

"THE NATIVES APPEAR CONTENTED AND QUIET."

THE NQUTU DISTRICT OF ZULULAND UNDER BRITISH RULE, 1883-1897

by

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In July and August 1895 the governor of Natal and Zululand, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, went with his wife on a tour of the colony of Zululand. As on the occasion of a former tour in 1893, and as was the practice of successive Zululand Resident Commissioners and Governors since 1889, his official report included the observation: "The natives appear contented and quiet ... [they] appear to be in good case and satisfied with their lot." (1) Throughout the 1890s phrases of this nature were intertwined with reports on the ravages of locusts, famine, smallpox, and in 1897 rinderpest. But for British civil servants there was no paradox in these reports. As I intend to show, a system of government was laid down in the early years of British administration in Zululand and the natural disasters in the later years resulted in the extension of this system. The disasters increased the power of the colonial governors over their subjects. According to the outlook of the imperial administrators, men dependent on them were "contented and quiet".

But Britain could not foresee when she first exercised a form of direct rule over southern Zululand (then called the Zulu Native Reserve) in 1883, and when she annexed the whole of Zululand in 1887, that she would be able to use epidemics and famine to maintain herself in power. In the 1880s British power in Zululand was limited. This was because it was a period of war and upheaval, and British power was exercised mainly by its troops. But once Dinuzulu had been defeated, tried and exiled in 1889, British objectives in Zululand became more diverse and the government of the colony was structured accordingly. The natural disasters of the 1890s reinforced this structure.

The Nqutu district of Zululand is the south-western area which borders on Natal. It was incorporated into the Zulu Native Reserve in 1883, and a study of its history provides a microcosm of British rule in Zululand until 1897.

It is generally considered that Britain left southern Zululand as a reserve outside the power of Cetshwayo to conciliate the vested interests of John Dunn and Hlubi, two of the thirteen appointed chieftains who may not have wished to be ruled by Cetshwayo when he returned to power in 1883. (2) Guy paints a more complicated picture, showing the divergent points of view of Kimberley in the Colonial Office in London, who wanted to take from Cetshwayo and place under British rule a small area for the chiefs who were not prepared to accept Cetshwayo's authority, and Bulwer, the special commissioner for Zululand and governor of Natal, who wanted to reserve a much larger area and have territory, if not annexed to Natal, at least made a British protectorate. In Bulwer's view, Natal might then feel that her border was secure and an area created

in which Zulu in Natal could settle rather than live on the Crown lands of Natal, obstructing the development of these lands by white farmers. (3) Kimberley's view prevailed but Bulwer was able to secure the kind of government he desired in the Reserve. This puzzles Guy. (4) Guy is also surprised by the fact that Bulwer's Natal advisers, who "... with all their prejudices, were men of immense experience", could be party to an unworkable policy in Zululand that required men attached to their land to leave it if they wished to live under a different political authority. (5)

I believe that in all these interpretations Britain's gloss on her motives for the creation of the Reserve has not been sufficiently examined. If Britain wished only to set aside land for those people who did not desire to be ruled by Cetshwayo, why did she not create one large reserve in the north under Sibebu, or two small reserves virtually anywhere in Zululand? The same reasons that had prompted Wolseley to give Hlubi and John Dunn, Britain's creatures, the two southern chiefdoms in 1879 (6) motivated Kimberley and Bulwer in 1883. It was necessary to secure the border with Natal and for Britain to have a military foothold in Zululand. There was never any disagreement between Bulwer and Kimberley on the need for the establishment of a Reserve in the south, only on its size. (7)

Nor was there any disagreement between them on the prime function of the Reserve. Kimberley wrote to Bulwer: "On the administration of the reserved territory - Her Majesty's Government entirely agree in your proposals that 'the necessary means for the maintenance of good order and for the defence of the protected territory shall be furnished by the several chiefs and headmen living in the protected territory in such manner as may be provided by concert and agreement between the Resident Commissioner and the several chiefs and headmen', and that 'the Resident Commissioner shall have the power to call out all native male adults living in the protected territory for military service in defence of the protected territory or for the maintenance of public order'." (8) The major disagreement between Whitehall and Pietermaritzburg concerned the form the British military presence should take. Kimberley's despatch to Bulwer continued: "It would give rise to misapprehension and weaken the sense of the responsibility of the inhabitants [of the Reserve] for their own protection to use the term 'protected territory', which would imply that the inhabitants are to depend for defence not on themselves but on the British power." (9) Bulwer acceded to this and proposed that a small European force of 25 mounted policemen under an officer be attached to the Resident Commissioner's headquarters. (10)

The extent to which the Reserve was to be mainly a British military foothold can be gauged by the sketchy provisions made for its administration. Kimberley, in defending this, sheltered behind his posture of magnanimity with regard to Cetshwayo. He wrote to Bulwer: "So much must depend on the numbers and character of the chiefs and people who may elect to remain under Cetshwayo's rule, that it seems to Her Majesty's Government it would be premature at once to settle the details of the administration of this reserve." (11) As if he were aware how weak this must sound, he continued: "The most urgent question of detail appears to be the bodyguard of European police." (12) Given this outlook in Whitehall, Guy's surprise at Bulwer securing his type of government in the Reserve is unwarranted.

What is significant about the outlines for the administration of the Reserve that were spelled out by Bulwer in 1883 and endorsed by the Colonial Office is their conciliatory attitude to the chiefs and the people. John Shepstone was informed that it was his "long experience as a public officer in official relations with the native populations ... thorough knowledge of the people, and ... tact and judgement" which had secured him the job of resident commissioner. (13) With regard to Hlubi, John Dunn and other appointed chiefs, he was informed that: "It will be your care to consider how far [their] interests can be met, and it will be for you to assign them locations that will be fully sufficient to their wants and for those of their followers." (14) Britain did not disguise the fact that she would rule, but she was ensuring the velvet on the glove was soft.

As with land allocation, so with taxation. There was no question but that it would be imposed, although Shepstone was informed that "Her Majesty's government have

authorised it to be 14/-, if there is no reason to apprehend any resistance to it. You will be the best judge of this point and also whether under the circumstances of the territory it will be advisable to fix the hut tax at that rate or at a lesser rate." (15) On tax collection Shepstone was instructed "... where there is an ascertained inability on the part of anyone to pay ... the case should be dealt with in a liberal spirit by the Resident Commissioner, either by the remission of the tax or of a part of it, or by giving ample time for payment". (16) Britain's lenient attitude to the government of the Reserve in maintaining the authority of existing chiefs, securing them land, not strictly enforcing taxation, contributes to the view that the Reserve was created to fulfil one of Britain's strategic aims: it was to be a loyal military buffer between the unpredictable Usutu under Cetshwayo and the strident Natal settlers. Bulwer's Natal advisers were party to an unworkable solution, as the civil war that followed the 1883 settlement illustrated, but their conviction of the necessity that the border regions be purged of men who did not recognize British supremacy overrode their "immense experience".

