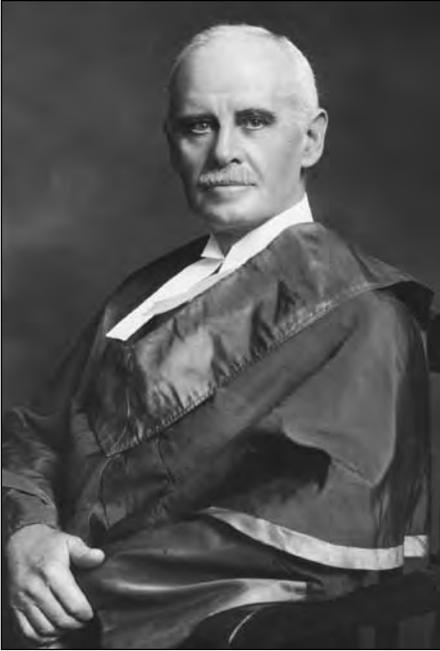


Social control and communal resistance: African football in Pietermaritzburg, 1920–74

Driving into Pietermaritzburg from the northern suburbs, it is still possible to spot the Tatham Memorial Pavilion amidst surrounding industrial, commercial and residential development. It now looks quaintly anachronistic, its sports ground hemmed in by Manning Road extension and Jika Joe informal settlement. Its dimensions and architecture were always modest, but it is one of the most significant buildings in the history of the city's African population.

Opened on 28 July 1937, it was named after Judge F.S. Tatham. President of the South African Native Football Association Oliver Msimang commented at the opening function that whites had brought light into darkness, and expressed pleasure in being a subject of His Majesty. Previously, he reportedly said, the only sport of

Africans had been fighting. Perhaps he saw this as diplomatic as Governor-General Sir Patrick Duncan was also present. Duncan spoke of the pavilion as 'testimony to the growing consciousness of the Europeans towards the needs of natives ... [allowing them] to enjoy a useful and healthy life'. He went on to add that for 'too long ... had the Europeans forgotten the needs of the native who had come to town to work for him; too long had the natives' amusements been overlooked. The grounds would enable the native to live like a human being and would provide for him the sport that the Europeans required themselves'. Duncan exuded a sense of *noblesse oblige* and a clear understanding of the value of social investment in sport, or rational recreation. Mrs Tatham did so as well, speaking of the ground as a place to 'learn the lessons that



Judge F.S. Tatham

games teach of goodwill and fair play'.¹ The Maritzburg District Bantu Football Association (MDBFA) was later to describe 'these magnificent grounds [as] a pride to the municipality as well as to the natives ... We, natives of Pietermaritzburg are profoundly grateful and indebted to the burgesses of the city'.²

But this tranquil picture had other dimensions and belied the relationship between the white authorities and African sportspersons. The dialogue between the Pietermaritzburg City Council and African football had started in 1920 when a request was made for the use of the West End Park on outspan 3 bordering Pine Street and the polo ground. This was granted in 1922, but by the following year another ground was being requested. Permission was given for a new pitch at West End Park and two grounds were allotted at Mason's Mill with access by railway. But the white Maritzburg District Football Association (MDFA) based at the Drill Hall

was anxious to use West End while black clubs were not keen to relocate close to the shebeens at Sutherlands. The municipal authorities were clearly intent on relocating black football from the town, in spite of rejection of Mason's Mill by no less than 15 clubs, and offered £25 to make the move more attractive. The Maritzburg District Native Football Association (MD-NFA) compared its treatment unfavourably with that of its equivalents in Durban, Ladysmith and Dundee. However, by April 1923 the 'Native Football Association had given up the ground used by them near Pine Street'.³ There is evidence to show that African football in Pietermaritzburg in the immediate aftermath of the Great War was strongly influenced by radical politics. Pietermaritzburg refused to join the Natal Native Football Association (NNFA) because Durban had a white president, Douglas Evans. His removal was demanded, but Durban declined and the NNFA was formed with Dundee and Ladysmith to the exclusion of the radicals, although Evans resigned in 1923 and Pietermaritzburg joined the NNFA two years later.⁴

The acute social problems of Africans living on the margins of urban life in Pietermaritzburg had largely been ignored by whites, although black leisure time was a matter of considerable anxiety. The potential use of African spare time was much feared: it was the only opportunity left for the expression of repressed aspirations. The official objective was an urban African population that was stable, healthy and apolitical; and team sport was an attractive catalyst. A major concern was control of African popular culture that operated outside the discipline of the work place: this included the shebeen, amalaita (stick fighting) gangs, ngoma group dancing, dance halls, church choirs and football.⁵ Similarly in Rhodesia there was pressure for the regulation of African

recreation, boxing in particular, so as to reduce ‘pandemonium’ and ‘vice’.⁶ In Uganda and Northern Rhodesia football was encouraged as a ‘moral purgative distraction’ from what was regarded by colonial officials as sexually suggestive dancing.⁷

In Pietermaritzburg whites feared free time for Africans, imagining that it would lead inevitably to crime, alcoholism, illicit sex and, perhaps most worrying of all, radical political activity. Ngoma dancing was seen by whites as threatening because of its apparent military connotations and its connections with *amalaita*.⁸

This led, logically, to the instrumental use of recreation in line with the findings of the Phelps Stokes Commission on Africa of the 1930s, which argued that blacks should be ‘taught to play healthfully’.⁹ Recreation and labour matters went hand in hand as a political issue. Nowhere was it suggested that, Sobantu apart, Africans had a fundamental right to recreational facilities. The more sophisticated officials argued that sports grounds would improve the health of the labour force, and keep it out of trouble and off the streets. The more robust demanded that whatever was provided for African workers should be situated as far away from white suburbs as possible.

Black sports activities in municipal areas often resulted from a desire for social control at a time of militancy, a safety valve for ‘animal instincts’ and ‘superfluous energy’ that would encourage development of a law-abiding and contented, non-political African population.¹⁰ Eddie Roux complained that the opportunity to participate in sport was a diversion that lowered attendances at Communist Party of South Africa meetings in the early 1930s. At the time organised physical recreation had distinctly fascist undertones.¹¹

In Johannesburg Graham Ballenden, who had briefly worked in Pietermaritzburg, argued that sport for Africans cost little to organise in relation to its benefit as long as local communities were encouraged to administer their own affairs. Atkinson, reflecting Ballenden’s views in the liberal journal *South African Outlook*, made the point in 1933 that white dismissiveness of African sport undervalued playing and organisational standards. The value of fencing was emphasised: ‘any large municipality could safely regard the cost of enclosing a ground as a recoverable loan’.¹² Recreation was seen in the long term as a potential saving on police and health services as well as a palliative. Liberals hoped that sport would encourage Africans to become better workers and neighbours.¹³

In Pietermaritzburg, as in Durban, the local state became increasingly involved in controlling the leisure time of Africans in the hope of diverting the spare time of workers and encouraging a middle class. As expressed by the manager of the municipal Native Affairs Department (NAD) to Pretoria in 1934, there was a constant fear of Africans ‘leading idle or disorderly lives’.¹⁴ African football, developed ‘in the backyard slums, dusty townships, and squatter camps which were mushrooming on the fringes of the white urban area’,¹⁵ had become both a symbol of assimilation and aspiration for the marginalised; and of possible social control for the authorities.

