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Promoting the countryside : The Inanda Agricultural Show, 1925-1935

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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

A F R I C A N S T U D I E S I N S T I T U T E

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Title: Promoting the Countryside : The Inanda Agricultural Show, 1925-1935.

by: Heather Hughes

No. 221

(5) To much applause he urged more scientific agriculture and stressed the virtues of limiting cattle holdings: "the time will come, if it has not already come in some parts, when the locations and reserves will not be able to sustain any more stock". (6) In her letter thanking him for his presence, Miss Walbridge mentioned that

> the man who won the Plowing Contest was one who purchased a plow on exhibit at the last Show. Five of the different machines on display this year have been ordered by various Natives. Last year the only farm implements displayed by Natives were poor plows. This year was one group consisting of plow, harrow and planter... (7)

The second show attracted 863 entries and was the first to be noticed by the white press. With some surprise the Natal Mercury reported, "the Native agriculturalist to-day is rapidly progressing, and is taking full advantage of the better methods of agriculture". (8) It was rather more condescending in its verdict on the live exhibits.

> There was unfortunately a distinct lack of quantity and quality...the entries in cattle, pigs and fowls bore evidence of nondescript breeding...however...the native had the right idea at least, since he brought his best to the Show. (9)

Praise for show was even higher in 1927, with the Weekend Advertiser declaring that the it "must take its place with the events of outstanding importance this year in Natal". (10) Rev. Dube delivered a speech in which he warned that "unless the Native made good use of his land, the white man will have to come to claim it, as being left idle.." and the Chief Native Commissioner, who again opened the show, exhorted the assembled crowd to heed Dube's words. (11)

With equal acclaim - and financial support - from white and black sympathisers alike, and the continued patronage of the Native Affairs Department and American Board missionaries, and very widespread participation by the surrounding community, the Inanda show continued yearly until 1935. It became an occasion on which Durban manufacturers displayed and sold their wares and if the Natal Mercury is to be believed, the quality of exhibits definitely improved:

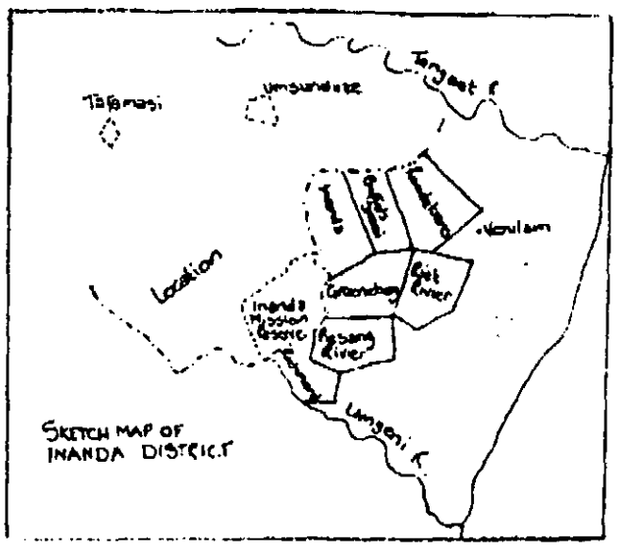
> Some of the best-known breeds, such as Ayrshire, were finding favour. In former years, badly-bred and weedy animals were exhibited, but the type was entirely absent this year... A good few

> pens of poultry were brought forwards and the quality was quite striking, two of the first prizes going to pure-bred Rhode Island Reds and Leghorns. (12)

By 1932, the 1600 exhibits were "of excellent quality"; (13) the steady fructification of agricultural labours seemed to confirm that the Show was fulfilling functions similar to its counterparts anywhere in the country. One Amicus Homini Gentis had summarised these in Ilanga in 1926:

> The Annual Agricultural Shows have many advantages. In the first place they create the desire to produce good work always and thus provide a purpose in view...they also stimulate a strong desire for competition...they also enable the farmers to show their goods to the public and for this reason Shows are a good market. (14)

