A glimpse at colonial Alfred County and Port Shepstone

by Duncan du Bois

AN area 1 550 square miles in extent, Alfred County was annexed to the Colony of Natal on 1 January 1866 in a ceremony presided over by the then Acting-Governor, Col. John Jervis Bisset, which took place on the banks of the uMthamvuna River. Previously known as "Nomansland", the new territory was named after the second son of Queen Victoria, who had visited Natal in 1860.[1]

The name, Port Shepstone, derived from a Proclamation issued by Col. Bisset on 15 January 1866 from the banks of the uMzimkhulu River. Theophilus Shepstone, the Secretary of Native Affairs, had accompanied Bisset to the uMthamvuna on the occasion of the annexation. Bisset had visited Sidney Turner at his trading store on the north bank of the uMzimkhulu and had enthused at the prospects of the area once road and postal communications were established.[2] However, he made no mention of river port shipping. That possibility was first broached by the Surveyor-General, Dr P.C. Sutherland, when in January 1867 he submitted his findings of the new territory to the Colonial Secretary. In them he noted that with the removal of shoals of rock in the mouth of the uMzimkhulu and the construction of a breakwater, navigation of the river would be possible for up to five miles.[3] Indeed, shipping prospects on the uMzimkhulu form a central thread in the history of this region.

But nothing came of Sutherland's forward thinking until 1880. In the meantime, Alfred County languished as

a remote backwater. In 1866 its settler population was a mere 28 adults, which increased to 29 by 1868.[4] Scattered and isolated, they lived in wattle and daub huts. Ten of them were listed as woodcutters who worked in the iNgeli forest. By 1868 there were five stores – two of them liquor outlets. There was no commercial settler agriculture. Families eked out an existence growing patches of mealies and by hunting. Ten of the settlers were licensed sawyers who made their living from felling timber in the forests.[5]

For the first fifteen years of its existence, Alfred County was a typical frontier-type society: isolated and lacking in social cohesion. The nearest school was 50 miles away in uMzinto, as was nearest medical practitioner. The only social institution was the Lutheran mission station under Rev. Peter Stoppel.[6]

Murchison was initially the seat of governance until 1871 when the magistracy was relocated to the hamlet of Harding. Lieutenant H.K. Wilson presided over the court at Murchison – a wattle-and-daub hut. There was no gaol. Instead convicts had to be taken to the lock-up at uMzinto.[7] In every respect the fledging settlement of Alfred County was regarded with official indifference. When magistrate Wilson requested £3 to repair the roof of the courthouse damaged by heavy rain in August 1868, he got nothing. Two years later the roof collapsed and court proceedings had to take place in the magistrate's private residence.[8] The colonial view of Alfred County was aptly summed up by the *Natal Mercury's* editor and owner, John Robinson, in 1870 at the conclusion of his detailed tour of the South Coast sugar estates as far as iFafa. "There is no European enterprise requiring notice further south," he wrote.[9]

Between 1870 and 1875 the settler population grew from 43 to 120.[10] In 1874 Archibald Sinclair, who settled in the Lower Umzimkulu area in 1868, produced the first sugar in Alfred County on his farm Ambleside. His farm was named after the ship *Ambleside*, which was wrecked near the mouth of the uMzimkhulu on 30 August 1868.[11] Although stock farming was the main agricultural pursuit, coffee production was increasing: 900 lb were produced in 1875.[12] Sadly, the most conspicuous evidence of the settlers' presence was the destruction of forests. Without any means of policing and enforcing, the local magistrate was powerless to curb the felling of timber on Crown lands particularly in the iNgeli range.[13]

The first real government expenditure in Alfred County occurred in 1874 when £679 was authorized for the construction of a new magistrate's office and a lock-up in Harding.[14] But in 1875 there was still no school or even a cattle pound in the county. Socially too the district was disorganised. Whereas in neighbouring Alexandra County, social functions such as dances and horse racing had been regular amongst settlers since the mid-1860s, no such activities took place in Alfred County until the 1880s.

