

**David Cecil Oxford Matiwane and Auto/Biographic Memory:
Political Activism, Social Pragmatism and Individual Achievement in
Twentieth Century South Africa.**

Bongani Cyprian Ndhlovu



**A dissertation submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department
of History, Faculty of Arts, University of the Western Cape, March 2016**

Supervisor: Prof Ciraj Rassool

DECLARATION

I, Bongani Cyprian Ndhlovu, declare that '**David Cecil Oxford Matiwane and Auto/Biographic Memory: Political Activism, Social Pragmatism and Individual Achievement in Twentieth Century South Africa**' is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

B. C. Ndhlovu

Bongani Ndhlovu

10 March 2016



DEDICATION

To Lindiwe Florence Ndhlovu and Fana Richard Ndhlovu.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of people played a meaningful role in the making of this dissertation and in my growth, generally. It is, therefore, befitting to acknowledge their inputs. However, any error or omissions in this work remain my responsibility. I record my greatest appreciation to my supervisor, Prof Ciraj Rassool, for his great assistance and academic guidance throughout this research project. I benefited immensely from his expertise, experience and criticism. My gratitude also goes to Professors Patricia Hayes, Premesh Lalu and Suren Pillay for their input during the preliminary phase of this work. I also acknowledge constructive criticism received from participants in the Humanities Winter Schools, organised by the Centre for Humanities Research of the University of the Western Cape, SARCHI Chair in Social Change of the University of Fort Hare, and the Interdisciplinary Center for the Study of Global Change of the University of Minnesota, held in Cape Town in 2013 and 2014. I also gained valuable insight and depth from presentations in the South African Contemporary History and Humanities Seminar Series of the University of the Western Cape.

I acknowledge the motivation received from my colleagues at Iziko Museums of South Africa, especially Ms Rooksana Omar. Apart from accommodating my-never ending requests for study time at Iziko Museums, Ms Omar ‘opened’ some doors to a ‘hidden’ research collection somewhere in KwaZulu-Natal. The late Gilbert Torlage is acknowledged with gratitude and respect. He played a key role in assisting me to locate some archival records in Pietermaritzburg. I record my special thanks to Dr Sibongiseni Mkhize and Mxolisi Dlamuka. Somehow, we converted Cape Town into our study corner, and this work

gained from the many discussions and exchanges we had. I am greatly indebted to Dr Noel Solani for his constructive criticism and invaluable input to this work and to Dr Sifiso Ndlovu for reading my earlier drafts. Their criticism benefitted this work immensely, and my appreciation cannot be easily framed in words. My gratitude also goes to Dr Olusegun Marakinyo for giving me technical advice at a time when I needed it. Marcia Marais and Dr Rose Masha's proof-reading and editing skills helped to bring consistency to this work, and to them I say, 'this is highly appreciated.' My brother, Tsepo Ndhlovu transcribed many of the interviews I conducted. To him, I say: *Gatsheni*. To my cousins, Sipho Dlamini and Bheki Tshabalala for their unwavering support throughout my study life, and to Dr Mandla Zulu, I say "the anchor holds" and thank you for your untiring support from times "immemorial."



I extend my thanks to staff of the following institutions: National Archives Repository (Pretoria), especially Khanyi Ngcobo; Western Cape Archive; Msunduzi Museum especially Deli Mncube and Elrica Henning; KwaZulu-Natal Museum especially Luthando Maphasa, Sandile Miya and Linda Ireland; Bessie Head Library (newspaper collections); Dundee Public Library; National Library of South Africa in Cape Town; Alan Paton Centre at the University of KwaZulu-Natal especially Nazim Gani and to the library staff at the University of the Western Cape. My appreciation is also extended to staff of the Pietermaritzburg Archive Repository especially Peter Nel, Thabane Mdladla, Thando Maphumulo, Busi Ngcobo and Nicholas Maduna. I record my special thanks to Zama Gumede, her exceptional skills, and willingness to retrieve the many documents I wanted greatly enriched this work.

My thanks also go to the eThekweni Local History Museums' staff, especially my friend and former colleague, Sinothi Thabethe and Rebecca Naidoo and Khanya Ndlovu. I record my gratitude to family members of the late D.C.O. Matiwane for the many interview hours they spent with me, especially Mrs Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane) and Thami Shange (the two also introduced me to a number of persons who knew D.C.O. Matiwane well), and Mrs Jabulile Barbara Lite (née Matiwane). I note that using the storied life of one of their number as an auto/biographical agent also gave me an opportunity to interact with a number of issues facing and confronting the human race, then and now. Some of the persons I interviewed had very busy schedules, and I would like to thank Dr Mvuyo Tom, Mr Siphon Shezi, Dr Zweli Mkhize and Dr May Mashego for sharing their valuable time with me. I also record my thanks to Mr Diniza Hadebe, Ms Mabongi Mtshali, Mr Mzi Mngadi, Mr Mazwi Msimang, Ms Thandiwe Mbanjwa, Mr Abednigo Manyoni and a number of persons I interviewed and interacted with, and whose input is acknowledged within the pages of this work. I thank them for spending their most valuable time with me. Without their inputs, this work would have been all the poorer.

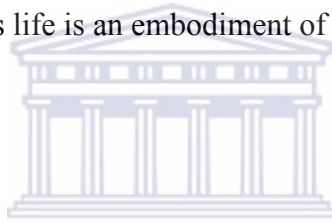
My thanks also go to persons who have contributed to my growth, especially my friends, mentors and colleagues. Among them are Mthunzi Ngidi, the late Sikhumbuzo Zitha, Muzi Sithole, Nathi Vilakazi, Dr Mxolisi Mchunu, Khenani Makhoba, Mduduzi Xakaza, Nokuthula Ndlovu, Dr Vusi Shongwe, Eric Mchunu, Dr Veronica Baxter, Joseph B. Mthimkhulu, Riana Mulder (and for her Afrikaans translations), Dr Paul Bayliss and Khoza Msuthu. I thank them for words of encouragement and for challenging me intellectually. My gratitude also goes to many others not mentioned here for their support. Lastly, and as they

say, but not least, thanks to my family for their invaluable support: my wife, Nokuphiwa for her consistent support and friendship, my children Mbalenhle, Silindokuhle and Nqaba for having to put up with my research work, and to my uncle, Buti Hlophe, *ngithi 'ukwanda kwaliwa ngumthakathi.'*



ABSTRACT

The main theoretical and empirical interest of this study is the critical examination of the life of David Cecil Oxford (D.C.O.) Matiwane. In it, I critically examine the politics of representing Matiwane's life and the methods employed in such a discourse. I do this by focusing on the question of representation of political, social and economic struggles launched by D.C.O. Matiwane against segregation and apartheid in South Africa in the twentieth century. This study then questions the notion of creating a biographical super-narrative of his achievements. It confronts the binary approach in the representation of his life and argues that Matiwane's life is an embodiment of various, even contradictory, philosophies.



This study puts forward an argument that Matiwane's representation should be contextualised in relation to the struggles of his contemporaries, and that his narrative should not be seen as a product of a single political route. It unpacks various communal, individual, economic and political strategies employed by organisations and persons against apartheid and colonialism. It looks at how these strategies were implemented to overcome apartheid, and analyses how Matiwane's contribution is documented, especially in relation to contributions made by others.

This research project also analyses how different layers and patterns in Matiwane's narrative have been created in an attempt to present his auto/biography as a cohesive discourse in spite of fragmented archival and oral memory. It argues that his memory has been appropriated to

pursue different political and personal ends. This study further asks the following question: to what extent and why have different political systems given Matiwane's voice a platform or silenced his point of view? Are there trends in his representation compared to narratives of his contemporaries? What are the underlying reasons behind such trends, if any? Are there continuities or discontinuities in his representation? What were the ambiguities embedded in their struggles? This study evaluates factors that led to him being declared a *persona non grata*. It closely examines why and how Matiwane has been represented as a source of controversy, as a lone political activist and as a pragmatist.



Key Words

Biography, silences, archives, document, source, narrative, retrieval, interpretation, representation, biographical relations, discursive approach, distributive approach.

List of abbreviations

ANC – African National Congress

AZAPO – Azanian People OrganiSation

BCM – Black Consciousness Movement

CPSA – Communist Party of South Africa

DNA – Deoxyribonucleic acid

HNP – Hersigte Nasionale Party

KZN – KwaZulu-Natal

NAAIRS - National Automated Archival Information Retrieval System

NEUM – Non European Unity Movement

NMC – Native Military Corps

NP – National Party

MK – Umkhonto we Sizwe

UNB – University of Natal Black Section

UP – United Party

PAC – Pan-Africanist Congress

PP – Progressive Party

SACP – South African Communist Party

SACPO – South African Coloured People's Organisation

SACOD – South African Congress of Democrats

SACTU – South African Congress of Trade Unions

SADET – South African Democracy Trust



SAIC – South African Indian Congress


LPSA – Liberal Party of South Africa


ZTA – Zululand Territorial Authority



Table of Contents

Declaration	i
Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	vii
Keywords	viii
List of abbreviations	ix
Introduction	1
Chapter One: Theoretical and methodological frameworks in knowledge production	25
Introduction	25
The individual and biographic agency	27
Linearity, representation and the creation of new meanings	34
Systematic and sequential bodies of biographical debate	40
Memory and the self/selves in the auto/biography	47
Historical narratives, performance and photographic agency	50
Meaning displacement and construction in auto/biographical museums	54
Conclusion	57

Chapter Two: The making of a rebel: Reconstructing the world that created D.C.O Matiwane	58
Introduction	58
Creation of resistance identity and memory's resistance against erasure	59
Uncivilised behaviour: Jerome Cecil Matiwane versus Priscilla Matiwane	67
Women and property rights: The case of the estates of Louisa and David Matiwane	75
Navigating land transfer challenges: The 1913 Land Act	88
The burning of the archive and the silent features of the 1952 letter	93
Conclusion	99
	
Chapter Three: D.C.O. Matiwane: <i>A persona non grata</i>	102
Introduction	102
The Khwezi Advisory Board: Matiwane's political missionary work	103
Unsettling the status quo: Riots and boycotts	109
Criminalised, yet operating largely within the law	121
Legal obedience versus non-compliance	128
Saving for loss: D.C.O. Matiwane versus the Standard Bank of South Africa	133
Conclusion	138

Chapter Four: The 'Treatise of Black Victimisation': Critical comments, frustrations, and silences of the liberation voice	140
Introduction	140
The Manuscript: A voice against injustice and the limit of self/censorship	141
Landlessness and the breakdown of family life	153
White monumental representation and black insertion	158
The whites-only democracy	169
Transcendent politics in the struggle for a just society	176
Conclusion	192
	
Chapter Five: The memorialisation of the man: Creating a Youth League and a Museum and Memorial Park in Matiwane's name	195
Introduction	195
The DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park: Scripting a narrative	196
Exhibiting Matiwane	205
The DCO Matiwane Youth League: What's in a name?	214
The resource team's mentoring project	230
The other world of the resource team	235
Conclusion	242
Conclusion	244
Bibliography	255

Introduction

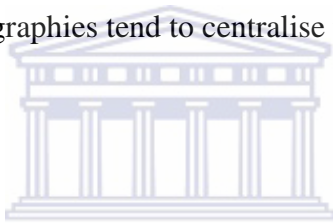
The main theoretical and empirical interest of this study is a critical examination of the life of David Cecil Oxford (D.C.O.) Matiwane. This study analyses how political and economic struggles launched by D.C.O. Matiwane were understood and represented through processes of documentation, textualisation and narration. It further examines why and how Matiwane was represented as a source of controversy, a lone political activist and a pragmatist among other things. Moreover, it explores how ambiguities were embedded in liberation politics.

Rather than focusing much on the 'history of history' or historiography,¹ this study looks at Matiwane's biographic memory and how this memory was reconstructed. It questions the notion of creating a biographical super-narrative of his achievements. Biographical super-narratives tend to create superheroes out of their research subjects, where individuals take central roles in the reconstruction of historical narratives, and where biographical subjects tend to dictate and influence events. This enquiry, however, challenges this practice of 'up-rooting' individuals from their communities and of giving them sole authorship of the narrative within the discourse of the individual and history. It puts forward an argument that although D.C.O. Matiwane can be seen as a historical or biographical agent, his narrative should be understood in a more distributive manner and that it should be re-interpreted

¹ This subject is covered by other bodies of historical writing including: Ken Smith, *The Changing past: Trends in South African historical writing* (Johannesburg: Southern, 1988) and Christopher Saunders, *The making of the South African past: Major historians on race and class* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988). Bill Freund, 'Radical History Writing and the South African Context', *South African Historical Journal*, volume 24, 1991 also looks at how different schools of thoughts and perspectives have influenced historical writing in the South African context. Ciraj Rassool in his 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa' (Ph.D Dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 2004), gives an in-depth analysis on how different trends and writers have influenced the writing of history and auto/biography.

within a communal structure of the social interrelations that 'produced' him as a being and constellation worthy to be memorialised.²

In this study, I examine the re/presentation of the life and the times of D.C.O. Matiwane, conscious of the fact that biography is, primarily, a narrative, which has, as its principal task, the re-enactment of a character, in that biographies attempt to bring back to life the personalities of their subject matter. The re-enactment takes place in a particular geographical place, and it uses language as a principal communication instrument. These are commonalities that biography shares with fiction.³ The foregoing point is particularly relevant given the fact that biographies tend to centralise the unfolding of key events around their research subjects.



Individuals, with support from a cast of actors, become leading characters in the reconstruction of historical narratives.⁴ Rather than interpreting community support as an act of re-affirmation for one of their number against state victimisation, (liberation) biographies tend to place their biographical subjects above collective causes.⁵ In this study, I attempt to critically demonstrate how Matiwane was influenced by the social, economic and political

² Ciraj Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', pp 2-15.

³ Esperanza Brizuela-Garcia, 'The Past Never Stays Behind: Biographical Narrative and African Colonial History', *Journal of Historical Biography*, 2, 2007, p 64.

⁴ Ciraj Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', p 15.

⁵ I have to point out here that while liberation and the call for equal citizenship was the 'collective' cause, various political and community organisations had a number of strategies on how such objectives could be achieved. Here, community and communal struggles are interpreted in relation to the overall liberation objective, and the heterogeneity of different opinions and strategies is recognised. For a detailed discussion on the notion of 'community' and 'publics', see Tshepo Cyril Moloi, 'Black Politics in Kroonstad: Political Mobilisation, Protests, Local Government, and Generation Struggles, 1976-1995', (Ph.D Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2012) and Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, theory, politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

conditions he was part of. In brief, this study critically examines how society influenced him and how his 'spectre' influenced others, either in interpretations or through their acts.

This is the first academic work to critique and reconstruct the representation of D.C.O.

Matiwane's life. Hitherto, there has been no focused academic writing on him. Matiwane is widely regarded as a controversial character who, while part of a broader communal course, also upheld contradictory views. Late in his adult life, for example, he embraced the Koran, without becoming a Muslim. At the same time, he subscribed to African values. Like many educated *Kholwa* 'natives' and their descendants, who had links to the 'missionary epoch', he attempted to define himself in relation to his espousal of western civilisation. However, white South Africa refused to fully accept exempted 'natives' to its fold.⁶

As a result, and like many others, Matiwane became very critical of certificates of exemptions and of whites. He then became a 'thorn in a flesh' of the white administration. In this study, I critically examine these issues, including how he staged lone protests against apartheid South Africa and instituted a number of legal battles against its administrators.

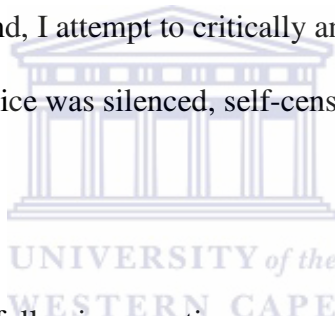
While his actions took place against a broader political backdrop,⁷ they may also be seen to have provided inspiration to a number of others who were in similar positions. These

⁶ Shula Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism, and the State in Twentieth-Century Natal* (London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1986); Alan Cobley: *Class and Consciousness: The Petty Bourgeoisie in South Africa, 1924–1950* (New York: Greenwood, 1990); Leo Kuper: *An African Bourgeoisie: Race, Class and Politics in South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965); Paul la Hausse de Lalouviere, *Restless Identities: Signatures of Nationalism, Zulu Ethnicity and History in the Lives of Petros Lamula (c. 1881-1948) and Lymon Maling (1889–c. 1936)* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000) and Shula Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion: The 1906–1908 Disturbances in Natal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) give detailed accounts of challenges faced by black 'bourgeois' and educated *amaKholwa*.

⁷ Colin Purkey and Leslie Witz give a detailed analysis of political biographies as histories of people and their political activism, and as instruments that attempt to contextualise those activities historically. For this analysis, see Colin Purkey and Leslie Witz, 'The Horse that made it all the way: Towards a political biography of Issie Heymann', paper presented at the History Workshop Conference, University of Witwatersrand, 6-10 February 1990.

actions, like many of his contemporaries', led him to be 'declared' a *persona non grata* by the apartheid administration.

This study further analyses how the Matiwanes' lives were 'archived' privately and publicly. It takes into account the idea that archives are collections of fragmented documents. In addition, it interrogates how his 'surviving' archive acquired a biography, and how this biography influenced others.⁸ This research also looks at how the state archives played a role in the re-shaping of such a biography, given the argument that the state archives may be seen as an institution that shaped histories as they concealed, revealed and reproduced the state's power.⁹ Against this background, I attempt to critically analyse how Matiwane tried to give himself a voice and how his voice was silenced, self-censored and resuscitated in different times.



This study, therefore, asks the following questions, among others: to what extent have different political systems given Matiwane's voice a 'platform' or silenced him, and why? Are there continuities or discontinuities in his representation? Are there trends in Matiwane's representation compared to the narratives of his contemporaries? What are the underlying reasons behind such trends, if any? What were the ambiguities embedded in their struggles? This analysis is applied to the material and collections held by the family, state archives and D.C.O. Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park. The last two are more

⁸ On the issues of biography and archives, see John Randolph, 'On the Biography of the Bakunin Family Archive', in A Burton (ed.), *Archive Stories: Facts, Fiction and the Writing of History* (Durham and London: Duke University Press: 2005), pp 209-226.

⁹ Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial archives and the arts of governance: On the content in the form', in Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid and Razia Saleh (eds.), *Reconfiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002), pp 87-90.

important for this study because of the on-going critical discussions about representation and heritage in the public sphere.¹⁰

While attempting to add to the growing knowledge about liberation politics, this study focuses on an aspect in South African biography that has not been widely researched. It provides a narrative of an individual who did not belong to the 'great' leader category.¹¹ Examples of biographies that mainly focus on great leadership and defining points include the works of Scott Couper, Mark Gevisser, Michael Cardo and Baruch Hirson, among others.¹² The subject of this research project does not belong to this category. Rather, this study explores how D.C.O. Matiwane, a former school teacher, an ex-court interpreter, clerk for a firm of attorneys, 'bush lawyer' and a bus owner was 'forced' through a combination of factors, to pick up 'local' struggles and to challenge unjust laws and practices mainly at 'local' levels.¹³ As noted earlier in this section, this study attempts to explore Matiwane's role in the liberation movement using discursive and distributive approaches, but by focusing on this 'local' struggle activist.

¹⁰ See detailed discussion on this topic in Shamil Jeppie, 'Africa: Whose history? Whose memory?' in Shamil Jeppie (ed.), *Towards New Histories for South Africa: on the place of the past in our present* (Lansdowne: Juta Gariiep, 2004).

¹¹ For a detailed discussion on the notion of great leaders' narrative, see Ciraj Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', pp 111-113.

¹² Mark Gevisser, *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred*, (Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2009); Scott Couper, *Albert Luthuli: Bound by faith*, (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2010); Michael Cardo, *Opening Men's Eyes: Peter Brown and the Liberal Struggle for South Africa* (Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2010) and Baruch Hirson, 'The Dualism of I.B. Tabata', *Searchlight South Africa*, vol 2 (2), January 1991.

¹³ Noor Nieftagodien and Phillip Bonner give a detailed account of the benefits of 'history from below' in that it focuses on the peculiarities of local struggles that are mostly lost in centralised narratives. Using the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a case study, they explore how the 'global' narrative ignored the peculiarities of events that took place at Kathorus between 1990 and 1994. For a detailed account of this discussion, see Phillip Bonner and Noor Nieftagodien, 'Local truths in Kathorus', paper presented at the Wits History Workshop, 11-14 June 1999. The Wits history workshops are credited for profiling alternative voices through 'history from below' and the relevance of oral interviews.

It is worth pointing out, at this early stage of this dissertation, that this research project owes its origin to my involvement in devising the theoretical framework for the museum wing of the D.C.O. Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park. The museum was opened in 2011 at Willowfontein, Pietermaritzburg. I became intrigued by the manner in which Matiwane tried to navigate different socio-economic and political challenges that he, and a number of others, faced during the 20th century, and the ways in which these were interpreted. Examining questions of biography and the construction of narratives, especially in more theoretical ways, ignited my interest to critically analyse how D.C.O. Matiwane's life was represented in the public and private domain. This led me to want to broadly examine the relationship between political biography, social processes, resistance and liberation history in South Africa, and the creation of defining moments in the lives of individuals, often in a manner that follows a sequence. However, in examining these relationships, I make no attempt to present an objective-total account on the representation of D.C.O. Matiwane or his life, for I am aware that the writing of history involves deliberate and unconscious processes of information sifting.¹⁴

Auto/biographies and representations

In his Ph.D dissertation, Rassool challenged the presentation of history or biography as an outcome of a linear or chronological approach.¹⁵ This criticism is applicable to a number of biographical works. *The Seed is Mine*, for example, gave a chronological analysis of Kas Maine's life. Charles van Onselen traced Maine's life before his birth to seniority, wars,

¹⁴ Colin Purkey and Leslie Witz, 'The Horse that made it all the way: Towards a political biography of Issie Heymann', paper presented at the History Workshop Conference, University of Witwatersrand, 6-10 February 1990.

¹⁵ See Ciraj Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa'.

religion, complicated social and family relations and eventually, his death.¹⁶ In her reflections on *The Seed is Mine*, Cynthia Kros systematically recorded her concerns about Van Onselen's approach to the writing of the book. Among other things, Kros criticised Van Onselen for muzzling the authorial voice and for pretending that he and his research team were the '...only diviners who know how to interpret the arrangement of the bones as they fall.' She surmised that this rendered the reader unable to see a distinction between the author and Maine's voice.¹⁷ Furthermore, Kros was critical of Van Onselen's insertion of Maine into a given history which almost covered the period of his life. She intimated that this history made Maine's fate to be determined by external forces.¹⁸ Luli Callinicos' biography of Oliver Tambo also followed a chronological approach. Callinicos recorded Tambo's life by looking back at his birth and at various activities throughout his life.¹⁹ In fact, as late as 2015, the South African biographical landscape was littered with narratives of 'great' individual leaders that subscribed to the chronological approach, and that sought to argue for the basis of individual significance or to record a deviation. These included, as indicated earlier, works of Edward Roux, Scott Couper, Mark Gevisser, Benjamin Pogrund, Baruch Hirson and Michael Cardo.²⁰

¹⁶ Charles van Onselen, *The Seed is Mine: The life of Kas Maine, A South African Sharecropper, 1894-1985* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1997).

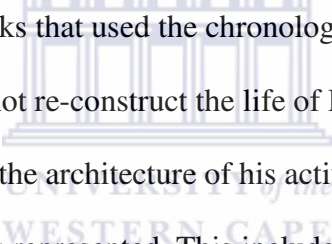
¹⁷ Cynthia Kros, 'Farewell to the Middle Style? Reflections on *The Seed is Mine*, *South African Historical Journal*, 37, 1997, p 182.

¹⁸ Cynthia Kros, 'Farewell to the Middle Style? Reflections on *The Seed is Mine*, p 183. Rassool also criticises Van Onselen for subjecting and validating oral evidence through the official archive. By doing so, he argues, oral evidence is seen 'as a prior history' and not as a source and history in its own right. See Ciraj Rassool, 'Power, knowledge and the politics of public pasts', paper accessed from www.nelsonmandela.org on 15 May 2015.

¹⁹ Luli Callinicos, *Oliver Tambo: Beyond the Engeli Mountains*, (Claremont: David Philip, 2004).

²⁰ Edward Roux (ed.), *S.P. Bunting: A Political Biography*, (Bellville: Mayibuye Centre, 1993); Mark Gevisser, *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred*, (Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2009); Scott Couper, *Albert Luthuli: Bound by faith*, (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2010); Colin Bundy, *Govan Mbeki: A Jacana Pocket Biography*, (Sunnyside: Jacana Media, 2012); Benjamin Pogrund, *How can a man die better: The life of Robert Sobukwe* (Jeppiestown: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1997); Michael Cardo, *Opening Men's Eyes: Peter Brown and the Liberal Struggle for South Africa* (Johannesburg and Cape

These writers adopted a linear approach in their studies of the lives of their subjects, from cradle to grave, with the purpose of claiming significant contributions made by important leaders to South African history. Many of these narratives tended to place individuals within the prism of 'pre-destiny'. This study challenges this notion and puts forward an argument that lives of individuals did not unfold in a structured sequence. It should be pointed out that, though Colin Bundy's *Govan Mbeki* adopts the linear approach and was also a biography of a great leader, he acknowledged contributions to the biographical discussion made by the Rassool-Hyslop debate on the linearity of events.²¹



The above are examples of works that used the chronological approach as their narrative framework. In this study, I do not re-construct the life of D.C.O. Matiwane chronologically, but I reconstruct and reflect on the architecture of his activism and on how his ability to navigate challenging issues was represented. This includes documentation of his stance on social issues, education, economy, religion and politics. Despite his Christian upbringing, Matiwane managed to sail across different belief systems and values, including Christianity, Islam and isiZulu traditional religion. I further probe representation of his views of white liberal and *verkrampte* politics. But in doing this, I do not attempt or claim to present an accurate narrative of D.C.O. Matiwane's life. As a result, this research project is critical of

Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2010). Also excluded in this category are works like Charles van Onselen, *The seed is mine: the life of Kas Maine -A South African Sharecropper 1894-1985*, (Cape Town: David Philip, 1996).

²¹ Colin Bundy, *Govan Mbeki: A Jacana Pocket Biography*, (Sunnyside: Jacana Media, 2012); o Ciraj Rassool, 'Rethinking Documentary History and South African Political Biography'; Jonathan Hyslop, 'On biography: A response to Ciraj Rassool', *South African Review of Sociology*, 41 (2), 2010.

the notion of objectivity in biographical writings, and it also questions destiny as a theoretical framework for history writing.

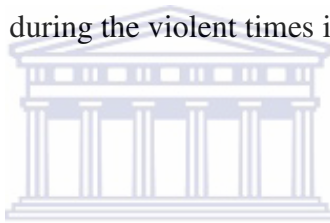
Another interesting biographical narrative is the work of Paul la Hausse de Lalouviere. Paul la Hausse's *Restless Identities* is a critical examination of the exclusion of the lives of Petros Lamula and Lymon Maling from nationalist biography.²² La Hausse argued that Lamula and Maling were active role players in Natal and Zululand politics and society between 1910 and 1940. Through *Restless Identities*, La Hausse tried to profile the lives of these 'forgotten' nationalist intellectuals in Zulu society and politics. Embedded in Lamula and Maling's lives is the depiction of a narrative and ambiguities of 'natives' who were exposed, through education and/or birth, to the western world and its limited privileges for 'natives'.

Despite their exposure, the western world and its whites-only privileges never fully accepted them. As such, Maling and Lamula attempted to re-carve their identities in Natal and Zululand within their race by doing some pioneering work through their political, cultural, religious activities and historical writings, but they were not well integrated. Their narratives were a reflection of collective historical experiences, contradictory religious suppositions, cultural dilemmas and varied political imaginations of societies and times they were part of.²³ While acknowledging the influence of collective experiences in the shaping of individuals, and conceding that Matiwane faced similar dilemmas and tried to fuse different religious suppositions in his world outlook, this research project does not attempt to place Matiwane within a single political discourse.

²² Paul la Hausse de Lalouviere, *Restless Identities*.

²³ Paul la Hausse de Lalouviere, *Restless Identities*.

In the critical analysis of the presentation of D.C.O. Matiwane, I am also cognisant of how other researchers tried to contextualise the political landscape of Pietermaritzburg and KwaZulu-Natal during and after the death of D.C.O. Matiwane. Siphon Ntuli, Ngqabutho Bhebhe, Sibongiseni Mkhize and Mxolisi Mchunu, for example, addressed issues relating to political violence in Pietermaritzburg and surrounding areas in their different studies. Their works provided insight on how the conflict that took place in Pietermaritzburg was represented.²⁴ Such works also provided a basis to critically analyse Matiwane's 'legacy' and how his ideas were seen to have influenced members of the DCO Matiwane Youth League, which was aligned to the ANC, during the violent times in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands in the 1980s.



Furthermore, works by Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter, Allison Drew and South African Democracy Trust (SADET) provided multiple voices about the interpretation of South African history and the effect of different schools of thought in its representation. They served as examples of various theoretical frameworks that influenced the production of South Africa's historical knowledge. Karis and Carter provided a body of 'rich material' for the interpretation of South African liberation history. In their second volume of *From Protest to Challenge*, they edited various documents produced by the oppressed and

²⁴ Siphon Ntuli, 'From socio-political violence (1985-1997) to community and economic development: analysis of Richmond, KwaZulu-Natal - A Pan-African centred perspective approach' (PhD. Dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2003); Ngqabutho Bhebhe, 'Mobilisation, Conflict and Repression: The United Democratic Front and Political Struggles in the Pietermaritzburg region, 1983-1991' (M.A. Thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1996); Sibongiseni Mkhize, 'Context, resistance crowd and mass mobilisation: A comparative analysis of anti-apartheid politics in Pietermaritzburg during the 1950s and the 1980s' (M.A. Thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1998); Mxolisi Mchunu, 'A History of Political Violence in KwaShange, Vulindlela district and of its effect on the memories of survivors (1987-2008)' (PhD. Dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2013).

sympathetic parties in their fight against subjugation by successive oppressive governments in South Africa. The first volume of *From Protest to Challenge* recorded attempts by blacks to be part of the South African political landscape in the period 1882 to 1934. This included various political formations and strategies used by blacks to achieve their objectives.²⁵ Karis and Carter were conscious of the fact that their selection process eliminated a number of documents. They were also aware of the historical gap that needed further attention, and of the importance of oral history in filling such a gap.²⁶ However, they adopted a liberal approach, and their documentation of South African history focused mainly on the Congress Movement.

The failure of liberalism to provide a sustainable analysis of the South African question led to its criticism from radicals such as Martin Legassick. He maintained, among other things, that the liberal system tried, based on its racial and capitalist forms of domination, to accommodate 'non-whites' within its fold, whilst also making it difficult for them to fully enjoy the benefits of the 'enlightened' world.²⁷ The ambiguities embedded in this 'Janus face' of liberalism were critical in understanding the nature of South African liberalism and its failure to provide solutions to the South African condition.²⁸

²⁵ Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter (eds.), *From Protest to Challenge, A documentary history of African politics in South Africa 1882-1964: 1882-1964: Protest and Hope, 1882-1934*, vol 1 (California: Hoover Institution Press, 1972); Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter (eds.); *From Protest to Challenge, A documentary history of African politics in South Africa 1882-1964: Hope and Challenge, 1935-1952*, vol 2 (California: Hoover Institution Press, 1972).

²⁶ Karis and Carter (eds.), *From Protest to Challenge*, vol 1, p xv; Karis and Carter (eds.), *From Protest to Challenge, 1882 - 1964*.

²⁷ Martin Legassick, 'The State, Racism and the Rise of Capitalism in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony', *South African Historical Journal*, vol 28, 1993; Martin Legassick, 'South Africa: Forced Labor, Industrialization, and Racial Differentiation', in Richard Harris (ed.), *The Political Economy of Africa* (New York: Schenkman Publishing, 1975); Martin Legassick, *Towards socialist democracy* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007).

²⁸ Martin Legassick, 'The State, Racism and the Rise of Capitalism in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony', *South African Historical Journal*, vol 28, 1993, pp 329-368.

For radicals, the solution was partly to be found in the transfer of economy and power to the working class. Attempts to give radicals more space in the production and circulation of knowledge led to the publication of Allison Drew's South Africa's radical tradition series. Drew edited *South Africa's Radical Tradition: A documentary History* with an aim of giving documentary evidence of the contributions made by the radical left-tradition to South Africa's liberation-history.²⁹ This tradition included organisations with socialist and nationalist inclinations. The radical tradition series served as a valuable source of information about the liberation-struggle debate.

Despite criticism from writers such as Cheryl Hendricks and Lwazi Lushaba, the input from radical scholars broadened the debate about the interpretation of history in general.³⁰

Hendricks and Lushaba were of the opinion that radical theorists placed heavy emphasis on the processes of class formation or fragmentation in the colonial or post-colonial context.

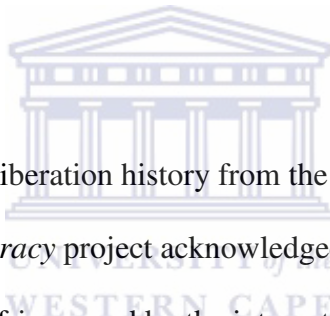
They argued that radical theorists focused on materialist interpretation of the post-colonial state, highlighted the systemic structural challenges prohibiting transformation, and pointed to class conflict as a vehicle for change. However, they credited radical theorists for their vigorous questioning of material relations by arguing that radical theorists contributed immensely to the intellectual framework.³¹

²⁹ Allison Drew (ed.), *South Africa's Radical Tradition: A Documentary History*, volume one: 1907-1950 (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1996); Allison Drew (ed.), *South Africa's Radical Tradition: A documentary history*, volume two: 1943-1964 (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1997).

³⁰ Cheryl Hendricks and Lwazi Lushaba (eds.), *From National Liberation to Democratic Renaissance in Southern Africa* (Senegal: CODESRIA, 2005).

³¹ Hendricks and Lushaba (eds.), *From National Liberation to Democratic Renaissance in Southern Africa*, p 3.

The strengths and the weaknesses of the Drew as well as Karis and Carter projects were in the fact that they were authored by non-South Africans. As outsiders, they were able to give a 'balanced' account of South Africa's past. However, a counter-criticism could be that as outsiders, they 'missed out' on the details and experiences of South Africans. The SADET project aimed to correct this imbalance. SADET's *The Road to Democracy in South Africa* was a series of volumes which attempted to document South African history from a perspective of South African writers. In his foreword to Volume 1, South Africa's former President, Thabo Mbeki, argued that, 'we too, the colonised and lesser human beings, could not be liberated and our humanity restored until we had our own historians to tell us the truth about our past.'³²



In its attempt to document the liberation history from the perspective of the formerly oppressed, *The Road to Democracy* project acknowledged the contributions made by the black masses, leaders, South Africans and by the international community to South Africa's liberation. It drew its wealth of information from various sources, including trial records, interviews with liberation veterans, archives of the liberation movements and state archives. It should, however, be pointed out that this project did not present an exhaustive account of South African history.

Karis and Carter, Drew as well as the SADET projects, served as interesting and rich sources for different interpretations and selection processes for South Africa's history. These publications, among others, provided 'evidence' of the selective documentation of South

³² South African Democracy Education Trust, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2004), vol 1, p vii.

Africa's history. They were examples of how each project was limited in its interpretation of history. Therefore, they provided a basis to put forward an argument that the representation of D.C.O. Matiwane should not be seen as an unbiased act and a complete representation of history.

In the analysis of my subject matter, I employ a distributive approach and attempt to guard against falling into the traps witnessed in the above liberal, radical and SADET projects.

While acknowledging, the value of new knowledge that each project brings to the writing of history, I am also conscious of the fact that the production of new knowledge brings with it the marginalisation of existing knowledge and other voices. I am also aware that as students of the past, we attach different meanings to different events and objects.

An analysis of meaning construction was given in Igor Kopytoff's systematic account of 'The cultural biography of things'. Kopytoff explored processes involved in the making of a slave/thing, the cultural shaping of biographies, and questioned the evolution of 'things' and their acquisition of meaning.³³ He analysed different biographies of things and persons, and singularization and collective ownership of things.³⁴ This work provided a valuable perspective in the analysis of artefacts held at the D.C.O. Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park. It also assisted with the understanding of how lives may be presented through things and how biographical constructions, themselves, have lives.

³³ In a different setting, Orhan Pamuk explored the concept of meaning making and came to a related conclusion, he wrote that 'the power of things inheres in the memories they gather up inside them, and also in the vicissitudes of our imagination and our memory....' See Orhan Pamuk, *The Museum of Innocence* (London: Faber and faber, 2009), p 444.

³⁴ Igor Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of things: Commodities in cultural perspectives*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Sifiso Ndlovu and Paul Forsyth looked at the presentation and appropriation of history. Forsyth analysed how Chief M.G. Buthelezi used history as a source of political legitimisation.³⁵ He critically examined why and how Buthelezi did this. Forsyth argued that through history, Buthelezi tried to legitimise his political rise. Buthelezi was able to expropriate leaders such as Shaka Zulu, Pixley Seme, John Dube and Albert Luthuli to his advantage. Forsyth's study was, therefore, concerned with how history as a social construct has been exploited to fulfil a political programme. The focus of this study is not on the expropriation of history but analyses how a biographical narrative was exploited when the life of an individual was reconstructed. It also focuses on questions of representation, especially on how D.C.O. Matiwane was represented in archival and public discourses.

On a different level, Sifiso Ndlovu examined the active role by African agents in the production of historical knowledge.³⁶ He used King Dingane as a case study and looked at how 'facts' about King Dingane were constructed and how they influenced Dingane's contemporary image. Ndlovu further examined how public intellectuals, colonial and apartheid governments, radicals, Africanists and nationalists, among others, had reconstructed and used Dingane's image to promote their different agendas. In this study, I also look at how the life of an individual may be re-constructed. However, the subject of this study is neither a king, a nineteenth century figure nor a leader of national standing. Rather, I

³⁵ Paul Donald Samuel Forsyth, *The past as the present: Chief A.N.M.G Buthelezi's use of history as a source of political legitimisation*, M.A. Thesis at the University of Natal, 1989.

³⁶ Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu, *The changing African perspectives of King Dingane in historical literature: A case study in the construction of historical knowledge in 19th and 20th century South African history* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, 2001).

critically look at how the life of a Pietermaritzburg and Estcourt's political activist was documented and exploited.

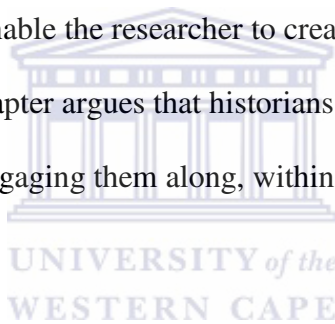
Chapter overview

In Chapter One of this study, I explore theoretical and methodological frameworks in the reproduction of knowledge. I start off by analysing the individual and the biographic agency. Rather than placing the individual within a linear framework by using the chronological approach, I argue that the unfolding of events does not necessarily follow a sequence. I employ distributive and discursive approaches in the narrative, wherein the individual is re-interpreted within a communal structure of the social interrelations that 'produced' him as a constellation worthy to be studied. Events are not chronologically layered, but dispersedly staggered. The focus is on thematic issues rather than the centrality of linear reasoning and progression. In this way, the individual is not located within a self-sustaining linear-philosophical framework in which she/he becomes the producer of all historicity.

This chapter also explores the manner in which individuals could be textualised and contextualised by looking at text as a research 'artefact' and by subjecting it to scrutiny. This is premised on a philosophical supposition that a textual analysis of some of the key phrases used by Matiwane and his peers during the struggle against apartheid may enable us to understand not only their etymology but also elements of their key intellectual-archaeology as well as the genealogy of knowledge in the liberation narrative. In this framework, textuality is subjected to a close analysis as a social medium that carries with it a variety of hidden and obvious narratives that may enable historians to get a broader or limited

understanding of issues they are interrogating. Consequently, an argument is put forward that where Matiwane's narrative had been reduced into writing, such an account partly represents a letter of the period and the communities who produced it.

Here, I also argue that using instruments like text, including oral evidence, photographs and performances to produce historically verifiable facts is an exercise fraught with difficulty. Sources contain their biases and are fragmented, thus making it extremely difficult to use them in presenting a total account of individuals like D.C.O. Matiwane. This chapter surmises, therefore, that trying to piece together a total account of an individual's life through fragments may only enable the researcher to create a biographic spectre. In order to 'balance' the narrative, this chapter argues that historians need to understand the fault-lines of their sources by critically engaging them along, within and against their grain, and to understand their granularity.³⁷



In addition to acknowledging the limits of their sources, historians need to also recognise the influence of their interventions in the production of the narrative by not presenting their findings as dogmatic accounts. Cognisance should be given to the fact that auto/biographical constructions may entail the attaching of different meanings to different events and objects associated with particular individuals or events. As such, findings by researchers should be used to open up debates about various historical issues in a manner that allows for members of the public and interested others to engage and participate in such debates.

³⁷ Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial archives and the arts of governance: On the content in the form' in Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid and Razia Saleh (eds.), *Reconfiguring the archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002), pp 91-92.

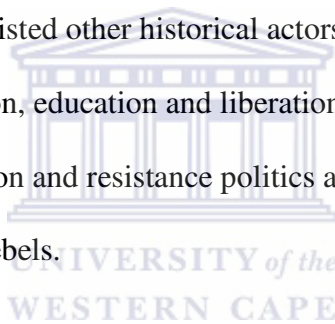
Chapter Two uses a certificate of exemption and a 1952 letter as narrative agents through which D.C.O. Matiwane's auto/biographic memory is traced and analysed. It also acknowledges that these 'agents' are incomplete historical traces with their embedded shortcomings and strengths. This chapter explores contradictions in exemption certificates as identification and discrimination documents and closely looks at how a generation of individuals such as D.C.O. Matiwane used and also challenged exemption certificates, as well as the colonial heritage embedded in them, as central identification symbols.

Using the exemption certificate as a prism, this chapter looks at D.C.O. Matiwane's conscious attempt to undo the colonial archive and to create a new memory in the minds of his children. While the act of burning official documentation helped to create new memories and to send strong resistance messages against officialdom, this study also concedes that embedded in the official documentation processes, to a degree, was the archive's resistance to erasure. I argue that beyond Matiwane's sphere of influence, such entrenched archival traces were not going to dissipate with ease unless the state, its functionaries and archival agents were willing to do so.

The foregoing should be understood against the background that the state particularly attempted to keep duplicate copies of all documents it issued. However, the state system was not the perfect machinery. As an example, my search in the state archives was not able to provide positive leads to copies of some documents listed by D.C.O. Matiwane in a letter he wrote in 1952 to his mother. This may be read as a failure by the state to sustain its order in the recall of documents which evidently may have a negative effect in projects that attempt

to present a 'total' history or in its writing. However, their absence was not a matter unique to the Matiwanes, given the fact that documents of many activists were appropriated by the Special Branch and police in the era preceding 1994.

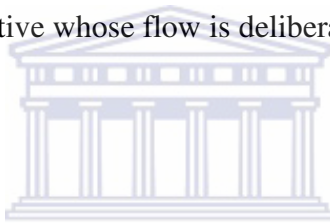
Nevertheless, Matiwane's act of destroying his mother's exemption certificate and his mother's response to his family tree request, led to my archival search. While extracting some conclusions from them, the selective fragments that were 'excavated' were treated as an archive, with its inherent challenges. This chapter also explores how, among other things, documents of life and death provided and corroborated Judith Matiwane's family tree. The names contained in them also listed other historical actors and events in D.C.O. Matiwane's rich family history of exemption, education and liberation. In this way, the archive is used to provide a backdrop for liberation and resistance politics and for a narrative focusing on conditions that bred political rebels.



In seeking to understand the question of exemption in relation to subjugation and liberation politics, this chapter argues that Matiwane's rebellious act of undoing the old archive led to the birth of new memories and to the revisiting of the very same heritage that he attempted to destroy. This chapter presents evidence of the archive's resistance to complete erasure, as contained in a number of archival documents, including D.C.O. Matiwane's 1952 letter to his mother where he requested genealogical information from her, legal and private documents outlining a protracted legal battle between Matiwane's father, Jerome Matiwane, and his ex-wife, Priscilla Matiwane, that took place in the second decade of the 20th century, as well as his great grandparents' estate documents and correspondences with state officials.

These archival documents are subjected to close analysis, and attempts are made to read them along and against the grain. No attempt is made to create an illusion of their completeness but rather the fragmentation of the archive and its contents is recognised.

Chapter Three mainly uses Matiwane's unpublished manuscript *A Treatise of Black Victimisation and the Contemporary Problem of Apartheid Strappado*, newspaper articles, documents produced as a result of court proceedings, and recollections of those who knew D.C.O. Matiwane to reconstruct a narrative of an individual, who as part of a community of the oppressed, tried to stand up against oppression, and in the process of doing so, became a *persona non grata*. It is a narrative whose flow is deliberately disrupted by the presence of the author.



In this chapter, I use an assortment of documents and personal accounts to reconstruct a narrative of how Matiwane's arrival in Estcourt strengthened the politics of activism, increased resistance to unjust laws, and introduced internal dynamism of revolt within the system of collaboration, as represented by the Bantu Advisory Board. I also posit that his residency of the area coincided with an era of mass resistance in the country, which produced a kind of 'tradition' with its unique posturing. I try to demonstrate that while a clear divide was created between those who challenged the legitimacy of apartheid as an oppressive system and those who were its direct beneficiaries, there were also those who were active passengers through their participation and/or belief in the government-sponsored advisory boards and other structures, and also those who tried to fight the system from within. Such contradictions were best framed by Rassool when he argued that:

through an analysis of power in society and the conditions of resistance and collaboration, a system of representation was created, complete with its own vocabulary, framing categories, concepts, activities and procedures through which the nation was defined, the 'enemy' named and conceptualised, and through which a moral code of behaviour was counter-posed to that of the 'enemy'.³⁸

In Estcourt, for example, I argue that the activist code of behaviour, as counter-posed to the oppressive state machinery, manifested itself in events like the advisory board politics, emergency detentions, and in rent, milk, beer-hall and potato boycotts.

In Chapter Four, I explore Matiwane's attempts to give himself a voice mainly through his unpublished manuscript which had *A Treatise of Black Victimisation* as a working title. His work was intended to be an exposition of black victimisation as well as the cruelty inflicted on blacks by apartheid. Though Matiwane argued that his work was not autobiographical, I argue that it was, and attempt to demonstrate why. I also explore how his attempts to voice his concerns were limited, thwarted or silenced. Apart from the many legal battles that he had to contend with against the state, Matiwane's socio-political life was curtailed, and his attempt to document his views through *The Abridged Introspection of Restrictions on a Black* was dealt a severe blow by his expulsion from Estcourt. I explore how he tried to overcome these challenges. Matiwane's manuscript also provided a commentary on landlessness and the breakdown of black family life. He took a very strong stance against land dispossession and a complicated land acquisition process that applied only to blacks. He maintained that dispossession made blacks nomads in their country.

³⁸ Ciraj Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', p 321.

Chapter Four demonstrates how Matiwane attempted to expose a close collaboration between traditional leaders and the apartheid system in the dispossession of blacks.

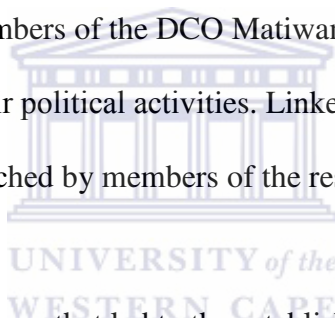
Matiwane surmised that the apartheid political system had an adverse effect on families, as it was created to sustain white supremacy and industrial progress at the expense of black family life. He questioned the notion of townships as residential areas and maintained that they were nothing more than labour camps with no residential security for blacks.

I further argue that Matiwane was also a voice of critical reflection on black representation by apartheid South Africa. In his manuscript, he observed how the country's monumental representation was littered with white history and heritage. He noted, for example that the name Pietermaritzburg has Voortrekker and colonial heritage which highly neglected blacks and positioned them at the foot of white heritage as its ancillaries. For him, this discrimination was unjustifiable, and he traced its roots to the colonial era. Matiwane was also a voice of critical contemplation against the white electorate. He surmised that the white electorate viewed voting as its possessive right, and he, therefore, identified the electorate, and not necessarily the National Party, as part of the problem. He argued that the white voters were the only persons who had the franchise right, and he maintained that a radical change in their world outlook was needed to change the destiny of the country.

This chapter concludes by looking at Matiwane's transcendent politics. It argues that some interlocutors on D.C.O. Matiwane's biography fore-ground his narrative and thinking mainly within the prism of his links to the African National Congress. However, this research

project reveals that his life was a palimpsest of multiplicity which transcended organisational and political boundaries.

In Chapter Five, I provide an analysis of how Matiwane was memorialised through structures such as the DCO Matiwane Youth League and the DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park. This chapter looks at the processes and activities involved in the reconstruction of Matiwane's memory and how his name was invoked to mobilise the youth. In the case of the Youth League, it focuses on how his name and bravery became an agent through which political education and mobilisation was effected. The League also became a mechanism through which members of the DCO Matiwane Youth League resource team 'concealed' and performed their political activities. Linked to this narrative is an exposition of anti-apartheid activism launched by members of the resource team.



This chapter looks at the processes that led to the establishment of the DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park and how the emphasis on liberation heritage shifted the focus to an auto/biographical museum that celebrated Matiwane's life. It is also an analysis of how Matiwane's 'oral history' archive emerged through research activities conducted by local-history enthusiasts, and how their initiatives evolved to institutionalise his name. I maintain that the museumisation of Matiwane's name was a process that gave birth to a coherent narrative of his life, and this is an issue I problematise.

Overall, and using Matiwane as an auto/biographical agent, this dissertation argues that the South African socio-economic system provided a fragmented framework from which

generations of its inhabitants attempted to define and redefine themselves and to create a free atmosphere within which to operate. But the segregated architecture of such a framework provided the basis within which contradictions, dualities, conflicts and ambiguities were to emerge. The ‘Janus face’ of liberalism, the unfulfilled promises of the missionaries’ civilisation project, as well as the racist character of colonialism and apartheid did not only create frictions between blacks and whites but also between blacks themselves. In this dissertation, I demonstrate how, in their attempts to free themselves, the narratives of individuals such as D.C.O. Matiwane became an expression of the politics of all these ambiguities and contradictions.



Chapter One

Theoretical and methodological frameworks in knowledge production

Introduction

In this chapter, I explore theoretical and methodological frameworks in the re/production of knowledge. I start off by analysing the individual and the biographic agency. Rather than placing the individual within a linear framework by using the chronological approach, I argue that the unfolding of events does not necessarily follow a sequence. To this end, I employ a distributive approach in the narrative, wherein the individual is re-interpreted within a structure of social interrelations that 'produced' him as a constellation worthy to be studied, and events are dispersedly staggered. The focus is on thematic issues rather than on the centrality of linear reasoning. In this way, the individual is not located within a self-sustaining linear-philosophical framework in which she/he becomes the producer of all historicity.

This study also explores the manner in which David Cecil Oxford (D.C.O.) Matiwane was textualised and contextualised by looking at text as a research 'artefact' and by subjecting it to scrutiny. This is premised on a philosophical supposition that a textual analysis of Matiwane's work and some of the key phrases that were used by him and his peers during the struggle against apartheid will enable us to understand not only their etymology, but also their key intellectual archaeology, as well as the genealogy of knowledge in the liberation narrative. In this framework, textuality is subjected to a close analysis as a social medium that carries with it a variety of hidden and obvious narratives that may enable historians to

get a broader understanding of issues they are interrogating. Consequently, a synchronic approach is, to a limited degree, employed in that an argument is put forward that where Matiwane's narrative had been reduced into writing, such an account partly represents the letter of the period and the communities who produced it.

This study acknowledges that using instruments like text (including oral evidence), photographs and performances to produce historically verifiable facts is an exercise fraught with difficulty, as sources contain their biases and are fragmented. This makes it extremely difficult to use sources in presenting a total account of individuals like D.C.O. Matiwane.

This study argues, therefore, that trying to piece together a total account of an individual's life through fragments may only enable the researcher to create a biographic spectre. In order to minimise 'biographic illusions', historians need to understand their sources' fault-lines by critically engaging them along, within and against their grains.

In addition to acknowledging the limits of their sources, historians need to also recognise the influence of their interventions in the production of the narrative by not presenting their findings as dogmatic accounts. Cognisance should be given to the fact that auto/biographical constructions, for example, entail the attaching of different meanings to different events and objects associated with a particular individual or event. As such, findings by researchers should be used to open up debates about various issues in a manner that allows for members of the public and interested others to engage and participate in it.

The individual and biographic agency

The writing of biographies has seen individuals taking a central role in the narrative wherein key events and their chronology revolve around them. But there are other approaches that explore alternatives in the writing of history and biographies. The discursive and distributive approaches, for example, provide a critique of the framework of a self-sustaining and all-knowing individual who occupies the centre as the producer of all historicity in and of the auto/biographic narrative.¹ The discursive approach provides a decentring theory that focuses on the question of identification rather than on the subject of identity. The analysis is based on theoretical and empirical processes that shaped an individual, and does not only focus on what an individual did, but on the relations which human beings have constructed. It seeks to locate the auto/biographical narrative of an individual within his or her physical, economic, ecological and socio-political context, and it acknowledges the auto/biographic interrelations between the individual and these contexts, and vice versa. As such, it liberates the narrative from the superlative grip of the individual as the producer of all historicity.

In a centralised narrative, histories are pulled out of their collective cultures, and the individual under study becomes the unit of analysis. In such an analysis, the capacity to bring about social change is collapsed to the will of the individual. So, rather than make D.C.O. Matiwane to speak as either a local or national subject of resistance history, this study tries to understand how he was influenced by others and how he also influenced them. In this way, it allows the narrative to avoid being trapped into the generalisation fallacy by

¹ Stuart Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?' in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: Sage, 1996), pp1-2; Ciraj Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa' (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 2004), p 12.

recognising varied and specific influences on the individual. This line of philosophical thought was also advanced by Susan Brison who argued that:

the self is viewed as related to and constructed by others in an on-going way, not only because others continue to shape and define us throughout our lifetimes, but also because our sense of self is couched in descriptions whose meanings are special phenomena.²

This enquiry argues that individuals, such as D.C.O. Matiwane, were functional beings whose actions were shaped by a combination of factors. However, it does not disregard the fact that such individuals had unique characteristics and foresight into what the consequences of their behaviour were likely to be, and they were able to use these capabilities within the demands of their context.³ Our point of narrative departure is that we do not see these as definitive elements which make individuals indispensable entities completely operating outside their socio-economic influence. Rather, the individual is given meaning within these social and auto/biographic interrelations. By doing so, we recognise that personhood is both social and creative.

In this theoretical framework, the individual is viewed not only as a product of a particular community, but also as an active mediator who operates within and against certain expectations and realities. The individual is seen as a dispersedly-layered being, engaging with different issues and interacting with different communities and as such her/his world outlook is shaped by how s/he relates to and makes meaning of them. By exploring these relationships, the distributive and discursive approach sees an individual, unique as s/he may

² Susan J. Brison 'Trauma Narratives and the Remaking of the Self', in Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer (eds), *Acts of Memory: Cultural recall in the present* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), p 41.

³ Neil J Salkind, *An introduction to theories of human development* (London and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004), p 210.

be, as a character that represents in her/his fullest exploration, the social and historical circumstances of her/his community, and period.⁴ It challenges the notion that places the individual above or versus the community and vice versa. This study confronts this binary approach in the representation of life and argues that Matiwane's life is an avatar of various, even contradictory, philosophies. His narrative should, therefore, not be seen as a product of a single philosophical route.⁵ It puts forward a philosophical proposition that D.C.O. Matiwane's world was a varied terrain and that his presentation should be distributively contextualised in relation to the struggles and the experiences of his community and contemporaries.

In pursuit of their objectives, communities and individuals leave behind their auto/biographic 'footprints' on the landscape. Depending on the extent and the human consciousness of them, these auto/biographic footprints are memorialised and they become part of a people's heritage-scape. These memories may take the form of monuments, museums or memorial sites, and may, in turn, be used as auto/biographic agencies in the narration of events. In these forms, the heritage-scape is given different interpretations and value, and it often becomes a contested terrain as history and heritage are open to contestations.

⁴ Stephen Clingman, 'Biography and Representation: Some Analogies from Fiction', paper presented at the History Workshop Conference, University of Witwatersrand, February 1987, pp 6-8; Nikolas Rose, 'Identity, Genealogy, History', in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: Sage, 1996), p 130.

⁵ Roger Sibeon, *Rethinking Social Theory* (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004), p 171; Stephen Clingman, *Bram Fischer: Afrikaner Revolutionary* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1998), pp 1-2.

In the South African context, a heritage site was given value through a grading system as defined in the National Heritage Resources Act.⁶ Sites were accorded value in the country's heritage-scape according to their national, provincial or local significance, while others such as world heritage sites were taken through a different process.⁷ For this reason, in reconstructing auto/biographic and historical memories it is important that we take into account various processes and contestations linked to the making of a historical site in order to understand the value and the impact such memory had on the community.

Re-constructing and deconstructing auto/biographic memories of individuals also require a critical understanding of the ideals to which the community and the individual ascribe to. The analytical relevance of this could be assigned to the fact that the individual lived in a community (and family) that ascribed to or invented particular economic, religious and socio-political beliefs, norms, values and traditions, and within this context, the individual was expected to behave in a particular manner.⁸ Therefore, and as a way of example, the discerning modality in the case of a community which stood for equality before the law and against the oppressive system would be that, individuals were driven by the quest to liberate

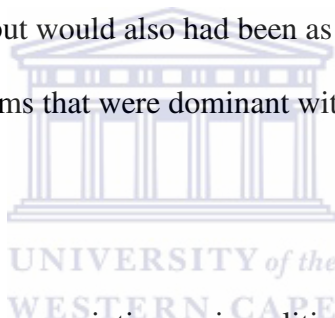
⁶ See National Heritage Resources Act number 25 of 1999 for grading processes and procedures. The Cultural Institutions Act number of 119 of 1998 gives a number of South African museums a declared status and as such they are regarded as 'national' museums. Other museums are administered by provinces and municipalities. National, Provincial and Local heritage sites and museums do not include those that are run privately by other bodies and individuals.

⁷ See Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, January 2008 (WHC 08/01). Additional information may also be sourced from www.unesco.org/en/nominations. Site accessed on 9 September 2013.

⁸ Terence Ranger, 'The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), chapter 6; Keith Thomas (ed.), *Founders of Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) and John Argyle and Eleanor Preston-Whyte (eds), *Social Systems and traditions in Southern Africa: essays of Eileen Krige* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1978) are three of the many examples of works which explore the influence of various social systems on individuals and communities.

themselves against such a system and as a result, they participated in measures that were aimed at breaking down such inhumane practices.

The pursuit of the ideal, therefore, propelled an individual to act in a particular manner and her/his actions led her/him to be judged as part or not part of a particular economic, religious, social or political grouping. Within such an affiliation, s/he was expected to conform to the rules and norms governing it, and failure to conform led to the isolation, rejection or labelling of such an individual as an ‘outcast’. As would be seen with D.C.O. Matiwane, in some instances, ‘rejection’ was not so much because of an offence or crime that an individual committed, but would also had been as a result of her/his ability in transcending narrow social norms that were dominant within certain (sometimes competing) groups.⁹



This study argues that in such a prescriptive socio-political context, Matiwane occupied an ambiguous position: on one level he found himself in a ‘political’ space where he was misunderstood by many, a kind of a political ‘in-cast’. On another, he was part of the same community of the oppressed who regarded apartheid as an unacceptable practice and as such, fought against it – in this case and like them, he was a kind of a political out-cast. Adversely interpreted, Matiwane was part of the community that was successively and collectively regarded as outcasts by South Africa’s oppressive governments. However, within this community, he was regarded as a lone-protester, in the early 1980s and late 1970s, who held strong views and was prepared to stand for them when many were not prepared to.

⁹ Here, I have paraphrased Michel Foucault, ‘8 February 1984: First Hour’, in Frédéric Gros, François Ewald and Alessandro Fontana (eds.), *Michel Foucault: The Courage of the Truth (The Government of Self and Others II)* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p 50.

A decentred narrative accepts that social processes expect individuals to act according to established social norms which are learnt over a period of time. I must indicate here, that society or the community are not conceived as a coherent, unified and centralised entity, but as distributed constellations of unequal relationships.¹⁰ It is in these dispersed constellations that many of the individuals' views were acquired and in situations where they interacted with others as equals and un-equals or by merely observing and modifying their behaviour throughout their lifetime.¹¹ It was partly through social learning that individuals like D.C.O. Matiwane were able to reflect and even rebel the values, convictions and struggles of their community and therefore, a biographic appraisal of their lives should take this into account.

This means that contributions made by individuals should not be analysed in a vacuum but in relation to social links which might have influenced an individual, bearing in mind that social systems do not exist independent of the people, but are developed by and exist in them. According to Brizuela-Garcia, this is a call for a careful examination of the intricate ways in which broad historical processes determine the actions of the individuals, and vice versa.¹² Using this biographic-relations theory, strategies employed by individuals like D.C.O. Matiwane, for example, would be analysed in relation to strategies and tactics employed by the broad political formations against segregation and apartheid.

¹⁰ Patricia Hayes, 'The Famine of Dams': Gender, Labour and Politics in Colonial Ovamboland, 1929-1930', in Patricia Hayes, Jeremy Silvester, Marion Wallace and Wolfram Hartmann (eds.), *Namibia under South African Rule: Mobility and Containment, 1915- 46* (Oxford, Windhoek and Athens: James Currey, Out of Africa and Ohio University Press, 1998), p 119.

¹¹ The impact of others on individuals is also discussed by Helena Pohlandt-McCormick, "I Saw a Nightmare...": Violence and the construction of memory (Soweto, June 16, 1976), *History and Theory*, 39, December 2000.

¹² Esperanza Brizuela-Garcia, 'The Past Never Stays Behind: Biographical Narrative and African Colonial History', *Journal of Historical Biography*, 2, 2007, p 66.

In the 20th century South Africa, community activists had to fight against the system which was brutally inculcating inferiority and powerlessness among them as a people and in relation to white people, but the success of the liberation movement in opposing apartheid indicated the strength of their collective convictions to the cause.¹³ D.C.O. Matiwane, for example, was part of a generation of activists who witnessed an increase in legislated racism, segregation and apartheid, and in the face of these, he participated in various forms of resistance measures employed by communities and political organisations that were opposed to those oppressive actions. As a community member, he participated in various spirited campaigns aimed at dismantling the apartheid system. Though his participation also added strength in numbers and his convictions also saw him initiating protest-programmes against apartheid, these were done as part of the many struggles against apartheid.

Therefore auto/biographical narratives which do not factor in this community strand in their accounts would be doing injustice to the collective will and influence of communities and systems on individuals. In this way, actions of individuals are given a broader social context, but in a way, that does not disregard their invaluable contributions as entities to the liberation cause.

In this study, I argue that locating the auto/biographical narrative of the individual within and against her/his community account would enable auto/biographers to get a sense of the challenges and successes that were broadly faced by the individual and her/his community.

¹³ Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Nairobi and Portsmouth: James Currey and Heinemann, 1986), p. 2; Frantz Fanon, 'The Fact of Blackness', in Les Back and John Solomos (eds.), *Theories of Race and Racism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 258-265.

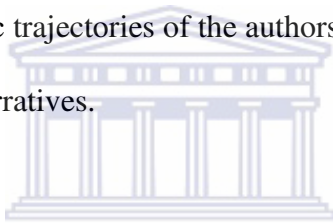
In essence, the individual becomes both a contested 'site' and a record of her/his community standards and the many challenges they faced. Conversely, individuals become archives that were documenting lived memories and behavioural 'patterns' of their many auto/biographical contexts. Some elements of these complex archives are open to the public and scholarly interpretations, and are mostly presented by conventional biographers in a straight timeline, as if biographic memories unfold in a linear sequence, but many remain hidden or inaccessible from the reach of those who are reconstructing their narratives. It is within this context that I would like to briefly analyse the chronological framework.

