A TASTE OF THE EMPLOYMENT BUREAU OF AFRICA (TEBA): MINING THE PAST

Henriette Latsky Special Collections and University Archives, Library and Information Centre, University of Johannesburg E-mail: henriettel@uj.ac.za

Received: 19 February 2007 Revised: 15 December 2007 Accepted: 15 December 2007

Abstract

This article describes the Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) archives housed at the University of Johannesburg, the origin of TEBA, and its impact on general history and mining history of South Africa and Southern Africa. It also explains difficulties and challenges involved in preserving and making its huge collection accessible to researchers. TEBA's history goes back to 1902 when the Chamber of Mines, founded the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) and the Native Recruiting Corporation (NRC) to obtain unskilled labour to work in the mines of South Africa. The following issues are highlighted: the theory and trends surrounding labour and specifically mining archives, resolving the issue of preservation versus accessibility, raising awareness with regard to the vast scope of possible research topics within the collection and the possibilities and future initiatives presented by the acceptance of custodianship of a very significant and exciting collection.

Keywords: TEBA, labour archives, mineworkers history, accessibility, preservation

Introduction

Archives are about people – their social interaction, the processes that they initiate, the ideas and material culture they create. Archival history shows that traditionally "for most of history, archivists collected

the papers of the rich, the powerful, the elite" (Mason 2002: 23). Contrary to this tradition, for at least 50 years, archivists all over the world have started to collect the neglected social history of the middle and working classes.

The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) Archives housed at the Special Collections and University Archives Department of the Library and Information Centre of the University of Johannesburg tells a similar story – it is a collection of material on a previously neglected category in our economic and social history – black mineworkers recruited from within South Africa and from surrounding Southern African states to work on the mines of the Witwatersrand. It has the potential to answer many questions. Is it possible to understand the experiences of ordinary mineworkers of almost a century ago? Is it possible to see how industrialization affected the lives of these ordinary workers?

Original documentary records of workers themselves are scarce because many were illiterate. It is however possible, through the business and official records of the organization that recruited them, to map their lives in all their diversity. It has to be mentioned that a commercial labour organization such as TEBA carefully keeping all its records and making them available for research is a truly remarkable phenomenon. Rumm (1988: 68) states that business records provide a unique glance at history as internal records of a company are focused on providing accurate and reliable information on every aspect of that business. It is thus possible in an indirect manner, to gain insight into the history of mineworkers, and to overcome the lack of, or inadequate and inaccessible primary records created by mineworkers themselves.

History of the Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) 1902 - 2007

The organization was founded in 1902 and is primarily responsible for the recruitment of mineworkers from all over Southern Africa for the South African mining industry. Its history can be summarized as follows:

Period 1902-1935

After the South African Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), the recruitment of mineworkers was problematic, as South Africans were not prepared to work on the mines on the Rand. Offers from all over the world were received to alleviate this labour problem, but correspondence states that neither the Finns, Russians, Italians, Afro-Americans, Indians, Somalis or Abyssinians offered by overseas recruiters, ever came to work on the South African mines (Gordon 1988: 30).

TEBA Limited was formally established in 1902 under its original name of Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) with the objective of assisting the growing Witwatersrand mining industry in sourcing and recruiting workers to work on various mines. In 1912, another company, also managed by the Chamber of Mines, the Native Recruiting Corporation (NRC) was formed to complement WNLA. The NRC recruited in the nearby British dependencies of Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland and in South Africa. WNLA or Wenela as it was known, for instance, in Mozambique, operated in the 'tropical' areas of Central Africa including Mozambique, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Angola and South West Africa. Almost 64 000 Chinese labourers were recruited on a temporary basis between 1904 and 1910, but were replaced with Shangaan workers from Mozambique.

Period 1936-1973

Between 1936 and 1973 the percentage of mineworkers recruited from within South Africa declined from 52% to 20% due to the diversification of the South African economy and better wages available in the manufacturing and public and private construction sectors (Malan 1985: 104). By the 1960s 78 percent of the total mining labour force of 400 000 were recruited from outside South Africa (Gordon 1982: 25).

