

Cato Manor, June 1959

Men, Women, Crowds, Violence, Politics and History

IAIN EDWARDS

The militant crowd challenging existing social order is no novelty in Durban. Crowds have often been responsible for forceful interventions in city politics. In the later 1950s and early 1960s the African crowd changed. State urban policy and brutal political repression put an end to political marches, riots and mass protest and the apartheid state's era of mass pass raids, mass housing, mass transport and mass education began. The June 1959 Cato Manor beerhall riot is central to these events.

The beerhall riot is an essential facet of many versions of history, two of which have become particularly influential. Their proponents forged them, and fought for their ascendancy, during the struggle against the apartheid state. Remembering the late 1950s was crucial to both. The apartheid state stressed riotous, drunken anti-social violence, particularly by shack women. The riot legitimated repressive measures against violent insurrectionary crowds and their political leaders. The destruction of Cato Manor and the creation of KwaMashu were cited as evidence of the beneficent nature of state intervention. Municipal officials proclaimed KwaMashu as their greatest success.¹ For the ANC the riot was proof that militant grass-roots political struggles summoned up support for and radicalised the ANC during its organised mass campaigns of the period. Cato Manor's women's struggles were heroic; their violent actions justified, and the riot proof of a united ANC.²

These are disingenuous, partial political interpretations. Both misrepresent the nature of the riot. Both stress the active role of women; for the state, highlighting allows derision, and for the ANC patronising praise. The state's view ignores the brutality of its urban policies, particularly towards urban women. The ANC's standpoint ignores very real gender struggles within urban society and its own organisation. Both have simplistic views of crowds; the state views popular crowd politics with complete hostility whilst the ANC is romantic. Both require simplistic notions of relations between political party, leaders and the masses. For political parties seeking loyal support from men and women in South Africa's growing shacklands, and for a new state seeking to improve the lives of all shantytown residents, these are very dangerous histories.

So, too, are many academic histories. Central to the state's urban policy was the desire to create African working-class families, living in townships and with the African male worker as the household head. African women were by no means peripheral to this policy. These crucial points have largely been ignored.

Both S. B. Greenberg and D. Hindson have been intent upon studying the interventionist character of state policy. Both have suffered from failing to look properly at social relations within urban African society and the gendered nature of state policy.³ Indeed, aside from some perfunctory and largely statistical details of women's participation in pass resistance campaigns, women hardly feature in Hindson's study. Hindson's urban African proletariat is largely male, while his notion of families remains undefined and very simplistically linked to permanent urban residence. While the apartheid state was brutal, it was not gender blind. However, Hindson's work is androcentric. The apartheid state had a very particular notion of the urban African family, which Hindson accepts uncritically.⁴

D. Posel's analysis is far more acute.⁵ She understands that state policy was an assault on women's lives and recognises the complexity of women's positions in urban African society. These are important points, which have long been a part of black South African literature.⁶

Important studies of mass politics during the later 1950s stress the complexity of urban society, its varied links to organised labour and the diverse forms which popular militancy took.⁷ J. Wells has noted how studies of women's protests are both few in number and often tend to oversimplify the issues. She suggests that the women's anti-pass struggles were 'essentially a struggle against full proletarianisation' and that the most militant women were those 'who had achieved a balance between responsibilities to family and generating income' from informal sector activities.⁸ Wells has also observed that the 'most effective calls to action centred on their roles as mothers and defenders of their children'.⁹ Numerous recent studies have dealt with political violence during the 1980s. These provide further insights into street politics, township political organisation and the connections between violence and crowds, and violence and urban families. Here, C. Campbell's work on violence and masculinity is important. However, her understanding of the complexities and breakup of contemporary urban African families is premised on a somewhat historical basis.¹⁰

At the time, the June 1959 riot caused much comment. It was considered an enormously important event, not only because of its political ramifications but, more essentially, because it involved women as the central actors.

The politics of gender actually constituted the event itself. Men's public reactions to the riot were paternalist, sexist and deeply insensitive. When Chief Luthuli conveyed his sympathy with the causes for which the women rioted, he explained the relationship between the people and the ANC in the following

way: 'a child that does not cry may die unnoticed, carried by its mother on her back'.¹¹ When asked how he thought the women of Cato Manor felt towards him, S. B. Bourquin, Durban's manager of Bantu administration, commented: 'The women, I think, only dislike me in my official capacity. But I have to carry out the law. Privately, when they talk to me, they call me father.'¹² In early 1960, amidst a huge ANC-led resistance campaign, Bourquin paid an unprecedented visit to Moses Mabhida. In an effort to resolve the crisis, they chatted 'man to man'.¹³ Immediately after the riots Colonel Jenkins, the District Commissioner of Police commented: 'Now I wouldn't like to tell you what I'd do to my wife if she picketed my favourite pub. She wouldn't be able to sit down for a week...'¹⁴

Three interrelated issues feature prominently in the literature on the riot. These are the relationship between a political party and its mass of constituents, the nature of state policy and resistance to it, and the gendered nature of power in urban African life. However, all too often analyses of June 1959 are riddled with implicit and explicit assumptions about 'Zulu women', a 'traditional-modern' divide, the benefits of nuclear family life, and other stereotyping, sexist or gender-blind assumptions.

Myrna Blumberg, the Cape Town-based correspondent for the *Daily Herald*, and associate of many progressive South African journalists and politicians visited Cato Manor the day after the riots. To Blumberg the riots seemed a spontaneous legitimate reaction to the imposition of the pass laws and municipal attempts to suppress beer brewing, destroy Cato Manor and evict women from the city. Although recognising that domestic relationships were often very much more complex than any simple Western notion of nuclear family life can comprehend, she nevertheless implicitly upheld the virtues of nuclear family life and housing, only criticising the KwaMashu scheme for its expensive rentals. To Blumberg, the riot was all about resistance to the municipality. The women were not only 'heroines' but, drawing from and amplifying one of the women's own slogans, she saw them as 'those magnificently-built Zulu warriors of 1959'. Although noting that the ANC, and particularly Chief Luthuli, had played a noble role in attempting to restore peace, Blumberg concluded on a note of warning. She wrote:

Congress, with its non-violent policy, knows that in the long run, however, violence will harm their movement. But in spite of their opposition, these sorts of outbursts will surely increase. You cannot stoke up the fires, sit on the safety valves, and still hope to avoid the explosion.¹⁵

Leo Kuper, the noted sociologist of social change amongst urban Africans, saw matters rather differently. In his classic work *An African Bourgeoisie*, Kuper used the Cato Manor riot and other 'mass murmurings' of the time as the crucial

backdrop indicating major social changes amongst urban Africans. In this study, however, Kuper was more concerned with élite formation, than with shackland society.¹⁶

However, in a separate article on the riots, Kuper stressed the initiative of the women and noted how 'lawless' men also became involved. The women did have legitimate grievances, primary amongst which was the collapse of family life in Cato Manor. However, their grievances were not simply directed at the municipality. Through the women's attempted 'deliberate exclusion of men' and their 'determination to act and speak for themselves', the women could be seen as militant emancipationists and the demonstrations suggested 'the beginnings of a suffragette movement'. Kuper hailed this as 'remarkable' when viewed against the 'traditional subordination of the Zulu woman'.¹⁷ However Kuper failed to follow this line through, and indeed, when referring to the legitimate grievances of women, quoted favourably from a now famous document written by Bourquin on urban African poverty which contained the following key paragraph:

The poverty of the urban Bantu; the discrepancy between *his* earning capacity and *his* cost of living; *his* inability to meet the demands of modern times in a city modelled on the Western way of life; *his* inability even to meet the barest necessity of life, to feed, clothe, educate and house *himself* and *his* family.¹⁸

Kuper was keen to disavow any easy laying of blame on the ANC, seeing the riots as spontaneous and the ANC as pursuing 'constructive non-violent action'. The legacy of the riots to the ANC was a serious problem: 'How to canalise passion, under conditions of great hardship and provocation, into disciplined and effective non-violent action.' And just where did these passions come from? 'The deeper emotional involvements of the men' during and after the riots and, primarily, 'by the introduction [into Natal's politics] of the raw inexperienced cadres of the women'.¹⁹

K. Luckhardt and B. Wall presented the women in a very different light. Although portraying them as victims of unprovoked police brutality, and dealing with women's grievances in a simplistic fashion, they did acknowledge gender struggles within the Congress movement. They also accepted that within the riots themselves, women showed their contempt for African men.²⁰

In analysing the riot, T. Lodge pointed to gender struggles within Cato Manor, and noted how short-lived was the riot. Lodge accepted but did not fully analyse the relationship between the beerhall riot, mass militancy and ANC-led campaigns.²¹

C. Walker viewed the riot as the spark igniting militant women's struggles, led by the ANC, throughout Natal's cities and countryside. The riot was

spontaneous, catalysed by being women beer brewers' and shebeen queens' opposition to a specific municipal crack-down on illegal brewing. Despite the essential aim of her project, Walker failed to realise the complexities of gender-related issues faced by women. Her women were within nuclear families: 'They had come to town to escape intolerable conditions in the reserves, to be reunited with their husbands and families.' Walker embraced a very romantic image of life in Cato Manor. As the context for the riot, she stressed opposition to pass laws and removal to KwaMashu, but never really provided substantial analysis. Although she noted that the ANCWL had been active in Cato Manor before the riots, she viewed the ANCWL, alongside the ANC, as having only truly become involved afterwards, with the main aim of both parties being that of drawing the women into organised politics and introducing them 'to a wider political dimension'. For Walker it was the public act of resisting and rioting which radicalised women. In concluding, she agreed with but did not expand on Kuper's view of just how novel and militant the women's behaviour was.²²

Crowds are a central factor in the study of modern urban society. Until recently, much work tended to be both explicitly and implicitly antipathetic to mass action, and also stressed crowd irrationality. On the other hand, some historical and sociological studies, including classic work by Hobsbawm, Thompson and Rudé emphasised rational agency, albeit from a possibly romantic perspective on ordinary people's crowd politics. Taking their cue from these, many consequent studies have found riotous crowds not to be simply anti-social rabble. They have sought to examine the composition of the crowd, its objectives, the relationships between leaders and followers, and the particular conditions which link crowds to militant street action.²³ The idea that crowds have a collective conscience has now been rejected. According to T. Harris, crowds are internally fractious and change over time: '... every time a new crowd appears, the individuals are regrouped. Some die, some become disillusioned, some change sides and some do fight again, whilst others see no need to, but each crowd is different from the last'.²⁴ Crowds are not only sending messages to a common enemy; major struggles are being waged within the crowd, and from these may emerge new leaders and new politics. Harris makes the further point, however, that violent mass action is not the only means of popular protest, and that important as the composition of the crowd is, it is equally important to identify those who choose not to form part of it.²⁵

D. Riches stressed that societies develop their own, contested, understandings of acceptable and non-acceptable violence. These are assimilated socially through prior violent conflict. Notions of masculinity, liquor and drunkenness closely interlink with violence. In some societies words associated with inflicting physical hurt are within a broader rubric; 'a supreme masculinity and bravery'.²⁶ When looked at from the perspective of the performer, violence is

not disorder but rather tactically pre-emptive, aimed at disempowering others intent upon achieving their own aims. Perpetrators understand their intervention and recognise that their public message will be 'profoundly challenging and disquieting'.²⁷ Violence attempts to destroy existing social rituals, which are viewed as 'seriously at odds with the reality of the social relations which prevail in [non-ritual] everyday situations'. The importance of the message is that it is conveyed not only to the victims of violence, but also to other witnesses who, 'need not – and perhaps should not – be directly the victims of violence'.²⁸

Since the classic studies by F. Furedi and P. Gutkind on urban African crowds and mass politics, considerable work has been focused on the composition of the African city crowd and its relationships to African élites and political parties during and after the colonial period.²⁹ Recent important work on Latin American and African shantytown politics recognises that shantytowns are not simply composed of urban marginals with an anarchic social structure.³⁰ Shack society is structured in particular and very gendered ways. Shack dwellers are not simply urban left-wing militants. Shack society is most politically active, initially, during the period of immediate settlement and, later, when confronting threats to its existence. Power lies in the hands of those, predominantly male, who control residential resources. The links that bind shack societies to the outside world, particularly the state, are those of state repression and violence – ultimately shack demolition – clientelism and patronage.

These are important points which need to be taken much further. Community politics within shacklands embody an intense, and often very violent, gendered struggle. Further, shack society tends to be more politically active and internally fractious when faced with imminent destruction.

