

NATAL:

A STUDY IN COLONIAL
LAND SETTLEMENT

A. J. Christopher
B.A.(London), M.A.(Natal), A.K.C.

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts,
Department of Geography, University of Natal, 1969.

LIST OF CONTENTS

List of Contents	1
Preface	vii
Acknowledgements	xvi
List of Tables	xvii
List of Figures	xxii
Chapter 1. The general background to Colonization.	1
Chapter 11. The Physical and Economic background to the Colonization of Natal.	14
2.1. Introduction	14
2.2 The Physical Setting.	14
2.2.1. Introduction.	14
2.2.2. Relief.	15
2.2.3. Climate.	18
2.2.4. Vegetation.	20
2.2.5. The Environmental Divisions of Natal.	22
2.3. The Agricultural and Economic Development of Natal.	28
2.3.1. The Economic Background.	28
2.3.2. Livestock Farming.	30
2.3.3. Crop Farming.	33
Chapter 111. Government Land Policy and its Implementation.	39
3.1. Introduction.	39
3.2. Early English Settlement.	45
3.3. The Republic of Natalia.	54
3.3.1. The Establishment of the Republic.	54
3.3.2. Land Policy of the Republic.	55
3.3.3. Cape Land Ownership System.	55
3.3.4. Republic of Natalia Land Administration.	58
3.3.5. The End of the Republic of Natalia.	60
3.4. The British Settlement of the Land Question 1842-1849.	61
3.4.1. Introduction.	61
3.4.2. The Cloete Commission.	62
3.4.3. Administration of the Land Settlement.	65

3.4.4.	Dissatisfaction with the Land Settlement.	67
3.4.5.	The Land Commission 1848-49.	72
3.4.6.	The Distribution of Voortrekker Grants.	76
3.4.7.	Farm Boundaries of the Voortrekker Grants.	81
3.5.	Imperial Land Policy.	83
3.5.1.	The Basic Concept.	83
3.5.2.	British Land Policy in the Cape Colony and Natal.	86
3.5.3.	Immigration Schemes in Natal 1847-1851.	91
3.5.4.	Freehold Sales 1847-1860.	102
3.6.	1856 Military Grants.	105
3.7.	1857 Quit Rent Grants.	109
3.8.	1858 Return to Land Sales.	115
3.8.1.	Problems of Land Sales.	115
3.8.2.	Land Policy in Other Parts of South Africa.	116
3.8.2.1.	Introduction.	116
3.8.2.2.	The Land Regulations of the Cape of Good Hope.	117
3.8.2.3.	The Land Regulations of the Transvaal.	120
3.8.2.4.	The Land Regulations of the Orange Free State.	121
3.9.	1868-69 Credit Facilities, a New Approach by the Government.	121
3.10.	1875 Renewed Government Interest in Colonization.	127
3.10.1.	Government planning.	127
3.10.2.	The Wilgefontein Settlement.	130
3.10.3.	The Marburg and other settlements 1880-1883.	133
3.11.	1880 An Extension of Credit Facilities and the Introduction of Leaseholds.	135
3.12.	1889 Further Extension of Credit Facilities.	137
3.13.	Further Systematic Colonization Schemes 1885-1896.	138
3.13.1.	Weenen Settlement Scheme.	138
3.13.2.	Other Settlement Schemes 1896.	141
3.13.3.	Summary of Sales 1881-1900.	142
3.14.	Twentieth Century Development of Land Legislation.	145
3.15.	Settlement Schemes in the Twentieth Century.	146
3.16.	Zululand.	150

Chapter IV.	The Changing Pattern of Land Ownership.	159
4.1.	Introduction	159
4.2.	The Situation in 1860.	163
4.2.1.	Introduction.	163
4.2.2.	Klip River County.	167
4.2.3.	Weenen County.	169
4.2.4.	Umvoti County.	170
4.2.5.	Pietermaritzburg County.	171
4.2.5.1.	Introduction.	171
4.2.5.2.	The Settlement Schemes.	172
4.2.5.3.	The remainder of the County.	178
4.2.6.	Victoria County.	180
4.2.6.1.	Introduction,	180
4.2.6.2.	The Settlement Schemes.	181
4.2.6.3.	The remainder of the County.	183
4.2.7.	Durban County.	185
4.2.8.	Alexandra County.	188
4.2.9.	Church Lands.	189
4.2.10.	Speculators' Land.	190
4.2.11.	Land Values.	191
4.3.	The Situation in 1870.	193
4.3.1.	Introduction.	193
4.3.2.	Klip River County.	195
4.3.3.	Weenen County.	198
4.3.4.	Umvoti County.	199
4.3.5.	Pietermaritzburg County.	201
4.3.6.	Victoria County.	208
4.3.7.	Durban County.	212
4.3.8.	Alexandra County.	214
4.3.9.	Alfred County.	215
4.3.10.	Non-European Owned Lands.	215
4.3.11.	Land Companies and Speculators.	216
4.3.12.	Land Sales.	217

4.4.	The Situation in 1880.	218
4.4.1.	Introduction.	218
4.4.2.	Klip River County.	220
4.4.3.	Weenen County	225
4.4.4.	Umvoti County.	226
4.4.5.	Pietermaritzburg County.	228
4.4.6.	Victoria County.	236
4.4.7.	Durban County.	240
4.4.8.	Alexandra County.	242
4.4.9.	Alfred County.	244
4.4.10.	Non-European and Church Lands.	244
4.4.11.	Speculators' and land companies land.	246
4.4.12.	Land Values.	246
4.5.	The Situation in 1890.	248
4.5.1.	Introduction.	248
4.5.2.	Klip River County.	250
4.5.3.	Weenen County.	253
4.5.4.	Umvoti County.	257
4.5.5.	Pietermaritzburg County.	259
4.5.6.	Victoria County.	266
4.5.7.	Durban County.	269
4.5.8.	Alexandra County.	273
4.5.9.	Alfred County.	274
4.5.10.	Church and Non-European Lands.	275
4.5.11.	Speculators and land companies lands.	277
4.5.12.	Land values.	278
4.6.	The Situation in 1900.	280
4.6.1.	Introduction.	280
4.6.2.	Klip River County.	282
4.6.3.	Weenen County.	285
4.6.4.	Umvoti County.	287
4.6.5.	Pietermaritzburg County.	288
4.6.6.	Victoria County.	294

4.6.7.	Durban County.	296
4.6.8.	Alexandra County.	298
4.6.9.	Alfred County.	299
4.6.10.	Church and Non-European Lands.	300
4.6.11.	Speculators and Land Companies.	301
4.6.12.	Land Values.	302
4.7.	The Situation in 1910.	303
4.7.1.	Introduction.	303
4.7.2.	Klip River County.	310
4.7.3.	Weenen County.	314
4.7.4.	Umvoti County.	319
4.7.5.	Pietermaritzburg County.	321
4.7.6.	Victoria County.	328
4.7.7.	Durban County.	331
4.7.8.	Alexandra County.	333
4.7.9.	Alfred County.	335
4.7.10.	Church and Non-European Lands.	336
4.7.11.	Speculators and Land Companies.	338
4.7.12.	Land Values.	339
4.8.	Trends in Land Settlement in Natal before Union.	340
4.8.1.	Introduction.	340
4.8.2.	The Extent of Alienated Land.	341
4.8.3.	The Size of Holdings.	343
4.8.4.	Class of Ownership.	347
4.8.5.	Land Values.	350
	Conclusion.	353
Appendix I.	The Northern Districts of Natal.	361
A1.1.	Introduction.	361
A1.2.	History of Utrecht and Wakkerstroom.	361
A1.3.	Foundation of the New Republic.	364
A1.4.	Incorporation into Natal.	368
A1.5.	Land Grants in Wakkerstroom and Utrecht.	368
A1.6.	Land Grants in Vryheid.	371

Appendix II. The Natal Land and Colonization Company.	373
Appendix III. Sources of Information.	383
Bibliography.	408

PREFACE

The study of land settlement is one which is very broad in scope, covering a wide variety of topics and is subject to several approaches. There is, too, a certain fascination in the study of the major European colonization movements of the nineteenth century. A constant flow of historical works and romantic accounts of the opening up of the United States has been a feature of the literature of over half a century. There has, however, been comparatively little work upon the real results of colonization. Until recently little regard was shown for the process of settlement and the impact of the settlers upon the landscape. The initial settlement of many of the 'new' lands colonized in the nineteenth century has frequently left an impression which is clearly discernible today. Hence the study of settlement falls not only into the traditional field of historical geography but also into the developing field of cultural geography.

The purpose of this study is to provide a picture of land ownership in the Colony of Natal, as the foundation of the rural landscape. It is therefore necessary to establish the true state of affairs by a systematic study of the origins of ownership, and by tracing the chain of ownership of each plot of land in rural Natal. The problem is first and foremost to find an answer to the question: "Why was the land of Natal allocated in the way it was?" As this includes a study of the factors involved in the land settlement of colonial Natal, the range of interests is wide. From this question it is necessary to answer the further query of "How did the pattern of settlement develop?" Inevitably, the original concept of the function of the settlement changed and with it the units into which the land was divided.

The investigation clearly falls within the field of historical geography, and as such, several approaches are possible. In a review of the studies of European colonizations of the new areas of the world, it is immediately apparent that the number of approaches is equal to the number of studies. It would appear that there is still a considerable way to go before a framework for the study of colonization can be drawn up. History

had the advantage of Turner's thesis of the Frontier¹ which was applied to the colonizations by Europeans of new areas. Geography has not produced a similar all embracing approach, partly because there has so far been comparatively little investigation of the topic by geographers.

In dealing with the subject certain salient features are present in all studies. They include the study of Government land policy, the evaluation of the environment, the spread of settlement and the extension of economic activities. Although some studies are designed specifically to deal with one of the aspects outlined, most have to consider the other aspects as well. Some investigations are to a large extent dependent upon the material which is available for the approach. In this respect Natal is probably not as well documented as many other areas of European settlement, which were contemporary with it. The search for a conceptual framework was unrewarding as a result. Certain elements were common to all studies of contemporary settlement and it is the elements such as official land policy, the colonists, and the colonists' perception of the environment which recur.

The present trend in geographical research is towards an increasing use of models. The models presented in a work such as Chorley and Haggett's Models in Geography² on rural landscapes are not applicable to conditions in Natal. Models assume that there is some reasonable zoning in the first place and that some order can be discerned. The condition of colonial Natal was such that many basic economic principles were ignored. The dominance of social factors such as land and inheritance laws resulted in patterns which bore little resemblance to theories relating to rural settlement. Statistical analysis of farm size and distance from the major cities for example proved indecisive and consequently the limitations of the approach had to be recognised. It is significant that studies of land settlement in other parts of the world have similarly found that the use of theoretical models has little to offer the study of the initial formative years of the settlement. It would appear that more research into the actual state of affairs is necessary before meaningful theoretical work can be undertaken.

The first approach, that of the reconstruction of a past geography

or series of geographies, in the tradition of historical geography, was considered. The method adopted in Darby's classic work The Historical Geography of England before 1800 has much to recommend it for established areas, but the approach is not so satisfactory for areas experiencing change. It would appear to be of limited value to study one year in isolation, but a series of years provided a solution to the problem of evaluating the changes which occurred.

The disadvantage of the method in a thesis is the volume of material which must be presented in the cross sections. The cross-sections are normally best summarised. However in a thesis the volume of material must be systematised as carefully as possible. Consequently the approach of rigidly adhering to the counties in Natal has been maintained with summaries to trace significant trends. The resulting Chapter is long and needs to be read with the problem of presentation in mind. Perry in his work on the early settlement of New South Wales⁴ adopted the approach of dealing with the development of each district in turn. It was felt that this approach would tend to obscure major trends within Natal as a whole, and so was not adopted.

The study of colonization from a social viewpoint is one which has achieved considerable development. Turner's frontier thesis was mainly concerned with the social aspects of the development of the pioneer zones. The evolution of a distinctive civilization at the frontier has inevitably appeared attractive, and in the main it is historians who have pursued this approach. Harris in his study of the seigneurial system in early Canada⁵ traced the development of colonization in Quebec in the period of French rule. He attempted to show geographically the influence of a particular social system upon the progress of colonization and the development of the landscape. As in the case of Natal, ideas preconceived in Europe broke down in the realities of the colonial environment. It could therefore be viewed as a study in perception of the environment.

The study of the concepts of the environment are also vital for our understanding of the settlement processes. Heathcote, in his study of the evaluation of the interior plains of New South Wales and Queensland⁶, calls the subject 'geosophy'. In any understanding of the colonial settle-

ment of rural Natal or any other such region, an investigation into the evaluation of the physical environment is necessary. The ideas held by the settlers were often of greater importance than the environment itself. In this way it is dangerous to consider the present view of the environment, objective as it may be, as men had preconceived ideas, which were only changed with growing familiarity with the environment.

Colonization was usually allied with an economic advance. Most colonies were source regions for commodities required by the industrialised world. Colonization was thus in part a response to increased demands, for the commodities. Some authors have studied the influence of the extension of the production of particular commodities. Thus Meinig has examined the wheat frontier of South Australia⁷, and several other studies have regarded similar advances around the world. In Natal two commodities, wool and sugar, developed during the colonial period to provide a livelihood for the colonists. These developments have been studied by Sellars⁸ and Osborn⁹ respectively from purely historical viewpoints. They tended to ignore the spatial aspects, which are among the distinguishing features of historical geography.

Interest in the actual layout of the land and its division amongst the various settlers and their successors is a subject which has excited increasing geographical interest. Clark's study of the effects of colonization of the South Island of New Zealand¹⁰ aroused interest in the subject, and Pattison in his study of the origins of the American rectangular land survey system¹¹ opened a new approach to geographical enquiry. More recently Thrower's work on original survey and land subdivision¹² has drawn attention to the vast differences which exist in the landscape as a result of different methods of alienating land. The imprint of the original cadastral survey divisions upon the landscape has been commented upon in several parts of the United States, but comparatively little attention has been paid to the topic outside North America.

No study has been made of the alienation of land in Natal. Several statements have appeared in general works and theses, but some of these are erroneous, largely as a result of the considerable controversy which raged over land policy in the early years of the Colony's existence, and the

inaccuracy of the land records.

The land policy and settlement of colonial Natal has left a visible imprint upon the landscape of today. It cannot be classed as 'dinosaur geography' which Hartshorne¹³ considers to be outside the scope of geographical study. The imprint has been such as to change the appearance of the landscape to a considerable extent. Change is therefore part of the essence of research in historical geography, as has been pointed out by Clark in American Geography, Inventory and Prospect¹⁴. Ackerman¹⁵ dates the dominance of cultural changes in the landscape from the beginning of the nineteenth century as a result of demographic movements. Certainly this is true of Natal.

It was the original intention that the study should be complete and bring the development of land settlement in Natal up to date. However the nature of the material and the difficulty of extracting the relevant information made a reconsideration of the position necessary. Reference should be made to Appendix III which explains the difficulties encountered. The year 1910 was taken as the limit to which the study should be brought. In 1910 the Union of South Africa was formed and the Colony of Natal ceased to control its own Lands Department. Politically the pre-1910 period was a distinct period. Furthermore, the basic fan pattern had been laid out by 1910 and so initial settlement was complete, except in Zululand. It was decided that the study should deal only with the colonial period. The decision was taken with regret.

Chapter I states the context within which the study must be viewed. Colonization projects have been studied in other parts of the world and parallels can be drawn. No settlement scheme was undertaken in isolation. A study of the newspapers of the period emphasises the fact that the inhabitants of Natal were very much aware of the progress of their contemporaries in other parts of pioneer settlement.

Chapter II outlines the physical and economic background to colonization of Natal. The purpose of the chapter is first, to provide a brief outline of the principal physical factors which had a bearing on the settlement of the Colony. The pioneers' opinions of the environment differed considerably as accurate information was not available to them.

Secondly the chapter outlines the economic cycles and progress of agriculture up to 1910. Unfortunately, the available statistics preclude any direct correlations between farm size and livestock numbers or population distribution.

Against the background of the first two chapters, Chapter III examines the legislation and regulations governing the disposal of land in Natal. Crown land policy more than any other factor influenced the pattern of land ownership in Natal. The vicissitudes of this policy form an essential part of the study of official, and at times private, opinion as to the value of the land and the progress of settlement.

Chapter IV then examines the actual pattern of land ownership in 1860 and at decennial intervals thereafter up to and including 1910. The years were selected as cross sections representative of the development patterns of the colonial era. The influence of land policy, economic and physical factors and the individual decisions of the colonists can be traced and the resulting land ownership pattern analysed. In effect the chapter represents six reconstructions of the historical geography of rural Natal. The years were chosen at regular intervals so that trends might be discernible and because before the study was begun there was a lack of accurate knowledge as to what the significant developments might be. This is partly as a result of the confusion in historical literature, and some misconceptions arising from the keeping of official records.

In conclusion, an attempt has been made to examine more closely the aims of colonization and to evaluate the experience of Natal. The farm pattern is an essential part of the rural landscape to which little attention has been given in South African studies, although increasing interest is being shown in the United States. The effects of this pattern are outlined and a few pointers to the present situation are illustrated.

A few explanatory definitions are necessary at the beginning of the study: The Europeans are those persons who either came or whose ancestors came from Europe. In Natal this meant primarily from the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Germany. This group is now referred to as the Whites in the Republic of South Africa, but the old term in use in the colonial period has been retained. For all practical purposes, before Union, persons

of mixed European and other blood, usually known as the Coloureds, were included as Europeans with a few exceptions.

The inhabitants of Natal, whom the Europeans found living there were mainly members of the Zulu Nation, which had been formed from a number of tribes in the early nineteenth century. In official parlance they were referred to as Natives. Modern terminology describes them as Bantu, but again the more general nineteenth century term has been retained.

The immigrants from India constitute a separate racial group, divided by class. Indentured labourers were referred to officially as Coolies, but the term Indian has been used to refer to the labourers as well as to the free Indians who paid their passage to Natal.

The terminology relating to land settlement in the nineteenth century has been retained throughout the study.

Within the Colony of Natal the standard units of measurement were those of Great Britain. They include the land measure based on the acre. However, the Cape Dutch measure of the morgen was used by the Trekkers in Natal and it was used in all other parts of South Africa. The morgen is equivalent to 2.11654 acres. Thus 3000 morgen is equal to 6350 acres. All areas quoted in the thesis are in acres unless otherwise stated. The currency in use was the Pound Sterling. Although this was converted on decimalisation in 1961 into two Rand, its actual value in the colonial period is more difficult to compute. The gold value of the Pound is approximately five Rand but no direct conversions are possible. The Cape Rixdollar was in use in Natal in the 1830's and 1840's but its use ceased soon after the British annexation. The Rixdollar was worth 1s. 6d.

The statistics are based on the county system in Natal. The Natal authorities adopted the English system of counties, which have since been divided into magisterial districts. However, land administration had retained the old county system. Within the original Colony, seven counties were delineated and in 1865 the area annexed South of the Umzimkulu River was added as an eighth (Fig. 1.) Reference to the counties is made throughout the work, unless otherwise stated. The eight counties shown in Fig. 1 represent the colony of Natal referred to in this study.

References

- 1 Taylor, G. R. (1956) pp. 1-18
- 2 Chorley, R. J. and Haggett, P. (1967) pp. 306-315, 561-588
- 3 Darby, H. C. (Ed.) (1936)
- 4 Perry, T. M. (1963)
- 5 Harris, R. C. (1966)
- 6 Heathcote, R. L. (1965), p. 6
- 7 Meinig, D. W. (1962)
- 8 Sellars, J. M. (1946)
- 9 Osborn, R. F. (1964)
- 10 Clark, A. H. (1949)
- 11 Pattison, W. D. (1957)
- 12 Thrower, H. J. W. (1966)
- 13 Hartshorne, R. (1959) p. 105
- 14 James, P. E. and Jones, C. F. (Eds.) (1954) pp. 83-85
- 15 Ackerman, E. A. (1958)

N.B. In the Preface, most of the references have been made to approaches to the subject. Reference is therefore, in the case of footnotes 3-5 and 7-12, made to the whole work rather than any part as indicating a method of dealing with the subject.

Full titles are given in the Bibliography pp. 408-414

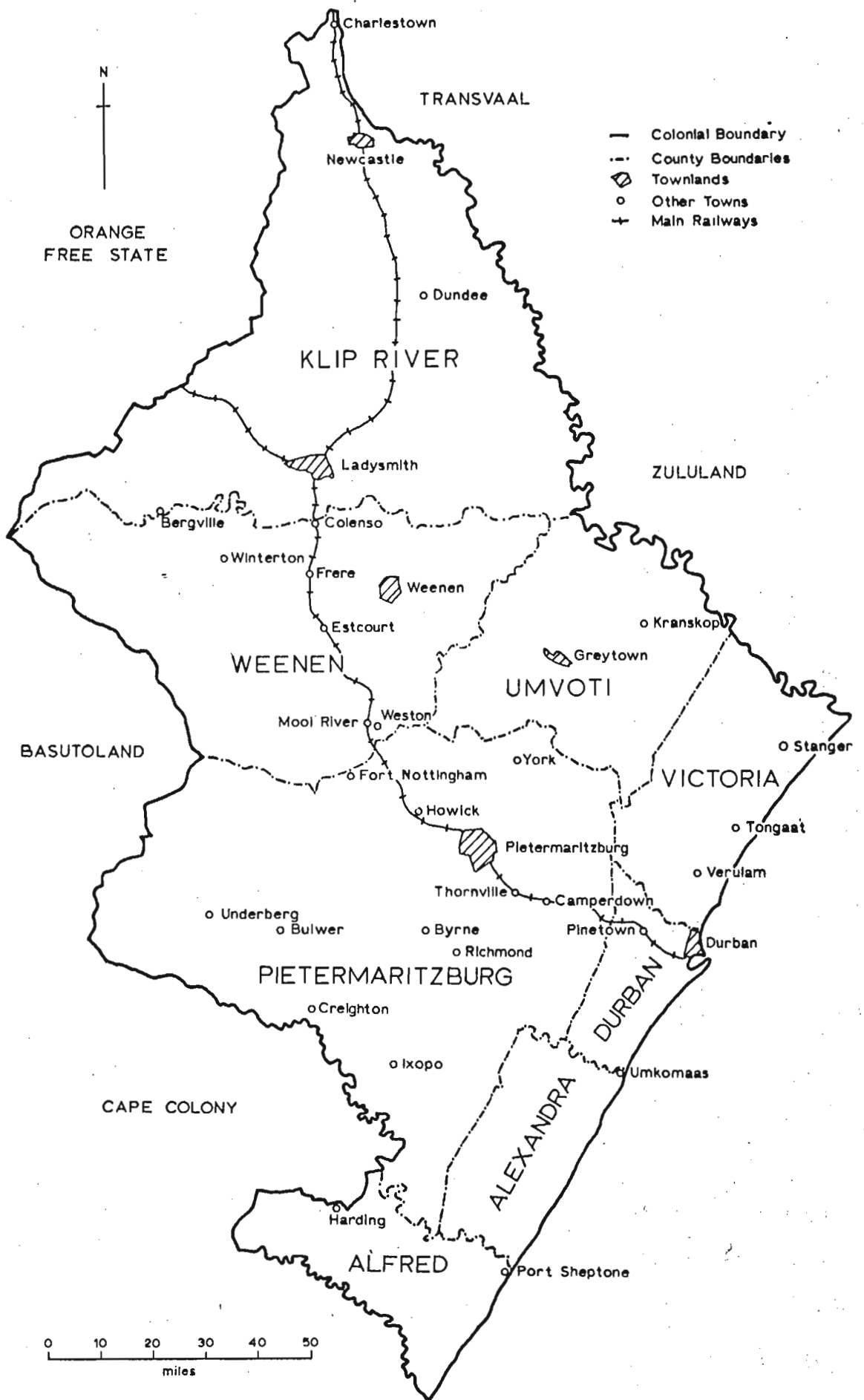


Fig.1. The Colony of Natal.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to express my gratitude to the Surveyor General of Natal and the Registrar of Deeds in Natal, together with their members of staff who throughout the period that this study was being prepared were of such great assistance. Numerous members of these staffs gave of their time to answer my queries. Officials of other departments including the Department of Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure and the National Archives (Pietermaritzburg Depot), also rendered assistance and advice. In addition Mr. G. W. McDonald kindly allowed me the use of the records of the Natal Land and Colonization Company. The careful and methodical work of all the officials who have dealt with the granting, division and transfer of land within Natal, made this study possible.

I should also like to express my appreciation of the assistance rendered by Professor J. A. Coetzee of the University of Port Elizabeth for his encouragement during most of the period this study was being undertaken and to Professor G. Kay of the University College of Rhodesia for his help in the writing up stage. I should particularly like to express my appreciation of the patience and guidance which I have received from my supervisor, Professor R. J. Davies of the University of Natal.

In addition there are many individuals who have assisted me in the writing and preparation of this thesis. In particular I should like to mention Mrs. J. Wahl, for her typing of the manuscript and part of the final work which was most ably completed by Mrs. E. Love and Miss C. M. C. Knight; and my wife for her support and encouragement during the preparation of the thesis.

Financial assistance of the Department of Higher Education (National Council for Social Research) towards the costs of this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed or conclusions reached, are those of the author and are not to be regarded as a reflection of those of the Department of Higher Education (National Council for Social Research).

Salisbury,

May, 1969.

A Note on Sources of Information

The chief sources of information for this work are to be found in the Deeds Office and Surveyor-General's Office in Pietermaritzburg. Unless otherwise stated, the material in Chapters III and IV, the Conclusion and Appendices I and II has been taken from these offices. The production of maps and statistical tables is the outcome of systematic study in the offices concerned of the Surveyor-General's Office grant diagrams and their subdivisions and of the Deeds Office records of land ownership. Consequently no specific reference is possible to individual sources in respect of figures on farm size, the amount of land owned by individuals, and so on.

A summary of the method of study employed may permit appreciation of the sources of the maps and tables from which the greater part of the thesis stems. The stages involved are as follows:

1. Examination of the Surveyor General's survey files to ascertain the location and extent of individual farms and the subdivisions of each.
2. Plotting the relevant boundaries and names on a base map at a scale of 1:63360 to produce a cadastral map for the years 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910.
3. Searching through the Deeds Office files on land ownership to ascertain the owner of each parcel of land in each of the six years referred to above.
4. The computation of total areas belonging to each land owner and the compilation of lists of holdings by ownership and size groups for each of the six years.

In this way the maps and tables have been derived from a close analysis of primary sources. Generally, contemporary official reports and other secondary sources have been found to be both inaccurate and contradictory and therefore have been discarded. Those which have been used have been acknowledged in the text.

Information on land prices was obtained by examination of the Deed of Transfer in respect of each transaction in the six years studied and by computing tables of land values from the figures so obtained.

Further information on the source of information relevant to individual tables and figures is given after the respective contents lists. Appendix III (pp. 383-407) provides a more detailed discussion on 'The Sources of Information'.

LIST OF TABLES

Table no.		Page.
1.	The European population of Natal 1846-1909	11
2.	Grants alienated to the Voortrekkers.	80
3.	Sizes of Voortrekker grants.	80
4.	Boundaries of Voortrekker grants.	80
5.	Ratio of the perimeters of Voortrekker farms to the theoretical square farms.	83
6.	Emigration from the United Kingdom 1845-1860.	89
7.	Areas of the 1850 Settlement schemes.	98
8.	Areas surveyed for freehold sale 1847-1860.	105
9.	Areas sold 1847-1860.	105
10.	Areas of Military grants, 1856.	109
11.	Areas granted under 1857 Quit Rent regulations.	112
12.	Size of 1857 Quit Rents grants.	113
13.	Lands surveyed 1861-1880.	127
14.	Potential use of Crown Lands, 1875.	128
15.	Number of immigrants introduced by the Land and Immigration Board 1878-1891.	129
16.	Leases commenced 1882-84.	136
17.	Surveyed areas, 1881-1900.	145
18.	Areas of lands surveyed for closer settlement 1908-1910.	148
19.	Lands surveyed 1901-1910 and remaining land surveyed 1911-1967.	150
20.	Lots laid out in Zululand, 1910.	153
21.	Date of occupation of Zululand lands.	154
22.	Lots occupied and unoccupied in Zululand 1910.	155
23.	Farms in Zululand, 1910.	156
24.	Areas in private ownership in 1860.	163
25.	Quartile and Median sizes of farms, 1860.	166
26.	Sizes of holdings in Pietermaritzburg and Victoria, 1860.	166
27.	Farm numbers and sizes in Klip River and Weenen Counties 1860.	167
28.	Land prices at sales in Klip River, 1860.	168
29.	Farm sizes in Umvoti County, 1860.	170

Table no.		Page
30.	Farm sizes in Pietermaritzburg County, 1860.	171
31.	Byrne settlements in 1860.	172
32.	Appropriated areas of Byrne settlements in Pietermaritzburg County, 1860.	175
33.	Land prices in Pietermaritzburg County, 1860.	180
34.	Farm sizes in Victoria County, 1860.	180
35.	Land prices in Victoria County,,1860.	185
36.	Farm sizes in Durban County, 1860.	186
37.	Farm sizes in Alexandra County, 1860.	188
38.	Lands held by Churches, 1860.	189
39.	Lands held by speculadors, 1860.	190
40.	Lands held by four speculators 1860.	190
41.	Lands held by eight leading speculators, 1860.	191
42.	Land Sales, 1860.	192
43.	Land Values, 1860.	192
44.	Areas in private ownership in 1870.	193
45.	Sizes of holdings in Pietermaritzburg and Victoria Counties, 1870.	195
46.	Farm sizes in Klip River County, 1870.	196
47.	Land owned by companies in Klip River County, 1870.	197
48.	Land values in Klip River County, 1870.	198
49.	Farm sizes in Weenen County, 1870.	198
50.	Farm sizes in Umvoti County, 1870.	200
51.	Farm sizes in Pietermaritzburg County, 1870.	202
52.	Farm sizes in the Pietermaritzburg settlement schemes, 1870.	202
53.	Land held by speculators etc. in 1870 in Pietermaritzburg County	205
54.	Land prices in Pietermaritzburg County, 1870.	208
55.	Farm sizes in Victoria County, 1870.	209
56.	Land held by land companies etc. in Victoria County 1870.	211
57.	Land prices in Victoria County, 1870.	212
58.	Farm sizes in Durban County, 1870.	212

Table no.		Page.
59.	Farm sizes in Alexandra County, 1870.	214
60.	Lands held by speculators etc., 1870.	216
61.	Land sales, 1870.	217
62.	Land values, 1870.	217
63.	Areas in private ownership, 1880.	218
64.	Farm sizes in Klip River County, 1880.	222
65.	Land prices in Klip River County, 1880.	224
66.	Farm sizes in Weenen County, 1880.	225
67.	Farm sizes in Umvoti County, 1880.	227
68.	Land prices in Umvoti County, 1880.	228
69.	Farm sizes in Pietermaritzburg County, 1880.	228
70.	Sizes of holdings in Pietermaritzburg County, 1880.	229
71.	Farm sizes on the Byrne Estates in 1880.	229
72.	Land prices in Pietermaritzburg County, 1880.	235
73.	Farm sizes in Victoria County, 1880.	237
74.	Land values in Victoria County, 1880.	240
75.	Farm sizes in Durban County, 1880.	241
76.	Farm sizes in Alexandra County, 1880.	243
77.	Land ownership in Natal on a racial basis, 1870 and 1880.	245
78.	Land held by speculators etc., 1880.	246
79.	Land sales, 1880.	247
80.	Land values, 1880.	247
81.	Areas in private ownership, 1890.	248
82.	Farm sizes in Klip River County, 1890.	250
83.	Land prices in Klip River County, 1890.	252
84.	Farm sizes in Weenen County, 1890.	254
85.	Layout of Frere Estate, 1884.	255
86.	Farm sizes in Umvoti County, 1890.	258
87.	Farm sizes in Pietermaritzburg County, 1890.	259
88.	Farm sizes on the Byrne Estates, 1890.	260
89.	Land prices in Pietermaritzburg County, 1890.	266

Table no.		Page.
90.	Farm sizes in Victoria County, 1890.	267
91.	Land values in Victoria County, 1890.	270
92.	Farm sizes in Durban County, 1890.	270
93.	Durban farms divided by the Natal Land and Colonization Company 1882.	272
94.	Farm sizes in Alexandra County, 1890.	273
95.	Farm sizes in Alfred County, 1890.	274
96.	Church and non-European land ownership in Natal, 1890.	276
97.	Land sales, 1890.	278
98.	Land values, 1890.	279
99.	Areas in private ownership, 1900	280
100.	Farm sizes in Klip River County, 1900.	282
101.	Farm sizes in Weenen County, 1900.	286
102.	Farm sizes in Umvoti County, 1900.	288
103.	Farm sizes in Pietermaritzburg County, 1900.	289
104.	Farm sizes on the Byrne Estates, 1900.	290
105.	Land prices in Pietermaritzburg County, 1900.	294
106.	Farm sizes in Victoria County, 1900.	295
107.	Farm sizes in Durban County, 1900.	297
108.	Farm sizes in Alexandra County, 1900.	299
109.	Farm sizes in Alfred County, 1900.	300
110.	Church and non-European Land ownership in Natal, 1900.	301
111.	Land sales, 1900.	302
112.	Land values, 1900.	303
113.	Areas in private ownership , 1910.	305
114.	Size of holdings in Natal, 1910.	309
115.	Farm sizes in Klip River County, 1910.	311
116.	Land prices Klip River County, 1910.	315
117.	Farm sizes in Weenen County, 1910.	315
118.	Farm sizes in Umvoti County, 1910.	320
119.	Farm sizes in Pietermaritzburg County, 1910.	321
120.	Farm sizes on the Byrne Estates, 1910.	322

Table no.		Page.
121.	Land prices in Pietermaritzburg County, 1910.	328
122.	Farm sizes in Victoria County, 1910.	329
123.	Farm sizes in Durban County, 1910.	332
124.	Farm sizes in Alexandra County, 1910.	334
125.	Farm sizes in Alfred County, 1910.	335
126.	Church and non European Land ownership in Natal, 1910.	336
127.	Land held by Churches, 1910.	337
128.	Produce companies' land holdings, 1910.	339
129.	Land sales, 1910.	339
130.	Land prices, 1910.	340
131.	Areas occupied in Natal, 1850-1910.	341
132.	Average and Median sizes of farms in Natal, 1860-1910.	344
133.	Size of farms in Natal, 1860-1910.	347
134.	Owners of land in Natal, 1860-1910.	347
135.	Land prices in Natal, 1860-1910.	351
136.	Progress of population growth and land alienation in Natal, 1846-1909.	354
137.	Land grants in Wakkerstroom 1856-1880.	369
138.	Utrecht grants issued in period 1867-1880.	370
139.	Land occupied by the New Republic, 1884-1886.	371
140.	Purchases and sales of the Natal Land and Colonization Company 1861-1876.	374
141.	Land owned by the Natal Land and Colonization company in 1870, 1880 and 1890.	376
142.	Sources of income on land 1880-1910 (in £)	377
143.	Settlements 1876-1910.	378
144.	Percentages of N.L.C.C. land in each county, 1870-1910.	381
145.	Surveyed area of Natal by county.	400
146.	Surveyed area of Natal by date and tenure.	400
147.	Lands alienated according to 1899 and 1900 Natal Statistical Year Books.	401
148.	Tenures of alienated land in Natal, 1900.	402.

Sources of Tables

Table

- 1 Natal Blue Book, 1909
- 2,3,4,5 Compiled by the author from Deeds Office (D.O.) grant volumes 1847-1876
- 6 Appendix 10, Hitchins F. H. (1931)
- 7,8 Compiled by the author from the Surveyor General's Office (S.G.O.) survey files, 1849-1851
- 9 Compiled by the author from D.O. grant volumes, 1847-1860
- 10 Compiled by the author from D.O. grant volumes, 1856-1862
- 11,12 Compiled by the author from D.O. grant volumes, 1857-1868
- 13 Compiled by the author from S.G.O. survey files, 1861-1880
- 14 Report on Crown Lands and European Immigration, 1876.
- 15 Report of the Immigration and Crown Lands Commission, 1892
- 16 Report of the Crown Lands Commission, 1885
- 17 Compiled by the author from S.G.O. survey files, 1881-1900
- 18 Compiled by the author from S.G.O. survey files, 1908-1910
- 19 Compiled by the author from S.G.O. survey files, 1901-1967
- 20 Compiled by the author from S.G.O. survey files, 1905-1910
- 21,22,23 Compiled by the author from D.O. Zululand Settlement scheme record books, 1904-1911 (in Archives, uncatalogued)
- 24-27, 29-32, 34, 36-41, 44-47, 49-54, 56, 58-60, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69-71, 73, 75-78, 81, 82, 84, 86-88, 90, 92, 94-96, 99-104, 106-110, 113-115, 117-120, 122-128, 132-134, 141, 144. Compiled by the author from D.O. records plotted for the years 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900 1910 on maps of the S.G.O. (1931) Cadastral series 1:63,360 corrected by reference to the relevant S.G.O. survey files 1847-1910. Complete maps of the owners of rural land in Natal were thus produced and the figures of ownership, farm size, etc. were extracted and the tables computed.
- 28,33,35,42,43,48,55,61,62,65,68,72,74,79,80,83,89,91,97,98,105,111,112 116,121,129,130,135. Compiled by the author from examination of each D.O. Deed of Transfer for the years 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910.
- 85,93 Compiled by the author from the Land Registers of the Natal Land and Colonization Company (privately owned)
- 131 1850 figure compiled from D.O. grant volumes 1847-1866. Other figures compiled as Tables 24, etc.
- 136 Population figures from Natal Blue Book, 1909, Alienated areas compiled as Table 24, etc.
- 137 Compiled by the author from S.G.O. survey files, Wakkerstroom District
- 138 Compiled by the author from S.G.O. survey files, Utrecht District.
- 139 Compiled by the author from the Land Register of the New Republic (in D.O.)
- 140,143 Compiled by the author from the Land Registers of the Natal Land and Colonization Company for the relevant years (privately owned)

- 142 Compiled by the author from the Ledgers of the Natal Land and
Colonization Company for the relevant years (privately owned).
- 145,146 Compiled by the author from the survey files of the S.G.O.,
1847-1867
- 147 Natal Blue Books, 1899 and 1900
- 148 Natal Blue Book, 1900

N.B. All areas shown in the Tables are in acres

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure no.		Page.
1.	The Colony of Natal.	xv
2.	Altitude zones of Natal.	17
3.	Annual average distribution of rainfall.	19
4.	Vegetation of Natal.	21
5.	Approximate Voortrekker assessment of Natal.	27
6.	European owned cattle in Natal 1851-1909.	31
7.	European owned woolled sheep in Natal 1851-1909.	31
8.	Acreage of sugar planted (1854-1861) or reaped (1862-1909).	31
9.	Features of European agriculture in Natal, 1909.	37
10.	The contrast between systematic and unsystematic survey.	42
11.	Klip River County, Original survey.	46
12.	Weenen County, Original survey.	47
13.	Umvoti County, Original survey.	48
14.	✓ Pietermaritzburg County, Original survey.	49
15.	Victoria County, Original survey.	50
16.	Durban County, Original survey.	51
17.	Alexandra County, Original survey.	52
18.	Alfred County, Original survey.	53
19.	The development of farm sizes in the Cape Colony and Transvaal.	57
20.	Areas granted 1847-1867.	69
21.	Areas sold 1847-1909.	70
22.	✗ The Native Locations of Natal.	71
23.	Area allocated to the Voortrekkers.	77
24.	Layout of Voortrekker farms in part of Klip River County.	79
25.	✓ Areas of Settlement Schemes 1849-1851.	99
26.	Original plan of the Cottonlands Estate, 1850.	100
27.	Original plan of Harmony Estate, 1850.	100
28.	Original plan of Victoria County, 1847.	103

Figure no.		Page
29.	Areas surveyed for freehold sales, 1847-1860.	106
30.	The distribution of Military grants, 1856.	108
31.	The distribution of Quit Rent grants, 1857.	114
32.	The operation of free selection, 1871-1880, in Klip River County.	124
33.	Areas surveyed for freehold sales, 1861-1880.	126
34.	× Settlement Schemes 1879-1900.	131
35.	The Wilgefontein Settlement Scheme.	132
36.	Plan of the Weenen Irrigation Scheme.	140
37.	Plan of the Dronk Vlei Settlement.	143
38.	Areas surveyed 1881-1910.	144
39.	Settlement Schemes 1901-1910.	147
40.	Plan of the Winterton Irrigation Scheme.	149
41.	× The Partition of Zululand.	152
42.	Example of land division through partition.	162
43.	Area occupied in 1860.	164
44.	Distribution of Farms over 10,000 acres in extent, 1860.	165
45.	Area occupied in 1870.	194
46.	Area occupied in 1880.	219
47.	Distribution of Farms over 10,000 acres in extent, 1880.	221
48.	Area occupied in 1890.	249
49.	Plan of Frere Estate, 1884.	256
50.	Area occupied in 1900.	281
51.	Area occupied in 1910.	304
52.	Distribution of Farms over 10,000 acres in extent, 1910.	306
53.	Distribution of small farms, 1910.	307
54.	The progress in disentangling the Dunbar Estate, 1850-1910.	308
55.	Wakkerstroom and Utrecht.	362
56.	The New Republic.	365
57.	× Land holdings of the Natal Land and Colonization Company, 1861-1910.	375

Sources of Figures

1. Compiled by the author from S.G.O. (1931) 1:1,000 plan of Natal
2. Trigonometrical Survey (various dates) 1:1,000,000 Topographical edition.
3. Department of Water Affairs (1939) Rainfall Map of South Africa 1:1,500,000.
4. Acocks, J. P. H. (1952) Veld Types of South Africa 1:1,500,000
5. Compiled by the author from an analysis of grants
- 6,7,8 Natal Blue Books 1852-1909
9. Compiled by the author from statistics in Natal Blue Book 1909. Base map from Brookes E. H. & Webb C. de B. (1965) p. 304.
10. Redrawn from Trigonometrical Survey (1941) 1:250,000 Topocadastral sheet No. 49 and U.S. Geological Survey 1:500,000 State Map of Illinois.
- 11-18, 23, 24, 25, 29-34, 38, 39. Compiled by the author from S.G.O. survey files 1847-1967 on base map of Trigonometrical Survey 1:250,000 Topocadastral series
- 19 Compiled by the author from information in Baumann G. and Bright E. (1940) p. 239-241.
- 20,21 Compiled by the author from D.O. grant volumes 1847-1909.
- 22 Compiled from Trigonometrical Survey 1:250,000 topocadastral series.
- 26,27 Redrawn from S.G.O. survey files, 1850. Grants Nos. 1575 & 1472
- 28 Compiled by the author from S.G.O. survey records, 1847.
- 35 Redrawn from S.G.O. survey file, 1879, Grant No. 869
- 36,37,40 Redrawn from S.G.O. (1931) Cadastral compilation 1:63,360
- 41 Compiled from the General Plan in Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission Report (1905) and from S.G.O. Zululand survey files, 1904-1910.
- 42-48, 50-53 Compiled by the author in the same manner as Tables 24, etc.
- 49 Redrawn from S.G.O. survey file, 1884, Grant No. 1331
- 54 Compiled by the author from D.O. records plotted on plan of Dunbar Estate in S.G.O. survey file, 1850, Grant No. 1478
- 55 Compiled by the author from S.G.O. survey records of Utrecht and Wakkerstroom Districts and D.O. provisional grants for the Utrecht District (in Archives)
- 56 Redrawn from Brookes E. H. & Webb C. de B. (1965) p. 303.
- 57 Compiled by the author from the Land Registers of the Natal Land and Colonization Company for the years 1861-1890, and from the annual reports of the Natal Land and Colonization Company 1891-1910 (privately owned)

CHAPTER I

THE GENERAL BACKGROUND TO COLONIZATION

The settlement of Natal by Europeans forms a part of the vast territorial expansion of the peoples of Europe. In a matter of 300 years considerable areas of southern Africa, North America, South America, Siberia, Australia and New Zealand were settled by European peoples; and most of this was accomplished in a period of less than 100 years, when the effects of the Industrial Revolution in Europe began to make themselves felt. Great Britain, in particular, required foodstuffs to an increasing extent from the 1840's; while British manpower, capital and technology enabled the exploitation of many of these lands. In an era of free trade, it made little difference whether the lands were independent, such as the United States or Argentina, or colonies such as the Cape of Good Hope or New South Wales. Until 1840 little was done to acquire new colonies of settlement, due largely to the memory of the American revolution; but after that date emigration was actively encouraged. Natal was annexed at a time when emigration was under consideration; and although it was at first not viewed as a possible colony of settlement, it did ultimately become one. To a large extent the settlement of Natal has been bound up with that of South Africa as a whole, and trends in the rest of the sub-continent have had their impact on the Province. South Africa was predominantly a pastoral country but the British administration in Natal introduced the idea of close agricultural settlement. The conflict between the two approaches continued throughout the colonial period.

In Natal, however, conditions were more complicated than in most other areas of contemporary settlement as there was a substantial non-European population already living in the Colony. In the United States and Canada the number of Indians was small. In the United States they were driven back towards the arid West by means of war and treaty, and their numbers were reduced by disease.¹ The pressure of the Indians checked settlement at times, but it was eventually possible to occupy their lands. In Argentina the Indians were again a problem affecting the whole development of the country; until in 1879 war led to the virtual extermination of the Indian population, allowing their lands to be occupied by European settlers.² In Australia the number of Aborigines was even smaller and as a result the land could be thought to be uninhabited.³ It was only in New Zealand that a large body of colonists met a large group of non-Europeans who were recognized to have entrenched rights to land

in the North Island.⁴ As a result the initial colonization took place in the South Island and the process of adjustment became comparatively easy as the settlers soon outnumbered the Maoris. In Natal the land, to the first settlers, appeared to be empty, but large numbers of non-Europeans migrated into the area, and came out of hiding after the wars, with the result that Natal has had, and still does have, a substantial Bantu majority. Much of the Government's desire for colonists stemmed from the need of the emigrants for security. Understandably few intending emigrants from Europe wished to be used as a "buffer-zone" settler between Black and White, as the 1820 Settlers at the Cape had been.⁵ The memory of the hardships of the 1820 Settlers was still sufficiently close to have an influence upon Natal in the 1840's and 1850's.

The colonization of Natal began under the administration of a Voortrekker Republic in the period 1838-1845 and it is in this period that the basic outlines of the settlement pattern were worked out ensuring that an American or British colonial rectangular grid system could never be introduced into the country. Farms of a set size (6000 acres) were laid out, without survey, in the best agricultural regions of Natal. They were not contiguous and doubts remained about the intervening areas. The British administration tried to regularise this chaotic situation and introduce settlers, but the Colony was faced with the problem more or less from the beginning of its existence, that there was a lack of first class land available to new settlers. In New Zealand the wild speculation in large grants of land immediately prior to the annexation in 1840 had, in the majority of cases, been disallowed, so that colonists were attracted by promises of good land. This was not so in Natal. None of the concessions which the Natal authorities could make by offering land at low rentals, or selling it on extended credit, really made up for this lack of land from the 1850's onwards, nor could the Colony offer better terms and prospects than those which were available in the United States or in the Australasian Colonies. Thus Natal suffered from a lack of settlers, at a time when vast numbers were emigrating to North America and Australia.

The basic pattern of the farms claimed during the Republican regime and subsequently recognised by the British authorities was such as to

make the regular distribution of the remaining Crown Lands impossible. Irregular boundaries were surveyed and little attempt was made to keep them in a compact block. Farms were granted in every part of the Colony so that for Natal the idea of a 'frontier' is untenable on the basis of an advance of settlement.^A The Voortrekkers moved across the land too rapidly, and their groups brought an essentially pastoral concept to the allocation of land. It is here that the great difference and the contrast with Australia and the United States lies. In the Australasian colonies and in North America pastoral activities took place beyond the area of freehold land grants on a series of leases, which were without any long term security of title. In Natal security of title was given to the pastoralists. Thus while the agricultural frontier moved into the pastoralist's lands in a colony such as South Australia or in the central United States, the pastoralists' rights were extinguished and the new areas were laid out for arable farming, in Natal the pastoralist obtained title to the land. Thus the pastoralists' land units remained and either the pastoralist himself changed to agriculture, or he sold his farm to farmers; or, as frequently happened, he was unaffected by economic pressures upon his land and remained a cattle or sheep farmer in lands which in another colony would have been ploughed.

The initial farms laid out in the period 1838-1848 were large with grants of over 8000 acres allowed. Grants following this period were smaller. A maximum of 2000 acres was instituted in 1880 with only rare exceptions. Farm sizes went to the other extreme in the period 1849-1854. Land was regarded as a means of attracting settlers and introducing a close agricultural settlement as opposed to a scattered pastoral settlement. Large numbers of colonists were introduced to Natal with the promise of plots of 20 to 100 acres. Such plots

^AThe idea of a moving frontier was put forward by Turner⁶ in his essay 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History'. 'The Frontier' has been generally accepted in modified forms for many parts of the world. In the United States and Australia interesting comparisons have been made on this topic, while the expansion of the Cape Colony and the successive treks in the nineteenth century may be regarded as following this pattern. Neumayrck has showed the application of the concept to the Cape of Good Hope. The idea of an advance has been implicit in many works and studies dealing with areas which have experienced colonization in the last 200 years.

proved to be completely uneconomical and most of the smaller ones were soon abandoned. It was only with the introduction of more specialised farming, mainly of tropical crops on the coast, that a new pattern of farm size emerged, being generally far smaller than the original grants.

The influence of the land speculator was clearly at work in the Colony from 1842 onwards. Large tracts of land fell into the hands of persons and companies who hoped that their investments would in time increase in value to enable them to make a substantial profit. They were able to purchase good land, and in the 1870's they possessed more good agricultural land than the Crown itself. The presence of large tracts of cheap land at below the Government's minimum upset price undoubtedly had a depressing effect upon the Government's financial position and this in turn prevented it from pursuing an active immigration policy at a time when other parts of the world were gaining vast numbers of settlers. As a result considerable areas of nominally European owned farms were in fact occupied by non-European squatters, a subject which excited much comment throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some of the speculators took active steps to improve the value of their land by careful management and the introduction of tenants or managers to work the lands. However, no really reliable figures can be produced of just how much improvement did in fact take place. The Government introduced measures against absentee landlords culminating in the legislation of 1908 which heavily penalised persons who did not use their land in some way or other.

Increasing interest is being shown in the visible forms of the settlement pattern produced by the late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century settlers and by the Government agencies who laid out the land to receive the settlers. Interest has centred mainly on the United States and Australia. The United States in the nineteenth century witnessed one of the greatest migrations in history accompanied by an equally remarkable parcelling out of land into farms. The imprint of the original survey and the Government's regulations in dealing with the land settlement are very clear, as may be seen from works by Thrower⁸ and Meinig⁹ on Ohio and South Australia whilst a study of any topographic map of the settled areas reveals the influence. Government

policy particularly in the British colonies underwent many vicissitudes as may be witnessed in Natal. The Australian Colonies as the major colonial reception area for settlers probably changed their ideas most frequently where land and local politics became inseparable. Roberts' pioneering study¹⁰ on Land Regulations has stood on its own for many years as an attempt to collate the many trends which went into Government policy. The rural land problems of many areas of settlement are due to the various approaches to the initial task of dividing the land and allocating it for use, and Natal was no different. Natal, unlike the United States or New Zealand, never had the problem of the extinction of native rights either through treaty or purchase, although the proportion of non-Europeans was always far greater in Natal than elsewhere. This undoubtedly made the settlement of Natal very different from that of the United States or other colonies. Natal did not require the poor or the destitute as the other colonies or states did because they lacked labour, and it always tried to introduce people with some capital. Typical of this was the mass of literature issued by the Government and various land companies to attract immigrants, which gave budgets of people who had emigrated and suggested the amount of capital immigrants might require. Natal, unlike many other colonies, needed people with capital. A fairly typical budget was published by the Natal Land and Colonization Company in 1865¹¹ which suggested the following expenditure:

"A solid house plastered inside and out cost	£30. 0. 0.
20 oxen cost	80. 0. 0.
50 cows cost	150. 0. 0.
200 ewes cost	150. 0. 0.
Seed for crops cost	30. 0. 0.
Pigs and poultry cost	10. 0. 0.
A wagon and some small expenditure for provisions cost	<u>50. 0. 0.</u>
	<u>£500. 0. 0.</u>

To this figure it was added that the purchase of 1000 acres of Company land would cost another £500. 0. 0. and good cleared land would not be obtainable for less. Thus a total of £1,000 was required to establish a farmer in Natal with sufficient resources to make a success of his farming. Similar budgets were produced for other Colonies and for the United States and the various South American settlement schemes, and these showed that some capital was necessary for emigrants, unless labourers or industrial workers were required.

The two main aspects in Land Settlement were basically public opinion with regard to the land, and the Government's appraisal. It was rare for these two to coincide, particularly in the middle of the last century. Land appraisal was most divergent in South Africa where the history of land settlement in the period 1820 to 1880 is one of apparent Imperial Government meanness, and public demand for more. The appearance of Natal, as with the western United States or central Australia, varied according to the interests of the writer. Heathcote's study of land appraisal in the Warrego territory on the New South Wales-Queensland border¹² is such an example of the study of changing attitudes. Similarly in Natal ideas changed. The Colony began its history with a basic clash of ideas. The Voortrekkers saw Natal, when they entered it in 1838, as a land ideal for their type of farming - cattle raising. A holding of 6000 acres could support a man and his family and there was agreement between the farmer and his government on this. However, the British Government in 1843-1850 did not think in these terms. Immigration was to be encouraged with plots of 20 to 50 acres, which was considered quite adequate for a man and his family. Possibly the difference of appraisal was in part due to the different points of entry. The Voortrekkers entered the Colony via the dry Ladysmith Basin, with its grass and scrub, the British through Durban, with its luxuriant coastal forest. Basically, though, it was due to the difference in attitude between agricultural and stock farmers. It is interesting to speculate upon the possibilities had British administrators entered Natal over the Drakensberg. Sir Harry Smith in 1848 approached this way and agreed to the need for 6000 acre holdings to support a family.

The struggle between the agriculturalists and the stock farmer is an age-old one, and one which has been solved in many different ways. The British Government and the Natal colonial government in the years before the separation from the Cape viewed land in terms of the English environment, and thought of the overseas colonies as extensions of English countryside. The basic thinking of the Colonial Reformers led by Edward Gibbon Wakefield was the creation of more prosperous "Englands" around the globe.¹³

Most of the emigrants too, had preconceived ideas on the type of farming they wished to practise and the type of society they wished

to create. This type of farming consisted of intensive arable farming with some stock. Farm sizes in England and on the continent of Europe were small and many immigrants were landless labourers. Thus the prospect of even 20 acres appeared to many to be bountiful, while land at 4s. an acre seemed remarkably cheap.

In each of the Colonies and in the United States the immigrants viewed the land for the purposes of arable farming. This meant wooded land which could be cleared and which would provide timber for housing, fences and fires. Grasslands were unattractive. MacManis in his study of the Illinios Prairies¹⁴ has found that there was a time lag of about ten years between the occupation of wooded land and grassland in the same vicinity. American colonial expansion westwards temporarily halted at the edge of the Prairies and there was always the feeling that grass and scrub land was an unknown environment which was dangerous. This was due in part to the less certain rainfall of the great grasslands. In addition the small lots of the agriculturalists were found to be inadequate in the grassland environment.

Governments were slow to appreciate that the grasslands required a radically different approach. The Colonial Reformers in England had completely ignored the problem. Persons occupying lands outside the settled agricultural zone had no place in their scheme. Extensive settlement was seen as a source of weakness. The Spanish settlers of South America who had become extensive pastoralists had virtually lost their culture and proved to be a major embarrassment to the Argentinian Government. Immigrants who farmed stock, however, could not be ignored.

The Government of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape had reluctantly recognised the problem in the early eighteenth century and had allowed the pastoralists extensive tracts of land. The British Government in the nineteenth century, only gradually, did the same. In 1847 New South Wales recognised the pastoralist and divided the colony into pastoral and agricultural zones, granting licences to pastoralists at various rates. The other Australian colonies followed suit in the course of the next twenty years. However the pastoralist was looked upon as a pioneer who started the development of the land and who eventually would be displaced by the agriculturalist. The

licences were thus not secure in their tenure although, as the idea of the permanence of the pastoral zone came to be realized, leases gradually became more secure. In the United States the old attitude of ignoring the pastoralist persisted through the period as agricultural settlement advanced rapidly, so that the days of the large stock farmers were limited.

Conditions in South Africa were different. The concessions granted by the Dutch East India Company were enlarged upon so that large pastoral holdings came to be held on a comparatively secure quit rent tenure, from which the lessees were only rarely ejected. Under the British Administration quit rent and freehold tenure came to be virtually equal, until the distinction was abolished in the present century.

In 1843 when the British annexed the Colony of Natal the European inhabitants followed a tradition of large pastoral farms, while the Government was bound by the ideas of the Colonial Reformers to small agricultural farms. The British agreement to allow large farms ruined indirectly most of the later attempts at colonisation. The 1849 settlement schemes which tried to carry out the ideas of the Colonial reformers were unsuccessful as the settlers could compare the size of the neighbouring farms with their own plots. Basically, the Voortrekkers possessed a much better evaluation of the land than the Government, and the later history of land settlement is one of gradual realisation on the part of the Government that European ideas and conditions were not applicable to the South African environment. One can see how slow the realisation was as the Government was still dealing in lots of less than 100 acres in 1875 in the hope that irrigation was the answer to the problem. The Government was mostly optimistic in the prospects for the future whenever it tried to introduce settlers on its own account. However it was gradually accepted that larger holdings were required, but the government was always alarmed at too wide a dispersion of the European population because of the Zulu threat. Unlike Australia or the United States where the native population was comparatively small and unorganised, that of Natal was considerable, and had been highly organised on a military basis by the Zulu monarchy. It was therefore politically desirable to keep the European population

as concentrated as possible and not allow it to be spread too thinly.

The Government changed its attitude, as it did in Australia, and later allowed large grants, but always the cry for closer settlement was heard. After the granting of responsible government in each of the colonies, the demand for closer settlement increased, largely because the urban electorate could not see that it was possible to need a farm of several square miles to make a living. Unlike the tendency seen by Heathcote in Australia for urban living wages to be parallel with rural lands capable of supporting a family, Natal pursued its policy on closer settlement with, in general, not very successful results, and with little regard to land economics.

With the exception of one short period no attempt was made to impose a land tax based on either the land's capabilities or upon its carrying capacity as was done in New South Wales from the 1850's onwards. Natal's method of evaluating land was not as refined as in the other colonies and in general the ideas prevailing were quite simple. The careful calculations on the stocking capacity of the land as carried out by the New South Wales Government for example had no equivalent in Natal. A land tax when it was introduced was introduced for a specific purpose unrelated to revenue.

Closer settlement was only possible after careful preparation, which was expensive, and generally beyond the financial capabilities of the Colony. As a result closer settlement schemes came late in Natal, starting only in 1904, whereas the Australian Colonies had embarked upon them in the previous couple of decades and a few even before that. Careful preparation ensured the success of the twentieth-century schemes, just as lack of preparation had doomed most of the earlier schemes. The Government was aware of the land's capabilities at last, after half a century of trials.

Parallel with this development, the inhabitants and immigrants revised their ideas of what constituted a living area. Improved communications, especially the railway, enabled produce to be moved more rapidly from the rural areas to Durban, Pietermaritzburg and later the Transvaal. Improved techniques of farming enabled the size of farm to be reduced, yet still show a profit. The figure of 6000 acres which fogged a great deal of thought in early Natal was

abandoned. When the New Republic was laid out in 1885 a figure of 1700 morgen (3500 acres approximately) was taken to be a farm capable of supporting a family, so that in Natal the trekkers' ideas also underwent change. However in the Transvaal 3750 morgen or 8000 acres was accepted while in the Cape Colony holdings of 60,000 acres were sold based on the carrying capacity of the land. Carrying capacity became a dominant feature of Australian legislation as well, where rents and areas were worked out carefully according to the stock required to provide the pastoralist with a living. What a living was, naturally varied. The whole European concept of farm size was probably abandoned by the immigrants the moment they set foot in Natal and their ideas tended to approach those of the Trekkers, but with the significant difference that a large number settled in the coastal belt where the Trekkers' ideas were inapplicable. The coastal belt was capable of intensive agricultural development similar to Mauritius or the West Indies, and consequently British ideas worked far better on the coast than in the interior.

The demand for closer settlement within the Colony was one which can be seen in many parts of the world. In Australia the closer settlement movement took the form of the resumption of properties. Leases were terminated either in whole or in part and the resumed areas thrown open to closer settlement which was intended to be of a more intensive nature. In South Australia Meinig's study has shown how the pastoral leases were divided for agricultural pursuits, while in New South Wales to the west of the Darling resumption was for small graziers. The movement to smaller holdings as a result of direct Government intervention was not open to the Government of Natal owing to the greater security of tenure accorded to the pastoralists. The Government had to purchase land for closer settlement schemes in the hope that the increased population would, through the generation of increased trade and industry, allow the Government to recoup its losses through later taxation. Such ideas were in the minds of the Australian legislators as well.

However, closer settlement required improved transport facilities, in particular the construction of railways for the inexpensive and speedy transport of agricultural produce. The development of the

wheat belts of the United States, Australia and Argentina depended upon such development. It was singularly lacking in Natal. The development of agriculture was intimately bound up with the railways; studies such as Scobie's of the development of Argentinian wheat have shown the connection. Natal legislators did not in the main regard railways as a profitable enterprise. The railway was extended slowly even along the coast where conditions were suited to agriculture, and railway development could have assisted the northward extension of sugar cultivation. Railways were eventually built but Natal lagged far behind agricultural settlements elsewhere.¹⁵ Only some 95 miles of railway had been constructed by 1880. Progress was rapid thereafter with 313 miles open in 1890 and 660 miles in 1909.

The object of the Government's land legislation, some of the railway construction and much of the agitation of the colonists themselves was directed towards attracting European immigrants to increase the White population of the Colony. The degree of success can be gauged from Table 1.

TABLE 1
EUROPEAN POPULATION OF NATAL 1846-1909

Year	European Population
1846	3000
1852	7629
1859	11580
1862	13990
1866	16963
1870	17737
1874	18646
1877	22654
1880	25271
1883	31912
1885	36701
1888	35933
1891	46788
1894	45707
1897	50241
1900	64951
1904	87776
1909	83141

Source: Natal Blue Books

The growth of European population was not spectacular and as such Natal was overtaken or completely overshadowed by some contemporary colonies of settlement.¹⁶ Western Australia with 3853 European inhabitants in 1843 increased its population to 282,114 in 1911, while South Australia increased its population from 25,893 in 1846 to 408,558 in

1911. Other settlements founded after Natal similarly expanded rapidly. Manitoba with a population of 25,228 in 1871 increased its population to 461,394 in 1911.¹⁷ Southern Rhodesia with 1500 Europeans in 1891 increased to 23,606 in 1911.¹⁸ The increase in European population in Natal was comparatively small as a result of the limited agricultural and industrial opportunities in the Colony. .

References

1. Billington, R. A. (1960) pp. 653-672
2. Scobie, J. R. (1964) p. 39
3. Bloomfield, P. (1961) p. 121
4. Condliffe, J. B. (1959) p. 65
5. Edwards, I. E. (1934) pp. 44-45
6. Taylor, G. R. (1956) pp. 1-18
7. Neumarck, S. D. (1957) whole work refers
8. Thrower, N. J. W. (1966) pp. 59-128
9. Meinig, D. W. (1962) pp. 94-99
10. Roberts, S. H. (1924) whole work refers
11. Natal Land and Colonization Company, (1865) p. 21
12. Heathcote, R. L. (1965) whole work refers
13. Bloomfield, P. (1961) pp. 103-4
14. MacManis, D. R. (1964) pp. 30-61
15. Wells, J. R. (1952) pp. 31-42
16. Clark, C. M. H. (1950) Vol. I pp. 405-410, Vol. II pp. 664-5.
17. Canada Statistical Year Book 1926, Dominion Bureau of Statistics,
1927, pp. 90-92
18. Colony of Southern Rhodesia, Official Yearbook No. 1, 1924, p. 37

CHAPTER II

THE PHYSICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND TO THE COLONIZATION OF NATAL

2.1. Introduction

The object of this chapter is to outline the main factors which had an influence upon the development of land policy, farm size and the land ownership pattern. The factors may be broadly divided into two groups, the physical and the economic.

The physical factors were influential insofar as they tended to limit the possibilities for which the land could be used. Much of Natal was from one point of view or another unsuitable for arable farming with a close concentrated density of population on the European or North American pattern. The hard realities of the physical environment were only slowly realised by successive Governments. The inability on their part to make a correct appraisal of the environment led many otherwise well planned and not so well planned schemes to disaster. The gradual appreciation of the widespread water problems and ruggedness of Natal eventually led to a sensible approach to land policy and also to the selection of favoured areas for intensive agriculture. The re-evaluation of the physical nature of Natal, however, was a long process and many mistakes were made in the nineteenth century.

The economic cycles and the general pattern of world trade further affected the agricultural potential of Natal by determining the profitability of the staples of Natal's agriculture. They also affected the availability of credit development. Bankruptcies profoundly changed the land ownership pattern of Natal in time of crisis, just as prosperity changed it. The attempts at growing different crops need to be considered, as the farmers needed to produce products which can be sold profitably. Much of the early history of Natal is bound up with crises within the agricultural industry which were closely associated in many instances with international economic crises.

2.2. The Physical Setting

2.2.1 Introduction

It is often difficult to evaluate the influences which the physical environment exerted upon the progress of settlement. To a large extent

it was the official and private evaluations of the environment which were of greater influence than the actual conditions.

The perception of the environment is, therefore, the dominating influence. Although this usually is closely related to actual conditions, the Government official or the pioneer tended to think of it in terms of his own experience. Inevitably the environment was viewed in the context of what possibilities there were for agriculture or for pastoral farming. It was here that the environment appeared to be different to different people. There was little discussion in Natal of a changing environment. The old adage of rainfall following the plough was never taken seriously in the Colony. Changes did occur. Drought affected pastures and crops, and there was a long term deterioration in the pastures akin to that noticed in other parts of the world which were grazed both intensively and extensively.

The relief and climate of Natal have had a profound effect upon the agricultural potential of the Colony. They have been the limiting factors in determining the range of agricultural activities which might be practised in any part of it. The Government recognised the climatic influences on agricultural potential in the mid-1840's and took them into account in determining grant sizes and in distinguishing between the areas suitable for agriculture and those more suited to pastoral activities.

2.2.2. Relief

The main relief features of Natal can be described as a series of surfaces from the High Drakensberg to the coastal plain, separated by marked steps. The country is traversed by a series of rivers which flow predominantly from north-west to south-east. The rivers have in many places cut deeply into surrounding country interrupting the broad divisions. The Colony could be divided into four zones - the coastal belt, the area of high relative relief behind the coastal belt, the interior benchlands and the Drakensberg.

The coastal belt extends for up to 20 miles inland. The belt has comparatively low relative relief and absolute altitude is low, generally under 1000 feet. It is an area of low rounded hills.

The area along the axis of the Natal monocline is some 1 to 20 miles wide, the centre of which is 40 miles from the coast

near the Tugela but which reaches the coast between the Umkomaas and Umtamvuma. The ground is very broken with deeply incised rivers and streams. The area is mostly composed of granitic rocks capped occasionally by sandstones. Relative relief is high, sometimes more than 2000 feet. The altitude reaches over 3000 feet in places. The landscape is often described as Valley-of-a-Thousand-Hills landscape after part of the area.

In the interior there exists a series of benchlands at from 2000 to 5000 feet which are comparatively flat, although considerable relief is present. The rivers in places are deeply incised but in others close to the general surface. Included are a series of extensive basins.

The Drakensberg, which form the interior limits of Natal, reach over 11,000 feet. The Drakensberg are an escarpment which usually rises abruptly from the benchland below. The High Drakensberg on the Lesotho Boundary rise to over 11,000 feet. The Low Drakensberg on the Orange Free State boundary reach over 6000 feet. Projecting from the Drakensberg is a series of spurs of high ground which break up the benchlands of the interior of Natal. Ranges such as the Biggarsberg and Karkloof range form distinct obstacles to communications as do the Drakensberg.

Relief was a prohibitive factor in farming in only limited areas of Natal. In much of the Colony the broken or even rugged nature of the land only occasionally placed an absolute prohibition on all types of agriculture. However certain areas of the Colony had sufficient relief to prevent arable farming and a few to make livestock raising unsuitable.¹ The main areas of high relief may be limited in the range of farming activities (Fig. 2). They are first of all the Drakensberg where relative relief is high and altitude constitutes a negative factor. Secondly there is the zone of granitic rocks adjacent to the coast or coastal belt, where the relative relief is less than the Drakensberg but the area is one of almost constant slope with few comparatively level areas. Thirdly the transverse river valleys may be included. In most cases they cut steep-sided valleys and with extremely rugged land around them and their tributaries they frequently constitute areas of high relief with little flat land. The major rivers are the Tugela and Umkomaas Rivers, with others such as the Umvoti, Tongaat and

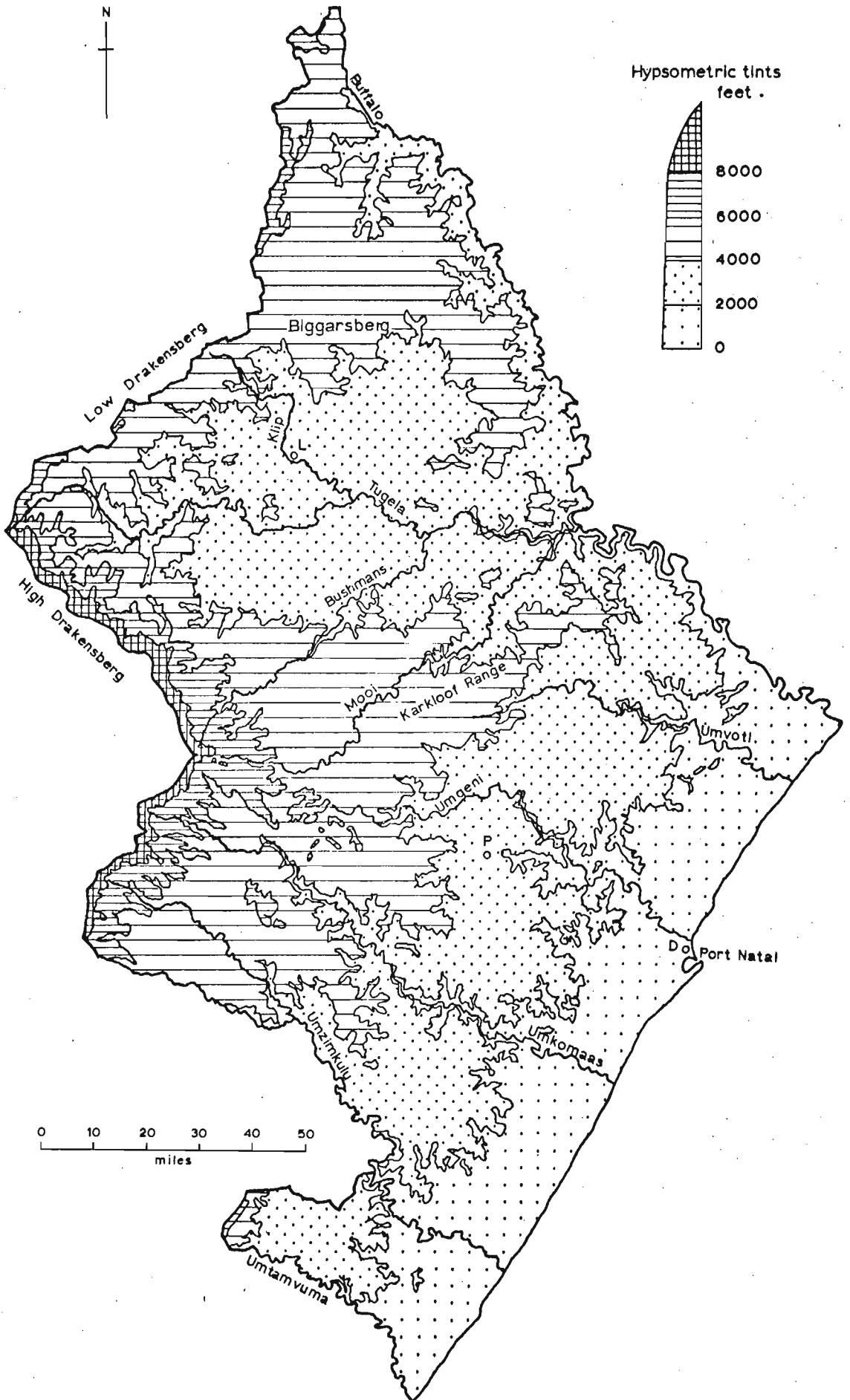


Fig 2. Altitude zones of Natal.

Within the three zones the degree of relief may locally prevent crop growing and occasionally stock farming. It is only in the High Drakensberg that sheer altitude prevents farming, largely as a result of the climatic effects. However, the recognised need for the conservation of steep, easily erodible watersheds, prevented the utilization of the High Drakensberg.

2.2.3. Climate

The climate of the Colony has had a greater influence upon the agriculture, and hence the pattern of farming, than the relief. Over much of the western and northern interior the drought period is protracted and severe, so that plant growth is retarded in winter. The coastal belt and the Midlands however are more equable.

Rainfall totals are closely related to the relief. The regions of highest rainfalls are found along the coast and the Drakensberg, and its transverse ridges. In these areas the mean annual rainfall exceeds 40 inches. The lowest rainfall is found in the Dundee and Ladysmith basins where rainfall is less than 25 inches in a few areas. Much of the interior and Midlands has between 30 and 40 inches a year compared with over 40 inches on the coast (Fig. 3)

The distribution of rain through the year varies considerably with a dry season which increases with distance from the coast. On the coast there is no dry month as over one inch of rain falls in each, but the dry period increases to four dry months with under one inch over much of the interior except in the south-west, and to five dry months in certain restricted localities in the north-west. An additional hazard is that in the regions afflicted by drought, much of the rainfall is in heavy storms, leading to flood or hail damage and to a higher degree of variability in annual total.

The number of rainy days is also significant for plant growth. The Mist Belt of the Midlands with over 100 rainy days per annum is particularly important with regard to timber growth, and previously for good pastures and crops. Similarly on the coast the high humidities have been of assistance for the growth of tropical crops. In the north-west the number of rainy days falls to under 60, restricting most areas to cereal growing before 1910.

