

**Title: A Visual Past in East London: The
Photography of Daniel Morolong (1950-1970)**



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requirements for the award of the degree of
Master of History**

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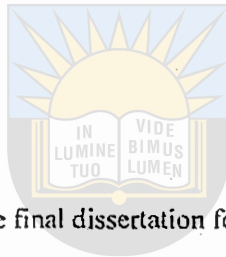
Supervisor: Prof. Gary Minkley

DECLARATION

I declare that 'A Visual Past in East London: The Photography of Daniel Morolong (1950-1970)' is my work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated, or acknowledged by complete references. I also declare that I am fully aware of the University of Fort Hare's policies on plagiarism and on research ethics and I have taken every precaution to comply with the regulations.

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Introduction

As I sit writing, the sounds of song carrying Madiba's name reverberate through the air, sharing these voices with my heart. Two years ago, another son of the Eastern Cape, Daniel Kgomo Morolong, passed away, leaving an entirely different legacy: another small but significant mark on our world and our history as a nation. He was not a big man, nor a particularly well-known man. He was a worker, a musician, a photographer - a person people trusted to capture their memories forever. The images he captured were not massively important political milestones or of anyone famous, just ordinary people getting on with the business of living their lives the best way they could. Taken during apartheid, they show us a side of our history that was hidden from many people through our separation. Seeing them now illustrates and teaches us that the separation was more physical than real in any other sense. Underneath it all, we all have aspirations, celebrate, play sport and generally like to enjoy ourselves and be remembered for the best that we can be. Morolong's photographs preserve and reveal these memories and moments.

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To me, photography is the simultaneous recognition, in a fraction of a second, of the significance of an event as well as of a precise organization of forms, which give the event its proper expression... content cannot be separated from form. By form, I mean a rigorous organization of the interplay of surfaces, lines, and values. It is in this organization alone that our conceptions and emotions can become concrete and communicable (Cartier-Bresson 1999: 16).

Probably the best documentary photographer of all time and the master of the 'decisive moment', Henri Cartier-Bresson used this technique to tell people stories about the world we live in. Freezing many moments that would otherwise have been completely missed or easily forgotten over time. These iconic moments are what every photojournalist hopes to capture.

Daniel Morolong, as a photographer for the *Daily Dispatch* newspaper in East London, South Africa, has caught some of these moments of life in the city in a time that was full of strife and change for everyone in the country.

The first of three Group Areas Acts was passed in 1950 and led to forced removals and huge changes in the structure of communities in the late 1950s to early 1960s. Dr H.F. Verwoerd, in his capacity as Minister of Native Affairs, decided to position newly planned dormitory townships outside the city. People's homes were destroyed and communities were broken up. Daniel Morolong photographed these people before the removals took place, thereby preserving a record of a way of life that was soon to be lost forever.

One of the consequences of apartheid rule at the time is that we have a scant record, especially visually, of the everyday life of Blacks in South Africa. Thus, photographs open an increasingly important window into this period in East London's history and can be used to expose life as it was then – and to excavate further hidden histories of this time.

Edwards (2001: 5) theorises photography as 'raw histories' - unprocessed and painful as they reconstitute the complex spaces that make up, and are made by, history. The photograph, then, offers 'interruptions' and 'vertical samplings' (2001: 4) of time - visual incisions through time and space and thus offering significant possibilities for reinterpretations.

She argues, further, that photographs 'have their own agency' (2001: 15) and performative qualities, moving us beyond the surface level evidence of appearance. This is, she says, because photographs are, by their very nature, sites of multiple, contested and contesting histories: they have a rawness, uncontainability, resistance and, ultimately, an unknowability, despite their clamorous claims to the contrary.

Each photograph is a perfect moment in time, freezing for all eternity something that takes place in a millisecond. These resultant images give us a glimpse into lives and moments that can illuminate histories in a way that nothing else can, transporting the past into the future, providing us with a visual narrative of a time gone by.

Nelson Mandela observed that,

the world over, official versions of history have proved to be as subjective as those of individuals. In authoritarian states, history is written by those in power... [T]he stories of ordinary people are lost. (Van der Merwe & Faber 2003: 132).

The photographs of Daniel Morolong tell some of the stories of ordinary people, helping us to re-imagine some of our lost histories. The purpose of this dissertation is, inter alia, to fill in gaps in the history of the Eastern Cape; East London in particular.

There is much visual material available that documents the struggle in South Africa. Excellent representations are the work of *Drum* photographers Peter Magubane, Bob Gosani and Alf Khumalo (to name a few). The magazine was first published in Cape Town under the title *The African Drum* in March 1951 by Robert Crisp.

The African Drum was paternalistic and featured much about tribal life while depicting a respectable Black middle class, possibly appealing more to white South Africans than to its intended readership. Crisp tried to use literature, art and cultural development to 'lift Black South Africans out of the squalor of modern urban existence and tempt them away from radical solutions' (Newbury 2009: 108). His approach was ineffective and the magazine failed and moved to Johannesburg in September 1951. Jim Bailey, who took it over, changed its name to *Drum*. He restructured the magazine, making it more modern and relevant to the urban Black population by turning 'instead to popular culture as a creative refuge from, and a form of subversion of the degradation and dehumanisation apartheid forced upon the black population of South Africa' (Newbury 2009: 108).

The new *Drum* had a much more urban focus, appealing to an urban Black readership that was interested in jazz, sport, fashion, the shenanigans in the shebeens, and the emerging gangsterism in the cities. This was highly relevant in the context of 1950s South Africa, as Stephen David points out, commenting that in 'a public sphere hostile to affirmative black self-expression, *Drum* stood out as a cultural oasis... it is the first extensive record of the cultural details of urban black South Africans of the twentieth century' (David 2001: 2-5, quoted in Newbury 2009: 117).

Another important aspect of the magazine was its depiction of everyday Black urban life as is seen in Bob Gosani's group portraits of the patrons of the Bantu Men's Social Centre and the Sophiatown shebeens; photographs of jazz musicians performing; Jurgen Schadeberg's photographs of young boxers in Sophiatown and pictures of birthdays and weddings. Previously, there had been very little visual documentation of Black culture, making what is now known as Bailey's African History Archive (an online resource showcasing images from *Drum*) a valuable visual resource of this period in South African history.

Drum's critique of apartheid was not direct, nor did it represent a political strategy, but it did present a powerful visual argument that apartheid could not succeed. *Drum* countered the Afrikaner image of 'the Bantu' with images of urban Blacks as irrepressibly human, as actors on their own account for both good and evil (Newbury 2009: 158).

Ernest Cole also covered life under apartheid, depicting the inhumanity of the treatment of workers on the mines and in the hostels. Cole worked for *Drum* but fled South Africa, going into exile in the United States where he published his groundbreaking book, *House of Bondage*.

The images in the book reveal the dark truth of Black life under apartheid, showing photographs of the mines, police and passes, forced removals, trains, servants, signs demarcating where black people could or could not be, aspects of poverty, religion, etcetera. No images of people playing jazz or sport, and very few of people having any kind of fun are shown. The book was banned in South Africa, but helped to raise awareness of what life was like for black people under apartheid in the rest of the world.

Two other iconic bodies of work at this time were *The Cordoned Heart*, in which 20 South African photographers documented the effects of poverty on the country, and *Beyond the Barricades: Popular Resistance in South Africa* in which various photographers document resistance and state brutality in South Africa. 'The title, *Beyond the Barricades* carries at least two meanings: the authors' intention is to take the reader beyond the barricades that keep most of the media from the heart of the

conflict, but the book also expresses hope for change, for a life 'beyond the barricades' (Bolle 1989: 9).

Metz sees photographers such as Gosani, Cole, and Peter Magubane as capturing black image and voice (1998: 5). Their work is highly acclaimed, and has appeared in books and exhibitions around the world, thus exposing life in those times to people who did not witness it. Braun and Dhlomo-Mautloa (2001) illustrate how these photographers (and others) contributed to our knowledge of life in Soweto from the 1950s. Photographs provide a visual record of what people were doing and how they were living: a 'slice of life', if you like. It has been recently argued by Patricia Hayes (2001, 2005), W.J.T. Mitchell (2005) and Christopher Pinney (2004), among others, that visual images and photographs have a different story to tell than words do. 'Visual history' according to Christopher Pinney, 'restores a vein of popular messianism that has been severely neglected in orthodox historiography' (Pinney 2004: 203).

It has also been argued that photographs lie (Goldstein, in Stanczak, 2007 and Sturken & Cartwright, 2001). It is possible to manipulate a situation, subject or image, leaving it up to the discerning viewer to decide if the 'facts' being presented in a photograph are true or not. However, some photographic truths are unarguable, as is shown in the images in *Beyond the Barricades*. That kind of visual evidence certainly makes it hard to deny what took place and the severity thereof. Just as a research project can contain some kind of bias because of the researchers' beliefs, understanding (or lack thereof), cultural contexts and so on, so too can many criticisms be thrown at *any* form of research or truth. The trick is to not throw the baby out with the bath water, but to look at the strengths of any given form of research or evidence and apply it wisely.

Chapter One opens a window into the world that Daniel Morolong has inhabited by uncovering what is known of his personal history, followed by a discussion in Chapter Two on how the Daniel Morolong Collection, now held at FHISER, was collected. In Chapter Three, the life's journey of his photographs will be tracked and revealed. Chapter Four will take a more in-depth look at the photographs themselves.

Chapter 1

Biography: Daniel 'Kgomo' Morolong

Early Years

Daniel Morolong was born on 5 May 1928 in Mtshemla Street in Tsolo Location, East London to Anea and Mamrolong Morolong. As a Sotho in a predominantly Xhosa area, he faced a language problem, so when he started school his parents moved him to Zastron in the Free State. After passing Standard Six, he went to Healdtown in Fort Beaufort where he studied for two years, up to Form Two.

Healdtown was founded in 1855, initially starting as a school to train evangelists and provide basic education for the children of the amaFengu. The school developed into a leading educational institution, with a high school, a teacher training centre and a practicing school. It also provided specialised training in domestic science and physical education. The school has produced several prominent leaders, including John Tengo Jabavu, a leading intellectual who became editor of *Imvo Zabantsundu* in 1884; Nelson Mandela, South Africa's first democratically-elected president; Robert Sobukwe, the founder of the Pan-Africanist Congress; the Rivonia trialists, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba; and the Rev. Seth Mokitimi, a past governor of Healdtown and the first Black president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa.

The governing body was forced to hand over control of the school to the Department of Bantu Education in 1956. This resulted in the imposition of the kind of education that was in complete contrast to the quality education they had earlier endeavoured to provide.

Unfortunately, both of Morolong's parents passed away in the late 1940s in Mekeni Location, East London - his father from a burst appendix and his mother from a heart attack. His brother, who was caring for him, could not afford to pay the arrears in respect of his school fees, so Morolong had to drop out of school and return to East London to live with his eldest brother, Hezekiel, in New Brighton, East Bank Location.



Figure 01 - Morolong family home in New Brighton.

Family

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Morolong was still living in New Brighton in 1957 when he married his wife, Nompucuko, who had just finished school. Their first child, Lipuo, a girl, was born on 6 January 1959. She has three sons: Refiloe, Tsepo and Unathi. Their second child was Lehlohonolo, born on 5 December 1960, who now has two daughters, Indira and Phontso, and two sons, Tswelopele and Mohai. Their third child, Puisetso, born on 20 September 1969, has two daughters, Lebaka and Refiloe. Their last child, born on 3 May 1973, was Retsilisi:soe Morolong who has one son, Tshiamo. All of Daniel and Nompucuko's children were born in East London.

The Breadwinner (Day Jobs)

Mr. Morolong was, according to his wife, a busy man. During the day he would go to his day job, while at night he would play in a band and in between the two, take photographs and do his own developing and printing - often when he got home from gigs. He also had a certificate in key cutting.

One of his day jobs was working for Wittekers, where he did window dressing. He moved on to Woolbuyers. He remembers enjoying working for Optical Industries, after which he went on to Liddle Brothers and then to a bottling company: E.J Joubert and Paul Wayne.

A clock that was given to Morolong on 8 February 1974 when he left his job at Marine Knitting Mills, where he worked as a pattern maker, has pride of place in his home.

After he left this job he worked full-time taking photographs for what Mrs. Morolong called 'citizen cards' for the Government of the Ciskei. This proved to be very lucrative and allowed him to travel the whole of Ciskei.

(Note: the chronology and details of Morolong's life are as accurate as possible and were checked by his daughter, Lipuo, via email (01 February 2011). They may not be 100 percent correct, owing to the advanced age of both Mr. and Mrs. Morolong at the time of being interviewed.)

The Musician



Figure 02 - African Quavers. Daniel Morolong, top left of frame, playing double bass.



Figure 03 - African Quavers. Daniel Morolong, top left of frame, playing double bass (close-up taken of original photograph).

Morolong played the double bass for the African Quavers, a large jazz band under the leadership of the well-known Eric Nomvete (composer, band leader and tenor saxophonist). The Quavers were very popular at the time and would later become the legendary Havana Swingsters (Morolong also played bass for them). The band used to perform in nightclubs like the Bamboo Room at the beachfront, the Wagon Inn at West Bank, Cabanaros in Quigney and at Weavers Hotel. They were popular, and would often go on tour, playing in various towns around the country. They made only one recording of their music and even that was of questionable quality - Kwa Gompo/Uyandibambezela SA BB 154 E+. Morolong also played alongside greats such as Willie Mbali, David 'Nokhala' Mzimkhulu, and Sax Manuel.



Figure 04 - Record label: E-Qonce - African Quavers Swing Orchestra
(<http://electricjive.blogspot.com/2011/12/78-revolutions-per-minute-majuba-jazz.html>).

Each time he went on tour, Morolong would leave his day job, but it was seemingly easy for him to get another whenever he returned home.

To listen to one of their tracks go to-

<http://www.disa.ukzn.ac.za/samap/category/people/african-quavers-band>

The Photographer

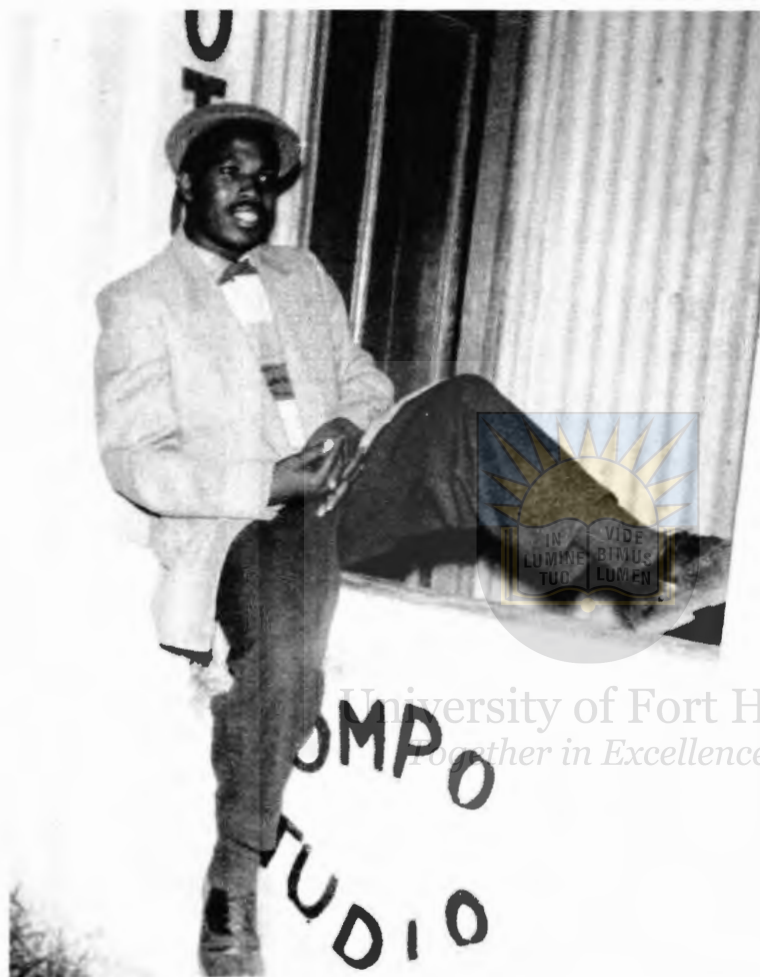


Figure 05 - Daniel Morolong outside the Gompo Studios.

Morolong's photography was initially a hobby, but because of a dearth of photographers in those days, he began to take it more seriously. In his words, '...those were the days when people were really hungry for photos and didn't have cameras to do the job' (Interview, 10 September 2009). The cost of cameras, lenses, film, developing and printing would have been prohibitory for people who earned very little or nothing at all. Morolong thinks that he started taking pictures in 1947 and says that, initially, it was difficult financially, especially when it came to the cost of materials such as film, paper, chemicals, batteries for his camera and flash - not to mention the camera, flash and enlarger he would have needed. Despite these impediments, he says: 'I went on ... because it's something that I loved' (Interview,

21 August 2010). He also mentions how much he loved to be in the darkroom, developing his films and printing the photographs.

Mr. Kraai, his East Bank neighbour and a photographer who owned a studio in a room next to his, encouraged and inspired Morolong. He and a friend, Ben Qambatha, bought an enlarger together. He was largely self-taught, relying on books for instruction, but was also assisted by a German friend, Dieter Plugger. Morolong says that Plugger helped them a lot by telling them how to improve their photographs. Mr. Farquason, a sport reporter, also encouraged him enthusiastically. He used to push him and tell him to 'print, print, print', so that he could publish his photographs in the newspaper.

Cameras, in whatever condition they were in, were difficult to come by because they were said to be too expensive, were considered to be rather complicated, and were the preserve of specialists. A Kodak camera was Morolong's first piece of photographic equipment. Later, he moved onto using a Pentax, which would have been more suitable as a professional camera. He does not recall having a film preference, but used Kodak Bromide WSG.1D (soft white, smooth, glossy double weight, 8,9cm x 14cm) paper for printing on.

At first, Morolong operated as a typical street photographer. He took photographs of people and then displayed them somewhere so that the subjects could view them. If they liked the picture, they would pay him for it. He does not recall what he got paid for these or any other photographs. Santu Mofokeng (a well-known South African photographer who began to learn the photography trade as a street photographer), in his essay *'Trajectory of a street photographer'* (Anthology of African and Indian Ocean Photography 1998: 265), describes what it was like to be a street photographer:

'As a roving portrait or street photographer you charged a deposit for each and every exposure you made for a client. You then hoped you had enough business to finish a roll of film or as many rolls of film as possible in a weekend so you could come back the next weekend with the finished prints in order to collect the balance. You had to sell all the exposures you made, including the 'lemons' that came through sloppy technique, glitches in the print and processing laboratory, or as a result of using outdated films. You

could make enemies for life if you did not return all the exposed prints you made of the subject... If all went well, clients paid me the balance due and took their photographs. (Anthology of African and Indian Ocean Photography 1998: 266)

The most popular photographs were the ones Morolong took of people on outings to the beach. He also took a lot of photographs of people for identity books or passports. As a freelancer, Morolong supplied the *Daily Dispatch* (the African Edition weekly supplement) in East London with social pictures, news and sports pictures. At the *Daily Dispatch* he worked with another photographer, Mr. Parkerson Longmarch, who also loved photography. Both used to take photographs of boxing matches in the evenings. Morolong particularly remembers being assigned to take photographs for an article titled 'Two faces of Matanzima'; he had to take one picture of Matanzima enjoying himself, talking and laughing with people, and another of him very angry, stamping [his feet] and trying to convince people to support him.