Period 1974-1999

It was only in 1974 that WNLA and the NRC, later known as Mine Labour Organisation, merged to be known as TEBA Ltd. This acronym originated from Henry Taberer's name, one of the founder

members of the NRC. Taberer was called 'kwaTEBA' by the Xhosa speaking miners.

Wenela experienced some difficulty in the 1970s when in the first place, Mozambique became independent in 1975, and when an airplane with 74 Malawian mineworkers crashed on their way home. This meant that the 91 000 recruits from Mozambique diminished by 1978 to 35 000 and the 109 000 recruits from Malawi diminished by 1976 to 494 mineworkers. President Kamuzu Banda's ban on migrant labour for the mines was lifted in 1977 and business continued under the new name TEBA with 3 495 workers employed on the mines in 1977 (Chirwa 1996: 629). The ban had an impact on recruitment in South Africa and meant that the number of Zulu mineworkers increased from 4 500 in 1974 to 40 000 in 1981 (Gordon 1982: 23). In the 1980s TEBA processed up to half a million mineworkers annually (Gordon 1988: 3). It was believed at this point, to be the largest employment agency in the world (Davis 1984: 10). Wenela had at one stage 21 stations in Mozambique, but these were reduced to 4 in the 1990s (Head 1995: 96).

In 1985 TEBA had 150 offices throughout Southern Africa so as to manage the logistics of the 500 000 mineworkers per annum (Dellatola 1985: 28).

The present

Currently, TEBA Limited has 68 offices in Southern Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and South Africa. During the 1990s the number of mineworkers declined due to a stagnating real gold price, closure of certain mines, and increasing competition from low cost producers elsewhere (Head 1995: 92).

Active recruiting is a thing of the past, as unemployment forces many workers to volunteer for work on the mines. In 2001, TEBA Limited re-launched with a new commitment to apply its expertise to improving the lives of rural people.

A number of related services such as cash transmission (TEBA Bank), social support, communication services between migrant workers and their families, community support programmes such as the construction of roads, bridges and clinics are now offered by

TEBA (About TEBA development). There has also been a shift away from short-term contract workers in favour of career-orientated long-term employment on the mines.

Theory and trends regarding labour archives

Notwithstanding extensive bibliographic searches in numerous South African and global databases, little research has been done on specifically mining archives. Research done on labour archives and labour unions is however plentiful. There is a move in South Africa to actively document labour history, that is, the South African Labour History Project which is a joint project of the Labour Research Service and Khanya College (Woodstock). Their aims are to develop resources and to promote knowledge and understanding of the history of the South African working class (Welcome to labour history n.d.). Research libraries in America also initiated a labour archives project to evaluate holdings, processes, and future trends and came up with a list of recommendations that would assist union archivists in records management and with the forging of partnerships with research libraries (Connors 2002: 3). In this field, the TEBA collection is one of the important archives that can provide information on issues such as race, ethnicity, the role of the workplace, and workingclass communities in South Africa (Quigel 2005: 41).

Traditionally the main objective of archivists managing labour archives is to acquire, manage, and preserve those records, and most importantly to make them accessible.

Secondly, as a collection, a labour archive can be considered as a thematic collection. A thematic collection must be seen as an interdisciplinary collection of thoughts and records that can be used by multiple users from different disciplines interested in different topics. This implies that the archivist must think beyond the boundaries of a particular discipline and make a paradigm shift to ensure that maximum flexibility and searchability is the ultimate goal. "In the end, the thing that matters most to a scholar using a collection is the ability to discover the collection and to navigate within it..." (Rentfrow 2006: 310).

Thirdly, labour archives are often both housed and managed by the relevant body itself. Or as Quigel (2005: 26) states, in America they are mostly housed in an academic environment, that is, at universities. Universities that house many different collections have the challenge to try and keep a balance between the demands of a changing academic environment and the different stakeholders on the outside.

Finally, the archivist represents, in his curatorship of an archive, two distinct and different institutional cultures (Quigel 2005: 26). On the one hand the unique university culture requires that the archive has to stay true to its mission. On the other the archivist finds him/herself in a new role each time he/she interacts with a different donor and the institutional culture of the donor's organisation. The archivist has to devise, depending on how many collections are housed in his/her archive, many different documentation strategies and develop unique relationships with a variety of donors to manage all these different collections properly. Dealing with employees of a donor organization differs from strategies employed when reacting to volunteers overseeing the donation of the archive of a community or social grouping. Working with individual donors presents yet another set of challenges.

