

IN THE SHADOW OF THE GREAT WHITE QUEEN

The Edendale Kholwa of Colonial Natal,
1850-1906



Sheila Meintjes

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Occasional Publications of the Natal Society Foundation

PIETERMARITZBURG

2020

In the Shadow of the Great White Queen: The Edendale Kholwa of Colonial Natal, 1850–1906.
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Natal Society Foundation website: <http://natalia.org.za/>

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Printed and bound by: CPW Printers, Pietermaritzburg.

ISBN 978-0-6398040-0-2

Cover illustration from Lady Barker's *A Year's Housekeeping in South Africa* (1879)

*This book is dedicated
to the people of Edendale,
to the memory of those who struggled for recognition as citizens
and against the degradations of colonial settler rule*

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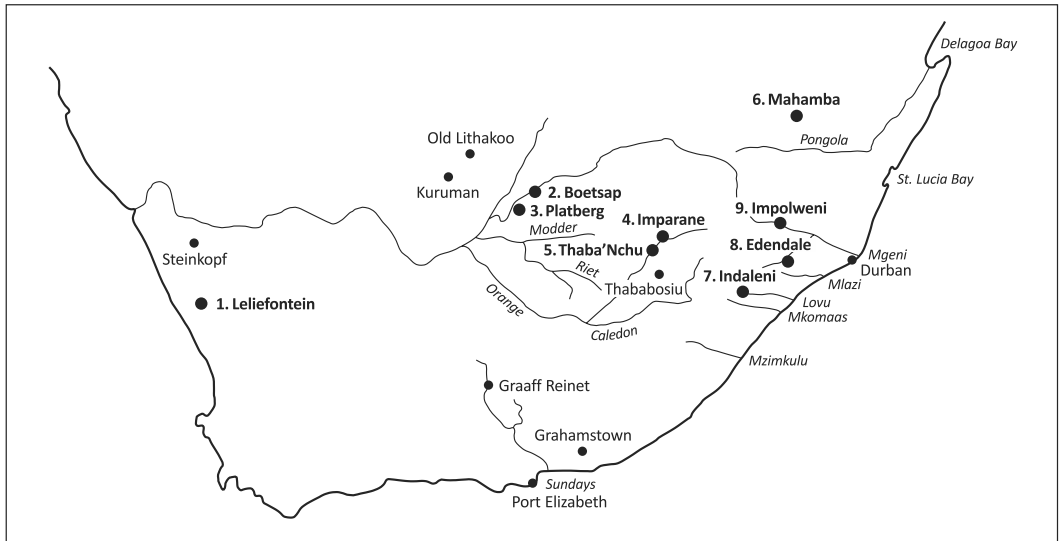
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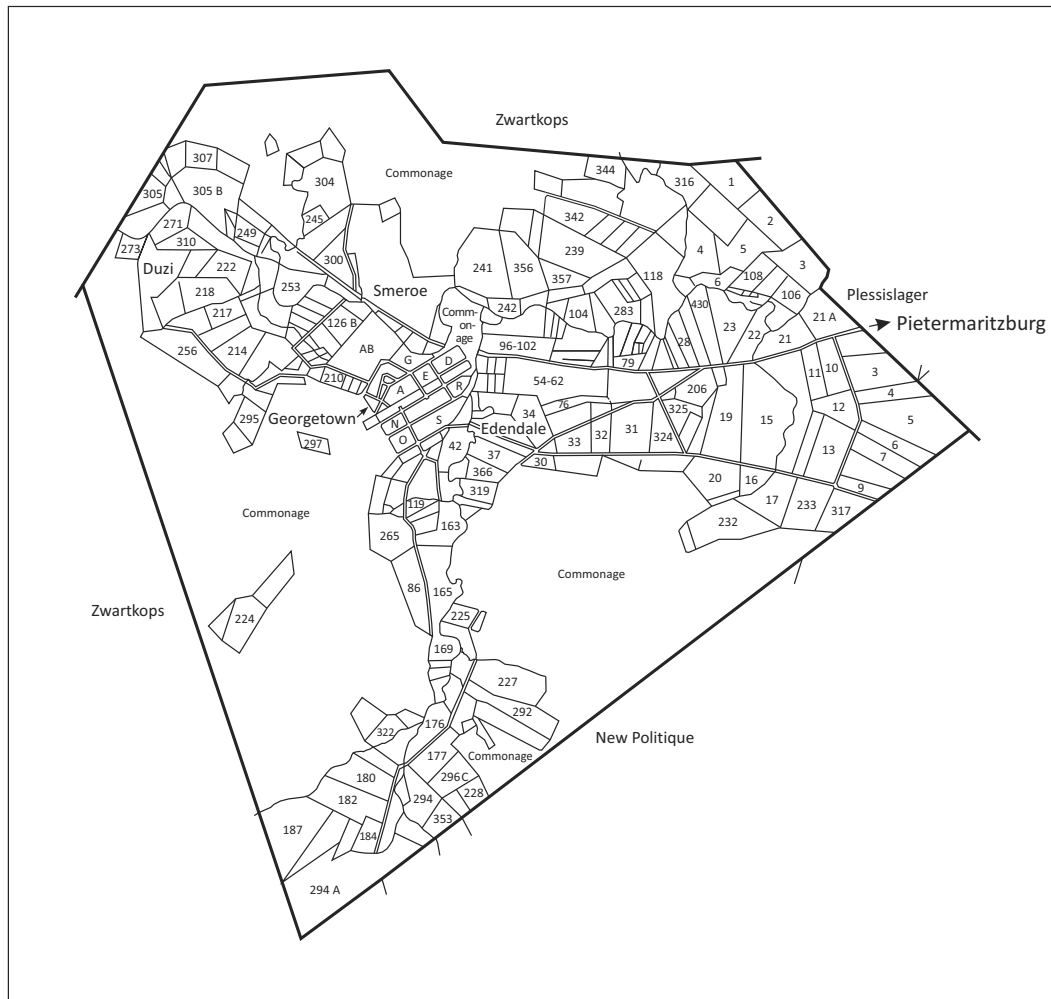
ABBREVIATIONS

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
AGO	Attorney-General's Office
CO	Colonial Office
CSO	Colonial Secretary's Office
cwt	hundred weight
DNA	Department of Native Affairs
ed.	editor/edited
GH	Government House
GN	Government Notice
<i>NGG</i>	<i>Natal Government Gazette</i>
NNAC	Natal Native Affairs Commission
NNC	Natal Native Congress
NWM	Natal Wesleyan Missionary Society
PDR	Public Debt Register
SANAC	South African Native Affairs Commission
SC	Supreme Court
SD	selected documents
SGO	Surveyor-General's Office
SNA	Secretary for Native Affairs
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
USNA	Under-Secretary for Native Affairs
vol.	volume
WO	War Office

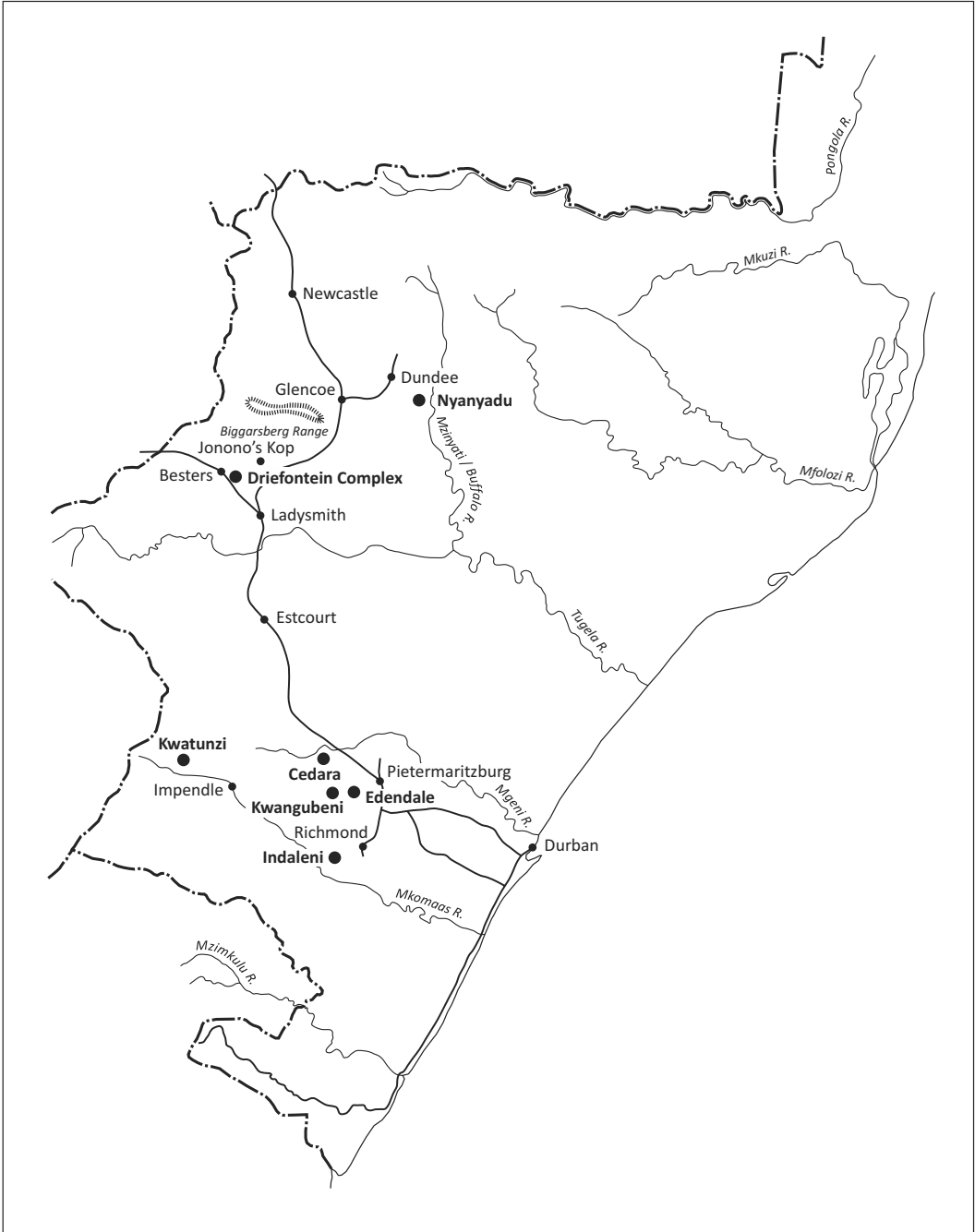
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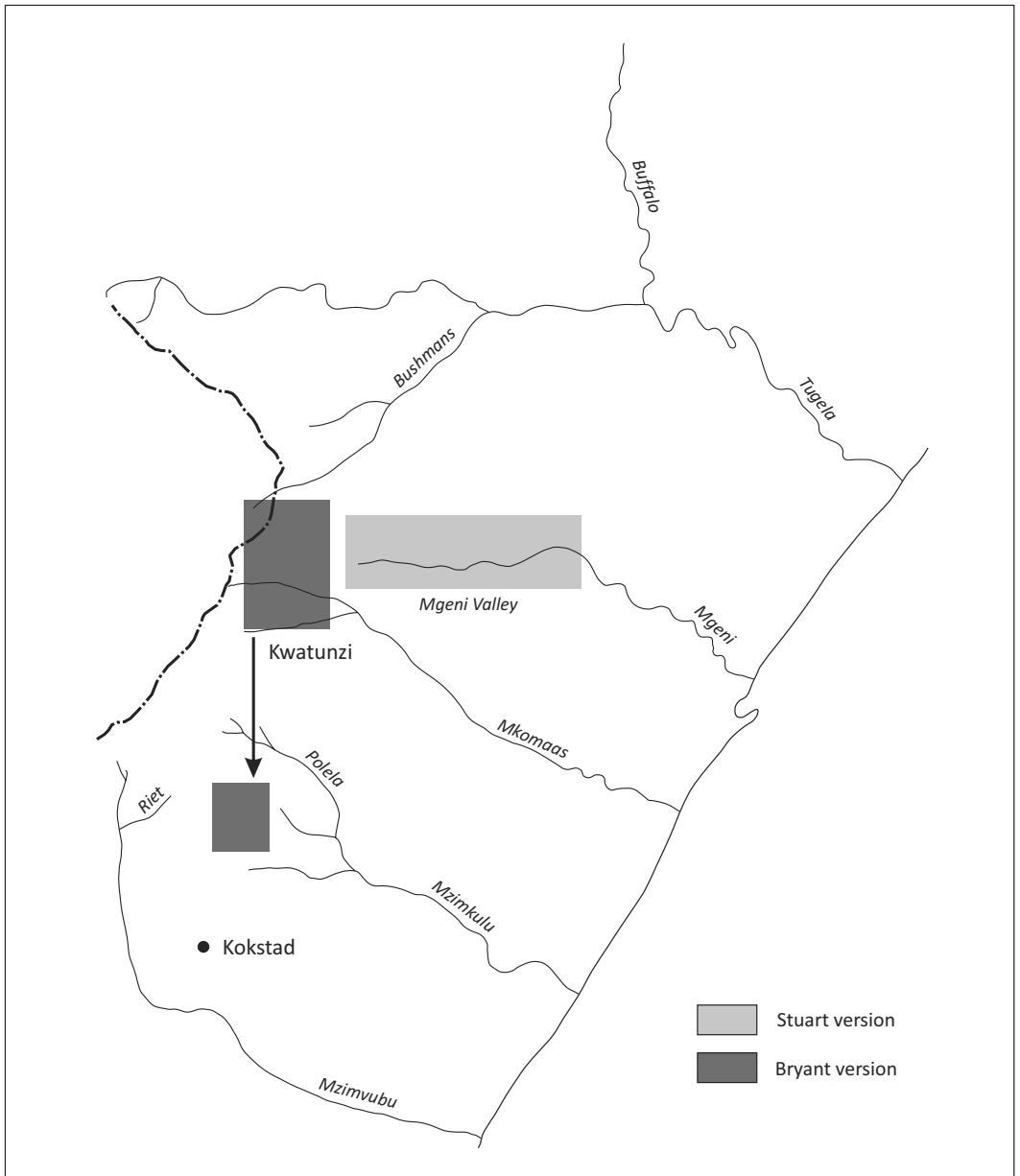
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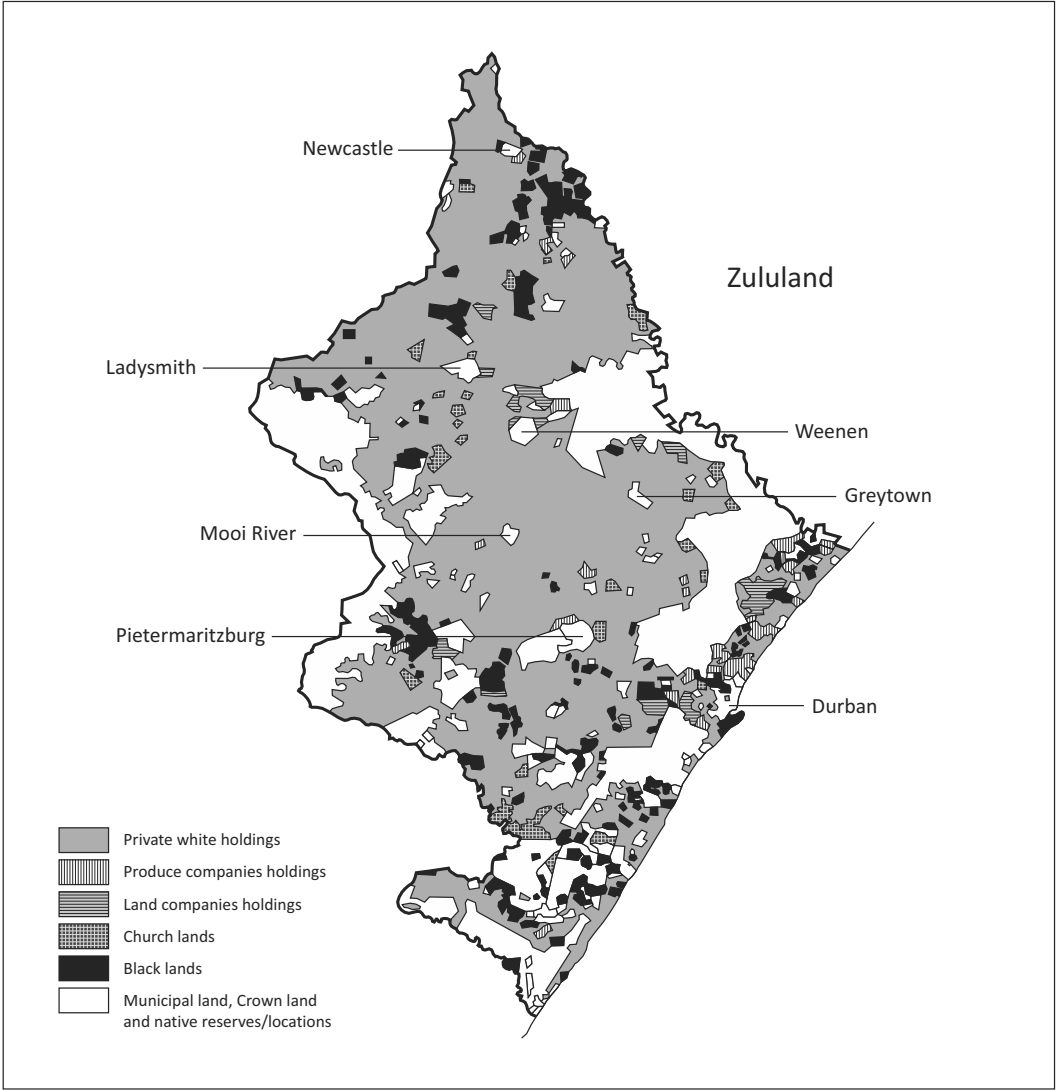
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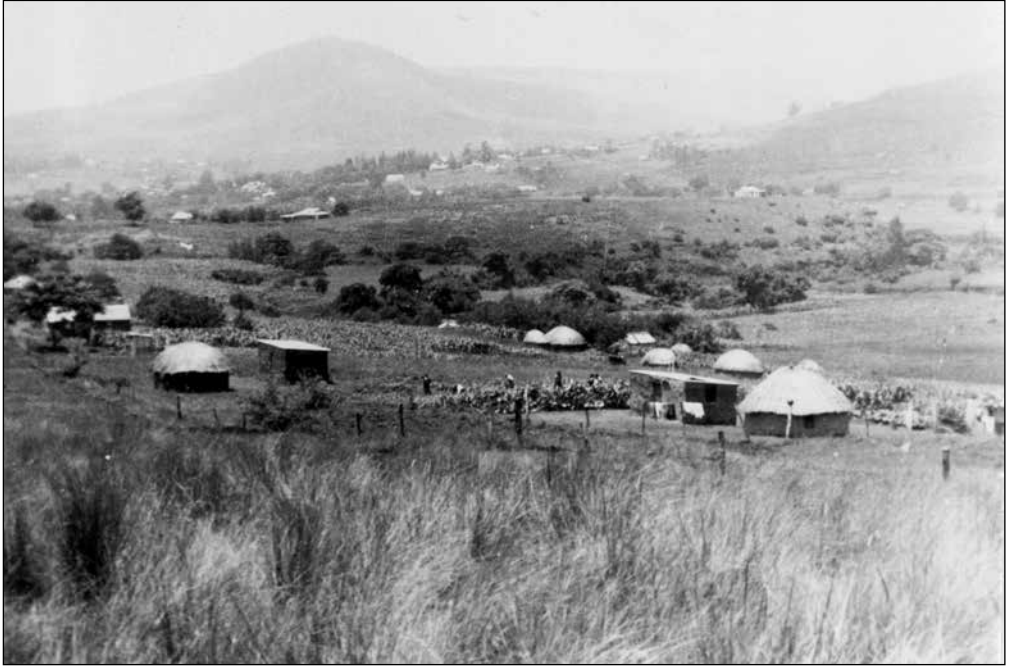
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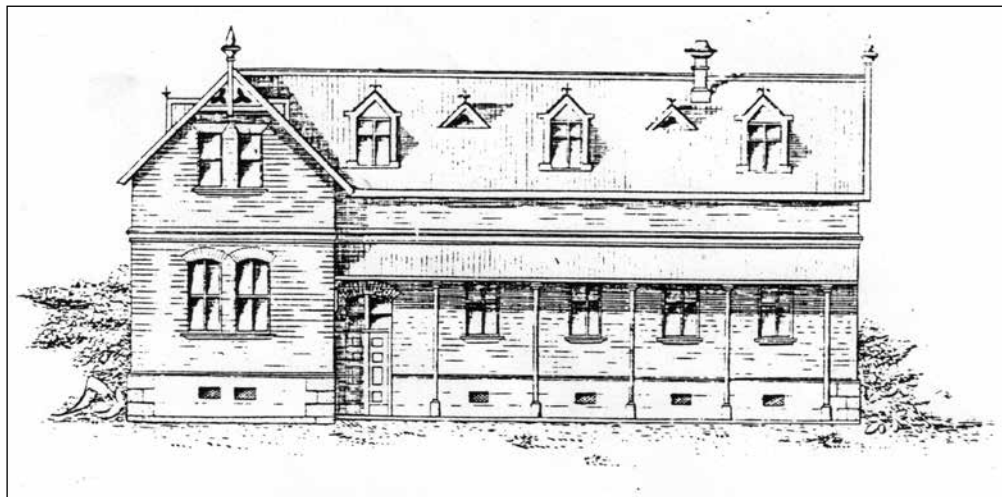
Map 5 Colony of Natal landownership, 1910



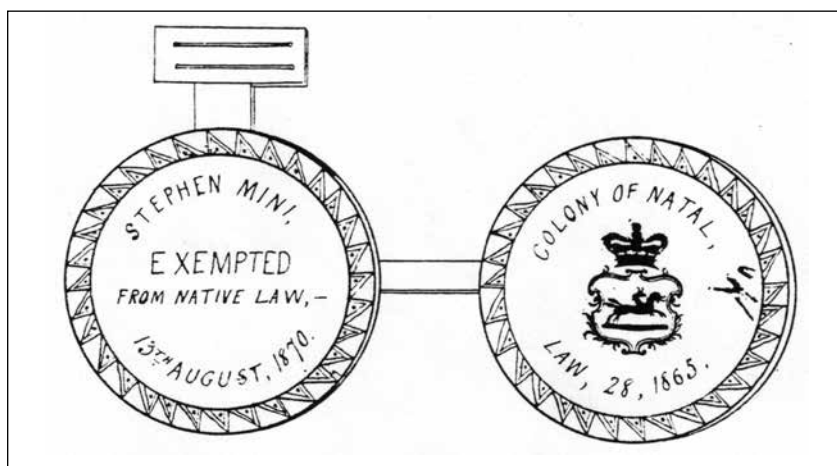
Edendale, c.1930: Georgetown is nestled at the foot of the hill in the background (note the mealie fields)



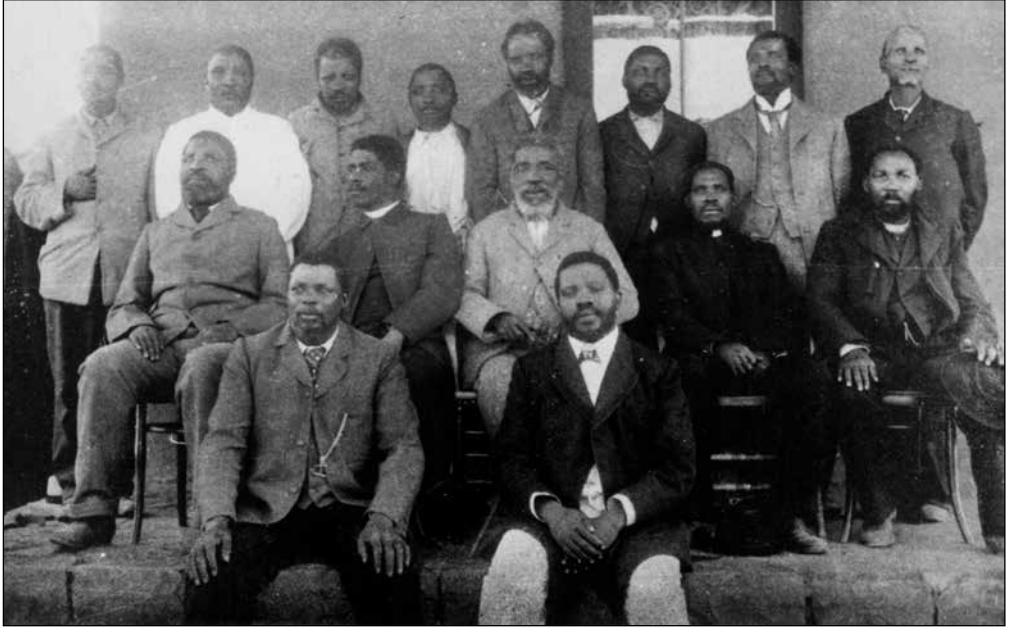
Edendale falls, c.1930 (courtesy E. Tate, Durban)



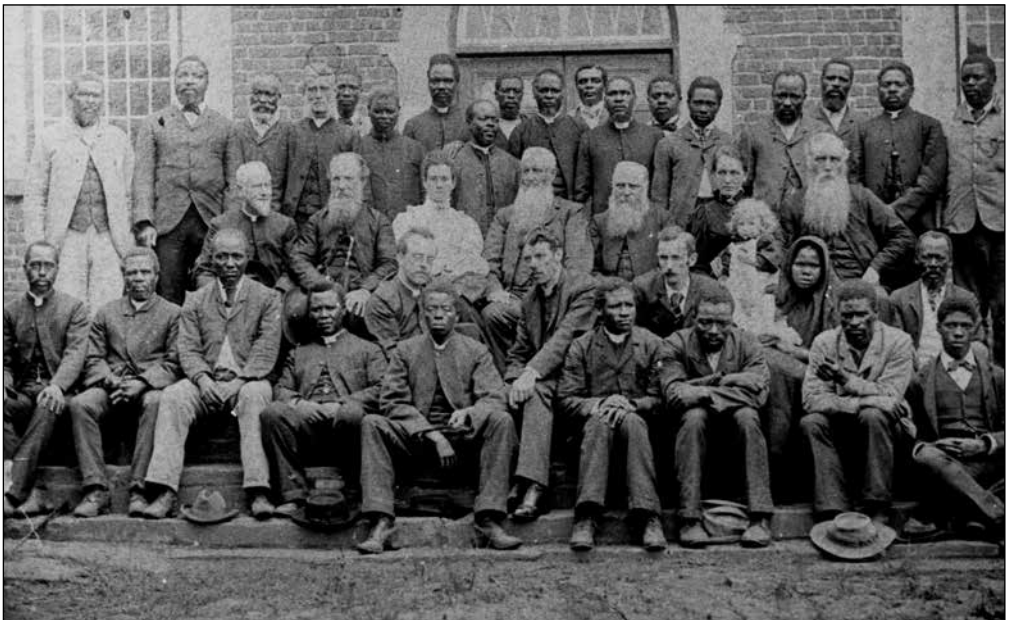
*Architectural drawing of the Native Training Institution, 1884
(SNA 1/1/71, 102/84)*



Drawing of exemption medal (SNA 1/1/28, 852/1890)



*Driefontein leaders (from R.C.A. Samuelson, *Long, Long Ago*)*



Missionary conference, Edendale, 1890s (courtesy P. Garstang, Pietermaritzburg)



Kholwa choir that went to England, 1892 (Natal Archives)



Miss E. Mini (courtesy V. Erlmann)

Town Organ Fund.

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF
H.E. THE GOVERNOR, SIR C. B. H. MITCHELL, K.C.M.G.,
AND LADY MITCHELL.
HIS WORSHIP THE MAYOR (R. MASON, ESQ.), AND THE MEMBERS
OF THE ORGAN COMMITTEE.

A CONCERT
IN AID OF THE ABOVE FUND WILL BE GIVEN IN THE
Theatre Royal, Pietermaritzburg
On **SATURDAY, March 5th, 1892.**
BY A
ZULU CHOIR.
Who have been trained at the Durban Mission Station,
and are about to leave for England.

Doors open at 7.30 p.m. Concert to commence at 8 o'clock.

Admission—3s. Family Tickets to admit five,
£1 1s., 3s., and 1s.
PLAN AT P. DAVIS & SONS.

PROGRAMME.

PART I.

CHOIR: "The Frame of Song" *Seafarer.*
THE CHOIR.
PART SONG: "Star of Bethlehem" *Stillborn.*
THE CHOIR.
BASS SOLO: "The Diver" *Ende.*
MR. S. MSANE.
CHOIR: "Awake, Aidian Lye" *Daisy.*
THE CHOIR.
CHOIR: "Coming thro' the Rye"
THE CHOIR.
DUET: "Lambard Watch" *William.*
MESSRS. S. KUMALO, W. SUPELA.
CHOIR: "Noth is a Flash" *Kosini.*
THE CHOIR.
SOPRANO SOLO: "Golden Love" *M. Hallings.*
MISS LYDIA MINI.
CHOIR: "The Soldier's Farewell" *Kicker.*
THE CHOIR.
CHOIR: "The Canavale" *Rasini.*
THE CHOIR.

INTERVAL OF TEN MINUTES.

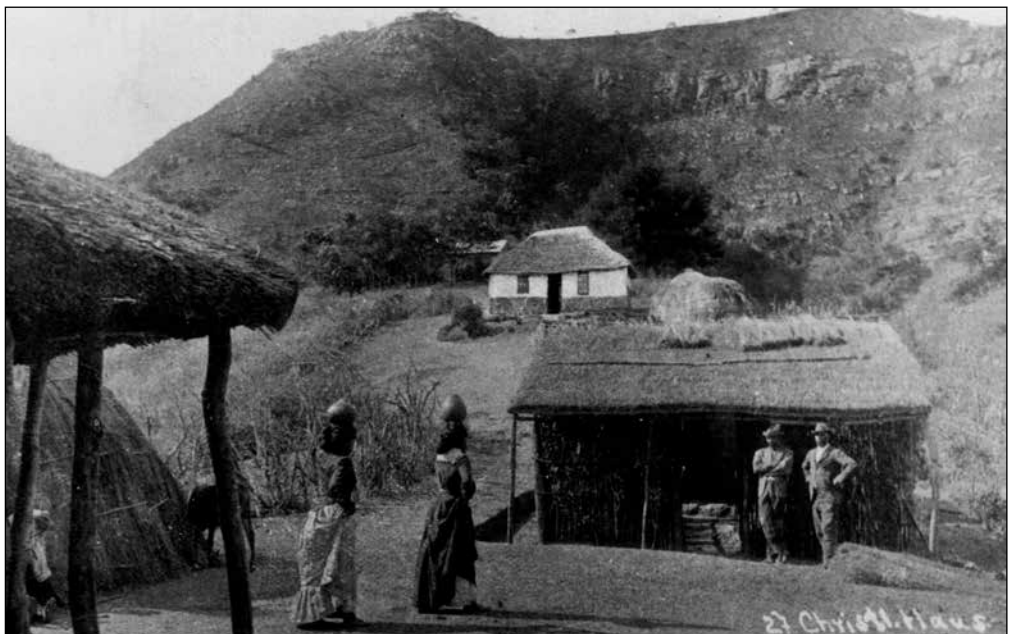
PROGRAMME.

PART II.

CHOIR: "Song of the Gipsies" *Seafarer.*
THE CHOIR.
SOLO: "The Better Land" *Crowe.*
MRS. R. MSANE.
CHOIR: "Hush thee, my Baby" *Salomon.*
THE CHOIR.
TENOR SOLO: "Death of Nelson" *Breake.*
MR. HENRY GANNET—MUSICAL DIRECTOR.
CHOIR: "Cherry Ripe" *Hore.*
THE CHOIR.
QUARTETTE: "Come where my love lies Dreaming" *Foster.*
MRS. R. MSANE, MISS A. MSANE, MESSRS. S. MSANE,
AND J. MZAMO.
CHOIR: "Anne Lavin"
THE CHOIR.
DUET: "All's Well" *Breake.*
S. MSANE AND J. MZAMO.
CHOIR: "When Evening's Twilight" *Hottie.*
THE CHOIR.
CHOIR: "The Law of Richmond Hill"
THE CHOIR.
"GOD SAVE THE QUEEN."
THE CHOIR.

THIS PROGRAMME IS SUBJECT TO SLIGHT ALTERATIONS.

Zulu choir programme (SNA 1/1/172)



Typical Kholwa homestead (Natal Archives)



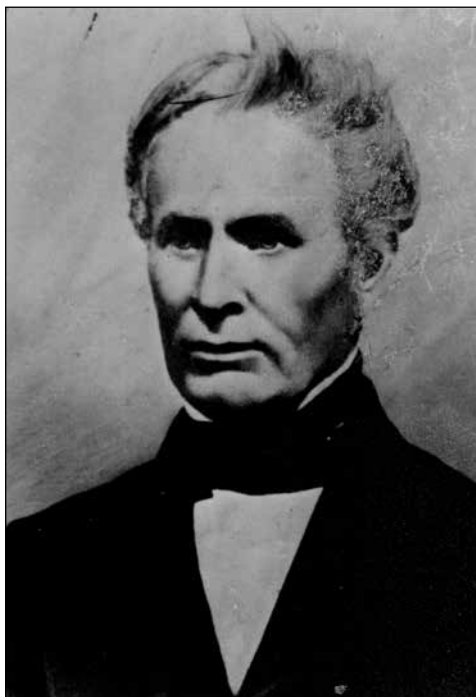
Victorian women (Natal Archives)



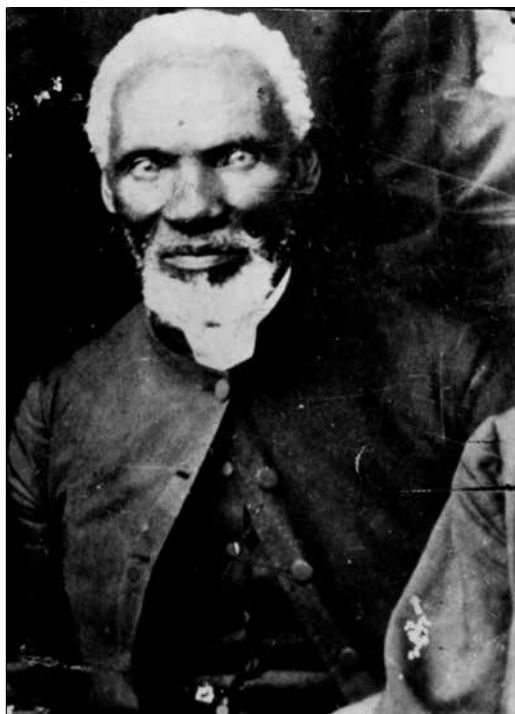
Reverend J. Allsopp, missionary at Edendale during the Zulu War (courtesy Unity Lewis, Pietermaritzburg)



Mrs J. Allsopp



Reverend James Allison



Job Kambule

FOREWORD

LEGEND HAS IT THAT while lying on his deathbed, Swazi King Sobhuza I repeated a request he had earlier made when he invited missionaries to visit his kingdom and bring with them *umculu*, the Bible. He was desirous to ensure the spread of Christianity among his subjects. His successor, King Mswati I, relayed this wish to the Wesleyan Mission Society in Mparane, not far from present-day Ficksburg in the Free State. To honour the request, missionaries James Allison and Richard Giddy selected ten African converts and travelled with them to eSwatini, some time in 1846, to establish what was to become the Mahamba Wesleyan Mission Station. Among the chosen converts were Job Kambule, Johannes Kumalo, Jonathan Xaba, Abraham Malgas, Reuben Caluza, Adam Molife and Daniel Mavuso Msimang. These men, and several others, were later to form the nucleus of the Edendale community under Allison's leadership. Msimang was my great-great-grandfather.

Allison's evangelical mission to eSwatini was, unfortunately, cut short by a violent succession dispute at the palace, necessitating his hasty exit from the country. He fled with his followers, who now included upwards of 200 Swazis, into the Colony of Natal, settling at Indaleni, near Richmond. At Indaleni, a severe leadership crisis hit the mission station. It ultimately led to Allison's expulsion from the Methodist Church. His loyal followers beseeched the authorities to reinstate Allison, their guardian and mentor. But it was all in vain.

With land security issues at Indaleni still unresolved in 1851, Allison bought, on a share basis, a 2 478-hectare farm located 10 kilometres south of the city of Pietermaritzburg. Nestled in the fertile Msunduzi River valley, the farm, Welverdiend, had previously belonged to Andries Pretorius, the Voortrekker leader. Allison renamed the farm Edendale and it soon became home to a community of some 500 people of mixed ethnicity: Swazi, Hlubi, Zulu, Rolong, Griqua, Tlokwe and a couple of others. This acquisition made history as it was the first time in Natal that Africans had been allowed individual landownership.

Sheila Meintjes, the author of this exceptionally well-researched book, has painstakingly chronicled the history of Edendale and the complex socio-political factors that influenced its development. *In the Shadow of the Great White Queen: The Edendale Kholwa of Colonial Natal, 1850–1906* narrates the story of zealous African converts, Kholwa, who adopted the Christian faith

convinced about the supremacy of its spiritual value. Witness, for instance, their unilateral establishment of Nzondelelo which, as Selby Msimang, a famous son of Edendale and my uncle, points out is rather poorly served by its description by the missionaries as the Natal Wesleyan Native Mission. It emanated, to paraphrase St John 2:17, the zeal of God's house that had consumed the African evangelists. The vigour and independence of the Nzondelelo initiative caused panic, the fear being that it signalled a move towards the establishment of a separate Wesleyan Church. The concern was understandable, given the critical role played by the evangelists in spreading the word to the wider community.

There is absolutely no doubt also that the Kholwa saw in their association with the missionaries a big opportunity to learn reading, writing and arithmetic, the building blocks for literacy. They also appreciated the attendant acquisition of requisite artisanal skills to support life in a transformed environment. Indeed, within a short time, the Edendale community had built modern dwellings, a chapel, roads and a waterway. They produced food for subsistence and sale to the Pietermaritzburg market. But for the regrettably racist colonial disposition, the Edendale community could have been granted full and equal citizenship like any other settlers and enjoyed municipal status and self-government.

What is to be learned from the Edendale experience? Many lessons. Crucially, in a capitalist economy such as ours, the importance of individual or private landownership cannot be overstated. The Edendale project would have been a non-starter without these rights. Contemporary South Africa would do well to respect this proposition for land reform. Edendale also demonstrates the cardinal importance of building a strong educational foundation in the community. Through the generations an impressive number of Edendale learners proceeded to play leading roles in various spheres of national endeavour. By the beginning of the twentieth century already, Edendale and other missionary institutions had produced Africans of advanced scholarship, some of them graduates of overseas universities.

Based on colonial government legislation during the period under review, it would be difficult not to draw the inference that Britain's sole purpose of conquest was to amass and repatriate the wealth derived from exploiting South Africa's natural resources. Any infrastructural development was ancillary to the facilitation of this objective. It is also a matter of historical record that the British government callously betrayed the Edendale warriors, who had always rendered yeoman service as members of the Natal Native Horse, which fought alongside British soldiers in various colonial wars. The disbandment of these

distinguished horsemen during the 1899–1902 Anglo-Boer war for fear that they might join forces with the Boers leaves a lot to be said about Britain's reciprocation of loyalty. It was this callous attitude from at least the 1860s that had led Edendale leaders to petition for equal rights. By the 1880s, all patience frayed, and a new organisation, the Funamalungelo was established to demand full citizenship. After the war it joined with others to form the South African National Native Congress, which in 1923 became the African National Congress.

It is proper that I conclude by commending the meticulous research that went into the production of *In the Shadow of the Great White Queen*. A descendant of Edendale, the chasm of ignorance about my ancestral history, a mere two centuries old, has been rudely exposed. I fear that my contemporaries elsewhere in the country are in no better situation. How about anthropology or sociology departments in our universities stepping into the breach to remedy the anomaly? Failure to do this would result in the bestowal on future generations of a dire legacy of perpetual ignorance about their past. As Sheila Meintjes remarked the other day, 'it is important to research these histories, for they enrich our lives.'

MAVUSO MSIMANG

PREFACE

THIS BOOK IS BASED on my doctoral thesis 'Edendale 1850–1906: a case study of rural transformation and class formation in an African mission in Natal' submitted to the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London in October 1988.

The study began with a desire to understand Edendale's existence as a black freehold area in a country where the majority of black people are denied that right. It became a much longer and very different project as I became immersed in the details of its history. It also took much longer than originally anticipated, as the exigencies of survival imposed themselves. During its long gestation, I have incurred debts of gratitude to many people and institutions. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of librarians and archivists at the following institutions: the British Museum, the Public Records Office and the School of Oriental and African Studies in London; the Houghton Library, Harvard University in Boston; and above all the library of the University of Natal and the Natal Archives in Pietermaritzburg.

The Human Sciences Research Council provided a bursary for a year's study in England, which I gratefully acknowledge. The University of Cape Town and Harry Oppenheimer Bursary made possible a further trip to England to attend the Conference on the Family in Africa in September 1981.

Doug Hindson encouraged me to embark on this study and generously commented on early papers and draft chapters. Barry Streek and Paul Hendler kindly sifted through debt registers and title deeds and gave me a great deal of moral and intellectual support. David Walwyn processed the property data for me and saved me from the vagaries of the computer. Di Smyly copied articles for me when the archives banned the photocopying of newspapers. Patrick Harries, John Lambert, Shelagh Spencer and Nick Wellington shared references and many companionable hours in the archives. John Wright provided constant intellectual stimulation. Cara Pretorius put up with our ramblings during the many months I spent in their home. The late Mobbs Moberly read portions of earlier drafts. Bill Freund, Heather Hughes and David Walwyn commented on the final draft and offered valuable criticisms.

Shula Marks endured my pace with great patience, breathed life into my words and inspired me to keep writing. It was a privilege to have her supervise this thesis. I remain responsible for what follows. Special thanks go to my helpers in the final stages of producing the thesis. Lesley le Roux and Charlotte

Schaer drew the maps. Joanna Hunter, Lindsay Lategan, Catherine Taylor and Ruth Underwood did the proofreading. Margie Ramsay and the late Colleen Taylor typed the footnotes and bibliography, and did much more besides. Finally, I owe much to the support of my family and friends and dedicate this book to David Walwyn without whom I would never have finished.

I am grateful to the trustees of the Natal Society Foundation, in particular their chairman at the time, Peter Croeser, who persuaded me that my original thesis should be published as a book. He and Phila Mfundo Msimang, a direct descendant of one of the main protagonists in this history, Daniel Mavuso Msimang, worked as co-editors on this project. My gratitude, too, to Christopher Merrett for compiling the index and Jo Marwick for the layout and design of the book.

SHEILA MEINTJES

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

GEOGRAPHIC PLACE NAMES and named features are treated as English proper names and therefore capitalised and written in normal typeface. The names of many South African places and geographic features are undergoing change to correct historical orthographic inaccuracies or mistranslations, or as part of the country's social transformation agenda. The official place names body, the South African Geographical Names Council, has a database of standardised names published in the *Government Gazette* since its inception (<http://sagns.dac.gov.za/>). We have also relied on contemporary official maps.¹

As there is much confusion about the orthography of newly standardised place and feature names based on names in Zulu, the following explanation may be useful. For example, colonial Natal writers refer to the Tugela River, whereas modern Zulu orthography has Thukela as the name of the river, even though one refers to it as *uThukela* in *isiZulu*. Nonetheless the present standardisation trend is to incorporate the prefix locative in the official place name hence the name of the river was corrected to uThukela River in the *Government Gazette* of 29 January 2010. Usually, but not always, names standardised during the past decade are given with the prefix locative (e-, u-, o-) written in lower case and the following initial letter of the name in upper case (as in uThukela), unless it is the name of a post office in which case both the prefix locative and the initial letter of the name are capitalised (as in EXobho, previously Ixopo, post office). Names preceded by Kwa ('the place of') are written with both the 'K' and the name in upper case (as in KwaMnyandu, the gazetted corrected form of kwaMnyandu).

We have followed the convention that not only are names of topographical features capitalised but also adjectives and nouns derived from them.² Thus, terms such as 'Indian', 'African', and 'European' are capitalised whereas designations based only on colour, such as the terms 'black', 'white', and 'coloured', are lowercased.³

English common names applied to a particular entity or group, are capitalised (for instance: reference to Queen Victoria as the 'Great White Queen' is thus capitalised as a specific epithet, and the 'Natal Settlers' as a specific common name).

The spelling of personal names has been preserved except where there were variations in contemporary literature. For example the correct Mosotho version is given for MmaNthatise (c.1781–1836) whose name was spelled

variously as Manthatisi, Mantatisi, or Mantatee. She was the daughter of Chief Mothaba, who led the Tlokwa Basia people as regent while her son and heir to the chieftancy, Sekonyala, was a minor. Her people were known as Mantatees by the missionaries.⁴

Titles of designated office bearers, such as chief or headman, are given with an initial lower case letter unless specifically named as in Chief Mothaba or Headman Gule. Specific names of people, organisations, and events in other languages of origin are treated as English proper nouns and therefore not italicised, but are capitalised. For instance, the name of the black activist organisation set up to campaign for social equality and the franchise in Edendale in 1887 is written as Funamalungelo (and not *Funamalungelo*) and likewise with Unzondelelo (and not *uNzondelelo*), the independent Native Home Missionary Society, established by black missionaries in Edendale in the 1870s.

It is in the same vein that the word ‘Apartheid’ is capitalised but is not italicised because it pertains not to the Afrikaans noun meaning ‘separation’ but to the term for the legally instituted policy of racial segregation pursued by the National Party in South Africa from 1948 until 1994.

This also applies to the Sotho term Difaqane (Difagane, Lifaqane) and its equivalent, Mfecane, employed in colonial Natal, used by colonialists to refer to a purported period of inter-tribal warfare in south-eastern Africa between 1815 and about 1840.⁵ The term, of uncertain origin, is used as an English proper noun referring to a specific period. It is accordingly capitalised but not italicised.

Another term that has been used as an English word is Isibalo which was the colonial administration’s use of the Zulu term, *isibalo*, meaning ‘a count, or a sum’, for the required numbers of forced labourers demanded of chiefs from among their followers living in locations or squatting on Crown land.

Epithets, including common names particular to other languages, are italicised and follow the grammatical rules and orthography of their language of origin: as for example, the word *oNonhlevu* (originally a Zulu epithet denoting the earliest Kholwa converts, but now used with reference to descendants of original Edendale Kholwa, implying ‘those of high status’).

Where a specific epithet derived from another language is used in a sense different to its meaning in its source language, then that name is treated as an English proper noun obeying English grammatical rules and orthography. For this reason we have used ‘induna’ (plural ‘indunas’) for the colonial government’s use of the original Zulu word *induna* for official recognition

of headmanship of particular communities. And we have used *induna* (plural *izinduna*) where the term is used in the Zulu sense for a headman under a traditional chief (*inkosi*).

For the same reason we use Kholwa for the term used in colonial Natal to refer specifically to black Christian communities and their members (who were mainly, but not necessarily, Christian), and reserve use of the Zulu words *ikholwa* and *amakholwa* when Christians in general, irrespective of race or place, are meant.

PETER CROESER AND PHILA MSIMANG
2013

NOTES

- 1 Official maps produced by the Chief Directorate of National Geo-spatial Information (previously the Directorate Surveys and Mapping): the 1:250 000 topo-cadastral and 1:500 000 topo-administrative maps for KwaZulu-Natal and Free State published between 1998 and 2004.
- 2 §8.47 of *The Chicago Manual of Style* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 15th ed., 2003).
- 3 §7.32–§7.33 of *The Chicago Manual of Style* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 13th ed., 1982).
- 4 R.L. Cope (ed.), *The Journals of the Rev. T.L. Hodgson, Missionary to the Seleka-Rolong and the Griquas 1821–1831* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1977).
- 5 C. Hamilton, 'History and historiography in the aftermath' in *The Mfecane Aftermath* edited by C. Hamilton (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995): Introduction.

A NOTE ON THE WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY MISSION STATIONS WHERE JAMES ALLISON AND HIS FOLLOWERS SERVED BETWEEN 1832 AND 1851 MENTIONED IN THE BOOK

Leliefontein

Founded by Reverend Barnabas Shaw in 1816 in the Kamiesberg, Namaqualand, 90 kilometres south of Springbok (Namakwa District Municipality, Northern Cape Province). James Allison arrived as a master craftsman and, in connection with the Wesleyan Mission Institution at Leliefontein in the Kamiesberg, under Barnabas Shaw, he apprenticed boys to work under him in contractual agreements with their fathers. It was while engaged as master craftsman that Allison experienced his religious 'revival' and became a catechist. As a catechist, he joined the Wesleyan missions on the Vaal River in 1832 (Boetsap and Platberg).

Free State (Transorangia)

Platberg I, Platberg II (New Caledonia). Platberg was established in 1826 by Reverend T.L. Hodgson and his wife Anne (who died of breast cancer in 1831) with the help of Tswana (Rolong) Chief Sifonello of Makwasse who had attached himself to Hodgson.¹

Boetsap

The following year (on 18 July 1827) Hodgson travelled from Platberg to establish a second mission station nearby at the village of Buchuaap at the request of Griqua Chief Barend Barends (Buchuaap was variously known as Boodschap and Bootschap and, today, as Boetsap) where he was joined on 21 August by an artisan sent from Grahamstown who must have been the young James Allison.

Thaba 'Nchu

Archbell and Edwards in 1833 signed agreements with Moshoeshoe and Sikonyela of the Mantatee for 25 acres of land at Thaba 'Nchu. They moved 12 000 cattle from Platberg where water was now inadequate. Followed by a string of stations in Mantatee territory at 'Impukai, Imperani, Mating and Inkatla'.

Mpukani (Mpokani, Impukani, Impukane)

Thomas Jenkins also reported that several Basotho had erected villages in the neighbourhood of his mission at Mpukani, among the Korana of Jan

Taaibosch. Jenkins believed that although some had come to the mission for refuge, ‘others have come here for the sake of gain’.

Mparane (Imparane)

Established by Allison in 1834 near Tlokwa Chief Sekonyela’s Great Place at Thaba Kuruheli, Mparane was destroyed in 1855. James Cameron, new Superintendent in the Bechuana District, visited Mparane in 1840 and was impressed with Allison’s work:

I was much gratified ... in viewing the station which in many respects takes precedence of every other in the land. In little more than 3 years a Dwelling House and Chapel, outbuildings consisting of a stone house rooms for the accommodation of 10 native youths and a large stable, a garden and a field comprehending, several acres of ground for cultivation surrounded with substantial stone walls, have all been completed in a superior style.²

Mahamba (Swaziland)

From 1846 at Mahamba the mission found itself drawn into the political conflict arising from the opposition of regional princelings to the restructuring of the State by the new regime. Malambule, Mswati’s rival and half-brother, had moved his residence to the vicinity of Mahamba. At the same time he secured the support of Mpande, the Zulu king, in a bid to oust Mswati. Mswati’s forces attacked the opposing parties and even raided the mission station, where a number of people had sought refuge. The missionary party itself was left unharmed. Caught in the crossfire of these conflicts, Allison decided to abandon the mission and flee south with a large body of Sigweje’s Kunene people, among whom the mission had been evangelising. Large numbers of the Kunene sought refuge across the Pongola near the Dumbu mountains. Malambule escaped to Zululand. Allison, accompanied by a nucleus of 60 church members and some 200 to 400 Swazi refugees, all of them to become mission adherents if they were not already, escaped into Natal to seek refuge with the colonial authorities. It was this sudden event that gave the future Edendale community its distinctively Swazi identity.

Indaleni (Natal)

In 1848 land on the Illovo River, near Richmond, 48 kilometres from Pietermaritzburg, was granted to the Wesleyan Mission Society for the refugee mission in a verbal agreement with the Lieutenant Governor. Allison sought approval from the Lieutenant Governor for the new mission at Indaleni, where the members had built a village ‘after the manner of Europeans’. At Indaleni, the refugees began to re-establish homes and gardens.

PETER CROESER

NOTES

- 1 William Shaw. *Memoirs of Mrs. Anne Hodgson; Compiled from Materials Furnished by her Husband, the Rev. T.L. Hodgson, Comprising, also, an Account of the Wesleyan Mission among the Griqua and Bechuana Tribes of Southern Africa* (London: J. Mason, 1836); Karel Schoeman (ed.), *The Wesleyan Mission in the Orange Free State 1833–1854, as Described in Contemporary Accounts* (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1991); Cope (ed.). *The Journals of the Rev. T.L. Hodgson, Missionary to the Seleka-Rolong and the Griquas 1821–1831*; J. du Plessis. *A History of the Christian Missions in South Africa* (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1965); I. Schapera, *Southern Africa part III: The Tswana*, edited by Daryll Forde (London: Stone and Cox, 1962); I.S.J. Venter, *Die Ruilkontrakte in 1833–34 aangegaan tussen Mosjesj en die Wesleyane* (Pretoria: Universiteit van Suid-Afrika, 1960).
- 2 MMS 315, 1840/5, James Cameron to General Secretaries, 27 August 1840.

INTRODUCTION

EDENDALE IS A SPRAWLING black freehold urban area bordering the Pietermaritzburg magisterial district and the Zwartkops location which is part of KwaZulu, the bantustan of the Zulu people created by the apartheid regime.¹

Edendale was the earliest experiment in black freehold land tenure in Natal: the first title deeds were granted in 1861, although the Christians who bought the land had been living there since 1852. Many of the present landowners proudly trace their origins back to the first landholders. During the 1970s Edendale's future as a black freehold area became uncertain. Its survival in an increasingly hostile and coercive South Africa had seemed precarious, but remained tenacious throughout the period of Apartheid. This study was undertaken in an endeavour to understand the specific circumstances of Edendale's resilient survival where other African townships with freehold tenure like Sophiatown, cleared from the map of Johannesburg in 1955 to become a white suburb with the ironic title of Triomf, and Grahamstown's Fingo Village, had lost their African owners. The research for this history was undertaken during the 1980s, when the 'homeland' of KwaZulu attempted to bring Edendale under its jurisdiction.

In earlier times, Edendale was an independent mission station, which grew into a large village, a town even, but which never received recognition of its corporate development with its own town board. It was declared a Scheduled Area following the recommendations of the 1916 Beaumont Commission on the implementation of the 1913 Natives Land Act.² Until 1941 Edendale's development remained the responsibility of no authority other than a Trust that had no legal capacity to enforce by-laws or levy rates. In 1941 the newly established Natal Local Health Commission brought Edendale under its control. The Local Health Commission was set up in response to the evidence of the Thornton (Black Areas) Commission, which reported on appalling health conditions amidst the slums of unregulated peri-urban black areas.³ For the community of Edendale this was less than desirable: the leading men wanted the same freedom to control civic affairs as existed in any small town, with the same rights to levy rates and taxes as in any municipality. These powers were never granted. Instead, Edendale was treated no differently from any black township and only given the right to set up an Advisory Board.⁴

The process of uncovering its history led this study away from Edendale's modern development and into a complex and fascinating history of a community whose origins lay in the early nineteenth century, in the processes of social revolution that accompanied the imperialism of trade, missionaries, and colonial conquest. Edendale was founded in 1851 by an ethnically mixed community of Christian converts, with their missionary, a renegade Wesleyan minister, the Reverend James

Allison. The community had grown from Allison's missionary endeavours elsewhere in southern Africa during the previous twenty years.

This study is about that community's pre-colonial origins, its formation and its interactions in colonial society. Its starting point is the activity of the Christian missionaries on the highveld in the early 1830s, of which the community was a product. It ends with the community struggling to enter industrialised society in the early twentieth century, not as workers, but as a petty bourgeoisie caught in a contradictory situation, oppressed as black people, but imbued with the values of European society. By then, however, South Africa had become a society dominated by the ideology and practice of segregation and racial exclusivism. Mobility for black people was strictly circumscribed. The concept of civilisation had come to mean quite different things to the white polity and to the black people.

For the indigenous peoples of southern Africa, the gradual colonisation of the region in the nineteenth century engendered a long period of social revolution. Complex kinship societies in a process of reconstruction following the effects of internal wars in the 1820s were further disrupted by the invasion of Voortrekkers and British soldiers alike in the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s. Sometimes preceding this disruption, sometimes in its wake, the agents of mission societies accompanied the colonisation process armed with an alien religion, an alien morality, and an alien law, whose role it was to conquer the heathen by conversion to a belief in Judeo-Christianity and its accompanying civilisation. The Christian missionaries who moved onto the veld, and settled amongst the great diversity of social groups in the region south of the Limpopo, came also with new agricultural technology such as the plough and irrigation, which revolutionised labour processes and the division of labour.

Although the mission situation is only one form in which indigenous people confronted colonial society, it throws light on the complex variation of those forms. Focus on the mission situation takes us behind the generalisations that such terms as 'peasantisation', 'proletarianisation', and 'underdevelopment' imply, into the internal dynamics of the process of articulation of pre-capitalist, pre-colonial societies with imperialism at the micro level of social experience, but involves grasping the interplay of economic, political and ideological forces.

This study draws heavily on the historiography of South Africa that emerged during the 1970s and 1980s, beginning with the merging of Africanist and materialist concerns. A major debate emerged from this literature concerning the forms and relations of production in African societies. This gave rise to a

number of significant contributions studying the history of particular societies in the South African region. This literature shaped the questions asked in this study.⁵ I have not attempted to take this further in the publication of this book. My purpose is to make the study available to a wider readership.

The questions posed in this study are the following: How was the transformation in social relations of production and reproduction effected? What were the mechanisms that led to the transformation of political and other social relations? What were the processes of ideological change, and how did they occur? What was the quality of the interaction of missionaries with indigenous societies within which they worked? Of what significance was the relationship between the colonial state and missions? These are not new questions. What distinguishes this study is that it attempts to look at them in the context of the history of a single mission community.

A second body of literature also informed the approach adopted in this study. This was produced largely in the pages of the *Journal of Peasant Studies*, the concerns of which were to explain the theoretical place of a 'peasantry' within different modes of production. That debate will not be reproduced in this book, except to explain that it was useful in clarifying the use of the theoretical terms employed here; in particular, the term 'petty bourgeoisie', which is used in this study to describe the intermediate class position of the Kholwa. Their distinguishing characteristic was involvement in full-time exchange in a capitalist colonial economy. In the early stages of its development the colonial economy is termed a 'petty commodity economy'.⁶

Focus on a single community enables exploration in concrete detail of the matrix of forces that shaped changing social consciousness, family structure, patterns of marriage and inheritance, property ownership, corporate structures and institutions in the village community. The starting point for such an exploration is suggested by Marx and Engels in a passage from 'The Eighteenth Brumaire':

Upon the different forms of property, upon the social conditions of existence, rises an entire superstructure of distinct and peculiarly formed sentiments, illusions, modes of thought and views of life. The entire class creates and forms them out of its material foundations and out of the corresponding social relations. The single individual who derives them through tradition and upbringing, may imagine that they form the real motives and starting point of his activity.⁷

The forms of property and social conditions of existence that set the limits of social relations for the Edendale community in the mid-nineteenth century were really threefold: the plantation economy, the institutional organisation of a mission and the heritage of the pre-colonial past. The dominant plantation

economy, located on the periphery of a global capitalist system but politically dominated by the Natal colonial regime, restricted the development of a simple commodity economy. The mission not only embraced ideological practices stemming from Christian education and religion, but also extended to spheres of economic and political activity as well. The influence of the pre-colonial past is more difficult to assess because of limited sources, apart from a somewhat attenuated oral tradition. But in the 1865 economic crisis in Natal, for instance, a communal diaspora fanned out from Edendale which drew on a conservative communalism inherited from the pre-colonial past, although based on contemporary colonial patterns of land usage as well.

The ideology and practices of the missionaries was one form in which imperial power penetrated indigenous society, often before conquest. Missionaries acted, metaphorically speaking, as the spiritual wing of imperialism. The declared aim of missionaries in the nineteenth century was to produce Christians and create a civilised people out of their converts. The Methodist Church especially had grafted onto its dogma a respect for and submission to constituted authority, while 'civilisation' came to be associated with a model of British society, with the worst aspects of industrial life removed from their vision of an ideal world.⁸ The South African mission field provided an opportunity for this idealised vision to be implemented. Before the 1880s there were no factories, there were no mine pitheads or slag heaps to grind Christians down to a state of 'evil' and 'demoralisation'. South Africa, like most mission fields inhabited by 'primitive' societies, appeared an ideal *tabula rasa* for Christian social engineering. The impact of industrialisation on church attendance in England had convinced the Methodists, and this was the case for most religious groups and churches, that 'labour' and 'industry' alone could not act as civilising agents. Without Christianity, the consequence of both labour and industry was social degeneration, as had occurred in Britain when industrialisation seemed to create a working class of godless infidels.

This model does not contradict the missionary view that the acceptable and therefore 'natural' forms of social organisation were those of British society, with the nuclear family, private property, and the 'freedom' of people to labour for others as the dominant features. This conviction was the result of the growth of religious ideology in the previous two centuries, with its roots in Calvinism and Puritanism. Both Weber and Tawney have argued that the Protestant churches of Europe (and America) had followed the currents of contemporary enlightenment thought.⁹ They had incorporated and developed the idea of individualism giving it at the same time the sanctity of religious approval,

whilst conceding it an autonomy of action in secular affairs. Individual effort was accorded the status of a moral value, and extremes of wealth were seen as part of God's apportionment of grace. In adopting these values and beliefs the churches repudiated any social obligation to fight for social reform against the social inequalities that grew out of the emerging class divisions and class struggles in the industrial revolution. Instead, they themselves began to reproduce ideas that had the effect of justifying these inequalities. Tawney put it succinctly when he wrote that the churches argued that 'the existing order except insofar as the shortsighted enactments of Governments interfered with it, was the natural order, and the order established by nature was the order established by God'.¹⁰

Weber warns us, however, that while religious movements may have promoted the 'spirit of capitalism', they did not do so in any direct or intentional way. He says, 'we cannot well maintain that the pursuit of worldly goods, conceived as an end in itself, was to any of them a positive ethical value'.¹¹ While one may be able to argue that missionaries saw particular institutions and practices such as private property and the nuclear family, as 'natural' forms of social organisation, it would be simplistic to argue that mission ideology and practices can be subsumed as aspects of capitalist ideology and practice. Such a view distorts the nature of the relationship between mission and capitalist ideology, and misses crucial areas of conflict between them. The point is to recognise the difference between them, and while acknowledging the origins of mission ideology within the broader context of a capitalist society, to concede also the distinctive effects of both.

Although missionary activity was seen by missionaries themselves as a purely religious enterprise, it had very significant material effects. Methodists, like some other non-conformist religious societies, believed that God's grace and hence redemption from sin and salvation of the soul would accompany the emotional experience of religious revival. Furthermore, it was believed that a permanent state of grace could only be achieved if converts 'ceased evil pursuits' and lived according to the 'natural' laws of the Lord. Not to do so would be to fall from grace, and slide back into the darkness of hell and meet the 'wrath to come'.¹² To achieve a state of grace was not, however, merely a spiritual affair. It had a very important material dimension, grounded in the manner people related to one another, and how they related to the authority of Church and State. Conversion to Christianity implied also the transformation of people's material existence.

Although the overall impact of missionary enterprise in the wider society in southern Africa may not have been very great for those who joined the mission (and one has to recognise the fact that converts were few), conversion meant much more than a religious experience. It was the first step in a transformation that would penetrate every sphere of life. Converts learned to communicate in new ways with the written word, and they applied new technology to agricultural labour processes. Conversion transformed their notions of time and space, of the past and the future. Converts ceased to participate in certain fundamental social rituals that gave identity to people in pre-colonial civil society. This often involved considerable opposition from the rest of the community, either from within households or from elders and chiefs. While missionaries were not always welcomed because of the message of salvation they brought, their skills were much sought after. This explains why they were tolerated by black and white authorities who were often hostile to their attempts at social engineering.

In colonial society, the situation was somewhat different. For one thing, the indigenous people were subordinated to the control of the colonial government. This was the context of the establishment of the Reverend James Allison's Christian refugee community at Indaleni. The contradictory demands for the produce of indigenous farmers and the needs of colonists for a labour force found expression in the way the mission refugees inserted themselves into society. Their dependence on wages seemed to herald the availability of a suitably trained wage labour force during the first few years of settlement. But their position was more fluid than their initial dependence implied, a factor that crystallised in the 1850s once the community had moved to a farm near Pietermaritzburg purchased on a share basis with their missionary James Allison. For another, missions were part of the colonial hierarchy and were welcomed by the colonial state as a means of educating the indigenous people. Moreover, missionaries partially depended on the colonial government for financial support. The teachers' salaries were subsidised and government also contributed to the erection of school buildings; but this in no way met the full costs of education, which were largely borne by the missionary societies themselves. In return for the subsidy, missionaries were subject to inspection by a government Superintendent of Education.

While missionary enterprise taught the value of individual effort and labour, the underlying objective was not individual gain, but the greater glory of God and salvation in Christ. For officials, Christianity was but a secondary consideration. Instead, education was necessary to create a skilled and

disciplined labour force. Converts themselves saw both their Christianity and their civilisation as the means to incorporation within colonial civil society. The early missionaries, at least, did not necessarily believe in the notion of creating a class of hewers of wood and drawers of water. The views of missionaries in fact changed during the course of the nineteenth century. From their belief in the adaptability and thus the perfectability of human nature, missionaries hoped their converts would be accepted in colonial society. It was only as the century wore on and Social Darwinism penetrated mission ideology, that missionaries, many of them at least, became imbued with colonial prejudice and racism.

For the colonial state, however, neither Christianity nor education were perceived as the key to civil status. African Christians were treated no differently from the rest of African society, which continued to be subject to their own customary legal tradition, 'insofar as it was not repugnant to the principles of humanity observed throughout the civilised world'.¹³ Indeed, exemption from customary law only became a possibility when mission educated Africans themselves demanded some relief from its exigencies at a meeting in Edendale in 1863.¹⁴ The colonial state then responded with a limited concession in terms of Law 28 of 1865, which granted exemption from customary law but did not grant civil status on a par with the rest of colonial society.

The political basis of the colonial government and state apparatuses had not been deeply entrenched initially. Although the social fabric of the indigenous peoples within the territorial boundaries of Natal had been weakened by the hegemony of the Zulu state preceding the Voortrekker invasion, it had not been entirely destroyed. There was no wholesale dispossession of land and the indigenous population continued to have access to land for production. Combined with the shortage of men and money for military, police and administrative control by the colonial government, this dictated a policy of indirect rule through pre-existing social and political structures.

A subordinate outpost of the Cape Colony, itself on the periphery of the British Empire, Natal's development as a colony was circumscribed by its circumstances. In spite of becoming a colony of white settlement, Whitehall was reluctant to provide more than a garrison for Natal's upkeep. Its annexation by the Cape had ostensibly been on humanitarian grounds, to protect the black population from Voortrekker overlordship. In reality it was to protect the north-eastern Cape frontier from war and depredation that might be caused by Voortrekker intransigence towards the indigenous societies in the region. It was a reluctant move because Natal was undeveloped, a prey to Zulu

hegemony, and populated also by hostile Voortrekkers. Once a fait accompli, however, imperial interests held sway and the small colonial administration was directed to extract what it could for imperial markets while not interfering in any marked degree with the way of life of the indigenous population.¹⁵

Missionary success was somewhat limited. Their access to the indigenous population was determined not so much by the role assigned them by the colonial state as by the way their activities were viewed by African authorities. On the whole, chiefs and elders remained suspicious of the educative role of missionaries. Moreover, converts to Christianity found themselves discredited in their communities of origin. The impact of mission education on the broad mass of the African population was therefore very limited. Just as in pre-colonial society, mission ideology affected a very tiny proportion of the population. However, what is significant about the work of missionaries in Natal in the second half of the nineteenth century is the abiding nature of the Christian communities that arose as a result, in contrast to the short-lived nature of earlier mission communities in pre-colonial societies. Edendale is one example.

The first two chapters chart the origins of the mission community in the social disruption of the 1830s and 1840s in the area north of the Orange, beyond the colonial boundaries of the Cape Colony, and its refuge in Natal in 1847. Here community members were immediately locked into colonial market relations. The third chapter considers the emergence of petty commodity relations at Edendale during the 1850s. Dependence on wages was still a factor during this period. What was new, and distinctive, about the move to Edendale was that for the first time it involved the purchase of land in freehold tenure by an African community in Natal. This chapter also ponders, therefore, the relationship between land ownership and the development of petty commodity relations.

Chapter Four considers the transition from Allison's overlordship to Wesleyan mission control and the emergence of a new 'community of elders'. It analyses the communal aspects of village life in church and school that created the unity within which individuals strove to achieve their independence in colonial life.

Chapter Five charts the involvement of the Edendale community in the speculative boom of the early 1860s and the impact of the subsequent severe economic depression. New communal farms emerged on land purchased elsewhere in Natal by the Edendale Kholwa. The subject of Chapter Six is the growth of a pioneering evangelical movement, the Unzondelelo, or Native

Home Missionary Society. It elaborates on new tensions between black evangelists and white missionaries as a result.

Chapter Seven considers the political response of the black Christians, the Kholwa, to the increasing institutional racism emerging in Natal. Theirs became a battle to win civil status against a sophisticated system of 'divide and rule' instituted by the colonial government at the behest of Theophilus Shepstone, Natal's Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA). The maintenance of customary law and the creation of a new form of 'tribal' authority set the parameters for the emergence of special kinds of subjects within colonial society. This was the origin of the creation of a division based on race that overlay the distinctly different stratification based on class. The Kholwa were included in this structure of control and were made subject to customary law, and headmen or indunas were appointed to adjudicate any disputes.

Chapter Eight develops the argument that the Kholwa adopted an ideology of 'tribalism' in the period after the Native Administration Law of 1875 had been promulgated. Growing segregation drove village politics in the 1880s into the very 'tribal' mould its members had so vociferously fought against in the 1860s and 1870s. Factionalism emerged in the community over the whole issue of whether there should be a headman or a chief in a predominantly Christian community. This struggle was further complicated by the legal divisions between those subject to customary law and those exempt from it, where the former were largely tenants and the latter landowners. The Church's role as biased mediator further compounded the divisions.

Chapter Nine looks at the effect on economic and political life at Edendale of increasing controls over the African population during the 1880s and 1890s. Responsible Government heralded a more systematic onslaught against African competition. Pass laws and discriminatory market practices combined to restrict the growth of African enterprise on any significant commercial scale. The struggle at Edendale became one of maintaining living standards and the middling class position attained in the course of the previous thirty years.

Chapter Ten analyses new forms of land tenure developed by the Kholwa during the 1880s. At Edendale, the last part of the century was a time of increased pressure on the land and diminished opportunities for agricultural production. Rent tenancy became a significant alternative means of making a living. This chapter considers the general economic conditions of Natal at this time, and how Edendale coped with the crises of drought, locusts and rinderpest.

Chapter Eleven considers the role of the Edendale Kholwa during periods of war and political crisis in the colony of Natal. It charts the gradual undermining of loyalty and faith in the colonial state from early collaboration in military operations against Bushmen raiders in the 1860s, and against Langelibalele's Hlubi in the 1870s, to co-operation during the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879. This is followed by a final chapter that traces political disillusionment after the Anglo-Boer War and the Bambatha Rebellion. This found expression in the formation first of the Funamalungelo, the society of those who seek rights, and later of the Natal Native Congress (NNC).

A note on sources

The history of Edendale has posed special problems. The peculiar circumstances of its origins, first as a refugee community, then as an independent mission experimenting with individual freehold tenure, gave a unique independence from control by mission society or State compared to other mission stations. It also meant that a solid record of its development did not exist.

There are four kinds of evidence from which this history has been written: mission records, official government records, newspapers, and oral evidence. What missionaries saw as important in writing reports for the London-based Wesleyan Society's Secretaries related largely to the measure of Christian piety achieved by converts. Productive labour and employment were discussed in that context. The same may be said of the social and political activities of the community. However, the journals and reports of the missionaries have made it possible to understand the interface of secular and religious life within the community. The Church also kept invaluable baptismal, marriage and death registers.

Official records are more varied, for they include a variety of departmental papers. Most important are those of the SNA, through whose office passed all matters pertaining to Africans. With regard to Edendale, the SNA dealt with applications for gun licences, passes and exemption from customary law, as well as more general administrative matters arising from the local government of the village. Native Affairs Commission reports from the 1880s include evidence from Africans, and are one of the few sources for African opinion, including those of the Edendale people. The deceased estates in the Supreme Court provide insight into how wealth and poverty were handed down from one generation to another. The protocols of notaries yielded a partial picture of patterns of credit and debt among some of the people in Edendale. This was filled out by checking the Public Debt Register in the Natal Archives.

Research into the title deeds register and title deeds in the Deeds Office made it possible to trace changing land ownership patterns.

Newspapers provided an insight into the 'spirit of the times', and occasionally they reported on Edendale because of its status as one of Natal's foremost model mission stations. Unfortunately the African converts, although usually literate, were not letter or diary writers like many of the white colonists, so virtually nothing survives that expresses their innermost feelings or experiences. This makes the survival of the *Inkanyiso yase Natal*, Natal's first African-owned and -controlled newspaper, a unique resource for the 1890s. It provides insight into the ideology and viewpoint of exempted Africans not to be found elsewhere.

What also survives is a somewhat slender oral history, confined to the memories of very few descendants of the *oNonhlevu* (old believers, first converts). The vision handed down is one of a romanticised idyllic life 'in milk', which glosses over early struggles, and which blames subsequent adversity on the 'stupidity' of individuals rather than on the circumstances in which they found themselves. Edendale's history is rapidly disappearing from the collective memory as old people pass away.

The nature of the sources has had to be interpreted through the prism of their particular social context in order to be used with any fruitfulness in reconstructing the history of the Edendale community. Whatever views were expressed by missionaries, officials, newspapermen or colonists had to be understood within their particular ideological perspective, and particular circle of social reality.

SHEILA MEINTJES, 2016

ENDNOTES

- 1 The term 'bantustan' has been used in preference to 'homeland'. The former connotes the idea of an apartheid creation, while the latter implies a belonging that belies its invention by the apartheid state.
- 2 Report of the Natives Land Commission, vol. 1, UG 19–16 and vol. 2, UG 22–16.
- 3 UG 8, 1940.
- 4 N. Gwala, 'Inkatha, political violence and the struggle for Pietermaritzburg', paper presented at Workshop on Regionalism and Restructuring in Natal, Department of African Studies, University of Natal, Durban, 1988.
- 5 See S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds), *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa* (London: Longman, 1980); W. Beinart, *The Political Economy of Pondoland, 1860–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); P. Bonner, *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires: The Evolution and Dissolution of the Nineteenth-Century Swazi State* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983); C. Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (London: Heinemann, 1979); P. Delius, *The Land Belongs to Us: The Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the Nineteenth-Century Transvaal* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983); J. Guy, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: The Civil War in Zululand, 1879–1884* (London: Longman, 1979); T. Keegan, *Rural Transformations in Industrializing South Africa: The Southern Highveld to 1914* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986); J. Peires, *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981).

- 6 The literature on this is vast, and a few of the more useful articles have been singled out: J. Ennew, P. Hirst and K. Tribe, "'Peasantry' as an economic category' *Journal of Peasant Studies* 4 (1977): 295–322; H. Bernstein, 'African peasantries: a theoretical framework' *Journal of Peasant Studies* 6 (1978–1979): 421–443; H. Friedmann, 'Household production and the national economy: concepts for the analysis of agrarian formations' *Journal of Peasant Studies* 7 (1979–1980): 158–184. See also F. Bechhofer and B. Elliott, *The Petite Bourgeoisie: Comparative Studies of the Uneasy Stratum* (London: Macmillan, 1981).
- 7 K. Marx, 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon' in *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Friederich Engels* vol. 1 (Moscow, 1969): 398.
- 8 See E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963). See also M. Edwards, *After Wesley: A Study of the Social and Political Influence of Methodism in the Middle Period (1791–1849)* (London: Epworth Press, 1948) and *Methodism and England: A Study of Methodism in its Social and Political Aspects during the Period 1850–1932* (London: Epworth Press, 1943); R. Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Working-Class Movements of England, 1800–1850* (London: Epworth Press, 1937) and *Methodism and the Struggle of the Working Classes, 1850–1900* (Leicester: Edgar Backus, 1954); H. McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1974); A.D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740–1914* (London: Longman, 1976).
- 9 M. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1920); R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1950).
- 10 *ibid*: 195.
- 11 Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*: 89.
- 12 Terms such as these come from the journals of missionaries in the field in the nineteenth century. See Methodist Missionary Society (MMS) records.
- 13 Royal Instructions, 1848. See E.H. Brookes and C.de B. Webb, *A History of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1965): 55.
- 14 See Chapter Three.
- 15 See D. Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Colonial Natal, 1845–1910* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971).

1

ON THE ORIGINS OF A MISSION COMMUNITY

*Missionary enterprise in transition from
pre-colonial fragmentation to colonial settlement, 1830–1847*

WHEN THE WESLEYAN missionaries moved into the territory beyond the boundaries of the Cape Colony in the 1820s, they moved into the area populated by the southern Tswana, the Griqua, and the Korana groups west of the Modder and north of the Orange rivers. There was considerable political fluidity in the region, arising partially from struggles for control by contending groups for trade and access to pastoral grazing. Until recently, these conflicts have been known somewhat unproblematically as the Difaqane.¹ For the Tswana, the earlier upheavals had gradually undermined the basis of subsistence production, so that by the 1820s a settled existence had been replaced by a migratory lifestyle dependent upon hunting and gathering, supplemented by the produce of much depleted herds of cattle. Well into the 1830s, the Griqua, with their guns and horses, held loose control over a wide area of Transorangia, and exacted tribute from the southern Tswana. But the Griqua were themselves a disunited ‘confederation’, unable to weld themselves into a sufficiently united force to assert uncontested hegemony in the region.² The Wesleyans, with their colonial and imperial links, added yet another influence to the complicated struggles in the region. Their role was double-edged, for while they brought the Gospel of the peace of God and the Kingdom of Heaven, they were also the harbingers of a new society that was ultimately to undermine the reproductive capacity of the societies in the interior.

This chapter analyses the nature of the societies from which the mission followers and converts came, and the factors that drew people to the mission. It seeks to understand the significance of the experience of conversion and residence on a mission station in the disturbed period of the 1830s in pre-colonial civil society. It attempts, also, to assess the impact of missionaries within pre-colonial society in general.

Missionaries in Transorangia, 1820s and 1830s: material considerations

By the time the Wesleyans settled at Platberg and Boetsap among the Seleka-Rolong of Sefunelo and the Griqua of Barend Barends in 1827, an uneasy peace had settled on the region. In one letter to the London Conference of the Wesleyan

Missionary Society, James Archbell wrote that the people believed the missionaries had taught them 'the way to sleep well'.³ Indeed, the diplomatic role of the missionaries had contributed to settling some of the differences between Taung, Rolong, and other groups, and in persuading the Rolong to establish themselves at Platberg on the Vaal River.⁴ This coincidence of peace with the missionary presence had its own ideological significance. Christianity could not be separated from the concrete role missionaries could perform in the service of the communities they sought to transform. Both the Griqua and the Rolong welcomed the missionary presence as a means of bringing colonial trade and traders into their midst at a time when they were attempting to reconstruct a more settled existence. While this gave missionaries a place among these communities, they could also be manipulated and their activities circumscribed by the chiefs and captains with other objectives. In addition, their connection with the Cape colonial government gave missions some immunity from interference by hostile forces – a factor acknowledged by the missionaries themselves.⁵

Local authorities allocated land to the missionaries to build their churches and homes. Because they lived hundreds of kilometres from any colonial towns, missionaries in the interior established their own vegetable gardens and possessed their own cattle and sheep for home consumption. Horses were used to move from one mission out-station to another in the course of evangelical work. Each mission station also had its own wagon, largely used for the annual journey to the colonial centres of trade, several weeks' journey by ox-wagon.

The mission provided an important contact with the Cape trading centres of Graaff-Reinet and Grahamstown. Mission adherents, local preachers, and class leaders, as well as servants, often accompanied missionaries on their annual trips. Hunters and traders from the interior also accompanied their products to the centres of trade. Tusks and hides were taken to the trading centres for sale to colonial merchants engaged in international trade. The money thus acquired was used to purchase livestock and seed, as well as guns and gunpowder. For some, cloth, sugar, and tea were also important items.⁶ The missionaries were important in introducing people from the interior to the colonial centres of trade and in enticing artisans and traders across the colonial frontier into the midst of the communities among whom they worked.

In 1828 two artisans were appointed: one, Mr Robson, to work at Platberg, and the other, James Allison, to join Barends' people at Boetsap. James Allison, who had left Barnabas Shaw's mission station at Leliefontein in the northern Cape that same year, finally joined the people of Boetsap in 1832.⁷

In 1831 a storekeeper settled on the Platberg station.⁸ 'The people are much delighted with the idea of being able to purchase what they might require in their own village without the trouble of a journey to Grahamstown,' wrote James Archbell.⁹

We do not know the extent to which money circulated beyond the frontier of the colony, but the existence of a store provided a new outlet for the sale of surpluses. A new form of exchange became possible. Artisanal instruction on the other hand was regarded by the Wesleyans as the handmaiden of their religious enterprise. Every mission station had a 'manual workshop' attached to the mission, which apprenticed youths to learn trades practised in the colony. Carpentry was the most common trade, but other skills such as masonry, shoemaking, tailoring, and even hat-making were taught at mission stations. At Leliefontein, James Allison had established a hattery, training Namaqua lads in the complex process of hat production. In his memoirs, Barnabus Shaw recalled its existence:

A Manufactory of hats was commenced, for the purpose of affording employment to the natives, and of creating traffic with the tribes in the regions beyond. Mr J. Allison was engaged for the purpose, and several boys began to learn the business, with whom he was perfectly satisfied. The trade, according to expectation, employed several persons; some in procuring wood, and others in preparing charcoal; some in cleansing the wool, and others in binding the hats. I was sorry to learn, that during my visit to England, in 1828, the works of the hattery had been suspended.¹⁰

Contracts made with parents of apprentices determined conditions under which youths were trained by the artisans.¹¹ These included the rights and obligations of both parties. Wages were paid in kind, in the form of a portion of the product, as well as in clothing. Money wages were paid after a certain level of proficiency had been reached.

