

# *Stability within duality:*

## *a case study of African and settler relations, Natal South Coast, 1864–1910*

*by Duncan du Bois*

Africans in colonial Natal were subject to a duality in terms of legal and economic systems. On the one hand, the official view was that African customs and traditions should not be encroached upon. Substantiating that was the location system, which allocated areas of land reserved exclusively for Africans. Yet at the same time, through the levying of hut taxes, Africans were induced to participate in the evolving settler economy at the expense of their own economic pursuits.

### **Location system**

In 1846, the first lieutenant-governor of the district of Natal, Martin West, appointed a commission to investigate the issue of land tenure. At that time the bulk of the estimated 100 000 Africans living within the newly annexed territory of Natal were not refugees from Zululand as Jeff Guy has asserted.<sup>1</sup> Since the fledgling British administration desired to make the Colony more attractive for European settlers, it sought measures to manage the African population. In March 1847, the commission recommended the establishment of a series of locations or reserves for the exclusive residence of the indigenous population.<sup>2</sup>

But while the location system involved the preservation of traditional African customs, at the same time it was recommended that they be provided with industrial training, which included the promotion of cash crop production. Education was to be provided with missionary assistance. Criminal cases between settlers and Africans were to be dealt with by colonial courts. Issues arising among Africans themselves were to be decided by customary law and practice. As Guy notes, Theophilus Shepstone, as the overseer and arbiter of native affairs for over a quarter of a century, was embarking on a ‘grand experiment’.<sup>3</sup> Jeremy Martens has argued that Shepstone understood Zulu society through the lens of ‘civilisation’ and ‘barbarism’. Shortly before his death in 1893, Shepstone maintained that chieftainship and

tribalism were necessary ‘to give us proper control of [Zulus] ... Their ancient institutions may be faulty, but they are efficient, and can be made so for the purposes of enlightened government.’<sup>4</sup>

To that end, Shepstone recommended that traditional African governance should be utilised. Earl Grey, the secretary of state for the colonies concurred and instructed Sir Harry Smith, then governor of Cape Colony and high commissioner, that the power of chiefs should be maintained as it afforded ‘the only means by which in the actual state of things absolute anarchy and confusion can be averted.’<sup>5</sup> However, the Colonial Office shrank from having to provide financial resources towards the implementation of Shepstone’s scheme. Instead, as Norman Etherington has pointed out, colonial secretary Grey and his permanent under-secretary, James Stephen, favoured a ‘policy of benign neglect that would leave Africans to govern most of their own affairs.’<sup>6</sup>

As a region intended for European settlement, Alexandra County, situated between the Mkomanzi and Mzimkulu rivers on the Natal South Coast, was particularly fragmented due to the presence of several African and mission reserves. These included the Amahlongwa, which occupied 7 464 acres; Ifafa (7 500 acres), Mtwalume (13 407 acres), Mzumbi (8 000 acres) and Equeefa College (3 000 acres).<sup>7</sup> As John Robinson, editor of the *Natal Mercury*, noted in total, mission reserves for Africans accounted for nearly 60 000 acres of land along the coast between Amanzimtoti and Umzumbe.<sup>8</sup> The proximity and presence of those reserves to white settlements and farms potentially induced a sense of vulnerability for settlers. That was inevitable given the vast disparity in numbers between the settler population and the indigenous Africans.<sup>9</sup> In addition to those reserves, there was the land of Mnini and the Thuli people, which was given to them as compensation when they were relocated from the Bluff peninsula in 1852.<sup>10</sup> This extended from the Lovu

river southwards to the Mkomanzi river. Nonetheless, the relatively stable relationship between settlers and the indigenous African population on the South Coast can be ascribed in part to Shepstone's location system, which ring-fenced African land ownership.<sup>11</sup>

This frustrated many settlers who felt that it limited the extent to which Africans were exposed to European influence and to what Sir George Grey (Cape governor and high commissioner until 1861) termed 'acquiring habits of industry'.<sup>12</sup> But as John Lambert has indicated, Africans were drawn steadily into the evolving cash economy based on their proximity to settler nodes and estates. Until insolvency put paid to their enterprise, members of Mnini's Thuli chiefdom in the Umgababa region engaged in sugar and coffee production between 1876 and 1880.<sup>13</sup> In the 1870s and 1880s the food economy of Alexandra and Alfred counties was dominated by Africans. This was particularly apparent as regards the cultivation and production of maize.<sup>14</sup> The ready market for their produce meant that few Africans were dependent on cash wages on settler farms. Until the late 1880s, Natal's towns and villages 'were to a large extent dependent on produce grown by African cultivators'.<sup>15</sup>

## Labour

Complaints about the shortage of African labour were a constant refrain of settlers. From as early as 1864 it was reported from Ifafa in Alexandra County (as it was called from 1865) that African labour was scarce.<sup>16</sup> The submission of 103 applications for Indian indentured labour in 1866 indicated the extent of settlers' frustration with the reliability and availability of local labour.<sup>17</sup> The suspension of indentured immigration to Natal from 1866 to 1874 added to the labour woes that settler farmers experienced. Following the resumption of indentured immigration in 1874, the resident magistrate of Alexandra County, Gould Lucas, noted in 1878 that the use of Indian labour exceeded that of African labour and that Indian labour was found to be more reliable, less troublesome and only marginally more costly.<sup>18</sup>

There were several reasons for the lack of labour. One was that Africans who owned land or had access to land were not prepared to work for poor reward under conditions where they were rigidly controlled. Resentment was expressed at the assignment of land to the Mnini chieftainship because its placement in the south of Durban County isolated and separated Alexandra and Alfred counties from the rest of the Colony.<sup>19</sup> As late as 1890, the idea of permitting European occupation of

the African locations on the South Coast was debated in the Legislative Council, but nothing came of the proposal despite pressure from settlers.<sup>20</sup> Ironically, while the land in the locations was exclusively for African occupation, Africans enjoyed a dual privilege of being able to own land outside of their locations. By 1890 they had purchased 147 918 acres of Crown land in Natal. Of that, 13 928 acres were in Alfred County and 4 782 acres in Alexandra County.<sup>21</sup> Settlers objected to land sales to Africans because those lands were often sub-leased to other Africans, which had the effect of exacerbating the shortage of African labour available to white farmers.<sup>22</sup>