In the period 1883-1887 Britain's outlook on the Nqutu district was a strategic and military one. With this foothold in Zululand she could exercise her paramount power over the rest of the country. To maintain herself in power in Nqutu and fulfil her strategic aims, it was necessary only to raise enough tax to pay the £1,000 a year which financed the establishment of the Resident Commissioner (17) and ensure there was no alteration in her relation with Hlubi and his Basotho. It was necessary that these men be called out at short notice and be prepared to serve against the Zulu in any engagement. In 1882 it seemed that the change of status that was required of Hlubi might shatter his old loyalty to Britain. He did not come to the meeting Shepstone called at Inhlazatshe to inform chiefs and headmen of the new territorial arrangements in Zululand. He met Shepstone a week later, and at first objected when informed he would retain jurisdiction over his immediate following only. Finally though, according to Yamela, the Resident Commissioner's induna, he said: "What can I say, I must accept the orders of the government." (18) At this stage Hlubi was almost entirely dependent on the British government for whatever land he used in Zululand. His chieftdom comprised one of the areas of strong support for the Zulu crown. Both Mehlokazulu and the Qulusi drew large numbers of followers for the Usutu cause from the Nqutu district. Hlubi, with his hundred Basotho families (19), relied just as much on the British crown as it did upon Hlubi's mounted men, and it was this relationship that was exploited in 1883.

But Hlubi was also mollified. Unlike John Dunn, who had his land divided into locations and his authority severely circumscribed, Hlubi was allowed to continue as though little had changed since 1879 save the coming of white administrators. He seems to have retained the power of land allocation (20) and some judicial powers, appointing his own headmen over the people of Nqutu (21). Britain made no attempt to interfere with this exercise of authority for twelve years.

Hlubi repaid her amply. His men served in the engagements of 1884 and 1888. They were used to "maintain order" against the Usutu, and fought together with the imperial troops. Nqutu was much used as a military base in these years. Troops were moved into the area in October 1883 because of disturbances (22), and again in September 1884. (23) A detachment of imperial troops remained at Rorke's Drift until February 1886. Then the military authorities suggested they should be withdrawn (24), but Osborn, the Resident Commissioner, and Havelock, the governor of Natal and Special Commissioner for Zululand, considered that in view of the threatening presence of the Boers in Zululand the force should be maintained. (25) In March 1886 it was, in fact, increased. (26) It was only in 1892 that any reduction of imperial troops in Zululand was considered. (27)

In 1887 Britain annexed Zululand. This was rather a startling volte-face as her policy in the area had, since its conquest, been to maintain her supremacy informally. Wolseley had remarked on his settlement in 1879 that it was based on expediency, because "... any statesman unbiased by the colonial avarice for more land must feel how important it is to refrain from adding to the already serious and heavy responsibilities of empire in South Africa". (28) Kimberley had rebuked Bulwer, who desired an annexation of Zululand in 1883: "It would have been most unwise to add the



whole of Zululand to the long list of native territories brought during recent years under British rule, the government of some of which has become a source of serious weakness and embarrassment." (29) But in 1886 British supremacy in Zululand was challenged by the Boers of the New Republic, who, having assisted Dinuzulu in his defeat of Sibebu, claimed virtually the whole country in recognition of their services. Bulwer, who had returned to Britain in 1886 and was advising the Colonial Office personally, found much sympathy in Whitehall for his advocacy of annexation. The Colonial Office became very concerned with the interests of missionaries and traders, the right of Britain to exercise her paramountcy in Zululand, and Natal's loss of Zulu labour to the Boers. (30) Prominence was given to petitions by the Natal legislature, the Durban Chamber of Commerce, and a group of Natal colonists who urged the opening of a road through Zululand to the Transvaal gold-fields. (31) Britain's annexation of Zululand was based primarily on the need to curtail Boer expansion and prevent the Zulus alienating their land, and pledging their labour and taxes to the agricultural economy of the South African Republic. A secondary motive was the need to end the strife between Dinuzulu and Sibebu. Although this could probably just as well have been done from the old military base in the Reserve, an annexation in the name of "... the Zulu people at large beyond the Reserved Territory, whose interests have been destroyed by the leaders of a section of the people and whose welfare cannot be otherwise than the object of solicitude to us" (32), was well in accord with imperialist rhetoric.

The annexation of Zululand meant that Britain's interests in Nqutu were no longer purely military, although the area remained a key to the defence of the colony until 1889 and military concerns were uppermost in its government. Until 1889 the magistrate for the area was Major A. C. McKean, who served with the 6th Inniskilling dragoons stationed at Rorke's Drift. When he offered his resignation the Colonial Office went to considerable pains to secure the consent of the War Office to appoint another military man, Captain Pennefather, to the post. (33) There was a protracted correspondence on the point, and in the meantime Dinuzulu was defeated, captured and put on trial. The next magistrate of Nqutu was a civilian, but with a reputation for cruelty and notorious throughout Zululand as an opponent of the Usutu. (34) His appointment indicated the need that order be maintained in the district through fear. The military importance of the area was underlined by the continuing good relations with Hlubi and his men. The Sotho men were singled out for reward after the battle of Hlopekulu in 1888, with 300 head of captured cattle (35), and in 1889 a disputed claim by six Basotho for pay owing to them from service in the First Anglo-Boer War of 1881 was settled in favour of the Basotho, because, according to Havelock: "These Basutos in common with many others of their tribe have done loyal service and may in future be of use." (36) But the logic of annexation meant it was necessary to rule more firmly than the old loose arrangement with Hlubi and the presence of the troops had allowed. (37)

In the years before the natural disasters British political power in Nqutu was focussed on the magistrate and wielded through the courts, and through the influence over the chiefs assured to the magistrate by his power of land allocation and control of the movement of people. The Resident Magistrate had jurisdiction in all civil cases involving blacks and whites, and blacks of different tribes, and in most criminal cases. The chiefs had jurisdiction according to native law in all civil cases involving men of their tribe only, and in criminal cases involving men of their tribe except cases of rape, murder, culpable homicide, witchcraft, assaults arising out of faction fights, and thefts from other tribes. (38) An analysis of the statistics in regard to crime in Zululand illustrates that the vast majority of crimes reported and persons convicted involved offences against persons, and offences classed as "other", that is neither offences against persons, property, the Masters and Servants Act or cattle stealing. I conclude these "other" offences were against official edicts on movement, grazing rights, possession of arms and ammunition or liquor. (39) The vast majority of crimes against persons fell under the jurisdiction of the Resident Magistrate. His power was further reinforced by the creation of a whole new set of "other" offences which only Resident Magistrates could try.