In 1935 the Governor-General of South Africa offered a shield for a competition between African football clubs: ‘in the Capitals of each Province there would thus be instituted a perpetual competition amongst the Natives in celebration of the Silver Jubilee ... the donation of a Shield would ... act as an incentive to more football being played by the Native youth of your city’. This was accepted

and the two provincial bodies controlling African football (the Natal Bantu Football Association, NBFA, and the Natal African Football Association, NAFA; which were generally seen respectively as conservative and well-disposed to municipal authority; and inclined to radicalism) formed a joint committee.

The first final was played in Pietermaritzburg in 1935 at Edendale Road.¹⁶ While there were problems with grounds in Durban arising from organisational schism, the manager of the NAD in Pietermaritzburg noted the friendly rivalry between the two controlling groups and argued that relations amongst African football players had been improved by the competition. By April 1937 it had collapsed in Natal apart from Pietermaritzburg, where a special concession was granted by the NAFA out of respect for the Governor-General. The Pietermaritzburg NAD provided a loan in 1935, but this was not necessary in 1936 when gates improved.¹⁷ Alegi argues that the competition ‘sparked excitement ... football in urban South Africa created an arena of cultural autonomy and opportunity that relieved the lives of people deeply affected by the drudgery of unemployment and the painful constraints of institutional racism’.¹⁸

From 1930 to 1940, sums that varied between £1 186 and £1 643 were set aside each year for native welfare: this covered the Native Ward at Grey’s Hospital, schools, an infant clinic, prisoners’ aid and even the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, plus the bioscope run by the Native Welfare Society. In 1930, the ‘Native Football Association’ was rewarded with £10, but subsequently such expenditure is noted simply as ‘Native recreation’. In 1934, expenditure on recreation amounted to 9% of the welfare vote, but the following year it sank back again to a more typical 2.2%. Indeed, in 1935

expenditure on the bioscope exceeded that on physical recreation by nearly five times, setting a trend for the remainder of the decade.

From the mid-1930s onwards whites began officially to express a degree of smug satisfaction about the situation regarding Africans in Pietermaritzburg: ‘the behaviour of Natives in the City during the past year has been good, and compared very favourably with other parts of the Union;’ while ‘visitors to the City who have inspected the Native Village have been loud in their praise of the efforts of the Corporation in the interests of Natives’.¹⁹ The main symbol of African sport in the city had become the Tatham Native Sports Ground (NSG), a 9.6 acre site in Fitzsimmons demarcated by the extensions of Prince Alfred and Burger Streets and formerly used by Asians. It consisted of two turf football grounds surrounded by a cycle and running track.

In the 1930s there was increased consciousness of the activities of African crowds. The CID observed Sunday meetings on the Market Square and reported that they were orderly, but expressed a preference for the use of the new Native Beer Hall in Retief Street. According to the NAD manager, complaints had been aired in the press about Sunday afternoons in Market Square since 1931. Amongst other problems was the use of the square and Longmarket Street for cycle races, ‘in addition to which the congregating of a large number of Natives in the centre of the town is undesirable’.²⁰ So great was the concern that the idea of selling beer at the Beer Hall on Sundays was debated from 1934 onwards and in 1936 the Council agreed to such a move, referring the matter to the Minister of Native Affairs. It was vehemently opposed by the Bantu Ministers’ Association as likely to stir base passions and lead to the squandering of limited in-

come.²¹ The government may have taken the same view, but in any case rejected the application as it had been refused in both Pinetown and Vryheid. In 1935 the NAD developed a definite policy to close Market Square to black recreational use, although it clearly had misgivings: this 'might result in the Natives, who usually gather there, drifting into Church Street and other parts of the town. Again there might be efforts by the Native agitators to oppose the regulations by concerted action although the agitators (late ICU) have not a very large or enthusiastic following at present'. It was noted that there were two football grounds available to Africans and that native dancing had venues on vacant ground next to the Berg Street hostel and the power station beer hall. Boxing, which had become an important part of African urban life with potential for official control, also took place at the former. The view was that 'it might not be considered necessary to set aside any other piece of ground for the exclusive use of Natives'.²² The Council also bore in mind that the Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act gave it the power to identify public places for sole use by Africans as long as equivalent facilities were available for other communities.

On Sunday afternoons in the late 1930s the Superintendent organised dancing on vacant land next to the Berg Street Men's Hostel and this attracted an audience of up to 500, 'who otherwise would be scattered about the Market Square or the centre of the town with nothing to do'.²³

In 1937 Africans were issued with a pamphlet about behaving themselves on public streets. After several years of prevarication, in February 1938 it was decided to open a Native Recreation Ground (NRG), with children's equipment and a tennis court, in Berg Street opposite the beer hall.

This was accompanied by a pamphlet in Zulu with an English translation that said 'it has been noticed that the Market Square is no longer suitable as a recreation ground for Natives on Sunday afternoons owing to the numbers of Natives and the kind of sport indulged in there'. Various facilities where they might 'meet and enjoy themselves in games without being disturbed' were listed and promoted as 'beautiful, specially constructed and free of traffic danger'.²⁴

On 23 May the Council approved the regulation of African sports facilities in the following way: 'no non-Native shall enter those portions of the urban area of Pietermaritzburg known as the Berg Street Native Recreation Ground, Fitzsimmons Road Native Sports Ground and the Edendale Road Native Sports Ground without the permission of the manager, Municipal Native Administration Department'.²⁵

The ruling about Market Square finally came into operation on 5 February 1939 when a group of 50 Africans and a few stragglers were ejected and told to go to Berg Street NRG. This was enforced under a regulation of May 1938 which decreed that 'no Native shall loiter or take part in any congregation or meeting of Natives on that part of the urban area of Pietermaritzburg ... known as Market Square'.²⁶ Officially 'there was no sign of dissatisfaction amongst the Natives' at the action taken.²⁷ In February 1939, a sports meeting with dancing held at Tatham NSG was contrasted with the emptiness of the Market Square to the satisfaction of the authorities. Boxing took place at Tatham and gloves were supplied. These measures 'depriv[ed] the Market Square of its former popularity with the Natives'.²⁸

Tatham NSG was a symbol of the desire for law and order coupled with a liberal belief in the beneficial effect of organised sport. Control was couched in terms of



The Tatham Memorial Pavilion was opened on 28 July 1937 and named after Judge Frederic Spenser Tatham. Its total cost was £1 330, of which £525 was provided from the Tatham Memorial Fund.

healthy exercise. However, it was not only a symbol of colonial administration, but it also became a factor in power struggles within the African community. It was predominantly used by the conservative Maritzburg District Bantu Football Association (MDBFA), but the NAD withheld the ground in the 1938–9 season, offering an alternative facility at the Native Village (later Sobantu), fearing that W.A.E. Manyoni, president of the MDBFA was trying to take control of the pavilion and the surrounding facilities.²⁹ The secretary of the MDBFA, J.J. Magwaza, claimed ‘gross injustice’ and, in a relatively mild letter, asked that the NAD should receive a delegation from his association. The response of the Town Clerk was one of anger at the ‘improper terms in which you have chosen to address a highly respected officer of the Municipal Service’ and announced that the Mayor was withdrawing his patronage. Magwaza agreed to excise the allegedly improper language, but pointed out that