Acquisition of the TEBA collection

The acquisition of the collection by the Special Collections Department met all requirements of appraisal in terms of historical significance, legal and evidential value and informational content. Storage space did present a problem as the University of Johannesburg Library had to empty an existing donations storage room of approximately 100 square feet for the storage and preservation of the collection!

Why does a donor decide to transfer responsibility of a collection to another body? This step is usually taken for a number of reasons: lack of space, nobody to look after the collection, nobody to organize the collection and other priorities within the organization. The advantages for the donor of donating such an important archive to an academic institution are of course the focused preservation of their

history, the proper storage of all their records, the organized access to scholars, and the benefit of the staff's archival expertise (Gottwald 2005).

From the recipient's point of view, the functioning of an archive, in terms of acquisition and processing, is usually affected by the universal problem of dwindling financial support and economic downsizing. If the collection policy however, is aligned to the vision, mission and strategic objectives of the University, disinterest should not be a problem. With enthusiastic support from management and in our case academic initiatives from the Sociology Department, it was possible to formalize the transfer of the TEBA Archives to the Library.

With a university or a donor organization historical awareness, interest and even bias of persons responsible for collections is of prime importance. This ensures that records are carefully assessed prior to decisions being taken with regard to disposal. A formalised retention and disposal schedule regarding archival material is not often found in organizations.

The acquisition of a collection that has no gaps, or is complete, is rare. The TEBA collection is very comprehensive, even though a whole container filled with documents in Wenela's Mozambique office was destroyed before anybody could assess its historical value.

Processing of the collection

Repositories accepting collections are ethically bound to ensure that proper processing and preservation accompany the donations. In addition, archivists often experience unarticulated pressure from the donor to organize the collection and make an inventory as quickly as possible. This requirement can however be dealt with in a deed of gift or memorandum of understanding and can be worded as follows: "perform reference services in a timely manner" (Quigel 2005: 37). Fortunately, donors are usually quite willing and pleased to leave organizing efforts to the archivists and librarians on hand.

Coping with a huge collection consisting of 1700 boxes, containing approximately 3700 files (or pads as in TEBA terminology) and trying

to create order from the chaos with the aim of establishing physical and intellectual control over the archive, is a huge challenge.

With 1700 boxes this becomes a challenging obligation and because of the uniqueness of every collection, it becomes difficult to attach or decide on an appropriate time limit for the organization of a collection.

Difficulties experienced in the organization of the TEBA Archives

Archives usually originate from a particular function or activity and are not deliberately created for public consumption. They do not arrive with a tidy title page or chief source of information. One has to be guided by the history of the organization in one's efforts to organize the collection.

The planning of processing priorities, determining levels of arrangement and description, establishing standards and procedures for processing are of vital importance in the successful management, and intellectual and physical arrangement of such a huge collection (Hackbart-Dean and Catanzaro 2002: 125). This is however a daunting task and sometimes starts on an intuitive note.

The TEBA Archive came to us disorganized, and in a very dusty state. Usually when one starts to organize a collection, everything that belongs together, is grouped together. One would usually sort a collection according to series, such as official correspondence, reports, minutes, and sub-series according to for instance subject matter, format (photographs, films, slides), etc. With TEBA that was not possible. It was almost impossible to sift through 1700 boxes, and then decide what information belongs together.

We decided to apply the archival rule of keeping a collection in its original order and organizing it according to office of origin or records creator. We started at one end of the room in which we house the collection and waded through all the boxes. We did however discover the following: during the 100 years of collection and management of the files, the different keepers of the 'gold' each had their own brainwave and ideas and created almost 20 different filing systems. Fortunately, it was possible to interfile all these different systems into

two separate filing systems – one for WNLA and one for the NRC. Item level control in which each item is described was not viable in the TEBA collection. If, in future, certain boxes are used more extensively than other, detailed summaries of files can be considered.

