

‘The Fate of the Natives’: Black Durban and African Ideology

One hundred and fifty years ago the straggling settlement of traders and hunters scattered about the Bay of Natal since 1824 was endowed with the conception of an organised community by the missionary adventurer Captain Allen F. Gardiner, R.N. On 23 June 1835 fifteen white inhabitants, Gardiner presiding, agreed to lay out a town and govern it with a council, subscribed to its costs, named it after the Cape Colony’s Governor Benjamin D’Urban, proclaimed ‘the infant colony of Victoria’ from the Umzimvubu to the Tugela, and appealed without success to the British authorities for recognition. Soon repudiated by the settlers when he attempted to prohibit their gun trade and to regulate their control over the local Blacks, Gardiner’s overambitious vision proved largely illusory. The settlement itself was temporarily wiped out by the Zulu king Dingane in the warfare that followed the Boer invasion of the Zulu country in 1837, yet the sense of community that Gardiner had precipitated remained alive, as did the name he gave it, Durban, from that time on.¹

It is appropriate in 1985 to celebrate the beginnings of Natal’s great city. But the sesquicentennial of Durban’s putative founding should recognise more than the saga of adventurous traders and a courageous visionary. From the very beginning Blacks were also drawn into the process of settlement and urban development. One of the chief characteristics of the early settlement was its attraction for Africans, many of them refugees from Zulu depredations, who placed themselves under a kind of clientage to the Whites. ‘Thus a body of natives under the control of the European party was collected at the Port,’ wrote Henry Francis Fynn in words which sounded a prophetic note for the history of Natal. ‘The fate of the natives became identified with our own and could scarcely be separated.’²

This theme has persisted throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Moreover, the history of Durban is to a very large degree the history of Natal. Despite Pietermaritzburg’s early prominence as the seat of government and market centre, Durban soon became the economic and demographic flywheel of Natal and the Zulu country. Population figures are suggestive. Durban held one quarter of Natal’s Whites in 1860, one third in 1904, nearly one half in 1936, and holds sixty percent today. No less significant was Durban’s magnet effect on Africans, and the city should also be perceived as a Zulu metropolis. From the 1850s roughly a third of its population were Africans. Indians added nearly the same proportion by the end of the century, so that in 1900 both together amounted to sixty percent

of the city's population. By the 1960s Africans and Indians each exceeded the Whites in number and today the mushrooming African settlements in the Durban-Pinetown-Kwazulu metropolitan area probably number half a million to the Whites' approximately three hundred thousand.³

Much current scholarship on the broad theme of African-European interaction in South African history is directed to the subjection and exploitation of the African people by the penetration of 'capital' into peasant populations, driving them into dependent rural and urban-industrial employment as a proletarian class. Rather less attention seems to be given to the concomitant emergence of an African 'bourgeoisie', but the rise of an African entrepreneurial or white collar class is a highly significant phenomenon in itself and forms the thread of this article.

Africans clearly proved adept at responding to the colonial economy and urban environment, and an important element among them soon displayed entrepreneurial skill and drive. To begin with, as Durban and other towns grew, kraals within efficient transport distance became commercial producers of crops for market. Before the rise of the Indian farmers who supplanted them in the late nineteenth century, Africans supplied most of the fresh food for town markets as well as a very large share of the colony's export grain crop. Settlers' complaints to the 1852-53 Natal Native Commission about the deleterious influence of town and mission in presumably undermining the supply and good discipline of labour must be understood as an attack on the rising success of Africans as economic competitors and their ability to command high wages.⁴ In the latter respect the togt or daily wage phenomenon, found in rural contexts as agricultural labour, became a feature of urban employment from the mid-nineteenth century onward, in Durban most prominently in stevedoring for the shipping and transport trade but also in other occupations. The Africans who undertook this venture were often not 'raw' kraal Blacks but were also drawn from the ranks of mission-based Christianised 'Kholwa', who sought in this way, as well as by farming, to accumulate capital for more independent ventures, especially in trade and transport.⁵

Norman Etherington has called our attention to the striking success of many among the 8 to 10 000 Kholwa in Natal by 1880 as farmers, planters, millers, teachers, traders, and transport riders. Some were earning up to £400 a year, comparing impressively with the £450 salary of European magistrates, and they possessed substantial property, landed and movable. An outstanding example was William Africa (Muwebidu Umgweni) who owned an acre and a four-roomed house with stable and kraal in Ladysmith plus wagon, ploughs, trek oxen, a herd of cows and other stock, and 1 600 acres of farmland. Africans were also becoming urban dwellers and property holders. At Pietermaritzburg in the 1860s lots in Greyling and Burger Streets were held by Africans, and in an episode at Nonoti, Theophilus Shepstone scornfully rejected a protest by Whites who wanted land sales restricted to themselves because they had been outbid at auctions by Blacks.⁶ There is less evidence of African property holders in Durban at that time but the Durban *Mayor's Minute* for 1873 referred to 'selling and leasing of properties in and about the town' to Indians and Africans as reason to call for urban locations.