He also did work for *Imvo Zabantsundu*, *Bona*, *Ilanga* and other newspapers.

The photographer could not recall, when asked, how he used to advertise his services. He thought that perhaps he put posters up, but knew that people saw his pictures in the newspapers and would then either want those pictures or come to him to take others. His exposure in the newspapers served as free advertising for him. Mrs. Morolong also explained how things used to work in the location: there was one bus, one route, no taxis and all the sections were close together, not as big and spread out as they are now in Mdantsane. Because of this, and because they would meet at the same community hall, people would see each other regularly. Mrs. Morolong emphasised how they all just 'knew each other'; everybody knew everybody's business and, thus, Boet Kgomo (Morolong) was known as a photographer. Just living in that community was advertising enough.



Figure 06 - Daniel Morolong (left) compares notes with other cameramen.

The details of where his initial studios were are unclear and, as far as could be ascertained, are as follows: the first studio was in his house in Meken Street, Old Location and, at first, he used to operate his photography business from home. After that, when he was out of work, he opened up a studio on Cemetery Road in kwaThulandivile.



Figure 07 - Studio stamp. **University of Fort Hare**
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Later, the studio moved and became Morolex Ideal Studios (the official studio name, appearing as a stamp on the back of his photographs). This was situated at 1047 Douglas Smit Highway, East London. From there he moved his business to the CNDC (Ciskeian National Development Corporation), Lennox Sebe Building in Mdantsane in about 1968. By that stage he had two cameras for taking passport photographs. He shared the space with his wife's sewing business and moved his residence to Mdantsane in 1977 so that he could get a bigger house and be closer to his business, which thrived until tragedy struck. The building was burnt to the ground by looters following the Ciskei coup that took place on 4 March 1990.



Figure 08 - Studio stamp for new studios.

The Gqozo Coup *University of Fort Hare* *Together in Excellence*

On 4 March 1990, through a bloodless coup, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the Ciskei military overthrew Mr. Lennox Sebe's civilian government and installed a military government headed by Gqozo. Brig. Gqozo said that the coup was because of corruption, nepotism and widespread violence by Chief Sebe's administration. Thousands of Ciskeians took to the streets to celebrate the coup and Gqozo addressed 100 000 people at Mdantsane's Sisa Dukashe Stadium. Unfortunately, various businesses were razed to the ground during the massive destruction of property that took place for two days after the coup. It may have been bloodless, but the damage was extensive. Ninety percent of commercial enterprises in Mdantsane were destroyed by looters. The Mdantsane damage was estimated to be worth R60m. According to the Grahamstown Rural Committee, 'targets of the arson and looting were all symbols of what made people suffer under the Ciskei Bantustan' (*Race Relations Survey* 1989/90. 1990: 490-491).

Mrs. Morolong remembers that 'we got whatever we could take because Lipuo was brave enough to ask a friend with a car, with a kombi – Mr. Nkongo. It was on a

Sunday when they burned it down' (Interview, 18 August 2010). The Morolongs managed to save one or two of their sewing machines, but all of Mr. Morolong's equipment, negatives, and photographs (besides the few he had at home) were lost in the fire.

Sadly, it was not unusual for the work of these kinds of photographers to get damaged or lost due to the forced removals (and other politically motivated 'events') that were enforced in South Africa at the time. Over the years, he had built up a huge collection of photographs, which helped him and other location residents to remember the past. Thereafter, he was unable to revive his photographic business because of financial constraints. There was some financial compensation after the looting, but not enough to get his and his wife's businesses going again.

Morolong died on 19 February 2012.

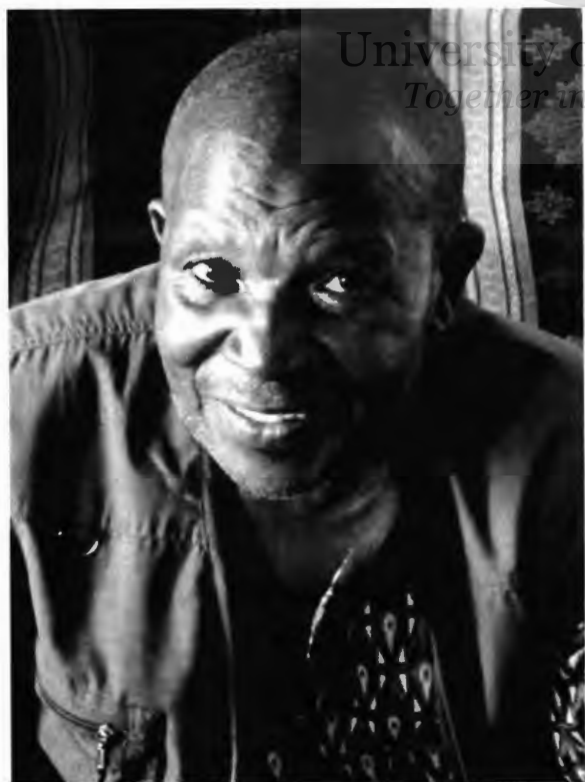


Figure 09 - Daniel Morolong, 2009 - Mdantsane. (Source: Photograph by Claire McNulty.)



Figure 10 - Nompucuko Morolong 2009 - Mdantsane. (Source: Photograph by Claire McNulty.)

Chapter 2

Collecting the Photographs

The Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER) in East London was involved in the land restitution process of the East and West Bank communities in the City of East London between 1999 and 2002. Over this period, research, consultancy and verification of individual and resultant joint land claims generated unexpected outcomes. Committees were set up to ascertain who qualified. One of the ways in which claimants could help prove their cases was through the use of photographs of their former homes that were in their possession. This was especially helpful when they had no other documents to prove that they had owned a dwelling before being forcibly removed. The photographs were visual testimonies to the lives they had lived there, thus giving them access to new houses.

Mr. Morolong was not a part of this process but as it evolved and people brought in their personal photographs documenting life in East London as it was in the past, the value of these photographs was realised. This, in turn, led to a broader project being attached to the land restitution project - an archiving initiative that would enable historians to write different histories of East London.

As part of this new process, committee members would propose people who were likely to have a collection of old photographs. One of them suggested Daniel Morolong, who was duly contacted by FHISER. Initially, the photographs that were seen to be relevant to the project were given to FHISER for 'safekeeping', while others were scanned and returned. A verbal agreement was then made that the photographs were to be held at FHISER for safekeeping, Morolong would retain copyright and the photographs would not be used in any way for financial gain without his permission. No written document was signed, however.

To acknowledge Morolong's contribution to the project, he was given a small amount of money and when asked what he would like to receive from FHISER to show its gratitude, he asked for and was given an analogue (film) camera so that he could go back to shooting again. As well intended as this gesture was, it was not particularly

practical to give an old man who had been out of the game for a long time a camera. Morolong's daughter ended up with the camera, as he was no longer able to work as a result of a stroke. A far more useful approach would have been to formalise the Collection at that point and make it available to the public, enabling him to earn royalties from his images.

There is no clarity as to how many photographs formed part of the initial donation to ISER (now FHISER, since Rhodes East London Campus was transferred to Fort Hare). It was thought to be anywhere between 500 and 800. Unfortunately, it seems that no one was officially made the custodian of the photographic collections and all the work was put into a big filing cabinet, unlocked, in an office used by students. It had been presumed that all the work (for example, interview transcripts) or information pertaining to the Morolong Collection was safely stored here but, when counted, only 249 photographs remained and any information with regards Morolong, work done on the project or his photographs was not there. Months were spent trying to ascertain where the 'missing' photographs and other information were, to no avail. This seems to have been the case throughout the history of the Collection being held at FHISER, as no one that had previously worked on the Collection could offer any new information. Perhaps it would almost have been easier to tackle this project had there been no previous work done on it, as a lot of time was wasted trying to track down both the photographs and any information about what research had already been done around them.

An interview took place as soon as contact was established with the Morolong family (04 September 2009). Alas, it was a difficult interview right from the start. Mrs. Morolong was very suspicious of this researcher and her motives, and cautious about what benefit any interview was going to be to them. She was very protective of her husband as he had suffered a stroke some years before and there was concern for his health. She said that she felt that they had been taken advantage of because all they got in return for Mr. Morolong's photographs was R500 and a new camera, which was of no real use to them (despite what Mr. Morolong might have said, he was no longer able to work as a photographer). He had, in a previous interview (5 September 2000), expressed a desire to re-establish a business taking ID and passport photographs. The house in which he was living at the time of the interview, however,

was small and there would have been no space there to do this. Thus, a studio-like space would have been required, as well as at least one light on a stand, a backdrop or painted wall and a good electricity supply. The biggest hindrance, however, would have been the camera, as the standard one that is used for this application is a specialised piece of equipment. So, while well meaning, the donation of a new camera at this point in his life was impractical. The money spent on the camera could have been put to better use in another way.

Mrs. Morolong felt that they should have been given more money. The issue of payment is a complex one. When someone volunteers a donation it would usually be as such, a donation. There is no standard for paying people for collections like this one. More often than not it will be part of a deceased estate, or a gratuitous donation. In Mrs. Morolong's eyes, her husband's photographs acted as currency. They had been kept to share memories, but also so that people could still buy them years on, possibly as a wonderful surprise when it was thought that the chance that they still existed was gone. This would have happened haphazardly, purely by chance. Their existence was not advertised, but would have been communicated or known about through the community grapevine. Already feeling hard done by, on account of the riots and the burning down of his studio, there is a sense that there is a personal feeling of having been exploited (the compensation received was not sufficient to start again or replace what was lost) that could lead to this kind of suspicion.

Luckily, after some discussion, Mrs. Morolong warmed to the idea of her husband being interviewed again, as there is also a desire in them to contribute to history in a meaningful way. At that interview, Mrs. Morolong handed over another batch of photographs that had been stored in old photographic paper boxes. She offered to look for more, and donated a further 300 or so at a subsequent meeting. One of the benefits of having the original photographs is that some of them have information on their verso, which adds value to them in respect of filling in gaps and adding new information to existing histories.

Getting the physical photographs was only the beginning of putting together a proper archive of the Morolong Collection. Scans that were done at FHISER were sub-standard as they were lo-res only. While this is better than nothing, only very small images can be printed from these scans. This rendered them useless for anything but

research and, even then, would not allow the researcher to see all the detail in the photographs. The existing photographs were (kindly) re-scanned, hi-res, at a vastly reduced rate by Masterprint in Cape Town. The rest of the Collection was scanned and retouched at the Centre for Curating the Archive (a large portion of this at no cost as part of the Underexposed Project).

The longevity/future of the Collection has benefited greatly from digitisation as a process that is currently used extensively in the preservation of archival materials worldwide.

The first and most obvious benefit of digitisation is the preservation of images. Silver-based photographic images are not permanent. Kept in optimum conditions, negatives and bromide prints may have an estimated life span of 150 years. Time fades them and people/circumstances damage or lose them. If the correct technology is utilised, (human error and physical disasters aside) an image should be available for the rest of time. By digitising images, they acquire new life in a number of ways. Those in a state of decay can be restored and in a digital format they can be used and researched in a number of ways: digital website libraries, exhibitions and publications, for example. Another benefit of having a 'digital negative' is that details that were not visible in a photographic print can be brought out (especially in the case of very high contrast images) and thus more information is gained from the visual document. High-resolution scans are vital here, as a low-resolution image will be pixilated and thus unreadable after it has been enlarged a number of times, making it impossible to see anything. Thus, an image can be magnified to show minute detail if it is scanned properly at a high resolution! Once preserved, digital images are accessible to present and future generations to re-imagine and re-contextualise within a constantly changing world, with constantly changing ways of seeing them. This ensures that our visual histories will be available for research and public viewing in museums and other public spaces, sometimes in unexpected ways. A digital archive can also bring together many sources in one place, making it possible to work with, and integrate, archives that are split up and housed in different locations in new and exciting ways. Geography is no longer prohibitory!

A wonderful example of this is the Ernest Cole Collection. Cole initially took the

photographs he did in order to expose the atrocities of apartheid to the world. These images were published in the form of a book, *House of Bondage* (1967), when he went into exile. The book was banned in South Africa at the time and is now out of print. After initial publication, the Collection was largely invisible. David Goldblatt re-discovered Cole's negatives in the Hasselblad Foundation Archives when he received the Hasselblad Award. They were consequently brought out of hiding and an exhibition of his work was put together that travelled the world (including South Africa) and a new book was brought out (*Ernest Cole: Photographer*, ed. Gunilla Knape, Goteborg: Hasselblad Foundation and Steidl, 2010), showing and discussing his work. A selection of his images is available for viewing online on the Hasselblad Foundations website and the Ernest Cole Foundation based in South Africa looks after copyright issues, giving permission for images to be used for publications etcetera. Through recent publicity of the Collection more awareness of his work has been generated and this has made it accessible worldwide on the Internet. This would not have been possible without the advent of digitisation and the World Wide Web.

It is without a doubt preferable to have images available digitally rather than being limited to a life in a dusty drawer, in an archive, that very few people will ever see.

As Metz argues,

[t]he photograph taken becomes an intervention and challenges a given set of power relations. Most importantly, for this to happen the photograph must enter the public domain, by way of exhibition, publication, etc. A photograph cannot become a social document if it lies forever hidden in a filing cabinet. Social documentary photography derives its meaning and its power in this public context. (Metz 1998: 2-3)

Part of the rebirth of the Cole Collection has been to review its documentary and historical value, but has also raised the images to the form of art, Cole's images appearing alongside those of David Goldblatt and Billy Monk in international art collections and exhibitions.

Much has been written with reference to the photograph as an object, and its inherent value being closely linked to its 'objectness'. While valid points are made, it is easy to

get caught up in rhetoric, forgetting that the object is just a piece of paper without the image printed on it. The paper is the vehicle only, without an image as a passenger it is worthless and meaningless. Yes, a photograph with information on its verso can provide vital details that contextualise it, as Joanna Sassoon (Edwards & Hart 2004: 190) remarks,

In addition to the physical dimensions of the object, details such as captions, retouching details, cropping instructions or markings on the backs of the photographs may reveal additional information that needs to be read in association with the image content. The physical condition of the object, the dirt and damage, is evidence of its other lives.

This is indeed true, but what she fails to mention is that many of those details are automatically recorded as part of the metadata of the digital image. There is as much chance of a printed photograph having been cropped, retouched or printed in a way that hides or reveals something recorded in the process of taking and printing the photograph as there is of a digital reproduction having been altered in some way. A physical photograph is not evidence enough - it is, in fact, the negative or a slide that stores all the information. As Sassoon points out:

It can be said that while the negative may be seen as the original in photographic terms, the document that conveys the message is the print made from the negative. (Sassoon 2004: 191)

Thus, if you only have a photograph (without its negative/slide) there is as much of a chance that the image has been tampered with as there would be with a digital image (printed or in its digital form).

Through its life, the photograph, as both image and object, can potentially move across several spaces, including the sites of production, use, reproduction and preservation and along with each change, in ownership and context, new meanings are acquired (Appadurai 1986; Pinney 1997; Pole 1997), all of which provide evidence of past uses and meanings. (Sassoon 2004: 191)

Becoming digital can be seen as another step in the evolution of the life of a photograph, one that should be positive if the proper care and attention is exhibited by the person doing the work. One can only hope that any institution or individual involved with the digitising of existing images would be concerned with preserving as much information as possible and would thus scan the back of the photograph as well if it contained any information. It is also standard archiving practice to show a copy of the original (raw) file with all its 'dirt and damage' as well as a pretty, retouched version (derivative) of the same. Any self-respecting archivist involved in the digitising process should record and effectively store all relevant information. It could be said that perhaps the problem with digitising photographs is more with the person doing it, rather than with the process itself.

A physical photograph could just as easily have no or inaccurate information on the back. It is easy to romanticise how each individual print is of worth because there will always be variations in paper used and printing methods, but a professional printer could churn out many, identical prints whether they are machine or hand-printed. The negative does not change unless through structural damage from the elements or physical neglect. In the same way, a digital image should remain constant, with the artistic interpretation of the person working on the image being the thing that changes. For example, what the image is being used for might influence decisions as to what will be concealed or revealed.

The process of digitising important national images has proved in other countries to be a vital stimulant for the creation of and engagement with their national heritage. Digitisation has performed an important role globally in preserving material and making often unseen, inaccessible imagery widely accessible. Solveig Greve, chief archivist of Norway's University of Bergen, observes: 'The digital revolution has had the democratic effect of giving the general public access to unique material.' She further notes that the Internet is 'well adapted to presentation of historical knowledge' (2006: 151). Digitisation is like globalisation, everything becomes the same, is standardised.

Digitisation should not be seen as a replacement of the material object but a supplement to it. Not enough emphasis can be placed on the value of the reduced

handling of the material object, the resultant benefit of having a digital version. This helps to ensure a greater longevity for the original photograph as well as greater access to photographic collections around the world.

The process of digitising photographic collections can be seen to be taking researchers 'further away not just from the technology for making the image, but from the photographs format as a material, cultural object - an object which was made in a certain way for a reason' (Edwards 1998: 214). This writer argues that digitising is simply a step further in this process, done in a certain way for a particular reason, as is the case with the Morolong Collection. None of the negatives survived the fire that destroyed Morolong's studio, so all that is left of his visual contribution to the history of East London and South Africa, at an important period in our history, are the few photographs he still had in his possession and the few that appeared in more recent print publications. Some of the donated photographs have already inexplicably gone missing, making digitising them all the more important as part of the process of preserving them. Their digitisation is essential in ensuring that future generations will have access to them no matter what happens to the physical photographs.

Digitisation has been essential, not only for the preservation of the images, but also for furthering their circulation and thus making this part of East London's history more visible.

Institutions must take great care to follow optimal procedures from the moment of acquisition of collections, for that process would be meaningless without the proper management of a collection or archive. Where possible, there should be no interpretation, censoring or editing of any material as each researcher will have a different set of questions and 'way of seeing' - all of which are impossible to foresee. As long as a collection is kept in its entirety, there is a greater probability that the researcher will be able to satisfy his/her needs at any given time. At the same time, care must be taken not to collect any old rubbish. A good balance between aesthetically pleasing images and historically (informatively) important ones is essential. It is also important to keep any documentation that pertains to the photographs as this can have a profound role to play in unearthing meaning in relation to a collection. It is, however, useful to remember that it is difficult, if not impossible,

to unearth one truth regarding a collection - especially when the time that the photographs were taken is long past. Theories can be developed and evidence presented but this is always going to be from the subjective view of the theorists themselves. As much as we would like to think we can be objective, everything about how we see the world is a very deep part of our entire being, a large part of which we are not even consciously aware of.