Relative peace in the region brought regrouping and reconstruction at Platberg. Hodgson, the Wesleyan missionary at Platberg, expressed admiration at the zeal with which the Rolong built their new town.¹² Houses were erected with small gardens adjoining and, outside the town, land was allocated for cattle grazing and planting. The arable fields were tilled by the women who planted corn, water melons, and other vegetables. The social hierarchy in which public and political roles were assigned to men, and domestic and reproductive roles to women, was rigidly structured.¹³ In 1832 the Seleka Rolong were joined by Tshidi and Ratlou at Platberg. The chiefs, Sefunelo and six others, rapidly rebuilt their client following by supplying milk cows. In this period, the activities of the people led to a gradual reassertion of town life and the outpost cattle system. The growth of Platberg was rapid, from 230 households

in 1826 to 500 in 1829, and a population estimated at between 3 000 and 4 000 in 1832. This had grown to 5 000 by 1834. The growth in population at Platberg coincided with a period of drought and consequent food shortages, such that resources were strained and people were driven to migrate. In 1833 the Rolong settlement at Platberg and numbers of Griqua from Boetsap, under Kaptein Barend Barends, decided to move eastwards in search of water and grazing for their cattle herds.¹⁴

Initially, it was the diplomatic role of missionaries that could best be manipulated by the indigenous communities. Missionaries acted as important intermediaries between different groups. It was the missionaries who first met Moseme, of the Ramokhele (Marakheli) branch of the Taung, then Sekonyela of the Tlokwa, or the MaNtatee as they were known at the time, and finally Moshoeshe of the Sotho, from whom they acquired rights of settlement for the Rolong at Thaba 'Nchu to the east in the plains of Transorangia, an area more suitable for cattle and ideal for grain cultivation.¹⁵

If missionaries played an important role as diplomatic intermediaries on behalf of groups hostile to one another, and if they were important in bringing storekeepers and traders into the midst of these groups, the missionaries saw this simply as part of a more important whole: the inculcation of a Christian life into the indigenous people. Their diplomatic and commercial role won them a hearing and a place among a non-Christian people. They still had to convince the people that the Christian life offered more than their present existence. The question of spirituality is one not addressed in the mission records, not because it was ignored by missionaries but perhaps because it was too obvious to comment on. The message of peace and salvation preached by the missionaries no doubt held an appeal in the disturbed circumstances of people's lives in the 1830s and 1840s.

Conversion

Conversion was a particularly emotional affair, an apocalyptic event, which opened the subject to the influence of the missionary's teachings about 'the grace of God in truth ... the doctrines of repentance, regeneration, justification and adoption'. These Christian precepts required converts to live their lives according to certain organising principles derived from the norms of nineteenth-century English, more particularly Wesleyan, society. All the missionaries emphasised the combination of religious teaching and attending to the 'outward affairs' of the people.¹⁶ A settled agricultural and artisanal life, within a village possessed of a church, a school and a store, was seen as an accoutrement

necessary for the achievement of an ideal Christian existence. Attendance at sermons and religious classes, the 'means of grace', and abstaining from work on Sundays were the first steps.¹⁷ Indeed, congregations were always very much larger than the number of people on trial for membership or the inner core who had become members. The presence of large congregations testified to people's initial curiosity. But people were suspicious of Christianity's message.

Once hearers became convinced converts, a new routine and moral discipline were demanded of them. Early morning prayers, attendance at school, Bible classes, catechism and daily prayer meetings gradually weaned converts from their old habits. Class leaders were appointed to ensure that converts maintained church discipline. Further demands were made on the labour of converts too for they were expected to perform chores in the chapel or mission house and to work in the mission gardens. Quarterly 'tickets' were issued to church members confirming their adherence to the moral code laid down by the new religion. 'Backsliders' were urged to repent and return to the Christian fold.

Christian ritual played a very important part in helping converts to make the transition from one set of beliefs to another.¹⁸ Ritual is a symbolic representation of social relationships in society and acts, at the ideological level, as a kind of social cement. Christianity provided its own ritual, rites of passage, and symbolism. In Christian ritual, baptism was the first step in the long preparation of the convert in the passage leading to a new life in Christ. The convert then became a member 'on trial' until confirmed. Holy Communion, held once a quarter, linked the communicant directly to God. This had some resonance with traditional ritual associated with beer drinking, which linked the living with the dead ancestors. Periodic tea meetings were also sanctified occasions and performed a very similar, though less solemn, function to communion.¹⁹ Another meeting of spiritual significance was the 'love feast'. Here converts gathered to share their experiences of the manifestation of holy visitation.²⁰ Just as dreams and visions formed an important aspect of traditional spiritual life, so converts were able to transpose this emotional and spiritual experience through the structures provided by their new religious life. Tea meetings and love feasts were such occasions and celebrated a new-found communal unity among converts in the Church and Christian body.

The appeal of the Wesleyan Methodist system was that converts were drawn into the whole evangelical enterprise as lay preachers, class leaders and school teachers. Missionaries trained teachers to pass on their skills to others. In their

catechism classes people learned to read translations of the scriptures and to sing Wesleyan hymns. Through the Bible, they were introduced to completely new ways of interpreting the meaning of existence. Classes with the missionary gave rise to intense discussion about the Christian religion. It was a religion in which converts participated in an active disseminating role and one in which real material benefits were to be derived from membership, both in terms of spiritual satisfaction and temporal gain. The new religion introduced a completely new historical reality into people's lives through the medium of the Bible, complete with a past, a present, and a future. Missionaries taught that 'real' history began with Christianity. For converts, then, a new tradition presented itself which offered a way out of their present miseries or difficulties and which, in the new concepts of good and evil, provided the necessary justification for breaking away from kinship relations.

Mission station life

The missionary and his wife were instrumental as agents of this new universal power. This took both a material and spiritual form. As we have seen, there were benefits to be derived from their connections in colonial society in the form of material goods. Wagons, guns, provisions like sugar and tea, clothing and furniture – these commodities which missionaries brought into the interior served to emphasise their ties with a wider world. Annual trips to the centres of civilisation to acquire provisions or attend missionary conferences brought converts into direct communion with this new world. This gave missionaries the power of providing access even if it did not provide them with political power.

Missionaries provided some security to those who joined the mission, particularly after the Wesleyans negotiated the move to the Caledon area. This was reflected in the central place that the mission house, the Church, and the school were given in the spatial layout at Thaba 'Nchu.²¹ Recognition by the Rolong chiefs of the central place of the mission in the new Rolong settlement legitimised and deepened the process of Christian commitment.

In the pre-colonial context, missionaries also acted as midwives for the ideological change that accompanied material changes. The example of their own lives was a living model for converts to emulate. Shared conjugal devotion was one element of this. Missionary wives performed the tasks assigned to women by nature and by God. They bore children, and fed, clothed, and schooled them. Their role was to organise the domestic household. The missionaries performed traditional 'men's work'. Theirs were the heavy tasks

of building the homestead, the church, and the school, albeit with the assistance of the labour of mission adherents. They laid out vegetable gardens for home consumption. Adults and children from among the mission adherents were harnessed as apprentices, whether in the mission household where domestic skills were taught or in the artisanal and agricultural activities of the mission. In this way the new moral order was learned by example and by immediate experience.

The nuclear family, the ideal of family life preached by missionaries, could only flourish in the intimacy of a single homestead with definite spatial and architectural characteristics. The mission house had separate rooms for cooking, eating and sleeping; each with distinct kinds of furnishing. So missionaries encouraged their converts to do the same. In contrast to the circular homesteads of traditional culture, the square and the rectangle became symbols of 'civilised' life: houses, rooms, slates for writing on, tables, books, and even fields fell into these categories. Converts were taught the discipline and skill required to make and use them all, from brick-making to joinery, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the virtues of agriculture above those of pastoralism.

Most significant of all was that missionaries allocated certain tasks to men and others to women. A strict sexual division of labour pertained in the Sotho-Tswana agricultural society, as it did among the Nguni of south-east Africa. Comaroff has shown how the female domain of domestic and agricultural labour, though in one sense the 'privileged sphere of the woman' and thus protected by the spirits of the *badimo*, the female ancestors or living dead, was ultimately controlled by the male hierarchy.²² The difference between the traditional sexual division of labour and that of the missionaries presupposed quite different social interaction. The missionary model cross-cut traditional social relationships and in significant ways undermined the position of women. Ploughs, because they involved the use of cattle, were the preserve of men and had the effect of undermining the central role of women in the agricultural process. In this respect, missionary teaching constituted a very significant intervention in re-ordering the sexual division of labour in the life of their converts.

The missionaries taught men, not women, the new agricultural methods of ploughing, the benefits of enclosing fields, of irrigation, and fertilisation. One missionary in the northern Cape argued 'it is principally by attending to agriculture that the temporal good of the people can be promoted and their families prevented from ranging the desert in search of the necessities of

life'.²³ In societies where gathering *veldkos* was an important supplement to domestically grown food in times of drought, missionary prohibitions would have been seen as very disruptive.

The mission station was a vital part of this whole enterprise. For it was only on the station that converts could really begin to live their Christian lives to the full. Persecution of Christian converts occurred, but that was only one reason why missionaries began to advocate station existence. A more potent reason was the difficulty of practising the round of activities required of a Christian in a non-Christian environment. Perhaps most crucial of all, however, was that on the mission station, 'family religion', the key to the regeneration of Christian piety, could be practised free from the interference of the wider society. Family religion required the structuring of completely new marital relationships between men and women. A commitment to monogamy, sealed by God's blessing, was central to this.²⁴

In this process, the first generation converts developed a particularly close relationship with their missionary teacher. The missionary had the authority of the patriarch vested in him, and as head of the mission he could determine who could remain and who should leave the station. To transgress the rules of the mission, central to which were rules about marriage and family life, was to run the risk of expulsion from the church body and the mission station itself. On the mission, the new social relationships could be lived relatively free from the hostile pressure of all that had previously been familiar. A new sense of belonging could grow within the protective enclosures of the mission walls under the guidance of the missionary.²⁵ At the same time new loyalties and duties arose in people's relationships with one another, whether in marriage or in the Church, which redefined the self-identity of converts and set new limits to behaviour.

Most significant was the manner in which mission teaching was received by the people. The presence of missionaries led to a very serious consideration of the new faith. Assemblies were held 'for the purposes of inquiry and discussion'. In these meetings the missionaries were cross-examined as to the basis of their belief:

What reason have you to believe that Jesus Christ was such a man as he is described in the book that you tell us is the book of God? If Christ as you tell us was God, why did he suffer the Jews to offer such indignity to his person? And afterward to crucify him?²⁶

The people asked probing questions about the evidence missionaries had for the sanctity of the Bible:

How do you know that the book out of which you teach us is the book of God? Did God send it from heaven? If written by men, might they not be deceived? If God has power to prevent everything if he will, why does he allow war?²⁷

Africans were willing to listen and to debate. They were less eager to renounce the customs that held the social order together, as in the important rites of circumcision, which gave to men their superior place, or the rituals of betrothal, which recognised the separate, and subordinate, realms of women.

Mission schooling was at first viewed with suspicion. Attendance at school was spasmodic, once or twice a week at most. Children were involved in production too. From the age of ten or twelve, children were sent out to collect food, work in the fields, or tend cattle.²⁸ At Platberg, 79 boys and 123 girls attended school in 1832 – a small number when one considers that the town had more than 4 000 people by then. That more girls attended school indicates, too, the low esteem Africans accorded missionary education, and the lower status of women compared with men. At Boetsap, where the Griqua population was much smaller, a difference in sex ratios with 83 boys and only 37 girls at school suggests a different effect and perhaps even different priorities. The Griqua were themselves often refugees from Cape colonial society and more convinced of the usefulness of reading and writing skills.²⁹

Schooling comprised learning to read the Bible in the vernacular and to quote parts of the Wesleyan Conference catechism. Many people at both places refused to allow their children to attend school, arguing that ‘the children were without food and that we would not feed them’.³⁰ But even when missionaries tried to entice people by offering food, this was spurned. People were afraid of the potentially disruptive consequences of the new teaching.

The most crucial conflict between the missionaries and the people among whom they worked was over circumcision and bride payment. The older men among the Tswana argued that *boyoli*, bride-price and *bogwera*, circumcision, were essential to their existence:

without it they could neither marry, nor become men of eminence and though they would gladly yield to our importunity and allow the people to pray and sing, attend Church and abandon many of their practices; yet there were two of their old customs Bogwera and Boyoli which they could never forsake for they were interwoven with the very being of a Mochuana and God might burn them forever for the performance of them, but they could not give them up.³¹

This also became an issue between the Nguni and the missionaries in Natal. At the centre of this conflict was dispute about the relationship between individuals and society on the one hand, and between individuals and forces beyond their material existence on the other. The struggle revolved around

the power of the missionaries' God, and the power of the ancestors, *idlozi* or *badimo*, and a more shadowy High God, *uNkulunkulu* (among the Zulu) or *Modimo* (among the Sotho-Tswana) on the other.³²

Missionaries were intent on freeing converts from what they perceived to be the blighting influence of these pagan ideological practices. For converts, conversion often meant a painful renunciation of the central tenets of their identity as human beings in their own society. To become Christian was completely to alter their relationship to society and to their spiritual ancestry. God as creator and moving spirit in history was a novel concept. Missionary insistence on abandoning their traditional customs and adopting apparently revolutionary ideological practices gave religious conversion its power both to attract and to repel members of African society. It is not surprising that there were few converts. In 1834 there were twelve members from the Platberg circuit out of a population of over 5 000. Proportionately there were more members from Boetsap, where 77 members were recorded in 1834.³³ While missionary influence was more pervasive on society than is at first apparent, its objective role remained largely diplomatic. For those who took the step of becoming Christian converts, it meant trying to straddle the traditions of their past and the demands made by the religion and civilisation of their missionary mentors.

The move of the Rolong and Griqua settlements to the Caledon area opened missionary endeavour among the Sotho and Tlokwa living around Thaba 'Nchu and up along the banks of the Caledon as far north as Mparane, present-day Ficksburg. The Wesleyans were enthusiastic about the prospects for the spread of Christianity among these people. The Tlokwa had expressed the desire for a teacher and as the Wesleyan missionary James Archbell put it, 'more than any other tribe I have met with desire to be taught the things of God... Their chief Sekonyela is exceedingly friendly with us and frequently attends our ministry'.³⁴ In 1834 James Allison, recently appointed an assistant missionary, was sent to establish a mission station, Mparane, near Sekonyela's 'Great Place', Thaba Kuruheli.³⁵

James Allison, colonial missionary³⁶

In 1832, as a young catechist and master craftsman, James Allison had arrived in the Transorangia area to assist the missionaries. He came with his wife, Dorothy, whom he had married in Grahamstown in 1827. She had accompanied him to Leliefontein, and thence beyond the colonial boundaries into Transorangia. They had no children of their own but their household

always included young apprentices and children temporarily adopted to learn the 'civilised' ways of the missionary family.

Allison started work among the Griqua at Boetsap under the guidance of the missionary J. Edwards. He was to become one of the most successful missionaries in South Africa, although his name has remained obscure in the annals of mission history, particularly when compared to some of his more famous contemporaries like Dr John Phillip and Robert Moffat. The reason that Allison's evangelical success has received so little recognition arises from a number of factors. Probably the most important reason was the fact that the Wesleyan Missionary Society always regarded him as something of a maverick. Allison, unlike most of the other missionaries in the field in the 1830s and 1840s, was recruited in South Africa. The London Conference was reluctant to extend to 'colonial' missionaries the same conditions or status as 'home' missionaries, and even paid them less.

Initially, however, Allison's talents were welcomed by the older missionaries. James Archbell, in charge of the Bechuana Circuit, wrote of Allison in 1834:

Labouring with us in this mission in the capacity of an Assistant is a young man of good abilities, who has for some time past evidently been preparing for a more extensive usefulness in the work of the Ministry. His zeal and assiduity during the last two years has been made a great blessing to our cause here and his talents and virtues generally, highly recommended him to our notice as a proper person to be under employ in the preaching of the everlasting Gospel. He has had a tolerable education, has made some progress in the Sichuana, and is proficient in the Dutch. He is 30 years of age, has been married seven years, but has no family ... I take the liberty of proposing him for examination at the next District meeting.³⁷

By 1836 the missionaries all had problems with Archbell, whose political interventions among the Griqua and 'Bastards' of the new settlements at Lishuani and Platberg had caused divisions between missionaries.³⁸ Allison's relationship with Archbell was strained from this time onwards. Archbell influenced William Shaw against Allison, and this held back his acceptance as a full missionary.³⁹ Indeed, it was only with the advent in 1840 of a new superintendant in the district, James Cameron, that Allison found a sympathetic mentor. Cameron wrote of Allison: 'His talents as a Missionary are of the first order, and for the Gospel Ministry in general quite equal to those of many full and accredited missionaries'.⁴⁰ In spite of Cameron's repeated recommendations that Allison be accepted into the ministry, the London Conference remained bound to Shaw's contrary advice. Allison was only ordained in 1848, once he had moved to Natal.

By then Allison had spent eight years among the Tlokwa at Mparane. A few of those years had also been spent with the Boetsap Griqua who had moved to Lishuani and Mpukani. He also spent a year among the Rolong at Thaba 'Nchu. In 1844 evangelists trained by Allison settled among the Swazi. The evangelists were preparing the way for Allison who arrived in Swaziland in 1845.⁴¹ In late 1846 the Swazi mission at Mahamba was abandoned and Allison and his followers were forced to flee into Natal. He had converted scores of people in the region and had probably influenced many more. The independent mission he founded at Edendale, in Natal, nearly twenty years after he first moved across the Orange River, comprised one of the most important, advanced, and influential black communities in the colony. Some of its members came from those early missions in Platberg and Boetsap and the area along the Caledon, with many more originating in Swaziland. All were the fruit of Allison's missionary enterprise.

Allison's ideas about how to win converts to 'civilised habits' came from his own training as a craftsman and from his experience among the Wesleyan missionaries. Certainly Allison's own background dictated his particular conception of 'civilisation'.⁴²

Born in about 1803, he was a son of an 1820 settler family. Not long after their arrival in South Africa he was apprenticed to a Dutch artisan and farmer to learn the craft of hatmaking. A combination of artisanal and agricultural activity became a hallmark of his educative practice. After his apprenticeship Allison became a master-craftsman and, in connection with the Wesleyan Mission Institution at Leliefontein in the Kamiesberg under Barnabas Shaw, he apprenticed boys to work under him in contractual agreements with their fathers. It was while engaged as master-craftsman that Allison experienced his religious 'revival' and became a catechist. As a catechist, he joined the Wesleyan missions on the Vaal River in 1832. It was here that his first evangelical work really began and where he first put into practice his particular combination of religious teaching, 'the preaching and enforcing of the great principles of the Bible, without any dogmas', and 'training in the mechanical arts in order to complete their civilisation'.

The Caledon area

The Tlokwa were particularly favoured by the missionaries because of the greater involvement of men in arable cultivation. The missionaries saw this as evidence of a higher form of 'civilisation' and a 'superior intelligence' for it seemed to conform more with what they saw as appropriate roles for men.⁴³

Missionaries failed to appreciate that the involvement of men in agriculture was related more to the devastating effects of war and migration on their cattle herds than to any real difference between the Tlokwa and other Sotho groups. The greater involvement of men in agriculture among the Tlokwa was probably related to the depletion of herds that had occurred during the disruptive wars of the 1810s and 1820s and the cattle raiding of the Korana in the 1830s.⁴⁴

The missionaries were welcomed by Sekonyela, chief of the Tlokwa and son of MmaNtatisé, and by Moshoeshe, a rising Sotho chief established at Thaba Bosiu. Both were in the process of building rival power bases in the region and saw the usefulness of having missionary teachers in their midst, quite apart from the desirability of including more people under their jurisdiction with this new influx of large refugee settlements from Platberg and Boetsap.

The Caledon area had also suffered from the ravages of warfare in the 1820s. By the 1830s no single authority wielded hegemony in the region, and rival groupings were competing for power. It is clear from missionary accounts that life remained insecure in the decade following their removal to the Caledon in 1833. The Tlokwa, under Sekonyela, and the Korana, under various captains, raided one another for cattle and horses throughout the 1830s. This made attempts to rebuild a more settled existence quite precarious. The Sotho under Moshoeshe were also in the process of state building although they still rendered tribute to Dingane's Zulu kingdom. James Archbell commented:

Mosheswi is in constant intercourse with Dingan and the former is said regularly to supply the latter with Tiger skins and other articles of great value to the Caffers.⁴⁵

Despite the continued disruptions, however, the 1830s were a time of reconstruction. Among the Tlokwa, men, women and children were all involved in cultivating crops, both for trade and subsistence.⁴⁶ Driven from the Drakensberg foothills by earlier wars and described by Edwards as an 'athletic and warlike' people, the Tlokwa had proved industrious in establishing roots in the Caledon area:

The men work equally with the women in the cultivation of their gardens, constructing their houses etc. ... producing corn, beans, tobacco, pumpkins etc. in great abundance without irrigation.⁴⁷

James Archbell noticed that living among the Tlokwa, and subject to their jurisdiction, were a number of Zulu, 'refugees from Dingaan's assassination of Chaka, as well as some who were left from one of Chaka's expeditions'.⁴⁸ Thomas Jenkins also reported that several Sotho had erected villages in the neighbourhood of his mission at Mpukani among the Korana of Jan Taaibosch.

Jenkins believed that although some had come to the mission for refuge, 'others have come here for the sake of gain'.⁴⁹

Some of the 'Zulu' people became Allison's earliest adherents. They formed the nucleus of the future Edendale community. Among them was Job Zinyoani Kambule, who became a teacher at Mparane with a salary of £15 per annum.⁵⁰ He later became the first induna at Edendale. Jonase (Jonathan) Xaba and Daniel Mavuso Msimang were two members of the Hlubi scattered by the Zulu who later became prominent elders at Edendale. Their origins lay in the Klip River district of Natal. Their families were allegedly driven from the area by Shaka, and sought refuge with Sekonyela.⁵¹ Johannes Hlabati Kumalo, who became the induna at Driefontein, Edendale's chief offshoot, was a member of Dingane's Dhlambedhlu regiment who were part of the age-group born circa 1809. He was a mat-bearer when Shaka died.⁵² Barnabus Mtembu, Jacob Tshabalala, Adam Molife and Abraham Twala were also members of the Christian community clustered around Allison.⁵³ Not all the mission adherents were converted, although they attached themselves to the mission. Among them were Reuben Nhlela Caluza, Manchubi, and Sinathingi – men with more than one wife – who only came to Natal once Edendale had been established.⁵⁴

Along the Caledon these people were wholly engaged in agricultural pursuits. As clients of the Tlokwa, they had acquired not only protection but also access to land and seed, and possibly even the loan of a few cattle. There is also evidence to show that some men became migrant labourers in the Cape in order to purchase cattle and thus rebuild their herds.⁵⁵

The insertion of missionary enterprise into this politically fluid situation in Transorangia widened the choices open to individuals and refugee groups. To some, the missionaries' message of hope and salvation, combined with the possibility of securing means of subsistence, may have seemed a more advantageous form of clientship than that offered by either the Tlokwa or the Sotho chiefdoms. Allison's mission at Mparane provided such an alternative.

John Zulu Mtimkulu, a member of the Hlubi royal lineage, was one of the youths educated by Allison, as was Daniel Mavuso Msimang. Barnabas Mohoko Mtembu, a member of Moletsane's Taung, escaped from Boer slavery to join Allison at Mparane. He became a paid agent of the Mission Society and he and Job Zinyoani Kambule paved the way for missionary activity in Swaziland in 1844.⁵⁶

Not all converts moved to the mission station, nor were they all refugees. Sekonyela and some of his leading men placed their sons under the tutorship of Allison at Mparane during 1836 and 1837. During 1838 there was a wave of

conversions among the lads placed under Allison's care including David Silo, Sekonyela's son. This extended also to ordinary people, and some 80 people were converted.⁵⁷

Conversion gave rise to opposition, and even persecution, from the chief and elders. Many converts among the Tlokwa were women, for the missionary record specifically notes the opposition of husbands, one of whom tried to cure his wife by the magical means of traditional medicine 'but she refused, desiring only the blood of Christ. Others would threaten to shoot their wives if they went to the Chapel again or didn't stop praying'.⁵⁸

But men, too, were converted. The price was high for they had to face the painful consequences of missionary insistence on monogamy on the one hand, and on the other, they incurred the wrath of their chiefs:

The triumphs of the Gospel over the ignorance, prejudices and the false practices of the people of this tribe are neither few nor small. Polygamy which is a great hindrance to the cause of God has in some instances given way before the power of the gospel. One man who was soundly converted to God, had two wives: one of them (being the last he took) he was determined to put away, this one was a sister to the king. He being an ungodly man strongly opposed such a step as being disgraceful to the royal family: but the man was firm to his purpose... she said 'I will not leave'. Then he said 'I must leave you'. He then removed his house from her. Though he had been threatened with death by the king for this act, yet he stands fast in the Good way.⁵⁹

The advent of the missionaries began to be perceived as a disruptive, rather than a cohesive, element in the community. Sekonyela's attempts to consolidate his authority and rebuild his wealth were being thwarted. Korana raids in 1835, 1836 and 1838 depleted Tlokwa cattle herds and horse studs. Moreover, in 1837 the emigrant Boer farmers from the Cape began to filter into the region, adding another contesting party to the struggles for control over productive resources in Transorangia. Sekonyela hoped the missionary position at Mparane would hold Boer encroachment back. So he continued to attend church services.⁶⁰

Notwithstanding the missionary presence, the Boers moved ahead unhindered. Piet Retief, by means of force and guile, recovered large numbers of cattle from Sekonyela on Dingane's behalf in 1837. The event actually took place on the mission premises.⁶¹ After this, Sekonyela's goodwill towards the missionaries dwindled. They were not providing him with the diplomatic leverage he had hoped for. Moreover, Christian converts, until then tolerated in their homesteads, had refused to join Sekonyela's incursions on 'adjacent tribes' and subsequently faced growing opposition.⁶² In 1839 James Backhouse visited the whole area and wrote of the persecution of Christians near Mparane.

He reported that three believers had been accused of sorcery and condemned to death. When their executioners refused to kill them, Sekonyela himself 'took an assegai and plunged it into their breasts'.⁶³

Persecution of the Christians did not lead to the cessation of troubles facing the Tlokwa, however. Indeed, Korana depredations broke into full-scale war in 1840. Tlokwa settlements were destroyed, many people were killed, while survivors fled to the mountains or sought refuge on the mission stations at Mparane and Thaba 'Nchu.⁶⁴ Adversity swelled missionary support and missionaries recorded that by 1842 the congregation at Mparane had increased. By 1843 Sekonyela had healed the rift with the missionaries. Cattle stolen from them in 1840 were returned and he pleaded not to be regarded as an enemy.⁶⁵

The Swazi mission, 1844–1846

The decisive event for the origins of the future Edendale mission community, though, was the exploration of evangelical possibilities in Swaziland. In 1839 a deputation to Mparane of ten emissaries from the Baraputse, or the Swazi kingdom, sought missionary teachers.⁶⁶ At that time the missionaries had had neither the finance nor the manpower even to explore the potential of the Swazi request. In 1843 another deputation was sent, more insistent this time. Their chief, Sobhuza, had died. On his deathbed he had told his councillors of a dream

of white skinned people with hair like the tails of cattle who would arrive in his country bringing two things: *umculu* (a scroll or book) and *indilungu* (a round piece of metal or money). Sobhuza advised his people to accept the book (the Bible), but to refuse the money, and warned them never to harm these Whites, since, if they did, their country would be destroyed and they would disappear as a nation.⁶⁷

Philip Bonner's important study of the Swazi sets the context of the invitation to the missionaries to work in Swaziland. Although the Swazi conquest state resisted Zulu attacks in the 1820s and, after Shaka's death, had been able to consolidate and expand its political and territorial power, by the late 1830s it faced serious threats from outside. The Zulu under Dingane were threatening to exercise direct political control over Swaziland after their defeat at Blood River by the Boers. The Boers, moreover, had become yet another factor in Swazi foreign policy.⁶⁸

The Swazi hoped that the missionaries would act as a buffer between them and the Zulu. They hoped, too, that the missionary presence would assist in quelling divisions in Swazi society that had emerged in regional conflicts following Sobhuza's death. These threats to consolidation had evoked a

thorough reorganisation of the whole political and administrative system spearheaded by Thandile, Sobhuza's chief wife and mother of Mswati, who was the heir to the kingdom.⁶⁹

It was only in 1844 that the Wesleyan missionaries James Allison and Richard Giddy, accompanied by several African assistants, converts from the Caledon area, went on an exploratory journey to Mswati's royal homestead at Ludzidzini. For the Swazi, recurrent Zulu raids made the desire for a missionary presence even more urgent. In this context the missionary party was warmly welcomed throughout the country they passed through. The journey from Mparane is chronicled by Allison in his report to the mission society. En route they visited Langelibalele, chief of the Hlubi, who welcomed the missionaries, desiring a teacher and 'urging us not to delay, otherwise himself and people might be destroyed by Panda before the teacher arrived'. Already Mpande had stripped them of their cattle, according to Allison. Mhlangampisi (Motlakapise), beyond the Pongola, had also experienced Zulu raids. 'We found Mpande had been here too, and stripped the poor people of their all'.⁷⁰ Mhlangampisi begged that a missionary be sent in order to preserve his people: 'Every day that breaks excites our fears. We live in continual jeopardy. We wish the missionaries would come that we might repose in sleep.'⁷¹

A year later a mission sub-station with an African catechist was established. The journey of the missionaries excited a great deal of interest among the ordinary people too. According to Allison, it was the first time many of them had seen a white man, wagons and horses. The missionaries used this curiosity as an opportunity to preach the new 'word of life'.

Across the Mokhondvo (Assegai) River, Mswati's messengers accompanied the missionary party through the country of regional chiefs, who gave them generous hospitality. Nyamainja, a regional chief of the Dlamini, provided a sheep, a fat ox, as well as boiled pumpkin. Although the countryside presented a bleak contrast to the greenery of Lesotho, the missionaries commented on the different productive activity they witnessed.⁷² Nyesi, a regional chief closer to Mswati's homestead, seemed to derive his more influential position from the existence of the best quality iron ore in his neighbourhood. This was worked into hoes and exchanged with Delagoa Bay traders for beads and Dangaree.

At Mswati's homestead, presided over by his mother Thandile and his uncle 'Ompukuani', the missionaries heard eloquent speeches entreating them to stay. Using metaphors to describe their twilight existence in the face of enemies too strong for them, the Swazi expressed their hopes about the teachers. They would allow the people to 'come forth in the rays of the sun'. The teachers

would help to preserve the Swazi from destruction and allow them to 'return to the kraals of our fathers and leave this sickly part where we are dying daily'.⁷³

Thandile meant the political role she and her councillors proposed to assign to the missionaries as part of the process of state reorganisation that they were in the midst of effecting. A site was allocated for the missionaries at Dlovunga in the south, in the area where Swazi and Zulu were competing for control. They were to act as a protective buffer.⁷⁴

The missionaries proposed leaving two African teachers to prepare the people for the Gospel. Within a week a dwelling house and a chapel of reeds and poles had been built, and 150 fruit trees of various kinds had been planted. Barnabas Mohoko Mtembu, mentioned earlier, was one of the teachers. His father and brothers were to join him in Natal in the mid-1860s, not at Edendale where he lived, but as tenants on a farm rented from an absentee landlord. Job Kambule was the second teacher. It was largely through the agency of teachers like Barnabas Mtembu and Job Kambule that Christianity spread beyond the bounds of missionary activity.⁷⁵ Missionaries moving into new mission fields often found pockets of Christian believers whose origins lay in the kind of migration described here.⁷⁶

In 1845, James Allison arrived in Swaziland with his wife and a party of about thirty people: among them teachers, church members, and servants.⁷⁷ Behind them, at Mparane, they left a small Christian community with whom they maintained close links. When Mparane was destroyed in 1855, many of its members joined their relatives in Natal.⁷⁸ Some two days' travel from Mswati's homestead, a mission was built among the people of Sigweje, of the Kunene clan, at a place named Mahamba. Sub-stations among tributaries of the Zulu further south were also established.

The Wesleyan party wasted no time in beginning its evangelical work. Allison hoped that the Swazi rulers would not interfere in their work for a couple of years at least. He seemed aware of the political difficulties he might face between the contending factions in Swazi politics:

Our mission at present is in favour with all parties; and as the 'powers that be' are two days distance, we enjoy much quiet and freedom in the prosecution of our work: this is as pleasing as it was unexpected on my part. We are to have a royal visit soon; and there is some probability of the young King coming to reside near us, when in all likelihood our difficulties will begin. But this will not take place for a year or two, so that I hope the good seed will take extensive root before the influence of those in power begins to be felt.⁷⁹

Mswati's goodwill was shortlived for at Mahamba the mission found itself drawn into the political conflict arising from the opposition of regional

princelings to the restructuring of the state by the new regime. Malambule, Mswati's rival and half-brother, had moved his residence to the vicinity of Mahamba. At the same time he secured the support of Mpande, the Zulu king, in a bid to oust Mswati. Mswati's forces attacked the opposing parties and even raided the mission station where a number of people had sought refuge. The missionary party itself was left unharmed.⁸⁰

Caught in the crossfire of these conflicts, Allison decided to abandon the mission and flee south with a large body of Sigweje's Kunene people, among whom the mission had been evangelising. Large numbers of the Kunene sought refuge across the Pongola near the Dumbu mountains.⁸¹ Malambule escaped to Zululand. Allison, accompanied by a nucleus of sixty church members and some 200 to 400 Swazi refugees, all of them to become mission adherents if they were not already, escaped into Natal to seek refuge with the colonial authorities.⁸² It was this sudden event that gave the future Edendale community its distinctively Swazi identity.

In Natal, land on the Illovo River, near Richmond, 48 kilometres from Pietermaritzburg, was granted to the Wesleyan Mission Society for the refugee mission in a verbal agreement with the Lieutenant Governor. Allison sought approval from the Lieutenant Governor for the new mission at Indaleni, where the members had built a village 'after the manner of Europeans'.⁸³ At Indaleni, the refugees began to re-establish homes and gardens.

For most people on the new mission station, the process of adjusting to a new environment, though a strange experience, was not a new one. The process of Swazi state formation, similar to the processes in Transorangia, had involved considerable fighting, flight and insecurity. No one had known a secure, settled existence. Under the wing of the missionary, they had hopes that they would at last find peace and protection in the new colony.

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THE FORMATION OF INDALENI

*Integration of a refugee community
into Natal's political economy, 1847–1851*

ALLISON AND HIS MISSION followers sought refuge in Natal in 1847. During the next few years they were occupied in establishing themselves at Indaleni. This chapter focuses on their integration into the colonial polity of Natal during the late 1840s and early 1850s. It plots aspects of the transformation that took place in the Christian community in its early years in Natal. First, it considers the social and economic conditions of the burgeoning colonial political economy from the 1840s and its impact on indigenous people in Natal. Next, it attempts to show how the refugee community was integrated into that political economy. Finally, it looks at the relationship between the missionary and the community as it crystallised in the crisis with the Wesleyan Missionary Conference in 1851.

The context and boundaries of the refugee community's interaction were the social and economic conditions in Natal during this period. These formed the parameters within which the community developed its ideology and practices, mediated by missionary guidance. The contrast between communal kinship society dominated by a tribute-exacting king and a British colony exacting hut tax did not initially alter the rhythm of people's lives in a radical manner. The fundamental production unit remained the homestead and access to land was not foreclosed by the imposition of colonial rule. On mission stations adherents acquired land because of their relationship to the missionary. In Natal missionaries encouraged their converts to produce for colonial markets.

Social and economic conditions in Natal from the 1840s to 1860

When the Pax Britannica was imposed in 1843 on the area known as Natal, bounded by the Thukela River in the north, the Mzimkulu River in the south, and the Drakensberg in the west, the population comprised between 50 000 and 100 000 Africans and a small, scattered, Trekker community that had dropped from 6 000 people in 1840 to 365 families in 1843.¹ The indigenous people were agriculturalists and pastoralists involved in homestead production.

The Trekkers had mostly subsisted on hunting and barter with the African population.² They had made extensive claims to the land, much of which had subsequently been sold cheaply to Cape-based land speculators.³ After 1850 this demographic picture altered with the addition of 5 000 British settlers, whose numbers had risen to 8 000 by 1858.⁴

The advent of British rule and British settlement significantly altered the nature of the economy. The British settlers came from all social classes, people hoping to escape the ravages of the depression of the late 1840s. Few came with any capital for investment. Those capitalists who did venture to invest in Natal in the first twenty years of its existence were speculative Cape merchants, individuals or companies, some with links to British finance capital, who were unwilling to involve themselves in productive investment, apart from land speculation, because of the lack of any infrastructure and the inadequacy of a ready labour supply.⁵

We know very little of what happened to indigenous social relations in Natal before the 1820s, although some evidence survives about coastal peoples.⁶ Sections of the indigenous population had been locked into dependent tributary relationships with the Zulu kingdom since at least the second decade of the nineteenth century. They seem to have been largely organised in patriarchal kinship structures subject to the control of chiefs and elders. Appropriation of surpluses by the Zulu kingdom had severely strained earlier social structures. Indeed, Zulu hegemony had fragmented several social groups in the region. With the defeat of Dingane at Blood River in 1838, and the establishment of the Voortrekker Republic of Natalia in 1840, many of these refugees began to return to their native lands. This influx continued with the imposition of British colonial rule after 1843. It has been estimated that over half the African population of 100 000 in 1850 comprised returning indigenous peoples.⁷

The tribute exacted by the Zulu state was in some respects replaced by Voortrekker demands on surpluses through their claims to the land. However, the Voortrekkers did not have the coercive capacity to realise their claims.⁸ Slater has argued that African participation in hunting, barter, and even labour service enabled a remarkable revival in the fortunes of homestead production to take place. Neither the Voortrekker era nor the advent of British rule had altered the basic pattern of homestead production. This meant that labour remained a scarce commodity for the colonists in spite of the large African population in the colony. In African society, the production of surpluses for the payment of rent and other dues simply replaced earlier tribute exactions.

In the 1840s and 1850s Natal's economy was characterised by a very low level of development of productive forces with a largely rural population tied to the land. In this context, the role of the colonial state in the creation of a home market for manufacturing and agricultural production was very important. Slater has pointed to the divisions between different interests in Natal with respect to agricultural development.⁹ Traders, missionaries, and officials saw the possibilities of accumulation on the basis of African peasant cultivation. The colonial state was dependent for its existence on taxes levied on African producers.¹⁰ The state hoped, too, that their independent production would contribute both a supply of raw materials for the imperial market and a market for British manufacturers. White farming interests, on the other hand, wished to see Natal grow as a colony of settler commercial production in which Africans would provide labour.

Even before the first influx of 5 000 British settlers, the interests of white settlement were central in deciding the policy towards Africans. A Special Commissioner, Henry Cloete, had been appointed in 1843 to adjudicate in disputes between African and Voortrekker claims to the land. The real objective was to try to stem the outflow of Boer farmers from the region. Cloete's solution was to divide the indigenous population into those with aboriginal rights and immigrants who had come into the colony between 1839 and 1843. Only about 14 000 out of an estimated 100 000 people were recognised as having aboriginal claims. It was Cloete who decided that the location system was the answer to the settlement of African immigrants.

In March 1846 the Location Commission had been set up to delineate areas for African occupation. The commissioners were Dr William Stanger, the Surveyor-General; Theophilus Shepstone, the Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes; Reverend Newton Adams, a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM); Lieutenant Charles J. Gibbs of the Royal Engineers; and Reverend Daniel Lindley, American missionary to the Voortrekkers. Their terms of reference were to demarcate African reserves 'in such a way as will best prevent any collision between their interests and those of the emigrant farmers'. They proposed strong administrative control within ten locations governed by a superintendent, a resident agent assisted by officials and an African police force.¹¹

Although colonists were not directly represented on the commission, their views coincided with those of the commissioners. The overall assessment of the character of Africans tended to legitimise colonial need to control them:

Their universal character, as formed by their education, habits, and associations, is at once superstitious and warlike; their estimate of the value of human life is very low; war and bloodshed are engagements with which their circumstances have rendered them familiar from their childhood, and from which they can be restrained only by the strong arm of power.¹²

The location system was seen as a counter to these 'savage tendencies', with the addition of industrial and agricultural education provided by missionaries and funded by the State.

Slater argues that the Location Commission supported the development of African peasant production.¹³ However, the main recommendations of the commission were never implemented for lack of revenue. Instead colonial 'native' policy had to assume a different guise. It had to provide revenue and, *pari passu*, it had to control the indigenous population. Although this meant protecting the productive base of the African population, at the same time there was an active policy of limiting indigenous access to land. To achieve this end, indigenous social structures were maintained and colonial policy recognised customary law but limits were imposed on customary land rights. The locations demarcated comprised most of the poorest land in Natal: broken country remote from the hamlets of European settlement that were to become the centres of market activity.¹⁴ Further, legal access to land would have to take place in the new market for land as a saleable asset.

The demarcation of land raises the question of the State's genuine support for peasant production as the basis for the development of the economy. Location inhabitants provided taxes and labour for the State's infrastructural development, but their agricultural activity remained mainly at the level of subsistence. Even for the 1850s it seems more plausible to interpret the establishment of the location system, as does Freda Wolfson in an early thesis on 'Native Administration', as a means of control over the African population.¹⁵ The Location Commission reflects the interventionist role of the colonial government in creating conditions necessary for the economic development of the colony.

The commission also advocated the formal registration of contracts between masters and servants. The system was conceived as part of an overall programme designed both to control and to 'civilise'. The latter term was a synonym for 'labour' and implied the creation of a labour force with skills requisite to an economy in the global network of the British Empire. Lack of revenue, however, altered the recommended path of development. The Magistrate's Commission endorsed the aspect of control in a rather different way.¹⁶

Three months after the Locations Commission report, the same commissioners reported on their findings in the Magistrate's Commission. In a fascinating about-turn, they used a different argument to effect the same outcome. Now instead of 'the cunning faithfulness of the savage with an admixture of many of the depravities of civilized life', the indigenous people were described as 'valuable and indispensable assistants to the white settler'.¹⁷

The commissioners argued that once the African population was settled on the locations, 'the presence of so many Natives, most of them available as labourers, should be an inducement to Emigrants'.¹⁸ During the next few years, Shepstone, as Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes, effected the removal of Africans into the locations demarcated by the commission. Shepstone was himself to admit in 1852 that the locations were too small for the needs of the African population they were meant to serve.¹⁹

The new policy did not, however, alter the steady flow of Boer farmers leaving the colony across the Overberg. There was a great deal of confusion surrounding Trekker land claims. In the proclamation annexing Natal as a British colony, provisos were made that land claims would be recognised upon evidence of twelve months occupation. Full recognition was granted to only 198 out of 1 780 registered farms, with another 173 claims to be processed. The occupation clause jeopardised 186 claims and 760 were rejected altogether. Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, recommended that the first category receive 3 000 acres, the second, 2 000, and that all future grants be limited to 2 000 acres.²⁰

Delays in the process of recognition gave rise to intense dissatisfaction among the Boer community. By 1847 only eighteen grants had been issued. Moreover, Trekkers resented the priority given to the 'native question'. Upon Sir Harry Smith's arrival in Natal in February 1848, he dismissed the Location Commission and appointed a new commission without Shepstone or the missionaries. This, the Land Commission, dealt more liberally with Boer claims than Cloete's previous policy had done.

Despite the intentions of government commissions, location settlement did not solve the labour question. Indeed, the shortage of labour had, by the 1850s, induced the government to introduce measures to encourage Africans into the labour market. In 1849 a hut tax was imposed on all Africans except those in wage employment on white farms or other white enterprises. Refugee regulations made black immigrants liable for labour service on white farms for a fixed time and wage.²¹ But even these measures were no guarantee of a regular labour supply.

The SNA records are full of complaints by farmers during the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s about the inadequacy of a labour supply. Moreover, the available labour was seen as unreliable because labourers were continuously leaving employment without notice in order to return to their homes. In 1850, to meet some of the complaints with respect to labour, the Master's and Servants Ordinance No 2 was promulgated: it established control over all servants regardless of race and had severe penalties for breach of contract. The colonial authorities also introduced a forced labour service, the *Isibalo*, for all Africans living in locations or as squatters on Crown lands. Chiefs in the locations had to provide the government with certain numbers of labourers from their followers.

State intervention thus influenced the path of economic development, but was not alone in determining its direction. More important, perhaps, in setting the actual limits were economic relations within colonial society and their place in the British economy.²²

Economic relations in Natal were largely determined by the level of development of land, labour, capital and technology. There was little large-scale productive enterprise. It was only those few capitalists involved in sugar production by the late 1860s who contributed in any significant way to the early process of social differentiation in the social division of labour. Attempts to create a viable cotton producing industry in the late 1840s had failed for want of labour. On the whole, the division of labour and labour processes in the colony were relatively simple. The population was almost exclusively agricultural, and what manufacture there was was drawn from small workshops with family labour and some wage labour. Simple tools and small-scale enterprise reflected the penuriousness of the people and the economy in the 1850s and 1860s until sugar production altered the balance of economic forces in the colony. Before the development of the sugar industry, petty commodity production by both black and white producers for local consumption, with some export orientation, occurred. It was small-scale not only in terms of volume but also in the size of the workforce, the capital and the technological inputs employed.

Natal's early economy was dominated by Cape merchant capital, although settlers also established merchant emporia in Durban and Pietermaritzburg and also traded in the upland areas.²³ Natal was largely an entrepot for products of the hunt and the pastoralism of Overberg farmers. Lack of commercial production determined the limited nature of economic development in Natal and the nature of state intervention in the economy.

In the early years of Natal's colonial era, this small-scale, petty commodity production was fostered by the government. Loans were made available to agriculturalists, whether black or white, to purchase ploughs and seed of commercial crops. Initially, because there was little private capital investment in the area, there was a need for direct state intervention in the creation of an infrastructure and a labour supply.

Meanwhile, land speculators were able to extract value in the form of rent from a dependent class of African tenants – a small-scale peasantry. Only to that extent was African production subject to 'control' by capital as distinct from the State. State intervention, on the other hand, impinged on production relations in a more overt way. The hut tax was claimed either in the form of cash or specific crops like maize, sesamum or cotton.²⁴ Significantly, it was not claimed from 'natives in the actual receipt of monthly wages from the proprietors or occupiers', a clear indication as to the purpose of the measure.²⁵ The necessity for Isibalo, forced labour, is further reflection of the poor development of commodity relations.

Impact on indigenous social structures

Although significant pre-colonial political and economic structures remained intact, their subordination to the colonial state altered the scope of their overall reproductive capacity. In the locations chiefs and headmen continued to rule though subordinated to the Diplomatic Agent, later the Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA). Chiefs were subject to the Lieutenant Governor as Supreme Chief. In the locations, chiefs continued to allocate land, settle disputes, and even to receive tribute, if on a more limited scale, despite the fact that this was banned in theory by the colonial government.

Colonial rule imposed a monetary value on labour and its product. The introduction of markets enabled a loosening of non-monetary ties of reciprocity and redistribution in the reproduction of pre-colonial relationships. But full commoditisation developed unevenly among the African population in Natal.²⁶ For one thing, land in the locations remained inalienable. Moreover, while large numbers of African cultivators seemed to respond to 'market' opportunities, if one looks at the *purpose* of production it is clear that the process of commoditisation was not necessarily accepted *ab initio*. It would seem that, in effect, it was resisted by the majority of African cultivators in Natal during the whole of the nineteenth century. Rights to land, for instance, were still sought on a communal basis, usually spearheaded by a chief. The locations provided for this. Even individual ownership was sought for

communal use, as evidenced in Umnini's search for title in the 1850s.²⁷ As late as the turn of the century, purchase of lands by syndicates rather than individuals was commonplace among Africans.²⁸

Although the colonial state had set about limiting the availability of land for African occupation by means of the location system during the 1840s, it had been unable to expropriate all the land. Nor had it been able to force all Africans into the locations. Locations or reserves comprised only one tenth of the land in Natal and by 1882 less than half the African population of 169 800 lived there. The rest of the population of about 42 600 people lived on Crown lands as squatters paying rent to the State, or on privately owned land as tenants.²⁹ No rent was charged in the locations. The hut tax was levied by local magistrates through the chiefs. But elsewhere colonial rule meant land had acquired a new value and rights to its use were obtained through purchase or the payment of rent. Distinct and different relations emerged between the agricultural household and the wider economy in the process of reproduction on locations, rent-paying land holding, or freehold plots.

Reciprocity and non-monetary ties of various kinds, like kinship and clientship, maintained household reproduction in the locations. Chiefs and elders were able to mediate access to land, labour, credit, and even produce markets and thus establish a privileged position for themselves. Some groups maintained these relations on Crown lands, the chief or headman paying rent on behalf of the group. Others even purchased land to reproduce their distinctive forms of communal life. However, the initial impact of the demands of the State for taxes and other dues seems to have been to extend the production of their staple crops for sale on the market to pay dues to the State without any substantial alteration in the actual aims of production. In the 1860s there was indeed the gradual adoption of the plough, for example, among the Hlubi of Langalibalele that probably had a significant impact on the sexual division of labour and, hence, on the organisation of agricultural labour processes.³⁰ But the major objective of communal groupings seems to have been to produce sufficient surpluses to meet their tax and other obligations to the government and to continue to reproduce their own social relations as far as possible within the new constraints of colonial rule. Neither land nor labour were commodities for those living in locations.

Nevertheless, a significant number, perhaps as many as one third, of the African population were driven to participate in market relations either because they actually lost access to land altogether and were forced to labour for others, or else because their access to land depended upon rent or purchase.

This was certainly the context of the establishment of the mission community at Indaleni and later at Edendale. Unlike most African groups in Natal, the refugee community was from its very inception completely dependent for its existence on buying and selling both labour and commodities in the Pietermaritzburg market. On arrival in Natal, community members who had learned various artisanal and agricultural skills suited to a simple commodity economy were relatively impoverished in relation to their own past possession of wealth in cattle and in relation to the new concepts of wealth in colonial society.

Integration and dependence in a new economy

In late 1846 between two and four hundred refugees had arrived in Natal with James Allison. The Wesleyan Mission Society applied to the colonial authorities on their behalf for land for a mission station between the Umkomaas and Illovo rivers near Richmond. Permission was granted for the mission community to settle at Indaleni but neither the tenure nor the extent of the station was clearly delineated – issues that were to cause misunderstanding between the Wesleyans and the colonial authorities in the 1850s.³¹ The refugees arrived in Natal at a time when the colonial authorities were still trying to formulate a viable ‘native policy’ of which the location system was a part. One of these proposed locations was to have been in the Umkomaas region, and would have included Indaleni if delimited. Although the Lieutenant Governor was unable to give official permission for the establishment of Indaleni pending the implementation of the commission’s report, the Wesleyans proceeded with the establishment of a mission station. By mid-1848, a mission house, a chapel, and village were already laid out and sixteen European-style cottages had been built.³²

Insecurity of tenure, however, dogged the mission community from the very beginning. The terms of tenure constituted a contentious issue between the Missionary Society and the government. The Society, through Allison and William Shaw, the General Superintendent in Grahamstown, sought title for the 12 000 acres in use by the mission.³³ Government reluctance to grant title rested on the Land Commission’s decision not to create a location in the Richmond district. Indeed it initially granted the land to Gert Rudolph, a Trekker claimant.³⁴ After letters and petitions to the Lieutenant Governor, Rudolph was compensated with land elsewhere but the Wesleyans were still not granted title to the land. Instead the land was granted to the County Council, became rateable (rates were in fact paid by the Society), and was

looked upon as land for the future use of Richmond village.³⁵ The mission's claims to it were ultimately limited to the least attractive section without water frontage while applications from white settlers were favourably considered.³⁶

Because the community at Indaleni comprised refugees under the guidance of a missionary, its relationship to the colonial political economy was somewhat different from that of refugees returning to their homelands after the retreat of Zulu hegemony. The people had no need to subject themselves to the rule of any particular chief in order to establish themselves. Indeed, in some respects the mission society took on the role of chief through the agency of the missionary. Missionaries, however, bore a quite different relationship to the State than did chiefs. Chiefs and headmen were members of a subjugated society and were directly subordinated to the administrative control of colonial authority. Missionaries, on the other hand, were subjects of the British state, with some political weight derived from their connections at the metropolitan centre. The effect of this was to give them relative independence from the interference of colonial authority on the mission. There was something of a contradiction in the role of missionaries, however.

While missionaries maintained an independence from colonial authority, they also upheld that same authority. As far as the State was concerned, missionaries acted in many respects as magistrates on their mission stations, as was the case with Allison. One publicised case adjudicated by Allison suggests that in early Natal a kind of informal moral justice operated somewhat differently from more formal law. A thief caught stealing vegetables from the gardens of Indaleni inhabitants was summarily tried by Allison and made to pay a fine.³⁷ In later years, such an incident would only have been resolved through the criminal courts. On the mission station itself, the missionary also upheld and taught the laws of the colony.

In many respects the Indaleni refugees were settlers like any other, and certainly their mission training equipped them well for participation in colonial society. The primary goal of the mission was to create a Christian community imbued with 'civilised' habits of industry. At Indaleni, just as at Mahamba and Mparane before, missionaries taught the meaning of 'work'.

Pastoralism promoted idleness, and agriculture 'civilisation'. Allison preached and enforced the 'great principles of the Bible'. Secondly, he focused on artisanal instruction, an aspect of education he thought had been neglected by the Wesleyans. As he commented to West, the Lieutenant Governor, his strategy embraced 'What I may term the defective part of missionary enterprise, viz. teaching the mechanical arts to the natives who have embraced

Christianity in order to complete their civilisation'.³⁸ A government grant-in-aid for industrial education made the second part of his enterprise possible.

The first generation missionaries also paid lip-service to a belief in the transforming power of Christianity in creating new men and women.³⁹ Though they respected the moral and intellectual capacity of their converts, they also firmly believed in the necessity of constantly overseeing that transformation. This could best be done on the mission station in relative freedom from the 'evil influences' of aspects of civilised existence. The Wesleyans derived their model from an idealisation of pre-industrial village England. It was in the rural context, by encouraging the growth of an agricultural small-holding village community, that they believed lasting benefits of Christianity and civilisation could be achieved. Theirs was a strongly anti-industrial and anti-urban ideology, legitimised by Christian ethics and practice.⁴⁰ Another equally important and entirely practical reason for Allison's emphasis on agricultural and artisanal occupations in mission education was the need to make the station self-sufficient. Shortage of mission funds was a perennial problem in the mission field.

On the Indaleni mission station the mission community had begun to develop its Christian corporate existence around the church, the school and the village, relatively free from state interference despite its ultimate dependence on the State for land and the school subsidy. The missionaries themselves had something of an ambivalent relationship to government demands on the converts. On the one hand, they approved of the overarching peace and security provided by 'civilised' government and they certainly benefited from the material support of their enterprise. But they also depended on a more vigorous African agency to build the Christian Church.

Government support for missions arose from somewhat contradictory objectives. On the one hand, government policy was to control the African population and foster a labour force for the white colonists. On the other hand, it provided incentives for agricultural production regardless of colour.

The inhabitants of mission stations were equally subject to this contradictory set of policies. Colonial rule and, with it, the emergence of a market for land and labour had changed the relationship of the missions to wider society. Payment of taxes and demands for labour were sought as much from the Christians as from the rest of the African population. Initially, the Indaleni Christians were eager to find wage employment. They needed money to feed and clothe themselves and to begin acquiring the accoutrements of trade and production. They were fulfilling government objectives as far as labour was

concerned. For the State, the evangelical role of the missionaries was less important than their role as civilising agents. Mission education was to teach the dignity of labour, and, above all, send their charges out to work for others. As far as government was concerned, mission Africans, so recently emerged from barbarism, would be the vanguard of a disciplined, trained labour force.

In the first years of settlement this was the course the Indaleni neophytes took. Allison himself testified to the usefulness of his teaching when he told West 'Youths instructed by myself in the far interior have just completed the erection of one of the last dwelling houses in Pietermaritzburg'.⁴¹ James Cameron, Wesleyan District Chairman in Transorangia, visited Natal in August 1848 and reported on the advance of the Indaleni inhabitants: 'With them the knowledge and practice of duty go hand in hand. Some of the young men are becoming expert workmen,' he told the Society's Secretaries in London.⁴²

Some years later, Captain Garden, a gentleman officer stationed with the 45th Regiment, approvingly commented in his journal on the industrial education provided by the mission.

[It] has been the means of providing a great deal of steady labour for the market. Many of them have been employed by the Government in making Roads and building bridges and the Acting Surveyor General once testified when a discussion upon the subject took place that they were reported to be steady hard working and well conducted men.⁴³

But the basis upon which mission adherents went out to work was somewhat different from that called for by government and colonist. The Indaleni settlers had arrived in Natal virtually destitute. This inevitably drove them to seek wage labour in the colonial market. But they also engaged in barter and trade in order to establish themselves:

the native Christians have been most industrious, besides cultivating their gardens, building their houses, they purchased Poultry from the Heathen Kaffirs, which they've resold in PMburg, 25 miles distant, by which means our whole congregation is now properly clothed in articles of British manufacture.⁴⁴

While Allison's industrial training provided the basis for wage work, at the same time it also provided the basis for independent petty commodity production and artisanal activity. As James Cameron observed on his visit to Indaleni in 1848: 'they are learning rough carpentry with such success, as to be able to make wheelbarrows not much inferior to those of professed tradesmen'.⁴⁵ These were sold mainly to the government at a cost of twenty shillings apiece. Superior barrows cost thirty shillings. The manual labour school made a hand cart, for which the profit was £3. The boys were apprenticed to the mission and

were paid wages of five shillings per month and provided with food, clothing and soap. They all seem to have worked in communal gardens growing seed beans, from which the mission made a profit of fifteen shillings per month. The boys also did other jobs around the mission like cutting thatch for Mr Allison which earned the school £15. The mission was both Christian mentor and employer.⁴⁶

Nor was it only the men who participated in economic activity in this way. Little evidence survives for the productive activity of women in the community. Women were in many respects victims of mission gender ideology. Fundamental to their belief was the view that a woman's place was in the home, as wife and mother. If they were involved in any other area of production, as almost certainly they were, missionary myopia precluded comment on it. Women were engaged in production for the home and in wage labour. In 1849 an advertisement appeared in the *Government Gazette* testifying to their activity in at least one productive sphere, clothing manufacture:

A small supply of children's dresses, aprons, pincloths, etc, have just been received, (made by the Natives in the School of Industry, under the Superintendence of Mrs Allison at the Indaleni mission station) and are for sale at the house of Mrs Brickhill, between the hours of 10 and 3 each day, commencing on the 21st instant, where a regular supply of such articles will in future be kept.⁴⁷

The money thus earned accrued to the mission. Girls were also apprenticed to the mission to learn sewing skills and, although the duration of their apprenticeship was not specified in contracts, they earned a wage of one shilling per month. They were provided with food and clothing as well as soap.⁴⁸

The ideology of 'a woman's place is in the home' as 'a good wife' dominated the purpose of female education. Allison outlined this in a report to West on the Indaleni Mission, saying 'Mrs Allison conducts a girls' school of industry, consisting of 32 native girls, who are taught with a view to their becoming suitable wives'.⁴⁹

Mrs Allison's training had a significance beyond that of providing 'suitable wives', however, for if her pupils failed to secure husbands and engage in full-time domestic labour in their own homes then their training fitted them equally well for hired service in the homes of others, whether white colonists or the wealthier families of the community itself. Moreover, the productive role of women was important in contributing to the establishment and subsequent reproduction of a small-scale, family-based productive unit that emerged on the mission station. Just as with men, their mission training facilitated a

move into wage labour and out again as necessity dictated. During the first few years of Indaleni's existence, and even well after the move to Edendale in 1851, it was not clear whether wage labour would form a permanent feature of occupational activity for men and women. Though missionaries taught the value of labour, they particularly encouraged their mission adherents to become independent producers.

The success of the Indaleni community created hostility among struggling British immigrants in nearby Richmond. One immigrant decried 'missionaries and their Caffirs – and the former Mr Allison principally ... the Missionary Caffirs were a lazy, insolent and extortionate lot of rascals'.⁵⁰ The terms and tone used about mission educated Africans varied inversely in relation to their success. This particular comment was made by Mr Bazeley, a neighbour of the mission whom Allison once referred to as a 'wealthy Englishman who had a great cattle Kraal at Richmond'.⁵¹ Bazeley resented the independent access of mission station Africans to their own means of production. Frustration over his inadequate labour supply spilled over into hostility to the Indaleni Christians who were not available for employment on his farm. His anger was reflected in finding fault with their independent activity for he told Captain Garden that people at Indaleni had sold him a wagon of shoddy workmanship. He felt cheated. He complained that the colony needed 'men of capital and practical knowledge as well as labourers who understood their work ... instead clerks and needy gentlemen had come out who were of no use'.⁵²

The Indaleni community left its pre-colonial roots behind relatively quickly. James Cameron commented on the transformation of the people on his visit to Natal in 1848:

Indaleni stands on a mountain ridge, and its neat white-washed cottages have an imposing appearance as seen from the surrounding hills. The principal residents on this station are Baraputsa or Amaswasi, who when war drove Mr Allison from their country, chose to follow him, not only to escape the assegai and the flame, but also to enjoy the benefits of the Gospel. Many of them know the grace of God in truth, being experimentally acquainted with the doctrines of repentance, regeneration, justification and adoption. Their lives are so perfectly accordant with Christian precepts that they are said not to retain a vestige of their former heathenism.⁵³

If conversion and acceptance into the Church is a measure of transformation, as I have argued it is, then Allison's success rate was high. He reported to the London headquarters of the Mission Society that he arrived in Natal with 32 candidates for baptism. By 1850 he had baptised 120 people, of whom 24 were 'Natal Caffres' and the rest converts from the refugee Swazi community.⁵⁴ During the first four years at Indaleni, 60 youths had passed through the

manual labour school and were subsequently to be found labouring outside the mission.⁵⁵ Mrs Allison had 32 girls in her industrial school in 1848.⁵⁶

The apprenticeship of young people to the manual mission school not only provided them with useful skills for the market, it also provided the mission itself with free labour. The mission also employed the labour of the community at large on mission building schemes in exchange for food, while a few people were paid wages of between three and five shillings a month. Some members of the community, for example Richard Hlogambi and Obediah Sontusa, sold thatch to the mission for the chapel roof.⁵⁷ It seems that, in return for access to mission land, members of the community provided their labour services to the mission. It was with the labour of converts that mission houses, chapels, and schools were built. Indeed, this occasioned some dispute about who actually 'owned' the chapel and school on the mission. The community felt they were theirs by virtue of their 'free' labour service, while the mission society believed that the labour given to the mission was a charge in return for the benefits derived by the community.⁵⁸

Dissolution of Allison's mission

The whole Indaleni enterprise was placed in jeopardy when in mid-1851 Allison was notified that he was to be transferred to the Transorangia mission. This move had arisen out of earlier quarrels between the missionaries in the Natal District. James Archbell, the senior missionary, and W.T. Davis had both won the disapprobation of their colleagues for engaging in 'worldly not spiritual pursuits'. Archbell in particular had 'acquired land and property to an extent inconsistent with his calling as a missionary. He is Lord of a province, rather than master of an Estate'.⁵⁹ Three missionaries, Allison, Richards and Holden, had refused to co-operate with Archbell as a result. Allison had in fact written to William Shaw about what he considered to be the parlous state of the Wesleyan Society's Natal mission.

Shaw called a special meeting at Mount Coke, which was boycotted by the three complainants, who had appealed directly to the authority of the Wesleyan Conference in England.⁶⁰ At Mount Coke, the three were 'tried for contumacy', and it was decided to transfer Allison to the Transorangia 'Bechuana' mission.⁶¹ Allison refused to comply and was consequently suspended from the Wesleyan ministry in 1848, only a year after his ordination. In high dudgeon, Allison resigned but continued the mission on his own account. In 1851 the London Conference reinstated Allison but confirmed his transfer to the Bechuana district. Allison decided to resign rather than leave his converts at Indaleni.

Allison's resignation sparked off the most extraordinary religious and personal conflict within the Wesleyan community, every detail of which was aired in the colonial press. The *Natal Witness*, edited by David Dale Buchanan, supported James Allison. The opposition paper, the *Natal Independent*, edited by James Archbell, by now retired from the ministry, took the side of the Wesleyan Missionary Society against Allison. The affair was even publicised in the *London Times*.⁶²

Reverend Horatio Pearse, new chairman of the Wesleyan Mission Society in Natal, had accepted Allison's resignation 'in accordance with a semi-official and semi-friendly understanding previously made'. The 'peaceable aspect' of the matter took a turn when Pearse got wind of a rumour that Allison contemplated joining the 'Reformers', the movement that had arisen in Britain against the more authoritarian aspects of Wesleyan doctrine. He went post-haste to Indaleni, seeking an explanation. At this meeting all Allison's frustrations erupted and he agreed that he had been making arrangements to join the Reformers. This action, as far as the local Wesleyan missionaries were concerned, was tantamount to treason, nullified his resignation and justified his summary expulsion from the Society. The whole matter became one of intense public interest as the press took sides. The *Natal Witness* denounced 'this summary exercise of priestly Tyranny'. The issue continued to be in the public eye for two months as the Wesleyans accused Allison of corruption and bad management. Allison defended himself in lengthy letters outlining the details of his problems at Indaleni, including his earlier suspension without pay during 1849. The Wesleyans, said the *Natal Witness*, were composed of two classes (with the exception of individuals like Allison and Holden). The first were

the drones. A servile race who instead of being messengers of mercy to the heathen, appear to be sent out as sharp-shooters for the Society ... to increase influence ... The next are the political agitating, land jobbing, buying and selling, money making men.⁶³

What the newspaper found most objectionable was that

While Mr Allison is solemnly and publicly charged with wasting a portion of – four bottles of oil! – the money making men who have acquired herds, houses, lands by tens of thousands of acres are all held harmless of blame, notwithstanding the litigation and scandal attendant on their proceedings.⁶⁴

However, this 'plot of modern priestcraft' led to an important new development in the history of missionary enterprise in Natal. Allison mobilised the Indaleni community behind him in his struggle against the Mission Society. He called

a meeting of all the leading men in the community and told them of his resignation and quarrel with the Mission Society.

Affidavits collected by the Wesleyan missionaries eight years later suggest that Allison warned the community about their insecurity of tenure. He told them that part of the land was to be sold to European farmers and that unless they moved with him they would be scattered. He urged them to send a memorial to the Lieutenant Governor seeking permission for Allison to remain as their missionary, 'or that otherwise, if he were removed they would be as fatherless children, but whose mother is subsequently united to another husband'.⁶⁵ A memorial sent to the Lieutenant Governor dated 15 July 1851 implored him not to allow Allison's removal: 'In the event of such a thing taking place, we shall be scattered like chaff'.⁶⁶

Although Allison's expulsion was confirmed, and the Lieutenant Governor did not intervene, the community was not 'scattered like chaff'. Rather than live on at Indaleni under conditions of uncertain tenure, they purchased a site for a new station. Here was a new plan, indeed, for until that point Africans in Natal had not been involved in land purchase.

'A relationship cemented by an hundred ties'

The memorial to the Lieutenant Governor captures the ideological discourse used by missionaries to shape their relationship with their converts.

*The attempt to force a strange minister upon us, whom we do not know and to remove him who has been our father, protector and guide, for so many years, seems like a strange man trying to usurp the place of a husband to a woman whose lawful husband is still alive.*⁶⁷

The terms 'father, protector and guide' suggest a paternalism in Allison's position. A father is more than a pastor. He has paternal rights over his children, in this case the community of converts, as well as quite specific emotional ties. There is something of a double entendre here, for chiefs, too, were conceived as fathers of their people. Their role was to provide access to means of production to their followers. The role of husbands has a parallel significance in relation to wives. Certainly Allison had played this role.

Allison subsequently wrote of his relationship with the community to the prudential committee of the ABCFM:

My beloved flock followed me from ... far in the Interior, not a few of them had been brought up as my own children – these besought me with tears in their eyes not to leave them when I left the Wesleyans. I was the first white man most of them had seen and during many years residence among them as Pastor, Guardian and Guide a relationship cemented by an hundred ties had grown

up – the bonds of which were bound too strong to be broken on the Intended Day of separation and they voluntarily and simultaneously seceded with me.⁶⁸

Allowing for some exaggeration in the extravagance of Allison's language, there is no doubt that secure emotional bonds tied him to his flock. The memorial to Pine, no doubt dictated by or at least influenced by Allison, even more graphically depicted the nature of these emotional bonds when the commitment was compared to that of a 'lawful husband'. Allison's transfer to another station was unlawful and immoral, akin to a man stealing another's wife or removing a father from his children:

Take him away! then shall we be orphans indeed ... As a people we are unanimous in preferring this request to your Honour; there is not one dissenting voice on the place ... we have all got our hands upon our ministers back, and shall press him up that he may not fall while he lives, and if we must one day have his successor, we wish him to select the same, as Moses did Joshua.⁶⁹

Even if much of the phraseology was Allison's, the subsequent actions of Indaleni converts showed that their overwhelming loyalty was to Allison above that felt to the Wesleyan Society.

Reverend Pearse paid a second visit to Indaleni to try to persuade the community of Allison's unsuitability as a Wesleyan minister. Apart from the *Natal Witness* report there are no minutes of the meeting, but this is how the event was described:

Mr Pearse ... spent a day in unwearied efforts to criminate Mr Allison in the eyes of his flocks. He did not, however escape the pit he had been digging for his unoffending brother; for in the evening, a sort of accidental public meeting took place, when he was subject to a regular Kaffir cross-examination, during which, it appears, he broke down on five points in the discussion and the failure of his attempt to criminate Mr Allison, was complete, to an unfortunate degree.⁷⁰

What these five points were was not made clear. But the upshot was that the community decided they would remain loyal to Allison and move with him if that was necessary.

For the second time in less than a decade the Christian community uprooted itself in order to acquire access to land and to remain under the guidance of James Allison. The decision, as we have seen, related particularly to the complex nature of the relationship built up between Allison and his people.

In the case of the people at Indaleni, unlike on other missions in Natal, the benefit of attachment to a missionary had not led to security of tenure. On the mission they learned to live the lives of proto-industrial rural villagers, each family on its own plot of land, cultivating its own subsistence, and sending surpluses to market. Family members all learned to read and to count. Above

all, on the mission a new sense of communal unity arose around the school and the church.

In the early stages of incorporation within colonial society, Allison's role as guide and counsellor was vital. The community had yet to discover its own confidence and consciousness within colonial society before it could free itself from the tutelage of its missionary guardian. An important stage in that process was their purchase on a share basis with Allison of a farm near Pietermaritzburg where they could establish themselves independent of the control of any missionary society.

The refugee community had been irreversibly drawn into colonial production relations both as wage earners and as producers. Their purchase of land near Pietermaritzburg deepened their growing roots in the colonial economy.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Brookes and Webb, *A History of Natal*: 50, 52.
- 2 H. Slater, 'The changing pattern of economic relationships in rural Natal, 1838–1914' in *Economy and Society in Preindustrial South Africa* ed. by S. Marks and A. Atmore (London: Longman, 1980); H. Slater, 'Land, labour and capital in Natal: the Natal Land and Colonisation Company, 1860–1948' *Journal of African History* 16(2) 1975: 258.
- 3 *ibid.*; A.F. Hattersley. *The British Settlement of Natal: A Study in Imperial Migration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950): 76.
- 4 L.M. Thompson, 'Co-operation and conflict: the Zulu kingdom and Natal' in *The Oxford History of South Africa: South Africa to 1870*, vol. 1, ed. by M. Wilson and L. Thompson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969): 380.
- 5 Slater, 'Land, labour and capital in Natal': 259; Slater, 'The changing pattern of economic relationships in rural Natal, 1838–1914': 153.
- 6 H. Slater, 'Transitions in the political economy of south-east Africa before 1840' (PhD, University of Sussex, 1977).
- 7 Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation*: 2; Natal, *Commission into the Past and Present State of the Kafirs, 1851–2*, henceforth 1852 Commission.
- 8 Slater, 'The changing pattern of economic relationships in rural Natal, 1838–1914': 151.
- 9 *ibid.*: 157–158.
- 10 See P. Harries, 'Plantations, passes and proletarians: labour and the colonial state in nineteenth century Natal' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 13(3) 1987: 374–375.
- 11 Report of Commission on Native Locations, 30 March 1847, Government Notice, unnumbered, 1848.
- 12 *ibid.*
- 13 Slater, 'The changing pattern of economic relationships in rural Natal, 1838–1914'.
- 14 1852 Commission.
- 15 F. Wolfson, 'Some aspects of native administration in Natal under Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs, 1857–1875' (MA, University of the Witwatersrand, 1946): 13.
- 16 The following section is based upon the argument in J. Riekert, 'Natal master and servant laws' (Master of Laws, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1983): 54.
- 17 *Natal Government Gazette (NGG)*, 4, Report of the Magistrates Commission 1848, 4 January 1848.
- 18 *ibid.*
- 19 1852 Commission.
- 20 This and the next paragraph are based on A.J. Christopher, 'Natal: a study in colonial land settlement' (PhD, University of Natal, 1969): 63–68.

- 21 1852 Commission; Ordinance 3, 1849, 'For providing the better administration of justice among natives'.
- 22 Research into the early development of Natal's political economy still remains to be done notwithstanding publication of B. Guest and J.M. Sellers (eds), *Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony: Aspects of the Economic and Social History of Colonial Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1985), which breaks little new ground.
- 23 Hattersley, *The British Settlement of Natal*; J. Robinson, *A Lifetime in South Africa: Being the Recollections of the First Premier of Natal* (London: Smith, Elder, 1900): chapter 7.
- 24 SNA 1/1/7, Cash Crop Cultivation, Circular to Magistrates, 3 February 1857.
- 25 NGG, Ordinance 54 of 1849, 17 July 1849.
- 26 The process of commoditisation involved labour as well as land.
- 27 N. Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835–1880: African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978): 68–69.
- 28 J. Lambert, 'Africans in Natal, 1880–1899: continuity, change and crisis in a rural society' (D.Litt., University of South Africa, 1986).
- 29 Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation*: chapter 10.
- 30 See A. Manson, 'The Hlubi and Ngwe in a colonial society, 1848–1875' (MA, University of Natal, 1982).
- 31 NWM 8/1, Indaleni Correspondence, 1847–71, D. Moodie to W.J. Davis, 15 March 1847; D. Moodie to J. Allison, 10 August 1848; J. Allison to D. Moodie, 20 July 1848; W. Shaw to D. Moodie, 3 May 1850; W.C. Sargeant, Secretary to the Government to H. Pearse, 20 December 1853.
- 32 *ibid.*, H. Pearse, Petition to Legislative Council, 22 June 1857.
- 33 *ibid.*, W. Shaw to D. Moodie, 27 June 1848.
- 34 *ibid.*
- 35 *ibid.*, Moodie to Allison, 10 August 1848; Shaw to Moodie, 3 May 1850.
- 36 *ibid.*
- 37 *Natal Witness*, 28 February 1852.
- 38 NWM 8/1, Allison to West, 29 May 1848.
- 39 MMS 315, J. Edwards to Secretaries, 29 October 1838. He wrote of the Tlokwa converts in Transorangia, some of whom formed the core of the Indaleni Christian community: 'Could I but transport you to sight of this tribe to see them in their barbarous, their dark, and in their unconverted state, you would say they were barbarians, savages, more like fiends than men: but were you to see them in their enlightened, converted, civilized state, you would say they were humble, pious, teachable; men of intellect. This tribe has been much noted for great warriors, and for doing much mischief; and a man that has the capacity of doing much harm, has also the capacity of doing much good when converted to God'.
- 40 R.W. Strayer, *The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa: Anglicans and Africans in Colonial Kenya, 1875–1935* (London: Heinemann, 1978): 77.
- 41 NWM 8/1, Allison to West, 29 May 1848.
- 42 MMS 315, J. Cameron to Secretaries, 26 August 1848.
- 43 Garden Papers: 782.
- 44 NWM 8/1, 25–32, Allison to D. Moodie.
- 45 MMS 315, Bechuanaland 2, J. Cameron to Secretaries, 26 August 1848.
- 46 *Natal Witness*, 26 September 1851.
- 47 NGG 16, 24 April 1849.
- 48 *Natal Witness*, 26 September 1851.
- 49 NWM 8/1, Allison to West, 29 May 1848.
- 50 Garden Papers: 345.
- 51 *ibid.*
- 52 *ibid.*
- 53 MMS 315, 1848/2, J. Cameron, 26 August 1848.
- 54 *Natal Witness*, 24 May 1850.
- 55 *Natal Witness*, 5 September 1851.
- 56 NWM 8/1, Allison to West, 29 May 1848.
- 57 *Natal Independent*, 9 October 1851.
- 58 *ibid.*

- 59 MMS 315, J. Cameron to Secretaries, 28 September 1848.
- 60 *Natal Witness*, 26 September 1851.
- 61 *ibid.*
- 62 *Natal Witness*, 25 July 1851.
- 63 *Natal Witness*, 17 October 1851.
- 64 *ibid.*
- 65 NWM 8/1, Abraham Mabuto Affidavit, 29 September 1857.
- 66 *Natal Witness*, 25 July 1851.
- 67 *ibid.* (this author's emphasis).
- 68 Garden Papers: 790.
- 69 *Natal Witness*, 25 July 1851.
- 70 *ibid.*

THE EDENDALE MISSION

*Production relations, property,
family life and piety*

IN THE FIRST FEW years of Natal's existence the dominant economic relations were those of petty commodity production. Relations in the new Christian settlement at Edendale were no different from any of the other settler communities striving to establish independent enterprise for market production. In the community, the development cycle was directed towards this end. Marriage and family life revolved around establishing and reproducing a community of independent petty commodity producers. Small-scale intensive labour by family members with simple technology produced goods sufficient for subsistence and surpluses to pay for land and dues to State and Church. The process of class formation in Natal and of commoditisation among the Edendale community was limited by the nature of Natal's simple commodity economy.¹ While general conditions in the colony were not conducive to capital accumulation, at Edendale another aspect is of significance as well. This relates to the intersection of a particular religious mentality that formed the basis of the ideology of the community with earlier notions of community, communality and redistribution. Earlier we alluded to the profound changes involved in conversion. Combined with the undeveloped state of the colonial economy, what emerged from the community's interaction with its missionary mentors was an ideology of small-scale individual production in the context of a communal village permeated by religious piety.

The pulpit was only one of many places where this ideology was propounded on the mission. It found expression in every aspect of people's existence: in the family, in the school, and in the very structure of the village, as well as in the nature of productive life. These aspects form a vital element in understanding and explaining the manner in which the Edendale community was incorporated within the colonial political economy of the 1850s.

Edendale in the political economy

The farm purchased by Allison and his community was situated in a fertile valley watered by the Umsunduzi some 9 kilometres to the south of Pietermaritzburg. It was bounded along its northern and western perimeters by the Zwartkops Location and by private farms on its southern and eastern boundaries. Reputed to be one of 'the largest and best farms in the colony', the 6 123 acre farm had previously belonged to the Voortrekker leader Andries Pretorius, who had joined the exodus of emigrant farmers from Natal. Its name was changed from Welverdient to the more appropriate mission-inspired 'Edendale', and during 1851 Allison and his followers, some 500 people, began a new life there.² Of these, 407 were Christians, 134 being full church members, and 150 non-Christians, who were allowed to purchase shares or rent land as squatters on the commonage so long as 'they abandon their grosser native habits'.³

The farm was purchased on a share basis between Allison and 90 members of the convert community when they seceded from the Wesleyan Church in 1850. The price was extremely high and quite beyond the range of any individual without enormous capital funds. The idea was that the farm would be subdivided into village and farming allotments to be shared between the shareholders, who would receive individual title once the purchase price of £1 300 plus interest at 6% was paid off. Each share would cost £16 which gave the holder a village allotment of a rood (a quarter of an acre), outlying arable fields of some three quarters of an acre, and access to the commonage for grazing stock and collecting wood.⁴ Some heads of families purchased more than one share because they had 'children growing up and ... consequently require more land'.⁵ The names of the original landowners are listed in the deeds registry, but since the deeds were taken out ten years after the farm was purchased it is not clear whether these are the names of the original shareholders. In ten years some original settlers may have moved away and new people moved in. The legal owner of the farm was James Allison, but the understanding was that ownership of shares gave usufructuary rights over individual plots and the commonage in perpetuity.

The plan was that once this was effected, shareholders would be issued with individual title deeds thus transforming the nature of land holding into freehold tenure. In order to control unallotted portions of the farm, and the land set aside for communal purposes such as mission premises, a graveyard, a market place and commonage, a Trust would be created. The Trust would have limited municipal powers such as the right to levy rates. When the village had reached a certain level of development it would then apply for municipal

status. Meanwhile, trustees would be appointed to ensure that the terms of the Trust were carried out.⁶ Allison believed that the trustees would have to be white persons. By the time the farm was paid off, the Trust had not yet been set up nor had freehold title to shares been granted. Moreover, at the end of the decade the issue of title was to become the cause of a bitter quarrel between Allison and the rest of the shareholders.

