



Pass protest march from Langa to Caledon Square, Cape Town in 1960 (Independent Newspapers).

LANGA ORAL HISTORY STUDIES :
COLLATED HERITAGE AUDITS
CULTURAL HERITAGE STRATEGY FOR THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN



Independent newspapers/Trace images. Aerial view of the Langa Barracks with the Temporary Reception Depot - the Nissen huts - in the foreground. These were later pulled down and the new flats erected here.

For: City of Cape Town
ENVIRONMENTAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT DEPARTMENT
Environmental & Heritage Management Branch: Heritage Resources Section

CITY OF CAPE TOWN
HERITAGE RESOURCES SECTION, E.R.M.D
Oral History of Langa

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PART 1

FINAL RESEARCH REPORT

**BEYOND THE WALLS: SITES AND STORIES IN
LANGA**

A Pilot Oral History Research Project Report

Heritage Resources Section

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1. Introduction

So all your life you are angry and you build a wall inside, that place where if a white person humiliates you, when they hit the wall, you explode. It's something even today that when I look at that wall I can't take it down yet because it has protected me for 53 years of my life. I have learned to fight because of that wall. It has been the point for me that when a white person reaches that line, then you tell him off, you tell him where to get off. It has a lot to do with trust. Can I trust a white person to see me as a human? Being? Then I can lower the wall. Maybe it's like that for white people too? I don't know, but I know that every black person has that wall inside (Ms. F. Dike).

These feelings and thoughts are profound and they need to be heard and understood. At first it might seem like this passage has more to do with psychology and little to do with an oral history project commissioned by a Heritage Resources Section. However, this report argues that it is precisely the experiences and memories of black residents that are crucial to the Recording the oral histories of sites in Langa and to the identification and conservation of these sites. Bluntly put, conservation work cannot simply be about the taking care of buildings, objects and sites. Furthermore, if South African site conservation work is to be transformed it cannot only be about Identifying more black heritage sites. We (as heritage practitioners) also need to integrate people's concerns and memories into our conservation work. The Central guide question for this report is, how can we identify, conserve and Represent heritage sites in Langa in a meaningful way to multiple audiences?

This report is based on a pilot oral history project, which consists of 20 in-depth oral history interviews conducted with Langa residents. One of the many motivations for this pilot oral history study is the fact that oral history Recordings of people's stories of sites is vastly under-utilised, not just in Langa, but in South Africa. The broad reason for this research gap is that on The one hand, conservation practitioners until recently tended not to use oral History techniques, and on the other hand, academic historians (including oral Historians) tended to not conduct research on sites and spatial memories.

The report details the research process; a selection of the best stories relating to the identified sites; guidelines to interpreting and presenting sites; and recommendations. In general terms, I will argue that conserving heritage sites in Langa requires a sensitive approach to complex issues of popular memory, trauma, space and forms of memorialisation. Simply put, we need to think beyond the physical walls and boundaries of sites and beyond the Conceptual walls of our paradigms. This is essential if we are to move beyond the psychological walls inside South Africans and make meaningful Connections between sites and people, and between the different local residents who have memories of these sites.

2. The Research Process

The Heritage Resources Section and I initially discussed this project in late 2001 and project Parameters were clarified in February 2002. The initial identification of heritage sites in Langa occurred through a consultative process by the Langa Heritage Reference Group. The oral history project explored how meaningful these sites are to a pilot group of Langa residents. In part, the oral history project also contributed to confirming the site identifications made by the reference group. In late February work on the Oral history project commenced.

2.1 Interview Guide:

Based on the draft report of the consultant, Ms. Megan Anderson, conducting the desktop study of documentary sources on Langa, I first wrote up a draft oral history interview guide. Oral history

projects generally do not use structured questionnaires but rather use a semi-structured interview guide. The draft guide was then commented on by Ms Bridget O'Donoghue and Ms Megan Anderson and completed by early March. The detailed interview guide came to 12 (double-spaced) pages and is attached as Appendix B. In practice, the guide proved to be too long for the Purposes of single session oral history interviews, but in other respects it served its purpose well.

Its purpose was to initially obtain a life story context of the individual Interview, for two crucial reasons: firstly, as a way of developing a more Intimate relationship with the person before asking the more direct questions about sites. Secondly, a life story overview provides a better form of personalised and historical contextualisation. The bulk of the guide questions and the off-the-cuff questions asked in the interviews then explored specific issues about the sites that the Heritage Reference Group had identified.

2.2 Selecting Interviewees:

A list of potential interviewees was obtained from the Heritage Reference Group and more were found through the advice of other informants. We were initially aiming for 25 (approximately 90 minute) Interviews, but given that most interviews went far over 90 minutes, only 20 were conducted. 20 detailed interviews for a pilot oral history project is more than sufficient. A list of the actual 20 interviewees is attached as Appendix a. As concerns the different interview variables, the age, gender and length of stay in Langa were the most important for this project.

As most of the sites related to earlier periods in Langa's history it made logical sense to interview mainly older residents but some younger residents were included. In age terms, the interviewee spread was perfect:

- 5 were born in the 1920s
- 5 were born in the 1930s
- 5 were born in the 1940s
- 2 were born in the 1950s
- 2 were born in the 1960s
- 1 was born in the 1970s

As concerns gender, 10 men were interviewed and 9 women were interviewed. The 20th interview was a group interview with a husband and wife, which for simplicity purposes I am counting as one interview. For gender purposes, the spread were near perfect.

As concerns length of stay in Langa, of the original 20 interviewees, 14 interviewees have been living in Langa for more than 40 years. And 18 of the 20 interviewees have lived in Langa for more than 20 years. As concerns the other two interviewees, one person has lived in Langa for 17 years and the other has 10 years residence but he has managed a shop in Langa for over 40 years.

As concerns political beliefs there is an even spread of PAC, ANC and Black Consciousness people amongst the interviewees. There is also a useful mixed spread of professions such as shopkeepers, teachers, domestic workers, housewives, political officials and NGO workers. Several of the interviewees were or are still active in music, theatre and sporting activities in Langa.

In my view, the interview spread is near perfect for this pilot project, the only problem is the lack of migrant worker interviewees. Only one actual migrant worker was interviewed. However, another interviewee was the son of a migrant worker, who lived in several hostels for most of his childhood years.

While concerted efforts were made to locate migrant worker interviewees these were not successful. Nevertheless, as can be seen below, there was much commentary about the barracks from different residents who interacted with migrant workers on a frequent basis.

2.3 Fieldwork Experiences:

The interviews were tape-recorded and were conducted from late March through to the 1st week of May 2002. 16 of the interviews were conducted in people's homes and the other 4 were at the interviewee's work address. The fieldwork experience was generally absorbing and successful. 19 of the 20 interviews were longer than 90 minutes and the majority were in the 100 -120 minute range. Despite language and cultural differences, in most cases interviewees were quite willing to talk at a length. In fact, the times above are recording times and do not indicate off-the-tape discussions.

As is commonly the case in the South Africa context, during the initial stages of the interview, interviewees felt some cautiousness by being interviewed by a white male. However, once the interviewee senses the interviewer is a sensitive listener, he or she usually begins to open-up more. Sadly, in the context of rarely being listened to or taken seriously it is usually people's strong desire to tell their story that propels them into telling stories. This is confirmed by the fact that several interviewees either cried or were close to tears during the interviews. The different degrees of sadness and hurt that emerged during the interview were indicative of the evocative nature of people's lives and the significance of particular sites (see discussion below in interpretation section). All the interviewees expressed a passionate commitment to Langa, its history and its people, and this commitment was perhaps the central reason why these interviews were successful.

This passion is encapsulated in the words of the famous Langa playwright Ms. Fatima Dike, who wrote the following poem while studying in the USA:

"Langa my Love"

I was born in this township.

I grew up on this street

There are ten houses on this block

Joined like railway carriages

There are roses and carriages

Apple trees and peach

Long red stoeps

That run from the verandas to the gates

Like long red tongues

Stuck out at something

Or someone

We played this potholed street into the ground

When it rained

Gasoline water would fill the potholes

With delicate rainbows we would crush them with our bare feet

Spreading the puddles far and wide

(Extract from a poem by Ms. F. Dike)

3. Site-Stories in Langa

This section provides a selection of the best stories about particular sites or events in Langa. I have selected a minimum of one quote from each of the interviews, but in most cases I have drawn several quotes from the individual testimonies. For readers who wish to read the full transcripts or listen to the tapes, these can be accessed through the Centre for Popular Memory at the University of Cape Town. The Sub-sections below are primarily a schematic presentation of people's stories clustered around particular themes. Some tentative interpretations are provided, but these site-stories are open to multiple interpretations depending on the reader/listener's own paradigm. There are several gaps, which partly relates to time constraints and the fact that this was only a pilot project. For example, there are many short references to churches in the interviews but no striking stories emerge on these historically significant sites. An oral history study on the churches in Langa could be a major study in its own right. Nevertheless, this selection of stories provides a vivid sense of life in Langa and the meanings these sites have for people.

3.1 The early landscape:

The first wave of Langa residents who came to Langa from Ndabeni in the period 1927 -1936 described images of Langa by making repeated references to the landscape they encountered:

Ja in the streets of Langa. there at Bhunga. We had palm trees, they're still there and there was greenery, grass. That's where we used to play as young boys, our soccer. chasing each other, hide and seek. Hmmm, there was greenery there. (Mr K. Ngwevela)

People were living very hard here in Langa. There is bush there. The flats were not there yet. The whole forest from the station down the road. When it's raining there are floods like anything, buses can't come in; they must go right to Bonteheuwel to come here. (Ms. F. Neer)

Those days where the police station is today, we used to have a forest there, pine trees, we used to go hunt squirrels with our sticks. It was quite an experience. We found a dam and swam. Whether it was a dirty dam or what, because there was no swimming pools there. (Mr Z. Gala)

Not surprisingly these early images of the Langa landscape are seen through the memories of children between the ages of 5 -12. While the adult reflections pinpoint the hardships of settling into these new surroundings, it is the childhood memories filled with a sense of adventure that are the most striking.

3.2 Houses:

The homes were built in seven developmental phases commencing with the 1st phase commonly referred to as the 'old location'.

So those houses in Harlem and Bhunga were the first built after we were removed and then the ones near the hostel were built afterward ... and Bitterhout was built afterwards and then the ones near the hostel were built afterward as well. We lived in Harlem for a long time before moving to Bitterhout Avenue. It was facing the football ground. One thing I enjoyed then was that where we lived we had a bigger plot at the back and each one of us at home had a place you planted something like carrots and vegetables. Like a vegetable garden at the back and we enjoyed that ... and plant a flower garden at the front and all that. (Ms. P. Fuku)

Most interviewees gave detailed descriptions of how their families squeezed into these small houses, with only one or two actual bedrooms:

So it's one bedroom, remember 12 children. And the other part was a dining room -small part by the dining room, the same setup: small kitchen ... Some of us would sleep under the table on the floor, on mats and then with our parents, they would have, they had a double bed but there was a small bed for other children to have a sleep, to sleep on there. My eldest brother there was another bed in this room, a sofa and it would be pulled at night so as to make a bed ... And then my sister and I would be sleeping in the bedroom with my parents with other children. (Ms. B. Nonkonyana)

With two roomed houses with no veranda or nothing, I think it was 15 shillings and where we were it was two rooms with a veranda and it was 17 and 6. Then my aunt, the one called mom, had a three-roomed house that was 2 and 6 and the monthly rental one pound, ten shillings. Two families would share and the middle door would be locked and if you want to go to the toilet you had to go around through to the back to get there ... the husband is here, the children are sleeping, whether boys and girls and we would just lay a sack and put a grey blanket on, tables shifted somewhere else and chair on top, that how we lived. (Ms. G. Mayo).

The exception to these township houses, were the houses built for administration officials.

These houses had been the residences of people like Worrel and Rogers ... initially they just had them occupied by people who were called Wardsmen or Headman as they called them. Working for the council then, my mother was then entitled to rent one of them and then we are privileged, there were only 8 of them. One in the hospital premises, the Day Hospital, served in this area. They were the only ones who, where you'd have a lounge this size, I mean its 4 meters going that way and 2 wide. This plot is 18 hundred square meters and hot and cold running water in the bathtub. (Mr V. Qunta)

These types of dwellings are in stark contrast to the township houses where families, especially families of more than 4 members, had to squeeze in 'like sardines' and often 'the lounge' became the additional children's bedroom at night.

3.3 Trains. Reception Depot and 'Devermination':

In contrast to house dwellers initial Langa memories of the landscape, streets and houses, for migrant workers the key features in Langa were mbombela (the train) and the process of 'devermination', administration, X-rays and finding or being allocated accommodation.

They would be taken from the station -just few meters from the station -3 yards from the station, we called them yards -they would go into X-ray. And from the X-ray they would be divided to actually come this way ... the X-ray was just adjacent to the, to the market, the, the Langa hall ... and then they would be take down Bennie street or down Brinton street to the North Barracks or to the Main Barracks. (Ms. B. Nonkonyana)

But the arrival of the train was not only significant to migrant workers themselves but also to the local residents:

Potjies and smiley ja, vetkoek especially at the flats. We used to bake them, some on the oont, you know the old fashioned stoves when I was at high school ... I would go and sell in the mbombela, you know the umbombela, the train? The train that was going home, we would sell vetkoekies, smiley, pillows, knitted scarves, crocheted headgears. There was

a special train to sell those ... Monday there was mbombela taking people home, especially people from De Beers, some from Paarl and all would assemble at Monument Station. (Ms. G. Mayo)

It travelled only once a week on Monday. It was an interesting thing that train ... Because many woman who were cooking for ways to augment their income or make a few cents, used to bake bread and vetkoeks and take them to the train for these peoples ... Bread and meat, even skaapvleis, when you slaughter the sheep, you keep the head and then you cook it and it makes very nice padkos, although it goes bad quickly. (Ms. M. Nongauza)

The reception depot was described as follows:

In Harlem Avenue, it's a residence now ... when my father was working there, there was 406 and the house next door was 405. That was the reception depot, 405. When they went there, some reception that was arranged by the City Council where they had to dip them ... and this unpleasant thing they had to be dipped just in case they carried some vermin. When that was done they would line up and have their names recorded and been told when they should present themselves. (Ms. M. Nongauza)

It was the 'dervirminisation' or 'delousing' process, which evoked some of the most vivid memories:

I think that place (i.e. the reception depot) was in Benny Street, where they were washed and from there they were taken to the main barracks to where they would stay. But that thing happened before my time. In the late 1970s that place was used as a bioscope. I used to watch movies there ... the silent movies, Jerry Lewis, and the Westerns ... (Cllr. S. Mxolose)

I came once to that place they had white powders, they say they killing lice and things like that. And they try to send you to X-ray ... I couldn't go, my brother knew how to slip away from that kind of process, because we came here to Langa ... then he took me to the X-ray the following week and that was it. ... in the day hospital. (Mr H. Mahamba)

Even when I came here myself, the law was, your clothes must be fumigated, aai, yet my husband was a better man, his clothes was not like that. Then the police station said no when he sees this man, 'No I can't fumigate your clothes, you are better for that, just come like that'. (Ms. F. Neer)

Another key site for migrant workers was the recruitment agency Kwa'Theba, which Ms. M. Nongauza's father worked at from 1936 to 1956:

It was in Harlem... In later years of my father working for the NRC they had moved to the one in Church Street and Mvambo, which is directly opposite the Hall. If you on the veranda of the Hall you can see, it's the corner house. It's the back of the old post office, opposite the new hall. That was the office they called it Kwa'Theba (Ms. M. Nongauza).

These sites are all worthy of more research, and in fact, a detailed mapping of the sites significant specifically to the migrant workers and their experiences in Langa are necessary.

3.4 The Barracks and the Flats:

There were contrasting conditions between the hostels in the Zones and the Main Barracks. This interviewee described the hostels in the Zones in the following way:

For instance the zones, it was just a house with rooms and we shared the dining room. We shared everything, even the rooms, in the rooms there were 3 beds, those beds were owned by men and of course men grew to families. So we used to stay like that. The hostel that still resembles those is Zone 1, it is still like the ones we used to stay in and they are still staying in the same condition that we used to. (Cllr. S. Mxolose)

Whereas the Main Barracks were:

Wow! It was worse, it was far better in the zones. Even there for instance the homeboys stay together. like my people were in 74, 78, 80 and 84, we knew those people were coming from our area. But the conditions were worse than those cause you stay in one big hall. There was bed up, there was bed below. The situation was worse because there was no form of privacy. Even though there was no privacy in that other place at least there was homes. Here everyone is staying in that big hall. For instance, my father he got a bed and I used to sleep just in front of his bed because that's where I slept with my brothers. It was better in the zones the toilets were inside, now I have to go some distance to the communal block toilets and the showers on the other side. . . . Cooking was done outside, then they were using three-legged pots, these blacklegged pots and they were cooking outside. (Cllr. S. Mxolose)

Yes I got a picture. The Barracks had in the middle a place where they would put coal in. I think it was specifically made for when it was cold, 'imbawula', They would use it as a heater and it was a younger one's duty to it up after work. They would use it for cooking or have these young man cooking samp, umphokoqo or mealies for them since older men would come a bit later. (Ms. N. Bavuma)

Life in the North Barracks was described as follows:

There was a notion of the rustic, concept of hospitality was very rich tea boiled in milk you know and they used to say because there are no woman they get the young guys to cook krimmel pap. You know very, very dry maize, gruel almost and they say, 'Cool it'. They just put it on the wheelbarrow and they get the youngsters who'd come on the first contract to just take two rounds in the quad there and then that way it will bounce up and down and cool and then just pour your sour milk on top. (Mr V. Qunta)

The Flats were described in the following manner:

At the Flats it is single-beds also ...when your wife who has come up from Transkei through illness having to go to hospital, you would take a blanket just to cover your bed area just for that privacy. It is not really privacy but you can take off your clothes and out fresh ones one without anyone seeing you. And that's the only way you could survive that you know. And can you imagine sleeping in the same bed with your wife there and being the envy of thirty people around you? It doesn't work does it? I mean really, maybe I should not talk like that because immediately I speak about such humiliation, it changes my feelings, and I get emotional. It makes me want to go to politics because those were politics anyway. I mean this is how we were treated here we were not even treated as third and fourth class citizens, we were treated like animals That's why I feel strongly that we should write this history down and our children, never forget this is how we were treated. (Mr C. Mama)

Ok in the new flats, first of all ... there are 16 people in the hostel. They elect one man and they call that man sibanda. If someone done something wrong, he will call the meeting and first of all we sit together. ... every time someone have to clean the room at such and such

a time and plus the toilet and all that, so if he do not do that I'm going to call the meeting. A charge will be so much, also controlling of noise, no noise after 10pm all those kinds of things. (Mr Mahamba)

It was common practice for many women to earn an income through providing different services for the migrant workers in the barracks and flats.

I had relatives living in the barracks. The Royal Dairy used to employ a lot of people from the Eastern Cape and among them were our relations. On Saturdays I used to go get the money and post it to their children and families in the Eastern Cape. Now this postal office that was around there, that old post office was open especially on Saturdays .. you would get the money and write the letters, because of course they can't write, and then I used to see how they lived I can think of two other girls who are still alive .. who ran errands, particularly letter writing and going to that old post office. (Ms. M. Nongauza)

They would use a hose pipe to clean the house since it was a big room they would easily open the doors and let the hose pipe run. The door was a stable door and the beds were called 'square'. There were four beds in a square so when delivering the shirts I would stand in the passage, which was about 2 meters in between the squares and I would tell them that my mother has asked me to deliver the shirts ... (Ms. N. Bavuma)

Finally, the social and emotional effects of the migrant labour system are still evident today

It was not nice because it create quite allot of misunderstanding, it create some mistrust between one another as well and the children also ... I see that kind of experience in the past and I see with other people as well because it, I found that if people went on retirement now, eh, to that kind of system, they can't cope to stay in the homes, some even quarrel with their families and leave there and come back and stay in the hostel. There's quite a lot of old men that staying in the hostel, they got wife at home ... (Mr H. Mahamba)

Other than Mamphela Ramphele's work on life in the hostels of Langa not much has been written of the actual experiences inside these sites. There is a clear need for more research on this racist labour and accommodation system devised by colonial administrators and perfected under apartheid.

3.5 'The Pass' and the Pass Law Office:

The old pass law office triggered a mixture of memories. On the one hand, memories of this site was about the tedious bureaucratic process, and on the other hand the traumatic nature of the site was evident. Some of the traumatic content related to experiences of being arrested and continually harassed for passes. Moreover, appearing before the magistrate's court was probably a painful culmination of a process of arrest, questioning and imprisonment. Whereas, the process of obtaining or renewing one's pass at the pass law office was an irritating, frustrating and usually waste of people's precious time. Here are some memories of 'the pass':

So if you don't have your pass on you when you see the police, you go for your pocket. If you change clothes that morning and unfortunately your pass is not with you -you have got to run to save your life. Otherwise you're arrested and you got to pay a fine or go to jail. So everybody was sick of that. We were sick We were so fed up and sick and tired of living with this pass ... (Mr I. Zuma)

I'm working here at Langa School, they ask me 'Mama where's the permit?' I say 'I forgot it'. They put me in the van. I went in, the policeman said, I could come here to the office,

'Where is your pass?' I said 'I left it at home' I said, 'No I don't think I must carry a permit all the time, I am going to lose it. I don't want to lose it. I know it's a problem'. I feel so terrible they caught me for nothing Luck my son was also there he brought the permit. My pass is here 'All right you can go'. Bad words. What can I do, nothing, I must shut up. (Ms. F. Neer)

The experiences of going to the pass law office and magistrate's court were remembered in the following way:

Whooh, it was terrible. It was not nice it was not nice to go to the pass office. Because now, even the boys who were issuing the passes, they will harass the people and tell people, you know who could not speak nice and all that, whooh, it was never nice. See some of them will get arrested ... no, no, no your pass is expired, take him to get locked. He's going to the magistrate's to talk there you're guilty or not guilty. That was the way. Guilty. That's the way. (Mr S. Zibi)

Whoool Four o'clock you had to get up, you had to stay here. Then what the people felt, they made vetkoekies and sold them to the people in the queue for a low cost. Then what time did you come back? Four 0' clock and don't forget all our relatives from Simon's Town and Paarl had to come to Langa to. The focus was Langa. The only office was Langa, it was very sad. I wouldn't expect any other community to experience what we experienced. It has meant we lost a lot of friends, a lot of relatives. Because there were those intermarriages and I will tell you something three quarters of the coloured community are our brothers and sisters because they ran to the coloured community because they wanted to be free from the pass. (Ms. C. Macozoma)

Finally, as Ms. F. Dike so pointedly puts it this was a 'hellhole':

I remember the old office in used to be packed with migrant workers who were trying to fix their passes up. There was sign saying DO NO SPIT in Xhosa and there was a fine, you would be fined 5 pounds. That was a human hellhole because on a daily basis you saw human misery there. (Ms. F. Dike)

3.6 Administration Officials:

The interviews were littered with comments and stories about the officials who worked in the administration buildings in different periods. The figure that is most frequently mentioned is Mr Rogers who in contrast to my expected view of the archetypal racist bureaucrat appears in people's memories as a more benevolent administrator and at times is quite liked by many residents. In stark contrast, it was Me. McLaughlin (also a superintendent) that is described as the 'obnoxious' racist.

The most vivid memories of Mr Rogers were from the Dike sisters. Their mother worked as a housekeeper for Me. Rogers in the 1940s and 1950s.

She was a housekeeper at his house in Langa. But she didn't move with him to Pinelands He was doing his duty, his job, but inwardly he only took his job as far as he could take it. Inwardly he was a different person. He couldn't otherwise because it was written in black and white that you must do this.... He was there being a superintendent, those playing the dirty jobs were fitted in, but not him. It was all coming out through him. He had to dish it out ... (Ms. F. Dike)

I was very young at the time, My mum was working for Mr Rogers ... My sister said, 'No Vera and Maureen, used to go to school and they used to go to Pinelands and they would be sitting in class and when it's time for the two white girls to come home, they could see them walking down Lerotholi to their home and of course when they left school they would go home to mum, who worked there. Langa changed a bit for me as a child in 1960. After Sharpeville and the people were killed here because as a child I didn't understand those things ... Why were your parents chased by a policeman. You see your father running down the road with a policeman beating him with a baton. (Ms. F. Dike)

But Mr Rogers still came to this house when it was still a council house, once a year and my mother would go back to her role and put starched tablecloths out and wear a starched apron and prepare. The two of them would sit here for hours and he would have tea, the way he liked tea. They would chat and chat for hours, my mum called him master, I hated that. (Ms. F. Dike)

It is very interesting to note that Ms. Fatima Dike is currently writing a play about this relationship between her mother and Mr Rogers. Other interviewee's comments about Rogers also revealed fascinating details about the person:

N: ... I wanted to know a real bit of Mr Rogers because I used to deliver his paper, 'The New Age' at his place.

F: Mr Rogers read 'The New Age'? (with surprise in my voice)

N: Ja he read the New Age.

F: But that's an ANC newspaper, (laughs) interesting.

N: Every Thursday I used to take it there. The Guardian, ja cause it changed names now and then because it's banned. (Mr K. Ngwevela)

And another interviewee concretely explained how Rogers helped residents:

Mr Rogers ... he was not rigid to the people ... during that time they sued hokkies -shacks in the backyards -they were supposed to have no hokkies in the yards. And during his time he was not rigid to the people, you know ... people would come and knock in people's doors to find if there are no people without passes. Sometimes he used to even tip my father 'this is going to happen'. (Ms. B. Nonkonyana)

Other administrators were described in the following terms:

Worrell was a very diffident person, legend was that he'd never been to High School so some of the white administrators despised him, but seniority was based on length of service. McLaughlin was absolutely obnoxious. I was moved around to 3 different offices during the 9 months that I worked there because I couldn't stand improper conduct if somebody swore in front of a woman I was going to do something about it... (Mr V. Qunta)

These white government administrators were central to maintaining state control in Langa, and yet many lived in Langa for several years with their families. The memories of these administrators and their descendants could constitute a fascinating historical study.

3.7 Bhunqa Freedom Square:

One of the earliest sites of political resistance especially to the pass law system was Bhunga Freedom Square. It is interesting to note how the older interviewees all confirmed its political historical significance. It was in one interviewee's words, a lot like 'speaker's corner' in Hyde Park, London. During the early decades of Langa's history political and religious groupings had regular

meetings there, especially on Sundays. For many Langa residents it was also a form of weekend entertainment. In contrast, for the younger interviewees it was referred to as the place 'where the older people went for political meetings'. It is not clear when it stopped being a site for political meetings.

It was understandably difficult for most interviewees to remember the exact details of the meetings that happened on the site, but one interviewee did have the following vivid memory of legendary PAC leader Mr Robert Sobukwe:

I would say very charismatic he had logic in whatever he said. remember one at one stage when he said, 'if you take one stick it is easy to break it but if you take three or four sticks it will be hard for anyone to break'. He was trying to imply the importance of unity and at one stage he narrated a story about two dogs. One dog a very skinny one, met a fat dog and the skinny dog asked the fat one, tell me how did you get obese and the fat one said, 'you know what my master always feeds me well'. The skinny one noticed that this other one had a mark around the neck and he asked, 'what are the marks for?' The fat one said, "You see when my master has fed me he would then chain me'. And the skinny one said, 'I'm sorry friend I would rather stay as skinny as I am as long as I am free, rather than being chained after getting my food '. That implied how important freedom is. It is better to be free and do all you want rather than moving in circles where one would not go where he wanted to". (Mr Z. Galo)

In contrast to this adult perspective, there was the perspective of children who witnessed these political events on the site:

On Sundays in this township the ANC used to start from the Langa Flats and they would come together and they would march down the road to Bhunga Square. Ja and they would have meetings there and because no one really explained, this whole thing to us as children, it became a game. For us to go there you went there without telling your parents and if they discovered you had gone, you got a hiding. (Ms. F. Dike)

We used to make homemade ginger beer and hops and when the meeting was being held there, we would go there as children and sell our homemade hops and listen to what they were saying. It was all about people must get permission to stay here and secondly they must not have to identify themselves in the middle of the night, when a pass is required. And what is more they must not even have that pass if they want to protest. (Ms. M. Nonguaza).

At one stage there was even a corrugated iron church on Bunga Freedom Square. The church was the 'Ethiopian Episcopal' denomination. But it is not clear for how long it stood there, but it was probably in existence during the 1930s -1940s. There is a need to interview more residents, especially former Ndabeni residents, about their memories of the 'old location' and Bhunga Freedom Square as matter of urgency because there are now less than a 100 of these residents still alive.

3.8 Beer-halls and Beer Brewing:

The apartheid state built several beer halls in Langa. All the interviewees felt they were a 'bad thing' that was imposed by the state to undermine the people's morale and political will.

After the riots, the 1960 riots we were not allowed to indulge in liquor, which was very good. We were upright and dignified then you would never in those days find a black guy being what we call "bergies" begging for money. It was almost non-existent here most of our

parents who sold liquor would go to Athlone and ask these coloureds to go and buy liquor for them After the riots the then government saw the mistakes and they suggested opening the liquor tap and letting them go their freedom drunk, if they will ever get freedom. They decided to build four bottle stores simultaneously so that they could destroy us. Four bottle stores for such a small area. (Mr Z. Gala)

Several interviewees also commented on the poor quality and dubious substances, which were put into the so-called African beer sold at the state beer-halls:

Doctors recommended that is a very healthy beer, but what came up was funny, they used to call it Jabulani, but it was not the normal beer that we know ... that was a lot of halls that had that kind of beer in here, and they make people really drunk ... (Mr H. Mahamba)

On the one hand, the state strategy was to build the beer-halls and on the other hand, there was a crackdown on the informal beer brewing and selling by African women.

Ja in the 60s as well ... there in the zones there, they raid there. They kick those tins on to the floor. They used to brew it in the bushes there. Ja. There were bushes on the other side. They used to brew there from the bushes, running away from those chaps, the police, the city constable (Mr K Ngwevela)

... I used to go to my father's family, people from Willowvale in zone 21 , where I seen them actually doing, even in Zone 8 because Zone 8 is very close to us, where we used to play. They used to go, go and actually throw their brew down -sorghum beer -down on the floor, whilst their cooking and people would be running away. People would be taken into waenfjies. We used to call them waenfjies. They were taken to jail. (Ms. B. Nonkonyana)

In the student uprisings of 1976 and 1985/6, the beer-halls became an obvious target. There was some disagreement as to when the different beer-halls were actually burnt down, but it does seem like that the Zone 9 beer-hall was burnt down in 1976. The Main Barracks and the Church Street beer-halls were burnt down on the same day in 1986. One interviewee, who was directly involved in burning down a beer-hall, describes a particular moment:

I remember we were pushing tables, you know those long tables ... and their legs were upside down and we put a lot of cases of beers on top of them, you know, through the streets and beer was like packed in the corners, you know. It was to make sure the police vehicle would not get through. And we broke them in the road. (Mr A Hobongwana)

Given the significance of traditional beer brewing in African communities and the apartheid state's attempts to regulate liquor consumption as form of socio-political control over these communities, suggests that this is another important area that requires more research.

3.9 The Market Hall and Music:

In contrast to the beer-halls and shebeens, a major site of entertainment for the older generations of Langa was the Market Hall on Brinton street.