A.T. Allison had been elected patron as a councillor before becoming mayor.³⁰ The crisis deepened further in late 1939 when the Council released the Tatham ground for three days a year for athletics and for a further day to the rival, radical Maritzburg District African Football Association (MDAFA), even though the MDBFA had a lease, paid £30 annual rent and had an arrangement with the NAD to maintain the ground. The MDBFA was so incensed over the issue of these four days that it obtained legal advice and its lawyers wrote to the Town Clerk. They emphasised that the MDBFA had funded fencing and maintained an adjacent patch of ground at Fitzsimmons since 1926 (Council’s records say 1930), organised 20 clubs and received its first grant in 1937. The MDBFA ‘controll[ed] Bantu football in Pietermaritzburg, and the District, in so far as concerns the schools of the working class of Native’. Various spurious claims about the Tatham NSG were made together

with a complaint of ‘unjust treatment’ and the assertion that football should take precedence over all other sports. MDBFA officials claimed that they were keeping the peace in a volatile situation and asked that they be given sole charge of ground and pavilion. The NAD manager responded that the ground was designed for all the Africans of Pietermaritzburg: ‘the Bantu Football Association only represents one portion of the Natives of Pietermaritzburg,’ although it had use of the Tatham NSG on all days of the year bar four.³¹

A sports day, subsidised by a grant of £10, was duly held on 7 August 1939³² and replaced a five-a-side football contest involving 200 players on whose behalf the MDBFA demanded ‘just and fair treatment’ since ‘our soccer football comes first’. The MDBFA argued that football was better supported and that it had to raise £30 annual rent, calling the actions of the municipality ‘a show of superiority uncalled for and unfair’.³³ The manager of the NAD pointed out that the MDBFA had already held two tournaments with gates on public holidays and that it was the turn of a general sports day. Tatham NSG, he reiterated, was for the African public in general: ‘a record crowd of Natives attended these sports which went off very smoothly;’ and an annual event was planned.³⁴

Four years later the episode was described by the MDBFA as ‘an unfortunate misunderstanding’. It hoped that the war would encourage better relations.³⁵

Although the emphasis during World War Two was on increased racial segregation, the MDBFA reported that ‘your Council succeeded in bringing about better harmony among the clubs ... and non-European inter-racial matches for the first time in the history of Pietermaritzburg’.³⁶ Football had shown itself to be well-tailored to urban African life – in

the words of Alegi, ‘the leviathan of black sport’.³⁷ The black press tended to link it with advancement and progress.

Of the two football associations in Pietermaritzburg, the MDFAFA (one of eleven branches of the South African African Football Association)³⁸ adopted a more independent, radical and sometimes Africanist political stance that brought it into conflict with the NAD and its rival, a pattern that was also evident in Johannesburg. The dispute over Tatham Memorial Ground lingered on during the early years of the war, the MDBFA angry that the body from which it had broken away in 1926 was allowed use of what it regarded as its facilities.

In 1943, however, an agreement was reached after a joint meeting in which the MDFAFA was awarded the right to use Tatham NSG for two days a year.³⁹ The usual grant (£10 per annum) was denied to the MDFAFA, ostensibly because of a promise by the South African Railways compound manager that he would maintain Edendale Road NSG at no charge in exchange for occasional use. There is also evidence that convict labour had been used.⁴⁰ But it is clear that the MDFAFA’s connections with Asian football and their use of Edendale Road NSG were a cause of antagonism from the NAD.⁴¹ In 1948 the MDFAFA sued NAD manager, R.E. Stevens, and the Mayor over events surrounding the Governor-General’s Shield (GGS), an action that was described as being ‘of a frivolous nature’.⁴²

The football politics of the time were byzantine in their complexity and are now hard to unravel given the limited scope of the surviving correspondence. The GGS Executive Committee (three representatives of each association with the NAD manager as chair) and a Board of Control (five persons) had operated up to 1942, when the President of the MDBFA an-

nounced that he had lost confidence in the Board and asked the manager to assume control. At the same time the MDAFA was prevented from participation by its provincial body. There was an attempt to revive the Board in 1943, but the two parties remained antagonistic.⁴³ In 1945 and 1946, at the instigation and under the control of the municipality, the two associations agreed to contribute two teams each to an effective KO cup from the semi-final stage.

But in 1947, 'we had two sets of officials purporting to speak on behalf of the [MD] African Football Association'.⁴⁴ MDBFA nominated Callies and Winter Roses, while MDAFA put forward the names of Assegai and Standard. However, Harry Gwala's faction of the MDAFA favoured Stars of Hope rather than Standard and the semi-final due to be played in November 1947 was postponed pending a legal outcome. In 1947 the MDAFA brought an interdict against R.E. Stevens as the GGS administrator, but this was dismissed with costs (which remained unpaid). The aim was to prevent Standard and Assegai competing in the GGSC and T.A. Nene and H.A. Mkize operating as officials of the MDAFA. Nene and Mkize had been ousted at meetings of 9 August and 13 September, but their expulsion had been reversed by the Natal African Football Association (a decision applauded by the municipality) and had gone to appeal. The new executive included Gwala who appealed to the South African African Football Association (SAAFA) and was in turn rejected at a special general meeting on 20 October 1947, to be replaced by H.A. Mkize. A further interdict requiring the Administrator of the GGS to repudiate Standard, Nene and Mkize was brought by Samson Radebe, manager, Stars of Hope and the MDAFA on 29 November 1947. The NAD manager had attempted to organise the semi-final involving Standard not realising

that an interim interdict was in force, but the match 'did not take place owing to the fact that Gwala and his supporters turned up at the ground and threatened violence if the teams who were there attempted to play, so no match took place'.⁴⁵

Ostensibly the dispute was about competition rules, but it clearly contained evidence of fissures within the African community. The Mayor in a counter affidavit of 3 December 1947 argued that the authorities had the right to determine competing teams and that the dispute was internal to the MDAFA. Strictly speaking he was correct, but this ignored the realities of African urban life. George Tshezi, a member of the original MDAFA Executive put it thus in his affidavit of 3 December 1947: 'S. Mazibuko, P. Kumalo and T.H. Gwala are leading a portion of the members of the Association against the lawful authority of Nene ... and the attitude of these men in preventing the completion of Governor-General's Shield Competition is causing annoyance and unrest among the Bantu Native population of Maritzburg'. The municipality's legal adviser, F.B. Burchell recommended redrafting of the GGS rules to prevent 'disputes between the natives themselves'. The semi-final match was eventually played at Edendale Road NSG on 13 December and Standard beat Winter Roses 2-1. The authorities, fearing a breach of the peace, stationed 20 police and a pick up nearby, but 'when the opposition Natives saw this show of force they disappeared from the ground and the match was played without any further incident'.⁴⁶ The final was held at Tatham NSG on 20 December between Standard (MDAFA) and Callies (MDBFA) and won by the former.