The inevitable tendency of urbanism with its dynamic propinquity was to make Africans townsmen, not only as labourers but as a middle class. One thinks of the medieval dictum, 'Town air makes men free'. Its irony cannot be missed, however, for the urban concomitant to the increasingly assertive colonial Native policy denying Africans access to land and capital was the gradual elaboration, beginning at Durban and Pietermaritzburg in the 1870s, of the apparatus of influx control, passes, labour registration, barracks, and eventually segregated locations. But this process was slow, halting and often ineffectual, conducted with much disagreement among white rulers and citizens and resistance among black ones.⁷

It is evident that significant numbers of Africans were poised by the 1880s to enter fully into the colonial economy and achieve a take-off into modernity. Their progress was vitiated, not by their inability to adapt, but by deliberate policy which trapped them in the reactionary Code of Native Law and excluded them from the rights that could have secured them opportunity. In their frustration, says Etherington, the Kholwa turned to religious separatism and political activism by the turn of the century, and 'exchanged bourgeois aspirations for visions of a Kholwa-led African nationalist future'. Hence the emergence of such pioneer nationalists as John Dube, Saul Msane, H.S. Msimang, and A.W.G. Champion.⁸

Looking ahead, however, we can see that Africans did not abandon or exchange bourgeois aspirations, although the realization of them was stunted. Rather, as the further history of Durban tells us, these aspirations persisted and intensified in an urban milieu. At the same time, the nationalist vision emerged as a vehicle for economic security and political recognition while the rise of urban labour called for leadership in a new area. Meanwhile official efforts to impose effective controls and segregation in urban areas were frustrated long into the twentieth century. Even when the golden egg of self-generating finance, the 'kaffir' beer monopoly, hatched into the fully-fledged 'Durban System' of urban African administration by the 1920s, Africans flowed through its interstices in ever greater numbers. Some of them pursued entrepreneurial efforts in new channels and niches of urban life.

Through the turn of the century and after, fresh avenues of enterprise developed in the food and beer trade catering to the workforce. Country-brewed beer was imported by women visitors, especially over weekends, and sold at the railway station. Soon, however, in a classic pattern of primary independent enterprise, the beer functions of traditional society were transformed with modifications and corruptions into a thriving urban brewing and selling trade. By 1904 there were sixty Indian and African traders and twenty-five eating stalls in Grey Street and the Queen Street Market. Seventy beer sellers were making a pound a day on hop beer. African women, encouraged by the beer business as well as other employment, had begun to establish themselves and there may have been two hundred African families in Durban. Soon the beer trade boomed, with 112 'beer dens' or shebeens by 1908.

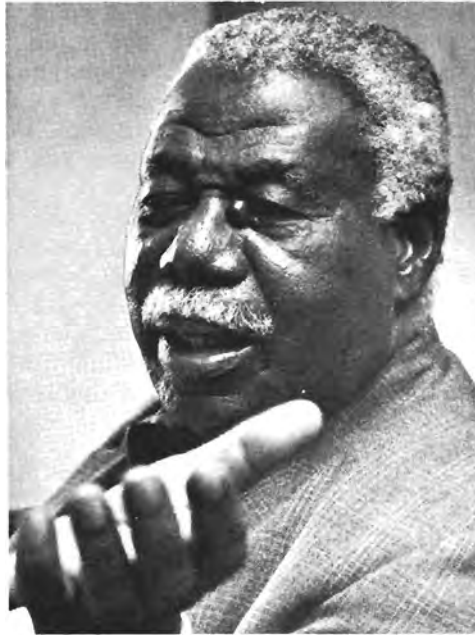
As the police pointed with alarm, magistrates diagnosed a social pathology, and employers and public argued over segregationist remedies, the Durban authorities simply appropriated this area of the African economy, taking the example of municipal public utility trading that had

developed since the 1890s. The municipal beer monopoly was then used to finance an expanding urban 'Native administration'. It should also be viewed as an episode in choking African enterprise and checking the independent African presence in town. The subsistence of a large section of the population was undermined. Traders organised, protested, hired lawyers and went to court unsuccessfully against the Durban Corporation. Nine hundred and forty Blacks petitioned against the municipal takeover of the Queen Street Market and 116 formally protested against loss of substantial investments.⁹

