13 (Suggested provision of housing for better class natives).

⁵² NW 2 July 1954, p.3.

intransigent government position: the “village was condemned to ultimate removal.”⁵³ In 1959, 1091 houses contained 8 000 occupants on 225 acres and municipal officials described it as “neat and orderly”, although in the opinion of Peel “many people in Sobantu had become profoundly dissatisfied with the quality of their lives.”⁵⁴ The idea of a second native village between Edendale and the city was on the municipal agenda during the decade, but obstructed by central government. In 1957 a site was identified at Slangspruit and this was approved by Group Areas officials in Pretoria, only for the Minister to veto the idea because it involved private property within the borough and he required a site beyond the existing boundary. He relented when a 500 metre buffer zone was designed and planning of the necessary infrastructure began.⁵⁵

Hostels, at East Street and Ortman Road for men and Church Street and Oribi (opened in 1952) for women, increased their capacity during the decade from 1 072 and 174 to 2 130 and 633 persons respectively, but the significant figure was the 60% of the African population still residing on private property. Hostels were grossly overcrowded, a consequence of both legislation and government policy. East Street Hostel averaged 1 750 occupants, but went as high as 2 192 on occasion and Church Street Women’s Hostel’s comparable figures were 479 and 718. In 1959 another women’s hostel was being planned.

Mortality figures (*see* table 21) show that, well after the Second World War, Pietermaritzburg remained an astonishingly unhealthy place for the mass of its inhabitants. While the figures for the White, Coloured and Asian communities improved, those for Africans worsened appreciably with, on average, only a quarter of their number surviving their 45th birthday. This was mainly because of respiratory and bowel diseases and other ailments with clear environmental causes. Throughout the 1950s bilharzia was widespread, with warning signs erected alongside watercourses and regular incidence surveys. Similarly, tuberculosis remained a scourge and it was described in 1953 as a “rapidly progressive disease.”⁵⁶ When it abated briefly in mid-decade, polio became a problem. Most serious of all, it was officially recognised in 1959 that some African deaths were being caused by malnutrition.

⁵³ Peel, H.L. *Sobantu Village: an administrative history of a Pietermaritzburg township, 1924-1959* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, 1987 - Honours essay in History), p.121.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.143.

⁵⁵ *CYB* 1958, p.38.

⁵⁶ *CYB* 1953, p.60.

**Table 21: Mortality: proportion of deaths under the age of 45 by community grouping, 1950-1959
(% range)**

White	10 - 19
Coloured	39 - 66
Asian	42 - 61
African	72 - 82
Black overall	60 - 68

PUBLIC PARKS, PLAYGROUNDS, PICNIC SITES AND SWIMMING BATHS

Table 22: Net costs of parks and public baths, 1950-1959 (£)

	Parks	Public baths
1950	22 542	3 412
1951	23 029	4 364
1952	30 164	3 760
1953	36 231	3 472
1954	36 861	3 162
1955	42 250	3 805
1956	50 145	3 298
1957	51 321	4 831
1958	50 589	5 989
1959	56 734	4 916

The average annual net cost of parks of £39 987 masked a steadily increasing commitment by the borough, while baths (average £4 101) showed slower growth as the result of improving usage and cost recovery (*see table 22*). The results of this heavy expenditure continued to be racially skewed and the impending, but vague, impact of the GAA had a generally stultifying effect on decision making regarding a wide range of recreational activities.

The Council continued to develop picnic sites and children's playgrounds, but in June 1952 the Town Clerk was explaining the lack of a picnic site for Blacks, which he blamed on the GAA. This was somewhat disingenuous in view of a published opinion on the City Gardens and Market Square plots - "owing to the almost exclusive use of these gardens by non-Europeans, the atmosphere and beauty of the area has been entirely lost, and it can now no longer be considered to serve the purpose for which it was intended"⁵⁷ - that reflected clear racial prejudice. A similar sentiment was voiced about the

⁵⁷ *CYB* 1952, p.57.

Hatcheries (Chase Valley) picnic site: “[it] is becoming increasingly popular with non-Europeans who are crowding out the Europeans for whom the area was intended.”⁵⁸ In February the following year, the Superintendent of the Obededom Sunbeam Sunday School asked if, with zoning now apparently complete, a site could be allocated. His membership, numbering about 160, was largely Asian and Coloured with a few Africans and there was apparently a demand from a similar school in Raisethorpe. The Hatcheries site in Chase Valley and Lexden Circle at Athlone were closed to Blacks; and the Coloured site, it was understood, was now also reserved for Whites. The Council continued to blame the GAA.⁵⁹ The Hatcheries returned to the debate in 1955 when the principal of Oriental School applied for its use on Ascension Day by 300 children. The request was rejected on the grounds that large numbers of Whites were likely to use it on the same day and the Director of Parks suggested an alternative venue at Camp Drift. By 1957 Coloured and Asian picnic sites had been established at Hathorns Hill and Cremorne, near Mountain Rise Cemetery.⁶⁰ In 1955 the Glen Ora property was bequeathed to the people of Pietermaritzburg and it became Wylie Park on 17 August 1958.⁶¹ There is no evidence of racial tensions at this facility in Pietermaritzburg’s wealthiest suburb, but the City Gardens remained a site of contestation: “the invasion by whole families of Natives and Indians ... has become alarming” and predictable issues of cleanliness were raised.⁶²

School sport for White children became in the 1950s what Thompson describes as a “social discipline” designed to produce the right calibre of leader; and the Director of Education provided funds to pay sports organisations to coach in schools.⁶³

Considerable investment was made in facilities for White sport. These included three new fields intended for inter-provincial hockey matches, floodlit football and athletics facilities at The Oval, which was provided with an underground water system, and floodlights at Woodburn rugby ground.⁶⁴ In 1955 a new croquet lawn was constructed and repairs were made to the cycle track in Alexandra Park. At

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.59.

⁵⁹ TC to S.Rowlands, Superintendent of the Obededom Sunbeam Sunday School, 28 June 1952 and 27 Feb 1953; S.Rowlands to TC, 11 Feb 1953 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 666, file 215/112 (Chase Valley picnic site).

⁶⁰ Market and Parks Comm, 18 Apr 1955; Director of Parks to Principal, Oriental School, 4 May 1955; EM to Secretaries of NCWA and NIO, 1 Aug 1957 in PMA 3/PMB TC 4/5/575, file 215/208 (Picnic sites for non-Europeans).

⁶¹ *CYB* 1955, p.39; 1958, p.18. It comprised 17 acres and an endowment of £5 000. Two more acres and further expenditure of £7 550 were added.

⁶² *CYB* 1959, p.138.

⁶³ Thompson, P.S. *The British civic culture of Natal South Africa, 1902-1961*, pp.103, 108. In 1958 there was a teachers’ boycott of extra-curricular sport.

⁶⁴ Electricity and Transportation Comm, 9 Apr 1953 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 623, file 242/117 (Woodburn rugby grounds: floodlights).

Chatterton Road a new polo ground was completed by the Public Works Department in 1958. By the end of the decade the municipality owned 30 acres of playing fields⁶⁵ and Pietermaritzburg had become a favoured venue for foreign sports teams visiting the country. They included an American athletics team (1951), Newcastle United and Dundee football clubs (1952), New Zealand cricketers, English women's hockey and Midlothian Football Club (1953), an English Football Association XI, the MCC (1957), and Australian cricketers (1958). In addition there was a great deal of domestic cricket (Universities Week, Country Districts Week and Currie Cup matches) and national athletics competitions. Many visitors were entertained at the expense of the municipality.⁶⁶

By contrast the municipal attitude to the Kenya Asian cricket tour of 1956 was of a very different order. On 21 November a one-day match was played in Pietermaritzburg against a Combined XI captained by Cyril Dutlow. The Inter-Race Cricket Board asked the Mayor for a reception and scenic drive; and the Maritzburg Cricket Association for permission to use Alexandra Park Oval, as "we have no grounds in Pietermaritzburg suitable to accommodate the crowd."⁶⁷ All four Black communities - Asian, Malay, Coloured and African - supplied players to various regional, provincial and national teams during the tour as a whole, a major step forward towards non-racial sport. But the Oval was declared unavailable because of a White Country Districts Cricket Week and the Kenya match was played at Fitzsimmons Road Indian Sports Ground, the "most picturesque non-European sports ground in the country", according to the *Natal Witness*. Nevertheless, it had only a matting wicket, although there were sightscreens and a scoreboard.⁶⁸ The grass was cut and benches for 100 spectators provided by the Director of Parks. Civic hospitality was refused, but a grant of £10 was made towards entertainment expenses. The match was supported in various ways by the Raisethorpe Government Aided Indian School, Eddels and St. Anthony's Roman Catholic parish.⁶⁹ Asian schoolchildren were given a half-day holiday and Whites were encouraged to attend. Rain forced a late start before the Maritzburg XI scored 122 from 40.3 overs to which the Kenyans replied with 117 for 3

⁶⁵ *CYB* 1959, p.26.

⁶⁶ Mayor's Sec to Imperial Hotel, 3 July 1954 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 761, file 320/109 (Maritzburg Women's Hockey Association: visit of English touring team). Various documents in PMA 3/PMB C batch 761, file 320/105 (Visit of New Zealand cricket team: civic entertainment). G.W. Boyes, President of the Maritzburg Cricket Union to the Mayor, 19 Nov 1956 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/192, file 72/223 (Civic hospitality: MCC touring team). Pres, MCU to the Mayor, 5 Nov 1957 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/192, file 73/233 (Civic hospitality: Australian cricket team).

⁶⁷ T.A. Dada, MIRC to Mayor's Sec and to W.J.A. Gilson, Sec, MCA, 9 Oct 1956 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/192, file 299/216 (Kenya Asian cricket tour of South Africa).

⁶⁸ Market and Parks Comm, 23 Oct 1956. *NW* 20 Nov 1956, p.6.

⁶⁹ Director of Parks to T.A. Dada, 9 Nov 1956; TC to T.A. Dada, 13 Nov 1956 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/192, file 299/216 (Kenya Asian cricket tour of South Africa).

off 21 overs.⁷⁰

The Jan Smuts Stadium in Alexandra Park constituted the largest sports-related project since the Pavilion was constructed in the nineteenth century. It was originally planned because The Oval was deemed too small for provincial competition, and with post-war reconstruction in mind.⁷¹ It was handed over in 1952 for football, but construction of the stand was delayed until 1956 because of post-war spending restrictions. The first cricket was played on 28 November 1953. The opening of the stand, accommodating 1 320, on 21 May 1958 was hailed as a “momentous occasion in the sporting history of our city.”⁷²

The effects of the GAA on recreational facilities became evident at a very early stage: an alacrity in municipal circles suggests enthusiasm for the legislation. In 1951 the Silverton Tennis Club was required to move from 8 Greytown Road because the area was in the process of being declared Coloured and its players were Asiatic. The Estates Manager was looking for a suitable site for them in Royston Road.⁷³ The saga of Eddels, a local shoe factory, also contained intimations of things to come. In August 1951 the Estates Manager was approached for land to lease for a sports ground for Black workers, the requirement being two football fields, a cricket pitch, four tennis courts, a changing room and a kiosk. A suggestion was made that Chatterton Road would be ideal for lunchtime and after work practices.⁷⁴ His response was as follows: “in view of the implications of the Group Areas Act, it will not be possible for this matter to be dealt with for some considerable time - not until the various groups have been sorted out”⁷⁵; and he requested a racial breakdown of the work force. Figures were given as 150 Coloureds, 1 172 Asians and 190 ‘Natives’, but the company went out of its way to emphasise that it did not wish to discriminate between groups.⁷⁶ Indeed, it pointed out that employees were members of the Leather Workers’ Union “and they do not differentiate between Indians, Coloureds or Bantu.”⁷⁷

⁷⁰ Desai, A. *et al. Blacks in whites: a century of cricket struggles in KwaZulu-Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), p.217.

⁷¹ *NW* 22 May 1958, p.3.

⁷² *CYB* 1958, p.17. The stadium’s total capacity was 18 000. It was designed to cater for cricket, football, rugby and hockey, at an eventual projected cost of £100 000. A commemorative plaque was worded in English and Afrikaans and the opening celebrations included a football match between Natal and Preston North End (0-1).

⁷³ EM to TC, 27 Aug 1951 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 622, file 242/110 (Silverton Tennis Club (Asiatic) re tennis court at 8 Greytown Road and land for new tennis courts).

⁷⁴ A.J. McLachlan, Sec, Eddels Holdings to EM, 21 Aug and 15 Sep 1951 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 623, file 242/112 (Eddels Holdings Ltd: application for land for playing fields for Non-European workers).

⁷⁵ EM to McLachlan, 22 Aug 1951 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 623, file 242/112 (Eddels Holdings Ltd: application for land for playing fields for Non-European workers).

⁷⁶ A.J. McLachlan, Sec, Eddels Holdings to EM, 27 Aug 1951 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 623, file 242/112 (Eddels Holdings Ltd: application for land for playing fields for Non-European workers).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 15 Sep 1951.

Five-a-side football tournaments were put forward as evidence of racial harmony.

It was suggested that the firm should share land at Settlers Park leased to the Valleys Recreation Club (VRC). This idea found no favour and it was strongly emphasised that the community in the area had been working for forty years to gain access to Settlers Park and had no intention of sharing it. Indeed, the VRC as representative of the community felt it had a moral right to "priority and favourable consideration."⁷⁸ No mention was made, however, of race. By 1953 an air of frustration had entered the correspondence between the firm and the municipality, a dialogue that was effectively terminated by the Finance Committee: "until the racial zones under the Group Areas Act are demarcated there is no point in discussing the matter."⁷⁹ Inter-race sport was regarded with patronising alarm and condescension. In 1955 the NAD Manager expressed a view that "I have on several occasions watched these inter-race matches, and I have previously refrained from recommending that the Fitzsimmons Road Grounds be used, as these competitions have tended to cause inter-racial tension. If the referees are fair and firm and the officials level-headed, the matches pass off without incident and racial goodwill and harmony is brought about."⁸⁰ Nonetheless, in 1955 the Bantu Football Association beat the Coloured Association 6-4 at the Indian Sports Ground in Fitzsimmons.⁸¹ Occasional mixing took place in cricket. Dhobi Govindsamy, in charge of the university laundry, organised an annual match between students and an Asian side and even introduced a few Whites into Young Natalians CC, of which he was manager.⁸²

A decision was made in 1951 to prepare eight acres at Chatterton Road, formerly the city dump and at one time zoned for industrial development, as a Coloured Sports Ground (CSG) by levelling it with material removed as a result of the Dorpspruit deviation. It was opened on 5 April 1952 and handed over to the Coloured Sports Board. The future of Chatterton CSG was complicated by the imminent construction of National Road 3, the Pietermaritzburg bypass, and industrial development at Willowton; and the consequent need to relocate both the Indian SG at Fitzsimmons and the polo ground. The future of the ground was made uncertain by the fact that the old brickfields had

⁷⁸ Market and Parks Comm, 14 Sep 1951 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 623, file 242/11 (Eddels Holdings Ltd: recreation site at Northern Park).

⁷⁹ Finance Comm, 18 June 1953 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 623, file 242/112 (Eddels Holdings Ltd: application for land for playing fields for Non-European workers). One of the tactics used to obstruct Eddels was the suggestion that it would allow outsiders membership of its sports club.

⁸⁰ Manager, NAD to TC, 14 Oct 1955 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/210, file 242/2 (Fitzsimmons Road Sports Ground).

⁸¹ *CYB* 1956, p.75.

⁸² *Nux* 10 May 1962, p.2.

been Asian owned and the area might be similarly allocated under the GAA, although the suggested site of the polo field required expropriation of Asian market gardens. In 1952 the City Engineer openly suggested that the GAA might force removal of Coloured sport from Chatterton.⁸³ His successor was more sanguine, in 1956 writing about a clubhouse or even social centre, although this would result in demolition of White stables and removal of an African school.⁸⁴ A Council subcommittee noted the suggestion of the Royal Agricultural Society that the Coloured SG should be moved in order to accommodate polo.⁸⁵ The urgency surrounding this sport increased in 1958 when it was announced that the Willowbridge site was to be taken over for industry.⁸⁶ This was accentuated by the opinion of the Acting Town Clerk that “polo tournaments ... have now become a recognised feature in the social and recreational life of the City.”⁸⁷ Coloured cricket was strong enough in the 1950s for an inter-town competition with Durban. The Pietermaritzburg clubs were Wanderers (dominated by the Dunnett family), Perseverance, Primrose (Dutlows) and Railways. They drew upon the tightly-knit Coloured community in the Greyling and Boom Street area and Alston school.⁸⁸ Pietermaritzburg had a few rugby clubs that played collectively as Natal until the Natal Rugby Board was founded in 1959. The game had been introduced to the community by the Cape Corps and was played at Chatterton.⁸⁹

The struggle around Asian facilities was more contentious. In the early 1950s there were complaints about the quality of the Fitzsimmons SG accompanied by a request for an annual maintenance grant, which was finally allowed in 1953.⁹⁰ The figures submitted by MISA in 1952 had shown 545 football players, 196 cricketers, 43 tennis and 20 golf players. MISA depended upon gate money (6d for adults, 3d for children) and consequently could not raise sufficient funds to maintain the ground: the Asian merchant class and assorted well-wishers were apparently becoming irritated at being asked for donations. Emphasis was laid on MISA’s objective to keep lower-income people, particularly

⁸³ CE to TC, 23 July 1951, 30 Jan 1952 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 601, file 162/111 (Proposed location of polo grounds, Chatterton Road area).

⁸⁴ Acting CE to Housing Comm, 6 Oct 1956 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 601, file 162/111 (Proposed location of polo grounds, Chatterton Road area).

⁸⁵ Housing, Estates and Post War Planning Comm, 10 Sep 1957 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 601, file 162/111 (Proposed location of polo grounds, Chatterton Road area).

⁸⁶ CE to TC, 14 Jan 1958 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 601, file 162/111 (Proposed location of polo grounds, Chatterton Road area).

⁸⁷ Acting TC to TC, Bloemfontein, 30 Jan 1958 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 601, file 162/111 (Proposed location of polo grounds, Chatterton Road area).

⁸⁸ Desai, A. *et al. Blacks in whites*, p.190.

⁸⁹ Booley, A. *Forgotten heroes: a history of black rugby, 1882-1992* (Cape Town: Manie Booley, 1998), pp. 16-17, 176-178.

⁹⁰ Market and Parks Committee, 26 Mar 1952; TC to MISA, 2 May 1953 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

their children, from the street.⁹¹ In 1955 an extra football practice ground had been constructed at Fitzsimmons and the motivation of the Director of Parks was illuminating: "in view of the Association's very large membership, there does appear to be a definite need for another ground. It is also possible that such a provision would help to check the present drift of Indians into European areas, particularly during weekends."⁹² In 1956 MISA requested details of compensation for the loss of the Fitzsimmons SG as a result of industrial development, a question that was answered simply by referral to uncertainties created by the GAA.⁹³

Enquiry turned to anger two years later when it was learned that the alternative was a ground of 47 acres in the new Asiatic township of Northdale and that a budget of £6 500 had accordingly been set aside, even though investigations were still in progress at Alice Grange, a more acceptable site closer to the city.⁹⁴ Significantly, the borough would bear the costs of providing water, electricity, night soil collection and telephone installation; build a swimming pool; and, most importantly, grant a 99-year lease. The Estates Manager insisted that it was necessary to look no further than Northdale and Raisethorpe for future facilities.⁹⁵ On the other hand, the City Engineer pointed out that Northdale was two miles from lower Church Street and argued that a "small recreation centre" should be provided at the Eastern end of the city.⁹⁶ MISA backed up the City Engineer, arguing that facilities should be close to the poorer fraction of the community, putting forward the standard arguments about keeping the young off the streets and providing them with a sense of purpose. A site opposite the crematorium was suggested: "the bulk of our players will still come from homes in the City and their sporting needs cannot be ignored."⁹⁷ The Market and Parks Committee noted that "the Indian community were concerned over their security of tenure and submitted that they found it impossible to raise funds for improvements to their present grounds without some guarantee of permanency."⁹⁸

At every opportunity MISA reminded the municipality of the fact that the vast majority of the Asian population belonged to the historic city of Pietermaritzburg, not an undeveloped suburb; but such

⁹¹ A.K. Meeran, Sec MISA to TC, 3 Mar 1953 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁹² Director of Parks to TC, 20 May 1955 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁹³ MISA communication, 23 Oct 1956 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 601, file 162/111 (Proposed location of polo grounds, Chatterton Road area).

⁹⁴ Market and Parks Comm, 11 Nov and 10 Dec 1958 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 601, file 162/111 (Proposed location of polo grounds, Chatterton Road area).

⁹⁵ EM to TC, 29 July 1955 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁹⁶ CE to EM, 23 Aug 1955 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁹⁷ MISA to Director of Parks, 28 Aug and 16 Sep 1957 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁹⁸ Market and Parks Comm, 21 June 1957 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

efforts were met by an unwillingness on the part of the authorities to improve or even maintain Asian facilities in the town. The most helpful attitude was displayed by the Town Clerk who suggested that practice facilities might be retained in the Fitzsimmons area.⁹⁹ In 1958 MISA put forward a counter proposal located at Greytown and Rosedale Roads not far from the city centre, but this was rejected. During 1958 MISA and all its affiliates expressed strong (if ungrammatical) opposition to the Northdale move: "the Sportsmen are deeply alarmed at the City Council for interfering with the present ground, thus depriving them with playing facilities."¹⁰⁰ The complexities and nuances of the situation were illustrated in 1959 when the Market and Parks Committee decided to offer Asian footballers use of the polo players' car park at Chatterton for practice sessions. This, it was reasoned, would counter criticism of a lack of facilities in close proximity to town and mollify opponents of Northdale Stadium.¹⁰¹

The case of the Asian community can be summarised in MISA's accusation that over 60 years no serious attempt had been made to provide them with permanent recreational facilities, even though they were the second largest community of ratepayers. Investment had been made at Fitzsimmons, but this was now to be discarded in favour of a ground on the outskirts (a "remote area", in some correspondence) that was far away, in particular for children. They were, however, prepared to accept the Rosedale Road compromise. The Council response was that the Asian community would benefit from industrial development and that displacement of sporting facilities to the margins of urban areas to make space for industry and commerce was internationally commonplace.¹⁰² The Estates Manager commented that "land for recreational purposes for members of the Indian Group is restricted and difficulty will, no doubt, be experienced in meeting the requirements of sporting clubs, when the Group Areas Act for Pietermaritzburg is proclaimed."¹⁰³ A short history of Asian facilities produced by MISA shows that before Fitzsimmons was made available in 1924, its sports ground had moved from the corner of Commercial and Victoria Roads (shared with the Coloured community) to lower Church Street, then the old Pine Street polo grounds, Eddels factory site in Victoria Road, and finally Greytown Road opposite Woodlands High School.¹⁰⁴ Such peregrination had not been suffered by the White

⁹⁹ TC to MISA, 28 Dec 1957 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹⁰⁰ MISA to TC, 22 July 1958 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹⁰¹ Market and Parks Comm, 13 Mar 1959 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 601, file 162/111 (Proposed location of polo grounds, Chatterton Road area).

¹⁰² Address by A.K. Meeran, Sec, MISA to Market and Parks Comm, 9 Sep 1958; MISA to TC, 27 Oct 1958 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹⁰³ EM to TC, 12 Apr 1958 in PMA 3/PMB batch 439, file 162/215 (Sporting facilities for members of Indian group: tennis courts United Tennis Club).

¹⁰⁴ MISA memo, 9 Sep 1958 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

community. In September 1959 MISA, which perceptively saw Pietermaritzburg and Northdale as completely separate places, sent a challenging submission to the Town Clerk: “we are convinced that the removal of the grounds to Northdale would definitely spell the death knell of Indian sport in Pietermaritzburg. The consensus of opinion is that we should rather suspend sport if ground facilities cannot be provided anywhere near the City. We pray that this would not happen for every member of the Council would realise that sport is the very life blood of any community.”¹⁰⁵ There appears to have been no problem obtaining municipal permission for segregated events using public space such as road races (eg. Albert Falls to Raisethorpe) and cycling contests (eg. Pentrich to Thornville).¹⁰⁶

The issue of schoolchildren was regarded as crucial and an underlying refrain to the sports facilities issue. MISA announced that it was applying for a permanent ground at Chatterton and this became an integral part of the dialogue about Northdale.¹⁰⁷ The suggestion was rejected and schools were advised to approach provincial education authorities whereupon the Director of Education simply requested adequate provision of playing fields for schools in Northdale. He pointed out that historically Asian schools had been too preoccupied providing classrooms to worry about sports fields.¹⁰⁸ This was the very reason why public facilities were so important to the community as a whole. The City Engineer pointed out that an area of the city was nevertheless still zoned for Asians and could accommodate just under 25 000 people. But “because of lack of forward planning the provision of land for sporting activities is now an almost insoluble problem, both physically and financially.” He too saw Northdale as a partial solution to the issue of recreational provision.¹⁰⁹

In October 1959 encroachment at Fitzsimmons had resulted in the loss of one cricket field and reduction of two others and it was suggested that temporary use might be made of a portion of the old Willowbridge polo grounds.¹¹⁰ The provision of nets at Chatterton was queried by the Chase and Town Bush Valleys Civic Association (C&TBVCA), which was assured that this arrangement was purely temporary.¹¹¹ A new approach was adopted by a lawyer acting on behalf of MISA: “the mere fact that

¹⁰⁵ MISA to TC, 1 Sep 1959 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹⁰⁶ Secretary, Maritzburg County Indian Sports Club to TC, 6 Feb 1953; TC to L. Wooton, Maritzburg Athletic Club, 31 Mar 1953; TC to Sec, Valley Youth Literary and Social Club, 28 Aug 1954; TC to Sec, Marathon Sports, 27 Feb 1957 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 738, file 305/108 (Use of roads for marathons, cycling races, etc.).

¹⁰⁷ Market and Parks Comm, 15 Sep 1959 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹⁰⁸ Director of Education to TC, 17 Oct 1959 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹⁰⁹ CE to TC 7 Dec 1959 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/608, file 242/204 (Sports facilities for Indian school children).

¹¹⁰ EM to TC, 20 Oct 1959 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹¹¹ Market and Parks Comm, 23 Oct 1959 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

our clients are a voteless section of the community does not imply that they are not entitled to facilities offered to other more fortunate sections of the community of this City. Our clients feel that this matter could be settled amicably if fair play and justice are meted out.”¹¹²

At Camp Drift as late as 1953 the sole facility was an unfenced football ground “inadequate for present day requirements. The surface is rough and unsatisfactory.”¹¹³ In 1955 two football/cricket grounds, under the control of the Maritzburg County Indian Football Association (MCIFA), were provided at a cost of £320, but controversy followed immediately.¹¹⁴ In the words of the Director of Parks, “the grounds practically throughout the Summer were under 3' of grass and weeds. Fences were broken down and 80% of the newly planted shade trees died as a result of neglect.” In the same letter he mentioned forthcoming relocation under the GAA. Maintenance by Council would cost £100 per annum because of “compulsory higher wages, European supervision and transport charges.” In other words, the Corporation was trying to maintain the grounds on the cheap (£5 per month) and quality was suffering as a result. The Director of Parks indeed went so far as to suggest “maintaining grounds at a second class level.”¹¹⁵ The MCIFA responded by demanding a higher grant, pointing out that four inter-town matches were played at the ground per season, but the lack of fencing prevented gate takings. They also asked for a groundsman and reminded the Council that there were no changing facilities (visitors changed in their cars) nor storage for equipment (everything, including goalposts, had to be brought to the ground).¹¹⁶ The City Treasurer clearly appreciated the force of the MCIFA argument as he recommended realistic grants to all Asian and Coloured grounds, amounting to £90 in the case of Camp Drift, although at a rate of 30/- per month this ignored the surrounding 1.5 acres. The recommended grant for Fitzsimmons (15 acres of playing surface plus 2.5 of surrounds) was raised from £150 to £270 and that for Chatterton was set at £180 (previously nil - 10 acres playing surface and 4 acres of surrounds), indicating the parsimonious nature of the existing funding.¹¹⁷

Swimming became enormously popular amongst Whites during the 1950s, the Penguins and

¹¹² S.K. Moodley, Solicitor to TC, 5 Dec 1959 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹¹³ Director of Public Parks to TC, 6 Aug 1953 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 377, file 242/22/40 (Recreation ground for Non-Europeans in Pentrich and Camps Drift area).

¹¹⁴ *CYB* 1955, p.34.

¹¹⁵ Director of Parks to TC, 4 May 1956 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 377, file 242/22/40 (Recreation ground for Non-Europeans in Pentrich and Camps Drift area).

¹¹⁶ MCIFA to P&CDRA, 18 Apr 1956 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 377, file 242/22/40 (Recreation ground for Non-Europeans in Pentrich and Camps Drift area).

¹¹⁷ Director of Parks to TC, 22 May 1956; CT to TC, 21 May and 8 June 1956 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 377, file 242/22/40 (Recreation ground for Non-Europeans in Pentrich and Camps Drift area).

Seals clubs flourished, and a high percentage of provincial champions were from Pietermaritzburg. From 1953 onwards record attendances were noted at the open air baths in Alexandra Park, with an accompanying fear of future overcrowding.¹¹⁸ The position of the Coloured population provided an instructive contrast. The ex-servicemen's league appealed for a swimming bath for Coloured children in 1958 on the grounds that "the Umsinduzi River (which is used by our children specially on hot days) as a swimming bath, has claimed one or two of these children nearly every year. Incidentally three of these children have been ex-servicemen's children, hence the alarm from this branch."¹¹⁹ A child had indeed drowned in early January 1958. This was by no means the first the Council had heard on this issue. In 1950 the Town Clerk was informed that the Coloured community was losing faith over this matter.¹²⁰ The response was that post-war building restrictions precluded any development and that the suggested location for a swimming pool near the Dorpspruit was impractical.¹²¹ In 1955 women made their point: "it is many years now since we were encouraged to believe we would have a swimming pool."¹²² The Finance Committee in fact revived the idea, suggesting that the filtration plant at the defunct Hay Paddock baths could be used, while ruling out a pool for the Asian community.¹²³ The City Engineer pointed out that a Coloured population of 5 500 in the borough and surrounding areas such as Edendale would generate income of about £200 per annum, insufficient to cover running costs. He suggested that baths be shared with the Asian community, on separate days perhaps, or on the same day with separate changing rooms. A Berg Street site for baths, "less elaborate" than the Pine Street facility, was mooted, but turned down as too expensive.¹²⁴ The suggestion that such a pool be used by two communities was met by ethnic defensiveness. The Secretary of the I-EJC argued that Asians should have four days usage of a pool on the grounds of population numbers and rates contributions¹²⁵; while the Natal

¹¹⁸ *CYB* 1951, p.21; 1952, p.54; 1953, p.50; 1954, p.21; 1958, pp.34, 65-66. In 1958 the total of 121 683 attendances exceeded the average for the previous 12 years by 40 000 and two members of the South African team at the Cardiff Empire Games were from Penguins.

¹¹⁹ N.S. Middleton, Sec, SA Coloured Ex-Servicemen's Legion to TC, 25 Jan 1958 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/576, file 215/214 (Non-European children's playgrounds).

¹²⁰ D.G. Truscott, Head, Greyling Street Government Coloured School to TC, 14 July 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

¹²¹ Works, Etc. Comm, 18 July 1950; TC to E. Barthus, Sec of Greyling Street School Parents Association, 18 Aug 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

¹²² E. Dutlow, Sec, Pietermaritzburg Council of Coloured Women to TC, 8 Feb 1958 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

¹²³ Finance, Etc. Comm, 21 Mar 1955 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

¹²⁴ CE memo, 18 Feb 1958; Works, Etc. Comm, 23 July 1958 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans). A 75x50 foot pool constructed on "austere lines" was costed at £17 500.

¹²⁵ R. Dookran, Sec, IEJC to TC, 12 Sep 1958 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

Coloured Welfare League pointed out that it was not in favour of any mixing.¹²⁶ In spite of the Doctors' Pact of 1947 and the commitment of leaders and activists of the Natal Indian Congress to non-racialism, the Defiance Campaign of 1952 was relatively weak in Natal and ethnic interests were still strongly embedded in the Asian community.¹²⁷

FUNDING OF RECREATION

Table 23: Grants-in-aid from the municipal budget by sporting code, 1950-1959 (£ total)

	Amount	%
Cricket	3 221	27.1
Water sport	2 790	23.5
Lawn tennis	1 705	14.3
Gymnastics (YMCA)	770	6.5
Rugby	243	2.0
Polo	218	1.8
Croquet	140	1.2
Motor sport	119	1.0
Rifle associations	100	0.8
Athletics and cycling	25	0.2
Comrades Marathon	25	0.2
Indian organisations	1 426	12.0
Coloured organisations	1 090	9.2
Kenyan Asian cricket tour	10	0.1
Total	11 882	

Notes to table 23: (1) Hungarian relief was awarded £105 in 1956-57.

(2) Coloured organisations were the Natal Coloured Welfare Association, the Coloured Sports Association and the Maritzburg Coloured Sports Board; those from the Asian community the Maritzburg Indian Sports Association (MISA), Camp Drift and Pentrich Residents Association, and the Maritzburg County Indian Football Association.

Grants-in-aid (*see* table 23) were designed to cover running costs. Over 20% of such grants in the 1950s were directed at Asian and Coloured facilities, a vast and ironic improvement given that these

¹²⁶ P.L. Diaz, Sec, NCWL to CE, 5 Oct 1958 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

¹²⁷ Bhana, S. Indianness reconfigured, 1944-1960: the Natal Indian Congress in South Africa. *Comparative studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27(2) 1997, pp.105-106. Racial tension did not only exist between Whites and the rest of the population. The Market Square amusement park was opened to Whites, Africans and Asians on separate days after protests from Africans ((*Market and Parks Comm*, 28 May 1953 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 489, file 23/102 (Applications for use of Market Square for circuses, amusement parks, etc.)). *Market and Parks Comm*, 28 May 1953 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 489, file 23/102 (Applications for use of Market Square for circuses, amusement parks, etc.)).

were now under serious threat from GAA demarcations. Nevertheless, two single White codes - cricket and water sports - each received more than this proportion.¹²⁸

Table 24: Facilities benefiting from loans and City Fund Account (CFA) property improvements, 1950-1959 (£)

Alexandra Park	16 995
Collegians Club	10 000
Polo	8 359
Jan Smuts Stadium	8 116
Mountain Rise Golf Club	6 813
Wanderers Club	3 500
Technical College	2 000
Lawn Tennis Association	1 300
Maritzburg Bowling Club	1 000
Woodburn Rugby Ground	725
Sailing	600
Scottsville Bowling Club	350
Valleys Sports Club	350
Woodburn Bowling Club	245
Maritzburg Croquet Club	100
Coloured Social Centre & Sports Ground	24 271
Northdale Indian Sports Ground	6 500
Camp Drift Sports Ground	451
Totals	91 675

Throughout the 1950s White organised sport continued to benefit from preferential loan arrangements endorsed by the City Council. The Pietermaritzburg Lawn Tennis Association (PLTA), for example, had been awarded a loan of £2 965 in 1927, repayable over 35 years. During the War it had been unable to meet its obligations. The repayment period was extended by nine years to 1971, but by 1951 the amount owed was still £2 516, or 85% of the original. Yet at the same time the PLTA was requesting £3 500 to replace 15 courts with concrete so as to reduce annual maintenance costs from £600 to £120, the argument being that these savings could be used to liquidate the loan over 12 years. The Council made £1 000 available at 5% to convert six courts at a cost of £1 380.¹²⁹ The Maritzburg East Bowling Club had a similarly cavalier approach, applying for £550 repayable over 20 years when

¹²⁸ In 1952 the Maritzburg Cricket Union (MCU) was maintaining four pitches and practice facilities with an annual grant of £150 towards overall expenditure of £400 (MCU to PSA, 18 Sep 1952 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 623, file 242/116 (Maintenance and control of sports grounds)).

¹²⁹ Finance, Etc. Comm, 17 Jan 1951 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 492, file 31/104 (Pietermaritzburg Lawn Tennis Association application for loan).

it still owed £202/17/5d that it planned to liquidate “from the proceeds of the new loan”, as well as extend its clubhouse.¹³⁰

The financial history of the Whites only Collegians Club, often held up in later years as the epitome of preferential financial treatment, begins during this era and deserves close scrutiny. In 1955 it was leased land at Riverton Road next to the Umsindusi River for 25 years, with the right to renew for another 25 years or purchase, at a nominal rent and rates of £1 per annum. Plans were made to build a clubhouse and establish facilities for cricket, hockey, tennis and bowling. To this end a loan of £6 000 at 6%, repayable over 25 years, was granted for buildings, with a further amount of £4 000 at 6.5% over 20 years two years later.¹³¹ The antithesis of Collegians was perhaps Mountain Rise Golf Club, which was granted another £1 000 in 1950 to complete its expansion, together with permission to suspend repayment of principle on its existing loan. That same year it amalgamated with Marist Old Boys to become Mountain Rise and Maristoba Club (MR&MC). It was granted another 9 acres in Dartnell Road, together with a further £5 000 to build a larger club house, which amounted to £10 855 in three years. The intention was to add tennis, hockey and other codes to the club’s activities. By 1952 the Finance Committee of the City Council was describing itself as “very perturbed” by the situation at MR&MC, pointing out that loans were not being redeemed and that outstanding interest could not be recapitalised. Ultimately the Club became the only White victim of the GAA, together with the small suburb that surrounded it.¹³² Polo also fell out of favour with the authorities, its annual grant-in-aid reduced in 1952 to a rates rebate.¹³³

The relative provision of sports facilities by ethnic community may be summed up as follows (this pattern relates to 1953, but remained basically unaltered in 1959). For Whites cricket grounds at Alexandra Park were maintained by the Corporation, but turf wickets were the responsibility of the MCU, to which an annual grant was made. Standard Cricket Club was given a grant to maintain its ground. The Corporation also maintained facilities for football, hockey and athletics and played a major part in assisting rugby. As far as tennis, golf and bowls were concerned, “land is leased to Clubs at nominal rent.”¹³⁴ By way of contrast, Chatterton Road had been provided for the Coloured community

¹³⁰ Finance, Etc. Comm, 21 Apr 1954 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 492, file 31/107 (Maritzburg East Bowling Club application for loan).

¹³¹ Finance, Etc. Comm, 20 Jan, 21 Mar 1955, 22 Aug 1956, 20 Oct 1958 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/606, file 242/113).

¹³² Finance, Etc. Comm 3 Feb, 22 Mar, 18 Apr, 27 June and 14 July 1950, 18 May 1951, 18 Apr and 10 Nov 1952 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/280, file 126/3 (Extension of Mountain Rise Golf Course). Auditor’s report CYB 1954, p.xi.

¹³³ Sec, SAPA to CT, 3 Mar 1952 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/80, file 130/11 (Application for grant-in-aid: SA Polo Association).

¹³⁴ CT’s memo, 31 Mar 1953 in PMA 3/PMB C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

with a grant to the NCWA for maintenance. Grounds at Fitzsimmons (MISA) and Camp Drift (CD&PRA) were available to the Asian group with grants. Africans, the subject of chapter seven, had rudimentary facilities at Sobantu, the Tatham NSG at Fitzsimmons, the old Coloured Ground (Maqaleni) at East Street, Berg Street NSG and Edendale Road NSG. All to varying degrees and for different reasons were under threat. Overall trends for all communities during the 1950s are summarised at the end of chapter seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN GROUP AREAS AND GOVERNMENT SPORTS POLICY, 1950-1959:

PART 2

COLONIAL TRADITION, MUNICIPAL PERCEPTION AND GOVERNMENT POLICY

Continuation of traditional segregation and the instrumental use of sport for social control were characteristic of Natal during the 1950s, before they were seamlessly replaced from the 1960s onwards by the work of apartheid's social engineers. Amendments to the original 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act that culminated in the 1952 Urban Areas Act continued to have a dire effect: proclamations under the Act steadily reduced the opportunity for members of different races to join in any common activity, including sport, either as participants or spectators. The 1952 Act, by deeming every White urban area a 'prescribed area', made influx control applicable nationally to Africans with a 72 hour limitation except for those with a section 10 exemption. These were issued on the grounds of birth, lawful residence in the area for 15 years, ten years continuous employment for the same employer, or dependency upon a qualified person. The urban workforce was numerically tailored to respond to the reasonable requirements of commerce and industry with the reserve labour pool located as far away as possible, thus leading to the practices associated with influx control, such as 'endorsing out'.

By the end of the decade, to echo Jarvie, sport had become a major site of struggle, a point at which the very definition of 'South African' was being contested.¹ In response to the situation concerning international table tennis, in which the non-racial body, the South African Table Tennis Board was now recognised at the expense of the White, the National Party MP Captain G.H.F. Strydom was reported to have said: "this amounts to a declaration of war against White civilization in South Africa."² The importance of sport to the White South African public was summed up by Brickhill: "defeat in the sports-field is treated as a national humiliation for whites, success confirms their world view of the master race, their heroic image of themselves, and justifies to themselves the position of superiority they claim and hold."³

The South African government's first comprehensive statement on sports policy was made by

¹ Jarvie, G. Sport, popular struggle and South African culture in Jarvie, G. (ed.). *Sport, racism and ethnicity* (London: Falmer, 1991) p.178.

² *Sport, the arts and the colour bar in South Africa* (London: Africa Bureau, [1957]), p.15.

³ Brickhill, J. *Race against race: South Africa's 'multi-national' sport fraud* (London: IDAF, 1976), p.8.

the Minister of the Interior, T.E. Donges, in June 1956. White and Black sport, he insisted, must be organised separately and no racially mixed sport would be permitted within South Africa's borders. Black sportspersons seeking international recognition, an activity considered subversive, would be refused passports to travel overseas. If they wanted such opportunities, they could belong to racially segregated, subordinate affiliates of White controlling bodies that would represent South Africa on international federations in much the same way as Whites had acted as Native representatives in Parliament. The transparent desire of the government was that Black sportspersons would meekly accept a subordinate role within White umbrella bodies while forgoing voting rights.⁴ Affiliation was, for its time, a subtle and convenient policy and this might explain its longevity. It encouraged the fiction that integration was taking place, while in truth it maintained the status quo and promoted a future based on White terms. International pressure had produced a situation in which White bodies were "obliged to present the appearance, since they cannot present the reality, of national representativeness and non discrimination."⁵ The lure extended to Black sportspersons included financial aid, coaching, training and the promise of limited international competition. The mathematics of affiliation ensured that Black bodies had minimal influence: when the Football Association of South Africa (FASA) encouraged the SASF to affiliate, it was to be offered the status of one of ten units, although its membership was greater in numbers than the whole of FASA.⁶

The purpose of affiliation was to sustain the myth of White superiority and maintain a social system of trusteeship in which Blacks were treated like children in receipt of privileges. Magubane makes the important point that it was crucial for Whites to see Blacks as an amorphous group. The danger of uncontrolled sport was that "from an undifferentiated mass of non-whites [the Black sportsperson] becomes known as an individual."⁷ Affiliation made sure that Black sporting endeavour considered legitimate by the authorities could only take place within the parameters of apartheid. Such acceptable behaviour, it was hinted, might lead to international competition, probably against other approved Black teams. Reg Honey of the South African Olympic and National Games Association was open in his view that Blacks who were good enough could be selected for a South African Olympic team, although this would have to be arranged through segregated trials and a system of White guardianship. To the IOC he argued, ahistorically, that Blacks had only recently become interested in

⁴ Horrell, M. *South Africa and the Olympic Games* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1968), pp.10-11.

⁵ Kuper, L. *An African bourgeoisie: race, class, and politics in South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p.360.

⁶ Brickhill, J. *Race against race*, p.56.

⁷ Magubane, B. *Sport and politics in an urban African community: a case study of African voluntary organizations* (Durban: University of Natal, 1963), p.79.

sport.⁸ Non racialists who opposed the philosophy of affiliation were deemed to be agitators, dominated by Asians. Under the Native Urban Areas Act the opportunity for “joint participation by members of different races in common cultural or sporting activities, whether cricket or Shakespeare, whether as actors or spectators has been steadily reduced by a succession of proclamations.”⁹

The attitude of the parliamentary opposition was to point to the lack of recreational facilities for urban Blacks, deplore the effect of this on social conditions, and highlight its political dangers. In May 1957, Colonel O. L. Shearer, MP for Pietermaritzburg City, told the House of Assembly that “the Natives ... definitely do not have the recreational facilities which they should.” This led to crime, juvenile delinquency and inebriation, and an outlet was needed for bottled-up energies. Shearer reminded Parliament that the second recommendation of the 1929 de Waal Commission was organised recreation; and quoted the comments of Mr Justice Caney in an undated case in which he linked excessive drinking at Cato Manor to violence and a lack of constructive recreation.¹⁰ The response of Prime Minister and Minister of Native Affairs Hendrik Verwoerd was that each township had its sports grounds, parks and community centres in the long-term plan and that it was the duty of local authorities to finance these.¹¹

During the 1950s, the authorities drew up a blueprint for the ideal township which included recreational facilities in the form of a stadium for cricket, athletics, cycling and rugby; and, significantly, a tribal dancing area. Such developments were to depend upon the strength of the native beer account and demands made by other social amenities.¹² The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) reported in 1952 that “recreational facilities for Non-Europeans, particularly in urban areas, are pitifully inadequate”, but added optimistically a year later that “it is encouraging to know that authorities and members of the public alike are increasingly appreciating that healthy outlets for energies are essential.”¹³ It became an article of faith in local government, business and voluntary circles that improved recreational facilities were needed by Blacks. Calderwood advocated multi-purpose school playing fields intended for wider community use. He published figures suggesting that

⁸ McFarland, N. *The expulsion of South Africa from the IOC in 1970* (Pretoria: UNISA, 1992), p.50; Lapchick, R.E. *The politics of race and international sport: the case of South Africa* (Denver: University of Denver, 1973), p.79.

⁹ Davenport, R. African townsmen?: South African natives (urban areas) legislation through the years. *African affairs* 68, 1969, p.104.

¹⁰ *DHA* 95, 24 May 1957, cols.6742-6743.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Mathewson, J.E. *The establishment of an urban bantu township* (Pretoria: van Schaik, 1957), pp.92-93.

¹³ *SRR* 1951-52, p.75; 1952-53, p.99.

recreation grounds and parks should be designed to provide one acre for every 800 and 1 000 African township dwellers respectively.¹⁴

In Pietermaritzburg there was a great deal of municipal self congratulation about the socio-cultural condition of Africans. This included the issue of recreation and manifested itself most obviously at annual sports jamborees and other celebrations, held well into the 1950s. In 1950 the municipal authorities noted that the behaviour of the Natives “had been exceptionally good” and attributed this not only to tighter administrative controls over labour through influx control that prevented the “drift” of Africans; but also to the fact that “sport and other social amenities are encouraged amongst the Natives during their leisure hours.”¹⁵ On 7 August 1950, for instance, all-day sports had been held at the Tatham ground. In the words of the Native Affairs Department (NAD) Manager, “the Sobantu Village Advisory Board took charge ... and the events were very well controlled. All the preliminary work was carried out by this Department, and excepting for the lunch break two European members of my staff were on duty at the grounds. There was a large attendance and the meeting was an unqualified success.”¹⁶ By way of contrast, the African National Congress, Natal Indian Congress and Communist Party of South Africa had received little support for a stayaway call on 26 June 1950 and the official view was that the “Natives of Pietermaritzburg showed very good sense.”¹⁷ As far as labour administration was concerned all service contracts were liable to renewal and monthly regulation: “the new system is proving to be a great success ... improving control over Natives by eliminating the loafer element.”¹⁸ It also increased revenue and reduced crime. The same sentiments were echoed the following year: behaviour was described as “exemplary”, with no “instances of racial disharmony.”¹⁹ This was directly linked to the provision of “wholesome recreation for the Natives during their leisure hours.” Football, boxing, tennis, table tennis and films were listed, while “for the raw type of native war-dancing is encouraged.”²⁰ A constant stream of visitors was shown around

¹⁴ Calderwood, D.M. *Native housing in South Africa* (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1953), p.71.

¹⁵ *CYB* 1950, pp. 24-25.

¹⁶ Manager, NAD to TC, 16 Aug 1950 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 353, file 197/10 (Annual sports at Fitzsimmons Road grounds).

¹⁷ *CYB* 1950, p.91. This view was not universally held: G.F. Khumalo of the Sobantu Village Advisory Board regarded the sports day as a flop and urged its replacement by football contests between the two controlling associations (Minutes of the Sobantu Advisory Board, 16 Aug 1950 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 354, file 198/3 (Sobantu Village Advisory Board - minutes of monthly meetings)).

¹⁸ *CYB* 1950, p.95.

¹⁹ *CYB* 1951, pp.26, 79.

²⁰ *CYB* 1952, p.29.