The ANC and Shantytown Leadership

Mkhumbane's leadership came from a small group of wealthy shacklords, legal and illegal traders, and other entrepreneurs. The majority of these leaders were men. All had risen to power during the later 1940s. The key association in Cato Manor was the Zulu Hlanganani. Led by shacklords, traders, herbafists and Zionist preachers, this co-operative society had formed immediately after the riots of January 1949. Anti-Indian, the society espoused a strongly fundamentalist form of Zulu patriotism, saw Mkhumbane as the promised land and sought to assist African leaders in taking control of Mkhumbane. Although some leaders had personal or commercial dealings with A. W. G. Champion, none was actually involved with his organisation. During the early 1950s, some of these men had flirted with the Moral Re-Armament Movement and the Bantu National Congress (BNC). The latter movement was rabidly anti-Indian and stressed the need for an exclusive African racial identity. The Zulu Hlanganani was formally allied to the BNC.³¹

Mkhumbane comprised over twenty settlement areas, each with its own name, leaders, traditions and communal loyalties. In 1953, when the municipality established the Cato Manor Welfare and Development Board (CMWDB) – a body of local leaders elected to represent the residents in discussions with the municipality – the electoral ward divisions were those of the existing settlement areas. Cato Manor's leaders almost elected themselves onto the first board.

Esau Makatini, a shantytown leader of long standing and descendant of the militant Eastern Cape le Fleur family, was 'the real king, with his stick, and he would just walk around, but when you spoke then it was you who must say something'.³² Residents recalled how board members 'talked as if they were very special people'.³³ Charles Khumalo had the following to say:

Our block man was a very wealthy man in the area. He was Mr Mhlongo. He was in Congress and very important. There . . . swanking around. He was on the Board for us, but we never knew nothing. He would just say to us "No man, just leave it to me, everything is under control. Just yesterday we spoke about this very matter".³⁴

Other residents recalled that 'all the important people would often stand together and talk to themselves. You walked past and greeted them and some started to talk in English'.³⁵ Board member Shange remembered that he 'was a big man'.³⁶

During the early 1950s, the ANC had very little popular support or organisation in Mkhumbane. Stanford Mtolo remembers: 'Msizimi was there. Congress had them. In Lamont and Chesterville the people were hot. But everyone wanted Mkhumbane'.³⁷ During the course of the first meeting of the ANC in Durban, after Albert Luthuli's election as Natal leader, Luthuli set aside a whole morning during which he 'sent' Congress members into the shacklands to organize.³⁸ Luthuli was constantly to stress that the only way to gain this support was through focusing on the day-to-day needs of the residents. Although they agreed that it was necessary to gain support in the area, many ANC leaders were nevertheless daunted by the shack dwellers' disrespectful attitude towards political leaders. Leaders also held a somewhat instrumentalist view of popular support; Stanford Mtolo spoke of needing to gain support so that the organisation could 'rely on the people of Mkhumbane when we needed them'.³⁹

Luthuli was a frequent visitor to the shacklands, and was also a close friend of Ashmon Nene, a shacklord and, probably, the 'Congress stalwart' in the shantytowns.⁴⁰ A 'very fierce African nationalist', Nene was viewed by many as 'the power behind [Luthuli's] throne'. Whilst Nene himself disavowed such a role, it is clear that on his visits to Durban, Luthuli often stayed with Nene in the Two Sticks area of Mkhumbane.⁴¹

The ANC which elected Chief Luthuli was, in many important ways, a new organisation. As one member recalled, 'we took Congress over, it was the Congress Youth League now stepping into the *father* Congress'.⁴² Its core leadership was often relatively unknown and sometimes rejected, perhaps politically inexperienced, and certainly lacking in any really effective support from subaltern strata. The ANC was also continually short of funds and willing, unpaid organisers.

The ANC's organising drive in Mkhumbane was, as in other areas of the city, almost entirely dependent upon the abilities of unpaid members and 'volunteers' resident in the shantytown.⁴³ Most of the ANC organisers in the shantytown were already well known in the area. Even among male residents of Mkhumbane, Dorothy Nyembe is remembered for

Walking around with her raven's [crow] tooth bracelets, Uhuru dresses and a sharp tongue. She was not married and she went for us. She was a teacher turned to volcano. This was what she would do. 'Where are you going, come and join the Congress'. People would laugh, but they were scared. She was the one to listen to.⁴⁴

Others like Ashmon Nene are remembered for 'looking and speaking like a king, a priest, in shabby clothes'.⁴⁵

The ANC planned to establish local branches in each of the communities. By the time of the Defiance Campaign, the ANC's organising drive had yielded certain positive results. Attending the 1952 annual conference of the ANC in Natal were twenty-three delegates from Mkhumbane, which at that time was treated as a single branch. At this time the ANC only had 994 members in the city, of whom 160 lived in the Mkhumbane area.⁴⁶

In 1954 there were nominally four ANC branches in the Mkhumbane area. However, two of these branches, Draaihoek and New Look were defunct. The only functioning branches were in Ashmon Nene's Two Sticks and in Ridgeview. Among those who attended the ANC's annual conference in Natal in 1954 were approximately ten Mkhumbane residents, some of whom came from Draaihoek and New Look.⁴⁷

By 1956, the sorry state of the organisational growth of the ANC in Mkhumbane was being recognised. Even the Two Sticks branch, led by Ashmon Nene and Dorothy Nyembe, was in trouble. The branch had few members, and held no regular meetings; when meetings were convened attendance was minimal. Meetings of the Ridgeview branch were poorly attended, and many former adherents had failed to renew their membership. As Ashmon Nene commented at the end of one meeting: 'All organisers must go around each house getting new members. Present members never attend'.⁴⁸ However, although a powerful public orator, Ashmon Nene was criticised for failing to attend branch meetings. The local voluntary organiser for the ANC

branch in the New Clare area of the Emergency Camp declared that the local branch was weak but 'public meetings [were] not essential'.⁴⁹

However, although the ANC was failing to gain organised support from residents, Mkhumbane's shack leaders, by now elected leaders sitting on the CMWDB, moved away from organisations like the Bantu National Congress to join the ANC. The political character of the ANC in the shantytowns was in many important ways to be shaped by the attitudes of such people.⁵⁰

By this time CMWDB members were then facing almost constant criticism from residents. They were accused of only looking after their own economic interests, failing to provide real development in the slums, and being 'Bourquin's impimpi'.⁵¹ The first board was soon dissolved. Charles Khumalo recalled that 'they were rubbish: 'Yes sir, thank you baas. Yes innumzane.' This was when they went away.'⁵²

Shack leaders and licensed traders resented this popular pressure. Although they regarded themselves as the natural leaders of the community, they nevertheless started a campaign to acquire popular support. They intended to lead the community in the struggle to acquire improved urban facilities and, ultimately, permanent residence in Cato Manor. Seeking wider legitimisation, leaders joined the ANC. Or as Congress Majola remembered, the ANC was led by 'respectable and educated civic leaders . . . [and] we became the ANC'.⁵³

The ANC was eager to gain the support of traders and other established leaders in Mkhumbane. The ANC also believed it to be strategically important to take control of the CMWDB.⁵⁴ With such control, it would be possible to develop branches in Mkhumbane, organise around specific local issues, and acquire a knowledge of municipal policy which could not be otherwise gained.⁵⁵ An increasing number of the entrepreneur class who were members of the CMWDB became either members or supporters of the ANC. Among these were Ambrose Afrika, Esau Makatini, Japhtha Mnguni, Ashmon Nene, J.J. Shabalala and Isaac Zwane.⁵⁶ Other board members, such as Dorothy Nyembe and Ruth Shabane, were shack residents whose local standing was directly related to their activities in the ANC. By the mid-1950s 'most' of the members of the CMWDB were 'in Congress', while by the end of the decade 'all but one [of the board members] were ANC stooges'.⁵⁷ The ANC deliberately cultivated support from shacklords.

Up to around 1958, board members were united in their refusal to move from Mkhumbane. They were determined that the municipality should accede to this and provide essential urban facilities; roads, schools, creches and electricity and water. Having done this, the municipality should allow Mkhumbane's trading class to develop the area commercially. However, on issues beyond this point, board members were divided. Contention was centred around housing and the already acrimonious issue of trading licences. Ruth Shabane and others wanted the municipality to build houses, which could then be sold or rented to residents. Dorothy Nyembe explained: 'We wanted to get all the things that Kwa Muhle

was building in Kwa Mashu and put them in Mkhumbane. Then they would not have to move us to that location.' Nyembe was also insistent that women should be given more trading rights.⁵⁸ Isaac Zwane, Zulu Hlanganani, leader and shacklord, saw the housing problem differently: 'People today did not want to go to locations, but wanted to reside on land they could hold in freehold tenure'.⁵⁹

Shacklords, personally, made enormous profits from rack-renting. Prominent among the shacklords on the CMWDB were Esau Makatini, Ashmon Nene, J. Shange and Isaac Zwane. Others acquired trading sites through their membership of the board.⁶⁰ The claims of shacklords were forcefully pressed, albeit in a disguised fashion. In 1953, the CMWDB requested that the rights of shacklords should be protected: 'Just Natives resident in the Scheme . . . not absentee landlords [*sic*] should be allowed to operate in the Camp'.⁶¹ Furthermore, such 'Native investors should be allowed to put up shacks on a number of sites'.⁶² Board members reasoned in the following way:

Natives who are unable to support families — widows, old aged and those in ill-health but who have a little capital will be allowed to invest in a form which gives them relatively high returns and which prevents them from becoming a *burden on the community as a whole*.⁶³

This was pure smokescreen. In common with shack development in other parts of Africa, the original ideal of individual shack ownership quickly became lost in a confusing array of shacklord-renter arrangements. In order to secure their position, shacklords constantly avowed radical politics or, indeed, any politics, and assured the municipality of their complete loyalty. The shacklords were clients looking for state patronage. In exchange for securing political peace, the shacklords asked for their leadership roles and controls over housing to be recognised.

Shacklords and traders on the board had a very élitist view of politics. Board meetings were full of drama. Municipal officials continually professed a genuine desire to listen and help. They were also prone to delivering patronising speeches about municipal sincerity, board members' duties and burdens of responsibility and the need to avoid any meddling in politics. These were reinforced by masses of documents, legal phrases and minute-taking. It was a stylised ritual in which board members reciprocated: long-winded speeches about the desperate needs of 'our people', effusive thanks to the municipality, and cravenly asked questions on minute detail. At rare mass meetings held to discuss board meetings, the shacklords, with their municipal masters always also present, made lengthy speeches about nothing.

Shacklords' interests and those of the municipality were fundamentally incompatible. The municipality had already decided to destroy the settlement, but it needed the board to preserve political peace in Cato Manor. Up until 1958

municipal officials were careful not to reveal the full nature and implications of their plans for Mkhumbane to the residents. It was necessary to keep the shacklords obsequious so as to prolong formal discussions. In 1958 this charade ended and Cato Manor's leadership collapsed in disarray amid considerable infighting.

Shacklords changed sides, seeking to take the opportunity to acquire trading licences in KwaMashu proffered by the municipality. Board meetings were disrupted by rancorous altercations between shacklords and traders as competition to secure trading licenses in KwaMashu grew fierce.⁶⁴ Meetings of the board were dominated by political speeches accusing the municipality of brutality and duplicity, of which it was certainly guilty. Municipal officials, in response, adopted a far more insistent, bureaucratic and threatening stand. Meetings of the board were angry and frustrating occasions.