The temperatures experienced in Natal class it as a Sub-tropical

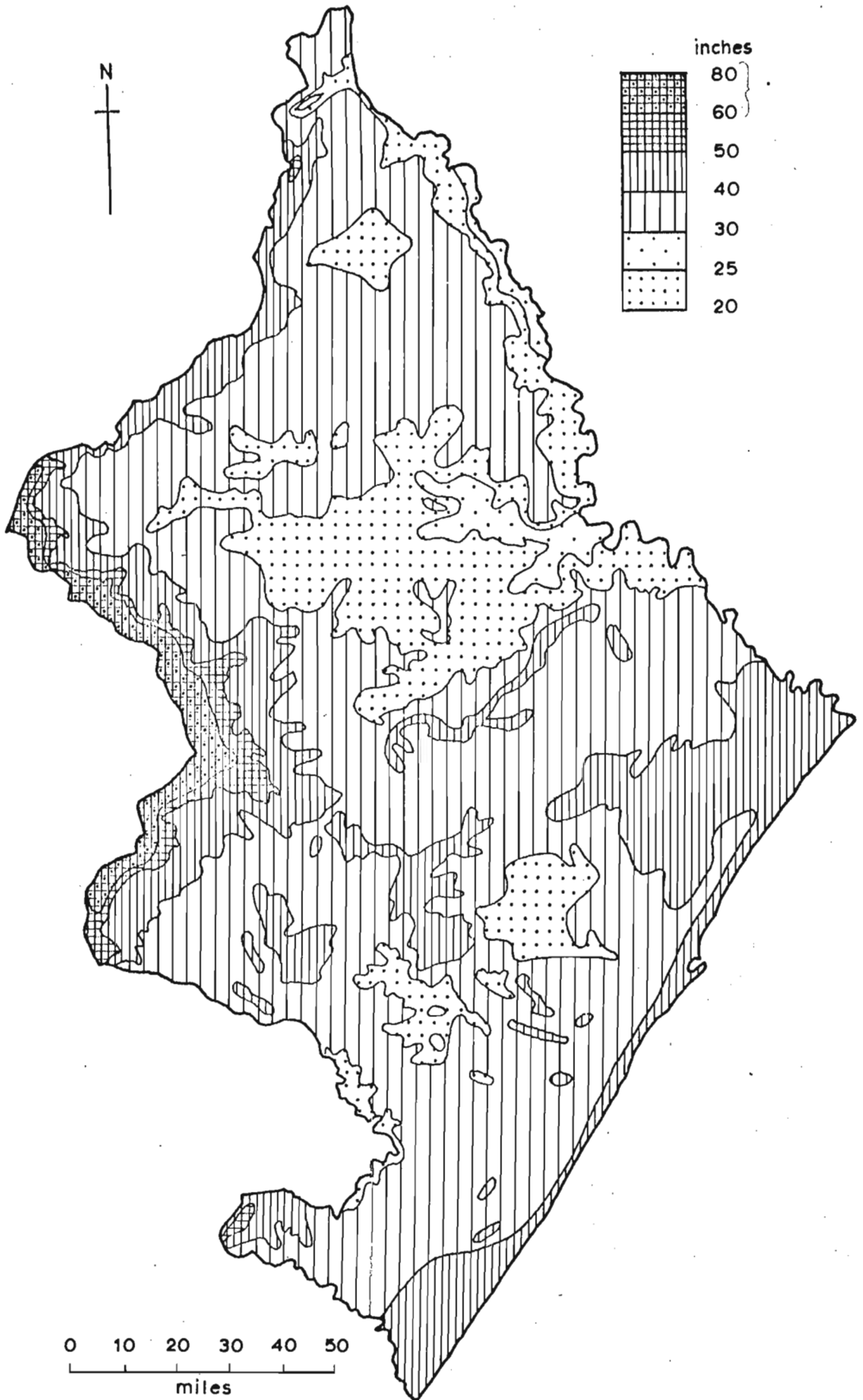


Fig.3. Annual average distribution of rainfall.

climate with hot summers and mild winters, but a considerable variation occurs from one place to another.

January average temperatures range from about 75°F on the coast to 70° at Ladysmith, but are appreciably lower in the Drakensberg according to altitude. In July the average temperatures remain high, over 60°, on the coast, but decrease rapidly inland to approximately 45° in the Drakensberg.

The period during which frost may be expected varies from nil on the coastal belt to 30-60 days over much of the Midlands and northern districts and exceeds four months in the Drakensberg.

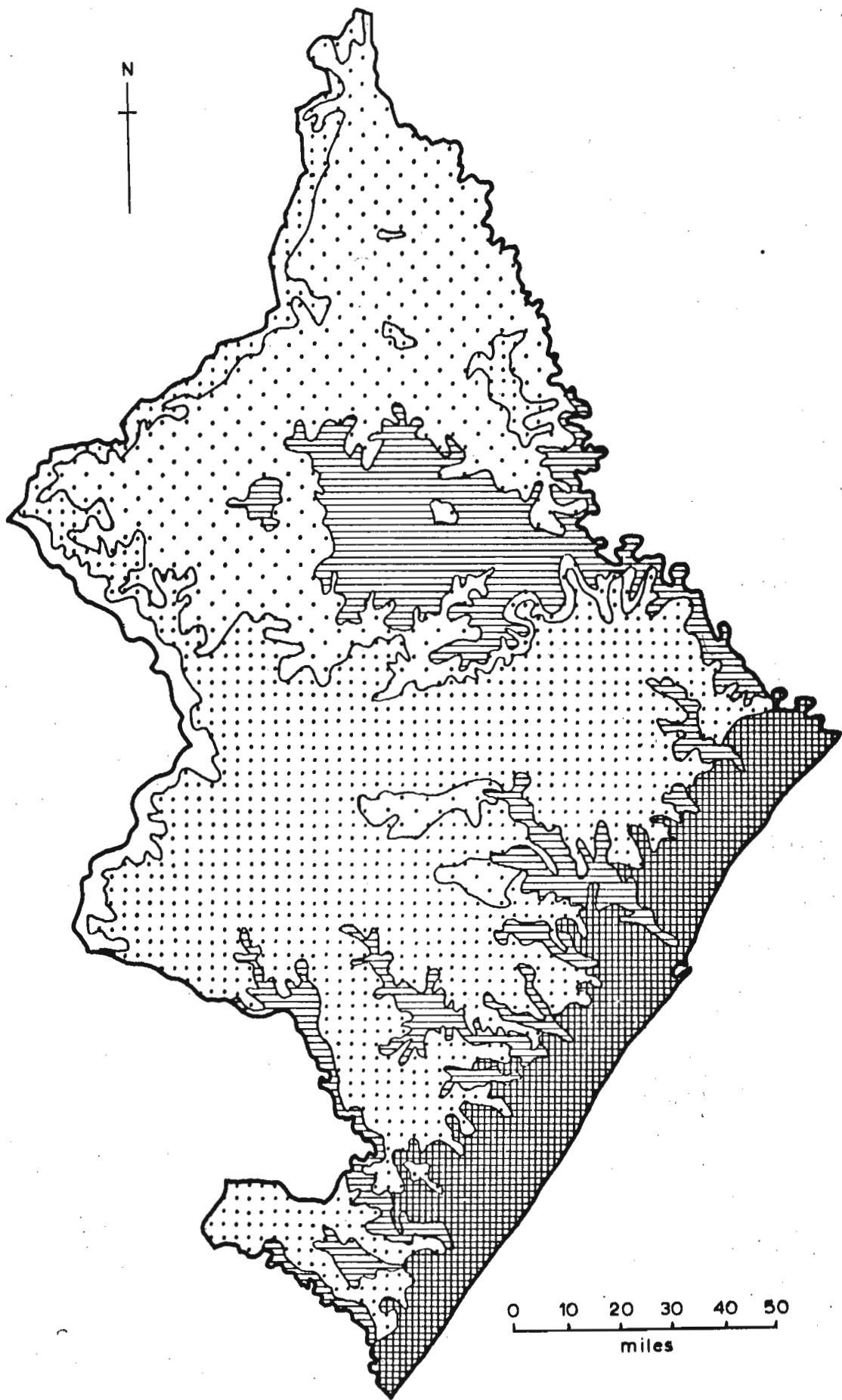
The climate, with its resulting flow of surface water, has had comparatively little effect in detail upon the area or shape of farms in Natal, but it has influenced the broad regional patterns of farm sizes. Most parts of the Colony are well watered and even in Klip River County springs and streams are sufficiently close together not to warrant too great a consideration of the water supplies. Many of the early farms were named after water features such as springs and streams. This appears to be a trait which was brought to Natal by farmers used to the less reliable sources of water in the interior of the Cape Colony and the High Veld in general.

2.2.4. Vegetation

The pattern of vegetation within the Colony was related to the climate and relief conditions (Fig. 4).² To this extent unfavourable climatic conditions were reflected in the vegetation cover, which was the most apparent characteristic of the land to the pioneers and later settlers.

Most of Natal was covered by open grassland. The interior plateaux and mountains are covered by grasses of varying qualities. The northern areas and Midlands are today occupied by mixed grasses with only localised areas of sweetveld,^{*} which can carry stock right through the year. Areas of sourveld were more widespread in the south. Pasture deterioration suggests that sweet grasses were more common a hundred years ago and descriptions of the land in the 1840's and 1850's suggests

^{*}Sweet and Sour are descriptions given to grasslands depending upon the seasonal availability of the sward. Sweet species may be grazed upon throughout the year, whereas sour species are available for the summer months only.








-  Coastal Forest
-  Valley Bushveld
-  Grassland (predominantly sour species)
-  Grassland (predominantly sweet species)
-  Alpine Flora

Fig.4. Vegetation of Natal.

that pastures were good and devoid of thick thornveld covering. Extensive vleis areas on the watersheds have been destroyed but in the last century they represented a most important aspect of the vegetation as a result of their high water retention capacity.³

The interior valleys and the broken regions of the Native reserves were occupied by thornveld. Acacia trees were plentiful but presented a comparatively unattractive prospect to the early immigrants unless the thornveld was comparatively open in nature.

The coastal belt, a few miles wide, and the main river valleys to an extent of 10 to 20 miles inland, was covered with coastal evergreen bush and subtropical forest. The vegetation within these areas was dense, and frequently only the hilltops were open and grassed. In the Midlands some areas of natural forest occurred but the patches of forest were small and rarely large enough to attract settlers to them for the timber. Areas of timber were frequently reserved for the Crown in the period from the 1860's onwards.

Natal could thus be divided into two environments according to the vegetation cover, the thick bush and forest of the coastal zone and the pastures and open thornveld of the interior. Such a duality of environment had been met before in other colonies and the problems faced were bound up with the different values placed on the two.

2.2.5. The Environmental Divisions of Natal

The environment of Natal was perceived by people of different backgrounds and consequently it appeared different to different people. The problem for the colonist in the nineteenth century was the lack of any real knowledge of the environment. Modern attempts at land classification are able to rely on a considerable body of scientific data. No such data was available to the early colonist and consequently there was much discussion over what was present in Natal and ideas were liable to violent fluctuations.

Natal in the 1830's and 1840's was recovering from the depredations of Shaka. Much of the Colony had been depopulated. The vegetation as a result was able to develop with little human interference for twenty years before the arrival of the Voortrekkers, and consequently the land appeared richer than it really was.

The initial evaluation of the environment of Natal was made by the

Voortrekkers in the period before 1838. Their view of Natal was one of considerable richness and they were particularly impressed by the pasture lands which the reconnaissance parties discovered. In many respects Natal represented "The Promised Land" to the Trekkers. The interior of Natal was highly suitable for extensive cattle farming. Opinion as to the suitability of Natal for pastoral and agricultural activities was uniformly favourable in the period before 1850. Much of the information presented was derived from the accounts of travellers from the Cape Colony. Comparisons with the Cape Colony and the Eastern Province in particular were frequently made to the benefit of Natal. Favourable opinions circulated in the Cape Colony and were published in England. In some cases extravagant claims were made, in others some caution was urged, particularly with regard to pests and diseases.

One report placed before Parliament referred to a visit by Dr. Smith of the Cape garrison in 1834.⁴ Dr. Smith's report was fully representative of its kind:

"The principal part of which (Natal) is peculiarly fitted either for the objects of the agriculturists or the grazier. "The more western portion presents numerous extensive flats, thickly covered with luxuriant grass, and abounds in rivers and rivulets, a feature in the character of the country that is hardly within the comprehension of the Cape colonist. "The middle and eastern divisions, again exhibit a broken undulating surface and abound with low knolls, in some places clustered together, in others separate, and connected by rich meadow, covered with the most beautiful and abundant vegetation. Here the rivers are particularly numerous; and some of them, where sources are far in the interior, are very large. The more considerable ones commonly run in deep channels and from the banks, being generally rather precipitous, their waters could not be made available for irrigation which, however, is of no importance, as the number of small rills and powerful springs, which everywhere exist, render dependence upon the larger springs quite unnecessary. In many of the meadows water was observed oozing out in every direction. Indeed the best idea I can give of its peculiarity in this respect, is by stating that what the traveller has to hunt after in other parts of South Africa, with the most anxious solicitude, is here everywhere close at hand, as almost to constitute inconvenience. "Trees fit for timber exist everywhere in sufficiency, but they are more abundant towards the eastern and western

extremes. In those directions forests of considerable extent occur, but without the great proportion of under-wood which exists in those of the (Cape) colony."

Further accounts continued to be written drawing attention to the luxuriance of growth in Natal and contrasting conditions there with those in the Cape Colony. However some warnings were given even in the late 1830's regarding lack of timber. The Rev. J. Archbell in 1838 noted that the coastal belt "was superior to the rest and exceeded in capability any country in southern Africa", but the interior was devoid of trees.⁵

The productivity and value of the coastal lands had largely been ignored by the explorers from the Cape Colony. However interest in emigration increased in the second half of the 1840's. The establishment of the British administration in 1845 and the Surveyor General's Office in particular resulted in the first scientific enquiry into the country by William Stanger, the Surveyor General. His reports, together with the report of the Commission enquiring into administration in December 1847, provided a large body of information which was extensively used by the promoters of the 1850 Settlement Schemes. Stanger was impressed and wrote:

"The district is everywhere covered with vegetation either in the form of luxuriant grass, which grows to a great height, or thorns and low bushes. Timber trees only grow in kloofs or the sides of hills, excepting a belt which runs along the sea coast.

"Water abounds in every part, and flowing streams cross the path at intervals of only a few miles. In the winter some of these become dry, but then water may always be obtained at moderate distances.

"The soil is in all cases well adapted for cultivation, and on the alluvial lands near rivers particularly so, producing much larger crops than are ever grown in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope."

J. C. Byrne in his 'Emigrants' Guide' quoted extensively from official accounts noting that droughts were unknown, pasturage was plentiful and that the possibilities for irrigation were considerable. Two crops a year could be grown. Byrne showed the Colony to be a place where emigrants could produce a wide range of crops. In 1848 he wrote:

"The author of these pages has visited many climes, has

dwelt beneath the burning sun of India, has traversed Australia, visited New Zealand and many other lands, but never have his eyes rested upon a land blessed by a bounteous Providence with a more fertile soil than Natal." ⁶

The glowing potential of the Colony was extolled by several writers. The climate and the rivers excited particular comment. Some accounts become even more eloquent than Byrne's. Methley ⁷, for example, was particularly impressed with the greenness of Natal. Blaine ⁸ even suggested that the interior of the Colony had such abundant water that rice cultivation was a practical possibility. Chiappini ⁹ stated that one acre of land in Natal was equivalent in pasturage for cattle to ten acres in the old colony (Cape).

In 1850 the environment of Natal can be summed up in the twofold division of the Colony between the coastal forest and the interior grasslands. The whole was well watered and without drought. The rivers and streams had abundant supplies of water with extensive vleis and sponges on the watersheds.

The optimism for colonization was unbounded. The rugged nature of the terrain was not fully appreciated. The failure of the 1850 settlement schemes had led to a reappraisal of the environment to a small extent. The failure was due, it was felt, mainly to poor administration as well as to a mistaken view of the nature of the country.

The view of the environment changed little after 1850. It was realised that the northern part of the Colony was subject to drought and that there was little likelihood of arable farming in those areas. Accounts throughout the nineteenth century stressed the 'salubrious' nature of the climate and the possibilities for agriculture if the organisational and technological problems could be overcome. In many respects accounts written in the 1880's and 1890's differ little from those forty years before, except in the increase in data.

The initial appraisals appear over optimistic today but there have been changes in the environment since the 1840's. The water resources of Natal have been severely depleted through the destruction of vleis while overgrazing and veld burning have led to the deterioration of the pastures. Much of the deterioration has occurred since Union as a result of the intensification of agriculture.

The foregoing discussion raises the question 'what were the colonists in the last century looking for, and did Natal possess it?' An attempt to answer this question will be of greater value than the reproduction of a modern account.¹⁰ In this respect two approaches need investigation. The points of view of the pastoralist and the agriculturist must be examined.

The pastoralist looked for two basic items in the land - good pasture and adequate water supplies. The best sweet grasses were to be found in the northern areas of the Colony, to the north of the Little Bushman's River. However, the area suffered from droughts and uncertain rainfall which made it less suitable. The area of grassland in the Midland counties, although containing a higher proportion of sour species possessed a steadier rainfall and consequently was more attractive to settlers. The coastal belt with its forest and bush was less attractive, while the climatic conditions of high humidity and high temperatures appeared to encourage diseases which again were a negative factor in pastoral production, especially with regard to sheep (Fig. 5). Excessive relief was also a disadvantage, but in few parts of Natal was it sufficient to preclude animals.

The agriculturists required different conditions. The main features looked for were fertile soils, adequate water supplies and good climate. The agriculturist thus had a more difficult task in evaluating the environment. Water supplies at the surface were visible and consequently some evaluation could be quickly made. In this respect the coastal belt of Natal with its numerous rivers was superior to the rest of the Colony, but nowhere was without surface water although it was often not available in sufficient quantities for agricultural purposes. The soils could only be judged through the vegetation cover. In this respect the coastal bush and forest which had been so forbidding to the pastoralist was much more attractive. The colonists from Western Europe were used to trees and luxuriant growth was taken to indicate fertile soils. The attraction of the coastal belt was realised by the Government which in 1846-1847 reserved nearly the whole of the zone covered by the bush and forest in Victoria County for agricultural lots. Although the agriculturists might agree that the coastal forest, once cleared, was good land, the question of good

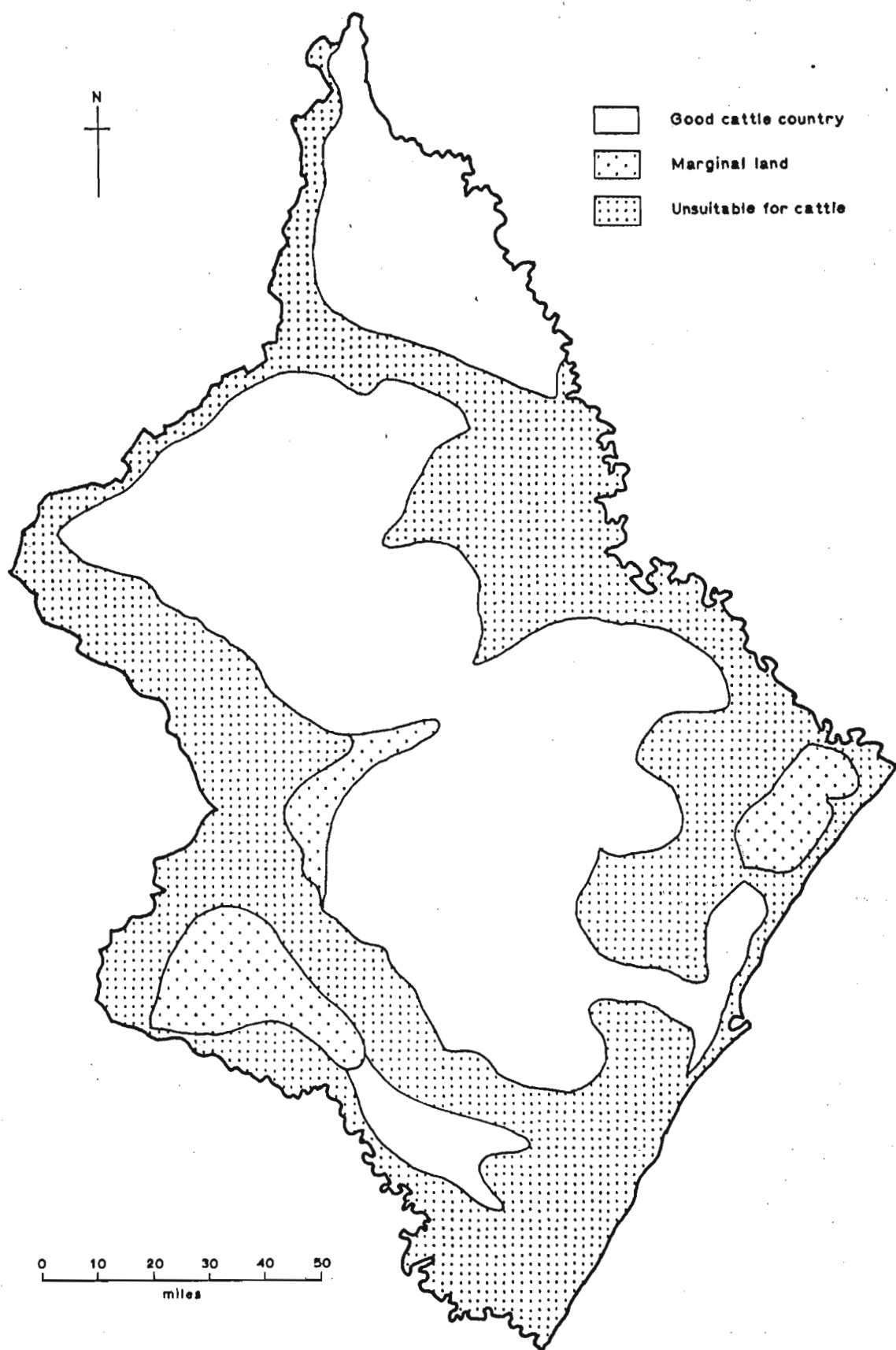


Fig. 5. Approximate Voortrekker assessment of Natal.

for what was one which took some time to answer.

The pasture lands presented a less attractive prospect for the agriculturist. In the United States the colonists on encountering the Prairies in the 1830's and 1840's had considered them to be suitable only for cattle or Indians, and the myth of the 'Great American Desert' took several years to explode.¹¹ The grasslands by the 1840's had been shown to be cultivable and although the new environment necessitated changed methods, agriculture had been extended onto the Plains. In Natal many officials and promoters of settlement schemes throughout the colonial period thought the same. The well watered lands of the Midlands were considered to be suitable for agricultural settlement in the 1840's. The first attempts failed, but later ones succeeded. The Midlands were capable, under the right economic conditions, of agricultural development. Undoubtedly the environment of the Midlands counties was such as to lead to considerable confusion. There was little doubt in the Colonial period as to the use to which the coastal belt and the northern areas could be put but the Midlands and the interior grassland and thornbush country of Victoria County were problem areas.

The broad twofold division of Natal into Interior and Coast is one which was used in the Colonial period quite widely as the varying capabilities of the land were recognised. The division of the Interior division into two subdivisions, the Midlands which proved to be capable of agricultural development and the far interior which remained pastoral, was a discovery of the present century.

2.3. The Agricultural and Economic Development of Natal

2.3.1. Economic Background

The Agricultural Development of Natal was influenced strongly by the cyclical fluctuations in the economy of the Colony. Schumann¹² distinguished five major cycles in the period from 1850 to 1910 with a number of smaller booms and depressions.

The first major cycle lasted from 1850 to 1869. The 1850's were very prosperous and South Africa as a whole expanded rapidly. Such recessions as there were, were largely local and temporary. The establishment of banks in Natal, commencing with the Natal Bank

in 1854 and several more in the years following, led to a considerable increase in the amount of money available on credit. In Natal the period from 1861 to 1863 saw an increase in banking and financial facilities with the launching of new speculative companies and banks. Three new banks appeared in 1862. However, the unhealthy and excessive extension of credit facilities led to a crisis from 1865 onwards. This resulted in the period 1865 to 1869 in many bankruptcies and sequestration of properties. The year 1867 was particularly regressive for the farming community, especially farmers planting sugar, as the speculation in sugar land had been excessive and the reaction was severely felt. Along the entire coastal belt banks and mortgage houses took over properties, and the sugar industry was reduced to a very depressed state.

The second major cycle lasted from 1870 to 1886. The 1870's were again a period of great prosperity based ^{now} on wool and diamonds. The period from 1879 to 1882 was particularly prosperous as a result of favourable conditions abroad, and the presence of a large British army which spent freely in South Africa and particularly in Natal. Again an over-extension of credit led to a recession. The main cause was the collapse of the diamond share market resulting in the diamond crisis. The crisis lasted until 1886 and it was intensified in the agricultural community by drought from 1883-6. The economy of Natal was sufficiently dependent upon the rest of South Africa, particularly the two Republics, that developments beyond the Colony's borders were of major concern.

The three major periods from 1887 to 1910 show a considerably greater range of activity. The discovery of gold in the Transvaal had an immediate effect upon economic activity in Natal leading to crisis in 1890 but this was not severe or long lived. Conditions were unsettled before the South African War. Wool and sugar prices on the world market fell, leaving the agricultural community in a comparatively poor state.

Boom conditions during the South African War in the period 1899 - 1902 affected all those parts of the Colony which were not fought over. The boom gave way to a depression in 1903 which lasted until Union and was the most severe in South Africa up to that time. The

optimistic conditions at the time of Union led to an upswing in the economy.

The agricultural economy of Natal was linked to markets in the Cape and overseas from 1838 onwards, but most production was for local consumption and little was for export. Agriculture in Natal had to await the development of the interior of South Africa following the diamond and gold discoveries which brought increased economic activity to Natal. The direct links which existed between the pastoral holdings of Australia or the cotton plantations of the United States and British industry were lacking in South Africa. Allen¹³ makes the point that the whole economy was much more self-sufficient and that a staple crop which dominated the economy never appeared.

In the absence of basic metals, minerals or manufactures, the Colony was forced to turn its attention to the export of commodities such as ivory, skins and meat to pay for its imports. In 1850 ivory constituted 54 per cent of exports by value but this diminished rapidly as the elephants were exterminated and other exports had to be found.

2.3.2. Livestock farming

The first settlers were attracted to Natal by its possibilities as land for extensive grazing of cattle. As a result the Trekkers settled in the Midlands and the interior avoiding the coastal plain where there were cattle diseases. The export of skins, butter and cheese was sufficient to pay for the imports required by the small pastoral community. In 1850 exports of oxen, butter and hides amounted to 33 per cent of the total. However, the export of meat even to the Cape was beyond the technological capabilities of the time.

In 1855 the outbreak of lung disease had a disastrous effect on the cattle population. The disease particularly affected the interior regions, which had previously been disease free, and led to the reduction of numbers to very low levels. The effects of the epidemic upon the cattle numbers was only temporary (Fig. 6) but it led to a basic alteration in the structure of the livestock industry with the introduction of woolled sheep.

The cattle industry recovered from the effects of lung disease

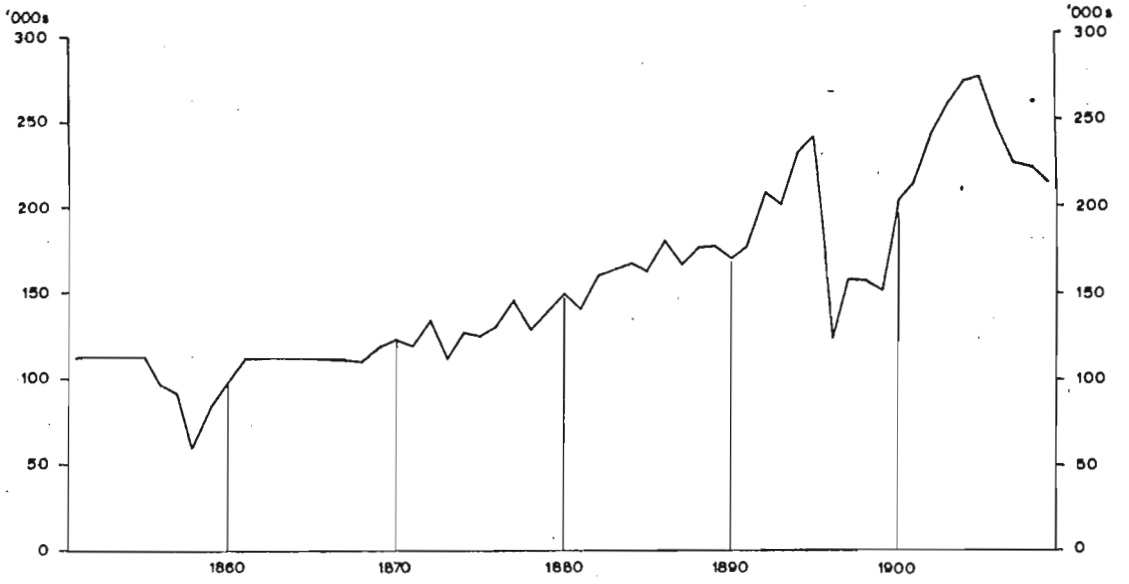


Fig. 6. European owned cattle in Natal 1851-1909.



Fig. 7. European owned woolled sheep in Natal 1851-1909.

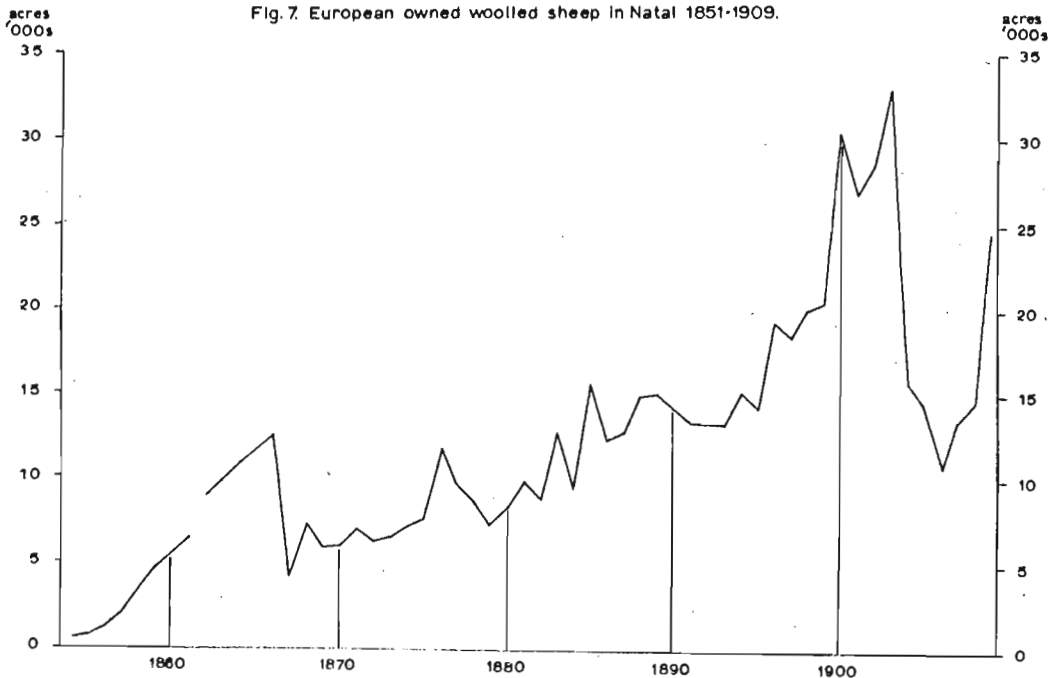


Fig. 8. Acreage of sugar planted (1854-1861) or reaped (1862-1909).

and by 1861 the previous levels had been reached. A fairly steady increase in numbers occurred thereafter up to 1896, when an outbreak of Rinderpest practically halved European holdings of cattle, and reduced them to the levels of 1852-55.

Cattle were fairly evenly distributed in the Colony but were denser in the Midlands and Interior and on the North Coast. The numbers in the southern part of the Colony south of the Umkomaas River were low due in part to the low level of agricultural development there and to East Coast Fever in the south coastal region, which effectively prevented the maintenance of large herds.

The pattern of cattle distribution did not change appreciably throughout the nineteenth century until the development of the dairying industry in the Midlands around Durban and Pietermaritzburg and on the rail routes. Commercial dairying began in the 1890's on a small scale with the development of creameries and condenseries, which affected these areas, leading to intensification of pastoral production. The increase in total cattle numbers can in part be attributed to the opening up of new areas for farming, especially in the 1880's and 1890's.

Sheep had been introduced by the Voortrekkers but their numbers had remained comparatively small until the early 1860's when the production of wool provided an alternative source of income to cattle raising. Woolled sheep as opposed to non-woolled sheep for mutton dominated the Natal industry. The number of woolled sheep rose from about 11-15,000 in the early 1850's to 300,000 by 1870 (Fig. 7). In the period 1861-1870 the exports of wool increased from 648,000 lbs. to 3,613,000 lbs. and reached 15,283,000 lbs. in 1880 and 27,307,000 lbs. in 1890. Wool provided 30.2 per cent of the value of exports in 1861, 35.6 per cent in 1870, 63.0 per cent in 1880 and 81.7 per cent in 1890. The wool industry dominated the Midlands and Interior of Natal in the period up to 1900 although throughout cattle remained basic to the economy, and their total value exceeded that of sheep. Cattle, however, played little part in the external trade of the Colony.

Sheep were found in almost every district of the Colony with the exception of the coastal areas, where climatic conditions were

unfavourable. The pattern was closely related to that of the cattle distribution except for the coast, but the numbers were liable to considerable fluctuations from year to year owing to the custom of trekking sheep from the Orange Free State across the Drakensberg for grazing and wintering. Woolled sheep were as suitable for Natal as for the Cape, in that they produced a commodity which was easily transported and for which there was a constant demand.

2.3.3. Crop farming

In the coastal regions large-scale pastoral activities were not suitable due to disease and the greater density of vegetation. As the area was subtropical it was natural that attempts were made to establish subtropical plantation crops. Various experiments were carried out with cotton, indigo, arrowroot, coffee, tea and sugar. The first major attempt was to develop the coastland for cotton plantations but like most of the other experiments, it failed due to the lack of finance and to the lack of knowledge on the part of the farmers. Each crop with the exception of sugar failed to live up to expectations as a result of cyclical depressions in the world price of the commodity. Successively the crops were abandoned and displaced. The decline in the prices of arrowroot, cotton and coffee caused the collapse of these industries in the early days of the Colony. The sugar industry, on the other hand, survived the vicissitudes which beset the Colony. Better organisation and a sufficiently large internal market supported the sugar industry.

Cotton was grown by the Natal Cotton Company in the late 1840's and early 1850's but the German settlers brought in to grow it were inexperienced. The experiment failed. Cotton constituted only 1.4 per cent of the value of exports in 1850. As a result of the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861 there was a renewed interest in cotton, and planting was encouraged by the high price realized as a result of the blockade of the Confederate States. Cotton lands reaped, increased from 63 acres in 1861 to a peak of 2580 in 1864. After that date the area declined to 358 acres in 1870 and except for a slight revival in 1871 and 1872 the growing of cotton ceased. Cotton exports reached 110,000 lbs. in 1867 and

234,000 lbs. in 1871 but declined to 3200 lbs. in 1876 and ceased to have any importance.

Coffee attracted attention after 1862 because of high world prices and led to the establishment of a number of estates mainly in Victoria County. In 1865, 1990 acres of coffee were harvested, and in 1870, 3679 acres; but as a result of bad management, disease, and its inability to compete with imported coffee, the industry dwindled to 746 acres in 1880 and 217 acres in 1890.

Tea experienced a similar history. After the failure of coffee, tea was developed in the Inanda district in the 1880's so that the harvested area increased from 3 acres in 1880 to 2302 acres in 1896. However, the lowering of protective duties and the competition for land for sugar soon removed the industry.

Sugar cane proved after the early experiments to be the best suited to the conditions of the coastal belt. Sugar cane had been tried in 1849 and many of the pioneers had firsthand experience of sugar cane production in Mauritius, from where some of the early varieties were imported. Once the problems of labour and disease had been overcome, (through the introduction of indentured labourers from India, and the importation of the Uba strain of cane in the 1860's), it was possible to develop the industry. Markets were available but the price of sugar fell steadily through the second half of the last century from £24.7. 0. per ton in 1862 to £20.7.0. in 1870, to £19.1.0. in 1880 and £13.4.0. in 1890. Only after 1885 when prices dropped to below £15 per ton did exports and the acreage under sugar cane decline sharply. Between 1864 and 1881 sugar supplied on average about 25 per cent of all the export trade of Durban, whereas between 1886 and 1898 it was only about 7 per cent. A boom occurred with the South African War when prices again rose rapidly and the acreage increased spectacularly only to sink back to very low levels in the depression which followed the war. The state of depression lasted until the effects of Zululand's development made themselves felt after 1908 when the first harvest in that region was gathered in.

It is not possible to arrive at any figure for the acreage actually under sugar cane in this period but Fig. 8 shows the acreages planted or reaped each year. Production was limited to the coastal districts

from the Tugela to Umzinto with the main concentration in the Inanda district. The varieties of cane available in the period before 1910 were not resistant to frost. Sugar cane was therefore restricted to a fairly narrow belt along the coast. The higher lands of the interior of the coastal counties were avoided at this time. Sugar was being grown essentially on the margins of its tolerance.

Most of the arable land of the Colony throughout the period up to 1910 was under maize. Maize was highly adaptable to a great variety of climatic and soil conditions and was therefore grown throughout the Colony. As a result of the scattered nature of the sparse European population and its distance from urban centres, the absence of organised produce markets and the difficulties of transportation, the production of maize on a commercial scale was never envisaged in Natal. Small quantities were exported as, for example, at the time of the South African War, but never continuously. Production became concentrated in the coastal region in the hands of Indian cultivators before the presence of streak, a virus infection, limited its possibilities. Maize occupied between 40 and 70 per cent of the cultivated area of Natal throughout the period, increasing its hold as its rivals, including wheat and kaffir corn, declined in importance.

Horticulture and intensive market gardening followed the traditional economic principle that it was situated near the large towns, or on land of high economic value, and that once it was established it tended to be remarkably stable in locality. The first horticultural activity took place around Pietermaritzburg and Durban. Pietermaritzburg was the main centre of the Colony and had a military garrison stationed there. A substantial market for horticultural produce was created and the demand supplied the small farmers around the City with their means of subsistence. Around Durban market gardening proceeded rapidly, stimulated by the local demand, and by port demand from passing ships. In particular the German community of New Germany turned to market gardening after the failure of cotton. Later the development of the railway, both along the coastal belt and in the interior, aided the development of horticulture in those areas where climatic conditions were favourable or where irrigation was possible.

The development of a commercial timber industry, especially the

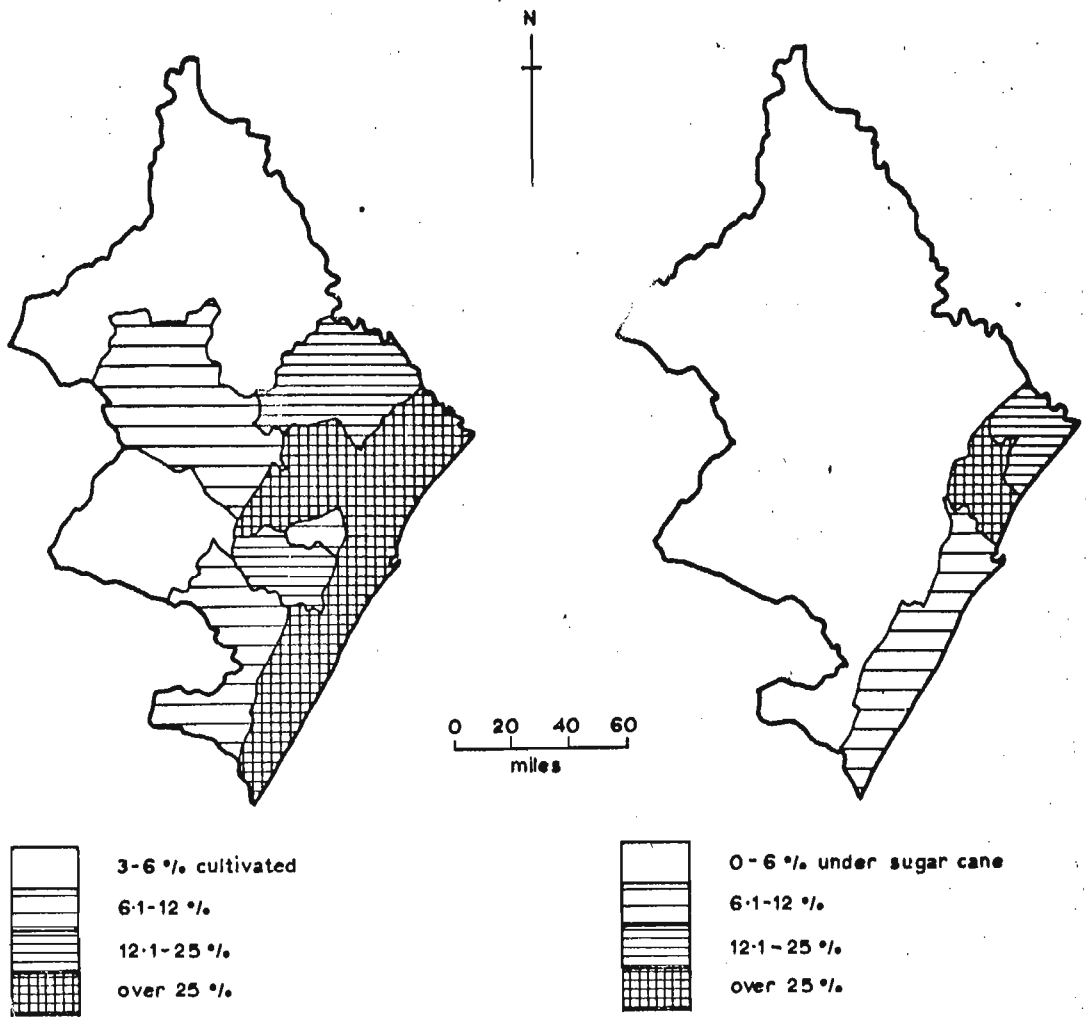
wattle industry changed the face of much of the Midlands of Natal. Wattle was first introduced to Natal in 1864. However, it was only after its commercial possibilities in the tanning industry had been recognised in 1887, that extensive planting began.

Wattle was restricted to areas above 2000 feet because of the diseases and fungi which occurred below that level, and to areas below 4500 feet because snow and frost were detrimental on higher ground. The most favoured areas were thus the Midlands and the interior portion of the coastal belt. The planting of other trees had not commenced on a large scale by 1910. Where planting had occurred it was usually associated with the wattle plantations.

Agricultural development in Natal in 1910 was still backward compared with many contemporary mid-latitude settlements. No major export crop had been planted, except on the coastal belt, and the prosperity of the interior counties rested on wool exports. However, Natal was not a vast sheep run geared to outside markets, and the emphasis on self-sufficiency which had been particularly marked in the Trekkers' time survived in part throughout the colonial era.

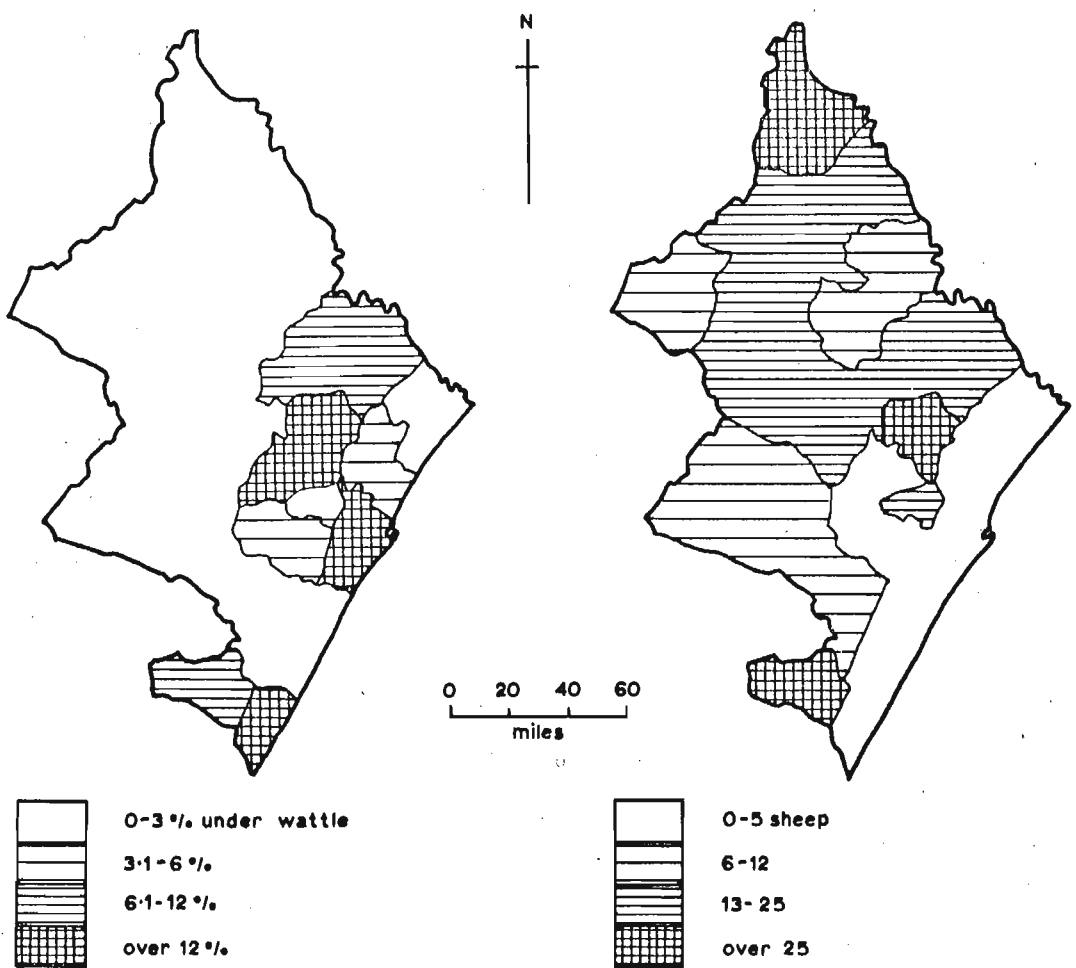
Statistics on land use are incomplete. Even in 1909 only 46.0 per cent of the European farm area was enumerated. Consequently it must be assumed that much of the remainder was either unused or occupied by Native squatters or agricultural labourers.* The available statistics do show a low level of development on the area enumerated. The cultivated area as a whole amounted to only 11.4 per cent of the farm area. In Victoria County, European sugar acreages covered only 7.6 per cent of the total European farm area. Such figures indicate that the 'Sugar Belt' was far from continuous. The figures for wattle were similarly unreliable but it is apparent that the 'Wattle Belt' had not emerged by 1910. Nevertheless, an attempt has been made in Fig. 9 to illustrate some of the salient points of European agriculture in 1909, but allowance must be made for the 54.0 per cent of the area of European farms which were not included in the returns.

*It was a common practice in Natal to provide land in return for labour; Native labourers gave six months service on a farm and received in return the use of a plot of the farmer's land.



i. Area cultivated as a percentage of the European farm area.

ii. Area under sugar cane as a percentage of the European farm area.



iii. Area under wattle as a percentage of the European farm area.

iv. Number of woolled sheep per 1000 acres of European farm area.

Fig.9. Features of European agriculture In Natal in 1909.

References

1. Hurwitz, N. (1953) pp. 25-26
2. Acocks, J. P. H. (1952) pp. 1-18
3. Edwards, D. (1963) pp. 26-30
4. Christopher, J.S. (1850) p. 27
5. Ibid p. 40
6. Byrne, J. C. (1848) pp. 46-47
7. Methley, J. E. (1849) pp. 1-4
8. Christopher, J.S. (1850) p. 42
9. Ibid p. 59
10. Fair, T. J. D. (unpublished 1955) pp. 25-28
11. Billington, R. A. (1960) pp. 452-3 & pp. 690-704
12. Schumann, C.G.W. (1938) pp. 59-130
13. Allen, H. C. (1959) p. 43

CHAPTER III

GOVERNMENT LAND POLICY AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION

3.1 Introduction

The Government had the dominant influence upon the settlement of Natal in the period before Union through the formulation of land laws. The purpose of this chapter is to trace the development of land laws in Natal, showing the influences which were exerted upon the Government and its responses to them.

Natal was the meeting point of two approaches to land allocation and settlement. The two approaches were diametrically opposite and were dependent upon two evaluations of the potential of the Colony. These evaluations were based first upon the concept of Natal as a pastoral country and second upon the concept of Natal as an agricultural country. The two approaches were followed at different times to produce a confused land policy which was nearly disastrous for the settlement of the Colony by free settlers. Natal was never seriously considered as a possible penal settlement akin to New South Wales.

The ideas of the first organised Government were conditioned by pastoral farming needs. Cattle farming required large acreages. The Trekkers from the Cape Colony who first occupied Natal had regarded cattle farming as their normal way of life and consequently looked upon large farms as a necessity. As a result the initial farm pattern of Natal was one of large farm grants.

The British Government, which took control of the administration of Natal in the period from 1843 to 1845 had different ideas. Settlement, according to the prevailing theories, had to be close for agricultural purposes. Land grants, therefore, need only be small and should be related to amount of land a family needed to make a living from agriculture. The British Government in fact regarded extensive farming with horror. Governments in Natal were to repeat all the mistakes made in the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony in 1820, where the problems were essentially similar.

The two evaluations of Natal first as a pastoral land and then as an agricultural land had profound effects upon the Colony. The form of tenure was also related to this. The original Trekker and Cape Colony approach was for land to be granted and for a small rent to



be charged, while the British approach was for land to be sold for cash in freehold, with no further encumbrances placed upon it once the purchase price had been paid.

The first farms granted, under regulations in force in the period from 1838 to 1842 and confirmed in 1843 and 1848, were on large, quit rent tenure according to the Cape Colonial pattern. In the period from 1849 to 1856 small agricultural plots were available for purchase on freehold tenure. In 1856 there was a reversion - large quit rent grants followed in 1858 by return to small agricultural lots. In the period from 1868 onwards some compromise was gradually worked out between the two approaches through the provision of credit facilities, which made land available on terms amounting to a reasonable rent, with freehold title provided when the payments had been completed. The provision of credit facilities was a major advance and in part bridged the gap between the Cape and British approaches to land settlement.

Land policy was determined in the light of Imperial designs. In the period before 1857 land policy was in the hands of the Colonial Office in London, which determined the overall needs of the Empire. Often these were in conflict with the local colonial needs. The general Imperial system had been built up slowly, mainly with reference to Australasian conditions, or more specifically those of New South Wales. Natal, understandably, could^{not} be fitted into the Australian mould owing to the large areas securely locked up by the pastoralists. The 1850's were a period of general colonial emancipation. The Australian colonies, with the exception of Western Australia, received local self-government and hence control over land policy. The Cape Colony did the same in 1854. Hence when Natal received its Charter in 1857 the local government considered it had control over land policy. In this it was mistaken but by 1893 when responsible government was finally gained the Natal administration had firm control of land policy although the last vestiges of Imperial control only ceased in that year.

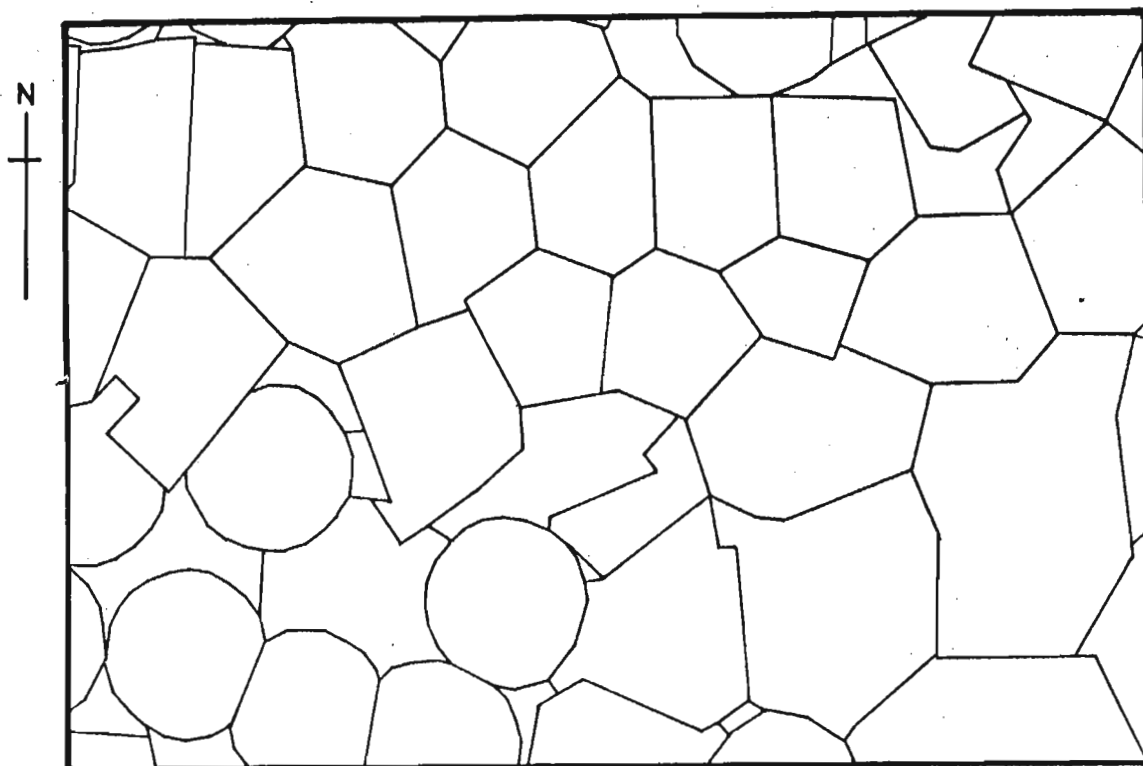
In addition to allocating land the Government also laid out the grants on the ground. For this regulations were drawn up at various stages. The layout of grants was proceeded with, without any overall plan. Many countries had laid out their lands in the nineteenth century according to an overriding plan which was predetermined in a

Government office. A few had no overall plan and were surveyed piecemeal, while others proceeded with only part of the survey planned and some concessions were made to the topography.

The two approaches, systematic and unsystematic, have been well illustrated by recent works on the United States of America and South Australia. The difference between systematic and unsystematic is dealt with by Thrower.¹ The overall plan of the United States rectangular land survey system was copied in many parts of the world.² It consisted of a survey of a grid of squares across the country dividing the county into farm blocks, each of which was numbered and thus easily identifiable. The grid was small - of one mile squares (sections). The sections were grouped into square townships of 36 square miles. The system involved survey across rivers and mountains with no regard to any feature. It gave a highly distinctive pattern to those parts of the world which were laid out on this basis (Fig. 10). Roads were straight and evenly spaced, farms were square or strictly rectangular with the apparent subjection of all physical features to grid. Within this framework an administration was able to draw equal straight boundaries.

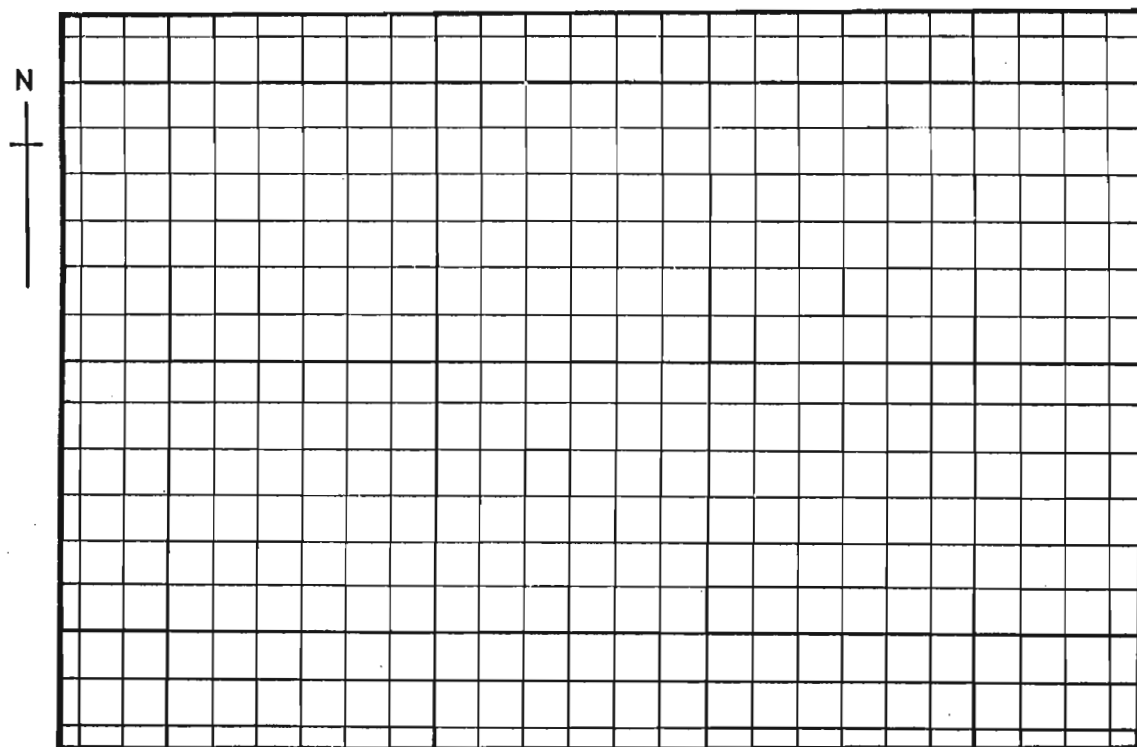
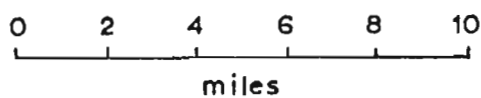
The unsystematic survey adopted in many parts of the world, including areas of the United States and, more important, in the Cape Colony, involved the survey of pieces of land according to the needs of the farmer. Survey lots of varying size were laid out with no overall plan. Adjacent areas of land were surveyed at different times and the boundaries were often irregular. It must be noted that boundaries themselves were often straight lines producing a variety of geometrical figures. In the new settlement areas there was little attempt at introducing highly irregular boundaries, other than the use of streams and hills. In South Australia roads were used where they predated agricultural settlement but this was unusual. Unsystematic survey did not mean the use of irregular manmade features, such as hedges, as these did not exist in almost virgin lands.

The choice before the Government of Natal in dividing its lands for settlement was between systematic and unsystematic survey. Unsystematic survey was chosen. This choice has profoundly affected the landscape as colonists have always adapted themselves to the



UNSYSTEMATIC SURVEY

Pattern of original survey lines near Swellendam (Cape Colony).



SYSTEMATIC SURVEY

Pattern of original survey lines in Illinois (U.S.A.)

Township boundary

Section boundary

Fig 10 The contrast between systematic and unsystematic survey.

property lines allotted to them. The choice was a comparatively simple one. It seems doubtful that the alternative of a systematic survey was even considered by the early Natal Governments. This was due to several reasons; the traditions of the original settlers, the large size of the initial grants, the uneven nature of the ground and a lack of surveyors.

The first major group of settlers came from the Cape Colony in 1837. They had been used to an unsystematic survey system, based on the selection of farms including the selection of farm boundaries. Often this was chaotic, but it allowed far greater freedom than the systematic survey could ever allow. The system that they had been used to originated in the late seventeenth century and consequently predated systematic colonization schemes of the Federal United States type. It seems unlikely that the Republican government in 1838 and the British Government in 1845 would have been able to impose a systematic survey upon Natal, as it would have involved a greater measure of control than either possessed.

The initial grants were approximately 6000 acres in extent. This was ten times the size of section blocks in the United States. It was over a quarter of the size of a township in the United States. Many of the advantages of the systematic survey thus ceased to exist with such large farms, where facilities such as schools and townships were not envisaged. The ease of identification was also invaluable as each farmer selected his own farm and subsequently had his boundaries marked. Systematic survey could have been used but its advantages were greatly reduced in the context of Natal.

The physical nature of Natal placed serious obstacles in the way of systematic survey. It was possible that survey lines would cross mountains and that some farms would be poorly situated for water and communications across the farm. This was true of parts of the United States but initial systematic survey had been across fairly level lands where lines could be readily surveyed. South Australia introduced a modification of surveying farm boundaries along the crests of mountain chains where the mountains were a major barrier.

A systematic survey depended upon prior planning and accurate

survey. There was a complete lack of surveyors in the first seven years of Natal's existence. During this period systematic survey was beyond the capabilities of the settlers and the situation resulting from free selection of properties was recognised by the surveyors when they arrived.

No attempt was made at any date to introduce systematic survey. Some of the settlement schemes were divided into square or rectangular plots for ease of measurement, but no overall scheme was evolved to cover regions of Natal.

A few definitions are needed before discussion of land allotment is possible. Two main types of tenure were awarded in Natal. These were quit rent tenure and freehold tenure.³ These two had many points in common, but there were basic differences. Quit rent tenure had its origin as a fixed rent paid by a freeholder or copyholder in lieu of service. Land was thus held securely providing the rent was paid annually and the property could be transferred or inherited. No time limit was placed upon the agreement and the landlord had no right of eviction other than for non-payment of rent. It is interesting to note that this form of land tenure was abolished in England in 1924 (only 8 years before South Africa did so). In Natal land bearing a moderate quit rent was issued without its having to be purchased, although in the Cape Colony a purchase price was charged. Land held on quit rent tenure could be purchased by the occupier and converted to freehold tenure. Freehold tenure in Natal was free of rent or the usual servitudes. It was usually purchased and no rent was payable upon it thereafter. Under Roman-Dutch law, which was in operation in Natal, the owner of a freehold property acknowledged no higher landlord. In addition the Government also leased land, allowing the occupier to use the land for a limited number of years upon the payment of a fixed annual rent, and frequently subject to regulations on stocking densities. No title deed was issued as was the case with both quit rent and freehold tenures as the land remained legally Crown Land. The government in 1904 also introduced the concept of leasehold property which could be converted at any stage of the lease into freehold upon an undertaking to pay the purchase price of the land (leasehold

with an option to purchase).

In the case of quit rent and freehold tenures the land was granted by the Crown. Most Colonies made the distinction between quit rent grants and freehold sales, but the distinction, although adopted at first in Natal, became blurred until the term grant applied to any alienation of land by the Crown. The grants were for areas surveyed and registered as Crown Grants in the Deeds Office (Appendix III). A grant could therefore apply to any sized piece of land.

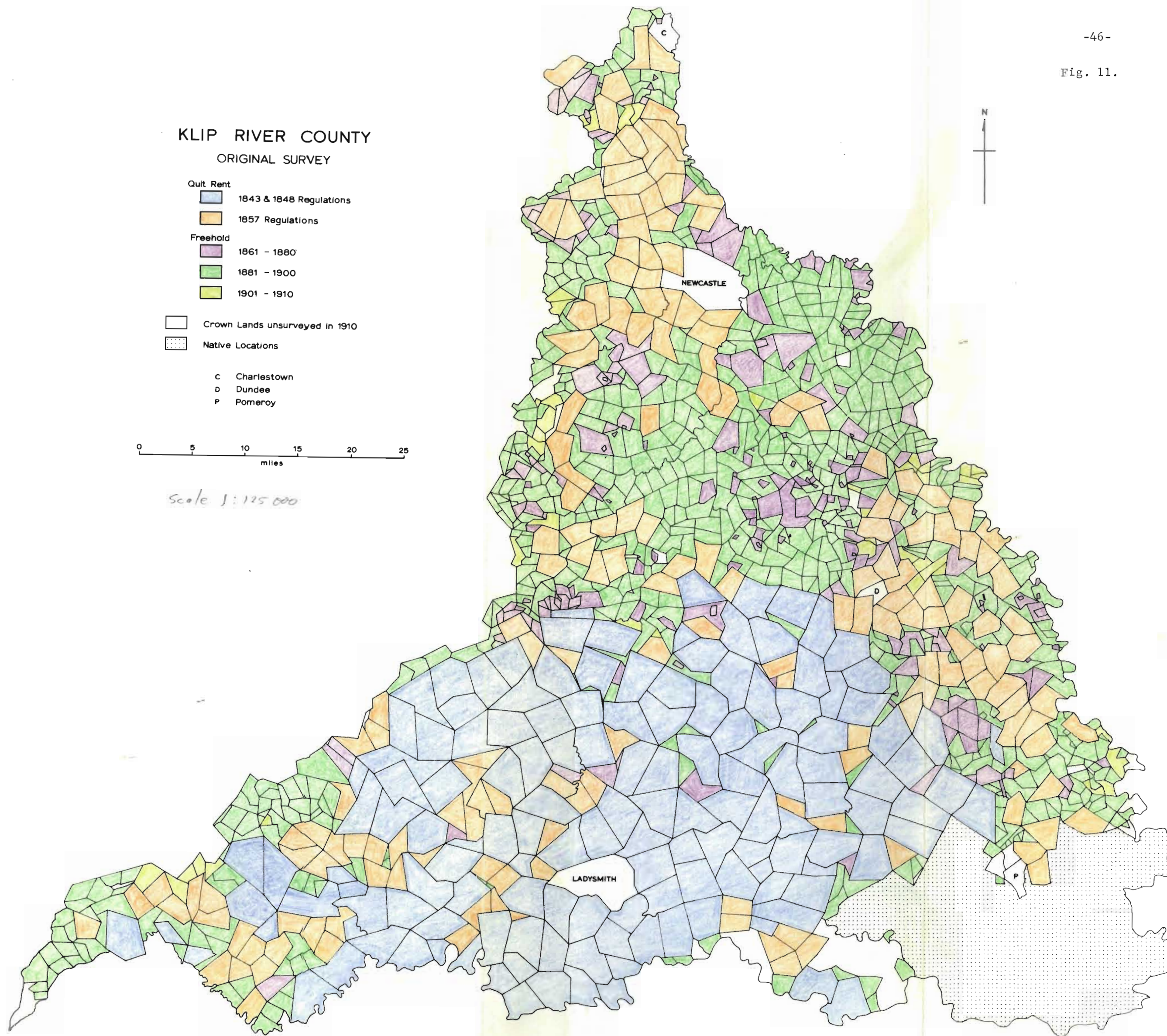
There was considerable controversy over the term farm in Natal, particularly in the period before 1860. In the period before 1849 farm and grant were almost synonymous. However the term farm has been reserved for the ownership unit by definition. Many of the grants were also described as lots. Often several lots were grouped together to form one grant, which was entitled "Lot...." The term lot is very loose meaning almost any size of grant or subdivision of a grant. Subdivisions of grants were always referred to as lots. The term plot has been reserved for the small subdivisions of the original grants. The term particularly applies to the small divisions laid out for the settlers from 1849 to 1851. The organisation of the land is shown in Figs. 11 to 18. The division of the Counties into original cadastral units is the basis of much of the study.

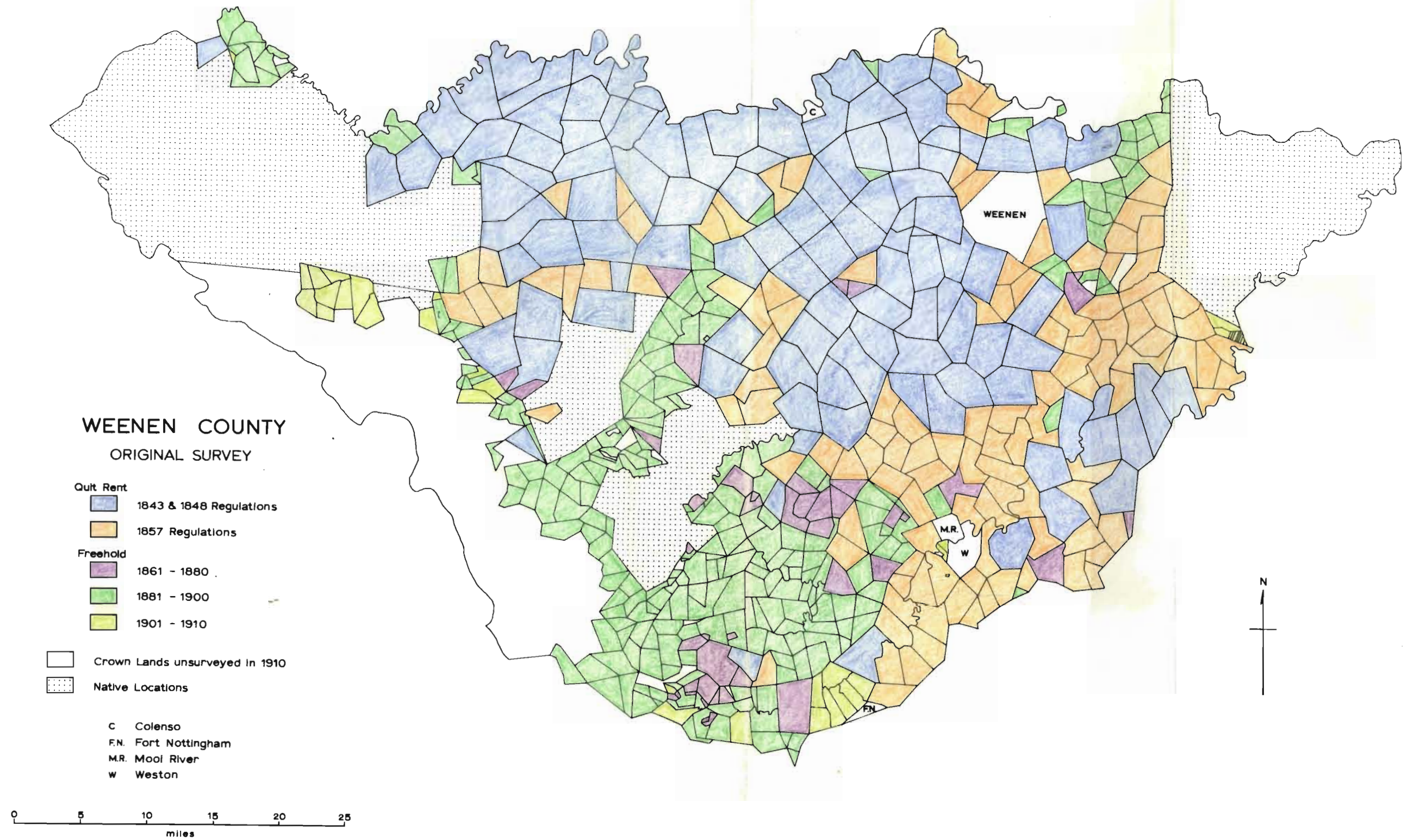
3.2. Early English Settlement 1824 - 1838

European settlement in Natal began in 1824, when a group of English traders and adventurers gained permission from Shaka, King of the Zulu, to form a settlement around the bay at Port Natal. This was the first permanent European settlement in Natal, and it was engaged primarily in trading. In 1835 Captain Gardiner was sent by the Cape Government, and he created the first semblance of local government with the formation of a committee of management.⁴ The officers of this committee were entitled to levy certain taxes and perform some public duties. They were also recognised as having the right to distribute and grant land in freehold among themselves.

The Committee proceeded to make grants under this authority at the Port and along the range of the Berea ridge; however they restricted the grant of farms along the hills to an extent of 3000 acres to each individual.⁵ The boundaries of these farms were never

Fig. 11.





UMVOTI COUNTY ORIGINAL SURVEY

Quit Rent

- 1843 & 1848 Regulations
- 1856 Regulations
- 1857 Regulations

Freehold

- 1848 - 1860
- 1861 - 1880
- 1881 - 1900
- 1901 - 1910

- Crown Lands unsurveyed in 1910
- Native Locations and Mission Reserves

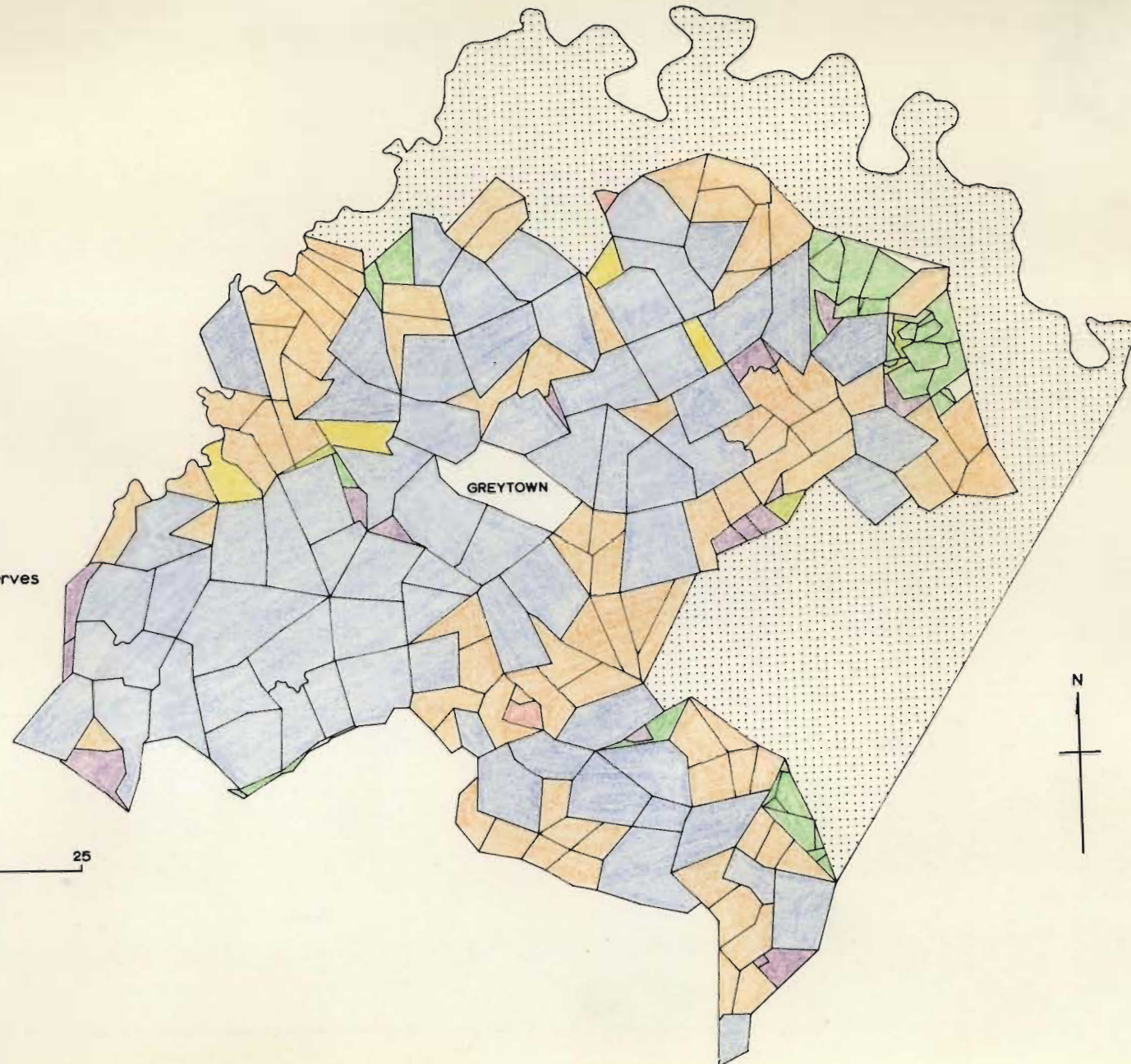


Fig. 13.

Fig. 14.