Linearity, representation and the creation of new meanings

In a conventional auto/biography, a chronological framework is the centre of a cohesive narrative that concentrates on events and associations among events.¹⁴ It is based on the notion of cause and effect. The emphasis is placed on the centrality of linear reasoning. Progress often leads to a climax which is sandwiched by the beginning (birth) and the end, usually the death of the individual. In this philosophical framework and in between the two poles, the beginning and the end, the biographer achieves narrative fulfilment by riding on historical crests and highlighting 'turning points' in the subject's life. Critical moments are made to populate these two poles, and the individual becomes a central player of the chronological account.

¹⁴ Margaret Lindauer, *Devouring Frida: The Art History and Popular Celebrity of Frida Kahlo* (Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 1999), p 3. Recent examples of chronological narratives include Edward Roux (ed.), *S.P. Bunting: A Political Biography*, (Bellville: Mayibuye Centre, 1993); Mark Gevisser, *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred*, (Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2009); Scott Couper, *Albert Luthuli: Bound by faith*, (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2010); Colin Bundy, *Govan Mbeki: A Jacana Pocket Biography*, (Sunnyside: Jacana Media, 2012); Benjamin Pogrand, *Robert Sobukwe: How can a man die better* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2006); Michael Cardo, *Opening Men's Eyes: Peter Brown and the Liberal Struggle for South Africa* (Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2010); and Charles van Onselen, *The Seed is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine, a South African Sharecropper, 1894-1985* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1996).

However, a close examination of life stories demonstrates that life is never linear, but instead complex and distributed in a variety of social, geographical, political, cultural and economic systems.¹⁵ Therefore, events do not necessarily follow a sequence, but are also characterised by interruptions, ambiguities, juxtapositions, imbrications, quiescence and contradictions. To a great degree, sequences are imposed by the documentary world that relies on the use of a linear calendar to record them. Using the distributive approach, this study argues that history is not wholly and entirely a process of progressive refinement. By so doing, I do not attempt to replace other palimpsests, but critically analyse the significance of various interactions, disruptions and auto/biographic trajectories of the authors and mediators to the re/construction of historical narratives.



In fact, the South African biographical landscape was largely littered with narratives of ‘great’ leaders that subscribed to the chronological approach. These included the works of Edward Roux, Scott Couper, Mark Gevisser, Benjamin Pogrand, Michael Cardo, Baruch Hirson and many others.¹⁶ Events were sequentially laid out, and their biographical

¹⁵ Dikgang Moseneke’s foreword in Herman Mashaba and Isabella Morris, *Black Like You - Herman Mashaba: An Autobiography* (Johannesburg: MM Emedia, 2012), p 5; Wesley J. Wildman ‘Distributed Identity: Human Beings as Walking, Thinking Ecologies in the Microbial World’, in Nancey Murphy and Christopher C. Knight, *Human Identity at the Intersection of Science, Technology and Religion* (England and USA: Ashgate, 2010), p 166. Michel Foucault (translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith), *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972) provides an interesting analysis of a traditional form of history as a corpus which focused, among other things, on continuities, homogeneities and presentations of totalities.

¹⁶ Edward Roux (ed.), *S.P. Bunting: A Political Biography*, (Bellville: Mayibuye Centre, 1993); Mark Gevisser, *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred*, (Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2009); Scott Couper, *Albert Luthuli: Bound by faith*, (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2010); Colin Bundy, *Govan Mbeki: A Jacana Pocket Biography*, (Sunnyside: Jacana Media, 2012); Benjamin Pogrand, *Robert Sobukwe: How can a man die better* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2006); Michael Cardo, *Opening Men’s Eyes: Peter Brown and the Liberal Struggle for South Africa* (Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2010) and Baruch Hirson, ‘The Dualism of I.B. Tabata’, *Searchlight South Africa*,

narratives revealed a story of 'great men' who rose above extraordinary challenges and played prominent roles in the shaping of events. This study does not follow the 'great-man' chronological approach in its presentation, neither does it equate or place Matiwane's analysis in the context of 'great' leaders who drastically shaped or changed their worlds.¹⁷ Instead, it reflects at his reconstructed ability to navigate and transcend challenging political, economic as well as social norms and issues in a distributive manner. In this narrative, Matiwane becomes an auto/biographic agent for a narrative of resistance politics.

Moving away from the 'great leader' syndrome may enable biographers to focus on 'local' struggles and to distributively explore inter-relations between them and the national discourse of political activism. Matiwane, for example, belonged to a genealogy of mission or 'western' educated Africans and was a *Kholwa* by birth. This means that he belonged to a class that was supposed to be differently treated by colonial governments. However, colonial and apartheid South Africa's refusal to fully accept exempted 'natives' to its fold and/or to give blacks equal citizenship rights in the country forced many black people, including Matiwane, to resist and rebel against this unfair system.¹⁸

vol 2 (2), January 1991. It is worth noting that works like Charles van Onselen, *The Seed is Mine* does not belong to the 'great-man' category.

¹⁷ Benjamin Pogrand, *Robert Sobukwe: How can a man die better?* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2006); Xolela Mangcu, *Biko: A Biography* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2012); Mandela Nelson, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (London, Little Brown, 1994) and David Deutschmann, 'Introduction to the second edition' and 'Chronology' in David Deutschmann (ed.), *Che Guevara Reader: writings on politics and revolution – Ernesto Che Guevara* (Johannesburg: African Perspectives, 2003) are but few examples of such narrative leanings. Mbongiseni Buthelezi, 'Sifuna Umlando Wethu' (We are looking for our History): Oral Literature and the Meanings of the Past in Post-Apartheid South Africa' (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 2012) gives a close analysis on the creation of heroes in South African historical narratives after 1994.

¹⁸ Shula Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism, and the State in Twentieth-Century Natal* (London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1986); Shula Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion: The 1906-1908 Disturbances in Natal* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1970); Paul la Hausse de Lalouviere, *Restless Identities: Signatures of Nationalism, Zulu Ethnicity and History in the Lives of Petros Lamula (c.1881-1948) and Lymon Maling (1889–c. 1936)* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000)

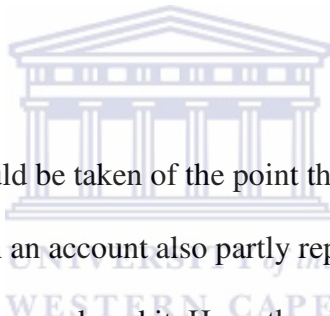
As a result, the likes of Matiwane did not only become very critical of certificates of exemptions and of whites in general, but also joined with the 'multitudes' from the 'uneducated' classes and with people from different economic and political leanings in a social struggle against unjust laws. Together with many others, he became a 'thorn in a flesh' of the white administration. Though he staged 'solo protests' against apartheid South Africa and instituted a number of legal battles against its administrators, his actions were inspired by a number of others in similar positions. Like many community members, the same actions led him to be 'declared' a *persona non grata* by the apartheid administration. This study, therefore, focuses on Matiwane's contribution to the liberation politics, both as a 'local' activist and community member, and on how this was represented and documented.

This study further questions the manner in which D.C.O. Matiwane is textualised and contextualised. It looks at text as a research object or 'artefact', and subjects it to scrutiny, mainly due to the fact that 'the very words we use are a product of a collective history.'¹⁹ A textual analysis of D.C.O. Matiwane's storied life may give us a glimpse of how people represented their reality or struggles against legislated and unlegislated racism and apartheid rule in 20th century South Africa. A textual analysis of some of the key phrases that were used during the struggle against oppression by Matiwane and his peers will enable us to understand not only their etymology, but also their intellectual archaeology and their genealogy of knowledge in liberation narrative.

and Alan Copley: *Class and Consciousness: The Petty Bourgeoisie in South Africa, 1924-1950* (New York: Greenwood, 1990) give a detailed account of challenges faced by black 'bourgeoisie', educated *amaKholwa* and blacks in general.

¹⁹ Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Nairobi and Portsmouth: James Currey and Heinemann, 1986), pp. x-xi.

It must be pointed out that a textual analysis of the life of an individual should also take into account that, as a product of history, languages are also a means through which cultures are transmitted, and as such, they come with their distinctive cultural loadings in any social interaction.²⁰ Based on this reasoning, languages and textuality are, therefore, recognised as social mediums that carry with them a variety of hidden and obvious narratives, built in theories, regional and local epistemologies, frames of reference and underlying codes.²¹ This means that each generation contributes to meaning construction and language use in a manner specific to its challenges, collective experiences and circumstances. By default, this would reflect its history.



Consequently, cognisance should be taken of the point that where Matiwane's narrative had been reduced into writing, such an account also partly represented the letter and the spirit of the period and communities who produced it. Here, the phrase 'partly represents' is deliberately invoked because I am mindful of the fact that texts change shape and form as they travel from generation to generation or from person to person.²²

This argument brings us to the point that it will always be a challenge for historians to use words to accurately reconstruct the past both in spirit and text. Nonetheless, the advantage of

²⁰ Charles van Onselen, 'Peasants Speak-The Reconstruction of a Rural Life from Oral Testimony: Critical Notes on the Methodology Employed in the Study of a Black South African Sharecropper', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 20 (3), 1993.

²¹ Stephen Clingman, 'Biography and Representation: Some Analogies from Fiction', paper presented at the History Workshop Conference, University of Witwatersrand, February 1987, p 13; Nadia Seremetakis, 'The Memory of the senses, Part I: Marks of the Transitory', in Nadia C. Seremetakis, *The Senses Still: Perception as Material Culture in Modernity* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), p 5.

²² Gary Minkley, 'A fragile inheritor': the post-apartheid memorial complex, A.C. Jordan and the re-imagining of cultural heritage in the Eastern Cape', *Kronos*, 34 (1), November 2008.

this is that texts written by individuals in their historical times may be used as objects to raise debates about key questions, including the manner in which they had been 'captured' or silenced in writing, confronting those communities during that time.

I have to point out that such an undertaking should be done with an understanding of the many limits of textualised narratives. For example, where individuals' auto/biographies had been reduced into writing, such a process naturally deprives the present generation of an opportunity to engage with the spoken word and its associated non-verbal communication symbols. This means that in as much as we may use the text as our research object, we are still deprived of the interactive processes involved in its articulation, and it remains accessible to us as a mediated product which is and had been open to alterations. In this context, the 'record' or text had been and will be altered by much mediation, including ours.²³ Be that as it may be, it still remains an 'archaeological' and genealogical object that may be used as an instrument to understand and ask probing questions about a fragment of our past.

Serematakis was of the opinion that it was through the medium of this fragment (text) that a portion of a social discourse was extracted from its rich and detailed context and symbols by reducing it into our grid of intelligibility.²⁴ What is textualised cannot be confirmed or contradicted by embodied acts, sensory effects and gestures as they accurately unfolded in

²³ Jacques Depelchin, *Silences in African History: Between the syndromes of discovery and abolition* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki Na Nyota, 2005), p 4; Keith Breckenridge, 'Orality, Literacy & the Archive in the making of Kas Maine', in Duncan Brown (ed.), *Oral Literature & Performance in Southern Africa*, (Cape Town and Athens: David Philip Publishers and Ohio University Press, 1999), p. 140; Premesh Lalu, 'Sara's Suicide: History and the representational limit', *Kronos*, 26, 2000, pp 90-93.

²⁴ Nadia Seremetakis, 'The Memory of the Senses, Part I: Marks of the Transitory', p 8.

their historical past. It can, therefore, be rationally argued that through textualisation, the narrative gets new meanings as text contemporary to Matiwane is subjected to our modern day context in our attempts to find an understanding to a residue of past social interactions. A narrative on individuals such as Matiwane also needs to open itself to such an analysis, partly due to the fact that through textualisation and re-textualisation, Matiwane critically acquires new meanings and structures and is, eventually, de-textualised and co-textualised. Silverstein and Urban referred to such processes as a phenomenon of entextualisation and contextualisation.²⁵ To sum up, it is through text, as a medium, that we attempt to bring the bygone era into our loaded midst and present.

Systematic and sequential bodies of biographical debate

This study acknowledges various mediations involved in historiographies and auto/biographies as well as co-textualisation and as such it does not profess to be objective. In fact, in this study I also challenge the objectivity of my sources. I am cognisant of the fact that researchers, myself included, bring along with them their personalities and interests into their studies and writing processes and that their analysis and the questions they pose may influence the outcome of their investigations. I am also aware of the limits of the information and of the sources I used for this research project. Mostly, historical sources and the information contained in them are, to a large degree, incongruent with their realities, therefore employing oral and written sources to produce historically verifiable 'facts' is an

²⁵ Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban, 'The Natural History of Discourse', in Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban, (eds.), *Natural Histories of Discourse* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), p 1. Cynthia Kros, 'Farewell to the Middle Style? Reflections on *The Seed is Mine*', *South African Historical Journal*, 37, 1997, pp182-183 also critically analysed the notion of co-authorship.

exercise fraught with difficulty.²⁶ As such, I analyse and interpret sources available to me cognisant of these limitations.

Sources contain their biases and are fragmented. They can hardly be used to present an objective or total account of individuals such as D.C.O. Matiwane. This is given more meaning by an argument put forward by a number of scholars that historical memory and documents are pieces of time to be assembled, fragments of life to be placed in order by formulating a story that acquires its coherence through the ability of the author to craft links between the beginning and the end.²⁷ This practice creates a 'biographical illusion', that is: an illusion of historical totality, continuity and chronology, as presented by a writer,²⁸ and, in a way, comparatively makes historical accuracy a novel product.

I deliberately used the phrase 'biographical illusion' as a direct recognition of the fact that the human past is too vast, varied and highly fragmented to be completely reconstructed as it was, but a portion of it can be resurrected in a form of a biographic spectre. The Rankean notion of presenting information derived from archived documents as facts speaking for themselves through the medium of history is, by itself, loaded with systematic denial that

²⁶ Charles van Onselen, *The Seed is Mine*, p 10. Stephen Clingman in the first few pages (pp. 1-2) of his *Bram Fischer: Afrikaner Revolutionary* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1998) held a different point of view. He was of the opinion that historical facts could be reconstructed in a manner that was congruent with reality.

²⁷ Achille Mbembe, 'The power of the archive and its limits', in Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid and Razia Saleh (eds.), *Reconfiguring the archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002), p 21; Ciraj Rassool, 'Rethinking Documentary History and South African Political Biography', *South African Review of Sociology*, 41 (1), 2010, pp 28-49; M. Phillips, 'Absolute objectivity the ideal; perspectivism the reality', *Kleio XXVIII*, 1996, pp 32-42; Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (Palgrave: Macmillan, 2010), pp 69-80; Roger Field, *Alex La Guma: A Literary & Political Biography* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2010), p 2 give account of a writer's influence and imprints on 'life writing'.

²⁸ Ciraj Rassool, 'Rethinking Documentary History and South African Political Biography', *South African Review of Sociology*, 41 (1), 2010, pp 28-49; Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Biographical Illusion', *Working Papers and Proceedings of the Centre for Social Studies*, no. 14, 1987 (Chicago Center for Psychosocial studies).

does not recognise selective historical amnesia and presentations. It regards the archive merely as a storehouse of documents and not an apparatus that may have produced and reproduced forms of subjugations.²⁹

Presenting ‘facts’ as complete ‘truths’ from the perspective of the archive disregards the point that archiving firstly empowers those who had the power and facilities to document their points of view, and secondly that archiving is in itself a selection process that subjects the acquired material through some ‘relevancy’ test to determine their value in the eyes of the documenters and those in power.³⁰ During this process, some material is discarded, and this, eventually, leads to selective historical amnesia as the voices of the ‘disempowered’ continue to be marginalised by the authoritative presence of the voices of the narrators and documenters.³¹ In the case of anti-apartheid activists, many of their documents were not kept or were destroyed by the state. Consequently, a narrative about apartheid South Africa that relies on the archive as a ‘complete’ documentation of the past will continue to reproduce imbalanced and lopsided history. Therefore, historical narratives should be regarded as a constructed historical spectre and imaginings of the intermediaries.³²

²⁹ Premesh Lalu, *The Death of Hintsha: Postapartheid South Africa and the Shape of the Recurring Pasts* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2009), p 7.

³⁰ Achille Mbembe, ‘The power of the archive and its limits’, pp 19-25; Ann Laura Stoler, ‘Colonial archives and the arts of governance: On the content in the form’ in Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid and Razia Saleh (eds.), *Reconfiguring the archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002), pp 83-100; M. Kohli, ‘Biography: Account, Text, Method’, in D. Bertaux (ed.), *Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences* (London: Sage, 1981), p 65.

³¹ For another discussion on selective historical memory and archiving, also see Paul la Hausse de Lalouviere, *Restless Identities*, p 258.

³² Premesh Lalu, *The Death of Hintsha*, Introduction; Ciraj Rassool, ‘Rethinking Documentary History and South African Political Biography’, *South African Review of Sociology*, 41 (1), 2010, pp 28-49.

Writers such as Jacques Depelchin and many others are of the opinion that archivistics and their associated writing processes are an inescapable subjective-selection process that weeds, regulates, excludes or silences other voices.³³ This suggests that history, including auto/biographies, is not simply a catalogue of events, but that historians try to make sense of the past by interpreting events and sources, as well as weighting their significance to the overall narrative.³⁴ Therefore, no narrative, no matter how representative and inclusive it claims to be, will be a complete representation of facts. In brief, historical and auto/biographical writing should not be driven by the objective historical-precision paranoia, but a critical analysis of the storied lives of individuals should be based on systematic appreciation of ‘facts’ as mediated narratives or ‘truths’.

Ann Stoler acknowledged the challenges faced by historians and students of culture in working with archived documents that were mostly one sided. She appreciated strides made by some scholars to counteract the statist presentation of ‘facts’. She did this by arguing in favour of reading the archive ‘against their grain’ which included reading ‘upper class sources upside down’ in order to profile neglected ‘histories from below’. However, Stoler cautioned that reading the archives against the grain needed a prior sense of their texture and granularity, and that it was essential to know the circuits of knowledge production in which the archives operated. She concluded by arguing that archives also needed to be read ‘along

³³ Jacques Depelchin, *Silences in African History*, pp 1-16; Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial archives and the arts of governance', pp 85-87; Gyan Prakash's 'Postcolonial criticism and Indian historiography', in Linda Nicholson and Steven Seidman (eds.), *Social Postmodernism: Beyond Identity Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p 92; Keith Breckenridge, 'Orality, Literacy & the Archive in the making of Kas Maine', in Duncan Brown (ed.), *Oral Literature & Performance in Southern Africa*, (Claremont and Athens: David Philip Publishers and Ohio University Press, 1999), p 146; P.W. Preston, *Political/Cultural Identity: Citizens and Nations in a Global Era* (London: Sage Publications, 1997), p 63; Anthony Butler, *Cybil Ramaphosa* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2007), p xiii.

³⁴ Leslie Witz and Ciraj Rassool, 'Making histories', *Kronos*, 34, 2008, p 7; M. Phillips, 'Absolute objectivity the ideal; perspectivism the reality', *Kleio XXVIII*, 1996, p 33.

the archival grain' in order for students of culture to understand their regularities, their logic of recall or archaeology of knowledge, their densities and distributions, their genealogy of knowledge, their consistencies of misinformation, and their omissions and mistakes.³⁵ What this entailed was an understanding of the sources' fault lines, as well as their critical engagements along, within and against these lines. In essence, reading in this manner will also open up historians' sources to their own historiographies, weaknesses and strengths as a means to understand their grains and biographical journeys.

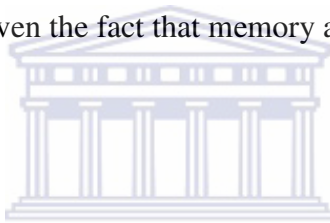
Critical reading of the archive and sources along and against the grain leads to an understanding of different philosophies that shaped individuals like D.C.O. Matiwane and their narratives. In this context, the critical subjugation of sources both ways would enable students of history to explore different social layers that shaped or silenced D.C.O. Matiwane's world outlook. It also serves as a philosophical mechanism to deconstruct the perceived controversies in his personhood by critically examining processes involved in the reproduction of his life. In this study, this is done by asking probing questions about political tensions, harmony, contradictions and interests of the members within the liberation movement and the many distributed interactions he was part of.³⁶

This approach disrupts a linear auto/biographic construction of lives of individuals that locates their narrative as an outcome of 'unbiased' objective-chronological processes. It does

³⁵Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial archives and the arts of governance', pp. 91-92. Gyan Prakash's 'Postcolonial criticism and Indian historiography', in Linda Nicholson and Steven Seidman (eds.), *Social Postmodernism: Beyond Identity Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Shamil Jeppie, 'Africa: Whose history? Whose memory?', in Shamil Jeppie (ed.), *Towards New Histories for South Africa: on the place of the past in our present* (Lansdowne: Juta Gariep, 2004), p 20 also give a critical analysis of the shortcomings of only focusing on reconstructing the narrative 'against the archival grain'.

³⁶For a detailed discussion on this line of thinking, see Ciraj Rassool, 'Rethinking Documentary History and South African Political Biography', p 35.

this by accepting the notion that narrating a story is an activity that involves several people and is a practice for more than one person.³⁷ In essence, acknowledging that the narrative will also be influenced by how and what these persons are able to recall and why. This was particularly relevant given the fact that D.C.O. Matiwane was an auto/biographical spectre who resided in the memories of written sources and of those who knew him, thus making his reconstruction a product of a creative and critical process. He is, in essence, a narrative whose 'survival' is dependent on the memory and language of his mediators. Mediators include his contemporaries, oral historians and other interlocutors (myself included) interested in his life story. His narrative is subject to how they chose to recall, verbalise and textualise his life, especially given the fact that memory and writing are culturally mediated acts.³⁸



This means that, by remembering Matiwane, mediators also recollect their narratives and the meanings of their being or existence in the syntax that is best available to them, for by invoking the past through him they are able to explain and judge the present and thus see their own actualisations or deficits. Based on this reasoning, it may be argued that his life cannot be chronologically strung together into a completely unbiased-linear unit which is independent of the mediators. Interception is one of the key auto/biographical modalities that dispels the notion of historical totality. Briefly argued, his narrative is dependent on the

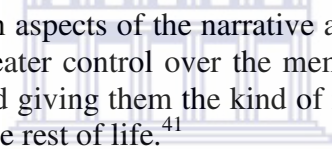
³⁷ Michel Foucault, '1 February 1984: First Hour', in Frédéric Gros, François Ewald and Alessandro Fontana (eds.), *Michel Foucault: The Courage of the Truth (The Government of Self and Others II)* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p 5.

³⁸ Nadia Seremetakis, 'The Memory of the Senses, Part I: Marks of the Transitory', pp 2-5. Jill Liddington also gives an outline of how individuals adjust their memories to those of others. This is briefly discussed in her work entitled 'What is Public History?: Publics and Their Past, Meanings and Practices', *Oral History*, 30 (1), 2002, p 87; Casey Nelson Blake, 'The Usable Past, the Comfortable Past, and the Civic Past: Memory in Contemporary America', *Cultural Anthropology*, 14 (3), 1999, p 425.

relations of power and their role in the interplay between the subject and the veridictions of the interlocutors.³⁹

One set of auto/biographical conveyance which has received systematic criticism is oral sources. The use of oral sources was an object of criticism, especially from conventional historians who questioned the reliability and validity of oral evidence based on the notion that they were fluid, ‘uncontrollable’ and prone to the ‘subject-observer effect’.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, writers such as Susan Brison were of the opinion that such a criticism was farfetched, and she argued that a measure of control over oral sources could be achieved. She wrote that:


one can control certain aspects of the narrative and that control, repeatedly exercised, leads to greater control over the memories themselves, making them less intrusive and giving them the kind of meaning that enables them to be integrated into the rest of life.⁴¹

From this response, it could be concluded that the narrative presence of the author in the writing process was openly acknowledged. Furthermore, it could be deduced that oral sources share many features with written sources. Documentary evidence, as with oral evidence, is subject to control from their primary authors and mediators, and this control,

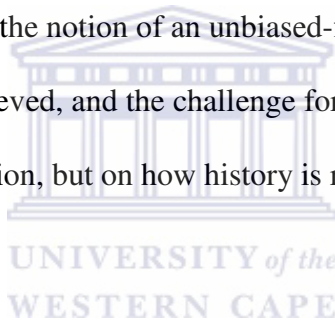
³⁹ See Michel Foucault, ‘1 February 1984: First Hour’, p 8.

⁴⁰ Charles van Onselen, ‘Peasants Speak-The Reconstruction of a Rural Life from Oral Testimony: Critical Notes on the Methodology Employed in the Study of a Black South African Sharecropper’, *Journal of peasant studies*, 20 (3), 1993, pp 510-513; Ciraj Rassool, ‘Power, knowledge and the politics of public pasts’, paper accessed from www.nelsonmandela.org on 15 May 2015. Jan Vansina’s *Oral Tradition as History* (London and Nairobi: James Currey and Heinemann, 1985) makes a strong point in favour of the use oral tradition and oral sources as historical evidence, and he systematically exposes the strengths of written sources to the same limits that oral sources have been subjected to.

⁴¹ Susan J. Brison, ‘Trauma Narratives and the Remaking of the Self’, in Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer (ed.), *Acts of Memory: Cultural recall in the present* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), p 47.

arguably, makes the narrative less intrusive ('objective') and integrated (rationally interpreted) into another narrative (life story, structure, memory).

However, many conventional historians failed to openly acknowledge the subjective and intellectual presence brought by mediators to their narratives. They postulated that their sources could 'objectively' pass the 'reliability' and 'validity' tests.⁴² Nonetheless, their approach may be constructively criticised for using the same tools (i.e. language, mediation and contexts, among others) employed by the very sources they analysed as an instrument to achieve higher narrative neutrality in a period far removed from the era they reconstructed. It is against this background that the notion of an unbiased-factual narrative becomes an illusion that can hardly be achieved, and the challenge for students of culture is to focus not necessarily on historical precision, but on how history is remembered across official borders.⁴³



Memory and the self/selves in the auto/biography

Remembering plays a critical role in knowledge production, circulation and censorship. In a way, this also means that memory can be used to control, empower and disempower others and oneself, and for this reason, a focus on remembering will enable us to appreciate how recollection processes influence narratives of individuals such as Matiwane.

⁴² John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History* (London and New York: Longman, 1991), pp 57-70.

⁴³ Casey Nelson Blake, 'The Usable Past, the Comfortable Past, and the Civic Past: Memory in Contemporary America', *Cultural Anthropology*, 14 (3), 1999, p 425.

Apartheid South Africa, for example, engineered one of the worst atrocities against her fellow humankind such that apartheid was declared a crime against humanity by the United Nations. In South Africa, victims of apartheid-inflicted human trauma were reduced to mere objects by their persecutors. The system tried to destroy their self-worth, and attempts were made to denigrate their belief in themselves and their worth in relation to others.⁴⁴ The net-effect of the apartheid legacy in the interpretation of history and auto/biographies was both simple and compounded. Simple and compounded because it became logical to expect the narrative of victims of apartheid to largely reflect how humanity triumphed over adversity. Memorials built or memoirs written by survivors of such an oppressive system would reflect this victory, while on the other side, the memories of former perpetrators may be shaped by fears of reprisals as they imagine blacks doing to them what they had inflicted on black people for generations.⁴⁵ Mediators for such a narrative need to be aware of these extremes in the reconstructions of lived stories of individuals who played various roles in such struggles, either as resistance or apartheid agents. Furthermore, in doing so, interlocutors should also recognise that they also leave their biographical footprints in the narrative. In recalling these varied and sometimes conflicting memories, intermediaries may only account for them in a manner that may best be made intelligible to others through their interceptions.

Another point that needs to be taken into consideration by interlocutors in the reconstruction of historical narratives, is the silencing effect of trauma and its links to social memory.

Depelchin reminded us to keep in mind that silences were also a product of a relation

⁴⁴ Susan J. Brison, 'Trauma Narratives and the Remaking of the Self', in Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer (eds.), *Acts of Memory: Cultural recall in the present* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), p 41.

⁴⁵ Jacques Depelchin, *Silences in African History*, p. 21.

between social forces or group of individuals, and as a result they were narratives in their own right.⁴⁶ His argument indicated that society played a key role in shaping individuals' voices and in the vocalisation of memories, including traumatic experiences. People would not be prepared to recall that which was 'socially' censored, especially when the consequences would bring to them pain. In such instances, silences may be interpreted as a social commentary on what individuals or social groups preferred or did not prefer to have communicated or performed on the sphere of public engagement.⁴⁷ In this context, silence became a refuge and a resource.⁴⁸

Equally, cognisance should also be taken of the fact that memory is by nature selective and changeable, evolving in a constant transaction of acts of recovery and processes of suppression or forgetting.⁴⁹ The severity of trauma, for example, may have the brutal silencing effect on recollection for survivors and apartheid perpetrators who would prefer not to 'relive' such painful experiences, but would rather suppress it. While suppressing experiences is, by itself, a historical statement, its net-effect may be seen in the fragmented narrative, written or vocalised, of communities and individuals. In a way, this contributes to historical gaps in knowledge-production. On the other end, the gentleness of memory and

⁴⁶ Jacques Depelchin, *Silences in African History*, p. 12. Michel Foucault, '1 February 1984: Second Hour' in Frédéric Gros, François Ewald and Alessandro Fontana (eds.), *Michel Foucault: The Courage of the Truth (The Government of Self and Others II)* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), discusses another form of silence whereby people choose not to speak because of the knowledge that their views were contrary to popular beliefs, stigmatic or would bring pain to them. The question of silences and repression of memory is also discussed at length by David Cohen in *The Combing of History* (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

⁴⁷ It has to be pointed out that the boundary between what is a public or private domain is rapidly being blurred, especially by gender activists and scholars such as Susan Brison and Margaret Lindauer who succinctly argue that personal/private is also public or that personal is political.

⁴⁸ Wendy Woodward, Patricia Hayes and Gary Minkley (eds.), *Deep hiStories: Gender and Colonialism in Southern Africa* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), p. xxv.

⁴⁹ Helena Pohlandt-McCormick, "I Saw a Nightmare...": Violence and the construction of memory (Soweto, June 16, 1976), *History and Theory*, 39, December 2000, p. 24.

victory over adversity may encourage individuals to freely recollect the past with ease (and fondness), and to a degree to 'easily' reproduce their recollections through a number of instruments and thus contribute to the popularisation of a particular point of view.

Historical narratives, performance and photographic agency

The reconstruction of an auto/biographical narrative should acknowledge the important role played by performance and communication in the lives of individuals. This study factored in performance and body language during interviews, and they directly and indirectly, played an important part in knowledge construction. In addition, silent features in photographs, noting their limitations, add value to the reconstruction of narratives. More broadly, this study recognises that social relationships are formed through communication, which involves an effective use of our bodies and voices when interacting with others. For this reason, performance provides the narrative of the 'unspoken' and the 'unwritten'.

Relations are made, sustained or wrecked through performances as individuals engage in various interactions including social, religious, economic and political activities. It should be pointed out that in this context, performance is not seen as a theatrical display or as an act of posing, but it is an act of perceptual completion which opens up the issues of communicative practices in the production and dissemination of ideas and the grammatical complexity of language beyond its referential aspects.⁵⁰ Distributively layered narratives recognise the interactive nature of communication through language, including paralinguistic vocalisations, and physical gestures and make critical use of it in knowledge reconstruction.

⁵⁰ Ciraj Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', p 15.

Seremetakis' analysis of performance may become useful for interlocutors interested in using it as a narrative tool. She saw performance as a critical moment where the unconscious levels and accumulated layers of dispersed personal experiences became conscious. 'Conscious' performance was achieved through acts that were independent of the actor, where the mode or the content was not premeditated.⁵¹ What was being said could be relativised, contradicted or confirmed by embodied acts, gestures and sensory affects, and for Seremetakis this process of confirmation or negation was a performative moment where gestures were mobilised to bear or deny witness to language. In this context, the truth became extra-linguistic and was revealed through expression, performance, material culture and conditions of embodiment.⁵² Unfortunately the 'silent' nature of documentary evidence does not lend itself to the performative nature of communication,⁵³ but where these are available, interviews with role players who knew the subject under investigation may assist in bridging the gap as interviewees may use gestures and other performative acts which may help auto/biographers and historians with the reconstruction of the past.

A number of intermediaries in auto/biographic narratives, including museums and public historians, are increasingly appreciating the performance-deficit, and have begun to take advantage of performance, as 'played' during interviews and on audio visuals, among others, as tools to complement their narratives. Employment of visuals in their (intermediaries) narratives does not exclude the use of photographic essays to broaden their scope as part of a

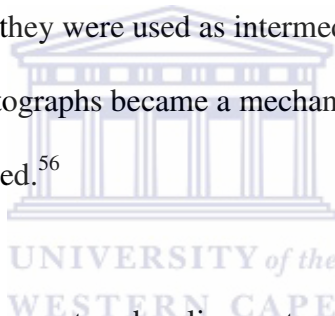
⁵¹ Nadia Seremetakis, 'The Memory of the senses, Part I: Marks of the Transitory', p 7.

⁵² Nadia Seremetakis, 'The Memory of the senses, Part I: Marks of the Transitory', p 6.

⁵³ In making this argument, I take into account the postulation that performance can be explained as an act of doing, and that performances disappear quickly, but that though they are lost, an archive of 'performance remains' is produced; see Cecilia Rodéhn, 'Thus our display will be honest but may be controversial': Exhibiting pre-history during the South African democratization process, *Nordisk Museologi*, 2, 2013, p 35; Cecilia Rodéhn, 'Performing the Transformation: A Study of the Staging of Selected Exhibitions at the KwaZulu-Natal Museum during the South African Transformation', *Journal of Art History*, April 2015.

communication strategy. This study makes use of this instrument, especially in the section that critically looks at how D.C.O. Matiwane was memorialised by a museum.

In most cases, mediators in auto/biographic narratives, including Matiwane's, used photographs as one of the means to substantiate key points in individuals' lives.⁵⁴ The end result was that the narrative used photographs to 'capture' defining moments of their subjects. The ripple effect of this approach was that it framed and froze singular moments of those individuals, and their impressions became naturalised and factualised in the process.⁵⁵ Facts, as presented through the medium of photographs, became static and closed to vigorous interrogation by the authors as they were used as intermediaries to project the 'real' past into the present and the future. Photographs became a mechanism to infinitely preserve a moment in time that could not be repeated.⁵⁶



As readers, we are expected to accept such palimpsests as a given truth and to probably disregard the fact that photographs have dynamic stories woven around them, i.e. as memories and associations are shared from one person to another, or from one generation to the next in a polyphonic and dialogic form, they become embedded in gesture and oral

⁵⁴ Biographical narratives like Mark Gevisser's *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred*, (Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2009); Scott Couper, *Albert Luthuli: Bound by faith*, (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2010); Benjamin Pogrand, *Robert Sobukwe: How can a man die better* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2006); Luli Callinicos, *Oliver Tambo: beyond the Engeli Mountains*, (Claremont: David Philip, 2004); Peter Alexander, *Alan Paton: A Biography* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1995); and Ebrahim Harvey, *Kgalema Motlanthe: A Political Biography* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2012) use photographs as part of an attempt to 'capture' key moments and associations in individuals' lives.

⁵⁵ Patricia Hayes, 'Bone Narratives: Preliminary Notes/Visuals on South Africa's Colonisation of Northern Namibia, 1915-1920s', paper presented at 'The Future of the Past' conference, University of the Western Cape, 10-12 July 1996.

⁵⁶ Alison M. Moore, 'History, Memory and Trauma in Photography of the Tondues: Visuality of the Vichy Past through the Silent Image of Women', *Gender & History*, 17 (3), 2005, p 672.

expression.⁵⁷ Clearly photographs can be used to represent a point of historical contact, but what is of significance is that they should also be recognised as bearers of stories that are open to multiple interpretations.

Recent scholarly works on photography clearly demonstrated that photographs did not capture, but represented and evoked historical, social and cultural moments or memories.⁵⁸ Scholars advocating this view were of the opinion that, to argue that photographs captured moments was to bestow in them the power to dictate facts as they were at the point when they were taken, rather than opening up those assumed facts to scholarly analysis and public contestations. Furthermore, such an argument did not take into account that, ‘captured’ images tended to divorce their subjects from a range of signifiers. This included the reasons behind the photographing of that moment, how the photographer isolated, included or manipulated some features over others, silences that may be read from the image, intended audience, image’s biography, the politics behind its continued safe-keeping, and the fact that vision; therefore, interpretation was not only a biological given but also culturally acquired.⁵⁹

A critical analysis of images employed in an auto/biographic representation of an individual’s life requires that photographs be studied both along and against the grain. Thus, it is necessary to disrupt dogmatic theories in the employment of images in a narrative and to

⁵⁷ Elizabeth Edwards, ‘Photographs and the Sound of History’, *Visual Anthropology Review*, 21, 2005, pp 37-41.

⁵⁸ See Patricia Hayes, ‘Introduction: Visual Genders’, *Gender & History*, 17 (3), 2005; and Elizabeth Edwards, ‘Photographs and the Sound of History’, *Visual Anthropology Review*, 21, 2005.

⁵⁹ Elizabeth Edwards, ‘Photographs and the Sound of History’, p. 28; Alison M. Moore, ‘History, Memory and Trauma in Photography of the Tondues’, pp 658-675.

draw on discursive and distributive approaches if we are to understand the significance of photographs in auto/biographic narratives, including retrospectives and photographic essays. The last two are tools usually preferred by art galleries and museums.

Meaning displacement and construction in auto/biographical museums

One of the forms of historiography important for this dissertation is the auto/biographical museum. It is through this type of museum that the conventional biography enters a national or local heritage-scape. This is not to dispute the fact that memory enters heritage-scape through other forms, like documents, books and collections. What is significant about them here is that in post-conflict states, these sites and museums sought to highlight the achievements of particular individuals, celebrate greatness of political leaders and create ties of belonging and identification for national subjects.⁶⁰ It is through the auto/biographical museum that the 'spectre' of an individual was given physical presence and articulation as they were made to jog our memory.

The D.C.O. Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park was not the only post-apartheid biographical museum project in South Africa that had been created as a means to prickle our memory about a life-story of an individual, but it had its counterparts in the form of the Nelson Mandela Museum in the Eastern Cape, Chief Albert Luthuli Museum in KwaZulu-Natal, The Mandela Museum in Gauteng, and many others.⁶¹ What was common about them

⁶⁰ Ciraj Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', pp 51 & 73.

⁶¹ Works of Noel Solani, 'The Saint of the Struggle: Deconstructing the Mandela Myth, *Kronos*, No 26, August 2000; and Ciraj Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', pp. 111-113 explore in details how the general image (and the contestations around it) of a great man (Nelson Mandela) was created and presented as historical 'truths'. Anthony Butler, *Cyril Ramaphosa* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2007), p xi is also critical of post-apartheid political biography for presenting 'a procession of saints.'

was that they adopted a celebratory stance and they focused on the construction of the 'true' narrative.

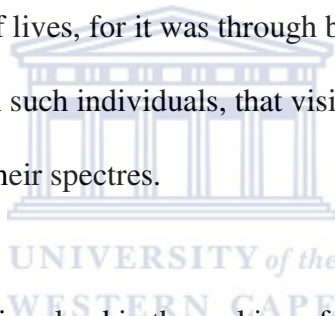
However, there was a need to go beyond this preoccupation and to move towards understanding the narration process itself. This was an argument advanced by Rassool when he argued that in the world of biographic analysis and assessment, it was possible to go beyond the framework of finding the true narrative, to understanding the history of the narrative and the process of narration. He further advanced that it was these processes and questions about the politics and the poetics of presentation that needed to find expression in the creation of memorial sites, museums and visual installations for the domain of public history to become one of critical reflection, public scholarship and public engagements. This, he concluded, would enable the landscape of memory to move beyond the limited frameworks of admiration and celebration through which lives of 'Great Men' and local activists had been commemorated, to fostering an ethos of independent criticism.⁶²

This critical engagement with the storied life in which D.C.O. Matiwane's life was monumentalised in the form of the museum and memorial park may enable the narrative to adopt a distributive enquiry in trying to understand processes involved in his reconstruction. While doing so, we should be conscious of the fact that reconstruction and 'peeling-off' with the aim of understanding may also involve interfering with existing knowledge, and that the production of new knowledge may bring with it the marginalisation of 'old' knowledge or the silencing of other voices. However, the purpose here is not to replace the existing

⁶² Ciraj Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', p 95.

palimpsests in the reconstruction of Matiwane's narrative, but to understand the processes involved and the ideals that shaped his character in his reconstruction.

Cognisance should also be given to the fact that auto/biographical constructions in museums also entail the attaching of different meanings to different events and objects associated with a particular individual. For this reason, it will be important to take into account the processes of meaning making in the narrative, as articulated by Igor Kopytoff's 'The cultural biography of things'. By invoking Kopytoff's analysis of meaning construction in things, I do not equate lives of individuals to possessions, but I appreciate the value of how objects became central items in the narration of lives, for it was through belongings, including artefacts, photos and text associated with such individuals, that visitors were made to understand the 'being-ness' and existence of their spectres.



Kopytoff explored the process involved in the making of a thing, questioned the evolution of 'things' and their acquisition of meaning in relation to their owners and how these were singularised and collectively owned.⁶³ In essence, the individual was made to live in relation to what s/he and others owned or disowned. However, options and processes involved in such acquisitions, either by the individual or by others, need to be examined too. This is due to the fact that it is partly through them (processes) that we can begin to gain valuable perspectives and understand their nuances in meaning construction. Processes assist with the understanding of how the life of an individual like D.C.O. Matiwane was presented through items. In this way, the narrative becomes a distributive apparatus focusing on processes and

⁶³ Igor Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of things: Commodities in cultural perspectives*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

objects associated with, and to, him and his contemporaries as communicative agents in knowledge production and circulation.

Conclusion

To sum up this chapter, I have broadly embraced the qualitative model to argue that although D.C.O. Matiwane can be used as a historical or biographical agent, his narrative should be discursive and distributive. It should also be re-interpreted within a communal structure of the social interrelations that 'produced' him as a historical being and constellation worthy to be studied and memorialised. Such an approach may free the narrative from the superlative grip of the all-knowing individual who dictates and shapes historical events. It places her/him in a wider knowledge accumulation and interaction framework in which individuals engage and interact with each other in a dispersed manner. In these engagements and entanglements, they impact on our heritage-scape and memory construction.

I have also attempted to point out that a narrative on the lives of individuals ought not only to understand this construction along, but also against processes involved, instruments used, and roles played by various interlocutors in knowledge production, circulation and consumption. By so doing, I argue that historians may be able to open up their systematic findings to multiple audiences, not only for interrogation, but also for public engagements.

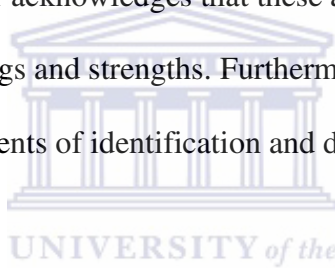
Chapter Two

The making of a rebel: Reconstructing the world that created D.C.O. Matiwane

‘I destroyed your grandmother’s certificate of ridiculousness.’
D.C.O. Matiwane

Introduction

This chapter uses exemption certificates and a 1952 letter as narrative agents and a philosophical portmanteau through which D.C.O. Matiwane's auto/biographic memory can be traced and analysed. The chapter acknowledges that these are incomplete historical fragments with their embedded shortcomings and strengths. Furthermore, it explores contradictions in exemption certificates as documents of identification and discrimination.

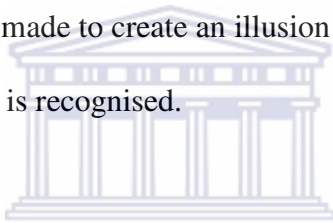


Using exemption certificates as a prism, this chapter looks at D.C.O. Matiwane's conscious attempt of undoing the colonial archive and of creating a new memory in the minds of his children by burning his mother’s certificate. While the act of destroying official documentation helped to create new memories, I also maintain that embedded in the official documentation processes is the archive's resistance to erasure. Beyond Matiwane’s sphere of influence, for example, such entrenched archival traces did not diminish with ease unless the state, its functionaries and archival agents were willing to do so.¹ I also look at the limit posed by families’ inability to safeguard their documents on the writing of historical narratives. Unlike documents such as the Bakunin and the I.B. Tabata archives, many families neither

¹ Chapter One provides an exploration of the archival process and the possible reasons for the fragmentation of the archive and/or its inability to comprehensively recall.

had the means nor a supportive framework to safeguard their documents in a more structured manner.²

Through Matiwane's 1952 letter to his mother and by mining the archive, this chapter explores how, among other things, documents of life and death corroborated Josephine Judith Matiwane's family tree and how the names provided in them also list other historical actors and events in D.C.O. Matiwane's rich family history of exemption, education and liberation. I also look at ambiguities and tensions that were contained and exposed through these documents. The archive is used as an agent to provide an exposition for conditions that bred 'rebels'. However, no attempt is made to create an illusion of completeness. Rather, the fragmented nature of the archive is recognised.



Creation of resistance identity and memory's resistance against erasure

Referring to his late mother's certificate of exemption, D.C.O. Matiwane told his children one afternoon, 'I destroyed your grandmother's certificate of ridiculousness.'³ Here we are presented with a D.C.O. Matiwane who was trying to dissociate his family links to instruments and legacies of colonial documentation and more consciously to instil in his children resistance politics, especially against discriminatory documentation processes and

² D.C.O. Matiwane made reference to issues of harassments, disappearances of documents and victimisation in his *A Treatise of Black Victimisation and the Contemporary Problem of Apartheid Strappado* (unpublished and undated). For a detailed discussion on the Bakunin archive, see John Randolph, 'On the Biography of the Bakunin Family Archive', in A. Burton (ed.), *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions and the Writing of History* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), pp 209-231. Ciraj Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa' explores the role of Dora Taylor in the preservation of I.B. Tabata's archive and narrative.

³ This statement was recalled by Matiwane's daughter, Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane), during interviews with Bongani Ndhlovu at Estcourt on 30 August 2013 and 30 October 2014. The document was destroyed by Matiwane after the death of his mother.

practices. This, he did against the background that his children had spent their teen years with his exempted mother, Josephine Judith Matiwane.⁴

On a surface level, it may be argued that by ridiculing and destroying the certificate of exemption in front of his children, he was challenging them to free themselves from the teachings of missionaries and of the black Christian elites, including his mother, who ascribed to the notion of western Christian-oriented civilisation and the practices associated with the acquisition of exemption certificates. Exemption certificates served as documents that dictated and confirmed the performance of expected behaviour from their holders. It may be argued that they were nothing more than a state and missionary attempt to make 'native' society legible in order to meet both the expectations of the missionaries and the machinery of the state, i.e. conversion, labour, taxation, conscription, subordination and loyalty.⁵

Josephine Judith Matiwane's granddaughter, Phumzile Mvelase for example, remembered her grandmother as a highly mannered woman who strived to uphold high social values and practices as espoused by the English during the colonial era. This was made less difficult, amongst other things, by her good command of English and its accent, love for western table

⁴ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu assisted by Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane) with Thandiwe Beatrice Mbanjwa (Estcourt resident, ANC liberation struggle veteran) assisted by Abednego Manyoni (a resident of Estcourt) who all knew D.C.O. Matiwane. The interview was held at Wembezi township on 30 August 2013. The act of destroying the certificate should be read as an act of opposing the system. However, I should point out here that D.C.O. Matiwane had a strong relationship with his mother, and this could be witnessed when, as an example, he raised his concerns on the effect his harassment had on his family and 'aged mother.' See his *A Treatise of Black Victimisation and the Contemporary Problem of Apartheid Strappado* (unpublished and undated), p 9. D.C.O. Matiwane's unpublished book is discussed in Chapter Four.

⁵ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like A State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), pp 2 & 23.

etiquette and socialisation mainly with educated and church-going people.⁶ Exempted natives were required, among other things, to sever ties with the un-exempted natives and to disassociate themselves with all practices of ‘barbarity’ in order to be accepted into the missionaries’ Christian establishment and by the colonial state machinery. Matiwane observed that certificates of exemption granted to certain blacks ‘made them think they were better than their black countrymen and looked down upon them.’⁷ Within this context, exemption certificates often became one of their most treasured items - understandably so - given the difficulty with which they were issued.

Matiwane’s act of destroying his mother's exemption certificate may, therefore, be read as a conscious attempt of undoing both the colonial practices and symbols linked to the physical document, and as an attempt of creating a new memory in the minds of his children in a manner that linked his children to the broader cause of blacks as the oppressed.⁸ It should be pointed out that certificates of exemption were ‘sophistication’ symbols and instruments used to separate educated Africans from others. Therefore, it was a significant gesture for Matiwane to put down such an archive in front of his children.

Beyond Matiwane’s sphere of influence, such entrenched archival traces were not going to diminish unless the state, through its archivists and functionaries, was ‘prepared’ to do so.

⁶ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane), Estcourt, 30 August 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Jabulile Barbara Lite (née Matiwane), Pietermaritzburg, 28 August 2013.

⁷ Matiwane also observed that the liquor exemptions had the same effect. See David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 95.

⁸ Dr Zweli Mkhize recalled an incident where D.C.O. Matiwane refused to repair broken windows in his Willowfontein home and told his children to learn to live like multiple others who were worse off compared to them. The house was previously owned by a white farmer who had to leave the area due to rezoning. See interview by Vusi Mchunu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Pietermaritzburg, undated, contained in House of Memory Report on D.C.O. Matiwane Memorial Park, update report No. 2, 7/18/2011, p. 16; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014.

For example, when finalising the estate of D.C.O. Matiwane's grandmother, Louisa Matiwane, the Acting Chief Native Commissioner of Natal reminded the Provincial Division Master of the Supreme Court that it was 'unnecessary to send to this Department the Exemption Medal in the absence of the Letter of Exemption, as Duplicate Letters of Exemption are kept.'⁹ Duplicates, here, were confidently presented by the Native Affairs Department as the state's exceptional ability to recall. While acts such as the destroying of exemption certificates and passes may have had a huge political and symbolic effect on individuals, these were, at times, counter-measured by the state's physical resilience to forgetting if it so chose or if conditions favoured it to. Breckenridge pointed out that in some instances, the inability of the state to recall was due to some inherent weaknesses in its systems, especially in its attempts to centralise registration and control of all African adults.¹⁰

The South African colonial and apartheid governments used documents to exercise control over their black inhabitants and also to define as well as limit their 'citizenship'. The keeping of duplicates may be seen as an important element in the 'success' of their control measures, as they represented the state's key attempts to verify the identities and statuses of 'non-whites'.¹¹ Nonetheless, inextricably, blacks employed a number of tactics to survive, cheat and/or defeat such a system.¹² Therefore, the deliberate act of destroying official documentation by many

⁹ CNC 2585/1911, volume 44, letter dated 7 November 1911, from the Acting Chief Native Commissioner of Natal to the Master of Supreme Court of South Africa, Natal Provincial Division, the subject was on 'death of Louisa Matiwane an exempted native'.

¹⁰ Keith Breckenridge, 'Verwoerd's Bureau of Proof: Total Information in the Making of Apartheid', *History Workshop Journal*, 59, 2005.

¹¹ Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 'The Form, the Permit and the Photograph: An Archive of Mobility between South Africa and India', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, vol 46 (6), 2011, pp 650-660.

¹² Keith Breckenridge, 'Confounding the Documentary State: Cape Workers' Letters on the Early Witwatersrand', paper presented at the History and African Studies Seminar, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, 30 May 2000 gives a detailed account of how migrant workers tried to 'defeat' the state's documentary system. The theatrical play 'Sizwe Banzi is Dead' in Athol Fugard, John Kani and Winston Ntsona's *Sizwe Banzi*

blacks, including Matiwane, signalled their willingness to claim back their identities and freedom. In addition, this may also be read as a conscious attempt at thwarting the state and of frustrating its immediate access to the physical document.

It should be noted that documentary evidence and narratives linked to them had a way to resurface. A letter kept by D.C.O. Matiwane's grandson, Thami Shange, led the present writer on some archival chases, successes and impasses.¹³ In the letter, there were some leads, fragments of reliance and direct references to sources of official documentation, and copies of these were the documents I began to pursue. In these documents, traces of missionary and colonial rule begun to resurface. The archival chase, to a degree, brought back to life the exemption spectre of the Matiwanes as a family and of the ambiguities of exemption as a process which attempted to create a special kind of native, and yet a not-so-different type of natives. This was a matter which seemed to have perplexed a number of persons, including a Rev. William Adams who, in a letter to the *Natal Witness*, concluded that, 'it would appear that, as regards to their social status, exempted Kafirs are intended to remain...between heaven and earth, having neither the privileges of a Kafir nor the rights of an Englishman.'¹⁴

The inconsistencies in the treatment of exempted natives and the murky legal position which they were subjected to was also an issue which was raised by about 270 mission-educated

is Dead and the Island (New York: Viking Press, 1976) also documents how blacks cheated apartheid documentation (work seeker's permit) processes by using documents of dead people to survive under extremely challenging circumstances.

¹³ The letter was written by D.C.O. Matiwane to his mother, Josephine Judith Matiwane, on 13 June 1952. Josephine Judith Matiwane used the same letter to respond to her son's request. In this letter Matiwane was requesting some documentation and information about his genealogy.

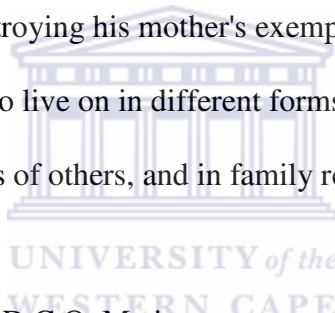
¹⁴ *Natal Witness*, 28 September 1878. This statement was made against the background that exempted natives were not given the same civil rights as whites, yet they were also not allowed to live according to their customary laws and regulations.

amaKholwa in their 1875 complaint to their Administrator, Garnet Wolseley, when they stated:

We fled from the Zulu country because of fearing Kaffir Law and came to place ourselves under Dutch Government, but their treatment of us was bad. And when the English Government arrived, we placed ourselves under it, and the missionaries taught us, so we rejoiced. But now, the Government wishes to drive us back again by saying that we ought to serve our old law which drove us from Zululand.... What law are we really to stand....¹⁵

These archival traces give a glimpse of the crisis regarding the application of the law as well as of issues and questions which exempted natives consistently faced regarding their status.¹⁶

Arguably, these were some of the questions and issues D.C.O. Matiwane partly attempted to lay to rest through his act of destroying his mother's exemption certificate. Nevertheless, as an archive, the memory continued to live on in different forms, through copies of official documents, in recalled memories of others, and in family records.



Writing from Pinetown in 1952, D.C.O. Matiwane requested his mother to send him by post her marriage certificate, his father's exemption certificate, his father's death certificate and his paternal family tree. He concluded by stating that it was very urgent 'as there is a certain

¹⁵ *Natal Witness*, 23 July 1875. Also see John Tengo Jabavu's article in which he argued against the introduction of the Parliamentary Voters Registration Bill in the Cape Colony in 1887 which appeared in *Imvo Zabantsundu* on 23 March 1887. Carolyn Hamilton argues that even the Secretary for Native Affairs, Frederick Robert Moor, was uncertain about how to treat exempted educated Christian Africans. The question that puzzled him was: 'were they entitled to the same rights as the white colonists, or were there to be forms of discrimination...?' See Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p 131. John Khumalo also raised a similar point when he told James Stuart on 28 October 1900 that educated natives belonged 'neither to the European nor to the natives. We are a people apart and without proper laws.' See narrative of John Khumalo to James Stuart in C. de B. Webb and J. B. Wright (eds.), *The James Stuart Archive of recorded oral evidence relating to the history of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1976), vol 1, pp 218-219.

¹⁶ I should point out that not all educated natives considered western civilisation an ideal. There were some who regarded African customs and practices as a better model. See narrative of John Khumalo to James Stuart in C. de B. Webb and J. B Wright (eds.), *The James Stuart Archive of recorded oral evidence relating to the history of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples*, pp 217-219.

matter under investigation.¹⁷ The object of his investigation was not stated. To appreciate the fragmentation of this archive, I would not delve or speculate on it or on why, in the year of the Defiance Campaign, D.C.O. Matiwane urgently required these traces of official identification.

What may be observed from the list is that official documentation had become well entrenched pillars for self-identification. To a degree, Matiwane's father's exemption certificate was one of the documents that were central in defining him or the investigation into him. In 'traditional' African societies, a clan name, praise names and genealogy were a few societal instruments embedded in deep oral traditions and history that were used by many to define their identities and belonging. These were recalled from memory without the burden of proof, but in a 'contemporary' society, D.C.O. Matiwane chose official documentation over 'tradition' for a matter he was investigating. This was indicative of the fact that the introduction of official documentation had shifted dependence away from such an oral tradition, and that families were increasingly using documents as references to their identities and as sources of their representation.

Conversely, this may also be read as an indication of how well entrenched western tradition was a century after the introduction of Christianity and its accompanying western education in Natal and Zululand. In the 20th century, descendants of *amaKholwa* had mastered the art of official documentation, their nuances and importance to their survival. Exemption certificates, for example, allowed their holders a privilege to enter into some restricted white areas, and to buy items like liquor. In the same vein, they were prohibited from full civic rights.

¹⁷ Letter from D.C.O. Matiwane to his mother, Josephine Judith Matiwane, 13 June 1952.

In addition, exemption uprooted them from their extended families and traditional life. Arguably by tearing up his mother's certificate, D.C.O. Matiwane was trying to undo this legacy, which he called a heritage of 'ridiculousness'. His may also be seen as attempting to encourage his children to undo the 'civilisation' teachings of their grandmother and to reconnect with their black kin. Their introduction to 'western civilisation' took shape when they were sent to Pietermaritzburg to continue their schooling under her supervision as soon as they had completed their junior primary school years at Estcourt.¹⁸ As such, they spent a lot more of their time with her than with their parents.

Matiwane's rebellious act of destroying the legacy of 'ridiculousness' and his 1952 letter to his mother, with its references to documents of official identification, provided traces which led to the recovery of a number of other related documents in the state archives.¹⁹ Included in these were file number CNC 1233/1911, which recorded some correspondence in the native affairs administration by the Chief Native Commissioner and the Master of the Supreme Court.

Among these were documents which related to Louisa Matiwane. Louisa Matiwane's name

¹⁸ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu, assisted by Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane), with Thandiwe Beatrice Mbanjwa (Estcourt resident, African National Congress - ANC - liberation struggle veteran) assisted by Abednego Manyoni (a resident of Estcourt), held at Wembezi township on 30 August 2013. In the same interview, Phumzile Mvelase indicated that by sending their children to Pietermaritzburg, her parents also protected them from Special Branch intimidations and victimisations. She echoed the same observation in an interview with Bongani Ndhlovu held at Estcourt on 17 January 2013. In addition to this argument, Thandiwe Mbanjwa and Abednego Manyoni added that space could also have contributed to the sending of children to their grandmother, as blacks were given small houses (two-room houses) in segregated urban places like Estcourt. However, the answer to the question of why the children were sent to Pietermaritzburg may also be found in Matiwane's argument that apartheid regulations regarding residential permits allowed a limited number of persons to occupy a particular house in an urban area. It may be argued that it was also against this background that Matiwane sent his children to their grandmother in Pietermaritzburg – see David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation and the Contemporary Problem of Apartheid Strappado*, pp 14-16.

¹⁹ In using the state archive, I also took into account the archivities and the inherent weaknesses linked to them, including their biases as outlined in Chapter One and also as argued by Achille Mbembe, 'The power of the archive and its limits', in Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid and Razia Saleh (eds.), *Reconfiguring the archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002), pp 19-25 and in the same publication, Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial archives and the arts of governance: On the content in the form', pp 83-100.

was among those listed in the 1952 letter. She was named as D.C.O. Matiwane's grandmother. The 1952 letter also recorded Jerome Cecil Matiwane as D.C.O. Matiwane's father.

Entering his father's name in the National Automated Archival Information Retrieval System (NAAIRS) led to the retrieval of file number RSC 1/5/306 which was an illiquid case file containing partial sources of a dispute between Jerome Cecil Matiwane and Priscilla Matiwane. Priscilla Matiwane was a personality not mentioned in the letter, but she emerged from the archival woodwork. The entering of both his parents' names in the system did not yield any positive results. The point I am making here is that, to a degree, the survival of these sources and access to them was indicative of the family records as well as official documentation's resistance to complete erasure.²⁰ With the foregoing, I am re-affirming Chartier's argument that the archive should be used to open up questions about repertoires of resistance, rituals of spoken words, rhetorical strategies of written words and the mere politics of archiving to acknowledge its uniqueness and incompleteness.²¹

Uncivilised behaviour: Jerome Cecil Matiwane versus Priscilla Matiwane

RSC 1/5/306, and especially file no 68/1917, was an archive which revealed that the years between 1917 and 1920 witnessed a protracted legal battle between D.C.O. Matiwane's father, Jerome Cecil Matiwane and his first wife, Priscilla Matiwane (née Bafazini), whom he had married at the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Georedale on 15 March 1911.²² The matter

²⁰ This is not to discard living memory's resistance to erasure in the creation of new identities.

²¹ For a detailed discussion on this subject, see Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1988).

²² RSC 1/5/306, Illiquid case no. 68/1917, Jerome Cecil Matiwane vs Priscilla Matiwane, Plaintiff's declaration to summons issued on 11 September 1917; RSC 1/5/306, affidavit by H.C. Gazzard in the case between Cecil Matiwane and Priscilla Matiwane, 17 April 1918. Archival evidence indicated that Jerome was 23 when he

was first brought to the court by Jerome Matiwane who, through his solicitor, John Fraser of Pietermaritzburg, requested the Supreme Court of South Africa, Natal Provincial Division, to issue ‘a decree for restitution of conjugal rights and failing compliance therewith, a decree of divorce dissolving the marriage... and for the custody of the child of the marriage’, Christobel Crystal Oberline Matiwane.²³ In his papers, Jerome Matiwane argued that Priscilla Matiwane had maliciously deserted him for one and a half years and had refused to return to their Camperdown home. This matter was brought to the glare of western litigation due to the fact that Jerome Matiwane was exempted from the operations of the native laws.

However, Priscilla Matiwane and her legal counsel, Joseph Henry Nicolson of Durban, fought back and accused Jerome Matiwane of committing adultery with two different women named Josephine Mfeka and Josephine Judith Gamede.²⁴ What was implied by their argument was that it was because of Jerome Matiwane’s unfaithfulness that she had to leave their Camperdown home. Jerome Matiwane was the son of exempted natives, Louisa and David Matiwane, and was, himself, exempted from the operations of the native law.²⁵ Unlike unexempted natives, exempted natives were not allowed to be in polygamous relationships. Doing so was considered, and as per Priscilla Matiwane's argument, unfaithful and/or adulterous because their exemption was linked to their new religion which forbade having more than one partner.

married Priscilla, see list of Exempted Natives in archival file number 1KRK 3/1/5, stamped by the Magistrate of Krantzkop on 30 January 1905.

²³ RSC 1/5/306, Special Power of Attorney given to John Fraser by Jerome Cecil Matiwane, 10 September 1917.

²⁴ RSC 1/5/306, letters from the Registrar entitled 'Matiwane vs Matiwane', 17 February 1920. In some correspondence, Josephine Judith was referred to as a Gumede. See RSC/1/5/306: South African Police Investigative Report Form Occurrence Book 15278 entitled 'Re: Jerome Cecil Matiwane', 18 April 1918.

²⁵ RSC 1/5/306, Jerome Cecil Matiwane vs Priscilla Matiwane, letter signed by S. Harris in his capacity as Assistant Under Secretary for Native Affairs, 31 March 1908.

In the previous century, the act of having more than one partner was already problematic for exempted natives and some missionaries. In his presentation before the 1881 Native Commission, Jacobus Matiwane noted that there was an inclination among their children and other exempted natives to revert to 'barbarism', including polygamy and having more than one partner.²⁶ This argument was indicative of cracks that were beginning to emerge in the civilisation and evangelising project and its utopian vision of using state power and religious persuasion to enforce drastic changes in people's habits, living patterns, moral conduct and worldviews.²⁷

A similar argument was echoed by Rev. James Allison before an 1872 Select Committee where he also argued that in cases similar to the one under review, the parents would support their daughter in divorce cases against their son-in-law since they married their daughter under the premise that the two were entering into a monogamous relationship.²⁸ Given this as a palimpsest, it was not surprising that Priscilla Matiwane's mother and a church official gave her shelter and support during her troubles with her husband, Jerome Matiwane.²⁹

During litigation, a series of affidavits found their way to the Supreme Court through the Attorney General, most probably presented by Priscilla Matiwane and her legal team to prove

²⁶ NCP 8/3/20, Report of the Native Affairs Commission 1881-1882: evidence of Jacobus Matiwane (spokesman), Cornelius Matiwane and Luke Msimang, 10 February 1882, p. 146. Another person who failed to uphold the principle of faithfulness was John Dube, see Heather Hughes, *First President: A life of John. L. Dube, first president of the ANC* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2011), pp 189-190.