Mission reserves occupied over 30 000 acres of coastal land in Alexandra County. The usefulness of those reserves was the subject of critical remarks down the years as exemplified by an editorial in the *Mercury* in 1871; by James Aiken, the South Coast's first Member of the Legislative Council (MLC) in 1876 and by resident magistrate Gould Lucas in 1883.<sup>23</sup> The common objection to the presence of reserves was not only to the physical barriers they posed to the territorial homogeneity of the county but to their lack of agricultural development: 'Have these reserves fulfilled the purposes for which they were created?' inquired the *Mercury*.<sup>24</sup>

Wittingly or unwittingly, missionaries were part of the colonising process. Mission-based projects in manufacturing tended to be limited and short-lived. In Alexandra County, the only mission station that engaged in manufacturing was that at Mtwalume under Reverend Wilder. Between 1862 and 1877 Africans on this mission station produced sugar using ox-powered mills.<sup>25</sup> Norman Etherington has advanced three reasons for the failure of these projects: their co-operative nature which hobbled individual initiative, a lack of managerial expertise and lack of access to capital. He also cites the traditional system, to which Africans were subject, as stifling the emergence of a nascent African bourgeoisie.<sup>26</sup> In those respects, therefore, the lands reserved for Africans on the South Coast did not measure up to settler views on progress.

The Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 exacerbated the scarcity of African labour. As Alexandra County resident magistrate Lucas noted in 1881, the result was that 'most of the planters employ indentured Indians', adding that 'natives prefer employment as wagon-drivers and store assistants to engaging as field labourers or domestic servants'.<sup>27</sup> Public works such as railway construction and the Durban harbour works also attracted African

labour thereby integrating Africans into the colonial economy.<sup>28</sup> In 1889 John Kirkman of Beeverstowe estate in Alexandra County complained about the serious shortage of African labour: 'We cannot get it. I am offering as high as seventeen shillings – but all the natives are out of the County,' he stated in a letter to the secretary for native affairs (SNA).<sup>29</sup> A.H. Bisset of Lower Umzimkulu claimed that the district was being 'denuded of its African labour chiefly onto the railway extension and harbour works'. He asked the government to 'devise some means' to stem the exodus of African labour, failing which 'planters down South will be completely ruined'. By responding that it was not a 'matter in which the Government can interfere,' the SNA indicated that economic integration was an unavoidable consequence of colonisation.<sup>30</sup> That trend continued as further evidence indicates.

Hut tax was one inducement for Africans to sell their labour to the settler farmer or entrepreneur. From its inception in 1849, hut tax at the rate of seven shillings, increased to fourteen shillings per annum in 1875, proved a major component of colonial revenue.<sup>31</sup> In 1886 it was listed as the third largest source of Natal's revenue, accounting for £72 299. Customs charges brought in £140 401 with Natal Government Railways contributing £178 287.<sup>32</sup> In Alfred County, for example, in 1880 hut tax amounted to £3 340 from an African population calculated at 21 474.<sup>33</sup> Despite this sterling contribution to the colonial and county coffers the indigenous African population received very little in return by way of social services to say nothing of infrastructural development.<sup>34</sup> With reference to taxes owed by Africans, in 1888 the resident magistrate for Alfred County suggested that there was an 'insufficiency of land to live on' and, as a result, questioned the legitimacy of 'enforcing the payment of [hut] tax'.<sup>35</sup>

Incentivised by the mineral discoveries of the 1870s and 1880s, Africans increasingly became involved in the evolving settler-dominated economy. But given the racially determined hierarchy of white supremacy, the role of the African was limited mostly to that of labourer.<sup>36</sup> In justifying the continued influx of indentured Indian labour, Governor Walter Hely-Hutchinson noted that Africans came 'to labour only to obtain a certain remuneration, and having received that remuneration, whether it be obtained in three months or six months, they return to their kraals'.<sup>37</sup> A detailed report on Lower Umzimkulu published in the *Mercury* on 9 April 1891 stated that not since 1873 had 'such a lack of native labour' been experienced. In desperation, some planters

sought permission to introduce migrant labour from Pondoland because of 'the entire breakdown of usual supply of native labourers out of Alfred County.' They claimed that railway contractors were bribing chiefs in order to obtain labour.<sup>38</sup> A.H. Bisset also sought to procure Pondo refugees as a substitute 'for the natural supply of labour'. H.C. Shepstone, the Secretary for Native Affairs, conceded that while the Pondos were not seeking to settle permanently, hiring them for 'small wages and food' could be considered.<sup>39</sup>

Nonetheless, while praise was rightly lavished on William Bazley for his efforts to make the mouth of the Mzimkulu more accessible for shipping, his construction of the sea wall would not have been possible without the involvement of African labour. By mid-1886 the sea wall was 600 feet long, fourteen feet high and twenty feet wide at its top structure. Built with stone quarried higher up the river, its construction was the achievement of thirty African labourers under the leadership of Bazley and four settlers.<sup>40</sup> All heavy construction work, whether roads or the erection of mills and buildings, was achieved thanks to local African labour. It also accounted for the construction of the Kinsey training wall which replaced Bazley's sea wall on the Mzimkulu in the years after 1897. In December 1903 up to eighty Africans and Indians were employed on the project.<sup>41</sup> Whereas indentured labour was critical to the sugar industry, the role of African labour tends to be overlooked in the construction of infrastructure such as the erection of telegraph poles, the clearing of bush for the laying of railway track, road work and the construction and maintenance of bridges.