In essence the challenge to those documenting collections is to move from understanding a photograph as a transparent representation of the truth towards an approach where the history of the truth of the image and its material forms can be traced. To this end, documentation needs to facilitate the rebuilding of prior relationships between the structures that have served to create, authenticate and preserve an image. Documenting collections to preserve the multiple functions of the photograph will then enable studies of the changes in meaning and context of images around the material stability of the photographic object. (Sassoon 2004: 194)

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Vernacular images (characterised as those that ‘preoccupy the home and the heart but rarely the museum or the academy’, Batchen, 2001: 57 in Dubin. 2013: 4) have not always been valued, at times to disastrous effect. A recent example is the photographs from the archive of Kitty’s Studio (Pietermaritzburg 1972 - 1984), where poor and working-class people (African, Indian and coloured) went to be photographed by Singarum Jeevaruthnam Moodley, a.k.a. Kitty, and his family. The Collection lay hidden in a garage in Johannesburg for years until ‘a careful investigation gradually unravelled its transformation from commercial inventory to museum acquisition and from discarded and disregarded material to exhibit-quality work, resonating with strong aesthetic appeal and deep cultural significance’ (Dubin 2013: 4). A curator with great foresight had acquired the Collection for the Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban in 1987, but soon decided that she had made an unwise decision and turfed all images that didn’t show black people in traditional dress. Luckily, these were not incinerated and resurfaced in 2011 and were subsequently shown in an exhibition curated by Dr Steven Dubin at Nirox in Johannesburg.

This brings me to the question of inclusions and exclusions with regards archives. But first a brief outline of the state of present day archives in South Africa.

During a discussion titled “Photography and the New Archive: Image, Memory, Museum” it became obvious that the act of archiving is one fraught with difficulties as is the act of rewriting history or establishing a “new” archive. One of the challenges is the fact that archiving has an inbuilt contradiction; that while it is meant to restore or preserve history it similarly “constitutes a removal”, said historian Ciraj Rassool. Attempts to rewrite colonial narratives often brought historians full circle, resulting in a situation that would culminate in “new forms of subjection,” observed historian Presmesh Lalu. (Corrigall 2010)

Some archives of the apartheid era have disappeared, if only partially, and others like the Morolong Collection have appeared. Discussions as to what should be or is included are prolific in the right circles and the Morolong Collection exemplifies this condition in that everything that was available was included, but sadly all the negatives/images that were lost in the fire are gone as it would seem are any documents/records of previous work done on the Collection. One aspect of what makes this Collection unique to date is that they were taken by one of the people for the people in East London. Sam Ngilima took similar photographs in a different part of the country (see Feyder 2012). It is not that there was a countrywide shortage of Black photographers taking these types of images, but the reality is that very few of them have preserved their archives and even fewer have been identified.

Once all the photographs had been subjected to the digitisation process (scanned), an attempt was made to establish which photographs from the initial Collection were missing. The existing photographs had already been put into categories, but these needed to be revised. Once this was done, a decision had to be made as to which category each new photograph that had been added to the Collection would go into. As many different batches were scanned, it took an enormous amount of time to collate all the images into one digital collection. Once they were put into a category, they needed to be grouped together within it. For example, in the ‘Beach’ section, first shots of individuals, then pairs, trios, and bigger groups were categorised together, as were photographs of individuals in a shot on the grassy area next to the beach or of bigger groups, and so on.

No documents recording initial contact/interviews/exhibitions or any work done around the Collection form part of the archive! The Morolong Collection now consists of 935 scanned images that were broken down into the following categories in 2010 by the writer, using the original categories as a guide but changing them where required:

Awards and Prizes - 37

Bat Fair - 5

Beach - 51

Beauty Queens - 58

Body Building - 3

Boxing - 113

Car - 1

Children - 25

Church - 48

Dance - 7

Education - 23

Family and Friends - 74

Funerals - 6

Golf - 4

Helicopter - 1

Karate - 3

Mechanics - 1



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Men - 48

Music - 33

Netball - 3

Not photographed by Morolong - 6

Nurses - 42

Performing Arts - 16

Photographs of Morolong - 4

Politics - 24

Rugby - 30

Scout - 2

Shop - 3

Soccer - 3

Tennis - 13

Townships - 10

Traditional Dress - 12

Train - 6

Unidentified Groups - 43

Weddings - 46

Women - 131



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As there was very little information pertaining to the content of the images, it was not always clear what was being depicted and this led to a few very broad categories

being created. Where it is obvious what the photograph is of, these images have been put into more specific categories.

The whole process of sorting out the archive was necessarily time-consuming and complex. There is no proper Archive at FHISER, so this was done with no system or structures in place. It is highly recommended that this situation be remedied in the long-term, so as to ensure easy access to and protection of images. Some continuity in respect of new staff members or research assistants is also desirable, so that no further information or images get lost. A possible/preferable solution would be to form some kind of mutually beneficial partnership with an existing archive/library.

The Morolong Collection now consists of a physical archive (the photographs) and a digital archive (the scans), both serving important purposes. The latter arguably being the more important, especially in the South Africa context. Many of our archives are colonial and were put together under the apartheid government, rendering them semi undesirable. Most government-run archives/libraries etcetera are grossly underfunded and drastically under-resourced. Whilst staff may be passionate, their hands are tied by lack of resources.

The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) is clearly derelict in meeting its obligations in relation to the National Archival System and in giving guidance and support to the provincial and municipal archival bodies. In some respects, the collapse of these services mirrors bureaucratic failures, bad management, absence of leadership, lack of adequate performance evaluation, and poor staffing practices that prevail in other sectors of government. Where archives do work, it is usually because of the presence of passionate professionals who have invested in the acquisition of specialist capacities. These dedicated professionals are yet to be found in isolated pockets in the national archival system, working under increasingly striated conditions. Many of them are distressed by the collapse of their institutions but are muted in their public comments and criticism for fear of reprisals, as are a number of concerned officials in the Department of Arts and Culture. (Hamilton 2013: 3)

The severity of the situation was clear to the writer whilst on a research trip to various prominent archives in Johannesburg in early 2013. Lack of staff and funding were

evident and depressing. There is a wealth of material but not enough people caring for it and not enough funding for them to do so, let alone curate meaningful exhibitions. The worst example was archival material being kept in a basement near running ground water due to a lack of facilities and funding.

A good physical archive controls temperature, relative humidity, air pollution, dirt, light, handling and storage materials. All of which are essential contributions to preventing the deterioration of the physical photographs. The present conditions that the Morolong Collection is kept in do not meet any of the above conditions. As for the digital archive, there is only one copy on a hard drive that could easily get corrupted or stolen. There should at least be one, if not two, back-ups on a server.

Materially the archive consists of a selection of texts, declarations, inquiries, and visual works extracted from ordinary commodity exchange and its short-lived everydayness, to be indefinitely preserved and conserved, available over the generations. (Funke 2010: 35)

As has been highlighted in recent years, the South African archive needs to be ‘(Re)figured’ and ‘transformed’ (Hamilton, Harris & Reid 2002: 7); the archive described by Hamilton et al ‘as idea, as institution, accumulation of physical or virtual objects, profession, service’ (2002: 7). Archives are constantly changing as items are added or removed, technologies of preservation change, systems and locations are re-organised, seats of power change hands or societies transform. Thus, all archives constantly need to be or are being refigured. As has been observed ‘archives are often both documents of exclusion and monuments to particular configurations of power’ (Stoler in Hamilton 2002: 9). This is certainly true of the South African archives that were formed under the Apartheid government. Photographs like those of Morolong were not likely to be included unless they fitted into some kind of government agenda. Discovering and archiving these types of collections goes a long way to adding to the Black social history archive that would have been kept invisible under the previous regime. It is exciting for those of us (the majority of Whites) who, during apartheid, were largely kept separate from worlds other than our own, to discover our sameness, as opposed to the differences we were constantly being sold by the apartheid government. New histories bring new understandings and knowledge.

As is shown in the example of Kitty's archive, before the government changed hands, what was seen as valuable in the archive were the photographs of people in traditional attire (Africana), the rest of the images being thrown out. Presently, thanks to Dr Dubin, we can see more examples from the archive that give a much more holistic view of people who went to have their picture taken at Kitty's Studio than were previously available. Sadly, this archive now resides with Dubin, who lives in the USA. Personally, I would always argue in favour of archives remaining in the country and preferably in the area that they refer to. This is not always possible due to lack of funds/interest in some areas and mismanagement of existing institutional archives is rife. So perhaps the answer is to keep them 'safe' overseas, rather than where they belong - a difficult choice, but one that will be made more and more if nothing is done to improve the situation in South Africa.

At present, Morolong's prints are stored in a filing cabinet in Professor Minkley's office in the FHISER building in East London, together with the scans that have been stored on an external hard drive.

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Chapter 3

Circulation

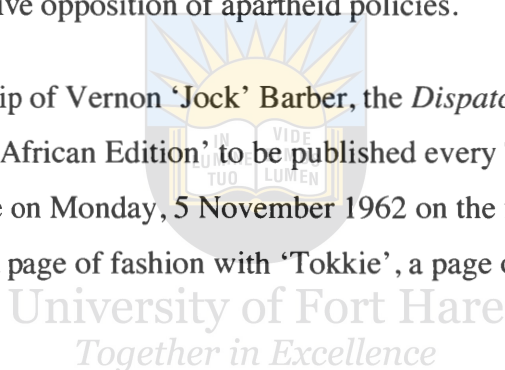
'Photography has made it possible to document South Africa's complex transformations in ways not possible in other media' (Grantham 2010: 2), so to understand the contribution these images have made to a deepening understanding and appreciation of East London's history, it is beneficial to track the public lives of the images to date. Tracking the circulation of these images is essential to understanding their social biography. By making an image public it is transformed from being an individual or personal memoir into a signifier of a specific era. This happened in various ways; the first appearance (other than directly to Morolong's clients) was in the African Edition (AE) supplement to the *Daily Dispatch*.

The African Edition

The *Daily Dispatch* prides itself on being the first penny daily newspaper published in the Eastern Cape. From its beginnings with Massey Hicks, in 1872, it went through many lively transformations.

In a historic document, addressed to Sir Charles Preston Crewe, Cecil Rhodes stated that he would be happy to lend 500 pounds to the *Daily Dispatch* to help it buy some new equipment. The condition for this loan was that the newspaper adhere to its policy of fair treatment for all races - an early indication of the liberal values that were to coalesce into active opposition of apartheid policies.

While under the editorship of Vernon 'Jock' Barber, the *Dispatch* announced the introduction of the new 'African Edition' to be published every Tuesday. This announcement was made on Monday, 5 November 1962 on the front page. It was to consist of a news page, a page of fashion with 'Tokkie', a page of social photographs and a sports page.



Watch out tomorrow for the *Daily Dispatch's* first African Edition a weekly pull-out supplement of four pages full of news, views and pictures of interest to African readers. You'll get it inside your normal *Daily Dispatch* at the usual price of 2 ½ cents. It's a bonus which no African in the Border, Transkei or Ciskei can afford to miss. The highlights of the first African Edition tomorrow are:

-MDANTSANE: A NEW DEAL FOR THOUSANDS. Latest information on the Governments plans to build a big, modern township for Africans, near East London.

-INTRODUCING TOKKIE, THE FASHION GIRL. Meet the young African woman who will be modelling the latest fashions on Page Two of the African Edition every week.

-PHOTO REPORT. A page of pictures taken at social and other events recently.

-SPORT. The latest developments in African sport - and pictures of African sportsmen and women who are in the news.

Be sure to buy the *Daily Dispatch* tomorrow. Place an order for each Tuesday's issue NOW with your nearest *Daily Dispatch* agent.
(*Daily Dispatch*, Monday 5 November 1962).

In February 1965, Donald Woods took over as editor; from October 1965 the African Edition was reduced to a single page, and by 1966 had dissolved completely.

According to Glyn Williams, who joined the *Dispatch* in 1966 as night editor and retired as editor in 1993, '[t]he African Edition supplement was doomed from the start - most thinking Xhosas rejected the separate edition as an expression of apartheid, which was the last thing the *Dispatch* wanted' (Glyn Williams via email 08 November 2010).

In a booklet he wrote detailing the *Dispatch's* history, the only reference made to the African Edition is that 'an earlier experiment with an edition for black readers was abandoned in the face of dislike for what was considered separatism' (Williams 1997: 10).

It was intended to increase circulation, appeal to more black readers and to give space to matters mainly of black interest and which would struggle to find room in the main edition. But although there were other reasons - extra expense in production costs, failure to attract advertisers - it was never a success. Black people at that time saw it as an (unconscious) extension of apartheid and they felt they were being excluded from the white edition. Indaba, a tabloid insertion, which I started and kept going - it faded when I retired - was much better received. They got the 'white' edition plus their own community news.
(Glyn Williams via email, 08 November 2010)

Even though it was not well received at the time, it serves as an unexamined history of black people in East London at the time. There are ample photographs of black people under apartheid, living in dreadful conditions but

very few showing happy, relatively prosperous modern Blacks simply enjoying their lives.

Mr. Morolong worked for years as a freelancer for the African Edition. Unfortunately, at the time, it was not yet newspaper policy to give photographers a by-line and all the *Dispatch*'s records for this time burnt in a fire, so it is impossible to know if he was the only person supplying them with photographs for the African Edition or not. In an email, Glyn Williams says he remembers that Morolong did quite a bit of work for the *Dispatch*, but that he was not personally involved so could offer no further information about him (Glyn Williams via email, 08 November 2010).

Many weeks were spent physically going through every hard copy of *The African Edition* at the Municipal Library in East London. This was undertaken to identify which photographs were indeed taken by Morolong and, there being no record of this, it was the only way to achieve this end. Photographs appearing in *The African Edition* were compared to ones in the Morolong Collection and those that matched were noted and scanned. The result was that the following photographs were positively identified as having been taken by Morolong as they appear in the Collection donated to FHISER.

Subjects covered by the photographs identified as being taken by Morolong were boxers, nurses, unidentified groups of people, individual men and women, golf, beauty queens, people in traditional dress, tennis, rugby, netball, musicians, friends and family, body-builders, and people receiving awards or prizes.



Figure 11 - MALANGENI ADDS ANOTHER TROPHY William Malangeni, the East London non-white Open champion made a storming finish in the closing stages to win the Border non-white Open championship by five strokes at the European-owned Alexander Country Club course in East London on Sunday afternoon.

What is striking about this caption is the very careful emphasis on what is non-White and what is European, drawing a clear line between the two. It also omits the name of the lady handing over the trophy, implying that she is unimportant.



E.L. teachers association is revived

A successful attempt has been made to revive the East London African Teachers' Association. This took place at a meeting at the Xabaniisa Higher Primary School in Duncan Village on Tuesday.

Mrs. M. Xundu, the principal of the Makinana Lower Primary School in Ziphunzana, is seen handing over money collected by her staff and pupils for the Easter Stamp campaign to Mrs. E. C. Seward, the organiser for the Border region, in an informal ceremony held at the school last week. Next to Mrs. Xundu is Mrs. H. H. Fuller, chairman of the Cripple Care Society, and Mrs. J. Rennie, of the Ballinger Home at Roodepoort.

Figure 12 - Mrs. M. Xundu, the principal of the Makinana Lower Primary School in Ziphunzana, is seen handing over money collected by her staff and pupils for the Easter Stamp campaign to Mrs. E.C. Seward, the organiser for the Border region, in an informal ceremony held at the school last week. Next to Mrs. Xundu is Mrs. H. H. Fuller, chairman of the Cripple Care Society, and Mrs. J. Rennie, of the Ballinger Home at Roodepoort.



Figure 13 - This picture was taken during a combined party and presentation ceremony at the Wiltonia Bantu Farm Lower Primary School to mark the farewell of Mrs. N. Morolong who held the post of principal for 13 years. She has accepted the principalship of Noxolo Lower Primary School. Left to right are Nontsikitsane, a pupil, Mrs. N. Ndzwane, Mrs. Morolong and Mrs. P. Majangaza, the new principal.

This caption gives the reader a snippet of information about Mrs. Morolong's history that may otherwise have been overlooked, that she was the principal of the Noxolo Lower Primary School for 13 years.



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Figure 14 - Miss South Africa, Maureen Korbanally (left) of Durban, meets East London's Miss Teenager, E. Martinus, at a reception in the Duncan Village Community Centre.

From this image, it can be confirmed that many of the public events were held in the Duncan Village Community Centre.



Figure 15 - In spite of the fact that there were only three competitors to bid for the title of Mr. Eastern Beach last week-end, a large crowd turned out to take advantage of improved weather conditions and witness the musclemen go through their paces to show off their builds to the best of their ability. C. X. Kabase was placed first. He is seen on the high step of the victor's podium with Towboy Tafana (left) who gained second place, and Michael Gili (right) who had to be content in third position. The contest, which was held in December 1962, was to have been held last year on December 31. Bad weather forced the organisers to cancel the event. Twice more the function was cancelled because of inclement weather before it finally came off.



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Below, right: Mr. and Mrs. B. Siwundla of Duncan Village with their daughter, Victoria, who celebrated her eighth birthday last week.



Figure 16 - Below, right: Mr. and Mrs. B Siwundla of Duncan Village with their daughter, Victoria, who celebrated her eighth birthday last week.

The caption is informative, but the cropping of the photograph that appeared in the newspaper removes the context - a smart, clean home; and makes it look like it could have been anywhere.



Below: The defending East London non-white golf club champion, Mr. S. Makubalo, at practice during the week.



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Figure 17 - The defending East London non-white golf club champion, Mr. S. Makubalo at practice during the week.



Photographed at the ballroom dancing championship at the Drill Hall in East London recently were Miss H. Mlati, Miss S. N. Tontsi and Miss J. N. Ntshangani. They are members of dancing clubs in the city. On the left is Mr. P. J. Vuza, president of the Border Ballroom Dancing Board which sponsored the competition at the Drill Hall recently. He was photographed while making opening remarks and welcoming guests.

**PEOPLE
IN THE
PICTURE
THIS
WEEK**

Figure 18 - On the left is Mr. P. J. Vuza, president of the Border Ballroom Dancing Board, which sponsored the competition at the Drill Hall recently. He was photographed while making opening remarks and welcoming the guests.



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R53_M

Africans owe more than this in taxes



Figure 19 - Owen Vanqa -Writer/Columnist.

It is of interest that Mr. Vanqa is photographed looking down and away from the camera, giving him a subservient look, even though he would clearly have to be perceptive to write about pertinent issues.



Mr. M. Mawana, a waiter by profession and a keen dancer in his spare time, receives some dancing tips from Mr. E. Manie (right), a news magazine photographer. Mr. Mawana is a member of the Sea Water School of Ballroom Dancing. The picture was taken at a get-together in the I.C.U. Hall.

Figure 20 - Mr. M. Mawana, a waiter by profession and a keen dancer in his spare time, receives some dancing tips from Mr. E. Manie (right), a news magazine photographer. Mr. Mawana is a member of the Sea Water School of Ballroom Dancing. The picture was taken at a get-together in the I.C.U. Hall.



After a hard-fought netball match at the Community Centre Netball fields the captains still found time to smile and pose for a picture. They are (left): B Sotshisa (Deep Freezing team) and N. Mtshozeni (Silver Leaf team). Deep Freezing was beaten 19-12.