Individual property ownership was a measure of the distance the people had come from their pre-colonial roots. It established their position as a land-owning peasantry locked into the colonial economy and separated them from other Africans in Natal. The colonial state did not itself engage in production but encouraged the creation of a market-oriented class of peasant producers. Because of Natal's lack of rich natural resources apart from ivory, which anyway only lasted until the end of the 1850s and thereafter was imported into Natal from other parts of southern Africa,⁷ investment from the metropolis was negligible. Natal lacked a basic industrial and commercial infrastructure including labour, a transport network, banks and credit facilities. Though by the 1850s a commercial credit network had been created, Natal still did not entice investors. What investment there was in the first ten years of the colony's life was largely in land speculation.

Peasant production therefore became the dominant economic form of agricultural production in the 1850s as a result of these structural limitations. All members of Natal society, including the Edendale community, were limited in their ability to accumulate wealth. Class distinctions were largely imported, although social distinctions were fairly rigidly maintained on the basis of occupation and, inevitably, race. No social mixing took place between colonists or educated Christian Africans. But economic activity for everyone was small scale; it 'gave a living, but was scarcely profitable'.⁸

In 1850 Pietermaritzburg was not much larger than a village, although it was the seat of government offices and even possessed a garrison. It was, however, the largest town in Natal with a population of 2 400 in 1852 and was the centre of market activity in the colony even if it did not have the bustle of Durban's trade and port.⁹ Its character as a Voortrekker hamlet had gradually changed after 1849 with the influx of 5 000 British settlers, many of whom gravitated towards the towns. New productive and commercial enterprises were opened up. By 1854 there were 26 shops in Pietermaritzburg with a few small manufacturing establishments, brickfields, mills, a smithy, a wagon maker's shop, a Chandler and a brewery. The heart of market activity, though, was the Overberg trade in skins and ivory, and, later, wool.¹⁰

For the people of Edendale, engaged as they were in reconstructing mission village life after moving from Indaleni, Pietermaritzburg provided employment while they re-established themselves. In the first few years almost everyone took some employment, even if intermittently, in Pietermaritzburg. Labouring in Pietermaritzburg for wages was, therefore, a major part of occupational activity and wages for Africans were high. Villagers were engaged in a variety of occupations. The early 1850s saw lucrative employment in building houses and establishing gardens for the newly arrived British settlers. Edendale labourers spent weekdays in the town, returning to the village at weekends 'to spend the Sabbath with their friends on the station'.¹¹ Most of the household heads were engaged in a combination of wage employment or self-employment as thatchers, masons, hedgers, carpenters, brickmakers and blacksmiths as well as in growing produce for the market.¹²

Because Edendale was a new settlement, the villagers were also engaged in the building of homes for themselves. By 1857 there were 62 houses in the village, 'neat and comfortable', some of which cost, so the *Natal Mercury* informed its readers, £60, £80, and even £100. Each house was situated on its own garden plot and 'when all the owners shall have found time to whitewash their cottages outside, the effect from a distance will be extremely picturesque'.¹³ Apart from the houses there were also a large number of huts occupied by non-Christian relatives and by newcomers. These were no ordinary huts, commented the *Natal Mercury*, but were constructed 'in a superior style, and have a very comfortable appearance' and reflected the differences in lifestyle and wealth between different sections of the community.¹⁴

The villagers assisted Allison in planting trees in the mission house garden, while also planting their own orchards and gardens in the village. Vegetable gardens provided for home consumption. Beyond the village, larger arable allotments were planted, mainly with maize for market production and on the commonage, some 2 000 acres, the people grazed their stock.

As early as 1852 the people of Edendale were providing vegetables for the Pietermaritzburg market after being settled for only a year.¹⁵ Their fertile alluvial valley was irrigated by over 8 kilometres of furrow let from the Umsunduzi. More than 1 000 acres of mealies were under cultivation while oat forage was grown to feed the stock. The average yield of maize per acre at this time was about thirteen bushels, which would have yielded about £15 once transformed into flour at the mill, and sold within the community or in Pietermaritzburg.¹⁶ A water mill attached to Allison's property and owned by him provided facilities for threshing corn.

British settlers found it difficult to compete on the market with African arable production, particularly in the production of maize. European settler commercial activity consequently became more trade oriented: shops and artisanal workshops were their strongholds. The Edendale settlers, too, were quick to take advantage of this productive potential. This did not conflict with the produce of settler agriculturalists from the Natal Midlands that monopolised the dairy industry produce which formed a large proportion of exports in the 1850s.¹⁷

At Edendale the mill ground the corn grown on the farm. The mill itself had been erected with the labour of people in the village. Until 1857, the mill was managed by Daniel and Kombas.¹⁸ Daniel, who kept the account books, was probably Daniel Msimang. Daniel's family lived at Mparane until 1855, his father being one of the original members of the Christian community there. In 1843 Daniel had been placed with Allison to be educated and had remained with Allison when he moved to Swaziland. Although a close adherent of the mission, Daniel himself told Owen Watkins in 1882 that he had been converted in 1845 in the area between present-day Paulpietersburg and Vryheid to the south of the Pongola River. He eventually became one of the first African ministers of the Wesleyan Church and returned to Swaziland in the 1880s as a missionary for the Unzondelelo, the Native Home Missionary Society.¹⁹ Colenso, who visited Edendale in 1855, wrote of Daniel:

a cheerful, intelligent-looking fellow, of (perhaps) twenty-five years of age, who had been with Mr Allison twelve years, and whose first attempts at book-keeping I inspected, commencing at Feb 1, 1854 ... very neat they were. Daniel was dressed like any decent Englishman, in trousers, jacket, and good black hat, and, as Mr Allison assured me, he 'had the feelings of an English gentleman, and during twelve years had never been known to commit an immoral action'.²⁰

As mill manager, Daniel processed fine 'steam flour', probably maize flour, at the mill to sell in Pietermaritzburg to Henderson, Smerdon and Company for 'twopence-halfpenny per lb'.²¹ This company traded with Australia. The mill was rented by Allison to David Tarboton in the 1850s. Tarboton also opened a general store. Colenso noted that 'the inhabitants are consumers as well as producers to no small extent. Besides the excellence of their clothing, they use coffee and sugar largely'.²² Edendale entrepreneurs were also involved in trade with areas familiar to them like Zululand, Swaziland and Lesotho – particularly after the mid-1850s.

At Edendale, each family worked their own plot of land with the labour of all family members. Wage labour was also employed, though it was of secondary importance. Those without shares paid rent to Allison, the money

being used to pay off the purchase price. They were allotted ground for their homesteads and fields elsewhere on the farm commonage. Many of these were retainers or servants of people in the village and some were non-Christian family members. In 1857 it was reported that 'most of the heads of families on the station employ Kafir servants after the manner of white people and pay and treat them well'.²³

Indeed one Edendale employer, Elijah, turned to the Master's and Servants Law to uphold his rights. Elijah's surname was not given but he could have been Elijah Kambule, son of Job Kambule, the leading elder appointed as headman over the village. Elijah Kambule was one of the largest landowners in the village.²⁴ He died in 1873 fighting against the Hlubi of Langalibalele at Bushman's River Pass. In 1852 he brought a criminal case against his servant, Dobula, for breach of contract under the Master's and Servants Law. Elijah had hired Dobula at five shillings a month for six months. The latter absconded after two days service 'to seek a white master'.²⁵ Evidence has not survived as to who won the case but already in 1852 some people at Edendale were entering the employer class.

The relationship of employer-employee is open to at least two interpretations. In one view it resonates with clientship in pre-colonial society, which some Edendale landowners had experienced not less than fourteen years before. There is scanty evidence to suggest that cattle loans on the *mafisa* system were made between landowners and tenants. But relationships with hired labour resembled more that of apprenticeship as practised by the missionaries in their 'industrial departments', particularly in view of the contractual nature of employment as in Dobula's case. It was thus more typical of a master-servant relationship than it was of an earlier form of clientship. It symbolised the shift towards commoditisation that had already taken place in the community.

A change in the significance of cattle also took place among members of the community. For most Africans in Natal cattle remained the object of accumulation, and thus a store of wealth. At Edendale, and at other mission stations, and among a handful of Africans who broke away from their chiefs, cattle came to signify a means to acquire profit rather than a store of wealth. This is reflected in the drop in the size of cattle herds and an increase in the number of trek-oxen at Edendale.²⁶ Oxen were the most desired cattle because they were the most useful in the new commercial activities engaged in by the Edendale inhabitants. Oxen were harnessed to ploughs and wagons.

There was a single communal wagon on the station in 1851. By 1855, there were fifteen wagons, one cart and fifteen ploughs. With wagons costing £30

apiece, some people were evidently growing in wealth. In spite of lungsickness in the mid-1850s the community had about 103 trek-oxen costing between £3 and £4 each, a substantial accumulation of wealth. There were also about 29 horses on the station, the most effective means of individual transport at that time.²⁷

In those first years of Edendale's existence, all money earned, once subsistence needs had been covered, was handed over to Allison to pay off the farm. Captain Garden commented particularly on the community's trust in Allison's integrity with respect to their affairs.²⁸ The *Natal Mercury* noted 'Mr Allison has kept a regular and faithful account of the monies paid by the settlers for their land plots'.²⁹ By 1855 only £412 out of £1 300 remained to be paid, amounting to approximately £5 per head. The final instalment was due in July 1855. But the farm had been struck by lungsickness towards the end of 1854, which set the people's financial capacities back considerably and made further payment impossible.

The government, still interested in encouraging the productive potential of the African population, took a particular interest in Edendale's progress. Its financial difficulties were viewed with concern by no less a person than Sir George Grey, High Commissioner for South Africa, who visited the settlement in 1855. He provided an interest-free loan of £200 'to help the mission under the losses sustained'.³⁰ He also gave a gratuitous contribution of £70 towards the school. In recognition of his largesse, the village at Edendale was named Georgetown.

Support for mission education, especially its industrial section, tended to encourage a 'humanitarian' view of colonial rule. The people of Edendale, though, had somewhat different aims. They had quickly grasped the economic significance of land ownership and believed it gave them an unqualified security of tenure. This view was bolstered by the material virtues projected by their Christian dogma, derived from the teachings of Allison and Wesleyanism. Independence, self-help, perseverance, duty and thrift encapsulate the material elements of their ideology.³¹ At its core was the simplicity of the Christian life. It was an ideology that tended to idealise village life and to fear the dangers of immorality that lurked in town with its lure of loose women and drink. This ideology had deep roots in the community of Christian believers at Edendale, all of whom had come from a rural past. Farming and a rural existence would remain the pull for most community members well into the twentieth century within the context of their 'Christianity and civilisation'.

The surpluses accumulated from wage labour, trade and transport riding were used to pay off the land purchase of the farm and the cost of building houses and furnishing them 'in the European style'. They were used also to meet the recurring costs of food, clothing and dues to the Church and State. Finally, surpluses were used to buy more land for the use of family members as they grew up.

The progress of 'civilisation': schooling and socialisation

As we have seen, preceding the move to Edendale, Allison had taken 'native youths' into his family to instil 'civilised habits'.³² Boys and girls were detached from their own households and were at first absorbed into the missionary's household. The use of the term 'family' is indicative of the all-embracing nature of Allison's relationship to the young people of the mission community, especially those who boarded in his home. Not only was he their pastor and teacher, but also their 'patriarch and counsellor'.³³ By the time the community had moved to Edendale, a school had replaced the missionary's family and mission household as the locus of training. The term 'school' suggests a less intimate relationship and it is true that by the 1850s most children lived with their own families. Evidence does suggest, though, that Allison's parental influence remained strong not only in the schoolroom but in the community itself.³⁴

Schooling took place in a room attached to the mission house and comprised a combination of training and education. Instruction in the three 'Rs' with some Geography and Scripture provided the rudiments of literacy and numeracy and enabled missions to call their followers 'educated'. At Edendale, in the first years, this was rudimentary indeed for little energy was given by Allison to teaching. His niece, Elizabeth Simpson, taught younger children to read and write on slates and to sing Wesleyan hymns. However, by 1857 the *Natal Mercury* correspondent who visited Edendale thought 'the proficiency displayed in reading, writing and ciphering, in the knowledge of geography, and Scripture, would not discredit any ordinary English school for the middle classes'.³⁵

In the school, children were taught skills and values appropriate to the nuclear family structure and a division of labour characteristic of pre-industrial England. While the boys received instruction in wagon-making, shoemaking, and other arts and skills, girls were taught to sew and to cook.³⁶ Mrs Allison's training drew the approving remark from Captain Garden that it 'promises to be of great service in elevating the female character'.³⁷ It seems also to

have found support among some of the older Christian converts themselves, who 'wanted their daughters to grow up women capable of being good wives, able to sew, make garments etc.'³⁸ The ideology of 'wifely skills' was being internalised within the community.

Many women, however, seem to have been occupied outside the home before marriage. Of 56 Edendale marriages listed in the church marriage register in the 1850s only nineteen brides were recorded as having occupations of which fifteen were maids, two were washerwomen, and one, Sarah Siljie, was a seamstress.³⁹ One woman was even listed as a labourer, suggesting that Mrs Allison's training was not always a guarantee of 'elevating the female character'. It is highly probable that the remaining 37 brides were engaged in domestic work at home. What is not entirely clear from the evidence is the extent to which this involved gardening and working in the fields. Traditionally, women played a major role in agricultural production in much of Africa and even women on mission stations continued to cultivate. The significant difference, though, was that men on the mission stations did the ploughing. Who made decisions about planting, and how much this involved women, remains an unanswered question. One only has some inkling from remarks of missionaries and other visitors about the role of women. Here, the emphasis was on enlightening both men and women as to the 'proper' relationship of the sexes to work: women to cook and manage the household, men to do productive labour.

Like the education of the girls, that of the boys provided them with skills that could be put to use either within the domestic or household economy or sold on the labour market. Boys were taught 'building, carpentering, blacksmithing and the European mode of agriculture'. Some of them seem to have set up shops, in the sense of workshops, in their homes, like Ezekial the blacksmith, Langelibalele's kinsman John Zulu Mtimkulu, who was a stonemason, and the brickmakers Benjamin Gozula and John Mputeni. Others worked for white employers in Pietermaritzburg.⁴⁰ It seems clear that a proportion of marriageable men, at least a third if the Edendale marriage register is to be relied upon, were self-employed petty commodity producers. Among the 56 marriages mentioned above, 54 occupations for the bridegrooms are listed: two were stonemasons; two were brickmakers; four were farmers; five were wagoners; six were wagon-drivers; and 35 were 'labourers'. A good proportion of them were in the labour market. Captain Garden commented that the education of the young men in Edendale provided 'a great deal of steady labour for the market. Many of them have been employed by the government

in making roads and building bridges'.⁴¹ The example of men and women from the mission community entering into the labour market illustrates how well the mission prepared its members for entry into specific independent entrepreneurial occupations as artisans or traders.

The socialisation of children and the pattern of family life reflected the social objectives of the Edendale community. Schooling was accepted by Christian parents as a necessary part of their children's socialisation. It provided means and evidence for their advance in civilisation, and the acquisition of artisanal skill in particular was considered desirable.⁴² But, while there was this recognition, there was also a conflict between the desire for education and the need to employ children's labour in family production. Schooling could interfere with these activities. Year after year, the attendance of children at the day school was interrupted during the planting and harvesting seasons.⁴³ Nor was children's labour merely seasonal. Weeding and tending to gardens was a constant requirement, and boys were always needed to herd cattle.⁴⁴ Girls assisted also in household chores, and they had an important role in minding infants and younger siblings. Indeed, so important was this activity that girls took their charges to school with them.⁴⁵

Christian families and neighbourhoods

What strikes one about the pattern of family and educational life on the mission is its similarity to colonial family life and even life in rural village England.⁴⁶ The pattern of association between members of the community reflects some of the conflicts in their separation from an earlier kinship-based society. The ideal of marriage and family life took on the rules of Christian religion as practised by missionary mentors: monogamy, fidelity, Sunday observance, and nuclear family units. If marriage was contracted with non-Christians, as was frequently the case among first generation Christians, particularly between non-Christian women and Christian men, the spouses, and very often their families too, were influenced to become Christians.⁴⁷

In the second generation, marriages were most often contracted between Christians, although there is not enough evidence to know if this was an invariable pattern. Certainly among the leading members of the Church, this was the case. Daniel Msimang's family connections by marriage provide a representative case history. He married Ruth Nomaholo in June 1846 at Mparane. Between 1850 and 1867 they had nine children: seven sons and two daughters. One son, Ezekial Josiah, died before adulthood. Enoch, born in 1855, married Henrietta Gule, daughter of Timothy Gule, who was

the headman of the village between 1873 and 1882. Luke married Margaret Matebula, daughter of Nathaniel Onbeti Matebula, who was one of the Swazi contingent who, with Daniel, became a Wesleyan minister in the 1880s. Luke also became a Wesleyan minister. Joel married Johanna Mtimkulu, daughter of Langalibalele. She came to Edendale with her family after the break-up of the Hlubi location in 1873. She became a Christian and was baptised before her marriage. Joel was later to leave the Wesleyan Society to form his own independent church in the years after the Anglo-Boer War. Two of their sons, Richard and Henry Selby, were founder members of the South African Native National Congress, later the African National Congress (ANC), and both stumped the Natal countryside during the campaign against the Natives' Land Act in 1913.

Luke Msimang, by his marriage to Margaret Matebula, became the brother-in-law of Stephen Mini who married Margaret's sister, Mary. Stephen Mini was the son of Stephanus Mini, the third headman in the village. Peter Mini, Stephen's elder brother, married Hester Masuku, the daughter of Nicholas Masuku, who was one of the wealthiest of the Edendale entrepreneurs. Masuku was the largest landowner at Edendale and was always the most indebted to money lenders because of his more adventurous attempts to accumulate capital. Peter and Hester Mini's daughter Edith married Joseph Kumalo, grandson of Johannes Kumalo, who became the headman at Driefontein after his grandfather's death. Before his marriage to Edith Mini, Joseph Kumalo had been married to Elizabeth Gule, Timothy Gule's niece. Intermarriage created strong bonds between prominent Christian families at Edendale, which replaced those they had lost by becoming Christians with a commitment to new values and to a new lifestyle.

While marriage in the community constituted a departure from the patterns of cross-cousin marriage of their Swazi origins or of exogamous alliances within the Nguni groups of Natal or Zululand, some of the obligations of kinship alliances remained among the black Christians. New forms of familial alliances and ties of kinship grew from the infusion of the old forms and ideology of kinship and the new religious ideology of Christianity. *Lobola* in cattle continued to be a significant part of the marriage contract in spite of missionary opposition. This meant that relationships continued to be structured around the rules of customary marriage. Inheritance and familial responsibility were still derived from the strictures of custom rather than from the norms of colonial society. This gave a certain ambiguity to the marriage contract. While the moral obligations of Christian marital rites bound a couple together, it was

cross-cut by a communal ethic which derived not from Christianity but from indigenous sources.

A second aspect of the new patterns of association is reflected in the spatial structure of the village and the construction of neighbourhoods. The village embodied a particular relationship between family and community. Communal ties there were but individual families lived on their own plots of land, separated from other family plots by physical enclosure, by the legal divisions of private property ownership rights, and by the privacy of European-style houses. The plan followed the rigid order of Voortrekker towns, with the *erfs* or *erven* (this is a technical term referring to a land division measurement) cross-cut by streets running perpendicular to one another.

Stephanus Mini remarked in the 1880s that the closeness of the houses, and their proximity to the church and school, united the community: 'It is a matter of satisfaction to us, because when the bell rings we can go to Church as a community and our children can go to school'.⁴⁸ Mini was expressing an ideal of the unity of village life, which had become incorporated into the ideology of the Christians. When new villages like Cedara and Driefontein sprang up as offshoots of Edendale in the 1860s, they were all based on a similar plan.⁴⁹ Each village had its own church, school and store, and at Edendale there was also the mill. Allison's property also had its quota of common arable and grazing lands.

Village government: mission demesne

The villagers' relationship to one another and to their missionary during these early years was vital in regulating the emergence of these new social forms within a subordinate position in colonial society. The central uniting and controlling elements were the church and the school. Both of these institutions symbolised new cultural roots. At the same time, to be 'civilised' did not mean equality with colonists.

In his capacity as guardian and patriarch, as well as pastor of the mission community, Allison was able to exercise control over the moral and material existence of the people of the community. With ownership vested in him, Allison also possessed rights similar to the rights of demesne exercised by feudal landowners. In particular, Allison possessed rights of exclusion over the farm for he could determine who could enter the community and who should leave.

The village was governed by a dual set of rules: those that pertained to practical matters, and those that related to morality derived from the Church.

The practical rules imposed enclosure on all plots. Responsibility for cattle trespass and damage to crops rested upon the owners, unless poor fencing was at issue.⁵⁰ Some communal labour responsibilities were also impressed on inhabitants at Edendale in the early days of settlement. They built and maintained water courses, streets and the school. Church members were expected to provide funds for missionary labour and be active in church duties which included labour in building and maintaining the chapel. But all inhabitants at Edendale, whether Christian or not, were expected to abide by the moral sanctions against beer brewing and beer drinking and, above all, against polygyny.⁵¹

Church elders played a vital part in policing these rules. A committee of twelve dealt with church and village government:

twelve chief men of the station, the most revered of whom was Johannes (Kumalo), a very wise man. Whenever he spoke every mouth was closed, and his judgement, which was never given hastily, was sure to guide the rest.⁵²

Johannes had been one of Dingane's soldiers. Job (Kambule), whom Allison called his 'philosopher' and who later became the first induna, was one of the twelve. He had to relinquish his post somewhat ignominiously in 1873 when it was discovered that he had had a liaison outside wedlock during the previous decade.⁵³ Clearly, the piety and morality of even the leading men in the village was not infallible. Allison acted as 'patriarch and counsellor' to the elders in their administrative role. In later years, a special constable was appointed in Edendale to ensure that law and order were upheld. But the missionary alone seems to have acted in ensuring obedience to the 'morality' rules, at least in the first few decades of Edendale's history. A very powerful sanction existed in enforcing the rules, namely the forfeiture of access to fuel from the forested area of the commonage. This seems to have been very effective according to the American Missionary Board committee visiting Edendale in 1855: 'In this way a powerful check is put upon the people, and an easy salutary mode of punishing the lawless and disobedient is provided'.⁵⁴

Much later, in 1882, an Edendale trustee looked nostalgically back to Allison's manner of dealing with those who brewed and consumed intoxicating liquor: 'in Mr Allison's time he used to go round to break their beer pots telling them he "would not have anything of that sort here." But now things are very different and require different management'.⁵⁵ During the first decade before title was given for landholdings, Allison could force people off the station if he felt their transgressions were irredeemable. Polygyny was not tolerated. Even

if a man had purchased land, if he took a second wife his money was refunded and he was expelled.⁵⁶

But while Allison's ownership gave him certain authoritative and policing powers, and even access to the surplus labour of church members in the mission gardens, his relationship was largely of patriarch and counsellor. His control as legal owner was one which anyway could only last so long as the farm was not paid off.

During the 1850s Edendale already showed evidence of social differentiation in the uneven pattern of land distribution. This was reflected also in the differences between the occupational categories appearing in the marriage register, as we have seen. These tendencies were somewhat tempered by the unity of village life, particularly in the common desire to extend the benefits of a Christian and 'civilised' existence. First generation Christian marriages were still forged with non-Christians. It was in the second generation that the stratification became more marked, as the older, more influential and wealthier Christian families intermarried.

Moreover, it was these families that wielded what civil authority existed in the village, albeit in a subordinate position to the authority of James Allison, their patriarch and mentor.

ENDNOTES

- 1 See Chapter Two.
- 2 Garden Papers: 792; J.W. Colenso, *Ten Weeks in Natal: A Journal of a First Tour of Visitation Among the Colonists and Zulu Kafirs of Natal* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1855): 51.
- 3 *ibid.*
- 4 *ibid.*
- 5 Garden Papers: 771.
- 6 Colenso, 'Visit to a modern missionary station at Edendale, Natal, South Africa': 17; *Natal Mercury*, 30 July 1857.
- 7 B. Ellis, 'The impact of white settlers on the natural environment of Natal, 1845–1870' in *Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony: Aspects of the Economic and Social History of Colonial Natal* ed. by B. Guest and J. Sellers (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1985): 87.
- 8 A.F. Hattersley, *Portrait of a Colony: The Story of Natal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940): 62.
- 9 A.F. Hattersley, *Pietermaritzburg Panorama; A Survey of One Hundred Years of an African City* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1938): 33–34.
- 10 *ibid.* See also D. Child (ed.), *A Merchant Family in Early Natal: Diaries and Letters of Joseph and Marianne Churchill 1850 to 1880* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1979).
- 11 Colenso, 'Visit to a modern missionary station at Edendale, Natal, South Africa': 17.
- 12 Garden Papers: 784–787; Hattersley, *The British Settlement of Natal*: 246–247.
- 13 *Natal Mercury*, 30 July 1857.
- 14 *ibid.*
- 15 Garden Papers: 772.
- 16 ABCFM report.
- 17 Hattersley, *The British Settlement of Natal*: 219; Child, *A Merchant Family in Early Natal*: 19.

- 18 Colenso, 'Visit to a modern missionary station at Edendale, Natal, South Africa': 15.
- 19 Information on Daniel Msimang comes from SNA 1/1/5, 114/1855, Memorial to SNA, 13 February 1855; Colenso, 'Visit to a modern missionary station at Edendale, Natal, South Africa'; SNA 1/6/10 Papers re Exemption, 16/81, Daniel Msimang.
- 20 Colenso, *Ten Weeks in Natal*: 52–53.
- 21 Garden Papers: 788.
- 22 Colenso, 'Visit to a modern missionary station at Edendale, Natal, South Africa': 17.
- 23 *ibid*: 16.
- 24 See Appendix 2, Tables 1.2 and 2.2.
- 25 Umgeni Magistracy, Magistrate's Journal 25/1, September 1852–July 1853, 19 October 1852.
- 26 See SNA 1/6/10 Exemption Papers.
- 27 ABCFM report; Colenso, 'Visit to a modern missionary station at Edendale, Natal, South Africa': 16.
- 28 Garden Papers: 768.
- 29 *Natal Mercury*, 30 July 1857.
- 30 Colenso, 'Visit to a modern missionary station at Edendale, Natal, South Africa'.
- 31 A. Briggs, *Victorian People: Some Reassessments of People, Institutions, Ideas and Events, 1851–1867* (London: Odhams Press, 1955): 32f.
- 32 NWM 8/1, Allison to West, 29 May 1848.
- 33 Colenso, 'Visit to a modern missionary station at Edendale, Natal, South Africa': 16.
- 34 *ibid*.
- 35 *Natal Mercury*, 30 July 1857.
- 36 Garden Papers: 782; MMS 338, Edendale School Reports, 1864–1868; NWM 5/1 Industrial School Returns, 1866. MMS 318, J. Cameron, 18 May 1866.
- 37 Garden Papers: 782.
- 38 MMS 318, J. Pilcher to Dr Hooole, 14 June 1864.
- 39 NWM 6/2, Register of Marriages, Indaleni and Edendale, 1851–1865.
- 40 NWM 8/1, Allison to D. Moodie, Government Secretary, 1848; Garden Papers: 782; NWM 6/1, Register of Marriages, 1851–1865.
- 41 Garden Papers: 782.
- 42 MMS 338, Edendale School Reports, 1866; MMS 339, Edendale School Reports, 1869.
- 43 SNA 1/1/8, Allison to T. Shepstone, 24 December 1858; see also MMS 337, School Reports.
- 44 MMS 319, J. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 27 October 1868.
- 45 MMS 318, J. Cameron to Secretaries, 27 April 1866; R.E. Gordon (ed.), *Dear Louisa: History of a Pioneer Family in Natal, 1850–1888* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1970); MMS 319, H.S. Barton to W.B. Boyce, 21 December 1869. See discussion of the struggles between the community and the missionary in the 1860s below.
- 46 Garden Papers: 778; Hattersley, *Portrait of a Colony*; Gordon (ed.), *Dear Louisa*; and see, for instance, F. Thompson, *From Lark Rise to Candleford* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981).
- 47 Garden Papers: 778.
- 48 Evidence 1882, Stephen Mini: 138.
- 49 See Chapter Five.
- 50 Garden Papers: 787.
- 51 Colenso, 'Visit to a modern missionary station at Edendale, Natal, South Africa': 18.
- 52 Colenso, *Ten Weeks in Natal*: 55.
- 53 See Chapter Seven.
- 54 ABCFM report.
- 55 NWM 1/3/4, E. Tarboton to F. Mason, 30 January 1882.
- 56 ABCFM report.

DISSENSION AND ASSIMILATION

*Parting with Allison and Edendale under
Wesleyan Mission Society control*

FROM AS EARLY AS 1853, Allison had been feeling the burden of bearing sole responsibility for the missionary aspect of his work at Edendale. He was also worried about what would happen to Edendale should his guiding influence be removed. He approached the ABCFM, asking them to accept the mission under their tutelage. Prior to this Bishop Colenso had asked Allison to join the Episcopalians, an offer Allison had refused on the grounds of differences of religious opinion. The decision about Edendale's future religious governance was in fact taken out of Allison's hands by the community itself when a quarrel erupted over title to the land.¹ This chapter charts how the community found itself under Wesleyan tutelage once more.

The ABCFM refused to accept Edendale in 1853 because of its experiment in landownership. Another approach was made in 1855. The Natal missionaries of the American Board were eager to include Edendale in their fold but members of the Board in America were less enthusiastic. They questioned the wisdom of associating with an enterprise involved in 'secular trusts for a native community'. Nevertheless, after strong representations from Natal, they agreed to consider a detailed report on conditions at Edendale. Although this second approach was also turned down, the report is of interest for it reveals the unique aspects of the mission experiment at Edendale compared to other mission stations in Natal.

The American missionaries in Natal were impressed with Edendale's advancement as the most progressive mission in the colony. They argued that the planned Trust would remove all pecuniary responsibilities from the American Board while the ownership of land was extolled: 'the possession of land, gives a prospect of stability and permanence which we would wish to have all our stations enjoy'.² Moreover, they argued, 'Edendale's proximity to Pietermaritzburg and its contiguity with a large native location made the possibility of extending its good influence much greater'.³

That so many denominations believed they could absorb Edendale into their own enterprise is indicative of the fact that doctrinal differences were of little significance. The ABCFM report argued that Allison shared the fundamental doctrines ‘of depravity, the need of a new heart, salvation by faith in Christ, etc., which are held by Wesleyans in common with all evangelical denominations’.⁴ In Allison’s own view, he had been too involved in establishing the mission to worry about the finer details of discipline and dogma:

his mind and time have been too much occupied with the plain simple truths of the Gospel and the practical duties of the missionary for the last nearly quarter of a century of his missionary life, to allow of his giving much attention to dogmatic and speculative theology and the minor points of dispute between evangelical doctors.⁵

The report further commented, ‘The members of the Church at Edendale have a good reputation for industry, sobriety and piety among the white settlers for whom they have labored’.⁶ The stumbling block for the Americans was related neither to the issue of dogma nor to the question of the community’s respectability. Rather, they were perturbed at the role defined for the missionary society by ‘the forming of organized secular communities of which we shall be organiser, head, guardian, protector’.⁷

The American Board were to see their reservations about the ‘secular’ aspect of the Edendale system confirmed when there occurred a complete rupture between the Christian community and James Allison.

‘They called him a deceiver’: Edendale’s breach with Allison

Towards the end of 1859 the farm had been paid off and the shareholders were now entitled to full possession of their individual title deeds. To their dismay they discovered that transfer of title could only be effected at a cost of over £500 for survey and transfer fees. Had this been done earlier, they discovered, it would only have cost £150. Allison’s bona fides came seriously into question. A breach developed between Allison and those who had paid for their lands. Ties of trust and affection that had seemed to characterise earlier relations between the elders and Allison were unable to withstand the strain of this new situation. In 1860 the elders themselves decided to determine their own future and turned to the Wesleyan Missionary Society seeking reconnection.⁸

Allison’s subsequent actions simply aggravated the situation. He demanded payment for his missionary services to the community over the previous six years, as well as payment for the village bell he had purchased many years before in Grahamstown. He also retained ownership of the mill, with 40 acres

of land, which he continued to let for the sum of £180 per annum to David Tarboton, the miller. The Wesleyans reported that the people were incensed and any remaining faith in Allison was shattered.⁹ Until his death in 1875, Allison was unwelcome at Edendale. William Ngidi, a convert of Colenso's, remembered the matter:

Bethink you of the Missionary Mneli (Allison), who founded the village of Edendale. Through his act ... of cheating his people about their land which they bought with their own money, he was no longer in good odour with them when he died, they called him a deceiver, and he had ceased to worship with their village.¹⁰

This experience made the people of Edendale wary of placing their management entirely in the hands of any missionary. In consultation with the lawyer, D.D. Buchanan, the old plan for a Trust Deed to regulate common interests in the village was revived.¹¹

Allison, as legal owner of the farm, was party to negotiations with the elders. Little evidence of these negotiations survives, but a committee was elected to negotiate the transfer. It comprised Allison, Tarboton the miller, and nine leading elders chosen by a general meeting of 'about sixty of the most influential land-holders, and members of the Christian Church and of the community'.¹² Their brief was to effect a reunion with the Wesleyan Missionary Society and transfer glebe land to the Society.

The committee's task was also to nominate three trustees. Allison's influence was evident in the choice of at least two of them, Theophilus Shepstone, the SNA and Robert Mann, the Superintendent of Education. The third was to be the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in Natal.

The elders were opposed to the decision to have two government officials as trustees but they lacked the confidence to oppose the issue.¹³ In later years leading Edendale men replaced official trustees. But the existence of the Trust did not, in fact, make a great deal of difference to the day-to-day administration of the village. Missionaries continued to take upon themselves magisterial powers until well into the 1870s. And the leading men of the village continued to exercise their authority as village elders and church leaders as they had done before. The trustees' role was to administer the unallotted portions of the farm, which included the commonage, graveyard, market place, streets, roads and paths. Their task included the protection and control of the use of timber and the waterways which were held in trust 'for the preservation of the rights of the said several co-tenants'.¹⁴ Parts of the commonage were, in fact, let out to landless people. In 1914 tenants who faced eviction claimed their families

had been permitted to stay on the commonage in accordance with Allison's wish that it should be 'set aside for the orphans (people in distress)'.¹⁵ The trustees were, in theory, the overseers of the rights and obligations established in the Trust. The Trust did not, however, have any magisterial authority, nor the rights of a municipal council that would have given the trustees real power. Apart from control over the usufruct of the unallotted portions of the farm and the Trust's right to rental, the authority of the trustees proved to be largely nominal. This was true even of their right to levy rates. Edendale's governance remained largely a private affair for which Allison, and later the Wesleyan Mission Society, took ultimate responsibility.

Under the Wesleyans, the Resident Missionary at Edendale filled the role as guardian and counsellor. No missionary at Edendale would ever again, however, assume quite the same role as Allison. Rather, there emerged a new 'community of elders' who wielded power at Edendale. Their authority rested on their status as local preachers, class leaders and itinerant evangelists. The term *oNonhlevu*, or first converts, came to be applied to this group. In time the term was to lose its original meaning and today at Edendale it applies to those families whose links go back to the original settlement and implies those of high status. In the 1860s the relationship of the *oNonhlevu* to the white missionary was based on the need for a spiritual guide and an agency to provide education. The community relied on an intermediary to negotiate with colonial society in all its ramifications and, more particularly, to mediate in official matters.

Wesleyan superintendence

Allison's departure from the village initiated a new era in the life of the community. Without his paternalistic control and intimate knowledge of the material affairs of the farm and village, the villagers were more independent than they had ever been. The role of the new Wesleyan missionaries was henceforth to be determined by the needs of the village as much as by the dictates of the Wesleyan Mission Society itself. This constituted a problem for the missionaries, who were aware that their hold over Edendale was more tenuous than on other mission stations where the Church controlled access of members to land.

For the Wesleyan missionaries in Natal, Edendale was 'the most advanced and promising station in the colony'. Their main reason for accepting the community back into the Society related to its enormous evangelical potential. They emphasised, too, the advance of its educational institutions.¹⁶

Like the Americans, the Wesleyans were worried about the 'secular' aspects of the mission at Edendale. Private ownership of land in the village was seen at first as a possible source of difficulty. The Missionary Society had less authority over the village, though not necessarily over its church membership. It was feared, too, that private land ownership might lead to endless involvement in things 'this-worldly' to the detriment of the pastoral mission.¹⁷

During the next thirty years the response of different missionaries to the Edendale community varied. Reverend William Milward, whose first appointment in Natal was at Edendale as its first resident Wesleyan missionary in 1863, complained of the people's excessive attention to material concerns at the expense of spiritual affairs.¹⁸ This remained a complaint of all the missionaries. Charles Roberts, who arrived in Natal with Milward in the 1860s, came into conflict with the Edendale church elders. While the community seem to have respected Milward, they held Roberts in contempt because of his youth, lack of experience and inefficiency, particularly in the arena of education.¹⁹ Henry Barton, who followed Roberts at Edendale in 1867, was older, more assertive and more respected.²⁰

In all their dealings with Edendale elders, there was also the subtext of the Missionary Society's reliance on the *oNonhlevu* for contact with the 'black house outside' – that is, with the non-Christian society beyond the boundaries of the mission station. The continued contact of Edendale's elders with non-Christian society through evangelism and old family connection provided the Wesleyans with an opportunity to extend their evangelical influence. Christians straddled the cultural distance between the missionaries and the non-converted world.

In this respect, the Swazi connection was particularly significant. All Christian missions had been barred from Swaziland by the king after the abortive Wesleyan attempt to establish a mission in the 1840s. However, this did not prevent Swazi Christians from crossing the borders to trade and to visit relatives after the power struggles of the 1840s had abated. During the 1860s Swazi migrants stayed at Edendale and were converted to Christianity before returning home.²¹ Edendale's neighbours in the Zwartkops location were also visited by local preachers from the mission. Before they could concern themselves with widening their evangelical enterprise, the missionaries had to establish their authority at Edendale itself. Their main activities focused on the chapel and the schools.

Education

The first concern of the Wesleyan Mission Society at Edendale was to ensure that the educational tradition established by Allison should continue. There were three schools in the village when they took over: an infant school with 140 children, a day school with 40 pupils, and an industrial school which had less than ten students at any one time.²² The junior school was conducted in English and taught by a niece of Allison's, who also left soon after the Wesleyan takeover.²³

There were two sessions each day for each of the schools. School hours accommodated both the shortage of teachers and, perhaps more pertinently, the necessity for children to help in domestic chores and in the fields. There were separate sessions for different age groups and these were divided into two parts with two hours schooling in the morning from 8 am to 10 am, and two hours in the afternoon from 1 pm to 3 pm for the younger children. More advanced children met later in the morning from 10 am to 12 pm, and again from 3 pm to 5 pm. The content of this education was little different from that meted out in Allison's time. It was limited to the three 'Rs', with a good dose of religious instruction within the parameters of Methodist dogma, using Conference Catechism and other Wesleyan doctrinal writings.²⁴ The industrial school was run on the lines of a workshop, with a wheelwright in charge, and the boys in a semi-apprenticeship position, although there was no formal contract. The system was never very efficient, and at one stage conflict between Allison and the wheelwright led to the withdrawal of the government grant for the school and its closure for a short period. It was on the arrival of the first Wesleyan missionary that the school was reopened and the government grant reinstated.²⁵

Conflict between the Missionary Society and the villagers occurred largely in the sphere of education. The people of Edendale were eager to acquire an education for themselves and their children. As the first generation of converts in colonial society, imbued with the whole ideology of 'Christianity and civilisation' preached by missionaries, they realised that it was partly through education that the accoutrements of the latter could be acquired. Village elders watched the progress of the schools very closely, comparing it with other mission stations, and insisting that certain standards be achieved. The missionaries on their side complained that the villagers were sufficiently well-to-do to contribute fees to the schools, yet were unwilling to do so.²⁶

In the first few years of the Wesleyan era at Edendale, parents refused to pay school fees. First, they did not think the schooling merited fees because

of the inferior quality of the teachers. Moreover, while it is true that the Edendale community was well-to-do and possessed some of the outward signs of advance such as neat cottages, productive fields, and respectable clothing, their prosperity was relative.²⁷ Like white property owners and commodity producers in the colony in the nineteenth century, Edendale's people were subject to seasonal fluctuations in their financial situation. Whether they actually had funds available from year to year depended on whether the rains were early or late and whether their trading expeditions were successful or not, as well as the prevailing demand for their commodities. The villagers believed that their contribution to the education of their children could be given, and was, in ways other than school fees. They were perfectly willing to give time and effort to build school rooms and a house for the teacher, and did so.²⁸ This did not satisfy the missionaries, however, and the issue remained a thorny one.

Problems between the missionary and the community reached crisis proportions during the height of the depression. In 1866 Charles Roberts became resident missionary. He soon lost the regard of the village because of what they perceived as his religious fanaticism. They thought him emotional, rash, obstinate and weak. As a result of these difficulties the community began to define their relationship with the Missionary Society in a new, and more independent, fashion.

The issue of school fees had long been a source of disagreement between the missionary and parents. Under Roberts, they were firmer in their refusal to pay fees. The arrival of a new teacher, Miss Elizabeth Rowbotham, sent from England by the Wesleyan Society Ladies Committee in mid-1865 especially to teach in the day school, did not alter matters. Although Milward considered her intelligent, her health was so bad 'that it has interfered with our progress'.²⁹ The community soon came into conflict with her too, this time over the issue of who could attend classes.

At Edendale, young girls were permitted to go to school so long as they continued to attend to their domestic duties which included caring for younger siblings, particularly infants. This soon brought Miss Rowbotham into head-long collision with the parents. The General Superintendent, James Cameron, was called in by the community to mediate in the dispute. He reported that attempts to get rid of the infants, who disrupted classes by their crying, brought the very existence of the school into jeopardy:

Some recent attempt to get rid of this evil showed that even the existence of the school would be imperilled by any strenuous prohibiting measures against it. It will therefore have to be borne with till the parents can be persuaded to have their infants nursed at home during school hours.³⁰

In spite of these difficulties Cameron found progress among the children in reading, writing, arithmetic and geography. In singing, too, they were adept: 'They sang several pieces with readiness and propriety'.³¹

Cameron's intervention led to the formation in 1866 of a school committee of four parents. The committee's business was to monitor the progress of the children. This seemed to resolve at least some of the problems as school attendance increased by a dramatic 30% during that year.³² But peace did not last long. Unhappy with the progress of their children, the committee hired a young villager trained as a teacher by the American missionaries. In his quarterly report to the General Secretaries in London, Roberts expounded at length about his difficulties with the leading men on the station, including those on the school committee. The committee, which in his annual report in 1866 he had commended, was now described as 'a curse to the station'.³³ His main complaint was that they refused to accept teachers from England without first interviewing them. He was also aggrieved that they turned for support to the General Superintendent, who favoured their position. Worse, this committee of 'ignorant men' introduced into the schoolroom of the newly hired lady-teacher, 'a so-called educated Native who was not to be under the control of either teacher, committee, or missionary'.³⁴ The committee asked that the government grant be given for the salary of the new teacher, Samuel Kumalo. This the missionary refused to do. The result was a fresh confrontation, which led to a boycott and lock-out by the committee:

We do not still wish to fight with you. You must now take the money and make for yourself what you like with it, and teach for yourself your own children with it, or if you feed upon it yourself, but our children shall stay at home. Further we will close the schoolroom also; because it is ours, you have nothing to do with it. You must not now take in your people without our permission. The Committee say so.³⁵

Without pupils in the day school, Roberts was forced to concede that the new schoolteacher should be given the government grant. The breach was only healed in 1868 once Roberts had left and a more mature and more respected missionary, Henry Barton, took over. The independent school was then absorbed into the Mission Day School.³⁶

Cameron persuaded the 'principal men' to agree to pay school fees, and acquired the novel subscription of 39 muids of mealies.³⁷ The assurances were no guarantee of payment, however, and Barton reported that no one paid. He adduced the reason to be 'the parents ... great indifference about the education of their children'.³⁸ This view does not tally with the general picture of a community concerned to provide the best possible education for their children

and the bitterness of their struggle with the Mission Society over the quality of the teachers provided from England.

Miss Rowbotham's successor, also from England, was no better, despite optimistic expectations. The establishment of a separate day school resulted from dissatisfaction with her teaching. The community refused to allow their children to attend her lessons, but agreed to pay fees once Barton decided to take over the teaching of the day school himself.³⁹ The compromise reached heralded the success of community pressure in improving the quality of education in their schools. Barton's intervention, however, reasserted missionary dominance. Struggle between community and Mission Society over the role of parents was not resolved.

The struggles at Edendale were in part a reflection of the paucity of the education being meted out to Africans in the colony. Education was the monopoly of missionary societies, with government providing small grants from the Reserve Fund set aside for the welfare of the African population. Even so, the quality of Wesleyan education compared to other mission societies was poor.⁴⁰ The Wesleyan missionaries were worried about this state of affairs and sought further government aid to develop their own educational institutions:

The American Mission has two good schools in effective operation one for boys and one for girls. Bishop Macrorie is establishing schools everywhere for whites and blacks and our own people are very dissatisfied that we can only give very limited education. We have very many openings for schools in the places round but we cannot occupy them because white teachers are too expensive and there are no efficient black ones.⁴¹

The American missionaries were better qualified and consequently their schools were more favoured by African Christians, including those from Edendale. Several children from Edendale were educated by the Americans, including Samuel Kumalo, who became the schoolteacher in the short-lived independent school.⁴²

Religion

Religious practice at Edendale after the Wesleyan takeover was a central arena of mission concern. The missionaries noticed deviations from Methodism.⁴³ The split between Allison and the Mission Society in the 1850s had been over aspects of Wesleyan Conference control. In one area Allison had deviated from the rest of his brethren by encouraging the creation of a 'native agency'. He tended to give more responsibility to some of his first converts in evangelical work than other Methodists, and these agents had been given salaries. This was not in fact entirely new for catechists and schoolteachers had always been

given some remuneration.⁴⁴ But when the Wesleyans came to Edendale they no longer felt that local preachers should be eligible for a wage. This became the source of much discontent, and a number of church members at Edendale in fact broke away to form their own congregation in typical independent Methodist tradition.⁴⁵

This did not mean that the church was empty on Sundays, however, for the missionary reported the attendance of over 800 hearers at the five different services held on the station.⁴⁶ Two services were held 'for the Kafirs', numbering four to five hundred at each service. Two separate services were held for the Griqua, the Dutch-speaking population of the station, who were described as 'half-caste Hottentots, and a very few pure Hottentots also', and numbered from eighty to a hundred. A service in English was also held for some seventeen or eighteen Europeans who lived in the vicinity. It is striking that the Sotho, Swazi and Zulu speakers combined in a single Zulu service, indicating strong syncretic tendencies among the converts in the village.

Milward was quick to weed out religious irregularities he thought were 'detrimental to the progress of Christianity and the interests of Methodism'. He commented:

still the religious state of the people is far from being what it ought to be and we fear that that earnest, hearty cooperation with the missionary and that aggressive piety which is so essential to the spiritual well-being of any religious community, may for some time to come be found wanting.⁴⁷

Years without the overall control of a religious body may have allowed for more flexibility in adaptation to colonial society and for the continuation of certain practices otherwise considered subversive to the Christian religion and discipline of Wesleyanism. Allison himself had favoured a more pragmatic approach to the question of what constituted a 'Christian and civilised life'. Milward complained bitterly about what was expected of him. He believed these expectations to be beyond the duty of a missionary. 'The Kafirs are proverbially selfish,' he wrote to the General Secretaries in London about the Edendale people.⁴⁸

There were two reasons for Milward's views. The first grew from the role the community defined for the missionary. The second was derived from what he saw as their exploitation of the missionary's vulnerability to their control over resources in the community:

As soon as a missionary gets settled down among a people here, they regard him as their father, priest, doctor, counsellor etc. According to their idea he must live but for them. No one else has any claim on him. He must give them all he can and must ask them for as little as possible in

return. He must pay them at least twice as much for anything as they would ask from each other, and if he remonstrates, they are indignant, and wonder at his ingratitude when they are doing him a favour by supplying him with an urgent necessity of his at their own price.⁴⁹

Milward condemned the people of Edendale as 'heady high-minded lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God'.⁵⁰ What 'pleasures' these were, he did not elaborate. At the same time, his task was to guide his church members in their relationship with colonial society. The interaction between the missionary and converts was more complex than this. As he suggested, the missionary was being manipulated by his converts. Mission adherents were trying to establish a role for the missionary which fulfilled their own particular needs at that juncture in their history. Allison had fulfilled the role of guardian and patriarch, but had overstepped the boundaries of what the community found acceptable. Milward articulated some of the effects on the missionary of the community's attempts to create a specific role for him. It was neither the role of a chief, for the elders had their own *ibandla* or customary court with an induna chosen from among themselves; nor, however, was the missionary to be merely a spiritual guide. Milward's discipline had an effect, however. A year after his appointment he reported larger quarterly contributions. Even the local preachers had 'caught some of the missionary spirit in some measure, and this leads them out on the Sabbath to the adjacent kraals preaching the word of life to their heathen fellows'.⁵¹ But the missionary was compelled to act very carefully for there existed considerable hostility to Methodism on the station in spite of the large and attentive congregations.

A major task for the missionary was to provide improved facilities for religious worship. The chapel built in the 1850s was too small for the size of the congregations and Milward proposed a fund for a new chapel in early 1864.⁵² It was not a propitious year. The rains had been bad at the beginning of the season, so the crops were scanty. By the middle of that year traders were in deep trouble. Trading expeditions were unsuccessful too. The people were in financial straits and were hardly able to contribute to church funds at all.⁵³

Economic crisis, religious revival

The economic crisis that brought a halt to the extraordinary speculative activity in the community is discussed in the following chapter. The impact of depression on the Christian community had a profound spiritual effect as well. Milward was convinced that the community was 'commercially as well as spiritually on the threshold of ruin'.⁵⁴ Circuit income dropped, school fees

were not paid and contributions to the building fund for the new chapel could not be made.

There is tantalising reference to the problems faced by the missionary on the station at this time, with converts reluctant to give up customary practices.⁵⁵ From other evidence, one can surmise that these related to marriage relations. Courtship practice of *hlobonga*, an exchange that permitted sexual relations, was tacitly permitted by some, while *lobola* continued to play an important part in cementing alliances between families.⁵⁶ The missionaries considered these practices atavistic hangovers from a barbaric past. Thus, Milward wrote to his London superiors:

In our midst are to be found many careless ones, who are loth to give up their old sinful customs; and others, once calling themselves Christians, who are greater enemies to the cross of Christ than the surrounding heathen. There are many troublers of Israel on this station, men who we have warned of their danger, invited to Christ and earnestly prayed for, but who seem bent upon their own destruction, and determined to drag down to everlasting death as many souls as they can.

Then again, we do not see that progress in the knowledge and love of God among many of our members here which is so indispensably necessary to their own personal safety. Their light does not shine as it ought to do, and hence God is not as much glorified in and by them as he ought to be. Under these circumstances, you will at once perceive that while we have indeed much cause for rejoicing, yet we 'rejoice with trembling'.⁵⁷

Milward was able to report the experience of the 'saving grace of the blessed Saviour' by more than sixty people during the first part of 1865: 'the coloured inhabitants of Edendale as well as the Kafirs have caught the grace and the songs of joy and praise on the part of the forgiven mingled with the loud wailing and fearful anguish of the penitent are constantly heard among us'.⁵⁸

The divisions within the religious community at Edendale also remained a problem during the 1860s. The separatist church grouping maintained persistent pressure on the recognised Wesleyan body, 'trying to sow tares among the wheat here'. This group also built a substantial chapel able to seat 500 people. In Milward's view, these 'evil-minded and wicked men... have been in labours more abundant, they have not done much mischief, but they have led away, some with the error of the wicked and we fear they may yet beguile other unstable souls still connected with us'.⁵⁹ Fortunately for the Wesleyan mission, in 1866 the revivalist preachings of a visiting American Wesleyan evangelist, Reverend William Taylor, and his Eastern Cape assistant, Charles Pamla, revived the missionary zeal of Christian converts in Natal. The Christians at Edendale were particularly affected.⁶⁰

The new zeal of the mission converts at Edendale also had the unexpected result of creating greater religious self-confidence and a desire to develop

their own missionary effort. This occurred in the context of what missionaries termed 'secular struggles', which revolved around educational standards, and the maintenance of traditional practices the missionaries found abhorrent. Dissatisfaction with the performance of the missionaries should also not be separated from the wide distress experienced by almost everyone at Edendale in the 1860s.

During the next decade the difficulties between converts and missionaries would reach crisis proportions and the Mission Society would be forced to accept a new relationship with their 'native agents'. The religious struggle revolved around the superintendence of white missionaries over black missionary effort, and that is the subject of Chapter Six.

Edendale's transfer to Wesleyan missionary superintendence constituted an important shift for the community. It gave the village elders increased secular responsibility, which brought them into conflict with their missionaries. Although they wanted more participation in determining educational policy on the station, they were at the same time dependent on the Mission Society for the school subsidy and for teachers.

Struggle for control of both brought about a new relationship with the missionaries, in which the latter were forced to recognise the influence of the elders. At the same time, missionary control was maintained.

In the religious sphere, evangelical independence was maintained by at least half the Christian community who continued to remain aloof from the Wesleyan congregation. Little evidence survives about this group, but it does suggest that there were considerable fissiparous tendencies within the Edendale community.

ENDNOTES

- 1 For negotiations with the American Board see ABCFM report, upon which this section is based.
- 2 ABCFM report.
- 3 *ibid.*
- 4 *ibid.*
- 5 *ibid.*
- 6 *ibid.*
- 7 *ibid.*
- 8 MMS 317, Natal 1858–1863, 1858/59, H. Pearse to General Secretaries, 8 December 1859; also 1860–61/193, H. Pearse to J. Osborn, 7 April 1860.
- 9 NWM 2/3/1, Letters received by Superintendants, A–D 1856–1884, W. Bennitt to H. Pearse, 4 August 1860.
- 10 Natal Archives, Colenso Collection A204, Letter Book 2, 36, 14 December 1875.
- 11 Natal Archives, Supreme Court (SC), Protocols IV/2/67, D.D. Buchanan, 321–447; D/T 147/1861 Edendale Trust Deed.
- 12 *Natal Witness*, 7 April 1860.
- 13 NWM 2/3/1, W. Bennitt to H. Pearse, 7 January 1861.
- 14 SC Protocols IV/2/67, D.D. Buchanan, 340, 11 April 1861.

- 15 CNC 145, 973/1914, Land Act, Edendale.
- 16 NWM 1/1/1, Synod Minutes 1848–1865, Minutes 10th Annual Meeting of the Natal District, 1860.
- 17 NWM 3/1/4, Letters dispatched by Superintendants, 1852–1861, H. Pearse to G. Osborn, 5 February 1861.
- 18 MMS 317, 1863/693, W.H. Milward to Secretaries, 29 July 1863.
- 19 MMS 318, 1863/75, J. Cameron to Secretaries, 20 December 1865.
- 20 MMS 319, J. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 2 May 1868.
- 21 MMS 338, Synod Minutes 1864–1868, Natal District Minutes and Reports 1865, Edendale and KwaNgubeni Society Report, 1864–1865.
- 22 MMS 317, Natal District Minutes and Reports 1862, Report of the Schools in the Edendale and KwaNgubeni circuit, 1862.
- 23 SNA 1/1/14, R484/1864, Report by Superintendent of Education, 23 July 1864.
- 24 MMS 317, 1863/693, W.H. Milward to Secretaries, 29 July 1863.
- 25 SNA 1/1/10, 5/1860, T. Shepstone to J. Allison, 5 February 1860; 24/1860, J. Allison to T. Shepstone, 26 March 1860. SNA 1/1/11, 46/1861, H. Pearse to SNA, 30 April 1861.
- 26 MMS 318, Natal 1863–1865/599, J. Pilcher to Dr Hoole, 4 June 1864.
- 27 MMS 318, Natal 1863–1865, W.H. Milward to Secretaries, 29 June 1865.
- 28 *ibid.*
- 29 MMS 338, Natal District Minutes 1865, Edendale School Report 1864–1865.
- 30 MMS 318, Natal 1863–1867, 1866/391, J. Cameron to Secretaries, 27 April 1866.
- 31 *ibid.*
- 32 MMS 338, Natal District Minutes and Reports 1866, Edendale School Reports 1866.
- 33 MMS 318, Natal 1863–1867, 1866/341, C. Roberts to Secretaries, 7 May 1867.
- 34 *ibid.*
- 35 MMS 318, Natal 1863–1867, 1866/475, J. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 5 July 1867.
- 36 MMS 339, 1869–1871, Natal District Minutes and Reports, Edendale Circuit Report, 1869.
- 37 MMS 318, Natal 1863–1867, 1866/475, J. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 5 July 1867.
- 38 MMS 339, Edendale Circuit Report, 1869.
- 39 MMS 319, 1868, J. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 2 May 1868; J. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 27 October 1868. MMS 319, 1869, H.S. Barton to W.B. Boyce, 13 January 1869. MMS 318, 1866/546, J. Cameron to ‘My dear Bro’, 21 July 1867. MMS 338, Synod Minutes, Edendale School Report, 1866.
- 40 MMS 319, 1869, H.S. Barton to W.B. Boyce, 21 December 1869.
- 41 *ibid.*
- 42 *ibid.* See also Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in South-East Africa, 1835–1880*: 129–134.
- 43 MMS 317, Natal 1859–1863, 1863/693 W.H. Milward to Secretaries, 29 July 1863. MMS 337, 1857–1863, Natal District Minutes and Reports 1863, Edendale and KwaNgubeni Circuit Report, 1863.
- 44 See Synod Minutes of all circuits in southern Africa.
- 45 See Chapter Six.
- 46 MMS 317, Natal 1859–63, 1863/693, W.H. Milward to Secretaries, 29 July 1863.
- 47 MMS 337, Synod Minutes, Natal District Minutes and Reports 1863, Edendale and KwaNgubeni Circuit Report, 1863.
- 48 MMS 318, Natal 1863–1867, 1863/154, 29 December 1863.
- 49 *ibid.*
- 50 MMS 318, Natal 1863–1867, 1863/160, W.H. Milward to Secretaries, 27 December 1864.
- 51 *ibid.*
- 52 MMS 318, 1863/419, W.H. Milward, 1 April 1864.
- 53 MMS 318, 1863/327, G. Blencowe, 18 March 1865.
- 54 MMS 318, 1863/419, W.H. Milward, 1 April 1864.
- 55 MMS 318, 1863/651, W.H. Milward, 29 June 1865.
- 56 Webb and Wright, *The James Stuart Archive*, vol. 1:222; Evidence, 1882, S. Mini: 137
- 57 MMS 318, Natal 1863/289, W.H. Milward, 1 March 1865.
- 58 *ibid.*
- 59 MMS 318, 1863/31, W.H. Milward, 20 October 1865. MMS 318, 1866/391, J. Cameron, 27 April 1866. MMS 338, Edendale Circuit Report, 1865.
- 60 *ibid.* See also W. Taylor, *Christian Adventures in South Africa* (London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder, 1867).

BY THE BEGINNING of the 1860s there was some harmony in the piety, education and economic progress of many members of the Edendale community despite the existence of fissiparous religious tensions and inequalities in wealth. Religious piety was a key tenet of mission station existence, even if religious unity was not always possible. Education widened the prospects for independent progress in production and other economic activity and was thus of importance to the villagers. The speculation and boom of the early 1860s brought the African entrepreneurs into direct competition with white traders, artisans and farmers. It also gave, to the Christians especially, the confidence to demand legal equality with white colonists. This chapter plots the social and political progress of the Edendale Christians in the context of boom, crisis and depression in the colony. The colonial state refused to contemplate incorporation of these black Christians, here identified by the term Kholwa, as citizens with the same status and rights as colonial settlers. This, combined with the experience of depression, brought a conservative reaction from the Kholwa that was reflected in the establishment of new forms of property.

Edendale in boom conditions: speculation in the early 1860s

Early in the 1860s, better-off Edendale families extended their land holdings by purchasing more plots on the farm. In 1861 when the title deeds were actually transferred to each property owner, there were still no more than the original 100 owners.¹ Ownership patterns show that many owners had acquired more than one plot and that by the end of the 1860s they were extending their holdings to other parts of Natal.² By 1866, Edendale was experiencing a good deal of out migration and the composition of the community was changing.³

It is clear that the purpose of this land accumulation was to ensure that sons (and daughters) should be able to set up their own households, and thus perpetuate the new family. But the village remained the context in which

families sought to reproduce themselves. Few members of the Edendale community sought to achieve independence from village life by living in isolation on their own farms. A combination of factors may explain this, but undoubtedly important was their sense of community in common affiliation to the Church. As we have seen, the leadership had felt the need for a mission agency to remain at Edendale after Allison's departure, to attend to both the religious and secular affairs of the village.

In spite of Wesleyan complaints about the worldliness of the Edendale people, their advance was also a matter of pride. Their dwellings and lifestyle were favourably compared to those of colonists:

There [at Edendale] you find houses furnished comfortably; indeed better than the dwellings of many Colonists ... There in many of the houses, the people sit as families round their tables, and use knives, forks, plates, cups etc ... There all or almost all are proprietors.⁴

By the early 1860s, the Edendale Kholwa were certain about their ability to make the most of the economic opportunities in the colony. They remained centrally involved in commodity markets in the burgeoning little town of Pietermaritzburg either as wage labourers or as traders and producers. Milward pointed out how Edendale's producers took advantage of their proximity to the market in Pietermaritzburg:

Edendale lies only 6 miles from Maritzburg, the capital of Natal. Hence the Edendale people have a ready market for their produce and can take advantage of every rise in the price of mealies etc. I have known wagons laden with produce, waiting for higher rates in the market. The owners either went in themselves or sent to know the Market-price every day. So long as they imagined the price was too low, the produce was kept back; but as soon as prices ruled higher, the produce was hurried in with all speed; many of the natives showing as much shrewdness in such matters as English farmers themselves.⁵

Trade was not confined to Pietermaritzburg, either, for trading expeditions went as far afield as Pondoland and Swaziland. John Inkanhla Zuma hunted and traded among the Pondo for more than twelve months in 1860.⁶ Large parties traded among the Swazi, while Edendale became a base for young Swazi migrants 'obtaining money to purchase wives'.⁷ When Adam Kok established himself in East Griqualand, trade links were also set up with Edendale. In the mid-1860s, Kok himself visited Edendale's small contingent of Griqua settlers whose origins went back to Allison's mission in the interior in the 1830s.⁸ Edendale's network of trade made use of the community's older links in an earlier pre-colonial past.

Speculation about Natal's trading prospects created boom conditions in the early 1860s in spite of warning cautionary signs such as the shortage of specie

and the inability of farmers to pursue profitable enterprise through want of sufficient labour.⁹ That the explanation for this shortage was that Africans were independently engaged in subsistence production does not alter the fact that it held back the development of a commercial agricultural sector.¹⁰ There were labour shortages in the towns also. It was not until the introduction of African immigrant workers from outside Natal, and of Indian indentured labour, that this barrier to further development was removed.¹¹ This does not mean that no economic development occurred. In Natal, what development there was was tied to mercantile activity rather than to production. Building, for instance, created employment for builders, carpenters and brickmakers. The buildings, though, were for such firms as the Natal Fire Assurance and Trust Company, Messrs Raw and Wilkinson, and auctioneers and trading agents, and not for factory development.¹² The *Natal Witness* graphically described Natal's progress in the early 1860s:

As this is the age of 'rapid' and 'gigantic strides', and our little colony is only beginning to toddle along in the race for distinction, and its doings are more the caprices of a family than the movements of a nation, an attempt to give importance to events that occur in the interval of the mail's departure and return, is liable to induce drafts on the imagination, to save from ridicule [*sic*].¹³

However much development in Natal was subject to ridicule, speculation was abundant during the first years of the 1860s according to the editor of the *Natal Witness*. Monetary wealth was still undeveloped and usury flourished. Usurers lent money to small enterprises and were thus able to centralise monetary wealth that gave rise to capital formation.¹⁴ By 1862 there were five banks in 'flourishing order', while a Building Investment and Loan Society was established by the Natal Fire Assurance Trust Company in the same year.¹⁵ The Natal Land and Colonisation Company also provided credit and loans on landed security but the banks, not prepared to go so far, offered mortgage facilities instead:

Money has been finding its way into the colony, enticed by the high rates of interest offered by those who have ample landed security... Money is generally secured by a first mortgage on property worth double the amount borrowed, properly insured, interest payable at one of the banks half yearly, at the rate of 12 per cent.¹⁶

Many Edendale entrepreneurs had begun to involve themselves in these new forms of credit and debt relations in the colony. Speculative lending in the colony was one of the few ways in which the formation and concentration

of money capital could take place. Loan agreements financed agricultural activity, trade and additional land purchase. For the first time mortgages were taken out by Edendale landowners, now in possession of their title deeds.¹⁷ Moreover, this early prosperity coincided with government support of small-scale African agricultural production. Edendale enjoyed the benefits of boom and government encouragement. Some people became very prosperous.

Such a term is relative for there were not many wealthy people in Natal, not least at Edendale. The people of Edendale had the reputation for being trustworthy debtors, promptly repaying any loans or credit extended to them at shops in Pietermaritzburg.¹⁸ In the early 1860s they began to extend their economic activities and, in order to do so, began to take out larger loans giving their landholdings, and those of others, as security. This speculative flurry led to one particularly optimistic venture by one Hezekiah Daniel who, with three other partners, got the backing of eight leading Edendale elders in establishing a trading company. He borrowed £8 000 from Henry Pinson, a sheep farmer and merchant, himself indebted to the Marine Insurance and Trust Company of Natal at 15% per annum over four years.¹⁹

Further research needs to be done on credit relations and the whole process of capital formation in Natal.²⁰ It does seem, however, that interest rates on loans were high relative to the level of productive development at this time. There was no Usury Act in Natal, and Law 6 of 1858 had established free trade in money. In transactions where there was no agreement, a 6% interest rate was charged otherwise rates were agreed on between parties. In 1863, for instance, Henry Pinson charged 15% on a number of Edendale mortgages.²¹ Rates of profit on productive activity, on the other hand, were not very high since the productivity of labour was quite low. There was little technological sophistication and small-scale production with highly exploited family labour continued to dominate economic activity in all sectors except the burgeoning sugar industry. The servicing of loans in these circumstances ate into the consumption bundle of even prosperous households including those at Edendale.

In the early 1860s, however, people at Edendale were confident of their material progress. The farm was paid off and survey and individual title to land holdings had been effected although, as we have seen, this had been the source of the division between Allison and the rest of the co-owners. Allison had not made provision for the cost of the survey fees, and these had been relatively expensive. Survey cost 4% above the purchase price so that additional costs

had to be borne by the landowners before title could be issued. To meet this, many were driven to take out mortgage loans for the first time.

One foreign visitor to Edendale early in 1860, 'a representative of several families of free coloured people who are desirous of exchanging their present uncomfortable habitat in Canada for the more genial climate of Natal', was impressed by 'the very advanced civilisation of the natives at that station, with many of whom he conversed for some time'.²² Indeed, the development of Edendale was watched with great interest by the colonial community, among both the public and officials, as an experiment in the effects of landownership on Africans – particularly once Allison's guiding hand was removed and the community had become realigned with the Wesleyan Missionary Society. For a visiting Anglican missionary in 1861, Edendale was an example of what could be achieved by 'raising up a landed proprietary among the more prosperous converts':

these people have their substantial stone dwellings, and well ploughed fields, with the power of buying or selling at pleasure. They have also erected a church, school-house, and watermill. Every day witnesses the arrival of waggon loads of Edendale produce at the Maritzburg market. It is quite a sight to see the waggons returning, on a summer's evening, packed with the wives and families of these Edendale Caffres; all clad in British manufactured goods, and carrying on their countenances an unmistakeable air of contentment and joyous prosperity.²³

Theophilus Shepstone saw some value in the ownership of land by Africans. Although a trustee of the Edendale Trust, however, he pointed to landownership at Edendale as a unique experiment in individual ownership and not the prototype for African land tenure in Natal. Instead, Shepstone suggested that tribal title might be granted to those in locations.²⁴ He was reluctant, however, to encourage tribal possession outside the locations.²⁵

Africans had themselves come to perceive the value of legal title as a result of the extensive grants to white colonists of Crown lands occupied by African cultivators. At least one chief witnessed the expulsion of 'squatters' from Crown lands and applied for the security of freehold land upon which he and his people might settle. Shepstone proposed that purchase would be 'the very best guarantee for the future peace of the Colony as far as they were concerned'.²⁶ Nevertheless, purchase of land by syndicates headed by chiefs was only to become a feature of the 1880s. Christian syndicates took their cue from the expansion of companies of Edendale people after the slump of 1865.

In conditions of depression, the colony's future depended very largely on African production. To encourage its development the Lieutenant Governor

suggested the introduction of agricultural shows for Africans. The Colonial Secretary wrote,

His Excellency has observed with much pleasure indications of ingenuity on the part of the natives of this Colony, which lead him to hope that they may be gradually induced to acquire habits of industry in the manufacture of various articles of marketable value in agriculture and in the improvement of their breeds of cattle, and horses, goats, sheep, and poultry ... His Excellency is of the opinion that the Natives might be encouraged, through their chiefs, to offer for exhibition samples of wool, flax, sugar, cotton and tobacco, mealies and Kafir corn, samples of agricultural implements, ploughs, harrows and mats, baskets, articles of domestic use, ornamental arms, skins, shields, head and other dresses, feathers, head ornaments etc., and also various specimens of live stock.²⁷

He suggested that Africans be encouraged to grow ‘vacoa plants [*sic*]²⁸ for the manufacture of sugar bags both for home consumption and for export. Angora goats should be introduced into the locations, he thought. Ploughing matches, races on foot, and races on horseback could also be instituted. Prizes could also be awarded ‘for the longest period in industrial service’. There is no evidence to indicate the SNA’s response to this suggestion. Until the 1890s there are no reports in the SNA’s files or in the newspapers of African agricultural shows. One must assume, then, that in the 1860s the idea was never implemented.

Sugar, cotton and coffee production were also promoted. To this end a preferential scheme for the purchase of ploughs was introduced through government agency. Quite a number of Edendale producers had availed themselves of this. Neither sugar nor cotton could be grown in the Edendale valley, and the latter scheme did not prove very successful or popular among African producers elsewhere. Coffee was also unsuitable. In the 1860s, none of these experiments were of much success.²⁹ The *Natal Witness* correctly adduced the smallness of the market as the reason.³⁰ Edendale’s major crop in the 1860s was maize. Pietermaritzburg’s population of between 2 000 and 3 000 provided the market for the maize, which was produced in great quantities in Edendale’s fertile riverine valley.³¹

The seasonal nature of agricultural employment as well as the division of family labour permitted Edendale people to be employed as wagon drivers and artisans as well. Wagon drivers received the going rate of twenty shillings a month with food, a wage considerably above the ordinary labouring wage of between six and ten shillings a month with food.³² Jubert, whose other name was Samuel Msomi, one of the original purchasers of Edendale, worked as a wagoner for a Boer ‘master’, one Marais.³³ His life story is hidden for lack of evidence but one can surmise that he was a victim of the dislocation of the 1820s and 1830s, possibly an *inboekseling* among the Boers of Transorangia,

where he learned the art of wagon driving, and found his way to Natal through attachment to Allison.³⁴ Research has also been unable to uncover which of the Edendale converts plied the route between Pietermaritzburg and Durban as wagon drivers in the early 1860s.³⁵

While productive and commercial activity among Africans was given encouragement, involvement in the market was in fact fraught with legal confusion. All Africans in Natal were subject to customary law and there was some ambiguity as to which law, colonial or customary, applied in trade disputes between Africans and settlers.³⁶ The question was one that began to dominate the attention of leading church members on many of the mission stations in Natal in the 1860s.

Legal ambiguities

There was considerable confusion about the status of Christian and educated mission station residents. It was unclear which law applied in disputes between themselves, in disputes between themselves and settlers, and in disputes between themselves and other Africans. Magistrates had discretionary powers to adjudicate cases between Africans according to the rules of equity in either customary or colonial law, whichever seemed appropriate.³⁷ That magistrates were not real 'experts' in customary law added to the confusion.

Missionaries and Christian converts alike condemned the dual system of law that structured the lives of Africans, both Christian and non-Christian alike. It was ambiguous and confusing. It belied all that the Christians had achieved in their efforts towards 'civilising' themselves. They wanted a single law to govern their affairs.³⁸ The implications of subjection to customary law were complicated.

The maintenance of customary law and the authority of chiefs had the effect of creating two distinctive kinds of subjects, those under the ordinary laws of the colony and those under customary law. A complex legal system was the result. Chiefs and indunas recognised by the government could adjudicate in certain civil and domestic disputes and had the right to fine offenders. Appeal against their decisions could be made to magistrate's courts. Customary law had a cohesive social function precisely because it was a flexible system of law. This does not mean it was not complex. The system was little understood by colonial officials and its practice under colonial magistrates was on the whole a travesty of its original purpose. Colonial officials used a confusing variety of legal conventions and procedures in their decision making; at times applying

Roman Dutch law, at others English law mixed with what they understood to be customary law.

British rule in Natal had not been established by means of violent conquest of the indigenous population. Indigenous political groups, from small clans to larger chiefdoms, had found that accommodation with British overlords allowed for the maintenance of a modicum of independence. In return, Africans were permitted access to communal land and they retained their customary laws and practices. The Kholwa communities were included in this system of control.

Kholwa were not exempt from customary law. Indeed, the colonial authorities attempted to establish their status quite firmly in terms of the structures of what John Shepstone understood as 'traditional tribal society' which became, in some ways, an invention of his own. In effect, for the purposes of administration, the Christians were treated as a separate 'tribe'. The Lieutenant Governor, as Supreme Chief, appointed and recognised one individual in Christian communities as headman to deal with cases between conflicting parties under customary law.³⁹ The very term used to refer to the Christians, the Kholwa, originally coined by non-Christians, came to be used in the same way as other 'tribal' names. As Shepstone explained:

if they are to be at once emancipated from all the responsibilities which they have been accustomed to look upon as binding upon them and which have served to guide their conduct all their lives and made amenable to only the personal responsibilities which the English law imposes and which in their eyes, amounts to little more than every man doing as he chooses then I am persuaded there will be an end to all order among all classes.⁴⁰

Apart from preventing the acquisition of colonial civil status by Christians, subjection to customary law forced them to continue certain customary marriage practices in order for their marriages to have legal recognition. Kinship inheritance of property continued, as did the settlement of disputes according to laws derived from kinship society. Sustaining these practices placed the Kholwa in an ambiguous position.

Christian belief had placed them in opposition to chiefly and kinship society. Moreover, missionaries opposed many of those practices legalised by the colonial state, particularly polygyny, *lobola*, and the custom of *ukungena* in which a widow was given in marriage to her dead husband's brother.⁴¹ There was tension between what missionaries taught their converts to either reject as unacceptable, or to embrace as desirable, and what the colonial government tolerated.

Mission life undermined a range of previous social relationships. Among them were earlier property ties. Individualism in property ownership, market production and trade replaced the reciprocity of communal kinship redistribution albeit tempered by the communal spirit of the religious community. These new forms presupposed contractual relationships quite foreign to customary law. They required a different kind of legal structure. As one missionary put it to the SNA:

Some of us at least have supposed that as Christian natives become civilised and emancipated from heathen superstitions and practises they would also be relieved from the oppressive operation of heathen laws, and would become subjects of English justice and law. It is important for us as missionaries and important for our converts that we know distinctly how these matters stand. Must Christian natives remain in name and in law, heathen and savages, or as they are elevated in the scale of civilisation and Christian morals, can they be permitted to take advantage of Christian laws and English justice to save themselves from oppression and wrong?⁴²

Most Christian Africans shared this view. A meeting of Natal Christians was held at Edendale in March 1863.⁴³ This resulted in the first of a sequence of petitions to the colonial government asking for the same rights as any British settlers. Their demands pointed to their involvement in colonial society, not only as agricultural producers for local markets but also as owners of property. They emphasised their commitment to Christianity, monogamy and mission education. Above all, their claims rested on their irrevocable separation from a 'heathen' past.

The *Natal Witness* gave details of this 'Meeting of civilised natives at the Edendale Mission station'.⁴⁴ Representatives from mission stations all over Natal met to discuss the whole 'evil' of subjection to customary law. The meeting was held in the home of Job Kambule, 'the principal native convert' and first induna or headman at Edendale. The issue was closely debated during the seven-hour meeting which only closed in the early hours of the morning. Johannes Kumalo expressed the difficulties of living under a dual system of law:

We have left the race of our forefathers; we have left the black race and have clung to the white. We imitate them in everything we can. We feel we are in the midst of a civilised people, and that when we became converts to their faith we belonged to them. It was as a stone thrown into the water, impossible to return. You have all left different savage races to come to Natal. We have all been well received... not as dogs, but as people. We have been protected since, and are happy. One thing alone detracts from our security. The law by which our cases are decided.

He complained that refugees who sought the protection of 'the wings of the Englishman' found an unsatisfactory legal system to deal with their cases.

Although changes to customary law to conform to ‘the principles of justice in civilised Law’ had occurred, Kumalo emphasised that the ‘present law in Natal is not [*sic*] perfection compared to the law we have left’. Kumalo asked ‘who can say Kafir law is good? ... The question for us to decide is ... whether we will have Kafir or English law?’ Daniel Msimang spoke eloquently about the utter confusion which, in his opinion, reigned because of the existence of two systems of law:

In a late case, decided in town, Kafirs were punished with imprisonment. We asked, what law is this? We are answered – English Law. This is well, we like the English law, let it be so. But a few days afterwards, Kafirs are again punished for the same offence (of assault); but not with imprisonment and chains, but pecuniary fine. We ask, what law is this? We are answered – Kafir law. Which road are we to take to the right hand or to the left? Are we retreating instead of advancing in civilisation?

The confusion created a sense of insecurity for the Kholwa: ‘We are in the light and yet in the darkness. We are in the immediate neighbourhood of the white man, and yet we are far removed’.

Msimang told of the existence of contradictory opinions as to when English and customary law applied, ‘white man’ contradicting ‘lawyer’. Again, let him speak, for his words graphically convey the reality of the twilight zone in which Christians felt themselves to be living.

I may be ploughing, and according to Kafir law, a policeman may take me by the arm like a blind man, and lead me to the gaol. It may be for a month; it may be for a year. I am ultimately released, and told there is no charge against me. Who do I ask for redress? Where was the summons declaring my offence? While I am in gaol one of my bills become due I was to have paid it by the ploughing from which I was removed. What law is this? I ask in despair. The judge says, ‘silence, this is English law.’ Which arm am I to choose for my protection; the right or left, Kafir law or English? ... I do not ask you to decide which law you will have, English or Kafir; but let us ask for one, only one, that we may not be obliged to sleep with our eyes continually open.

Msimang captured the essence of the conundrum with great eloquence: ‘We point with pride to the dark distance from which we have fled. We shout with joy because we are in the light. We are told, “You are still in ignorance and darkness”.’ Another complaint of the Kholwa was that cases took so long to be solved in the courts. Kumalo spoke of this:

Let me put a case. I quarrel with a black man. I go to law. What do I find? An Induna. I speak my case to him. His answer is a stroke of the chin. I am told to return tomorrow, and this goes on for a month? Who pays me for my time lost, my money spent, and my heart hardened? Let us represent this evil to our superiors. Let us tell them we have left the black race, and belong to them. Will they send us back to barbarity? They may send our bodies, but our spirits they cannot send. Our spirits belong to civilisation, though our bodies are the colour of the earth.

Kumalo expressed the growing awareness of the contradiction between missionary efforts to civilise, and government resistance to the incorporation of neophytes into 'civil society'. Shepstone's response to assertions about the experience of Christian Africans represented the official view:

I am of opinion that no oppression or wrong is necessarily involved in Natives whether Christianised or Heathen, being governed according to Native Law, under which they have grown up, so modified in its administration by enlightened Christian Magistrates, as to suit their circumstances, this gives the Administrator greater discretion and greater responsibility – this is the principle upon which they are governed at present, and I think it is the safest one.⁴⁵

This provides a clue to the bureaucratic insistence on reducing the Kholwa to second class status. It relates to the issue of control. The very ambiguity in the status of Christians meant that the State had greater discretion to choose the means to control the Christians as a group. Customary law presupposed communal land use and customary familial ties that were no longer applicable to the new needs of the Christians. Indeed, the law opposed many of the tenets of the Christians' new existence. Johannes Kumalo's judgement that 'the law by which our cases are decided is only fit to be eaten by vultures' needs no elaboration.

The government was not completely deaf to the pleas of the Kholwa. But Law 28 of 1865, 'For the relieving of certain persons from the operation of Native Law', was not quite what the Kholwa sought. The law provided for the exemption of men – and women with the permission of their guardians – upon individual application only. The 1865 law did not bring a flurry of applications for exemption.⁴⁶ Its provisions were viewed with suspicion by Christians who wanted to be exempted as a community and not one by one as the law stipulated. From the official point of view, individual application would prevent the emergence of an identifiable interest group with political muscle. By the mid-1860s the colony was in a serious economic crisis, and the ambiguity of the whole process too threatening for the Kholwa to act on it. It was only in the mid-1870s that the issue became pressing again.⁴⁷

Economic crisis in Natal

The absence of ordinary monetary facilities had led to the establishment of small numbers of banking institutions in Natal in the 1850s. The Natal Bank was incorporated with £10 000 capital in 1854, and a rival institution, the Bank of Natal, was formed in the same year with a capital stock of £20 000 and incorporated in 1859.⁴⁸ Specie continued to be scarce, however, and promissory notes became an acceptable bill of exchange. From a simple matter

of barter, and monetary exchange when possible, credit began to be extended on this new basis, particularly in trade with the Transvaal and Transorangia. Moreover, a large number of loans were also made by individuals, wealthier farmers to poorer, or even by lawyers to their clients.