### Drunkenness

While the existence of locations provided continuity for African customs and traditions, they did not prevent Africans from developing a liking for the white man's alcohol. Notwithstanding the fact that Law 18 of 1863 prohibited the sale or supply of alcohol in any form to Africans, by the mid-1870s drunkenness among Africans had become a matter of concern. In reports filed in 1876, the resident magistrates for both Alfred and Alexandra counties expressed alarm at the extent of the sale and consumption of alcohol by Africans. Magistrate James Giles of Alfred County contended that Law 18 'defeats itself partly by its very severity'. He endorsed the fact that farmers gave their labourers alcohol in cold, wet weather 'when not to give it would be almost cruel'. He claimed intoxication was greatest among wagon drivers.<sup>42</sup> As a measure to restrict the use

of alcohol by Africans he suggested a drastic increase in the licence fees charged to purveyors of alcohol. Gould Lucas, the resident magistrate of Alexandra County, noted that there appeared to be no effective deterrent against the sale of alcohol to Africans and that licensed dealers sold liquor 'to any kafir who asks for it.' He proposed doubling the fine from £10 to £20 for those who flouted Law 18.<sup>43</sup>

In his first debating foray in the Legislative Council in 1877, William Hawksworth, the South Coast's representative, noted that drunkenness among Africans was worsening in Alexandra County. A corollary of the growth of the sugar industry was the production of rum. In 1875, for instance, 12 579 gallons were produced in Alexandra County.<sup>44</sup> Hawksworth proposed the removal of liquor licences from stores and the sale of alcohol only at places of accommodation.<sup>45</sup> Law 22 of 1878 required licensed liquor suppliers to record details of their sales together with the names of those to whom alcohol was supplied. Yet the problem of drunkenness persisted. Resident magistrates in the other sugar-producing counties noted that Indians who worked on estates and in distilleries 'surreptitiously supply the natives with rum'.<sup>46</sup> The inability of the colonial authorities to police the situation abetted and perpetuated matters. A correspondent of the *Mercury* noted in 1884 that there was 'an enormous amount of drunkenness' among the African population in Alexandra County and that no attempts were being made to stop it.<sup>47</sup>

The consumption of beer brewed from maize was, in any case, an African tradition. By 1888, however, that tradition came under colonial scrutiny by the MLC for Pietermaritzburg County, Cecil Yonge. He proposed that controls be applied to 'large scale festivities' at which much beer was consumed by Africans. Abundant crops of maize in that year meant, in his view, 'no end to kafir beer drinkings'.<sup>48</sup> His concerns were echoed by the Alexandra County correspondent of the *Mercury* who pointed out that near Dumisa, in the Umzinto district, there were 100 acres of maize belonging to three African homesteads that would enable them to produce huge quantities of beer known as *utywala*.<sup>49</sup> Yonge proposed that Africans be required to seek permission from the resident magistrate or justice of the peace to hold beer-drinking festivities.<sup>50</sup> Although the Council passed Law 11 of 1888, which regulated the sale of liquor from taverns, canteens and taps by requiring an annual licence fee of £1, without adequate enforcement the 'mischief and scandal' associated with beer drinking, as Yonge described it, persisted.<sup>51</sup> While William

Darby, the South Coast MLC, endorsed the legislative regulation of *utywala*, he seemed sympathetic to African beer-drinking traditions when he asked, 'Shall the poor man be robbed of his beer?'<sup>52</sup>

### Crime and security

Although the South Coast was a frontier area, it did not experience the unrest and confrontation that characterised the Cape's eastern frontier or the 'long-standing Zulu difficulty', as the resident magistrate for Umvoti County stated in his report for 1878 or what his counterpart for Weenen County described in 1878 as an 'unsettled state'.<sup>53</sup>

Yet the prevailing settler mindset was the product of a series of experiences. Following the Sixth Frontier War in the Eastern Cape, the 1857 mutiny in India, the Morant Bay rebellion of 1865 in Jamaica, and the 1845–1872 Maori wars in New Zealand, there was a rise in settler influence over the colonial state. Giving expression to that, the policy of confederation in South Africa sought to bring the Boer republics, British colonies and independent African groups under common control so as to consolidate settler domination and hegemony.<sup>54</sup> That outlook received endorsement from Anthony Trollope, a prolific English novelist of the Victorian era. Arising from his tour of South Africa in 1877, he published a two-volume work in which he supported the idea of white supremacy which he saw as being necessary to 'civilise' the indigenous African.<sup>55</sup>

In practice, however, the application of British authority was minimalist. The small force with which General Bisset proclaimed British authority over Alfred County in 1866 and the apparently peaceful way in which Adam Kok and his clan seemed to accept their colonial status achieved a stability that came to characterise Natal's southern counties.<sup>56</sup> A minuscule settler presence in Alfred County of only 29 adults by 1869 and a police detachment, which, by 1875, still comprised only one white policeman and eight African assistants co-existed peacefully with an indigenous African population in excess of 18 000.<sup>57</sup> Incidents of crime remained very low, averaging 72 cases per year for the period 1874 to 1878.<sup>58</sup> Nonetheless, concern at the 'indiscriminate sale of firearms' to Africans, resulted in the submission of a petition to Governor Pine signed by 43 residents of Alexandra County in 1873. Trade in guns was brisk on the diamond fields in the Northern Cape that attracted African labour. The thought that Africans may be returning home armed evidently alarmed some settlers, unnecessarily as it turned out.<sup>59</sup>



By the 1880s stock theft in Alfred County became problematic as a result of that county's proximity to Pondoland. Early in 1885 James Giles, the resident magistrate, complained that stock losses were being incurred by both African and settler farmers with as many as fifty sheep at a time being plundered and taken across the border.<sup>60</sup> By December 1885, the problem of stock theft had become so great that Giles called for extradition rights to be used to counter the perpetrators. 'Offences of all sorts can be committed in this county and immunity from punishment secured by the offenders merely by crossing the border,' he wrote. As a result, colonial secretary Mitchell asked the Cape government to effect 'some arrangement' to deal with the matter.<sup>61</sup> But the problem persisted. For example, in 1891 and 1892 John Rethman, the MLC for Alfred County, complained about the 'wholesale' theft of livestock by Pondos.<sup>62</sup>

Faction fighting flared up in Pondoland from time to time. From 1890 what has been described as 'continuous anarchy' commenced as a result of rivalry between paramount chief Sigcau and Mhlangaso, the Pondo chief who lived near the Alfred County border.<sup>63</sup> In response, the number of Natal Mounted Police was increased from fifteen to twenty.<sup>64</sup> That number was increased to fifty by December 1890.<sup>65</sup> By March 1891, the situation was described as having gone from 'bad to worse'.<sup>66</sup> Official concern at this state of affairs was reflected in the fact that the number of police in barracks at Harding, the administrative control point of Alfred County, had increased to eighty.<sup>67</sup> Addressing the newly elected Legislative Assembly in October 1893, Governor Hely-Hutchinson expressed concern at the state of affairs on Natal's southern boundary arising from inter-tribal disturbances in Pondoland.<sup>68</sup> Essentially, in William Beinart's view, 'the civil war in Pondoland was a struggle for power between a new paramount and the dominant councillor of the old, a struggle over policy towards the colonial powers.' Hostilities between the two continued until early 1894 when the Cape annexed Pondoland.<sup>69</sup>