The Inanda Show had been modelled on the Fort Hare and Lovedale shows (15) and itself became the model for several others which established themselves from 1926: Amanzimtoti, Tafamasi, Buffalo Flats, Umzinto, Eshowe, Nongoma and Nqutu to name a few which operated in these years. According to official counts, no less than 22 shows for Africans were held in Natal and Zululand in 1933-34, 24 in 1934-5, and 21 in 1935-36. (16) Clearly they were reaching significant numbers of agricultural producers in Natal/Zululand, small and large, "traditionalist" and "progressive"; more than this, they were by all accounts highly popular as a means of "pushing the natives forward". (17) Given their widespread occurrence the shows can help to fill in our understanding of developments in African agriculture in the region in the 1920s and '30s, and as organised, articulate expressions of "the state of the art", they might also open a window on the consciousness of African farmers. This case study of the Inanda show is hopefully a beginning.



II

The centre of "progressive" African agriculture in Inanda lay beyond the rich coastal sugar belt, where the land is hilly and transversed by several streams. The soil on the slopes is sandy but it is deep red and alluvial black in the valleys. (18) It is an area suitable for the cultivation of maize, sorghum, fruit, vegetables and some cane, and for a time in the early 20th century wattle was grown, but it is not good cattle country. In this open thorn veld were located the Inanda mission reserve, where the American Board had one of its premier stations, and the African and Indian-owned plots and lots, cut out from what had mostly been absentee landlords' farms.

Each mission reserve in Natal had originally been demarcated as "a parish for the denomination which occupied it". (19) Most were occupied by the American Board, which established a string of stations from Umzumbe in the south to Mapumulo near the Thukela river. The Inanda reserve, adjoining the huge African location, covered an area of 11 500 acres. In its charge were two smaller outstations in the location, Tafamasi and Umsunduze. On each of these a small glebe had been granted in freehold to the mission and on this land the station proper was built. It became the focus for the mission village which grew up as evangelical work attracted converts, or kolwa, as they came to be called.

Centrally situated and under the charge of Daniel Lindley, one of the most influential missionaries in the colony, the Inanda station flourished from its founding in the 1850s: in fact Lindley had moved his base from Umsunduze to the more open land of Inanda expressly because his converts were anxious to acquire ploughs. (20) Slowly the complexion of agricultural production began to change: more upright, permanent houses began to appear and a more definite fixity of tenure and its concomitant the fence followed. Observers thought the lands were more thoroughly and systematically ploughed than in the location proper (21); the Report of the Native Mission Reserves described Inanda as one of the few "conducted in a very satisfactory manner, and the lands are fully utilised for the purposes for which they were set apart". (22)

As with any parish, there were more than Lindley's own converts in it. Most of those living on the reserve when he arrived were Qadi subjects under Chief Mqawe; they were permitted to reside in the reserve free of charge, (though were liable for hut tax and isibalo) but newcomers had to obtain the missionaries' permission and paid 10s annually. By the 1890s, there is evidence that labour migration was widespread: Mqawe refused to send men out for isibalo on the grounds that the men were away working in Durban and other parts of the colony, and "he dare not cut them off from their extra pound". (23)

Mqawe's particular position meant that on the Inanda reserve, the divide between converts and non-Christians was never as deep or clear cut as it became in many other places. His own immediate family straddled it: an uncle, James Dube, was the first ordained African pastor at Inanda and James's son John - Mqawe's cousin - "who must be considered the mission's outstanding product", (24) was a figure of immense local significance, based at his Christian Industrial School, Ohlange, and became the leading spokesman of the kolwa petit bourgeoisie in Natal. (25) Mqawe himself never became a Christian, but used his elevated position in the old order to launch himself comfortably into the new. In 1846, Lindley reported,

> I went to Durban with him to aid him in buying clothes. He bought three good coats, three pairs of good trousers, two vests, a shirt, a pair of braces and a clothes brush. He rode a horse I would much like to own, and with us were sixteen Natives, all on horseback. It was quite a turn-out - one that attracted attention. (26)

In 1864 he purchased a wagon for £70 to engage in transport riding. Chafing at the impossibility of land ownership on the reserve and in the location, he purchased a farm at Incwadi, near Pietermaritzburg, with Bishop Colenso's help. (27) And as Etherington says, [illegible] chiefly authority. No other Nguni chief could make that statement". (28) There was a greater degree of friction after 1886, with the appointment of a "chief" over the Christians: the two constantly appealed both to government and missionaries for support in asserting their powers of jurisdiction.