Sobantu, including the Minister of Native Affairs Hendrik Verwoerd in October 1951.²¹

In official eyes Pietermaritzburg's African population was contented because it was treated fairly. At the time of the Defiance Campaign, the Council was keen to "give its full support to sport to entertain the Natives in their leisure hours, and so keep them drifting to political meetings."²² Nonetheless, there was a particular fear of educated Africans:

Although the behaviour of the Natives in the City has been excellent one can sense a strained atmosphere, particularly among the educated and semi-educated group of Natives who have of late taken to reading both European and Native papers avidly.²³

By 1953 the official view was slightly less confident, possibly because there had been tension about the payment of economic rents at Sobantu. However, in the opinion of D.N. Bang, Manager of the NAD, good relations were restored, in part through funds provided to celebrate the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. This involved all-day children's sports and a five-a-side football tournament at Fitzsimmons, together with baseball and senior athletics, attracting thousands of spectators. The following year it was felt that the "loyalty of the Natives was secured."²⁴

In January 1953 the Native Services Levy was introduced and this depressed the number of jobs available.²⁵ On 7 July 1954 the *dompas* (pass book - 30-40 000 were expected to be issued²⁶) was introduced to Pietermaritzburg accompanied by the optimistic official view that, "these reference books appear to be very popular with the Natives."²⁷ As far as the overall economic situation was concerned, the Manager of the NAD "was not aware of any serious incidence of juvenile unemployment in the City. There were however a few juveniles who could be classified as loafers and unable to hold down any job: what those juveniles primarily needed was training and discipline"²⁸; and he recommended a social worker. A year later it was felt that, "the general behaviour of the Natives in the City has been excellent, in spite of the stricter enforcement of the labour bureau regulations and influx control."²⁹

²¹ *CYB* 1952, p.31.

²² *CYB* 1952, p.92.

²³ Native Affairs Department report *CYB* 1956, p.74.

²⁴ *CYB* 1954, p.40.

²⁵ Bloch, R. and Wilkinson, P. Urban control and popular struggle. *Africa perspective* 20 (1982), p.25. This was in terms of the Act of 1952.

²⁶ *NW* 1 July 1954, p.5. *CYB* 1954, p.41.

²⁷ *CYB* 1954, p.94.

²⁸ Native Administration, Etc. Comm, 24 May 1954 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 658, file 199/104 (Sobantu Village: social welfare).

²⁹ *CYB* 1955, p.87.

Brookes protested in December 1954 about the increasing level of harassment of Africans, in particular an incident in which 80 people were arrested for playing musical instruments and fined 10/- each.³⁰

The Corporation's view was that it listened sympathetically to reasonable requests, that Africans needed to avoid "rashness", and that White employers were treating their labour with more consideration. This was perhaps justified by the fact that Pietermaritzburg was quiet during the strikes and boycotts of April 1958, although interference from Pretoria was imminent and it was felt that night schools for Africans in the city centre, of which there were five or six in the late 1950s, would not be allowed to operate much longer.³¹ Growing unemployment amongst educated and semi-skilled Africans, including teachers, and the further tightening of influx control regulations did not bode well. By 1959 a potato boycott had taken hold and officials admitted that Africans were suffering from a range of serious grievances: lack of housing, labour regulations, low wages, unemployment, passes for women, increased taxes, and the banning of Chief Albert Luthuli.³²

AFRICAN FACILITIES AND SPORTS ORGANISATION

At the beginning of the 1950s Sobantu possessed two tennis courts and a paddling pool in addition to the temporary sports field. A swimming pool had been planned as long ago as 1946, but disallowed in terms of housing loan regulations. Its size would therefore "have to be determined more in terms of cost than in relation to the population" and a figure of £7 000 was suggested in 1956, "if Native labour is utilised on the majority of the work."³³ Although a new township at Slangspruit was merely in the survey stage in 1959, Rotary had already indicated an interest in sponsoring a swimming pool.³⁴ The Tatham Ground in Fitzsimmons Road (an area considered Coloured, even though the memorial pavilion had been funded with African recreation in mind)³⁵, the Berg Street Recreation Ground (tennis) and Maqeleni ground, both taken over from the Coloured community in 1952, were

³⁰ E.H. Brookes to P. Reid, 14 Dec 1954 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 356, file 199/5/40 (Rowdyism by natives). Brookes continued, "I presume that the whole Caledonian Pipe Band can be taken into custody if the Police so desire." He referred to Zulu custom and "ham-handed policemen", which he presciently linked to the country "getting closer and closer to a police state."

³¹ *CYB* 1958, p.91.

³² *CYB* 1959, p.126.

³³ CE to Manager, NAD, 18 Dec 1956 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/808, file 299/204 (Suggested swimming bath at Sobantu Village and Slangspruit).

³⁴ Native Administration, Etc. Comm, 19 Mar 1959 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/808, file 299/204 (Suggested swimming bath at Sobantu Village and Slangspruit).

³⁵ Manager, NAD to TC, 7 July 1953 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/210, file 242/2 (Fitzsimmons Road Sports Ground).

important toeholds on central urban space. Inevitably the uncertainties surrounding the Group Areas Act (GAA) inhibited development of facilities both at Sobantu and elsewhere. Boxing took place at the Berg Street Beer Hall where film shows were also highly popular, tribal dancing displays were put on at the Showgrounds, and the polo grounds were even made available for motorcycle racing. By 1958 the mayor was able to express the view that "the Natives appear to be satisfactorily catered for during their leisure time."³⁶ In a bizarre reflection on the times, the Berg Street Beer Hall became a tourist attraction in itself.³⁷ In 1959 the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development wrote to all local authorities stressing the importance of providing recreational facilities "to ensure a healthy and contented community." His requirements were that their users should be members of African-run sports bodies and that "sports grounds ... must be situated within Bantu residential areas."³⁸ In August 1958 Wadley Stadium (named after the first chair of the Local Health Committee) was opened in the Edendale Valley for football and school sport. It was walled, which made possible the charging of a gate, and was described in the *Natal Witness* as contributing to "a great improvement in the life of Edendale."³⁹

Two particular examples illustrate the impermanence of African recreational facilities in White areas of Pietermaritzburg. In October 1950, South African Railways gave six months notice to vacate the Edendale Road Native Sports Ground (NSG) as the land was required for use by its workers.⁴⁰ The NAD Manager responded by expressing the view that "it is essential to have some form of recreation ground for Natives in this part of the City."⁴¹ With the lease, which had been in operation since 1933, terminating on 31 March 1951 a new ground was suggested "below the railway compound", but the only suitable land was occupied by the Esther Payne Smith Indian School, which was happy to enter into an exchange. The Native Administration Committee of the City Council recommended £15 for levelling and £100 for fencing so that gates could be taken, but the project was then questioned in terms

³⁶ *CYB* 1958, p.24.

³⁷ *CYB* 1956, p.78.

³⁸ Sec for Bantu Administration and Development document, 18 Nov 1959 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/551, file 199/215 (Recreational facilities for the Bantu in urban residential areas). But the marginal status of Africans regarding sport is indicated by a contemporary text on the history of Natal sport in which there are but three references to Blacks: a caption to a picture of horse racing reads "notice the boys at the heads of several of the horses." (Cox, L. (ed.). *Fifty years of sport in Natal* (Durban: Roberts for Durban City Memorial Club, [195-]), p.10).

³⁹ *NW* 18 Aug 1958, p.7.

⁴⁰ *CYB* 1951, p.79. Systems Manager, SAR&H to TC, 19 Sep 1950 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 622, file 242/103 (Lease of Native Sports Ground from SAR&H Edendale Road).

⁴¹ Manager, NAD to TC, 23 Oct 1950 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 622, file 242/103 (Lease of Native Sports Ground from SAR&H Edendale Road).

of the 1946 Asiatic Land Tenure (Ghetto) Act.⁴² Legal advice argued that the proposed NSG was not covered by this legislation and that a government-aided Asian school playground on church land could not be considered occupation in terms of the GAA, presaging arguments to come over many years ahead. The GAA was described as a "constant head-ache" and the Committee decisively recommended going ahead and "have other people dig up trouble if so inclined."⁴³ At the small Berg Street Recreation Ground problems arose for different reasons - mainly municipal neglect coupled with local hostility. In April 1955 a long-standing resident of 446 Boom Street complained about "hooligans and kitchen boys" drinking in and littering the area and threatening local inhabitants. The overflow of activity onto the pavement, he felt, required "two native policemen with a European on Sundays." A further letter asked for a higher fence and complained about Africans urinating against walls, "with much disrespect."⁴⁴ While extra policing was accepted by the authorities, the improvement of facilities was shelved because of uncertainty created by the GAA. These nuisances were admitted by the NAD Manager, but the NRG, bounded by Retief, Berg and Boom Streets, was the only proclaimed African area in the city.⁴⁵ As a result there was a bizarre debate about the source of funding for lavatories: whether it should be the Native Revenue Account, since they would be situated in a proclaimed area; or the City Fund Account, as they would probably be used by non-African Blacks. Provision was ultimately made in the 1956-57 capital estimates.⁴⁶

Football administration remained divided between the African Football Association (AFA) at Edendale Road NSG and the Bantu Football Association (BFA) at the Tatham and Maqeleni grounds. The Governor General's Silver Jubilee Shield, now under the control of the City Council, was won in 1950-51 by Shamrocks of the BFA. Meanwhile the controlling body of the AFA remained in turmoil in spite of attempts at reconciliation. The Gwala/Mazibuko faction was in control in 1950, although this was contested. The aims of the faction were described as "the winning of National freedom for the African people and the inauguration of a people's free society where racial oppression and persecution

⁴² Native Administration Comm, 26 Oct 1950 and 16 Feb 1951 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 622, file 242/103 (Lease of Native Sports Ground from SAR&H Edendale Road).

⁴³ EM to TC, 20 Mar 1951 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 622, file 242/103 (Lease of Native Sports Ground from SAR&H Edendale Road).

⁴⁴ V.C. James to TC, 4 and 11 Apr 1955 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/133, file 242/8 (Retief Street Native Recreation Ground). The complaint was repeated in 1956 with the added problem that urination against the fence showed "little or no respect for our women folk who sit on that side of our home." Noise and litter were particular problems, especially late on Sunday afternoons (V.C. James to TC, 16 Jan 1956 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/133, file 242/8 (Retief Street Native Recreation Ground)).

⁴⁵ Manager, NAD to TC, 20 Apr 1955 and 9 Feb 1956 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/133, file 242/8 (Retief Street Native Recreation Ground).

⁴⁶ Native Administration Comm, 22 and 26 Apr 1955 and 20 Feb and 18 Apr 1956; CT to TC, 14 Mar 1956 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/133, file 242/8 (Retief Street Native Recreation Ground).

will be outlawed and the African freed from white domination.”⁴⁷ In 1950 the municipality took over maintenance at Edendale Road. In mid-year, as a result of an open AGM, it would appear that the Gwala/Mazibuko group had taken legitimate control, was recognised by the Natal African Football Association (NAFA), and was asking for its grounds back. The Manager of the NAD was unhappy about this situation, however, arguing that the City Council had never recognised Gwala (now apparently living in Durban and publicly identifying himself as the local Communist Party secretary) or the remit of the NAFA or South African African Football Association (SAAFA) where the use of local grounds was concerned. The Council had rightly awarded the ground to the loyal section which had, he believed, more than double the number of clubs as Gwala’s group (seven opposed to three). The NAD Manager suggested an alternative: election of new office bearers under the authority of the Mayor, an extraordinarily paternalistic idea for an independent sports body and indicative of the timbre of the times.⁴⁸ The case against Gwala was tightened by the NAD Manager: “according to my records Gwala has no authority to be in this City. If he is not a Native citizen of this City, it is submitted that he has no *locus standi* to represent local natives.”⁴⁹ Both factions argued for return of the ground, possibly because clubs were defecting to Gwala’s group. The NAD somewhat inconsistently argued that it was not interested in groups but only in the Association, whose rights over space existed at the pleasure of the Council; but it did admit that Gwala had rights of exemption dating back to 1945 as a trade union organizer, and could not be ordered out of the city.⁵⁰ The situation remained unresolved at the end of the 1950-51 season.

The Governor-General’s Shield competition for 1951 was not completed until 1952 for reasons that obliquely implicated the AFA: “this association will always cause trouble while it has Gwala as a Secretary, and, as I have grave doubts as to whether it is a fit and proper association to compete in this competition, I am making further inquiries. The Bantu Football Association is very well run, and controls the vast majority of clubs, and it too has given up all hope of ever being able to work with the African Association.”⁵¹ The competition, it was argued by the NAD Manager, needed a proper board of

⁴⁷ Manager, NAD to TC, 16 Mar 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/140, file 242/3 (Edendale Road Native Sports Ground).

⁴⁸ Native Administration, Etc. Comm, 15 May 1950; J.D. Stalker (lawyer) to Manager, NAD, 10 May 1950; H.M. Molife, Sec, NAFA to TC, 13 May 1950; Notes on a meeting between the Manager, NAD and the Native Administration Comm, 7 June 1950; O.A. Nkwanyana, Assistant Secretary, NAFA to TC, 8 June 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/140, file 242/3 (Edendale Road Native Sports Ground).

⁴⁹ Manager, NAD to TC, 15 May 1950; Native Administration, Etc. Comm, 15 May 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/140, file 242/3 (Edendale Road Native Sports Ground).

⁵⁰ Manager, NAD to TC, 15 June 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/140, file 242/3 (Edendale Road Native Sports Ground).

⁵¹ Manager, NAD to TC, 22 Mar 1952 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 356-7, file 199/14 (Governor-General’s Shield: native football clubs).

control and more stringent rules. The BFA with 45 clubs as opposed to the AFA's 11 was consistently complimented by the Manager, who complained that the AFA under Gwala rendered "never a word of appreciation."⁵² When the 1951 competition was concluded it was boycotted by AFA officials as its representative, Shooting Stars (which lost 4-1 to Shamrocks of the BFA) had defected. Each would normally have received 42.5% of the takings, but it was even suggested that BFA should get 85%, as it had "over the past seven years proved most co-operative and sound."⁵³ The NAD Manager was unimpressed by an AFA financial statement for 1951, suggesting that "an accurate statement will prove both interesting and illuminating." He limited AFA access to facilities to Sobantu only until adequate administration could be proven.⁵⁴

In 1952 the Coloured Sports Ground in East Street (Maqeleni) was transferred to African use and was maintained by the NAD with help from the hostel superintendent.⁵⁵ The NAD Manager continued to make his views clear: "football is such a popular game with the Natives, and as it keeps so many Natives off the streets on Saturday afternoons and public holidays it is felt that this department should encourage the game by meeting the expenditure of maintaining the grounds."⁵⁶ As the AFA "has shown that it is unable to run its financial affairs satisfactorily", the ground was leased to the "business-like" BFA at £1 per month, subject to limited access by the nearby hostel.⁵⁷ The less palatable side of the game was reflected in some remarkable disciplinary cases: a Naughty Boys player had stabbed a spectator; a linesman from Shamrocks had knifed a player from Zebras; and a Railway Eagles player had sjambokked a referee from Crocodiles. The penalties were expulsion in the first two cases and a fine of ten guineas in the third. The BFA thanked the City Council for "providing the African people with such magnificent recreation grounds, centrally situated and within easy reach of

⁵² Manager, NAD to TC, 24 Mar 1952 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 356-7, file 199/14 (Governor-General's Shield: native football clubs).

⁵³ Manager, NAD to TC, 12 Aug 1952 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 356-7, file 199/14 (Governor-General's Shield: native football clubs).

⁵⁴ Manager, NAD to TC, 13 Nov 1952 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 356-7, file 199/14 (Governor-General's Shield: native football clubs).

⁵⁵ Native Administration Comm, 28 Apr 1952 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 623, file 242/115 (East Street Native Sports Grounds).

⁵⁶ Manager, NAD to TC, 28 Apr 1952 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 623, file 242/115 (East Street Native Sports Grounds).

⁵⁷ Native Administration Comm, 16 Mar 1953; Manager, NAD to TC, 14 Mar 1953 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 623, file 242/115 (East Street Native Sports Grounds). In 1953 the BFA had 31 affiliated clubs, 50 teams and 763 registered players, some of them from as far away as Himeville, Ladysmith and Richmond (the Red Army FC) but most of them representing areas of Pietermaritzburg: Hollingwood (Kangaroos), Purification Water Works (Naughty Boys), New Scotland (Royal Engineers), Ockert's Kraal (United Tigers), Retief Street (Unities), or businesses such as Oxenham's Bakery or Reid's cabinet works.

transport.” There is also reference to the use of grounds at Fort Napier and Coronation Brick Works.⁵⁸

In the meantime the NAD had withheld from the AFA takings from the Governor-General’s Shield Competition because its finances were in such poor shape. Co-operation would be dependent upon presentation of an audited balance sheet. The deficit, in the eyes of the NAD, was caused by “frivolous litigation” and “questionable refunds.”⁵⁹ The Native Administration Committee argued that “it was absurd for the City Council to pay out monies which did not directly go towards the advancing of sport.”⁶⁰ In 1954 the AFA “again experienced a turbulent year involving civil and criminal actions instigated by the machinations of the recalcitrant element”, which had apparently exhausted the patience of NAFA, and the Native Administration Committee demanded evidence that it could run itself properly for a year.⁶¹ By 1956 this seems to have been provided and the NAFA recognised both Pietermaritzburg associations, although the City Council remained highly suspicious of the AFA: “knowing the men who are actually supporting this group, though they are not listed amongst the office bearers, it is recommended that caution be exercised.”⁶² This was demonstrated when the AFA asked for use of the Maqeleni ground, a request that dated back to 1952, and the City Council asked NAFA for references.⁶³ The 1956 AFA annual report thanks the NAD Manager for access to grounds, but in 1957 this was restricted to facilities at Sobantu.⁶⁴ The significance of football is captured by Alegi: “football was a meaningful counterpoint to the destruction and pain experienced with the onset of ‘petty apartheid’.” It played a consolatory role, but this was not limited to escapism alone as it conferred identity through a combination of popular culture and political resistance.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ MBFA *Annual report and financial statement*, 28, 1953 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 623, file 242/115 (East Street Native Sports Grounds).

⁵⁹ Manager, NAD to TC, 13 Nov 1952 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 658, file 199/109 (African Football Association: application for grant and playing facilities). *CYB* 1953, p.30.

⁶⁰ Native Administration, Etc. Comm, 14 Nov 1952 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 658, file 199/109 (African Football Association: application for grant and playing facilities).

⁶¹ Manager, NAD to TC, 23 Mar 1954; Native Administration, Etc. Comm, 25 Mar 1954 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 658, file 199/109 (African Football Association: application for grant and playing facilities).

⁶² Manager, NAD to TC, 6 June 1956 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 658, file 199/109 (African Football Association: application for grant and playing facilities).

⁶³ Native Administration, Etc. Comm, 8 June 1956 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 658, file 199/109 (African Football Association: application for grant and playing facilities).

⁶⁴ Manager, NAD to TC, 13 Mar 1957; AFA *Secretary’s report* 1956 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 658, file 199/109 (African Football Association: application for grant and playing facilities).

⁶⁵ Alegi, P. Amathe nolimi (it is saliva and the tongue): contracts of joy in South African football, c.1940-76. *International journal of the history of sport* 17(4) 2000, pp.9-10, 16-17.

AFRICANS IN WHITE SUBURBS

In spite of the growth of Sobantu and the capacity of the hostels, six out of every ten Africans in Pietermaritzburg continued to reside on private property.⁶⁶ The situation in the suburbs caused a long-running and disputatious debate during the early 1950s, a situation analogous to that in Johannesburg of which Christopher Hope, in a semi-autobiographical account of the 'servant problem' in the fictional suburb of Badminton, wrote of a discussion between his parents:

Quite enough of that sort of thing went on already. Putting on their Sunday best and walking up and down as if they own the place. 'Have you noticed that it's on the increase, Gordon?' 'Not really', said my father. 'You can't move for them on their days off', said my mother.⁶⁷

In Pietermaritzburg the chair of the Wembley District Ratepayers Association (WDRA), Lieutenant J.M.L. Fulford, encapsulated the pragmatic control approach to Black recreation when he argued for a ten acre sports ground at the entrance to Montgomery Drive. He felt that it was difficult to attract servants to an area lacking recreational facilities, arguing that "disease, drunkenness, immorality and discontent is preparing a rich harvest for communism ... Europeans have clubs of all kinds and my committee would urge that the City Council develop sports grounds for Natives ... A strong, healthy, satisfied Native population should be one of our greatest assets."⁶⁸ In a joint submission with the secretary of the Town Hill Suburbs Rate-Payers' Association, Fulford stressed the need for a Native recreation facility so that White areas would not be used, and before there were too many residents to object. He wished to avoid loitering in bus shelters and potential crime, but interestingly felt that an African recreation ground would act as an incentive to work in the area.⁶⁹ The City Engineer agreed with this pragmatic approach, but worried that the "problem of locating [facilities] satisfactorily appears almost insuperable." He also agreed that African workers "spoiled" White areas and lingered in unsuitable places, such as bus stops and shops. The idea of separate facilities he saw as the answer to the preservation of White assets and their location on the outskirts of new development seemed to him ideal. He was concerned about the detrimental effects on further development and saw spatial buffers and screens of trees as the answer, but with a sense of realism commented that "non-European

⁶⁶ CYB 1959, p.121.

⁶⁷ Hope, C. *The love songs of Nathan J. Swirsky* (London: Macmillan, 1993), p.113.

⁶⁸ J.M.L. Fulford, chair Wembley Ratepayers Association to Planning Officer, 7 Feb 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁶⁹ Fulford and the Sec of the Town Hill Suburbs Ratepayers Association to the Planning Officer, 7 Feb 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

recreation areas are bound to draw criticism wherever they are located.”⁷⁰ Various sites were suggested, not only in the northern suburbs but also in Scottsville and in the Camp Drift area.⁷¹

The inevitable adverse public reaction was not long in coming. One member of the public writing to the Mayor about the proposed Ritchie Road site described it as “a calamity for all of us”, and argued that “the Edendale side of Maritzburg is already disfigured by the native location.”⁷² A petition and objection to the same site signed by 39 residents of the Alexandra Road area rejected a Black recreation ground in a White suburb and objected to “this affliction being put upon us”, by calling for a reduction in rates.⁷³ Another resident deplored the potential “attendant noise, litter and general disturbance” and the drop in property values. His view was that it would result in a “breach of faith with the rate-payers” who should be compensated if the recreation ground were constructed.⁷⁴ From the northern suburbs came further opposition. The secretary of the Chase and Town Bush Valleys Civic Association (C&TBVCA) expressed “dismay and incredulousness” at the idea of the Montgomery Drive recreation ground plan: Athlone would be ruined as a residential area and become attractive only to poor Whites. The phrase “breach of faith” was likewise used, but with even more dire consequences: “there will be no peace ... Women-folk (Europeans) will be unable to walk abroad in the neighbourhood at week-ends without a male escort and even then conditions will be such as to discourage this.” The proposed site was described as too good for Africans and too close to Northern Park, a European area.⁷⁵ When the Town Clerk responded that no alternative was on offer, his response was described by the C&TBVCA as “puerile”, together with the advice that the native recreation ground should be situated at the lower end of town near the beerhall, eating houses and shops.⁷⁶ This division of opinion persisted and appears to have encouraged inertia from the Council, although the

⁷⁰ CE to TC, 24 Feb 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁷¹ Housing, Estates and Post War Planning Comm, 28 Apr 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁷² M.E. Brindley-Richards to Mayor, 10 May 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁷³ Petition regarding Ritchie Road, 11 May 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁷⁴ A.A. Moffatt to TC, 12 May 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁷⁵ B.A. Woods, Sec, C&TBVCA, 28 June 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁷⁶ TC to Sec, C&TBVCA, 14 Sep 1950; Secretary, C&TBVCA to TC, 27 Oct 1950 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

Non-European Welfare Committee of Rotary kept the matter alive during 1951.⁷⁷

The issue was revived in 1952 by the national Department of Native Affairs (DNA) which summed up the matter as follows: “the result of this lack of facilities for the domestic servant type is that the Natives are very often seen sitting around or loitering in the public streets on Saturday afternoons, Sundays and every evening of the week.” They could be kept off streets by “properly controlled places of recreation ... It is however fully realised that in the practical application of such a scheme great difficulties will be encountered in the finding of suitable sites and that in most instances there will be strenuous objections from neighbouring European householders.”⁷⁸ A further communication the following year from the DNA argued that amenities should be close to places of employment or residence in order to be well patronised.⁷⁹ The NAD Manager commented that “complaints are continually coming in that Natives loiter about the pavements in their spare time causing irritation to residents”, but recognised that “it is only on the pavement that they can meet.” He continued that “all they need is an open space, which is well-lighted at night, where they can meet, sing and dance, away from the immediate vicinity of European residents.”⁸⁰ The Pietermaritzburg Joint Council of Europeans and Africans (PJCEA) suggested a recreation ground in the middle of the Scottsville Racecourse, and various sites were inspected in October 1953.⁸¹

The NAD Manager became more specific in his recommendations towards the end of 1953: “what is so badly needed is not expansive playing grounds but small meeting places, and these should be prepared without any publicity. Their convenient situation will soon attract the Natives and keep them occupied and off the streets ... To start any large-scale development will only court publicity and disaster.” He went onto comment, “I see that large numbers of Natives congregate for ngoma dancing and boxing on an opening near the bus sheds on Sunday afternoons.” In his opinion, “if one could start in a small way on the above sites, a very great need will have been met.” However, the matter of Black

⁷⁷ D.Craib, Sec, NEWC of Rotary to TC, 30 Apr 1951 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁷⁸ Sec, DNA to TC, 6 Sep 1952 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁷⁹ Manager, NAD to TC, 26 Feb 1953 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas). By May 1953 the City Engineer had settled on four possible sites at Montgomery Drive, the quarry in Roberts Rd, New England Rd extension and Ritchie Rd railway loop, the last two being 25 acres in size. The NAD Manager in Pietermaritzburg responded by listing five, the old Coloured sports ground at Maqeleni, Edendale Rd near the gaol, the Durban and Leinster Roads intersection, Howick Rd below Lexden Scout Camp, and New England Rd.

⁸⁰ CE to TC, 25 May 1953; Manager, NAD to TC, 18 June 1953 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁸¹ Edgar Brookes, chair PJCEA to TC, 17 Aug 1953 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

recreational and social amenities in White areas was now receiving serious attention at national level and awaiting policy formulation.⁸²

In December 1953, the City Council named Havelock, Howick and Lindup Roads as sites for recreational development, which elicited standard objections from residents and led to the Lindup Road facility being put on hold for a year.⁸³ Howick Road was seen by the Manager of the NAD as a place for dancing and singing: "for various reasons it can only be an interim measure and there is no intention to develop the spot into a proper recreation ground."⁸⁴ In mid-1954 Colonel Fulford was again reminding the Council of the need for a sports ground in the Wembley area to which he received a reply of regret couched in terms of restrictions placed by the GAA.⁸⁵ Central government policy was rejected in some quarters. The Scottsville Burgesses Association (SBA) in September 1954 felt that racial harmony and local law and order were more important and therefore supported "some" recreational facilities.⁸⁶ Individuals (described by Fulford as "a few selfish householders"⁸⁷) nevertheless continued to object. V. Rubelli of 9 Old Howick Road complained about the playing of football by "strange natives" and the noise of spectators: "these natives had congregated from who knows where ... I do not have to remind you that the native is not the quietest individual in the world." Rubelli also commented on the noise of dancing at the corner of Montgomery Drive and Howick Road each night until 10pm.⁸⁸

The solution of the Manager of the NAD to this impasse was to suggest use of the old prisoner of war camp grounds on the road to Durban, "away from built-up European areas" and expected to be free of development for years.⁸⁹ But the Native Commissioner, Pietermaritzburg, responded to the motion of the SBA in conclusive manner: "the establishment of recreation grounds for Natives in

⁸² Manager, NAD to TC, 5 Nov 1953 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas). He recommended three sites in Scottsville, one on Edendale Road opposite the Indian school, one at Town Hill near Lexden Circle, and another at Havelock Road.

⁸³ Native Administration, Etc. Comm, 17 Dec 1953; Petition to TC regarding the Lindup Road native recreation ground, 8 Jan 1954 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁸⁴ Manager, NAD to TC, 26 Feb 1954 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁸⁵ Fulford to TC, 1 Apr 1954; TC to WDRA, 1 May 1954 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁸⁶ Motion accepted by a general meeting of the SBA in Sep 1954 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁸⁷ Fulford to TC, 31 Oct 1954 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁸⁸ V. Rubelli, 27 Oct 1954 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁸⁹ Manager, NAD to TC, 11 Nov 1954 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

European areas, particularly in European residential areas, is against the policy of the department which considers that such facilities, save in exceptional circumstances, should be provided only in the Urban location.⁹⁰ As far as Black workers were concerned, the POW camp site was unacceptably far away from Scottsville for them to get back to work for afternoon and evening duties at weekends.⁹¹ By May 1955, the chair of the SBA was referring to unnamed events that could befall “Natives who have nothing else to do but walk the streets ... [in] ... their leisure hours”, and suggested a site at Woodburn.⁹² This was supported in mid-1956 by the Manager of the NAD “as the Scottsville houseboys have no place where they can meet for singing and dancing, or even for the purpose of kicking a football about”, and for a short while a temporary facility was provided. He was, however, opposed to any such facility for organised sport. Although authorised to clear the necessary ground, he took no action for fear of being surcharged.⁹³

FINANCING OF AFRICAN RECREATION

Table 25: Profit from the sale of kafir beer and expenditure on African recreation, 1950-1959 (£)

	Profit	Expenditure on recreation
1950	5 331	536
1951	2 218	413
1952	2 695	624
1953	9 330	1 040
1954	21 354	—
1955	28 069	1 775
1956	29 849	1 725
1957	26 106	1 997
1958	22 264	2 336
1959	22 328	2 397

Average profit = 16 936 or 36.7% of turnover. Average expenditure on recreation = 1 427.

In 1951 the Native Welfare Account deficit of £3 251 was liquidated from the City Fund Account but it immediately went into the red again. By 1950 the brewery was in a poor state of repair

⁹⁰ Native Commissioner, Pietermaritzburg to TC, 22 Nov 1954 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁹¹ Manager, NAD to TC, 21 Mar 1955 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁹² Elved Wright, chair SBA to TC, 18 May 1955 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

⁹³ Manager, NAD to CE, 15 Aug 1956 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/137, file 242/17 (Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas).

and a new facility was opened in Ortman Road in November 1952, which resulted in a higher quality product even though input costs were rising. The municipality acknowledged that the situation at the beer halls required “very tactful handling to avoid incidents.”⁹⁴ The African Recreation Centre at Matsheni, it was noted, was “run in a most orderly fashion” and provided “wholesome in-door recreation for the Natives in their leisure hours.”⁹⁵ In 1953 the Kafir Beer Account’s (KBA) income was £36 107, but a major increase in consumption the next year raised this to £51 277. In this context expenditure on recreational facilities was minuscule (*see* table 25). When the brewery boiler broke down in 1955 the municipality noted that “the Natives behaved well and did not take unkindly to going on half rations for a few weeks.”⁹⁶ Revenue dropped slightly in 1957 from the 1956 high of £71 054 and the municipality expressed its concern. Part of the reason for the decline was probably a poor product resulting from low quality malt, and this was reflected by complaints. But residents of Sobantu were at this stage paying as much as 33-50% of their income on rent and this may have been a reason for erratic beer sales. Annual turnover was worth about £65 000 and the KBA enjoyed a healthy surplus.

SUMMARY

While it might be persuasively argued that the GAA simply codified existing social practice, its effect on sport and recreation, as on other areas of life, was profound. First, it was rigid, comprehensive and far-reaching. Second, its possible geographic consequences rapidly became the object of speculation (various possibilities were documented cartographically with great speed) and, although none of this became effective in Pietermaritzburg during the 1950s, the resultant atmosphere had the effect of paralysing planning, development and investment. Only one White recreational facility was under any threat and consequently this community’s sport was able to flourish unhindered. The GAA signalled unprecedented interference of the state in civic life and in ways that would criminalise activities considered mundane in democratic societies. The link between sport and politics, and ethnicity in particular, was illustrated by a 1958 court case in which the successful claim of a person to be White was supported by eleven factors, amongst which was acceptance in the White enclosure at sporting events.⁹⁷ The effects upon recreation would become, in time, categorised as ‘petty’ apartheid, although

⁹⁴ *CYB* 1953, p.74.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.77.

⁹⁶ *CYB* 1955, p.90.

⁹⁷ Rousseau, F.P. *Handbook on the Group Areas Act (Act no.77 of 1957)* (Cape Town: Juta, 1960), p.17. The case was *R. v Nicholas* reported in *South African law reports* 1958 (3), pp.761-766.

this devalues sport's role in the grand plan. But, as this thesis will show in later chapters, recreation was to be the Achilles heel of apartheid, mainly because it became virtually impossible to define satisfactorily what was meant by the occupation of land. This was to haunt sport for thirty years.

During the 1950s Pietermaritzburg, unacknowledged at the time but illustrated by the figures in table 19, became an important Asian city, ironic in view of the anti-Asian legislation that had characterised the previous decade. Coupled with the GAA this put the Asian community on a collision course with the municipality, which responded with a far higher level of funding for recreation than had previously been the case. Nevertheless, the relative deprivation of the Asian and Coloured communities is shown by comparing attitudes towards White visiting teams and the Kenya Asian cricketers; and looking at the issue of non-White swimming facilities. The Coloured community had two grounds transferred to African use and the Indian Sports Ground was encroached upon by road and industrial development. Chatterton Road and Camp Drift had no permanent structures, were maintained at a minimal level and had no occupational security, although the grant situation did improve. The spectre of peripheral township development and its implications hovered over the Coloured and Asian communities throughout the decade.

For Africans the state of uncertainty was far more serious with Sobantu's development not simply frozen, but the entire community under threat of removal. This was an instance where the ambitions of central government and the desires of the municipality were at their most distant, since the latter was seriously considering leasehold rights for Sobantu residents. Infrastructural shortcomings in respect of recreation were compounded by short average life-spans and major health problems.

While the African population acquired two grounds in Pietermaritzburg and thus a toehold on central urban space, this may be traced to an increasingly instrumental view of sport held by municipal officials, politicians and White ratepayers. Recreation and labour matters went hand in hand as a political issue. Nowhere was it suggested that, Sobantu apart, Africans had a fundamental right to recreational facilities. The more sophisticated argued that sports grounds would improve the health of the labour force, and keep it out of trouble and off the streets. The more robust demanded that whatever was provided for African workers should be situated as far away from White suburbs as possible. In the case of Sobantu, although a large income and profit was derived from the monopoly sale of beer, little was spent on recreation.

Standard municipal perceptions of Africans are clearly revealed in comments about behaviour

related to sport and recreation. Furthermore, the history of football administration continued to provide evidence of White attitudes. Although the BFA found favour with the municipality, both it and the AFA, to varying degrees, used the sport to vent their frustration at general disempowerment and employ it, as far as possible, for political purposes. The official response was predictably one of paternalism and intervention according to circumstance.

But to Whites in general, Black sport was invisible. As the Natal Regional Survey laconically observed in the early 1950s, “there is much Indian sport ... [i]nternational sporting events have their Indian following but their interest, so far, is merely that of spectators.”⁹⁸ The White attitude to inter-ethnic sport was at the same time disparaging and fearful, citing a high risk of inter-communal violence, although the only evidence of conflict came from within football played amongst Africans.

The White perception of non-racialists in sport was parodied by the South African Soccer Federation (SASF) as follows. Segregation was natural and customary, but Whites were more than willing to help Blacks through official affiliation processes, which the latter opposed. Exclusion of Blacks, who were notoriously divided, was due to low standards, which were also reflected in poor and inefficient administration. Mixing was increasingly against laws designed to prevent friction and even bloodshed. Above all, the non-racial bodies were politically motivated and run by groups of trouble makers.⁹⁹ This attitude was typical of the White press, which stereotyped non-racial sportspersons as political agitators: in this way Whites dominated and monopolised the definition of South African sport. Acceptance of the South African status quo was, perversely, labelled non-political.¹⁰⁰ The poet and sports administrator Dennis Brutus characterised this as a “menacing South Africa”, in which “you are compelled to be committed, you are involved in a situation so fraught with evil that you are brought into collision with it” in the struggle for human dignity.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Woods, C.A. *The Indian community of Natal: their economic position* (Cape Town: OUP, 1954), p.102.

⁹⁹ Undated SASA document [1959?] in Brutus papers, Borthwick Institute, York.

¹⁰⁰ Brutus, D. Sports test for South Africa. *Africa South* 3(4) 1959, p. 38. Magubane, B. *Sport and politics in an urban African community*, p.236.

¹⁰¹ Brutus, D. Childhood reminiscences in Wastberg, P. (ed.). *The writer in modern Africa* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1968), p.98.

**CHAPTER EIGHT A HARDENING OF THE BOUNDARIES: APARTHEID AND SPORT,
1960-1972: PART 1**

OVERVIEW

Between 1960 and 1972 Pietermaritzburg grew into a modern city, expanding rapidly in terms of economic activity and population. It also became a highly segregated society, an example of the purpose and consequences of apartheid's social engineering. The actual size of the population is a matter of some debate: official census figures clearly under-enumerated the African community and certainly did not reflect the full spatial extent of the borough. Table 26 represents modified official census returns for 1961 (which omitted Raisethorpe) and 1971 (which, according to the Medical Officer of Health, ignored live-in domestic workers); and shows a borough estimate for the year 1965.

Table 26: Pietermaritzburg's population by community grouping, 1960-1972 (%)

	Total	White	Coloured	Asian	African
1961	90 931	41.9	5.0	23.4	29.5
1965	102 190	41.4	5.2	23.7	29.6
1971	125 528	33.8	6.4	26.8	32.8

The importance of these figures rests with the perception within which planners operated: that the White community, although it had not been in a majority for many years, remained the most numerous. This was marginal by the end of this period with industrialisation the cause of a rapid increase in the Asian and African populations. Clearly there were major differences of opinion as to exactly what was meant by Pietermaritzburg. In 1971 the Medical Officer of Health noted quaintly that some suburbs were "outwith" the borough; and ten years earlier he had reflected on the fact that surrounding Local Health Commission areas such as Mount Partridge, Ockert's Kraal and Plessislaer contained 37 662 people, 77.6% of them African.¹

The most important features of the local economy during this period were industrial growth and concomitant development of road and rail transport infrastructure. In 1960 Willowton was ready for development, but beset by "imponderables and vicissitudes" that related to the national economic

¹ *CYB* 1961, p.17; 1965, p.31; 1971, pp. 34, 98.

downturn following the Sharpeville massacre.² Progress was, however, reported by 1961. On the other side of the city there were plans for the Camp Drift (Woods Drive) area that involved relocation of Asian housing and market gardening, and canalisation of the Umsindusi River. Work on the freeway (National Road N3) started in 1962: it was remarkable for the fact that, although an urban by-pass, the topography required it to be routed close to the city centre and it had considerable impact upon the local road and land use systems. Both Willowton and the Asiatic industrial area planned for the Rosedale/Greytown Road area were in effect dependent on the N3 and related railway siding development. The N3 was completed from Athlone to Durban Road in 1965, together with several necessary bridges, and was officially opened on 28 June 1966.

The mid-1960s signalled the beginning of significant industrial and housing expansion. In 1965 a textile mill in the Asian industrial area began production. Willowton estate developed rapidly in the late 1960s specialising in wood, paper, plastics and textiles, with Pfizer establishing a pharmaceuticals factory. Two factories alone each created over 1 000 jobs. The Corporation actively sought new industrial development and the city qualified for Border Industrial Area status in 1963, although some concessions were withdrawn in 1971.³ Expansion and diversification continued until the late 1960s at Willowton, Rosedale, Wiganthorpe and on the southern boundary of Pietermaritzburg at Mkondeni. In general, 1970 may be regarded as the national apotheosis of apartheid, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange crisis of 1969 notwithstanding. Whites enjoyed a notably high standard of living and felt secure, although the sports boycott was about to take effect.⁴ The general election of 1970 was strongly influenced by *rooi gevaar* and an appeal to a common sense of White South African identity.⁵

Nationally this period commenced with severe unrest in the Western Cape, in the Transkei and on the Reef. In Pietermaritzburg there was a significant echo of this political turmoil, which had started in August 1959 with demonstrations by African women at Sutherlands police station, the beerhalls and the East Street Men's Hostel. Patrons of the beerhalls were attacked and the Ortman Road facility was raided. The municipal view was that this "mass out-break ... was inspired by Bantu from outside the city", possibly because of a mis-reading of the fact that large crowds gathered and pamphlets were

² *CYB* 1960, p.60.

³ Wills, T. Segregation, separation and desegregation: Pietermaritzburg since 1910 in Guest, W. and Sellers, J.M. (eds.). *Receded tides of empire: aspects of the economic and social history of Natal and Zululand since 1910* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1994), p.295. The economic health of the city was reflected by a start in 1969 to the development of a modern civic centre, although there was a slowdown in growth in the early 1970s.

⁴ O'Meara, D. *Forty lost years: the apartheid state and the politics of the National Party* (Randburg: Ravan, 1996), p.170.

⁵ Heard, K.A. *General elections in South Africa, 1943-1970* (London: OUP, 1974), p.197.

circulated. All beerhalls were then closed down, but the trouble spread to Sobantu. A curfew was declared and the police were given orders to shoot on sight: in a riot two Africans were killed and the secondary school was destroyed. The official response was to tighten up on rent defaulters and work seekers' permits. In late January 1960, the African National Congress held a series of meetings followed by raids by women on beerhalls and protests against discriminatory law and corporation beer in particular. Reaction in Pietermaritzburg to the national anti-pass campaign and the Sharpeville shootings was muted: in official reports, "the response in this city was negligible."⁶

Pietermaritzburg's Director of Bantu Administration wrote in his annual report, "for their restraint the local Bantu people are to be commended."⁷ Clearly the unrest was low key compared with the rest of South Africa. But specific details tend to a conclusion that it reflected intense dissatisfaction, especially amongst women, with the municipal system of control of leisure time through the beerhall system. The paternalist, official view confirmed this: good quality municipal beer undercut the illegal operators and kept African men "away from dens and harmful concoctions"⁸; in other words, under control. This system, it was thought, would benefit from a new and better brewery and that at Daveyton was favoured as a model. However, under pressure from African women at Maryvale and Raisethorpe more beer brewing permits were issued "in the interests of harmonious relations."⁹

An end to an imperial past was signalled on 25 April 1963 when the City Hall's Union Jack was lowered for the last time after a decision that in future it would be flown only on specific days from the portico.¹⁰

GROUP AREAS

The areas of Pietermaritzburg under threat from the Group Areas Act (GAA) were Upper Church Street to the north-west and lower Church Street to the south-east of the city, mixed trading areas with small Coloured populations and 1 000 and 6 000 Asian inhabitants respectively. To the

⁶ *CYB* 1960, p.140. There was, however, an attempt on 15 May 1960 to torch the Native Administration Department's offices in Otio Street and on 21 May attempted arson at the Matsheni beerhall. Under the State of Emergency declared on 30 Mar 1960, all political meetings were proscribed and the municipality closed African eating places on Sundays.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.33.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.144. During 1961 there were a few small strikes and a pamphlet campaign, but the national stayaway of 29-31 May attracted only 10% support. In spite of high levels of unemployment, to the official mind relations remained "cordial", although unspecified "hooliganism" was noted in 1963 at Sobantu (*CYB* 1962, p.143; 1963, p.150).

¹⁰ *CYB* 1963, p.17.

south-west of Pietermaritzburg were the areas of Wilgefontein, Plessislaer, Slangspruit, Pentrich and Camp Drift with a few Coloured and White inhabitants and 4 650 Asians. Other threatened areas were Fitzsimmons, consisting of Coloured housing, and Woodlands, labelled Asian under the Ghetto Act, but including a few White and Coloured people. Throughout the city there were pockets of Coloured and African people.¹¹

The first group areas plan for Pietermaritzburg originated with the Reference and Planning Committee. For the Asian community it recommended a township (later to become Northdale) to the north-east with Woodlands (Coloured) and Mountain Rise (White); plus lower Church Street. For the Coloured community it also suggested a township to the south-west around Plessislaer. There were two counter proposals. That of the Natal Indian Organisation suggested a south-western Asian township stretching from Wilgefontein to Plessislaer, Pentrich and Camp Drift; as well as a north-eastern township and lower Church Street. But the NIO was prepared to cede Mountain Rise to the Coloured population together with the area later to become Eastwood. It also suggested a free area for the commercial heart of the city from the Railway Station to Boshoff Street. The City Council and Natal Local Health Commission favoured a south-western Asian township, a truncated version of Northdale and Lower Church Street, leaving Mountain Rise in the hands of the Whites and establishing a Coloured suburb at Woodlands as well as Greyling Street and Fitzsimmons.¹²

The Group Areas Board looked at these ideas as early as 1954, but group areas were proclaimed for Pietermaritzburg only on 1 April 1960.¹³ In general the Reference and Planning Committee view prevailed: there was to be no south-western township for either Asian or Coloured communities; Mountain Rise was transferred from White to Asian ownership; and Woodlands become the main Coloured township with provision for another at Eastwood. Northdale was established as the main Asian suburb, but while upper Church Street was reserved for Whites, lower Church Street was untouched, a crucial factor in the emerging struggle over recreational facilities. Over and above this upheaval the national Native Administration Department threat to move the population of Sobantu into the lower Edendale valley remained real. A rough breakdown of racial allocations gave 22 000 acres to

¹¹ Horrell, M. *The Group Areas Act: its effect on human beings* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1956), pp.111-112.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp.112-115.

¹³ Proclamation 81, *Government Gazette* 6395 in terms of the GAA, 77 of 1957. It is important to recall that "well before the introduction of any restrictive measures Pietermaritzburg was, at least in the eyes of its officials, clearly divided along racial lines" (Wills, T. Pietermaritzburg in Lemon, A. (ed.). *Homes apart: South Africa's segregated cities* (Cape Town: Philip, 1991), p.92).

Whites, 2 100 to Asians and 436 to the Coloured community in the proportions 90:8.5:1.5. It was estimated that 882 properties, 502 acres of land and 9 175 people would be affected. The nineteen areas proclaimed were as follows:

WHITE	Central Pietermaritzburg; Camp Drift (Outspan 1); Pentrich; New Scotland Road; Cleland; Upper Church Street; Hilton; Winterskloof; Sweetwaters; Lincoln Meade; Ockert's Kraal; Hollingwood
ASIAN	Lower Church Street; Raisethorpe; Northdale; Allandale; Dunveria
COLOURED	Woodlands; Lower Greyling Street

Table 27: Proportionate impact of the GAA by community

	Asian	African	Coloured	White
Properties	76.1	12.1	10.8	1.0
Land	75.5	18.1	5.4	1.0
Population	76.3	12.8	10.9	Neg

Contemporary surveys noted that Africans had lived in the New Scotland area since 1865 and large numbers of Asians had occupied Camp Drift since 1910. Apart from businesses, mosques, schools and libraries were also affected together with 37% of all land owned by Asians in Pietermaritzburg. Thirty per cent of all Asians in the municipality would be required to move. In the laconic official language of the time it was noted that "it is inevitable that this will cause much inconvenience; in the case of the Indians in particular"¹⁴ (see table 27). Horrell noted more sympathetically that "as is usually the case, the Indians will suffer most" and this was reflected in an estimated loss of £350 000 worth of property and business goodwill.¹⁵ The problem of "short evacuation periods" (that is to say rapid forced relocation) was also recognised. The Group Areas Development Board would determine the value of affected properties and the National Housing Commission was expected to work closely with the municipality.¹⁶ In 1962 the inspectors had a close look at Pentrich and Hathorn's Hill.¹⁷ Wills maintains that the municipality had little compunction about working within the Group Areas structure.¹⁸

The most obvious consequence was the creation of a massive Asian township, described judiciously by City Engineer D.V. Harris as a "new town", planned for an eventual 120 000 people.¹⁹

¹⁴ *CYB* 1960, p.51.

¹⁵ Horrell, M. *The Group Areas Act*, p.114.

¹⁶ Motala, M.M. *The Group Areas Act and the effect of the proclamations made thereunder in Pietermaritzburg and environs: [paper] delivered at the Group Areas Conference held at Pietermaritzburg on the 28th and 29th of January 1961.*

¹⁷ *CYB* 1962, p.137.

¹⁸ Wills, T. *Segregation, separation and desegregation: Pietermaritzburg since 1910*, p.297.

¹⁹ *CYB* 1960, p.58.