Figure 21 - After a hard-fought netball match at the Community Centre Netball fields the captains still found time to smile and pose for a picture. They are (left): B Sotshisa (Deep Freezing team) and N. Mtshozeni (Silver Leaf team). Deep Freezing was beaten 19-12.

Interestingly, the background has been removed from the image that went to print. This brings attention to the people in the frame, but de-contextualises them from the setting, making it anonymous.



Many of Mrs. G. A. Panyana's friends from Queenstown were at the Red Cross Hall in East London to see her being presented with a Gold Medal by the Red Cross Society after she had passed the highest examinations in first aid. On the extreme right Mrs. Panyana shows her friends the present she received. From left to right are Miss M. Mahonga, Miss R. Mjo, Miss D. Mahonga and Mrs. Panyana.

Figure 22 - Many of Mrs. G. A. Panyana's friends from Queenstown were at the Red Cross Hall in East London to see her being presented with a Gold Medal by the Red Cross Society after she had passed the highest examinations in first aid. On the extreme right Mrs. Panyana shows her friends the present she received. From left to right are Miss M. Mahonga, Miss R. Mjo, Miss D. Mahonga and Mrs. Panyana.



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Children at the orthopaedic ward at Frere Hospital are not only taught the three Rs but also handwork. In the picture a young child tries his hand at basketry. Next to the child stands Nurse N. Mjajiya.

Figure 23 - Children at the orthopaedic ward at Frere Hospital are not only taught the three Rs but also handwork. In the picture a young child tries his hand at basketry. Next to the child stands Nurse N. Mjajiya.



Figure 24 - After their annual commemoration service at the Methodist Church in Duncan Village, nurses refreshed themselves with tea. In the picture are (from left to right) Nurse E. Moniwa, L. Ngxiki, V. Ntuli and S. Nguza.



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BABY SHOW A HOWLING SUCCESS

Sister T. Mtshali, of Frere Hospital (left) and Dr. O. B. Z. Bikitsha, an East London doctor, appear to be enjoying their task of judging the healthiest baby during a competition at Batfair in Rubusana Park on Saturday. The baby in the picture is Yolisa Ngqisha who, unfortunately, was not placed in the first three. Below: The winner! Cleopatra Hivetike and her mother.

Figure 25 - Sister T. Mtshali, of Frere hospital (left) and Dr. O. B. Bikitsha, an East London doctor, appear to be enjoying the task of judging the healthiest baby during a competition at the Batfair in Rubasana Park on Saturday. The baby in the picture is Yolisa Ngqisha who, unfortunately, was not placed in the first three.



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Sister M. Mdaka presents a farewell gift on behalf of non-White charge sisters and sisters to Miss Burke, the assistant matron of the Frere Hospital, who retires soon.

Figure 26 - Sister M. Mdaka presents a farewell gift on behalf of non-White charge sisters and sisters to Miss Burke the assistant matron of the Frere Hospital who retires soon.

There is another, slightly different caption on the back of the photograph; see Chapter Four.



With the rugby season now over, many young sportsmen are turning to cricket, but for many there will be no summer sport. In this picture are three of Duncan Village's keen rugby players. From left to right they are Mr. S. Yekani, who plays flank forward for Swallows; Mr. G. Boy Mandla, the Springbok eighth-man, who is a utility player for Winter Rose and Border, and Mr. D. M. Solomon, the Winter Rose and Border flank forward. Mr. Solomon is also a keen weightlifter.

Figure 27 - With the rugby season now over, many young sportsmen are turning to cricket, but for many there will be no summer sport. In this picture are three of Duncan Village's keen rugby players. From the left to the right they are Mr. S. Yekani, who plays flank forward for Swallows; Mr. G. Boy Mandla, the Springbok eighth-man, who is a utility player for Winter Rose and Border, and Mr. D.M Solomon, the Winter Rose and Border flank forward. Mr. Solomon is also a keen weightlifter.

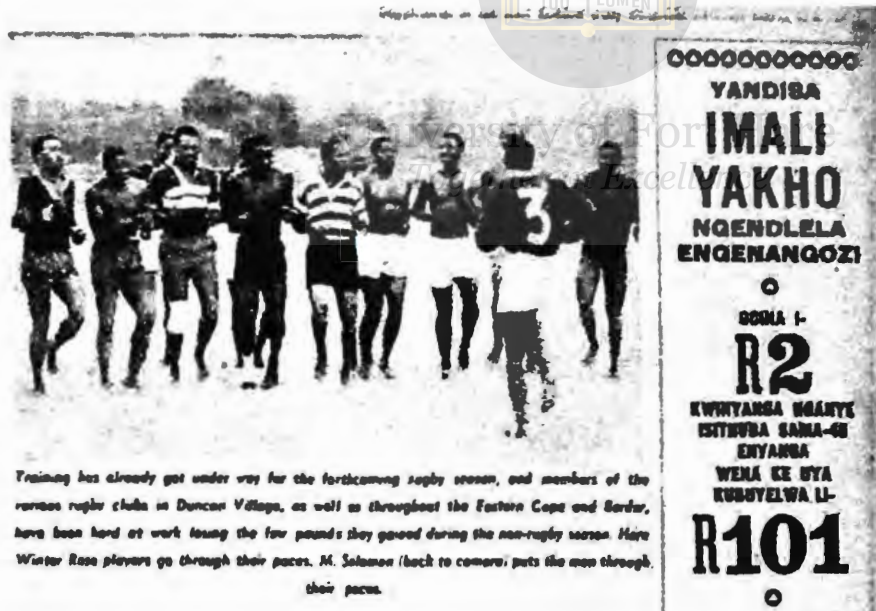


Figure 28 - Training has already got underway for the forthcoming rugby season and members of the various rugby clubs in Duncan Village, as well as throughout the Eastern Cape and Border, have been hard at work losing the few pounds they gained during the non-rugby season. Here Winter Rose players go through their paces, M. Solomon (back to camera) puts the men through their paces.

Here, the photograph appearing in the newspaper has been cropped on both sides, cutting off some of the players.



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Figure 29 - Mr. A. V. Nyalambisa, of East London, who played for the Gampo Tennis Club in their match against the visiting Violets team from Bloemfontein. Gampo won by 12 games.



Figure 30 - It was a great day for the mbongis (praise-singers) at the ordination of Mr. Dickson Mbeki as the Bishop of the Zionist Healing Church in Duncan Village recently. Resting for a while during the speeches are Mr. N. B. Hoza (left), who is a praise-singer for the Rarabes, and Mr. S. Qwemesha, who claims to be the praise-singer for the Democratic Party.



Abigail Msipa (centre) was judged the winner in a Miss Interdenominational Beauty contest held in the Milner Hall last week. With her are her two princesses, Ida Mapena (second place) and Gloria Msimang (third place). The contest was badly supported by the public.

Queenstown women's successful congress

The Queenstown District Women's Manyana Convention was held at Zwelitsha Kina William's.

Figure 31 - Tuesday, 24 December, 1963 - Abigail Msipa (centre) was judged the winner in a Miss Interdenominational Beauty contest held in the Milner Hall last week. With her are her two princesses, Ida Mapena (second place) and Gloria Msimang (third place). The contest was badly supported by the public.

*Note that this is not the same photograph (different pose).



Mrs. F. M. Matikinca, wife of the proprietor of a new trading station at Ngewazi, Middeldrift, looks proudly around the site after the station had been officially opened last week. With her is Mrs. G. M. Matikinca, wife of an elder brother of the proprietor.

Figure 32 - Mrs. F. M. Matikinca, a wife of the proprietor of a new trading station at Ngewazi, Middeldrift, looks proudly around the site after the station had been officially opened last week. With her is Mrs. G. M. Matikinca, wife of an elder brother of the proprietor.



It is a common sight at Rubasana Park on Saturday afternoons to see ladies turning up in their club colours. In the picture below are members of the Tembu United Rugby Club of Duncan Village. The ladies are wearing the club's colours of orange and black. From left to right they are Miss N. Nonkwelo, Miss J. Bebeza and Miss E. Miya. They shouted themselves hoarse when Tembu drew three-all with the Black Lion in the semi-finals of the knockout competition.



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PHOTO REPORT

Figure 33 - It is a common sight at Rubasana Park on Saturday afternoons to see ladies turning up in their club colours. In the picture below are members of the Tembu United Rugby Club of Duncan Village. The ladies are wearing the club's colours of orange and black. From left to right they are Miss N. Nonkwelo, Miss J. Bebeza and Miss E. Miya. They shouted themselves hoarse when Tembu drew three-all with the Black Lion in the semi-finals of the knockout competition.



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Photographed exchanging views at a function recently were these musicians. From left to right are Mr. M. Mtika, manager of the Hi-Notes of Duncan Village, Mr. W. Kula who once played for the now defunct Foundation Rhythm Swingsters of Duncan Village, and Mr. M. Makunga, a member of the Havana Swingsters in Duncan Village. The picture was taken during the health celebrations organised by Winter Rose Rugby Club recently.

Figure 34 - Photographed exchanging views at a function recently were these musicians. From left to right are Mr. M. Mtika, manager of the Hi-Notes of Duncan Village, Mr. W. Kula, who once played for the now defunct Foundation Rhythm Swingsters of Duncan Village, and Mr. M. Makunga, a member of the Havana Swingsters in Duncan Village. The picture was taken during the health celebrations organised by Winter Rose Rugby Club recently.

Some of the photographs in the Collection had a stamp for the *Dispatch* on the back. This was basically an identification tag. It shows that the photograph was intended for Page 3 of the *African Edition*. The slug (line of type in Linotype printing) is ‘Tembu’, which would be married with the picture caption, and the word ‘Tembu’ would also appear on the page plan so the compositor would know where it would go on the page. It would be made into a picture or metal block across three columns of the newspaper. The photograph appeared in the newspaper in 1963. This is useful because it, at the very least, tells us when it was taken/published and on which page of that edition it would have appeared.

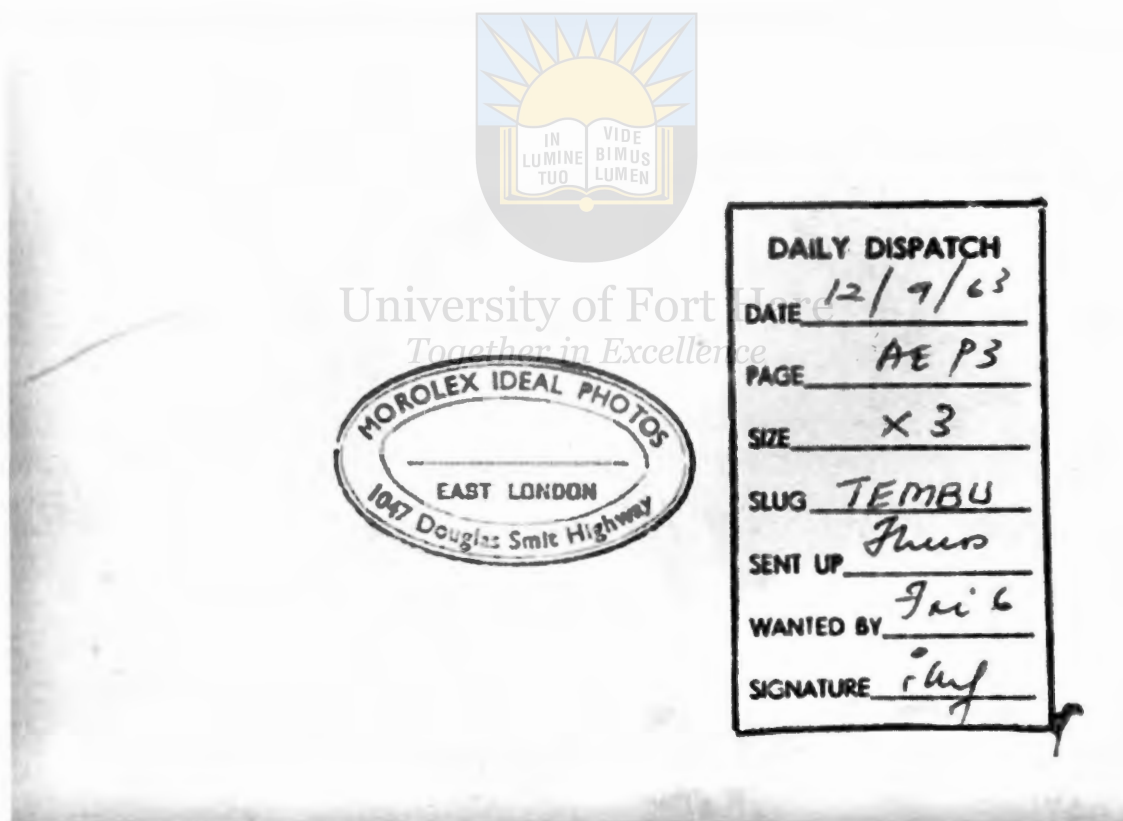


Figure 35 - SAMPLE: Stamps on back of photo

Exhibitions

Rhodes East London



Figure 36 - Example of exhibition board.

ISER first held an exhibition of the Morolong Collection on Rhodes' East London Campus as part of a workshop focusing on heritage, tourism and social transformation.

The exhibition was curated by Prof. Gary Minkley. It was a low budget exhibition, whereby photographs were photocopied, stuck onto a black block and covered by mounting board. Most blocks had four photographs on them. The intended effect was to give the viewer the impression that s/he was looking at a page out of a family photograph album. A typed caption was glued next to each picture.

The workshop took place on the weekend of 23 June 2000. The photographic exhibition was open to the public in the main concourse of the East London Campus from Monday to Wednesday the following week. An article – ‘*EL’s hidden heritage exposed*’ giving details of the workshop and exhibition appeared in the *Daily Dispatch* on Friday 23 June 2000. The aim of the workshop was to encourage debate and discussion around heritage and tourism in East London by looking at the city’s ‘hidden heritages’. This was highlighted by the exhibition of images of township life in the city from the 1930s to 1960s.

‘In the process, it wants to broaden the debate about the meaning of heritage and its potential contribution to the development of cultural tourism’, said the director of the ISER in East London, Leslie Bank (*Daily Dispatch*, 23 June 2000).

The photographs followed the history of the East and West Bank locations in an attempt to show the communities before and after forced removals. The photographs were categorised according to sites that played an important role in people’s lives, places that are no longer there or have changed significantly. For example,

‘Rubusana Park was a huge sports stadium with three rugby fields, tennis courts and cricket fields and there are many team photographs taken there; while the Peacock Community Hall was a vibrant centre for dances, concerts, boxing and beauty contests’, said ISER researcher Landi Maqasho. (*Daily Dispatch*, 23 June 2000)

The photographic exhibition of personal photographs belonging to people from East and West Bank served as a catalyst for a discussion at the workshop with Morolong’s work being an important part of it. ‘The Morolong Collection of photographs has also been an invaluable contribution to their research, as Daniel Kgomo Morolong ran a photographic studio in the East Bank for years’ (*Daily Dispatch*, 23 June 2000).

The exhibition was well received and went on to be exhibited at the Ann Bryant Art Gallery in East London, South Africa.

Exhibition at the Ann Bryant Art Gallery, East London 2000

The exhibition opened at the Ann Bryant Art Gallery on Thursday, 21 September 2000 at 18h30. It was moved to the Ann Bryant Coach House the following day. The exhibition fell under the auspices of the Community Museum Initiative and the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER), which was, at that time, still a part of Rhodes University.

The day the exhibition opened, the *Daily Dispatch* published a short article, 'Dislocated heritages', which gave information about the opening and a brief description of the project. The title of the article was a reference to heritages that were no longer accessible, mainly due to communities being destroyed by forced removals. The photograph used was not a Morolong photograph. The exhibition is described as depicting life in East London's historical areas of West Bank, the East Bank Location and North End. Morolong's photographs formed a large part of the exhibition.

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Dislocated heritages

A PHOTOGRAPHIC exhibition depicting life in East London's historical areas of West Bank, the East Bank Location and the North End will be opened tonight at the Anne Bryant Art Gallery at 18h30.

The exhibition is under the auspices of the Community Museum Initiative and the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER) at Rhodes University here.

The photographs on display are drawn from personal collections of former residents of the townships and include the

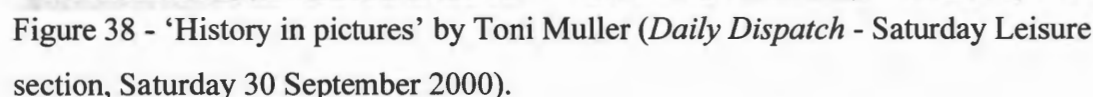
Morolong Collection. Daniel Morolong ran a photographic studio called Morolex Studios for decades, during which he collected hundreds of images of township life.

Currently there is a community initiative to eventually have the collection housed in a museum commemorating those areas destroyed by apartheid.

Note that the exhibition will move to the Ann Bryant Coach House next door from tomorrow and will be open for public viewing until October 6.

Entrance is free and coffee shop facilities are available.

Figure 37 - 'Dislocated heritages' - Thursday 21 September 2000, *Daily Dispatch*.



On Wednesday, 27 September 2000 the *Dispatch* ran a photograph of one of the exhibition boards featuring photographs by Daniel Morolong, with a caption.

DAILY DISPATCH, WEDNESDAY,
SEPTEMBER 27, 2000

ENTERTAINMENT



DAYS GONE BY: A selection of photographs depicting life in the Fifties and Sixties in the historical East and West Bank is on show at the Coach House Gallery until October 9.

Figure 39 - 'DAYS GONE BY: A selection of photographs depicting life in the Fifties and Sixties in the historical East and West Bank is on show at the Coach House Gallery until October 9.' - Wednesday 27 September 2000, *Daily Dispatch*.

Although the insert offers no new information, it is once again inviting people to view the exhibition and to re-imagine the city's past, tantalising the viewer with images of happy, successful black middle-class people. The board that was featured shows a photograph of a young man in his home surrounded by the trappings of modernity (western-style clothes, a cigarette in his mouth and a match that he appears to be about to strike, sitting at a table with a radio in the foreground showing its importance in the frame). Next to him is a couple in their lounge in which the man appears to be admiring his couch while the woman turns on a lamp. Your eye is then drawn to a

woman sitting on her own at a table in her modern home. Finally, we see two musicians in high spirits, sitting on a bed.

'New Exhibition. *Joie de vivre of township life*: ISER Hidden Heritage Photographic Exhibition Ann Bryant Art Gallery until October 9.' - This article appears in the scrapbook from the Ann Bryant Archives, but the source or date of the article is not clear. Three photographs are shown: a group of tennis players that dominates the page, a group of ladies having tea (printed back-to-front and cropped to fit into the page layout) and two female netball players.

New exhibition

Joie de vivre of township life

ISER Hidden Heritage Photographic Exhibition
Ann Bryant art gallery until October 9

Don't miss this exceptional photographic exhibition which captures the joyful spirit of daily life in the East Bank location during the 50's and 60's. Borne of an era of hardship, these pictures tell the a story of life behind the walls of the Group Areas Act.



Figure 40 - 'New Exhibition. *Joie de vivre of township life*: ISER Hidden Heritage Photographic Exhibition Ann Bryant Art Gallery until October 9.' - Ann Bryant Archives.