An example of the end result of the completed file system is as follows:

ORGANISATION	WNLA
FILE NUMBER	28
CONTENTS (PADS)	Pad 1-2
FILE TITLE	East Coast: Tenders etc. for Native clothing supplies for Lourenco Marques
PAD TITLES & DATES	Pad 1 01.01.1923 - 31.12.1923 Pad 2 01.01.1924 - 30.09.1925
NOTES	

ORGANIZATION	WNLA
FILE NUMBER	28/1, 28/1A & 28/2
CONTENTS (PADS)	
FILE TITLE	Under vests "Berwickshire" shipment and claims
PAD TITLES & DATES	28/1 Clothing 29.12.1922 – 14.01.1941 28/1A R. Morley 28.09.1940 – 05.12.1940 28/2 Blankets, leather belts 03.11.1922 – 27.09.1943 28B/3 05.09.1929 – 04.10.1940
NOTES	

ORGANISATION	WNLA	
FILE NUMBER	28A	
CONTENTS (PADS)	Pad 3-4	
FILE TITLE	Medical Requireme Hospital	ents Johannesburg
PAD TITLES & DATES	Pad 3 01.03.1935 - 19 Pad 4 30.05.1940 - 25	.04.1940 .11.1957

NOTES	·
MOIES	

ORGANIZATION	WNLA
FILE NUMBER	28E/1
CONTENTS	Pad 1
(PADS)	
FILE TITLE	Supplies of mealie meal
PAD TITLES &	
DATES	Ressano Garcia 02.03.1923 – 16.02.1956
	28E/3 Pad 1 Supply of bread to Stegi &
	Breyten 05.06.1941 – 08.05.1946
	COTA Ded Tenders for supply of coal -
	28F/1 Pad Tenders for supply of coal -
	Ressano Garcia 21.05.1923 – 20.11.1961
	28H/1 Pad1 Supplies of mealies and mealie
	meal to Zoekmakaar and Pafuri port.
	Government at Pafuri 14.07.1932 -
	1
	04.03.1957
	28I Pad 1 Supply of mealies to Ressano
	Garcia 05.09.1922 - 16.03.1951
NOTES	·

ORGANISATION	WNLA
FILE NUMBER	35C/5
CONTENTS	Pad 1-2
(PADS)	
FILE TITLE	Repatriation general file (East Coast)
PAD TITLES &	Pad 1 10/01/1924 - 14/12/1935
DATES	Pad 2 04/01/1936 - 21/02/1946
NOTES	For further correspondence see file C.3b

As the original numerical list of the filing system was missing we decided to recreate this system. An example reads as follows:

WNLA file number	File title
18	Estates of deceased Natives : particulars of monies found on Natives dying in WNLA

	hospitals at Johannesburg and Witbank
	18/2 Native Labour conditions on Collieries
	NRC distribution of Native Labour
19	Theft and other matters re Portuguese Natives
20	Diseases South African Red Cross Society 20A Cerebral spinal meningitis cases among
	Natives
	20B Diseases and epidemics: tropical diseases:
	hookworm infection, sleeping sickness,
	bilharzias, malaria, general yellow fever,
	treatment of malaria
	20C Epilepsy and general mental diseases
	20D Pneumonia
	20E Union Collieries medical cases: debility, poor
	physique, minor ailments of new recruits and
	complaints from companies
	20F Plague
	20G Leprosy
	20H Small pox and chicken pox: Vaccines
	201 Foot and mouth disease
	20J Typhus fever and typhoid 20K Venereal
	20L Tuberculosis
	20M Defective vision
	20N Miscellaneous
	20/17 Report of Committee appointed to enquire
	into colliery conditions, unpopularity of colliery
	work among East Coast Natives, and steps taken
	to eradicate it, Inspector's reports on visits

NRC FILE NUMBER	FILE TITLE
1	Native Affairs Department: Policy of Corporation, etc
2	Articles of Association and Agreement
4	Repatriation of sick Natives
5	Spanish Influenza

<u> </u>	
11	Staff Head Office
13	Board of Management – General
14	Native Affairs Department : Licenses
16	Re Engagement of Natives: Payment of
	Bonus
17	Umteteli wa Bantu

Preservation issues versus accessibility

Stam (2001) argues that Special Collections within academic research libraries have to furnish people with elements of uniqueness that separates them from other libraries. Special collection sections contain those elements of uniqueness. We need to place a higher priority on access to unprocessed material and try in that way to encompass and entice more researchers to use our collections. The challenge is to not be left behind in the whole drive towards open access.