Adjacent private development would occur at Allandale and Newholme. In 1960 another 90 acres were added to Raisethorpe in anticipation of the relocation of 20 000 people from the Asian community and a plan was drawn up to include business sites, a civic centre, churches, a school (plus Raisethorpe Coloured School) and recreational and open spaces. By 1961 stage II of Northdale was under construction and plans had been altered to incorporate administrative offices and a civic hall, the latter to function as a venue for recreational clubs. The quality of housing constructed in the early 1960s was not high: the National Housing Commission proved unco-operative and affordable rents were low, although a decision was taken to subsidise those families unable to meet sub-economic rents. The community centre was opened on 14 August 1964 by the Minister of Indian Affairs, W. Maree, at a time when the population of Northdale had reached 6 000. Maree spoke of the possibility of a "purely Indian authority" administering a population of 100 000.²⁰ White apologists for group areas described Northdale as an area where Asians could live "undisturbed", their amenities including sport under "proper control." There was already discussion about a racially-based local authority.²¹

The existing suburb of Woodlands, which included Asian and a few White houses, was earmarked for the Coloured community. However, there were continual delays both here and in Northdale: as the City Engineer poetically put it, "the bluegums on the land still wave in the breeze." He also described both schemes as "unambitious", possibly indicating in a diplomatic way that plans included an insufficient level of social infrastructure.²² Development at Northdale and Woodlands was subject to "ponderous administrative and financial machinery which has to grind through tortuous and frustrating processes" required by the Department of Community Development.²³ Woodlands Civic Hall was completed only in 1968.

Mass removals from the Pentrich area to Northdale began in the mid-1960s, with smaller movements of Coloured and Asian people from the area earmarked for Imbali; and from Upper Church and Lower Greyling Streets in the city, New Scotland, Ockert's Kraal and Sweetwaters. The general housing picture was described in 1965 as "chaotic, displacement under Group Areas legislation having aggravated the already acute position."²⁴ Interest rates and building costs rose significantly and there were 1 534 Coloured and Asian families on the housing waiting list. But by 1967 the Council was

²⁰ *NW* 15 Aug 1964, p.3.

²¹ *CYB* 1964, pp.29-33.

²² *CYB* 1962, p.48; 1963, p.70.

²³ *CYB* 1964, p.67.

²⁴ *CYB* 1965, p.125.

announcing that it had “discharged its duty to house families from lists provided by the Group Areas Board, formerly living in areas zoned for a race other than their own.”²⁵ The upheaval continued and in 1968 it was announced that the population of Sastri Square would be required to move to Northdale and Coloured persons from Fitzsimmons, including a high proportion of artisans, to Woodlands. Asian inhabitants were expected to move into Fitzsimmons subject to approval by the Department of Community Development. In August 1968 Greater Northdale and Dunveria were incorporated into the borough. At this point the population of Northdale was estimated at 12 680 and it was recognised that its housing stock was acutely overcrowded with a density of 6.4 per dwelling and a waiting list of 2 690.

A major problem had, however, arisen with regard to the Coloured population, for whom there was insufficient land at Woodlands. This was highlighted in 1969-1970 by the removal of what were described as “hutments” from Greyling Street near Alston School. The situation was investigated by government and the municipality in the early 1970s. Two new areas known as K2 (100 ha for 8 000 people) and K3 (220 ha for 15 000), the latter outside the borough, were identified as suitable for a suburb that later became known as Eastwood.²⁶ There were also plans for a 327 hectare site at Bishopstowe, east of the borough boundary but these came to nothing.²⁷

Local government structures reflecting the imposition of group areas were instituted in the late 1960s: the Indian Local Affairs Committee (ILAC) was constituted in December 1967 and the Coloured Local Affairs Committee (CLAC) in June 1968. Official municipal reports made the assumption that they would eventually become self administering. Much was made of the local knowledge of their members and patronising comments were made about their levels of financial responsibility.²⁸ The view of the *Natal Witness* on ILAC was that it had been received “with mixed feelings” because it was appointed. The same newspaper noted that CLAC would be “entitled to bring any matter relating to the local government of the area to the notice of the local authority”; but that no member of the Coloured Welfare League (CWL) was serving on it.²⁹

Meanwhile, both municipal and private White housing entered into a parallel period of

²⁵ *CYB* 1967, p.130.

²⁶ *CYB* 1972, p.17.

²⁷ Question by R.G.L. Hourquebie (MP for Musgrave) in the House of Assembly *DHA* 45, col. 471, 20 Mar 1973.

²⁸ *CYB* 1969, p.17; 1970, p.17.

²⁹ *NW* 2 Dec 1967, p.4; 6 May 1968, p.4.

expansion. However, a number of plans did not materialise: for example, housing at Blackridge with a recreation centre; and at Mountain Rise, which was eventually deemed an Asian area. It was thought possible that the latter might either house 7 500 Whites or 10 000 to 12 000 members of the Asian community. The Corporation had hoped that a restricted area bounded by Rosedale and Greytown Roads and Allandale suburb would mark the full extent of the Asian group area, leaving the rest for White occupation; but Proclamation 286 of 25 October 1963 assigned the whole to the Asian community and this was extended by Proclamation 235 of 1971. Until 1964 new White housing was dependent on the private sector and developed largely in the higher income northern suburbs of Clarendon, Athlone and Montrose. But in the mid-1960s economic, working-class housing development for government employees and industrial workers began at Sanctuary Road, Echo Road and in Scottsville Extension (Carey Road). The most significant developments were started in 1966 at The Grange (close to the new African township of Imbali) and at Willow Gardens (Echo Road); the latter a residential extension of Willowton (*see* table 28). Over 70% of the inhabitants of these new housing developments were newcomers to Pietermaritzburg and nearly half of them were immigrants.³⁰ The Grange was originally planned for 519 houses, but was later to become by far the largest of the White economic housing estates.

White housing was still considered to be in crisis and in 1968 the Corporation announced its intention to apply for incorporation of a large swathe of land on the south-eastern quadrant of the city: the areas of Lincoln Meade, Hollingwood, Ockert's Kraal, Cleland and Shortts Retreat. On 1 August 1970 all these areas except the last, but with the addition of Belfort, were incorporated.³¹

In 1970 the municipality was administering 3 381 dwellings, over 60% of them for the Asian community, and it was reported that provision of alternative accommodation for those displaced by the GAA was "virtually completed."³² Demissie points out that this new spatial order designed to regulate the lives of Black people in urban areas involved the complete subordination of town planning principles to National Party policy, reducing "municipalities to the status of appendages of the [Department of Native Affairs]."³³ This confirms the contention of Christopher that "the colonial

³⁰ *CYB* 1966, p.124.

³¹ *CYB* 1968, p.68; 1970, pp.17, 38, 48, 51, 124; 1971, p.17. However, the municipality stressed the need for all land to the south-east as far as the Little Mpushini River to be incorporated if the city was to prosper. The opening up of areas that were to become the suburbs of Hayfields (initially temporary accommodation in 83 ex-Army hutments) and Bisley added substance to this case, but the request was rejected in 1971.

³² *CYB* 1970, p.124.

³³ Demissie, F. Controlling and 'civilising Natives' through architecture and town planning in South Africa. *Social identities* 10(4) 2004, p. 493.

heritage of differing regional practices survived virtually intact until the major era of social engineering enforcement in the 1960s.”³⁴

Table 28: Municipal housing schemes in Pietermaritzburg, 1960-1972

Population group	Name and (Locality)
White	Riverbend (Manor) Gardens (Prestbury) Northern Park Hay Paddock* Oribi* Willow Gardens (Echo Road) The Grange
Coloured	Fitzsimmons Woodlands Township stages I-VI Greyling Street (City)
Asian	Asiatic Housing Scheme (AHS, Lower Berg Street) Raisethorpe Northdale stages I-VI

Note to table 28: * indicates temporary provision. AHS incorporated Sastri Square and Buttery Crescent.

AFRICAN HOUSING

The moratorium on the development of Sobantu, in effect since 1957, remained firmly in place. In 1960 it had 1 091 occupied houses and an estimated population of about 9 000, most of them dependent upon communal standpipes and ablution blocks, and the pail system. In 1962 it was described as “bulging at its seams.”³⁵ Elsewhere four hostels accommodated city workers: the main East Street hostel and the small facility at Ohrtman Road for 2 400 men in all; and Church Street and Oribi for 630 women. Plans for a third women’s hostel had been shelved. But, significantly, 60% of Pietermaritzburg’s African workers laboured as servants and lived on White property. The inhabitants of hostels were routinely and revealingly described officially as “inmates.”³⁶ In 1966, East Street Hostel was enlarged to accommodate 1 920 occupants. But the move of Africans out of the city was signalled by events during the following year: closure of the small Ortman Road Hostel on 31 July 1967; and of

³⁴ Christopher, A.J. Apartheid and urban segregation levels in South Africa. *Urban studies* 27(3) 1990, p.438.

³⁵ *CYB* 1962, p.12.

³⁶ *CYB* 1963, p.150.

the Oribi Women's Hostel on 31 December 1967.

The grand plan for the African population involved a large township on the western side of the city in the Edendale Valley that evoked memories of the 1920s debate about the Native Village. The proposal for the Slangspruit area involved housing and three large hostels for 12 000 people and made the standard remarks about the need for "children's play areas, adult parks and recreation centres."³⁷ Ominously the suggested name, Thembani (To be hopeful) failed to find favour with national officials.³⁸ It was at this point that planning took on wider dimensions that would see, by the mid-1970s, Imbali removed from municipal administration. The concept of Greater Edendale was introduced by the geopolitical planners, drawing Imbali into the KwaZulu Bantustan and deeming it a border township. This possibility was welcomed in many quarters as a relief on the municipal rates.

The official sod-turning for Imbali took place on 2 October 1963 in the presence of the Minister for Bantu Administration, M.D.C. de Wet Nel, who spoke in optimistic tones of "extensive economic development." The Mayor of Pietermaritzburg, G.J.R. Bulman, saw Imbali as part of an "ideal homeland [for] Bantu."³⁹ A parallel was optimistically drawn with the Durban township of Umlazi, "one of the most law abiding and contented Bantu communities in Natal."⁴⁰ Planning for Imbali involved five zones totalling 4 800 houses and 800 hostel units and was regarded as "progressive", although no mention was made of recreation at this stage. Delay still dogged the project due to property acquisition problems and the fact that tendering was undermined by government rates fixed 12 years earlier. Building of Imbali I started in 1964 and within a year the population had exceeded 3 000 (in just 411 houses). The township was proclaimed on 23 April 1965 as an area of 1 462 acres and with an Advisory Board combined with that of Sobantu. The Imbali Hostel with a capacity of 3 500 was opened in August 1966 and took in workers formerly housed in town as well as railway employees from the SAR&H compound. The final land acquisitions for Imbali were made in 1968, by which time the population had reached 11 200, including nearly 2 700 hostel dwellers. Lodgers from Sobantu were amongst the newcomers to Imbali. But its population then stabilised for several years as Imbali II was delayed: in 1972 the population was given as 11 566 in 1 558 dwellings (average 7.42 persons).⁴¹

³⁷ *CYB* 1960, p.83.

³⁸ Preliminary work on Imbali township started in 1961, but long delays were caused by the reluctance of landowners, White and Asian, to part with their property and by 1963 only 65% of the required land had been transferred.

³⁹ *NW* 3 Oct 1963, pp.1, 3.

⁴⁰ *CYB* 1964, p.19.

⁴¹ *CYB* 1972, p.167.

Official dissatisfaction with the number of Africans still living in White areas was signified by criticism of "backyard locations"⁴² and in 1965 legislation (Bantu Urban Areas Act) was passed limiting the number of Africans on a residential property to one if a permit had not been acquired. By 1968 economic expansion had resulted in the growth of the registered African workforce of Pietermaritzburg to 45 000, categorised as domestic (35%), industrial and commercial (40%), and service (25%). During the late 1960s and early 1970s the second category grew slowly in proportion to the others: by 1972 it had reached 50% of 82 436 registered African workers. Some of these people would have been living in informal settlements at Swartkop Location, whose total population was estimated at 70 000 and posed a major challenge to housing plans for Greater Edendale. Other shack settlements developed at Belfort and Raisethorpe and the African inhabitants were removed to Edendale. Planning for this area had taken on new dimensions by the early 1970s with a population of 350 000 projected for 2000 in a vast township spanning Imbali, Edendale and New Politique. But this was accompanied by the implementation of the Bantu Affairs Administration Act (45, 1971) that would remove all responsibility for African affairs from municipalities. The attraction of Pietermaritzburg for Africans, and the potential for population growth, was later to be illustrated by Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash who pointed out that an illegal worker from Ciskei who worked for nine months and then spent three months in prison could improve his or her standard of living 700%.⁴³

GOVERNMENT POLICY

From 1960 onwards there were clear signals from the government regarding apartheid in sport. On 16 June, the Minister of the Interior wrote to the South African Cricket Association (SACA) referring to traditional policy and custom, arguing that "the inclusion of different races in the same team would ... be contrary to established and accepted custom."⁴⁴ Expanding upon this he explained, "the government does not favour inter-racial team competitions within the borders of the Union and will discourage such competitions taking place as contrary to the traditional policy ... as accepted by all races ... The policy of separate development is in accordance with the traditional South African custom that Whites and Non-Whites should organise their sporting activities separately."⁴⁵ At the second

⁴² *CYB* 1964, p.176.

⁴³ Packard, R.M. *White plague, black labor: tuberculosis and the political economy of health and disease in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1990), p.307.

⁴⁴ *SRR* 1961, p.273.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.14.

biennial conference of the non-racial South African Sports Association (SASA) at Fordsburg on 14-15 January 1961, Dr Aziz Kazi summed up the feelings of many Black sportspersons by proclaiming “we don’t want crumbs, we want bread.”⁴⁶ The nature of these crumbs was illustrated by a report on the South African Cricket Board of Control’s (SACBOC) interprovincial cricket tournament when Abe Adams wrote, “all cricket under the aegis of the SACBOC is played on matting over gravel pitches. They do not possess one ground which is even remotely up to international standard.”⁴⁷

Ironically only one statute, the Boxing and Wrestling Control Act (39 of 1954), expressly prohibited mixed sport, in this case at professional level. Boxing between White and Black had long been opposed by officialdom.⁴⁸ In January 1960 new boxing regulations were put in place that forbade contracts and tournaments across race lines. This excluded Whites from any role in Black boxing, whether as managers, promoters, seconds or advisers.⁴⁹

The GAA was further tightened (Act 23 of 1961) by an amendment to the 1957 Act which “prohibited disqualified companies from *using* land or premises if a disqualified natural person could not occupy the land or premises.” This was later repeated in the 1965 Amendment Act, but the term *use* was never defined and it was not until the early 1970s that an event analogous to a sporting occasion, a three-hour long conference, was held to be *use* in terms of the Act.⁵⁰ Debate continued about both the purpose and meaning of amendments to the GAA. The primary target was the control of business and trade, in particular the use of qualified White persons as a front for disqualified businessmen. In this context the word *use* seemed to imply a substantial period of time, but there was a justifiable fear that it might encompass sport. During 1962 the authorities re-emphasised their support for the paternalistic affiliation model of sports organisation and a variety of Cabinet ministers pronounced upon sports policy, arguing that integration would lead to violence. This policy had a direct impact on the Pietermaritzburg weightlifter, Precious McKenzie, the national bantamweight champion for five years and a member of the South African Weightlifting Federation, who refused to join the non-European

⁴⁶ *Politics in sport* (Johannesburg: DSG/SARS, University of the Witwatersrand, [1981]), p.7.

⁴⁷ *South African cricketer: the national cricket journal of southern Africa* 2(2) 1960, p.3.

⁴⁸ Singh claims that his bout with Bill Latham at the Seaman’s Institute in Durban in 1929 was the last public mixed boxing match until modern times, although unsuccessful attempts were made to revive such events just before the Second World War (Singh, B. *My champions were dark* (Durban: Pennant, 1963), pp.44, 66. Singh, B. *My baby and me: a story of non-European boxing in South Africa* (Durban: CNA, [19–]), p.62). He is vague about dates, as his bout with Latham is alternatively dated as 1926.

⁴⁹ *SRR* 1959-1960, p. 265.

⁵⁰ Schoombee, J.T. *An evaluation of aspects of group areas legislation in South Africa* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1987), p.249. The case was Southern Durban Civic Federation v. Durban Corporation (*ibid.*, p.34).

section of the South African Weightlifting Union by way of protest against the iniquities of the affiliation system. This placed him, in spite of his ability, on the margins of South African sport and with no hope of international competition. As had happened to other Black sportspersons of ability, assisted by sympathetic Whites, he left for England in 1964.⁵¹

The government routinely referred to its sport policy as a product of tradition and custom. The flaw in this approach was summed up by an opposition politician who said, "if we have to be told what that pattern is, it is no longer a 'convention' or a 'tradition', but a dictated way of life."⁵² The proof of this lay in the partisan nature of government policy, characterised by aggressive behaviour such as withholding passports and threatening legislation, towards those who ignored the paternalist model. The government's favoured approach involved a few Whites serving on the committees of Black affiliates and reporting back on perceived Black opinion. The government began to hint that if its policy and version of tradition were not obeyed, legislation might ensue. The Sunday Sport and Entertainment Bill proposed a ban on events at which admission fees were charged or donations accepted. This would not deter private sport, but could seriously affect Black sport, such as football, which was heavily dependent on Sunday gate takings. Nor was there a great deal of alternative recreational opportunity in the townships. In late 1963 there were rumours in the press of a projected Protection of Race Relations Bill which would debar Blacks from White events as spectators except under permit; and prohibit mixed sporting events and all mixed recreation, such as cinema and theatre, even if separate seating was provided.⁵³ On 28 January 1964, the Minister of the Interior, responding to a question from the MP for Durban Musgrave, R.G.L. Hourquebie, said that no such legislation was intended, but it might be considered if "there is persistence in undermining our traditional way of life as far as this aspect is concerned."⁵⁴ This was an action typical of the government at the time: threats which eventually turned out to be empty, but which, while they lasted, caused uncertainty.⁵⁵

In spite of government policy, integrated football survived in Natal and provided an important test case for sport in general. Lincoln City was a mixed White and Coloured team operating from Pietermaritzburg, which on 29 October 1961 played an Indian team at Curries Fountain in Durban.

⁵¹ Connock, M. *The Precious McKenzie story* (London: Pelham, 1975), pp.123-126. He was to compete for England at the Mexico City and Munich Olympic Games and won three Commonwealth Games gold medals at bantamweight (Kingston, 1966 and Edinburgh, 1970) and at flyweight (Christchurch, 1974).

⁵² Draper, M. *Sport and race in South Africa* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1963), p. 102.

⁵³ *SRR* 1963, p.285.

⁵⁴ *DHA* 9, 28 Jan 1964, col.388.

⁵⁵ *SRR* 1964, p.349.

Two White and five Coloured players from Lincoln City and the President and Secretary of the Durban Indian Sports Grounds Association (DISGA) were charged with breaking the GAA, which forbade racially-disqualified persons as members or guests at any club premises and from any form of seated refreshment. All nine were acquitted by a Durban magistrate in May 1962 reading Proclamation 255 of 1960 together with s.29 of the Group Areas Amendment Act (77 of 1957). Significantly, and predictably, the acquittal rested on interpretation of the term occupation. In this particular case none of the players had been present inside any building: those involved had simply played football.⁵⁶ The South African government subsequently appealed. The Natal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court (Milne JP and Henning J concurring) in turn dismissed the appeal in October 1963 on the grounds that to fall under the Act a club had to own its premises: in this particular case they were leased. The players had not socialised together by sitting down and had thus not infringed the Act. The judges considered the Fen Sam Jackson case of 1955 concerning a cinema, which had looked at the meaning of a “substantial period of time” in a matter of the occupation of land or premises; and concluded that although there was ambiguity, a lenient interpretation should be followed. Furthermore, the DISGA which ran Curries Fountain was an association⁵⁷ whereas the GAA was targeted at clubs with individual membership. The original purpose of the legislation was to prevent mixed socialising under any circumstances, not to obstruct integrated sport.⁵⁸ But Alegi describes this case as a “pyrrhic victory” because it encouraged a campaign by White football designed to destroy its non-racial equivalents.⁵⁹

Local government was a key factor for the National Party’s (NP) sports policy and the relationship between Black or non-racial sports bodies and municipalities had long been fraught. When the ambitions of the Football Association of South Africa (FASA) to enter a Black South African team in the 1966 World Cup were thwarted by the African Football Confederation supported by players from the non-racial South African Soccer Federation (SASF), municipalities, especially on the Reef, started to ban SASF/South African Soccer League (SASL) teams.⁶⁰ Elsewhere attitudes were more liberal and the SASL was able to use three other grounds, two of them in Natal where municipalities refused to be

⁵⁶ SRR 1962, pp.218-219.

⁵⁷ Comprising the Durban Football Association, Durban District Indian Cricket Union, Durban Indian Sunday League and the Durban Indian Golf Club.

⁵⁸ S v Brandsma and others. *South African law reports* 1963 (1), pp. 261-264.

⁵⁹ Alegi, P. *Laduma! soccer, politics and society in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004), p.133.

⁶⁰ Hain, P. *Don't play with apartheid: the background to the Stop the Seventy Tour campaign* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1971), p.54.

intimidated: Curries Fountain (Durban) and the Royal Agricultural Showgrounds (Pietermaritzburg).⁶¹ By 1963, manager of the White National Soccer League (NSL) Vivian Granger was calling for “war to the death” on the non-racial SASF/SASL.⁶²

These events provided strong evidence that multi-racial sport was not illegal in South Africa and drew attention to the distinction between law and policy. On 25 January 1965, the government reiterated its policy of player segregation. The Minister of the Interior replied to a question from E.G. Malan, MP for Orange Grove, by referring to “attacks on the cultural front ... [and] views of life foreign to the people of the Republic” pointing out that “no compromise can be entertained ... The traditional policy of the Republic ... has always been, and still is, that we do not wish to live and govern multi-racially.”⁶³ However, as an interim measure, the government allowed Black attendance at sports events at high level as long as grounds were segregated. Proclamation 255 of 1960 (in terms of the GAA) had prohibited disqualified persons from using a restaurant or similar facility or as a member or guest of any club. The mere presence of a disqualified person was an offence punishable by a maximum fine of R400 or two years, or both. On 12 February 1965, Proclamation R26 extended these provisions to “any place of entertainment” and instituted a system of permits, which were, confusingly, required from different departments depending upon the nature of the application. General uncertainty about the meaning of the law meant that permits were applied for even when they were probably not required: “there are almost as many opinions on the legal effects of the Government’s proclamation on mixed audiences as there are lawyers.” One such opinion argued that a “place of entertainment” was limited to a generally accessible place open to the public on a regular basis.⁶⁴

People were turned away from events because permits were slow in arriving. This affected gate takings at White sports events, but also at Black boxing which was well patronised by Whites. Specific days were set aside for Blacks to attend the Royal Agricultural Show in Pietermaritzburg. By March 1965, the Minister of Community Development conceded that permits would probably be granted for Blacks to attend provincial and international matches held in White areas as long as separate seating, entrances and toilets were provided. For less important matches, permits might be arranged for the Asian and Coloured communities only. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development took

⁶¹ SRR 1963, pp.292-293. The third ground was Cape Town’s Green Point Stadium. A Coloured motor racing driver from East London was allowed to race in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, but not in his home town (SRR 1964, p.345).

⁶² Alegi, P. *Ladumal: soccer, politics and society* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004), p.134.

⁶³ DHA 13, 25 Jan 1965, cols. 17-19.

⁶⁴ SRR 1965, pp.303-304.

another line and said that no permits would be granted for Africans to watch club level matches. Gatekeepers were given the unenviable task of differentiating between African and Coloured spectators.⁶⁵ In March 1965, D.G. Ross, MP for Benoni, raised the question of Black spectators at White football and elicited a response from Minister of Community Development, P.W. Botha, that he had received complaints about a “serious nuisance” from many parts of South Africa.⁶⁶

Proclamation R26 did not go unremarked: the Black Sash applied the terms “dishonour” and “shame.”⁶⁷ Anti-apartheid lawyers argued that inter-racial sport was not illegal if participants and spectators were specially invited to private property with the consent of the owner or occupier (or to a public field reserved for the occasion) and if no admission fees were charged. Permits would, however, be necessary should the racially disqualified need to use the clubhouse or if liquor were served.⁶⁸ On 11 June 1965 the Minister of Planning, J.F.W. Haak, criticised Natal for delays concerning Group Areas investigations.⁶⁹

By the mid-1960s apartheid in sport was at its height (epitomised by Proclamation R26 of 1965) and was accompanied by appropriate White attitudes. At the time of the cancellation of the 1966 New Zealand rugby tour, defiant isolation was seen by many Whites as a sure sign of strength and determination. As H.F. Verwoerd said at Loskop Dam on 4 September 1965 in characteristic tones of racist openness and veiled threat, “we expect that, when other countries visit us, they will respect [our customs] ... Everybody knows what these are.”⁷⁰ In support of Verwoerd, any suggestion of mixing on the sports field or in any social context was seen as a liberal or communist plot, one step on the way to miscegenation and the collapse of White civilisation. Peter Hain, writing about South African sport in the mid 1960s, comments on its deification, its dominance of the press and its place of supremacy in White schools.⁷¹ As J.M. Coetzee put it, sport was “the opium of the white masses” and the stadium “a

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.305-307.

⁶⁶ *DHA* 14, 26 Mar 1965, cols.3483-4.

⁶⁷ *SRR* 1965, p.308.

⁶⁸ Horrell, M. *Laws affecting race relations in South Africa (to the end of 1976)* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1978), p.379. During 1965 Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, asked a series of questions in Parliament of the Ministers of Community Development and Planning about permits granted under Proclamation R26. Over the period 25 Feb to 18 June it would appear that of 62 applications from Natal, 37 were granted, although it is not clear how many were still pending and the numbers for Pietermaritzburg are not known (*DHA* 14, 30 Mar 1965, cols.3659-3660; 9 Apr 1965, cols.4348-4349; 4 May 1965, cols.5267-5269. 15, 11 May 1965, col.5711; 14 May 1965, col.5984; 18 June 1965, cols.8600-8601).

⁶⁹ *DHA* 15, 11 June 1965, cols.7888-7889.

⁷⁰ *SRR* 1965, p.312.

⁷¹ Hain, P. *Don't play with apartheid*, pp.43-45.

palace of dreams.”⁷² By the late 1960s, John Laurence was able to write: “although the blanket of conformity is general and widespread in South Africa ... one of the areas in which it is thickest of all is that of sport.”⁷³ The reaction of the White sports establishment towards Black, particularly anti-apartheid, sport was condescending at best and often sneering, secure in its hegemony.

On 1 July 1966 a national Department of Sport and Recreation was set up under Frank Waring. In a speech to the House of Assembly, Waring mapped out the purpose of his department. This was, he said, to achieve a healthy population notable for “discipline and character”, to encourage coaching, assist tours, and develop “in co-operation with the Departments concerned, sporting and recreational facilities for each of the race groups.”⁷⁴ Waring also mentioned the promotion of stamina during his speech. W.H. Delport, MP for Port Elizabeth, was later to sum up the purpose of the department as to ensure the survival of a physically and spiritually strong nation. C.D. Taylor, MP for Wynberg, was attacked by H.H. Smit for mentioning the fact that Nazi Germany had appointed a Minister of Sport.⁷⁵ Delport, supporting Waring, argued that sport protected the youth against “spiritual and physical decay” and that a measure of a nation was “its strength of character and spirit” reflected in sport. Rugby, he believed, played an important role in national unity.⁷⁶ In the same debate, D.M. Streicher argued that sport would combat the evil of ducktails and A.N. Steyn saw sport as helping prepare for the “struggle which will become more violent as time goes by.”⁷⁷ Waring made the objectives of his department a great deal clearer with the comment that “we are not here to build turf wickets for the Coloured people.”⁷⁸ The debate could not have been a clearer signal of White instrumental use of sport.

The non-racial sports administrator and poet Dennis Brutus put his view of the growing security state into verse:

over our heads the monolithic decalogue
of fascist prohibition glowers
and teeters for a catastrophic fall⁷⁹

⁷² Coetzee, J.M. Playing total[itarian] rugby. *Suid-Afrikaan* Aug 1988, p.4

⁷³ Laurence, J. *The seeds of disaster: a guide to the realities, race policies and world-wide propaganda campaigns of the Republic of South Africa* (London: Gollancz, 1968), p.230.

⁷⁴ *DHA* 18, 30 Sep 1966, cols.3326-3327.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, cols.3331-3332

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, cols.3336, 3338

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, cols.3340-3341.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, col.3349.

⁷⁹ Brutus, D. Somehow we survive *in A simple lust: selected poems ...* (London: Heinemann, 1973), p.4.

In *Let me say it*, Brutus expanded on his theme by referring directly to the sports boycott and attacking those

who design vast statutory volumes
and spend their nights in scheming deprivation.
I have deprived them
that which they hold most dear
a prestige which they purchased with sweat
and for which they yearn unassuagedly
- their sporting prowess and esteem
this I have attacked and
blasted
unforgettably ...

Nowhere else does apartheid exact so bitter a price
nowhere else does the world so demonstrate its disgust
in nothing else are the deprivers so deprived.⁸⁰

On 11 April 1967, Prime Minister John Vorster, successor to the assassinated Verwoerd, announced that no mixed sport would be played in South Africa “irrespective of the standard of proficiency of the participants”, and that mixing of spectators would take place only under permit.⁸¹ The ostensible reason for this was that Blacks should be encouraged to value the achievements of their own communities. Vorster made it clear that international pressure would not alter this policy. As his Minister of Interior had already argued: “must we sacrifice everything for sport, or is the survival and the good and the interests of South Africa and its future of more importance?”⁸² The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), promoted the idea that integration was too high a price to pay to avoid sporting isolation. The Minister of Sport emphasised White South African patriotism and traditional sporting connections.⁸³ The attitude of most White South Africans to a situation in which English and Afrikaans speakers were growing increasingly close, was summed up by De Villiers: “it is not possible to isolate sports activities and practices from the general pattern of social relations in the country.”⁸⁴ It was generally believed that mixed sport would incite incidents amongst players or spectators. At the same time Vorster introduced a level of pragmatism into government sports policy with regard to international competition, which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

⁸⁰ Brutus, D. *Let me say it* *in* *ibid.*, p.90.

⁸¹ *DHA* 20, 11 Apr 1967, col.3960.

⁸² *DHA* 19, 8 Feb 1967, col.933.

⁸³ *DHA* 19, 9 Feb 1967, col.943.

⁸⁴ De Villiers, D. *The case for South Africa* (London: Stacey, 1970), p.133.

The approach of the official opposition, the United Party (UP), which was the majority party in Pietermaritzburg, was essentially bipartisan. Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaf, admitted that he supported segregated sport as the alternative was social intercourse, but he preferred that the traditional way of doing things should be left to sports clubs and associations themselves.⁸⁵ S.J.M. Steyn, the MP for Yeoville, speaking in the Budget Debate of February 1967, believed that sport emphasised the “essential unity of the peoples of South Africa” and that there was mutual pride in achievements within the context of segregation. The UP believed, however, that anyone should be allowed to watch sport as long as this was organised in a segregated fashion. What they objected to, according to Steyn, was the conversion by the government of convention into statute “supported by police forces and punishments and directives and mandatory rules which will allow of no exception.”⁸⁶ D.J. Marais, MP for Johannesburg North, accused the government of using sports officials who were increasingly closely tied to NP policy. He pointed out that sports associations had been loyal to the government and had saved it from considerable embarrassment.⁸⁷ On 9 February 1967, H.Lewis moved an amendment “allowing all race groups to watch all organized sport, provided adequate facilities are available for Whites and non-Whites ... entrusting the control and administration of sport in the Republic to the recognized sporting bodies.” While the NP practised interventionism, its opponents favoured laissez-faire conservatism in which Danie Craven, Frank Braun and other administrators would run sport on traditional lines without interference.⁸⁸ Japie Basson made the logical point that amongst Whites there was rock-solid support for segregated sport and asked why the government felt the need to interfere so blatantly.⁸⁹

Government responses to criticism over sport were becoming increasingly bitter. The Minister of the Interior’s main concern was “preservation of the White man’s identity in South Africa”, which would involve helping and leading Blacks.⁹⁰ South Africa’s tradition of separation was designed to maintain peace and co-existence. Internal critics of sports policy he described as “lackeys to foreign interests and to world liberalism.”⁹¹ Minister of Sport Waring supported this line: “the liberal wing of the Press in South Africa are out to break down this separate basis of our sporting traditions in South

⁸⁵ *DHA* 20, 11 Apr 1967, col.3998.

⁸⁶ *DHA* 19, 8 Feb 1967, cols.924-925.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, col.938.

⁸⁸ *DHA* 19, 9 Feb 1967, cols.950-951.

⁸⁹ *DHA* 20, 11 Apr 1967, cols. 3974-3975.

⁹⁰ *DHA* 19, 8 Feb 1967, col.928.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, col.933.

Africa.⁹² 'World liberalism' was also accused by W.H. Delpont of undermining South African custom⁹³; and H.H. Smit termed the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) "the enemies of South Africa."⁹⁴

The policy of the Department of Sport and Recreation regarding disbursement of funds came under fire in Parliament when it was revealed that no grants had been made to Black bodies, but the South African Rugby Board (SARB), the "wealthiest sporting body in the whole of South Africa", had received funds.⁹⁵ The Minister's explanation for the state of affairs in South African sport was as follows:

in many fields of sport the non-Europeans have not yet reached the high standards the Europeans have reached ... the White people of South Africa have always been much more sport-conscious than any other section and it is only natural that their standards will be higher.⁹⁶

It became increasingly difficult to obtain permits for mixed sports events, especially if Africans happened to be involved.⁹⁷ The Department of Bantu Administration and Development discouraged sport between Coloured and African players, banned it in particular in White areas, and insisted upon strict segregation of entrances, toilets and seating at all venues. The attitude of the sports establishment is indicated by a statement from the cricket administrator, Arthur Coy, who argued that "there is still no question that cricket must be played on a racial basis until such time as the laws of the country allow it to be otherwise."⁹⁸ A liaison officer for the Department of Sport and Recreation, P.Nel, advanced another view when asked to respond to an anonymous document sent to the Prime Minister by a person purporting to be a member of the South African Coloured Cricket Association (a breakaway body from SACBOC with a presence in Pietermaritzburg). He wrote: "Non-Europeans are natural sports lovers and only a small minority is politically minded. Once they realise that something big is at stake, they will support and exploit it to its fullest extent and the politically minded underminer will not then be able to play such an important role. A friendly helping hand to the non-European in this instance would

⁹² Ibid., col.943.

⁹³ *DHA* 19, 9 Feb 1967, col.953.

⁹⁴ *DHA* 20, 11 Apr 1967, col.3973.

⁹⁵ L.E.D. Winchester speaking in the Revenue Vote, Sport and Recreation. *DHA* 21, 12 May 1967, cols.5885-6.

⁹⁶ Ibid., col.5896.

⁹⁷ *SRR* 1967, p.324.

⁹⁸ A. Coy [in his personal capacity] to D. Brutus 8 Oct 1968 in Brutus papers.

serve a much better purpose than to take legislative measures to prohibit mixed participation.”⁹⁹ In both May 1967 and October 1969 Broederbond circulars were sent out reassuring members that Vorster’s administration would apply the traditional sports policy rigorously.¹⁰⁰

A number of opinion polls were conducted on the issue of mixed sport at the end of the decade. One, circulated amongst students in 1969, showed that a more relaxed sport policy was supported by 81% of English speakers, 77% of the bilingual, but only 38% of Afrikaans speakers. Market Research Africa’s 1969 poll was less selective of its sample and asked a wider range of questions, including some about sport. Only 26% of Whites favoured integrated seating at sports events (49% of English speakers, 13% of Afrikaans). The following year a survey by Market and Opinion Surveys looked more specifically at sport. It found that only 18% of Whites (38% English, 4% Afrikaans) were prepared to accept integrated domestic sport.¹⁰¹ Mixed sport, particularly amongst Afrikaners, was clearly unacceptable, although minor concessions over the composition of the Olympic team and visiting rugby teams were becoming fashionable. Another survey, undertaken by the newspaper *Dagbreek en Landstem* and reported in *Africa Today*, recorded the opposition of 90% against any kind of mixed sport in South Africa with 59% unworried by the threat of consequential isolation.¹⁰² There is no doubt the NP government was in tune with its constituency. When the South African cricket tour of 1970 to England was cancelled, it pointed out that it would not be intimidated “by the demands made for integrated multi-racial sport in South Africa ... [when] ... the ultimate objective is in fact the political control of the country.”¹⁰³ A year later another departmental communication made much the same point: “traditional policy and principle cannot be sacrificed for the sake of sport and to satisfy our enemies [sic].”¹⁰⁴ There was increasing bewilderment amongst older English speaking South Africans about the changing and less sympathetic attitudes of kith-and-kin overseas.¹⁰⁵ As one observer later put it, faced with tough times White South Africans instinctively looked to the past.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ P. Nel in response to ‘History of non-white cricket’ (sent to B.J. Vorster in Oct 1968), 17 Nov 1968 in DSR MS 1/5/7 v.1.

¹⁰⁰ This, however, and a number of other issues, were the catalyst for the departure of right wingers from the National Party on 20 September 1969. They founded the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and during the 1970 general election criticised the government for indulging in ‘golf politics’.

¹⁰¹ Anderson, P.G. *An investigation into the effect of race and politics on the development of South African sport (1970-1979)* (Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, 1979), pp.274-277.

¹⁰² Apartheid state, apartheid society, apartheid laws. *Africa Today* 17(6) 1970, p.16.

¹⁰³ Press statement by Frank Waring, Minister of Sport, 26 May 1970 in DSR MS 4/5/6.

¹⁰⁴ Secretary for Sport and Recreation to Frank Waring, 26 Aug 1971 in DSR MS 6/5/9.

¹⁰⁵ Letter by Russell Edean [former South African test cricketer]. *The Times* 27 May 1970.

¹⁰⁶ Crapanzano, V. *Waiting: the whites of South Africa* (London: Paladin, 1985), p.50.

In April 1971 Vorster's sports reforms were taken a step further through the policy of "multinationalism", which allowed inter-racial sport in "open international" events based on a "minimum standard" that involved two or more other countries. This would clearly not affect the traditional one nation sports tour of South Africa. In these cases visitors would play racially-defined teams of South Africans in front of segregated audiences. The new approach was justified on the grounds that South Africa comprised a number of separate nations whose identities needed protecting while opportunity was expanded and friction avoided.¹⁰⁷ This change in policy may be interpreted in different ways. Wilkins and Strydom describe it as "semantic acrobatics"¹⁰⁸ presumably designed to give an impression of reform to the outside world and provide minimal acknowledgement to internal pressures. But it also contains elements of fascist ideology regarding relative fitness to represent different communities. The new policy embraced aspects of both accommodation and defiance, an approach by now accepted by the Broederbond, which was beginning to take over the commanding heights of sports administration (particularly athletics and the Olympic movement), and was used by Vorster against the extreme right wing. The latter suspected, correctly, that the new sports policy was at the forefront of an attempt to redefine apartheid in ways more palatable to international opinion. Vorster's objective was to appear to retain a firm grip on the essential levers of state power and assure the mass of the White electorate that apartheid was as firmly entrenched as ever. Ultimately his objective was to depoliticise, but not deracialise, sport. This intent was backed by traditionally draconian ministerial statements. In August 1971 the Minister of Sport issued a warning to cricket clubs interested in multi-racial sport: "these hollow resolutions, which are apparently intended for popular local and overseas consumption may make interesting reading in newspapers, but they are in practice meaningless ... Should cricketing bodies in South Africa wish to contradict and confront government policy, they must bear the full responsibility."¹⁰⁹

In the opinion of Munro the new policy was a "tangled mess" characterised by "incoherence", and fundamentally two-faced.¹¹⁰ It did nothing to stave off growing calls for an international boycott of South African sport, nor did it persuade internal opposition, which interpreted recognition of "multinationalism" as condoning apartheid. While officially sanctioned open international competitions were taking place in athletics (Cape Town) and golf (Johannesburg), non-racial football in Durban,

¹⁰⁷ Horrell, M. *Laws affecting race relations in South Africa*, p.385.

¹⁰⁸ Wilkins, I and Strydom, H. *The super Afrikaners: inside the Afrikaner Broederbond* (Johannesburg: Ball, 1978), p.249.

¹⁰⁹ Brickhill, J. *Race against race: South Africa's multi-national sport fraud* (London: IDAF, 1976), p.25.

¹¹⁰ Munro, W.A. The state and sports: political manoeuvring in the civil order in James, W. (ed.). *The state of apartheid* (Boulder: Lynne Reimer, 1987), pp.126-127.

Ladysmith and Verulam was closely watched by police. The message from the government in the person of the new Minister of Sport, Piet Koornhof, was that mixing on the sports field would take place only under tight government control. Reiterating the well-known position, he said that mixed sport was prohibited at any level. The extent of support from establishment sports officials was shown by Rudolph Opperman of the South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA): “unless we concede that as sportsmen we are subject to the prevailing political order and that we have to serve sport ... within the context of this reality ... we shall land ourselves in confrontation with the authorities.”¹¹¹

During the late 1960s and early 1970s a consistent pattern was recognisable in government behaviour. Each year strong statements were made to the effect that mixed sport would not be allowed, coupled with minute moves towards mixing in certain circumstances. These signals and intentions were interpreted in very different ways. The government was beginning to relax its requirements regarding international sport: football between racially-defined teams of South Africans would take place at the 1973 South African Games, for instance, even though there were no teams from other countries as was in theory required. But at local level old habits persisted: mixed football at Newcastle between players from the Coloured and Indian communities was stopped through the combined efforts of Dr P.J. Viljoen, the local National Party M.P., and the Department of Sport and Recreation. For 20 years mixed football had taken place at the Watson Park Stadium, donated by the Saunders family to all the people of Tongaat. It fell into the Indian group area and police warned of prosecution and demanded team lists and the addresses of officials. The government put pressure on the Town Board to control use of the park by permit and achieved this when the Board banned multi-racial sport at Watson Park, reserving it for Indians. This incident epitomised the continued desire of government to control sport between groups of South Africans who were not White.¹¹²

Events surrounding the Comrades Marathon, a quintessentially Pietermaritzburg event, illustrate many of the socio-political developments within sport in Natal during the 1960s. In 1961, John Mkwanyana, an unofficial entrant refused permission by the government to participate, received “rousing applause from spectators” as he completed the course.¹¹³ For the rest of the decade and the early 1970s, a scattering of Black runners and White women, who were also still not recognised by the

¹¹¹ R. Opperman to D. Ramlall (Sec of the Ad Hoc Committee on a National Non-Racial Sports Organisation), 30 May 1972 in Brutus papers.

¹¹² *SRR* 1971, p.422; 1972, p.365; 1973, p.366.

¹¹³ Alexander, M. *The Comrades Marathon story* (Craighall: Delta, 3rd ed., 1985), p.165.

authorities, competed unofficially and by 1972 protests about this situation were becoming more strident. The conservative viewpoint was articulated by Hardy Ballington, five times a winner in the 1930s, when he argued that an open marathon would lead to chaos. He supported a return to pre-war segregated races in which the top ten from each would officially compete in the other. Reactionaries felt that “camaraderie was threatened by outside attempts to force a racial integration on the race, an integration which would in any case have come about quietly and in good time”¹¹⁴, and raged against a “politically inspired vendetta.”¹¹⁵ The organisers, Collegians Harriers of Pietermaritzburg used the convenient excuse that they were constrained by government and its influence upon national and provincial athletics regulations, even though the advent of the “multinational” policy in 1971 suggested a way around the problem.

SUMMARY

In the mid-1960s Vorster described the government’s sports policy as “rowing upstream”¹¹⁶, neatly encapsulating in an appropriately recreational metaphor White South Africa’s need to breathe defiance at the rest of the world and demonstrate that it was the only nation in step. The image White South Africans had of themselves was of a beleaguered minority defending the sovereignty of their way of life. This was made possible by an era of unprecedented economic growth and strategic issues such as the closure of the Suez Canal. It was during this period that Pietermaritzburg grew into a modern city experiencing considerable expansion of industry, its road and rail networks, and housing. It also became a typical apartheid city in which modernisation took place alongside extreme measures of racial segregation; the Whites remaining the largest ethnic group by dint of considerable in-migration by overseas immigrants and persons from other parts of South Africa. As elsewhere, the GAA had a highly skewed impact on Pietermaritzburg, inconveniencing a handful of Whites and wrecking havoc on a large proportion of the Coloured and Asian communities and their social and cultural fabric. The impact on land values alone severely disadvantaged these two groups. Development, particularly of housing, to match the population relocation required by-law was slower than expected and resulted in high densities and poor living conditions. This upheaval came to be expressed politically at the end of the 1960s with the establishment of Indian and Coloured LACs, which were to be much reviled. Africans were systematically removed from the city and finally taken out of the administrative care of the municipality.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.245.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.247.

¹¹⁶ *DHA* 13, 5 Feb 1965, col.611.

Legislation where it touched upon sport was generally draconian, but it built logically upon existing social custom as the authorities never tired of reminding both supporters and critics. The law said very little that was specific about recreation, but it could be interpreted in different ways and was frequently held up as a threat. Underlying this context was the constant tension, and lack of distinction, between law and policy. Together they represented effective instrumental control of sport in South Africa: at the time of Waring's appointment as the first Minister of Sport sentiments expressed in Parliament had distinctly 1930s fascist undertones regarding the dominance, health, fitness and even spirituality of the White nation.

White sports bodies went along with government policy, interpreting each minor concession as a reason for inactivity on their part. This was in tune with the view of the official opposition (strongly supported in Pietermaritzburg) that segregation would occur as a matter of course without government intervention. It reflected on the one hand naivete and over-confidence in a belief that eventually everyone would come around to seeing things White South Africa's way; and on the other a devious determination to preserve privilege. Whites, whether in government or sports administration, had common roots in a racially discriminatory society prone to conformity and obedience. Only this can explain why, in the face of all the evidence such as the Brandsma case concerning Lincoln City Football Club, officials consistently and persistently argued that mixed sport was against South African law. Some within the sports establishment made a case for gradualism, but they were unable to explain its mechanics and its likely outcome. What was not appreciated was the fact that involvement in non-racial and Black sport had become a substitute for politics after the banning of the liberation movement in 1960 and harassment of its allies. It was rapidly becoming a vehicle, one of few permissible outlets, for the expression of political consciousness.

**CHAPTER NINE A HARDENING OF THE BOUNDARIES: APARTHEID AND SPORT,
1960-1972: PART 2**

**PUBLIC PARKS, PLAYGROUNDS, PICNIC SITES AND SWIMMING BATHS FOR THE
WHITE, ASIAN AND COLOURED COMMUNITIES**

Implementation of the Group Areas Act (GAA) forced the authorities to take more seriously the provision of recreational facilities to those of Pietermaritzburg's citizens who were from the Asian and Coloured communities. Nevertheless, White facilities continued to develop at a disproportionate rate through preferential funding. Overall, parks (8%) and baths (1-2%) absorbed about 10% of expenditure from municipal rates.

In 1960 six new cricket practice pitches were provided at Alexandra Park. Hockey received special attention with provision of an underground sprinkler system (1970) while the A.B. Jackson fields were equipped with floodlights (1968), as was the Sax Young cycle circuit. In 1968 professional football under the auspices of the White National Football League (NFL) was introduced to Pietermaritzburg. This also necessitated lights at Jan Smuts Stadium and in 1972 it was renovated, involving fencing and twelve turnstiles for crowd control. At Alexandra Oval a broadcasting box was provided and the pavilion was upgraded. A new football ground doubled as a baseball venue. For the first part of the 1960s, before the sports boycott began to take a grip, Pietermaritzburg continued to be visited by overseas teams. In 1961 a crowd of 7 500 watched Leicester City Football Club at the Jan Smuts Stadium and the following year the New Zealand cricketers played in Pietermaritzburg.

Northdale Stadium was one of the first facilities provided at the new Asian township, an area of 18 acres with two fields for football and cricket, turfed from the old Willowbridge polo ground. From the outset there was a clear intention that the stadium was to be administered by a community-based sports association rather than the municipality, a decision that carried a distinct apartheid message. It was handed over to the Northdale Sports Association (NSA) in 1964 complete with a ticket office and an ablution block. A grandstand for 750 spectators was started in 1965 at a projected cost of R40 000. The official opening of the stadium took place on 17 September 1966, with a Pietermaritzburg versus Durban football match. In July the Town Clerk wrote to the Department of Cooperation and Development, "it is understood that in these circumstances, and having regard to the provisions of Proclamation No. R26 of 12th February, 1965, it will not be necessary to obtain a permit authorising

the attendance at this special occasion of members of the White group falling into the categories mentioned [representatives of the City Council and their guests].” It was confirmed that no permit was required.¹ Tennis courts were built in 1968, but United Tennis Club continued to use those in Berg Street having tried in 1963 to acquire permission to use courts in Royston Road.² Children’s playgrounds were built in both Northdale and Allandale in the late 1960s, but a survey conducted in 1967-68 concluded that as a whole recreational facilities were lacking. In 1971 basketball was added to the sports played at Northdale Stadium and new hockey and football facilities were in progress. At this time the grants applied to Northdale, Chatterton and Brookside were R60, R45 and R22.50 per month respectively. These were made amidst comment about “current financial stringency”, which contrasts markedly with generosity towards White, particularly private, sport.³

Woodlands Stadium, with its football, hockey and cricket pitches was handed over to the community in 1968 together with a hall. The stadium stand was in the planning stage from 1969. A major dispute arose in 1971 between the Coloured Sports Board and the municipality, which withdrew the grant for Woodlands Stadium because of poor maintenance standards. In June 1971 the work reverted to the Department of Parks amidst Council criticism that best use was not being made of the grant. It was restored in 1972 at the rate of R32 per month after patronising comments about the “experience to be gained by the Non-White groups in the management of their own affairs.”⁴ In 1972 provision was made for hockey although utilisation of the stadium was regarded as below expectations. It is said that in a match celebrating the official opening of the stadium Pioneers, the leading local club, played University of Natal Medical School one of whose players was Steve Biko. The Young Lions was a club that broke away from Pioneers and the health of Coloured rugby in the city was enhanced by an influx of teachers from the Cape in the 1960s, although the game was bedevilled by limited facilities and a lack of funds.⁵

Construction of a new “European suburban swimming bath” in a “thickly populated area”, the G.C. Joliffe Baths in Pine Street, commenced in March 1960 at a cost of £25 000.⁶ It was opened in

¹ TC to DCD, 1 July 1966; DCD to TC, 7 July 1966 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

² B.R. Naidoo, Sec, United Tennis Club to TC, 29 Oct 1963 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 439, file 162/215 (Sporting facilities for members of Indian group: tennis courts (United Tennis Club)).