Again, it is not a full article and simply states,

‘Don’t miss this exceptional photographic exhibition which captures the joyful spirit of daily life in the East Bank location during the 50’s and 60’s. Borne of an era of hardship, these pictures tell the a (sic) story of life behind the walls of the Group Areas Act.’

A Xhosa article, ‘Imbali yasendulo ngeMonti iyabukiswa’, also appeared in *Indabazethu* (no date - from Ann Bryant files).



Figure 41 - ‘Imbali yasendulo ngeMonti iyabukiswa’ - *Indabazethu*.

The article asks the reader to ‘spot the difference’ between the two photographs featured. One (on the left) shows the road leading from town to Mdantsane. This is juxtaposed with the bigger one on the right that shows a photograph, taken by Morolong in the 60s, at the entrance to Mdantsane. It goes on to say that the youth are invited to the exhibition showing a hidden history of East London, giving the dates and other details of the exhibition. The interesting thing about this article is that it stresses the importance of the youth seeing the exhibition and how it shows us a history of which many younger people are not aware.

Most of the comments in the visitors' book at the Ann Bryant Art Gallery were short and complimentary (for example: 'good', 'great', 'excellent', 'interesting') and cover most demographic groups. People from all over East London, from the poorer areas such as Quigney, and townships such as Mdantsane, to the more wealthy areas such as Vincent, visited the exhibition. People also came from other parts of the Eastern Cape such as Umtata and Bathurst and other regions in South Africa. A few foreign visitors (there was even one from Estonia!) had a look too. There seems to be a reasonable number of people who would have either lived at this time or had older relatives who attended the exhibition. Students from Fort Hare were also among those who viewed the photographs.

The gallery visitors' book characteristically offered a very small space in which people could comment, which is a pity as this would have informed the way people wrote, keeping their responses very short and for the most part superficial. The volume of visitor comments suggests that there was a great deal of interest in the exhibition across a wide spectrum of people (not only former residents of East or West Bank). However, some interesting and enlightening comments that caught my eye included the following:

J.F. Temmers (Buffalo Flats) wrote 'Quite Nostalgic!!'.

A. Willard (Pefferville) found it 'Emotionally Nostalgic'.

Xolani Makwedini (Mdantsane) thought it was 'very touching indeed'.

'Brings back memories' was written more than once!

E Wallace (East London) commented, 'Very interesting, it's a pity so many names seem lost'.

'Excellent, get more.' - S.J.Ngqongo (Beacon Bay)

'Quite a lurid photo expo.' - L. Coetzee (Umtata)

N Mangai wrote, 'Excellent, nostalgic! Our parents as us!'.

‘Most impressive, undoubtedly dignified lifestyle of the way of living of people in the olden days. Most appreciative!!’ - Mr. and Mrs. Smith (Parkside)

‘Sad & illuminating. Wonderful window on life!!! Thank you.’ - V.W. Kenyon (Quigney)

John Carlisle remarked, ‘I am SO angry! And SO sorry!’

The rest of the comments were complimentary, saying it was very good, interesting and that it brought back memories. The words ‘emotional’ and ‘nostalgic’ were used quite frequently. The fact that a lot of the comments refer to nostalgia and emotion demonstrates what a potent medium photography is, making it a more vivid representation of history than dry words on paper ever could. Images can often trigger memories in a powerful way, aiding in bringing history vibrantly alive in a meaningful and informative manner. The exhibition touched people in some way or another, no matter where they came from.

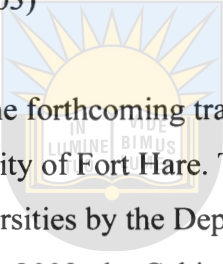
Exhibition at the Ann Bryant Art Gallery, East London (28 August - 31 October 2003)

The Morolong images were once again part of the ‘*Dislocations: Visualizing Hidden Urban Pasts*’ exhibition that had been previously shown at the Ann Bryant Art Gallery in 2000. In this instance, however, there were two other exhibitions showing concurrently: one of Dr Pauline Ingle’s work, *Images of the Transkei*, and the other a selection of Gideon Mendel’s work with the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) as part of *A Broken Landscape: HIV Aids in Africa*. These three exhibitions were seen to add value to an international conference titled *The Eastern Cape: Historical Legacies and New Challenges* which took place in East London at this time. The main purpose of the conference was to

bring together academics from the social sciences, geography, humanities, and related disciplines that are interested in the past and future of the province.

The Eastern Cape was a key area of conflict and interaction between colonizers and colonised in South Africa. In the nineteenth century it was also

a major centre of economical growth. It became the focus for the development of African Christianity and education and can claim to have been at the heart of new political movements, and early African nationalism. During the apartheid era, the Transkei became the lynchpin of the government's homeland policy. Despite the advent of a democratic state and an ANC government, the area faces acute social and economic difficulties. It is now ranked as the poorest of South Africa's nine provinces. The intention of the conference is not to formulate policy. However, it may help provide context and insight into the provinces current dilemmas and to provide a vehicle for innovative ideas in research, teaching, cultural developments and planning. (Conference Programme, 2003)



The conference was also linked to the forthcoming transfer of Rhodes University's East London Campus to the University of Fort Hare. This was as a result of the restructuring of South African universities by the Department of Education under Minister Kadar Asmal. In November 2003, the Cabinet approved proposals for the restructuring of the tertiary educational institutional landscape through mergers and incorporations. This became official on 1 January, 2004 when Rhodes' East London Campus became part of the University of Fort Hare.

Also included in the new arrangements was the Institute for Social and Economic Research at Rhodes (ISER), which would on 1 January 2004 become FHISER. FHISER's mission statement states its aims as being to 'promote social, cultural and economic development in the Eastern Cape and the Southern African region through the delivery of high quality academic, applied and policy research. Research techniques employed by the Institute include: pilot studies, socio-economic surveys and visual archiving'. (FHISER Brochure UFH)

The photographs in the *Dislocations* exhibit provided a view into urban life in East London prior to and during the forced removals that happened in South Africa during the Apartheid years. Although there was never a direct plan to bring these three exhibitions together in one place, doing so created a pertinent dialogue about the Eastern Cape (Parsons 2005: 33). The ISER website, 'Visualizing hidden heritages', explains that

In the Eastern Cape, we have already noted that public representations of the past have been constructed through a set of binary oppositions that define modernity as the possession of white settlers and tribe and tradition as that of black indigenes. In museums and cultural villages, African cultures are narrated and represented as if they were tied to distinct territories and populations. Africa is seen in classical anthropological mode, as a continent comprised of a mosaic of unique and different cultures operating within particular regions and within a set of localised face-to-face social relations. The continued influence of old-fashioned anthropological understandings of culture within the heritage sector is notable. This is one of the main reasons why this sector finds it difficult to deal with social change and the complex cultural processes associated with understanding and representing urban communities. In this project, we propose a different conception of culture. We argue for an open-ended and non-systematic sense, which comprises clusters and networks of social relations and symbolic orders that are not spatially contained. For every image of black subjects in tribal dress adorning public space in the city, there are tens and hundreds of privately held photographs that dramatise this cosmopolitanism and these midway flows and crosscurrents. It is primarily through 'telling the visual' that these 'personal' pasts are archived, remembered and indeed performed and re-performed. We argue that this is one of the primary, crucial and long-term ways in which a critical memory of apartheid modernity in the city and a transformed and re-possessed city currently hidden from view can be achieved. This project seeks to further that task. (Rhodes University website)

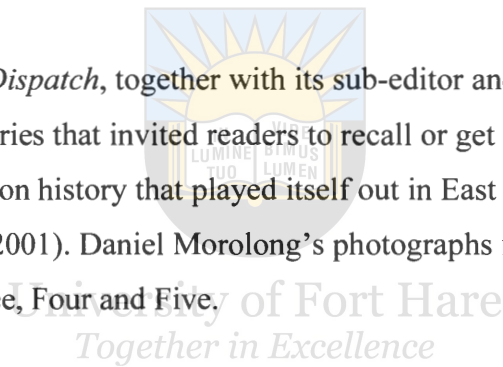
Some of the *Dislocations* exhibition still remains on display in the tearoom in the FHISER building, University of Fort Hare EL Campus at 4 Hill Street, East London. The boards that are not on display are in the wooden crate that was used to transport them (this now serves as a table in the tearoom). There is no accompanying information explaining what the exhibition or images are about and some of the captions that were pasted onto the boards have fallen off.

Exhibition at Grahamstown National Arts Festival

The exhibition also appeared at the ISER on the Rhodes University Campus in Grahamstown during the National Arts Festival. A review was allegedly written in *Cue*, the official newspaper of the National Arts Festival, but, unfortunately, after much digging this could not be located, nor could the Festival Fringe office provide any information about the exhibition. There is no record of precisely when this took place.

Articles in the *Daily Dispatch*

In May 2001, the *Daily Dispatch*, together with its sub-editor and historian Cornelius Thomas, ran a six-part series that invited readers to recall or get to know ‘another vibrant part of East London history that played itself out in East Bank and West Bank’ (*Daily Dispatch*, 4 May 2001). Daniel Morolong’s photographs featured as the visual story for Parts Two, Three, Four and Five.



In Part Two, Mcebisi Qamarwana and Gary Minkley of the Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER), Rhodes University, East London, explored the music scene in East London in the 1950s. They describe the blowing of bugles and trumpets in the Boy Scouts and Boys’ Brigades, church choirs, gramophone records and new styles of music. New bands formed and local jazz became the urban music of the 1940s and 50s. The African Quavers led the way, followed by many Eastern Cape greats such as the Havana Swingsters. The music and groups were diverse, creating a vibrant, exciting music scene across communities and locations. This was important as it was instrumental in giving people a sense of place that ‘went wider than their immediate house, street or living conditions’ (Qamarwana & Minkley 2001) and drawing them together. They also discuss uMgqomo: radio days, telling the reader how it influenced style, taste and sound in the East London communities. Radios were seen as being of increasing importance and everyone aspired to have one. (This is evident in the number of photographs that Morolong took of people in their homes, where there is often a radio shown somewhere within the frame). Interestingly, they also describe how many of the ‘big names’ of the day regularly came to East London.

This is notable because it is no longer the case and could be seen as a result of the ‘dislocations’ that forced removals heralded.

Peter Skolweni recalled the effect this had on the community:

That was the beginning of a painful decline of our entertainment life, including music and township jazz. Though people tried very hard to continue the culture in Mdantsane, things were never the same. People were scattered all over, some left the province and others disappeared with no one's knowledge of their destinations.

People lost touch of who is who; people who knew entertainment were no longer there to guide the youngsters.



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EAST BANK →
← WEST BANK

People in the old days, people with large responsibilities were in charge there to guide the migrants.

The main photograph featured is of the band that Daniel Morolong played the double bass in, the African Quavers. The one below it is a photograph of prominent band leader Eric Nomvete and Zola Madyaka in a room, practicing their instruments. Lastly, we see one of a modern young man ‘listening’ to the radio. (This photograph is the most commonly featured Morolong image in the media.)

Part Three informs us about a time ‘when even the tsotsis had style’. Here, Leslie Bank and Mcebisi Qamarwana of ISER explore the meaning of style in East London in the 1950s.

They tell us how observers of social life in East London locations in the early part of the century were ‘struck by the cultural division between the townsmen and the so-called ‘school people’ who embraced the influences of westernisation and Christianity on the one hand, and ‘red people’ who rejected western influences and wore blankets and coloured themselves with ochre on the other.

It had become smart to be as ‘Europeanised’ as possible. The times had changed by the 1950s, as the city had experienced sustained economic growth and the size of the urban working class had grown. With this came a growing interest in all things modern and Western, including dress-sense. This came to define what kind of person you were and was a dominant outward show of an individual’s identity (be it hapless rural migrants who stuck out like a sore thumb and were taken advantage of by the tsotsis, or gang members, identified by their chosen style).

Part 3 When even the tsotsis had style



**Ladies Bank and
Moorfield Camerawomen of
the Institute of Social and
Economic at Rhodes
University, East London,
explore the meaning of
style in East London in the
1950s**

IN 1950, 1950s East London's fashion scene was a mix of the traditional and the modern. The most famous of these was the 'tsotsi' style, a mix of the traditional and the modern. The most famous of these was the 'tsotsi' style, a mix of the traditional and the modern. The most famous of these was the 'tsotsi' style, a mix of the traditional and the modern.

Signs and tourism
LONDONERS of about 100 in East London, in the early part of the century, were known for their style. The style was a mix of the traditional and the modern. The most famous of these was the 'tsotsi' style, a mix of the traditional and the modern.

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TOP Ladies ready for a night at the Peacock here pose in the ultimate 1950s symbol of the 1950s, a large American automobile. **ABOVE LEFT** Men talking style through action and attire on an East London street in the 1950s. **ABOVE RIGHT** A sharp young man chats with a stylishly dressed lady at one of a popular 1950s social haunt, the tearoom.

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Isolation and violence
In the 1950s, the isolation and violence in East London was a mix of the traditional and the modern. The most famous of these was the 'tsotsi' style, a mix of the traditional and the modern. The most famous of these was the 'tsotsi' style, a mix of the traditional and the modern.

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Figure 43 – FRIDAY 18 May 2001.

The dominant photograph here is of a group of young nurses in their uniforms in a large automobile, followed by one of a group of young men in suits and stylish hats. The last one is of a man and a woman in a shop, both wearing the fashionable modern clothing described in the article. The images bring the story to life, identifying people

that anyone in East London at the time could relate to, or remind yet others of parents and grandparents, enlivening their histories. For those of us who do not have these visual references, it animates what without them would simply be words on a page.

‘Carnivals of freedom ’n fun’ is the topic of Part Four written, once again, by Minkley and Qamarwana. By the 1950s, space was tight in the locations so people felt a need to get out. This article describes how this need to ‘get out’ meant that the people of East Bank had a great appetite for public events and occasions.

‘People would dress up in different uniforms for the occasion. They would become bold, shout insults at police, mock those they were opposing, and behave like they were on stage. People would stop, clap, cheer, participate in these moving dramas, it drew people out of themselves’, one former location resident recalled when talking about marches and processions. We see, as the article proceeds that while these ‘occasions’ were for ‘fun’ and a way in which residents could blow off some steam, it was also a political tool where they could make their feelings known under the guise of the carnival. Daniel Morolong also remembers: ‘People had to wear what would make them the funniest or ugliest, things like one-legged trousers, painting one's face black, men wearing women's clothes and vice versa. 'This was part of entertaining ourselves.’ The mockery, though, was not lost on the location residents: ‘This was how we imagined the whites of the city saw us. In a way we were laughing at them, mocking them as we made fun and entertained ourselves.’ (Minkley & Qamarwana 2001)



The annual Bat Fair at Rubasana Park, where people could escape the cramped conditions of the location and enjoy themselves in carnival play.



Beltman dancing gave people a chance to dress up and forget their daily existence for the evening.

Part 4

Carnivals of freedom 'n fun

Gary Minkley and Mcebisi Gamaqwana explore occasions that brought an air of festivity to East London's locations in the 1950s

By the 1950s, the annual Bantu Advertising Trade (BAT) Fair had become a major event in the lives of the people of East London. It was a time when the community could come together to enjoy a day of fun and games, and to see the latest in consumer goods. The fair was held in a large, open area, and it was a place where people could see and buy everything from clothing to food. It was a time when the community could see the latest in consumer goods, and it was a place where people could see and buy everything from clothing to food. It was a time when the community could see the latest in consumer goods, and it was a place where people could see and buy everything from clothing to food.

Taking to the city streets

The BAT Fair was a time when the community could see the latest in consumer goods, and it was a place where people could see and buy everything from clothing to food. It was a time when the community could see the latest in consumer goods, and it was a place where people could see and buy everything from clothing to food. It was a time when the community could see the latest in consumer goods, and it was a place where people could see and buy everything from clothing to food.

Tournaments and competitions

The BAT Fair was a time when the community could see the latest in consumer goods, and it was a place where people could see and buy everything from clothing to food. It was a time when the community could see the latest in consumer goods, and it was a place where people could see and buy everything from clothing to food. It was a time when the community could see the latest in consumer goods, and it was a place where people could see and buy everything from clothing to food.

Shows of machinery

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Rubasana

The BAT Fair was a time when the community could see the latest in consumer goods, and it was a place where people could see and buy everything from clothing to food. It was a time when the community could see the latest in consumer goods, and it was a place where people could see and buy everything from clothing to food. It was a time when the community could see the latest in consumer goods, and it was a place where people could see and buy everything from clothing to food.

The Bat Fair

The BAT Fair was a time when the community could see the latest in consumer goods, and it was a place where people could see and buy everything from clothing to food. It was a time when the community could see the latest in consumer goods, and it was a place where people could see and buy everything from clothing to food.

Figure 44 – FRIDAY 25 May 2001.

The dominant picture is of the annual BAT (Bantu Advertising Trade) Fair held in Rubasana Park where different stalls displayed all the mod cons and people could get out and enjoy themselves. It was a moving trade fair that first appeared after the Second World War. It moved around the African townships to encourage consumerism, hygiene and suburban-style domesticity. East London featured on its

annual rounds and it was set up on the Rubasana Park sports field in the East Bank. The large dome tents and big open spaces in Rubasana Park form quite a contrast to the small, closely spaced housing in the background!

The other smaller image is of a smartly dressed couple taking part in a ballroom dancing competition. He has a wonderful smile augmenting his performance, while she will always remain a mystery, her face turned away from the camera. Inexplicably, this photograph has been cropped to cut off the dancers' feet. This has the odd effect of suspending the movement in the image, giving one the feeling that the moment is frozen in time.

Part Five, written by Leslie Bank and Landiswa Maqasho, informs us about the 'Touch of magic to faces and floors'. In it they discuss the rise of consumerism in the 50s and the role that commodities played in reshaping women's lives.

The 1950s were boom years for the South African economy. Double-digit growth rates unleashed a flood of new commodities on the local market. Many of the new products were directed at women. There was a myriad of new washing powders, detergents and soaps for women, as well as cosmetics, toiletries and other body products. The media was saturated with images of women transforming their bodies and reshaping their homes. (Bank & Maqasho 2001)

In the post-war era, the discovery of the 'African market' became a major focus of advertising strategies across southern Africa. This was yet another way in which American culture was absorbed and as can be seen in the African Edition of the *Daily Dispatch*, the 50s housewife ethos dominated Page 2. This is also evident in Morolong's other photographs, especially the ones taken in peoples' homes in which emphasis is placed on showing off the subjects' modern houses.

EAST BANK →
← WEST BANK

The parties — an opportunity to show off their homes and results of the latest renovation they used, as well as a chance to catch some action.

Beauty competitions were organized to promote new products on the market.

An unidentified woman returns to the Samaritanical programme on radio

[illegible][illegible]

Crowded houses, shiny verandas

HERE the cost of the purchase is the same as in the U.S., but the construction of the houses and the quality of the materials used are different. The houses are built with concrete and have a shiny veranda. The houses are built with concrete and have a shiny veranda. The houses are built with concrete and have a shiny veranda.

The author's words were true. But such the difference between the two and the reality of the world was so great that it was almost impossible to see the difference. It was the same as the difference between the two and the reality of the world was so great that it was almost impossible to see the difference.