However, the first non-agricultural development on the South Coast occurred in Alfred County. In March 1875 the Aiken brothers, James and David of the Ruthville estate, set about constructing a kiln to burn lime.[15] In 1866 Dr Sutherland had noted a large marble deposit seven miles up the uMzimkhulu.[16] The problem in exploiting this asset was one of transport. If river shipping could be established, lime production could boom.

Thanks to the initiative and

determination of the Aikens, focus on the prospects of economic development by opening the uMzimkhulu for navigation began to make headway. From 1877, James Aiken badgered the Colonial Secretary in Pietermaritzburg with letters emphasizing the importance to Natal to corner the inland trade with East Griqualand and Kokstad by means of river shipping on the uMzimkhulu. If Natal did not seize the initiative, the Cape Colony would do so through Port St Johns.[17] Adding emphasis to Aiken's argument was the arrival from England of a new steamer, the *Somtseu*, designed specially for river shipping. Together with the *Congune* (originally named the *Natalie,* the first ship ever to navigate the uMkhomanzi river back in 1861), the *Somtseu* made three trips from Durban to Port St Johns in 1878.[18]

By 1879 Alfred County seemed finally to be getting on the colonial radar screen when in his address to the opening of the Natal Legislative Council in November 1879, Governor Henry Bulwer referred to the need to develop the uMzimkhulu for sea-going traffic because of the absence of a rail link and the importance of harnessing the East Griqualand trade.[19] But beyond the official rhetoric, the Natal Government did nothing.

In July 1879 the Aikens hired William Bazley to create an entrance channel to the river at least 30 yards wide and at least 4 feet deep at low tide. Bazley quoted £350 to do the job and began work.[20] The local magistrate, James Giles, in his report for 1879 confidently predicted that by April 1880 the first ship would steam up the uMzimkhulu.[21] He was not far wrong, thanks to the initiative and finance of the Aikens, James and David, and the labours of William Bazley. When considered in

perspective, Port Shepstone should really have been named Port Aiken not only for the initiative of the brothers in making navigation of the uMzimkhulu a reality[22] but also because of the prominent role they played in local affairs through to the death of David in 1908. At his funeral in October 1908, practically all of Port Shepstone gathered to pay their respects. (James died in 1900.)[23]

On Saturday 8 May 1880, the schooner-rigged, twin-screw, 47 ton steamer *Somtseu,* 90 feet in length, 17½ feet in breadth drawing just 4½ feet of water and crewed by eleven men, became the first ship to enter the uMzimkhulu.[24] The occasion, however, was not without drama. A hawser from the lighter which the *Somtseu* was towing fouled one of the ship's propellers resulting in a loss of steerage which caused the *Somtseu* to brush up against a rocky outcrop. The damage was quite serious and the ship was out of commission for a month after limping back to Durban.[25]

But there was no mistaking its worth to the transport-handicapped settlement of Alfred County. In July 1880 it ferried 150 tons of cargo. The goods brought to Port Shepstone included rice, flour, groceries and building materials. Goods taken back to Durban were hides, wool, wagon wood and fish. The *Somtseu* saved producers and consumers £4 per ton and a journey of 10–12 days by wagon.[26] So positive was the outlook for shipping on the uMzimkhulu during those halcyon days that shipping magnate Donald Currie, whose steamers plied between Natal and Britain, expressed interest in getting involved.[27] But nothing ever came of that.