³ Public Health, Parks and Amenities Committee, 4 Nov 1971 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/609, file 242/205 (Coloured Sports Ground).

⁴ Public Health, Parks and Amenities Comm, 6 May and 9 Sep 1971 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/609, file 242/205 (Coloured Sports Ground).

⁵ Naidoo, N. Rugby in their blood *NW* 5 Feb 2002.

⁶ *CYB* 1960, p.74; 1962, p.157.

September 1961. The administration of baths had been transferred from the City Engineer to the Parks Department in August 1960.⁷ A pool at Oribi, built for the military hospital and subsequently used by the University, was transferred to the Oribi Village Welfare Association in 1961.⁸ In 1960 the Group Areas Board indicated that it would have no objection to a pool being constructed for the use of both the Coloured and Asian communities.⁹ This was a view shared by the municipality on the pragmatic grounds that usage would be too small for duplication of facilities until new townships were properly established. The preferred location, in the view of the City Engineer, was Sanctuary Road (Chatterton), Berg Street being too near the beerhall.¹⁰ Swimming facilities became something of a liberal cause celebre and an issue around which opinion was mobilised. The Indo-European Joint Council (I-EJC) noted concern about “the central area where sporting facilities for the numerous city Indians are very limited.”¹¹ It had protested during the budget year 1959-60 about the disappearance of a sum of R35 200 from the draft estimates, raising the need for school facilities and protection from bilharzia and drowning. It put forward a compromised case by saying that there might be an argument for three baths (Hindu, Muslim and Coloured), but no argument for none; suggested reserved and open days; but placed great faith in the willingness of different communities to share.¹²

A swimming bath for the Asian community reappeared on the draft capital works programme in 1963 with the nonchalant note that it “has invariably been postponed for various reasons.”¹³ A current reason was undoubtedly uncertainty caused by delayed implementation of the GAA. Resurrection of the project was applauded by the Black Sash which noted that R28 000 was earmarked for alterations to the open air baths in Alexandra Park.¹⁴ The Berg Street Indian baths, the first such facility for Black people in Pietermaritzburg, were opened on 1 September 1965. This was an ironic

⁷ City Council (Special), 26 July 1960 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/809, file 299/209 (G.C. Jolliffe Swimming Bath).

⁸ Department of Housing, Durban to TC, 19 Dec 1961; Director of Parks to TC, 20 Feb 1962 and 16 Mar 1964; Trustees, Oribi Village Welfare Association to TC, 29 Feb 1964 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/809, file 299/210 (Oribi Government Village: re-opening of swimming bath). The Parks Department was concerned that it would compete with existing municipal facilities and suggested that its use should be restricted to residents. When the opportunity to take it over arose in 1964, this was turned down.

⁹ Group Areas Board to TC, 20 Apr 1960 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

¹⁰ Works Comm, 17 Mar 1960; CE to TC, 22 June 1960 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

¹¹ M.Dyer, Chair, I-EJC to TC, 24 Apr 1961 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

¹² M.Dyer, Chair, I-EJC to TC, 29 Nov 1961; I-EJC letter signed by 11 prominent citizens to TC, 25 Sep 1961 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

¹³ *CYB* 1964, p.56.

¹⁴ M. Strauss, Sec, Black Sash to TC, 7 June 1963 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

recognition of the continued presence of the Asian community in the city centre and in the face of opposition from the Department of Community Development; but based on the fact that the baths were close to two group areas and on the assumption that neighbouring African recreational facilities would be removed.¹⁵ There was also opposition from the Pietermaritzburg Coloured Welfare League (PCWL) claiming a right to segregated facilities in the fashion of Whites.¹⁶ The opening ceremony was multi-racial in terms of Proclamation R26, which allowed the presence of officials and guests of the local authority at a segregated facility. The following year it was described as a “popular and welcome amenity.”¹⁷

Provision of an Olympic size pool for Woodlands was delayed by ‘protracted negotiations’ with the Department of Community Development, which was the subject of vociferous protest from the PCWL about non-delivery of facilities promised in exchange for segregation into group areas.¹⁸ A start was made in 1967 and the R.G. Pilditch Baths were opened in September 1968. A site for a similar pool in Northdale was selected in 1971. Ten years earlier concern had been voiced about the lack of such an amenity resulting in particular in the use of the Dorpspruit, Umsindusi River and a ‘dirty’ spruit at Raisethorpe: “these rivers have always claimed their victims during this part of the year.”¹⁹ The response of the City Engineer was that in his opinion children would continue to play in the rivers.²⁰ Bilharzia inspections still took place during the 1960s and with good reason: in 1968 cases developed amongst children from Sobantu who had been swimming in the Umsindusi.²¹ People from the informal, unserviced settlement at Zwartkop were swimming in the water supply. The City Council continued to prevaricate on the matter of a pool for Northdale citing uncertainty about playing fields, which is surprising considering that so many official responses categorically asserted that the future of

¹⁵ Market and Parks Comm, 14 June 1963 and 9 Feb 1965; Regional Undersec, DCD, Durban to TC, 9 Sep 1963 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

¹⁶ J. Francis, Secretary, PCWL to TC, 3 Oct 1965 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans). The construction costs were R35 000 and the opening was addressed by M.S. Naidoo, President of the Pietermaritzburg Indian Amateur Swimming Association, which disbanded in 1971 due to difficulties described as “insurmountable” by L.S. Moodley (L.S. Moodley, Sec, Pietermaritzburg Indian Amateur Swimming Association to TC, 2 July 1971 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/365, file 141/205 (Pietermaritzburg Indian Amateur Swimming Association)).

¹⁷ *CYB* 1966, p.30.

¹⁸ *CYB* 1967, p.74. N.S. Middleton, PCWL to TC, 10 Feb and 14 Aug 1964 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

¹⁹ K.P.Nadasen, President Northdale Social Club, 21 Jan 1961 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

²⁰ CE to TC, 28 Jan 1961 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

²¹ *CYB* 1968, p.119.

Asian community sport was in the new township.²²

Swimming baths were hotly contested and rigidly segregated spaces. In May 1972 the Town Clerk, responding to a query from the Secretary of the non-racial South African Amateur Swimming Federation (SAASF), confirmed that Pietermaritzburg had provided for swimmers on the grounds of race: Alexandra Park and G.C. Joliffe for Whites, Berg Street for Asians and Woodlands (where the Alpha Swimming Club operated from 1971) for Coloureds. As far as Africans were concerned, there was “no facility at present but the provision thereof is under active consideration.”²³ In 1960 the City Treasurer had suggested that beer profits could be used to fund a swimming pool for Africans at Slangspruit, but there was a belief in official circles that “it was an established fact in Natal that adult bantu did not patronise swimming baths.”²⁴

In spite of the new emphasis on sports facilities for the Coloured and Asian communities impelled by the GAA, of the total sum of grants-in-aid (*see* table 29), 87.3% was spent on facilities for Whites. Table 30 shows that large sums were invested by the municipality in sport. Those extended to the Coloured and Asian communities were all capital sums, while White facilities benefited from property improvement funding and loans. In 1963 the total value of loans outstanding was R133 269, but by 1972 this had grown to R813 759. That year repayments amounted to only R16 982, or about 2%. It is clear that historical patterns of extremely generous funding to White sports organisations and facilities were reinforced during this period. They mirrored the economic buoyancy of the period and the confidence of White South Africans, reflected above all in sport.

Loans were sometimes made for purposes that might be considered luxurious. In 1961 the Country Club was awarded a new loan of R6 000 to spend on furnishings and a billiard table amongst other items.²⁵ The history of Collegians Club continues to serve as the prime example of White privilege regarding sports facility funding. In 1961 a further loan of R14 320 at 6.5% over 19 years was granted in order to improve buildings and construct bowling greens. Two years later the members refused to sanction a rise in membership fees (town members paid R2, country members R1 per month), but the

²² Market and Parks Comm, 10 Mar 1961 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans).

²³ TC to National Sec SAASF, 26 May 1972 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 725, file 299/101 (Swimming baths: general).

²⁴ City Treasurer to TC, 9 May 1960; Bantu Administration Comm, 18 Apr 1969 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/808, file 299/204 (Suggested swimming bath at Sobantu Village and Slangspruit).

²⁵ Finance and General Purposes Comm, 16 May 1961 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 494, file 31/108 (Maritzburg Country Club: application for loan).

Council agreed to a suspension of repayments of capital instalments for the years 1963 and 1964 provided the loan period was not extended. In 1968 a further loan of R13 000 (at 7.5% over 12 years) was granted for building improvements and another 15.6 acres were leased at a rent of R20 per annum. A very ambitious request in 1971 for a loan of R189 000 was turned down, but the following year a loan of R50 000 (9.5% over 30 years), a 33 year extension of the lease, and permission to extract 9 000 cubic litres of water per annum from the river to irrigate the cricket field were all granted.²⁶

Table 29: Grants-in-aid from the municipal budget by sporting code, 1960-1972 (R total)

	Amount	%
Golf	62 608	48.3
Rugby	17 569	13.6
Cricket	16 670	12.9
Water sport	10 203	8.6
Polo	3 000	2.3
Maristoba Club	1 000	0.8
Lawn tennis	600	0.5
Table tennis	600	0.5
Croquet	412	0.3
Badminton	300	0.2
Comrades Marathon	155	0.1
Motor sport	58	neg
Rifle associations	50	neg
Asian organisations	11 203	8.6
Coloured organisations	5 228	4.0
Total	129 656	

Notes to table 29: (1) The £ amounts for 1960 were converted at the rate of R2=£1. (2) The Coloured recipient was the Maritzburg Coloured Sports Board (MCSB); those from the Asian community were the Maritzburg Indian Sports Association (MISA), the Northdale Sports Association (NSA), and the Maritzburg County Indian Football Association (MCIFA). (3) Golf includes both the Maritzburg and Mountain Rise Golf Clubs.

²⁶ Finance and General Purposes Comm, 5 Sep 1961 and 20 May 1963; Finance, Traffic and General Purposes Comm, 7 June 1968, 21 Sep 1971, 20 Jan 1972; Works Comm, 23 Aug 1972; W.G. Thornton-Dibb, Treasurer, Collegians Club to TC, 3 May 1963 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/606, file 242/113 (Collegians Club).

Table 30: Facilities benefiting from loans and City Fund Account (CFA) property improvements, 1960-1972 (R)

City Sporting Club	320 000	
Maritzburg Golf Club	167 545	
Maritzburg Rugby Sub Union	167 000	
Jan Smuts Stadium	58 026	(Lighting 52 329)
Country Club	41 000	
Maritzburg Bowling Club	33 500	
Wanderers Club	28 000	
Collegians Club	27 320	
Lawn Tennis Association	21 203	
Mountain Rise Sports Club	19 756	
Maritzburg West Bowling Club	14 000	
Alexandra Park	13 732	
Hesketh Racing Circuit	12 412	
Lynwood Club	10 235	
Scottsville Bowling Club	6 000	
Maritzburg East Bowling Club	5 500	
Oribi Tennis Club	5 000	
Victoria Bowling Club	5 000	
Hockey	3 116	
Maritzburg Croquet Club	3 000	
Settlers Park	2 983	
Jesmond Park Tennis Club	800	
Royston Sports Club	452	
Woodburn Rugby Ground	58	
Valleys Sports Club	Not known	
Northdale Indian Sports Ground	65 294	
Woodlands Sports Ground	40 253	
Brookside Sports Ground	16 867	
Berg Street Recreation Ground	15 831	
Chatterton Road Sports Ground	2 325	
Total	1 106 208	

Notes to table 30: (1) The £ amounts for 1960 were converted at the rate of R2=£1. (2) Berg Street Recreation Ground includes a ground named as Indian Recreation Ground (Pietermaritz Street) that cannot be identified.

During the 1960s and early 1970s the first attempt was made to quantify Pietermaritzburg's recreational facilities through surveys by the Institute for Social Research on behalf of the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission (Schlemmer and Craven, published in 1972, but based on earlier research) and the firm Thorrington-Smith, Rosenberg and McCrystal (TSRM, published 1973). Schlemmer and Craven produced a technical report aimed at town planners, but tabulated areas of

neglect for each ethnic group. Whites, they found, lacked swimming baths, tennis courts and children's playgrounds. The Asian community had these same needs, but lacked cricket, hockey, football and netball facilities as well; while this pattern was replicated for the Coloured community, which was apparently adequately provided for regarding cricket and netball. TSRM claimed that the space standard applicable to Pietermaritzburg was 2.8 ha per residential unit of 1 000 people, broken down as 0.4 ha for children's playgrounds, 1.6 ha for playing fields and 0.8 ha for passive recreation such as parks. This excluded large open spaces such as nature reserves and educational facilities. A localised measurement of 2.0 ha was considered acceptable if the required standard was reached throughout the urban area as a whole. Schlemmer and Craven had come to the unsurprising conclusion that the Asian and Coloured communities were under-provided with facilities and that the municipality should be looking to their provision. The surveyors found that 27% of Whites regarded themselves as disadvantaged compared with 56% of Asians and 44% of Coloureds.²⁷ The TSRM report concluded "Pietermaritzburg is magnificently endowed with open space and that while many of the larger areas are accessible to all races, there is a shortage either of space, or facilities, or both, at the local level in various communities, particularly in the Indian and Coloured areas."²⁸ This is evident from tables 31 and 32, although it is important to bear in mind that the public space provision for Whites was only 2.7 ha per thousand. It recommended Jesmondene as an area suitable for development for Asian recreation with a stadium, tennis courts, miniature golf, a restaurant, botanical garden based on the existing nursery and reclamation of the nearby quarry. It also mentioned the potential for Fitzsimmons as an area for Asian recreation and identified the Isolation Hospital south of Eastwood as a venue for the Coloured community. All would require changes to group areas delimitations.²⁹

Table 31: Developed public and private open space, Pietermaritzburg 1971³⁰

	Space (ha)	Ratio per '000	Shortfall (ha)
White	821	18.7	
Asian	24	0.7	70
Coloured	8	1.0	15
African	7	0.2	n.a.

²⁷ Schlemmer, L and Craven, J. *Outdoor recreation in Pietermaritzburg: patterns, needs, and an assessment of standards for the provision of outdoor recreational space* (Durban: Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, 1972), pp. 171-172.

²⁸ Thorrington-Smith, Rosenberg and McCrystal. *Pietermaritzburg: a town planning report for the borough* (Pietermaritzburg: the Firm, 1973), section 9.53.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, sections 9.42-9.44, 9.49-9.51, 9.63-9.67.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, section 9.57, table 9.4.

Table 32: Recreation facilities by ethnic group, Pietermaritzburg 1971³¹

Facility	White	Asian	Coloured	African
Bowling greens	32	2	0	0
Tennis courts	58	4	3	0
Jukskei courts	17	0	0	0
Croquet lawns	3	0	0	0
Swimming pools	4	1	1	0
Football fields	10	8	3	3
Rugby fields	8	0	1	0
Hockey fields	9	0	2	0
Cricket fields	7	5	2	0
Athletics tracks	1	0	0	0
Golf courses	2	0	0	0
Motor racing tracks	1*	0	0	0
Cycling tracks	1	0	0	0
Horse racing tracks	1*	0	0	0
Parks and gardens	10*	0	0	0
Children's playgrounds	11	3	3	0

Note to table 32: * open to all communities.

AFRICAN FACILITIES

The main causes of death amongst the Black population as a whole are recorded as respiratory disease, gastritis and enteritis. Tuberculosis was noted as an increasing cause of debilitation and death amongst Africans in the early 1960s and again in the early 1970s: "the incidence of Tuberculosis remains high, particularly in the Bantu ethnic group."³² In 1964 the borough Medical Officer of Health noted 27 cases of kwashiorkor.³³ Although the mortality range was lowered for all groups during the 1960s (*see* table 33), the percentage of Africans dying before middle age remained remarkably high.

The nature of the Bantu beer operation changed radically during the 1960s. On 15 August 1962 liquor restrictions were lifted: "the Bantu of this City has taken to 'White' liquor in a civilised manner ... For their excellent behaviour I [the Mayor] would like to commend the Bantu."³⁴ White liquor outlets were constructed at Sobantu and East Street Men's Hostel: the former was perversely described as an

³¹ *Ibid.*, section 9.58, table 9.5.

³² *CYB* 1972, p.107.

³³ *CYB* 1964, p.57.

³⁴ *CYB* 1962, pp.30-31. White liquor was available, however, only at stipulated outlets, with 80% of profits accruing to the government for welfare purposes. At the same time Bantu beer became more widely available, for instance at bottle stores. A contemporary forecast predicted that Bantu beer would be phased out within three decades.

“amenity for the Bantu community of which it can be justly proud” when it was opened.³⁵ The reaction of the consumers was described in strangely contradictory terms by the new Director of the Native Affairs Department, N.H.H. McCullough (D.N. Bang, 1949-1963, had moved to the University of Natal): “the Bantu appears to have accepted the new position with their usual cheerfulness and restraint.”³⁶ It was clear that the brewery was in need of modernisation, but the preferred option was relocation to Imbali, together with provision of beerhalls and a liquor outlet. The new brewery was opened in January 1968.³⁷

Table 33: Mortality: proportion of deaths under the age of 45 by community grouping, 1960-1972 (% range)

White	10 - 16
Coloured	31 - 52
Asian	38 - 57
African	53 - 76
Black overall (1960-1971 only)	48 - 67

Note to table 33: (1) The figures for Africans are routinely noted in the *Corporation yearbook* as unreliable. This would have definitely involved under-enumeration; and probably under-statement.

Examination of the Bantu Revenue Account (BRA) for 1970 illustrates the place of recreation in the overall funding pattern. A main and reliable source of income was the Bantu Beer Account (BBA) from the sale of beer, beer powder, *izinsipo* and sacks. On a turnover of R510 000, profit amounted to 36.6%, two-thirds of which accrued to the Bantu Beer Profits Appropriation Account (BBPAA), from which R40 000 was transferred to the Bantu Welfare Account (BWA). Another R15 000 was directly credited to the BRA and R18 000 to the BWA, with a further sum put towards the new brewery, leaving a carry forward of R53 000 and an accumulated surplus of R209 000. The BBPAA accumulated surplus was R239 000. From the BRA (which also derived income from the Bantu Services Levy Account, rents and various government refunds), R57 000 was spent on capital works at Imbali linked to football and tennis: other major expenditure was on land and the brewery. BWA expenditure was on administration, housing (at Imbali), management of Sobantu, hostels, eating houses and markets, and social welfare. The last amounted to only 14%, of which recreation took a mere 21%. Thus although massive profits were made from drinking and the municipal beer monopoly, only a small proportion filtered through to recreation compared with other developmental matters and

³⁵ *CYB* 1963, p. 28.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.151.

³⁷ *CYB* 1962, pp.30-3, 146; 1963, pp.22, 28, 151; 1964, p.49; 1965, p.26; 1966, p. 25; 1968, p.142.

general administration.³⁸

Table 34: Profit from the sale of Bantu beer and expenditure on African recreation, 1960-1972 (R)

	Profit	% of turnover	Expenditure on recreation
1960	51 020	35.9	5 740
1961	60 912	38.6	5 132
1962	66 940	39.9	5 683
1963	93 826	44.6	6 209
1964	83 150	38.7	7 072
1965	60 134	29.4	n.a.
1966	90 211	41.6	7 591
1967	75 454	33.2	10 273
1968	72 188	28.9	7 200
1969	139 737	39.0	8 139
1970	186 322	36.6	8 828
1971	227 645	38.9	n.a.
1972	331 871	34.9	n.a.

Notes: (1) The £ amounts for 1960 were converted at the rate of R2=£1. (2) The price of beer was set at 20c per gallon in 1961: as late as 1964 the ingredients cost less than 11c.

Profit over the period was R1 513 900 on a turnover of R4 193 827, or 36.1%. Average annual expenditure on recreation from the BWA was a mere R7 187 for the years for which statistics are available (*see table 34*). Pietermaritzburg in the mid-1960s had three beerhalls at the East Street Men's Hostel, Havelock Road and Ohrtman Road.³⁹ The new Imbali brewery was designed to produce 29 000 gallons per day.

The Bantu Football Association (BFA) continued to enjoy regular use of the Tatham Memorial Ground (TMG) and it was commended in 1961 for conducting its affairs in "a very orderly manner."⁴⁰ This was a sensitive issue for the municipality because of the potential for interference from Pretoria. In 1969 the central Bantu Affairs Department wrote to all urban local authorities deploring the "chaotic and undesirable conditions [that] arise from time to time" in African football.⁴¹ An instruction was given that fields under municipal control were to be used only by clubs (like the local BFA) affiliated to

³⁸ Abstract statement of accounts *CYB* 1970, pp.74-85. Auditor's report *CYB* 1970, pp.xviii-xx.

³⁹ Five hundred and ninety gallons of free beer was distributed at Christmas 1963, but this was disallowed by the Auditor and subjected to a surcharge of R118 (Auditor's report, *CYB* 1964, p.xi).

⁴⁰ *CYB* 1961, p.132.

⁴¹ Director, Bantu Administration Dept, Pretoria to TC, 4 Nov 1969 in *PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/133*, file 242/8 (Retief Street Native Recreation Ground).

the White Football Association of South Africa, described as "the overhead European body." The response from the local Director of Bantu Administration was that "there is no difficulty over Bantu Soccer in the Urban Area of Pietermaritzburg."⁴² It also used the Maqeleni ground at the rear of the East Street Hostel, but this was about to be swallowed by the new freeway. With no possibility of new development at Sobantu because of the moratorium, although children's playground equipment was installed in 1963⁴³ and the worn out and flooded (1965) sports field was improved, the temporary sports facilities begun at Imbali in 1965 represented the first new initiative for Africans since before the Second World War.⁴⁴ Apart from a temporary hall, the first facilities were a football field (to accommodate nine teams in 1966) and a netball court. A permanent community hall was opened in July 1968 and it was announced that football, tennis and swimming facilities were "receiving attention." Tenders were invited the following year and in 1970 a football field was levelled and grassed and tennis courts were built. The tennis club reportedly had 60 members. The Imbali Cultural, Welfare and Recreational Club was organising dancing, table tennis, tennis, weightlifting and darts in 1971. In all, seven municipal staff were employed on African recreation grounds at Sobantu and Imbali.⁴⁵

In September 1966 the South African Railways (SAR) compound at Edendale Road, part of a declared White group area, was closed and the buildings converted to a sick bay. The grounds, however, continued to be used by railway workers for football, dancing and boxing. In 1971 it was considered that permission should be sought and it was emphasised that all functions "are held under the supervision of a White Committee member."⁴⁶ Continued use of the sports ground was strongly opposed by the municipal Director of Bantu Affairs and by the Works Committee, arguing that it would be against State policy and that facilities were available in Imbali.⁴⁷ The Bantu Affairs Commissioner was more sympathetic and agreed to continued use of Edendale Road Sports Ground on a temporary basis.⁴⁸ In 1970 there had been a rumour that a resort for Africans was being planned in a White area,

⁴² Director, Bantu Administration Dept, Pmb. to TC, 12 Nov 1969 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/133, file 242/8 (Retief Street Native Recreation Ground).

⁴³ Bantu Administration Comm, 21 May and 10 Dec 1963 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/551, file 199/215 (Recreational facilities for the Bantu in urban residential areas).

⁴⁴ CYB 1965, p.147. Sobantu Village Advisory Board, 23 Apr 1963 and 26 Mar 1965 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/545, file 198/204 (Minutes of Sobantu Village and Imbali Advisory Boards).

⁴⁵ CYB 1966, p.151; 1968, pp.42, 150; 1969, p.40; 1970, pp.27, 40, 154; 1971, pp.158, 161.

⁴⁶ Chair, SAR Non-European Recreation Club to Bantu Affairs Commissioner, 15 Mar 1971 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/140, file 242/3 (Edendale Road Native Sports Ground).

⁴⁷ N.H.H. McCullough, Director of Bantu Affairs to TC, 24 Mar 1971; Works Comm, 21 Apr 1971 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/140, file 242/3 (Edendale Road Native Sports Ground).

⁴⁸ TC to Bantu Affairs Comm, 3 May 1971 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/140, file 242/3 (Edendale Road Native Sports Ground).

but this was denied by the Minister for Bantu Administration and Development, M.C. Botha.⁴⁹

Bloch and Wilkinson record the fact that in the 1960s, 197 of 308 municipal African townships in South Africa experienced population loss, a process that included the weakening of the position of the middle class, promotion of the bantustan ideal, and obstruction of municipal initiatives where they existed. They conclude: "recreation facilities, crime prevention, medical care and other services were all, in general, kept at as low a level as possible in the townships."⁵⁰ The townships in effect were "dormitories."⁵¹ This is unsurprising given the fact that the purpose was not social improvement, but political control. While Pietermaritzburg's townships did indeed grow, the standard of sports facility provision was nevertheless poor.

The municipality noted approvingly that boxing was organised by the Natal African Boxing Association, the first tournament of 20 bouts being held at Sobantu on 28 August 1965. Strictly controlled, boxing was a sport much favoured by colonial officialdom in its quest for healthy bodies and minds, and a preoccupied labour force. The municipal boxing team was strong and in 1968 it had four representatives in the Natal team. At the May 1970 South African Games, Pietermaritzburg boxers won two gold and two silver medals, but from 1971 onwards boxing was reported to be in decline in spite of the construction of a new ring at Imbali.⁵²

The tradition of sports festivals organised by the municipality lived on: in 1962 they took place on New Year's Day. In 1966 there were festivities to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Republic and sports were held at TMG. Three quarters of the 4 000 present were children and cash prizes were handed out. Three to four thousand children returned on 31 May 1967, probably attracted by cash prizes and refreshments, and the same pattern was repeated in 1968 and 1969. The tenth anniversary of the Republic was celebrated at Jan Smuts Stadium by Whites and by three separate events for the other communities elsewhere. On 9 June 1972, 3120 children attended an all day sports festival at TMG.⁵³

⁴⁹ Question by W.M. Sutton (MP for Mooi River) in the House of Assembly *DHA* 29, col. 518, 28 July 1970.

⁵⁰ Bloch, R. and Wilkinson, P. *Urban control and popular struggle. Africa perspective* 20, 1982, p. 34.

⁵¹ Beavon, K.S.O. Black townships in South Africa: terra incognita for urban geographers. *South African geographical journal* 64(1) 1982, p.16.

⁵² *CYB* 1966, p.154; 1968, p.150; 1970, p.27; 1971, p.158; 1972, p.167.

⁵³ *CYB* 1962, p.145; 1966, pp.153-154; 1967, p.26; 1968, p.153; 1971, p.20; 1972, p.28.

SPATIAL DIMENSIONS

Even the most trivial detail of municipal administration was described in racial terms: as the Town Clerk explained to the Maritzburg West Bowling Club, "closing the gap in the fence was designed to restrict the entry of non-European bus passengers into the [White] children's playground."⁵⁴ The accessibility of Alexandra Park by all communities was recognised by the provision of six segregated swings for Asian children and care was taken to mention in the 1969 annual report of the Director of Parks that members of the Asian community used Wylie Park. But the municipality was caught up in the ironies of South African life with its demand for segregation and dependence on a Black labour force. In 1972 a resident of Cleland made a suggestion about the local children's playground: "may we also suggest that a notice board stating 'Whites only' be erected at the entrance as at present Bantu use the equipment." The response was as follows: "whilst fully appreciating your Association's wish to prohibit the entry of unauthorised Bantu therefrom, felt that any notice reserving it for Whites only would debar domestic servants in charge of children from entering the playground and would, in the circumstances, be impracticable."⁵⁵

The construction of a third bridge across the Umsindusi River, the Daniel Lindley Bridge opened in December 1966 that linked Boshoff Street and Surrey Road, considerably extended the possibilities for riverine recreation development in the White group area. The severe floods of February 1967 affected Woodburn, Merchiston, Collegians, Wanderers and the University ground at Dalry, all of which were under water, but proved the "wisdom of the city's policy of siting sports grounds and open spaces along the river."⁵⁶

Facilities in the Willowton area were severely affected by industrial development and road building. By 1960 the polo grounds had already been moved to Chatterton Road, but negotiations had not started with Mountain Rise Golf Club. The Maritzburg Golf Club was handed over to the University of Natal in 1968 for educational expansion and the new course at Hayfields was developed. Berg Street Native Recreation Ground (NRG) was deproclaimed as an African facility in 1968 and handed over to the Asian community. Playground equipment was installed in 1969. This was the

⁵⁴ TC to Maritzburg West Bowling Club, 11 Sep 1961 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 623, file 242/116 (Maintenance and control of sports grounds).

⁵⁵ M. Judd, Sec, Cleland Burgesses Assoc to TC, 16 Aug 1972; TC to M. Judd, 16 Oct 1972 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/576, file 215/211 (Children's playgrounds).

⁵⁶ *CYB* 1967, p.50.

culmination of long-running complaints concerning the presence of Africans in the area, in particular what was described as "illicit trading."⁵⁷ There is evidence that no action was taken for fear of these traders moving elsewhere, but another reason was the problematic issue of occupation in terms of the GAA. The city's legal adviser doubted whether trading could be prevented because public open space was not dealt with under the GAA. He suggested an application for sole Asian rights under the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act. Prescriptive rights could also be interrupted by closing the area for one day every year.⁵⁸ In the event the solution was found by closing Berg Street NRG as a public space and turning it into private municipal property in March 1967.⁵⁹

During the 1960s there began a gradual process of moving activities associated with African recreational time out of the city, while interaction with other Black groups (and sometimes African individuals) was discouraged by the permit system. The Maqeleni ground fell victim in 1963 to the National Road and on 31 December of the same year, the Berg Street hall bioscope was discontinued with the comment that other activities were to be encouraged.⁶⁰ The four night schools for Africans in Pietermaritzburg - at Buchanan Street, Topham Road, Burger Street and on the Salvation Army premises - were closed down in December 1967 and transferred to Imbali. During 1968 both Ortman Road and Havelock Road beerhalls were closed and replaced by facilities at Imbali. The TMG, described by the Sobantu Village Advisory Board as "the most central and suitable venue"⁶¹, was under permanent threat in terms of group areas. The main problem was use of the pavilion rather than the ground and in 1963 permission was sought for temporary use of the Royal Agricultural Showgrounds for African football.⁶² At the same time, upgrading of Sobantu's sports ground was recommended and a

⁵⁷ Sobantu Village Advisory Board, 25 July 1962 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/545, file 198/204 (Minutes of Sobantu Village and Imbali Advisory Boards). In Feb 1964 it was reported that 80 illegal traders were selling clothing, fruit and vegetables and cooked food, and that inspectors had been met with stones, bottles, spitting and abuse (Chief Traffic and Licensing Officer to TC, 17 Feb 1964 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/133, file 242/8 (Retief Street Native Recreation Ground)).

⁵⁸ Director, Bantu Affairs Dept to TC, 4 Mar 1964; Legal Advisor to TC, 9 Feb 1966 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/133, file 242/8 (Retief Street Native Recreation Ground).

⁵⁹ Bantu Administration Comm, 15 Mar 1966, TC to Bantu Administration Comm, 27 Apr 1966 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/133, file 242/8 (Retief Street Native Recreation Ground). However, in Mar 1968 it was still flourishing as a squatters' market and even as a motor vehicle repair yard. The Town Clerk commented that "owing to the emotional climate existing in the area the licensing inspectorate and the police had lost control of the situation. It was anticipated that police action could cause widespread rioting", but conversion to sole Asian use proceeded peacefully (TC to Provincial Sec, 6 Mar and 22 Apr 1968 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/133, file 242/8 (Retief Street Native Recreation Ground)).

⁶⁰ CYB 1964, p.49. Sobantu Village Advisory Board, 27 Feb 1963 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/545, file 198/204 (Minutes of Sobantu Village and Imbali Advisory Boards).

⁶¹ Sobantu Village Advisory Board, 20 May 1966 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/545, file 198/204 (Minutes of Sobantu Village and Imbali Advisory Boards).

⁶² Director, Bantu Affairs to TC, 16 July 1964 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/551, file 199/215 (Recreational facilities for the Bantu in urban residential areas). Combined Advisory Board, 23 June 1967 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/545, file 198/204 (Minutes of Sobantu Village and Imbali Advisory Boards).

budget allocated, ironic in view of that township's uncertain future.

The lack of continuity in Black sport in general may be explained in terms of a history of relocation away from urban centres and a paucity of capital investment. Black sportspersons, Africans in particular, were often little more than squatters, and where facilities were developed these often had to be abandoned as a process of expulsions took place. Black facilities were most frequently taken over by Whites under the GAA, or by industry. The disadvantage of dependence upon municipal goodwill was compounded by increasing racism in local government policy.⁶³ Nonetheless, weekend sport within Black communities was an important institution, not least as a context for social and political discussion, "cushion[ing] the effects of the socio-psychological onslaught of entrenched racism, discrimination and the toll of daily life."⁶⁴

THE CHALLENGE OF NON-RACIALISM

As the premier sports facility in Pietermaritzburg, Jan Smuts Stadium became a symbol around which issues of non-racial sport and segregation were contested. In 1960 permission was granted to the Natal Midlands Cadet Detachments for free annual use of the stadium for a band and drill competition.⁶⁵ But the following year an approach by the multi-racial Lincoln City Football Club for use of the ground for a match against a Durban side was turned down. The approach was repeated in 1962 because the Showgrounds, the usual venue, was too small for the crowds anticipated; and in any case not available from March to July at the beginning of the season.⁶⁶ The initial reason for refusal was that the Jan Smuts pitch was being top-dressed and prepared for the new cricket season.⁶⁷ However, correspondence from the Director of Parks shows that this was not the only concern. There was a fear that a positive response to Lincoln City would be highly controversial: "the effect of encouraging large numbers of non-Europeans to concentrate in Alexandra Park on Sunday afternoons would not be favourably received by the public. The question of dressing room facilities also arises -

⁶³ However, Black communities were not always disadvantaged. In 1969 an application for land by Old Alexandrians was turned down as it was in use by the Asian and Coloured communities (Housing and Town Planning Comm, 1 Apr 1969 *in* PMA 3/PMB 441-442, file 162/245 (Application by Old Alexandrians Association for land for erection of sporting facilities and clubhouse)).

⁶⁴ Booley, A. *Forgotten heroes: a history of black rugby 1882-1992* (Cape Town: Manie Booley, 1998), p.11.

⁶⁵ CC, 17 May 1960 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/607, file 242/203 (Applications to hire the Jan Smuts Stadium).

⁶⁶ A.R. Potter, Sec, Lincoln City FC to TC, 30 Aug 1961 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/607, file 242/203 (Applications to hire the Jan Smuts Stadium).

⁶⁷ Market and Parks Comm, 15 Sep 1961 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/607, file 242/203 (Applications to hire the Jan Smuts Stadium).

lavatories, showers, tearoom etc. This is further complicated by the fact that European womens [sic] teams frequently use the dressing rooms for hockey matches, dancing displays, national gatherings etc.”⁶⁸ The approval of the Group Areas Board was doubted, Lincoln City FC was not eligible for membership of the Pietermaritzburg Sports Association (PSA), and the stadium was the headquarters of the aggressively White Maritzburg District Football Association (MDFA).

Another multi-racial club, Maritzburg City Professional Soccer Club (MCPSC) then entered the fray, but was refused use of Jan Smuts Stadium on the grounds that it was reserved for the MDFA and that its use by a non-affiliated club would be outside the bounds of the agreement with the PSA.⁶⁹ In 1963 a match between the two Pietermaritzburg sides that were members of the non-racial South African Soccer League (SASL, or the People’s League, which they had joined in 1962), Lincoln and Maritzburg City, was refused on the grounds that there were too many existing commitments.⁷⁰ All manner of activities took place at Jan Smuts - baseball, rugby, kennel club, veteran cars, band competitions and functions of the police and Caledonian Society - but no room could be found for mixed football. Brickhill maintains that the root cause of the marginalisation of non-racial teams affiliated to the SASL was their parent body’s refusal in 1963 to concur with the plans of the White controlling body, the Football Association of South Africa (FASA), to send a Black team to the World Cup of 1966 provided non-racial football accepted a subservient affiliation structure. A blunt refusal led to the famous declaration of “total war” by Vivian Granger manager of the White National Football League: “he wrote to a number of government departments and town councils, asking them to ban non-racial clubs from their grounds”, and this bore fruit in the case of Pietermaritzburg.⁷¹

By the late 1960s the focus had shifted to mixed audiences. In 1968 it was noted that in the past a roped-off area had simply demarcated the Black part of the stadium, but now a permit was required from the Department of Community Development for a mixed gathering. The council announced that it

⁶⁸ Director of Parks to TC, 7 Feb 1962 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/607, file 242/203 (Applications to hire the Jan Smuts Stadium).

⁶⁹ Market and Parks Comm, 12 Feb 1962; TC to MCPSC, 5 Mar 1962 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/607, file 242/203 (Applications to hire the Jan Smuts Stadium).

⁷⁰ A.H.J. Rawat to Director of Parks, 25 Aug 1963; TC to A.H.J. Rawat, 15 Oct 1963 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/607, file 242/203 (Applications to hire the Jan Smuts Stadium).

⁷¹ Brickhill, J. *Race against race: South Africa's 'multi-national' sport fraud* (London: IDAF, 1976), p.57. Both Maritzburg City and Lincoln City had White coaches (R.F. Young and Koos Brandsma respectively); and Maritzburg City had a supporters club that could attract 400 people to a meeting. Illegal gambling was a feature of SASL matches and one high profile incident was recorded at the Royal Agricultural Showgrounds in Mar 1964 (Alegi, P. *Laduma! soccer, politics and society in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004), pp.123, 127, 131).

had no objection provided numbers were kept to a reasonable level.⁷² After an initial refusal, the Department issued permit 3349 (subject to withdrawal at any time) but required a six foot high fence and the intervening gate between Whites and Blacks to be locked prior to matches.⁷³ When a renewal was required for 1969, the requirements were spelled out in detail: a fenced enclosure; separate entrances, exits, ablution facilities and refreshment stalls; and police of "their own race group." There was also concern about Black spectators passing through a White residential area. The MDFA pointed out that professional football in a small town depended on Coloured and Asian spectators.⁷⁴ The music of the turnstiles had persuaded the City Council that mixed attendances at matches improved race relations and the issue of mixed crowds was closely linked to that of floodlights for economic reasons.⁷⁵

In 1970 there was a brief ban on non-White spectators at Jan Smuts Stadium.⁷⁶ At the same time a directive from the police in Pietermaritzburg and Ladysmith warned about the mixing of races in non-racial teams. Norman Middleton described this as "apartheid gone mad." The Department of Community Development pointed out that it was an offence to mix teams without the necessary permit and demanded that each race play sport in its own area, a concept taken up with alacrity by Pietermaritzburg's two National Party candidates, K. Eggers and C.C.L. Kloppers, in the General

⁷² TC to MDFA, 5 Mar 1968; Public Health, Parks and Amenities Comm, 7 Mar 1968 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/209 (Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park). The expected attendance over 16 professional matches was an average of 2 500 Whites and 1 000 Blacks with gate takings of R3 700. The cost of fencing was put at R480 (Public Health, Parks and Amenities Comm, 12 and 18 Mar 1968 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611 file 242/209 (Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park).

⁷³ Public Health, Parks and Amenities Comm, 4 Apr, 2 May 1968; Department of Community Development to MDFA, 29 Mar 1968; TC to Director of Parks, 25 Apr 1968 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/209 (Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park).

⁷⁴ TC to DCD, 11 Nov 1968; MDFA to DCD, 11 Nov 1968 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/209 (Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park).

⁷⁵ City Council, 14 Nov 1968 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/209 (Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park). It was made very clear by the Town Clerk to both the MDFA and Maritzburg Cricket Union (MCU) that DCD permits were their responsibility (TC to MCU, 4 Dec 1968; W.D. Sharp to TC, 10 Dec 1968; TC to MDFA, 18 Dec 1968 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/209 (Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park)). A dispute then arose around the provision of Black facilities. The inadequacy of the stands was evident, but in August 1967 R4 500 for temporary provision was deleted from the city's draft capital estimates (MFC to TC, 5 Sep 1968; Public Health, Parks and Amenities Comm, 7 Aug 1969 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/209 (Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park)). The correspondence suggests that objections were raised by the MCU and that a solution was sought in a move by cricket back to Alexandra Oval, which was strenuously opposed (MCU to TC, 10 Nov 1969 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/209 (Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park)). In a self-absorbed appeal that dwelt on Pietermaritzburg family longevity, it was pointed out that the DCD permit required that at Jan Smuts a separate area be set aside for non-Whites on the banks with a small 40-seater stand and catering and toilet facilities. The actual proposal was a stand for 3 000 and this, it seems, was what upset the cricket authorities (Public Health, Parks and Amenities Comm, 4 Dec 1969; TC to CE, 29 Dec 1969 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/209 (Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park)). Early in 1970 a Council committee seemed to have arrived at a compromise solution: to construct a stand accommodating 3 000 spectators, look into movable stands underneath the main grandstand for another 600 and improve the lighting at the entrance, but not expand the area available for non-White spectators by moving the fence (Finance, Traffic and General Purposes Comm, 21 Jan 1970 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/209 (Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park)).

⁷⁶ *Daily News* 19 Feb 1970.

Election of 1970.⁷⁷

By October of that year the MCU had agreed to return to Alexandra Oval for security reasons and it was decided to invite the Minister of Community Development to inspect Jan Smuts Stadium in connection with permit applications for mixed audiences at professional football.⁷⁸ All changes would in the meantime be put on hold and the Town Clerk, in a deferential tone, indicated that the Council recognised the Minister's desire to move football elsewhere "as you had received complaints from residents living in the area."⁷⁹ Owing to this situation Pietermaritzburg's professional football announced a temporary move to Durban, but in February 1971 the Minister issued a temporary permit for the Jan Smuts Stadium while voicing his desire that the sport should move to "a stadium suitably located for attendance by both the white and non-white groups."⁸⁰ It was understood that this new location would need to be approved by the Departments of Planning, Coloured Affairs and Indian Affairs as well as the Department of Community Development and ultimately approved by the Cabinet, a process that was estimated as likely to take seven years.⁸¹

A problem for the authorities lay in the fact that they were not altogether sure of the ethnic status of players for teams like Maritzburg City Football Club (MCFC) or of the race of spectators without demanding identification.⁸² In May 1972, M. Allie, manager of MCFC wrote to the Town Clerk expressing interest in staging a match against Cape Town Spurs in Jan Smuts Stadium at which 7 000 spectators could be expected.⁸³ The Town Clerk, in pointing out to the Council that MCFC was a mixed team and Spurs Coloured, stated that Northdale Stadium could accommodate 5 000. A permit would be required for Jan Smuts Stadium while "separate dressing room facilities are not available ... [there] .. for use by non-Europeans."⁸⁴ The City Council duly passed the baton on to the Group Areas Board, observing that it had no objection subject to successful application for a permit. This was not

⁷⁷ *Sunday Tribune* 25 Jan 1970. *Daily News* 27 Feb 1970.

⁷⁸ Public Health, Parks and Amenities Comm, 30 Oct 1970 in PMA 3/PMB/4/5/611, file 242/209 (Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park).

⁷⁹ TC to Minister, DCD, 5 Nov 1970 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/209 (Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park).

⁸⁰ City Council, 12 Feb 1971 in PMA 3/PMB/4/5/611, file 242/209 (Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park).

⁸¹ Public Health, Parks and Amenities Comm, 4 Feb 1971, 24 Feb 1971 in PMA 3/PMB/4/5/611, file 242/209 (Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park).

⁸² Director of Parks to TC, 8 Sep 1969 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/610, file 242/207 (Brookside sporting area for Indians).

⁸³ M. Allie to TC, 10 May 1972 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/208 (Applications to hire sports grounds in Alexandra Park).

⁸⁴ TC memo to City Council, 16 May 1972; TC to Director of Parks, 23 May 1972 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/208 (Applications to hire sports grounds in Alexandra Park).

forthcoming. At the same time a permit for Bantu dancing at the Oval was turned down.⁸⁵ Apart from group areas the issue of a new sports stadium development at Chatterton Road was clearly at the back of official minds and referred to in a way that was seen to remove a problem, at least from the White area of the city.⁸⁶

The most disadvantaged community in Pietermaritzburg in terms of the GAA was the Asian and recreational issues became a major point of political dispute. The Northdale Sports Association (NSA) was formed on 16 March 1961, but was not recognised by MISA, by whom it was regarded as an apartheid creation.⁸⁷ The reaction of municipal officials was generally confrontational: for instance, suggested removal of cricket nets at the polo grounds and withdrawal of facilities at Fitzsimmons under the assumption that all Asian sport would move to Northdale.⁸⁸ MISA refused to meet on this issue, using the excuse that some of its members were involved in political parties whose meetings were banned. On its part the NSA reacted bitterly to lack of recognition and the fact that a year had elapsed and crowds of 5 000 were attending matches without sanitation or water.⁸⁹ The Director of Parks commented that "the provision for Indian sport in the city falls well below the needs of a very sport conscious non-European public" and recommended recognition of the NSA; which was granted in March 1962.⁹⁰ A MISA delegation reiterated its stance in June 1962 and asked for development at Brookside, but this was rejected as the area was earmarked for freeway development.⁹¹ The official view that there was no future for Asian sport at Fitzsimmons was tempered by the knowledge that MISA could carry on using it at the pleasure of the Council. This did not stop the Town Clerk repeating the official line and urging a rapprochement between the NSA and MISA.⁹² The argument put forward by MISA was that virtually any development near the city centre was preferable to use of Northdale.⁹³

⁸⁵ Director of Publicity to TC, 25 May 1972 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/208 (Applications to hire sports grounds in Alexandra Park).

⁸⁶ Public Health, Parks and Art Gallery Comm, 2 Nov 1972 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/208 (Applications to hire sports grounds in Alexandra Park).

⁸⁷ R. Naidoo, Sec, NSA to TC, 20 Mar 1961; Memorandum on Indian sporting facilities by the Director of Parks, 27 Mar 1961 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁸⁸ Market and Parks Comm, 20 June 1960, 18 Apr 1961 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁸⁹ NSA to Director of Parks, 27 Jan 1962 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁹⁰ Director of Parks to TC, 7 Feb 1962; Director of Parks to NSA, 13 Mar 1962 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁹¹ Market and Parks Comm, 28 June 1962 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁹² TC to MISA, 2 July 1962 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁹³ Market and Parks Committee, 5 June 1962 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/608, file 242/204 (Sports facilities for Indian schoolchildren).