The right of allotting land was vested in Britain's Zululand government. Sale or transfer of land by blacks was considered contrary to "native law". (40) An anomalous situation developed in Nqutu. Hlubi preserved the powers of land allocation he had informally exercised since 1883. The only powers taken by the government were in terms of the mining rules and regulations of 1889, which enabled them to license

prospectors on the Nondweni goldfields. (41) In 1894, however, Sir Marshall Clarke, the Resident Commissioner, visited Nqutu and, together with Addison, allocated wards within the district, confining Hlubi and his people to a much smaller area than they had previously occupied and increasing the land of certain Natal chiefs who had settled in the area. The old alliance between Britain and the Basotho in Zululand was at an end. The removal of the threat of war in Zululand after the defeat of Dinuzulu had reduced Hlubi's usefulness. At the same time the Basotho had become less dependent on Britain for their position in Zululand. The men had begun to make a living from transport riding and trade. (42) Hlubi had amassed considerable sums of money and was involved in setting up trading stores on a fairly large scale. (43) Within Nqutu the Sotho people possessed large herds and were singled out for attack on that score by white settlers who coveted the land. (44) Men who so prospered as peasants had little need to sell their labour in Natal or on the gold-fields of the Transvaal, or even within Zululand. That this was one of Britain's ends in pressing for the demarcation of wards in Nqutu is shown in an exchange at the end of Hlubi's interview with the governor, to whom he had appealed against the decision of the Resident Commissioner. Hlubi pointed out that his men who had had their land awarded to other chiefs would not be able to live and would have to leave the country. The governor replied that he would be ready to give passes to any Basotho who were in such a position. (45)

But at the same time Hlubi's land was being circumscribed his judicial powers were increased. In the Nqutu district Hlubi, Mehlokazulu as the hereditary chief of the Ngobese tribe, and Mpiyakhe as the hereditary chief of the Mdlalose tribe were given special judicial functions to try certain cases referred to them by the Resident Magistrates in terms of a proclamation of June 1894. (46) This was the result of a recommendation by Sir Marshall Clarke that the Zulu people be encouraged to look to certain chiefs first and through them to the Resident Magistrate. (47) In increasing the judicial power of certain chiefs, the Zululand government was seeking, through a mixed system of direct and indirect rule, to exert greater authority over the people.

The Resident Magistrate had considerable power because it was he who issued the passes that allowed people to move from one district to another, and from Zululand into the South African Republic and Natal. All strangers arriving in the district had to be reported to him. (48) As movement out of Nqutu was essential to sell labour and produce, this function of the Resident Magistrate touched many thousands of lives.

Britain maintained herself politically in the Nqutu district through the powers vested in the Resident Magistrate, and certain measured powers assigned to selected chiefs. All white British civil servants were armed. (49) But the combined force of the magistracy and the chiefs was not enough in itself to secure the reproduction of imperial relations. British power in Zululand rested determinately on the economics of conquest.

The pivotal point of Britain's administration in Zululand was the levying of a hut tax. In contrast to the lenient attitude to the Reserve, the 14/- per annum tax levied in 1887 was designed to be paid on every hut erected by a family, on every wife of a man, whether a separate hut was erected for her or not, and on every hut occupied by an unmarried man. Tax was to be paid in coin and few exceptions to this were to be countenanced. (50) Tax collection was taken more seriously and more accurate enumerations of huts were made. (51)

The levying of the tax was closely related to the need to secure labour for Natal and the Transvaal gold-fields. As Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson wrote: "People are poor ... if it were not for the high wages they are able to earn at Johannesburg and elsewhere, they would have great difficulty in paying the hut tax." (52) Sir Marshall Clarke observed in his report on Zululand for 1894 that each year large numbers of people left Zululand to seek work in neighbouring states to acquire the means of paying their taxes. (53) These two references come in a year of some agricultural hardship because of a summer drought and the first swarms of locusts. (54) But, from the time of annexation, observations were made on the amount of money in people's hands from labour outside Zululand and their consequent ability to pay tax. (55)



It was not only taxation that sent men to work on the railways and mines. All litigation involved the payment of fees of court in coin (56), and all fines, which were the commonest form of punishment for the large category of "other crimes" under which most people were prosecuted, had to be paid in money. (57) Moreover, it seems that the Nqutu district was unable to produce enough grain for its population. (58) While it is difficult to estimate how much of this shortfall was made up by exchange within Zululand, and within the ambit of its precapitalist economy, there was enough trade with whites in Nqutu to support 14 traders in the district in 1889, 26 in 1892 and 73 in 1895 (59), and their presence suggests a dependence on the larger South African economy for food and commodities in Nqutu which forced the people to sell labour in order to subsist. Conquest by Britain had probably led to a large increase of the population of the area, with an influx of considerable numbers of Sotho people and Natal Zulu (60) and a fundamental dislocation of the old redistributive economy, thus necessitating labour migration to earn the wages for food, fines and tax.

It was not only the Natal railways and the South African Republic goldmines that profited from the need of the inhabitants of Zululand to sell their labour. The Zululand government was itself a large employer of labour within Zululand. In the early years of the administration it embarked on a large programme of public works, spending in each successive year greater amounts on the construction of roads and buildings. (61) The rate of wages within Zululand on government buildings was 15/- a month with rations. (62) This did not compare with the higher wages of 30/- to 40/- a month that could be obtained on the Natal railways (63) or the rumoured £4 a month that could be earned on the South African Republic goldmines. (64) But, however high the wages were outside the country, it was estimated that a migratory worker brought back only £6 from a year's work (65), and it seems that work within Zululand was preferred, where possible. (66) The government's public works programme, the substantial support given to the goldmining industry in the Nqutu district (67), and the enthusiasm which greeted the other mineral discoveries in Zululand (68) suggest that the government hoped, where possible, to keep some labour in Zululand under more immediate control, although it was clearly aware of, and sympathetic to, the needs of the rest of the country. (69)

Political conquest forced the Zulu to participate in the colonial economy in two ways, first by selling their labour, which enabled them to pay the taxes and fines levied on them and to feed themselves following the disruption of the older agricultural system, and, secondly, by putting pressure on them to use money. These two consequences of political subjugation are linked. It was the relative ease with which Zulu men could move freely to sell their labour that contributed toward capitalist development elsewhere in South Africa, and it was the need these men had for money, the capitalist medium of exchange and wealth accumulation, that forced them on to the labour market. It was largely for strategic reasons that Britain annexed Zululand, but, once the country was under direct rule, political power was exercised not only to maintain the colonial administration but also to supply the needs of capital.