In the first seven months of its

operation, the *Somtseu* carried 354 tons of cargo to and from Port Shepstone during 18 voyages.[28] In the wake of this reality, the newly elected South Coast representative on the colonial legislature, Thomas Reynolds, began a campaign in December 1880 to get the government to fund the development of a harbour on the uMzimkhulu.[29] With the help of petitions and public pressure, Reynolds succeeded in obtaining compensation for the Aikens' initial outlay (£348 and £200) as well as a sum of £10 000 in 1882 to finance the ongoing removal of rocks and the construction of a seawall.[30] To help Bazley in his work, a proper set of diving equipment was ordered from England in 1883.[31] But support for his endeavours was not unanimous. George Sutton of Pietermaritzburg County posed a sceptical but significant question: "The first thing we have to consider is whether the opening of the uMzimkhulu is worth the money it is going to cost."[32] Twenty years and more than £70 000 later his scepticism proved justified.[33]

Other developments

The first hotel in Port Shepstone opened in 1881. It was situated about three miles up the uMzimkhulu.[34] In August 1882 the first society evening was held – a dance. Fifty people came from as far afield as Harding and enjoyed a convivial evening on the premises of Wheeler and Company's new store.[35] By October 1882 the Lower Umzimkulu District Association had been formed.[36] In 1884 the Umzimkulu Mounted Rifles came into existence.[37] Buoyed by the prospects which river shipping brought to the area, a township feasibility study was tabled in the legislature in November 1881.[38] It was

not until December 1913, however, that Port Shepstone was proclaimed as a township.[39] A lesser struggle in terms of duration commenced in 1882 for the coastal area of the county to have its own magistracy – Harding, 50 miles away, being the only one in the county. The magistracy of Lower Umzimkulu came into being in April 1889.[40] March 1882 saw the first of many petitions requesting a telegraph connection for Port Shepstone.[41] In 1889 that link was finally achieved via uMzinto.[42] The apparent viability of shipping on the uMzimkhulu gave rise to a request to have Port Shepstone declared an independent fiscal port with its own Customs Commissioner. The argument for this was a good one. Instead of having to sail 60 miles to Durban to obtain clearance on goods, businessmen in Port Shepstone wanted to save time and money by having their own customs facility. In 1893 full fiscal status was finally granted, but only after several petitions had been submitted over a ten-year period and after the retirement in 1888 of George Rutherford, the Collector of Customs, who was implacably opposed to Port Shepstone operating as a customs point independently of Durban.[43]

August 1882 saw the arrival of 229 Norwegian settlers. Placed in shabby, windowless, wattle-and-daub rondavels at Marburg and supplied with two bags of mealie meal per family, they had a very trying introduction to Africa.[44] Eight families quit soon after arriving. Some returned to Norway; others went on to Australia.[45] By 1885, however, their lot had improved and every family owned a horse and was food sufficient.[46] Thanks to their numbers, the settler population of Alfred County grew to 663 by 1886 – slightly larger than that of Alexandra County with 616 settlers.[47]

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The Aikens built the first central sugar mill in the county by 1885. In 1883 they opened a second lime kiln.[48] Local coffee production had reached 3 000 lb per year.[49] Cattle hides remained Alfred's main export – over 10 000 of them in 1886.[50]

So what was Port Shepstone like at that time? A remark in the *Mercury* in 1891 provides a glimpse:[51]

> What a progressive spot is Umzimkulu. Less than twenty years ago it was a grand wilderness. Today, sugar cane, coffee, tea, limes and thousands of trees greet the eye. Telegraph wire spans the river; daily posts, a court house, a gaol, district hall, cricket and tennis clubs are all established.

Shipping on the river

By 1889 the Natal Government had spent £16 000 on developing the river mouth. Bazley had constructed a training wall 1 090 feet in length; 4 000 cubic yards of rock had been removed. But still nature prevailed. Navigation of the entrance remained risky and at times impossible as sandbars periodically closed the river mouth.[52]

Shipping on the river had become Port Shepstone's economic lifeline. Without the services of the *Somtseu,* the area was marooned from the rest of the Colony. Despite the innovation of river shipping, transport remained the Achilles heel of the lower South Coast. With 25 rivers to cross from the uMlazi near Durban to the uMzimkhulu, none of them bridged (except the uMlazi), travel and transport to and from the South Coast remained tedious to say the least. And the prospect of a railway remained but a dream. As late as 1891, Colonial Engineer Albert Hime stated that a survey of the area between Isipingo and Umkomaas for the purpose of rail construction "may not be carried out for years to come".[53]