In November 1962 the City Engineer asked the Estates Manager, “can steps now be taken to move the Indians away from these sports fields?” in the context of road development for Willowton industrial estate.⁹⁴ The Estates Manager then instructed MISA, “your Association must now accept the fact that the use of these grounds is no longer a practical proposition and that your Association must vacate the premises with as little delay as possible.”⁹⁵ MISA’s response was to ask the Town Clerk the whereabouts of alternative facilities and hark back to the 1921 agreement: “your insistence that it should be Northdale or nothing at all is a completely negative approach to the whole question ... My Association [is] in a desperate position. It is tragic that a community which is voteless and completely defenceless should be reduced to this position.”⁹⁶ In arguing that Northdale was a completely separate issue, MISA was refusing to accept the legitimacy of apartheid racial zoning.⁹⁷ The Director of Parks thought otherwise: “it is considered that the facilities at Northdale are sufficient to meet the requirements of the Indian community, but it would appear that [MISA] is not prepared to avail itself of such facilities.”⁹⁸ MISA continued to resist, asking for access across the national road to its old grounds or use of Brookside, and the Estates Manager approached the DCD requesting that it be proclaimed an Asian group area.⁹⁹ This may have been related to the City Engineer’s opinion that Asians living in town (16-20 000 people in lower Church Street) should have 64 acres of recreational space, but possessed only five.¹⁰⁰

The outcome of the Brookside application was of particular interest to the municipality in view of future local government structures, which favoured the NSA. In June 1964 the Town Clerk told MISA that “I have been directed to inform you that as the City Council is providing sports fields with auxiliaries at Northdale and that in view of the financial and other implications it is not prepared to consider the question of developing the Brookside area for the time being ... With the Indian community being accommodated at Northdale, Raisethorpe, Allandale and Newholme and the future expansion in that vicinity the City Council considers that the sporting facilities for Indians should be created and established at Northdale which will ultimately be the centre of the Indian Group Area.”¹⁰¹ MISA responded in forthright terms which summed up the historical conflict: “you must be aware that there is

⁹⁴ CE to EM, 7 Nov 1962 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁹⁵ EM to MISA, 13 Nov 1962 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁹⁶ MISA to TC, 23 Nov 1962 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁹⁷ MISA to EM, 23 Nov 1962 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁹⁸ Director of Parks to TC, 1 Dec 1962 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

⁹⁹ Director of Parks to TC, 3 Jan 1963; EM to DCD, 6 Dec 1963 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹⁰⁰ CE to TC, 3 Oct 1963 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹⁰¹ TC to MISA, 29 June 1964 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

now a clearly defined and densely populated Indian Group Area in central Pietermaritzburg. What sports facilities is your Council providing for this section of its citizenry - the second largest rate paying section in the city? If your Council was as mindful of its duties and obligations to its citizens as stated in your letter of 13/1/64, the Indian sportsmen would not be placed in their present plight nor would approximately 90% of the money drawn from the city coffers for sports amenities be utilised, either directly or indirectly, for the subsidising of only White Sports." MISA was maintaining, with little assistance, six football and three cricket fields plus two tennis courts; and until "alternative grounds have been provided we regret we cannot agree to our removal from the present grounds."¹⁰²

The municipal response was one of judicious expediency. While the Director of Parks recommended three cricket grounds at Northdale, he also suggested three temporary pitches at Chatterton Road. "The alternative is offered", he noted, "with the knowledge that the [MISA] will almost certainly refuse to play their sport at Northdale."¹⁰³ In September 1964 Eddels seven-acre facility at Mountain Rise became the Indian Recreation Club. At the same time the Estates Manager served a final eviction notice effective 30 November on the Fitzsimmons Indian Sports Ground; to which A.K. Essack (Attorneys) responded with the intention to institute legal proceedings should the City Engineer enter the area.¹⁰⁴ While the Market and Parks Committee repeated the standard refrain, "alternative sporting facilities have been provided at Northdale and ... this [should] be regarded as a main Indian sporting centre"; an application was made to the DCD for a 12 month permit for Asian cricket at Chatterton.¹⁰⁵ In November MISA withdrew its legal action and accepted Chatterton.¹⁰⁶ A temporary permit was issued, but in the hope that a permanent solution in terms of the GAA could be found.¹⁰⁷

Chatterton Road, a 24 acre site next to the polo fields, had been in use by Coloured sport for many years. In some parts of the municipality polo was not held to be of great value to Pietermaritzburg and Chatterton, it was calculated, could accommodate a cricket pitch, six rugby and two hockey pitches plus four tennis courts.¹⁰⁸ The vulnerability of Coloured tenure was, however, obvious with the

¹⁰² MISA to TC, 25 Sep 1964 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹⁰³ Director of Parks to TC, 29 Sep 1964 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹⁰⁴ EM to MISA, 11 Sep 1964; A.K. Essack, Attorneys to TC, 30 Sep 1964 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹⁰⁵ Market and Parks Comm, 15 Oct 1964; EM to DCD, 26 Oct 1964 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹⁰⁶ TC to MISA, 30 Oct 1964; MISA to TC, 24 Nov 1964 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹⁰⁷ Department of Planning to EM, 25 Nov 1964 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹⁰⁸ EM to TC, 5 Oct 1961 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 601, file 162/111 (Proposed location of polo grounds Chatterton Road area).

possibility of a forced move to Woodlands under the GAA. A proposal was floated that White rugby should move to Chatterton and polo to the Scottsville Race Course, but while polo was happy about this, rugby was not and the status quo remained.¹⁰⁹

Chatterton was allocated to the Coloured community in 1963 for an anticipated period of ten years or “until such time as the Department of Community Development told them to move.” The Polo Association registered its happiness about sharing the area “provided there were separate facilities.”¹¹⁰ In spite of its temporary status a changing room and implement shed were provided and there appears also to have been a kiosk.¹¹¹ In 1964, when MISA was granted temporary use of the area, a new pitch was laid and toilets were constructed on the banks of the Dorpspruit, with mention of renovation of a building next to the Coloured changing room. A permit (C5587) was issued on 31 December 1965: the “City Council of Pietermaritzburg (White) is hereby authorized to allow the MISA and Indian spectators at cricket matches to occupy for a period of one year from the date of issue of this permit ... the cricket field on ... the Townlands of Pietermaritzburg.”¹¹² Permits continued to be issued as a matter of routine.¹¹³

In apparent acceptance of the presence of an Asian community in the central area of Pietermaritzburg, Council persisted with attempts to acquire Brookside, land between East Street and the freeway and near the old Willow Bridge polo ground, from the estate of Charles Nulliah (the old brickworks) and from G.N. Naidoo, describing the need as “extremely pressing.”¹¹⁴ A lack of response encouraged municipal talk of expropriation and this occurred on 22 September 1966.¹¹⁵ Brookside was initially suggested as a solution to the tennis issue, but inevitably it soon became another factor in the dispute between MISA and the municipality. In December 1968, the City Engineer indicated that “he had a different conception of Brookside from that which was apparently in the minds of [MISA], as he

¹⁰⁹ CE to TC, 26 Oct 1961; Director of Parks to TC, 4 Dec 1961; Market and Parks Comm, 12 Feb 1962; South African Polo Association to TC, 12 Apr 1962; Notes on a meeting at the City Hall with SAPA and MRSU, 8 Mar 1962 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 601, file 162/111 (Proposed location of polo grounds Chatterton Road area).

¹¹⁰ Market and Parks Comm, 14 Feb and 15 Mar 1963 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/512, file 162/230 (Polo grounds).

¹¹¹ *CYB* 1964, p.56.

¹¹² *CYB* 1965, p.163. Director of Parks to TC, 30 Nov 1964; Permit C5587 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹¹³ In 1970, G.N. Oldfield, MP for Umbilo in a question in the House of Assembly elicited from Blaar Coetzee, Minister of Cooperation and Development, the response that this was one of three extant permits for the use of disqualified grounds, the others being at East London and Lenasia. In Durban similar usage was stopped by police in the absence of a permit (*DHA* 29, 28 July 1970, col.515. Helen Suzman with a response from Minister of Sport and Indian Affairs, Frank Waring, *DHA* 30, 1 Sep 1970, col. 3089).

¹¹⁴ TC to EM, 23 Feb 1965; EM to P. Nulliah & G.N. Naidoo, 1 Mar 1965 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹¹⁵ TC to MISA, 21 Feb 1966; EM to TC, 14 Oct 1966 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA). Market and Parks Comm, 11 Apr 1967 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/610, file 242/207 (Brookside sporting area for Indians).

did not regard this ground as a venue for major sporting fixtures which would attract large crowds. He was of the opinion that this type of fixture should take place at Northdale, where there was an adequate grandstand." In fact, the authorities intended using part of Brookside for a road link between Greytown Road and Berg Street and suggested that sports grounds would have to fit around it.¹¹⁶ MISA was accordingly advised that no funds were available for a grandstand and that planned road development would remain unaffected. An alternative possibility was revived in 1969 with the idea of MISA taking over the Tatham Memorial Ground: as long ago as 1963 the City Engineer had passed the opinion that "the life of these grounds, as Bantu sportsfields, is now extremely limited under the provisions of the Group Areas Act."¹¹⁷ The Director of Parks suggested continued use of Chatterton Road unless it was claimed by Whites. Brookside was due to be handed over to MISA on 1 February 1971.¹¹⁸ Compromise was reached in principle in April 1971 when the City Council recognised Northdale as the premier sports ground for the Asian community, but conceded that other "suburban" grounds with basic facilities could be provided. In the early 1970s Brookside was also used by African football players.¹¹⁹

Other disputes between MISA and the City Council arose around tennis courts and the annual grant. The building of the freeway resulted in the loss of tennis courts and the pavilion at Fitzsimmons and conflict developed over compensation.¹²⁰ The Estates Manager denied any moral or other right to compensation and made the standard response about facilities at Northdale.¹²¹ MISA argued that loss of its assets (valued at R12 800) had resulted in withdrawal from the Natal Indian Lawn Tennis Union (NILTU) and requested that courts be laid at the intersection of Greytown Road and the Dorpspruit.¹²² The old City Engineer's premises in Berg Street were suggested as an Asian park with tennis facilities and a children's playground, and construction was started in late 1967.¹²³ An increased grant was requested in February 1965 on the grounds that the NSA received R60 per month as opposed to

¹¹⁶ Public Health, Parks and Amenities Comm, 5 Dec 1968 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/610, file 242/207 (Brookside sporting area for Indians).

¹¹⁷ TC to Director of Parks, 5 Aug 1969 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/610, file 242/207 (Brookside sporting area for Indians). CE to TC, 18 Oct 1963 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/210, file 242/2 (Fitzsimmons Road Sports Ground).

¹¹⁸ Subsidence problems necessitated the dumping of 600 truck loads of soil. There were also problems of vandalism (Public Health, Parks and Amenities Comm, 10 Sep 1970 and 1 Apr 1971 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/610, file 242/207 (Brookside sporting area for Indians). *CYB* 1971, p.175).

¹¹⁹ *CYB* 1972, p.195.

¹²⁰ Chief Engineer, Roads Dept, Natal Provincial Administration to EM, 6 July 1965; EM to CE, 14 July 1965 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹²¹ EM to TC, 18 July 1966 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹²² MISA to TC, 25 July 1966; MISA to Chief Engineer, Roads Dept, 25 July 1966 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹²³ Director of Parks to TC, 4 Oct 1967; CE to Director of Parks, 15 Mar 1967 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

MISA's R45.¹²⁴ MISA pointed out, correctly, that the Chatterton Road ground had no fence and therefore no revenue raising potential; and asked for goal posts and a cricket mat.¹²⁵ The Town Clerk acknowledged municipal responsibility for heavy equipment, but not for sports paraphernalia.¹²⁶

In 1963 property had been acquired at Raisethorpe for future recreational purposes.¹²⁷ This was presumably the facility later described in 1969 by the Raisethorpe and District Sports Association as a "ground which is grossly inadequate", without toilets, running water or changing rooms. The Association went on, "we feel that as one of the biggest rate-paying Indian areas with a tremendous fast growing population and a large sports playing percentage of the population, fully merits your kindest consideration [sic]." This was a view supported by ILAC.¹²⁸

There was also a request from the middle-class Asian area of Allandale for a recreation ground.¹²⁹ This laid stress on the fact that the local sports association was independent, but both ILAC and the City Council put forward an argument for one central, co-ordinating body. From his perspective, the Director of Parks argued that he should be dealing with no more than two sports associations, MISA and NSA, implying that Raisethorpe and Allandale should be absorbed into the latter.¹³⁰ The Allandale Sports Association (ASA) made a specific request for women's facilities for hockey, netball and tennis, plus a community hall and theatre.¹³¹ The ASA had no interest in liaising with Raisethorpe and by 1970 the matter was still caught up in the even more complicated and ultimately doomed issue of one sports body for the Asian community.¹³² In September 1969 the ILAC attempted to bring together MISA and NSA, but with no success. There were, however, other voices audible in the Asian community. One was that of L.S. Moodley, ousted in 1969 as President of the Maritzburg District Cricket Union by A.H.I. Rawat, who agitated for racially exclusive Indian facilities and was critical of government for not going far enough. Amongst other protests he objected to African

¹²⁴ A.H.I. Rawat, President, MISA to Director of Parks, 25 Feb 1965 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹²⁵ Director of Parks to TC, 1 Aug 1966 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹²⁶ TC to MISA, 16 Sep 1966 in PMA 3/PMB, C batch, file 265/105 (MISA).

¹²⁷ *CYB* 1963, pp.133-134.

¹²⁸ RADSA to TC, 25 Nov 1969 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/674, file 265/202 (MISA). ILAC, 19 Jan and 15 Mar 1968 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/608, file 242/204 (Sports facilities for Indian school children).

¹²⁹ R. Baiju, Sec, ASA to TC, 3 Sep 1968 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/16, file 63/216 (Allandale Sports Association).

¹³⁰ ILAC, 6 Nov 1968; Director of Parks to TC, 20 Nov 1968 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/16, file 63/216 (Allandale Sports Association).

¹³¹ G. Singh, Sec, ASA to TC, 26 Nov 1968 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/16, file 63/216 (Allandale Sports Association).

¹³² G. Singh, Sec, ASA to TC, 19 Mar 1969; TC to Sec, ASA, 4 June 1969; TC to Sec, Raisethorpe and District Sports Assoc, 28 July 1970 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/16, file 63/216 (Allandale Sports Association).

and Coloured football players using Northdale: "sporting amenities should be used exclusively by the residents of the Township."¹³³ Multi-racial sport at Northdale was terminated pending a permit, to which ILAC had no objection.

During the 1960s White golf facilities were made available for segregated provincial tournaments: in December 1967, for instance, the Natal Open Golf championship was held at the Pietermaritzburg Country Club and won by Papwa Sewgolum.¹³⁴ In 1972 there were two other applications to use White facilities in Pietermaritzburg. But a Round Table application for two Black football teams to use the Jan Smuts Stadium (in the middle of a White residential area) was refused.¹³⁵

SUMMARY

The creation of satellite dormitory towns for the Asian, Coloured and African people of Pietermaritzburg forced the municipality into expenditure on the recreational needs of these communities. The first two received stadia and swimming pools of reasonable quality in recognition of their involvement in compulsory relocation, but this did not result in a pattern of ongoing spending that was in any sense equitable. This was reflected by the first systematic surveys ever undertaken into recreational provision in Pietermaritzburg. Just as the impact of the GAA was highly skewed in intent and practice, so funding remained notably discriminatory. While Northdale and Woodlands benefited from improved funding, so too did White facilities. An important point to note is that a decreasing proportion of funding for White recreation was directed into municipal facilities and the general rates fund was increasingly bearing the cost of the privatisation of White sport: the example of Collegians Club is typical. Working-class Whites who had previously profited from the pattern of municipal spending now began to lag behind in the provision of facilities.

All African social activity, whether sport, night schools or beer halls and eating places, was systematically removed from the borough as part of the bantustan policy, although this resulted in the

¹³³ L.S. Moodley to TC, 24 Aug and 11 Sep 1969; L.S. Moodley to ILAC, 23 Sep 1969 to TC in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/610, file 242/207 (Brookside sporting area for Indians).

¹³⁴ NW 30 Dec 1967, p.4. For further detail on Sewgolum see: Nicholson, C. *Papwa Sewgolum: from pariah to legend* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2005). An indication of government thinking in the early 1970s was provided by use of the City Hall. In September 1971 the Pietermaritzburg Indian Mental Health Society was refused a booking by the Minister of Community Development, Blaar Coetzee, on the grounds that an alternative was available at Northdale. An appeal was turned down, but another Asian organisation was granted permission in May 1972 because it was a religious group with a segregated audience (Questions by L.E.D. Winchester (MP for Port Natal) in the House of Assembly DHA 40, 11 Feb 1972, col. 150; 28 Mar 1972, col. 738; 23 May 1972, col. 1063).

¹³⁵ Question by G.W. Mills (MP for Pmb N) in the House of Assembly DHA 58, 25 Mar 1975, col. 590.

construction at Imbali of the first, albeit rudimentary, sports facilities for this community since the 1937 completion of the TMG. Imbali was a typical soulless dormitory for the provision of African labour to the White town. While beer profits remained remarkably high, little of this found its way into social welfare projects such as recreation and most was spent on the infrastructure and administration of bantustan policy. The major African sports, football and boxing, maintained only a tenuous hold on municipal space and were indirectly tightly constrained by White interests.

Racial definition of space remained an obsession amongst White officials, now encouraged by central government policy. Most of Pietermaritzburg's recreation and sports grounds were to be found on marginal land. The location of White facilities on the banks of the Umsindusi River made them vulnerable to flood, but this was gradually curtailed through canalisation. Black facilities, on the other hand, were terminally threatened by expropriation for industrial development, railway sidings and new roads, including the Durban to Johannesburg freeway. The official reaction was that this was of no long term account since brand new facilities were being constructed in the townships of Northdale, Woodlands and Imbali.

The main challenge to White hegemony came from the Asian community, the group most affected by the GAA and the one most inclined to oppose apartheid since Pietermaritzburg was rapidly becoming as much an Asian as a White city. Initially the struggle centred on access to Pietermaritzburg's prime sports facility, Jan Smuts Stadium, by multi-racial football teams from the SASF. This failed and was succeeded by a tussle around spectator accommodation for professional football, which could not survive without the revenue provided by Black supporters. The inconsistencies of the law, uncertainties over government policy and the vacillation of the municipality produced a situation in which it was never certain from year to year whether the Department of Community Development would or would not approve a permit for segregated crowds at Jan Smuts Stadium. One reaction from the City Council was to float the possibility of developing Chatterton Road as a football venue, relieving pressure on the White suburbs of Scottsville and Pelham.

This brought into sharp focus the fact that the conflict around sports venues was a fundamentally political struggle over identity and the right of the Asian community, in particular, to resist spatial marginalisation to the periphery of Pietermaritzburg. In the fight against racial zoning, sports fields became a symbol of a right to space in the city proper dominated by Whites. Football, cricket and tennis facilities at Fitzsimmons were lost to road and industrial development and access to Chatterton and Brookside, neither of them much more than open veld, became emblematic of resistance

to removal to Northdale. This represented a deep cleavage within the Asian community between those prepared to accept racial definition and the distant promise of a slightly more privileged position within the South African racial hierarchy; and those who identified with various strands of the non-racial, anti-apartheid movement. Within the Coloured community some of the same tensions were evident, although there was a stronger and more influential body of conservative, segregationist thinking that approved of the ideological meaning of Woodlands township.

There was an undocumented, popular view in some circles in the 1960s and 1970s that the Pietermaritzburg City Council was a liberal bastion at a time when apartheid practices were taking a tighter grip on South Africa. Little evidence can be found of this in the history of recreational facility provision. A small group of liberal Whites with Black Sash connections made representations about swimming facilities for Blacks. Water sports were a particularly sensitive issue in a race-based society. The reaction of the municipality cannot in any way be construed as liberal, although it may be regarded as pragmatic. Its approach is summed up in a letter written by the Town Clerk in December 1971 to the Estates Manager and City Treasurer: "the long and sad history of sporting facilities for the Indian Community living in the central city area is of course well known to you and ever since the Council took over their old facilities for the Willowton Industrial Area, they have been promised that something would be done for them."¹³⁶ It was clear that a significant fraction of the Asian community, a relatively influential although politically disenfranchised group of ratepayers represented by MISA, would have to remain resident in the lower Church Street area spanning East and Retief Streets. The municipality thus moved carefully between government policy and local demands, at pains to see that White interests were not compromised but sometimes stopping short of a rigid interpretation of apartheid policy. Thus the Council adopted a position of realism and accepted the existence of two sports associations, the anti-apartheid MISA and the conservative, conformist NSA. The significance of this is that a successful struggle over urban space from the point of view of the Asian community took place at the apotheosis of apartheid, before Minister of Sport Piet Koornhof and Vorster's government came to see sport as a concessionary issue through which to persuade the rest of the World of what they regarded as the logic and acceptability of apartheid.

¹³⁶ TC to EM, Director of Parks and CT, 14 Dec 1972 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/610, file 242/207 (Brookside sporting area for Indians).

CHAPTER TEN AURORA CRICKET CLUB, 1973-1974

NATIONAL CONTEXT¹

Black and White cricketers playing together on a public ground would have been regarded as a sign of normality anywhere else in the world in the last third of the twentieth century. But in South Africa in 1973 such an event was sufficient to excite the close attention of government officials and the security police. The occasion was the involvement of a cricket team called Aurora, comprising players of varying ethnicity, in the White league in Pietermaritzburg. This was the first such instance in the modern history of South African sport.

Although this was an event specific to Pietermaritzburg, it is relevant to consider the climate of the times in both South Africa as a whole and sport in general. The year 1973 was one of increasing Black discontent with unrest at universities, in particular University of the Western Cape and University of Fort Hare; and widespread strikes, especially in the mining and manufacturing sectors. In Durban, over 160 disputes involving more than 60 000 workers took place. Publicity by Students Wages Commissions stimulated a close look at the employment practices of British, American and German companies.

The government's reaction varied. At its most extreme it set up the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organisations, more commonly known as the Schlebusch Commission, which targeted the University Christian Movement, National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the Christian Institute (CI) and South African Institute of Race Relations. Working in a fashion consistent with the police state that South Africa had become, the government banned leaders of NUSAS, the South African Students Organisation and the Black People's Convention, and withdrew many passports. By mid-1973, 200 banning orders had been handed out, gatherings in Johannesburg and Cape Town had been restricted, and the press was being threatened by Prime Minister Vorster.

However, even within the National Party (NP) questions were being asked about the efficacy of petty apartheid, while the United Party (UP) continued to promote the idea that the use of facilities should be left to proprietors and economic forces, and shared where there was no other alternative. One of its Members of Parliament (MP) complained that the Government's policy was based on "twisted logic", commenting in particular about the treatment received by football and cricket,

¹ SRR 1973.

although a colleague confirmed that the UP was against mixed clubs.² A Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group (the Theron Commission) was given the task of investigating social conditions, including sport and culture. A survey of the Coloured population in Johannesburg suggested that socio-economic opportunity and political equality were valued more highly than desegregation. There were also tentative moves towards the extension to Africans of the right to establish trade unions. But the gap in educational funding was illustrated by an enormous differential between White (R461) and Black (R25).

In short, it was a time of significant political adjustment. The government, it may be argued, was experiencing a period of vacillation, applying police state methods to some of its opponents while seeking to reform aspects of its socio-political policies. One of its high-powered critics, the CI, called on believers to obey God and reject racism, apartheid and exclusive nationalism using civil disobedience and passive resistance.³

The year 1973 was also a momentous time for sport in South Africa. On 13 March the anti-apartheid, non-racial umbrella body, the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) involving nine sporting codes was formed under the leadership of Norman Middleton.⁴ Its initial objectives included international recognition of South African sport in exchange for unified, non-racial federations; better facilities and sponsorship for Black sportspersons; and an end to permits for sports events.⁵ Middleton was from Pietermaritzburg and a typical SACOS official in that he had been charged and convicted for quoting George Singh, a banned non-racial sports leader. However, he was also a representative of the Labour Party and had sat on the Coloured Representative Council (CRC), a body seen as a creation of the apartheid state. In January 1977 he would be replaced as President of SACOS on this account. Also in March 1973 the open international South African Games were held, attracting 673 competitors from 33 countries as well as South Africans of all communities who participated in racial groups in team sports. Five Black South Africans won medals. There were 207 000 spectators and an opinion poll found that 69% of respondents felt there should be more opportunities for joint Black and

² D.J. Marais (MP for Johannesburg North) and H. Van Z. Cillic (Port Elizabeth Central) *DHA* 40, 2 May 1972, col. 6241 and col. 6250. The MP for Pietermaritzburg North, Graham Mills, called sports policy a "mixed salad" and the NP MP for Pretoria North argued that the "age of soft South Africa has dawned" to the detriment of its military readiness and the security of the "fatherland" (G.W. Mills and J.J. Lloyd (Pretoria North) *DHA* 52, 14 Oct 1974, col. 5273 and col. 5291).

³ The re-emergence of another major opponent, the African National Congress (ANC), was given credibility by the explosion of pamphlet bombs in major cities, the circulation of a newsletter (*Amandla-Matha*) and the arrest and trial of a number of couriers, all of which suggested that a rudimentary operational presence had been re-established in the country (Lodge, T. *Black politics in South Africa since 1945* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1983), p.302).

⁴ The codes were athletics and cycling, cricket, hockey, rugby, football, swimming, table tennis, tennis, and weightlifting and body building.

⁵ University of the Witwatersrand. Development Studies Group/South African Research Services. *Politics in sport* (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1981), pp. 13, 15.

White participation in sport. This figure included a majority of Afrikaans speakers.⁶ Opposition to the government's "multinational" sports policy by SACOS was to be the core of the struggle around sport for the remainder of the decade.

Establishment cricketers had for some while been feeling unfairly penalised compared with other sports in terms of the international boycott: in the words of Chettle "the door is opened to some sports and slammed in the face of others."⁷ They professed support for "multinational" sport at club level feeding into multi-racial cricket at higher levels and had participated in a tri-partite meeting in Cape Town on 25 March 1973 to discuss merit selection as a prelude to renewed international recognition. The three bodies, the White South African Cricket Association (SACA), the Black South African Cricket Board (SAACB) and the non-racial South African Cricket Board of Control (SACBOC), had failed to arrive at an agreement despite "a candid and constructive exchange of views."⁸

In December 1973, Arthur Ashe was granted a visa to play tennis in South Africa and Minister of Sport Piet Koornhof was quoted in one of the century's more optimistic pronouncements as saying that South Africa could now make a strong case to host the Olympics. In December 1973 it was announced that the South African Sugar Circuit would be open to all tennis players.⁹ But the international boycott was growing stronger. The crucial issue had become not that of mixed touring teams, which Koornhof was inclined to favour, but mixed trials, which he was not.

LOCAL DEVELOPMENTS

During the years 1973-74 Pietermaritzburg continued to grow as a city. Work commenced on eleven new factories with an estimated floor area of 75 000 square metres scheduled to create 1 500 to 1 800 new jobs, and the Asian industrial area in particular was reported to be thriving. The Grange (White), Woodlands (Coloured) and Northdale (Asian) housing areas expanded in reality and planning. Conditions improved for the Asian community, to whom 73% of municipal housing was assigned, in particular. Even so, 75% of the community (of whom 70% lived in Northdale) were

⁶ Anderson, P.G. *An investigation into the effect of race and politics on the development of South African sport (1970-1979)* (Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, 1979), pp.281-282.

⁷ Chettle, G.A. Editorial. *South African cricket annual* 19, 1972, p.5.

⁸ *South African cricket annual* 20, 1973, p.39. The decision of the government to allow a Black American boxer to fight a White South African in Johannesburg was interpreted by the press as a tiny crack in apartheid sport, although it was simply a concession and established no rights.

⁹ *Natal Witness* (hereafter *NW*) 4,5 and 27 Sep, 1 and 22 Oct, 2 and 29 Nov 1973; *Sunday Tribune* (hereafter *ST*) 4 and 18 Nov, 9 Dec 1973.

reckoned to exist below the Poverty Datum Line. By 1974 average unit density had declined to 5.7 persons from 6.3 only two years before, after the move of more than 13 000 people into Northdale Extension over 15 months. The fact that the Coloured community was the fastest growing in Pietermaritzburg with a housing density of 6.15 and a great deal of overcrowding was acknowledged by the incorporation of K3 into Eastwood on 1 August 1974. The harsh realities of apartheid continued to intrude, with the removal of squatters from Slangspruit and Allandale. In 1973 the last land acquisition for Imbali was effected. By now the township had a population of 15 000.

The perception that Pietermaritzburg City Council had liberal inclinations prompted a concerted, although unsuccessful, challenge from the NP in the local government elections. In 1974 the chairs of the two Local Affairs Committees became non-voting observers at meetings of Council and its standing committees, anticipating the eventual graduation of the Coloured and Asian townships to autonomous status. The estimated 1974 population was 141 780, of which Whites remained the largest single group constituting 33% compared with 31% African, 29% Asian and 7% Coloured. The health of this population remained highly variable: in 1974, 46% of the Black population was still dying before its 45th birthday, but the White figure was only 10%. In the view of the Medical Officer of Health the "debilitating effects of overcrowding" contributed to the "poor disease resistance of many of our population which stems from malnutrition and undernutrition."¹⁰ Black mortality was attributed to diseases of the respiratory system and alimentary tract.¹¹ On 1 August 1973 the Bantu Administration Board took over "all the functions and powers presently enjoyed by the City Council" relating to the administration of the African community. In the last year of the municipal monopoly beer profits were 32% on turnover of R1.641 million.¹²

The open air baths were extended to 50m, the Olympic length, and re-opened in November 1973. By contrast, the 1 400 young swimmers (of 7 900 children) in the Asian community had to pay a 6c return bus fare from Northdale to use the Berg Street Baths, and funds for a Northdale facility were excised from the budget.¹³ Alexandra Park gained a football ground, the cycling track was upgraded and the hockey fields were floodlit, while Jan Smuts Stadium was improved. Northdale acquired a hockey pitch while Woodlands added hockey and cricket and the whole complex was later handed back to the Coloured Sports Grounds Association in May 1975. Imbali's football ground was completed. Kershaw Park tennis planned expansion to qualify as an international venue and ideas

¹⁰ *CYB* 1973, p.102.

¹¹ *CYB* 1974, p.33.

¹² *CYB* 1973, p.20.

¹³ ILAC, 27 Nov 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/810, file 299/214 (Northdale: Olympic swimming pool).

continued to be discussed about a football complex at Chatterton. Perhaps most significant of all, Africans were finally ousted in November 1973 from Tatham Memorial Ground (TMG). Ironically they were replaced by the anti-apartheid Maritzburg Indian Sports Association (MISA), which was also allotted land between the Dorpspruit and Laburnam Road for football and netball for "Central Area Indians."¹⁴ Information about loans to sporting bodies becomes impossible to acquire in detail, but in 1973 they totalled R47 400 escalating in 1974 to R240 000.¹⁵ Collegians Club was inevitably a beneficiary, taking up a deferred loan of R50 000 in 1974 at variable interest (9.5% and 12%).¹⁶ The Maritzburg Coloured Sports Board and MISA received annual grants of R1 000 and R2 000 respectively in 1974.¹⁷ The 1973-74 grant-in-aid to White cricket amounted to R3000 compared with R400 to their Asian counterparts. The marginal nature of Black facilities was epitomised by the Berg Street Recreation Ground for the Asian community, which was a thoroughfare for commuters from Ematsheni bus rank, used for car repair and driving practice; and notable for vandalism and litter. A complainant demanded that it be "restricted to only Indian children occupying it as a play ground."¹⁸ The Director of Parks' response indicated an unwillingness to spend money on intractable problems.¹⁹

The idea of a new complex at Chatterton was strongly opposed by those who felt that the cost (R350 000 to R500 000) was not justified in view of other priorities, including high financial demands for facilities placed on the Council by the Group Areas Act (GAA). Councillor Pamela Reid suggested that Jan Smuts Stadium, at risk of becoming underutilised after the departure of cricket, should be open to all and asked why, if a Black presence were acceptable at the nearby Scottsville Racecourse, spectators at Jan Smuts were such a problem.²⁰ This matter reflected the tensions between apartheid legislation and financial concerns, which were often at odds. The National Football League pledged co-operation by scheduling as few night games at Jan Smuts as possible and concentrating on Sunday afternoons when special buses could be organised; and the DCD permit was extended for the

¹⁴ Public Health, Parks and Amenities Committee, 7 Mar 1974 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/612, file 242/210 (Soccer bowl in the Chatterton Road area). Finance, Traffic and General Purposes Committee, 23 Aug 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/612, file 242/213 (Use of rem of lot 368 Townlands to Indians for playing field). In 1974 the grounds at TMG were restored, the pavilion renovated and a two-pitch cricket table established.

¹⁵ *CYB* 1973, p. 223; 1974, p. 199.

¹⁶ Finance, Policy and General Purposes Committee, 20 Sep 1974 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/606, file 242/113 (Collegians Club).

¹⁷ City Council, 25 July 1974 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/674, file 265/202 (MISA).

¹⁸ TC to Director of Parks, 27 June 1972; L.S. Moodley to TC, 5 Jan 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/612, file 242/212 (Berg Street Recreation Centre).

¹⁹ Director of Parks to TC, 15 Aug 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/612, file 242/212 (Berg Street Recreation Centre).

²⁰ City Council, 15 May 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/612, file 242/210 (Soccer bowl in the Chatterton Road area).

1974 season.²¹ This situation was good news for Asian and Coloured cricket and football at Chatterton, although it was noted that conditions there were deteriorating for “any reasonable standard of sport” with “deep depressions in the grounds.”²² In June 1973 permission to use Chatterton for cricket was extended until the end of the 1974-75 season, but uncertainty regarding length of occupation (at the pleasure of Council and permission of the DCD) provided the municipality with the excuse not to invest in the facility, even to the extent of denying toilets.²³ In 1974 Khan Road was identified as a site in Northdale for another sports ground along with long term plans for the Jesmond Deane area near Eastwood.²⁴

A completed questionnaire to the Theron Commission summarises the state of Coloured recreation in 1973. It listed a community centre, two recreation halls, two sports centres, a picnic site and a swimming pool, but noted that one of the “recreation halls is in a European Group Area [Greyling Street], and it is proposed to replace this.” It was noted that Chatterton Road was the home ground for eleven football, five cricket and two hockey clubs, which used a wood and iron changing room and sub standard toilets, but “no improvements have been considered as the grounds are used by annual permission of Dept. Com Development [sic.]” Woodlands Sports Ground, it was recorded, had washing facilities and toilets, but no changing rooms. There were also four children’s playgrounds.²⁵

The move of African social and sporting activity out of the municipal area continued unabated. The Maritzburg Bantu Football Association (MBFA) expressed its outrage that it should disband and, under White supervision, join forces with Imbali. The MBFA made the point that it had been in existence since 1926 and that Imbali clubs were free to join a successful association.²⁶ But the Town Clerk languidly commented, “it is assumed that the Bantu will have grounds elsewhere to continue their activities.”²⁷ The traditional 1973 children’s sport day, presumably the

²¹ Public Health, Parks and Amenities Committee, 7 June 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/612, file 242/210 (Soccer bowl in the Chatterton Road area).

²² Public Health, Parks and Amenities Committee, 5 Dec 1974; ILAC, 12 June 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/612, file 242/210 (Soccer bowl in the Chatterton Road area). This subsidence was a legacy of the old municipal dump and the marking out of grounds had to accommodate itself to the local topography (TC to Commissioner for Community Development, 13 Jan 1975 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/612, file 242/210 (Soccer bowl in the Chatterton Road area)).

²³ TC to City Engineer, 28 Sep 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/674, file 265/202 (MISA). Public Health, Parks and Art Gallery Committee, 6 Dec 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/609, file 242/205 (Coloured Sports Ground).

²⁴ Public Health, Parks and Art Gallery Committee, 2 Dec 1974 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/612, file 242/214 (Proposed new stadium: Northdale stage 9).

²⁵ TC to Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Group, 19 Sep 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/204, file 75/216 (Sports and recreation facilities for Coloureds).

²⁶ MBFA to Director of Bantu Affairs, 12 May 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/210, file 242/2 (Fitzsimmons Road Sports Ground).

²⁷ TC to DBA, 8 Nov 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/210, file 242/2 (Fitzsimmons Road Sports Ground).

last to be held at the TMG, was described by the Director of Bantu Administration as “most unsuccessful ... The organisation could only be described as chaotic.”²⁸

AURORA'S APPLICATION

The immediate origins of Aurora's challenge to the government can be traced to a match organised by law students and played at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg in April 1973 between White and mixed teams. In early June 1973, in a move to test both the law and the attitudes of White cricket officials, Aurora applied for admission to the second division of the Maritzburg Cricket Union (MCU), taking care to ascertain the application procedure before admitting that it had Black members. Aurora was fearful that it would be turned down on technical grounds as had happened to College Old Boys in the Transvaal. The ground had been prepared with an opinion from senior counsel that the legality of a multi-racial club was assured as long as certain proprieties were met. One of the lawyers was John Didcott, later to become a judge, whose views on the concept of occupation under the GAA were expressed in a feeling that batsmen who hit a century were in danger of prosecution, those out for a duck would be safe: “the successful litigation strategy, he said, would be to bowl brilliantly, bat badly - and not to stay for tea.”²⁹

At this stage the club consisted of 12 White (some of whom were involved with the Progressive Party) and six Coloured and Asian players (with experience ranging from professional cricket in Britain to local first league) with access to three venues. At the initial meeting with the Secretary of the MCU, the information that Aurora was a mixed team was casually dropped as an afterthought, causing consternation and an immediate phone call to the President.³⁰ The MCU passed the application on to the Natal Cricket Association (NCA). Referral of a second division application to the provincial body was widely seen as unusual and MCU officials appear to have been elusive when contacted by the press on this point. Harold Samuels of the anti-apartheid, non-racial Natal Cricket Board (NCB) pointed out how easy it would have been for Aurora to affiliate to his body; while Hassan Howa of SACBOC extended a cautious welcome, asking whether Aurora was a multi-racial or a non-racial venture. The term ‘non-racial’ was increasingly being used to denote

²⁸ Combined Advisory Board (Sobantu Township and Imbali Bantu Township), 22 June 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/545, file 198/204 (Minutes of Sobantu Village and Imbali Advisory Boards).

²⁹ Hogarth. It just wasn't cricket. *The Times* 8 Nov 1998, quoting from an address by Halton Cheadle at the memorial service for Justice John Didcott.

³⁰ Interview with Michael Hickson, 29 July 1999.

sportspeople who not only played with persons of another race, but also opposed in principle and practice the system of apartheid and the fact of minority rule.³¹

In defending Aurora against predictable accusations of ulterior (that is to say political) motive, Mike Hickson, the acting secretary, argued that the club was non-political. Indeed, Aurora turned down an offer of intercession by the *verlig* National Party politician, Otto Krause, because it believed the issue should have nothing to do with politics.³² It would not divulge the names of all its supporters, however, in case jobs were jeopardised. Norman Middleton, president of the South African Soccer Federation (SASF), applauded Aurora's move, pointing out that it was putting sports administrators on the spot and forcing them to declare themselves rather than hiding behind government policy.³³ This summed up the essence of Aurora. Although they had considered the perhaps more logical step of joining the non-racial body (for whom several White individuals had played in the past without publicity), they saw their importance in exposing the attitude of administrators who were suspected of hiding behind government policy in maintaining that mixed sport was not possible. The objective was to cause a crisis and present a challenge.³⁴ The motivation behind Aurora's founders was not simply sporting but, given the nature of life in apartheid South Africa, also involved broader socio-political issues. Pietermaritzburg in 1973 was still a predominately White town, but there were individuals of other communities increasingly inclined to challenge this.³⁵

Evidently there was some opposition in establishment cricket circles with predictions that the application would be refused on practical grounds. It was clear that while officials would by this time have welcomed mixed cricket at international level in order to have the boycott lifted, they were prepared to put obstacles in its way at local level: complaints about the number of suitable private grounds available and the expense of building separate toilets and dressing room facilities were among them. Many White cricketers were prepared to go along with mixed cricket under paternalistic control (a variation on the long-standing affiliation policy), but opposed what they described as a politicised approach. Perversely and predictably, Aurora's cricketers were seen as pursuing a

³¹ Hickson, M. The Aurora Cricket Club and South African cricket since isolation. *Reality* 11(4) 1979, p.8. When Aurora officials went into town to present the official application and required deposit to the President, Neville Markham, they were followed by four policemen dressed in track suits (Interview with Michael Hickson, 29 July 1999).

³² The terms *verlig* and *verkramp* were used to describe the relatively liberal and relatively conservative wings of the ruling National Party.

³³ *Daily News* (hereafter *DN*) 19 June 1973; *NW* 25 June 1973.

³⁴ Interview with Michael Hickson, 29 July 1999; Interview with Roy Bunwarie, 23 Sep 1999.

³⁵ Interview with Roy Bunwarie, 23 Sep 1999. Bunwarie's relations, for instance, had lost two properties to the GAA and the government's bulldozers in the early 1960s, leading to the disintegration of the extended family.

particular political line on the assumption that what the conservatives stood for was apolitical, or natural. It is clear that there was a cynical desire not to upset the government in the hope that it would relent on the composition of international teams, while leaving the nature of club and provincial cricket as segregated as ever.³⁶

A number of laws frustrated Aurora's ambitions, but none made them illegal. It was generally anticipated that occupation of space as defined under the GAA could not be applied to the time required for a club cricket match, although facilities and the consumption of food and drink would be problems: the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (49 of 1953, the RSAA) required segregated toilets and changing rooms and the Liquor Act (1928 as amended) clearly forbade mixed drinking. Under the Criminal Law Amendment Act (8 of 1953) cricketers would also be liable to prosecution if any of their activities could be construed as a political demonstration against apartheid laws.

Aurora's move received strong support from the press, which dwelt on the hypocrisy evident in the government's attitude to football: "multinational" competition at the South African Games was promoted while mixed club football on municipal land at Newcastle, northern Natal had been stopped even though the clubhouse was not used. The *Daily News* approvingly quoted the leader of the Progressive Party in Natal, Harry Pitman (who was to become Aurora's legal adviser), when he pointed out that people must obey the law, but not government policy. The same editorial asked the question whether South Africans were cowed or if the government accurately reflected their prejudices; and pointed out that not even the NP government could achieve complete segregation. Extension of the GAA "would create enormous practical problems over a wide field, from political discussions with Chief Buthelezi to the hiring of Gumede the gardener."³⁷

A writer in the *Daily News* addressed the overarching socio-political issue: "most South Africans, White and Black, are hopelessly ignorant about the law as it affects sport, entertainment and gatherings. White people in particular assume that almost any kind of social contact across the colour line is forbidden unless sanctioned by rarely granted official permits."³⁸ Editorial opinion in the *Natal Mercury* made a similar point: "'policy', the 'apartheidsbeleid' looms like a monstrous all-pervading concept that conditions our thinking, shapes our actions, and corrupts our sense of ordinary human values."³⁹ The Afrikaans weekly paper *Rapport* suggested that the government should leave Aurora

³⁶ *Sunday Times* (hereafter *ST*) 24 June 1973.

³⁷ *DN* 18 June 1973.

³⁸ Green, M. How to play mixed cricket and duck legal bouncers. *DN* 26 June 1973.

³⁹ *Natal Mercury* (hereafter *NM*) 30 June 1973.

alone and warned against altering the law still further. Support was also given by Mike Woollam, UP Member of the Provincial Council for Pietermaritzburg South.⁴⁰

There were other opinions about the efficacy of Aurora's challenge. The well-known cricketers Andre Bruyns (the White Natal captain) and Dennis Gamsy (who had played two test matches as wicketkeeper in the 1969-70 series versus Australia) had been approached for their support for a mixed team (captained by Gopaul Manicum, the Black Natal captain) in second division league cricket. They were happy with the spirit of this move, but strongly opposed its substance as likely to lead to confrontation with the government. They advanced the idea of a "non-racial Cavaliers-type side"⁴¹, for which Pietermaritzburg cricketers would do the groundwork while they attracted leading South African professional cricketers such as Mike Procter and Barry Richards to support the initiative. White players, fearing that Aurora's move could ruin what they regarded as South African cricket, argued that its application to the MCU should be withdrawn and that an organisation akin to a fan club should be set up with an annual multi-racial high profile match as a spur to further gradual change. Aurora was initially and briefly impressed by this, but recognised such grandiose plans, particularly regarding funding, as a diversion leading nowhere and rejected it in favour of league affiliation.⁴² Aurora's players were supportive of the international boycott, fully aware of the pressure it placed on government and the White cricket establishment and were, in the words of Hickson, "going for broke."⁴³

On 25 June 1973, the NCA approved multi-racial cricket in principle, regarding it as a domestic matter for the MCU in which it would have to consider legal and practical issues. The NCA avoided questions about whether it might consequently be possible for Asian and Coloured players to be included in the Natal provincial side. Piet Koornhof's reaction was immediate - and negative. He emphasised that mixed sport was acceptable only at international level, maintaining that the government had the interests of cricket at heart and that those opposed to NP policy were simply political agitators. The government's policy, he argued, was well-known and clear: "all sport, at club, provincial and national level in South Africa shall be separate for the different race groups."⁴⁴ These sentiments were made known repeatedly over the next few weeks and at one stage Koornhof was quoted as implying that the law was less important than government policy.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ *DN* 25 June 1973; *NW* 20 June 1973.

⁴¹ *NW* 20 June 1973.

⁴² Interview with Roy Bunwarie, 23 Sep 1999.

⁴³ Interview with Michael Hickson, 29 July 1999.

⁴⁴ *NW* 29 June 1973.

⁴⁵ *NM* 26 and 27 June 1973; *STr* 17 June 1973.

He had several problems. First, the GAA was concerned with the allocation of residential and business space to various population groups and was not primarily framed to control social intercourse. This was the preserve of the RSAA, which was designed to reserve public premises or vehicles for the exclusive use of a specific race. The definition of the term 'public premises' was, however, debatable. Second, he was also confronted by the unarguable line that it was the law that was operative, not government policy. Third, he had to balance *verlig* and *verkramp* opinion within the NP. For instance, the Pretoria daily *Oggenblad* castigated Koornhof for preventing freedom of association on private cricket fields, but it supported grand apartheid as a means of avoiding friction. *Rapport* took a similar line. However, in early July a bitter dispute arose with *Die Transvaler*, which argued that there was no analogy between private homes and private sports facilities: use of the latter for mixed sport, it feared, was simply a way of circumventing apartheid which would end with the collapse of the whole race policy.⁴⁶

Aurora held its first AGM on 29 June 1973 at a private house in the Pietermaritzburg suburb of Scottsville, elected Roy Bunwarie as its president and Gopaul Manicum as captain, and announced that it would be signing up as non-playing members all those people who wished to watch its matches. Neville Markham, president of the MCU, was quoted as accepting the bona fides of the club and saying that it was not politically motivated. Aurora announced that lawyers had advised that it could play on private grounds and those owned by the corporations of Pietermaritzburg and Durban as long as the general public did not have access. At its council meeting of 5 July 1973, the MCU accepted Aurora's application subject to approval in September by the incoming committee and as long as there were no contrary directives from the NCA or SACA. This decision was applauded by the *Daily News*: "[the MCU] has rightly ignored threats by the Minister of Sport to bully the club and cricket authorities into submission to the policy of a political party."⁴⁷ The *Natal Witness* concurred: Aurora's ambitions could "hardly be construed as a Leftist plot with sinister purpose."⁴⁸

For the time being, while the Department of Sport and Recreation took no action it did not refrain from smearing the supporters of Aurora as political agitators. Apart from the fact that nothing could be done until Aurora took the field, this was also sensible politics in the light of statements by the SACA. Its president, Boon Wallace, accepted the fact that there was no law against mixed cricket,

⁴⁶ *DN* 29 June and 5 July 1973. In 1972 Helen Suzman had raised the question of legislation regarding mixed sport on private premises and received the response that the government was looking into the matter (*DHA* 40, 24 Mar 1972, col. 666).

⁴⁷ *DN* 6 July 1973.

⁴⁸ *NW* 6 July 1973. It went on to argue that it was illogical to stop Aurora doing what the government had attempted to achieve through the recent South African Games.

but he was reluctant to upset the government and thought that there would soon be such legislation if plans like Aurora's went ahead. Implicitly rejecting the idea that the law was full of loopholes where sport was concerned, he also suggested that the GAA, RSAA and the liquor laws were a combined problem. Refusing to believe that South Africa had been excluded totally from World cricket, he argued that by criticising the government he would be guilty of political involvement.⁴⁹ This attitude earned him the editorial scorn of the *Natal Mercury* which described his attitude towards government policy as "meek acceptance."⁵⁰

The government's sports policy was described as "like a drunken man staggering on a slippery slope, one step forward, one sideways and one back ... With sport-minded friends in the Government, who needs enemies like Peter Hain?"⁵¹ In its attitude towards Aurora, the government remained consistently aggressive.

GOVERNMENT REACTIONS

Aurora went ahead with plans to play friendly matches against local clubs during August, approaching Zingari, University and Standard. Other ideas included a match against a Rhodesian Stragglers side due to tour during September. Faced with this, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Education circulated to half of the 22 larger Natal local authorities warnings about mixed sports gatherings and the need for permits. Koornhof reacted to Aurora's plans by pleading that he should not be forced into taking the sort of action he would rather avoid, that is legislating against mixed cricket played on private grounds. In a colourful speech to university and technical college students at Potchefstroom, he said that this would create a "stench", adding that the Springbok would never be shared with South Africans who were not White. Mr Koornhof appealed to Aurora to work through the "right channels", but the response he received was that cricketers were not prepared to approach politicians and so involve sport in politics. At the end of August, Prime Minister John Vorster demonstrated his contempt for this view by invoking the Prohibition of Political Interference Act (51 of 1968) and threatening to proscribe the planned match between Aurora and the touring Rhodesians.⁵²

⁴⁹ *STr* 29 July and 23 Sep 1973; *NW* 7 July and 24 Sep 1973.

⁵⁰ *NM* 2 Aug 1973. At much the same time he countered an accusation that he had warned off Aurora's cricketers by saying that he had just appealed to well-disposed White cricketers to work through the Cricket Council of South Africa, an umbrella organisation set up in early 1973 but boycotted by SACBOC.

⁵¹ *DN* 31 Aug 1973.