## Environment

One of the findings of the Forest Commission, which presented its report in 1878, was that Africans should be prevented from cutting timber. The commission stated that the 'destruction of woods has been proceeding at a rapid pace' and that there was 'little or no regulation'.<sup>70</sup> A subsequent commission appointed in 1880 to report on the extent and condition of forest lands in

the Colony, estimated that each native hut represented the destruction of 400 trees and claimed that 255 tons of timber was sold each month on the Pietermaritzburg market.<sup>71</sup> In an attempt to reverse the situation and to encourage tree planting by Africans, magistrates were asked to suggest how this could be achieved. The resident magistrate for Alfred County suggested that Africans be supplied with fast-growing Australian trees with incentives given to successful planters. His colleague in Alexandra County concurred on the need for inducements and suggested the planting of black wattle trees whose commercial value would assist Africans in the payment of their hut tax.<sup>72</sup>

In complaining about the destruction of timber, settlers tended to discriminate and to rail primarily against Africans. In 1885, as the new MLC of the South Coast, General Bisset wrote to colonial secretary Mitchell about what he termed the 'destruction' of timber at North Shepstone by Africans squatting on Crown land. The problem was not new, however. Previously, Bru-de-Wold, a settler of Norwegian descent who commanded the Umzimkulu Mounted Rifles, had asked the acting resident magistrate, William Rose Gordon, for a policeman to assist him in keeping control over wood cutting which, he stated, was 'steadily increasing' despite his warnings. In 1885 Bru-de-Wold was appointed conservator of Alexandra County. But the district was too large for him to be effective while the salary of just £12 per annum was quite inadequate for the degree of travel involved.<sup>73</sup>

## Education

Cultural transformation of colonial subjects was a key aim of the Victorian mindset. Referring to India, Niall Ferguson has noted that 'the twin currents' of evangelisation and the liberal desire to promote capitalism 'flowed into one another and over the entire British Empire.'<sup>74</sup> But after the bloody backlash of 1857 against British attempts to convert and to change native customs, Queen Victoria issued a proclamation on 1 November 1858 that renounced 'the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects.' Henceforth, it became official policy to 'govern with, rather than against, the grain of indigenous tradition.'<sup>75</sup>

The Natal Charter of 1856 established a limited form of representative government for white settlers but excluded Africans from the franchise. To compensate for that, a special reserve fund of £5 000 per annum was established for 'native purposes', which governor John Scott and the SNA, Theophilus Shepstone, viewed as

being for 'industrial training'.<sup>76</sup> However, attempts in the Lower Mkomanzi, Klip River and Thukela districts to encourage Africans to grow, harvest and sell cotton were largely unsuccessful.<sup>77</sup> In some respects it was a mistake to attempt to convert a traditional subsistence economy into a market, entrepreneurial one. Instead, mission stations, of which there were thirty in Natal by 1860, enjoyed grants from the Reserve Fund for the promotion of vocational training.<sup>78</sup> Norman Etherington has noted that the spurt of business activity and capital accumulation primarily among Christianised Africans in the 1870s could 'be passed off as the fruit of missionary teaching'.<sup>79</sup>

Not only did the number of mission schools for Africans on the South Coast exceed the number of government schools for white children, but they were also better staffed and maintained.<sup>80</sup> The American Board mission schools were able to provide teachers and thus ensure continuity and a degree of permanence. Although limited in the numbers they could enrol, there were four mission schools in Alexandra County; namely Amahlongwa, Ifafa, Mtwalume and Umzumbe. But it must also be borne in mind that no secondary-level education was provided by the mission schools and that emphasis was laid on vocational skills development.<sup>81</sup>

The Mtwalume school was divided into two phases – intermediate and primary. There were nineteen pupils in the intermediate phase which was housed in a brick building. The Native Education reports for 1885 and 1886 noted the pupils' neat appearance, a 'passable' ability to read in Zulu, and that their curriculum included arithmetic, needlework, sewing, geography and English. The primary phase had an enrolment of 58 of whom 29 were girls. The boys were made to perform 'useful work' such as tree planting, building, and road work. According to the reports, the top eight pupils exhibited exceptional fluency in both English and Zulu and were taught by an African woman.

Similar positive remarks were made about the Umzumbe mission school where the roles played by two white female teachers, Miss Welch and Miss Gilson, were commended in the report. The Ifafa mission school, however, was considered unsatisfactory in terms of the small size of its classroom and the standard of tuition in 1885. But a year later, in 1886, the school was found to be making good progress.<sup>82</sup> Thanks to £500 from the United States, the American Board Mission school for girls at Umzumbe was described as 'one of the finest establishments' in the Colony according to the 1886 report for Native Education. Equipped with a

kitchen, laundry, study rooms, ablutions and dormitories, its enrolment was limited to 45 pupils.<sup>83</sup> Overall, Inspector of Native Education Fred Fynney observed 'a growing desire' among Africans for education. The benefits of education are becoming year by year more appreciated by the native races,' he wrote.<sup>84</sup>

But Fynney's view of his portfolio was, however, a mere snapshot of reality. The report for 1887 recorded that at Ifafa only twenty of the 45 enrolled students were present by October. The others were away assisting their families with the corn crop. A similar situation prevailed at Umzumbe Primary where Fynney noted a very low level of achievement. His most telling observation, however, was that the Umzumbe kindergarten had an enrolment of just eleven pupils despite being in the vicinity of a 'dense native population'.<sup>85</sup> From this it is possible to infer that African parents had dissenting views about the white man's education, which clashed among other things with the customs and traditions of chieftainship. In any event, the exposure of Africans to European-type education was extremely limited. That limitation was exacerbated by the early twentieth century when state grants to mission schools declined from £1/2/8d to 13/3d per child between 1893 and 1903.<sup>86</sup>

In contrast, education prospects for white children were poor on the South Coast. The 1884 report of the Alexandra County's magistrate noted there was no aided public school. In his view, children were growing up illiterate. 'This is to be regretted...the county is the most neglected and backward so far as education was concerned.'<sup>87</sup>