The driving forces at Inanda station after Lindley's departure in the 1870s were James Dube and Mary Edwards, first principal of the Seminary for girls. Founded in 1869, it had been designed as an 'industrial' school, to teach young women the arts of good housekeeping and to train teachers for day schools. It drew the majority of its students from the Inanda district until well into the 20th century. The school was very much bound up with the general life of the mission station and numbers of reserve residents were drawn into Mrs Edwards's numerous entrepreneurial schemes, ranging from crop experimentation to a commercial laundry and chicken business.

The strong work ethic of the converts dictated that each family - including those of pastors and teachers, as well as the numerous artisans on the reserve - should at least be able to feed itself from its garden. While there is no

evidence of kolwa landlessness even up to the 1930s, neither was there any hired labour. The men called themselves 'farmers', a description which carried in it a strong cultural connotation: they were not mere "native agriculturalists", as non-Christians were usually referred to. The chief cash crop was maize, and tea and coffee were both tried on the outstations. But very few were solely farmers. From a series of applications for exemption from Native Law in the late 1880s and early 1890s (when most exemptions occurred) the most usual combinations of callings given by the applicants were "farmer and wagon driver" and "farmer and carpenter". "Farmer and storekeeper" also appeared (by this time the reserve supported at least two African-owned stores) and there was even one "farmer and house servant". (29) The markets which they locked into were not only in agricultural produce but in labour too: the kolwa community seemed to occupy a narrow strip between petty commodity production and petit bourgeoisie. (30)

By the turn of the century, there were some 500 Christians living in 90 upright houses, and 1500 non-Christians grouped together in about 400 homesteads, of whom just over a quarter were polygamists. (31) In his 1904 report, the reserve supervisor enumerated its attractions (surely with an avaricious eye):

> The land...I found very good for agriculture. The mielies in particular on the land are very good indeed...several...small fields of sugarcane look very well. I feel sure the land could easily be used for growing crops of all kinds...this reserve is very valuable being so close to market...I value the whole reserve at 4 per acre. (32)

By now, however, there was a growing sense of unease in the kolwa community, masked by the apparent buoyancy of their enterprise. Their major complaint was their lack of freehold title. On three other American Board reserves, titles had been issued (33) but the practice was stopped when the missionaries discovered that they began to lose control over who lived on the individual plots. Rev. P.J. Gumede, a pastor at Inanda in the early years of this century, described the existing arrangement there as a "squatting lease" (34). G.H. Hulett felt the land was good for subdivision into 25-50 acre lots, and J.L. Hulett, when Minister of Native Affairs, had tried to negotiate with the colony's prime minister on behalf of the Inanda community. (35) Though ejectments of kolwa were unknown, there was a triple reason for desiring a more permanent arrangement. In the first place, the entrepreneurial farmers among them were realising that agricultural improvements required sizeable investments and as things stood, "a man was laughed at who put up a decent brick house" (36) Secondly, boundary disputes between the kolwa and

non-Christians were a source of tension to some of the Kolwa leaders. (37) Furthermore, ever since the white settlers had achieved responsible government in 1893, they had singled the reserves out as particular targets of attack. Act 25 of 1895, "To regulate the use of mission reserves", allowed for much greater state intervention in the administration of the reserves, and there were a host of discriminatory clauses in Act 49 of 1903, "To make better provision for the control and use of mission reserves", including the levying of an annual tax of £3 and the transfer of all mission reserves to the Natal Native Trust. Strenuous representations by the American Board reduced the tax to 30s, but still those liable, Christian and non-Christian alike, found it burdensome. Nkisimana, the Qadi headman on the reserve complained that his people "were in trouble on account of the money they had to pay". (38) Arrears for the new rent mounted almost immediately, and people became used to writs. By 1918, arrears were standing at about £38 000 for all the reserves (39) and finally in 1919, the Native Affairs Department reduced the rent to £1 retrospectively simply to reduce the outstanding debt. (40) The Kolwa, frustrated at the missionaries' failure to win them freehold title, nevertheless turned to them for protection against encroachment from whites and Indians, long a fear of theirs.