This did not, however, bring an end to the dispute, which Gwala described as one 'that threatens bloodshed'. He subsequently claimed that he had been properly

elected secretary of the MDAFA on 8 February 1948, but his opponents set up a separate meeting and elected Raymond Kuzwayo instead. Gwala claimed that the NAD manager was acting unfairly towards his faction and excluding it from Edendale Road NSG. Football had in fact been suspended. In July 1948, the President of NAFA dismissed the authority of SAAFA and declared that 'the association under Mazibuko and T. Gwala is not recognised by my Association and is considered a rebel Association'.⁴⁷ The 24 December 1949 final of the Governor-General's silver Jubilee Shield was contested by Zebra and Rebellions, both of the MDBFA.⁴⁸

A study of African football in Bulawayo in the 1940s identifies characteristics readily recognisable in Pietermaritzburg during the same period: political manoeuvring, personal disputes and squabbling, accompanied by accusations of fraud. The specific issue was a transfer of authority over football from the African Welfare Society to the City Council, unwelcome control that resulted in a lengthy boycott. Stuart concludes in the case of Bulawayo that the assertion of identity in uncertain and often hostile surroundings was a significant factor. The stakes were high as football gave meaning to urban life and was 'a symbolic arena for the making of African identity'.⁴⁹ Urban life was hostile and poverty-stricken, the football team a place of support, advice and the remaking of tradition and identity. Some of the critical figures, as with Gwala in Pietermaritzburg, had a political role or were to become politicians, consonant with the fact that in the late 1940s football was being identified with African political advance and progress.⁵⁰ The similarities between Bulawayo and Pietermaritzburg are striking.

During the 1940s African facilities for physical recreation thus consisted

of Tatham NSG in Fitzsimmons Road, Edendale Road NSG, Berg Street NRG and temporary facilities at Sobantu. Edendale Road was well used by South African Railways, which had two teams in the MDAFA league and therefore benefited from municipal investment in recreational facilities. In 1948 it was announced that any thought of expansion at Tatham must be shelved because of plans for a Pietermaritzburg by-pass and national road.⁵¹

The history of African football during the 1940s illustrates the extent to which the governance of sport became a surrogate for meaningful political activity. Football was used as a weapon against the white establishment, but also as a vehicle for struggle within different strands of African society, conservative and radical. Accompanying this growing politicisation were distinct undertones of violence.

Most Africans lived on domestic property on low wages with a short life expectancy. Yet their spare time was regarded by whites as a public nuisance. Attempts were made to provide suburban recreational space, but this was bitterly opposed by householders. In 1945 Wilfred Msimang was appointed the first municipal African social worker with responsibility for organising Sunday afternoon sport at Tatham. The Bantu sports held there on high days and holidays were viewed with complacent self congratulation by the authorities in the early 1950s and directly related by them to a lack of open political activity and protest.

The Governor General's Silver Jubilee Shield, now under the control of the City Council, was won in 1950–1 by Shamrocks of the MDBFA. Meanwhile the controlling body of the MDAFA remained in turmoil in spite of attempts at reconciliation. The Gwala/Mazibuko faction was in control in 1950, although this was contested. Its aims were described as 'the winning of national

freedom for the African people and the inauguration of a people's free society where racial oppression and persecution will be outlawed and the African freed from white domination'. In mid 1950 it would appear that the Gwala/Mazibuko group had taken legitimate control, was recognised by NAFA and was asking for its Edendale Road grounds back. The NAD manager was unhappy about this, arguing that the City Council had never recognised Gwala (now apparently living in Durban and publicly identifying himself as the local Communist Party secretary) or the remit of the NAFA or South African African Football Association (SAAFA) regarding use of local grounds. The Council had awarded the ground to the loyal section which had, it believed, more than double the number of clubs as Gwala's group (seven opposed to three). The NAD manager suggested an alternative: election of new office bearers under the authority of the Mayor, an extraordinarily paternalistic idea for an independent sports body and indicative of the times.⁵² The case against Gwala was tightened by the NAD manager: 'according to my records Gwala has no authority to be in this City. If he is not a Native citizen of this City, it is submitted that he has no *locus standi* to represent local natives'. Both MDAFA factions argued for return of the ground, possibly because clubs were defecting to Gwala's group. The NAD somewhat inconsistently argued that it was not interested in groups but only in the Association, whose rights over space existed at the pleasure of the Council; but it did admit that Gwala had rights of exemption dating back to 1945 as a trade union organiser, and could not be ordered out of the city.⁵³

The Governor-General's Shield competition for 1951 was not completed until 1952 for reasons that obliquely implicated the MDAFA: 'this association will always

cause trouble while it has Gwala as a Secretary and, as I have grave doubts as to whether it is a fit and proper association to compete in this competition, I am making further inquiries. The Bantu Football Association is very well run, and controls the vast majority of clubs, and it too has given up all hope of ever being able to work with the African Association'. The competition, it was argued by the NAD manager, needed a proper board of control and more stringent rules. The MDBFA with 45 clubs as opposed to the MDAFA's eleven was consistently complimented by the manager, who complained that Gwala's association rendered 'never a word of appreciation'. When the 1951 competition was concluded it was boycotted by MDAFA officials as its representative, Shooting Stars (which lost 4-1 to Shamrocks of the MDBFA) had defected. Each would normally have received 42.5% of the takings, but it was even suggested that MDBFA should get 85%, as it had 'over the past seven years proved most co-operative and sound'. The NAD manager was unimpressed by MDAFA accounting for 1951 and suggested that 'an accurate statement will prove both interesting and illuminating'. He limited MDAFA access to facilities to Sobantu only until adequate administration could be proven.⁵⁴

In 1952 the Coloured Sports Ground in East Street (Maqeleni) was transferred to African use and maintained by the NAD with help from the hostel superintendent. The NAD manager continued to make his views clear: 'football is such a popular game with the Natives, and as it keeps so many Natives off the streets on Saturday afternoons and public holidays it is felt that this department should encourage the game by meeting the expenditure of maintaining the grounds'.⁵⁵ As the MDAFA 'has shown that it is unable to run its financial affairs satisfactorily,' the ground was

leased to the 'business-like' MDBFA at £1 per month, subject to limited access by the nearby hostel.⁵⁶

The less palatable side of the game was reflected in some remarkable disciplinary cases: a Naughty Boys player had stabbed a spectator; a linesman from Shamrocks had knifed a player from Zebras; and a Railway Eagles player had sjambokked a referee from Crocodiles. The penalties were expulsion in the first two cases and a fine of ten guineas in the third.

The MDBFA thanked the City Council for 'providing the African people with such magnificent recreation grounds, centrally situated and within easy reach of transport'. There is also reference to the use of grounds at Fort Napier and Coronation Brick Works.⁵⁷

In the meantime the NAD had withheld from the MDAFA takings from the Governor-General's Shield Competition because its finances were in such poor shape. Co-operation would be dependent upon presentation of an audited balance sheet. The deficit, in the eyes of the NAD, was caused by 'frivolous litigation' and 'questionable refunds'. The Native Administration Committee argued that 'it was absurd for the City Council to pay out monies which did not directly go towards the advancing of sport'.