It was a place for entertainment. Dances mostly and choral groups singing and so forth. We used to go there for what they call 'Afternoon Spend' we just got together and people were doing singing and so on. Evening concerts and so on. ... It was called Market Hall because there was a hall next to which there were many stalls. Some were dairy stalls, some for vegetables. It was really partly market and partly civic hall. (Ms. M. Nongauza)

I tell you at that time the music was ... you know 'In the mood' and 'Tuxedo Junction' (hums some bars). Now, we play those songs, if a band doesn't play that he is not appreciated in the Western CapeJa we played in the Market Hall and now at that time the bands grow, now there were other groups coming. Coming 'Street Light' now a lot of groups (Mr S. Zibi)

The actual building was described as follows:

It was a flattish type of thing, low, very low stage. You know like the rest rooms, no anti-rooms, you could only get a piano on stage and of course you could also get a band there but cramped. Very low ceiling of the hall was so low you could imagine what sort of acoustics could come out of the hall. That's why I am saying it was funny but we survived all that, we made good music. At some stage you could get very bad acoustics to such that we had to open windows so that we could let the sound travel (Mr C. Mama)

Mr Mama described the music scene in Langa in the following way:

We had about four or five bands in this very township of Langa. We had the Merry Macs, the City Jazz Kings, the Honolulu Swing Stars, later on the Dibafana, which was a band organized by the late Christopher Columbus, father to Duke and Ezra Ngcukana who are playing jazz this day. We had a band from the old flats here, made up of guys mostly from the Transkei, what did they call themselves? And I tell you those were hot, hot bands (Mr C. Mama).

The Market Hall was also used as a venue for movies, storage and selling goods:

We used to have a nice jarl there. Because we, competitions would be done there. It would be a bioscope. -was free -we used to call it ihala (Something that is free) ... And then on Friday people would get a lot of punishment at home because from school we would rush to, to rush to ehaleni (The free screening). We used to watch Tarzan, those, those guys Zarro ... (Ms. B. Nonkonyana)

As I say the Market Hall was a storage space. The only thing they used to sell there was bread and milk. They used to store their veg and their things in the store when they finished vending in the location. Like you wanted to sell something during the show, you just go inside with pay. (Me. K Ngwevela)

There were conflicting memories about how the Market Hall was burnt down. Most interviewees thought the Market Hall was burnt down accidentally, but there some who thought it was burnt down for political reasons during the 1976 uprising. The Market Hall was also the site where Sotho speakers in Langa had their Moshoeshoe memorial celebrations.

But we Sothos hide ourselves because they would tease us because with Sothos the heads are always clean-shaven. Our staple food is pap, when it is samp for Xhosas. So now being a minority we used to hide our real identity. The celebrations were always conducted, on the Fingo's Day, Fingos would be held opposite the pass office ... Mendi Square was where, Xhosas celebrated uNtsikana, the Fingo's Day. We always had celebrated Moshoeshoe and our celebrations were held at the Market Hall, which is now the Apostolic Church. The next day the Sothos used to invite others from Paarl, Worcester and other places, we would assemble where the community hall is now. We used to have a beautiful day where we would do traditional dances known as mirhubelo. (Ms. G. Mayo)

3.10 Mendi Square and Memorial Days:

The most commonly used site for memorial celebrations seemed to be Mendi Square but some also happened at Makana Square or inside some church buildings. The Mendi celebrations evoked the following memories:

That is part of our history because people died on this ship Mendi who were actually from Italy in a war. ... And it was strictly black people that died there so they used to hold Isikhumbuzo sikaMendi in Memorial of Mendi, just direct with the Methodist Church and the wooden structure there just in the field. That's the Mendi (Mr C. Mama)

Ja it was big days. It was sensitive to them (her grandfather) but then they didn't get remuneration like they do today but they were proud to fight for their country. You know blacks are a very committed nation if they want to do something. (Ms. C. Macozoma)

The memorial days were described as follows:

Mendi and Tsikane and amaFingo, Oh yes, for two years I particularly went to every-one. It was nice, they wore traditional dress and got a guest speaker to speak on the background to this occasion and then choirs sang. The choirs would compete, male voice choirs, mixed chOirs, women's choirs and it was real fun. (Ms. M. Nongauza).

We used to celebrate Fingo day on the 14 May and my father was on that committee. There was a choir of elderly people and here in this field ... we would gather and have traditional dances, speeches and then there would be food. The proper way to pronounce it is amaFingo they were remnants of tribes who were left over from wars, especially during the 1820 Mfecane wars, when Shaka was building the Zulu nation and nations were eating other nations ... (Ms. F. Dike).

Unfortunately it seems that these memorial practises are no longer practiced (when they ceased is not clear), however, there is certainly grounds for reviving some of these practises, especially while some of these generations still survive.

3.11 Initiation Sites:

The main male initiation sites in Langa were along Settlers Way highway, sometimes down near the power station and sometimes further up where the Settlers Way housing area now exists. Where Bonteheuwel is today was previously bushes, and this was also used as an initiation site. Mr Zibi speaks of his Xhosa initiation experiences on the site near the power station:

So I became a man in 1946, me and my friend. I say 'man these guys are bullying us -so let's become a man'. Now the parents they got no money. So when they are boys to be circumcised they stay in that place, those 4 or 5 boys going for circumcison. That time they don't ask you they stay in a row and there's a man they call a healer. I mean he's the man who we call 'nchebe' ... There's a language they are going to teach you a different language there. How you going to talk to this man, you've got your own language there, it's like a code. (Mr S. Zibi)

In contrast, Mr Z. Gala describes the different meanings the process has for the Basotho:

You see I belong to the Hlubi tribe. In the Hlubi tribe and Basotho the initiation is a very serious issue. Yes Xhosa also circumcise, they do not experience what we do. Number one with us, it's only man that go there and everything is secretive. You cannot just say anything about that, with us once a boy goes there he doesn't come back being a boy because he knows the secrets of being a man. ... There is a language there that usually is

learnt in six months that we used to stay there, but because of the situation of working conditions we can't take that time. It should be done in the mountains ... (Mr Z. Galo)

All the male interviewees confirmed their attendance at initiation rituals, and some had to go to the rural areas to experience this, whereas others had it at the sites mentioned above. In contrast, for female interviewees it seems that female initiation rituals in the urban areas have largely died out, and is now only practiced sporadically in the rural areas. However, one interviewee did experience parts of the female initiation ritual.

It would not happen because there would be no space for such things. But it doesn't show. How it was done in, I didn't stay the whole 8 days, that one used to stay ... I'm Baca clan myself. I used to, I would have those marks on the face ... a new blade is taken, would be bought and the part that was done, marks, scars would be done on my face and then the blood would be taken to my eyes. (Ms. B. Nonkonyana)

3.12 Traditional Practices:

In addition to the initiation rituals, other traditional practices such as slaughtering animals are (and was) practiced to varying degrees across the community. It is clear that the disruptive nature of the pass law system and the lack of space in the front or back of people's homes, constrained the practicing of these rituals.

Imbeleka ja, welcoming a new born into the family, into the clan ... its slaughtering the goat. And then the forearm -just underneath here -if you've ever seen an animal that's slaughtered and de-skinned, there's a certain piece that sort of vibrating, vibrating long after It's cut out and braaied. Just, a small piece and the child will be given that to suck. The child can't eat yet. And the same at initiation school. (Mr I. Zuma)

We know of Imbeleko but at my place, we don't do it until a child requires it until a certain age. With other clans or families it's done when the child is born. In our family it is done when a boy is going for manhood and girls when they are getting married ... (in bush where Settlers Way is today) ... I remember the day they came out of the bush, it was beautiful one of all traditional, we held from childhood. That one was special, there was stick fighting of all people staying in the Barracks and coming from Zone 2 and it became a clan fight. It became clan fighting and people were covered with blood. They were just singing a beautiful song. People were ululating and others beating drums there was just noise all over the place (Ms. N. Bavuma)

In the following passage, it is very interesting to note the shifts in how these practises are conducted in an urban township like Langa.

In the rural areas the kraal would always be facing the front doors -you see what if somebody goes to the kraal, either at an angle or so... the slaughtering takes place in the kraal. So here, (i.e. in the township) you, you slaughter at the back of the house ... But inside your yard, mostly the old traditional way, the most elderly guy, the most senior guy or the most talented guy will talk to the ancestors and tell them this so ... we are offering this on behalf and we are asking for the great grandparents to be with him. (Mr I. Zuma)

3.13 Schools and the Kulani site:

There were a diverse mixture of memories about the different schools in Langa, but the most prominent figure that emerges in people's memories, in a sense is not a site, but Mr I.D. Mkhize of Langa High School. However, the first school in Langa was St. Cyprians:

When we moved to Langa there was only one school, St. Cyprians, it breaks my heart that it is now so dilapidated. It was the first school in Langa and it was well built. It was under the Anglican Church ... Then in 1936 everybody was forcibly removed from Ndabeni, whether they like it or not, people did not want to come to Langa ... My father and Mr Jinka and Mr Oliphant went over to the Catholics in Maitland to request them to build a school in Langa because the kids were just running around and the priest sent them to Bishop Heineman and he negotiated with the City Council and got that school in Gubusane Avenue. That was built in 1936 and when that school was finished, my father said now you going to learn Xhosa for a change (laughs). So we came and were the first pupils, well with other kids, at St. Louis School it was a nice school too. (Ms. P. Fuku)

Then my mother started this school and we went to this school. That is the one that looks like it's in ruins now, it's called St. Cyprians, this school, was started by my mother and we were all taught from Grade A to Standard 2. We were taught by the same person and we were so many classes. (Ms M. Nonguaza)

When Langa High site was being cleared students were recruited to help by the famous principal, Mr. I.D. Mkhize:

When the high school was about to be built, when they got the plot, Mr Mkhize got the plot there were three classes. Each class had a day to go there, girls and boys. Boys used to cut the trees and the girls would go and clear the place. When they were supposed to open Langa High I left to do nursing, if it wasn't skipping of one class I would have been among the first students. (Ms G. Mayo)

I.D. Mkhize was described in the following manner:

Whoa, a very genial man, gentle man. Christian like and devout. Kind and hardworking and scholarly, a strict disciplinarian and an example to many of us. He was a great example (Ms. M. Nonguaza)

Great, great educationist ... the late ID was a strict somebody, not rigid, he encouraged education to the best levels ... I think he belonged to the New Unity movement, allot of teachers belonged to the Unity Movement, now, ID did not believe in mixing politics with education. (Mr. G. Fesi)

The following memories were described about the site where the Kulani School is today:

Initially that was a forest even where we are sitting now was a forest. The Kulani school is situated in a dam, I know because I used to swim there. Staying in Jungle Walk and walking through the zones, that was forest, houses stopped at Jungle Walk that was the end of the houses. The rest from Langa High School, behind Langa High School right up to the flats was a forest. ... Later on, the forest was cut down and the houses were built those were the zones, zone one, two, three, four, five and they shut down, what we call the dam. And it became a sports field, it was not a stadium but a sports field but it sloped. (Mr. C. Mama)

The place where Kulani is you mean that? We called that Esingqini, which translates to at the slope. We called it Esingqini because they used to play in an open field and the grass used to go like this, it was sloapie. We used to go, I went there once or twice, and I was playing for the ladies section. If Black Swallows football would be playing I would go, maybe playing against Home Defenders that was a team from the rural areas. (Ms. N. Bavuma)

3.14: Shops:

There are series of interesting stories in the interviews about formal and informal trading in Langa over the years. Often, like with Mr Galo, people would start off as informal traders and progress to renting their own shop:

I started selling vegetables as far back as 1964 -65. I was through a friend of mine. We used to play football together. So he suggested I follow suit ... because he had a car. So he took me to the market and then I saw him bringing bags of sweet potatoes and bags of onions. And he came back with plastic bags. Then he put them, two onions and he wiped them, tied them up. It was still 50cents a packet those days. We used to go around, especially sell to migrant labourers at the end of Harlem, is a bar, then Main Barracks. (Mr Z. Galo)

Or in Mr Zuma's case, it was a family business that was passed down across generations and siblings:

When the location was moved from Ndabeni to Langa. We had the butchery at Ndabeni -so the butchery moved from Ndabeni to Langa, so this was the first butcher shop in Langa. And from my father it went to my mother, to elder brother, to another brother and then to me ... it moved to Langa in 1927, Bantu butchery. When my mother passed away. And businesses were, you couldn't just inherit it or take it over. It had to be advertised and whatnot, and in some cases it changed hands from the family to somebody else. Now this place had to be closed down for a few months ... when he came, Mr Potgieter said, 'This place was supposed to close down' So I chased him out. So closing down a business is not just as easy as Mr Potgieter speaking of. ... A considerate commissioner, he listened this and saw the sense and I was the first person who didn't close down his business up front. (Mr I. Zuma)

Ms. F. Dike was also a shopkeeper for a while, but she tells the following interesting story about another shopkeeper:

There was another very rich man who also who lived in Church Street called Mr Gushman. He was like a black Jew (laughs) he used to have this shop which sold everything, workers clothes, you name it and he had about four to five garages in Jabavu Street just behind that street which belonged to him, where he stored all his goods. You could hear him laughing from the post office and his shop was right at the corner of Church and Jabavu Street. (Ms. F. Dike)

In the apartheid context of limited job and career opportunities, the emergence of small African business owners is an important aspect of African township life. While sometimes politically conservative, there were many progressive shop owners who were important financial donors to local community organizations in townships like Langa.

3.15 Sport and Recreation:

There is a proliferation of stories about sporting clubs, especially soccer, rugby, cricket and tennis. There is indeed a very rich sport's history in Langa, which has yet to be sufficiently documented. Mr Galo the shopkeeper today, proudly displays football photograph in his shop. It is from the days when he was generally regarded as one of the best goalkeepers in the country.

There was one main team, which use to accommodate mostly the local guys. We used to call that team the Blue Birds Football club. They used to wear blue shirts So we decided

to split from there, we formed a club by the name of Young Ideas. That was far back as 1959. Stanley Vokwane who was also a boxing promoter here in Langa decided to take us on, put us under his arm. He bought us training shoes and jerseys. He started moulding us. (Mr Z. Galo)

Mr Galo's interview is filled with many exciting football tales and tips on how to be a good goalkeeper. Here is a taste of some of the stories about the different sporting codes, as concerns rugby:

Well I was gifted in sport ... that was the time I would definitely have made the Springbok side ... I played as far as Western Province invitation, 1963 -when they picked one team ... there were four Africans in the side, and I was one of them. I played utility back, I could play scrumhalf equally well as I played fly half and center. I created huge gaps in the back line and I was very fast... we played Olympics in Windermere and for one or two years when the transition to Guguletu, we played in Langa ... (Mr I. Zuma)

As concerns cricket in the 1950s and 1960s:

There were clubs here in Langa. I belonged to the Try Again cricket club. We had the Home Bachelors, we had the Tembu's, we had the Far East, Ocean 11 (Sweepers), King's Sons. We had quite a few clubs. (Mr K Ngwevela)

Busy Bees ... It was based in Langa. The oldest club, it's the oldest African club in the Western Cape here you know. We used to play against the Moslems in Green Point... (Mr G. Fesi)

Langa also had two tennis clubs:

There were two clubs, Golden Arrow and another one. Outside here, near Gugu S'Thebe there was Progress Tennis Club and down there, where the children's swings are, was Transkei Tennis Club (Ms. P. Fuku)

In an interesting passage about Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, Me. Fesi makes a revealing comment about external social influences on Langa.

Ja Boy Scouts ... you know there was Mr Mbeki ... he formed the first Langa Scouts group you know. And then there was the second Langa group, Mr Mapesa he still alive you know? Ja, you no one a scout, always a scout and as I say we just did so many exciting things, I mean like Nyanga East now, Philippi we used to go camping there, you know for weekends, and there was also a girl guides movement in Langa you know. Like I mean there were, there was a heavy, heavy British influence and also like I mean an American influence on the style of life, you could see the, you could feel the heavy presence of those two countries influence in the township (Mr G. Fesi)

3.16 Sobukwe Square and the Langa March:

The Langa March and the shootings that occurred opposite the old Flats. in the proximity of what is today called Sobukwe Square triggered many vivid stories from the older generation of interviewees. The first quote refers to the march to Caledon Square in Cape Town:

The first people were in Cape Town and the last people were still here in Langa. Like in Nyanga they joined in. Oh people died because they said 'OK' we will send the words, we will give you an answer when you get to the meeting at Langa. The answer was the bullet

all the Saracens were ready at the Flats where they started shooting. It was sad, it is still sad until now. (Ms. P. Fuku)

Yet of more significance to this project is what happens on the evening of the same day, as the crowd gathers in Langa to hear the police's response to their requests:

Stand there, 6 O' clock, the cannon pointing right at us. I still remember the commandant saying 'Don't worry', and then all hell broke loose and people were running all over the show. They were shot like ants. Shot everywhere, running and fall and stand-up and fall. No knowing so now what we did then is we have to carry those to the hospital the injured ones. (Mr S. Zibi)

There was a circle there, then we were standing here it was 5 of us, I saw the cop, policeman taking aim and hit this guy here, the guy fell you know. It was so painful man, between his eyes. I mean his head was not splattered or splashed, you could just see the hole here and then blood coming down. But you can't get down to him even if you not going to save his life you know, then all hell broke loose, he started shooting. (Mr G. Fesi)

We were asked to disperse in two or three minutes. That was practically impossible because there were more than twenty thousand people, how were we supposed to disperse I strongly believe that we should have never listened to that white Captain or police ... we should have taken our fight into town and stayed there and died if we had to. Because the mistake was made to believe that we must go back and our leader, Philip Kgosana would come at 6 o'clock and then we would talk to your guys and they would give a report of decisions taken. We should never have believed that ... they were smart, they tricked us and we fell for that. But when we realised that our leaders were locked up on their way to Caledon Square that's when the trouble started, that's when people got shot and killed. (Mr C. Mama)

And the days thereafter Langa witnessed a series of crackdowns and night-time raids as the police went after the so-called 'ring-leaders'. In a poignant childhood memory, Ms. Dike illustrates these events:

Then when the police began to kill those people in Langa during the Sharpeville thing, it was scary for me. I didn't understand. Then suddenly one morning on my way to school, Jungle Walk Street had soldiers on both sides and you were walking between this very menacing people with guns and bayonets, ugly hats and you didn't know, those were not nice days. You were not free to play in the street because your parents were scared that maybe you could be hit by a stray bullet or something. (Ms. F. Dike)

3.17 The 1976 Student Uprising:

The 1976 Langa student uprising was perhaps not as widespread as the events at Soweto, but they are no less significant to the residents of Langa. The first quote, usefully draws attention to the site of the museum and old pass law office, which is where a famous student leader was shot in 1976.

Ja, Xolile was shot in front of what's going to be the museum ... and if I remember well because were on the march. That was a clean shot just phewww I remember there was two stories ... an officer shot him and there was another guy there, police, Mr Wyngat or something who said, 'I'm giving you two warnings' and he said 'you're not going anywhere' and without a warning shot they shoot him and that's when Xolile fell. We were holding hands like groups of five and he is on there now, this guy was shot on the thigh, he just fall

and we caught him. The shot went off from the police and you just see people crumble down and you know he has been hit by a bullet. ... Xolile was a brave man, a brave boy, that's why it was easy for the police to take him because he was a clean target. He was always upfront. A couple of people, not only Xolile was shot in that same incident. (Mr M. Mtshula)

The 1972-1976 period was also a period when student and youth movements emerged in Langa:

I was also a student during that time of the uprising. Part-time student at SACHED doing my Std 10.... involved with the Black Mamba youth movement. And then Black Consciousness became strong unknown to all of us each one of us, each one had her own idea and tendency. My tendency then was not AZAPO it was ANC. We were conscientising the youth to know about their backgrounds. So as Black Mambas we then started to conscientise the youth ... we were saying we are one people. The people who came from the rural areas and us from the township. (Ms. B. Nonkonyana)

From a mother's perspective, this how the 1976 student uprising was remembered:

The children running around, until I heard that a child had fallen near the police there. That was the first day. Then everything ran amok. The parents could not stand it and the children running away. People were looking for their children, my son also ... running from the police ... But one boy came to me and said he is safe, he goes to school (i.e. UWC) but he could not come to Langa. It was not easy. (Ms. C. Macozoma)

A relatively unknown and undocumented feature of the events around 1976 is the emergence of 'the witdoeke'. Many will remember 'the witdoeke' as a state orchestrated movement in Crossroads in the 1980s. In fact, the first 'witdoeks' seem to have emerged from the barracks in Langa (although some interviewees claim they came from outside Langa) and were not linked to the state, but had specifically crime prevention motives.

Crime was done by the tsotsis ... The people of the hostel were targeted and they were beaten, they were robbed ... The witdoeke people who were with sheets, white sheets ... They were from the hostels, the Main Barracks Those, this witdoeke were the time of our uprising ...(Ms. B. Nonkonyana).

This was also during a time when migrant worker and home dweller relationships in Langa were socially and politically tense. It is highly significant that in the 1980s local activists from the houses had learnt the lesson of 1976 and established strong political alliances with migrant workers in the barracks and flats.

3.18: Democracy. belongings and the future:

In the closing minutes of every interview I elicited responses about people's feelings on democracy and their sense of belonging to Langa. During the 1994 elections, Ms. Dike narrates this story about her mother:

I think that desire was to see the face of freedom and I was looking at both of them and I was thinking. 'Wow they're free' and I just wanted to ask them what does it feel like? But they were not excited at all, as far as I was concerned then they sat here and they were silent for a long time, as they were absorbing the fact, that they were now citizens of SA. And we were sitting here looking at the free citizens of SA. (Mr F. Dike)

All interviewees expressed a sense of belonging to Langa. But most interviewees added that they still retained a strong sense of belonging to their clan traditions and roots in the rural areas. However, it was a connectedness to Langa that was unequivocal across the interviews:

Home is when you see the fynbos ... When you cross the pass at De Doorns and the vegetation changes then you're home. (Mr V. Qunta)

I feel I belong not to Langa only. To Cape Town and to South Africa . I have a problem with people saying, "It's my Langa". I belong to ... Cape Town is my place, Langa and South Africa is my home... (Ms. B. Nonkonyana)

I think I belong in Langa. Yes I mean, that is something that I have been initiated too. My father too, he grew up in the Transkei and yet he liked Cape Town and he was a town man. Like people living in the hostels you can recognize them, by their attire. But my father used to confuse the people because he used to dress like the other gentlemen in the township. As a result the place I know best is Cape Town, not the Transkei. (Cllr. S. Mxolose)

As concerns their desires for the future, these mainly retired elderly interviewees, the recurring themes were a return to Ndabeni and that their children must have better lives than them.

Now that I am a Ndabenite, I'm looking for a new Ndabeni to be developed and hope that as a Ndabenite we would live in the same peaceful way as we used to live before. Ndabeni was a very peaceful place. (Ms. G. Mayo)

To be well educated, to enjoy life. That's all and for my children to be well educated. I don't want to see them struggle the way I struggled, you see. That is my wish for my children because they can listen to us, because what we fought for, we experienced and did it. I wish our children could see what we did for them, to understand what we went through. It is their time, our time was difficult and we couldn't even go to white schools and coloured schools, not like them. It's their chance. (Ms. L. Lazamo-Mtshula)

4. Beyond the Walls: Interpreting and Presenting Sites

There is insufficient space in this report to provide detailed interpretations of the sites and stories presented above. Nevertheless, I do want to make a few conceptual points, which can serve as a guide to interpreting and presenting sites. While we are recording and conserving aspects of the past, it is crucial to take full cognisance of the fact that our work as heritage practitioners is always happening in the present and we shape our conservation plans on the basis of our current knowledge. The primary motive of this project has been to explore how oral history research can make site conservation work more people-orientated. This includes how 'we' the heritage professionals interpret, conserve and present sites in a manner, which is more attuned to people's present concerns and memories of the past. These goals are possible if the project or programme is conducted in a well-planned and sensitive manner, in close consultation with the community. But if this co-operative approach is to succeed then we need to move carefully beyond the defensive 'walls', which protect people:

This is the sad tragedy of South Africa that we cannot bring down the wall down because we are too scared. I'm too scared just in case somebody steps on that part of me that is still very fragile. The saddest part is that we don't have these moments to talk to each other about it. We don't have the opportunities these moments to talk to each other about it. We don't have opportunities to say, 'Langa is a broken township. We should start an archive here. What happened to the theatre? We should bring it back. We can't do things on our

*own, you must come and do things together and put them up and let people enjoy them
(Ms. F. Dike).*

Moving beyond these internal and external 'walls' requires building trust within the community and between the community and others. For example, the Heritage Reference Group is a consultative structure, which includes key people from the Langa community and is sensitive to the needs of the Langa community. This group and the process it is involved in are initial steps in the right direction. Through the work of this group in close consultation with CCC officials we have a successful example of how to negotiate the power relations between community and institutional structures in a more open and democratic manner. These power relations also extend to the ways in which sites of historical significance are interpreted.

It is often assumed that the professionals are the only ones with the power to interpret objects, stories and sites. This is simply not the case. In a myriad of ways people interpret (in their own words) their lives, their worlds and yes, the heritage sites they have knowledge of. Within the contemporary context then, this pilot oral history project grappled with how to make accessible connections between sites and the people who have used these sites over several historical periods. The profound realisation I had during this project is as follows: in a particular sense, we the professionals do not have to make the connections between people and the sites. The simple reason for this is that many of these connections, especially meaningful connections between sites and people are already contained inside people's memories and stories.

Nevertheless, in consultation or partnership with communities, professionals from outside these communities have crucial roles in:

- Identifying sites of significance in community spaces
- Recording the memories and stories of these sites
- Identifying the meaningful connections in people's memories
- Prioritising people's own connections in heritage policies
- Archiving people's memories of sites
- Conserving the actual sites connected to these memories
- Presenting these sites, memories and stories to different audiences
- Training learners in particular research and heritage skills.

Furthermore, how do we inscribe these connections (embedded in people's stories) into our conservation practice? Methodologically oral history is the most appropriate manner to record these stories, but it does not constitute a miracle cure. Rather, oral history when used in an integrated fashion with other strategies, such as conservation planning, development planning and community consultation structures has considerable potential for developing grounded conservation practises. Moreover as communities are included in the process of identification, research and presentation of sites the greater the potential for strengthening a sense of community ownership over these sites. And the more people feel that these are 'their sites', and that they have the support of relevant local government departments, means that the on-going conservation of sites have a greater chance of succeeding.

Power relations and interpretation then, are not isolated academic activities but are embedded in all the phases of conservation work. For example, in the conventional sense, sites might have fixed boundaries such as a wall, fence or a road. However, as we make oral histories a fundamental part of site conservation, the social boundaries of the site will become more flexible, allowing people's stories to circulate to other sites and other audiences. Communities rarely speak with a singular voice, and how we conduct oral history and conservation work needs to encompass, as far as

practically possible, these multiple voices. Furthermore, oral histories will at times reveal conflicting versions and interpretations of sites. This in my view is not a problem, and we certainly should not silence voices or views, which do not fit the dominant community or academic view. Rather by presenting these different views and voices in how a site or exhibition is presented opens site conservation work to debate and dialogue over sites and their many meanings. This approach is also more inclusive of different interest groups and voices that constitute the broad term, 'the community'.

For site conservation purposes, there is the added importance of needing to maintain the site for current and future generations. How we present the site, and include the multiple voices of the community is crucial to this on-going conservation work. For example, the oral histories might identify aspects that are in most urgent need for renovation or physical improvement. Oral histories might also alter conservation plans to be more sensitively attuned to the cultural needs or specific group needs in a community. Oral histories will also enliven the presentation of sites, which in turn might encourage more residents to take greater pride in the site and to take better care of the site. Oral histories of sites can either be communicated on site or beyond the site.

For onsite purposes, you could have:

- Storyboards
- Audio-visual exhibitions
- Guided tours
- Self-guided tours, with portable tape-players
- Oral performances.

For dissemination on and beyond the site, and as a way of educating broader audiences and also attracting these audiences to visit the site, these oral histories could be used in:

- Popular history books
- Community radio programmes
- A selection of the best stories on tape or CD
- Video documentaries
- Internet websites.

While the written medium is useful, I strongly recommend using audio or visual mediums so that oral histories can be heard or seen by as many other people as possible. Also, if we are serious about the 'oral' in oral history, then the audio or audio-visual media have the most exciting potential for the dissemination of oral histories. By using audio and audio-visual ways of communicating people's stories about the site, its social, cultural and emotional significance to local and foreign visitors will be enhanced. Oral and visual histories can help attract more tourists into communities, and this might increase income-generating opportunities for communities.

Finally, the interpretation and presentation of sites poses the difficult challenge of how to memorialise and conserve the site(s) of traumatic events. An obvious example is the old pass law office in Langa. All 20 interviewees for this project referred to this site as a place of painful memories, but not a single interviewee objected to the idea that the site was being developed into museum/heritage site. In fact, there was general agreement that it should be conserved as a reminder and as an educational tool for current and future generations. However, when faced by the evocative memory triggers of a site people often lower their defensive walls to expose their emotional legacies from the past. In these vulnerable moments, as the District Six Museum experience demonstrates, heritage staff must be able to listen to and comfort visitors to a site.

Therefore, the need for sensitivity and respectfulness to people's stories and feelings is of paramount importance in how the sites in Langa are conserved, presented and maintained.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

Oral history has the power to make site conservation work far more people orientated. This goal is possible by making meaningful connections between people and their built and natural environments through the sensitive recording and presentation of people's stories. In partnership with communities, heritage workers can conserve heritage sites in a more accessible fashion by prioritising and presenting people's stories. People's stories will also help heritage workers to link different sites within Langa, and between Langa and other sites in Cape Town and in the rural areas of South Africa. This report recommends the following:

- The site identifications of the Heritage Reference Group are confirmed.
- The identified sites need to be protected and conserved.
- The identified sites are of profound significance to the Langa community, especially older generations.
- Programmes to educate younger generations of the significance of these sites and Langa history more broadly are necessary.
- Community based organisational structures such as the Heritage Reference Group (to become the Langa Heritage Foundation) need to be supported politically, financially and through capacity-building programmes.
- More attention needs to be given to marketing Langa to South African and foreign audiences as a historically and culturally attractive community to visit.

Furthermore, there is a wide range of future research projects that need to be conducted in Langa. The most urgent research project is the oral histories of Ndabeni people:

- Given their ages, the stories of the former Ndabeni residents need to be recorded as matter of the utmost urgency.
- Migrant worker sites need to be mapped and further researched.
- More research on church sites and congregations are necessary.
- More research on highly significant political sites like Bhunga Freedom Square and the pass law office are required.
- More research on traditional practices and how apartheid housing and laws impacted on these practices.
- More research on the different sporting codes and the several sporting legends that emerged from Langa.
- More research on music and popular culture and the several music stars that emerged from Langa.
- The history of Sotho speakers in Langa.

This by no means a comprehensive list, but is merely an indication of some of the rich and fascinating historical research projects that could and should be conducted in Langa. Several academic theses and papers have been written on Langa (as are indicated in the desktop study), but very few spatial or heritage type studies have been done. Some oral history work has been done but much more could be conducted, especially in people's first language. Furthermore, very little of this research has been channelled back into the Langa community. And it is particularly the oral and visual history recordings that can be presented accessibly to different community audiences.