Mass meetings were called and were well attended. Municipal officials were shouted down, as were many board members. Board members publicly disagreed with each other. The CMWDB became riddled with internal dissension. Dorothy Nyembe had already suggested that the ANC call a boycott of the CMWDB,⁶⁵ but the call was not supported. Indeed, the ANC provincial leadership were in favour of supporting the shacklords and traders.⁶⁶ However, early in 1958, certain ANC members on the board formed the Cato Manor Protest Committee and succeeded in ousting Isaac Zwane, himself an ANC supporter, and his cronies from the board. Zwane's opponents had, however, no alternative strategy. Each side accused the other of 'kowitzing' to the municipality. Zwane regained his position as Chairman of the Board in August 1958. Throughout the critical months around June 1959, the board was ineffectual. In the estimation of the municipality, the board did not have the legitimacy to secure political peace.⁶⁷ Board members who were loyal to the KwaMashu project were criticised and even attacked by residents. Those that remained steadfast in fighting for Mkhumbane were applauded.⁶⁸

The ANC's provincial leadership seemed politically feckless. The ANC lacked mass support and organisational structures and was dependent upon a group of leaders who were now fighting amongst themselves. Furthermore, the ANC never really confronted the question of shack demolition in Durban. Congress leaders attempted without success to get local support for the campaign against the Sophiatown removals. The issue of permanent African residence in Cato Manor was discussed during the Defiance Campaign and then summarily dropped.⁶⁹ For the ANC to support allocating Cato Manor for Africans meant, implicitly but obviously, support for taking the land from Indian landowners. This would not only be politically embarrassing, but went against the declared policy of both the ANC and the Natal Indian Congress to oppose all group areas legislation. There was nevertheless considerable support amongst the provincial executive for the Mkhumbane shack dwellers. M.B. Yengwa, himself a trader in the area, was particularly vehement in calling for the area to be given to Africans.⁷⁰

Sensing political weakness, convinced of the inevitability of shack destruction, and seeking municipal favour, shacklords left the ANC. By the mid-1950s many residents believed that the police and the municipality had gained extensive knowledge of ANC activities in the Emergency Camp.⁷¹ Much of this information came from certain traders in Cato Manor seeking municipal favour in KwaMashu; they 'went to the police and told them who was Congress' in the shantytowns.⁷² The ANC was in a weak position. In the late 1950s the municipality prevented certain board members who were known ANC leaders from attending board meetings.⁷³

The power which the ANC did manage to grasp in Mkhumbane came to a large extent through a very active Women's League. Fortunate in having the skills of some remarkable activists, and close relations with various church and women's groups in the shantytowns, the League was a potent force.⁷⁴ Congress Youth Leaguers would assist the Women's League in campaigns.⁷⁵ Campaigns around particular issues, such as medical examinations, passes and liquor-brewing, bore impressive results. Women's Leaguers stressed family values and women's dignity within home, community and politics. These were the sites of struggle as, within the context of their lives, this was a militant position.⁷⁶ Luthuli spoke of the need to form a Housewives' League, comprising numerous women's groups.⁷⁷ Practical difficulties were blatantly obvious. Men were opposed to women becoming involved in politics. In 1956 one of the local ANCWL branches in the Emergency Camp had no 'chairlady' because the woman's 'husband had objected'.⁷⁸

In 1951, Bertha Mkhize had been elected a member of the ANC provincial executive. By 1956 enduring tensions between the League and the provincial executive of the ANC resulted in Bertha Mkhize and Gusta Khuzwayo, one of the more elderly but key ANCWL activists in Mkhumbane, being 'kicked out' of the ANC.⁷⁹ Quite what these political conflicts were is not known. There was opposition from within the provincial executive to women playing leadership roles within the ANC. Gladys Manzi remembered that 'it was said we were too emotional and angry'.⁸⁰

There were also contemporaneous and possibly similar conflicts within the Women's League in Cato Manor; for instance, between Gusta Khuzwayo and Bertha Mkhize on the one hand and Henrietta Ostrich and Ruth Shabane on the other.⁸¹ This involved a critique of ANC leadership, Africanism, and the male Youth Leaguers' dropping of militant politics, and was exacerbated by the personality clashes so apt to erupt in such situations. The provincial executive regarded the conflict as serious.⁸² Support for the ousted Mkhize and Khuzwayo came from within the provincial executive; Ashmon Nene and Pitness Simelane, both staunch African nationalists, were key figures. Congress Youth League branches in many areas of Durban also publicly announced their championship of Mkhize and Khuzwayo.

By this stage, Congress Youth Leaguers had 'captured' the 'congress for

Luthuli'.⁸³ It was time for the 'Vukayibambe', the localized Youth League bases of the 1940s, to revitalise a moderate provincial executive. Luthuli was considered to be too moderate.⁸⁴ This was the period when the ANC was planning massive mass campaigns against pass laws and urban wage rates. To facilitate these actions, political peace was made. In January 1958, the Congress Youth League, the reinstated women, and the ANC under Luthuli, affirmed their desire to 'revive' the 'spirit of the ANC'.⁸⁵ Here was the quest for militance and action which the ANC needed.

In 1959 the ANC's political alliance with male shacklords in Cato Manor was broken. Many shacklords were no longer loyal to the ANC. Others remained loyal, but were refused legitimacy by the Cato Manor crowds; indeed, they were shouted down. There was dissent within the Mkhumbane Women's League, and gender-related disputes over strategy and tactics within the ANC provincial leadership. The organisation was busy in the townships and hostels, planning renewed mass demonstrations against the pass laws and wider state policy. Cato Manor's crowds were only eventually to become prominent in these campaigns. First, new politics had to develop in Cato Manor and they developed through personal tensions in the shacklands.

A Very Personal Crisis

Paternalism, a determinedly interventionist state and urban capitalism are a potent mix. It is widely accepted that the apartheid state had absolutely no desire to seek any form of legitimisation amongst South Africa's urban masses.⁸⁶ According to this view, the South African state was an interventionist state which only sought to make alliances, by isolating and comforting cliques of leadership, in an attempt to control a hostile social mass. However, it can be argued that central to the South African state's urban African housing policies of the late 1950s was a desire to gain the loyalty of the urban African masses. The key 'person' in this strategy was one with a partly imagined social profile: the African male worker. The municipality had created a very well-defined image of a desired urban African. He was a hard-working man who, respectful of discipline and mindful of paternalism's benign desire to integrate him into urban society, would live in a model township; either in a hostel, which would allow him to keep his rural roots, or raising his own family in his own home. The problem lay in finding the man and making him conform to the projected image. By 1958 his urban home, KwaMashu, had already been built and settled.

KwaMashu would provide two forms of housing; male hostels and family residential houses of various types. Such houses could be either purchased or rented. Household heads were defined as working men only. A man could only own or rent one house. No sub-leasing or trading was to be permitted on residential premises. Only licensed traders would be permitted to trade in designated areas. KwaMashu was planned according to British New Town

principles, and municipal officials truly believed that it would open 'the road to progress and a happy home life'.⁸⁷ Bolstered by the support of a very determined state, and belief in the legitimacy of international town planning standards, municipal social engineers set their goals. It was privately acknowledged that the task was enormous; this was not simply relocating a squatter community, but breaking it up both in terms of its physical location and social structure.

This was a task municipal officials undertook assiduously. Their status could be taken for granted. They were the 'fathers' of the urban Africans, and Cato Manor's leaders were constantly reaffirming their gratitude to municipal officials willing to assist in problem solving. The fathers needed allies, and the leaders found no difficulty in taking on the role of sons. Municipal officials' instruments of power came readily to hand and were quickly assembled. The key was the written document and its awesome concomitants: committees, procedure and legal terminology. How their basic designs, administrative powers and oral skills stood up to the stresses involved in dealing with crowds, delegations and individuals was another matter.

Procedure for carrying out the great move began with the proposition that all residents in the greater Cato Manor area, including the municipal Cato Manor Emergency Camp would be 'screened'. Files would be opened on each household with completed questionnaires giving details of place of birth, marital status, dependants, period of residence in Durban, employment and wage record and even the estimated value of domestic goods, including chickens, goats and cattle. Men who qualified for the privilege of Section 10 urban domicile would be entitled to live in KwaMashu. Those who were legally married and could afford the housing would be allocated premises in the family residential area. All other residents of Mkhumbane; the 'won't works', the criminals and those labelled 'illegals' were to be evicted from Cato Manor. This category was vast, encompassing unemployed and self-employed men and women, widowed women and their dependants, single women and the elderly and infirm not directly related to a prospective KwaMashu household head.

Shack dwellers bear fealty to urban society. However, their social composition is not, and cannot, be that of middle-class urbanites. Shack dwellers inhabit an urban world far removed from the one occupied by those who hold power and shape the socially dominant views of urban morality. Municipal plans to destroy Mkhumbane and provide very different forms of planned housing in a controlled township cut deep.

Shack societies are not simply residential areas. As part of the network of petty trading ventures, which were key aspects in the unregulated and capitalist structure of the city which lay at the heart of African Durban, shacklands like Cato Manor were more like towns within a city. Indeed, Cato Manor was the centre for African petty accumulation in Durban.

Shacklands are also different from other urban residential areas, in that class

distinctions in the latter are much more clearly defined. Shack societies have far more complex class characteristics; they are not comprised merely of urban marginals. Cato Manor was home to people who were socially recognised and integrated into various strata of local society: as teachers, nurses, government clerks, policemen and Christian preachers. Cato Manor was also home to masses of male workers; skilled, semi-skilled, menial and casual. There were also many residents who earned a living through the extensive array of adventures and enterprises that constitutes people's capitalism. Their success stories were also told; sometimes in print through newspapers and court reports, but mostly verbally within shacklands and African society. Indeed, it was these people, deemed as marginals, who were often the most prominently featured members of the society, for they were the focal point of Durban middle-class anger.

Domestic arrangements were also complex. Men and women owned or rented accommodation in Mkhumbane. Many women were household heads, supporting their own children, and living with and often also supporting male and female relatives. Many men were not household heads, but rather rented bed space or a room from a shack owner or renter, who could also be a close and older male or female relative. Men, bonded by ties of kinship, rural origin, the workplace, or simply masculinity would share accommodation. There were also similarly constituted households of women. Nevertheless, most of the shackland community was made up of men and women living together as partners. A substantial number of these couples were not formally married under either Christian or customary rites. As Superintendent Colin Shum related:

An issue which used to shock many municipal officials was that, I would say about half the married families living in Cato Manor were not married at all. They were literally shacking up. Otherwise they were just the same as the married blokes – children and everything. But they were not married. And this was to cause many problems later on.⁸⁸

A local liberal pressure group explained the situation in the following way:

The relatively high incidence of stable unions without registration of marriage is not indicative of low moral standards on the part of the African community. Unless practising Christians, it is extremely difficult for urban Africans to contract a marriage. The entering into and registration of customary unions in terms of the Natal Code is complicated by the migratory labour system and by many other factors, e.g. difficulties connected with lobola; obtaining the consent of the guardian.⁸⁹

However the main problem was considerably more fundamental: in Natal, unlike all the other provinces, there were no legal provisions for African civil marriages.⁹⁰

Within Cato Manor and, indeed, within wider urban African society, two terms describe differing heterosexual cohabitation relations. There were 'girlfriend and boyfriend' couples and 'kipita' ('keep it') couples. Couples would support children from both their own relationship and those from previous relationships, particularly the mother's.

Some men were accommodated in male hostels or company compounds elsewhere in Durban and also set up house in the shantytown. Kinéne remembered:

When you leave the farm your father says "No town women. They are dirty, you must leave them alone." But when you are here, it is not like on the mines where men love each other. This is Durban and there are lots of women. So you build a shack in Mkhumbane, buy all the pots and pans and things for her and after work you do not stay in the compound, but go straight to Mkhumbane.⁹¹

Men living in 'girlfriend-boyfriend' and 'kipita' relationships in Mkhumbane could also be married; most often to a woman or polygamously to women living in the countryside. They would then also be supporting this family's dependants.⁹²

Within this heterosexual community men would describe different types of people. The male fully employed industrial and commercial workers, the self-employed, and government clerks considered themselves to be the acme of proletarian urbanity. They were the Mtka; leaning self-confidently against a lamp-post or wall, like a tugboat, and smoking a cigarette. Or they were 'outs'; streetwise and now 'out' of being blind to the vicissitudes of city life. They referred to 'nice women' as 'sister' or 'ubaby'. Smart city women called Mtka either u-bhuti; 'boetie', or 'u-clever'. When an Mtka was too clever, smart women would call him a tsotsi.

The only people the Mtka considered to be above themselves were Christian churchgoers; to the Mtka and all others, these men and women were simply, but respectfully, 'ikholwa'. At the bottom of the Mtka's urban social ladder were the Mpatha, raw farm boys, just arrived from the reserves. Then there were the 'isicaceminye' - music loving Umxhka, newly arrived migrants with no street sense. Women who, according to the perspectives of the man, 'fell in love with too many men', were 'izifaba', or simply 'a bitch'.

By the late 1950s a set of American-derived styles were considered to be dominant. For the man, a gabardine suit, a Boston or Battersby hat, tie and, obviously, shoes not boots were the key to a public celebration of urban success. Imitating the dress of the Manhattan Brothers, films featuring John Wayne or

Roy Rogers were favoured means of finding and identifying with their chosen image of their own masculinity. Or there would be dancing, either in a classy Cato Manor shebeen or downtown at the Bantu Social Centre.

Here, dance styles could vary; from the shack dance *iphata patha*, 'touch-touch' danced to tunes by 'for example' Miriam Makeba, to the Jitterbug big band happiness played by groups, like the Rhythm Aces, long time favourites like Elvis Presley's 'Jailhouse Rock' or Latin American swing styles.