In 1954 the MDAFA 'again experienced a turbulent year involving civil and criminal actions instigated by the machinations of the recalcitrant element,' which had apparently exhausted the patience of NAFA. The Native Administration Committee demanded evidence that it could run itself properly for a year. By 1956 this seems to have been provided, although the City Council remained highly suspicious of the MDAFA: 'knowing the men who are actually supporting this group, though they are not listed amongst the office bearers, it is recommended that caution be exercised'.

This was demonstrated when the MDAFA asked for use of the Maqeleni ground, a request that dated back to 1952, and the City Council asked NAFA for references. The 1956 MDAFA annual report thanks the NAD manager for access to grounds, but by 1957 they were again restricted to facilities at Sobantu.⁵⁸ The MDBFA continued to dominate African soccer in Pietermaritzburg and was favoured by the authorities. It was later affiliated to the white Football Association of South Africa in accordance with policy dictated from Pretoria and thus able to maintain a toehold on Tatham.

In Pietermaritzburg in the 1950s there was a great deal of municipal self-congratulation about the socio-cultural condition of Africans. This included the issue of recreation and manifested itself most obviously at annual sports jamborees and other celebrations. In 1950 the municipal authorities noted that 'the behaviour of the Natives had been exceptionally good' and attributed this not only to tighter administrative controls over labour through influx control that prevented the 'drift' of Africans; but also to the fact that 'sport and other social amenities are encouraged amongst the Natives during their leisure hours'.⁵⁹ On 7 August 1950, for instance, all-day sports had been held at the Tatham ground: 'the Sobantu Village Advisory Board took charge ... and the events were very well controlled. All the preliminary work was carried out by [the NAD], and excepting for the lunch break two European members of my staff were on duty at the grounds. There was a large attendance and the meeting was an unqualified success'.⁶⁰ By way of contrast, the African National Congress, Natal Indian Congress and Communist Party of South Africa had received little support for a stayaway call on 26 June 1950 and the official view was that the 'Natives of Pietermaritzburg

showed very good sense'.⁶¹ Similar sentiments were echoed the following year: behaviour was described as 'exemplary,' with no 'instances of racial disharmony'. This was directly linked to the provision of 'wholesome recreation for the Natives during their leisure hours'. Football, boxing, tennis, table tennis and films were listed, while 'for the raw type of native wardancing is encouraged'. A constant stream of visitors was shown around Sobantu, including the Minister of Native Affairs Hendrik Verwoerd in October 1951.⁶²

To official eyes Pietermaritzburg's African population was content because it was treated fairly. At the time of the Defiance Campaign, the Council was keen to 'give its full support to sport to entertain the Natives in their leisure hours, and so keep them drifting to political meetings'.⁶³ Nonetheless, there remained a fear of educated Africans: 'although the behaviour of the Natives in the City has been excellent one can sense a strained atmosphere, particularly among the educated and semi-educated group of Natives who have of late taken to reading both European and Native papers avidly'.⁶⁴

By 1953 the official view was slightly less confident, possibly because there had been tension about the payment of economic rents at Sobantu. However, in the opinion of D.N. Bang, NAD manager, good relations were restored, in part through funds provided to celebrate the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. This involved all-day children's sports and a five-a-side football tournament at Tatham, together with baseball and senior athletics, attracting thousands of spectators. The following year it was felt that the 'loyalty of the Natives was secured'.⁶⁵

Tatham NSG, and the Berg Street and Maqeleni grounds were important thresholds on central urban space. Uncertainty surrounding the Group Areas Act (GAA)

inhibited development of facilities both at Sobantu and elsewhere. In 1959 the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development wrote to all local authorities stressing the importance of recreational facilities 'to ensure a healthy and contented community'. His requirements were that their users should be members of African-run sports bodies and that 'sports grounds ... must be situated within Bantu residential areas'.⁶⁶ The Berg Street NRG, bounded by Retief, Berg and Boom Streets, was the only proclaimed African area in the city. As a result there was a bizarre debate about the source of funding for lavatories: whether it should be the Native Revenue Account, since they would be situated in a proclaimed area; or the City Fund Account, as they would probably be used by non-African blacks. Provision was ultimately made in the 1956–7 capital estimates.⁶⁷

The MDBFA continued to enjoy regular use of Tatham NSG and was commended in 1961 for conducting its affairs in 'a very orderly manner'.⁶⁸ This was a sensitive issue for the municipality because of the potential for interference from Pretoria. In 1969 the Bantu Affairs Department wrote to all urban local authorities deploring the 'chaotic and undesirable conditions [that] arise from time to time' in African football. An instruction was given that fields under municipal control were to be used only by clubs, like the local MDBFA, affiliated to the white Football Association of South Africa, described as 'the overhead European body'. The response from the local Director of Bantu Administration was that 'there is no difficulty over Bantu Soccer in the Urban Area of Pietermaritzburg'.⁶⁹ The Maqeleni ground at the rear of the East Street Hostel was about to be swallowed by the new freeway. With no possibility of significant new development at Sobantu because of the moratorium on urban black

housing, the temporary sports facilities begun at Imbali in 1965 represented the first new initiative for Africans since before World War Two.⁷⁰ Apart from a temporary hall, the first facilities were a football field, accommodating nine teams in 1966, and a netball court.

The tradition of municipal sports festivals lived on: in 1962 they took place on New Year's Day. In 1966 there were festivities to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Republic and sports were held at Tatham NSG. Most of the 4 000 present were children and cash prizes were handed out. Three to four thousand children returned on 31 May 1967, probably attracted by cash prizes and refreshments, and the same pattern was repeated in 1968 and 1969. On 9 June 1972, 3 120 children attended an all day sports festival at Tatham.⁷¹

During the 1960s there began a more active process of moving activities associated with African recreational time out of the city, while interaction with other black groups was discouraged by the permit system, associated in particular with proclamation R26 of 1965. The Maqeleni ground fell victim in 1963 to the national road and on 31 December of the same year, the Berg Street hall bioscope was discontinued. The four night schools for Africans in Pietermaritzburg – Buchanan Street, Topham Road, Burger Street and on the Salvation Army premises – were closed down in December 1967 and transferred to Imbali. During 1968 both Ohrtmann Road and Havelock Road beerhalls were closed and replaced by facilities at Imbali. The Tatham, described by the Sobantu Village Advisory Board as 'the most central and suitable venue',⁷² was under permanent threat in terms of the GAA. The main problem was use of the pavilion rather than the ground itself and in 1963 permission was sought for temporary use of the Royal Agricultural Showgrounds for African

football.⁷³ At the same time, upgrading of Sobantu's sports ground was recommended and a budget allocated, ironic in view of that township's uncertain future.