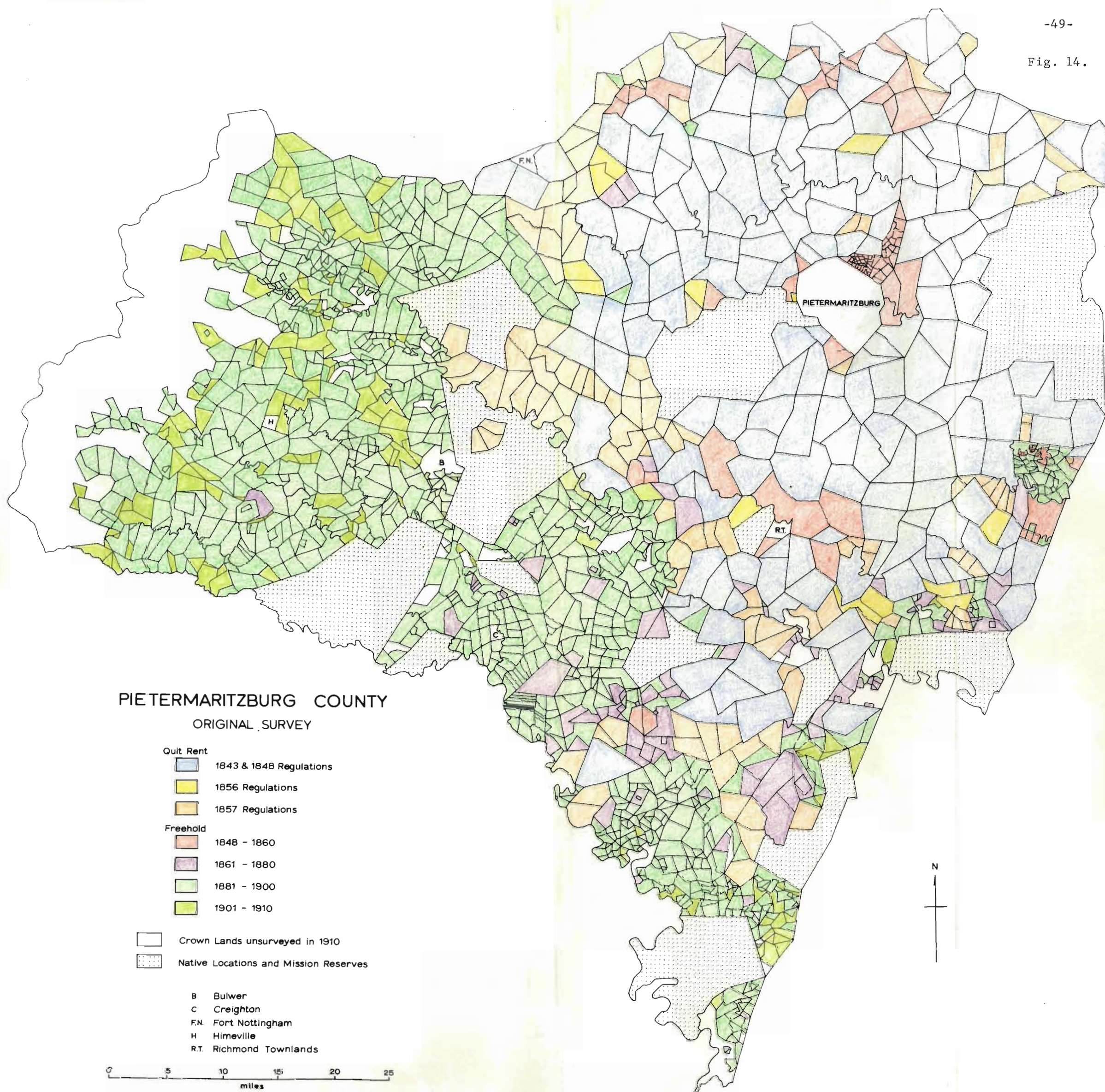
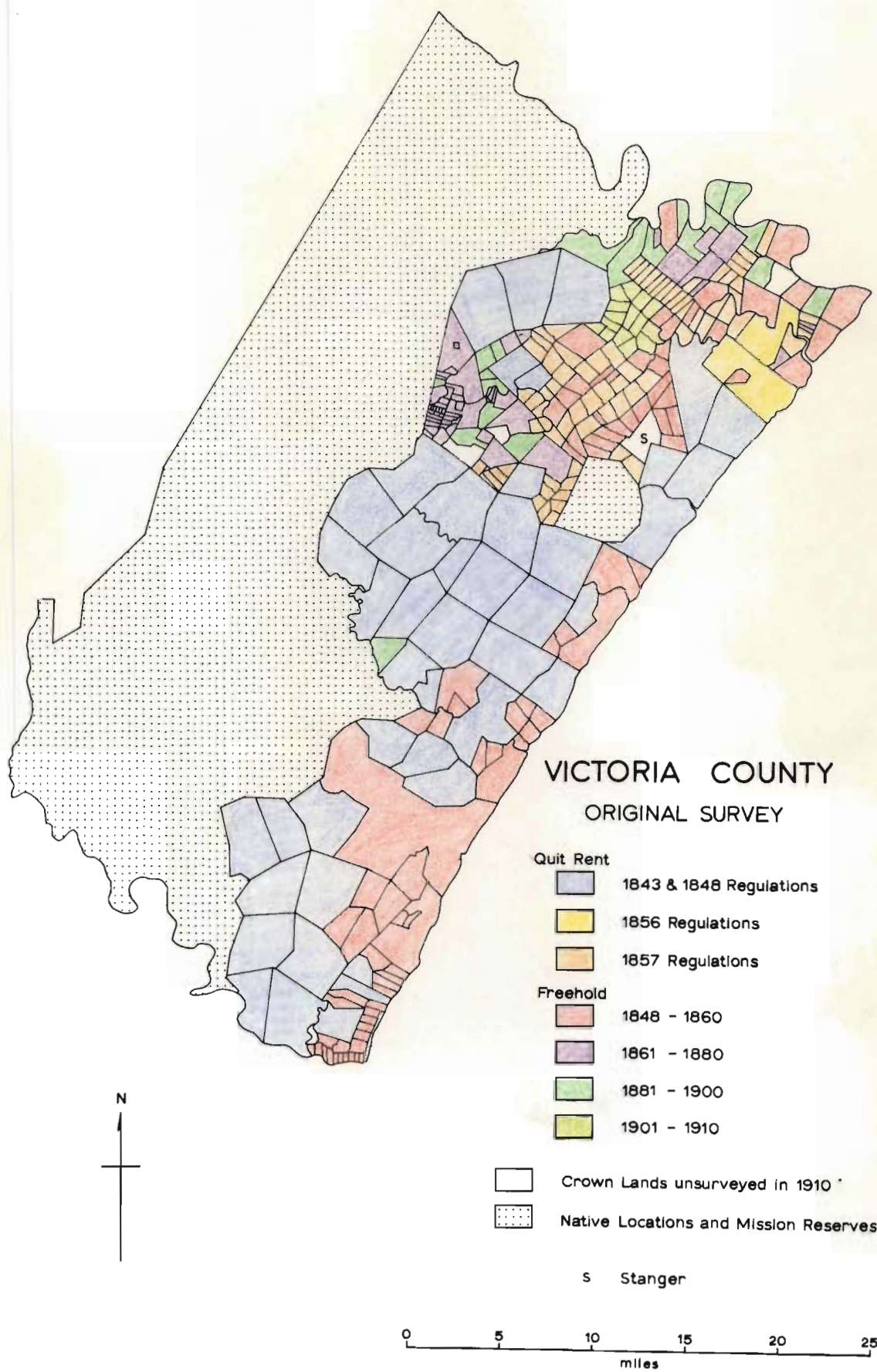


Fig. 15.



DURBAN COUNTY ORIGINAL SURVEY

Quit Rent

1843 & 1848 Regulations

Freehold

1848 - 1860

1881 - 1900

1901 - 1910

Crown Lands unsurveyed in 1910

Native Locations and Mission Reserves

DBN Durban

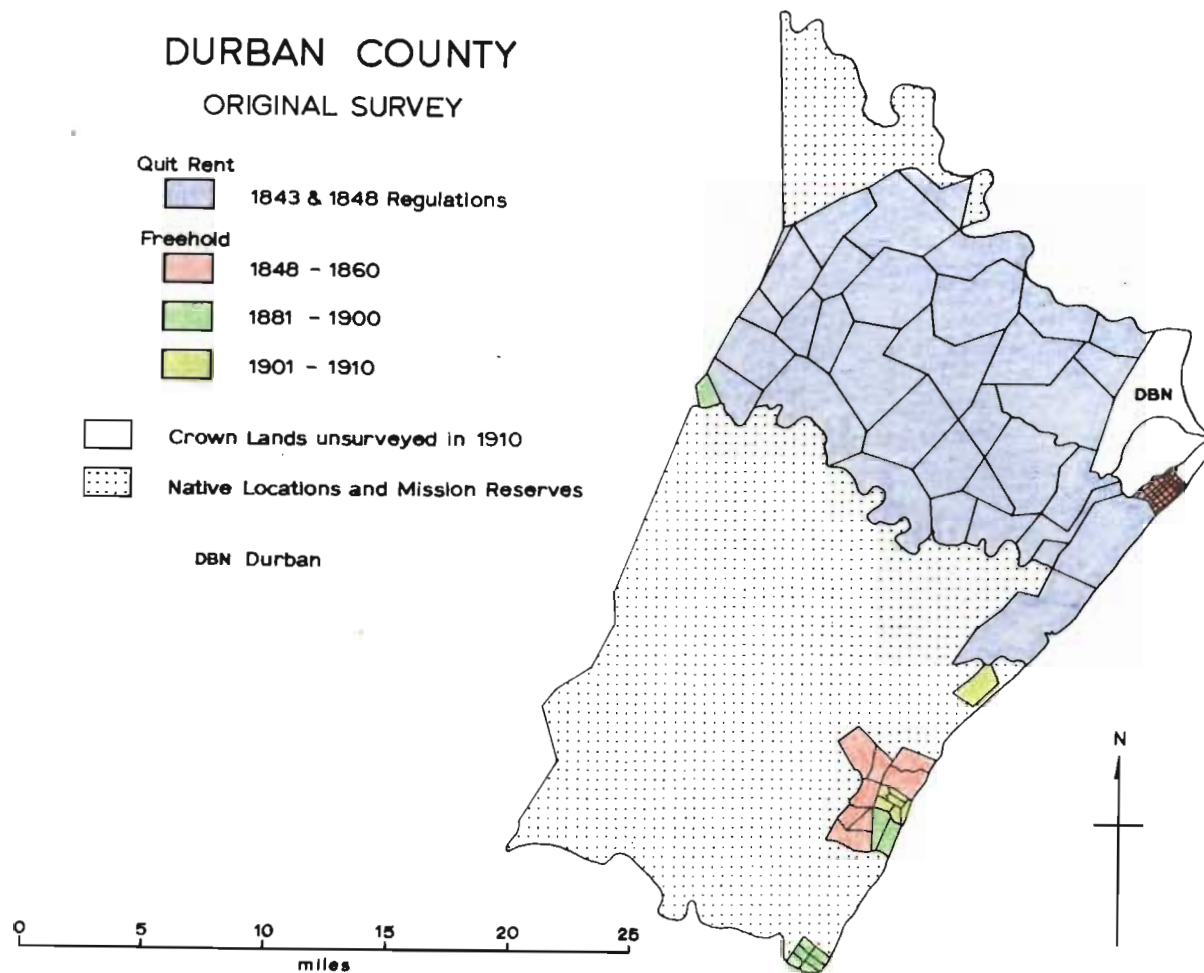


Fig. 16.

ALEXANDRA COUNTY

ORIGINAL SURVEY

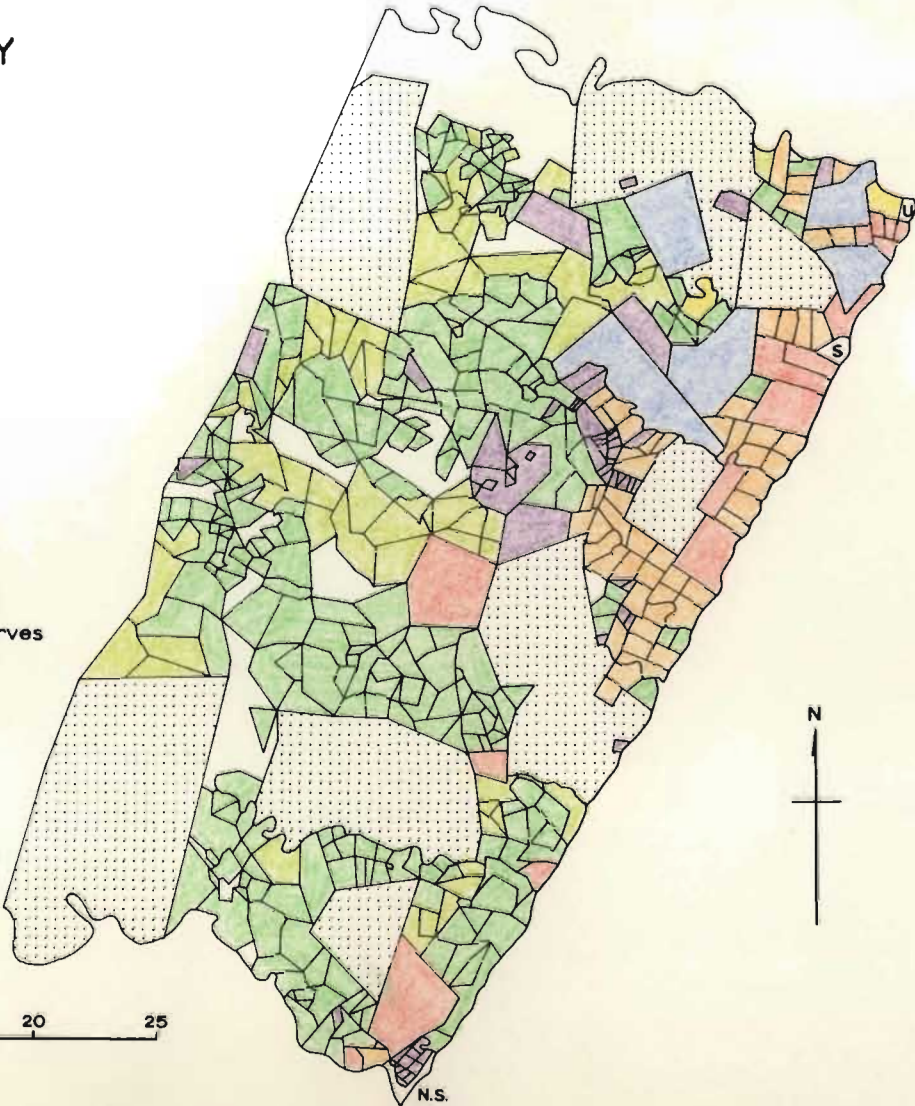
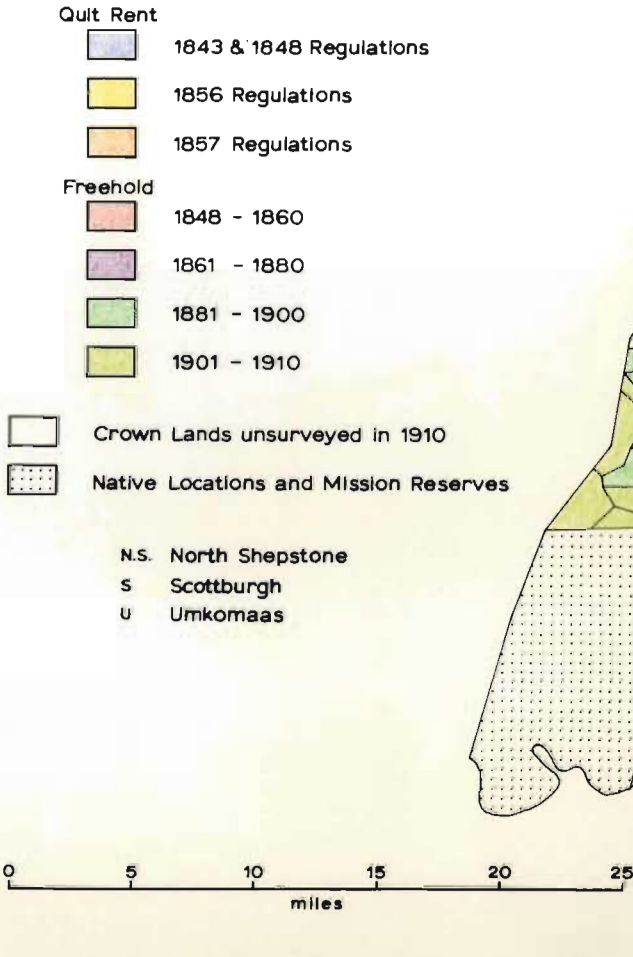
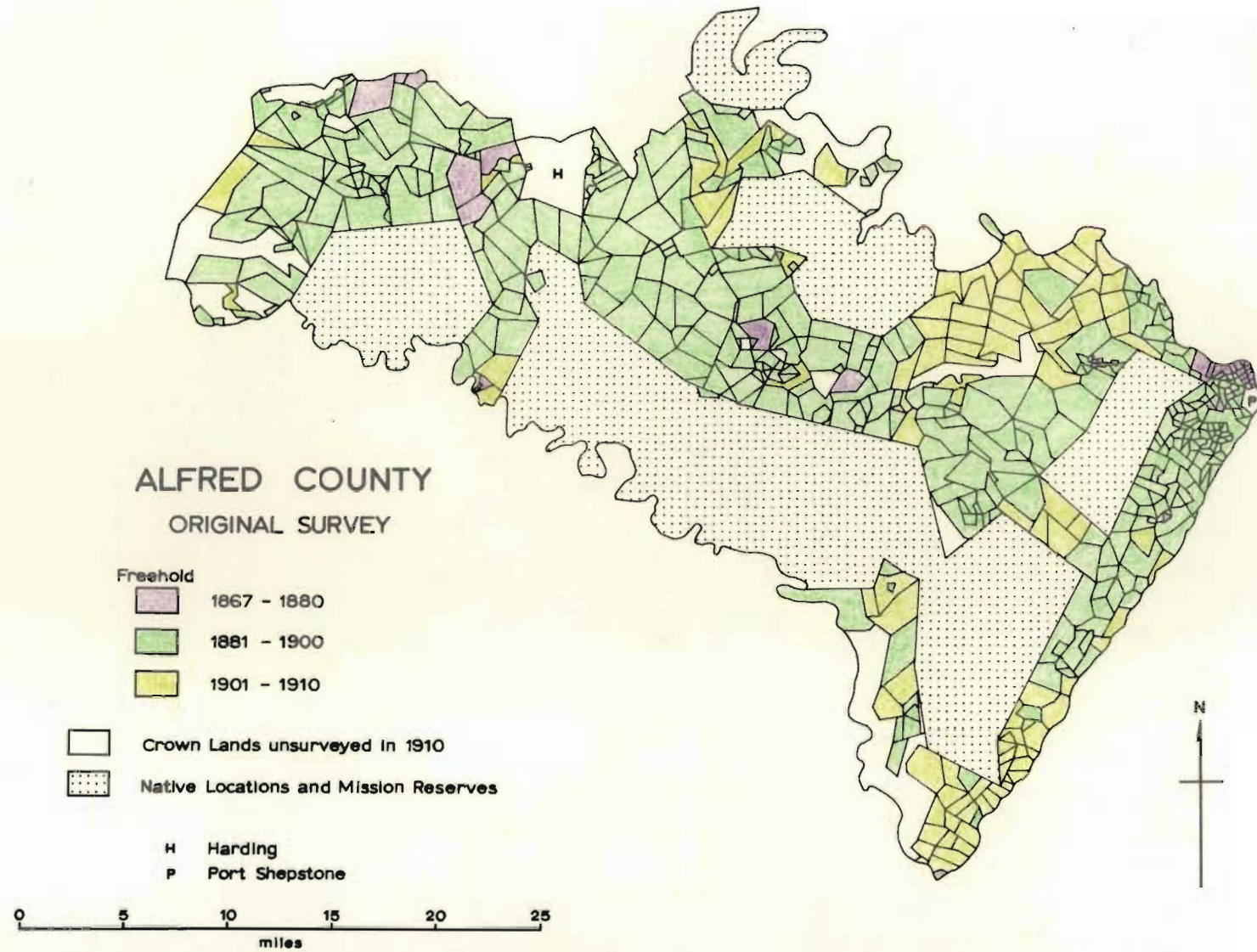


Fig. 17.

Fig. 18.



clearly defined, and the areas were never measured. Each person appropriated a tract of land as appeared to each party to be of an area of 3000 acres, taking care not to encroach upon the property of the others. In 1838 the settlement was destroyed by the Zulus and the properties were abandoned. Some were subsequently sold under the authority of the Republican Volksraad. Only two were found by Cloete in 1844, to have been effectively occupied, although the claims to half a dozen others were subsequently recognised by the Land Commission in 1848. Part of the area occupied by the original farms was later occupied by the Townlands of Durban.

The small settlement has left little permanent imprint upon the property patterns. The English settlement was always small, consisting of a handful of men, and they never laid claim to the land of the interior of Natal which had been included in Shaka's grant. It would have been impossible without Imperial military support and a large number of settlers. It is of interest to note that the area granted by Shaka in the form of a corridor running inland from Durban coincided with the corridor of empty land later occupied by the Trekkers and now forming the main axis of communications in Natal.

3.3. . The Republic of Natalia

3.3.1. The Establishment of the Republic

It was only with the arrival of the Voortrekkers in Natal in November 1837 that the present pattern of farms began to take form. Natal was undoubtedly an area of major attraction to the Trekkers. The reason was possibly that the re-connaissance expedition in 1834 had reported favourably on the lush appearance of Natal, and upon the fact that the grasslands of the country appeared to be virtually devoid of a Native population. Natal, even though it was adjacent to the Zulu military monarchy appeared to be well suited to the colonization by the Trekkers. The Trekkers with their own independent government would be able to settle border questions in their own manner, not as the British Government had done in the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony, where it had vacillated producing an air of uncertainty among the European population.

The Trekkers crossed the Drakensberg and came into Natal in late

1837 and settled in the upper Tugela Basin. There followed two years of uncertainty while the Trekkers attempted to pacify the Zulus and gain recognition for the occupation. During this period the condition of the country was unsettled and farmers periodically tended to congregate in central laagers in times of hostilities. However, after the Battle of Blood River, in December 1838, more widely spread settlement was considered possible in much of Natal.

The settlement in the period of the Republic of Natalia was in the first instance related to the lines of communication. Firm links with the immigrants remaining across the Drakensberg were retained by the Trekkers. It was natural therefore that the main areas of settlement straddled the main route from the Drakensberg passes to Durban. These considerations did not, however, preclude some Trekkers from settling in highly inaccessible areas and even beyond the boundaries of the Republic.

3.3.2. Land Policy of the Republic

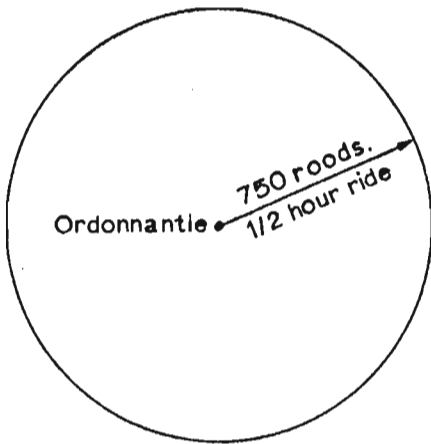
The Trekkers established their own government in 1838. The supreme authority was the elected Volksraad or council, which drew up the laws and regulations for the Republic. One of the first actions of the Volksraad was to establish machinery for dealing with the land question. The Volksraad alone had the right of conferring grants of land. The procedure was discussed and elaborated, and finally set forth in the law of the 14th April 1841 "regulating the right of Burgership and the possession of lands in Freehold within the Republic of Natal".⁶ Distinction was immediately made between town lots and country farms. Priority in land grants was given to those who had arrived first, so that they chose the best lands. Under the law, all burgers, being married or of age, who had entered Natal before the end of December 1839, were entitled to two farms, and those who arrived subsequently to only one. It was felt that the latter had not done or suffered so much for the promotion of peace, quiet and safety as the former. Also boys aged between 15 and 21 were entitled to one farm.

3.3.3. Cape Land Ownership System

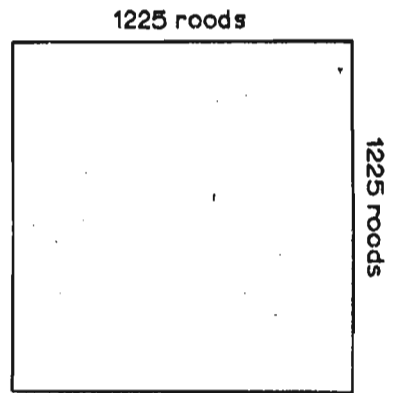
By custom a farm had come to mean an area of 3000 morgen or just over 6000 acres.⁷ The development of the idea of a farm

has to be traced in the development of farm grants at the Cape of Good Hope from 1654 onwards, under the Dutch East India Company. The first grants were made in that year near Cape Town on a loan basis to Company servants. These grants were small at first, but as the interior was opened up the loan place increased in size until it was accepted that the possessor of a loan place could occupy ground up to an extent of "three hours' ride around the middle point of his place, that is half an hour on every side".

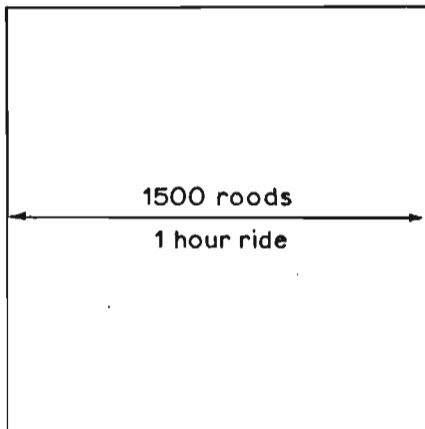
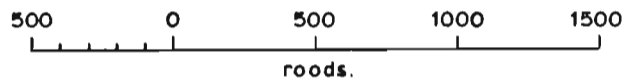
At this stage it must be realised that it was not yet legally necessary to call in a surveyor to mark out the boundaries of a loan place, unlike the freehold lands. There were indeed insufficient surveyors in the Cape Colony to cope with all the work involved in land grants. The applicant for a loan place therefore had to define his boundaries as best he could, and the way in which he did this was to ride for half-an-hour in several directions from a central point, called an 'Ordonnantie' which was generally a local feature such as a spring or conspicuous rock or sometimes a planted stone where no local feature existed. He could not, of course, include land already claimed by a neighbour, and it therefore became the custom to choose the Ordonnantie at not less than an hour's ride from any neighbouring one (Fig. 19). Subsequently the half-hour's ride was declared to be equivalent to 750 roods or approximately a mile and three quarters by present standards. The horse had to be ridden at walking pace and not faster. When loan places were later allowed to be converted after survey into what were called quit rent farms, the area allowed on conversion was 3000 morgen (6350 acres) which is somewhat larger than the area contained within a circle with a radius of 750 roods. In 1732 a system of land tenure called 'erf pacht' or quit rent was introduced which meant that upon payment of an annual sum varying according to the capability of the soil the applicant received a more secure form of title. A surveyor's diagram was necessary, and it was often found that the land occupied by loan place farmers exceeded their grants. These farms were granted for periods of 15 years at a time, leading to a certain amount of instability. In 1813 a new system of perpetual quit rent was introduced which, for a sum varying according to the value of the land, gave the recipients absolute



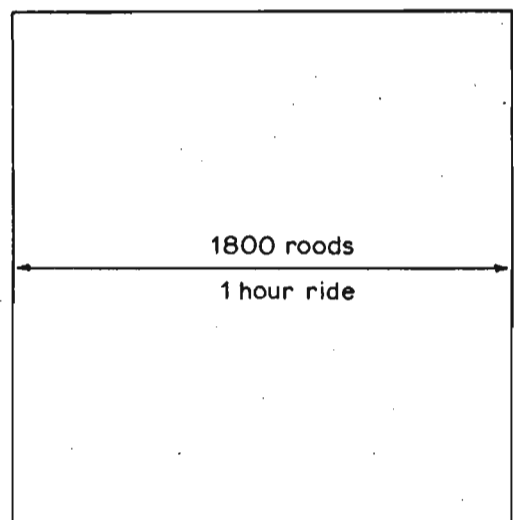
Round farm.
measurement by horse ride.
speed - 25 roods per minute.
Area 2949 morgen.



Square farm.
measurement by survey.
Area 3000 morgen.



Square farm.
measurement by horse ride.
speed - 25 roods per minute.
Area 3750 morgen.



Square farm.
measurement by horse ride.
speed - 30 roods per minute.
Area 5400 morgen.

Fig. 19. The development of farm sizes in the Cape Colony and Transvaal.

legal security of possession subject to a small annual quit rent. The system also laid down that boundaries on farms not yet defined by survey had to be surveyed, and that no farm was to exceed 3000 morgen without the consent of the Governor. Furthermore land could now be divided between heirs, which had not been possible before.

In May 1832 the law of 1813 dealing with the granting of land in perpetual quit rent was suspended, although the Governor continued to allow it until the practice was stopped in 1838 at the express demand of the Secretary of State. In 1840 the newly constituted Colonial Land and Emigration Commission made a return of all land in the Empire which was fit for colonisation. The Cape Government stated that there were probably 34 million acres of empty land, but that most of it was too rocky, mountainous and sterile to be fit for use. It seemed probable that most of the land was probably not worth the expense of measurement. This situation with a lack of good or even average land, combined with the Government's demand for the purchase of land, undermined the whole of the Afrikaners' concepts of land ownership.

The Voortrekkers therefore regarded 3000 morgen as a farm. Natal possessed a plentiful supply of land, and there appeared to be no more need for restriction than there had been in the interior of the Cape Colony in the previous century. Land appeared unlimited, and there appeared to be enough for the future as well. Furthermore, the restrictions of the new British system of sales could be forgotten in a scheme drawn up by the Voortrekkers themselves to cater for their own needs.

3.3.4. Republic of Natalia Land Administration

In 1838 a Registry book had been opened in Pietermaritzburg to record the claims to farms.⁸ The Volksraad had permitted the landdrosts to issue certificates of registration in respect of unoccupied lands which only became valid to confer title after subsequent inspection and report. After a claim had been registered, inspection took place. Two inspectors defined the boundaries of the farm, using as far as possible the natural landmarks and rivers as the limits between the adjoining farms. There was no surveyor available to the Government, so that it was impossible to measure the area or to place permanent boundary markers. Thus although it was clearly laid down

that no farm should exceed 3000 morgen, many did so by considerable amounts as subsequent surveys showed.

When the report of the inspector had been transmitted to the land-board, a further investigation took place to see if any adverse claims were present, or if there were any servitudes such as outspans which it might be necessary to impose upon the land. After these enquiries had been satisfied, a regular grant in writing or on a printed form was issued to the parties upon payment of a fee of fl.10s. (20 Rixdollars) excluding the fees for the inspection of the farm, which were paid directly to the inspectors.

The period during which the Republic of Natal was in full control of the country was short, so that the land settlement did not run its full course. In the course of the first two years, 1838-40, 2.5 million acres of land were registered in favour of 254 persons, only 49 of whom appear to have personally occupied their grants. In all 1780 farms were registered during the period of the Republic,⁹ which would have involved an area of approximately ten million acres, only a little less than the area of the Republic itself. About 500 grants were inspected, reported upon and granted by the Volksraad until the month of October 1842, when the Commandant of Port Natal requested that no further grant of title be issued in the name of the Republican Government.¹⁰

The lands, although issued as a freehold grant, were subject to taxes. Section 6 of the Law of 14th April 1841 stated that "every burger (male or female) shall be bound to pay annually the sum of twelve Rixdollars or eighteen shillings for the protection he or she receives in regard to their lands". This sum, however, was not to be paid on small lots but only with regard to places below 3000 morgen but above 1000 morgen, while the proprietors of lands exceeding 3000 morgen were to pay an additional sum; and those holding lands exceeding 4000 morgen were to be liable as the owners of two farms. This rate was approximately the same as in the Cape Colony, amounting to 3d. per 100 acres per year. This was a form of perpetual quit rent, but the phrase was not used because of its unpopularity in the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony, from which many of the trekkers had come. As a result all the grants issued by the Volksraad recite

that the lands are given in "full and free property" but remain subject to all the provisions of the general law regulating the right of burgership. The system of a moderate quit rent was thought to be reasonable at the time. Few individuals could bear the payment at the time of a sum which a grant in freehold would normally require, owing to the shortage of money in Natal.

3.3.5. The end of the Republic of Natalia

The final period of the Republic of Natal was disorganised. Disturbances became more acute. Many of the settlers abandoned their farms on the instructions of the Volksraad and congregated together in central laagers. Farms were bought and sold rapidly, and some landowners amassed large numbers of farms. Commandant Rudolph asserted that he owned 40 farms, which would have amounted to a quarter of a million acres.¹¹

One of the main features of the final period of the Republic was a surprising rise in the value of farms. Farms had previously changed hands at prices as low as a third of a penny per acre. Full records exist for 198 farms. These farms were subject to 87 transfers in the period 1839-1844, which showed a steady increase in land values, particularly in 1843 and 1844. The rising prices came about as a result of the presence of land speculators but even by mid-1844 land prices rarely exceeded 1s. per acre. This was a considerable increase on the average price of 4d. to 6d. per acre in 1842.

The land speculator was one of the first features of the British annexation of Natal. In the uncertainty of the period October 1842 to February 1848, the speculators were able to pursue their activities with considerable success. Francis Collison was the first upon the scene. He acquired 14 of the 198 farms mentioned above in 1843 and a further 4 of doubtful value. The expectations of high profits led some Cape merchants to enter the trade in land claims.

In 1847, 13 mercantile firms claimed 62 farms totalling 230,000 acres for which payment at about 2d. an acre had been made. Much of this was of doubtful title, however. In 1846-47 good land with 'doubtful title' was said to sell at 1d. to 2d. per acre, while neighbouring land of poorer quality but with 'good title' sold for as much as 3/3¹²d., but this was exceptional and only occurred in

the coastal belt, which appeared to be suitable for close settlement.

3.4. The British settlement of the Land Question 1842-1849

3.4.1. Introduction

The unsettled political situation in southern Africa led to the British occupation of Port Natal on the 4th May 1842. The occupation force had instructions not to attack the Trekkers and the Volksraad similarly did not wish for trouble. Fighting developed, however, and the Volksraad submitted to the authority of Queen Victoria on the 5th July 1842. Natal was then in a state of turmoil. Many of the trekkers felt that it was better to leave Natal and retire across the Drakensberg than once more come under the British government with all the undesired conditions which had been imposed upon them. The agreement of 5th July 1842 laid down that, pending the determination and settlement by Her Majesty's Government, the tenure of the Trekkers' farms should not be interfered with. At first this appeared to be moderately encouraging.

It was brought to the attention of Captain Smith, the Commandant at Port Natal, that land transactions of a highly dubious nature were taking place. It was found that titles were being issued and signed by the Secretary of the Volksraad and backdated to before the Volksraad's submission to the Crown. Smith became alarmed at the transactions which, he was told, involved about 2000 grants. Furthermore money was being extracted for acts of transfer and as transfer duty. On the 24th October 1842 Captain Smith issued a Public Notice in which he used his authority to "utterly prohibit the issuing of such documents and declare the act thereof to be illegal." Further he stated that "the power to guarantee a right to land now held by the emigrant farmers and others of Her Majesty's subjects residing in the Natal territory, now rested solely with Her Majesty's Government or those to whom such power shall be delegated". Anyone, whether a British subject or not, was warned against preparing, signing or in any manner whatsoever circulating, the illegal documents. Heavy penalties would be imposed on persons contravening the new regulations.

Thus not only the political future of Natal was thrown open to confusion, but also the question of land ownership was left in doubt.

The entire system of land grants authorised by the Volksraad was brought into question, and the title deeds were declared illegal. In other words, in the eyes of the British government, no one had a legally binding title to any land in the territory of Natal. As this was realised so more trekkers left Natal. An alternative to the Republican land grant became one of the immediate major problems facing the British government.

Sir George Napier, the Governor of the Cape Colony, suggested that those who had been granted final title by the Volksraad before the rebellion should have their claims considered. It was most unlikely that claims based on illegal title deeds would be considered so that no one could benefit from the transactions which had been taking place in Pietermaritzburg.¹³

3.4.2. The Cloete Commission

On the 13th December 1842 Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a letter to Sir George Napier, approved the British advance into Natal and laid down the basis of the settlement of the land question.¹⁴ Lord Stanley proposed that an officer, with the title of Her Majesty's Commissioner should go to Natal and communicate with the settlers upon various matters. A similar approach had been adopted two years earlier in New Zealand in disentangling that country's conflicting land claims. Lord Stanley stated that:

"The farmers and all others within the district of Natal shall be protected in the enjoyment of all such lands as they or those from whom they derive their claim, shall have bona fide occupied for the period of twelve months previous to the arrival of the Commissioner, receiving a grant of such land from the Crown and subject to such fine or quitrents as Her Majesty may see fit to impose".

"The Commissioner will make it his first duty to report to you (Sir George Napier) upon the number of farms and other holding lands and of the extent claimed by each respectively; and no grants or sales of lands shall be made to any person pending the signification of Her Majesty's further pleasure upon the subject".

On the 4th May 1843 Sir George Napier issued a Proclamation announcing that Port Natal was a British territory. The proclamation reiterated Lord Stanley's despatch and announced that a

Commissioner would be appointed to deal with the problems of the Natal district. The Proclamation further dealt with the affairs of Natal. The Honourable Henry Cloete was appointed Her Majesty's Commissioner on the 12th May 1843 and was issued with his instructions in the form of a Proclamation also dated 12th May 1843. The proclamation required the Commissioner to investigate and report on the situation in Natal. It included the following paragraphs:

- X. That the farmers and all others holding land within the district shall, pending the further pleasure of Her Majesty be protected in the enjoyment of all such land as they shall be found by Her Majesty's Commission to claim and to hold.
- XI. That the farmers and all others holding land within the district of Natal will be called upon by the said Commissioner to make accurate returns showing the quality of land which they, or from whom they derive their claim, shall have bona fide occupied for a period of 12 months before the arrival of the said Commissioner, grants from the Crown may be made to the several parties to such an extent and upon such terms as Her Majesty taking into consideration the circumstances of the colony, the general welfare of its inhabitants and the expediency of raising, in any just and equitable manner, such a land revenue as may make the charge of supporting the local government least burdensome to her subjects, may approve and impose.
- XII. That pending the significance of Her Majesty's pleasure upon the subject, no grant or sales of land in the district of Natal will be made to any person whomsoever; and that all persons are hereby distinctly warned of the absolute futility of any attempt to acquire a title or a claim to any lands in the said district by any species of dealing or transaction with any person or persons whatsoever, save and except in such cases as fall legitimately within the principle of the bona fide occupation of twelve months as in the last preceding articles set forth.

Cloete thus had instructions only to report and make recommendations. He had no powers of government, and consequently Natal continued to be faced with the situation that, in effect, there was no real government. Undoubtedly the uncertainty and the long delays in communication with London led many of the Trekkers to leave in the years that the land question remained unsettled.

Cloete arrived at Port Natal on the 5th June 1843 and proceeded to Pietermaritzburg to begin his investigations. Great difficulties arising from the state of land grants and speculation in Natal faced the Commissioner. His terms of reference also were too vague to enable him to proceed rapidly.

As has been shown, the state of land grants was confused. Farms had not been surveyed, and definitions were sometimes very vague, applying to farms which were impossible to identify. Governor Pine, when shown the records by the Secretary to the Government in 1850 found that 'one man applies for a farm where such and such a person shot a buffalo, and another for a farm at the place where he and his companions outspanned upon a certain expedition'.¹⁵ Some possessed non-existent farms - a problem later found in the Orange Free State. Several persons appeared as applicants for the same farm. Further confusion arose in the distribution of farms. Some were close together so that they could not all have 3000 ,morgen, while others were far apart resulting either in enlarged areas or unclaimed spaces between them. Furthermore claims had been raised to lands at St. Lucia Bay where a block of farms was laid out and in the south in the territory claimed by Faku. Both these areas were outside the district of Natal annexed by the Crown, and as a result such land claims lay outside Cloete's terms of reference. The Republic had obtained claims to land as far north as the Umfolozi River and south to the Umzimvubu River. However, settlement was never very large in these zones, as the existing native population was too dense and hostile for peaceful settlement. As a result, most claimants came from lands covered by the British annexation, which excluded the more extravagant claims of the Voortrekkers.

Cloete's instructions also imposed limits upon him, as Lord Stanley had insisted upon a twelve month period of occupation prior to his arrival. Many of the farmers had been instructed by the Volksraad to congregate in central laagers for protection during the troubled period of native raids. This meant that comparatively few farms had been effectively occupied in the meaning that Lord Stanley gave to his instructions. Cloete came to the conclusion that only 198 of the 1780 registered farms could comply with the

terms of the Proclamation. However there were a further 173 claims which were almost as good where occupation had not been continuous. A further class of 66 claims which held title deeds but had not occupied the land, and finally 120 other claims of varying substance. The remainder of the 760 claims received were dismissed. In his final report Cloete recommended that the 198 claims which satisfied the requirements of the Proclamation (Schedule A) and 173 claims almost satisfying them (Schedule B) should be recognised in full.¹⁶ The remaining claims were placed upon a list for consideration by the authorities (Schedule C).

Lord Stanley suggested that the first (A) category should receive grants of 3000 acres, those in the second (B) 2000 acres, and that all future grants should be limited to 2000 acres.¹⁷ Those appearing on the C schedule were dismissed, as were the other odd claims. The Governor, however, increased the 3000 acres to 6000 acres fearing a mass exodus of the Trekkers if their claims to the land were further restricted.

3.4.3. Administration of the Land Settlement

It was not until 17th February 1845 that Dr. W. Stanger was appointed Surveyor General with instructions to proceed to the laying out of the farms in Natal.¹⁸

After defining the area of the Colony, the instructions dealt at length with the towns of D'Urban, Pietermaritzburg and Weenen. A radius of three miles was granted for each town, and vested in the municipal or other authorities.

The sections from Number 16 related to the farm grants:-

16. Grants to be issued to parties comprised in schedules A and B. C is rejected.

17. Farms - His lordship has suggested that the extent of the farms be limited to 3000 acres for well established claims and 2000 for others - subject, however, to His Excellency's opinion, who has decided that the farms placed in A which fell within the terms of the 9th section of the proclamation of 12th May 1843 shall be granted to the claimants, not to exceed 6,000 acres; and in B, not exceeding 2000 which is the extent fixed for all future alienations of land.

18. The expense of the surveys and salaries ought to be borne by the claimants, and a payment of £50. should be required for 3000 acres, which should include the redemption of the burger tax of 18s.

cost of survey estimated at fl1.10. and the preparation of grants; but His Excellency, having in view the scarcity of money in Natal, has decided that proposed grantees in Schedule A shall be required to pay only the cost of surveys and receive their grant subject to a quit rent of f4 sterling for 6000 acres, which they shall be allowed to redeem by a sum equal to fifteen years' purchase of the said rent; and that in regard to the cases comprised in Schedule B, the principle laid down shall be applied, except in particular cases when it may be expedient to make an annual payment redeemable upon the same terms as in the larger grants, instead of an immediate payment of the larger sum.

23. Tugela and Bay of St. Lucia - you will bear in mind that no settlement or grants of land will be permitted east of the Tugela, or in the country surrounding the Bay of St. Lucia, ceded to Her Majesty by Panda.

24. Military Reserves - You will also observe that in all measurements, whether for the completion of grants or future sales, every care must be taken to avoid encroachment on land reserved for military purposes.

The letter continued with instructions on how Dr. Stanger was to proceed and in what order the work was to be done:

25. Land Surveyors - You will be accompanied by four surveyors, and on their arrival you will employ them in the measurement of the towns of D'Urban, Congella, Pietermaritzburg and Weenen, the regular laying out of the towns and the settlement of claims there appearing of the greatest importance.

26. Trigonometrical Survey - Another chief object of your employment is to ascertain by trigonometrical survey the real extent of the territory, the most remarkable features of which, the courses of rivers, and all other particulars which may facilitate the measurement of farms and other subdivisions.

27. Whilst, therefore, the surveyors shall be engaged in the measurement of towns as directed, you will ride over the country to make yourself acquainted with it, and to select the most central spot for the measurement of a base from which the surveyors may start upon the survey of the sections of country you may select.

28. As it would occasion considerable and, apparently, unnecessary inconvenience if the measurement of the farms were delayed until the trigonometrical survey can be completed, you will, after laying down such triangles as the nature of the country will permit, instruct the surveyors to proceed to the measurements of the farms contained within the triangles already laid down, commencing in each instance with the most densely populated.

29. Trigonometrical Survey - Before the departure of the surveyors, you will point out to them, as far as the nature of the country will permit, the features which should constitute the limits of their sections: and whilst at work you will visit them from time

to time to observe how far their subsequent choice of boundaries is judiciously made, and whether the showing of one agrees with the other; and you will also generally give your advice and assistance to facilitate the operations.

The instructions continued to state that a scale of one inch to one mile should be adopted and British measures would be used. Diagrams were to be aligned to facilitate the production of a clear map of the country. Furthermore a tariff of charges for Survey and Measurement was laid down. Survey fees were to be paid by the parties for whom the measurements were made.

The financial settlement was essentially that laid down by Lord Stanley on 29th July 1844, except that the farms in Schedule A were increased in size. The price of £50. for a 3000acre farm amounted to 4d.* per acre, and included the price of survey. The price for the 6000 acre farm, however, amounted to £60. or with survey expenses, only about 3d. per acre. This price applied only to the Trekkers' claims; new settlers were required to pay two shillings per acre according to the ruling Cape regulations.

The low value placed upon the land was indicative of the lack of interest in the colonization of Natal. It also showed the sincere effort made by the authorities to stop the mass exodus of the Voortrekkers. This is particularly remarkable, in view of the fact that it was Lord Stanley who had piloted the new system of selling colonial Crown Waste Lands through Parliament. He had, in doing so, been anxious to avoid the wholesale alienation of land by the Crown, as this brought no material advantage to Britain. The new system had been designed to bring some order to the confused state of land policies in the British Empire in the period prior to 1843. Thus Lord Stanley was able to compare the prices allowed in Natal with those asked for in the Falkland Islands. The comparison was highly favourable to the Voortrekkers.¹⁹ The Natal land prices were lower than those suggested in the Falkland Islands!

3.4.4. Dissatisfaction with the Land Settlement

Dissatisfaction with the land settlement grew amongst the Voortrekkers. This was due to a number of factors unconnected with

*This was a very different price from that recommended by the Land and Emigration Commissioners of £1 per acre in the Australian Colonies

the settlement.

Dr. Stanger lacked the necessary staff to survey the farms rapidly, as the urban erven, which were to be sold for cash, were to be surveyed first. As a result it was not until the middle of 1847 that the first of the Trekker's farm title deeds was issued*, and even by the end of 1847 only 18 grants covering just over 81,000 acres had been issued. Progress remained slow with a further 30 in 1848, 25 in 1849 and 20 in 1850 (Fig. 20). The freehold properties had to be surveyed before they were sold, and so priority was given to them. This tended to slow the survey of the Trekkers' properties which were granted on quit rent tenure (Fig. 21).

The Government, at this time, was more concerned with the Native question and as a result devoted little attention to land problems. As a result, Andries Pretorius, the ex-Commandant of the Republic, made an attempt to obtain satisfaction from the High Commissioner of the Cape. He was unsuccessful. In the years 1846-7 the Natal Native Commission deliberated upon the settlement of the Native question.²⁰ The Commission had been established to investigate and make recommendations upon what should be done with the surplus Native population. It decided to recommend the establishment of a series of separate rural locations, each capable of supporting populations of approximately 10,000 inhabitants. Work on the demarcation proceeded immediately with the laying out of the Zwartkop Location, near Pietermaritzburg, in November, 1846. By 1849 seven major locations had been established covering an area of nearly two million acres (Fig. 22). They included a number of farms which were claimed by the Voortrekkers and for which compensation was offered. The lands which were assigned to the locations, were in general the least desirable for cattle raising, and were therefore not required by the Voortrekkers. The rapid settlement of the Native land question and its apparent generosity contrasted sharply with the slow and apparently ungenerous settlement of the Trekkers' own land problems. Many drew the inference that it was better to leave Natal than remain under what appeared to be a hostile Government.

*Issued to Andries Pretorius for the farm Welverdiens (now Edendale).

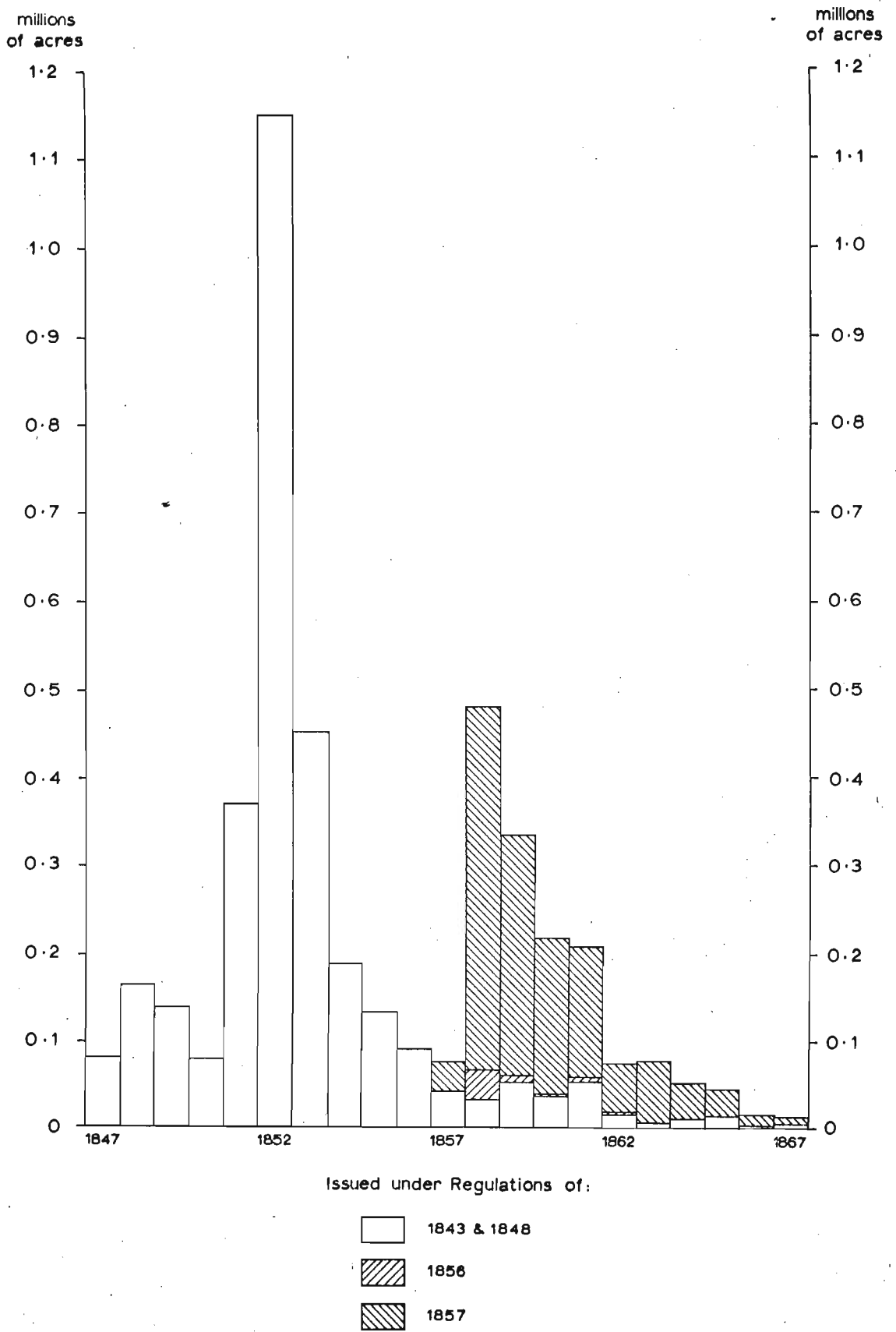


Fig. 20. Areas granted 1847-1867.

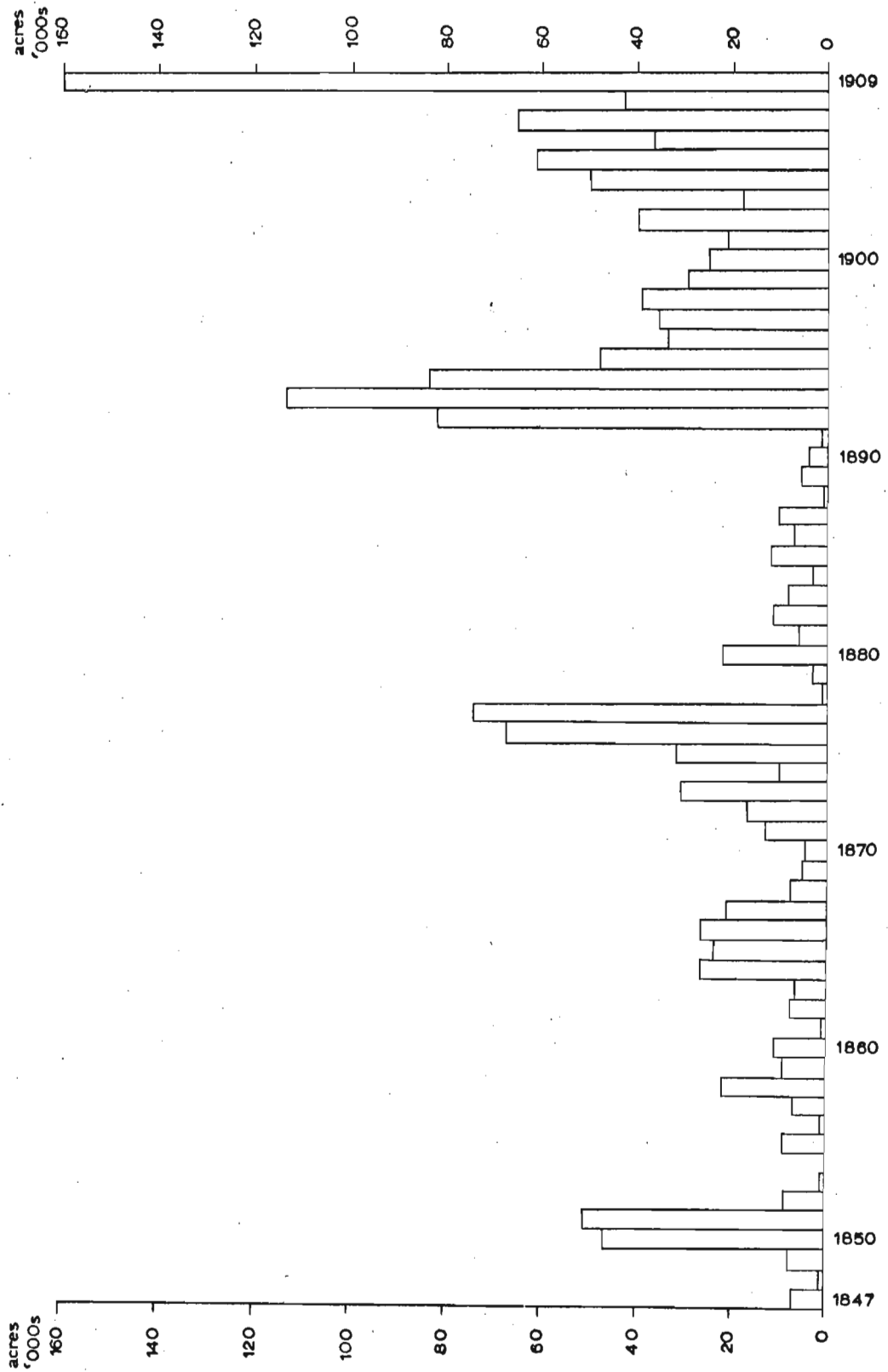


Fig. 21. Areas sold 1847-1909.

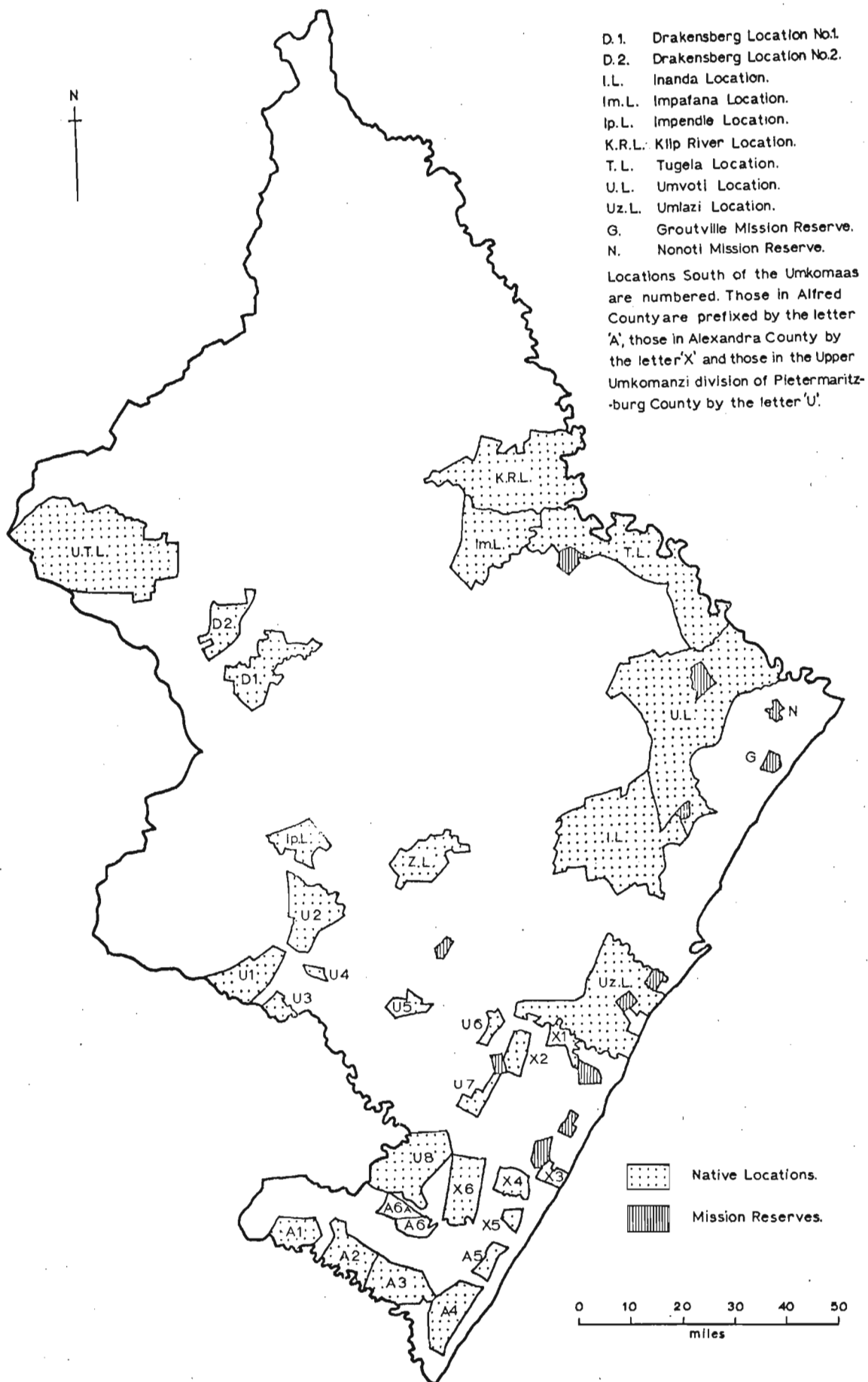


Fig.22. The Native Locations of Natal.

One group of particularly discontented farmers in northern Natal declared themselves independent of the British early in 1847, and then made a treaty with Panda, the Zulu king.²¹ They agreed to pay him the sum of 1000 Rixdollars (£75.) for his recognition of their independence. All citizens of the Republic had to pay a sum towards this amount, but in return they were to receive a farm. A register of land claims was opened under the registrarship of Abraham Spies. The farms were to be free for those helping to pay for the 1000 Rixdollars. Many of the claimants were new and had entered Natal after the British annexation and consequently had no right to claim land in terms of the British proclamations. The "Klip River Rebellion" soon collapsed and many of the Trekkers moved across the Buffalo River into the Utrecht district, where they were able to establish themselves free of British control. The registered land claims were forgotten, and the "Klip River Rebellion" left no mark upon the farm pattern of Natal.

The unfavourable attitude of the British Government at the Cape led many of the Trekkers to decide to leave Natal. The attempt by Andries Pretorius to disentangle the problems of Natal with the High Commissioner was unfruitful, and in early 1848 a large number left their land and prepared to cross the Drakensberg. Donald Moodie, the Natal Government Secretary, estimated that by the end of 1847, six-sevenths of the land claimed in Natal was lying waste.²²

3.4.5. The Land Commission, 1848-49

At this stage Sir Harry Smith, the new Governor of the Cape Colony, visited Natal. His journey to Natal brought him over the Drakensberg from the Orange River Sovereignty and through the area occupied by the Trekkers. He was appalled by the destitution of the Trekkers. He compared their conditions to that of the Portuguese as they retreated before Massena in the Napoleonic Wars. His sympathy for the plight of the Trekkers led him to issue a proclamation on the 10th February, 1848, requesting 'all fair and reasonable claims' to land to be sent to a newly constituted Land Commission. In addition the claimants would receive the full 6000 acre farms, and similar farms would be granted to other persons if they undertook to remain upon them for at least seven years.

The Land Commission consisting of five persons was set up immediately. Sir Harry Smith drafted a minute on the 24th May 1848 on the Land Settlement providing some guidance for the Land Commission. The minute was an explanation of the February proclamation making the work of the Land Commission more specific and attempting to prevent any speculation as a result of the Proclamation. The minute provided that:-

1. All land claims had to be passed through the Land Commission as a final settlement.
2. It was recognised that the original twelve months occupation clause was not a suitable test in the circumstances, and the distinction between Classes 1 and 2* was ill-suited and so was removed. On the coast grants of 1500 morgen will be made owing to the land's suitability to crop farming.
3. Claimants were not to be allowed to return to Natal to sell their new rights. All transactions had to be with the approval of the Land Commissioners and in Natal.
4. Land to the North of the Tugela was to be given to those who might be unprovided with a farm and who desire to settle, and to those who sold their claims in other parts of the Colony may do the same. However, if the claimants pay the Treasury an amount equal to the price paid to them for their claim, then they might be settled elsewhere in the Colony.
5. In order that the purpose of the Proclamation shall be adhered to, all the claimants in Class 2 receiving 6000 acres, and those provided for in sections 3 and 4 should have a stipulation inserted into the grant that the grantee or his heirs shall not for a term of 7 years sell, let or hire the farm granted either wholly or in part without the previous consent of the Lieutenant Governor. Furthermore no sale of these classes of farm shall be legally binding, and such a farm being sold shall be resumable at the option of the Government upon payment of the value of the building erected and improvements made by the grantee, such value being fixed at a fair value.
6. If anyone entitled to a grant of 1500 morgen on the coast should prefer a grant in another part of the Colony at 3000 morgen, then the Board may effect an exchange.
7. The Land Commission is temporary and intended to meet an emergency, and the offer remains open for one year only.

The Land Commission received a total of 898 claims of varying substance. In general the Board showed remarkable generosity as only 157 were rejected. Of the remainder, 235 were given to persons

*Class 1 represented farms on Cloete's A schedule and Class 2 those on the B schedule.

for whom farms of 6000 acres were authorised, 27 for 3000 acres, 55 for less than 3000 acres. Another 78 represented new grants to persons who formerly had possessed no land claims but who wished to settle in Natal. A further 299 were granted to persons formerly resident in Natal but who had trekked over the Drakensberg in 1847 and a further 47 grants were recommended to persons living across the Drakensberg.

To all these, occupation was required for seven years. This was defined as the residence of a European family on a farm, engaged in cultivation or grazing stock, or both, or of European tenants similarly engaged. In the case of adjoining farms a homestead could be built on the one and the rest cultivated or grazed. The residence of Natives on a farm, unless in the charge of a European man, was not recognised as occupation.

The farms had to be inspected, and by the end of 1850, 48 persons had forfeited their claims for not attending their inspections, leading to a return of 282,000 acres. Large quantities of land were forfeited due to non-appearance and to illegal sales. The problem of illegal sales was such that in a Proclamation dated 5th August 1851 the Governor, Sir Benjamin Pine, relaxed the burdensome clauses regarding resumption and stated that lands could be sold upon payment of a fine. The fine was to be 2d. an acre on all lands to the south and south-east of the Bushmans River, and 1d. an acre on lands to the north and north-west of the Bushmans River. The reduction was due to the generally arid character of the country, its great distance from, and difficult communications with, a market for the sale of its produce, and the consequently reduced value of the farms situated there. Pine had hoped to impose a tax for non-occupation, but this was found to be against the principles laid down at the time by the Imperial Government.

The removal of the resumption clause led to the situation Sir Harry Smith had hoped to avoid, namely another exodus of trekkers leaving the Klip River County virtually empty and in the hands of speculators. The fine of 1d. or 2d. an acre was insufficient to deter people from disposing of their claims, as it amounted to only about £25. or £50. on a 6000 acre farm.

As a result there was comparatively little Crown Land left in suitable areas for the British immigrants who were desperately

needed to fill up the empty spaces. Large tracts were now useless, in the hands of speculators, who hoped that their investments would pay ample returns once colonization and closer settlement commenced. Similar speculations in the United States were showing that the profits to be made from land sales were enormous and usually worth the risk. In Natal, however, it was only speculators who could wait for several decades, who made the expected profit.

3.4.6. The distribution of Voortrekker grants

A total of 3,313,067 acres was alienated to the Voortrekkers or the purchasers of Voortrekker claims, under the proclamations of 1843 and 1848 (Table 2). This amounted to approximately 40 per cent of the area of the Colony granted into private hands. These grants, 584 in number, with an average size of 5675 acres, were distributed across the entire length of Natal from the low Drakensberg on the Orange Free State border to the coast. However, there were comparatively few grants adjacent to the south-western and north-eastern borders of the Colony on the Umzimkulu and Tugela Rivers, no doubt as a result of Native troubles. All but about 30 of these claims were settled by 1860, but the last grant under these regulations was not issued until 1877 as a result of protracted negotiations over compensation for lands required by the Government around Pietermaritzburg. The majority of the claims were, however, laid out in the early years of the 1850's.

The regional distribution showed a number of marked differences and contrasts (Fig. 23). The main concentration of grants occurred in the area adjacent to Pietermaritzburg and extending in a continuous belt through to Durban and north to beyond Greytown. A further concentration occurred in the area to the west of Weenen extending through the Tugela and Klip River valleys. None of these belts was continuous, however, and it was noticeable that comparatively few of the grants were on the southern side of the Umkomaas River and that the high Drakensberg or the area to the north of the Biggarsberg had been avoided. The proportions of the surveyed areas in each county taken up by the Voortrekker grants varied from Durban with 92.2 per cent to Alexandra with 8.6 per cent. The largest areas were, naturally, in the two largest counties of Pietermaritzburg and Klip.

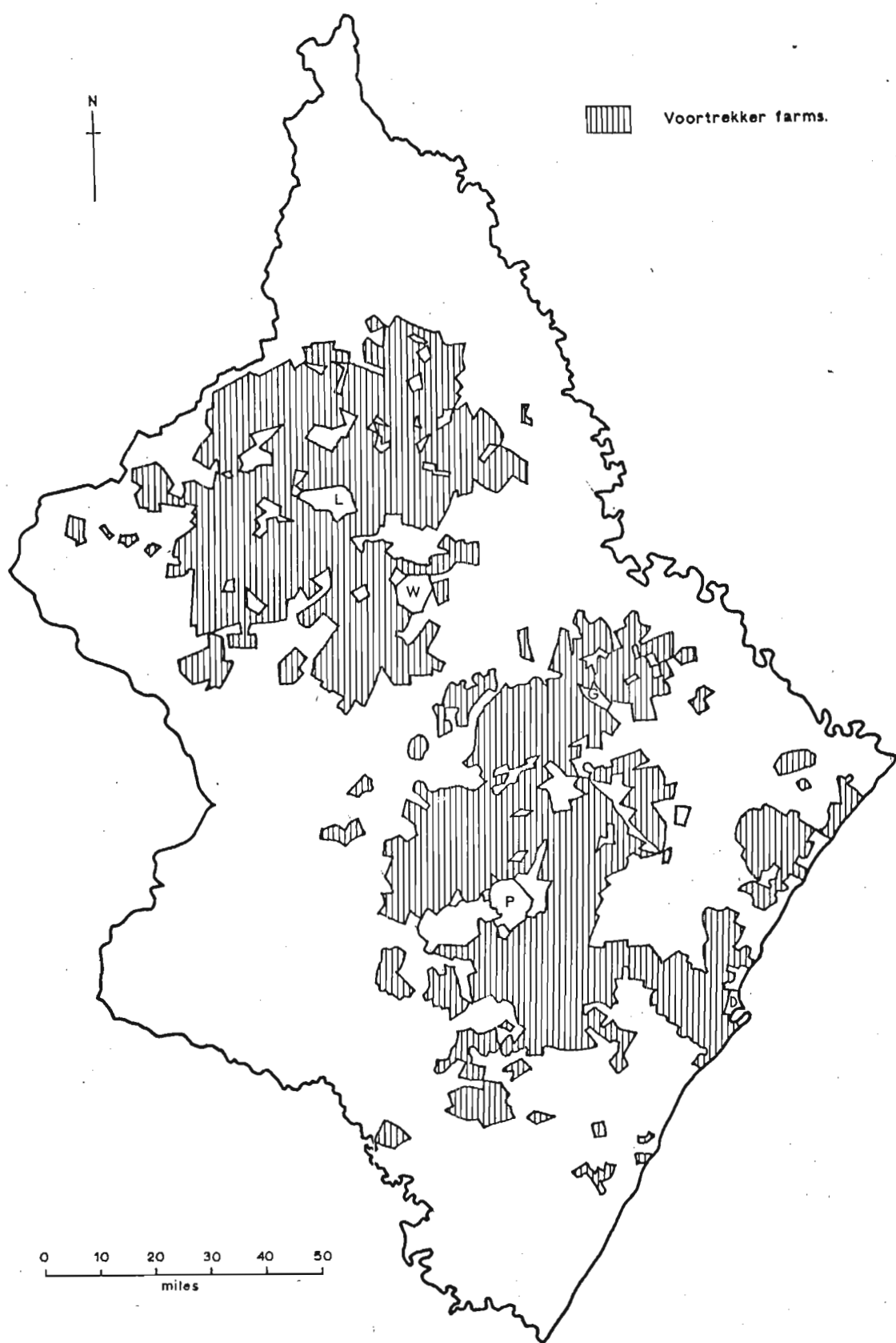


Fig.23. Area allocated to the Voortrekkers.

River with over 900,000 acres each (Table 2).

According to the terms of the relevant proclamations the grants should have been predominantly 6000 acres in extent, but in fact only 42 per cent were of an area between 5501 and 6500 acres (see Table 3). The actual range of size was considerable from 310 acres to 13,000 acres. Most of the grants are between 2500 and 8500 acres.

The size of the grant increased progressively from the port at Durban. The average size in Durban County was lowest (3500 acres) and then it increased in Victoria to 4500 acres, while the average size of the grants in the County of Pietermaritzburg was approximately 5400 acres, the average in Weenen and Umvoti exceeded 5700 acres, and Klip River approached 7000 (Table 2). The average size was closely related to the number of regulation 6000 acre farms granted. In Durban and Victoria only 23 per cent and 44 per cent respectively fell between 5501 and 6500 acres compared with 62 per cent in Pietermaritzburg, and 64 per cent in Umvoti, while in Weenen 15 per cent fell within the category 7501 to 8500 acres and 76 per cent of the Klip River County farms fell within this category. In total 67 per cent of all the Voortrekker farms were within the range 5501 to 8500 acres. The farms outside this range of sizes included a few which were larger, mainly in the Pietermaritzburg County with 10 out of the 13 exceeding 8500 acres. Among the smaller farms the main size group was between 1501 and 2500 acres which formed 36 per cent of the Durban grants, but small grants were found throughout the whole extent of the colony. Even in Klip River County 11 per cent of the grants lay between 1501 and 2500 acres.

One of the most noticeable features of these grants was their discontinuity. The original extents of the farms under the Republican Government were never determined by survey, resulting frequently in the enclosure of more land than the grantee was entitled to. The grantee remained in possession of the extra land, due to the inability of the Government to detect discrepancies. Upon survey in the early 1850's many of the farms were found to be far in excess of the areas allowed, particularly in the Klip River County and the farms in the Tugela valley of Weenen County. These grants were in some cases cut down, leaving gaps between the farms (Fig. 24). In a number of cases the farms set aside for claimants were disallowed or not

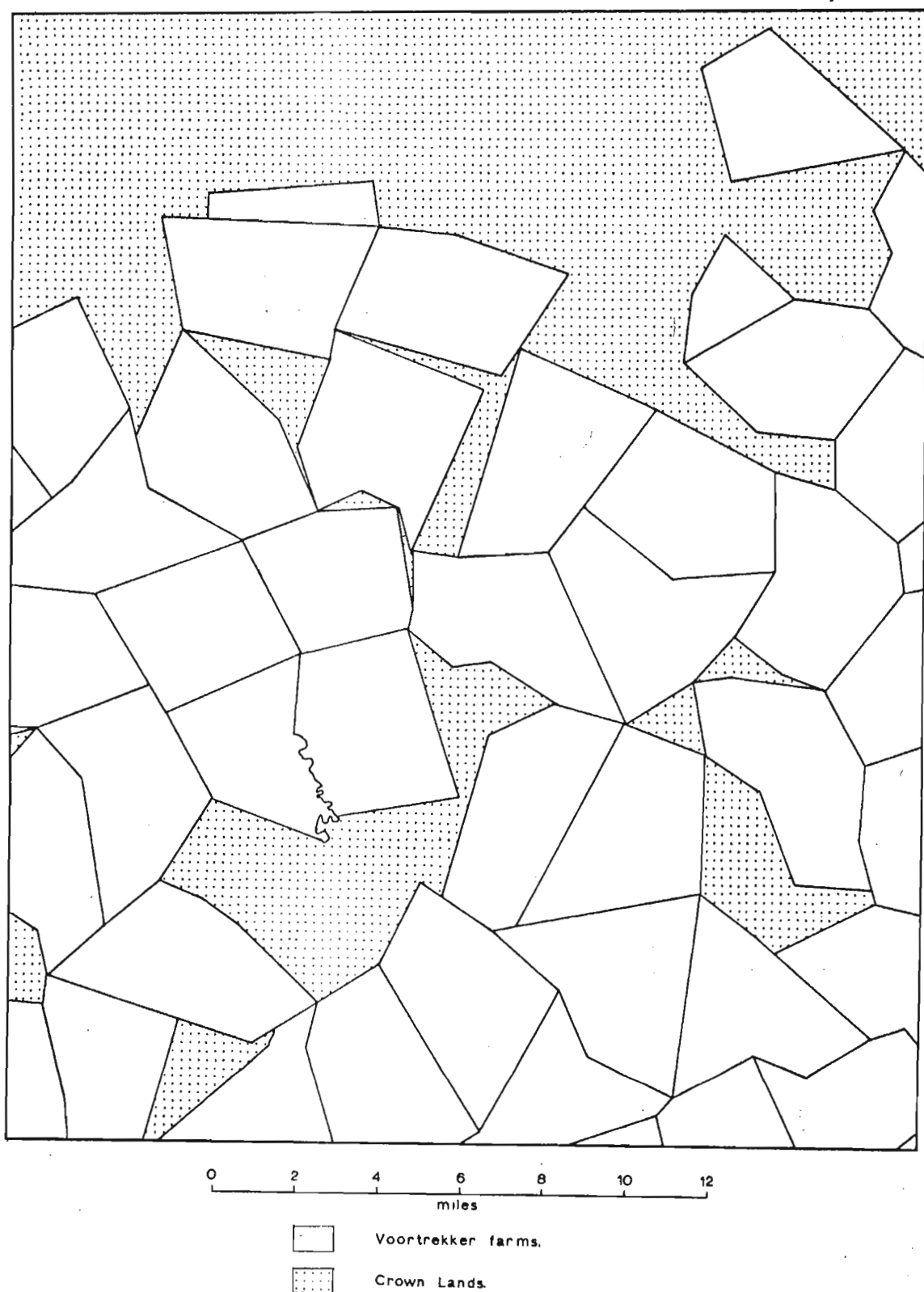


Fig. 24. Layout of Voortrekker farms in part of Kllp River County.

TABLE 2

GRANTS ALIENATED TO THE VOORTREKKERS

County	Number	Area	Average Size
Klip River	144	938,810	6,832
Weenen	108	617,714	5,720
Umvoti	67	390,401	5,827
Pietermaritzburg	180	967,682	5,376
Victoria	45	204,482	4,544
Durban	35	122,542	3,501
Alexandra	5	26,436	5,287
Total	584	3,313,067	5,675

TABLE 3

SIZES OF VOORTREKKER GRANTS

Area (acres)	Klip River	Weenen	Umvoti	Pietermaritzburg	Victoria	Durban	Alexandra	Total
- 501						1		1
501- 1500				1	3	1		5
1501- 2500	16	11	3	23	7	12		72
2501- 3500	2	6	6	17	5	7	2	45
3501- 4500	5	3	4	6	4	2		24
4501- 5500	4	6		9	3	4		26
5501- 6500	11	57	38	112	22	8	2	250
6501- 7500	16	9	13	2	1			41
7501- 8500	90	16	1				1	108
8501- 9500			1	3				4
9501-10500								
10501-11500				3				3
11501-12500			1	3				4
12501-13500				1				1
Total	144	108	67	180	45	35	5	584

TABLE 4

BOUNDARIES OF VOORTREKKER GRANTS

	Total No. of Grants	All straight sides	Total not straight	Over $\frac{1}{2}$ straight	Over $\frac{1}{2}$ straight	Over $\frac{1}{2}$ straight
Klip River	144	119	25	15	9	1
Weenen	108	82	24	18	7	1
Umvoti	67	61	6	5	1	-
Pietermaritzburg	180	143	29	25	12	-
Victoria	45	29	16	12*	4	-
Durban	35	20	15	8*	7	-
Alexandra	5	2	3	2*	1	-
Total	584	456	128	85*	41	2

N.B. 4 farms have coastal boundaries but otherwise only straight boundaries (2 in Victoria and 1 each in Durban and Alexandra)

required either before or even after survey, resulting in other gaps appearing. As a result the pattern of the grants was somewhat irregular. In addition a number of Voortrekker claims fell within the areas of the Native Reserves and compensation had to be afforded to these claimants in lands outside the Reserves but unclaimed by other grantees. In this way the pattern of Voortrekker grants as finally laid out in the period 1847 to 1860 when most of the claims had been met, differed in detail from that which obtained during the Republican period in the early 1840's.