For the women attending these dances, dress styles were similarly American derived. Imitations of Zsa Zsa Gabor and Marilyn Monroe were crucial: lipstick, referred to as 'rosy cheeks' or 'lipstick', Butone or Karoo cosmetics, dresses known as 'stiff petticoats', high heels and handbag and beret.⁹³

There was also a male homosexual or Iziabane community living in a distinct settlement in Cato Manor. Other residents spoke of 'Moffies' living at Esinyameni, 'The Place of Darkness'. The Iziabane were divided into three groups, with the Ungqingili, or 'professional homosexuals' at the apex. Lovers came from within the male 'kitchen boy' networks, the near-child male labour employees in the stevedoring industry,⁹⁴ jails, or from amongst those young men whom the state wished to endorse out of the city.⁹⁵

Shack rooms were often decorated in imitation of the bedrooms of their suburban white madams. Heterosexual men remember this with envy: Kunene remembered that 'we could never make ours so nice'.⁹⁶ Heterosexual men say the gays had a fearful reputation as brutal stick fighters, with gay men regarding heterosexual men as drunks, whilst they were 'fit good Zulu boys'.⁹⁷

Lovers would be taken into kipita relationships at Cato Manor and taught the rituals of 'entertaining a boyfriend, how to shave properly, how to smile, how to attract a man [and] how to behave with a man'. Initiates were warned to behave properly because they 'were competing with other men'. However, for the Ungqingila, it was women, and in particular women entering the developing domestic servant employment market, who were the real competition. Gay men could be misogynist.⁹⁸

But gay men did develop close relationships with some women. Mrs Phewa, one such associate, taught male homosexual confidants sewing and dress-making. She remembers how heterosexual women were 'jealous' of the gays' domestic skills, including beer brewing; the richness of their shimeyane apparently being attributed to the fact that 'they stole their white madam's buttered toast, it makes the beer nice and rich'.⁹⁹

On Sunday, the domestic workers' day off, ceremonies, known as *Umgido wezi-labane*, or 'the cultural performances of the gays' would be held in Cato Manor. Here men would be promoted through the ranks of the homosexual hierarchy and weddings celebrated, announcements of births made and homages paid to deaths. Initially, men would apparently marry wearing 'traditional Zulu attire', but by the 1950s 'women' were wearing white 'stiff

petticoat' dresses and the other accoutrements of Western heterosexual wedding dress. 'Kipita' couples would also announce the imminent birth of a child, and, a few months later a funeral, where, often, a baby doll wrapped in a shoe box would be buried.¹⁰⁰ Mrs Phewa remembers:

On Saturdays men in this place would get married. One dresses up in a long dress, stockings, high heels . . . and 'she' marries the man and they live together like man and wife. And I would teach the 'women' to do make-up, sewing and cooking. Then they let it be known that the 'woman' is having children — 'she' puts a pillow on the stomach. Then the child dies and there is a funeral, with a baby doll in a little coffin to be buried.¹⁰¹

Anybody could attend these ceremonies, but any signs of laughter or ridicule would be severely punished.¹⁰²

Here are remembered the reflected and deeply gender-related anxieties of a proletarian heterosexual community whose life bore little relationship to the one to which they aspired and seemingly admired; a life of male and female pride, household status and with the trappings of public decency. Priests would continually extol the virtues of married life.¹⁰³ Women's associations in Cato Manor echoed the same refrain. Here the roles of woman, mother and social worker seemed interchangeable; women had to look after their children, make school clothes and strive for a better family life. This attitude was reinforced by the local media. *Drum* magazine and the local Zulu-language newspaper *Ilanga lase Natal* and, to a lesser extent, the Roman Catholic *Um Afrika* and the very left-wing *Guardian* carried advertisements showing smartly dressed men wearing a Battersby hat, strumming the Wizard guitar, or listening to the latest records. The latter were sometimes of Zulu choral music, but more often reflected the sound of 'now!', *kwela*; a frantic-paced dance style. For women the message was washing with a particular soap, using domestic disinfectant, and wearing the latest dress styles or nylon stockings. Many of the advertisements were in cartoon style with the lesson conveyed in the final frame: man and woman happy together. For those who would listen, and they were many, here was an urban dream offering the gifts of security in the modern world, heterosexual attraction and domestic bliss. Set against this were sensationalist accounts of brutal witchcraft, and derogatory comments aimed at backward customs.

There were, however, cruel ironies. *Drum* magazine and *Ilanga lase Natal* encouraged male drunkenness as praiseworthy and amusing. *Ilanga lase Natal* reported murders, rapes, stabbings, robberies and police raids in their diary-style 'Daily Happenings' section. People wearing smart hats were 'swanks'. The *kwela* dance had its origins in the active command word 'kwela!' or 'jump!' used by policemen instructing people to jump into the back of

three-ton pick-up vans, known as *kwela* vans. Assertions of dignity were in constant conflict with the reality of the police and law courts. In a song popular during the time of the removals, a woman sings of her desire for 'A nice home down Mashu way, perhaps a little car one day' and, singing to her city lovers; 'Dick, Dan and Joe', she asserts that she 'does not want a man who goes to bed in his boots', she 'wants a man from the Bantustan'.¹⁰⁴

During pass screenings, the vast majority of men had acquired permanent urban residence privileges; often simply through lying, abetted by the difficulties of verifying a previously undocumented past and benign officialdom.¹⁰⁵ The legal status of a woman in the city was essentially derived from her being either the dependant or the spouse of a man entitled to permanent city residence. Furthermore, Durban's formal labour market offered few opportunities for African women. There was little employment in domestic labour. In Durban 'kitchen boys' and 'garden boys' were the staple requirement of white women seeking labour at the labour bureaux. African women remained dependent upon incomes derived from petty commodity production, shack renting and such small earnings as could be derived from casual domestic work, such as laundering or child-minding. Apart from such earnings, women were dependent upon wages earned by formally employed men.

And yet the gender struggle in Cato Manor was far from one-sided. Women gained a degree of authority through their household activities. 'Good husbands' were described as those who handed over their weekly pay packages to their woman partner, who would then hand back some 'pocket money'.¹⁰⁶ Men recognised this as an important measure in sustaining domestic bliss; although shebeen conversation would inevitably turn on who had more money to spend and whether this had anything to do with his female partner or maybe the lack of such a partner.¹⁰⁷ This influence was increased through women's central role within the shantytown community. Status was accorded not only to shebeen queens and other women involved in legal trading ventures, but also to teachers, social workers and petty traders.¹⁰⁸ Women had ambivalent attitudes towards shebeen queens; while scorning them for trading in liquor and keeping their husbands or lovers in debt, they would laugh admiringly at the shebeen queens' legendary ability to keep their husbands thin, cowardly and dominated.¹⁰⁹ Women also tended to seek out the attentions of wealthier or better established men. Men described this as both flattery and flirting and their recollections reveal considerable insecurity and annoyance.¹¹⁰

Nevertheless, the shacklands was still very much a male dominated society. The key leadership grouping was almost entirely comprised of men. Even the shebeen queens, while often associated with the main shack leaders, were in an ambiguous position within the leadership element because the establishment of a shebeen was dependent upon the sanction and continued support of local shacklords and leaders. For shebeen queens, continued prosperity was closely related to loyalty and subservience to local shack leaders who would be

'touched' with free drink and other services, platonic and sexual.¹¹¹ Even those popular jokes which 'told of how if a man's wife moved during love then the man would send her back to her parents for teaching and demand a cow as a fine: these were the old people not used to the new ways of the city' reflected less on the changing times than on the rigidity of established notions of power and gender relations.¹¹² Such a situation was probably inevitable. Shack life was based on the wages earned by an almost exclusively male working class in a city where, with a history of migratory labour patterns and the then still very recent dramatic changes in male-female ratios, proletarian culture was still male-oriented.¹¹³

The threat of removal to KwaMashu highlighted and exacerbated considerable tensions between men and women in Cato Manor. A somewhat prescient indication of the nature of women's struggles can be identified in an incident which occurred in December 1955. Led by the ANCWL, a 'large deputation' of women, many from Mkhumbane, marched to the municipal Native Administration Department to protest against municipal attempts to issue letters of privilege to African women. Officials refused to discuss the issue so the women marched to the nearby Victoria Street beerhall. Calling themselves 'the untouchables'; both scorned by their men and daring men to stand up to them, they invaded the beerhall. The men fled, and the idea of letters of privilege was dropped.¹¹⁴

The role of the ANC Women's League cannot be overestimated. During a campaign against the pass laws, the Women's League gave a political explanation for the problem. Dorothy Nyembe remembered:

There were people in Cato Manor who would not listen to us. When we say they are going into a location they do not believe us. They would not say anything. They did not know what was going on. It is not nice to say this but amongst my people in Mkhumbane some were very stupid.¹¹⁵

By 1959, opposition to the pass laws had fused with concern over shack demolition, and the resultant possible eviction from the city or housing in KwaMashu.

In early 1959 the municipality began formulating a coherent resettlement and removal policy. This involved meshing pass-law regulations with practical considerations and the total amount of formal housing to be provided in KwaMashu. As was the case for a man, a woman could only acquire personal permanent domiciliary rights to live in Durban if she had either been born in the city, or had been formally employed by one employer for ten years or by various employers for fifteen years. Few women actually qualified. But this was by no means the end of the matter. Women's status was further connected to men's legal domiciliary status and the total amount of accommodation to be provided by the municipality.

their belongings were already on the truck which was waiting to go to Kwa Mashu. So, in this case Mr Peter Cooke . . . solved the issue quickly. 'Give me your hand' and then to the woman 'give me your hand' which he placed on top of the man's hand. Then he firmly placed his hand over both their's and said 'Now you are married get on the truck!' It happened often.¹²⁴

Reluctant spouses were resettled in temporary accommodation in KwaMashu and given one month to formalise their marriage. If they were still recalcitrant, the municipality would relocate the man to a hostel and endeavour to expel the woman from Durban.¹²⁵ Marriage officers, like Henry Sibisi, were a very visible feature of life in the early years of KwaMashu.

Women saw that many men were reluctant to marry, or had near complete control over fundamental decisions concerning women's future in the city. Men could choose single-male hostel accommodation and thus desert their partners.¹²⁶ Men pursuing extramarital relationships in the shantytowns could elect to bring their wives to the city and disregard the future of their shantytown partners.¹²⁷

For many men, the establishment of KwaMashu also brought personal agonies. The cost of accommodation was high, thereby threatening the very basis of so much male identity – his wage as a working man. For example, a man who had been working in Durban since 1943 tried unsuccessfully to obtain accommodation for himself and his family. As he was only earning £2 9s. 11d. per week, 'he was told that accommodation was available but that he was not earning enough'.¹²⁸

Having been requested to raise wages so that their African employees could afford the expenses of township life, many employers attempted to compel workers to revert to being migrant labourers. This was clearly stated by one employer: 'Send your families away and stay in the compound provided by the Company for bachelors'.¹²⁹ The local Native Commissioner supported this proposal. Resisting, or financially unable to meet, the costs of accommodation in KwaMashu, Mkhumbane residents began to leave the area and settle in the new fast-growing shack settlements such as Malakazi. *New Age* reported: 'For some time the Native Commissioner had been trying to get these workers to break down their shacks . . . remove their families and remain in the area as migrant workers'.¹³⁰ Personal experiences in labour bureau queues were humiliating. Being arrested in shebeens was equally so. Women's critiques of men touched raw nerves. The situation brought on a crisis of masculinity. Seeking the patronage of the new state was hard.