The reality was that despite the annual expenditure of £3 000 on the uMzimkhulu mouth,[54] as a port it remained primitive and dangerous. Fourteen years after the *Somtseu* made the first entry, it still lacked a flagstaff, a lamp, signals and a port captain.[55] In October 1894 a warp was laid so as to winch loaded lighters ashore when access conditions were unsuitable.[56] A typical cargo shipped from the uMzimkhulu at that time was as follows: 3 tons of tea and 4 tons of jams from Barrow Green estate; 15 tons of sugar from Ruthville estate, 15 tons of lime from the quarry, an assortment of hides and wool from Kokstad; butter and eggs from Marburg. [57]

More maritime history was made on 9 May 1895 when the *Norman,* an 18-ton schooner built with local timber by Norwegian settler Hans Harjem and his son, was launched on the river in front of a crowd of 200 Lower Umzimkulu residents.[58] Sadly after only ten voyages to Durban it was blown up the North Coast in a gale and wrecked.[59]

In 1895 William Bazley retired as resident harbour engineer. W.B. Kinsey was appointed in his place and tasked with constructing a new and straighter seawall.[60] In March 1897, the *Somtseu* ended 17 years of service to Port Shepstone when it was sold to new owners, who plied her trade to Mozambican ports. A new vessel, the C.G. Smith-owned 90-ton *Umzimvubu*, made its maiden voyage to the uMzimkhulu in April 1897.[61]

But shipping on the river continued to be plagued by the vagaries of the ocean and the river itself. All too often goods would pile up and languish in

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the warehouses because the river could not be accessed. For two weeks in July 1897 the *Umzimvubu* was trapped in the river, fully laden but unable to exit the mouth.[62] By 1898 C.G. Smith withdrew the *Umzimvubu* from the Port Shepstone run and concentrated on more lucrative destinations such as Port St Johns and East London.[63] Service by ship to the uMzimkhulu was reduced to two ketches – the *Penguin* and the *Pioneer.* In 1899 and 1900 they made over 100 voyages.

With the rinderpest scourge raging in 1897, even ox-wagon transport was scarce and very expensive.[64] As such, the railway came to be seen as the only salvation. In February 1897 the line reached the north bank of the uMkhomanzi. The days of shipping on the uMzimkhulu were numbered when on 26 July 1901 the first train from Durban steamed into the station on the north bank of the uMzimkhulu. The last commercial voyage from the uMzimkhulu was reported in the *Mercury* on 28 April 1902.

Further progress

In 1900 work on the building of a government school in Port Shepstone began.[65] In 1898 the Lower Umzimkulu Chamber of Commerce was formed.[66] That year also saw the construction of a cold storage and refrigeration factory.[67] On 1 May 1901, the Standard Bank opened its one hundredth branch in South Africa in Port Shepstone. [68]

The beginning of 1902 saw a property boom take off on the South Coast. From Scottburgh to Port Shepstone seaside plots and building sites were on offer. North Shepstone was billed as the "Berea of Port Shepstone" in an advertisement placed by Beningfield Auctioneers in the *Mercury* on 10 February 1902

concerning 80 freehold sites with a starting price of £40 per acre.

In June 1904, the Lower Umzimkulu Farmers Association held its first annual show. There were 400 entries with fruit being the most common exhibit.[69] In October the first motor car in the district made its appearance on the roads. It was owned by the local doctor who had a chauffeur. Within weeks the Chamber of Commerce expressed fear that its usage on the narrow, untarred roads would result in an accident.[70] In February 1905 the first regatta was held on the uMzimkhulu.[71] A new treat for locals was the bioscope. In July 1905 "Rees's Bioscope", as it was called, showed silent movies (the "talkies" came only after 1927) to full houses for a week.[72] On 14 September 1905 the first library opened in Port Shepstone. Typically colonial in design, it was constructed of brick with an iron roof and a verandah all around. It had three rooms: a book room, a reading room and a storage room.[73]