## Health

The frugal and extremely limited nature of government services was perhaps best exemplified by the office of the district surgeon. The burden placed on a single doctor in a county as large as Alexandra was totally unrealistic in respect of its territorial extent – 1 620 miles<sup>2</sup> – and the size of the different population groups.<sup>88</sup> Yet Dr Lancelot Booth, in his capacity as Alexandra County district surgeon, was not daunted by those odds.<sup>89</sup> On two occasions in 1882 he demonstrated remarkable dedication to duty. Informed of the deaths of fifteen Africans in a four-week period in the area between the Mzumbe and Mzimkulu rivers, Booth visited numerous homesteads distributing medicine to treat what he diagnosed as acute dysentery.<sup>90</sup> Then, in what may be noted as good colonial governance, he was able to provide critical evidence in what appeared to be a murder case. He did so by travelling to the Mtwalume

mission station where he exhumed the body of an African. His post-mortem investigation revealed that the cause of death was from a skull fracture incurred in a fall and not as a result of violence.<sup>91</sup>

Alexandra County was not spared the spread of syphilis among the African population. Following the report in 1877 of a colony-wide investigation into the presence of syphilis among Africans, it was noted that the disease had first been recorded among 300 prostitutes living in the Pietermaritzburg district in 1849. In later years its spread was facilitated by wagon drivers and migrant workers on the diamond fields. Gould Lucas, the resident magistrate for Alexandra County, contended that the disease was being spread among kraals in the county by Africans who were returning from Durban. Booth's view was that only hospitalisation could cure sufferers. The acting SNA, John Shepstone, agreed with that proposal but nothing came of it.<sup>92</sup>

Indifference towards the South Coast in health matters persisted. In 1890, the Indian medical officer, Dr S.W. Lennon, appealed for an inquiry into an outbreak of what seemed to be smallpox among Africans in the Lower Umzimkulu area. Acting colonial secretary Albert Hime flatly refused, saying that he saw 'no necessity'.<sup>93</sup> Nonetheless, despite the challenges to their capacity, the colonial administration did attempt to provide the rudiments of health care. The resident magistrate for Alexandra County reported in October 1893 that 2 327 new vaccinations had been administered to Africans.<sup>94</sup>

An outbreak of the highly contagious and endemic disease of smallpox in Alexandra County in 1903 saw the district surgeon, Dr Booth-Clarkson, carrying out comprehensive measures to contain it. He set up three quarantine camps in the Dumisa district and ordered the burning of the huts and clothing of those infected. New clothing was supplied as well as £63 for the building of new huts. Only one death occurred out of 37 cases that Booth-Clarkson treated. Vaccinations were carried out at ten assembly points in

Alexandra County and a cottage hospital was set up near the gaol in Umzinto.<sup>95</sup>

### Unrest

Until 1906, when unrest flared up in parts of the Colony, relations among Africans in Alexandra County were largely stable and peaceful. The disagreements that occurred from time to time were minor and usually the consequence of excessive alcohol consumption.<sup>96</sup> But the passage of the Natives Personal Tax Bill in August 1905, which became Act No. 38 of 1905,

drastically disrupted relations in Natal. By imposing a direct tax of £1 on every native male above the age of 18 and an additional £1 for every additional wife, the colonial parliament sought to bring relief to Natal's £450 000 deficit.<sup>97</sup> MLC Joseph Baynes was alone among public representatives in rejecting the tax as 'iniquitous and cowardly', pointing out that for many farm labourers it would amount to two months of wages as their monthly wage was only ten shillings.<sup>98</sup> The daughters of the late Bishop Co-

lenso, Harriette and Agnes, also bravely rejected the tax as 'utterly unjustifiable and exceedingly mischievous'.<sup>99</sup> Zulu elders felt it would encourage urban migration to jobs on the mines and in the towns and thereby weaken traditional authority and discipline. As a result, there was widespread, sullen opposition to colonial rule.<sup>100</sup>

Unrest first manifested itself in the Richmond district when two white police officers were killed following

a clash with an armed impi. This incident triggered a wave of settler insecurity, which was addressed in a harsh and highhanded way by the Natal Royal Regiment under Colonel Duncan McKenzie. His field force carved a swathe of retaliatory destruction into Alexandra County, burning homesteads and seizing livestock. In Umzinto he confronted Charlie Fynn and his indunas, disarmed them, subjected them to court martial, imposed fines, floggings and five death sentences, which Governor Henry McCallum declined to impose.<sup>101</sup>



*Joseph Baynes*



*Duncan McKenzie*



A report in the *Mercury* subsequently noted that stability and peace had returned to the county and opined that ‘the influence of Col. McKenzie’s column has been for good’.<sup>102</sup> No further incidents occurred on the South Coast. However, a wave of fear reverberated among settlers around the Colony as a result of the Bhambatha rebellion, which influenced settler thinking on the Union issue in subsequent years.<sup>103</sup>

## Conclusion

Settler presence on the South Coast of Natal was never threatened by hostility from the local African population.<sup>104</sup> During the Langalibalele crisis of 1873–1874 the daily reports of the resident magistrate for Alexandra County described the situation as ‘perfectly quiet’.<sup>105</sup> Although fear gripped the Colony in the wake of the monumental British defeat at Isandlwana in January 1879, settlers were never in danger due to what governor Henry Bulwer described as ‘the most loyal behaviour of our Native population’.<sup>106</sup>

Peaceful co-existence was the dominant narrative as far as relations between settlers and the indigenous Africans on the South Coast were concerned.<sup>107</sup> The informal trade Umzinto settler David Aiken recorded with Africans bears testimony to that.<sup>108</sup> While Simon Dagut’s observation that ‘locally produced sensibilities ... defined the boundaries of what was socially possible’ may well apply in this case, the ‘degree of tolerance and flexibility in social relations’ that Charles van Onselen observed between white farmers and their African tenants in the south-western Transvaal, also appeared to prevail between settlers and African communities on the South Coast during the colonial era.<sup>109</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 Jeff Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone and the Forging of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2013): 5.
- 2 *ibid*: 110–111.
- 3 *ibid*: 111.
- 4 Jeremy Martens, ‘Enlightenment theories of civilisation and savagery in British Natal: the colonial origins of the (Zulu) African barbarism myth’ in *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present* edited by Benedict Carton, John Laband and Jabulani Sithole (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2009): 122.
- 5 *ibid*: 125.
- 6 Norman Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in South East Africa, 1835–1880: African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978): 10.
- 7 *Natal Mercury*, 8 August 1871.
- 8 Robinson was highly critical of this in compiling a report following his tour of the South Coast in 1871 (see *Natal Mercury*, 8 August 1871). A report in the *Natal Mercury* on 24 January 1871 stated that ‘the greater part of the coast southwards of Durban is set aside for the use of the black man.’