The lack of stability in black sport in general may be explained in terms of a process of relocation away from urban centres and a paucity of capital investment. Black sportspersons, Africans in particular, were often little more than squatters, and where facilities were developed these often had to be abandoned as a series of expulsions took place. Black facilities were most frequently taken over by whites under the GAA, or by industry. The disadvantage of dependence upon municipal goodwill was compounded by increasing racism in local government policy.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, weekend sport within black communities was an important institution, not least as a context for social and political discussion, 'cushion[ing] the effects of the socio-psychological onslaught of entrenched racism, discrimination and the toll of daily life'.⁷⁵

All African social activity, whether sport, night schools or beer halls and eating places, was systematically removed from the borough as part of the bantustan policy, although this resulted in the construction at Imbali of the first, albeit rudimentary, sports facilities for this community since the 1937 completion of Tatham NSG. Imbali was a typical soulless dormitory for the provision of African labour to the white city. While beer profits remained remarkably high, little of this found its way into social welfare projects such as recreation. Most was spent on the infrastructure and administration of bantustan policy. The major African sports, football and boxing, maintained only a tenuous hold on municipal space and were tightly constrained by white interests.

Racial definition of space remained an obsession amongst white officials, now

encouraged by central government policy. Most of Pietermaritzburg's recreation and sports grounds were to be found on marginal land. The location of white facilities on the banks of the Umsindusi River made them vulnerable to flood, but this was gradually curtailed through canalisation. Black facilities, on the other hand, were terminally threatened by expropriation for industrial development, railway sidings and new roads, including the Durban to Johannesburg freeway. The official reaction was that this was of no long-term account – brand new facilities were being constructed in the townships of Northdale, Woodlands and Imbali.

An alternative possibility was revived in 1969 with the idea that the Maritzburg Indian Sports Association (MISA) should take over the Tatham NSG: as long ago as 1963 the City Engineer had passed the opinion that 'the life of these grounds, as Bantu sportsfields, is now extremely limited under the provisions of the Group Areas Act'.⁷⁶ While the City Council recognised Northdale as the premier sports ground for the Asian community, it conceded that other 'suburban' grounds with basic facilities could be provided. In the early 1970s Brookside was also used by African football players.⁷⁷

The axe fell in November 1973: ironically Tatham was transferred to MISA. The pavilion was restored, a two-pitch cricket table laid and sightscreens, nets, covers and a ticket office built. With the collapse of so-called normal cricket in 1977, the ground was now used by the non-racial Maritzburg District Cricket Union and entered a new phase in its history that lasted until 1991 and cricket unity. Before the Khan Road ground was opened in the mid 1980s, Tatham provided the city's non-racial cricketers with their only turf wicket. Two three-day inter-provincial matches (against Transvaal and Eastern

Province) were played here in 1981–2 and they are now recognised as first class. Many inter-district and numerous club matches took place at Tatham. And during the intense days of anti-apartheid struggle in the mid 1980s, political meetings were held under the cover of cricket – Sunday morning was the favoured time. When the Pietermaritzburg Council on Sport held a fun run, security police were at the ground noting the names of the participants.

The Maritzburg Bantu Football Association complained in June 1975 that it had been allocated no grounds in Pietermaritzburg, but the Council simply passed on the correspondence to the Drakensberg Bantu Administration Board for consideration. With non-racial sport taking place at Tatham NSG under permit the question of the establishment of an appropriate group area arose. However, the government 'did not favour protuberances of this sort ... particularly in a case such as this, where the land immediately abutted another Group Area, the land to the south-western side of the Dorpspruit being within a proclaimed white area'.⁷⁸ The Indian Local Affairs Committee continued to pursue the issue, however, and the area was rezoned in 1978.⁷⁹

Tatham NSG, always a modest facility, is slowly falling into disrepair. But it is a memorial to the struggles of African people to establish a presence in the city to which they made such an enormous, and often disparaged, contribution. Football was an instrument in the hands of white authority concerned about law and order, health issues and radical politics. The significance of football is captured by Alegi: '[it] was a meaningful counterpoint to the destruction and pain experienced with the onset of "petty apartheid"'. It played a consolatory role, but this was not limited just to escapism – it conferred identity through a combination of popular culture

and political resistance.⁸⁰ At the same time, football was also an example of internal struggles around differing approaches to white dominance: in effect for many years there were three contesting organisations. The history of all African sport in Pietermaritzburg was one of marginalisation, impermanence and displacement.

And from a later era Tatham is the major remaining physical symbol, a place of nostalgic memory, for those who worked in the anti-apartheid movement in the name of cricket. As a feature of Pietermaritzburg's complex history, Tatham ground deserves greater respect than it appears to be receiving by way of preservation.

CHRISTOPHER MERRETT

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 *Natal Witness* [hereafter NW] 29 July 1937, pp. 1, 9.
- 2 MDBFA. *Annual report and financial statement* 1943, p. 13. The pavilion cost £1 330, of which £525 came from the memorial fund (Pietermaritzburg Corporation *Year Book* [hereafter CYB 1936, p. 31]. Work had begun on the ground in 1936 with £250 from the City Fund Revenue Account. Its total cost was £2283/9/2d.
- 3 Letters from W.M. Zondi, Sec., MDNFA 17 Mar. 1920; A.J. Sililo, Pres., MDNFA 14 Mar. 1921; E.O. Msimang, Sec., MDNFA 23 Feb. 1922; P. Dube, Sec., MDNFA 9 Mar. 1923 & 6 Feb. 1924; Sec., PSA, 31 Mar. 1924 all to Town Treasurer. Town Treasurer to MDNFA, 25 May 1923. P.J. Dube, Sec., MDNFA to Finance & General (sic) Comm., 9 Apr. 1924. Town Clerk to P.J. Dube, Sec., MDNFA, 29 Apr. 1924. P. Dube, Sec., MDNFA to Town Clerk, 11 Apr. 1923; Finance, Etc. Comm., 12 Apr. and 29 May 1923 in PMA 3/PMB 4/3/307, file 311/1923 (Maritzburg District Native Football Association).
- 4 P. Alegi, *Laduma!: soccer, politics and society in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004), pp. 26–7.
- 5 C. Ambler, Alcohol, racial segregation and popular politics in Northern Rhodesia. *Journal of African History* 31 (1990), pp. 290–4.
- 6 T. Ranger, Pugilism and pathology: African boxing and the black urban experience in Southern Rhodesia in W.J. Baker and J.A. Mangan (eds). *Sport in Africa: essays in social history* (New York: Africana, 1987), pp. 198 and 203.
- 7 J.A. Mangan, Ethics and ethnocentricity: imperial education in British tropical Africa in W.J. Baker and J.A. Mangan (eds). *Sport in Africa*, p. 152.
- 8 L. Torr, Providing for the 'better class native': the creation of Lamontville. *South African geographical journal* 69(1) 1987, p. 34. V. Erlmann, But hope does not kill: black popular music in Durban, 1913–1939 in P. Maylam and I. Edwards (eds). *The people's city: African life in twentieth-century Durban*. (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1996), pp. 84, 86–7.
- 9 R.E. Phillips, *The bantu are coming: phases of South Africa's race problems* (London: SCM Press, 2nd ed., 1930), p. 130. The Chief Constable of Durban, W.A. Alexander, supported the provision of sports fields to counter the 'evil influence' and 'vicious examples' of Cartwright Flats, the venue for black political gatherings and scene on 16 December 1930 of the police killing of Johannes Nkosi and three other members of the CPSA (P. la Hausse, 'The dispersal of the regiments: African popular protest in Durban, 1930'. *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 19 (1987), pp. 94, 96).
- 10 P. Maylam, 'Shackled by the contradictions: the municipal response to African urbanisation in Durban, 1920–1950'. *African urban studies* 14 (1982), p. 12.
- 11 E. Koch, 'Without visible means of subsistence: slumyard culture in Johannesburg 1918–1940' in B. Bozzoli, (ed.). *Town and countryside in the Transvaal: capitalist penetration and popular response* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1983), p. 168.
- 12 T. Atkinson, 'Recreation for urban natives'. *South African outlook* 63(749) 1933, p. 197.
- 13 C. Badenhorst and C. Mathee, 'Tribal recreation and recreating tribalism: culture, leisure and social control on South Africa's gold mines'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 23(3) 1997, p. 473. C. Badenhorst and C. Rogerson, 'Teach the native to