The final recommendation of this report is that where research is conducted on aspects of Langa's history more needs to be done to disseminate this research to audiences in Langa and this research needs to be properly archived for students/researchers in and outside Langa. As regards oral history research, dissemination and archiving the Centre for Popular Memory at UCT, in partnership with community-based groups such as the Langa Heritage Foundation, could make a tangible impact in terms of developing these forms of capacity in Langa.

Appendix A: List of Interviewees

No	Name	Birth year **	Birth place	Langa\Residence ***
1.	Ms. P. Fuka	1922	Ndabeni	52 years
2.	Ms M. Nonauza	1922	Queenstown	17 years
3.	Ms F. Neer	1924	Simo	50 years
4.	Ms. G. Mayo	1925	Ndabeni	67 years
5.	Mr S Zibi	1927	Ndabeni	64 years
6.	M G. Fesi	1937	Uitenhage	56 years
7.	Mr H. Mahamba	1937	Mbogotwana	47 years
8.	Mr C. Mama	1938	Langa	55 years
9.	Ms C. Macozoma	1938	Langa	64 years
10.	Mr K. Ngwevela	1939	Langa	63 years
11.	Mr I. Zuma	1940	Kensington	10 years
12.	Mr N. Dike	1940	Langa	50 years
13.	Mr Z. Galo	1941	Langa	48 years
14.	Ms F. Dike	1948	Langa	45 years
15.	Mr V. Qunta	1949	King Williamstown	20 years
16.	Ms B. Nonkonyana	1952	Athlone	49 years
17.	Ms N. Bavuma	1955	Langa	45 years
18.	Ms L. Lzamo-Mtshula & Mr M. Mtshula	1960 1964	Langa Langa	37 years 33 years
19.	Mr s. Mxolose	1965	Guguletu	34 years
20.	Mr A. Hobongwana	1972	Langa	28 years

** This list is ordered according to the birth year of the interviewees.

*** Note that in some cases this is the interviewee's approximate length of residence in Langa.

Appendix B: Interview Guide

1. General life history and migration

- First of all can you tell me when and where you were born?
- How many years did you live there?
- Where did you move to then?
- Can you remember why your family made these moves?
- (If not born in CT) What did you know about Cape Town before you arrived?
- Who from?
- What did you imagine Cape Town would be like?
- Did you have family or friends who were already there?
- Did you have a job waiting for you?
- Did you leave a wife/husband/partner/children back home?
- How did you feel about that?
- When did you next see them? Did they come to Cape Town later?
- Did you send money back home? (If yes, whom did you send it to?)
- Did you ever send it back to a 'banker'? (If yes, how did this work?; couriers?)
- Please describe you first memories of arriving in Cape Town?
- Did you have anywhere to stay? How did you find your first proper accommodation?
- Can you describe it to me?
- What were the facilities (cooking, bathroom, etc.) like? Did you have to share?

- How did you get on with the other people in the house/barracks?
- Did you make friends locally?
- Did you make contact with people from your 'home-boy' network?
- Who was responsible for discipline and rules amongst migrant workers?
- What was the result of not obeying rules? Did you change your style of food or not?
- Do you keep in touch with your family back home? How often did you see each other?

2. Family background/home-life

- Who would you say your family consists of now?
- Do you remember your grandmother? And your grandfather?
- Where had they lived? What were their occupations?
- Was either of them a strong influence on you?
- How many children did they have?
- Do you remember your father? Do you remember your mother?
- Where had they lived?
- Was either of them a strong influence on you?
- What were their occupations?
- How many brothers and sisters did you have?
- Where did you fit into the order?
- Who did you play with as a child?
- What sorts of games did you play?
- Were there any times you got together with the wider family (a wedding, funeral, festival or big event)?
- Can you remember your first home in Langa?
- If a house, Who owned the house?
- If rented: What was your relationship with your landlord like?
- Can you describe the house/hostel to me?
- How many rooms did it have?
- Where did you all sleep in the house?
- Did your mother/father grow vegetables or keep animals?
- Did you sit down together for meals?
- Did they go out to clubs/pubs/sport/cinema?
- Did you go to church as a child? Which religion/denomination? How often?
- When you were a child was there any talk of politics or trade unionism in your family?
- Were any members of your family involved with a trade union or politics?

3. Community and Place

- Do you think of yourself as a rural or urban person?
- Can you describe your childhood neighbourhood to me?
- Did neighbours help each other?
- In your neighbourhood were you considered better or worse off than your neighbours?
- Were there people richer or poorer than you?
What was your relationship with them?

4. Schooling

- When did you start school? What schools did you go to?
- Please describe your first memories of going to school?
- Can you remember your school teachers?
- Was any teacher an important influence on you?
- What were your own dreams and hopes on leaving school?

5. Employment

- Did you experience any difficulties getting work?
- Why do you think this was?
- When you were growing up did anyone talk to you about prejudice?
- Have you had other similar experiences -in work, social services, or socially?
- How did you get your first full time job?
- What did you do in that job?
- How did you feel about it?
- What hours did you work?

- Did you feel you were fairly paid or not?
- Did you join any trade union or work associations?
- What contact did you have with your employers or managers?
- How did you feel about them?
- How long did you stay in the job?
- What was your next job? (Repeat for other jobs)

6. Marriage and Children

- Are you married? When did you marry?
- Were you married under customary law?
- Where did you get married?
- How did you meet your husband/wife?
- What role did your family and/or community play in the marriage?
- Can you remember your wedding day? Can you describe it?
- What kind of work has your partner done since you were together?
- Who would you say is in charge of the household budget?
- Do you share the household chores and responsibilities? Who does what?
- How many children have you had?
- What are their names and in which years were they born?
- Are traditional marriages still conducted in Langa today?

7. Langa Sites

- Do you recall the removal of Ndabeni residents to Langa?
- If yes, please describe your memory of these removals?
- Can you remember examples of resistance to these removals?
- Can you remember the Langa Advisory board of the 1930s -1950s?
- If yes, what were your feelings about this structure?

A. Typical Houses

- When you first arrived, what did the inside of your home look like?
- What did the outside of your home look like?
- The 'trial cottage' was built in 1924 and later became a lime shop and a hair salon in the 1940s, what has become of this building?
- The 1st and 2nd development phases are known as the 'Old location', is this correct?
- The 3rd development phase was known as 'Bongwani', is this correct?
- The 4th development phase was known as 'thembani'?
- Did the community have names for the 5th, 6th and 7th development phases?
- Can you identify houses that are good examples of these development phases?

B. Bhunga Freedom Square

- Did you ever attend political meetings on Bhunga Square?
- Did you ever attend musical and other social events on Bhunga Square?
- Please describe your memories of activities on Bhunga Square?
- Did you ever buy meat from Mr Zuma's butchery opposite the square?
- What happens on Bhunga Square today?

C. Barracks and Beer hall

- When you first arrived, please describe how the barracks looked like?
- How many entry/exit points were there in the barracks?
- Were they monitored all the time? By whom? Did you live in a single sex hostel?
- When women and children were allowed in the barracks in the late 1960s, how did this change life in the barracks?
- Did you ever have a partner living with you?
- What was it like to live in the barracks?
- How did the married quarters differ from the 'bachelor' quarters?
- Did your employer organise your accommodation in the barracks?
- How much rent did you pay?
- Was there water and electricity? What were the cooking facilities?
- Describe the sleeping arrangements in the barracks?
- How many people lived in each dormitory?

- Did you regard yourself as being part of 'amakhaya' or 'amarusha'?
- What were the relationships between 'barrack' and 'house' people like?
- Do you remember children coming into the barracks to eat left-over food?
- Were you ever discriminated against because of your relationship to the city or rural areas?
- How did you cope with harsh regulations of barrack life? What entertainment did people have in the barracks?
- Can you remember when the eating house was stopped?
- How did the community feel about the government controlling the eating houses in the 1940s and 1950s?
- What street is 457 Married Quarters in?
- Was there a well-known beer brewing street? What was it called?
- Do you remember the superintendents garden outside the barracks?
- What is the current situation with the barracks?
- After 1923 (and especially 1938 in Langa) the state restricted informal beer makers, can you remember how the state did this?
- How did the women who brewed beer react to the state's actions?
- Can you remember when the 1st government beer hall was built in Langa?
- How did the community feel, when the official beer hall was set-up?
- Can you remember how the students in 1976 felt about the beer halls?
- Can you remember the witdoeke?
- How did they oppose the students in 1976? Who organised the witdoeke?

D. Administration Offices

- Why do you think the admin offices were built so close to the barracks?
- Where did you obtain your first pass?
- Was pass control done in the police station or in the central admin offices?
- Were you ever charged for not having a pass?
- Were you ever endorsed out the region?
- If so, please describe your memory of being arrested and/or endorsed-out?
- What are your memories of the pass office?
- After 1952, what was the pass-law office like?
- Do you have memories of Mr Cook and Mr Rogers?
- Was it possible to negotiate with Mr Cook or Mr Rogers about pass issues?
- Did people ever bribe or do favours for Mr Rogers?
- Can you remember when Mr Rogers retired?
- After 1983, was the old pass office used as a court?
- How did the old pass office catch fire in 1986? What happens in the admin building to-day?

E. Migrancy: Huts, dipping tank and route?

- How did you arrive in Cape Town? (by train, bus or car?)
- Did you use the Mbombelo train, what were your first experiences of Cape Town?
- Did you have to go to a 'reception depot'?
- What happened at the 'depot'?
- Were you 'deverminised'? Was this at the 'cafe'?
- How did these experiences affect you?
- Where were these old military huts exactly?
- Are any of these huts still around?
- What were the dipping tanks? Where they situated?
- How did the area around the dipping tanks become known as 'Lover's lane'?
- What is the official name of this street?
- In the initial phase, the 'chamber was in an incomplete cafe, was this ever moved?
- Did you have to go to a diseases ward?
- How did you get to Langa?
- Where were your papers checked in Langa? (was it the Market hall?)
- The reception depot was later moved to the Main barracks, did new arrivals still have to go to the admin offices first?
- Do you remember the old house in Washington street that was used as recruiting office for the mines? ('Kwa Temba')

F. Market Hall, Economic Activity and Marangana

- Please describe what the market hall looked like when you first saw it?
- Can you describe what Marangana (external part of public hall) looked like?
- Did Marangana, have a different name before?
- What forms of activity happened there?
- Can you remember when women were banned from trading in foodstuff in Langa in the early 1940s?
- What general dealers/trading stores did you use?
- What else happened at these stores, besides selling goods?
- Where is the business centre located? (what period?)
- Who were the big names in business?
- Do any of the general dealers at the end of the terraces still exist?
- What happened to the trading and credit societies?
- Did you attend dances or other social occasions at the public hall?
- What traditional activities happened there?
- Did you attend Mfengu Memorial day (or Moshoeshoe Memorial or the Mendi Memorial days)?
- Are these memorial practices still conducted to-day?
- Can you remember any of bands of the 1940s and 1950s?
- What different kinds of bands were there?
- Can you remember the 'black panthers' sleeping at the hall (during 1976)?
- What was the relationship between the Fingos and other members of the community?
- Please compare the old market hall and the current civic hall? Are they on different sites?

G. Initiation Sites and other Traditional Practices

- Can you remember the 'imbeleko' ritual? (new child)
- Where would these happen in Langa?
- Where would the circumcision ritual for boys happen in Langa?
- Please describe the importance of this ritual?
- Why was some boys sent back to the rural areas for this and other go through it here?
- How did the Langa churches feel about these rituals?
- What impact did so many single men living in Langa in the 1950s and 1960s have on the broader community?
- Where did female initiation rituals happen in Langa? What did it entail?
- How were clan traditions maintained in Langa?
- Where would people slaughter animals for the ancestors?
- Describe the significance of this practice?
- Did you engage in traditional games like stick-fighting?

H. Kulani School, Stadium and various issues

- During your leisure time, what did you like to do?
- Did you go to the cinema, dance halls, shebeens etc.?
- Can you remember when the stadium was built on the grounds of to-day's Kulani School?
- Did you make use of the stadium?
- What organised sport did you play in Langa? (soccer, rugby, cricket etc.)
- Describe your memories of playing for this club?
- What Langa sporting stars can you remember?
- Can you remember any female sporting stars from Langa?
- Were teams separated according to the 'migrants' or 'permanents'?
- Is the Mother City football team of to-day the one that was established in Langa in 1947?
- How did the community view prostitution?
- Were there gangs in Langa during the apartheid years? (if so what were they called?)
- Can you describe how the burial societies were organised?
- Do remember personalities from Langa? Where did they live?

I. Old Schools and Churches

- Did you attend primary and high schools in Langa?
- Do you have memories of ID Mikize High?
- How has the school changed since the 1940s?
- What old churches have you attended in Langa?
- Are they still standing? Where were they located?

J. Robert Sobukwe Square and Langa March

- Were you ever involved in organised politics in Langa?
- If yes, what organisations were you involved in?
- What role(s) did you play in the organisation?
- Were you ever involved in anti-pass campaigns during the 1940s?
- There was a 'bonfire of passes' in Langa on 4 August 1946, can you remember where this happened?
- Can you recall the Women's Vigilance Association of the 1950s?
- Were you involved in anti-pass campaigns after 1952 (but before the famous Langa march)?
- Did the police and the administration apply the pass more strictly after 1952?
- If yes or no, why?
- What other significant marches or meetings did you attend?
- Did you attend the March 1960 march to Cape Town?
- Can you remember Philip Kgosana? Where did he live in Langa?
- Where is he now?
- Why did this march happen?
- Please describe your memories of being on that march?
- Can you remember marching on the Langa police station? What happened there?
- How did the crowd react to the news of the Sharpeville massacre?
- Please describe your memories of those events?
- Where was the crowd when the police charged them?
- What happened the next day?
- Did PAC and ANC people take different positions about the march?
- Can you remember the 1976 student uprising in Langa?

K. 1980s to the present

- Can you recall differences in Langa, after influx control was abolished in 1986?
- What significant political activity happened in Langa in the late 1980s?
- Did you vote in Langa in 1994?
- Please describe your memories of the 1st democratic elections, especially in Langa?
- We all have a sense of places. but where do you feel you belong the most now?
- How has that changed since childhood?
- Did you feel at home in Cape Town now?
- Have you changed differently from you friends and family?
- What are your dreams and aspirations for the future?

PART 2: FIELD RESEARCH AND NOTES

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1. Introduction

This is a poem] wrote in the United States, many years ago ... I was extremely homesick. So all I could do is paint the memories of my home in words. The poem is called Langa my Love:

*I was born in this township
I grew up on this street
There are ten houses all this block
Joined like railway carriages
There are roses and chrysanthemums
Apple (trees and peach
Long red stoeps
That run from the verandahs to the gates
Like long red tongues
Stuck out at something
Or someone
We played this potholed street into the ground
When it rained
Gasoline water would fill the potholes
With delicate rainbows
We would crush them with our bare feet
Spreading the puddles for all wide*

*Mother sits on the verandah
Cradling a fat baby
In the sagging lap of her dress
A black bone comb
Parts of the baby's curls
Spreading dandruff flakes
All off her shoulders*

*Harmonies rise from the pavement
To the cold green eye
Of the lamppost
They meet and melt
Into the warm light air
The block listens
A soft blanket of silence
Wraps around the moment
The moment stretches*

*For your hand creeps up my dress
A giggle begins
Somewhere below my navel
Spilling germs of laughter all over the gang
Just then
Mother's head pops out the window
Like a cuckoo from a clock
SUPPER TIME
Shit.*

(Fatima Dike, Langa, 2002)

The logic of apartheid was to deny Africans access to the cities of South Africa. Black South Africans could remain in town while they actively supplied labour to the market. A substantial bureaucracy and administration was developed to enforce this ideology. While the rest of Africa moved towards de-colonisation, South Africa shored-up and reinforced the racial urban segregationist practices rooted in the earlier colonial period.

Despite a substantial African component in Cape Town's cosmopolitan and racially mixed society of the 1900s, Cape Town was notoriously inhospitable to black South Africans through the 20th century. The bubonic plague was used to create Cape Town's first township of Ndabeni, in 1901, in the first decisive

moves towards racial urban segregation in the city. This was the start of a nearly hundred-year period of forced removals, police harassment and harsh living conditions for black Capetonians who were pushed to the margins of the City and, as far as possible, "hidden" from view of the increasingly white, privileged suburbs of the city.

Black Capetonians suffered, they endured and they also fought back. Against harsh conditions they created a place of being for themselves in the City. Langa was established in 1927 and, with the closure of Ndabeni in 1936, is the oldest existing black township in Cape Town. The process of identifying places of heritage within Langa is a process of bringing the atrocities of the past into view and pay tribute to the endurance of residents of Langa:

People are surviving, but its [the abuse] at the back of their minds ... there was a lot of sadness. Most of the people lost a lot. Lives, relatives, friends, dignity. (Mrs. C Macozoma).

It is also a process of recognising that Langa residents did more than survive. Against adversity they made their world liveable, filled with joy and laughter, music and dancing, love, family, music, sport, politics, debate, tradition and spirituality. The proposed heritage sites honour this achievement.

As the oldest remaining township in Cape Town, Langa's history spans an important length of the history of Cape Town and South Africa. The heritage sites identified by the Langa community map the history of urban racial segregation, migrant labour and apartheid. They commemorate the atrocities suffered by the community in the struggle for liberation, honour cultural traditions and pay tribute to the sporting, music, intellectual and political contributions of the community to the city of Cape Town and South Africa in general.

The sentiment of Mrs. Fuku, who says

So we are Capetonians, but we never achieved anything much out of being born here echoes the experience of many Langa residents who lived in a city that brutally closed its doors to them.

The challenge of the future is summed up by;

Mrs. Mtshula: for my children ... I want them to put their claws in Cape Town.

The Unicity's Heritage Project is one response to such a challenge.

2. The origins and establishment of Langa

The creation of Langa was bound up in the establishment of the first location in Cape Town, Ndabeni, and the origins of urban racial segregation. By the end of the nineteenth century there was an important black African component in Cape Town's cosmopolitan population. The origins of this group were extremely diverse, ranging from the earliest slaves brought from West Africa to the Cape at the time of Jan van Riebeeck, dock workers recruited from Mozambique to black Africans coming from the Eastern Cape and Transkei. Many worked in the docks and for the City of Cape Town, living in the areas of District Six, Papendorp (now Woodstock) and in barracks in the docks.

As the influx of Africans from the Transkei rapidly increased in the late 1890s white Capetonians began to call for segregation and the creation of a location for Africans. While urban segregation had occurred as a matter of custom in many Eastern Cape towns, a complex pattern of residential mixing existed in Cape Town. The social engineering needed to effect urban segregation would require legislation.

In 1901 Ndabeni was created on the Cape Flats between Maitland and Mowbray. The government made use of the outbreak of the Bubonic plague and the Public Health Act to forcibly remove Africans to this first location outside of the white residential areas. This marked the beginning of central state and local authority attempts to coerce people into segregated African areas in the Cape Metropolitan Area. The first sixteen

months of the existence of Ndabeni saw massive campaigns of resistance by Africans to the forced removal and conditions they experienced in the location.

The years following the end of the First World War saw an upswing in the South African economy and another wave of African urbanisation. Ndabeni became increasingly overcrowded and the Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918-1919 focussed attention on conditions in the location. In April 1919 the Union government asked the Cape Town Council to take over the location. Lengthy negotiations followed - the Council did not wish to take on the problems of Ndabeni with little promise of assistance from the government for improvements. They would prefer to create a new location, freeing up the land at Ndabeni to meet the needs of the expanding city.

A final agreement was concluded in 1922 in which Smuts - then Minister of Native Affairs granted the Council 400 Morgen of land at Uitvlugt for a new "model" location on the grounds that the Council would bear the costs of the new location. It was also decided that once the residents of Ndabeni had been moved to the new location the land at Ndabeni would become available to the Council for industrial purposes². Ndabeni was some 7-km from the city; the land at Uitvlugt identified for the new location was 11 kilometres from the city.

Anticipating Smuts' Native (Urban) Areas Act to be passed in 1923, the Council appointed a Native Township Committee in 1922. A task team completed an inspection of locations around the country and made recommendations to the Committee for the development of the new location at Uitvlugt. The recommendations stated that the location should include both barracks for male migrants and married quarters for town residents.

The barrack system, with its sleeping berths, single entry point and unclimbable fences, pre-empted the basic tenet of the Urban Areas Act - the need to accommodate the demand for labour with the determination to deny African people access to urban resources. Africans were to remain temporary visitors in cities. This would require complex legislation, but also the development of physical spaces aimed at facilitating complete social control. The layout proposed for the new location draws attention to this important aspect of urban segregation:

A man on point duty at the centre of what you might call the Central Square will be able to see not only from end to end of the Central Avenue, but will be able to look into each of the large Compounds and directly up to the Station Square, and a Police Patrol on the roads running north and south would get an immediate view East and West down all the other roads and across the open spaces³.

This is painfully echoed by a Langa resident who notes that as the struggles of the 1960s got underway

"we began to realise that this township was built in such a way that if they wanted to keep us inside they could, because there are only two entrances and exits in Langa" (Fatima Dike).

1924 completed the Langa railway siding, from the extended Cape flats line. During 1925 the first phases of building began. Langa was finally constituted as a township and officially opened on 10 September 1927. It had barracks for 2 200 men and married quarters meaning completion, a market, administrative offices and a house for the superintendent. Resistance by Ndabeni residents to the forced removal from their homes to Langa, however, meant that Ndabeni was only officially closed in 1936.

2.1. The naming of Langa ;

Abbreviated extract taken from Saunders, C 'From Ndabeni to Langa'

In April 1923 the Native Township Committee turned to the question of a name for the new location. A meeting of Ndabeni residents suggested 'Langa ' (sun), a shortened form of Langalibalele, a Hlubi chief all rebel who had been moved from Robben Island to Dude Molen on the Uitvlugt reserve in

² Saunders, C 'From Ndabeni to Langa', p168-169

³ Quoted in Saunders, ibid, p173, from Native Township Committee minutes 1923, p108

1875 all lived there until allowed to return to his home in Natal in 1887. 'Langa', the secretary of the residents' meeting pointed out, also had other 'royal connections', Langa being a son of Tshiwo, of the Xhosa, and being a name used among the Bele, Thumbu and Zulu. 'We think by giving the new place this name, ' he added, 'every class will be satisfied because it has been used in most of the Royal Kraals. '

Other suggestions included 'Voorspoed Native Township', 'Mfveni' (thorns), 'the Bantu location', and 'Kwezi' (Morning Star). The Superintendent of Ndabeni questioned whether Langalibalele, a rebel, should be commemorated in this fashion, all expressed his own preference for 'Chitamba', the village where Livingstone had died, because 'There is no doubt that Dr. Livingstone did more for the Bantu races, and the civilization of the sub-continent than any other human being'. In July 1923 the Township Committee rejected all these and approved 'Nqubela' (success). But after the Cape Peninsula Welfare Society pointed out that the click in 'Nqubela' would make it unpronounceable by whites, the Council in the end settled on 'Langa'.

Langa resident Mr. Qunta believes that Ndabeni residents themselves downplayed the reference to Langalibalele and pretended its meaning lay in 'the sun', in order to have their chosen name accepted. The naming of Nyanga, meaning 'the moon', has been an ironic spin-off of this "*current of subversion even in that state of defeat*". (Mr. V Qunta).

3. Removal to Langa resisted and the passing of the Native (Urban Areas) Act No 21/1923

The Native (Urban Areas) Act, No 21, of 1923 standardised and finalised the various practices of urban segregation around the country. The underlying principle of the Act was that the majority of African's were to remain temporary urban dwellers only. This drew on the segregationist thinking of government clearly articulated in the Standard Commission of 1922 which stated that

"The Native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister."

The Act devolved the powers to control African administration in their areas to the local authorities, provided for the establishment of locations and the compulsory residence of Africans in such locations. Section 12 of the Act introduced a system of registration for Africans and Section 17 provided that those not in employment could be ejected from the urban area.

Africans voiced opposition to the government's policies of urban segregation under discussion from early in the 1900s. A mass meeting at Ndabeni in March 1918 rejected the underlying principle of urban segregation, as well as the introduction of a pass system and the refusal to grant Africans the right to own property in urban areas⁴. Others argued that it was deliberately designed to provide cheap African labour to the cities and that the registration fee for Africans placed on employers would lead to the employment of 'coloureds' in preference to Africans⁵.

The Council took little notice of African opinion and began moves to bring Cape Town under the Act as soon as it was passed. This happened, however, in a piecemeal and slow fashion -with the legal loopholes being exploited by Africans in court at every opportunity -but with great determination on the part of the Council⁶.

Six weeks after its opening in late 1927, only a few hundred people had taken up residence in Langa. Resistance to moving here by both town and Ndabeni residents meant that Langa remained under-occupied well into the early 1930s. The shortage of married quarter accommodation made coercing Cape Town families to Langa very difficult, despite the new laws.

⁴ *ibid*, p177

⁵ *ibid*,p177

⁶ *ibid*, p181

Resistance was based on a number of factors. People did not wish to be removed from their existing homes and they claimed that in Langa *"the buildings were like graves"*⁷. Train fares increased with the added distance from town. Trains were also irregular on the new line, and the distance to town almost un-walkable, which had a serious impact on residents' ability to obtain and maintain employment. Older residents can remember that they experienced hunger when they moved to Langa as a result of the increased costs of living⁸. People also resented the oppressive regulations that would govern life in Langa. Although these were based on those of Ndabeni. Langa had been publicised as a place that would belong solely to the 'native people', to be developed along 'their own lines',

The construction of Langa followed hot on the heels of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1923 promulgated in the after math of the 1922 white miners' strike. This had the effect of excluding Africans from skilled work in the building and construction industry and Langa was built by white unionised labour at very high cost⁹. Higher construction costs led to higher rentals charged by the Council for accommodation. Africans did not see why they should have to pay for these higher costs, especially when they would have liked to have been employed in the construction and gained the building skills as white and coloured labour had done elsewhere¹⁰.

Langa remained less than half full in mid 1928¹¹. In 1930 rental arrears in Langa amounted to 42 500 pounds¹². The Council was hampered by the technicalities of the Act that forced it to issue notice to Africans to move to the location and then to convict them individually. Many people simply moved from one part of town to another, others took to squatting on the outskirts of town (beyond municipal jurisdiction) rather than move to Langa.

Ndabeni residents arduously resisted removal to Langa. Even following the strengthening of the Native (Urban Areas) Act, in 1930, which gave the Council increased powers to effect removals, resistance continued. In February 1932, 900 men left Ndabeni following eviction orders. Only 450 of these arrived at Langa, the remainder 'vanishing' into other parts of the Cape Flats¹³. Some residents moved to Elsies River and other areas, becoming "coloured" in the process. This often involved a change of name and families lost touch with each other¹⁴. Resistance did achieve a lowering of rentals in Langa, but could not halt the eventual closure of Ndabeni and removal to Langa. By early 1932 the population of Langa was, for the first time, larger than that of Ndabeni

4. The Development of Langa¹⁵

The 1920s and 30s Housing Acts of government placed the responsibility on councils to provide adequate accommodation for the housing of black residents, but provided no financial means for councils to do so. Councils were reluctant to transfer money from the rates and taxes of their white residents into black housing. Limited finance and the attitude that black people would have to be satisfied with the absolute minimum characterised the development of Langa. The scale of the houses, the meanness of the fabric from which they were built, the brutal conditions of the hostels and the absence of social facilities all reflected the status of black people within the political and social formation of the time.

Housing in Langa was always in short supply. The emphasis on single quarters in the first developments made the forced removal of Ndabeni residents to Langa difficult, as there was nowhere to accommodate them. This accounted for the rapid expansion of married quarters between 1935-6. The wartime economy of the 1940s then drew more Africans into the city, but did not generate accommodation for the new work force.

⁷ Quoted in Saunders, *ibid*, p186

⁸ Mrs Fuku, May 2002

⁹ Council minutes of 1923 do indicate that the Council did apply to get Langa exempted from this Act in order that people could self build. This was turned down by government.

¹⁰ Musemwa, p46

¹¹ Saunders, C 'From Ndabeni to Langa', p189

¹² Musemwa, p46

¹³ Saunders, C 'From Ndabeni to Langa', p194

¹⁴ Mrs Fuku, May 2002

¹⁵ Various sources: KAB 3/CT: volumes 4/9/1/11; 4/2/11/620; 4/2/1/1/609; 4/1/5/1255; 4/1/9/70; Elias Musemwa oral interviews

The African population of Cape Town and the Cape Flats numbered 60 000 in 1944, with housing for only 16 000¹⁶. The shortage of accommodation made effective control of the African population very difficult. The rapid expansion of single quarters during 1940 and 1950 in Langa was an attempt to make provision for new entrants into the labour market, while ensuring that the City was to enter the 1950s in a stronger position to control that labour.

1924 -1928: The Old Location

1924 completed the railway siding from the Cape Flats line. This was a crucial component in a system that located people on the periphery of urban development, but required their labour. Langa residents had to be mobile and able to service the city. Again, the costs of travelling this distance into the economic centre was borne by the residents, an additional burden on an economically marginalised community. The Langa station has since been moved further back into Epping and the original station is known as the "old" station

In the same year a "trial cottage" was erected as an experiment to see if Langa could be built locally by "natives" themselves. The report from Superintendent Cook was that he could not recommend that "natives" erect their own houses as he believed there were not enough skilled masons, clay pits were too far from the location and water had to be carried % a mile in paraffin tins. These would create too many delays¹⁷. This decision was to rankle with residents of Langa. The trial cottage was later used as a lime shop and in 1941 converted to a store at which time an application was received to use the college as a hair salon.

In February 1925 calls for tenders for the first development phase went out. These were all to be single quarters, emphasising government policy of the day. The **Main Barracks** consisted of 84 dormitories in blocks of 21 and provided accommodation for 2 032 men. The barracks were brick, with asbestos roofs, no ceilings, 2 electric light points and one combustion stove to each dormitory. Dormitories (26 by 24-foot) had 24 concrete bunks in double tiers. Four separate ablution blocks catered for all residents. An **Eating-House** was built alongside the Main Barracks.

The **Special Quarters** were also built in 1925. These were 128 single (8 blocks containing sixteen rooms) and 36 double rooms (6 blocks containing 6 rooms) for single men and a further 50 double rooms for single women. Rooms were of brick, with asbestos roofing and no ceilings and no electric light. Total accommodation was for 200 men and 100 women. Five ablution blocks and lavatories catered for all residents, with wash houses and showers provided. The women's accommodation, built along Harlem Street, next to the hospital and near the married quarters, was known as the **Spinster Quarters**.

This first development phase also saw the building of a market hall and the Administration block, which included the superintendent and other official residences.

Once the first barracks began to go up tenders were called for the **Second Development** phase, including the **police station** and **hospital** (built 1926); 6 general dealers shops, 4 butchers shops, 4 bakers shops, 10 tea rooms and other buildings including stores, workshops and stables (J 927/8); the North Barracks (1927) and 300 married quarters (1927/8).

1929 -1934: By 1930 only 16 of the 300 2-roomed houses were unoccupied and accommodation was needed for a further 400 families still to be moved from Ndabeni.