²⁷ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, p. 5; Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido, 'The politics of race, class and nationalism', in Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido (eds.), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (London and New York: Longman, 1987), pp 4-6.

²⁸ NCP 8/3/8, Report of the Select Committee to consider Marriages Contracted by Natives under Christian Rites, evidence of Rev. James Allison, 12 November 1872, pp 3-4.

²⁹ See explanation of Priscilla's place of residence in various correspondences between Jerome, Priscilla and court officials as contained in RSC 1/5/306, Illiquid case no. 68/1917, Jerome Cecil Matiwane vs Priscilla Matiwane.

the case of adultery against Jerome Matiwane. One such affidavit was from Nomabuto Emma Mfeka who testified to the effect that Jerome Matiwane was in love with her daughter, Josephine Mfeka, as late as 1917. Nomabuto Mfeka testified that she had found love letters written by Jerome Matiwane to her daughter, and that her daughter had admitted to the affair to her.³⁰ The letters were not the only evidence that Nomabuto Mfeka had, but she also argued that Jerome Matiwane had impregnated her daughter, and that on 1 December 1917, he admitted this at her home in the presence of Minah Mfeka, Leonard Mfeka, Deliwe Mfeka and Josephine Mfeka. Nomabuto Mfeka's evidence was also corroborated by those she mentioned.³¹

In addition to its obvious narrative, this archive also revealed a concealed narrative with regard to a deviation from a cultural practice among isiZulu speaking people in which it was the woman's family who went to a man's family to report a pregnancy. In the event that a man chose to make a representation to the woman's family, that would conventionally be done through his delegation or in the presence of others from his extended family.³² However, in this respect, the archive revealed that Jerome Matiwane was invited by Nomabuto Mfeka to her 'kraal', and that Jerome Matiwane visited the Mfeka family without anyone accompanying

³⁰ The question that begs to be asked is how she came to the conclusion about the content of the letters considering that her affidavit was not signed, but a mark was attached next to her name. Such marks were associated with inability to write. See RSC 1/5/306, affidavit of Nomabuto alias Emma Mfeka, widow of Elijah Mfeka, 17 April 1918.

³¹ RSC 1/5/306, affidavit of Nomabuto alias Emma Mfeka, widow of Elijah Mfeka, 17 April 1918; RSC 1/5/306, affidavit of Josephine Mfeka, daughter of Nomabuto Mfeka, 16 April 1918 and affidavit of Minah Mfeka, daughter of Nomabuto and Elijah Mfeka, 17 April 1917.

³² See discussion between Bongani Ndhlovu and Khenani Makhoba, 29 March 2014. Makhoba is a writer, a poet and a commentator on isiZulu culture and practices. He was a teacher, lecturer and a former South African Heritage Resources Agency employee.

him.³³ Rather than using the presence of others to protect himself, this archive revealed that he neglected a cultural practice that would have provided witnesses against their voices and testimony should a dispute arise, but arguable, as an exempted native, Jerome Matiwane probably wished to minimise the involvement of people in his private affairs.

On the other side, this archive revealed that Nomabuto Mfeka invited others in her family as witnesses, which was reflected in the affidavital narrative that was by design wired in her favour. In this archive, she brought forward an argument that the child, Livingstone Coulbourne Mfihlo Matiwane, was born on 26 October 1917, but was registered by her as illegitimate in December 1917 at Camperdown Court. In her affidavit, she denied having told the clerk that the child was born on 29 December 1917. She attested that the names were written on a piece of paper, given to her by Jerome Matiwane, which she kept at her home, and that the handwriting on it was that of Jerome Matiwane's brother whom she referred to as Edwin. She further argued under oath that Jerome Matiwane had promised to pay damages of ten cattle and to supply food for the child.³⁴

³³ In Jerome's defence, the archive also showed that a person called Edwin, referred to as his brother, was at least aware of the birth of a child. If a close family approach were to be used to try to identify 'his brother' as mentioned in Nomabuto's affidavit, it would not be either Arthur or Ira in terms of the 1952 letter. But if an extended family approach were to be applied, it would mean anybody who was old enough to be considered by his family to be his brother, according to their genealogy and circle of relations. However, an Edwin Mkize who presented an affidavit in 1918 may not belong to this category of kinship, as he introduced himself as an employee of a Camperdown doctor who helped transmit correspondence between Jerome Matiwane and Josephine Mfeka, and made no mention of any familial relations, see RSC 1/5/306, affidavit by Edwin Mkize Ka Sikonyana O.K.H. Chf. Mguquka, Camperdown, 18 April 1918.

³⁴ RSC 1/5/306, affidavit of Nomabuto alias Emma Mfeka, widow of Elijah Mfeka, 17 April 1918; RSC 1/5/306: affidavit of Josephine Mfeka, daughter of Nomabuto and Elijah Mfeka, 16 April 1918. Note that in her affidavit, Nomabuto Mfeka used the term '*Ngqutu*', which is an isiZulu language term roughly interpreted to mean 'damages' in English. Its direct translation refers to a woman's private parts. 'Damages' maybe 'paid' in cows, which were given to a woman's family by a man for making her pregnant or for breaking her virginity before marriage. Also note that there were slight spelling variations of the child's isiZulu name. In other documents, he was also referred to as Fihlo - see also RSC 1/5/306, affidavit of H.C. Hazzard, Clerk and Interpreter at the Magistrate Court Camperdown, dated 16 April 1918.

Nomabuto Mfeka's affidavit revealed contradictions, dualities and conflicts in the lives of exempted natives. While they were expected by Christians, and many colonial administrators, to live and be reprimanded according to western norm and law, many Africans also expected them to conform to cultural practices such as paying for 'damages' when it was thought they had broken such customs and practices. Also concealed in this affidavital archive were its attempts to imply a kind of deception by Jerome. From it, we may infer that he tried to distance himself from the child, that the child's name was handwritten not by him but by another person, and that he attempted to have its birth date altered as can be also be seen from H.C. Hazzard's evidence.³⁵ In the archive, Hazzard, a Camperdown Court Interpreter and Clerk, gave testimony to the effect that he registered the birth of Livingstone Coulbourne Mfihlo Matiwane in the Native Christian Birth book on 16 January 1918, and that this was done after Jerome Matiwane had admitted to fathering the child. Hazzard further testified that false information was supplied with regards to the 'birth of the child i.e. 29 December 1917 whereas the child was born on 26.10.17'.³⁶

Nomabuto Mfeka's evidence was further corroborated by Jerome's partner in crime, Josephina Mfeka. Josephine Mfeka presented letters, some of which were written on Cecil Matiwane Poultry Dealer's letterheads, from Jerome Cecil Matiwane, as evidence of their relationship. She further explained that between 1915 and 1916, the two of them had 'external intercourses' and that the child was as a result of their first 'internal intercourse' which took place in February 1917. She stated that this took place at Jerome's hut behind Mr Burchell's office

³⁵ RSC 1/5/306, affidavit of Nomabuto alias Emma Mfeka, widow of Elijah Mfeka, 17 April 1918 and RSC 1/5/306, affidavit of H.C. Hazzard, Clerk and Interpreter at the Magistrate Court, Camperdown, dated 16 April 1918.

³⁶ RSC 1/5/306, affidavit of H.C. Hazzard, Clerk and Interpreter at the Magistrate Court, Camperdown, dated 16 April /1918.

where he lived, and that his wife, Priscilla Matiwane, was not at Camperdown at that time.³⁷ She also explained that Jerome Matiwane did not pay damages for the child.

A close look at correspondence between Jerome Matiwane and Josephine Mfeka, presented during the litigation process, revealed that though Jerome Matiwane continued to refer to Josephine Mfeka as his 'dearest' throughout 1917 and early 1918, he seldom had contact with her. He was either too ill, had transport problems or bad weather prevented him from seeing Josephine Mfeka and, later, the child.³⁸ Perhaps it was partly due to Jerome Matiwane's diminishing interest in their daughter and the child that the Mfekas decided to disclose Jerome Matiwane's indiscretions and to side with Priscilla Matiwane. Jerome Matiwane had failed to pay them their damages, neglected their daughter and had attempted to 'hide' his fathering of the child. Interestingly, the child's isiZulu name was Mfihlo which, when literally translated, means 'the secret'. This was one of the three names given to the child by him. Perhaps he wanted Livingstone to be that, a secret.

Other persons who corroborated evidence in support of the Mfekas and to the legal issue at hand about Jerome Matiwane's 'adulterous' acts were Edwin Mkize, who was in the employ of a Dr Baker and used to deliver letters between Jerome Matiwane and Josephine Mfeka, and Mary Anne Gwamanda, who testified to the effect that Jerome Matiwane was not only in love with Josephine Mfeka, but that he also had an affair with Judith Gamede and that Gamede had

³⁷ RSC 1/5/306, affidavit of Josephine Mfeka, daughter of Nomabuto and Elijah Mfeka, 16 April 1918. It should be pointed out that during this time, Jerome Matiwane was working as a Clerk and Interpreter for Burchell, and Thrash and from archival sources it is evident that he had accommodation on site.

³⁸ RSC 1/5/306, miscellaneous correspondence from Jerome Matiwane to Josephine Mfeka between 1917 and 1918.

visited Jerome Matiwane's hut behind Burchell's office in 1917 and 1918.³⁹ Gwamanda stated that she learnt from Jerome Matiwane that they had a baby together.⁴⁰ When Judith Gamede was called to give evidence, she refused, and the least that her mother was able to do was to tell the police that she had never been told who seduced her daughter.⁴¹ Later in life, an exempted native woman by the name of Josephine Judith Gamede became the wife of Jerome Cecil Matiwane.⁴² Josephine Judith Matiwane and Jerome Cecil Matiwane had a child named David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, who was born early in 1918.

It is important to reiterate that this archive, like any other, had conspicuous gaps, omissions, discontinuities and disruptions. Among other things, it did not give details of how the legal proceedings ended. Nevertheless, it did give an indication that Jerome Matiwane's lawyer excused himself from handling the matter, partly due to financial reasons as Jerome Matiwane was no longer able to pay his legal fees.⁴³ Using other sources, we can also infer that Priscilla Matiwane and Jerome Matiwane eventually separated, and that Jerome Matiwane most probably did not get the custody of Christobel Crystal Oberline Matiwane.⁴⁴ Another glaring gap was that the archive was heavily littered with documentation from Jerome Matiwane's side, thus overshadowing or 'silencing' Priscilla Matiwane's voice. Priscilla Matiwane, in this

³⁹ RSC 1/5/306, affidavit by Edwin Mkize, Camperdown, 18 April 1918; RSC 1/5/306, affidavit of Mary Anne Gwamanda, dated 17 April 1918.

⁴⁰ RSC 1/5/306, affidavit of Mary Anne Gwamanda, dated 17 April 1918.

⁴¹ RSC/1/5/306, South African Police Investigative Report Form Occurrence Book 15278 entitled 'Re: Jerome Cecil Matiwane', 18 April 1918. Coincidentally, a J. Gumedé signed as Jerome Matiwane's witness on 10 September 1917 when Jerome went to his lawyers to open the case against Priscilla Matiwane, see RSC 1/5/305, Special Power of Attorney given to John Fraser by Jerome Cecil Matiwane, 10 September 1917.

⁴² Letter from D.C.O. Matiwane to his mother, Josephine Judith Matiwane, 13 June 1952; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane) held at Estcourt on 30 August 2013.

⁴³ RSC/1/5/306, letter from Jerome Matiwane to the Registrar regarding his bill of costs, 28 April 1920.

⁴⁴ Letter from D.C.O. Matiwane to his mother, Josephine Judith Matiwane, 13 June 1952, and interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane) held at Estcourt on 30 August 2013 make no reference to her. In an interview with Phumzile Mvelase on 2 April 2014, she mentioned that Jerome Matiwane and Judith Gamede had a son named Cornelius who died at a young age.

archive, only 'spoke' when she put forward an argument about Jerome Matiwane's alleged adultery and after that mainly through affidavits of others. This points to an inherent weakness of the archive as an instrument of exclusion. However, Priscilla's archival 'silence' and exclusion may also be read as a statement in itself.

Women and property rights: The case of the estates of Louisa and David Matiwane

The entry 'Louisa Matiwane = (grandmother)' in D.C.O. Matiwane's letter to his mother, Josephine Judith Matiwane, led to my archival research on Louisa Matiwane and eventually to interrogation of the archive, especially the deceased estates, file numbers 1897/1933 and 120 to 131.⁴⁵ Documentation in these files pointed to complicated land-transaction processes that exempted natives, and women in particular, had to navigate in order to protect their property rights and their rights as individuals. The archive also revealed documentation about the nuances of interactions between exempted natives and the colonial administrators, and between the exempted and un-exempted natives.

What the archive obviously failed to conceal though, was that one of the 'benefits' of exemption was that it gave exempted *amaKholwa* the right to own private land, and that the Matiwanes took advantage of this concession. By 1911, D.C.O. Matiwane's grandparents, David Cornelius and Louisa Matiwane (née Nembula), who were both exempted on 27 December 1888 from the operations of the Native Law, had a combined property of about 221 acres, most of which was at 'Woody Glen' (Georgedale) and valued at about £580.⁴⁶ However,

⁴⁵ Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, volume 43; MSC Deceased Estates, number 18597/1932, volume 45.

⁴⁶ MSC Deceased Estates, number 18597/1932, volume 45, first and final distribution account in the Estate of the late David Cornelius Matiwane, 14 December 1933; Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, volume 43, inventory to be issued in terms of the provisions of the 'Intestate Estate Administration of Act No 38 of 1899' of all

all title deeds of immovable property were held by Mr W.J.R. Harvard, Solicitor, of Howick due to the fact that about £45 pounds was still due to Messrs Allison and Hime, and as such, bonded to them until the outstanding debt was settled by the family.⁴⁷ The bonding of the properties revealed a property market which was not highly institutionalised, as individuals were able to transact with each other through specialists as intermediaries but not necessarily by going through banks to source funding.

The archive revealed that about 10 acres of the above mentioned landed property, valued at £28, belonged to Louisa Matiwane as an individual, and the rest was David Matiwane's property. In addition to this, she owned one double bed, one table, five chairs, one chest of drawers, crockery and some unlisted personal property.⁴⁸ Of note here is the fact that most of Louisa Matiwane's listed movable property related to the household, and all of David Matiwane's listed movable property had to do with stock,⁴⁹ which tended to attest to the then prevalent social roles of women and men. Nonetheless, this should not be read to discredit the fact that Louisa was allowed to own property in her name in a highly patriarchal 20th century

Property, Movable and Immovable, belonging to the Joint Estate of the late Louisa Matiwane and surviving Spouse David Cornelius Matiwane of Georgedale, Camperdown, stamped 3 and 7 November 1911; *The Natal Government Gazette*, 9 April 1893; list of Exempted Natives in archival file number 1KRK 3/1/5, KK1a/1905.

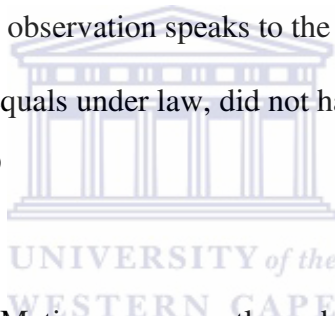
⁴⁷ Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, letter stamped 3 November 2011 from the Sergeant in Charge, Inchanga, Natal Police, City Court to the Master of Supreme Court; Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131 and letter from W.J.R. Harvard to the Master of Supreme Court, Natal Provincial Division entitled 'Int. Est. Louisa Matiwane', 120/XLIII, 20 December 1911.

⁴⁸ Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, inventory to be issued in terms of the provisions of the 'Intestate Estate Administration of Act No 38 of 1899' of all Property, Movable and Immovable, belonging to the Joint Estate of the late Louisa Matiwane and surviving Spouse David Cornelius Matiwane of Georgedale, Camperdown, stamped 3 and 7 November 1911.

⁴⁹ See the property listings of the Matiwanes contained in MSC Deceased Estates, number 18597/1932, testament of Walter Ernest Thrash as Executor, 14 December 1933; Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, volume 43, inventory to be issued in terms of the provisions of the 'Intestate Estate Administration of Act No 38 of 1899' of all Property, Movable and Immovable, belonging to the Joint Estate of the late Louisa Matiwane and surviving Spouse David Cornelius Matiwane of Georgedale, Camperdown, stamped 3 and 7 November 1911.

colonial South Africa. Percentage-wise, her land ownership equalled only to 4.52% compared to David Matiwane's 95.48%.

In direct financial terms, Louisa's £28 land ownership enabled her to control about 4.8 % of the family's immovable assets. This meant that though the Matiwanes could be seen as 'progressive', the family was conservative in the sense that women continued to play a very limited role in land ownership. They were 'progressive' in that they were able to use means available to them as exempted natives to legally protect and apportion their properties, though it was evident from the archive that David Matiwane most probably had an upper hand in the allocation of such property. This observation speaks to the notion that in many societies, women were not treated as full equals under law, did not have the same property rights as men or the rights to make contracts.⁵⁰



The allocation of land to Louisa Matiwane was partly enabled by two main factors. Firstly, she was an exempted native woman married to a man with exempted native status. Under the colonial regulations, married women were allowed to own land, and single women had to get a European male to support their applications.⁵¹ Secondly, her land ownership was enabled by a postnuptial contract the couple had. The archive showed us that on 23 July 1906, David Cornelius and Louisa Matiwane entered into a postnuptial contract where they agreed that there was 'no Community of Property or of Profit and Loss between them' and as such, they

⁵⁰ Martha Nussbaum, 'Women's Capabilities and Social Justice', *Journal of Human Development*, 1 (2), 2000, p. 220.

⁵¹ SNA 1/6/10, Papers Relating to the Exemption of Natives from the Operation of the Native Law, 1877-1887. Also see archival document titled 'Law No 11 of 1864 (Natal Government Gazette No 921, 4.10.1864): Law for relieving certain persons from operations of Native Law contained', in G.W. Eybers (ed.), *Select Constitutional Documents Illustrating South African History, 1795-1910* (London: George Routledge, 1918).

were to, respectively, retain and possess their estates and effects, and the fruits and profits made by or accruing to them individually, and would separately and solely bear and sustain any losses affecting them during the subsistence of their marriage.⁵² They further agreed that neither of them was to be liable for the debts and engagements of the other, and that all inheritance bequeathed to the other would be the property of the said or to whom the same would be bequeathed. Nevertheless, most importantly, they contracted that:

the property hereafter acquired by the labour, care, skill or diligence of the said Louisa Matiwane (born Nembula) shall be her own exclusive property and shall not be subject to the debts and liabilities of her said husband or to his control.⁵³

To a degree, the clause may be interpreted as progressive, given the fact that it specifically gave and guaranteed Louisa Matiwane control over her assets in a world that generally subjected women to male control. It is worth noting that land ownership was seen by many *amaKholwa* as a sign of independence.⁵⁴ For Louisa Matiwane, this may particularly be interpreted to mean that her exemption and land ownership status were instituted to protect her from being deprived of her property in the event of her husband's death, and most probably spared her the pain and indignity of being subjected to the custom of *ukungena*.⁵⁵

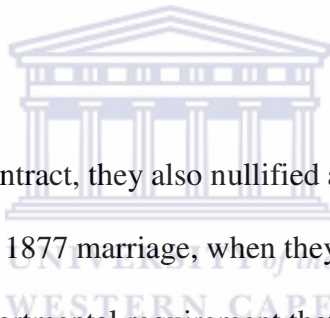
⁵² Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, Post Nuptial Contract between David Cornelius Matiwane and Louisa Matiwane (born Nembula), 23 July 1906.

⁵³ Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, Post Nuptial Contract between David Cornelius Matiwane and Louisa Matiwane, 23 July 1906.

⁵⁴ See NCP 8/3/20, Report of the Native Affairs Commission 1881-1882: evidence of Jacobus Matiwane (spokesman), Cornelius Matiwane and Luke Msimang, 10 February 1882, p 146.

⁵⁵ *Ukungena* was a dominant cultural practice among Africans in what is now called KwaZulu-Natal and many parts of South Africa, Swaziland and Lesotho, whereby a brother of a deceased man took familial responsibilities over his late brother's household, including procreating with the wife of the late. For a brief discussion on this matter, also see NCP 8/3/20, Report of the Native Affairs Commission 1881-1882: evidence of Johannes Kumalo, 'Head of Native holding Driefontien and other farms in this Division', p 324 and evidence of Rev James Allison on 12 November 1872, as reported in NCP 8/3/8, Report of Select Committee to consider Marriages Contracted by Natives under Christian Rites, p 3. Martha Nussbaum, 'Women's Capabilities and Social Justice', *Journal of Human Development*, 1 (2), 2000, p 220, gives a general appraisal of challenges usually faced by women, including difficulties following the death of their husbands. She argues that these widows were seen as tools whose owners were gone.

Conversely, it also meant that she was not guaranteed an 'automatic' takeover of her husband's estate in the event of his death. The fact that no similar clause was added to protect David Matiwane's property may be interpreted as being indicative of the notion that 20th century South Africa operated from an entrenched patriarchal stand point whereby a man's properties were assumed to be 'protected'. However, more specifically, the existence of this postnuptial contract meant that, as exempted natives, their respective estates were to be allocated according to a will to be drawn up by each party and/or according to the judgement of the Master of the Supreme Court of South Africa, and not according to native laws or customary regulations.



By entering into a postnuptial contract, they also nullified a Community of Property contract embedded in their 18 September 1877 marriage, when they wedded without an Ante-Nuptial Contract.⁵⁶ It was a Master's departmental requirement that all parties married in South Africa were married in community of property, unless an ante-or postnuptial contract was in existence expressly excluding a community of property clause. It was further regulated that in all cases of community, a joint inventory was to be furnished to the Master showing all possessions belonging to both parties at the date of death of the other partner. Having been married in community of property also meant that there could be no question as to individual ownership of any property as all formed part of the joint estate.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, Post Nuptial Contract between David Cornelius Matiwane and Louisa Matiwane (born Nembula), 23 July 1906.

⁵⁷ Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, Master's standard departmental regulations extracted from an estate form of Louisa Matiwane, Exempted Native of Grey's Hospital, Pietermaritzburg, 17 October 1911.

The 1906 postnuptial contract protected the Matiwanes from joint estate regulations and it was for this reason that the Masters regarded Louisa Matiwane's estate as an individual property after her death on 29 September 1911. However, given the fact that she bequeathed it to nobody, a process involving the family, solicitors and the Master's office was initiated to transfer the property to a relevant person. On 19 January 1912, Jerome Matiwane, with assistance from his employer, Walker and Burchell, made contact with the Master as per request. This was part of the process that, eventually, saw the transfer of Louisa's estate to her husband.⁵⁸

However, correspondence between David Matiwane, a Sergeant in Charge at Inchanga (Natal Police) and the Master's office, indicated that the 19 January 1912 letter from Jerome came after some undisclosed challenges between David Matiwane and Jerome Matiwane.⁵⁹ Apart from the fact that David Matiwane mentioned in his letters to the Sergeant in Charge that the delay in concluding the transfer of Louisa's estate to his father was partly caused by David Matiwane's and his daughter's poor health, Jerome Matiwane seemed to have also contributed to the delay.⁶⁰ When he eventually made himself available, he made it clear to the Master, by a way of a post-script, that he was 'the eldest son of the above L. Matiwane. Please inform me if anything more is required.'⁶¹ It seems as if some 'acts' which were unacceptable to his father,

⁵⁸ Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, letter entitled 'Re Int. Est. L Matiwane' from Jerome Cecil Matiwane to the Master of Supreme Court, 19 January 1912; Deceased Estate, number 120 to 131, letter entitled 'Intestate Estate of Louisa Matiwane, 120/XLIII' from the Master to Jerome Matiwane, 6 March 1912.

⁵⁹ Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, correspondence between the Sergeant in Charge; Natal Police - Inchanga and the Master of the Supreme Court about Louisa Matiwane's estate, 13 December 1911.

⁶⁰ Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, letters from David Matiwane to Sergeant in Charge, Inchanga, dated 18 December 1911 and 24 November 1911.

⁶¹ Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, volume 43, letter entitled 'Re Int. Est. L Matiwane' from Jerome Cecil Matiwane to the Master of the Supreme Court, 19 January 1912.

together with his legal troubles, were later to see Jerome Matiwane bequeathed nothing by his father, David Matiwane.⁶²

The deceased estate register revealed that initially, the Master had assumed that this was a joint estate case with a value of more than £400 and that as such, a family meeting was needed to finalise the matter. However, after realising that Louisa Matiwane's estate was to be handled in terms of the 1906 Post Nuptial Contract, and that her estate was valued at less than £100, the Master withdrew the request and handed Louisa Matiwane's estate to David Matiwane as the widower, 'the surviving spouse' and subject to certain conditions.⁶³

Jerome Matiwane noted the transfer of the estate to his father through the Solicitor, J.W.R. Harvard, and submitted documents wherein David Matiwane consented to the Master's terms of the transfer.⁶⁴ The first condition was that David Matiwane pays all the liabilities legally due by Louisa Matiwane, and the last was that he was going to maintain and educate the minor children to the satisfaction of the Master.⁶⁵ The only minors listed in the 1911 death notice of Louisa Matiwane were Arthur Cornelius Matiwane and Louisa Alvares Matiwane, as

⁶² MSC Deceased Estates, number 18597/1932, volume 45, Last Will and Testament of David Cornelius Matiwane of Richmond, Province of Natal, Exempted Native, 19 April 1921.

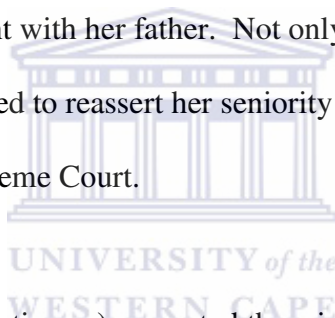
⁶³ Deceased Estate, number 120 to 131, letter entitled 'Intestate Estate of Louisa Matiwane, 120/XLIII' from the Master to Jerome Matiwane, 6 March 1912.

⁶⁴ Deceased Estate, number 120 to 131, letter entitled 'Intestate Estate of Louisa Matiwane, 120/XLIII' from J.W.R. Harvard to the Master, 18 March 1912.

⁶⁵ Deceased Estate, number 120 to 131, undertaking by David Matiwane to the Master of the Supreme Court regarding the Intestate Estate of Louisa Matiwane, 16 March 1912 and hand over certificate from the Master confirming the transfer to David Cornelius Matiwane, 26 March 1912.

well as children of Edith Matiwane and Miriam Matiwane. Ira Nembula Matiwane, the third child of the family, was recorded as deceased and had no children.⁶⁶

Documentary evidence written in 1912 and 1911 clearly indicated that the transfer of Louisa Matiwane's immovable estate, Lot G of Woody Glen farm and erf No. 3 of Block A at Georgedale on the farm Woody Glen, both falling under the Pietermaritzburg County, was a matter handled by the patriarch and his eldest son, Jerome. This was done at the exclusion of the family's oldest daughters, Edith Gertrude and Miriam Hezeline Matiwane, who were both older than Jerome Matiwane.⁶⁷ This was a matter Edith Matiwane attempted to address later on, probably after a disagreement with her father. Not only did she attempt to reclaim her mother's estate, she also attempted to reassert her seniority in the family. She did this through a letter to the Master of the Supreme Court.



In her letter, Edith Johns (née Matiwane) requested the winding up of Louisa Matiwane's estate. By so doing, she also opened up the matter for a further engagement. Edith Johns (née Matiwane) addressed herself as the 'oldest daughter' of David and Louisa Matiwane. But, as a way of a post-script, she also added that she was married to Selby Clement Johns, who was exempted in 1900.⁶⁸ What is of note about this post-script is that Edith Johns chose to partly define herself in relation to the exemption status of her husband, rather than her own. Another archival trace revealed that Edith Gertrude Johns also possessed an exemption certificate,

⁶⁶ Deceased Estate, number 120 to 131, Death Notice of Louisa Matiwane, 31 October 1911 and stamped 3 November and 4 December 1911 and correspondence in November and December 1911 between the Master of Supreme Court and the Sergeant in Charge regarding the estate of Louisa Matiwane.

⁶⁷ See the Deceased Estates register, number 120 to 131, volume 43 which contains various correspondence written in 1911 and 1912 regarding the estate of Louisa Matiwane, between a number of parties, including the Master, David Matiwane, Jerome Matiwane, J.W.R. Harvard and Sergeant of Inchanga.

⁶⁸ Deceased Estate, number 120 to 131, letter entitled 'Re Est. Louisa Matiwane no. 120/43' from Edith Johns (née Matiwane) to the Master, 13 July 1927.

which she obtained in 1908. However, the biography of her exemption in archive S.N.A. 3800/08 pointed out that her certificate was awarded on account of her father's exemption history, and also based on a verbal application of her husband S.C. Johns, and that the certificate was personally handed to Johns on 24 December 1908.⁶⁹ To a degree, this sheds light on why patriarchy was Edith's main source of reference.

In her attempt to re-open the transfer of her mother's estate to Louisa Matiwane's children and their surviving off spring, which was recorded in her 1927 letter and other documents, Edith Johns argued that she and Arthur Matiwane were the only surviving children of the first marriage. From this letter, she made it clear that all other heirs had passed away, including D.C.O. Matiwane's father, and left behind 'children who make their best to keep themselves alive.'⁷⁰ She asserted that her father and his second wife, Celia Mlipa, were troublesome and were disposing of everything or registering all of David Matiwane's estate (including that of Louisa Matiwane) to his second wife and her child, Spencil Calvert Cornelius Matiwane. Spencil, she argued, was not fathered by David Matiwane.⁷¹

Edith Johns further clarified that their 'dispossession' started in 1916 when David Matiwane sold part of the family's estate to pay *lobolo* for Celia Mlipa.⁷² In his reply, the Master

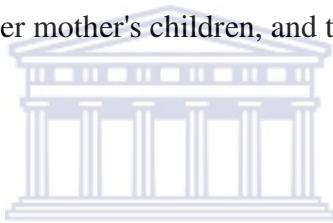
⁶⁹ S.N.A. 1/1/418, Minute Paper entitled Exemption from Native Law and contains correspondence between the Clerk and the Under Secretary of Native Affairs between 7 and 24 December 1908.

⁷⁰ Deceased Estate, number 120 to 131, letter entitled 'Re Est Louisa Matiwane no. 120/43' from Edith Johns (née Matiwane) to the Master, 13 July 1927.

⁷¹ Deceased Estate, number 120 to 131, letter entitled 'Re Est Louisa Matiwane no. 120/43' from Edith Johns (née Matiwane) to the Master, 13 July 1927; letter regarding the estate of Louisa Matiwane from advocate Arnold W. Cooper J.P. to the Master, 20 July 1925. The names Spencil and Celia also appear in the letter given to Bongani Ndhlovu by D.C.O. Matiwane's grandson, Thami Shange. The letter was written by D.C.O. Matiwane to his mother, 13 June 1952.

⁷² Deceased Estate, number 120 to 131, letter entitled 'Re Est Louisa Matiwane no. 120/43' from Edith Johns (née Matiwane) to the Master, 13 July 1927.

informed Edith Johns that all of Louisa Matiwane's estate was handed over to David Matiwane in view of his undertaking 'to maintain and educate the minor children to the master's satisfaction' and that as 'far as this matter is concerned the estate is closed.'⁷³ Subsequent correspondence between solicitors, magistrates, office for Native Affairs and the Masters' office eventually led to the official transfer of Louisa Matiwane's estate to David Matiwane and his estate⁷⁴ - probably much to the dissatisfaction of Edith Johns. Instead of achieving her intended purpose, Edith John's action only helped to officially finalise the transfer of her mother's estate to David Matiwane. However, though married at the time, she was able to assert herself and to challenge her father over the distribution of assets that she believed rightfully belonged to her mother's children, and to stand against their 'dispossession.'



David Matiwane's 1921 Will confirmed Edith Johns' claims of their 'dispossession'. In essence, and as was the case with other testaments, it is an archive of contradictions that concealed as it revealed, and also veiled and uncloaked. It 'concealed as it revealed' in the sense that only David, his executors and most probably few others knew the content of his 1921 will, while the same was concealed to the many interested others, like Edith Johns. 'Veiled and uncloaked' in the sense that the content was made known to interested others, including Edith Johns and Arthur Matiwane, after David Matiwane's death on 30 May 1932. Probably, Edith Johns might have gotten wind of their 'dispossession' earlier and hence her

⁷³ Deceased Estate, number 120 to 131, letter entitled 'Louisa Matiwane no. 120/43' from the Master to the Magistrate, 9 February 1935; letter entitled 'Estate of the late Louisa Matiwane' from the Magistrate to the Master, 11 February 1935; letter entitled 'Estate Louisa Matiwane' from the Magistrate to the Master, 14 February 1935; letter entitled 'Estate Louisa Matiwane No. 120/43' from the Master to Mr H.G. Nourse, Solicitor, 18 February 1935; letters entitled 'Re Estate Louisa Matiwane No 120/XLIII' from Mr H.G. Nourse to the Master, 28 March 1935 and 9 December 1935.

⁷⁴ Deceased Estate, number 120 to 131, letter entitled 'Louisa Matiwane no. 120/43' from the Master to Edith Johns (née Matiwane), 15 July 1927.

1927 letter to the Master. Among other things, David Matiwane's family, children and grandchildren learnt that he had bequeathed nothing to Louisa Matiwane's children, except for Miriam's daughter Orianna Florence Matiwane,⁷⁵ but much to Celia Matiwane (née Mlipa) and Spencil Matiwane, and as for Jerome and Arthur Matiwane, he wrote:

Inasmuch as my two sons Jerome and Arthur have caused me great expense in their education and in their evil ways, I leave them nothing under this my Will and in the case of my said son Jerome, I direct that my said Executor shall recover from him the sum of fourteen pounds (£14) Sterling being balance of an amount of thirty pounds (£30) which I lent him for the purposes of paying his defence fees in his case of Bex vs. himself.⁷⁶

Through his Will-Power and testament, David Matiwane appointed his beneficiaries and unlike Louisa Matiwane, he saw to it that no one, including his children Jerome, Arthur and Edith was to 'automatically' inherit something from him, as sometimes was the case with dying intestate.⁷⁷ It was partly through the absence of a will and the 'customs' of society that he inherited Louisa Matiwane's assets, probably an occurrence and a process he did not want his estate to be subjected to. Nonetheless, the above extract from his will gives us some idea about David Cornelius Matiwane's values and world outlook. Like other exempted Christian natives and as a Clerk, he placed a high premium on education, and hence his emphasis on the education of his children, in this case, Jerome and Arthur Matiwane.

⁷⁵ It is most likely that by including Miriam's child in his will, David was implementing the spirit of Louisa's estate settlement, see the Deceased Estates register, number 120 to 131, volume 43, which contains various correspondence written in 1911 and 1912 regarding the estate of Louisa Matiwane between a number of parties, including the Master, David Matiwane, Jerome Matiwane, J.W.R. Harvard and the Sergeant of Inchanga.

⁷⁶ Deceased Estates Nos. 204-220, volume 45, last Will and Testament of David Cornelius Matiwane of Richmond, Province of Natal, 17 April 1921.

⁷⁷ NCP 8/3/20, Report of the Native Affairs Commission 1881-1882, evidence of Jacobus Matiwane (spokesman), Cornelius Matiwane and Luke Msimang, 10 February 1882, p 149 and NCP 8/3/20 of the Report of the Native Affairs Commission 1881-1882: evidence of Rev. J. Allsopp, 7 January 1882, p 23 briefly provide background to this issue, more especially as to the views of exempted natives and those who were close to them.

Education, in addition to converting to Christianity and adherence to western ‘civilised’ standards were few of the requirements for exemption and these were the values that white missionaries also tried to instil in their converts. Consequently, and in pursuit of the missionary teachings, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw mission-educated Africans in Natal increasingly playing an instrumental role in evangelising others⁷⁸ and in the education of their children.

Through file number PVS 3325/10, we learn that David Cornelius Matiwane was a member of a School Building Committee at Georgedale Mission, and that it was in this position that he requested permission, from the Stock Inspector via the Natal Police, for their Committee to be allowed to use 15 head of cattle in yoke to transport building material.⁷⁹ This file shows David Matiwane’s roles as an educated and converted native, not only in the education of his children, but also in the construction of a facility that was for the benefit of his Georgedale community.

However, it has to be pointed out that though he had a high regard for education, according to the terms of the 1912 documentation between David Matiwane and the Master of the Supreme Court, he was also obligated to educate the minor children of Louisa Matiwane.⁸⁰ It was

⁷⁸ This includes projects like *uNzondelelo* of the Natal Wesleyan Native Mission, which was formed in 1875 with the aim of re-asserting the black elite’s independence, increasing their role in church affairs and in evangelising their fellows. Until then, white missionaries had mainly played this pivotal role, and to a degree to the elite’s dissatisfaction. Selby Msimang, ‘Unzondelelo’, www.ukzn.ac.za/webpages/DC/rejul76.5 accessed on 25 September 2013, details not only the history of *uNzondelelo*, but also the meaning of the word. According to Msimang, the word captures the zeal of the founders to spread the gospel among their people.

⁷⁹ PVS3325/10, memorandum from Natal Police to Stock’s Inspector, Pietermaritzburg, 2 August 1910.

⁸⁰ Deceased Estate, number 120 to 131, letter entitled ‘Intestate Estate of Louisa Matiwane, 120/XLIII’ from the Master to Jerome Matiwane, 6 March 1912; Deceased Estate, number 120 to 131, undertaking by David Matiwane to the Master of Supreme Court regarding the Intestate Estate of Louisa Matiwane, 16 March 1912 and

probably in this spirit that he continued to support Miriam Matiwane's daughter, but he was not prepared to support the others. It was clear from David Matiwane's will that Jerome Matiwane's legal battles partly contributed to their dispute. Nevertheless, about what Arthur Matiwane's 'evil ways' were, the archive was not clear. From Edith Johns' 1927 letter to the Master of the Supreme Court, it was evident that Arthur had a troubled marriage. According to Edith Johns, Arthur Matiwane was living at his father's home, and his wife and child were 'chased away' and were in Johannesburg.⁸¹ Again, it was not clear who chased Arthur's wife and their child away or why.

Rather than leaving an inheritance to his son, Jerome Matiwane,⁸² David Matiwane tried to recover, through his will, what was due to him. In essence, David Matiwane's archive made one to conclude that D.C.O. Matiwane's widowed mother, Josephine Judith Matiwane (née Gamede), was to think of Jerome Matiwane's debts in addition to raising a child whose grandfather died holding grudges against her husband. Jerome Matiwane's fallout with his father would have had a negative financial ripple effect on his wife and child, but the Executor of David's will wrote off the debt given the fact that 'Jerome died some 10 years ago'.⁸³ Had the relations been positive between Jerome Matiwane and his father, his children would probably have inherited something from their grandfather, as was the case with Miriam's daughter. However, despite the circumstance, and to paraphrase Edith Johns, D.C.O.

hand over certificate from the Master confirmation the transfer to David Cornelius Matiwane, 26 March 1912. Note that there are archival spelling variations in the writing of many names including Alvers or Alvara.

⁸¹ Deceased Estate, number 120 to 131, letter entitled 'Re Est. Louisa Matiwane no. 120/43' from Edith Johns (née Matiwane) to the Master, 13 July 1927.

⁸² It should be noted that by the time of his death, his son was already deceased, and David Matiwane did not update his 1921 Will after Jerome Matiwane's death.

⁸³ MSC Deceased Estates, number 18597/1932, testament of Walter Ernest Thrash as Executor, 14 December 1933.

Matiwane's mother was able to keep herself and D.C.O. Matiwane alive. Josephine Judith Matiwane was able to do so partly through her teaching profession.⁸⁴

Navigating land transfer challenges: The 1913 Land Act

I have argued elsewhere in this chapter that a close look at property during the first decade of the nineteenth century revealed a property market which was not highly institutionalised and which was less officially-structured along racial lines. Though certain areas were known as black areas, individuals across the racial divide were able to transact with relative ease and with very limited state intervention. The passing of the 1913 Natives Land Act brought this to an end. Archival documentation after the enactment of the Natives Land Act of 1913 revealed an interventionist state which was trying to institute ways of managing land transactions between blacks and whites through a single policy. To a degree, the same archive shed some light on person-to-person interactions and the politics of land transactions in the second decade of the century. I use the archival experience of the Matiwanes as a medium to explore this argument.

The argument by Edith Johns (née Matiwane) that her father, David Matiwane, needed some funds around 1916 seems plausible. In 1917, D.C.O. Matiwane's grandfather bonded eight sections of Woody Glen to Helene Jane McKenzie and John Fraser, who was Jerome Matiwane's solicitor in his divorce case with Priscilla Matiwane, for an amount of £180.

Though the archive did not give the *lobola* and wedding expenses due to Celia Mlipa' family as the reason for the bond, the argument by Edith Johns could not be out-ruled, especially

⁸⁴ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Phumzile Mvelase, Estcourt, 30 October 2014. In a further interview on 15 January 2015, she recalled that her grandmother also worked for benevolent societies, taking care of the elders and had a Red Cross Certificate.

given the fact some individuals were successful in omitting details of their private lives from the state.⁸⁵ Secondly, it could be that he took the bond due to sound business principles in that he preferred a bond that was more beneficial to him. Thirdly, he could have taken the bond because of both aforementioned and other reasons.

The archive revealed that on the McKenzie and Fraser bond, David Matiwane had to pay an 8% interest per year and that he needed the money to pay off a loan of the same amount at 10% interest per year that he took from Messrs Bale and Green.⁸⁶ Therefore, in economic terms, this arrangement was beneficial to him by 2%. However, given the fact that land transactions were governed by the regulations of the recently enacted Act No. 27 of 1913, the Natives Land Act, he had to seek permission from the Secretary for Native Affairs to enter into a transaction with a person who was outside of his race group. The Act was seen by many black people, including the South African Native National Congress which sent a delegation first to Cape Town and then to London against it, as a nuisance. On the other hand, its advocates, including the 1912 Minister of Justice and Native Affairs, J.G. Keyter and P.G.W. Grobler (who later became the Minister of Lands), saw it as an instrument which would prohibit blacks from squatting on 'white' farms, and that it would allow both blacks and whites to separately develop themselves economically and politically in racially demarcated areas.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ The argument of biographical omission and misinformation, among others, is well argued by Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 'The Form, the Permit and the Photograph.' Gary T. Marx, 'Identity and Anonymity: Some Conceptual Distinction and Issues for Research' in Jane Caplan and John Torpey (eds.), *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001) gives a detailed analysis on the inter-relations between identity, non-identification and anonymity.

⁸⁶ CNC 2287/1917, letter from John Fraser to the Chief Native Commissioner regarding David's mortgage, 4 August 1917.

⁸⁷ Sol Plaatje, *Native Life in South Africa* (Northland: Picador Africa, 2007), pp. 21-62; André Odendaal, *The Founders: The Origins of the ANC and the Struggle for Democracy in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2012), p 284.

Archival evidence indicated that in order to comply with the regulations of the Act, David Matiwane requested John Fraser to write to the Natal Chief Native Commissioner, who, in turn, motivated to the Secretary in favour of the mortgage, arguing that the land in question did not fall within a recommended 'Native Area'.⁸⁸ Native areas were also known as 'Scheduled Native Areas'. A recommended native area was a clearly demarcated area on a map set aside by a commission, which was established in terms of the Act, for black land use and as a black area. However, another challenge that had to be overcome was that the Act also prohibited trade between races. Archival documents indicated that this was solved by invoking the Act and that David Matiwane's request was approved by the Governor General under the provisions of section 1 of the 1913 Natives Land Act.⁸⁹ Section 1 of the Act stipulated that from and after its commencement, land outside the scheduled native areas shall be subject to the following two provisions, except with approval of the Governor General:

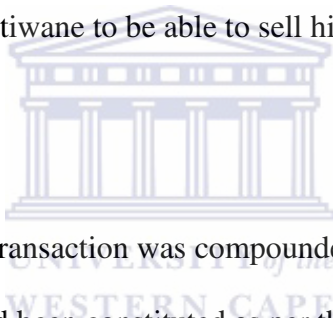
- (a) a native shall not enter into any agreement or transaction for the purchase, hire, or other acquisition from a person other than a native, of any such land or of any right thereto, interest therein, or servitude there over; and
- (b) a person other than a native shall not enter into any agreement or transaction for the purchase, hire, or other acquisition from a native of any such land or of any right thereto, interest therein, or servitude there over.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ CNC 2287/1917, letter from Chief Native Commissioner, Natal, to the Secretary for Native Affairs, Pretoria, 8 August 1917; CNC 2287/1917, letter from John Fraser to the Chief Native Commissioner regarding David's mortgage, 4 August 1917; CNC 2287/1917, mortgage approval certificate from the Department of Native Affairs, 7 September 1917.

⁸⁹ CNC 2287/1917, letter from Chief Native Commissioner, Natal, to the Secretary for Native Affairs, Pretoria, 8 August 1917; CNC 2287/1917, letter from John Fraser to the Chief Native Commissioner regarding David's mortgage, 4 August 1917; CNC 2287/1917, mortgage approval certificate from the Department of Native Affairs, 7 September 1917.

⁹⁰ Natives Land Act No. 27 of 1913. The Driefontien Trust Deed had a similar clause, but when presenting his evidence before the Native Commission of 1881, Rev. J. Allsopp of Edendale Mission clarified that exempted natives of Driefontein included a clause prohibiting the sale of their land to whites 'to keep the inheritance for their children.' Apart from this striking co-incidence, there is no evidence linking the two or of the Deed setting precedence to the 1913 Natives Land Act. Allsopp's evidence is contained in NCP 8/3/20 of the Report of the Native Affairs Commission 1881-1882: evidence of Rev. J. Allsopp, 7 January 1882, p 23.

The above section basically abolished and prohibited any land transaction between blacks and whites in South Africa unless approval was granted by the Governor General. Having been unable to pay the mortgage interest, David Matiwane gave Henry Holdgate and Son the power of attorney to sell the property in 1919. A white farmer, Antony Francis Frara, showed interest. Frara wanted to buy the six properties from David Matiwane in order to link up his land in the area into one block.⁹¹ The fact that this involved a black and a white person meant that, in keeping with the provisions of the Act, they had to apply for permission to carry out the transaction. In addition, it had to be established whether the land was not part of a scheduled black area. These were the two matters that the Secretary of Native Affairs had to determine in order for David Matiwane to be able to sell his property and for Frara to acquire it.



The archive indicated that their transaction was compounded by the fact that by 1919 the Natal Local Land Committee had been constituted as per the provision of the Act, and its observations were different from that of the Natives Land Commission. The land fell within an area recommended by the Local Committee 'as a Native one but is not so recommended by the Natives Land Commission.'⁹² The Natal Chief Native Commissioner also brought to the Secretary for Native Affairs' attention that at the time that the mortgage was approved in 1917, the local committee had not been constituted, and it was against that background that he was 'reluctantly compelled to recommend the approval.'⁹³ Again, the motivation was subsequently

⁹¹ CNC 1703/19, letter from Henry Holdgate and Son to the Commissioner, Native Affairs, Pietermaritzburg, 30 October 1919.

⁹² CNC 1703/19, letter entitled 'Application for transfer of certain properties from D.C. Matiwane to A.F. Frara, situated on "Woody Glen", Pietermaritzburg' from the Secretary for Native Affairs, Pretoria, to the Chief Native Commissioner, Natal, 9 December 1919.

⁹³ CNC 1703/19, letter from Chief Native Commissioner, Natal, to the Secretary for Native Affairs, Pretoria, 5 November 1919.

approved by the Governor General.⁹⁴ It would have been interesting to observe how the Governor General would have handled the approval had the buyer been a black person and the land in question in a 'white area'.

The CNC 1703/19 archive clearly revealed the racial bureaucratisation of land transaction and land demarcation in the Union of South Africa. In relation to the Matiwanes, it showed how they were also affected by the regulations of the Land Act. Through the provisions of laws and the recommendations of commissions,⁹⁵ the state tried to introduce 'order' in its racial administration by superimposing artificial land zoning. Such artificiality created unprecedented problems and failures, not only as far as race relations was concerned, but also in creating the land management machinery that was not sustainable.⁹⁶

Structured racism was a matter which was to haunt the state, as many black people, including David Cecil Matiwane and progressive others, intensified their struggles against it throughout the 20th century. For people such as D.C.O. Matiwane, it was an intolerable irritant which stood in their paths to eke out a living in a country where discrimination was well anchored, and they were not regarded as equal inhabitants. For Sol Plaatje, the Natives Land Act deprived blacks their 'bare human rights of living on the land, except as servants in the employ

⁹⁴ CNC 1703/19, letter entitled 'Application for transfer of certain properties from D.C. Matiwane to A.F. Frara, situated on "Woody Glen", Pietermaritzburg' from the Secretary for Native Affairs, Pretoria, to the Chief Native Commissioner, Natal, 9 December 1919.

⁹⁵ Acts and bills including but not limited to the 1913 Natives Land Act and the Native Administration Bill of 1917. Commissions including but not limited to the Beaumont Commission, Natives Land Commission and its local committees.

⁹⁶ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998) provides a detailed analysis of how states' efforts to structure society, nature and space worked against the principle of diversity and mutuality and helped to create anarchy. Sol Plaatje, *Native Life in South Africa* (Northland: Picador Africa, 2007), gives a detailed account of the effect this artificiality had on race relations and on blacks in particular. In one account, he argues that '...with a ruthless hand the Natives' Land Act has succeeded in remorselessly destroying those happy relations', p 27.

of the whites.⁹⁷ D.C.O. Matiwane's frustrations about the limitations of black movement and the racialisation of the South African landscape were adequately documented in his unpublished manuscript.⁹⁸

The burning of the archive and the silent features of the 1952 letter

It may be argued that by destroying the certificate of exemption, Matiwane was also 'ridiculing' the extreme adherence to western values by the educated black elite to such an extent that many did not officially give their children African names. Returning to the 1952 letter as an archival trace and palimpsest, it was clear from the names on the list that almost all of his father's family had non-African names as their first names. Judith Matiwane listed them as David Cornelius Matiwane (grandfather), Louisa Matiwane (grandmother), Gertrude Matiwane (aunt), Mirriam Matiwane (aunt), Ira Matiwane (uncle), Jerome Cecil Matiwane (father), Arthur Matiwane (uncle) and Alvina Matiwane (aunt).⁹⁹ In the letter, she also added her name Josephine Judith (mother), Spencil Calvert Cornelius Matiwane (step uncle) and Celia Matiwane (step grandmother).¹⁰⁰

These names also appeared in official documents, especially the estate registers and/or last testaments of Louisa Matiwane and David Cornelius Matiwane, as children of D.C.O.

⁹⁷ Sol Plaatje, *Native Life in South Africa*, p 31.

⁹⁸ David Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation and The Contemporary Problem of Apartheid Strappado*. A detailed discussion of this work is discussed in Chapter Four.

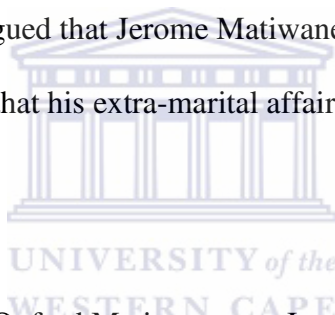
⁹⁹ The names of Edith Gertrude (10 years), Miriam (8 years), Ira Nimbula (5 years) and Jerome Cecil (1 year) also appear on archival file number 1KRR 3/1/5, KK1a/1905 in the List of Exempted Natives, stamped by the Magistrate of Krantzkop on 30 January 1905. The file indicates that when David and Louisa Matiwane applied for exemption in 1888, they had four children. From a series of archival documents, it can be deduced that David and Louisa Matiwane probably named one of their children Nimbula after Louisa's paternal name mostly spelt Nembula in archival documents, see Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, Post Nuptial Contract between David Cornelius Matiwane and Louisa Matiwane (born Nembula), 23 July 1906.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from D.C.O. Matiwane to his mother, Josephine Judith Matiwane, 13 June 1952. Reference to Spencil and Celia also appears in Deceased Estate, number 120 to 131, volume 43, 17 April 1921 and letter from Edith Johns to the Master entitled 'Re Est Louisa Matiwane no. 120/43', 13 July 1927.

Matiwane's grandparents and persons associated with his grandfather, and were, therefore, part of his paternal family tree.¹⁰¹ Archival sources also indicated that, to a degree, D.C.O.

Matiwane's father tried to follow the same naming trend with children from women he subsequently married, including the child of his first marriage to Priscilla Matiwane, whom they named Christobel Crystal Oberline Matiwane.¹⁰²

However, archival sources indicated that Jerome Matiwane's child with Josephine Mfeka was the exception to this 'norm' as his names were Livingstone Coulbourne Mfihlo, all given to him by Jerome Matiwane.¹⁰³ As argued above, literally translated, Coulbourne's last name means 'secret', and it may be argued that Jerome Matiwane most probably used this isiZulu name to impress on the Mfekas that his extra-marital affair with their daughter was not for public indulgence.



On the other hand, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane was Jerome Matiwane's child with a woman he married. All his official names were in English, but in an interview, Dr Zweli Mkhize recalled that D.C.O. Matiwane was nicknamed Nyovane at his birth. This isiZulu name has different meanings; one such meaning is a trouble maker.¹⁰⁴ According to Mkhize and with the benefit of hindsight, trouble-making was to become synonymous with Matiwane as he increasingly caused trouble for the National Party government through his anti-apartheid

¹⁰¹ See Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, volume 43, especially the death notices of Louisa Matiwane; MSC Deceased Estates, number 18597/1932, volume 45, Last Will and Testament of David Cornelius Matiwane of Richmond, Province of Natal, Exempted Native, 17 April 1921; Death Notice of David Cornelius Matiwane, 5 August 1932; list of Exempted Natives in archival file 1KRK 3/1/5, KK1a/1905.

¹⁰² RSC 1/5/306, Special Power of Attorney given to John Fraser by Jerome Cecil Matiwane, 10 September 1917.

¹⁰³ RSC 1/5/306, affidavit of Nomabuto alias Emma Mfeka, widow of Elijah Mfeka, 17 April 1918; RSC 1/5/306: affidavit of Josephine Mfeka, daughter of Nomabuto and Elijah Mfeka, 16 April 1918; RSC 1/5/306, affidavit of H.C. Hazzard, Clerk and Interpreter at the Magistrate Court Camperdown, dated 16 April 1918.

¹⁰⁴ *Nyova* means to cause trouble, and a diminutive for the word is *Nyovane*, which means a little trouble-rouser.

activism. However, Mkhize argued that the real reason behind Matiwane's nickname was due to the fact that he was born breeched, hence the name, Nyovane.¹⁰⁵

Returning to the 1952 letter and a series of other archival documents, it may be concluded that D.C.O. Matiwane shared his first name, David, with his grandfather and his middle name, Cecil, with his father. His last name, Oxford, was the name he shared with no-one mentioned in the correspondence, or to be more precise, in the referenced archival sources.¹⁰⁶ The three name combination left him with no official African name, most probably an act he regarded as another demonstration of his parents' ridiculousness.¹⁰⁷ The fact that his parents did not give him an official African name may be read as an indication of the then accepted 'progression' mentality on D.C.O. Matiwane parents' part and amongst the elites. They probably regarded giving their son an African name as an act equivalent to reverting to barbarity. Converting to Christianity meant adopting new names in addition to accepting a new way of life. This may have been interpreted by D.C.O. Matiwane as a symptom of acculturation. This was a naming practice against which D.C.O. Matiwane was to rebel by giving his children African names as their official names.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014. Mkhize was a medical doctor by profession, a political activist during the apartheid era and played a meaningful role in the ANC underground structures in exile. As a young man, he was mentored by D.C.O. Matiwane. Matiwane also linked him with other like-minded young men. In post-apartheid South Africa, Mkhize was KwaZulu-Natal's first MEC for Health. He also served as MEC for Finance and as its Premier. In 2012, he was elected Treasurer General of the African National Congress.

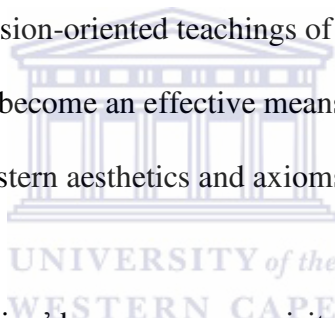
¹⁰⁶ Like Deceased Estates, number 120 to 131, volume 43, Death Notice of Louisa Matiwane; MSC Deceased Estates, number 18597/1932, volume 45, Last Will and Testament of David Cornelius Matiwane, 17 April 1921 and Death Notice of David Cornelius Matiwane, 5 August 1932.

¹⁰⁷ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Phumzile Mvelase, daughter of D.C.O. Matiwane, Estcourt, 30 August 2013.

¹⁰⁸ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Thami Shange, grandson of D.C.O. Matiwane, 24 September 2013. The names of Ntombikayise Virginia (née Makhathini) and D.C.O. Matiwane's children are Jabulile, Fana, Sibongile, Zanele, Phumzile, Themba and Ntsika (Ntsika was spelt as Nsika in some cases).

D.C.O. Matiwane was not the first person to introduce such a naming practice to the family, as his grandfather's death notice revealed that David Matiwane's parents had African names.

D.C.O. Matiwane's great grandfather was Ginyosi Matiwane who was married to Malita Matiwane.¹⁰⁹ The two lived in the missionary epoch which increasingly introduced Christianity and western values among Africans, and within which naming was to become a key feature of the civilising mission, and through which a different African was to emerge. It was likely that Ginyosi and Malita Matiwane introduced the new naming practices to the family, or alternatively, that this was introduced by David and Louisa Matiwane who were both exempted in 1888, and it is likely that when their children were born, they named and raised them according to the mission-oriented teachings of the time. In this context, missionary literacy did not only become an effective means of spreading the gospel, but was also a vehicle through which western aesthetics and axioms were circulated.¹¹⁰



In essence, literacy and 'civilisation' became a prerequisite by which the native progress was measured, not only by educated natives themselves, but also by advocates of western civilisation and colonial administrators, as may be observed from the following:

these people have their substantial stone dwellings, and well ploughed fields, with the power of buying or selling at pleasure. They have also erected a church, school-house, and watermill. Every day witnesses the arrival of wagon loads of Edendale produce at the Maritzburg market. It is

¹⁰⁹ MSC Deceased Estates, number 18597/1932, Death Notice of David Cornelius Matiwane, 5 August 1932.

¹¹⁰ Patrick Harries, 'Missionaries, Marxists and Magic: Power and the Politics of Literacy in South-East Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol 27 (3), 2001; Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*, volume 1 (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), p 4; Pierre Bourdieu, 'Systems of education and systems of thought', *Social Science Information*, vol 14(3), 1967. Also see William Clifford Holden, *The Past and Future of the Native Races* (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1963), p 486. First printed in London by William Nichols in 1866, this book is to a degree autobiographical in that it gives first-hand accounts of a number of events encountered by its author, in addition to his point of view and convictions as a Wesleyan missionary active in Natal and Durban. In particular, he argued that it was only through Christianity that barbarous nations like Africans could be improved. The original manuscript was prepared in 1845, but a number of changes were made to it due to changes of events at the time.

quite a sight to see the wagons returning, on a summer's evening, packed with the wives and families of these Edendale Caffres; all clad in British manufactured goods, and carrying on their countenances an unmistakeable air of contentment and joyous prosperity.¹¹¹

By destroying the certificate of exemption, D.C.O. Matiwane challenged historical official-documentation and its identification legacy. It may be read as an attempt to break ties with the promise of 'common' citizenship as well as the notion of a 'civilised' native, as envisioned and defined in the nineteenth century by colonial masters. Matiwane was taking a stand, as part of a broader liberation call in the 20th century, for equal treatment of all South Africans irrespective of their education, cultural, religious and social standing. It was a stand for which not a different African was to emerge.¹¹² This was a call different from what missionaries generally stood for: an emergence of new social grouping of Africans who distanced themselves from their 'tribalised' and 'uncivilised' communities. Therefore, when D.C.O. Matiwane tore-up his mother's exemption certificate, he was, in essence, re-aligning his family cause to that of the wider community of the oppressed.

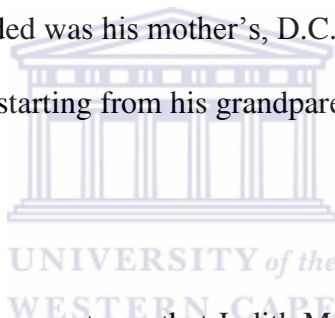
This can also be read as an acceptance on his part of the failures of the assimilation and acculturation politics that promised previous generations, including Ginyosi Matiwane, Malita Matiwane, David Matiwane, Louisa Matiwane, Jerome Matiwane and Judith Matiwane, a common citizenship, but offered them separation and segregation. Furthermore, in doing so, D.C.O. Matiwane not only rebelled against the system that attempted to divide a community

¹¹¹ Sheila Marianne Meintjes, 'Edendale 1850-1906: A Case Study of Rural Transformation and Class Formation in an African Mission in Natal', Ph.D dissertation (University of London, 1988), p 180.

¹¹² This topic is also discussed by Jack and Ray Simons, *Class and Colour In South Africa, 1850-1950* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1983), p 492.

in which he was a member, he also embraced a naming trend that was once associated with the notion of ‘barbarity’ against ‘civilisation’.

Moving away from the politics of naming, I would like to briefly focus on the notion of insertion as another silent palimpsest and feature of the 1952 letter. In this letter, D.C.O. Matiwane requested from his mother the following documents: her marriage certificate, his father's exemption certificate, his father's death certificate and 'my family tree, i.e. the first born of my father's family up to the last one (Calvert).'¹¹³ These were urgently wanted by him for a matter he did not mention, which he was investigating. In the same letter, but in different handwriting and which I concluded was his mother's, D.C.O. Matiwane's paternal family tree was included as per his request, starting from his grandparents to Calvert Matiwane and Celia Matiwane.¹¹⁴



What was worth noting in that fragment was that Judith Matiwane's name was inserted next to his father's. This can be read in a number of ways, first as a direct response to D.C.O. Matiwane's request in which he wanted his father's family tree, but probably that as an act of polite resistance, she deliberately inserted her name to remind him that he was both her and Jerome Matiwane's issue. But if this was the case why, as part of such resistance, did she not include her family tree? Secondly, as an indication that through marriage, she was bound to Jerome Matiwane and therefore, she too was part of this family. Lastly, it may be concluded

¹¹³ Letter from D.C.O. Matiwane to his mother, Josephine Judith Matiwane, in 13 June 1952.

¹¹⁴ Letter from D.C.O. Matiwane to his mother, Josephine Judith Matiwane, in 13 June 1952. In her response, Josephine Judith Matiwane pointed out that Calvert was D.C.O. Matiwane's step-uncle and that Celia was his step-grandmother.

that this was probably an unconscious acknowledgement on her part of the support roles played by women in predominantly patriarchal societies.

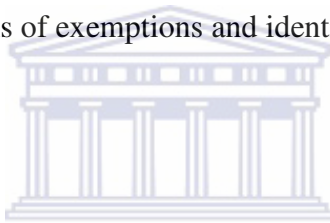
Conclusion

In this chapter, I attempted to analyse the referenced documents and also to subject the archival content to critical analysis. While using the archive as a narrative agent that showed the conditions which ‘produced’ ‘rebels’ and also to reconstruct D.C.O. Matiwane’s auto/biographical memory, I exposed the archive to its inherent flaws, particularly as a product of an official machinery. I also analysed the limits of Matiwane’s ‘private’ archive. I attempted to treat his private archive, especially some personal communication between individuals as fragments that had a story to tell. Some of these entered the state archive beyond the limits of state intention and yielded unrestrained and unexpected voices.¹¹⁵ For example, information about Josephine Mfeka and Jerome Matiwane's relationship entered the archive through a legal dispute between Jerome and Priscilla Matiwane.