The basis of speculation lay less in the reality of production than in its potential – particularly in relation to the Overberg trade. Confidence in the potential for the growth of colonial sugar and wool production was not entirely misplaced. In 1858, Lieutenant Governor Scott had commented on the prospects for wool production in the Natal Midlands and in the north. He had commented, too, on the advances in the sugar industry. Interest in Natal from Cape merchants and investors increased, and sheep farmers from the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony moved into the upland areas of Natal. From 1862, in contrast to this confidence, the Cape found itself in financial difficulties. Spending in the preceding period had been somewhat lavish, as had the extension of credit facilities, so that by 1865 several Eastern Cape firms had to suspend payments. The crisis was based particularly in over-confidence on wool returns.⁴⁹

The difficulties in the Cape were discounted by Natalians as bad management and not as a warning signal of things to come. Even as late as 1864 and 1865, for instance, the Lieutenant Governor of Natal was speaking with confidence about the economic capacity of Natal to raise loans for Indian immigration. But the real causes of the difficulties in the Cape arose from international developments. The effects of the American war had driven Britain to alter her customs tariff. Combined with the depressed state of the wool trade, these developments brought heavy losses to the Cape and reduced available capital. It was simply a matter of time before Natal was to feel the same effects.

In 1864 the Natal Bank was still able to pay a dividend of 16% with a 1% bonus. New companies were being formed, one of which was the Marine Assurance and Trust Company, inaugurated in 1864. Applications had been received for 12 000 shares, double the original 6 000 decided upon by the provisional committee. They settled for 8 000 shares. Natal's speculative activity had not anticipated the internal economic crisis that arose from the cessation of trade with the Overberg in the wake of the Sotho war in 1865. This affected all of Natal's business houses. The Marine Insurance and Trust Company, for example, faced such a grave crisis in 1866 that it had to close towards the end of the year. The Cape shareholders were liable for claims on the company, but it took a further three years for claims to be satisfactorily adjusted. By 1867, Natal as a whole felt the full effects of the depression and a

number of banks and insurance companies had to close. Before the end of the 1860s the Natal government faced difficulties raising loans even at 6% among Cape investors.

Speculation had far exceeded the limits of the market in Natal. The result was that a chain effect of demand for the recovery of debts was set in motion. Interest-bearing capital was itself swept away, but not before loans and mortgages were recalled. For those without liquid assets it meant foreclosure and the handing over of title deeds.

For the first time the reality of the new economic system really struck the people of Edendale who had so eagerly entered into commodity relations, including engaging in speculation by borrowing large sums of money. Hezekiah Daniel's company was one of these. The bond-holders were faced with the demand for payment or the loss of their title deeds.⁵⁰ Debtors faced instant ruin and impoverishment and the prospect of utter dependence on wage labour at a time when there was very little employment available. A general meeting of village elders sought to give assistance to those on the brink of ruin and took over £5 000 of the total debt to be paid within a specified time.⁵¹

This action offers a fascinating insight into the extent to which commodity relations could be modified by a sense of communal reciprocity and redistribution of resources. At Edendale, the rescue of wealthy members of the community from ruin became a communal affair. The individualistic ethic was not yet dominant. For all the speculative activity preceding the crash in 1865–1866, it did not lead to any significant productive investment in Natal. From the perspective of the lender, money lending had been profitable without being productive. For borrowers, investment had been in the sphere of circulation of trade rather than in production which is ultimately the basis of capital accumulation. The productivity of the Natal economy was too embryonic to bear the speculative burden placed upon it in the early and mid-1860s.

This crisis did not, however, see the end of usury for small-time borrowers. Petty commodity producers continued to borrow money in small amounts from individuals, often lawyers.⁵² Research on early capital formation in Natal is still lacking. What role usury played needs to be assessed more accurately than my tentative suggestions. Existing evidence on the pattern of credit and debt in Edendale yields an incomplete picture, but provides at least a cameo within a much wider situation. Smaller more impoverished groups managed to ward off landlessness after the first big crisis in 1865. They coped with subsequent declining opportunities as the century progressed by borrowing

money in order to maintain and extend their landholdings in Edendale and elsewhere.

Changing forms of property ownership: the post-depression years

Missionary informants reported depressed conditions in Edendale in 1864, even before the collapse of financial institutions. Crops failed in July of that year and the missionary reported that ‘some of our people scarcely knew how to get food’.⁵³ The effects of the crisis continued to be felt as late as 1869. In 1866, the Edendale missionary gloomily noted that the speculative borrowing of the previous period, sometimes at rates as high as 25%, had landed people in such grave debt that ‘it seems to me that as long as they live, they will not be able to do more [than pay the interest]’. The price of maize was very low and trade so bad that ‘their wagons have almost nothing to do’.⁵⁴ In 1868, the missionary commented in stark terms on the experience people at Edendale were going through:

with mealies at 3s per muid less than they cost to grow, and little work for the wagons which are falling to pieces from old age, the people are poorer than they have been for years and though there is plenty of food yet they have but little money to buy clothes with and many of the children go to school almost naked.⁵⁵

James Cameron claimed that in 1866 Edendale experienced a good deal of land exchange and the composition of landowners began to change. A comparison between the foreclosure of mortgage bonds for Edendale landholders and the Edendale Register of Deeds of Transfer, however, reveals that only two people lost their land as a result. Joseph Damand, who owned six properties, mortgaged his properties for £92 to Henry Pinson, a sheep farmer; the properties were then ceded to David Tarboton, the miller at Edendale, in 1865. It was only in 1875 that the mortgages were foreclosed and Damand lost the properties to Tarboton. The second person was Abraham Malgas. His seven properties were first mortgaged for £27 to Edward Few; a further mortgage for £192 was granted by Henry Pinson and ceded to the Marine Insurance and Trust Company after 1865, in turn ceded to David Tarboton who acquired the properties in 1875 on foreclosure. Apart from these two, mortgage bonds taken in the period before the crash from people like Henry Pinson and Martin Shortt were either paid when recalled in 1864–1865, or ceded to the Marine Insurance and Trust Company and cancelled on payment of the bond in the normal way.⁵⁶ More than a third of the landowners at Edendale had mortgage bonds. Unfortunately, these early bonds do not all reflect the interest paid, possibly because they were all at the general rate of interest of 6%. But from

evidence of conditions at Edendale during the depression, it was not so much loss of land but loss of capital that really knocked the community's economic standing. This was true for almost everyone in Natal.

The colonial government had no revenue for any expenditure beyond its existing commitments. There was no poor law, and each town or village was basically left to deal with its destitute as best it could. In Pietermaritzburg, hit very hard by the commercial failures, the municipality was insolvent as early as 1862. Its contribution to solving the unemployment crisis was to institute road building projects for the unemployed. Only white and Indian men were given employment. Alcoholism became a severe problem from the mid-1860s onwards, and arrests and conviction for the crime of drunkenness of whites and blacks increased dramatically during this period. Grey's Hospital became the local poor house for all classes and races. It was this which led the municipality to explore the possibility of taking over the hospital and to suggest means of excluding Africans. The depression became a watershed in the development of further discrimination based on race in the colony.⁵⁷

Industrial education for blacks was no longer supported by the government from 1869, at the very moment when the depression seemed to be easing somewhat. The argument used to support the measure was that very few of those who had acquired skills were willing to become apprenticed to masters and follow the trades they had learned. There was no enquiry into the conditions under which apprentices laboured to find the reasons for this state of affairs. The missionaries put up no protest at the removal of this sphere of education for by this time they found it a burden that detracted more from the real task of missionary labour than anything else.⁵⁸

Many people began to leave Edendale, some to seek wage employment elsewhere and others to hire land from absentee landlords as at Ncedaha (or Cedara), which grew as one of the first offshoots of what became a veritable colonising thrust by the Edendale community. It was a movement which grew partially out of the desperate poverty of many people. The purchase of Driefontein, a farm in the Klip River district, occurred at the tail end of the depression.

Edendale's diaspora

The experience of the 1865 crisis led to a sober re-assessment by some of the leading men in the Edendale community of their position in the political economy of Natal. This was prompted, too, by the changing character of Edendale itself which began to experience an influx of new inhabitants while

others moved away.⁵⁹ Some hired farms from absentee white landlords like the community that established itself at Cedara. Others decided they should purchase another farm with what resources they could muster.

Cedara

The first mention of Cedara appears in the Wesleyan Mission records in 1868.⁶⁰ It was an offshoot of the Edendale settlement, although it is not clear when people first moved there. They seem to have rented the land for some years before 1868, when the community of twenty church members was first reported in the mission journals. Situated on the western perimeter of the Zwartkops location on the Rietspruit, Cedara comprised two contiguous farms. One farm was owned by an absentee English landlord, who let the farm for thirty shillings a year to former Edendale inhabitants. The other farm was Riet Valei owned by Dr Addison who let it for mission purposes to James Allison who was by this time associated with the Free Church of Scotland. The two farms shared a school, although they seem to have kept their religious activities separate.⁶¹

Because of the uncertainty of tenure, the Cedara settlement did not acquire the same permanence as Edendale or its other offshoots, where the land was purchased. Indeed, some of the older members used Cedara as a stepping stone to other areas and by 1877 had migrated elsewhere. It was only after some hesitation that the new settlers decided to risk investing in a chapel. Begun in 1868, the chapel was in use by 1872 and formally opened with a tea meeting in 1873.⁶² The Edendale missionary in charge of their pastoral care periodically visited them for services and baptisms.

Schooling took place in the chapel. On a visit in 1875 the school inspector reported 34 students, one of whom was a grown man. The pupils, he reported, 'were all clad in European fashion ... looking smart'. The school teacher, Simon Mini, was the son of Stephanus Mini, one of Edendale's leading elders. He received a salary of £2 a month plus board and lodging from the community.⁶³

Driefontein – a new communal pattern

In 1867 leading village elders approached George Blencowe, the Wesleyan missionary in Ladysmith who had briefly supervised Edendale's spiritual affairs before the arrival of William Milward in 1861, to negotiate the purchase of the farm Driefontein on their behalf.⁶⁴

Johannes Kumalo, the man who became the recognised head of the Driefontein community, described their decision to purchase land in the Klip River district in this way:

I acquired the land when we were in great trouble. I met the fathers of these men who are with me today, and we formed a company, and we obtained the land in order to hide our heads in it ... We bought this when we were in a state of poverty ... I was not rich, and we did it with what resources we had.⁶⁵

The depression had wiped out the capital of even the wealthiest in Edendale, but the Driefontein scheme was an attempt to try a new strategy to ensure the reproduction of community and family as it had evolved in Edendale. Few members of the community had the capital to branch out on their own. In an attempt to pre-empt the consequences of individual speculation on the new farms of Driefontein and Kleinfontein, an identical trust deed for each farm was drawn up

for the benefit of the purchasers and their families hereafter. Secretary of Native Affairs to be trustee. The object to be that the children of the purchasers alone inherit the right of living on the land. A man dying without issue and the next of kin being a stranger the right of the deceased to be sold by auction among the company, and the money given to the heir.⁶⁶

Kenneth Hathorn, an attorney in Pietermaritzburg who often dealt with legal matters for Edendale people, drew up the trust deeds to embody these objectives. The terms of the deeds governed the way in which social relations were to be conducted on the new farms. The deeds illuminate the way in which the Edendale people acted positively to protect their material position in the context of the new, and changing, colonial political economy.⁶⁷

Unlike the land at Edendale, the land at Driefontein was inalienable and access was through the purchase of indivisible shares. The rights of shareholders were clearly stipulated as usufructuary and, while transfer of shares was solely by inheritance on the principles of primogeniture, any other arrangements had to be sanctioned by the community through an elected committee of management. The experience of mortgage foreclosure and what the community saw as the precariousness of freehold tenure, aspects over which they seemed to have no control, was reflected in the formation of what amounts to an entirely new form of land tenure and community organisation. The Edendale Trust Deed had been shown to have severe limitations in protecting the tenure of individuals who could not meet interest payments. The purpose of the new Driefontein Trust was to bypass these limitations yet,

at the same time, to allow the community to participate in productive activity as before.

What the scheme contained was a form of property that protected in perpetuity communal ownership and access to the land, but combined with it the concept of individual usufructuary rights during the lifetime of a member of the community. Upon the death of a usufructuary, the life right to the land passed to the eldest son with the proviso that such legatee was not a polygynist.

The pattern of inheritance was in this way a compromise between customary succession practices and Western notions of primogeniture. In practice the ceding of shares to eldest sons was not always followed, and subsequent generations were often to ignore this clause in the trust deed.⁶⁸ Younger sons, and even daughters, were the recipients of usufructuary shares. This was seldom disputed by the trustees and committee of management, although in theory they had the power to do so. The Trust also limited the independence of shareholders to dispose of their shares by sale. This could only be done with the approval of the committee of management.

The committee of management functioned as a kind of governing body over the whole community. Apart from approving usufructuary rights, and ensuring that all shareholders were registered in the Deeds Office, its function was to pay all quitrents and taxes for which the community might be liable. Its role was also to protect the interests of shareholders. Disputes between shareholders were to be settled by the committee of management, with appeal against a decision resting with a general meeting of the shareholders. And no case could go before the colonial or customary law courts unless the committee or general meeting agreed to its being carried forward. Provision was made for the establishment of a civil authority in the form of *ibandla* or customary court, with a member of the community elected to perform the duties of a headman.

The settlement at Driefontein represented a synthesis of customary patterns of land holdings and the village mode established on mission stations. As at Edendale, a central village was laid out with individual plots for small gardens. Beyond the gardens were fields carved out for individual cultivation as well as large areas of commonage for grazing cattle, sheep, goats and horses. The people who moved to Driefontein in the 1860s and 1870s retained their links with the Edendale community, both through property ownership and through deeper emotional ties of friendship and marriage alliances. A crucial organisational link was maintained through the Church, cemented in the 1870s with the formation of Unzondelelo, the Native Home Missionary Society.⁶⁹

The depression of the 1860s was a temporary setback and members of the syndicate continued to purchase land in the 1870s. Farms adjacent to Driefontein were subsequently purchased also on a share basis. Kleinfontein was purchased in 1871 and transferred in 1875, while Doornhoek was purchased somewhat later and transferred in 1879. These three farms came to be known as the 'Trust farms', for all three were subject to a trust deed identical to that of Driefontein. Indeed, a combined annual general meeting of all three farms was held on the first Sunday of every year. Some people later extended their land holdings on an individual basis to other parts of Natal. In the Driefontein complex, neighbouring farms were bought up and, although trusts were set up for these farms, individual tenure made their functioning less effective than on the three Trust farms.

In the 1870s a general economic recovery resulted largely from the quickened economic tempo caused by the diamond discoveries. This also brought increased prosperity to the Edendale people and their offshoots. African agriculture in general increased its share of market production and consumption. White farmers, as Bundy has shown, found it difficult to compete with African agriculture in food production.⁷⁰ Many of them sought to rent out their farms to African cultivators and turned their hand to other employment, particularly transport riding, which offered greater rewards than farming. The Kholwa had always been engaged in this activity and they continued to thrive in the new competitive boom conditions with a dependable supply of labour.⁷¹

The Natal Native Affairs Commission (NNAC) of 1882 found that labour tenancy was prevalent in the inland regions and had been since the 1860s or even before. Contracts varied but tenants were rarely bound to work although they were contracted to 'supply servants' and often had to pay rent in produce as well as cash. Evidence to the commission in 1882 indicates that the landowners of Edendale and Driefontein entered as much into proprietor-tenant relations as their white counterparts.⁷² This included a combination of rent and labour tenancy. They continued to farm and to combine this with artisanal trading and transport work.

While the Edendale and Driefontein communities were obviously emerging into more clearly identifiable class relations with labour tenants, there were tendencies in the political economy that held the Kholwa back as an emergent class of petty capitalists.

The experience of the early speculative boom of the 1860s followed by the severe crisis of the second half of the decade had led to a significant conservative reaction by the Kholwa of Edendale and their offshoots. In effect,

the Driefontein scheme created a new spatial arena for the working out of new ways of incorporating the communal and individualistic aspects of Christian life. It allowed for individual control over private resources, but at the same time provided a protective communal structure within which these individual activities could take place and, at times, be controlled. In subsequent decades it would prove to be a buffer against the increasing discrimination and hostility of colonial society against the Kholwa.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Deeds Office, Pietermaritzburg, Notarial Trust Deed D/T 147/1861.
- 2 Garden Papers. MMS 318, Natal 1863–1867, G. Blencowe to Secretaries, 4 October 1867. SNA 1/1/24, R464/43, S. Warwick-Brooke to SNA, 15 July 1874, 'Driefontein'. SNA 1/1/26, R273/1875, Visitor to Native Schools to SNA, Report on Cedara, 26 April 1875.
- 3 MMS 319, Natal 1867–1873, H.S. Barton to W.B. Boyce, 13 January 1869 and 14 April 1869.
- 4 MMS 319, Natal 1867–1873, W.H. Milward to W.B. Boyce, 6 March 1868.
- 5 *ibid.*
- 6 SNA 1/3/9, Magistrates' letters 1860/R377, J. Bird to SNA, 20 October 1860.
- 7 MMS 338, Natal District Minutes and Reports 1865, Edendale and KwaNgubeni Report, 1864–1865.
- 8 MMS 318, 1866/464, C. Roberts to Secretaries, 1 June 1866.
- 9 *Natal Witness*, 20 January 1865; SNA 1/1/12, Miscellaneous Papers 1862, 506/1862, A.F. Greig, Memorial of Umgeni Agriculturalists, 24 November 1862. SNA 1/1/13, 348/1863, A.F. Greig to SNA, 22 June 1863.
- 10 SNA 1/1/12, R16/1863, A.F. Greig to SNA, 19 December 1862.
- 11 Harries, 'Plantations, passes and proletarians'.
- 12 *Natal Witness*, 28 November 1862.
- 13 *Natal Witness*, 5 December 1862.
- 14 *ibid.*
- 15 *Natal Witness*, 19 December 1862.
- 16 *ibid.*
- 17 Evidence of all mortgage and notarial bonds is to be found in the Public Debt Register (PDR) in the NA. The terms of the notarial bonds vary considerably, with collateral in both land and moveable property such as wagons and oxen. For mortgage bonds see Appendix 3.
- 18 Colenso, *Ten Weeks in Natal*: 66.
- 19 SC IV/2/69, D.D. Buchanan Protocols, 639a/1864. See also Hattersley, *Portrait of a Colony*: 71.
- 20 Z. Koneczacki, *Public Finance and Economic Development of Natal, 1893–1910* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1967) does not cover a long enough period. A current research project using the Standard Bank archives will hopefully fill this lacuna: R. Morrell, M. Padayachee and S. Vawda, 'The financial institutions in the Natal colonial economy' (University of Durban-Westville).
- 21 See PDR C/17/156 James Cawe; D/28/95 Hezekiah Daniel; D/26/96 Joseph Damand; D/28/111 Hezekiah Daniel and Company; H/55/135 Nehemiah Homoi; 1/67/5 Reuben Nhlela Caluza; K/74/61 Elijah Kambule; K/74/63 John Inkanhla Zuma; M/89/152 Nicholas Masuku; M/89/153 Abraham Malgas; M/89/172; M/90/211 Charles Mazaplan; M/90/212 Joseph Muchacha; M/90/213 Manega.
- 22 *Natal Witness*, 27 January 1860.
- 23 G.H. Mason, *Zululand: A Mission Tour in Zululand* (London: J. Nisbet, 1862): 32.
- 24 SNA 1/1/10, Minute Papers 1860, Memorandum of SNA to Lieutenant Governor, 15 May 1860.
- 25 SNA 1/1/11, Minute Papers 1861, R414/1861, H. Pearse to T. Shepstone, 19 September 1861.
- 26 *ibid.*
- 27 SNA 1/1/15, 165/1865 no. 5, S. Erskine, Colonial Secretary to SNA, 16 January 1865.
- 28 It is not known what plant is referred to here, but it could be sisal.

- 29 For these experiments see SNA 1/1/10, Minute Papers 1860, 26 October 1860; 20 February 1860. SNA 1/1/14, Miscellaneous Papers, R362/1864, no. 96.
- 30 *Natal Witness*, 7 November 1862.
- 31 SNA 1/8/8, 485/1867, W.H. Milward to SNA, 23 August 1864. SNA 1/1/19, 303/1867, W.H. Milward to SNA.
- 32 MMS 317, S.A. Correspondence, Natal 1858–1863, 1860/61, J. Jackson Journal.
- 33 SNA 1/2/14, Magistrates' Letters, R313/1864, W.H. Milward to J. Bird, 1 August 1864.
- 34 NWM 9/1, Baptismal and Burial Register. NWM 6/2, Marriage Register.
- 35 Mason, *Zululand*: 17.
- 36 SNA 1/1/12, R550/1862, H.A. Wilder to SNA, 30 December 1862.
- 37 *ibid.*
- 38 'Meeting of civilised natives at the Edendale mission station' *Natal Witness*, 27 March 1863.
- 39 SNA 1/3/15, R131/1865, J.N. Shepstone to SNA, 17 March 1865.
- 40 SNA 1/1/12, R550/1862, H.A. Wilder to SNA, 30 December 1862.
- 41 MMS 319, Natal 1867–1873, R.S. Barton to W.B. Boyce, 14 April 1869; Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation*: 107.
- 42 SNA 1/1/12, R550/1862, R.A. Wilder to SNA, 30 December 1862.
- 43 *Natal Witness*, 27 March 1863.
- 44 Quotations in the following section are from this report in the *Natal Witness*, 27 March 1863.
- 45 SNA 1/1/12, R550/62, SNA to Wilder.
- 46 Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation*: 236.
- 47 See Chapter Seven.
- 48 Hattersley, *Portrait of a Colony*: 71.
- 49 This and the next two paragraphs are based upon B. le Cordeur, 'The relations between the Cape and Natal, 1846–1879' (PhD, University of Natal, 1962): 134–136, 188–190, 199–200, 210.
- 50 MMS 318, 1863–65/188, J. Cameron to Secretaries, 29 January 1865.
- 51 Le Cordeur, 'The relations between the Cape and Natal, 1846–1879': 195.
- 52 The role of the lawyer in usurious activity has been highlighted in recent work on the Transvaal and the Eastern Cape. See P. Delius, 'Abel Erasmus: power and profit in the Eastern Transvaal' and J. Peires, 'The legend of Fenner-Solomon', papers delivered at the History Workshop Conference, University of the Witwatersrand, February 1984.
- 53 MMS 338, 1864/8, W.H. Milward, Edendale Circuit Report 1864–1865.
- 54 MMS 318, 1866/464, C. Roberts to Secretaries, 1 June 1866. See also MMS 319, 1867–1873, H.S. Barton to W.B. Boyce, 14 September 1869.
- 55 MMS 319, 1867–1873, H.S. Barton to W.B. Boyce, 1 September 1867.
- 56 MMS 319, 1867–1873, J.P. Cameron to Secretaries, 6 June 1868. MMS 318, 1863–1867, J. Cameron to Secretaries, 4 February 1865. Deeds Office, Register of Edendale (Welverdiend), Grant no. 775/1846. The PDR lists each property on the mortgage bond. This was compared against computer sheets listing every property, its owner and the transfer of each one from the date it was first issued until 1930. Appendix A lists all mortgage bonds for the period immediately preceding and following the depression of the mid-1860s.
- 57 Pietermaritzburg Corporation (PC), Town Council Minutes, Mayor's Minute, 4 August 1866. See also minute dated 31 July 1865. Discussions with Julie Parle alerted me to this source.
- 58 SNA 1/8/9, 112/1869, D. Erskine for SNA to Colonial Treasury, 9 September 1869. MMS 319, Natal 1867–1873, J. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 18 September 1869.
- 59 MMS 339, H.S. Barton, Edendale Circuit Report, 1869.
- 60 MMS 319, Natal 1867–1873, J.R. Cameron to Secretaries, 6 June 1868.
- 61 SNA 1/1/26, Miscellaneous Papers 1875, R273, Visitor Native Schools to SNA, 26 April 1875.
- 62 MMS 320, Natal 1874–1876, J.R. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 2 November 1874.
- 63 MMS 342, Natal 1877–1878, Report of the Edendale Circuit 1877.
- 64 MMS 318, 1866–1867/663, G. Blencowe to Secretaries, 4 October.

- 65 South African Native Affairs Commission 1904–1905, Minutes of Evidence, vol. III: 485, para. 25388. Henceforth SANAC evidence.
- 66 SNA 1/1/21, Memorandum to the SNA, 25 July 1871.
- 67 Deeds Office, DT 712/1875, Driefontein Grant no. 1079; DT 711/1875, Kleinfontein Grant no. 1072; DT 522/1879, Doornhoek, Grant no. 1223.
- 68 Very complicated disputes about the rights of heirs have arisen as a result, but in principle the final decision of the committee of management remains in force even today.
- 69 See Chapter Six.
- 70 Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*: 173–178.
- 71 *ibid.*: 176.
- 72 Riekert, ‘Natal master and servant laws’: 123f, quoting GH 1540; Evidence 1882, 325; also SANAC evidence: 486.

DURING THE DEPRESSION the corporate existence of the Edendale community faced its first serious crisis since Allison's disruptive departure. Poverty, unalleviated by kinship reciprocity and redistributive norms, except perhaps by some neighbourliness, drove many a convert back to traditional networks as is testified by the departure of many families from the village. There was a steady decline in the number of original church members as they left. At the same time, however, missionaries also reported a renewed vigour among younger and new church adherents. Religion offered solace. This chapter describes the emergence of a revived evangelical fervour among the Kholwa of Edendale and their offshoots after 1865, which culminated in the formation of the Unzondelelo, or the Native Home Missionary Society, in 1875. It places these developments in the context of both economic and political crisis in Natal, and traces the conflicts to which they gave rise between the Kholwa of Edendale and the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

The economic struggles of the Edendale community during the depression years bred a new-found independence of spirit. The depression had a devastating effect on the prosperity of the Edendale community and hastened the process of social differentiation in the village. At the same time, this reversal of fortune had a profound spiritual effect that found expression in a conscientious revival of religious fervour and missionary zeal, which earned for the *oNonhlevu* the reputation as 'babblers'.¹ They believed that their material problems arose from God's wrath and the way to salvation lay in greater devotion to religious matters. Itinerant preachers from Edendale formed a network of religious outposts all over Natal. During the mid-

1860s these were spurred on by the establishment of permanent settlements away from Edendale. Close to Edendale was KwaNgubeni in the Zwartkops location, a Wesleyan mission on glebe land conducted by one of Allison's original converts, Reuben Nhlela Caluza. Cedara on the Rietspruit, the farm near Howick rented from an absentee landlord in the 1860s, was an early outpost for settlers from Edendale in search of more arable and grazing land. Some of Edendale's Griqua inhabitants moved to Kokstad to join the resettled people under Adam Kok. In the Klip River district the diaspora of Edendale Christians spawned the settlements of Driefontein, Kleinfontein, Doornhoek, Burford and Kirkentullock near Ladysmith. A group of Edendale 'backsliders' also settled at Telapi in the Biggarsberg. These settlements formed the nucleus of a broad evangelical movement that took organisational form in a Wesleyan Native Home Missionary Society known by the Kholwa as Unzondelelo.²

The social context of the evangelical revival at Edendale

On earlier mission stations and even at Edendale, in spite of individual land title, social distinctions reflected something of the divisions in colonial society itself. The mission social hierarchy coincided with growing colonial racial and stratification categories. The missionary was at the apex, and led the services and regulated religious affairs. He also managed the school and determined what courses were taught, albeit with parental and community intervention. The missionary's wife might help in the school, but on the whole her life was governed by the demands of the mission household. European families within the village, such as the local miller David Tarboton and the schoolteachers, were next in social ascendancy. There was little social exchange between these families and the Kholwa except across the counter, in the schoolroom, or in the chapel. Even contact in the chapel was limited as separate services in Zulu, Dutch and English were held.³ Moreover, as white colonists their relationship to colonial society was unambiguous: they were full citizens. This was not true of the indigenous members of the community.

Among the rest of the community, the *oNonhlevu* families as the first converts and original purchasers and settlers at Edendale stood next in the pecking order. This group were the most influential in village life although they were still regarded by missionaries and colonists as too recently transformed from barbarism to be accepted into colonial civil and social life. Even their status as landowners did not alter their social standing among the colonists. Later African settlers in the village were not accorded the same status in the community, even if they were Christians. Many of the newcomers were

tenants, and not all were Christian. Tension between these different groups became manifest in conflict over leadership in the 1890s when differences were more clearly class related than formerly and the communal nature of the village was breaking down.⁴ Until the 1880s, however, there was more to unite than to divide the people who lived at Edendale. Social mobility for African Christians within colonial society was strictly limited to participation within the markets, to the accumulation of wealth including the purchase of land, but it precluded social intercourse. Indeed, racial categories tended to separate people socially and politically although participation in an integrated economy drew them together at the same time. This separation became more pronounced as changes in the political economy from the mid-1870s drove the Kholwa to adopt a more distinctive identity of their own within African society.

Within this hierarchical framework, the leading members of the Church formed a solid core of preachers, catechists, teachers and economically independent entrepreneurs who expected to participate in Church decisions as much as they drew the missionary into the secular affairs of the village. In the 1870s tensions between the Kholwa and missionaries were manifest in the condescending attitude of the latter towards the older converts, some of whom were less educated than the younger generation.⁵ This change in attitude towards Africans occurred during the late 1860s and 1870s and stemmed from a combination of a growing frustration at the lack of missionary success at acquiring new converts and a growing acceptance of a belief in the innate differences between the imperial master race and African peoples. From the 1880s and 1890s this became a feature of the stereotyping about Africans, even the educated and Christianised. The African converts themselves sought privileges that recognised their special responsibilities as neophytes, people who had been created anew in the adoption and experience of the Christian life. Although they felt they needed missionary guidance as those chosen by God to lead the way for the rest of their compatriots into the light, they were not prepared for the unequivocally subordinate role assigned to them by the missionaries and the rest of colonial society. It was not that the Christians sought complete equality, but they did wish for recognition of their adaptation to a new life and their assimilation into what they conceived as a Christian society.⁶

In Natal, Edendale's first converts, the *oNonhlevu*, soon began to question the authoritarian management of missionary control. They felt that at the very least the missionaries should acknowledge their status and responsibility as

educated Christian converts.⁷ An earlier generation had done so in benevolent, if paternalist, fashion. But to the later missionaries, the independence of the older members and their unwillingness to submit to missionary discipline revealed not the distance they had come from heathenism, but rather their ignorance and obduracy. This cultivated among the missionaries a sense of disillusion and disappointment. An example was the difficulties experienced by Charles Roberts in persuading the elders to participate in the revival precipitated by the visit of American evangelist William Taylor and his Eastern Cape assistant, Charles Pamla, in 1866. Roberts reported to the General Secretaries in London:

it is so difficult and trying to manage natives who reside on their own lands. My trials come, for the most part, from the leading men on the station. These men are the very terror of the place. At the time of the descent of the Holy Spirit, not one of them was converted. From the day of my arrival, I have found that whenever it suits their purpose, they uniformly and systematically endeavour to evade the truth.⁸

Charles Roberts' relationship with the elders was particularly bad, as we saw earlier. But all of the missionaries at Edendale reported difficulties with the elders.

Conflicts and constant bickering between the missionary and the church leaders about their respective responsibilities was a feature of the mission at Edendale. As in the Wesleyan Church in England, where the struggles were over what forms association should take both within the church and at leisure times, struggles at Edendale were over how social interaction in the community should take place and what form 'society' itself should take.⁹ Bible classes were an important means for the missionary to influence and monitor the behaviour and ideology of the younger generation. It was in this context that the acquisition of reading and writing skills was so necessary. It was through a fundamental and close acquaintance with biblical writings that access to the spiritual and moral benefits of Christianity could be made. Thus the notion that Christianity could in any sense be separate from 'civilisation' was impossible – the two were indivisible. Certainly this was the message missionaries tried to pass on to their converts, and one which their converts seem to have accepted. Once the interpretation of Christian practice was tied up with what was civilised, the monitoring role of the missionaries could more easily be justified.¹⁰

The spiritual and moral guidance of the missionary was part of what church members expected and accepted so long as the missionary's status accorded with their expectations. Part of the difficulties between the elders and the missionaries at Edendale stemmed from inexperienced, and what

the community regarded as unsuitable, missionary incumbents. Most of the missionaries to follow Allison were young men unable to speak the vernacular at first, and, on occasion, unmarried. All of these factors militated against their acceptance at Edendale.¹¹ A further block to the missionaries' ability to assert moral authority over the elders was the Wesleyan practice of allowing missionaries to spend only three years on each mission station. Indeed, in the later part of the century, when at least one missionary, William Baker, spent more than six years there, missionary authority was stronger.

The respect accorded to missionaries at Edendale depended as much upon age, appearance, marital status and moral stature with some due given, too, to the material contribution the missionary could make. This might take the form of mediating between government officialdom and community members, assisting with legal problems, or even providing medical treatment. We have seen that William Milward, Edendale's first Wesleyan missionary, bewailed the 'worldliness' of the villagers as well as the 'magisterial role' expected of missionaries. Charles Roberts was 'ungraciously received' as a young unmarried man. Moreover, his religious fervour alienated some of the older church members though his ministry had appeal to younger people. Nor were the community impressed by what they conceived as a silly and somewhat scandalous courtship with the day school teacher, Elizabeth Rowbotham, who subsequently became his wife. More acceptable was the older, more corpulent, Henry Barton, a pharmacist by training, who provided a somewhat more disciplined ministry. When church members balked at performing chores in the chapel, Barton boycotted services and forced a compromise. Each family had to clean and prepare the chapel for services in turn:

One difficulty has been the lighting of the Chapel. Some of the people, especially the older men wanted to impose the work upon me. I had several meetings but they would agree to no plan so I told them at last that when the Chapel was lighted up and the bell rang I would come to conduct service. For nearly two months we had no regular service only as someone or other was moved to light up the Chapel. Since then they have agreed to divide the work month by month among the families who must either do the work or pay a substitute.¹²

At about the time that Barton was to be removed from Edendale, one missionary of long standing in Natal remarked that he was

a man who would do well anywhere, and he has a wife who will not be removed from Edendale. The people there are in a most critical state in their progress from barbarism, in which they need the hand of a wise man to guide them, and which if they receive, their progress will continue and increase, so as honourably to complete and perfect our past labours. But if they lack this wise direction and control [*sic*], they will fall into ways which will ultimately destroy what at present is really good work.¹³

Barton did not stay at Edendale, however, and was replaced by John Cameron, a young man of great promise according to the General Superintendent James Cameron (no relation), but sadly without a wife. John Cameron reported that although he brought his mother with him, the fact that he was not married counted against him. He wrote, 'Two things according to their idea are wanting to give me weight in my present position, I have no wife, and little medical skill'.¹⁴

For the Kholwa, respect for one's peers depended upon their respectability and piety which, to a large extent, resided in their ability to establish a family unit. Christian family life was the hallmark of respectability and moral rectitude. A single man at the head of a mission was no model for a Christian community. Yet convert demands for privileges and responsibility were of little consequence to missionaries until the issue was thrust upon them by the threat of losing what church members they had.

Towards the end of the 1860s the composition of the village began to change as older members set up establishments in other places away from the stern reproof of a resident missionary, although many of them retained their properties in Edendale. In the new settlements, however, chapel and school still formed the heart of their communality. Family labour was still the norm in production although labour tenancy added a new dimension to farming operations, which remained small-scale.¹⁵ Moreover, in the context of the poorly developed Natal economy, notwithstanding their industrious and religious zeal, the hallmark of Christian existence was their respectability, modesty and, in the late 1860s, poverty. Life was orderly, self-respecting, with little in the way of amusements. Finery was reserved for chapel and tea meetings. Moreover, missionaries had kept a tight rein on what leisure activities could be indulged in. Activities not condoned by the missionaries gave rise to innumerable petty quarrels. For instance, in the 1860s Charles Roberts complained of the 'immorality' of the village elders in defying his authority and indulging in horse racing.¹⁶

Social life was restricted in spite of resistance to missionary control over all aspects of their lives. By the 1870s it was not considered respectable for neighbours to visit one another except on formal occasions, and women who did so were censured as *uyazula* – the equivalent of a gossip, but connoting one who wandered about, literally meaning 'one who has a long foot'.¹⁷ Nor was there much time for idle chatter in the daily round of work necessitated by the seasonal cycle of small-scale agricultural production. Every family

had its plot for domestic consumption even if agriculture was not the major productive enterprise of a household.

For women, life was very busy. Apart from overseeing their children's upbringing, women were responsible for domestic work, as we have seen. Preparing food and cooking it, cleaning the house as well as repairing walls and floors, decorating their homes, sewing, washing, ironing, collecting water and firewood, making baskets to store food, or making clay pots filled up the hours of their day. Moreover, women worked in the fields, hoeing and weeding. These diverse tasks had all to be performed during the week, because Sunday was a day of rest and prayer. It is surprising that women found time to go to church at all. As one missionary put it, with marriage a woman's life of toil began which soon brought her 'to a premature old age'.¹⁸

Kholwa wives find little mention in the missionary sources and unless one probes behind the silence one might suppose that women had little role to play in community life. Yet women were key members of the church congregation. When their husbands and sons were away it was they who ensured that their younger children went to school and to chapel. It is also true, however, that the local preachers were men although there were women class leaders. Men took the decisions in church and village deliberations but women found an important role for themselves as Sunday schoolteachers and class leaders. They formed the majority of congregations and experienced the spiritual benefits of belonging to the mission.¹⁹

The weekly round of chapel duties filled much of church members' leisure time. Although different missionary incumbents at Edendale might vary the timing of these activities, the weekly routine of the 1860s shows how the chapel dominated leisure time and social life. On Monday and Saturday evenings there were singing classes. Tuesday evenings were spent in a prayer meeting. On Wednesday nights there was an evening school for adults. On Thursday evenings a special service in Zulu was held, and on Fridays one in Dutch. In the new communities, life does not appear to have been very different.²⁰

Depression: the economic context of the revival

It is no coincidence that the religious revival that began at Edendale in 1865 occurred when the worst effects of depression were being felt, and at a time of pressure on the land resources at Edendale. The colonising movement of Edendale people was also closely tied to the outward evangelical missionary zeal that sprang from the 1865 religious revival. It is almost a truism to argue that religion finds its greatest support during times of social distress, when

people are most driven to seek other-worldly solutions to what seem intractable problems. Methodism in particular provided new kinds of community patterns in activities centred around the chapel. The economic crisis in Natal in the mid-1860s brought home to the Kholwa the need to broaden their material base and to strengthen their social position in an increasingly hostile colonial society. Colonial prejudice against an educated and civilised class of competitive African entrepreneurs began to lead to hostility in the straitened circumstances of the depression.

The eager participation of mission communities in the markets opened by colonial mercantile activity had been encouraged by the early missionaries.²¹ The economic crisis had drastically diminished the prospects for accumulation among Edendale entrepreneurs. Unemployment and poverty forced people into demanding payment for services previously freely given. Missionaries interpreted this as a sign of worldliness and lack of spirituality.

Henry Barton, who came to Edendale in the midst of the depression, remarked dolefully that ‘for many their God is their belly’:

A pernicious view has more or less pervaded the whole Church to a great extent destroying its manliness and Christian zeal – that without payments there is no building obligation upon them actively to engage in the work of the Lord and many are so engrossed with the business and pursuits of daily life that godliness and the claims of the Church are only allowed to hold a very subordinate place.²²

William Milward explained their preoccupations with rather more understanding:

We have several good men at Edendale and they have families whom they have endeavoured to bring up in a superior manner and these men would be unwilling to devote all their powers to the great work of the Christian ministry unless they obtained as good pay as they obtain by manual labour or trading.²³

On the whole, though, the Natal Wesleyan missionaries were disappointed and threatened by the ‘insubordination’ and desire for economic improvement of their converts.

Yet the African Christians were, in their own way, devoted to the mission enterprise even if the manner of their devotion did not always coincide with missionary expectations. The heart of village life was the church and considerable sacrifice was undertaken by church members to provide labour and money for the erection of a fine brick chapel during the height of the depression.²⁴ Church-going was an important social occasion, a time when the whole village would congregate, Christians and ‘heathen’ hearers alike,

thus asserting a sense of community. Thus the time, money and labour provided in the four years it took to build the chapel constituted a considerable sacrifice. The opening of the chapel, not surprisingly, was an occasion of great celebration. For three weeks special services were held to which official and colonial luminaries were invited.²⁵ Church activities were what distinguished the Edendale community, as in all Christian communities, from the 'black house outside'. Sunday observance, church services and class meetings reaffirmed and expressed their religious belief.

The evangelical revival at Edendale

Among the formal adherents to the Wesleyan Church, the missionaries constantly complained of the 'lack of aggressive piety' of class leaders and local preachers. The necessity for all mission members to make a living restricted the time they had for any other kind of activity.

Church membership, as distinct from the size of church congregations, was small. There were only 38 members when the Indaleni mission broke up and Allison moved to Edendale with a hundred families in 1851. Allison had been no advocate of what he called the 'animal excitement in their religious exercises as the other people of the Wesleyan Mission'.²⁶ Nevertheless, when the Wesleyans took over Edendale, church membership fluctuated between 115 and 120. A year later the mission records show a membership of 150 indicating that the Wesleyans had no scruples about experiences of emotional conversion. In spite of the complaints of Edendale missionaries in the 1860s about the lack of aggressive piety of the older members, and amidst the struggle with Roberts, the community of Christian fellowship, if not full members, grew in number. Missionary statistics, as distinct from the baptismal register, record 192 members in 1865, with a dramatic increase to 304 members, with 220 on trial, by the time Roberts left in 1867. The sudden increase in membership took place during 1866, the year of the visit of William Taylor and Charles Pamla. The revival was largely among younger people, particularly women.²⁷ The increase in church membership took place at the height of the depression years when people were short of money, unable to sell their products on the market, and deeply in debt. Temporal adversity seemed to produce a 'visitation of the spirit'. Church membership at Edendale declined after 1867 as members moved to the new offshoot settlements mushrooming all over Natal, there to spread the word in their own evangelical endeavours. Church membership at Edendale did not regain the 1867 levels for at least a decade even though there was a fairly dramatic rise in baptisms in 1868.

Periodic 'revivals' that occurred after the special preparation of the missionary, and the holding of love feasts, particularly during the 1860s, created a desire among the neophytes for the spiritual and moral benefits that derived from belonging to the Wesleyan fellowship. The notion of revival derives from the puritanical tradition of non-conformism in late eighteenth-century England.²⁸ Contained within it was the idea of being born into a new life, being 'born again', which required of its subject a range of practical commitments. These can roughly be separated into two parts: the one involved a deepening religious understanding, and the other involved living out this renewed commitment in everyday life. The first encompassed religious, moral and intellectual practices in which a high value was placed on the spiritual duties required of Christians. At their most basic these were prayer, Bible study and spreading the Gospel. The second referred to the material existence and management of daily life and placed value on thrift, prudence, neatness, cleanliness, education and industry.²⁹ The experience of revival created a strong corporate feeling among church members, including bonds of love and trust. During times of stress, these notions of Christian fellowship are called upon in the same way that older, more traditional, ties were used in the past. Revival, then, was a means of drawing on moral and material support for those in trouble. The crisis in Natal during the latter part of the 1860s was an occasion for the community of Christians to draw together and to interpret their troubles as a message to go out into the world and spread the Gospel. The missionaries were unable to take the initiative and itinerate into the new places, both for lack of will and for want of men and money. African members, however, were ready to act and took matters into their own hands.³⁰

The 1866 revival inspired a debate among Natal's Wesleyan missionaries about the reason for their own lack of success in acquiring converts. They blamed the continued existence of customary practices legitimised by the colonial state and administrators in their recognition of customary law, polygyny and *utshwala* drinking.³¹ Within their own ministry they pondered the relative merits of the mission station system and itinerancy in the locations. The first would rely more on the presence of a missionary, the second upon the building of a suitable 'native agency'. The latter was the key to the problem, for missionary prejudice regarding the worth of their local preachers held back the development of an African ministry. For instance, a former Edendale missionary did not believe there were enough 'intelligent and trustworthy natives' who could do the job satisfactorily. His belief was that Edendale members, at least, were too mercenary. A missionary meeting held to debate

the issue pointed out that at Edendale there were several who would have been willing to devote their energies 'to the great work of the Christian ministry' had they obtained as much pay as they did by their own labour and trade.³² Missionaries claimed that even local preachers were unwilling to leave Edendale to preach in the surrounding hills because they were not paid as they had been in former times. Besides, they needed money in order to 'bring up their families in a superior manner'. Although the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was developing its own 'native agency' the Wesleyans had made no facilities available for the training of a native ministry, nor did they have the financial means to do so.³³ Yet the lack of an effective training institution meant the loss of potential African ministers to other churches.³⁴ The Society tried to meet this lacuna by attaching young men to individual missionaries for special training.

While there were disagreements between mission adherents and missionaries, the Christians were not entirely immune from the sterner strictures of the second generation missionaries. For all their enthusiastic immersion in colonial society, and their vision of themselves as the 'New Israelites', they were also able to be self-critical. This was the purpose of weekly class meetings when members, and those on trial, were subjected to penetrating questions by class leaders as to the state of their souls. Moreover, while the mission grappled with the problem of a native ministry, the Kholwa were themselves beginning to raise questions about the methods adopted by the Missionary Society in providing for their spiritual needs. By the early 1870s their financial situation had not improved since the economic crisis of 1865. They were poor and struggled to make more than a meagre living. Young men were often away from the station on trading trips in the interior where, freed from the constraints of collective moral control, they had become a source of grief to the elders. On their travels, drink and other manner of 'sin' were freely available at the newly discovered diamond fields. During the 1860s and 1870s church elders were increasingly worried about the effects of migrancy on village traders and transport riders, particularly to the diamond fields. Missionaries and the older members of the church were concerned about problems of adultery and alcoholism. Barton, the resident missionary, expressed the feelings of the elders saying 'Several young men by their vanity, selfishness, and vicious habits have been a source of constant grief'.³⁵

The temperance movement was just beginning to get under way among some missionary societies. The American missionaries in particular were pushing forward with the establishment of Blue Ribbon Armies of non-drinkers at

this time. So seriously was this problem viewed that a special meeting of all Christian families was held to discuss the threat such licentiousness posed to their 'respectable' lifestyle.³⁶ The moral authority of all the elders in the village and Christian community had further been eroded by the discovery in 1872 that the moral rectitude of Job Kambule, leading church elder and headman of the village, was not what it ought to have been. It came to light that for nearly ten years he had harboured a second family on the station.³⁷

A serious moral crisis occurred in which several people lost their church membership.³⁸ Johannes Kumalo, who was then the leading man at Driefontein, and one of the older more respected members of the Edendale connection, suggested a time of special prayer. Edendale was 'the city of their solemnities', so it could not be allowed to slide into spiritual decrepitude. A religious awakening grew out of these efforts. Special services were held, members on trial increased, and so did the missionary income. During 1873 the attendance at the Sunday school was greater than in any previous year. Children and young adults alike showed an interest in learning to read the Bible and becoming familiar with the catechism. At the same time, elders held special meetings with the youth attempting to control what they conceived as their moral laxity. The missionary reported that

On one occasion the young men on the station were assembled by their fathers and informed that those among them who continued the use of strong drink would be driven from the station and heathen taken in their place to go with the wagons.³⁹

The youth, although responsive to the threat of losing their jobs, spiritedly objected to the manner in which they were treated:

One youth at the meeting took the opportunity of suggesting to the parents that there might be an improvement in their method of dealing with their sons who were growing into manhood... he intimated that kind remonstrance and prayer for them might accomplish more than harsh threatening which was he said too common.⁴⁰

The missionary himself concurred that 'moral and not mechaniced [*sic*] force is necessary to combat this master evil' and held prayer meetings every Saturday specifically to deal with the issue of alcohol consumption.⁴¹ However, neither the renewed spiritual vigour of the church, nor the close attention to the youth led to the growth of a native agency sufficiently motivated to take on mission work under the guidance of the white missionaries. The main complaint, still, was that catechists were paid too little and could not afford to meet the needs of family life.

The founding of Unzondelelo

In 1875 a new initiative grew from the renewed religious fervour at Edendale and Driefontein. In that year, African Methodists decided that the future of Christianity could no longer be entrusted to the sole care of white missionaries.

Separatism was not a new phenomenon for Methodism. Indeed, it was a feature of Nonconformity in England.⁴² Whiffs of the reform movement of the 1840s and 1850s had even affected the small congregations in Natal.⁴³ Allison's own separation had arisen from dissent about authoritarian conference decisions. Indeed, the return of the Wesleyan connection at Edendale had not been enthusiastically greeted by all chapel members as the formation of a separatist congregation testified. The separatists refused to associate themselves with the Wesleyan Missionary Society for 'political causes'. On the whole, separatist church tendencies arose not from questions of doctrine or fundamental belief but over matters of self-determination. At Edendale the separatist group refused to accept Methodist overlordship, but did not seem to have adopted any new doctrinal habits. The group established a space for the maintenance of its own, independent, form of association. In the 1870s, however, the African missionary initiative did not take a separatist form.

A number of factors form the context of this solely African initiative. One factor was the political crisis experienced within African society in the early 1870s. The unity of Langalibalele's Hlubi had been destroyed by the colonial forces, assisted by collaborating Africans including a group of Edendale volunteers on the pretext that the Hlubi were fomenting rebellion.⁴⁴ The Hlubi, refugees from Mpande's depredations in the 1850s and earlier disruptions during the times of Dingane and Shaka, had settled on lands allocated to them by the colonial state. They had rapidly adopted new agricultural methods and technology to become reasonably wealthy by colonial standards. Their produce successfully competed with that of colonial farmers whose own efforts were hampered for lack of labour. The objective of the government was to force the Hlubi onto the labour market and to confiscate their lands. Langalibalele had tried to negotiate with the colonial authorities after the initial provocation had occurred but his efforts could not prevent the conflict. The Langalibalele affair had shown all Africans in Natal what opposition and recalcitrance could lead to. The security of a Christian and civilised life, now more than ever, would prove an attraction to those who had lost their lands and livelihood at the hands of the colonial government. Indeed, a number of Langalibalele's relatives and retainers were confined to Edendale and swelled the ranks of those attending church services. The missionary hoped to acquire more converts as a result.⁴⁵

The moral and social crisis among the Kholwa as a result of the migrancy of the youth was an important element in reviving the religious interest of the older members who were perturbed at their own loss of moral authority. Closely linked to this was the specifically religious issue of spiritual existence and, in particular, the notion of 'revival' within a Christian corporate body. The mediocrity of the local missionaries appointed to Edendale was also an element in deciding the Kholwa to take the evangelical enterprise into their own hands.

In August 1875 a group of church elders representative of all the Wesleyan mission stations in Natal informed Daniel Eva, the resident missionary at Edendale, that they had formed their own fund to assist in spreading the Gospel. Its management was to be in their own hands, as was the fixing of places to be visited. The mission agents and their work would be superintended and fall within Methodist rule. The relationship of the new agency to the Wesleyan Society was to be placed on the agenda of the next district meeting. The money they had collected, £110, was to be put in the Natal Bank. The new group called itself Unzondelelo, the Native Home Missionary Society.⁴⁶ It originated from a very real desire to spread Christianity. But it arose also from a desire for a more independent and more influential role in church affairs. An example had been set by the American missionaries who had fostered their own local missionary body during the 1860s.⁴⁷

The district meeting, under the guidance of James Cameron, anxious not to inhibit any initiative from the Kholwa, approved the formation of Unzondelelo. Then one of those circumstantial occurrences took place that alters the course of events: James Cameron died. He had been in South Africa since the 1820s, had worked in the Transorangia region in the 1830s, and taken up the superintendence of the Natal mission field in the 1850s. He was more sympathetic to the African members than the younger Methodist brethren, and indeed had on many occasions clashed with them in their treatment of circuit matters on the mission stations. He had always been more diplomatic, if no less paternalistic, than some of the other missionaries in dealings with the Kholwa.⁴⁸ The man who temporarily replaced him as superintendent was James Calvert, recently arrived from Fiji, less tactful and less sensitive to the African membership than his predecessor.⁴⁹ Calvert employed the funds collected by the Unzondelelo to meet the needs of circuit income rather than in establishing a fund for the training of a local African ministry. This upset the Kholwa elders. Their whole objective was to widen the opportunities for African evangelisation, not to provide a fund for colonial circuits to draw upon.

Despite the independent initiative by the Kholwa in setting up Unzondelelo and their growing discontent with aspects of mission control, a separatist movement did not develop. At Driefontein, where the idea for a distinct 'home' missionary society had originated, there was, rather, a call for a resident white missionary to oversee the religious development of the new settlement. A distinct movement within the Church would maintain the credibility of the Christians and would offer opportunities for the training of an African ministry that would be impossible outside it. The evangelical movement had really begun at Driefontein in the early 1870s. In 1872 the first reference to the stirrings of an evangelical revival occurred.⁵⁰ The piety of the people on the new settlement, the building of homesteads, chapel and school all combined to give the community a reputation for respectability and enterprise. Even the white farmers in the neighbourhood admired their efforts and went so far as to ask the Driefontein people to teach the children living on their farms. Some of the farmers even attended church services held by the Driefontein lay preachers.⁵¹ Conscious of the critically watchful eyes of their neighbours, the Driefontein Christians were anxious for the presence of a white missionary on their settlement.⁵² That a missionary never materialised is an interesting comment on the status of the Edendale Christians in the Wesleyan body. Although the new settlement was some 160 kilometres from Edendale, the Mission Society still saw the two communities as one. The Edendale missionary was given superintendence over the church affairs of the Driefontein community.⁵³

Indeed, the close communion between the two places distinguished their history. Personal and property ties bonded the two communities together. Johannes Kumalo held land in Edendale as well as shares in Driefontein, as did Stephanus Mini, Timothy Gule, Daniel Msimang, Nathaniel Matebula and others. Their sons and daughters intermarried. Above all, they shared a common history: they were once the subjects of chiefdoms long since scattered over the Highveld and had all found a new identity through the mission as *oNonhlevu*, the first converts. Initial optimism about their position as 'new men' in society was gradually replaced by a realisation that the New Jerusalem in which they would be accepted as equal would only eventuate through their own struggles and demands.

The *oNonhlevu* became something of a beleaguered group in the 1870s that needed to forge their identity more strongly in the face of changing colonial attitudes towards Christian Africans and the continuing hostility of non-Christians. The competitiveness of the Kholwa in particular irked struggling

colonists where everyone competed equally for transport contracts and trade into the interior. As Kholwa traders and producers became more competitive in the 1870s, so they came to be seen as a threat. Attitudes towards them became more inimical, particularly in the difficult years of 1873 and 1874 when cattle disease and drought detrimentally affected trade.⁵⁴ They were described variously as 'lazy', 'unwilling to work', 'drunkards' and 'liars' – all terms in direct contrast to what most of them were, namely hard working, enterprising, abstemious and honest. This hostility gave a boost to their growing sense of unity of purpose. Unzondelelo provided a forum for elders of the Wesleyan mission communities in Natal to share their problems.

The manner in which they began to confront these problems in the 1870s asserted a new identity for Christians. Their statement was not to the Church alone, expressed as it was through the formation of the Unzondelelo, but also to the government. They petitioned the government for the removal of the dual system of law and urged the recognition of one law for all in the colony.⁵⁵

Discrimination seemed to fuel the spirit of evangelism that spread through Edendale, Driefontein and other offshoots in Natal during the 1880s. The outward evangelical thrust resulted in the growth of a number of Christian communities in their neighbourhoods. The diaspora of Edendale Christians eager to widen the community of Christians in Natal resulted in settlements at Cedara near Howick, in the Biggarsberg, at Boomplaats, among the Hlubi in Zululand, in the Umzinkulu and Polela areas near present-day Bulwer, Telapi which was resettled by 'backsliders' who had readopted polygyny at Jonono's Kop adjacent to Driefontein, and as far afield as a mission in Swaziland.

The ensuing years saw the Wesleyan Missionary Society gradually having to accept that the Kholwa would manage their own affairs or break away. The latter would have meant the apostasy of the vast majority of their church membership. Reports on the Unzondelelo come from the missionaries so they are tainted with their point of view. There are no reports in the vernacular by the Kholwa members themselves. However, until the 1880s the Unzondelelo was kept very much within the orbit of the Wesleyan Mission Society control. The Society compromised only where it had to. It would allow for a native agency so long as those agents were only catechists and local preachers. A native ministry was not even discussed.⁵⁶

However, by 1877 the vigour with which the new evangelical movement had spread threatened to remove control from the missionaries altogether. The new District Superintendent, Frederick Mason, was a man with wide experience in both mission and colonial circuits. He believed that the Society

had reached a crisis point in its approach to an African ministry.⁵⁷ The past years had seen considerable debate over the form mission activity should take, whether mission stations should be maintained or replaced by itinerancy, and it had become clear that the Kholwa would remove the initiative from white mission hands unless their demands were met. The Kholwa now wanted their own black missionaries and evangelists, and they needed training institutions like those the American missionaries had provided. Unzondelelo was the forum for their demands.⁵⁸

The first meeting of the new body was held at Edendale, and thereafter meetings were held annually at different mission stations. The importance of the occasion was reflected in the elaborate preparations made for the meetings. Not only were all the church members mobilised to provide food and refreshments for the occasion, but people even extended the size of their homes to accommodate their visitors.⁵⁹

The year 1878 was important for Unzondelelo, for that was when a constitution was adopted and a committee of management elected. White missionaries were present at the meeting and used their influence to ensure that they lost neither members nor control over the new missionary movement. They agreed to a joint committee comprising three whites and six blacks, and to the proviso that all moneys collected by Unzondelelo should be reserved for missionary work. This included the payment of schoolteachers and catechists chosen by the committee.⁶⁰

By this time the South African missionaries were expressing views that would not have found fault with segregationists of later decades. Their ideology was replete with notions of the 'idleness and degradation' of Africans that only Christianity and civilisation could temper. In other respects, too, their attitudes conformed to the hostile stereotypes of colonial racism.⁶¹ The Christians were no longer fostered in the more sympathetic ambience of an earlier benevolent paternalism practised by missionaries such as James Cameron and even James Allison (who had also died in 1875, unmourned by his old mission). To remain a special group with a distinct identity in colonial society, the Christians were having to grasp the nettle of discrimination more forcefully, yet at the same time confront it with all the discretion required of a subject people. This remained true for those within the Church as much as it was the case in relations with the government.⁶² Mason told the visiting General Secretary, John Kilner, that Africans were 'dull, selfish, unimpressible and unreceptive but they can be saved'.⁶³ Not all the missionaries, however, shared these views, and one

far-sighted missionary had written to Kilner urging him to visit. 'Methodism in South Africa needs revision,' he wrote.⁶⁴

In 1880, Kilner had come to South Africa. During his visit he was impressed by the zeal and intelligence of the Africans of whom the white missionaries complained so much. In his report he commented particularly on the fact that it was the white missionaries who had held back the development of a vigorous African ministry. He had met between fifty and sixty men whose potential was obvious: 'a generation in advance of their own people generally'. The Kholwa maintained the sanctity of Christian homes and their piety could not be questioned. His major criticism of the work, as he saw it, was a tendency towards congregationalism that presupposed an autonomy opposed by Methodism. It was after Kilner's visit and criticisms that an African ministry was rapidly fostered.⁶⁵

The first candidates, sixty in all, were the leading members of Christian communities throughout Natal. Among them were Daniel Msimang, Henry Msimang, Eliam Msimang, Nathaniel Matebula, Enoch Sigudu, and Paul Gemba. These were the early converts who, having been through the experience of conversion in their societies of origin, had left with Allison to come to Natal and struggled to find acceptance as Christian and educated 'new men' – the people specially chosen by God to be enlightened. By the 1880s they had all reached middle age and beyond, and had been involved in accumulating sufficient wealth for their families to maintain themselves on the land and in trade at least for the present generation. Missionary activity was to be their retirement occupation. Daniel Msimang was chosen to re-open the mission in Swaziland abandoned by the Wesleyans when Allison left Mahamba in 1847. He returned to Mahamba in 1882 where he rebuilt the same mission he had built in 1845. Nathaniel Matebula was appointed minister at his home in Driefontein. Other candidates included sons of the first generation converts: people like Luke Msimang, Philip Xulu and Amos Xaba.⁶⁶

The inauguration of a Kholwa ministry forestalled the dangers of the development of a separatist movement for at least two decades. Why this was so must remain speculative. One reason may be that the experience of the first decade of Edendale's existence outside the parameters of an established Church in the 1850s had given some weight to the advantages to be derived from such a connection. Not only was religious guidance an important reason, but perhaps just as important was access to officialdom and resources such as educational grants afforded to mission schools. But these may not have been the most significant reasons at all. The answer might lie in a less material

sphere. It is impossible to understand the ambiguity of mission station existence if one does not grasp how the Christians managed to find a modicum of acceptance in colonial society through the respectability that they derived from their Christianity and civilisation. By the late 1870s, however, they needed to be more pious than their colonial brethren, more responsible and more respectable than either collaborating chiefdoms or the majority of white settlers. To break away from their church would have proved them unworthy of the very respect they sought and might have deprived them of an ear in the colonial establishment. It would have lent credibility to the growing view that Africans were incapable of incorporation either within the body of the Church, or within civil society.

At the same time, their evangelism gave the Kholwa the opportunity to express and legitimate their superiority over the rest of pagan African society. Establishing their own movement provided new opportunities for status and responsibility within the Church as well as a basis for self-respect vis-à-vis those whom they saw as social superiors: missionaries, officials and even colonists. Both their Christianity and their education provided substance to their demands for recognition as full subjects of colonial society.

ENDNOTES

- 1 This term was used by H.S. Msimang in an interview to describe the *oNonhlevu*. A transcript of interviews with H.S. Msimang in the 1960s and 1970s is in the author's possession.
- 2 For KwaNgubeni see MMS 336, Natal District Minutes and Reports, List of Subordinate Paid Agents, 15 October 1851. For Cedara see MMS 319, Natal 1867–1873, J.R. Cameron to Secretaries, 6 June 1868; J.R. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 10 October 1871; J.R. Cameron to Secretaries, 21 January 1873; MMS 339, Edendale and KwaNgubeni Report 1871. For Kokstad see MMS 319, H.S. Barton to W.B. Boyce, 13 January 1869. For Klip River see MMS 318, 1866/663, G. Blencowe to Secretaries, 4 October 1867; MMS 319, J.R. Cameron to Secretaries, 27 May 1873; SNA 1/1/34, 1298, K.H. Hathorn to SNA, 25 June 1879. For Telapi and the Biggarsberg see SNA 1/3/20, RI24/1870, J. Bird to SNA, 5 February 1870; NWM 2/3/1, A.P. Chaplin to F. Mason, 18 July 1879; MMS 321, A.P. Chaplin to F. Mason, 19 May 1882.
- 3 MMS 317, 1863/693, W.H. Milward to Secretaries, 29 July 1863.
- 4 See Chapter Eight.
- 5 MMS 319, J.R. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 10 October 1871; Joseph Jackson to Secretaries, 14 October 1872.
- 6 See Chapter Seven.
- 7 Strayer, *The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa*: 17.
- 8 MMS 318, 1866/341, C. Roberts to Secretaries, 7 May 1867.
- 9 See E. and S.G. Yeo, 'Ways of seeing: control and leisure versus class and struggle' in *Popular Culture and Class Conflict, 1590–1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure* ed. by E. and S.G. Yeo (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1981).
- 10 See Colenso, 'Visit to a modern missionary station at Edendale, Natal, South Africa': 13; MMS 318, 1866/661, J. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 8 October 1867.
- 11 MMS 319, H.S. Barton to W.B. Boyce, 18 January 1871; J.R. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 9 February 1871.

- 12 MMS 319, H.S. Barton, Edendale to W.B. Boyce, 21 December 1869.
- 13 MMS 319, G. Blencowe to W.B. Boyce, 8 April 1870.
- 14 MMS 319, J.R. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 9 February 1871.
- 15 Evidence 1882: 145, 324.
- 16 MMS 318, 1866/341, C. Roberts to Secretaries, 7 May 1867.
- 17 Interview with Walter Msimang, grandson of Enoch Msimang, son of Daniel at Edendale, February 1987.
- 18 MMS 318, 1866/239, T. Kirby to Secretaries, 28 February 1866.
- 19 Annual Synod Minutes give details of church attendance and list the names of subordinate paid agents.
- 20 MMS 317, 1863/693, W.H. Milward to Secretaries, 29 July 1863.
- 21 See Chapter Two.
- 22 MMS 339, Natal Minutes, 19th Annual Meeting, 24 November 1869, Edendale Circuit Report.
- 23 MMS 319, 1869, W.H. Milward to W.B. Boyce, 12 February 1869.
- 24 MMS 318, 1863/419, W.H. Milward to Secretaries, 1 April 1864; 20 October 1865; C. Roberts to Secretaries, 1 June 1866; 28 October 1866.
- 25 MMS 319, H.S. Barton to W.B. Boyce, 14 September 1869.
- 26 ABCFM report.
- 27 See Appendix 2, Table 1.
- 28 The next section relies much upon P. and I. Mayer, *Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservatism and the Process of Urbanization in a South African City* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971): 192–199.
- 29 *ibid*: 199.
- 30 MMS 319, W.H. Milward to W.B. Boyce, 12 February 1869.
- 31 MMS 319, H.S. Barton to W.B. Boyce, 14 April 1869.
- 32 MMS 319, W.H. Milward to W.B. Boyce, 12 February 1869.
- 33 MMS 339, Natal Minutes and Reports, 19th Annual Meeting, 24 November 1869.
- 34 MMS 319, F. Mason to W.B. Boyce, 20 May 1870.
- 35 MMS 339, 19th Annual Meeting, Edendale Circuit Report.
- 36 MMS 319, J.R. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 6 September 1872.
- 37 *ibid*.
- 38 MMS 319, J.R. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 20 June 1871.
- 39 MMS 340, Natal Minutes and Reports, Report of the Edendale Society, 28 November 1872.
- 40 MMS 319, J.R. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 6 September 1872.
- 41 MMS 340, Natal District Minutes and Reports, Edendale Circuit Report 1873.
- 42 E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963): 387.
- 43 MMS 336, Natal District, Special Minutes, 11 July 1851.
- 44 A. Manson and J.B. Wright, *The Hlubi Chieftdom in Zululand-Natal: A History* (Ladysmith: Ladysmith Historical Society, 1983).
- 45 MMS 319, J.R. Cameron to Secretaries, 27 May 1873.
- 46 MMS 320, J. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 16 August 1875.
- 47 MMS 317, 1862/660, J. Jackson to Secretaries, 4 July 1862.
- 48 MMS 320, W.H. Milward to Secretaries, 13 December 1875. MMS 319, J. Cameron to Secretaries, 18 September 1875.
- 49 MMS 320, J. Calvert to Perks, 26 June 1876; J. Calvert to Perks, 24 July 1876.
- 50 MMS 340, Natal District Minutes and Reports, G. Blencowe, Ladysmith Circuit Report, 27 November 1872. MMS 319, J.R. Cameron to Secretaries, 27 May 1873.
- 51 MMS 319, R. Hayes to Secretaries, 25 July 1873. MMS 341, Edendale Circuit Report 1875. MMS 320, R. Hayes to Perks, 2 September 1876. MMS 341, Driefontein Circuit Report 1876. MMS 342, Driefontein Circuit Report, 30 September 1877.
- 52 NWM 2/3/5, R. Hayes to R. Mason, 2 January 1877.
- 53 MMS 320, R. Hayes to Perks, 1 September 1876; SNA 1/1/29, 36/1877, D. Eva to SNA, 22 January 1877.
- 54 MMS 319, J. Cameron to W.B. Boyce, 23 June 1873.
- 55 See Chapter Seven.

- 56 MMS 320, J. Calvert to Secretaries, 24 July 1876; NWM 2/3/1, A.P. Chaplin to F. Mason, 28 February 1877.
- 57 MMS 321, F. Mason to Secretaries, 5 March 1877; F. Mason to Secretaries, 3 September 1877.
- 58 *ibid.* For this and the following paragraph, see also MMS 342, Natal District Meetings, Meeting of District Committee, Supplementary Resolutions, January 1878.
- 59 MMS 321, S.H. Stott to Secretaries, 6 October 1877.
- 60 MMS 342, Natal District Minutes, Meeting of District Committee, Supplementary Resolutions, January 1878.
- 61 For evidence of colonial hostility see MMS 321, Natal Missionary Conference, May 1878; *Natal Witness*, 1 July 1880, 13 April 1881 and 17 June 1881.
- 62 *Natal Witness*, 8 January 1880.
- 63 MMS 321, Natal Missionary Conference, May 1878.
- 64 MMS 321, O. Watkins to Kilner, 30 March 1878.
- 65 MMS 343, Minutes of a Special District Meeting, 6 May 1880; J. Kilner, 'A summary report: deputation to the South African mission field', London, 1881.
- 66 MMS 343, Natal District, Minutes of Special District Meeting, 24 August 1880.



EDENDALE'S SEARCH FOR INCLUSION

*Exemption, collaboration and
political organisation*

MISSION STATIONS LIKE that of Edendale came to be perceived as centres of black civilisation, where orderly progress in economic affairs and in education reflected the assimilation of the Christians into a new social order. For the Christians, the peace provided by colonial over-rule meant that they saw their interests residing unequivocally within colonial society and not outside it. Indeed, this was true of large numbers of Natal Africans who had experienced Zulu overlordship prior to colonial conquest and who feared the might of the Zulu more than they did that of the colonial state. The world the Kholwa made for themselves while woven in the fabric of their religion was also webbed into their wider experience within colonial society. Prosperity and respectability were the twin hallmarks of the black Christian identity which became linked to a very strong sense of loyalty to the colonial state, symbolised by the Great White Queen, Queen Victoria, whom they described as the 'mother' of them all. In the previous chapter we saw how Christianity provided a new identity and a new meaning for converts. In what they perceived as their own epic journey from the wilderness of pre-colonial darkness to the enlightenment of colonial rule, converts came to see themselves as the chosen people of God in search of the 'New Israel'. In the material or secular sphere colonial society provided the key to the realisation of that reality.

The decade of the 1870s, however, brought the Edendale Christians face to face with the growing contradictions of their place in colonial society. Seriously committed to the Victorian and Christian ideals propounded by their missionaries, they saw themselves as highly respectable members of society. This perspective contrasted, however, with their secondary status and position as part of the oppressed members of a conquered society. Indeed, legally, the colonial state negated their 'civilised' condition by refusing to exempt Christians as a group from customary law. The Kholwa were quite clear in their opposition to the subordinate status imposed upon them.

A curious anomaly grew out of colonial opposition to black Christian respectability. As was suggested in the previous chapter, the Kholwa, through

their devotion to a Christian life, proved their fitness to be regarded as subjects of the Queen. More than this, they redoubled their efforts to be included as citizens of British colonial society by means of petitions expressing their loyalty, but emphasising their particular demands and grievances.¹

Kholwa grievances

Matters did not improve for the Kholwa when Theophilus Shepstone left to annex the Transvaal Republic in 1877. His place at the helm of Native Affairs was taken by his more abrasive brother, John, whose role in the Langalibalele affair in 1873 had shown how far the Department of Native Affairs (DNA) was prepared to go in support of colonial economic interests.² As far as the status of Christians was concerned, the SNA was determined to maintain their subjection to customary law and thus their second-class status.

Christians were criticised for their attempts at advancement particularly once it became clear that the objectives of mission inhabitants were to avoid sustained wage labour and maintain their financial independence. The *Natal Witness* encapsulated colonial prejudice against the Kholwa when its editorial commented that 'Mission kafir' is often a synonym for drunkard and thief.³ John Shepstone, too, was accused of speaking 'slightingly of their Christianity'.⁴

As a result of both growing racism during the 1870s and the growing inflexibility of customary law after the promulgation of the Native Administration Law of 1875, the Kholwa became more persistent in their demands for recognition of their special place in society. The colonial state, however, continued to follow the legal fiction that society was made up of individuals, and concessions from customary law were granted on the basis of individual application only. Nor did the law allow for the equal incorporation of those Africans who became exempt from the provisions of customary law. All legislation applicable to the African population applied also to Christian communities. First, the franchise was not an automatic concomitant of exemption. Second, there was some ambiguity about the applicability of discriminatory legislation to 'exempted natives'.⁵

What difficulties faced the Kholwa? In evidence to the 1882 NNAC, leading Kholwa elders, among them Stephanus Mini of Edendale and Johannes Kumalo, headman of Driefontein, expressed some of the ambiguities in their position as Christian and civilised people living under laws derived from kinship society to which they no longer belonged.⁶ In particular they spoke of the conflicts that arose from quite contradictory property relations and laws of

inheritance. They drew attention to the anomalies that arose because Christian marriages were not recognised in either colonial or customary law, and their consequent necessity to pay *lobola* in order to protect their daughters. They spoke of their difficulties in commercial ventures where litigation between Africans was dependent upon the discretion of magistrates.⁷ The Kholwa believed the solution to their problems lay in their incorporation under the ordinary laws of the colony. However, they remained opposed to the selective principle of individual exemption that underpinned Law 28 of 1865.

Kholwa landowners under customary law complained of the anomalies in their legal position. If a landowner died intestate, then inheritance according to the rules of customary law applied. This meant that only men were able to inherit property and women were excluded. It meant, too, that control over the property of a landowning Kholwa family might pass to non-Christian male relatives whose material interests could be very different from the profit-oriented enterprise and property left behind for the perpetuation of a more progressive family business.⁸

Inheritance under customary law was not only tied to property but was also linked to control over the female members of a household. A widow would be placed under the guardianship of her husband's brother or an adult son who had protective obligations that also implied control over her person. The same terms applied to guardianship over unmarried women. Where landed property was at issue, women were placed in a particularly subordinate position. The example of Ellen Kunene will suffice to show the manner in which the law militated against the interests of women.⁹

In 1871 Samuel Kunene, an Edendale landowner, died, leaving his wife, Ellen, with seven children and pregnant with her eighth child. Three of these children were sons. She continued to live on her husband's land after his death. The property, though, was inherited by her eldest son, Joseph, with whom she lived at Edendale until his death in 1897. In 1884 she had jointly purchased a 53 acre plot at Edendale for £36 with two of her daughters. The women remained legal possessors of the land until the 1891 Code of Native Law prohibited women from holding landed property.¹⁰ The land was now registered in the name of her youngest son, Joshua, who passed a mortgage bond over the property but failed to pay the interest. Ellen, her other son, John, and her daughters then redeemed the debt. Ellen and her daughters also managed to build a small herd of 39 cattle from the sale of their produce and the careful husbanding of their cows. In subsequent years the women tried to redeem the debt owed to them by Joshua. When her lawyers tried to contact

both of her sons, they in turn hired a lawyer who apprised them of their legal rights under the Code of Native Law. By this time, 1906, both men were alcoholics and, according to Ellen's lawyer, 'boast that they will squander all the above property whenever they desire to do so'. In spite of the fact that all the property had been earned by the women, in terms of the Code of Native Law that emerged out of the 1875 legislation, it belonged to John, the eldest surviving son. Women were indeed in a vulnerable position.

Provision was made for African landowners and owners of moveable property, however, to bequeath their property in whatever manner they chose.¹¹ It is difficult to tell exactly what proportion of landowners made wills. Many did not. What is clear from surviving evidence in the deceased estates files is that complications arising from the settlement of African estates, whether testate or not, held back final settlement sometimes for as much as fifty years.¹²

Christian marriage was another legal grey area. For those subject to customary law, Christian marriage did not receive legal recognition. Yet African Christian marriages were also not recognised in colonial law. For a marital union to receive legal sanction, *lobola* had to be paid which could only be waived by special declaration in a magistrate's court. Christians were reluctant to forego *lobola* because of the protection it afforded young women and widows even among the Christian community.

This anomaly was dealt with by the government. In 1873, the Legislative Council set up a select committee to consider Christian marriage with a view to relieving the parties from the operation of Native law. It was agreed that Christian marriage should be placed under the ordinary laws of the colony and polygyny constituted an offence. The committee also agreed to the abolition of *lobola*. Differences of opinion arose over the question of inheritance. Some argued that Christians should be protected from the interference of 'heathen relatives' and that the latter should be excluded from the rights of guardianship and inheritance. On the other hand, it was argued that Christians should be allowed to inherit property and become guardians of their non-Christian relatives. Others on the committee believed this would 'bribe natives to profess Christianity'. Christians should rather, for the sake of their religion, relinquish all rights to the property of their non-professing relatives.¹³

Theophilus Shepstone argued that the exemption law provided the necessary protection from interference of non-Christian relatives that the Kholwa sought. As he put it, 'it places natives exempted under it in the position of Englishmen', although he stressed it did not confer the right to vote. This was somewhat disingenuous, for, as Shepstone well knew, the law had been framed

to discourage Africans from applying for exemption from customary law. Shepstone also argued that Christianity was not a sufficient criterion for the acquisition of civil status. He explained, 'as a rule, natives married according to Christian rites are not fitted to receive full exemption from native law'. He wondered instead whether people under customary law should be allowed to marry according to Christian rites at all. He argued that practical objections existed to any measure allowing exemption on the basis of Christian marriage. It would place one class of inhabitants in the colony under three laws respecting marriage; namely customary law, Law 28 of 1865 (for exemption) and any new measure that might come out of the committee's deliberations. As regards guardianship, Shepstone argued Kholwa grievances were more imagined than real since recourse existed to magisterial intervention in the appointment of guardians acceptable to their wards. He also suggested that inheritance of Christians from non-Christians and vice versa should be prohibited. The views of the Kholwa were not sought by the committee, but the government was soon to discover what these views were.

In 1875 three petitions were sent to the new Governor, Sir Garnet Wolseley, by Kholwa from different mission stations. They provide insight into Kholwa grievances and the relationship between Christian communities and the colonial government at this time. The missionaries Benjamin Markham and John Stalker assisted in drafting the petitions, which were phrased in typically deferential terms.¹⁴ The ideology of the 'enlightenment of colonial rule', and the 'lazy Kafir' abounds through the texts of the memorials. The memorial from Markham's Saint Mark's Church Mission in Pietermaritzburg captures the tone:

We are thankful for the way we have been ruled. You are to us a hen which rears its young without partiality, whether they be her own offspring, or ducks, or anything else. For the way in which we have been treated by the White people we are thankful. And for all their kindness, we are thankful. And for all their care, we are thankful.¹⁵

Following this expression of thanks came a catalogue of complaints and demands:

But there is one thing we complain of... the Government is retrogressive when it places us under our old rule, from which we fled, and placed ourselves under British Government. We have come out of darkness, and we want light but the Government carries us back to darkness by governing us by the ways of darkness.¹⁶

The address complained, '*lobola* forces us to sell our children and fixes a price on them of ten head of cattle and five pounds'. Polygyny was condemned. Smoking and drinking were also criticised. The memorial accused the

government of making it possible for a man to live 'in idleness', referring to the fact that polygyny was a form of female servitude.

The Governor's response, drafted by Shepstone, assured the petitioners that measures would be introduced that would lend 'dignity and responsibility' to Christian marriage.¹⁷ But he pointed out that if any Christian had grievances about customary law, exemption could be sought by means of Law 28 of 1865. However, by 1887 when Law 46 brought Christian marriages under the ordinary marriage laws of the colony, contradictions still remained.¹⁸ Inheritance was still determined by customary laws of succession and the legitimacy of children remained dependent upon the payment of *lobola*.

Not all Christians agreed to the finer details in the memorials that emanated from the meetings at St Mark's or the other mission stations. A group from Bishopstowe, where Bishop Colenso conducted his somewhat unorthodox Church of England mission and permitted polygyny, sent their own petition to the Governor and dispensed with missionary assistance. As they explained in the memorial 'the missionary took his own wishes as to the polygamy, of which we never say a word against it to your Excellency, knowing that for that cause the whole of the native population will be dispersed'.¹⁹ The tone of this petition was more circumspect in the praise it accorded the government and emphasised grievances more directly. The petitioners wrote, 'While in part thanking for treatment hitherto received, we cannot but call your attention to many grievances requiring redress'.²⁰

The petitioners carefully explained the reason for raising their grievances in a welcoming address: 'we heard that you are coming to place us right as well as whites'. Although this petition was similar to the missionary-drafted petitions in stressing grievances against customary law and delays in the magistrate's courts, the manner in which it expressed opposition was both more succinct and less subservient. First, the petitioners were puzzled that British laws were not applied to all in the colony:

When a foreigner have a cause we try his case by our own law, not by a law from where he came from, that it may be seen that he is ours. And you try his case by a law of where he came from? If a man become to be of you, Englishmen, what he ought to do? Are you do this to the Dutch, Germans? Scotch or Romans? We do not believe that you do so to these as we often see them going with you to the courts.²¹

Yet the dilemma posed by the duality of legal systems created particular grievances. One was about *lobola* which, in these circumstances, provided both protection for women and obligations on men. Thus *lobola* was not in itself rejected, although government interference with the terms of its application

was roundly condemned, as was the imposition of the £5 marriage fee and the twenty shilling divorce fee. At this time wages in Natal were little over fifteen shillings a month. The Kholwa complained that the hardships caused by these fees were akin to 'eating up' in traditional society when men were divested of their cattle for wrong-doing. At least in traditional society people who suffered hard times were 'clothed with a blanket'. The government was also criticised for allowing women to move to the towns and thus to become 'prostitutes to white men'. The petitions reflected some of the responses of the Kholwa to the effects of changed social and economic conditions in the mid-1870s when family and communal unity and control were beginning to fragment.

By the mid-1870s, delays in the magistrate's courts were a cause of further frustration. All the memorials complained of the delay in court cases even after fees had been paid, largely because of the obstruction of the court induna who blocked Kholwa cases because he 'both hates us and the light'. Payment of the five shilling court fee was no guarantee that the case would not take months to be resolved 'to our great loss and inconvenience'. The Kholwa petition asked for representation in court by 'twelve men chosen by us from among us to stand in courts and watch native cases being tried in any such court'. At the same time, the petition asked that cases be tried by English law. The evident contradictions in their demands simply reflected the ambiguity of their material situation. Although the petitioners wanted one law, transitional demands were also seen as necessary to deal with immediate grievances. Thus the petitions included demands for improvements and reform in customary law.