The **North Barracks** were built along the same lines as the Main Barracks and accommodated 840 single men. These **first married quarters** were 2-roomed, without verandahs. Asbestos and concrete used instead of brick to reduce costs. The corrugated asbestos roofs had still not been provided with the promised ceilings eight years later. Each house had an outside toilet at the back and a communal tap per every four houses.

The Old Location lay between Bhunga and Mendi Avenues. The **Third and Fourth Developments**, built in 1932 and 1934 respectively extended the township as far as Jungle Walk.

1932 -1934: Bongweni and Thembeni

¹⁶ From Cape Argus, 28 March 1944, quoted in Fast, H, p8

¹⁷ 3/CT 4/1/5/1275

In 1932 additional married quarters were built between Mendi Avenue and Jungle Walk, behind the shopping centre on Washington. This development became known as **Bongweni ("Precious")** and included 48 2-roomed houses and 16 3-roomed houses. All had verandahs and were roofed with corrugated iron and provided with ceilings. The sixteen larger houses had separate toilets.

Communal toilets were provided for the 2-roomed houses and initially this meant 3 water closets each for men and women per every 24 houses (i.e. 4 houses per water closet). In addition the toilets, located outside of the blocks, were practically public toilets. Complaints against this situation led to the abolition of these communal ablution blocks in 1945 and the erection of separate lavatories and woodsheds. Government housing for teachers was provided along Jungle Walk.

Thembeni ("Trust"), opposite Bongweni on the other side of Washington Street, was developed in 1934. Built on the lines of the other married quarters this provided an additional 160 married quarters, 2 and 3 roomed, with separate toilets and fuel sheds.

A sports ground was provided at Langa in 1934 when the Council voted 2 000 pounds for relief work for unemployed Africans to build it. Two more staff cottages, occupied by white officials, were also built around this time.

Provided with electricity and some inside bathrooms in 1940 the houses of the third and fourth developments were considered luxury houses. In the early years many of the houses in the married quarters had vegetable gardens at the back and flowers in front.

1935 -1940: Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Developments

In 1935, 60 married units (2, 3 and 4-roomed) were built, quickly followed by another 36 units in 1936. This development lay between Washington and Jungle Walk, opposite Langa High School. Many of these units were small roomed, with a high rental and the development became known as Bulawayo ("To kill"). In 1940/1 an additional 204 3-roomed houses were built. These houses were provided with electricity, private toilets, sink in kitchen, built-in food cupboard and fuel store. Electricity was paid separately to the basic rental. The costly quarters were known as Bubana - people would die paying the rent.

1944 -1957: Greater Langa -the Old and New Flats and the Zones

Greater Langa, comprising the Old Flats, the zones, the New Flats -all single quarters -and the new station was developed between 1944 and 1957. The Old Flats were developed first, between 1944 -8, with the land later to house the zones remaining as forest land between Langa High School and the flats. The **Old Flats** comprised 8 blocks of multi-storied buildings built with brick walls, asbestos roofing, ceilings, wood-block flooring, cement passages, ablution blocks (with hot and cold water), lavatories and kitchens on each floor and bedrooms accommodating two men per room, each supplied with a bed, wire locker and bedside table (according to Council). The ground floor contained utility rooms. The flats accommodated 1 296 men. Each block under the supervision of an African **"major domo"** and reporting to him were "floor boys" on each floor.

In 1947 the **old Reception Depot** became permanent accommodation (barracks) for Single Men. This consisted of converted military hutments (wooden bungalows), weatherboarding and asbestos roof. The supply of beds was irregular. The building accommodated 32 men per hutment with total accommodation for 480 men. Complaints were regularly received by council as to the condition of these barracks. In the 1970s these were pulled down and the New Flats were built. The **New Flats** are currently being converted to family housing units. The squatting between Langa and the N2 (Joe Slovo) began from the new flats.

Between 1944 and 1957 eight hundred and fifty small hostels were built to accommodate a further thirteen thousand six hundred single men. This area of development became known as **the zones**. These units have since been converted to family housing.

All accommodation in the township was inadequate for the numbers seeking to be accommodated. Limited accommodation and small houses was a strategy on the part of the authorities to deter black people from developing a permanent urban identity. Families of up to ten persons were expected to live in one-, two-, or

three-roomed houses. Children who grew up the Langa's family houses recall the pressures limited space put on family life, as well as the warm sense of home that their parent managed to create in difficult circumstances:

That house in Church Street was one room. You get into the front room which has cooking alcove there and then one bedroom and of courses we all slept on that big four-poster bed. .Like sardines in a tin. If you face that way and that way, then you create more room. (Ms Nongauza, Langa 2002)

Our house was always warm because we had a coal stove ... we never brought bread, always baked bread at home. (Mrs Fuku, Langa, 2002)

Bongweni and Thembeni were regarded as the best because they had a bathroom and a toilet close to the kitchen when most houses had outside toilets. People had to walk long distances from the house to the toilet.(Mr J Mama)

In a township people had to create their own entertainment in many cases. So kids used to go out and sing under the streetlamps. (Fatima Dike).

Small houses and overcrowded accommodation meant that township Life - games, sport, politics, love - was experienced on the street in this township where residents assert everybody knew everybody. Childhood games on the streets included *pucha* (a traditional southern African game involving stones in a circle and deft hand and eye coordination in the playing), *hopscotch*, *tops*, and *marbles and getting worms out of the grass with sticks!* (F Dike). If one child in a street had a bike, then all the children would take turns to ride it, possibly paying a penny a ride. (Mr. Fesi). Once in the street children were the responsibility of all adults and any adult entitled to discipline a misbehaving child. For residents this was central to the creation of a "family township".

Older children played more formalised sport on the streets and street based sporting teams (cricket and soccer) emerged. Young adults courted along Lerotoli avenue, which developed the name "Lovers' Lane". These were the streets on which residents ran from police during the ubiquitous pass raids. As the liberation struggle intensified politics was played out on the streets. 1960 saw police lining the sides of Jungle Walk. In 1976 the school children marched down Washington Avenue, singing hymns.

4.1. Township Streets

The naming of the streets and squares of Langa took place around 1936¹⁸. The names reveal the varied backgrounds of residents and the contradictory and connecting nature of the society many Africans lived in. **Moshesh Street** was named after the founder of the Sotho nation. **Rubusana street** after Rev. Dr Walter Rubusana, author, founder member and vice-president of the South African Native National Congress, which became the ANC in 1925. **Ndabeni Street** referred to the Ndabeni location from which people had been forcibly removed to Langa.

Livingstone and **Moffat streets**, named after former British missionaries, reflect the colonial past. While an African American cultural influence is apparent in the naming of **Washington street** after Booker Taliaferro Washington who was born a slave in 1856 in Franklin County, Virginia and **Harlem street** after the Black American "renaissance" and Ghetto settlement¹⁹. **Merriman** and **Jabavu streets** were both named after liberal politicians, Jabavu who was involved in the qualified franchise in parliamentary politics²⁰.

Makana Square, located between Mqhayi and Sandile streets is named after Makana who, in 1819, led the Ndlambe in an attack on Grahamstown. Captured in this attack, Makana subsequently drowned while attempting to escape from Robben Island. Makana became a symbol of resistance against foreign

¹⁸ Molapo, p10

¹⁹ Molapo, p12

²⁰ Molapo, p14

domination. Robben Island is sometimes referred to as Makana Island²¹. **Mendi square** commemorates the drowning of some six hundred black South African soldiers off France in the First World War.

5. Migrancy and Hostels

The Native (Urban) Areas Act entrenched hostels as a feature of South Africa's urban landscapes. These were the single sex labour compounds that housed migrant labour in a system that allowed industry to assume that Africans had homes in the rural areas and relieved them of the cost of accommodating labour. These hostels, Ramphele argues, neither acknowledged the living space as a legitimate extension of the working environment, nor defined it as a domestic space accessible to the families of those living there²².

The experience of migrancy led to the development of special words that rejected how people saw themselves caught within this system. The word "amakhaya" came to refer to "home" people -people coming from an area close to your own. "Amarumsha" referred to those who had lost touch with Xhosa customs and the rural base/family links. Even stronger was "tshiphile": those people totally lost to the city, such as the people inhabiting the old age homes in Langa with no family to go back to²³.

A sharp, but often complex, divide existed in Langa between migrant hostel dwellers, housed in the Barracks, and the permanent residents, housed in the married quarters. Although a substantial majority²⁴, hostel dwellers were often seen as outsiders.

I had relatives living in the barracks ... On Saturdays I used to go [to the barracks] and get the money and post it to their children and families in the Eastern Cape. So I would go there [to the barracks] ... and get the money and write the letters, because of course they can 't write, and then I used to see how they lived there.(Ms Nonguaza, Langa 2002)

Until the establishment of the Hostel Dwellers Association of the 1980s migrants presented a fairly conservative political force and, with the male: female ratio in Langa standing at between 3 -10:1 during the 1940s, 50s and 60s, tension existed between permanent and migrant men over women²⁵. A resident, in 1966, commented:

"Much of the trouble is caused by general antagonism towards the single men living in the bachelor quarters. They go out at night in search of women. They also get drunk, and fall an easy prey to these young out-of-works. A lot of people when they see a migrant labourer (or "amogoduka") attacked don't mind because they feel he deserved it"²⁶.

The social divide is again captured by Mr. Qunta in the gentle ridiculing of his (permanent) friends in their response to his joining a soccer club from the Barracks:

The guys used to find that a hoot. They'd say: Hey, you going to play for the guy because they cook their tea with milk, there was a notion that the rustic concept of hospitality was very rich tea boiled in milk, you know, and em, they used to say, eh, because there are no women there they get the young guys to cook krimmel pap, you know, very dry maize, gruel almost, and they say to cool it they just put it on a wheelbarrow and they get one of the youngsters who'd just come on his first contract to just take two rounds in the quad there and then that way it will bounce up and down and cool and then just pour your sour milk on top.

²¹ Molapo, p10-11

²² Ramphele, M, p4

²³ Ramphele, M, p58

²⁴ Lodge, T, Cape Town's Troubles, notes that between 1950-1970 some 70% of Langa residents resided in the barracks and flats, p220-221

²⁵ Lodge, T, p221

²⁶ Quoted in Molapo, p187

The authorities, in the struggle to maintain social control, exploited these divides²⁷. More sinister, however, was the asserted recruitment by the security forces of vigilantes (popularly known as witdoeke from the white cloth they wear as headgear for identification during battles) from amongst migrants in Langa during 1976 and 1977²⁸. Memories vary in terms of the degree of involvement of the state, but images of tsotsi youth assaulting and robbing drunk migrants, "comrades" forcing drunk migrants to drink omo, or tickling their throats with a feather, in order to "get rid of the poison" and sheeted vigilante groups from the hostels seeking reprisals, vividly portray the social cleavages created by the migrant labour system.

5.1. The Main Barracks - The White Mansions

The Main Barracks, completed by 1927, were one of the first buildings to go up in Langa and were a key component in the process of systematic racial oppression and gross economic exploitation that took place in South Africa. The physical location of the Barracks at the bottom end of Station Road/Central Avenue, directly behind the Administration Offices, reflects this political position. A new migrant entering the location would arrive at the station, pass through the Administration Offices for official registration and the allocation of a bunk accommodation, before arriving at the Barracks. A high, unclimbable fence would separate the four barrack blocks from each other and there would be only one means of access.

"Efficient police control will thus be obtained, and in the event of trouble, the police on duty in the centre could quickly close and barricade the gates"²⁹.

The Main Barracks consisted of 84 dormitories in blocks of 21, each dormitory measuring 26 feet by 24 feet. The total accommodation provided for 2 032 males. Men slept in the 24 bunks in double tiers in each dormitory. The walls of the building were brick and there was an asbestos roof. No ceilings were built. Floors were brick.

There were two electric light points and one combustion stove to each dormitory. Ventilation consisted of eight airbricks in each dormitory and the roof ridge openings. Eight steel casement windows let light in. These were fast, however, in order to prevent men from passing things into the dorms through this way. There were no facilities for hanging of clothes. Men had to make do with nails driven into the wall plates of the roof structure.

There were four separate ablution blocks and what the council refers to as "lavatories with water borne sewage" were in fact trough closets with automatic flush tanks. The supply of water to the trough closets was not in continuous operation, a problem reported on by the Medical Health Officer in 1935. The ablution blocks were fitted with a number of spray showers. A structure was provided containing washing benches for the washing of clothes. Two cemented areas, 10 foot by 10 foot, with a gully in the centre, provided for the washing of eating utensils. Water for all purposes, from washing to cooking, could only be obtained from the communal latrine building. Blockage of the gully trap with food scraps was a continual nuisance³⁰.

Deteriorating conditions, overcrowding and Council negligence

Only ten years after completion of the barracks a government report to Council strongly criticised conditions here. Numbers exceeded public health requirements, the concrete bunk systems did not allow a free play of air and light and "In each dormitory in the hostels are fireplaces of a design so bad as to cause the utmost discomfort and worse to the occupants"³¹. The report advised alterations and improvements, but conditions

²⁷ An example of this was the 1947 Beer hall riot where superintendent Rogers attempted to divide the community on this issue by appealing to the barracks residents to support his position. In the event it backfired, indicating that, despite divisions, there were many issues on which residents stood firmly together.

²⁸ Ramphele, M, p86

²⁹ Quoted from CT 20 December 1923, in Saunders, p173

³⁰ CT 4/1/9/1/69 1951 Report of the Town Clerk

³¹ CT 4/1/9/1/69

remained unchanged. Complaints from the Advisory Board resulted in an inspection finally being undertaken in 1940. The outcome of this was that the Barracks were condemned by government³².

Dormitories were overcrowded and the floors littered with foodstuffs and utensils; the dormitories were incredibly gloomy in appearance due to the smoke begrimed walls from the fires and the inadequate lighting (falling short of that prescribed by the building regulations). The asbestos-covered roofs were described as "sweating" in damp weather, resulting in "large drops of moisture, laden with soot and resembling pitch in colour and stickiness, dropping constantly on the bunks, the floor, clothes, blankets and men"³³. A particular concern was that as no cooking facilities were provided men were forced to cook over the fires in the dormitories when weather outside was wet.

Overcrowding led to vermin and the smoke and the sanitary arrangements were considered very problematic from a health and hygiene perspective. Government urged that steps had to be taken³⁴. Fifteen years later the proposed cooking shelters were still being planned. The only alteration apparently carried out was the conversion of a garage into a disinfecting block. Dorms were then treated regularly for vermin, each block being emptied in turn³⁵. This did not appear to do much to solve the problem, but added only to the dehumanising experience of the Barracks.

In 1942 many residents preferred to sleep outside of the Barracks building on the damp ground rather than in the dormitories which were so badly infested with vermin. This was also a sign of the increased overcrowding being experienced. The government report of 1938 referred to the official number of 24 persons per dormitory as exceeding the public health limits by fourteen persons. By 1947 dormitories in the Main Barracks were housing forty-five men, and in one instance sixty-seven men. Many were sleeping on the brick floors. The request for hot water in the showers at the barracks had still not been answered³⁶.

Another report from the Medical Officer of Health in 1949 again recommended the building of ceilings and wooden floors in the Main Barracks. Council's response was that this would decrease the cubic content of the barracks and that this would require that they reduce the number of persons per dormitory and with the pressing demand for accommodation at Langa these alterations were therefore to be held in abeyance³⁷. In 1950 the Langa Advisory Board were again forced to draw the Council's attention to the deplorable conditions in the Main (and North) Barracks and the fact that, despite being condemned by government some ten years previously, Council had done nothing to effect the necessary improvements³⁸.

Making a life: people's experience of the Langa Barracks

Residents of the Main barracks were usually clustered along regional or kinship lines. While this provided important networks, it brought its own pressures³⁹. Younger residents usually had to cook and wash for older men in exchange for food. During the 1950s herbalists did a roaring trade in medicinal herbs in the grounds of the Barracks on a Sunday⁴⁰. Many accepted the harsh conditions of the hostels as a way of life in the belief that it was temporary. Many men found, however, that living apart from their wife and children created misunderstandings and mistrust and ties with the rural areas were broken. A number of old men lived in the hostels, having quarrelled with their wife and family⁴¹.

³² CT 4/1/9/1/69 GN 9/3/1/1

³³ CT 4/1/9/1/69 GN 9/3/1/5

³⁴ CT 4/1/9/1/69 GN 9/3/1/1/3 Advisory Board complaint of 17 Oct 1950 draws attention to nothing having been done to effect the necessary improvements

³⁵ CT 4/1/9/1/69

³⁶ CT 4/1/9/1/70

³⁷ CT 4/1/9/1/69

³⁸ CT 4/1/9/1/69 GN 9/3/1/1, 17 October 1950

³⁹ For Mr Mahamba the move into the more mixed up New Flats provided relief from living amongst kin, as there were "always problems with people knowing each other" Mr Mahamba, Langa, 2002

⁴⁰ Levin, R get page numbers from notes

⁴¹ Mr Mahamba, Langa 2002

Despite oppressive regulations wives and children pressed to enter the city and live as a family. Passes for women, introduced in the 1950s, were fiercely resisted by women in Langa. When there was not enough accommodation in the married quarters to house couples women refused to leave their husbands and moved into the Special quarters. When they were served notices to leave these were ignored⁴². Living as they did, all having to sleep in one room in the city, represented a shift from the rural areas, where children slept and lived in areas separate to adults.

The introduction of women and children into the hostels in the late 1960s brought with it substantial challenges and new tensions. The lack of private space for families inhibited their capacity to function as a close and coherent unit. Some men had adapted to the single-sex hostel system and resented the intrusion of women and children. Tensions could arise, for example, when children played noisily during the day while night workers tried to sleep⁴³.

These were years which women and children spent running away from police and trying to evade police raids on hostels. Right up until 1983 there were 3am pass raids on the barracks by police. Without time to change men and women, old and young were taken in their underwear to the police station.

The old tensions between migrant and permanent residents of Langa are echoed in the charge that the upgrading of the hostels in Langa from single to family accommodation is forcing migrants out of the hostels in favour of the "townspeople"⁴⁴.

5.2. The migrant passage of the 1940s

The influx of Africans into the peninsula area increased dramatically in the mid-1940s, with an average entrance of 400 persons a day. With the outbreak of World War 2 not only did industry in South Africa see rapid expansion, but many coloured Capetonians left to join the and forces, opening up work opportunities for migrant Africans. This influx of Africans led to a panic amongst government and white residents of the city in terms of African housing and control.

A conference of local authorities was called in 1944 to develop a broader housing policy for Africans, at which it was decided that the Cape Town City Council would undertake to administer influx control regulations on behalf of all the local authorities in Cape Town and surrounding districts⁴⁵. City Council officials energetically implemented influx control following this conference of 1944, though the official Native Registration Regulations -with the object of "*controlling the influx of natives into this area and ensuring the presence of natives under decent, orderly conditions*"⁴⁶ - were only passed for Cape Town in August 1945⁴⁷. Stuart Alexander Rogers, Superintendent of Langa, was appointed Registering Officer and Langa selected for "reception"⁴⁸.

The concept of the Reception Depot -"for the control, registration, complete devemlinisation and medical examination of all natives entering the Peninsula" - was considered pivotal in the scheme of Native Registration throughout the Cape Peninsula and environs.

For a while Council even tried to get the South African Railways to divert the Mbombelo line to Langa so that arrivals should detrain directly at the Reception Depot and the outgoing train leave directly from here for purposes of greater control. Although quite seriously considered for a while, the difficulties of diverting the Mbombelo train to the single branch line at Langa were insurmountable and the scheme⁴⁹ abandoned.

⁴² 3/CT 4/1/9/1/73 ref. 9/3/1/7/3

⁴³ Ramphele, p59

⁴⁴ Mr Mahamba, Langa 2002

⁴⁵ Fast, H, p8. African housing outside of the municipalities of Cape Town and Simonstown was to be the responsibility of the Divisional Council

⁴⁶ 3/CT 4/2/1/1/609 14/5/27

⁴⁷ 3/CT 4/1/9/1/11 GN 2/2/1

⁴⁸ 3/CT 4/1/9/1/41 GN 6/6/1/1/3: another instance of the far ranging powers of the Superintendent

⁴⁹ 3/CT 4/2/1/1/609 ref 14/5/27

A plan for the proposed Reception Depot was produced by the city engineer in late August 1944. The depot was to accommodate 2 000 people, based on the average of 400 entrants per day, and an average reception time of 5 days. The plan reads with a chilling efficiency: migrants would pass from the train into a hall for checking of papers, then on to the deverminisation rooms. Here steam cabinets could deverminise clothes and baggage within half an hour while naked arrivals would be deverminised with a paraffin emulsion and shower prior to entrance into the barrack for new arrivals. A medical examination the following day would identify any with infectious diseases. These people would be put into the infectious diseases ward within the Depot, before repatriation. If considered healthy they would be passed into the hands of the Labour Bureau. Once employment was found people would be allocated a space in one of the barracks. Those inmates unable to find employment would be repatriated⁵⁰.

Though no less dehumanising, the reality was messier than the plan. No permanent reception depot was built. The Council was able to acquire 22 military huts from the Ottery Military Camp for the establishment of what was considered to be a temporary Reception Depot. New entrants to the city were ushered from the train to the old Market hall where papers were checked. They then proceeded to the deverminisation chamber on Bennie Street, which became known as the "dipping tanks". This was initially established in an incomplete cafe premise, raising the concern of the medical officer who voiced the belief that examination and vaccination in open air in winter months would cause undue hardship. Medical examinations took place in one of the military huts placed alongside⁵¹.

A total of 19 of the huts were used for accommodation (placed alongside the Main barracks), 2 for medical services and one as a temporary dining hall. Council waived the usual Municipal regulations in terms of public health requirements with regard to the Depot accommodation, arguing that this was of a temporary nature, housing people only for a few days. Ablution facilities for the Depot accommodation were only installed at the end of 1945. The accommodation was considered capable of housing thousands of men "under military standards".

If an arrival could not find work in some two months they could be sent to the labour colonies - the potato farms at Philipi, where they suffered abuse. This resulted in the potato boycotts and many elderly residents still refuse to eat potatoes.

In July 1946 the government placed restrictions on the sale of tickets to natives wishing to travel to Cape Town and the influx of people into the Peninsula area decreased from the 2 -600 per day of the previous few years to about 70 persons a day. This meant that the Temporary Reception Depot was now little required and fifteen of the hutments were converted for use by permanent residents. Huts 3,4,5 and 6 remained, for the time being, as the Reception Depot⁵². Rental for accommodation in the hutments was charged at the same rate as barracks rents. This caused a great deal of anger amongst residents as the conditions in these hutments were even worse than in the barracks.

The community of Langa resisted the dehumanising experience of the "dipping tanks". Mrs. Fuku recalls that in the late 1940s a group of ladies got fed up about "that cleansing place in Bennie street" and went to the Administration, all carrying knobkerries, to ask what was going on there. The ladies cut off the hosepipes, for hosing down arrivals, in an attempt to destroy the means of "... treating people like animals". Mr. Mahamba recalls how a brother helped him to avoid the "white powder for lice and the x-rays for T.B" by slipping him out behind the building (then, in the 1950s, housed near the Main Barracks in Rhodes avenue). In the 1970s the old Bennie street structure was used as a bioscope⁵³.

6. Community in the making

The early residents of Langa were put together from the disparate groups of Ndabeni residents, town residents, people from Bellville and Tygerberg and migrant workers from the Eastern Cape. They were

⁵⁰ 3/CT 4/2/1/1/609 ref 14/5/27

⁵¹ 3/CT 4/1/9/1/41 GN 6/2/2 – 6/6/1/1/3

⁵² 3/CT 4/1/9/1/41 GN 6/6/1/1/3

⁵³ Councillor Mxoloso, Langa 2002

largely manual labourers involved in the brickyards, construction, quarries, food and clothing industry, municipality, domestic service sector and the transport and commercial sectors⁵⁴. Women struggled to find work in the domestic sector and were often forced to turn to hawking and selling of basic foodstuffs as well as to brewing and sale of beer. A small petty bourgeoisie existed, consisting of teachers, court interpreters, clerks, ministers of religion, nurses and traders (businessmen).

The residents were starkly divided between permanents -those people coming from Ndabeni and other places in town - and migrants. By in large migrants inhabited the barracks and hostels, with permanents living in the married quarters. Xhosa was the predominant *lingua franca* in Langa. Sotho speakers remained a relatively small group and did not constitute a separate community⁵⁵. Ethnic and regional ties -"home-boyism" -played an important part in structuring the community. For example rugby and soccer clubs were organised along these lines as is indicated in the names of various clubs: the Basotuland Happy Lads, Bechuanaland Swallows, the Transkeian Lions⁵⁶. These ties provided vital support to migrants entering the city, but could also serve to divide the community and broader African working class.

Differences also existed along church (mission and independent), traditional and modern, gender and generation lines. Such differences and divides need to be acknowledged, as they were important in shaping the history of Langa. Historians also assert, however, that all residents experienced the same oppression and that this led to the "*development of a conscious habit of solidarity and cohesion in defence of their community*"⁵⁷. Kinship ties linked people across the migrant-permanent divide. Many of the permanent Langa residents recall their parents appealing to relations within the barracks for advice on carrying out traditional practices. Migrants entering Langa would often stay with kin before being allocated a place in the barracks. Thus "the community of Langa, through acts of cooperation and resistance, created itself more than it was created by the authorities". Residents of Langa created a liveable world for themselves despite the narrow living space and harsh adversity⁵⁸. In this way they forged a sense of community.

6.1. Langa's cultural heart: Langa Civic/market Hall, Maragana and Mendi square

It was were the buzz was, where the people would come out all meet other people. (Mrs. C Macozoma).

The original Market Hall was built in the first development phase of Langa, between 1925 and 1927. It was located at the top of Station road, between the station and the living quarters, so those residents returning from work could buy goods here on their way home. The demand for a market declined as the demand for a public hall rose. The building was gradually converted into a civic hall. Finally demolished and moved to the current site, on Maragana, the site of the Market Hall now houses the Apostolic Church.

Until 1931 the old market hall was used exclusively as a market. Traders could rent "tables" within the hall. Stalls included milk rooms and butchery - many people owned cattle in those days⁵⁹. By 1930 the Superintendent reported that, due to the shops and cafes now available for the married quarters, applications for tables in the market place had declined to virtually nil. He recommended that at least half the market place be converted into a hall for the use of residents. The superintendent argued that there was a great need for a public hall for bazaars, concerts and dances "*bearing in mind that the majority of residents in the married and special quarters are from the city and are accustomed to go to some place for their amusement*"⁶⁰.

⁵⁴ Musemwa, p32 and p124

⁵⁵ Musemwa, p127

⁵⁶ Musemwa, p47

⁵⁷ Musemwa, p131

⁵⁸ Kondlo, p26-30

⁵⁹ 3/CT 4/1/5/1273 No 61/5: Council received an application for a butcher's license in 1928. It was noted that although no suitable facilities existed in the market, butchery could be accommodated with a few changes to the building.

⁶⁰ 3/CT 4/1/5/1255 N123/5 September 1931

The renovated premises were available for hire from October 1932. The public hall consisted of a single story brick building under a corrugated asbestos roof some 80-foot by 30 foot. The floor was of concrete and windows fitted with steel frames. Five exit doors were provided. A platform was situated at one end of the hall. Seating consisted of a number of benches⁶¹. Mr. C Mama recalls

"an ugly piece of thing, on one side it was a dairy .. a funny looking hall. .. " but notes that "we survived all or that, we made good music out of that."

Some portion of the hall remained in use as a market space until 1951 when the building was renovated again and the milk bars and hawkers stalls had to be accommodated elsewhere⁶². Renovations included the provision of an entrance hall, the demolition of the existing latrines and building of new toilets and dressing rooms. The hall was now entirely for use as a public hall.

The public hall was used for music concerts and dances. Often these took the fun of fund raising events by sports clubs. Social clubs also made use of the hall for meetings and events. Saturday mornings saw "ihala", the screening of Westerns and movies such as Tarzan, free of charge⁶³ and on Sundays the hall was used for church services. Tribal celebrations, festivals and Memorial Day events made use of the hall and wedding feasts were conventionally held here. The Langa boxing club operated from the hall. During the era of African representation, residents voted here for their (white) representatives to parliament.

The outdoor space of Maragana -the site of the current civic hall-was used in conjunction with the public hall for the holding of tribal festivities, notably the welcoming of Chiefs and preparation of food for the feasts, as well as hosting of sports events. It is probable that the traditional slaughter of goats for important feasts, such as wedding feasts, took place here.

Music and Dance

Music and dancing performed more traditional African celebrations helped to preserve the links with the tribal traditions of the rural areas. A report of the Superintendent in 1944 notes that considerable damage had been done to the floor of the Market Hall by some men taking part in the performance of a tribal dance one evening⁶⁴.

By the 1950s, however, traditional music and dancing were losing ground to band and choral music. The hall was best remembered at this time for the afternoon "spends" which took place on a Saturday from 3 -10pm and show cased Langa's famous jazz bands. With the Zoombloom Rhythm Jizzlers (a vocalist group), the Merry Macs played jazz, calypso, samba as well as the more old fashioned ball-room dances, including such popular numbers as "*Tuxedo junction; Air mail special and In the mood*"⁶⁵.

The Merry Macs also played a little bit of *umbhaqanga* (mostly played by groups from Johannesburg). The most popular of these songs was "Yiza nezembe Malayisha" meaning " come with an axe loader", a song that narrated everyday work experiences. The Merry Macs preferred, however, to play "dignified music" that was appreciated by the educated sector of the community⁶⁶.

Youngsters in the 1950s preferred 'hot music', such as *umbhaqanga*, and this precipitated the emergence of two new musical bands in the early 1950s, called The Cordettes and The Disciples, challenging the more

⁶¹ 3/CT 4/1/5/1262 N182

⁶² The council built sixteen new trading stalls on Bhunga Avenue. And the new milk rooms were built on Bennie street/ The new milk rooms were charged out at £10/month – a rental greatly objected to by the traders J Malangabi, w Hlubi, CJ Nabe and W Zihlangu. 3/CT 4/1/9/85 GN 9/11/12

⁶³ *There was one person, Kududu, who had either the contract with the Council or he is the only person who could play movies there. From school we used to run there, he had a 16mm projector. We used to watch Laurel and hardy ... we used to laugh ourselves to death ... Beautiful set up, but I don't think the old man was making money ... if I think back how he was operating that hall ... he would entertain the whole township for free* (Mr M Mtshula, Langa, 2002)

⁶⁴ 3/CT 4/2/1/1/609 14/5/26 October 13 1944

⁶⁵ Interview with Mr Zibi, in Kondlo, p43

⁶⁶ Interview with Mr Zibi, in Kondlo, p44

middle-class orientation of the Merry Macs. This was followed by the emergence of other musical bands like the Hop Skippers and the Honolulu Swingsters. Most bands collapsed after the 1950s due to lack of financial support.