In addition, I also read this as an indicator of an informal archiving system (though not as highly structured as the state archive) that individuals used for their personal gain, especially for documents deemed more valuable to them. In the case of Josephine Mfeka, official documentation does not indicate how she directly benefited from making her archive public, but Priscilla Matiwane became the unintended beneficiary. Probably, she was able to 'settle' scores with Jerome Matiwane, but the archive does not reveal whether Jerome Matiwane provided for her child or whether he settled the question of ‘damages’ that were due to her family. Be that as it may, it made public his relationship with Josephine Judith Gamede.

¹¹⁵ Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 'The Form, the Permit and the Photograph', pp 650 & 659.

Returning to the document-keeping issue, the fact that D.C.O. Matiwane's family was able to safeguard the 1952 letter for a long period also highlighted the value that some members of the family attached to such letters. The fact that some attachments linked to it disappeared over the course of time may be read as indicative of their limited abilities to systematically archive over an extended period. Nonetheless, both these forms of documentation are partly used to illustrate memory's resistance to erasure. To illustrate the last point, it was through the philosophical portmanteau of both the letter as a preserved document and of Mvelase's narration of Matiwane's act of destroying her grandmother's exemption certificate as a preserved memory, that questions of exemptions and identification were explored in this chapter.



Furthermore and in a veiled approach, Matiwane's act of undoing the archive was juxtaposed with the ability of the letter to recall, in that both the letter and Phumzile Mvelase's memory were used to provide leads to a rich heritage of exemption and education in the Matiwane family and within a broader missionary epoch which attempted to evangelise and civilise. Civilising echoed well with the aspirations of the colonial government, which wanted regulated labour from the multitudes of Africans who, in their eyes, were hostile to labour and productivity.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ For a detailed discussion on this topic see Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*, volume one (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991); Patrick Harries, 'Missionaries, Marxists and Magic: Power and the Politics of Literacy in South-East Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol 27 (3), 2001; Martin Legassick, *The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and Missionaries, 1780-1840: The politics of a frontier zone* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1969); J.D. Omer-Cooper, *History of Southern Africa* (London: James Currey, 1987).

In this chapter, both the letter and the recalled memory became agents for the reconstruction of resistance identity and memory's resistance to erasure. We have analysed the act of doing away with the certificate as a deliberate attempt by D.C.O. Matiwane to impress resistance politics to his children.¹¹⁷ We have subjected both the recalled memory and the letter to scrutiny and as mediums that provided some leads to other documents in the state archives, including estate and property documents, and thus, to a degree, pointing to memory's resistance to erasure. However, the fact that both the state and family archives were fragmented was used to point to the vulnerabilities of archiving as a process, and to sustain an argument made in Chapter One that archives could not be used to narrate a total history. Nonetheless, the archive, in this chapter, was used to open up a discussion on various questions of identification, including the presence of the past in contemporary narratives and its resistance to expurgation. In the case of destruction of documents, a new narrative may be born, and the archive may continue to mutate, but without doubt, with its loaded accounts.

¹¹⁷ To illustrate this point further, in an interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) (née Matiwane) with Thandiwe Beatrice Mbanjwa (assisted by Abednego Manyoni) at Wembezi township on 30 August 2013, Phumzile pointed out that one day her father went with her to a whites' only restaurant and they got through a whites' only door. Matiwane demanded that they eat in an area reserved for whites as they were all clients of the same establishment. I read in this a deliberate act of instilling in his children courage to disobey what he and many regarded as unjust and discriminatory. By taking his child to a whites' only establishment, he was attempting to dislodge this inferiority thinking. He was, in essence, teaching her that South Africa's racial groups should mingle in public and other spaces as social equals. In his manuscript, Matiwane outlines his dissatisfaction about white South Africans' interpretation of the 'natural respect' given by black people to fellow human beings as an act of giving whites supremacy over Africans. For a detailed account of this, see his *Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 17-20.

Chapter Three

D.C.O. Matiwane: *A persona non grata*

‘Once a white person regards you as a *persona non grata* you remain in his medulla oblongata on that status till doomsday.’¹

Introduction

This chapter makes use of D.C.O. Matiwane’s unpublished manuscript, *A Treatise of Black Victimization*, newspaper articles, documents produced as a result of court proceedings and recollections of those who knew D.C.O. Matiwane, to reconstruct a narrative of an individual, who as part of a community of the oppressed, tried to stand up against oppression and in the process of doing so, became a *persona non grata*. I, therefore, argue that this is, in addition to generalised oppression and experience of repression, a case of systematic and deliberate persecution that needs to be understood as part of the experience of apartheid.

This chapter argues that the arrival of D.C.O. Matiwane at Estcourt strengthened the politics of activism and resistance to unjust laws, and introduced an internal dynamism of revolt within the system of collaboration as represented by the Bantu Advisory Board. Here, I suggest that this coincided with an era of mass resistance in the country and produced a kind of a ‘tradition’ with its unique posturing. I try to demonstrate that while a clear divide was created between those who challenged the legitimacy of apartheid as a system and those who were its direct beneficiaries, there were also those who were active passengers through their

¹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimization and the Contemporary Problem of Apartheid Strappado* (unpublished and undated), p 63.

participation in the government-sponsored advisory boards and other structures. Within these structures, there were those who tried to advocate for change from within. In Estcourt, these ambiguities interfered with the activist code of behaviour that was counter-posed to the oppressive state machinery, and they manifested in events such as the advisory board politics, emergency detentions, and in rent, milk, beer-hall and potato boycotts.

The Khwezi Advisory Board: Matiwane's political missionary work

D.C.O. Matiwane's introduction to the proceedings of the Khwezi Advisory Board was through one of his friends and colleagues, Aubrey Nyembezi, who had persuaded him to be a municipal representative.² Advisory boards were introduced by the state as mediums through which it implemented its decisions to Africans, but were criticised as being 'toy telephones'. They were not intended to give blacks full civil rights. Participation in systems like advisory boards and others was interpreted by some as a form of collaboration with the system which was mostly driven by a nascent 'native bourgeoisie'. Simons and Simons argue that these elements were seen as forming the social basis of national reformism which was then supported by the ANC elite. On the other hand, the Simons charge that those who believed in it, saw working within advisory boards as a mechanism through which positive changes could be made.³

² Both Matiwane and Nyembezi worked for the Estcourt Town Council's Bantu Administration Department. Matiwane was a clerk and Nyembezi was his senior at work.

³ Jack and Ray Simons, *Class and Colour in South Africa, 1850-1950* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1983), pp 490-495, 582 & 602. The authors also note that the ANC had divergent views on the question of participation in the Native Representative Council, and the same argument may be extended to include advisory boards. It should be stated that the ANC Youth League was overtly opposed to any system of collaboration with the state.

It is within this context that I would like to locate Matiwane's advisory Board narrative. Upon his appointment to the Board, Matiwane took a radical stance. Instead of representing the municipal interest and 'mandate' on the board as its representative, Matiwane represented the interests of black inhabitants against what he regarded as unfair treatment.⁴ He then made it his mission to attempt to convince others within the board to stand for equality. Matiwane's narrative, therefore, represents a palimpsest of ambiguities in that he opted to stand for what he believed was just within a system that gave him a different mandate of safeguarding its interests. Not surprisingly, he was not reappointed by authorities as their representative. This was logical for the Town Council and its Bantu Affairs Department.

However, he believed in his cause, and the community reciprocated his stance by electing him as their representative. By electing him, the community 'legitimised' his second term of office on the Board as an embodiment of their voices. This was an ideal that Matiwane was himself aware of, for he argued that it was important for individuals to be prepared to subvert their family interests to advance the cause of their black countrymen.⁵ Matiwane's manuscript revealed the strength of his commitment to broader community-oriented struggles and his preparedness to risk his family to suffer in the process. In essence, his initial presence and stance turned the Board into two camps, 'one for the people and the other for authorities'.⁶ Nonetheless, they later reconciled their differences, and the Board was able to synchronise its activities to the community interests, though this was short lived.

⁴ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 34.

⁵ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 34.

⁶ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 35.

The public manifestation of two camps within the Board was witnessed when community members opted to establish an alternative vehicle, in the form of an Action Committee, to handle their grievances against the introduction of economic and sub-economic rent that was to be levied in the mid-1950s in urban locations. Though Johannesburg was at the centre of this campaign and the anti-bus demonstrations, residents elected Matiwane and another to lead the Committee, and paid for them to represent Estcourt in the Johannesburg anti-rent resistance campaign. By doing so, they presented a vote of no confidence in the Board and especially to those who represented the municipal interest. For Matiwane, this was a reaffirmation that his viewpoint was an embodiment of the community's wishes.

At Estcourt, under his leadership, the Committee managed to secure a meeting with the Town Council to present the community's memorandum of grievances against the rent charges.⁷ By meeting with the Action Committee, Matiwane observed that the Town Council did not realise it was contravening the stipulations of the Urban Areas Act in that it was engaging with an 'illegal' formation. When the Town Council later realised that it was not able to respond to issues raised by the Committee, it resorted to this technicality by sending its response to the community through the Advisory Board.⁸ The Board had not been mandated by the community to handle the matter.

The handling of the issue by the municipality and the community revealed power preferences and related political dynamics. It was through the Board, as its creation, that the municipality was able to flex its control, and it was through the Action Committee that the community

⁷ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 35-36.

⁸ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 36.

counter-posed and defined its 'enemy'. Of interest here is also the choice of words between the Board and the Committee. I argue that, the community saw the Committee as action-oriented, and hence the name Action Committee. The Committee lived up to its name, and with the backing of its constituency, it led the people into action against economic and sub-economic rent. In contrast, the Board was used in its advisory capacity by the Town Council to try to curtail resistance, and this continued to create the tension between the two camps within it.

This period of tension within the Board was followed by a short-lived period of harmony, as those who were in support of the authorities realigned their cause to the community struggles. Matiwane argued that during this period even the Black Peace (police) Officers turned a blind eye to political activists who had been distributing political pamphlets.⁹ Activists were able to do their duties without fear of apprehension. Matiwane characterised this as a period when there were no more 'Yes Sir Boys' on the Board. He believed that this sent a strong message to the authorities that the era of 'loyal natives' who betrayed their fellows was to be curtailed to the periods of the 1906 Rebellion, 1879 Anglo-Zulu War, 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer War and the 1873 suppression of the Langalibalele revolt.¹⁰

⁹ Diniza Hadebe explained that the Black Peace Officers, also known as Blackjacks, were mainly comprised of blacks and were employed by the Corporation or Town Council's Bantu Administration Department (BAD). They specialised in arresting black people. Hadebe further stated that at Estcourt, Blackjacks were under the leadership of Titus Mabaso who reported to a Mr Baker. Baker was in charge of the municipal BAD. Hadebe was one of the many persons and members of the Khwezi Brothers Football Club who were recruited by Matiwane to distribute political material during the night. During apartheid, sport was used as an alternative instrument to carry out political activities and to conscientise people against oppression. See interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Diniza Hadebe, Estcourt, 30 August 2013.

¹⁰ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 36-37.

For this study, Matiwane's analysis is relevant, in that he used historical events to define those who supported the state or 'the enemy' as having betrayed their black countrymen. Secondly, it located them within the framework of loyalty to the state, as opposed to their fellow countrymen who stood against it and did so for a just cause. For him, such an era was long-gone and belonged to the past. Thirdly, if we were to read his use of 'Yes Sir Boys' against the grain, it tells us of a board that was now willing to jointly stand for a just cause. But more importantly, it is a narrative of a public arena that was male dominated, and this is evidenced by photographs of the Advisory Board that included no women.¹¹ Lastly, it told of a historical narrative where men subjected themselves to being called 'boys', and who re-affirmed their subjugation through their loyalty to the oppressive state that de-humanised them. In general, no historical text made reference to 'No Sir boys'. However, the account of the Action Committee spoke of a presence of such a narrative. The text of a short-lived unity against the municipality spoke of an era where rationality reigned supreme, or alternatively, of an era where 'boys' tried to reclaim their manhood.

It should be pointed out that this short lived harmony within the Board was a culmination of Matiwane's behind-the-scenes attempts to rally the Board behind the community cause. He worked very hard to convince those whom he thought were working with the authorities to change and take up community issues. Two such persons were men he referred to as a 'brilliant legal mind' and a 'sergeant' attached to the Bantu Affairs Commission from the South African Police.¹² At one stage, his relationship with the sergeant was irreconcilable that

¹¹ A copy of the 1956 Khwezi Advisory Board photograph was given to Bongani Ndhlovu by Thandiwe Beatrice Mbanjwa on 30 August 2013 and an undated copy of the Khwezi Advisory Board picture was given to Bongani Ndhlovu by Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane) on 30 October 2014.

¹² David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 32-43.

it spilt over to sport and the local football association.¹³ In the contest for the presidency of the Association, Matiwane emerged victorious, and this further corroded their relationship. They were, literally, on opposing sides politically and recreationally. This antagonism was so tense that it also filtered down to members of the respective football clubs that they were managing within the Association. After rivalry marches, the sergeant would often search and arrest Matiwane's Khwezi Brothers players and supporters for not carrying passes, and they would tell him 'if you cannot dribble us, use your handcuffs to tie our legs'.¹⁴

Despite their differences of opinion, Matiwane was able to win these men ('the legal mind' and 'sergeant') over, and they joined forces for a common cause.¹⁵ Matiwane noted that during the period of unity, the Advisory Board became politically active to such an extent that the Estcourt Council regarded it 'as a political committee for political organisations'. In contrast, he argued further, such was not the case but that the Board was a body that was beginning to realise the impetus of love for the everyday life of the blacks.¹⁶ In its attempts to recognise 'the everyday' life and struggles of the people, the Advisory Board approved the renaming of streets at Khwezi as Ubisi Street in recognition of the milk boycott, Luthuli Street in recognition of the ANC President and Inkululeko Street as a clarion call for freedom.¹⁷

¹³ *The Estcourt Gazette*, 15 October 1955 has the Weenen County African Football Association as the local association. Other races had their respective associations for different sport codes. This was in line with the apartheid policy. For a detailed discussion on the enmity between the sergeant and Matiwane, see his *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, chapters XV and V.

¹⁴ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p. 34. This type of utterance was similar to those made by Paul Mosaka and others when they resisted against the use of force by the state. They argued that though the state used all forms of violence against them, such force did not break their spirit. See Jack and Ray Simons, *Class and Colour in South Africa*, p 579.

¹⁵ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 32-67.

¹⁶ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 42.

¹⁷ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 43.

These were a few of the activities that set the Board on a collision course with the Town Council.

Unsettling the status quo: Riots and boycotts

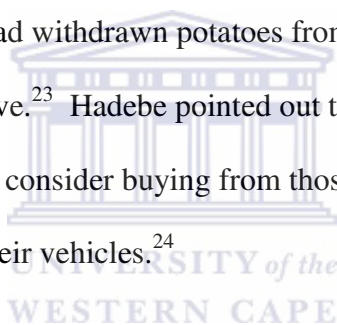
In Matiwane's unpublished manuscript, he gave us an impression that the short-lived unity in the Board filtered down to the manner in which it conducted its affairs. This unity also meant disruptions to the Town's authorities. Matiwane was very unambiguous that this unity was something he had worked very hard to achieve.¹⁸ However, what he concealed in his narrative was his political role. From Diniza Hadebe's narration of events, the impression given is that the intensification of political activities at Estcourt also coincided not only with unity within the Board, but also with an era in which Matiwane was the Secretary of the ANC branch in the area.¹⁹ This, to a degree, explains why the small town of Estcourt became interested in events that had national character. It should be borne in mind that nationally, and with pressure from the Youth League, many in the ANC had realised the futility of collaboration, and had begun to see defiance campaigns against unjust laws as a practical alternative. Walshe argued that though the goal remained the social, economic and political emancipation of the African people and the reversal of official policy, the strategy had changed as the objective was then going to be achieved through extra-constitutional pressures.²⁰

¹⁸ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 32-67.

¹⁹ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Diniza Hadebe, Estcourt, 30 August 2013.

²⁰ Peter Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress 1912-1952* (London: University of California Press, 1982), pp 274 & 294. Also see Gail M. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology* (London: University of California Press, 1979), pp 77-82.

One example of an extra-constitutional pressure and defiance was Estcourt's successful participation in the Potato Boycott. According to Matiwane, when the call to boycott the buying and consumption of potatoes was made, Estcourt did not have a clear idea about how it would participate.²¹ However, a successful meeting held one Sunday afternoon soon changed this. During such meetings, recalled Diniza Hadebe, Matiwane and others convinced residents that what they were eating were products manured from dead bodies of prisoners from a place called Bethel.²² Matiwane estimated that the meeting was attended by more than 3000 people. This was in spite of the fact that the Road Transport Board had turned down transport applications to carry passengers to the meeting venue. Matiwane also noted that by the time the meeting was over, farmers had withdrawn potatoes from their shelves, and that from that time, the boycott became effective.²³ Hadebe pointed out that the boycott was so effective that the community did not even consider buying from those farmers who attempted to sell potatoes in the township from their vehicles.²⁴



On a similar front, the Advisory Board successfully led another form of resistance against the Estcourt Town Council when it rejected a proposition by the Town Council to increase the price of milk. According to Matiwane, the decision was also endorsed by the community in a meeting called to discuss the matter.²⁵ It may be argued that the general rationale behind the boycott was that the community could ill afford the increased prices, especially given the fact that Khwezi had a milk depot in its vicinity, which reduced transportation costs. In addition,

²¹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 44.

²² Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Diniza Hadebe, Estcourt, 30 August 2013.

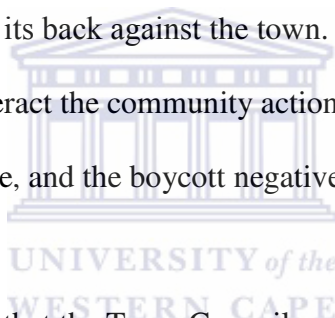
²³ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 44.

²⁴ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Diniza Hadebe, Estcourt, 30 August 2013.

²⁵ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 38.

the community saw nothing drastically wrong about the Town Council's continued subsidisation of the price of milk, as its revenue was built on black labour.

However, the boycott should also be understood amid the evolving political climate. The National Party's reign in the 1950s was rapidly producing and enforcing legislation that discriminated against all those it considered 'non-whites'. Given this context, different political formations saw boycotts as one of the many forms of resistance against such discriminatory measures. As had been seen with the rent boycotts, Estcourt was not passive in such struggles. The major difference between Estcourt's rent and milk boycotts was that the Council's instrument had turned its back against the town. This meant that the town had to devise another strategy to counteract the community action. The increase would have contributed to the town's revenue, and the boycott negatively affected its projected income.



The unfolding of events showed that the Town Council was dissatisfied about the unity within the community and it attempted to implement its divide and rule strategies. The head of its Bantu Administration Department, G.F. Baker called a meeting to resolve this matter with women of the township.²⁶ However, this strategy boomeranged. In the past, the Town had used the loyal Advisory Board to resolve the anti-rent boycott to its advantage, and most likely it had hoped that by meeting with women, as the 'weaker' gender of the township, it was going to convince them to take up its side. However, women were not prepared to display

²⁶ No men or Advisory Board members were allowed to attend the meeting between Baker and the women. Matiwane reported that when the boycott came to an end, a member of the Advisory Board turned tables around by accusing the head of the Municipal Bantu Affairs Department of instigating women and of acting against an African tradition by calling a secret meeting with women in the absence of men. See David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 40. Matiwane's obituary figured him as one of the organisers of the milk boycott. See Matiwane's obituary in the Farewell Service program of D.C.O. Matiwane, 17 March 1918-26 April 1982.

loyalty to the Council. Instead, they resolved to march to the milk depot the following day and intensified their boycott. According to Matiwane, the only woman who bought milk from the depot on the day had been dispossessed of her purchase. In this case, the milk was emptied on the road, and the bottle was given back to the depot.²⁷

The fact that neither the woman nor the bottle had been harmed or destroyed was indicative of the peaceful nature of the march. Matiwane informed us that following their act, the women dispersed peacefully to their homes. Nevertheless, the police wanted to have the last say in the incident and arrested one woman at her home for participating in this 'peaceful' protest.²⁸

Matiwane further informed us that on hearing about the arrest, the women regrouped and marched to the police station with blankets wrapped around their waists and demanded that they all be arrested, as they had committed the same offense in concert.²⁹ The act of taking blankets along may be interpreted as a symbol of their readiness to face arrest even if it meant bringing along their own items to assist the state, should there be shortages of blankets in its holding cells.

The Station Commander responded to their pressure by verbally reprimanding the protesting women and freeing the arrested woman, much to their jubilation as they victoriously returned to their homes.³⁰ The boycott continued until the Council succumbed to the demand of the residents. On 12 March 1955, under the headline 'UBISI EMTSHEZI', *Ilanga Lase Natal* gave a one sentence report informing its readers that the milk boycott at Estcourt had come to an

²⁷ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 39.

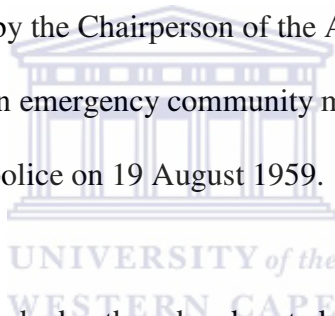
²⁸ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 39.

²⁹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 39.

³⁰ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 39.

end.³¹ To this effect, it may be argued that the unity within the community made it difficult for the Town Council to divide it, and that the women's resilience against divide and rule measures contributed immensely to the success of the boycott against the increase in the price of milk.

The alignment of the Advisory Board's action with the cause of the community was also embodied in the Beer Hall riots. When the riots broke out, Aubrey Nyembezi had been the Chairperson of the Board and Matiwane its Secretary. Matiwane argued that the unfolding of events in Estcourt would have served as a prelude to Sharpeville-like shootings had it not been for the sound strategic thinking by the Chairperson of the Advisory Board. Nyembezi, supported by his Board, called an emergency community meeting to resolve the matter of the batoning of African women by police on 19 August 1959.



Matiwane mentioned that women had gathered and seated themselves on 'a veld not very far from the Kaffir Beer Hall'.³² However, he did not state the rationale behind such a congregation. A glimpse as to why the women gathered around the Beer Hall was provided by a local newspaper and local residents of the time. *The Estcourt Gazette* reported that a new Beer Hall had been under construction in 1958 with the aim of providing Estcourt's African population with beer of the highest quality.³³ However, from Diniza Hadebe's narrative, it seems that the issue was not about quality, but rather that women were opposed to such a hall, since it would likely contribute to family breakdown because men tended to spend more time

³¹ *Ilanga Lase Natal*, 12 March 1955.

³² David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 45-46.

³³ *The Estcourt Gazette*, 1 & 15 February 1958.

enkantini (in the Beer Hall) than at their homes. In addition, men would spend the meagre financial resources the family had on alcohol.³⁴

Another resident of the area at the time gave an additional view about the Beer Hall riot. Thandiwe Mbanjwa's recollection of events around the riots revealed Matiwane's hand. In her narrative, she stated that the Beer Hall boycott had taken place as a result of Matiwane's encouragement. According to Mbanjwa, Matiwane had advised the community about the negative impact a bigger Beer Hall would have on the family. He said that men would spend more time at the Hall, returning home at night with little or no money, and they would contribute very little to the social well-being of the family.³⁵ According to Mbanjwa, it was against this background that the Beer Hall riots took place. It should, however, be pointed out that the riot took place during the era in which women were increasingly becoming aware of their challenges and of the need for them to be politically active to resolve these challenges. One may, therefore, argue that women also took an initiative to fight against a facility that was going to weaken the social and the financial position of their families. Nonetheless, for *The Estcourt Gazette*, the rationale was different and its report gave an indication as to what the authorities viewed as reasons behind the 'disturbances'. To the town's authorities, this was as a

³⁴ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Diniza Hadebe, Estcourt, 30 August 2013; Sibongiseni Mkhize, 'Contexts, Resistance Crowds and Mass Mobilisation: A Comparative Analysis of Anti-Apartheid Politics in Pietermaritzburg during the 1950s and the 1980s', (MA Thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1998), Chapter Four.

³⁵ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Thandiwe Beatrice Mbanjwa (assisted by Abednego Manyoni), Wembezi Township (Estcourt), 30 August 2013. Mbanjwa was not only able to witness the unfolding of events in the public domain, but Matiwane's relationship with her father, David Danisa, also gave her a glimpse of what was happening behind the scenes. Matiwane used to visit her father, who was also active on the Advisory Board and in civic matters, to discuss various matters. As a young girl, Mbanjwa would eavesdrop as the elders discussed serious political matters at the table underneath which she was assumed by them to be fast asleep.

result of beer halls being seen by Africans as competing with the Shebeen Queens.³⁶ The newspaper argued that if shebeens and 'home brewing' were going to be allowed, no benefits were going to accrue to the population as a whole.³⁷

This argument in the newspaper report clearly gave an indication that the riot and the establishment of the Hall was about the control of money. This was an issue also put forward by Mbanjwa and Hadebe. For the community, the Hall stood for the financial and the moral breakdown of the family. But for the Town Council, the Hall represented progress and the Shebeen Queen was the problem. To the newspaper and its predominantly white and government-sympathetic readership, accruing benefits to the community meant the construction of shops, sport fields and halls from the proceeds of sales from the beer halls.³⁸ Proceeds from beer hall sales and other activities were generally held in the Native Revenue Account and these benefited the apartheid machinery.³⁹ Interestingly, but not surprisingly, given its apartheid bias, the newspaper made no reference to limited family financial resources being spent on beer halls by its customers and the effect this had on the family.

Despite Mbanjwa's assertion about Matiwane's role in encouraging the riot, Matiwane's 'frozen' text in his unpublished manuscript understandably maintained his 'innocence' in the matter. Matiwane argued that the women's intention in their meeting in the veld not far from

³⁶ In his thesis S.M. Mkhize explains that beer halls were largely seen as competitors by African women brewers; see Sibongiseni Mkhize 'Contexts, Resistance Crowds and Mass Mobilisation', p 59. Lodge also argues that the right to brew beer, among others, was of fundamental importance to women in their domestic capacities, Tom Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1990), pp 141-151.

³⁷ *The Estcourt Gazette*, 3 October 1959. Also see *The Estcourt Gazette*, 29 July & 15 September 1962.

³⁸ *The Estcourt Gazette*, 10 October 1959.

³⁹ *The Estcourt Gazette*, 3 October 1959; Tshepo Cyril Moloi, 'Black Politics in Kroonstad: Political Mobilisation, Protests, Local Government and Generational Struggles, 1976-1995', Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Witwatersrand, 2012, p 52; Tom Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*, p 148.

the Beer Hall was not known. He even played down the fact that that they were carrying sticks as opposed to the police argument that they were armed with sticks.⁴⁰ Matiwane did not see an ulterior motive behind the carrying of sticks or the gathering of women. In a more recent interaction with Diniza Hadebe, he explained that the women's intention was to burn down the Beer Hall and that if it had not been for the police presence, the scenario would have been different.⁴¹

It should be noted that the act of destroying or burning down beer halls was not unique to Estcourt. In Durban for example, women had done the same. Therefore, it could be argued that the police presence prevented further damage to the property, but at the expense of the batoning of women who were fighting for a just cause. In Durban and other areas, there was loss of life, injuries to many women and resultant arrests of many participants and 'instigators'.⁴² From Hadebe and Matiwane's narrative, it is clear that Matiwane was not prepared to implicate himself in such a serious crime that inciting and instigating people represented.

According to Matiwane's account of the Estcourt women's boycott, the police gave the women a few minutes to disperse from the veld. They responded positively, but 'in that go slow manner'. He explained that this 'go slow manner' was interpreted by the police, who acted irresponsibly, as an act of defiance.⁴³ The defiance spread to the central business district

⁴⁰ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 45-46; *The Estcourt Gazette*, 26 September & 3 October 1959.

⁴¹ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Diniza Hadebe, Estcourt, 30 August 2013.

⁴² Tom Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*, p 148.

⁴³ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 45-46.

and police continued to arrest and assault women. The outcome of this altercation with the police led the women to being tried, convicted and sentenced.

Typical of his style in his manuscript, Matiwane did not divulge the names or the numbers of the arrested women, except to inform us that they accepted and served their sentences without complaint, for they participated with their eyes wide open so there was no reason to feel bitter.⁴⁴ Newspaper articles recorded that 36 'native women were charged with public violence during the Riots on the 19th August 1959, at the Beer Hall....' The articles re-affirmed Matiwane's narrative by stating that many of them were found guilty of public violence and of contravening Act 17/56, for assembling in a public place. They also stated that the women had been sentenced to two or three months of imprisonment with an option of a fine, suspended for three years on condition that they did not commit the same offences.⁴⁵ According to Matiwane, this was a sentence they accepted without complaint.

Matiwane argued that it was the batoning and the arrest of these 'unarmed' women that was a major concern to the community, such that the Chairperson, Nyembezi, called an emergency meeting. Without invitation, the police arrived heavily armed and in large numbers at the meeting. They installed flood lights and occupied strategic positions, and the Chairperson, supported by the Board, refused to proceed with the meeting. Matiwane charged that this left

⁴⁴ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p. 46. There were indications that during this period the ANC was also convening meetings in the area with out-of-town speakers advocating for improvements in the lives of black people. See *The Estcourt Gazette*, 12 September 1959. The attendance of persons from other towns shows the extent of mobilisation and the common ideals which activists were generally striving for.

⁴⁵ *The Estcourt Gazette*, 26 September 1959. The same paper recorded that 51 women appeared in court on 24 and 25 September 1959 and 47 of them were found guilty, see *The Estcourt Gazette*, 3 October 1959.

the police with no alternative but to leave.⁴⁶ This assertiveness from the Chairperson and his board signalled another community victory, and this also averted a possible bloodbath since it was common knowledge that the police were trigger-happy.

The Chairperson's stance against the local authorities had led them to realise that he was their employee and should not have participated in civil matters without permission from Head Office. Following this, Nyembezi responded by resigning from the Town Council, which made no attempt to retain him. According to Matiwane, the municipal act was a surprising move, and he observed that 'it was inconceivable just why the local authorities of 'The Town' did not make representations to proper quarters to retain the services of a man who had served so long.'⁴⁷ However, this led Matiwane to point out that these were consequences faced by Africans when they resolved to pursue a justified course. On the other side, Nyembezi's actions were welcomed as a sign of bravery by many black people in the area.⁴⁸

The unfolding of events saw Nyembezi's expulsion from Estcourt and the institution of a series of criminal charges against Matiwane. Amid these many challenges, the Advisory Board members showed their confidence in Matiwane by electing him as their Chairperson. It was during this time that Matiwane realised the pressures with which his predecessor had had to contend with. As the Chairperson, he was badly treated and lobbied very hard by local authorities, while at the same time, he was under the critical eye of those who were opposed to

⁴⁶ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 44-46. With reference to the police use of violence against women, Lodge notes that generally police in the country had used baton charges against women in an attempt to force them to carry passes. See Tom Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*, p 145.

⁴⁷ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 46-47.

⁴⁸ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 47. In an interview conducted by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane on 12 February 2005, Aubrey Nyembezi recalled their community and political activism at Estcourt. Magwenyane's research project is discussed in Chapter Five.

the 'official' agenda. One of the first community meetings he called as the Chairperson was attended by two Special Branch members and judging that there was nothing untoward about the meeting, he did not object to their presence though it created some considerable fear in the residents.⁴⁹ However, he adjourned the meeting before it commenced because he was called to the police station where he was told he would be charged for not seeking written permission to host the meeting. They then gave him written authority to proceed with the meeting, but a resilient Matiwane, supported by his Board members, cancelled it on the grounds that there was no such precedent.⁵⁰

The above, among others, were the community and Matiwane's major challenges and victories under the umbrella of a 'united' Board.⁵¹ But the Town Council and authorities soon changed their approach from overt confrontation to covert coercion. Matiwane later reflected on this as a period of 'thorough brainwashing', an era in which the authorities tried to mould him into their liking.⁵² However, he omitted to state that this was done partly with his 'buy-in'. They invited him as a special guest and a V.I.P. to official functions and gave him preferential treatment. He recorded that in one such function, he 'had the rare honour of shaking hands with' the Minister of Water Works and Forestry and the Administrator of Natal.⁵³ He was so moved by this gesture that a local newspaper recorded his appreciation as follows:

⁴⁹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 65.

⁵⁰ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 65. Of interest is that, after giving an explanation to the community regarding his reasons for cancelling the meeting, members of the Special Branch requested him to proceed.

⁵¹ Others include the Board's dissatisfaction about housing for Estcourt's black inhabitants and their successful petitioning to the General Commissioner of Zululand, J.J. Boshoff requesting him to address the matter. Boshoff visited the town and promised that a survey would be instituted, *The Estcourt Gazette*, 2 October 1965; David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, Chapter IX.

⁵² David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 67.

⁵³ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 65.

Sir, it is my principle to extol honour where honour has played its part. I accordingly wish to thank the Town Council through the medium of your paper, to have afforded me an opportunity of being a V.I.P. during the weekend. On Friday (13.3.64) I attended the official opening of the school term of the 'Zululand University College'. The invitation to the University had been preceded by an invitation from the Secretary for Water Affairs to attend an official opening of Wagendrift Dam by the Honourable P.M.K. le Roux, M.P (Minister for Water Affairs). The opening of the dam was indeed a rare occasion to me in that apart from the fact that it may be for some decades if not centuries (I will have gone to the next World by then) before another dam is constructed within the precincts of Estcourt, I did not only have the privilege of being introduced to the Minister for Water Affairs but I had the honour of shaking hands with the first gentleman of the Province, the Administrator of Natal. If it had not been for the initiative and the interest of the Council to make everything possible, I may not have enjoyed the honours. I also wish to extend my gratitude to my employer who so willingly allowed me to be absent from work and to the Manager of the Urban Bantu Administration Department who negotiated in all the arrangements. One trusts it will always be the goal of the Town Council and the Urban Bantu whom I represent to work co-operatively and with understanding as has been this regard. Yours faithfully, D.C.O. MATIWANE, Chairman Caucus, Khwezi Advisory Board, Estcourt.⁵⁴

Following the printing of the above letter, and reasonably so, Matiwane was labelled by some, and mainly white people, as completely brainwashed. This criticism was indicative of the point that members of the community, including progressive whites, had come to regard him as the voice of the people. Matiwane was aware of this contradiction, and acknowledged the 'distasteful' comment against him 'for, on the face value, authority was moulding me to their liking.'⁵⁵ He also noted that as the Chairperson, it was not easy for him to ward off responsibility.⁵⁶ In the past, and as an ordinary member, it was easier for him to be more critical of the chairperson and the Board's relationship with the Town Council. However, as

⁵⁴ The letter was titled 'A Local African Expresses Gratitude to the Town Council', *The Estcourt Gazette*, 21 March 1964. The opening of the Wagendrift Dam was the occasion which received front page coverage in the same newspaper and same issue.

⁵⁵ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 65-68.

⁵⁶ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 65-68.

the Chairperson of the Board, he found himself navigating the dualities of close relations and confrontations with the community and apartheid authorities.

Criminalised, yet operating largely within the law

The narrative of Matiwane's relation with the law and those who exercised authority was partly sketched in his unpublished manuscript, in legal and official documentations, newspaper articles and in the recollections of those who knew him. It is a narrative of a bitter-sweet encounter with the law by an individual who, as part of the community of the oppressed, was eager to have his dignity restored. Nevertheless, it is also a narrative of a state which was committed to have such aspirations dashed. The ambiguities of these aspirations were to unfold before Matiwane's eyes. When he was apprehended in March 1960 for entering the Orange Free State without a permit, he did not realise the extent to which authorities wanted to disrupt his socio-economic life. Authorities immediately assigned a senior police official to put him on a train back to Natal. This was done after they unsuccessfully tried to lay additional charges against him for not having a Reference Book and for unpaid taxes, but they found out that these were in order.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, these actions by the organs of state did not alarm him to the severity to which the law was going to be exercised against him and a number of others.

Following country-wide disruptions that happened in the same month as protests against the carrying of passes took shape, many members of the ANC, including Matiwane, and over 11 500 activists soon found themselves detained under Emergency Regulations (State of Emergency) from 30 March until 4 July 1960. Now, it became clear that the state and its

⁵⁷ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 48.

apparatus were motivated to prove something against them.⁵⁸ In his unpublished manuscript, Matiwane acknowledged that his detention gave him an opportunity to interact with people from diverse political and racial backgrounds.⁵⁹ However, he noted that the state was firm in its aspiration to keep apartheid alive. Even when in detention, racism reared its ugly head. This, Matiwane observed, was partly demonstrated by the state when it transported blacks in military trucks while sedan cars were used for whites.⁶⁰

While in detention, Matiwane observed the state's willingness to quell their aspirations for equal citizenship. Nonetheless, he attempted to operate within the confines of the same unjust law which was against them. Documentary evidence indicated that he was worried about the legal standing and compliance of his transport company. His concerns were further complicated by the fact that the bus driver who was employed to assist his wife was also arrested. He read this arrest as a clear message from the state of its intention to ruin his business interests and to disable him financially. Added to this was the scenario that his wife had no power of attorney to transact in his accounts.⁶¹

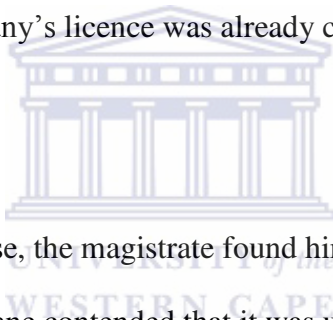
⁵⁸ Farewell Service programme of D.C.O. Matiwane, 17 March 1918-26 April 1982; David Welsh, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* (Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2010), pp. 73 & 122; David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 49-52; *The Natal Witness*, 29 April 1982; Allison Drew (ed.), *South Africa's Radical Tradition: A documentary history*, volume two: 1943-1964, pp. 22 & 230. Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido, 'The politics of race, class and nationalism', in Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido (eds.), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (London and New York: Longman, 1987), p. 53 note that following the state attacks on Africans at Sharpeville, it responded forcefully by banning political organisations and crushing working-class opposition. The detention of Matiwane and others took place within such a context.

⁵⁹ He was later separated from others and placed in solitary confinement. See David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 51.

⁶⁰ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 51.

⁶¹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 51; South African Law Report, Decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa-Natal Provincial Division, *R. v. Matiwane* (1), vol 2, 1961, p 249.

Events after his release from detention proved to him that authorities wanted to ruin him socially and financially. His bus, which he acquired on hire purchase on 5 November 1959, was not only repossessed while he was in detention, but his transport business was ruined, and he was charged for failure to pay the bus' licence fees.⁶² Matiwane's rationale that the state wanted to ruin him was corroborated by a related development. During the time in which he was in detention, *The Estcourt Gazette* reported, without giving details and understandably so given its pro-government reporting, that the bus service from Khwezi was no longer in operation and that a new application by an African was being reviewed.⁶³ This clearly showed that the state was determined to eliminate him financially and socially, for even while he was in detention, his transport company's licence was already cancelled. This also explained why his bus driver was also arrested.



Going back to the licence fee case, the magistrate found him guilty of failure to pay the fee and on appeal, a resilient Matiwane contended that it was unfair of the state to expect him to pay a fee for a vehicle which was no longer in his possession, secondly that the repossession of the bus meant that he had no source of income and thirdly, that his detention made it extremely difficult for him to pay the fee. His sentence was suspended, and he was ordered to pay a reduced fine of £10 in instalments.⁶⁴ To him, the case and its related developments revealed that state and its machinery was committed to handicap him and to teach others a lesson.

⁶² South African Law Report, Decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa-Natal Provincial Division, R. v. Matiwane, vol 1, 1961, pp 287-290; David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 48-54.

⁶³ *The Estcourt Gazette*, 30 April 1960.

⁶⁴ South African Law Report, Decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa-Natal Provincial Division, R. v. Matiwane, vol 1, 1961, pp 287-290; David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 23.

Deducing from a series of criminal charges instituted by the Estcourt Town Council against D.C.O. Matiwane, it is very clear that they politically detained him in order to institute criminal charges against him. On his return, Matiwane was also charged for contravening section 10 of the Urban Areas Act, 25 of 1945 (as amended) in that he failed to obtain permission from the designated registering authority to remain in an urban area. The Act allowed Africans working in urban areas to be registered within 72 hours of their arrivals; Africans were only allowed to stay in such areas, upon meeting the stringent proof of employment requirements. Therefore, upon his release from detention, Matiwane was not working, and his bus was not in operation. The Crown (state) was, thus, able to prove that Matiwane failed to meet the requirements of the Act.⁶⁵

It is worth noting that newspaper and official records indicated that on 25 June 1959, the Road Transport Board granted Matiwane a certificate to operate a bus service for the 'Bantu' inhabitants of Khwezi.⁶⁶ This was as a result of him complying with a legal process which he began in October of the previous year. We also learn that in November of 1958, he acquired the bus and started to operate his business from the Corporation Village, Khwezi, and that parallel to this, he was a part-time employee.⁶⁷ Interestingly, and as if he anticipated the

⁶⁵ Illiquid case no.WLD 588/1970, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Standard Bank of South Africa, annexures D, E, F and G; *The Estcourt Gazette*, 4 July 1959.

⁶⁶ *The Estcourt Gazette*, 4 July 1959; Illiquid case no.WLD 588/1970, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Standard Bank of South Africa, annexures D, E, F and G which contain correspondence regarding registration and approval.

⁶⁷ South African Law Report, Decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa-Natal Provincial Division, R. v. Matiwane (1), vol 2, 1961, p 249; South African Law Report, Decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa-Natal Provincial Division, R. v. Matiwane (2), vol 2, 1961, p 254; David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation* p 56; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Thandiwe Beatrice Mbanjwa (assisted by Abednego Manyoni), Wembezi Township (Estcourt), 30 August 2013; *The Estcourt Gazette*, 4 July 1959. It is worth noting that by the time his bus licence was granted, Matiwane Transport Co had already opened a bank account with the Standard Bank of South Africa, Estcourt branch on 2 December 1958. See the South African Law Reports, Natal Provincial Division, Matiwane v Cecil Nathal,

troubles that were to follow him and his business, he ably nicknamed his bus ‘*Sokesimbone*’. Literally translated, the name stood for ‘we wonder whether Matiwane’s business would succeed or not’.⁶⁸

Matiwane’s business interests temporarily terminated his employment history as a full-time labourer at Estcourt,⁶⁹ but he was still required by the Act to apply for registration as an inhabitant to the designated official. During the bus licence case, the Town Council made it clear through its actions that Matiwane was unwanted in the town of Estcourt, overtly due to his non-compliance with their laws, but, clandestinely, due to his activism. On appeal, the court heard that given the fact that he was working part-time for the Urban Bantu School Board, an application to remain in the area was not going to be unnecessarily withheld⁷⁰, and he made use of this. By taking advantage of his part-time employment, Matiwane displayed his shrewdness in defeating the state using its legal apparatus. For a while, he had an upper hand.

Beattie & Co, vol 1, 1972, p. 224 and Illiquid case no. WLD 588/1970, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Standard Bank of South Africa.

⁶⁸ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Thandiwe Beatrice Mbanjwa (assisted by Abednego Manyoni), Wembezi Township (Estcourt), 30 August 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Thami Shange) with Jabulile Barbara Matiwane (née Matiwane) also known as sis’Baby, Pietermartizburg, 28 August 2013. Also see *Natal Witness*, 29 April 1982.

⁶⁹ Here and in no chronological and complete order, it is worth mentioning that Matiwane had worked as the clerk for the town’s Bantu Affairs Department, as a part-time secretary of the Estcourt Urban Bantu School Board (established under the Bantu Education Act) and for Drummond and Tod as their clerk. Drummond, apart from representing him in the registration case, also represented Matiwane in the rent case. R. Tomlinson, Francis & Co represented him in the case regarding the non-renewal of the bus licence fee. On the question of the Bantu School, the local newspaper reported that Zamindlela (Bantu) School was established in terms of the Bantu Education Act. At that stage, this newly established school, which was built by the learners parents themselves, had experienced setbacks due to natural disasters, *The Estcourt Gazette*, 16 August 1958. Before taking up work at Estcourt, Matiwane had worked as a qualified teacher in a number of African schools in Natal. See interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Phumzile Mvelase, Estcourt, 17 January 2013; Matiwane’s obituary in the Farewell Service program of D.C.O. Matiwane, 17 March 1918-26 April 1982.

⁷⁰ South African Law Report, Decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa-Natal Provincial Division, R. v. Matiwane (2), vol 2, 1961, p 257.

However, the Town Council, through its Bantu Administration Department under G.F. Baker, was determined to have him out of Estcourt.⁷¹ His legal woes were not over; the local authority also served him with a removal order, which subsequently led to a charge for contravening regulations 678 (including 676 and 677) of the Provincial Notice 201 of 1933, in that he failed to pay rent for house No. 152 Khwezi Bantu Township for May, June, July and August 1960. Rent was payable in advance, and in terms of the regulation, the superintendent, through a court of law, had powers to order removal of any person from the village who had not paid any sum due to it within one month of the date upon which such sum became due, and that if default continued, the magistrate may order that such person be imprisoned.⁷² Matiwane contended to the town and the magistrate that he could not be held responsible for the payment of rent for the period in which he was in detention.

In an interview, Matiwane's daughter, Phumzile Mvelase remembered distinctly that while her father was in detention a municipal official, widely known in the area as Mr Gumbi, came to their home to tell her mother not to worry about paying the rent as the municipality knew that the head of the house was in detention.⁷³ In fact, in his unpublished manuscript, Matiwane charged that a senior official of the Municipal Bantu Administration Department encouraged

⁷¹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, Chapter VIII; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Thandiwe Beatrice Mbanjwa (assisted by Abednego Manyoni), Wembezi Township (Estcourt), 30 August 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Diniza Hadebe, Estcourt, 30 August 2013. A newspaper article indicates that in the mid-1950s, Matiwane was on friendly terms with municipal officials, and Baker was one of the officials that he thanked for support during the match in which his Khwezi Brothers Football Club played Masonite Rangers Football Club. See *The Estcourt Gazette*, 15 October 1955. It is likely that Baker's relationship with Matiwane turned sour due to his political activism against unjust practices.

⁷² South African Law Report, Decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa-Natal Provincial Division, *R. v. Matiwane* (1), vol 2, 1961, pp. 249-250. Matiwane also confirmed these charges and developments in chapter XIII of his unpublished manuscript. Interestingly, in the same chapter, Matiwane noted that the reactive regulations under which he was charged 'had been repealed and substituted by the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945'. In retrospect, he pointed out that he did not raise this in court.

⁷³ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Phumzile Mvelase, 30 October 2014.

him to make a written presentation for rent reduction.⁷⁴ This, he argued, was a municipal attempt to win back black confidence, but in reality, it seemed as if the Town Council was deliberately sending mixed messages to the Matiwanes, so that it could orchestrate its plans against the family. It is worth noting that after his detention and following the expulsion of Aubrey Nyembezi from Estcourt, the municipality's 'friendly' diplomacy mostly ceased.⁷⁵

Matiwane was informed by Baker that he could not tolerate a 'kaffir who opposes everything he says to other kaffirs' and that he wanted him out of Estcourt, even if it meant shooting him.⁷⁶ It was clear to Matiwane that Baker's utterances laid down the battle-lines. Matiwane took this threat very seriously and reported it both to the police and to the Mayor, G.V. Bulman, but nothing concrete was done to address it.⁷⁷ In the interim, the numerous attempts by the Town Council to have him expelled from Estcourt failed, and a number of legal technicalities made it possible for him to continue to live in the borough of Estcourt.⁷⁸ Some of his legal victories against decisions made by magistrates seemed to have convinced Matiwane that judges were neutral and fair persons compared to magistrates as they did not discuss cases with the appellant/defendant in the absence of the other.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Matiwane had initially referred to this senior official as the manager before striking the word over. For details, see David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p. 54. Evidence brought before the Appeal Court named the Manager of the Municipal Bantu Administration Department as Mr G.F. Baker, see the South African Law Report, Decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa-Natal Provincial Division, R. v. Matiwane (1), vol 2, 1961, p 54.

⁷⁵ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 55.

⁷⁶ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 55.

⁷⁷ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 55. According to *The Estcourt Gazette*, 30 April 1960, G.V. Bulman was the Mayor. In line with his general writing, Matiwane did not mention the name of the mayor.

⁷⁸ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, Chapter VIII; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Thandiwe Beatrice Mbanjwa (assisted by Abednego Manyoni), Wembezi Township (Estcourt), 30 August 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Diniza Hadebe, Estcourt, 30 August 2013.

⁷⁹ WLD 588/1970, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Standard Bank of South Africa, The Petition of David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, paragraphs 14-17, pp 6-7 and Affidavit of Cecil Natal, paragraphs 5-5, pp 2-3; David

This indicates a Matiwane who tried to operate within the law despite the state's attempts to strategically use the law against him. The system politically detained him following a nationwide resistance against the carrying of passes and it instituted a series of criminal cases against him. Given his understanding of legal processes, it is clear that authorities realised that it was going to be difficult for them to charge him for his political activism because somehow he had mastered the art of covering his political activities. Nonetheless, Matiwane's reliance on the law to justify his existence as a human being soon proved to be futile. This was a scenario he was not oblivious of, for in his manuscript, he painted a picture of how more than 80% of South Africa's population had been criminalised through a series of laws that made it extremely difficult for them to survive without unknowingly and/or deliberately breaking the law. He observed that in South Africa, those who stood firm for a just society and who objected to measures aimed at enslaving them were regarded as revolutionaries who should be eliminated, arrested and dehumanised in front of their children and fellow countrymen.⁸⁰ Like millions of the oppressed, this was an ordeal that he experienced throughout his lifetime.

Legal obedience versus non-compliance

Matiwane's final ejection out of Estcourt and the attachment of his possessions by the Town Council was as a result of his non-compliance with rent payments for a period of May to July 1966. This narrative was presented through his unpublished manuscript, transcripts of legal

Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 84-87 (including notes on the reverse side of his draft manuscript. Matiwane added notes on the opposite side of a page, either to clarify matters or to continue a discussion started on a previous page).

⁸⁰ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 50. The Communist Party of South Africa referred to this form of legislation as administrative lawlessness. See Jack and Ray Simons, *Class and Colour in South Africa*, p 584. For details on state repression, also see Madeleine Fullard, 'State repression in the 1960s', in South African Democracy Education Trust, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, volume 1 (1960-1970) (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2004), Chapter 9.

cases and official documents linked to them, newspaper articles, and in the recollections of Phumzile Mvelase, Diniza Hadebe and Thandiwe Mbanjwa. In his manuscript, Matiwane pointed out that the attachment of his possessions took place in full view of more than 20 schools (children, parents and teachers) who were attending a sports day.⁸¹ Documentary evidence indicated that his eldest and already married daughter, Jabulile Barbara Lite (née Matiwane) was the only family member present to witness the ‘exhibition’.⁸² This display of power by authorities in full public view was probably done as a lesson to others in the township to toe the line. Matiwane also added that his wife, Ntombikayise Virginia Matiwane (née Makhathini), who had committed no offence, was instructed to resign from the municipal crèche which she headed.⁸³

Looking at the connection of events and the personalities within the town of Estcourt, it is understandable why his wife was also ‘incriminated’. The Khwezi crèche had been set up as a welfare service by the Mayoress of Estcourt, G. Emanuel, to benefit the ‘Bantu’ children of the location. The crèche fell under the Bantu Administration Department. Its Manager, G.F. Baker, with whom Matiwane disagreed on numerous occasions, also had a direct role in the crèche's establishment.⁸⁴ Therefore, given the point that the crèche was a municipal entity

⁸¹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 70; 1/EST 2/1/1/1/7, Case 1010/68 in the Magistrate’s Court for the District of Estcourt, held at Estcourt, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Town of Estcourt, affidavit by D.C.O. Matiwane, 24 September 1968 and affidavit by Gerald Francis Baker, Manager of the Department of Urban Bantu Affairs at Estcourt, 22 August 1968.

⁸² See miscellaneous documents in archival document 1/EST 2/1/1/1/7, Case 1010/68 in the Magistrate’s Court for the District of Estcourt held at Estcourt, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Town of Estcourt, affidavit of D.C.O. Matiwane, 24 September 1968.

⁸³ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 70-71. During his Supreme Court appeal against the decision of the Town Council to eject him from Estcourt, Matiwane informed the court that the proceedings against him were as a result of ‘personal animosity on the part of officials’. They, and the local authority which they represented, were determined to remove him from the area. He maintained that the local authority had ‘abused its rights in order to serve private ends.’ See the South African Law Reports, Natal Provincial Division, Matiwane vs Estcourt Town Council, vol 3, 1967, p 112.

⁸⁴ *The Estcourt Gazette*, 23 February 1963.

which Matiwane was in direct confrontation with, it was not surprising that his wife was pressured to resign. Matiwane posited that his wife had no choice but to resign without being paid a notice payment which she was entitled to. Given the conditions, he allowed his wife to leave Estcourt to stay at Dundee with his paternal cousin, Dolly Cele, while he stayed behind to fight the case which he eventually lost.⁸⁵

Though Matiwane argued that his failure to pay rent should be understood against his legal and financial wrangles with and against the Standard Bank of South Africa for unlawfully and wrongfully closing his company's bank account, and by allowing his former employers, R.R. Drummond and his wife to withdraw funds from the Matiwane Transport Company's account without his permission,⁸⁶ his resistance against rent payment demonstrated the influence the 1950s rent boycotts had on him. It should be remembered that he also took part in them. One may argue that if Matiwane wanted to pay the rent, he would have requested his wife, who was employed at the time to do so or alternatively, that he would have requested one of his acquaintances to lend him some money as he had done with Peter Brown.⁸⁷ Against this background, I argue that Matiwane deliberately evaded paying rent partly due to his general

⁸⁵ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 70; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane), 30 October 2014; 1/EST 2/1/1/7, Case 1010/68 in the Magistrate's Court, for the District of Estcourt, held at Estcourt, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Town of Estcourt.

⁸⁶ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, Chapter X; South African Law Reports, Natal Provincial Division, Matiwane vs Cecil Nathal, Beattie & Co, vol 1, 1972, p 224; illiquid case no. WLD 588/1970, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Standard Bank of South Africa. Details of the case between Matiwane vs The Standard Bank of South Africa Limited (Estcourt Branch) are also contained in file WLD 588/1970 and titled In the Supreme Court of South Africa (Natal Provincial Administration), case number M.190/69, in the Matter between David Cecil Matiwane (operating current banking account under the style and name of Matiwane Transport Company) and the Standard Bank of South Africa Limited (Estcourt Branch), Estcourt (first respondent) and L. Rowland (second respondent, in his capacity as Manager and employee of Standard Bank of S.A. Ltd). Here, evidence was also given on how the Drummonds were able to withdraw funds from the account.

⁸⁷ Peter Brown Papers, PC 16/5/2/1/1 - Personal Correspondence including letters re-loans 1960-1961, letter from David Cecil Matiwane to Peter Brown, 29 July 1961 and letter from Peter Brown to D.C.O. Matiwane, 19 October 1961.

stance against rent payment. In a way, his refusal to pay was not out of line with rent boycotts and the strategy of not paying taxes until the people had won their rights.⁸⁸ Such protests were organised by activists and communities to handicap South Africa's discriminatory systems and practices.

Following his expulsion from Estcourt, Matiwane and his family relocated to Pietermaritzburg. He described Pietermaritzburg as the town where both he and his wife were born, where they had attended three different schools, and as the place where all their children were born in provincial hospitals provided for blacks.⁸⁹ Within a month of his arrival, he was able to secure employment and like other blacks, he endured what he referred to as a 'mass medical' examination which was conducted in a hall. Here, they all stood naked in a procession before a medical officer who examined them in front of others. Privacy was unknown. From his narrative, we learn that being vaccinated and ordered to move to the x-ray machine for chest detections were public signs that the applicant had passed the first hurdle and for those who were not ordered to do so, their results became a far worse subject of public hear-say.⁹⁰

With his letter of employment from Maharaj attorneys, where he also worked with the well-known anti-apartheid activist, Archie Gumede, after successfully completing his medical examination, Matiwane applied for accommodation reserved for blacks at the newly

⁸⁸ Jack and Ray Simons, *Class and Colour in South Africa*, p. 494; Allison Drew (ed.), *South Africa's Radical Tradition: A documentary history*, Volume Two, p 32.

⁸⁹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 73.

⁹⁰ Matiwane pointed out that women were also exposed to a similar, if not worse, experience. See David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 80-81.

established Imbali location in Pietermaritzburg.⁹¹ His application was duly approved by the Superintendent for Bantu Administration, but he had to wait for the allocation of his accommodation. A year later, he made an enquiry when he noticed that some who had applied after him were accommodated at the location. Following his enquiry, he was offered hostel accommodation based on the fact that he had not yet spent a period of 10 years in the area with a single employer. It was only then that it became obvious to him that his Estcourt activities had been reported to the Pietermaritzburg office.⁹² Here too, he was a *persona non grata*.

When the Town Council bought a few houses at Imbali, including a house located in what later became Indumiso College of Education, where he was renting two back-rooms from an Indian landlord, he was the only one who was served with a summons for illegal squatting or trespassing.⁹³ However, he later managed to find alternative and ‘permanent’ accommodation on the Bantu Trust Land at Willowfontein, and the charge was subsequently withdrawn.⁹⁴ However, and typical of him, his refusal to pay a higher rent compared to others occupying

⁹¹ Interviews by Bongani Ndhlovu with Phumzile Mvelase, Estcourt, 30 October 2014 and 15 January 2015; David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 80.

⁹² David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, Chapter XII.

⁹³ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 82. According to Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane), the owner of the house was a Mr Maharaj. See interviews by Bongani Ndhlovu with Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane) held at Estcourt on 30 August 2013 and 30 October 2014.

⁹⁴ Miscellaneous documents in D.C.O. Matiwane Museum, letter from D.C.O. Matiwane to the Prime Minister Mr J.B. Vorster, re-accommodation of a Bantu family on Trust Land-Wilgefontein, District of Pietermaritzburg-D.C.O. Matiwane, 16 February 1973 and Vergunning tot Okkupasie, Mnr D.C.O. Matiwane, 24 November 1975.

properties of the same size, soon led to legal attempts to expel him from the area.⁹⁵ Be that as it may, Matiwane continued to overtly use the law to fight for a just cause.⁹⁶

Saving for loss: D.C.O. Matiwane versus the Standard Bank of South Africa

Matiwane's relocation to Pietermaritzburg did not stop him from continuing his fight against the injustices initiated while he was still an Estcourt resident. One of those was his legal dispute with the Standard Bank of South Africa, which was well documented in his manuscript, the South African Law Reports, and other archival documents.⁹⁷ Of note here was that his manuscript provided his viewpoints to official processes and documentation, and that where relevant to him, he quoted from court proceedings to state his point of view. This combination of documents recollecting Matiwane's encounter with the machinery of the state and the Standard Bank, provide a glimpse of what may be regarded as saving for loss.

Matiwane's legal tussle over the closure of his company's account by the Standard Bank, that spanned more than a decade, made him realise the contractions in the notion of financial security and cash protection services that were promoted by banks through their advertisement campaigns.⁹⁸ He observed that banks' advertisements were arguing that people's money would

⁹⁵ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 83. For other details regarding his ejection and eviction cases, see BAO 6658, ref N105/30/315, letter from D.C.O. Matiwane to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and Mr J.V. Kennard, Bantu Affairs Commissioner's Office, 30 April 1971, letter from D.C.O. Matiwane to the Prime Minister Mr J.B. Vorster, re-accommodation of a Bantu family on Trust Land-Wilgefontein, District of Pietermaritzburg-D.C.O. Matiwane, 16 February 1973.

⁹⁶ For a detailed discussion on how groups used legal means to effect change, see Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff (eds.), *Law and Disorder in the Postcolony* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

⁹⁷ See David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, Chapter XIII; Illiquid case no. WLD 588/1970, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Standard Bank of South Africa & South African Law Reports, Natal Provincial Division, Matiwane vs Cecil Nathal, Beattie & Co, vol 1, 1972.

⁹⁸ In this legal tussle with the bank, Matiwane represented himself and stood against qualified legal experts as he pursued justice against a system which he believed was depriving him of his hard earned income. See David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, Chapter XIII; Illiquid case no. WLD 588/1970, David

be protected and secured if deposited with them, but that according to his bitter experience, such financial security was 'non-existent in some of the South African banks if you are black.'⁹⁹ His observation was based on the fact that in 1958, he opened the Matiwane Transport Company account with the Estcourt branch of Standard Bank and that when the account was closed in March 1959, there should have been 'an amount of R1362.97 in it, which was equal to three months' profit for one bus.'¹⁰⁰

Towards the end of the 1950s, as shown earlier, Matiwane was a *persona non grata* with the Estcourt Town Council and its senior staff members because of his activism, and he contended that the bank colluded with them to wrongfully close his company account and to allow others to withdraw funds from it without his approval. Though Matiwane was successful in convincing the Magistrate that the account was unduly closed and an award of R1061.90 was given in his favour, he eventually lost R301.07 plus interest of what he had invested.¹⁰¹

Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Standard Bank of South Africa & South African Law Reports, Natal Provincial Division, *Matiwane vs Cecil Nathal, Beattie & Co*, vol 1, 1972.

⁹⁹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 85; illiquid case no. WLD 588/1970, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Standard Bank of South Africa; South African Law Reports, Natal Provincial Division, *Matiwane vs Cecil Nathal, Beattie & Co*, vol 1, 1972, pp 224-231.

¹⁰⁰ Illiquid case no. WLD 588/1970, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Standard Bank of South Africa; South African Law Reports, Natal Provincial Division, *Matiwane vs Cecil Nathal, Beattie & Co*, vol 1, 1972, pp 224-23; David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 85.

¹⁰¹ Illiquid case no. WLD 588/1970, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Standard Bank of South Africa; South African Law Reports, Natal Provincial Division, *Matiwane vs Cecil Nathal, Beattie & Co*, vol 1, 1972, pp 224-23; David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 85-88; South African Law Reports, Natal Provincial Division, *Matiwane vs Estcourt Town Council*, vol 3, 1967, p112; *The Natal Witness*, 29 April 1982. Matiwane took pride in his victory against the bank, such that he repeated most of the judgement verbatim in Chapter XIII. But generally, such self-appreciation trends were also evident in his other victories, including those against Cecil Nathal and other legal wrangles against the Estcourt Town Council. Findings against him, to a degree, represents the extent to which they dampened his spirit, for example he did not record much of the judgement that led to his eviction from Estcourt in 1967, and very little or nothing of his 1970 unsuccessful attempt to recover loss of interest due to him from the Standard Bank. Despite some of these setbacks, he continued his activism throughout his life-time, and his bravery was the legacy that inspired many people. This is a subject of Chapter Five of this work.

It is worth pausing here to briefly contextualise the rationale behind the Drummonds' involvement with D.C.O. Matiwane and his transport business. Bus registration documents to the Local Transportation Board in Pietermaritzburg, attached in his case documents against the Standard Bank, made reference to a hire purchase agreement between D.C.O. Matiwane and Mr and Mrs Drummond regarding his purchase of the bus. In terms of this arrangement, the bus was to be registered under Mrs Drummond who was the wife of his then employer, R.R. Drummond. The bus would then be transferred to D.C.O. Matiwane upon final settlement of funds owed to the financiers, as was the case with such hire purchase agreements.¹⁰²

The registering of property to third parties by the Matiwanes was not a new phenomenon. In Chapter Two, it may be observed that David Matiwane's title deeds were held by Harvard and bonded to Allison and Hime for a period ending with the settlement of the debt.¹⁰³ In Chapter Two, I also maintained that the bonding of properties and hire purchase agreements between individuals reveal an 'open' market between individuals who were willing to transact with each other across the racial divide without going through banks to source funding. One of the glaring differences between D.C.O. Matiwane and David Matiwane's cases was that a bank 'interfered' with D.C.O. Matiwane's company account and gave access to funds to a person with whom he had a separate agreement, but without his permission. Such an act logically led him to believe that the financial institution, Estcourt Town Council and some whites, including his long-time employer, Drummond, colluded against him in an attempt to get him

¹⁰² Illiquid case no. WLD 588/1970, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Standard Bank of South Africa, correspondence with the Local Transportation Board, Pietermaritzburg, annexures D, E, F & G (transfer document), dated 28 October 1958, 5 February 1959, 27 October 1958 and 16 September 1958 respectively.