> The missionaries help us sometimes to keep our land and houses...when our missionary was away, a coolie came and tried to get a place for a garden here...when the missionary came he drove him away. The coolie and the white man would both take our land if they could for their own, and put up stores, and raise sugar cane, and whiskey. They say they will do it, as soon as they can. (41)

(It is perhaps revealing that Lindley himself had thought Indians "indescribably wicked" (42) before they had even arrived under indenture, and Mary Edwards went as far as to buy a piece of land near the Seminary to forestall the building of Indian workers' barracks. The sense of hostility evidently rubbed off onto their converts and was compounded by very material considerations, as will be seen.) As the possibility of freehold tenure receded even further after 1903, some Kolwa ventured out onto the open market for land.

African land purchases in the Inanda area had begun in the late 19th century but until the 20th were hardly extensive. By 1894, there were eleven African landowners (less than a third of whom originated from the Inanda reserve), between them with 456 acres. (43) At least two of them, Cornelius and James Matiwane, owning 125 and 155 acres respectively, employed "heathen natives...we give them £1 per month. They stay six or seven months a year". (44) They felt their position on the land to be tenuous, chiefly because "there seems a prospect that the coolies will elbow us out of the country". (45) The reason, they thought, was because the Indians did not keep cattle; the truth was, however, that in the main Indian purchasers were far more liquid than they.

In 1865, the government had made available 3-acre lots on Riet Rivier to Indians who had completed their indenture. (46) From this time on, small-scale producers, mainly of maize, vegetables and tobacco, acquired lots on their own account on the farms Groeneberg, Riet Rivier, Plesang Rivier, Buffels Draai, Inanda and Richmond. The major land purchases occurred after 1897, however, when restrictive legislation on Indian merchants in towns forced them to seek new avenues for investment. Few if any actually farmed themselves; rather, they subdivided their holdings and engaged in speculative activities, renting to Indian and African tenants in the meantime. This turn of events had a marked effect on land prices. In 1901, one observer commented, "before Indians began to buy, land was as low as £1 and 30s an acre, and now the average price is from £4 to £5 an acre". (47) J.L. Dube, pastor of the Inanda station, found this most irksome, himself being in the market for land then: "if the policy of the government was continued...it was evident the aboriginal natives of Natal would go to the wall". (48) The biggest land purchases were still to come, however: the years 1911 to the early 1930s were the peak period for Indian acquisitons in Inanda, as elsewhere on the north coast, characterised by subdivision and sale of lots ranging from five to 30 acres in size. (49) By 1936, 52% of the population of the Inanda magisterial division was Indian (19871 people), while 43% was African (16287 people). By then, it was "regarded traditionally as the home of the Indians". (50)

This was despite the fact that the 1913 Lands Act, the Beaumont Commission, and the subsequent Natal Native Lands Commission had all recommended that large parts of this area - principally on the farms Groeneberg, Plesang Rivier and Riet Rivier - be demarcated for acquisition by Africans. (51) The situation until 1936 (when these areas became officially known as Released Areas 33 and 34) seems to have been fairly fluid. In general, Africans found it much easier (subject, of course, to raising the necessary bonds) to buy land from Indians than vice versa, but mostly they bought from white

groupings, mainly the Inanda Syndicate, the Natal Land and Colonisation Company and the Inanda Wattle Company. (52)

By far the largest African landowners in the district were J.L. Dube and a fellow pastor, G. Cele, who between them owned over 1500 acres in Inanda by the 1920s. (53) (This excludes the 200 acres of Piesang Rivier that were bought by a trust headed by Dube for the Ohlange school.) Dube also hired land from a white farmer on which to grow cane, and was considered "the only person who had money in that time and needed some labourers to work for him". (54) His brother Charles had 45 acres under cane near Ohlange and obtained "excellent results", but because of prohibitive production and transport costs - the appalling state of Inanda's roads was frequently a cause for lament in Ilanga (55) - sold the land in 1924. (56)