The vibrant music scene in Langa produced many quality musicians, particularly jazz musicians of the 1950 and 60s, such as Mr C. Mama, Martin Mgiijima, Makhaya Ntshoko, Dudu Phukwana, Aubrey Mathatabatha and Tete Mbambisa. Musicians played at Langa Hall, but also at nightclubs in town. Once again this meant coming up against the brutal reality of segregation. Mr C. Mama recalls:

You would do everything else except the music back in the kitchen. Because you couldn't sit in the auditorium since it was only for white people. When the cops came it would have been trouble for both you the musician and the club owner if you were mixing with the white people. If you were in breaks you would be in the kitchen mixing up with the scullery guys ... Of course we did not own cars at that time. We would finish performing in the club at three in the morning and we would go to sleep on the benches at the station ...

I do believe that we put Cape Town on the map of South Africa's music... We had four or five bands in this very township of Langa. We had the Merrimacs, the City Jazz Kings, the Honolulu Swing Stars, later on the Dibafana, which was a band organised by the late Christopher Columbus, father to Duke and Ezra Ngcukana, who are playing jazz this day ... We had a band from the old flats here, made up of guys mostly from the Transkei.. Stake/light and I tell you those were hot, hot bands... But, we were doing all of those things under pressure because of apartheid.

The churches in Langa were closely linked to the development of choral music. Many choirs existed in Langa. In 1944 the Cape Inter-denominational Choir was formed in Langa, followed by the Peninsula Choristers, the Shining Stars, The Shining Singles, and The Messiah. Competitions between choirs were held annually in Langa at the public hall.

Clubs and Societies

The **Peninsular African Socialite Association** (PASA) was established in 1952 by the educated adults of Langa, with the aim of inculcating more western standards of "civilisation" in the youth of Langa. Youth were encouraged to attend the meetings and social functions organised by PASA in the public hall. Dress was formal and men had to be accompanied by a well-dressed lady partner. PASA's annual New Year's Eve midnight shows in the public hall were a highlight of the social calendar, with choirs and soloists performing until midnight, after which the bands would take over until four o'clock in the morning. In the morning busses came to collect the people to take them to picnic spots on New Year's Day.

Again, a division occurred within PASA based on class and age. Most youngsters and less educated people in Langa felt that PASA did not cater for them and organised themselves into the Peninsula African Social Club (PASC). Music groups opposed to the middle-class tradition of the Merry Macs affiliated with PASC.

Festivals and Memorial Days

Ethnicity was an important element in developing migrant organisation and consciousness in South Africa⁶⁷. The tribal societies and festivals organised in Langa offered some kind of social identity in the urban environment that was very hostile to many black people. They also offered support to many that were struggling to find accommodation and material support. Columns such as *Litaba tsa sechaba sa Moshoeshoe* (news for the people of Moshoeshoe) were common in local newspapers⁶⁸. Such columns would advertise various focus of support and report on matters from home. It is notable that these tribal societies and celebrations rose to prominence at the height of migrancy between 1936 and 1946. The uneven experience of urbanisation under migrant conditions is revealed in the way people clung, in town, to identities constructed in the rural areas.

⁶⁷ Beinart, quoted in Molapo, p289

⁶⁸ Molapo, p87

This form of ethnic identity was resisted by many, however. The more radical in the community looked towards the establishment of a general African working class identity, while others (notably from within the ranks of the permanent dwellers) looked towards a more modern, western, urban identity. These tribal festivals began to decline by the mid-1960s. This was due to the impact of state repression following the Sharpeville massacre and Langa March as well as the shift taking place amongst residents into a more urban, national consciousness.

Tribal festivals and memorial days celebrated in Langa included the Mfengu Memorial day, the Moshoesho Memorial Feast, the Ntsikana Day Celebration and the Mendi Memorial Celebration. Such festivities were attended by from 400 to 2 000 people, depending on the popularity of the event⁶⁹. Participants came not only from Langa, but also from outlying districts such as Worcester and Paarl and, in later years, from Nyanga and Gugulethu. A more detailed account of the festivals and their evolution within Langa is provided in Appendix: I. Traditional festivals in Langa

Common features within the festivities included singing, African dancing, traditional plays, historical speeches and prayers. These took place within the public hall as well as around Maragana and through the streets of Langa. Male elders and chiefs occupied special positions within these festivals. Chiefs usually wore the traditional attire of leopard skins. Participants also wore traditional attire, such as the brightly-coloured blankets and traditional hats worn by the Basotho during the Moshoeshoe celebrations⁷⁰. Women were largely relegated to cooking, serving and dancing.

Central to the festivities was meat and beer and much of the energy of the organising communities was spent in finding affordable oxen to buy for traditional slaughter. Many gallons of beer were brewed and for this official permission was needed. This, along with the regulation that stipulated that all gatherings required the authorisation of the Superintendent, meant that such festivities became "official" and government officials, usually in the person of the Superintendent, were called on to address the crowd. The festivals were also usually closely linked to the various church structures and were opened and closed with prayers. It was common for more than one denomination to be present⁷¹. The civic organs, the Advisory Board and Vigilance Association, were commonly represented.

Despite being disregarded by many as "tribal" and divisive, these cultural festivals provided the people of Langa a space for sociability. People had plenty to eat and drink. They also enshrined black history in memory at a time when it was given no place in the official histories.

For two years particularly, I went to every one [festival]. It was nice, they wore their traditional dress and got a guest speaker to speak about the background to this occasion and then choirs sang. The choirs would compete, male voice choirs; mixed choirs; women's choirs and it was real fun. A nice time ... and then they would make a collection and I think that would go toward defraying expenses. (Ms Nongauza, Langa, 2002)

6.2. Rites of Passage: Birth, initiation, marriage and death

Many traditional practices from the rural areas continued on in Langa. New circumstances impacted on the rites and practices, which in turn, dynamically adjusted to accommodate these. Where initiation was a three to six month process in the rural areas the pressures of urban employment resulted in initiation rites becoming far shorter, usually a month in length. Traditional practices provided an important social link between the migrant workers and the permanent Cape Town residents who frequently had to turn to their fellow clan members resident in the barracks for advice and instruction on the carrying out of traditional practices.

If you want to know something about your clan or there is something you don't know. You go there (to the Barracks) and consult them, they tell you: Go this way, not turn that way, do this and don't do that. (Mr. Nqwevela, Langa 2002)

⁶⁹ Cape Times reports of 14 May 1958, 16 March 1959 and Botto quoted in Molap, p108

⁷⁰ Cape Times 4 March 1966

⁷¹ Molapo, p87

Birth and Imbeleko

Birth usually took place in people's homes, or at the Langa hospita⁷². The imbeleko ritual, traditionally linked to birth, is now done at any time between birth and initiation⁷³. This ritual introduces the child to its ancestors. A goat is slaughtered and the child is made to eat a selected piece, before others can partake of the festivities. As the goatskin was meant to be the child's first blanket, the delay of this ritual till later years results in some loss of meaning⁷⁴.

There is no special thing, you just slaughter. First of all we pray the underground people (ancestors) so they can see what we are doing. They mistake all these things/or the child to them. We must first ask the old people, although they underground, they must see now what are we doing/or their name ... When we slaughtering today, we eating tomorrow ... but we must sleep here ... the sheep must sleep here. (Mrs R Neer, Langa 2002).

Initiation

If you are not circumcised in Langa there is no way you can marry any woman. (Mr Mtshula, Langa 2002)

The initiation of boys, a tradition developed in the rural areas, continues as an important rite of passage in Langa. A central feature of initiation is circumcision. Although people from Zulu, Bacas and Pondo "ethnic groups" do not circumcise, many members of such groups in Langa have been circumcised and passed through the same initiations schools due to the level of marriages between members of different groups and general contact between people⁷⁵.

It is the responsibility of the father of the boy to see that he is circumcised at the correct age. Some boys are sent "up country" for initiation school (back to the rural areas), but many have remained in Langa. Before the development of the Zones, initiation also took place in the forest area between Jungle Walk and the old flats (the area of zone 2). Today the site is located alongside Langa, in the open veld between Bhunga Avenue and the power station.

Initiation schools traditionally take place around autumn (June/July). In the past this may have taken 3 -6 months, but is now around 4 weeks in order to accommodate the urban demands of work and school. The boys undergo a fast in isolation, eating only pap and dry food to assist the healing of the cut. Lime/white ochre covers the body in order that all boys look the same and are, in this way, protected against any witchcraft that may be directed against them at this critical time, as the witches cannot tell them apart. An "Nchebe" (healer) does the cut. Circumcision is followed by a period of healing during which time new codes of behaviour and a new language is learnt. Older men address the new initiates on issues of life and marriage, tradition and history.

(They teach you) lots about life. Life in general. What to expect from life, you expect good, expect bad. What do you do, if you get bad things from life, how do you take it? What do you do when you get good things from life? Behaviour ... And endurance. You must endure pain... Physical and emotional. You must not be a cry-baby ... even if I'm hurt I must not show, I must keep it deep down in me and say I'm going to get out of the situation. (Mr K Nqwevela, Langa 2002)

On returning to society the initiates burn the sack huts and old blanket they came with and wash the lime off) symbolically leaving behind the previous life and entering the new life as men. Thenceforth they are regarded no longer as amakhwenkwe (boys) but amadoda (men) and allowed to marry⁷⁶.

⁷² Levin, Marriage in Langa Native Location, p163

⁷³ Ramphela, p84-85

⁷⁴ Mr Hobongwana, Langa, 2002

⁷⁵ Ibid, p171

⁷⁶ Levin, p173

Despite residents being aware that much of the former value of the rite has been lost in the urban setting, the rite is still considered essential⁷⁷. The purpose of initiation was to inculcate a feeling of group responsibility and impress upon boys their new status as men. Traditionally greater social segregation existed between men and boys than has been possible to maintain in the urban setting. In place of natural herbs, some now opt for an antibiotic shot before circumcision. Most disturbing people is the new commercial edge entering the initiation ritual where "professionals" are now demanding a fee and holding initiation schools for commercial purposes⁷⁸.

Female initiation was a far less structured rite and consisted mainly of a mother addressing her daughter on the subject of sex. This was usually done in the home.

Marriage

By 1950s few "native custom" marriages took place in Langa. Residents were increasingly married in Church and by common law⁷⁹. The weddings of wealthy couples, particularly those with parents residing in Langa, were a highlight of location life at this time.

Courting involved, in the 1950s, trips to the seaside, the zoo, botanical gardens, museum, concerts and parties in the Langa Civic Hall⁸⁰. Weddings involved exhibition and display and usually took place in the church to which the bride belonged. The weddings of poorer residents took place in the home of one of the couple marrying, or at the minister's house, or in church. The bridal party would often go to Cape Town for photographs another ceremony and then return for the dinner, "isidlo", which was usually held in the Langa Civic Hall, or the Church school room. It was traditional to slaughter a goat at this feast.

Some aspects of traditional weddings were still incorporated in urban weddings of the 1940s and early 1950s, while others were becoming redundant. In rural tradition the bride was supposed to remain secluded in her home for three weeks prior to the wedding. This was not widespread in Langa and faded away as it became less and less possible for working women to go into seclusion. Furthermore, in the small location, it was less and less possible not to see the husband to be for the three-week period. Still common at this time was the dancing and singing of the "uduli", the groom's party, on the night before the wedding. The bride's family sent meat to the groom and his "uduli" at sunset.

Mr. Nqwevela recalls that the wedding was customary in his case:

The people are invited to come and witness the naming of the bride. Ja, you see, the bride when she gets married, she gets a new name, you don't call her by her maiden name, she gets a new name. A goat is slaughtered for that occasion, there's some milk. She is given milk to drink. To make her welcome into this family, she can do anything in this family.

The experience for women of entering the traditional role of wife is given a different emphasis:

When the girl is getting married, we must keep tight ...because she is leaving this house now. She must know what it like ..it's not like my home, I got to obey things now. I got to obey this law (Mrs R Neer, Langa 2002)

Mr. Qunta adds that:

⁷⁷ Mr Qunta states that he could not have held leadership within the UDF if he had not been circumcised. He could not lead men without having the status of a man. Ramphela, p84, goes as far as to propose that circumcision gained a new level of importance in the migrant set up. With children and mothers spending more time together in the rural areas fathers could become estranged from their children and his presence resented, coming in an erratic manner and often with it the tightening of discipline. In this context circumcision, it is argued, symbolically and violently severs the bond between mother and son, and re-establishes the father as the central figure in a young man's life in spite of earlier physical separation.

⁷⁸ Mr Zibi, Langa, 2002

⁷⁹ Ibid, p85

⁸⁰ Prior to hard apartheid much of the City was still accessible

They slaughter and she [the bride] has that cut of meat with our milk and he endures that which means she's going to be patient with the new ... family.

With urbanisation came the decreasing participation of parents in the choice of a mate for their children as economic and social factors increased the independence of young adults. Although people generally got written consent from parents at home, this was really just a formality. The tradition of clan exogamy, however, was still rigidly kept in the location. In urban areas the incidences of marriage between members of different "ethnic" background was increasingly common.

Death

Burial societies organised within Langa have, over the years, provided an important form of savings to provide financial assistance to cover funeral and burial costs. In the past these were often organised amongst groups coming from the same region.

Traditionally friends and families would gather at the home of the deceased and spend the night singing hymns and praying. Close relatives would shave their hair as a sign of mourning. The funeral was held on the afternoon of the day following the death. In Langa, in the late 1940s, there was only one funeral undertaker who possessed his own hearse, and he was usually in charge of the funeral arrangements⁸¹.

Mourners walked to the cemetery on the outskirts of the location, alongside the railway line. The burial would be followed by a dinner, with the erection of a tombstone taking place around a year later. The home of the deceased was cleansed by sangomas who would wash the walls with specially prepared solutions, and hang up various charms in order to protect the house against further deaths. The floors of the house were usually polished.

It was traditional for people to be buried as soon as possible after they have died. With urbanisation people had to begin to conduct their funerals on Saturdays or Sundays. Within Xhosa tradition ancestral heritage is central to spirituality. Langa cemetery is a sacred place for the ancestors of all Langa residents.

Sport

Langa of the 1940s and 50s is repeatedly described as a "sporty" township that drew crowds, coming in on the trains, to watch the Saturday matches. The first sports ground was provided at Langa in 1934 when the Council voted £2 000 for relief work for unemployed residents to build it. The New Stadium was built by the Council in 1959. This brought to an end the days of free entertainment and clubs were frequently involved in conflict with Superintendent Rogers over payment for the use of the new stadium grounds⁸².

An informal stadium existed for a while on the site of today's Khulani school. This was known as Esigingqini, "the slope". Older residents still remember the time when this site was a dam, reached through the forest area behind the Old Location. With the development of the zones, from the mid-1940s, the forest was cut and the dam shut down. This site became a sports field. Spectators would sit on the old dam wall. The only problem was that the field sloped!

Sport and Identity

Pre-colonial focus of sport did persist in Langa. These included squirrel-hunting in the forest⁸³, dancing, stick fighting and boxing. With restricted space and the shift from herding as a major pastime -a pastime to which many of the traditional sports and games related -many of these activities gave way to colonial leisure pursuits that had spread into South Africa.

⁸¹ Levin, p80

⁸² Molapo, p67

⁸³ Mr Marunta, founding principal of Langa High School, bred greyhounds, which were used for traditional pack hunting.

We saw stick fighting when a boy was going to initiation school and then the men would stick fight. Or on Sunday's we used to socialise by making those games... It was a sport. (Mr K. Nqwevela, Langa, 2002).

Sports such as rugby, cricket and soccer became the dominant forms of leisure activities, particularly for men⁸⁴. The rapid urbanisation of the 1940s resulted in fierce competition over urban resources, such as housing. Networks developed in the struggle to gain dominance over urban space and economic opportunity also played out in the realm of sport and leisure⁸⁵. Sports clubs were developed along urban ("permanent") and rural ("migrants") lines, and also reflected "homeboy" loyalties. These links are reflected in the names of the different clubs.

Rugby, the seeds of which had been sown amongst the Xhosa in the Eastern Cape through mission institutions, was introduced to Langa in the 1930s. Rugby teams in the local league were United Homeboys, Bantu, Tembu, Busy Bees, Mother City, Harlequins, Langa High School, Olympics and Red Lions. The rugby team of Langa High School, established in 1937, was considered to be "the pride and joy of the school"⁸⁶.

A big club for the "Capetonians", called Mother City was formed in 1947. This club was exclusively for those born and bred in Cape Town and evidence of having been in Cape Town for a continuous period of at least five years was a condition of membership⁸⁷. This bizarrely internalised the state's influx control procedures to discriminate against "amagoduka" (outsiders) and is evident of the class struggle amongst Africans within Cape Town. A women's section to the Mother City was begun in 1968. These women had the role of recruiting, laundry, cheering, catering. Mother City became a dominant team in the local league. A trophy presentation to this club was held at the Langa Civic hall in 1966. The "fabulous Merry Macs" provided the music⁸⁸.

Cricket was similarly introduced into Langa in the 1930s. The Langa High School cricket team was established in 1946 and in 1947 two of the team were selected for the (black) Western Province team. Ben Malamba later went on to represent the "non-White" South African team which toured Kenya in 1947. Ben Malamba emerged as an outstanding cricketer. Two of his teammates were selected to play county cricket in England. This left a bitter feeling that he had not been selected for such a position because of colour⁸⁹.

As with rugby, team names reflected the patterns of migrancy. The Langa based team, which produced Ben Malamba, was the Home Bachelors. Cricket players were largely drawn from the ranks of the petit bourgeoisie: teachers, clerks, interpreters, and ministers. The last African clubs were disbanding by late 1950s early 1960s with the good players being recruited into Indian, Coloured teams as condition of facilities in Langa were poor and it was too expensive to play. Street cricket remains an important leisure pursuit, with teams coming from the different streets in Langa⁹⁰.

Again patterns of labour migrations were reflected in the ways in which Langa soccer teams were formed. Soccer was a much more working class pursuit than either rugby or cricket. In 1962, there was conflict within the Langa based team, the Blue Birds, and a new team by name of Young Ideas Football Club was formed. The main conflict was apparently based on the type of football being played. The Young ideas (later becoming the Real Ideas) enjoyed the dribbling type of soccer that occupies a special place in the township leisure. This concentrates on providing entertainment, rather than scoring goals. In the 1970s the Young Ideas football club was known as Bafana (Boys) Football Club. A popular view held in Langa is that the name for the SA Soccer team of 'Bafana bafana' (boys-boys) drew on that from Langa⁹¹.

⁸⁴ Molapo, p46

⁸⁵ For detailed analysis of this process see Molapo p38-67

⁸⁶ Molapo, p45

⁸⁷ Molapo, p47

⁸⁸ Molapo, p49

⁸⁹ Molapo, p46

⁹⁰ Molapo, p54

⁹¹ Molapo, p66

In the 1950s rugby, cricket and soccer sporting clubs resolved that they no longer wanted to be called Bantus. This had been an identity in which they had previously taken pride, as indicated in the naming of many teams, such as the Bantu Club. However, by the 1950s this team had become linked to the new apartheid state ideology and its negative connotations⁹².

A number of well-established tennis clubs developed in Langa, with three all-weather courts. Many women in Langa played tennis, as well as netball.

Some sporting stars of Langa include: Ben Malamba – a double springbok, capped in rugby and cricket, Walter Faku, Morris Maxaba, Khusele Mnobo, Thema Maqele, Themba Buku, MS “Cappy” Ddlumbini, HHZ Mpondo, Thami Mgijima, Sinda and Gilbert Ndlwana⁹³. Also Zibi Balfour (cousin of Minister of Sport, Nconde Balfour), Nyamalazi, Mr Gibleert Fesii, Mtunzi Fezi, Swift SO Mama (opening batsman WP cricket), Jinoy and Thami Magodla (WP fast bowler), Cedric Mvinjelwa (WP rugby centre), Nimrod Xhelo. Eric Majola was considered the best flyhalf in South Africa at the time.

Churches and Education

Between 1927 and 1948 twenty-two churches were established in Langa. Sixteen of these were separatist churches. The first churches to be established in Langa were the Presbyterian Church of SA, the Wesleyan Church, the Church of England and the Methodist Episcopal Church which had buildings in the centre of the township with a spacious house for the minister. The Anglican church was largely built through the sponsorship of the Cowley Fathers from Oxford. White donors from outside of Langa, also assisted the Methodists⁹⁴. Churches doubled up as classrooms prior to the building of formal schools.

The Ethiopian and Zionist independent churches emerged in the late 19th century as breakaway groups from the Mission Churches. These churches grew in Langa post 1938 with the creation of an urban, black working class. Rituals in these churches tended to approximate traditional rituals and divining practices⁹⁵.

Authorities feared the uncontrolled preponderance of churches and so placed a number of restrictions on church development. There had to be a five-mile radius between churches and services in private houses and open-air services were prohibited. The amended (Urban Areas) Act of 1937 forbade the City Council to grant land to native churches. Land for such purposes could only be leased.

This made it difficult for these churches to build, as few would lend money for a building on somebody else's land. In addition there were strong conditions for the recognition of a church by the government. For example, a church had to have ten years quiet life and a good bank account for recognition. For churches catering to the poorest of the African working class a good bank account was unlikely. Few independent churches thus had church buildings (only the Presbyterian Church of Africa, the African Ethiopian Baptist Church, the Ethiopian Church of South Africa and the Bantu Methodist Church had buildings). The rest met in private houses, the civic hall, or, in later year, other townships⁹⁶.

Neither Council nor government had made provision for schooling at Langa. The first five schools in Langa were built by Mission Churches. These were St Cyprians, a Church of England school built 1928, later called Zimasa and now in ruins; St Francis established in 1930/1 as the Dutch Reformed school, initially a Sotho and Afrikaans speaking school, that later became known as Moshesh school; St Louis, built by the Catholic

⁹² Molapo, 58

⁹³ Molapo, p58

⁹⁴ Kondlo, p27

⁹⁵ Kondlo, p25

⁹⁶ Kondlo, p29

St Anthony's church, in Rhubasana avenue, in 1935/6, and the Methodist school, built in 1936, today called Thembani⁹⁷.

Ms Nongauza recalls that her mother, Mrs Nongauza, was the first teacher at the newly established St Cyprians:

We left (Ndabeni) when my mother was asked by the Anglican Fathers who were running our parish from Chapel street, to come and start a school in Langa. So we came with her... in 1927. Then my mother started this school and we went to this school. That is the one that looks like it's in ruins now, it's called St Cyprians ... it was an Anglican school .. The church is still functioning, but the school is absolutely derelict because of the vandalisation and destruction of the 1960s ... And I must say whenever I go to church and I see that school, really my heart sinks to my shoes because I am so depressed by the whole thing. (Ms Nongauza, Langa, 2002)

Mrs P Fuku is similarly concerned:

When we were moved to Langa there was only one school, St Cyprians .. it breaks my heart that it is now so dilapidated.

(On the origins of the Catholic St Louis school)

My father and Mr. Jinga and Mr. Olifphant went over to the Catholics in Maitland to request them to build a school in Langa because the kids were just running around and the priest sent them to Bishop Hynemann and he negotiated with the City Council and got that school in Rubansana Avenue. That was built in 1936 while we were still at (school in) Athlone and when the school was finished my father said "Now you are going to learn Xhosa for a change!". (Mrs P Fuku, Langa, 2002)

Churches cooperated extensively around education and an inter-denominational committee began the struggle for secondary schooling in Langa. 1926 saw the exclusion of Africans from Zonnebloem College and in 1933 Africans were excluded from Salt River School for "non-Europeans" resulting in no secondary schooling being provided for Africans in the Western Cape by 1930⁹⁸. Secondary schooling in Langa was provided only after a ten-year battle by Langa parents as Government believed the provision of secondary schooling would be an added attraction for rural Africans to move to the city.

Langa High school was begun in 1937. Classes were held in the African Presbyterian Church in Harlem Ave, the AME church in Rhubasana Ave and the Methodist vestry⁹⁹ until the education department built the first classrooms, which were officially opened in March 1943. As the only African secondary school in the Western Cape for many years, students came from as far afield as Simons town and the Boland¹⁰⁰.

Despite the nationalist government spending no money on African education and consequent overcrowding, Langa High became a prestigious school, held in great reverence and renowned for its academic, extramural and strong sporting reputation. Langa High ensured that drama, music, debating societies, music afternoon, sports matches and concerts became an integral part of Langa. Langa High was also a political training ground for many students, with a Student's Representative Council being established as early as 1951¹⁰¹.

7. Government Control

7.1. The administration block and the old pass office and court

⁹⁷ Mr Mama was the founding principal of Thembani School, followed by Mr Lubhelwana

⁹⁸ Mohammed, p20

⁹⁹ Mrs Mayo, oral interview, Langa 2002

¹⁰⁰ Mr Vincent Qunta, the founding principal of Langa High School, was followed by Mr ID Mkize, who is described by Ms Nonguasa as having been "a very genial, gentle man, Christian-like and devout, kind and hardworking and scholarly ... a strict disciplinarian and example to many of us. He was a great example. He was the most highly educated person and through his school he produced doctors (Ms Nonguasa, Langa 2002).

¹⁰¹ Mohammed, p80

Amongst the first buildings completed in Langa were the **Central Administration Block** and the **police station**. These buildings, centrally situated in the township, were strategically located to maintain effective and efficient control. This was the seat of the superintendent of Langa and dealt with rents, passes, social welfare issues, domestic disputes, wielding thus a virtual total control of everyday life. From the 1940s a **Periodical court** was held here daily to try cases of Africans accused of contravening the Urban Areas Act and its regulations¹⁰².

From 1923 until 1973 administration of Langa fell under the Native Affairs Committee of the Cape Town City Council¹⁰³. Daily administration was conducted by the Superintendent appointed by the Council. The Native (Urban Areas) Act made provision for Advisory Boards "elected" by residents. These Boards were, from the first, recognised as a "sham" democracy in that they had absolutely no powers within Council and included within them Council appointees. In 1973 this was handed over once again to national government in the form of the Bantu Affairs Administration Board¹⁰⁴.

The government (local and later national), through the person of the Superintendent, had total control over virtually all aspects of residents' lives, including passes and permission to reside in the Peninsula, access to accommodation, access to trading opportunities, beer brewing licenses, wood cutting permits, etc. This made the Superintendent all-powerful. For example, if persons had not paid rental then permits for beer brewing and for woodcutting in government forest could be refused¹⁰⁵.

The Council was extremely unpopular from the very beginning of the existence of Langa. Old Ndabeni residents were angered by their forced removal by council to Langa. Conditions at Langa were bad: there was great pressure on both single and married quarter accommodation, often resulting in overcrowding, and barrack conditions were the subject of frequent complaint. Rentals were considered extremely high and were often raised with no consultation with the community or even the Advisory Board. Residents had no representation in Council. The Advisory Board had no real powers and the Council minutes indicate how issues and concerns raised by the Board were, time after time, ignored.

The Council's monopoly of the eating houses, the sale of basic foodstuffs such as fruit and vegetables and fuel, as well as the Council clampdown on regulations forbidding the trade of home baked bread and basic goods greatly angered residents. These moves restricted the economic development of residents and particularly hit at the ability of the very poorest residents, mainly women, to sustain themselves. Mrs. Macozoma vividly recalled the crude brutality of the system whereby women baking bread for sale at the barracks, in order to supplement their income, would have that bread kicked out from under them by officials¹⁰⁶.

When it came to monopolising the lucrative trade in alcohol feeling in the community ran particularly high. The actions of the Council ensured that the central tenet of the Native (Urban Areas) Act be ensured: residents were there as temporary visitors, to work for white capital and any attempt to develop an independent economic existence of their own was frustrated.

The Superintendent had not only administrative functions, but also the power to police regulations. During the late 1930s and early 1940s the Superintendent and his officials were regularly involved in raids on houses suspected of involvement in illicit beer brewing. This collapse of powers again greatly angered residents who petitioned the Council on this matter in 1941 in the wake of the small riot by women against beer brewing raids. With the tightening of influx control in the early 1940s the Langa superintendent was also

¹⁰² Musemwa, p41 .

¹⁰³ The first administrator appointed to Langa, in 1923, was Mr. Cook. He retired in 1938, the only official blot on his copy book being a two day disappearance in 1931 while out on a drinking spree! He was followed by Mr. S A Rogers, who had been cashier and bookkeeper at Ndabeni.

¹⁰⁴ Cape Argus, 13 August 1976. The first Chair of this Board was Brigadier J H van der Westhuizen (a retired, senior police official) with Mr. A Maclachlan as the most senior official.

¹⁰⁵ 3/CT 4/1/5/1277 N3/5

¹⁰⁶ Mrs C Macozomo, 2002

appointed by government as Registration Officer. In this position he had powers over all Africans entering the Peninsula.

Residents' relationship to the superintendent was thus deeply complex. On the one hand he was resented, mistrusted and despised. At the same time, with powers over all aspects of life, residents had no choice but to look towards the Superintendent for patronage. The superintendent regularly appeared at cultural festivals and chaired many sporting and other organisations in Langa. A good relationship with the Superintendent could bring reward in the form of preferential access to accommodation or trading rights¹⁰⁷.

The Administration Block was, repeatedly, a target of crowds during protest demonstration and the uprisings of 1960 and 1976. On the night of the 21 March 1960 angry crowds burnt down the pass office. During the 1976 uprisings in August the municipal beer hall and a bar lounge were burnt down. This was a clear indication of the fury and resentment of residents towards officialdom and its oppressive bureaucracy.

7.2. The Pass Office and Court

"A human hell hole" (Fatima Dike, Langa, 2002)

Under the racially discriminating legislation of the past African residence in Cape Town could only be legally attained either by proof of having been born in the city, or proof of employment. A pass, indicating the status of each person, had to be carried by Africans at all times and regularly renewed.

The handling of passes and cases related to the pass laws was located within the Administration Block in Langa until the building of the Pass Office and Court in the early 1960s. Built of untreated wood the building disintegrated after its disuse. It has been earmarked for restoration as part of the Unicity's heritage project.

Influx control and the concomitant pass bureaucracy permeated all areas of life in Langa. This is graphically described by the oft-repeated comment "you couldn't even go to the toilet without your pass"¹⁰⁸. During the height of the pass system, in the 1950s, the pass office was, at times, handling up to sixty people an hour (a person a minute -which meant the regulations were incredibly randomly applied)¹⁰⁹. In the 1950s, when the pass laws were extended to women, the women of Langa besieged this office.

For a time the Langa Pass Office was the only pass office in the peninsula and residents recall people, Langa residents, but also people from as far as Simons town and the Boland, queuing for passes from 4am in the dark outside the office. Some residents baked and sold vetkoek to these "visitors", exploiting the small economic opportunity this institution afforded. The building was packed with migrants fixing up their passes and a sign in Xhosa read: *Do not spit*¹¹⁰. Most people were attended from the windows, forcing people to queue outside. A person could queue the whole day and the queue would not be finished¹¹¹.

The barbarism and indignity that the pass system inflicted is recalled by all who speak of it.

Officials in the pass office would say to wives coming in from the Transkei: "oh you coming to be made pregnant by your husband, coming to fetch another baby" to somebody else's wife. But we gave as good as we got, saying in reply "you are here because of me and if I was not for this blooming paper, you wouldn't have a job!" (Mrs. Fuku, Langa, 2002).

The notorious pass raids, rounding up anybody without official documentation, were relentless. Pass offenders could be arrested in the middle of the night and forced to appear in their underwear. Women were not allowed in the barracks, old flats or the zones, but many began moving in with husbands and partners from the 1960s regardless of legislation.

¹⁰⁷ Oral testimonies of residents and illustrated in the Vokwana trading license incident (archives).