3.4.7. Farm Boundaries of the Voortrekker Grants

The boundaries of the farms have naturally had a profound effect on later farms, and the problems of managing farms, whose boundaries were laid out in waste land. The rectangular pattern was not used but this did not mean that natural features such as rivers were used instead. The most popular boundary was a mountain crest line, where a series of beacons could be erected. In flat country such as the Klip River Basin, the surveyors made use of any slight eminence to place a boundary marker. It was always desirable in days before the introduction of extensive fencing in the 1870's that boundaries should be visible. As a result farms usually extended to both sides of a river, even on the middle Umgeni, as the hills on either side were far more conspicuous than the river itself. Rivers where they were used for demarcating farm boundaries had a severe disadvantage. Beacons from which the survey had to be undertaken were usually well below the general level of the land, as most Natal rivers had to some extent incised themselves fairly recently. As a result auxiliary survey points had to be erected at increased expense and time, and it was quite frequently difficult to see where the farm boundary reached the river, unless inspection of the river bank itself was undertaken. The importance of visible landmarks for demarcating farms before the introduction of barbed wire in the latter part of the nineteenth century cannot be overemphasised.

The result was that of the 584 surveyed Voortrekker grants 456 had sides composed only of straight sides between convenient points. In 85 cases over three-quarters of the boundaries of the farm were straight, and in a further 41 cases over half of the boundaries. Thus

only two farms had other than straight boundaries for more than half their extent. There were eight farms with coastal frontages, half of which otherwise had only straight boundaries apart from the coast (see Table 4).

The two main rivers which were taken as boundaries were the Tugela River, which was bordered by 35 Grants and the Umgeni River bordered a further 27. Other rivers of sufficient visibility or width were the Mooi with 7, the Umlazi with 7, and the Umkomaas with 10. Greater use appears to have been made of river boundaries in coastal counties than in the interior. In the coastal counties 34 per cent of the Voortrekker grants made use of river boundaries as opposed to 17 per cent in Klip River, 22 per cent in Pietermaritzburg and Weenen and 11 per cent in Umvoti. This could be attributed to the perennial nature of the rivers in the coastal belt which made it undesirable to have land on two sides of a river which might be difficult to ford. In addition the smaller grant size in the coast districts, where the length of sight was appreciably shorter than in the interior, made it less necessary to use visible landmarks, as straying was less likely. Also the nature of the vegetation tended to mask the eminences, making readily determined boundaries like rivers desirable.

The length of the boundaries of the farms was also an indicator of shape. The shape of most farms in the newly opened lands, such as Australia or the United States, in the nineteenth century tended to be square. The square was convenient, easily measured and left no spaces between adjacent farms. The theoretical hexagon which possessed the shortest perimeter for the area contained, leaving no remainder, was not used in any part of the world owing to difficulties in survey.

The Voortrekker farms were laid out in many shapes. Not one of them was square, although a number were approximately so. Probably the best indicator to the farmer of the shape of the farm, which he obtained, was the perimeter - the length of line which he would have to fence or patrol. The ideal would have been a circular boundary as was adopted in the Cape Colony in the eighteenth century. This was impractical and a square farm became the ideal. The Voortrekker farms were not square. The perimeter of the farm thus deviated from the ideal perimeter of a square containing the same area. In general

the length of the farm perimeter was larger than that of the theoretical square. The importance of this increase can be gauged from the fact that a square 6000 acre farm had a perimeter of 12.2 miles. A 20 per cent increase in perimeter amounted to a further 2.5 miles which would either have to be fenced or patrolled, thus presenting the farmer with increased problems of stocking. In Table 5 an attempt has been made to show the ratio of the actual length of the perimeter to the length of the theoretical perimeter of the square farm of the same area.

TABLE 5

RATIO OF THE PERIMETERS OF VOORTREKKER FARMS TO THEORETICAL SQUARE FARMS

County	Ratio of square farm perimeter (1.) to actual length								
	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6	2.0
Klip River	4	71	40	17	7	2	1	2	-
Weenen	-	61	26	7	6	4	3	1	-
Umvoti	2	34	17	9	4	1	-	-	-
Pietermaritzburg	3	84	49	22	12	9	-	1	-
Victoria	1	23	12	6	2	1	-	-	-
Durban	1	8	14	7	1	1	1	1	1
Alexandra	-	1	3	-	-	-	1	-	-
Natal	11	282	161	68	32	18	6	5	1

The range of shapes is considerable, from farms which were virtually circular to some of very elongated shapes, including two which were composed of two portions joined only at a single point. The reason for much of the complexity is the high number of sides per farm. Six or seven sides were general and a number had over a dozen sides. Beacons were sited so as to take advantage of any convenient survey point. A few farms were more compact than squares, approaching a circular shape, but this was unusual. Nearly half were approximately square or with perimeters close to that of the theoretical square, and a further quarter 20 per cent to 100 per cent greater. There appears to be no regional variation in the shape and no correlation with size is discernible either.

3.5. Imperial land policy

3.5.1. The basic concept

Natal, as part of the British Empire from 1842 onwards, was regulated in the disposal of its Crown Lands, by the various acts and regulations devised by the British Government. The system of land grants and sales in operation in British Colonies had recently

been revised in terms of the 1842 Disposal of Waste Land Act. The idea that land was the basis of colonial colonisation led to a strict control on alienations in the Colonies. A code of regulations had been drawn up by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners to guide new colonies of settlement.²³ The Commissioners drew upon the considerable experience that had been gained over the years and upon the ideas of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who had expounded a system for the development of British colonies. Wakefield's ideas had been tested with some success in the foundation of South Australia in 1837 and New Zealand in 1840. It was therefore natural that the British authorities should attempt to incorporate a similar scheme into the land settlement of Natal.

The basic ideas of the Wakefield system provided for the following conditions:²⁴

1. Land should be sold only at a fixed 'sufficient' price.
2. The proceeds of land sales should be used to subsidise the emigration of bona fide colonists.
3. The volume and pace of emigration should be closely correlated with the amount of land available.
4. Settlement should expand in a contiguous block (the principle of concentration).

The additional idea was that a large measure of local self government should be given to the colonists so that another England could be planted beyond the seas. This was not looked upon in the 1840's with favour by the Commissioners, although it was adopted in Canada and Australia in the late 1840's and 1850's. Owing to the unfortunate state of local politics and the lack of population, Natal did not receive responsible government until 1893, the last colony of settlement to do so.

The price of land was rightly regarded as the controlling agent in any colonisation scheme and this was the subject of some considerable confusion. The original Wakefield idea had been for land to be sold at a fixed 'sufficient' price. The sufficient price was intended to redress the balance between the three elements of land, labour and capital. The absence of one of these or the superabundance of another had hitherto caused colonial paralysis, in any prospective colony of settlement. The restoration of an equilibrium or balance between the three would open up unlimited

prospects of progress. The whole process was controlled by the price of land and here the sufficient price was designed to ensure a well balanced colony, and a reduction in the amount of destitution in England. The price had to prevent labourers in the colonies from becoming landowners too soon, and thus ensure a supply of labour for the capitalist and also to hinder the spreading or dispersion of settlement, but it was not to be so high as to condemn the labourer to perpetual servitude, without the hope of eventually owning his own land. However, the Wakefield concept was modified to a certain extent and land was sold in most colonies by public auction with a minimum upset price, which like the fixed sufficient price was predetermined. The actual decision on which method to adopt, appears to have been made largely at the discretion of the colonial governors, who interpreted their instructions in the light of their own judgments upon the subject.

The apparent conflict between the fixed and the minimum price was most noticeable in Australia, where the fixed price had been introduced to Victoria but after discussion rejected elsewhere.²⁵ Its disadvantages became apparent in that the possibilities of raising higher prices at auctions were denied to the Crown, and in consequence the amount of money available to finance immigration was reduced. Fixed prices were not popular and such a system was not proposed for South Africa.

Each Colony fixed its own minimum price. In Australia it was fixed at £1. per acre in 1841. Frequently the auction system allowed higher prices to be charged. The Australian colonies were at first unusual in being able to obtain such a high price. In other colonies it was much lower, ranging from 2s. in the Cape of Good Hope, 5s. in Ceylon, 4s.11d. in Lower Canada, and 6s.7d. in Upper Canada. In New Zealand the price was fixed at 10s. per acre in 1844 but was reduced to 5s. per acre in 1853. The Province of Canterbury in New Zealand was able to fix a price of £2. per acre in the 1860's.

In the United States of America a policy of land sales in place of free grants had been in operation since 1785. It was natural that many ideas were taken from the working of the most successful settlement scheme of the nineteenth century, namely the opening of

the American West. The ruling price of land in the United States since 1819 had been \$1.25c. (5s.) per acre.* American policy up to 1862 falls into two stages divided by the year 1841. In the period up to that year land was looked upon as a source of revenue. Sales were by auction with \$1.25c. as a minimum price. Land was surveyed regularly and no advance of settlement beyond the surveyed line was permitted. Prices frequently rose to as much as \$5. per acre. Congress in 1841 changed the national land policy recognising that land could be used to attract settlers. From that date for the next twenty-one years anyone could purchase 160 acres of land at a fixed price of \$1.25c. an acre. Further purchases could be made at auction sales. Sections available for purchase and for auction sales were defined. In addition, claims could be staked before survey. These measures worked well and encouraged the rapid colonization of the mid-western states.

Inevitably United States policies were regarded with interest by the British Government. It is noticeable, however, that the United States policy was directed towards agricultural settlement only. The open range, or the restricted grazing areas, had no place in American thought and so sheep and cattle farms were temporary features which could be swept away by advancing agricultural pioneers. In this respect it was at variance with the measures adopted in Natal.

3.5.2. British land policy in the Cape Colony and Natal

In the Cape Colony, to which Natal was attached until 1856, the principles of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners and their predecessors had been largely ignored. It was only in 1838 that land grants on a small annual quitrent had ceased to be issued, while the introduction of the auction was not a success. In May 1841 the Commissioners laid down that the lands in the Cape Colony were to be sold at a uniform price of 5s. per acre. This, however, was not a

*Originally in 1785 when the Congressional system of land alienation had been introduced a price of \$1. (4s.) per acre had been adopted as the minimum price at auctions for the disposal of the Public Domain. The price had been raised in 1800 to \$2. an acre but was reduced in 1819 to \$1.25c., at which it nominally remained throughout the nineteenth century.

success as the land available was poor, and with the departure of the Trekkers a considerable quantity of good land, especially in the Eastern Province, had come onto the market at prices which were well below the Government's price for poor, unimproved land. However the Commissioners had had doubts about the desirability of a uniform fixed price. The Australian practice in New South Wales of placing all surveyed Crown land up for auction and then leaving the unsold portion open for disposal to the first comer at the upset price, appeared to have some practical advantages. This was, however, not part of the Wakefield theory. The practice, it was hoped, would avoid the inconveniences of the auction system, which resulted in violent fluctuations in the prices fetched owing to the variable amounts of land placed on the market at each auction and to variations in demand and competition for land.

In September 1843 a new system of sale by public auction with a minimum upset price of 2s. per acre was introduced and grants of land on quit rent tenure were to be finally abolished. A price of 2s. per acre was felt to be as much as the Government could hope to obtain in a Colony where there was too much land in relation to the available manpower. The system of sales by auction was introduced to Natal where the price of 2s. per acre was retained, until new regulations were introduced in 1848, which raised the upset price to 4s. per acre. The increases in price were due to the supposed greater fertility of Natal, and to the better chances for sale of Government land compared with the Cape Colony.

A price of £1 per acre which had been desired by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners was beyond the possibilities of Natal, where land prices were low as a result of the vast Voortrekker land grants and subsequent speculation. It was also thought that a higher price would lead to a loss of emigrants who might be attracted to the cheaper lands to be had in the areas under the control of the Trekkers. The price of 4s. per acre was not related to the market value of the land but to the notion that this would be a reasonable price to encourage beneficial settlements. Higher prices would be charged for the more desirable lands, but whereas in the United States and in Australia prices usually exceeded the

minimum due to good competition between would-be purchasers, competition was poor in Natal and most land was sold at the 4s. minimum price. Only occasionally did the price reach £2. per acre for the more desirable tracts of land in the coastal districts. Again the price was not related to its actual value or to the expected value of the lands, once improvement had been introduced. The price also only related to agricultural land and ignored pastoral activity. Wakefield, himself, had to a great extent ignored the 'squatters' of the Australian colonies, and consequently they remained outside the regulations, as clearly 4s. per acre was too high for pastoral lands.* It is doubtful however if 4s. was realistic as the Voortrekkers had just been given land, both pastoral and agricultural at 3d. an acre, which was akin to the pastoral price suggested by Gipps. No attempt was made to class land according to its potential, grading the price according to agricultural use that could be made of it. As in Western Australia⁺ land was too plentiful on the market, and so one of the first conditions of the Wakefield theory did not operate.

The idea of settlement in a contiguous block which was a feature of the Wakefield scheme, and which had rigidly been followed in South Australia could not be followed in Natal, but the idea was developed, that new sales could be limited to fill in the areas between the Voortrekker grants. Under the Wakefield scheme the principle of concentration had been thought to be most beneficial. With a reasonably dense rural population, a network of services such as schools, churches, chapels, shops and markets could be provided. Isolated frontier conditions such as existed in the United States would be avoided, and the life pattern of the colonist made as closely similar to that of the rural population of England as possible, except that he would enjoy considerably more space and greater prosperity. The freehold sales policy up to 1856 was designed to give effect to these considerations.

*In 1842 Sir George Gipps, the Governor of New South Wales, had calculated that a price of 4d. per acre for grazing land was the correct price under the Wakefield theory and using the premises of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. His suggestion was never acted upon to sell land in freehold to graziers.

⁺By 1830, 1.2 m. acres of land had been alienated but only 160 acres were cultivated. As a result land was sold at anything from ½d. to 4½d. an acre, clearly upsetting the £1 or minimum price fixed by the Government.

The empty spaces between the Voortrekker farms, particularly in Victoria County, where the Voortrekkers had avoided the coast, were filled in with grants to planters, who intended planting a wide range of tropical and subtropical crops, such as sugar, arrowroot, indigo and coffee. These men were either in the Colony already or were attracted by the comparatively cheap and attractive land. Purchases were brisk, although many of the planters overreached themselves and were unable to pay for their land and labour, and consequently went bankrupt. In addition the Government wished to attract large numbers of colonists to settle the remaining agricultural lands.

There was no lack of suitable colonists to people the new settlement areas of the world. Emigration from the United Kingdom increased rapidly as a result of the Irish famine, and depression in England, and reached a maximum in the early 1850's (see Table 6). However, comparatively few emigrants went to Natal.

TABLE 6
EMIGRATION FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM 1845-1860

Year	Total Emigrations	to U. S. A.	Australia & New Zealand	British North America	Remainder including Cape & Natal
1845	93,501	58,538	830	31,803	2,330
1846	129,851	82,239	2,347	43,439	1,826
1847	258,270	142,154	4,949	109,680	1,487
1848	248,089	188,233	23,904	31,065	4,887
1849	299,498	219,450	32,191	41,367	6,490
1850	280,849	223,078	16,037	32,961	8,773
1851	335,966	267,357	21,532	42,605	4,472
1852	368,764	244,261	87,881	32,873	3,749
1853	329,937	230,885	61,401	34,522	3,129
1854	323,429	193,065	82,237	43,761	3,366
1855	176,807	103,414	52,309	17,966	3,118
1856	176,554	111,837	44,584	16,378	3,755
1857	212,875	126,905	61,248	21,001	3,721
1858	113,972	59,716	39,295	9,704	5,257
1859	120,432	70,303	31,013	6,689	12,427
1860	128,469	87,500	24,302	9,786	6,881

Source: F. H. Hitchins - The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, Appendix 10.

Table 6 shows that over 50 per cent in all years and occasionally as many as nearly 80 per cent of the emigrants went to the United States. Concern was felt at the loss of so many people to the Empire and efforts were made to attract them to stay under the Crown, by diverting them to one of the colonies. One of the main tasks of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, after their establishment in 1840, was to disseminate information on the

Colonies, but Natal was never featured very largely as it was realised that the amount of land available did not warrant the introduction of any large scale scheme.. It is interesting to note that when the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission was abolished in 1878 only Natal and the Falkland Islands had not established their own agency to deal with immigrants.

There was no government scheme of emigration to bring in the numbers of colonists who were needed to fill up the empty spaces and provide security against Native attacks in the early years of the Colony. The promotion of immigration was left to private enterprise and provision was made for an overall supervision of private schemes by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in London and through their agents in the main ports. The proceeds from land sales and quit rents were quite insufficient to subsidise large scale immigration as envisaged by the Wakefield scheme and actively pursued in the Australian colonies. The revenues from the sale of lands had been intended to pay for the introduction of settlers under the basic Wakefield theory and this had been applied with success, but in Natal land revenues were extremely low. In 1849 land revenues amounted to £2414 (£2150 from land sales and £264 from quit rents.) This did little more than pay for the cost of the administration of the Surveyor General's Office, and certainly left nothing for assistance to immigrants.

If free colonists could not be attracted to Natal, there was always the alternative of introducing transported convicts in the 1840's and 1850's. Transportation had been a feature of many colonies of settlement. New South Wales had started as a penal settlement but had stopped the practice in 1840 when the Colony was firmly established. Convicts in the late 1840's were looked upon as an asset to the colonization of an area by certain colonies. In the main they were looked upon as a solution to the problem of an excess of land but a lack of labour, one of the situations the Colonial Reformers had sought to remedy. The situation of an excess of land over labour resources was particularly acute in two colonies in the 1840's, Western Australia and the Cape of Good Hope.

The situation at the Cape has already been outlined. That in Western Australia has certain parallels which make it interesting in the context of Natal. The Swan River settlement was established in 1829 and by 1832 1.2 million acres of land had been alienated but only 1500 persons lived in the Colony. Only half the population lived on the land. There was clearly an excess of land over labour in the Colony, a fact pointed out by the systematic colonizers. Western Australia struggled for twenty years until 1849, when the Government was finally convinced that the importation of convicts was the only solution to its problem. The inflow of convicts after 1850 together with the free settlers also despatched by the Government undoubtedly assisted the economic recovery of Western Australia.

The Government of the Cape Colony also resorted to the introduction of convicts in an attempt to gain settlers for the Colony.²⁶ Transportation to the Cape was approved in September 1848 and an attempt was made in the following year to land convicts at Simonstown. The Anti-Convict League in Cape Town, however, successfully prevented the convicts from landing, and consequently prevented South Africa from becoming a penal settlement on the lines of New South Wales or Tasmania. The rejection of convicts by the Cape Colony automatically excluded them from Natal, and the question was not seriously raised again, although the sugar planters in 1855 attempted to gain support for the introduction of convicts but were unsuccessful. It is open to question whether this was a wise move as the problem remained and in 1860 Indian indentured labourers had to be introduced creating a considerable number of problems for modern Natal. The success of convicts in Western Australia suggests that the Cape populace was wrong to exclude convicts from South Africa and certainly Natal could have benefited greatly from their introduction. Thus Natal had to rely on free colonists, who had to be induced to come to Natal by any means possible, including gross misrepresentation of the true facts of the situation.

3.5.3. Immigration schemes in Natal 1847-1851

Special regulations were drawn up to encourage privately sponsored schemes of settlement under the special surveys provision of

the Imperial Waste Lands Act, 1842. The special survey provided for the sale of large blocks of land on special terms to proprietors who undertook to introduce settlers onto their land. Under this scheme persons paying sums of money in England for the purchase of land would become entitled to nominate a definite number of emigrants who, if eligible and approved, according to the Commissioner's rules, would be provided with a free passage to Natal. Originally deposits of not less than £1000 were demanded but in 1850 this was raised to £5000 to remove emigration schemes from the hands of persons and companies with insufficient capital to carry out their obligations. This deposit was to be used for the purchase of land in the Colony. The settler willing to pay in advance for lands in Natal and to take with him his own labourers could do so, but deposits were not to be less than £100 (per party of 10). Individual immigrants would become entitled to 20 acres and in addition 5 acres would be added for each child. Choice of plot was to be granted to the immigrant out of at least double this quantity of land.

The first major scheme of immigration proposed came from a group of Cape merchants in April 1847.²⁷ It was stimulated by the increasing needs of the Lancashire cotton mills for their raw material which was fetching a high price on the London market. The group, organised as the Natal Cotton Company, asked for a grant of 30,000 acres which at the ruling Cape price would cost £3000. In addition another £6000 would be spent on the importation of 100 German families who were to be advanced money for their labour and maintenance, but the advances were to be repaid from the expected cotton crop of the land (~~two-thirds~~ to the Cultivator, one third to the Company). The group calculated that by the end of 5 years all but £5,500 would have been repaid out of the firm's original capital of £20,000. The company would however possess the fixed assets, namely land, houses, warehouses and machinery with at least 24,000 acres under cotton in full cultivation and an annual income of at least £25,000 a year.

The scheme was approved with modifications by the Government and in May 1848 the Natal Cotton Company acquired 22,750 acres in Victoria County, which it was thought would be suitable for cotton cultivation. The land was purchased at the Cape price not the new

Natal price of 4s. per acre and the first 10 per cent of the purchase price was paid in July 1848, but no further payment was made, and the attempts at introducing immigrants were not pursued. Payment, it had been agreed, would be made by the introduction of immigrants with a drawback of £10. for each approved immigrant from the United Kingdom. As none were introduced the scheme was abandoned and the land was forfeited to the Crown. This grant, 'Cotton Lands', remains the largest single tract of land granted at one time to a single company or person.

Jonas Bergtheil, one of the promoters of the Natal Cotton Company, undertook his own colonisation scheme separately at this time. In 1847 he collected together a group of 47 German families which he settled on land he had purchased in the interior of Durban County. In all he had purchased 15,000 acres extending to the Umgeni from Wandsbeck including the farms Clermont and Kraanskloof. Under the contract drawn up between Bergtheil and the immigrants, each immigrant was to rent 210 acres from him; 10 acres for the production of vegetables and the remainder for cotton. Each immigrant was expected to cultivate as much of his land as possible, at least 50 acres. The scheme failed, as cotton was unsuccessful, and irrigation impractical. The immigrants were later allowed to purchase their land and it was used for vegetable growing. However, extensive areas remained in the possession of Bergtheil and in the hands of the Natal Land Company which he formed to manage the estate. Bergtheil put forward several other schemes involving division of Voortrekker farms into plots of 50 acres with extensive commonages, but none of these was approved by the Government.

The largest and most important immigration scheme was that organised by Joseph Byrne in the period 1849-51. He is credited with introducing nearly 5000 immigrants.²⁸ The scheme which adhered to the general rules of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners was modified in some respects.²⁹ The scheme provided that:

1. Byrne should deposit from time to time at the Bank of England sums of not less than £1000 to be placed to the credit of the Colonial Land and Emigration Board. For these deposits he would receive a credit which would be

employed in the purchase of land in Natal, under the general regulations for sale by auction at a reserve price of 4s. an acre.

2. Byrne would enter into private arrangements with emigrants and where these were in approved categories, he would receive a drawback of £10. per adult or £5. per child on receipt of a certificate of landing and settlement from the Natal authorities.
3. The departure of the emigrants was to be under the supervision of the Land and Emigration Board.
4. Byrne would undertake to give each approved emigrant at least 20 acres, with the right of choice out of at least double that quantity. Five additional acres was to be allowed each child.
5. Byrne would not charge more than £10. for an adult steerage passage or more than £5. for a child's.
6. Survey fees and transfer duty were to be paid by the purchasers or grantee of the land.

Operating on these terms Byrne proposed to deposit, from time to time, sums totalling £5000 and to send out 500 emigrants, which with land at 4s. an acre would entitle him to 25,000 acres. If this was successful, he would ask for the right to send out another 500 emigrants. He received the answer that if the scheme proved satisfactory no limit would be placed on the extent of emigration allowed upon these terms.

The scheme in practice meant that Byrne and his backers could, for an investment of £1000, obtain land orders which, at the upset price of 4s. per acre, would purchase 5000 acres of land in Natal. The whole £1000 would be refunded to them as soon as 100 emigrants had been settled. The emigrants themselves would have to pay passage money and would pay their own survey and transfer fees. However 100 emigrants settled on 20 acres each would take a total of 2000 acres, leaving Byrne with a clear profit of 3000 acres. The original £1000 could be reinvested in fresh land orders and the transactions repeated. It would not be until competition had forced the price of land up to 10s. per acre that this source of profit would cease, and then this would be compensated for by selling the lands accumulated on favourable terms. The land would be enhanced in value by the occupation and cultivation of the

intervening lots, so that it appeared to be a sound investment.

The first emigrant sailed in 1849 and more followed rapidly. However no land was available for them when they arrived, and they had at first to be placed upon a farm which Byrne had purchased privately from F. Collison, 'Vaalkop and Dadelfontein'. There was severe criticism of this move, as the land was unsuited to arable farming.

Byrne's agent was faced with the problem of finding a compact block of land which would be suitable for the emigrants. The Government made the confiscated lands of the Natal Cotton Company available and several other blocks of land were sought out both on the coast and in the Midlands. This was only the first of the problems which beset the scheme. Moreland, who was Byrne's agent and surveyor, required payment for his surveys and he was unwilling to survey lands which might not be taken up by the settlers. As a result the surveys were slow and the animosities which grew up between Moreland and a number of the officials did not improve conditions, as the slowness in the registry of titles further aggravated the situation. The profits which Byrne had expected from sales of land failed to materialise. In consequence his financial resources were strained and finally in early 1851 he went bankrupt. His bankruptcy effectively ended the immigration scheme. It also caused destitution amongst the settlers who had entrusted their savings to Byrne.

Many of the immigrants refused to take up their lands and sought employment elsewhere. Some retained their allotments in the hope that they would increase in value and could be sold at a profit. For many of them the survey expenses which amounted to about 2s. an acre, would have drained their resources. Survey expenses were in some cases equal to the value of the claims. However, the claims were retained in the hope that concessions would be made.

The claims were sold and under Ordinance 2 of 1851 the transfer of claims from one settler to another was speeded up, as the payment of transfer duties was waived. Only a declaration before a magistrate was necessary to enable the emigrants, who did intend to farm, to buy out their neighbours' land and so consolidate a larger farm which would be granted as a whole. However, the rate of forfeitures increased

as Ordinance 2 of 1851 also stated that transfer of land had to be completed within two months of the notification that the Deeds were ready. Ordinance 5 of 1849 had allowed a year. As a result 110 claims were forfeited to the Crown under Ordinance 5/1849 and 545 claims were forfeited to the Crown under Ordinance 2/1851. Later claims were entertained as the time limit was extended to 23rd August 1854, and even subsequently late applicants were allowed to receive their title deeds, providing they were specially endorsed that the Government had waived the forfeiture. Correspondence and claims continued until the early 1860's.

The reasons for the failure of the emigration scheme have been ascribed to several causes. First the idea that a 20 acre allotment would be sufficient to provide a living for a person. The whole scheme was "based upon a mistaken notion of the physical nature of the district."³⁰ Owing to difficulties such as the lack of flat land and water it was suggested that 200-500 acres would be a more suitable area. For the ordinary labourer set down on his plot with no capital the situation was impossible, especially as Natal was still undeveloped, without roads and bridges and generally with the plots at some considerable distance from the Port. As a result the Governor, Sir Benjamin Pine, in 1850 suggested a primary division of the Colony into 200-300 acre parcels to be later subdivided according to the special needs of the immigrants.

The lands offered to the settlers were totally unsuitable for close settlement of the type envisaged by the promoters. Plots of 20 or 50 acres, even with the temporary commonages, were inadequate to keep a settler and his family. The 80 acre plots of South Australia and the 160 acres of the United States at this time were laid out on comparatively level land which could be cultivated and used for crop raising. Much of the land granted to the Byrne settlers was rugged and difficult to cultivate and as such it was beyond them to do so, especially as they lacked the knowledge and means to grow cotton, one of the purposes of the settlement.

Several other small schemes were worked out at about the same time. Henry Boast and William Lund organised a coöperative movement in Yorkshire which they thought would be more likely to

provide beneficial occupation of the land than a land jobbing speculation. Eventually 200 settlers went out under the scheme and the total area of land to which they were entitled under the drawback on emigrants was shared amongst them. The area selected was at York, to the north of Pietermaritzburg.

John Lidgett's scheme was a commercial venture of a man already experienced in the business of transporting emigrants to the colonies. In January 1850 he deposited f1000 as a first venture in Natal but his agent found that there was no suitable Crown Land available and as a result private Voortrekker grant farms to the north-west of Howick were purchased. The scheme was similar to Byrne's and although not unsuccessful, was subject to many delays so that it was not repeated.

A scheme was also arranged in the Karkloof mountains by Hackett and Milner. The scheme envisaged larger than usual plots of land and the right to cut timber on neighbouring lands. The average plot size was nearly 140 acres, which was appreciably larger than those of the other settlement schemes laid out at this time. However the scheme suffered from the inaccessibility of the settlement and the rugged nature of the land which virtually precluded agriculture.

The Wesleyan settlements under the "Protestant Emigration and Colonisation Society" under the patronage of Lord Verulam and the "Duke of Buccleuch's Settlers" were more successful. The emigrants came out under the Byrne scheme but received 40 to 50 acres instead of 20. The Wesleyans found it better to purchase land privately, while the Duke of Buccleuch's settlers were more fortunate in that the Duke had agreed to pay the expense of the survey and transfer fees, which had been a major cause of the collapse of the Byrne scheme. In addition the site chosen was one of the few remaining good areas left, so that the former tenants were able to move straight onto their allotments. These groups of settlers were placed upon the Byrne Estates at Cotton Lands and Beaulieu Estate respectively.

Edmund Morewood also undertook his own small scheme on the north coast. He provided plots of varying extent but they were in fact no more generous than the Byrne settlements. He appears, however, to have succeeded in obtaining purchasers for all the plots and these

were unaffected by later Government resumptions.

The Government also undertook a direct colonization scheme in 1850. It was planned at Sterkspruit, close to the main Pietermaritzburg to Durban road. Its position indicated that it had a reasonable chance of success and consequently the Government demanded £1 per acre. At Sterkspruit plots of 50 to 80 acres were laid out with an extensive commonage. At least 22 plots were planned but only 9 were occupied, and these were soon abandoned by their owners. The area remained a commonage occupied by Natives until in 1892 it was decided to sell the land to the Natives. Undoubtedly this experience discouraged the officials of the Surveyor General's Office from making further attempts at systematic colonization.

Despite their limited scope the area taken up by the various immigration schemes was considerable (Table 7). A total of over 142,000 acres was laid aside for the immigration schemes, and of this 77,334 acres were surveyed into plots (Fig. 25). Further areas were

TABLE 7
AREAS OF THE 1850 SETTLEMENT SCHEMES

Estate	Total Area	Total No. of Plots	Area of Plots	No. of Plots of 20 acres	Area of 20 acre Plots
Vaalkop & Dadelfontein	10,864	122	5,225	66	1,320
Beaulieu Estate	11,309	196	9,935	105	2,100
Dunbar Estate	9,168	169	7,545	73	1,460
Harmony Estate	7,301	159	7,301	73	1,460
Little Harmony Estate	4,380	50	2,284	25	500
Slang Spruit	2,882	79	2,882	33	660
New England	2,140	45	2,140	24	480
Other Pietermaritzburg Lots	11,878	-	-	-	-
Cotton Lands	22,779	208	15,033	23	460
Victoria Lots 44-47	2,422	27	2,422	-	-
Victoria Lots 31 etc.	4,419	43	2,974	16	320
Other Victoria Lots	7,549	-	-	-	-
Total Byrne Scheme:	97,091	1,098	57,741	438	8,760
Morewood's Estates	2,438	79	2,438	41	820
Boast's Estates	11,648	60	9,367	8	160
Lidgett's Estates	14,496	63	2,157	21	420
Hackett's Estates	4,311	32	4,311	-	-
Sterkspruit	12,498	22	1,320	-	-
Total	142,482	1,354	77,334	508	10,160

purchased by some of the promoters such as Morewood and Lidgett, but these were probably not intended for settlement schemes. The areas selected were limited to the Counties of Pietermaritzburg and Victoria

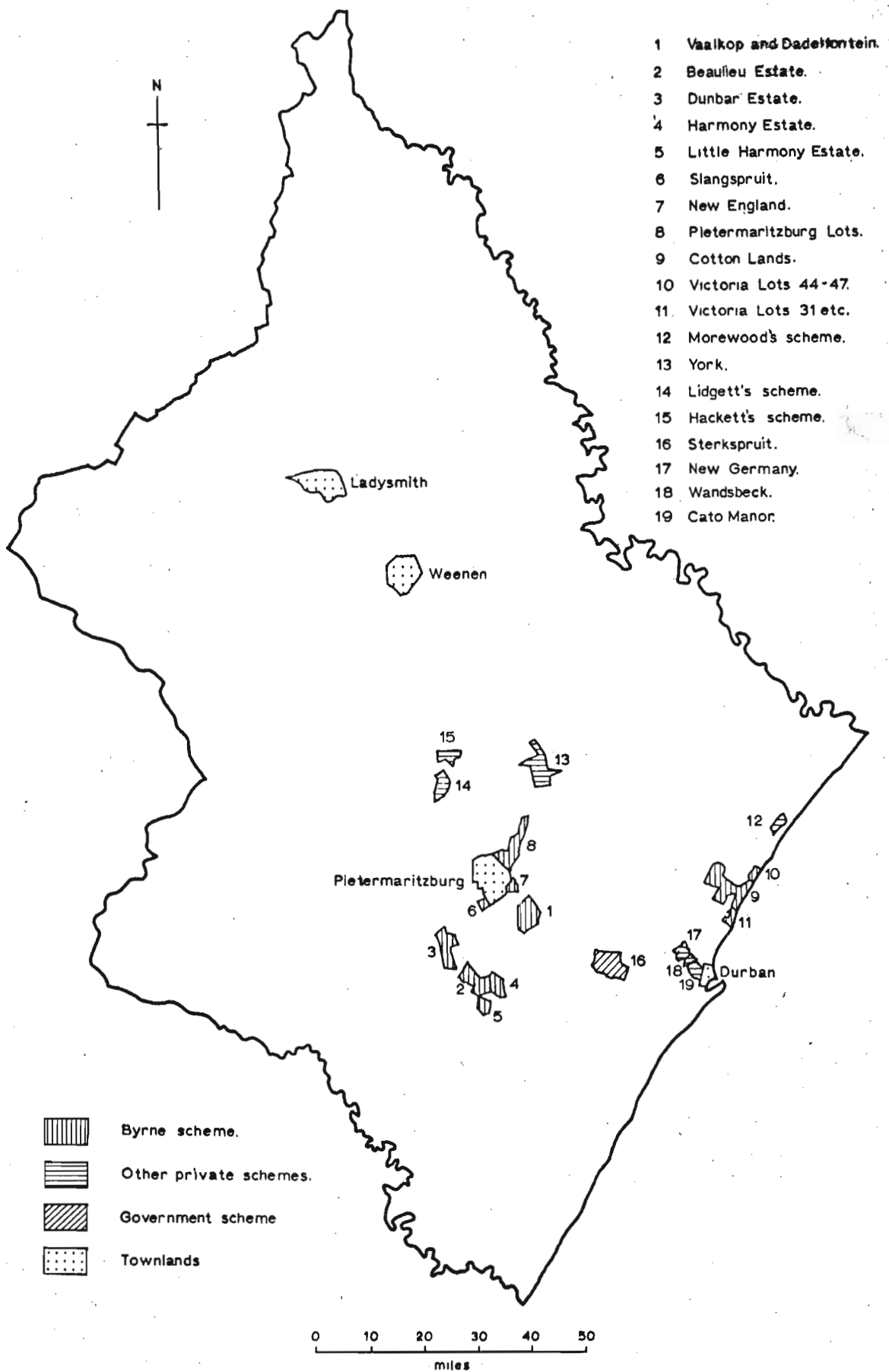


Fig. 25. Areas of Settlement Schemes 1849-1851.

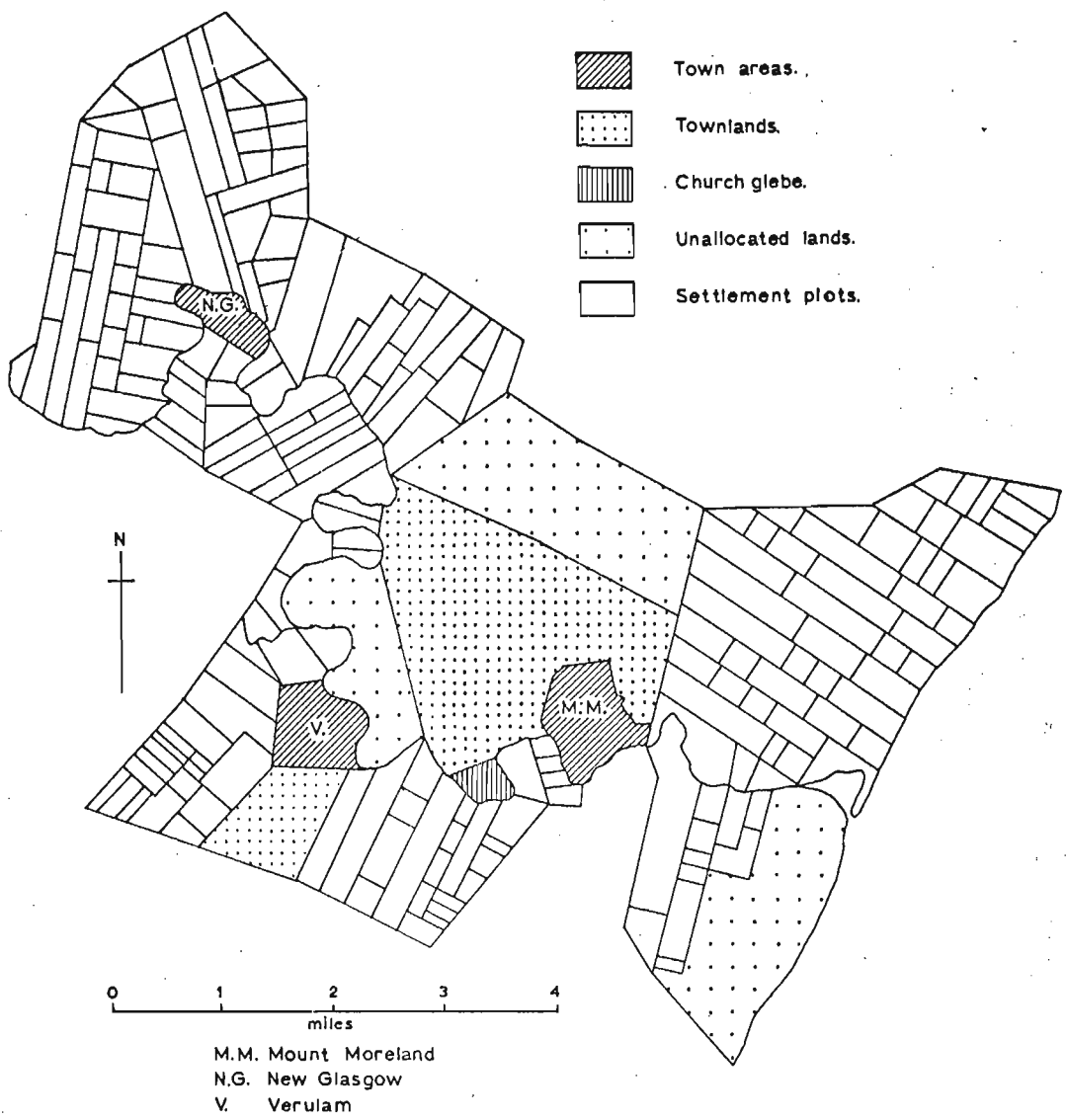


Fig. 26. Original plan of the Cottonlands Estate, 1850.

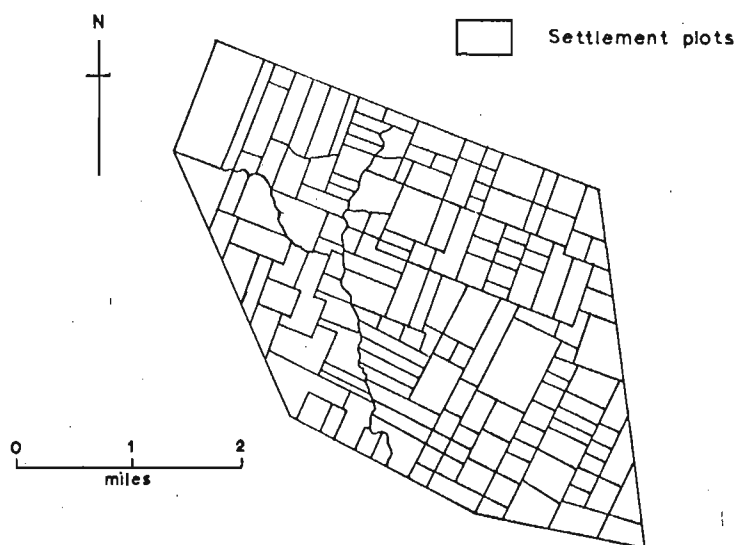


Fig. 27. Original plan of Harmony Estate, 1850.

marked. Only 8 out of 73 and 4 out of 25 plots on the Harmony and Little Harmony Estates respectively were allocated to settlers. The remainder were rejected. Other promoters were no more successful. On Lidgett's scheme at Riet Vallei only 7 out of the 21 surveyed 20-acre plots were taken up.

However, on the Cotton Lands Estate all 23 plots of the 20-acre size were occupied and Morewood similarly was able to dispose of all his 20-acre plots on the coastlands. It was apparent that 20 acres was worth possessing in Victoria County, whereas the value of such a plot in the Midlands was low. On the coast it was found that 20 acres could be made into a working unit, if with a great deal of effort.

The choice of land offered to the colonists was not generous and the grid iron plan of plots, into which the larger grants were divided, gave little scope for the inclusion of better land with the poorer.

Each of the estates included larger plots of land. These were more successful. On the Beaulieu Estate only nine plots exceeding 50 acres were not taken up out of the 49 surveyed. At Harmony the figures were 16 left out of 27 and at Little Harmony 4 left out of 14. The Harmony and Little Harmony Estates were, however, the least successful of the Byrne settlements as they were developed at about the time of the collapse of the scheme and were the least attractive.

In each settlement provision was made for the layout of townships as service centres and each settler was granted a town plot of half an acre. The towns laid out included Thornville on Vaalkop and Dadelfontein, Byrne on the Dunbar Estate, Richmond on the Beaulieu Estate, another Byrne on the Little Harmony Estate, New Glasgow, Verulam and Mount Moreland on the Cotton Lands Estate, York on Boast's scheme and Lidgetton on Lidgett's scheme. Several of these towns failed to develop. Byrne on Little Harmony was not laid out, while towns such as New Glasgow and Mount Moreland failed to develop at all. Substantial commonages remained for the use of persons owning the town plots. These were composed of the unsold remainders of the Estates. There was little systematic attempt to provide suitable permanent commonages on the Estates; Richmond for example had to be granted a commonage by the Governor in 1894. It was the remainders or commonages which the promoters hoped would increase in value as

the settlement grew and developed. In most cases the value of the commonages failed to live up to the expectations of the promoters.

The layout of the estates presented problems to later colonists and landowners, in that frequently a dozen or more plots laid out in the 1850's had to be put together to provide an economic unit, and this led to problems of transfer and to wholesale consolidations. A large number of the settlers, too, left their plots, thinking them to be of little value and did nothing to improve them. As a result laws were passed in 1869 and 1872 to enable the Crown to resume possession of unoccupied land and allow it to be granted once more, usually in larger blocks.

In general, the immigration schemes were a failure from an agricultural point of view. They did benefit the colony by introducing settlers, many of whom remained but not necessarily on the land. Many migrated to the towns and some of those who possessed sufficient funds emigrated. The schemes provided for closer rural settlement, even though most settlers chose not to remain on their plots. Furthermore, the schemes showed that a more realistic approach was necessary with regard to the disposal of Crown Lands.

3.5.4. Freehold Sales 1847-1860

Prior to 1856, Government land sales had been concentrated in Victoria and Durban Counties. Lots were surveyed for occupation by planters of tropical crops. The lots were small, often under 100 acres in the areas close to Durban, but increased in size along the Victoria coast towards the north. The Voortrekker grants in the southern part of Victoria County had been surveyed to leave a narrow coastal belt of Crown land. This land was regarded as useless for pastoral farming, but the Government correctly foresaw that the future of the area lay in crop farming.

Originally (in 1847-48) the Government had planned 94 small lots on the coast of Victoria County, which would have completely cut the Voortrekker grants off from the sea (Fig. 28). Effectively, these lots were broadly coincident with the area of coastal bush. However, sales were slow and in 1848-49 twenty-one of the lots were allocated to claimants under the 1848 Land Commission's proceedings. A further 18 were allotted to the Byrne scheme in 1849-50. Thus, the

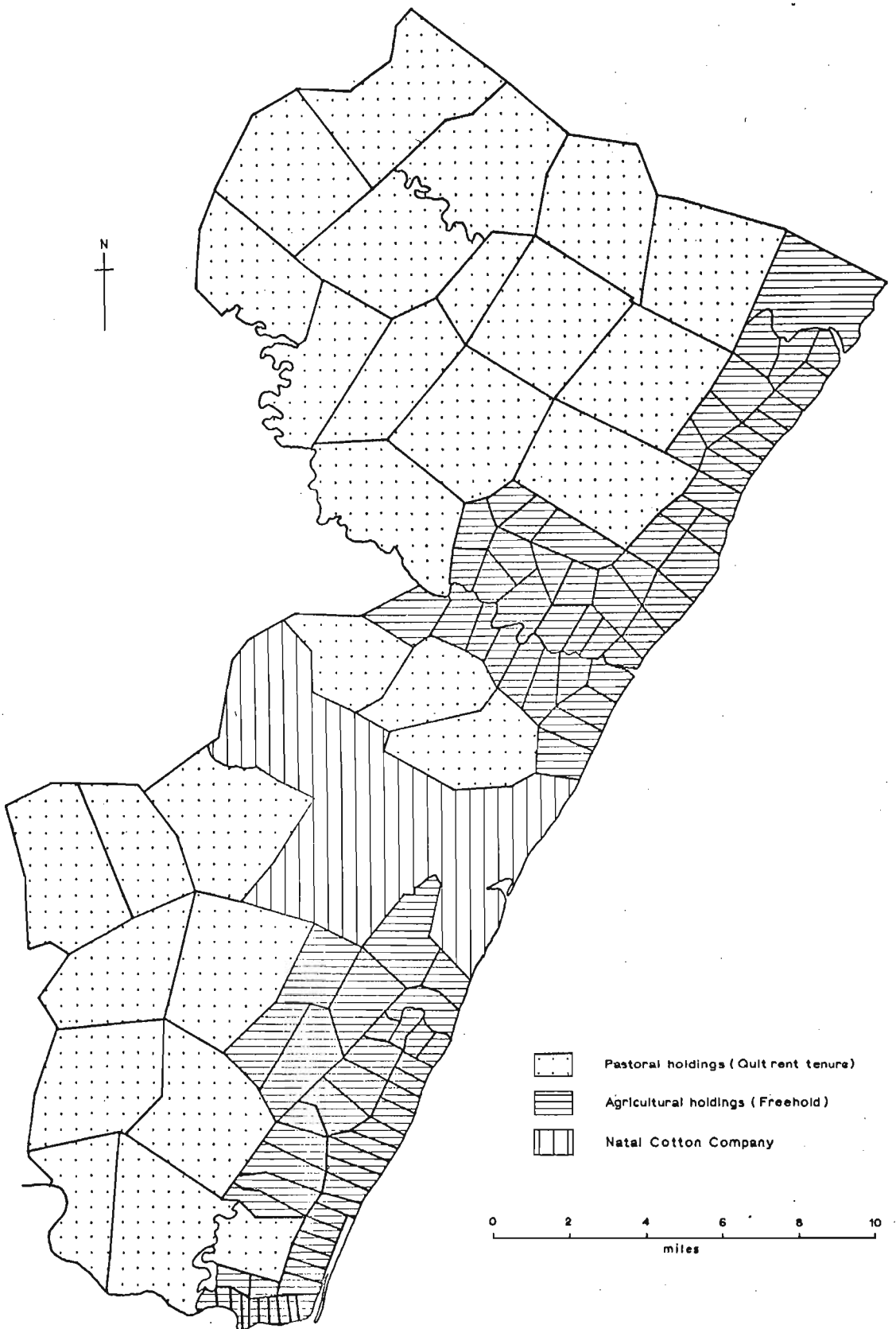


Fig. 28. Original plan of Victoria County, 1847.

original concept of separating coastal agricultural lots from the pastoral lots of the interior of the county was lost, although the remaining 55 lots were sold in freehold and more were sold further North, near Stanger.

Government land sales were more successful on the Bluff at Durban. The area had been divided into lots of approximately 30 acres apiece. Twenty-four lots were sold in 1851 for prices between £1 and £2 per acre. A further 11 lots were sold in 1857 for prices between £1 and £5 per acre. The small lots were regarded as good investments and it would appear that over half the lots sold were purchased by speculators.

Interest in coastal properties was, however, revived in 1855 upon the south coast in Durban and Alexandra Counties. Areas within, or surrounded by the Umlazi Location and in Alexandra County were planned for division into lots 300-600 acres in extent in the Durban County and 6000 acres in Alexandra. These schemes, however, came to nothing as communications along the south coast were poor and up to the 1880's produce had to be taken by sea rather than by road to Durban. In 1860 the Government decided to provide endowments for the Collegiate Schools of Pietermaritzburg and Durban by means of land grants. Under Acts 18 and 19 of 1861 the Government gave two grants to each school. These consisted of a block of surveyed lands in the Umlazi Location and one of the 6000 acre farms in Alexandra for the Durban Institute, together with another 6000 acre farm in Weenen adjacent to the Fort Nottingham Townlands and some town erven in Greytown for the Pietermaritzburg Institute.

The endowment of the schools was disapproved of by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, who saw the dangers of the scheme from the experience of Canada where vast tracts had been given to schools and churches. However, the scheme was allowed to go forward owing to the resentment aroused by the Commission's rejection of the 1857 Quit Rent Regulations. The Commissioners stated:

"Lands thus held are a great impediment to the progress of the neighbourhood and a serious evil to the settlers and it would therefore have been better if some other means of endowing the colleges had been adopted. But on the whole it has been decided to leave the Acts for the present to their operation, although the attention of the Lieutenant

Governor has been called to the objections to which they are open.^{"31}

The Commissioner's warning was quite correct. The lands remained virtually unused due to their inaccessibility, although the Greytown erven brought in an income and the Durban Umlazi lots could be rented. The Government however resumed the land in 1903 (under Act 41 of 1903) and granted it in the normal way to settlers. This was possible as a result of greater Government control over the schools and their financing, making endowments redundant.

In the period from 1847 to 1860 a total of 208,070 acres were sold with freehold title (Table 8 and Fig. 29). In most cases these sales occurred in the period from 1847 to 1852 when the major settlement schemes were undertaken. Of the freehold properties, 102,044 acres were sold to the proprietors of the major schemes. In addition, 10,698 acres were set aside for missions (8813 acres for the Church of England and the remainder for the Dutch Reformed Church) and a further 11,420 acres for school purposes. The Weenen school farm "Collegiate" was not surveyed until later. The remaining 143 lots covering 82,908 acres were surveyed for private occupation (Table 9).

TABLE 8
AREAS SURVEYED FOR FREEHOLD SALE 1847-1860

County	No. of Lots	Acreage
Umvoti	2	1,904
Pietermaritzburg	95	95,981
Victoria	82	85,858
Durban	43	6,115
Alexandra	18	18,212
Natal	240	208,070

TABLE 9
AREAS SOLD 1847-1860 (EXCLUDING SETTLEMENT SCHEMES, SCHOOLS & CHURCHES)

County	No. of Lots	Acreage
Pietermaritzburg	21	21,623
Victoria	70	48,378
Durban	35	1,143
Alexandra	17	11,764
Natal	143	82,908

3.6. 1856 Military Grants

The government was in particular faced with the problem of security and wished to pursue a military settlement scheme similar

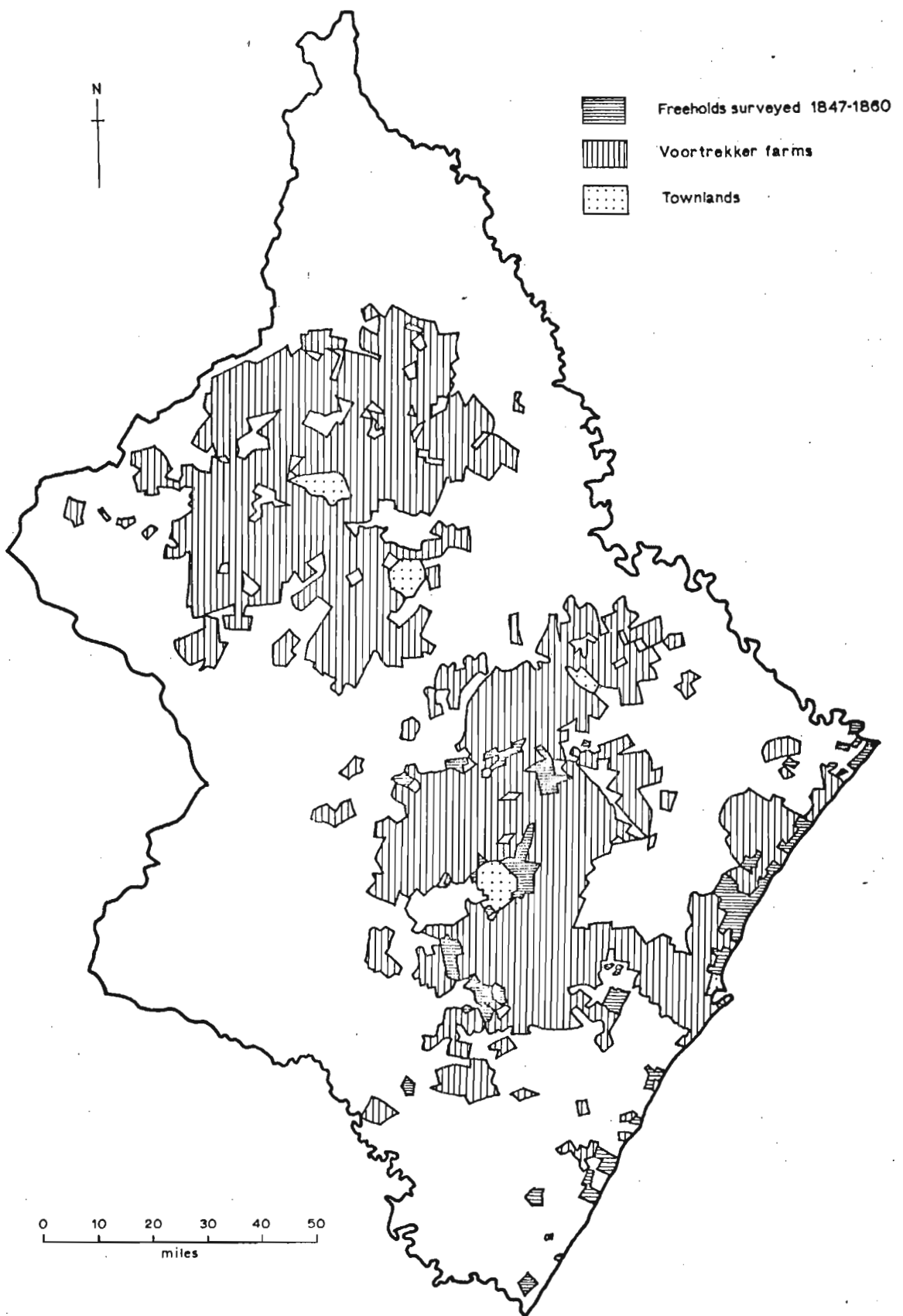


Fig.29. Areas surveyed for freehold sales 1847-1860.

to that adopted in British Kaffraria at this time. In 1857 the German Legion members were granted farms in Kaffraria for a small quit rent and military service, and the scheme was extended to the whole of that colony when the main farm pattern was laid out between 1858 and 1861.³² Due notice was taken of the potential of the country and the size of farm was laid out accordingly.

In Natal by Proclamation 81 of the 7th July 1856 an attempt was made to attract ex-soldiers of the Crimean War and others, who would assist in the defence of the Colony, by offering farms of 50 to 3000 acres in extent at an annual quit rent of £5. per annum. The terms were, however, onerous and included among other provisions:

1. "That the tenant would at all times have and keep ready for his own use at and upon the said farm a serviceable horse and a serviceable gun with necessary ammunition.
2. That for the purposes of the defence of the District he would at all times have and keep living at and upon the said farm for every 1000 acres of land over and above 1000 acres or for every fractional part of such 1000 acres exceeding 500 acres one man besides himself, fit for service, provided with a horse and efficiently armed with a serviceable gun and supplied with ammunition.
3. That once a year the owner and his men shall have to assemble in arms on horses for muster and inspection.
4. Within two years a substantial dwelling house of brick or stone, of not less dimensions, inside 16 ft. wide by 36 ft. long with walls 9 ft. high and 14 inches thick divided into not less than 3 rooms by walls of solid mason work, had to be constructed.*

These terms did not have the desired result as only 23 grants were issued covering 58,915 acres (Table 10 and Fig. 30). Two of these were immediately re-issued under the regulations of 1857 and the remainder proved so unpopular that the scheme was suspended and by Law 21 of 1863 the owner was able to release himself from the conditions of military service and convert his grant to freehold upon payment of a sum equivalent to twenty times the quit rent.

The actual sizes granted varied from 227 to 6163 acres. The last imposed the burden of supplying six armed men upon the owner.

*Similar conditions were attached to American grants, but open to abuse as the 12 by 14 dwelling might be a model constructed in inches, or a portable house moved from grant to grant. This was done in Australia as well. However the Natal authorities do not seem to have encountered such difficulties, and the conditions were never fully enforced.

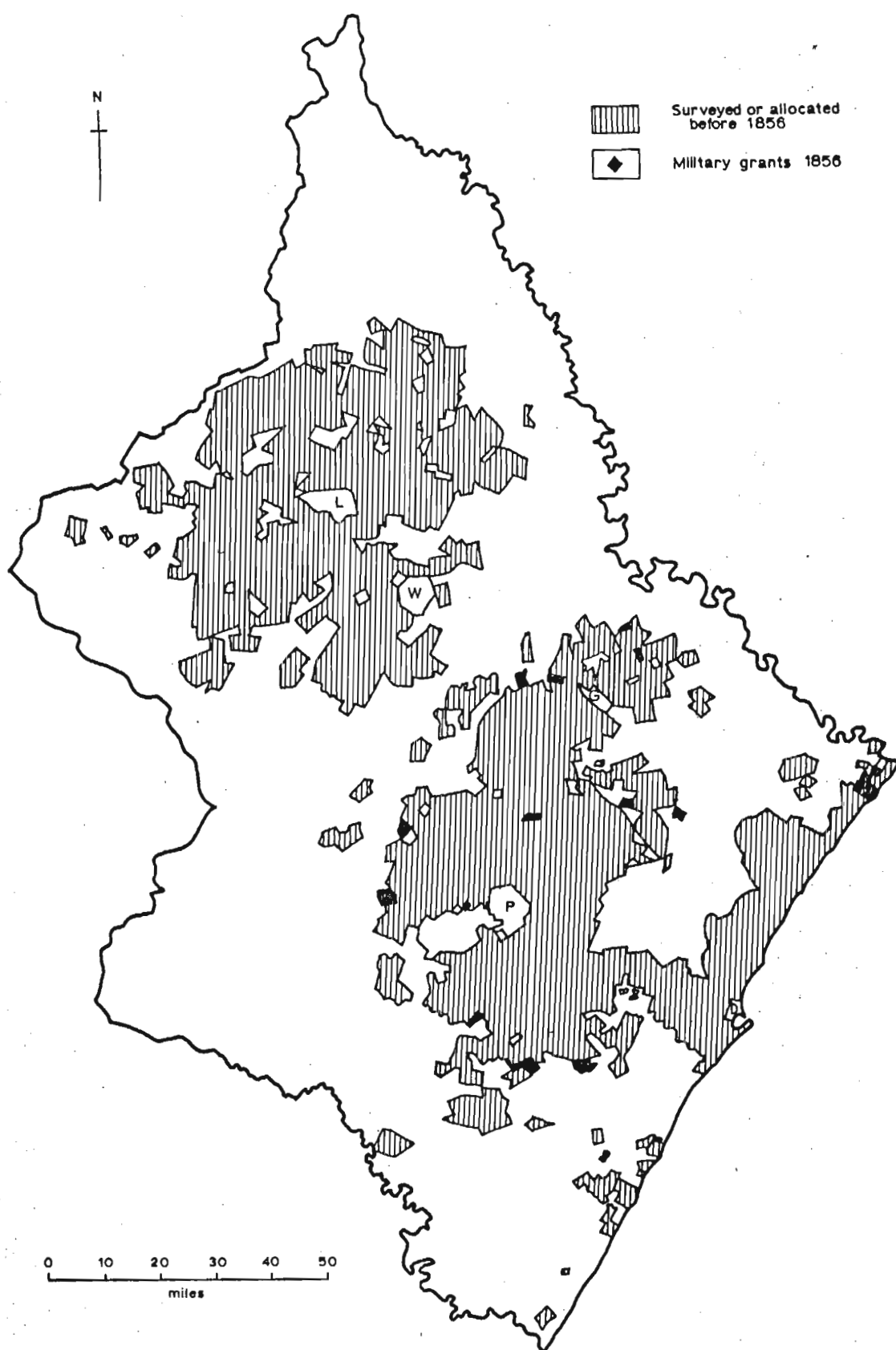


Fig.30. The distribution of Military grants 1856.

Nineteen of the farms were between 1500 and 3500 acres demanding the support of either two or three armed men. The majority of the grants were of lands adjacent to the settled area and no doubt it was hoped that they would, if the scheme had been more successful, have formed a buffer between the main body of the colonists and the Native Locations, and more particularly between Natal and Zululand. Grants in Umvoti and Victoria Counties were specifically designed for the protection of the Colony from attacks from Zululand.

TABLE 10
AREAS OF MILITARY GRANTS, 1856

County	No. of Grants	Acreage
Umvoti	6	13,561
Pietermaritzburg	13	34,427
Victoria	2	9,437
Alexandra	2	1,490
Total	23	58,915

3.7 1857 Quit Rent Grants

Natal was created a separate Colony by Letters Patent dated 15th July 1856 which provided for a new Legislative Council and for its control over a number of matters. The question of the disposal of Crown Land was left in an ambiguous state whereby the Colony administered the disposal of land but the Imperial Government had the right to veto any action it felt to be irresponsible. As a result the disposal of land became caught up in local politics as it had been in the Australian colonies, but the Natal Government was in a weaker position with regard to the Imperial Government, as events were to show.

The Natal Government was concerned at the lack of settlers and made strenuous attempts to find a way of attracting them. It was realised that persons with at least a small amount of capital were required and that terms would have to be made which would direct them to Natal rather than to some other British Colony or the United States. It was decided to re-introduce the idea of the quit rent farm, as opposed to freehold, but without any conditions which might appear onerous.

On the 29th April 1857 a Proclamation was issued which allowed the occupation of unappropriated Crown Land subject to a perpetual

quit rent. The Colony was divided into two major classes of area, the second being divided into three. The conditions were as follows:

"Class I Unappropriated Crown Lands in the Counties of Klip River, Weenen, Umvoti and Pietermaritzburg (exclusive of Ward 6) and also in that part of the Division now called Upper Umkomanzi, not being nearer than forty miles from the seashore would be granted in farms not exceeding 3000 acres on condition of occupation and at a perpetual quit rent of one farthing ($\frac{1}{4}$ d.) per acre.

Class II Unappropriated Crown Lands in the Counties of Victoria and Durban and in the Division now called Lower Umkomanzi, as also in that portion of the Division now called Upper Umkomanzi being within forty miles of the sea would be granted on condition of occupation and as follows:

- 1st: Unappropriated lands situated within 20 miles of the sea shore and 30 miles of the Port of Durban would be granted in farms not exceeding an area of 300 acres at a perpetual quit rent of twopence halfpenny per acre ($2\frac{1}{2}$ d.).
- 2nd: Unappropriated lands situated beyond 30 miles of the Port of Durban and within 20 miles of the sea shore would be granted in farms not exceeding an area of 600 acres at a perpetual annual quit rent of one penny farthing ($1\frac{1}{4}$ d.) per acre.
- 3rd: All other unappropriated lands included in Class 2 would be granted in farms not exceeding an area of 1000 acres at a perpetual annual quit rent of three farthings ($\frac{3}{4}$ d.) per acre; but in all farms granted as above and not occupied a fine per acre of four times the amount of quit rent per acre and in addition to the said quit rent.

The division of the country was based on its supposed capabilities for agriculture in the case of the coastal belt and for pastoral activity in the case of the interior. Communications with the Port of Durban were recognized as the key factor in encouraging the development of export crops such as sugar and coffee, and as a result land near to Durban tended to become more valuable. However much of the south coast still depended upon seaborne traffic, so that the economics of 20 miles of land transport and 30 miles of sea transport was sound.

There was naturally a considerable demand for land under such generous terms.³³ They were hailed as a great inducement to colonists and as representing terms which few other colonies had offered. The

Proclamation, however, although aimed at promoting emigration to Natal was lacking in safeguards. The fine for non-occupation could not be regarded as a deterrent to speculators, as the maximum payable was only just over £12. per year. As a result the number of applications was considerable and it soon became apparent that the remaining Crown Lands would be taken up by people already in the Colony, before the new conditions could be made known in the United Kingdom.

The Governor tried to overcome this problem by issuing another Proclamation on the 3rd July 1857 restricting the terms. Persons already in possession of 3000 acres or more within the Colony would be ineligible for any further grant under the new conditions, while persons in possession of less than 3000 acres could only secure an amount which would bring their total holdings up to 3000 acres. Eventually acting on the advice of the newly constituted Board of Immigration the Governor, in a Proclamation issued on the 7th September 1857, declined to accept any more applications for land from persons already resident within the Colony.

The British Government in the form of the Colonial Land and Emigration Board was apprehensive over the new Ordinance regarding it as a return to the previous period of free grants.

Finally, the Secretary of State ordered the revocation of the Proclamation which was duly implemented by a Proclamation issued on the 2nd July 1858. The revocation of the 1857 Proclamation at this date had the result of frustrating the Government's plans for immigration, now that the terms had been publicised in the United Kingdom and a flow of immigrants was beginning to arrive. The Natal Government thus lost land to no advantage.

The Colonial authorities, however, were slow to make the fact known that the system of land grants had ceased and the immigrants showed themselves highly dissatisfied upon their arrival in Natal. As a result the Government was forced to issue a Government Notice (No. 66 of 1859) on the 9th of August 1859 stating that persons who could prove that they had left the United Kingdom before the cancellation of the regulations had become generally known, would be entitled to the same terms as they had been promised before their departure. The Governor then tried to insert new terms under a Government

Notice issued on the 16th August 1859 (No. 66 of 1859(Amended)) whereby the grant was cut to half and could not be alienated for six years. This was later cancelled and claims filed under Notice 66 of 1859 were treated as normal applications so as not to allow dissatisfaction to injure the prospects of further emigration to Natal. A total of 99 applications were filed under the notice and all were accepted and the full amounts of land were granted. This was however the last time that the Government tried to attract settlers through the provision of land at a nominal quit rent. Purchase or lease were the methods adopted in future to overcome the problems that had been raised by each of the attempts to either keep or attract people through low rents to the detriment of the land revenue.

A total of 1,496,280 acres was newly alienated under these regulations, amounting to 18 per cent of the area alienated in the Colony. The total number of grants, 657, were allowed on terms far more generous than laid down in the original proclamation. The main areas of alienation were in Klip River County where nearly 600,000 acres was granted with lesser amounts in Weenen, Umvoti and Pietermaritzburg. The areas alienated in the coastal counties were small, largely as a result of the surveyed plots being unsuitable for agriculture (Table 11). In addition, 6 grants of land which had originally been granted to the Voortrekkers but later forfeited to the Crown, were made.

TABLE 11
AREAS GRANTED UNDER 1857 QUIT RENT REGULATIONS

County	No. of Grants	Area	Average Size
Klip River	185	596,284	3223
Weenen	122	337,624	2767
Umvoti	81	208,508	2574
Pietermaritzburg	136	291,604	2144
Victoria	80	33,741	422
Alexandra	53	29,059	548
Total	657	1,496,820	2278

In the two coastal counties the regulations for 300 and 600 acre grants were fairly closely adhered to, in that most of them were approximately of this size, varying by only about 20 acres in the main on either side of the limit. A few, however, reached 650 acres. Large numbers were taken up - 69 at 300 acres and

74 at 600 acres approximately (Table 12). In the interior counties, however, the picture is more involved. The largest group of grants in all the counties was about 3000 acres with another substantial group at half that size. The 3000 acres limit for class I lands was maintained and 302 of the grants were approximately of this size. The group at about 1500 acres appears to have been a generous interpretation of the Class IIc lands limit. Many of the grants between 1000 and 3000 acres in size were due to the irregular shapes and sizes which were left between the Voortrekker grants. In many cases the lands were granted to persons to round off or fill in their holdings and cannot be regarded as an attempt to introduce settlers. A major exception to the general adherence to the regulations was the grant of larger units in the Klip River County. It was recognised that in the undeveloped area beyond the Biggarsberg larger grants would be needed, just as 8000 acres had been recognised 10 years before to be necessary in the Klip River County. 52 grants were issued of approximately 4000 acres or 28 per cent of all grants in the County.

TABLE 12
SIZE OF 1857 QUIT RENT GRANTS

Area (acres)	Klip River	Weenen	Umvoti	Pieter- maritz- burg	Victoria	Alexandra	Total
Under 251	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
251 - 500	-	-	1	7	51	10	69
501 - 750	1	-	-	1	29	43	74
751 - 1250	1	-	1	23	-	-	25
1251 - 1750	4	12	17	24	-	-	57
1751 - 2250	2	9	8	9	-	-	28
2251 - 2750	7	9	10	17	-	-	43
2751 - 3250	115	90	44	53	-	-	302
3251 - 3750	3	2	-	1	-	-	6
3751 - 4250	52	-	-	1	-	-	53
Total	185	122	81	136	80	53	657

It can be seen that the grants under the 1857 proclamation fell broadly into two categories. These are first a filling in of the areas between the Voortrekker grants, especially in the Weenen and Klip River counties and second an actual extension of the area of settlement within the Colony (Fig. 31). This occurred in 4 main areas: (1) to the north of the Biggarsberg, which was to a large extent previously cut off from the rest of the Colony, but was now opened up. The town of Newcastle was established to cater

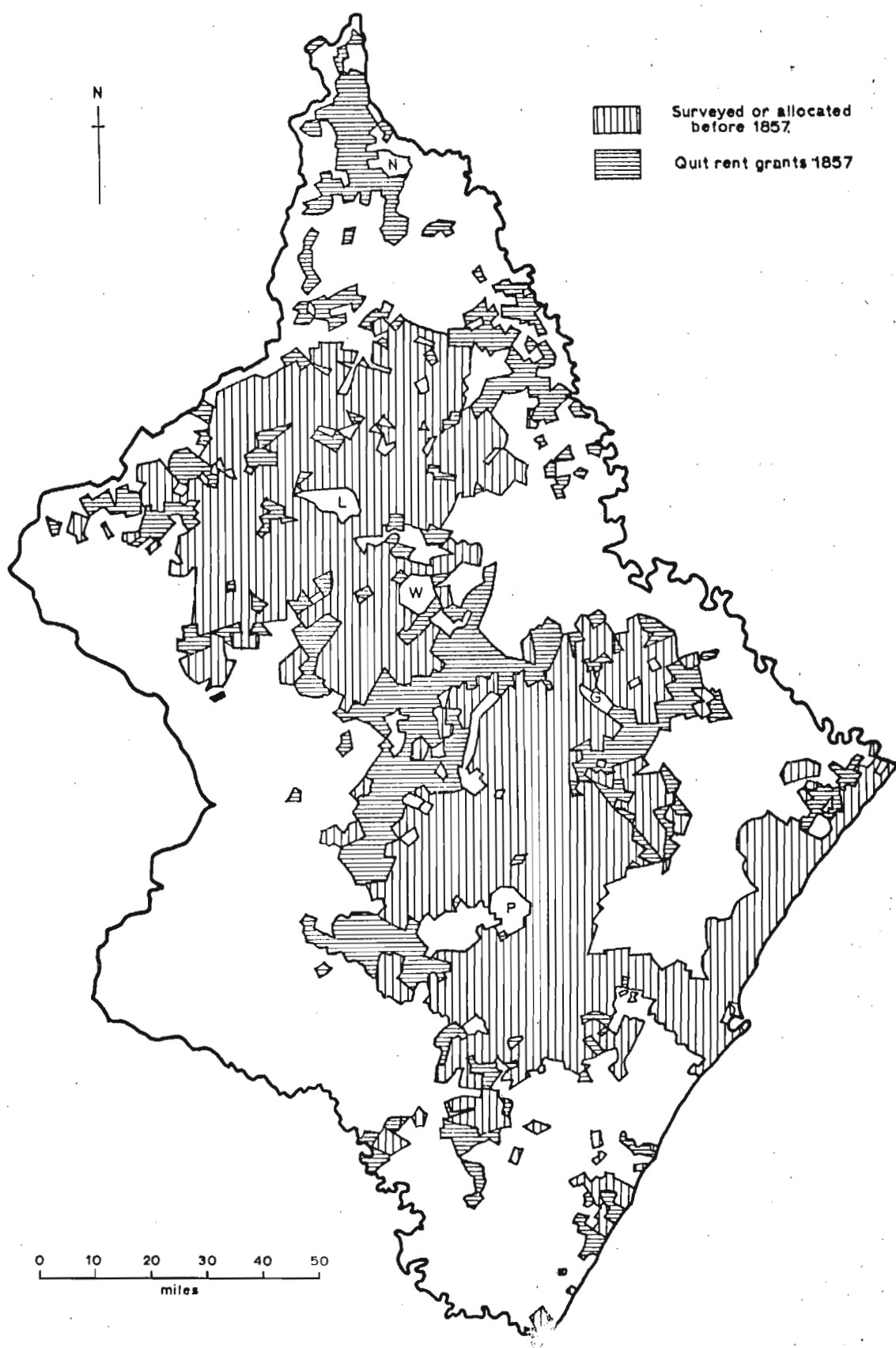


Fig.31. The distribution of Quit rent grants 1857.

for the needs of the area;

- (2) in the south of Pietermaritzburg County and in the foothills of the Drakensberg. Again this zone was isolated, especially to the south of the Umkomaas where communications were extremely poor;
- (3) in the north of Victoria county beyond established settlement which because of its long distance from Durban was unattractive to purchasers of land. Stanger was established to cater for the needs of this area, but again communications remained a major problem;
- (4) in the northern part of Alexandra County which it was hoped would be capable of cultivation for sugar cane. The development of ports was necessary before much progress could be expected south of Durban.

However, the grants did not have the desired effects as the low quit rents and the relatively small fine for non-occupation were not real deterrents to persons who hoped to make considerable profits later, and who in many cases paid for their rents and fines by collecting rents from the natives living on the property. A high proportion of these grants had by 1870 fallen into the hands of speculators, largely because the areas were too small for pastoral farming and compared unfavourably with grants made in the Cape Colony and the Transvaal.

3.8. 1858 Return to Land Sales

3.8.1. Problems of Land Sales

The Proclamation of the 2nd July 1858 which had revoked the grants of land on quit rent terms also allowed for the disposal of land at a public auction at a minimum upset price of 4s. per acre or more, depending upon its quality and position. These terms effectively brought to an end any hope of encouraging large scale immigration to Natal with the magnet of cheap or free Crown Land grants.