¹⁰³ David Matiwane was D.C.O. Matiwane's grandfather. See Chapter Two for details.

removed from Estcourt as a *persona non grata*. Given the fact that this legal tussle had a bearing on his cash flow and his 'inability' to pay rent, such an assumption carried fair weight.¹⁰⁴

I would like to add that the above mentioned argument, to a degree, speaks to Matiwane's generally held idea that, under apartheid, the notion of black servanthship and white trusteeship became well entrenched, to an extent that white officials in banks discretionally gave access to accounts held by blacks to third parties without following due processes. He observed that white superiority and related interventions during the United Party and the National Party governments was the same constant which placed blacks at the bottom of the social order.¹⁰⁵ These interventions made it impossible for blacks to operate normally in the political and the socio-economic life of the country as equals with whites. For his grandfather, as an example, the system introduced complicated processes to sell his property to a white third party, and for him, institutionalised segregation saw D.C.O. Matiwane undergoing a complicated legal process in an attempt to recover his funds from a bank which unduly gave them to a third party.¹⁰⁶ Though he emerged victorious against the Standard Bank, Estcourt branch, he lost

¹⁰⁴ 'Inability' because his wife was working, and secondly, based on the fact that Matiwane was an anti-rent activist and his stance seemed not to have changed much. In the mid-1960s and early 1960s, he refused to pay rent and used his incarcerations and legal wrangles with the Town Council and Standard Bank as his valid reasons. But it is clear that as an astute activist, his participation and organisation of the 1950s anti-rent protests in Johannesburg and Estcourt continued to have an impact in his life.

¹⁰⁵ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, especially chapters XIV & XIII.

¹⁰⁶ He also observed that banks seemed to lack a moral obligation to clients whose positions had been deliberately jeopardised by their actions. See David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 88.

R300.00 as the Magistrate's Court did not have jurisdiction over claims exceeding the award.¹⁰⁷

The contradictions between the bank's notion of security and saving, and his experience of losing part of his investment plus interest, and the complicated and expensive legal processes that had to be followed by both educated and illiterate persons in order to recover their monies, led him to criticise the notion of saving as practised by South African banks. He pondered that:

One wonders if it is worthwhile to advise illiterate Blacks in South Africa that they should deposit their moneys in banks for safe keeping if it means losing their savings only to retrieve them by Court order which means losing R300 which was actually deposited as in my case. Not considering the time and energy wasted....¹⁰⁸

In his determination to recover the loss of income and interest as a result of the wrongful closure of his account, he instituted another legal proceeding with the Supreme Court of Witwatersrand against the Standard Bank. During litigation, in which Matiwane also represented himself, he claimed R121 305.40 for the total loss of income and interest. He based his calculation on the net profit each bus would have generated over a period of ten years, and multiplied that total by a number of buses (3) he had or argued was in the process of acquiring when the account was closed. He systematically calculated the interest of this amount by using the interest rate of the time, and concluded that the bank should pay him the

¹⁰⁷ Illiquid case no. WLD 588/1970, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Standard Bank of South Africa; South African Law Reports, Natal Provincial Division, Matiwane vs Cecil Nathal, Beattie & Co, vol 1, 1972; David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 85-88.

¹⁰⁸ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 87(a). For details on the judgement, also see file WLD 588/1970, especially documentation titled In the Supreme Court of South Africa (Natal Provincial Administration), case number M.190/69, In the Matter between David Cecil Matiwane (operating current banking account under the style and name of Matiwane Transport Company) and the Standard Bank of South Africa Limited (Estcourt Branch), Estcourt (first respondent) and L. Rowland (second respondent, in his capacity as Manager and employee of Standard Bank of S.A. Ltd).

total of R121 305.40 which included interest on the capital amount. Despite his attention to detail, his application was dismissed with costs due to non-compliance with relevant legal technicalities.¹⁰⁹ In general, his legal and financial losses confirmed the contradiction of saving for a loss in a 'secured' financial institution. Still, this did not deter him from continuing to take legal routes against his oppressors.

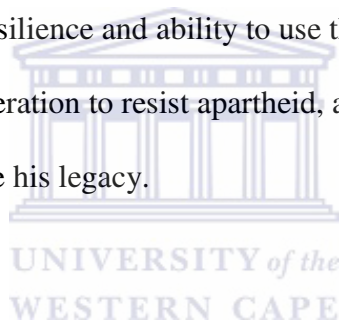
Conclusion

In this chapter, I have used Matiwane's unpublished manuscript, recollections of those who knew him, newspaper articles, official documents and proceedings of legal processes to reconstruct a fragmented tale of an individual who attempted to fight the apartheid system from within. This included his futile attempts to use state establishments, such as the Advisory Board to challenge the system, and led to his realisation that the state was hell-bent to get rid of activists like him. Matiwane's is also a narrative of how communities stood against oppression and organised themselves into structures such as the Action Committee, or took part in the many riots and boycotts against the repressive state in pursuit of a just cause. His is also a tale of an individual who was willing to recruit others against the system which, generally, oppressed blacks as a people. It is also an anecdote of how women were excluded in the mainstream socio-economic activities of the country, and of how, through their activism, they stood their ground.

In this chapter, I have also explored how Matiwane's theory of using the state's legal processes to fight against its injustices was a futile strategy in attempt to change the apartheid

¹⁰⁹ Illiquid case no. WLD 588/1970, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Standard Bank of South Africa. For details see section dealing with particulars of plaintiff's claim and judgement, and especially to the judgement of the Honourable Mr Justice Viljoen, 10 April 1970.

system. The futility of their attempts was witnessed in the way in which the state continued to humiliate black South Africans, declared them *persona non grata*, and how it employed its machinery to ruin their lives. I posited that though Matiwane noted that apartheid administrative bodies and its bureaucrats were not accustomed to an African with a conscience for justice, he continued to use them in an attempt to achieve a different outcome. It is my conclusion that by trying to use the very instruments of oppression against blacks to effect change, his becomes a narrative of contradictions. His is also a narrative of how millions like him became frequent visitors to charge offices, solitary imprisonments, Magistrate's Courts and Bantu Affairs Commissioner's offices. Despite their setbacks, chapters Four and Five demonstrate how Matiwane's resilience and ability to use the courts to pursue a just cause partly influenced a younger generation to resist apartheid, and how his actions partly influenced others to memorialise his legacy.



Chapter Four

The 'Treatise of Black Victimisation': Critical comments, frustrations and silences of the liberation voice

Introduction

This chapter explores D.C.O. Matiwane's attempts to give himself a voice mainly through his writing, which has left us an unpublished and incomplete manuscript, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation and The Contemporary Problem of Apartheid Strappado*. His manuscript is the primary source for this chapter. Through the *Treatise*, he intended to expose black victimisation, as well as the cruelty inflicted on them by apartheid. Through this manuscript, he tried to provide a generalised social analysis of black experiences in South Africa as opposed to giving an auto/biographic account. Though he stated that *A Treatise of Black Victimisation* was not autobiographical, I will argue that it was, and demonstrate why. I will also look at how he attempted to voice his concerns and how these were silenced by the apartheid machinery. Against this background, I will attempt to provide a critique of his thoughts. I will demonstrate how, in his attempts to give himself a voice, his narrative became an expression of a politics marked by ambiguities and contradictions.

This chapter maintains that Matiwane was a voice of critical contemplation against oppression, and it tries to analyse his thoughts, comments and actions against apartheid by examining the content of his manuscript. His thoughts are thematically placed under different sub-headings to give them grids of intelligibility.

The manuscript: A voice against injustice and the limit of self/censorship

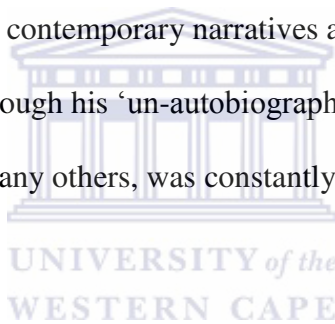
Matiwane drafted his undated and incomplete manuscript, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation and The Contemporary Problem of Apartheid Strappado* in the late 1960s and early 1970s.¹

His table of contents page indicated that the work was supposed to have XXIV chapters, excluding the ‘Dedication’, ‘Apology’, ‘Acknowledgement’/‘Preface’, ‘Foreword’, ‘Introduction’ and ‘Epilogue’. But the chapters which were to deal with, among others, ‘The Atrocious Crime of Being Black’, ‘Failure of Bantu Education’, ‘The Instability of Authority’, ‘Changing Attitude’, ‘The Inefficacy of Apartheid’, ‘Indiscriminate Exploitation’, ‘The Insight of Apartheid Strappado’/‘South Africa Explain Victimisation’ and ‘Race Relations must Improve...’ were not part of his draft manuscript. It is not clear whether these were documented separately, how such documents disappeared from his family’s possession, or whether he never managed to complete his planned chapters. The survival of Matiwane’s draft manuscript, which contained the first 14 chapters (as well as the Dedication, Preface, incomplete Foreword and Introduction) of his work, partly depended on his daughter, Phumzile Mvelase’s (née Matiwane) interest in the family archive and history. Mvelase’s passion for her family history saw her safeguarding the manuscript, and family albums, and scrapbooking her family history.²

¹ The inference that the manuscript was written in the late 1960s and early 1970s was reached through incidences that are mentioned in it, for example the 65th birthday of Helen Joseph and the tenth anniversary of the Republic/Republic Day.

² Phumzile Mvelase has a keen interest in heritage in general. She is well travelled locally and internationally and has an understanding of the importance of heritage sites. She had been to Robben Island Museum, Nelson Mandela Museum, Samora Machel plane-crash site, Mandela capture site, Kruger National Park and Drakensberg World Heritage site. When her father passed away in 1982, she represented Matiwane’s children by rendering an item during the memorial service. She was so eloquent that one of the organisers requested her to participate in the 1 000 000 signature campaign against oppression at Pietermaritzburg Lay Centre in about 1983/84. She is a senior health practitioner in one of the state facilities in KwaZulu-Natal. Mvelase has B. Cur. Degree and diplomas in Nursing Science and Primary Health Care.

With regard to his interest in documenting black victimisation by a socio-economic system that degraded and impoverished them, Matiwane suggested that his work was intended merely to be a general account of black life in South Africa and was quick to point out that it was not an autobiography.³ Differently phrased, and as the title suggested, it was intended to be a treatise or an exposition of black victimisation and the cruelty inflicted on the oppressed through apartheid, and not a complete review of the subject. However, and contrary to his assertion, the manuscript was openly autobiographical in that it detailed his personal experiences of ill treatment, as well as isolated anecdotes of good treatment in the country. Matiwane's attempt at giving a non-biographic narrative eluded him because, to quote Barbara Caine, life writing and contemporary narratives almost always have biographic inputs in their production.⁴ Through his 'un-autobiographical' manuscript, it becomes clear that in South Africa, he, like many others, was constantly harassed, victimised and persecuted.⁵



It was his intention to share these experiences with the world through the book by having it published on or before 31 May 1971.⁶ The rationale for this was that May 31st was the day on which white South Africa celebrated the declaration of the country as a Republic, independent of British dominion in 1961. As an Advisory Board member at Estcourt, he was

³ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation and The Contemporary Problem of Apartheid Strappado* (unpublished and undated), pp 8, 69.

⁴ Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (Basingstroke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 69. Also see Mxolisi Mchunu, 'A History of Political Violence in KwaShange, Vulindlela district, and of its effect on the memories of survivors (1987-2008)', (Ph.D Dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2013) pp 62-67; Simakole Brutus Mulilo, 'Political Auto/biography, Nationalist History and National Heritage: The Case of Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia', (M.A.Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2012), pp 9-12.

⁵ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p. 8. In Chapter I, he also made reference to his early years in Pietermaritzburg, including his schooling in a multi-racial environment, and in Chapter II he detailed his manhood experiences and encounters with racism and victimisation. This is a narrative which continued throughout his manuscript. It has to be pointed out that though Matiwane viewed these as years of victimisation, in his manuscript, there were isolated incidents of positive relations with authorities.

⁶ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, Chapters IX and X, p 69.

invited to be part of the organising Committee of the fifth anniversary celebrations in 1966. But he refused, arguing that he had nothing to celebrate for he believed they could not celebrate apartheid injustices which had become part of South Africa's deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA). He posited that to Africans, the apartheid system was equal to intolerable pain and was diametrically opposed to the interests of black people.⁷

It is worth noting that years of National Party rule saw Matiwane and others arrested under the Emergency Regulations following the declaration of the State of Emergency by the National Party government. These years also saw a number of court cases instituted against him and many others.⁸ They represented a period during which unjust laws were intensified and applied against them, and calls for a just society were harshly suppressed by the state. The Estcourt municipality, for example, responded to his refusal to celebrate Republic Day by cancelling his permit to occupy house No. 152 at Khwezi Bantu Township, 'the location', at nine o'clock on the evening of 31 May 1966.⁹

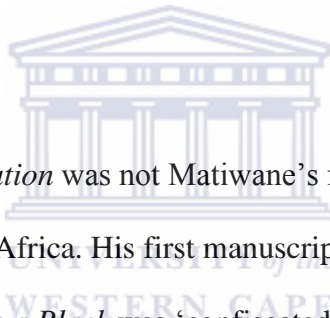
Matiwane had planned to protest against the Republic Day commemoration through the publication of the book in 1971. However, by May 1971, he was still editing it. It was not published as a book. Nonetheless, the non-completion of this project did not deter him from his continued protest. For Dr Mvuyo Tom, it seemed that Matiwane was the only person who openly protested against the 20 year celebrations of South Africa as a Republic in the city of

⁷ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, chapters IX & X.

⁸ See Chapter Three.

⁹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, chapters VIII, IX, X and preface.

Pietermaritzburg.¹⁰ This was another demonstration of his resilience against the ills of apartheid in particular. Arguably, his protests against celebrating the Republic Day stemmed from the resolution taken by the All-In African Conference held in Pietermaritzburg in March 1961. The Conference called for countrywide demonstrations if the National Party government continued with its declaration of South Africa as a Republic. Delegates believed that if the Republic was to be declared, racism and racial policies of the government would be intensified, leading to further deterioration of the living conditions of black people.¹¹ Subsequent to the declaration of the country as a Republic, stay-at-homes were held in various parts of the country. It was in this spirit that Matiwane continued to protest against 31 May.



The Treatise of Black Victimisation was not Matiwane's first attempt to write about matters affecting African life in South Africa. His first manuscript entitled, *The Abridged Introspection of Restrictions on a Black* was 'confiscated', among other things, by the municipality when it attached a number of valuable goods from his house in August 1966. Its confiscation and absence was to become a narrative upon which to base his 'other' tale.¹² In his court papers, Matiwane noted that following his 'expulsion' from Estcourt, his almost complete manuscript was destroyed in a fire, together with other goods which had

¹⁰ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013. Tom, a medical doctor by training, was working at Edendale Hospital (Pietermaritzburg) in the early 1980s. As an ANC underground operative, he also harboured and supported members of Umkhonto we Sizwe. He served three years in jail for his political activism. In a democratic South Africa, he was able to freely practice as a doctor, and occupied prominent positions within the health sector and in the country in general. He is a respected activist, academic and administrator. During the time of the interview, he was the Vice Chancellor of the University of Fort Hare.

¹¹ Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter (eds.), *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of South African Politics 1882-1964: Challenge and Violence, 1953-1964* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), pp 361-364 & 633-634.

¹² Nadia Seremetakis, 'The Memory of the Senses, Part I: Marks of the Transitory', in Nadia Seremetakis, *The Senses Still: Perception as Material Culture in Modernity* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), p 2. In her work, Seremetakis discussed how the memory of a disappeared object is invoked in a similar object.

sentimental value to him, set by 'an illiterate Bantu African in the execution of his duties' while clearing the house he had occupied.¹³ His expulsion and the burning of his documents also translated into the silencing of a voice of resistance and the creation of a new memory.

In his incomplete work, Matiwane was also critical of his role as a biographer and of the educational potential of his project. He argued that the purpose of his book was also to 'disclose what can be endured by a black' and what others may learn from such endurance.¹⁴ This posture gave the manuscript some autobiographical credence. Through it, and while narrating his experiences, he also managed to narrate the experiences of other resilient black people in the country. He argued that his was 'a voice of practical example of endurance in a well constituted sabotage of black human rights.'¹⁵ His manuscript was intended to outline the challenges faced by the 'voiceless' black people. But there were limits.

He argued that white South Africa was obsessed with control and feared criticism such that expressions of opinion by blacks against the state were labelled as 'communistic' and led to persecution and the institution of banning orders against them.¹⁶ His expulsion from Estcourt and his bitter experiences in Pietermaritzburg may be interpreted as part of a well-

¹³ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 69 & 71; 1/EST 2/1/1/7, Case 1010/68 in the Magistrate's Court for the District of Estcourt held at Estcourt, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Town of Estcourt, affidavit by D.C.O. Matiwane, 24 September 1968. One of the affidavits about the matter name two 'Bantu Assistants' who were present on the day of attachment as B.C.L. Dhlamini and E. Mkhize, see 1/EST 2/1/1/7, Case 1010/68 in the Magistrate's Court for the District of Estcourt held at Estcourt, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Town of Estcourt, affidavit of Walter James Paviour, 22 August 1968. Paviour and another municipal official (Wilhelmus Johannes Otto) present on the day denied having removed the manuscript (and other documents) from the property. See Case 1010/68 in the Magistrate's Court for the District of Estcourt held at Estcourt, David Cecil Oxford Matiwane vs The Town of Estcourt, affidavit of Wilhelmus Johannes Otto, 23 August 1968. In the same archival file (EST 2/1/1/7), there was no evidence of Dhlamini and Mkhize's testimonies. Their documentary voices are therefore 'silence'.

¹⁴ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 72.

¹⁵ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 15.

¹⁶ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 10, 50.

orchestrated strategy to silence him. Nonetheless, amid such state vindictiveness and censorship, Matiwane like many others,¹⁷ attempted to give black voices an opinion about his many battles with the state through his manuscripts. As a youngster, he 'was quite accustomed to be silenced or silence someone with a fist directed to my mouth' or theirs, and as an adult he was determined not to remain silent, but to follow his voice of conscience and to fight for 'justice and humanity whenever' an occasion demanded.¹⁸ He demonstrated his resilience through a number of deeds.

Matiwane's manuscript was also littered with codes, such that key locations and other important characters were not referred by their names. For example, Estcourt became 'the Town', Pietermaritzburg was 'the City' and there was a 'legal practitioner' who was also a Chairman of the Advisory Board.¹⁹ There was also a 'head of the Bantu Administration Department' (Mr G.F. Baker) who met with the women of the 'location' in an attempt to resolve the milk boycott. He told us of an unnamed Mayor (G.V. Bulman) with whom he lodged a complaint when he was ill-treated at Estcourt, he narrated an incident of a man who advocated the policy of divide and rule (Theophilus Shepstone), he mentioned a bank (Standard Bank) that allowed a withdrawal from his account by a third party (Mr and Mrs Drummond) without his consent.²⁰ He mentioned a 'sergeant' who first represented the

¹⁷ See Sibongiseni Mthokozisi Mkhize, 'Class Consciousness, Non-racialism and Political Pragmatism: A Political Biography of Henry Selby Msimang, 1886-1982' (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, 2015), pp 14-15. Mkhize noted that during this period there were a number of attempts by activists and others aimed at giving their accounts about the unfolding of events and their experiences in the country. These included the works of Clements Kadalie, John Dube, Sol Plaatje, J.T. Gumede, R.R.R. and H.I.E. Dhlomo.

¹⁸ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 17 & 21.

¹⁹ Aubrey Nyembezi was the practitioner, and around 1959 and 1960 he was the Chairperson of the Board.

²⁰ It is worth noting that when Standard Bank attorneys threatened Matiwane with the Order of Perpetual Silence if he continued to write 'stupid' letters to the bank demanding payment of his money, Matiwane refused to be silenced. He fought back and informed them that he was not threatened by such letters and questioned the bank attorneys (Cecil Nathan, Beattie & Co) for an unprofessionally written letter. In fact, he challenged the

Town's authority in the Khwezi Advisory Board but later turned his back against it.

Matiwane's self-censorship was sometimes so extreme that key details of his observations were lost in the abstractions that he crafted. Given the political context of the period where state-sponsored persecution reigned supreme against those who were seen to be opposed to it, this may be interpreted as his attempts to safeguard the identities of his subjects.

While the codification of geographical spaces and people's names reflected the effect of state censorship, it also gave Matiwane's manuscript a 'fictional' feel.²¹ This strategy made it difficult for authorities to charge him for accusing their officials of unjust behaviour against a section of the population, of being arrested for accusing others of being collaborators, deformation of character, and he also managed to protect the identities of those who stood against the unjust acts of the apartheid machinery. Partly, it also revealed their position in apartheid South Africa. As blacks, they were, practically, disempowered. Self-censorship and silence was equated with disempowerment.²² Apartheid South Africa attempted to disempower and subjugate them. Despite the many challenges he faced, the writing of his manuscript overtly demonstrated his desire to continue to expose apartheid atrocities. Even if conditions exposed him to torture, he was determined to voice his experiences while protecting others through the use of 'codes'.

wording of the letter before a judge and the award was in his favour. Using this as an example, he noted that it was not only politicians, through their legislations, who silenced people, but commercial banks also followed the same trend as advocates of apartheid in a different guise. See Chapter XIII of his unpublished manuscript; South African Law Reports, Natal Provincial Division, *Matiwane vs Cecil Nathal, Beattie & Co*, vol 1, 1972, pp 222-231.

²¹ Fields gives an analysis of the relationship between fiction and autobiographies. See Roger Field, '*Alex La Guma: A Literary & Political Biography*', pp 2-5.

²² Wendy Woodward, Patricia Hayes and Gary Minkley (eds.), *Deep hiStories: Gender and Colonialism in Southern Africa* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), Introduction.

While taking away the particularity of space, he was able to retain some central characters and themes. He used his manuscript as a language to communicate key challenges facing South Africa as a country. In chapter VI of his manuscript, Matiwane described a March 1960 incident where many local residents were detained under the Emergency Regulations. Here, he did not give the names of the personalities involved, but mentioned their titles including a station commander, a senior sergeant and a district commandant who were on the side of the state and on the community side, a former Chairman of the Advisory Board and the many unnamed others who were arrested.²³ Here again, rather than focusing on individuals, his priority was exposing the problematic architecture of the State of Emergency and its bias against inhabitants. It pointed to how senior officials within the state security were used against residents who were opposed to racial discrimination.

Conversely, it was also a narrative of how disillusioned some members of the Khwezi Advisory Board were in that they sided with members of the community.²⁴ Given his limitations, he was able to make a point about the cruelties of the system to those it deemed inhuman. He pointed out, for example, that those considered as revolutionaries by apartheid South Africa were ‘shot like a helicopter spraying poison on locusts’ or arrested at nocturnal hours.²⁵ Here, Matiwane demonstrated how the apartheid interpretation of revolutionaries was couched in a language of inhumanity, and how those who stood for social justice experienced its wrath. In general terms, apartheid humanity was premised on the primacy of

²³ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 50.

²⁴ This point was discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

²⁵ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 49.

the skin, and blacks experienced its brutality during night and day.²⁶ During, after and before the 1960 State of Emergency, acts of confronting such brutality saw the arrest of many anti-apartheid activists across the race, gender and class divides.²⁷

Apartheid censorship could be partly witnessed in Matiwane's acts of self-expurgation which dominated his manuscript. One such example was when he deliberately decided not to publish the content of a memorandum that the Action Committee submitted to the Estcourt Town Council as part of the Anti-Rent Campaign. He argued that this omission was as a result of him being a *persona non grata* who would probably not be allowed access to the municipal records. The document, he maintained, was the property of the Council and could not be published without its consent.²⁸ Here, Matiwane seemed to have adopted a defeatist approach in that he reduced his focus mainly to access to the memorandum and not the content which he knew very well. Matiwane was a participant in a community meeting which voiced objections against the introduction of rent, was an elected leader of the Action Committee, and was part of a delegation that presented and discussed the content of the memorandum with the Town Council. Therefore, he knew what was written in the document.

By focusing his attention on the physical document, Matiwane was censoring himself and abdicating responsibility in terms of his intimate knowledge of the subject. But his silence

²⁶ Premesh Lalu, *The Death of Hintsha: Post-apartheid South Africa and the Shape of the Recurring Pasts* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2009). Lalu also shows how race modelled the interpretation of our human past and how this continued in a post-apartheid South Africa.

²⁷ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 50; Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter (eds.), *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of South African Politics 1882-1964: Challenge and Violence, 1953-1964* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), pp 81, 344-364.

²⁸ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 36.

finds resonance in Foucault's analysis that sometimes people choose to be silent because of the knowledge that their views are contrary to officialdom and that airing these would bring them pain.²⁹ The apartheid regime had already demonstrated its military prowess by violently quashing opposition against it, and had, on occasion, requested its opponents to 'adapt or die'.³⁰ Matiwane did not only understand, but had physically experienced such torture and pain through the state's operatives and its machinery.

Christopher Merrett argued that in South Africa, the rule of the National Party epitomised the worst form of punishment and censorship, aspects which were an integral part of the South African condition, affecting every facet of life.³¹ For Matiwane, publishing the document or its content without the state's consent would have resulted in severe punishment. Depelchin argues that people under severe physical and psychological intimidation preferred to avoid victimisation by maintaining their silence or partial silence.³² This was, arguably, the case with Matiwane. However, there were other cases in the manuscript where Matiwane was able to transcend censorship, and used the power of his memory, in a flowery language, to state a point about the ill-treatment of blacks. When political activists were detained for their alleged roles in the 1960s events that destabilised apartheid South Africa, he argued that:

²⁹ Michel Foucault, '1 February 1984: Second Hour' in Frédéric Gros, François Ewald and Alessandro Fontana (eds.), *Michel Foucault: The Courage of the Truth (The Government of Self and Others II)* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). David Cohen, *The Combining of History* (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) also discusses the silencing power and effect of pain, especially by those in power over their victims.

³⁰ Deborah Posel, 'The language of domination, 1978-1983', in Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido (eds.), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (London: Longman, 1987), p 419; Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter (eds.), *Challenge and Violence, 1953-1964*, p 362.

³¹ Christopher Merrett, *A Culture of Censorship: Secrecy and Intellectual Repression in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1994), p 2.

³² Jacques Depelchin, *Silences in African History*, p 4.

It might ... not constitutes a criminal offence to say that it is ... dangerous for the State to send anybody to gaol without any apparent offence, causing unnecessary embarrassment and an unwarranted stigma. It would not be surprising to find that men soon become immune to authority and loathe white legislation even if authority may think it is for the black's welfare.³³

In this text, Matiwane directly criticised the state for their unlawful arrests without an offence. This was an act he regarded as 'dangerous'. Brave as this statement sounded, Matiwane still did not disclose the details of their detention. This may be read as explaining the effect of their detention, for severe fright in the face of terror and extermination made the individual more prone to silence.³⁴ However, he inverted the narrative and thanked the state for providing an opportunity that introduced him to persons from different political persuasions, and observed that four months of detention was 'a sufficient period for an initiation in political beliefs and their implications, as they can be implemented in South Africa'.³⁵ In this text, he both criticised the state for their arrests and thanked it for allowing detained activists to engage broadly across a wide political divide and under one state-sponsored roof. This was a good example of how he was able to use his memory and words to state a case which he intimately knew about, without relying on documents which were in state possession.

In his work, he also recorded the state's efforts to silence blacks through third parties. He did this by painting incidents in which the state worked in concert with others to blatantly silence him. Matiwane recalled an incident where he advised a resident, whose wife had been electrocuted as a result of a wire which was not insulated, to institute a civil claim for

³³ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 51.

³⁴ Jacques Depelchin, *Silences in African History*, p 4.

³⁵ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 52.

gross negligence against the Estcourt Town Council. When the Town Council learnt of his role in the matter, they approached his employer who threatened him with instant dismissal if he were to pursue the matter further. This was a typical example of how the state used its mechanisms against the voices who were opposed to its injustices.³⁶

Matiwane noted further that he was forced to withdraw his support for the sake of his children, but had to live with guilt for having failed to assist his fellow human being.³⁷ This relates well to observations by some scholars of the notion that in South Africa, victims of apartheid-inflicted trauma were reduced to mere objects by their persecutors. The system tried to destroy their self-worth, and attempts were made to denigrate their belief in themselves and they had to live with feelings of guilt.³⁸ However, he tried to take the matter to the Advisory Board and observed that there was nothing they could do unless they ‘forget who butters their bread - indeed there is nothing you can do for the welfare of the black if your family interest still receive priority above the destiny of your black countrymen’.³⁹

Here, they were confronted with the contradictions of fighting oppression while serving within its structures and by the dualities of how the state worked with their employers, who ‘battered their bread’, to enforce unjust practices against blacks. These dualities also spoke to the thin line that existed between the state and many white employers, for in essence these were the same individuals who voted for the policy of apartheid and were its direct

³⁶ In Chapter Three we observed how his former employers (Drummond), the Standard Bank and the Town Council probably worked together against him.

³⁷ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 37.

³⁸ Susan J. Brison ‘Trauma Narratives and the Remaking of the Self’, in Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer (eds.), *Acts of Memory: Cultural recall in the present* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), p 41; Ashraf Kagee and Joseph L. Price, ‘Apartheid in South Africa: Toward a Model of Psychological Intervention’, *Journal of Black Studies*, 25 (6), 1995, p 739.

³⁹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 37.

beneficiaries. Despite these challenges and the many deliberate omissions, his was a narrative of how the state attempted to make black life less valuable, and how the law and apartheid connections were abusively applied to humiliate blacks to suit the convenience of white authority. It was also a narrative of how they attempted to fight the state while making a living employed by the very government that they fought against, or by working in factories and companies owned by whites, who stood mostly in support of the apartheid system. These conditions limited their strategic choices.

Landlessness and the break-down of black family life

Matiwane's manuscript provided an interesting commentary against apartheid on landlessness and the breakdown of black family life. He was against land dispossession and a complicated land acquisition process which only applied to blacks. He maintained that dispossession made them nomads in their country.⁴⁰ This was in response to heightened rezoning of areas in the 1960s. As an example, he pointed out that about 10 000 Africans were moved out of their residential areas following the proclamation of Richards Bay as a white area. The removal was partly made possible by provisions of the Group Areas Act, No 41 of 1950. Like the 1913 Natives Land Act, the Group Areas Act reduced and restricted land ownership by blacks and enforced segregated residential-settlement of South Africa's races.

The rezoning of Richards Bay meant that those Africans who wanted to continue to live in the area were to be regarded as squatters. Matiwane ridiculed their referencing as 'illegal

⁴⁰ This was also an argument noted by Sol Plaatje in his *Native Life in South Africa* (Northland: Picador Africa, 2007) following the passing of the 1913 Natives Land Act.

squatters' in the land they had occupied for many generations. He maintained that such assertions were based on the assumption by some white farmers and their agricultural unions that blacks had arrived in Richards Bay in 1852.⁴¹ The 'empty-land' notion in South African politics and history led to a number of confrontations. Wars were fought between whites who were taking over what they regarded as 'empty-land', and blacks who were defending their land.⁴² During the National Party rule, the idea that most of South Africa was 'empty-land' when whites arrived in the country gained significant traction in government circles. Matiwane and many of his contemporaries objected to the forced removals. They maintained that it created restlessness and landlessness.

Headmen and chiefs did not escape the wrath of Matiwane's pen, for he accused them of collaborating with the system to make land acquisition by blacks a complicated process and for exploiting their black fellows. Landless blacks, for example, had to pay a 'gratitude' fee, usually a bottle of liquor, at every interview they had with headmen or chiefs. They also had to go to the Bantu Affairs Commission of the district where they sought residence for approval of their applications. The Commissioner had discretion to reject or accept the application. If they were not residents of the area in which they sought residence, they had to do an 'Inter-District Transfer'. This, he maintained, dehumanised 'human beings in a manner similar to the removal of stock from one dipping ranch to another, the only difference being

⁴¹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 11-12.

⁴² Martin Legassick, *The Politics of the South African Frontier: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and Missionaries, 1780-1840* (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2010); J.D. Omer-Cooper, *History of Southern Africa* (London: James Currey, 1987); John Laband, *Rope of Sand: The rise and the fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the nineteenth century* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1995); Magema Fuze, *The Black People and whence they came* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1979); Hermann Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people* (Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers, 2004); Clifton Crais, *White supremacy and black resistance in pre-industrial South Africa: The making of the colonial order in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

that they' were not driven like stock.⁴³ One may argue that they were treated much worse than animals if the brutal force used in the removals of people from areas like Sophiatown, District Six and Cato Manor is taken into account. It was such collaboration with the system and the abuse of power that contributed to Matiwane's dissatisfaction with the institution of traditional leadership.

Returning to the issue of sites, Matiwane pointed out that the allocation of such sites to blacks was governed by Proclamation No R188 of 1969 of the Bantu Areas Regulations. The Proclamation, among other things, dictated how they should live and who should visit them and, if these regulations were contravened, transgressors were fined, imprisoned or removed from the area.⁴⁴ He argued that this meant that in order for blacks to have 'permanent' residence in a Trust Land, they had to toe the line dictated by authority. He further maintained that the Urban Areas Act of 1945 did not offer blacks residential rights. Property was given to them with the *proviso* that the head of the family was a registered employee, and irrespective of whether the wife could afford rent; their right to occupy such property came to an end as soon as men were arrested 'even for an alleged political offence'.⁴⁵ In essence, and in the words of Sol Plaatje, the system made blacks pariahs in the land of their birth.⁴⁶

Matiwane also maintained that the socio-economic system created by apartheid had an adverse effect on families, as it sustained white supremacy and industrial progress at the

⁴³ Generally, he observed that blacks were living in fenced environments or reserves like wild animals. David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 14 & 92.

⁴⁴ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 13.

⁴⁵ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 14, 55-62.

⁴⁶ Sol Plaatje, *Native Life in South Africa*, p 21.

expense of black family life.⁴⁷ He questioned the notion of townships as residential areas and argued that they were nothing more than labour camps with no residential security for blacks. As an example, he outlined that many blacks spent more than 63% of their wages on transport to work. Throughout his manuscript, Matiwane argued that the sweat and blood of a black person was, from a school-going child to adulthood, not employed to sustain them but that the migratory labour and influx control systems were crafted to benefit white indulgence.⁴⁸ Matiwane, thus, expanded Sol Plaatje's conclusion that under severe pains and penalties, blacks 'were to be deprived of the bare human rights of living on the land, except as servants in the employ of the whites....'⁴⁹ The ripple effect of this migratory labour system and land dispossession was that many black families were not successful and lived in abject poverty while supporting white indulgence.

The labour 'reservoir' economy had a tremendously negative effect on black family life. Apartheid authorities wanted a limited number of labourers in the townships, and they did not want blacks to have permanent residential homes in urban areas. As such, limited accommodation was provided for black labour in the townships. Such arrangements did not allow for black families to lead a normal life as authorities regularly checked that unit occupants stayed within the prescribed limits. Matiwane commented on this diminished status of a black family. He maintained that the relationship between a black man and black woman was reduced to an administration of mere statistics and that their privacy was

⁴⁷ David Welsh provides an analysis of three interrelated issues that dominated the black/white encounter, and he mentions them as security, land and labour. See David Welsh, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* (Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2010), pp 29-51.

⁴⁸ See David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, especially the introduction and chapters I, II, VIII, IX and XIV. His assessment finds resonance in Mamdani's argument that the beneficiaries from 'native urbanisation' were white South Africans. See Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996).

⁴⁹ Sol Plaatje, *Native Life in South Africa*, pp 30-31.

violated by the blackjack 'militia' who were legislated to access their homes at all hours to conduct raids.⁵⁰

Here, the consistency of state interference on black family life is revealed. The statistical focus of the colonial administration may have been, among others, on a number of exempted and educated natives. Yet the focus of the apartheid administration, inter alia, was on the number of blacks in urban areas and on how many people occupied a single family unit. All this was done in an attempt to control and regulate them. Whereas the colonial administration issued a number of legal codes and regulations which governed black family life, the apartheid administration also achieved the same through a number of regulations and laws. Matiwane observed that the pass laws were daily destroying the sanctity of black family life. Hand in hand with this was an 'increasing rate of drunkenness, divorce, illegitimacy, abortions, crime' and murder.⁵¹ Many black people, not excluding him, became victims of some or all of these. It was against this background that many participated in the struggle to undo this unjust system, and that many made attempts to voice their dissatisfaction against legislated racism.⁵²

Legislated racism, through farm labour tenancy, also created what Matiwane termed 'legalised slaves'. He voiced out an opinion that labour tenants supplied free or cheap labour to farm owners in lieu of having a temporary shelter on the farms, that they had insignificant access to arable land, and were only permitted to keep very limited stock. This forced them

⁵⁰ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 14-15. For a brief discussion on blackjacks, see Chapter Three.

⁵¹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 14-15, especially notes in these pages.

⁵² Premesh Lalu refers to legislated racism as legalised apartheid. See Premesh Lalu, *The Death of Hintsha*, p 16.

to work for 'white masters'. At Estcourt in particular, he argued, legalised slaves not only worked on their white masters' farms, but also provided labour in quarries, butcheries, offices and other places, or as domestic servants for masters and their children in towns. He heavily criticized this cheap labour system entrenched in South Africa which legitimised very long hours, low wages and treated them badly.⁵³

His analysis had resonance with Wolpe's argument that apartheid was an attempt of the racist capitalist class to meet the expanding demand for cheap African labour in the era of industrial manufacturing capital to the detriment of blacks.⁵⁴ Within Estcourt and in similar contexts, Matiwane argued that labour tenants did not have security of tenure and that farm owners dismissed them at will and at a slightest provocation, including taking a legal action for damages or fining them a cow for not turning up for duty. He charged that the system also made black women, who were mostly illiterate, very vulnerable as farmers sometimes sexually abused them and then denied paternal parentage.⁵⁵ However, he recognised the very few who took responsibility of their parentages.

White monumental representation and black insertion

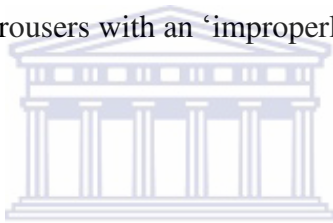
Matiwane's manuscript was a work of critical reflection on black representation by apartheid South Africa. He noted in Chapter XI that in the city of Pietermaritzburg, monumental

⁵³ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 29-30. As early as 1923, Petros Lamula had criticised White South Africa for enriching itself 'through cheap native labour'. See Paul la Hausse de Lalouvière, *Restless Identities: Signatures of Nationalism, Zulu Ethnicity and History in the Lives of Petros Lamula (c. 1881-1948) and Lymon Maling (1889-c.1936)* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000), p 84.

⁵⁴ Harold Wolpe, 'Capitalism and the cheap labour –power in South Africa: From segregation to apartheid', *Economy and Society*, 1(4), 1972, pp 425-456. Wolpe also discusses this issue in his *Race, Class and Apartheid State* (Paris: Unesco Press, 1988).

⁵⁵ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 29-30.

representation was plagued with white history and heritage. He observed, for example, that the city got its name from the Voortrekker leaders, that the Church of Vow represented Voortrekker history, while the City Hall had traces reminiscent of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). Matiwane recorded that, across the City Hall there were monuments and statues in honour of Natal colonists who had died during the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War.⁵⁶ He noted that, among these remarkable sculptural figures was the one that presumably resembled an African 'carrying a rifle obviously representing loyal Natives or Kaffirs' who fought in support of white supremacy and perished during the Anglo-Zulu War. In contrast to other figures, Matiwane observed that this figure, 'although carrying a rifle stands barefooted,' wearing outsized trousers with an 'improperly buttoned coat' unlike other soldiers.⁵⁷



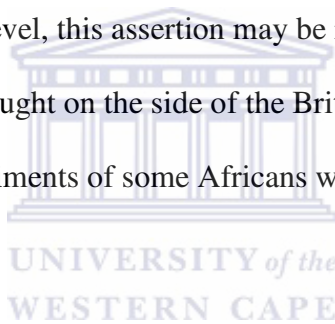
For Matiwane, this discrimination, even in art, for the people who fought for the same cause and faced the same death was unjustifiable. Forty-five years later and notwithstanding the rise of democracy, these characteristics identified by Matiwane have not disappeared. This partly explained why the 'new' South Africa had to re-look at how its heritage and history was represented. Among other factors, there was a need to transform the representation of society from a racist past to a non-racial one, as mandated by the new Constitution because during the colonial and apartheid eras, public history only promoted a one-sided story. This was also reflected in museums and through public statues, as was the case with the precinct that Matiwane criticised. Where the biography of Africans, Coloureds and Indians was

⁵⁶ Jeff Guy, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: The Civil War in Zululand, 1879-1884* (London: Longman, 1979), gives a detailed discussion on the Anglo-Zulu War and its aftermath.

⁵⁷ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 74. Paul la Hausse de Lalouvière names some of the loyal natives who were recorded in the Pietermaritzburg monument. See la Hausse's *Restless Identities*, p 157.

exhibited, it was mainly done in demeaning ways, and Africans were exhibited as frozen in antiquity.⁵⁸ In a liberated South Africa, a re-imagined heritage-scape was to be presented without dehumanising other racial groups and misrepresenting history.⁵⁹ In pursuit of this objective, the post-1994 Pietermaritzburg included new symbols around the City Hall precinct to make it more representative of the city's heritage.⁶⁰

In his critical examination of black loyalty to colonial administration and its racist depiction in monuments, Matiwane charged further that descendants of the 'loyal natives' earned reference books, influx control and Bantu Education as a reward and were treated just like every other Native.⁶¹ On one level, this assertion may be read as a call for a better treatment of descendants of those who fought on the side of the British. It may also be seen as a palimpsest which denoted sentiments of some Africans who received western education and their wish for better treatment.



On a different level, it was affirmation that collaboration with the oppressor did not yield different results because oppressive regimes meted out the same treatment to the races and classes they despised. Inversely, it was a statement that it was better to die opposing your own oppression than participating in it. Matiwane further contrasted the position of these 'loyal natives' and pondered on what would happen if a monument celebrating Zulu bravery

⁵⁸ Noel Lungilezwelidumile Solani, 'The Auto/biography of the liberation struggle and the public representation of its memory and heritage: 1998 to 2008' (D. Lit Et Phil Dissertation, University of the Fort Hare, 2013), pp 162 & 158.

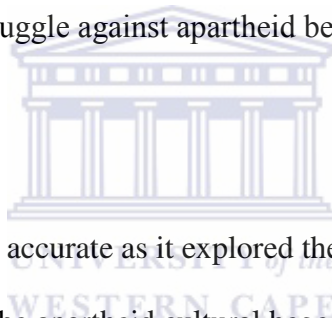
⁵⁹ In making this argument, I am aware of the close link between misrepresentation and contestation of history. I also note Solani's discussion of the domination of history and heritage by the ruling party. See Noel Solani, 'The Auto/biography of the liberation struggle and the public representation of its memory and heritage', Chapter 4.

⁶⁰ This observation was made following my visit to the City Hall-Tatham Art Gallery-KwaZulu Natal Legislature precinct on 30 October 2014. Monuments in this precinct were the subject of Matiwane's criticism.

⁶¹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 74.

were to be installed as opposed to the one that celebrated British victory. He surmised that in such a narrative 'loyal natives' would be treated as traitors who betrayed 'Zulu unity'.⁶²

Taking into account Depelchin's assertion that history and monumentalisation have mostly been shaped by the forces which have emerged victorious from all kinds of confrontations between communities, classes, nations and gender,⁶³ Matiwane's observation carried some weight. His analysis explored the dynamic nature of representation in relation to political and cultural power in the sense that one's loyalty may be traitorous in another's context, and significantly so when former victims become victorious. Daniel Herwitz noted that in post-apartheid South Africa, 'the struggle against apartheid began to turn to a heritage of the victim, the battle, the brave'.⁶⁴



Matiwane's analysis was fairly accurate as it explored the political capital of heritage and how it was used to perpetuate the apartheid cultural hegemony, and how it could be used to represent the other side if it were to come to power. With the benefit of hindsight, I argue that his analysis was not far off the mark, as the birth of a new South Africa was to experience a proliferation of monuments that celebrated bravery by those warriors who fought wars of resistance, among others.⁶⁵ Within this context, Rassool observed that the

⁶² David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 74.

⁶³ Jacques Depelchin, *Silences in African History*, p 1.

⁶⁴ Daniel Herwitz, 'Heritage and Legacy in the South African State University', in Derek R. Peterson, Kodzo Gavua and Ciraj Rassool (eds.), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories and Infrastructures* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p 38.

⁶⁵ The new generation of monuments included the Freedom Park narrative which celebrated wars of resistance, among others and the new intervention at the iSandlwane battlefield site which attempted to exalt Zulu bravery, the Ncome Museum narrative which was 'pro-Zulu' in its approach, as well as the Duncan Village Massacre Memorial which drew criticism for honouring anti-apartheid activism through the agency of a bronze life-sized African warrior holding a spear. Gary Minkley, Phindezwa Mnyaka, Noel Solani, Chitja Twala and Daniel Herwitz, among others, discuss the memorialisation of liberation heritage by the post-1994 democratic South

process of democratisation of South African society provided the impetus for an explosion of heritage initiatives to recover the truth of real lives as lessons of democracy, leadership and the triumph of the human spirit.⁶⁶

The post-1994 era saw the addition of sculptures and new symbols in the City Hall-Tatham Art Gallery precinct to make it more representative.⁶⁷ New symbols like the Sivananda Peace Pillar, the Carbineer's Garden of Peace and few others were added without removing the old ones.⁶⁸ Probably, this was based on the notion that 'western' heritage needed to be countered in order to make the space more representative. However, the contrast between the new and the old was overtly visible, and this was precisely summarised by Minkley when he pointed out that the 'new' heritage functioned as 'add-ons' to what remained a dominant tangible heritage production of 'unremarked masculinist whiteness'.⁶⁹ In practice, it meant that white masculinity, together with its black submissive monuments, which echoed South Africa's discriminatory past, were allowed to exist side by side with the new symbols. As Minkley

Africa. See Gary Minkley and Phindezwa Mnyaka, 'Seeing Beyond the Official and the Vernacular: The Duncan Village Massacre Memorial and the Politics of Heritage in South Africa' in Derek R. Peterson, Kodzo Gavua and Ciraj Rassool (eds.), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories and Infrastructure* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Noel Solani, 'The Auto/biography of the liberation struggle and the public representation of its memory and heritage: 1998 to 2008'; Chitja Twala, 'Winnie Mandela Banishment House in Brandford (Majwemasweu) – Its Historical Significance: 1977-1985', *South African Journal of Cultural History*, 22 (2), 2008, pp. 66-85, and Daniel Herwitz, *Heritage, Culture, and Politics in the Postcolony* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

⁶⁶ Ciraj Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', p 4.

⁶⁷ In making this argument, I also note that in 2015, there was a wave of protests against the retention of sculptures in public spaces that were seen as representing the oppressive past. This wave of anti-colonial and anti-apartheid statues led to the fall of the Cecil John Rhodes statue at the University of Cape Town and the vandalism and defacing of many other statues in different parts of the country. For additional details, see keynote address delivered by Mr Nathi Mthethwa, Minister of Arts and Culture, at the occasion of the opening of the Heritage Consultative meeting at Freedom Park, Pretoria, 17 April 2015.

⁶⁸ Author's visit to the City Hall-Tatham Art Gallery-KwaZulu Natal Legislature precinct on 30 October 2014.

⁶⁹ Gary Minkley, 'A fragile inheritor': the post-apartheid memorial complex, A.C. Jordan and the re-imagining of cultural heritage in the Eastern Cape', *Kronos*, 34 (1), November 2008, pp 25-28.

puts it, such an act resonated well with the notion that heritage was not inherited but produced and ‘negotiated’.⁷⁰

The forced co-existence allowed the ‘barefooted’ and the ‘clothed’ to live side by side with the post-1994 elections heritage. The contrast also offered the visitor to the ‘precinct’ a glimpse of its differentiated heritage as it also stared back to the onlooker with its discriminatory undertones. It was the discriminatory nature of white representation that partly enabled Matiwane to think about the problem of racism and its representation of the other as he exchanged ‘looks’ with it. In his manuscript, he criticised the ‘barefooted’ as the ‘improper’ representation of Africans compared to their white counterparts. But in line with South Africa’s reconciliatory approach, the ‘barefooted natives’ and their ‘white masters’ were allowed to stand side by side to the new interventions. His assertion that ‘even in death, their bravery for the same objective was differently represented’ was a heritage that could still be seen twenty years into democracy. As for their descendants, he noted that during the apartheid era, race, and not class, was a defining feature of their treatment. He observed that children, including himself, of those ‘loyal natives’ continued to be subjected to influx control, reference books and Bantu Education ‘just as any black in this country’.⁷¹ The net effect of this unjust treatment made a number of those who were opposed to it to stand up and resist apartheid and any form of discrimination.

⁷⁰ Gary Minkley, ‘A fragile inheritor’, *Kronos*, 34 (1), November 2008, p 26.

⁷¹ This line of analysis was also seen in his dissection of how Africans were given meat, ‘Kaffir’ beer and mealies during festivities at Estcourt and in the country, in general, compared to their white counterparts who were given special treatment in such events. See David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 69, 74.

The Voortrekker and the Anglo-Zulu War memorials were not the only monuments which offended him. He noted that the Anglo-Boer War monument, in the same vicinity, was erected in honour of the Natal volunteers and Natal colonists who died during the Boer War, and described it as the worst monument a black person could be subjected to. He observed that this monument depicted a naked African gazing aimlessly, and seated on the side of his buttocks at the feet of standing whites who were reading a document. In his analysis, he concluded that this statue was a reflection by colonists that, 'if you are black you will always be at the bottom in perpetual slavery and ignorance'.⁷²

Matiwane pointed out that black people were placed at the feet of others and depicted as gazing aimlessly over the horizons. In stating this conclusion, he was conscious of possible prosecution for promoting racial hostility, but he documented his thoughts despite the risk. Matiwane observed that this segregation was carried through in the construction of segregated monuments for those who partook in the Second World War.⁷³ Black participants were only recognised as labourers, non-combatant, and not soldiers. Those who survived the war were given bicycles and employment in government institutions.⁷⁴ In addition, letters of participation were given to them in acknowledgement of their contributions.⁷⁵

Matiwane saw letters given to the Native Military Corps (NMC) as having political capital.

Firstly, he argued that preserving them would safeguard the memory of the struggle against

⁷² David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 75.

⁷³ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 75-77.

⁷⁴ In post-apartheid South Africa, black involvement in world wars received a positive review and their participation acknowledged. This included exhibitions like the sinking of the S.S. Mendi by Iziko's Maritime Centre.

⁷⁵ J.S. Mohlamme, 'Soldiers Without Reward: Africans in South Africa's Wars', *Military History Journal*, vol 10 (1), 1995; David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 76.

Nazism and oppression. Secondly, they would be proof that people volunteered their lives for the King (British) and Country. Lastly, he also saw the document as preserving a meaningful memory of their participation in the war and which evoked pride of both those individuals.⁷⁶

To a degree, Matiwane's analysis demonstrated his pro-British leanings and his heritage as a descendant of the exempted natives.⁷⁷ David Chanaiwa observed that this was a general trend among the mission-educated African middle class. He argued, among other things, that those elite tended to advocate compliance with colonial laws and often undermined their own traditions.⁷⁸ One may argue that this was understandable given that the education they received was a British education in which British ideas, British culture and British institutions were habitually assumed to be superior, and African culture was denigrated.⁷⁹ Without doubt, this spoke directly to the notion that colonialism was a metaphor for a subtle relation between power and knowledge, culture and control.⁸⁰

It was probably this power relation and its educational influence that made many of a mission education background to be proud of their colonial associations and 'heritage'. Equally, embedded in the structure of coloniality and apartheid was a notion of oppression of blacks by a race which purported to be superior. This also made a generation of mission-educated Africans such as Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, D.C.O. Matiwane and Robert

⁷⁶ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 77.

⁷⁷ For a detailed discussion on this, see Chapter Two.

⁷⁸ David Chanaiwa, 'African Humanism in Southern Africa: The Utopian, Traditionalist and Colonialist Worlds of Mission-Educated Elites' in A.T. Mugomba and M. Nyaggah (eds), *Independence without Freedom: The Political Economy of Colonial Education in Southern Africa* (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1980), pp 27-28.

⁷⁹ David Welsh, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, p 50.

⁸⁰ Premesh Lalu, *The Death of Hintsha*, p 6.

Sobukwe to stand up against oppression. It also placed them and the generation of educated *amaKholwa* before them in a hybrid zone that enabled them to understand the complexities, comforts and the limits of both the western and African worlds.

However, one should be conscious of foregrounding the elites' world view purely from the prism of British education, in whose precinct lay the seeds of the historical betrayal of blacks. Matiwane demonstrated his links to black working women and men through his analysis of spade-boys and maids whose history was intricately linked to that of whites. In his study, Matiwane contrasted the white superiority posture to constructed black inferiority. In anticipation of the 10th anniversary of the declaration of South Africa as a Republic, he came out with a hyperbole that a plaque needed to be done in recognition 'of the 'spade and wheelbarrow' boys of 'the City' who had devoted their sweat and blood for the construction of this beautiful city'. The plaque was also to recognise 'black maids and nannies' because they had bathed, fed and cared for the white toddlers and teenagers up to adulthood.⁸¹

Through this exploration, Matiwane pointed out the presence of black life and its input in a white person's life, and the impact of black labour in constructing a South Africa that did not recognise its existence. In essence, he was calling for a reconstruction of history beyond the visible and without 'covering a scar' but with the aim of unearthing the silenced and hidden narratives.⁸² Inversely, he was calling for a fair representation of the input of blacks beyond their menial work. Their heritage and history were inseparable, and none was inferior to the

⁸¹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 78-79.

⁸² David Cohen, *The Combing of History* (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp 3-19; Anne Benjamin, (ed.) *Winnie Mandela*, p 10.

other. In this analysis, Matiwane was also inseparable from the struggles of the working class.

In the same City Hall precinct was a statue of Theophilus Shepstone which did not elude his criticism. He viewed it as the monumentalisation of a man who advocated divide and rule, a precursor to apartheid. Matiwane was of the opinion that Shepstone foresaw the outcome of black unity in Natal and Zululand, and as such appointed 13 pro-British chiefs after the Anglo-Zulu War.⁸³ This was done to secure British interest and to weaken their opponents. Generally, Matiwane was opposed to the system of chiefs, for he did not see its benefit to society. However, if it were to be continued, he urged the appointment of well-read persons, especially in native law and administration.⁸⁴ This line of thinking may be interpreted to indicate that some educated Africans, such as Matiwane, did not have high regard for persons who were schooled in indigenous knowledge systems. His was a common perception held by many who generally had a contradictory and ambiguous relationship with traditional structures.⁸⁵

It should be noted that Matiwane's opposition to chieftaincy was not the same as that advocated by radicals who saw it as a stumbling block to social transformation of the country. According to the Simons, radicals had realised that chiefs had more support from their people and that they were used by the system to frustrate the liberation struggle and as such, were a stumbling block against the liberation movement.⁸⁶ Nonetheless, both

⁸³ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 75.

⁸⁴ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 75.

⁸⁵ David Chanaiwa, 'African Humanism in Southern Africa', pp 27-28.

⁸⁶ Jack and Ray Simons, *Class and Colour In South Africa*, pp 499-500.

Matiwane's and the radicals' opposition to chiefs pointed to a need for a governance structure that was able to dissociate itself from manipulation by others and to constantly subject itself to the will of people.

Matiwane's argument that 13 chiefs had been appointed by British authorities to divide people also pointed to the complex question regarding the 'traditionality' of chieftaincy as an institution. For example, when Zulu kings, Shaka and Dingane, ascended the Zulu throne, they eliminated those traditional chiefs who were opposed to their rules and appointed chiefs who supported them. The same was done by British authorities. Both these acts brought into question the traditionality of chieftaincy. He was, therefore, also pointing out its vulnerabilities. By not being pro-chieftaincy, Matiwane was calling for a system which responded to the wish of the people, one that did not enrich itself from those it purported to represent. In the section dealing with 'landlessness and breakdown of black family life', it was noted how headmen and chiefs demanded 'gratitude fees' when their subjects appeared before them. It was experiences like these that made D.C.O. Matiwane oppose chieftaincy.

Another monument that did not escape his eye was a plaque which documented the original site of St Andrews Church, the first Anglican Church in Pietermaritzburg. The church had been consecrated by Bishop J.W. Colenso, also known as Sobantu, in 1855.⁸⁷ Matiwane argued that, before the destruction of this church a century later, it was a place of worship by Africans and also served as a night school for 'the children of the soil' who were employed either as labourers who stayed in 'The City' compounds or who were 'domestic servants of

⁸⁷ Sobantu was also a philanthropist who was against inhumane treatment of Africans by the Natal Administration.

every white and other non-white groups' in the area. He concluded that it was either due to the Group Areas Act or the policy of 'keeping the town white' that led to the demolition of the church. The site was then converted to a children's playground for 'whites only'.⁸⁸ In this text, Matiwane gave us a glimpse of a city with segregated facilities for its different races, but much of this 'integration' was driven by the church. Through his text, apartheid was credited for doing away with such facilities. Its segregationist approach was criticised for failing to acknowledge black input in the construction of South Africa as a country.

The whites-only democracy

The white electoral system and the notion of apartheid democracy did not evade Matiwane's scrutiny. His analysis of it was discerning. In his Chapter XIV, he surmised that the white electorate viewed voting as its possessive right. He identified the electorate and not necessarily the National Party as the problem. He argued that white voters were the only persons who had the franchise right and that the majority of them continued to vote for apartheid every five years.⁸⁹ He charged further that every one of them was of the opinion that 'a black was not a fully developed human being' and put forward a proposition that blacks 'had enough of these fluctuating theories....'⁹⁰

Matiwane was not the originator of this analysis, but his should be seen as a representative text of how some blacks and many others interpreted the problem. This argument was similar to the assertion by Steve Biko, Petros Lamula and others that generally, whites,

⁸⁸ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 77-78.

⁸⁹ He, however, noted that members of parliament could have changed or consolidated this through deflections either to the opposing or ruling party.

⁹⁰ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 88(a)-89.

whether liberal or conservative, regarded blacks as inferior to them.⁹¹ Like a number of other interlocutors, Matiwane broadly located the white electorate's political thought within the *verkrampste* and *verligte*⁹² prisms as differently espoused by United Party (UP), National (Nasionale) Party (NP), Progressive Party (PP) and Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP).

In his analysis, Matiwane observed that of the aforementioned parties, the National Party was very popular with the white electorate. As such, it represented whites' voices. He reiterated that it was a party which came to power on the basis of its 'swart gevaar' and 'baaskap' policies 'which meant keeping the Kaffir in his place'.⁹³ In line with these policies, Matiwane noted that the NP government expunged all privileges extended to blacks under previous governments, including exemption privileges. South African blacks were then subjected to new policies which promoted racial segregation and a confusing 'outward' policy was introduced which disallowed whites to share amenities or even shake hands with South African blacks while allowing white leadership to do so with leaders from the 'so called friendly black states'.⁹⁴ For him, and organisations like the National Liberation League, this contradiction did not make the NP different from the PP, UP or HNP as they all advocated apartheid in different forms.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like* (Johannesburg: Picador, 2009), pp 20-28; Paul la Hausse de Lalouvière, *Restless Identities*, pp 83, 89.

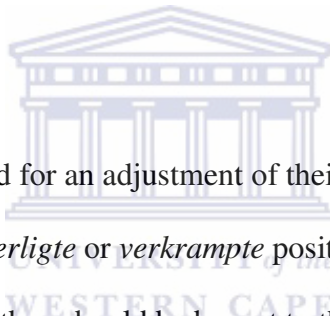
⁹² Respectively, these terms refer to the reactionaries and the enlightened that held conservative and liberal ideals which were both grounded in the protection of white supremacy. A brief discussion of these concepts is also provided by Dan O'Meara, *Volkskapitalisme: class, capital and ideology in the development of Afrikaner nationalism, 1934-1948* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1983), pp 248-256.

⁹³ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 90.

⁹⁴ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 91.

⁹⁵ Jack and Ray Simons, *Class and Colour in South Africa, 1850-1950* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1983), p 489; David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 91.

Matiwane noted that the NP should dissolve or form a coalition with one of the three. Citing a UNISA lecturer, he observed that at one stage, prominent speakers of both the NP and UP ‘unashamedly exploited naked race prejudice without being repudiated by the leadership’. This was a typical example of the likeness of these parties. He, therefore, did not see a solid distinction between the NP and the UP. He embraced an opinion that the UP invented white superiority and that the NP renamed it 'apartheid'. The UP, for example, legislated the Pegging Act which the NP called, the Group Areas Act. He concluded that most of the NP's oppressive legislations were inherited from the UP's era.⁹⁶ Harold Wolpe held a similar view and argued that conventionally, apartheid was ‘no more than an intensification of the earlier policy of Segregation’.⁹⁷



In his analysis, Matiwane called for an adjustment of their outlook by stating that these parties needed to take a clear *verligte* or *verkrampste* position for the benefit of their followers, and he deduced that they should be honest to their electorate and stop ill-informing them that South Africa's problems could be 'solved without making any sacrifices and without us having to change many of our traditional beliefs'.⁹⁸ However, for such a robust discussion to take place, he saw a need for the NP and UP to dissolve 'to make room for the rethinking and promotion of constructive ideas than making useless amendments to what they have advocated' or added.⁹⁹

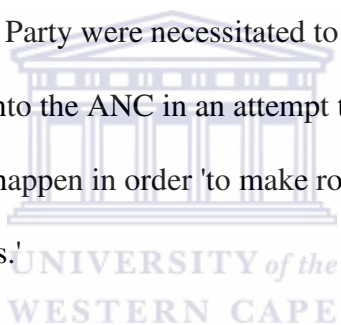
⁹⁶ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 88-92.

⁹⁷ Harold Wolpe, ‘Capitalism and the cheap labour-power in South Africa: From segregation to apartheid’, *Economy and Society*, 1(4), 1972, pp 425-456.

⁹⁸ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 88-91.

⁹⁹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 91.

These were fair critical observations if analysed against developments which led to the 'birth' of a new South Africa and the re-alignment of party political thoughts in a post-apartheid South Africa. Firstly, discussions about a 'new' South Africa dictated that the white electorate had to change their 'traditional' views about the black franchise in that the elections that introduced a 'new' South Africa saw members of all South Africa's racial groups voting as equal citizens with none regarded as an inferior grouping. Secondly, great sacrifices had to be made to make way for a 'negotiated' South Africa. These included political compromises, loss of life, land and economic reforms.¹⁰⁰ Lastly, political developments in a 'new' South Africa saw re-alignment of the country's political landscape, in that parties like the National Party were necessitated to form coalitions with the Democratic Party or dissolve into the ANC in an attempt to remain relevant. To use Matiwane's words, this had to happen in order 'to make room for the re-thinking and promotion of constructive ideas.'

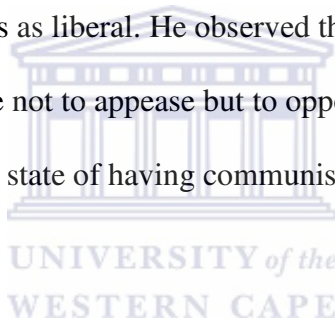


The birth of the 'new' country also saw the renaming and/or the formation of new political parties like the Democratic Alliance, United Democratic Movement, Independent Democrats and many others. Parties and organisations like the Pan-Africanist Congress, Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO), Freedom Front Plus and Inkatha Freedom Party attempted to reposition themselves in the new state. The electoral political landscape became more defined within a broad basket of economic, class, gender and race-based questions instead of a whites' only *verligte* and *verkrampte* prism which was about the protection of white economic and political privilege. However, *verkrampte* elements within the country

¹⁰⁰ Attempts to resolve these issues through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission were not adequate, and a number of them continue to haunt South Africa in the 21st century.

continued to make racist statements, and as such, reminded South Africans of their country's past.

In his assessment, Matiwane observed that the Progressive Party, which was a splinter group of the UP, was more on a *verligte* side of the white electoral system. Despite his views about illiterate persons, he made it very clear that he was opposed to the PP's policy of qualified franchise. But he viewed it as one of 'the only two parties that truly represent white electoral policy and the only two parties that balance the equilibrium of white survival in this country'.¹⁰¹ Compared to the NP and the HNP, he saw the PP's policies on economy, social relations, education and politics as liberal. He observed that many viewed the Progressives as the opposition that was there not to appease but to oppose, and had, on numerous occasions, been accused by the state of having communist friends and were seen as agitators.¹⁰²



Despite its liberal approach and though sympathetic to it, Matiwane did not see the Progressive Party as a solution for black problems, for they advocated better treatment of blacks but not on the basis of equal citizenry and equal rights. It was this 'Janus face' of liberalism that Legassick challenged.¹⁰³ To the Progressives, whites were to continue to enjoy preferential treatment compared to other races in the country. Matiwane observed that voting rights, as advocated by the Progressives, meant nothing more than moderated

¹⁰¹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 94.