¹⁰⁸ Langa oral testimonies, 2002.

¹⁰⁹ SA Library photograph, personal memory Sue Powers, 2002.

¹¹⁰ F Dike, Langa, 2002.

¹¹¹ Mr Mahamba, Langa, 2002

The people, the Policemen they wake up the people, if you don't get a permit they come, never mind if you naked or what ... they must get up, where's the pass.

(Mr. C. Mama, Langa 2002)

They ask you anytime pass. If you haven't got, whether you had it or left it, it's too bad for you they just put you in that van. ... Lucky I'm working at Langa School!. (A)} Langa School they ask me "Mama, where's the permit" I say I forgot it, they put me In the van. I went in, the Policemen ... I could come here to the office. Where is your pass? I said I left it at home, they say they (the pass) will come with you. I said "No, I don't think I must carry a permit all the time. I am going to lose it. I don't want to lose. I know it is the problem. ...they can say let's go to your house and get it... but no, they put me inside. Lucky my son was also here, he brought the permit ... "All right you can go' (Bad words) ... what can I do, nothing, I must shut up. Then the commander say "I'm very sorry Mrs Neer, we're sorry to worry you'. Hey they are sorry, it's too late, they already put me in the nylon([police van])(Mrs R Neer, Langa, 2002).

It was risky to be there [the old flats] because of raids at night, people would be arrested and put into big police truck that we called "umgqomo" and that translates to a rubbish bill. The police wouldn't wait for people to get dressed and we used to see all these funny things as children". (Mrs. Mayo, Langa, 2002)

People would wait all night in a cell in the police station or Administration Block in order to appear in court the next day. Cases of Urban Areas Act contravention were heard in the courthouse and up to thirty cases could be heard in as many minutes.

They didn't even look at you young or old, that's why the people were mad. (Mrs. C Macazoma, Langa, 2002).

There was no such plea as "not guilty". Anyone arrested was guilty and fines had to be paid for release. The abuse and torture of being hounded for passes, of the midnight pass raid arrests, the sham court cases and penalties incurred is summed up by Mrs. Macozoma:

Yes, the court, you just go in there and the next thing...guilty or not guilty haai answer quickly you pay the fine and go to jail. In about half an hour about thirty people were finished .. the only thing "Skuld of wat?" They didn't even look at you, young or old, that's why the people were ma.d But the people were fighting with the Police also, they didn't worry about dying and thing like that. They were dead already, they would fight. You know, it's the pass laws that made the people very aggressive ... that anger I not gone. That anger is not gone.

I wouldn't expect any other community to experience what we experienced. (Mrs. C Macozoma, Langa, 2002).

Everywhere we were hunted down like animal Ja, it's strange, sometimes you think about things you decided not to think about. Where you say forgive them for they know not of what they are doing. But they knew what they were doing. They humiliated us ...they were enjoying life on our backs. (Mr. C Mama, Langa, 2002)

Many residents, however, remained defiant until the end. A Langa resident who gained notoriety for her continued resistance to the pass system was a Mrs. Silinga. She is remembered as never carrying a pass.

7.3 The economic pulse

Despite the Council's early discussions that Langa would be a place where Africans "could develop along their own lines", business opportunities for Langa residents were highly circumscribed. As with all aspects of township life the Council retained virtually total control over trade (in the form of Council monopolies) and

trading opportunities (with trading rights issued by Council as per Langa regulation number 42)¹¹². This power was exploited and abused.

The superintendent himself expressed the extreme power of the superintendent in the allocation of trading rights: "The Manager stated that, as long as he'd been Manager of Native Administration not one of his recommendations had been turned down by the council"¹¹³. Again the basic tenet of the Native (Urban Areas) Act was apparent in the issue of trading rights to "permanent" township dwellers and not to migrants. This was a source of tension between hostel dwellers and township residents with hostel dwellers complaining about inflated prices and unfair competition¹¹⁴.

In 1944, a year after having taken over the eating houses at the Main Barracks, the Council set up a depot for the municipal distribution, at cost, of such commodities as milk, vegetables, fruit and fuel (coal). They were already selling deciduous fruit through a state-aided scheme. The vegetables sold were grown on the vegetable gardens developed by Superintendent Rogers for use by the new Council kitchens at the Main Barracks.

The Council's Dining Hall, vegetable gardens and fruit and fruit, vegetable and coal sales were all done under the guise of improved health and nutrition for residents. The Council argued that objections to these schemes could be expected from retailers, but that the "vested interests of a very small minority should not be allowed to stand in the way of benefits to the whole community"¹¹⁵. In effect, however, municipal monopolies frustrated not only local business development, but left the most marginal, largely women, who survived on the hawking of basic foodstuffs, without a means of survival.

Monopolies also meant that there was no control of quality and reports indicated that residents were not happy with the quality of food in the eating house. Despite being supposedly sold at cost, this food was considered expensive by residents. Residents were also frustrated that their requests to gain access to plots for vegetable gardens had been refused, while the municipality developed its own gardens.

Despite Council monopolies residents sustained entrepreneurial activity, both formally and informally. The market hall provided the first venue for trade. With the development of shops in the married quarters, the first being built in 1928, this venue increasingly fell into disuse. When the building was converted into a public hall two African-run milk shops and some informal traders, who were then accommodated elsewhere, were still using it. It is interesting to note that the milk purveyors were still in operation in 1950 as, with the establishment of the Council Dining Hall in the Main Barracks in 1943, the Council had planned to "arrange the milk supply here" and had presumed that the African-run milk shops would fall into disuse. It is likely that their continued existence was a result of a concerted effort on the part of the traders to retain some aspect of trade in the location¹¹⁶.

By 1942 there were 18 General Dealers shops in Langa. These sold groceries, fresh produce and soft goods. The General Dealers were built at the end of each of the terraces of cottages. They were scattered about as single shops throughout a large part of the location. Residents, through the Advisory Board, had rejected a centralised trade centre, preferring to operate general dealers spread around the location¹¹⁷. It

¹¹² 3/CT 4/1/5/1273 GN 9/11/3/12/7

¹¹³ 3/CT 4/1/9/1/84 GN 9/11/2

¹¹⁴ Ramphela, p86-7

¹¹⁵ 3/CT 4/2/1/1/609 14/5/26

¹¹⁶ 3/CT 4/2/1/1/620 14/5/18

¹¹⁷ 3/CT 4/2/1/1/620 14/5/18: Some permit holders:

No 235 Jabavu St: large general dealers

No 246 Jabavu St: small general dealers

No 22 Washington St: CJ Nabe, until his death in 1962

No 1 Bhunga Ave: Columbus Dlaba, followed by Mr Garcia Nongauza, in 1962

No 30 Church St: Mr Dickson Tsobo

No 276 Church St (corner Church and Jabavu): MJQ Matole, followed by TD Gushman

appears that wives were sometimes able to carry on trading after the death of a husband, but in many cases the license were re-allocated.

The first application for a butcher's license was submitted in 1928. By 1942 four butchers shops were being run in Langa¹¹⁸. A Medical officer's report of that year noted that they were soundly constructed and in good condition, but that they were too small, with inadequate hanging racks and no cold storage. One shop had an icebox¹¹⁹.

A fish and chips shop was also established in Langa. Apart from retail quite a number of people earned a living through tailoring, carpeting, leather and metal work, shoe repairs and hairdressing. A dry-cleaners service was also in operation¹²⁰.

In 1941 the disused kitchens in the Special quarters converted into ten trading stalls, two of which were hairdressers¹²¹. With the conversion of the market hall into a public hall in 1950 sixteen new trading stalls were built in Lerotoli Street. Regular deputations from traders to Council voicing collective grievances indicated that trading interests were well organised¹²². Trading societies began to emerge in Langa in the 1950s. These involved "influential" residents clubbing together to establish trading stores¹²³.

Informal, "illegal" trade included taxi services, second-hand car dealing and general hawking. Such informal traders also came into conflict with the formal traders at times¹²⁴. Despite the council's clamping down on informal trade it could never be stamped out for long. By 1949 a "long-standing, open-air sale" was conducted by hawkers in Lerotoli Avenue, opposite the Main Barracks. This had begun with two "illegal" traders trading here in 1948 and by 1949 there were some ten "al fresco" shops in operation. The Council cracked down on these in 1949 and began to prosecute hawkers¹²⁵.

8. Civic organisation and local struggles

In February 1929 the first Langa Advisory Board, as catered for the Native (Urban Areas) Act 21 of 1923, was elected in the face of much difficulty arising from objection to the structure and general apathy on the part of residents. This structure was to cater for consultation between the superintendent and the local residents. The duties and functions, as laid out in the Act, were open-ended and often abused. In Langa the Advisory Board structure was to be six members elected by the registered occupiers of the married quarters (2 members), Special quarters (2 members) and Main Barracks (2 members) with three members appointed by the Council. The superintendent was to be ex officio chair.

The structure was recognised by residents as being a sham democracy. It was advisory only, with no real powers. Women were not represented at all and although the Main Barracks constituted a substantial majority of residents they had the same representation as the married quarters, with a minority of residents. In one of the first acts of conscious cooperation residents set up a central fund to enlist the services of a legal advisor to advise them in their dealings with the Council¹²⁶.

These concerns led to the establishment of the Langa Vigilance Committee, or Association, ("Iliso Lamzi Wakwa Langa") in the early 1930s. This was a civic organisation fanned as an alternative, though unofficial

¹¹⁸ A butcher's license was issued to Mr P Zuma, despite the fact that he was resided in Kensington and Langa Regulations stated that a trader had to be resident in Langa. The regulation was waived in the light of the fact that Zuma had run a butcher shop in Ndabeni and had moved to Kensington as there was not married accommodation available in Langa at the time. The butcher's shop at 12 Bennie St was run by Mr Alfred Zali in 1945.

¹¹⁹ 3/CT 4/2/1/1/620 14/5/18

¹²⁰ 3/CT 4/1/9/84 GN 9/11/3/9

¹²¹ 3/CT 4/1/5/1273 GN 9/11/3/12/4

¹²² 3/CT GN 9/11/3/1

¹²³ 3/CT 4/1/5/1273 GN 9/11/3/5; GN 9/11/3/12/1

¹²⁴ 3/CT 4/1/9/1/84 GN 9/11/3/1

¹²⁵ 3/CT 4/1/9/1/84 GN 9/11/3/6

¹²⁶ In 1930 residents consulted a Mr Burton on the election structure of the Board. Musemwa, p91; 93-94

organisation, to the Langa Advisory Board. Despite its opposition the Advisory Board system the Vigilance committee worked closely together with the Langa Advisory Board.

Many members of this committee had often spent some time serving on the Langa Advisory Board. The Board, though the system was so disliked, did serve as a training field for the organised leadership that Langa could boast of as from the mid 1940s. Some of these civic leaders of the 1940s and 50s include the Rev CN Nontshinga Citashe (of the Ethiopian Church in Langa), Mr. E Mlambo, Mr. T Faku, Mr. G Nongauza, J Mafu and J Papu¹²⁷.

The Vigilance Society developed a Women's Forum and the National Council for African Women also developed as an important structure through which women's issues of the time were addressed. This council made representations to government on pass laws and also focussed on more internal issues such as trying to get more African girls to go to secondary school. Influential political figures were Annie Salinga, Diana Mapele and Mandemeni Sigqwala, who were credited with shifting women's consciousness, and the civic role of women, from social activities to political involvement.

Until 1944 the Vigilance Association remained a small committee, but it grew substantially in the 1940s, with the development of many active subcommittees, and included the representation of women. In 1944 the Vigilance Committee and the Communist Party of South Africa achieved a victory when they won five out of the six positions on the Langa Advisory Board¹²⁸. The Vigilance committee was an important voice for the community, articulating many of the frustrations around living conditions, rentals and representation and often worked closely with political parties around these issues¹²⁹. The membership was older and fairly conservative, however, and not very representative of the younger and more radical members of the community. . Mr Nqwevela (son of the civic leader in the 1950s) recalls how:

Several times we used to go to bed and the next morning he's not there. We wonder why, and my mother won't tell you where he is and we knew he's gone....during the campaigns we see him dressed in warm clothing. It's now that I realise that whoaaa, he was preparing for being arrested in his warm clothing...

Local struggles centred on living conditions and rentals, council monopolies and African municipal representation. The civic associations of the Langa Advisory Board and the Vigilance Committee spearheaded these struggles with little intervention in local protests by political parties during the 1930s (during which time the ANC and SACP were hampered by internal power struggles). 1936 onwards saw a rise in the political activity of the ANC, SACP and, briefly, the NLL in Langa. The existing, energetic community based protest action provided a ready stamping ground for the shift to national politics.

From its inception the high cost of rentals in Langa were fiercely resisted. The move from Ndabeni to Langa involved a rent increase for single men from 45 per month to 14s per month¹³⁰. This was coupled with a deep sense of injustice as residents had been forced to move and the high rentals were linked to the high cost of white, unionised labour employed in the construction of Langa. Resistance to high rentals was also linked to anger over living conditions. Already by 1940 conditions in the barracks and special quarters were bad enough to warrant an investigation by the Native Affairs Commission. This was conducted in 1941 and proved beyond doubt that conditions were incredibly unsatisfactory¹³¹. Residents were deeply angered that they should have to pay the costs themselves for the provision of the dehumanising living spaces they were forced to occupy in the townships.

In 1945 and 1946 the City Council and the Langa Advisory Board became locked in disputes over the increase of rents. An important issue raised by the Board was that of overcrowding and resultant overcharging by the Council. Despite vociferous opposition the Council went ahead and increased rents in

¹²⁷ Musemwa, p100, 106-107

¹²⁸ Musemwa, p116-7

¹²⁹ In October 1941 the Vigilance committee called a meeting of residents with the National Liberation League calling for municipal representation (Musemwa, p166 – 173)

¹³⁰ Molapo, p173

¹³¹ Musemwa, p105; 160

1946-17 from between 25 -30% leading to increasingly hostile relations between the community of Langa and the Council¹³².

It was in that time that people ... if you can't pay your rent they take all your things and put it outside and then the community would collect money and pay for you. It was those times. (Mrs C Macozoma, Langa 2002)

In 1951 the Langa Advisory Board met the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr H.F Verwoed to raise concerns around rentals. On the 29th April 1951 the Women's Vigilance Association of Langa gathered on the parade while their leadership held talks with the Mayor of Cape Town about the rent crisis which was severely affecting the township. These deputations had no effect. By 1958, having exhausted all channels of representation open to them, many residents were no longer prepared to pay rent. The Cape Times reported "Passive resisters cause rent problems at Langa" and that the Native Langa court was handling up to sixty cases a day with regard to rental arrears¹³³.

It is indicative of the anger of residents around the rent crisis that the offices that kept the rent records were destroyed by fire during the week of the Langa march in March 1960. According to the superintendent, Mr. Rogers, the rental arrears for Langa at this time were R50 634¹³⁴.

The 1937 amendment Act No 46 of the Native (Urban Areas) Act gave the Council the exclusive right to manufacture, sell and supply "kaffir" beer within the urban area of Cape Town. Domestic brewing could take place only with a permit¹³⁵. The Council made their first municipal beer hall proposal for Langa in early 1939 and in the wake of this began to clamp down on the "illegal" sale and brewing of alcohol by residents -mostly affecting women's livelihoods. On 9 April 1939 Superintendent Rogers raided a house in which beer brewing was taking place and the women fought back. Some sixty women materialised and fought off the officials in what was reported by them as a "hostile demonstration"¹³⁶. The strength of the reaction was an indication of the degree to which beer brewing was traditionally, culturally and economically indispensable to resident's lives -particularly in terms of livelihoods for women. The strength of residents' opposition led to the shelving of the municipal beer hall proposal time and again.

A second small-scale riot against another municipal beer hall proposal took place in 1947. On the 9th March Superintendent Rogers met with the "bachelors" from the Main Barracks in an attempt to get them onto his side in the Council's struggle to get sufficient support for the go-ahead of the municipal beer hall. In an interesting demonstration of solidarity between "migrant bachelor" and "permanent/married" this "divide and rule" attempt by Rogers backfired, leading to thousands of angered residents meeting later in the evening to discuss the proceeding. A riot broke out and some damage was done to the eating house proposed for the beer hall¹³⁷.

During the 1940s the council began to monopolise the provision of foodstuffs and basic goods, such as fuel. On the first of June 1943 the eating-houses at the barracks, previously run by four African traders renting the premises from the municipality, were taken over by the municipality, ostensibly for health reasons, to be run on a non-profit basis¹³⁸. The traders were offered bakeries instead, at rates they could not afford, and did not accept the offer. The Council therefor ran these too.

The Council also owned and monopolised the vegetable gardens: Superintendent Rogers developed a garden next to the Main Barracks. Land for such purposes had frequently been requested by residents, but never granted. The Council further monopolised the selling of fruit, vegetables, coal and milk. This had a

¹³² Molapo, p176

¹³³ Cape Times 29 April 1958

¹³⁴ Elias, p53

¹³⁵ Molapo, p177; quoted in the Cape Times on 4 September 1961

¹³⁶ Musemwa, p64; 75-6 (on beer hall proposal)

¹³⁷ Musemwa p118-9; p144-5

¹³⁸ Musemwa, p80-84

huge impact on women who, struggling to find work in the formal sector, had been subsisting off such petty trading. In 1943/4 such selling of foodstuffs and basic provisions by women was outlawed completely¹³⁹.

The call for African Municipal Representation gained momentum in the 1940s. October 1941 saw a meeting of residents, organised by the Vigilance Association in conjunction with the NLL, calling for municipal representation. In June 1942 a deputation comprising members of the Langa Vigilance Committee, the Langa Advisory Board and the Langa branch of the NLL, submitted a memorandum to Council on the subject of African Municipal Representation. This campaign was backed by the Cape African Congress and the Cape District Committee of the CPSA, indicating the shift from local to national politics¹⁴⁰.

Far from being heard on this issue, by 1947 the Langa Advisory Board felt it had no options left but to submit to Council a list of 31 demands/grievances. Council's failure to act on the demands and carry out any of the agreements saw the Board pass a resolution to adjourn all activities.

8.1. Bhunga Square

Today an empty lot, Bhunga Square, at the junction of Washington and Bhunga streets, was once the political heart of Langa. Bhunga Square was famous for its Sunday afternoon gatherings. Mrs. Nqwevela remembers:

Every Sunday we used to go to listen to the Congress. you know. It was in Bhunga where they used to hold their meetings ill the field opposite the butchery of Mr. Zuma. Eh ... every Sunday we know after church at two there is a meeting¹⁴¹.

We would go there as children and sell our homemade hops and listen to what they were saying. It was all about ... people must get the permission to stay here and not get their time counted to stay here and secondly they must not have to identify themselves in the middle of the night, when a pass is required And what is more they must not even have that pass if they want to protest...People who would speak there are Mr Mafu, Mr Nchinga, Mr Nqwevela and Mr Zichangu, he used to sell cod liver oil! (Ms Nongauza, Langa 2002)

Political parties would make their way to Bhunga, singing as they marched. A makeshift platform was set up for speakers. Walter Sisulu and Robert Sobukwe spoke here alongside local leaders. Musical bands were also a regular feature. The square was renowned for political debate and the late 1950s are remembered as representing the height of democracy within the Langa community. A gathering could include a woman speaking out against pass laws, followed by a PAC speaker and residents recall days of mature, dignified debate in which each had a chance to speak. Children would climb up into the blue gums trees surrounding the square to watch. Sometimes sparks flew and verbal exchanges grew heated. On occasion pamphlets attacking other party affiliations would be circulated.

The political maturity within the community was not echoed within the broader political society. Gatherings were regularly monitored by South African police and often ended with police beating up speakers. It was considered a bit dangerous for children to go there:

" ... so we used to make a hobby of going down there just to, for that moment when the police got fed up with people speaking against the government. Then they would disperse them, sometimes using batons, just to see big people running away from other big people, and as kids we would laugh." (F Dike).

The use of Bhunga Square for political gatherings lapsed following the intensification of state repression after 1960. The banning of the ANC, SACP and PAC forced political gatherings underground and places of greater secrecy had to be used for political meetings.

8.2. Langa Beer Hall and resistance to Council Monopolies

¹³⁹ Musemwa, p85-7

¹⁴⁰ Musemwa, p111

¹⁴¹ Quoted in Molapo, p201

If you want to destroy a nation you must first destroy a family life. (Mr. Galo, Langa, 2002)

The destruction of the Langa Beer Hall in the 1980s and various liquor outlets during the 1976 uprisings appeared on the surface to be part of an intergenerational conflict between political youth and migrant elders. In fact it was the continuation of years of struggle waged by Langa residents against Council monopolies, particularly their monopoly over liquor.

The Langa Beer Hall was originally the Eating-house, built in the centre of the four barrack blocks at the Main Barracks, which served the men from both the Main and the North Barracks. From 1927 to 1942 the municipality rented out these premises to four African traders who ran their own eating-house businesses here¹⁴². In June 1943 these eating-houses were taken over by the municipality and a Municipal Eating-House, a monopoly scheme, was established, ostensibly for health reasons¹⁴³.

The eating-houses were in a bad condition by 1940, but the Langa Advisory Board argued that this was through no fault of the proprietors, but rather through conditions imposed on them by the Council, their landlord¹⁴⁴. A Cape Times article in 1938, noted that one chimney served all four ovens and this filled the building with smoke. There were no storage facilities for wood and coal, or for the storage of supplies¹⁴⁵.

The traders were offered bakeries instead, at rates they could not afford and so could not accept the Council's offer. The Council therefore ran these too. Not only did the council's taking over of African trading opportunities anger residents, but in this move inhabitants of the Barracks lost an important form of social security in that traders allowed unemployed residents to buy food on credit. Furthermore, prices increased and residents claimed that it was too expensive to eat here¹⁴⁶.

At the same time the Council also monopolised the selling of fruit and vegetables, bread and milk. Residents' requests for land for vegetable production were turned down while Superintendent Rogers developed a vegetable garden next to the Main Barracks¹⁴⁷. A depot for the sale, "on a non-profit making basis", of fruit, vegetables and fuel was established by the municipality. This was inaugurated in 1944 against opposition from within the community as it once again infringed on the ability of residents to acquire trading opportunities. Council dismissed opposition and it was argued that the majority of residents should not suffer merely because of "the vested interests of a small minority"¹⁴⁸. In fact those most affected by the council monopolies were the very poorest, unemployed women who made and sold bread as a means of survival¹⁴⁹.

From Eating House to Beer Hall

Section 19(1) of the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 prohibited the introduction of intoxicating liquor into a location. Section 19 (2) prohibited the brewing of "kaffir beer". Section 21, however made Municipal brewing of beer for locations possible and enabled the Minister to permit the brewing of "kaffir beer" in consultation with the local authority.

In 1924 a lively debate in Council considered the option of opening a Municipal brewery in the new location of Langa. Superintendent Cook argued for the total prohibition of alcohol in the location and the Council finally decided in favour of this motion. By 1930, however, Superintendent Cook recognised that total

¹⁴² CT 4/1/5/1246 N 18/5: The first traders to run these eating-houses were Plaatje Petu, Henry Cuba, Julius Malangabi, Harry Siyaya. At the time that the leases were cancelled they were being leased to J faba, A Ndollo, J Sebella and J Tshabalala.

¹⁴³ CT 4/1/9/1/11 GN 2/2/1

¹⁴⁴ CT 4/1/9/1/69 14 May 1940

¹⁴⁵ Cape Times, 4 August 1938

¹⁴⁶ CT 4/1/9/1/84 GN 9/11/2/6 25 November 1943

¹⁴⁷ CT 4/1/9/1/84 GN 9/11/2/6 25 November 1943

¹⁴⁸ CT 4/1/9/1/11 GN 2/2/1

¹⁴⁹ As was spelt out by a deputation of women, led by Mrs Siqwana, to the Mayor: CT 4/1/9/1/84 GN 9/11/2/6 25 November 1943

prohibition was impossible (the Superintendent quoted one resident as saying Langa is a dry island surrounded by shebeens) and argued for the introduction of a permit system for the brewing of kaffir beer"¹⁵⁰.

At the same time Cook noted that the residents of Langa were against a Municipal brewery as they knew that large profits would be made from such an undertaking and knew they would have no say in how the profits would be used. Residents were also wary of beer halls resulting in the habit of drinking¹⁵¹.

An area-based "kaffir" beer brewing permit system (the location was divided into areas and certain areas could produce in certain weeks) was introduced in 1931. In 1935 permission was granted generally to occupants of the married quarters to brew and possess four gallons of beer a day on Thursday, Friday and Saturday¹⁵².

As with all aspects of life in the location, permission was granted by the Superintendent and was used to enforce control over other areas of residents' lives. For instance, permits were granted only where rental payments were not in arrears. Once again it was Langa's poorest residents who were most affected by the regulations. This sector of the population relied on the brewing and sale of beer to make a living. With no other source of income they were often in rental arrears and thus trapped by their debt. The attempt by the Advisory Board to de-link beer permits with rental payments was not, however, accepted by Council.

In 1935 the Native Affairs Committee once again proposed to reconsider a municipal liquor supply in Langa and Rogers began to crack down on the illegal brewing and sale of alcohol. Officials checked residents for any "illegal" possession of alcohol when they disembarked from the train from town. One African policeman who was prominent in such searches gained the nickname Ndiyakukrokrela ("I suspect you") and his death by stabbing around this time may have been linked to the anger and humiliation people felt around these searches¹⁵³.

Beer brewing was traditionally, culturally and economically indispensable to residents' way of life. Women subsisted on this and the crackdown on illegal brewing and sale of "kaffir beer" largely affected their livelihoods. In April 1939 Superintendent Rogers' raids on houses where beer was being brewed led to tough resistance on the part of the women involved in the brewing. In a beer raid on house **No 457 Married quarters** one Sunday morning in April, at 6am, when location officials tried to destroy the beer by overturning the drums, some sixty furious women stoned the hut and refused to let Rogers leave. Police assistance had to be obtained before the front door could be opened in safety. In a second incident that month twenty-two women, who continued demonstrating after being charged to disperse, were arrested and charged with public disturbance¹⁵⁴.

The anti-beer hall campaign waged by residents in 1939/1940 was so fierce and the collective arguments of the residents' so powerful that the Council was forced to shelve its plans and failed to establish a beer hall on three occasions prior to 1948.

In 1947 resistance to the municipal beer halls proposal again erupted culminating in a riot of some four hundred people on Sunday, 9 March. Rogers, attempting to exploit the migrant permanent divide, tried to get the support of the Barracks men behind the proposal. He had seriously misjudged, however, the general strength of feeling against the idea of a municipal beer hall monopoly and the plan misfired. A meeting was held in protest against both the beer hall proposal as well as the manner in which Rogers had tried to circumvent the Advisory Board and co-opt the Barracks residents, albeit unsuccessfully. The meeting marched on the Administration offices and ended with a call to smash up the eating-house in the Main Barracks, designated for the beer hall. In the riot that ensued one person, Elijah Mbuda was killed, and £678 worth of damage was done to the eating-house.

¹⁵⁰ In 1929 69 bottles of liquor had been confiscated; £90 fines imposed and 1000 gallons of "kaffir beer" confiscated and £297 fines imposed for other liquor and this was notes as only touching the fringe of the matter. Clearly total prohibition was not going to work. CT 4/1/5/1262 N182/5

¹⁵¹ CT 4/1/5/1262 N182/5 Report Superintendent Cook, January 1930

¹⁵² CT 4/1/5/1277 N305/5

¹⁵³ Musemwa, p67-8

¹⁵⁴ Cape Argus of 13 April 1939, in CT 4/1/9/1/1309 14/2/1/2

Shortly after this the municipality pushed ahead with the proposal, despite opposition, and four liquor outlets were established in Langa, including the Langa Beer Hall in the Main Barracks Dining Hall, on the corner of Ndabeni and Rhodes street¹⁵⁵. In 1963, to add insult to injury, these outlets, previously run by the council, were now contracted out to a white businessman. A portion of the profits had to be paid to council¹⁵⁶.

The municipality's successful establishment of liquor outlets was short lived as these became targets in the uprisings of 1976 and the 1980s¹⁵⁷. Mrs. Macozoma's statement on beer halls, that "That's where the dignity of the people came down", expressed a widespread feeling within Langa. For the militant youth beer halls sapped the anger of people that should have been directed against the state. In the 1980s "comrades" would force drinkers to drink a mixture of water and omo in order that they "get rid of the poison". The satisfaction is still evident in Mr. Hobongwana's voice when he recalls how they demolished the beer hall in the zones by taking it away "*brick by brick*". The Langa Beer Hall was burnt down at this time. The anger of the people is still very vivid in the charred and desolate remains of the, still empty, Langa Beer Hall.

9. The Liberation Struggle: National Politics from 1940-1994

The latter half of the 1940s saw the rise to prominence of the ANC and SACP as political parties in Langa. These parties not only voiced people's grievances at a local level, but also increased people's national consciousness. The ANC and SACP worked together, with a substantial degree of overlapping membership. The CPSA had candidates elected to the Langa Advisory Board from 1944 until its banning in 1950. The issue at the forefront of national politics was influx control and resistance took the form of anti-pass demonstrations.

The Nationalist government came into power in 1948. In 1952 the Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945 was tightened in the Native Laws Amendment Act, which was applied to all urban areas and included women in its provisions. This made urban residence for Africans a privilege and not a right. No African could spend more than 72 hours in an urban area without permission from the relevant local authority. The act specified that no African could reside in an urban areas unless she was born there [Section 10(1)a], had lived there continuously for 15 years or had worked for one employer for ten years [Section 10 (1)b], or was the dependent of someone with these rights [Section 10(1)c].

Influx control was zealously implemented in the Western Cape, particularly with the introduction of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy after 1955. This articulated the ultimate aim of the Nationalist State as being the total removal of Africans from the Western Cape. Between 1959 and 1962 some 18 311 Africans were "endorsed" out of the Western Cape¹⁵⁸.

As the pincers of influx control closed in on African people in the Western Cape opposition to the state from within Langa intensified. The 1940s and 1950s saw substantial anti-pass resistance with numerous Langa-based meetings, door to door campaigns to raise consciousness around pass resistance, mass meetings and a bonfire of the "*passes of slavery*"¹⁵⁹.

The **Langa Marches of 1960** must thus be seen against a backdrop of the implementation of the Coloured Labour Preference Area and vigorous enforcement of influx control by the authorities. The black population of Cape Town was under more pressure than elsewhere in the country. They formed a small proportion of

¹⁵⁵ References to the exact date of the establishment of these outlets differ, some indicate 1948, others the early 1960s. The other three outlets were located at Bottle Store No 1, corner of Church and Mdlamba Street; No 2, Site 18, Hostels, Washington street; No 3, Hostels, Business Centre. 3/CT 4/1/9/1/136 14/22A.

¹⁵⁶ 3/CT 4/1/911/136 14/22A. The businessman was a Mr FJ van Heerden who also won the contracts for the Guguletu bottle stores.

¹⁵⁷ 250 bottle stores and beer halls across the country were destroyed in 1976 indicating the representivity of the fight in Langa against municipal liquor monopolies. Cape Argus Thursday 12 August 1976.