- 9 In 1864 the number of Africans in the area between the Mkomazi and the Mzimkulu rivers, known as Alexandra County from 1865, was put at 12 000. The white population was just 361. Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository (PAR), Colonial Secretary’s Office (CSO) 214, no. 144, 18 January 1865. By 1885 that disparity was even greater: 26 580 Africans; 628 whites (*Natal Blue Book*, 1885: T4).
- 10 Despatch no. 17, sub encl. 1 and encl. 2 in *Further Correspondence Relative to the Settlement of Natal*: 126, 129–130, 5 July and 22 July 1852.
- 11 On the South Island of New Zealand, promises made to the Ngai Tahu tribe regarding the reservation of land for tribal agriculture and subsistence hunting and fishing were not honoured by the colonial state. In 1896, New Zealand Minister of Lands J. McKenzie justified the dispossession of Maori land saying ‘when Europeans got land it was immediately turned to good account’ (Jim McAloon, ‘Family, wealth and inheritance in a settler society: the South Island of New Zealand 1865–1930’ *Journal of Historical Geography* 25 (April 1999): 203–204).
- 12 Despatch by Sir George Grey to Lord Russell, 3 December 1855 cited in ‘Report of Select Committee on Tribal Titles to Lands for Natives’ *Natal Government Gazette* XIV(720), 19 August 1862.
- 13 John Lambert, *Betrayed Trust: Africans and the State in Colonial Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995): 47.
- 14 In Alexandra County, Africans cultivated 4 300 acres of Indian corn in 1875 and realised a harvest of 16 500 muids (a muid was equivalent to a large sack in capacity). White farmers cultivated 483 acres and produced 2 477 muids. In Alfred County in 1875, Africans cultivated 10 400 acres of Indian corn producing 52 000 muids. Production by settlers was negligible – a mere 57 acres producing 456 muids (see *Natal Blue Book*, 1875: X2–X7; 1878: AA4–AA7; 1884: X2–X7).
- 15 John Lambert, ‘The undermining of the homestead economy in colonial Natal’ *South African Historical Journal* December 1990: 61.
- 16 *Natal Mercury*, 15 September 1864. The African population in the county in 1862 was given as 12 000. See PAR, CSO 171, no. 689, 28 February 1863, resident magistrate’s report.
- 17 PAR, CSO 244, no. 544, 3 March 1866. By 1866 there were 381 Indians in Alexandra County. The white population was 364. See PAR, CSO 264, no. 43, 28 February 1867.
- 18 *Natal Blue Book*, 1878: JJ19.
- 19 In a submission to the Select Committee on European Immigration in 1876, David C. Aiken expressed criticism of the fractured territorial integrity of the South Coast. Resident magistrate Gould A. Lucas expressed similar sentiments in his report for Alexandra County in 1883. See *Natal Government Gazette*, XXVIII (1613), 17 October 1876; *Natal Blue Book*, 1883: GG45. William Campbell, *The Natal Sugar Industry: An Enquiry and Report* (Durban: P. Davis, 1885): 20 noted ‘grumbles’ about Mnini’s uncultivated lands.
- 20 William Hartley of Durban County claimed less than one percent of the 270 000 acres of African reserve between Isipingo and the Mzimkulu River was cultivated by Africans (*Debates of the Legislative Council, Colony of Natal*, XIV (1890): 329–331).
- 21 Lambert, *Betrayed Trust*: 77, 79. The purchases were generally by chiefs (see *Natal Blue Book*, 1883: GG21).
- 22 Colin Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988): 182.
- 23 Amahlongwa Reserve = 7 464 acres, Ifafa = 7 500, Mtwalume = 13 407, College Reserve Equefa = 3 000 acres (see *Natal Mercury*, 8 August 1871); Report on European Immigration, *Natal Government Gazette*, XXVIII (1613), 17 October 1876; *Natal Blue Book*, 1883: GG45.
- 24 *Natal Mercury*, 8 August 1871.