There is a similarity in the expression of these petitions and that which emanated from Edendale twelve years earlier in 1863, which may be coincidental but probably reflects how widely the issues had been discussed within Kholwa communities in Natal. In 1863, Johannes Kumalo had expressed the gratitude of the Christians for their treatment 'as people and not dogs'.²² The 1875 petition now asked that 'we so much like to be treated as people than as dogs'. This constituted a subtle shift in emphasis and reflected an acute awareness about their changed treatment in the new circumstances of the 1870s. By 1875 the Kholwa demanded a fair deal. The government simply pointed out that legislation existed that allowed individuals to apply for exemption from customary law.²³

As far as trade was concerned, colonial law had made provision for cases between Africans to be subject to the ordinary law since no customary practices existed that could deal with the law of contract.²⁴ Yet freedom to engage in commercial ventures was limited by the application of pass laws

to all Africans, regardless of their activities. The situation was patently contradictory. Indeed, in 1883 three of Edendale's leading traders expressed exasperation at the inhibiting effects of pass laws on their activities:

We are very much troubled by these passes ... When will the time come when we shall be trusted by our European masters? Have we not shown our loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen sufficiently to be trusted by this time? What still lacks in that line? We feel very oppressed by this law, because we can't attend to our business in time.²⁵

Another grievance pertained to the issue of Isibalo, similar to the *corvée*, which involved the calling out of forced labour for public works. When the landowners of Driefontein were called upon to provide labour for Isibalo in the manner of chiefs, they protested vigorously through the missionary at Edendale. No white landowners were called upon to provide such labour, so why should they be treated any differently? The principle was won, even though individual magistrates continued to ignore the rule that private landownership exempted people from the provisions of Isibalo. The Driefontein community was singled out several times during the 1870s and 1880s to provide military levies and Isibalo.²⁶ Neither their Christianity nor their civilisation gave them any protection or distinctive place in society.

Although Theophilus Shepstone prevented the incorporation of Kholwa as a group within civil society, his relationship with them was characterised by a personal paternalism. From the 1860s, Shepstone's association with the Edendale community in particular had been a close one and he knew many of the elders in the community personally. They felt free to consult with him in his office whenever they felt the need, particularly as he had been made a trustee of the Edendale Trust set up in 1861 to govern the land affairs of the privately held communal property on the farm.²⁷ The effect was a system of control governed by Shepstone's personal command that contained within it almost feudal notions of protection and obligation, which successfully hampered the development of civil status for black Christians. The limitations placed on their status and activity were, however, somewhat tempered by this closeness because it was not until Shepstone's departure from the office of the SNA in 1877 that Christians began seriously to seek exemption from customary law.²⁸

Exemption as a means of social incorporation

The Administration of Native Affairs Law, 26 of 1875, had further entrenched customary law. Following its promulgation, on the recommendation of missionaries the Kholwa embarked on a positive policy of applying for exemption from customary law despite the reservations many of them had

expressed. Exemption, much like Christianity itself, placed its possessors in an equivocal position. The vote was disallowed thus excluding exempted people from full citizenship. Although there was some disagreement between different government departments about whether legislation pertaining to Africans applied to exempted people or not, the issue remained uncertain.²⁹ As mentioned before, those exempt from customary law would still be subject to laws that denied Africans the right to purchase liquor or to obtain gun licences without the permission of the Supreme Chief.³⁰

Figures for those exempted vary. The first application was only made in 1876 when Micah Mkwanzani from Edendale was exempted. By the end of the decade, 31 men, 30 women and 64 children had been exempted. Thereafter, a slow but steady trickle of between six and fifteen people applied for exemption annually. The SNA calculated that by 1880 only 27 men, 23 women and 67 children were exempted. The SNA claimed to have received 129 petitions between 1877 and 1887. These figures conflict with calculations made from a list published in the *Government Gazette* in 1895. These indicate that only 108 exemption petitions were granted between 1876 and 1887. In 1880 there were 43 men, 38 women and 84 children exempted. By 1887 the numbers had risen to 108 men, 82 women and 185 children.³¹ Apart from official reluctance to promote exemption, there were good reasons why educated Africans were unwilling to apply. Few people were eager to exclude themselves from customary law. Those who did were Christians who believed that they could no longer reconcile their beliefs with the perpetuation of customary controls over themselves and their families.

Stephanus Mini identified the problem in his evidence to the 1881–1882 Commission:

I know there is a hindrance preventing Christian Natives coming out of Native Law. In 1864 we got up a memorial and gave it to Mr David Dale Buchanan to send in, asking that we might be exempted from Native Law. All the Christian Natives in Natal signed this. The answer was that we must come forth one by one, and that frightened us. We asked to be exempted as a community.³²

There were fears, too, that the process might introduce divisions within families and communities. As Stephanus Mini told the Commission:

I have a boy of sixteen years old that I wish to have exempted, but I am told the boy must apply for himself. There is a disinclination to be exempted, because it splits up families.³³

Even in the 1860s, Shepstone had not been prepared to countenance communal exemption from customary law. As the NNAC of 1881–1882 observed:

The Law No. 28, 1865, appears to us to have been framed as if the Legislature was then unwilling that Natives should be exempted from Native Law, or that, in other words they should be brought under the Ordinary law of the colony.³⁴

The Commission believed the law omitted to spell out important requirements, such as the prohibitions against polygyny, for exempted Africans. They argued that information about exemption should be made more accessible to Africans through magistrates and mission stations. But it still argued that the Kholwa desire for communal exemption had become 'somewhat sentimental'.³⁵

The 1875 law had presaged a new era of conservatism in the approach of government towards Africans. The constitution of the Native High Court as court of appeal in cases adjudicated by administrators of Native Law and chiefs gave added legitimacy to the new form that customary law took. For mission-educated Africans who had imbued the notions of European respectability and 'civilisation', this seemed retrogressive. It was partly to counter the limitations of such discriminatory laws that many Kholwa began to seek exemption. Etherington has estimated that less than 10% of the total African population, some 10 000 people, were Christian adherents.³⁶ Christian communities were somewhat beleaguered in the wider African context. By the 1880s, Christianity was still unattractive to the majority of the African population for new Christian converts were often hounded out of their own homes and communities by hostile chiefs.

Shared Christianity and education had long been a binding force between different Christian communities in Natal and, as we have seen, there were periodic moments of organisational unity to try to influence the government to treat all Christians as ordinary members of colonial society. None of these initiatives led to the formation of a permanent pressure group outside the Church until the end of the 1880s. The forum for a new organisational impetus was then created with the formation of the Funamalungelo Society, meaning 'those who want rights', a society set up to protect the interests of the small group of educated Africans who sought exemption from customary law.

Formation of Funamalungelo

That an organisation to promote these aspirations had not emerged before the late 1880s is testament to the effectiveness of Shepstonism. For even if the Kholwa had begun to understand that discrimination would not end, they had clung to the belief that through the influence of their missionary mentors and their own personal contact with Theophilus Shepstone, his brother John, and later his son Henrique who became SNA in 1884, they would acquire

civil status. It was only after the Anglo-Zulu War, and during the 1880s, that the Kholwa began to realise more explicitly how the law reflected power relationships in society. Instead of recognition of the social distance they had come from their pre-colonial roots, they faced exclusion from government and the challenge of a contradictory system.

As the nature of their subordination became more obvious and intolerable, so the Kholwa were increasingly forced into taking up a more confrontational role in spite of their collaborative efforts in supporting the colonial state. Unlike in their societies of origin, they did not take up arms against a foreign intruder. Instead, they formed a political society, the Funamalungelo, the role of which was to explore the limits of dominant legal forms and ideology to see how far they might achieve their aims of incorporation within colonial society.³⁷

The founding of the Funamalungelo was a natural extension of earlier political and social contact. Neither the SNA nor the colonial press commented on it, but its formation constituted a significant moment in the political history of an emergent African middle class. The idea for such an organisation originated with John Kumalo, a Christian from Estcourt who had been a guiding light in the formulation of the independent memorial presented to Sir Garnet Wolseley in 1875. The objectives of the association were that members would come to know and understand one another, to learn about their position as exempted Africans and to improve themselves 'to the highest state of civilisation'. The first meeting of the society was held in Edendale and was even attended by at least one sympathetic white colonist who had taken up the cudgels on behalf of educated Africans about their status in society.³⁸

The Kholwa had anticipated that their proven loyalty to the government in the Anglo-Zulu War would lead to legislative enactments on their behalf and to their acceptance as 'civilised' members of society. In evidence to the 1881–1882 NNAC, Kholwa spokesmen had even expressed their desire for more direct representation in government as they held that neither the Legislative Council nor the DNA represented their interests. However, they were not so unrealistic as to believe that black representatives would be permitted in the Legislative Assembly.³⁹ The Funamalungelo emerged in 1887 as the first representative political body to air Kholwa grievances.

Through the bilingual African newspaper *Inkanyiso Yase Natal*, the mouthpiece of the Funamalungelo, the cause of the 'enlightened' Africans was eloquently put forward. It was particularly vocal on the issue of exemption. Established in 1888, the newspaper was edited by Solomon Kumalo under

the aegis of Francis Green at St Alban's College in Pietermaritzburg. The existence of a black-run newspaper augured a new era in the assertiveness of Africans seeking full incorporation within civil society. In 1895, *Inkanyiso* was bought by a syndicate of black backers making it the first fully owned black newspaper in Natal.⁴⁰ In every edition of *Inkanyiso* the question of the position of exempted Africans was discussed in editorials and news columns. As Responsible Government approached in 1893, the editorials voiced reservations about 'settler' government and expressed fears for the rights of the African population as a whole.

By the end of the 1880s, the Kholwa were clearly frustrated by the limited possibilities for their advancement under British colonial rule. In tandem, the Funamalungelo and *Inkanyiso* pressed the government to extend, rather than diminish, the rights of loyal Africans who wished to be assimilated in colonial society. At the same time, they voiced the frustrations of aspiring middle-class, profit-oriented black people with the economic discrimination and legal disabilities of colonial rule. Neither the political nor the economic conditions of Responsible Government were auspicious for African advancement. Yet one optimist writing from Edendale in the *Natal Mercury* on the eve of Responsible Government said

All the natives of intelligence and property are for a change, because under the present government no efforts are made to ameliorate the conditions of the people, and *lobola* and polygamy will never be rooted out... The new form of government will, I feel sure, dispense in course of time with the Native Law, which is a great hindrance to civilisation.⁴¹

The Natal Native Code remained, however, and became the lynch-pin in the whole edifice of African administration under Responsible Government.

The political limits to assimilation: the sham of exemption from customary law

In 1891 the Code of Native Law replaced the somewhat arbitrary manner in which so-called customary law had been practised since colonial rule had first been established in Natal in the 1840s. The changes that came with codification altered any remaining flexibility in customary law and introduced a rigid 'traditional law' to match the process of creating a new kind of tribal tradition by reinventing tribes – one of which was the 'Kholwa tribe'.

Codification was the culmination of a long and somewhat arbitrary process. The inflexibility of the Code reflected the increasingly uncompromising position of the colonial government towards granting any special privileges to any one African group. In particular, there was great reluctance to grant

concessions to a growing class of educated and progressively minded black people whose aspirations were for inclusion within the decision-making processes of government and for middle class lifestyles.

S.O. Samuelson, the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs and the most influential policy maker in government as permanent official in the DNA, was opposed to the whole system of exemption.⁴² His prejudice, which reflected the general opinion of colonial society against encouraging an African elite, permeated the DNA. Their attitude to the Kholwa in general was one of contempt and they actively tried to block attempts by this group to escape the controls of customary law by means of the exemption procedures of Law 28 of 1865. Officials masked their racism by arguing that the exemption system was a sham. Exemption, they argued, placed people within a legal limbo: neither under the ordinary laws of the colony nor under the protective measures of the Native Code. Discriminatory laws other than the Code of Native Law still applied to exempted people. Officials suggested that all Africans should remain under customary law including the educated and Christianised.⁴³

One of the consequences of the outward structures of legal ambiguity and racial domination was the evolution of a somewhat contradictory Kholwa ideology that governed their actions and self-concept within colonial society. It reflected also the impossibility of a return to 'traditional society'. The Kholwa continued their periodic forays into the offices of the SNA to complain about the subjection of educated and 'civilised' Africans to customary law. They struggled to have discriminatory laws removed from the statute book by sending deputations to government ministers. At the same time, their position of loyalty to the government remained a central tenet of their political perspective.⁴⁴

A case which really exposed the intentions of the government as far as Funamalungelo was concerned was that of *Daniel Lutuli vs Durban Corporation* in 1894. Lutuli was arrested in Durban for an offence against the curfew and was fined five shillings before a magistrate in spite of possessing letters of exemption. He appealed to the Supreme Court, confident that the case would be set aside on the grounds of his exemption:

But no, instead he hears (and other exempted Natives also) for the first time, and under Responsible Government, which is significant, that, 'The certificate of exemption was really intended to release a Native from the trammels of *lobola* and other Native customs'.⁴⁵

Funamalungelo petitioned the government that exempted 'natives' be freed from the operation of the Vagrancy Law, No. 15 of 1869. It also suggested that

medals be issued as sufficient evidence of exemption. The Executive agreed to the issue of medals, but was reluctant to change the Vagrancy Law. Instead it suggested that all petitions for exemption be shelved. The DNA continued to drag its feet in forwarding petitions to the Governor.⁴⁶

Inkanyiso refused to accept the interpretation of exemption given by the Supreme Court. It argued that exemption was granted as a special privilege after due investigation and enquiry:

But we do maintain that once this is done, the right should be a reality and not a sham, and it is nothing less than a disgrace to the British race, and a violation of all its best traditions, that the latter should be the case.⁴⁷

The editor reiterated some of the disadvantages attached to exemption. First, all ‘friendly and family ties’ were severed, *lobola* was forfeited, paternal authority was sacrificed, as well as the paternalism the government conferred on the ‘native races’. In return for these sacrifices, exempted people were served with exclusion from the government, submission to ‘the degrading Curfew law’ and prohibition from the use of alcohol. Educated Africans objected in principle to these restrictions:

It is because it assumes an inferiority in the most galling manner, and brands the Native as one who can have no freedom of thought or action, but must be coaxed or petted like a child, or coerced like a slave.⁴⁸

The only successful way that conditions could be altered, said *Inkanyiso*, was by means of an organisation, the ultimate objective of which was the franchise for all Africans. *Inkanyiso* warned that this would give rise to a ‘howl of indignation’ from those imbued with race prejudice. Yet the object would be to prove the worth of ‘the leaven of advancement among the Natives of this Colony’:

So far from the efforts of the Natives to take part in the affairs of the country being an indication of discontent, it is clear proof of the contrary. It shows the African appreciates the benefit of British rule so much that he desires to participate in it to its fullest extent, and to become an active factor in its administration and working.⁴⁹

African reaction to the Lutuli case prompted the government to draft a Bill to provide for a ‘special pass’ for exempted Africans from the provisions of the Vagrancy Law. It was a typically contradictory move for, as *Inkanyiso* noted, the Bill was drafted in such a way ‘as to manifest the serving of a “scorpion” in place of a fish’. Funamalungelo had offered a simple solution in the wearing of medals by exempted Africans as a symbol of their status and exclusion from

discriminatory legislation. The government instead proposed that in 'special cases', 'special exempted Natives' could be free from the operation of the vagrancy clause by being granted a 'special pass':

We have now been placed in a position to discern in a more extensive scale what was meant by 'exemption from Native law'. The granting of a special pass to special Exempted Natives in a special way immediately, in our belief, obliterates the so-called 'Exemption law', and the gradually destroyed privileges eventually annulled, and the Exempted Natives in general not better off than the dog that dropped the bone it possessed and pursued after an imaginery finely shadowed one.⁵⁰

Funamalungelo immediately sent a petition opposing the proposed 'Exemption Bill'. F.S. Tatham responded to this by lashing out at *Inkanyiso* in the Legislative Council.⁵¹ He accused 'the youths of St Albans' of being behind the petition and of fomenting political propaganda.⁵² *Inkanyiso* indignantly responded, quoting the words of a marginally more sympathetic Legislative Council member, Mr Bale. The memorial had arisen 'with the Natives of Edendale (and others) – men of wealth, education, and respectability, who were in manner, conduct, and life Christian gentlemen'.⁵³ As for the accusation that the newspaper was conducted by the youths at the industrial school of St Albans, the editor wrote, 'those who ably conduct that paper are men and not youths, as Mr. Tatham seemed to believe'.⁵⁴ Kholwa frustration in reaction to the ideology of Africans as perpetual children was only just beginning. Nevertheless, colonial prejudice did not deter the Kholwa from persisting in their efforts to press for equal civil rights.

Exemption remained a key legal step in attempts to achieve assimilation. By 1895 there were 1 290 exempted individuals listed in the *Government Gazette*.⁵⁵ These included 377 men, 301 women and 632 children. Of the women, only 18 had petitioned separately while 257 were spouses, and 26 were exempted on their father's petition. Exemptions had increased fourfold between 1886 and 1889, from nine to 49 per year. In 1893, the year Responsible Government was granted, there were more exemptions granted than in any previous year; namely 65 men, 46 women and 82 children. The remarkable increase in exemptions can only be explained in terms of growing discrimination and the persistent refusal of the colonial government to grant the Kholwa civil status on a par with white colonists or to release them as a group from the operation of customary law.

The doubt surrounding exemption after the Lutuli case gave the Under Secretary of Native Affairs the chance to suggest that all applications be deferred.⁵⁶ The Governor sought the advice of Harry Escombe, the Attorney-

General, on whether he could refuse to submit any petition to the Executive Council for reasons he believed to be sufficient.⁵⁷ Escombe replied that

Law 28, 1865 is a law to confer a benefit. If a native thinks that there is a benefit to him, it is not for the Government to say that there is no benefit. There is an absolute discretion in the Governor in Council to grant or refuse any particular petition (Section 9). This clause seems to me to imply that each petition will be considered on its own merits, and a general view that it is advisable to postpone the granting of all licenses [*sic*] till the law is altered cannot prevail.⁵⁸

He reiterated that any discretion would have to be ‘exercised according to the object and intention of the law’, and that any reason put forward could not contradict the law: ‘A simple belief that present circumstances made the granting of exemption inadvisable was insufficient, and contradictory, to the law’.⁵⁹

So ambiguous had become the meaning of exemption since the promulgation of laws that eroded many of the privileges presupposed in the 1865 Law that Funamalungelo sought clarification from the Colonial Secretary on exactly what status it conferred. The Crown Solicitor gave the opinion that exemption did not in fact free Africans from subsequent discriminatory statutory enactments.⁶⁰ When cases were refused by Liege Hulett, SNA in the Binns Ministry, the Governor wanted to know the grounds for his decision. Hulett referred to the fact that exemption was ‘beset with doubts’ and was ‘misleading and unsatisfactory’. Only those with ‘a fair education... able to read and write in English, and... able to prepare his own petition’ were considered. A few cases had been granted, which involved the desire of fathers to devolve their properties on daughters and of children of exempted parents to acquire the same status as their parents.⁶¹

F.R. Moor, in his second term as SNA, and on the advice of S.O. Samuelson, in fact recommended the repeal of Law 28 of 1865. He argued:

To continue to add to a class which is neither entirely under the ordinary laws nor entirely under Native Law is neither good policy nor common justice to the native population.⁶²

Samuelson advised Moor that exempted Africans had not advanced much beyond their non-Christian kin:

Not many natives who have been exempted are much, if at all, above the average native either in civilisation or knowledge. Many of them live among their unexempted kith and kin and cannot be differentiated from them in any way. Many of them are chiefs of tribes and yet they are not presumably subject to the provisions of the code of Native Law.⁶³

The irony of this argument was that the Code of Native Law had itself imposed ‘chiefs’ on Kholwa communities. Samuelson deliberately ignored a debate

that had taken place about the status of Christian and exempted headmen in 1894. Escombe, as Attorney-General, had given the opinion that the Native Code had contemplated chiefs of two classes: those on locations and those on mission stations. The latter, he argued, could be exempted.⁶⁴ In spite of opinions to the contrary, exemptions were sparingly granted by successive ministries under Responsible Government. Samuelson summed up his view in a memorandum to the government in September 1901:

Exemptions from the operation of Native Law have been sparingly granted, and then only in special cases. The Law under which they are granted is, however, a blot on our statute Book and should never have been enacted.⁶⁵

For the Kholwa, then, the struggle was against the very policies of a government completely unsympathetic to their aims. In 1905 their grievances once more became prominent when a Supreme Court ruling found that children born after the exemption of a married couple were not automatically exempted from customary laws. Confident that this was a mistaken interpretation of the law, the Funamalungelo sought an audience with the minister in charge of Native Affairs, H.D. Winter.⁶⁶ The deputation comprised leading exempted Edendale elders, Stephen Mini, son of Stephanus Mini and by then recognised as chief who was also an office bearer of the Funamalungelo, Ezriah Msimang, one of the Edendale trustees, and Jabez Molife who had also gone through the complex process of becoming a voter under Law 12 of 1865. They presented an eloquent case to the minister.

Mini expressed the disappointment of exempted Africans who had hoped that they would be 'entirely placed under the laws of the white man'. He compared the process of exemption to that of naturalised aliens and hoped that the government would not further reduce their rights. The deputation pointed to the anomalous implications of the Supreme Court ruling. Children born of exempted parents were registered in 'white registers'. Msimang pointed out that exemption had become attractive because it promised the 'improved and enlightened laws of the white man'. The Supreme Court's decision had brought confusion to families who held their property under the ordinary laws of the colony. In the new situation it was possible for exempted children to deprive their unexempted siblings of their inheritance. What they wanted, he argued, was for the government 'to restore to us our children, who are now separated from us by the decision of the court'. Winter gave a sympathetic hearing to the deputation and promised to introduce a Bill to amend the legal omission. He told the representatives of Funamalungelo that he did not agree with the Supreme Court ruling.⁶⁷

Samuelson effectively hampered Winter's decision to deal with the matter during that legislative session by raising a number of objections. First, he asked what form the Bill was to take and whether it envisaged full emancipation in the sense of being 'entirely placed under the laws of the white man' as demanded by the deputation.⁶⁸ He explained that exemption under Law 28 of 1865 had been specifically linked to the disqualifying clauses of Law 11 of 1864, which removed the franchise from Africans but provided mechanisms for 'individual advancement'. Samuelson repeated the view he had expressed many times since the 1890s that government endeavours should be to limit exemption. He did not try to hide the real reasons for this exclusion which were 'to keep down the potentialities among the Natives for the attainment of the franchise'. Samuelson's delaying tactics were successful for the question did not resolve itself in the Legislative Council but was relegated to the consideration of the NNAC of 1907.⁶⁹

The 1907 Commission proposed that tests be instituted to determine the capacity of Africans to be exempted. The Commission favoured exemption 'as one of the most powerful political devices for the disintegration of tribalism'.⁷⁰ The avowed policy of the Administration, however, had by this time become the maintenance of tribalism rather than its disintegration. Administrators were more concerned with maintaining control over the African population rather than finding ways of integrating even a small, if educated and advanced, section of the African population into civil society. As they explicitly stated, the recreated tribal system constituted the most effective means of control. Again Samuelson's words convey government objectives very well:

The tribal system has been gradually brought under statutory control. It is a despotic form of government taken over from the natives themselves, and is peculiarly suitable to their condition and circumstances. It is a system which is perfectly understood by the natives, it carries with it mutual responsibility or suretyship and implicit obedience to authority, it possesses a ready means of communication and control beginning with the Supreme Chief and extending to the individual native in his kraal; but the exercise of the franchise is unknown to it, and it should be so maintained. The policy is to maintain and to strengthen the tribal system in the interests of the colony.⁷¹

The manner in which the colonial state managed to recreate a tribal tradition is analysed in the next chapter.

ENDNOTES

- 1 SNA 1/1/26, 607/1875.
- 2 The Hlubi were deprived of their lush farming lands where they used ploughs, selling surplus agricultural produce to the local market in Ladysmith. See A. Manson, 'The Hlubi and Ngwe in a colonial society, 1848–1875'.
- 3 *Natal Witness*, 12 April 1881.
- 4 NWM 2/3/1, Letters received by Superintendents, T. Chalker to F. Mason, 11 October 1880.
- 5 *Natal Witness*, 8 January 1880; 'Native law', 7 February 1880. 'Report on Native law' *Inkanyiso Yase Natal*, 5 January 1894; Evidence 1882, S.Mini: 136.
- 6 Evidence 1882, S.Mini: 134–141; J. Matiwane: 141–150; Martibis: 313; J. Kumalo: 323–325.
- 7 Evidence 1882, J. Kumalo: 323.
- 8 A clear expression of this view is to be found in exemption applications. See SNA 1/6/10, Papers re Exemption.
- 9 SNA 1/1/358, 4185/1906, T.J. Allison and A. Hime to Under Secretary for Native Affairs, 31 December 1906.
- 10 See the Code, Section 143 and also SNA 1/1/195, 1515/1894, S.O. Samuelson, Official Trustee to F.R. Moor, SNA, 20 November 1894.
- 11 C.F. Cadiz, *Natal Ordinances, Laws and Proclamations* vol. 1, Law 12, 1864: 'To enable certain natives to dispose of immovable property in case of intestacy'.
- 12 NA, SC, Deceased Estates. One example is that of Nathaniel Matebula who died intestate in 1882, though fifty years later in 1932 disagreements were still rife (deceased estate 103/7). Micah Kunene died testate. His executor testamentary tried to defraud his widow and settlement took eleven years to complete, though disagreements continued until 1918 (deceased estate 197/46).
- 13 This and the next paragraph are based on SNA 1/7/8, Memorandum by SNA, 31 January 1873.
- 14 The text of the three memorials is to be found in SNA 1/1/26, 607/1875.
- 15 *ibid.*
- 16 *ibid.*
- 17 SNA 1/1/26, 345/1875, Minute by Theophilus Shepstone, 4 June 1875.
- 18 W. Broome, *The Laws of Natal, 1879–1889* (Pietermaritzburg: Government Printer, 1890): vol. III, Law 46, 1887: 'To regulate marriage of natives by Christian rites'. See also Law 44, 1887, Native Administration Law, section 2.
- 19 SNA 1/1/26, 345/1875, Petition to Sir Garnet Wolseley.
- 20 *ibid.*
- 21 *ibid.*
- 22 *Natal Witness*, 27 March 1863.
- 23 *ibid.*
- 24 Broome, *The Laws of Natal, 1879–1889*: Law 26, 1875: 'To make better provision for the administration of justice among the native population of Natal, and for the gradual assimilation of Native Law to the laws of the Colony', section 5.
- 25 SNA 1/1/62, 339/1883, Timothy Gule, Stephanus Mini, Samuel Kumalo, Lukas Kumalo, Petition to SNA, 7 June 1883.
- 26 SNA 1/1/29, Miscellaneous Papers, 434/1877, R. Hayes to SNA, 14 June 1876.
- 27 Evidence 1882, S. Mini: 133; NWM 2/3/1, Letters received by Superintendents, A–D, 1856–1884, W. Bennitt, Edendale to H. Pearse, 7 January 1861.
- 28 *Natal Witness*, 5 February 1880.
- 29 SNA 1/1/140, 372/91, Resident Magistrate, Inanda to SNA, 1 April 1891.
- 30 SNA 1/1/123, 239/90, H. Shepstone, SNA to Governor, 14 February 1890.
- 31 SNA 1/6/10, Papers relating to the exemption of natives from the operation of Native Law, 1877–1887; GN 172, 1895, gives the total as 1 311, of which 395 were men, 257 women and 659 children.
- 32 Evidence 1882, S. Mini: 135.
- 33 *ibid.*
- 34 Report of the NNAC 1882: 12.
- 35 *ibid.*
- 36 Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in South-East Africa, 1835–1880*: 24.

- 37 For origins of the Funamalungelo see Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation*: 243, 245–246.
- 38 *Inkanyiso Yase Natal*, 8 September 1893.
- 39 Evidence 1882, S. Mini: 136–137.
- 40 *Inkanyiso Yase Natal*, 11 January 1895.
- 41 *Natal Mercury*, 19 September 1892.
- 42 For trenchant comment on S.O. Samuelson, including a note on his background, see S. Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion: The 1906–1908 Disturbances in Natal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970): 24–25.
- 43 See SNA 1/1/140, 372/1891, Exemption on locations, 1 April 1891; SNA 1/1/141, 303/1891, S.O. Samuelson to SNA, 27 April 1891; *Inkanyiso Yase Natal*, 13 July 1894.
- 44 *Inkanyiso Yase Natal*, 11 January 1895.
- 45 *Inkanyiso Yase Natal*, 5 January 1894.
- 46 SNA 1/1/181, 772/1894, Petition Funamalungelo, 9 February 1894.
- 47 *Inkanyiso Yase Natal*, 21 June 1895.
- 48 *ibid.*
- 49 *Inkanyiso Yase Natal*, 16 August 1895.
- 50 *Inkanyiso Yase Natal*, 6 July 1894.
- 51 F.S. Tatham was a conservative member of the Legislative Council who opposed the education of Africans and later opposed Union. See Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*: 359 and Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation*: 231, 269.
- 52 *Inkanyiso Yase Natal*, 20 July 1894.
- 53 *ibid.*
- 54 *ibid.*
- 55 GN 172, 1895. The following comes from an analysis of this document.
- 56 SNA 1/1/186, 633/1894, Petition of James Matiwane, July 1894.
- 57 SNA 1/1/274, 4326/1895, Escombe to Hely Hutchison, 30 August 1895.
- 58 *ibid.*
- 59 *ibid.*
- 60 SNA 1/1/301, 1596/1902, R.I. Finnermore, Crown Solicitor to Attorney-General, 27 May 1896.
- 61 SNA 1/1/274, 3002/1897, Liege Hulett to Governor, 1 February 1898.
- 62 SNA 1/1/293, 2270/1901, F.R. Moor, SNA to A.H. Hime, Prime Minister, 22 October 1901.
- 63 *ibid.*
- 64 SNA 1/1/185, 531/1894, Attorney-General to SNA 23/5/1894.
- 65 SNA 1/1/293, 2270/1901, Memorandum on Native Policy, September 1901.
- 66 SNA 1/1/322, 1619/1905.
- 67 *ibid.*
- 68 SNA 1/1/318, 4452/1906.
- 69 *ibid.*
- 70 SNA 1/1/375, 8542/1907, extract from the Native Affairs Commission Report, 22 August 1907.
- 71 SNA 1/1/293, 2270/1901, Memorandum on Native Policy since 1894, S.O. Samuelson, 3 October 1901.

THE POST-SHEPSTONE ERA

Colonial use of the 'tribal tradition' and its impact on the Edendale Kholwa

THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE'S NATIVE policy created a new tribal tradition with its real sustenance coming from the policies introduced in 1875 by the Native Administration Law under a restructured Crown Colony government. The system was subsequently enshrined in the 1891 Code of Native Law. The impact of this new tradition on the self-concept of the Kholwa was to create contradictions between their petty-bourgeois aspirations and identity, and the consequences of deepening the structures of tribalism through the Kholwa chieftaincy within the local government at Edendale. These divisions were exacerbated by the growing stratification between landowners themselves in the context of contracting economic opportunities in the colony.

The DNA became more bureaucratic after the promulgation of the Native Administration Law of 1875. In evidence to the NNAC of 1881–1882, Kholwa witnesses complained about the long delays in the magistrate's courts. Misunderstandings arose from the failure of white officials to speak fluent Zulu as had a previous generation. The Kholwa also complained that court indunas deliberately obstructed their cases, which forced them to employ expensive legal agents.¹

As we have seen, the Kholwa balked at their continued subjection to customary law that contradicted their aspirations and needs. Almost in spite of their own conception of themselves as agents of a transformed 'civilised' class of 'black Englishmen', a new element began to creep into their identity in the 1880s. This constituted the moulding of what one might call a new 'tribal' identity, reflected in the use of the term *amakholwa* in the same way as any other tribal or clan name. Use of the term *amakholwa*, meaning the Christian people, in this context symbolised the fact that the Natal government no longer accepted the transformed nature of African Christians. Neither their education nor their class position provided conduits to recognition as full citizens equal to the colonists.

Kholwa headmen began to be treated much as any chief or induna. In the 1880s Stephanus Mini was always invited to meetings of chiefs at the SNA's office and was treated on a par with chiefs like Mzimba, Lugaji and Thethelegu, who was the hereditary chief of the Mphumuza branch of the Inadi chiefdom in the Zwartkops location adjacent to Edendale. Under the Natal Code, Law 19 of 1891, Kholwa headmen actually acquired the status of chiefs.² The Code had changed the constitution of chieftainship significantly. Whereas in pre-colonial society chiefs were 'chiefs of and by the people', this notion of reciprocal responsibility no longer pertained. Chiefs were appointed by the colonial state and were responsible for the 'general good conduct' of their tribes, and for

the prevention of crimes and offences, of the production, sale and use of *Isityimiyana*, or of any other intoxicating liquor whatever, Native beer (*utywala*) excepted; of evasions of taxing and licensing laws, of the sale of poisons and love philtres, and of the practising of witchcraft or divinations.³

Chiefs were held responsible for the collection of hut taxes and for calling men out for Isibalo and military levies in case of war or rebellion. They were responsible, too, for any people under their jurisdiction in the illegal possession of firearms.⁴ Chiefs were empowered to fine people who disobeyed their orders within the terms of the Code. The Code in fact placed heavy responsibilities upon chiefs, but did not provide them with any concomitant powers. Criminal jurisdiction had been removed from chiefs by the Native Administration Law of 1875. Indeed, chiefs complained bitterly to the government about the erosion of their power and authority and the increased responsibilities attached to their office.⁵ In practice, chiefs frequently exceeded their judicial powers and dealt with criminal cases and appropriated the fines. They resented the decline in their authority. As early as 1884, Stephanus Mini had ascribed increasing faction fights at feasts to the decline in chiefly power.⁶ Ever since the changes introduced in the Native Administration Law in 1875, chiefs in many areas had been criticised by magistrates for their heavy fines, 'nepotism and arbitrary justice'.⁷

The recognition of Christian indunas as chiefs under the Code altered their *de jure* position within the DNA. Christian chiefs were granted a stipend, as were all chiefs, on the basis of hut tax receipts.⁸ Their position was often somewhat ambiguous for several Christian indunas had acquired exemption from customary law. This meant that they were adjudicating civil cases under the new Code while themselves having chosen to abjure customary law and its subsequent more rigid form under the Code.

Indeed, before the Code became law the SNA had refused to give Kholwa headmen a salary because this would have made them chiefs.⁹ But under the Code the Governor as Supreme Chief had the power to create new 'tribes' merely by appointing new chiefs. Kholwa chiefs were included in this process.

The post-Shepstone era is thus characterised by the creation of a new 'tribal' tradition that often bore little relation to pre-existing clan and lineage clusters. The extension of chiefly jurisdiction was one over which the settler government wished to retain control. When, for example, Moor held the office of SNA, Christian chiefs were not permitted to extend their authority over former members of their communities who had moved to other divisions lest they expand their jurisdiction to 'kraal natives'.

In the context of the new forms of communal tenure that evolved among the colonising Edendale Kholwa during the 1880s based on the Driefontein model, land ownership had become a new means of extending control over people. The fact that labour tenancy was created from the prior settlement of people on the new farms leased or purchased from the Crown does not mean that the new black landlords bore the same relationship to tenants as their white counterparts. Indeed, where the white landlord did not have magisterial power over his tenants, black landlords often assumed the role of induna over the people living on the land. For instance, Timothy Gule was elected induna over the people at Nyanyadu near Dundee just as Johannes Kumalo had been over the people on the Driefontein block of farms near Ladysmith. They began to acquire followers like any traditional chief in Natal.¹⁰

Shortages of land in locations had led to the dispersal of chiefdoms across wide areas of Natal, but chiefly authority had to some extent been maintained by the appointment of indunas subject to the overriding authority of the chief who might even reside in another division.¹¹ By the 1880s this fragmentation had significantly undermined the power of chiefs and a number of indunas had assumed the powers and privileges of chiefs. This was increasingly the case with Christian headmen as well.

Landowners from Edendale who had purchased Crown lands on the upper reaches of the Umzimkulu and Polela rivers in the Drakensberg foothills had petitioned the SNA to be placed under Stephanus Mini. In this way they hoped to retain their connection with Edendale, their 'mother and home', just as other chiefly subjects retained links with their chiefs when they moved to other divisions. Edendale still had its advantages with a resident white missionary who continued to play a mediating role between the government authorities and the village inhabitants. Although the government refused to countenance

such an extension of chiefly authority by the Edendale headman, family relations and property tied migrant farmers to the place.

Christian indunas were often a target of hostility of 'heathen' chiefs who objected not only to the evangelising project of Christians, but also to what they perceived as Christianity's undermining effect on social unity. This caused rivalry over jurisdiction of followers between the Edendale Kholwa chief and the traditional Zwartkops chief.¹² Thetheleku, from neighbouring Zwartkops, was actively hostile to Christianity. Local preachers from Edendale were forbidden to evangelise in the Zwartkops location. Christian adherents in the location were often persecuted and even forced to leave. In 1894, for instance, Hemu Hemu forbade any Christian services on his portion of the location and insisted that Christians worship at Edendale. European dress was also forbidden on the location and if people went to church at Edendale they were 'to wear skins to the top of the Edendale Hill and to return therefrom in their skins'.¹³ Christianity became a symbol of social disruption in the location. Hemu Hemu complained that Christians flouted his authority:

the attendance of women, boys and girls, at missionary agencies within the Location ... give a pretext to women and girls to leave their domestic duties, to boys to leave such duties as devolve upon them in their kraals, and to men to demur when required to perform orders of Government conveyed to them through their Chiefs.¹⁴

Christian indunas became the recipient of followers expelled from locations and their chiefdoms. From the 1880s there was little love lost between the Edendale induna and the Zwartkops chiefs. By the 1890s men on the location refused to perform Isibalo when called upon to do so, and women refused to accept the control of husbands and fathers. This the chiefs credited to the 'evils of town life'. Thus the decline in chiefly control went together with the decline of patriarchal control of family heads. A major cause of this dislocation was migrancy and wage labour. Both women and children were freed from some of the constraints of patriarchal control and homestead production. In this context, chiefs were more able to oppose Christianity as the symbol of their declining power than to identify the more insidious, and perhaps less obvious, structural effects of commoditisation and subordination to a wider system.

Missionaries tried to elicit support from the SNA in controlling the persecution of Christians but found little support from a government more intent on refining its new structures of control than on the civilising role of Christianity. The SNA, Frederick Moor, took the view that the law would protect victims of persecution and suggested complaints might be brought

before the courts. Missionaries were exasperated at the legalistic position adopted by the SNA for, as they pointed out,

to sue a chief was opposed to the loyal and subservient instincts of the people, and opened the door for innumerable tyrannies on the complainant himself and on the members and branches of his family. They would rather suffer the spoiling of their goods than open this floodgate.¹⁵

Missionaries also accused magistrates of supporting the chiefs against Christians. S.O. Samuelson, the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, in later years argued that chiefs were not persecuting 'for the sake of religion', but were determined to maintain control over their subjects.¹⁶ The government would certainly not upset the somewhat uneasy subordinate partnership it had created for chiefs in their control over the broad mass of the African population. For the government, chiefs in their role as policemen were more important than the complaints of a small class of discontented Christian elite.

Two issues explain the tension between Edendale and Zwartkops. The first is that tension arose when economic opportunities for all Africans in Natal narrowed. For chiefs, the question of control over people was the equivalent of control over revenue sources. The more people they had under their control, the more chance there was of a higher stipend from the government and of acquiring more income from fines. This applied equally to Christian chiefs. Some of the tensions at Edendale were related to the kinds of controls the headman attempted to apply to the Kholwa community in the wake of redefined chiefly powers under the Natal Code.

The second point relates to government policy towards the Kholwa. As argued above, government policy aimed to redefine the Kholwa community in tribal terms. By the 1890s educated Christians would find no support in official corridors for their 'civilising' mission. At the same time, opportunities for material progress for an African petty bourgeoisie were being curtailed. Edendale was not the only Christian community in which the government's creation of a tribal tradition had led to a situation of factionalism and discontent. At Umvoti, the kinds of tensions that appeared at Edendale also prevailed by the 1890s.¹⁷

Local government: village rules versus the Code

On mission stations disputes between neighbours over such issues as damage to crops by trespassing animals needed the adjudication of a legal officer. Since all Africans were subject to customary law, an induna and official witnesses were appointed to deal with parochial issues. Recognised headmen had to deal

with civil cases arising from customary disputes, as indicated earlier. Moreover, official witnesses were required to officiate at customary wedding ceremonies. These appointments were made by the SNA usually in consultation with the resident missionary and the leading church elders.

There had been an elected headman at Edendale since its inception in the 1850s. Job Kambule, the first headman, held his position for nearly thirty years until he was forced to resign in 1873. He was succeeded by Timothy Gule, a member of the Swazi contingent, whose powers were limited to the adjudication of cases under customary law.¹⁸ The wider affairs of village management were in the hands of a committee of senior villagers, a collective of elders who executed the rules of the village. A triumvirate comprised the headman and two others: Timothy Gule, Stephanus Mini and Daniel Msimang, who was at the head of this committee.¹⁹ In the early 1880s Gule left Edendale to settle on a farm named Nyanyadu which he and a syndicate of others had purchased near Dundee. Stephanus Mini became the third headman.

As headman, now referred to as induna, Mini drew more power into his own hands in the changed political and economic circumstances of the 1880s. A new conception of the role of induna as akin to that of a chief emerged at this time. This was bolstered by the changed relationship between mission Africans and government officials after Theophilus Shepstone's departure – when neither their Christianity nor their civilisation guaranteed any special consideration.

Official treatment of the Kholwa as no different from the rest of the African population gave some weight to Mini's claim to be treated as a chief by those under his jurisdiction in the village. Chiefly jurisdiction, even on mission stations, theoretically included only those who were subject to customary law but included the majority of one thousand people living at Edendale. Mini's assertion of authority over village administration crystallised the existence of a complex set of factional divisions in the community. Polarisation in the village took the form of differences between tenants and landlords, between those exempted from customary law and those subject to it, between original settlers and newcomers, and between pious Christians and the less religious. More broadly, these divisions reflected the impact of wider changes in the political economy that constituted new forms of class relations and were to colour the complexion of village politics and their interaction with wider social forces in the ensuing decades.

Stephanus Mini was born in 1825 at Fongosi in Zululand and had been in the colony since 1849.²⁰ What had happened to him in the intervening 24 years

is shrouded in obscurity. Oral tradition suggests that Mini was a former Boer slave who had found his way as a lad to Mparane (present-day Ficksburg) in the 1830s. He became a convert as a result of Allison's ministry and went to Swaziland as a catechist and local preacher. He subsequently accompanied Allison to Indaleni, and later to Edendale. He was one of the 'inner core' of church and village elders.²¹

In 1850 he and Susannah Mputini had been married in Pietermaritzburg by Christian rites by the Reverend Horatio Pearse, the Wesleyan superintendent.²² Until the 1880s, Stephanus Mini was one of the most active traders at Edendale. His trading ventures were largely undertaken to enable him to engage in full-time farming. The low level of development of the market made this virtually impossible, however. With a family of twelve children to feed, clothe and educate, Mini was forced to engage in a variety of economic activities to make ends meet. Indeed, he would have had to have been an extremely successful commercial farmer to bear the full costs of his family's upbringing as respectable, educated Christians. Mini himself believed that a solid commercial education was one of the best means of getting on in life. He was able to read and write in Zulu and Dutch, and spoke English.²³

Mini had been a leading elder in the village ever since he had been part of the committee set up to assist Allison in the transfer of the mission to the Wesleyans in 1861. Not long after Mini's appointment as headman, Ezra Nuttall, resident missionary at Edendale, applied on Mini's behalf to the SNA asking him to inform the villagers of his position and powers:

Stephanus Mini ... seems anxious that it may be made known to his people that he holds the office [of headman] and believes that it will set at rest some petty disputes raised by a small party if you can give them to understand the position he holds and the power he may exercise.²⁴

The magistrate, James Forder, commented that the Edendale villagers had little respect for Mini's decision-making capabilities. Forder himself had overturned one of Mini's judgments on appeal. Mini complained to Forder that people showed disrespect for his position. In particular, Matthew Msane, an original settler and church elder, was singled out. Mini failed to provide evidence for his allegations, but remained unpopular with at least one faction of the village.²⁵ This was to be the beginning of a long conflict among villagers at Edendale over the existence and role of a headman in a Christian community.

The villagers were discontented about Mini's increasing assumption of the status of a chief. They had earlier petitioned for municipal government rather than the chiefly *ibandla*.²⁶ The real contradictions inherent in the dual system of

law emerged in this context. Although elected headman by a general meeting of landowners and tenants, Stephanus Mini began to assert the authority of a chief over the proprietors. In February 1884, Mini ordered a work party together in order to do public works in the village. The water furrows that fed the village needed repair. Several dozen people complied with the order but became resentful that others were not also forced in some way to contribute to the upkeep of the village. In this instance nothing was done to enforce fines on the small, but vociferous, faction under Matthew Msane who resisted Mini's authority. Allegations were made to the SNA by this group that Mini abused his position.²⁷

A rule of the village was that any damage to crops by cattle had to be paid for in kind. This rule had originated in Allison's time and had always been abided by until the 1880s. Then debts began to accumulate as people reneged on their payments. In 1885, the SNA received a complaint signed by 21 people that Mini was one of the chief offenders in ignoring this rule. The petitioners wrote that 'the worst part of all this is the very headman who is to judge these things owes the people more than anyone in the whole place, he is the very man for procrastination'.²⁸ One Stoffel Ndlovu broke traditional village usage by impounding Mini's cattle, thus taking the matter into the wider jurisdiction of colonial law. There had always been an agreement that such matters would be arranged without recourse to colonial courts. Mini's response to the impounding of his cattle was to use his official powers as induna to fine those who took the action against him. It was this action that decided the victims to approach the SNA. Their petition explained:

Even now it's through the headman that we are here before you, his cattle went and damaged Stofel Ndhlovu's [*sic*] land, the said Stofel knowing the result of taking them to the headman, went & impounded them in town. Mzolo [Mini] took the money from Stofel. His cattle did the damage and he takes the money.²⁹

The opponents of chiefly power drew the SNA into a discussion about how the general rules of the village could be enforced. Shepstone made it clear that no one could be legally bound by the village rules, for they constituted no more than a gentleman's agreement. He referred the matter back to the Reverend Ezra Nuttall, who was unsympathetic to the complainants, whom he regarded as a small and insignificant section of the community. The intervention of the missionary simply compounded the factionalism in the village.

Mini was undeterred from his attempts to build his power at Edendale. His claims to a traditional place as chief may have derived as much from

his position as a member of the Mzolo clan as from his recognition by the government. There are conflicting accounts of the location and dispersal of the Mzolo in pre-colonial times. Bryant suggests that they once lived in two sections between the upper Umkomazi and Little Bushman's rivers; one group under Chief Tunzi, and the other under Ngonyama.³⁰ The Difaqane had caused their dispersal to the Umzimvubu River and the subsequent resettlement of sections of the people in the area between the Lufafa and Polela rivers. Stephen Mini, son of Stephanus, told James Stuart a somewhat different version of the origins of the Mzolo. He suggested that they had 'from time immemorial' lived in the 'Msonganyati', the Umgeni valley (see Map 4).³¹ Their particular claim to consideration among the traditional hierarchy was their role as rain-makers. Mini asserted 'they are a tribe of very high rank and always make themselves to the front wherever they go. One will always find a Zolo man next to a king or chief'.³²

Stephanus Mini's commitment to the Edendale headmanship did not entirely override his other ambitions. He was often away from Edendale on business or in the Polela district to supervise developments on his new farm Eden, renamed KwaTunzi. During his many absences he would ask either Samuel Kumalo or Jabez Molife to act for him.³³ This became such a frequent occurrence that the magistrate suggested it was time for Mini to resign. That Mini himself was not opposed to doing so was related to the fact that under the Natal Code he could claim headmanship over the people on his land at KwaTunzi.³⁴

Struggles in the village: a new traditionalism versus property

At Edendale, struggles between the community and the headman in the 1890s arose essentially out of the changing balance of social forces in the village. In terms of numbers, the original inhabitants were rapidly outnumbered by an influx of new inhabitants. These comprised a mixed population including some Indians who involved themselves as market gardeners and shopkeepers, and a few whites who were attached to the milling operations, ran shops in the village, or found it advantageous to join the many smallholders in growing mealies and vegetables for the Pietermaritzburg market. The majority of the new settlers were black, however, some of whom purchased land but most of whom were tenants of absentee landlords.³⁵

The new population was not in the least committed to the principles upon which the Edendale settlement had originally been established. Prescriptions against drinking, for instance, found little support from a population accustomed to brewing its own nutritious sorghum beer, *utshwala* or 'kaffir' beer as it was

more commonly known. Demand for *utshwala* in the village even prompted an old resident, the official marriage witness Samuel 'Mpofu' Hlatywako, to apply for a licence under Law 18 of 1888 to sell 'kaffir beer' in the village.³⁶ News of his application reached the ears of the village elders and the missionary, William Baker, and led to a great furore which rent asunder the surface unity of the village. Mpofu Hlatywako was not listed as a landowner although he does seem to have been a member of the church as four of his children were baptised during the early 1870s.³⁷ He was not exempt from customary law and, as official witness, saw himself as leader of the unexempted in the community.

The first inkling of the nature of the tenant-landlord relationship came with Hlatywako's application to set up a hostelry and acquire the 'kaffir beer' licence. The subsequent quarrel laid bare internal tensions in the community between exempted and unexempted, and between tenants and landlords during the early years of the 1890s before the ravages of stock disease knocked the bottom out of everyone's world at Edendale.

When Mini was advised to resign the headmanship of Edendale in 1891 because of his frequent absences, the village held a public meeting to decide on a successor. At that meeting everyone in the village, exempted and unexempted, participated in the selection of candidates to succeed Mini. When Magistrate James Forder learned of this he advised Mini that only unexempted Africans could participate because the headman only dealt with cases under the new Code of Native Law and had nothing to do with exempted people. The contradictions in the case did not strike Forder who probably had little understanding or sympathy for the property-owning, assimilation-oriented Edendale elders. He was bound by the terms of the Natal Code which laid down the role of chiefs.³⁸

The meeting that nominated two candidates for the headmanship was attended by 55 people, all men, some of whom were exempt from customary law. Two nominations were made. Samuel Kumalo, son of Johannes Kumalo of Driefontein, was proposed by Enoch Msimang, carpenter and wheelwright, son of Daniel; and seconded by John Inkanhla Zuma, a trader and original settler. Saul Mavimbela and David Sive, neither of them landowners, proposed Samuel Mpofu Hlatywako. The vote was not secret, and the secretary of the meeting, D.J. Fraser, took down the names of the voters for each party. Twenty-four voted for Kumalo, who stood for the interests of proprietors, and 31 supported Hlatywako. According to the missionary whose bias was decidedly in favour of the proprietary interest, Hlatywako's supporters had packed the meeting with people not eligible to vote, including four strangers

and five commonage squatters. The organisers of the meeting had been forced to allow them to vote because of the disturbance created by attempts to stop them. Only two landowners voted for Hlatywako, David Cinde and Matthew Mzondo Msane.

In spite of the missionary's intervention, the magistrate stuck to the rules set out in the Code and insisted that only unexempted Africans could vote for a headman. Baker urged a different view. He told Forder

Here we have a Christian community; Its foundation was a religious one; The Christian ministry exercised in its midst, has been the secret of its good behaviour and prosperity. Its Headmen, from first to last, have always acted in conjunction with that Ministry, with the result that a better conducted community cannot be found in the Colony of Natal. But now it is proposed to transfer the power of nomination for the headmanship into the anti-Christian section of the community, many of whom are pronounced drunkards, others pure heathens, and all, with only two or three exceptions, are irresponsible parties, having not an inch of land-interest in the place.³⁹

Baker pronounced that the inevitable outcome of such a course would be the ruin of Edendale and the 'partial destruction of 30 years of Christian work'. Baker also pointed to the curious anomaly of the landowners being subject to their tenants. He warned that if Hlatywako were appointed the landowners would probably give notice to all tenants to leave. He appealed to Forder:

But is not Edendale a private farm? Are not the individual owners registered in the Registrar of Deed's office? Does property not represent rights? Does the fact that some of these men have become exempted from the operation of Native Law, preclude them from the exercise of any share in the government of their own land and village? Is it possible that these owners can be governed by their tenants or labourers or by the Squatters – trespassers on the commonage? One word from the proprietors and every-one of those now allowed to vote would have to quit!⁴⁰

Baker maintained that Edendale needed a 'man of character' at its head, whether exempted or not. Drawing on his six years' experience as minister to the church at Edendale, he believed that not one of 'the irresponsibles' could fulfil the position. He blamed the SNA for causing the division in the community by restricting the vote to unexempted people only. Neither the views of the trustees, who supported Kumalo, nor those of the village elders were being considered:

The recent announcement that only unexempted men must vote has created very great anxiety in the village, for it seems to imply that Edendale is to be governed on a heathen location basis. This looks so serious, that I must earnestly request that the exceptional character of this place be considered, and that the proprietors be allowed to make the nomination in conjunction with the Trustees or an unpleasant agitation is inevitable.⁴¹

Forder commented to the SNA that Baker 'did not seem to understand the position of Headman and I referred him to Sec 9 of Chap. 1 and Chap. V of the New Code'. Since there was an official witness to attend to African marriages Forder wondered if a headman was even necessary at Edendale. His own office could attend to the collection of hut tax. In sum, the officials in the DNA simply did not address the real issues that Baker had raised, that the Code could not meet the needs of 'Christian, progressive and civilised' Africans.

Stephanus Mini, whose resignation had sparked off the rumpus, convened a second meeting in accordance with the provisos of the magistrate and SNA. He reported that once again the meeting had split into two parties, some supporting Hlatywako and others Kumalo:

I could not succeed in getting a nomination on which all would agree.

The meeting was small, but rowdy, very bad language was used – so that I was ashamed to be there.

Sir, it grieves me very much to see the station of Edendale divided into 3 parties. What is to become of it, if it is to fall into the hands of the men who have talked so badly at this meeting.

I am afraid Sir, now for our village which has been so quiet since 1851.

So concerned was Mini for the future of the station that he withdrew his resignation and remained at Edendale. It was to be a temporary arrangement for within eighteen months squabbles erupted once more between the headman and his supporters and the faction that had aligned itself behind the official witness, Samuel 'Mpopfu' Hlatywako. Hlatywako directly approached the magistrate about Mini's continual absences from Edendale.⁴² Mini in turn accused Hlatywako of undermining his position and those of his deputies. In a case involving Hlatywako's wife, Stephen Mini had fined her one pound. Appeal to the magistrate had shown that Stephen Mini had acted *ultra vires* in a case that could only be tried in criminal courts. In spite of the formal court's ruling, Hlatywako was upbraided for appealing outside the headman's court and for refusing to pay the fine. Mini accused him of trying to usurp the chief's authority 'against the protest of many present and in defiance of my substitute (my son) whom your worship has recognized'. Mini alleged that Hlatywako's behaviour was threatening and insubordinate:

He brought his chair and put it along side of mine. When asked to defend himself he answered defiantly, insolently, and used filthy language. He had his knoberry & challenged in the meeting to fight. He said 'I am not the servant of Mini; I am equal to him: he is chief over the men who live in square houses; I am chief over those who pay 14/- hut tax'. The meeting pointed out to him his faults, but he refused to listen. Then I informed him that he could not continue to be my 'official witness'.⁴³

Mini charged Hlatywako with fomenting division by 'making alliance with the unexempted in the case of selecting a headman'. Meanwhile, the missionary intervened in the quarrel taking the chief's side. He wrote to the magistrate and supported Mini's claim that Hlatywako's private approach to the magistrate, without reference to the chief, was tantamount to 'a conspiracy' under the Natal Code. The magistrate did not agree and, in fact, concurred that Mini should resign if he was away from the village for more than nine months in the year.⁴⁴ Hlatywako, in a separate letter to the magistrate, defended his position:

I have been a policeman for many years, under the following headmen, Job Kambule, Timothy Gule, and under Stephenus himself during all this period I have performed my duties conscientiously and without blame. I therefore beg your honour to have my case thoroughly investigated before I am dismissed.⁴⁵

The magistrate was disinclined to allow Hlatywako's dismissal, particularly since Mini would soon resign and settle permanently at KwaTunzi. He did, however, point out to Hlatywako that as official witness his behaviour towards the headman should be impartial.

Struggle for the headmanship was not over, however. Shortly after the Hlatywako-Mini contretemps, Forder received a short petition from 'Edendale men in the Native Law' asking for their own headman and proposing Matthew Mzondo Msane. Ninety-two names were appended to the request though none of the names was accompanied by a signature.⁴⁶ Once more, opposition forces at Edendale were marshalled to do battle over the headmanship. A fortnight later the landowners responded to these moves by sending the SNA a petition urging that Hlatywako be removed from his office as official witness. They affirmed their recognition of Stephanus Mini as chief and expressed disapproval of the four men who had approached the SNA to appoint another man in his place. These approaches had been made in secret, and without any notification of Mini's resignation:

We refuse to accept any nomination they may have made until the matter has been submitted to us publicly. It has been customary for Edendale proprietors to decide the question of headmanship. We dispute the right of these men who are not proprietors, to deal with this matter and we resent their secret action. We humbly beg you to refer these men back to the proprietors, resident at Edendale, and what the proprietors say we are willing to accept.⁴⁷

Baker's support for this group is reflected in the fact that the petition was written by him though the signatories penned their names. Three of those same names had appeared on the petition favouring Msane. Clearly the factions were fairly fluid with people vacillating in their support of either side in the dispute.

The SNA decided that the time had come for Mini's resignation for not only was 'his present position causing a great deal of trouble', but Mini was away too often to fulfil his duties adequately. Anyway, Mini could remain a headman at KwaTunzi where the people had petitioned to be placed under his headmanship. If Mini did not resign then the SNA felt he had no option but to dismiss him. Even before the receipt of Mini's official resignation Shepstone set up a meeting of all interested parties in Edendale. He also asked Johannes Kumalo of Driefontein to suggest a means of settling the dispute. Kumalo assumed that Shepstone was seeking his advice and asked the SNA to postpone any decision until the Edendale owners living at Driefontein had held a ballot to determine whom they should choose as headman. Kumalo told Shepstone 'as for the Edendale people I have a great fear that they shall have a fight. And such an act disgrace mission work wrought in the station [*sic*]'. From Driefontein yet a third candidate, Jabez Molife, was suggested.⁴⁸

The meeting at Edendale to discuss a new headman was chaired by one of the trustees, S. Evans Rowe, who was also General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission Society in Natal. Rowe reported that proprietors and tenants had been invited to the meeting at which about sixty men were present:

I explained to them that I had come at your SNA's request, simply to hear what they wished to say upon the matter of the appoin[t]ment of a Headman in the place of Stephanus Mini; that all might speak freely without distinction of class; proprietor, tenant, Christian, non-Christian; Exempt from Native Law, or not Exempt; all who had an interest in the appointment & were members of the Community of Edendale, might say what they wished to say, without fear.⁴⁹

Women were invisible during this public debate and there is no record of just what women did think of the issue of headmanship. Even in traditional society there would have been a few women to have acquired the status of men. At Edendale, women were completely excluded from the debate about who should wield authority. The all-male meeting to determine the views of the village lasted for four hours and was conducted 'temperately and calmly'. This time Stephen Mini and Matthew Mzondo Msane were the favoured candidates: the former with 41 in his support, and the latter with fourteen. Rowe reported that of those who supported Mini, about five were exempted from customary law. The matter did not end there, however. The magistrate, James Forder, then asked that a further meeting be held so that consensus could be reached.

Stephen Mini's supporters refused arguing that the meeting with Evans Rowe had sufficiently expressed the views of the community. To hold yet another meeting would be to re-open the question. They therefore asked the magistrate to appoint Stephen Mini. Saul Msane, Matthew's son, explained

to Forder that in spite of their willingness to discuss the matter 'the other party supporting Stephen Mini will not join him to act upon your words of meeting together and talk the matter in a friendly peaceful and Christian-like manner'. Msane appended a list of 79 names of people who supported his father's election.⁵⁰

In mid-September, Baker urged the SNA to settle the issue and bluntly accused the authorities of inflaming the divisions in the village:

Allow me ... to suggest that to authorise two irresponsible and contending parties to call meetings to discuss this matter is neither prudent, nor likely to have any other affect [*sic*] than to create quarrels, and to increase the difficulty of settlement. Already the people are being demoralised to an unparalleled degree.⁵¹

The SNA declined 'to take responsibility for any disturbances' in the village. He argued instead that Baker and Mini were the cause of the split among the people at Edendale. Baker made no bones of the fact that he viewed Matthew Msane as totally unsuitable for the headmanship. It is unclear why Baker was so opposed to Msane for not only was he an original settler but he was an elder of the church. Baker could not have liked Msane's opposition to the missionary and to Stephanus Mini, nor his standing against Stephen Mini. In the power struggle over the headmanship, Msane's main sin was to have chosen to curry favour with the non-Christian tenant class in the village.

Msane was one of the original settlers and landowners in Edendale. His history reflects the problems faced by most landowners in Edendale and, indeed, in Natal. In 1881 he had become insolvent and had lost his property to Theophilus Shepstone Jnr. Shepstone had passed the deeds on to Ellen Green to cover his own debts. It is likely that Msane continued to live on and rent the property he had previously owned. Indeed, in 1888 Saul Msane was able to recoup two thirds of the property previously held by his father. Matthew Msane himself subsequently managed to repurchase a third of what he had formerly owned. So by 1893 he was back in the ranks of the landowners.⁵²

If any blame is to be apportioned for the divisions in the village, it was the conflict between a Christian community gradually divesting itself of its past connections and the imposition of chieftainship under the restructured tribal system of the Natal Code. Prior to the Code, customary law had allowed for some flexibility but its potential adaptation to the needs of a community that had moved quite a distance from its original form was limited. After 1891 the rigidity of the Natal Code in fact provided both social and structural contradictions for the Christian communities of Natal. The structure of tribalism enshrined in the Code's hierarchy of responsibility from kraalhead

to chief was completely unsuitable for a property-owning, commercially oriented petty bourgeoisie. This accounts for the extraordinary complexity and confusion of the struggle at Edendale over the voting for a new headman and, indeed, over the very existence of the institution of chieftainship. So when Henrique Shepstone blamed Baker and Mini for their role in creating divisions, he was simply addressing a symptomatic effect of the very policies that originated with the colonial government and were later restructured and entrenched by Responsible Government. Nor was Shepstone blameless in fostering the divisions, for he had added a complicating factor to the already intractable situation at Edendale by drawing in Johannes Kumalo from Driefontein. Tired of the disputes, Shepstone decided to abide by the majority decision at Edendale and recommended to the Governor that Stephen Mini be appointed to the headmanship. On 5 October 1893, Hely Hutchinson curtly wrote 'Appoint Stephen Mini'.⁵³

The era of Stephen Mini

After 1893 a very small number of people were able to pre-empt the consequences of conscious and conscientious government policies to limit African opportunities for economic progress. Progressive-minded members of the African petty bourgeoisie sought new ways of warding off the consequences of these blockages. Edendale became an increasingly mixed community of exempted and unexempted, Christian and non-Christian, people. Within the village, class divisions intensified. It was not simply that landlords and tenants stood opposed to each other. Stratification had also created class divisions between landlords themselves. There were those dependent on wage labour, often migrants, and a growing number who were dependent on salaries as teachers or clerks. Where artisanal and agricultural activity, along with trade and transport riding, had provided a livelihood for the burgeoning petty bourgeoisie of Edendale until the 1890s, by the turn of the century these activities were increasingly being replaced by rent as a source of income. Renting property out to a growing black tenant class, members of the burgeoning working class, was a lucrative supplement to wage work. Edendale, with its proximity to Pietermaritzburg, its shops, schools, and chapels, and the availability of accommodation and common land for grazing and growing mealies, presented an alternative to backyard dwelling in the town for workers. As chief, Stephen Mini assumed legal control over this class but at the same time symbolised the dominance of a realtor class in the village. Tensions in the village focused on

the headmanship as they had under Stephanus Mini, but the nature of these tensions had changed within a new concatenation of social and political forces.

In conditions of increasing impoverishment in the 1890s, community members were forced to live more and more on credit. Many of them mortgaged their land and, if not their land, then their movable property such as wagons, gear and stock.⁵⁴ Stephen Mini was able to exploit his position as chief to act as a tout for white money lenders.⁵⁵ As in the 1860s, the interest on loans was in some instances very high and the spiralling demands for interest payments on top of the principal sum sometimes doubled the amounts repaid. One person, David Sive, complained that Mini had been the cause of his family's ruin and described the consequences of indebtedness to his family:

Stephen Mini ... gets money from whitemen and lends it to all the people on interest. In this way all the people get into trouble. The interest charged is very high and this brings about distress – My own father Joshua Sive borrowed £12 from Stephen Mini. The rate of interest charged was over 1/- per £ per month. My father again borrowed £13. These sums and the interest amounted to £50 and father had to mortgage his land 31 acres to pay the debt. My father then went to Johannesburg to earn money to pay off the mortgage and died there and his property has been sold by Mr Clarence under the mortgage bond and has been bought by an Arab. I attribute my father's death and ruination to S. Mini because he brought money to Edendale to lend to natives.⁵⁶

For someone like Sive, a changed class position brought with it a changed class perspective. Poorer villagers had once perceived the paternalism of headmen in the village, elders of the church, and even government officials as benevolent. By the 1890s, paternalism was seen as an oppressive overlordship. A number of interrelated developments highlight this change. First came opposition to the office of chieftainship in the village. Second, missionary partisanship in village conflict tended to exacerbate existing tensions and deepen a growing hostility to mission activity from at least one group at Edendale.

Opposition to the office of chief

The appointment of Stephen Mini appeared to resolve the immediate problem of who should adjudicate disputes in the village, but it did not resolve the tensions and divisions in the village that had arisen under his father's chieftainship. This was because the struggles arose from the very institution of headmanship and from the mobilisation of interests to monopolise it. Stephen Mini tried to compromise with his opposition by retaining Mpofu Hlatywako as official witness and policeman, but he appointed one of his supporters, Barnabus Mtuthezele, in a superior position. People who had held office under his father were reaffirmed in their appointments and new ones were

made. John Caluza, whose father before him had also been an induna, was reappointed; so were John Zulu Mtimkulu and Abraham Kunene. Nkomazana Radebe and Sam Mngadi, sons of polygynous households, were made indunas over their residential areas at some distance from the village. Arch-rival Matthew Mzondo Msane was made 'personal induna' to Mini. In this way, Msane was removed from a position of immediate authority over his ward. Although Msane's appointment was an attempt to reconcile the opposition forces in the struggle for the chieftainship, any real authority he might have had was neutralised.⁵⁷

Peace between the opposition factions did not last very long. Mini's business activities took him away from Edendale for long periods and people were suspicious of his dealings in Swaziland concessionaire companies. The real problem, though, was that Mini ignored the structures of control that had been set up to manage village affairs. He was high-handed in dealing with his own *ibandla*. Not a year after his appointment, Mini left Edendale for six months in October 1894. Without conferring with his councillors, he informed the magistrate of his departure and together they appointed Luke Kumalo as acting chief.⁵⁸ Enoch Msimang, appointed as a trustee in 1892 and also one of the wealthier members of the landlord class, was the only person informed of the decision. The feud surfaced once more as angry members of the opposition complained to the SNA.

Both factions appealed to Henrique Shepstone, now retired as SNA but familiar with their problems, to mediate. Neither party was satisfied with Mini's behaviour and, although they complained to Baker and to Evans Rowe, nothing was done to assuage their discontent. Baker was partisan and supported Mini. Even Shepstone believed that 'if something is not done to allay the ill feeling that before long there will be more serious disturbance' and asked Moor to intervene.⁵⁹

The missionaries invariably supported the chief. At this juncture, the Church approved the government's policy of creating 'tribal' institutions to govern the populace. Moreover, the Mission Society had its own mechanisms of enforcing obedience. At Edendale the missionary suspended from the Church Council the three who had approached the SNA. They were also deprived of their positions as local preachers and class leaders. There could be no greater public humiliation in a mission community. One can only guess at what a leading elder like Matthew Mzondo, himself a contender for the chieftainship, might have felt. Mpofu Hlatywako and David Sive shared the punishment and humiliation. Missionaries accepted chieftainship because chiefs on mission

stations were Christians, often church leaders and educated men. Stephen Mini was all of these as well as a respectable man of property. For missionaries, he symbolised everything that their teaching had aimed to achieve.

In the village the contradictions between the existence of chiefly authority under the 1891 Code and a community locked into the wider colonial economy manifested itself in these kinds of petty quarrels. There was a fluctuating sense of irritation by all classes in the community at Mini's assertion of the powers of a chief over the whole community, both exempted and unexempted.⁶⁰ Christians were not blind to the need for a civil authority but wanted municipal rights, short of which the authority of the collectivity of elders was preferable to chiefly control. Newcomers, often non-believers, usually owed their allegiance to chiefs elsewhere. The mixed composition of the village in the context of changed social conditions for village inhabitants gave rise to new kinds of tensions between chief and people.

Two kinds of grievance surfaced about the chief.⁶¹ The one related to Mini's personal conduct and the other to the office of chieftainship itself. Mention has already been made of Mini's financial activities, which brought him into disrepute with at least one group of malcontents whose capacity for independent economic activity had been curtailed. He showed little respect for elderly and impoverished members of the *ibandla*. On one occasion he insulted the aged John Zulu Mtimkulu, who questioned Mini's call for volunteers at the beginning of the Anglo-Boer War. Mtimkulu had played a leading role as induna to the Edendale Native Horse during the Anglo-Zulu War and felt especially qualified to question procedures. Instead of showing the indulgence and respect due to a former leader, Mini was alleged to have told him not to interfere and that all his grey beard fitted him for was to 'dig his own grave'.

In his official capacity as chief, Mini's conduct also found detractors. For one, his use of the term chief was criticised although it accorded with the changed status of Christian headmen. Another criticism was Mini's failure to consult the *ibandla* on such public issues as who should replace him when he was away. Mini's use of the title of chief was seen as more than a mere formality for he attempted to extend his chiefly powers over the exempted Africans in the village too. As a Christian and an exempted African himself, Mini sought jurisdiction not merely over those subject to the Natal Code but he also sought magisterial authority over the exempted people. Mini's conflation of categories was understandable given the whole 'retribalisation' policy reflected in the Natal Code.

The Code was part of a complex process initiated by the settler state in order to maintain the social cohesion and identity of Africans in colonial society in the 1890s. David Welsh argues that the Code was an attempt by the settler state to shore up African society.⁶² This view misses the nuance in the State's policy of restructuring 'tribal' relationships in the context of a new class identification arising from migrant labour. Extending this tribal identity to the Kholwa was a logical step for a government that represented the interests not only of the settler gentry and capitalists, but also those of the white artisans. The unpopularity of exempted Africans with the government and whites in Natal was not surprising. However, even a government is subject to the laws created by its governing classes and the laws of exemption could not be discounted however much officials would have liked to remove them from the statute book. Mini's powers were supported by the colonial authorities only insofar as they applied to the subjects of the new 'traditional law' enshrined in the Natal Code, and his attempts to redefine his role in magisterial terms could not be condoned. When Mini tried to adjudicate cases between exempted and unexempted, his cases were declared *ultra vires*.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Evidence 1882, J. Matiwane: 144.
- 2 Law 19 of 1891, sections 8, 13 and 14.
- 3 *ibid*: section 47.
- 4 GH 1547, Natal Native Trust Circulation Paper, 28 July 1903.
- 5 Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation*: chapter 15.
- 6 Umgeni Correspondence 21/2, Meeting of Chiefs with the Resident Magistrate, 11 October 1884.
- 7 Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation*: 278–279.
- 8 SNA 1/1/148, 1241/1891, J. Forder to SNA, 30 October 1891.
- 9 SNA 1/1/130, 988/1890, SNA to Governor, 20 August 1890.
- 10 See, for instance, SNA 1/1/46, 144/1881 Removals to Timothy Gule, July 1881.
- 11 Lambert, 'Africans in Natal, 1880–1899': 25.
- 12 SNA 1/1/185, 2275/94, Petition from missionaries, 16 May 1894.
- 13 SNA 1/1/185, 565/1894, Petition from missionaries connected with the Edendale Mission station and natives of the tribe of Hemu Hemu.
- 14 *ibid*.
- 15 *ibid*.
- 16 Evidence before the Lands Commission, 1900–1902, S.O. Samuelson: 461.
- 17 Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation*: 283.
- 18 SNA 1/3/24, 154/1873, J. Bird to SNA, 11 August 1873.
- 19 R.C.A. Samuelson, *Long, Long Ago* (Durban: Knox, 1929).
- 20 SNA 1/1/130, 1028/1891, Exemption Petition, 1890.
- 21 Interview with Chief Lawrence Mini, Edendale, 1985.
- 22 SNA 1/1/130, 1028/1891, Exemption petition.
- 23 Evidence 1881–1882. SNA 1/1/130, 1028/1890, Petition for exemption of Stephanus Mini of Edendale, also called Mzolo.
- 24 SNA 1/1/73, Letters 301–400 1884, 303/1884, E. Nuttall to H. Shepstone SNA; Minute by James Forder, Resident Magistrate, Umgeni, 19 May 1884.

- 25 *ibid.*
- 26 CSO 748/1320, Petition for Municipal Rights, 25 March 1880.
- 27 NWM 2/3/4, E. Tarboton to F. Mason, 13 February 1884.
- 28 SNA 1/1/81, 185/1885, Jacob Xulu and 20 others, E. Nuttall to H. Shepstone, SNA, 7 March 1885.
- 29 *ibid.*
- 30 A.T. Bryant, *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal* (London: Longman, 1929): 357–358.
- 31 Webb and Wright, *The James Stuart Archive* vol. 3, Stephen Mini: 86, 133.
- 32 *ibid.*
- 33 SNA 1/1/141, 523/1891, J. Forder to SNA, 13 May 1891.
- 34 *ibid.*
- 35 See Chapter Nine.
- 36 Umgeni 22/7, 147, W.R. Jones to missionary at Edendale, 27 December 1870.
- 37 Register of Title Deeds; Baptismal Register.
- 38 SNA 1/1/146, 1017/1891, Minute J. Forder to SNA, 17 October 1891.
- 39 *ibid.*
- 40 *ibid.*
- 41 *ibid.*
- 42 SNA 1/1/171, 712/1893, Umgeni Magistrate to SNA, 21 June 1893.
- 43 SNA 1/1/274, 799/1893, S. Mini Headman, 14 July 1893.
- 44 SNA 1/1/171, 712/1893, 21 June 1893.
- 45 SNA 1/1/274, 799/1893, 14 July 1893.
- 46 *ibid.*
- 47 SNA 1/1/171, 712/1893.
- 48 SNA 1/1/172, 800/1893, SNA to J. Forder, 10 August 1893.
- 49 *ibid.*, Crowe to SNA, 4 August 1893.
- 50 *ibid.*
- 51 *ibid.*
- 52 Information from Edendale Deeds Register.
- 53 SNA 1/1/172, 800/1893, Minute 5 October 1893.
- 54 See PDR.
- 55 SNA 1/1/296, 1429/1902, Petition against Mini, 1 May 1902.
- 56 *ibid.*
- 57 *ibid.*
- 58 Umgeni Letter Book 22/9, December 1893–1895, 348: 2 October.
- 59 SNA 800/1893, Shepstone to Moor, 29 March 1895.
- 60 As late as 1915 Jabez Molife complained about Mini. See CNC 221, 1599/1915, J. Molife to Magistrate, Umgeni, 18 December 1915.
- 61 This and the next paragraph are based on SNA 1/1/296, 1429/1902, Minutes of meeting, 28 May 1903.
- 62 Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation*.

DURING THE LAST TWO decades of the nineteenth century the balance of political power in Natal swung towards settler commercial and agrarian interests. This chapter considers the impact of changes in the political economy on the position of the ‘respectable’ petty bourgeois community at Edendale and of the Kholwa in general. For the Kholwa the process of capital accumulation was both limited and uneven. The limitations were partly structural, related to the specific nature of Natal’s economy, and partly political, related to the legal constraints placed on the black population in general. A pro-settler oriented government passed measures to restrict Kholwa competition. Kholwa communities began to search for economic and political strategies to counter these obstacles.

Economic conditions in Natal – the 1880s

The Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 had brought economic gain to Natal’s merchants and traders and had raised the productivity of her farmers and peasants. The Kholwa in particular had benefited from the war, and had proved themselves shrewd traders and purveyors of transport facilities. The war’s end brought just as rapid a decline in economic fortunes in Natal.¹

From the end of the 1870s, the Natal government embarked on a positive policy of supporting white farming interests to boost the general development of the colonial economy. The broader international context was one of increased economic and political competition at the tail end of a long deflationary period that had begun as early as 1873. Through cyclical fluctuation and regional variation, the long-term effects had been to hold down average prices and interest rates on a world scale.² The economic slump and widespread depression in Natal in the 1880s was exacerbated by a trough in the worldwide recession. Imports were expensive and exports small. This held back any imperial investment in the struggling economy of Natal, which could not compete with the more developed economies of America and Europe. Settlers seldom understood these wider inhibiting factors and explained the economic doldrums in Natal in terms of such local factors as scarcity of labour and shortage of suitable land for agricultural development.³

These constraints were not entirely illusory as black cultivators still relied mainly on their own produce to meet their subsistence needs so that wage labour was often discretionary and seasonal to meet minimal cash needs – in particular, the hut tax. Indeed, in early 1881 the press recognised that ‘native prosperity’ was the cause of labour shortages. The *Natal Witness* argued that this would ultimately ‘threaten peace because of the competition for land’.⁴ Land shortage was a real factor too, for speculative, unproductive land companies had a stranglehold over much of the best land in the colony.⁵ Their revenue came from the rentals of African tenants – ‘kafir farming’ as it was called. This was bitterly resented by settler farmers.⁶

Settlers were opposed to Kholwa traders and producers in particular. With their distinctive identity and attempts to throw off the fetters that held back their economic success, the Kholwa were a vulnerable target for settler criticism and hostility. In a letter to the *Natal Witness*, one M’Piwa Jonathan wrote that ‘white colonists cherish an intense antagonism or hatred towards the black original’, yet these same people had contributed to the wealth of the whites. ‘We raise up the white nation, and now we are quite poor. When you came here for the first time we were rich in cattle and land,’ complained Jonathan. Almost tongue in cheek, the editor responded to the letter asking how an intelligent, educated ‘native’ could have formed such an ‘erroneous opinion’. Rather, ‘colonists had a high regard for aboriginals, despite their numerous failings, their disinclination for steady labour and their manifest longing for a nomadic and untrammelled life!’ As domestic servants, ‘Kafirs are ... most industrious, sober, honest, trustworthy and even-tempered’. But that black people should have any claim to the land was what colonists would not countenance because both their lack of labour ‘either for themselves or for others’ and their character as ‘a people whose very essence of life is idleness’ disqualified them from any right to the land.⁷ The Kholwa’s attempt to establish inalienable individual rights to land and extend their productive farming for the market competed directly with white agriculturalists struggling to achieve the same ends. The Kholwa competed with whites for land purchase and their wagons competed for trade. Like their white counterparts they too were widening their use of labour tenants by the 1880s.

Change in Natal’s position as a small-scale producer of experimental crops, a ‘colony of samples’, to a trading entrepot had begun to take place during the 1870s as a result of the opening of the Diamond Fields. Apart from the sugar plantations, agriculture had remained small-scale based largely on family and tenant labour with the addition of a few seasonal wage labourers. Industry, where

it existed, was based on petty commodity production with a predominance of small workshops based on family labour and a few apprentices.⁸ The division of labour remained undeveloped. Indeed, in the early 1880s the Natal newspapers lamented the loss of early Natal's 'experimental past'.⁹ The *Natal Witness* explained the nature of Natal's economic problems:

The people at one time made efforts to maintain an interest in the producing capabilities of the country: agricultural shows were held, prizes awarded, and planters associations formed. To-day these things exist only in name while 'King Counter' rules supreme.¹⁰

The man of the soil had become indebted to the 'wise man of the goods' and lost his lands because agricultural and other productive pursuits did not pay. Trade and transport were found to be more remunerative. 'Ploughs were abandoned for wagons, mills or barns were given up for stores or canteens'.¹¹ Even men of capital did not invest in the productive sphere but put their energies into commerce. Imported foodstuffs were cheaper than those locally produced while trade with the Overberg Boers in wool and hides was the mainstay of revenue. As the *Natal Witness* lamented, however, those who made fortunes from trade returned to Britain with their profits.¹² Natal's development was constrained by its position as an entrepot.

In spite of the constraints, however, loan agencies, investment and building societies were established in the early 1880s.¹³ While there were many insolvencies there was also considerable capital available for loan, not only from agencies and societies but also from individual lawyers.¹⁴

In 1881, the first Anglo-Boer War also exacerbated the economic situation. Prices rose, trade was interrupted and virtually came to a stand-still as Natal entered a severe commercial depression. But the presence of the military also provided food producers with a ready market such that the effects were unevenly felt.¹⁵ Lambert argues that in the 1880s a change in the relationship between agriculture and commerce had been effected as commercial interests came increasingly to see that the general prosperity of the colony depended upon the development of its productive base. Moreover, the balance of power in the State shifted from the Colonial Office and the local colonial alliance of rentier and sugar interests into the hands of Midland settler farmers who wanted Responsible Government. At the same time the agrarian infrastructure improved with the development of branch railways and wider markets. Together this meant that settler farmers who had turned to transport in order to supplement their incomes were able to return to full-time farming by the 1890s.¹⁶

Mission employment

By 1882, Edendale had a population of one thousand with plots varying in size from 5 to 30 acres with very few people cultivating more than that.¹⁷ Those with more arable land let it out to tenants. Market production continued although horse and sheep breeding also occurred on a small scale. Wagons for transport work formed an important source of income and some people even let their wagons out to others, frequently to whites.