¹⁰² David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 91-94.

¹⁰³ See Martin Legassick, 'The State, Racism and the Rise of Capitalism in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony', *South African Historical Journal*, vol 28, 1993, pp 329-368.

apartheid.¹⁰⁴ He surmised, inter alia, that if the Progressives were to come to power, the qualified franchise as well as the different education dispensations for white and black children would continue and concluded that this would do nothing to unite the country.¹⁰⁵

Matiwane reiterated his stance that the Progressive Party was therefore not the solution for black problems. He reasoned that the Herstigte Nasionale Party, a splinter group of the NP, was perhaps a party with a solution. While making this observation, he was critical of the fact that his readers may disagree with him. The HNP was successful in attracting Matiwane's sympathy in that he saw it as a party which represented its ideas in unambiguous terms. He regarded their defeat as immaterial, and saw it as a party which represented what he referred to as the 'true status quo' of the voting white.¹⁰⁶ During the 1970 whites' only election campaign, Matiwane observed that this party stood by what it purported to be to its white electorate, and that there were no contradictions in its messaging. Unlike the NP, the HNP was not divided on issues like the 'Coloured Question', 'Sport Policy' and 'Job Reservation'.¹⁰⁷ He saw the internal divisions within the NP as God's intervention which should be exploited in support of the black liberation.

In his hypothesis, he argued that a continued division within the NP was to necessitate the hosting of new elections and, if the HNP won such elections, this was going to 'liberate' the overwhelming majority of black people. Under the HNP rule, policies affecting Africans,

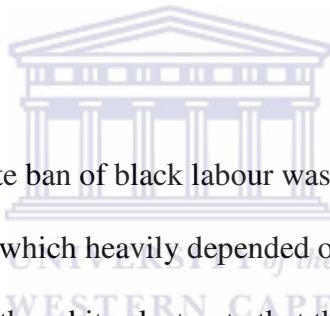
¹⁰⁴ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 90-95.

¹⁰⁵ In his words Matiwane argued that 'a people divided by special concessions and privileges remains divided for all eternity.' See Matiwane's *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 95.

¹⁰⁶ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 95-96.

¹⁰⁷ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 95-96.

Coloureds and Indians would be clearly defined and not sugar coated.¹⁰⁸ He argued that their inability to win a single seat deprived blacks of an opportunity to learn more about the HNP's thought processes. He surmised that with focus on its exclusivist agenda and in an attempt to exterminate the *swart gevaar*,¹⁰⁹ the HNP would, in the hope to improve the white minority, amend laws that would ban the use of black labour in their homes, hospitality sector and nursing homes, for example. He charged, among others, that no black maid would 'nurse at old age homes and ... push or walk hand in hand supporting the old white lady, no nannies to wash and feed white babies.'¹¹⁰ In essence, no black was to be seen in town either by day or night. He envisioned South Africa as *volkstaat* which was to survive without black labour.



Differently argued, the complete ban of black labour was to fast-track the economic collapse of the exclusivist South Africa which heavily depended on it. Such a collapse would also speed up the realisation within the white electorate that they shared a common future with their fellow black South Africans. Though he anticipated criticism from his readers about his analysis of HNP politics and taking into account that, here, his focus was mainly on the white electorate, it should be pointed out that Matiwane may be challenged for seeing black liberation mainly from the prism of the white electoral system. In his analysis, he should have also given a pro-active focus on black mobilisation and effort.

With the benefit of hindsight, it may be argued that in a way, his analysis was not completely off the mark, as a 1992 'whites only' referendum was to support the abolition of apartheid in

¹⁰⁸ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 95-96.

¹⁰⁹ Literally translated, it means black danger.

¹¹⁰ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 97.

South Africa. However, one may argue that such a referendum did very little to bring about reform except that in 1992, the overwhelming number of white South Africans had realised that sanctions were badly affecting the economy. Furthermore, there was unrest within the country as anti-apartheid organisations increased their efforts against the state, South Africa was more isolated, and armed military wings of different liberation organisations were increasing their attacks against state apparatus and white civilians. In his analysis, Matiwane did not factor pro-active attempts by blacks to free themselves, though it should be taken into account that his was a narrative authored during the time when he was under Special Branch surveillance, and self-censorship was obviously visible, as explained early in this chapter.



Transcendent politics in the struggle for a just society

Matiwane's narrative was also a tale of transcendent politics which refused to be aligned only to a particular position.¹¹¹ A close analysis of his writings revealed that his was a palimpsest of multiplicity which transcended organisational and political boundaries.¹¹² This was evidenced by his *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, which he dedicated to a number of political leaders and persons who had stood up against apartheid and its oppressive laws. In his work, Matiwane embraced the contributions to the liberation struggle made by various

¹¹¹ It should be pointed out that some narratives located Matiwane within a particular paradigm. They included an autobiographical narrative of Beatrice Thandiwe Mbanjwa which formed part of her application for a Special Pension to the Government Employees Pension Fund which anchored her political education to Matiwane's influence and his underground activities for the African National Congress. See a short autobiography of Beatrice Thandiwe Mbanjwa and signed affidavits confirming her political activities by Mandlenkosi Paul Mkhize, Wembezi, 14 December 2010 and Bhekabathembu Phenius Vilakazi, Wembezi, 14 December 2010. Matiwane's memorialisation and representation by others is analysed in Chapter Five.

¹¹² It is also a fusion of his dispersed experiences as a child growing up in race 'unconscious' settings to being consciously and unintentionally introduced to unlegislated racism through being called a 'boy', 'Jim', 'John', 'bobejaan' or 'kaffir' and of working or living in segregated and multi-racial surroundings which exposed him to capabilities and inefficiencies of human beings and the negative effects of race-based politics.

organisations, persons and leaders from different political persuasions, including Chief Albert Luthuli (ANC), Robert Sobukwe (Pan-Africanist Congress), Helen Joseph (South African Congress of Democrats), Mewa Ramgobin (Natal Indian Congress), Alan Paton (Liberal Party of South Africa), Winnie Mandela (ANC), and dedicated his book to them and the men and women who sacrificed their lives for the liberation of the country.¹¹³

When paying tribute to Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe who was the leader of the PAC, Matiwane presented him as a stalwart of principled thinking and an unyielding black leader who stood for a justified cause. He argued that Sobukwe did what Moses did for the children of Israel and what the leaders of the Great Trek did in 1834 when they were dissatisfied with the British rule in the Cape.¹¹⁴ It is my argument here that Matiwane's synthesis of Israel and Great Trek incidents was a direct comparison with Sobukwe's leadership of the 1960 anti-pass march in which the PAC called its members not to carry passes but to surrender themselves to the nearest police station for arrest.¹¹⁵ Through this comparison, Sobukwe was symbolically leading his people from oppression to freedom. This open acknowledgement was in direct contrast to arguments that Sobukwe and the PAC did nothing extraordinary, but stole and prematurely launched the ANC's 1960 'Year of the Pass' programme of action. This witnessed the start of a nationwide anti-pass campaign on 31 March 1960, in commemoration of the 1919 anti-pass campaign.¹¹⁶

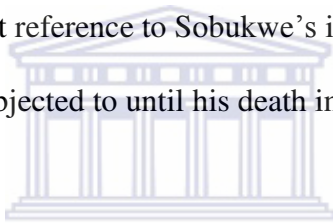
¹¹³ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 2-6.

¹¹⁴ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 2.

¹¹⁵ Benjamin Pogrand, *Robert Sobukwe: How can a man die better* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2006), pp 132-137.

¹¹⁶ For a discussion on the recapture of an initiative (anti-pass protest) which was seized from the ANC, see David Welsh, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, p 122; Nelson Tozivaripi Sambureni, 'The Apartheid City and its Labouring Class: African Workers and the Independent Trade Union Movement in Durban, 1959-1985', D Litt (University of South Africa, 1997), pp 159-160. Appropriation of history by the ANC is also discussed by

The outcome of the general anti-pass strikes saw Matiwane and many others detained under Emergency Regulations. But by acknowledging Sobukwe's leadership of the 1960 campaign, Matiwane was freeing himself from the ANC-focused account and its appropriation of the 1960 anti-pass narrative. In addition, his appreciation of Sobukwe's principled stance against apartheid was indicative of Matiwane's ability to focus on broader political issues pertaining to black victimisation and apartheid *strappado*. He observed that Sobukwe's 'leadership earned him about ten years of imprisonment, three with compulsory labour - the rest ...in solitude. He is now deprived of a right given to him by God - freedom of speech and movement'.¹¹⁷ This was a direct reference to Sobukwe's imprisonment and house arrests, as well as the suffering he was subjected to until his death in the late 1970s.



The death of political leaders and the cruelty of apartheid continued to fuel dissatisfaction among political activists. For political prisoners to be freed, Matiwane saw the need to send a message against officialdom as part of the solution. He argued for the need to rise above petty issues and to focus on the bigger liberation struggle. Symbolically, he did this by using Cape Town's landscape by charging that he wanted to stand on top of Table Mountain and blow the trumpets while facing the House of Assembly and Robben Island.¹¹⁸ The island was, mainly, a site of internment for political activists deemed highly dangerous by the state, whose oppressive power was partly embodied and exerted through the House of Assembly.

Helena Pohlandt-McCormick, "I Saw a Nightmare..." Doing Violence to Memory: The Soweto Uprising, June 16, 1976 (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1999).

¹¹⁷ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 2.

¹¹⁸ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 5-6.

In this context, Table Mountain was to be his stage to send a message to his audiences in the House and on the island.

To communicate the message, Matiwane cited Mewa Ramgobin's words: 'so long as there are fellow countrymen denied their freedom for convictions deeply held, I cannot see myself enjoying my so called freedom'.¹¹⁹ By invoking Ramgobin, he also transcended race-based politics. During the period in which Matiwane wrote his book, Ramgobin had been the President of the Natal Indian Congress and the founding member of the South African Committee for the release of political prisoners. He was later banned and placed under house arrest on numerous occasions and survived a parcel bomb in 1973.¹²⁰

Matiwane's transcendent politics was also seen in his acknowledgement of Helen Joseph. Joseph was one of the many leaders that the apartheid state tried to silence through banning orders and assassination attempts. Her contributions and suffering did not go unnoticed by Matiwane. He also dedicated his book to 'the banned Mrs Helen Joseph, who for more than 3000 days has spent nights alone in her cottage in Johannesburg prohibited from receiving any visitor except her doctor and lawyer. She has committed no known criminal offence save that in the 1950s, she was a militant campaigner against apartheid and an office bearer of the now banned South African Congress of Democrats'.¹²¹ Though the South African Congress

¹¹⁹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 6.

¹²⁰ In the 1980s, Ramgobin joined the United Democratic Front and became its treasurer, and was a member of parliament representing the ANC in a democratic South Africa. During the 1970s, he worked closely with persons such as Peter Brown and many others. Before the 1970s, Ramgobin was active in NUSAS and was head of the Non European SRC at the University of Natal. Additional information on Ramgobin was sourced from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/mewa-ramgobin> on 18 May 2014 and on PC16/5/2/5/72, letter from Mewa Ramgobin to Peter Brown, 1 November 1976; PC16/5/2/5/3 letter from Peter Brown to Mewa Ramgobin, 30 October 1975.

¹²¹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 3.

of Democrats (SACOD) had been a close ally of the ANC, as was the case with the Indian Congress, it was independent of the ANC and Joseph had been one of its founding members. In the 1950s, she was the National Secretary of the Federation of South African Women and was one of the leaders who read out clauses of the Freedom Charter, whose launch at the Congress of the People Matiwane also attended. Joseph also played a critical role in organising the 9 August 1956 women's march against oppressive pass laws of the National Party government. The protest march attracted persons from different political and religious persuasions in pursuit of a common objective in a struggle against apartheid and black victimisation.

It was within such a climate of trans-racial politics that Matiwane also employed his political acumen and transcended political and racial boundaries. When he and his family faced persistent persecution from the state, he enlisted Helen Suzman's intervention. This he did, given that he supported the Progressive Party's stance against apartheid although he was against its liberalism because the Progressives did not advocate for universal franchise and a common voters' roll.¹²² However, in the bigger scope of other challenges, Matiwane went on to seek Suzman's assistance when his family and his aged mother were 'unjustly' evicted from lot 3 of 38 Wilgefontein, Pietermaritzburg.¹²³, but he was not the only one to do so.

¹²² Joanna Strangways-Booth, *A Cricket in the Thorn Tree: Helen Suzman and the Progressive Party* (Johannesburg: Hutchison of South Africa, 2000), p 168; David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 94.

¹²³ BAO 6658, No 105/30/315, Siviele gedinge: David Matiwane vs Minister of B.A. & D and another, letter from Deputy State Attorney of Natal to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, 8 July 1971; scanned copy, which formed part of exhibition script in the D.C.O. Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park in 2014, of a letter from D.C.O. Matiwane to Prime Minister J.B. Vorster about 'accommodation of a Bantu Family on Trust Land - Wilgefontein, District of Pietermaritzburg - D.C.O. Matiwane, 16 February 1973. He also referred to the strain that his persecution was causing to his family and aged mother in *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 9. It should also be noted that generally Matiwane interacted with other liberals to come to his rescue in times of need. Another example here was when he requested a cash advance from Peter Brown when he was cash

Suzman was herself conscious of her role, and she argued that she was 'regarded as the spokesman for millions of non-whites who had been denied a voice in parliament'.¹²⁴

Suzman was the leader of the Progressive Party who, for many years, stood as a sole voice in parliament against unjust laws and called for citizen rights and civil rights for all. She also advocated for the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of parties, including the Communist Party. As a leader and member of the Progressive Party and of parliament she did not hesitate to seek opinions from political formations like the ANC and PAC, and interacted with persons like Chief Albert Luthuli and Winnie Mandela. She used her parliamentary position to attend the funerals of victims of apartheid, including those of Robert Sobukwe and Steve Biko, visited prisoners at Robben Island and did first-hand investigations on the appalling conditions that blacks were forced to live under, including visits to informal settlements.¹²⁵ Matiwane credited Suzman for being a 'lone voice of a nightingale that has the beak of a woodpecker and the venom of a cobra' in parliament for standing firm against oppression and for being unlike other politicians and their parties who uttered conflicting statements inside and outside of parliament.¹²⁶

strapped as a result of his legal battles with the Estcourt Town Council and the Standard Bank of South Africa. During this period, one of his children was at a tertiary institution, and his mother was in need of cash. Peter Brown responded positively to his request. For this information, see Personal Correspondence (PC) 16/5/2/1, letter from D.C.O. Matiwane to Peter Brown, 29 July 1961 and letter from Peter Brown to D.C.O. Matiwane, 19 October 1961. Matiwane had numerous legal battles with the state. Details of his ejection case in Wilgefontein are also contained in BAO 6658, ref N105/30/315, letter from D.C.O. Matiwane to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and Mr J.V. Kennard, Bantu Affairs Commissioner's Office, 30 April 1971, letter from the Magistrate Office to Bantu Affairs Commissioner, re: State vs D.C.O. Matiwane: Case No F2107/69, 17 May 1971.

¹²⁴ Phyllis Lewsen, 'Not Free to Desist', in Robin Lee, *Values Alive: A Tribute to Helen Suzman* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1990), p 15.

¹²⁵ For a detailed discussion, see Helen Suzman, *In No Uncertain Terms: Memoirs* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1993); Joanna Strangways-Booth, *A Cricket in the Thorn Tree: Helen Suzman and the Progressive Party*; Phyllis Lewsen, 'Not Free to Desist', in Robin Lee, *Values Alive: A Tribute to Helen Suzman*.

¹²⁶ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 11 & 94.

While acknowledging the role of various leaders in the liberation struggle, Matiwane was not oblivious to the struggles and sufferings of many others. As such, he dedicated his manuscript to 'those men and women who were executed in the Republic of South Africa and in the Republic of Rhodesia', and to persons who were serving long terms of imprisonment without parole for they all 'acted not for a personal prestige or gain', as others did, 'but in the effort to remove the perpetual yoke of suppression'.¹²⁷ This line of thinking was similar to previous attempts by liberation movements to unite people in a common cause in a struggle against unfair discrimination beyond a geographical space.¹²⁸ From his analysis, it is evident that Matiwane also presented peoples' struggles to remove the perpetual yoke of suppression in a manner that transcended geographical boundaries beyond the limits of South Africa to her neighbouring Rhodesia. Not only was he aware of events within southern Africa, but he was conscious of proceedings beyond the continent of Africa, for example of how America's 'unwritten' law had silenced Abraham Lincoln, Dr Martin Luther King and the Kennedys.¹²⁹ This was indicative of the level of his political consciousness and maturity.

In his stance against oppression, unjust imprisonment and house arrests, Matiwane called for remission of sentences for persons imprisoned for political reasons and concluded that 'if remission was good enough for Robey Leibbrandt, then it is good for anybody'.¹³⁰

Leibbrandt was a Nazi 'activist' who was sentenced to life imprisonment during the Second

¹²⁷ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 3.

¹²⁸ Jack and Ray Simons, *Class and Colour In South Africa, 1850-1950* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1983), pp 493-494.

¹²⁹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, Dedication.

¹³⁰ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 5. In addition to Leibbrandt, Matiwane noted on page 31 of his manuscript the preferential treatment that was given to Willem Goosen, a lifelong white criminal who was not only released on parole, but had his funeral expenses paid by the police. Willem Goosen, in his *On The Run* (London: Howard Timmins, 1964) also gives a detailed account of his life. The book was published five years before his death.

World War for treasonable activities, but was freed when the National Party came to power.¹³¹ By drawing comparison to Leibbrandt, Matiwane was continuing to highlight differential as well as race-based treatment meted by apartheid South Africa to his people. In essence, he was bemoaning the fact that a person who shared a vision with the widely condemned Hitler and Nazi Germany was given privileged treatment over persons who were fighting for a just cause. He observed further that the likes of Leibbrandt were even treated much better than those blacks who fought against Hitler's Nazi Germany during the Second World War.¹³²

Citing Alan Paton, he prayed that:

the Government also be merciful at this time of the celebration of the 10th anniversary of South Africa's Republic, merciful to all offenders, not forgetting those who have committed offences against the state. May the Government have clemency to them also and to all restricted and exiled persons. And may this be the beginning of a new era for our Country....¹³³

He then requested God to make the victimised 'merciful to others, especially those who have offended against us'.¹³⁴ Matiwane's embracing of Paton's text also presented him, not as a vengeful person, but as part of a community that was willing to transcend systematic brutality inflicted by those who offended them in favour of a new era in South Africa.

¹³¹ Joanna Strangwayes-Booth, *A Cricket in the Thorn Tree: Helen Suzman and the Progressive Party*, pp 207 & 16; David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 4-5. Strangwayes records an incident where Leibbrandt telegraphed Helen Suzman the following, 'Mordecai, alias Karl Marx, the father of modern Communism, was a Jew'. Suzman's father was a Lithuanian Jew. This was sent in 1961 when she opposed and likened the second General Laws Amendment Bill to Hitler's 'Protection of the People Decree'. The fact that the National Party government did nothing against Leibbrandt was indicative of its Nazi sympathy.

¹³² David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 93.

¹³³ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 6.

¹³⁴ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 6.

By positively citing Paton, I argue that Matiwane was not only embracing his text, but also appreciating the open membership position of the Liberal Party of South Africa, of which Paton was the founder. The Liberal Party allowed both blacks and whites in its fold and stood against racial discrimination. Late in the 1960s, it chose to dissolve rather than become a whites' only party when the apartheid government passed the Prevention of Political Interference Act which criminalised membership of non-racial organisations.¹³⁵ Like many community members and leaders who were opposed to apartheid, Paton also suffered at the hands of the state, and he was one of the many persons who were under police surveillance and had his passport confiscated by the apartheid machinery.

While acknowledging the role played by white leaders in the liberation movement, *A Treatise* also revealed the influence of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) on Matiwane's thinking. BCM was a political movement which asserted black pride and called on blacks to play an instrumental role in their liberation and thought processes. It rejected white supremacy and its subjugation of blacks to a level inferior to whites. Amongst other things, it dismissed the idea of separate states for blacks. It saw separate states as a moral explanation of the racist 'separate freedoms for the various nations' theory which was intended to treat blacks as perpetual minors. BCM leaders argued that it was important for blacks to resist these 'separate freedoms' and the notion of white supremacy embedded in them.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Peter Alexander, *Alan Paton: A Biography* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1995), p 350.

¹³⁶ Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like* (Johannesburg: Picador, 2009); Thomas G. Karis and Gail M. Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1990*, Volume 5 (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2013), pp 100-105.

In this respect, forced removals of blacks from their residential lands in the 1970s and 1960s and the assertion by the apartheid administration that blacks should find alternative accommodation in homelands and newer areas 'where there has never been gold, diamonds or any industrial machinery to help assure' their future coupled by the poor response of white led political parties to such assertions made Matiwane to call for a more visible role of black leadership in the liberation project. He argued that the time had 'come for the black people to look away from the white man for political leadership. The onus has fallen on the black man himself to determine his own political future. We need freedom to govern ourselves and not these dummy political institutions created to retard the Blackman's political march to self-determination, independence and freedom'.¹³⁷

Interestingly, while being critical of the 'dummy' political institutions that were created to retard the black man's political march to freedom, Matiwane welcomed a statement asserting black pride by the Head of the Zululand Territorial Authority (ZTA).¹³⁸ He quoted Chief M.G. Buthelezi as saying, 'black is not inferior. It is as positive and beautiful as any racial colour on earth, and the teaching of this idea is the first and most important task of thinking blacks'.¹³⁹ Matiwane then moved to argue that what was 'detested was the artificial

¹³⁷ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, pp 14-15 & 89, including notes made on the opposite and reverse sides of these pages. His criticism of the 'dummy political institutions', including Advisory Boards, is reflective of his experiences while serving in them at Estcourt. Their openness to manipulation by the system made him conclude that they were nothing else but instruments which rubber stamped oppressive decisions against blacks and which were in the interest of white authority. This observation was similar to Paul Mosaka's conclusion that Native Representative Councils (and Advisory Boards) were like 'toy telephones'. For a brief discussion on Mosaka's analysis, see Jack and Ray Simons, *Class and Colour in South Africa*, p 495.

¹³⁸ The ZTA was inaugurated in the early 1970s by the National Party government as part of its agenda of giving self-determination to South Africa's different black tribes. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was its leader. See Thomas G. Karis and Gail M. Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1990*, Volume 5 (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2013), pp 679-683.

¹³⁹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 79.

exaggeration of our colour.’¹⁴⁰ It is quite evident from his text that Matiwane was supportive of Buthelezi's reinforcement of black pride, which was a key narrative of many black political leaders in the late 1960s and 1970s. It is also very clear from his text that in the same period, he was already disillusioned by 'dummy political institutions' which he viewed as having been created to retard a black man's march to independence.¹⁴¹ His analysis of these dummies was practically based on his experience in the Khwezi Advisory Board.

The ZTA was to become one such institution. It has to be pointed out that the ZTA evolved to become a partially 'self-governing' entity under the leadership of Buthelezi.¹⁴² Within this homeland, Buthelezi revived a defunct cultural movement called Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe which was allowed to have its activities in schools. In an interview with Dr Zweli Mkhize, he remembered very clear that Matiwane was very much opposed to this movement.¹⁴³ Mrs Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane) pointed out that her father did not allow his children and grandchildren to participate in the activities of Inkatha, and that Matiwane went to their schools to inform the principals of his disapproval of Inkatha and its *uBuntu Botho* cultural activities.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 79.

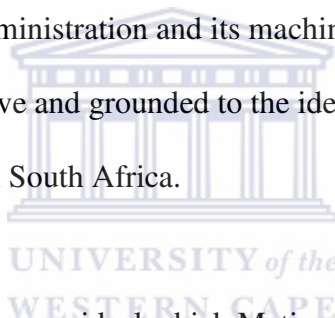
¹⁴¹ Sambureni views those who served on Advisory Boards as *izimpimpi* (collaborators) who served on institutions of the oppressors. This was a generally held view. See Nelson Tozivaripi Sambureni, 'The Apartheid City and its Labouring Class: African Workers and the Independent Trade Union Movement in Durban, 1959-1985', p 157.

¹⁴² David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p. 79; Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like*, p xi; B.J. Liebenberg, 'The National Party in Power, 1948-1961' in C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *Five Hundred Years: A History of South Africa* (Pretoria: Academia, 1981), p 525.

¹⁴³ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014.

¹⁴⁴ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane) at Estcourt, 15 January 2015; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Thami Shange at Willowfontein, 24 September 2013.

Despite his opposition to 'dummies' and, later, to the Inkatha cultural movement, Matiwane generally defended African traditions. This is seen in his attack on whites who were mimicking, in a disorganised manner, amaZulu warriors and depicting amaZulu as unruly. He argued that such acts should come to an end as blacks attached 'great importance and respect to issues of traditional nature'. He concluded that they could 'tolerate victimisation even to the extent of being assaulted, but 'they were strongly against deliberate misrepresentations 'of things that are traditional to the black'.¹⁴⁵ In these texts, we get an impression of a Matiwane who embraced black pride as articulated by the Black Consciousness Movement and other leaders, defended African traditions but was opposed to their abuse by the apartheid administration and its machinery. Generally, he remained loyal to the overall liberation objective and grounded to the ideal of equal justice and personal freedom for all racial groups in South Africa.



The principle of equal justice was an ideal which Matiwane continued to strive for. Though he seemed to have employed different philosophies ranging from political liberalism to radical politics, and from the centre to the communist left, his commitment to the principle of equal justice was arguably one constant that did not radically change. In Pietermaritzburg, Matiwane was, generally, remembered as a 'bush lawyer' who successfully represented different individuals in courts against unjust accusations. This was a service he mostly provided free of charge and when asked why, he is said to have replied, 'I am a communist. I

¹⁴⁵ In the late 1960s and 1970s, Pietermaritzburg used to host, annually, the Azalea Festivals in which Africans were not allowed to participate. Matiwane posited that whites tried to fill out this vacuum by badly mimicking cultural performances of amaZulu and argued very strongly that 'if Kaffirs cannot perform what is their own and which they know better about, the organisers would be well advised to entertain with the traditional dances of those who participate in the festival'. See David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 79.

don't want their money. I only want justice'.¹⁴⁶ This utterance resonated with his writing, for he described himself as 'the one who deplors the oppression of the people by the nobility'.¹⁴⁷

This extract aligned Matiwane's thinking to class analysis that was mainly espoused by the left. Generally, Matiwane seemed to have been very guarded in declaring his communist leanings, except to argue that 'I have been a suspected saboteur, a terrorist or a communist. I have never been charged or silenced under the mighty legislation....'¹⁴⁸ Nonetheless, he went on to record an incident at Estcourt where he was publicly 'labelled with the most blasphemous term in South Africa of being called a Communist' by a member of the Special Branch in the presence of other black men.¹⁴⁹ This offended him so much that he reported the matter to higher authority in the police as he did not see himself possessing such qualities. However, he qualified his objection by challenging the reader to come to 'your own conclusion of what you could have expected of a *persona non grata*'.¹⁵⁰

His acts led to a number of instances of conjecture, one being that his acceptance of the 'accusation' would have led to imprisonment, especially due to the fact that it was said in the presence of potential witnesses during a time when the Suppression of Communism Act 44

¹⁴⁶ Interview by Vusi Mchunu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Pietermaritzburg, undated, contained in House of Memory Update No. 2, 7/18/2011 Report on D.C.O. Matiwane Memorial Park, p 10.

¹⁴⁷ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 80.

¹⁴⁸ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 9. Matiwane's communist orientation is indirectly mentioned by other interlocutors in the writing of history including Robert Haswell, 'Themba Harry Gwala (1920-1995)', *Natalia*, 25, 1995, p 88.

¹⁴⁹ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 30.

¹⁵⁰ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 30.

of 1950 was in force.¹⁵¹ The Act did not only ban the Communist Party of South Africa but also groups that were thought to be promoting its objectives. Merrett saw the Act as the root of widespread, systematic state censorship.¹⁵² Individuals who were accused of promoting communism were imprisoned or silenced by the state. Inversely, it was logical for Matiwane to distance himself from such a claim. Despite concerted efforts by the apartheid machinery to suppress activists, Matiwane continued to participate in struggles that were aimed at doing away with apartheid beyond the limits of organised party politics.

Matiwane's interest in other political formations and orientations should not create an impression that he was not committed to the ANC. His obituary unambiguously stated that he was 'an active member of the African National Congress'.¹⁵³ Mkhize further argued that Matiwane was a devout member of the ANC and was not blind to the contributions and sufferings of his fellow comrades.¹⁵⁴ This should be contextualised within the framework that the Congress had, since its establishment, a deep-rooted commitment to racial cooperation,¹⁵⁵ and hence Matiwane's openness to other formations and racial groups. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that Matiwane was a participant in the 1955 Freedom Charter process that, led by the ANC, advocated non-racialism. His openness in working with people from different racial and political persuasions was therefore partly influenced by

¹⁵¹ It should be noted that communists or those regarded as communists were already victims of government carefully crafted campaign of prosecution. See Jack and Ray Simons, *Class and Colour In South Africa, 1850-1950* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1983), pp 486, 487, 588-590.

¹⁵² Christopher Merrett, *A Culture of Censorship: Secrecy and Intellectual Repression in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1994), pp 2 & 21.

¹⁵³ Farewell Service program of D.C.O. Matiwane, 17 March 1918-26 April 1982.

¹⁵⁴ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014. Mr Jeff Radebe, Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development, also reiterated Matiwane's strong links and membership of the ANC during his address on the Dr Enos Sikhakhane Second Memorial Lecture, Pietermaritzburg, 5 December 2009. Information sourced from www.justice.gov.za, accessed on 17 November 2014.

¹⁵⁵ Peter Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa*, p 370.

his experiences in interacting with the SACOD, South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO) and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) during the Freedom Charter process. Together with leaders such as Harry Gwala, A.S. Chetty, Archie Gumede, Dr C. Motala and others, he played a meaningful role in seeing to it that people in what is now KwaZulu-Natal also participated in the process.¹⁵⁶

Mkhize's observation regarding Matiwane's dedication to the ANC also found resonance in Diniza Hadebe's narrative and in Matiwane's unpublished work. Hadebe pointed out that Matiwane recruited passionately for the ANC and that he also enlisted members of his football team to distribute the ANC's political material during the night.¹⁵⁷ This point was echoed by Dr May Mashego¹⁵⁸ who described Matiwane as 'a man who fearlessly said, 'let us associate with the ANC'.¹⁵⁹ His political activities as the secretary of the ANC in Estcourt, as an inhabitant of Pietermaritzburg and his role in the Freedom Charter process spoke to his open association with the Congress.

In his unpublished work, Matiwane acknowledged the sufferings of his fellow comrades, Albert Luthuli and Winnie Mandela. Matiwane noted the state's aggression towards Winnie

¹⁵⁶ Robert Haswell, 'Themba Harry Gwala (1920-1995)', *Natalia*, 25, 1995, pp. 88-90. Also see David Everatt, *The Origins of Non-Racialism: White Opposition to Apartheid in the 1950s* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009) which discusses non-racialism, multi-racialism, the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter among others.

¹⁵⁷ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Diniza Hadebe, Estcourt, 30 August 2013.

¹⁵⁸ Mashego and Mkhize were a married couple. They met at the University of Natal. In Chapter Five, details about their activism are briefly discussed.

¹⁵⁹ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014. This point also comes out very strongly in an interview conducted by Howard Barrell with Dikobe Martins, Johannesburg, 20 November 1990, resource hosted by the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory, www.nelsonmandela.org accessed on 28 February 2014.

Mandela. He argued that her 'greatest offence and perversion to authority was to forget that the freedom accorded to her through the Supreme Court of South Africa did not exonerate her from the provisions of the mighty legislation which, for the next five years, will dictate to her to whom she can speak and when, the type of guests she can entertain in her own house, when she can go out or return and how far she can go if she must avoid one year's imprisonment.'¹⁶⁰

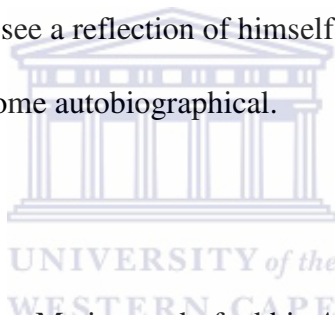
Winnie was the wife of the imprisoned Nelson Mandela and was subjected to tremendous torture by the apartheid government and its agencies for her stance against inhumane treatment of blacks by the state. For this, she was detained without trial, imprisoned, put under house arrests, banned to Brandfort and kept under surveillance by the state mainly due to her campaigns for equal rights.¹⁶¹ While acknowledging Winnie's contribution, Matiwane was very cautious not to mention Nelson Mandela's name, probably due to the fact that the mentioning of his name was criminalised. Already, Matiwane had been detained, and his political activism at Estcourt contributed to his expulsion and the burning of his first manuscript. Therefore, he was most probably not willing to see his second project taking the same direction.

Matiwane also paid tribute to the President General of the ANC. Chief Albert John Luthuli was the first person to whose name the book was dedicated. In his manuscript, he pointed out that Luthuli was a government appointed tribal chief of black Christians who was 'axed

¹⁶⁰ David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 5.

¹⁶¹ Anne Benjamin, (ed.) *Winnie Mandela: Part of My Soul Went with Him* (New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1985; Chitja Twala, 'Winnie Mandela Banishment House in Brandfort (Majwemasweu) – Its Historical Significance: 1977-1985', *South African Journal of Cultural History*, 22 (2), 2008, pp 66-85.

when he began to realise that he was nothing more than a rubber stamp for white authority to suppress his people. He was made destitute and consequently died in solitude, a so called civilised prisoner....' However, he maintained that Luthuli was 'a unique figure to the world as he was upright and steadfast in his principles and convictions' and spoke nothing else but the truth.¹⁶² Of note in Matiwane's description of Luthuli were words which are also used to describe himself, as I show in Chapters Three and Five. Likewise, in his lifetime, Matiwane was 'axed' from Estcourt and was victimised in the town for refusing to 'rubber stamp' municipal decisions in the Advisory Board. He had a 'principled' stance against the unjust decisions of the 'white authority' which were aimed at 'suppressing his people'. In his description of Luthuli, we also see a reflection of himself, another indication of how narratives and biographies become autobiographical.



Conclusion

In this chapter, it was argued that Matiwane drafted his *A Treatise of Black Victimisation* in the late 1960s and early 1970s, not as a biography, but as an exposition of cruelty meted against blacks by apartheid South Africa. However, I pointed out that it has auto/biographical imprints. His is a narrative of the silences, self-censorship, contradiction and ambiguity embedded in black lives within apartheid South Africa. It is also an exposition of how the state attempted to silence blacks through a number of strategies and interventions. In his court papers, for example, Matiwane detailed how his first attempt to document the unfolding of events in the country through *The Abridged Introspection of Restriction on a Black* was thwarted.

¹⁶² David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, p 2.

In *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, we also learn how authorities attempted to silence Matiwane through expulsion. However, such attempts seemed to have fuelled resistance in him. I also attempted to explore cases where Matiwane was able to transcend censorship and use the power of his memory to state a point about their ill-treatment. In this work, I also analysed instances where the state worked in cahoots with others to blatantly silence them, not excluding the Standard Bank, and his employers, the Drummonds. This speaks to the thin line that existed between the state and many white employers for in essence, these were the same individuals who voted for the policy of apartheid and were its direct beneficiaries.

This chapter also outlined frustrations faced by Matiwane and his generation. Throughout his manuscript, he maintained the argument that the sweat and blood of a black person was not employed to sustain them, but that the migratory labour and influx control systems were crafted for the benefit of white indulgence. This was to lead blacks to live in abject poverty while sustaining white lifestyles. I also reasoned that Matiwane's manuscript was the work of critical reflection on black representation in apartheid South Africa. In his work, Matiwane noted that the country was a landscape whose monumental representation was littered with white history and heritage to the neglect of its black inhabitants. His work analysed the political capital of heritage and how it was used to perpetuate apartheid cultural hegemony, but also how it could be used by 'the other side' if it were to come to power. Generally, his analysis of white representation and appropriation of heritage exposed its segregationist approach, and he criticised it for failing to acknowledge black input in the construction of South Africa as a country, as well as in its heritage and history.

I also looked at how the white electoral system and its notion of apartheid democracy did not evade Matiwane's scrutiny. In his analysis, he identified the electorate and not necessarily the National Party as part of the problem. I argued further that Matiwane did not adopt a confined view on many issues. Some interlocutors on D.C.O. Matiwane's biography foregrounded his narrative and thinking mainly within the prism of his links to the African National Congress. However, a close analysis of his writings revealed that his was a palimpsest of multiplicity which transcended organisational and political boundaries. In so doing, Matiwane rejected rules of conformity in favour of a broader liberation struggle. In brief, this chapter tried to understand Matiwane's political thought not only through his associations, but also through his writings.



Chapter Five

The memorialisation of the man: Creating a Youth League and a Museum and Memorial Park in D.C.O. Matiwane's name

Introduction

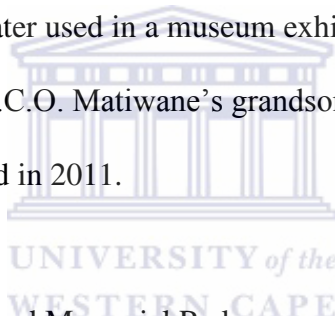
This chapter provides an analysis of how Matiwane was memorialised through the establishment of the DCO Matiwane Youth League and the DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park.¹ It looks at the processes and activities involved in the reconstruction of his memory and how his name was invoked to mobilise the youth. In the case of the Youth League, for example, it analyses how his name and the idea of his bravery became agents through which political education and mobilisation were effected. The Youth League also became a mechanism through which members of its resource team 'concealed' and performed their political activities. Linked to this narrative is an exposition of anti-apartheid activism launched by members of the resource team.

This chapter also examines the processes that led to the establishment of the DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park and how the emphasis on liberation heritage shifted the focus to a biographical museum that celebrated Matiwane's life. It is an analysis of how Matiwane's oral history archive emerged through research activities conducted by local history enthusiasts, and how their initiative, and other efforts, evolved to institutionalise his name. The museumisation of biography in his name was a process that gave birth to a coherent narrative of his life. This is a matter, among others, that this chapter problematises.

¹ The Youth League and the Museum and Memorial Park used the name 'DCO Matiwane' and not 'D.C.O. Matiwane' to memorialise Matiwane's name.

The DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park: Scripting a narrative

In order to understand the resurgence of interest in Matiwane's biography more fully, it is necessary to explore the processes and activities through which it was produced. Matiwane's biographical memory in the early 21st century was reproduced through a series of research activities by young persons and a group, also called the project team, who were interested in local history and in David Cecil Oxford Matiwane's contribution to the South African liberation struggle. The group's interest in local history and in Matiwane led to interviews with Willowfontein residents, former political activists, professionals and Matiwane's family members. Through their interviews, an oral history archive about Matiwane began to emerge, and this archive was later used in a museum exhibition in 2011.² Nonetheless, it was through concerted efforts by D.C.O. Matiwane's grandson, Thami Shange, that a museum in Matiwane's honour was opened in 2011.



The DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park was an initiative which partly drew its inspiration from the KwaZulu-Natal Museum's Zurura project. Through the Zurura project, the museum's head of education, Mabongi Mtshali sought to inspire young people to safeguard heritage sites (both cultural and natural) in Pietermaritzburg, and stimulate tourism to various townships around the city. The project encouraged the youth to identify sites of significance in their residential areas. It did this by providing limited financial support to the youth, and by giving them training in oral history and interview techniques through a series

² Oral history research had, generally, contributed immensely in collecting stories and items for museum exhibitions. Noëleen Murray and Leslie Witz discuss the significance of oral histories in shaping exhibitions in their book, *Hostels, homes, museums: memorialising migrant labour pasts in Lwandle, South Africa* (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2014), Chapter 5.

of workshops. It was envisaged that these skills would enable them to source essential information from elders and others.³

It was against this background that a group comprised of Mbhekiseni Magwenyane, Mzi Mngadi, Xolani Sithole, Mazwi Ngubane and others began to collect the local history of Willowfontein in the early to mid-2000s. Magwenyane became the principal researcher for the project, and Ngubane became the project's photographer.⁴ *The Witness Echo* profiled Magwenyane as an unemployed Willowfontein youth with a matric certificate who spent his time by writing short stories and poems. In addition, the newspaper described him as a young person with a research interest in local history, especially the history of Willowfontein.⁵ With his keen interest in history, Magwenyane took the lead in the project.

The group's effort at collecting information about the area saw them interviewing persons and locals such as Ms Vina Chamane (65 years), Mr Jikijela Mkhize, Ms Mbona (née Mkhize), Mr Jamludi Shange and Ms Sokhela (née Ndlovu), aged 75 years at the time. Also included were Matiwane's family members, Ms Sibongile Mahlobo (née Matiwane), Masters Themba and Nsika Matiwane, a prominent civil right lawyer and Matiwane's colleague and friend - Mr Aubrey Nyembezi and his wife, a former MK soldier who had served time in prison, Mr Anton 'Mfenendala' Xaba, Mr Mkhari Mncwabe (45 years) who was a political

³ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mabongi Mtshali, Pietermaritzburg, 3 March 2014; email communication from Mazwi Ngubane to Bongani Ndhlovu, 28 June 2015; undated document compiled by M.R. Mngadi, X.S. Sithole, M.P. Magwenyane (main compiler) and M.P. Ngubane entitled 'DCO Matiwane: A bush lawyer, a lone protester and a believer in himself – They Fought For Freedom'.

⁴ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mabongi Mtshali, Pietermaritzburg, 3 March 2014; minutes of the D.C.O. Matiwane Research Project, Pietermaritzburg, 7 December 2004.

⁵ *The Witness Echo*, 19 September 2002.

activist, and a journalist who was also Matiwane's friend, Mr Khaba Mkhize.⁶ These were persons who knew about the local history and about D.C.O. Matiwane and other people who had contributed to the development of Willowfontein. Using these collected remembrances, the team sought to document a Willowfontein narrative and to exhibit such information in their museum at Willowfontein. Aspects of their research, which constituted an 'archival collection', were, eventually, used later in 2011 for the process of establishing the DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park.

In 2011, the House of Memory, a group of heritage consultants who specialised in museum displays was awarded the task of doing an exhibition for the DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park. Most of Magwenyane's research team interviews were included in the House of Memory Progress Report No.1, but without acknowledging members of the team as researchers. Instead, their efforts were recorded through a nameless category of 'researcher'.⁷ It was not clear why this was done or why they did not request the persons who were involved in the project to provide details about the interviewers. In almost all the group's interviews, Magwenyane's team did not provide the names of the interviewers.⁸

However, Thami Shange, Mzi Mngadi and Mabongi Mtshali, for example, were able to point

⁶ For details, see the House of Memory Progress Report No. 1/06/04/2011; interviews conducted by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane (assisted by the project team) with Aubrey Nyembezi on 12 February 2005, with maMkhize Mbona on 21 January 2005, with Jamludi Shange on 6 January 2005, with Matiwane's family (Sibongile Mahlobo, Themba and Nsika Matiwane) on 18 January 2005, with Khaba Mkhize on 19 January 2005, with Jikijela Mkhize on 6 January 2005; with Vina Chamane, n.d and maNdlovu Sokhele, n.d. Original copies of the team's interviews were available at the DCO Matiwane Museum, Willowfontein (Pietermaritzburg) and were also provided by Mabongi Mtshali.

⁷ For details see the House of Memory Progress Report No. 1/06/04/2011 on progress regarding exhibition and research for the DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park.

⁸ Interviews conducted by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane with Aubrey Nyembezi on 12 February 2005, with maMkhize Mbona on 21 January 2005, with Jamludi Shange on 6 January 2005, with Matiwane's family (Sibongile Mahlobo, Themba and Nsika Matiwane) on 18 January 2005, with Khaba Mkhize on 19 January 2005, with Jikijela Mkhize on 6 January 2005; with Vina Chamane, n.d and maNdlovu Sokhele, n.d. Also see interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mabongi Mtshali, Pietermaritzburg, 3 March 2014.

out that all the interviews about D.C.O. Matiwane and Willowfontein had been the primary work of Magwenyane.⁹ It should have been good heritage practice for the House of Memory to make the effort to acknowledge the group's effort at collecting such memory, which dated back to early 2000s. Indeed, the flow of the exhibition in the Museum even maintained some traces of the themes that had been covered by the group.

In their interviews about the life of D.C.O. Matiwane, the group's line of questioning attempted to draw biographical information from those who knew him and from other sources, such as articles in *The Witness* archives and Matiwane's 1982 obituary. However, the group noted the paucity of information about Matiwane. A meeting on the project noted that previous attempts to research Matiwane's life by a University of Natal-based researcher, Shakes Mshengu, had not been successful due to dearth of information.¹⁰ Guided by Mabongi Mtshali, the team developed a research approach in an attempt to overcome this challenge.¹¹ The prospect of using Matiwane's Willowfontein house as a museum kept some of them determined to collect not only information about the history of Willowfontein, but also about D.C.O. Matiwane. It was an interest that gradually drew them away from a broader Willowfontein narrative. As a result, they focused on Matiwane's social, religious,

⁹ Handwritten copies of interviews by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane, conducted mainly in 2005, copies sourced from the DCO Matiwane Museum (author has photocopies). During a site visit to the DCO Matiwane Museum on 29 April 2014, Thami Shange of the DCO Matiwane Museum confirmed that Magwenyane was the principal researcher. Mabongi Mtshali also had hand written transcripts of interviews conducted with Anthony Xaba; Mr and Mrs Aubrey Nyembezi; Mrs Mbona, Matiwane family (Themba, Nsika and Sbongile); Khaba Mkhize and Jikijela Mkhize. The content was the same and only the hand writings were different. It was a matter of different persons transcribing the same. Mtshali confirmed that Magwenyane was the principal researcher. See interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mabongi Mtshali, Pietermaritzburg, 3 March 2014. Mzi Mngadi also confirmed that all the interviews about Willowfontein and D.C.O. Matiwane were conducted by Magwenyane. See interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mzi Mngadi, Pietermaritzburg, 17 June 2015. Also see email communication from Mazwi Ngubane to Bongani Ndhlovu, 28 June 2015.

¹⁰ Minutes of the D.C.O. Matiwane Research Project, Pietermaritzburg, 7 December 2004.

¹¹ Later on, Brian Mdletshe compiled a document titled 'DCO Matiwane autobiography research' and attempted to outline their research methodology, research overview, resources and outputs. See document by Brian M. Mdletshe entitled DCO Matiwane Autobiography research, n.d.

political, educational, economic and family themes.¹² Their efforts led to the compilation of draft booklets entitled, ‘DCO Matiwane: A bush lawyer, a lone protester and a believer in himself-They Fought for Freedom’ and ‘DCO Matiwane Project’.¹³ The team, using Mazwi Ngubane’s work, also produced a video which documented Matiwane’s life. The video was well arranged, and it attracted attention from the Robben Island Museum’s outreach team, who requested copies of it.¹⁴

The contents of their booklets followed the same logic of their research in that they focused on Matiwane’s social, political and family life. In addition, they briefly mentioned areas and formations which memorialised Matiwane. These included the DCO Matiwane Youth League, the DCO Matiwane Heritage House and the DCO Matiwane Sport Field.¹⁵ Power relations in South Africa probably led the group to record politicians who continued to keep Matiwane’s memory alive. One such relation was the influence of a local Willowfontein resident, Zweli Mkhize who had gained prominence in the provincial government as KwaZulu-Natal’s first MEC for Health and then as MEC for Finance and Economic Development. He later became the Province’s Premier. As a youngster, Mkhize had been

¹² Minutes of the D.C.O. Matiwane Research Project, Pietermaritzburg, 7 December 2004; interviews by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane and team with Aubrey Nyembezi on 12 February 2005; with Matiwane’s family (Sibongile Mahlobo, Themba and Nsika) on 18 January 2005; with Khaba Mkhize on 19 January 2005; with Jikijela Mkhize on 6 January 2005; with Vina Chamane, n.d and with maNdlovu Sokhele, n.d.

¹³ The documents entitled ‘DCO Matiwane Project’ compiled by M.R. Mngadi, X.S. Sithole, M.P. Magwenyane and M.P. Ngubane and ‘DCO Matiwane: A bush lawyer, a lone protester and a believer in himself – They Fought For Freedom’ compiled by M.R. Mngadi, X.S. Sithole, M.P. Magwenyane and M.P. Ngubane were respectively sourced from Mabongi Mtshali (Natal Museum’s head of Education Department) and Thami Shange (D.C.O. Matiwane’s grandchild and project co-ordinator for the DCO Matiwane Museum).

¹⁴ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mabongi Mtshali, Pietermaritzburg, 3 March 2014; email communication from Mazwi Ngubane to Bongani Ndhlovu, 28 June 2015.

¹⁵ M.R. Mngadi, X.S. Sithole, M.P. Magwenyane (main compiler) and M.P. Ngubane, undated document entitled ‘DCO Matiwane Project’.

mentored and inspired by Matiwane.¹⁶ This was an association that partly influenced Mkhize's interest in politics and that led to the Mkhizes (Zweli and May) getting involved in projects that honoured Matiwane's memory.

The project team was not oblivious of this political relation. It documented that the DCO Matiwane Sports Field had been officially opened on 2 September 2000 by Deputy President Jacob Zuma.¹⁷ Mentioning Zuma was of relevance not only for the political office he occupied, but also due to his relation with Mkhize. Zuma and Mkhize had worked very closely during their anti-apartheid-era activism and had been members of the ANC's armed military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). As part of his underground activities, Mkhize had provided Matiwane with ANC propaganda material for distribution.¹⁸ It may be argued that by attending the official opening of the Sports Field named after Matiwane, Zuma also honoured the contribution made by Mkhize's mentor to the liberation of the country. It was partly these connections that were embedded in Zuma's attendance and in the naming of the sports field.

In addition to the Sports Field, the research team documented projects like a Natal Museum exhibition which also memorialised D.C.O. Matiwane.¹⁹ They also proposed that a statue honouring Matiwane be considered, and that a fund for community development in

¹⁶ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014. Also see *The Witness*, 6 April 2009; *The Witness*, 31 March 2010.

¹⁷ M.R. Mngadi, X.S. Sithole, M.P. Magwenyane (main compiler) and M.P. Ngubane, undated document entitled 'DCO Matiwane Project'.

¹⁸ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014.

¹⁹ The Natal Museum was renamed as the KwaZulu-Natal Museum, and maintained its status as a national museum.

Matiwane's name be established.²⁰ Through the team's research effort, a public memory of Matiwane began to re-emerge, and this was re-invoked through newspaper articles and other means.²¹ Therefore, it may be argued that the research done by the team and the team's ideas about starting a museum were the first attempts in the 21st century that resurrected Matiwane's spirit in the public sphere.

The project inspired the team in such a manner that Magwenyane penned a poem entitled 'D.C.O. Matiwane Praise Poem' (*Izibongo Zika D.C.O. Matiwane*), while Mazwi Ngubane wrote a poem entitled 'The Tiger of Willowfontein'. Both these poems were included in the booklets. They acknowledged the role played by Matiwane and others in the liberation struggle. An edited stanza of Magwenyane's poem appeared in *The Natal Witness Echo*.²² However, Magwenyane was dissatisfied with the edits, and in the museum's archived copy, he attempted to correct them. Ngubane's poem was to occupy a prominent position in the DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park when it was opened in 2011.

The DCO Matiwane Museum research project should also be understood within attempts by the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial government to give financial support to projects that had the potential to create job opportunities. As early as 2002, the Willowfontein community and youth were involved in projects aimed at stimulating economic development in the area. As part of an attempt to solve unemployment, they identified a social project that included

²⁰ Documents compiled by M.R. Mngadi, X.S. Sithole, M.P. Magwenyane and M.P. Ngubane entitled 'DCO Matiwane Project' and 'DCO Matiwane: A bush lawyer, a lone protester and a believer in himself – They Fought For Freedom'.

²¹ Refer for example to articles in *The Witness Echo*, 19 September 2002; *The Witness*, 31 March 2010; *The Witness Echo*, 13 December 2013; *The Witness*, 1 October 2013; *The Witness*, 6 April 2009; *Witness Echo*, 18 December 2013; *The Witness*, 21 June 2011.

²² *The Witness Echo*, 19 September 2002.

starting a bakery, bee-keeping, crop farming, guest house, coffee and curio-shop, recreation-park and heritage house, among others, to bring about economic development at Willowfontein.²³

Through their attempts, they were able to secure R400 000 from the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Economic Development and Tourism which was led by MEC Mike Mabuyakhulu. In 2008, the Department commissioned a feasibility study on the project to establish its job creation potential. The study concluded that the bakery, bee-keeping, crop farming, guest house, coffee shop, museum and curio shop, among others, had the potential to create job opportunities. It noted the value of culture and the heritage capital of the role played by D.C.O. Matiwane in the liberation narrative of the country.²⁴ The commercialisation of liberation heritage and its job creation potential, somehow, ‘officialised’ the focus on Matiwane, and saw the Willowfontein local history narrative taking a back seat.

In the late 1990s, Mbhekiseni Magwenyana had become interested in local history. He began to collect and write about the history of Willowfontein, and this led him to draft a document entitled ‘Willowfontein: Kudala Manje’. He sought editing advice from Dr Peter Rule of the

²³ Mbhekiseni Magwenyane (main compiler), ‘D.C.O. Matiwane: a bush lawyer, a lone protester and a believer in himself - They Fought For Freedom’, draft booklet, compiled in 2005, p 8. Document sourced from the D.C.O. Matiwane Museum; *The Witness*, 31 March 2010; minutes of Project Steering Committee Meeting Number 3, DCO Matiwane Memorial Project, held at the boardroom of Department of Economic Development and Tourism in Pietermaritzburg on 8 December 2008. In 2010 the Department of Economic Development and Tourism further invested R832 656.00 in the Matiwane Tunnel Farm project through the DCO Matiwane Agri-Activity CC which was led by Thami Shange with an aim of stimulating economic growth. See draft service level agreement entitled ‘Matiwane Tunnel Farm’, 3 June 2010.

²⁴ Minutes of Project Steering Committee Meeting Number 3, DCO Matiwane Memorial Project, held at the boardroom of the Department of Economic Development and Tourism in Pietermaritzburg on 8 December 2008.

University of Natal, and asked for Rule's assistance on how to go about publishing the work. In addition, he received guidance from a local school teacher, Ms Khethekile Mkhize, and from Khaba Mkhize who was a former *Natal Witness* journalist. Magwenyana began his Willowfontein narrative with a praise poem for Willowfontein which he had authored.²⁵ The poem gave a comparative narrative of the area's past and present. It looked at the area's development, especially in transport, water and politics, and paid tribute to a number of individuals who had contributed to its development. It also summarised the wards that constituted Willowfontein.²⁶

In essence, his praise poem was a shorter version of his 'book'. The book attempted to give an overview of life in Willowfontein, the origin of the name, information about different wards in Willowfontein, education, communication, politics, the area's inhabitants and its prominent personalities, as well as material on peace, religious bodies, youth structures, and the DCO Matiwane Sports Field. It also looked at Willowfontein's future. It was through his initial research on Willowfontein that Magwenyana came across courageous locals such as D.C.O. Matiwane and Zweli Mkhize, who would form part of a broader Willowfontein narrative which was to be shown in a museum.

By 2008, the success and the marketability of the museum idea lay in the liberation narrative. And for Willowfontein, Matiwane's narrative as a liberation struggle activist held the key to the materialisation of a museum. It was through the liberation narrative that the public memory of D.C.O. Matiwane was to enter the public sphere and was given physical

²⁵ Unpublished manuscript written by Mbhekiseni Magwenyana entitled, 'Willowfontein: Kudala Manje', n.d.

²⁶ Unpublished manuscript written by Mbhekiseni Magwenyana entitled, 'Willowfontein: Kudala Manje', n.d.

presence and articulation in a form of a biographical museum. This was a strength that was exploited by Thami Shange, D.C.O. Matiwane's grandson, and Brian Mdletshe, Shange's close friend.²⁷ It was through their efforts to have a museum that honoured Matiwane's memory that attempts to have a museum at Willowfontein gathered momentum. They lobbied very hard for a museum that paid tribute to Shange's grandfather. The project was also supported by Dr May Mashego who became its ambassador or Chairperson.²⁸

Under Mashego's guidance, Shange and Mdletshe were able to get support from the Office of the Premier, the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Arts and Culture, the Independent Development Trust, Msunduzi Museum and a few other role players. The result of these endeavours saw the House of Memory being commissioned to create an exhibition on D.C.O. Matiwane for the DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park.²⁹ The Museum opened its doors to the general public in 2011 and was housed in the building that D.C.O. Matiwane used to own. The House of Memory research activities marked the second attempt to document and memorialise Matiwane's narrative.

Exhibiting Matiwane

The DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park tried to locate Matiwane's account within the nineteenth century genealogy of early Christian converts in Natal. The genealogy of D.C.O. Matiwane at the Museum linked him to a Cornelius Matiwane who, according to Rev

²⁷ Also see *The Natal Witness*, 31 March 2010.

²⁸ *The Witness Echo*, 18 December 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014. They were also supported by a former DCO Matiwane Youth League member, Mvuselelo Mgyane. See *The Natal Witness*, 31 March 2010.

²⁹ The Provincial government invested more than R1 000 000 in this heritage project, and in the development of exhibition text in particular. Plans were initiated to have the Museum declared a province aided museum.

William C. Holden's autobiographical work, *The Past and the Future of the Kaffir Races*, had been one of his earliest converts and had survived the Shakan wars.³⁰ My archival efforts to trace Cornelius Matiwane led to the retrieval of file C.N.C. 2053/1911 entitled 'Intestate Estate, Cornelius Noziwana Matiwane'.³¹ From this file and the information contained on David Matiwane's death notice,³² it became evident that the researchers tried to find coherence by piecing together a historical narrative from a distant past using documents whose content contained a series of personalities who shared the same names and without acknowledging this difficulty.

As an institution dealing with memory, and especially one geared to the youth, the museum should have problematised its archival and primary sources, as well as the memories contained in them. In addition, it should have given its visitors an understanding that they were presented with archival traces of the past through the prism of coherent research that was done within a very limited timeframe.³³ Thought of as performative remains, such traces should have been presented to visitors as varied vignettes of the past. This would have given visitors an opportunity to consciously engage these fragments in knowledge interpretation

³⁰ Display panel titled 'First Methodist'; House of Memory, Progress Report No.1, 06/04/2011, p 22. Also see William C. Holden, *The Past and the Future of the Kaffir Races* (Cape Town: C Struik, 1963), pp 490-494. A discussion was conducted in Durban on 28 August 2013 about the D.C.O. Matiwane exhibition text research project with Gillian Scott-Berning who was sub-contracted to do part of the exhibition text for the museum. During this discussion she discussed her theory about D.C.O. Matiwane genealogy and maintained that they did not have a direct link to Rev Allison's Edendale *amaKholwa*. She ascertained that the D.C.O. Matiwane family had links with Holden's converts, and that they may be regarded as among the founding members of the city of Durban. However, these suppositions were not outlined in the exhibition text as theories informing the Museum displays.

³¹ C.N.C 2053/1911, Minute Papers entitled 'Intestate Estate, Cornelius Noziwana Matiwane' (also called Noziwawa).

³² MSC Deceased Estates, number 18597/1932, Death Notice of David Cornelius Matiwane, 5 August 1932.

³³ Achille Mbembe, 'The power of the archive and its limits' in Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid and Razia Saleh (eds.), *Reconfiguring the archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002), p 21; Ciraj Rassool, 'Rethinking Documentary History and South African Political Biography', *South African Review of Sociology*, 41 (1), 2010, pp 28-49; Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (Palgrave: Macmillan, 2010).

and constructions as snippets from the past, and would have allowed them to engage with the challenges embedded in archival material.

However, this archival trace does point to a gradual acculturation process of early converts, including the adoption of Christian names, sometimes in addition to their African names.

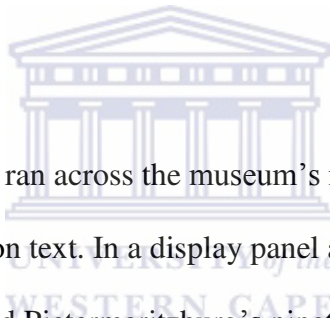
This was a move which was made not difficult by their mission education, and as a result their children were to bear Christian names. As argued in Chapter Two, in D.C.O.

Matiwane's family, this was a trend that he rebelled against.

Under the sub-heading the 'First Methodist', the Museum acknowledged the fragmentation and paucity of its sources. It tried to compensate for this by using visuals that were contemporary to the time. It used photographs of Rev Holden and 'Students of Verulam Station' to visualise the text. The text about Holden offered the reader a mental association between Holden and Cornelius Matiwane whose image was non-existent. The use of the students' photograph left it to the reader to imagine which ones among the photographed were the Matiwanes. Without going into detail, this pointed to a practice by researchers of inserting that which was visually available to them to amplify an account and to give a 'coherent' narrative.

Another display text located Matiwane's narrative within the context of Chief Matiwane who had paid his respects to the Zulu King, Shaka *ka* (of) Senzangakhona. Through a display panel entitled 'Matiwane', we learn that Chief Matiwane was later killed by Shaka's

successor, King Dingane *ka Senzangakhona*.³⁴ Again, the relation between the D.C.O. Matiwane narrative and the Chief Matiwane narrative was not clearly discernible. The rationale, which became a mental exercise for a knowing visitor, lay in an assumption that D.C.O. Matiwane may be related through clan names to Chief Matiwane. The killing of Chief Matiwane was immortalised by the naming of the area of his execution as *kwaMatiwane*. The hill was later used by Dingane to execute the Voortrekker leader, Piet Retief and his supporters in 1838, in a series of events that led to ‘the battle of Blood River’. But these inferred relations were not fleshed out for the reader of the text. To visualise the Matiwane-Shaka-Dingane narrative, an illustration of King Shaka was used, without problematising it.



One of the common trends that ran across the museum’s narrative was its use of visual material to amplify its exhibition text. In a display panel about Edendale, photographs of ox wagons, Rev James Allison, and Pietermaritzburg’s nineteenth-century landscape were used. But these photographs were not a central feature from which the narrative was told. Rather, they were images in relation to which an existing narrative was inserted. They were not even captioned to give them context or to problematize them within the museum-scripted narrative.

On the other hand, the museum was successful in narrating Matiwane’s life-story. Using archival research, interviews, family documents, research documents of the D.C.O. Matiwane research project team, and expertise of professionals such as Gillian Scott-Berning and House of Memory’s exhibition skills, the museum chronologically plotted Matiwane’s

³⁴ DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park, 2011 display panel titled ‘Matiwane’.

story from his family history of exemption from the operations of the native laws, through his schooling, career and political activism, and finally his death. This was a trend similar to the ‘Zurura’ Research Project Team’s style of narrating.³⁵ One display which showed such a research link between the House of Memory exhibition text and the Matiwane Research Project Team which was ‘led’ by Magwenyane, was a display panel entitled ‘Bush Lawyer’.

The text read:

Throughout the latter part of his life, DCO relied on income from fees or payment in kind received for his services as a ‘bush lawyer’. DCO helped many people in different communities, especially poor people in need of assistance. He was up and down with his diaries and books in and out of offices for consultation purposes. Cases that he is remembered for in the community include:

In Willowfontein, he helped Mr Sokhele in the case of forged drivers licence. Mr Sokhele spent a lot of money and cattle paying for legal representatives but was unsuccessful. Fortunately, he met DCO – the ‘bush lawyer’ and the case was won.

In Willowfontein, he sorted out a matter of cattle between Chamane and the Landlord Zazi Khuzwayo.

He also won a case when he was charged for urinating in the City of Pietermaritzburg. He outwitted the policeman after given a lit stick. He told him to hold it until the lit stick was completely burnt.