¹⁵⁸ Elias, p33

¹⁵⁹ Musemwa p176-185: In June 1945 a 5 000 strong crowd met at the Grand parade to lead an anti-pass deputation to parliament. A substantial meeting with a 5 000 strong crowd met in Langa in October 1945. Local Langa leadership from the Vigilance Committee, along side CPSA and ANC leaders addressed them. The bonfire of passes is described by The Guardian 14 June 1946, quoted in Molapo, p191.

the total population of the peninsula (10%) and anything that might strengthen a more stable, resident community was discouraged. The percentage of migrant to permanent resident was grossly imbalanced (moving towards 72:28)¹⁶⁰. Thousands of people had been "endorsed" out of the Western Cape, often losing important work opportunities. African representation in parliament (filled by Molteno) was abolished in 1959 leaving no official channels for the articulation of grievances.

Within Langa residents lived under increasingly oppressive conditions. The local authority, through the person of the Superintendent, who also acted as the Registration Officer, tightly controlled virtually all aspects of life. Rent increases, bad living conditions, the rising cost of living, crime and low wages all aggravated the situation and served to radicalise even the migrant workers long neglected by many political organisations as they were considered conservative¹⁶¹. The rumblings of the decolonisation of much of Africa in the 1960s also fuelled a new nationalist consciousness.

On the 21st of March 1960 Langa erupted following the PAC-led anti-pass march. Crowds meeting at the old flats were fired at by police and four people killed. It took some ten days for the state to put down the strike and mass action that followed the initial march.

Despite the crackdown by the state, resistance continued within Langa throughout the 1960s¹⁶². With the banning of the ANC and PAC on 30 March 1960, however, political organisations shifted underground and politics took on a new edge within Langa -the days of vigorous public debate in Bhunga square were gone. A resident recalls this shift as one from an almost light-hearted, cheeky politics of the 1940s and 50s to something much more serious, from a vague, laughing matter to killing. *As a child I struggled to understand this. Following 21 March 1960 Jungle Walk was lined with soldiers. It was very ugly. By 1976 everybody had grown up*¹⁶³.

The 1970s saw the rise of black consciousness as a political movement in South Africa. In Langa, the Black Mamba Youth Movement was established and organised for Steve Biko to come and talk in Langa, in people's houses and the community centre, in March 1973.

Our (Black Mamba's) first campaign was on getting people to accept themselves and to do something for the community and to break the tension between people in family units and in the hostels ... we had a campaign where on weekends we would go to the houses of the most indigent people, especially the pensioners who are in a state of neglect, get their laundry done, clean out the house, do up the garden, take out the weeds...(Mr Qunta, Langa 2002)

On the 11 August 1976 the Soweto uprisings spread to Langa, Gugulethu and Nyanga. Thirty people died in the first two-day strike. Schools remained empty into September. Although language issues in schools sparked the demonstrations, broader education issues were also catalytic and the struggle soon took on a wider anti-apartheid character. Particularly inflammatory in Cape Town was the introduction, around this time, of a pass system at all African schools in Cape Town: only children of parents legally allowed to be in the Cape Peninsula could attend Peninsula schools¹⁶⁴. At this time there were only four high schools for black students in the Peninsula, catering for an African population of some 100 000.

The 11 August 1976 saw students gather on the field at Langa High School and, after discussing their grievances with the education system, they marched towards the Bantu Affairs Administration buildings and police station singing hymns and carrying placards stating that it was a peaceful demonstration¹⁶⁵. Other residents joined students and the crowd swelled to thousands of people as the march entered Washington Street. Riot police moved in and outside the police station the crowd was given seven minutes to disperse.

¹⁶⁰ Lodge, T, p217

¹⁶¹ Molapo, p213

¹⁶² 3/CT 4/1/9/1/11 GN 2/3/1

¹⁶³ Fatima Dike, Langa, 2002

¹⁶⁴ Cape Argus 7 August 1976

¹⁶⁵ *I could see children singing so nice. I didn't know what was happening and there were Police all over. Every child was very near and in school uniform and they came down from the top, behind the Langa High school. All the children, and it was just Police all over ... but the way they sang, it was so beautiful I cried. Mrs C Macozoma, Langa 2002).*

Stones and bottles were thrown and the crowd was then dispersed using tear gas and riot dogs¹⁶⁶. The Cape Times vividly reported how a "man was brought down screaming by the snarling dog and arrested - his clothing tattered and blood spilling from his head and legs"¹⁶⁷.

By the night of Wednesday 11 August running battles were being held with the police and buildings, particularly those representative of the authorities stranglehold on life in the townships were burned. In Langa the school, medical clinic, post office, beer hall and two bottle stores and a civic centre housing 22 business premises were gutted. The total damage was estimated at R2 million¹⁶⁸.

A march on the Langa police station took place the next morning. Police used tear gas and rifle fire to disperse the crowd and one youth was killed by a local policeman in front of the pass office¹⁶⁹:

People crumple down ... and you know he has been hit by a bullet ...and we had nothing, just standing there and shouting and when Xolile¹⁷⁰ was down, throwing stones .. (Mrs. Mtshula, Langa 2002)

Later 300 students marched again on the police station, this time with placards stating "we are not fighting, don't shoot. Just release our fellow students" and carrying white flags. The column halted outside the police station and the crowd raised their hands indicating "surrender". Students stood singing quietly with their hands raised. Many incidences followed. Students held meetings in different venues, also in Guguletu,

The Police would go there and there would be more than 500 student there and the Police would flood the hall with tear gas. Lot of Caspers and everything ... It was a very powerful struggle. (Mr Mtshula, Langa 2002)

The 1980s saw the emergence of the United Democratic Front as the common banner under which much of the struggle in Langa's was waged. Further schools boycotts took place under the leadership of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas)¹⁷¹. An important development at this time was the establishment of the progressive Hostel Dwellers Association (HAD) out of which the Langa civic organisation later emerged. The comrades of the 1980s continued to target beer halls and drinkers and the Barracks beer hall was burnt down at this time, as was the beer hall in the zones, which an activist at the time recalls they took away brick by brick¹⁷².

Finally apartheid itself began to be dismantled brick by brick. 1986 saw the Abolition of Influx Control Act passed. Hostels began to be upgraded to accommodate families. New freedoms brought an increase of people into the towns and the Joe Slovo squatter camp, running between the new flats and the N2 came into existence in Langa.

Less easy to dismantle however, was the impression in people's lives of years and years of brutal political and economic exclusion. Older residents recall 27 April 1994 with a bewildering mix of emotions:

We were frightened. Excited. (Mrs. C Macozoma, Langa 2002)

Excited all bitter. (C Mama, Langa, 2002)

¹⁶⁶ Cape Argus 11 August 1976

¹⁶⁷ Cape Times 12 August 1976

¹⁶⁸ Cape Times 13 August 1976

¹⁶⁹ Mrs Baruma, Langa, 2002

¹⁷⁰ Xolile Fasi was killed by local police in front of the Pass Office.

¹⁷¹ No, it was not quiet. It was bad, but the children from the experience they got in 1976, because they exposed themselves like what Kgosana and them did in 1960. They had to get another approach now... but it was very bad A lot of children died a lot of children haven 't been found Lots of children ran way and were arrested and some died . One was my cousin's son, you see (Mrs Macozoma, Langa 2002)

¹⁷² Mr Hobongwana, Langa, 2002

and Fatima Dike recalls how her mother *couldn't vote ... she began to tremble, her whole body.* (Fatima Dike, Langa 2002)

9.1. The Langa Marches, March 1960 - Robert Sobukwe Square

In 1958 the PAC seceded from ANC over the issue of cooperation with liberation movements of other race groups. The ANC planned the 31 st March as an "Anti-Pass Day" demonstration. The PAC, also organising its supporters against passes, decided to start their campaign earlier, on 21 March 1960. The campaign of the PAC called on Africans to leave their passes at home on this day and march to the police stations giving themselves up [or arrest. The 1000s who joined the march came because the message was one that struck at the heart of their anger.

The Langa Flats was the largest PAC branch in the Western Cape. Philip Kgosana (Regional Secretary) was living here at this time¹⁷³. On the 20 March two meetings were held in Langa, one at the New Flats and one at Bhunga square. The meetings were long and well attended. Kgosana sternly reinforced the PAC 's call that the protest should be non-violent: "We are not leading corpses to a new Africa", he said¹⁷⁴.

On the 21 March some 6000 people marched on the police station demanding arrest for not carrying passed. The police refused to arrest them. Marchers proceeded to Caledon Square, Kgosana, with the assurance of the police that they would meet with the crowd in Langa that afternoon, persuaded the people to return to Langa. The substantial crowd returned to the New Flats to await events with the expectation that leadership talks with the police would result in some form of pronouncement on the pass laws later that day.

Residents from other townships joined the crowd, which swelled to some 10000¹⁷⁵.

People could really feel freedom. Then the police arrived. (Mr. G Fesi, Langa, 2002)

The arrival of police shortly after the news of the massacre in Sharpeville and with no new pronouncement save that the crowd should disperse in an impossible 3 minutes was inflammatory - even described by the government Commission of Enquiry into the events as "a red rag to a bull"¹⁷⁶. The police charged the crowd with batons and, following retaliation from the crowd, shooting by police took place.

They were just flying like ... birds being shot (Mrs. Nonkanyana, Langa 2002)

Three people were shot dead: Khashi, Makiwane and Tshuma. A fourth, Ncube, died the next day¹⁷⁷.

Rioting spread throughout the township and the army was called in. The administrative building housing pass records and other symbols of oppression were burnt. State reprisals were felt the next day with leaders being arrested and houses invaded.

Langa was cordoned off and encircled by the SADF. The funeral of those shot at the New Flats was attended by some 50 000 people and followed by a march of 30 000 to Caledon Square¹⁷⁸. Langa residents, joined by those from other townships marched along de Waal drive into town. After consultation with police the leadership, under Kgosana, turned the crowds back. Kgosana, it is asserted, "saved" Cape Town that day from the huge, angry crowd. On 30 March 1960 the ANC and PAC were banned and Kgosana and other leaders arrested. In their determination to break the strike police beat men without restraint on the streets of Langa. By the April the situation in Langa was 'calm' again.

¹⁷³ Molapo, p198-9

¹⁷⁴ Readers' Digest p405

¹⁷⁵ Institute for Race Relations: A précis of the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the incidents of the events occurring at Langa and Sharpeville in March 1960.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid

¹⁷⁷ Molapo, p211

¹⁷⁸ Molapo, p211

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Wilson and Mafeje

Appendix 1: Traditional festivals in Langa

Moshoeshoe day (or Moshoeshoe Memorial Feast)

These celebrations recognised the incorporation of Basutholand into the British Empire by Sir Philip Wodehouse, the Governor of the Cape Colony, on the 12th March 1868 and the founding of the Basothu nation by Moshoeshoe¹.

The festivals took place in the years from 1947 to 1966, when Basotuland received its independence. The celebrations in Langa were organised by the society known as *Mikhatlo oa Khopotsa ea tsatsi la Moshoeshoe Hlohlang ea Kapa* (the Peninsula Moshoeshoe Day Celebration Society). Leadership consisted of Mr. J.J Shasha (chair), Mr. O. Ntsane, Mr. Joseph, Mr. S.C Mikhehle, Mr. R Mphela (president), David M Gaboutloeloe (sec). Problems of migrancy meant this committee kept changing. Associated for a long time with the organisation was Mr. Isrome Sello, who became its secretary and was a talented musician.

Although the president of the Moshoeshoe Society, Mr. B.S Mokhehle, said in his celebration speech in 1946 "*My friends, I want to make it clear to you that Moshoeshoe's Celebration has no tribal frontiers, everybody who wants to honour this great son of Africa is welcomed*". The Moshoeshoe celebrations in Langa, like the Fingo celebrations, were not popular with the wider public². Members of the organisation were accused of exclusiveness and tribalism³.

Opposition was so strong that it precipitated a split amongst the Sotho within Langa. This split was between those who were settled in Langa and the migrants. The former seemed to agree with the rest of the community that the festival was problematic in that it raised tribal divides". In the early 1960s that the latter group felt so antagonised that they left Langa township, establishing themselves at new headquarters in Nyanga⁴. [check that this date shouldn't be the early 1950s]

Mfengu Memorial day

The Mfengu Memorial days were held annually in May in Langa township from 1943 until the late 1950s. The purpose of such a day was to commemorate "Fingo emancipation day" from the Xhosa, and to renew oaths taken by Fingo ancestors under the Milk Tree on the 14th May 1835 when Fingo ancestors pledged their loyalty to the British government, to educate their children and be loyal to the missionaries⁵.

In the 1820s the Mfengu emerged out of the Shakan wars a devastated people. Refugees fled and more than 10 000 arrived in land of the Gcalekas, in Butterworth, where they were received by Hintsa. They were called the ama-Fengu by the Xhosa -meaning hungry people in search of work. In 1835 they entered the Cape Colony (some 17000 Mfengu) and were granted land in exchange for loyalty to the colony and to act as buffer zone between the colony and the ama-Xhosa. The ama-Fengu fought in the colonial wars on side of the colonists, for which bitterly resented.

To symbolise the migration of Ama-Fengu from Butterworth to Pcdi, members of the Cape Town community would enact a colourful bundle-carrying ceremony. The Mfengu in full tribal costume would march from a spot on the outskirts of Langa township -symbolising Butterworth - to the Langa Market Hall -symbolising Peddie -carrying the bundles and in so doing pay homage to their forefathers who came to the Western Cape⁶.

¹ Kondlo, p42, Molapo, p 81 -85: During the devastation that the Boers inflicted upon the Sothos, Moshoeshoe appealed to the Cape Colony for help. They entered into an 'alliance' with the British, but still asserted their independence, importantly in the Gun-war of 1880 -1881. [in this war the Sotho fought against Boer and Briton and it became the Basotho war of independence, which led to direct imperial rule from Britain and set the pattern for exclusion from the Union and eventual emergence as independent states.

² Molapo, p112

³ Kondlo, p42

⁴ As noted in the research of Wilson and Mafeje, quoted in Kondlo, p42

⁵ Molapo, p97 - 99

⁶ Kondlo, p39

In the evening of the celebration a concert would be held in Langa Market Hall. On the following day a meeting was held in the same hall to tell the story of how Fingo ancestors travelled from Tukela to Butterworth and from Butterworth to Peddie. Tribal dancing and feasting would follow. In the afternoon of the third day a church service of the tree pledges would take place.

The Fingo Association was formed in 1943. It was led by Garcia Nongauza, a former City Council nominee on the Advisory Board. Founding committee members further included Mr. G Bokwana (sec) and P Zuma (treasurer).

In 1943 the Fingo celebrations sparked off a bitter confrontation and subsequent tensions between the Fingo and Xhosa sections of the Langa community. The nature of the history meant that it was felt that the celebrations included "deep and wounding language and insults to amaXhosa"⁷. Further, Superintendent Rogers had consulted neither the Advisory Board nor Vigilance Association around the formation of the Fingo Association. On the 3rd March 1943 a delegation from the Langa Vigilance Association led by its chair, Mr. B Ntshinga, went to Superintendent Rogers' offices to lodge its objections against any form of Fingo Memorial in the township.

The delegation noted that "it was clear that the manager had permitted himself to be used as an instrument to fan racial and or tribal hatred in the township of which he was the head"⁸. There were several Fingo members within the delegation. It is notable that residents were aware of the divisive role of ethnic identities, as well as the part being played by government in exploiting such divides. Despite objections, Fingo celebrations went ahead, until the failure of attempts to change the tribal character of this celebration led to its slow death in the late 1950s.

Ntsikana Day Celebration

The St. Ntsikana Memorial Organisation was formed in Langa in 1944, probably in reaction to Fingo Association. Though Ntsikana had a Xhosa ethnic background, ethnicity was not the primary issue as the festival promoted a different loyalty, that of the Christian gospel. The Western Province S1. Ntsikana Memorial Organisation established a scholarship that was awarded to anyone regardless of ethnicity and church association.

Ntsikana, accepted by many Xhosa speaking people as their patron Saint, was the son of Ngqika's councillors. He is believed to have prophesied, amongst other things, the coming of the "White man carrying a book (the Bible) and a holeless button (which symbolised money)"⁹. Ntsikana was converted to the Christian faith in the nineteenth century and became one of the most influential evangelists in the Eastern Cape. The central idea expressed in his vision was that of total submission to God from whom peace and protection comes and the education of children.

The appeal of Ntsikana's vision in the urban context related to the emergence of his evangelism from a time of crisis amongst the amaXhosa, with defeat and dispossession from their land. The time of crisis that their ancestors went through still lived on and was echoed in the crisis of urban life under the white dominated capitalist system, though the circumstances were different.

Ntsikana celebrations in Cape Town were organised and led by the settled urban African middle class. Participants wore traditional costume at the celebrations. In the 1950s, with the development of a national political consciousness, expressed in the anti-pass campaigns, the form and character of Ntsikana celebrations in Langa began to change.

The celebrations lost their original tribal character and assumed a national form. The celebrations were opened to everybody, but were barely tolerated by the young generation of activists who were opposed to any move aimed at reviving old tribal cleavages. Speeches no longer addressed themselves to the tribe even though exploits of the tribe were glorified. The intention was to show that Africans as a nation had

⁷ Kondlo, p40

⁸ Molapo, p100 and Kondlo, p40

⁹ Cape Times, 24 April 1954; 17 April 1959

some history¹⁰. By the 1960s insistence on tribal dress was no longer demanded when attending these celebrations.

Where the Fingo Association, with its history of sworn loyalty to government, were promoted by the authorities, the Superintendent of Langa expressed concern about what he saw as links between the Ntsikana Organisation and the African National Congress¹¹.

Mendi Celebration

Purpose of this celebration was to commemorate the death of 600 African soldiers in the sinking of the troopship Mendi in 1917. These celebrations, beginning in the 1940s and becoming increasingly popular in the 1950s and 60s, were celebrated on the 21st of February each year. The celebrations in Langa were organised by the Cape Province Interdenominational African Ministers Association and, having no tribal foundation, they were well attended by Langa residents¹².

The transport ship Mendi was a liner that carried the last batch of the South African Native Labour Corps for service in France. She left Table Bay on January 16th 1917 with 894 people on board. A month later she arrived at Plymouth. On the 20th February she continued her fateful voyage across the English Channel to Le Havre, when in a thick fog on the morning of the 21st February, she collided with the liner Darro.

The Mendi was struck on the starboard side so badly that she sank within 20 minutes. Some 615 South Africans died. Only 267 were saved. An account by one of the African survivors described a

*"terrific bang which shook the ship, putting lights out and had everybody scrambling around. There was great panic and confusion below there was a sea of darkness, but the men plunged into the rough, cold water, singing, praying and crying"*¹³.

The Mendi celebrations were recognised by government and were usually attended by a number of Whites, including political leaders, the Commissioner of Police and Native Representatives, such as Mrs. Ballinger and Advocate Molteno. In later years the Mendi celebrations were used by the ANC as an alternative national symbol. The Mendi celebration represented an important struggle by people to construct memories that were "oppositional" to the "official" memory, which left African contribute on to the war effort out of most memorials. Mendi Square in Langa, opposite the Methodist Church, was renamed such in recognition of the importance of the memorial which was held here.

Many Langa students benefited from the Mendi scholarship fund. The Nationalist Party, however, brought pressures to bear on this which eventually led to its decline and the fund was reported as defunct by 1967¹⁴. The celebration itself finally came to an end around 1967 due to the shifting politics of the 1960s. The Sharpeville massacre and Langa march and the repressive, cruel legislation around influx control saw people move away from the passive, loyalist consciousness reflected in the Mendi incident (black people sacrificing their lives for the Empire). Interest in only the mythology developed around the Mendi incident was resurrected in the 1990s and the celebrations started up again in the time of transition. The message this time around was one of unity within the new South African National Defence Force¹⁵.

¹⁰ Kondlo, p37-8

¹¹ Molapo, p108

¹² Molapo, p154

¹³ Molapo, p164

¹⁴ Linked to the decline of the fund was the introduction of the Bantu education Act in April 1961. The Bantu Commissioner for the Cape Peninsula wrote a letter to Superintendent Rogers telling him to stop collection funds for the scholarship "as the Mendi memorial fund is not registered as a welfare organisation in terms of the Welfare Organisational Act, 1947 ... Collections on behalf of the fund have been stopped, as such collections are "illegal". At this time the Mendi Board consisted of two ANC members, two ex-servicemen's league and two SA Football Association members. The ANC at this time was banned and fighting the armed struggle. Molapo, p162

¹⁵ Van Niekerk article in the Weekly Mail, 19-25 February "Reclaiming lost warriors of the SS Mendi", quoted in Molapo, p162

FIELD RESEARCH PART 2:

RESTORATION OF THE PASS OFFICE

Home over the years to some of South Africa's most notable politicians, artists, educationalist and sporting stars, the family township of Langa is Cape Town's oldest existing township. It is a place full of stories, laughter, tears, heroism and villainy. Its vibrant expression of politics, religion and culture is both unique to Langa and a lens through which South Africa's tumultuous past may be viewed.

Langa was established in 1927. The infamous Native (Urban) Areas Act had recently become law. This Act accommodated the demand for African labour whilst strenuously denying African people access to urban resources. Africans were to be "temporary sojourners" in cities.

'Langa' (sun), is an abbreviation of Langalibalele, name of the rebel Hlubi chief who had resided on the land after release from Robben Island in 1875.

Kinship networks and the common experience of oppression, narrow living space and harsh adversity, saw acts of cooperation and resistance that resulted in a community that created itself more than it was created by the authorities.

Langa was designed -with the administrative block and police station lying at the centre of the township -to maintain control. Conditions within the township were harsh. Accommodation was overcrowded and rentals high. Residents were denied municipal representation and any expression of grievance was frustrated. The shift towards national liberation politics from the 1950s onwards, with its focus on the pass laws, was fuelled by such local frustrations.

On the 21st of March 1960 Langa erupted following the PAC-led anti-pass march. Crowds meeting at the Old Flats were fired at by police and four people killed. The township was cordoned off and soldiers lined the street of Jungle Walk. 1976 witnessed the students' uprisings, beginning with a march from Langa High School through Mendi square, with the students singing soft songs and holding placards. Students were met with bullets and the first child casualty in Langa was killed outside the police station. Langa became a fertile recruiting ground for the military wings of the liberation movements. The 1980s were again years of active resistance, culminating in the first democratic elections of 1994. Older residents recall 27 April 1994 with mixed feelings. The excitement was overwhelming, but intermingled with bitterness at the pain and loss endured over the years.

The restoration of the Langa Pass Office is seen as an important component of the Langa Heritage project currently underway by the Heritage Resources Section, Cape Town Administration. The Heritage study of Langa is consistent with the emphasis of national legislation, the Heritage Resource Act No 25 of 1999, which gives focus to cultural heritage resources of the many communities residing within South Africa. The direction of this legislation is to recognise culturally significant sites and places previously unsurveyed, unrecorded and uncelebrated. The identification and commemoration of historic and cultural sites within Langa will address the heritage of an era and place that has not been recognised in the cultural history of South Africa.

A human hell hole: a pass office and court was built in the early 1960s to administer passes and hear cases of Urban Areas Act contravention. Up to thirty cases could be heard in as many minutes, with officials barely glancing at defendant. Pass offenders could be arrested in the middle of the night and forced to appear in their underwear. A sign in Xhosa in the building read: Do not spit. Built of untreated wood the building disintegrated after its disuse.

The Langa Pass Office is considered an important building in Cape Town assessed in terms of heritage criteria. The value of the building is attributed to its former use. The building is therefore a reminder of an era in which people were subjected to repressive regulations and control by previous state authorities.

The vision for the restored Pass Office is to:

- Establish a community museum. This museum will form a focus to the historical guided tours currently in addition to depicting the history of Langa. The museum would serve the local community, residents of the Cape Metropolitan Area and international tourists.
- Raise the profile of Langa as an historic area and improve tourist facilities and opportunities within the area.

FIELD RESEARCH PART 3:

HERITAGE THEMES AND SITES NOMINATED

CREATING A LIVING ENVIRONMENT:

Sites nominated

Langa Market Hall (Old civic hall)

Maragana area

Mendi Square

Initiation Site

Khulani school site

The Stadium

Schools: Langa High School, St Cyprians site, St Louis, Moshesh, Thembani, St Francis

Churches: Langa's old churches, Langa Cemetery

GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND OPPRESSION:

Sites nominated

Township streets

Married and Single quarters

Langa Main Barracks

The Administrative Block

The old Pass office and court

The site of the old dipping huts Lerotholi Avenue as part of the "migrant passage"

THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Sites nominated

Mendi square

Sites nominated

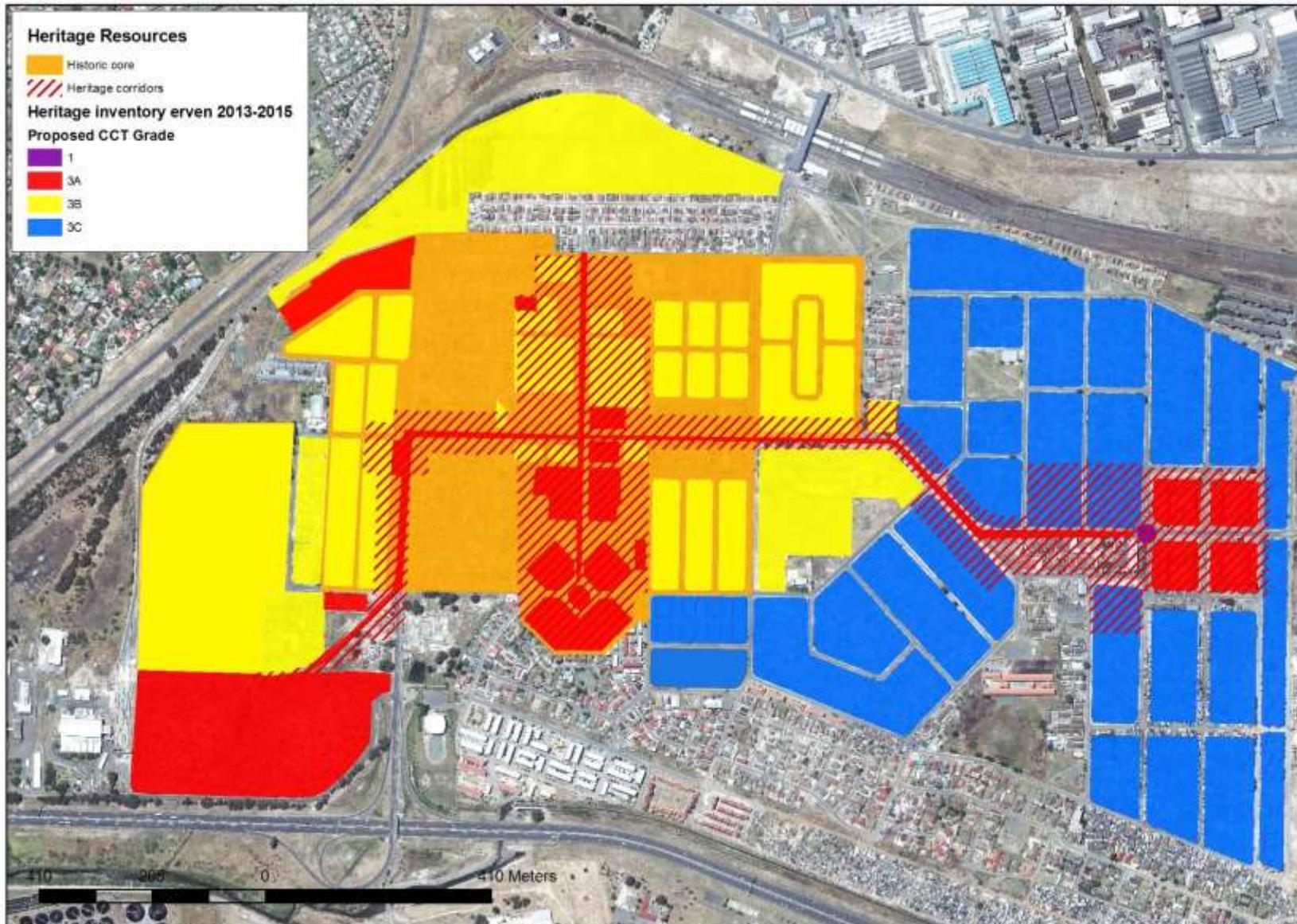
Bhunga Square

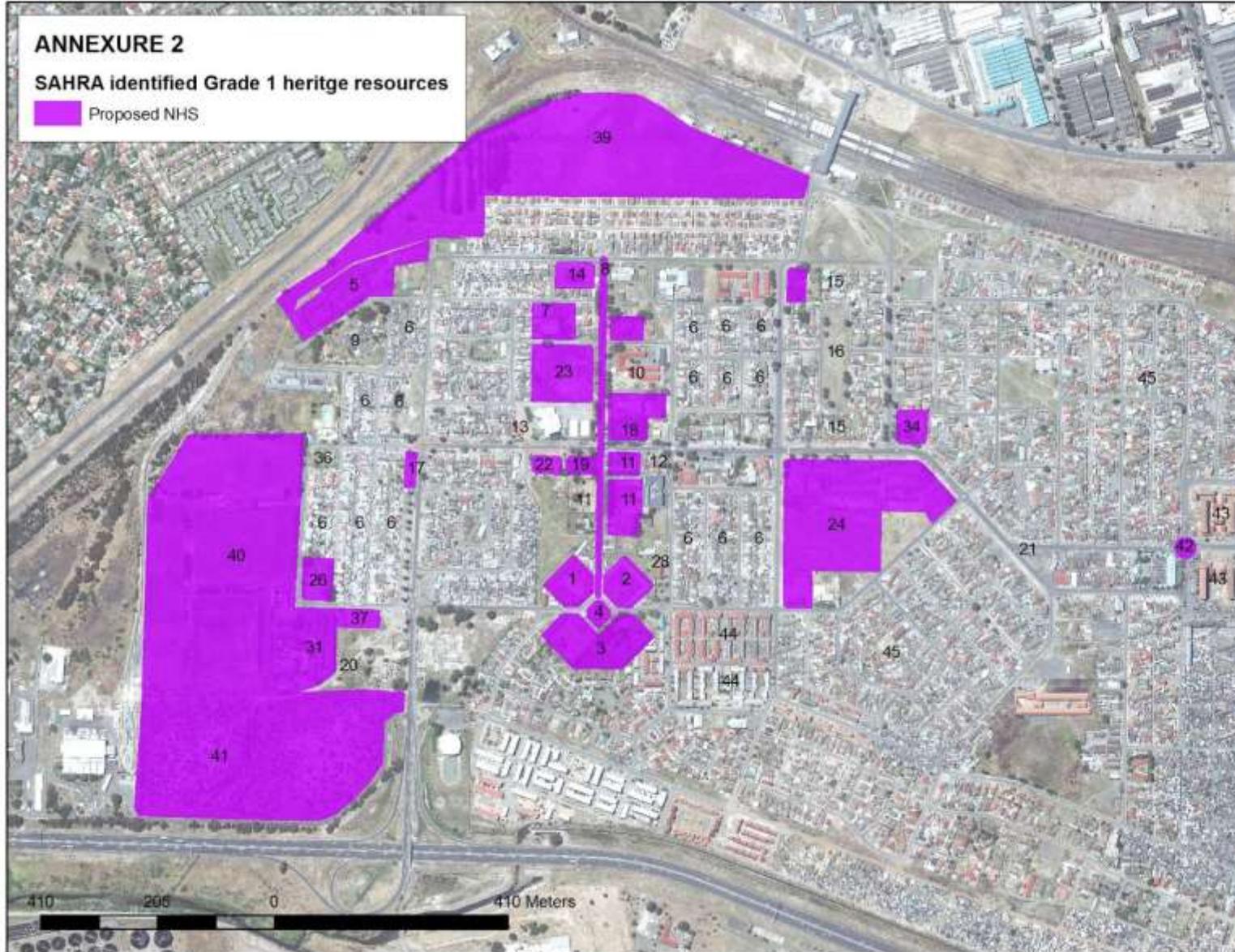
The Main Barracks beer hall

Robert Sobukwe Square

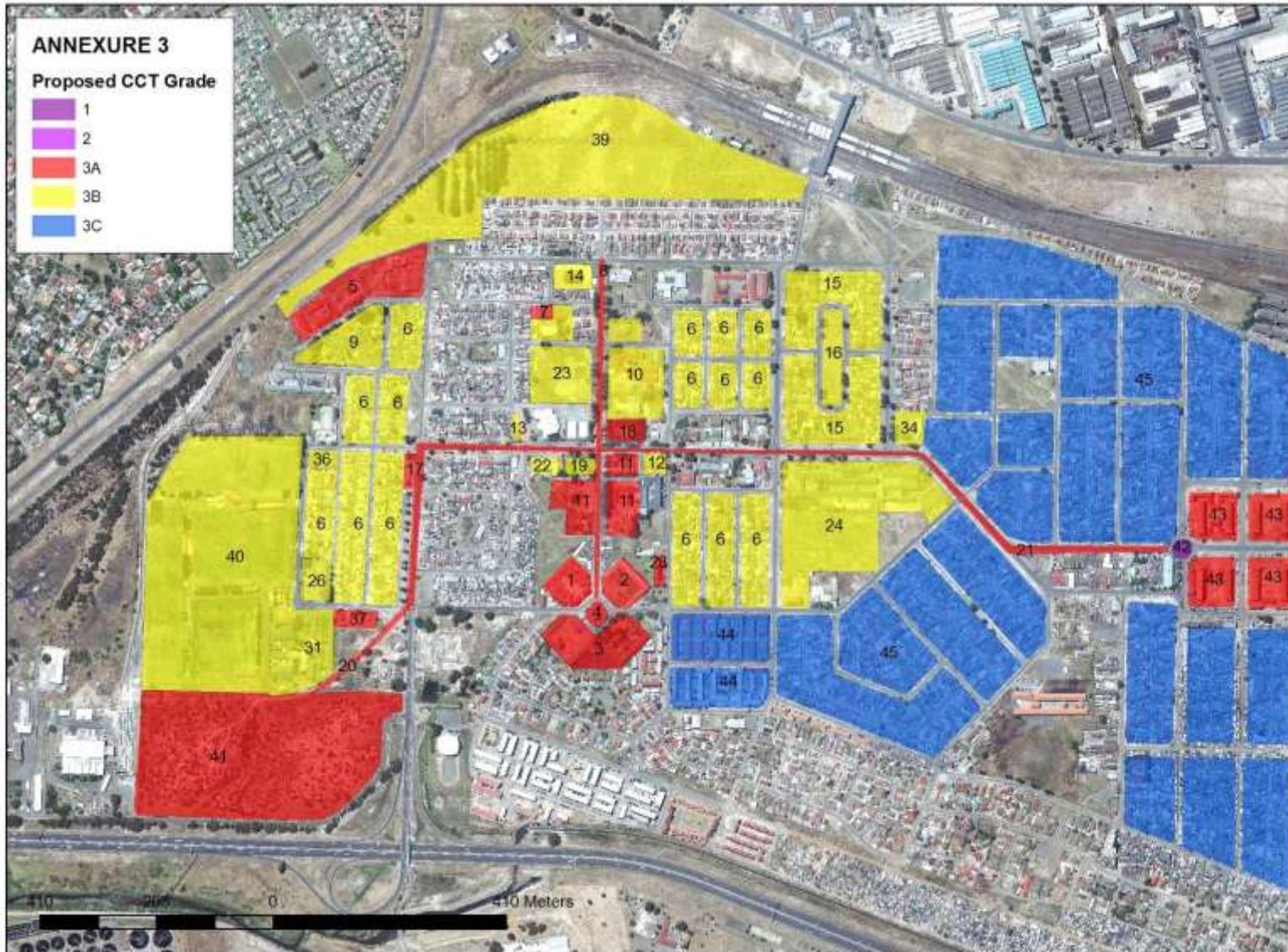
FIELD RESEARCH PART 4: SAHRA NOMINATION OF SITES