On mission stations missionaries also encouraged the production of fruit, vegetables and grain for market and domestic consumption. Villages similar to Edendale were built with European style houses, churches and schools. Individual tenure was the norm on these reserves although freehold was granted in very few cases. Mission stations and their inhabitants were, however, as much constrained by the general conditions in the 1880s as everyone in the colony.

Yet all was not as it seemed. In 1886 conditions on mission reserves were investigated by a commission set up by the Legislative Council.¹⁸ Of the twenty reserves visited by the commission, nine had made little progress while three were not used for mission purposes at all. The other eleven reserves were doing relatively well, particularly those in the charge of the American Board Mission and the Wesleyan Missionary Society. In spite of missionary encouragement of cash crop production in the 1880s, their experiments achieved little. The sugar enterprise at Groutville, for example, was not a success; nor was coffee or cotton production.¹⁹ The sugar enterprise continued without missionary supervision but never became a profitable proposition. By the 1880s, the sugar industry had become highly capital intensive and large plantations replaced the small independent enterprise of white and black farmers.²⁰

At Edendale, village fortunes varied substantially. The main activity of the Kholwa was trade with the Transvaal, Zululand and Swaziland. Most people for whom records exist defined themselves as farmers although they spent a larger proportion of their time in other activities. However, hope of becoming full-time farmers gradually faded during the 1890s. Farming was always combined with other activities. Rents constituted a significant proportion of incomes and artisanal production remained important. Shoemakers, wagon makers, and carpenters all had workshops at Edendale.²¹ Enoch Msimang, for instance, was a wheelwright and carpenter and employed young assistants in his workshop to teach them his trade. Yet Msimang also defined himself as a farmer and he possessed cattle, sheep, and goats that grazed on the Edendale commonage.²² This combination of agricultural and artisanal enterprise

characterises the petty bourgeoisie. Wider employment opportunities for educated young Kholwa were limited to occupations such as teaching in mission schools, evangelists or ministers in the church, or assistants in stores and workshops. The government's reluctance to employ educated Africans as clerks or interpreters in the courts was a source of grievance.²³ Solomon Kumalo was one of the few to be accepted as an interpreter in the courts in 1894.²⁴

In 1892, a white trio of enterprising entertainment entrepreneurs established a troupe of 'Natal Native Singers' for the purposes of an overseas trip. The troupe learned songs by Seigried, Stillman, Loder and other European composers.²⁵ There were no traditional Zulu songs in their repertoire for this choir was to be an example of the transforming power of civilisation. A photograph of the choir taken at Driefontein before their departure illustrates this very well in their Victorian dress. The choir comprised the sons and daughters of the Edendale *oNonhlevu*, the 'first converts'. There was Saul Msane, his wife Rosaline, and his sister Asiana who was the offspring of Matthew Mzondo. Joseph Kumalo, grandson of Driefontein's headman who was himself to become chief, and his relative, Hettie, daughter of Samuel Kumalo, and Solomon Kumalo from St Alban's were also members of the choir. Other members of the choir were Waka Sophia Ndhlovu, who was born at Edendale in 1871 and had attended the training institution there for four years, Joseph Mzamo, Zephaniah Dhlamini and Josiah Tsangana. Martha Molife, daughter of Jabez and Sannah, and her cousin, Bessie, daughter of James and Lydia Molife, also joined the choir. Stephanus Mini's two daughters, Lydia and Julia, accompanied by their cousin Edith, daughter of Petrus Mini, were members. The choir, after signing clear contracts of employment with their white agents, went on a tour of England. The tour was not a success. Some members became ill, others fought with one another and their agents and the choir broke up.²⁶

As we have seen, after the depression of the 1860s, large numbers of Edendale landlords and tenants moved to other parts of Natal and created a wide network of Kholwa settlements linked to Edendale. Some of the older landlords lived on their farms in Klip River but maintained their properties at Edendale. Some of them also spent a portion of the year at Edendale and the rest of their time on their outlying farms. Many of the inhabitants were involved in transport carrying and transport riding to the interior. This encouraged the maintenance of the Edendale connection as well. Some of their children were sent to the new Edendale Boys High School in the 1880s and boarded with family and friends.²⁷ In 1880, a girls school was also established. Both of these

schools were favoured because lessons were taught by English teachers while at the other schools in Edendale and Driefontein the schoolteachers, by now both men and women, were locally trained.²⁸

With the increasing cost of living, in order to maintain levels of consumption, Edendale landlords began to increase their rents. Rentals at Edendale towards the end of the 1880s were becoming too high for some people to afford.²⁹ Tenants also began to move out of Edendale: some returned to settle under former chiefs on locations or on other private land while others settled on the new lands purchased by former Edendale landlords like Timothy Gule.³⁰ On these new lands, tenants often paid rent in labour. This did not lead to any capitalisation of agricultural resources by the landlords although there is no doubt that this development was an attempt to accumulate capital. Why their attempts were not successful needs further explanation.³¹

It is difficult to gauge the extent of social differentiation at Edendale and its offshoots in the rest of Natal. Evidence for the distribution of wealth survives for a few people in wills and exemption certificates, but these are too few to have any statistical relevance. An account of the fortunes of individual families does give texture to everyday life, however. Unfortunately, there are no such valuable sources for the lives of people who did not either make wills or seek exemption. The example of Nathaniel Matebula who was exempted a year before his death in 1882 provides an insight into the resources of one of the wealthier Edendale families in this period.³² Matebula was one of the men chosen by Kilner as a candidate for the ministry in 1881. The Missionary Society then decided that its African ministers should be exempted and there are several surviving exemption petitions of which Matebula's was one.

Matebula was born at Intombi in Swaziland during the reign of Sobhuza. He had come to Natal with Allison in 1847 and settled at Indaleni. There he married Julia Nomolilo Gule, also a Swazi, on 19 July 1849. Eleven children were baptised between 1850 and 1872, but only three daughters survived into adulthood. One can only guess at their anguish at bearing and burying so many children. Their surviving daughters were Margaret, who married Luke Msimang, son of Daniel, Mary, who married Stephen Mini, and Jemima, who later married John Mabaso. Because their father had been exempted, and they had acquired the same status, the women were allowed by law to inherit property. Matebula's death notice was only made out six years after his death. By then, one of the heirs, his eldest daughter, was also dead. At the time of his death he had not made out a formal will, but had written an informal document stating his intentions.

In 1864, at the time of the first great depression in Natal, Matebula had mortgaged his nine Edendale properties for £150 but had paid this off by 1867.³³ Clearly, he was a diligent and successful farmer. At this time, 1867, the village elders had put their heads together and decided to purchase the farms in the Klip River District on the trade route to the Free State and Swaziland. The Matebulas were one of the forty families who, during the next ten years, moved to Driefontein although they also maintained their interests in Edendale. In the Klip River district Matebula had 19 shares in Driefontein, 10.5 shares in Kleinfontein, 7 shares in Doornhoek, as well as village erven in Driefontein. His home was on Kleinfontein, the farm adjacent to Driefontein. In 1880 Matebula was one of those talented men chosen by John Kilner, General Secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, to be trained as a minister.³⁴ Two years later when he died, he was ministering to the Driefontein community.

On his death, Matebula's estate was estimated to be worth £898.³⁵ Apart from his immovable property, he also possessed a considerable amount of stock: 24 oxen, 60 breeding cattle, 2 horses, as well as 18 mares and foals, and 20 goats. A year or two before he died he possessed 36 oxen, 20 cows and 260 goats. In the interim he had virtually ceased keeping goats. Horses and cattle were much more lucrative than goats for the price of the latter was as little as five shillings. Horses fetched as much as £10 and even foals were sold at £3. Breeding cattle prices in the 1880s were not high as they were purchased from £2 upwards but were still more profitable than goats. Matebula also possessed two buckwagons – one new and one old – reflecting a considerable capital outlay and two ploughs. For a farmer about to retire into a new profession as a Wesleyan minister, Matebula could expect a comfortable return from the capital he had built up since coming into the colony in the 1840s.

In the inventory of his estate was a list of four names of people owing him considerable sums of money. Simon Kumalo was indebted to him for £50, Henry Abraham for £30, Stephen Mini, his son-in-law, owed him £10, and Stephanus Mini owed him £190. These were private agreements and no evidence survives of the rates of interest charged on these loans. This brief account is suggestive of the way the accumulation of capital resources occurred among more successful Kholwa entrepreneurs. From the available evidence, Matebula does not seem to have contracted any formal debts apart from the 1864 mortgage. When he died he was a comparatively rich man. His resources were fairly evenly divided between his widow, who kept the Kleinfontein land, and his three daughters. Nearly fifty years after his death his youngest daughter, Jemima, was still living in his old home at Kleinfontein. This was

the cause of some bitterness to her Mini nieces. They believed that their aunt, now in her sixties, had done them out of a portion of their inheritance.³⁶ There is no evidence as to how this quarrel was resolved.

The evidence of Matebula's money lending activity is an important clue to the existence of an informal network of credit and debt among commercially oriented Africans. The wealthier entrepreneurs were approached for small loans by struggling members of their communities. One can only surmise that people with spare capital used it for usurious purposes where they could set it to work and acquire high rates of interest. Matebula's will is the only surviving document that provides evidence for this informal network in the 1880s; there may well have been many more in debt to friends and relations, as were the Minis to Nathaniel Matebula, evidence of which has not survived.

The Public Debt Register (PDR) provides a list of people who were involved in formal and binding contracts for credit.³⁷ During the 1880s, 22 people from Edendale, including the European miller Tarboton and his son, registered mortgages or notarial deeds in the PDR. Another four unlisted contracts were found in the legal protocols of three lawyers. Several people took out one mortgage after the other. A few also mortgaged their wagons and oxen.³⁸ Even stock and crops were mortgaged as in the case of Nicholas Masuku, one of the largest of Edendale's landowners. The amounts borrowed and time allowed for repayment varied considerably. Stuurman Batje's loan of £72 from Andrew Clerk, for instance, took 29 years to pay off whereas others were granted for six to eleven years for amounts of between £50 and £250.³⁹

Masuku also had several mortgages on different properties at the same time. Between 1886 and 1888 he borrowed £567 from four different people, which had to be paid back at times varying from three months to nine years. Two people lost their properties at the time of the expiry of their loans. Both were original settlers who had come from Transorangia with Allison.

Shorter loans were probably taken out to weather the period before harvesting, or the dry period when stock could not be moved from farms far from markets. This did not constitute a problem for Edendale market producers as the market was only 9 kilometres away and there was little stock farming anyway. Longer term loans reflected the difficulties of repaying interest, let alone the principal sum, during the lean years of the later 1880s.

Stephanus Mini illustrated the limited opportunity for the struggling petty bourgeoisie to consolidate its position when he told the NNAC in 1882 of the difficulties they experienced in establishing themselves.⁴⁰ Although they had learned new skills, and many of them had land, 'they do not get rich because

they have not capital to start with. The purchase of means of production, whether land, tools or production materials, takes from the profit'. It was a combination of agriculture, transport, and even wage work that kept this group afloat.

In circumstances of narrowing economic opportunities in the 1880s, the Kholwa were also hampered by racially discriminatory legislative and administrative controls. In particular, they were adversely affected by the operation of the pass laws. Law 46 of 1884, incorporating the earlier Cattle Stealing law (Law 10 of 1876), imposed passes on Africans for the removal of cattle and horses from one part of the colony to another. This included transport cattle.⁴¹ This law with Law 48 of 1884, 'To provide for the better regulation of the passing and repassing of Natives between Natal and neighbouring states and territories', impeded the mobility of all Africans in Natal. Passes under Law 48 of 1884 were valid only for 21 days. Punishment for contravention was harsh: imprisonment without the option of a fine.⁴²

Edendale traders were particularly exasperated by these laws, which hampered their mobility. Moreover, they were frustrated by delays in the magistrate's offices when trying to acquire the passes. In 1883, four prominent Edendale elders complained bitterly to the SNA and the local magistrate about the laws and the delays they were subject to in acquiring the necessary passes that hampered their trading activities. They attributed this to the general disabilities suffered by the 'loyal' Kholwa.⁴³ James Forder, the Umgeni Magistrate, dismissed their complaints as a demand for privileges they could obtain if they acquired exemption from customary law. When pressed by the Acting-SNA, he denied that there were any grounds for complaint on the issue of delays and insisted that only 'responsible' persons could vouch for anyone applying for passes.⁴⁴ Black traders were discriminated against at the market in Pietermaritzburg where the market committee made 'class distinctions' that favoured white farmers.⁴⁵

The Isibalo, or forced labour system, kept down the rate of wages in the colony. When Isibalo wages were set in 1875, they were commensurate with current wages. By 1888, the general depression in the colony caused Isibalo wages to outstrip general rates of wages. The Colonial Engineer insisted that government reduce its wages to prevent serious retrenchment of much-needed labour.⁴⁶ The SNA suggested that such a step was unfair and would exacerbate the grievances 'all classes of the Natives' had against the system, which had been extended to people living on private lands and Crown lands since the passing of the Squatters Rent Law.⁴⁷

The Kholwa faced increasing economic and social disabilities as the 1890s drew to a close. To try to modify the consequences of their growing disabilities they extended their penetration of colonial property relationships, particularly land ownership. This was not necessarily a sign of increasing wealth but rather a result of contracting opportunities in the wider economy. Moreover, it occurred in such a way as to create new, distinctive patterns. This forms the subject of the next chapter.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Evidence 1881–1882, Addison: 263; Acting SNA: 109.
- 2 D.S. Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969): 231.
- 3 *Natal Witness*, 3 January 1880, 22 January 1880, 21 October 1880, 16 December 1880.
- 4 *Natal Witness*, 3 October 1881.
- 5 See map 5: Colony of Natal landownership, 1910.
- 6 *Natal Witness*, 26 August 1881.
- 7 *Natal Witness*, 17 June 1881.
- 8 Hattersley, *Pietermaritzburg Panorama*.
- 9 *Natal Witness*, 21 March 1881.
- 10 *Natal Witness*, 4 February 1881.
- 11 *Natal Witness*, 21 March 1881.
- 12 *Natal Witness*, 4 February 1881.
- 13 *Natal Witness*, 15 April 1881, 25 June 1881, 13 October 1881.
- 14 *Natal Witness*, 15 March 1881, 16 March 1881, 24 March 1881, 28 May 1881.
- 15 *Natal Witness*, 23 November 1881.
- 16 Lambert, 'Africans in Natal 1880–1899': chapter 7.
- 17 Evidence 1882, J. Allsopp: 20.
- 18 Report of the Native Mission Reserve Lands Commission NGG 38(2207), 1886.
- 19 Lambert, 'Africans in Natal 1880–1899' for a brief account of the sugar production at Grootville during the 1880s: 116–117.
- 20 *ibid*: 117. See also P. Richardson, 'The Natal sugar industry in the nineteenth century' in *Putting a Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa, 1850–1930* ed. by W. Beinart et al. (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986).
- 21 See SNA 1/6/10, Exemption certificates.
- 22 SNA 1/6/10, 596/81, Exemption paper; Deceased estate 4962.
- 23 SNA 1/1/173, 995/1893, Saul Msane, 28 August 1893.
- 24 *Inkanyiso Yase Natal*, 16 November 1894.
- 25 For the published programme see illustrations.
- 26 See SNA 1/1/173, 1416/1891.
- 27 NWM 5/1, Schools Report, Edendale, 30 September 1880.
- 28 *ibid*.
- 29 Umgeni Magistrate's Correspondence, 21/2, 2 September 1889.
- 30 Evidence 1882, J. Kumalo: 324.
- 31 See Chapter Ten.
- 32 Sources for what follows are SNA 1/6/10, 15/1881, Papers re Exemption; Deceased Estates, vol. 7, no. 103; NWM 9/1, Indaleni and Edendale Burial and Baptismal Register; Deeds Office, Register 775, Welverdient.
- 33 PDR 0/112/21.
- 34 See Chapter Six.
- 35 Deceased Estates vol. 7, no. 103.

- 36 *ibid.*
- 37 The following section is based on an analysis of the PDR.
- 38 For instance, Samuel Hlubi PDR H/56/381.
- 39 PDR B/10/608.
- 40 Evidence 1882, S. Mini: 135.
- 41 Law 10, 1876: 'To make provision for the detection and punishment of natives wrongfully and unlawfully stealing, killing, stabbing or wounding cattle and to make provision with regard to the removal of cattle from place to place within the colony' in Cadiz, *Natal Ordinances, Laws and Proclamations*, vol 1, 1843–1870. SNA 1/1/131, 1176/1890, SNA to Administrator of Native Law, Klip River, 6 October 1890.
- 42 *ibid.* SNA 1/1/203, 683/1895, S.O. Samuelson, USNA to Attorney-General, 7 June 1895. Law 46, 1884: 'To amend the cattle stealing Law 10, 1879' in Broome, *The Laws of Natal, 1879–1889*.
- 43 SNA 1/1/62, 339/83, Timothy Gule, Stephanus Mini, Samuel Kumalo and Lukas Kumalo, 7 June 1883.
- 44 *ibid.*
- 45 *Natal Witness*, 4 August 1888.
- 46 SNA 1/1/109, 1274/88.
- 47 SNA 1/1/109, 876/88, Memorandum of the SNA, 10 December 1888.

IN THE CONTEXT of growing disabilities experienced in the colonial economy, the Kholwa increasingly adopted colonial property relationships not only in their use of labour tenants but also in the sphere of land ownership. This took the form of a new and distinctive pattern of economic and social interaction. In a previous chapter, the beginnings of this were outlined in the Driefontein scheme.¹ In the 1880s and 1890s the Driefontein scheme provided something of a blueprint for subsequent land purchases on a communal basis, although few syndicates actually established a trust defining the rights and limits of shareholders as watertight as the Driefontein Trust.

In 1880, largely as a result of the demands of settler interests, Crown lands were made available for public purchase at ten shillings per acre.² Africans were not excluded from this new opportunity to acquire land. Even those Africans living on Crown lands were given the opportunity to bid when the land was auctioned.³ The Kholwa in particular rapidly availed themselves of this new opening and purchased land all over Natal. Ixopo, Alfred County, Lion's River, Umkomazi, Alexandra and Msinga were all areas where the Kholwa purchased Crown land.⁴

The purchase of land by Africans under customary law was the subject of considerable debate among different interest groups in Natal. The 1881–1882 NNAC believed that no one should be excluded from purchasing land and argued that land purchase would create a class of African with a 'stake in the good and quiet government of the country'.⁵ African ownership would remove widespread complaints of eviction and would help introduce 'better modes of cultivation':

from there being a general tendency for proprietorship of land to elevate the owners in the human scale, it seems to us unwise as long as Native law is allowed to exist in the Colony, to exclude from buying land the very class of persons who it is in some sense especially important should purchase – that is, persons needing most these beneficial influences.⁶

Seven commissioners dissented from this view on the grounds that complications would arise from the conflict between customary inheritance laws and individual freehold tenure. It was feared that litigation would result from such incompatibility. The NNAC opposed tribal purchase of land, however, because it was seen as a means of extending locations and the power of chiefs, enabling the latter to escape the supervision of the Natal Native Trust.⁷

Public opinion about the efficacy of land ownership under customary law varied. Some felt that it should be permitted only to monogamists because of the complications of inheritance.⁸ Edendale's Methodist missionary, John Allsopp, felt that an English title deed should entitle its holder to be under English law. He also argued that purchase by groups would give rise to difficulties with regard to succession. He concluded, however, that title deeds gave Africans more security of tenure and greater prosperity than the leasing of land or living on mission stations at the behest of mission societies.⁹

Stephanus Mini argued that individual ownership was a foreign concept to Africans and hinted at difficulties arising from polygamous households owning land:

The Kafir in his wild state knows nothing about owning land. It is only those Natives who have followed the customs of the whites that know anything of it. I cannot understand how a man with a number of wives can hold land.¹⁰

In spite of this reservation, Mini still believed that everyone should be able to purchase land.¹¹ William Ngidi, Colenso's main informant on African customs, believed that Africans should be allowed to own land but that inheritance in polygamous households should pass through the Great House to solve succession disputes. Chief Mqawe from Inanda opposed land alienation on the grounds that it would 'destroy our power as Chiefs'.¹²

Sir Theophilus Shepstone's main concern focused on the critical land shortage in the locations. As a solution, he suggested his old idea of sending Africans beyond the boundaries of Natal. He believed that if this was not done there would be 'in the country all elements which are likely to bring about serious agrarian disturbances'.¹³ Shepstone's plan to remove the African population from Natal received scant attention because of its impracticability. Instead, government hoped that the sale of Crown lands would ease the pressure on land. Initially, even tribal purchases were not discouraged in spite of recommendations to the contrary by the NNAC.

Chiefs bought land in two thousand acre blocks and expected their followers to contribute to the purchase price in annual instalments. Contributors to tribal

purchase were not, however, given any legal guarantee of their claims to the land. The legal owner of the land was the chief, not his co-purchasers whose names were not listed on the title deed. This may have accounted for reluctance among followers of chiefs to pay instalments. The Surveyor-General believed that more enthusiasm for purchase of land on a tribal basis would only occur if some protection were afforded to the interests of individual contributors in the form of a trust deed.¹⁴ Nevertheless, in spite of this difficulty, chiefs seem to have formed a large proportion of Crown land applicants. In Alfred County, for instance, six out of fourteen purchasers were chiefs.¹⁵

In the early 1880s a great deal of land purchased by Africans apart from land purchased by chiefs was on a share basis by companies or communities.¹⁶ By 1884 this system gave rise to difficulties. Some purchasers believed that the survey of the land and payment of the survey fees gave them full title. Others believed that these fees and the first instalment gave them full title. These misunderstandings might explain some of the arrears in instalments in the second and third years that Crown lands were released for sale.

Lieutenant Governor Bulwer believed that Africans did not understand the liabilities incurred upon purchase. He suggested that they should not be allowed to purchase land unless they could pay the full amount.¹⁷ Even the local administrative officers thought this unfair. African purchasers themselves complained that a number of factors made repayments difficult to meet. They pointed to the high prices they were forced to pay at public auction sales.¹⁸ Europeans antagonistic to African purchase forced up bids and Africans often paid as much as twenty shillings per acre. Prospective African landowners borrowed large sums of money even before their first payments were made.¹⁹ When purchases were first made, wages and prices were still high and Africans were optimistic about their ability to pay off their liabilities. But from 1883 the economic downturn made repayment more difficult. Another factor was that railway extensions undercut Kholwa transport rates and profits. Many people could no longer afford to pay their instalments.²⁰

The deed of sale agreement stipulated that should instalments not be paid the sale would be cancelled and all previous payments forfeited. At first the government permitted limited extensions on all applications for deferment of payments. By 1886 arrears were so great that the government would no longer continue to extend payments. The Surveyor-General, Sutherland, realised that large numbers of Africans would have lost their lands if the terms of the deed of sale were narrowly applied. He therefore suggested that instead of forfeiture the land area should be reduced for those in arrears and purchasers be credited

for smaller allotments.²¹ Edendale Kholwa were prominent among the names of those in arrears. They had purchased widely in Natal, both as individuals and in syndicates.

After Sutherland's retirement in 1887 the policy of the Surveyor-General's office reflected a less sympathetic approach towards those in arrears. A.H. Hime carried both the portfolio of Surveyor-General and Colonial Engineer and had little time to attend to the complicated details of subdivision necessitated by Sutherland's policy. He recommended that sales or leases in arrears be cancelled and occupants be regarded as tenants.²² The SNA, Henrique Shepstone, feared that Hime's policy would cause widespread 'ruination' and possibly lead to unrest.

A compromise was reached instead. It was agreed that overdue payments would be overlooked if lessees and purchasers agreed to pay £1 rent for the years of rental that would have been overdue. This placed occupants in the position of squatters, liable to the conditions of the Squatters Rent Law of 1884.²³ They were then in the precarious position of being subject to six months' notice should the land be sold or leased. In these circumstances the class position of former landowners was itself in danger of being changed to that of landless squatters. Their debts forced them onto the wage labour market in less discretionary conditions than previously with very little hope of ever moving out of it.

Several Edendale purchasers found themselves in difficulties. In 1883 Mpofu Hlatywako, official witness at Edendale who held the position of induna under Stephanus Mini, leased 2 153 acres in Newcastle district with six other people for £41 18s 5d per annum. After three years they had still not paid any rental and owed £114 7s 6d. Timothy Gule, a former headman at Edendale, who with four others had leased 2 118 acres, was in the same position as Hlatywako; so was John Zulu Mtimkulu and his seven co-lessees. Micah Kunene and his brother Isaac could not meet their payments either.²⁴ In the Lion's River Division, a long list of Edendale Kholwa in arrears testified to the economic difficulties this group were having in the depressed conditions of the 1880s. Jabez Molife, for instance, never paid any instalments for his farm Doefield although he managed one annual payment of £27 8s 10d for another farm, Bucklands.²⁵

The case of John Zulu Mtimkulu shows how people got into difficulties with their payments. He bought a lease with other people on the ten-year system and paid for the survey and the first instalment. His co-lessees then either left the colony or refused to contribute anything. On his own Mtimkulu could not

afford to pay the instalments because of the low prevailing transport rates and the depressed price of mealies. He wanted the government to relieve him of his liabilities, an amount of more than £150, and even refund him what he had paid. He did not receive his money back although the lease was cancelled and commuted to squatter's tax.²⁶

Much of the land purchased or leased by the government already had African occupants upon it. In theory, occupants were given first option to purchase the land. If they did not, the new owners were then in a position to draw rent from them or give them notice to vacate. The magistrate of the Lion's River Division, J.C.C. Chadwick, reported in 1886 that along the Umkomaas River and its tributaries almost all the arable land had been 'sold in small lots, principally to Christian Kafirs and the purchasers are letting this land to the natives residing on the adjacent Crown lands'. Africans living there were forced to pay high rents for their gardens amounting to thirty shillings per hut and 'as a natural consequence, they complain very much'. Purchasers, on the other hand, were able to graze their animals on adjacent Crown lands rent free. Law 41 of 1884 did in fact make grazing on Crown lands an offence, but made no provision for the rental of grazing land. Chadwick arranged for a special agreement between the SNA and graziers for grazing fees.²⁷

Industrious African tenants worked their own wagons and ploughs and often produced marketable commodities of their own. Initially they were able to pay fairly high rents.²⁸ Stephanus Mini and Stoffel Molife found the presence of African occupiers on their newly purchased land in the Polela desirable for they were a potential source of labour and provided income from rents. The presence of their chief, Ramncana, proved a source of conflict, however, because he was reluctant to recognise the new landlords. Conflict also arose over the differing agricultural practices of the old occupants and the new. The former were mainly stock holders while the latter also engaged in cultivation for the market. Mini estimated that damage to his crops from Ramncana's animals amounted to £70.²⁹

Although rent extraction as a means to acquire ground rent and capital was one reason for land purchase, it was not the only one. A major reason for this veritable 'land rush' in the early 1880s with the opening of Crown lands relates to the pressure on existing land resources. Edendale, for instance, had become too small for the needs of an expanding population.

As in the 1860s and 1870s, hardly any of the newly purchased Crown land farms were farmed on an individual basis even if they were individually owned. The new farms were settled communally. Holdings were subdivided and farmed

on a small scale. Consequently, the potential for any one farmer to become highly capitalised was limited. Mixed economic activity remained the norm even among the more prosperous landowners, as Matebula's activities showed. He was not alone, and another example was Stephanus Flooks Hlongwana who leased land on Addison's farm at Rietvlei (Cedara) and owned 30 acres at Edendale.³⁰ Paul Mkwanzani, a small farmer and transport rider, possessed a herd of cattle and goats as well as poultry.³¹ Daniel Msimang, like Matebula, entered the ministry after a lifetime of successful accumulation. He owned two houses at Edendale, which he rented out. He also possessed wagons, oxen, cows, goats, as well as a plough and harrow – all of which testify to a wide variety of economic activities.³² Arable farming, particularly of maize but also of vegetables for local markets, predominated among the expanding Edendale Kholwa. No one had extensive herds although a variety of stock such as poultry, sheep, goats, cattle and horses were kept where the climate and environment permitted. Capital accumulation in these conditions was limited.³³

Nor did the extension of landholdings mean that the capital accumulating capacity of the Kholwa increased to any marked degree. Rather, as suggested above, they were trying to meet some of the restrictions placed on their activity by widening their options in the economy. Land ownership was the single most effective means of acquiring working capital – not simply through rents and market production, but also because of the possibility of mortgaging immovable property. Edendale landowners involved in widening their ownership of property mortgaged their Edendale properties to finance their new purchases.³⁴ The extension of land ownership to other areas in the 1880s increased financial burdens, however, rather than widening economic opportunities as the problems encountered by purchasers of Crown lands suggest. In the early 1880s, though, rent provided an alternative source of return on investment.³⁵

Even the most experienced commercial families were finding it difficult to meet their financial commitments. John Gama, a successful trader who had come with Allison from Swaziland in the 1840s, hired a farm in the Newcastle district on his own account but could not meet a £6 rental in 1886.³⁶ Stephen Mini also experienced difficulties in acquiring his farm Eden in the Polela district purchased in 1883.

In 1889, Stephen Mini complained to the SNA that the local Administrator of Native Law had seized cattle for squatters' rent from his tenants at Eden. On investigation by the SNA it transpired that the land had been purchased by Mini in March 1883 but that he had only paid survey fees and not the first instalment. Regulations in 1886 required a first instalment to be paid within

three months of the deed of sale for the sale to have effect. In that year Mini forfeited the land. It was then put up for sale again in September 1888 and once more bought by Stephen Mini, although this time he did pay the first instalment of the purchase price. Until the land was forfeited in 1886, Mini had extracted rent from the occupants of the land although he was not the *de jure* owner.³⁷

When Mini repurchased the farm his troubles were not over for pecuniary difficulties forced him to cede the land once more and his second attempt to buy the land also ended in forfeiture. The 1 250 acres were then subdivided into four portions and four new applicants sought to purchase the land. But Stephen Mini was determined to possess the land and, in 1890, made a third offer over the heads of the other four applicants. In spite of his previous record he was granted permission to purchase the land under one certificate of ownership.³⁸

Landownership at Edendale

While many Edendale landowners were involved in land purchase outside the village, analysis of landholdings at Edendale yields a pattern of smallholdings.³⁹ In 1861, when title deeds were first given, there were one hundred landowners. In the first decade, only 27 properties changed hands between fifteen people. For the rest the landowners remained the same. During that period, 2 842.25 acres were held by 112 landowners. By the end of the 1890s, 3 409 acres were held by 138 landowners. Some of these were no longer alive, like Elijah Kambule who had been one of the largest landowners possessing 125.25 acres. His son Simeon, who lived at Driefontein, controlled this property and owned 148.75 acres in his own right. This made him the largest landowner at Edendale. Other large absentee landowners were Jonathan Xaba who lived at Driefontein, Daniel Msimang who, from the 1880s until his death in October 1903, lived at Mahamba in Swaziland as a missionary, and Johannes Kumalo, the Driefontein headman. A few large landowners lived at Edendale. Stephen Mini, the headman from 1893 onwards, was the second largest landowner with 143.25 acres. Although he had property interests in other parts of Natal, at Driefontein and in the Polela district, he remained at Edendale. John Zulu Mtimkulu, by the 1890s an old man, lived on his property in growing poverty although he possessed one of the larger estates of 88.5 acres.

In terms of being able to make a living from production, such acreage was meagre. But by the end of the 1890s most landowners were renting their properties out to tenants. A survey of registered property owners at Edendale carried out in the mid-1890s to ascertain what had happened to landowners yielded a fascinating picture.⁴⁰ Of 83 landowners listed, only twelve lived at

Edendale. Twenty-two had died, one was at the Kimberley diamond fields, and the whereabouts of three owners were unknown. Forty-four landowners lived elsewhere: twelve were at Driefontein, eight at Dundee, four were in Swaziland and fourteen were scattered on farms at Blood River, Isandhlwana, Job's Kop, Ixopo, Umzimkulu, Polela and Rietspruit (Cedara). Six lived at Impolweni, the mission founded by Allison after he left Edendale in the 1860s. Of the properties left by absentee landlords, 29 were used by members of the family, twelve by sons and seven by wives, mothers and sisters. Nine were used by brothers or other male relatives. No information was given for ten properties: one owner had disappeared and four were under no supervision at all, the inhabitants living as if they were the owners. This left 25 properties leased out to tenants. The balance between those with landed interests and those subordinate to them was close indeed. This coincided with the growing influence of tenant interests in village politics in the 1890s.

Economic fortunes in the 1890s

In the 1890s, towards the end of the long deflationary period during the depression, the price of wool in particular was very low. This affected southern African markets and brought depression for farmers throughout the region including white agriculture. Moreover, the extension of the Cape railway to the Reef also slowed down the tempo of mercantile activity in Natal because of the competitive costs of transport to the Cape.⁴¹ In 1892, crop failure due to drought in the colony sent prices of maize sky high. The effect was to create a decline in trade in the two years before Responsible Government.

Scarcity of labour yet again became the contemporary explanation for the economic depression in the colony. The proletarianisation of Africans had not advanced beyond the seasonal migration of peasant producers in search of cash payments for hut tax and other discretionary needs. Measures were introduced to try to control what labour was forthcoming. In 1893, before Responsible Government, the registration of African labourers became compulsory. Registration had a contradictory effect. On the one hand it was the first step in controlling the freedom of labourers to seek alternative work. On the other, it had a negative effect on merchants who soon complained that it interfered in their trade.⁴²

The spectacular mineral discoveries on the Witwatersrand and the burgeoning demand for labour and food on the mines did not benefit agriculture in Natal as it did in the Transvaal or Orange Free State. High wages on the mines enticed African labour away and Natal producers could not compete with cheap imported

products from Australia and New Zealand or North America.⁴³ Nevertheless, there was a slow awakening of agriculture in Natal spurred on also by the increase in population, particularly in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. In these growing urban areas, better quality fruit and vegetables were demanded than hitherto. White farmers from immigrant market gardening communities like New Germany were able to meet some of that need. Indian market gardeners were also quick to respond to this demand. Indians bought and hired land in the environs of the two cities and rapidly came to dominate the vegetable market during the 1890s. Africans produced grain such as mealies and sorghum, as well as fodder and wood. Yet the quality of their produce in the changed conditions of production in the 1890s was inferior to that of more progressive farmers.⁴⁴

In the Midlands of Natal, white farmers began to improve their stock and methods of production. They were assisted by the government, which provided loans at reasonable rates of interest for fencing as well as annual grants to assist agricultural unions in experimenting. Branch railway lines were, furthermore, extended into white farming areas to assist in the marketing of their commodities. In the previous decade, the numbers of white farmers in Natal had generally increased although the size of farms had diminished.⁴⁵

African agriculture, in contrast, moved into a period of crisis during the 1890s. Improved farming methods with government assistance were not forthcoming for black farmers. Indeed, as white farmers improved their techniques they were more concerned to have black labourers than black tenants on their farms. Moreover, they were reluctant to allow tenants to graze their cattle on their farms. Many tenants were given notice to leave farms on which they had been living before the land had been purchased by white farmers. Evicted tenants had limited choice of where to go. Either they could try to *khonza*, which means to declare loyalty to a location chief, hire Crown land from the State, or settle as labour tenants on black-owned land. In all these instances, land became increasingly scarce for pastoral activity and even for agricultural purposes; it was no longer possible to engage in shifting cultivation as before. Population pressure began to have deleterious effects on the agricultural capabilities of the land.⁴⁶

Although the amount of grain produced on African locations increased, the productivity of the land decreased. In 1893 the average productivity of an acre was 5 muids as compared to 7.4 muids a decade earlier. Furthermore, mealies fetched low prices on the Pietermaritzburg market and the market master charged high rates for the sale of small amounts of commodities within the

market hall. This discriminated against all small farmers. Finally, in 1892 the market master barred Africans from selling in the market hall at all.⁴⁷

As we have seen, Africans were keen to purchase Crown lands in spite of the disabilities attendant on their participation in public auctions. In the 1880s, the Surveyor-General had been careful to inform Africans about Crown land sales through magistrates and chiefs. In the 1890s, this practice was discontinued. After 1893, little attempt was made to increase African participation in produce markets as had been the case in the earlier days of direct British rule when colonists were not yet in control of the process of agricultural commercialisation.

Among the Kholwa, many people who had been well-to-do 20 years before had, by the 1890s, experienced a change of fortune. Indebtedness led to growing impoverishment. Large numbers of the population earned their keep from hiring their labour and those still involved in petty commodity production struggled to maintain their independence. This was indeed a reversal of the situation that had pertained during the early 1880s.

Responsible Government in 1893 gave even less leeway for the incorporation of a skilled and educated African petty bourgeoisie than before. As settlers acquired direct state power after 1893, so opportunities for African progress became more restricted. In the face of Kholwa artisanal competition, for instance, white artisans protested at government support of African industrial training.⁴⁸ The *Natal Witness* predicted somewhat ominously for the African petty bourgeoisie that 'with Responsible Government our leading public men will be guided by the artisan votes'.⁴⁹ *Inkanyiso* commented gloomily about the prospects for black progress:

it would appear that natives are to have fewer opportunities of progressing under Responsible Government than before. Whereas, not long ago, it was feared that our people would never take kindly to manual labour, and missionaries were blamed for not encouraging them more in this direction, now it is thought that, unless a spoke is placed in their wheel, they may become more successful as mechanics than are the Europeans.⁵⁰

Growing settler hegemony in the political economy made any progressive outlook improbable. Settlers influenced policy through the Legislative Council and most of the permanent officials in the departments of state were colonists.

Successful black entrepreneurs competed directly with their white counterparts, whether in farming or in artisanal production. This meant that in the conditions of heightened competition of the 1890s, black enterprise faced greater opposition than ever before from farming and artisan interests. Gradually, the terms under which black entrepreneurs participated in the

market turned against them. As in the 1880s, pass laws were used to limit the mobility of African traders.

Crisis at Edendale

In the context of these changing economic and political conditions, the struggle at Edendale and other mission villages became one of maintaining the middling class position their inhabitants had acquired in the course of the previous thirty years. That they were not always successful is testified by developments at Edendale and by conditions in other Kholwa settlements. At Groutville, the most advanced of the American mission stations, two successive annual reports indicated a state of 'sad crisis' on the mission. Locusts followed by drought left the people on the verge of starvation in 1896. At the end of 1897, Reverend W.E. Wilcox commented on the tremendous religious revival taking place that contrasted with the growing poverty and indebtedness of the formerly prosperous community.⁵¹

Distinctions between different groups at Edendale tended to increase during the difficult years of the 1890s as drought, locusts and rinderpest created indebtedness, and even ruin, for previously self-sufficient family units. Several families either sold their properties or lost them through foreclosure of mortgages.⁵² Their loss was another's gain. Daniel Msimang, for instance, increased his properties in the 1890s from an acreage of 98.75 to 132.25 acres. Enoch Msimang, Daniel's eldest son, took advantage of the slump by speculating in land. He was the only one of Daniel's children to remain at Edendale when the rest of the family moved to Driefontein in the 1870s.⁵³ Stephen Umlaw Kuzwayo purchased 92.50 acres in the same decade. Kuzwayo had become the day school teacher at Edendale in 1872 earning £42 per annum. He joined the ranks of the ruling families at Edendale when he married Martha Mini, daughter of Stephanus Mini. In 1884 he had purchased land on the Umkomazi River. By 1886 he was farming at Groutville and had also purchased land elsewhere. By the 1890s, Kuzwayo owned 92.50 acres at Edendale.⁵⁴ While some people, like Msimang and Kuzwayo, were able to add to their landed holdings in the 1890s, others were less successful. Stephanus Mini, while still headman at Edendale in 1891, faced foreclosure on his properties. His son, Stephen Mini, bailed him out by purchasing his properties. The latter's holdings grew from half an acre to 125.24 acres in the 1890s.

It was during the 1890s that the first Indian land purchases were made.⁵⁵ Indian settlers at Edendale opened stores and began market gardening, posing serious competition not only to the struggling producers at Edendale but also

competing with the English settlers at Wilgefontein, a neighbouring Land and Colonisation Company settlement of smallholders.⁵⁶ A few whites had owned land in Edendale since the 1860s and since the 1850s the Tarboton family had lived at the mill, purchasing locally grown corn and grinding it for local and export markets.⁵⁷ A few of the resident missionaries at Edendale like Henry Barton, William Baker, John Hacker and even Evans Rowe, General Superintendant of the Wesleyan Mission Society, had also purchased land.⁵⁸

The opening of the collieries in the Dundee area provided new markets for production from the 1890s.⁵⁹ These opportunities for expansion were not confined solely to white agriculture and African producers in the area also benefited. The Edendale Kholwa, apart from holding land in the Klip River district around Ladysmith, and on the Polela and Umzimkulu, also began to purchase released Crown lands in the Dundee and Newcastle districts. Purchasing lands in syndicates, as they had done in the 1880s, they established communal farms. Their produce such as mealies, 'kaffir corn' or millet, pumpkins, melons, sweet potatoes and beans mainly fed the two towns.⁶⁰ But while production for the new Dundee and Newcastle markets constituted a new opening, the development of the railways tended to undercut the former profitability of transport carriers. Indeed, the government had introduced a heavy licence for transport carrying in order to try to encourage use of the railways. Numbers of carriers did not in fact diminish until after the second Anglo-Boer War.

The summer of 1894–1895 had been a very bad one for Edendale. The harvest 'was a complete failure'. The local missionary, William Baker, spoke of extensive cultivation on the farm. He commented, however, that people earned their keep mainly from hiring their labour. That a proletariat was in the process of emerging is evident from what he says:

Notwithstanding the large amount earned in service, the people are this year extremely poor. Many causes account for this. Last harvest was a complete failure. The custom is growing too rapidly of buying bread & sugar & clothing to a degree which in a bad season reduces them to absolute poverty. Of course this is the secret of obtaining a cheap & ample labour supply.⁶¹

Baker made further observations that need to be considered in trying to assess levels of stratification in the village. Thus he claimed that the majority of people at Edendale did not understand the value of money:

The European mode of buying & selling is not intelligible even to the most advanced. To pay for what they get they understand. To be allowed to take up on credit, not one in 10,000 understands. The credit system is a snare, an absolute trap by which he is sure to lose his money & his character. Dishonesty is imputed to him, tho' he had no dishonest intention. And it is to be hoped that the

time is not distant when the Govt. will protect him from storekeepers & lawyers as well as from canteen keepers.⁶²

This passage suggests that missionaries were caught up in a somewhat atavistic ideal about the nature of mission communities. In the 1890s Natal moved into a period of capital intensification, if in a limited fashion. Yet missionaries made no attempts to adapt their values or discourse to the realities of a changed political economy. Whereas in bygone days missionaries had guided their followers into the benefits of commoditisation, encouraging the manufacture or purchase of clothing, sugar, coffee and other commodities needed to fashion a 'civilised' existence, now they inveighed against the indebtedness that such aspirations created.⁶³ Of course, missionaries had never encouraged canteens, or even lawyers, but they had been instrumental in introducing shopkeepers into the midst of Christian communities from their very earliest contact. It was they who had first taught the value of money and exchange in the 'European mode'.

Baker's view that people did not understand what he called 'the system' is thus questionable. During the course of 1895, lung sickness had affected cattle at Edendale. This limited the ability of people to ply their wagons and plough their fields.⁶⁴ Many Edendale farmers moved their farming operations to other areas. People fell into debt because they were poor and many had been unable to become more than petty entrepreneurs. As the Natal economy began to move into a new phase of production and class formation, so, increasingly, petty producers found themselves living on the edge of proletarianisation. In the lean years they were forced to enter the class of wage labourers; in the fat years they could move back into independent production. But the crises of the 1890s were formative in their struggles because many were unable to return to earlier levels of prosperity. This in part was due to settler control of the State and credit facilities. The disasters of the 1890s made their situation far worse.

The following year, 1896, having not yet recovered from the crisis of the last, locusts swept through vegetable gardens and mealie fields devouring crops.⁶⁵ Then in 1897 the dreaded rinderpest struck the unfortunate village as it did the whole of Natal. Ploughing was all but impossible.⁶⁶ A further result was that less milk and meat appeared in people's diet and by the first years of the new century reports of tuberculosis were common.

These natural disasters occurred when African petty commodity producers were threatened by the discriminatory policies of Responsible Government. In 1895, the government ceased to provide subsidies for industrial education in

African schools. This affected the opportunities of all members of the African petty bourgeoisie. The racial dimension gave the struggle a unique form, for the Kholwa were competing in the market not as equals but as 'natives' lacking the freedom of movement enjoyed by their white competitors. The Public Works Department, for instance, refused to work its oxen in the neighbourhood of Edendale for fear of contracting lung sickness because of 'the filthy condition in which the natives at Edendale keep their cattle'.

Natural disaster, legislative enactment and government policy jeopardised the intermediate class position of the Kholwa. The 1890s, then, were characterised by Kholwa struggles against racial discrimination and proletarianisation.

ENDNOTES

- 1 See Chapter Five.
- 2 *Natal Witness*, 21 October 1880; J. Lambert, 'African purchases of Crown Lands in Natal, 1881–1903', paper presented to the Conference on the History of Natal and Zululand, July 1985, vol. 2.
- 3 SGO Minute Papers III/1/48, 5110/1880, Colonial Secretary, A. Mitchell to Resident Magistrate, Newcastle, 7 January 1881.
- 4 SGO Minute Papers, III/1/53, List of Purchasers in Arrears, 1883.
- 5 Report of the NNAC, 1881–1882: 9.
- 6 *ibid.*
- 7 *ibid.*: 26; *Natal Witness*, 2 November 1882.
- 8 Evidence, 1881–1882, Walter McFarlane.
- 9 Evidence, 1881–1882, J. Allsopp: 26.
- 10 Evidence, 1881–1882, Stephanus Mini: 136.
- 11 *ibid.*: 140.
- 12 Evidence, 1881–1882, Umqawe: 226.
- 13 Evidence, 1881–1882, Theophilus Shepstone: 286.
- 14 *Blue Book of the Colony of Natal* 1882, Report of the Surveyor-General, P.C. Sutherland to Colonial Secretary, FF 106–107.
- 15 Lambert, 'African purchases of Crown Lands in Natal, 1881–1903': 8.
- 16 SGO III/1/56, 901/86, 359/1886.
- 17 SGO III/1/53, 4775/1884, H. Bulwer, Lt Governor to SNA, 20 February 1885.
- 18 *ibid.*
- 19 *ibid.*
- 20 SGO III/156, 389/1886, SNA to Governor, 28 April 1886.
- 21 *NBB*, 1887, Report of the Surveyor-General for 1886: H.34. SGO III/1/53, 4154/1886.
- 22 SGO III/1/56, 359/1886, A.H. Hime, 9 February 1887.
- 23 Law 41, 1884: 'To provide for the collection of rent from native squatters or occupiers of Crown lands'.
- 24 SGO III/1/56, 901/86, Arrear lists, 3 March 1886.
- 25 SNA 1/1/100, 461/1887.
- 26 SGO III/1/56, 4175/86.
- 27 SNA 1/1/91, 401/1886.
- 28 *Natal Witness*, 8 September 1881.
- 29 SNA 1/1/62, 385/83, Surveyor-General to ANL, Polela, 30 October, 1882; SNA 1/1/85, 448/1882 ANL, 10 November 1882.
- 30 SNA 1/1/49, Exemption Letter, Flocks Hlongwana, 29 October 1881.
- 31 SNA 1/6/10, 2/82, Exemption Paper, P. Mkwanzani.

- 32 SNA 1/6/10, 16/81, Exemption Paper, D. Msimang.
- 33 SNA 1/6/10, Papers re Exemption give details of landownership and other property of individual applicants.
- 34 Evidence for this is to be found in the PDR.
- 35 *Natal Witness*, 26 August 1881.
- 36 SGO III/1/56, 901/86, Arrears List, 3 March 1886.
- 37 SNA 1/1/112, 77/1889, Surveyor-General, A.H. Hime to SNA, 15 January 1889.
- 38 SGO III/177, 4587/1890, S. Mini to Surveyor-General, 19 December 1890.
- 39 See Appendix 2, Table 1 for original landowners; Table 2 for landowners and transactions in the 1860s; Table 3 for the 1870s; Table 4 for the 1880s; Table 5 for the 1890s; and Table 6 for the 1900s.
- 40 Umgeni Correspondence 1894–1902, List A.
- 41 *Natal Witness*, 16 February 1893.
- 42 *Natal Witness*, 18 February 1893.
- 43 C. Ballard and G. Lenta, 'The complex nature of agriculture in colonial Natal, 1860–1909' in B. Guest and J. Sellers, *Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony: Aspects of the Economic and Social History of Colonial Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1985).
- 44 See Lambert, 'Africans in Natal 1880–1899': 232–233.
- 45 *ibid*: 169, 173, 174.
- 46 *ibid*: 231–232.
- 47 *ibid*: 222, 234.
- 48 *Natal Witness*, 20 March 1893.
- 49 *ibid*.
- 50 *Inkanyiso yase Natal*, 18 August 1893.
- 51 American Board Mission (ABM) 1/1/2, 61st Annual Meeting, ABM A/3/41, Report of Umvoti Mission station, 30 June 1897.
- 52 See Appendix 2.
- 53 Interview, Walter Msimang, Edendale, 1986.
- 54 SNA 1/1/91, 562/1886, no. 80. MMS 339, Natal Minutes, 29 November 1871. SNA 1/1/72, 263/1884. SNA 1/1/285, 990/1899.
- 55 See Appendix 2, Table 5.1: Mayandy, Moodley, Narrandas, Ponnen and Veersamy. Table 5.2 lists ten Indian landowners in 1899.
- 56 See Appendix 2.
- 57 CSO 2776, Immigration and Crown Lands Commission 1891: 1217–1286.
- 58 See Appendix 2; also Garden Papers.
- 59 SGO III/1/146, 6003/1901.
- 60 *ibid*.
- 61 SNA 1/1/198, 246/1895, Particulars of the Edendale Mission, 7 January 1895.
- 62 *ibid*.
- 63 See Chapter One.
- 64 SNA 1/1/202, 1275/1895, Lung sickness at Edendale, 14 May 1895.
- 65 SNA 2/2/371, 7201/1895, Umgeni Magistrate.
- 66 Evidence, 1904/5: 76.

SECURING AN INDEPENDENT place for themselves as full members of colonial society had meant for the Kholwa a commitment to more than integration at a social and economic level. It meant, too, defending the colony from external and internal threats to its security. Whatever the ideological basis, support for the colonial forces in both the Zulu and the Anglo-Boer wars of 1879 and 1899 by the Kholwa occurred as a result of a self-conscious recognition of the benefits they derived from colonial rule as compared to what they feared might be meted out under Zulu or Boer overrule. They perceived their interests to reside unequivocally in maintaining the economic and social system of colonial society despite its drawbacks.

That Edendale Christians and landowners identified their material interests with the colonial state was clear from the 1860s when leading men from Edendale participated in military operations against perceived enemies of the colony. In 1866 they joined an expedition against San raiders in the Drakensberg. Such men as Elijah Kambule, son of Job the headman, Jabez Molife and his son Solomon, Solomon Xaba and his son Lazarus, would have become full-time soldiers had such an opportunity existed.¹ But there was no permanent colonial force for them to join. Instead, they and others always responded with alacrity to the call to arms by the authorities.

In 1873, for instance, Jabez Molife was called upon to select a mounted force from among the Tlokwa under Chief Hlubi at Estcourt to assist against Langelibalele's Hlubi.² Simeon Kambule also formed part of the mounted force on that occasion. Elijah Kambule, Simeon's father, acted as interpreter to the commanding officer, Colonel Durnford. Elijah Kambule was killed at Bushman's Neck when trying to rescue an injured Durnford. Kambule's name was later inscribed on a monument erected in the Pietermaritzburg city centre in commemoration of the event.³ The colonial state's faith in the loyalty of the Edendale community was mirrored in the decision to confine members of Langelibalele's immediate family, some of his wives and children and

their kin, at Edendale after the Hlubi lands were confiscated and the tribe dispersed. There they became absorbed into the life of the village.⁴ Jabez Molife subsequently accompanied Theophilus Shepstone to the coronation of Cetshwayo in 1873. Shepstone called upon him, and Chief Hlubi's men, in 1877 when he annexed the Transvaal.⁵ Even this show of loyalty, personally experienced by Theophilus Shepstone, did little to alter the opinions of either Shepstone or the government that Christians should share the subordinate status of the majority of the African population.

The Zulu War of 1879 proved a high point in the history of the co-operation of the Kholwa with colonial authority. It was during this war that they proved over and over again their loyalty as subjects and their worth as citizens of colonial society. At the same time, it was their experience during the war that began to undermine their optimism about post-war political gain.

In 1878 the government began to muster troops to meet the threat of war against the Zulu State. African levies and volunteers were called to constitute the regiment of the Natal Native Horse. Towards the end of 1878 the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Henry Bulwer, visited Edendale on three occasions, including one Sunday, when he joined the congregation at prayer. Sir Bartle Frere, the High Commissioner, came to the village twice. Such attention was calculated to boost Edendale's loyalty to the government as Edendale's missionary, John Allsopp, explained:

The interest displayed by their Excellencies has done much good among our people, and they feel as they never felt concerning those in Authority, besides a greater longing to be what religion and civilisation can make them.⁶

The three leading men, 'stewards, local preachers and class leaders', no doubt the induna, Timothy Gule, as well as Stephanus Mini who later replaced Gule, and Daniel Msimang, called a meeting of all the adult men in the village.⁷ Daniel Msimang's speech was quoted by a missionary eyewitness:

We have sat under the shadow of the Great White Queen for many years in security and peace. We have greatly prospered, and some have grown rich. We enjoy religious privileges, and have brought our sons and daughters to honour God, and to walk in His ways. Our schools have provided a good education for our children, to fit them for useful life in this land, and now their children are enjoying a like blessing. Under God and the Missionary Society we owe it all to the Government of the Great White Queen. We are her children, and in this time of great peril she sends to us to help her against our common foe. We all know the power and cruelty of the Zulu King, and if he should subdue the Queen's soldiers and overrun this land he will wipe out all the native people who have dwelt so long in safety under the shadow of the Great White Queen, shall we not gladly obey her, when she calls for the services of her dark children?⁸

Edendale provided a company of mounted volunteers, saddled and provisioned by the elders. Many, though not all, were members of the church. Several were 'class leaders and able local preachers'.⁹ A further contingent of volunteers from Driefontein and from Hlubi, the Tlokwa chief near Estcourt, formed a company, part of Colonel Durnford's command of the 1st Regiment of the Natal Native Contingent, of some 3 300 men under 200 white officers.¹⁰ Allsopp described the effect of the call-up:

Last Monday was a day never to be forgotten at Edendale. The Government decided to form a Native Mounted contingent of 250 men, as a portion of the army to go against the Zulu chief and warriors. Four days previous to Monday last we received an official message that 50 were required from us. Of course great excitement prevailed and immediately some sixty volunteers came forward. Fifty four were allowed to go.¹¹

The troop that left the village late in 1878 reflected the variegated social composition of the villagers. Not all volunteers were members of the church, nor were all landowners. By the 1870s many more inhabitants had become tenants in the village as landowners had moved away. Perhaps the most noticeable gap was between Christians and non-Christians. In this context the evidence of a communal initiative during the Zulu war is remarkable.

Simeon Kambule and Jabez Molife were both given the rank of Sergeant Major, the most senior of the other ranks in the army. In addition, the village leaders had elected John Zulu Mtimkulu as induna over the troop. The military authorities seem to have recognised him as head of the Edendale contingent, and accorded him the role, though not the official rank, of Warrant Officer, the equivalent of a sergeant major. Unlike Kambule and Molife, however, John Zulu Mtimkulu was never considered 'a soldier born'.¹²

If the Edendale Horse hoped for equality of treatment in the army, they were disappointed. They were not treated as equal to the colonial volunteers either in the matter of pay or in the kinds of rations provided. For instance, a European officer in command of a 'tribe' received £1 10s a day plus rations for himself and horse, or an allowance of five shillings a day. 'Native' officers received a good deal less. The chief of a tribe received £5 a month, 4lbs of meat and 1½ lbs of mealie meal per day. Of mounted forces, an induna received £4 per month plus rations of 2lbs of meat and 1½ lbs of mealie meal per day. The scale diminished for assistant indunas who received a wage of £3 per month and 2lbs of meat, while ordinary men received a wage of £2 and 1lb of meat with 2lbs of mealie meal.¹³ Though loyal, the Edendale contingent refused to accept the rations provided:

When the rations came to be served out they were given the same food allotted to the heathen native, viz., mealie meal and rough beef, but no bread or tea, coffee and sugar. Simeon represented to the officer that they had never been heathen and asked for rations of beef, bread, coffee and sugar. This was refused, and Simeon quietly informed the officer that they would provide rations at their own expense, and they would serve without Government rations or pay until some general officer should have time to decide their status.¹⁴

Watkins recounted that after the battle of Isandhlwana, in recognition of their valour, the Edendale troops received the same rations and pay as British soldiers. No evidence survives to corroborate this and Morris makes the point that the Edendale contingent were not granted special rations: 'As civilised Christians, they held themselves somewhat apart from the rest of the native cavalry, but their request to be issued the same rations as the European volunteers, instead of the unslaughtered beeves and mealie meal of the NNC, had been turned down'.¹⁵

It is of significance, though, that the cavalry were all armed with Wesley-Richards breechloaders. After the disastrous battle of Isandhlwana, the Edendale Horse, led by Lieutenant Nathaniel Newnham-Davis under Captain Cochrane's command, were armed with more modern Martini-Henry carbines. As distinct from most of the African mounted horsemen, the Edendale men wore boots and spurs.¹⁶

The Edendale troop was the only one to survive intact, largely because of their discipline and unity. In Lord Chelmsford's despatch to the Secretary of State, he explains what occurred.¹⁷ Colonel Durnford had arrived at the camp to be met with the news that there were a number of Zulus on the left flank of the camp. He took his mounted troop, some 450 men, to reconnoitre and, about 8 kilometres from the camp, 'found himself in front of a very large army of Zulus'. He immediately sent word to Pulleine, while the troop tried to hold back the Zulu advance as long as possible:

Their ammunition, however, began to run short, and they were at last obliged to retire quickly to the camp. Being unable to find a fresh supply of ammunition, it appears they disbanded themselves and made the best of their way to the Buffalo and recrossed into Natal, assisting, however, as far as they could, many of our fugitives from the camp to escape.¹⁸

After Durnford was killed, Simeon Kambule took command. It was the Edendale troop that defended Fugitives' Drift and helped survivors cross the river. At this point the troop split up as people fled in different directions.¹⁹ Two men, Ezra Tyingela and Klaas Sophela, were killed and three or four others lost their horses.

After Isandhlwana the Edendale men, both from the first and second recruitment, served in two separate companies; one under Captain Cochrane, and the other under Captain Theophilus Shepstone.²⁰ They acquired a reputation for fine conduct as fighters and as devout Christians. They participated in engagements at Hlobane, Kambule and Ulundi. Captain 'Offy' Shepstone told Allsopp:

They have always proved themselves very brave and good men, not forgetting their duty to God in all the vicissitudes of Camp life; they have never missed their morning and evening hymn and prayer. I have often seen them in the midst of heavy rain praising God, and they always hold a service on Sunday afternoons. They are spoken well of by all the imperial officers in the Camp – all act in consort with one another and are remarkably cool under the heaviest fire.²¹

Simeon Kambule was decorated for 'Distinguished conduct in the field' for rescuing a European officer during the battle at Ulundi.²² Johannes Mngadi was killed.

In spite of the respect shown to the Christian volunteers, there were also signals of another kind. Compensation for loss of horses and other equipment was minimal: £10 for a horse lost, except for an induna who received £15. This was quite insufficient to replace a decent mount for, at that time, 'even a short pony' could not be procured for less than £15 or £18. Saddles cost about £3 and bridles ten shillings.²⁴ The Edendale men paid between £15 and £40 for their horses, some of which were lost in the campaigns.²⁵ Wagons and oxen were also commandeered by the army to transport supplies to the front. During the summer months, when there was sufficient fodder for the animals, this was still a hazardous enterprise. As the summer drew to a close, however, there was greater reluctance to carry loads on any but short distances. Towards the end of May the Edendale leaders were approached to carry supplies up country. They agreed on condition that the army would pay twenty shillings per hundred weight (cwt).

We are willing to render what assistance we can, a large number of our wagons and oxen are already engaged in Military Transport Service, but notwithstanding this, we are ready to carry loads, even at this late season of the year provided the distances our wagons have to travel are not great. Short stages should be travelled at this time of the year, in order not to overwork oxen in low condition, such stages as between Botha's Hill and Maritzburg or from Maritzburg to Estcourt, would be most convenient for the Edendale people, we should have to charge accordingly for the risk undertaken during winter... Oxen must die and some of us (as already experienced on former occasions, working at the same time of the year) might lose heavily in oxen.²⁶

When they took their wagons to the Director of Transport, they were told they would be paid twelve or thirteen shillings per cwt. They refused to accept this price as it would not be 'sufficiently remunerative'.

While the issues of pay and compensation for losses sustained in battle rankled, more serious grievances occurred and negated much of the confidence and loyalty built up during the war. The first involved maltreatment by European officers in Captain Carbutt's border patrols, which included men from Driefontein. The grievances arose from the reaction of officers to complaints that the men were finding it difficult to meet their hut tax requirements. Instead of receiving a sympathetic hearing, some of the complainants were allegedly assaulted by their European officers. Although the issue was investigated by more senior officers, a sense of grievance remained. This was fuelled by a more serious incident at Driefontein.

In May 1879, Johannes Kumalo, headman of the Driefontein syndicate, was called to the office of Resident Magistrate Dunbar Moodie, along with other chiefs and headmen in the district. They were ordered, on the authority of the Supreme Chief, to supply wagon drivers for the Transport Department. Kumalo, who attended the meeting with Daniel Msimang, demurred on the grounds that there were no more men to be had at Driefontein, all having already been called up for service. Moodie took exception to Kumalo's refusal and summarily imprisoned him for replying to the magistrate 'in a determined and disrespectful manner', which constituted in his opinion grounds for contempt of court.²⁷

The Wesleyan missionary in Ladysmith, Arthur Chaplin, instantly reported the case to the SNA, John Shepstone, who had known Kumalo for more than thirty years. He reminded the SNA that the people of Driefontein were landowners and had been exempted from the Isibalo by Sir Theophilus Shepstone. He complained that the act of the magistrate was 'unrighteous' since the community had already provided people to serve in road parties and at the front. Both Shepstone and Bulwer, the Lieutenant Governor, disapproved of the action and ordered Kumalo's release but upheld the magistrate's powers. They deferred to the argument of the Attorney-General that Moodie had acted within his powers since Johannes Kumalo was subject to customary law.²⁸

The Edendale and Driefontein communities turned to the law for redress and instituted a civil action through their lawyer, Kenneth Hathorn. Hathorn argued that the magistrate had exceeded his powers for there had been no court case or warrant issued for Kumalo's detention:

I have been informed that the Magistrate says the imprisonment was for contempt of Court but after a very close examination of Daniel Msimang I content myself with saying I don't believe it – and even contempt of the Magistrate's order to produce men for government service is only punishable by a fine.²⁹

In the civil case, the court ruled that the Native Administrator Law of 1875 had indeed eroded the powers of the Supreme Chief, but that the court had no powers of redress for the plaintiff, Kumalo.³⁰

The alacrity and loyalty with which the residents of Edendale, Christians and non-Christians alike, responded to the call for volunteers to fight the Zulu Kingdom in 1879 did not lead to hoped-for recognition as full citizens of colonial society. They had displayed both courage and discipline under fire, and continued to fight after the reverses of Isandhlwana. Their loyalty rested on a strong conviction that theirs was a defence of their new way of life 'in the Shadow of the Great White Queen'. But in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the British colonial enterprise entered a new phase. This would shift responsibility from Whitehall to a settler legislative government whose interests lay not in assimilating an educated black elite into its politics and society, but rather in pushing this class into the structures of control that perpetuated chiefly rule. They were to remain subjects and were denied what they desired above all, recognition as full citizens. The Kholwa would become the amaKholwa, replete with their own chiefs and induna. As far as settler Responsible Government was concerned, the Kholwa were to be treated no differently from any other chiefly group. The respect which many Kholwa communities had been accorded for their embrace of education and Christianity in the 1860s and even in the 1870s, turned to rejection of their efforts to become 'black Englishmen', as Johannes Kumalo described the Kholwa in 1863. The Funamalungelo was an initial response to this rejection. But the twentieth century was to bring even greater challenges, in the form of a Union of the four colonies that decisively excluded blacks from citizenship.

ENDNOTES

- 1 See testimony of Samuelson in *Long, Long Ago*: illustrations and 310f.
- 2 SNA 1/1/316, 4/1903, R.E. Samuelson, 'A short history of Sergeant Major Molife's services'. According to Bryant, Hlubi was the son of Mota, Sekonyela's brother, and had found refuge in Natal in 1853. Jabez Molife, also a Tlokwa, retained close links with Hlubi. After the Zulu War, Hlubi was allotted land in Zululand (see Bryant, *Olden Times*: 153).
- 3 SNA 1/1/316, 4/1903, R.E. Samuelson, 'A short history of the services of Sergeant Major Simeon Kambule'. Not all the Kholwa had joined the expedition with the same feelings of acquiescence. In 1875 a petition to Governor Wolseley had condemned government action on two counts. One was that all subjects in the colony who paid their hut tax should be protected and the second was that levies called to duty should be provided with sufficient arms.

- 4 SNA 1/1/235, 2172/1876, R922, List of names of Langalibalele's family residing at Edendale and Bishopstowe.
- 5 SNA 1/1/316, 4/1903, Samuelson, 'A short history of the services of Sergeant Major Simeon Kambule'.
- 6 MMS 321, Correspondence, Natal 1876–1885, J. Allsopp to Rev. J. Kilner, 26 December 1878.
- 7 O. Watkins, 'Fought for the Great White Queen' in Samuelson, *Long, Long Ago*: 310.
- 8 *ibid*: 310–311.
- 9 *ibid*: 311. MMS 321, Natal 1876–1885, J. Allsopp to J. Kilner, 26 December 1878.
- 10 D.R. Morris, *The Washing of the Spears: A History of the Rise of the Zulu Nation under Shaka and its Fall in the Zulu War of 1879* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966): 227. See also SNA 1/1/316, 4/1903, Anglo-Boer War Scouts, R.C. Samuelson to Commandant, Natal Volunteers, 21 June 1903.
- 11 MMS 321, Natal 1876–1885, J. Allsopp to J. Kilner, 26 December 1878.
- 12 SNA 1/1/244, 1165/1896, Lt Col. W.F.D. Cochrane to USNA, 3 October 1896.
- 13 SNA 1/6/16 Regulations for the Pay of the European officers, Native officers, and Natives of the Natal Native Levies, J.W. Shepstone, 4 March 1879.
- 14 Samuelson, *Long, Long Ago*: 312.
- 15 Morris, *The Washing of the Spears*: 331.
- 16 *ibid*: 311, 331.
- 17 *Natal Witness*, 17 April 1879.
- 18 *ibid*.
- 19 MMS 321, Natal 1876–1885, F. Mason to J. Kilner, 3 February 1879.
- 20 SNA 1/6/12, R342/1879, H.C. Campbell to SNA, 29 February 1879.
- 21 MMS 321, Natal 1876–1885, J. Allsopp, 9 June 1879.
- 22 SNA 1/1/316, 4/1903, Samuelson, 'A short history of the services of Sergeant Major Simeon Kambule'.
- 23 Interview with Miss Theodora Mngadi, Edendale, 1987.
- 24 SNA 1/6/12, 1262/1879, Adjutant-General Bellairs to SNA, 3 March 1879.
- 25 Umgeni Magistrate's Correspondence, 21/1 1877–1881, 1691/1879, Colonial Secretary to Resident Magistrate, Umgeni, 25 March 1879.
- 26 SNA 1/6/15, 1143/1879, report of Acting SNA to the Lt Governor, 30 May 1879.
- 27 SNA 1/1/34, 943/1979, Arthur Chaplin to SNA, J.W. Shepstone, 2 May 1879.
- 28 *ibid*.
- 29 SNA 1/1/34, R1189/1879, K.H. Hathorn to Colonial Secretary, 30 May 1879.
- 30 *Debates of the Legislative Council of the Colony of Natal*, Second Session, Eighth Council from November 1879 to February 19, 1880, vol. 1: 198, 244.

DURING AND AFTER the Anglo-Boer War the emergence of new social and political forces in Natal altered the relationship of the Kholwa to the colonial state. The impact of the war on the Kholwa is examined through the prism of the experience of the Edendale and Driefontein Kholwa. The wartime experience crystallised the fact that the Funamalungelo Society was inadequate for the political needs of all of the emerging African middle class in Natal so a broader organisation, the Natal Native Congress (NNC), was formed in 1900 to include a wider constituency. The role of members of the Edendale community in these developments is contained in this analysis.

Experience of heightened discrimination in the 1890s did not deter Stephen Mini and a large contingent of Edendale loyalists from volunteering for service against the Boers in 1899. On this occasion, the Imperial authorities limited the role of African volunteers to that of scouts unlike during the Zulu War when the Edendale Horse had played a significant combative role. At Edendale the 1899 war was not the occasion for an overwhelming show of loyalty. Even the missionary felt compelled to upbraid the church congregations for their lack of enthusiasm. But veteran fighters continued in their loyalist tradition. During the Anglo-Boer War the scouts were led by Jabez Molife, Simeon Kambule and Stephen Mini. R.C. Samuelson, who as a young man had interpreted for Cetshwayo, was in charge of the scouts in Natal.¹

The Natal scouts built up a very wide network of informers among the African population, particularly in the Boer-dominated northern districts and in the Orange Free State.² Their activities often involved great sacrifice and danger, not only to themselves but also to their families. Driefontein, for instance, gave succour to escapees from the Ladysmith siege.³ Many scouts were held in the siege among whom were Edendale and Driefontein men like Stephanus Xaba, W.G. Mini, Wake Sophia Ndhlovu, Simeon Kambule and Abraham Kunene, one of Stephen Mini's indunas. Some scouts were able to continue their activities and move through Boer lines with ingenuity. Some boldly got passes from the Boers themselves by parading as preachers.

At Driefontein, Lazarus Xaba, who had interpreted for Cetshwayo in the Cape with R.C. Samuelson, co-ordinated scouting activities during the siege. Xaba 'used to hide, house and feed those of the other messengers and scouts who moved between Ladysmith and other places'. Women were involved too. Esther Kambule, wife of Simeon, provided George Xaba and Qhoto Kubheka, a Kimberley resident, with weapons to undermine the railway line between Besters and Brakvaal stations. Scouts also captured armed Boer insurgents and handed them over to the British military authorities.

Several Edendale and Driefontein volunteers were interpreters. Luke Kumalo, who had worked for General Buller in the Anglo-Zulu War and Sir George Colley in the 1881 Anglo-Boer War, rejoined Buller to act as his interpreter and orderly during the Anglo-Boer War. Zephaniah Masuku, son of Nicholas, spied for S.O. Samuelson in 1899 and subsequently travelled widely as a scout.

Discrimination in awarding black scouts the War Medal after the war led to the first real reversal in the armour of loyalty assiduously built up by missionaries in the Kholwa communities. Their loyalty to the Empire had always been taken for granted by the colonial authorities. R.C. Samuelson warned the government that if the scouts were not given public recognition in the award of medals the loyalty of all educated and well-to-do Africans would be jeopardised.

More than 25 000 Africans participated in the war mostly in a non-combatant capacity. Government ministers decided not to grant the bronze War Medal to blacks. As far as the silver medal was concerned, they argued that it 'should be restricted to certain leading men of the Edendale, Driefontein, Nyanyadu and communities to be selected ... for special services rendered in the Intelligence Department during the War'.⁴

The people of Driefontein were the first to become alienated from the colonial government after the war. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, had assured Africans on a visit to Ladysmith and in Pietermaritzburg that they would receive medals in recognition of their role during the war. The Natal Governor also praised their war effort. On a visit to Driefontein in 1903 he even suggested the establishment of a permanent corps though he was forced to qualify that 'they should bear in mind that he had not power to create it legally without the concurrence of his ministers'.⁵

None of these promises were fulfilled. The government tried to compromise by offering a silver medal to a select group of scouts who also rejected the offer out of hand.⁶ They cautioned the government that to limit the medals

‘should not be done as it will cause incalculable mischief and will lead to the entire loss of faith in the government and leaders of the military who promised us many things’.⁷ The medal issue embittered many Kholwa.

The post-war era, 1903–1907

By the end of the Anglo-Boer War, unlike at the end of the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879, the African petty bourgeoisie in Natal were profoundly disillusioned. The issue of exemption remained a source of grievance. In the immediate post-war years, respectable Kholwa individuals and families experienced greater economic hardships and greater racial discrimination by the colonial state.

A number of new developments occurred as a result of Kholwa wartime experience and the lack of reward or recognition. One was a move away from the established mission churches in the successful recruitment of support for Ethiopianism.⁸ Another was the formation of a broader organisation than Funamalungelo, namely, the NNC in 1900. The new organisation grew from a growing realisation that a more representative body was needed to confront the government. At the same time, the tradition of co-operation was maintained. As one of its founder members explained

The primary object in connection with Congress was to devise some method of presenting any matters on grievances or complaints that we might have to make to the government of the colony. After some meetings we became nervous that we might be doing something which was wrong in the country and against the Government and therefore we decided that rules and regulations for the guidance of our business and submitted to the government [for] the government’s approval so that we should not be doing anything contrary to the wishes of the Government.⁹

The promulgation of the poll tax regulations in 1905 seemed unduly provocative in the straitened economic conditions of the post-war era. It specifically included ‘natives exempted from the operation of Native Law and half-castes’.¹⁰ John Dube and his cohorts vociferously took up the issue in the NNC and in the press, in particular the *Ilanga lase Natal* of which Dube was editor. In 1906, *Ilanga* warned that the African population in Natal was too poor to bear the burden of the new tax. It complained that the government ignored the recommendations of the South African Native Affairs Commission, which had dealt with broader issues in conjunction with the tax question. Nor had the State dealt with such major questions as land rights, education, religion and legislative rights – all of which had been addressed by the Commission. *Ilanga*’s suggestion was that a Conference of Natives should be called so that the government could hear the representations of the majority. The poll tax was calculated to provoke the African people, particularly since white wages

were much higher: one pound a day compared to one shilling a day. The tax in those conditions was blatantly unfair. 'The Natives will not pay,' said *Ilanga*.¹¹

It was not just members of the NNC who voiced opposition to the new tax. Throughout the colony, chiefs complained to magistrates that it would 'bear heavily' upon the people. At least two thirds of the magistrates reported opposition. Elders feared that the tax would loosen the authority of kraalheads and 'emancipate the young men from parental control'.¹² *Ilanga* warned of the consequences of placing extra burdens on the already inadequate wages of young men who bore the brunt of homestead payments. Their wages were expected to pay the dog tax, farm rents, reserve rents and the hut tax. Many homesteads had not recovered from the rinderpest epidemic of the 1890s and the wages of young men were needed to hire oxen from whites for ploughing. Moreover, wages had been reduced since the war.¹³

Black Wesleyans held special discussions about the tax and, in Durban, even adopted a motion explaining their reasons for paying. They found scriptural justification for the payment of taxes. Both the gospels of St Matthew and St Paul were used as evidence for the moral obligation to obey the secular power. But neither this 'moral-suasion', nor the appeal to a loyal past persuaded large numbers of Kholwa, and in particular the people of Driefontein, to volunteer to fight the rebels who resisted paying the tax and took to arms.¹⁴ The Bambatha Rebellion would not be put down with any help from what had once been the 'loyal' Kholwa forces who with such alacrity had participated in the Anglo-Zulu War. The Kholwa, educated Christians, realised that their future battles would lie in a political alliance with chiefs and traditional 'tribal' communities in the future.

The lack of volunteers from Driefontein caused a crisis in government. Driefontein, like Edendale, had always been a model of loyalty and propriety – an example of what 'civilisation and Christianity' had achieved. The government feared that discontent had begun to take the form of an ideology of insubordination. The Driefontein case revealed the government's failure to mould the Kholwa into a reliably compliant group within its overall policy of domination. In the Natal of 1905 it seemed that insubordination was spreading beyond the boundaries of the working class and traditional clans. R.C. Samuelson, who mustered volunteers during the rebellion, warned Johannes Kumalo, the aged chief at Driefontein, that 'anyone who does not help is the worst enemy to the native and this country'.¹⁵

Kumalo tried to explain that his leading men were all away from the district and that he was unable to muster remaining tenants to join the volunteers.

Clearly, Kumalo's earlier authority was no longer a reality as communal unity had fragmented in the context of increasing labour migrancy. Kumalo had suffered humiliation at the hands of colonial officials from the time of the Anglo-Zulu War. More recently, his grandson had been assaulted for refusing to doff his hat in the Ladysmith Magistrate's Court. The incident went to court but Kumalo lost his case. It is little wonder that the formerly loyal Driefontein community were bitterly resentful of their treatment. Nevertheless, Kumalo faced a dilemma for his whole life testified to loyal commitment to the colony and the Crown overlaid by an even deeper bond to Christianity.

The Minister of Native Affairs called a meeting of the leading Driefontein and Edendale elders in Pietermaritzburg to find out the reason for the failure of volunteers. Lazarus Xaba, veteran of the Anglo-Zulu and Anglo-Boer wars, pointed out that promises of the past had been broken and people were disillusioned. No permanent volunteer force had been created so people were untrained and thus unwilling to fight. The government had left them as 'so many helpless women'.

There were also sound economic reasons why people did not volunteer. They could not abandon their occupations as many of them were in debt after a two-year drought. Xaba pointed out, not without some irony, that the hut tax and poll tax had still to be paid.

Kholwa disillusionment was the context in which some whites redoubled their efforts to ensure their continued loyalty to the colony. In 1907, for instance, Ralph Tatham espoused the cause of the NNC. Though a sympathiser, Tatham's objective was to provide a conservative influence. At one meeting of the Congress, Tatham urged members 'to make efforts to raise themselves, and to become in truth a great people':

He pointed out that it was useless to attempt to advance their cause by means of war, and that the only way that the natives can advance their cause is to work in harmony with the authorities and he specifically emphasised the value to the natives of the Imperial connection.¹⁶

Tatham's support for the 'native' cause was not accepted by all members of the NNC. Some felt that it was necessary to have the support of whites 'for at the present time it is difficult for a matter which is being promoted by Natives alone to be of any effect on the government', while others, including the local Durban chairman S. Nyongwana, felt that 'a European is not required'. The upshot of this was to blunt Tatham's enthusiasm. He complained bitterly to Josiah Gumede:

You put in your letter the following question to me with regard to the natives, namely what is your future going to be? I do not know. I know what it could be made. I know that the natives can be made very helpful indeed in the development of South Africa both from the European's point of view and also from the Natives' point of view. In the interests of both, the natives' future can be made satisfactory to both, I am sure. But, how do you natives expect consideration from leading men in this Country if you show them that you are not worthy of it? Do not misunderstand me. I am merely asking a question because for six months I have been thrown into close contact with leading natives and I am bound to say that I feel rather disappointed. I have received much ingratitude. If others who assist the natives receive the same ingratitude the natives will only have themselves to blame for the fact that you ask what their future is going to be. I can now understand why the late Mr Harry Escombe at one time a great champion of native interests, practically ceased to take an active interest in their welfare, although he defended the Zulu Chiefs before they were banished to St Helena entirely free of cost... The Natives future is mainly in his own power; it lies in smooth working with the Europeans not against them.¹⁷

In theory this might be what members of the NNC wished to do, but the reality demanded a somewhat less conciliatory strategy. After the rebellion, the NNC continued to demand civil and electoral rights. Dube and *Ilanga* were its spokesmen. Dube was also disillusioned with the government because of its treatment of loyal Africans during the rebellion:

At the time I counselled natives to pay their Poll Tax, but immediately after the commencement of the insurrection those in charge of your Forces caused me to have a great complaint about them, because I saw that they were eating up the cattle of our people who were not there when the disturbances commenced, thus leaving their children and women in trouble.¹⁸

Post-war fortunes at Edendale

Unlike previous wars, the Anglo-Boer War did not provide the Kholwa with opportunities for accumulation. Indeed, the accumulating activities of the African petty bourgeoisie came under further attack in the early years of the new century. Crown lands were all but closed to African purchasers after 1903. At the same time, on mission reserves as distinct from privately owned mission lands, inhabitants were expected to pay rents after 1903. Educational fees also rose for mission scholars.

John Zulu Mtimkulu's decline in fortunes provides an example of the more general experience of the Kholwa since their days of prosperity in the 1870s. Then, the people's gentrification had evoked the admiration of white visitors.¹⁹ Now, in 1904, their poverty evoked pity. In early 1904 Mtimkulu approached the SNA for a pension for his daughter-in-law whose family had been left destitute after the death of his son in action during the Anglo-Boer War. The SNA supported the application to the military who were providing grants-in-aid for families left without breadwinners. He wrote:

The old man Mtimkulu brought up his children to be useful, hard-working people, and he gave them a certain amount of education, and had them taught a trade. He feels very sore at the thought of his son's children being left destitute after their father lost his life in serving the King.²⁰

By 1904, Mtimkulu was 78 years old and too old to support his son's family. All he could offer was a home at Edendale. To support his son's family of six children would cost £180 a year 'as it cost me that amount every year to rear my family of seven children'. The government paid the widow a gratuity of £25 'in respect of the loss of her husband' although she was disallowed his final month's pay because 'no proof was forthcoming that the deceased was not fully paid up'. She also claimed £36 for war damages assessed by the Native Commissioner in Pretoria. The government agreed to pay three shillings in the pound for her claims. Between 1904 and 1907, nothing was done about Mtimkulu's claim. In 1907 he was informed that he would have to draw up a petition to the Natal Government seeking maintenance.