Natal's land problems were acute. In de Kiewiet's words 'The population of a third rate English town suffered from a shortage of land in the midst of twelve million acres'.³⁴ By 1860 over 5 million acres was either alienated or in the course of alienation under the various regulations leaving approximately 3 million acres of usable land in the hands of the Crown. The remaining land in the Colony consisted of 2.5 million acres taken in trust for natives and the remainder useless land which it has never been worth surveying

for alienation or for grazing leases.

These 3 million acres were mostly in the more inaccessible parts of the Colony, either in Klip River County, or in the Drakensberg or to the south of the Umkomas River. The possibilities of disposing of the land were remote and so land sales in the 1860's were small. Three major reasons discouraged purchasers from Natal, South Africa and Europe.

First, the large areas of land held by the speculators enabled purchasers in Natal to obtain land at prices considerably below the Government's minimum asking price of 4s. an acre. Reference to Table 43 shows that comparatively little land was sold in 1860 above this price. In general land better than that available from the Crown, was sold at a lower price on the open market.

Second, the Transvaal and Orange Free State and Cape Colony were experiencing a period of rapid colonisation where land was available and farms of up to 60,000 acres could be obtained at low quit rents, so that persons in other parts of South Africa were unlikely to be attracted to Natal to purchase land at 4s. an acre.

Third, the most serious problem was competition for colonists with the United States of America and the Australasian colonies where land could be obtained easily. The United States' Homestead Act of 1862 allowed 160 acres with clear title free of charge after five years residence on the quarter section. In the Australian colonies the regulations were relaxed and land became readily available on credit. In all these cases the land still available to the government was of good quality, owing to previously cautious land policies, and enterprising emigration schemes ensured that the flow of emigrants went to North America and Australasia rather than to South Africa. As a result the agricultural colonisation of Natal in the 1860's was to a large extent dependent upon the natural expansion of the population of the Colony and the rest of South Africa.

3.8.2. Land policy in other parts of South Africa

3.8.2.1 Introduction

It is felt worthwhile to look at the land regulations which were formulated in other parts of South Africa, for an evaluation of the relative attractions of the South African states for colonists from

Europe and for internal migrants. The Natal Government did little to alter the basic provision for land sales for the disposal of Crown Land. Natal in the second half of the nineteenth century was still primarily a pastoral country and as such its terms needed to be compared with other pastoral countries. Most states abandoned land sales once they had obtained some measure of independence from Imperial control and offered land at low rentals. Natal was unable to do this. Low rents either as quit rents or pastoral licences, with varying degrees of security of tenure, were adopted in other parts of South Africa. The regulations were in general far more generous than those offered in Natal. The Colony inevitably competed for rural settlers at a disadvantage throughout the period under consideration, although it offered reasonable terms for agricultural holdings. In order to attract settlers from within South Africa Natal needed to compete with other South African states particularly with the Cape Colony, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

3.8.2.2. The Land Regulations in the Cape of Good Hope

A Government Notice of 17th May 1844 instituted sale by auction at a minimum upset price of 2s. per acre. Quit rent grants were abolished, although the conversion of loan places could continue, but by 1844 the majority of these had already been converted to quit rent tenure. Prices appeared to be below the minimum of 2s. per acre in some cases. Prior to 1844 purchases had been allowed for as little as ½d. per acre while even after that date prices of 1s. or less per acre were allowed in special cases.

On July 16th 1853 Lord Newcastle authorised the remission of purchase prices to soldiers ranging from £600 for a field officer of 25 years service or more to £200 for subalterns of 7 years service or more. This applied to the Cape, New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, New Zealand and Ceylon. In all cases except the Cape £1. per acre was now asked. These military grants remained until repealed by the Cape Colony Government Notice 58 of the 18th February 1869.

The system of sales proved to be unsatisfactory owing to the availability of large quantities of quit rent land at low prices, and as a result new regulations were introduced. Under Cape Act 2 of

1860 the previous regulations were repealed.³⁵ Sale by public auction was maintained but quit rents were to be levied on the lands purchased. The quit rent which was assessed by the Surveyor General's office and Divisional Councils could be redeemed upon payment of 15 years purchase in advance, but on subdivision to a quit rent of less than 10s. per annum it had to be redeemed. The purchase money had to be paid within 8 years. In frontier districts such as Victoria, Peddie and Queenstown lands could be disposed of by public sale, on condition of personal occupation, or of personal occupation and such conditions as providing arms and armed men. The system was designed to be flexible providing the Government with an income from both sales and quit rents. The flexibility of the system was an aspect lacking in Natal's legislation.

Again the purchases proved to be unsatisfactory in some cases and under Crown Lands Act 19 of 1864 21-year leases became available by auction while under Act 14 of 1878 leases without purchase were available which, under Act 10 of 1881, could be converted into grants. However squatting without licence remained a problem. Under the Crown Pastures Licence Act (Act 14 of 1867) it became necessary to buy licence fees for the depasturing of animals upon Crown Waste Lands. A schedule of payments was laid down based on the number of animals run and not on the area covered by the licence. Capacity rather than area was recognised as the basis of land value, just as it had in the Act of 1860. The schedule of payment was high and was amended in the following year.

Under Act 5 of 1870 lessees were allowed to purchase land but with an addition of £1 per £100 purchase price per year as an annual perpetual quit rent. Previously the quit rents had been calculated, much as they had been before 1844, but the farm was sold in freehold but was subject to what amounted to a land tax based on its value at the date of sale.

These acts, however, made no provision for agricultural lands. Land sales had consisted of large tracts, up to 60,000 acres at a time. There appears to have been no upper limit in practice, for pastoral purposes. The sheep and cattle farmers were given a free hand in the interior of the country. However purchases continued

and these were placed on a firmer footing by the Agricultural Lands Act (Act 4 of 1870) which provided for the setting aside of lots of not more than 500 acres for the purpose of agriculture. Lands were to be surveyed and then thrown open for selection either for purchase at 10s. per acre or conditional purchase at a rate of 1s. per acre per year for 10 years, and it was necessary to cultivate the land.. This was extended in 1877 to the Agricultural Immigrants Act (Act 10 of 1877) which allowed immigrants to take up land at a rent of 1s. per acre per annum. After 10 years it then became their property; while under the Right of Passage of Water Act 1876 (Act 8 of 1877) provision was made for the development of irrigation schemes controlled by Irrigation Boards.

In 1887 under the Crown Lands Disposal Act (Act 15 of 1887) it was decided that Crown Lands could only be disposed of by auction with a fixed minimum upset price which varied according to the estimated value of the land. When sold it was to be possible for a bond to be taken out on four-fifths of the price with the Government or paid off as soon as possible. Land failing to obtain the minimum price could for a year be purchased at the minimum upset price. No rents were to be chargeable upon these lands. Under the leasing of Crown Lands Act (Act 26 of 1891) land could be disposed of in any manner with the concurrence of the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly.

Under these two acts land was available for purchase at varying prices in lots for agricultural lands which were comparatively small, while larger pastoral lots were available for lease or for purchase. Land was available on reasonable terms as each lot was investigated on its merits, and where rents proved to be too high, they were alleviated as in the provision of the Relief of Quit Rents Act (Act 27 of 1887). Land prices of 5d. per acre in the remote parts of the Cape Colony were common, while prices of 50s. per acre were fetched in the better areas. The regulations lacked the rigidity of those in Natal where a uniform system was imposed on all land sales and except for a brief experiment very little leasing was in fact done by the Crown.

In the Cape, however, large areas were still not disposed of at the time of Union. In 1909 a total of 135 million acres had been

disposed of and 41 million remained in Crown hands available for settlement but consisting of generally poor land.

3.8.2.3. The Land Regulations of the Transvaal³⁶

A resolution of the Volksraad on the 21st April 1848 decided that all those who had crossed the Oliphants River before that date could have two farms and those who came later only one farm. This was modified by a resolution of the 23 September 1853 that no person who crossed the Vaal River after the year 1842 should have any right to more than one farm. However on the 28th September 1860 this was again modified to provide "that all emigrants arriving in this State up to and inclusive of the year 1852 shall be entitled to receive 2 farms from the Government, 1 agricultural, 1 cattle farm."

The method of measuring and allocating farms was elaborated over the years. The regulations drawn up in Pietermaritzburg in 1841 served as the original basis. On the 21st November 1853 provision was made for the establishment of Land Commissions of three members who reported on the farms. Reports and distances measured were to be by means of riding horses across the farms from side to side to obtain square or rectangular lands. In 1875 (Law 4 of 1875) the pace of the horses was not to exceed 25 roods per minute. The length of time from one side of the property to the other was to be one hour. In this way the area of a farm worked out at 3750 morgen or nearly 8000 acres. Once more the original Cape measurement was expanded, although officially 3750 morgen became the limit in 1891 when the law stated that no farm not yet inspected should be greater than this size. This was difficult to enforce as the pace of horses varied greatly, and although the average 25 roods per minute was laid down, most were found on resurvey to have gone at about 30 roods per minute with the result that a farm which was nominally 3750 morgen was in fact 5400 morgen (11,430 acres). Most farms lay between these two extremes, but a few were considerably larger.

The tax on farms varied on loan farms from 10s. to 30s. per annum according to size. These figures were laid down according to the Volksraad resolution on Burghership drawn up in 1859, but they repeated previous regulations stemming from the Natal Republic regulations and they were renewed at later periods. In 1899 the

regulations were revised and provided for a tax of 1s. 6d. for each 100 morgen, with foreign owners paying twice that amount. The increase was in all probability due to the unsettled conditions as only then could taxes be increased. The Transvaal regulations continued the South African tradition of providing large farms at low quit rents. This was regarded by many as far more desirable than the smaller highly priced freehold farms which were offered in Natal.

3.8.2.4. Land Regulations of the Orange Free State

The Orange Free State land regulations were more generous in the early part of the period than were those of its neighbours. At first, when the Trekkers moved across the Orange, enough land was taken according to the needs of the cattle herds. No specifications were attached to the leases which were held as 'Requests', from the Griquas. Later the Governments of the Orange River Sovereignty (1848-1854) and of the Orange Free State (1854-1902) organised the granting of land on a regular basis. The Government allowed grants of up to 6000 morgen but many in fact proved to be up to 20,000 morgen when resurveyed.³⁷ However, the Government became alarmed at the rate at which its land was being alienated, and consequently cut down the size of land grants. In 1866 the 'Conquered Territory' on the Basutoland (Lesotho) border was divided into "smallholdings" of 1500 to 1800 morgen. In 1895 the Government stated that 1500 morgen was to be the limit of the size of leases. Most of the area adjacent to the Natal boundary had however been occupied in the 1850's and 1860's leaving little space for expansion.³⁸

Each of the small Republics which were formed in the 1880's and 1890's provided quit rent land on a basis similar to that obtaining in the Transvaal while Rhodesia adopted the Cape system which involved variable sized farms at low quit rents.

3.9. 1868-69 Credit Facilities, a new approach by the Government

Land sales were understandably unsatisfactory and the government was deriving little revenue from them. In addition, the problem of absentee ownerships continued to excite comment, as it had as early as March 1857, when Lieutenant Governor Scott, opening the new Legislative Council for Natal had stated:

"I may remark here upon the fact of a large area of the alienated lands of this Colony being held by absentees or speculators who do not contemplate becoming settlers but who alone seek to benefit themselves by awaiting an increased value of their lands at the expense of the exertions of the true industrious colonist."

The situation, however, deteriorated. Under Law 25 of 1869 powers were given to the Lieutenant Governor to resume possession on behalf of the Crown of certain lands which had been allotted to immigrants who had made no use of them. Most of the allotments belonged to Byrne Settlers who had left the Colony, abandoning their lands. Compensation was provided for under this law. The powers were renewed under the Land Clauses Consolidation Act (Law No. 16 of 1872). Comparatively little land was affected by these laws, only 45 rural properties were named in the schedule of the 1869 law, and there was no general repurchase of unoccupied lands by the Crown as this would have been highly unpopular with the colonists and beyond the resources of the Colonial Government and of dubious value to the Treasury.

New regulations were issued in the period 1868-69 in Government Notices 18, 19, 71, 150 of 1868 and 22 of 1869. These regulations aimed at occupation of the land during a period of two years, before the title deeds were issued. This marked a departure from the previous provisions as a greater control was given to the Government in the selection of purchasers of freehold as opposed to quit rent lands, as a grant was only made against a land order.*

*This era in Australia was one of free selection whereby, either with (South Australia & Victoria) or without (New South Wales & W. Australia) prior survey, a settler was allowed to select a portion of land and purchase it and in the case of New South Wales put a reserve around it for future purchase. This led in New South Wales to chaos as selection was uncontrolled. In the United States the Homestead Act of 1862 allowed selection of a quarter of land (160 acres) and a payment of a \$10 fee and with residence and a few improvements the land belonged to the homesteader. Texas had similar regulations in force from 1845 on lands 320-640 acres in extent.

1868 Queensland Act also provided for the division of the Colony according to its capability - Agricultural, First Class Pastoral and Second Class Pastoral. This had been attempted in Tasmania and other colonies tried to assess the value of their lands.

The generous terms offered by other colonies and the United States forced Natal to abandon the rigid adherence to cash sales.

A Settler with £500 capital or an annuity of £50 a year received a land order for 200 acres with a 400 acre Reserve over which he had an option to purchase: with a capital of £250 - 100 acres with a 200 acre Reserve; with a capital of £100 - 50 acres with a 100 acre Reserve. Grants to the initial plots were issued after two years provided the purchaser had occupied the plot for 8 months in each of the two years. The Reserves could be purchased at 5s. an acre at any time in the first 5 years. Coastal land was allocated at the rate of one half of the normal Land Orders but possessed no reserves.

A settler with a competent knowledge of farming and the means to support himself and his family during the first cropping season received a Land Order for 50 acres to which a reserve commonage was attached in localities where this was practicable (Fig. 32). The new land regulations coincided with a general relaxation of the land laws in the United States and Australia.

There was a noticeable difference between the selection legislation in Australia and that of Natal, which was due to the Crown's land policy in the 1840's. Selection only applied to unalienated Crown Lands in Natal. Thus the lands held by pastoral farmers on quit rent tenure were secure and the owners could not be dispossessed. The object of the Australian legislation had been to throw open the pastoral runs to agricultural settlement, with often disastrous results for the pastoral farmers.

The 1868-69 regulations remained in force until 1880 and resulted in the alienation of 138 grants covering 28,225 acres or about 2,500 acres per year, which was still unsatisfactory from the Government's point of view, especially so far as the encouragement of immigration was concerned.

Also included in these regulations was provision for the lease of grazing land.* The regulations provided that immigrants who

*Grazing leases had been one of the major problems facing administrations in Australia and the United States, as basically agriculture and grazing were incompatible so that no permanence of tenure could be given to the grazier and political struggles took place between the two. The area involved in Natal was so small as to present the Government with very little problem of size or fear that vast tracts would be locked up useless for settlement as leases were short and the lands surveyed and could on expiry only be purchased as a whole not piecemeal as in most of the Australian colonies.

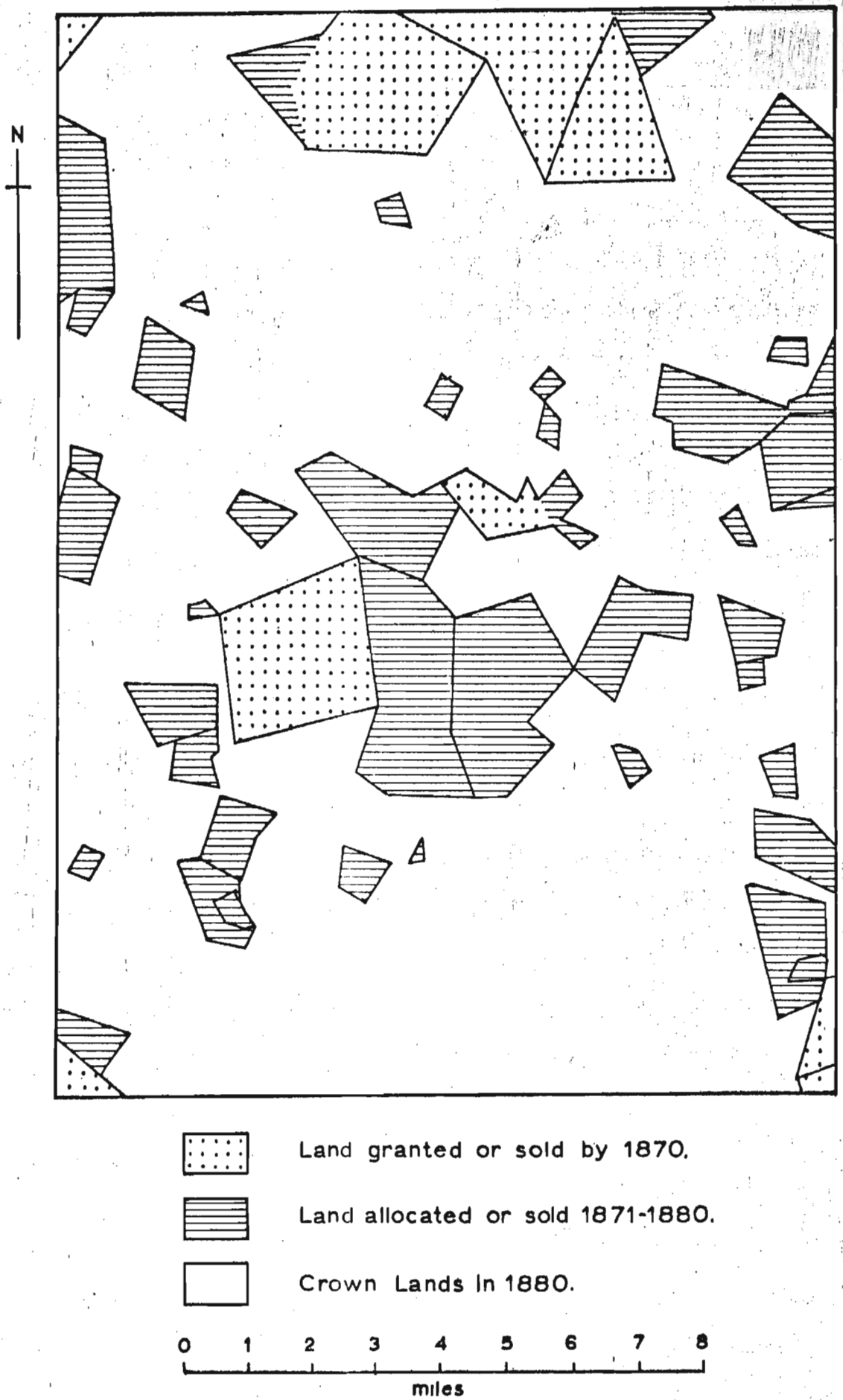


Fig. 32. The operation of free selection 1871-1880 in Klip River County.

possessed an adequate knowledge and means would be allowed to have 1000 acres of Crown Lands which were suited to pastoral occupation at a yearly rental of 1d. per acre. The lands thus let were distributed into two classes:

Class A was to be situated nearer to townships and settlements and the other Class B in more remote areas.

Class A was to be let on an annual licence renewable at the pleasure of the Colonial Government from year to year while Class B was to be let on a lease for 8 years, which under later proclamations could be renewed. The tenants of Class B were further given pre-emption over their runs at a price of 5s. an acre but were not allowed to purchase less than the whole run.

Both classes were subject to the conditions of actual occupation and stocking and the rent had to be paid in advance. Actual stocking was defined as at least 1 sheep per 5 acres or 1 horned beast per 25 acres.

The regulations for leasehold were in general unsuccessful. The Cape had introduced the distinction between freehold agricultural and leasehold pastoral farms in 1860, but in Natal 1000 acres was not really a pastoral run. Most people who did lease lands leased more but the quantities involved were small, especially as purchase was to be at 1s. per acre more than the normal price if the option was exercised. As a result only 2,130 acres were leased in 1870, 3262 in 1871 and a total of only 13,865 acres in the years 1870-1879 while the scheme was in operation. Few proprietors renewed their leases but some took the opportunity of purchasing their runs while the price was 5s. after the general price of Crown Land had been raised to 10s. an acre in 1880.

Land sales were equally unsuccessful in the period 1861-1880. The rate of survey was appreciably reduced and as a result under 500,000 acres were surveyed in the course of 20 years (Table 13 and Fig. 33)

The 1870's saw an increase in interest in the Klip River County but otherwise the expansion of the occupied area was slight. In Klip River the 1868-1869 Regulations allowed the 'eyes' of the country

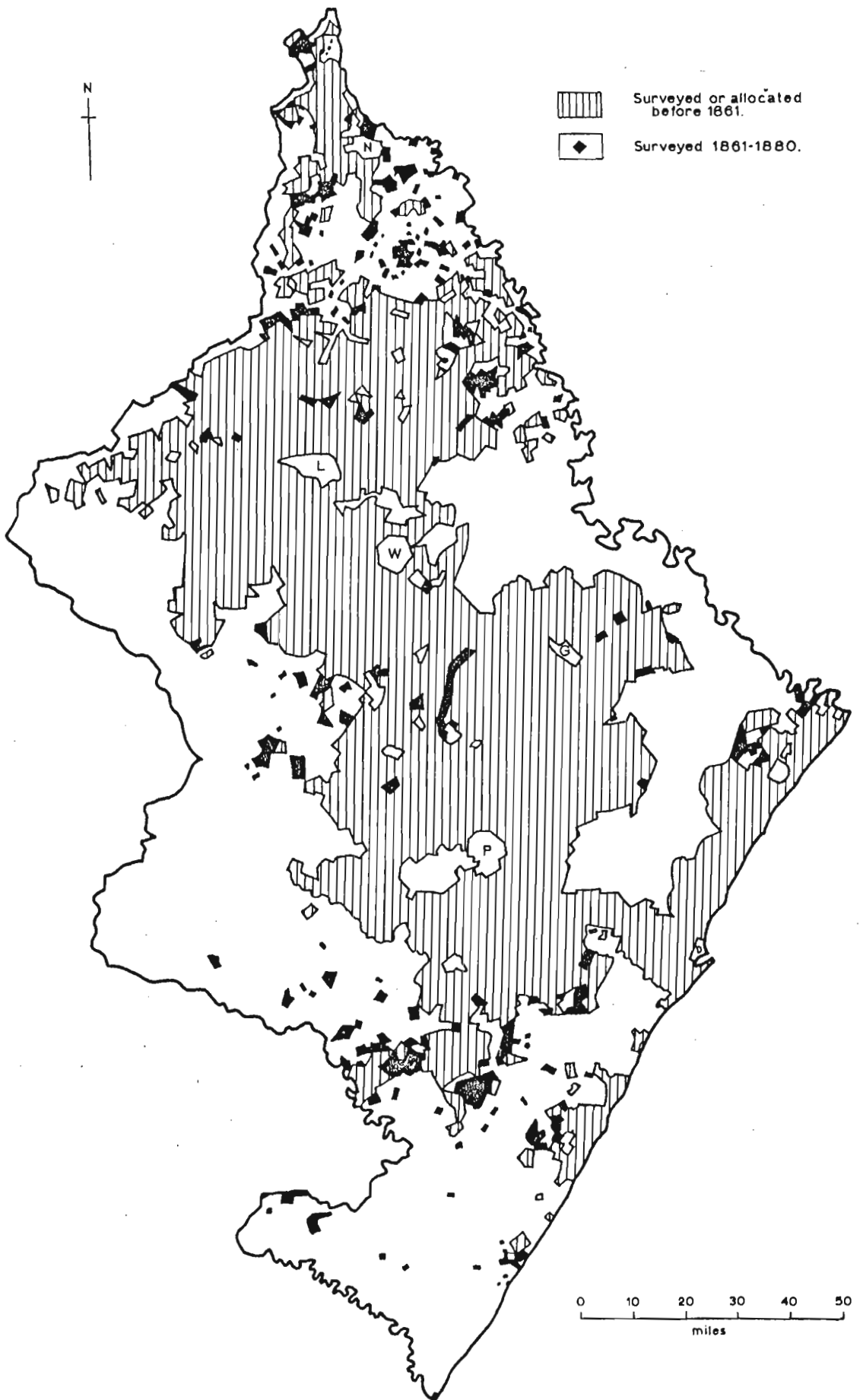


Fig. 33. Areas surveyed for freehold sales 1861-1880.

to be picked out in areas to the north of the Biggarsberg, otherwise the surveys consisted essentially of portions between existing surveyed tracts.

TABLE 13
LANDS SURVEYED 1861-1880

County	1861-1870		1871-1880	
	No.	Acreage	No.	Acreage
Klip River	31	24,957	195	169,000
Weenen	30	39,948	13	16,773
Umvoti	10	10,303	8	7,275
Pietermaritzburg	42	76,009	67	66,361
Victoria	38	14,566	15	6,641
Durban	1	964	-	-
Alexandra	18	14,938	33	12,262
Alfred	20	3,096	14	8,075
Total	190	184,781	345	286,387

3.10 1875 Renewed Government interest in colonization

3.10.1. Government planning

Considerable agitation was felt by the Government over the lack of settlers and the comparative emptiness of the countryside. Prompted by a series of amalgamations of Companies, in which the Natal Land and Colonization Company had been able to amass nearly two-thirds of a million acres in 1874, the Government decided to investigate the situation.

The 1876 Report on Crown Lands and European Immigration set in motion a series of developments which once more induced a flow of immigrants into the country. It was found that of the land which was still in the hands of the Crown, much was suitable for arable as well as pastoral farming. Figures for 1875 were supplied by the Surveyor General's Office (Table 14). These figures excluded the Native locations which, it was felt, were too generous in extent. In particular the report cast its eyes upon the Umlazi Location to the south of Durban where 170,000 acres of comparatively good land was to be had. It was even proposed that an exchange should be made moving the inhabitants of the Location south to other inaccessible lands and then proclaiming the Location open to European settlement. Nothing came of this proposal, which was a revival of a scheme of the 1850's and was itself revived on a small scale in the period about 1910.

TABLE 14
POTENTIAL USE OF CROWN LANDS 1875

Type of Land	Area (acres)
Coastlands for sugar	24,000
Midlands for maize	1,160,000
Highlands for wheat	64,000
Pasture land	2,009,000
Mountainous	318,000
Forest	64,000
Total	3,639,000

Only 382,000 acres was thought to be completely useless and unfit for occupation in some form. This was optimistic, and the good qualities of the land were emphasised rather than its poor ones. However, at least three million acres were still available for use and this undoubtedly encouraged the Colonial Government to make renewed efforts for immigrants.

A Select Committee of the Legislative Council suggested that lots of 320 acres of agricultural land or 2000 acres of pastoral land be made available. The agricultural land should be bought at 4s. per acre for cash or 5s. an acre on deferred payments. Pastoral land could be leased at 1d. per acre for 5-year periods with the lessee having a pre-emptive right to 250 acres about his homestead.

The influence of Australian land legislation can be clearly seen in these provisions with leases of pastoral lands and sale of agricultural lands. This distinction had been recognised by New South Wales in 1844, and by the Cape Government in 1860. However, like the Australian legislation but unlike that of the Cape, security was not to be given to the pastoralist. Leases for 5 year periods might be normal in Australia, but security greater than a pre-emptive right to 250 acres around the homestead was demanded in South Africa. Undoubtedly these proposals were weakest when considering the terms of the leases, owing to local conditions. The discussion of pre-emption, which had raised so much anger in Australia, was to a large extent meaningless in South Africa, where security was demanded for the whole run, not just a part of it. The suggestion which, in modified terms, was incorporated into the 1880 Land Acts, proved to be the least successful part of the whole scheme.

In addition, a new approach was suggested to overcome the difficulties of absentee landlords. It was suggested that to obtain better lands in more accessible areas than those which the Crown owned, some form of resumption of unoccupied lands should be instituted. One suggestion was that a quarter of estates which were uncultivated should be leased to a tenant. Another suggested taxes on absentee landlords. The proposals, however, were disallowed by the Imperial authorities.

It was recognised that immigrants were the main object of the land policies. It was hoped that money raised by settlement could be used to buy other properties, and the immigration vote could remain devoted to the importation of immigrants.

One immediate result of the investigation was the establishment of a Land and Immigration Board whose task was to obtain land for settlement and introduce settlers into Natal. In its first report in 1879 the Board laid down its general regulations. These included

1. A free passage to Natal.
2. 100 acres for each family and a commonage of 2000 acres for every 50 families.
3. A price of 7s. 6d. per acre to be payable in 10 annual instalments, the first one at the end of the second year.

In the years from 1878 to 1891, when the Board was disbanded, a total of 7004 immigrants was introduced (Table 15). This was a small number but significant when it is remembered that in 1891 the European population of Natal was still only 46,788.

TABLE 15
NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS INTRODUCED BY THE LAND AND
IMMIGRATION BOARD 1878-1891

Year	No. of immigrants	Year	No. of immigrants
1878	201	1885	70
1879	287	1887	5
1880	874	1887	26
1881	855	1888	212
1882	1445	1889	755
1883	694	1890	1022
1884	324	1891	234

The Natal immigration office attempted to compete with other Colonies in a drive to attract immigrants, but in 1880 when the Agent was in Great Britain he found that other countries, particularly New

Zealand had been able to take most of the immigrants. Also the terms offered were less attractive than those offered by the United States and a number of British Colonies. Thus in 1880, 166,570 left the British Isles for the United States of America, 24,184 for Australia and New Zealand, 20,902 for Canada and under 1,000 for Natal. However it was felt that the effort was worth the result and the programme continued, although in the mid-1880's little interest was shown in it and numbers dwindled.

3.10.2 The Wilgefontein Settlement

A series of schemes were undertaken (Fig. 34). The first, at Wilgefontein to the south of Pietermaritzburg, constituted an unsuccessful start to the programme.³⁹ A farm of 5471 acres was purchased from a bank for the scheme. In subdividing the farm for settlement, 40 lots of an average size of 85 acres were laid out covering 3381 acres. The remaining 2090 acres constituted a commonage (Fig. 35). A township was not considered necessary. It was claimed that a stream which flowed through the property would give opportunities for irrigation. The Board intended settling as many Europeans at Wilgefontein as possible, and consequently was willing to make a financial loss. The farm had been purchased for £4000 and a further £4321 had been spent on improvements. However the 40 lots were valued at only £5008, which involved a loss to the Board of £3313. The advantages of attracting settlers was felt to far outweigh the financial loss.

The scheme started badly. Only 23 of the 40 families expected emigrated to Natal. Three months before the settlers arrived the area had been swept by a grass fire which destroyed the buildings and vegetation. As a result two families left immediately and by 1885 a further four had left. In 1882 the unoccupied lots were divided amongst the remaining occupants.

The scheme, being the first, was extensively analysed in the 1885 Report of the Land and Immigration Board in the hope of learning by mistakes. Many of the complaints seem remarkably like those raised by the Byrne settlement and it would appear that the Government had learnt comparatively little in 30 years. The complaints were fourfold:

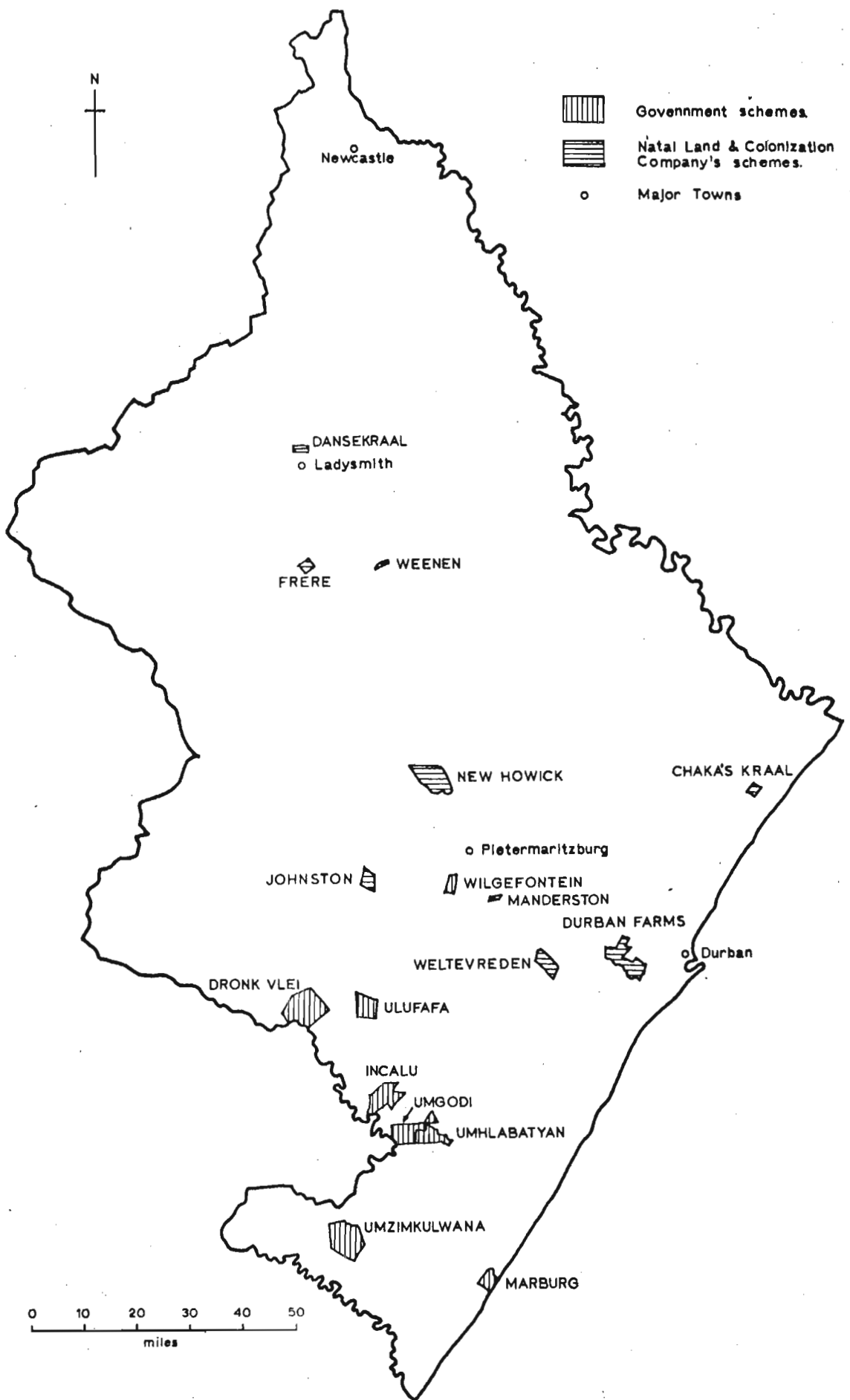
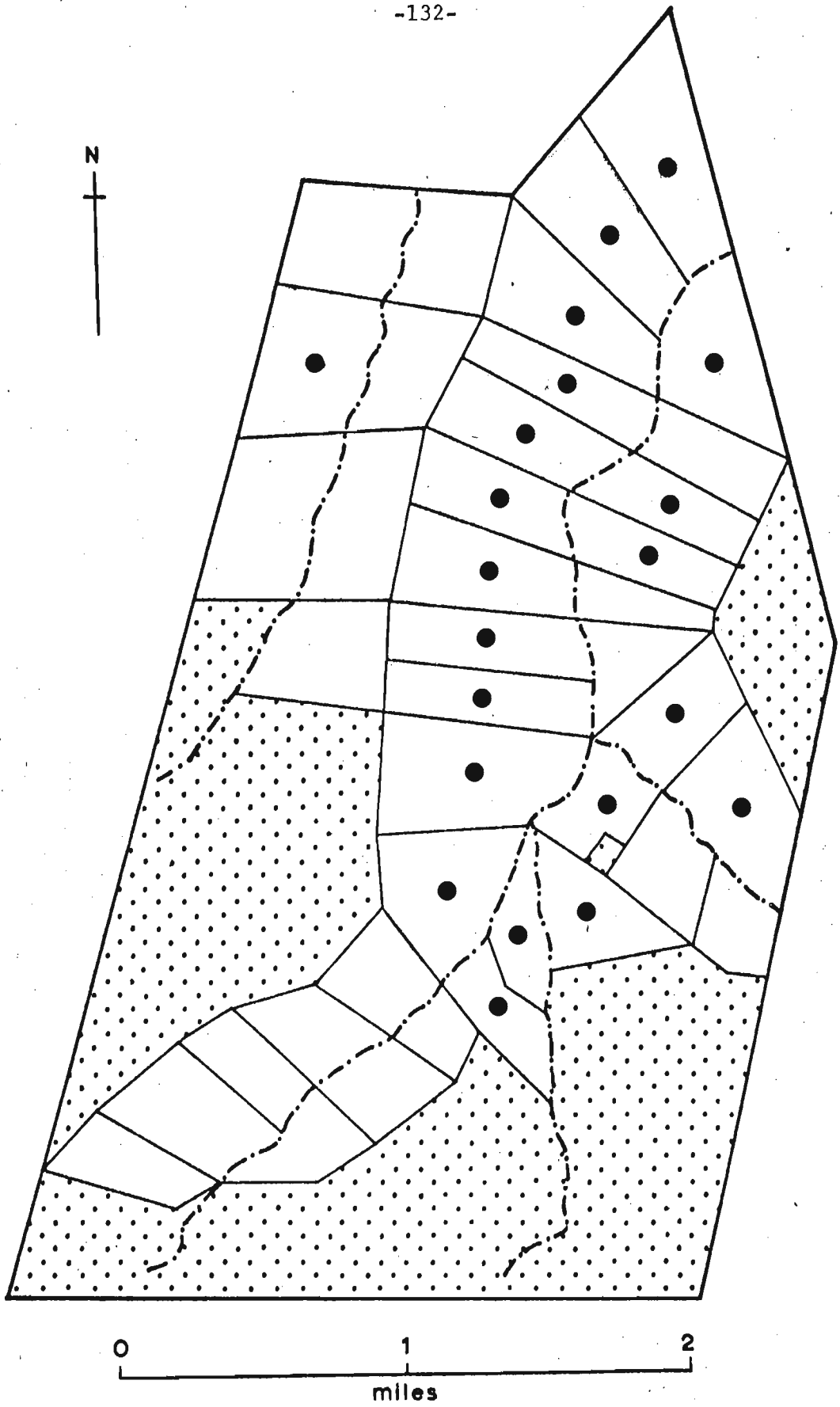


Fig. 34. Settlement Schemes 1879-1900.








-  Boundary of the scheme.
-  Streams.
-  Boundaries of the lots.
-  Lots occupied in 1880.
-  Commonages.

Fig.35. The Wilgefontein Settlement Scheme.

1. Injudicious selection of immigrants. Of the 17 in the settlement in 1885 only 7 had been farmers before they came to Natal.
2. The character and condition of the land. The land was not easily worked and the irrigation possibilities had been grossly overestimated. In 1884 only 150 acres were cultivated.
3. The methods of division into lots. As much of the land was unsuitable for arable farming, the lots were too small. The commonage was used by only a very few owing to the difficulty of sending stock from one end of the settlement to the other. It was, the Board thought, better to abolish commonages altogether and enlarge the holdings.
4. Injudicious expenditure of capital by settlers owing to want of experience in farming work and difficulty of obtaining information as to the best way to set about their work. Cultivation was in fact practised only on a very minor scale on the neighbouring farms.

Under such conditions it seems surprising that in the end some settlers prospered. In 1880 only 21 lots covering 1988 acres were occupied. The prices for these lands varied from 16s. 6d. per acre according to expected capabilities. These prices were again too high. Purchase was delayed constantly. By 1890 only 5 lots had had title deeds issued. In 1900, 29 lots had had title issued and by 1910 one lot was still outstanding. The 17 owners of 1885 remained stable until after 1900 when three sold out to Indians, a possibility which had not been foreseen by the Land and Immigration Board which, although intending Wilgefontein to be a European settlement, had not excluded Indian purchasers.

3.10.3. The Marburg and other settlements 1880-1883

The next proposed scheme was the settlement at Dronk Vlei on the border of the Colony with Griqualand East in 1880. The scheme was shelved until 1895, owing to inaccessibility. Another suggestion proposed a settlement on the Ingagne River near Newcastle (10,000 acres) but again it was thought to be unsuitable for an agricultural settlement owing to the distance from the markets.

The second scheme to be undertaken was the Marburg settlement in Alfred County south of Port Shepstone. Preparations began in 1882 and it was intended to settle 50 families of Norwegians (originally

Germans) on the site with extensive commonages. All the lots were laid off at exactly 100 acres and commonages of 2040 acres were provided. The scheme was successful and all the lots were occupied except one which was retained as a commonage. However the 100 acre lots were still too small and gradually some individuals began to acquire more than one. The Board raised no objection to the practice as it realised that larger units were needed even for purely agricultural settlements. However for most of the Norwegian immigrants 100 acres proved to be sufficient, due in part to their extremely impoverished agricultural background.

The Marburg settlement in many ways was the last of a long line of settlement schemes in Natal dating back to 1849, where agriculturists were grouped into communities with commonages. The idea of communal land, inherited from Europe, was found to be unworkable. The idea of community development broke down with increased individualism and increased sizes of holdings. Moreover in settlement schemes the price of the land had to be calculated to take account of the extensive areas of commonage. They were left nominally in the Government's hands and consequently no revenue was derived from them although they formed part of the scheme.

In 1883 two more schemes were proposed. The Umzimkulwana River settlement in Alfred County and the Umzinto settlement in Alexandra. On the Umzimkulwana River a series of lots covering 8000 acres were laid out in sizes of 200 to 250 acres without commonages. The price was to be 7s. 6d. per acre to be paid in ten instalments from the 2nd to the 12th years. The land was to be occupied for 9 months of each year and an undertaking to cultivate at least one tenth had to be given. Some assistance with tents and food was to be given but this was very meagre. It was realised very soon, however, that larger units would have to be given and consequently the scheme collapsed and was only reopened in 1896. None of the intended settlers stayed on the scheme. The other scheme at Umzinto in Alexandra County provided for a total of 50,000 acres to be set aside and divided into lots of 500 acres each, without commonages. Once again the scheme did not proceed as rapidly as was intended, and little was accomplished.

In 1890 only 3 lots appear to have been occupied while a further attempt to renew the plan in 1892 resulted in only one more lot being occupied. The plan was then abandoned and the area of the settlement scheme, apart from those lots already allocated, was resurveyed in considerably larger lots of over 1000 acres in the period 1901 to 1905.

3.11. 1880 An extension of credit facilities and the introduction of leaseholds

The problems of absentee ownership and lack of immigrants continued to worry the Government during the 1870's and finally a new set of regulations were promulgated by the Proclamation of 16th October 1880 which was amended in detail by later proclamations. The new terms of sale were thought to be sufficiently generous to attract settlers yet enabled the Government to ensure that the lands were actually occupied.

The new regulations stated that Crown Land would be available for sale in freehold at public auction at an upset price of 10s. per acre or higher with due regard to value, locality and in the case of lands reverted to the Crown under Law 4 of 1872, subject to the value of improvements. These lands were to be laid out in lots of 10 to 2000 acres.

One-tenth of the purchase price had to be paid within three months, together with the survey expenses. The purchaser thereupon received an occupation certificate, and within six months of its issue the purchaser had to enter upon beneficial occupation of the land.

Beneficial occupation was defined carefully:

"To constitute such beneficial occupation there must be continuous personal occupation by the purchaser or his agents, duly approved of by the Surveyor General, during nine months in each year of the period for which the occupation certificate is issued and the erection and maintenance of a suitable homestead or dwelling house and the cultivation, when the lands purchased are 100 acres or more in extent, of not less than one acre in every 100 acres."

At the close of the third year commencing from the date of the issue of the occupation certificate, and at the close of each succeeding year until the expiration of the tenth year, the holder

of the certificate was to obtain from the Resident Magistrate of the Division a certificate showing that there had been beneficial occupation as defined. Upon receipt of the final instalment of the purchase price and the final certificate of beneficial occupation, the Surveyor General authorised the issue of the title deed.

Portions of land not exceeding 320 acres of agricultural land or 1000 acres of pastoral lands, for which special application had been made and the sale authorised by the Governor, were to be sold by public auction to the highest bidder, at an upset price of £1. per acre. Also blocks of up to 50,000 acres could be laid off for immigration schemes for European immigrants. Several of these were in fact laid out in the southern part of the Colony and duly divided up into smaller units, with commonages, for the reception of new immigrants. The provisions regarding commonages were in fact not invoked after the laying out of the Marburg scheme. However, the amount of suitable land available for the purpose limited the number of schemes to less than six.

Leases under the 1880 act had proved to be extremely popular in the Klip River County. Leases were first allocated in 1882. Allotment proceeded rapidly with 391,100 acres issued in 1882, 167,276 in 1883, and 26,985 acres in 1884. Most leases were taken out in these three years (Table 16).

TABLE 16
LEASES COMMENCED 1882-84

District	No. of leases	Acres	Rental
Newcastle	301	495,522	£4065
Klip River (Ladysmith)	25	47,660	384
Umsinga (new Pomeroy)	1	654	5
Weenen	18	42,529	247
Total	345	586,365	£4701

The concentration of leases in the Klip River County especially in the north around Newcastle and Dundee was noticeable. Most of these lands were leased at 2d. to 3d. an acre per year. The lots were comparatively large although the average size was only 1700 acres in these three years. This compares with an average size of 949 acres for lots which were allotted for sale in the years 1881-1884. In these years more land was leased (586,365 acres) than was allotted

for sale (555,296 acres).

However, the leases became unpopular after a few years. The Crown Lands Commission of 1891 found in a field tour that the leases were unpopular and the Commission recommended that they should not be renewed on expiry. Several did not run their full course and most were purchased under the 1889 regulations, although after resurvey. At 6d. per acre per year for 20 years freehold title could be obtained, whereas for 2½d. per acre per year it was not secure. Leases continued to be issued or renewed where the Surveyor General and a lessee reached agreement and this arrangement continued up to Union, although some of the Drakensberg leases were not renewed and the lessees and others did not take out an allotment to purchase. As a result there was a certain degree of retreat from the particularly poor grazing lands in the Klip River County.

3.12. 1889 Further extension of credit facilities

The 1880 terms were still not regarded as advantageous enough to attract sufficient settlers. A Crown Lands Commission was appointed to study the situation. The Commissioners found a number of disturbing features. They found that in February 1885 a sum of £1804 was owed to the Government as arrears on payments for farms taken out under the 1880 terms. In July 1886 the debt had risen to £4665 of which £2948 was owed by Native purchasers. In addition the arrears on leases appear to have been mounting although figures were not provided. The Commission in its report in 1886 recommended that the length of payment be extended to a period of 20 years. However, they also considered that leasing was probably the solution to the problem, with the right of pre-emption over the runs at the end of each lease period.

The Government disregarded the leasing provisions which would be unpopular. In terms of Proclamation No. 49 of the 23rd September 1889 the 1880 regulations were changed. The period of purchase was extended to 20 years. As in the case of the 1880 regulations no interest was to be charged on outstanding sums of money so that the terms of purchase were extremely generous amounting to 5 per cent of

the price per year or 6d. per acre per year, if the land was purchased at the minimum rate as most of it was. The whole system was severely criticised by the Lands Commission in its report in 1902 as virtually giving away Crown Land. However the criticism had no effect on the Government's land policy.

The new terms had the result of easing the payment problems which many purchasers experienced under the 1880 regulations. A number surrendered their lands or part of them to the Government, receiving credit for what had already been paid, and then took out new allotments on the remainder, with 20 years to complete the purchase.

The position of the Native purchasers was somewhat different. In 1881 and 1882 many purchasers had come forward and had undertaken to purchase 2000 acre tracts. They had in many cases, though, only been able to pay the first one or two instalments and then there had been no further payments. The Government in 1889 and 1890 decided to work through each case and allot land areas which the natives were capable of purchasing, crediting them with the money already paid. This resulted in a reduction of Native areas and also their fragmentation as in most cases the land surrendered to the Crown was later allotted to Europeans.

The 20 year payment terms also resulted in the acquisition of considerable tracts of land by existing landowners, as no effort was made to restrict the transfer of land claims and the accumulation of several into the hands of a few individuals. Proclamation No. 4 of 1894 tried to regulate the size of lots by limiting the area of lots to 2000 acres except "where it is evident from the nature of the land that a larger area was required for successful farming". In this case grants of up to 4000 acres would be allowed. This proclamation did no more than recognise that larger lots were being sold in many of the more inaccessible parts of the Colony. Theoretically there was nothing to stop someone buying three 4000 acre lots, although no one actually did do so.

3.13. Further systematic colonization schemes 1885-1896

3.13.1. Weenen settlement scheme

One of the first schemes undertaken by the Land and Immigration Board was the planning and laying out of a modest irrigation settlement at Weenen (Fig. 36). The Governor in Council had under Law 23 of 1876 been empowered to resume possession of 5000 acres of land reserved as the Townland of Weenen. The Law provided that European immigrants should be settled up the lands.

Owing to lack of funds the scheme was only adopted in 1885, when a small scheme was surveyed. A total of 17 lots covering 709 acres were surveyed. Law 23 of 1876 had specified that each holding was not to exceed 50 acres for each family, and each holder was to have the right of pasturage or commonage over the Townlands of Weenen. The old or lower water course was constructed to provide water for the 17 lots and under Law 5 of 1885 a Board was set up to regulate and control the flow of water over the irrigation lands and raise a levy for the service.

The Government provided strict control over the scheme. Provision was made for personal occupation of the land, defined as 9 months in each year, while special provisions for ploughing were introduced. At the end of the second year of occupation half the area of the lot had to be ploughed and this had to be maintained for the rest of the purchase period. The purchase price was to be paid over a period of ten years starting from the end of the second year, and title deeds were to be issued only when all the conditions required had been met. The period of repayment could be extended to 21 years in which case interest on arrears could be charged. Many availed themselves of this clause.

The scheme does not appear to have been particularly successful in the initial stages as the lots were only taken up slowly. By the end of 1888 only 8 lots had been allocated. The last lot in this scheme was taken up in 1903, when the second Weenen scheme was initiated.

In 1900, under Act 12 of that year, the Governor resumed another portion of the Weenen Townlands, not exceeding 3000 acres. The land so resumed was to be set aside for European immigration and a furrow was to be constructed to distribute water over the area. The



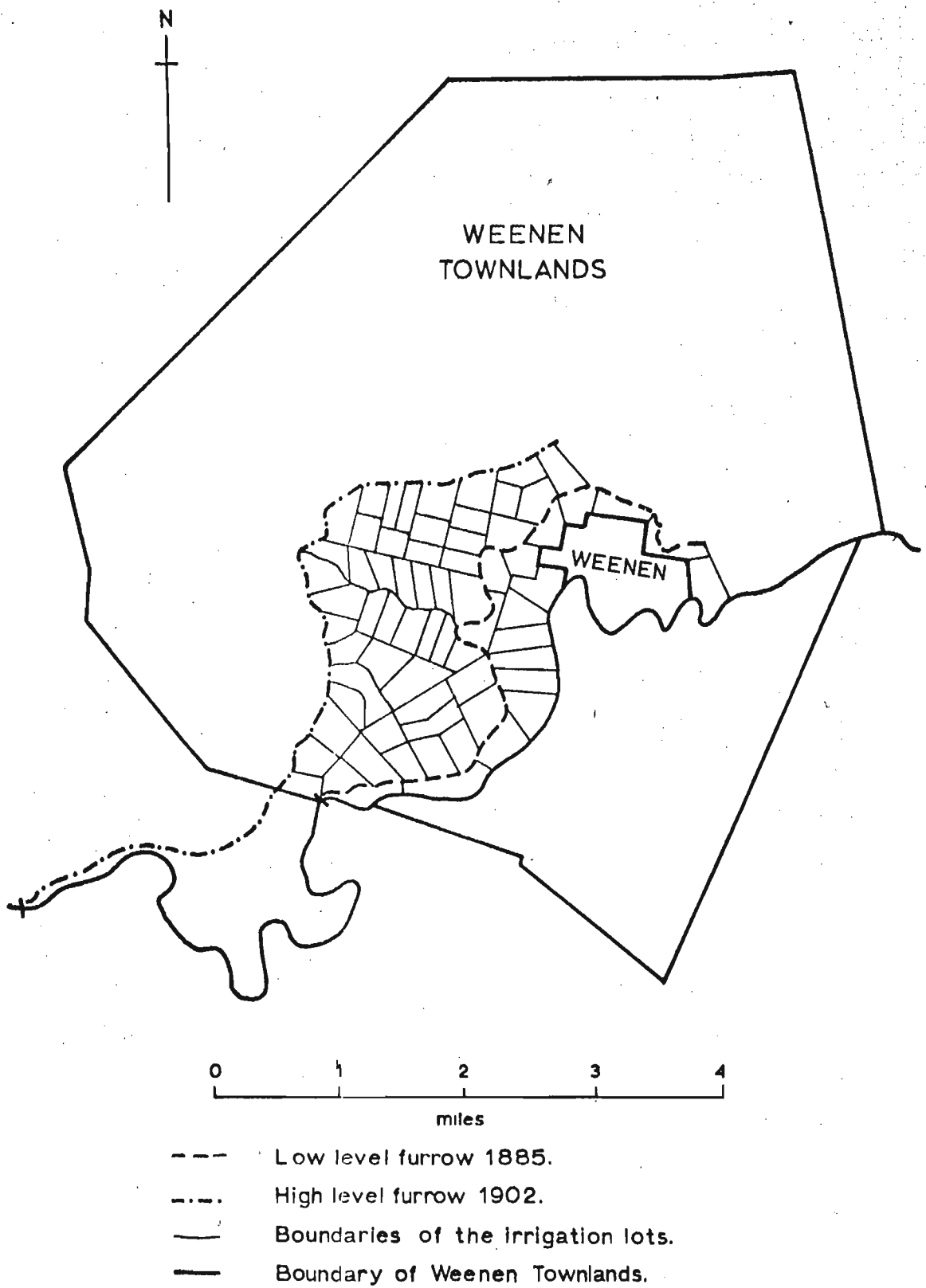


Fig. 36. Plan of the Weenen Irrigation Scheme.

works were to be maintained by the Government. The basic layout was similar to that of the original scheme, but whereas the lots adhered fairly rigidly to the 50 acres prescribed (only 4 out of 17 being of a different size) the range of sizes in the new settlement was greater. A total of 51 lots covering 2025 acres was surveyed. The range of sizes was from 25 acres to 66 acres but the majority were close to the average of 40 acres. Thus of the total 2949 acres resurveyed by the Government, 2734 was surveyed into irrigation lots and the remaining 215 acres was taken up by roads, channels, etc.

The scheme was ready for settlement in 1903 and it was far more successful than the original with a ready demand for lots. A total of 33 lots (1329 acres) was taken in 1903 and a further 7 lots covering 242 acres in 1904. In 1910 42 lots were occupied with an area of 1638 acres, leaving 9 unoccupied covering only 387 acres, three of which were originally reserved for public purposes, but subsequently released as irrigation lots.

The individual lots in both these schemes appear to have been held separately. There was by 1910 no amalgamation into larger lots, and there were only two partitions. The second largest of the new irrigation lots (No. 45 - 60 acres) was divided into two, while Lot 1 (50 acres) of the original settlement was also divided into two portions.

The two schemes therefore did have the desired effect of bringing immigrants onto the land and so gaining a larger European rural population. It must be remembered, however, that under Law 50 of 1884 up to half the lots in the special settlement could be allotted to persons already in Natal, so that the actual gain in settlers was probably small as a result of the scheme. However, even in 1910 only five persons owned farms near Weenen in addition to an irrigation lot.

3.12.2. Other settlement schemes 1896

In 1896 renewed Government activity occurred with the proclamation of three new reserve areas. These were Dronk Vlei in the 20th July and Umzimkulwana and Ulufafa on the 24th August. These reserves were for European immigrants only. Other schemes at Umgodi and

Umhlabatyan were intended mainly for Native purchasers.

The Umzimkulwana scheme in Alfred County was a development of the original scheme proposed in 1883, but abandoned due to a lack of response. The new scheme covered 16,777 acres divided into 11 lots. Only two lots were not occupied by 1900 and all were allotted by 1910. The size of lot averaging about 1500 acres appears to have been successful reflecting the general size of farm existing in the Alfred County at the time of survey, and far more successful than the 200 to 250 acres originally proposed and then abandoned.

The Dronk Vlei scheme, in southern Pietermaritzburg County, had originally been proposed in 1880, but the scheme fell through as a result of inaccessibility. In the revised scheme provision was made for 43 lots covering a total of 27,933 acres with an average size of 650 acres (Fig. 37). In addition a town at Creighton was planned, but no commonage. All but four of the lots were taken up between 1896 and 1900 and the remainder by 1910. Only two lots were purchased by farmers outside the Reserve and in general the size appears to have been realistic, although smaller than the surrounding farms.

The Ulufafa Settlement Reserve in southern Pietermaritzburg County was close to the Dronk Vlei Settlement Reserve: A total of 11,031 acres was set aside and divided into 15 lots. By 1900 all but three were occupied and all were occupied by 1910. The farms were again smaller than those in the surrounding area. The success of the scheme probably encouraged the Government to consider the possibility of closer settlement in future schemes. The large Inhlamavini scheme in the next decade is an example in point.

Land sales in these schemes were at a fixed 10s. per acre payable in terms of the 1889 regulations. The main Government advantage in this method was the concentration of new settlers in fixed areas, rather than distributing them over the length and breadth of Natal.

3.13.3. Summary of sales 1881-1900

Land sales were brisk in the period from 1880 onwards. This is reflected in the increased survey activity in the last twenty years of the century when five times as much land was surveyed as in the previous 20 years (Table 17 and Fig. 38).

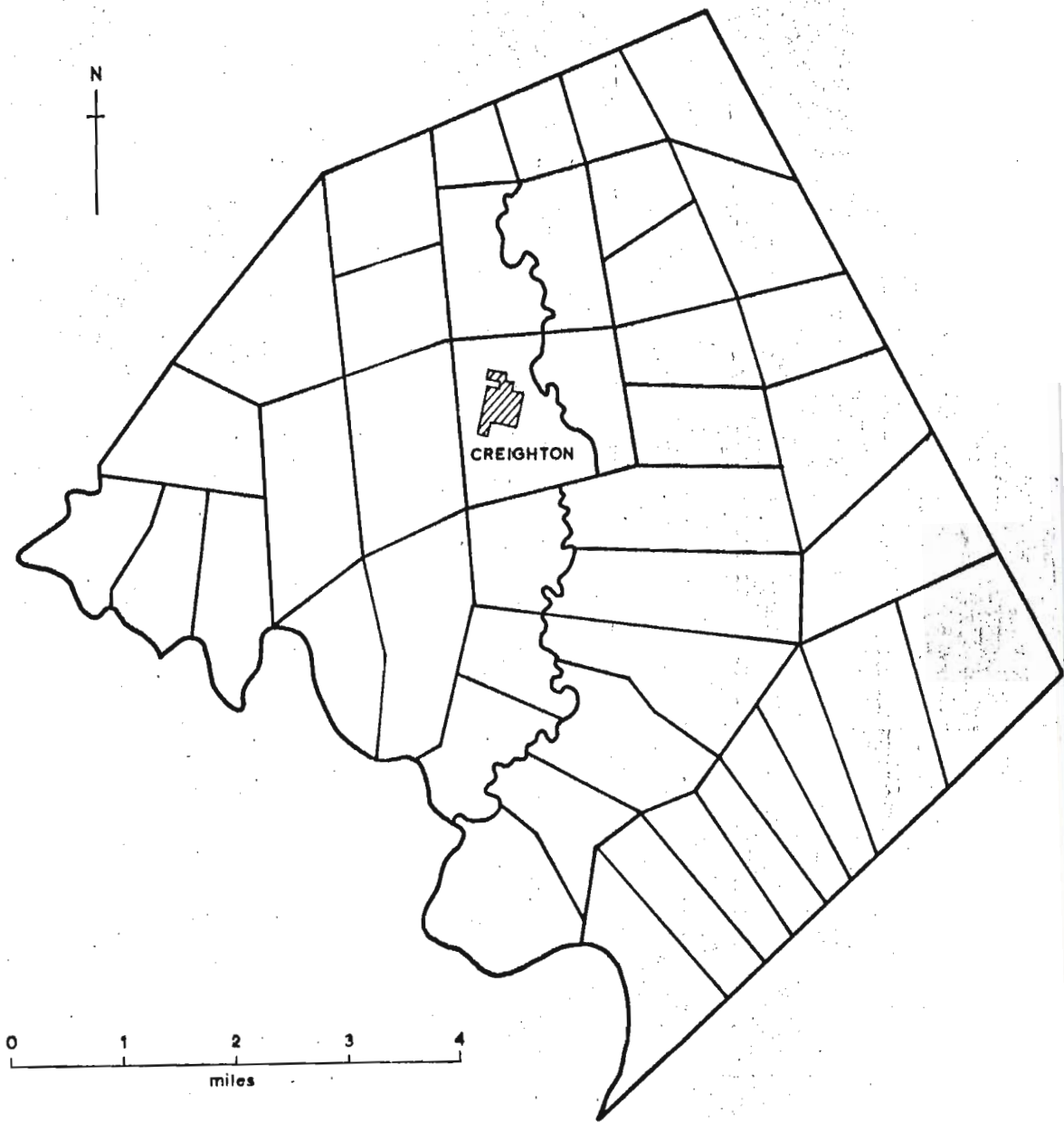


Fig. 37. Plan of the Dronk Vlei Settlement.

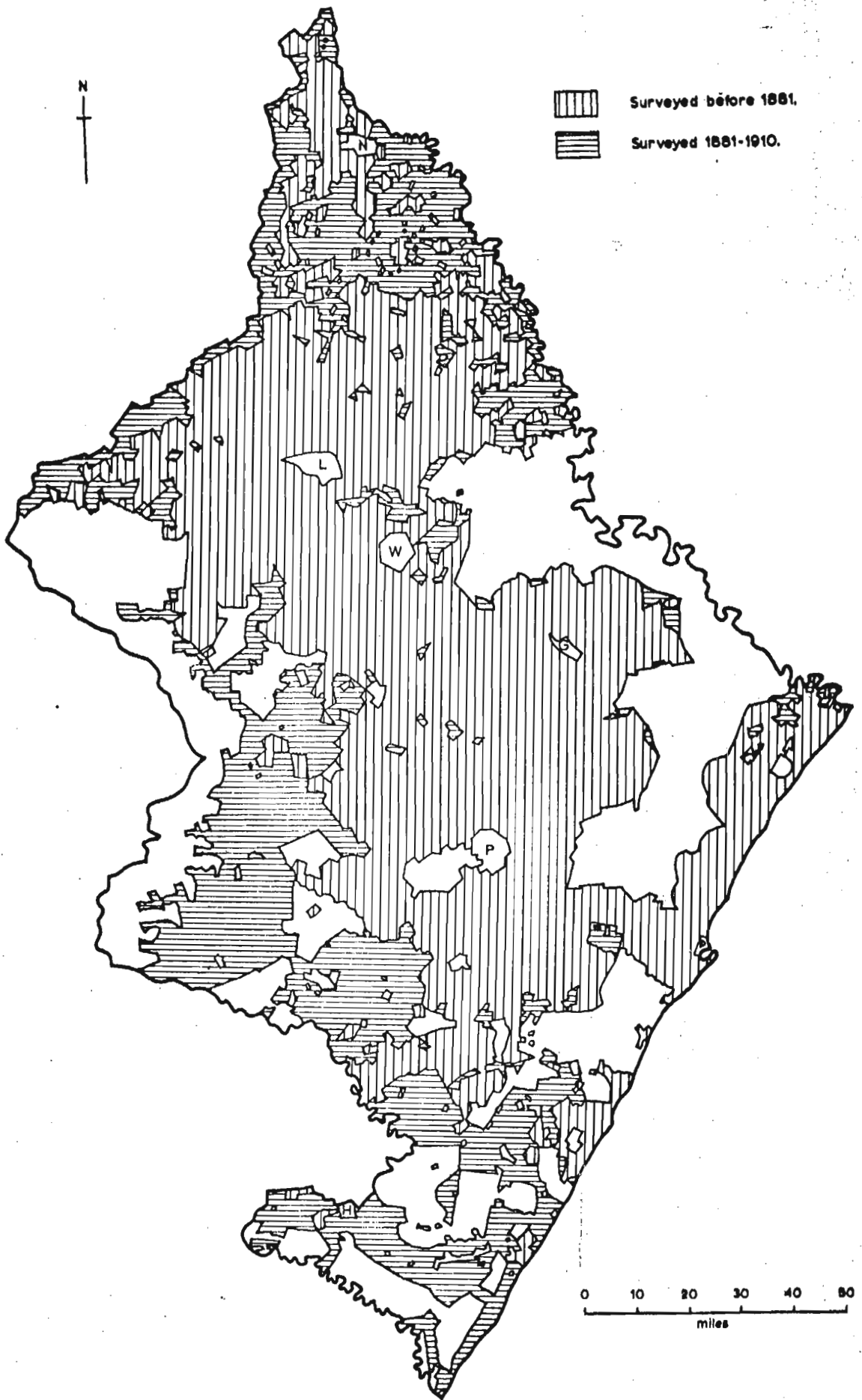


FIG. 38. Areas surveyed 1881-1910.

TABLE 17
SURVEYED AREAS 1881-1900*

County	1881-1890		1891-1900	
	No.	Acreage	No.	Acreage
Klip River	169	176,165	476	568,937
Weenen	135	153,727	126	147,142
Umvoti	24	19,321	13	8,873
Pietermaritzburg	498	416,092	519	400,193
Victoria	7	7,100	11	9,431
Durban	-	-	3	1,050
Alexandra	147	48,273	182	115,394
Alfred	258	121,265	166	111,472
Total	1238	941,943	1496	1,362,492

*Excluding areas resumed and surveyed for leasehold.

3.14. Twentieth Century development of land legislation

The 1889 regulations remained in force, with some modification, until the introduction of a uniform system of land sales for the whole of South Africa under the "Act for the Allotment of Crown Lands for settlement purposes" (Union Act No. 12 of 1912). However a number of modifications occurred, mainly as a result of the grant of Responsible Government to Natal in 1893 and to the increased Government revenues, which enabled it to embark on a more adventurous land policy, based in the main upon Australian experience. The administration of the land grant system was brought under the control of the Land Board in 1904 which, under Proclamation No. 107 of 1906 had to approve the grant of any piece of land and could waive any of the regulations which were deemed to be unnecessary. In 1907 under Proclamation 31 allotment was to be subject to the consent of the Minister of Agriculture. In this way land policy was brought under the control of the elected representatives of the Natal electorate, but only for a short time, and this in fact had comparatively little effect upon the course of land settlement. The situation was in contrast to that which obtained in some of the Australian colonies where the land battles between the agriculturist and squatter were fought in the Parliament through manipulation of the land laws.

The main piece of legislation in this period was Act 44 of 1904, which was passed "to aid and encourage the Agricultural Development of Natal". This act tried to overcome the previous problems of applying uniform conditions to the sale of all Crown Lands in the

Colony. Crown Lands were to be divided into three classes, according to the type of farming to which they were suited and each of these was to be subject to different conditions.

Class I was land suitable for special farming and was to be divided into blocks of 60 acres or less if irrigation was to be practised, or of less than 250 acres if it was to be used for other special purposes.

Class II was for areas for mixed arable and livestock farming, where allotments of 250 to 500 acres were allowed on a lease of 99 years. The recipients were required to reside on their allotments for 9 months in each year.

Class III was for areas which were only suited to pasture or for tree planting. In this case blocks of 2000 acres or less would be allowed on leases of 33 years, renewable for further periods.

These regulations were designed in the main to cope with the expected flood of settlement in Zululand, and the government was determined that this should be orderly and without the abuses which had marked the whole history of land settlement in Natal heretofore.

One final amendment occurred with Act 39 of 1908 which provided that lands purchased on the 20 year payment scheme could not be transferred until 15 years of occupation and residence had been completed. It also provided that the holders of irrigation lots could purchase any lots up to a maximum of 600 acres.

3.15. Settlement Schemes in the twentieth century (Fig. 39)

In the years following 1900 the Government was able to purchase land on a considerable scale or through the imposition of a high land tax on unimproved or unoccupied land, was able to slowly acquire considerable tracts. The land acquired or purchased in this manner was intended for settlement by Europeans in more compact settlement schemes carefully controlled by the Government. The acquisition of land was controlled by Act 24 of 1902 "Act for Acquiring of lands for the settlement thereon of persons of European descent".

The first major scheme was the Winterton Land Settlement Scheme, laid down under Act 39 of 1908. Three properties had been

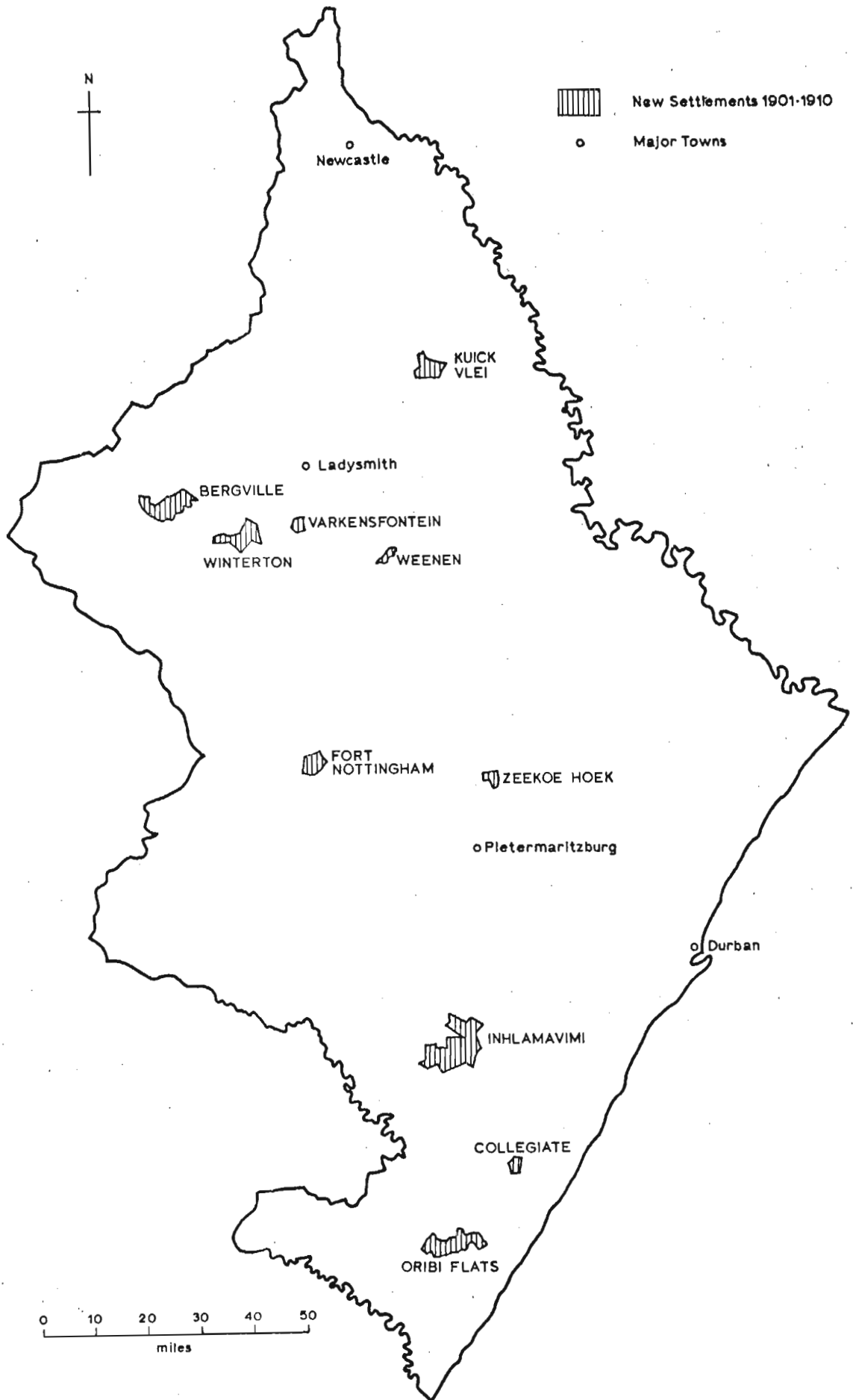


Fig.39 Settlement Schemes 1901-1910.

acquired with a considerable acreage at Winterton. These lands amounted to 17,941 acres. Part of the land was suitable for close settlement under irrigation. The scheme provided for the settlement of approximately 50 families on plots to be surveyed. Each person was to receive a given area of irrigable land, dry arable land, grazing land and commonage rights. The scheme involved the construction of an irrigation furrow off the Little Bushmans River and the construction of a railway spur from Frere to the town of Winterton, established on part of the settlement (Fig. 40)

As in the case of the Zululand settlement schemes, formulated at the same time, the Government preferred to lease the land rather than undertake to sell it until it was quite certain that the tenant was in fact a bona fide farmer and not a speculator in disguise. Unlike the settlement schemes of the 1850's the scheme was not intended primarily as an attraction to immigrants from Europe, but rather as a means of providing for the agricultural community an increased number of farms, in the hope of preventing the drift of population from the land. The Government was anxious to maintain a strong farming community for political reasons and was as a result committed to a course of action which would strengthen the rural economy.

The settlement schemes in addition to the two irrigation schemes of Weenen and Winterton, which have already been dealt with, included a number of closer settlement agricultural or grazing schemes. The government wanted to develop mixed farming on a greater scale and in the period from 1908 to 1910 several settlements were laid out. All of them involved purchase of land and its resurvey for smaller units. They amounted to 80,105 acres purchased and subdivided (Table 18)

TABLE 18
AREAS OF LANDS SURVEYED FOR CLOSER SETTLEMENT 1908-1910

Scheme	No. of Lots	Area	Average size
Kuich Vlei	22	12,533	570
Bergville	33	22,162	672
Varkensfontein	13	7,781	579
Zeekoe Hoek	13	6,228	479
Inhlamavimi	35	31,401	897
Total	116	80,105	691

The schemes covered an area somewhat greater than the area of

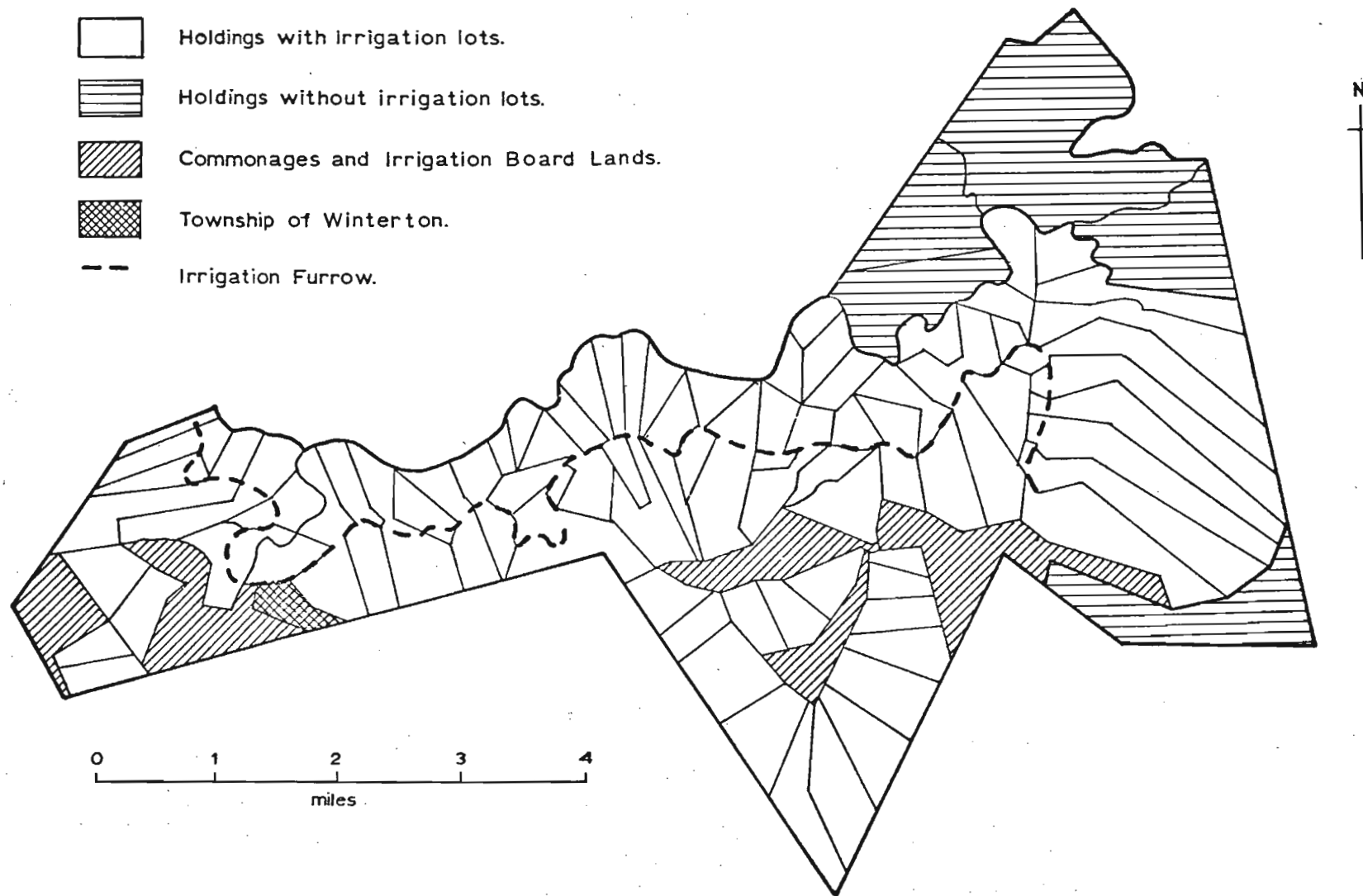


Fig 40 Plan of the Winterton Irrigation Scheme

area of the lots laid out for the 1850 settlement schemes. However, the average size of lot was more than ten times as great. It was realised that except in special circumstances it was impossible to farm successfully on less than 500 acres, particularly in the inaccessible areas available. None of the settlement schemes had good communications, although a line was planned to Bergville, which alone had a town established as part of the scheme.