Thus emerged the 'Durban System', a professionalised bureaucracy elaborating the police and pass apparatus associated with the old togt system and pursuing the elusive objectives of influx control, labour regulation and locations, all financed by beer revenues. And a lucrative source of revenue it proved to be, exceeding £50 000 a year in the 1920s and probably netting half a million from its inception until the 1930s.¹⁰ Such profits as capital returned to African hands might have contributed significantly to the progress of an African middle class. As it was, the independent beer trade continued in the uncontrolled outskirts of Durban where by the 1920s a shebeen culture had appeared among the many thousands of Africans forming the 'Black Belt' of settlement, formal and informal, here and there pushed back, but ringing the city to the present day.¹¹

Africans continued to protest against the beer monopoly, some in church and temperance bodies, others from a desire to share in the business or its fruits. In 1916 for example, the editor of *Ilanga lase Natal* called for the monopoly to be made a stock company with shares for Africans so as to give access to profit derived from African pockets to Africans themselves. Opposition to the beer system and the control associated with it intensified and became finally a catalyst for the beer boycott and violent confrontations of 1929-30 which involved the great black labour movement of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union and its Durban leader A.W.G. Champion.¹² Popularly condemned then and later as an arch-exemplar of 'the Native agitator' and perceived by many black opponents as well as white critics as merely a self-seeker, Champion's career actually contained a much wider vision than that and affords insight into the lives and aspirations of Durban's black people.

When Champion arrived in Durban in 1925 as the ICU's organiser, he joined a wafer-thin stratum of clerks, teachers, petty traders and artisans (the 1921 census showed 95 teachers and indunas, 57 clerks and interpreters, 77 artisans, 230 traders and hawkers) in an African population of about 38 000 including Durban's suburbs. They lived 'at the apex of subordination' to use Leo Kuper's phrase,¹³ the common experience of all Africans under the paternalist and restrictive regime of the Durban System, and it is easy to imagine that it galled them the most of all. Among them were Charles Dube, brother of the famous John and a master at the Ohlange Institute, who ran a hotel, eating house and general dealer shop at 37 Queen Street. Charles introduced Champion to the Indian merchant E.M. Paruk, who rented to him the warehouse at 11 Leopold Street where the ICU had its first headquarters and where he lived at first. Others included George Lenono with a shop in Carlisle Street, who became a bitter rival of Champion in the ICU. Martin Luthuli, editor of *Ilanga*, had a business in



A.W.G. Champion.

(Photograph: Natal University Press)

Queen Street, and the Rev. Cele ran a hotel nearby. Champion himself went into a business with one Bertha Mkize, the Vuka Afrika Trading Company at 113 Queen Street, managed by his wife until it failed in the disturbances of 1929. There was the 'very well-to-do' William F. Bhulose, African National Congress official, who owned 'many pieces of land'.

Champion in later life recalled all told about twenty-five Africans active in substantial ways in the late 1920s. After 1926 a group of herbalists, clerks in large white chemist firms such as Durban Mayor Fleming Johnston's, were encouraged and assisted by Champion to start their own independent businesses using lists of their former employers' African customers. Some of these men became very successful, such as I. Alexander, who after World War II branched into general trade and bus lines on a large scale, and whose bankruptcy in the late 1950s was a classic instance of the African businessman's lack of managerial resources and access to capital. Despite claiming capital worth £150 000 according to his correspondence with Champion, Alexander was unable to cover liabilities of £78 000 because he could not raise loans from banks or other financial institutions on leasehold property and trading stock in the locations.¹⁴

Under Champion's leadership the ICU established a clothing factory, sought to buy land for rural labour driven off white farms, purchased urban premises for offices and meeting halls for clubs whose entertainments attracted membership, and engaged lawyers for extensive litigation against arbitrary, oppressive and humiliating features of the Durban System such as disinfection by 'dipping', the pass character reference — a source of

victimization — the curfew, and arbitrary police arrest. Such varied activities benefited the petty bourgeoisie as well as labour, and it seems that its leaders made little distinction between the grievances of them all. Champion's strategy opened up marginal opportunities for enterprise as it broke down customary but illegal regulations against occupying premises and trading outside the municipal eating houses and locations, and he assisted numbers of individuals to acquire licences or places to do business. He had entered, as Geoffrey Ashe described the Indian community at the time of Gandhi's advent, 'a depressed sub-world, the limbo of a trampled minority, powerless to generate forces of their own'¹⁵ and found himself similarly leading a movement that expressed the interests of them all, except for his rivalry with Dube and Zulu conservatives, and by which he sought recognition from white officialdom. He finally shrank from the violence and inevitable depression that massive strikes would almost surely bring as the ICU found itself swept into, but not really leading, the wave of militancy and then outright challenge which came in 1929.