- 25 Robert Osborn, *Valiant Harvest: The Founding of the South African Sugar Industry, 1848–1926* (Durban: Brown, Davis and Platt, 1964): 35, 158.
- 26 Norman Etherington, 'African economic experiments' in *Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony: Aspects of the Economic and Social History of Colonial Natal* edited by Bill Guest and John Sellers (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1985): 270, 278.
- 27 *Natal Blue Book*, 1881: GG58.
- 28 The correspondent responsible for the 'Notes from Alexandra County' column in the *Mercury* stated on 7 August 1888 that the procurement of labour was causing 'much uneasiness'. Planters could not compete with the 'high wages' of £2 per month offered by the railways.
- 29 PAR, SNA, 1/1/120, no. 1207, 7 and 11 November 1889. Kirkman was informed that fifty Africans had applied for Public Works jobs. Jeff Guy notes that by 1894 Zululand was described as 'one of the chief sources' of the supply of African labour to the Witwatersrand gold mines (Jeff Guy, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: The Civil War in Zululand, 1879–1884* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1982): 239.
- 30 PAR, SNA 1/1/121, no. 1260, 18 and 22 November 1889.
- 31 Charles Feinstein, *An Economic History of South Africa: Conquest, Discrimination and Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 55.
- 32 *Natal Blue Book*, 1886: R2.
- 33 *Natal Blue Book*, 1880: Q9, V4. The figures refer to the entire county and not just the coastal strip.
- 34 Four pounds and four shillings was spent at Archibald's store in Umzinto in 1882 on the purchase of medicines to treat African sufferers from enteric fever. The money was then claimed from the government (PAR, CSO 843, no. 517, 3 February 1882). Notwithstanding the African contribution to the Treasury, there were instances when their payments fell into arrears. In 1889, for example, the SNA advised the resident magistrate for Lower Umzimkulu that Africans squatting on Crown land owed the government £400 (see Durban Archives Repository (DAR), Minute Paper of the resident magistrate, Lower Umzimkulu (LU), 104/89 Vol. 3/2/1, IPTS, SNA, 23 August 1889).
- 35 PAR, SNA, 1/1/108, no. 736, 30 August 1888.
- 36 John Bird remarked that 'the rate of low wages and the cheapness of the food needed by the native led every European who landed in Natal to wish for kafir labour' (Killie Campbell Manuscript Collection, Durban, 19930, Bird Papers, File 3, 'The form of constitutional government existing in the Colony of Natal', 1869: 8).
- 37 *Debates of the Legislative Council*, 1893, XXI: 4.
- 38 PAR, SNA 1/1/145, no. 900, 6, 11, 18 August 1891. James and David Aiken also drew attention to the dire shortage of African labour on their Marble Delta limestone quarry on the Mzimkulu River where they were down to only four labourers.
- 39 Henrique was the son of Theophilus Shepstone. PAR, SNA 1/1/142, no. 749, 3, 7 July 1891. The use of Pondo labour became widespread in Alfred County and in the sugar industry after 1910 (Paul Dickinson, 'The South African sugar industry 1910–40' in *Receded Tides of Empire* edited by Bill Guest and John Sellers (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1994): 168, 171.
- 40 John Rethman, letter to the editor, *Natal Mercury*, 19 July 1886.
- 41 *Natal Mercury*, 20 July 1903.
- 42 Their mobility and the wages they earned facilitated their access to and the affordability of liquor.
- 43 PAR, SNA 1/1/116, no. 375, 1885. Correspondence on the subject of increased drunkenness amongst the native population especially in the coastal districts: reports from resident magistrates Giles, 16 September 1876 and Lucas, 12 September 1876.
- 44 *Natal Blue Book*, 1875: X4–5.
- 45 *Natal Witness*, 13 July 1877.
- 46 A.E. Titren, acting magistrate for Umlazi, Durban County; Charles Barter, resident magistrate, Inanda Division, Victoria County (*Natal Government Gazette*, XXIX, no. 1655, 3 July 1877). Walter Peace, *Our Colony of Natal* (London: Edward Stanford, 1883): 69, noted that a bottle of rum in the early 1880s cost only 1/6d.
- 47 Umtwalume, letter to the editor, *Natal Mercury*, 26 March 1884. Acting resident magistrate for Alexandra County W.R. Gordon remarked in his report for 1884 on the debilitating effects the consumption of what he called *tsithimigana*, an alcoholic brew, was having on Africans. No statistics on charges of drunkenness were stated.
- 48 *Debates of the Legislative Council*, XII, 1888: 127.
- 49 *Natal Mercury*, 7 August 1888.
- 50 *Debates of the Legislative Council*, XII, 1888: 127.
- 51 *Natal Government Gazette*, XL, no. 2319, 11 September 1888; *Debates of the Legislative Council*, XII, 1888: 127. At the 1889 AGM of the Bluff and Wentworth Farmers Association, an area then on the outskirts of Durban, the main topic of discussion was the illicit trade and traffic in liquor (*Natal Mercury*, 23 January 1889).
- 52 *Debates of the Legislative Council*, XII, 1888: 127.
- 53 *Natal Blue Book*, 1878, Magistrates' reports: JJ14, JJ16.
- 54 Secretary of State Glenelg repudiated Cape Governor Sir Benjamin D'Urban's reference to the Xhosa as 'irreclaimable savages'. Settler outrage at atrocities perpetrated by Xhosa tribesmen in which over 400 homesteads were burnt and forty whites perished, included demands for the confiscation of Xhosa property and the execution of any Xhosa who could be shown to have had a part in the killing of settlers (Alan Lester, "'Otherness' and the frontiers of empire: the eastern Cape Colony 1806–1850' *Journal of Historical Geography* 24(1) January 1998: 9–11, 13). Niall Ferguson notes that when imperial authority was challenged, as it was in India in 1857 and in South Africa in 1899, 'the British response was brutal' (*Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (Melbourne: Penguin, 2008): xxii).
- 55 J. Hugh Davidson (ed.), *Trollope's South Africa* (Cape Town: A. Balkema, 1973): 455.
- 56 Bisset's military presence comprised one officer and seven men of the Royal Artillery responsible for one twelve pounder howitzer; one NCO and twelve men from the 99th Regiment; and two men and their NCO of the Colonial Mounted Rifles (Select document no. 25, 1866, Bisset to Cardwell, 16 January 1866: 89–90).
- 57 PAR, CSO 323, no. 242, 25 January 1869; PAR, CSO 505, no. 201, 14 January 1875; *Natal Blue Book*, 1875: R10.
- 58 PAR, CSO 654, no. 111, 24 July 1878. Small police contingents were a feature of colonial administration. Umsinga magistrate district, with an African population of 32 000 in 1885, had only 'a paltry few native police' as resident magistrate H.F. Fynn Jnr stated in his annual report (*Supplement to the Blue Book for the Colony of Natal*, 1885: B40). The actual security of districts was the responsibility of the Volunteers. Their importance was underlined by the Colonial Commandant, Major John George Dartnell, when he told the Alexandra Mounted Rifles that 'every able-bodied man would have to bear arms' (*Natal Mercury*, 22 August 1881).
- 59 PAR, CSO 461, no. 152, 12 November 1873.
- 60 PAR, SNA 1/1/80, no. 78, 2 February 1885. Stock theft occurred mostly in the rural section of Alfred County.
- 61 PAR, SNA 1/1/88, no. 838, 22 December 1885.
- 62 PAR, SNA 1/1/162, no. 1165, 19 October 1892; PAR, SNA 1/1/147, no. 1166, 8 October 1891.