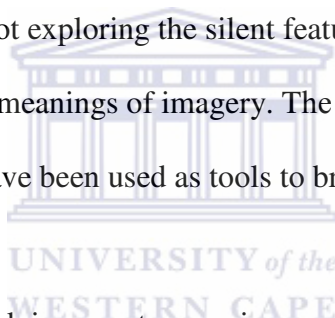
Unfortunately, it was too much for the officer, so he threw it away and Matiwane said, “Yes, you have no choice, you cannot hold fire, so I didn’t have a choice either.”

Matiwane won a number of cases without any legal representation. He used to read law books from the Law Library of University of KwaZulu Natal, Pietermaritzburg to beat his opponents. Later he was banned from the Law Library.³⁶

³⁵ DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park exhibition text as photographed by Bongani Ndhlovu on 29 October 2014; copies of exhibition text as given to Bongani Ndhlovu by Thami Shange on 29 October 2014.

³⁶ Copies of exhibition text as given to Bongani Ndhlovu by Thami Shange on 29 October 2014; DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park exhibition text as documented by Bongani Ndhlovu on 29 October 2014.

All the details contained in the above text were assembled from a series of interviews done by the research project team and were contained in the transcripts that they generated in 2005.³⁷ Nonetheless, this research endeavour was not adequately acknowledged by the House of Memory exhibition text and reports. The ‘Bush Lawyer’ display panel was one of the few displays that used the family’s photographic collection to amplify its text. However, as was the case with others, the photograph that was used was not captioned, and the context around it and the silent features ‘within’ it were also not explored. This deprived the reader of the added value brought by silent features of photographs in reconstructed narratives, especially as they pertained to Matiwane and the family images which were used to represent the era in which he lived. By not exploring the silent features of photographs, the Museum failed to take advantage of the meanings of imagery. The ‘performance’ contained in them through these features could have been used as tools to broaden the scope of its narratives.



What the display succeeded in doing was to superimpose a narrative on an image without explaining to the reader what the rationale was behind such an act. The display assumed that the reader knew the personalities in it and it forced the reader to marry the image with the ‘bush lawyer’ narrative. To paraphrase Patricia Hayes, the end result was the narrative that used a photograph to frame, freeze and factualise a moment in history,³⁸ but which in fact dealt with events that probably had little to do with it. The House of Memory exhibition text also did not use family photographs as an opportunity to jog the memories of family

³⁷ See copies of interviews by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane and team conducted mainly in 2005, copies at the DCO Matiwane Museum; also refer to transcripts of interviews conducted by the project research team with Anthony Xaba, Mr and Mrs Aubrey Nyembezi, Mrs Mbona, Matiwane’s family (Themba, Nsika and Sbhongile), Khaba Mkhize and Jikijela Mkhize. Copies of this second set of transcripts were given to Bongani Ndhlovu by Mabongi Mtshali in 2014.

³⁸ Patricia Hayes, ‘Bone Narratives: Preliminary Notes/Visuals on South Africa’s Colonisation of Northern Namibia, 1915-1920s’, paper presented at ‘The Future of the Past’ conference, University of the Western Cape, 10-12 July 1996.

members to recall stories provoked by these visuals. Elizabeth Edwards notes that photographs have dynamic stories woven around them, as memories and associations would have been shared from one person to another in a polyphonic and dialogic form.³⁹ This approach would have given the photograph used in the display a different perspective or would have added an interesting angle to the stories superimposed on the image.

In the reconstruction of the D.C.O. Matiwane narrative, the House of Memory exhibition text also attempted to reconstruct the D.C.O. Matiwane house and endeavoured to imagine and recreate its contents from the era in which the Matiwanes lived. The kitchen, dining room, bedrooms and bathrooms were reimaged using archival sources, the expertise of the House of Memory team, and the recollections of the Matiwane family members and of those who knew them. No furniture in this 'house museum-like' biographical museum belonged to D.C.O. Matiwane or his family. Furnishings were sourced by researchers from different areas, including auction stores.⁴⁰ These 'belongings' were singularised and given context from the era in which Matiwane and his wife, Ntombikayise Virginia Matiwane (née Makhathini) lived.⁴¹ Through this reconstruction, the Matiwanes were made to live in relation to what they might have owned.

³⁹ Elizabeth Edwards, 'Photographs and the Sound of History', *Visual Anthropology Review*, 21, 2005, pp 37-41.

⁴⁰ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Thami Shange, Pietermaritzburg, 24 September 2013.

⁴¹ See Igor Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in cultural perspectives*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

To a degree, the focus on the building gave the Museum a ‘house museum-like’ feel⁴² which neglected the use of interactive technologies to its disadvantage. This could be read as a setback for a project whose conception and evolution was mainly driven by young people, and whose future focus was the local youth, in addition to tourists. Nevertheless, its existence marked a realisation of a dream which started in 2002 and was later supported by the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Department of Economic Development and Tourism, KwaZulu-Natal Museum, KZN Department of Arts and Culture, Independent Development Trust, Msunduzi Museum and the Office of the Premier.

When a question was posed to the former Premier of KwaZulu-Natal about whether the museum was achieving what it was intended to do, Mkhize commented that it was moving towards that direction. He pointed out that it was one of the few heritage projects that had managed to materialise in townships. He noted that the narrative gave a sense of what Matiwane’s life was like, but that there was room for improvement. He observed that basic infrastructure was there and that there was potential to use the place as a library to attract more young people and probably to encourage the culture of reading. He observed further that more was needed to attract young people and tourists to the museum. For that to happen, he maintained, strong leadership towards that direction was needed.⁴³

Thami Shange, project co-ordinator of the Museum also acknowledged that more still needed to be done. He pointed out, for example, that the museum narrative needed to be

⁴² It has to be pointed out that, museums such as the Mandela Family Museum in Soweto and the Luthuli Museum in Groutville had the same approach.

⁴³ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014; Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014.

expanded to include other key personalities in Pietermaritzburg. These included narratives of persons such as Selby Msimang, Harry Gwala, Moses Mabhida and others.⁴⁴ In separate interviews, Dr Mvuyo Tom and Mr Siphon Shezi also called for narratives that used individuals to narrate broader community participation. In such narratives, they argued, contributions of various communities and members should be given context and credit.⁴⁵

Their line of thinking was consistent with their approaches to participating in the DCO Matiwane Youth League. Through the league, they were able to use Matiwane's name as an agent for recruiting others to the liberation struggle. On the other hand, the objective was not concentrated on an individual. Rather, the individual was an agent for a collective objective which was to mobilise for the end of apartheid and to usher in freedom for all of South Africa's inhabitants. Nevertheless, by focusing on the individual, the DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park fell within the trend in post-conflict states, where museums highlighted the achievements of particular individuals. These museums celebrated the greatness of leaders without fostering an ethos of independent criticism,⁴⁶ and offered little attention to the role played by others in the achievement of the collective objective.

It is also interesting to consider how a museum constructed in Matiwane's name could have worked in more complex ways around the early contradictions and ambiguities that marked the lives of Matiwane and his family as well as the palimpsest of multiplicity that marked his political interventions. In this way, it is possible that the creativity and bravery with which

⁴⁴ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Thami Shange, Pietermaritzburg, 24 September 2013.

⁴⁵ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

⁴⁶ Ciraj Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', pp 51, 73 & 95.

Matiwane had carried out acts of resistance in the later years of his life and his commitment to combatting apartheid could have been appreciated outside the simplicities of a biographic house museum.

The DCO Matiwane Youth League: What's in a name?

While the Museum entrenched Matiwane's memory in our heritage-scape in the 21st century, it was the DCO Matiwane Youth League that sought to crystallise his legacy and make it a living memory in the minds of many young people who had stood up against apartheid in the late 20th century. The DCO Matiwane Youth League, founded in 1979, was one of the earliest formal structures that attempted to memorialise the contribution made by Matiwane and others to the country's liberation. It acknowledged that during the period when many leaders were in jail, exile or underground, Matiwane was one of the few people who were able to fill a political void prior to the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

In Pietermaritzburg, underground activities of ANC-aligned activists such as William Fano Khanyile, Harry Gwala, Anton Ndoda Xaba, John Vusimuzi Nene, Truman Magubane, Matthews Mokholeka Meyiwa, Azaria Ndebele, Zakhele Mdlalose, Joseph Nduli and Cleopas Ndhlovu were dealt a severe blow when they were charged and nine of them convicted and imprisoned for terrorism in 1977.⁴⁷ Like Matiwane, this was a generation of anti-apartheid activists whose links with the ANC dated back to the 1960s and even further back to the 1940s and 1950s. Through the prosecution of activists, the state attempted to send a strong message that 'disobedience' would be severely dealt with. But the calculated activism of persons like Matiwane offered hope to many. His acts of resistance inspired a

⁴⁷ *The Natal Witness*, 15 & 16 July 1977.

number of people who recognised him as a symbol of the struggle for freedom. The naming of a youth organisation in his name by Siphoshezi and his comrades was in recognition of his bravery, especially for his 'one-man' anti-apartheid protests. In separate interviews, Shezi, Tom and Mashego maintained that such acts made Matiwane the face of protest. In him they saw someone who was resilient and brave, someone who encouraged education, someone who was committed and who was prepared to stand for the principles of a non-racial and free democratic South Africa that they all wanted.⁴⁸

Naming the organisation after Matiwane was not only done to give the youth hope, but also to encourage them not to give up the fight against apartheid. Through Matiwane's name, the message was 'if people like D.C.O., as old as they were, were able at that time to stand up and fight, so the youth should not do otherwise but fight up to the end'.⁴⁹ Tom explained further that as a manifestation of this bravery, the organisation was deliberately called the 'Youth League' which was contrary to a trend of similar organisations then as these were referred to as 'youth organisations'. He elaborated that the DCO Matiwane Youth League was amongst 'the first to be called the 'Youth League' in the 1980s'.⁵⁰ This was done to openly align it to the traditions of the ANC, and partly to honour Matiwane's fearless association with the ANC.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014. Also see *The Witness*, 31 March 2010.

⁴⁹ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013.

⁵⁰ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013. See also Jabulani Sithole, 'The ANC underground, armed actions and popular resistance in Pietermaritzburg and surrounding Natal Midlands townships' in SADET, *The Road To Democracy*, vol 4 (1980-1990) (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2010), p 229.

⁵¹ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014.

In addition, the League adopted and used ANC colours and symbols, including the fist. Its flag had black, green and gold colours. The use of ANC-linked symbols led them to be in direct confrontation with the law. Examples of their confrontation with the law include a number of cases. Ben Dikobe Martins who was an activist, MK member and an artist at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre,⁵² Mvuyo Tom who was a medical doctor and an underground ANC operative who harboured MK guerrillas such as Sithabiso Mahlobo,⁵³ and Siphon Shezi who was the league's president and others were, on different occasions, detained for associating themselves with activities of the banned ANC. In one case, Shezi, Tom, Martins and others were separately questioned and some detained for distributing a t-shirt which had colours of the banned organisation and for using the words 'Youth League'. By doing so, they associated themselves with the ANC Youth League.⁵⁴

They were also questioned for the choice of revolutionary words they used. The words 'Knowledge and Labour for Liberty', which were printed at the back of the confiscated DCO Matiwane Youth League t-shirt suggested ties to Umkhonto We Sizwe.⁵⁵ Police

⁵² In 2009, the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development, Mr Jeff Radebe, indicated that under the leadership of Dr Enos Sikhakhane, the Lay Centre provided members of the DCO Matiwane Youth League with a space to grow and an opportunity to develop their leadership skills. See his address on Dr Enos Sikhakhane Second Memorial Lecture, Pietermaritzburg, 5 December 2009 – information sourced from www.justice.gov.za, accessed on 17 November 2014.

⁵³ Martins, Tom and others were members of the resource team that guided the League. Other members included persons such as Dr Norman Bantwini 'Ngciphe', Dr May Mashego, Dr Faith Matlaopane and Dr Nomasono Nkosi. In addition, activists such as Dr Joe Phaahla, Nomlayezo Mxenge, Mafika Gwala, Dr Aaron Motsoaledi, Rev Mxolisi Xundu, Rev Wesley Mabuza, Jay Naidoo and Siphon 'Machina' Xulu played meaningful roles in the life of the league. These were persons who participated in a number of activities, including the planting of bombs against the apartheid government. Those who survived were to play a meaningful role in a free South Africa, and many of them occupied prominent senior positions in the country.

⁵⁴ IDP 3/135, P 83/4/133, objectionable object, D.G.O. [sic] Matiwane Youth League (T-Shirt); interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

⁵⁵ IDP 3/135, P 83/4/133, objectionable object, D.G.O. [sic] Matiwane Youth League (T-Shirt); interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

officials were correct in concluding that the t-shirt and the league had links to MK and the ANC. When the police's archival record, IDP 3/135, about the t-shirt was presented to Tom, he recalled that the logo had a pen in the shape of the spear to remind students of the anti-apartheid struggle.⁵⁶ Shezi and Tom also pointed out that the DCO Matiwane Youth League's logo had a deliberately chosen close resemblance to the MK and ANC logos.⁵⁷

In essence, while encouraging education, the league did not alienate itself from real socio-economic issues, as they did not see theirs as separate from the struggles of the working class and the communities they lived in, hence 'knowledge and labour for liberty'. In truth, the slogan was a manifestation of their links with other fraternal organisations in labour, education and religion. It also reinforced mutual cooperation between labour and youth formations, and this led to an increase in the number of organisations which adopted the slogan and joined forces against apartheid.⁵⁸ Not surprisingly, security personnel advised that the distribution of the t-shirt be immediately prohibited because it had implications for the state's security.⁵⁹

The ANC's colours were also chosen largely due to the influence that activists such as Norman Bantwini 'Ngciphe' and Martins had on the League's President.⁶⁰ Ngciphe was an Edendale Hospital based medical doctor and an ANC underground operative. As

⁵⁶ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013. Also see interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

⁵⁷ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013.

⁵⁸ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashogo, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014; interview conducted by Howard Barrell with Dikobe Martins, Johannesburg, 20 November 1990, resource hosted by the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory, www.nelsonmandela.org accessed on 28 February 2014.

⁵⁹ IDP 3/135, P 83/4/133, objectionable object, D.G.O. [sic] Matiwane Youth League (T-Shirt).

⁶⁰ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

underground activists, they were successful in guiding the League's members to choose the colours. Through the symbolism of colour, they were effective in mentoring the League's members about the ills of apartheid and the need for the youth to fight for the natural wealth of South Africa and for the liberation of South Africa from oppression.

Another symbol that was used to educate and recruit members was the thumbs-up sign that Matiwane had used to do during his 'one-man' protests. In his 'single-man' marches, Matiwane used to stand up and do 'the thumbs up sign' and declared "freedom in our lifetime."⁶¹ Tom and his comrades explained to the youth that 'Freedom-in-our-lifetime' was a political cry that had its roots in mid-20th century anti-apartheid political activism. It was a text which represented how Matiwane and his contemporaries framed the essence of freedom in their lifetime. This phrase, and its symbolism, was also invoked by activists who were operating underground, to refer to the notion of hope through liberation and to promote this to the members of the Youth League. By choosing these symbols, Tom argued that they wanted to give hope to the youth and to let them know that they would attain their freedom in their lifetime if they fought for it.⁶² In a separate interview, Zweli Mkhize added that this symbol of resistance was used successfully to rally young people to be part of a broader anti-apartheid programme of resistance.⁶³

Through these symbolisms, we see how the Youth League and the underground members of the liberation struggle managed to use a figure that was familiar to the youth to espouse the ideals of a banned political movement whose leadership was made invisible by the apartheid

⁶¹ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013.

⁶² Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013.

⁶³ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014.

system. The apartheid machinery did this through well-orchestrated house arrests, banning and imprisonments of leaders such as Robert Sobukwe and Nelson Mandela, and through orchestrating deaths in detention of leaders such as Steve Biko and many others. These tactics did not discourage a number of anti-apartheid activists from devising alternative strategies to keep the liberation project alive.

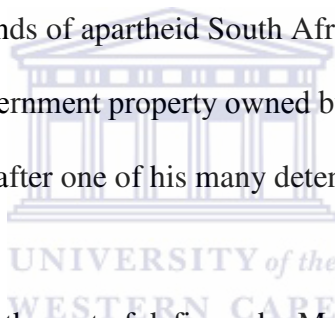
The naming of the Youth League after D.C.O. Matiwane was also in recognition of his selfless sacrifice. Matiwane's interlocutors painted a picture of him as a person who was committed to community progress.⁶⁴ At community level, for example, his is a narrative of a man who stood up against measures by authorities to increase taxes, bus fares and any type of unjust practice by the state that would have had a negative impact on the community.⁶⁵ When the municipality, for example, decided to increase bus fares to Willowfontein from Pietermaritzburg by 14%, Matiwane actively assisted the community and successfully forced the municipality to halt the increase in bus fares. Furthermore, they were able to force the municipality to re-allocate more buses to the Willowfontein route.⁶⁶ This stance, not only in Pietermaritzburg but also at Estcourt, earned him respect within the community.

⁶⁴ See copies of interviews by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane (assisted by team) conducted with Anthony Xaba, Mr and Mrs Aubrey Nyembezi, Mrs Mbona, Matiwane's family (Themba, Nsika and Sbongile), Khaba Mkhize and Jikijela Mkhize in 2005; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Thandiwe Beatrice Mbanjwa (assisted by Abednego Manyoni), Wembezi Township (Estcourt), 30 August 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu (assisted by Phumzile Mvelase) with Diniza Hadebe, Estcourt, 30 August 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014.

⁶⁵ *Witness Echo*, 18 December 2013, interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014.

⁶⁶ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014; *The Natal Witness*, 29 April 1982; *The Witness*, 31 March 2010; Farewell Service Programme of D.C.O. Matiwane, 17 March 1918-26 April 1982.

Matiwane's political resolve in the face of adversity also attracted members of the Youth League to associate themselves with his name. Some of them had seen his determination through his solo political protests against apartheid. These were mostly staged in the Pietermaritzburg city centre. He used to wear two banners on his person, one in front and the other at the back, in protest against the cruelties of the apartheid regime. In these banners, he wrote messages against the violent suppression of the 1976 Soweto uprising and the Sharpeville massacre. His courageous initiatives occurred when most feared to take a stance against the oppressive government.⁶⁷ Siphoshezi and Mvuyo Tom remembered that during such solo protests, Matiwane would dress either in black clothing to mourn the death of the thousands of activists at the hands of apartheid South Africa, or his prison t-shirt as an act of defiance.⁶⁸ The t-shirt was government property owned by the country's prison department, but Matiwane did not return it after one of his many detentions.⁶⁹



Zweli Mkhize remembered another act of defiance by Matiwane, which might have inspired a number of young people to resist against apartheid. In about 1979 or 1980, Matiwane embarked on a pamphlet distribution mission in Pietermaritzburg. Draped in tattered clothes and with a Bible and a Koran in his hands and a Moslem skull cap on his head, Matiwane

⁶⁷ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014.

⁶⁸ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013. Also see interview by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane with Khaba Mkhize, n.p, 19 January 2005 for additional information. In other 'one-man' protests, Matiwane used to carry a wooden cross to demonstrate against apartheid. See *The Natal Witness* 29 April 1982.

⁶⁹ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

staged one of his many ‘one-man’ protests on Church Square.⁷⁰ On this mission, Matiwane ‘distributed’ ANC pamphlets which ANC-underground members had given him. The only difference was that, as the ANC-underground, they had removed the ANC flag from the pamphlets.⁷¹ Matiwane was arrested by the police under the Riotous Assemblies Act for distributing banned political literature and for inciting violence, but he successfully defended himself in court. He accepted that the material was his, but said that he did not distribute it. He argued that what he did was to pray for those who died in Soweto, and while praying, people helped themselves to his pamphlets.⁷²

The case was dismissed. Following this, Matiwane sued the Minister of Police, Louis Le Grange, for wrongful arrest.⁷³ According to Mkhize, he was paid R5000.00, which was then a substantial sum of money. Afterwards, junior police officers were ordered not to arrest him in order to avoid a scenario where Matiwane would win cases against the state and thus enhance his public profile within the community at the expense of the apartheid government.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014; *The Natal Witness*, 29 April 1982; *The Witness*, 31 March 2010; *The Natal Witness*, 16 June 1980.

⁷¹ As a member of the University of Natal Medical School SRC, Mkhize was running the SRC’s printing press and they were able to reproduce during the night the ANC’s political material for mass distribution. See interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014.

⁷² Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014; *The Natal Witness*, 29 April 1982.

⁷³ *The Natal Witness*, 29 April 1982; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014.

⁷⁴ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014. Also see interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014; *The Witness*, 6 April 2009; *The Witness*, 31 March 2010.

The case that Mkhize was referring to was partly documented in the archival file as case number I.1024/80, D.C.O. Matiwane vs The Minister of Police and by the *Echo* in 1981.⁷⁵ On 22 March 1980 Matiwane was arrested, while commemorating Sharpeville Day,⁷⁶ by a member of the South African Police near Church Street at the Zulu War Memorial in Pietermaritzburg.⁷⁷ He was kept in custody until 24 March 1980. Archival evidence, which he penned with assistance of a lawyer, Mr Pat Stillwell, indicated that he argued that the arrest and the detention were wrongful and unlawful. Matiwane then demanded that the Minister pay him R10 000 as compensation.⁷⁸ When asked by the defendant's attorney to provide particulars for his compensation,⁷⁹ Matiwane stated that R2000 00 was for wrongful and unlawful arrest, R8000 00 was for wrongful and unlawful detention, and that various factors taken into account in coming to the total amount of the claim, including his standing in the community, that he was 62 years old, and that he had a right to exercise his freedom.⁸⁰ Matiwane's response clearly indicated his commitment to justice and freedom for all.

⁷⁵ NPD Illiquid Civil Cases 1980, 10180-1035, A20, case number I.1024/80, In the Supreme Court of South Africa, The Matter between D.C.O. Matiwane (plaintiff) and The Minister of Police (defendant); *Echo*, 13 August 1981.

⁷⁶ The Heroes Day (Sharpeville) commemorations were well attended in areas such as Soweto. In 1980, for example, more than 5000 persons were addressed by Dr Nthato Motlana, see *The Natal Witness*, 24 March 1980. The same could not be said of Pietermaritzburg. Also see interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyi Tom, East London, 5 September 2013.

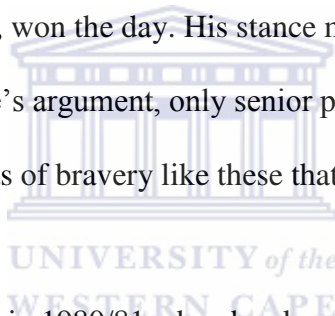
⁷⁷ NPD Illiquid Civil Cases 1980, 10180-1035, A20, case number I.1024/80, In the Supreme Court of South Africa, The Matter between D.C.O. Matiwane (plaintiff) and The Minister of Police (defendant); *Echo*, 13 August 1981.

⁷⁸ NPD Illiquid Civil Cases 1980, 10180-1035, A20, case number I.1024/80, In the Supreme Court of South Africa, The Matter between D.C.O. Matiwane (plaintiff) and The Minister of Police (defendant), combined summons (particulars of claim) by D.C.O. Matiwane, 15 July 1980; *Echo*, 13 August 1981; *Echo*, 21 May 1981.

⁷⁹ NPD Illiquid Civil Cases 1980, 10180-1035, A20, case number I.1024/80 D.C.O. Matiwane vs The Minister of Police, Defendant's request for further particulars to plaintiff's particulars of claim herein dated 4th of July 1980, by defendant's state attorney, 17 September 1980.

⁸⁰ NPD Illiquid Civil Cases 1980, 10180-1035, A20, case number I.1024/80 D.C.O. Matiwane vs The Minister of Police, plaintiff further particulars to particulars of claim by D.C.O. Matiwane, 27 November 1980.

In his further particulars of the claim, Matiwane elaborated that he was informed at the Loop Street Police Station that he was “charged for displaying placards in a public space or words to that effect”.⁸¹ He also stated that he was told that the charge against him was a contravention of the Riotous Assemblies Act. He maintained that he committed no offence.⁸² His assertion that he had committed no offence, and had been wrongfully and unlawfully arrested reaffirmed the narrative that he did not distribute the material, but that people helped themselves. The state had to withdraw its case against him because it realised that Matiwane was wrongly charged. Eventually, the Minister reached an out-of-court settlement with Matiwane.⁸³ Matiwane’s argument was that when he was arrested, he was not distributing the material, but was ‘praying’, won the day. His stance made a mockery of the Minister of Police such that, as per Mkhize’s argument, only senior police officers were authorised to charge him in future. It was acts of bravery like these that inspired many persons.



Matiwane also made an impact in 1980/81 when he abandoned his hospital bed and travelled to Durban to deliver a politically-charged speech. This, was after he received a request from the President of the University of Natal (Black Section - UNB) SRC, Zweli Mkhize.⁸⁴ Tom pointed out that Matiwane was one of the few proficient speakers who were willing to publicly criticise apartheid and, as such, he was an obvious choice.⁸⁵ According to Tom, Matiwane also enjoyed giving these public addresses. As a Pietermaritzburg-based activist,

⁸¹ NPD Illiquid Civil Cases 1980, 10180-1035, A20, case number I.1024/80 D.C.O. Matiwane vs The Minister of Police, plaintiff further particulars to particulars of claim by D.C.O. Matiwane, 27 November 1980.

⁸² NPD Illiquid Civil Cases 1980, 10180-1035, A20, case number I.1024/80 D.C.O. Matiwane vs The Minister of Police, plaintiff further particulars to particulars of claim by D.C.O. Matiwane, 27 November 1980.

⁸³ *Echo*, 13 August 1981; *Echo*, 21 May 1981.

⁸⁴ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014.

⁸⁵ He also gave addresses in venues like the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre. See R. Simangaliso Kumalo, ‘An oasis in a desert of segregation’: factors that led to the rise and decline of the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa’, [uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/kumalo-SHEXXXV-supplement-Dec 2009](http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/kumalo-SHEXXXV-supplement-Dec%2009), accessed on 25 September 2013.

Tom recalled driving Matiwane to Durban after receiving a call from the UNB SRC that they wanted Matiwane to address them.⁸⁶ Through his interaction with the public and in meetings like those, Matiwane demonstrated his leadership qualities in times when many feared to speak out.⁸⁷ This void was to be filled later on by formations like the UDF.

The scale and impact of Matiwane's popularity was physically witnessed during his memorial service at Imbali on 1 May 1982. On this day, thousands descended to pay their last tributes to the man who had inspired them during the darkest days in apartheid South Africa. On the programme, among others, were the Reverends Victor Africander and M. Xundu, journalist and friend Khaba Mkhize, former colleague and friend Aubrey Nyembezi, activist and former colleague Archie Gumede, AZASO/COSAS and FEDSEM student representatives and his daughter Phumzile Matiwane.⁸⁸ *The Natal Witness Echo* reported that the speeches were 'punctuated with singing, led by the fiery AZASO youth'.⁸⁹

Many interlocutors on this event refer to it as one of the biggest politically charged-memorial services of the 1980s,⁹⁰ which was only later equalled and surpassed by funerals

⁸⁶ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013.

⁸⁷ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014.

⁸⁸ Farewell Service Programme of D.C.O. Matiwane, 17 March 1918-26 April 1982; *The Natal Witness Echo*, 6 May 1982. Matiwane's daughter, Ms Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane) remembered that after her speech at her father's memorial service, she was invited to deliver a well-received address at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre on the occasion of 1 000 000 signatures against apartheid. See interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Ms Phumzile Mvelase, Estcourt, 30 October 2014.

⁸⁹ *The Natal Witness Echo*, 6 May 1982.

⁹⁰ D.C.O. Matiwane was cremated and his ashes were later buried with his wife in 1997. He was cremated in fulfilment of his wish for he did not want a white medical doctor who wanted his brain to have access to it after his death. See interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Phumzile Mvelase, Estcourt, 30 October 2014; interview by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane with ma Ndlovu Sokhela, n.p., n.d.; *The Natal Witness*, 29 April 1982; *The Natal Witness*, 19 May 1997.

that were organised by the UDF in the Natal Midlands.⁹¹ The service was also used to galvanise and recruit people, as organisers wanted to make a political statement. In fact, Matiwane's obituary ended with the following words, 'in the name of Mandela, Sisulu and all our leaders we salute you – hero of Africa. Amandla.'⁹² The programme was discussed at Victoria Mxenge's offices in Durban by Mxenge, Archie Gumede, Phumzile Ngcuka, Ben Martins and Rev Xundu.⁹³ It was printed by the UNB SRC.⁹⁴ The service itself was held on an open ground which later became the site of Mehlokazulu Secondary School at Imbali stage 1 in Pietermaritzburg.⁹⁵

Some intermediaries in Matiwane's narrative are of the opinion that the service was used to give birth to the DCO Matiwane Youth League.⁹⁶, but the league's founder and President, Siphon Shezi, pointed out that it was officially formed in 1979 and launched in 1980. However, Shezi acknowledged that the service played a significant role in popularising the League.⁹⁷ For him, the 1976 Soweto uprising, the work of his politically conscious brother, Bheka Shezi and Griffiths Mxenge, Matiwane's lone protests, and the execution of Solomon Mahlangu were four of the main influences that raised his level of political consciousness.⁹⁸

⁹¹ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mazwi Msimang, Pietermaritzburg, 29 August 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

⁹² Farewell Service Programme of D.C.O. Matiwane, 17 March 1918-26 April 1982.

⁹³ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

⁹⁴ Farewell Service Programme of D.C.O. Matiwane, 17 March 1918-26 April 1982.

⁹⁵ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014; *The Natal Witness*, 29 April 1982.

⁹⁶ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013, interview conducted by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane and members of his research team with Khaba Mkhize, no place (n.p.), 19 January 2005; draft research document of the DCO Matiwane research project team (M.R. Mngadi, X.S. Sithole, Mazwi Ngubane and M.P. Magwenyane – main compiler) entitled 'DCO Matiwane Project', n.p., n.d.

⁹⁷ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

⁹⁸ Bheka Shezi was a civil rights lawyer who was working for the civil rights lawyers Victoria and Griffiths Mxenge, see interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

The combination of these factors aroused his interest in the struggle and led him to initiate the formation of the DCO Matiwane Youth League.⁹⁹

Shezi elaborated that though the League was named after Matiwane, its executive had very little contact with him, partly due to his age and the fact that he conducted most of his activities alone. The result was that they made not more than two visits to D.C.O. Matiwane during the league's formative years. Shezi was clear that while the league took inspiration from Matiwane, the use of his name should also be understood against the background that it represented 'the broader context of the liberation fighters' and their agenda was wholly driven by the league members who were equally determined to change the socio-economic condition in the country.¹⁰⁰ The league's 1983 executive included Shezi as its President and Thandi Gqubule, George Martins, Hope Mayema, Julius 'Nyerere' and Andile Gcabashe.¹⁰¹

In an interview conducted with Shezi, he recalled his struggles in 1979 in trying to establish the league. While his attempts led to the formation of the league, his activism also saw him failing his final year at Amakholwa High School in Pietermaritzburg. The principal of Amakholwa was a Mr G. Buthelezi, a staunch supporter of Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe. Inkatha was a quasi-cultural/political organisation under the leadership of Chief M.G. Buthelezi who was the head of the KwaZulu government. During that period, Shezi was already a 'political hothead' and often wore T-shirts with ANC colours, but without the

⁹⁹ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

¹⁰⁰ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

¹⁰¹ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; www.sabctrc.saha.org.za/documents/decisions/59139.htm, amnesty decision regarding the application of Joel George Martins, matter AM 6450/97, accessed on 25 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

ANC wording on them. When the school demanded that learners participate in Inkatha-aligned activities, he flatly refused to join the compulsory *uBuntu Botho* classes and to wear the Inkatha uniform.¹⁰²

To counteract the influence of Inkatha in the area, Shezi decided to form the DCO Matiwane Youth League, with the assistance and guidance from Ben Dikobe Martins, Mrs Gqubule, who was one of his teachers, and Rev Gqubule who was a pro-ANC clergyman. Shezi recalled one of his first encounters with Martins. He had gone to the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre to establish whether they would avail their facilities to the Youth League. He was introduced to an employee there, Ben Martins, who was responsible for youth matters. After few questions from Martins, who was printing an ANC aligned t-shirt, he was given permission to use the facilities and mobilise the youth.¹⁰³

Shezi outlined that following his meeting with Martins towards the end of 1979, a group of about 20 young people, including the children of Rev and Mrs Gqubule met one Saturday at the Lay Ecumenical Centre to form the DCO Matiwane Youth League, which was officially launched in 1980.¹⁰⁴ Shezi's project fitted perfectly with Martins' ANC underground activities since they wished to intensify the anti-apartheid resistance network in the country. The League became a means to help Martins recruit for the ANC.¹⁰⁵ Members for the league were recruited mainly from schools in and around Pietermaritzburg, including the Indumiso

¹⁰² Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

¹⁰³ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

¹⁰⁴ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

¹⁰⁵ Jabulani Sithole, 'The ANC underground, armed actions and popular resistance in Pietermaritzburg and surrounding Natal Midlands townships' in SADET, *The Road To Democracy*, vol 4 (1980-1990) (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2010), p. 227.

College and the Edendale Nursing College. In addition to one-to-one mobilisation, League recruitment campaigns also included the hosting of alcohol-free parties which featured poetry, debates and music.¹⁰⁶

Shezi noted that there was a tendency to claim that the league took a political posture right from its inception. However, he maintained that such a position would have been suicidal for the League because during that period there was an extremely high level of political repression by the apartheid regime. Secondly, the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre did not wish to be seen to be overtly supporting political formations. Rather, the Centre wanted to be perceived as neutral, partly in order to continue to secure funding from donors, especially overseas-based donors. Therefore, it was important for them to mask their political intent and to project the League under the screen of cultural activities,¹⁰⁷ though politics was the nucleus within which it germinated.¹⁰⁸

Its 'neutrality' therefore allowed the Lay Centre to project itself as a trustworthy organisation to both its donors and the government. It was also a position which initially allowed the likes of Sipho Shezi, Thandi Gqubule, Ben Martins and others to carry out their political activities without attracting the unwanted attention of the Special Branch. It was partly for the 'abuse' of this trust that Ben Dikobe Martins, as the Edendale Lay Ecumenical

¹⁰⁶ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Sipho Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

¹⁰⁷ This cultural space was already claimed by Inkatha, and it may be argued that the use of the strategy by the League to recruit from the same pool also intensified friction between the two organisations.

¹⁰⁸ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Sipho Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

Centre youth organiser, was found guilty of by Justice Kannemeyer in 1983 for using the Centre to recruit for a banned organisation.¹⁰⁹

Nevertheless, a question remained unanswered as to why many thought the league was formed only after Matiwane's death. One reason for this presumption was that between 1980 and 1982 the League went into a kind of a relapse,¹¹⁰ which led to the differences of opinion about its formation, and another was that it did not have activities that profiled it in the public space, but this also points to the workings of memory and to people's ability to recall incidents which they were closely linked. For Shezi, 1979 was the year in which the apartheid regime executed Solomon Mahlangu for his part in the armed struggle, and it was the year in which he consulted with Martins, the Gqubules and Matiwane about the formation of the League. It was also a year in which he failed matric because of his focus on the formation of a league which was to stand up against oppression.

For some in the resource team, 1982 marked the intensification of their political activities, and the passing-on of D.C.O. Matiwane provided them with an opportunity to deepen their resistance efforts against the state.¹¹¹ Shezi's assertion that the League was formed before Matiwane's death was partly echoed by Ben Martins' recollection which placed its formation around late 1980 or early 1981. This was part of his initiative to conscientise the

¹⁰⁹ Interview conducted by Howard Barrell with Dikobe Martins, Johannesburg, 20 November 1990, resource hosted by the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory, www.nelsonmandela.org accessed on 28 February 2014.

¹¹⁰ This argument is based on the observation that while student formations such as AZASO, COSAS and FEDSEM featured in D.C.O. Matiwane's memorial service programme and the presence of AZASO was also reported in *The Natal Witness Echo*, no mention was made of the DCO Matiwane Youth League. See Farewell Service Programme of D.C.O. Matiwane, 17 March 1918-26 April 1982; *The Natal Witness Echo*, 6 May 1982.

¹¹¹ The role of the resource team within the League is explored further in the section titled 'The resource team's mentoring project' which follows.

youth and to get them involved politically.¹¹² The League served as a nucleus around which the ANC underground structures in Pietermaritzburg were to re-emerge.¹¹³ Despite this minor difference, they all agreed that it was the League that resuscitated Matiwane's name that kept his memory alive and which played a significant role in the liberation struggle.

The resource team's mentoring project

Members of the League benefitted immensely from the expertise brought by members of the resource team.¹¹⁴ The team gave the League's members political guidance, and, given their professional backgrounds, they encouraged the League members to value education.

Likewise, the formation of the DCO Matiwane Youth League offered members of the resource team a vehicle through which to continue with their political activism, in ways that were simultaneously underground and 'visible'.

Through the League, members of the resource team managed to cover up their political activism with 'mentoring' projects through which they fostered with the youth. This strategy enabled the League to conceal its political posture through its educational and cultural activities. It did this by hosting activities which focused on poetry, music, dance and theatrical plays. On occasion, the League's members, with assistance of the resource team,

¹¹² Interview conducted by Howard Barrell with Dikobe Martins, Johannesburg, 20 November 1990, resource hosted by the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory, www.nelsonmandela.org accessed on 28 February 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014.

¹¹³ Human Sciences Research Council, *Unsung Heroes and Heroines of the Liberation Struggle: Draft Report on the liberation struggle and liberation heritage sites*, June 2013, p 250.

¹¹⁴ Members included persons such as Ben Dikobe Martins, Dr Mvuyo Tom, Dr Norman Bantwini 'Ngciphwe', Dr May Mashego, Dr Faith Matlaopane and Dr Nomasonto Nkosi. In addition, activists such as Dr Joe Phaahla, Nomlayezo Mxenge, Mafika Gwala, Vusi Khanyile, Dr Aaron Motsoaledi, Rev Mxolisi Xundu, Rev Wesley Mabuza, Jay Naidoo and Siphoshezi 'Machina' Xulu also played a meaningful role in the League's activities. These were persons who participated in a number of anti-apartheid activities, including the planting of bombs against the apartheid government. Those who survived were to play a meaningful role in a free South Africa.

invited poets such as Mafika Gwala and others to render cultural items. However, behind these activities, there was intense political education given by Martins, Benjamin Langa, Norman Ngciphe, Mvuyo Tom, Aaron Motsoaledi, Joe Phaahla, Faith Matlaopane, Rev Mxolisi Xundu, Rev Wesley Mabuza, Jay Naidoo, Siphon 'Machina' Xulu, and others. In addition, Martins taught them practical skills such as the making of logos and designing t-shirts.¹¹⁵ These enabled the youth to conceptually design their political material and to engage with political issues of the time with a greater set of skills.

In an interview with Tom, he explained the role of the resource team as being 'people who were assisting to give theory and training to the youth.' This kind of training helped to sharpen the political consciousness of the League's members such that they were able to debate key events that were happening at the time with greater intellectual depth.¹¹⁶ Shezi acknowledged the role of the resource team in un-obstructively guiding debate, and he pointed out that the team was carefully selected. He maintained further that their debates were about political discussions, matters of the liberation struggle, the history of the liberation struggle, the role of heroism in the struggle, the national question, 'and about the ANC, in particular its central role in the liberation struggle.'¹¹⁷ Shezi also pointed out that less than 5% of their discussions were around matters of culture, but that their cultural content was not politically mute. Most of their cultural material was politically charged.

¹¹⁵ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014; interview conducted by Howard Barrell with Dikobe Martins, Johannesburg, 20 November 1990, resource hosted by the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory, www.nelsonmandela.org accessed on 28 February 2014.

¹¹⁶ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013.

¹¹⁷ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

Their songs and poetry were very much embedded in the liberation discourse.¹¹⁸ Their use of culture also saw them competing both ‘culturally’ and politically with Inkatha.

Political information obtained by the League’s members from the resource team enabled them to out-debate many of their critics. With their debating skills and knowledge, members of the DCO Matiwane Youth League were able to politically challenge the Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe’s stance on many issues.¹¹⁹ This involvement of the resource team members with the youth led to the emergence of another narrative. Most of them were not originally from Natal or KwaZulu, and their influence on the youth led them to be regarded by Inkatha as foreigners who were invading Inkatha terrain. It was alleged that they were teaching young people things that were against the values and culture of Inkatha.¹²⁰

It should, however, be pointed out that the youth had taken an anti-Inkatha position long before the formation of the League. Shezi, for example, took an initiative to form the league partly because of his stance against the teachings of Inkatha and its *Ubuntu Botho* programmes. This was in the late 1970s, but the Inkatha stance against members of the resource team should also be read as an acknowledgement of the effective debating skills and the knowledge reservoir that the team brought to the League. These skills had been used by the League’s members to challenge the Inkatha political actions and to outwit Inkatha members on key issues in South African politics.

¹¹⁸ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

¹¹⁹ Inkatha was a quasi-politico-cultural organisation which became the Inkatha Freedom Party in the post-1994 South Africa. Its President was Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi who was the head of the apartheid-created KwaZulu government.

¹²⁰ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013.

According to Tom, there was no youth political formation in the country that was doing anything as radical as what the DCO Matiwane Youth League was doing.¹²¹ Shezi echoed this statement. He maintained that activists like Lulu Johnson of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and Peter Mokaba, who later became the President of the South African Youth Congress, came to Pietermaritzburg to observe how the DCO Matiwane Youth League conducted its activities which helped them to launch similar youth formations around the country.¹²² Shezi was also invited by young people around KwaZulu-Natal to share information with them because they wanted to model their youth formations on the DCO Matiwane Youth League. It was against this background that they played a meaningful role in the formation of youth bodies like the Sobantu Youth Organisation, Imbali Youth Organisation, as well as the youth leagues of Clermont and Lamontville.¹²³

It should be pointed out, however, that some youth formations in Natal and KwaZulu also emerged because of political projects conducted by some members of the resource team in other areas. These included youth formations in Lamontville and KwaMashu. Many members of the resource team were drawn in the liberation discourse during their student days and saw their involvement with the league as a continuation of their political activism. For Mashego and Mkhize, the involvement of doctors in the league was a natural progression of their UNB political conscientisation projects.¹²⁴ As students, some of them

¹²¹ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

¹²² Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

¹²³ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

¹²⁴ Mashego sometimes refers to conscientisation 'classes' as *umlevo*. These informal discussions were also facilitated by the SRC, SASO and the Student Christian Fellowship (SCF). Politically, she was conscious that the University of Natal Medical School produced professionals and doctors like Joe Phaahle, Aaron Motsoaledi, Zweli Mkhize and Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma. It has to be pointed out that some doctors at Edendale Hospital were trained at UCT, Wits and Pretoria. See interviews by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013, and with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014.

used to have outreach teams that taught high school pupils subjects such as Mathematics, Science and Biology. The objective was not only to help the students to improve their results, but also to politicise them. On Saturday mornings, trainee doctors would teach these ‘difficult’ subjects at surrounding high schools and in the afternoons, the focus would be on political education. Such a programme helped with the conscientisation of young people in areas such as Lamontville, Umlazi and KwaMashu. Through these types of projects, they were also able to recruit many young people to join MK and other underground structures.¹²⁵

Political conscientisation, *umhabulo*, of youth also contributed to the formation of youth organisations such as the Edendale Youth, Indalo Youth Organisation and youth formations in Greytown, Hammersdale and kwaSwayimane. As a front for anti-apartheid political formation and sympathetic to the ANC, the United Democratic Front (UDF) was later formed to embark on the liberation project and it was able to capitalise on the network provided by these youth formations and other structures. Many of them, including the DCO Matiwane Youth League, joined the UDF and were able, together with other formations, to provide leadership at different levels.¹²⁶ Likewise, the DCO Matiwane Youth League was able to use the UDF to improve on its networks and contacts.

One of the significant contributions of the resource team to the League was its emphasis on education. The League, assisted by the resource team’s emphasis on education, produced

¹²⁵ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014. Also see interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

¹²⁶ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014; AK 2117/J 2-1 (A4), national launching of the United Democratic Front, Cape Town, 20 August 1983, organisation present, information sourced from www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za on 25 September 2013.

political leaders who played a prominent role in the liberation of the country, some of whom came to occupy key positions in the new South African political, social and economic life.¹²⁷

Shezi was not oblivious of the achievements of his former Youth League members. He attributed this partly to the discipline instilled by the League to its members, but he was quick to point out that some of them became victims of corruption.¹²⁸ This pointed to a greed that was corroding the moral fibre of a liberated South Africa. It stood in stark contrast to the ideals of the liberation project and contradicted the sacrifices made by activists in the 1980s and the period that preceded it.

The other world of the resource team

To gain a broader understanding of the League, it is necessary to briefly explore the activities of the members of the resource team. Some members of the resource team were heavily involved in the underground activities of the ANC. They used the DCO Matiwane Youth League to selectively recruit members to go to Lesotho or Swaziland to join the banned MK or to be members of the ANC or SACP. Their involvement in the League saw to

¹²⁷ These members included, among others, persons such as Siphoshezi who was recruited to the ANC underground by Jeff Radebe and was to become the 'new' South Africa's first and youngest Director-General of Public Works and a successful businessman; Thandi and Phumla Gqubule, respectively successful as a journalist and business persons; Muzi Thusi who ran an MK unit with Zweli Mkhize and was also known as the 'son of man'; Khosi Xaba who became a successful business woman; Sindisiwe Chikunga who was a trainee nurse at Edendale Hospital and became Deputy Minister of Transport in a liberated South Africa, and Thami Mseleku who became the Director-General for the Health Department and South Africa's High Commissioner to Malaysia post-2009. See interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashogo, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mabongi Mtshali, former head of Education Department at Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg, 3 March 2014; address by the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development, Mr Jeff Radebe, during the Dr. Enos Sikhakhane Second Memorial Lecture, Pietermaritzburg, 5 December 2009 – information sourced from www.justice.gov.za, accessed on 17 November 2014; Mr J Radebe, Minister of Public Works, farewell address for Siphoshezi, Director-General, Department of Public Works, 14 January 1999 – sourced from www.publicworks.gov.za, accessed on 25 February 2015; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014; Profile of Deputy Minister of Transport Ms Lydia Sindisiwe Chikunga on www.transport.gov.za/Home/MinistryofTransport/ProfileOfTheDeputyMinister.aspx, accessed on 4 April 2015.

¹²⁸ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

it that its activities were politically aligned to the ANC. However, their public programmes and participation in the League also exposed them to the Special Branch (SB) and the South African Police (SAP) surveillance.

Tom cautioned that one should not give too much credit to the SAP and SB members for the quality of their surveillance. He remembered an incident when they (Ben Martins, Faith Matlaopane, Gugu Matlaopane and Thandi Gqubule) attended a funeral of a Sobantu Youth League member. This was around September or August 1982.¹²⁹ On that particular day, Tom's car was parked next to Ben Martins'. It had a political banner that was used during the funeral. The police asked Tom whether he knew Martins, to which he replied that he did not know him very well, but the police discovered envelopes in his car with political pamphlets, and the original draft of the political banner created by Martins, used to rally people against apartheid. One of the envelopes contained photographs of Steve Biko and Barney Pityana. Tom insisted to the security personnel that those had been left in his car by people to whom he had given a lift to the funeral. Eventually, police confiscated the list of items found in his car, asked Tom to sign for them, and nothing further came from the incident. Using this as an example, Tom maintained that this indicated that the police did not know much unless they had been tipped off by an informer (*impimpi*).¹³⁰ The police were so naïve that they failed to see the link between him and Martins through the documents that

¹²⁹ Probably, this was the funeral of Graham Sibusiso Hadebe, who was killed by police and buried on 9 October 1982. See Jabulani Sithole, 'The ANC underground, armed actions and popular resistance in Pietermaritzburg and surrounding Natal Midlands townships' in SADET, *The Road To Democracy*, vol 4 (1980-1990) (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2010), p 229.

¹³⁰ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013. In a separate interview, Mashego explained that some *izimpimpi* used to attend community meetings and most of them were not subjected to police persecutions - interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014.

they found in his car, probably because they were not tipped off. Their focus was on Martins, whom they arrested later that day and charged for possession of banned literature.

Pius Langa, who later became Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court in the 'new' South Africa, successfully defended Martins. When Martins was in police custody, Tom and his colleagues visited him, and still, the SAP did not draw the link. However, the killings in Maseru of MK operatives nearly exposed their connection to the ANC. Members of the South African Defence Force (SADF) killed Tom's colleague and comrade, Norman Bantwini 'Ngciphe', in Maseru in 1982. He was killed, along with 41 fellow activists.¹³¹ Following Ngciphe's killing, the SAP went to Edendale Hospital doctors' quarters to search Ngciphe's room.¹³² There, they found evidence linking Tom to Ngciphe and the ANC. They also searched Tom's room in his absence, but again, they were not able to use this information to build a case against Tom.¹³³ Using this as an example, Tom demonstrated why the intelligence capabilities of apartheid forces should not be over-exaggerated.

However, events that unfolded in 1983 led to the arrests of some members of the team and the decline in the activities of the League. By 1983, underground members of the resource team and members of the league were encouraging bus boycotts and were involved in the bombings of state infrastructure. This included the bombings of the Supreme Court building

¹³¹ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013. While Ngciphe's death was mourned by black doctors at Edendale Hospital, it was a cause for celebration for white doctors. This showed how entrenched racism was. See interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014.

¹³² Mashego explained that segregation permeated even to the doctors' quarters. At Edendale Hospital there were different quarters for blacks and whites. However, she was quick to point out that this worked to their advantage because it enabled them to discuss and strategise on political issues affecting blacks. See interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014.

¹³³ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013.

in Pietermaritzburg as well of the electricity pylons by Sithabiso Mahlobo, who was an MK operative under the *nom de plume* ‘Jabu’ and had contact with some members of the team and by Thembinkosi Paulson ‘Notty’ Ngcobo who was a member of the DCO Matiwane Youth League.¹³⁴ Ngcobo also served time at Robben Island for his political activism. In addition, members were involved in a number of petrol bombing activities in the country. The increase in bombings and other anti-apartheid measures also saw the intensification of efforts by the state machinery to counteract them. Various attempts were made by apartheid forces to unmask activists who were carrying out acts of sabotage and, at times, this was achieved with difficulty.

Tom experienced police torture in 1983 when he and his two colleagues, Faith Matlaopane and Nomasonto Nkosi were subjected to a lengthy detention by the state in an attempt to force them to testify against Mahlobo, Ben Martins and Duma Gqubule. Martins, Mahlobo and Gqubule were charged under the Terrorism Act No 83 of 1967 for their political activism.¹³⁵ The state used torture and ‘persuasion’ to make them testify against their comrades and also against each other. For example, police told Tom that his colleagues and comrades, Matlaopane¹³⁶ and Nkosi, were willing to testify and that it would be better for

¹³⁴ Mahlobo was an MK member trained in Eastern Europe and later became a commanding officer in the South African National Defence Force. Ngcobo, like Matiwane, largely operated alone. Tom described him as a lone ranger who withstood interrogation and served a prison sentence at Pretoria Maximum Prison. See interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; Human Sciences Research Council, ‘Unsung Heroes and Heroines of the Liberation Struggle: Draft Report on the liberation struggle and liberation heritage sites’, June 2013, p 255.

¹³⁵ *Clearinghouse Report*, AAAS Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility on Science and Human Rights, vol VII (1), p 5, accessed at www.aaas.org on 21 February 2015; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013.

¹³⁶ In a free South Africa and after an internal ANC process, Matlaopane became Head of the Department of Health in the Northern Cape Province. See *Finweek*, 9 November 2012; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014.

him to divulge information.¹³⁷ By so doing, the police were attempting to divide them and surreptitiously force them to co-operate with the state machinery. Eventually, the two other doctors became state witnesses and were allowed to go back to their respective jobs at Edendale Hospital.¹³⁸ However, Tom refused and was subjected to extreme torture in an attempt to extract information from him.¹³⁹ Tom's refusal to talk was based on their conviction as activists that to talk was to give in and to disempower oneself before the Special Branch and those they were forced to betray. Maintaining silence before the Special Branch signified strength.¹⁴⁰ Woodward, Hayes and Minkley argue that refusal to divulge secrets also disempowered the oppressor because embodied in information was power¹⁴¹, but the state machinery was determined to get information in order to exert its power.

To demonstrate the discipline of the League members, Tom pointed out that their cover was not revealed by the youth, but by someone within the ANC structures who was, probably, an apartheid agent. Shezi reiterated this point in a separate interview.¹⁴² In some cases, agents and police were able to divide anti-apartheid activists. Their tactics saw some breaking down

¹³⁷ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview conducted by Howard Barrell with Dikobe Martins, Johannesburg, 20 November 1990, resource hosted by the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory, www.nelsonmandela.org accessed on 28 February 2014; Philippe Denis, 'The August 1985 attack on the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa', http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/REL/Christ/Black/Denis-P_August_1985_attack_on_Federal_Theological_Seminary.pdf, accessed on 25 September 2013; *Clearinghouse Report*, AAAS Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility on Science and Human Rights, vol VII (1), p 5, accessed at www.aaas.org on 21 February 2015.

¹³⁸ *Clearinghouse Report*, AAAS Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility on Science and Human Rights, vol VII (1), p 5, accessed at www.aaas.org on 21 February 2015.

¹³⁹ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014; *Clearinghouse Report*, AAAS Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility on Science and Human Rights, vol VII (1), p 5, accessed at www.aaas.org on 21 February 2015.

¹⁴⁰ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013.

¹⁴¹ Wendy Woodward, Patricia Hayes and Gary Minkley (eds.), *Deep hiStories: Gender and Colonialism in Southern Africa* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), p xxvii.

¹⁴² Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

during interrogations and turning state witnesses. These persons managed to evade prison and were allowed back to their places of employments.¹⁴³ For his activism, Tom received a three year prison sentence which he served at Pretoria Central Prison and Johannesburg Medium prisons. Martins was sent to Robben Island and later to Johannesburg Medium prison where he served his sentence until his release in 1991.¹⁴⁴ Their arrests and sentencing served as an inspiration to a number of young people to pick up the struggle against oppression.

Spying and the infiltration of the ANC by apartheid agents continued to plague the liberation movement and led to the wrongful killings of activists by their comrades. This included the 1983 killing in Pietermaritzburg of one of the resource team members, Benjamin Langa. During the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (amnesty committee) hearing, evidence was presented that Langa had been killed following an instruction issued by one Edward Lawrence Ralph (also known as ‘Ralph’, ‘Fear’, ‘Cyril Raymond’ and ‘Ralph Mgcina’) to Siphon ‘Machina’ Xulu, Lucky Payi and George Martins.¹⁴⁵ They were told that Benjamin

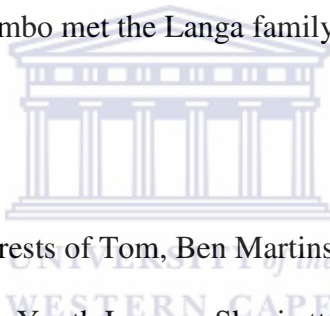
¹⁴³ *Clearinghouse report*, AAAS Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility on Science and Human Rights, vol VII (1), p 5, accessed at www.aaas.org on 21 February 2015.

¹⁴⁴ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013; interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014; www.sabctrc.saha.org.za/documents/decisions/59139.htm, amnesty decision regarding the application of Joel George Martins, matter AM 6450/97, accessed on 25 September 2013; <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/decisions>, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Amnesty Committee, Joel George Martins Applicant, accessed on 21 February 2015.

¹⁴⁵ Following the wrongful killing of Benjamin Langa, George Martins left for exile, first to Lesotho and then to Angola and Yugoslavia where he received military training as an MK guerrilla. George Martins was a Youth League member and a skilled debater. He became a businessman in a free South Africa. Payi and Xulu were arrested and executed in the apartheid state. See www.sabctrc.saha.org.za/documents/decisions/59139.htm, amnesty decision regarding the application of Joel George Martins, matter AM 6450/97, accessed on 25 September 2013; <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/decisions>, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Amnesty Committee, Joel George Martins Applicant, accessed on 21 February 2015. Also see interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014; Jabulani Sithole, ‘The ANC underground, armed actions and popular resistance in Pietermaritzburg and surrounding Natal Midlands townships’ in SADET, *The Road To Democracy*, vol 4 (1980-1990) (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2010), pp 250-251.

(Ben) Langa was an *impimpi* who had leaked information to apartheid security forces about the political activities of Ben Martins and others.

It transpired that Lawrence was an apartheid agent who had been recruited by the security police. He was handled by a senior security police official at the C.R. Swart Square Police Station in Durban. The killing of Langa and the leaking of information about activities of the DCO Matiwane Youth League resulted in its weakening and in serious disruption of its underground-linked activities. It also caused intense distress for the Langa family, which was what the apartheid machinery wanted.¹⁴⁶ Once the truth was known to the leadership of the ANC, its president O.R. Tambo met the Langa family to offer explanations and apologies.¹⁴⁷



The killing of Langa and the arrests of Tom, Ben Martins and others also impeded the activities of the DCO Matiwane Youth League. Shezi attributed the slowing down of their activities to the enemy's infiltration of the ANC and to the state's improved ability to analyse their activities. The regime had learned that MK members received support to carry out their activities in Pietermaritzburg from the DCO Matiwane Youth League members.

They had deduced that people such as Mvuyo Tom, Ben Martins, Joe Phaahla, Aaron

¹⁴⁶ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Sipho Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014; www.sabctrc.saha.org.za/documents/decisions/59139.htm, amnesty decision regarding the application of Joel George Martins, matter AM 6450/97, accessed on 25 September 2013; <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/decisions>, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Amnesty Committee, Joel George Martins Applicant, accessed on 21 February 2015; Jabulani Sithole, 'The ANC underground, armed actions and popular resistance in Pietermaritzburg and surrounding Natal Midlands townships' in SADET, *The Road To Democracy*, vol 4 (1980-1990) (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2010), p 242.

¹⁴⁷ www.sabctrc.saha.org.za/documents/decisions/59139.htm, amnesty decision regarding the application of Joel George Martins, matter AM 6450/97, accessed on 25 September 2013; <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/decisions>, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Amnesty Committee, Joel George Martins Applicant, accessed on 21 February 2015.

Motseoledi and others were engaged in serious political activities with members of the League. Based on that intelligence, security forces decided it was time to handicap the League.¹⁴⁸

Conclusion

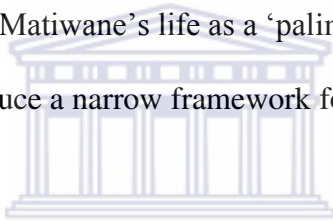
In this chapter, I gave an analysis of how the DCO Matiwane Youth League and the DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park memorialised David Cecil Oxford Matiwane. I maintained that these were different institutions which emerged at different times in the political history of South Africa. The Museum, for example, emerged in an era where attempts were made to collect local histories, partly because of their educational, economic and heritage capital in the country. It was through an interest in local stories that Matiwane's oral history archive began to emerge. However, the prospect of using his house, coupled with the government's emphasis on the economic value of liberation heritage, contributed to the institutionalisation of Matiwane's memory, and this saw the local history narrative taking a back seat.

In representing Matiwane's narrative, I looked at how the House of Memory inserted that which was visually available to amplify Matiwane's account in a museum. I argued that photographs that were used in the museum were not a central feature from which a narrative was told. Rather, they were visuals into which an existing narrative was inserted. I observed that these were not even captioned to give them context or to problematize them within the

¹⁴⁸ Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu with Mr Siphoshezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014; www.sabctrc.saha.org.za/documents/decisions/59139.htm, amnesty decision regarding the application of Joel George Martins, matter AM 6450/97, accessed on 25 September 2013; <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/decisions>, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Amnesty Committee, Joel George Martins Applicant, accessed on 21 February 2015.

museum scripted narrative. The end result was an exhibition that used photographs to frame, freeze and factualise moments in history to events that probably had little to do with those selected images.

In addition, no effort was made to think about how someone as controversial as Matiwane could be represented in more complex and contradictory ways in a museum. This could have taken in a more complex narrative of one who came from a family background of being exempted and grounded in colonial ways, but who later embraced his African identity and engaged in acts of resistance bravely and creatively, even when repressive conditions made this difficult. It is possible that Matiwane's life as a 'palimpsest of multiplicity' might have contradicted the need to reproduce a narrow framework for a life of struggle.



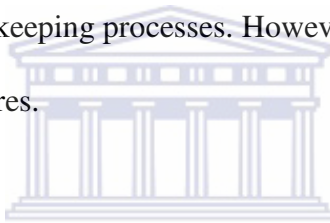
While the Museum helped to entrench Matiwane's memory in our landscape of heritage in the 21st century, I also argued that it was the DCO Matiwane Youth League that helped to preserve his memory in the minds of many in the 20th century. I also demonstrated how members of the League, including its resource team, were able to use Matiwane's name as a vehicle for recruitment and mobilisation against apartheid. In addition, I analysed how the League used Matiwane's acts of bravery to encourage young people to join the struggle for liberation. I argued that, though the League was named after Matiwane, the objective was not located in an individual. Rather, the individual was a means for a collective objective, which was to end apartheid and usher in freedom for all South Africa's inhabitants.

Conclusion

In this work, I have broadly embraced a qualitative model to argue that although D.C.O. Matiwane can be used as a historical or biographical agent, his narrative should be discursive and distributive. His life history should be reinterpreted within a communal structure of the social interrelations that 'produced' him as a historical being worthy to be studied and memorialised. Such an approach may free the narrative from the superlative grip of the all-knowing individual who dictated and shaped historical events by placing her/him in a wider framework of knowledge accumulation and social interaction, in which individuals engage and interact with each other in a dispersed manner. In these engagements, they come to have a wider impact on the landscape of memory and on processes of memory construction. I have also tried to show that a narrative about the lives of individuals ought not only to understand this construction, but to do so with an appreciation of the many processes involved, instruments used and roles played by various interlocutors in knowledge production, circulation and consumption.

I also pointed out that sources play a significant role in historical writings, and that by design and default they influence the writing of history. Against this background, I attempted to subject the archival content to critical analysis. While using the archive as a narrative agent for examining factors which contributed to the making of D.C.O Matiwane and his auto/biographical memory, I also exposed the archive to its inherent flaws, particularly as a product of processing, and of conscious efforts by those in power, their functionaries and also by family members. I attempted to treat the family collection, especially of personal communication between individuals, as a historical 'treasure'.

Part of the family collection entered the state archive beyond the limits of state intention and yielded unrestrained and unexpected voices. For example, information about the relationship between Judith Mfeka and Jerome Matiwane's relationship entered the archive through a legal dispute between him and his wife, Priscilla Matiwane. In addition, I also read this as an indicator of an informal archiving system that individuals used for their personal gain, especially for documents they deemed more valuable. In the case of Judith Mfeka, I argued that official documentation did not indicate how she directly benefitted from making her archive public, but obviously, Priscilla Matiwane became the unintended beneficiary of her document-keeping processes. However, it may be concluded that, Judith Mfeka was able to 'settle' scores.



The fact that D.C.O. Matiwane's family was able to safeguard the 1952 letter and his manuscript, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, for a long period highlighted the value which some members of the family attached to such documents. The fact that some attachments linked to the letter and chapters associated with the manuscript disappeared over the course of time may be read as indicative of the family's limited abilities to systematically archive materials over an extended period. The availability of the state and familial documentation has been used to illustrate memory's resistance to erasure. To illustrate the last point, it was through the philosophical portmanteau of both the letter as a 'preserved' document and of Phumzile Mvelase's narration of Matiwane's act of destroying her grandmother's exemption certificate as a preserved memory, that questions of exemptions and identity were explored.

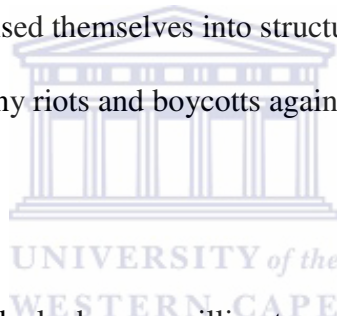
Furthermore and in a veiled approach, Matiwane's act of undoing the archive was juxtaposed with the ability of the letter to recall, in that both the letter and Mvelase's memory were used to provide leads to a rich heritage of exemption and education in the Matiwane family and within a broader evangelising and 'civilising' missionary epoch. The civilisation mission resonated well with the aspirations of the colonial government which sought to conscript labour from the multitudes of Africans who, in their eyes, were hostile to work and productivity.