In the long run there seemed to be no lasting way to surmount the regime of paternalistic restrictions and disabilities that confined African enterprise essentially to the 'Native institutions' with a one-man, one-shop policy and virtually excluded them from property rights or large scale undertakings. In 1930 Africans had 75 licences to trade or 1½% of the total issued in greater Durban, whose Black population was 44 000. By the mid 1950s the number of African traders, hawkers and artisans of all descriptions in these institutions was about 550 or 3%, with the African population around 150 000. In addition some sixty 'illegals' were operating in the Cato Manor shacktown, and there was a handful of more substantial businessmen. Numbers had increased but the system remained the same. It had been possible in the years when Champion arrived for the few Africans exempted from Native law (as he was) to acquire town property, but now there remained only a single area in the vicinity of Cato Manor next to the Chesterville Location where some 100 acres were open to African freehold, but even this foothold was doomed by the impending removal of Cato Manor under the Group Areas Act by the end of the decade.¹⁶

Property: access to land and capital, this was the *sine qua non* for the evolved African community then and since. Late in life when asked what had been the most important lesson of the twenties, Champion skirted political comment and fastened upon that theme. 'Africans couldn't get anywhere without money', he said plainly. He meant that the key to dealing with an all-powerful state and breaking the inertia of their social oppression and economic disinheritance would be financial and economic leverage. This would be the way they might 'generate forces of their own'. In his younger days Champion had jotted notes in a journal, perhaps for a speech, which read

1. Money raises the status of a person.
 2. Money is the life-blood of a nation.
 3. Money is the back-bone of a race.
- If natives of this country [had] money they would be able to force the hands of an unwilling government to recognise them in many matters . . .¹⁷

The son of a Kholwa farmer from whom he had inherited land and funds, Champion held from his youth a persistent conviction of the efficacy of property and business enterprise to lever Africans into a position to assert their interests and to make and hold gains against their disabilities. In a letter to the ICU General Secretary T.B. Lujiza on the eve of his banishment in September 1930, he asserted his belief

that there should be created a middle class of natives. Men should start proper businesses and train the young people to do so. We must organise commerce for our race . . . We have proved beyond any shadow of a doubt that our people are oppressed, that they are governed by unsympathetic rulers . . . We have succeeded to sow the seeds of discontentedness in the minds of all our native men but we have not yet taken the step of training them in business for their national independence.¹⁸

The idea of a large-scale financial institution exerted a powerful appeal for Africans who saw a fundamental weakness in their poverty and recognised the need to concentrate capital on a national basis. In 1930 Selby Msimang of Edendale, the well-known pioneer nationalist, lawyer and early union organiser, proposed 'An Ideal Industrial Organisation for the African Peoples'. It was a kind of syndicalist plan which, with the failure of the African National Congress and ICU to realise their founding ideals, would rescue the impoverished and degraded masses through the energy and leadership of their middle class. Structured like Congress but having much wider functions, this organisation would administer funds raised from all constituencies of the African people: churches, professions, traders, artisans, farmers, and labour unions. Investment would include land to settle small farmers and markets for their produce, union organisation and strike funds, charities and education. In a sense, Msimang's scheme was a strategy to accomplish systematically the kinds of objectives that Champion's ICU had sought tactically and haphazardly. And it would operate more responsibly, Msimang suggested, in order 'to regenerate the race', create legitimate employment and eliminate 'illicit dealings', promote 'self betterment' and 'create reserve funds without which all efforts are bound to fail'.¹⁹