Early indications of the South Coast's future as a tourist and holiday destination were evident from advertisements in the *Mercury.* Under hotels in the business directory of the paper, apart from Durban and the Midlands, the only other hotels featured were those at Port Shepstone and Umkomaas. The North Coast did not feature at all. In 1903 there were four hotels in Port Shepstone – The Royal, The Imperial, The Beach and The Port Shepstone. In 1899 the Natal Government Railways published a 36-page brochure devoted exclusively to the South Coast as a destination of choice. It showcased the sites and scenery which the traveller would encounter on a rail trip down the South Coast.[74] Presciently, the Minister of Lands and Works in 1894, Thomas

Murray, had stated that once the railway line was constructed along the South Coast, "the beautiful spots along the seaside will develop into favourite seaside resorts". [75] An advertisement in the *Mercury* on 5 December 1904 referred to Port Shepstone as the "Blackpool of South Africa – the most beautiful resort in Natal". An advertisement for the Imperial Hotel in 1906 stated: "Splendid boating, fishing and bathing almost at the door. Good shooting in the immediate neighbourhood." [76] Not to be outdone, the Port Shepstone Hotel advertised itself as the most modern hotel and the only one with its own service of electric light. [77]

Railway extension

Despite the long wait for a rail link with Durban, the realization of that link did not put an end to transport complaints. The remaining period of colonial rule saw meetings, petitions, deputations and extensive correspondence on the need to improve the service from Durban and to extend the line into Alfred County and beyond. Surveys and arguments preceded the construction of a bridge over the uMzimkhulu. Only on 2 September 1907 did the first train steam across what was then the largest bridge in Natal (1 000 feet in length) which took 30 months to erect. South Shepstone became the new terminus of the South Coast railway. [78] In July a suspension bridge, privately built by the Umzimkulu Sugar Mill to facilitate the passage of cane from the Alexandra side of the river to the mill, was

PORT SHEPSTONE HOTEL.
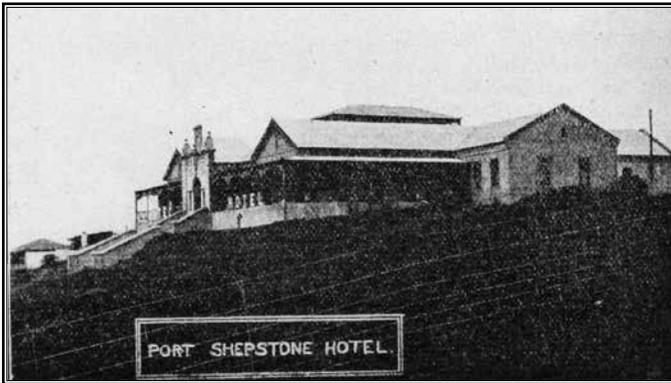
PORT SHEPSTONE HOTEL.

SITUATED at the Mouth of the Umzimkulu River within a stone's throw of the new South Shepstone Station.

The most Modern Hotel in Port Shepstone, being constructed entirely of Brick and Stone.

FIRST-CLASS STABLING.

Upholstered and Furnished throughout by Hampson's.

TENNIS COURT. CROQUET LAWNS.

Has its own Service of Electric Light

Moderate Tariff - - Forwarded on application to the Manager.

Telegrams: "FOULSHAM." Port Shepstone.

opened by Lady McCallum, wife of the Governor.[79]

But the grumbling did not stop. A train journey from Durban took five hours. The Lower Umzimkulu Chamber of Commerce wanted special trains which made fewer stops, to be run at weekends and at peak holiday times.[80] The Natal Government Railways failed to oblige. Until the last days of colonial rule, agitation persisted for a line to link Port Shepstone with Kokstad. In a move so often typical of politicians, the outgoing Moor Ministry said the matter would be left to the incoming Union Government to deal with.[81]