In this research work, the document and the recalled memory became a palimpsest for the reconstruction of resistance identity and for documenting memory's resistance to erasure. We have analysed the act of doing away with the certificate as a deliberate attempt by D.C.O Matiwane to impress resistance politics upon his children. We have subjected both the recalled memory and the letter to scrutiny, and as mediums that provided leads to other documents in the state archives, including estate and property documents, and thus, to a degree, pointing to memory's resistance to erasure.

However, the fact that both the state and family archives were fragmented was used to point to the vulnerabilities of archiving as a process, and to sustain an argument that archives could not be used to narrate a total history. Nonetheless, the archive was used to open up a discussion on various questions of identification and ambiguity, including the presence of the past in contemporary narratives and its resistance to expurgation. I have

argued that attempts at erasure may lead to the birth of a new narrative, and that the archive may continue to evolve with its loaded accounts.

In this research project, I used Matiwane's unpublished manuscript, recollections of those who knew him, newspaper articles, official documents and proceedings of legal processes to reconstruct a fragmented tale of an individual who attempted to fight the apartheid system from within. This included his futile attempts to use state establishments like an Advisory Board to challenge the system and his realisation that the state was intent on getting rid of activists like him. Matiwane's narrative is also one of how communities opposed adversity and organised themselves into structures like the Action Committee, or how they took part in the many riots and boycotts against the oppressive state in pursuit of a just society.



His is also a tale of an individual who was willing to recruit others against a system which generally oppressed them as a people. It is also an anecdote of how women were excluded from the mainstream socio-economic activities of the country and of how, through their activism, they stood their ground. In this work, I have also explored how Matiwane's theory of using the state's legal processes to fight against its injustices was a futile strategy in an attempt to change the system. The futility of these attempts was witnessed in the way in which the state continued to humiliate black South Africans, declared them *persona non grata* and how it employed its machinery to ruin their lives. I posited that though Matiwane noted that apartheid administrative bodies and state bureaucrats were not accustomed to

dealing with Africans who had an awareness of justice, he continued to use these avenues in an attempt to achieve a positive outcome.

I also argued that his is a narrative of how millions, like him, became frequent visitors to charge offices, prisons, magistrate's courts and Bantu Affairs Commissioner's offices. It is also my conclusion that by trying to use the very instruments of oppression against blacks to effect change, his life history became a narrative of ambiguity. Despite the setbacks he experienced, we also saw how Matiwane's resilience and ability to use the courts to pursue a just cause provided some influence for a generation of young people to resist apartheid. We also saw how his actions partly influenced others to memorialise his legacy.

In this work, it was argued that Matiwane drafted his *A Treatise of Black Victimisation* in the late 1960s and early 1970s not as a biography but as an exposition of cruelty meted against blacks by those in power in apartheid South Africa. However, his attempt at giving a non-biographic narrative was made difficult by the fact biographic inputs are embedded in contemporary narratives and life writing. As such, his manuscript was openly autobiographical, which was shown in the details of his personal experiences that he narrated as the problem of apartheid *strappado*. Through his manuscript, we learned that in South Africa he, like many others, was constantly harassed, victimised and persecuted.

His story was not only an attempt to give the voiceless a voice, but it was also a narrative of silences and self-censorship. It was an exposition of how the state attempted to silence their voices through a number of strategies and interventions. In his court papers,

Matiwane detailed how his first attempt to document the unfolding of events in the country through his first manuscript, *The Abridged Introspection of Restriction on a Black*, was thwarted. In *A Treatise of Black Victimisation* we also learnt how authorities attempted to silence him through expulsion. However, such attempts seemed to have fuelled resistance and helped him in the creation of his new memory. He did this despite his observations that white South Africa was so obsessed with control and feared criticism to the extent that expression of opinions by blacks and anti-apartheid activists was often labelled as communistic, leading to persecution and banning orders against them.

In this work, we also saw how, in a dual attempt to voice his criticism against the state while avoiding persecution, he littered his manuscript with codes to the extent that key locations and characters were not mentioned by name. Sometimes his codification was so extreme that key details of his observations were lost in the abstractions that he crafted. To a degree, the net effect of his codification was to give his work a 'fictional' feel.

Acts of self-censorship were also manifested in his manuscript when he deliberately decided not to publish the content of a memorandum that the Anti-Rent Action Committee submitted to the Estcourt Town Council. His rationale behind his self-censorship was two-fold. Firstly, he argued that the document was the property of the state and could not be published without its consent. Secondly, he maintained that he was a *persona non grata* who could not be given access to municipal records. In this work, I argued that by limiting his focus to the physical document instead of the content which he knew very well, Matiwane was adopting a defeatist approach. Using Foucault's analysis, I suggested that

this was one of those situations where, sometimes, people would choose to be silent because the knowledge that their views contradicted officialdom might have brought them pain.

I also attempted to explore other cases in the manuscript, as in the case of the 1960 State of Emergency, where Matiwane was able to transcend censorship and use the power of his memory to state a point about their ill-treatment. I also looked at cases where the state worked in cahoots with others to blatantly silence them. Matiwane once advised a resident, whose wife had been electrocuted as a result of municipal negligence, to institute a civil claim for gross negligence against the Estcourt Town Council. When the Town Council learnt of Matiwane's role in the matter, they approached his employer who threatened him with instant dismissal if he were to continue to advise the resident.

Likewise, the Advisory Board, which was a statutory mechanism, was not able to take the matter forward. As such, I argued that people like Matiwane were confronted with the ambiguities of fighting oppression while serving within its structures, and by the dualities of how the state worked with their employers and other bodies to enforce unjust practices against activists. These dualities speak to the thin line that existed between the state and many white employers. In essence, their employers were, in most cases, the same individuals who voted for the policy of apartheid and were its direct beneficiaries. Linked to this narrative was a tale of the limitations of their strategic choices.

In this research project, I also showed the frustrations faced by Matiwane and his generation. Throughout his manuscript, he sustained an argument that the sweat and blood of a black person was not employed to sustain them but that the migratory labour and influx control systems were instead crafted for the benefit white of indulgence. This was to lead blacks to live in abject poverty while sustaining white progress. Matiwane maintained that both colonial and apartheid South Africa were crafted to benefit whites. Strategies to silence and oppress blacks were enacted, including codes and various pieces of legislation.

I posited that both the colonial administration and apartheid administration controlled black lives through various instruments that were not very different. The colonial administration did this through its codes and laws, and the apartheid administration also achieved the same through a number of laws and regulations. This frustrated and curtailed almost all blacks severely. Matiwane observed that the pass laws, for example, contributed to the daily destruction of the sanctity of black family life. Hand in hand with this was an increasing rate of drunkenness, divorce, illegitimacy, abortion, crime and murder. On the farms, legislated racism, through farm labour tenancy, created what Matiwane termed 'legalised slaves'.

I also reasoned that Matiwane's manuscript, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation*, was a work of critical reflection on black representation by apartheid South Africa. In his work, Matiwane noted that the country was a landscape whose monumental representation was littered with white history and heritage, to the neglect of its black inhabitants. His work analysed the political capital of heritage and how it was used to perpetuate apartheid's

cultural hegemony, and how also it could be used to represent the other side if the forces against apartheid were to come to power. This observation is important if we take into account that history and heritage have mostly been shaped by the forces which have emerged victorious from all kinds of confrontations between communities, classes, nations as well as those marked by gender. New monuments for a 'new' South Africa have served to provide evidence of this trend.

In this work, I pointed out that Matiwane's work had traces of his class heritage as a descendant of exempted natives. This was evidenced in his high regard for Second World War memorabilia. He viewed the Second World War medals as treasures to be preserved with pride to the neglect of the fact that black Second World War veterans were not given the same kind of recognition compared to that of their white counterparts. However, his analysis of white representation and appropriation of heritage exposed its segregationist approach and he ridiculed it for failing to acknowledge black input in the construction of South Africa as a country and also in its heritage and history.

I also looked at how the white electoral system and its notion of apartheid democracy did not evade Matiwane's scrutiny. In his analysis, he identified the electorate, and not necessarily the National Party, as part of the problem. He argued that the white voters were the only persons who had the franchise right, and that the majority of them continued to vote in favour of apartheid every five years. Matiwane was critical of the white electorate for viewing voting as its possessive right, instead of viewing it as a birth-right of all South Africa's inhabitants.

I further contended that some interlocutors on D.C.O. Matiwane's biography foregrounded his narrative and thinking mainly within the frame of his links to the African National Congress. However, I pointed out that a close analysis of his writings revealed that his was a palimpsest of multiplicity which transcended organisational and political boundaries. In so doing, he rejected rules of conformity in favour of a broader liberation project, and he did not adopt a confined view on many issues.

This work also gave an analysis of how Matiwane was memorialised through the DCO Matiwane Youth League and the DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park. These were different institutions which emerged at different times for different reasons. The Museum, for example, emerged in an era when attempts were made to collect local histories, partly because of their educational, economic and heritage value. I maintained that it was through an interest in local stories that Matiwane's oral history archive began to emerge. However, the prospect of using his house, and government's emphasis on the economic value of liberation heritage contributed to the institutionalisation of Matiwane's memory and saw the local history narrative taking a back seat.

In exhibiting Matiwane's narrative, I looked at how the House of Memory inserted that which was visually available to amplify the account of Matiwane's life in a museum. I argued that photographs that were used in the Museum were not a central feature from which a narrative was told. Rather, they were visuals into which an existing narrative was inserted. These photographs were not even captioned to give them context or to

problematise them within the museum-scripted narrative. I therefore maintained that the end result was an exhibition that used photographs to frame, freeze and factualise moments in history to events that probably had little to do with those photographs. Furthermore, this museum project failed to grasp an opportunity to explore how to depict a life lived as a ‘palimpsest of multiplicity’ in more complex ways.

While the Museum helped to entrench Matiwane’s memory in our heritage-scape in the 21st century, I also demonstrated how the DCO Matiwane Youth League helped to preserve his memory to the minds of many in the 20th century South Africa. I showed how members of the League, including its resource team, were able to use Matiwane’s name as a recruitment and mobilisation vehicle against apartheid. In addition, I analysed how the League used Matiwane’s acts of bravery to encourage young people to fight for liberation. I argued that though the League was named after Matiwane, the objective was not located within an individual. Rather, the individual was an agent for a collective objective, which was, ultimately, to end apartheid and to usher in democracy for all South Africans.

In this study, I have used the life of David Cecil Oxford Matiwane to analyse how the socio-economic struggles he launched were understood and represented through processes of documentation, textualisation and narration. I examined further, why and how Matiwane was represented as a source of controversy, a lone political activist and a pragmatist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES: OFFICIAL, LIBRARY, ARCHIVAL, MUSEUM AND PRIVATE

A: Archival Collections

(i) *Alan Paton Centre, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.*

Peter Brown Papers

Personal Correspondence: PC16/5/2/1.

Personal Correspondence: PC16/5/2/5/31.

Personal Correspondence: PC 16/5/2/5/72.

(ii) *DCO Matiwane Museum and Memorial Park.*

Cases: Matiwane vs Cecil Nathan, Beattie & Co. 1972 (1), SA 222 (N).

Copies of the original exhibition text, 2011 displays.

'D.C.O. Matiwane: a bush lawyer, A lone protester and a believer in himself - They Fought For Freedom', draft booklet, compiled in 2005 by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane (main compiler) with Mzi Mngadi, Xolani Sithole and Mazwi Ngubane as co-researchers.

D.C.O. Matiwane and Willowfontein Research project. Interview transcripts of research conducted by project members, Mbhekiseni P. Magwenyane, Mzi Mngadi, Xolani Sithole and Mazwi Ngubane: interviews with Aubrey Nyembezi on 12 February 2005, with maMkhize Mbona on 21 January 2005, with Jamludi Shange on 6 January 2005, with Matiwane's family (Sibongile Mahlobo, Themba and Nsika Matiwane) on 18 January 2005, with Khaba Mkhize on 19 January 2005, with Jikijela Mkhize on 6 January 2005, with Vina Chamane, n.d and with maNdlovu Sokhele, n.d.

House of Memory, D.C.O. Matiwane Memorial Park, Progress Report No 1, 06/04/211.

House of Memory, D.C.O. Matiwane Memorial Park, Update Report No 2, 7/18/2011.

Letter written by D.C.O. Matiwane to his mother, Josephine Judith Matiwane, 13 June 1952.

Letter from D.C.O. Matiwane to the Prime Minister Mr J.B. Vorster, regarding accommodation of a Bantu family on Trust Land-Wilgefontein, District of Pietermaritzburg-D.C.O. Matiwane, 16 February 1973.

Miscellaneous: court cases and official correspondence.

Unpublished manuscript written by Mbhekiseni Magwenyana entitled, 'Willowfontein: Kudala Manje', n.d.

(iii) Fort Durnford Museum, Estcourt.

Standard Bank Account Book.

(iv) Local History Museums, Durban.

Bantu Education: Policy for the Immediate Future, Statement by the Hon Dr H.F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, in the Senate of the Parliament of the Union of South Africa, 7th June, 1954 .

Loram Legacy of High Standards (16 January 2008) written by Thembisa Waetjen, Loram School Brief History and Loram Secondary School (April-May 2007) written by Thembisa Waetjen.

(v) Msunduzi Museum.

David Cecil Oxford Matiwane, 17 March 1918 to 25 April 1982.

A Proposal of House of Memory and DCO Matiwane Memorial Project, May 2010.

Miscellaneous papers.

(vi) Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository (formerly the Natal Archives Depot).

Attorney General Office (A.G.O.).

A.G.O. 1/8/11.

Registered correspondence No. 2505- 2943.

Bantu Administration Office.

BAO 6658.

N105/30/314-N105/30/316.

Chief Native Commissioners Files

C.N.C. 1698 -1830 (correspondence).

C.N.C. 2252 - 2613 (minutes papers).

C.N.C. 2276 - 2321 (correspondence).

C.N.C. 2725 - 2780 (minutes papers).

Colonial Secretary Office (C.S.O).

C.S.O. 4047 - 4432 (minutes papers).

Deceased Estate Registers.

Deceased Estates Numbers 120-131, volume 43.

Deceased Estates Numbers 204-220, volume 45.

MSC: Deceased Estates Numbers 18566 – 18626.

Estcourt (EST).

1/EST H1/1/3.

1/EST 2/1/1/7.

1/EST H1/1/1/4 -H1/1/5.

1/EST H1/1/6-H1/1/7.

2/EST 1/2/1/14.

2/EST 1/2/1/15.

2/EST 1/2/1/16.

2/EST 1/2/1/17.



Government House Files (G.H.).

G.H. 97.

G.H. 1214.

G.H. 41.

Kranskop (KRK).

List of Exempted Natives 1KRK 3/1/5, KK1a/1905.

Ladysmith (LDS).

1/LDS (3/4/2/12).

Natal Colonial Publication (N.C.P.).

N.C.P. 6/1/1/15 (Natal Government Gazette, 24 May 1864).

N.C.P. 8/3/20 (Natal Native Commission, 1881).

N.C.P. 8/3/75 (Native Affairs Commission, 1907-1907).

N.C.P. 8/3/6 - 8/3/19.

N.C.P. 8/3/8, Report of Select Committee to consider Marriages Contracted by Natives under Christian Rites.

N.C.P. 8/3/18 South African Natives Affairs' Commission, 1903-1905.

N.C.P. 8/3/19 Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1881-1882.

Principal Veterinary Surgeon or P.V.S. also known as AGR. (AGR. for Agriculture).

AGR. 3171 - 3353 (minutes papers: Principal Veterinary Surgeon) or

P.V.S. 3171 - 3353 (minutes papers: Principal Veterinary Surgeon).

Registrar of the Supreme Court (R.S.C.).

RSC 1/5/306.

RSC/NPD 1018-1035 (A20).

Secretary for Native Affairs (S.N.A.).

S.N.A. 1/1/107 (minutes papers 451 - 600).

S.N.A. 1/1/296 (minutes papers 1190 - 2278).

S.N.A. 1/1/314 (minutes papers 2134 - 2434).

S.N.A. 1/1/329 (minutes papers 2836 - 3091).

S.N.A. 1/1/418 (minutes papers 3678 - 3820).

S.N.A. 1/6/10 (papers relating to the exemption of Natives from the operations of the Native Law, 1877-1888).

(vii) Pretoria Archives Repository (Gauteng Archives Repository).

Department of Bantu Affairs and Development/Department van Bantoe-Administratiese en Ontwikkeling: BAO 6658.

N 105/30/314-316, volume 1, D.C.O. Matiwane vs The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and The Magistrate (Civil Court), Pietermaritzburg; The State vs D.C.O. Matiwane.

Illiquid cases (ILLQ): Registrar of the Supreme Court of South Africa (Witwatersrand Local Division).

(viii) *The Bessie Head Library, Pietermaritzburg.*

Newspapers (especially *Ilanga lase Natal*, *The Estcourt Gazette*, *The Witness* - formerly *The Natal Witness*, *The Witness Echo*- formerly *The Natal Witness Echo*).

(ix) *South African Law Reports.*

South African Law Report, Decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa, Natal Provincial Division, vol 1, 1961.

South African Law Report, Decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa, Natal Provincial Division, vol 2, 1961.

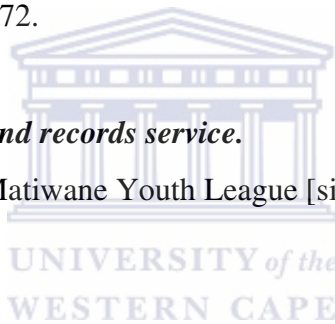
South African Law Reports, Decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa, Natal Provincial Division, vol 3, 1967.

South African Law Reports, Decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa, Natal Provincial Division, vol 1, 1972.

(x) *Western Cape Archives and records service.*

Objectionable object. DGO Matiwane Youth League [sic].

P/83/4/133.



B: Private Collections: documents in possession of family and private individuals

(i) *Beatrice Thandiwe Mbanjwa, personal collection.*

Biography of Beatrice Thandiwe Mbanjwa, Wembezi, Undated.

Affidavits confirming political activities of Beatrice Thandiwe Mbanjwa by Mandlenkosi Paul Mkhize, Wembezi, 14 December 2010 and Bhekabathembu Phenius Vilakazi, Wembezi, 14 December 2010.

Copy of a photograph of Khwezi Advisory Board members, 1956, and miscellaneous photographs of politicians and political events.

(ii) *Mabongi Mtshali private collection.*

DCO Matiwane Museum: 'things which need to be considered'.

DCO Matiwane Memorial Project: Terms of reference for the project steering committee (PSC) for Matiwane Heritage Park (MHP) and tunnel farming.

Document compiled by Brian M. Mdletshe entitled, 'DCO Matiwane Autobiography research', n.d.

Document compiled by M.R. Mngadi, X.S. Sithole, M.P. Magwenyane and M.P. Ngubane titled the 'DCO Matiwane Project'.

Draft Service Level Agreement, 3 June 2010.

Handwritten transcripts of interviews with Anthony Xaba, Mr and Mrs Aubrey Nyembezi, Mrs Mbona, Matiwane family (Themba, Nsika and Sbongile), Khaba Mkhize and Jikijela Mkhize conducted by members of the DCO Matiwane Project team in 2005.

Minutes of the Project Steering Committee Meeting Number 3, DCO Matiwane Memorial Project, held at Pietermaritzburg, Department of Economic Development offices, on 8 December 2008 (including annexures: DCO Matiwane Memorial Project Sub-Project: Tunnel Farm, feasibility study and business planS and Sub-Project: Matiwane Heritage Park).

Minutes of the D.C.O. Matiwane Research Project, Pietermaritzburg, 7 December 2004.

Progress Report (hand written) compiled by DCO Matiwane Memorial Project, n.d.

(iii) Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane), family/personal collection.

Manuscript of D.C.O. Matiwane, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation and the Contemporary Problem of Apartheid Strappado* (unpublished and undated).

Family albums and photographs.

Miscellaneous papers.

2. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Bantu World.

Daily News.

Drum.

Echo (The Witness Echo).

Finweek.

Ilanga lase Natal.

Imvo Zabantsundu.

Inkanyiso yase Natal.

Inkululeko.

InkundlayaBantu.

Izwi lase Afrika.

The Estcourt Gazette.

The Natal Government Gazette

The Natal Witness or The Witness.

The Natal Witness Echo or The Witness Echo.

The Guardian.

Umsebenzi.

Umteteliwa Bantu.

3. INTERVIEWS

(i) Interviews conducted by Bongani Ndhlovu.

Interview with Dr May Mashego, Willowfontein, 26 April 2014.

Interview with Dr Zweli Mkhize, Cape Town, 24 July 2014.

Interview with Mr Mzi Mngadi, Pietermaritzburg, 17 June 2015.

Interview with Ms Mabongi Mtshali, Pietermaritzburg, 03 March 2014.

Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu, assisted by Thami Shange, with Mr Mazwi Msimang, Pietermaritzburg, 29 August 2013.

Interview by Bongani Ndhlovu, assisted by Ms Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane) with Ms Thandiwe Beatrice Mbanjwa (assisted by Mr Abednego Manyoni), Wembezi Township (Estcourt), 30 August 2013.

Interviews with Ms Phumzile Mvelase (née Matiwane), Estcourt, 17 January 2013; 30 August 2013; 2 April 2014; 30 October 2014; 15 January 2015.

Interviews with Mr Thami Shange at Willowfontein, 24 September 2013; 29 August 2013.

Interview with Mr Siphon Shezi, Rosebank, 29 August 2014.

Interview with Dr Mvuyo Tom, East London, 5 September 2013.

(ii) Interviews conducted by others.

Interview conducted by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane with Vina Chamane, n.p., n.d.

Interview conducted by Howard Barrell with Dikobe Martins, Johannesburg, 20 November 1990, resource hosted by the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory, www.nelsonmandela.org accessed on 28 February 2014.

Interview conducted by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane with members of the Matiwane family: Sibongile Mahlobo (nee Matiwane), Themba and Nsika, n.p., 18 January 2005.

Interview conducted by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane with ma Mkhize Mbona, n.p., n.d.

Interview conducted by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane with Khaba Mkhize, n.p., 19 January 2005.

Interview conducted by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane with Jikijela Mkhize, n.p., 6 January 2005.

Interview conducted by Vusi Mchunu with Zweli Mkhize (Dr.), Willowfontein resident, n.d.

Interview conducted by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane with Mkhari Mncwabe, n.p., 11 January 2005.

Interview conducted by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane with gogo Mshengu, n.p., n.d.

Interview conducted by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane with Aubrey Nyembezi, n.p., 12 February 2005.

Interview conducted by Vusi Mchunu with Bheki Nzimande, member of the Willowfontein Youth Organisation, an affiliate of the DCO Matiwane Youth Organisation

Interview conducted by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane with Jamludi Shange, n.p., 6 January 2005.

Interview conducted by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane with ma Ndlovu Sokhela, n.p., n.d.

Interview conducted by Mbhekiseni Magwenyane with Anton 'Mfenendala' Xaba, n.p., 12 January 2005.

4: CORRESPONDENCE AND DOCUMENTED COMMUNICATION WITH THE AUTHOR

Discussion between Bongani Ndhlovu and Khenani Makhoba, 29 March 2014.

Email communications between Bongani Ndhlovu and Dr May Mashego dated 1 May, 25 June, 24 September, 18 December 2014, and 24 February 2015.

Email communication between Bongani Ndhlovu and Mazwi Ngubane, 28 June 2015.

Email communications between Bongani Ndhlovu and Mr Siphoshezi dated 4 August, 5 August, 9 August, 19 August, 20 August, 27 August, 28 August, 29 August 2014 and 8 June 2015.

Discussion between Bongani Ndhlovu and Gillian Scott-Berning, Durban, 28 August 2013.
Email communications between Bongani Ndhlovu and Dr Mvuyo Tom dated 3 August, 10 August, 15 September, 1 October, 2 October 2013; 8 and 18 June 2015.

5. LEGISLATION AND CONVENTIONS

Cultural Institutions Act No. of 119 of 1998.

National Heritage Resources Act No. 25 of 1999.

Native Administration Bill of 1917.

Natives Land Act No. 27 of 1913.

Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, January 2008 (WHC 08/01), www.unesco.org/en/nominations.

6. WEBSITE AND ONLINE SOURCES

www.aaas.org, *Clearinghouse report*, AAAS Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility on Science and Human Rights, vol VII (1), accessed on 21 February 2015.

www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za, organisations present during the national launch of the United Democratic Front, Cape Town, 20 August 1983, accessed on 25 September 2013.

www.justice.gov.za/trc/decisions, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Amnesty Committee, Joel George Martins Applicant, accessed on 21 February 2015.

<http://www.justice.gov.za>, address by Mr Jeff Radebe, Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development during Dr Enos Sikhakhane Second Memorial Lecture, Pietermaritzburg, 5 December 2009, site accessed on 17 November 2014.

www.sabctrc.saha.org.za/documents/decisions/59139.htm, amnesty decision regarding the application of Joel George Martins, matter AM 6450/97, accessed on 25 September 2013 and www.sabctrc.saha.org.za/documents/amntrans/pinetown, accessed on 21 February 2015.

www.sahistory.org.za/people/mewa-ramgobin, Mewa Ramgobin, accessed on 18 May 2014.

www.nelsonmandela.org, interview conducted by Howard Barrell with Dikobe Martins, Johannesburg, 20 November 1990, compiled by Pdraig O'Malley, resource hosted by the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory, accessed on 28 February 2014.

www.nelsonmandela.org paper by Ciraj Rassool, 'Power, knowledge and the politics of public pasts', accessed on 15 May 2015.

www.publicworks.gov.za, Mr Jeff Radebe, Minister of Public Works, farewell address for Siphon Shezi, Director-General, Department of Public Works, 14 January 1999-accessed on 25 February 2015.

www.transport.gov.za/Home/MinistryofTransport/ProfileOfTheDeputyMinister.aspx, profile of Deputy Minister of Transport, Ms Lydia Sindisiwe Chikunga, accessed on 4 April 2015.

http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/REL/Christ/Black/Denis-P_August_1985_attack_on_Federal_Theological_Seminary.pdf, paper by Philippe Denis, 'The August 1985 attack on the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa', accessed on 25 September 2013.

www.ukzn.ac.za, Selby Msimang, 'Unzondelelo', accessed on 25 September 2013.

7. PUBLISHED ARTICLES IN JOURNALS

Blake Casey Nelson, 'The Usable Past, the Comfortable Past, and the Civic Past: Memory in Contemporary America', *Cultural Anthropology*, 14 (3), 1999.

Bloch Robin, 'The High Cost of Living: The Port Elizabeth Disturbances of October 1920', *Africa Perspectives*, 19, 1981.

Bonner Philip, 'The Decline and Fall of the ICU – A Case of Self Destruction', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 1 (6), September-October 1974.

Bourdieu Pierre, 'The Biographical Illusion', *Working Papers and Proceedings of the Centre for Social Studies*, no. 14, 1987 (Chicago Center for Psychosocial studies).

Bourdieu Pierre, 'Systems of education and systems of thought', *Social Science Information*, 14 (3), 1967.

Bradford Helen, 'Mass Movements and the Petty-Bourgeoisie: The Social Origins of the ICU Leadership', *Journal of African History*, 25, 1984.

Breckenridge Keith, 'Verwoerd's Bureau of Proof: Total Information in the Making of Apartheid', *History Workshop Journal*, 59, 2005.

Brizuela-Garcia Esperanza, 'The Past Never Stays Behind: Biographical Narrative and African Colonial History', *Journal of Historical Biography*, 2, 2007.

Cook Robert, 'Awake, the Beloved Country: A Comparative Perspective on the Visionary Leadership of Martin Luther King and Albert Lutuli', *South African Historical Journal*, 36, May 1997.

Cope Nicholas, 'The Zulu Petit Bourgeoisie and Zulu Nationalism in the 1920s: Origins of Inkatha', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 16 (3), 1990.

Dhupelia-Mestrie Uma, 'The Form, the Permit and the Photograph: An Archive of Mobility Between South Africa and India', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 46 (6), 2011.

- Edwards Elizabeth, 'Photographs and the Sound of History', *Visual Anthropology Review*, 21, 2005.
- Haasbroek Johann, 'The Native Advisory Board of Bloemfontein, 1913-1923', *Navorsing van die Nasionale Museum, Bloemfontein*, 19 (1), 2003.
- Hamilton Carolyn, 'Against the Museum as a Chameleon', *South African Historical Journal*, 31, 1994.
- Harries Patrick, 'Missionaries, Marxists and Magic: Power and the Politics of Literacy in South-East Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27 (3), 2001.
- Haswell Robert, 'Themba Harry Gwala (1920-1995)', *Natalia*, 25, 1995.
- Hayes Patricia, 'Introduction: Visual Genders', *Gender & History*, 17 (3), 2005.
- Hirson Baruch, 'The Dualism of I.B. Tabata', *Searchlight South Africa*, 2 (2), January 1991.
- Hyslop Jonathan, 'On Biography: A Response to Ciraj Rassool', *South African Review of Sociology*, 41 (2), 2010.
- Kagee Ashraf and Price Joseph L., 'Apartheid in South Africa: Toward a Model of Psychological Intervention', *Journal of Black Studies*, 25 (6), 1995.
- King Kenneth, 'James E.K. Aggrey: Collaborator, Nationalist, Pan Africanist', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, V (3), 1970.
- Kros Cynthia, 'Farewell to the Middle Style? Reflections on *The Seed is Mine*', *South African Historical Journal*, 37, 1997.
- Kros Cynthia, 'New Culture of Control?', *South African Historical Journal*, 27, 1992.
- Lalu Premesh, 'Sara's Suicide: History and the representational limit', *Kronos*, 26, 2000.
- Legassick Martin, 'The State, Racism and the Rise of Capitalism in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony', *South African Historical Journal*, vol 28, 1993.
- Liddington Jill, 'What is Public History?: Publics and Their Past, Meanings and Practices', *Oral History*, 30 (1), 2002.
- Martin Raymond, 'Objectivity and meaning in historical studies: Towards a post-analytical view', *History and Theory*, 32(1), 1993.
- Meer Fatima M., 'The Natal Indian Congress, 1972', *Reality: A Journal of Liberal and Radical Opinion*, 4, July 1972.
- Minkley Gary, 'A fragile inheritor': The post-apartheid memorial complex, A.C. Jordan and the re-imagining of cultural heritage in the Eastern Cape', *Kronos*, 34 (1), November 2008.
- Mohlamme J.S., 'Soldiers Without Reward: Africans in South Africa's Wars', *Military History Journal*, 10 (1), 1995.

- Moore Alison M., 'History, Memory and Trauma in Photography of the Tondues: Visuality of the Vichy Past Through the Silent Images of Women', *Gender & History*, 17 (3), 2005.
- Nanda Serena, 'South African Museums and the Creation of a New National Identity', *American Anthropologist*, 106 (2), 2004.
- Newman Andrew, Mclean Fiona and Urquhart Gordon, 'Museums and the Active Citizen: Tackling the Problems of Social Exclusion', *Citizenship Studies*, 9 (1), 2005.
- Nussbaum Martha, 'Women's Capabilities and Social Justice', *Journal of Human Development*, 1 (2), 2000.
- Omar Rooksana, 'Challenges of Diversity in South African Museums', *Museum International*, 57 (3), 2005.
- Phillips M., 'Absolute objectivity the ideal; perspectivism the reality', *Kleio XXVIII*, 1996.
- Pohlandt-McCormick Helena, "I Saw a Nightmare...": Violence and the construction of memory (Soweto, June 16, 1976), *History and Theory*, 39, December 2000.
- Rassool Ciraj, 'Rethinking Documentary History and South African Political Biography', *South African Review of Sociology*, 41 (1), 2010.
- Rassool Ciraj, 'Challenges of Rethinking South African Political Biography: A reply to Jonathan Hyslop', *South African Review of Sociology*, 41 (2), 2010.
- Rassool Ciraj and Witz Leslie, 'The 1952 Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival: Constructing and Contesting Public National History in South Africa', *Journal of African History*, 34, 1993.
- Rodéhn Cecilia, 'Performing the Transformation: A Study of the Staging of Selected Exhibitions at the KwaZulu-Natal Museum During the South African Transformation', *Journal of Art History*, April 2015.
- Rodéhn Cecilia, 'Thus our display will be honest but may be controversial': Exhibiting pre-history during the South African democratization process', *Nordisk Museologi*, 2, 2013.
- Saunders Christopher, 'Pixley Seme: Towards a Biography', *South African Historical Journal*, 25, 1991.
- Sithole Jabulani and Mkhize Sibongiseni, 'Truth or Lies?' Selective Memories, Images, and Representations of Chief Albert John Luthuli in Recent Political Discourses', *History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History*, December 2000.
- Solani Noel, 'The Saint of the Struggle: Deconstructing the Mandela Myth', *Kronos*, No 26, August 2000.
- Starfield Jane, 'Not Quite History: The Autobiographies of H. Selby Msimang and R.V. Selope Thema and the Writing of South African History', *Social Dynamics: A Journal of Social Sciences*, 14 (2), 1988.

- Turner Richard, 'Black Consciousness and White Liberals', *Reality: A Journal of Liberal and Radical Opinion*, 4 (3), July 1972.
- Twala Chitja, 'Winnie Mandela Banishment House in Brandford (Majwemasweu) – Its Historical Significance: 1977-1985', *South African Journal of Cultural History*, 22 (2), November 2008.
- Vale C.A., 'Ethnicity, political, religion and morality: The challenge of Apartheid', *Journal for Contemporary History*, 12 (3), December, 1987.
- Van Onselen Charles, 'Peasants Speak-The Reconstruction of a Rural Life from Oral Testimony: Critical Notes on the Methodology Employed in the Study of a Black South African Sharecropper', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 20 (3), 1993.
- William Brian, 'The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society and the South African Natives Land Act of 1913', *Journal of African History*, XX (1), 1979.
- White W.B., 'Passive Resistance in Natal, 1946-1948', *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, V, 1982.
- Witz Leslie and Rassool Ciraj, 'Making histories', *Kronos*, 34, 2008.
- Wolpe Harold, 'Capitalism and the cheap labour -power in South Africa: From segregation to apartheid', *Economy and Society*, 1(4), 1972.
- Wright John and Mazel Aron, 'Controlling the Past in the Museums of Natal and KwaZulu', *Critical Arts*, 5 (3), 1991.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

8. PUBLISHED BOOKS AND ARTICLES IN EDITED COLLECTIONS

- Alexander Peter, *Alan Paton: A Biography*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Alpers Svetlana, 'The Museum as a Way of Seeing', in Karp Ivan and Lavine Steven D. (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington and London: Smithsonian Books, 1991.
- Argyle John and Preston-Whyte Eleanor (eds.), *Social Systems and Traditions in Southern Africa: Essays of Eileen Krige*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Baskin Jeremy, *Striking Back: A History of Cosatu*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1991.
- Beinart William, *Twentieth Century South Africa*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Benson Mary, *Nelson Mandela: The Man and the Movement*, New York: W.W. Norton, 1986.
- Benjamin Anne (ed.), *Winnie Mandela: Part of My Soul Went with Him*, New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1985.
- Bennett Tony, *The Birth of the Museum: History, theory, politics*, London and New York: Routledge, 1995.

- Biko Steven Bantu, *I Write What I Like*, Johannesburg: Picador, 2009.
- Biko Steven Bantu, *Black Consciousness in South Africa*, New York: Random House, 1978.
- Bonner Philip, Delius Peter and Posel Debora (eds.), *Apartheid's Genesis, 1935-1962*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1993.
- Breckenridge Keith, 'Orality, Literacy & the Archive in the Making of Kas Maine', in Brown Duncan (ed.), *Oral Literature & Performance in Southern Africa*, Cape Town and Athens: David Philip Publishers and Ohio University Press, 1999.
- Brison Susan J., 'Trauma Narratives and the Remaking of the Self', in Bal Mieke, Crewe Jonathan and Spitzer Leo (eds.), *Acts of Memory: Cultural recall in the present*, Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999.
- Brookes Edgar H., *A South African Pilgrimage*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1977.
- Bundy Colin, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*, London: Heinemann, 1979.
- Bundy Colin, *Govan Mbeki: A Jacana Pocket Biography*, Sunnyside: Jacana Media, 2012.
- Bunting Brian, *Moses Kotane: South African Revolutionary, A Political Biography*, London: Inkululeko Publishers, 1975.
- Butler Anthony, *Cyril Ramaphosa*, Johannesburg: Jacana, 2007.
- Butler Jeffrey, Elphick Richard and Welsh David (eds.), *Democratic Liberalism in South Africa: Its History and Prospects*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1987.
- Caine Barbara, *Biography and History*, Basingstroke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Callinicos Luli, *The World that Made Mandela: A Heritage Trail*, Johannesburg: STE, 2000.
- Callinicos Luli, *Oliver Tambo: Beyond the Engeli Mountains*, Cape Town: David Phillip, 2004.
- Cardo Michael, *Opening Men's Eyes: Peter Brown and the Liberal Struggle for South Africa*, Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2010.
- Carton Benedict, *Blood from Your Children: The Colonial Origins of Generational Conflict in South Africa*, Charlottesville: Virginia University Press, 2000.
- Carton Benedict, Laband John and Sithole Jabulani (eds.), *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*, Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2009.
- Chanaiwa David, 'African Humanism in Southern Africa: The Utopian, Traditionalist and Colonialist Worlds of Mission-Educated Elites', in Mugomba A.T. and Nyaggah M. (eds), *Independence Without Freedom: The Political Economy of Colonial Education in Southern Africa*, Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1980.

- Changuion Louis and Steenkamp Bertus, *Disputed Land: The Historical Development of the South African Land Issue, 1652-2011*, Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2012.
- Chartier Roger, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, Oxford: Polity Press, 1988.
- Cimbala Paul A. and Hummelberg Robert F., (eds.), *Historians and Race: Autobiography and the Writing of History*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.
- Clingman Stephen, *Bram Fischer: Afrikaner Revolutionary*, Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1998.
- Cobley Alan, *Class and Consciousness: The Black Petty Bourgeoisie in South Africa, 1924-1950*, New York: Greenwood, 1990.
- Cohen David William, *The Combing of History*, London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Comaroff Jean and Comaroff John, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*, Volume one, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Comaroff Jean and Comaroff John (eds.), *Law and Disorder in the Postcolony*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Cope Nicholas, *To Bind the Nation: Solomon kaDinuzulu and Zulu Nationalism, 1913-1933*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1993.
- Couper Scott, *Albert Luthuli: Bound by Faith*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2010.
- Crais Clifton, *White supremacy and black resistance in pre-industrial South Africa: The making of the colonial order in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Deacon Harriet, 'Remembering Tragedy, Constructing Modernity: Robben Island as a National Monument', in Coetzee Carli and Nuttal Sarah (eds.), *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Deane Dee Shirley, *Black South Africans: A Who's Who, 57 Profiles of Natal's Leading Blacks*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Depelchin Jacques, *Silences in African History: Between the Syndromes of Discovery and Abolition*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki Na Nyota, 2005.
- Deutschmann David, 'Introduction to the second edition' and 'Chronology', in Deutschmann David (ed.), *Che Guevara Reader: Writings on Politics and Revolution – Ernesto Che Guevara*, Johannesburg: African Perspectives, 2003.
- Drew Allison (ed.), *South Africa's Radical Tradition: A Documentary History*, Volume one: 1907-1950, Cape Town: UCT Press, 1996.

- Drew Allison (ed.), *South Africa's Radical Tradition: A Documentary History*, Volume two: 1943-1964, Cape Town: UCT Press, 1997.
- Drew Allison, *Between Empire and Revolution: A Life of Sydney Bunting, 1873-1936*, London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007.
- Duminy Andrew Hadley and Guest William Rupert, *A History of Natal and Zululand: From the Earliest Times to 1910*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1989.
- Etherington Norman (ed.), *Missions and Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Erikson Erik Homburger, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Non-violence*, New York: Norton, 1969.
- Evans Ivan Thomas, *Bureaucracy and Race: Native Administration in South Africa*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Everatt David, *The Origins of Non-Racialism: White Opposition to Apartheid in the 1950s*, Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009.
- Eybers G.W. (ed.), *Select Constitutional Documents Illustrating South African History, 1795-1910*, London: George Routledge, 1918.
- Fanon Frantz, 'The Fact of Blackness', in Back Les and Solomos John (eds.), *Theories of Race and Racism*, London and New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Feit Edward, *African Opposition in South Africa: The Failure of Passive Resistance*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967.
- Field Roger, 'Alex La Guma: A Literary & Political Biography', Johannesburg: Jacana, 2010.
- Foucault Michel (translated by Smith A.M. Sheridan), *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.
- Fraser Nancy, 'Politics, Culture, and the Public Sphere: Toward a Postmodern Conception', in Nicholson Linda and Seidman Steven (eds.), *Social Postmodernism: Beyond Identity Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Fugard Athol, Kani John and Ntshona Winston, *Sizwe Banzi is Dead and The Island*, New York: Viking Press, 1976.
- Fullard Madeleine, 'State repression in the 1960s', in South African Democracy Education Trust, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, Volume 1: 1960-1970, Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2004.
- Fuze Magma, *The Black People and Whence they Came*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1979.
- Gerhart Gail, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.
- Gevisser Mark, *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred*, Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2007.

- Giliomee Hermann, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers, 2004.
- Golan Dafnah, *Inventing Shaka: Using History in the Construction of Zulu Nationalism*, London: Lynne Rienner, 1994.
- Goosen Willem, *On The Run*, London: Howard Timmins, 1964.
- Gordin Jeremy, *Zuma: A Biography*, Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2008.
- Gordon Ruth, *The Place of the Elephant: A History of Pietermaritzburg*, Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1981.
- Gramsci Antonio, 'The formation of the Intellectuals' in Hoare Quentin and Smith Geoffrey Nowell (eds.), *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, London: University Printing House, 1971.
- Graybill Lyn S., *Religion and Resistance Politics in South Africa*, Cape Town: Praeger Publishers, 1995.
- Gros Frédéric, Ewald François and Fontana Alessandro (eds.), *Michel Foucault: The Courage of the Truth (The Government of Self and Others II)*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Guy Jeff, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: The Civil war in Zululand, 1879-1884*, London: Longman, 1979.
- Guy Jeff, *The Heretic: A Study of the Life of John William Colenso, 1814-1883*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983.
- Habermas Jürgen, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989.
- Hamilton Carolyn, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Harvey Ebrahim, *Kgalema Motlanthe: A Political Biography*, Johannesburg: Jacana, 2012.
- Hayes Patricia, 'The Famine of Dams': Gender, Labour and Politics in Colonial Ovamboland, 1929 -1930', in Hayes Patricia, Silvester Jeremy, Wallace Marion and Hartmann Wolfram (eds.), *Namibia Under South African Rule: Mobility and Containment, 1915- 46*, Oxford, Windhoek and Athens: James Currey, Out of Africa and Ohio University Press, 1998.
- Heard Kenneth A., *General Elections in South Africa, 1943-1970*, London: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Hellman Ellen, *The South African Institute of Race Relations, 1929-1979*, Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1979.
- Hendricks Cheryl and Lushaba Lwazi (eds.), *From National Liberation to Democratic Renaissance in Southern Africa*, Senegal: CODESRIA, 2005.
- Henige David, *Oral Historiography*, London: Longman, 1982.

- Herwitz Daniel, *Heritage, Culture, and Politics in the Postcolony*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Herwitz Daniel, 'Heritage and Legacy in the South African State University', in Peterson Derek R., Gavua Kodzo and Rassool Ciraj (eds.), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories and Infrastructures*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Higgs Catherine, *The Ghost of Equality: The Public Lives of D.D.T. Jabavu of South Africa, 1885-1959*, Cape Town, David Philips, 1997.
- Hill Robert and Pirio Gregory, 'Africa for the Africans': The Garvey Movement in South Africa, 1920-1940', in Marks S. and Trapido S. (eds.), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*, London: Longman, 1987.
- Hindson Douglas, *Pass Controls and the Urban African Proletariat*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987.
- Hirson Baruch, *Yours for the Union: Class and Community Struggles in South Africa, 1930-1947*, Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1989.
- Hoare Quentin and Smith Geoffrey Nowell (eds.), *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, London: ElecBook, 1999.
- Hoernle Alfred, *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit*, Cape Town: UCT Press, 1939.
- Hofmeyr Isabel, "We spend our years as a tale that is told": *Oral Historical Narratives in a South African Chieftdom*, Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1993.
- Holden William Clifford, *The Past and Future of the Native Races*, Cape Town: C. Struik, 1963.
- Holub Robert C., *Jürgen Habermas: Critic in the Public Sphere*, London and New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Holland Heidi, *The Struggle: A History of the African National Congress*, London: Grafton, 1989.
- Homburger Eric and Charmley John (eds.), *The Troubled Face of Biography*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988.
- Horrell Muriel, *Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa, 1948-1976*, Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1975.
- Hudson Kenneth, 'How Misleading Does an Ethnographical Museums Have to Be?', in Karp Ivan and Lavine Steven D. (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington and London: Smithsonian Books, 1991.
- Hughes Heather, *First President: A life of John. L. Dube, first president of the ANC*, Johannesburg: Jacana, 2011.
- Hutch R.A., *The Meaning of Lives: Biography, Autobiography, and the Spiritual Quest*, London: Cassell, 1997.

- Jeffrey Anthea, *The Natal Story: 16 Years of Conflict*, Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1997.
- Jeppie Shamil, 'Africa: Whose history? Whose memory?', in Jeppie Shamil (ed.), *Towards New Histories for South Africa: On the place of the past in our present*, Lansdowne: Juta Gariiep, 2004.
- Joseph Helen, *If this be Treason*, Johannesburg: Contra, 1998.
- Juckes Tim J., *Opposition in South Africa: The Leadership of Z.K. Matthews, Nelson Mandela and Stephen Biko*, Cape Town: Praeger Publishers, 1995.
- Kadalie Clements, *My Life and the ICU: The Autobiography of a Black Trade Unionist in South Africa*, London: Cass, 1970.
- Kane-Berman John, *Soweto: Black Revolt, White Reaction*, London: Ravan Press, 1978.
- Karis Thomas and Carter Gwendoline Margaret (eds.), *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1990*, Vols. 1-5, Stanford: Hoover, 1972, 1973, 1977, 1977, and Pretoria: UNISA Press, 1997, and Johannesburg: Jacana, 2013.
- Keegan Timothy, *Facing the Storm: Portraits of Black Lives in Rural South Africa*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1988.
- Kepe Thembela and Ntsebeza Lungisile (eds.), *Rural Resistance in South Africa: The Mpondo Revolt after 50 years*, Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Kohli M., 'Biography: Account, Text, Method', in Bertaux Daniel (ed.), *Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences*, London: Sage, 1981.
- Kopytoff Igor, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in Appadurai Arjun (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspectives*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Kuper Leo, *An African Bourgeoisie: Race, Class and Politics in South Africa*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.
- La Hausse de Lalouvière Paul, *Restless Identities: Signatures of Nationalism, Zulu Ethnicity and History in the Lives of Petros Lamula (c. 1881-1948) and Lymon Maling (1889-c.1936)*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000.
- Laband John, *Rope of Sand: The rise and the fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the nineteenth century*, Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1995.
- Laband John and Haswell Rob (eds.), *Pietermaritzburg 1838-1988: A New Portrait of an African City*, Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1988.
- Lalu Premesh, *The Death of Hintsha: Postapartheid South Africa and the Shape of the Recurring Pasts*, Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2009.
- Lambert John, *Betrayed Trust: Africans and the State in Colonial Natal*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995.

- Langness Lewis L. and Frank Gelya, *Lives: An Anthropological Approach to Biography* Novato: Chandler & Sharp, 1986.
- Lazerson Joshua N., *Against the Tide: Whites in the Struggle Against Apartheid*, Bellville: Mayibuye, 1994.
- Lavine Steven D. (ed.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Displays*, Washington: Smithsonian Books, 1991.
- Legassick Martin, *The Politics of the South African Frontier: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and Missionaries, 1780-1840*, Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographen, 2010.
- Legassick Martin, 'South Africa: Forced Labor, Industrialization, and Racial Differentiation' in Harris Richard (ed.), *The Political Economy of Africa*, New York: Schenkman Publishing, 1975.
- Legassick Martin, *Towards Socialist Democracy*, Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007.
- Lewsen Phyliss, 'Not Free to Desist', in Lee Robin *Values Alive: A Tribute to Helen Suzman*, Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1990.
- Liebenberg B.J., 'The National Party in Power, 1948-1961', in Muller C.F.J. (ed.), *Five Hundred Years: A History of South Africa*, Pretoria: Academia, 1981.
- Limb Peter (ed.), *A.B. Xuma: Autobiography and Selected Works*, Paarl: Van Riebeeck Society, 2012.
- Lindauer Margaret A., *Devouring Frida: The Art History and Popular Celebrity of Frida Kahlo*, Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 1999.
- Lodge Tom, *Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1990.
- Logasa Hannah, *Biography in Collections*, New York: H.W. Wilson, 1937.
- Lowenthal David, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Luthuli Albert John, *Let My People Go: An Autobiography of a Great South African Leader*, London: Collins, 1962.
- Magubane Bernard M., *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979.
- Mamdani Mahmood, *Citizen and Subject*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Mandela Nelson, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*, London: Little Brown, 1994.
- Mangu Xolelwa, *Biko: A Biography*, Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2012.
- Mare Gerhard, *The Durban Strikes, 1973: Human Beings with Souls*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1974.

- Mare Gerhard, *Ethnicity and Politics in South Africa*, London: Zed, 1993.
- Marks Shula, *Reluctant Rebellion: The 1906-1908 Disturbances in Natal*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.
- Marks Shula, *The Ambiguities of Dependence: Class, Nationalism and the State in Twentieth Century Natal*, London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1986.
- Marks Shula and Trapido Stanley, 'The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism', in Marks Shula and Trapido Stanley (eds.), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*, London and New York: Longman, 1987.
- Marx Gary T., 'Identity and Anonymity: Some Conceptual Distinction and Issues for Research', in Caplan Jane and Torpey John (eds.), *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Mashaba Herman and Morris Isabella, *Black Like You-Herman Mashaba: An Autobiography*, Johannesburg: MM Emedia, 2012.
- Maylam Paul, *South Africa's Racial Past: The History and Historiography of Racism, Segregation, and Apartheid*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- Mbembe Achille, 'The power of the archive and its limits', in Hamilton Carolyn, Harris Verne, Taylor Jane, Pickover Michele, Reid Graeme and Saleh Razia (eds.), *Reconfiguring the Archive*, Cape Town: David Philip, 2002.
- Meer Fatima, *Higher than Hope: Mandela, the Biography*, Durban: Madiba Publishers, 1989.
- Merrett Christopher, *A Culture of Censorship: Secrecy and Intellectual Repression in South Africa*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1994.
- Minkley Gary and Mnyaka Phindezwa, 'Seeing Beyond the Official and the Vernacular: The Duncan Village Massacre Memorial and the Politics of Heritage in South Africa', in Peterson Derek R., Gavua Kodzo and Rassool Ciraj (eds.), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories and Infrastructure*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Mnguni [Hosea Jaffe], *Three Hundred Years*, Pietermaritzburg: APDUSA, 1988.
- Mokgatle Naboth, *The Autobiography of an Unknown South African*, Parklands: AD Donker, 1971.
- Morrell Robert (ed.), *Political Economy and Identities in KwaZulu-Natal: Historical and Social Perspectives*, Durban: Indicator Press, 1996.
- Morris-Suzuki Tessa, *The Past Within Us: Media, Memory and History*, London: Verso, 2005.
- Morton Barry, *The Making of a President: A Biography of Sir Ketumile Masire*, Gaborone: Pula, 1996.

- Mothlabi Mokgethi, *The Theory and Practice of Black Resistance to Apartheid*, Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1987.
- Muller C.F.J. (ed.), *Five Hundred Years: A History of South Africa*, Pretoria: Academia, 1988.
- Murray Noëleen and Witz Leslie, *hostels, homes, museums: memorialising migrant labour pasts in Lwandle, South Africa*, Cape Town: UCT Press, 2014.
- Mzala [Jabulani Nxumalo], *Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda*, London: Zed, 1988.
- Nuttall Sarah and Coetzee Carli (eds.), *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Odendaal André, *The Founders: The Origins of the ANC and the Struggle for Democracy in South Africa*, Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2012.
- Odendaal André, *Vukani Bantul!: The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1984.
- Omar Rooksana, Ndhlovu Bongani, Gibson Laura, Vawda Shahid (eds.), *Museums and the Idea of Historical Progress*, Cape Town: Iziko Museums, 2014.
- Omer-Cooper J.D., *History of Southern Africa*, London: James Currey, 1987.
- O'Meara Dan, *Forty lost years: The Apartheid State and the politics of the National Party, 1948-1994*, Johannesburg: Ravan, 1996.
- O'Meara Dan, *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934-1948*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983.
- Pamuk Orhan, *The Museum of Innocence*, London: Faber and faber, 2009.
- Paton Alan, *Towards the Mountain: An Autobiography*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1980.
- Pheko Motsoko, *The Land Is Ours: The Political Legacy of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe*, New York: Pheko & Associates, 1994.
- Pillay Gerald, *Voices of Liberation: Albert Lutuli*, Vol. 1, Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1993.
- Plaatje Sol T., *Native Life in South Africa*, Northlands: Picador Africa, 2007.
- Pogrud Benjamin, *Robert Sobukwe: How Can a Man Die Better*, Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2006.
- Posel Deborah, 'The language of Domination, 1978-1983', in Marks Shula and Trapido Stanley (eds.), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*, London: Longman, 1987.
- Posel Deborah, *The Making of Apartheid, 1948-1961: Conflict and Compromise*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.

- Prakash Gyan, 'Postcolonial criticism and Indian historiography' in Nicholson Linda and Seidman Steven (eds.), *Social Postmodernism: Beyond Identity Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Preston P.W., *Political/Cultural Identity: Citizens and Nations in a Global Era*, London: Sage, 1997.
- Randolph John, 'On the Biography of the Bakuni Family Archive', in Burton A. (ed.), *Archive Stories: Facts, Fiction and the Writing of History*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Ranger Terence, 'The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa', in Hobsbawn Eric and Ranger Terence (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Rich Paul B., *State Power and Black Politics in South Africa, 1912-51*, London: Macmillan, 1996.
- Roberts Ronald Suresh, *Fit to Govern: The Native Intelligence of Thabo Mbeki*, Johannesburg: STE, 2007.
- Robertson Janet, *Liberalism in South Africa, 1948-1963*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Rose Nikolas, 'Identity, Genealogy, History', in Hall Stuart and Gay Paul du, (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: Sage, 1996.
- Roux Edward (ed.), *S.P. Bunting: A Political Biography*, Bellville: Mayibuye Publishers, 1993.
- Salkind Neil J., *An Introduction to Theories of Human Development*, London: Sage, 2004.
- Scanlon Helen, *Representation and Reality: Portraits of Women's Lives in the Western Cape 1948-1976*, Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2007.
- Scott James C., *Seeing Like A State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Scott Jennifer, *The Black Sash: A Case Study of Liberalism in South Africa, 1955-1990*, Wetherby: British Library Document Supply Centre, 1994.
- Seremetakis Nadia, 'The Memory of the Senses, Part I: Marks of the Transitory', in Seremetakis Nadia C., *The Senses Still: Perception as Material Culture in Modernity*, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Sibeon Roger, *Rethinking Social Theory*, London: Thousand Oaks, 2004.
- Silverstein Michael and Urban Greg, (eds.), *Natural Histories of Discourse*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Simons Jack and Simons Ray, *Class and Colour in South Africa, 1850-1950*, London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1983.

- Sisulu Eleanor, *Walter and Albertina Sisulu: In our lifetime*, Cape Town: David Philip, 2002.
- Sithole Jabulani, 'The ANC underground, armed actions and popular resistance in Pietermaritzburg and surrounding Natal Midlands townships', in SADET, *The Road To Democracy*, Vol. 4 (1980-1990), Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2010.
- Skota T.D. Mweli (ed.), *The African Yearly Register: Being an Illustrated National Biographical Dictionary (Who's Who) of Black Folks in Africa*, Johannesburg: Esson, 1932.
- Slovo Joe and Dolny Helena, *Slovo: The Unfinished Autobiography*, Randburg: Ravan Press, 1995.
- Smith Ken, *The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing*, Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 1988.
- Strangways-Booth Joanna, *A Cricket in the Thorn Tree: Helen Suzman and the Progressive Party*, Johannesburg: Hutchison of South Africa, 2000.
- Stoler Ann Laura, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance', in Hamilton Carolyn, Harris Verne, Taylor Jane, Pickover Michele, Reid Graeme and Saleh Razia (eds.), *Reconfiguring the archive*, Cape Town: David Philip, 2002.
- South African Democracy Education Trust, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa 1960-1970*, Volume 1, Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2004.
- South African Democracy Education Trust, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa 1970-1980*, Volume 2, Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2004.
- Suttner Raymond and Cronin Jeremy, *30 Years of the Freedom Charter*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986.
- Suzman Helen, *In No Uncertain Terms: Memoirs*, London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1993.
- Svensson, B., 'The power of Biography: Criminal Policy, Prison Life, and the Formation of Criminal Identities in the Swedish Welfare State', in Reed-Danahay D.E. (ed.), *Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social*, Berg: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Swanson Maynard (ed.), *The Views of Mahlathi: Writings of a Black South African*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1982.
- Thomas Keith (ed.), *Founders of Faith*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Tosh John, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, London and New York: Longman, 1991.
- Van Onselen Charles, *The Seed is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine, A South African Sharecropper, 1894-1985*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1996.
- Van Wyk Chris (ed.), *We Write What We Like: Celebrating Steve Biko*, Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2007.

Vansina Jan, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, London: Routledge, 1972.

Vansina Jan, *Oral Tradition as History*, London and Nairobi: James Currey and Heinemann, 1985.

Wa Thiong'o Ngugi, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, Nairobi and Portsmouth: James Currey and Heinemann, 1986.

Walker Cherry, *A Process of Dislocation: An Overview of Relocation in Natal*, Pietermaritzburg, AFRA, 1982.

Walshe Peter, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress 1912-1952*, London: University of California Press, 1982.

Webb C. de B. and Wright J.B. (eds.), *The James Stuart Archive of recorded oral evidence relating to the history of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1976.

Wells David, *The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Natal, 1845-1910*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Welsh David, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2010.

Witz Leslie, *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts*, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003.

Wildman Wesley J. 'Distributed Identity: Human Beings as Walking, Thinking Ecologies in the Microbial World', in Murphy Nancey and Knight Christopher C., *Human Identity at the Intersection of Science, Technology and Religion*, England and USA: Ashgate, 2010.

Willan Brian, *Sol Plaatje: A Biography*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1982.

Wolpe Harold, *Race, Class and the Apartheid State*, Paris: UNESCO Press, 1988.

Woodward Wendy, Hayes Patricia and Minkley Gary (eds.), *Deep hiStories: Gender and Colonialism in Southern Africa*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002.

Wright, H.M., *The burden of the present: Liberal-radical controversy over southern African history*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1980.

9. DISSERTATIONS AND THESES

Bhebhe Ngqabutho, 'Mobilisation, Conflict and Repression: The United Democratic Front and Political Struggles in the Pietermaritzburg region, 1983-1991', MA Thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1996.

Buthelezi Mbongiseni, '*Sifuna Umlando Wethu*' (We are looking for our History): Oral Literature and the Meanings of the Past in Postapartheid South Africa', Ph.D Dissertation, Columbia University, 2012.

Coullie J.E.L., 'Self, Life and Writing in Selected South African Autobiographical Texts', Ph.D Dissertation, University of Natal, 1994.

Harris Verne Sheldon, 'Land, Labour and Ideology: Government Land Policy and Relations between Africans and Whites on the Land in Northern Natal, 1910-1936', MA Thesis, University of Natal, 1984.

Forsyth Paul Donald Samuel, 'The past as the present: Chief A.N.M.G. Buthelezi's use of history as a source of political legitimation', MA Thesis, University of Natal, 1989.

La Hausse de Lalouviere Paul, 'Ethnicity and History in the Careers of two Zulu Nationalists: Petros Lamula (c. 1881-1948) and Lymon Maling (c.1889-1936)', Ph.D Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1992.

Mchunu Mxolisi, 'A History of Political Violence in KwaShange, Vulindlela district and of its effect on the memories of survivors (1987-2008)', Ph.D Dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2013.

Meintjes Sheila Marianne, 'Edendale 1850-1906: A Case Study of Rural Transformation and Class Formation in an African Mission in Natal', Ph.D Dissertation, University of London, 1988.

Mkhize Sibongiseni Mthokozisi, 'Contexts, Resistance Crowds and Mass Mobilisation: A Comparative Analysis of Anti-apartheid Politics in Pietermaritzburg During the 1950s and the 1980s', MA Thesis, University of Natal, 1998.

Mkhize Sibongiseni Mthokozisi, 'Class Consciousness, Non-racialism and Political Pragmatism: A Political Biography of Henry Selby Msimang, 1886-1982', Ph.D Dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, 2015.

Moloi Tshepo Cyril, 'Black Politics in Kroonstad: Political Mobilisation, Protests, Local Government and Generational Struggles, 1976-1995', Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Witwatersrand, 2012.

Ndlovu Sifiso Mxolisi, 'The Changing African Perceptions of King Dingane in Historical Literature: A Case Study in the Construction of Historical Knowledge in 19th and 20th Century South African History', Ph.D Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2001.

Ntuli Sipho, 'From socio-political violence (1985-1997) to community and economic development: Analysis of Richmond, KwaZulu-Natal. A Pan-African centred perspective approach', Ph.D Dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2003.

Pohlandt-McCormick Helena, "I Saw a Nightmare..." Doing Violence to Memory: The Soweto Uprising, June 16, 1976, Ph.D Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1999.

Rassool Ciraj Shahid, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa', Ph.D Dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 2004.

Sambureni Nelson Tozivaripi, 'The Apartheid City and its Labouring Class: African Workers and the Independent Trade Union Movement in Durban, 1959-1985', D. Litt, University of South Africa, 1997.

Simakole Brutus Mulilo, 'Political Auto/biography, Nationalist History and National Heritage: The case of Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia', M.A Mini Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2012.

Solani Noel Lungilezwelidumile, 'The Auto/biography of the liberation struggle and the public representation of its memory and heritage: 1998 to 2008', D. Lit Et Phil, University of Fort Hare, 2013.

Thale Thomas Rapelang, 'Activism and Narration: Construction of Self in Working-class Autobiography', Ph.D Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2000.

Tichmann Paul, 'African Worker Action in Durban, 1940-1960', MA Thesis, University of Natal, 1983.

10. CONFERENCE AND WORKSHOP PAPERS, UNPUBLISHED ARTICLES AND MANUSCRIPTS

Bonner Phillip and Nieftagodien Noor, 'Local truths in Kathorus', paper presented at the Wits History Workshop, 11-14 June 1999.

Breckenridge Keith, 'Confounding the Documentary State: Cape Workers' Letters on the Early Witwatersrand', paper presented at the History and African Studies Seminar, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, 30 May 2000.

Clingman Stephen, 'Biography and Representation: Some Analogies from Fiction', paper presented at the History Workshop Conference, University of Witwatersrand, February 1987.

Hayes Patricia, 'Bone Narratives: Preliminary Notes/Visuals on South Africa's Colonisation of Northern Namibia, 1915-1920s', paper presented at 'The Future of the Past' conference, University of the Western Cape, 10-12 July 1996.

Human Sciences Research Council, 'Unsung Heroes and Heroines of the Liberation Struggle: Draft Report on the liberation struggle and liberation heritage sites, June 2013.

Legêne Susan, 'Powerful Ideals - Museums, Empire Utopias and Connected Worlds', paper presented at the ICMAH and COMCOL Conference, titled 'Museums and the Idea of Historical Progress', held at Iziko South African Museum, 6-9 November 2012.

Matiwane David Cecil Oxford, *A Treatise of Black Victimisation and the Contemporary Problem of Apartheid Strappado* (unpublished and undated).

Mthethwa Nathi, Keynote address delivered by Minister of Arts and Culture at the occasion of the opening of the Heritage Consultative meeting at Freedom Park, Pretoria, 17 April 2015.

Purkey Colin and Witz Leslie, 'The Horse that made it all the way: Towards a political biography of Issie Heymann', paper presented at the History Workshop Conference, University of Witwatersrand, 6-10 February 1990.