The last item was the key: to accumulate funds. Champion, as did many promoters genuine and bogus then and since, also sought to 'start the business of collecting money and putting it in one place'. In 1934 he returned from three years' banishment in Johannesburg, promoting the new freehold township of Clermont near Durban and linking it to a 'Three Year Plan' for a subscription fund with which to

build for Blacks a bank where they may borrow money at an easy rate of interest . . . The Whites throw us out of employment and put in their own people . . . What shall we be if we have no plan to work for one another on our own? . . . [Our] own village . . . would be controlled by [us] . . . The owners . . . will take the money and we shall take the land . . . We should build up businesses of our own [and] provide our people with higher education . . . to carry out the work, the object of this fund being to protect what is ours in every way so that our land should never be taken away from us.²⁰

Frustrated by official intervention, Champion's initiative failed. But these core ideas retained their appeal and after 1945 Msimang and Champion, the Secretary and President of the Natal ANC, together tried again with a Zulu National Development Fund, or 'The National Fund'. Through Champion's connections they sought to draw upon the chiefs, linking rural and urban interests. Cattle by the thousands, Msimang enthused, would supply a permanent capital fund potentially in the 'millions, which is necessary if we must extricate ourselves from the strangulation threatening our people.' Referring to the concerted national effort of the Afrikaner cultural, commercial and financial organisations, Msimang appealed for a comparable effort and discipline among Africans to build a 'national bank' for African industrial, commercial, agricultural and social undertakings under 'the common front of the nation'. This effort, too, failed to achieve its grand objective.²¹

Perhaps the real significance of these essays in capital accumulation lay in their virtually explicit political agenda, for they signify the clear and conscious linkage of bourgeois aspirations with 'visions of a Kholwa-led African nationalist future.' In his article on Sol Plaatje's manipulation of white industrialists' desire to neutralise black militancy at Kimberley, Brian Willan observed that both liberal and marxist scholars had consigned the African petty bourgeoisie to 'a historiographical vacuum' and tended to devalue the view these Africans had of their interests, seeing them as merely subservient to white manipulation and unable to understand their true circumstances. Willan's explanation of Plaatje's ideas and activities shows that, on the contrary, he had a clear and independent vision of African interests which involved establishing linkages among them by which the rising bourgeois leadership would be able to mobilize their own people in a viable national alliance to face white domination on the one hand and 'black bolshevist' class war on the other.²² Nearer to our subject, Shula Marks has observed that Champion's 'ambiguity' as a leader reflected his petty bourgeois identity, by which the ICU became a vehicle of the non-revolutionary search for white recognition and concessions without challenging the prevailing social order. Indeed, there is little doubt that the considerable if evanescent resources of the ICU benefited the black bourgeoisie as well as labour, including Champion and some of his colleagues. The ICU's agenda was wider than the immediate interest of industrial labour, but this was a consequence of its circumstances generally and not merely of personality or 'class'.

Champion and Msimang seem typical of African leadership, certainly in their generation, in the conviction drawn from experience and their reading of circumstances that their own survival and the progress of the African people had to be built not only on political organization but upon a base of economic development and self-sufficiency. They believed this had to be achieved through opportunities to break free of exclusive dependence on wage labour and the hand to mouth poverty which, aside from the force of the state, seemed to paralyze all concerted effort. Thus they promoted the interests of African enterprise and wherever possible attempted capital accumulation through co-operative ventures. Their perception of Kholwa interests embraced socially redemptive and constructive, unifying and mobilising functions which were neither unintelligently nor abjectly

collaborationist nor naively or destructively confrontational. And they echoed the prophecy of Henry Francis Fynn at Durban's beginning: 'The fate of the natives became identified with our own and could scarcely be separated.'