For men and women this was a time of severe personal crisis which often ended tragically. Women, either having been rejected by their male partner or having lived alone in the shantytowns, committed suicide, in some cases by dousing themselves with paraffin and setting themselves alight.¹³¹ There were

clashes between women over 'the same boyfriend', clashes between town women and 'farm wives who had heard about Kwa Mashu and came to collect their man and go with him to the location', and at least one case of a man being stabbed to death after fighting 'with his girlfriend's ex-boyfriend'.¹³² In Shumville a man assaulted his 'girlfriend' who ran to the Mkhumbane river and drowned 'when the boyfriend persisted in beating her up'.¹³³

Children suffered grievously. They were living evidence of an often complex past and threats to future security. In 1957 it was estimated that over a third of all children living in the Mkhumbane area were illegitimate.¹³⁴ Women evicted from the shack settlement, and separated from their male partners who had been relocated to KwaMashu, would queue outside the Grey Street Women's Hostel with their children looking for accommodation. Tokoza was not only a place of solitude but, more importantly, of rejection – by fathers. Other women wandered the streets destitute, many having abandoned their children. One African woman was reported to have encouraged her daughter to fatally stab her younger sister.¹³⁵ Other couples, unable to afford upbringing costs in the township also abandoned children. After the Raincoat shack settlement, which adjoined the Mkhumbane area, was cleared, municipal inspectors found many abandoned 'babies'.¹³⁶

The influence of the ever-present *sangoma* increased. In July 1958 hundreds of *izisangoma* gathered at Two Sticks to celebrate their rising leadership role. The women slaughtered three cattle in praise of the goddess 'Unomkhumbulwane'. A fully-trained school teacher and school principal left the profession and 'opted to become an *izisangoma*'.¹³⁷ Men and women would seek advice from the women spirit mediums on why their partners or children were 'bewitched'.¹³⁸

Men and women were being stabbed, beheaded or otherwise killed in what were clearly ritual murders.¹³⁹ There were reported cases of 'mad' women wandering the streets.¹⁴⁰ A woman claimed to have given birth to a 'pig', and inside the animal was a baby girl.¹⁴¹ A man roamed the shackslands 'telling everyone that he was the new Messiah'.¹⁴²

Rumours abounded. It was said that KwaMashu was deliberately built on a 'swamp' so that when it was fully settled the land would subside taking all residents to their deaths.¹⁴³ Similarly, the 'serpents' living in the KwaMashu area would 'eat us'.¹⁴⁴ Rumours, however, also provided solace: a 'crocodile [submarine] had been seen off the Durban coast . . . Some Africans who had gone for military training have landed. They are liberation fighters'.¹⁴⁵ Amidst the uncertainties of the period, the sufferings of children became enveloped in rumour. Superstition came to the aid of those seeking reasons for the collapse of domestic life. Children were dying or went missing because a rabid pet 'baboon' had escaped and was prowling the streets of Mkhumbane. When children saw the animal they died immediately. The animal had been 'sighted' five times.¹⁴⁶

In a partial relaxation of the regulations, the municipality agreed that unmarried men and women who had been living together as a couple for a 'reasonable' amount of time, could qualify for family accommodation. However, due to the shortage of accommodation, only such couples with children would be allocated family housing.¹¹⁶

Women with no personal domiciliary rights could acquire them on legal marriage to a man with Section 10 I (a, b or c) rights. However, on the death of the husband, or in the case of divorce, separation or desertion, the woman lost her right to live in Durban unless she was formally employed. No widow or divorced woman, or one separated from or deserted by her husband, and not having dependent children, would be eligible for family accommodation. Further, women could only be household heads if they had formal employment and were legally emancipated. Women shack traders, rack-renters and other self-employed women who did qualify for permanent domiciliary rights were given a blunt warning. To stay in Durban they would have to 'turn their hands to lawful occupations'.

The municipality considered that most African women who were not eligible for either family or hostel accommodation should return to their rural areas. Widows should be taken in according to the *ngena* custom or, if not emancipated (something which was extremely rare) otherwise cared for by their parents or guardians. No relative within a family's extended kinship network was to acquire any legal powers or urban residence unless he or she was formally employed in the city. If they did so qualify, only certain kinship members would be permitted to stay in the same house as their relatives.¹¹⁷

Men were clearly in favour in many respects. In 1958 the municipality had formed the Isicoco. The name, given by the municipality and referring to the heading worn by Zulu married men, was hardly an accident. The Isicoco was comprised of a number of African factory indunas and was intended to provide a leadership to counter growing ANC influence. The Isicoco was consulted about the resettlement policy and apparently agreed. Further, a letter from a man living in Bizana provides further clues as to some men's views. The writer complained that 'all our women from the reserves are running to Durban . . . to visit us.' They leave 'their [*sic*] children with friends or relatives; sometimes paying people to look after them. They then stay in Durban, brew beer and get cheeky.' 'We cannot say a thing' he complained. His solution was blunt: women should remain in Pondoland, 'farm mealies' and only be allowed to come to Durban for one month each year.¹¹⁸

For women it created an invidious position. Staying outside the system meant almost total insecurity, yet the terms of the new system were highly prejudicial to them. Passes for women brought them under the ambit of the state, thus creating conditions for arrest and deportation. Pass laws also incorporated women into the system, either as units of labour or as shackled dependants of men.

There were many married men and women who did want to move to KwaMashu, but simply could not. This was the very issue that was focused upon by Durban's left-wing press. Mrs Tenjwayo had moved to a new shack settlement. Her story was reported as follows:

She and her husband had worked hard when they first arrived in the area [in 1943] and had built their home, and endeavoured to give their children some education so that they could earn a better wage than her husband and lead a better life than she and her husband had to lead.¹¹⁹

The local press defined the issue in terms of an unjust administration being cruel to nuclear families. However, there was a great deal more to the issue than that.

Conditions created differing personal agonies, but the overarching brutal fact was that women's future lives in the city were being very narrowly circumscribed. Some women had lost all personal ties to the rural areas. Others had been recently evicted from white-owned farms during the large 'squatter' evictions in many areas of the Natal midlands. Others were repelled by the *ngena* custom. Furthermore, rural chiefs were at this time preventing women from having access to tribal land and allocating land 'in favour of males only'.¹²⁰ The imminence of this threat made women confront the contradictory question of their own identity and position in the city. Anger was expressed towards African men. Women grew increasingly 'impatient' with the failure of 'our men to see what was happening to us. We did not think they really were interested.'¹²¹ According to Constance Matiwane, for many women the dominant male proletarian culture was riddled with 'weaknesses that we could see in our men. They did not seem to be as worried about Kwa Mashu as us. Things were the same to them, and they would just leave us out in the cold. This was the time when we had to teach.'¹²²

There was a spate of marriages in Mkhumbane. Thomas Shabalala recalled how:

You had to get married otherwise Kwa Muhle [Bourquin] would not let you go to Kwa Mashu. Every Saturday all you could see were people getting married quickly. Then they hold up this paper which says that they are now married and say 'This is my house. I am there.'¹²³

The municipality began to encourage and later to compel unmarried couples living in the shantytowns to marry. Bourquin said in an interview:

I recall one instance which I personally witnessed but there were many like it. Some person said that he and his woman friend would not go to Kwa Mashu because they were not married. By this time of course all

Men became increasingly critical of women. Attitudes became downright misogynist: 'Why should we have been bothered with those women, they were nothing.'¹⁴⁷ African women in the city were 'Durban Dust' which men should leave well alone. African men should recognize the attributes of rural women who would be more suitable as 'city wives'.¹⁴⁸ 'Dick, Dan and Joe' were answering back, and not just in song. Various men, including Joseph Mazibuko writing to *Ilanga lase Natal*, suggested that when African women, whom African city men 'keep', request money they should: 'simply chase her away or rather go back to your compound or barracks. These women do not love you but your pay packets.'¹⁴⁹

Beauty competitions, only recently a feature of African life in the city, thrived. It was suggested that the organisers of these competitions should offer greater prize money, select competitors as opposed to allowing anyone to enter, and ensure that competitors both lived in Durban and were 'unmarried'. Beauty queens could be better viewed if they wore bathing costumes and not long dresses.¹⁵⁰ Sexism, parochialism and male assertiveness were reflected in another comment: a writer to *Ilanga lase Natal* criticised 'our beauties' saying that '[t]here is nothing as annoying [*sic*] as a pregnant woman especially if you have not planned a future with her'.¹⁵¹ 'Trained beauticians' offered their services to help women 'who want to be nice to be looked at'.¹⁵² Advertisements in popular newspapers showed new styles in hair and clothes fashion, with 'Reckitts Blue' being promoted as the way to prevent women's clothes from looking 'dull'.¹⁵³

Beerhalls became a place of refuge. In the words of Kunene:

You must go to Gezinzandla [Cato Manor Beerhall]. You must have drinks, talk of your chief and respect. You must never allow other things to interfere. That is what we did. You see, outside were women offering us beer and lots of things to say. That is why you must go to the beerhall. No women allowed! That was the law! Not allowed!¹⁵⁴

Beerhalls became places to express anger, reaffirm men's dignity and discuss women. Shebeens were not quite the same. Mrs Phewa continued:

You must talk to your sissie in shebeens. Everyone knows that you are her man. You do not stand outside and make the signs of the breasts and the sign of beards. No you must enter! Hey, a lot of men would not do that. They were too scared.¹⁵⁵

To men, the beerhall offered the prospect of drunken male solitude. The shebeen was a public reminder of the sexual and emotional gender pattern of the shacklands. In the late 1950s, all the symbolic rituals of the shebeen were stripped away. Drinking did this. Some patrons spoke of their plans for a new

life in KwaMashu and its attendant problems, while others could not. For them, the power of the male wage packet had gone. Gone also was men's ability to play with sexual innuendoes in front of women. What had also vanished was men's ability to attract girlfriends. Too much was known. The gender split within politics in Cato Manor, KwaMuhle's sought-for alliance with African men, and those men's financial and emotional insecurities, were too openly part of the public domain. The shebeen had been stripped. Long-time home of community spirit, good strong liquor, and African commercial loyalty in despite of municipal beerhalls, the shebeen was now too obvious. The site of male symbolism, which had tried to cover over deep social contradictions between residents and between them and the city, had been lost. In Mkhumbane shebeens died, not through lack of clientele, but through drunkenness and a lack of ritual and spirit. The shebeen's secret life was exposed, not by police raids, but by the male shebeen drinker. He was the catalyst and, in her own way, the shebeen queen became a victim.

The removals to KwaMashu began in mid-1958. For a short while the removals were not opposed by residents.¹⁵⁶ Then, in August 1958, the municipality endeavoured to destroy the shack settlement of Thusini. Resistance was peaceful and effective; residents, some with legal support, simply relocated their dwellings.¹⁵⁷

However, no sense of coherent opposition was apparent. Even Luthuli was unable to offer any clear strategy, simply suggesting that residents resist relocation and thereby compel the municipality to consider forced removal.¹⁵⁸ The CMWDB was in disarray and could only attract six hundred people to a meeting about removals.¹⁵⁹ At this meeting municipal officials baldly stated that removals would continue.¹⁶⁰ Indeed they had acquired legal power to override any interdicts against removals.¹⁶¹

In early 1959 Draaihoek was cleared.¹⁶² The area's large settlement of Mpondo women were declared illegals.¹⁶³ The strong ANC Women's League branch was decimated.¹⁶⁴ Draaihoek women took to the streets, led by Dorothy Nyembe.¹⁶⁵ Obtaining an interview with Bourquin, the group refused a suggestion that a future meeting be held at the Tokoza women's hostel and responded to official insistence that shack demolitions would continue, by physically attacking Bourquin.¹⁶⁶ Finally, meeting Durban's mayor, a woman spoke: 'We have a grievance. The Director [municipal Bantu Administration] is killing us and our children. We lived here for a long time. We kept ourselves decently and gave no trouble. . . We have nowhere to go.' The women of Draaihoek began to re-erect their homes. The municipality, believing the situation to be 'highly inflammable', called a temporary halt to all removals.¹⁶⁷ This was a victory for the ANC Women's League. As Curnick Ndlovu, then a SACTU organiser living in Mkhumbane, remembered, 'from that time onwards things moved very fast'.¹⁶⁸

Cato Manor, June 1959

In 1959, a typhoid epidemic broke out in Cato Manor. Municipal work gangs, assisted by local residents, started burning piles of refuse, including waste remnants from illicit stills.¹⁶⁹ The municipality insisted on maintaining and enforcing a by-law prohibiting home brewing. Squads of municipal workers, accompanied by 'blackjacks', soon swooped down on illicit liquor activities.¹⁷⁰ Shebeen queens, until then largely uninvolved in politics, approached the League to discuss a beer boycott. The Mkhumbane Women's League issued handwritten pamphlets. Unauthorised, and even condemned, by the ANC provincial leadership, one issued by the 'women of Cato Manor' maintained that:

Here women is the problems [sic]. It is Bourquin and his stooges who are wanting to kill us of Mkhumbane! Why must we move to the location? That is where they will lock us up. That place is the Bantustan that will be giving us nothing but wants us to pay for this. We the women know this Bourquin who takes our money in beer and gives us houses. It is this devil who will not listen to us when we say we want this land in Mkhumbane for us. It is him that makes our men stand for passes. It is him who hates the women. It is him that takes our children away. This man says we must be the slaves from the location! We the women must stop this Satan.¹⁷¹

Mkhumbane Women's Leaguers developed a new slogan: 'Ibuya Makhosikazi, ibuya!' (Come back women, come back!).¹⁷² Leading members of today's Women's League find this slogan puzzling. Gladys Manzi, then a leading Cato Manor Women's Leaguer, explained its significance:

You lose. Every time. Its the men, its Bokweni, its the law. The women needed to be told 'Come back!' We were going backwards, you see. We needed to get back to that place where we were. That is what we said. We were not Bokweni's girls and we did not want our men. That is what we said, we are the warriors! [laughter]¹⁷³

And of the basis of women's unity? Gladys Manzi again:

We told those troublesome people that we are fighting for our rights. Women should be given rights to do what they liked. We could not remain traditional because times were changing; we had educated women who wanted to look good. Others were not educated but were becoming civilised. So people should be allowed to do what they liked.¹⁷⁴

By this time there was a new crowd on Mkhumbane's streets. Queues of men waited at the municipal offices in Mkhumbane wishing to apply for housing in

KwaMashu. They could afford to go to KwaMashu. Whatever their own agonies and personal doubts, they had made their choice. They could be publicly seen. Charles Khumalo, who 'volunteered' for housing in KwaMashu, remembered: 'We were going it alone.'¹⁷⁵ At least one whole section of KwaMashu, 'E' section, was settled by such willing prospective residents.