The great majority of African landowners held title to much smaller plots, averaging ten acres on Riet Rivier and five acres on Piesang Rivier. (57) Many were heavily mortgaged, and more often than not were engaged in a range of entrepreneurial ventures. It was noticeable to white speculators (who considered them to be risky mortgagees) that "the men merely have their women and children there; they themselves work in Durban". (58) For example, W.F. Bhulose, owner of two acres on Piesang Rivier, was described as "one of the most progressive businessmen among Africans in Durban"; (59) William Luvuno, owner of nine acres on Riet Rivier, ran a vulcanising business in Verulam (60) and was secretary of the African Co-operative Trading Society, also based in Verulam. (61) On the whole they did not seem to thrive agriculturally; 15 African landowners on Piesang Rivier objected strongly through their spokesman J.L. Dube to the hardship caused by the anti-malarial levy imposed upon them in the early 1930s. (62) Clearly, land ownership for most had conferred no greater sense of security than the "squatting leases" on the reserve, with which most who had come from there had maintained some form of attachment and to which they looked for guidance and support.

III

Emmeline Gumede remembers the mission station in the 1920s and '30s as

> quiet...quiet, full of respect...everybody was tame. People just knew that if they lived at the mission station, they lived with a spirit of brotherhood, friendliness - just like that. (62)

The atmosphere even seems to have had a calming effect on A.W.G. Champion, who was described in the Black Folks' Who's Who as having a farm at Inanda

> and, assisted by his wife, is doing well. To see him on his farm gives a different impression than one gathers in his office and on public platforms. (63)

The first organisation which allowed kolwa participation in the administration of the reserve was the Inanda Mission Committee, formed in 1922. The general idea was taken from the 1920 Native Affairs Act, which provided for the establishment of local and general councils in reserves and locations. Although only one such council was ever set up in Natal, at Msinga, the American Board adapted the idea, with the approval of local commissioners, to its mission reserves, most likely with some prompting from the kolwa themselves.

Included in the Committee's brief were hearing disputes over garden boundaries, dealing with applications for entrance to the reserve, recommending suitable grazing grounds for cattle (this being an especially urgent problem), and ensuring the proper morality of inhabitants, one aspect of which was to persuade those "living together out of wedlock" to marry. Its status was meant ot be purely advisory, to assist and make recommendations to the missionary, although very soon the kolwa representatives were performing numerous gatekeeping functions: allotting land, settling garden disputes without reference to any other authority and refusing applications to live on the reserve. One quarterly report in 1922 showed that of 63 applicants, only one had been accepted. (64)

There was a high coincidence in membership of the Committee and participation in the agricultural show: Joshua Mfeka, Gideon Mbili, Zacharias Goba and John Ntuli, for example, were all on the first Committee; Mfeka and Mbili were also on the show's organising

commitee, Ntuli was the one who possessed the prize farm implements and won the ploughing competitions, and Goba was one of the few who entered cattle for exhibition. (65)

The Native Commissioner at Ndwedwe grew yearly more annoyed at the powers he felt the Committee was assuming, sensitive as he was to the needs of non-Christians on the reserve. At one stage, in 1927, he refused to recognise any exempted Africans on the committee (66) and this precipitated a split in the local community. One faction of "progressives", supported by the pastor P. J. Gumede and Chief Mandlakayise (Mqawe's heir) split off to form the Inanda Welfare Association; a small minority of kolwa continued to support the much emasculated Committee.

The decisive factor in coalescing the reserve's agriculturalists around the show came not from such organisations at all, however. In 1920, Margaret Malbridge arrived as principal of Inanda Seminary. She was much influenced by the educational philosophy of C.T. Loram, which, as Hunt Davis has written, rested on two basic premises: one was perpetual trusteeship of Africans by whites, the other was that Africans' future lay in the countryside:

> agriculture was a natural way of life for Africans; social adjustment of the avoidance of race friction between blacks and whites demanded that most Africans remain in the rural areas; South Africa's future development depended heavily on agriculture, and Africans could best contribute to the country's welfare through improved farming of their own smallholdings or by working on white-owned farms; cities were largely the preserve of whites; urban life debased and demoralised the vast majority of Africans who migrated to towns...(67)