- play: social control and organised black sport on the Witwatersrand, 1920–1939'. *GeoJournal* 12(2) 1986, p. 201.
- 14 Pietermaritzburg *City Council Minutes* [hereafter *CCM*] 9 Oct. 1934.
 - 15 A.G. Cobley, *The rules of the game: struggles in black recreation and social welfare policy in South Africa* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood, 1997), p. 20.
 - 16 Lord Hyde, Comptroller, Government House to Mayor, 12 Mar. 1935; manager of NAD to Town Clerk, 13 May, 16 Aug., 25 Nov. 1935 & 10 Nov. 1936 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 356–7, file 199/14 (Governor-General's Shield: native football clubs). C. Badenhorst, 'Mines, missionaries and the municipality: organised African sport and recreation in Johannesburg, c.1920–1950' (Kingston: Queen's University, 1992 – PhD thesis), pp. 296, 298–9, 301.
 - 17 Sec., DDDA to Sec., Governor-General's Shield Committee, 26 Aug. 1936; S.T. Khumalo, Sec., NAFA to Sec., Governor-General's Shield Committee, 10 Apr. 1937; Sec., Governor-General's Shield Committee to manager, NAD, 17 May 1937 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 356–7, file 199/14 (Governor-General's Shield: native football clubs). The city was one of the few places in the Union where the competition did not go into decline.
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 - 19 *CYB* 1936, pp. 23–4.
 - 20 Native Administration, Etc. Comm, 3 June 1935; manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 7 June 1935 *in* PMA 3/PMB/4/2/133, file 250/1938 (Natives congregating on Market Square).
 - 21 *CCM* 24 Nov. 1936.
 - 22 Manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 26 Sep. 1935 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/2/133, file 250/1938 (Natives congregating on Market Square).
 - 23 *CYB* 1936, p.109.
 - 24 Manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 12 May 1938 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/2/133, file 250/1938 (Natives congregating on Market Square).
 - 25 *CCM* 23 May 1938.
 - 26 *Ibid*.
 - 27 Manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 6 Feb. 1939 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/2/133, file 250/1938 (Natives congregating on Market Square).
 - 28 *CYB* 1940, p. 108.
 - 29 Manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 27 July 1938 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/3/322, file 1047/1938 (Maritzburg Bantu Football Association re Native Recreation Ground, Fitzsimmons Road).
 - 30 J.J. Magwaza, Sec., MDBFA to manager, NAD, 16, 23 Oct. 1939; Town Clerk to J.J. Magwaza, Sec., MDBFA, 16 Oct. 1939 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/3/322, file 1047/1938 (Maritzburg Bantu Football Association re Native Recreation Ground, Fitzsimmons Road).
 - 31 Native Administration, Etc. Committee, 8 Nov. 1939; McGibbon and Brokensha [lawyers] to Town Clerk, 8 Dec. 1939; manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 21 Dec. 1939 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/3/322, file 1047/1938 (Maritzburg Bantu Football Association re Native Recreation Ground, Fitzsimmons Road).
 - 32 A pamphlet advertised foot, bicycle, sack, hurdle and obstacle races, a tug-of-war, a bucket race for women and a dancing competition, with children's events in the morning.
 - 33 J.J. Magwaza, Sec., MDBFA to Mayor, 7 July 1939; J.J. Magwaza to Town Clerk, 7 July 1939 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/3/355, file 1886/39 (Native sports meeting at Fitzsimmons Road).
 - 34 Manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 11 Aug. 1939 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/3/355, file 1886/39 (Native sports meeting at Fitzsimmons Road). The day also included rickshaw racing (*NW* 8 Aug. 1939, p. 9).
 - 35 *MDBFA Annual report and financial statement* 1943, pp.13, 14.
 - 36 *MDBFA. Annual report and financial statement* 1943, pp.4–5.
 - 37 P. Alegi, P. 'Playing to the gallery', p. 38.
 - 38 C. Badenhorst, 'Mines, missionaries and the municipality', pp. 289–90. T. Couzens, 'An introduction to the history of football in South Africa' *in* B. Bozzoli (ed.), *Town and countryside in the Transvaal: capitalist penetration and popular response* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1983), p. 210. A.G. Cobley, *The rules of the game*, p. 25.
 - 39 Manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 11 Feb. 1943. Native Administration, Etc. Comm., 14 Feb. 1943 *in* 3/PMB 4/3/322, file 1047/1938 (Maritzburg Bantu Football Association re Native Recreation Ground, Fitzsimmons Road).