But British power, although not without impact, was far from extensive, and hardly hegemonic. The very small civil establishment at Nqutu (70) could not hope to make an adequate estimate of the number of huts and people in the district, and the enthusiasm with which each year the Resident Commissioner remarked on the increasing ease with which the hut tax was collected casts some doubt on the effectiveness of the tax collection in the preceding year. (71) Although the revenue from fines and fees of court was large, and rose steadily each year (72), the number of crimes reported in Zululand each year, which may be taken as an indication of the number of people having to pay fines or fees of court, while admittedly omitting civil litigation, still relates to only a fraction of the population. (73) People moved around the country without passes. (74) While many people did have to sell their labour, there were still large herds in the Nqutu district in the period up to 1896 (75), and even if the district was not able to feed itself the amount of grain produced indicates there was a sizeable portion of the population for whom agricultural production remained a viable way of life. (76) If the pressures to sell labour and earn money were strong, they were not overwhelming. The powers of the Resident Magistrate and chiefs, although considerable on paper, in practice seem to have been more circumscribed. In Nqutu the people considered it was their right to settle on land without reference to

chiefs or magistrate. (77) Although the apparatus of imperial power was well constructed, the population of Zululand, and especially that of Nqutu, was not in quite the state of social disintegration that would have made a good foundation for that power.

But a number of natural disasters were to increase the need for cash, decrease the productivity of the land, swell the numbers of men seeking wage labour, and widen the powers of government. The first disaster was a direct consequence of labour migration. Men returning from the Witwatersrand brought smallpox, which in 1894 caused a reported 41 deaths in Nqutu; 1,149 people were ill. (78) In the same year large swarms of locusts caused damage to crops throughout Zululand. (79) They were to return the following year. (80) The grain crop in 1894 was a comparative failure, and grain had to be imported from Basutoland, Natal and the South African Republic. (81) In 1895 drought and locusts destroyed the crops. Throughout 1896 there was widespread famine in Zululand. (82) Although the Nqutu district was not one of the worst affected there was still considerable shortage in the area. (83) In August 1897 rinderpest made its first appearance in Zululand, in the Nqutu district. (84) By the end of 1897 the rough estimates of cattle deaths made by the government officers calculated there had been 4,342 cattle deaths in Nqutu out of a total of 9,539 for the whole of Zululand (85), although it was acknowledged that this probably represented only a small fraction of the real number of deaths. (86)

To all these disasters the Government response was standard. It embarked on a programme of state relief, to receive which cash payments had to be made. More government officers were appointed and the powers of chiefs were increased. It was not only the disasters themselves that forced men into the cash economy to survive in the long term because their basis of subsistence had been eroded; it was the relief offered that made the need for money more pressing to survive in the short term.

When smallpox first broke out on a large scale in 1894 people were called up for vaccination and required to pay 6d a head to the vaccinating officer. (87) But it soon became apparent that this charge was more of a deterrent, and that because of it people were reluctant to be vaccinated. In October 1894 Sir Marshall Clarke waived the charge (88), but government officers continued to be paid out of the Zululand revenue. Chiefs were put in charge of appointing "native guards" to isolate kraals under quarantine. (89)

The swarms of locusts that descended on Zululand at the end of 1894 were left largely unremarked except in so far as they caused a shortage of grain, which had to be imported. But in 1895 the locust swarms attacked Natal crops as well, and it was in response to representations made by the Natal government in September 1895 that measures were taken to attempt to destroy the locust swarms which hatched in Zululand. (90) Government agents were employed to explain to the inhabitants of Zululand the harm caused by locusts. Chiefs were empowered to call out the men living under them to smoke out locust swarms and collect the insects into sacks. The chief of every tribe was paid 3d for every muid of locusts collected, and given cattle to kill for his men as a swarm was destroyed. (91) This response was typical. Authority of the chiefs receiving government orders was enhanced, and integration into the cash economy carried a step further.

The same pattern may be seen in the government solution to the famine that followed the locust attacks on the young crops and the drought at the end of 1895. Sir Marshall Clarke bought 1,090 muids of quick-growing mealies at the end of 1895 which were to be given "on payment to families immediately requiring relief". (92) By the end of 1896 £16,876 had been spent by the government on mealies and the transportation of them from Natal into Zululand. (93) Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson endorsed the measures taken by his Resident Commissioner, remarking: "It is better to err on the side of unnecessary expenditure than to run the risk of exposing the people to starvation." (94) While one may not doubt the philanthropy behind these efforts for famine relief, it is important to note that once again the power of government agents was increased. Government stocks of mealies were distributed through the resident magistrates. (95) Again pressures were placed on people to participate more fully in the cash economy. While payment in cattle was accepted for government mealies,

the majority of people made payments in cash. In 1896 the government sold mealies worth £13,838. Cattle to the value of £3,120 were received in lieu of cash, but most payments were in coin, representing a total taking of £9,197. (96) Philanthropy took on a different tone when the question of an increase in the number of men leaving Zululand to work in Johannesburg and elsewhere was raised. Hely-Hutchinson remarked that it would "... not be wise to give away food as yet, except under exceptional circumstances, as free distribution of food would tend to deprive the people of all energy and self-reliance". (97) There was an increase of people leaving Zululand to seek work. Government revenue from the issue of passes increased by £677 in 1896 (98), and it must be remembered that this represents only the official view of labour migration. Many men left Zululand without passes.

The rinderpest outbreak came in the last months of British administration in Nqutu. But, again, the pattern of response was the same. In April 1896, when the disease was spreading rapidly south from Rhodesia and Bechuanaland (99), the governor issued a proclamation giving resident magistrates wide powers to define areas of quarantine and prohibit the movement of livestock. (100) In August 1896 there was an increase in the Zululand police force patrolling the border of the Nqutu and Ndwandwe districts with the South African Republic, to prevent cattle crossing or the importation of hides, bones or horns, and "Native border guards" were appointed. (101) This force was empowered to search people crossing the border. (102) In September 1897, when the disease had spread into Nqutu anyway, the border force was reduced, but many of the men were taken to guard infected localities. (103) The government undertook a large inoculation programme, for which it employed white supervisors and black assistants. (104) It relied on the chiefs' example in having their herds inoculated (105), as many of the people considered it was inoculation that caused the disease. (106) Through the epidemic the powers of government officers grew, and the people's suspicions of them increased. While it may be argued that the increased activity of government officers was necessary to combat a virulent disease, their laudable efforts to stamp it out must be taken together with the fear that existed in the Colonial Office and in Pietermaritzburg that the epidemic would lead to an outbreak of violence amongst the people of Zululand. H. W. Just in the Colonial Office minuted the despatch on the outbreak of rinderpest in Nqutu: "This is most unfortunate and it is impossible to foresee what the result may be. Hitherto the natives have not given trouble." (107) Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson remarked: "Zulus who have lost cattle feel their losses deeply, but according to latest reports there is no sign of unrest or disturbance amongst them." (108) The increased presence of government agents must have quietened this fear at the same time as it was used to combat disease.