As part of a general reorganisation of the school, Miss Malbridge employed a farm manager, Henry Ngwenya. The son of an ex-Seminary student, he was born in Inanda and attended Adams, where he received his first agricultural training, Lovedale and Fort Hare. (68) It was most likely he who brought the idea of an agricultural show from the Eastern Cape. As a way of projecting a positive image of agricultural pursuits, it dovetailed well with the principal's desire to turn the school into a community centre, "focusing on the everyday problems of villagers: health, family life, agriculture, industry, recreation, and religion". (69) Not only did the farm manager oversee the Seminary's own fields and crops, working out new systems of crop rotation, experimenting with possible cash crops such as cane and cotton, as well as growing all the food requirements of the girls, (70) but he also started tomato clubs among local boys, was

instrumental in the formation of the Welfare Association and with the agriculture master at Ohlange, E. Gule, did much educational work in the area. Also in line with the promotion of rural values, the head of the Seminary's industrial department, Agnes Woods, began a series of clubs for young women of marriageable age in non-Christian homes on the reserve, teaching them homecraft and other skills in the hope that so occupied, they would not be tempted to town.

The agricultural show was thus part of a clear design to promote the rural integrity of "this progressive community". (71) J.L. Dube was one of the show's presidents and Fr Bernard Huss of Mariannhill one of the patrons; he donated special book prizes, Textbook on Elementary Economics and Social History, or a History of the Rochdale Co-operative Store, every year. (72) It was a cause that the community was happy to support fully, having over a long period experienced so many difficulties. The steadily-increasing number of entries over the years testifies to a growing engagement with the kind of spirit the show was trying to encourage.

Nor was its useful role as a rallying point against the ICU lost: in his speech at the opening ceremony in 1928, the Acting Chief Native Commissioner proclaimed how gratified he was that "this community had not been victims to the influence and machinations of agitators...he had every hope ...that the lessons meant to be taught by these shows will be grasped and carried into effect". (72) This was not simply a matter of convenient state propaganda: an editorial in Ilanga flatly declared, "the only really independent Natives are those on reserves and Native locations where the land is theirs and these do not need the ICU". (73) There was mutual benefit to be got out of combining to combat the influence of the ICU in the countryside by white farmers, the state and the "independent" farmers - something the last-mentioned felt was not well enough understood by white farmers.

Yet to what extent did the show reflect the agricultural prospects of the Inanda community? Was it a bold, forward-looking statement, or was it a more defensive action? There was a minority, on both reserve and private land, who clearly were able to invest and innovate, though it was very small and composed mainly of long-established Kolwa families. When three of their number, J.L. Dube, Rosselt Gumede and N.J. Mfeka visited the Chief Native Commissioner in Pietermaritzburg in 1933, one of the matters they wished to raise with him was the acquisition of well-bred cattle; as an official from Native Agriculture had suggested Kerrys, they wanted to know exactly where these could be bought. (74)

For the majority, things were different. An analysis of show records (75) reveals that in most years, there were barely enough entries in the cattle and pigs and fowl

categories to award first and second prizes (and these were dominated by a very few names); there were only three competitors for the best set of implements over the period 1925-1930. Farm produce was much better represented: approximately one third of entries each year consisted of maize, sorghum, and various classes of vegetable. The quality was considered generally good, and pointed to the continuing ability of many families at least to take care of their food requirements. But the vast bulk of entries - well over half annually - was in categories only marginally related to agriculture: crafts in clay, grass and wood and handwork such as sewing and knitting. Women entered in the pigs and fowls and produce sections, but it was in handwork and cookery that they mainly competed: their accomplishments here were a sign that "progressiveness" was to be measured as much in knitted jumpers and homemade preserves as in the best team of oxen or the best set of farm implements.

The shows did not end on a high note. In 1932, the Native Affairs Department decided to discontinue the annual grant it had made. (76) Though small, its withdrawal could not easily be compensated and that meant less money for prizes, an extremely unpopular development. In 1934, Miss Walbridge resigned from the organising committee due to pressure of work and soon afterwards Henry Ngwenya resigned from the school to become a full-time official of the Durban and District Football Association. For the first time in 1934, the Durban agricultural show opened an African section; although Inanda organised an exhibit, this detracted attention from the local show. The following year, 1935, was overshadowed by severe drought and food shortages, and the show, held in the village church, was very small.