DAY 1 June 2001.

[illegible]

and time the main photograph (shown in the media in connection with

Following a group of
with the Morolong

me it is not cropped and has not

been flipped horizontally.

township life: ISER Hidden Her

Heritage Photograph

Sharked songs and expletives

If making a mistake leaves you in a very bad mood, you could avoid future problems by listening. That's because a song that sounds like negativity can have a very negative emotion.

Maria, Bono and the rest of the outrageous banding families where the young women gathered in each other and their families. On the contrary, we have seen the power of the message, and many about the message of the family message. It is a message of love, and many about the message of love.

But, unfortunately, a song, however, also often about what the artist "sings" to the

Atsugi: On tapestry to define, and many) and uniform among women, women also inspired the power to establish some organizations. When they were in public places, these women wished to show off their vibrant skins, lightened as **Ponds** creaming, cream, their smiling lips and their close dark eyes.

I'm happy, they say, a fine line between looking cheap and looking cheap. The white skin **was** for much lip stick and eye shadow. To dress properly, several weeks in

[illegible][illegible]

...women enjoyin

'New Exhibition' at the British Museum

Ancient Egyptian Exhibition At the British Museum

Bryant Art Gallery until October 9' - Ann Bryant Archives, see Figure 40. A second image shows a beauty pageant sponsored by Coco-Cola. The smallest is of a young woman in her home, showing off her radio. The photographs from the Morolong Collection form the visual narrative of the articles, bringing alive the histories of the time and giving colour to people's recollections and stories.

Visual genders, visual histories: a special issue of Gender & History. Edited by Patricia Hayes.



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Figure 46 - *Gender & History*, Volume 17, Issue 3, pages 519-537, November 2005.

In 2004, submissions were invited for a special issue of the journal *Gender & History*, focusing on visual genders. *Gender & History* is considered to be the major international journal for research and writing on the history of femininity and masculinity, and of gender relations. It spans epochs and continents, examining changing conceptions of gender, and mapping the dialogue between femininities, masculinities and their historical contexts. The guest editor for this special issue was Patricia Hayes. Hayes is the Professor of History at University of the Western Cape, where she runs the Visual History Research Project, part of which involves researching southern African documentary photography.

The photograph on the cover of this issue of *Gender & History* was taken by Daniel Morolong in East London. The caption in her introduction reads as follows:

‘Figure 1: “Sunday Beach Outing”. Mrs. Morolong and her sisters. From left to right, Nomakhosazana, Lulu and Nompueuko Morolong. Eastern Beach, East London.

Photo by Daniel Morolong. Source: Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Fort Hare, East London, South Africa.'

Hayes begins her introduction to *Visual Genders* by discussing the above photograph, giving a description of it and a very brief biography of Morolong. She notes that

Aesthetically the image slides between two worlds, that of the black and white documentary photograph and that of the family seaside snap: Historically it also slides between a past and present denoting the inclusion and exclusion of African people in urban South Africa.

She goes on to comment on how this photograph took on a new life in 2004 when it was used for a conference poster at a busy South African University. The poster kept disappearing, obviously being taken down and taken ownership of by people who liked the image.

She suggests that

The repeated theft of the image, which happened largely in silence, suggested some kind of connection. It revealed a relationship: It was not vandalism, but appropriation. The image belonged to the category of the ones that are wanted. (Hayes 2005: 527)

One of the few comments explaining the popularity of this poster stated that the photograph reminded students of their mothers. (Anonymous personal communication with Thandiwe Chihana, UWC, August 2004.)

The story of the poster is an interesting one because it is designed to appear on a wall, thus making the image more visible than the book itself (books often suffering the fate of being put in dusty piles or on shelves, their covers hidden from view). Being displayed on the wall means more people will see the image and thus interact with it. It is likely that it initiated many conversations that affected people in different ways. Some may even have found it healing to see black women of this time portrayed in a positive way.

The photograph appears again at the end of her article with the caption quoted above.

Hayes remarks on how unusual images like this are in the public eye in South Africa. For the most part, we have seen photographs portraying poverty and hardship in the black communities. Very few show black people at leisure, enjoying themselves and comfortable in their own skin.

In November 2006, the Special Issue of the journal *Gender & History* was published as a book to broaden its circulation.

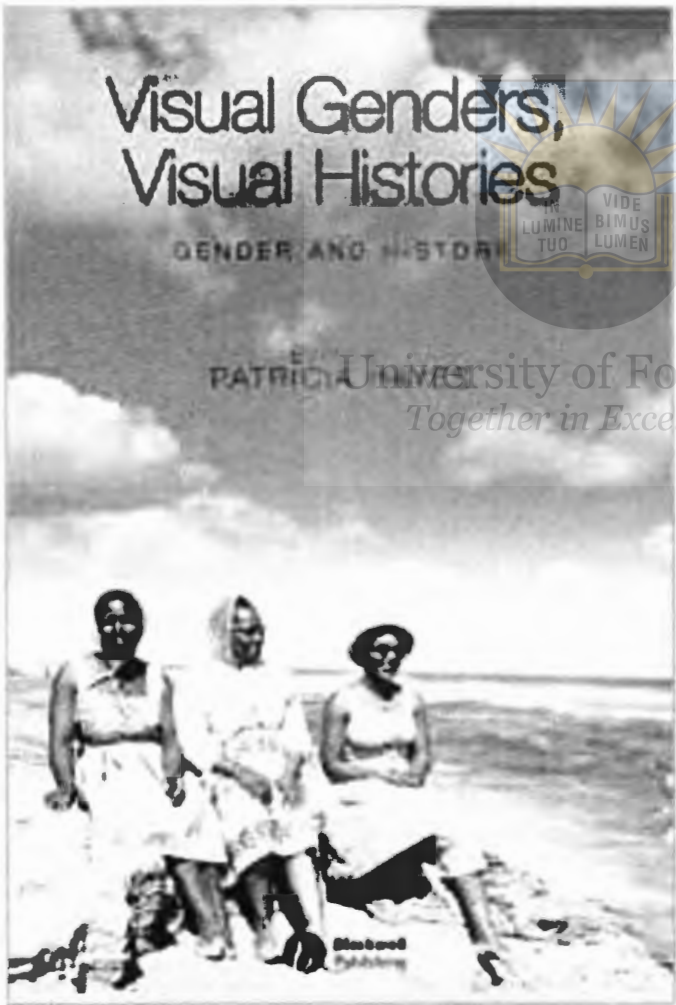


Figure 47 - Book cover - *Visual Genders, Visual Histories: Gender and History* by Patricia Hayes.

Underexposed

Participation in the Underexposed Project was serendipitous, as it was as a result of a chance introduction I had by Dr. Andrew Bank to Paul Weinberg, when he was the senior curator at the Centre for Curating the Archive at the University of Cape Town Libraries. Mr. Weinberg expressed interest in looking at the Morolong Collection and then requested that it be included in the Underexposed Project. Eleven South African photographers were chosen to be part of the Underexposed Project which spans a number of decades, different styles of photography, and many different subjects.

The Daniel Morolong Collection is seen as a valuable body of work vis-à-vis South African vernacular photography. Weinberg saw it as a rare and unusual body of work. This is particularly true for this Collection as much of it would fall under the label 'street photography'. Why it is strange to come across a collection that houses this genre, is that most street-type photographers take pictures to sell, thus not holding onto or collecting them in any meaningful way. Photographs were taken for the client, not to form a body of work or to express an idea or way of seeing. In other words, the act of photographing was purely functional, serving as a record of an event or moment in someone's life that they would then take away with them. Mr. Morolong is unusual in that he still held onto copies of his photographs because he realised that in the future he, and others in his community, would like to look at them and remember life as it was in times past.

As part of the Underexposed Project, in collaboration with Duke University, the Morolong Collection will become part of a photographic heritage research portal. UCT Libraries' Special Collections Division is presently finalising this project, which will be shown as part of the Special Collections Digital Archive.

The Underexposed Project sets up an important conversation with our photographic heritage. As South Africa continues to capture the imagination of the world so does our photographic heritage. While some South African photographers, such as Pieter Hugo, Roger Ballen and Zwelethu Mthethwa, have succeeded in the international art world and are consequently having

their work collected and seen around the world, there are a number of very talented South African photographers whose work is unseen and 'Underexposed'. These photographers are not known outside a small circle in South Africa, though their contribution to that country's photographic heritage and history is highly significant.

'Underexposed', with the support of Duke University, has identified and begun digitising this special collection of documentary photography, showcasing different twentieth and twenty-first century photographers' work over many decades, including both the pre and post-apartheid periods. (Weinberg 2009: 4)

As a result of this collaboration, Daniel Morolong received a sum of money. The photographs that remained in the original FHISER collection, as well as new ones that were donated as a result of the interview process, were retouched and expertly digitised at no cost. One of the hidden benefits of this project is the recognition that Mr. Morolong has received for his work as an important contribution to our visual history.

The Underexposed Project is now housed at the Visual Archive (Special Collections) of the UCT Libraries, Cape Town, South Africa. The project will be hosted on their website, where researchers will have access to images (lo-res only, not print quality), thus making a visual history of East London more accessible. Duke University in the United States of America also houses a collection of prints as part of their *South Africa Documentary Photographs Collection*. (For more information, see <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/findingaids/safricanphoto/>.)

***Home Spaces, Street Styles: Contesting Power and Identity in a South African City* by Leslie J. Bank.**

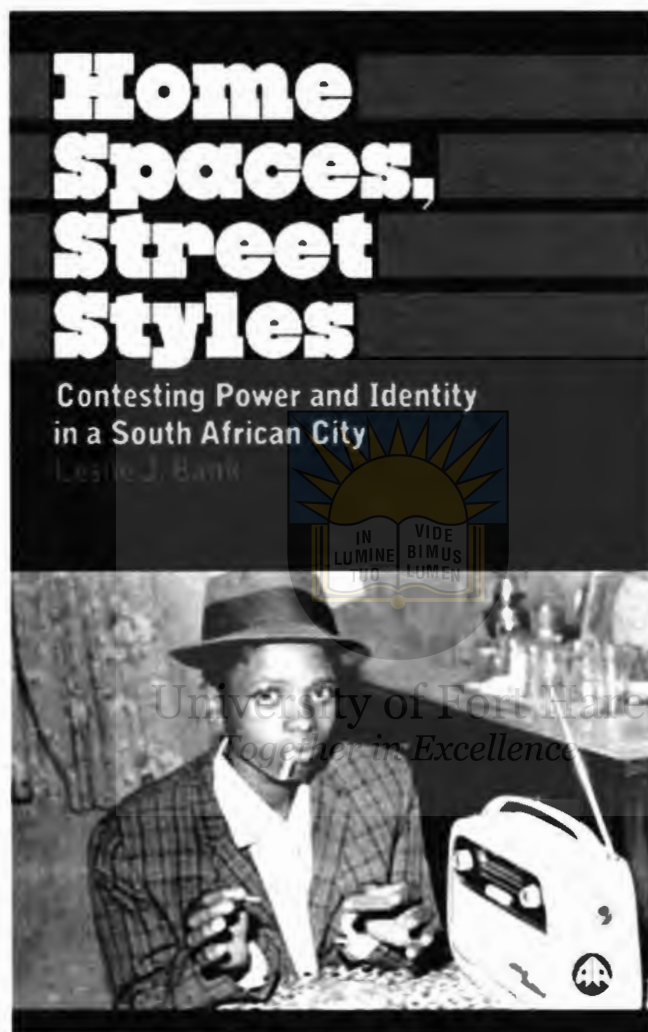


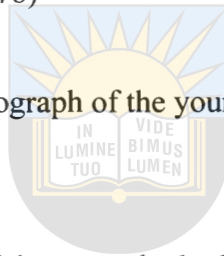
Figure 48 - Cover of *Home Spaces, Street Styles: Contesting Power and Identity in a South African City* by Leslie J. Bank

The release date of this book was 20 January 2011. Leslie J. Bank is the Director of the Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research. He has a PhD in Social Anthropology from the University of Cape Town and has published widely on issues related to social change and development in southern Africa.

This book revisits and updates some classic Anthropology - the Xhosa in Town series - based on research in the South African city of East London conducted during the 1950s. The original studies concluded that there were

two opposed responses to urbanisation in East London's African locations, one embracing Westernisation, European values and Christianity and another opposed to it. The studies have been the subject of intense anthropological debate. Leslie Bank returned to the areas of East London studied in the 1950s to assess how social and political changes have transformed these areas, in particular the apartheid reconstruction of the 1960s and 1970s and the struggle for liberation followed by the post-Apartheid period in the 1980s and 1990s. Bank has added important theoretical insights to this rich ethnography, and forged strong links with issues that transcend the particularities of his urban study. ([http://www.amazon.com/Home-Spaces-Street-Styles Anthropology/dp/0745323278](http://www.amazon.com/Home-Spaces-Street-Styles-Architecture/dp/0745323278))

When asked why he chose the photograph of the young man smoking for the cover of the book, Dr Bank replied that he



chose the picture because of the pose, the look and the (igniting) cigarette, all of which oozed a kind of urban style and civility, which the Mayer's account of the East London denied township residents. My book is about reclaiming an urbanity for East London's locations, with stories of beaten nuns, backward migrants and rurally minded PAC politics have shut out of the picture. So the guy captures the mood the book is looking for - there is no need to cross-reference or labour the point, the picture tells the story. (Via email Wednesday, 19 January 2011)

In one of his footnotes he describes his experience of working with (among others) the photographs taken by Daniel Morolong as part of his study:

Through these photographs, I was confronted not by historical or anthropological writing, but by the 'appearance' of history itself (cf Sekula 1999). And it was not a visual or a pictorial history that reproduced the dominant views of urban Africans in bourgeois culture. I had access to a 'subaltern archive' of self-representation. The images presented traces of an intense and engaging social and cultural life world that was largely ignored,

just not represented or adequately communicated in the trilogy ... I used this technique of ‘photo elicitation’ among the claimants to clarify my own understanding of the cultural meaning of the 1950s from a vantage point that stood outside of the work of the trilogy”. (Bank 2011: 235)

Using the photographs as visual cues, he deepened his understanding of East London’s history during this period; an understanding that very possibly would not have come about had he not had the photographs to work with. The photographs on the following pages, along with their captions, are the ones from the Morolong Collection that appear in Bank’s book.



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Figure 49 - Photo 2.1 Tearoom styles and the Italian street look (2011: 50).



Figure 50 - Photo 2.2 Crowds gather to watch rugby at Rubasana Park in the 1950s (2011: 54).

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Figure 51 - Photo 2.3 Sunglasses and smiles, Eastern Beach. The motor vehicle is the centrepiece of this group shot of a beach visit. Its East London number plate is clearly legible, along with a lock and chain dangling above. While clearly posed, there is still

naturalism about the group, evident in their postures and facial expressions, as well as an air of easy intermingling between young men and young women (2011: 55).



Figure 52 - Photo 2.4 The Havana Hotshots perform at the Peacock Hall, 1955. The Havana Hotshots emerged out of a jazz group called the Cotton Planters Band, which had been established in the early 1930s. They were said to be the first major jazz band in East London locations. In March 1947, the Hotshots played at Beachfront Hotel as part of the festivities organised in the city to welcome King George VI, Queen Elizabeth, and Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret to East London. In the 1950s, the Hotshots renamed themselves the Havana Hotshots in order to emphasise their connection with the international ‘dance craze’ and Cuban music. The latter also influenced African ballroom dancing. In the late 1950s, the Havana Hotshots added the rumba and the cha-cha to their repertoire, and were one of a number of groups, such as the Cuban Stars from North End, who drew inspiration from political and musical developments in Cuba (2011: 56).

The above four photographs were used in Bank’s chapter on *The Xhosa in Town Revisited*. In this chapter he is referring to *The Xhosa in Town* trilogy, an ethnography

written by Philip Mayer and Iona Mayer in 1971 [1961]). Central to their ethnography was what they came to characterise as the 'Red/School divide' as a way of understanding cultural process in East London. Loosely, 'Red' refers to people who held onto rural ideals quite strongly and 'School' to those who embraced urbanism and modernity.



Figure 53 - Photo 3.1 New 51/9 houses in Duncan Village Extension. These were the new working-class family houses for urban-born working men and their families. They were rented by the municipality to male household heads with stable urban employment and were located close to East London industries, which are seen in the background (2011: 72).



Figure 54 - Morolong_Townships_010 -Photo 3.4 Windowless Transit Houses in C-Section (2011: 80).

The two photographs above appear in the chapter on Modernism, Space and Identity.
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Figure 55 - Photo 5.1 Youths relax with the radio, 1950 (2011: 126).

This one appears in the chapter on The Style of the Comrades.



Figure 56 - Photo 7.1 East Bank propertied matriarch, 1950s (2011: 169).

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Together in Excellence



Figure 57 - Photo 7.2 Looking red: urban women in traditional dress, 1950s (2011: 174).



Figure 58 - Photo 7.3 Domestic desire (2011: 177).



Figure 59 - Photo 7.4 Urban family with male breadwinner (2011: 179).

(Interestingly, this image was also seen in the *Dispatch*, identifying them as the Siwundla family of Duncan Village.)

These four are seen in the chapter on Re-Modelling the House.

The Other Camera

This project is still a work in progress and will showcase an anthology of South African vernacular photography through an exhibition (curated by Paul Weinberg, Visual Archive, UCT Libraries) that will be shown in Cape Town late in 2014. A selection of Daniel Morolong's photographs will be included in this exhibition.

* A trip to the BAHA (Baileys African History Archive) that houses the *Drum* magazine archive was also undertaken and I looked through the microfilm for every *Drum* issue from the relevant period because in one of the interviews with Morolong and his wife it was mentioned as a publication that had featured his photographs. Sadly none were located.

Chapter 4

The Photographs

... we should remember that 'documentary' is an ideologically loaded word: we tend to document those we imagine to be less fortunate than ourselves - documentary photography is always in some sense 'victim photography'. (Scott 1999: 78)

While this may be true, all photographs are in a sense documentary, as they are documenting history in one way or another. Regardless of location, person or moment *that* particular moment in time is being recorded for all time, reminding us of something that is past and thus historical (even seemingly insignificant moments). Meaning and reading of images will change over time, changing contexts and through

the eyes that perceive them. Morolongs photographs document a more everyday history, a social history of a particular era. One thing is for certain, as much as the images are historical documents, none of them records victimhood, but rather a celebration of life and the resilience of the people captured in them.

Daniel Morolong was photographing people because it was his passion. He stood out from others in his community in that he had managed to purchase the equipment needed to do so (all of this would have been expensive, thus prohibiting most Blacks at the time from having a camera and the money to purchase film and pay for developing and printing). And besides, it was a way to earn some extra income. Without realising, it he captured the ethos of a generation purely because of his enthusiasm for the medium. Other photographers (some of them white, and mainly from *Drum* magazine) may have captured some similar images, but none of them were doing this in East London, which is what makes Morolongs work so valuable. An example of one of those photographers is Ernest Cole, who was also shooting in the public arena, but following his own agenda, purposefully documenting the horrors of life under apartheid to be revealed in his book - *House of Bondage*.