When the poll tax was introduced, Mtimkulu applied to the SNA for exemption. He harked back to his former services to the government, his age, and his poverty as reasons for exemption. For several years his case received no sympathy: 'He owns land, property and comes to town two or three times a week by rail from Georgetown (Edendale). He can well afford to pay the tax,'²¹ argued the Acting Magistrate in the Umgeni Division, H. van Gerard. In 1909 Mtimkulu in desperation made a personal approach to Arthur Shepstone, SNA. Shepstone wrote, 'he seems a very old man and I know that he is in very reduced circumstances notwithstanding that he owns a small piece of ground'. Mtimkulu's fortunes had reached such a low ebb that by the end of the year he again applied for a pension from the government, once more appealing on the basis of his former services to the government.

Mtimkulu's life in many ways reflects the downward mobility of the less successful members of the Kholwa petty bourgeoisie. His fortunes had been tied to those of the Hlubi as a young child. The Hlubi had been fragmented in the 1830s and 1840s when Mtimkulu had joined the Wesleyans as a youth and acquired artisanal skills and had purchased some property at Edendale. He had managed to provide rudimentary education for his seven children. In the 1870s, during the prime of life, he was able to support himself and his family in some style. Thirty years later, towards the end of his life, his family was scattered and there was little to support him in his old age. His productive life had not provided enough surplus to enable him to save for his old age.

Mtimkulu's life history reflects the effects on the individual of the transformation in social relations and class formation of colonial capitalism

in Natal. Whereas in the middle years of the nineteenth century Natal was a simple commodity economy in which commodity relations were not yet generalised, by the last two decades of the century changes in the political economy witnessed the emergence of more clear-cut, if embryonic, class forms. A working class was in the making, and the gentry was becoming a bourgeoisie. The African petty bourgeoisie, as we have seen in the previous two chapters, was facing a barrage of restrictions in its efforts to increase its capital accumulating capacities. Many people were able to cling on to their existing resources in the 1880s, but few survived the natural disasters of the 1890s. John Zulu Mtimkulu, in his eighties by the end of the century, was one such victim. The descendants of the first landholders and the old *oNonhlevu* families have managed, many of them, to maintain their petty bourgeois class position by virtue of their land resources, which have provided a source of income through rents.

Conclusion

For more than half a century, the community of Christian converts, the Kholwa, had toiled to build new lives as pious, hard-working, loyal and respectable members of colonial society, imbued with Victorian sensibilities. Their transformation from living in kinship societies bound by reciprocal and tributary relationships to productive members of a colonial economy driven by an imperial power trying to promote a home market for capitalism based on private ownership of the means of production and the profit motive was not a hammer blow, as Colin Bundy once put it. Rather, it was a long, syncretic process whereby Christianity, education, property and market exchange produced a hybrid cultural and social life, where some past traditions were retained but Christianity became the new spiritual and guiding principle of their lives. However, neither their Christianity nor their education and work ethic led to what they desired – recognition as colonial citizens on a par with white settlers.

The Kholwa of Edendale were the first to venture into the new property ownership offered by colonial rule. The detailed records kept by missionaries and the colonial civil service provided a unique opportunity to trace details of the material changes to people's lives. However, it was more difficult to provide a history of the inner lives of the people who are the subject of this book. What is clear is that the converts shaped how they engaged with the new circumstances they found themselves in after their move to Natal. Like the white settlers, they were faced with having to begin with primitive

accumulation in order to establish themselves. They did so as a community and though they faced challenges because of global market forces they did not necessarily understand, they found a way of reconstituting a communal identity within a Christian fellowship that gave them a foothold in the new political economy. They blended individual competitiveness with a respect for communal solidarity when they were faced with economic crisis. The Kholwa found ways of protecting their material interests from the vagaries of the market by creating land trusts that remain to this day. They insisted, too, that the missionaries acknowledge the dependence of the Church on their itinerant preaching to spread the gospel, and created a society that protected their interests within the mission community rather than outside it. They resisted the prejudice and discrimination of settlers and officialdom. At the same time, they saw themselves as having rights and duties to the colony, responding to the call to arms and providing services to the colonial state. In turn they demanded civility and civil rights.

The Kholwa constantly refused to be treated as secondary subjects, and demanded fair treatment from both the Church and the colonial state. They sought recognition as virtuous citizens. They formed organisations such as Funamalungelo and later, the NNC to pursue their goals of full citizenship. But by the turn of the century, it was clear that they would have to find new ways to challenge the looming post-colonial settler state that would continue to deny them recognition. This realisation would lead to a new alliance, between the educated Christianised elite and the 'black house outside'. This would itself become a century-long struggle.

ENDNOTES

- 1 R.C. Samuelson was the son of S.M. Samuelson, a Norwegian missionary, and brother to S.O. Samuelson. See Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*: 25.
- 2 See P. Warwick, *Black People and the South African War, 1899–1902* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983): chapter 4.
- 3 This section and the next two paragraphs are based on R.C. Samuelson's extensive report on the scouts to be found in SNA 1/1/316, 4/1903, Medal Roll for Natal Native Scouts.
- 4 SNA 1/1/301, 1658/1903, Minutes about the Distribution of War Medals: 3; F.R. Moor to Prime Minister, 18 June 1903.
- 5 *ibid.*
- 6 SNA 1/1/316, 107/1903, Col. H. Leader to Minister of Justice, 2 September 1903; Jabez Molife, Simeon E. Kambule, Stephanus Xaba, Micah Kunene, Josiah Gumede, Stephen Molife, Solomon Xaba, Simon Kumalo, Abraham Kunene to Commandant of the Natal Volunteers.
- 7 *ibid.*
- 8 See Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion* for the origins of this movement: 59–60, 76–80; A. Odendaal, *Vukani Bantu! The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1984): 23–29.

- 9 Quoted in Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*: 71 from SANAC, vol. 3, Evidence representatives Chief T. Gule: 493.
- 10 SNA 1/1/324, 211410, The Poll Tax Act 1905.
- 11 SNA 1/1/326, 2417/05, Political Reports, cutting from *Ilanga lase Natal*, 1 September 1905.
- 12 SNA 1/1/325, 2302/1905, Precis of Magisterial Reports on the Poll Tax Act, 6 September 1905.
- 13 SNA 1/1/330, 3220/05, Political Reports, cuttings from *Ilanga lase Natal*, 17 and 24 September 1905.
- 14 SNA 1/1/342, 1700/06, Minister of Native Affairs, June 1906.
- 15 *ibid.* See also SNA 1/1/341, 1544/06, Native levies, 21 March 1906.
- 16 SNA 1/1/371, 1806/1907, Newspaper extracts from *Ilanga lase Natal*.
- 17 *ibid.*
- 18 *ibid.*
- 19 See Lady Barker's *A Year's Housekeeping in South Africa* (London: Macmillan, 1879) and F.R. Statham, *Blacks, Boers, and British: A Three-Cornered Problem* (London: Macmillan, 1881).
- 20 SNA 1/1/294, 163/1901, J. Mtinkulu applies for pension.
- 21 SNA 1/1/406, 2237/1908.

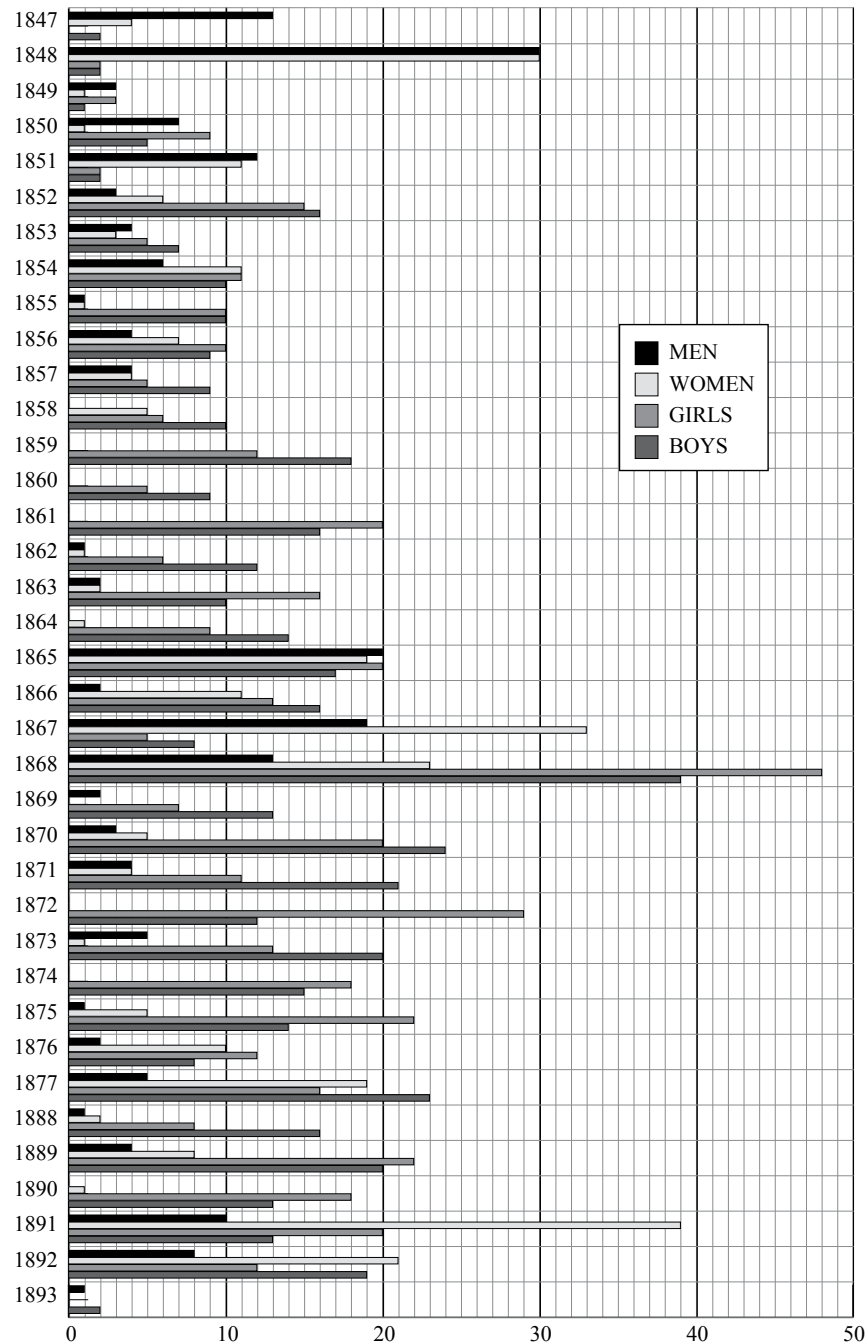
APPENDIX 1

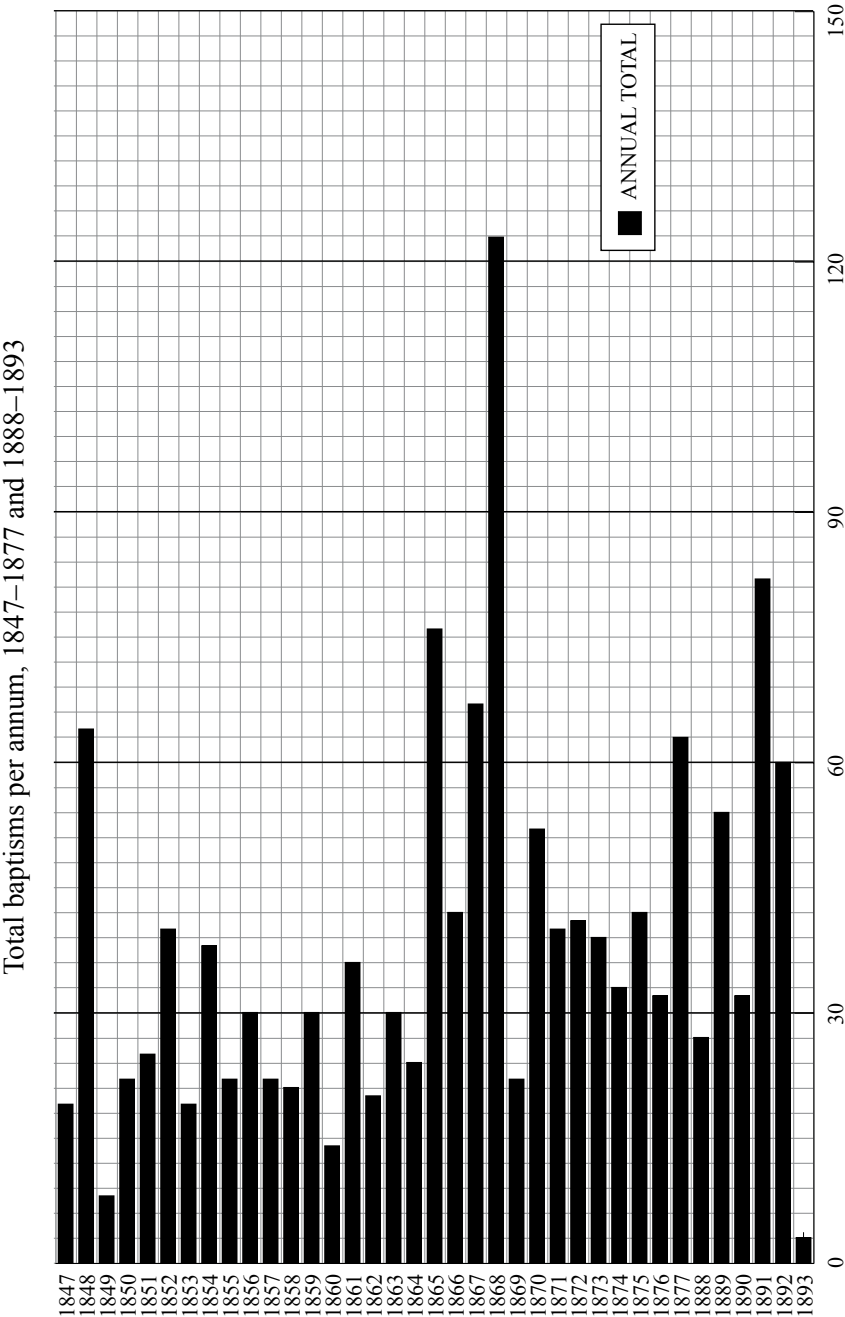
Annual baptisms between 1847 and 1893

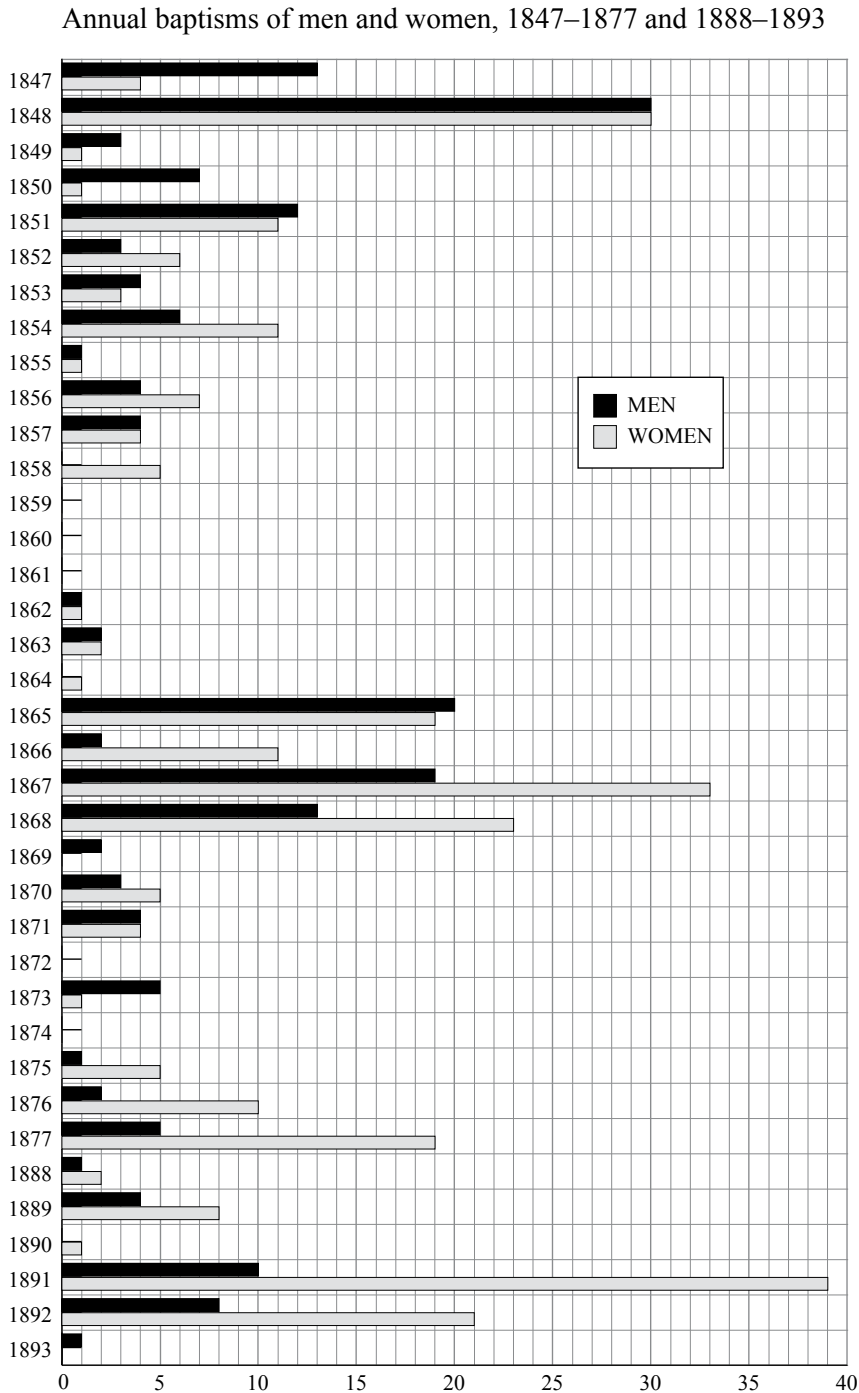
Table of annual baptisms, 1847–1877 and 1888–1893

YEAR	MEN	WOMEN	GIRLS	BOYS	ANNUAL TOTAL
1847	13	4	0	2	19
1848	30	30	2	2	64
1849	3	1	3	1	8
1850	7	1	9	5	22
1851	12	11	2	2	27
1852	3	6	15	16	40
1853	4	3	5	7	19
1854	6	11	11	10	38
1855	1	1	10	10	22
1856	4	7	10	9	30
1857	4	4	5	9	22
1858	0	5	6	10	21
1859	0	0	12	18	30
1860	0	0	5	9	14
1861	0	0	20	16	36
1862	1	1	6	12	20
1863	2	2	16	10	30
1864	0	1	9	14	24
1865	20	19	20	17	76
1866	2	11	13	16	42
1867	19	33	5	8	65
1868	13	23	48	39	123
1869	2	0	7	13	22
1870	3	5	20	24	52
1871	4	4	11	21	40
1872	0	0	29	12	41
1873	5	1	13	20	39
1874	0	0	18	15	33
1875	1	5	22	14	42
1876	2	10	12	8	32
1877	5	19	16	23	63
1888	1	2	8	16	27
1889	4	8	22	20	54
1890	0	1	18	13	32
1891	10	39	20	13	82
1892	8	21	12	19	60
1893	1	0	0	2	3
PERIOD TOTAL	190	289	460	475	1 414

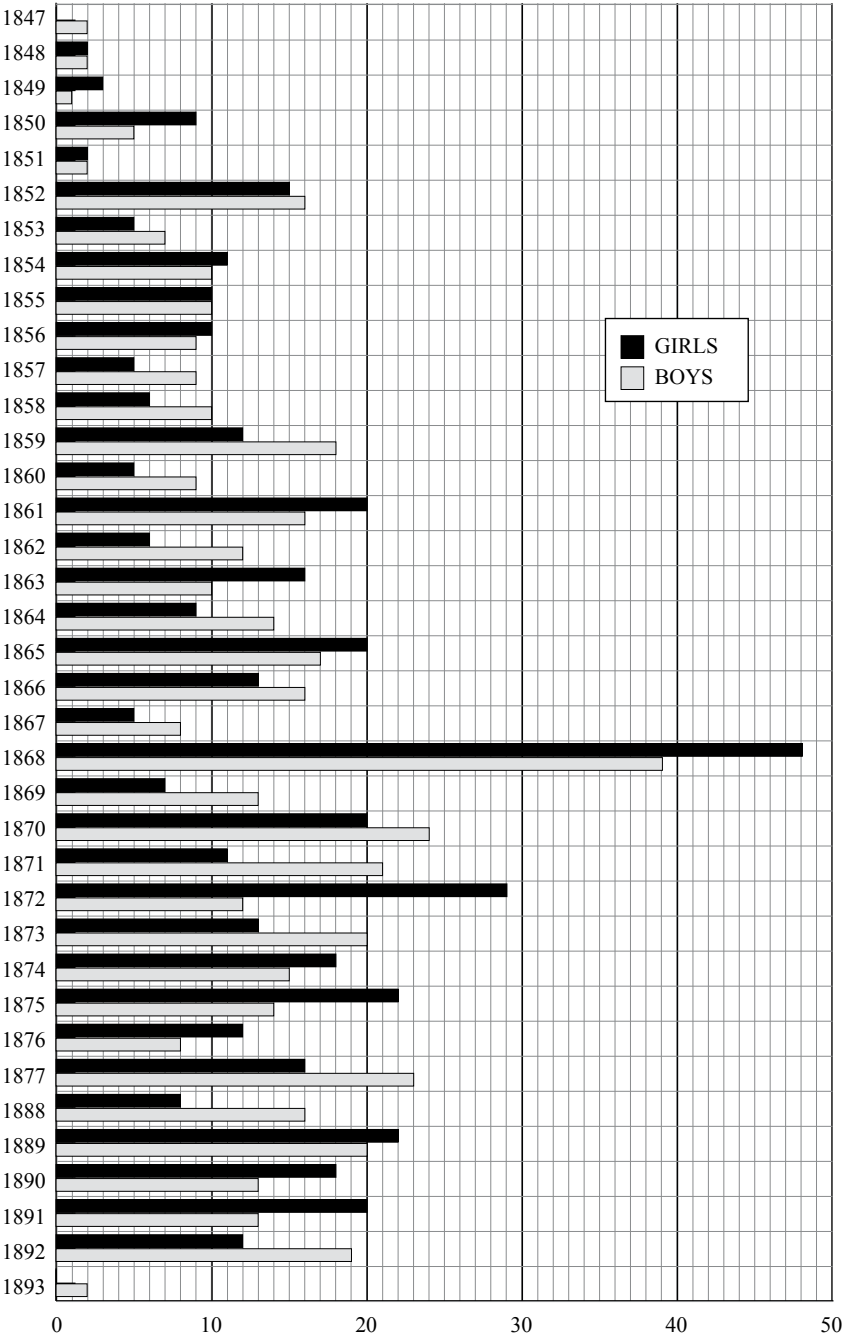
Chart of annual baptisms, 1847–1877 and 1888–1893







Annual baptisms of girls and boys, 1847–1877 and 1888–1893



APPENDIX 2

Land ownership

Table 1.1: Original plots purchased from Allison

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
269	E	1863		Amsterdam, Adam	1.00
K721	G	1863		Amsterdam, Adam	0.25
200	E	1862	1883	Bartman, July	3.75
G699	G	1862	1882	Bartman, July	0.50
70	E	1862		Bloomfontyn, Jacob	1.00
71	E	1862		Bloomfontyn, Jacob	1.00
G700	G	1862		Bloomfontyn, Jacob	0.50
H715	G	1863		Boosak, Andries	0.50
C666	G	1861	1922	Cawe, James	0.25
170	E	1861	1922	Cawe, James	2.00
17	E	1861	1922	Cawe, James	24.75
C668	G	1863	1883	Cawe, James	0.50
1	E	1863	1875	Damand, Joseph	11.00
297	E	1863	1875	Damand, Joseph	6.00
2	E	1863	1875	Damand, Joseph	6.25
122	E	1863	1875	Damand, Joseph	4.50
142	E	1862		Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	3.25
338	E	1862		Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	3.00
44	E	1862	1904	Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	1.00
271	E	1862	1911	Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	11.25
143	E	1862		Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	4.75
220	E	1861	1871	Gama, John	27.25
273	E	1861	1871	Gama, John	8.25
276	E	1861	1871	Gama, John	4.50
F690	G	1861	1871	Gama, John	0.25
H703	G	1861	1862	Geduld, Aaron	0.50
195	E	1861	1862	Geduld, Aaron	2.25
113	E	1864		Gule, Timothy Inyewe	1.00
7	E	1864	1918	Gule, Timothy Inyewe	10.50
P749	G	1864	1918	Gule, Timothy Inyewe	0.50
9	E	1864		Gule, Timothy Inyewe	9.00
N733	G	1864		Gule, Timothy Inyewe	0.25
167	E	1864	1918	Gule, Timothy Inyewe	7.50
356	E	1903	1918	Gule, Timothy Inyewe	33.25
51	E	1864	1859	Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	1.75

Table 1.1 Original plots purchased from Allison (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
23	E	1866		Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	24.50
290	E	1861		Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	3.25
S778	G	1864		Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	1.25
300	E	1864		Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	14.75
46	E	1861		Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	3.50
196	E	1863		Hlongwana, Flooks	2.25
215	E	1862	1925	Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	13.00
107	E	1862	1925	Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	7.50
136	E	1862	1925	Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	4.25
295	E	1862	1912	Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	13.75
Q755	G	1862	1925	Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	0.50
34	E	1861	1883	Homoi, Nehemiah	19.25
313	E	1861	1883	Homoi, Nehemiah	5.25
N734	G	1861	1861	Homoi, Nehemiah	0.50
Q758	G	1861	1883	Homoi, Nehemiah	0.50
22	E	1861	1891	Kambule, Elijah	16.25
E685	G	1861	1891	Kambule, Elijah	1.50
4	E	1861	1891	Kambule, Elijah	18.25
253	E	1861	1891	Kambule, Elijah	16.00
134	E	1861	1896	Kambule, Job Zinyoani	3.75
154	E	1861	1896	Kambule, Job Zinyoani	0.75
133	E	1861	1896	Kambule, Job Zinyoani	1.75
3	E	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	19.50
163	E	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	14.00
53	E	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	2.25
239	E	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	40.50
91	E	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	0.75
51	E	1861		Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	5.25
A655	G	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	0.50
F687	G	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	0.50
49	E	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	2.50
85	E	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	2.00
12	E	1863	1913	Kumalo, Samuel	17.00
D676	G	1862		Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	0.50
10	E	1862		Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	16.00
D679	G	1862	1897	Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	0.25
29	E	1864	1869	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	5.25
S771	G	1864	1898	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	1.00

Table 1.1: Original plots purchased from Allison (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
R767	G	1864	1898	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	0.50
30	E	1864	1898	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	6.75
225	E	1864	1898	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	7.75
226	E	1864	1898	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	1.50
36	E	1864	1898	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	16.75
159	E	1861	1885	Lebayoe, Johannes	1.25
188	E	1861	1885	Lebayoe, Johannes	10.50
50	E	1861	1885	Lebayoe, Johannes	1.75
6	E	1861	1885	Lebayoe, Johannes	12.25
287	E	1865		Lohoho, Andrew Dube	6.00
35	E	1865	1903	Lohoho, Andrew Dube	6.00
P752	G	1865	1865	Lohoho, Andrew Dube	0.25
216	E	1861	1903	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	6.75
138	E	1864	1903	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	2.25
72	E	1864	1903	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	2.25
294	E	1864	1903	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	6.50
152	E	1861	1894	Makuto	1.00
172	E	1861	1894	Makuto	2.75
39	E	1861	1894	Makuto	3.00
121	E	1862	1875	Malgas, Abraham	3.75
108	E	1862	1875	Malgas, Abraham	13.75
G694	G	1862	1875	Malgas, Abraham	0.50
114	E	1862	1875	Malgas, Abraham	41.50
28	E	1862	1875	Malgas, Abraham	8.75
48	E	1862	1875	Malgas, Abraham	3.75
194	E	1862	1892	Malgas, Abraham	2.00
106	E	1861	1892	Maqala, Jacob	11.75
58	E	1861	1892	Maqala, Jacob	0.75
B658	G	1861	1892	Maqala, Jacob	0.25
R763	G	1861	1892	Maqala, Jacob	0.00
92	E	1861	1892	Maqala, Jacob	3.75
173	E	1861	1892	Maqala, Jacob	6.25
55	E	1861	1892	Maqala, Jacob	0.75
260	E	1862	1886	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	4.75
258	E	1862	1886	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	2.50
42	E	1862	1886	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	16.00
182	E	1862	1886	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	29.50
S772	G	1862	1886	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	1.00

Table 1.1: Original plots purchased from Allison (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
181	E	1862	1886	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	1.50
298	E	1862	1886	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	4.00
278	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	14.50
125	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	7.75
H710	G	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	1.00
254	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	1.00
279	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	7.00
8	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	15.00
141	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	4.25
255	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	2.75
104	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	13.00
D678	G	1861	1876	Mavuso, Joseph	0.25
U781	G	1861	1897	Mavuso, Joseph	2.25
66	E	1861	1897	Mavuso, Joseph	2.50
317	E	1861	1877	Mavuso, Joseph	21.50
41	E	1861	1897	Mavuso, Joseph	4.75
25	E	1861	1891	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	13.25
H718	G	1861	1891	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	0.50
H706	G	1861	1891	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	0.50
209	E	1861	1868	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	1.50
190	E	1861	1891	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	20.75
26	E	1861	1891	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	2.50
137	E	1865	1880	Mohlahlo, Jacob	6.25
B659	G	1865	1905	Mohlahlo, Jacob	0.25
218	E	1861	1915	Mohlahlo, Jacob	21.25
5	E	1861	1861	Molife, Adam Liaka	67.75
54	E	1861	1889	Molife, Adam Liaka	3.00
E684	G	1861	1889	Molife, Adam Liaka	1.00
165	E	1861	1889	Molife, Adam Liaka	8.25
103	E	1862	1895	Monakwa, Thomas	10.50
D674	G	1862	1895	Monakwa, Thomas	0.25
33	E	1864	1882	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	9.25
274	E	1864	1882	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	4.25
S776	G	1864	1882	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	0.25
119	E	1864	1882	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	6.50
Q761	G	1864	1882	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	0.75
90	E	1864	1882	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	1.75
T779	G	1864	1882	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	0.50

Table 1.1: Original plots purchased from Allison (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
319	E	1864	1904	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	10.00
D669	G	1861	1918	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	0.75
315	E	1861	1912	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	23.00
67	E	1861	1912	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	4.25
D680	G	1861	1912	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	1.25
124	E	1861	1912	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	12.50
118	E	1861	1912	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	57.00
11	E	1899	1900	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	12.25
19	E	1895		Mtimkulu, John Zulu	32.75
20	E	1895		Mtimkulu, John Zulu	21.25
291	E	1862	1895	Nondabula, Noah	19.25
787	E	1862	1895	Nondabula, Noah	4.25
175	E	1862	1895	Nondabula, Noah	9.75
174	E	1862	1895	Nondabula, Noah	6.50
185	E	1862	1895	Nondabula, Noah	6.50
S775	G	1862	1880	Nondabula, Noah	2.00
57	E	1862	1895	Nondabula, Noah	3.00
P743	G	1861	1877	Nondabula, William	0.50
244	E	1861	1877	Nondabula, William	3.75
251	E	1861	1877	Nondabula, William	2.00
61	E	1861	1877	Nondabula, William	1.75
247	E	1861	1877	Nondabula, William	6.00
249	E	1862	1926	Ompumela	7.50
43	E	1862	1900	Ompumela	3.75
Q757	G	1862	1873	Ompumela	0.25
127	E	1862	1926	Ompumela	0.75
129	E	1862	1926	Ompumela	1.75
790	E	1862	1926	Ompumela	1.00
115	E	1862	1864	Potgieter, William	37.25
27	E	1862	1870	Potgieter, William	12.50
193	E	1862	1892	Potgieter, William	5.00
207	E	1862	1898	Pretorius, July	7.25
H712	G	1862	1869	Pretorius, July	0.25
G701	G	1862	1917	Prince, January	0.50
201	E	1862	1865	Prince, January	2.25
108	E	1862	1862	Pulani, Paul	12.75
31	E	1862		Pulani, Paul	26.25
277	E	1862	1935	Pulani, Paul	5.75

Table 1.1: Original plots purchased from Allison (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
N735	G	1862		Pulani, Paul	1.25
197	E	1865		Reneveld, Jacob	4.50
Q756	G	1862	1882	Sisoka, Ephraim	0.25
280	E	1862	1898	Sisoka, Ephraim	13.25
105	E	1862	1898	Sisoka, Ephraim	7.25
R769	G	1862	1903	Situmba, John	1.00
784	E	1862	1903	Situmba, John	4.00
794	E	1862	1903	Situmba, John	5.50
38	E	1862	1903	Situmba, John	4.50
32	E	1862	1903	Situmba, John	8.75
73	E	1862	1903	Situmba, John	2.25
84	E	1861	1908	Taitai, George	2.00
68	E	1861	1878	Taitai, George	2.00
299	E	1861	1908	Taitai, George	7.00
81	E	1861	1908	Taitai, George	2.25
M728	G	1861	1908	Taitai, George	0.75
R764	G	1862	1863	Tiki, David	0.25
158	E	1862	1863	Tiki, David	1.00
37	E	1862	1863	Tiki, David	2.50
199	E	1863		Tubert, Boy	4.00
56	E	1862	1903	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	1.00
80	E	1862	1903	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	1.50
65	E	1862	1903	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	1.50
144	E	1862	1903	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	4.25
111	E	1862	1903	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	3.75
N736	G	1862	1903	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	0.75
328	E	1861	1909	Umlaw, Simon Hlubi	2.75
140	E	1861	1909	Umlaw, Simon Hlubi	8.00
116	E	1861	1909	Umlaw, Simon Hlubi	4.00
128	E	1861	1909	Umlaw, Simon Hlubi	1.75
60	E	1861	1909	Umlaw, Simon Hlubi	2.50
211	E	1861	1909	Umlaw, Simon Hlubi	2.00
G696	G	1862	1902	Windvogel, Jacob	0.75
192	E	1862	1902	Windvogel, Jacob	2.00
24	E	1862	1902	Windvogel, Jacob	7.75
74	E	1862	1864	Windvogel, Jacob	5.75
A656	G	1861	1917	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	0.75
16	E	1861	1917	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	10.75

Table 1.1: Original plots purchased from Allison (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
164	E	1861	1917	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	8.50
P744	G	1861	1899	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	0.50
15	E	1861	1917	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	100.25
14	E	1861	1886	Xaba, Thomas	9.50
47	E	1861	1908	Zuma, John Inkanhla	4.00
21	E	1861	1894	Zuma, John Inkanhla	41.50
C663	G	1861	1908	Zuma, John Inkanhla	0.50
21	E	1905	1909	Zuma, John Inkanhla	19.50

Table 1.2: Original Edendale landowners (alphabetical)

SURNAME	NAME	ACRES
Amsterdam	Adam	1.25
Bartman	July	4.25
Bloomfontyn	Jacob	2.50
Boosak	Andries	0.50
Cawe	James	27.50
Damand	Joseph	27.75
Dube	Absolom Mahlenga	23.25
Gama	John	40.25
Geduld	Aaron	2.75
Gule	Timothy Inyewe	62.00
Hlatywako	Joseph Mosheshwe	26.25
Hlatywako	Nonjesi Eli	22.75
Hlongwana	Flooks	2.25
Hlubi	Batengi Josiah	39.00
Homoi	Nehemiah	25.50
Kambule	Elijah	52.00
Kambule	Job Zinyoani	6.25
Kumalo	Johannes Hlabati	87.75
Kumalo	Samuel	17.00
Kumalo	Stephanus Siaka	16.75
Kunene	Cornelius Fosi	39.50
Lebayoe	Johannes	25.75
Lohoho	Andrew Dube	12.25
Mahuquani	Somxotwa	17.75
Makuto	–	6.75
Malgas	Abraham	74.00
Maqala	Jacob	23.50
Masuku	Nicholas Makonondo	59.25
Matebula	Nathanial Onbeti	66.25
Mavuso	Joseph	31.25
Mini	Stephanus Mzolo	39.00
Mohlahlo	Jacob	27.75
Molife	Adam Liaka	80.00
Monakwa	Thomas	10.75
Msane	Matthew Mzondo	33.25

Table 1.2: Original Edendale landowners (alphabetical) (*cont.*)

SURNAME	NAME	ACRES
Msimang	Daniel Mavuso	111.00
Mtimkulu	John Zulu	54.00
Nondabula	Noah	51.25
Nondoda	William	14.00
Ompumela	–	15.00
Potgieter	William	54.75
Pretorius	July	7.50
Prince	January	2.75
Pulani	Paul	46.00
Reneveld	Jacob	4.50
Sisoka	Ephraim	20.75
Situmba	John	26.00
Taitai	George	14.00
Tiki	David	3.75
Tubert	Boy	4.00
Tyingela	Sikupukupani Ezra	12.75
Umlaw	Simon Hlubi	21.00
Windvogel	Jacob	16.25
Xaba	Jonathan Mokatsare	120.75
Xaba	Thomas	9.50
Zuma	John Inkanhla	65.50

Table 1.3: Original Edendale landowners (in order of landholding size)

SURNAME	FIRST NAME(S)	ACRES
Xaba	Jonathan Mokatsare	120.75
Msimang	Daniel Mavuso	111.00
Kumalo	Johannes Hlabati	87.75
Molife	Adam Liaka	80.00
Malgas	Abraham	74.00
Matebula	Nathanial Onbeti	66.25
Zuma	John Inkanhla	65.50
Gule	Timothy Inyewe	62.00
Masuku	Nicholas Makonondo	59.25
Potgieter	William	54.75
Mtimkulu	John Zulu	54.00
Kambule	Elijah	52.00
Nondabula	Noah	51.25
Pulani	Paul	46.50
Gama	John	40.25
Kunene	Cornelius Fosi	39.50
Mini	Stephanus Mzolo	39.00
Hlubi	Batengi Josiah	39.00
Msane	Matthew Mzondo	33.25
Mavuso	Joseph	31.25
Mohlahlo	Jacob	27.75
Damand	Joseph	27.75
Cawe	James	27.50
Hlatywako	Joseph Mosheshwe	26.25
Situmba	John	26.00
Lebayoe	Johannes	25.75
Homoi	Nehemiah	25.50
Maqala	Jacob	23.50
Dube	Absolom Mahlenga	23.25
Hlatywako	Nonjesi Eli	22.75
Umlaw	Simon Hlubi	21.00
Sisoka	Ephraim	20.75
Mahuquani	Somxotwa	17.75
Kumalo	Samuel	17.00
Kumalo	Stephanus Siaka	16.75
Windvogel	Jacob	16.25
Ompumela	–	15.00

Table 1.3: Original Edendale landowners
(in order of landholding size) (*cont.*)

SURNAME	FIRST NAME(S)	ACRES
Taitai	George	14.00
Nondoda	William	14.00
Tyingela	Sikupukupani Ezra	12.75
Lohoho	Andrew Dube	12.25
Monakwa	Thomas	10.75
Xaba	Thomas	9.50
Pretorius	July	7.50
Makuto	-	6.75
Kambule	Job Zinyoani	6.25
Reneveld	Jacob	4.50
Bartman	July	4.25
Tubert	Boy	4.00
Tiki	David	3.75
Prince	January	2.75
Geduld	Aaron	2.75
Bloomfontyn	Jacob	2.50
Hlongwana	Flooks	2.25
Amsterdam	Adam	1.25
Boosak	Andries	0.50

Table 2.1: Original list of land transferred, 1860–1869
(excluding original transfers from Allison)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
K722	G	1864	1866	Cope, George Augustus	0.25
309	E	1864	1866	Cope, George Augustus	9.50
203	E	1866	1866	Cope, George Augustus	2.00
K722	G	1866	1866	Freeman, Charles	0.25
309	E	1866	1866	Freeman, Charles	9.50
H703	G	1861	1862	Geduld, Aaron	0.50
195	E	1861	1862	Geduld, Aaron	2.25
51	E	1864	1859	Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	1.75
196	E	1863	1864	Hlongwana, Flooks	2.25
N734	G	1861	1861	Homoi, Nehemiah	0.50
178	E	1863	1863	Kumalo, Samuel	10.75
29	E	1864	1869	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	5.25
P752	G	1865	1865	Lohoho, Andrew Dube	0.25
B660	G	1865	1865	Mahan, Simon	0.25
209	E	1861	1868	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	1.50
208	E	1866	1868	Mkwananzi, Present	1.50
355	E	1861	1867	Mokoluhla	4.00
5	E	1861	1861	Molife, Adam Liaka	67.75
8660	G	1863	1865	Motano, Samuel	0.25
L726	G	1863	1863	Nomemponda, Aaron	0.25
157	E	1864	1869	Pawson, Edwin	1.00
74	E	1864	1869	Pawson, Edwin	5.75
115	E	1862	1864	Potgieter, William	37.25
201	E	1862	1865	Prince, January	2.25
108	E	1862	1862	Pulani, Paul	12.75
K722	G	1863	1864	Rykaard, Jaas	0.25
203	E	1863	1866	Rykaard, Jaas	2.00
K724	G	1863	1866	Rykaard, Jaas	0.25
309	E	1864	1864	Rykaard, Jaas	9.50
157	E	1863	1864	Suma [Zuma?], Lot	1.00
R764	G	1862	1863	Tiki, David	0.25
158	E	1862	1863	Tiki, David	1.00
37	E	1862	1863	Tiki, David	2.50
Q759	G	1866	1866	Tiki, David	0.25
74	E	1862	1864	Windvogel, Jacob	5.75

Table 2.2: Landowners as at end 1869 (alphabetical)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Allison, James	46.50	Mahulela	1.25
Amsterdam, Adam	1.25	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	17.75
Bartman, July	4.25	Majaru, William	11.50
Batje, Stuurman	1.00	Makuto	6.75
Bennett, William	2.25	Malgas, Abraham	74.00
Bloomfontyn, Jacob	2.50	Maliani	18.75
Boosak, Andries	0.50	Manhlakampisi	9.50
Caluza, Reuben Nhlela	47.75	Manwick, Adonis	0.50
Cawe, James	27.50	Maqala, Jacob	23.50
Cope, George Augustus	2.25	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	151.25
Cowley, Isaac	9.75	Matambo, James	15.25
Damand, Joseph	29.25	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	66.25
Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	23.25	Mavuso, Joseph	63.50
Gama, John	40.25	Melville, John	2.00
Gule, Timothy Inyewe	59.50	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	72.25
Gumbi, Mataweni Paul	5.25	Mkwananzi, Present	8.25
Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	25.50	Mohabela	10.25
Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	22.75	Mohlallo, Jacob	27.75
Hlongwana, Flooks	10.75	Molife, Adam Liaka	12.25
Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	39.00	Molife, Jabez	67.75
Homoi, Nehemiah	25.00	Monakwa, Thomas	10.75
Intuto, Enoch	66.00	Mosemi, Jabez	9.00
Intutompela	3.50	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	36.00
Inyamatoti, Sarah	4.75	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	99.00
Jubani, Zedikiah	43.75	Msomi, Samuel	6.75
Kambule, Elijah	125.25	Nkalo	18.75
Kambule, Job Zinyoani	96.75	Nomempondo, Aaron	0.25
Konzactwa	21.00	Nondabula, Noah	51.25
Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	87.75	Nondoda, William	14.00
Kumalo, Samuel	46.25	Nyamtole, Sarah	0.50
Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	16.75	Ohlosa, Jonah	27.75
Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	34.25	Ompumela	15.00
Kunene, Nehemiah	0.50	Pawson, Mary Entwistle	6.75
Kwana, Jacob Mane	0.25	Pigani, Benjamin	17.00
Lebayoe, Johannes	25.75	Potgieter, William	6.00
Lilje, Abraham	26.00	Pretorius, July	7.50
Lohoho, Andrew Dube	12.00	Prince, January	2.00
Magaleni	1.50	Pulani, Paul	33.75

Table 2.2: Landowners as at end 1869 (alphabetical) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Reneveld, Jacob	4.50	Tolo, Abraham	37.25
Rooi, Jonah	3.00	Tubert, Boy	4.00
Russell, Henry	0.25	Tyingela, Monganjelwa Hezek	1.75
September	0.50	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	12.75
Sikwatini, Nicodimusi	12.25	Umkokohlami	12.00
Silangani, W	32.75	Umlaw, Simon Hlubi	21.00
Sinofani	19.00	Vilakazi, Monganjelwa Hezek	56.00
Sisoka, Ephraim	20.75	Wesleyan Mission Society	4.75
Situmba, John	26.00	Windvogel, Jacob	10.50
Sontusa, Obediah	34.25	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	120.75
Steere, Elizabeth	37.25	Xaba, Thomas	9.50
Suma [Zuma?], Lot	18.25	Zuma, John Inkanhla	46.00
Taitai, George	14.00	Zuma, Lot	0.75
Tarboton, Edwin	3.00	TOTAL (103 landowners)	2 623

Table 2.3: Landowners as at end 1869 (in order of size)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	151.25	Homoi, Nehemiah	25.00
Kambule, Elijah	125.25	Maqala, Jacob	23.50
Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	120.75	Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	23.25
Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	99.00	Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	22.75
Kambule, Job Zinyoani	96.75	Konzactwa	21.00
Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	87.75	Umlaw, Simon Hlubi	21.00
Malgas, Abraham	74.00	Sisoka, Ephraim	20.75
Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	72.25	Sinofani	19.00
Molife, Jabez	67.75	Maliani	18.75
Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	66.25	Nkalo	18.75
Intuto, Enoch	66.00	Suma [Zuma?], Lot	18.25
Mavuso, Joseph	63.50	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	17.75
Gule, Timothy Inyewe	59.50	Pigani, Benjamin	17.00
Vilakazi, Monganjelwa Hezek	56.00	Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	16.75
Nondabula, Noah	51.25	Matambo, James	15.25
Caluza, Reuben Nhlela	47.75	Ompumela	15.00
Allison, James	46.50	Nondoda, William	14.00
Kumalo, Samuel	46.25	Taitai, George	14.00
Zuma, John Inkanhla	46.00	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	12.75
Jubani, Zedekiah	43.75	Molife, Adam Liaka	12.25
Gama, John	40.25	Sikwatini, Nicodimusi	12.25
Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	39.00	Lohoho, Andrew Dube	12.00
Steere, Elizabeth	37.25	Umkokhlami	12.00
Tolo, Abraham	37.25	Majaru, William	11.50
Msane, Matthew Mzondo	36.00	Hlongwana, Flooks	10.75
Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	34.25	Monakwa, Thomas	10.75
Sontusa, Obediah	34.25	Windvogel, Jacob	10.50
Pulani, Paul	33.75	Mohabela	10.25
Silangani, W.	32.75	Cowley, Isaac	9.75
Damand, Joseph	29.25	Manhlakampisi	9.50
Mohlahlo, Jacob	27.75	Xaba, Thomas	9.50
Ohlosa, Jonah	27.75	Mosemi, Jabez	9.00
Cawe, James	27.50	Mkwananzi, Present	8.25
Lilje, Abraham	26.00	Pretorius, July	7.50
Situmba, John	26.00	Makuto	6.75
Lebayoe, Johannes	25.75	Msomi, Samuel	6.75
Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	25.50	Pawson, Mary Entwistle	6.75

Table 2.3: Landowners as at end 1869 (in order of size) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Potgieter, William	6.00	Tyingela, Monganjelwa Hezek	1.75
Gumbi, Mataweni Paul	5.25	Magaleni	1.50
Inyamatoti, Sarah	4.75	Amsterdam, Adam	1.25
Wesleyan Mission Society	4.75	Mahulela	1.25
Reneveld, Jacob	4.50	Batje, Stuurman	1.00
Bartman, July	4.25	Zuma, Lot	0.75
Tubert, Boy	4.00	Boosak, Andries	0.50
Intutompela	3.50	Kunene, Nehemiah	0.50
Rooi, Jonah	3.00	Manwick, Adonis	0.50
Tarboton, Edwin	3.00	Nyamtole, Sarah	0.50
Bloomfontyn, Jacob	2.50	September	0.50
Bennett, William	2.25	Kwana, Jacob Mane	0.25
Cope, George Augustus	2.25	Nomempondo, Aaron	0.25
Melville, John	2.00	Russell, Henry	0.25
Prince, January	2.00	TOTAL (103 landowners)	2 623

Table 3.1: List of land transferred, 1870–1879

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
F690	G	1871	1871	Barton, Henry S.	0.25
158	E	1863	1870	Bennett, William	1.00
H703	G	1862	1870	Bennett, William	0.50
37	E	1863	1870	Bennett, William	2.50
L726	G	1863	1870	Bennett, William	0.25
R764	G	1863	1870	Bennett, William	0.25
P743	G	1877	1877	Caluza, Isaac	0.50
B657	G	1862	1877	Caluza, Reuben Nhlela	0.25
H703	G	1870	1875	Campbell, Emma	0.50
196	E	1864	1872	Cope, George Augustus	2.25
122	E	1863	1875	Damand, Joseph	4.50
1	E	1863	1875	Damand, Joseph	11.00
789	E	1863	1875	Damand, Joseph	1.00
H702	G	1863	1875	Damand, Joseph	0.50
297	E	1863	1875	Damand, Joseph	6.00
2	E	1863	1875	Damand, Joseph	6.25
P743	G	1877	1877	Dhlamini, Joshua	0.50
273	E	1861	1871	Gama, John	8.25
F690	G	1861	1871	Gama, John	0.25
276	E	1861	1871	Gama, John	4.50
220	E	1861	1871	Gama, John	27.25
342	E	1864	1875	Intuto, Enoch	20.75
P743	G	1877	1877	Kambule, Elijah	0.50
169	E	1861	1876	Kambule, Job Zinyoani	9.25
P743	G	1877	1877	Kumalo, Hezekiah	0.50
P743	G	1877	1877	Kumalo, Luke	0.50
P743	G	1877	1877	Kumalo, Simon 19th share	0.50
P743	G	1877	1877	Kumalo, Timothy	0.50
G694	G	1862	1875	Malgas, Abraham	0.50
194	E	1862	1875	Malgas, Abraham	2.00
48	E	1862	1875	Malgas, Abraham	3.75
28	E	1862	1875	Malgas, Abraham	8.75
121	E	1862	1875	Malgas, Abraham	3.75
114	E	1862	1875	Malgas, Abraham	41.50
108	E	1862	1875	Malgas, Abraham	13.75
H711	G	1863	1875	Manwick, Adonis	0.50
317	E	1861	1877	Mavuso, Joseph	21.50
D678	G	1861	1876	Mavuso, Joseph	0.25

Table 3.1: List of land transferred, 1870–1879 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
P743	G	1877	1877	Mkwananzi, Micah 19th share	0.50
P743	G	1877	1877	Mkwananzi, Sesie 19th share	0.50
P743	G	1877	1877	Molife, Jabez	0.50
244	E	1877	1878	Msimang, C.Y.	3.75
P743	G	1877	1877	Msimang, Eliam 19th share	0.50
P743	G	1877	1877	Msimang, Enoch	0.50
247	E	1877	1878	Msimang, Henry	6.00
61	E	1877	1878	Msimang, Henry	1.75
P743	G	1877	1877	Msimang, Henry	0.50
P743	G	1877	1877	Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	0.50
P752	G	1865	1878	Nomempondo, Aaron	0.25
61	E	1861	1877	Nondoda, William	1.75
247	E	1861	1877	Nondoda, William	6.00
P743	G	1861	1877	Nondoda, William	0.50
251	E	1861	1877	Nondoda, William	2.00
244	E	1861	1877	Nondoda, William	3.75
R766	G	1863	1876	Nyamtole, Sarah	0.50
Q757	G	1862	1873	Ompumela	0.25
27	E	1862	1870	Potgieter, William	12.50
115	E	1864	1874	Steere, Elizabeth	37.25
68	E	1861	1878	Taitai, George	2.00
H702	G	1875	1875	Tarboton, David Hainsworth	0.50
P743	G	1877	1877	Tshabalala, Solomon	0.50
P743	G	1877	1879	Vumedo, Isaiah 19th share	0.50
27	E	1870	1871	Wilson, Hugh	12.50
P743	G	1877	1877	Xaba, Amos 19th share	0.50
D678	G	1876	1878	Xaba, Solomon	0.25
P743	G	1877	1877	Xaba, Solomon	0.50
P743	G	1877	1877	Zuma, John 19th share	0.50

Table 3.2: Landowners as at 1879 (alphabetical)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Allison, James	46.50	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	34.25
Amsterdam, Adam	1.25	Kunene, Nehemiah	0.50
Bartman, July	4.25	Kwana, Jacob Mane	0.25
Barton, Henry S	40.00	Lebayoe, Johannes	25.75
Batje, Stuurman	1.00	Lilje, Abraham	26.00
Bennett, William	2.25	Lohoho, Andrew Dube	12.00
Bloomfontyn, Jacob	2.50	Magaleni	1.50
Boosak, Andries	0.50	Mahulela	1.25
Caluza, Reuben Nhlela	47.50	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	17.75
Cawe, James	27.50	Majaru, William	11.50
Cowley, Isaac	9.75	Makuto	6.75
Dhlamini, Joshua	0.25	Makwata, John	0.25
Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	23.25	Maliani	18.75
Franklin, Mary A.L. Trustee	2.25	Malinga, Andrews	20.75
Green, Ellen	51.00	Manhlakampisi	9.50
Gule, Petrus	12.50	Maqala, Jacob	23.50
Gule, Timothy Inyewe	60.50	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	151.25
Gumbi, Mataweni Paul	5.25	Matambo, James	15.25
Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	25.50	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	66.25
Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	22.75	Mavuso, Joseph	41.75
Hlongwana, Flooks	10.75	Melville, John	2.00
Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	39.00	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	72.25
Homoi, Nehemiah	25.00	Mkwananzi, Present	8.25
Intuto, Enoch	45.25	Mohabela	10.25
Intutompela	3.50	Mohlahlo, Jacob	27.75
Inyamatoti, Sarah	4.75	Molife, Adam Liaka	12.25
Jubani, Zedekiah	43.75	Molife, Jabez	67.75
Judaba, Mordecai	0.25	Monakwa, Thomas	10.75
Kambule, Elijah	125.25	Mosemi, Jabez	9.00
Kambule, Job Zinyoani	87.50	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	36.00
Kambule, Simeon Elijah	9.25	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	99.00
Konzactwa	21.00	Msimang, Enoch	2.25
Kumalo, Hezekiah	0.50	Msimang, Henry	6.25
Kumalo, Jacobus	0.50	Msomi, Samuel	6.75
Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	87.75	Mtimkulu, Joel	0.50
Kumalo, Luke	2.75	Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	5.50
Kumalo, Samuel	46.25	Nkalo	18.75
Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	16.75	Nondabula, Noah	51.25

Table 3.2: Landowners as at 1879 (alphabetical) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Ohlosa, Jonah	27.75	Taitai, George	12.00
Ompumela	14.75	Tarboton, Charles H.	1.00
Pawson, Mary Entwistle	6.75	Tarboton, David Hainsworth	109.25
Pigani, Benjamin	17.00	Tarboton, Edwin	3.00
Potgieter, William	6.00	Tolo, Abraham	37.25
Pretorius, July	7.50	Tubert, Boy	4.00
Prince, January	2.00	Tyingela, Monganjelwa Hezek	1.75
Pulani, Paul	33.75	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	14.75
Reneveld, Jacob	4.50	Umkokohlami	12.00
Rooi, Jonah	3.00	Unlaw, Simon Hlubi	21.00
Russell, Henry	0.25	Vilakazi, Monganjelwa Hezek	56.00
September	0.50	Wesleyan Mission Society	5.00
Sikwatini, Nicodimusi	12.25	Windvogel, Jacob	10.50
Silangani, W.	32.75	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	120.75
Sinofani	19.00	Xaba, Thomas	9.50
Sisoka, Ephraim	20.75	Zuma, John Inkanhla	46.00
Situmba, John	26.00	Zuma, Lot	0.75
Sontusa, Obediah	34.25	TOTAL (112 landowners)	2 638.75
Suma [Zuma?], Lot	18.25		

Table 3.3: Landowners as at 1879 (in order of size)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	151.25	Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	25.50
Kambule, Elijah	125.25	Homoi, Nehemiah	25.00
Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	120.75	Maqala, Jacob	23.50
Tarboton, David Hainsworth	109.25	Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	23.25
Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	99.00	Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	22.75
Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	87.75	Konzactwa	21.00
Kambule, Job Zinyoani	87.50	Umlaw, Simon Hlubi	21.00
Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	72.25	Malinga, Andrews	20.75
Molife, Jabez	67.75	Sisoka, Ephraim	20.75
Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	66.25	Sinofani	19.00
Gule, Timothy Inyewe	60.50	Nkalo	18.75
Vilakazi, Monganjelwa Hezek	56.00	Maliani	18.75
Nondabula, Noah	51.25	Suma [Zuma?], Lot	18.25
Green, Ellen	51.00	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	17.75
Caluza, Reuben Nhlela	47.50	Pigani, Benjamin	17.00
Allison, James	46.50	Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	16.75
Kumalo, Samuel	46.25	Matambo, James	15.25
Zuma, John Inkanhla	46.00	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	14.75
Intuto, Enoch	45.25	Ompumela	14.75
Jubani, Zedekiah	43.75	Gule, Petrus	12.50
Mavuso, Joseph	41.75	Sikwatini, Nicodimusi	12.25
Barton, Henry S.	40.00	Molife, Adam Liaka	12.25
Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	39.00	Lohoho, Andrew Dube	12.00
Tolo, Abraham	37.25	Taitai, George	12.00
Msane, Matthew Mzondo	36.00	Umkokhlami	12.00
Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	34.25	Majaru, William	11.50
Sontusa, Obediah	34.25	Hlongwana, Flooks	10.75
Pulani, Paul	33.75	Monakwa, Thomas	10.75
Silangani, W.	32.75	Windvogel, Jacob	10.50
Ohlosa, Jonah	27.75	Mohabela	10.25
Mohlahlo, Jacob	27.75	Cowley, Isaac	9.75
Cawe, James	27.50	Manhlakampisi	9.50
Situmba, John	26.00	Xaba, Thomas	9.50
Lilje, Abraham	26.00	Kambule, Simeon Elijah	9.25
Lebayoe, Johannes	25.75	Mosemi, Jabez	9.00

Table 3.3: Landowners as at 1879 (in order of size) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Mkwanzani, Present	8.25	Prince, January	2.00
Pretorius, July	7.50	Melville, John	2.00
Msomi, Samuel	6.75	Tyingela, Monganjelwa Hezek	1.75
Makuto	6.75	Magaleni	1.50
Pawson, Mary Entwistle	6.75	Amsterdam, Adam	1.25
Msimang, Henry	6.25	Mahulela	1.25
Potgieter, William	6.00	Tarboton, Charles H.	1.00
Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	5.50	Batje, Stuurman	1.00
Gumbi, Mataweni Paul	5.25	Zuma, Lot	0.75
Wesleyan Mission Society	5.00	Boosak, Andries	0.50
Inyamatoti, Sarah	4.75	Kunene, Nehemiah	0.50
Reneveld, Jacob	4.50	Mtimkulu, Joel	0.50
Bartman, July	4.25	Kumalo, Jacobus	0.50
Tubert, Boy	4.00	Kumalo, Hezekiah	0.50
Intutompela	3.50	September	0.50
Tarboton, Edwin	3.00	Makwata, John	0.25
Rooi, Jonah	3.00	Judaba, Mordecai	0.25
Kumalo, Luke	2.75	Kwana, Jacob Mane	0.25
Bloomfontyn, Jacob	2.50	Dhlamini, Joshua	0.25
Franklin, Mary A.L. Trustee	2.25	Russell, Henry	0.25
Bennett, William	2.25	TOTAL (122 landowners)	2 638.75
Msimang, Enoch	2.25		

Table 4.1: List of land transferred, 1880–1889

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
200	E	1862	1883	Bartman, July	3.75
G699	G	1862	1882	Bartman, July	0.50
276	E	1871	1881	Barton, Henry S.	4.50
220	E	1871	1881	Barton, Henry S.	27.25
273	E	1871	1881	Barton, Henry S.	8.25
350	E	1882	1882	Button, Albert Robert	8.00
C668	G	1863	1883	Cawe, James	0.50
R764	G	1882	1885	Coleman, Emily	0.25
350	E	1882	1885	Coleman, Emily	8.00
37	E	1882	1885	Coleman, Emily	2.50
B657	G	1877	1887	Dhlamini, Joshua	0.25
F693	G	1883	1883	Dhlamini, Lucas	0.50
E683	G	1884	1887	Freeman, John	0.25
E682	G	1884	1887	Freeman, John	0.25
206	E	1884	1887	Freeman, John	14.00
101	E	1884	1887	Freeman, John	3.75
H704	G	1884	1887	Freeman, John	0.50
93	E	1884	1887	Freeman, John	3.75
205	E	1884	1887	Freeman, John	3.50
350	E	1885	1886	Geerdts, Max	8.00
37	E	1885	1885	Geerdts, Max	2.50
R764	G	1885	1885	Geerdts, Max	0.25
T779	G	1882	1888	Green, Ellen	0.50
274	E	1882	1888	Green, Ellen	4.25
785	E	1882	1888	Green, Ellen	12.75
90	E	1882	1888	Green, Ellen	1.75
S776	G	1882	1888	Green, Ellen	0.25
Q761	G	1882	1888	Green, Ellen	0.75
119	E	1883	1888	Green, Ellen	6.50
N732	G	1864	1884	Gule, Timothy Inyewe	0.50
34	E	1851	1883	Homoi, Nehemiah	19.25
313	E	1861	1883	Homoi, Nehemiah	5.25
Q758	G	1861	1883	Homoi, Nehemiah	0.50
227	E	1861	1889	Jubani, Zedikiah	37.50
179	E	1861	1889	Jubani, Zedikiah	6.25
F693	G	1883	1883	Kambule, Elijah	0.50
F693	G	1883	1883	Kambule, Isaac	0.50
F693	G	1883	1883	Kambule, Job Zinyoani	0.50

Table 4.1: List of land transferred, 1880–1889 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
H711	G	1875	1883	Kumalo, Jacobus	0.50
F693	G	1883	1883	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	0.50
R764	G	1870	1882	Kumalo, Luke	0.25
37	E	1870	1882	Kumalo, Luke	2.50
F693	G	1883	1883	Kumalo, Samuel	0.50
F693	G	1883	1883	Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	0.50
N734	G	1861	1882	Kunene, Nehemiah	0.50
159	E	1861	1885	Lebayoe, Johannes	1.25
188	E	1861	1885	Lebayoe, Johannes	10.50
50	E	1861	1885	Lebayoe, Johannes	1.75
6	E	1861	1885	Lebayoe, Johannes	12.25
206	E	1861	1882	Lilje, Abraham	14.00
101	E	1861	1882	Lilje, Abraham	3.75
E683	G	1861	1882	Lilje, Abraham	0.25
93	E	1861	1882	Lilje, Abraham	3.75
E682	G	1861	1882	Lilje, Abraham	0.25
205	E	1861	1882	Lilje, Abraham	3.50
H704	G	1861	1882	Lilje, Abraham	0.50
101	E	1882	1884	Lilje, Nicolaas	3.75
205	E	1882	1884	Lilje, Nicolaas	3.50
93	E	1882	1884	Lilje, Nicolaas	3.75
H704	G	1882	1884	Lilje, Nicolaas	0.50
E682	G	1882	1884	Lilje, Nicolaas	0.25
206	E	1882	1884	Lilje, Nicolaas	14.00
E683	G	1882	1884	Lilje, Nicolaas	0.25
T780	G	1861	1880	Majaru, William	0.50
350	E	1861	1882	Majaru, William	8.00
788	E	1861	1880	Majaru, William	3.00
221	E	1862	1882	Manhlakampisi	9.00
260	E	1862	1886	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	4.75
182	E	1862	1886	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	29.50
S772	G	1862	1886	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	1.00
181	E	1862	1886	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	1.50
298	E	1862	1886	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	4.00
F693	G	1883	1883	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	0.50
203	E	1866	1883	Melville, John	2.00
137	E	1865	1880	Mohlahlo, Jacob	6.25
171	E	1882	1885	Molambo, William	2.75

Table 4.1: List of land transferred, 1880–1889 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
232	E	1882	1883	Molambo, William	38.00
54	E	1861	1889	Molife, Adam Liaka	3.00
E684	G	1861	1889	Molife, Adam Liaka	1.00
165	E	1861	1889	Molife, Adam Liaka	8.25
33	E	1864	1882	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	9.25
274	E	1864	1882	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	4.25
S776	G	1864	1882	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	0.25
785	E	1864	1882	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	12.75
119	E	1864	1882	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	6.50
Q761	G	1864	1882	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	0.75
90	E	1864	1882	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	1.75
T779	G	1864	1882	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	0.50
F693	G	1883	1883	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	0.50
B660	G	1865	1882	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	0.25
F693	G	1883	1883	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	0.50
F693	G	1883	1883	Msimang, Henry	0.50
S775	G	1862	1880	Nondabula, Noah	2.00
114	E	1886	1887	Oddfellows Port Natal	41.50
282	E	1863	1882	Pigani, Benjamin	1.75
345	E	1863	1882	Pigani, Benjamin	0.75
344	E	1863	1882	Pigani, Benjamin	14.50
119	E	1882	1883	Shepstone, Theophilus Jnr	6.50
274	E	1882	1882	Shepstone, Theophilus Jnr	4.25
Q761	G	1882	1882	Shepstone, Theophilus Jnr	0.75
T779	G	1882	1882	Shepstone, Theophilus Jnr	0.50
S776	G	1882	1882	Shepstone, Theophilus Jnr	0.25
90	E	1882	1882	Shepstone, Theophilus Jnr	1.75
785	E	1882	1882	Shepstone, Theophilus Jnr	12.75
33	E	1882	1882	Shepstone, Theophilus Jnr	9.25
214	E	1862	1882	Sinofani	18.00
112	E	1862	1882	Sinofani	1.00
Q756	G	1862	1882	Sisoka, Ephraim	0.25
C668	G	1883	1883	Spencer, Frederick	0.50
242	E	1863	1888	Suma [Zuma?], Lot	8.25
353	E	1863	1889	Suma [Zuma?], Lot	10.00
114	E	1875	1885	Tarboton, David Hainsworth	41.50
194	E	1875	1885	Tarboton, David Hainsworth	2.00
122	E	1875	1885	Tarboton, David Hainsworth	4.50

Table 4.1: List of land transferred, 1880–1889 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
2	E	1875	1885	Tarboton, David Hainswqrth	6.25
121	E	1875	1885	Tarboton, David Hainsworth	3.75
28	E	1875	1885	Tarboton, David Hainsworth	8.75
297	E	1875	1885	Tarboton, David Hainsworth	6.00
1	E	1875	1885	Tarboton, David Hainsworth	11.00
789	E	1875	1885	Tarboton, David Hainsworth	1.00
48	E	1875	1885	Tarboton, David Hainsworth	3.75
G694	G	1875	1885	Tarboton, David Hainsworth	0.50
317	E	1877	1885	Tarboton, David Hainsworth	20.25
G694	G	1885	1886	Tarboton Estate	0.50
789	E	1885	1886	Tarboton Estate	1.00
297	E	1885	1886	Tarboton Estate	6.00
2	E	1885	1886	Tarboton Estate	6.25
317	E	1885	1886	Tarboton Estate	20.25
194	E	1885	1886	Tarboton Estate	2.00
48	E	1885	1886	Tarboton Estate	3.75
1	E	1885	1886	Tarboton Estate	11.00
114	E	1885	1886	Tarboton Estate	41.50
122	E	1885	1886	Tarboton Estate	4.50
28	E	1885	1886	Tarboton Estate	8.75
121	E	1885	1886	Tarboton Estate	3.75
F693	G	1883	1883	Tusi, Jabez 13th share	0.50
96	E	1861	1886	Tyingela, Monganjelwa Hezek	1.75
187	E	1861	1886	Vilakazi, Monganjelwa Hezek	45.75
131	E	1861	1886	Vilakazi, Monganjelwa Hezek	2.25
153	E	1861	1886	Vilakazi, Monganjelwa Hezek	1.00
P747	G	1861	1886	Vilakazi, Monganjelwa Hezek	0.25
97	E	1861	1886	Vilakazi, Monganjelwa Hezek	4.25
132	E	1861	1886	Vilakazi, Monganjelwa Hezek	2.50
14	E	1861	1886	Xaba, Thomas	9.50

Table 4.2: Landowners as at 1889 (alphabetical)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Allison, James	46.50	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	34.25
Amsterdam, Adam	1.25	Kunene, Joseph	26.00
Batje, Stuurman	1.00	Kunene, Micah	2.75
Bennett, William	2.25	Kunene, Nephtail	0.50
Bloomfontyn, Jacob	2.50	Kwana, Jacob Mane	0.25
Bobotshana	8.00	Lohoho, Andrew Dube	12.00
Boosak, Andries	0.50	Magaleni	1.50
Caluza, Reuben Nhlela	47.50	Mahlulela	1.25
Campbell, Emma	26.00	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	17.75
Cawe, James	27.00	Majorka, Lanich	0.25
Cengelele, Isaac	27.25	Makuto	6.75
Cowley, Isaac	9.75	Makwata, John	0.25
Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	23.25	Malafeni, James	11.00
Franklin, Mary A.L. Trustee	2.25	Maliani	18.75
Gama, John	40.00	Malinga, Andrews	20.75
Green, Ellen	60.25	Manhlakampisi	0.50
Gule, Petrus	13.00	Manoka	53.50
Gule, Timothy Inyewe	60.00	Maqala, Jacob	23.50
Gumbi, Mataweni Paul	5.25	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	110.50
Hamlyn, John	10.00	Masuku, Philip	3.00
Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	25.50	Matafeni, James	39.75
Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	22.75	Matambo, James	15.25
Hlongwana, Flooks	10.75	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	66.25
Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	39.00	Mavuso, Joseph	41.75
Intuto, Enoch	45.25	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	72.25
Intutompela	3.50	Mini, Stephen	0.50
Inyamatoti, Sarah	4.75	Mkwananzi, Present	8.25
Jubani, Jeremiah Trust	43.75	Mohabela	10.25
Judaba, Mordecai	0.25	Mohlahlo, Jacob	21.50
Kambule, Elijah	125.25	Molambo, William	2.75
Kambule, Job Zinyoani	87.50	Molife, Jabez	80.00
Kambule, Simeon Elijah	9.25	Monakwa, Thomas	15.00
Konzactwa	21.00	Mosemi, Jabez	9.00
Kumalo, Hezekiah	0.50	Msane, Saul	26.75
Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	87.75	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	98.75
Kumalo, Samuel	46.25	Msimang, Eliam	0.25
Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	16.75	Msimang, Enoch	28.50
Kunene, Buhlene	19.00	Msimang, Henry	6.25

Table 4.2: Landowners as at 1889 (alphabetical) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Msimang, Joel	0.50	Situmba, John	26.00
Msimang, Luke	0.75	Sondezi, Joseph	25.75
Msomi, Samuel	6.75	Sontusa, Obediah	34.25
Mtembu, Marian Dhlamini	0.25	Taitai, George	12.00
Mtimkulu, Joel	0.50	Tarboton, Charles H.	1.00
Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	5.50	Tarboton, David Hainsworth	2.00
Nkalo	18.75	Tarboton, Edwin	41.00
Nondabula, Noah	92.50	Taylor, James S.C.	41.50
Oddfellows Port Natal	67.75	Tolo, Abraham	37.25
Ohlosa, Jonah	27.75	Tshabalala, Jacob	0.50
Ompumela	14.75	Tubert, Boy	4.00
Pawson, Mary Entwistle	6.75	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	14.75
Potgieter, William	6.00	Umkokohlami	12.00
Pretorius, July	7.50	Umlaw, Simon Hlubi	21.00
Prince, January	2.00	Vilakazi, Levi	0.50
Pulani, Paul	33.75	Wesleyan Mission Society	5.00
Reneveld, Jacob	4.50	Wiltshier, Edward H.	4.25
Rooi, Jonah	3.00	Windvogel, Jacob	10.50
Russell, Henry	0.25	Xaba, Jacob	9.50
September	0.50	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	120.75
Sikwatini, Nicodimusi	12.25	Xulu, Jacob	5.00
Silangani, W.	32.75	Zuma, John Inkanhla	46.00
Sisoka, Ephraim	20.50	TOTAL (121 landowners)	2 750.25

Table 4.3: Landowners as at 1889 (in order of size)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Kambule, Elijah	125.25	Situmba, John	26.00
Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	120.75	Sondezi, Joseph	25.75
Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	110.50	Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	25.50
Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	98.75	Maqala, Jacob	23.50
Nondabula, Noah	92.50	Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	23.25
Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	87.75	Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	22.75
Kambule, Job Zinyoani	87.50	Mohlallo, Jacob	21.50
Molife, Jabez	80.00	Umlaw, Simon Hlubi	21.00
Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	72.25	Konzactwa	21.00
Oddfellows Port Natal	67.75	Malinga, Andrews	20.75
Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	66.25	Sisoka, Ephraim	20.50
Green, Ellen	60.25	Kunene, Buhlene	19.00
Gule, Timothy Inyewe	60.00	Maliani	18.75
Manoka	53.50	Nkalo	18.75
Caluza, Reuben Nhlela	47.50	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	17.75
Allison, James	46.50	Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	16.75
Kumalo, Samuel	46.25	Matambo, James	15.25
Zuma, John Inkanhla	46.00	Monakwa, Thomas	15.00
Intuto, Enoch	45.25	Ompumela	14.75
Jubani, Jeremiah Trust	43.75	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	14.75
Mavuso, Joseph	41.75	Gule, Petrus	13.00
Taylor, James S.C.	41.50	Sikwatini, Nicodimusi	12.25
Tarboton, Edwin	41.00	Taitai, George	12.00
Gama, John	40.00	Lohoho, Andrew Dube	12.00
Matafeni, James	39.75	Umkokohlami	12.00
Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	39.00	Malafeni, James	11.00
Tolo, Abraham	37.25	Hlongwana, Flooks	10.75
Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	34.25	Windvogel, Jacob	10.50
Sontusa, Obediah	34.25	Mohabela	10.25
Pulani, Paul	33.75	Hamlyn, John	10.00
Silangani, W.	32.75	Cowley, Isaac	9.75
Msimang, Enoch	28.50	Xaba, Jacob	9.50
Ohlosa, Jonah	27.75	Kambule, Simeon Elijah	9.25
Cengelele, Isaac	27.25	Mosemi, Jabez	9.00
Cawe, James	27.00	Mkwananzi, Present	8.25
Msane, Saul	26.75	Bobotshana	8.00
Campbell, Emma	26.00	Pretorius, July	7.50
Kunene, Joseph	26.00	Pawson, Mary Entwistle	6.75

Table 4.3: Landowners as at 1889 (in order of size) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Msomi, Samuel	6.75	Amsterdam, Adam	1.25
Makuto	6.75	Mahulela	1.25
Msimang, Henry	6.25	Batje, Stuurman	1.00
Potgieter, William	6.00	Tarboton, Charles H.	1.00
Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	5.50	Msimang, Luke	0.75
Gumbi, Mataweni Paul	5.25	Mini, Stephen	0.50
Wesleyan Mission Society	5.00	Kunene, Nephtail	0.50
Xulu, Jacob	5.00	Boosak, Andries	0.50
Inyamatoti, Sarah	4.75	Vilakazi, Levi	0.50
Reneveld, Jacob	4.50	Manhlakampisi	0.50
Wiltshier, Edward H.	4.25	Msimang, Joel	0.50
Tubert, Boy	4.00	Tshabalala, Jacob	0.50
Intutompela	3.50	September	0.50
Rooi, Jonah	3.00	Kumalo, Hezekiah	0.50
Masuku, Philip	3.00	Mtimkulu, Joel	0.50
Kunene, Micah	2.75	Kwana, Jacob Mane	0.25
Molambo, William	2.75	Makwata, John	0.25
Bloomfontyn, Jacob	2.50	Mtembu, Marian Dhlamini	0.25
Bennett, William	2.25	Russell, Henry	0.25
Franklin, Mary A.L. Trustee	2.25	Majorka, Lanich	0.25
Prince, January	2.00	Msimang, Eliam	0.25
Tarboton, David Hainsworth	2.00	Judaba, Mordecai	0.25
Magaleni	1.50	TOTAL (121 landowners)	2 750.25

TABLE 5.1: List of land transferred, 1890–1899

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
800	E	1861	1898	Allison, James	40.25
348	E	1862	1898	Caluza, Reuben Nhlela	2.50
346	E	1862	1898	Caluza, Reuben Nhlela	1.50
347	E	1862	1898	Caluza, Reuben Nhlela	1.50
236	E	1862	1898	Caluza, Reuben Nhlela	42.00
206	E	1887	1890	Campbell, Emma	14.00
E682	G	1887	1890	Campbell, Emma	0.25
93	E	1887	1890	Campbell, Emma	3.75
101	E	1887	1890	Campbell, Emma	3.75
H704	G	1887	1890	Campbell, Emma	0.50
E683	G	1887	1890	Campbell, Emma	0.25
205	E	1887	1890	Campbell, Emma	3.50
H703	G	1890	1890	Campbell, Emma	0.50
H702	G	1890	1890	Campbell, Emma	0.50
246	E	1898	1899	Chowruppan 47714	7.25
207	E	1898	1898	Clarence BC Trust	7.25
K722	G	1866	1893	Cowley, Isaac	0.25
309	E	1866	1893	Cowley, Isaac	9.50
K722	G	1893	1893	Dixon, W.	0.25
309	E	1893	1893	Dixon, W.	9.50
115	E	1874	1896	Green, Ellen	37.25
108	E	1875	1896	Green, Ellen	13.75
33	E	1882	1896	Green, Ellen	9.25
108	E	1896	1898	Green, Ellen Trustees	13.75
33	E	1896	1898	Green, Ellen Trustees	9.25
115	E	1896	1898	Green, Ellen Trustees	37.25
114	E	1896	1898	Green, Ellen Trustees	41.50
353	E	1889	1891	Hamlyn, John	10.00
G698	G	1894	1895	Hareke, Peter	0.50
329	E	1894	1895	Hlabezwayo, M.	2.00
0737	G	1894	1895	Hlabezwayo, M.	1.00
330	E	1894	1895	Hlabezwayo, M.	0.50
246	E	1894	1898	Hlatywako, Benjamin	7.25
C662	G	1864	1895	Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	0.50
219	E	1894	1898	Hlatywako, Luke	11.50
H713	G	1863	1897	Hlongwana, Flooks	0.25
310	E	1863	1896	Hlongwana, Flooks	10.50
0742	G	1895	1895	Hlubi, Pele	0.50

TABLE 5.1: List of land transferred, 1890–1899 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
22	E	1861	1891	Kambule, Elijah	16.25
E685	G	1861	1891	Kambule, Elijah	1.50
4	E	1861	1891	Kambule, Elijah	18.25
253	E	1861	1891	Kambule, Elijah	16.00
256	E	1861	1896	Kambule, Job Zinyoani	29.75
134	E	1861	1896	Kambule, Job Zinyoani	3.75
180	E	1861	1896	Kambule, Job Zinyoani	20.50
154	E	1861	1896	Kambule, Job Zinyoani	0.75
133	E	1861	1896	Kambule, Job Zinyoani	1.75
189	E	1861	1896	Kambule, Job Zinyoani	29.00
155	E	1861	1896	Kambule, Job Zinyoani	0.75
A654	G	1861	1896	Kambule, Job Zinyoani	0.75
8661	G	1861	1896	Kambule, Job Zinyoani	0.50
D679	G	1862	1897	Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	0.25
S771	G	1864	1898	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	2.00
R767	G	1864	1898	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	0.50
30	E	1864	1898	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	6.75
225	E	1864	1898	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	7.75
226	E	1864	1898	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	1.50
36	E	1864	1898	Kunene, Cornelius Fosi	16.75
Q756	G	1882	1891	Majorka, Lanich	0.25
152	E	1861	1894	Makuto	1.00
172	E	1861	1894	Makuto	2.75
39	E	1861	1894	Makuto	3.00
288	E	1882	1896	Malafeni, James	10.75
P750	G	1884	1896	Malafeni, James	0.25
0742	G	1862	1895	Manhlakampisi	0.50
153	E	1886	1897	Manoka	1.00
187	E	1886	1897	Manoka	45.75
131	E	1886	1897	Manoka	2.25
132	E	1886	1897	Manoka	2.50
P747	G	1886	1897	Manoka	0.25
96	E	1886	1897	Manoka	1.75
106	E	1861	1892	Maqala, Jacob	11.75
58	E	1861	1892	Maqala, Jacob	0.75
B658	G	1861	1892	Maqala, Jacob	0.25
R763	G	1861	1892	Maqala, Jacob	0.00
92	E	1861	1892	Maqala, Jacob	3.75