On 6 June eight hundred Cato Manor residents, dressed in ANC volunteer uniforms attended the funeral of popular Cato Manor ANC leader Ben Chiya. Dorothy Nyembe, Moses Mabida and Ashmon Nene were the main speakers, using the occasion to call for resistance to removals and support for the ANC's campaign against the municipal superintendent of Cato Manor.¹⁷⁶ Fearing this conflict could get violent, non-ANC board members refused to stand for re-election, saying they wanted 'to exclude' themselves.¹⁷⁷

On 17 June at around two o'clock, as the beerhall was closing for the mid-afternoon break, about fifty women, armed with sticks, knives, hatchets or pieces of firewood, invaded the beerhall.¹⁷⁸ Shouting 'We are the Zulu warriors', the women insulted and mocked the men and smashed the drinkers' personal clay beer containers. The women said that they had no complaints against white municipal officials who should leave them to sort out their quarrel with their men. Mabel Dlamini continued:

If we do not give money to KwaMuhle then they cannot bring us here to KwaMashu. This is the whole thing. Then we can all stay in Cato Manor. All the money can come to us, nothing to u-Bokweni. It was through this thing that [Kwa] Mashu can be stopped. If we can chase our men from drinking u-Bokweni. This was the thing, to chase men from the beerhalls. Chase! . . . we can beat them. We can . . . and hit them. We can get them out.¹⁷⁹

Gladys Manzi remembered that cries of 'Yinj' umlungu! Yinj' umlunga!' (Whites are dogs) were meant merely to 'scare them away'; their real target was African drinkers: 'We wanted no man here.'¹⁸⁰ Men in the vicinity of the beerhall were chased and beaten. Municipal police on normal duty at the beerhall seemingly made no attempt to intervene.

Women called for a boycott of the beerhall. The women warned that they would return at four o'clock when the beerhall reopened and deal with any men found there.¹⁸¹ Led by shebeen queens, groups of women moved through the shacklands. Dorothy Nyembe remembered:

They were the people who sell the liquor from homes. Shebeens. They marched up and down into the houses, just like that. And the people who followed them were the traditional women, the women just from the farms. Come! Come! We are going to take our men. It was like that because men were away at work.¹⁸²

A crowd of two hundred women did return. They were refused entry and amidst loud shouting complained bitterly about the destruction of their liquor stills. Within half an hour more stick-wielding women staked out bus stops warning male passengers not to go to the beerhall. Groups of women gathered throughout the shacklands. There were issues to be discussed. Mrs Phewa recalled:

Some women just wanted an end to it all. It must all do away, you see, "Just like this!" Then you see you say, "but that is difficult. How can you do this?" This is what made women very angry. If you say there is something you cannot do then you must say why. That is not easy because then you see people say you are being special. And the municipal was not giving us anything special. People got very angry with themselves.¹⁸³

While newer and far more militant strategies were being discussed elsewhere, a group of around fifty women had remained, sitting quietly some distance away from the beerhall. These women wanted to speak to Bourquin and nobody else. Board member Isaac Zwane then set up a table and chair for himself and started taking complaints from the women. For women, the time for these rituals had now passed. However, although willing to speak with Zwane, the women surrounded Cato Manor's 'mayor', Esaa Makatini and escorted him to the beerhall, where he was told to take 'shelter' because he was not popular with women who believed he spoke 'with the mouth which was in the hands of the Europeans'.¹⁸⁴

Women were extremely critical of male Board members, whom they disparaged. They became the focus not only of women's criticism of shack leadership, but also of men in general. Dorothy Nyembe remembered:

These were men who would sit and talk with their enemy, Bourquin. Men were cowards. We had seen what passes did to our men. Even if you go to church without a pass you are taken. We watched this happening all the time. Taken away! Our men were not men, they were just boys. We said to them "You must come of age." How can you live with boys?¹⁸⁵

By ten o'clock the following morning several hundred women had gathered on the sports grounds and meeting ground in front of the beerhall. They refused to elect a delegation, demanded to speak to Bourquin, and shouted down Zwane and the police. By eleven o'clock there were over a thousand women at the meeting. This crowd then split; one section, gathering strength, went off to besiege municipal beerhalls in town until, by midday, a crowd of around three thousand 'impatient' women remained on the sports ground.

Bourquin finally agreed to attend their meeting. The women still refused to elect a deputation. The crowd was their safety and their power; they could not

and would not elect leaders. Existing leaders had been so thoroughly discredited that the very notion of leaders was threatening. Furthermore, the critical issues which had formed the crowd were complex and contradictory. The women needed to talk to the municipality and to themselves.

A succession of women came forward. There were impassioned, pleading and threatening speeches. Some spoke of how they were arrested in their own homes, of shack demolition and of being homeless. Others demanded the right to brew beer. Some admitted that they were illicit traders, but argued that this was the only way they could feed, clothe and educate their families. Every time Bourquin tried to answer a particular grievance — by resorting to the tried and tested formula of policy details and individual technical problems — he was shouted down and more speakers came forward. Zwane's continual pleas for the crowd to allow Bourquin to speak were denied. The meeting ended angrily. Bourquin left, publicly saying that he regretted the women's behaviour, that he had come to a meeting not a demonstration, and that he would forward any complaints through official channels, but that government policy would remain.

Whilst this meeting was continuing, the other group of Cato Manor women were invading beerhalls in town. At the Victoria Street beerhall Florence Mkhize and Dorothy Nyembe led the way. Not only were male patrons chased and beaten and the premises ransacked, but Nyembe urinated into one vat of beer while Mkhize dunked her underclothes in another. These were immensely significant acts; not only were women entering a male domain and then attacking and taunting men and spoiling their cherished drink, they were also turning men's defilement of women against them. Accounts of this action spread and quickly became legend. Masculinity was being defiled and men publicly threatened and challenged. Police used teargas to clear the beerhalls. The municipality estimated that up to a quarter of a million pounds damage may have been caused to beerhalls in the city by crowds of women from Cato Manor.¹⁸⁷ The women returned to Cato Manor triumphant; they had dealt with Bourquin and taught their men a lesson.

After Bourquin had left the meeting, the crowd remained behind, angrily discussing the issues. Although they had very different personal perspectives and interests, discussion gave the women a strong sense of public unity. Further, it brought awareness that discussing their problems had been to no avail. The level of frustration rose. Speakers said Bourquin had, perhaps in a frustrated off-the-cuff remark, or perhaps simply by his attitude, denigrated African women. Bourquin denied making any such remark, but news of Bourquin's insulting behaviour spread. Bourquin was threatening all women. The meeting was surrounded by one hundred and fifty policemen. After the women had refused to obey three calls to disperse, the police baton-charged. It was a scene captured by memorable photographs, one of which has become one of the classics of apartheid history. As police chased and beat women underfoot,

women fled, fighting a rearguard action by throwing bottles and stones at police. African men joined the fray, attacking the police. The police started shooting. The crowds retreated into the shacklands.¹⁸⁸ A brand-new municipal bus was torched. Gladys Manzi remembered:

This bus with the radio inside. I still remember the song from . . . the radio there. "Ngagula, ngalala phansi, bajabula bonke sengilele phansi" ("I am sick, I am lying down; as I lay down dying they are all happy") and the bus was actually lying down on its side in flames.

Who burnt the bus? Listen:

Cele: 'Who burnt the bus?

Manzi: 'What do you think? Women.'¹⁸⁹

The police could not intervene. Armed men had started shooting at the police, who retreated into the beerhall. A crowd of women then proceeded up the road to a municipal trading complex. Manzi continued:

I remember that from there we went to those shops that belonged to the municipality that were hired by Africans like Mr Xhakaza and Mr Hlongwane. All those shops were burnt down. People were told to take out all their staff and their properties so that a shop was burnt without anyone who hired it being a loser.¹⁹⁰

By five o'clock chanting crowds of men and women marched along Booth Road in Cato Manor. The crowds were swelled by men alighting from buses returning from the factory areas.¹⁹¹ This was a turning point. Charles Khumalo explained:

Our women were beating us to it. It was no use talking to them. They were saying we were cowards and Bourquin's boys. That we are nothing to marry. So that is when we started to talk to Bourquin using this [bangs fist on table].¹⁹²

Kunene remembered that 'we needed to teach our women a lesson. They would not listen.'¹⁹³ Seizing the initiative, groups of men attacked the municipal offices. Officials were chased away, offices ransacked and then torched. Most of the filing cabinets with the personal family and shack files which were so vital to the municipal shack destruction and resettlement plans were destroyed. Men danced gleefully on smouldering files.¹⁹⁴

That night Cato Manor burnt. Personal vendettas were settled: 'If a man has your wife, this man is a thief. That was the time when you can do it to him.'¹⁹⁵

The shacklords' vigilantes turned against their patrons, recognising their leaders' failure to provide them with future security.¹⁹⁶ Looters moved through the shantytown pillaging and burning Indian-owned and licensed African-owned shops. A group of around fifteen thousand Cato Manor men assembled close to the beerhall. The police fired warning shots, but the men's target was not the beerhall. Coming mainly from the Ridge View, Esinyameni and New Clare settlements, this *impi* proceeded to the Shumville area where, after allowing shack traders to remove their stock, they torched the shops.¹⁹⁷

Police cordoned Cato Manor off and sited a huge searchlight on a hill. All night it swept over the shacks searching for looters and marching crowds. Obviously anticipating action, a large crowd of men and women gathered on the slopes of the hills surrounding the beerhall. That night there were three 'attacks' on the beerhall, where the police had remained stationed. As the attacks occurred, the crowd threw bricks, bottles and anything else to hand into the beerhall. All forays were organised and involved only men. The first, by approximately one hundred men, was repulsed by police gunfire. Soon after this the crowds gave a huge cry as Cato Manor's streetlights were successfully sabotaged. Apart from the searchlight, and the glow from burning buildings, the shantytown was plunged into darkness. A further attack on the beerhall was led by a man wielding a huge panga. Taunting the police still inside the beerhall, the group then withdrew. A third dual-pronged attack also 'failed'.

At around midnight a lone bugler, who had been playing military music for most of the night now changed his tune, playing *kwela* jazz. People continued to mill around the streets near the beerhall until early morning. At around three that morning, as usual, buses arrived; but this time only private, Indian-owned buses, moved in to Cato Manor to collect commuters.¹⁹⁸ Men and women were off to work. Saracen armoured cars had arrived from Grahamstown. But Indian and African shopkeepers picked through their burnt stores, a queue of women with their children waited patiently and plaintively outside the burnt municipal welfare offices, and journalists roamed around. On that same day Bourquin closed all the municipal beerhalls, which were in any event empty and often badly damaged. Another day had begun.

Officials said that three men had been killed; all by police action. However, a municipal ambulance driver placed the figure at well over twenty.¹⁹⁹ Twenty-nine men and women were admitted to hospital, half of them wounded by gunshot. Most municipal buildings in Cato Manor were destroyed or badly damaged. All the shops of licensed African traders in Cato Manor had been looted and many torched. Shacks had also been destroyed, as had the premises of welfare organisations.

Gradually municipal officials re-entered the shantytowns. Known political activists were either arrested or banished from the city. At first under armed escort, municipal clerks resumed those administrative tasks essential for shack destruction and removal. Liquor and pass raids returned, as did the screening

work whereby officials determined who was legally in the city and which men were also financially eligible for either hostel or single-site, single-family accommodation in KwaMashu. Aircraft dropped pamphlets advertising the benefits of the new township housing.

The ANC was already heavily involved in organising campaigns in other areas of the city. The people of Cato Manor had seemingly scorned these activities. It was only as the fires in Cato Manor burnt that ordinary men and women formed new ANC branches. With new leaders; from amongst themselves. Albertina Mnguni remembered the quick expansion of ANC groups:

All you could talk about was ANC, ANC! It was everywhere. We had the Mandela Plan which was how people would get together and form their own branches of the ANC. Each street in Cabazini, Dabulamanzi . . . everywhere, they were in the ANC.²⁰⁰

Likewise, Kunene recalled:

It was during those days that my wife was brewing, and they were chasing us out of the beerhalls, this was when I went to the African National Congress.²⁰¹

Bundles of ANC pamphlets, often handwritten, were passed around within the shacklands. ANC banners appeared, flying from rooftops. Leading ANC provincial office-bearer, Stamford Mtolo, himself a resident of Cato Manor, told of this being the time when 'the people of Mkhumbane had come to the ANC'.²⁰² The crowds of people, streaming daily out of Cato Manor, became triumphal celebrations and unofficial rallies. Under banners, shouting ANC and SACTU songs and slogans and ridiculing white and black bystanders, people from Cato Manor became a highly active part of the wider political campaigns then being fought in Durban. They had already fought the municipality; 'our spears were bloodied', said Khumalo.²⁰³ They sought support from the ANC and when they came onto the streets their message was to the ANC, the municipality and other people in the marching crowds. As they marched, so men and women from Cato Manor also commenced seemingly endless meetings with the municipality over the details of the already proceeding removals.