Charges were made for the inoculation of beasts. Whites were charged 2/6 for the inoculation of each beast. Blacks were charged one beast out of every herd of 50 inoculated. (109) At this time of crisis for pastoralists a charge levied on the herd was a greater attack on their livelihood than any cash payments. The smaller the herds the greater the incentive to participate in the cash economy to restock them. (110)

In three years four major crises overtook the people of the Nqutu district. The powers of the British government and their nominees grew, as did the pressures to enter the labour market and earn money. In 1895 there was a decrease in government expenditure on public works. (111) In 1896 government expenditure on all public works was stopped in order to use the money for famine relief. Only maintenance work was carried out. (112) By 1897 all work had stopped on the Nondweni goldfields, which had proved unprofitable to work. (113) At the time the need to sell labour increased the opportunities to do so in Zululand decreased. The Zululand government overcame its reservations about men working on the mines and not returning to their homes with the revenue. In 1896 a labour agency was opened in Johannesburg to remit wages to Zululand. (114)

The natural disasters went a long way to achieving the long-term objects of the men who had pressed for British power in Zululand. Sir Garnet Wolseley had written into the agreement he made in 1879 with the 13 appointed chieftains that they would "... allow and encourage all men within their territory to go and come freely for peaceful purposes and to work in Natal or the Transvaal or elsewhere for themselves or



for hire". (115) In December 1897 H. W. Just minuted a despatch: "Impossible now hope to preserve the natives in their sylvan simplicity. Rinderpest has robbed them of their wealth and if they want to marry and become well to do they must go and labour on the goldfields." (116) After the ravages of rinderpest it was no longer possible for colonial administrators to make remarks about contentment as they had after the more limited disasters of 1896. Then Marshall Clarke was of the opinion that the Zulus understood that the government had their welfare at heart. (117) No such view was tenable in 1897. Natal annexed a territory where colonial government, whose control had once been tenuous, was now firmly entrenched and able to maintain itself in power, and where the conditions for the continuation of capitalist relations of production were assured. The natives might no longer be contented, but that was the price of seeming quiet.

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#### Notes

- (1) CO 427/21, Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, Confidential, 9th August 1895. For reports in a similar vein, see CO 427/4, Havelock to Knutsford, 1st February 1889; CO 427/9, Despatch 89, Mitchell to Knutsford, 22 July 1890; CO 427/13, Encl. in Despatch 44, Resident Commissioner's report for April 1892; CO 427/17, Hely-Hutchinson to Ripon, Confidential, 29 November 1893.
- (2) See S. Marks, Reluctant Rebellion (London, 1970), p. 89; and D. R. Morris, The Washing of the Spears (London, 1968), p. 602.
- (3) J. J. Guy, "The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: the Civil War in Zululand, 1879-1884", University of London PhD thesis, 1975, chapter 6.
- (4) Ibid., p. 238.
- (5) Ibid., p. 244.
- (6) CO 879/16, p. 417, Encl. 2 in Despatch 151. Instructions for the Guidance of the Zululand Boundary Commission.
- (7) Guy, op. cit., p. 246, quotes a letter from Kimberley to Gladstone in 1882 summing up the divergent opinions: "Speaking generally I should say that our policy should be to reserve the minimum of territory from Cetwayo and I rather fear that Bulwer's policy is to reserve the maximum."
- (8) C3466, 1883, No. 114, Kimberley to Bulwer, 30th November 1882.
- (9) Ibid.
- (10) C3616, 1883, Encl. 1 in No. 11, Bulwer to J. Shepstone, 12th January 1883.
- (11) C3466, 1883, No. 114, Kimberley to Bulwer, 30th November 1882.
- (12) Ibid.
- (13) C3466, 1883, Encl. in No. 154, Bulwer to J. W. Shepstone, 22 December 1882.
- (14) Ibid.
- (15) C3616, 1883, Encl. in No. 13, Bulwer to J. W. Shepstone, 18 January 1883.
- (16) C3616, 1883, Encl. 2 in No. 30, Bulwer to J. W. Shepstone, 28 February 1883.
- (17) C3466, 1883, Encl. in No. 154, Bulwer to J. W. Shepstone, 22 December 1882.
- (18) CO 427/19, Telegram, Resident Commissioner to Governor, June 1894.
- (19) Hlubi informed the Boundary Commission in 1879 that he would bring about 100 families of his people from Natal and Basutoland into Nqutu. CO 879/17, No. 215A, Encl. b in Despatch 47 in Report of the Zulu Boundary Commission, 1879.
- (20) This became apparent at a meeting called by the Resident Commissioner in 1894 when various chiefs and headmen in the Nqutu district praised or criticized Hlubi for the amount of land he allotted them. CO 427/19, Proceedings at a meeting of

- a Commission composed of the Resident Commissioner for Zululand and Resident Magistrate Nqutu, with chiefs and headmen of Nqutu, 19th and 20th March 1894.
- (21) Ibid. See Hlubi's exchange with Mpiyake, pointing out that it was Hlubi who deposed Wokwana, the heir of the Mlalalose, and appointed Mpiyake to his position of hereditary chief and the plea by Dukuyake-Zulu representing Mtonga ka Mpande that they be under a headman of Hlubi.
  - (22) CO 879/23, No. 307, "General View of Zulu Affairs 1879-1885" by E. Fairfield, January 1886.
  - (23) CO 879/22, No. 290, "Recent Occurrences in Zululand" by J. Anderson, October 1884.
  - (24) CO 879/25, No. 329, Encl. in Despatch No. 63, Curtis to Havelock, 27 February 1886.
  - (25) CO 879/25, No. 329, Encl. 3 in Despatch No. 63, Osborn to Havelock 8/3/1886; and Encl. 8 in Despatch No. 63, Havelock to the Commandant, 12 March 1883.
  - (26) Ibid.
  - (27) CO 427/13, Mitchell to Knutsford, Confidential, 8 February 1892. The Governor was against the reduction of troops. Rorke's Drift was abandoned as a military post in 1894. CO 427/19, Encl. in Despatch No. 71, Resident Commissioner to Governor, 11 July 1894.
  - (28) Quoted in Memorandum by A. Pearson, "The Settlement of Zululand", in CO 879/17, No. 218.
  - (29) C3466, 1883, No. 114, Kimberley to Bulwer, 30 November 1882.
  - (30) C4913, No. 16, Granville to Havelock, 11 March 1886.
  - (31) C3645, 1886, Encl. in No. 8, Address to Governor H. Bulwer by the Natal Legislative Assembly, 15 July 1885. Encl. in No. 9, Secretary of the Durban Chamber of Commerce to the Colonial Secretary, 26 June 1885; No. 54, Bulwer to Secretary of State, 15 January 1886.
  - (32) C4913, 1887, No. 1, Memo on the situation in the Zulu country beyond the Reserve by H. Bulwer, 6 January 1886.
  - (33) CO 427/2, Encl. in Despatch No. 136, Havelock to Smyth, 18 September 1888.
  - (34) This was R. H. Addison, formerly Magistrate at Ndwandwe. Allegations were made that he had flogged men and tortured them to extort evidence. See CO 427/5, Encl. in Despatch 79, Report of Proceedings at a meeting of Usutu chiefs and headmen, 22 April 1889, and CO 427/7, Question asked in Commons, 20 June 1889. Also S. Marks, op. cit., p. 147 n., quotes Addison's enthusiasm for the days in Zululand when one could see "six men hanged before breakfast in the sight of a lot of natives".
  - (35) CO 427/4, Encl. in Despatch 71, Osborn to Havelock, 11 April 1889.
  - (36) CO 427/4, Havelock to Knutsford, 3 February 1889.
  - (37) The wider powers of the magistrates compared to those of the troops were summed up by the Governor in 1888: "Resident Magistrates should increasingly strive to carry out, within their districts, their ordinary judicial and administrative functions. A steady exercise by them, on every possible occasion, of the ordinary authority of Government, notwithstanding and in the face of present difficulties, will have a healthy effect on their minds and actions of the community generally." CO 427/2, Encl. in Despatch No. 89, Governor to Resident Commissioner, 19 July 1888.
  - (38) CO 322, Zululand Proclamation No. II of 1887, Laws and Regulations for the Government of Zululand.
  - (39) See Tables I and II.
  - (40) CO 322, Zululand Proclamation No. II of 1887, Laws and Regulations for the Government of Zululand.
  - (41) See CO 472/1, Proclamation No. II of 1889.
  - (42) CO 427/14, Encl. in Despatch No. 113, Report of the Resident Commissioner for November 1892.
  - (43) CO 427/19, Hely-Hutchinson to Secretary of State, Confidential, 28 June 1894.