The five schemes involved the purchase of undeveloped land - part of it from the Natal Land and Colonisation Company (22,259 acres). The land had in 1900 been in the possession of 12 owners, so that an increase of over 100 holdings was intended.

Survey of new lands had decreased considerably in the period 1901-1910 amounting to only 340,450 acres (see Table 19). Part of this had been leased before in the Klip River County, but it represented an actual extension of settlement in Pietermaritzburg County particularly. Thus by 1910 comparatively little land remained for survey. Approximately a million acres remained within the pre-1897 boundaries of Natal, most of it within the rugged areas of southern and western Pietermaritzburg County, most of which was occupied by Natives and later taken over by the Native Trust. The year 1910 can be said to have marked the end of the expansion of European settlement south of the Buffalo-Tugela line and witnessed the initial stages of an intensification programme.

TABLE 19
LAND SURVEYED 1901-1910 AND REMAINING LAND SURVEYED 1911-1967

County	1901-1910		Since 1910	
	No.	Acreage	No.	Acreage
Klip River	59	57,464	51	48,724
Weenen	91	36,255	37	29,613
Umvoti	5	2,213	6	5,989
Pietermaritzburg	126	119,258	88	102,869
Victoria	15	6,263	5	2,874
Durban	8	2,182	*	
Alexandra	60	57,680		15,615
Alfred	81	59,135		7,519
Natal	445	340,450	223	213,203

* Since 1910 some townships have been laid out in Native lands south of Durban.

3.16 Zululand

The area remaining open for settlement was Zululand, which had

been annexed by Natal in 1897 (Act 37 of 1897). The annexation was allowed by the British Government with reservations. These included some regulation of the course of European colonization. Section 18 of the Act provided that "no grants or alienation of Crown lands within the Province of Zululand shall be made nor till then shall the Natives be disturbed in the use and occupation of any lands occupied by them at the time of the taking effect of this Act." This was explained by a Government Minute of 18th November 1898. The Secretary of State for the Colonies had agreed to annexation upon conditions including:

"The existing system of land tenure in Zululand to be maintained for five years and no grants of land to be made during that period. In the meantime a joint Imperial and Colonial Commission to be appointed to delimit sufficient land reserves for Native Locations, which Locations will be inalienable without the consent of the Secretary of State. At the end of the period of five years the Natal Government to be at liberty to deal with the unreserved lands".⁴⁰

In 1902 a Joint Commission was appointed to delimit the Reserves. The Commission finished its work in October 1904, and succeeded in partitioning Zululand into two sections, two-thirds (3,887,000 acres) being reserved for the Natives and the remainder unreserved (2,613,000 acres including Proviso B) (Fig. 41). Pressure for the wholesale opening of Zululand was resisted by the Commissioners. They expressed their views through the statement that "we have been met on all sides by residents and others, who appear to be labouring under the impression that all the Commission was required to do was to indiscriminately throw open the whole of the lands suitable for European occupation".⁴¹ The Commission, however, took what it thought it could, selecting lands which had comparatively sparse populations. Many claims to farms were received, some of considerable size resulting from concessions made by the Zulu kings, but these were rejected as there was no continuity of occupation.

Once the Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission had reported and its findings had been approved, a start was made on opening the Province to European settlement. Work commenced in 1904 and proceeded rapidly with the survey of the Native Reserves and the

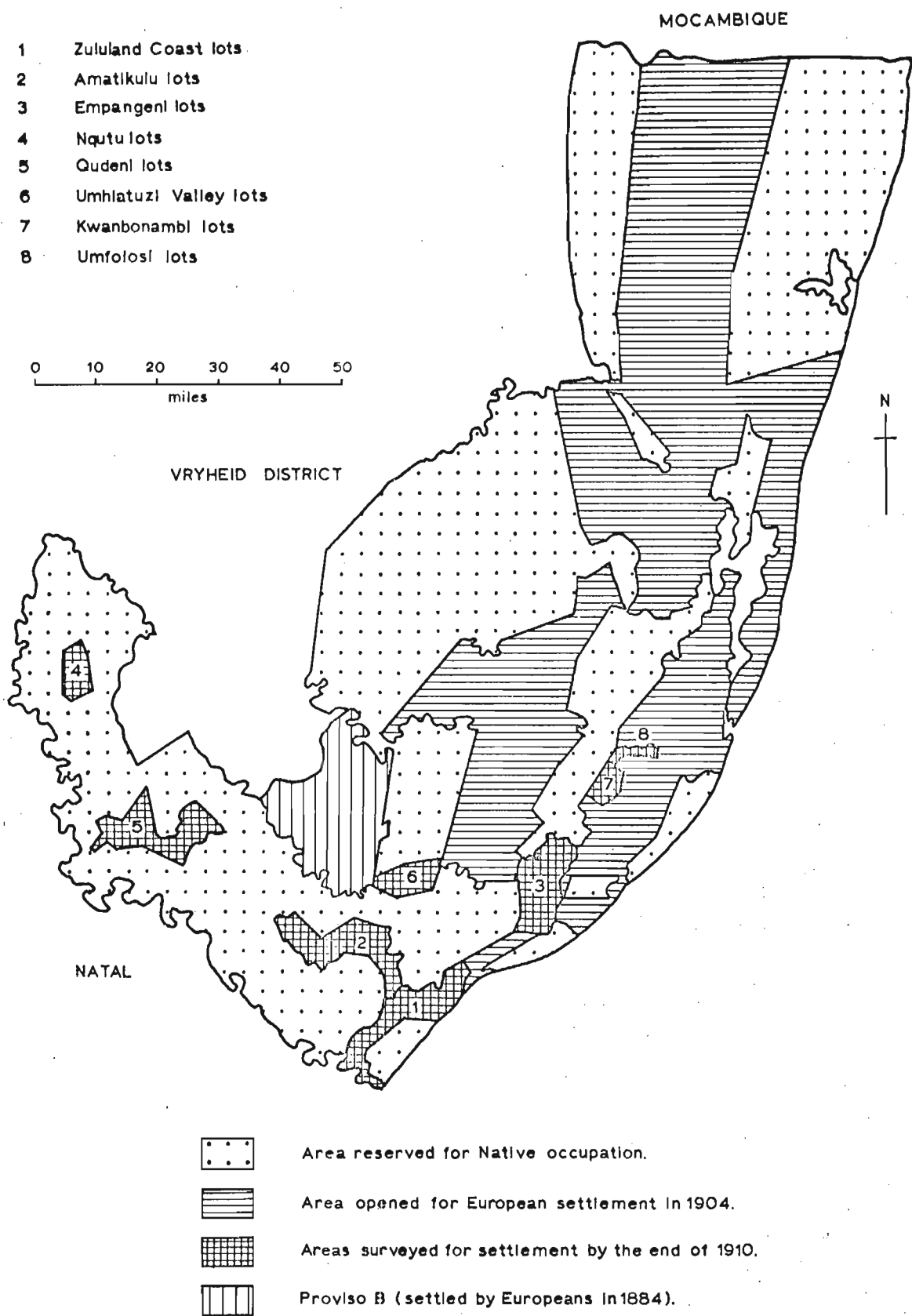


Fig. 41. The Partition of Zululand.

first of the settlement schemes. The initial areas surveyed were mostly close to the coast and nearest to the Tugela River. Progress was rapid and survey took place in the strip of land from the Tugela to Eshowe and beyond, following the line of the proposed railway. Separate surveys took place in the Nqutu and Qudeni settlement schemes in the interior of Zululand where land had been set aside for European settlement.

By the middle of 1905 sufficient lots had been surveyed to enable the Government to throw open the coastal lots, adjacent to the Tugela, to settlement. In 1906 the Amatikulu, Qudeni and Umhlatuzi Valley lots were ready while work proceeded on the Nqutu and Empangeni lots. These surveys were mostly completed by the end of 1910. As a result of the rapid progress in the south, work commenced in August 1910 on the Umfolosi settlement and in November 1910 on the Kwanbonambi settlement. In addition public services such as the railway and town lots had been laid out from the start. As a result by the end of 1910 a total of 501 lots had been laid out covering 315,158 acres (Table 20 and Fig. 41)

TABLE 20
LOTS LAID OUT IN ZULULAND 1910

Area	No. of Lots	Acreage	Average size
Coastal lots	99	69,297	700
Amatikulu & Empangeni	211	99,521	472
Nqutu	18	8,805	489
Qudeni	39	66,605	1,708
Umhlatuzi Valley	70	30,250	432
Kwanbonambi	16	29,797	1,862
Umfolosi	48	10,883	227
Total	501	315,158	629

The Government for the first time had a greater number of good farming lots available than were immediately needed. The disposal of Crown Land in Zululand was governed by the Natal Act 44 of 1904, which had been framed with the problems of Zululand in mind. One addition was, however, made. The Zululand coastal belt was intended to be planted to sugar cane, and as part of the sugar scheme special sugar leases were introduced for those who did not wish to purchase the land. These leases were divided into two classes, first and second class, according to the suitability of the land for cane.

First class leases required that at least 15 per cent of the land be planted to cane, and second class at least $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Rents of 2s. per acre per annum were charged on First Class and 1s. on Second Class lands. Leases were to run for 99 years at the end of which freehold title would be granted providing no breach of the lease had occurred.

Beneficial occupation, i.e. nine months' residence a year and the construction of a dwelling ~~was~~ insisted upon, while a special milling clause was inserted. The Government in attempting to attract a milling firm to Zululand stated that all the cane reaped on the farms had to be supplied to the millers, and failure to do so would be regarded as a breach of the lease itself. The leases were taken out in large numbers, but were rapidly surrendered in favour of the twenty year purchase agreements or for settlement leases under the 1912 Union Act. However the Sugar Leases remain in force in a number of cases. The remaining lands which were unsuited to sugar cane were available for lease as Third Class leases at 6d. per acre per annum. Land was available for purchase at prices ranging from 10s. to £1. per acre for Third Class lands and somewhat more for First and Second Class lands.

The response to the Government scheme was rapid, with a steady purchase and lease of land from 1905 to 1910 (Table 21). The initial expansion of settlement slowed down however and only increased again in the years following Union when the large tracts of land around the Umfolosi were thrown open.

TABLE 21
DATE OF OCCUPATION OF ZULULAND LANDS

Date of Occupation	No. of Lots	Area
1905	33	20,922
1906	97	62,764
1907	67	47,570
1908	34	22,298
1909	33	20,703
1910	30	21,977
Total 1905-1910	294	196,304

Survey had proceeded far ahead of allocation. Only 294 lots had been allocated covering 62.3 per cent of the surveyed area of Zululand. Large tracts remained unoccupied particularly in the

Umhlatuzi Valley scheme where only 10 per cent of the lots had been occupied in the five years since survey. The Nqutu scheme alone was fully occupied, while the other schemes were in varying stages of occupation. None of the Kwanbonambi and Umfolosi lots had been taken owing to the late start in surveying in those areas (Table 22).

TABLE 22
LOTS OCCUPIED & UNOCCUPIED IN ZULULAND 1910

Area	OCCUPIED		UNOCCUPIED	
	No. of Lots	Acreage	No. of Lots	Acreage
Coastal	84	61,250	15	8,047
Amatikulu & Empangeni	155	72,598	56	26,923
Nqutu	18	8,805	-	-
Qudeni	30	51,179	9	15,426
Umhlatuzi Valley	7	2,472	63	27,778
Kwanbonombi	-	-	16	29,797
Umfolosi	-	-	48	10,883
Total	294	196,304	207	118,854

One of the basic problems confronting the Surveyor General in laying out the lots in Zululand was to estimate a suitable size of farm taking into account the capabilities of the land. Throughout Natal's history the official approach to what constituted a viable size of a farm had erred on the side of meanness. Zululand was a definite improvement compared with previous attempts, but still it was not satisfactory. The lots as laid out in the Amatikulu, Empangeni, Nqutu and Umhlatuzi Valley schemes were in general rather small with the result that the 294 lots taken up by 1910 were in the hands of 225 persons (Table 23).

Unlike the previous periods of settlement land speculators appear to have been absent from the Zululand Settlement scheme. The amalgamation of lots appears to have been due to the need to extend existing lots by purchasing a neighbouring one. In two cases 4 lots were amalgamated and in another two 3 lots, but in the remaining cases only 2. As a result farm sizes are comparatively small with few exceeding 2000 acres in 1910, and these mostly in the Qudeni scheme where the initial lots approached 2000 acres.

The large companies and the speculators were able to adopt a different approach in Zululand. The unpopularity of large estates had reached its zenith in 1907-1909 and few non-Natalian companies were willing to invest large sums in Natal when their returns might

be subject to high taxation. Instead as much of Zululand was specifically opened up for sugar growing, actual control was vested in the sugar mills to whom the lessees had to sell their produce, or forfeit their leases.

TABLE 23
FARMS IN ZULULAND 1910

Area	No. of Farms	Acreage	Average size
Coastal	70*	61,250	875
Amatikulu & Empangeni	114	72,598	637
Nqutu	8	8,805	1,101
Qudeni	29	51,179	1,765
Umhlatuzi	4	2,472	618
Total	225	196,304	872

*Two farms overlap the boundary between the settlement areas.

In the higher parts of Zululand in the Qudeni scheme area the land was unsuited to sugar owing to cool temperatures in winter. These areas were intended for cattle and sheep farming, but in general the lots laid out were too small, when compared with adjacent areas of Vryheid and the portions of Zululand settled by the Boers in the 1880's. The Surveyor General's office appears to have completely miscalculated the potential of the Nqutu and Umhlatuzi schemes, which were laid out in small lots. These were, at the time, unsuited to sugar cultivation and lots were not in demand unless they could be amalgamated. At Nqutu the lots were larger although the scheme proved to be unsuccessful in time, while in the Umhlatuzi Valley large scale amalgamations took place in the following decade to produce workable units.

To some extent the Surveyor General learnt from these mistakes in the laying out of the two schemes undertaken in 1910 at Kwanbonabi and Umfolosi. Near the Umfolosi land was divided into two types for intensive agriculture under irrigation and extensive dry land farming, for cattle. On these schemes it was realised that farmers did not have to produce a range of products but tended to specialise, while specialised farming meant that the size of farm could be regulated according to the area required to produce a living from the sale of the product. Land policy had come a long way since 1848 to reach this conclusion.

References

1. Thrower, N. J. W. (1966) whole work refers
2. Examples noted by Meinig, D. W. (1962) pp. 94-96, Perry, T. M. (1963) p. 50 and McInnis E. (1959), p. 334
3. See Denman, D.R. (1958) pp. 132-157 and Parsons, K. H. et al (1956) pp. 360-373 and pp. 429-452
4. Brookes, E. H. & Webb, C. de B. (1965), p. 35
5. Cloete's Final Report 30th May 1844 in Bird, J. (1888) Vol. II p. 388
6. Ibid p. 389
7. Moodie, D. W. B. (1961) Vol. I p. 25-50
8. Cloete's Final Report, op. cit. pp. 388-390
9. Hattersley, A. F. (1950) pp. 224-226
10. Government Notice 24th October 1842
11. H. Cloete to Sir George Napier 20th June 1943 in Bird, J. (1888) Vol. II p. 191
12. Byrne, J. C. (1848) p. 69
13. Sir George Napier to Lord Stanley, 25th October 1842 in Bird, J. (1888) Vol. II pp. 113-114
14. See Bird, J. (1888) Vol. II p. 140-147
15. Hattersley, A. F. (1950) p. 47
16. Cloete's Final Report in Bird, J. (1888) Vol. II pp. 392-393
17. Lord Stanley to Sir Peregrine Maitland 29th July 1844 in Bird J. (1888) Vol. II pp. 404-409
18. Colonial Secretary (Cape) to W. Stanger 17th Feb. 1845 in Bird J. (1888) Vol. II pp. 451-457
19. Lord Stanley to Sir Peregrine Maitland, 29th July 1844, op. cit.
20. See Brookes, E. H. & Hurwitz, D. (1957) Chapter I
21. See Behn, M. M. (1932) whole work refers
22. Long, E. P. M. (1928) p. 34
23. Hitchins, F. H. (1931) see Chapter II
24. Roberts, S. H. (1924), pp. 73-94
25. Burroughs, P. (1967) pp. 228-248
26. Theal, G. McC. (1904) Vol. III pp. 72-83
27. Ralls, R. E. (1934) see Chapter IV
28. Hattersley, A. F. (1950) p. 315
29. Hammond, E. (1926) pp. 29-33

30. Sir Benjamin Pine to Sir Harry Smith, 30th August 1850, British Parliamentary Papers XXXVII (1417) 1851, pp. 21-26
31. Annual Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1872, in Hitchins, F. H. (1931) p. 269
32. Board, C. (1962) pp. 112-113
33. Natal Witness, 3rd July 1857, editorial.
34. de Kiewiet, C. W. (1937) p. 72
35. Tennant, H. and Jackson, E. M. (1895) pp. 458-505
36. Barber, H. et al (1901) pp. 11, 12, 22, 29, 134-137, 1046
37. Baumann, G. and Bright, E. (1940) pp. 243-255
38. Van Zyl, J. A. (1968) Vol. I pp. 36-37
39. Bosch, D. W. (1949) whole work refers
40. Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission Report (1905) p. iv
41. Ibid p. 46

Chapter IV

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF LAND OWNERSHIP

4.1. Introduction

The object of this chapter is to show the development of the land ownership pattern of Natal in the period up to 1910.

Six years have been studied - 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910 to provide a picture of the pattern of land ownership within the Colony of Natal in the period before Union. The nature of the material available prevented the study of any year before 1860. Although the years studied were arbitrarily chosen they do coincide in several instances with major breaks in the general trends of land policy. The year 1860 is close enough to the period of the layout of the Voortrekker Grants and the 1850 settlement schemes to provide a reasonably valid study of them. The year 1870 marked the end of the depression in Natal so that the results of economic disaster were fully visible. The land policy was also changed in 1868-69 with notable effects. The year 1880 is particularly important for the major change in land policy and the provision of extended credit, while 1890 was only one year after further relaxations. Each of these years was therefore significant for the appearance of Natal before major changes. In the year 1900 the full effects of extended credit in the previous 20 years could be studied, while in 1910 the beginnings of the closer settlement movements were visible.

In this chapter care needs to be exercised with the terminology. Original farm grants were partitioned or amalgamated to produce 'farms' linked together by common owners. Thus the grants or lots owned by one person have been added together where they are adjacent. Lots which are contiguous only at one point have been deemed to be adjacent and are therefore regarded as a farm. Some farms may include many lots or grants; occasionally as many as 40 Deeds Office land parcels may be included in a farm.

No information is available on operational units and therefore the farms or holdings which are discussed in this chapter may or may not have been working units. Some are of such peculiar shapes that it would appear to be highly unlikely that they formed a single operational unit. In addition owing to a lack of information on leases, it is

possible that the pattern of operation of farms might be rather different.

The size of farms also introduces problems of terminology. Many of the smaller farms are referred to as lots, plots or small holdings in contemporary literature. Owing to the different approaches to land settlement already commented upon, it would appear to be impossible to define exactly what a smallholding was. In 1865 in the Orange Free State a smallholding was 3000 acres. In more recent times 20 acres would appear to be a more reasonable figure. Smallholding sizes are therefore relative to the dominant size of the holdings and are highly subjective and liable to change according to the views of the writer. In this study farms of less than six acres have been excluded and regarded as urban rather than rural in character. The decision appears to be reasonable as the areas composed of farms predominantly under six acres were adjacent to towns and were regarded as 'suburban' holdings.

One of the tasks of the chapter is to note changes in the ownership of land which occurred in the period before Union. Land could be freely bought and sold by all races throughout Natal in the period before Union, with a few exceptions which have been mentioned. It is necessary to see what factors influenced the distribution and redistribution of land. Basically three methods of acquiring land were open to persons in Natal, namely grant, purchase and inheritance.

The Government had the power to grant land and this power was exercised to the extent of some 4.8 million acres in Natal in the period from 1847 to 1866. Grants were issued and persons paid an annual rent for their land and could purchase it if they chose. Some companies or individuals also made grants of land available to persons wishing to settle but this was most unusual in Natal.

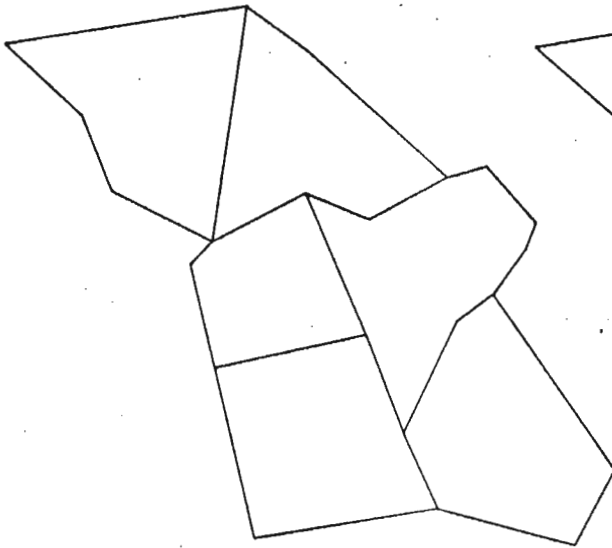
The commonest method of acquiring land was by purchase, either directly from the Government or from a landowner. The Government sold or undertook to sell some 3.6 million acres in the period from 1847 to 1910. The amount sold privately cannot be calculated. It was the influence of the private land purchaser which had the greatest bearing upon the development of land policy and the development of farm zoning in Natal. This was due to the early differentiation in price between good and bad land by private individuals as opposed to the uniform

minimum prices charged by the Crown.

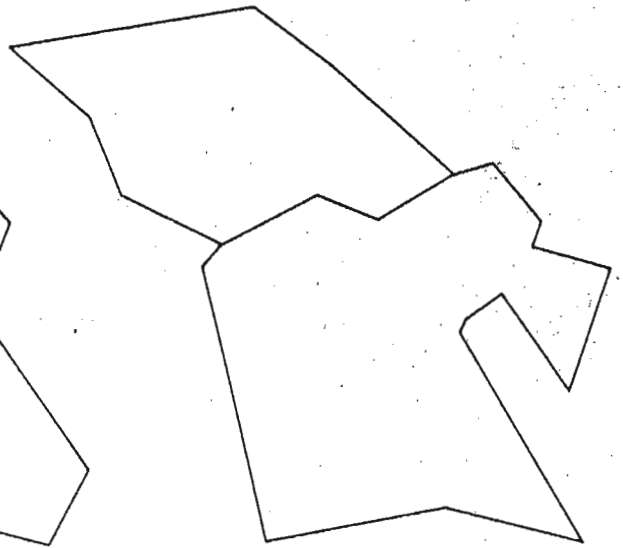
The transfer of land upon the death of the owner was more involved. Two streams of legal thought were present in Natal, English Common Law and Roman Dutch Law, although officially the Roman-Dutch system was in operation. The Roman Dutch law of the Cape and the Afrikaner approach to land inheritance was to partition the land amongst all the heirs. Under this system all the heirs received a portion of the farm (Fig. 42). In the situation of plentiful land families were dispersed as some of the heirs moved away to new farms and left their inherited portions behind. The holdings subject to Roman Dutch law were often purchased by one or two of the heirs to produce holdings not too dissimilar from those of the fathers. The heirs who stayed on the property could either immediately or over a period of years buy out the portions of the other heirs. Some of the heirs however sold their lands to the highest bidder, thus depriving the family of the land and producing a series of comparatively small farms. However, in Natal from an early stage, land was not plentiful and in some areas partition increasingly took place, producing smaller and smaller holdings. The system of shared ownership was never popular and appears to have been only rarely used in Natal.

The second stream of thought originated in England, where the custom was for the eldest son to inherit the whole of the property and properties remained stable in size. Thus the tendency towards land subdivision was much stronger in Afrikaans-speaking areas than English-speaking areas. In the pre-Union period most of the Afrikaners occupied the three northern Counties. When Natal had been annexed by the British, Roman Dutch law had been retained. This caused some concern to British settlers. Under an Ordinance of 6th June 1856 British subjects could dispose of their property by will as they pleased, but it left intestate estates subject to the Roman Dutch mode of distribution.

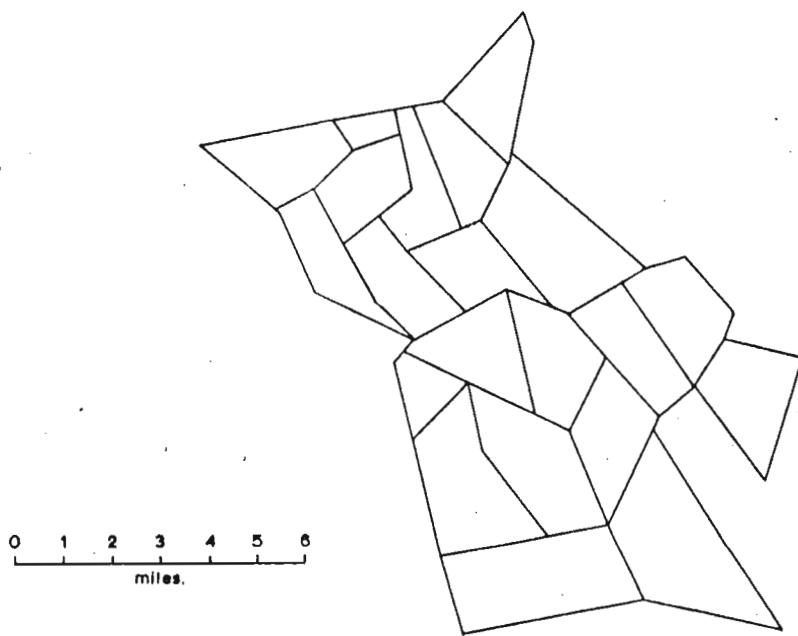
Two other methods of acquiring land were in operation. Land could be leased for definite rather than indefinite periods. This was comparatively unpopular in Natal in the period before 1902. The other was seizure for unpaid debts. This practice was pursued cautiously by the Crown in the 1860's and 1870's but it was highly unpopular.



a. Original farm grants, 1852.



b. Two farms formed by amalgamation, 1880.



c. Small farms resulting from the partition of the two farms shown in b, 1908.

Fig 42. Example of land division through partition.

It was however pursued actively by Banks, money lenders and finance institutions and accounts in part for the considerable acreages amassed by certain individuals and companies.

The various trends and developments are traced in this chapter year by year and county by county with a concluding section to draw the whole together. Changes in land ownership tend to be comparatively slow in effect. The administrative and legal complications have frequently delayed transfers for a year, so that the situation on the 31st December 1860 probably does not exactly reflect the situation on that date, but probably that of a few months before so far as actual occupation was concerned. This made little difference to the study as changes in the pattern of land ownership were comparatively slow.

4.2. The Situation in 1860

4.2.1. Introduction

In 1860 virtually all the Voortrekker Grants had been made and registered, while the 1857 Quit Rent grants were in the process of being surveyed and registered. Those in the north of Natal were incomplete as were other peripheral areas. As a result approximately 4.4 million acres had passed into private ownership (Table 24 and Fig.43)

TABLE 24
AREAS IN PRIVATE OWNERSHIP IN 1860

County	No. of Farms	Area*	Average Size	Median size (approx)
Klip River	202	1,176,570	5825	4700
Weenen	183	847,422	4631	3750
Umvoti	139	569,242	4095	3400
Pietermaritzburg	977	1,330,530	1362	85
Victoria	486	314,556	647	100
Durban	195	110,204	565	130
Alexandra	71	73,403	1034	630
NATAL	2253	4,421,927	1963	370

*These figures exclude land in Church and Native ownership (30,692 acres in 1860.

The contrast between the coastal and inland counties is brought out most clearly. However, the situation on the settlement schemes needs to be considered. Byrne settlement schemes occurred in only Pietermaritzburg and Victoria Counties, and excluding Bergtheil's New Germany scheme, all the settlement schemes occurred in these two counties. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the low average

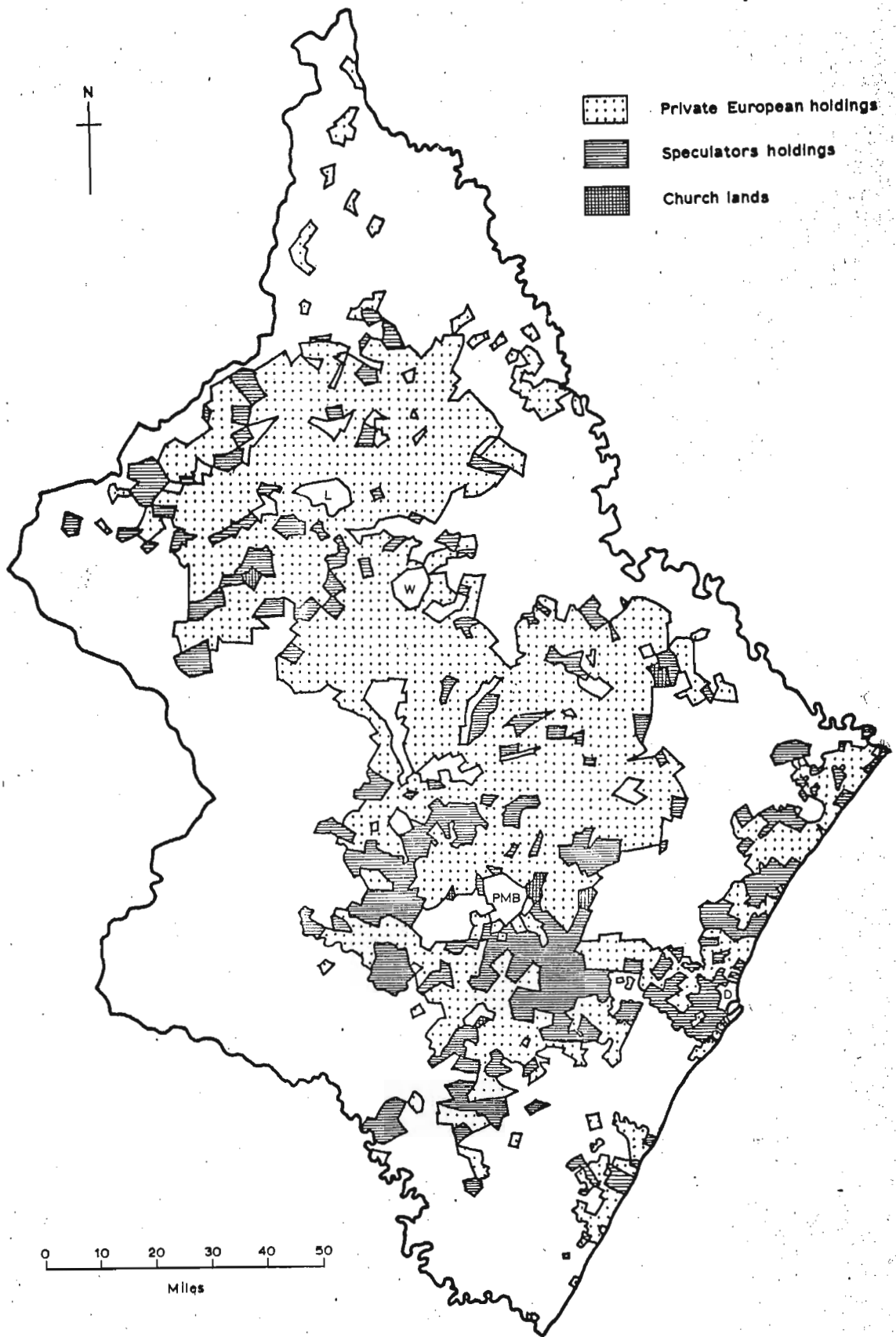


Fig. 43. Area occupied in 1860.

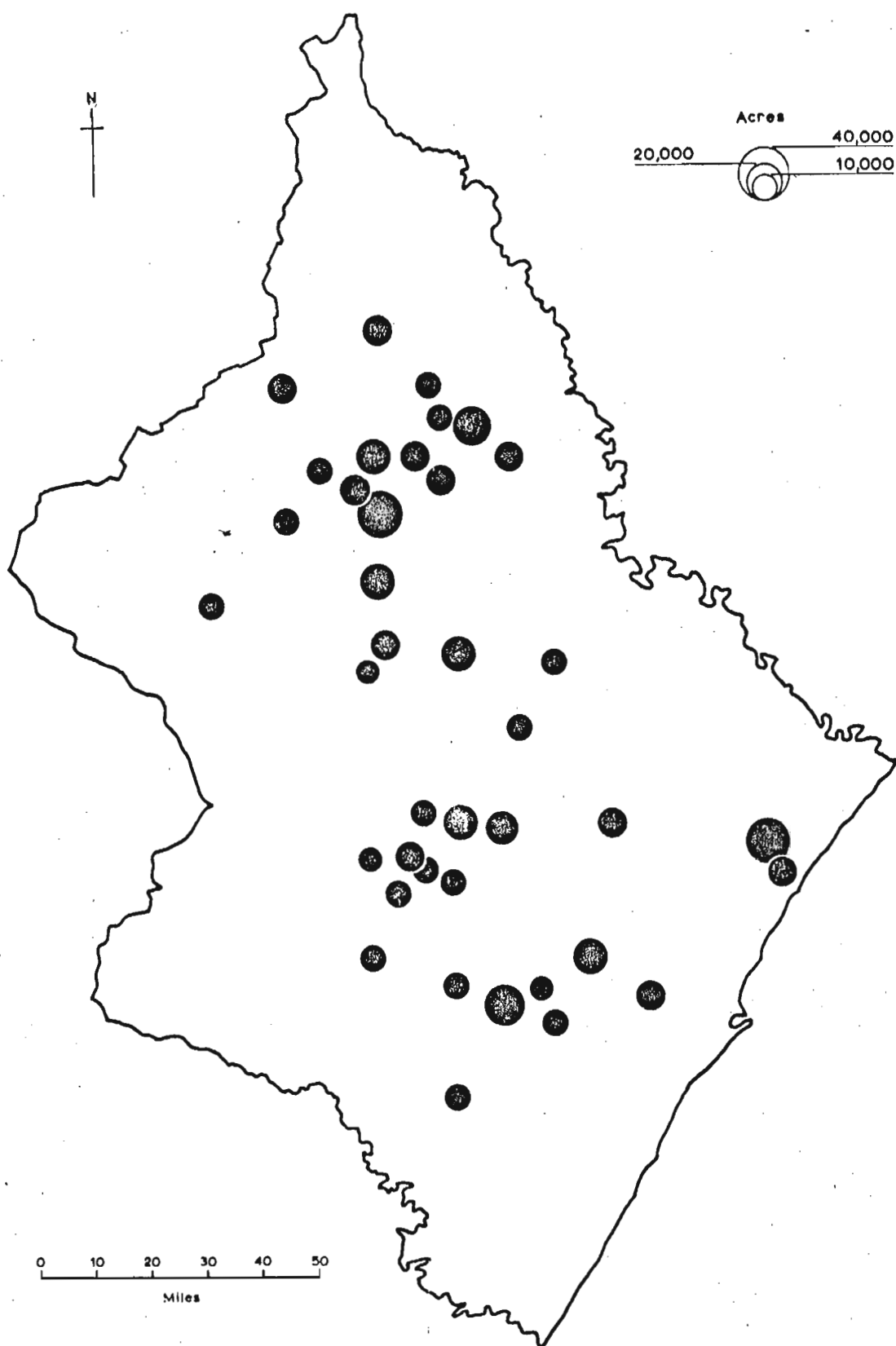


Fig. 44. Distribution of Farms over 10,000 acres in extent, 1860.

and median sizes should be found in these two counties. Average sizes are to a large extent misleading in this study owing to the presence of a few small and a few extremely large farms in each county. All counties except Alexandra possessed holdings in excess of 10,000 acres (Fig. 44). A study of the quartile values is rewarding, illustrating the extreme contrast between the counties with settlement schemes and those without (Table 25). The very small sizes found in Pietermaritzburg and Victoria Counties in contrast to Durban County are due essentially to the settlement schemes, which form a distinct entity. These are in contrast to the uniformly high values for the Klip River, Weenen and Umvoti Counties.

TABLE 25
QUARTILE AND MEDIAN SIZES OF FARMS 1860

County	Lower Quartile	Median	Upper Quartile
Klip River	3250	4700	8100
Weenen	2800	3750	6400
Umvoti	2500	3400	6100
Pietermaritzburg	25	85	1640
Victoria	40	100	460
Durban	55	130	390
Alexandra	510	630	850
Natal	50	370	3300

N.B. All values are approximate.

The development of the settlement schemes is to a large extent a reversal of the trends in other parts of the Colony and as such forms a separate theme. The contrast between the settlement schemes and the other farms in the Counties in which they were placed is illustrated in Table 26, which shows the median and quartile values of the settlement schemes holdings and the remainder in the two counties.

TABLE 26
SIZES OF HOLDINGS IN PIETERMARITZBURG AND VICTORIA : 1860

County		Lower Quartile	Median	Upper Quartile
Pietermaritzburg	- settlement schemes	20	40	65
	- remainder of county	1100	2400	5600
Victoria	- settlement schemes	30	50	100
	- remainder of county	210	550	1050

In 1860 the lands in private possession within the settlement schemes amounted to 88,862 acres or 2.0 per cent of the land of Natal held privately. However the number of holdings, 866, amounted

to 38 per cent of the total number. These facts alone distinguish the settlement schemes. In both counties the number of holdings exclusively in the schemes was more than half the total number - 591 out of 977 in Pietermaritzburg County and 275 out of 482 in Victoria County. The contrast between the schemes and the rest of the County can be shown by the fact that in Victoria County the median size of farms outside the schemes was eleven times greater than those inside, while in Pietermaritzburg County the figure was 60 times greater.

4.2.2. Klip River County

In 1860 the most northerly of the counties, Klip River and Weenen, had been almost completely untouched by the settlement schemes and subdivisional processes with the result that farms were large (Table 27).

TABLE 27

FARM NUMBERS AND SIZES IN KLIP RIVER AND WEENEN COUNTIES, 1860

Size (acres)	Klip River		Weenen	
	No.	Area	No.	Area
Under 1000	2	970	-	-
1000 - 2000	4	6,166	6	11,417
2001 - 3000	33	84,176	48	130,420
3001 - 4000	50	165,842	51	158,578
4001 - 5000	16	66,816	6	26,690
5001 - 6000	8	45,845	10	56,211
6001 - 7000	8	50,457	38	235,517
7001 - 8000	27	206,130	9	68,635
8001 - 10000	41	336,279	10	82,455
Over 10000	13	213,889	5	77,499
Total	202	1,176,570	183	847,422

Comparatively little land had been granted in Klip River County to the north of the Biggarsberg in 1860. A total of 13 farms had been surveyed from the Biggarsberg to the Transvaal border, a distance of 50 miles. This was due to the late date of survey of most of the Klip River farms issued under the 1857 Quit Rent regulations. Several grants had, however, been issued east and south of Dundee forming a detached portion of alienated land. Most of the farms consisted of the Voortrekker grants, some of which had been grouped and divided. Comparatively little amalgamation had occurred by 1860. Only 13 farms exceeded 10,000 acres while most were within the original grant boundaries. The remarkable similarity to the original grants is borne out by the fact that of the 215 original grants only

14 had been partitioned, while only 18 farms consisted of portions of two or more grants. Only a few large estates had been built up through amalgamation. Most of these occurred around Ladysmith (5 within 4 miles of Ladysmith). Because of the correspondence to the original grant size there is a marked concentration of farms of 7000 to 9000 acres in the south with smaller grants of 2000 - 4000 around the northern and eastern margins of settlement due to the different sizes of Voortrekker and 1857 Quit Rent grants. This is also reflected by the presence of smaller farms, 2000 to 3000 acres, in amongst the Voortrekker grants of the County where infilling took place within the gaps left after surveying the original farms. Several of these gaps had still not been surveyed or granted in 1860.

The major speculators had not succeeded in purchasing large blocks of farms in 1860 in the County. Only 174,000 acres were in their hands together with 6,497 acres belonging to the Natal Land Company. This constituted only 15.2 per cent of the County in private ownership compared with 23.9 per cent for Natal as a whole. No pattern is apparent in the lands so acquired and it appears that the local inhabitants tended to purchase farms rather than the London, Cape or Natal financiers. As a result some of the local farmers acquired more than one farm but sometimes they were separated from one another. For example A. van Tonder acquired five farms totalling over 30,000 acres.

The overall pattern of farms was fairly stable except for the massive turnover of land which amounted to 25.6 per cent of the land area in private hands. This turnover, involving 73 properties with a total area of 301,530 acres, showed a degree of ownership instability unexpected in the farm pattern. Land prices were entirely below the Government minimum price, indeed most of them (72 per cent) were less than a quarter of the Government's minimum price (Table 28).

TABLE 28
LAND PRICES AT SALES IN KLIP RIVER 1860

Value	No.	Area	Average size
Under 1s.	49	208,813	4,261
1s. - 1s.11d.	20	81,680	4,084
2s. - 3s.11d.	4	11,037	2,759
Total	73	301,530	4,131

Owing to the frequent changes in name and lack of a numbering system it was not possible to identify with certainty the distribution of farms sold, but it would appear to be fairly uniform with no marked concentrations of sales.

4.2.3. Weenen County

Weenen County, as in the case of Klip River County, consisted in 1860 entirely of grants issued on quit rent tenure. Most of them had been granted by the end of 1860. As in the northern County farm size still bore a remarkable resemblance to the sizes of the original grants. Three distinct areas could be distinguished. First of all the larger Voortrekker grants of 7000 to 8000 acres close to the Tugela River, where sizes similar to the Klip River grants were allowed. In 1860 the area above Colenso was included for administrative purposes in the northern County. The main area around Blaauw Krantz and Bushmans River ^{comprised} standard 6000 acre farms, which were mostly intact. A few had been grouped together to form larger grants, mostly between Weenen and Estcourt, where the largest farms in the County occurred, one of which reached over 20,000 acres. In the Mooi River valley and below Weenen the 1857 Quit Rent grants were the major element with farms of approximately 3000 acres. These farms were also scattered amongst the Voortrekker grants where land had been left vacant up to 1857.

The town of Weenen was in a highly eccentric position with regard to the farms in the County. Unoccupied land extended from the Impafana Location as far as the Townlands, which emphasised its relative isolation. In addition little penetration had taken place into the foothills of the Drakensberg. Only in the Cathkin area did farms reach them. One extended to within 7 miles of the crest. Elsewhere farms rarely approached to within 20 miles of the Basuto line. Gaps between farms remained, particularly in the rugged area between the Bushmans and Mooi Rivers, which had not attracted the Voortrekkers.

The ownership pattern showed that only 15 per cent of the County was in the hands of speculators. This was the lowest proportion of any county in 1860. As in the case of Klip River the distribution was scattered, but occurred mostly in the north-western part of the

County adjacent to the Klip River County, where the larger Voortrekker grants lay. The 1857 Quit Rent grants had not been surveyed and granted for long so that speculative activity was only beginning.

A total of 18.9 per cent of the land in private hands was sold in the County in 1860. Most of the purchases were made by speculators, particularly in the newly opened 1857 Regulation grants. A total of 161,202 acres was involved in 46 transactions. All the land was sold at the Government minimum price or less. Only one transaction reached the 4s. per acre level. Once again 70 per cent was sold at less than a quarter of the Government price.

4.2.4. Umvoti County

The ownership pattern in Umvoti County in 1860 bore some resemblance to Weenen County. The Voortrekker grants were smaller in Umvoti County which accounts for the smaller average size (4095 acres). By 1860 most of the County had been surveyed and occupied (84.2 per cent of the total area surveyed was taken). There were as a result comparatively few spaces left between farms. Once again the distribution of farms closely reflected the distribution of Voortrekker grants at 6000 acres and 1857 grants at 3000 acres (Table 29).

TABLE 29
FARM SIZES IN UMVOTI COUNTY, 1860

Size	Number	Acreage
1001 - 1500	9	13,101
1501 - 2000	12	20,397
2001 - 3000	38	102,947
3001 - 4000	27	85,151
4001 - 5000	6	27,852
5001 - 6000	6	34,793
6001 - 7000	32	201,309
Over 7000	9	83,692
Total	139	569,242

Comparatively little amalgamation had occurred. Only two farms exceeded 10,000 acres, one a large Voortrekker grant and the other an amalgamation. Speculators had, however, been more active in Umvoti than in Weenen, acquiring nearly 100,000 acres or 17.3 per cent of the County. The distribution was again irregular and showed that no particular area, even adjacent to the Native Locations, had experienced a major depression. The parallel with Weenen County is carried further by the fact that 18.9 per cent of the County was sold in 1860.

A total of 108,890 acres was sold in 39 transfers. All the sales were at less than the Government minimum price but only 40 per cent were sold for less than a quarter of the Government minimum price. Most of the transfers at low prices occurred in the farms adjacent to the Native Location, where the land was more rugged and less suitable for pastoral farming.

4.2.5. Pietermaritzburg County

4.2.5.1. Introduction

In Pietermaritzburg County distinction has been made between the settlement schemes and the remainder of the County. The contrast between the two can be seen from Table 30 in that over 60 per cent of the farms in the county were in the settlement schemes, but these comprised no more than 3 per cent of the total area alienated.

TABLE 30
FARM SIZES PIETERMARITZBURG COUNTY, 1860

Size	Settlement Schemes		Remainder		Total	
	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area
6 - 20	213	4,260	7	135	220	4,395
21 - 50	168	7,285	9	346	177	7,631
51 - 100	122	9,402	7	554	129	9,956
101 - 200	51	7,652	5	687	56	8,339
201 - 300	14	3,390	4	968	18	4,358
301 - 500	20	7,804	19	7,347	39	15,151
501 - 1000	9	6,343	35	26,611	44	32,954
1001 - 2000	3	3,466	67	96,057	70	99,523
2001 - 3000	1	2,200	64	165,446	65	167,646
3001 - 4000	2	7,066	35	111,240	37	118,306
4001 - 5000	1	4,158	14	62,587	15	66,745
5001 - 6000	1	5,844	21	119,734	22	125,578
6001 - 7000	-	-	61	373,560	61	373,560
Over 7000	-	-	24	296,388	24	296,388
Total	605	68,870	372	1,261,660	977	1,330,530

The land grants to the Voortrekkers and under the 1857 Regulations were smaller in Pietermaritzburg County than in any of the other interior Counties. Most of the freehold grants were in connection with the settlement schemes and they showed a great variety of sizes, as the government gave a single grant to one settlement. The County in 1860 showed a continuous spread of farms from Durban County to Umvoti and Weenen Counties in the north. The pattern of Native Locations and towns made the distribution more irregular than to the north. The Townlands of Pietermaritzburg and the Zwartkop Native Location almost cut the County in two. In the west and south there

existed an open frontier to the settlement. It was best marked along the Umkomaas River, which was an effective barrier to settlement. It was only adjacent to Ixopo that farms had been allocated in the area south of the Umkomaas. These included a few isolated ones. In only a few cases were they occupied, however. Known speculators and land companies had acquired 60.5 per cent of the 110,600 acres south of the Umkomaas. It was apparent that until communications were improved farming prospects were unlikely to be attractive in this area. Some of the more isolated farms extended for 20 miles beyond the Umkomaas. Between the Umkomaas and Mooi Rivers, the settlement reached a well marked line, but again speculators had purchased extensively in the frontier areas.

4.2.5.2. The settlement schemes

The Byrne settlement schemes in Pietermaritzburg County, excluding the small lots adjacent to that city, showed that most of the lots were still owned by the individuals to whom they had been granted and that there was a predominance of small lots (Table 31).

TABLE 31
BYRNE SETTLEMENTS IN 1860

Size	Dunbar	Beaulieu	Harmony	Little Harmony	Vaalkop & Dadelfontein
20 acres	70	38	17	3	57
40 acres	30	17	8	5	12
45 acres	4	5	1	-	2
50 acres	18	10	8	1	10
Others under 50 acres	2	-	1	-	1
Total under 51 acres	124	70	35	9	82
51 - 100 acres	23	25	19	5	21
Total No. of holdings*	160	112	56	17	109

*Excluding remainders still in Byrne's name

The estate at Vaalkop and Dadelfontein was most unsuccessful. 5844 acres remained in Byrne's hands and the rest was divided into very small lots. Over half of them were of the minimum size of 20 acres and only 6 exceeded 100 acres, the largest being 240 acres. The majority of the 20 acre lots, or half the total number of holdings, were held by people who had either left the District or Natal. There was a lack of activity in the estate in the form of sales. Only one transfer was recorded in 1860 and it seems likely that prices, even if more sales had been possible, would have been low. The one

transfer of 40 acres was passed for 5s. an acre, including a town lot in Thornville. Only 120 lots were occupied, implying an extremely low degree of amalgamation, suggesting once more a lack of interest in the land. The poor nature of the land and the comparative inaccessibility of this settlement have been noted. Over half the estate (5844 acres) remained unoccupied and in the hands of the Byrne trustees, while the lands surrounding the estate were mainly in the hands of speculators, all of which discouraged development.

The state of the Dunbar Estate was similar to that at Vaalkop and Dadelfontein. It had been poorly placed with regard to communications and it included areas of rugged relief which discouraged many settlers from settling permanently on the estate. However all the lots had been taken and one of the commonages had been sold by 1860, leaving only 859 acres in the hands of the Byrne trustees. There had been very little amalgamation. The 163 lots taken up were still in the hands of 160 persons in 1860, indicating a very slight interest in the Estate. The majority of the holdings (70) were 20 acres and few (13) were over 100 acres in extent, nearly all of them being the original large lots laid out for the wealthier immigrants who came out under Byrne's auspices. Four lots were sold in 1860, totalling 210 acres at prices between 2s. 6d. and 5s. an acre, including town lots in Byrne Township.

The Beaulieu Estate, the largest of the Byrne settlements in Pietermaritzburg County was the most successful in the county. A total of 124 lots had been occupied and 77 remained unoccupied together with 700 acres of commonage adjacent to the town of Richmond. The area remaining unoccupied thus totalled 3445 acres or approximately 30 per cent of the area of the estate. The estate had been laid out more generously than many of the others with comparatively few 20 acre lots. Thus of the 112 ownership units only 38 were of 20 acres and a further 17 at 40 acres. Again the amount of amalgamation which had taken place was slight resulting in a reduction of only 12 in the number of ownership units. As a result the size of holdings remained small. Eight lots were sold in the course of 1860 totalling 426 acres, at prices ranging from 3s. 3d. to 50s., the majority at

4s. 6d. to 7s. 9d. This indicates a certain amount of activity in the land around Richmond, but the land between Richmond and Pietermaritzburg was in general in the hands of speculators at this time.

The Harmony Estate, situated adjacent to the Beaulieu Estate was less successful. Only 57 lots out of the 162 surveyed were taken. Thus only 3143 acres were in private ownership leaving 4158 acres in the hands of the Byrne trustees. It was thus the least successful if ratio of surveyed lots to taken lots is considered. No amalgamation had taken place within the estate, although one of the neighbouring farmers had acquired one plot adjacent to his main property. This was one of the purchases which took place in the year and the price of 14s. 3d. per acre suggests that the purchaser was requiring additional water supplies for the southern part of his farm, which lay essentially on a watershed. Two other purchases amounting to 160 acres took place at values of 4s. 8d. and 7s. which were higher prices than the surrounding farm lands and were in all probability for land on which improvements had taken place. In particular the erection of buildings, where the original settlers remained on their plots and did not abandon them as they did at Vaalkop and Dadelfontein, and Dunbar Estates, increased values

The Little Harmony Estate was also adjacent to the Beaulieu Estate and separated from the Harmony Estate only by the Voortrekker Grant, Commissie Drift, which straddled the Ilovo River. On this estate little progress was made. Only 1180 acres were appropriated, leaving 3116 acres still in the hands of the Byrne trustees. The estate had been planned with a village (Byrne) in the south, about 7-8 miles from Richmond. Extensive commonages covering 2096 acres had been left. There had been complete stagnation since the Byrne settlement. Byrne, although planned, was never laid out, while only 17 of the 50 plots were transferred. Most plots remained in the names of their original purchasers. However, the small 20 acre plots had generally been avoided. Only 3 out of 25 were taken and the remainder were still in the Trustees' hands. An added sign of stagnation was the complete absence of transfers in 1860.

The five estates planned in the rural areas of Pietermaritzburg

were thus not particularly successful. The areas remaining in the hands of the Byrne Trustees were large (Table 32). The schemes adjacent to Pietermaritzburg at Slang Spruit, New England, and to the north of Pietermaritzburg met with greater success. This was due essentially to the proximity of the estates to Pietermaritzburg with its garrison and urban population which provided a ready market for produce. The advantages enjoyed by the two estates were particularly evident in the period before the partition of the Pietermaritzburg Townlands into small holdings.

TABLE 32

APPROPRIATED AREAS ON BYRNE SETTLEMENTS IN PIETERMARITZBURG COUNTY, 1860

Estate	Total Area appropriated	Area	Townlands	Commonages
Vaalkop & Dadelfontein	10864	4820	200	262
Dunbar	9168	8134	175	859
Beaulieu Estate	11309	7144	627	700
Harmony	7301	3143	"	-
Little Harmony	4380	1180	140	1416
Slang Spruit	2882	1685	-	-
New England	2140	1787	-	-
North of Pietermaritzburg	8743	5122	-	-

The New England Estate was the closest to Pietermaritzburg, being only 3-5 miles from the centre of the City. As a result it prospered to a greater degree than any of the others, and attracted men with capital. In 1860, 45 lots were occupied and only 6 unoccupied. However, due to the greater interest in the scheme, a considerable volume of transfers had occurred, with the result that the 45 appropriated lots were in 23 hands. Amalgamation had thus commenced in an area where the chances of smallholders succeeding were greatest. Even so, 9 of the 23 holdings were only 20 acres in size, but 6 exceeded 100 acres. In 1860 the degree of economic activity can be gauged from the fact that 7 transfers occurred totalling 596 acres, or over a quarter of the estate, at prices ranging from f1 to f5 per acre.

The Slang Spruit plots, also laid out adjacent to Pietermaritzburg (4-6 miles from the centre of the City) were not at first as successful. The estate was laid out in 79 plots of which 37 had not been taken up by 1860. There were 30 farms on the estate in 1860, indicating that some amalgamation had occurred. Only 1685 acres were occupied leaving 1197 acres vacant. Two lots were sold in

1860 totalling 85 acres at 10s. and fl. per acre.

Land, to the north of Pietermaritzburg, had been set aside for the Byrne settlement scheme, but it was found that it was most unsuitable for the purpose. Close settlement was thus abandoned and larger lots were planned for sale under the ruling conditions. In all 50 plots were originally laid out, the smaller ones were closest to Pietermaritzburg and they increased in size towards the Umgeni River. The plots averaged 175 acres each and the ones closest to Pietermaritzburg (38), which were occupied in 1860, averaged only 135 acres, in plots ranging from 45 to 437 acres. However the Government and the Byrne Trustees had been too optimistic as the plots were still not capable of supporting a family, and applicants had to be allowed to purchase more than one plot. As a result the 38 plots were owned by 13 people. The smallest unit was 182 acres and the largest 886 acres. The remaining 12 plots covering 3621 acres remained in the hands of the Byrne Trustees.

Byrne had also acquired St. Michael's Mount outside Pietermaritzburg and Middlebosch to the west of the City, but these remained unoccupied in 1860. The Byrne settlements, due in the main to the unusual financial basis of the scheme, thus presented an unusual picture of minute holdings in clusters in an otherwise empty land. Many of the smallholdings were unoccupied as their owners had left the estates.

The other promoters who had laid out estates in Pietermaritzburg County had varying success. John Lidgett's schemes were not entirely successful. Lidgett purchased a total of 14,496 acres in Pietermaritzburg County and a further 1394 acres in Umvoti County. Most of the land (11,214 acres) he purchased privately and the remainder from the Government. The main settlement was laid out at Lidgetton on the farm Riet Vallei about 22 miles by road from Pietermaritzburg. A block of 63 plots was laid out and it was intended to continue with the division. Many of the divisions, although laid out on paper, were never transferred. In 1860, 22 of the plots covering 1060 acres had been taken and were registered in 18 names. Nine of the lots were 30 acres or less in extent. Two lots accounting for 170

acres had been purchased by speculators, which was an unusual occurrence on the settlement schemes at this date. Lidgett thus was left with 13,436 acres in Pietermaritzburg County and with little prospect of being able to sell it. The turnover of land in 1860 was limited to two plots amounting to 230 acres sold at 1s. 3d. and 5s.10d. an acre.

Hackett and Milner's scheme in the Karkloof was initially more successful. The 4311 acres acquired for the settlement had been divided into 32 plots, all of which were taken. Some amalgamation had occurred, 3 plots being joined to others. The resulting sizes were appreciably larger than either Byrne's and Lidgett's schemes, ranging from 47 to 493 acres. However, the inaccessibility of the settlement within the hills of the Karkloof Range, approximately 30 miles by a poor road from Pietermaritzburg, and the broken nature of the terrain discouraged development. No transfer occurred in 1860 and the settlement appeared to be struggling to survive. In 1862 the last of the occupants left and the settlement was abandoned.

The York settlement appears to have been in a better position. The founders and other members acquired a considerable area around York. The original grants at York totalled 6031 acres, added to which were Lots 1, 2 and 6 totalling another 5617 acres. A further series of 8 lots was associated with the settlement although not forming part of it. These totalled 9892 acres. A total of 21,540 acres was originally associated with the scheme. However, Lots 7-11 were not included and had fallen to speculators by 1860, as they were mainly in the rugged area of land between York and Greytown. The York settlement itself in 1860 contained 11,648 acres with a further 5566 acres in 3 large farms on the northern side. A total of 2281 acres was set aside for the township of York and the commonage. The remaining land included 1204 acres still in the hands of the proprietors with 8163 acres divided into 39 ownership units ranging in size from 10 to 1065 acres. A third (13) of the holdings were of 50 acres or less while another third (13) were over 200 acres. The comparatively large size of lot together with the accessible position of the Estate 20 miles from Pietermaritzburg on the road to Greytown

aided the settlement's success. There appeared to be a greater continuity of ownership of the large lots compared with the other settlements and land prices again showed that the conditions of depression in surrounding farms were not reflected in York itself. Two transfers took place covering 490 acres at 3s.9d. and 6s.8d. an acre. The surrounding lots had partly fallen to speculators. The adjacent Lots (1-6) remained a distinct unit in 1860 but the settlement was ready to expand as may be witnessed by its members purchasing detached portions of land outside the settlement.

The Government scheme at Sterkspruit had seen no advance since 1850 when it was laid out. The settlement along the Sterk Spruit had failed. The 9 lots originally allocated had by 1860 fallen into 5 hands. The largest holding (188 acres) was owned by the Government Secretary. The remaining lands constituted a Government Commonage, except for one lot of 578 acres also set aside in 1850 for a private individual who sold it to speculators.

The Pietermaritzburg County settlement schemes in 1860 therefore were mainly in a state of stagnation. Many small plots in the less successful schemes, although alienated, were not occupied and in some cases the owners were untraceable.

4.2.5.3. Remainder of the County

Within the County the process of subdivision had begun around Pietermaritzburg. Farms to the northwest, north and southeast had been divided producing a zone of smallholdings which, when taken in conjunction with the settlement schemes, almost surrounded the town. Most of the division took place on farms along the main roads, particularly along the main road from Durban to Ladysmith. The size of the subdivisions was of the order 300-1500 acres. They were still much larger than the settlement scheme holdings, but indicated the possibility of subdivision of the large holdings into economic units where communications were good. These sub-divisions, however, were the exception. In many places farm grants had been amalgamated to produce some holdings of considerable size. Sixteen were over 10,000 acres in extent. However all but six were in the hands of speculators who had purchased adjacent lots. Farm sizes were in

most cases the same as the original farm grants, which produced a pattern of large farms, over 5000 acres around Pietermaritzburg beyond the zone of subdivision, where most of the Voortrekker grants were located, and of smaller farms on the periphery of the County in areas granted under the 1857 Regulations. These in general were approximately 3000 acres in extent in all but the area adjacent to Durban County where sizes were smaller (about 1000 acres).

The speculators and land companies had purchased by 1860 480,065 acres of the County amounting to 36.1 per cent of the area in private hands. This was the largest proportion of any of the interior counties. Individual speculators acquired considerable tracts of land. J.v.d.Plank, for example, possessed over 35,000 acres and J. Bergtheil nearly 48,000 acres and six others acquired over 20,000 acres apiece. The markedly high proportion of land in speculators' hands to the south of the Umkomaas has already been noted. An equally high proportion existed to the south and southwest of Pietermaritzburg and on the Drakensberg margins of the County. The zone to the north of the Zwartkop Location and Pietermaritzburg through to the York settlement appears to have been occupied and not speculatively held.

The turnover of land in Pietermaritzburg in 1860 was low, being only 9 per cent of the alienated area of the County. The percentage of land transferred within the settlement schemes was the same as for the County as a whole. It would appear that the large purchases by the speculators had already taken place in the County by 1860. Many of the larger purchases were, however, made by speculators and the land market was otherwise quiet. If consideration of the settlement schemes is excluded 67.8 per cent of land sold fetched prices below the Government minimum of 4s. an acre, compared with only 25.6 per cent on the settlement schemes (see Table 33).

Prices of 10s. or more an acre were only reached on land adjacent to Pietermaritzburg. Elsewhere there was little order in the values placed on land, according to the state of development. Even in the corridor from Pietermaritzburg to Durban land could still be obtained for 1s. an acre, but this was unusual as the

speculators had been active within the area.

TABLE 33
LAND PRICES IN PIETERMARITZBURG COUNTY 1860

Value	Settlement schemes		Remainder		County	
	No.of plots	acreage	No.of plots	acreage	No.of plots	acreage
Under 1s.	-	-	9	25,125	9	25,125
1s.to 1s.11d.	1	80	11	40,893	12	40,973
2s.to 3s.11d.	5	750	5	13,267	10	14,017
4s.to 9s.11d.	11	855	18	32,173	29	33,028
10s.to 19s.11d.	5	491	4	4,735	9	5,226
£1 and over	12	835	1	64	13	899
Total	34	3,011	48	116,257	82	119,268

4.2.6. Victoria County

4.2.6.1. Introduction

In Victoria County the same duality existed as in Pietermaritzburg between the settlement schemes and the remainder of the county. It was, however, far less well marked due to the small grants on the Umgeni and the south of the County, which had been laid out in 1848 for smallholdings and also due to the spread of the influence of Durban. A substantial amount of subdivision had occurred in 1860 just to the north of the Umgeni. The settlement schemes constituted a far higher proportion of the County area than in Pietermaritzburg County with 8.6 per cent of the farm area in the settlement schemes in addition to the substantial unused townlands. The contrast between the two is shown in Table 34.

TABLE 34
FARM SIZES IN VICTORIA COUNTY 1860

Size	Settlement Schemes		Remainder		Total	
	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area
6 - 20	41	820	8	105	49	925
21 - 50	100	4,275	6	189	106	4,464
51 - 100	75	6,094	14	1,108	89	7,202
101 - 200	38	5,219	22	3,368	60	8,587
201 - 300	10	2,296	25	6,713	35	9,009
301 - 500	8	2,978	24	9,354	32	12,332
501 - 700	2	1,231	36	21,678	38	22,909
701 - 1000	-	-	12	10,353	12	10,353
1001 - 2000	-	-	23	30,352	23	30,352
2001 - 3000	-	-	11	24,573	11	24,573
3001 - 4000	-	-	13	44,414	13	44,414
4001 - 5000	1	4,398	2	8,092	3	12,490
5001 - 6000	-	-	3	15,886	3	15,886
6001 - 7000	-	-	9	56,083	9	56,083
7001 and over	-	-	3	54,977	3	54,977
Total	275	27,311	211	287,245	486	314,556

4.2.6.2. The Settlement Schemes

The settlement schemes in Victoria County were, because of the nature of the land, more successful. In all 40,282 acres had been set aside for the Byrne Settlement scheme. Of the 12 properties set aside only 3 were actually used in Byrne's time but these constituted the largest part of the scheme (29,620 acres) leaving only scattered pockets unused.

On the Cotton Lands Estate the number of ownership units had been reduced in 1860 to 168 covering 202 plots or 15,102 acres. The settlement had begun to overflow the originally laid out plots. The extension of settlement onto the commonages showed that this scheme, unlike the ones in Pietermaritzburg County had developed and that land was in demand. Some amalgamation had begun. One farm consisted of 5 surveyed plots and two of 4, four of 3 and sixteen of two plots each. The majority were still in single plots, however. Cotton Lands had been surveyed with comparatively few 20 acre lots, in marked contrast to the interior. Family lots of 45 acres had tended to be the dominant units and of these 43 survived out of 46 in 1860 as the largest single size group. Almost half the lots (82) were still 50 acres or less but a few had achieved some size. Thirteen farms were over 200 acres in extent and the largest was 649 acres. However, comparatively little sorting had occurred, and the estate was fairly uniform in characteristics from the Inanda Location to the sea, in spite of its varying agricultural capabilities.

The Cotton Lands Estate was remarkable for the considerable area set aside for towns and townlands, which were to form an integral part of the settlement. Approximately 4658 acres were assigned for the purpose. The township and townlands of Mount Moreland occupied the greater part of the area, and smaller parcels were set aside at New Glasgow and Verulam. Verulam was the only settlement to succeed as a town. The Byrne Trustees retained 2713 acres.

Lot 31 to the south of Cotton Lands was divided into 43 plots with commonages of 1445 acres. No township was proposed owing to proximity to Verulam and Mount Moreland (3-4 miles) and to Durban (12 miles). However, unlike the Cotton Lands Estate 4 of the plots

amounting to 240 acres remained in the hands of the Byrne Trustees. The remaining 2821 acres were divided amongst 35 owners, indicating a low degree of amalgamation. Sizes ranged from 20 acres, of which there were nine, to 310 acres. Fifteen farms were 50 acres or less.

Lots 44-47 to the north of Cotton Lands were divided into 27 plots, all but two of which were taken leaving 228 acres in the hands of the Byrne Trustees. The remaining 2194 acres were divided into 25 holdings, indicating that no amalgamations had taken place. This estate in 1860 was particularly unfortunate as 582 acres was in the hands of a speculator whilst most of the surrounding lands were also in the hands of speculators, which did little to encourage settlement or economic activity.

Sales were fairly restrained. Only 854 acres in 12 plots were sold on the Cotton Lands Estate, amounting to 4.8 per cent of the estate in private hands. In addition one plot of 110 acres on County Lot 31 had been sold but none on the Lots 44-47. Prices were all above the Government's minimum asking price of 4s. an acre with 10s.-12s. an average price, although one sale was for 22s.6d. an acre. The purchases also tended to show that the Estates were on a sound basis, except for Lots 44-47.

The remaining settlement scheme was that of Edmund Morewood, who purchased Lots 69, 70, 71 and 72 as a speculation. These formed a block of land extending for 4 miles south-west from the Umhlali River but only about a mile wide and a mile from the sea. The Lots covered 2438 acres and were divided into 79 plots. Originally 6 of these plots had been intended as commonages amounting to 378 acres. The estate was not laid out on such generous proportions as even the Cotton Lands Scheme as there were neither commonages nor towns. Over half the surveyed plots (42) were only 20 acres in extent. However by 1860 the number of owners had been reduced to half (44) and the number of 20 acre lots individually owned had dropped to 15. This was largely the result of reallocations immediately after the scheme had commenced. As a result one farm of 464 acres incorporating seven lots emerged. Other amalgamations had occurred where blocks of plots (up to 5) were sold to one person. Morewood

had evidently learned in 1851 from the failure of the Byrne Scheme, as no further allotments were planned. The isolation of the estate undoubtedly prevented settlers from going there, as a wide belt of land (16 miles) either in speculators' hands or in large landowners' hands, separated the estate from Verulam.

4.2.6.3 Remainder of the County

The size of pattern holdings was far more complex than in any other county. In 1860 land ownership on the settlement schemes did not overlap that of the rest of the County as in only one case had a purchaser from outside the settlement schemes bought land inside them. In addition no residential development had occurred, north of the Umgeni at this time. Smallholdings of 10-50 acres had been established there. Several of the large Voortrekker farms which were approximately 4000 to 5000 acres, south of Cotton Lands, had been divided either into a series of planned lots as at Zeekoe Vallei, which was divided into 30 lots, and these were sold immediately or by piecemeal subdivision. The piecemeal approach was far more common. It was exemplified by the farm Melkhoute Kraal where by 1860 over 2000 acres had been sold in lots of irregular shape and varying size. The belt of subdivision and small lots only extended from 4 to 6 miles north of the Umgeni. Between Melkhoute Kraal and the Cotton Lands estate was a solid block of land in speculators' hands. Holdings were larger in size, ranging from 600 to 9000 acres. A certain amount of subdivision and amalgamation had taken place, but in general the speculative holdings were considerably smaller than they were in the interior of the Colony.

In the zone between Cotton Lands and approximately three miles north of the Tongaat River lay a belt of land which had fallen almost exclusively into the hands of speculators in holdings of various sizes (636 to 4000 acres). Within this zone lay a number of small Voortrekker farms and lots intended for settlement at the time of the Byrne scheme. All of them had been bought by the speculators.

Between the Tongaat River and the Groutville Mission Reserve lay an area of Voortrekker grants which were nearly 6,000 acres in extent. A number of them had been acquired by speculators but

but several were still privately owned. Some subdivision had occurred but farm sizes remained large. One estate of 28,000 acres had been purchased by a speculator who cultivated a small portion of his land. The line extending inland from Groutville is of considerable importance in the development of settlement in Victoria as it marked the original intended limit of the County and the land to the north with the exception of three farms was to have been a Native Reserve. Beyond the line a number of 1848 regulation grants had been issued for coastal lands which were of larger than average size, as was the Military grant. As a result a belt of large farms (over 3000 acres) extended along the coastal strip. In the interior against the new boundary of the Umvoti Location lay the three isolated Voortrekker grants. All three had been abandoned and sold to speculators. In the zone between these, around Stanger, lay an area which had been laid out for settlement under the 1857 regulations. Some of the grants had been issued on quit rent and others on freehold tenure. The standard size was approximately 600 acres per farm. In 1860 there had been comparatively little opportunity to amalgamate or subdivide holdings with the result that the dominant farm size was still about 600 acres.

The size of holding in Victoria County in 1860 already showed marked zoning outside the settlement schemes. The size of holdings within the settlement schemes was far smaller than in the rest of the County. The zoning was closely related to the size of the original grant and to the proximity to Durban. Two factors complicated the picture. The first was the considerable acreage held by speculators. A total of nearly 150,000 acres amounting to 47 per cent of the County in private hands was held by speculators. Twelve persons, not all speculators, possessed 122,167 acres outside the settlement schemes. The vast area locked up by speculators in the County, together with the comparatively 'dead' land of much of the settlement schemes, undoubtedly hindered future development. In addition communications were poor owing to the large number of rivers running transverse to lines of communications and consequently there were numerous fords. The second factor was the comparatively high land prices in the County.

All but 13 of the 59 transactions in the County were for the Government minimum price or more (Table 35).

TABLE 35
LAND PRICES IN VICTORIA COUNTY, 1860

Value	No.	Area
1s. to 1s.11d.	2	605
2s. to 3s.11d.	9	3,562
4s. to 9s.11d.	16	6,718
10s. to 19s.11d.	16	6,293
£1 and over	16	7,910
Total	59	25,088

All sales south of the Umvoti River fetched the Government minimum price or more. Often this was considerably exceeded. In the areas close to the Umgeni prices of £1 to £2 per acre predominated and south of Cotton Lands no land was sold for less than 10s. per acre. Prices amongst the 1857 Quit Rent properties near Stanger, however, sagged below 4s. an acre although there was considerable variation from 1s.8d. to 5s. an acre. Although the Government had granted large areas between the Umvoti and Tugela Rivers it did appear that with a slight rise in land values, the Government could sell Crown Land at possibly more than 4s. an acre. Speculators appeared also to think that their returns could be increased by waiting before selling. As a result the volume of sales was low, being only 8 per cent of alienated area of the County compared with 16.7 per cent for the Colony as a whole.

4.2.7. Durban County

In 1860 nearly the whole of Durban County had been alienated. A few open spaces existed on the coast, but these were reserved by the Crown for the time being. The whole of the County with the exception of the Bluff Lots had been laid out for the Voortrkkers. Initial land prices had been low and the major speculators had quickly realised the potential profit to be made from the lands adjacent to Durban. Speculation was consequently rife in the 1840's and 1850's and by 1860 speculators and land companies possessed 62.4 per cent of the alienated area of the County. Speculators had purchased a continuous belt of land around Durban. The size of farms in 1860 is therefore to a large extent misleading as the large speculative holdings accounted for all but 5 of the holdings over 2000 acres (Table 36)

TABLE 36
FARM SIZES IN DURBAN COUNTY 1860

Size	No.	Area
6 - 20	16	220
21 - 50	30	1,047
51 - 100	38	3,014
101 - 200	38	5,271
201 - 300	23	5,728
301 - 500	12	4,542
501 - 1000	14	10,101
1001 - 2000	8	12,422
2001 - 3000	9	20,536
Over 3000	7	47,323
Total	195	110,204

In the years 1849-1852 several of the original grants had been divided into small lots. The most important group of subdivisions was associated with J. Bergthiel's unsuccessful cotton scheme at New Germany where in 1860 thirty holdings existed. The remainder was owned by Bergthiel, his Company and the Berlin Mission. This involved 46.5 per cent of the total estate. The size of holdings varied widely from 11 to 1198 acres according to the ability of the owner to purchase land. Bergthiel in 1860 was in the process of dividing up the farm Wandsbeck adjacent to New Germany. Nearly half had been sold in a series of irregularly shaped lots. By 1860 29 had been laid off, but six were less than 6 acres and three were nearly 220 acres in extent. The piecemeal division of the farm was in marked contrast to the planning of the New Germany scheme and marked Bergthiel's abandonment of community schemes.

Pinetown was the only other settlement of any other size in the County. It had been laid out hurriedly in 1850. In addition to the town suburban lots of varying size were also laid out. The initial division in 1850 had been into lots of 500 to 1000 acres but these were quickly subdivided again into lots of about 200 acres. The general layout of the Pinetown area was one of considerable complexity.

The division of farms depended essentially upon the individual decision of the owners and hence small lots lay next to large holdings. Several proprietors divided their farms before 1860. Wentworth Farm was divided in 1854 into 49 lots with a regular pattern of predominantly long narrow divisions to give a series of approximately 100 acre lots,

although a number were only 50 acres in extent. In 1860, however, the 49 lots had only 25 owners. Speculators had again appeared on the scene. Adjacent to the Wentworth Farm were the Bluff lots sold by the Government in the period 1851 to 1857 at prices which were, for once, over 4s. per acre. These lots, 35 in all, ranged in size from 11 to 64 acres. They were rapidly surveyed and resurveys showed that the original surveys were in error by up to 50 per cent. of the acreage. These 35 lots were held by 23 persons, some of whom had purchased the adjacent Wentworth lots.