Port Shepstone harbour – a dream that took 60 years to fade

Agitation and speculation concerning the realization of a harbour on the uMzimkhulu persisted for over fifty years after the last official voyage took place in April 1902. Fuelling that speculation was a motion tabled by Marshall Campbell of Victoria County in the upper house of the Natal Parliament in July 1903. The motion was endorsed by the Council and called for an end to any further funds being expended on development of the harbour works on the uMzimkhulu until it could be shown that the railway was unable to meet the needs of the area. Campbell noted that Port Shepstone's transport needs were being adequately serviced by a single daily train which carried only one and a half truckloads of goods.[82]

Although Campbell's economics could not be faulted, the thought that seagoing traffic from the uMzimkhulu should not be resumed was bitterly opposed by most settlers on the lower South Coast.[83] But politics prevailed. At a time when maintaining support amongst the fractious members of the Natal Legislative Assembly was as difficult as negotiating quicksand, the various prime ministers – Hime, Sutton, Smythe and Moor – saw merit in keeping the support of the four South Coast representatives[84] by continuing to allocate money to Port Shepstone harbour. Thus, despite the opposition of the Legislative Council, in September 1903 the Legislative Assembly voted a further £10 000 to the development of the harbour works.[85]

Thus, construction of the seawall continued while a dredger, the *Snipe*, arrived in January 1904 to beaver away at the removal of silt and to deepen and broaden the entrance channel.[86] Long-standing resident and member of the Legislative Assembly, John Rethman, stated in 1903 that he was certain that one day the harbour would astonish Natal at its earning powers. J.G. Maydon, who was Colonial Secretary in the new Sutton ministry, claimed in 1903 that once established, Port Shepstone harbour would relieve Durban to an extent.[87] The post-Anglo-Boer War economic downturn, however, compelled financial cuts. Official indulgence regarding the uMzimkhulu harbour works was quietly indicated by the withdrawal of the *Snipe* in January 1906.[88] The Auditor-General's report for 1906/1907 noted the "cessation of work" at Port Shepstone harbour and the transfer of surplus equipment to Durban.[89] After expenditure of around £100 000, regular shipping on the uMzimkhulu failed to materialize. The only activity on the river came from motor launch cruises.

Nonetheless, hope did not fade. In August 1907 it was reported that a private company had been formed, the Port Shepstone Harbour Association,

which intended to complete the harbour works.[90] But nothing came of it. In 1908 there was speculation that a whaling station was to be established on the north bank of the river. That too was a non-starter.[91] Just months before Natal joined the Union in 1910, the *Mercury*'s Port Shepstone correspondent was promoting the idea of a small craft harbour, claiming that Port Shepstone had a "righteous claim to having a natural harbour put in working order."[92]

Beyond 1910 the idea continued to glimmer. In 1914 and in 1928 commissions established by the Union government examined the possibilities of a fishing harbour on the uMzimkhulu. Their findings received further endorsement in 1944 when a Natal Provincial Council commission chaired by the then favourite son of the South Coast, Douglas Mitchell, "strongly recommended" that the Union government investigate the cost of establishing a harbour on the river.[93] Nothing came of that, and the dream was finally terminated in 1959 with the opening of the bridge across the river mouth.