As already noted, the activity and ethos generated by the show led to the formation of the Welfare Society, whose aim was "to do all in its power to improve the conditions of its membership educationally, industrially, economically, socially, religiously, and commercially". (77) In practice, this meant pushing the tenure issue again, more pressing now as greater numbers of people were coming into the reserve from private farms and claiming the land of older residents, and "old recognised rights are of no value". (78) It was this group who would benefit in some way from the 1936 Land Act and the protection it afforded them in the Released Areas.

Notes

(1) Letter 30/6/25, in Walbridge, C.K. (Ed.) Thokozile (Mainline Printing, Kansas, 1978).

(2) Ilanga lase Natal, 10/7/25.

(3) Poster, file 49/8, box 62, Chief Native Commissioner Papers, (CNCP) Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg.

(4) Letter from Walbridge to CNC, 16/9/25, file 49/8, box 62, CNCP.

(5) Natal Mercury, 1/7/26.

(6) Typescript of speech, file 49/8, box 62, CNCP.

(7) Letter from Walbridge to CNC, 5/7/26, file 49/8, box 62, CNCP.

(8) Natal Mercury, 1/7/26.

(9) ibid.

(10) Weekend Advertiser, 2/7/27.

(11) Ilanga lase Natal, 1/7/27. Shula Marks has pointed to the "typically didactic and double-edged" nature of Dube's speeches: see her The ambiguities of dependence in South Africa (Ravan, Johannesburg, 1986), p.44.

(12) Natal Mercury, 11/7/30.

(13) Walbridge letter 27/6/32, in Walbridge, C.K. (Ed.) op.cit.

(14) Ilanga lase Natal, 24/9/26.

(15) Letter from Walbridge to CNC, 1/4/25, file 49/8, box 62, CNCP.

(16) Report of the Department of Native Affairs 1935-1936. (U.G. 41-37), p.49. It is interesting to compare these figures with those for the rest of the country: for the three years under review, two, four and three shows respectively were held in the Transvaal and Bechuanaland; and four, four and six shows respectively in the Ciskei.

(17) Letter from Naphtali Nxumalo, Nqutu, to CNC, 21/6/30, file 49/6, box 62, CNCP.

(18) Pentz, J. A. Agro-ecological survey of Natal (Dept. of Agriculture and Forestry, Bulletin No. 250, 1945).

(19) S.O.Samuelson, Evidence given before the Lands Commission, 1900-1902, p.11.

(20) Smith, E.W. The life and times of Daniel Lindley (Epworth Press, London, 1949), p.314.

(21) Mary Edwards, Evidence given Before the Lands Commission, 1900-1902, p.236.

(22) Report of the Native Mission Reserve, 1886 (Colony of Natal Government Notice No. 488).

(23) Evidence taken in the Colony of Natal, South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-1905, p.418.

(24) CNC, 16/6/35, file 57/88, box 87, CNCP.

(25) See Marks, S. op.cit., esp. ch.2.

(26) Cited in Smith, E.W. op.cit., p.381.

(27) Chief Mqawe, Minutes of Evidence, Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1881, p.225.

(28) Etherington, N. Preachers, peasants and politics in southeast Africa, 1835-1880 (Royal African Society, London, 1978), p.20. Etherington's work and Colin Bundy's The rise and fall of the South African peasantry (Heinemann, London, 1979), ch.6, are the most detailed studies of the the kolwa in Natal.

(29) Compiled from information in Secretary for Native Affairs Papers (SNAP), Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg, mainly 1/1/114 and 1/1/152.

(30) Medick, H. "The transition from feudalism to capitalism:renewal of the debate" in Samuel, R. (Ed.) People's History and Socialist Theory (London, RKP).

(31) Evidence given before the Lands Commission, 1900-1902, p.471.

(32) SNA 1/1/318, file 871 of 1905.

(33) Report of Native Location Survey (U.G. 42-22).