FIELD RESEARCH PART 5: MAP OF HERITAGE RESOURCES IN LANGE EXCLUDING SITES ASSOCIATED WITH SIGNIFICANCE PERSONALITIES





1. Main Barracks: Welcome Zenzile
2. Main Barracks: LTA Construction
3. Main Barracks: PSG: Peninsula Security Guards
4. Main Barracks, Beer Hall
5. North Barracks
6. Special Quarters (Married and Single quarters)
7. Migrant passage, site of former dipping hut
8. Migrant passage – Lerotholi Ave
9. Langa Hospital Administration block
10. CCT Admin office
11. Formal official residences
12. Pass Office Museum
13. Post Office - Museum
14. Langa Market Hall – former Civic Hall
15. Makana
16. Makana Square
17. Bhunga Square
18. Mendi Square
19. Maragana Open Area
20. Portion of Bhunga Drive and historic entrance into Langa
21. Washington Drive
22. Guga S'Thebe Cultural centre
23. Khulani School site
24. Langa High School
25. St Cyprians site
26. St Louis school
27. Tembani school
28. Ethiopian Church
29. Presbyterian Church
30. Universal Congregationa
31. St Francis Catholic Church
32. St Cyprians Anglican Church
33. Wesleyan Church
34. Baptist Union Church
35. SA Black Mission Field church
36. AME Church
37. Presbyterian Church
38. Dutch Reformed Church
39. Cemetery
40. Sports Stadium/Field
41. Initiation site
42. Robert Sobukwe Square
43. Old Flats
44. New Flats
45. The Zones



1. Main Barracks: Welcome Zenzile
2. Main Barracks: LTA Construction
3. Main Barracks: PSG: Peninsula Security Guards
4. Main Barracks, Beer Hall
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42. Initiation site
43. Robert Sobukwe Square
44. Old Flats
45. New Flats
46. The Zones

ANNEXURE 1: SUMMARY OF EVENTS: LANGA TIMELINE

DATE	EVENT	PLACE	PERSON	REFERENCE
1840-1890	Origins of "African" in Cape Town: from eastern Cape, liberated slaves (local and from North Africa), "Mozambiquers". Worked in the Harbour and for the City of Cape Town	District 6, Papendorp (Woodstock), barracks in Docks – complex residential mixing		Saunders in SAHRA, p132-139
1875-1887		Uitvlugt Government Forest Reserve	Langalibalele Mthimkhulu: Natal rebel who was removed from Robben Island to Oude Molen on Uitvlugt reserve in 1875. Allowed to return to Natal in 1887. For a time had Zulu monarch Cetshwayo as neighbour imprisoned on adjoining farm. Langa named after him.	Saunders in SAHRA, p140, 174
1901	Creation of Ndabeni: Use of Bubonic plague and Public Health Act to forcibly remove Africans to first "location" outside of white residential areas. Beginning of economic and social isolation and control of Africans by Government.	25 morgen of Uitvlugt Forest Reserve set aside		Saunders in SAHRA, p140 - 154
1901-1902	First sixteen months of existence of Ndabeni saw massive campaigns of resistance by residents		Protests/campaign led by William Sipika, Cole Mji, Alfred Mangena, Arthur Radasi	Saunders in SAHRA, p146; 148-9; 150; 151-152
30 June 1902	A day later to become known as "Mangena Day" when Mangena suggests defiance by residents in refusing to buy train tickets. Resistance to new costs imposed through forced removal to Nadeni. Government couldn't get money via rentals and therefore placed emphasis on capturing costs of development via train fares.	Was this ever celebrated	Mangena also "Machine Makani"	Saunders in SAHRA, p154-155
Early 1917	Mendi tragedy: 100s African troops aboard the Mendi drowned when capsized on way to France to assist in the war effort. See Memorial gathering 1941. Also further details in Molap			Musemwa p163 Molapo, p133-145
1918/ 1919	Spanish Influenza epidemic – as with earlier bubonic plague this was used again as a trigger for further township creation – conditions in Nadebeni considered to be			Several references Molapo

DATE	EVENT	PLACE	PERSON	REFERENCE
	problematic and begin to plan Langa			
1920s	Increasing influx of Africans to cape Town following WWI and subsequent economic boom			
1919-1925	Negotiations between City Council and government re administration of "Native locations" resulted in agreement in which Smuts grants Council 400 morgen of Uitvlugt for the new 'model' location (in exchange for land in front of Somerset hospital for railway development). Ndabeni would shut its doors and the land become available to Council for industrial purposes.	400 morgen, being part of the demarcated forest land at Uitvlugt, north of Vijtieskraal (or Vuge Kraal) 11 km from City ... according to Elias p34, in fact only 200 acres were received		Saunders in SAHRA, p169 Bantu administration document in SAHRA p477 Elias, p16
Sept 1922	CCC anticipating Smuts Urban Areas Act to be passed in 1923 in which urban African housing to fall under local government, not national) – Native Township Committee appointed to inspect locations around country and give recommendations. Recommendations indicate aim to control residents (unclimbable fences, observation towers etc) and include barrack system for migrants and married quarters			Saunders in SAHRA, p172-173 Elias p17
April 1923	Name Langa suggested by Ndabeni residents. Detail on this quite amusing. See ref. Langa also Xhosa/Zulu word for the sun and abbreviation of Langalibalele See later – around 1936 – for more popular road naming	Langa Roads in Langa named after Rhodes, Moffat, Merriman		Saunders in SAHRA, p174 Molapo, p?
1923	Native (Urban Areas) Act No 21/1923 passed. Beginning of influx control (restricting migration into urban areas), passes (only those with employment could enter); housing to local level responsibility; only hostel accommodation – family accommodation only for those been in town for some time; no brewing of 'kaffir' beer etc. Properly into form in CT in 1926			Saunders in SAHRA, p176, 178, 182 Elias p17-18
	Industrial conciliation Act following the 1922 white miners strike had effect of excluding Africans from skilled work in	Buildings built by white, unionised labour		Elias, p22

DATE	EVENT	PLACE	PERSON	REFERENCE
	the building and construction industry. Hence issue about unionised white labour building Langa at great expense. See also 1951 when new law allows for African building workers (skilled) in townships, but prohibited employment elsewhere.			
1924		Completion of railway siding		
1925	Langa: Housing provision influenced by the basic tenant of the Urban Areas Act of 1923: that the majority of Africans were migrant "temporary sojourners" in cities	Completion 2 Barracks buildings. Married quarters now to be 2 not 3 roomed and asbestos and concrete instead of brick to reduce costs		Saunders in SAHRA, p174-175 Comment re migrants from Musemwa, p33
	CCC made provision for extension of Admin block for the use as a post office to be rented to the Government. When opened not enough volume of post and the super ran it on behalf of the Post Office	Same site as the Post Office today		Elias p54
1926		In second development plan of Langa in 1926 provision make for a police station. Present police station was completed later		Elias p54
1927, 10 Sept	<p>Official opening of Langa: barracks for 2 200 single men, married quarters nearing completion. First Development Scheme</p> <p>Resistance to moving to Langa: after 6 weeks only a few hundred had taken up residence. Town and Ndabeni residents resisted moving to Langa claiming 'the buildings were like graves'. More importantly rents were far higher and train fare more as it was further away from town. Transport irregular and had grave impacts on African's ability to obtain and maintain employment</p> <p>Construction of Langa by unionised European labour at very high cost. Residents did not see why they should have to pay for these high costs, especially when they would have liked to have been employed in construction, gained the skills etc as white and coloured labour had done elsewhere.</p>	<p>First Development scheme: The Main Barracks (accom for some 2 032 men plus 200 single and double rooms also for men. Special Quarters). 4 mess rooms, a market, admin offices and a house for the superintendent (Musemwa has the first phase built in 1926, known as "old location" and including married quarters, Special Quarters, the Main Barracks and the North Barracks (900 men). No electricity in streets (Musemwa p34)</p> <p>Swimming pool planned, only built in the 1960s</p>		<p>Saunders -185-192</p> <p>Bantu admin doc in SAHRA p477</p> <p>Elias p19</p> <p>Re Regs; Muchaperara Musemwa p24-25</p> <p>Musemwa on the cost of construction, impacts on employment of high cost of transport, p46</p> <p>Elias p53</p>

DATE	EVENT	PLACE	PERSON	REFERENCE
	<p>Also, did not wish to be forced to move.</p> <p>Resistance was also to the oppressive regulations to govern residents' lives in Langa</p>			
	<p>Second phase development: Hospital, 300 2-roomed family dwellings, 50 double rooms for married women, another barracks block for 840 single men, police station, 6 general dealer shops, 4 butchers, 4 bakers, 10 tea rooms and other buildings that included stores, workshops and stables</p>	<p>New location called Bhongweni (People's Pride) for married people</p>		<p>Musemwa p34</p> <p>Bantu Admin doc SAHRA p478</p>
Feb 1929	<p>Langa Advisory Board (as catered for in Urban Areas Act 21 of 1923) first elected vs much difficulty and objection and apathy – enough to warrant an enquiry</p> <p>For consultation between superintendent and local residents. Duties and functions open-ended, often abused. In Langa the Advisory Board structure to be 6 members elected by the registered occupiers of the married quarters (2) special quarters (2) and Main Barracks (2) and three members appointed by the Council. Super to be ex officio chair. Not representative, no women, sham democracy – residents set up a central fund to enlist the services of a legal advisor re the council ... 1930 went to a Mr Burton to express concern re the election of the Advisory Board proposed</p>			<p>Musemwa -91, 93-4</p>
Formed early 1930s, more active in the 1940s	<p>Langa Vigilance committee formed – civic organisation forms as an alternative, although unofficial organisation to the Langa advisory Board system.</p> <p>Until 1944 only small committee – grew in 1940s. Women represented.</p> <p>Older membership fairly conservative. Not very representative of younger and more radical, including bachelors</p>	<p>Langa Civic Hall – venue for election meetings etc</p>	<p>Many members of this committee had spent some time serving of the Langa advisory Board – although the Board had many negative attributes, it did serve as training field for the organised leadership that Langa could boast of as from the mid 1940s. Some members: Rev CN Nontshinga-Citashe (of the Ehtopian Church) chair of the committee in 1944; mr E Mlambo, Mr T Faku, Mr G Nongauza, J Mafu, J Papu</p>	<p>Musemwa, p100</p> <p>More detail Musemwa p106-108</p>
1930	<p>Native (Urban Areas) Act amended to increase powers of the authorities to forcibly remove Africans to the locations. Continued resistance eg if 900 removed from Ndabeni, only</p>			<p>Saunders p 194</p> <p>Musemwa, p46, 63</p>

DATE	EVENT	PLACE	PERSON	REFERENCE
	450 arrived in Langa. The remainder 'vanishes' into other parts of CT or squatted just beyond the perimeter of the Municipality. In 1930 rental arrears in Langa amounted to £42 500			
1930/1		Establishment of the St Francis Mission School – 98 pupils		Elias, p51
1933	Reading room run by a Mrs Mason opened	Not sure where		Elias, p55
1934	Additional 200 houses built – was this part of the second phase development?	Musemwa puts this as part of the third phase development (1935) called Thembani (Trust) – electricity was now installed		Saunders p196
	Sports ground provided (relief work for Africans to build – Depression). Improvements made in 1973 Cricket started in Langa			Elias p53
	Home brewing permitted in Langa – see 1937			Elias p53
?		Ndabeni	James Bhengu: test case in Ndabeni – refusal to pay rent on grounds of accommodation having been condemned by the Medical Officer of Health. Following this, no more rent collected in Ndabeni	Saunders p196
1935	60 more family houses built			Saunders p196
May 1936	By government notice Ndabeni ceased to exist as a location. In 16 years only 20 permanent dwellings had been built, rest were built of wood and iron or mere shacks. No street laid down, no lights, no sanitation or water supplied			Saunders p197 Bantu Admin doc, SAHRA p477
1936	Naming of streets in Langa: suggests a closer link with naming and popular culture (as opposed to early names laid down by Council)	Makana St – who led Ndlambe in attack on Grahamstown, banished to Robben Island Moshesh St after founder of Sotho		Molaop

DATE	EVENT	PLACE	PERSON	REFERENCE
		<p>nation</p> <p>Rubusana St after Red Walter Rubestana – author, founder member and vice president SANNK which became ANC in 1925</p> <p>Ndabeni after the place</p> <p>Harlem St</p> <p>Washington St after Booker Taliaferro Washington – American ex-slave</p>		
		<p>Methodist Church opens school for 260 pupils, called Zimasa Schoool</p> <p>Mention of a Roman Catholic School, St Louis .. Where?</p>		Elias p51
1937	<p>Urban Areas Act, amendment Act no 46 gave Council exclusive right to manufacture, sell 'Kaffir' beer within uraban area of CT – domestic brewing required a permit</p>			Elias p53
<p>Mid 1930s and post 1936</p>	<p>Pre 1935litter interference in local protests by civic associations by political parties (because of internal power struggles)</p> <p>Mid 1930s: ANC CPSA, NLL (National Liberation League)</p> <p>Post 1936 increasing political activity in Langa – “community based protest actions transmuted fluidly into national politics” Musemwa p150</p>			Musemwa p110, 150
1939 - 1941	<p>NLL of SA formed in 1935, predominantly coloured organisation, began to strive to recruit Africans. Established branch in Langa with Mr A Ndlwana as chair and Mr William Nduyana (later prominent member of CPSA and Advisory Board and Vigilance Association). Fissled out by 1943. Articulated shortage of housing and appalling conditions, radical in principal, constitutional in action. As NLL fizzled out around 1941, Langa became hub of ANC, SACO revival</p>			Musemwa, p152-158, 166

DATE	EVENT	PLACE	PERSON	REFERENCE
9 April 1939	In the wake of first municipal beer hall proposal, authorities start to clamp down on illegal sale and brewing of alcohol – mostly affecting women’s livelihoods. The superintendent raided a house and the women fought back: some 60 women fought them off in a ‘hostile demonstration’. Beer brewing was traditionally, culturally and economically indispensable to resident’s way of life. Proposal re beer hall shelved because of collective arguments of residents (was entirely economically based on municipality’s side)	No 457 Married Quarters	An African policeman nicknamed Ndiyakukrokrela (I suspect you), led liquor raids on residents as they got off the train at Langa. Was finally stabbed to death.	Musemwa p64,67-68, 75-76
WW2 1939 - 1945	Increased influx of Africans into CT: 1939 census 11 500 Africans in CT 1955 census 65 000 Africans in CT – (4/5 living in squatter camps)	Secondary school built		Saunders p100 Elias p50
1939 or 1941		Third Phase development: 204 family dwellings. Musemwa calls this the 4 th phase (Bulawayo – meaning ‘to kill’) – less spacious than dwellings in Old Location		Musemwa, p34-35 Bantu Admin doc SAHRA p479
2 Nov 1939	Residents complained to Donald Molteno re role Superintendent acting as Admin official and policing – using Molteno – first ‘Native Representative’ for WCape on Native Representative Council			Musemwa, p118
Feb 1941	Memorial gathering for the Mendi tragedy to be organised by the Committee of Langa Church Minister ... gathering a solemn occasion when people demonstrated their respect for their heroic brothers and of the faith in their own courage and loyalty to their people. Molapo has it from 1941 – 1967 – not just a Langa memorial day.	Where, for how many years, still practiced now? Molapo: celebrations took place in square opposite Methodist church – renamed the Mendi Square and the street next to Moshesh has been renamed Mendi St		Musemwa, p163 The Guardian 20 feb 1941 Molapo p137-141, 145, 156
1941	Native Affairs Commission investigation into conditions in the Barracks and Special Quarters; proved beyond doubt	Main Barracks and Special Quarters		Musemwa p105; 160

DATE	EVENT	PLACE	PERSON	REFERENCE
	that conditions were incredible unsatisfactory			
Oct 1941	Vigilance Association and NLL – Langa Branch organising meeting of residents calling for municipal representation	Where		Musemwa, p110
End 1941	7 436 people living in Langa			Bantu Admin doc in SAHRA p479
17 June 1942	Deputation comprising members of the Langa Vigilance Association/Committee, Langa Advisory Board and the Langa Branch of the NLL submit memo to council on campaign backed by Cape African Congress and Cape District Committee of the CcPSA – local politics of the 1930s shifting into national politics of the 1940s onwards. Subject of deputation was African Municipal Representation.			Musemwa p111
1943	Introduction of Golden Arrow bus service between Langa and Mowbray			Musemwa p43
Feb 1943	<p>Launch Mfengu Memorial Association and subsequent celebration of the Mfengu Emancipation Day on 14 May 1943. Caused much conflict between Mfengu and Xhosa. “Emancipation” by British from Xhosa oppression 14 May 1835 and oath under the milkwood tree Some historians assert “mfengu” largely mythical, from Mfecane, service under Gcaleka ... war vs Gcaleka by British led to the weakening of Xhosa independence and allowed British to seize involuntary Xhosa labour.</p> <p>Vigilance Association registered opposition and fears of organising along tribal lines – objection registered in early March. Nothing done about objection, celebrations went ahead. Felt that leaders of Mfengu Association were employees of Langa Administration</p>	Still held today? Where did they celebrate? Marched from edge of township (Butterworth) to the Langa Market (Peddie)	Foundation members elected following leaders: G Nongauza (chair) G. Bogwana ...	Musemwa p136-140 Molapo p102
14 May 1943	Mfengu Emancipation Day celebrations go ahead			Musemwa p136
1 June 1943	Eating houses taken over by Municipality Council also takes over sale of fruit, vegetable, coal and	Eating houses in Main Barracks		Musemwa p80-87

DATE	EVENT	PLACE	PERSON	REFERENCE
	milk. Outlaws selling of foodstuffs by women in 1943/1944			
1944	Victory for Langa Vigilance Association and Langa branch CPSA when won 5/6 positions on the Langa Advisory Board			Musemwa p166-117
1944 -	Rise to prominence of ANC and SACP as political parties in Langa. ANC not only voiced people's grievances at local level, but also increased people's national consciousness. ANC and SACP worked together. Overlapping membership. CPSA candidates on Langa Advisory Board from 1944 until banned in 1950. Was a splinter group in Vigilance Association Rev Nantshinga-Citashe vs communists.		Nqwenvela; Colourful leaser, prominent ANC leader and SACP leader. Also leadership of esleyan Church in Langa and on Committee for the Welcoming of Chiefs to Langa and the Red Cross First Aid.	Musemwa p166-173, 175
14 March 1944	Ama-Xhosa chose as day to observe St Ntsikana Memorial celebration – begun in response and opposition to Mfengu Memorial Celebrations. Inclusive of all ministers of religion. Also started a fund for education, which did not have a sectarian outlook. Rev JA Calata of Cradock Anglican Church was president of the Cape African Congress and president of the national Committee of the Ntsikana Day celebrations. Superintendent Rogers' concern that this could be receptive to political influence of the ANC	Still today? Where do they celebrate this?		Musemwa p41-42 Molapo
Aug 1944	ANTI PASS RESISTENCE Mass meetings in Langa, door to dorr campaigning			Musemwa p176-185
June 1945	5 000 strong crowd led my antipass deputation to Parliament, meet at the Grand Parade			Musemwa p183
Oct 1945	5 000 strong crowd meetin in Langa. Addressed also by local Langa leadership (Vigilance Association) alongside CPSA and ANS		First time a women speaker: Mrs Siqwana – represented women at Langa in politics for some time	Musemwa p185
Sunday 4 Aug 1946	Bonfire of passes at Langa	Where?		Musemwa p178
10 Feb 1947	Langa Advisory Board resolution to adjourn all activities			Musemwa p105

DATE	EVENT	PLACE	PERSON	REFERENCE
	because of failure of Council to carry out agreements. List of 31 demands/grievances to Council			
9 March 1947	<p>Langa residents small-scale riot re Beer Hall proposal: started with Superintendent Rogers' meeting at Main barracks on Sunday March 9th; tried to get bachelors from barracks on his side – divide and rule – did not work – lead to thousands of angered residents who met later and in the evening a riot broke out. Some damage to the eating house proposed for the beer hall.</p> <p>Elias states that in 1947 a bar lounge, a beer hall and an additional bottle store were built and the CCC gave permission for a further beer hall and lounge to be built accommodating 410 people. These were the first targets to be attacked in the 1976 demonstrations. A new reinforced concrete building was built as a beer hall (1980s??)</p>	<p>Main Barracks, Eating house (meeting – Civic hall?)</p> <p>Beer hall and bar lounge</p>		<p>Musemwa p118-119; 144-145</p> <p>Elias p53</p>
12 March 1947	First Moshoeshoe Day celebrations – until 1966	?		Molapo, p84, 96
May 1948	National Party government into power			
1948	Establishment of Langa Parents Association – to combat increasing juvenile delinquency. Critical of social and leisure facilities and called the civic centre “an eyesore”			Musemwa p134
1951	Native Building Workers Act No 27 1951 allows skilled African builders to work in townships only – never really had any effect and funds for new developments not forthcoming and then introduction of Coloured Labour Preference Policy ... today hew skilled African workers in the building trade in WC			Elias, p23
1952	Native Laws Amendment Act no 54 1952: amended section of Urban Areas Act making urban residence for Africans a privilege and not a right. No African could spend more than 72 hours in an urban area without permission from the relevant local authority. Also categorised: “homers” vs Migrants ... Government also therefor ducks responsibility			Elias , p25-26

DATE	EVENT	PLACE	PERSON	REFERENCE
	for provision of housing. Resulted in many women being prosecuted for being in the area illegally. As a result the offices at Langa had been besieged by women applying for “rights” under the act ... resulted in CCC recommending that the laws relating to the influx of African women to urban areas be amended in order to enable legally married women to live with their husbands in the cape and representations to this end made to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. No evidence that minister agreed to the request. Women continued to be harassed under this law.			Elias p53
1955	Coloured Labour Preference Policy first enunsciated – finally applied in 1959 – coloureds preference in areas west of the Eiselen line – increased restrictions on Africans seeing work, those in employment, etc			Elias, p32
		Opening of a library, bigger library opened in 1973		Elias, p55
1957	Completion of multi-storey and cottage hostels (strange zig-zag shape flats)	Multi-storey and cottage hostels		Council housing in CT doc in SAHRA, p451
1958	ANC Women’s League Conference held in Langa. Superintendent Rogers refuses permits for women from other areas to enter Langa			Bridget’s notes – source not noted
	PAC founded with succession from ANC			
1959	Native Representation in Parliament abolished and Coloured Labour Preference Policy applied			SAIRR p9 Elias, p33
1959-1962	Some 18 311 Africans – figure unclear - 7 351 women and 18960 men endorsed out of the Western Cape			Elias p33
1960	Langa housing 25 000 plus residents, of whom 18 500 living in so-called bachelor quarters (Double check Ramphele: 1954 population 44 300 – is this			Saunders -199 Also in Langa historical review of the supply of

DATE	EVENT	PLACE	PERSON	REFERENCE
	for Langa or Cape Town)			housing doc SAIRR doc p7
		When new township proposeal (to absorb those living in "black sports" rejected by government Council added 8 new multi-storey blocks of flats for 1 328 single men 850 small hostels to accommodate a further 13 600 (cottage type) at Langa		Bantu Admin doc in SAHRA p480
Sunday 20 March 1960	PAC Anti-Pass Campaign 10 am meeting at the New Flts 2pm meeting in Bhunga Square – explanation of campaign next day Appeal of campaign: addressed major concerns of residents of Langa (and nation wide); pass laws and ref books and wages. Also came at time when frustration and anger at no channel for expression of grievances etc	New Flats: bachelor quarters, 8 large blocks with area between being customarily used for meetings	Meeting addressed by PAC leaders: Philip Kgosane, Eliot Magwentshu, Gasson Ndlovu, Shuba, Faka	SAIRR p4-15 Molapo p205
21 March 1960	The Langa March <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First attempt to march to police station and call for their arrest as no passes frustrated by police and march stopped • Idea spread that police to return with statement re pass laws and meeting called for 6pm that night • Meeting banned by Wynberg magistrate court • News of Sharpeville massacre arrives • Feelings running high • Residents from Nyanga West and East and other townships join the gathering at the New Flats, crowd swells to some 10 000 • Arrival of police like a "red rag to a bull"; given an impossible 3 minutes to disperse • Baton charges, retaliation by crowd and shooting by police 	Met at Anglican church and at the New Flats; joined forces at the New and this where rioting broke out in the evening. Rioting moved, after about 6:30pm out into Vanguard Drive and into rest of township attacking admin buildings, church, dining hall, etc	PAC leaders as above Captain Louw and Major Rheeder –police involved	SAIRR p15-29 Molapo

DATE	EVENT	PLACE	PERSON	REFERENCE
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spread of rioting across township, burning symbols of oppression • SADF called in • Quiet by midnight • Repercussions next day; arrest leaders, invade etc • Funeral and march to Caledon square on 25 March • Banning of ANC, PAC 30 March 1960 			
Post 1960	Langa recruiting ground for military wings of ANC and PAC			Molapo
Late 1960s	Entry of women and children into the hostel environments – changed nature of relationships between hostel dwellers			Mampehela Ramphele SAHRA doc p57
1970		New shopping complex of two shops, two houses and two garages, situated at the cnr of Washington St and Jungle Walk		Elias p52
1971	Bantu Affairs Administration Act 45 of 1971 puts responsibility for housing urban Africans back into national government hands and out of CCC			
1973		Makone Lower Primary School (10 classrooms) opened – relieved existing Tembani school which had 820 pupils and had been operating on a double shift system		Elias p51
	St Francis Adult education Centre started for students wishing to complete their matric Bigger library built	St Francis Adult Education Centre started Bigger library built	Founded by Sister Veronica	Elias p51
1976		Extensive and beautiful buildings of St Francis adult Education Centre completed from donated overseas funds raised by Sister Veronica		Elias p51
	Demostrations ...	Beer hall attached		Elias p55

DATE	EVENT	PLACE	PERSON	REFERENCE
		Library burnt down new smaller one built in 1979		
1980	Begun by SACHED	Zama Reading room opened at St Cyprians School		Elias p55
1986	Abolition of Influx Control Act of 1986			
1988	<p>First playing facilities for children: authorities put up one play area in Church St – predictably overused. NB importance of outside spaces for children to play because of night shift workers needing to sleep, p59 – could lead to tension</p> <p>Leisure activities: community centres for boxing, ballroom dancing, netball, meetings and choir practice. Over-subscription leads to conflict.</p> <p>Older men gamble in Old Flats (cards, dice, draughts)</p>	<p>Play area in Church St</p> <p>Community centres for boxing, ballroom dancing, netball, meetings and choir practice</p> <p>Older men gamble in Old Flats</p>		Ramphele in SAHRA p59, 63