- (44) CO 427/11, Encl. in Despatch No. 59, Petition of P. H. van Rooyen, 1891. See also Table III for a comparison of stock numbers in Nqutu and other districts. Nkandhla is the district most similar in size and pasture conditions.
- (45) CO 427/19, Notes of interview granted by HE the Governor of Zululand to Chief Hlubi ka Molife, 12 June 1894.
- (46) CO 427/19, Encl. in Despatch No. 57, Clarke to Hely-Hutchinson, 17 April 1894.
- (47) CO 427/17, Hely-Hutchinson to Secretary of State, Confidential, 16 December 1893.
- (48) CO 322, Zululand Proclamation No. II of 1887, Laws and Regulations for the Government of Zululand, Cl.47.
- (49) CO 322, Zululand Proclamation No. II of 1887, Laws and Regulations for the Government of Zululand, Cl.67.
- (50) CO 322, Proclamation No. III of 1887. In June 1892 the Resident Commissioner reported that the whole of the hut tax was paid in cash. CO 427/14, Encl. in Despatch No. 63, Report of the Resident Commissioner for June 1892.
- (51) CO 427/3, Despatch No. 165, 10 November 1888.
- (52) CO 427/19, Hely-Hutchinson to Secretary of State, Confidential, 13 September 1894.
- (53) CO 427/20, Encl. in Despatch 29, Zululand Annual Report for 1894.
- (54) Ibid.
- (55) See, for example, CO 427/6, Despatch No. 178, Mitchell to Knutsford, 9 November 1889; CO 472/2, F. Cardew, "Zululand Annual Report for 1890"; CO 427/12, Charles Johnson to Cardew, n.d., c. August 1891.
- (56) CO 322, Proclamation No. V of 1889.
- (57) See Tables I & II, and Proclamation No. II of 1887, Laws and Regulations for the Government of Zululand, CO 322.
- (58) See Table IV for estimated amount of grain produced in Nqutu 1889-1890, and Table V for estimated population of Nqutu, 1889-90. According to an estimate made by the Resident Magistrate of Nkandla (CO 427/23, Encl. in Despatch No. 16, Supplementary Report of the Resident Magistrate, Nbandla, 24 February 1896), 4 sacks of grain were needed to feed each individual each year. If that figure is taken with the population figures in Table VI, in 1889 the Nqutu district would have had to produce 74,600 sacks of grain to feed its population. In 1893 it would have had to produce 84,262 sacks. In no year do the estimated figures for grain production in the area come remotely near the subsistence minimum.
- (59) CO 472/1, CO 472/4 and CO 472/7. The blue book series give yearly figures under the population return for whites involved in trade in each of the Zululand districts.
- (60) CO 427/11, Encl. in Confidential Despatch of 25 February 1891, Acting Resident Commissioner to Governor, 7th February 1891; and Encl. in Despatch No. 59, Petition of P. H. van Rooyen, 1891.
- (61) In 1888, £698 was spent on works and buildings. By 1891, £1,836 was being spent on public works of maintenance and £4,594 on new projects. In 1894 the respective sums were £3,323 and £6,430 (see CO 472 blue book series 1889-1896 for comparative statements of government expenditure).
- (62) CO 427/11, Encl. in Despatch No. 60, Report of the Acting Resident Commissioner, F. Cardew, May 1891.
- (63) CO 472/3, "Zululand Annual Report 1891", by M. Osborn.
- (64) CO 427/12, Charles Johnson to Cardew, n.d., c. March 1891.
- (65) CO 427/23, Encl. in Despatch No. 16, Acting Resident Magistrate Eshowe to Resident Commissioner, 31 January 1896.
- (66) In 1896 an agent for the Dundee Coal Co. travelled throughout Zululand trying to recruit 300 labourers for the Dundee Mine. The wages offered were £2 a month, with food and lodging. But only one man was recruited. CO 427/25, Despatch No. 106, Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 12 December 1896.
- (67) In 1889 the Government issued new mining rules and regulations intended to encourage the mining industry - CO 472/1, Proclamation No. II of 1889.



Encouraging reports on the state of the Nondweni fields were included in despatches - see, for example, CO 427/16, Encl. in Despatch No. 37, General Report by the Resident Commissioner, M. Osborn, March 1893, and CO 427/18, Despatch No. 36, Hely-Hutchinson to Secretary of State, 18th April 1894, in which it is also advised that a Deputy Commissioner of Mines be established in Zululand to aid the work of prospectors and newly formed mining companies.