⁵² *NM* 2 Aug 1973; *DN* 16 Aug 1973; *NW* 17 and 25 Aug 1973.

For some while there had been speculation about the reaction of the more conservative cricket clubs to Aurora's application to join the MCU's second division. It was understood from their AGMs that Voortrekker had agreed to Aurora's participation as long as the law was not broken; and that Police had failed to consider the matter, but raised no objections. The MCU's regard for the requirements of the law were such that it applied for a permit to allow Aurora officials to attend its AGM. On 7 September 1973, the same day on which England called off the proposed South African tour of 1975, Aurora's application was considered by the AGM of the MCU without objection, although some delegates voiced concern about its legality and the probable travel times to private grounds. The Police Cricket Club abstained. It was emphasised that municipal grounds could be used for mixed sport as long as the council did not restrict their use to one racial group; and that the Hilton College ground was also available. On 11 September, the MCU's executive council unanimously confirmed Aurora's acceptability on the understanding that its members would not use clubhouses or changing facilities and that they would bring their own refreshments to grounds with licensed premises. Aurora thus became the first mixed club to be accepted by White league sport anywhere in modern South Africa.⁵³ The Secretary of the MCU wrote to the Town Clerk as follows:

As you are no doubt aware, the Aurora Cricket Club has been admitted to the Maritzburg Cricket Union Second division league. We intend playing most of the Second division matches on grounds belonging to the Municipality, and have been advised that in allowing this multi-racial cricket club to play on municipal grounds we are not contravening the law ... the municipal grounds will be utilised unless we are directed to the contrary⁵⁴;

and received this reply,

the Maritzburg Cricket Club [sic] be advised that the City Council has no objection to municipal grounds being utilised for cricket matches provided the laws of the land are not contravened.⁵⁵

In spite of this decision, there remained some ambivalence on the part of the MCU. It maintained a politically detached stance, while Ken Orchard, its vice-president, was quoted as saying "if the Government are going to legislate against our accepting Aurora then I wish they would do it now before we draw up the fixture lists."⁵⁶ These are not the words of someone dedicated to non-

⁵³ *DN* 27 July 1973; *NW* 16 Aug, 8 and 12 Sep 1973; *ST* 10 Sep 1973. It hoped to field three teams, one in the MCU second division and two on a friendly basis, provided suitable venues could be found.

⁵⁴ H.W. Nisbet, Sec, MCU to TC, 28 Sep 1973 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/607, file 242/201 (Recreation and sports grounds: general).

⁵⁵ Public Health, Parks and Art Gallery Committee, 4 Oct 1973 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/607, file 242/201 (Recreation and sports grounds: general).

⁵⁶ *ST* 10 Sep 1973.

racial sport. It is clear that there was still a fear of government policy and irritation about having to travel to more distant private venues. The most nervous wanted to avoid what they termed "provocation" which, they argued, could result in a complete cessation of relations between Black and White.⁵⁷

Koornhof's reaction, at the Transvaal congress of the NP, was that mixed sport was against both tradition and policy and would not be tolerated. Members of the NP clearly saw Aurora as the thin end of the wedge - integration through the back door was a frequent description - and a threat to apartheid. Koornhof assured them that South Africans of different communities would meet each other on the sports field only in clearly designated *intervolkere* (multi-national) and *internasionale* (international) events at which social segregation would be enforced. The *Natal Witness* reported him as saying that "the matter affected the very roots of Government policy."⁵⁸ The Broederbond chose to see matters in a sinister light: in a circular dated 1 September 1973 it argued that "the correct implementation of our sports policy is endangered by the foreign control of several types of sports."⁵⁹ The Bantu Affairs Commissioner wrote a letter to the Pietermaritzburg City Council about mixed sport emphasising government policy and the fact that permits were required.⁶⁰

The MCU emphasised that it would abide by the laws of South Africa and Aurora reiterated its standard line about the promotion of sport. The government was clearly unsure about the best approach to take. The only immediate course of action seemed to be to extend the GAA by proclamation. Another possibility was an amendment to the GAA redefining the meaning of the word occupation. But this, or new legislation that allowed for exemptions so that the 'multinational' sports policy could be pursued, would have to await the reconvening of Parliament in 1974. Aurora responded with a statement: "the club has never desired to cause a confrontation with the Minister nor has it defied or intended to defy the Minister. The club has always acted within the law and will continue to do so ... politics has never entered into the picture nor been a consideration in the formulation of the club which was established only for the purpose of promoting sport in the Republic which we believe should be the aim of all South African sporting bodies."⁶¹

⁵⁷ *NW* 8 Sep 1973; *STr* 16 Sep 1973.

⁵⁸ *NW* 14 Sep 1973.

⁵⁹ Wilkins, I. and Strydom, H. *The super Afrikaners* (Johannesburg: Ball, 1978), p.247.

⁶⁰ *NW* 12 Sep 1973. This letter was considered by the Public Health, Parks and Amenities Committee.

⁶¹ *NW* 14 Sep 1973.

Aurora played its first friendly game on Sunday 16 September 1973 at Dalry Park against a University of Natal Invitation XI who were beaten by seven wickets, although the match was extended and ended in a draw when bad light stopped play.⁶² There were fears that police would stop this match or that NP supporters would disrupt it, just as they had broken up anti-government marches in Pietermaritzburg in the past: opponents simply had to turn up to watch the event to make it into an illegal public entertainment. Aurora was, however, well prepared. On the legal front it planned to make an urgent application to the Supreme Court if necessary; and it had a substitute venue. There was also a surprising amount of support for the club from older White cricketers in Pietermaritzburg.⁶³ The game went ahead without incident, but police stood by the gate and turned away some spectators, arguing that the game was for players, officials and invited guests only.⁶⁴ In spite of attempts at downplaying events, the match was front page news in the *Natal Witness*, which reported that “a large multi racial crowd had gathered to watch in an atmosphere of friendly informality.”⁶⁵ This and subsequent pre-season friendlies were seen as important in testing the waters to see if the players would be “baton charged.”⁶⁶

The Government’s rhetoric became increasingly wild. Koornhof was quoted as saying that “the government is now taking the necessary steps to make sure that these people will be stopped. And they will not be able to play multiracial club cricket.”⁶⁷ There were reports of increasing interest from the security police, but when asked about his attitude towards Aurora, Brigadier C.P. Pretorius, Divisional Commissioner of Police for Natal, said there was “nothing in the whole matter.”⁶⁸ Harry Pitman pointed out that Koornhof found himself in a contradictory situation having previously argued that he was acting in the best interests of cricket, but now admitting that there were higher issues.⁶⁹ By this time there were players coming forward anxious to make a point to the government and Aurora was able to field two elevens. On Sunday 23 September, Aurora played a second friendly, this time against Caversham at Balgowan, which ended in a draw. On the same day, Aurora Reserves beat a Kloof side called the Crickets away in a low scoring match.

⁶² The scores were University XI 101 (M. Patrick 3-21, C. Davis 3-14) and 8-2; Aurora 185-5 (A. Cassimjee 53, M. Patrick 36, C. Davis 29).

⁶³ Interview with Michael Hickson, 29 July 1999.

⁶⁴ Interview with Roy Bunwarie, 23 Sep 1999. Aurora had taken the precaution of advising British and American TV not to film the match.

⁶⁵ *NW* 17 Sep 1973.

⁶⁶ Interview with Michael Hickson, 29 July 1999.

⁶⁷ *STr* 16 Sep 1973.

⁶⁸ *NW* 21 Sep 1973.

⁶⁹ *DN* 20 Sep 1973.

The match which was to have been played between Aurora and the Rhodesian Stragglers, and had attracted the ire of Vorster, had little chance of taking place, but the circumstances of its cancellation are instructive. A Stragglers representative said that his club had called off the fixture before leaving Salisbury because of adverse publicity surrounding Aurora and the Rhodesians' desire to avoid involvement in the politics of South Africa. It is possible that questions had been raised about entry visas: bureaucratic intimidation was an essential feature of apartheid culture. Simultaneously, the cricket establishment, in the person of the re-elected president of SACA, warned White cricketers not to become involved in Aurora, but to work through White provincial associations, SACA and the SAACB. He called for patience and steady and realistic progress; and argued for the selection of representative national teams. He also spoke of the complexity of the South African problem and the efforts being made by SACA to resolve it. Nevertheless, the board of SACA regarded the issue of Aurora as one for the MCU and refrained from further comment.⁷⁰

While threatening Aurora, and castigating SACBOC for its refusal to endorse the Datsun double wicket competition, Koornhof expressed confidence that soon South Africa would be readmitted to international cricket. With free and imaginative use of sporting metaphor (of which different versions were reported) he was quoted in an overseas interview as saying: "I am batting on a sticky wicket. I have had mixed googlies, Aurora googlies, bumpers, body-liners and donkey drops bowled at me - thrown at, but I am still there - not out. I gave a few catches and survived confident calls for lbw." Ambitiously, he claimed he wanted to score a century for his country and get it back into world sport.⁷¹ At the same time he announced his desire to meet Aurora, while still insisting that integration would not be permitted and that the government would not deviate from its policy. That policy, Koornhof claimed at the Natal congress of the NP, was "beautiful, proper and Christian."⁷²

So alarmed was the government at the prospect of mixed club cricket that on 3 October 1973 three Aurora officials (Churton Collins, Chris Davis and Chris Nicholson) were summoned by Koornhof to his house in Pretoria for discussions. In effect these were talks with the enemy and Aurora despatched three non-mandated lawyers and held back its more radical elements. Koornhof demanded a response from the delegates, but the talks came to naught and, as had been repeatedly threatened, the government issued a proclamation in terms of section 1(4) of the GAA (41 of 1950,

⁷⁰ DN 21 and 24 Sep 1973; NM 21 Sep 1974.

⁷¹ NW 1 Oct 1973.

⁷² DN 27 Sep 1973; STr 7 Oct 1973.

re-enacted as 36 of 1966).⁷³ Its aim was presumably to outlaw integrated sport at club level and it was entitled “Declaration that the provisions of the Group Areas Act 1966 relating to the occupation of land or premises shall apply also to persons present in or upon any land or premises.” It threatened “any person ... in or upon any land or premises in the controlled area or in a group area ... *for a substantial period of time*” without the necessary permission with two years imprisonment or a fine of R400, or both, on conviction. Koornhof admitted that the proclamation had been ready for several weeks, but that it had been held back until he had received Aurora’s final response. In his opinion, the proclamation prohibited mixed sport on both public and private grounds.⁷⁴

Aurora’s determination to carry on was strengthened by legal opinion that the proclamation was so loosely worded as to be meaningless; that is ‘void on account of vagueness’, a common legal description for shoddily phrased apartheid law. It was even argued that the loophole about to be exploited by Aurora might have been widened still further. On the other hand, the proclamation could be interpreted so as to prevent Blacks attending race meetings or walking in parks in White areas. Expanding on this last point, the *Natal Mercury* asked whether “an African nanny could still take madam’s toddler to the park.”⁷⁵ Like many other apartheid announcements, before and after, it gave rise to comment ranging from the ribald to the concerned: it was pointed out that private mixed dinner parties, as well as the position of Black golf caddies and sparring partners, might now be in jeopardy. Whatever the emphasis, it was generally agreed that the courts’ definition of the words *occupy* and *substantial* would be crucial.

The fact that the proclamation did not mention sport was taken as evidence that the government was hesitant about confronting the issue directly. Nor was there at any stage an indication that the club would be banned - the enabling legislation, the notorious Suppression of Communism Act (44 of 1950), was more likely to embarrass the government than reward it. But the press speculated that Aurora’s players were facing prison sentences, or at least fines.⁷⁶ This was not impossible as, in order to meet the government’s sports policy requirements, Aurora would need to apply for a permit, the very idea of which was antipathetic to its ethos. A permit was dependent upon inspection of the venue to ensure that it had segregated seating, toilets and refreshment kiosks for spectators. Segregation was not required for the players, although it was assumed that they would be playing in racially-defined teams.

⁷³ Proclamation R228, 6 Oct 1973 augmenting R26 of 1965.

⁷⁴ *NW* 6 Oct 1973. *SRR* 1973, p.113.

⁷⁵ *NM* 8 Oct 1973.

⁷⁶ *NM* 6 Oct 1973; *NW* 6 Oct 1973.

The crisis that had been building up during the winter of 1973 was scheduled to come to a head on 6 October with Aurora CC due to meet the University of Natal Second XI in a division two match at the Forsyth Ground in Alexandra Park, the city's main public open space. In a scene well-known to cricketers the world over, the anticipation was shattered by wet weather. The players, in time-honoured fashion, congregated at the ground and inspected the wicket for 30 minutes, an activity that in itself might have been sufficient for prosecution. There were, however, no repercussions and the Pietermaritzburg City Council made it known that it would remain uninvolved unless it received complaints from the public or Aurora's activities were constrained by a court of law. Players were quoted as being so determined to proceed that jail was no deterrent and that armed men would have to prevent them playing.⁷⁷ There was about Aurora a great air of solidarity and an expectation that should the law be invoked it would be used against all the players, Black and White, as had been the case with government action against mixed football teams elsewhere in Natal. It had already been agreed that should players be prosecuted they would appear in court in their cricket gear and that this would have been no ordinary group areas prosecution, but the persecution of a cricket team. As Hickson argued a quarter of a century later, "we had them over a barrel."⁷⁸ Nevertheless, there were real fears of persecution and an awareness of surveillance through phone tapping. In late July, Roy Bunwarie was summoned by his circuit inspector, T.C. Nel, to his office in town in the same building as the security police. There he was told he was breaking the law and harming the image of the Department of Education. On 30 July he was visited by Detective Sergeant Naidoo who suggested that he could forget any chance of promotion as a teacher within the state system. He wrote a letter of resignation from the club and the policeman departed with the copy, but the original was never signed.⁷⁹

Aurora's first league match finally began on the afternoon of Saturday 13 October 1973. Apart from the two teams and about 50 spectators, mainly from the Asian community, there were some uninvited and unwanted visitors. Most prominent was Boucher, a former Natal rugby player, from the Group Areas Department supported by four White and two Asian policemen. Amongst the crowd, two more policemen and their wives masqueraded as cricket lovers. The self-admitted purpose of their attendance was "unobtrusive observation" (*onopsigtelik observasie*)⁸⁰; but this was spoiled by the presence of Colonel J. Pieterse, the Pietermaritzburg commandant, a man

⁷⁷ *STR* 7 Oct 1973; *NM* 8 Oct 1973; *NW* 8 Oct 1973.

⁷⁸ Mike Hickson interview, 29 July 1999.

⁷⁹ Interview with Roy Bunwarie, 23 Sep 1999. Tellingly, he was to remain President for the next thirty years, stepping down only in June 2003.

⁸⁰ Major-General C.A. Buys to South African Police, Pretoria. *Polisie optrede: Aurora krikiet wedstryd 13.10.1973* undated in DSR MS 6/5/9 v.2.

photographing cars, another watching the match from a car with binoculars, and yet another lurking behind a tree on the boundary. At 5.20 pm. with the University team in the field (Aurora were struggling at 41 for 6 in reply to the University's 209 for 8), Boucher approached the Aurora captain, Gopaul Manicum, and asked him if he had a permit for a mixed game in a White group area. Receiving a negative reply, Boucher proceeded to take the names of five players, the 12 year old scorer, John Rayner (and his sister who happened to be helping him) and twelve of the spectators. At this stage the atmosphere was one of considerable tension.

There are three sources of information on the events of that afternoon: the official police report, the press, and those involved in the match. In general, their versions coincide, although with understandable differences of emphasis. Boucher justified the taking of names on the grounds that prosecution might follow, although Aurora countered that names would have been given voluntarily had charges been laid. The police claimed that no one objected to the name-taking except two Aurora players who tried to provoke an incident. According to their own version, the police "exercised tact" (*taktvol opgetree*)⁸¹ and an incident was avoided. However, the major aggression came from the side of the authorities when one of the women with the police, Mrs Sadler, objected after a *Natal Mercury* photographer, Tony Garland, took a picture of her. The fact that she was scantily clad was regarded by the players as a provocation. The film was confiscated, but later returned following the intervention of an Aurora player.

When bad light stopped play at 6.20 pm, the names of the University team were taken as they left the field. The police attempted to seize the scorebook as an exhibit, but Aurora refused to surrender it without a warrant, eventually agreeing to submit it on the Monday.⁸² The official police report goes to considerable pains to downplay the level of interference in the match: "except for the incidents mentioned, everything carried on quietly and at no stage did the police set foot on the field or interfere at all with the progress of the game."⁸³ The report concluded that Boucher was an experienced officer with a thorough knowledge of the GAA and a good judge of the evidence required for a prosecution. He subsequently submitted a docket to the Attorney-General of Natal in the hope of developing a test case. The players, who had been anticipating official intervention, agreed with the authorities that it had been polite and proper and were more worried about their lack of performance than the reaction of the State. As Hickson recalls, "it was a nice little Maritzburg

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Unfortunately the scorebook has not survived.

⁸³ Major-General C.A. Buys to South African Police, Pretoria. *Polisie optrede*.

scene in many ways”, which possibly could only have happened in a fairly cosmopolitan town in which personal connections were close.⁸⁴

English-language press comment was predictably tart. The *Daily News* argued that the events of 13 October were typical of the South African government and its “mania for interfering with people, regulating, controlling, ordering, separating, proclaiming, restricting, restraining.” Its editorial writer continued, “what is crystal-clear to all but a terrified bigot, however, is that Saturday's game was not a threat to public order, White security, national morality or anything else.”⁸⁵ In the event, neither Aurora, its players, nor anyone else was ever prosecuted under proclamation R228. To have done so would have jeopardised the reformist image that the government was trying to project: in the words of Barend van Niekerk, the government had become “victims of their own expediency.”⁸⁶

It was generally agreed that Koornhof had killed off any hopes of a quick South African return to test cricket and the *Daily News* attributed his approach to the fact that he had “talked too big and too tough at party congresses ... the platteland chorus was sweet music to his ears.”⁸⁷ The *Sunday Tribune* described the new proclamation as “one of the silliest measures ever”, supported only by the “kind of pithecanthropic plattelanders who make noises at Nationalist congresses”, a “further monument to Nationalist ineptitude” and a “stark restatement of the fact that a reactionary minority is still ... influen[tial].”⁸⁸ At the central congress of the opposition United Party in November 1973, J. Thompson, MP for Pinelands, made a speech in which he argued that the government had no sports policy, but merely “moved from one setback to another.”⁸⁹ The UP, he maintained, believed in leaving sporting matters to sports bodies. Senator J.L. Horak, secretary-general of the UP, described Koornhof's proclamation as “petty apartheid at its pettiest.”⁹⁰

Criticism of Aurora came not only from the government. The Black players who had participated in its first league match were the subject of disapproval by SACBOC because they had played in a competition run by a body seen as racist. Three other players had returned to their original club, Young Natalians, before Aurora became involved in league cricket. Aurora's initial

⁸⁴ Mike Hickson interview, 29 July 1999.

⁸⁵ *DN* 16 Oct 1973.

⁸⁶ *Cape Times* 9 Oct 1973.

⁸⁷ *DN* 8 Oct 1973.

⁸⁸ *STr* 7 Oct 1973.

⁸⁹ *NW* 12 Nov 1973.

⁹⁰ *STr* 7 Oct 1973.

sphere of operation was clearly within the White community, although there had been unofficial contacts with Sam Ramsamy of SACOS (through Gopaul Manicum) and Peter Hain, leading light behind the Stop the Seventy Tour Campaign (via Peter Brown of the Liberal Party). SACBOC was not pleased that some of its best players had migrated to Aurora, but when a number of the latter's officials attended a match at Currie's Fountain in Durban they were applauded by the crowd.⁹¹

Aurora played on in the MCU's 2nd division. At their second match, on 20 October against Standard, again in Alexandra Park, police avoided the ground although two plainclothes men were seen in a car before the match. Further matches attracted controversy for different reasons. At the end of November, Voortrekker refused to play Aurora, allegedly because some of its members objected to the flouting of government policy in the light of proclamation R228.⁹² Voortrekker subsequently failed to honour the final fixture of the season in March 1974, pulling out only hours before the match on the grounds that they could not field a side. When Aurora was accepted for its second season with the MCU's 2nd division, Voortrekker undertook to fulfil its fixtures as long as it could raise a side. Since it was only when Voortrekker were fixtured against Aurora that they had problems of this kind, the reasons were almost certainly political.⁹³

There was no sign on the letters page of the *Natal Witness* of public feeling about Aurora. However, in December 1973 the City Council received comments from two ratepayers about the use of municipal facilities by a mixed club in the context of government policy. One complained about the politicisation of sport and the other about integration. Councillor Woollam described these letters as "disgusting and scurrilous."⁹⁴ The Deputy Town Clerk informed the press that the Council did not interfere with sports bodies that used municipal facilities and they were responsible for keeping within the law. Councillor Wood, chairman of the Public Health and Parks Committee, argued that "to let [Aurora] use our fields is not against the law at present."⁹⁵ There was a general sentiment, articulated in well-supported City Council motion, that Pietermaritzburg was not going to be pushed around by NP policy and this stance was applauded by L. S. Moodley, Vice-Chair of ILAC.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Mike Hickson interview, 29 July 1999.

⁹² Another version claimed that players preferred to watch the Derrick Robins team in action that weekend in Durban.

⁹³ *NW* 23 Oct, 27 Nov 1973, 25 Mar 1974. *DN* 26 Nov 1973. *NM* 27 Nov 1973, 25 Mar 1974. *ST* 8 Sep 1974. *STr* 27 Oct 1974. Interview with Roy Bunwarie, 23 Sep 1999.

⁹⁴ *DN* 6 Dec 1973.

⁹⁵ *NW* 7 Dec 1973.

⁹⁶ City Council, 19 Dec 1973; L.S. Moodley to TC, 20 Dec 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/502, file 186/221 (Petty apartheid in Pietermaritzburg).

Aurora's persistence also upset members of the public further afield. Robert Andersson of Brooklyn Park wrote to the Minister that Aurora demonstrated "blatant interference by probable troublemakers: we Europeans have the right to practise our own sport ... South Africa is ours."⁹⁷ In his draft reply, Koornhof wrote "we will stop Aurora by enactment of Parliament ... sport will be on the basis of *multinational* development." The final version was, however, more circumspect, saying that the government "will not hesitate to take the necessary effective steps."⁹⁸ By this time the reaction of the authorities suggested very strongly that they intended doing nothing at all. There is reason to believe that Koornhof recognised he was on firm ground and had identified support for limited reform, especially amongst young Afrikaners.

At the beginning of 1974, it was reported that police surveillance of Aurora's matches was now superfluous because team lists were voluntarily handed in at Loop Street police station the Monday after each game. This practice had lasted about two months, by which time it seemed that the authorities were losing interest. The docket on the match of 13 October 1973 was still with the police and becoming less likely to be pursued since it was clear that a court case would reflect badly on the government. Aurora's first season prompted Hassan Howa to encourage White players to join SACBOC and defy the government; and the *Natal Witness* to urge the government to stop tailoring its sports policy at the level of "some dimwitted backvelder from the Free State whose feelings the Nationalist Government does not like to hurt."⁹⁹

During the next season (1974-75) Aurora continued to play in the MCU's second division, although without great success: as Chettle put it in South Africa's version of *Wisden*, "the courageous Pietermaritzburg team ... fearlessly continues to field mixed teams strictly within the law."¹⁰⁰ Although the majority of Aurora's members were White, the committee was evenly divided in numbers with members of the Asian community.

⁹⁷ R.Andersson to Koornhof, 12 Mar 1974 in DSR MS 6/5/9.

⁹⁸ P. Koornhof to Andersson, 25 Mar 1974 in DSR MS 6/5/9.

⁹⁹ *NW* 1 July 1974.

¹⁰⁰ Chettle, G.A. Editorial. *South African cricket annual* 22, 1975, p.5.

PETTY APARTHEID

By 1973 the issue of petty apartheid was firmly on the municipal agenda and a subject of public debate, seen by liberals as a weak spot in the government's racial policy. The Finance, Traffic and General Purposes Committee (FTGPC) of the City Council was asked in August 1973 to look at the issue, a move opposed by the National Party Councillor A.E. Claassen as tantamount to conflict with "the law of the land." The Mayor responded that there was no intention to break the law and Claassen's objection was dismissed by 14 votes to one.¹⁰¹ In September an application was pending for a match between two African football sides at Jan Smuts Stadium, although it is not known whether this ever took place.¹⁰² In December 1973 the FTGPC recommended that racially exclusive signage in Alexandra Park be removed.¹⁰³ Public opposition to any change was typified by E. Hunt, a prolific and persistent writer to the Council: "if the Council decides that people can sit anywhere the whites will be squeezed out. Separation", the letter went on, was appreciated by all "except those who want trouble."¹⁰⁴ The Town Clerk warned the City Council in November that the issue would receive extensive press coverage and excite emotions. His view was that the Council "represents all sections of the community" and that advantage to one might "well incur the wrath of another." Responses on the issue of the lifting of petty apartheid were received from various municipal departments including the Director of Parks. His view was that apart from by-law 9, which excluded Blacks from the White section of the cemetery there were no problems. He made it clear that the segregation of swimming baths, in his view, went beyond petty apartheid, but pointed out that by-law 18 allowed the Council discretion in the reservation and marking of seats, shelters and public conveniences within the borough.¹⁰⁵

In December 1973, the local paper reported that Whites-only signs were to be removed from the children's playground in Alexandra Park so that nannies could legally accompany children. This prompted an extraordinary response from Councillor Claassen: "why can't the sun shine on whites as well?" At the same time the Bantu Affairs Commissioner was asking the City Council to prevent mixed sport taking place without a permit. A Council resolution supported by 12 of 14 councillors responded that it "need not necessarily abide by or further the wishes of the political party forming the

¹⁰¹ Finance, Traffic and General Purposes Committee, 23 Aug; City Council, 30 Aug 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/502, file 186/221 (Petty apartheid in Pietermaritzburg).

¹⁰² City Council, 9 Sep 1974 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/208 (Applications to hire sports grounds in Alexandra Park).

¹⁰³ Finance, Traffic and General Purposes Committee, 7 Dec 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/502, file 186/221 (Petty apartheid in Pietermaritzburg).

¹⁰⁴ E.Hunt (40 Durban Road) to TC, 31 Oct 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/502, file 186/221 (Petty apartheid in Pietermaritzburg).

¹⁰⁵ TC's memo to City Council, 12 Nov 1973 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/502, file 186/221 (Petty apartheid in Pietermaritzburg). Like the seating arrangements on municipal buses (Blacks at the rear) much segregation was customary.

Government of the day.”¹⁰⁶ A formal approach about desegregation was made by the Pietermaritzburgse Skakelkomitee van Afrikaanse Kerke en Kultuurliggame complaining that the Council had abdicated its “sense of duty to all population groups.”¹⁰⁷ The response was that Council decisions had been taken “in the interests of maintaining harmonious relations between the various sections of the community.”¹⁰⁸

The Whites-only children’s playground in Alexandra Park was duly abolished and *Slegs blankes* (Whites only) notices were removed from the benches in Carbineer Gardens.¹⁰⁹ By way of contrast, in Sunnyside (Pretoria) the governing party was calling for the segregation of parks and there was controversy in Johannesburg about moves to desegregate various facilities.¹¹⁰ At the same time, the Department of Community Development confirmed the realities of apartheid by issuing a permit (21267, dated 29 January 1974) to Maritzburg Football Club (MFC) for Asian and Coloured spectators at Pietermaritzburg’s Jan Smuts football stadium as long as seats, entrances, and toilet and refreshment facilities were segregated. Bus transport was required to take such spectators “expeditiously” away from the ground after evening matches, although day matches were encouraged.¹¹¹

At the time of Aurora’s emergence other sports codes were embroiled in debate about segregation. In 1973 it was announced that no Black paddlers would be permitted in the Msundusi canoe marathon, even though it was rumoured that the government was prepared to label it “multinational”. Early in 1974, there was a heated exchange of opinion about the rules governing

¹⁰⁶ *NW* 19 Dec 1973. In Nov 1973, the City Council’s Sub-Committee for the Removal of Petty Apartheid recommended that benches in Carbineer Gardens be desegregated. The abolition of segregation at bus shelters was also in the pipeline (Sub-Committee for the Removal of Petty Apartheid, 20 Nov 1973; L.S. Moodley to TC, 20 Dec 1973 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/502, file 186/221 (Petty apartheid in Pietermaritzburg)).

¹⁰⁷ A.C. de Jager, Sekretaris, Pietermaritzburgse Skakelkomitee van Afrikaanse Kerke en Kultuurliggame to TC, 30 May 1974 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/502, file 186/221 (Petty apartheid in Pietermaritzburg).

¹⁰⁸ TC to PSAKK, 7 Aug 1974 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/502, file 186/221 (Petty apartheid in Pietermaritzburg). In January 1974, a letter from Tidy and Humble Citizen to the City Counsel [sic.] had complained that “Indians and Bantu” were now sitting on benches in the City Gardens previously reserved for Whites. The writer forecast that “the grounds will be littered with papers, tins and every conceivable rubbish in spite of the fact that refuse bins are available ... We are only trying to keep our city clean” (Tidy and Humble Citizen to City Counsel (sic.), 14 Jan 1974 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/502, file 186/221 (Petty apartheid in Pietermaritzburg)). A similar letter complaining about the situation on the buses also mentioned litter, but significantly commented on Blacks eating “with studied insolence” (E. Hunt to TC, 5 Feb 1974 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/502, file 186/221 (Petty apartheid in Pietermaritzburg)).

¹⁰⁹ An earlier move to desegregate buses and bus shelters received considerable opposition from the NP during the general election campaign of March 1974.

¹¹⁰ *NW* 19 Dec 1973 and 8 Feb, 21 and 28 Mar, 4 Apr 1974.

¹¹¹ Public Health, Parks and Art Gallery Committee, 7 Feb 1974 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/611, file 242/209 (Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park).

participation in the Comrades Marathon.¹¹² In late January, the Comrades organisers decided that their race would remain limited to White males, in spite of the lifting of government restrictions.¹¹³ One letter writer to the *Natal Witness* asked if the Comrades organisers were “living in the same world as other human beings?” Others called for a ban on the marathon within the city limits until it was opened to all. On the other hand, supporters of the government asserted that the marathon was “for whites, by whites.”¹¹⁴ The UP-controlled provincial administration used the usual laissez-faire, hands-off argument that sport should be left up to clubs when opposing the suggestion of an alternative multi-racial race between Pietermaritzburg and the coast. An editorial writer in the *Natal Witness* pointed out that the Gunga Din Trophy, commemorating the assistance given by an Indian auxiliary water carrier (*bhisti*) to a British soldier, was awarded as the race team prize each year. The soldier narrator in the poem concluded, “you’re a better man than I am, Gunga Din!”¹¹⁵ But his progeny would not have been permitted to run the Comrades officially. The Natal Amateur Athletic Union (NAAU) announced that no mixed sport would be allowed at club level and it was decided that a referendum on the marathon should be held on 20 March.¹¹⁶

Anti-apartheid activists threatened traffic obstruction that brought forth rumours of retaliatory vigilante action. The referendum at Collegians Harriers attracted a poll of 88.2%, of whom 70% endorsed the status quo. The necessity for segregated facilities at the end of the race under the RSAA was seen as a major stumbling block to change. The referendum result was defended by the parliamentary candidate for Pietermaritzburg North for the supposedly liberal Progressive Party, Ian Balfour, who argued that the club was disadvantaged by the law and should be allowed to make its own decisions accordingly.¹¹⁷ The *Natal Witness* was blunt: “South Africa’s sportsmen have shown their true colours at last and the blame can no longer be passed on to the government ... the apolitical sportsmen have put their feet right in it ... the spirit of comradeship has disappeared from the Comrades Marathon and has been replaced by petty sectionalism.”¹¹⁸ By 1974 the Government had decided that the Comrades Marathon could become multi-racial provided two

¹¹² Merrett, C.E. Comrades of a particular type: an alternative history of the marathon, 1921-1983. *Natalia* 25, 1995, pp.72-73

¹¹³ *NW* 8 and 28 Jan 1974.

¹¹⁴ Letters to the *NW* 30 Jan, 1, 5, 6 and 7 Feb 1974.

¹¹⁵ Kipling, R. *Gunga Din. Barrack-room ballads and other verses* (London: Methuen, 1898).

¹¹⁶ *NW* 11, 27 and 28 Feb and 1 Mar 1974.

¹¹⁷ *NW* 6, 22, 23, 27 Mar 1974. Kloof Town Council decided to reverse its previous recommendation and allow the runners through; and Frank Martin, UP Member of the Executive Council for Traffic, threatened to ban, presumably under road traffic ordinances, an alternative, multi-racial event suggested for the same day.

¹¹⁸ *NW* 25 Mar 1974.

foreign runners took part, thus turning it into an open international event, but the organisers voted to exclude Blacks.¹¹⁹

In April 1974 H. Jagwanth of the Natal Primary Schools Sports Association approached the City Council for use of Sax Young for an athletics meeting on the grounds that the Northdale track was only 200 metres long. The stadium also had poor seating and drainage and no field event facilities.¹²⁰ For timekeeping purposes a better facility was required and this was acknowledged by the authorities subject to “satisfactory arrangements being made in respect of change-rooms [sic] facilities and the siting of toilets to the satisfaction of the Medical Officer of Health.”¹²¹ The conservative *Natal Mercury* noted that Sax Young was “normally a White preserve” and that portable toilets had to be brought in as the White facilities were out of bounds.¹²² It was emphasised that this would not set a precedent. In August Albion Cycling Club, founded the previous February, asked for use of Sax Young for two afternoon practices and one race meeting per month in the absence of suitable facilities at Woodlands.¹²³ The response from both the Town Clerk and the Natal Cycling Union (which indicated that multi-racial cycling events were scheduled for the following year) was positive; although it was pointed out that a permit would be required if a gate were taken and the usual question of toilets was raised.¹²⁴

The Department of Community Development in the previous year had issued standards for Coloured and Asian sport that required a cricket pitch located between two football fields for every 14 000 residents.¹²⁵ These standards were not met in Pietermaritzburg.¹²⁶

SUMMARY

The development of Aurora had considerable significance for cricket, sport in general and the apartheid state. It clearly embarrassed the government at a time of transition between successive

¹¹⁹ *SRR* 1974, p.401.

¹²⁰ H. Jagwanth, NPSSA memo dated Apr 1974 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/607, file 242/202 (Sax Young track ground).

¹²¹ Public Health, Parks and Art Gallery Committee, 4 Apr 1974 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/607, file 242/202 (Sax Young track ground).

¹²² *NM* 20 May 1974.

¹²³ W.Middleton, Sec, Albion CC, 11 Aug 1974 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/607, file 242/202 (Sax Young track ground).

¹²⁴ TC to Albion CC, 17 Oct 1974; W.Jowett, President, NCU to TC, 14 and 28 Nov 1974, TC to President, NCU, 19 Nov and 12 Dec 1974 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/607, file 242/202 (Sax Young track ground). According to the Town Clerk portable toilets could be provided at R1 per day, transport excluded, and 17 temporary stands were available for 700 spectators.

¹²⁵ Brickhill, J. *Race against race: South Africa's 'multi-national' sport fraud* (London: IDAF, 1976), pp.69-70.

¹²⁶ Basil d'Oliveira was appalled at the condition of the facilities he found in Black cricket with coir matting wickets and poor outfields (D'Oliveira, B. Playing conditions must be improved. *South African cricketer* 1(1) Nov 1974, pp.8-9).

versions of apartheid in which the balance had to be maintained between different factions of the NP. In the area of sport its aim was acceptance of the "multinational" policy in the context of a general aura of reform. But repressive governments are at their weakest at a time of reformist change and those advocating multi-racial sport seized the moment, taking their chance in conjunction with an upsurge in opposition activity. The suggestion that a group of ethnically-mixed cricketers constituted a danger to the security of the state was clearly unconvincing and the threats of punitive action, including proclamation R228, seem in retrospect to hold greater symbolism than substance. Nevertheless, the government's penchant for muscular action against its opponents made its intentions less easy to discern at the time. While protestations that its methods and objectives were non-political were disingenuous, the organisers of Aurora read the political circumstances accurately and successfully called the government's bluff. Opponents of apartheid in sport received support from significant sections of the English-language press. The response from the UP was typically ambivalent, arguing that sports policy regarding integration should be left to municipalities. Most significant of all was the reaction of the White controlling body, which desired mixed international cricket, but had little taste for integrated club contests. There can also be little doubt that they were prejudiced against those in the sport who refused to accept their leadership and the traditions of White South Africa; and were determined to maintain control on their terms.

Some may argue that the formation of Aurora was a minor incident in a major drama, the rise and fall of apartheid. Others would say that it carried with it enough significance not to be dismissed simply as an obscure event remembered only by a group of now aging cricketers. The action of playing in an integrated cricket match in South Africa in 1973 was one that required considerable courage. Not only were the police well trained in muscular methods, but they were backed by a wide range of laws that gave them sweeping powers. South Africa was, in the early 1970s, a well-developed police state in which vigilantes were beginning to play a significant role: anti-apartheid marches in Pietermaritzburg in the 1960s had been physically attacked by government supporters. It was not inconceivable that Aurora's cricketers could have landed in prison.

Aurora's move was politically very shrewd. It took the most innocuous of activities, a game of cricket in a municipal park, to challenge the weakest link in an apparently impregnable ideology. The government's attempts to control the use of public recreational space -- roads, playing fields, stadia -- were always lacking in confidence, hard to define in law, subject to highly critical comment in opposition newspapers, and a gift to overseas opponents of apartheid. Aurora's defiance was part of a long tradition in South African history whose most famous eruptions occurred in the early 1950s

and at the time of Sharpeville. In 1989 the people were to take over the streets, beaches and hospitals of South Africa to complete a chain of direct action of which Aurora was an earlier link. Peaceful protest by civil society and ordinary citizens, like the Aurora cricketers, would ultimately be an important component in the downfall of apartheid. Even at the time, Aurora's stand had wider repercussions: on 15 March 1974, the Department of Bantu Administration prohibited a match in King William's Town on a public sports field between Albert CC (a White club) and Good Hope CC (an African club). An application had been made on 30 January and there was speculation that the delay indicated Cabinet involvement in the decision. White support for the match and the approval of the Town Council, subject to government veto, showed that Aurora "ha[d] proved to be a valuable catalyst in encouraging public acceptance of mixed sport."¹²⁷ In the same month, a Durban prosecutor declined to pursue a case against Asian and White players whose names had been taken by police while playing at an Indian-designated sports ground at Isipingo Beach in Natal.

What happened in October 1973 on a playing field in Pietermaritzburg exposed the self-serving and compliant nature of most of White South African society. It was comfortable with the status quo and deference towards Pretoria's *apartheidsbeleid* was so complete that sweeping assumptions were made about the impermissible. Apartheid was supported because it codified what had started as popular White social practice. Aurora's cricketers showed what could be done even without breaking the law, although they were prepared to do this too in pursuit of fundamental human rights.

The right-wing, *verkrampte* element of the NP was ultimately correct to fear that mixed sport would be the thin end of the wedge for apartheid. What they worried about, above all, was the fact that performance in sport was a quick way to the sort of publicity and acclaim that would make nonsense of racial division and even, ultimately, the very idea of race. Sport was a high profile route to heroism and public adulation, something Pretoria could not afford to concede to Black people. This in turn called into question the idea that sport is a neutral activity that can somehow be divorced from the political, social and economic context in which it takes place. Sport is a politically meaningful activity as Aurora's cricketers, Piet Koornhof and a contingent of the South African Police together proved so memorably and conclusively on a Saturday in Pietermaritzburg in October 1973.

¹²⁷ NW 18 Mar 1974.

CHAPTER 11 'DEPOLITICISED' SPORT IN APARTHEID SOCIETY, 1975-1980

OVERVIEW

By the mid-1970s Pietermaritzburg's White population had sunk below one third of the total for the first time in the city's history, and it continued to decline to barely 30% by 1980 (*see table 35*). The African population fluctuated around the same figure, although this was in part a function of administrative boundary changes as well as enumeration inconsistencies noted earlier in this thesis. The fastest growing community was the Coloured at 6.2% per annum, but it remained the smallest. The largest community was the Asian with an annual growth rate of 4.8%. It is possible to say by way of generalisation that by 1980 Pietermaritzburg was a twin town dominated by interlocking White and Asian communities with a significant Coloured satellite. The African population was widely dispersed, much of it in domestic service and living in servants' quarters.

Table 35: Pietermaritzburg's population by community grouping, 1975-1980 (%)

	Total	White	Coloured	Asian	African
1975	141 780	32.8	7.3	29.0	30.9
1980	162 900	30.3	8.5	31.3	29.9

In spite of a gradual convergence of population numbers, there continued to be marked differences in health standards and mortality rates (*see table 36*). Deaths of Whites under 45 dipped consistently beneath 10% for the first time ever and the Coloured and Asian ranges were considerably lowered, but the African figures, while showing improvement, remained extremely high. An overwhelming number (over 75%) of TB cases recorded appeared to involve Africans, but it is not known whether they lived in the municipality, or in Greater Pietermaritzburg. At the end of the decade pulmonary TB seemed to be on the decrease, but the picture was unclear because of poor statistical returns from peri-urban areas. The Medical Officer of Health made his customary cautionary warnings about a "lack of information concerning the African population" and the fact that "our African statistics are illusory."¹ A sportsman who illustrated the community variance in life expectancy was the Aurora Cricket Club (CC) captain,

¹ *CYB* 1976, p.107; 1978, p.143.

Gopaul Manicum, who died on 11 July 1979 of a heart attack at the age of 44. It was felt by the press that the stress that brought on this attack could be linked with his involvement in non-racial sport that had resulted in demotion from a high school to a primary school.²

**Table 36: Mortality: proportion of deaths under the age of 45 by community grouping, 1975-1980
(% range)**

White	07 - 10
Coloured	23 - 42
Asian	26 - 41
African	51 - 65

By 1980 Asians accounted for 64% of those accommodated in municipal housing, Coloureds for 20% and Whites for 16%. Northdale and Northdale Extension together housed 25 000 people. The Grange stage II for Whites, also known as Westgate (originally 600 houses), commenced in 1976 at the same time as Northdale X and XI (2 266 dwellings in all), although the latter and development at Eastwood were bedevilled by lack of funds. In general there was a serious lack of land for Asian housing and consultants suggested gazetting the Fitzsimmons area at the east end of town. This happened in 1978, but resulted in no further shift of the existing Coloured population. The era of compulsory relocation was past. The upshot was curtailment of Westgate and transfer of funds for 200 houses to the Eastwood project, pragmatic official recognition of the shift in the balance of population. Eastwood was completed in 1979. That same year Bellevue (Ockert's Kraal), a White residential area, was incorporated into the municipality and proposals were put forward to absorb Claridge. With immediate Coloured housing needs accommodated, the municipality shifted its attention back to the perennial problem of a shortage of land for Asian occupation, looking to the area between New Greytown and Wartburg Roads, which was later to be zoned for industrial development. New White municipal housing development was brought to a halt, while "demand for housing for the Indian community remains largely undiminished."³ Consequent poor housing conditions are shown in table 37.

² *Post* 15 July 1979.

³ *CYB* 1981, p.186.

Table 37: Conditions in municipal housing, 1975-1980

	Northdale		Northdale Ext		Woodlands		Town centre		White	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
1975	5.7	15	5.5	6	6.0	20	Not available		Not available	
1980	5.2	20	5.4	10	5.0	8	5.5	20	3.0	2

Notes to table 37: A = Density: persons per unit; B = Percentage of multi-family occupancy per unit. Northdale and Northdale Extension were Asian townships; Woodlands Coloured; and the Town Centre housed members of both ethnic groups.

The economic slowdown of mid-decade was exacerbated by the Soweto Uprising. No new industrial growth was noted in 1975-76 and the following year, amidst growing unemployment, only one site was sold. But by 1978 there were signs of recovery and preparations were being made for the development of the Pentrich industrial estate, otherwise known as Camp Drift, from which a large community, mainly Asian, had been uprooted in the 1960s. Its entire infrastructure including recreational facilities had been destroyed. The official municipal view towards the end of the decade was that in a context of slow economic growth the housing needs of the city had been stabilised, although by 1980 with the arrival of Afrox and Meadow Feed there were indications of an upsurge in economic activity.

The City Council, while working within the confines of government legislation, showed faint liberal tendencies.⁴ However, the existence of Local Affairs Committees continued to underline the heavily segregated nature of municipal life, and their very symbolism meant that they were anathema to many. Officially they were described as “invaluable” and mention was made of their evolution into “autonomous local authorities.”⁵ Yet voter participation was remarkably and significantly limited.⁶

Slangspruit, an African informal settlement bordering Westgate, continued to be administered by

⁴ In 1975 bus terminus bench reservation notices were removed (Finance, Policy and General Purposes Committee, 23 Oct 1975 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/502, file 186/221 (Petty apartheid in Pietermaritzburg)); and in 1978 the Council applied for a mixed trading area in Upper Church Street around the railway station, between Raven and West Streets, in terms of section 19 of the Group Areas Act (GAA) (CYB 1978, p.50). This was no more than recognition of a situation that had changed little since the declaration in 1960 of a White group area, but the proposal was thwarted by the Department of Community Development (CYB 1979, p.53).

⁵ CYB 1976, p.17.

⁶ In the Indian Local Affairs Committee (ILAC) ward 1 elections of 6 Oct 1976, D.H. Moosa was elected by a majority of 27 of a total of 97 votes cast (CYB 1977, p.19). In 1977 it was noted that only 15% of 3 300 potential Coloured voters had bothered to register, although by 1979 this was said to have improved to 38% (CYB 1977, p.153; 1979, p.179).

the municipality. The African Liaison Committee, comprising 19 Africans and five city councillors, had a seat on the City Council, but no vote. The municipality justified this by the fact that while Africans worked and shopped in Pietermaritzburg, few lived permanently under its jurisdiction.⁷ It was judged “an undoubted success”, able to establish “an atmosphere of understanding ... nothing but good can come from this liaison.”⁸ Imbali township was excised from the borough on 1 April 1980 and transferred to the South African Development Trust (SADT), although services continued to be supplied by Pietermaritzburg on an agency basis. Sobantu Community Council, yet another apartheid creation lacking legitimacy, had been installed on 18 January 1980.⁹

GOVERNMENT SPORTS POLICY AND LEGISLATION AND THE NATIONAL NON-RACIAL REACTION

At the beginning of 1975 it was obvious that first the sports policy of the South African government was in a state of flux, if not confusion; and second, neither that policy nor the laws underpinning apartheid could prevent a determined attempt to play mixed sport at club level. In May 1974 the government had made a concession to sports that were suspended from international competition (nine in all at the time) by granting them the right to hold “multinational”, rather than open international, competitions. This meant that the participation of foreigners was no longer necessary when South Africans competed against each other in racially-based teams.¹⁰ Clearly the government was hoping to persuade the international community that this was a genuine move towards multi-racialism. The right-wing of the National Party (NP) needed no persuasion on this score and Andries Treurnicht and fifteen others threatened to resign.¹¹

During the second half of the 1970s the ebb and flow of government policy and non-racial reaction was reflected in cricket above all sports: it became symbolic of the history of South African sport during this period. There were growing signs of support for mixed club cricket, in particular in the Transvaal.

⁷ *CYB* 1977, p. 20.

⁸ *CYB* 1978, p.20.

⁹ *CYB* 1980, p.27.

¹⁰ *SRR* 1974, p.395. M. Horrell, *Laws affecting race relations in South Africa* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1978), p.386.

¹¹ Burgess, J. *et al.*, *The great white hoax: South Africa's international propaganda machine* (London: Africa Bureau, 1977), p.37.

Koornhof put out the predictable warning that expectations should not be raised too high because mixed sport was still against government policy:

With regard to reports in the Press that the Transvaal or any other cricket union is contemplating the establishment of mixed club competitions, I now want to state by repetition clearly and frankly that such action will not be in accordance with Government policy and that violation and disregard of the policy of the Government will force us to regard it in a serious light, because it will not promote sport in SA.¹²

The White Natal attitude was circumspect, supporting mixed cricket at international and provincial levels, but arguing that integrated club teams should emerge from a process of natural development. Even the Minister of Sport came up with a three-year plan to integrate South African cricket. The Koornhof Plan envisaged a process that would culminate in fully integrated club cricket, although African cricketers would be excluded from these arrangements on the grounds that they constituted a different nation. Consequently the plan collapsed, but it nevertheless provided further stimulus to the move towards normal cricket.¹³

In spite of chinks in the armour of South African government sports policy, it was reaffirmed in ringing tones on 10 April 1975. Much emphasis was placed upon preserving the identity of the White nation while leading eight Bantu nations to independence. Each would continue to administer its own sport and it was argued that this meant equal opportunity for all. The aim of the government was “multinationalism” at every level from club upwards: each person in South Africa would be able to attain the highest level in sport “within his own national bounds.”¹⁴

On 23 September 1976, Piet Koornhof announced yet another change in the government’s sports policy. Its purpose was to boost South Africa’s international image and the confidence of the White community, while disrupting the non-racial movement. The new policy declared that sportspersons of the four race groups should belong to their own clubs, but these should liaise in such a way as to advance that particular sporting code. Inter-group competition would be permitted in individual sports, but in team

¹² *Senate. Debates* 10 Apr 1975, col. 1651.