NOTES

- ¹ John Bird, *Annals of Natal* Vol. I (Pietermaritzburg, 1888) *passim*. See also Allen F. Gardiner, *Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country* (London, 1836); Henry Francis Fynn, *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, J. Stuart and D. McK Malcolm comps. eds. (Pietermaritzburg, 1950); Graham MacKeurtan, *The Cradle Days of Natal (1497-1846)* (London, 1931).
- ² Bird, *Annals*, I. p. 69.
- ³ *Natal Blue Books*, Durban Mayor's Minutes, Union census, South Africa Yearbooks.
- ⁴ Natal Native Commission, *Proceedings and Report* (Pietermaritzburg, 1852-53), I pp. 44, 53, 55-7; IV pp. 7-11; V pp. 72-3, 75; *Report* para 7, p. 22; and *passim*. Maynard W. Swanson, 'The urban factor in Natal native policy, 1843-1873, *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, 3 (1980) pp. 6-8, 10.
- ⁵ Swanson, 'Urban factor', p. 12; Norman Etherington, 'African economic experiments in colonial Natal', *African Economic History*, 5, Spring 1978, p. 5, 6.
- ⁶ Etherington, 'African experiments', pp. 2, 4. Natal Archives, Secretary for Native Affairs 1/6/10 and 1/7/7.
- ⁷ Swanson, 'Urban factor', pp. 12-14; M.W. Swanson, 'The Durban System: Roots of Urban apartheid in colonial Natal', *African Studies*, 35 (1976), pp. 163-66; M.W. Swanson, 'The Asiatic Menace': Creating segregation in Durban, 1870-1900', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 16(4) (1983), pp. 401-21.
- ⁸ Etherington, 'African experiments', *passim*.
- ⁹ Swanson, 'Durban System', pp. 166-76; Paul la'Hausse, 'The Struggle for the city: alcohol, the ematsheni and popular culture in Durban, 1902-1936', paper presented at workshop on African urban life in Durban, University of Natal, Oct. 1983, pp. 8-14; David Hemson, 'Class Consciousness and Migrant Workers'. (PhD, Warwick 1979), ch. 2.
- ¹⁰ *Mayors Minutes*; Swanson 'Durban System', p. 174-75; la Hausse, 'Struggle', pp. 18, 27.
- ¹¹ Paul Maylam, 'The "Black Belt": African squatters in Durban 1935-1950' (mimeo, University of Natal, n.d.) pp. 1-9; Paul Maylam, 'Aspects of African urbanization in the Durban area before 1940', in *Natal in the Union, 1931-1961*, (University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1981).
- ¹² Hemson, 'Consciousness', pp. 207-40; la Hausse, 'Struggle' pp. 15-29; R.R.R. Dhlomo, 'Biography of Mahlathi', in M.W. Swanson, ed. *The Views of Mahlathi* (Pietermaritzburg, 1982) pp. 17-39, and Swanson, Introduction, pp. xiii-xxvii.
- ¹³ Leo Kuper, *An African Bourgeoisie; Race, Class, and Politics in South Africa*, (New Haven and London, 1965), p. 8.
- ¹⁴ Interviews with A.W.G. Champion, Durban, May 1962, October 1974; 'Interview with Mr A.W.G. Champion', March 9, 1959, Kuper Papers, University of Chicago and Yale University MSS microfilm 837; Champion papers in author's possession, I. Alexander to A.W.G. Champion, 8 March 1958.
- ¹⁵ Geoffrey Ashe, *Gandhi* (New York, 1968), p. 67.
- ¹⁶ Kuper, *Bourgeoisie*, p. 437, City of Durban, Native Affairs Department, "Cope Trading Report", 1955, and Housing Files, H16; City of Durban, Valuation rolls; Maylam, 'Black Belt', p. 8 and *passim*; Iain Edwards, 'The Durban City Council, M'Kumbane and the Cato Manor Emergency Camp 1949-1952' in *Natal, 1909-1961*, (University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1983).
- ¹⁷ Champion papers, Carter-Karis Collection, n.d.
- ¹⁸ Ballinger Collection, University of Cape Town.
- ¹⁹ A paper read before the African Methodist Episcopal Church Education Rally, 19 July 1930, Argyle Collection on Voluntary Associations, University of Natal, Durban.
- ²⁰ Union Archives, Pretoria, JUS 582/3136/31, article in *Ilanga lase Natal* and police comment; M.W. Swanson, 'The Rise of Clermont', paper at workshop on African urban life, University of Natal, Durban, Oct. 1983, pp. 15-16; A.W.G. Champion, 'The Three Year Plan. Report to Members' (in Zulu) (1935?), Champion Collection 11.4.2. and 11.4.1, UNISA Documentation Centre, Pretoria.

- ²¹ Argyle Collection on Voluntary Associations: H. Selby Msimang to A.W.G. Champion, 3 September 1948; 'Draft Constitution . . . The Zulu National Development Corporation'; H. Selby Msimang, *The National Fund*, pamphlet, translated from the Zulu, (Pietermaritzburg, 1949); Msimang to Champion, 16 August 1949, fragment; A.W.G. Champion, *The National Fund*, pamphlet, translated from the Zulu, (1950); M.W. Swanson, ed. *The Views of Mahlathi*, pp. 84-91, 177n.
- ²² Brian Willan, 'Sol Plaatje, De Beers and an old tram shed: class relations and social control in a South African town, 1918-1919', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 4 (2) (April, 1978), pp. 196-215. Shula Marks, personal communication and draft lecture at Johns Hopkins University.

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