- (68) See, for example, CO 427/16, Encl. in Despatch No. 17, General Report by Resident Commissioner for January 1893 on the discovery of coal at St Lucia Bay.
- (69) Charles Johnson wrote to Cardew, whom he considered sympathetic, on the degeneration of men who went to the goldmines to work and returned corrupted by money and alcohol (CO 427/12, Johnson to Cardew, n.d., c. August 1891). In reply to Johnson, Osborn put the opposite point of view, stating that money earned on the gold fields was invested in cattle, men married and became responsible members of the community, obeying the magistrate and paying hut tax cheerfully (CO 427/13, Encl. in Despatch 40, Minute by M. Osborn, 28 April 1892). Hely-Hutchinson observed poverty in Zululand and not a cheerful new outlook among young men. He saw it was linked to migratory labour and the need to pay hut tax, but could not perceive beyond the framework of imperial interests (CO 427/19, Hely-Hutchinson to Secretary of State, Confidential, 13 September 1894).
- (70) Resident Magistrate, clerk, European constable, gaoler, induna and 10 native constables (CO 427/16, Encl. in Despatch No. 14, 10 February 1893, Report by J. S. Haden).
- (71) CO 427/4, Havelock to Knutsford, 13 February 1889; CO 427/8, Despatch No. 78, Mitchell to Knutsford, 10 June 1890; CO 427/11, Encl. in Despatch No. 72, Report of Resident Commissioner for May 1891; CO 427/13, Encl. in Despatch No. 52, Report of Resident Commissioner for May 1892; CO 427/16, Encl. in Despatch No. 56, Report of Resident Commissioner for May 1893; CO 427/21, Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, Confidential, 9 August 1895.
- (72) £1,617 was collected in 1889 in fines and fees of court. In 1886, the revenue from these was £2,543 (see CO 472/1-8 for comparative statements of revenue 1889-1896).
- (73) See Table I.
- (74) CO 427/11, Encl. in Despatch No. 61, Report of Acting Resident Commissioner for April 1891.
- (75) See Table III.
- (76) See Table IV.
- (77) CO 427/19, Proceedings at a Meeting of a Commission, 19th and 20th March 1894. See statement of Nkukwana: "... wherever I tried to plough Hlubi placed a kraal without consulting me."
- (78) CO 427/20, Encl. in Despatch 29, Zululand Annual Report for 1894.
- (79) Ibid.
- (80) CO 427/23, Encl. in Despatch No. 5, Resident Commissioner to Governor, 9 January 1896.
- (81) CO 427/20, Encl. in Despatch 29, Zululand Annual Report for 1894.
- (82) CO 427/27, Encl. in Despatch No. 17, Annual Report for 1896.
- (83) CO 427/23, Encl. in Despatch 16, Addison to Clarke, 4 February 1896.
- (84) CO 427/28, Encl. 1 in Despatch No. 51, Acting Resident Commissioner to Governor, 27 August 1897.
- (85) CO 427/28, Hamilton-Balfe to Clarke, 29 September 1897.
- (86) Ibid.
- (87) CO 427/19, Encl. in Despatch No. 84, Clarke to Hely-Hutchinson, 8 October 1894.
- (88) Ibid.
- (89) CO 427/20, Encl. in Despatch No. 29, Zululand Annual Report for 1894.
- (90) CO 427/21, Despatch No. 85, Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 24 September 1895.
- (91) CO 427/21, Circular from Resident Commissioner to Resident Magistrates, 18 September 1895.

- (92) CO 427/22, Encl. in Despatch No. 106, Clarke to Hely-Hutchinson, 29/10/95; Encl. in Despatch No. 118, Clarke to Hely-Hutchinson, 7 November 1895.
- (93) CO 427/27, Encl. in Despatch No. 17, Annual Report for 1896.
- (94) CO 427/25, Encl. 2 in Despatch 71, Hely-Hutchinson to Clarke, 11 September 1896.
- (95) CO 427/23, Encl. in Despatch No. 5, Clarke to Hely-Hutchinson, 9 January 1896.
- (96) CO 427/27, Encl. in Despatch No. 17, Annual Report for 1896.
- (97) CO 427/24, Despatch No. 21, Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 3 April 1896.
- (98) CO 427/27, Encl. in Despatch No. 13, Zululand Treasurer's Report, 1896.
- (99) C. van Onselen, "Reactions to Rinderpest in Southern Africa, 1896-1897" in Journal of African History, 1972, Vol. XIII, p. 473.
- (100) CO 322, Proclamation No. VI of 1896.
- (101) CO 427/25, Encl. in Despatch 67, Clarke to Hely-Hutchinson, 29 August 1896.
- (102) CO 322, Proclamation No. VI of 1897.
- (103) CO 427/28, Encl. 1 in Despatch No. 51, Acting Resident Commissioner to Hely-Hutchinson, 27 August 1897.
- (104) CO 427/28, Clarke to Hely-Hutchinson, 2 September 1897.
- (105) Ibid.
- (106) CO 427/27, Despatch No. 49, Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 27 August 1897.
- (107) CO 427/27, Minute on telegram in code from Hely-Hutchinson, 4 August 1897.
- (108) CO 427/28, Despatch No. 59, Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 2 October 1897.
- (109) CO 427/28, Clarke to Hely-Hutchinson, 2 September 1897.
- (110) van Onselen, op. cit., p. 486.
- (111) CO 472/7. See comparative yearly statement of expenditure in 1894 and 1895.
- (112) CO 472/8, Comparative yearly statement of expenditure, 1895 and 1896.
- (113) CO 427/27, Encl. in Despatch No. 11, Addison to Clarke, 16 February 1897.
- (114) CO 427/27, Encl. in Despatch No. 17, Annual Report for 1896.
- (115) CO 879/16, No. 204, Encl. 1 in Despatch No. 136.
- (116) CO 427/28, Minute on Despatch Confidential of 16 October 1897.
- (117) CO 427/25, Despatch No. 102, Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 5 December 1896.

CO indicates the despatches of the Colonial Office in the Public Record Office, London.

C indicates printed parliamentary papers.

TABLE I  
ESTIMATED POPULATION OF NQUTU 1889 - 1896

Source: Blue books C0472/1-8

	Whites m	Whites f	Coloured m	Coloured f	Total m	Total f
1889	34	26	6216	12,434	6250	12,460
1890	62	18	7410	10,364		
1891	55	35	7489	1,101		
1892	83	28	8522	10,415		
1893	167	36	8422	12,644		
1894	153	65	8471	11,425		
1895	196	97	9218	12,433		
1896	106	65	9116	12,284		

TABLE II  
STATISTICS OF CRIMES REPORTED IN ZULULAND  
1889 - 1896, Source: Blue book series C0.472

	Offences against persons	Offences against property	Other	TOTAL	Cattle stealing
1889	226	79	480	785	
1890	263	66	701	1062	32
1891	151	43	473	689	22
1892	405	55	457	934	17
1893	181	46	702	954	25
1894	248	75	562	921	36
1895	327	107	644	1108	30
1896	232	114	547	916	23