Size is the outstanding characteristic of twentieth century archival collections. In big university archives that often receive large donations, a huge backlog can develop. Stam (2001) notes that, "the whole problem of uncatalogued and inaccessible unprocessed materials is passed over far too lightly". His words "make access happen" must be the motto. In 2001 the Association of Research Libraries Task Force on Special Collections (2001-2006) asked that an action plan be adopted that will make certain that "access to collections and backlogs are enhanced, and that hidden collections must surface". The American 2003 Conference on Exposing Hidden Collections highlights the problem of donations which for decades gather dust in dark basements, unorganized, uncatalogued and hence unusable (Hidden collections conferees call for local and collective actions 2003). In a 'young' institution such as the University of Johannesburg, such backlogs do not exist but we do face the reality of the vastness of the TEBA Collection.

In the preservation of a collection according to archival holdings maintenance standards, the removal of dust, old clips, and rusty pins, old and torn files with rusty hooks is the norm. With the processing of 1700 boxes, speed does become an issue. Therefore, it was decided not to fulfil these preservation standards and rather complete the inventory for impatient researchers. We, as Thompson (2005) aptly says "sacrificed archival perfection for speed".

The "archival perfection" or merely proper preservation of this collection however has to be addressed and not ignored. Obtaining archival boxes for 1700 old, broken and dusty boxes also created a problem. We settled for new non-archival boxes with files wrapped in archival paper to extend their lifetime. We also decided that archival maintenance procedures would be implemented as boxes are used by the researchers. In addition, issues such as acidity, fragility, encapsulation of certain documents, and remedial restoration would at a later stage have to be considered in the preservation of some of the 100-year old documents (Ngulube 2003: 50).

Digitizing a large collection

The digitization of a large collection such as the TEBA Archive is extremely problematic. Issues such as volume and format play a big role. We have in the collection, but still to be collected from TEBA, hundreds of old film reels. TEBA had a huge film production unit that produced information and training films that were shown to the mineworkers. As the availability of an appropriate film projector, handling of old films and availability of suitably trained staff to show these films will always remain a problem, the migration of these 5mm films onto DVD has become a priority. This implies funding as the migration of one such film onto DVD can cost up to R300. This does however provide the opportunity to start a thematic digital collection which can help to create a community of scholars from different fields and countries (Rentfrow 2006: 308) working on and interacting with the collection. The advantages of an efficient and well conceived digitized collection is "timely and easy access to materials held in other parts of the world, enhancement of object quality, integration of primary sources into teaching, across-text/s searching, multi-media presentation" (Rentfrow 2006: 308). A thematic digital collection also enhances the immediate availability of different and heterogeneous

formats of information available and collated in electronic format and ensures ease of access and the preservation of original footage.

Digitizing the TEBA Collection is however still in a planning stage and will have to start with the migration of the film collection onto a safer and more accessible format. However, the random digitization of some of the material by a suitably experienced user of the collection could benefit this process. In theory, a digital collection would have to be designed with the ultimate goal of supporting research and thus would have to include a mix of different record types. It can and must include not only different role players (i.e. the skills of computer experts, librarians and archivists, financial staff, intellectual property expert, etc) involved in a digitization project, but should also make use of the input and work of different researchers as co-authors of a successful thematic digital collection. The ultimate achievement is the manipulation of metadata to the best advantage of the researcher. "Metadata, or data about data and information about information, includes the structured information that describes, contextualizes, locates, and explains an information object, making it possible to retrieve, use, manage, and link information resources" (Rentfrow 2006: 311).

The preservation issues surrounding a digitized thematic collection are also problematic and should be addressed in the initiation and planning phase. Daniel Pitti argues that "the most successful and sustainable projects are those whose creators have a clear grasp on the intellectual objectives, technological requirements, economic restrictions, and collaborative needs of the collection" (Rentfrow 2006: 312).