These meetings, long drawn out affairs replete with documents, laws and administrative procedure, and speeches vituperative, pleading and patronising, were essential to both the municipality and the ANC. For KwaMuhle they were part of a necessary strategy of negotiation with Cato Manor's residents. For the ANC they were an essential part of its greater political campaigning for mass support. Indeed so powerful was the ANC's mass support and involvement in

negotiations that Bourquin asked to, and did, meet ANC leader Moses Mabhida. Bourquin recalled: 'We had a man to man chat.'²⁰⁴

But the fate of Cato Manor was already sealed. In the early 1960s Africans became legally free to drink 'white man's beer'. For KwaMashu residents, the municipality organised a competition and offered prizes for the best-kept gardens. At the same time, KwaMashu was host to a trade exhibition, showing various styles of home furniture, lounge suites and kitchen appliances. KwaMashu's Residents Council was even to be split from the Champion- and ANC-contested Joint Locations Advisory Board. These were the fruits of loyalty.

The new leaders of the ANC in Cato Manor were to 'be our block men of Congress in KwaMashu'.²⁰⁵ The early years in KwaMashu had been the time 'that we men struck back'.²⁰⁶ At the state, certainly; through mass bus boycotts, clandestine organising, the sabotaging of the homes of township councillors and participation in the mass campaigns of the early 1960s. But surely this imagery uses the campaign slogans of the women's anti-pass struggles of the 1950s? Had men forgotten the women's slogans of the riots: 'Ibuya Makhosikizi, ibuyazi!' Gladys Manzi, who was finally moved to Umlazi township, had this to say:

I remember that in mid-60s, it was said that women should not use lipsticks and not to treat their hair nicely with any hair dye. It was said that this was not a part of our African culture. It was also said that women should not wear the miniskirts.²⁰⁷

So did the shackland's often very silent and threatened male majority assume power.

Cato Manor Remembered

In the later 1950s, the municipality centred its plans around its desired African male worker. As these plans encompassed shack demolition, people were required to confront the often very large gap between personal perceptions of self-worth and urban relevance, and those being forged for them by the municipality. Understanding state intervention requires confrontation of personal, public and political identities. These are always ambiguously inter-related. State intervention exacerbated gender ambiguities and social conflict. So faced, all could feel themselves as victims. But individual choices had to be made, and they had to be made publicly. These are the agonies which created and lay within Cato Manor's crowds of June 1959.

Cato Manor has become enmeshed in Durban's legends. It is remembered for its bloody role in the 1949 'Indian African' riots, as a slumyard, for the June 1959 beerhall riots and the early 1960 massacre of nine policemen. Cato Manor

is also part of two political histories of South Africa's masses. The riot and the mass campaigns of the period are also part of popular legend and reflection. During the 1980 KwaMashu school boycott many activist children – the first born in KwaMashu – angrily blamed their mothers and fathers for past political failure.²⁰⁸ Africans have now returned to Cato Manor, again as shack dwellers. Their lives uncertain, they seek relations with political parties and the new state.

The politicising histories under which men and women have lived for so long need to be re-examined. Sadly, the rewriting of our history seems to have taken some outrageous forms. Speaking during the first session of the new parliament, Professor Kader Asmal said:

For the first time, therefore, we have the triumph of rules over the power of men – women hardly had anything to do with what has happened in our country in the past 45 years!

The rights which the hon. the President has identified are those rights which form the *patrimony* of our people.²⁰⁹

This is unacceptable.

NOTES

1. Even during the period of the Port Natal Administration Board, induction lessons for new staff members included a slide-tape show on Cato Manor and the building and settlement of KwaMashu.
2. ANC (External Mission), *The African National Congress of South Africa* (Dar es Salaam, 1962), p. 17 and F. Meli, *South Africa Belongs to Us* (London, 1990), pp. 131–3.
3. S. B. Greenberg, *Legitimizing the Illegitimate* (Berkeley, 1987) and D. Hindson, *Pass Controls and the Urban African Proletariat* (Johannesburg, 1987).
4. Hindson, *Pass Controls*, pp. 53–79.
5. D. Posef, *The Making of Apartheid* (Oxford, 1991).
6. See for example Modikwe Dikobe, *The Marabi Dance* (Johannesburg, 1973), pp. 6–7.
7. For important analysis of how the African urban crowd is represented in South African fiction, see D. Maughan Brown, 'The Image of the Crowd in South African Fiction', *English in Africa*, 14(1), May 1987.
8. J. Wells, 'Why Women Rebel: A Comparative Study of South African Women's Resistance in Bloemfontein (1913) and Johannesburg (1958)', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 10(1), October 1983, p. 69.
9. J. Wells, 'The Rise and Fall of Motherism as a Force in Black Women's Resistance Movements', Women and Gender in Southern Africa conference, University of Natal, Durban, January–February 1991, p. 2.

10. See N. Manganyi and A. du Toit, (eds), *Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa* (London, 1990); J. Seeking, 'Trailing Behind the Masses: The United Democratic Front and Township Politics in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand Region, 1983–1984', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 18(1), March 1992 and A. Sitas, 'The Making of the "Comrades" Movement in Natal' and C. Campbell, 'Learning to Kill? Masculinity, the Family and Violence', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 18(3), September 1992.
11. L. Kuper, 'Rights and Riots in Natal', *Africa South*, 4, 1959–1960, p. 24.
12. M. Blumberg, 'Durban Explodes', *Africa South*, 4(1), (Oct.–Dec. 1959), p. 15.
13. Interview with Mr S. Bourquin, 10 September 1980.
14. Blumberg, 'Durban Explodes', pp. 14 and 15 (Original emphasis).
15. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
16. L. Kuper, *An African Bourgeoisie* (New Haven, 1965).
17. Kuper, 'Rights and Riots', pp. 21 and 24.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 23 (My emphasis).
19. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
20. K. Luckhardt, and B. Wall, *Organise or Starve! (London, 1980)*, pp. 303–6.
21. T. Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945* (Johannesburg, 1983), pp. 147–8, 204 and 224.
22. C. Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa* (London, 1982), pp. 230–5; Kuper, *African Bourgeoisie* and J. Yawitch, 'Natal 1959 – The Women's Protests', (unpublished paper presented at the History of Opposition in South Africa conference, University of the Witwatersrand, January 1978).
23. See for example A. Gordon, 'The Crowd and Politics in Imperial Japan, Tokyo, 1905–1918', *Past and Present*, 121, November 1988; R. J. Holton, 'The Crowd in History: Some Problems of Theory and Method', *Social History*, 3(2), May 1979, S. Moscovici, *The Age of the Crowd* (Cambridge, 1985); J. S. McClelland, *The Crowd and the Mob. From Plato to Canetti* (London, 1989); T. I. Uldrichs, 'The "Crowd" in the Russian Revolution: Towards Reassessing the Nature of Revolutionary Leadership', *Politics and Society*, 4(3), July 1974 and J. W. White, 'Rational Rioters: Leaders, Followers, and Popular Protest in Early Modern Japan', *Politics and Society*, 16(1), March 1988.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
25. T. Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge, 1987).
26. D. Riches, (ed.), *The Anthropology of Violence* (Oxford, 1986), p. 22. See also J. C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (New Haven, 1990).
27. Riches, *Anthropology of Violence*, p. 14.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.
29. F. Furedi, 'The African Crowd in Nairobi: Popular Movements and Élite politics', *Journal of African History*, 14(2), 1973 and P. Gutkind, 'The View from Below: Political Consciousness of the Urban Poor in Ibadan', *Cahiers D'Etudes Africaines*, 57(1), 1975.
30. See for example F. Cooper, (ed.) *Struggle for the City* (Beverly Hills, 1983); S. Eckstein, 'Urbanisation Revisited: Inner City Slum of Hope and Squatter Settlement Despair', *World Development*, 18, 1990; R. Gay, 'Neighbourhood Associations and Political Change in Rio de Janeiro', *Latin American Review*, 25, 1990; A. Portes, 'Rationality and the Slum: An Essay in Interpretive Sociology', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 14, 1972 and D. Simon, *Cities, Capital and Development* (London, 1992).
31. *The Guardian*, 22 November 1951, *Ilanga lase Natal*, 6 October 1952, *Advance*, 25 December 1952 and Kuper, *African Bourgeoisie*, p. 305.

32. Interview with Mr C. Khumalo, 14 July 1985.
33. Interview with Mr T. Phewa, 12 May 1985.
34. Interview with Mr C. Khumalo, 19 July 1985.
35. Interview with Mr M. O. D. Kunene, 19 July 1985. This is probably a little unfair as many of the board members could not speak English and translation services were provided for all board meetings. It does nevertheless reflect a sense of residents' perceived distinctions between board members and other shack-dwellers.
36. Killie Campbell Audio-Visual Collection (KCAV); interview with Mr J. Stange, 24 July 1979.
37. Interview with Mr S. S. L. Mtolo, 10 June 1983.
38. *Ilanga lase Natal*, 11 August 1951.
39. Interview with Mr S. S. L. Mtolo, 10 June 1983.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Interview with Mr C. N. Shum, 22 June 1985.
42. Interview with Mr S. S. L. Mtolo, 10 June 1983. See also interview with Mr M. B. Yengwa by Ms B. Naidoo, n.d. [My emphasis]
43. For similar analysis see Lodge, *Black Politics*, p. 75.
44. Interview with Mr C. Khumalo, 14 July 1985. See also *Ilanga lase Natal*, 7 June 1958.
45. Interview with Mr M. O. D. Kunene, 5 May 1985.
46. Carter-Karis Microfilm Collection (CKM); reel 3B; 2:DA 19:30/13; ANC (Natal). Minutes of annual conference, 1-2 November 1952.
47. CKM; reel 3B; 2:DA 19:20/1-6; ANC (Natal), names and addresses of delegates to the provincial conference. As a result of poor handwriting and poor microfilm copy, it is difficult to estimate exactly how many residents from Mkhumbane attended.
48. CKM; reel 3B; 2:DA 19:30/18; ANC (Natal). Minutes of annual conference, 8-9 October 1956.
49. CKM; reel 3B; 2:DA 19:30/18; ANC (Natal). Annual conference held at Nene Hall, Two Sticks, 8-9 October 1956.
50. Interview with Mr S. S. L. Mtolo, 10 June 1983. See Mbutho Papers, interview 5.
51. Interview with Mr S. Selby, 19 August 1980.
52. Interview with Mr C. Khumalo, 23 June 1985.
53. Interview with Mr C. C. Majola, 2 March 1983.
54. *Ibid.*, 10 June 1983.
55. Interview with Mr S. S. L. Mtolo, 10 June 1983.
56. I am grateful to Ms R. Shabane and Mr J. J. Shabalala for assistance in this regard. The issue is important but sensitive, with many preferring to disclaim membership of the ANC. For example one interviewee denied membership although he had personally registered his attendance at the 1954 provincial conference.
57. *Ibid.*, and personal communication, Mr C. N. Shum.
58. Interview with Ms D. Nyembe, 10 June 1985.
59. Municipal Native Affairs Department; Cato Manor Welfare and Development Board (MNAD; CMWDB); Board agenda, 8 December 1960.
60. See for example MNAD; CMWDB; Board minutes, 17 August 1953, 29 September 1955, 16 May 1956 and 24 April 1957.
61. According to one informant this broad policy was deliberately designed to 'keep Champion out'. Interview with Mr A. Nene, 18 January 1984.
62. MNAD; CMWDB, vol. 2; Minutes of a meeting between the Manager, MNAD and the Services Committee, CMWDB, 27 October 1953.
63. Native Administration Committee agenda, 18 November 1953. Emphasis added.
64. Mbutho Papers; C. D. S. Mbutho - Chief Commissioner, South African Police, April 1959.
65. Interview with Ms D. Nyembe, 10 June 1985.
66. Interview with Mrs G. Manzi by Ms P. Cele, June 1990.
67. Bourquin Papers; S. Bourquin, Memorandum on the Cato Manor disturbances of June 1960.
68. Interview with Mr C. Khumalo, 21 June 1985.
69. CKM; roll 3B; 2: DA 19:30/16; ANC (Natal) Executive Committee meeting, 6 June 1954.
70. Interview with Mr M. B. Yengwa by Ms P. Naidoo, n.d.
71. KCAV; interview with Mrs A. Mnguni, 19 July 1979.
72. Interview with Mr M. O. D. Kunene, 28 April 1985 and interview with Mr H. C. Sibisi, 7 November 1985. Also see Mbutho Papers, interview 11.
73. Bourquin Papers; Notes on the meeting of a Durban City Council deputation with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, 3 August 1959. The relevant board members, all key ANC activists in Mkhumbane were removed by invoking the administratively correct but highly provocative stipulation that board members would be removed if failing to attend three consecutive board meetings. The measure had never been used despite earlier cases of absence.
74. *Ilanga lase Natal*, 1 April 1950.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ilanga lase Natal*, 25 August 1956 and interview with Ms D. Nyembe, 10 June 1985.
77. *Ilanga lase Natal*, 9 June 1951 and 12 September 1953.
78. CKM; reel 3B; 2:DA 19:30/18; ANC (Natal) annual conference, Nene Hall, 8-9 October 1956 and interview with Ms R. Shabane, 18 November 1986.
79. *Ilanga lase Natal*, 14 July 1956. This information was supplied to the newspaper by Stephen Dlamini so can be regarded as reliable.
80. Interview with Mrs G. Manzi by Ms P. Cele, June 1990.
81. CKM; reel 3B; 2:DA 19/1:30/8; ANC (Natal), Minutes of the Provincial Executive Committee, 26-27 November 1955.
82. CKM; reel 3B; 2:DA 19/1:30/8; ANC (Natal). Minutes of the Provincial Executive Committee, 26-27 November 1955.
83. Interview with Mr S. S. L. Mtolo, 10 June 1983.
84. See for example *Ilanga lase Natal*, 11 August 1956 and 1 September 1956.
85. *Ibid.*, 18 January 1958.
86. See for example T. Lodge, "We are Being Punished Because we are Poor": The Bus Boycotts of Evaton and Alexandra, 1955-1957 in P. Bonner, (ed.), *Working Papers in Southern African Studies*, vol. 2 (Johannesburg, 1981), p. 258.
87. MNAD; H/Gen, vol. 2; Pamphlet, n.d. This pamphlet was distributed in Mkhumbane during late 1959 and 1959.
88. Interview with Mr C. N. Shum, 20 June 1986. See also interview with Mr R. F. Drew, 17 December 1980.
89. Bourquin Files; vol. 7, Coordinating Committee on Welfare of African Women and Children in Durban - Manager, MNAD, 24 March 1959.
90. *Ibid.*
91. Interview with Mr M. O. D. Kunene, 5 May 1985.
92. MRR; file 323, vol. 1; Memorandum on the legal status of African married women in Durban, 1959.
93. I am particularly grateful to Ms P. Cele, Mr C. Ndlovu and Mr S. Ntuli for this information.