The best land in the County had been granted to Cato brothers. They obtained a tract of 7607 acres adjoining the Durban Townlands and on either side of the main road to Pietermaritzburg. The land was again divided piecemeal, but the Catos appeared to have been waiting for better terms and in 1860 they still retained 7072 acres in one of the best positions in Natal. Other speculators, however, had begun to sell their holdings in small lots of 150 to 300 acres. All of them were able to obtain prices of over £1 an acre and in the better parts such as Brickfield on the Township boundary prices reached £20 an acre. The pressure on the rural lands adjacent to Durban was due to the small extent of the Townlands. Durban had only been granted 6096 acres compared with 26,088 acres for Pietermaritzburg. This obviously affected the adjacent rural areas once the towns began to expand.

In the interior of the County and along the Umlaas River speculators had again purchased most of the land but there had been comparatively little subdivision. Large holdings had been built up and these were not placed on the market at the prices which were likely to be offered.

The ownership of land in Durban County was highly involved as a result of the presence of a large number of speculators. The speculators in general tended to retain their land in the hope of increased prices. The lowest price at which land was sold in the County in 1860 was 16s. an acre. Much of the land was not worth so much, but the general prosperity suggested that it would be before long. As a result only 2.7 per cent of the County was sold in the

year. The final result was the irregular zoning of sizes according to whether subdivision had occurred or not, and if it had whether the subdivision had been planned piecemeal.

4.2.8. Alexandra County

The southern county of Alexandra, still known as Lower Umkomaanzi in 1860, was the smallest of all. The settlement extended from the Umkomaas to the Umzimkulu River. Most of the farms were, however, in the north, from the Umkomaas to the Umtwalumi River. Only five Voortrekker farms had been granted in the county, all north of the Umzinto. The main extension of settlement had occurred with the survey of the 1857 Quit Rent farms and the associated freehold grants together with a few from the early 1850's. The pattern remained one of only slight occupation within a belt 6 miles wide, occasionally extending 10 miles inland. This was the result of the extremely broken nature of the land and the poor communications with the coast and with Durban.

Farm sizes again reflected the original grant size with a few modifications (Table 37). It is noticeable that only 8 of the 71 holdings exceeded 2000 acres, yet 36 were between 501 and 700 acres. The 1857 Regulation farms had been specified as 600 acres in this County and most remained as granted. The pattern of farm size reflected the class of grant with the northern and interior farms larger than the southern and coastal ones.

TABLE 37
FARM SIZES IN ALEXANDRA COUNTY, 1860

Size	No.	Area
6 - 250	2	168
251 - 500	14	4,757
501 - 700	36	21,677
701 - 1000	4	3,643
1001 - 2000	7	8,921
Over 2000	8	34,237
Total	71	73,403

The land in the hands of the speculators amounted to only 16,143 acres or 22 per cent of the total alienated area. One farm represented half of the total. In the main the speculators bought the larger properties held on quit rent tenure but generalisation is

difficult owing to the extremely small number of properties involved. The turnover was also exceptionally high - 33.6 per cent of the alienated area which was twice the average for the Colony as a whole. This was due to one farm, of 6000 acres, being sold twice in the year, and accounting thereby for half the sales. Such generalisations as could be made on land prices were that over half the land sold fetched more than the Government price and land appeared to have been priced according to its state of development and to the extent to which it had been planted to sugar. The years before 1867 were ones of considerable prosperity in the sugar industry in Alexandra. Ten mills were in operation in 1860. Four of them were steam driven, indicating considerable development in the County.

4.2.9. Church lands

Natal in 1860 possessed 4,421,927 acres in private hands divided into 2253 separate holdings. In addition to this was a further 30,562 acres of land outside the Native Locations, which was owned by the Churches. The total excluded the Mission Stations and Mission Reserves and included only farms granted to or bought by the Churches. Over half of the land was in Pietermaritzburg County (Table 38).

TABLE 38
LANDS HELD BY CHURCHES, 1860

County	Area
Weenen	5,167
Umvoti	6,528
Pietermaritzburg	17,432
Victoria	540
Durban	895
Total	30,562

Of the total, the Church of England in various forms possessed 19,945 acres, mainly in Pietermaritzburg County where it owned 3 large farms. The Hanoverian Mission was the only other large land-owner with 6018 acres, which consisted of a farm in Umvoti County. In addition the Dutch Reformed Church owned 1885 acres, the Wesleyans 1309 acres, the Berlin Mission 895 acres and the Lutheran Mission 510 acres. These lands were used in the main as refuges for Natives and as such constituted a disruption of the European farming pattern. In addition 130 acres on the Cotton Lands of Victoria had been

directly purchased by Natives.

4.2.10. Speculators' lands

Probably the greatest problem in Natal in 1860 in the European areas was the presence of over a million acres of unused land in the hands of speculators. Some of the speculators did make use of their land, but they were few and far between. The problem was one which particularly affected Pietermaritzburg, Victoria and Durban Counties where the proportion held by speculators was over one-third (Table 39).

TABLE 39
LANDS HELD BY SPECULATORS, 1860

County	Area	Percentage of total
Klip River	215,418	18.3
Weenen	127,947	15.0
Umvoti	98,405	17.3
Pietermaritzburg	480,065	36.1
Victoria	147,725	47.0
Durban	68,794	62.4
Alexandra	16,143	22.0
Total	1,154,497	26.1

A survey was made county by county of the areas held by the speculators and with few exceptions their purchases were of quit rent land with few conditions attached. What does not emerge from the foregoing discussion is the size of the total holdings of some of the speculators. In general no particular concentration in any one area is discernible and most bought land throughout the Colony as it became available. The holdings of the most important men illustrates this point (Table 40).

TABLE 40
LANDS HELD BY FOUR SPECULATORS 1860

County	J. Bergtheil	A. Coqui	H. Nourse	F. Collison
Klip River	29,951	8,049	14,948	6,018
Weenen	14,851	-	25,821	7,079
Umvoti	10,032	6,051	15,318	-
Pietermaritzburg	47,848	18,783	-	27,045
Victoria	-	28,195	2,026	4,059
Durban	3,418	-	3,525	15,295
Alexandra	-	1,087	-	-
Total	106,100	62,165	61,638	59,496

None of the main speculators purchased land in each county, although several of them bought land in six. The eight most important speculators in the Colony between them owned nearly half a million acres, or 11.3 per cent of the alienated area of the

Colony (Table 41). In addition to the eight listed in Table 41 a further seven possessed over 20,000 acres apiece, adding 205,356 acres to the total. Fifteen men or companies therefore owned over 700,000 acres of Natal. It is noticeable that only one of these was a land company. Land companies such as the Natal Land Company, the Natal Company and the Handelsmatschapij of Cape Town had been formed to buy land in Natal but in the main private individuals or groups of individuals had purchased land as the opportunity arose. The three above mentioned companies possessed only 48,384 acres between them. The year 1860 marks the end of the initial period of private purchase. As early as 1859 discussions between the leading speculators on the formation of a land company to deal with their interests had been afoot and the Port Natal Company, later the Natal Land and Colonization Company, was in the process of formation in 1860, bringing a more sophisticated approach to land speculation with the introduction of British capital.

TABLE 41
LANDS HELD BY EIGHT LEADING SPECULATORS 1860

Speculator	Area owned
J. Bergthiel	106,100
A. Coqui	62,165
H. Nourse	61,638
F. Collison	59,496
P. Zeederberg	56,487
P. van der Byl	54,969
W. Nosworthy	49,805
J. van der Plank	47,319
Total	497,979

4.2.11. Land values

The land prices and the considerable transfer of ownership experienced in this period gave little encouragement for future permanent development. A total of 743,670 acres or 16.7 per cent of the alienated area of the Colony was transferred in 1860 (Table 42). The proportion involved was lower in Victoria, Durban and Pietermaritzburg Counties than in the remainder of the Colony as a result of speculative activity in these areas.

Land values were very low. Over half the land sold fetched less than a quarter of the Government minimum price (Table 43). Only 11.4 per cent was sold for more than the Government's minimum price.

TABLE 42
LAND SALES 1860

County	Area alienated*	Area transferred [†]	Percentage
Klip River	1,176,570	301,530	25.6
Weenen	847,422	161,202	18.9
Umvoti	569,242	108,890	18.9
Pietermaritzburg	1,330,530	119,268	9.0
Victoria	314,556	25,088	8.0
Durban	110,204	3,036	2.7
Alexandra	73,403	24,656	33.6
Natal	4,421,927	743,670	16.7

*The figures quoted are those found in private hands in 1860. The official figures available for 1860 are confusing and in conflict. According to Vol. SG3/12/1 only 3,924,000 acres had been alienated by the end of 1859. The Blue Book for 1859 gives 5,752,000 acres while Volume SG3/11/24 gives 4,055,000 for quit rent tenures alone, but no figure is available for freehold.

[†]These figures do not include areas where a free transfer occurred, as for example from father to son, where no financial transaction was involved.

The more valuable land was mostly around Durban where prices were often in excess of £1. per acre. However, price levels decreased rapidly from the main centres. In areas where there was still unalienated Crown Land available prices were well below 4s. per acre so that the Government had little hope of deriving revenue from land sales.

TABLE 43
LAND VALUES IN 1860

Value per acre	No. of transactions	Acreages
Less than 1s.	105	382,887
1s. to 1s.11d.	67	205,354
2s. to 3s.11d.	35	70,872
4s. to 9s.11d.	55	60,294
10s. to 19s.11d.	33	13,924
£1 and over	50	10,339
Total	345	743,670

Land values were lower than they had been in 1849, when 53,054 acres had been sold for £6200 or an average price of 2s. 4d. per acre. A total of 20,629 acres had been sold at 2s. an acre or more. The 1849 prices, however, reflected the speculative optimism associated with the progress and expected success of the settlement schemes.

4.3. The situation in 1870

4.3.1. Introduction

In 1870 all the 1857 Quit Rent grants had been issued and the total area in European hands had risen to just over five million acres. However, in the years from 1861 to 1870 two major developments had occurred. The first was the economic crisis of 1866-67 which had severely depressed agriculture and trade in the Colony. The effect on the sugar industry had been particularly disastrous, as a result of crop failure. Elsewhere the normal cyclical depression from 1865-66 onwards afflicted the community. A large number of bankruptcies occurred and Land Companies, banks and finance houses acquired considerable areas of land. The second development was the formation of the land companies and other finance institutions which were willing to invest money in land. In 1870 over three-quarters of a million acres were in the hands of such companies. The private speculator was to a large extent replaced by 1870 by large overseas financed companies.

In 1870 there were 2690 farms covering 5,025,835 acres with an additional 48,143 acres in the hands of the churches and Natives. The area of the Colony had been increased in 1866 by the annexation of an area between the Umzimkulu and Umtamvuma which ^{was} named Alfred County. Owing to poor communications little settlement had taken place by 1870 in this County (Table 44 and Fig. 45)

TABLE 44
AREAS IN PRIVATE OWNERSHIP IN 1870

County	No. of Farms	Area	Average Size	Median Size
Klip River	311	1,533,862	4932	3750
Weenen	235	968,310	4120	3400
Umvoti	171	606,742	3548	2800
Pietermaritzburg	1074	1,366,886	1273	130
Victoria	567	332,834	587	120
Durban	235	123,081	524	100
Alexandra	86	91,743	1067	600
Alfred	12	2,378	198	75
Natal	2691	5,025,836	1868	310

The average and median sizes of farms fell between 1860 and 1870. The drop was fairly general throughout the Colony with the notable exception of the median values of farms in Pietermaritzburg and Victoria Counties. This was due to the reduction in the number of

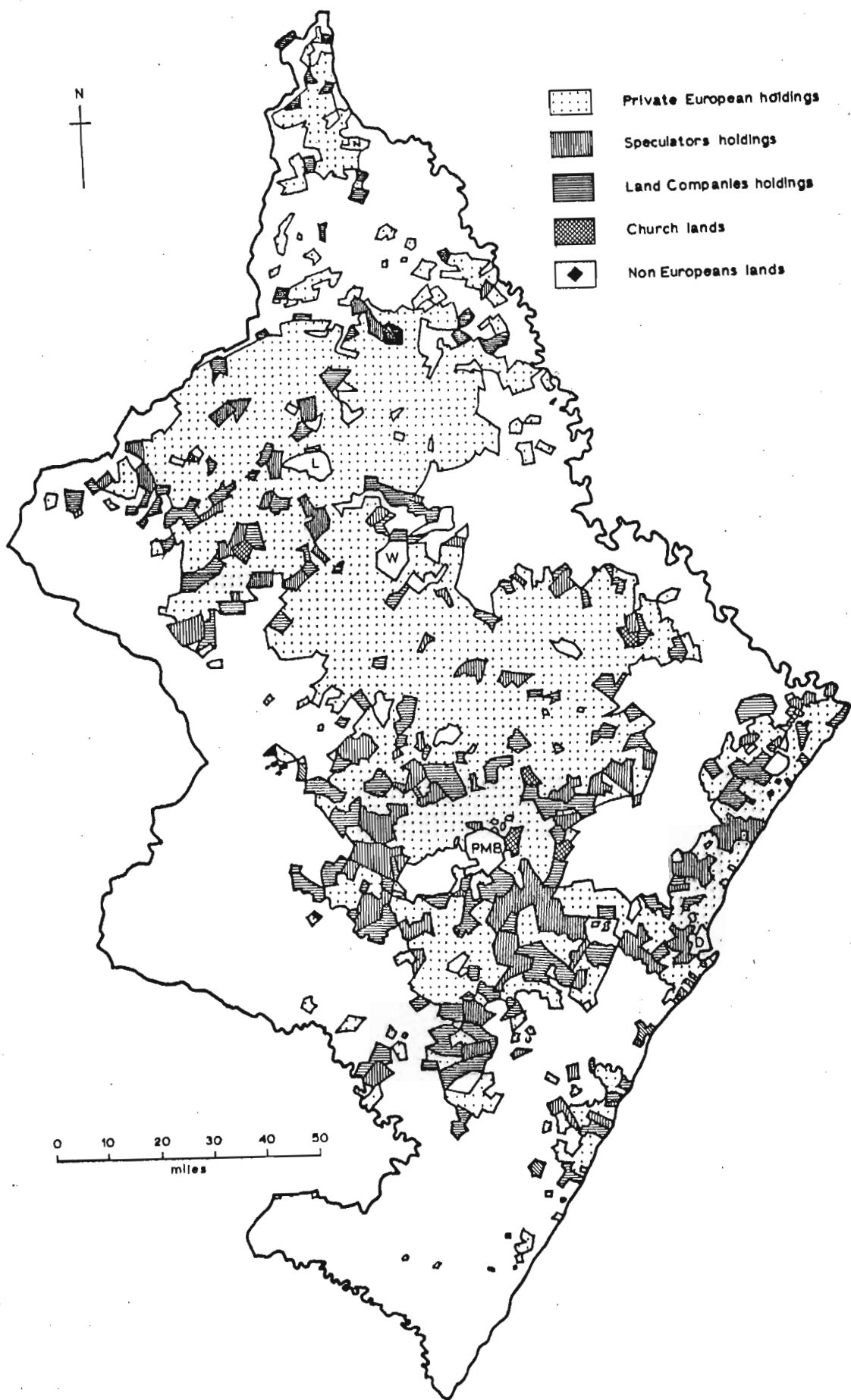


Fig. 45 Area occupied in 1870.

small units on the settlement schemes, either by private amalgamation or by Government intervention and resumption. The reduction of average sizes in the northern counties was due almost entirely to the completion of the surveys for the 1857 Quit Rent grants, in the early 1860's, which added 360,000 acres to the area of Klip River County. One noticeable feature was the increase in the number of large farms exceeding 10,000 acres from 38 in 1860 to 57 in 1870 which, at the latter date, covered over 850,000 acres. This trend was to a large extent due to speculation.

The contrast between the settlement schemes of 1850 and the remainder of the Counties of Pietermaritzburg and Victoria, although reduced over the decade was still considerable (Table 45). It is therefore desirable to deal with them separately as new settlement schemes were emerging.

TABLE 45
SIZES OF HOLDINGS IN PIETERMARITZBURG AND VICTORIA COUNTIES, 1870

County		Lower Quartile	Median	Upper Quartile
Pietermaritzburg	- settlement schemes	20	50	100
	- remainder of county	250	2100	4200
Victoria	- settlement schemes	40	60	120
	- remainder of county	100	320	800

4.3.2. Klip River County

In Klip River County the completion of the survey of the northern area around Newcastle allowed the occupation of large areas beyond the Biggarsberg. However the farms were by no means continuous and considerable tracts remained vacant in the upper Ingagane River basin and to the south-east of Newcastle. The area adjacent to the Buffalo River, from the Klip River Location in the south to Tayside in the North was occupied but the remainder was open. To the north of Newcastle most of the land was occupied but a strip along the border with the Orange Free State was for the most part unoccupied because of the unattractive nature of the slopes of the Drakensberg.

The sizes of farms showed a general reduction on 1860 figures due to the addition of another 360,000 acres of farm land mostly granted under 1857 Regulations which limited farm sizes to 4000 acres and the remainder under 1868-69 Regulations which allowed small

pockets to be purchased (Table 46). By 1870 little land had been selected under the latter regulations.

TABLE 46
FARM SIZES IN KLIP RIVER COUNTY 1870

Size	County		Northern Area	
	No. of farms	Area	No. of farms	Area
6 - 500	5	727	4	666
501 - 1000	10	7,224	7	5,156
1001 - 2000	16	22,644	9	12,167
2001 - 3000	60	159,793	18	52,380
3001 - 4000	90	296,863	51	173,267
4001 - 5000	27	112,673	16	64,761
5001 - 6000	10	56,576	2	11,158
6001 - 7000	10	63,936	1	6,094
7001 - 8000	30	228,715	4	30,588
8001 - 10000	34	277,857	1	8,640
Over 10000	19	306,854	1	15,060
Total	311	1,533,862	114	379,937

The most marked feature in the ownership pattern of the County was the contrast between the areas to the north and south of the Biggarsberg. The dividing line can be taken as coinciding with the limits of Voortrekker Grants. In addition the depression had allowed greater speculative purchasing and this had affected the Voortrekker areas around Ladysmith to a greater extent than those to the North. It is interesting to note that in the area to the north and east of a line drawn through Pomeroy and Dundee and then through the Biggarsberg only one farm exceeded 10,000 acres whereas 18 did so to the south and west of the line, even though the new area contained 25 per cent of the alienated area of the County (379,937 acres). The northern area contained, however, 114 ownership units and as a result the average size of holding in the area was 3333 acres compared with 5857 acres in the remainder of the County. It is noticeable that of the 15 farms at 1000 acres or below 11 occurred within this northern division (Table 46). The comparative uniformity of size between 3000 and 4000 acres (51 out of 114 farms) showed the adherence to the original grant boundaries in the north of the County.

In the remainder of the County a certain degree of amalgamation and division was visible in the large number of farms at 2001 to 3000 acres, many of which were the result of the division of Voortrekker grants. Of greater significance, however, was the

large number of large farms. Eighteen in this part of the County possessed 290,000 acres. These were to a large extent the enlargement of existing farms by the purchase of adjacent grants. Large farms (over 10,000 acres) were more evenly spread than in 1860. They were present throughout the south of the County. Five occurred within 5 miles of Ladysmith. More were present in the eastern part of the County east of the Sundays River. As a very broad generalisation farm sizes tended to be smaller to the west of Ladysmith than to the east where a large number of 1857 Regulation farms occurred and where some subdivision had taken place.

There had been an increase in the area owned by speculators and local companies. The land companies owned 170,977 acres in 1870 compared with only 6,497 ten years before. The Natal Land and Colonization Company formed in 1861 had acquired 82,740 acres. Several others also acquired considerable areas (Table 47).

TABLE 47
LAND OWNED BY COMPANIES IN KLIP RIVER COUNTY, 1870

Company	Area
Natal Land and Colonization Company	82,740
Natal Land Company	2,202
Cotton Plantation Company	10,459
Natal Investments Company	35,020
Colonial Land Company	30,381
Banks	10,105
Total	170,907

Private speculators held another 138,000 acres. Thus 20.1 per cent of the alienated area of the County was in the hands of companies and speculators. It is worth noting that there was no difference in the proportion of Voortrekker and 1857 Quit Rent grant land held by the speculators.

In 1870 as a result of the depression comparatively little land was sold. Only 8.8 per cent of the alienated area of the County changed hands in 32 transactions. As in 1860, all the land was sold at less than the Government minimum price of 4s. an acre, although 45 per cent was sold at 2s. an acre or more (Table 48). There appears to be little zoning of land values as the low prices, under 1s. an acre, appear to be present throughout the County, but the higher prices were more marked in the older established areas

around the Klip River.

TABLE 48
LAND VALUES IN KLIP RIVER COUNTY, 1870

Value	No. of Transactions	Acreage
Under 1s. an acre	6	24,091
1s. to 1s.11d.	12	53,988
2s. to 3s.11d.	14	57,541
Total	32	135,620

4.3.3. Weenen County

In Weenen County the increase in alienated areas was less than in Klip River. It consisted in the main of a filling out of the area between the Mooi and Bushmans River where settlement had been discontinuous in 1860. This again involved the completion of the surveys for the 1857 Quit Rent grants. An extra 110,000 acres were involved, extending settlement in the Mooi River basin to within 14 miles of the Basuto line. However, between Cathkin and the Little Mooi River there remained considerable areas of land available for settlement. Even in 1870 the most desirable areas were being sought out under the 1868-69 Regulations. Some isolated holdings resulted.

The alienated area amounted to 976,364 acres of which 5156 acres were in the hands of Missions and a further 2898 acres were held by Natives. Europeans possessed 968,310 acres which were divided into 235 holdings (Table 49).

TABLE 49
FARM SIZES IN WEENEN COUNTY, 1870

Size	No. of holdings	Area
6 - 500	7	1,414
501 - 1000	10	8,341
1001 - 2000	29	46,322
2001 - 3000	46	126,811
3001 - 4000	54	170,753
4001 - 5000	11	48,939
5001 - 6000	22	127,687
6001 - 7000	34	211,917
7001 - 8000	7	53,802
8001 - 10000	7	60,718
Over 10,000	8	111,606
Total	235	968,310

One of the most important changes in the composition of the ownership pattern between 1860 and 1870 was the increase in the

number of small farms (2000 acres or less). In 1860 there were only 6 in this category; in 1870 there were 50. The increase had arisen partly as a result of the new alienations, some of which were less than 2000 acres in extent, particularly in the Drakensberg foothills. However the majority were the result of the subdivision of pre-existing farms which had taken place locally throughout the County but particularly in the western portion. This tendency had more than countered the opposite one of amalgamation into larger holdings. The number of farms over 9000 acres had doubled from 6 to 12 in the ten-year period reflecting the trend noticeable elsewhere for a greater range of sizes to be present.

The areas held by land companies and speculators increased from 15.0 per cent in 1860 to 22.0 per cent in 1870. Their holdings amounted to 218,461 acres. Private speculators held nearly half of this (102,441 acres) and the Natal Land and Colonization Company held a further 71,923 acres. The remaining land investment companies and banks had only a small area (37,564 acres). The main areas of speculation continued to be in the north-western portion of the County and to a lesser extent in the south. The central belt of the County was comparatively unaffected by the speculators. The 6533 acres granted to the Collegiate Institution on the Mooi River also remained unused.

Land prices in Weenen County were low. All the 12 sales made in 1870 were at less than the Government price. The low number involving only 4.8 per cent of the alienated area of the County tends to obscure trends, although it would appear that the large Voortrekker grants were more depressed than the smaller farms. It would be unwise to generalise from such a small sample.

4.3.4. Umvoti County

Umvoti County appeared more static in the period 1860-1870. The area alienated had been expanded to 613,270 acres and it was divided into 171 units (Table 50).

The alienated area had been extended since 1860 through the completion of surveys of the 1857 Regulation farms and a small amount of freehold in selected areas. The most important feature,

TABLE 50
FARM SIZES IN UMVOTI COUNTY, 1870

Size	No. of holdings	Area
6 - 500	12	3,446
501 - 1000	13	10,378
1001 - 2000	25	38,426
2001 - 3000	40	107,169
3001 - 4000	26	83,102
4001 - 5000	8	36,465
5001 - 6000	9	51,419
6001 - 7000	22	138,221
Over 7000	16	138,116
Total	171	606,742

as in the case of Weenen County, was the increase in the numbers of small farms of 2000 acres or less, from 21 to 50; and whereas there had been none smaller than 1243 acres in 1860, there were 25 in 1870. This increase of small farms also was brought about partly through the opening up of new lands as most of the new farms were between 2000 and 3000 acres in extent. The main cause was partition. In Natal the Roman-Dutch Law of the Cape made a deep imprint upon the land ownership pattern. In the period up to about 1880 in most parts of South Africa there was much free and open land. This could be claimed by anyone who chose to and who fulfilled certain basic requirements. Under the normal laws of inheritance in operation in Natal the land was divided between the children when the father died; however so long as free land was available, there was the tendency for younger sons to move away and purchase new farms. Without free land the result was a process of subdivision. Umvoti County in 1870 had reached the stage where some subdivision on death was taking place. In Weenen and Klip River Counties there was still land to be claimed over the Drakensberg. Land in Umvoti County particularly close to Greytown could stand some subdivision economically and so the initial stages of a long process began. It seems doubtful whether a number of the smaller units could in fact be used effectively, but they probably provided security for their owners who went to town leaving the land to be worked by brothers and cousins, who owned neighbouring lands.

The opposite process of amalgamation was not so much in evidence. The number of farms over 7000 acres in extent increased from 9 to 16

but the number between 6001 and 7000 decreased from 32 to 22.

The area of land owned by the speculators remained about the same (107,015 acres) which was 17.6 per cent of the County's alienated area. Once more the land and investment companies had been active, with 37,201 acres owned by the Natal Land and Colonization Company, Natal Investment Company and the Natal Bank. The remaining 43,295 acres was in the possession of private speculators. Most of the speculators' lands were on the margins of the County, particularly in the physically broken land adjacent to the Umvoti and Tugela Locations.

A total of 8.5 per cent of the farm area of the County (52,146 acres) was sold in 1870. Prices showed a marked improvement on 1860 levels with 13,531 acres sold for more than the Government minimum price. Prices particularly in the centre and southern part of the County showed a marked improvement, but those on the periphery only a slight one with land still available at 10d. an acre, which was unlikely to enable the Government to sell in these areas.

4.3.5. Pietermaritzburg County

The area of Pietermaritzburg County which had been alienated was only slightly enlarged between 1860 and 1870, largely due to the completion of the surveys for the 1857 regulation grants, together with a few grants in the south of the County under the 1868-69 regulations and direct purchases beyond the Umkomas River. The main development had been the consolidation of the existing settled area, especially through the enlargement of the lots in the settlement areas and through subdivision within the remainder of the County. The contrast between the settlement areas and the remainder of the County was thus reduced but it remained by far the most noticeable feature of the County's ownership pattern (Table 51).

Even in 1870 the number of farms in the settlement schemes still exceeded the number in the rest of the County although the gap had been appreciably reduced. This was due in part to a substantial reduction in the number of lots in the settlement schemes (Table 52). This was due to two factors. The first and more important was the passing of Law 25 of 1869 resuming some unused land within the Byrne

scheme, which mainly affected the scheme at Vaalkop and Dadelfontein. The second was the continuation of the process of amalgamation. This was still on a small scale, but its momentum was increasing.

TABLE 51
FARM SIZES IN PIETERMARITZBURG COUNTY, 1870

Size	Settlement Schemes		Remainder		Total	
	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area
6 - 20	178	3,499	12	129	190	3,628
21 - 50	158	6,804	11	421	169	7,225
51 - 100	118	9,209	25	1,939	143	11,148
101 - 200	56	8,489	41	6,628	97	15,117
201 - 300	18	4,463	23	5,557	41	10,020
301 - 500	21	7,872	29	12,112	50	19,984
501 - 1000	10	7,351	71	53,387	81	60,738
1001 - 2000	3	3,636	92	133,634	95	137,270
2001 - 3000	-		66	164,619	66	164,619
3001 - 4000	-		36	116,193	36	116,193
4001 - 5000	-		18	79,290	18	79,290
5001 - 6000	1	5,639	17	97,958	18	103,597
6001 - 7000	-		42	258,728	42	258,728
7001 - 8000	-		1	7,831	1	7,831
8001 - 10000	-		6	54,099	6	54,099
Over 10000	-		21	317,399	21	317,399
Total	563	56,962	511	1,309,924	1074	1,366,886

TABLE 52
FARM SIZES ON THE PIETERMARITZBURG SETTLEMENT SCHEMES, 1870

Size (acres)	Vaalkop & Dadelfontein	Dunbar	Beaulieu	Harmony	Little Harmony	Slag Spruit
20	29	60	37	18	4	7
40	8	28	15	7	5	4
45	1	4	4	1	-	3
50	7	15	11	8	1	2
50 & under	46	107	67	35	10	27
55 - 100	18	25	23	16	4	8
Over 100	6	14	21	3	4	6
Total*	70	146	111	54	18	41

*This table excludes the commonages and remainders of estates.

The estate at Vaalkop and Dadelfontein was subject to considerable changes. 34 lots (870 acres) reverted to the Government. A total of 27 of these lots were only 20 acres in extent. The result was a substantial reduction in the number of small lots. Most of those resumed were in the southern part of the estate, furthest from Pietermaritzburg and almost completely surrounded by land held by speculators or the Natal Land and Colonization Company, which had purchased two plots on the estate. There had, however, been little further amalgamation within the estate as the number of lands had been reduced by only 11 lots through purchases. The remainder of

the estate was disposed of in 1870 to a firm of Durban solicitors and land agents at an average price of 8s. 5d. an acre. The fact that the Government had divided the remainder into 5 lots ranging from 168 to 3580 acres suggests that it had hoped to use the land for a settlement rather than see it purchased by speculators, but the Government's continual need for money overcame any such hopes.

On the Dunbar Estate there had been little change in the situation since 1860 as the Government had not resumed any land. The Government had, however, sold off the remaining commonages, mostly to a neighbouring farmer, who thus gained an additional 749 acres. In this way one of the original intentions of the Byrne Scheme was destroyed. The provision of grazing lands around the town was originally intended but now they had all been disposed of. The estate was unusually static in the ten year period. Of the 163 lots in private ownership in 1860 only 16 had changed hands by 1870. Two sales were recorded in 1870 totalling 120 acres, the sales being at 2s. 3d. and 3s. 3d. an acre including town lots in Byrne, which was virtually unoccupied.

The Beaulieu Estate experienced more activity in the ten year period. Once more the remaining commonages were sold, leaving only a few lots scattered about the estate, which were not disposed of by this date. In other respects the settlement had seen little activity in the form of amalgamations, beyond considerable purchases by one neighbouring farmer who had acquired 1308 acres of the estate land by 1870. Other amalgamations took place but on only a small scale. Several new lots were occupied by 1870, most of them consisting of a number of old ones grouped together, so that the total area held in lots increased by 557 acres, excluding the commonages of 700 acres which also came on to the market. As a result only 1943 acres remained unalienated. The prosperity of Richmond enabled the Government to sell off these lots to private individuals and not to speculators as was the case at Vaalkop and Dadelfontein. Only 90 acres was held by speculators on the Beaulieu Estate. Land sales were low consisting of one sale of commonage close to Richmond which fetched 3s. an acre.

The Harmony and Little Harmony Estates witnessed no major change in condition through the ten years. On the Harmony Estate no new land had been sold and the only activity consisted of the purchase by neighbouring farmers of three lots totalling 270 acres. Otherwise the situation was unchanged. On the Little Harmony Estate the commonages and remainder, totalling 2096 acres, had been sold in 4 lots, one of which was sold to a neighbouring farmer. In addition one 20 acre plot had been disposed of leaving 32 plots in the hands of the Government. One existing plot was purchased by a neighbouring farmer. The low level of activity may be gauged from the absence of sales on the two estates in 1870.

The two estates near Pietermaritzburg experienced a greater amount of activity. At Slang Spruit a further 31 plots had been sold leaving only 5 still in the hands of the Government. The plots, however, were frequently sold in groups so that there were only 10 more owners in 1870 compared with 1860. Amalgamation of existing holdings continued so that one speculator had accumulated 8 plots totalling 330 acres. Others attempted the same but on a smaller scale. The new lots laid off included some very small ones. Four were under 6 acres while a further eight were under 20 acres. This was a departure from the normal Byrne system of regular 20-acre plots. Speculators obtained a large proportion of the estate as the proximity to Pietermaritzburg promised future high returns. The New England Estate repeated the pattern of Slang Spruit. Four plots were disposed of leaving only two at 120 acres still in Government hands. Little change occurred in the overall pattern as only two lots were amalgamated with their neighbours. Only two lots were sold at Slang Spruit. These fetched approximately 5s. an acre. Thus only 134 acres were sold on the two estates continuing the trend to low turnovers.

In the area assigned to Byrne to the north of Pietermaritzburg most of the remaining lots had been sold by 1870. Although this consisted of an extra ten lots, it was sold to only three owners. The Byrne Trustees still retained two lots.

The remaining schemes exhibited little movement in the 10 years. At York the number of holdings had been reduced by five, due to

several minor amalgamations and the purchase by a neighbouring farmer of 852 acres of the estate. However the settlement had withstood all attempts by speculators to purchase land and the lots remained in private hands. Hackett's scheme in the Karkloof exhibited one amalgamation in the period but otherwise changes had been slight, only 6 lots out of 32 lots changing hands. The settlement was completely deserted and consequently the land was unused, apart from land purchased by neighbouring farmers. Neither the York nor Karkloof scheme registered transfers in 1870.

At Lidgetton the same picture of stagnation occurred but some settlers remained on the land. No new lot had been sold and 300 acres of the 1060 disposed of by Lidgett were in the hands of speculators. However prices appeared reasonable from the evidence of the single transfer effected in 1870 when 50 acres were sold for 14s. an acre including two town lots in Lidgetton.

In the remainder of the County the period from 1860 to 1870 was noticeable for the increased grip exercised by the speculators and Land Companies. By 1870 a total of 569,996 acres were in their hands (Table 53). This constituted a completely dead area amounting to 41.7 per cent of the land in private European hands.

TABLE 53

LAND HELD BY SPECULATORS ETC. IN 1870 IN PIETERMARITZBURG COUNTY

Company	Area
Natal Land and Colonization Company	250,924
Natal Land Company	6,064
Cotton Plantation Company	21,306
Natal Investment Company	3,994
Colonial Land Company	15,494
Banks and finance houses	23,310
Private speculators	249,104
Total	570,196

It is the distribution of this 570,000 acres which had a profound effect upon land ownership in general. The presence of over 320,000 acres owned by land and finance companies represented a complete change from the 1860 situation. The largest company, the Natal Land and Colonization Company, was committed to a programme of active colonization. However its prices were high, in fact the minimum price asked was 10s.6d. an acre (originally 22s.6d.) The Company possessed a great deal of good land and it consequently began

to lay out estates and provide for the subdivision of the lands, but this affected only a small proportion of Company land settlements. The first were at Kruisfontein and Weltevreden, to the north of Richmond, Shortt's Retreat adjacent to Pietermaritzburg Townlands and at New Howick Estate at Howick. (Stocklands & Oatlands).

The Kruisfontein and Weltevreden Estate of 12,026 acres was divided in 1865 into 17 lots. By 1870 five had been sold, three to one person, indicating once again that ideas on what constituted an economic holding varied widely according to the person concerned. The farm Shortt's Retreat, of 3000 acres, was divided into 40 lots. By 1870, only 24 had been sold. These were mostly the smaller ones, totalling only 753 acres. The Company purchased the remainder and then attempted to continue sales at a rate of £3. per acre with only limited success in the form of one cancelled sale to a Native. On the Stocklands and Oatlands and Woodlands Estate previously agreed sales were honoured amounting to 407 acres in 3 lots at 20s. per acre. The estate was not laid out until later. The small lots sold were clustered around the village of Howick. The remainder of the Company's lands in the County were similar to those of the three interior counties, that is essentially grazing land, small portions of which were leased.

The other companies such as the Cotton Plantation Company, Natal Investment Company and Colonial Land Company were closely related to the Natal Land and Colonization Company and their lands remained unused owing to a shortage of capital to develop them. The distribution of these lands was fairly uniform throughout the County but with a more marked concentration in the south. In the area to the south of the Umkomaas River, the land alienated in 1870 amounted to 153,902 acres. Of this 87,186 acres or 56.7 per cent were held by speculators, mostly by the Land Companies.

The size of farm in the County outside the settlement schemes was still closely related to grant size with the initial pattern of large Voortrekker grants surrounded by smaller 1857 Quit Rent grants, but this was becoming blurred as the smaller farms on the periphery were bought by speculators, and the farms closer to Pietermaritzburg

were subdivided. Near Pietermaritzburg the process of subdivision was proceeding rapidly with the division of Ockerts Kraal, Shortts Retreat and the Byrne settlements on the south and east, while Edendale was being divided for purchase by Natives in very small lots on the south-west. On the north-west the Groenekloof and adjacent lots were being divided into plots from 34 to 800 acres each, while St. Michaels Mount had been divided into small lots mostly below 6 acres. Pietermaritzburg by 1870 was thus almost completely surrounded by farms of medium to small size extending beyond the Townlands for about 3 to 4 miles. The presence of the Bishop of Natal's vast mission station on the east deterred division there. The division of the surrounding lands had produced smallholdings of a size equivalent to those of the Townlands which were being divided at this period.

Beyond the zone surrounding Pietermaritzburg stretched a series of large farms. Two farms of over 12,000 acres reached to within two miles of the Townlands on the north and western side. The number of very large farms exceeding 10,000 acres had increased from 16 in 1860 to 21 in 1870. The number of small farms below 500 acres had also increased. This had been due to two developments. First in the north of the County to the east of the York settlement, one of the local farmers had begun dividing his farm into small lots, dividing his 5474 acres into 18 lots by 1870, of which the remainder, 1900 acres, went to the Natal Land and Colonization Company. Other farmers had done the same on a smaller scale. For example, in the farm to the west of Lidgetton, six lots of 450 to 750 acres had been laid off. Numerous minor divisions had taken place, but this had not produced many farms of less than a thousand acres. The second major development for a reduction in size occurred in the area to the south of the Umkomaas. Of the 49 holdings, 14 were 400 acres or less. All these were new farms which had been claimed beyond the limits of previous settlement under various regulations. Some were isolated from their neighbours. Two were as much as seven miles away from their nearest neighbour. Most were small under the 1868-69 regulations which allowed reserves to be marked off and purchased

later but one, the furthest out on the Umzimkulu was 2000 acres in extent. -On the western side of the County between the Umkomaas and Mooli Rivers there had been no advance and nearly all the land close to the boundary of alienation was in speculators' hands. Land sales in Pietermaritzburg County were in the main slight, only 4.5 per cent of the alienated area being sold in 1870, most of it for less than the Government price (Table 54). Only the lots in the settlement schemes and around Pietermaritzburg achieved this price. The remainder was sold for prices averaging about 2s.6d. an acre. The bankruptcies enabled prices on the margin of the County to sink to 1d. an acre which was exceptional for this year. However, low prices did not encourage the Government in its proposals for increasing the price of Government land.

TABLE 54
LAND PRICES IN PIETERMARITZBURG COUNTY, 1870

Value per acre	No. of Sales	Acreage
Under 1s.	2	7,408
1s. to 1s.11d.	6	10,852
2s. to 3s.11d.	18	35,293
4s. to 9s.11d.	10	6,223
10s. to 19s.11d.	7	1,086
£1 and over	12	1,879
Total	55	62,741

4.3.6. Victoria County

In Victoria County there had been an extension of the alienated area, which was partly balanced by some resumption of land in the settlement schemes and of the quit rent grants in the north. The division between the settlement schemes and the remainder of the County remained a valid one, but the difference was becoming blurred rapidly as subdivision in the south of the County proceeded rapidly (Table 55).

The settlement schemes had been affected by the resumption of lands under Law 25 of 1869. On the Cotton Lands Estate 27 lots had their deeds cancelled in 1869, and a further eight in Lots 44 to 47. Other lots were pending but still nominally in the hands of the original owners.

On the Cotton Lands Estate parts of the commonages had been sold off, amounting to 2559 acres. The demand for land on the

Cotton Lands was such that these were disposed of quickly, as were four of the lots resumed in 1869, which had been regranted to private ownership by the end of 1870. The number of ownership units on the estate had dropped from 170 to 134 in ten years although a net extra area of 1,337 acres had become available. The number of amalgamations increased appreciably. Of the 195 surveyed lots only 95 were held as single entitles. The remaining 100 were held as multiples. The process of amalgamation had particularly affected the lots of below 50 acres, the number of which had dropped from 73 to 40 in ten years.

TABLE 55
FARM SIZES IN VICTORIA COUNTY, 1870

Size	Settlement Schemes		Remainder of County		Total	
	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area
6 - 20	39	738	31	381	70	1,119
21 - 50	75	2,819	30	1,082	105	3,901
51 - 100	61	4,802	29	2,574	90	7,376
101 - 200	40	5,676	32	4,878	72	10,554
201 - 300	9	2,140	34	9,195	43	11,335
301 - 500	13	4,736	45	16,969	58	21,705
501 - 700	4	2,306	36	21,175	40	23,481
701 - 1000	-	-	14	11,832	14	11,832
1001 - 1500	1	1,188	28	35,159	29	36,347
1501 - 2000	1	1,528	10	17,096	11	18,624
2001 - 3000	-	-	13	29,959	13	29,959
3001 - 5000	-	-	8	26,474	8	26,474
5001 - 10000	-	-	10	62,938	10	62,938
Over 10000	-	-	4	67,189	4	67,189
Total	243	25,933	324	306,901	567	332,834

However only two holdings of over 1000 acres had appeared and one more over 400 acres. The large ones were formed on the Commonages which had been sold. In 1860 a quarter of the farms had been 45 acres but this size now only accounted for about an eighth of the number. Land prices on the estate had in all cases in 1870 been above 4s. per acre, ranging from 6s. to £2. according to condition. The turnover remained low with only 440 acres being sold in the year.

On the other Byrne settlements a similar pattern was emerging. On Lots 31-43 to the south of the Umhlanga River the commonages of 1685 acres were sold off together with the remaining lots. The Natal Land and Colonization Company acquired 500 acres of this. A certain amount of amalgamation took place but to a lesser extent than on the Cotton Lands as the number of owners only decreased by two over the ten years, although the number of lots held as multiples increased

from 10 to 25, the larger holdings naturally occurring on the commonages which had been sold in larger than usual lots 240 to 600 acres at a time. The estate appeared to have achieved considerable prosperity as 214 acres were sold in the year all at prices from 10s. to 33s.6d. per acre. On Lots 44-47, the Government acquired 338 acres and the Byrne trustees still retained 228 acres. Apart from the resumption little activity had occurred and turnover was slight. One lot was sold in the year for 7s.11d. an acre.

On Morewood's estate virtually no changes occurred, in the period up to 1870. They were not subject to the resumption laws and consequently the estate, in its isolated position beyond the Tongaat River remained stagnant with little change in ownership. Only one transfer was recorded in 1870 at £2. per acre including farmhouse.

Outside the settlement schemes the zoning remarked upon in 1860 remained an important feature in 1870. The division of the Umgeni lots was intensified and the subdivision of the farms to the south of Cotton Lands continued. The farms at Riet River and Blackburn were laid out as estates and sold at prices exceeding £1. per acre. The piecemeal division of Melkhoutkraal and Duikerfontein continued leaving remaining portions of under half the original grants. Only two farms by 1870 south of the Cotton Lands exceeded 3000 acres and a further five exceeded 2000 acres. All but one of these were held by speculators. The largest was in the interior at Inanda. The produce companies appeared within this area. Individual companies producing one or more tropical products such as the Umgeni Sugar, Coffee and Produce Co. (3030 acres), Umhlanga Valley Sugar and Coffee Co. (1623 acres), Natal Plantations (427 acres), Natal Estates (467 acres) and Natal Coffee Co. (340 acres). In all some 5887 acres were in the hands of produce companies as opposed to the land and finance houses within this area.

In the area north of the Cotton Lands a start had been made with subdivision of estates around Tongaat, but this mostly consisted of transfer of land from one speculator to another, so that the area remained unused. North of this to the area around Stanger the situation had changed little except that most of Coqui's land had

been sold to the Cotton Plantation Company (28,381 acres) which although nominally a produce company was virtually a speculative enterprise. The Natal Land and Colonization Company owned a further 1300 acres. To the north of Stanger the remaining 1857 Quit Rent grants had been issued but 4 had been resumed by the Crown. The detailed picture remained much as before, except that some of the privately held speculators' lands had been transferred to companies and banks. Most of the expansion towards the Tugela had been purchased by speculators resulting in no actual advance in settlement although over 8000 acres had been granted in this area. The one real advance was the Glendale settlement scheme between the Umvoti River and the Umvoti Location. At Glendale 17 holdings of between 25 and 225 acres were sold as part of a unified community in 1869, representing an advance in this area as had the regranting of Kranskloof to the south, in 8 farms.

A high proportion of land remained in the hands of speculators. A total of 142,666 acres was held by land companies and speculators in 1870 (Table 56). This represented 44.2 per cent of the County. A further 5,887 acres was owned by produce companies.

TABLE 56

LAND HELD BY LAND COMPANIES, ETC. IN VICTORIA COUNTY, 1870

Owner	Area (acres)
Natal Land and Colonization Company	41,532
Cotton Plantation Company	28,381
Banks and Finance Houses	6,423
Private Speculators	66,330
Total	142,666

This represents a change to greater company ownership and the further trend to produce companies, planning exploitation of the land rather than speculation. This trend, however, was doomed by the economic crisis and did not really achieve results until the 1890's with the rise of the major sugar companies on the coast and timber companies in the interior of the County a decade later.

The County had a turnover of land amounting to 7.0 per cent of the alienated area in 1870. Most of this, 17,000 out of 23,500 acres, was sold at less than the Government minimum price with only the smaller units in the south of the County fetching high prices. Prices

in the north, beyond the Tongaat River, showed some improvement, but the general picture was one of depression, with a higher proportion of land fetching low prices (Table 57).

TABLE 57
LAND PRICES IN VICTORIA COUNTY, 1870

Value per acre	No. of Sales	Acreage
1s. to 1s.11d.	2	6,753
2s. to 3s.11d.	8	10,238
4s. to 9s.11d.	8	1,499
10s. to 19s.11d.	10	1,384
£1 and over	23	3,668
Total	51	23,542

4.3.7. Durban County

The area of Durban County showed an increase of 3000 acres between 1860 and 1870 as a result of grants made in the southern portion of the County but these were offset by losses through suburban subdivision. The extra land was the result of the granting of a block of 4972 acres to the Durban Collegiate Institution in the Umlazi Location and two other smaller grants of land surveyed in the 1850's for settlement schemes which were abandoned in the planning stage. The main feature in Durban County in the period 1860 to 1870 was the continued subdivision of the farms adjacent to the main road linking Durban and Pinetown with the resulting small units (Table 58).

TABLE 58
FARM SIZES IN DURBAN COUNTY, 1870

Size	No. of Holdings	Area
6 - 20	41	517
21 - 50	36	1,213
51 - 100	43	3,298
101 - 200	40	5,892
201 - 300	23	5,678
301 - 500	11	4,210
501 - 1000	18	13,052
1001 - 2000	5	7,617
2001 - 3000	7	15,027
3001 - 5000	4	15,740
5001 - 10000	6	35,542
Over 10,000	1	15,295
Total	235	123,081

The County may still be divided into two, namely the area close to the main road and to Durban and the remainder. In the interior little had happened in the years 1861-1870 beyond a few purchases by the Natal Land and Colonization Company from private speculators.

The situation was similar to that of 1860. However close to Durban considerable changes of detail had occurred. Cato's land at Brickfield had seen a further 18 lots laid out in ten years, only 8 of which were 6 acres or more in extent, while some of the previously surveyed lots had been further subdivided into small residential lots. At Cato Manor only one further lot had been laid off. In effect this development was an extension of the suburban lands of Durban, for which prices of £2.10s. an acre and more were charged in 1870. A similar process was taking place at Springfield to the north of Brickfield where a further 445 acres were divided into small lots adjacent to the Umgeni. Except on the north-western side, Durban Townlands were still ringed by speculators' land forming a dead area and resulting in a gap between Durban and other settlements.

The second settlement of importance in the County was Pinetown which had grown considerably in area since 1860, through subdivision of lots. Around the settlement the holdings were mostly under 300 acres and many were considerably smaller. At Wandsbeck to the east of Pinetown little new land had been laid off and a certain amount of speculative purchasing had begun as land values declined. Similarly the New Germany settlement to the north of Pinetown exhibited no change from 1860 to 1870. The lots at Wentworth and on the Bluff were also mostly unchanged, although two landowners had begun to purchase blocks, the result of which was to counterbalance the subdivision of other lots. At Wentworth even though there had been 49 surveyed lots there were still only 30 owners. Two holdings at Wentworth exceeded 700 acres. South-east of Durban some subdivision had occurred on settlement schemes laid out by private individuals but they were generally unsuccessful. The Natal Land and Colonization Company purchased some of the lots.

There had been a slight reduction in the percentage of the County held by speculators between 1860 and 1870 if the Collegiate Lands are excluded (from 57.2 to 53.7 per cent). A total of 71,124 acres was held by Land Companies and speculators. The change to land and finance companies, so noticeable elsewhere in the Colony, was less marked in Durban where 48,379 acres remained in the hands of private

speculators and only 16,453 acres in the hands of land companies, 442 acres with banks and finance houses, and 878 acres with produce companies. However if the Collegiate lands are included nearly 60 per cent of the County was still held by speculators resulting in a low level of development. Undoubtedly the speculators were encouraged by the fact that of the land transactions which took place in 1870, all but one were for prices of £1 per acre or more, several exceeding £10. an acre. Most of these were for plots close to Durban and amounted to no more than 1.6 per cent of the alienated area of the County.

4.3.8. Alexandra County

Alexandra County experienced only a slight expansion, a matter of 18,000 acres, two thirds of which may be accounted for by the grant of land to the Durban Collegiate Institution and a large 6000 acre grant in the south of the County. A certain amount of consolidation occurred with grants to land within the developed area but most consisted of new grants on the margins of the previously alienated area. Many of these were small, consisting of sales with reserves under the 1868-69 regulations, although a few larger sales occurred in the period before the economic crisis of 1865-67. The area to the south of the Umtwalumi remained only sparsely occupied and the number of holdings as a total was still low (Table 59).

TABLE 59
FARM SIZES IN ALEXANDRA COUNTY 1870

Size	No. of Holdings	Area
6 - 20	-	-
21 - 50	3	104
51 - 100	3	300
101 - 200	7	992
201 - 300	6	1,684
301 - 500	12	4,304
501 - 1000	35	22,265
1001 - 2000	9	11,976
2001 - 3000	3	7,619
3001 - 5000	3	9,687
Over 5000	5	32,812
Total	86	91,743

The dominance of the 600 acres 1857 Quit Rent grant farms may still be distinguished even though some amalgamations had taken place. The Natal Land and Colonization Company had purchased a block of five grants and others had been purchased in twos and threes. The larger

units were mostly in the hands of speculators following the collapse of the sugar crop in 1867 leaving the smaller ones in private hands. Actual expansion had involved the smaller units, which were mostly below 300 acres.

The amount of land in the hands of the speculators rose appreciably from 16,000 to 39,000 acres so that 43.3 per cent of the county was in speculators' hands. The Collegiate Institution held 6,448 acres which was at this stage waste and unused. The Land Companies had only acquired 10,292 acres while private speculators and syndicates held 21,653 acres. In addition the produce companies held 1300 acres at Umzinto. Considerable tracts of land remained unclaimed in the south and interior of the county. Interest had been confined solely to the coastal fringe owing to the difficulty in communications.

4.3.9. Alfred County

Alfred County was still almost completely undeveloped in 1870; only twelve holdings existed totalling 2,378 acres. The largest was at Port Shepstone adjacent to alienated land in Alexandra County while the remainder were scattered across the entire county from the East Griqualand border to the sea. A small settlement had been formed at Glendale seven miles inland from Port Shepstone and accounted for 5 holdings. Alfred County gave the individual pioneer an opportunity which had been lacking elsewhere. He could select the best land in the County and purchase it on credit under the 1868-69 regulations and in addition put a reserve around his land to prevent anyone else purchasing the land he wanted. In the rest of the colony this had been impossible after the Voortrekkers had taken out the best of the land. As a result minute holdings were scattered throughout the County.

4.3.10. Non-European owned lands

In addition to the 5,025,836 acres owned by Europeans, a further 35,786 acres was owned by churches, and 12,357 by Natives. The increase in Mission Land was mainly the result of the purchase of a farm by the Church of Scotland close to Pietermaritzburg and the granting of small tracts to the churches in Klip River and

Victoria counties. The major development was the increase in Native holdings, mainly as a result of the purchase of two farms, one in Klip River and the other in Weenen. The northern counties, especially Klip River, were poorly provided with Native Locations and as a result Native squatters on European farms owned by absentees entered the market for land with increasing success. In the main, however, the Native population although it possessed the right to purchase land outside the Locations had neither the money nor the need to do so in 1870.

4.3.11. Land companies and Speculators

One of the major developments in the period from 1860 to 1870 had been the emergence of land and finance companies, in particular the Natal Land and Colonization Company. These land companies backed by British based capital had increased their holdings from 28,000 acres in 1860 to 760,000 acres in 1870, whereas private speculators had dropped their holdings from 1,126,000 acres to 678,000 acres (Table 60). The total area held by land companies and speculators increased from 1.15 million acres in 1860 to 1.45 million acres in 1870.

TABLE 60
LAND HELD BY SPECULATORS ETC., 1870

Owner	Area (acres)
Schools	17,953
Natal Land & Colonization Company	506,890
Natal Land Company	12,071
Natal Investment Company	53,436
Colonial Land Company	64,247
Cotton Plantation Company	80,315
Banks	39,958
Finance houses	2,433
Private speculators	678,011
Total (speculative)	1,455,314

The land companies had mostly been formed in the early 1860's to exploit land resources. Their holdings had naturally increased considerably as a result of the bankruptcies of the economic crisis. This is best illustrated by the largest of the companies, The Natal Land and Colonization Company, which in 1868 and 1869 added over 200,000 acres to its holdings (Appendix II). These companies effected a complete change in the state of land holdings in Natal.

Private speculation however continued but in general private speculators were able to sell their land more easily. Between 1860 and 1870 the proportion of the Colony held by speculators increased from 26.1 to 29.1 per cent, the main increases occurring in Weenen and Alexandra, although all counties showed absolute increases in speculative holdings. The difference between the interior and the coast was not narrowed to any appreciable extent. The three northern counties still only had 20.4 per cent of their land in speculators' hands compared with 43.3 per cent in the remainder of Natal.

The development of produce companies in the coastal counties was an encouragement to Natal's development. These were formed mainly to grow sugar and coffee. Although they were limited in area they represented a trend which was one which was to develop, in contrast to the land and finance companies.

4.3.12. Land Sales

TABLE 61
LAND SALES 1870

County	Area alienated	Area transferred	Percentage
Klip River	1,542,417	135,620	8.8
Weenen	976,364	46,451	4.8
Umvoti	613,270	52,146	8.5
Pietermaritzburg	1,389,197	62,741	4.5
Victoria	334,428	23,542	7.0
Durban	123,981	1,998	1.6
Alexandra	91,743	3,024	3.3
Alfred	2,378	-	-
Natal	5,073,778	325,522	6.4

TABLE 62
LAND VALUES 1870

Value per acre	No. of transactions	Acreage
Under 1s.	16	60,850
1s. to 1s.11d.	29	97,877
2s. to 3s.11d.	53	132,503
4s. to 9s.11d.	24	20,325
10s. to 19s.11d.	21	6,390
£1 and over	52	7,577
Total	195	325,522

The low turnover in land (Table 61) in 1870 is in part attributable to the financial crisis and the previous heavy purchasing by the speculators who had locked up considerable tracts of land.

In general a lower percentage was sold in the coastal counties than elsewhere. This was probably due to the higher proportion of land held by speculators. Land prices in general improved considerably in the period 1860-1870 (Table 62). Most of this improvement took place in the three northern counties where the very low prices ruling up to the 1860's showed a marked upsurge as the interior was developed. Thus by 1870 the proportion of the land sold for less than 1s. an acre had dropped from 52 per cent in 1860 to 27 per cent in 1870, but the proportion of land sold at less than 4s. an acre remained the same at 89 per cent. Thus even in 1870 land values in Natal were low and the Government's prospects of an improvement were remote.

4.4. The situation in 1880

4.4.1. Introduction

In 1880 new Government regulations were introduced which were to completely alter the remaining lands of the Crown, converting them into freehold and leasehold properties. The year also saw the struggling Government attempts to introduce settlers renewed with added vigour. The year 1880 is therefore a landmark in the development of Land Settlement in Natal and marks the end of a period of virtual stagnation as far as land sales were concerned. In the ten years from 1871 to 1880 only a further 265,000 acres had passed into private European hands, over half of it in Klip River County. A total of 5,293,171 acres was in private hands and just over 5.4 million acres was alienated. This was divided into 2717 holdings (Table 63, Fig. 46)

TABLE 63
AREAS IN PRIVATE OWNERSHIP IN 1880

County	No. of Farms	Area	Average size	Median size
Klip River	418	1,711,783	4,095	3,200
Weenen	236	980,588	4,155	3,400
Umvoti	187	612,576	3,276	2,600
Pietermaritzburg	979	1,409,240	1,440	270
Victoria	513	338,494	660	210
Durban	248	121,197	489	80
Alexandra	111	107,922	972	600
Alfred	25	11,371	455	80
Natal	2717	5,293,171	1,948	510

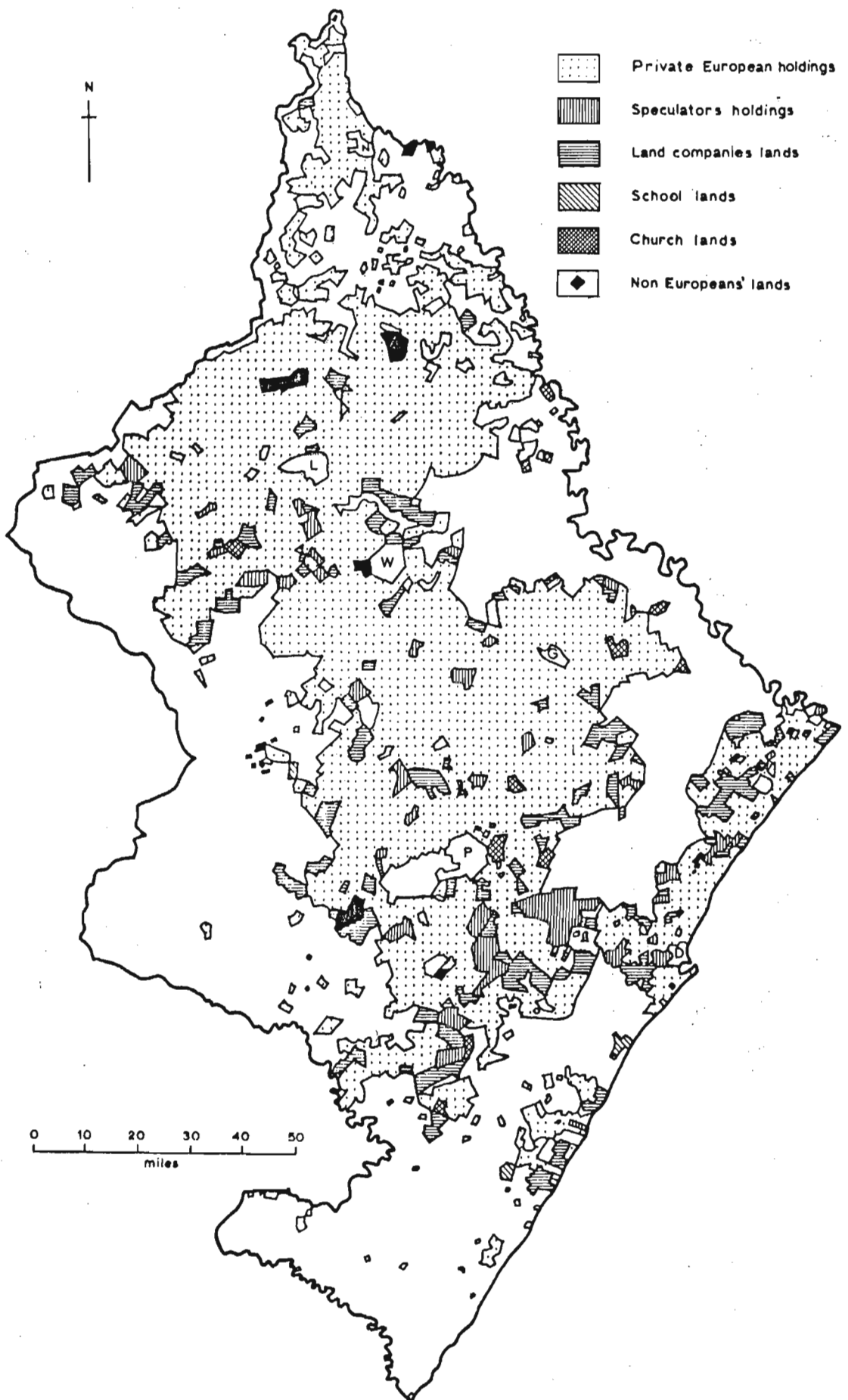


Fig. 46. Area occupied in 1880.

The slow rate of advance can be clearly seen from a comparison of Tables 63 and 44. The number of holdings increased by only 26 in ten years. Most counties remained almost static with three exceptions. These were Klip River where new pioneer settlement had progressed rapidly adding almost 100 holdings to its total, and Pietermaritzburg and Victoria Counties where the number fell by 105 and 54 respectively, largely as a result of government activity on the Settlement schemes. The reduction in the number of very small holdings is strongly reflected in the overall increase in median values. The median value for the Colony as a whole rose from 310 to 510 acres in the ten year period, due essentially to the reduction of the number of lots of 6-50 acres from 621 in 1870 to 484 in 1880. This overall apparent stagnation belie the fact that the decade was a prosperous one with the agricultural community benefitting considerably. This was again reflected in the fact that only 15 per cent of the land sold went for less than the Government minimum price, whereas in 1870 and 1860 the figure had been 89 per cent. The amount of land in speculators' hands fell by a third as speculators unburdened themselves, and as a result it would appear that 1880 was representative of a period of considerable internal advance in the agricultural development of the Colony, even if active pioneering was far less marked than in previous periods.

The process of amalgamation which had been so well marked amongst the larger holdings had been slowed down but 69 holdings now exceeded 10,000 acres, (Fig. 47) an increase of 12 on the number in 1870. These 69 holdings now constituted almost one quarter of the total area in the hands of European farmers covering over a million acres. This indicated a considerable increase in Klip River where cattle and sheep farming required larger areas.

4.4.2. Klip River County

Klip River County had experienced most of the active colonization in the Colony in the period from 1870 to 1880. This had consisted of a generous use of the 1868-69 Regulations allowing selection of lots and the provision of reserves. Many of the selections were very small. The number of farms of 200 acres or less increased from

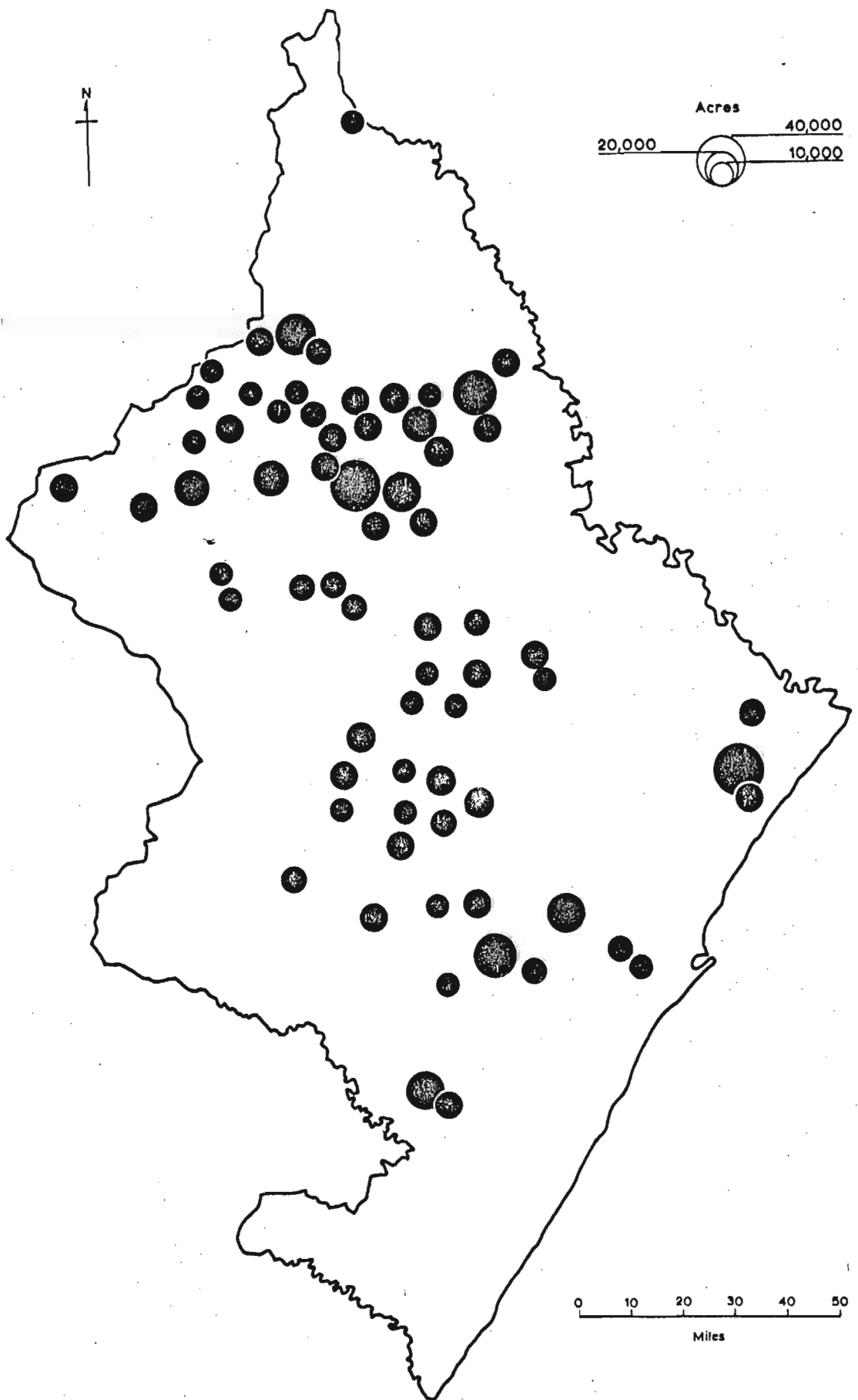


Fig. 47. Distribution of Farms over 10,000 acres in extent, 1880.

3 in 1870 to 46 in 1880 (Table 64). The area of selection was confined almost exclusively to the area north and east of the Biggarsberg, in lands situated in between the 1857 Quit Rent grants.

TABLE 64
FARM SIZES IN KLIP RIVER COUNTY, 1880

Size	Total County		Northern Areas	
	No.	Area	No.	Area
6 - 50	4	109	4	109
50 - 100	17	1,582	16	1,488
101 - 200	25	3,799	22	3,448
201 - 500	24	8,594	18	6,358
501 - 1000	29	20,495	22	15,445
1001 - 2000	45	63,338	34	47,320
2001 - 3000	53	137,433	25	66,744
3001 - 4000	80	269,515	46	157,924
4001 - 5000	30	127,766	17	71,175
5001 - 6000	13	70,591	3	16,120
6001 - 7000	17	108,006	4	24,815
7001 - 8000	25	189,484	7	53,088
8001 - 10000	26	211,642	2	18,611
Over 10000	30	496,429	2	23,610
Total	418	1,711,783	222	506,255

The contrast between the northern part of the County and the southern was even more marked than in 1870. By 1880 over half the farms were situated in the area north and east of the Biggarsberg. Within this area the 222 farms had an average size of only 2280 acres compared with 6151 acres in the southern part of the county. The pattern is one of extreme discontinuity with considerable areas of land in the north unoccupied. The basic element is the 3000 to 4000 acres 1857 Quit Rent grant, some of which had been amalgamated to produce larger units. The two farms exceeding 10,000 acres were both made up of five grants each. In between these grants and especially just to the north of the Biggarsberg many of the selections were very small, down to 25 acres. Most, however, were about 100 acres in extent. It appears that a number of selections were taken out by neighbouring farmers possessing quit rent lands but wishing to control nearby water supplies and good grazing areas, with the possibility of purchasing more. Owing to the increase in land prices in the County the purchase of these selections at 4s. an acre and the reserves at 5s. proved to be highly attractive. There appears to have been no limit in practice to the number of selections which might be purchased, nor to the area of reserve which might be laid

off, although no one acquired more than 3 selections. Only a few of the farm reserves had been surveyed in 1880 or transferred, with the result that both farm size and area are a little confusing. Reserves of up to 4000 acres appear to have been allowed and a few had been taken out at this date.

There remained within the northern section of the County a considerable area which was unclaimed. The areas to the east of Newcastle and in the Ingagne Valley remained unused, as they remained unattractive to farmers and graziers alike, especially as the area to the east of Newcastle still contained a large Native squatter population, which had only just begun to apply to purchase the land itself.

In the remainder of the County the average size of farm had increased by 300 acres in this decade, while the number of holdings had remained static in spite of an increase in area, as a result of a filling in process. The gaps between the Voortrekker and 1857 Quit Rent grants were purchased leaving only small slices of land unclaimed, while a few extensions had taken place into the Drakensberg. The most noticeable feature was the general increase in the number of large farms over 10,000 acres. Within this area there were 28 totalling 472,819 acres, with an average of nearly 17,000 acres each. Four were in excess of 25,000 acres apiece, only one of which was held by a speculator. Only two of the 28 large farms were held by speculators, indicating that the trend to large holdings was the result of pastoral needs. The larger farms were scattered throughout the southern part of the County.

Three major developments had taken place in the County in the decade (1871-1880). The first was a general rise in land prices. In 1880 there were 62 transfers of land amounting to 167,144 acres (Table 65). This constituted 9.8 per cent of the area held by Europeans. All but 10 sales were for prices at or above the Government minimum price and they amounted to only 28 per cent of the area. The considerable improvement on conditions in 1870, when no land was sold at or above the Government price, indicates a healthier land market, and also the introduction of improvements. The higher

prices were fetched for the selections in the north of the County where prices in excess of £1 were paid for the most desirable lands and also for lands close to the main roads especially around Ladysmith. In general developed land throughout the County fetched over 6s. an acre. The few exceptions were marginal lands either in the more broken parts of the Drakensberg or adjacent to the Klip River Location.

TABLE 65
LAND PRICES IN KLIP RIVER COUNTY 1880

Price	No. of sales	Area
1s. to 1s.11d.	1	2,812
2s. to 3s.11d.	9	44,580
4s. to 9s.11d.	34	96,643
10s. to 19s 11d.	9	21,562
Over £1	9	1,547
Total	62	167,144

The second development was the drop in the area held by land companies and speculators from 20.1 per cent of the alienated area of the County in 1870 to 10.1 per cent in 1880. This was due to the sale by private speculators of over 40,000 acres and of a further 80,000 acres by land companies and finance houses. However, the Natal Land and Colonization Company held 86,477 acres due to its take-over of the other land companies operating in the County. It would appear that most of this land was leased to private graziers. Banks held another 7,910 acres and private speculators a further 78,571 acres. The distribution of this land was to some extent peripheral to the County, although the Natal Land and Colonization Company still retained some land close to Ladysmith. This was no doubt due to the fact that the land prices had risen elsewhere to levels at which speculators could unload their land at reasonable prices. Many had held these lands for over 20 years at the time of sale.

The third development was the considerable acquisition of land by Natives and to a lesser extent by missionary societies. A total of 36,237 acres had been purchased by Natives at this date. This constituted over half the area in private Native hands in the entire Colony. Most of it was in two blocks within the southern portion of the County, but north of Ladysmith. Other smaller areas existed in the north. The large scale purchasing suggests that available

Crown Land for squatting was exhausted in the southern half of the County and as a result Native squatters on white lands were increasingly faced with the prospect of either purchasing land or of being evicted and sent to the Locations. It was unusual for the Natives to have had sufficient funds to purchase on such a scale. The missionary societies such as the Berlin Mission, Hanoverian Mission, Swedish Mission and the Free Church of Scotland acquired land in larger areas while other small sites were purchased for churches. However there was still no appearance of a distinct Native-Mission district within the County.

4.4.3. Weenen County

Within Weenen County the extension of settlement had been slight in the decade preceding 1880. Only 20,000 acres were added to the alienated area, most of it between the Bushman and Mooi Rivers in the foothills of the Drakensberg. Unlike the pattern in Klip River only a few small selections had been taken out and most land had been purchased in larger blocks adjacent to the existing areas. Two farms were granted under 1848 terms in compensation for land nearer to Pietermaritzburg which had been in dispute. There had been comparatively little change in the period.

A total of 980,588 acres was in the hands of Europeans (divided into 236 holdings) and a further 5179 in the hands of missions and 10,888 in the hands of Natives (Table 66).

TABLE 66
FARM SIZES IN WEENEN COUNTY 1880

Size	No. of holdings	Area
6 - 500	9	2,003
501 - 1000	8	6,285
1001 - 2000	31	46,857
2001 - 3000	50	130,447
3001 - 4000	45	140,453
4001 - 5000	15	67,318
5001 - 6000	15	82,344
6001 - 7000	33	206,148
7001 - 8000	8	60,641
8001 - 10000	10	86,084
Over 10000	12	151,108
Total	236	980,588

The County still exhibited few signs of zoning. The number of

farms of over 10,000 acres showed an increase. Such farms now accounted for 16 per cent of the area of the County, showing that the processes affecting the southern part of neighbouring Klip River County were affecting Weenen as well. The persistence of farm patterns is quite noticeable, however, with many of the Voortrekker and 1857 Quit Rent grant farms still being held as single units without many amalgamations or divisions. The relative stability of both area and number of holdings in the period suggests that in most cases there had been little speculative activity. This is borne out by the fact that the speculative holdings fell from 22 per cent of the alienated area of the County in 1870 to 17 per cent in 1880. A total of 167,448 acres was held by speculators and land companies, of which the Natal Land and Colonization Company, as the sole surviving land company, possessed 97,693 acres or approximately 10 per cent of the County. Half of this holding was to the west of the Blaauwkrantz River adjacent to Klip River County, which was comparatively remote from the main line of communications through the County.

There was a substantial rise in the general level of property prices in Weenen County between 1870 and 1880 resulting in 77 per cent of the area sold fetching more than the Government minimum price of 4s. an acre, and even 22 per cent fetching more than the new price of 10s. per acre, which was instituted in 1880. Land prices showed certain similarities to those experienced in Klip River County. In a belt of land close to the main road from Pietermaritzburg to Ladysmith prices were high and 10s. an acre or more were common. Away from the main road prices decreased towards the Drakensberg and towards the Impafana Location where prices as low as 2s. an acre were experienced. Such low prices on the margins of settlement no doubt account for the very small amount of land sold by the Government in the period from 1870 to 1880.

4.4.4. Umvoti County

The same appearance of stagnation, so far as active colonization was concerned, appeared in Umvoti County. A further 20,000 acres passed out of the Government's hands but much of this increase in the

alienated area was taken up by the missionary societies which in 1880 possessed 18,948 acres, and Natives who purchased a further 1,482 acres. There remained 612,576 acres in European hands and this was divided into 187 holdings (Table 67).

TABLE 67
FARM SIZES IN UMVOTI COUNTY 1880

Size	No. of holdings	Area
6 - 250	11	1,579
251 - 500	7	2,823
501 - 1000	19	15,990
1001 - 2000	32	47,537
2001 - 3000	42	109,354
3001 - 4000	28	92,681
4001 - 5000	7	31,316
5001 - 6000	7	39,099
6001 - 7000	16	100,989
Over 7000	18	171,208
Total	187	612,576

Only comparatively minor changes in the pattern had taken place in the period under consideration. As there was little new land available within the County, there had been little selection under the 1868-69 regulations, except through the purchase of areas which had been left between previously surveyed farms. The number of these small portions of land was slight. The remaining areas close to the Tugela remained unattractive and were consequently still in Crown hands in 1880. The subdivisional process so noticeable between 1860 and 1870 had virtually ceased.