Providing access to the vast scope of material within the collection

The TEBA Archive offers a vast scope of possible research subjects: from broader subjects such as health, wages, transport logistics, transport infrastructure, labour migration, insurance, etc, to more specific subjects such as miner's phthisis, weather patterns, methods of transport, valid re-employment guarantees (Chirwa 1996:634), remittance systems, housing, food, clothing, foreign migrant workers, medical research, the pioneering of mass miniature radiography,

recruiting officers, etc. The possibilities are endless. Archivists, who recognize all these possibilities, tend to chafe at the bit in their impatience and anxiousness to have this literal gold mine of research possibilities exploited and developed.

An interesting example of research done on a mining archive is the article by Auyeung, Lei Fu and Zhixiang Liu (2005: 73) on the double-entry bookkeeping principles used in the early-twentieth century in the Chinese salt-mining businesses in Zigong. This shows that even boring bookkeeping records and invoice slips can shed light on business practices as well as the business environment of, for instance, South Africa in the 1920s. The impact of the Second World War on South Africa and the mining industry can be investigated, business partnerships, the role of the small entrepreneur, methods of production, prices of materials and food, clothing, the procedures to remunerate labour, the methods of distributing wages, profits and bonuses, and clandestine recruiting, are but a few examples of possible avenues for further research.

The bulk of the paper collection of TEBA contains correspondence, incoming and outgoing letters by company officers. These letters provide insight into company policies, managers' attitude towards these policies, working conditions, treatment of workers, concerns of employees, and many more. As a rule business correspondence cuts out the frills and discusses business realities (Rumm 1988: 86). Interfiled with these letters one would also find monthly or occasional reports on various issues.

The paper collection also contains monthly and annual reports, minute books (the older ones are handwritten, beautifully bound and meticulously indexed), internal communications or circulars which provide very accurate information as they were used as communication tools (surely staff a hundred years ago also complained about insufficient communication channels!), statistics, invoices for acquisitions, ledgers, employee records (which contain valuable biographical information). To date we have not yet indexed or received the photographs, films and other ephemera which will definitely open more exciting research possibilities.

Completion of the filing system provides a rough guide to subjects and dates. We will however have to initiate a project that will provide more detailed access to the collection. Researchers tend to want more personalized narratives about individuals in a business archives, and since this is often not available, sometimes tend to leave frustrated. It is necessary, as research trends change, to redescribe the conventional descriptions of a collection so as to better suit the needs of the researcher. Rabins found that the compilation of an index as a supplement to a folder inventory provides the best solution to this problem (1988: 59). Fortunately the use of a database's keyword function simplifies subject searches, but still depends on how much detail the archivist initially added to the database. The adage "garbage in is garbage out" remains true!

Future of such collections

The irreplaceable TEBA Archive documents our mining history – it is of immense educational value and serves as reminders of South Africa's important mining heritage and the people whose labour contributed to its development. The TEBA Archive provides a unique source of primary resource material and its value lies therein that the information within the archive knows no boundaries. It is not only relevant to mining historians, but is relevant for the clarification of many other topics. It represents the lives of hundreds of thousands of workers involved in the mining industry who migrated to the Witwatersrand, trying to make a living for their families and for themselves.

These new horizons challenge the archivist to make this unique material accessible – we have to reconstruct the archives to align it to newly developed research methodologies and the diverse research community (Quigel 2005:43).

Sometimes these new horizons will cover uncomfortable or unsalutory aspects of TEBA's history, for instance the exploitation of workers, diseases among workers, or the retrenchment of Malawian migrant workers in the late 1980s (Chirwa 1997: 628). Nevertheless, it is necessary to provide a balanced view of mining and recruitment events to understand the impact of one recruitment agency, not only

on a huge geographical area, but also on the social and economic history of Southern Africa.

Conclusion

The TEBA collection is an archive about ordinary men; each with a representative and historically significant story to tell. Recording the history of ordinary men prevents selective forgetting and brings us closer to a holistic worldview "in which difference among people is recognized and respected and which records the commonality of human striving in all its variety and complexity" (Mason 2002: 31).

The priorities of the Special Collections Section of the Library of the University of Johannesburg in the drive towards an accessible TEBA collection encompasses not only effective processing, but also information and marketing sessions on the wealth of information contained in the collection. Let us all get our hands dirty – literally and figuratively and show the next generation that effective archiving is the key to unlocking and presenting the past to the future.