- 63 Killie Campbell Collection Manuscript, 55148, MS CAM, B.E. Camp, 'A history of the district of Alfred': 22.
- 64 PAR, CSO 1268, no. 4613, 24, 29 July 1890; *Natal Mercury*, 29 October 1890.
- 65 *Natal Mercury*, 12 December 1890.
- 66 *Natal Mercury*, 9 March 1891.
- 67 William H. Bizley, 'By post cart to Harding' *Natalia* 25 (1995): 10.
- 68 *Natal Government Gazette* XLV, no. 2642, 19 October 1893. In a report of 10 August 1893, the *Natal Witness* referred to Natal's southern border as 'the most unsettled in the whole of Natal'.
- 69 William Beinart, *The Political Economy of Pondoland 1860–1930* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1982): 34.
- 70 PAR, CSO 747, nos. 1273, 2194, *Government Notice*, no. 334, 1878. Increased domestic demand for firewood as well as the increase in manufacturing industries such as brickmaking, tiles and soap, particularly around Durban and Pietermaritzburg, resulted in a rapid reduction of wooded vegetation (Beverley 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* edited by Bill Guest and John Sellers (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1985): 82.
- 71 PAR, CSO 940, Encl. 13.
- 72 PAR, CSO 940, Encl., 4 January 1884.
- 73 PAR, CSO 1044, no. 4846, 7 October 1885, 14 September 1884; *Natal Blue Book*, 1888: C59, B4–6.
- 74 Ferguson, *Empire*: 139.
- 75 *ibid*: 152, 154.
- 76 Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone and the Forging of Natal*: 266.
- 77 *ibid*: 269, 272.
- 78 *ibid*: 271.
- 79 Norman Etherington, 'Natal's first black capitalists' *Theoria* October 1975: 35.
- 80 Apart from the existence of a few private schools, state provision of education for settler children was meagre on the South Coast. In 1880 the only school for them was in Umkomaas with an enrolment of 29. The situation was no better in 1884 when the acting resident magistrate of Alexandra County, William Gordon, remarked that white children were growing up illiterate (*Natal Blue Book*, 1880: W9; 1884: B57).
- 81 In 1882 the Reverend J. Barker of Umzinto applied to the SNA for a grant-in-aid for a school for Africans. Subject to the number attending not being less than twenty, the government agreed to the provision of a grant. The sum was not specified (PAR, SNA 1/1/53, no. 103, 5 March, 14 April 1882).
- 82 Native Education Report, *Natal Blue Book*, 1885: U56–58; 1886: U53–54.
- 83 Native Education Report, *Natal Blue Book*, 1886: U54–55.
- 84 Native Education Report, *Natal Blue Book*, 1885: U72.
- 85 Native Education Report, 1887: 31–32 (separate publication).
- 86 John Lambert and Robert Morrell, 'Domination and subordination in Natal, 1890–1920' in *Political Economy and Identities in KwaZulu-Natal* (Durban: Indicator Press, 1996): 71.
- 87 *Natal Blue Book*, 1884: B57.
- 88 *Natal Blue Book*, 1886: T2. In 1885 the white population was given as 628, that of Indians 2 543 and the African population was 26 580 (*Natal Blue Book*, 1885: T4).
- 89 Dr Booth was appointed on 8 February 1877 (*Government Notice*, no. 51, 1877).
- 90 PAR, CSO 844, no. 628, 23 January 1882. The resident magistrate of Alfred County also reported deaths among Africans from what he called enteric fever. Medicines were obtained from Archibald's store in Umzinto, 50 miles away, to treat affected cases (PAR, CSO 843, no. 517, 3 February 1882).
- 91 PAR, CSO 877, no. 3926, 16 October 1882.
- 92 PAR, CSO 617, no. 4136, 15, 30 March 1877, 23 May 1877.
- 93 PAR, CSO 1248, no. 755, 30 January, 4 February 1890.
- 94 PAR, SNA 1/1/175, no. 1199, 17 October 1893.
- 95 *Natal Blue Book on Native Affairs*, 1903: 22–23.
- 96 *ibid*: 21; 1904: 20. PAR, SNA 1/1/299/265, 1903.
- 97 *Debates of the Legislative Council*, 14, 1905: 181–182.
- 98 *ibid*: 197–198.
- 99 *Natal Legislative Council, Votes and Proceedings*, 15, Petition no. 5: 404–405.
- 100 Edgar Brookes and Colin de Berri Webb, *A History of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1965): 221.
- 101 Jeff Guy, *Remembering the Rebellion: The Zulu Uprising of 1906* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006): 50, 55.
- 102 *Natal Mercury*, 10 April 1906.
- 103 Bhambatha, a minor chief in the Umvoti district, refused to pay the poll tax and attacked a police detachment sent to confront him. When he and his followers sought refuge in the Nkandla forest, they were massacred by colonial forces in June 1906 (Guy, *Remembering the Rebellion*: 23, 170). Fear of African unrest and the perceived security union with the other three British colonies – the Cape, Transvaal and Orange River Colony – appeared to offer, subsequently influenced Natal white colonists to accept the union dispensation which came about in 1910.
- 104 White settlement along the coast was limited to a belt stretching no more than 15 miles inland between the Mkomanzi and Mzimkulu Rivers; later extending to the Mtamvuna river on the Pondoland border.
- 105 Failure to comply with the law on gun registration and his refusal to appear before the SNA, Theophilus Shepstone, resulted in Langalibalele, chief of the Hlubi people, attempting to flee to the neighbouring colony of Basutoland with some of his tribesmen. Captured and placed on trial for treason and rebellion, Langalibalele was found guilty and banished for life to the Cape Colony. The affair generated adverse publicity in Britain thanks to the efforts of Anglican Bishop J.W. Colenso who exposed the procedural shortcomings of the trial. It also raised concerns in the Colonial Office as to Natal's ability to exercise responsibility over administration of the African majority. See W. Guest, 'Colonists, confederation and constitutional change' in *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910* edited by Andrew Duminy and Bill Guest (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1989): 151–156. PAR, CSO 454, no. 2696, 25 November 1873–10 January 1874.
- 106 PAR, CSO 728, no. 5190, Encl., 6 November 1879: 3. Bulwer's reference was to Africans across the Colony.
- 107 DAR, LU 1777/06, September 1906.
- 108 David Aiken in a diary entry of January 1868 recorded that settlers and local Africans frequently indulged in informal trade. That might involve trading a horse for a bull or oxen. He also frequently purchased sacks of corn from Africans (Local History Museum, Durban, 'Diary of D.C. Aiken': 12).
- 109 Simon Dagut, 'Strangely hard natures were bred in the South Africa of that day: rural settler childhood, 1850s–1880s' *African Studies* 58 (July 1999): 34; Charles van Onselen, 'Race and class in the South African countryside: cultural osmosis and social relations in the sharecropping economy of the south western Transvaal 1900–1950' *American Historical Review* 95(1) February 1990: 122.