(34) P.J. Gumede, Evidence before Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1906-1907, p.899.

(35) G.H. Hulett, Evidence given before the Lands Commission, 1900-1902, p. 225; J.L.Hulett, Evidence taken in the Colony of Natal, South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-1905, p.153.

(36) P.J. Gumede, Evidence...,1906-1907, p.899.

(37) Klaas Goba, Evidence given before the Lands

Commission, 1900-1902, p. 239.

(38) Evidence to Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1906-1907, p. 831.

(39) E. Fitzgerald, Minutes of Evidence of Natal Natives Lands Committee (U.G. 35-18), p.125.

(40) Report of Native Affairs Department, 1919-1921 (U.G. 34-22),p.17.

(41) From an essay written by an Inanda Seminary student, 1984, book 86, Inanda Seminary Papers, Killie Campbell Library, Durban.

(42) In Smith, E.W., op.cit., p.378

(43) Report of Inanda magistrate, Blue Book for Native Affairs, 1894.

(44) James Matiwane, Evidence to Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1881, p. 145-6.

(45) ibid.

(46) Greyling, J.J. Problems of Indian landownership and land occupation on the Natal North Coast (PhD, University of Natal, 1969), vol 1. p. 23.

(47) G.H. Hulett, Evidence to Lands Commission, 1900-1902, p. 226.

(48) Evidence to Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1906-1907, p. 961.

(49) Greyling, J.J. op.cit., p.31.

(50) Rajah, D.S. Agrarian patterns amongst Indians in the Inanda magisterial district (M.A., University of Natal, 1966), p.44.

(51) This can be seen therefore, as a direct attack on the Indian producers there.

(52) The Inanda Syndicate consisted of estates of absentee landlords; see file 22/64, box 2, CNCP.

(53) J. Allison, Minutes of Evidence of Natal Natives L. and Committee, (U.G. 35-18), p.292.

(54) Interview: A. Ngcobo by A. Manson and D. Colling, Ohlange, 8/3/79. Killie Campbell Audio Visual Collection, KCAV 116.

(55) See for example editorial, 21/1/27.

(56) File 22/525, box 32, CNCP.

(57) Information compiled from my own 'Who's who of Inanda'.

(58) J. Allison, Minutes of Evidence of Natal Natives Land Committee (U.G. 35-18), p.292.

(59) Skota, T.D. M. The African Yearly Keyister (Esson, Johannesburg, 1932), p.136.

(60) Percy Brook to CNC, 22/7/37, file 22/549, box 10, CNCP.

(61) File 64/31, box 94, CNCP.

(62) Interview with Emmeline Gumede (a daughter of Posselt Gumede), 14/9/87, Inanda.

(63) Skota, T.D.M. op.cit., p.138.

(64) File 36/7, box 40, CNCP.

(65) Compiled from information in file 49/8, box 62, CNCP.

(66) Letter, CNC to Jessop, 24/5/27, file 36/7, box 40, CNCP.

(67) Hunt Davis Jr, R. "Charles T Loram and the American model for African education in South Africa" in Kallaway, P. (ed.) Apartheid and Education (Johannesburg, Ravan, 1984), p.113.

(68) Walbridge, letter 1/2/25, in Walbridge,C.K. (Ed.) op.cit.

(69) Hunt Davis Jr, R. op.cit., p. 115.

(70) Woods, A. Shine where you are: a history of Inanda Seminary 1869-1969 (Lovedale, 1971), p.88-89.

(71) Letter, Carter to Msimang, 3/6/29, file 49/8, box 62, CNCP.

(72) Ilanga lase Natal, 29/6/28.

(73) Ilanga lase Natal, 26/8/28.

(74) Meeting with CNC, Pietermaritzburg, 19/9/33, file 58/19, box 86, CNCP.

(75) Book 73, Inanda Seminary Papers.

(76) Circular from CNC, 2/6/33, file 49/8, box 62, CNCP.

(77) From Constitution and Rules, file 64/25, box 94, CNCP.

(78) P.J. Gumede, meeting with Native Commissioner, Ndwedwe, 24/7/37, file 64/25, box 94, CNCP.