References

- About TEBA development. n.d. [Online]. Available WWW: http://www.teba.co.za/tebadev/about_overview.asp (Accessed 23 April 2007).
- Association of Research Libraries Task Force on Special Collections. 2001-2006. [Online]. Available WWW: http://www.arl.org/rtl/speccoll/spcolltf/ (Accessed 23 April 2007).
- Auyeung, K. P., Lei Fu and Zhixiang Liu. 2005. Double-entry bookkeeping in early Twentieth Century China. *Business History Review* 79(1):73-97.
- Chirwa, W. C 1996. The Malawi government and South African labour recruiters, 1974-1992. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 34(4):623-642.
- Chirwa, W. C 1997. "No TEBA...forget TEBA": the plight of Malawian ex-migrant workers to South Africa 1988-1994. *The International Migration Review* 31(3):628-654.
- Connors, T. J. 2002. Preserving the historical record of American labor: union-library archival services partnerships, recent trends, and future prospects. *Library Trends* 51(1):85-101.

- Davis, I. 1984. Teba. Informa 31(6): 10-13.
- Dellatola, L. 1985. Golden lifeline. Southern Africa Today 2(4):24-29.
- Gordon, D. 1982. Die mense van die hemel: 'n stam van krygsmanne betree die bedryfsmilieu. *Mynwese* 1/2:21-32.
- Gordon, D. 1988. Seventy-five years of employment. *Mining Survey* 2/3:2-13.
- Gordon, D. 1989. A knock at the door. Mining Survey 3: 24-30.
- Gottwald, M. 2005. Going beyond our walls: collecting the records of outside organizations. International Council of Archives/Section on University and Research Institution Archives Seminar 2005, Michigan State University. [Online]. Available WWW: www.archives.msu.edu/icasuv/presentations.htm (Accessed 23 April 2007).
- Hackbart-Dean, P and De Catanzaro, C. 2002. The strongest link: the management and processing of archival collections. *Archival issues* 27(2):125-136.
- Head, J. 1995. Migrant mine labour from Mozambique: employment prospects and policy options in the 1990s. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 13(1):91-120.
- Hidden collections conferees call for local and collective actions. 2003. [Online]. Available WWW: http://www.arl.org/rtl/speccoll/hidden/EHC_conference_summary.s html (Accessed 23 April 2007).
- Le Blanc, A. 1988. Tracking the worker's past in Quebec. *Archivaria* 27:25-34.
- Malan, T. 1985. Migrant labour in Southern Africa. Africa Insight 15(2):103-114.
- Mason, K. M. 2002. Fostering diversity in archival collections: the lowa women's archives. *Collection Management* 27(2): 23-31.
- Murphy, J. A 2003. Preserving minerals and mining history at the Eagle Mine: Gilman District, Colorado. *Rocks and Minerals* 78(5):324-329.
- Ngulube, P. 2003. Preservation and access to public records and archives in South Africa. D.Phil, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Quigel, J. P. 2005. Reconstructing or deconstructing labor archives? Shaping labor collection development in an uncertain future. *Journal of Archival Organization* 3(4):25-48.

- Rabins, J. 1988. Redescription reconsidered: current issues in description and their applications for labour archives. *Archivaria* 27:57-67.
- Rentfrow, D. 2006: Thematic research collections and women's studies. *Women's Studies International Forum* 29:307-316.
- Rumm, J. C. 1988. Working through the records: using business records to study workers and the management of labour. *Archivaria* 27:67-77.
- Stam, D. 2001: "So what's so special?": Building on strength: developing an ARL Agenda for Special collections; Working Symposium on the Future of Special Collections in Research Libraries, June 2001. [Online]. Available WWW: www.arl.org/rtl/speccoll (Accessed 23 April 2007).
- Thompson, D. C. 2005 What is processed? International Council of Archives/Section on University and Research Institution Archives Seminar 2005, Michigan State University. [Online]. Available WWW: www.archives.msu.edu/icasuv/presentations.htm (Accessed 23 April 2007).
- Welcome to Labour History. n.d. [Online]. Available WWW: http://www.labourhistory.org.za/frames.htm (Accessed 23 April 2007).