Another example, that has more recently come to light, is a father and son combination - Ronald and Torrance Ngilima, whose archive is housed at the University of Cape Town Library. They were photographing in the Benoni townships from the early 50s to mid 60s, at the same time as Morolong was doing similar work in East London. Fortunately, their archive of approximately 5600 images survived in tact and gives a more thorough history of their era, in Benoni. The fact that we have any of Morolongs representations of life in East London is nothing short of a miracle. Besides the fact that a fire burnt his studio down, the photographs could easily have been lost in other ways, as many people wouldn't have recognised the value of such an archive and could have discarded the left over negatives and photographs without a second thought.

As Sophie Feyder emphasizes in her essay on the Ngilima Collection,

For the visual historian, the Ngilima collection constitutes a unique source, very different from the textual sources found in institutional archives, or even from

the images produced by contemporary black photo-journalists. While police reports and official municipal documents provide us with detailed information on black South Africans' living conditions (albeit from the skewed perspective of the State), few historical sources apart from private photographs are available to explore questions of subjectivity. (2012: 133)

The same is certainly true for the Morolong Collection.

With a growing interest in what is broadly referred to as vernacular photography, theories and definitions abound. As Val Williams puts it, 'If photojournalism is directed and structured (and thus artificial), then found and vernacular photography must somehow be the opposite, truthful in its innocence and naivety' (Williams 2005).

The photographs were used first as a way of exposing a community, in the *Daily Dispatch*. They were also being shot for people who wanted to see themselves, and preserve a part of their personal history (and probably to send photographs to their loved ones). Forty or so years later they reappear in the *Daily Dispatch*, this time to celebrate and illustrate rich parts of the cities history, while being made available to a wider audience by being exhibited at the Anne Bryant Art Gallery, the Grahamstown Festival and the Centre for African Studies Gallery in Cape Town. With a growing awareness of the existence of the photographs came the use of the photographs in academic circles and, more broadly, to become part of an archive exposing that which had for a few decades been hidden and could easily have ended up being forgotten leaving future generations with scant images of what everyday life had been like for their ancestors at this time.

There is a growing desire to salvage images produced in ordinary and everyday circumstances by ordinary people. Snapshots, and other amateur images, also frequently appear in news stories and can be found for sale at second-hand antique and retro markets. Images and perspectives previously denied space in the archive are now readily incorporated into its spaces and the normalizing archival perspective that Sekula confronts in his work is now fractured. It is not yet clear how to respond to such images as they are left to history. (Cross &

Peck 2010: 128)

Morolong was more of a social/street photographer capturing, events – sports, prize-givings, schools, the BAT Fair, beauty pageants, parties, funerals, weddings, musical performances and shows. He was also photographing people in their homes, showing off the trappings of urban modernity, people at leisure or posing ‘out in the world’ and in the studio. On the subject of his own photographs as a street photographer, Mofokeng had this to say,

[m]ost of these images found their way into family albums. Photograph albums in the townships are cherished repositories of memories. The images in these albums are similar to those in albums the world over: weddings, birthday parties, schools trips, portraits – special occasions of one sort or another. They are treasuries of family history, visual clues for the telling of stories. The images are mostly of happy, smiling people, dressed to party and surrounded by food and drink. The more formal portraits are crafted to foreground what might be called *petit bourgeois* or suburban sensibility: everyone and every thing must look its best. (Mofokeng 1998: 266)

For a while Morolong was busily occupied taking identity photographs of people for the government of the former Ciskei. His photographs that appeared in the *Daily Dispatch* did so mainly on the social pages (called ‘Photo report’). Even though he did a few assignments for the *Dispatch* as a photojournalist (the one he especially valued is on Kaizer Matanzima), he was not one of the documentary photographers that were attempting to get the government to address particular issues and to initiate various commissions of enquiry, like the *Drum* photographers did (Bob Gosani, Peter Magubane and Alf Kumalo, to name a few).

Of course, an unfortunate result of the destruction of his photographs in the fire is that it is impossible to give a definitive and accurate assessment of his life’s work as the bulk of it has been destroyed. What remains, however, gives a wonderful slice of life in a vibrant community whilst at leisure. In the words of Josef Pieper ‘the ability to uplift ones spirits in festivity, the power to be at leisure is the power to step beyond

the working world and win contact with those superhuman, life-giving forces that can send us, renewed and alive again, into the busy world of work' (1998: 35-36).

Mrs Morolong recalls that the beach photographs (Figure 60 and Figure 61) were amongst those that were the most popular, 'he used to take some photos mostly in December when factories were closing, they asked him to go and take some photos'. The beach allocated to non-whites in East London was Eastern Beach, this again is confirmed by captions in the *Daily Dispatch*. Here we see people enjoying themselves and embracing the Western fashion style of bathing suit and sunglasses with ease and aplomb.



Figure 60 - Two women and a man frolicking in the sea on a day off.



Figure 61 - A stylish woman poses for the camera, whilst enjoying a day at the beach.

People had photographs taken of their families and friends (Figure 62) to capture a memory, safeguarding a sense of who they were and to remind their descendants of their origins. These were images that ‘people chose to value, to treasure to conserve: ultimately to show or display and pass on to their children’ (Mofokeng 1998: 270).



Figure 62 - A family prepares to enjoy a celebratory moment together (none of the drinks are open yet).

There was a vibrant intellectual and social life that is counter to the apartheid narrative, that painted a picture of poor, desperate, unhappy black people. Music was another of Morolong's passions, so it is not surprising that he photographed fellow musicians performing and rehearsing (Figure 63). These show an important part of what was going on in the music world in East London at the time, capturing fleeting historical moments that were the epitome of the era. In the words of Jean-Loup Pivin:

Could a photograph from independent Africa to the 1950s to the 1970s - or indeed the future - be seen as anything other than an expression of communal values overlaid with the external manifestations of modern style? During this period, photography was a special form of expression, as was music, providing abundant proof to the individual, to his or her family and to the colonizing power, that attitudes were ready for the modern age: this meant honouring

everything in the way of autonomy, liberation and respect for the individual, but always in the context of shared community values. (Pivin 1998: 28)



Figure 63 - Zola Madyaka and Eric Nomvete rehearsing.

Nurses also feature quite prominently in the Collection. From the more playful shots, as seen in the image of the nurses in the car appearing in the *Dispatch* article above (Figure 43) and the one of nurses drinking tea (Figure 24) to the more formal posed shots of individuals (for example Figure 64) and groups.



Figure 64 - A nursing sister poses on the phone at her work desk.

Sadly very few of his photographs of people at the train station survived the fire. These show people in all their finery as they leave to visit other places or return home to loved ones. Even though there would have been separate coaches for non-White passengers, this didn't seem to dampen the festive mood of the travellers (Figure 65 and Figure 66).



Figure 65 - A glamorous group at the train station.



Figure 66 - Dressed up to the nines, ready for a journey.



Figure 67 - Woman gazes boldly at the camera while posing on a sofa in what appears to be a studio.

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While he was operating from his studio in Mdantsane there was apparently wallpaper on one of the walls that was used as a backdrop for portraits. Mrs Morolong, on being questioned about the existence of backdrops and props, said that people came in their own 'attire'. When pressed about these elements, she said it was unnecessary because they were fortunate as there weren't short of 'scenery' in East London, and that if people wanted something more interesting they would just go out to beach or elsewhere. The photograph above (Figure 67) and the two below (Figure 68 and Figure 69), while being some of the few images that look like they had more than likely been taken in his studio, do not display said wallpaper. However, they all do display curtains or fabric acting as backdrops. Although there are so few examples of studio-style photographs in the Collection, these give a good indication that he did do this kind of work.

People all over Africa were embracing studio photography and valuing images of themselves at the time. There was a vibrancy and excitement about the medium because it was newly accessible and prestigious. When speaking to Andre Magnin (2002: 68) about his own photography, Seydou Keita describes how people living in

the city had begun wearing European clothes and liked to ‘have their photo taken with stylish and fashionable clothes’ (2002: 68). Others would ask to be photographed with things that they wanted to show off. Both these tendencies are very similar to those of the people seen in Morolongs photographs, whether they went to his studio to be photographed or he went to their homes or elsewhere to photograph them.

One of the important aspects of African photography in its early days was that despite the colonial photographic model it developed an autonomous form quite unrelated to colonial subjects and styles... The distinguishing feature was the practise – almost standard among African photographers – of capturing their fellow country people on film, attired in their finest robes, in carefully arranged poses, with expressions suggesting that they were ‘conversing’ with the photographer and the camera lens. In these photographs, Africans were showing themselves to themselves. (Pivin 1998: 28)

This statement would have been made largely with reference to the studio photographers of West Africa, but can easily be applied to the work of Daniel Morolong. In essence, he was taking photographs of people that they wanted taken of them, how and where they wanted them taken, on their own terms. Figures 67-69 are examples of the few studio portraits that did survive the fire. All the portraits were shot in very different settings, emphasising the sitters’ individuality. These images were driven by what people wanted, not necessarily according to Morolongs own aesthetic. As Michael Godby has asserted, this kind of archive ‘represents nothing less than the triumph of ordinary individual experience over the dehumanizing machinery of apartheid’ (Enwezor & Bester 2013: 62).

The name of the studios is also wonderfully indicative of the ethos of the time - Morolex Ideal Studios. The name plays into the fantasy of modernism with all its desirability and perceived perfection - the *ideal*. To quote Bank:

Young people in particular did not want stories about tribal culture so much as to keep up with metropolitan styles, watch American movies and engage in dynamic new urban cultural forms and styles-in-the-making. (2010: 43)

The post-war rise in prosperity would certainly have contributed significantly to peoples ability to follow their material desires and aspirations, and to have them made more real by concretising them for all time, for all to see, in the form of a photograph.



Figure 68 - Young girl poses in the studio.



Figure 69 - Woman poses with newspaper in the studio.



Figure 70 - Woman poses outside the Guild theatre.

People wanted to show themselves having a good time or showing off their relative ‘wealth’ and modernity (Figure 70). Most people were captured in modern homes or situations wearing Western fashions, unlike people from the rural areas who were still wearing traditional clothing.

Another offshoot of this trend was that black women began entering beauty competitions (Figure 71), which had surprising political implications:

For the first time, black women were judged according to the ‘beauty queen’ concept. But apart from her vital statistics the ‘beauty queen’ was most often judged by the tone and hue of her skin – the lighter, the better. This use of colour as a measure of valuation was the cornerstone of the Population Registration Act. Often, if they were light-skinned, Africans were able to pass as coloured. This meant they avoided carrying the much detested *dompass*, and as coloureds were entitled to earn higher wages. (Schadeberg 1994: 17)

The Population Registration Act divided people into very specific race groups-black, coloured, Indian and white. The distinction between so-called coloured and black, or coloured and white, was made according to somewhat dubious criteria.



Figure 71 - Miss Black Lion poses triumphantly with her trophy.

The photographs in this Collection have the potential to break down the social stereotypes that people imagine existed in urban, black communities (especially East London) in the 60s in South Africa. Corrine Kratz (Associate Professor of Anthropology and African Studies at the time the book was published) whose book *The Ones that are Wanted* (2002) shows and discusses a travelling photographic exhibition of her photographs of the little-known Ogiek people of Kenya argues that:

Social stereotypes categorize and characterize people as types, where focused on ethnicity, gender, class, race or other social groups and identities. They summarize and generalize but are never neutral. (Kratz 2002: 105)

Also that

stereotypes essentialise a social group by fixing the identity of all its members in terms of a few properties. Group features are represented as fundamental and unchanging; the present is taken as eternal. (2002: 109)



The aim of her project was to break down stereotypes that were held of the Ogiek people. A stereotype can be described as an idea of a particular type of person that has become set through being widely believed. Morolong's photographs break down the stereotype many whites had of Blacks in South Africa being dirty, stupid and quite backward in many ways. This still holds true for some people, especially, when it comes to their ideas of how Blacks were living in the past.

An obvious benefit of the fact that Morolong is a Black man, is that he is photographing his own people, and thus does not come with biases or attitudes that a person of another ethnic group could hold. Further, because he is not an academic or ethnographer he does not display what Kratz refers to as 'ethnographic nostalgia' (2002: 183). This she explains as being

Commonly part of the Euro-American attitudes toward people in former colonial settings, this nostalgia sees other cultures through a regretful, sentimental scrim. It mourns the loss of "traditional" life's supposed simplicity

and naturalness, even while recognizing changes wrought through Western contact as inevitable “progress toward modernity”. (2002: 183)

Photographs can of course be ‘more about the enigmas of appearances than about the establishment of facts’ (Scott 1999: 61). Sometimes the romance of conjuring up our own interpretations or fantasies around photographs can be more deeply satisfying than being advised what to think about them. Or for that matter, being informed as to what exactly is being depicted in any particular image. Truthfully only the photographer can really do this with any real accuracy. Captions can however be very revealing, even if not for what they tell us about the photograph, but rather what we learn about the person writing the caption.

Captions



Entitling and encaptioning are delicate matters, because the status and reception of the photograph depend so much upon it, as does the nature of the photograph's survival. We might prefer the indexical title, a time-and-place title, because, although apparently so uninformative, it has the ability to open up the channels to the iconic and the symbolic, while preserving the latency of the photograph's perceptibility and semantic activity’. (Scott 1999:74)

The caption is what draws you in and makes you feel closer to the subject, possibly even to identify with it, providing a context in which to make sense of what you are looking at. Jean Mohr's experiment in *Another way of Telling* (1982) (Scott 1999: 58), in which he got several very different people to ‘identify’ (what kind of person the subject was and what he/she was doing when captured on film) the people in various images, illustrates how easily we can come up with an incorrect analysis of an image because of our own set of filters through which we view the world. Predictably each viewer had a very different perspective on what they were seeing, and all their guesses were inaccurate. Thus without a caption or title it is quite easy to misread and image.

Often it is the ‘photojournalist, who typically resorts to the caption to invest the image

with the desired proximity and actuality' (Scott 1999: 62). In this context finding Morolong photographs in the African Edition was especially interesting from the point of view of reading the captions. Firstly, they demonstrate the attitudes of the newspaper at the time, and at the same time they give new insights into what has been captured in the photograph. As Scott points out, the 'voice of the caption is the voice of the newspaper, not of the news' (1999: 106).

One photograph that was made particularly amusing in light of the caption was of three bodybuilders who had obviously taken the top the places in a competition. Clearly they were representative of the best in town, which they were, because they were the only three men to take part in the competition. Without the caption, this would have remained unknown.



Figure 72 - In spite of the fact that there were only three competitors to bid for the title of Mr. Eastern Beach last week-end, a large crowd turned out to take advantage of improved weather conditions and witness the musclemen go through their paces to show off their builds to the best of their ability. C. X. Kabase was placed first. He is seen on the high step of the victor's podium with Towboy Tafana (left) who gained second place, and Michael Gili (right) who had to be content in third position. The

contest, which was held in December 1962, was to have been held last year on December 31. Bad weather forced the organisers to cancel the event. Twice more the function was cancelled because of inclement weather before it finally came off.

Morolong has done a remarkable job of capturing the way all three are looking (or not) at the camera in such completely different ways. The top two don't look terribly convinced of their victory, while the third is looking down at the camera, asserting his superiority. The caption goes a certain way to explaining why the winner and the first runner up are not looking overly excited by their accomplishments.

Scott argues against titling or captioning by declaring that the 'photographic image is nomadic and unclassifiable, and we do better to release it into this mobility than to insist on its finding a place and having a cultural function' (1999: 66). While this whimsical approach is enticing it is not terribly practical when looking to fortify a particular history, as we are of East London. But a 'photograph without a title can, at the very least, be generically subversive' (Scott 1999: 70). This attitude helps when viewing the photographs that are uncaptioned. Without words to guide you, a photograph can continue to astound you each time you find new meaning in the image.

It is unclear how much influence Morolong had on how his photographs were captioned, but it is interesting to note, where possible, how information written on the verso of an image compares to the caption provided in the newspaper. (See below).

Further captions from the African Edition have been included in Chapter Two, above.

Captions on the back of photographs

Captions are densely coded representations, and they speak more to the epistemological concerns of the artist, curator or institution than appears in the photograph. (Parsons 2005: 24)

The following photographs from the Collection are the only ones that had some form of information on their verso. In some instances, they were stamps with a name or information for printing in the African Edition of the *Daily Dispatch*, and in others a written caption explains what is being depicted in the photograph. Unfortunately, this was only reflected on the back of a few of Morolongs photographs, however, when there is information it is often gives the name of the person in the photograph and describes where they were, or what they were doing. Because the information is given it can be surmised that these photographs were those submitted to the African Edition rather than taken for personal use by the individuals captured in the image. As the negatives were in his possession at the time he could make reprints for the people appearing in the picture.



Figure 73 - This picture was taken during the Health Celebration by the Winter Rose R.C. at the Community Centre, these three gentleman in the picture with their

Springboks [sic] colour is to this particular club of which they are members, here they holding -championship, zone & knock-out trophies they won last yr.

L+R. L. Mnyute – wing.

M. Bukashe – Centre.

J. Tiso – Hooker.

This picture was taken during the Health Celebration by the Winter Rose R.C. at the Community Centre, These three gentlemen in the picture with their Springboks colours as to this particular club of which they are members, here they holding - Championship Zone & Knock-out trophies they won last yr.
L+R. L. Mnyute – wing
M. Bukashe – Centre
J. Tiso – Hooker



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Figure 74 - Verso, scan of handwritten caption on back of photograph.



Figure 75 - L+R. Siphiwo Batala is been [sic] presented with a trophy by Mrs. D. Morakabi from Lukanyiso School Cambridge Location. Batala was representing the Senior Boys of Xabanisa H. P School.

With L+R. Siphiso Batale is been presented
 a trophy by Mrs. D. Morakabi from Lukanyiso
 School ~~Cambridge~~ Cambridge Location.
 Batale was representing the Senior Boys
 of Xabanisa H.P. School.



Figure 76 - Verso, scan of handwritten caption on back of photograph.



Figure 77 - A. Bangeni written in Studio Stamp. (Young man photographed wearing a suit while riding down a dust road on a bicycle.)

2



Figure 78 - Verso, scan of handwritten caption in studio stamp on back of photograph.

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Figure 79 - This are the members of the Guild Choir under Mr. V. Ngam all members of the Bantu Presbyterian Church can be seen here entertaining the Aged before and after the presentation of Blankets and pillows to the patient & inmates Old-Aged and Destitute.

This are the members of the Guild
 Choir under Mr. V. Ngam~~wa~~ all
 members of the ^{Bantu} Presbyterian Church
 can be seen here¹ entertaining the aged
 before and after the presentation of Blank
 ets and pillows to the ^{patients of} ~~the~~ Old Aged and
 Destitute



Figure 80 - Verso, scan of handwritten caption with studio stamp on back of photograph.



Figure 81 - 'Here Sister Mabel Mdaka of the Frere Hospital East London is presenting Miss D. Burke the retiring assistant Matron at the Frere Hospital for 30 yrs with a Jewel Box on behalf of the sisters in charge at the Hospital' (Verso).