	No. discharged for want of evidence					No. of cases dismissed					No. of cases sent to supreme court					No. of persons convicted					TOTAL CONVICTIONS
	Offs. agin pers.	Offs. agin prop.	Cattle stlg. rebln. &c	Offs. agin masts. serv.&c	Others	Offs. agin pers.	Offs. agin prop.	Cattle stlg. rebln. &c	Offs. agin masts. serv.&c	Others	Offs. agin pers.	Offs. agin prop.	Cattle stlg. rebln. &c	Offs. agin masts. serv.&c	Others	Offs. agin pers.	Offs. agin prop.	Cattle stlg. rebln. &c	Offs. agin masts. serv.&c	Others	
1889	5	14		8	14	18	23		4	48	4					214	58		49	517	838
1890	33	16	6	3	29	31	2	2	5	48	3		2			190	46	22	54	571	
1891	27	5	9	6	50	65	10	2	2	49	6					570	35	18	48	593	
1892	33	11	2	3	25	179	12	3	4	72	5					413	50	19	47	458	
1893	5			2	4	56	9	6	6	102	5					524	66	19	46	842	
1894						92	8	8	5	55						455	87	24	59	592	
1895	72	7	8	12	34	71	5	5	3	34	4					444	84	29	34	747	1266
1896	12	8	3		34	70	24	7	5	107	1					247	99	40	79	685	1150

TABLE III. STATISTICS OF TRIALS &amp; CONVICTIONS IN ZULULAND, 1889 - 1896

SOURCE C/ 472

	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	
NQUTU	Horses Cattle Sheep Goats	11,000 13,000 10,000 10,000	1,000 12,000 12,000 10,000	2,000 15,000 15,000 12,000	2,500 25,000 20,000 20,000	2,850 28,500 20,000 20,000	2,073 30,404 20,000 20,000	2,000 34,900 20,000 10,000
ESHOWE	Horses Cattle Sheep Goats	500 67,500 300 500	500 44,000 1,000 15,000	500 45,000 1,000 10,000		500 40,000 1,000 2,000	500 100,000 1,000 3,000	
ENTONJAN	Horses Cattle Sheep Goats	300 10,625 17,000 750	30 13,000 1,740 4,365	250 25,000 10,000 5,000		3,000 15,500 2,000 4,432	300 15,500 2,000 4,432	
L.UMFOLOSI	Horses Cattle Sheep Goats	13 10,000 500 500	nil 20,000 2,000 2,000	12 20,500 2,000 2,000		6 30,000 6,000 8,000	5 15,000 6,000 2,000	
NDWANDWE	Horses Cattle Sheep Goats	100 23,000 400 2,500	60 13,000 1,200 3,000	40 24,000 2,000 600		50 24,925 2,000 2,000	100 12,463 1,550 1,800	
NKANDHLA	Horses Cattle Sheep Goats	200 12,970 1,000 3,000	500 12,000 1,000 3,500	700 15,000 3,000 4,000		1,200 29,070 5,814 9,690	1,300 32,910 5,900 10,000	
UBOMBO	Horses Cattle Sheep Goats		nil 3,532 633 )			4 200 200 7,050	8 9,000 250 1,126	
HLABISA	Horses Cattle Sheep Goats					16 20,000 2,000 2,000	17 22,000 2,100 2,100	
INGWAVUMA	Horses Cattle Sheep Goats						30 15,000 1,000 5,000	

TABLE IV. STOCK ESTIMATES IN THE ZULULAND DISTRICTS

1889 - 1895

SOURCE C0472

	NQUTU	ESHOWE	ENTONJAN	L. UMFOLOSI	NDWANDWE	NKANDHLA	UBOMBO	HLABISA	INGWAVUMA
Ind.corn Kaf.corn Pumpkin Forage	Ind.corn Kaf.corn Pump. S.Pots. Beans Oats	Ind.corn Kaf.corn Oats Pump. Pots. S.Pots. Millet Beans	Ind.corn Kaf.corn Pump. Pots. S.Pots.	Ind.corn Kaf.corn Pump. Pots. Millet S.Pots Beans	Ind.corn Kaf.corn S.Pots. Pump. Beans Millet	Ind.corn Kaf.corn Pump. Beans S.Pots. Oats	Ind.corn Kaf.corn Pump. S.Pots. Millet Beans Tobacco Nuts	Ind.corn Kaf.corn Pump. S.Pots. Millet Beans	Ind.corn Kaf.corn Pump. S.Pots Millet Beans
1889	13,987 13,839 500	10,127 1,687	5,324 10,650 25 431 25 25	11,000 8,000 100 2,000 4,000	10,000 10,000 500	13,835 6,917 63 128			
1890	20,000 12,250 500*	15,000 3,000	9,730 4,365	10,000 10,000 5,000 5,000	25,000 15,000 1,800	13,835 6,900 1,300* 128	1,266 633		
1891	31,750 18,777 50 100	15,500 5,000	45,000 45,000 30* 1,750 300 100 10 2,400	20,000* 18,000* 5,000* 9,000* 9,000*	12,000 12,000 400* 1,200 300	67,500 54,000 2,700			
1892	50,449 21,621	32,000 16,000 1,000 1,000	14,300 9,235 10 115½ 231* 1,386	31,911 31,911 800 100 400* 12	10,935 11,662 180*	48,000 18,000 3,150 241* 5	15,910 1,276 636 636 1,908 153	15,000 15,000 30 100 1,000	
1893	56,315 16,000	25,000 23,000 500 440	20,400 6,500 12 123 50 1,500 68	10,000 8,000 125 2,000 80* 333	10,200 10,200 10* 325* 300	20,000 10,000 80 500 12	4,000 3,000 300 200 1,600 5½ 5½	8,000 7,000 700 50 700 50	
1894	24,135 12,067	20,000 10,000	29,150 9,695 12 138 277 1,662 28	10,000 8,000 125 2,000 80 333	19,335 12,809 5 415	41,164 20,583 10 200 100 12	5,058 3,160 1,050 2,800 1,800 3.2/3 150	2,000 15,000 70 75 1,500 50	
1895	26,200 13,100	25,000 30,000 50 100 1,500 15	11,000 2,800 12 138 277 1,662 28	1,000 1,000 300 300	6,800 3,400 425* 500* 1,700	32,016 17,786 300 1,200 100 18		1,000 6,000 150 1,000 1,000 50	15,000 7,600 250 400 2,000 250
*cwt. muids tons tons	muids muids tons " muids "	muids muids tons " muids "	muids " tons " muids " " "	muids " tons muids " " tons	muids " " " " "	muids " tons muids tons	muids " tons " muids tons "	muids " tons " muids "	muids " tons " muids "

TABLE V, ESTIMATES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE FROM THE ZULULAND  
DISTRICTS, 1889 - 1895, SOURCE C0472