¹³ Bose, M. *Sporting colours: sport and politics in South Africa* (London: Robson, 1994), p.105. *South African Cricket Annual* 21, 1974, p.7. *SRR* 1974, p.400.

¹⁴ *Senate. Debates* 10 Apr 1975, col. 1652.

sports each racial group would have to administer its own league. The Minister would have the power to overrule this. In effect the principle of “multinationalism” was being extended to clubs.¹⁵

An agreement on normal cricket, defined as the participation of all cricketers at club level under one provincial body, was reached on 18 January 1976. The South African Cricket Union (SACU) was formed in September 1976 after “long, tortuous and exceptionally delicate negotiations”¹⁶ between the existing three unions - White, African and non-racial. At club level a few Black cricketers were included in White teams and three former test cricketers joined Black clubs as player-coaches. However, on 11 October Billy Woodin, President of SACA was quoted as saying that while the way was clear for matches between clubs of different races, there were no plans for multi-racial clubs although the issue of whether individuals could occasionally play for clubs of other groups was left open. This led to accusations from South African Cricket Board of Control (SACBOC) members of a lack of good faith on the part of SACU and Varachia was required to make some hasty statements about selection at club level on the basis of merit. Heesom made the premature and ill-judged statement that “cricket administration in South Africa [is] now sorted out” and pushed for readmittance to international competition, mentioning the possibility of a tour to England in 1980.¹⁷ The season 1976-77 was by agreement purely domestic and although there were dissident SACBOC voices to be heard, cricket under its auspices effectively collapsed.

This situation lasted barely a season before “South African cricket quickly reverted to abnormal.” In spite of impressive administrative structures, normal cricket amounted to “little more than an awkward combination of the three previously separate leagues ... there were probably less than ten clubs in the whole of South Africa that contained both black and white members.”¹⁸ By February 1977, the Western Province and Natal units of SACBOC had withdrawn and decided to pursue a separate course: “both ... complained of discrimination in facilities and grounds.”¹⁹ Cricketers who were not White were denied access to clubhouses because food and drink were served there, and often had to change in their cars. The formation

¹⁵ SRR 1976, pp.394-395.

¹⁶ Odendaal, A. From De Beers to SFW: 80 years of non-European cricket. *South African cricketer* 2(4) 1976, p.18. Rashid Varachia became the first President with Boon Wallace as his deputy and it was agreed that the South African Cricket Association (SACA) would be phased out gradually.

¹⁷ Heesom, D. Editor's notes. *Protea cricket annual of South Africa* 24, 1977, p.5.

¹⁸ Hickson, H. The Aurora Cricket Club and South African cricket since isolation. *Reality* 11(4) 1979, p.9.

¹⁹ SRR 1977, p.565.

of single controlling bodies was blocked by non-racial organisations believing that they were being inveigled into “multinationalism” so that Whites could again enjoy international competition.²⁰

The prospect of integrated sport at club level caused considerable tension and debate within the NP. While there was some support for mixed club sport, and Koornhof was quoted as saying that government integration policy was just a guideline, most members favoured different clubs for different race groups. Mixed clubs were especially offensive to the extreme right-wing Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who feared that sports policy reforms were the thin end of the unthinkable wedge of integration.²¹ The Minister of Community Development, Marais Steyn, admitted in August 1977 that the attitude towards mixed clubs was “very elastic.”²² Although Aurora CC had proved the point four years earlier, even the Government was conceding that mixed club sport was not illegal and was constrained only by the liquor laws, and the GAA and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act. In view of this, the ball seemed to lie very much in the hands and at the feet of national and provincial controlling bodies and local authorities. Nevertheless at the end of the 1970s Black membership of White cricket clubs was minimal.

A key factor, as it was to remain until the fall of apartheid, was school sport. In Natal, the MEC for Education Roger Whiteley announced that individual schools would make choices in this regard. When the national secretary of non-racial cricket put out feelers about mixed school sport, the government replied that mixed sport was not intended for children. By 1979 the government was sending out confused signals, suggesting that decisions about mixing on the sports field were a matter for individual schools, but reiterating a concern about the preservation of White identity. Mixed teams were becoming common at private schools.²³

In the meantime, the South African Cricket Board (SACB) had been founded in November 1977

²⁰ Ramsamy, S. Normal cricket but only for a day. *Cricketer* Mar 1983, p.26.

²¹ Koornhof soothed fears within the NP by explaining to the party congress that mixed club sport was against policy, that up to June 1976 there had been only 56 cases of persons playing for a club of another ethnic group, and that 55% of these had involved cricket. With considerable statistical aplomb, he argued that the government’s sports policy had therefore been 99.9955% successful.

²² SRR 1977, pp.558-559.

²³ SRR 1977, p.560; 1979, p. 587.

under the presidency of Hassan Howa.²⁴ SACB's members rejected SACU and all its works: the split was reported as "implacable", relations "acrimonious" and the divisions "unbridgeable."²⁵ The SACB's policy was one of non-cooperation with the apartheid regime and its agents in the Department of Sport and Recreation. It believed in equal opportunity in all areas of life, private and public, equal sponsorship, and selection based on merit with a single team representing South Africa; in short, a non-racial, democratic society. It is no coincidence that a cricket body as militant and principled as SACB arose just after the Soweto Uprising of June 1976 and its affiliation to the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) provided the latter organisation with an injection of radicalism.²⁶ It was evident that normal cricket was rapidly collapsing. In May 1978 the Natal Cricket Board (NCB) decided not to merge with the Natal Cricket Association (NCA) until mixed cricket was established at all levels, even though its President, Abdullah Khan, argued that it had no option in view of the offers being made to players to join the SACU-affiliated union.

In 1978 the government changed its policy yet again: the Broederbond looking at trade, industrial development and international (especially military) relations had decided that the costs of apartheid were becoming unbearable and sought relief in a change of sports policy.²⁷ A visiting delegation from the International Lawn Tennis Federation was told by Koornhof in February 1978 that permits were no longer required for any person to join or use the facilities of a sports club; that an annual permit could be acquired to desegregate spectators at provincial and national level sport; that the government would look favourably upon White attendance at events in Black areas; and that funds would be spent in an equitable fashion. SACOS replied that while clubs were still categorised under the GAA, these reforms were worthless. Credence was given to this view in October when the new Minister of Sport again promoted the idea of self-governance of sports clubs on a group basis although there was a suggestion that the Department of Sport should serve all race groups outside the homelands and relinquish its regulatory role. This, it would

²⁴ This followed discussions in Mar 1977 at a match between Natal and Western Province at Tills Crescent in Durban, at which it was decided that normal cricket was a farce, and a meeting at Kimberley in Sep 1977 at which "re-forming or recapturing" SACBOC was agreed as an objective (Reddy, K. SACB: a historical perspective. *Protea Assurance cricket annual of South Africa* 38, 1991, p.35).

²⁵ Odendaal, A. The South African Cricket Board. *Protea Cricket annual of South Africa* 26, 1979, p.336.

²⁶ Naidoo, L.D. *Management and development of cricket in South Africa with special reference to Natal* (Durban: University of Durban-Westville, 1993 - PDA thesis), p.172.

²⁷ Munro, W.A. The state and sports: political maneuvering in the civil order in James, W. *The state of apartheid* (Boulder: Lynne Reimer, 1987), p.128.

appear, required an annual submission of the fixture lists of all mixed sport and it was suggested that a blanket permit be introduced so that Black players could participate in White areas and vice versa. The permit system, it seemed, was on the way out.²⁸ Horrell sums up this development by pointing out that in the eyes of the government it was phasing out contrived and indefensible discrimination.²⁹ But central government was not the only variable in the apartheid equation and the role, often malign, of municipalities and administration boards was also a factor. Their involvement was portrayed simply as a local matter. Often when local authorities had given permission for mixed sports events this would be revoked after protests by White residents.

In February 1978, SACOS drew up a charter of normal sport that explained the steps necessary to support removal of the international boycott. Its purpose was to create a climate conducive to change, so the steps included the establishment of one non-racial body for each code; the abolition of all racially exclusive clubs; the fixturing of visiting sides against non-racial sides at all levels; and the integration of all school sport and junior leagues. SACOS continued to enforce its double standards resolution and individuals who compromised this were expelled, although there was constant debate about whether its purpose was punitive or educational.³⁰ The double standards resolution was explained as follows:

Any person whether he is a player, administrator or spectator committed to the non-racial principles in sport shall not participate in or be associated with any other code of sport which practises, perpetuates or condones racialism or multi-nationalism. Players and administrators disregarding these rules shall be guilty of practising double standards and cannot be members of any organisation affiliated to SACOS.³¹

By the end of the decade the government's attacks on SACOS were becoming more agitated, possibly because the non-racial body was not only gaining support, but also participating in consumer boycotts such as those against Simba and Fattis and Monis. During 1979, the Minister of Sport described SACOS as intimidatory, insulting foreign fact-finding missions and refusing to negotiate with recognised

²⁸ SRR 1978, pp.487-489.

²⁹ Horrell, M. (comp.). *Race relations as regulated by law in South Africa, 1948-1979* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1982), p.50.

³⁰ SRR 1978, p.492. South African Cricket Board. Memorandum to the International Cricket Conference 1979, pp.4, 6-7.

³¹ *Twenty two questions and answers on the South African Council on Sport*. [198-].

sports bodies. He argued that there was no room for political activists in South African sport. SACOS continued to reject the legitimacy of Coloured and Indian Representative Councils and Local Affairs Committees (LACs), community councils and management committees, all pillars of apartheid in local government.

The philosophical roots and practical attitudes of SACOS lay within the Unity Movement (UM), an influential body of socialist inclinations with its origins in the Spartacist faction of the Lenin Club favoured by the socially conservative middle-class intelligentsia of the Western Cape, and in particular by lawyers, doctors, students and members of the Teachers League of South Africa (TLSA).³² The strong influence of teachers may have some bearing on the influence of the UM on the non-racial sports movement. It believed in the principled unity of the oppressed, rejection of exploitative capitalism, and uncompromising spurning of both class and bourgeois nationalism, although it was never a workers' movement. Its fundamental belief was that of non-collaboration and it linked this to well-informed, politically alert critique from the Left and a vanguardist approach, all of which were visible in the non-racial sports movement of the 1970s and 1980s. As Nasson points out, these virtues had a less positive side, characterised by self righteousness and conspiratorial tendencies, which were to prove a burden in the late 1980s. There was a definable administrative culture within non-racial sport. Each President picked his 'cabinet' and meetings were long and formal, a substitute perhaps for a lack of political representation. Non-collaboration became, in Alexander's reckoning, sterile and ritualistic and ultimately antagonistic to anti-apartheid campaigns, which the UM condemned as reformist and adventurist. Alexander compares faith in the mechanism of the boycott, which he also describes as a "conditioned reflex", with religious belief of a Calvinistic nature. But the great virtue of SACOS was that it provided "moral consistency and philosophical cohesion" and practical guidance regarding a way of life.³³ This was evident in the definition of non-racialism published by the SACB in 1979

Non-racialism ... is defined as the free interaction of all human beings in all the activities of society on the basis of total equality and opportunity and without regard to the race or racial group, actual or artificially created, to which they may belong.³⁴

³² Its anti-fascist terminology (*herrenvolk* democracy and quislings) pointed to its 1930s and 1940s origins.

³³ Nasson, B. The Unity Movement: its legacy in historical consciousness. *Radical history review* 46-7, 1990, pp.191-207. Alexander, N. Non-collaboration in the Western Cape, 1943-1963 in James, W.G. and Simons, M. *Class, caste and color: a social and economic history of the South African Western Cape* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1992), pp.180-190.

³⁴ South African Cricket Board. Memorandum to the International Cricket Conference 1979, pp.4.

By the end of 1978, the government had granted international status to 68 sports clubs, allowing them to supply liquor and meals to competitors, officials and guests from any other race group. Dancing was, however, not permitted in order, in the opinion of the government, to avoid friction. Clubs without international status continued to experience problems; but so did those that did, due to technicalities of the Liquor Act. The Act's concessions were aimed at Black visitors rather than Black members who still had to be signed on as guests of White members; and were not allowed to dance. Full Black membership had therefore to be deferred, although the official line remained that membership was a matter for the clubs concerned.³⁵ The desegregation of spectator facilities was also affected by the Liquor Act, but primarily governed by the GAA. A number of embarrassing incidents were recorded and Erika Theron commented on "current confusion" that brought the law into discredit and sometimes bordered on the absurd.³⁶ From the late 1970s, segregation at racecourses began to be replaced by economic segregation in which anyone could buy what they considered affordable.³⁷

During 1979 the Department of Sport and Recreation did indeed become a service department for all races, simplifying the bureaucracy surrounding mixed school sport and the proposed system for clubs designed to avoid permits for racial mixing. Its mission continued to be subverted by the Reservation of Separate Amenities and Liquor Acts, which affected all events other than the private or the exempt. The government defended this state of affairs by claiming that it was necessary for the maintenance of law and order, thus unwittingly endorsing SACOS's long held view that sport could not be divorced from society. By way of contrast, the opposition Progressive Federal Party (PFP) argued that sport could be set aside as a special case for deracialisation. On 27 October 1979 the government announced that the permit system for sport under the GAA would be abolished, although no details were given. The government was moving towards recognising the autonomy of sports bodies while making sure that this did not upset the apartheid order elsewhere. Its policy remained that of encouraging race-based clubs playing within mixed leagues.³⁸ It continued to offer concessions while at the same time threatening to introduce legislation if these were exploited for political reasons: they involved privileges for sports clubs and the possibility of declaring certain stadia international, thereby allowing mixed seating. This anticipated the findings of the 1980

³⁵ SRR 1980, p.368.

³⁶ Ibid., p.590.

³⁷ Manson, A. SACOS: going under or going African. *Frontline* 3(5) Mar 1983, p.43.

³⁸ SRR 1979, pp.582-584.

Human Sciences Research Council investigation into sport.³⁹ The government argued that while it now had a sports policy detached from racial laws (the necessary changes to the GAA came into effect on 27 October 1979) this would not be extended to other aspects of South African life. When it was announced that a pre-purchased ticket to a sports event in a Black area was in effect a permit, this was criticised by non-racial sport as a sleight of hand.⁴⁰

In an interview probably conducted in the mid-1970s, Norman Middleton of non-racial football provided an analysis of Black sport. This was ignored by the White press and mentioned only when Black sportspersons left the country to perform elsewhere. Non-racial officials were banned and refused passports. When foreign observers visited South Africa they were entertained by Whites who took shelter behind government policy. White sport flourished because much of it took place on privately-owned land in which municipalities had invested heavily. Compliant Blacks were rewarded and supported by mining houses, breweries and tobacco companies as well as the government. The latter tinkered with policy, usually just before meetings of international federations. While non-racial bodies were harassed by the police, special permits were granted for high profile "multinational" events and photographs taken at them were used for propaganda purposes.⁴¹

In June 1979, the SACB released a number of demands linked to the lifting of the sports boycott. These included open club membership, non-racial controlling bodies at all levels, equal opportunity for all in public and private life, equal benefits from sponsorship, the opening of all facilities without discrimination, selection on merit, the representation of South Africa by a single team, and the desegregation of schools and school sport. These demands arose at a time when SACOS affiliates were not only becoming more militant, but linking their struggles with fraternal organisations: cricketers took a role in promoting support for the strike at Fattis and Monis, for instance. SACOS was beginning to play a broader political role in the absence of a legal non-racial political party.⁴²

The problem for the South African government during this period was that it wished to reform its

³⁹ SRR 1980, pp.585-586.

⁴⁰ Horrell, M. (comp.). *Race relations as regulated by law in South Africa, 1948-1979*, p.175.

⁴¹ Odendaal, A. *Cricket in isolation: the politics of race and cricket in South Africa* (Stellenbosch: the Author, 1977), p.136.

⁴² University of the Witwatersrand. Development Studies Group. *Politics in sport* (Johannesburg: Development Studies Group, [1981]), pp.15,18 & 23. Its reward was continued rejection by potential sponsors.

sports policy while leaving undisturbed the basic laws that underpinned apartheid. Jarvie and Reid's metaphor "attacking down the right" is particularly apt.⁴³ Under apartheid the personal and the private had been a matter of public policy and with regard to sport in particular the government now wished to adopt a more neutral role. This suited establishment sports bodies that saw sport as an activity isolated from the society around it and restricted to the stadium. It put into clearer focus the accusation that they were interested in no more than the re-establishment of international relations and clarified the SACOS tenet that there could be no normal sport in what clearly remained an abnormal society. The inclusion of a few Blacks in SACU cricket was designed to deflect attention and give an impression of favouring integration while blaming the South African government for shortcomings. The self-interest of Whites was transparent and concessions were accepted, not because of injustice, but due to isolation. Non-racial sport continued to be censored by the government and the media while compliant Black administrators such as Varachia and George Thabe (football) were idolised. This presaged a looming conflict over "whose politics should be involved in sport - those of progressive non-racial forces, or the reactionary ruling class."⁴⁴

RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

In June 1975, Graham Mills, MP for Pietermaritzburg North announced in the House of Assembly, "we do not have a better example of United Party policy than the sports policy operating in Pietermaritzburg. There, some clubs are mixed and some clubs are open. This has not led to any friction or problems. People play the game and not the colour." Allowing for party political propaganda this was true up to a point, but it grossly exaggerated the overall nature of sport in the city. The MP for Bethlehem responded by saying that separation was necessary for protection.⁴⁵

By the mid-1970s political necessity and weight of numbers was beginning to force change in apartheid policy towards the status of Asian and Coloured communities in urban areas. This was reflected in recreational provision. In Northdale VI and VIII, for instance, four children's recreation grounds with

⁴³ Jarvie, G. and Reid, I. Sport in South Africa in Riordan, J. and Kruger, A. (eds.) *The international politics of sport in the twentieth century* (London: Spon, 1999), p.240.

⁴⁴ University of the Witwatersrand. Development Studies Group. *Politics in sport*, p.52.

⁴⁵ G.W. Mills (Pmb N) and L.J. Botha (Bethlehem) speaking in the House of Assembly *DHA* 57, 11 June 1975, cols. 8026 and 8030.

swings and slides were established in 1975 together with a football pitch in the sub-economic section.⁴⁶ The provision of open spaces in Asian group areas became an integral part of planning. ILAC and the Council continued to search for new sites for sports grounds in the Asian group area: the idea of a new complex at Jesmond Dene was frequently mentioned.⁴⁷ By 1979 the distribution of new children's playgrounds throughout the city was noted as five Asian, three Coloured and three White.⁴⁸ At Northdale Stadium tennis courts were added and irrigation was provided; while at Woodlands two hockey pitches and a rugby ground were constructed, the grandstand was completed in November 1976 and the cricket table renovated. Most important of all, a contract worth R262 000 was signed for the construction of the Olympic pool at Northdale.⁴⁹ The Coloured A.F. Wood Social Centre in Boom Street was funded to the tune of R84 000 in May 1977 and opened a year later. Northdale Stadium was fenced in 1978 and floodlights were installed; and at the same time the Woodlands football and hockey field was irrigated.⁵⁰

Work continued at Alexandra Park where new hockey and softball fields, a football pitch and a cricket wicket were established; while the seating at the Oval was improved and Jan Smuts Stadium was reconditioned.⁵¹ An international hockey match was played there in August 1978. Additional floodlights were installed at the Oval and the Sax Young track was upgraded in 1979 to become the headquarters of all cycling in Natal.⁵² Further renovation took place at Jan Smuts in 1980 to cater for the relocation of cricket. This involved improvements to the stands, a five track table, sightscreens and concrete stands and underground irrigation.⁵³ On 13 January 1981 the first major floodlit cricket match in South Africa took place at the stadium.⁵⁴

⁴⁶ *CYB* 1975, p.135.

⁴⁷ ILAC, 8 Apr and 23 Sep 1975 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/810, file 299/214 (Northdale: Olympic swimming pool). City Engineer to TC, 21 Apr 1975 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/674, file 265/202 (MISA).

⁴⁸ *CYB* 1979, p. 46.

⁴⁹ Public Health, Parks and Art Gallery Committee, 1 May 1975 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/612, file 242/214 (Proposed new stadium: Northdale stage 9). Work commenced in June 1977 and the pool was opened on 2 Sep 1978, after overspending amounting to R58 000.

⁵⁰ *CYB* 1977, p. 99; 1978, p.187; 1979, p.210.

⁵¹ *CYB* 1976, p.154; 1977, p.39.

⁵² *CYB* 1979, p. 45.

⁵³ *CYB* 1980, p.219.

⁵⁴ *CYB* 1981, p.51.

Table 38: Municipal stocktake of sports facilities, 1980

Alexandra Park (White)	Softball (Frank Ryan Ground); hockey; football & cricket (including Ellis Smith, Dare Osborne, Anderson and Forsyth, the last two floodlit); athletics & cycling (Sax Young)
Northdale (Asian)	Football; cricket; athletics; tennis; basketball
Woodlands (Coloured)	Football; cricket; hockey; athletics; tennis
Eastwood (Coloured)	Start of work on stadium = top soiling, grass planting & fencing

A partial municipal stocktake of sports facilities in 1980 is reflected in table 38. The breakdown of swimming attendance for the summer 1979-80 was: Northdale 49%; Alexandra Park 14%, Joliffe 14%, Pilditch 12% and Berg Street 10%; indicating that 72% of all swimmers (134 381 customers) were Asian or Coloured. Twenty years earlier these communities had no swimming facilities other than reservoirs, the river and various spruits. Community halls, apart from that mentioned in Boom Street, were noted at Northdale (being extended), Woodlands (vulnerable to gang warfare), Eastwood (opening in 1981); Bombay Heights (postponed); and Grange/Westgate (postponed).⁵⁵

The Tatham Memorial Ground, transferred from African usage to Asian and non-racial sport, was upgraded with cricket sightscreens, nets and covers, plus a boundary wall and a ticket office. The Maritzburg Bantu Football Association complained in June 1975 that it had been allocated no grounds in Pietermaritzburg, but the Council simply passed on the correspondence to the Drakensberg Bantu Administration Board for consideration.⁵⁶ With non-racial sport taking place at Tatham Memorial Ground under permit the question of the establishment of an appropriate group area arose. However, the government “did not favour protuberances of this sort ... particularly in a case such as this, where the land immediately abutted another Group Area, the land to the south-western side of the Dorpspruit being within a proclaimed white area.”⁵⁷ ILAC continued to pursue the issue, however, and the area was rezoned in 1978.⁵⁸ It was in 1977 that the City Council resolved that “a large multiracial complex ... be planned for Chatterton Road” thus reviving an idea that had been extant for many years, although by 1979 it was

⁵⁵ *CYB* 1980, pp.187, 214-216, 218.

⁵⁶ A.M. Moleko, attorneys to TC, 25 June 1975; TC to A.M. Moleko, 3 July 1975 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/210, file 242/2 (Fitzsimmons Road Sports Ground).

⁵⁷ Housing and Town Planning Committee, 17 Jan 1975 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/210, file 242/2 (Fitzsimmons Road Sports Ground).

⁵⁸ ILAC, 22 Apr 1975 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/674, file 265/202 (MISA).

recorded that "the matter has now been deferred."⁵⁹ At the same time, reflecting changing government policy, multi-racial football was played at Jan Smuts Stadium for the first time.⁶⁰ During the 1977-78 season, 19 such matches took place at the Stadium, but the *Corporation Yearbook* makes the cryptic comment that "many matches were played elsewhere due to the inconsistency of Sobantu United."⁶¹ The 1978-79 season saw the Stadium host 12 professional multi-racial matches, plus the fixtures of the White Maritzburg District Football Association (MDFA). Black amateur footballers were increasingly seen in Alexandra Park. In September 1977 all grounds used by non-racial bodies were taken over by the City Council for maintenance.⁶²

Little detail is available for this period regarding the funding of sports ground development, and where figures were published they were not disaggregated. Advances were substantial: R467 000 in 1976, R1 514 000 in 1978, R70 000 in 1979, and R187 660 in 1980; but little further detail is available. Collegians Club continued to benefit from the public purse: in April 1975 a loan of R40 000 at 11.5% over 30 years was awarded in order to improve the kitchen and dining room and another R50 000 was released in July. In 1981, R40 000 was made available at 13.75% interest over 30 years for parking.⁶³ It can, however, be reasonably deduced that the total amounts and proportions spent on facilities in Asian and Coloured group areas were of an unprecedented order. There was nevertheless an undercurrent of official dissatisfaction. The Medical Officer of Health wrote in 1980 that there was a dearth of civic pride, "the mental attitudes of our various groupings tend to encourage a laissez- faire outlook."⁶⁴ The Director of Parks recorded his opinion that at Northdale and Raisethorpe equipment suffered abuse.⁶⁵ There were clearly widely divergent views about sports facilities. Opinion in the Asian community referred to "drastic deprivations [sic.]", of forced relocation and depressed morale. The inadequate level of sports facility provision, it was feared, would lead to juvenile delinquency.⁶⁶ The Estates Manager, on the other hand, complained that the community should be showing more initiative, especially with regard to smaller

⁵⁹ *CYB* 1977, p.40; 1979, p.52.

⁶⁰ *CYB* 1977, p.181.

⁶¹ *CYB* 1978, p.206. It was also recorded that the floodlights were too expensive to use.

⁶² *CYB* 1979, pp.209, 210.

⁶³ Finance, Policy and General Purposes Comm, 22 Apr 1975; Finance Comm, 17 July 1981 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/606, file 242/113 (Collegians Club).

⁶⁴ *CYB* 1980, p.155.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁶⁶ Dr Beharee, 8 Apr 1975 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/674, file 265/202 (MISA).

facilities.⁶⁷

NON-RACIAL SPORT

By the end of a third season in establishment cricket (1975-76), Aurora had already become disillusioned with what it perceived as second-class status, particularly regarding access to facilities. Members of the club were also subjected to regular racist comment. The season 1977-78 was the last for Aurora under the auspices of the Maritzburg Cricket Union (MCU) because of dissatisfaction with its attitude. This centred on a failure to further multi-racial cricket in Pietermaritzburg and the fact that after five years there was only one Black player participating in a club other than Aurora.⁶⁸ At least one of the MCU's clubs, Zingari, had a racially-based constitution because it was afraid of losing its liquor licence. The former Black Natal captain, Gopaul Manicum, had not been selected for the 1977 inter-city side even though he was top of the bowling averages. This may have been because the venue was Collegians Club where serving a Black man lunch would have led to embarrassment. A White Aurora player withdrew from the Maritzburg side in protest.⁶⁹ As a belated obituary in the *Natal Witness* pointed out in 1980, the talents of Manicum, a player rated by Basil d'Oliveira as a potential test cricketer, "were confined to the backyards of his home country."⁷⁰

The vote for affiliation to the non-racial Maritzburg District Cricket Union (MDCU) was seven in favour, three against with two abstentions. On 25 June 1978, a statement was released to the Pietermaritzburg press:

After 5 years of playing cricket under N.C.A. we no longer feel that this body is an effective vehicle for the normalization of cricket in Natal. In addition we feel that non-racial sport in SA can only be effectively realised through S.A.C.O.S. which is recognised by the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa. We will now seek affiliation to the Super League of NCB.

⁶⁷ Estates Manager to TC, 17 Apr 1975 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/674, file 265/202 (MISA).

⁶⁸ Minutes of the Aurora AGM, 23 June 1978.

⁶⁹ Hickson, M. *The Aurora Cricket Club and South African cricket since isolation*, p.9.

⁷⁰ *NW* 8 Feb 1980, p.22.

A similar statement referring to the lack of Black participation in cricket played under the auspices of the MCU was released to Durban newspapers. Normal cricket, it was felt, was simply legitimising apartheid, an untenable situation given the growing radicalisation of South African society after the June 1976 Soweto Uprising.⁷¹ From the 1978-79 season onwards Aurora's membership grew significantly, drawing from the White, Asian and Coloured communities, and its success on the cricket field and contributions to umpiring and administration increased in tandem. The change in its political profile was accompanied by dramatic alterations to playing conditions: of three grounds available to the MDCU in Pietermaritzburg two had matting wickets and neither had changing facilities, nor toilets. For Aurora as a club, joining the MDCU was politically a greater step in the long-term than the events of 1973: many of its original members were happy to play cricket with Blacks as long as this occurred within a framework of White control and the confines of notionally apolitical sport. One of the new circumstances was a general state of impermanence: non-racial cricket at Chatterton took place in terms of permits issued for six months.⁷²

Pietermaritzburg Turf Club (along with Clairwood in Durban) applied for permission to relax the segregation of spectators.⁷³ In 1978 Eddels Sports and Social Club refused to apply for international status that would exempt it from certain requirements of the Liquor Act.⁷⁴ In February 1975 a Chatsworth athletics club had applied to the mayor for permission to start a multi-racial ultra marathon from Pietermaritzburg to Durban in Alexandra Park and permission was granted subject to the approval of the provincial authorities. No further trace can be found of this event.⁷⁵ Complaints were made by the MCU about Black cyclists using the Sax Young track, but objections were brushed aside by the Director of Parks.⁷⁶ In April 1975 the Lotus Hockey Club (mainly Asian players) applied to use the Alexandra Park and Standard grounds. This was approved by the Pietermaritzburg and District Men's Hockey Association and the Council emphasised that it had "no objection ... provided the laws of the land are not

⁷¹ McLoughlin, S. The little club that did. *NW* 8 Oct 1997.

⁷² Department of Planning and the Environment permit, C16571, 10 Mar 1975 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/612, file 242/210 (Soccer bowl in the Chatterton Road area).

⁷³ *SRR* 1979, p.444.

⁷⁴ *SRR* 1980, p.586.

⁷⁵ G. Naidoo, Sec, Moorton Athletics Sports Club to Mayor, 18 Feb 1975; TC to Sec, Moorton ASC, 18 Mar 1975 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/858, file 305/212 (Use of roads for marathons, cycling races etc.).

⁷⁶ MCU to TC, 3 Jan 1975; Director of Parks to TC, 3 Mar 1975 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/5/607, file 242/202 (Sax Young track ground, Alexandra Park).

contravened.”⁷⁷

In 1975 the Comrades Marathon was declared “multinational” - as the *Durban Daily News* described it, “the Department of Sport sprinkled its magic formula on the event.”⁷⁸ The total number of entrants was limited to 1500 and Africans were required to wear labels indicating their ethnic identity. Thus, the view of the *Natal Witness* that “much of the bitterness has been laid to rest” was surprisingly optimistic.⁷⁹ “Some bureaucrat with the finesse of an ox” supervised the start, handing out labels, a situation made farcical by a shortage of Zulu tags and their substitution by Xhosa.⁸⁰ Although this was the idea of the government, Professor Botha of the South African Amateur Athletic Union (SAAAU), described by the MP for Pietermaritzburg South, Warwick Webber, as the Minister of Sport and Recreation’s *handlanger*, justified the practice as standard. Webber described tagging as “an insult to every athlete.”⁸¹ The government justified the situation by arguing that arrangements had been made by the SAAU, the Natal Athletics Union and Collegians Harriers. The Minister of Sport, Piet Koornhof, argued that “in recognition of the nation [sic.] pride of the different ethnic groups, a request for identification was made to the participants in agreement with the practice which has been followed since 1971.” He equated ethnic identification with Whites wearing club badges, but the rest of his response was nonsensical. When he was asked, in the light of the mix up over tags, if he would wear a label saying “English” he said he would be happy - if he were English.⁸² The following year Rakabaele won a gold medal and was described patronisingly as a “plucky little African runner.”⁸³ But “true comradeship embracing people of all races finished well down the field”, commented the *Daily News*.⁸⁴ The Marathon was boycotted by runners with non-racial connections as they rejected concessions: those members of non-racial athletics clubs who ran in 1976 were expelled.

⁷⁷ Public Health, Parks and Art Gallery Committee, 3 Apr 1975 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/612, file 242/309 (Sports grounds in Alexandra Park).

⁷⁸ *DN* 2 June 1975.

⁷⁹ *NW* 30 May 1975.

⁸⁰ *DN* 2 June 1975.

⁸¹ W.T. Webber (MP for Pmb S) speaking in the House of Assembly *DHA* 57, 11 June 1975, col.8078. Only 16 Black runners, 13 African, and two women participated officially and Vincent Rakabaele (Marievale Mine, 6 hours 27 minutes) was the first Black runner to win a medal (*SRR* 1975, p.280).

⁸² Questions by W.T. Webber and R.M. Cadman (Umhlatuzana) in the House of Assembly with responses from P. Koornhof, Minister of Sport and Recreation *DHA* 58, 17 June 1975, cols.1182-1184.

⁸³ *NW* 1 June 1976.

⁸⁴ *DN* 1 June 1975.

The influence of SACOS and its affiliates on sport in Pietermaritzburg was considerable, so much so that a member of ILAC, L.S. Moodley, wrote to L.J. Botha, National Party MP for Bethlehem, in May 1980 recommending that this "anti-white body ... controlled by Marxists ... [be] ... out-lawed as an organisation that indulges in subversive activities."⁸⁵ His request is clear evidence of the fact that recreational facilities were an important factor in the struggle around civil and human rights and the issue of South African identity. At this stage of South Africa's history, coherent non-racial political activity in the form of the United Democratic Front (UDF) was still three years away. The opportunity for meaningful opposition activity existed in certain professions and some churches, student organisations, trade unions - and SACOS-affiliated sports bodies. Their effectiveness in challenging local government structures and the distribution of resources, as well as their continued support for the international sports boycott of South Africa, brought them increasing vilification from the government and its supporters.

SUMMARY

By the end of the 1970s the municipality, although not the majority of its White inhabitants, had accepted the fact that Pietermaritzburg was, to a substantial degree, an Asian city. Its African character continued to be denied. But in spite of this the Asian population, as well as the Coloured, continued to experience generally depressed socio-economic conditions, although these were widespread throughout South Africa in the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising. The perception of these communities by the White authorities mirrored a growing tendency in government and NP circles to see them as a potential middle class, highly urbanised, and a key component of a revised, re-formed version of apartheid that prefigured the tricameral constitution of the early 1980s. Their upliftment was part of a wider strategy of the long-term survival of White rule.

A transfer of resources from Whites to the Asian and Coloured communities is shown by the history of recreational facilities in the Pietermaritzburg of the late 1970s. But this was effected within the constraints of apartheid spatial planning that aimed, as far as possible, at physically distinct ethnic suburban entities with their own infrastructure. The new sports facilities, it was assumed, would fall under the control of organisations sympathetic to the LACs, which were despised on a grand scale.

⁸⁵ L.S. Moodley to L.J. Botha, 26 May 1980 in Aurora Papers, Alan Paton Centre, Pietermaritzburg.

In Pietermaritzburg a number of forces inhibited the apartheid plan. First, were residual liberal tendencies within the municipality, although at the end of the 1970s these were not as pronounced as had been the case at its beginning. One of the reasons for this was polarisation caused by the increasingly effective international isolation of South African sport that stirred considerable resentment. These tendencies had always been more a reflection of hope than experiential reality. There was no major inclination to defy Pretoria. Second, was a lack of the financial resources required to perfect social engineering on the required scale. A constant refrain in the official communications of the era is the problem of finding land and houses to accommodate the rapidly growing Asian population, paralleled by a similar but short-term crisis amongst the Coloured population. Ultimately this was probably the saving grace of the substantial population of Asian and Coloured Maritzburgers living at the lower (east) end of the city. The survival of their recreational facilities, against all the odds created by apartheid, was indeed symbolic.

Third, the attempt in the early 1970s to make apartheid face in more than one direction, epitomised above all by the manipulation of sport, exacerbated traditional confusion about statute law and NP policy. This was seized upon by the anti-apartheid opposition which exposed the weaknesses of "multinational" and multi-racial sports policies and the Achilles heel represented by school sport. The fundamental disagreement between the government and its increasingly radical, SACOS-affiliated opponents was the idea that sport could be depoliticised. While there was no doubt it could be uncoupled from central government interference (anticipating the findings of the 1980 report of the Human Sciences Research Council), this clearly did not result in its disengagement from local or national social, political, economic and cultural inequalities. The campaign that hinged on these truths excited increasingly vituperative responses from the government, including use of the phraseology of counter-terrorism.

The absorption of the Asian and Coloured communities into middle-class urban life, and the parallel exclusion of Africans who were to have no place in established municipalities, only on their margins and controlled by central government, was to occur at the pleasure of Pretoria endorsed by the vast majority of the White electorate. The organs of local government driving this process, the White City Council plus ILAC and the Coloured Local Affairs Committee (CLAC), were considered illegitimate by the non-racial movement, although it and its affiliates had to engage with the former for pragmatic reasons: the authorities controlled considerable financial and other resources and the means to deploy them. The

rejection of the legitimacy of the LACs anticipated political change that was as yet over a decade away. It also involved a broad political activism that was demonstrated by non-racial sports bodies in Pietermaritzburg. This was particularly demonstrated by cricket, which was consistently loyal to SACOS principles and played an active part in international sanctions and consumer boycotts.

In spite of a major and rapid shift in government sports policy, recreation in Pietermaritzburg continued to function in a binary fashion. The basic problem was the perceived legitimacy of process. The LACs and the racially-based sports boards that administered the new facilities in Northdale, Woodlands, Allandale and Raisethorpe and those facilities granted 'international status' were all rejected and boycotted to various degrees in Pietermaritzburg. These were the issues of the 1970s, but they reiterate a long-running, at times obscure, question regarding whose politics were to prevail in South African sport. The fact that the sports facilities - stadia, swimming pools and community halls - of the White, Asian and Coloured communities were, in terms of number if not quality, beginning to converge had ceased to be of major consequence. Even at this stage there is evidence of continued public funding of private, racially exclusive, recreational facilities, which continued beyond the scope of this thesis into the 1980s.

The organisers of the Comrades Marathon allowed their event to be manipulated by government in the most demeaning fashion. On the other hand the move of Aurora CC from the White MCU league to the non-racial fold of the MDCU in 1979 was in some ways more significant than the famous challenge to the national government of 1973. The decision was encouraged by a number of factors, but the most obvious was old-fashioned racism. SACOS-affiliated, non-racial sports bodies attacked the legitimacy of apartheid by refusing to accept its spatial imperatives - separation, segregation, removals and persistent insecurity. This struggle over space reveals a broader conflict over identity, the distribution of resources, representivity and the future shape of South African society.

CONCLUSION

IDEOLOGY: IMPERIALISM, SEGREGATION, APARTHEID

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century history of sport in Pietermaritzburg provides manifold evidence of the dominance of imperialism. Sport was an undeniably imperial project, tied to the perceived character that gave identity to the assumed British race. This was initially boosted by the strong presence and influence of the garrison. Sport provided some of the adhesive necessary for group solidarity in a society fearful of its potentially volatile surroundings: the Bambatha Rebellion of 1906 provided suitable evidence of this. It is ironic that in an area of life in which so much effort has been expended trying to deny the links between sport and politics, imperialists like Lord Harris trumpeted the virtues of British character on the field of play and made no attempt to hide the political connection. Sport, in the form of touring teams in particular, was an advertisement for Empire, propaganda by physical example. Private schools were a nursery for this imperial ideology of sport which, in the case of Natal, fed a local, sometimes aggressive, White nationalism that grew out of and co-existed alongside a deferential colonial sentiment. Much of this was bound up with ideas about masculinity in colonial society. Sport was an essential ingredient in sustaining imperial mystique, providing the character and the team spirit to protect perceived civilised values and maintain the law and order of a minority group.

Sport resonated strongly with the all-important concept of Home. Football, rugby, cricket, golf and bowls all had particular cultural links with the British Isles and reminded the burgesses of Pietermaritzburg vividly of their origins, while binding them together in an exotic and sometimes threatening place. The persistent frontier atmosphere of Pietermaritzburg was domesticated, made familiar and reassuring, not just by the activity surrounding sport, whether playing or watching, but also by its architecture and aura. The Oval at Alexandra Park was, for instance, a place of unmistakable British imperial authority, a symbol of psychological comfort and communal assurance at the edge of Empire. Here for the burgesses was the acme of civilisation, where the boundary fence decisively excluded the unfamiliar and dangerous. Within such a psychological regime the matter of inclusion on the sports field attained extremely serious dimensions. It partly explains why sport was not consciously used to assimilate potentially friendly parts of the local population, as was the case at times in India. With the passage of time, imperialism became an increasingly ritualised ideology, at its most obvious on high days and holidays. As the concept of Home began to diminish in popular consciousness, it was replaced by a sense of South African identity in which sport began to bind

together English- and Afrikaans-speaking Whites. But visiting teams from England and other dominions were still treated royally.

The Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923 marked the beginning of enforced segregation that built upon existing voluntary social practice. Amongst Whites it was a truly popular policy, an umbrella measure that appealed to liberals as strongly as to conservatives. Most of the forced relocation of the inter-war period was disguised as health measures under the Slums Act and both Asian and African communities suffered dislocation. The Coloured community was demonised as prone to alcoholism and gradually marginalised, pushed towards identification with the other two Black groups. The Asian penetration issue which began to achieve a high public profile during the 1930s was blown out of all proportion in Pietermaritzburg, as figures from the Broome Commission were later to show, but it played a part in further popularising segregation amongst the majority of the White population and preparing the way for the transition to apartheid. The Ghetto Act, preceding the Group Areas Act (GAA) by several years, was a dress rehearsal for what was later to come: in Natal, apartheid was in place well before 1948. By the outbreak of the Second World War, the African population of Pietermaritzburg that was not in domestic service had largely been relocated to hostels or the Native Village (Sobantu); which, while it was designed as a suburb for a respectable, permanent African population, was nonetheless subject to considerable disapproval from Whites.

The GAA, one of apartheid's key laws, embraced all urban communities in an increasingly rigid pattern of spatial segregation and resource control. The legislation reinforced existing practice regarding sport and recreation, but it was ill-suited to the regulation of short-term voluntary use of public space and its effect was as much that of accentuating social practice as providing legal reinforcement. Lifestyle, including sport, was driven by personal appearance and social convention, but now reinforced by government documentation. The problem with the GAA hinged on the distinction to be drawn between occupation of land (with which the Act dealt competently) and use (which affected much sport and was to prove legally troublesome). The legislation as originally framed was not conducive to the enforcement of social apartheid and the vagueness in its wording was not resolved in subsequent amendments. As events around sport and recreation in Pietermaritzburg were to show, any attempt to control the playing of a game would have an impact on many mundane but important activities that required the presence of Black people in what was regarded as White space. In this sense recreation by its very nature helped to illustrate the limits of authoritarianism: the use of open public space was to prove an Achilles Heel of the apartheid system.

The effects of the GAA, legislation reflective of radical social engineering ambitions, were far reaching and impacted in Pietermaritzburg most severely upon the Asian and Coloured communities. By the 1950s most independent African land owners and occupiers, except in Sobantu which was itself threatened with removal to the lower Edendale Valley, had been moved out of the municipality; and group areas were naturally designed to inconvenience Whites as sparingly as possible. The impact on recreational facilities was a function of the effect of the GAA on land values: forced removals created artificial circumstances and warped values that severely disadvantaged Black communities. Their existing infrastructure subject to removal had minimal value, but they faced high costs in the areas to which they were forced to move. Furthermore group area planning was discussed for over ten years before it was put into effect and this fossilised existing facility provision pending new development elsewhere. This simply reinforced historically inequitable patterns of wealth and resource allocation and widened the poverty gap. Above all, group areas relocations had a profound impact upon so many humdrum aspects of ordinary life, including sport which is dependent upon social context as well as facilities.

Government policy regarding sport may, up to a point, be seen as a bluff, reliant to a very great extent upon existing custom and tradition, to which frequent reference was made by the authorities. The position of the National Party was that no mixing across ethnic lines was permitted, although there was no legal way of enforcing this in terms of use of land as Lincoln City Football Club proved: no sports body was ever successfully prosecuted in terms of a GAA definition of usage. There were, however, persistent rumours that legislation regarding sport would be introduced and the psychological climate invoked did much to maintain the status quo. Proclamation 26 of 1965, which addressed the issue of segregation of spectators at sports events, may be considered the apotheosis of apartheid sport. It was followed by statements from government ministers about sport as a vehicle for a physically and spiritually strong White nation that have about them echoes of fascist ideology.

Reform of government sports policy began in 1967 in terms of Vorster's desire to apply a doctrine of outwardness to both foreign policy and "multinational" sports relations. It was labelled golf politics by ultra-conservative opponents and led to a fracturing of the ruling party, although this had no major political consequence. Racial mixing on the sports field was gradually accepted officially during the 1970s under strict government control. This was a subtle policy supported by the Broederbond, designed to depoliticise sport for international effect while maintaining the essentials of the apartheid system, but it was received as a set of mixed and confusing signals. Furthermore, the rapidly shifting sands of government sports policy were often not translated into reality on the ground at municipal level.

The strict conditions under which "multinational" sport was permitted to take place became more flexible after 1974, with foreign participants no longer required to validate events in the case of those sports from which South Africa had been expelled or suspended internationally. Reform moved quickly and from 1978 the central government phased out permits: a ticket to an event in a Black group area became, essentially, a permit to be there. The intention of the government was to end its overt interference in sport, halt segregation and discrimination, and allow sports bodies autonomy within the constraints of a society still governed by apartheid. In a sense this was a reversion to demands made by the parliamentary opposition ten years previously. These reformed policies neglected the bantustans, so Pietermaritzburg's suburbs in KwaZulu were excluded. From 1979 the Department of Sport and Recreation began to serve all communities outside the bantustans. Critics argued convincingly that these moves were made for propaganda purposes and that broader questions about sport in society were left totally unanswered. On the issue of sport the ideology of apartheid by 1980 showed itself to be two-faced. But it was a national strategy that failed to account for local government reaction.

An accompaniment to this reform was normal cricket with the expectation of grassroots development that would lead to mixed clubs. Normal cricket turned out to be no more than an affirmation of "multinationalism" in most instances, sustained by false hopes and destroyed by bad faith. In Pietermaritzburg the experiment lasted only a season before collapsing in February 1977. The problem lay with ill-feeling between players, the legal obstacles to the use of facilities including bars, and the position of sport in government schools.

The corporation, municipal officials and burgesses of Pietermaritzburg by and large co-operated with the policy and practice of apartheid, and local government in a general sense became an appendage of Pretoria. During the 1960s, when apartheid was at its height, there were occasional liberal gestures such as use of the Royal Agricultural Showgrounds by non-racial football. The disturbances of the year of Sharpeville had caused only a small ripple in Pietermaritzburg, although there was clearly intense dissatisfaction with the beerhalls. Towards the end of the period under review some aspects of apartheid, labelled petty, began to fall away sometimes with official municipal encouragement. Two examples were segregation at the bus station and an application (that did no more than recognise the status quo) for a mixed trading area in upper Church Street. But municipal enthusiasm for local affairs committees (ILAC and CLAC) for the Asian (Indian) and Coloured communities and their promotion as potentially autonomous authorities is far more representative of the attitude of White local government in the 1970s. The populace voiced its opinion by refusing to register and then voting in derisory numbers. The Sobantu Community Council and the African

Liaison Committee enjoyed similar low esteem. The removal of Imbali in 1980 from the responsibility of the Pietermaritzburg municipality was the final act in the segregation of the city.

DOMINATION AND SUBORDINATION: THE USE OF RESOURCES

Sport was an essential element of a self-perceived British moral ascendancy, a heightened integrity, assuming a biologically determined set of characteristics that endowed a fitness to rule others. At its most benign this was interpreted as a parental role in relation to everyone else, those people regarded as 'other'. It was seen at the time as normal and inevitable. Imperial superiority towards the 'other' inevitably encouraged racial stereotyping that conveniently confirmed the latter's inferiority. Under this belief system even the most humble person of assumed British race could lay legitimate claim to privilege. Sport helped to reproduce a race of masters and mistresses (the British did not go so far as to describe themselves a master race) juxtaposed with a community of 'boys and girls' (Africans); and 'Coolies' (or Asians). An aloof disdain for others was characteristic of British imperialism. 'Otherness', although plainly predicated upon physical appearance, nevertheless had no permanent definition, so it was important to maintain behavioural boundaries. Sport was an activity where this could be achieved. British imperialism, imparting a supreme self-confidence, created a race of untouchables who avoided contamination by the indigenous people and other immigrant communities. This phobia raised barriers everywhere, but particularly in relation to the sports field where physical contact was all too possible. Sport, like other facets of colonial life, was used to bind together the White community and separate it from everyone else.