- 40 R.S. Mthembu, Sec., MDAFA, 13 Feb. 1946; manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 14 Feb. 1946 *in* 3/PMB 4/4/2/140, file 242/3 (Edendale Road Native Sports Ground).
- 41 Manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 29 Feb., 29 Mar. 1940; 15 Feb. 1945 *in* 3/PMB C batch 374, file 242/4 (Native Sports Ground, Edendale Road).
- 42 Native Administration, Etc. Comm., 10 Mar. 1949 *in* 3/PMB 4/4/2/140, file 242/3 (Edendale Road Native Sports Ground). *CCM*, 29 Mar. 1949
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- 44 F.B. Burchell, ‘Litigation re football matches GG’s Shield’, 30 July 1948 *in* 3/PMB C batch 356–357, file 199/14 (Governor-General’s Shield: native football clubs).
- 45 *Ibid.*
- 46 Counter affidavits, 3 Dec. 1947; Memo by F.B. Burchell, Legal Adviser to the City Council, 24 Nov. 1947; manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 9 Jan. 1948 *in* 3/PMB C batch 356–357, file 199/14 (Governor-General’s Shield: native football clubs).
- 47 T.H. Gwala to Town Clerk, 14 Apr. 1948; H.M. Molife, Pres, NAFA to manager, NAD, 6 July 1948 *in* 3/PMB C batch 356–357, file 199/14 (Governor-General’s Shield: Native football clubs).
- 48 *CYB* 1950, p. 91.
- 49 O. Stuart, Players, workers, protestors: social change and soccer in colonial Zimbabwe *in* J. MacClancey (ed.). *Sport, identity and ethnicity* (Oxford: Berg, 1996), pp. 168–9, 177.
- 50 T. Couzens, ‘An introduction to the history of football in South Africa’, p. 210.
- 51 Manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 29 Feb. 1940 *in* 3/PMB C batch 374, file 242/4 (Native Sports Ground, Edendale Road). Manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 15 Jan. 1940 *in* 3/PMB 4/3/307, file 754/1938 (Proposed use of railway land on Edendale Road for Native Sports Ground).
- 52 Manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 16 Mar. 1950; Native Administration, Etc. Comm, 15 May 1950; J.D. Stalker (lawyer) to manager, NAD, 10 May 1950; H.M. Molife, Sec, NAFA to Town Clerk, 13 May 1950; Notes on a meeting between the manager, NAD and the Native Administration Comm., 7 June 1950; O.A. Nkwanyana, Assistant Secretary, NAFA to Town Clerk, 8 June 1950 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/140, file 242/3 (Edendale Road Native Sports Ground).
- 53 Manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 15 May 1950; Native Administration, Etc. Comm, 15 May 1950; manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 15 June 1950 *in* PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/140, file 242/3 (Edendale Road Native Sports Ground).
- 54 Manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 22 and 24 Mar., 12 Aug., 13 Nov. 1952 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 356–7, file 199/14 (Governor-General’s Shield: native football clubs).
- 55 Native Administration Comm., 28 Apr. 1952; manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 28 Apr. 1952 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 623, file 242/115 (East Street Native Sports Grounds).
- 56 Native Administration Comm., 16 Mar. 1953; manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 14 Mar. 1953 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 623, file 242/115 (East Street Native Sports Grounds). In 1953 the BFA had 31 affiliated clubs, 50 teams and 763 registered players, some of them from as far away as Himeville, Ladysmith and Richmond (the Red Army FC) but most of them representing areas of Pietermaritzburg: Hollingwood (Kangaroos), Purification Water Works (Naughty Boys), New Scotland (Royal Engineers), Ockert’s Kraal (United Tigers), Retief Street (Unities); or businesses such as Oxenham’s Bakery and Reid’s cabinet works.
- 57 MBFA *Annual report and financial statement*, 28, 1953 *in* PMA 3/PMB C batch 623, file 242/115 (East Street Native Sports Grounds).
- 58 *CYB* 1953, p. 30. manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 13 Nov. 1952; Native Administration, Etc. Comm., 14 Nov. 1952; manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 23 Mar 1954; Native

- Administration, Etc. Comm., 25 Mar. 1954; manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 6 June 1956; Native Administration, Etc. Comm., 8 June 1956; manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 13 Mar. 1957; MDFAFA *Secretary's report* 1956 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 658, file 199/109 (African Football Association: application for grant and playing facilities).
- 59 *CYB* 1950, pp. 24–5.
- 60 Manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 16 Aug. 1950 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 353, file 197/10 (Annual sports at Fitzsimmons Road grounds).
- 61 *CYB* 1950, p. 91. This view was not universally held: G.F. Khumalo of the Sobantu Village Advisory Board regarded the sports day as a flop and urged its replacement by football contests between the two controlling associations (Minutes of the Sobantu Advisory Board, 16 Aug. 1950 in PMA 3/PMB C batch 354, file 198/3 (Sobantu Village Advisory Board – minutes of monthly meetings)).
- 62 *CYB* 1951, pp. 26, 79; 1952, pp. 29, 31.
- 63 *CYB* 1952, p. 92.
- 64 Native Affairs Department report *CYB* 1956, p. 74.
- 65 *CYB* 1954, p. 40.
- 66 Sec. for Bantu Administration and Development document, 18 Nov. 1959 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/551, file 199/215 ('Recreational facilities for the Bantu in urban residential areas'). But the marginal status of Africans regarding sport is indicated by a contemporary text on the history of Natal sport in which there are but three references to blacks: a caption to a picture of horse racing reads 'notice the boys at the heads of several of the horses' (L. Cox (ed.), *Fifty years of sport in Natal* (Durban: Roberts for Durban City Memorial Club, [195–], p. 10).
- 67 Manager, NAD to Town Clerk, 20 Apr. 1955 and 9 Feb. 1956; Native Administration Comm., 22 and 26 Apr. 1955 and 20 Feb. and 18 Apr. 1956; City Treasurer to Town Clerk, 14 Mar. 1956 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/133, file 242/8 (Retief Street Native Recreation Ground).
- 68 *CYB* 1961, p. 132.
- 69 Director, Bantu Administration Dept., Pretoria to Town Clerk, 4 Nov. 1969; Director, Bantu Administration Dept., Pietermaritzburg to Town Clerk, 12 Nov. 1969 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/133, file 242/8 (Retief Street Native Recreation Ground).
- 70 *CYB* 1965, p. 147. Sobantu Village Advisory Board, 23 Apr. 1963 and 26 Mar. 1965 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/545, file 198/204 (Minutes of Sobantu Village and Imbali Advisory Boards).
- 71 *CYB* 1962, p. 145; 1966, pp. 153–4; 1967, p. 26; 1968, p. 153; 1971, p. 20; 1972, p. 28.
- 72 *CYB* 1964, p. 49. Sobantu Village Advisory Board, 27 Feb. 1963 and 20 May 1966 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/545, file 198/204 (Minutes of Sobantu Village and Imbali Advisory Boards).
- 73 Director, Bantu Affairs to Town Clerk, 16 July 1964 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/551, file 199/215 (Recreational facilities for the Bantu in urban residential areas). Combined Advisory Board, 23 June 1967 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/545, file 198/204 (Minutes of Sobantu Village and Imbali Advisory Boards).
- 74 However, black communities were not always disadvantaged. In 1969 an application for land by Old Alexandrians was turned down as it was in use by the Asian and Coloured communities (Housing and Town Planning Comm., 1 Apr. 1969 in PMA 3/PMB 441–442, file 162/245 (Application by Old Alexandrians Association for land for erection of sporting facilities and clubhouse)).
- 75 Booley, A. *Forgotten heroes: a history of black rugby 1882–1992* (Cape Town: Manie Booley, 1998), p. 11.
- 76 Town Clerk to Director of Parks, 5 Aug. 1969 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/610, file 242/207 ('Brookside sporting area for Indians'). City Engineer to Town Clerk, 18 Oct. 1963 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/210, file 242/2 (Fitzsimmons Road Sports Ground).
- 77 *CYB* 1972, p. 195.
- 78 A.M. Moleko (attorneys) to Town Clerk, 25 June 1975; Town Clerk to A.M. Moleko, 3 July 1975; Housing and Town Planning Comm., 17 Jan. 1975 in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/210, file 242/2 (Fitzsimmons Road Sports Ground).
- 79 ILAC, 22 Apr. 1975 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/674, file 265/202 (MISA).
- 80 P. Alegi, 'Amathe nolimi (it is saliva and the tongue): contracts of joy in South African football, c.1940–76'. *International Journal of the History of Sport* 17(4) 2000, pp. 9–10, 16–17.