NOTES

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2 Child, D., *Portrait of a Pioneer* (Johannesburg, 1980), p. 43.
3 Colonial Secretary's Office (CSO), 265, No. 138, 24 Jan. 1867.
4 CSO 264, No. 242, 4 Jan. 1867; CSO 323, No. 242, 25 Jan. 1869.
5 CSO 323, No. 242, 25 Jan. 1869.
6 CSO 293, No. 103, 10 Jan. 1868; CSO 323, No. 242, 25 Jan. 1869.
7 CSO 274, No. 1043, 1 June 1867.
8 CSO 312, No. 2038, 1 Sep. 1868; CSO 351, No. 304, 9 Feb. 1870.
9 Robinson, J., *Notes on Natal – an Old Colonist's Book for New Settlers* (Durban, 1872), p. 126.
10 *Natal Blue Book,* 1870, R10; 1875, R10.
11 Letter to the editor, *Natal Mercury,* from Archibald Sinclair, 15 Dec. 1888.
12 *Natal Blue Book,* 1870, X 4–5; 1875, X 4.
13 Document No. 11, 1871, presented to the Natal Legislative Council on 2 Aug. 1871.
14 *Natal Blue Book,* 1874, H 2–3; M, pp. 32–3.
15 CSO 511, No. 895, 15 Mar. 1875.
16 Report of the Surveyor-General on Alfred Quarries, Select Document No. 27, 1866.
17 CSO 578, No. 295, 17 Jan. 1877; CSO 663, No. 3868, 16 Oct. 1878.
18 *Natal Witness,* 29 Aug., 26 Oct., 21 Nov. 1878.
19 CSO 728, No. 5190, with enclosure, Nov. 1879, pp. 7–8.
20 CSO 704, No. 2747, 23 May; 5 June 1879.
21 *Natal Blue Book,* 1879, JJ21.
22 That suggestion was made by a correspondent in the *Natal Mercury* on 28 March 1883.
23 *Natal Mercury,* 6 October 1908; 2 May 1900.
24 CSO 786, No. 4386, 11 Nov. 1880; *Natal Mercury,* 11 May 1880.
25 *Natal Mercury,* 14 May, 15 May, 3 June; 19 June 1880.
26 CSO 766, No. 3188, 16 Aug. 1880; CSO 786, No. 4386, 11 Nov. 1880.
27 *Times of Natal,* 7 July 1880.
28 *Debates of the Legislative Council,* Vol. II, 1880, pp. 246–7.
29 ibid. 371–373.
30 CSO 842, No. 475, 3, 16 Feb. 1882; *Natal Blue Book,* 1882, J4.
31 *Natal Blue Book,* 1883, FF94; 1882, FF110.
32 *Debates of the Legislative Council,* Vol. III, 1881, p. 166.
33 *Debates of the Legislative Assembly,* Vo. 43, 1907, p. 286.
34 *Natal Mercury,* 21 April 1881.
35 *Natal Mercury,* 25 Aug. 1882.
36 CSO 876, No. 3873, 4 Oct. 1882.
37 *Supplement to the Blue Book for the Colony of Natal,* 1884, B43.
38 LC Document No. 13, 1881, *Natal Government Gazette,* Vol. XXXIII, No. 1914, 15 Nov. 1881.
39 *Alfred County Centenary,* May 1966, Port Shepstone, 35.
40 Proclamation No. 23, 26 Mar. 1889, *Natal Government Gazette,* Vol. XLI, No. 2348.
41 CSO 852, No. 1462, 22 Mar. 1882.
42 *Supplement to the Blue Book for the Colony of Natal,* 1889, C89.
43 Natal Legislative Council, *Votes and Proceedings,* Vol. XXXIV, 1883, 297; *Debates of the Legislative Council,* Vol. VIII, 1885, pp. 294–296; *Natal Mercury,* 28 Oct 1904; Law 3 of 1893, *Natal Government Gazette,* Vol. XLV, No. 2619, 13 June 1893.

44 *Natal Mercury,* 5 Sep. 1882; Haajem, E.N., "First impressions – Memoirs of 63 years struggle in South Africa", Killie Campbell Library MS KCC,1.

45 *Natal Mercury,* 23 Oct. 1882; Winquist, A.H., "The impact of Scandinavians on the cultural, social and economic development of pre-1948 South Africa" (DPhil thesis, New York University, 1976), pp. 228–38.

46 *Natal Mercury,* 11 Dec. 1885.

47 *Natal Blue Book,* 1886, T4.

48 *Natal Mercury,* 14 Oct. and 14 Nov. 1885; 10 Oct. 1883.

49 *Natal Blue Book,* 1885, X5.

50 LC Document No. 19, 1887, *Natal Government Gazette,* Vol. XXXIX, No. 2253, 19 July 1887.

51 "Man in the Moon" column, *Natal Mercury,* 10 Jan. 1891.