TABLE 5.1: List of land transferred, 1890–1899 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
173	E	1861	1892	Maqala, Jacob	6.25
55	E	1861	1892	Maqala, Jacob	0.75
348	E	1898	1898	Masebekela, John	2.50
258	E	1862	1896	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	2.50
42	E	1862	1896	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	16.00
311	E	1864	1896	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	6.50
292	E	1864	1896	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	25.50
312	E	1864	1891	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	4.25
793	E	1864	1896	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	15.50
792	E	1864	1896	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	17.75
286	E	1864	1891	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	18.00
318	E	1864	1896	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	1.50
788	E	1880	1899	Masuku, Philip	3.00
100	E	1882	1896	Matafeni, James	0.75
123	E	1884	1896	Matafeni, James	3.75
176	E	1884	1896	Matafeni, James	16.75
177	E	1884	1896	Matafeni, James	18.50
235	E	1862	1891	Matambo, James	6.00
R765	G	1862	1891	Matambo, James	0.25
278	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	14.50
125	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	7.75
H710	G	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	1.00
254	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	1.00
279	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	7.00
8	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	15.00
141	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	4.25
255	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	2.75
104	E	1862	1891	Matebula, Nathaniel Onbeti	13.00
U731	G	1897	1899	Mavuso, Abednego	2.25
13	E	1861	1897	Mavuso, Joseph	32.25
U781	G	1861	1897	Mavuso, Joseph	2.25
66	E	1861	1897	Mavuso, Joseph	2.50
41	E	1861	1897	Mavuso, Joseph	4.75
36	E	1898	1898	Mayandy	16.75
25	E	1861	1891	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	13.25
H718	G	1861	1891	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	0.50
H706	G	1861	1891	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	0.50
190	E	1861	1891	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	20.75

TABLE 5.1: List of land transferred, 1890–1899 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
26	E	1861	1891	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	2.50
306	E	1864	1891	Mini, Stephanus Mzolo	34.75
286	E	1891	1898	Mini, Stephen	18.00
302	E	1866	1891	Mkwananzi, Present	8.25
D671	G	1882	1895	Molambo, William	0.50
103	E	1862	1895	Monakwa, Thomas	10.50
D674	G	1862	1895	Monakwa, Thomas	0.25
97	E	1886	1897	Monakwa, Thomas	4.25
219	E	1898	1898	Moodley, Patchapan	11.50
221	E	1882	1893	Msimang, Enoch	9.00
345	E	1882	1890	Msimang, Enoch	0.75
R764	G	1885	1893	Msimang, Enoch	0.25
297	E	1891	1898	Msimang, Enoch	6.00
1	E	1894	1894	Msimang, Enoch	11.00
2	E	1894	1894	Msimang, Enoch	6.25
102	E	1895	1899	Mtimkulu, John Zulu	6.25
F691	G	1899	1899	Mutshiningi, A.	0.25
205	E	1898	1899	Narrandas 2568	3.50
206	E	1898	1899	Narrandas 2568	14.00
203	E	1898	1899	Narrandas 2568	2.00
E683	G	1890	1893	Ndimande, Ebenezer	0.25
E682	G	1890	1893	Ndimande, Ebenezer	0.25
219	E	1866	1894	Nkalo	11.50
246	E	1866	1894	Nkalo	7.25
787	E	1895	1895	Nondabula, A.	4.25
291	E	1862	1895	Nondabula, Noah	19.25
787	E	1862	1895	Nondabula, Noah	4.25
175	E	1862	1895	Nondabula, Noah	9.75
174	E	1862	1895	Nondabula, Noah	6.50
185	E	1862	1895	Nondabula, Noah	6.50
57	E	1862	1895	Nondabula, Noah	3.00
S772	G	1886	1896	Nondabula, Noah	1.00
182	E	1886	1896	Nondabula, Noah	29.50
181	E	1886	1896	Nondabula, Noah	1.50
298	E	1886	1896	Nondabula, Noah	4.00
2	E	1886	1894	Oddfellows Port Natal	6.25
789	E	1886	1891	Oddfellows Port Natal	1.00
1	E	1886	1894	Oddfellows Port Natal	11.00

TABLE 5.1: List of land transferred, 1890–1899 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
G694	G	1886	1891	Oddfellows Port Natal	0.50
194	E	1886	1891	Oddfellows Port Natal	2.00
122	E	1886	1891	Oddfellows Port Natal	4.50
48	E	1886	1891	Oddfellows Port Natal	3.75
317	E	1886	1894	Oddfellows Port Natal	20.25
28	E	1886	1894	Oddfellows Port Natal	8.75
297	E	1886	1891	Oddfellows Port Natal	6.00
121	E	1886	1891	Oddfellows Port Natal	3.75
30	E	1898	1898	Ponnen half share	6.75
G695	G	1862	1892	Potgieter, William	1.00
193	E	1862	1892	Potgieter, William	5.00
207	E	1862	1898	Pretorius, July	7.25
H712	G	1862	1896	Pretorius, July	0.25
H714	G	1894	1895	Qubo, L.	0.25
62	E	1894	1896	Qubo, L.	1.50
303	E	1896	1896	Qubo, L.	8.50
E682	G	1893	1896	Rowe, Rev. S.E.	0.25
E683	G	1893	1896	Rowe, Rev. S.E.	0.25
J719	G	1865	1898	September	0.50
P753	G	1863	1896	Silangani, W.	0.25
M729	G	1863	1896	Silangani, W.	0.75
94	E	1863	1896	Silangani, W.	2.75
M730	G	1863	1896	Silangani, W.	0.75
186	E	1863	1896	Silangani, W.	28.25
280	E	1862	1898	Sisoka, Ephraim	13.25
105	E	1862	1898	Sisoka, Ephraim	7.25
304	E	1894	1898	Sive, Joshua	31.00
0737	G	1895	1898	Sive, Joshua	1.00
203	E	1890	1898	Smith, Edward Shelley	2.00
206	E	1890	1898	Smith, Edward Shelley	14.00
205	E	1890	1898	Smith, Edward Shelley	3.50
301	E	1890	1890	Smith, Lucy V.	13.75
243	E	1890	1890	Smith, Lucy V.	11.75
150	E	1861	1896	Sontusa, Obediah	2.00
0738	G	1861	1896	Sontusa, Obediah	1.00
231	E	1861	1896	Sontusa, Obediah	16.75
0739	G	1861	1896	Sontusa, Obediah	0.50
151	E	1861	1896	Sontusa, Obediah	2.00

TABLE 5.1: List of land transferred, 1890–1899 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
322	E	1861	1896	Sontusa, Obediah	12.00
H703	G	1875	1890	Tarboton, Charles H.	0.50
H702	G	1875	1890	Tarboton, Charles H.	0.50
203	E	1883	1890	Tarboton, David Hainsworth	2.00
209	E	1868	1899	Tarboton, Edwin	1.50
208	E	1868	1899	Tarboton, Edwin	1.50
114	E	1887	1896	Taylor, James S.C.	41.50
283	E	1861	1890	Tolo, Abraham	15.00
R762	G	1861	1890	Tolo, Abraham	0.50
99	E	1861	1890	Tolo, Abraham	1.00
C664	G	1861	1890	Tolo, Abraham	0.50
284	E	1861	1890	Tolo, Abraham	12.00
U781	G	1899	1899	Unnlane, G.	0.50
272	E	1863	1894	Umxokohlami	12.00
207	E	1898	1898	Veersamy	7.25
P747	G	1897	1897	Vilakazi, Adam	0.25
97	E	1897	1898	Vilakazi, Adam	4.25
P744	G	1861	1899	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	0.50
21	E	1861	1894	Zuma, John Inkanhla	41.50

TABLE 5.2: Landowners as at 1899 (alphabetical)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Allison, James	6.25	Kambule, Simeon Elijah	148.75
Amsterdam, Adam	1.50	Konzactwa	21.00
Baker, Rev. William	0.50	Kumalo, Elias Daniel	0.50
Bartman, C. Estate	49.25	Kumalo, Hezekiah	0.50
Batje, Stuurman	1.00	Kumalo, Isaiah	0.25
Bennett, William	2.25	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	87.75
Bloomfontyn, Jacob	2.50	Kumalo, Luke Jnr	1.50
Bobotshana	8.00	Kumalo, Samuel	46.25
Boosak, Andries	0.50	Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	16.50
Butele, Samuel	1.50	Kunene, Buhlene	19.00
Butele, Samuel	11.75	Kunene, Joseph	26.00
Caluza, Isaac	0.75	Kunene, Micah	9.50
Cawe, James	27.00	Kunene, Nephtail	0.50
Cengelele, Isaac	27.25	Kwana, Jacob Mane	0.25
Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	23.25	Lohoho, Andrew Dube	12.00
Ford, Frank	3.00	Lutchmadu	16.75
Franklin, Mary A.L. Trustee	2.25	Maduray	0.50
Free Church of Scotland	2.50	Magaleni	1.50
Gama, John	58.75	Magongo	30.25
Gule, Petrus	13.00	Manulela	1.25
Gule, Timothy Inyewe	60.00	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	17.75
Gumbi, Mataweni Paul	5.25	Makwata, John	0.25
Gumede, Jerosham	5.25	Maliani	18.75
Hareke, Peter	22.25	Malinga, Petrus M.M.M.	10.50
Hlatywako, Benjamin	2.25	Malinga, Andrews	20.75
Hlatywako, J.	20.50	Masebekela, John	45.00
Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	25.00	Masuku, Arthur	32.75
Hlatywako, Luke	12.00	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	3.00
Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	22.75	Masuku, Z.	126.00
Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	39.00	Matambo, James	9.00
Hlubi, Benjamin	6.00	Matebula, Henry	29.00
Intuto, Enoch	45.25	Mavuso, Abednego	39.50
Intutompela	3.50	Mayandy	8.25
Inyamatoti, Sarah	4.75	Miah, Numkoo 23742	7.25
Jubani Jeremiah Trust	43.75	Mini, Mary	66.25
Judaba, Mordecai	0.25	Mini, Stephen	125.25
Kalidin 44837	9.25	Mini, William George	10.50
Kambule, Elijah	73.25	Mohabela	10.25

TABLE 5.2: Landowners as at 1899 (alphabetical) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Mohlahlo, Jacob	21.50	Pulani, Paul	33.75
Molambo, William	2.25	Reneveld, Jacob	4.50
Molife, Jabez	80.00	Riviere, V.	7.25
Mosemi, Jabez	9.00	Rooi, Jonah	3.00
Msane, Matthew Mzondo	10.00	Russell, Henry	0.25
Msane, Saul	26.75	Sikwatini, Nicodimusi	12.25
Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	132.25	Situmba, John	26.00
Msimang, Eliam	0.25	Sive, Joshua	10.00
Msimang, Enoch	63.25	Smith, Edward Shelley	55.50
Msimang, Henry	6.25	Sondezi, Joseph	25.75
Msimang, Joel	0.50	Taitai, George	12.00
Msimang, Luke	5.00	Tarboton, Edwin	38.00
Msimang, Sebastian	0.50	Tolo, Abraham	8.25
Msomi, Samuel	7.25	Tshabalala, Jacob	0.50
Msomi, Zaccheus	0.25	Tshabalala, Solomon	23.50
Mtembu, Marian Dhlamini	0.25	Tubert, Boy	4.00
Mtimkulu, Joel	0.50	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	14.75
Mtimkulu, John Zulu	82.25	Umlaw, Simon Hlubi	21.00
Mtimkulu, Simon	10.75	Umlaw, Stephen Kuzwayo	92.50
Muduray 29237	7.75	Vengan	6.00
Mutshiningi, A.	1.25	Vilakazi, Adam	53.25
Nagonga	4.00	Vilakazi, Levi	0.50
Narrandas, Gunpath S.	19.50	Wesleyan Mission Society	5.25
Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	5.50	Wilkinson, Henry Clay	39.25
Ndimande, William	50.75	Wiltshier, Edward H.	4.25
Nel, Susannah J.	3.00	Windvogel, Jacob	10.50
Ngcobo, M.	15.00	Wumnamalay 16466	11.50
Ngcobo, Saliwane	19.00	Xaba, Jacob	9.50
Nondabula, A.	45.00	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	120.25
Nondabula, Noah	7.25	Xaba, Samuel	0.50
Ohlosa, Jonah	27.75	Xulu, Jacob	5.00
Ompumela	14.75	Zuma, John Inkanhla	12.00
Pawson, Mary Entwistle	6.75	Zuma, Timothy	0.50
Prince, January	2.00	TOTAL (144 landowners)	3 053.50
Puchiree 35	31.00		

TABLE 5.3: Landowners as at 1899 (in order of size)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Kambule, Simeon Elijah	148.75	Sondezi, Joseph	25.75
Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	132.25	Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	25.00
Masuku, Z.	126.00	Tshabalala, Solomon	23.50
Mini, Stephen	125.25	Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	23.25
Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	120.25	Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	22.75
Umlaw, Stephen Kuzwayo	92.50	Hareke, Peter	22.25
Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	87.75	Mohlalho, Jacob	21.50
Mtimkulu, John Zulu	82.25	Umlaw, Simon Hlubi	21.00
Molife, Jabez	80.00	Konzactwa	21.00
Kambule, Elijah	73.25	Malinga, Andrews	20.75
Mini, Mary	66.25	Hlatywako, J.	20.50
Msimang, Enoch	63.25	Narrandas, Gunpath S.	19.50
Gule, Timothy Inyewe	60.00	Ngcobo, Saliwane	19.00
Gama, John	58.75	Kunene, Buhlene	19.00
Smith, Edward Shelley	55.50	Maliani	18.75
Vilakazi, Adam	53.25	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	17.75
Ndimande, William	50.75	Lutchmadu	16.75
Bartman, C. Estate	49.25	Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	16.50
Kumalo, Samuel	46.25	Ngcobo, M.	15.00
Intuto, Enoch	45.25	Ompumela	14.75
Nondabula, A.	45.00	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	14.75
Masebekela, John	45.00	Gule, Petrus	13.00
Jubani, Jeremiah Trust	43.75	Sikwatini, Nicodimusi	12.25
Mavuso, Abednego	39.50	Lohoho, Andrew Dube	12.00
Wilkinson, Henry Clay	39.25	Taitai, George	12.00
Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	39.00	Hlatywako, Luke	12.00
Tarboton, Edwin	38.00	Zuma, John Inkanhla	12.00
Pulani, Paul	33.75	Butele, Samuel	11.75
Masuku, Arthur	32.75	Wumnamalay 16466	11.50
Puchiree 35	31.00	Mtimkulu, Simon	10.75
Macongo	30.25	Windvogel, Jacob	10.50
Matebula, Henry	29.00	Mini, William George	10.50
Ohlosa, Jonah	27.75	Malinga, Petrus M.M.M.	10.50
Cengelele, Isaac	27.25	Mohabela	10.25
Cawe, James	27.00	Sive, Joshua	10.00
Msane, Saul	26.75	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	10.00
Situmba, John	26.00	Xaba, Jacob	9.50
Kunene, Joseph	26.00	Kunene, Micah	9.50

TABLE 5.3: Landowners as at 1899 (in order of size) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Kalidin 44837	9.25	Msimang, Henry	6.25
Matambo, James	9.00	Allison, James	6.25
Mosemi, Jabez	9.00	Hlubi, Benjamin	6.00
Tolo, Abraham	8.25	Vengan	6.00
Mayanday	8.25	Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	5.50
Bobotshana	8.00	Gumbi, Mataweni Paul	5.25
Muduray 29237	7.75	Wesleyan Mission Society	5.25
Miah, Numkoo 23742	7.25	Gumede, Jerosham	5.25
Riviere, V.	7.25	Msimang, Luke	5.00
Nondabula, Noah	7.25	Xulu, Jacob	5.00
Msomi, Samuel	7.25	Inyamatoti, Sarah	4.75
Pawson, Mary Entwistle	6.75		

TABLE 6.1: List of land transferred, 1900–1909

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
H712	G	1896	1906	Amsterdam, Adam	0.25
254	E	1902	1902	Baligadu	1.00
255	E	1902	1902	Baligadu	2.75
229	E	1894	1904	Butele, Samuel	5.75
S777	G	1894	1904	Butele, Samuel	0.25
K725	G	1865	1905	Batje, Stuurman	0.50
H716	G	1865	1905	Batje, Stuurman	0.25
K723	G	1865	1905	Batje, Stuurman	0.25
258	E	1906	1909	Benjamin, A. 45112	2.50
57	E	1903	1905	Bhugwanee	3.00
289	E	1894	1904	Butele, Samuel	1.50
345	E	1890	1906	Caluza, Isaac	0.75
135	E	1882	1905	Cengelele, Isaac	4.25
307	E	1882	1905	Cengelele, Isaac	11.00
40	E	1882	1905	Cengelele, Isaac	6.00
86	E	1882	1904	Cengelele, Isaac	5.50
P746	G	1882	1905	Cengelele, Isaac	0.50
K725	G	1905	1908	Clark, Annie	0.50
K723	G	1905	1908	Clark, Annie	0.25
H716	G	1905	1908	Clark, Annie	0.25
C663	G	1908	1909	Cross, John William	0.50
44	E	1862	1904	Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	1.00
96	E	1907	1909	Fraser and McGibbon	1.75
97	E	1898	1901	Gumede, Jerosham	4.25
101	E	1903	1903	Hamed, Mahomed	1.00
272	E	1894	1902	Hlatywako, Luke	12.00
182	E	1906	1907	Holliday, Rupert	29.50
298	E	1906	1908	Holliday, Rupert	4.00
160	E	1861	1904	Intuto, Enoch	1.25
281	E	1863	1904	Inyamatoti, Sarah	4.75
Q757	G	1873	1905	Judaba, Mordecai	0.25
33	E	1898	1902	Kalidin 44837	9.25
66	E	1903	1907	Kalidin 44837	2.50
132	E	1901	1903	Khan, Ameen 28491 Sookoia	2.50
131	E	1901	1903	Khan, Ameen 28491 Sookoia	2.25
0741	G	1864	1904	Konzactwa	0.50
336	E	1864	1904	Konzactwa	1.25
335	E	1864	1904	Konzactwa	0.50

TABLE 6.1: List of land transferred, 1900–1909 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
222	E	1864	1904	Konzactwa	18.75
214	E	1882	1908	Kunene, Buhlene	18.00
S775	G	1880	1901	Kunene, Joseph	1.00
313	E	1883	1901	Kunene, Joseph	5.25
Q758	G	1883	1901	Kunene, Joseph	0.50
34	E	1883	1901	Kunene, Joseph	19.25
86	E	1904	1908	Kunene, Lubalule	5.50
135	E	1905	1908	Kunene, Lubalule	4.25
307	E	1905	1908	Kunene, Lubalule	11.00
P746	G	1905	1908	Kunene, Lubalule	0.50
40	E	1905	1908	Kunene, Lubalule	6.00
35	E	1865	1903	Lohoho, Andrew Dube	6.00
36	E	1898	1902	Lutchmadu	16.75
787	E	1900	1909	Lutchmee 339979	4.25
R767	G	1898	1902	Maduray	0.50
87	E	1863	1904	Magaleni	1.50
0738	G	1896	1903	Magongo	1.00
322	E	1896	1905	Magongo	12.00
231	E	1896	1905	Magongo	16.75
216	E	1861	1903	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	6.75
138	E	1864	1903	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	2.25
72	E	1864	1903	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	2.25
294	E	1864	1903	Mahuquani, Somxotwa	6.50
34	E	1901	1903	Makwata, John	19.25
236	E	1898	1904	Masebekela, John	42.00
181	E	1896	1906	Masuku, Z.	1.50
298	E	1896	1906	Masuku, Z.	4.00
311	E	1896	1906	Masuku, Z.	6.50
182	E	1896	1906	Masuku, Z.	29.50
260	E	1896	1906	Masuku, Z.	4.75
42	E	1896	1906	Masuku, Z.	16.00
318	E	1896	1906	Masuku, Z.	1.50
258	E	1896	1906	Masuku, Z.	2.50
793	E	1896	1906	Masuku, Z.	15.50
292	E	1896	1906	Masuku, Z.	25.50
792	E	1896	1906	Masuku, Z.	17.75
S772	G	1896	1906	Masuku, Z.	1.00
72	E	1903	1903	Mavimbela, Peter	2.25
66	E	1897	1903	Mavuso, Abednego	2.50

TABLE 6.1: List of land transferred, 1900–1909 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
30	E	1898	1902	Mayandy	6.75
36	E	1902	1902	Mayandy	7.75
240	E	1902	1904	Medai 40781	6.50
254	E	1891	1902	Mini, Mary	1.00
255	E	1891	1902	Mini, Mary	2.75
87	E	1904	1904	Mngomezulu, Absolom	1.50
248	E	1862	1906	Mohabela	2.25
B659	G	1865	1905	Mohlahlo, Jacob	0.25
337	E	1903	1903	Mohlahlo, Jacob	5.00
78	E	1903	1903	Mohlahlo, Jacob	4.50
79	E	1903	1903	Mohlahlo, Jacob	5.25
139	E	1903	1903	Molife, Jabez	1.75
148	E	1903	1903	Molife, Jabez	3.00
80	E	1905	1908	Mooroogan, V.	1.50
78	E	1906	1908	Mooroogan, V.	4.50
202	E	1903	1904	Moorti, Pavady 21165	1.50
Q756	G	1902	1907	Mqambi, James T.	0.25
319	E	1894	1904	Msane, Matthew Mzondo	10.00
8660	G	1903	1903	Msimang, Asa	0.55
11	E	1899	1900	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	12.25
795	E	1899	1900	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	17.00
327	E	1899	1900	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	3.00
82	E	1899	1900	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	0.50
333	E	1899	1900	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	0.75
B660	G	1882	1903	Msimang, Eliam	0.25
68	E	1878	1902	Msimang, Enoch	2.00
789	E	1891	1905	Msimang, Enoch	1.00
795	E	1900	1902	Msimang, Enoch	17.00
82	E	1900	1903	Msimang, Enoch	0.50
79	E	1903	1903	Msimang, Enoch	5.25
78	E	1903	1906	Msimang, Enoch	4.50
L726	G	1870	1901	Msimang, Henry	0.25
247	E	1878	1901	Msimang, Henry	6.00
787	E	1895	1900	Msimang, Luke	4.25
Q756	G	1891	1902	Msimang, Sebastian	0.25
L726	G	1901	1903	Msimang, Thomas	0.25
247	E	1901	1901	Msimang, Thomas	6.00
240	E	1863	1902	Msomi, Samuel	6.50
103	E	1895	1903	Mtimkulu, Simon	10.50

TABLE 6.1: List of land transferred, 1900–1909 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
202	E	1902	1903	Narayanam 49171	1.50
93	E	1904	1905	Natal Land and Colonisation Co.	3.75
244	E	1878	1905	Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	3.75
61	E	1878	1905	Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	1.75
281	E	1904	1904	Ndabambi	4.75
184	E	1901	1901	Ndhlovu, Wake Sophia half share	9.50
161	E	1901	1901	Ndhlovu, Wake Sophia	5.50
88	E	1907	1907	Ndimande, Alvinia Tresken	4.50
354	E	1907	1907	Ndimande, Johnson	3.00
R770	G	1907	1907	Ndimande, Johnson	0.75
234	E	1907	1907	Ndimande, Johnson	4.25
184	E	1895	1901	Ngcobo, M.	9.50
161	E	1895	1901	Ngcobo, M.	5.50
57	E	1895	1903	Nondabula, A.	3.00
168	E	1903	1904	Ohlosa, Gideon	7.00
S773	G	1903	1904	Ohlosa, Gideon	1.25
224	E	1861	1903	Ohlosa, Jonah	19.50
168	E	1861	1903	Ohlosa, Jonah	7.00
S773	G	1861	1903	Ohlosa, Jonah	1.25
43	E	1862	1900	Ompumela	3.75
103	E	1903	1909	Padayachy, A. Narayana	10.50
74	E	1869	1908	Pawson, Mary Entwistle	5.75
157	E	1869	1908	Pawson, Mary Entwistle	1.00
795	E	1902	1902	Peck, Frederick William	17.00
237	E	1902	1909	Pillay, Armooga V.	2.25
202	E	1865	1902	Prince, January	1.50
237	E	1901	1902	Ramatahal 29630	2.25
789	E	1905	1905	Randial 8058 half share	1.00
254	E	1903	1908	Ramsami 52167	1.00
255	E	1903	1908	Ramsami 52167	2.75
36	E	1902	1902	Reddy, Ragava 15317	7.75
30	E	1902	1902	Reddy, Ragava 15317	6.75
207	E	1898	1901	Riviere, V.	7.25
30	E	1902	1906	Sakshamacca 22772	6.75
36	E	1902	1906	Sakshamacca 22772	7.75
38	E	1903	1905	Sitole, Maramba	4.50
73	E	1903	1903	Sitole, Maramba	2.25
784	E	1903	1903	Sitole, Maramba	4.00
R769	G	1862	1903	Situmba, John	1.00

TABLE 6.1: List of land transferred, 1900–1909 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
784	E	1862	1903	Situmba, John	4.00
794	E	1862	1903	Situmba, John	5.50
38	E	1862	1903	Situmba, John	4.50
32	E	1862	1903	Situmba, John	8.75
73	E	1862	1903	Situmba, John	2.25
305	E	1894	1904	Sive, Joshua	3.75
162	E	1894	1904	Sive, Joshua	3.75
330	E	1895	1904	Sive, Joshua	0.50
329	E	1895	1904	Sive, Joshua	2.00
237	E	1901	1901	Sive, Magongo	2.25
93	E	1890	1904	Smith, Edward Shelley	3.75
H704	G	1890	1904	Smith, Edward Shelley	0.50
101	E	1890	1903	Smith, Edward Shelley	3.75
H702	G	1890	1904	Smith, Edward Shelley	0.50
H703	G	1890	1904	Smith, Edward Shelley	0.50
800	E	1898	1904	Smith, Edward Shelley	40.25
102	E	1899	1900	Smith, Edward Shelley	6.25
161	E	1901	1903	Sopela, Phineas	5.50
184	E	1901	1908	Sopela, Phineas	9.50
254	E	1902	1903	Sornan	1.00
255	E	1902	1903	Sornan	2.75
292	E	1906	1907	Stritzen, William	25.50
84	E	1861	1908	Taitai, George	2.00
299	E	1861	1908	Taitai, George	7.00
81	E	1861	1908	Taitai, George	2.25
M728	G	1861	1908	Taitai, George	0.75
232	E	1883	1902	Tarboton, Edwin	38.00
56	E	1862	1903	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	1.00
80	E	1862	1903	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	1.50
65	E	1862	1903	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	1.50
144	E	1862	1903	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	4.25
111	E	1862	1903	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	3.75
N736	G	1862	1903	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	0.75
80	E	1903	1905	Tyingela, Zebulon	1.50
47	É	1861	1908	Zuma, John Inkanhla	4.00
C663	G	1861	1908	Zuma, John Inkanhla	0.50
339	E	1895	1908	Zuma, John Inkanhla	7.50
21	E	1905	1909	Zuma, John Inkanhla	19.50

TABLE 6.2: Landowners as at 1909 (alphabetical)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Allison and Hime	38.75	Hareke, Peter	22.25
Allison, James	6.25	Hershensohn, Joshua Jnr	9.50
Allison, Thackeray Jas	1.00	Hlatywako, Benjamin	2.25
Ally, Mahomed	7.25	Hlatywako, J.	20.50
Amsterdam, Adam	1.25	Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	25.00
Annamulay 697	4.75	Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	22.75
Baker, Rev. William	0.50	Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	39.00
Bartman, C. Estate	49.25	Hlubi, Benjamin	6.00
Bennett, William	2.25	Intuto, Enoch	44.00
Bloomfontyn, Jacob	2.50	Intutompela	3.50
Bobotshana	20.00	Jubani, Jeremiah Trust	43.75
Boddy, Elizabeth	0.25	Kalidin 44837	1.50
Boosak, Andries	0.50	Kambule, Elijah	73.25
Butele, Samuel	5.75	Kambule, Simeon Elijah	149.25
Cartwright, Frederick	32.50	Koopun	6.00
Cawe, James	27.00	Kumalo, Elias Daniel	0.50
Chimathambu	1.50	Kumalo, Hezekiah	0.50
Colonial Government	11.50	Kumalo, Isaiah	0.25
Cross, John William	15.25	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	87.75
Delpaul, Paul	6.00	Kumalo, Josiah	0.25
Dhlomo, Ezra	1.25	Kumalo, Luke Jnr	1.50
Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	22.25	Kumalo, Samuel	46.25
Edwards, John	4.50	Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	16.50
Ellerker, Thomas Estate	14.50	Kunene, Buhlene	1.00
Entwistle, Selina	6.75	Kunene, John Makwata	1.00
Ford, Frank	7.75	Kunene, Micah	11.50
Franklin, Mary A.L. Trustee	2.25	Kunene, Nephtail	0.50
Fraser and McGibbon	70.50	Kwana, Jacob Mane	0.25
Fraser, John	42.00	Lazarus, Benjamin	3.00
Free Church of Scotland	2.50	Lohoho, Andrew Dube	6.00
Gama, John	88.75	Lowtun 29931	1.75
Gouldstone, Alice Mary	10.50	Lutchmadu	11.50
Gule, Petrus	13.00	Maduray	2.00
Gule, Timothy Inyewe	95.50	Magongo	0.50
Gumbi, Mataweni Paul	5.25	Mahulela	1.25
Gumede, Jerosham	1.00	Makwata, John	6.00
Gungadin 18062	6.50	Maliani	18.75
Hacker, William John	19.00	Malinga, Petrus M.M.M.	10.50

TABLE 6.2: Landowners as at 1909 (alphabetical) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Malinga, Andrews	20.75	Mutshiningi, A.	1.25
Masebekela, John	3.00	Nagonga	4.00
Masuku, Arthur	32.75	Naidoo, Suba 75438	2.50
Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	3.00	Naik, Matchoo 49131	2.25
Matambo, James	9.00	Narrandas, Gunpath S.	19.50
Matebula, Henry	29.00	Natal Land and Colonisation Co.	41.75
Mavimbela, Peter	15.50	Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	2.00
Mavuso, Abednego	37.00	Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	3.75
Mayandy	1.50	Ndimande, Charles	12.50
Mazibuko, Harry	0.75	Ndimande, William	50.75
McGibbon, A.J.	15.50	Nel, Susannah J.	3.00
Mcadi, George	2.25	Ngcobo, Saliwane	27.00
Miah, Numkoo 23742	7.25	Nondabula, A.	42.00
Mini, Mary	62.50	Nondabula, Noah	7.25
Mini, Stephen	125.25	Nuttathamby, Joseph	1.75
Mini, William George	10.75	Ohlosa, Gideon	19.50
Mntyali, Amos	1.50	Ompumela	11.00
Mohabela	8.00	Orel, 19598	12.25
Mohlallo, Jacob	21.25	Padiache, Govindasamy	4.75
Molambo, William	2.25	Pillay, Koopoosamy 22379	4.00
Molife, Jabez	80.00	Pillay, T. Coopoosamy	4.50
Mosemi, Jabez	9.00	Prince, January	0.50
Msane, Saul	36.75	Puchiree 35	31.00
Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	98.75	Pulani, Paul	33.75
Msimang, Enoch	82.50	Rai, Bodh 45737	1.25
Msimang, Joel	0.50	Ramphal 40803	7.25
Msimang, Luke	0.75	Reneveld, Jacob	4.50
Msimang, Sebastian	0.25	Rooi, Jonah	3.00
Msomi, Basset Simon	1.75	Roopun	1.75
Msomi, Rhosster	1.00	Rowell, Frank Percy	17.00
Msomi, Samuel	0.75	Russell, Henry	0.25
Msomi, Basset Simon	5.75	Sikwatini, Nicodimusi	12.25
Msomi, Zaccheus	29.00	Singh, G. Ramburan	2.25
Mtembu, Marian Dhlamini	0.25	Sitole, Maramba	15.25
Mtimkulu, Joel	0.50	Sive, David	10.00
Mtimkulu, John Zulu	82.25	Sondezi, Joseph	25.75
Mtimkulu, Simon	0.25	Stritzen, William	6.50
Muduray 29237	7.75	Subbon 27489	1.00

TABLE 6.2: Landowners as at 1909 (alphabetical) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Thomson, Christopher	25.50	Wesleyan Mission Society	5.25
Tolo, Abraham	8.25	Wilkinson, Frederick L.	38.00
Tshabalala, Jacob	0.50	Wilkinson, Henry Clay	29.50
Tshabalala, Solomon	23.50	Wiltshier, Edward H.	4.25
Tubert, Boy	4.00	Windvogel, Magdalena G.	10.50
Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	14.00	Woodroffe, Edmund A.	33.50
Tyingela, Zebulon	10.25	Wumnamalay 16466	5.75
Umlaw, Stephen Kuzwayo	92.75	Xaba, Jacob	9.50
Ummur 10846 half share	1.00	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	120.25
Veersamy	6.00	Xulu, Jacob	5.00
Venketaroyadu 706	5.50	Zuma, Timothy	0.50
Vilakazi, Annanias	4.25	Zwane, Mqoki	0.50
Vilakazi, Levi	0.50	TOTAL (177 landowners)	3 100.75

TABLE 6.3: Landowners as at 1909 (in order of size)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Kambule, Simeon Elijah	149.25	Thomson, Christopher	25.50
Mini, Stephen	125.25	Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	25.00
Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	120.25	Tshabalala, Solomon	23.50
Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	98.75	Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	22.75
Gule, Timothy Inyewe	95.50	Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	22.25
Umlaw, Stephen Kuzwayo	92.75	Hareke, Peter	22.25
Gama, John	88.75	Mohlahlo, Jacob	21.25
Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	87.75	Malinga, Andrews	20.75
Msimang, Enoch	82.50	Hlatywako, J.	20.50
Mtimkulu, John Zulu	82.25	Bobotshana	20.00
Molife, Jabez	80.00	Narrandas, Gunpath S.	19.50
Kambule, Elijah	73.25	Ohlosa, Gideon	19.50
Fraser and McGibbon	70.50	Hacker, William John	19.00
Mini, Mary	62.50	Maliani	18.75
Ndimande, William	50.75	Rowell, Frank Percy	17.00
Bartman, C. Estate	49.25	Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	16.50
Kumalo, Samuel	46.25	Mavimbela, Peter	15.50
Intuto, Enoch	44.00	McGibbon, A.J.	15.50
Jubani, Jeremiah Trust	43.75	Cross, John William	15.25
Fraser, John	42.00	Sithole, Maramba	15.25
Nondabula, A.	42.00	Ellerker, Thomas Estate	14.50
Natal Land and Colonisation Co.	41.75	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	14.00
Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	39.00	Gule, Petrus	13.00
Allison and Hime	38.75	Ndimande, Charles	12.50
Wilkinson, Frederick L.	38.00	Orel, 19598	12.25
Mavuso, Abednego	37.00	Sikwatini, Nicodimusi	12.25
Msane, Saul	36.75	Colonial Government	11.50
Pulani, Paul	33.75	Kunene, Micah	11.50
Woodroffe, Edmund A.	33.50	Lutchmadu	11.50
Masuku, Arthur	32.75	Ompumela	11.00
Cartwright, Frederick	32.50	Mini, William George	10.75
Puchiree 35	31.00	Gouldstone, Alice Mary	10.50
Wilkinson, Henry Clay	29.50	Malinga, Petrus M.M.M.	10.50
Matebula, Henry	29.00	Windvogel, Magdalena G.	10.50
Msomi, Zaccheus	29.00	Tyingela, Zebulon	10.25
Cawe, James	27.00	Sive, David	10.00
Ngcobo, Saliwane	27.00	Hershensohn, Joshua Jnr	9.50
Sondezi, Joseph	25.75	Xaba, Jacob	9.50

TABLE 6.3: Landowners as at 1909 (in order of size) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Matambo, James	9.00	Intutompela	3.50
Mosemi, Jabez	9.00	Lazarus, Benjamin	3.00
Tolo, Abraham	8.25	Masebekela, John	3.00
Mohabela	8.00	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	3.00
Ford, Frank	7.75	Nel, Susannah J.	3.00
Muduray 29237	7.75	Rooi, Jonah	3.00
Ally, Mahomed	7.25	Bloomfontyn, Jacob	2.50
Miah, Numkoo 23742	7.25	Free Church of Scotland	2.50
Nondabula, Noah	7.25	Naidoo, Suba 75438	2.50
Ramphal 40803	7.25	Bennett, William	2.25
Entwistle, Selina	6.75	Franklin, Mary A.L. Trustee	2.25
Gungadin 18062	6.50	Hlatywako, Benjamin	2.25
Stritzen, William	6.50	Mcadi, George	2.25
Allison, James	6.25	Molambo, William	2.25
Delpaul, Paul	6.00	Naik, Matchoo 49131	2.25
Hlubi, Benjamin	6.00	Singh, G. Ramburan	2.25
Koopun	6.00	Maduray	2.00
Lohoho, Andrew Dube	6.00	Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	2.00
Makwata, John	6.00	Lowtun 29931	1.75
Veersamy	6.00	Msomi, Basset Simon	1.75
Butele, Samuel	5.75	Nuttathamby, Joseph	1.75
Msomi, Basset Simon	5.75	Roopun	1.75
Wumnamalay 16466	5.75	Chimathambu	1.50
Venketaroyadu 706	5.50	Kalidin 44837	1.50
Gumbi, Mataweni Paul	5.25	Kumalo, Luke Jnr	1.50
Wesleyan Mission Society	5.25	Mayandy	1.50
Xulu, Jacob	5.00	Mntyali, Amos	1.50
Annamulay 697	4.75	Amsterdam, Adam	1.25
Padiache, Govindasamy	4.75	Dhlomo, Ezra	1.25
Edwards, John	4.50	Mahulela	1.25
Pillay, T. Coopposamy	4.50	Mutshiningi, A.	1.25
Reneveld, Jacob	4.50	Rai, Bodh 45737	1.25
Vilakazi, Annanias	4.25	Allison, Thackeray Jas	1.00
Wiltshier, Edward H.	4.25	Gumede, Jerosham	1.00
Nagonga	4.00	Kunene, Buhlene	1.00
Pillay, Koopposamy 22379	4.00	Kunene, John Makwata	1.00
Tubert, Boy	4.00	Msomi, Rhosster	1.00
Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	3.75	Subbon 27489	1.00

TABLE 6.3: Landowners as at 1909 (in order of size) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Ummur 10846 half share	1.00	Tshabalala, Jacob	0.50
Mazibuko, Harry	0.75	Vilakazi, Levi	0.50
Msimang, Luke	0.75	Zuma, Timothy	0.50
Msomi, Samuel	0.75	Zwane, Mqoki	0.50
Baker, Rev. William	0.50	Boddy, Elizabeth	0.25
Boosak, Andries	0.50	Kumalo, Isaiah	0.25
Kumalo, Elias Daniel	0.50	Kumalo, Josiah	0.25
Kumalo, Hezekiah	0.50	Kwana, Jacob Mane	0.25
Kunene, Nephtail	0.50	Msimang, Sebastian	0.25
Magongo	0.50	Mtembu, Marian Dhlamini	0.25
Msimang, Joel	0.50	Mtimkulu, Simon	0.25
Mtimkulu, Joel	0.50	Russell, Henry	0.25
Prince, January	0.50	TOTAL (177 landowners)	3 100.75

TABLE 7.1: List of land transferred, 1910–1919

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
225	E	1918	1918	Allayamma	7.75
93	E	1918	1918	Allayamma	1.75
792	E	1906	1911	Allison and Hime	17.75
60	E	1909	1910	Allison and Hime	2.50
116	E	1909	1913	Allison and Hime	4.00
328	E	1909	1910	Allison and Hime	2.75
128	E	1909	1916	Allison and Hime	1.75
140	E	1909	1910	Allison and Hime	8.00
211	E	1909	1910	Allison and Hime	2.00
S771	G	1911	1911	Allison and Hime	1.00
32	E	1913	1913	Allnatt, Alfred W.	8.75
5	E	1911	1911	Bangali quarter share	8.50
54	E	1911	1911	Baran	3.00
101	E	1918	1918	Baran	1.00
102	E	1918	1918	Baran	6.25
75	E	1895	1913	Bartman, C. Estate	6.75
H705	G	1895	1913	Bartman, C. Estate	0.50
241	E	1895	1913	Bartman, C. Estate	42.00
H705	G	1913	1917	Bartman, Nicholas	0.50
241	E	1913	1916	Bartman, Nicholas	42.00
75	E	1913	1916	Bartman, Nicholas	6.75
288	E	1912	1914	Baynes, Joseph	10.75
195	E	1862	1917	Bennett, William	2.25
38	E	1912	1912	Bhadoo 62019	4.50
176	E	1913	1915	Bhadoo 62019	16.75
303	E	1917	1918	Bhadoo 62019	8.50
350	E	1886	1913	Bobotshana	8.00
272	E	1902	1913	Bobotshana	12.00
Q756	G	1907	1911	Boddy, Elizabeth	0.25
200	E	1918	1919	Bosse, Mathilde M.S.	3.75
293	E	1894	1912	Butele, Samuel	5.75
66	E	1907	1916	Cartwright, Frederick	2.50
214	E	1908	1918	Cartwright, Frederick	2.75
40	E	1908	1916	Cartwright, Frederick	6.00
307	E	1908	1918	Cartwright, Frederick	11.00
135	E	1908	1917	Cartwright, Frederick	4.25
86	E	1908	1918	Cartwright, Frederick	5.50
P746	G	1908	1911	Cartwright, Frederick	0.50

TABLE 7.1: List of land transferred, 1910–1919 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
88	E	1912	1918	Cartwright, Frederick	4.50
234	E	1912	1918	Cartwright, Frederick	4.25
795	E	1912	1916	Cartwright, Frederick	17.00
354	E	1912	1916	Cartwright, Frederick	3.00
H710	G	1916	1916	Cartwright, Frederick	1.00
148	E	1914	1918	Chetty, Soobralu C.	3.00
139	E	1914	1918	Chetty, Soobralu C.	1.75
339	E	1908	1919	Cross, John William	7.50
47	E	1908	1910	Cross, John William	4.00
66	E	1916	1918	Dada, Mahomed Casim	2.50
32	E	1915	1916	Dambuza, Solomon S.	8.75
297	E	1906	1910	Delpaul, Paul	6.00
332	E	1914	1917	Dhlamini, George	0.75
331	E	1914	1917	Dhlamini, George	0.75
278	E	1916	1919	Ditchburn, Richard	14.50
271	E	1862	1911	Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	11.25
38	E	1905	1912	Edwards, John	4.50
36	E	1909	1918	Ellerker, Thomas Estate	7.75
30	E	1909	1918	Ellerker, Thomas Estate	6.75
74	E	1908	1918	Entwistle, Selina	5.75
157	E	1908	1918	Entwistle, Selina	1.00
54	E	1911	1911	Eyyori half share	3.00
195	E	1917	1919	Forsyth, David F.	2.25
G699	G	1918	1919	Forsyth, Lawrence F.	0.50
187	E	1907	1914	Fraser and McGibbon	45.75
153	E	1907	1910	Fraser and McGibbon	1.00
787	E	1909	1913	Fraser and McGibbon	4.25
21	E	1909	1911	Fraser and McGibbon	19.50
301	E	1917	1917	Fraser and McGibbon	13.75
306	E	1917	1917	Fraser and McGibbon	34.75
302	E	1917	1917	Fraser and McGibbon	8.25
190	E	1917	1917	Fraser and McGibbon	20.75
H718	G	1917	1918	Fraser and McGibbon	0.50
243	E	1917	1917	Fraser and McGibbon	11.75
312	E	1917	1917	Fraser and McGibbon	4.25
235	E	1917	1917	Fraser and McGibbon	6.00
348	E	1898	1911	Free Church of Scotland	2.50
222	E	1904	1910	Gama, John	18.75
0741	G	1904	1910	Gama, John	0.50

TABLE 7.1: List of land transferred, 1910–1919 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
336	E	1904	1910	Gama, John	1.25
335	E	1904	1910	Gama, John	0.50
218	E	1916	1917	Goodman, John	21.25
795	E	1916	1917	Goodwin, James T.	17.00
135	E	1917	1917	Goodwin, James T.	4.25
103	E	1909	1919	Gouldstone, Alice Mary	10.50
56	E	1917	1919	Goundu, Jerumal 87854	1.00
218	E	1915	1916	Griffin, Edward F.	21.25
7	E	1918	1919	Gule, Naphthali Estate	10.50
N732	G	1884	1919	Gule, Petrus	0.50
7	E	1864	1918	Gule, Timothy Inyewe	10.50
P749	G	1864	1918	Gule, Timothy Inyewe	0.50
167	E	1864	1918	Gule, Timothy Inyewe	7.50
356	E	1903	1918	Gule, Timothy Inyewe	33.25
S771	G	1898	1911	Gumede, Jerosham	1.00
0742	G	1916	1916	Gumede, Josiah J.	0.50
318	E	1906	1913	Hacker, William John	1.50
5	E	1911	1911	Hardeba	8.50
295	E	1862	1912	Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	13.75
101	E	1918	1918	Jabiyah eighth share	1.00
102	E	1918	1918	Jabiyah eighth share	6.25
101	E	1903	1912	Kalidin 44837	0.75
101	E	1903	1912	Kalidin 44837	0.75
791	E	1864	1913	Kambule, Elijah	73.25
784	E	1915	1915	Kattian	4.00
62	E	1915	1915	Kattian	1.50
73	E	1915	1915	Kattian	2.25
72	E	1915	1915	Kattian	2.25
295	E	1912	1917	Khan, Ameen 28491 Sookoia	13.25
235	E	1917	1919	Kothe, Cornelia Franziska	6.00
3	E	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	19.50
163	E	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	14.00
53	E	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	2.25
239	E	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	40.50
91	E	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	0.75
A655	G	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	0.50
F687	G	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	0.50
49	E	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	2.50
85	E	1861	1911	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	2.00

TABLE 7.1: List of land transferred, 1910–1919 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
H712	G	1906	1914	Kumalo, Josiah	0.25
62	E	1896	1915	Kumalo, Luke Jnr	1.50
352	E	1863	1913	Kumalo, Samuel	1.50
343	E	1863	1913	Kumalo, Samuel	9.75
12	E	1863	1913	Kumalo, Samuel	17.00
L727	G	1863	1913	Kumalo, Samuel	0.25
178	E	1863	1913	Kumalo, Samuel	10.75
N731	G	1863	1913	Kumalo, Samuel	0.50
275	E	1863	1913	Kumalo, Samuel	6.00
F686	G	1863	1913	Kumalo, Samuel	0.50
303	E	1918	1918	Kunene, Ngila	8.50
Q759	G	1866	1919	Kwana, Jacob Mane	0.25
260	E	1906	1910	Lazarus, Benjamin	3.00
93	E	1905	1914	Lowtun 29931	1.75
68	E	1902	1918	Maduray	2.00
126	E	1862	1914	Mahulela	1.25
P745	G	1862	1914	Maliani	0.25
217	E	1862	1914	Maliani	12.75
296	E	1862	1914	Maliani	5.75
353	E	1891	1912	Malinga, Petrus M.M.M.	10.00
0742	G	1895	1912	Malinga, Petrus M.M.M.	0.50
73	E	1915	1915	Mangamma	2.25
62	E	1915	1915	Mangamma	1.50
72	E	1915	1915	Mangamma	2.25
784	E	1915	1915	Mangamma	4.00
346	E	1898	1919	Masebekela, John	1.50
347	E	1898	1919	Masebekela, John	1.50
230	E	1862	1919	Matambo, James	8.50
R768	G	1862	1919	Matambo, James	0.50
176	E	1912	1913	Mattison, Robert	16.75
N736	G	1914	1916	Mavimbela, Josiah	0.75
226	E	1898	1913	Mayandy	1.50
793	E	1906	1912	McGibbon, A.J.	15.50
187	E	1914	1917	McGibbon, A.J.	45.75
278	E	1891	1916	Mini, Mary	14.50
141	E	1891	1916	Mini, Mary	4.25
H710	G	1891	1916	Mini, Mary	1.00
125	E	1891	1916	Mini, Mary	7.75
279	E	1891	1916	Mini, Mary	7.00

TABLE 7.1: List of land transferred, 1910–1919 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
104	E	1891	1916	Mini, Mary	13.00
H711	G	1883	1917	Mini, Stephen	0.50
243	E	1890	1917	Mini, Stephen	11.75
301	E	1890	1917	Mini, Stephen	13.75
312	E	1891	1917	Mini, Stephen	4.25
235	E	1891	1917	Mini, Stephen	6.00
190	E	1891	1917	Mini, Stephen	20.75
H718	G	1891	1917	Mini, Stephen	0.50
26	E	1891	1917	Mini, Stephen	2.50
306	E	1891	1917	Mini, Stephen	34.75
302	E	1891	1917	Mini, Stephen	8.25
H706	G	1891	1912	Mini, Stephen	0.50
25	E	1891	1917	Mini, Stephen	13.25
303	E	1896	1917	Mini, Stephen	8.50
353	E	1912	1915	Mitchell-Innes, George S	10.00
0742	G	1912	1916	Mitchell-Innes, George S.	0.50
351	E	1912	1918	Mkwanazi, Tabitha	8.00
331	E	1862	1914	Mohabela	0.75
332	E	1862	1914	Mohabela	0.75
130	E	1862	1914	Mohabela	1.50
210	E	1862	1914	Mohabela	5.00
A653	G	1913	1915	Mohamed, Jeewa Noor	1.00
218	E	1865	1915	Mohlahlo, Jacob	21.25
5	E	1861	1911	Molife, Jabez	67.75
54	E	1889	1911	Molife, Jabez	3.00
165	E	1889	1918	Molife, Jabez	8.25
E684	G	1889	1918	Molife, Jabez	1.00
340	E	1862	1911	Mosemi, Jabez	5.00
A653	G	1862	1911	Mosemi, Jabez	1.00
166	E	1862	1911	Mosemi, Jabez	3.00
D669	G	1861	1918	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	0.75
351	E	1861	1912	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	23.00
67	E	1861	1912	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	4.25
D680	G	1861	1912	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	1.25
124	E	1861	1912	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	12.50
118	E	1861	1912	Msimang, Daniel Mavuso	57.00
242	E	1888	1910	Msimang, Enoch	8.25
194	E	1891	1919	Msimang, Enoch	2.00
G694	G	1891	1919	Msimang, Enoch	0.50

TABLE 7.1: List of land transferred, 1910–1919 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
28	E	1894	1919	Msimang, Enoch	8.75
333	E	1900	1910	Msimang, Enoch	0.75
327	E	1900	1919	Msimang, Enoch	3.00
R767	G	1902	1919	Msimang, Enoch	0.50
B660	G	1903	1918	Msimang, Enoch	0.25
219	E	1903	1918	Msimang, Enoch	11.50
337	E	1903	1919	Msimang, Enoch	5.00
L726	G	1903	1910	Msimang, Enoch	0.25
351	E	1918	1918	Msimang, Enoch	7.00
86	E	1918	1919	Msimang, Enoch	5.50
D669	G	1918	1918	Msimang, Enoch	0.75
118	E	1918	1918	Msimang, Enoch	4.75
118	E	1912	1917	Msimang, Ezriah N.	13.50
67	E	1912	1912	Msimang, Joel	0.75
118	E	1912	1912	Msimang, Joel	12.75
D680	G	1912	1912	Msimang, Luke	0.50
124	E	1912	1912	Msimang, Luke	11.25
67	E	1912	1912	Msimang, Obed	0.75
289	E	1904	1918	Msomi, Basset Simon	1.50
S777	G	1904	1912	Msomi, Basset Simon	0.25
Q756	G	1911	1912	Msomi, Basset Simon	0.25
44	E	1904	1914	Msomi, Rhosster	1.00
Q756	G	1912	1914	Msomi, Rhosster	0.25
5777	G	1912	1914	Msomi, Rhosster	0.25
293	E	1912	1914	Msomi, Rhosster	5.75
R764	G	1893	1911	Msomi, Zaccheus	0.25
322	E	1905	1911	Msomi, Zaccheus	12.00
231	E	1905	1911	Msomi, Zaccheus	16.75
D674	G	1895	1911	Mtimkulu, Simon	0.25
225	E	1898	1918	Muduray 29237	7.75
225	E	1918	1918	Muduray, Mutau	7.75
5	E	1911	1911	Munaw quarter share	8.50
5	E	1911	1911	Mungul quarter share	8.50
784	E	1915	1915	Muniamma	4.00
72	E	1915	1915	Muniamma	2.25
62	E	1915	1915	Muniamma	1.50
73	E	1915	1915	Muniamma	2.25
93	E	1918	1918	Muthu, Madural quarter share	1.75
140	E	1910	1910	Naidoo, Balakistan S.	8.00

TABLE 7.1: List of land transferred, 1910–1919 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
157	E	1918	1918	Narayanam 49171	1.00
74	E	1918	1919	Narayanam 49171	5.75
73	E	1915	1915	Narayanasamy	2.25
72	E	1915	1915	Narayanasamy	2.25
784	E	1915	1915	Narayanasamy	4.00
62	E	1915	1915	Narayanasamy	1.50
203	E	1899	1912	Narrandas, Gunpath S.	2.00
205	E	1899	1912	Narrandas, Gunpath S.	3.50
206	E	1899	1912	Narrandas, Gunpath S.	14.00
800	E	1904	1910	Natal Land and Colonisation Co.	40.25
800	E	1910	1916	Natal Wickerwork Co.	40.25
311	E	1911	1916	Natal Wickerwork Co.	6.50
123	E	1912	1916	Natal Wickerwork Co.	3.75
S771	G	1911	1918	Ndhlovu, George	1.00
R770	G	1911	1918	Ndhlovu, George	0.75
234	E	1907	1912	Ndimande, Charles	4.25
R770	G	1907	1911	Ndimande, Charles	0.75
354	E	1907	1912	Ndimande, Charles	3.00
88	E	1907	1912	Ndimande, Charles	4.50
176	E	1896	1912	Ndimande, William	16.75
123	E	1896	1912	Ndimande, William	3.75
177	E	1896	1912	Ndimande, William	18.50
100	E	1896	1912	Ndimande, William	0.75
288	E	1896	1912	Ndimande, William	10.75
P750	G	1896	1912	Ndimande, William	0.25
260	E	1906	1919	Nuttathamby, Joseph	1.75
33	E	1902	1911	Orel 19598	9.25
148	E	1913	1914	Padayachee, Appavoo R.	3.00
139	E	1913	1914	Padayachee, Appavoo R.	1.75
148	E	1903	1913	Padiache, Govindasamy	3.00
139	E	1903	1913	Padiache, Govindasamy	1.75
79	E	1917	1918	Papamah	5.25
82	E	1917	1918	Papamah	0.50
D674	G	1911	1917	Pathon, Habiballah	0.25
P750	G	1912	1913	Petout, Fred J.	0.25
784	E	1903	1915	Pillay, Koopoosamy 22379	4.00
93	E	1914	1918	Pillay, R.N. another	1.75
62	E	1915	1915	Pillay, S.K. Estate	1.50
73	E	1903	1915	Pillay, T. Coopoosamy	2.25

TABLE 7.1: List of land transferred, 1910–1919 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
72	E	1903	1915	Pillay, T. Coopoosamy	2.25
G701	G	1862	1917	Prince, January	0.50
304	E	1898	1914	Puchiree 35	31.00
5	E	1911	1911	Ramjuttan quarter share	8.50
102	E	1900	1918	Ramphal 40803	6.25
101	E	1903	1918	Ramphal 40803	1.00
102	E	1918	1918	Ransundari, eighth share	6.25
101	E	1918	1918	Ransundari, eighth share	1.00
795	E	1902	1912	Rowell, Frank Percy	17.00
K724	G	1866	1916	Russell, Henry	0.25
82	E	1912	1917	Samuel, James M.	0.50
79	E	1912	1917	Samuel, James M.	5.25
225	E	1918	1918	Saulachi	7.75
93	E	1918	1918	Saulachi	1.75
P746	G	1911	1916	Sigudo, Levi	0.50
165	E	1918	1919	Sigudu, Abner	8.25
E684	G	1918	1919	Sigudu, Abner	1.00
84	E	1916	1918	Sililo, Matthew	2.00
237	E	1909	1917	Singh, G. Ramburan	2.25
794	E	1903	1913	Sitole, Maramba	5.50
R769	G	1903	1913	Sitole, Maramba	1.00
32	E	1903	1913	Sitole, Maramba	8.75
330	E	1904	1915	Sive, David	0.50
162	E	1904	1912	Sive, David	3.75
305	E	1904	1914	Sive, David	3.75
329	E	1904	1915	Sive, David	2.00
260	E	1910	1917	Solomon, Elsie	3.00
101	E	1918	1918	Sookdeya half share	1.00
102	E	1918	1918	Sookdeya half share	6.25
311	E	1906	1911	Stritzen, William	6.50
56	E	1903	1917	Subbon, 27489	1.00
292	E	1907	1916	Thomson, Christopher	25.50
55	E	1892	1919	Tshabalala, Solomon	0.75
B658	G	1892	1919	Tshabalala, Solomon	0.25
173	E	1892	1919	Tshabalala, Solomon	6.25
92	E	1892	1919	Tshabalala, Solomon	3.75
R763	G	1892	1919	Tshabalala, Solomon	0.00
106	E	1892	1918	Tshabalala, Solomon	11.75
58	E	1892	1919	Tshabalala, Solomon	0.75

TABLE 7.1: List of land transferred, 1910–1919 (*cont.*)

PLOT	G/E	BWT	SOLD	NAME	ACRES
P745	G	1914	1914	Tyingela, Hosiah	0.25
81	E	1908	1916	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	2.25
84	E	1908	1916	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	2.00
111	E	1903	1919	Tyingela, Zebulon	3.75
65	E	1903	1919	Tyingela, Zebulon	1.50
144	E	1903	1917	Tyingela, Zebulon	4.25
N736	G	1903	1914	Tyingela, Zebulon	0.75
296	E	1914	1915	Tyingela, Hosiah	5.75
123	E	1916	1917	Vanderkarst, Jonia W.	3.75
311	E	1916	1917	Vanderkarst, Jonia W.	6.50
800	E	1916	1917	Vanderkarst, Jonia W.	40.25
80	E	1908	1910	Veersamy	1.50
78	E	1908	1910	Veersamy	4.50
787	E	1913	1914	Veersamy	4.25
784	E	1915	1915	Venkatamah widow	4.00
72	E	1915	1915	Venkatamah widow	2.25
73	E	1915	1915	Venkatamah widow	2.25
62	E	1915	1915	Venkatamah widow	1.50
340	E	1911	1915	Walton and Tatham	5.00
A653	G	1911	1913	Walton and Tatham	1.00
166	E	1911	1914	Walton and Tatham	3.00
232	E	1902	1912	Wilkinson, Frederick L.	38.00
G699	G	1882	1918	Wiltshier, Edward H.	0.50
200	E	1883	1918	Wiltshier, Edward H.	3.75
G696	G	1902	1914	Windvogel, Magdalena G.	0.75
24	E	1902	1914	Windvogel, Magdalena G.	7.75
192	E	1902	1914	Windvogel, Magdalena G.	2.00
82	E	1903	1912	Wumnamalay 16466	0.50
79	E	1903	1912	Wumnamalay 16466	5.25
A656	G	1861	1917	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	0.75
16	E	1861	1917	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	10.75
164	E	1861	1917	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	8.50
15	E	1861	1917	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	100.25
15	E	1917	1917	Xaba, Solomon	80.25
344	E	1882	1919	Xulu, Jacob	2.50
Q759	G	1919	1919	Xulu, Mahlabati	0.25
U781	G	1899	1912	Zwane, Mqoki	0.50

TABLE 7.2: Landowners as at 1919 (alphabetical)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Allen, Frederick H.	46.00	Griffin, Christiane	21.25
Allison and Hime	0.50	Gule, Naphthali Estate	41.25
Allison, James	6.25	Gule, Petrus	12.50
Allison, Thackeray Jas	1.00	Gule, Timothy Inyewe	43.75
Ally, Mahomed	7.25	Gumbi, Mataweni Paul	5.25
Ammakunoo	6.00	Gumede, Josiah J.	6.50
Amsterdam, Adam	11.75	Gungadin 18062	6.50
Annamulay 697	4.75	Hacker, William John	17.50
Armitage, George S.	65.75	Hardeba	59.25
Baker, Rev. William	0.50	Hareke, Peter	22.25
Bhodhoo, Marachia	7.00	Hershensohn, Joshua Jnr	9.50
Bhodoo 62019	6.25	Hlatywako, Benjamin	2.25
Bloomfontyn, Jacob	2.50	Hlatywako, Ellen Trustee	5.75
Boosak, Andries	0.50	Hlatywako, J.	20.50
Caluza, Mordecai	3.00	Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	25.00
Cawe, James	27.00	Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	22.75
Chimathambu	1.50	Hlope, Kate Madhlala	10.50
Colonial Government	11.50	Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	25.25
Congwana, Henry	0.25	Hlubi, Benjamin	6.00
Cross, John William	3.75	Intuto, Enoch	44.00
Dambuzi, Lucy Rose	14.75	Intutompela	3.50
Dhanja 102305	1.00	Jacobs, Charles	2.50
Dhlamini, Abednego	6.25	Jacobs, Isaac	1.75
Dhlamini, George	6.25	Jacobs, Willie	1.75
Dhlamini, Zachariah	1.50	Jubani, Jeremiah Trust	43.75
Dhlomo, Ezra	1.25	Kambule, Absolom	20.00
Dhlungwana, Bessie	8.50	Kambule, Simeon Elijah	222.50
Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	11.00	Katija	1.50
Dunlop, Robert	14.50	Knapp, Francis William	20.75
Ford, Frank	7.75	Koopun	6.00
Ford, Naomi	4.50	Kothe, Cornelia Franziska	101.00
Forsyth, Margaret H.	6.00	Kumalo, Elias Daniel	0.50
Franklin, Mary A.L. Trustee	2.25	Kumalo, Hezekiah	88.25
Fraser and McGibbon	0.50	Kumalo, Isaiah	0.25
Fraser, John	46.25	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	5.25
Gama, John	67.75	Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	16.50
Gounden, Kutti 73272	5.75	Kumalo, Timothy	46.25
Govindan, Kutti	31.00	Kunene, Buhlene	1.00

TABLE 7.2: Landowners as at 1919 (alphabetical) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Kunene, John Makwata	1.00	Msimang, Ezriah N.	0.75
Kunene, Micah	11.50	Msimang, Joel	1.00
Kunene, Nephtail	0.50	Msimang, Lloyd W.	9.25
Kunene, Ngila	3.75	Msimang, Luke	0.75
Kuzwayo, Reuben	4.25	Msimang, Lydia	8.00
Lakshamina, V. 39815	4.75	Msimang, Obed	13.50
Lekan 55516	45.75	Msimang, Sebastian	1.25
Lohoho, Andrew Dube	6.00	Msimang, Walter	14.75
Lutchmadu	11.50	Msomi, Dinah Nokwendhlala	12.50
Lutshozi, Samuel	0.50	Msomi, Florence T. Trustee	7.25
Madhlala, Solomon	0.25	Msomi, James	42.00
Magongo	0.50	Msomi, John	9.00
Maharaj, Ramnath	4.75	Msomi, Samuel	0.75
Makatini, Zamfana	10.75	Msomi, Basset Simon	5.75
Makwata, John	6.50	Mtalana, Mpangwe	11.25
Malevu, Andreas	0.50	Mtembu, Marian Dhlamini	0.25
Malinga, Andrews	20.75	Mtimkulu, Abner	0.25
Masuku, Arthur	32.75	Mtimkulu, Dorothea Trustee	20.00
Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	3.00	Mtimkulu, Joel	0.50
Mate, Bula Henry	29.00	Mtimkulu, John Zulu	82.25
Mavimbela, Peter	15.50	Muthu, Madural quarter share	2.00
Mavuso, Abednego	37.00	Mutshiningi, A.	1.25
Mazibuko, Harry	0.75	Mvuyana, Nyantye	0.50
Mgadi, George	3.25	Mungal 19559	2.00
Miah, Numkoo 23742	7.25	Nagonga	4.00
Mini, Mary	15.00	Naidoo, B.V.	8.00
Mini, William George	10.75	Naidoo, Suba 75438	4.00
Miya, Walter Mona	2.00	Naik, Matchoo 49131	2.25
Mntyali, Amos	1.50	Narayanam 49171	23.75
Molambo, William	2.25	Natal Land and Colonisation Co.	1.50
Moonu	2.50	Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	2.00
Mqambi, James T.	0.00	Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	3.75
Msane, Omried J.	0.25	Ndimande, Bertha	0.75
Msane, Saul	36.75	Nel, Susannah J.	3.00
Msimang, Albert Daniel	11.00	Ngcobo, Saliwane	27.00
Msimang, Albert J.	14.00	Nondabula, A.	42.00
Msimang, Edward O.	14.50	Nondabula, Noah	7.25
Msimang, Enoch	85.00	Nyawo, Colben	4.25

TABLE 7.2: Landowners as at 1919 (alphabetical) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Ohlosa, Gideon	19.50	Tshabalala, Phillip M.	25.25
Ompumela	11.00	Tshezi, David Zita	2.25
Orel 19598	3.00	Tshezi, William	10.00
Pachoe 19359	2.50	Tubert, Boy	4.00
Pakkiri	7.75	Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	9.75
Peattie, Robert	21.00	Tyingela, Hosiah	12.75
Pillay, Ramasamy	19.50	Umlaw, Caroline Nancy	4.00
Pulani, Paul	33.75	Umlaw, Stephen Kuzwayo	92.75
Rangasamy	7.75	Ummur 10846 half share	1.00
Rai, Bodh 45737	1.25	United Free Church of Scotland	2.50
Ramcharos	4.75	Veersamy	4.25
Rankhalawn 18034	13.75	Venketaroyadu 706	5.50
Rangasamy quarter share	1.75	Vilakazi, Annanias	4.25
Reneveld, Jacob	4.50	Vilakazi, Levi	0.50
Rooi, Jonah	3.00	Wesleyan Mission Society	7.25
Roopun	1.75	Wilkinson, Frederick L.	69.25
SA Wickerworks local indus[try]	71.75	Wilkinson, Henry Clay	29.50
Savoretti, Carlo	25.50	Wood, Arthur F.	13.00
Sibiya, Josiah	0.75	Woodroffe, Edmund A.	61.25
Sikwatini, Nicodimusi	12.25	Xaba, Jacob	9.50
Sililo, Matthew	8.00	Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	8.50
Sondezi, Joseph	25.75	Xaba, Solomon	11.50
Soorsathee eighth share	7.25	Xulu, Jacob	2.50
Spakkiri tenth share	2.25	Zondo, Johannes	0.25
Stott, Clement Horner	6.50	Zulu, Abraham	0.25
Tolo, Abraham	8.25	Zuma, Timothy	0.50
Tshabalala, Jacob	0.50	TOTAL (205 landowners)	2 995.25

TABLE 7.3: Landowners as at 1919 (in order of size)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Kambule, Simeon Elijah	222.50	Hareke, Peter	22.25
Kothe, Cornelia Franziska	101.00	Griffin, Christiane	21.25
Umlaw, Stephen Kuzwayo	92.75	Peattie, Robert	21.00
Kumalo, Hezekiah	88.25	Malinga, Andrews	20.75
Msimang, Enoch	85.00	Knapp, Francis William	20.75
Mtimkulu, John Zulu	82.25	Hlatywako, J.	20.50
SA Wickerworks local indus[try]	71.75	Mtimkulu, Dorothea Trustee	20.00
Wilkinson, Frederick L.	69.25	Kambule, Absolom	20.00
Gama, John	67.75	Pillay, Ramasamy	19.50
Armitage, George S.	65.75	Ohlosa, Gideon	19.50
Woodroffe, Edmund A.	61.25	Hacker, William John	17.50
Hardeba	59.25	Kumalo, Stephanus Siaka	16.50
Kumalo, Timothy	46.25	Mavimbela, Peter	15.50
Fraser, John	46.25	Mini, Mary	15.00
Allen, Frederick H.	46.00	Dambuza, Lucy Rose	14.75
Lekan 55516	45.75	Msimang, Walter	14.75
Intuto, Enoch	44.00	Dunlop, Robert	14.50
Jubani, Jeremiah Trust	43.75	Msimang, Edward O.	14.50
Gule, Timothy Inyewe	43.75	Msimang, Albert J.	14.00
Nondabula, A.	42.00	Ramkhalawn 18034	13.75
Msomi, James	42.00	Msimang, Obed	13.50
Gule, Naphthali Estate	41.25	Wood, Arthur F.	13.00
Mavuso, Abednego	37.00	Tyingela, Hosiah	12.75
Msane, Saul	36.75	Msomi, Dinah Nokwendhlala	12.50
Pulani, Paul	33.75	Gule, Petrus	12.50
Masuku, Arthur	32.75	Sikwatini, Nicodimusi	12.25
Govindan, Kutti	31.00	Amsterdam, Adam	11.75
Wilkinson, Henry Clay	29.50	Lutchmadu	11.50
Matebula, Henry	29.00	Xaba, Solomon	11.50
Cawe, James	27.00	Kunene, Micah	11.50
Ngcobo, Saliwane	27.00	Colonial Government	11.50
Sondezi, Joseph	25.75	Mtalana, Mpangwe	11.25
Savoretti, Carlo	25.50	Dube, Absolom Mahlenga	11.00
Tshabalala, Phillip M.	25.25	Ompumela	11.00
Hlubi, Batengi Josiah	25.25	Msimang, Albert Daniel	11.00
Hlatywako, Joseph Mosheshwe	25.00	Mini, William George	10.75
Narayanam 49171	23.75	Makatini, Zamfana	10.75
Hlatywako, Nonjesi Eli	22.75	Hlope, Kate Madhlala	10.50

TABLE 7.3: Landowners as at 1919 (in order of size) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Tshezi, William	10.00	Venkataroyadu 706	5.50
Tyingela, Sikupukupani Ezra	9.75	Kumalo, Johannes Hlabati	5.25
Xaba, Jacob	9.50	Gumbi, Mataweni Paul	5.25
Hershensohn, Joshua Jnr	9.50	Annamulay 697	4.75
Msimang, Lloyd W.	9.25	Ramcharos	4.75
Msomi, John	9.00	Maharaj, Ramnath	4.75
Dhlungwana, Bessie	8.50	Lakshamina, V. 39815	4.75
Xaba, Jonathan Mokatsare	8.50	Reneveld, Jacob	4.50
Tolo, Abraham	8.25	Ford, Naomi	4.50
Naidoo, B.V.	8.00	Kuzwayo, Reuben	4.25
Msimang, Lydia	8.00	Vilakazi, Annanias	4.25
Sililo, Matthew	8.00	Veersamy	4.25
Ford, Frank	7.75	Nyawo, Colben	4.25
Rangasamy	7.75	Naidoo, Suba 75438	4.00
Pakkiri	7.75	Umlaw, Caroline Nancy	4.00
Wesleyan Mission Society	7.25	Nagonga	4.00
Nondabula, Noah	7.25	Tubert, Boy	4.00
Miah, Numkoo 23742	7.25	Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	3.75
Msomi, Florence T. Trustee	7.25	Kunene, Ngila	3.75
Soorsathee eighth share	7.25	Cross, John William	3.75
Ally, Mahomed	7.25	Intutompela	3.50
Bhodhoo, Marachia	7.00	Mgadi, George	3.25
Gumede, Josiah J.	6.50	Caluza, Mordecai	3.00
Gungadin 18062	6.50	Rooi, Jonah	3.00
Stott, Clement Horner	6.50	Masuku, Nicholas Makonondo	3.00
Makwata, John	6.50	Nel, Susannah J.	3.00
Bhodoo 62019	6.25	Orel 19598	3.00
Dhlamini, George	6.25	Bloomfontyn, Jacob	2.50
Allison, James	6.25	Jacobs, Charles	2.50
Dhlamini, Abednego	6.25	Pachoe 19359	2.50
Hlubi, Benjamin	6.00	United Free Church of Scotland	2.50
Lohoho, Andrew Dube	6.00	Xulu, Jacob	2.50
Ammakunoo	6.00	Moonu	2.50
Koopun	6.00	Molambo, William	2.25
Forsyth, Margaret H.	6.00	Hlatywako, Benjamin	2.25
Hlatywako, Ellen Trustee	5.75	Franklin, Mary A.L. Trustee	2.25
Msomi, Basset Simon	5.75	Spakkiri tenth share	2.25
Gounden, Kutti 73272	5.75	Tshezi, David Zita	2.25

TABLE 7.3: Landowners as at 1919 (in order of size) (*cont.*)

NAME	ACRES	NAME	ACRES
Naik, Matchoo 49131	2.25	Msimang, Ezriah N.	0.75
Miya, Walter Mona	2.00	Msimang, Luke	0.75
Muthu, Madural quarter share	2.00	Sibiya, Josiah	0.75
Ndaba, Jephtha Mordecai	2.00	Baker, Rev. William	0.50
Mungal 19559	2.00	Magongo	0.50
Jacobs, Willie	1.75	Allison and Hime	0.50
Rangasamy quarter share	1.75	Fraser and McGibbon	0.50
Jacobs, Isaac	1.75	Kumalo, Elias Daniel	0.50
Roopun	1.75	Vilakazi, Levi	0.50
Dhlamini, Zachariah	1.50	Mtimkulu, Joel	0.50
Mntyali, Amos	1.50	Zuma, Timothy	0.50
Chimathambu	1.50	Boosak, Andries	0.50
Natal Land and Colonisation Co.	1.50	Malevu, Andreas	0.50
Katija	1.50	Tshabalala, Jacob	0.50
Mutshiningi, A.	1.25	Kunene, Nephtail	0.50
Dhlomo, Ezra	1.25	Mvuyana, Nyantye	0.50
Msimang, Sebastian	1.25	Lutshozi, Samuel	0.50
Rai, Bodh 45737	1.25	Kumalo, Isaiah	0.25
Msimang, Joel	1.00	Congwana, Henry	0.25
Dhanja 102305	1.00	Mtembu, Marian Dhlamini	0.25
Kunene, John Makwata	1.00	Zondo, Johannes	0.25
Allison, Thackeray Jas	1.00	Mtimkulu, Abner	0.25
Kunene, Buhlene	1.00	Madhlala, Solomon	0.25
Ummur, 10846 half share	1.00	Msane, Omried J.	0.25
Msomi, Samuel	0.75	Zulu, Abraham	0.25
Ndimande, Bertha	0.75	Mqambi, James T.	0.00
Mazibuko, Harry	0.75	TOTAL (205 landowners)	2 995.25

APPENDIX 3

Edendale mortgage bonds in the 1860s

Date	Surname	First names	No. of properties	Mortgage	Amount (£ rounded off)	Ceded mortgage	Date of cancellation of mortgage
1864	Cave	J. [James]	3	H. Pinson	768	Marine Insur. Co., 1865	1871
1865	Damand	J. [Joseph]	6	H. Pinson	92	D.H. Tarboton, 1865	Foreclosed 1875
1863	(Kumalo)	Johannes Hlabati	10	Martin Shortt	309	Raw & Wilkinson Natal Fire Ins. & Trust Co.	May 1865
1863	Umlawu [Umlaw]	Simon Hlupu [Hlubi]	5	Martin Shortt	48	(Not lost)	April 1864
1863	Nhlela [Caluza]	Reuben	5	H. Pinson	192	Marine Ins. Co. & D.H. Tarboton	1874
1863	Inkanhla [Zuma]	John	3	Martin Shortt	110	–	May 1865
1863	Intuto	Enoch	6	Martin Shortt	47	–	Aug. 1865
1864	Inyewe [Gule]	Timothy [Inyewe]	10	Martin Shortt	150	–	Oct. 1865
1865	Kambule	Elijah	1	T. Bond & Co.	65	Colonial Bank	Mar. 1913
1865	Kambule	Job [Zinyonani]	10	W.H. Milward	100	–	Dec. 1872
1865	Inkanhla [Zuma]	John	3	H. Pinson	192	–	1877
1866	Lohoho	Andrew [Dube]	2	John Fleming	18	–	1872
1863	Masuku	Niklaas [Nicholas Makonondo]	7	D.H. Tarboton	–	[–]	–
1863	Masuku	Niklaas [Nicholas Makonondo]	7	H. Pinson	240	Stephanus Mini	1863 – 6 mths
1864	Masuku	Niklaas [Nicholas Makonondo]	1	Raw & Wilkinson	212	Geo. Thompson & John Fleming 1866	1866
1864	Masuku	Niklaas [Nicholas Makonondo]	7	H. Pinson	384	Marine Ins. Trust 1865 Stephanus Mini	1872

Edendale mortgage bonds in the 1860s (*cont.*)

Date	Surname	First names	No. of properties	Mortgage	Amount (£ rounded off)	Ceded mortgage	Date of cancellation of mortgage
1864	Masuku	Niklaas [Nicholas Makonondo]	1	Samuel Jenkins	46	William Hopkin Jenkins 1872 John Mortimer	1903 1874
1864	Masuku	Niklaas [Nicholas Makonondo]	2 (Newcastle)	James Archbell	34	M. Hodgson	Dec. 1874
1863	Malgas	Abraham	7	Edward Few	27	—	1875 foreclosed
1863	Malgas	Abraham	6	G. Pinson	192	Marine Ins. & Trust 1865 D.H. Tarboton	1875
1863	Manhlakampisi	—	2	Martin Shortt	18	—	Aug. 1864
1863	Vilakazi	Monganjelwa— Hezekiah	7	Martin Shortt	81	—	May 1865 (8 mths)
1863	Mahlenga [Dube]	(Absolom)	5	Martin Shortt	30	—	Mar. 1866
1864	Mahlenga [Dube]	(Absolom)	1	Jean Fleming	25	—	1905 Order of Court
1864	Mahlenga [Dube]	(Absolom)	5	John Fleming	19	—	1905 Order of Court
1863	Mavuso	Joseph	6	H. Pinson	?	Marine Ins. & Trust 1865 K.H. Hathorn	1875
1864 Feb.	Moshweshwe [Hlatywako]	Joseph [Moshweshwe]	4	Martin Shortt	200	—	Aug. 1864
1865 [1755]	Moshweshwe [Hlatywako]	Joseph [Moshweshwe]	4	Martin Shortt	214	London & SA Bank 1867	1873
1864	Mzondo [Msane]	Matthew	8	Martin Shortt	187	Jones Bugtheil Jan 1865 London & SA Bank 1865	Foreclosed 18 T. Shepstone Jr acquired properties
1865 Jan.	Mohlahlo	Jacob	3	Martin Short[t]	130	Col. Bank Mavuso 1869	1878
1866	Mini	Stephanus	1	London & SA Bank	56	—	1866

Edendale mortgage bonds in the 1860s (*cont.*)

Date	Surname	First names	No. of properties	Mortgage	Amount (£ rounded off)	Ceded mortgage	Date of cancellation of mortgage
1869	Mini	Stephanus	6	William Carter	25	Stephen Mini 1888	1891
1867	Xulu [Xaba]	Jonathan (Mokatsane) [Mokatsare]	5	William Carter	50	—	Dec. 1867
1866	Manoka	—	7	B.C. Clarence	70	—	1890
1863	Nonjesi [Hlatywako]	Eli [Nonjesi]	4	Martin Shortt	25	Natal Fire Ins. Co. 1863	1864
1864	Nonjesi [Hlatywako]	Eli [Nonjesi]	4	Martin Shortt	192	Comm. & Agric. Bank 1865	1883
1863	Ohlasa [Ohlosa]	Jonah	3	Martin Shortt	53	Natal Fire Ins. Co. 1863	1903 (without production)
1864	Ohlasa [Ohlosa]	Jonah	3	H. Pinson	192	Marine Ins. & Trust Co. 1865	1903
1864	Matebula	Nathanial [Onbeti]	9	William Hopkin Jenkins	150	W. Wesley Daiby 1866	1867
1865	Pigani	Benjamin	3	Martin Shortt	16	—	Dec. 1865
1863	Sikupukupani [Tyngela]	[Sikupukupani Ezra]	6	Martin Shortt	27	—	Apr. 1864
1863	Sisoka	Ephraim	3	Martin Shortt	33	H. Pinson 1864 Marine Ins. & Trust Co. 1865	1865
1863	Silangani	W.	5	Martin Shortt	34	—	1864
1864	Silangani	W.	5	E.S. Foster	280	—	1864
1865	Silangani	W.	5	Natal Bank	43	—	1865

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This history of one of the earliest nineteenth-century mission stations in Natal traces the transformation in the lives of a community that settled first at Indaleni near Richmond and later at Edendale a few miles from Pietermaritzburg. Initially an independent mission under the religious and educational tutelage of James Allison, who left the Methodist Church to pursue independent mission work, Edendale was the first African community in Natal to experiment with freehold tenure. This had implications for the way its inhabitants were integrated into colonial society as educated, market-orientated producers and as citizens. They sought equal recognition, no different from British settlers.

The concerns of this case study return to questions that dominated materialist debates in the 1980s, when the thesis on which this book is based was written. How did social relations of production and reproduction of communal kinship society mesh with those of the colonial capitalist economy, which in the nineteenth century was essentially a petty commodity economy within the beginnings of a plantation nexus? What were the mechanisms that led to the transformation of political and other social relations? How did ideological change occur in the context of religious conversion?

Focus on a single community enables exploration in concrete detail of the matrix of forces that shaped changing social consciousness, family structure, patterns of marriage and inheritance, property ownership, corporate structures, and institutions in the village community. As Marx and Engels wrote in 'The Eighteenth Brumaire', 'Upon the different forms of property, upon the social conditions of existence arises an entire superstructure of distinct and peculiarly formed sentiments, illusions, modes of thought and views of life. The entire class creates and forms them out of its material foundations and out of the corresponding social relations'.

While the larger forces of capitalism in the nineteenth century provide a backdrop to the study, it is their translation in the lives of indigenous peoples that is of consequence. It is through the prism of a small, peripheral colony in the nineteenth century that we can see how they unfold and transform people's lives at the level of village life. For those living in colonial Natal, it was the Victorian imperial state represented by its small cohort of officials on the ground that overshadowed social and political relationships. But at the local level, people reacted, adapted and opposed these forces to create their own existence. The Edendale community shows this syncretic process very clearly.

Sheila Meintjes taught Political Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand for 30 years. Her initial research interest in the historical transformations of independent pre-colonial polities to subordinate colonies during the nineteenth century transitioned to a focus on gender and women in both her research and teaching. She is an honorary research associate professor in the Department of Political Studies at Wits, and a visiting professor at the Institute for Women and Gender Studies, Carl von Ossietzky University, Oldenburg, Germany.



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