The caption in the *Dispatch* reads: ‘Sister M. Mdaka presents a farewell gift on behalf of non-White charge sisters and sisters to Miss Burke the assistant Matron of the Frere Hospital who retires soon’ (*Daily Dispatch*, 30 May 1966).

What makes the comparison between the caption written on the back of the photograph, and the one that appears in the newspaper, is not only in terms of the grammar. Firstly, the newspaper chose not to inform the readers that the gift was a jewellery box. Secondly, it seems that the editor felt it necessary to tell the reader that the gift was from the ‘non-White’ sisters, creating a divide and making a clear metaphor for apartheid, even in the gesture of gift-giving.

Here Sister Mabel Mdaka of the Frere Hospital East London is presenting Miss D. Burke the retiring assistant Matron at the Frere Hospital for 30yrs with a Jewel Box ~~from~~ on behalf of the Sisters in charge at the Hospital.

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Figure 82 - Verso scan of handwritten caption with studio stamp on back of photograph.



Figure 83 - Name in stamp is Daniel (child/photographer).

DAILY DISPATCH

DATE: 24/10/63.

PAGE: A.E. P.3

SIZE: D/C 5"

SLUG: Mjayiya

SENT UP: 7.00 PM

WANTED BY:

SIGNATURE: (signed)



Figure 84 - Verso, scan of handwritten caption with studio stamp on back of photograph.

The caption written under the photograph that appeared in the African Edition was:

‘Children at the orthopaedic ward at Frere Hospital are not only taught the three Rs but also handwork. In the picture a young child tries his hand at basketry. Next to the child stands Nurse N. Mjajiya’ (*Daily Dispatch*, 24 October 1963).

Interestingly the child’s name is not given, and it could be that the name ‘Daniel’ that appears in the studio stamp refers in this case to the photographer.



Figure 85 - 29 APRIL 1966 (date stamp in studio stamp).

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Figure 86 -Verso, scan of studio stamp on back of photograph.



Figure 87 -

DAILY DISPATCH

DATE: 25/9/63

PAGE: AE P3

SIZE: X3

SLUG: MIYA

SENT UP: Wed

WANTED BY: (?) SIGNATURE: (signed)

(For the caption in the *Dispatch* see Figure 33, above.)

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DAILY DISPATCH

DATE 25/9/63

PAGE AE P3

SIZE x3

SLUG MIYA

SENT UP Wed

WANTED BY mi 6

SIGNATURE raf



Figure 88 -Verso scan of handwritten caption with studio stamp on back of photograph.

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Figure 89 -

DAILY DISPATCH

DATE: 12/9/63

PAGE: AE P3

SIZE: X3

SLUG: TEMBU

SENT UP: Thurs

WANTED BY: Fri 6

SIGNATURE: (signed)

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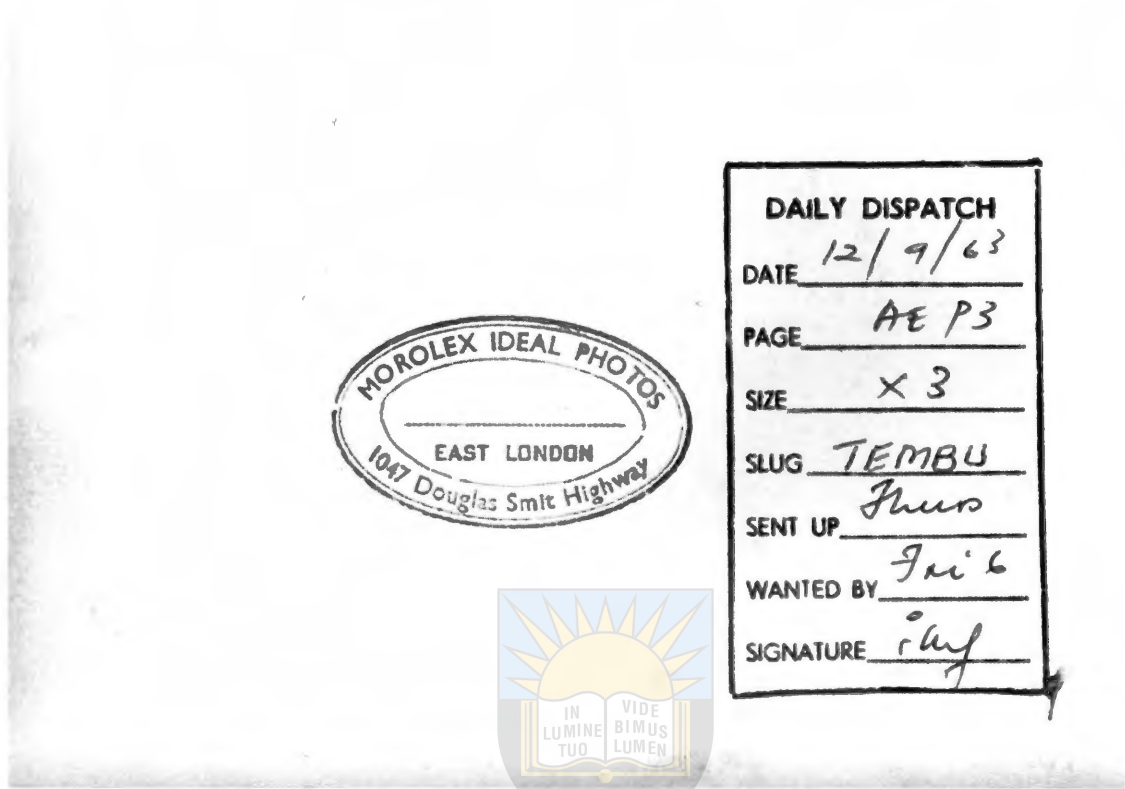


Figure 90 - Verso, scan of handwritten caption with studio stamp on back of photograph.



Figure 91 - studio stamp - Sister. E. Gcule.

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Figure 92 – Verso, scan of studio stamp on back of photograph.



Figure 93 -

DAILY DISPATCH

DATE: 6/10/63

PAGE: AE P3

SIZE: X3

SLUG: XAKEKILE

SENT UP: Sun

WANTED BY: Mon 6

SIGNATURE: (signed).

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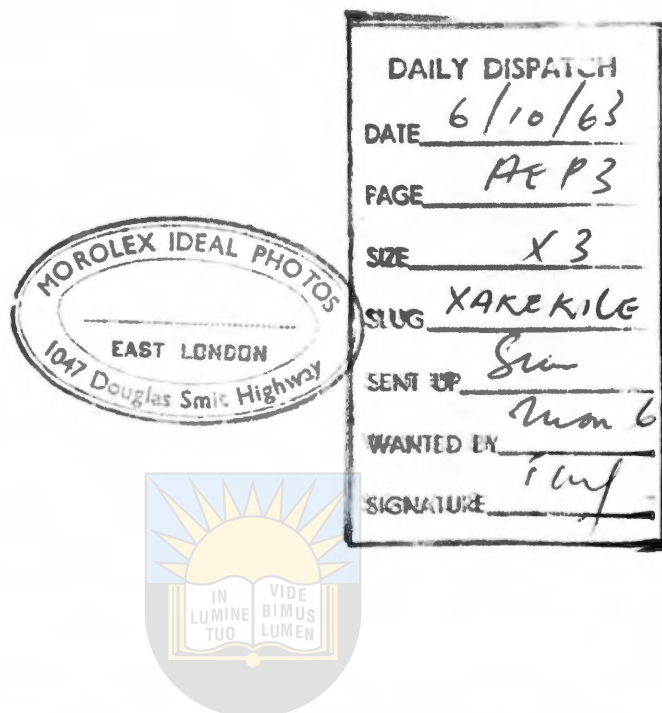


Figure 94 - Verso, scan of handwritten caption with studio stamp on back of photograph.



Figure 95 - Studio stamp - Miss P. Mlanjana.



Figure 96 -Verso, scanned studio stamp on back of photograph.

Sadly, it would seem that when a photographer is photographing his/her own community there is an assumption that the people and places captured are known, thus negating the need for any of this information to be recorded on the backs of photographs. This is in stark contrast to the likes of A.M. Duggan-Cronin (who made photographic studies of southern African indigenous people over a ten-year period in the early 1900s). His photographs were meticulously documented, his portraits often containing names, family histories and context in which they were taken (Parsons 2005: 62). Such information would obviously be invaluable when captioning the images if one wanted to give an accurate account of what was captured in the said image, rather than using it as an illustration for something else. Such is the freedom, or restraint that comes with a caption. Where there is none we are free to re-imagine the image, whereas a caption instructs us as to how to read it, limiting that freedom. A storyless photograph allows us more space to consider and re-consider it's meaning.

Conclusion

Photography is not writing. Its task is to restore to us the reality of a moment: that is, one version of reality. And it is into the space opened up by these myriad interpretations that narrative, which may become writing, surges. Photography then becomes the medium, the setting, the point of departure for a story... the photograph depicts only a fraction of a moment. It is not the moment. Photography can lure us into the trap of believing in the intrinsic value of the document, seeing it as a function of reality or as a symbol of truth which, inevitably, will be conferred upon it. (Njami 1998: 20)

‘And they are salvaged by the same set of chances that made them, the chances of chance encounters, of *punctum*, of seeing, by grace as it were, a coherence in the wonderfully and uncontrollably incoherent’ (Scott 1999: 74).

Morolongs photographs, or ‘cards’, as he called them, reveal a history by simply being and exposing a reality in black and white. This history has been added to by tracking where, how, and why they have appeared. Furthermore, looking at any captions that are available further informs us of this history and provides a visual prompt for people to recall events, places and people that they may not have thought of for a long time, had they not seen the photograph. This could be put to good use in the event of an exhibition being put together - a device whereby visitors to the exhibition could leave information and contact details could be provided to augment the study and lead to new information and interpretations. By tracking the history of the photographs and their circulation I was also tracking Morolongs movements to a certain extent, confirming for example that he worked for the *Daily Dispatch* in the 1960s.

Daniel Morolongs life history gives a new, more personal insight into how people lived in East London, at the time the photographs were taken. It also helps to put the photographs in the Collection into some context, as well as to locate the photographs he took during a particular time in South Africa’s history. Tracking the social biography of the photographs themselves adds yet another dimension to this

uncovering of hidden histories which was in itself revealed by their viewers' active engagement with the images which helped to unearth and revive memories from this era.

Through frequent publishing and republishing in different formats, many images acquired life histories of their own, and it is fascinating to trace their biography and gauge their impact. During their lives, photographs migrate from one medium to another and some become iconic in their power to communicate and influence. (Geary 2003: 17)

Consolidating and digitising the Collection provides a platform from which more research can be done. Digitising the photographs properly means that an exhibition can be mounted and they can also be used in other projects. Digitisation also means that it would be possible for researchers both nationally and internationally to view them should they be made available on the Internet (as are the images that were included in the University of Cape Town's Underexposed Project). As Cross and Peck point out:

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Photography, archive and memory are intimately connected. Memory and photography both involve the process of recording images that may be used to recall the past. Memory itself is often characterized as an archive: a store house of things, meanings and images. This gives the impression that one can appeal to memory in order to recover the past. Memory, however, does not take material or physical form in the way that photographs and archives usually do. It is not a photograph or a series of images to be gazed upon and it is not a library or database where records might be retrieved. (2010: 127)

Morolongs contribution to a visual history of East London is invaluable as it is a rare glimpse into urban life in the city during the years of apartheid. Although magazines like *Drum* were depicting Black, urban life they typically portrayed the three biggest cities in South Africa, these being Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban. Very few articles or photographs relating to the Eastern Cape were published in the entire history of *Drum*, in a way eliminating other parts of the country from our collective memory. As stated by Newbury, 'photographers do not merely record, but rather construct an image of society' (Newbury 2009: 7).

Most modern African portrait photography constitutes an attempt at straightforward depiction of a social self, more specifically, the African self. In these portraits, beginning in the late nineteenth century, the point of view is always centred on the subject, unlike colonial photography, which usually imagined the African subject as a specimen of some exotic investigation. (Enwezor, Snap Judgements, 25 cited in Newbury 2009: 3)

The photographs in the Morolong Collection reflect people displaying themselves. They are a reflection of how they want to be represented rather than having some one else's perception of them imposed onto them, thus showing their own version of their history directly. Olu Oguibe wrote, "the ritual of self-imagining would become the singular, most important sustaining framework for photography in Africa" (Oguibe cited in Newbury 2009: 3). By doing this Africans have given the world images that they feel portray them and their reality more accurately than the 'colonial eye' ever could. This breaks away from the role of photography in physical anthropology whereby it 'was used to classify and ultimately control colonial subjects' (Geary 2003: 17). Morolong's photographs break away from the mould of people being classified and shown in a way that would have suited the apartheid government to have them portrayed. At the same time on a more subversive level the subjects are 'fighting' against apartheid by living their lives despite the hardships that they were forced to endure. These are not the obvious images that the documentary photographers of the time were using to fight the struggle in their own way by exposing the horrors of life under apartheid, rather, they show a way of life that was lost when people were forcibly removed from their homes and communities.

As mentioned by Hayes et al. (1998), when referring to an exhibition by Okombahe photographers, '[u]nlike colonial ethnographic photography of 'the other', this photography here is an ostensible ethnography of closely intertwined people who represent 'each other'. This is re-emphasised by Edward Said (1983), cited in Naidoo 2003: 8)

Two concrete tasks ... strike me as particularly useful. One is to use the visual faculty ... to restore the non-sequential energy of lived historical memory and

subjectivity as fundamental components of meaning in representation. Berger calls this an alternative use of photography: using photomontage to tell other stories that the official sequential of ideological ones produced by institutions of power. ... Second is opening the culture to experiences of the Other which have remained 'outside' (and have been repressed or framed in a context of confrontational hostility) the norms manufactured by 'insiders'.

In the 'Life in Soweto' section of the Hector Pieterse Museum photographs are shown as part of the exhibit. As the curator commented, "this use of vernacular photographic imagery was a deliberate attempt to counter the perception, by tourists and white visitors, of Soweto as only a place of trouble and oppression; to offer an alternative visual record to that familiar from press and broadcast sources". (Newbury 2003: 304) The Morolong Collection is priceless in its ability to offer the same for the Black communities in East London. It shows a vibrant community that was largely embracing modernism in an area which was the birthplace of so many of South Africa's liberation struggle heroes, on the one hand, and also of aspects of South African jazz on the other. People still had parties, got married and took pride in their homes and appearances. By offering an alternate vision of the city at the time, the viewing and analysis of this Collection also allows for the history of East London to be re-imagined. It is a portal through which people can see themselves and their elders participating in a full rich life that went beyond the oppression they were subjected to, despite the hardships that had to be endured, while showing a remarkable resilience of spirit and offering inspiration to future generations. This may seem to be a naïve take on the life of blacks under apartheid, but much can be learned from witnessing others' response to adversity as well as the healing of some of the wounds inflicted by apartheid by *seeing* this. As Ashraf Jamal asks 'who in their right minds will, generations after the damage wrought by colonization and apartheid, persist in the cultivation of a psychic disfigurement factored into those social projects?' (Jamal 2010: 6).

The photographs do not always tell us something completely new, but they always reveal an aspect that adds to a history by making it tangible and recognisable. An example of this is where Leslie Bank talks about wigs that women were wearing in his book mentioned above. No amount of words will create an exact picture in one's

mind that will be a complete reflection of the reality of what exactly these wigs looked like and all the visual cues a photograph offers.

The consolidation of the Collection leads to a focused view of history at this time, making it come alive in numerous ways, providing the possibility of further excavation of hidden histories in the future.

The main aim and a great proportion of the time spent on this project was to search for, and find the photographs and any information on work previously done on the Collection. To digitise them all properly and do the necessary retouching, to collate existing information alongside the new information gained from new photographs added to the Collection and those that were found in the *African Edition* (after painstakingly going through each AE and comparing all the images to those in the Collection to identify duplicates). To track in detail where and how the photographs have been used to date, to put all the images in clear categories to make searching them easier and to interview Morolong and his wife to gain insight into the images and their lives. These goals have all been realised, however, there is much work that was beyond the scope of this research project that can and should still be done.

This all took an enormous amount of time, but the Morolong Collection is still in need of very serious and urgent intervention. Not only in terms of making it more available to the public and scholars, but more so in terms of clarifying who is responsible and accountable for the Collection and the need to have the physical photographs stored in the correct archival conditions to prevent deterioration and any further losses.

Considerable effort and time was also spent preparing and submitting a proposal to the National Heritage Fund (NHF) in 2010 for a professional exhibition of the Collection. Unfortunately, due to a technical hitch (on their side) they were unable to fund the proposed exhibition.

The proposal put forward a project that consists of developing and setting up an exhibition of the photographic Collection of Daniel Morolong. The initiative is aimed at documenting and celebrating the life and work of Daniel Morolong, and to bring to

a wider public this unique vision of the heritage of the Eastern Cape. In addition, thereafter, the exhibition could be made available (as it would be designed to be transportable) to various public, educational and heritage institutions and communities, and it is hoped that it will be displayed in many other venues in the Eastern Cape, as well as around the country and internationally.

The Morolong Collection is of significant value as these photographs, taken by a Black photographer in and around the townships of East London in the 1960s, provide a rare and unique local collection of images that show the cosmopolitan, diverse, engaged and dynamic lives of ordinary people making significant alternative lives under the oppression of apartheid. They thus represent an alternative society to the one of race imposed by apartheid. Here we see people embracing urban modernity with pride and dignity, in a the manner in which they wished to be represented as opposed to how the dominant colonial government would like to have seen and portrayed them.

It is my sincere hope that a source of funding to do the proposed exhibition can be secured in the near future, thereby preventing the Collection from disappearing into files or draws rather than being enjoyed and SEEN by a wide audience. As Metz argues,

[t]he photograph taken becomes an intervention and challenges a given set of power relations. Most importantly, for this to happen the photograph must enter the public domain, by way of exhibition, publication, etc. A photograph cannot become a social document if it lies forever hidden in a filing cabinet. Social documentary photography derives its meaning and its power in this public context. (Metz 1998: 2-3)

The Collection and exhibition thereof could serve as a springboard for discovering further collections in the Eastern Cape (especially Port Elizabeth and Queenstown which were central to the jazz scene in the Eastern Cape in the 1960s). This would be invaluable, as it would add to a vision of life that is, as yet, not available in such an accessible form in the province. The majority of popular imagery seen and available at present depicting this era is, for example, found in *Drum* magazine, and is of

Johannesburg (Sophiatown), Cape Town (District Six) and Durban, with very few views of any cities, or urban life generally in the Eastern Cape. As this Collection shows, this lacuna is not necessarily because these images do not exist but rather because they have not yet been located and made public. Work in this area should be done as a matter of great urgency, as there is a high risk of people not realising the value of historical images, and their negatives or slides and destroying or disposing of them, as it is a reality that many people who were in the photographs have already died, or can no longer remember much about the past due to old age.

Perhaps by ‘re-discovering the ordinary’ (Ndebele 1986: 152) aspects of life under apartheid, a kind of healing can occur, or in Ndebele’s words it ‘will result in a significant growth of consciousness’.

child
if you stop weeping, you may see
because that is how knowledge begins.



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(Mongane Serote in Ndebele 1986: 152)

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