Africans were regarded in principle and practice as minors, people of limited moral fibre for whom urbanisation represented potential corruptive disaster. As individuals they were also a disposable economic resource for White urban society, which showed little sustained interest in their general health and well-being. There was a grudging respect for the physique of Africans, but a visceral fear of miscegenation and the creation of a group of half-castes. It was widely accepted by the burgesses of Pietermaritzburg that Africans required a firm hand and clear boundaries. Natalians of Asian origins were regarded with barely and rarely concealed contempt, to a large extent because of the threat they posed to a comfortable lifestyle for even the humblest White trader and clerk, those potential immigrants surplus to the British economy who aspired to colonial life. Punished for their contribution to Pietermaritzburg's prosperity they were declared uncivilised, a threat to public health, and stigmatised as a non-permanent part of the population ready for repatriation to the sub-continent (the sucked orange syndrome). There was little need to provide sports facilities for the African and Asian communities because they were not regarded as a permanent component of urban society.

This provided a context in which White ambition regarding sport and recreation reached considerable heights at the expense literally of other sectors of society, an instrumentalism that involved the appropriation of resources. The key factor was total control of local government and it is interesting to speculate about the development of sports and other facilities had Georgetown in the Edendale Valley been granted a municipal structure in the nineteenth century. Even during the Great War ambitious plans about facilities were being laid. Most significant of all was the interpretation of the concept of public. This was simply a euphemism for Whites, which meant that Pietermaritzburg's version of municipal socialism allowed for the allocation of resources not just to parks and swimming pools, but to private clubs as well.

Such was the beleaguered solidarity of the White community that there is no shred of evidence of any protest from its poorer section. This can be explained by the growth in the inter-war period of an accentuated neurosis about racial outnumbering: the need for White cohesiveness precluded forms of criticism that might have challenged the financial ingenuity required to obscure the public/private divide. The transfer of public funds to private benefit was described as land improvement or beautification and the City Treasurer was prepared to risk surcharge by the Auditor for defying provincial regulations in order to achieve this. An extraordinary range of benefits, some of them in effect illegal loans, was extended to bowls, croquet, golf and the Country Club. In turn sports clubs regularly defaulted on their loans, but were allowed to carry on operating under generous terms. Sport and recreation, it would appear, were considered by the municipality to be a social service rendered to the White community. The club, whatever sport it involved (and the bowls club was probably the most obvious), was a powerful institution in Pietermaritzburg society with political, economic and cultural influence.

During the Depression the skewed nature of resource allocation deepened as relief work gangs of Whites (civilised labour), operating at a premium, displaced African labour on the development of recreational facilities. Africans were marginalised while Whites benefited in a dual fashion using central government subsidy. At the same time, there was a marked reluctance to transfer redundant facilities such as swimming baths and playgrounds to the use of other communities. In the eyes of White officials, impermanent communities did not require investment in permanent, high-quality recreational facilities. This officialdom was only too well aware of the economic hardship endured by Black communities in the inter-war period: it not only deprived it of social facilities, but blocked a charitable overture when this was presented on the grounds that the city could not afford ongoing maintenance as a result of private capital outlay. In this particular case children continued to contract bilharzia and to drown because of a lack of properly organised swimming facilities. It was this dearth of swimming pools for Blacks in a subtropical climate with a long summer that most

starkly characterised discrimination in sports facilities. Such attitudes may be attributed to ethnic stereotyping: however loyal the Asian community professed itself to be to the Empire, it was still regarded as inherently diseased, unhealthy and uncivilised. Although many Asians were ratepayers, only a minuscule proportion of municipal resources was allowed to benefit them and using the very resourcefulness that had proved a challenge to Whites they maintained their own facilities. The penetration issue, in so far as it existed in Pietermaritzburg, reflected concern by Whites about the allocation of resources. The Broome Commission provided the first solid official evidence of discrimination against the Asian community with regard to recreational facilities, although perversely it assumed that Asians did not regard physical exercise highly.

Beerhall profits were central to the operation of the Native Revenue Account (NRA), the purpose of which was to fund the general welfare of the African community: in short inebriation was put to the service of recreation. Although the NRA was charged with administrative and policing costs, and there is no question that control rather than administration was uppermost in official minds, there is no evidence of municipal fraud in Pietermaritzburg as was the case in Durban. General mismanagement in terms of the original purpose and a lack of morality in the administration of the NRA were, however, characteristic. Between the World Wars minimal amounts of money were spent on African recreation and spare time was directed towards the beer hall with the additional lure of the bioscope; both governed by the curfew. In general this was a successful model for the control of leisure time, a period in the daily and weekly grind of the African worker that was much feared by Whites, as was indigenous popular culture in its noisy and demonstrative fashion.

Wartime brought slightly changed dimensions to the allocation of resources in which playgrounds for children were funded with less regard for the community of origin. But the conflict around jukskei demonstrated that the zoning of land for sporting activity could create divisions amongst a single community, as well as between different ones. Swimming facilities remained a key indicator of the attitude towards the Asian and Coloured communities, whose recreational activity in this regard remained dominated by floods and bilharzia alongside, for many, slum living. Swimming for Whites in the 1950s was a prestige sport, but an area of Black life that reflected suffering. The lack of amenities and marginal position of recreation grounds for the Black population mirrored its poor standard of living and very short life expectancy. Pietermaritzburg was indeed an unhealthy place for Black communities who suffered from a range of diseases that may largely be ascribed to poverty. Wartime also provided continuing evidence of the extraordinarily privileged position of White sport, to which was extended a wide variety of special arrangements that amounted to an increasingly skewed version of municipal socialism: the scale of condoned financial defaulting by private sports bodies was in some cases spectacular.

The 1956 tour match played by the Kenyan Asians in Pietermaritzburg provides a classic case of the uneven impact of resources when compared to the very privileged position of White cricket. By the late 1950s grants-in-aid to the Asian and Coloured communities amounted to about 20% of the total, but this improved figure was still outstripped by the amounts paid to individual White sports such as cricket. Preferential loan arrangements made with White bodies continued to amount to a significant level of subsidy in the 1950s and 1960s and Kershaw Park (tennis) and Collegians Club were significant beneficiaries in this regard. But the Mountain Rise Golf Club, originally a municipal facility, was abandoned and all remaining African facilities were under severe threat. The relationship between local political power, business and private sports clubs was manifest as was the marginalisation of the White working class and neglect of other communities.

The provision of sports facilities to the Asian and Coloured communities in effect hinged upon group areas legislation: the enforcement of urban apartheid required payment in kind, some of which materialised as stadia and swimming pools in the 1960s. These in turn became places of contestation. At the same time White facilities continued to develop disproportionately, provided with lights, irrigation systems and broadcasting equipment. An upswing in the economy and growing political confidence reinforced the primacy of White facilities even while national ideological requirements provided new Black facilities. At the end of the 1960s surveys proved for the first time what had been long known, but not previously quantified: that the provision of sports facilities in Pietermaritzburg was grossly skewed on the basis of ethnicity.

Even at the end of the 1970s the health differential between the White and other communities was still extremely wide. As a consequence of group areas the municipality had become a large-scale landlord, two-thirds of whose tenants were Asian, living in the sprawling suburbs of Northdale and Northdale Extension characterised by poor housing quality and overcrowding. Another fifth of the tenants were Coloured, living in Woodlands or the new working-class suburb of Eastwood. But the sports facilities of Northdale and Woodlands were significantly upgraded and diversified, even to the provision of floodlights. At a superficial level it could be argued that the Asian and Coloured communities of Pietermaritzburg had now achieved parity regarding basic sports facilities. The bulk of swimmers in public baths were now Black, for instance, and multi-racial football was a regular feature at Jan Smuts Stadium with a more relaxed official attitude towards Black crowds in White suburbs. The price of this upliftment through a relative reallocation of resources was acceptance of co-optation into the tricameral parliamentary system due to be introduced in 1983: embourgeoisment at the expense of an excluded African majority. At the same time there was no reduction in the level of public funding of private White sports facilities through preferential financial agreements.

INSTRUMENTALISM AND RATIONAL RECREATION

There is no lack of evidence at the start of the twentieth century that Black persons living or working in Pietermaritzburg were regarded by the authorities, and Whites in general, as a problem. Drunkenness, rowdy behaviour and prostitution were the source of frequent complaint by the police and White citizenry. But there is no indication whatsoever of an understanding, even a self-interested or pragmatic view, that such behaviour might be remedied, and the reproduction of the labour force assisted, by the health and well-being known to benefit Whites. Such a view would have been contrary to the imperial view that a sporting capability and the ethos that accompanied it distinguished the dominant from others. The character instilled by sporting participation was after all required of the rulers, not the ruled. The uncivilised were regarded as persons from another World who needed control through the enforcement of draconian law, amongst which was the curfew, although exceptions were granted to individuals for reasons that suited White society.

Black people were regarded as socially irrelevant. As an economic asset they were individually disposable and then, if necessary, replaceable. There is about the attitude of Pietermaritzburg's Whites before the Great War a sense of self-fulfilling prophecy: deprecating complaint about others was an anticipated, to some even pleasurable, part of colonial life. Rather than provide recreational facilities for Africans living in Pietermaritzburg, a solution was seen in municipal monopolisation of beer brewing, the Durban system. Independent brewing was regarded as a symbol of uncontrolled use of leisure time, a challenge to the colonial order, so it was forbidden and effectively displaced beyond the borough boundary. The municipal monopoly had two main benefits: first, it provided a source of revenue and relieved the financial burden of African administration from the shoulders of White ratepayers; and second, it confined leisure hours to the four walls of the beer hall. Coercion, not recreation, was the policy of the City Corporation. Alexandra Park was not a place in which Black people could occupy their leisure hours; but simply a site at which they laboured for the pleasure of Whites, their cost-efficiency being a topic of frequent comment.

In the mid-1920s the philosophy of Graham Ballenden linking recreation with social order was briefly experienced in Pietermaritzburg before he moved to Johannesburg. But his approach was not widely adopted as municipal policy, as was clearly the case in both Johannesburg and Durban, in spite of the need for a safety valve for African frustration in particular. One of the few examples of instrumentalism is the Governor-General's Shield Competition in football, which was a great success in Pietermaritzburg and tied a strictly controlled sporting activity to suitably imperial symbols. Sports

galas, involving athletics, cycling and football, plus a variety of children's physical activities, were another example of instrumental use of organised recreation.

The Victorian urge for rational recreation was echoed in the Pietermaritzburg of the inter-war period. Through its agency, apparently disorderly and potentially threatening elements in society were to be neutralised. Just as the Victorians in England tried to create a model adolescent, so Natal administrators made a vague attempt to fashion the model urban Native. But this was not supported by the necessary financial investment. It is interesting to note that MacClancey's catalogue of social ills that Soviet sport was designed to combat - drunkenness, delinquency, prostitution, subversive religion and intellectual independence - was also an objective of the South African white elite.¹

During the Second World War there developed a widening variety of attitudes towards Africans and leisure time in Pietermaritzburg. Attempts to open basic suburban recreational facilities for servants were met by considerable opposition, especially from those serving in the armed forces. At the end of the war there were suggestions about forced relocation of surplus urban Africans to farm colonies or to national service programmes for psycho-physical training, although such extreme views were probably held by only a few people in Pietermaritzburg. Persistent complaints about loitering and the noise created by African leisure time were accompanied by a popular refusal to countenance the provision of properly demarcated recreation space. Clearly, Africans continued to be regarded as a disposable resource easily replenished from rural reserves without concern for their health and social welfare. Even Sobantu, the well-controlled township for respectable, long-term African inhabitants of Pietermaritzburg, had minimal facilities by comparison with the most modest of planning standards. Edendale was simply regarded as diseased and depraved, an area beyond the pale of civilised society.

However, the war saw a tendency towards firmer control of the African population that came not from the municipality, but central government. This is reflected by the fact that after the Second World War Sobantu was constantly held up with fulsome praise and frequent purple prose as an example of an ideal African township. The embargo on its expansion and its suggested relocation were vigorously opposed, yet no major sports facilities were developed. The ideal African township had taken shape in the designs of national urban planners, but remained a chimera as far as Sobantu was concerned in spite of official pronouncements about the importance of wholesome recreation in the realisation of social control. Instead, this was exercised through labour regulations, a noteworthy return to attitudes from the turn of the century. Official attitudes may be characterised as complacent,

¹ MacClancey, J. (ed.). *Sport, identity and ethnicity* (Oxford: Berg, 1996), p.10.

continuing to depend on the beer hall as a recreational outlet and perversely developing it as a tourist attraction. Its profits still failed to find their way into projects of real recreational value.

In the early 1950s opinion developed from the grassroots in Pietermaritzburg's wealthy northern suburbs about the virtues of healthy, contented servants. There was also, however, vigorous opposition invoking the Black peril and calling for rigid segregation. The majority view was that loitering on suburban pavements was undesirable, but the facilities that would alleviate the problem were to be as far away as possible from the suburb in question and there was to be no local recreation ground for Blacks. The national Department of Native Affairs expressed a belief in properly controlled recreation, without making a definitive statement about its spatial implications. The prevailing mood in early 1950s Pietermaritzburg supported rational recreation, but was unprepared to accept its territorial consequences.

From 1962 Africans were no longer restricted to the consumption of Bantu beer and were allowed access to White liquor. But this was still seen as an important political and administrative issue and the supply of alcohol to Blacks was given greater weight than recreational space and facilities. Nor did sport benefit in any marked way from the profits that continued to be made from Bantu beer sales. The use by African footballers of municipal grounds was called into question by the government in the 1960s, but was in any case overtaken by the move of the population into the Edendale Valley, in particular Imbali. The municipal township declined in relative importance, supplanted by vast peri-urban dormitories managed by the Drakensberg Bantu Administration Board, labour reserves akin to the old rural locations in which there was a similar lack of regard for recreational opportunity. Boxing was briefly encouraged, as in other colonial settings, in the late 1960s as a safety valve; and sports galas survived into the 1970s.

HEGEMONY

Out of the hegemonic tendencies of British imperialism there developed a White nationalism, part South African and part Natalian. One of its clear characteristics was the appropriation of sport, a powerful symbol in South Africa. Success on the sports field defined who was, and was not, a citizen, a Natalian and a South African. A cult of athleticism became part of the overall patriarchal hegemony of which racism was a primary feature. Sport was the potent symbol of a clearly defined group, in the case of this thesis the Whites of Pietermaritzburg, a phenomenon of mass psychology that suggested a society fearing for itself and believing, for one reason or another, to be under threat or potentially marginalised. Shared memory and perceived destiny rooted in sport helped to create a mystique around White authority.

The origins of African and Indian football in Pietermaritzburg are obscure, generally attributed to British military influence and in particular the recreational activity of private soldiers. This suggests mimetic behaviour and even though football became the recreational symbol of a subaltern class, its early history indicates acceptance of ruling class mores. White sport represented prestige and, ultimately, power and there was good reason for the working class to replicate it.

But one of the needs of a colonial, segregated and discriminatory society such as Pietermaritzburg's was to maintain the image of other communities as undifferentiated masses of indistinguishable, stereotyped individuals and so preserve the aura of White society as the norm, by which all others were judged. Had sport been used for purposes of assimilation or the improvement of social order, there was a high chance that one or more Black individuals would have emerged with heroic status, detracting from generally accepted belief and challenging the necessary assumption of White superiority. Under these conditions, in which the collapse of White hegemony was a widespread fear, there was no question that sport had to be used to keep people apart, not draw them together. This also involved separating, as far as practically possible, the three different communities of the Black fraction of the population: British hegemony was fundamentally antipathetic to non-racialism, which was totally marginalised in sport during the 1930s.

Sport was an essential component of imperial celebration, including the visits of royal personages. There is much written evidence of the patronising attitude of Whites towards these galas and the adult/child relationship they assumed to be natural to the circumstances. Galas illustrate the moral superiority adopted by Whites: for instance, the assumption that Africans could not manage to organise them for themselves; and the passive acceptance of this situation by the participants and spectators, although it is not known how many people quietly absented themselves. Every detail of these galas illustrates White hegemony. The Tatham Memorial Ground and its pavilion, an apparently insignificant feature of Pietermaritzburg's urban landscape, was considered important enough to be opened by the Governor-General, Patrick Duncan, in 1937. An imperial symbol, it epitomised the extent to which the ruled were expected to conform to the behaviour of the rulers within the confines of considerably inferior facilities.

The most important consequence of White hegemony was a monopoly of the definition of who was South African. This was reflected on the field of play, which was why recreation was a primary site of contestation. By the late 1950s the possibility of international isolation on the sports and other fronts, while still distant, had become less remote, encouraging the concept of affiliation or co-option of Black sportspersons into White structures, a form of trusteeship that found little or no

support in Pietermaritzburg. Black sport was to be low-key, if possible invisible. Any independent attempts to raise its profile were treated with disparagement and disdain, or labelled the work of agitators. This was a comforting strategy as long as White South African teams continued to achieve success.

When the government referred to its apartheid policy regarding sport as reflective of tradition and custom it was invoking White hegemony and relying on acceptance of the commonplace in South Africa. A further factor in maintaining this status quo was confusion between National Party policy and law, so powerful in its effect that it had instrumental force. There were many legal opinions about the effect of apartheid law, but the dominant White viewpoint, embedded in the national psyche, was that a wide variety of social activity required official permission. A cult of impermissibility became accepted wisdom. The obverse was a growing defiant isolationism and the labelling of all who found this situation unacceptable as Communists. The exiled SANROC and its internal allies were demonised as enemies of South Africa. In Parliament the approach to sport in the 1960s was essentially bi-partisan: the United Party had no quarrel with the outcome of policy, but opposed the principle of government intervention. This approach of laissez-faire conservatism mirrored the attitude of White controlling bodies.

The annual Comrades Marathon is an apposite example. Its history is populated by Black spectres and other marginalised characters, such as women of all communities. Its military origins predisposed its organisers to paternalism. Intermittently White women (from the 1920s) and Black runners (from the 1930s) challenged what was regarded as the natural order, but until the mid-1970s they failed to achieve official status in spite of sympathetic treatment by the press and roadside spectators. They were admitted officially to the race only after the government revised its policy on “multinational” sport, virtually forcing the organisers to follow suit.

SPORT AS A SITE OF STRUGGLE AND RESISTANCE

It has been suggested that in the eyes of recently urbanised African men, one of the main sources of resentment was their subordination to White women. This might help to explain recreational behaviour unacceptable to the authorities, especially amalaita gangs that harked back to pre-colonial society. Before the Second World War there is little evidence that African sport was seen as a means to confront White authority. On the contrary, it was often a vehicle for inter-communal conflict that weakened its potential to the point at which it was more likely to be manipulated to the benefit of the rulers than used as an instrument of struggle. The governance of sport provided vicarious experience of the political participation otherwise denied to Africans, but it was too easily

turned inwards so that it divided fractions of the community rather than uniting it against the rulers. In the late 1930s the Tatham Memorial Ground immediately became a site of fratricidal conflict between the two football governing bodies. In the eyes of the Maritzburg District African Football Association (MDAFA), however, its opposition to the Maritzburg District Bantu Football Association was a challenge to the municipal system, albeit indirect, represented by what was regarded (somewhat unfairly) as a collaborationist organisation. The resistance was oblique, apparently inter-communal and sometimes based on personal agendas, but it showed that sport had potential as a site of struggle if properly harnessed. Football politics were a substitute for real empowerment, a surrogate with occasional undertones of violence and a vehicle for political aspirations as shown by the career of Harry Gwala, although his precise role remains opaque. There exists around the utterances and activities of the MDAFA the suspicion that its underlying primary role was that of political agitation and it flirted with the violence that was an integral part of the game. The politics and practice of sport provided an opportunity for the assertion of identity in often hostile circumstances and surroundings dominated by people determined to suppress it.

Control was, however, always elusive. Werbner in a study of British Pakistanis, identifies the “autonomous spaces urban diasporic ethnic groups create for themselves. It is in these spaces that ‘culture’ becomes a contested terrain.”² The same concept may be applied to migrant African workers drawn to urban areas in South Africa. Ranger has made the point that while the adoption of football by Africans may be seen as part of a process of social control and the civilising mission, the game subsequently featured as a site of resistance and protest.³ Much of this protest centred on administrative autonomy and the right to levy entrance fees as a means of attaining financial independence.

Attempts to break the grip of apartheid on Black sport were supported nationally by inter-race boards. There is no evidence of sustained activity of this type in Pietermaritzburg, although there was intermittent co-mingling of players from different communities especially on football and cricket fields. The National Party, and generally conservative, response was that this represented potential for violence on and off the field. Sport had long functioned as a relatively passive outlet for the political frustrations of the disenfranchised, but this became particularly noticeable in Pietermaritzburg after the establishment of group areas. During the late 1950s swimming baths were a mobilising issue and brought together liberal White opinion in support of the Asian community in particular. When the Berg Street baths were opened in 1965 both their existence as the first Black pool and their location in

² Werbner, P. ‘Our blood is green’: cricket, identity and social empowerment among British Pakistanis in MacClancey, J. (ed.). *Sport, identity and ethnicity*, pp.107-108.

³ Ranger, T. Pugilism and pathology: African boxing and the black urban experience in Southern Rhodesia in Baker, W. J. and Mangan, J. A. (eds.). *Sport in Africa: essays in social history* (New York: Africana, 1987), p.197.

central Pietermaritzburg represented a challenge to the national Department of Community Development. The Woodlands and Northdale pools were symbolic not just of segregation but also apartheid. Africans, it was thought in some conservative circles, did not swim.

When facilities were constructed they were located in racially exclusive townships at a distance from the city centre that were clearly intended ultimately as self-governing administrative units. It was at this point in the late 1950s that corporation funds for the first time became available on a large scale for Black sports facilities, but ironically this in itself became a reason for strident opposition. The relatively well-equipped sports stadium became a political carrot dangled before the Asian and Coloured communities as enticement for acceptance of Local Affairs Committees and the apartheid ideology that they represented and attempted to legitimise. Group areas delimitations left significant fractions of the Asian and Coloured populations within the city proper and the struggle around remaining sports facilities at Tatham, Brookside and Chatterton was a major feature of local politics for many years. This was not a straightforward clash between sports activists and the municipality as some officials voiced sympathy and made constructive suggestions from time to time, recognising the significance of rates raised from the two communities in question. The Maritzburg Indian Sports Association and Northdale Sports Association (NSA) represented diametrically opposed definitions of Indianness and engaged in a protracted three-way struggle over sports facilities with the municipality that sided with the NSA. This was in essence a battle over the soul of the Asian (and Coloured) community in the name of political legitimacy. The municipal response was biased, but at the same time pragmatically cautious. It never did achieve its aim of one sports body for either community and had to recognise the non-racial organisations that from 1973 affiliated to SACOS, acknowledging their claim to facilities on the margins of the city centre, although these grounds remained under-developed. In this fashion an Asian identity with the anti-apartheid struggle was maintained. A significant fraction of the community was prepared to accept attendant material benefit in exchange for comprador status and this caused friction. The conflict was between those who wished to be Asians in an Asian suburb, or Asians in a South African city. The symbolism of sports facilities in this situation was considerable. The position in the smaller Coloured community was more cohesive, although it had its own measure of segregationist feeling relative to other Black groups that produced more complicated dynamics.

A crucial factor was the simple one of claiming the right to use sports facilities in the centre of Pietermaritzburg. In the 1960s multi-racial football clubs like Lincoln City and Maritzburg City challenged the White sports bodies and other cultural activities over use of the Jan Smuts Stadium, but met strong resistance. The City Council professed fear of public reaction, by which it meant of course the opinion of the dominant White community and every excuse was framed to deny the use of

the stadium to clubs that were not only racially mixed, but also refused to comply with the government's affiliation model. Given government policy at this time even the attendance of spectators was subject to strict controls. The local authority of what remained a relatively small town was highly sensitive to the presence of potentially large and excited Black crowds and in particular to transport arrangements at the end of games. Professional football was in fact suspended for a year in order to address this challenging issue.

When Aurora Cricket Club took the field as the first multi-ethnic team in modern times to play in a White league in South Africa the main antagonist was the government. The Minister of Sport went so far as to attempt to criminalise a cricket match by proclamation, and failed. The interest of the police and group areas officials soon faded away and the club was never prosecuted. It could be argued that this was a minor incident in the major drama of the prolonged fall of apartheid; a small act of defiance on a Saturday afternoon in a municipal park against authoritarian ideology. For this alone it deserves to be noted, but it also carried with it wider significance and meaning. The act of playing in an integrated cricket match in South Africa in 1973 was one that required considerable courage: by this time South Africa was a well-developed police state backed by vigilantes, and this had its dangers even in the normally quiet city of Pietermaritzburg. Aurora's move was politically very shrewd. An entirely innocuous activity challenged one of the weak links in an ideology that was ultimately destined to implode. The government's attempts to control the use of public recreational space -- roads, playing fields, stadia -- were always lacking in confidence, very hard to define in law, subject to ribald comment in opposition newspapers, and free propaganda to overseas opponents of apartheid. Aurora's defiance was part of a long tradition in South African history whose most famous eruptions occurred in the early 1950s and at the time of Sharpeville; but sport had not previously been so publicly employed in this way.

What happened in October 1973 in Pietermaritzburg exposed the true nature of the White South African sports establishment. It was comfortable with an unquestioning attitude to National Party politicians and policy makers. Deference to Pretoria's *apartheidsbeleid* was so complete that sweeping assumptions were made about the law. Aurora players showed what could be done without resort to illegality, although they were prepared for this too in pursuit of fundamental human rights. The right-wing, *verkrampte* element of the National Party was correct to fear that mixed sport was a tocsin for the eventual demise of apartheid. What was of concern was the fact that performance in sport was a quick way to the sort of publicity and acclaim for individuals and teams that would bring into question racial division and indeed the very idea of race categorisation. Aurora's cricketers also showed that sport is a politically meaningful activity as Piet Koornhof and a contingent of the South African Police so memorably and conclusively confirmed on a Saturday afternoon in October 1973.

Aurora in an act of calculated defiance proved that mixed sport was not in itself illegal under any of the many repressive laws that made apartheid possible. The GAA and Reservation of Separate Amenities and Liquor Acts all placed obstacles in its way, but the outright banning of mixed sport could only have been made possible by specific legislation. This might have been feasible in the mid-1960s, but following Vorster's concessions in 1967 such a move would have been counter to South Africa's foreign and domestic policy objectives. The significance of Aurora's defiance lay in its assessment of political context and in its timing. It confirmed the fact that recreational space was a high profile place where ideological conflict could be acted out.

In the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising of 1976 the position of non-racial sport affiliated to the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) strengthened significantly: SACOS affiliates were particularly influential in Pietermaritzburg football, cricket and table tennis. SACOS began to enforce its double standards policy and, in the tradition of the Unity Movement, implement a philosophy of non-collaboration. For this it was demonised and labelled an enemy of the state, ironically condemned by the architects and supporters of apartheid as a political movement interfering with sport. As sports facilities were gradually equalised, it legitimately turned its attention to inequity in society as a whole and participated in strikes. Its main weakness was its doctrinal inflexibility and conspiratorial proclivities. But SACOS involvement helped ensure the highly symbolic survival of non-racial sports facilities in White Pietermaritzburg. Even though the quality and quantity of facilities between communities was converging, binary control was inevitable given the fact that the LACs lacked any legitimacy. The struggle over recreational space as a reflection of identity was to continue, but subsumed within a broader struggle as SACOS was about to become embroiled in a far wider political conflict.

SPORT AND SPACE

In his book 'Me, the moon and Elvis Presley', Christopher Hope made the perceptive comment that in South Africa "identity derived from geography." He continued, "to know who you were, you asked: where am I?", to which one might add in the light of this thesis, "Where do I play my sport?" Hope's fictional Mayor Joost of Lutherburg said in 1959, "We're here and they're there [the Coloured township]. Isn't it? And you don't go there from here."⁴

A persistent ambition of the burgesses of Pietermaritzburg was to maintain the city's White identity. As early as 1920 in terms of population numbers, this became a matter of sustaining a myth,

⁴ Hope, C. *Me, the moon and Elvis Presley* (London: Picador, 1999), p.63.

but it was one that long outlasted contrary evidence. Sport was a useful vehicle to this end, a muscular demonstration of ethnic intent. The fractious debate about the use of pavements, although derided by some (especially in Durban), was an indication of extreme sensitivity to issues relating to spatial proximity and belief about health and cleanliness. The solution lay in spatial separation reinforced by a suitable degree of distance.

This became particularly noticeable between the World Wars when legislation reflected the fact that order, including economic order, required distance and boundaries. The desire to move the African presence as far as possible from the White city was based on issues of hygiene, behaviour and political stability, all of them ironically matters that could have been addressed by instrumental use of organised sport and recreation. Influx control of the urban African population was predicated upon and justified by the belief that city space corrupted Africans in ways that were insoluble by conventional means of acculturation such as organised recreation; but could be solved by forcing as many people as possible to remain in the supposedly healthy, culturally appropriate and traditional reserve. The perceived symbiosis between urban and rural was instrumentally and ideologically driven. The ascription of primitive tribalism to all Africans led to the domination of the White psyche by fear of a Black menace. At the same time there was no room within White sport for educated Africans who were regarded as a great threat to a White world that was increasingly beleaguered and narrow. The legislation underpinning this atomised society may be described as proto-apartheid, especially with regard to its economic imperatives.

The Black belt occupying parts of Pietermaritzburg's periphery came under closer control with the establishment of a local health authority in the 1940s, but incorporation of parts of it followed only in the 1950s in a delayed recognition of responsibility towards some of the marginalised people of the city and their social and health problems. Hitherto, the cost of upgrading such areas was not seen to be accompanied by comparable benefits and the rateable value of property was, by the very nature of the area, low. Any temptation to debate this issue on moral grounds was buried in the issue of whether development was the responsibility of local or central government. Space, and its consequences for sport, was interpreted by the White mind in stark, even apocalyptic, terms.

African football illustrates the extent to which its allocated space was a persistent symbol of impermanence, constantly moved from place to place from the 1920s onwards. African sportspersons were little more than squatters on grossly over-used and under-resourced spaces in which there was no incentive to invest, lacking in rights and dependent upon municipal goodwill. This insecurity and the consequential neglect is the most powerful and representative symbol of Black sport in

Pietermaritzburg from 1900 until the 1960s. It may be depicted as the ripple effect of White decisions about the use of urban space. The temporary sites of Black recreation - Chatterton Road is a very good example - resulted in minimal or even non-existent facilities, subject to vandalism and invasion by other activities such as public thoroughfares. In the aftermath of the Second World War Chatterton was designated as a Coloured sports ground, which the Asian community was also permitted to use after road development had obliterated their main facility. This area was regularly under discussion for other uses and pending group areas decisions made any further development impossible. Another example of impermanence was Sobantu, an entire township locked in a time warp dated the 1930s.

White complaint about African use of public space for recreation was persistent because it was one of the most significant challenges to segregation. Africans were confined to hostels and to khayas in the gardens of White residential property, but their use of public space in the limited amount of free time allocated to them was very difficult to police. Control over recreational use of public space remained an unresolved conundrum for the authorities until the fall of apartheid. The recreational use made of Market Square in the 1930s is a case in point, a matter taken seriously enough to warrant the sale of beer on Sundays and the opening of a small recreation ground, both designed to entice away those occupying the centre of the town. Tennis facilities and space for dancing in Pietermaritzburg together with Sobantu's recreational hall also contributed to the success of the authorities in ensuring that the central square remained White space. This decisive intervention illustrates an increasing inclination by the local state towards control of leisure time, the nature of permissible behaviour and its precise location.

Wartime provided examples of White assertion over the use of space in the city centre, but this was not always supported by law or the authorities and some of the pleas by Whites were plaintive in their approach. Attitudes continued to be driven by enduring stereotypes and White insistence that its version of civilisation could be protected by a rigid territoriality. The key, in the eyes of Whites, was minimisation of spatial interaction. By the 1950s perceptions of Pietermaritzburg as a White city were long outmoded but continued to drive municipal policy. Only 40% of the sizeable African population resided in Sobantu or in the hostels and the remainder lived on White property as servants; and the Asian community was of such a size and proportion as to designate Pietermaritzburg a twin city. Whites appear to have been oblivious to the spatial patterns that were emerging.

In 1960, the year of the Sharpeville massacre, Pietermaritzburg was the quintessential apartheid city, highly segregated, modernising and economically prosperous. The presentation of population figures gave the impression of a White city and this was reinforced to a significant extent

by an inflow of Whites, many of them immigrants, with the industrialisation and commercial expansion of the 1960s. The municipality became a large-scale landlord with a significant number of White and Coloured tenants, but most significantly oversight of a vast Asian housing estate at Northdale. Sobantu was full to capacity, but expansion was disallowed under threat of removal, the hostels were being closed down and the African population was rapidly displaced into the Edendale Valley to the west. By contrast with the 1920s no one was asked their opinion of this in a referendum. The outcome was Imbali, a bantustan border township in which recreational facilities of poor quality were added as an afterthought. The Whites of Pietermaritzburg continued to complain of backyard locations, occupied by the very servants upon whom they depended. Apartheid removed the responsibility for Africans from boroughs, even though these towns remained areas of in-migration, and there was even less incentive than before to provide recreational facilities.

Whites continued to be obsessed with the race and space equation long after land as a commodity had lost its supreme economic importance and despite the fact that territoriality was at odds with labour requirements. The riverine location of most White recreational space made it vulnerable to flooding, but once this was gradually corrected by engineering solutions it was protected in perpetuity. Black facilities by contrast were almost all at the mercy of industrial and transport developments, some of them linked to group areas forced relocation that preserved an inherent state of impermanence so obvious in the 1960s and 1970s. A cascading process of transfer of facilities from Black to Asian and Coloured thus took place, Tatham Memorial Ground and Berg Street Recreation Ground being cases in point.

FINAL OVERVIEW

This thesis has shown that successive ideologies played a key role in the development of sport in Pietermaritzburg. Sport reflected and underwrote them in ways that required first indirect and then direct government interference in all recreational activity. None of these ideologies - imperialism, segregation or apartheid - brought people together, other than Whites. Indeed, the evidence above demonstrates that the reverse was the case and sport was used to divide communities one from another. Under these circumstances there was no question of members of disadvantaged communities achieving upward mobility through sporting prowess. Nor can sport be shown to be benign, apolitical or engendering of social harmony, although it had a measure of social value within individual communities. Novak's theological view of sport may, however, be applied to Whites: the Oval in Pietermaritzburg can be seen as a place of worship to imperial values, especially when it hosted touring teams from England and Australia.

Sport illustrates only too well power relationships within Pietermaritzburg society. The level of resource appropriation and its transfer from the public sphere to the private has been amply demonstrated in this thesis. There was little or no opposition to this except, in the 1930s, from the provincial auditor. The relative balance of power within the realm of sport was overwhelming. Through such appropriation, sport united the White community; but failed to have the same impact on others. As a lens through which to view the nature of Pietermaritzburg's society, sport has considerable value. As an ideological state apparatus in Brohm's sense, it functioned simply as an adhesive for the different parts of the White community.

The Marxist view that sport is used to reproduce the labour force carries little weight in this study: African labour was so poorly regarded that it was not considered worthy of keeping healthy and fit. The Asian community was for a long period considered a candidate for repatriation. Concern about health was voiced only when there was a fear of contagion and was tackled spatially not socially, by relocation rather than upliftment. Sport was used sparingly in an instrumental sense, and as a last resort. The history of Pietermaritzburg shows no evidence that it was employed systematically to distract subordinate communities from politics or socially unacceptable behaviour, although there are specific examples such as the Market Square issue in the 1930s. Private reformist initiatives designed to improve the facilities for Black communities invariably fell upon stoney ground.

The introduction to this thesis describes how in nineteenth century Britain the management of time, space and behaviour had a profound effect on the control of feared anarchist tendencies within the working class. Demarcated, regulated space was one factor, together with the inculcation of middle-class values used to create a respectable working class. In Pietermaritzburg control was coercive rather than persuasive and reduced to racial dimensions. The municipality's primary reaction was not only to control beerhall activity, but also to monopolise its economy so that the profit could be channelled into the administration, often oppressive, of the African community. Middle-class behavioural values were used to cement White society and emphasise its difference from everyone else.

There is no doubt that within the African community sport provided a social function in an otherwise hostile, unwelcoming environment, but it was based on such unstable foundations that its political importance cannot be considered more than lightweight. The same may be said of the Asian and Coloured communities until the state began to co-opt them into the political process at local and then national level from the late 1950s onwards. Sport in all these communities may be seen as mimetic of the practice of the dominant White community, but it also contained a sense of liberation.

It was, for instance, an antidote to the work environment which was for the most part White-dominated. Human agency and certain characteristics of sport did to a limited extent provide community activity that was independent of White control.

Hegemony provided the broad parameters within which all social activity in colonial and apartheid society took place. In general, sport shows a consensual subordination amongst Black communities that was largely polite and supplicatory. Hegemony manifested itself through social practice illustrated by visual symbols and was ultimately backed up by the threat of force. It may be argued that the sport that took place in Black communities legitimised the prevailing coercive order by lending it an air of normality. On the other hand, the most obvious example of abnormality was the widespread and general assumption that Blacks lacked the sporting and athletic ability of Whites.

Sport thus demonstrates a patchy record as a site of resistance, but Pietermaritzburg was not a Natal version of Pentrediwaith, the place of no work. Although fractious, a reflection of social reality amongst the subordinate classes, Black sports organisations survived intact. The potential for struggle was, however, exercised only in limited ways until the 1950s when group areas removals threatened the social fabric of Asian and Coloured sport. Their organisations linked themselves, and later affiliated, to national non-racial organisations such as SANROC and SACOS and a struggle began over the symbolism of recreation facilities near the centre of town and the distribution of resources. This struggle was ultimately fought over the claim of all South Africans to basic civil rights. Sport was one of the most important factors cementing the anti-apartheid coalition in Pietermaritzburg: to echo the words of Archer and Bouillon apartheid sport was “the object of civic struggle in the name of social justice.”⁵

The fact that elites in developing, particularly settler, societies feared the uncontrolled use of leisure time and its implications for law and order had strong spatial dimensions. The main consequence stemmed from a desire to distance the politically powerful, the chosen, from the otherness of the unwashed masses stigmatised as unruly, immoral and a health hazard. The sanitation syndrome was a powerful concept in Pietermaritzburg’s colonial and subsequent apartheid society in which thinking amongst those with political power extended to ideas about a literal edge of civilisation, represented cartographically by cadastral and administrative boundary lines. Evidence in this thesis suggests that the boundary of a recreation ground or even a specific sports field may be added to this psycho-spatial view of urban South Africa held by Whites. Sport and its facilities reflected a society of insiders and outsiders, a situation that persisted to varying degrees for the whole of the period 1900-1980 and is central to the history of Pietermaritzburg. This policy of inclusion and

⁵ Archer, R. and Bouillon, A. *The South African game: sport and racism* (London: Zed, 1982), p.302.

exclusion led to dual geographies of the city and it was deliberately planned and organised around this view of society. Sports facilities were amongst those architectural features and places that conveyed symbolism, either of authority or resistance to it.

The Brazzaville study has a certain resonance with historical conditions in Pietermaritzburg. There is, for instance, the common rulers' fear of leisure time and in the case of the former a literal struggle over the control of Black football administration. A shared problem was the inability of the latter to achieve financial independence, largely because of a lack of gate money. But in Pietermaritzburg, African football rarely threatened municipal control: Whites could, and did, hide behind the walls of segregated sport in a fashion the French of Brazzaville found impossible. Until the 1960s there is about the attitude of the Pietermaritzburg municipality towards Black sport an air of *laissez-faire* disinterestedness.

White hegemony held a strong grip over Pietermaritzburg's sport from 1900 to 1980. Its historical role was that of theatrical propaganda for a succession of ideologies ranging from British imperialism; to enforced racial segregation and nascent White nationalism; and then apartheid and the security state. But at the same time it provided a stage, one of few, for the opponents of the dominant ideology to demonstrate opposition to the prevailing order. To this extent the history of sport in Pietermaritzburg best fits the historiographic model that sees hegemony in constant flux, coping with the countervailing struggle of its challengers.

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Rich, Ann Elizabeth. *Deceased estate, CSO 2286, Natal Archives Depot, Pietermaritzburg.*
Twenty two questions and answers on the South African Council on Sport [198-].

The collected political papers of Dennis Brutus are to be found at the Borthwick Institute, University of York, England.

ORAL RECORDS

Interviews conducted by Christopher Merrett with Michael Hickson (founding Secretary of Aurora Cricket Club) on 29 July 1999; and with Roy Bunwarie (founding President of Aurora Cricket Club) on 23 Sep. 1999 are housed in the Alan Paton Centre, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

Town Clerk's Office documents in Pietermaritzburg Archives Depot (PMA 3/PMB)

Volume	Reference	Title
4/2/133	250/1938	Natives congregating on Market Square
4/3/80	251/1923	New polo ground at Mountain Rise
4/3/116	341/1931	Comrades Marathon: application for grant
	480/1932	“ “
	491/1933	“ “
4/3/139	492/1938	Complaints re Native Village Scheme
4/3/183	793/1921	Proposed use of portion of Woodburn property for sports purposes
4/3/198	317/1934	Comrades Marathon ... contribution towards prize and medal fund
	508/1935	“ “
	480/1936	“ “
4/3/205	843/1936	Suggested marathon race for Natives
4/3/291	504/1938	Proposed swimming bath for Coloured community
4/3/307	311/1923	Maritzburg District Native Football Association
	275/1924(A-D)	“ “
	489/1931	Proposed use of railway land on Edendale Road for Native Sports Ground
	754/1938	“ “
4/3/322	1047/1938	Maritzburg Bantu Football Association re Native Recreation Ground, Fitzsimmons Road
4/3/339	1464/1938	Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association swimming bath for Indians
	1465/1938	Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association: petition re condition of footpaths below Retief Street
4/3/343	1547/1939	Visit of MCC team to PMBurg ... 1939
4/3/355	1886/39	Native sports meeting at Fitzsimmons Road
4/4/545	198/204	Minutes of Sobantu Village and Imbali Advisory Board
4/4/2/18	31/2	Loans to sporting bodies: suspended payments
4/4/2/75	140/13	Suggested provision of housing for better class natives
	141/2	The Indian question
4/4/2/80	126/3	Extension of Mountain Rise Golf Course
	130/11	Application for grant-in-aid: SA Polo Association
4/4/2/95	162/15	Pietermaritzburg and District Polo Club: application for lease or use of land for temporary polo ground
4/4/2/115	180/2	Shelter for natives on Market Square
4/4/2/122	197/5	Congregation of natives within five miles of the borough boundary
4/4/2/133	180/7	Suggested removal of togt natives from Market Square
	242/8	Retief Street Native Recreation Ground
4/4/2/137	242/11	Proposed new Coloured Sports Ground in the Chatterton Road area
	242/12	Suggested hockey grounds for Coloured community
	242/17	Recreational facilities for Non-Europeans ... Town Hill and other areas
4/4/2/138	242/2	Indian recreation grounds on the Edendale Road near Mason's Mill
4/4/2/140	242/3	Edendale Road Native Sports Ground
4/4/2/165	299/10	Suggested erection of new swimming bath in the Pine Street area by Pietermaritzburg Schools Swimming Association
4/4/2/166	299/17	Suggested swimming bath for (Coloureds) Non-Europeans
4/4/2/210	242/2	Fitzsimmons Road Sports Ground

4/4/2/256	78/22	Committee of enquiry re Kaffir Beer Profits
4/4/2/257	79/4	Complaint re Natives and Indians on certain pavements
4/4/2/280	126/3	Extension of Mountain Rise Golf Course
4/4/2/305	149/31	Recreational facilities for non-European troops
4/4/2/307	149/65	Sporting facilities at Alexandra Park for military units
4/4/2/809	299/209	G.C. Jolliffe Swimming Bath
	299/210	Oribi Government Village: re-opening of swimming bath
4/5/16	63/216	Allandale Sports Association
4/5/192	72/223	Civic hospitality: MCC touring team
	73/233	Civic hospitality: Australian cricket team
	299/196	Kenya Asian cricket tour of South Africa
4/5/204	75/216	Sports and recreation facilities for Coloureds
4/5/365	141/205	Pietermaritzburg Indian Amateur Swimming Association
4/5/502	186/221	Petty apartheid in Pietermaritzburg
4/5/512	162/230	Polo grounds
4/5/545	198/204	Minutes of Sobantu Village and Imbali Advisory Boards
4/5/551	199/215	Recreational facilities for the Bantu in urban residential areas
4/5/575	215/208	Picnic sites for non-Europeans
4/5/576	215/211	Children's playgrounds
	215/214	Non-European children's playgrounds
4/5/606	242/113	Collegians Club
4/5/607	242/201	Recreation and sports grounds: general
	242/202	Sax Young track ground
	242/203	Applications to hire the Jan Smuts Stadium
4/5/608	242/204	Sports facilities for Indian schoolchildren
4/5/609	242/3	Coloured sports grounds
	242/205	Coloured Sports Ground
4/5/610	242/207	Brookside sporting area for Indians
4/5/611	242/208	Applications to hire sports grounds in Alexandra Park
	242/209	Stadium: Jan Smuts sports grounds, Alexandra Park
4/5/612	242/210	Soccer bowl in the Chatterton Road area
	242/212	Berg Street Recreation Centre
	242/213	Use of rem of lot 368 Townlands to Indians for playing field
	242/214	Proposed new stadium: Northdale stage 9
	242/309	Sports grounds in Alexandra Park
4/5/656	305/212	Use of roads for marathons, cycling races etc.
4/5/674	265/202	Maritzburg Indian Sports Association
4/5/808	299/204	Suggested swimming bath at Sobantu Village and Slangspruit
4/5/810	299/211	Berg Street Indian swimming bath: club nights
	299/214	Northdale: Olympic swimming pool
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	265/105	Maritzburg Indian Sports Association
266	75/3	Suggested swimming bath for Coloured community
292	130/10	Application by Standard Cricket Club for grant
	130/15	Maritzburg and District Football Association: application for grant
293	130/25	Natal Coloured Welfare League: application for increased grant
	130/26	Maritzburg Rugby Sub Union: application for increased grant of £120 per annum
294	130/42	Maritzburg Croquet Club: application for a grant
302	141/4	Indian Penetration Commission
303	141/8 aux	The Indian question

304	141/8	The Indian question
349	188/10	Parks Department
353	197/10	Annual sports at Fitzsimmons Road grounds
354	198/3	Sobantu Village Advisory Board: minutes of monthly meetings
356	199/5/40	Rowdyism by Natives
	199/15	G.L.A. Dunning: native service camps for solving of native problems
356-7	199/14	Governor-General's Shield: native football clubs
361	207/38	Recreation ground at Native Village
364	215/9	Seats in Town Gardens and Alexandra Park
	215/18	Suggested park for Indian community
	215/20	Control of nurse girls in public parks and gardens
	215/21	Reclaimed area adjoining Dorp Spruit
	215/24	Applications to hold Non-European events in Alexandra Park
	215/26	Picnic and camping grounds in the city
	215/40	Cinder running track in Alexandra Park
366	215/5	Application by Rev. van Heerden for land near Voortrekker Church for purpose of throwing the jukskei
	215/8	Application for jukskei courts in Alexandra Park: Rev. J.E. van Heerden
368	220/6	Petition re Natives congregating in wet weather outside business premises, Church Street
374	242/1	Recreation and sports grounds: general
	242/4	Native Sports Ground, Edendale Road
	242/8	Proposed recreation ground for Natives at Scottsville
	260/1936	Suggested allocation of site at Scottsville for native dances
376	1436/1938 &	Suggested playground for Indian children
	242/10	
	242/13	Suggested recreation ground for Non-Europeans in Mayor's Walk area
	242/15	Suggested use of certain land at Slangspruit as sportsground
	242/19	Provision of additional sports grounds at Woodburn or Alexandra Park
377	242/22/40	Recreation ground for Non-Europeans in Pentrich and Camps Drift area
392	265/2	Comrades Marathon
424	299/17	Buchanan Street baths: hot bathing facilities for poor community
439	162/215	Sporting facilities for members of Indian group: tennis courts United Tennis Club
441-442	162/245	Application by Old Alexandrians Association for land for erection of sporting facilities and clubhouse
489	23/102	Applications for use of Market Square for circuses, amusement parks, etc.
492	31/107	Maritzburg East Bowling Club application for loan
494	31/108	Maritzburg Country Club: application for loan
601	162/111	Proposed location of polo grounds, Chatterton Road area
622	242/103	Lease of Native Sports Ground from SAR&H Edendale Road
	242/110	Silverton Tennis Club (Asiatic) re tennis court at 8 Greytown Road and land for new tennis courts
623	242/11	Eddels Holdings Ltd: recreation site at Northern Park
	242/112	Eddels Holdings Ltd: application for land for playing fields for Non-European workers
	242/115	East Street Native Sports Grounds
	242/116	Maintenance and control of sports grounds
	242/117	Woodburn rugby grounds: floodlights
658	199/104	Sobantu Village: social welfare

	199/109	African Football Association: application for grant and playing facilities
666	215/112	Chase Valley picnic site
725	299/101	Swimming baths: general
738	305/108	Use of roads for marathons, cycling races, etc.
761	320/105	Visit of New Zealand cricket team: civic entertainment

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General correspondence: cricket v.1. 16 Mar 1971 – 20 Sep 1973
v.2. 20 Sep 1973 – 14 Nov 1974