52 *Natal Blue Book,* 1889, J6-7. For a detailed account of William Bazley's work on the mouth of the uMzimkhulu, see: Bazley, D., *Nil Desperandum – The Bazley Story* (Kloof, 2000), ch. 13.

53 *Debates of the Legislative Council,* Vol. XVI, 1891, p. 638.

54 *Supplement to the Blue Book for the Colony of Natal,* 1891/1892, Colonial Engineer's Report, C49.

55 *Natal Mercury,* 25 May 1894.

56 *Natal Mercury*, 15 Oct. 1894.

57 *Natal Mercury,* 27 Feb. 1894.

58 *Natal Mercury,* 14 May 1895.

59 *Natal Mercury,* 7 Oct. 1895.

60 Bazley, D., *Nil Desperandum,* pp. 133, 135.

61 *Natal Mercury,* 8 Mar. 1897; 17 April 1897.

62 *Natal Mercury,* 1, 12, 14 July 1897.

63 *Natal Mercury,* 12 Mar. 1898. On five other occasions in 1898, the *Umzimvubu* called at Port Shepstone. She also did so on three occasions in 1900.

64 The Commissioner for Agriculture, C.B. Lloyd, estimated stock losses amongst colonists at 40% and those for Africans at 90%. *Natal Blue Book,* 1897, H162.

65 *Natal Blue Book,* Departmental Reports, 1900, B100.

66 *Natal Mercury,* 12 Jan. 1899.

67 *Natal Mercury,* 5 Sep. 1898.

68 Henry, J.A. *The First Hundred Years of the Standard Bank* (London, 1963), p. 329.

69 *Natal Mercury,* 22 June 1904.

70 *Natal Mercury,* 5 Oct., 17 Nov. 1904.

71 *Natal Mercury,* 10 Feb. 1905.

72 *Natal Mercury,* 25 July 1905.

73 *Natal Mercury*, 20 Sep. 1905.

74 *Natal Mercury,* 11 July 1899.

75 *Debates of the Legislative Assembly,* Vol. 22, 1894, p. 193. Murray made that statement before the engineering survey was made of the route the line should take. The survey concluded that although more than 20 bridges would be required, in terms of engineering it would be best if the line was constructed along the seashore. From aManzimtoti southwards the railway hugs the coastline.

76 *Natal Mercury,* 6 Jan. 1906.

77 *Natal Mercury,* 28 Aug. 1906.

78 *Natal Mercury,* 10 Sep. 1907.

79 *Natal Mercury,* 9 July 1907.

80 *Natal Mercury,* 24 July 1903; 29 Sep. 1904; 13 Aug. 1907.

81 In 1913 the Union Government authorized railway extension from Port Shepstone to Harding. The line was opened to traffic in 1917. See: Heydenrych, H. and Du Plooy, P.A., "Railway development in Natal 1910–1929", in Guest, B. and Sellers, J.M., (eds), *Receded Tides of Empire* (Pietermaritzburg, 1994) p. 56.

82 *Debates of the Legislative Council,* Vol. XII, 1903, pp. 78, 86–90.

83 *Natal Mercury,* 3 and 10 Aug. 1903.

84 Alexandra and Alfred Counties each had two representatives. In 1903 they were Archibald and Frank Reynolds for Alexandra; Hitchens and Rethman for Alfred.

85 *Debates of the Legislative Assembly,* Vol. 35, 1903, p. 228.

86 *Natal Mercury,* 20 Jan. 1904.

87 *Debates of the Legislative Assembly,* Vol. 35, 1903, pp. 225, 227–8.

88 *Natal Mercury,* 27 Jan. 1906.

89 Auditor-General's Report, 1906/07, p. 245.

90 *Natal Mercury,* 13 Aug. 1907.

91 *Natal Mercury,* 7 Sep. 1908; 25 Sep. 1909.

92 *Natal Mercury,* 26 Feb. 1910.

93 *Natal Government Gazette,* No. 1913, 27 Jan. 1944. Report of Post-War Works and Reconstruction Commission.