94. Many stevedoring tasks required very lithe young men for crawling inside and maintaining ship's boiler machinery.
95. Interview with Mr A. Khumalo, 26 November 1995.
96. Interview with Mr M. O. D. Kunene, 12 May 1985 and interview with Mr C. N. Shum, 20 June 1985.
97. Interview with Mr M. O. D. Kunene, 12 May 1985.
98. Interview with Mr S. Ntuli, September 1995 and Mr A. Khumalo, 26 November 1995.
99. Interview with Mrs T. Phewa, 7 July 1985.
100. Interview with Mr A. Khumalo, 7 November 1995.
101. Interview with Mrs T. Phewa, 7 July 1985.
102. *Ibid.*
103. Interview with Father St George, 10 September 1985.
104. *Mkhumbane* (Gallo recording of the musical, 1960)
105. Interview with Mr C. N. Shum, 20 June 1985.
106. Interview with Mrs T. Phewa, 23 June 1985.
107. Interview with Mr M. O. D. Kunene, 12 May 1985.
108. *Ibid.*
109. See I. Edwards, 'Shebeen Queens: Illicit Liquor and the Social Structure of Drinking Dens in Cato Manor', *Agenda*, 3, 1988.
110. Interview with Ms D. Nyembe, 10 July 1986.
111. Edwards, 'Shebeen Queens'.
112. Interview with Mr M. O. D. Kunene, 5 May 1985.
113. M. Friedman, 'Gender, Geography and Urban Forms: A Case Study of Durban', unpublished MA thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1987.
114. *Ilanga lase Natal*, 17 December 1955.
115. Interview with Ms D. Nyembe, 10 July 1986.
116. Bourquin Files, vol. 7, Bantu Administration Committee Agenda, 18 March 1959, MNAD - Town Clerk, 16 March 1959.
117. See Bourquin Files, vol. 7; Bantu Administration Committee agenda 18 March 1959, Manager, MNAD to Town Clerk, 16 March 1959; Coordinating Committee on welfare of African Women and Children in Durban - Manager, MNAD, 24 March 1959, Memorandum to manager, MNAD, n.d.; Draft document prepared by Prof. H. Pollack, 26 June 1959 (This later became the basis of Mr H. J. Bengu's SAIRR talk on Cato Manor given on the 19 August 1959.)
118. Bourquin Files, vol. 3; Unsigned letter posted at Bizana and addressed to Bourquin, July 1959.
119. See Bourquin Files, vol. 7.
120. Bourquin Files; Coordinating Committee on Welfare of African Women and Children in Durban - Manager, MNAD, 18 March, 24 March 1959 and Case: Letita Mpanza, 18 March 1959; Case 2: Elvira Dlongolo, 18 March 1959 and Case 3: Litta Mpanza, n.d.
121. Interview with Mr T. Phewa, 28 April 1985.
122. Interview with Mrs C. Matiwane, 23 April 1982.
123. Interview with Mr T. Shabalala, 31 June 1985.
124. Interview with Mr S. Bourquin, 8 September 1980.
125. MRR; file 323, vol. 1; S. Bourquin, African women and pass laws, August 1958.
126. MRR; file 323, vol. 1; B. Huntley, African women and Kwa Mashu, June 1959.
127. Interview with Mr C. D. S. Mbuho, 21 April 1982.
128. *Ibid.*
129. *New Age*, 27 February 1958.
130. *Ibid.*
131. *Ilanga lase Natal*, 1 September 1956, 19 January 1957, 3 May 1958 and 21 July 1958.
132. *Ibid.*, 12 July 1958.
133. *Ibid.*
134. *Ibid.*, 18 May 1957.
135. *Ibid.*, 27 April 1957.
136. *Ibid.*, 5 July 1958.
137. *Ibid.*, 24 July 1958.
138. *Ibid.*, 12 July 1958.
139. *Ibid.*
140. Interview with Mr C. Khumalo, 7 July 1985.
141. *Ilanga lase Natal*, 15 September 1956.
142. *Ibid.*, 1 September 1956 and interview with Mr C. Khumalo, 7 July 1985.
143. *New Age*, 27 February 1958.
144. Interview with Mr C. Khumalo, 7 July 1985 and KCAV; interview with Mr B. Maqadi, 11 August 1980.
145. *Ilanga lase Natal*, 7 September 1958.
146. *Ibid.*, 7 June 1958.
147. Interview with Mrs C. Matiwane, 23 April 1982.
148. *Ilanga lase Natal*, 23 February 1957.
149. *Ibid.*
150. *Ibid.*, 14 September 1957.
151. *Ibid.*, 27 April 1957.
152. *Ibid.*
153. *Ibid.*, 21 August 1957.
154. Interview with Mr M. O. P. Kunene, 12 May 1985.
155. Interview with Mrs T. Phewa. Used by men, hand signs were explicitly sexual messages sent to secretly find out whether your lover or the person you lusted for or her husband/lover were present. I am grateful for Mr C. Ndlovu for careful explanation.
156. Interview with Mr S. Bourquin, 5 September 1980 and Maasdorp and Humphreys *From Shantytown to Township*, p. 62.
157. Interview with Mr R. Arenstein, 13 November 1985.
158. Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, p. 56.
159. MRR; file 323, vol. 1; S. Bourquin, memorandum on the Cato Manor disturbances of June 1959.
160. Bourquin Papers; file 5; Minutes of the public meeting held at Cato Manor, 21 September 1958.
161. *Government Gazette*, proclamation 268 of 1958, 7 November 1958.
162. Bourquin Papers; B. Huntley, memorandum on shack demolitions and removals, January 1960.
163. Port Natal Administration Board (PNAB) slide archive.
164. Interview with Ms D. Nyembe, 10 July 1986.
165. MRR; file 323, vol. 1; S. Bourquin, memorandum relative to the events arising out of the clearance of shacks at Mnyasana, 4 March 1959.
166. Interview with Mr S. Bourquin, 5 September 1980. MRR; file 323, vol. 1; S. Bourquin, memorandum relative to the events arising out of the clearance of shacks at Mnyasana, 4 March 1959.
167. *Ibid.*
168. Personal communication with Mr Curnick Ndlovu.

169. For a very detailed chronology of the riots see L. K. Ladlau, 'The Cato Manor Beerhall Riots', unpublished MA thesis, University of Natal, 1975.
170. Bourquin Papers; 'Memorandum on Cato Manor disturbances of June 1959'.
171. KwaMuhle Museum Collection; 'Message from the Women of Cato Manor'.
172. Interview with Mrs G. Manzi by Ms P. Cele, June 1990.
173. *Ibid.*
174. *Ibid.*
175. Interview with Mr C. Khumalo, 3 June 1987.
176. *Ilanga lase Natal*, 6 June 1959. Municipal Archives; Records 323, vol. 1, W. E. Drew, 'Memorandum'.
177. Bourquin Papers; Doc 4, July 1959.
178. Municipal Archives; Records 323, vol. 1, W. E. Drew, 'Memorandum'.
179. Interview with Mrs M. Dlamini, 2 February 1982.
180. Interview with Mrs G. Manzi by Ms P. Cele, June 1990.
181. Bourquin Papers; 'Personal memorandum on events on 17 and 18 June'.
182. Interview with Mrs D. Nyembe, 10 July 1986.
183. Interview with Mrs T. Phewa, 23 June 1985.
184. Bourquin Papers; 'Personal memorandum', June 1959.
185. Interview with Mrs D. Nyembe, 10 July 1986.
186. Municipal Records; 323, vol. 1, 'Notes taken at the meeting of the Combined Locations Advisory Boards, the Cato Manor Welfare and Development Board and the *Ibandla Lenkosi*, 21 June 1959; W. E. Drew, 'Memorandum' and *Natal Mercury*, 19 June 1959.
187. *Ilanga lase Natal*, 27 June 1959.
188. Municipal Records; 323, vol. 1, Cato Manor Welfare and Development Board minutes, June 1959 and Durban Magistrate Court Records; *Regina vs Elizabeth Zondi and Others*, Evidence of Major J. C. van de Merwe.
189. Interview with Mrs G. Manzi by Ms P. Cele, June 1990.
190. *Ibid.*
191. Interview with Mrs D. Nyembe, 10 July 1986.
192. Interview with Mr C. Khumalo, 31 June 1985.
193. Interview with Mr M. O. D. Kunene, 7 July 1985.
194. KwaMuhle Museum Collection; Cato Manor photograph collection.
195. Interview with Mr T. Shabalala, 21 June 1985.
196. *Ibid.*
197. *Natal Mercury*, 19 June 1959 and *Daily News*, 19 June 1959.
198. *Ibid.*
199. Informant to remain anonymous, I am grateful to Mr C. Emdon for assistance.
200. Interview with Mrs A. Mnguni, 20 July 1985.
201. Interview with Mr M. O. D. Kunene, 7 July 1985.
202. Interview with Mr S. S. L. Mtofo, 12 July 1983.
203. Interview with Mr C. Khumalo, 31 June 1985.
204. Interview with Mr S. Bourquin, 10 September 1980.
205. Interview with Mr C. Khumalo, 21 June 1985. Under the ANC's 'M' plan system, KwaMashu was divided into various areas, with the key local structure being the block.
206. Interview with Mr M. O. D. Kunene, 7 July 1985.
207. Interview with Mrs G. Manzi by Ms P. Cele, June 1990.
208. Personal communication with Mr S. Ntombela, June 1985.
209. House of Assembly Debates, First Session, First Parliament, 9 to 27 May 1994, the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, columns 21 and 22.

The People's City

An Essay in Pictures

From the early twentieth century, years before the National Party came to power in 1948, Durban was essentially an apartheid city. African men and women were exploited in the work-place, and they were largely denied a share in the space appropriated by the 'white' city for residential, business and recreation purposes. There was thus a separate city, 'The People's City'. Uniquely African, this was an urban society which was little known or understood by most other residents of the city. Although apartheid's imprint is still stamped on greater Durban and apartheid's legacy is still felt, the two cities are in the process of merging into one.

These photographs, many never before published, have been chosen to capture the experience of the inhabitants of that 'other' city, at work and at leisure, in the home, and in crowds, at rest and in confrontation with the state. They show the tragedies and injustices, but also the vibrancy and resilience of a segregated people institutionally disadvantaged, but none the less living full and productive lives.