The area in the hands of speculators fell from 17.6 per cent to 12.1 per cent of the county over the ten year period. In 1880 the Natal Land and Colonization Company was the only land company in Umvoti with 42,461 acres, the increase being due to the take over of most of the property companies which were in operation in 1870. The distribution of these lands had become highly marginal to the core of the County around Greytown. They tended to occupy lands which were relatively remote from the lines of communications. The same generalization can be made for the 5652 acres held by Banks and 25,897 acres held by private speculators.

The same rise in the price of land was apparent in the Umvoti transactions as in the two northern counties. The rise, however, was

more spectacular as only 7 per cent of the 54,708 acres transferred reached less than the government minimum price, while 66 per cent of the land fetched more than the new government price of 10s. per acre. In this respect Umvoti prices were higher than those of the other purely pastoral counties (Table 68). Prices in the County were uniformly high throughout the centre but declined to prices of 3s.4d. close to the Umvoti and Tugela Locations. Elsewhere prices of 8s.6d. to 13s.4d. were general with only small areas fetching more.

TABLE 68
LAND PRICES IN UMVOTI COUNTY 1880

Value	No. of Transactions	Area
2s. to 3s.11d.	2	353
4s. to 9s.11d.	8	17,753
10s. to 19s.11d.	20	35,977
£1 to £5	2	625
Total	32	54,708

4.4.5. Pietermaritzburg County

In Pietermaritzburg County the contrast between the settlement schemes of 1849-51 and the rest of the County was becoming less pronounced. This was due to the Government's action in expropriating many of the smaller unused settlement plots and the general tendency around Pietermaritzburg for plots to be subdivided. The area alienated in the county saw a considerable increase, amounting to nearly 100,000 acres. However Native and church holdings increased to over 38,000 acres leaving 1,409,240 acres in European hands (Table 69).

TABLE 69
FARM SIZES IN PIETERMARITZBURG COUNTY 1880

Size	No.	Area
6 - 20	102	1,887
21 - 50	127	5,316
51 - 100	122	9,701
101 - 200	96	15,341
201 - 300	54	13,106
301 - 500	51	20,922
501 - 1000	104	77,874
1001 - 2000	110	156,851
2001 - 3000	68	169,493
3001 - 4000	41	135,174
4001 - 5000	15	66,361
5001 - 6000	25	139,702
6001 - 7000	29	178,684
7001 - 8000	9	69,409
8001 - 10000	8	70,345
Over 10000	18	279,074
Total	979	1,409,240

The most noticeable feature was the decline in the number of small holdings associated with the passage of Act 4 of 1872 which allowed for the resumption of many of the small properties particularly on the Dunbar Estate (Fig. 54). As a result the contrast between settlement schemes and the rest was reduced, as Table 70 shows through a few comparisons.

TABLE 70
SIZE OF HOLDINGS IN PIETERMARITZBURG COUNTY

Size	Settlement Schemes	Remainder of County
Average Size	117	2287
Upper quartile size	120	2100
Median size	55	1200
Lower quartile size	25	310

A consideration of the settlement schemes of 1849-51 will start the discussion of farm size. The change which had occurred is reflected in Table 71 showing the farm sizes on the Byrne schemes in the County.

TABLE 71
FARM SIZES ON THE BYRNE ESTATES IN 1880

Size (acres)	Vaalkop & Dadelfontein	Dunbar	Beaulieu	Harmony	Little Harmony	Slang-spruit
20	10	8	30	12	3	4
40	6	9	14	6	5	7
45	1	-	2	-	-	1
50	6	4	8	5	1	1
50 & under	24	21	55	23	9	24
55 - 100	16	13	19	14	2	8
remainder	13	13	18	4	3	7
Total	53	47	92	41	14	39

Between 1870 and 1880 the number of 20-acre holdings on the 6 schemes shown in Table 71 dropped from 155 to 67 and the total number of holdings from 440 to 286. Most of this was due to the resumption of land by the Crown.

At Vaalkop and Dadelfontein a further 14 lots reverted to the Crown under Law 4 of 1872. However none of the lots which had reverted to the Government in 1869 and 1872 had been re-granted by 1880. They remained in the Government's hands for eventual disposal. The total area which reverted amounted to 1220 acres which is a quarter of the area originally transferred to the settlers in 1850. The

estate was, therefore, one of the least successful of all the Byrne schemes. The number of lots was further slightly reduced by amalgamations. The major development in the decade was the almost complete disposal of the remainder of the farm by the Durban firm which had purchased it from the Byrne Trustees in 1870. The area had been divided into 7 lots, ranging from 1229 acres to 100 acres in extent, leaving a remainder of 262 acres in the firm's possession. A small area, 118 acres, was in Natives' hands. Land prices on the estate had improved considerably, largely as a result of increasing prosperity and the development of lands around the estate. Three sales totalling 508 acres took place in the year at prices from 8s. to £2. per acre depending upon state of development.

The Dunbar Estate underwent a complete transformation as a result of the passing of Law 4 of 1872. A total of 94 lots were resumed. They covered much of the northern part of the estate (Fig. 54). It is noticeable that most of the resumed lots were 20 acres in extent and that relatively few of them exceeded 40 acres. None of this land had been disposed of by 1880. Only 47 farms were left on the estate, most of them still small. Some amalgamation had taken place but this had not been substantial. However, in view of the general prosperity the one sale of 40 acres which took place in the year reached 10s. per acre which promised well for the Government's disposal of its holdings.

On the Beaulieu Estate the Government did not resume any land but continued to sell the remaining lots. A further 580 acres was disposed of in the decade reducing the Government remainder to 1363 acres. The average size of holding continued to rise with the number of small ones being reduced and larger ones increased as amalgamations took place. Several farmers had begun to purchase lots fairly intensively. The one adjacent farmer had now purchased 1351 acres of the estate to add to his farm, others had purchased up to 400 acres. However those which were entirely contained within the estate continued to show an increase in size. The largest in 1880 was now 505 acres and nine exceeded 200 acres. The estate saw a reasonable turnover of land. In the year five transactions totalling 187 acres at prices from 6s.9d. to £5 were recorded. High prices were given for lands on the main

road where building had taken place. Town lots were included in all transactions so that the real value of the land tends to be observed.

There was no change in the area in private ownership between 1870 and 1880 on the Harmony Estate. Within the granted area, however, a number of changes occurred largely as the result of some extensive amalgamations. The number of holdings decreased from 54 to 41. More land was purchased by farmers outside the estate. The largest holding within the estate was only 235 acres and the general size remained small in spite of the grouping of several lots. No consolidated blocks had appeared although the origins of two of the later extensive farms had been laid. A far greater turnover of land had been experienced between 1870 and 1880 than in the previous decade; 28 lots had changed hands as opposed to 9 in the period 1860-1870. Land prices had risen appreciably. In 1880, four transactions involving 320 acres took place at prices from 4s. to 20s. per acre, including town lots.

The Little Harmony Estate was in a similar position to that of the Harmony Estate. No new land had been disposed of but the number of holdings had been reduced and new purchases of land had been made by neighbouring farmers, reducing the number of holdings entirely upon the estate to 14. Land prices similarly reached 20s. per acre on the two transactions of the year.

The disposal of the Slang Spruit Estate was almost completed by 1880. Only 3 lots (120 acres) remained unsold. The number of holdings fell from 41 to 39 as a result of two amalgamations. Natives purchased 60 acres. The lots remained essentially as they had been in 1870. However the development of Pietermaritzburg and district resulted in a major rise in the price of land. A total of 582 acres was sold in the year 1880. This amounted to 21 per cent of the estate. Prices ranged from 13s. to £8 per acre according to the state of development. This constituted a major departure from most of the estates where comparatively small amounts of land were normally sold.

The other Byrne scheme near Pietermaritzburg at New England showed a very similar pattern. The number of holdings decreased slightly from 26 to 23 as a result of amalgamations. No holding was, however, very large, the biggest being only 302 acres. The number of

lots at 20 acres or below fell from 9 to 6 suggesting that even in the semi-rural area close to Pietermaritzburg 20 acres was not enough to provide a living. Land prices were even higher than at Slang Spruit. The 3 lots covering 424 acres fetched prices between 75s. and 102s. per acre.

The other settlement scheme laid out at about 1850 showed comparatively little change compared with 1870. At Lidgetton no new lots had been disposed of but some had been amalgamated. The number of holdings fell from 19 to 16 as two farmers had begun to purchase adjoining lots. The price of land had increased to 10s. per acre on the estate for the 3 sales in the year. At York little change occurred beyond a reduction by 2 in the number of holdings which was in line with trends elsewhere. Prices reached £1 to £3 for the sales of land depending upon the nature of improvements. Hackett's scheme on the Karkloof similarly showed an improvement through amalgamations, reducing the number of holdings by four so that the largest now amounted to over 700 acres. In all cases the farmers bordering the estates had become increasingly interested in purchasing lots on them to increase their holdings by small amounts, where the larger areas of speculative land might not be what they required nor at a price which they could pay. Undoubtedly the settlement schemes, although still highly distinctive in landscape as a result of the system of ownership, were changing rapidly.

Several new settlement schemes had evolved in the decade. The Natal Land and Colonization Company was in the process of dividing several of its estates. At Shortts Retreat outside Pietermaritzburg five more lots had been sold, leaving the company with a remainder of 1764 acres. The original lots were too small for the holders with the result that a number of farmers purchased several lots reducing the number of holdings while speculators were willing to pay the £2 to £3 per acre of current land prices in order to buy in land which was likely to rise substantially in price. The sales to Natives which had been planned all fell through largely through their inability to pay the price asked.

The New Howick Estate had been divided into 31 lots covering

14,482 acres in 1874 by Carl Behrens. Before this had taken place a number of small lots of 50 to 200 acres had been sold around Howick. The new lots were much larger ranging from 300 acres close to Howick up to 1000 acres further away. Most of the land although of good quality was priced too highly especially the areas remote from Howick and the main road. Prices between f1 and f2 per acre were sought with the result that only 890 acres had been sold by the end of 1880. Several options had been taken out but they were mostly resumed by the Company as rents at 2s. an acre with an option to purchase proved unpopular on the estate, just as purchasing at over f1 per acre had done. The New Howick settlement included 1966 acres set aside for the village, commonage and outspans.

The Company was actively engaged in considering and planning new settlements on other estates but few had actually been divided and placed on the market at this date.

There remained the Wilgefontein settlement to the south of Pietermaritzburg which had been planned by the Government. The settlers had arrived in 1880 but as yet nothing had been produced and the problems confronting the settlers were considerable (Chapter III).

The area selected under the 1868-9 regulations was comparatively small, but it did result in a considerable extension of the area over which settlement had occurred. This was particularly noticeable to the south of the Umkomaas River. North of the Umkomaas there had been no extension whatsoever, so that all colonization activity was in the south of the County. This involved the extension towards the Drakensberg. New farms were scattered up to 20 miles further to west than it had been in 1870 and similarly in the south farms were scattered over a further 12 miles. The density of such farms was however very low as selections had been few and far between and had been mostly fairly small, under 300 acres in general. However much of the infilling had been the result of the taking up of grazing leases, at 2000 acres at a time and by direct purchase. The result had been to produce a solid line of farms across the 25 miles from the Umkomaas to the Umzimkulu through Ixopo and to fill in other areas to the north.

In the County the area controlled by speculators and land companies fell dramatically from 1870 to 1880 from 41.7 per cent to 24.5 per cent of the alienated area. This reduction was the result of the release of considerable quantities of land both by the land companies, most of which sold in the early 1870's and by private speculators. As a result 211,451 acres was left in the hands of the Natal Land and Colonization Company, 824 acres with the banks and 132,965 acres with private speculators. The distribution of the areas in the hands of the speculators and the Natal Land and Colonization Company remained excentric, but markedly to the east of the County where most of the major speculators' holdings appears. Two of them were over 25,000 acres at this time. One of these, adjacent to the Sterkspruit Commonage, was divided for sale into small lots of 10 to 50 acres for Native purchase. However the speculators were not as dominant as they had been and this was reflected in the general lowering of the average size as many had found it more profitable to divide their estates before sale and sell the lots. P. H. Zeederberg of Camperdown divided his 9000 acre farm up into 17 lots varying in size from 711 to 291 acres according to estimated value. However there were only ten holdings by 1880 as the lots adjacent to the Inanda Locations were considered too small. Several other small divisions took place or the continuations of previous ones.

The main area of subdivision however remained in the north-east of the County adjacent to the Umvoti boundary to the east of York. General subdivision was now taking place to produce lots of 50 to 500 acres on seven original farms. The cause of it appears to be the success of the original scheme undertaken in the 1860's, as mentioned before. In 1880 there were 40 farms of less than 600 acres in extent in an area of 10 by 5 miles, excluding those in the York Settlement. This was a greater concentration than had occurred in the Byrne lots to the north of Pietermaritzburg where some amalgamation had occurred and now only 11 holdings were less than 600 acres, in spite of the general reduction of holding size around Pietermaritzburg noted elsewhere. There now existed a belt of smaller farms, under 2000 acres from Pietermaritzburg along the main road to the border

of Umvoti County. This process of subdivision was particularly noticeable along the lines of communication. In the more remote areas farm sizes remained static.

In the newly occupied areas, however, sizes were highly variable ranging from the 50-acre selection to nearly 16,000 acres of grazing land accumulated by one individual to the south of the Umkomaas. The speculator had not penetrated into the newly opened up lands, largely on account of the high initial purchase price. The area to the south of the Umkomaas was now more active economically as a result of the purchases. The Natal Land Company which had held extensive areas around Ixopo was liquidated in 1880 and all of its land was purchased by private individuals. The Natal Land and Colonization Company still possessed 45,000 acres to the south of the Umkomans but this was now dwarfed by the holdings of private persons. Most of these were small selections in the remote areas and large farms closer to the pre-existing settled areas.

The comparatively small expansion to the alienated area of the County between 1870 and 1880 was due to the dispersal of much of the speculators' lands. Approximately 225,000 acres was disposed of producing a much closer settlement pattern. This land was superior to the Government's. By 1870 there had been no available government land within 25 miles of the centre of Pietermaritzburg, which discouraged settlement. The prosperity of the 1870's had raised land prices to such an extent that speculators were willing to take cuts in their profits rather than wait for more. Most charged reasonable prices related to those ruling in general sales (Table 72), although the largest landowner, the Natal Land and Colonization Company, demanded higher prices.

TABLE 72

LAND PRICES IN PIETERMARITZBURG COUNTY, 1880

Value	No. of Sales	Acreage
2s. to 3s.11d.	1	3,164
4s. to 9s.11d.	31	49,087
10s. to 19s.11d.	41	42,589
£1 to £5	56	15,195
Over £5	10	758
Total	139	110,793

Land prices had risen appreciably. A total of 97 per cent of the area sold was at prices above the Government minimum and more than half fetched prices in excess of 10s. The low prices were mostly for properties remote from the main centres where prices were frequently as low as 5s. However, through most of the County general values were much higher and 10s. appears to have been an average price for undeveloped rural land. Developed land was sold for much more. In this way the new Government price represented a level to which land values had risen and which it could expect to obtain in sales. Prices of land south of the Umkomaas were still lower than average but two large sales close to the margin of settlement reached more than 10s. an acre. High prices were to be found around Pietermaritzburg where land even outside the settlement schemes was worth over fl. per acre and in the area of subdivision to the east of York where prices were similarly over fl. per acre. This general prosperity was such as to mark the real turning point in the problem of absentee landowners in the county as has been noted and showed that the county was largely being used for agricultural purposes which was not the case ten years before.

4.4.6. Victoria County

In Victoria County there had also been a marked consolidation within the alienated area rather than major advances in settlement. Between 1870 and 1880 only 6,000 acres was added to the county. However Victoria County was far from stagnant in that period. The Government's resumption of holdings was continued and as a result this more than offset the number of subdivisions which occurred. Consequently the number of holdings fell from 567 to 513 in the European owned area which now amounted to 338,494 acres (Table 73)

A comparison with farm sizes in 1870 shows that the total number of farms within the settlement areas dropped abruptly while the number outside increased by 3. As a result the average size of holdings within the County increased. This was due to the granting of new lands in the north of the County where farm sizes would naturally be larger and the continued subdivision of holdings in the south giving rise to areas where holding sizes dropped to below 6

acres and therefore outside the scope of this study.

TABLE 73
FARM SIZES IN VICTORIA COUNTY, 1880

Size	Settlement Schemes		Remainder of County		Total		
	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area	
6 -	20	34	620	32	404	66	1,024
21 -	50	50	2,068	25	862	75	2,930
51 -	100	43	3,463	31	2,677	74	6,140
101 -	200	29	4,223	41	5,998	70	10,221
201 -	300	6	1,435	33	8,936	39	10,371
301 -	500	16	6,417	43	16,280	59	22,697
501 -	700	3	1,894	30	18,013	33	19,907
701 -	1000	2	1,503	16	13,518	18	15,021
1001 -	1500	3	3,283	31	39,170	34	42,453
1501 -	2000	-		11	18,337	11	18,337
2001 -	3000	-		15	36,045	15	36,045
3001 -	5000	-		6	21,344	6	21,344
5001 -	10000	-		10	63,167	10	63,167
Over	10000	-		3	68,837	3	68,837
Total	186		24,906	327	313,588	513	338,494

The settlement schemes underwent a major transformation with the number of farms falling from 243 to 186. The Cotton Lands Estate, which accounted for two-thirds of the area of the estates, witnessed a dramatic fall in the number of holdings from 132 to 101 in 10 years. These amounted to 16,257 acres. In addition the Government still held 829 acres in its hands while the area controlled by missions, Natives and for the first time Indians, had risen to 1,028 acres. There had been quite extensive amalgamation on the estate so that of the 101 owners only 64 held their land in single lots and the remaining 37 in multiples. One farmer had acquired 13 lots, which still only amounted to 1,023 acres. There were 10 holdings which were amalgamations of 4 or more lots. Unlike the period before 1870, there had been no marked decrease in the number of small lots, under 50 acres. All sizes of single lots showed declines as the process of amalgamation got under way. All the commonages had been disposed of and there remained only the extensive townlands, particularly those of Mount Moreland in the centre of the estate which could be used. The township itself had been virtually abandoned by 1880 in favour of Verulam on the southern side of the Umhloti, and this was the new terminus of the railway. The estate was prosperous and land values had risen appreciably. A total of 1011 acres was sold in 1880 in twelve lots. The lowest price was

19s. 6d. per acre and in general most prices were £2 and £3 per acre unless there were good buildings on the lot, when much higher prices were reached.

On Byrne's other two estates there had been a similar tendency towards amalgamation. On Lots 44-47 the number of holdings fell from 20 to 15, and on Lot 31 from 33 to 21. On both these schemes there was no new land available and the Government had resumed land 425 acres on Lots 44-47 and 230 acres on Lot 31. On these Lots similar prices were reached to those on the neighbouring Cotton Lands Estate. Only three transactions occurred, all over £4 per acre. Morewoods estate were different. The Government resumptions had not affected them with the result that there was an increase in the number of holdings, from 45 to 47, a reversal of the general trend. The low turnover on Morewood's estate is characterised by the lack of transfers in the year and that only 8 out of 66 lots changed ownership in the previous decade. The isolation of this settlement scheme was still a grave disadvantage, especially as most of the land surrounding the estates was held by either speculators, land companies or large landowners.

The zoning pattern in Victoria County remained pronounced in 1880. The process of subdivision close to Durban, in the Lots to the north of the Umgeni, remained intensive. As a result in some of them, particularly those close to the bridge from Durban, the size dropped to below 6 acres as new suburbs began to spring up. Near the Umgeni prices for lots were high, with prices of £3 to £33 per acre paid during 1880. North of the small lots near the Umgeni the farms of Melkhoutekraal and Riet Rivier continued to be subdivided, although surprisingly few new lots had been laid off. Most of the speculators within this zone had held their land more or less intact since 1870. The situation was therefore similar to 1870 in all except land prices which were nearly £1 an acre even in the interior near Inanda.

In the area north of the Cotton Lands a greater amount of subdivision had taken place, although considerable areas were now in the hands of the Natal Land and Colonization Company as the successor

to most of the previous companies. To the north lay a vast expanse of land, most of it owned by this company, after buying the Cotton Plantation Company. This land stretched for 14 miles from north-east to south-west. In this zone 5 of the 8 farms in the County exceeding 6000 acres occurred, resulting in a dead waste area across which it was necessary to travel to reach Stanger and other developed areas. Around Stanger there had been some amalgamation. One farmer had purchased six of the quit rent farms, others had purchased 2 or 3 to provide larger holdings. Most of the farms, however, were still closely related in size to the original grants. To the north-east of Stanger eleven of the 1857 Quit Rent grants had been resumed and several of the remaining ones were in the hands of speculators, while the three Voortrekker farms remained in the hands of the Natal Bank and the Natal Land and Colonization Company. Some expansion had occurred on the margins of the county adjacent to the Umvoti Location or in the Tugela Valley, where grants were larger (1500 - 3000 acres), essentially for cattle rather than crop production. Land prices throughout the area to the north of Tongaat were low compared with the rest of the County with few transactions above 10s. per acre and most considerably less.

The area in the hands of the produce companies increased, if the old Cotton Plantation Company is not placed in this category. The Natal Coffee Company was wound up leaving essentially sugar plantation companies in operation in the County. These owned 10,532 acres. All but one of these were close to Durban, within six miles of the Umgeni.

The area in the hands of speculators and land companies fell during the decade. The dominance of the Natal Land and Colonization Company was marked. This Company increased its holdings from 41,532 acres to 77,615 acres in 10 years. The Natal Bank in addition possessed 8056 acres and a further 44,672 acres remained in the hands of private speculators. The decrease in total speculative holdings was due in part to land sales as the result of the highest prices obtainable. Once again private speculators reduced the proportion of



speculative land they held emphasising the tendency they had to sell before the Land Companies. In all only 38.5 per cent of the County was now held by speculators.

Land prices, as already noted, showed a considerable increase (Table 74). As a result of the general prosperity, all but one sale was at a level above the minimum Government price, and nearly half exceeded the new 10s. mark. Land prices were dependent to a large extent upon the state of improvements. Land values include the cost of permanent buildings upon them but excluding the removable items such as standing crops or machinery, where mills had been erected. Movable property was not included for duty purposes and as a result it was usually excluded from the Deed of Cession. Rarely though were the values of the immovable items, land and buildings distinguished, but as an example a quotation from Deed of Transfer No. 1119/1880 is illuminating. Part of an Umgeni Lot totalling 13½ acres was sold for £1850. This was broken up as follows:

Land	£47
Buildings	396
Machinery	1406

The price of the land was thus £3.10s. an acre, but with buildings it was £33 per acre which was taken for duty purposes and is the price involved in the calculation on land prices in this thesis.

TABLE 74
LAND VALUES IN VICTORIA COUNTY, 1880

Value	No. of acres	Acreage
2s. to 3s. 11d.	1	672
4s. to 9s. 11d.	6	6,369
10s. to 19s. 11d.	5	2,632
£1 to £5	19	3,189
Over £5	11	514
Total	42	13,376

4.4.7. Durban County

In Durban County there was a slight increase in the number of holdings, in spite of a reduction in area as a result of the encroachment of Durban and Pinetown upon surrounding lands. No new land was alienated in the period, as Durban County had effectively

filled out its borders by 1870. There was an appreciable increase in the number of small lots and the presence of one more holding of over 10,000 acres (Table 75).

TABLE 75
FARM SIZES IN DURBAN COUNTY, 1880

Size	No. of holdings	Area
6 - 20	51	688
21 - 50	45	1,502
51 - 100	45	3,366
101 - 200	33	4,677
201 - 300	17	4,247
301 - 500	16	5,517
501 - 700	10	6,107
701 - 1000	8	6,491
1001 - 2000	3	10,695
2001 - 3000	2	4,057
3001 - 5000	5	18,707
5001 - 10000	6	32,018
Over 10000	2	23,125
Total	248	121,197

The grip of the speculators upon the County had relaxed during the decade. Only 43.7 per cent remained in the hands of land companies and speculators by 1880 compared with 57.2 per cent in 1870. This development was to a large extent due to the sale of small lots close to Durban, and the disposal of large lots in the interior of the County.

Adjacent to Durban, Cato had managed to sell all but 397 acres of the Brickfield Farm which was predominantly semi-urban in character in 1880. Between 1871 and 1880 he sold 85 lots, only 30 of which exceeded 6 acres. This placed an extra 941 acres on the market. At Cato Manor a further 611 acres had been sold in lots, only 9 of which exceeded 6 acres by 1880. In the areas closest to the main road subdivisions of older lots continued. Thus only 1 of the lots laid off before 1860 still exceeded 6 acres but a further three divided between 1860 and 1870 did so. Cato Manor still constituted 4869 acres of valuable land which awaited the enlargement of Durban. Prices at Brickfield and Cato Manor in 1880 were £5 per acre or more.

At Wandsbeck and New Germany no new land had been sold since 1870, although a certain amount of subdivision had taken place and

land prices had risen appreciably to over £2 per acre. Around Pinetown, some further subdivision had occurred but mostly on a small scale except to the south of Pinetown where several small lots had been sold. Land Prices again even for large lots exceeded £2.10s. per acre.

One of the main areas of subdivision was to the south of the County on a block of farms from Bellair to Pinetown. Most of this land had been acquired by the Natal Land and Colonization Company, which possessed over 11,000 acres. The process of subdivision had begun before the Company bought the land. These estates were laid out in lots of varying size, from 8 to 202 acres. The prices charged on these estates ranged from £5 to £8 per acre. Some measure of the degree of prosperity was the ability of the Company to raise prices for land in May 1880 by 20 per cent and still attract purchasers. The provision of credit facilities over 4 to 15 years undoubtedly enabled the Company to dispose of their better lands along the Umbilo River quite rapidly. This encouraging development was to lead to the subdivision of all the Company's Durban lands in the next 5 years. In other parts of the County there was some transfer of land but comparatively little subdivision or amalgamation.

There was, however, a high turnover of land largely as a result of some speculators taking their profits. As a result 23 per cent of the alienated area of the County was sold, including some substantial areas in the interior where prices of 10s. an acre and less were recorded. The transactions involving large areas were mostly between 11s. and 25s. per acre and the smaller ones higher values. The value of 49 of the 73 properties transferred was more than £5 an acre, and 26 were worth more than £10 an acre. Land prices had reached a state in Durban where the limited area available was being appreciated so that even the Natal Land and Colonization Company was willing to purchase land at £1 an acre where the chances of profit were considerable.

4.4.8. Alexandra County

In Alexandra County there had been an increase of 16,000 acres

in the alienated area. This resulted in 107,922 acres being in private European ownership in 111 holdings (Table 76). Most of the increase was the result of new selections in the western part of the County. Some of them were at a considerable distance from older farms and name evidence suggests that those on the western boundary with Pietermaritzburg County were probably approached from that County. The belt of continuous settlement still reached no further south than the Umtwalumi River with a couple of isolated coastal settlements to the south in addition to the inland ones. As a result most of the County remained unoccupied except for the Native Locations, Mission Reserves and Natives squatting on unalienated Crown Lands.

TABLE 76
FARM SIZES IN ALEXANDRA COUNTY, 1880

Size	No. of holdings	Area
6 - 20	-	-
21 - 50	3	122
51 - 100	11	1,041
101 - 200	15	2,105
201 - 300	7	1,898
301 - 500	11	4,197
501 - 700	26	15,705
701 - 1000	10	9,038
1001 - 2000	14	17,874
2001 - 3000	6	15,345
3001 - 5000	3	10,073
Over 5,000	5	30,524
Total	111	107,922

The largest size group remained those associated with the 1857 Quit Rent regulation grants. A certain amount of subdivision had occurred but this had been slight. It is noticeable that most of the new agricultural selections were of the order 51 - 150 acres rather than the smaller ones present in other counties. Some were larger on the margins of the county and it would appear that pastoral activities were entering the county from Pietermaritzburg, judging from name evidence, as many names were the same on both sides of the boundary.

The main difference when comparison is made with 1870 is the drop in the area held by speculators largely. This was partly due to the revival of the Umzinto Sugar Company by Reynolds Brothers and to a

general increase in property prices and sugar production. The proportion held by speculators dropped from 43 per cent to 27 per cent of the alienated county. The three largest holders of speculative land were the Natal Land and Colonization Company with 12,677 acres, the Natal Bank with 8,033 acres and Natal Plantations 1358 acres. This land stretched in an almost continuous belt from the Umkomaas to the Umtwalumi.

Land prices in the County were in all but one case above the 4s. Government price while 55 per cent of the land sold went for more than 10s. per acre. This was little improvement on the previous decade, and reflected the still inadequate communications with the market at Durban.

4.4.9. Alfred County

Alfred County had shown some slight development but there were still only 25 holdings amounting to 11,371 acres. Of the 25, sixteen were under 150 acres, mostly in small selections. Two of the selections tended to be grouped, but the majority were isolated and stretched across the length of 50 miles of the County. The area must have suffered from the comparatively poor land regulations of Natal compared with those of the Cape in east Griqualand. The lack of settlers was undoubtedly disturbing to the Government and this county where the best land had only been touched was the ideal area for major settlement schemes. Land prices in the County were erratic owing to the small number of transfers, ranging from 4s. to over £5 an acre. However most of the land was sold at between the old and new Government prices.

4.4.10. Non European and Church Lands

A number of major changes in structure of ownership occurred in Natal in the period from 1870 to 1880. The first of these was the increase in the area owned by Churches and non-Europeans. For the first time Indians appeared as owners of land outside the towns (Table 77).

TABLE 77

LAND OWNERSHIP IN NATAL* ON RACIAL BASIS, 1870 AND 1880

Owners	Area	
	1870	1880
Europeans	5,025,835	5,293,171
Missions	35,786	66,629
Natives	12,357	62,012
Indians	-	193
Total	5,073,978	5,422,005

*Excluding Native Locations and Mission Reserves.

The area held by churches and Natives amounted to 128,641 acres in 1880 of which 50,717 acres was in Klip River County. The area belonging to the missionary societies had not increased in the same proportion as Native purchases. The missionary societies had increased their area by purchase, particularly in Klip River, where an additional 14,000 acres were purchased and in Umvoti with an extra 12,000 acres. In both these cases the land purchased was generally occupied by Natives and as such can be regarded as an extension of native lands. The Native purchases throughout the Colony, especially in the northern counties, where land prices were low, had been extensive, when the lack of private Native capital is considered. The lack of interest in the coastal counties is due in the main to the much higher prices which could not be met by Native purchasers.

The presence of Indians owning land in 1880 needs some explanation. Only 193 acres in Victoria County on plots of the settlement schemes were registered as being in Indian hands. This, however, greatly underestimates the area which they actually occupied. The Indians had first come to Natal in 1860 as indentured labourers. Law 14 of 1859 allowed Indian labourers to commute their right to a free return passage to India for a piece of land equal in value to the passage money. The right to a piece of land was only gained after ten years residence in the Colony. The grants had been intended as an economy measure as Government land was free and the cost of the passage back to India was not and had to be borne by the Government.

There was considerable delay in the implementation of this Law. The number of suitable areas for grants was small. Several small lots

were laid off in semi-urban areas in the coastal counties. The Indians tended to rent land rather than purchasing^e it and consequently most of their activities are not revealed in the Deeds Office records. The farms held by the speculators in Victoria County appear to have been the main areas for Indian squatting.

4. 4. 11. Speculators and land company land.

The decade from 1871 to 1880 had been one of increasing prosperity, with the result that speculators and land companies sold much of their land. In 1880 only 18.4 per cent of the colony or 973,000 acres was in speculator's hands. This was the lowest proportion there had been since 1840, and compared with 29.1 per cent ten years before. The main development in the ten years had been the decline of the area held by private speculators and the elimination of most of the land companies. (Table 78).

TABLE 78
LAND HELD BY SPECULATORS ETC.
1880

Owners	Area
Schools	17,953
Natal Land and Colonization Company	545,655
Natal Land Company	4,390
Banks	34,384
Private Speculators	370,622
Total	973,004

There had been a decline in the area of speculative land in all counties, which was particularly marked in Klip River County and least well marked in Durban. The Natal Land and Colonization Company registered gains in most counties as a result of its take over of the assets of other land companies. However, as a result of some prodding, it was actively disposing of land (Appendix II).

4. 4. 12 Land values

Land sales were at a higher level than they had been in 1870 amounting to 9.2 per cent of the alienated area of the Colony compared with 6.4 per cent in 1870 (Table 79). The sales were characterised by high pro-

portions in Durban and counties to the south. The uniformity of the four inland counties is striking, indicating that sales had settled down through much of Natal. The high proportion in Durban was due to the unloading of large quantities of land by speculators.

TABLE 79
LAND SALES, 1880

County	Area alienated	Area transferred	Percentage
Klip River	1,711,783	167,144	9.8
Weenen	980,588	88,671	9.0
Umvoti	612,576	54,708	8.9
Pietermaritzburg	1,409,240	110,793	7.9
Victoria	338,494	13,376	4.0
Durban	121,197	28,995	23.9
Alexandra	107,922	19,893	18.4
Alfred	11,371	2,038	17.9
Natal	5,293,171	485,618	9.2

Land prices showed a considerable improvement (Table 80). Only 14.9 per cent of the area sold went for less than 4s. an acre, while a further 47.9 per cent fetched prices between 4s. and 10s. an acre. The remaining 37.2 per cent went for prices over 10s. an acre. The increase in the value of land prompted the Government to raise its minimum price.

TABLE 80
LAND VALUES 1880

Value	No. of Sales	Area
1s. to 1s. 11d.	1	2,812
2s. to 3s. 11d.	19	69,117
4s. to 9s. 11d.	102	232,683
10s. to 19s. 11d.	94	149,440
£1 to £5	114	29,411
Over £5	72	2,155
Total	402	485,618

The state of rural Natal in 1880 was greatly improved over the position in 1870, at the height of the depression. Agricultural products were in demand and with increased Government participation and with a more realistic look at land alienation, the 1880's were to experience a major advance in land settlement.

4.5. The situation in 1890

4.5.1. Introduction

The improved government land regulations introduced in 1880 and 1889 had by the end of 1890 allowed a considerable increase in the settled area of the Colony. The occupied area* had increased from 5.4 to 6.5 million acres. The area in European possession increased from 5.3 to 6.2 million acres in the same time. This area was divided into 3505 holdings, (Table 81 Fig. 48).

TABLE 81
AREAS IN PRIVATE OWNERSHIP, 1890

County	No. of farms	Area	Average size	Median size
Klip River	613	1,978,797	3228	2200
Weenen	357	1,142,388	3200	2400
Umvoti	230	626,464	2724	2100
Pietermaritzburg	1,199	1,742,533	1453	800
Victoria	510	337,439	662	180
Durban	280	114,047	407	60
Alexandra	144	142,667	991	500
Alfred	172	96,942	564	370
Natal	3,505	6,181,277	1762	720

The table probably excludes a further 300,000 acres in Klip River County held on lease, for which the records have been lost. The advance of settlement was therefore very rapid compared with the previous decade. The increase in the area of land under some form of alienation from the Crown increased by nearly 20 per cent in the decade compared with only 7 per cent in the previous decade (1871 - 1880). The increase in area and number of holdings was considerable throughout the country with the exception of Durban and Victoria Counties where there was a decline in the area of European holdings and an absence of extensive new alienations. Although the number of smallholdings (6 - 100 acres) increased, it increased only slightly and the major increases were registered in farms of the size 1001 to 5000 acres, although the new grants were usually much less than this.

The year 1890 experienced a slight economic recession but it had little effect upon the agricultural community of Natal which remained fairly prosperous. Farm prices continued to rise to new levels with 77.8 per cent of the area sold fetching more than 10s. an acre.

* In the discussion of the years following 1880 large areas were occupied or normally occupied, which were either leased for grazing purposes by the Government, or were in the process of alienation. Actual alienations in the period from 1881 to 1890 were very low, amounting to only 70,701 acres. For ease of reference, use is made of the occupied area, although it must be remembered that even in 1890, over three-quarters of a million acres probably were not occupied, but only in the hands of Europeans.

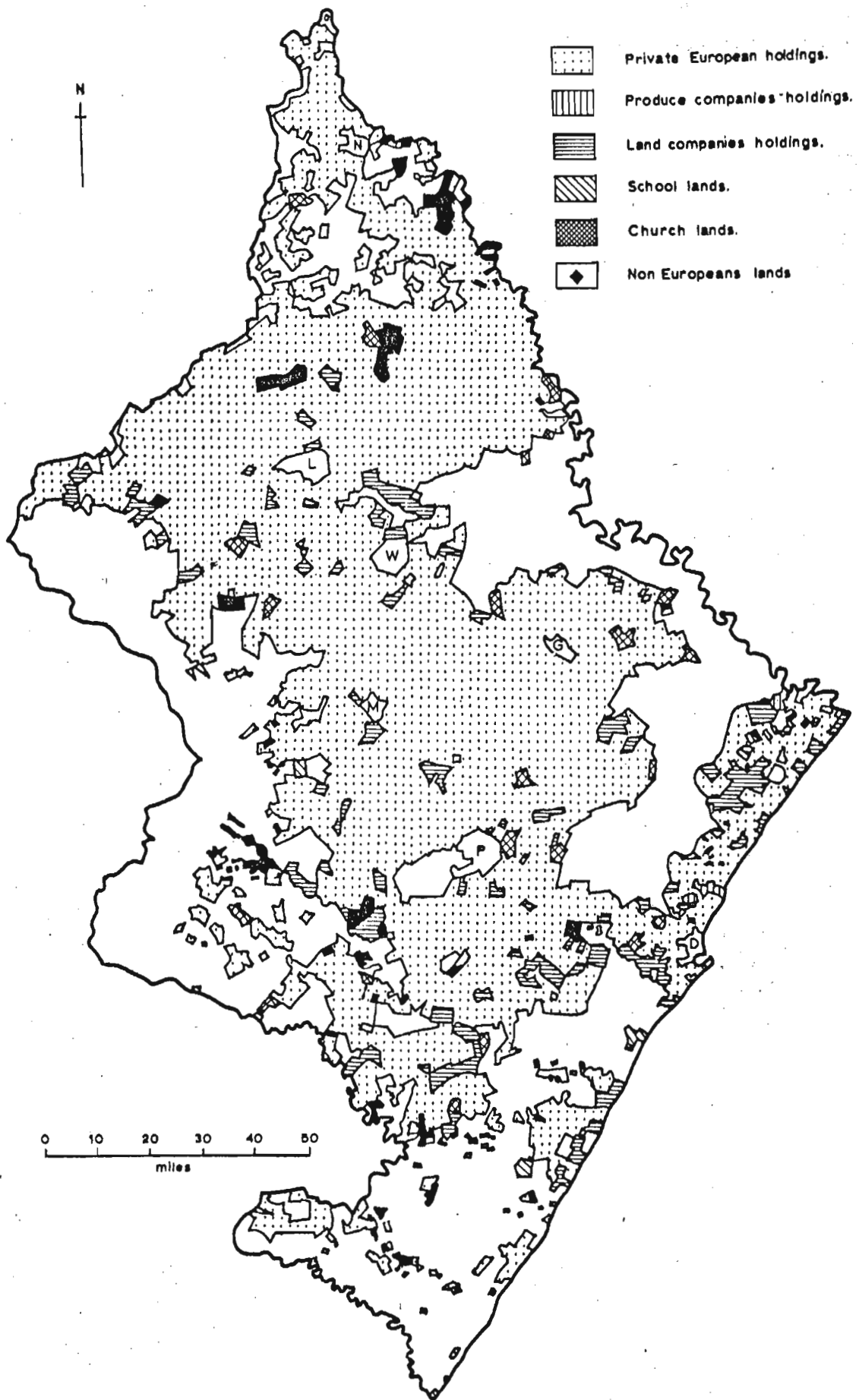


Fig. 48. Area occupied in 1890.

The main areas of colonization were in Klip River County, involving a filling in of the area between the 1868-69 regulation selections, and in Pietermaritzburg and Weenen Counties where extensive tracts towards the foothills of the Drakensberg were taken. Lesser areas were taken in Alexandra and Alfred Counties. In both cases the first attempts had been made to try and open up the interior of these counties for the first time.

4.5.2. Klip River County.

The Klip River County again experienced very active colonization in the period. The area shown in Tables 81 and 82 however does not reflect the true state of affairs in the area around Newcastle owing to the exclusion of many leasehold properties. These were in some cases vacant by 1890 owing to failure to pay the rent. However, the general increase in the number of holdings, almost 200, is particularly noticeable. Part of the increase was due to the subdivision of existing farms and part to expansion (Table 82).

TABLE 82
FARM SIZES IN KLIP RIVER COUNTY 1890

Size	No.	Area
6 - 50	10	229
50 - 100	14	1,266
101 - 200	29	4,388
201 - 500	40	14,400
501 - 1000	70	53,895
1001 - 2000	131	194,717
2001 - 3000	78	199,085
3001 - 4000	91	314,215
4001 - 5000	42	183,633
5001 - 6000	14	77,361
6001 - 7000	15	95,685
7001 - 8000	25	189,566
8001 - 10,000	25	206,798
Over 10,000	29	443,559
Total	613	1,978,797

Within the southern part of the County there had been an infilling of nearly all the areas which has been left vacant between the Voortrekker and 1857 Quit Rent grants. Most of these areas were wedge-shaped and in most cases they were purchased by a neighbouring farmer. In addition leases extended up to the Orange Free State boundary and a considerable extra acreage was used through the grazing leases. Otherwise there were few leases in the southern part of the County. In the northern part of the County there had been little expansion beyond leasehold property as most of the land was either pastoral or coal-bearing. It would appear that at one stage or another most of the

land to the north of the Biggarsberg was occupied on grazing leases. Some of these had terminated by 1890 and the generally unsatisfactory nature of the tenancy had led to some abandonment of land as tenants had hoped to convert their leases into freehold. The leased areas ranged from 500 to 5000 acres, at rents from 1d. to 4d. per acre according to quality. The leases included land which had for a long time been the home of native squatters who in consequence rented it to prevent dispossession.

The distinction between the north and the south of the County was still marked as 27 of the farms over 10,000 acres occurred in the south and only 2 in the north. A detailed breakdown would not be rewarding due to the lack of information. The persistence of the large farm unit in Klip River is noticeable. Almost half the farms over 7000 acres in the Colony were situated in Klip River (79 out of 168) and most of them in the southern part of the County where the Voortrekker Grants were laid out. However the number of very large farms over 25,000 acres had dropped to only two compared with four ten years before. The number of medium sized farms 501 to 4000 acres had increased appreciably through subdivision and the areas of new grants. The areas of subdivision appeared particularly to the west of Ladysmith while the area to the east remained in several large holdings. Several owners in this area possessed more than one contiguous farm and these added together gave considerable acreages. Two more farmers possessed over 25,000 if their farms were taken together.

However the process of subdivision was proceeding rapidly, especially in the two Natal Land and Colonization Company estates near Ladysmith. At Danse Kraal 85 lots on 2000 acres were surveyed in 1882. A price of £3.10s. to £4 per acre was charged and there were comparatively few lots sold. Only 8 owners were on the site. At Roos Boom larger lots had been laid off and sales had occurred in the early 1880's, leaving 4082 acres in the Company's hands in 1890. Sales had been at 11s. or more per acre, and other areas had been leased.

At Dundee the colliery had purchased 3041 acres. This was

the first of such purchases and indicated the growing interest in coal with the northward advance of the railway, which reached Dundee in 1890. The purchase of land by the collieries solved many problems as in most cases mineral rights were vested in the owners, and leasing either the rights or the land was not considered to be a satisfactory long term policy. At first the Government tried to retain the coal bearing lands of northern Natal but the large scale development of coal mining in the area, persuaded the Government to sell the land and allow the mining companies to purchase it.

The County had benefited greatly from railway development. The railway reached Ladysmith in 1885 and Dundee and Newcastle in 1890. The long journey to Durban was now faster and consequently produce could be sent to the port more rapidly. The intended extension of the railway to the Transvaal was likely to provide another market. As a result the price of land in the County rose appreciably in the years from 1881 to 1890. In 1890, 78,277 acres were sold and of this all was above 4s. per acre and 68.3 per cent was above 10s. per acre (Table 83). Most land was sold for prices between 10s. and £1. per acre.

Prices below 10s. an acre were mostly in the Drakensberg on the Orange Free State border or in the Buffalo Valley, but there was far less variation than in previous years. There had been a general rise in price levels, which was most marked, in unused or marginal land. Only 4.4 per cent of the area actually granted was sold, which was the lowest turnover in any of the previously studied years.

TABLE 83
LAND PRICES IN KLIP RIVER COUNTY 1890

Value	No. of Sales	Area
4s. to 9s. 11d.	13	24,850
10s. to 19s. 11d.	27	48,630
20s. to 39s. 11d.	4	4,752
£2 and over	3	45
Total	47	78,277

The speculative holdings had again declined until in 1890, private speculators held only 44,089 acres, the Natal Land and Colonization

Company a further 70,317 acres and Banks 3,940 acres. This decline had virtually eliminated the private speculator, who now held only 2.5 per cent of the area. The Natal Land and Colonization Company leased much of its land and was actively trying to sell it, although the prices asked were higher than those generally paid in the County. There had been no speculative penetration of the new areas, as profits were likely to be extremely low, when the initial cost of the land was so high.

The holdings in Native and church hands increased appreciably in the decade. Natives possessed 83,482 acres in 1890, an increase of 130 per cent on the 1880 figure, while the missionary holdings increased to 23,908 acres. These holdings appear in several marked localities. Three Native areas of over 20,000 acres had been acquired in the area to the west of Washbank, the new leased area east of Newcastle and on a block of farms 12 miles north of Ladysmith. Several smaller areas occurred scattered about the county, mostly on quit rent land or leased land. The mission stations appeared in the Buffalo Valley close to the Klip River Location, adjacent to the Washbank Native area and to the west of Newcastle. Other smaller ones occurred according to local needs. Even though there had been this considerable increase only 5 per cent of the occupied land was in church or Native hands.

4.5.3. Weenen County

The occupied area of Weenen County was extended by approximately 160,000 acres between 1880 and 1890. Most of this expansion took place in the area adjacent to the Drakensberg. In places the Drakensberg were reached and holdings were claimed within five miles of the Basuto line. Most of these new holdings were purchased on the 10 or 20 year credit system in lots of approximately 2000 acres, which is well marked in Table 84. In addition the first stage of the Weenen Irrigation lands scheme had been occupied, providing small 50 acre lots for intensive agriculture.

TABLE 84

FARM SIZES IN WEENEN COUNTY, 1890

Size	No. of holdings	Area
6 - 50	13	568
51 - 100	3	179
101 - 200	6	1,013
201 - 500	11	4,605
501 - 1000	23	18,199
1001 - 2000	77	118,931
2001 - 3000	74	189,759
3001 - 4000	46	147,289
4001 - 5000	28	123,118
5001 - 6000	17	94,363
6001 - 7000	35	218,836
7001 - 8000	9	67,764
8001 - 10000	8	70,148
Over 10,000	7	87,616
Total	357	1,142,388

The extension of settlement was the most noticeable feature of the 1880's. Farms were laid off behind the Drakensberg Locations Nos. 1 and 2. The occupied areas by no means continuous and areas remained between farms. These areas were frequently the watersheds which rose several hundred to a thousand feet above the rivers in this area close to the Drakensberg. Although many of the new grants were of the order of 1500-2000 acres, several were amalgamated to produce a number of holdings of over 4000 acres. The smallholdings were mostly the lands taken out by selectors in the period between 1869 and 1880, which had not had a reserve placed around them. The major extension within the area had taken place under the 1880 ten year credit facilities whereby land was being sold for what would be a rent on other lands - 1s. an acre per annum (1880-1889) and 6d. an acre per annum after 1889.

In that part of the County settled first there had been a noticeable break up of the larger holdings. The number over 10,000 acres dropped from 12 to 7 in ten years due to divided inheritances and sales by the speculators and land companies, thereby breaking up their holdings. The area held by the Natal Land and Colonization Company sold one third of its holdings in the County in the decade. The process of subdivision had proceeded to the extent of reducing several of the Voortrekker grants to lots of between 2000 and 4000 acres.

Only in a few areas had division occurred to below this level.

In the County in the 1880's two settlement schemes had been contemplated, one by the Government at Weenen and the other by the Natal Land and Colonization Company at Frere. At Weenen a portion of the townlands was resumed and 709 acres was divided up into lots of , predominantly 50 acres each. A total of 12 lots was occupied at the end of 1890, the first farmers having arrived in 1886. The scheme was' only of limited success, although in the 1891 report of the Land and Immigration Board it was stated that the settlement had broken even with land at £2 per acre. The scheme had originally been put forward in 1876 when a much larger area, 5000 acres was considered for irrigation settlement from a high level furrow. However this had been abandoned in 1884 in favour of a low level furrow for 17 lots. Weenen had stagnated after the early 1860's, and the irrigation settlement would, it was hoped, revive the area around the town.

The other scheme at Frere was more ambitious. The farm Plessis Laager was divided into a Township with 137 town lots, 82 suburban lots and 40 rural lots together with commonage, outspan and urban expansion area (Table 85 and Fig.49).

TABLE 85
LAYOUT OF FRERE ESTATE 1884

	No. of Lots	Acreage
Township	137	124
Township expansion	-	153
Suburban lots	82	1,247
Rural lots	40	2,956
Commonage		766
Outspan		337
Roads, streets, railways, etc.		537
Total		6,120

The scheme was not successful. The price demanded for suburban lots varied from 35s. to £4 an acre according to quality, while with four exceptions the price range for the rural lots was similar. Several lots were purchased in the years 1885 and 1886, but all but one of the suburban lots had reverted to the Company by the end of 1890.

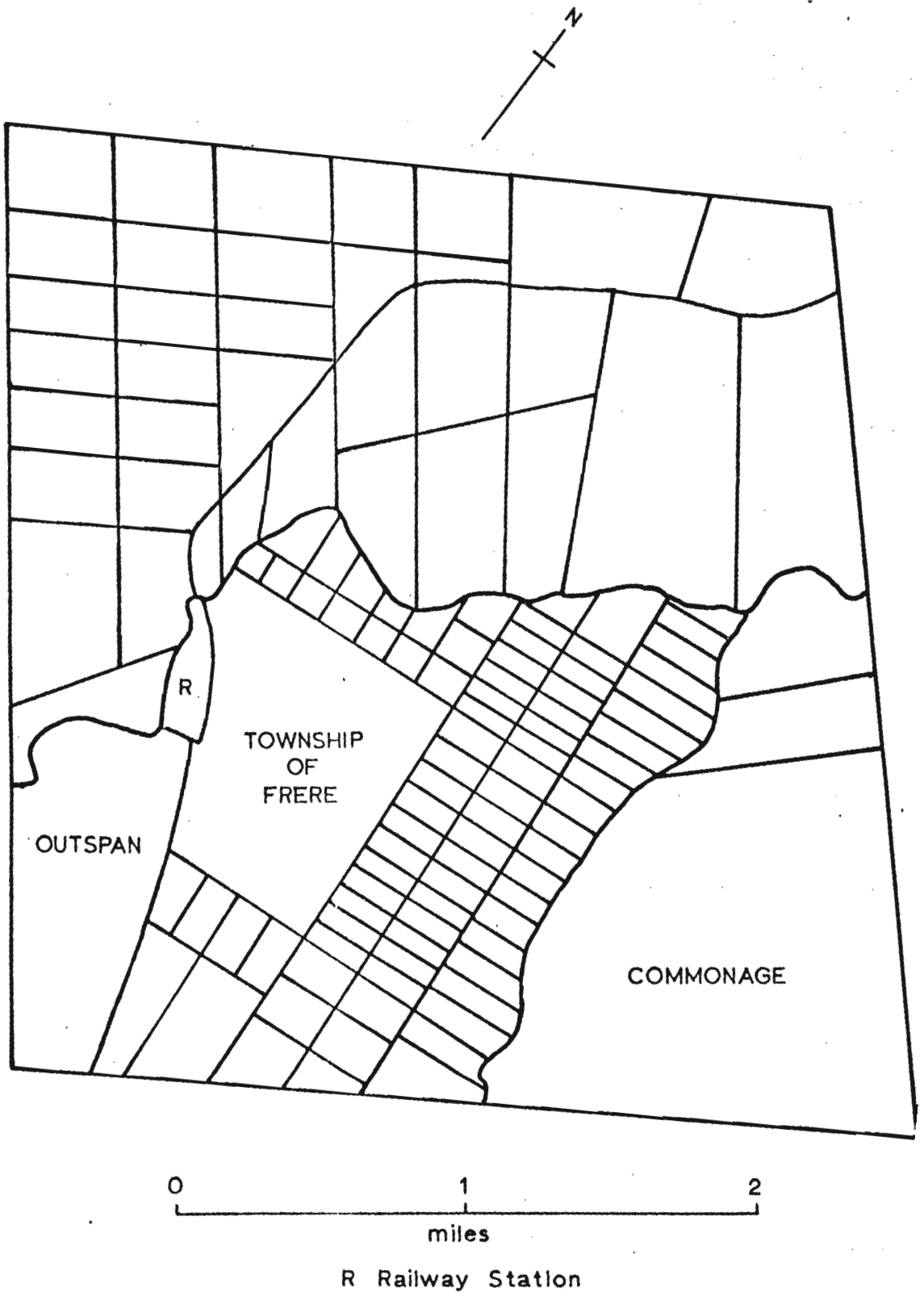


Fig. 49. Plan of Frere Estate 1884.

The township failed to attract settlers with the result that in 1890 only 7 plots had been sold. The Company which had invested some money in the estate in survey and administrative costs thus found it unprofitable, largely because small suburban lots in the centre of Weenen County could not be an economic agricultural unit. The average size of a suburban lot was only 15 acres, and that of a rural lot 75 acres, which when compared with the surrounding areas, was clearly unrealistic, except with irrigation which could not be provided. Even at Weenen the Government had not been able to dispose of all the lots on the settlement scheme, at £2. per acre and with irrigation waters. The unfavourable reception of the Frere scheme undoubtedly pointed to the poor state of the County and dampened the enthusiasm felt in the 1880's for indiscriminate settlement schemes in favourable and unfavourable areas and no further schemes were contemplated until the twentieth century.

The prices of property were in addition not in favour of settlement schemes. Although 27.4 per cent of land sold went for prices between 4s. and 10s. an acre, over half was sold for 10s. to 19s.11d. per acre. Only one house lot of 8 acres was sold for more than £2. This indicated that rural, unimproved prices of 35s. to 80s. an acre were highly unrealistic on the part of the Natal Land and Colonization Company, and accounts for the resumption of over 500 acres of land sold at Frere.

4.5.4. Umvoti County

In Umvoti County a slight expansion of the occupied area occurred, largely as a result of the filling in of the gaps between previous grants and an expansion towards the edges of the Umvoti and Tugela Locations. In these areas the farms tended to encroach upon poorer and more broken land at the junction of the interior tablelands and the highly dissected land of the Locations. Thus only a further 16,000 acres passed from the Government's hands. A total of 626,464 acres was thus in European hands, divided into 230 holdings (Table 86).

TABLE 86
FARM SIZES IN UMVOTI COUNTY 1890

Size	No. of holdings	Area
6 - 100	6	253
101 - 250	13	2,138
251 - 500	14	5,129
501 - 1000	20	15,700
1001 - 2000	56	82,197
2001 - 3000	51	128,328
3001 - 4000	27	89,995
4001 - 5000	10	45,266
5001 - 6000	3	17,268
6001 - 7000	14	88,959
Over 7,000	16	151,231
Total	230	626,464

The County experienced a general decline in the size of holding as a result of subdivision. This was particularly noticeable close to Greytown and on two other farms where inheritance led to partition. However the degree of subdivision was low compared with other counties. None of the estates of over 10,000 acres were affected, but the number over 6,000 acres declined from 34 to 30. This was a small decline, and such changes as opposed to the small scale expansion were slight.

The areas held by speculators declined. The holdings of the Natal Land and Colonization Company fell by 36 per cent to 27,222 acres. The Natal Bank retained one farm of 5652 acres and private speculators held a further 18,294 acres. Thus only 8 per cent was speculatively held in 1890. The era of speculation had passed. The areas held by the missionary societies increased slightly as a result of purchases on the edges of the Locations but Native holdings remained static.

Land prices showed some increase but this was lower than in most of the other counties, largely on account of the very high prices obtained in 1880. Only 18.8 per cent of the land sold obtained prices of £1 or over compared with 71.5 per cent ten years before. The degree of activity had been reduced largely as a result of the development of other areas such as the Klip River County which were connected to the port at Durban by railway. Umvoti now was away from the main centre of commercial activity, although it was a prosperous

agricultural area engaged in sheep raising.

4.5.5. Pietermaritzburg County

Pietermaritzburg County experienced a period of rapid development in the 1880's as a result of the availability of large acreages in the area to the west of Ixopo and Fort Nottingham. Within this area a considerable number of new farms were taken by European and Native purchasers. In 1890 there were 1199 European holdings covering 1,742,533 acres in the County (Table 87).

TABLE 87
FARM SIZES IN PIETERMARITZBURG COUNTY 1890

Size	No.	Area
6 - 20	100	1,780
21 - 50	110	4,508
51 - 100	94	7,300
101 - 200	101	15,735
201 - 300	71	17,732
301 - 500	101	41,123
501 - 700	82	47,985
701 - 1000	88	76,944
1001 - 2000	169	240,678
2001 - 3000	104	250,141
3001 - 4000	66	222,296
4001 - 5000	27	118,751
5001 - 6000	28	142,189
6001 - 7000	24	150,457
7001 - 8000	5	38,200
8001 - 10000	12	107,030
Over 10,000	17	259,684
Total	1199	1,742,533

The contrast between the settlement schemes and the remainder of the County was further reduced. The number of lots in the settlement schemes was reduced from 369 to 320 if the area north of Pietermaritzburg is excluded. The number of small lots on the settlement schemes again declined. This was particularly noticeable on the Byrñe schemes, although there were no Government resumptions in the period (Table 88).

TABLE 88
FARM SIZES ON THE BYRNE ESTATES 1890

Size (acres)	Vaalkop & Dadelfontein	Dunbar	Beaulieu	Harmony	Little Harmony	Slang Spruit
20	12	5	27	10	1	4
40	4	6	12	6	5	6
50	5	1	7	4	1	-
50 & under	22	12	51	21	7	18
55 - 100	10	4	17	9	2	8
Over 100	13	13	20	11	4	7
Total	45	29	88	41	13	33

On the Vaalkop and Dadelfontein Estate some of the land which had reverted to the Crown was issued again under 10 and 20 year payments. Most of these lots were issued to existing farmers on the estate to increase their holdings. The grants took the form of consolidations in places, including one of 364 acres. The general process of amalgamation was such that the average size of holding on the estate was now over 200 acres; although 10 holdings were of only 20 acres. The number of holdings over 200 acres increased from 8 to 10 through amalgamations. The price of land on the estate remained static compared with 10 years before. It would appear that none of the improved lots appeared on the market as prices ranged from 10s. to 18s. an acre in 5 sales. (1749 acres)

The Government sold most of the land it had resumed on the Dunbar Estate. The newly sold portion was disposed of to existing landowners to augment the size of their holdings. Most cases were not spectacular being amalgamations of 2 to 7 lots. However this does illustrate the changes in Government thought between 1850 and 1880. The Government had realised that these areas were most unsuitable for small scale settlements.

On the Beaulieu Estate the Government disposed of 675 acres in lots to existing farmers, 330 acres of which went to one farmer. As a result only 750 acres remained in Government hands in 1890. The degree of amalgamation was less on the Beaulieu Estate than it was on others in the County, with a decrease of only 4 in the number of holdings.

On the Harmony Estate 1858 acres of Crown Land was released to

private farmers to augment their holdings. This was the first land to pass from the Byrne Trustees and the Crown since the early 1850's. One of the sales involved 26 lots totalling 1030 acres to one farmer. This was largely the result of the increase in land prices on the estate. The two sales in 1890 registered 14s. and 21s. per acre, making the Government prices reasonably attractive. On the Little Harmony Estate 980 acres of Crown Land was sold in the 1880's, including the 140 acres set aside for the village of Byrne. As a result nearly the whole of the estate was in private hands.

Two of the features of these four estates in southern Pietermaritzburg County were the purchase of land by neighbouring farmers and the appearance of certain owners on more than one estate. The neighbouring farmers especially on the Dunbar Estate had succeeded in purchasing 4071 acres, which amounted to nearly half the estate which was in Private hands. The equivalent figures for the other estates were 2201 acres on the Beaulieu, 1185 acres on Harmony and 1301 acres on the Little Harmony. Most of these purchases were contiguous to the holdings outside the estates, although in two cases the holdings were indiscriminately located. The owners of lots in some cases purchased land on more than one estate. One person owned land on three estates and four on two estates. Most of the overlap occurred between the Beaulieu and Harmony Estates which were contiguous.

The two estates adjacent to Pietermaritzburg showed fairly static conditions so far as the pattern of ownership was concerned. On the Slang Spruit Estate the number of holdings fell from 39 to 32 and at New England from 23 to 19. This was entirely the result of purchases by two landowners on the two estates, resulting in some larger holdings than before. The largest holding at Slang Spruit was now 465 acres and at New England 362 acres. The continued tendency to amalgamate lots is surprising in view of continued subdivision on the western side of Pietermaritzburg, and to the continued division of the Townlands. By 1890 the Townlands had been divided almost to the limit of first class land for small holdings. However land prices on the two estates were high. At Slang Spruit two lots covering 250 acres were sold at £3 an

acre, while on the New England Estate two lots of 60 acres were sold at 50s. an acre each.

The remaining settlement in the County dating from 1850 also showed some improvement. The Lidgetton Estate had been enlarged with the sale of an additional twelve lots in the course of the 1880's. Most of these lots had been sold in blocks so that the number of land-owners on the estate increased by only 5 to 21. The larger units reflected a growth in the prosperity of Lidgetton. Land values more than doubled in the ten year period. Two lots were sold covering 60 acres at 25s. and 40s. an acre. At York there was a decrease of 8 in the number of farms. As a result only one holding was below 30 acres. Farmers on the edge of the settlement however had purchased several lots on the west and the scheme^{as} a separate entity was becoming blurred. In the course of 1890, three properties on the estate were sold totalling 950 acres at prices from 7s. to 27s. per acre according to position and development. This did not represent an improvement on 1880 values. In the Karkloof the amalgamation of holdings proceeded rapidly with the number reduced by five and the purchase of one substantial holding by a neighbouring farmer. Most of the amalgamation had the effect of increasing the size of the larger ones, rather than a general increase. As there was no resumption of holdings on this estate it is difficult to determine whether it suffered from the same fate of abandonment as occurred on some of the Byrne estates. It does, however, seem likely and as a result the simplification of the ownership pattern represents a long task of finding the owners and purchasing lots.

The settlement schemes of the 1850's had achieved a measure of prosperity by 1890 but there was no equilibrium in the size of holdings. The plot sizes were too small and purchases and amalgamations had even in 40 years been unable to produce really viable units. The late 1870's and early 1880's saw the development of another group of settlements to provide for a new influx of settlers. The schemes ranged from the Government scheme at Wilgefontein to the Natal Land and Colonization Schemes at New Howick and Shortts Retreat.

The Wilgefontein Settlement had had an inauspicious start. In

1882 all the lots on the scheme were divided amongst the remaining settlers. As a result the estate covering 5471 acres had 16 families resident by 1890 on the 40 lots originally planned. Even this was too high a density as the Government had overestimated the possibilities for irrigation works on the estate. Although all of the settlement was occupied only five farms^{er} owning 562 acres had been given title deeds owing to difficulties in payment. In 1890 three of the farms (480 acres) were sold at prices from 24s. to 50s. an acre including a house. The improvements which had been effected must have been considerable to raise the value of the land from 7s. 6d. per acre in 10 years. The scheme had not encouraged the Government to undertake further schemes in the County.

The Natal Land and Colonization Company continued with the Shortts Retreat Scheme, the New Howick settlement and embarked unsuccessfully upon two others at Johnston on the western side of the Zwartkop Location and at Weltevreden about 12 miles south of Camperdown in addition to selling farms complete or divided.

At Shortts Retreat, the Company still possessed 1315 acres out of the 2247 acres it purchased in 1870. There were now 23 settlers in the scheme which appeared to be progressing satisfactorily. The rate of sales had slowed down since the early 1880's to one or two lots per year. Prices had also decreased since the early 1880's. Only £2 an acre was fetched compared with £2 to £3 ten years before.

At New Howick 8 lots had been disposed of by 1890. Four of these had been sold to the same purchaser. The rate of sales had been slow during the 1880's and as a result 13,511 acres still remained in Company hands. Sales had involved only 1143 acres in the period 1886 to 1890. The prices on the estates continued to be those fixed by the Company in 1874, which although ambitious at the time were reasonable in the boom years which followed. The partial depression of the late 1880's made them unreasonable again.

A new settlement at Johnston was laid out in 1885. It provided for a township and 52 rural lots, which varied in size from 13 to 707 acres according to possible uses. The prices demanded by the Company

varied from 35s. to 18s. an acre. Most were in the range 25s. to 30s. However this settlement was in a poorly developed part of the County and 30 miles by road from Pietermaritzburg. Its chances of success were soon realised to be slight especially as most of the lot sizes were extremely small. The farms bordering the scheme were measured in thousands of acres rather than tens. Consequently even by 1890 there were no purchasers and the estate remained waste. It was maybe unfortunate that the Company divided the land just before the onset of an economic depression.

The settlement schemes dating from the 1880's had had varying success. The success depended upon the position of the settlement and the size and price of lots offered. There was still the tendency in the country to overestimate its potential for irrigation and crop production. The land was too poor to provide a living on small plots of land. Attempts at town foundation which went with these schemes appear to have been no more successful than they had been in 1850 as few of the new townships planned ever succeeded.

The introduction of the 1880 Land Regulations and their modification in 1889 led to a considerable expansion of the settled area within the County, although the proposed Government settlement schemes at Dronk Vlei and on the Ulufafa River had not materialised by 1890. Nearly the whole of this development took place to the south of the Umkomaas River in a series of blocks where the better land had been sought. One of the features of the expansion was an increase in the area held by Native purchasers especially on the upper Umkomaas River where over 33,000 acres had been purchased. Lesser amounts of Native purchase land occurred in the south of the County at St. Faith's and in the area south of Ixopo. A total of over 84,000 acres had passed into Native hands in the County by 1890.

However, most of the extension of over 400,000 acres was as a result of the expansion of European settlement. Within this new area of settlement the grant sizes were small. Most were under 2000 acres and many were below 1,000 acres. However several owners had purchased more than one lot with the result that there was a range of size from

9000 acres to under 100 acres. Sizes over 3000 acres were exceptional. In general the areas within the river valleys were selected first, leaving the intervening highlands. As a result above the Native Location No. 1 and No. 2 which divide the Upper Umkomanzi area into two, the settlements in the Umkomaas and Umzimkulu valleys did not meet. Settlement had not penetrated the foothills of the Drakensberg, although at the Sani Pass it reached to within nine miles of the Basuto boundary as the 'tongues' of development reached up the valleys. Many of the settlements were isolated from their neighbours, either through the intervening waste lands or through the blocks of native purchase lands. It seems likely that as communications improved these lands, especially after the founding of Bulwer, were able to produce beef and wool at competitive prices, which had not been possible before, while in the south similar developments were taking place.

In the remainder of the County areas held by speculators and land companies registered another decline. Only 16.7 per cent of the County in private hands was held by speculators. The decrease was largely due to the large scale sales by the Natal Land and Colonization Company which had reduced its holdings in the County from 211,451 acres in 1880 to 162,867 acres in 1890. The Company had been able to sell some of its farms in the west of the County but retained much of its land in the south and south-east, where the land prices asked by the Company were not competitive with others. The private speculators had sold most of their land, leaving two with substantial holdings. J. van der Plank still retained over 41,000 acres, much of it in the south-east of the County and G. J. Cato a further 19,000 acres on the road between Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Otherwise private speculation had become negligible.

The degree of subdivision increased slightly in the period from 1880 to 1890 although it mainly continued to the east of York and also in the south-east of the County. The considerable increase in the number of holdings was due essentially to the extension of the settled area in a series of new holdings. The ownership pattern in the older areas of the County remained much as it had in 1880.

Land prices (Table 89) showed only a slight improvement on the

1880 levels, although now 85 per cent of sales want for more than the Government minimum price of 10s. an acre and 27 per cent for £1 an acre or more. The prices showed a fairly marked uniformity across the County with the low values being evenly distributed except in the vicinity of Pietermaritzburg. The lots close to Pietermaritzburg now fetched up to £8. an acre especially in the zone to the north-west of the city. Intermediate prices appear to have depended to a large extent upon the amount of improvement that had taken place, in the form of buildings and fencing, so that prices over £1 per acre were fairly evenly distributed through the County.

TABLE 89

LAND PRICES IN PIETERMARITZBURG COUNTY, 1890

Value	No. of Sales	Acreage	Average size
Under 10s.	9	8,237	915
10s. to 19s. 11d.	27	32,423	1201
£1 to 39s. 11d.	24	13,915	580
£2 to 99s. 11d.	8	758	95
£5 and over	6	384	64
Total	74	55,717	753

4. 5. 6. Victoria County

There had been a slight extension of the settled area of Victoria County between 1880 and 1890, which amounted to approximately 9,000 acres. The area of European owned farms, however, declined as a result of Native and church purchases. As a result in 1890, 337,439 acres were held in 510 European holdings (Table 90). The situation was not unlike that in 1860. The area held by the churches increased to 4,166 acres, Natives to 7,148 acres and Indians to 960 acres.

A comparison with the figures for 1880 shows that the decline in the number of holdings on the Settlement Schemes continued, but not as fast as they had before. Part of the decrease was due to the purchase of settlement lots by other groups. It will also be noticeable that the extension of settlement in the north of the County involved new farms and consequently an increase in the number of holdings there.

TABLE 90

FARM SIZES IN VICTORIA COUNTY 1890

Size	Settlement Schemes		Remainder of County		Total	
	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area
6 - 20	32	585	34	423	66	1,008
21 - 50	46	1,890	19	698	65	2,588
51 - 100	33	2,653	37	3,049	70	5,702
101 - 200	29	4,341	46	6,674	75	11,015
201 - 300	10	2,419	34	8,977	44	11,396
301 - 500	14	5,511	41	15,225	55	20,736
501 - 700	2	1,161	31	17,964	33	19,125
701 - 1000	1	724	22	18,468	23	19,192
1001 - 1500	3	3,451	28	34,951	31	38,402
1501 - 2000	-	-	13	22,023	13	22,023
2001 - 3000	-	-	16	37,889	16	37,889
3001 - 5000	-	-	8	30,428	8	30,428
5001 - 10000	-	-	8	49,351	8	49,351
Over 10,000	-	-	3	68,584	3	68,584
Total	170	22,735	340	314,704	510	337,439

In addition in the south the expansion of suburban Durban had the effect of subdividing more land into smallholdings, many of which were too small to be included in the study. As a result the number of European holdings remained static.

There were very few changes on the settlement schemes in the period from 1880 to 1890. On the Cotton Lands Estate the number of owners decreased by 6 to 93. The Government and finance companies reduced their holdings but this was offset by an increase in Indian holdings and the division of 140 acres into small lots. Government holdings were reduced to 614 acres. However on the Byrne estate nearest to Durban a remarkable reorganisation had taken place in ten years. The Government area was reduced from 230 to 20 acres, while the Natal Bank sold its 390 acres. The reorganisation involved the purchase of 1073 acres in 11 lots by the Natal Central Sugar Company, which had started work in the southern part of Victoria County and a further 1547 acres was now held by a neighbouring farmer. As a result less than half the estate, 1640 acres out of a total of 4419 acres, was held by farmers actually living on it.

The marking zone already remarked upon persisted in 1890 with few

changes. Subdivision of land to the north of the Umgeni had resulted in some very small lots but few had been reduced to below 6 acres in extent. The degree of stability may be noted by the fact that the remainders of farms which straddled the main road to the north had not been much affected in the ten years. In this zone of the County to the south of Cotton Lands, 9,834 acres had been in the hands of the produce companies. The largest was the Natal Central Sugar Company with 5277 acres. None of the other three sugar companies owned over 2000 acres. Parts of this were still in the hands of speculators and land companies but the proportion had fallen considerably.

North of Cotton Lands the Tongaat area was extremely confused as the land had been divided into a series of small lots of 30 to 700 acres with blocks of land held by the Natal Land and Colonization Company and W. Nosworthy, whose lands were administered by the Company. To the North of Tongaat the extensive tracts of land held as a speculation still stretched as far as Stanger. However the Natal Land and Colonization Company had begun plans to dispose of their Chaka's Kraal Estate. At Chaka's Kraal the land was divided from 1882 onwards on an irregular basis. Lots of 30 to 200 acres were surveyed and sold. By 1890 three lots had been sold to Europeans and a further four to Natives. A price of 40s. per acre was demanded and this was payable on instalments. The division was in part speculative, as several sales had been cancelled and the land had as a result to revert to the Company. Much of the farm areas, however, remained occupied by native squatters or unused.

North of the Groutville Mission Reserve the pattern remained similar to that of 1880, except for a marked increase in Native and church holdings. There had been little actual extension of the occupied area, although some land had been filled in and a number of the grants which had reverted to the Government in the 1870's had been reallocated. J. L. Hullett had purchased scattered farms to include nearly 6,500 acres on three estates, one of which was on new land in the Tugela valley. The land of the old Agricultural and Emigration Company at New Guelderland had been divided into lots of 6 and 667 acres for settlement purposes, thus extending the area of small farms nearer to the Coast.

The coast, however, remained almost exclusively in the hands of the Addison Brothers and the Natal Land and Colonization Company.

The County was still largely undeveloped as the railway still went no further than Verulam and consequently development north of Tongaat was limited. Planters had proved that sugar cane cultivation was possible to the north and that growing conditions were probably better than in Alexandra County. The reorganisation of the industry, started in the 1880's, had already begun to show that in spite of falling world sugar prices planters could make a profit. The importance of the Natal Central Sugar Company cannot be overestimated. It provided evidence that central milling facilities could assist the development of the Sugar Industry. The increase in the area owned by the sugar companies illustrated their strength in a period of relative decline.

Most of the private speculators had now either sold their properties at considerable profit or turned to sugar planting themselves. However, the Natal Land and Colonization Company, which once again increased its holdings in the County, possessed some 82,182 acres, or nearly a quarter of the area of the County. This Company which had taken a considerable interest and part in the development of the coast was still trying to sell its land at prices higher than those ruling in private transactions, and at prices of at least four times the Government minimum.

Land prices once more showed a general improvement on the conditions of ten years before (Table 91). The prices of land in the Umgeni lots continued to rise, while that to the north now reached £2 to £5 per acre. Beyond this in the settlement schemes £1 to £3 per acre was general and then prices decreased rapidly northwards to 4s. an acre for poor land close to the Tugela valley. The Government, which possessed only the poorer lands, was still in a weak position to sell land at 10s. per acre.

4. 5. 7. Durban County

In Durban County the alienated area remained static in the period 1880-1890. The area in the hands of European farmers declined from 121,000 acres in 1880 to 114,000 acres in 1890 largely as a result of the

TABLE 91

LAND VALUES IN VICTORIA COUNTY, 1890

Value	No. of acres	Acreage
4s. to 9s. 11d.	4	1,047
10s. to 19s. 11d.	9	6,925
£1 to 39s. 11d.	12	4,901
£2 to 99s. 11d.	16	5,012
£5 and over	7	560
Total	48	18,445

establishment of the Trappist Mission at Marianhill and the purchase of lands by Indians. Although a decline in area took place, the number of holdings increased to 280, as a result of considerable subdivision around Durban. The number of holdings of 50 acres or below accounted for nearly half the total (Table 92). At the other extreme the Natal Land and Colonization Company increased its holdings in the County to 25,693 acres which was 22.6 per cent of the European held area.

TABLE 92

FARM SIZES IN DURBAN COUNTY, 1890

Size	No. of holdings	Area
6 - 20	72	929
21 - 50	66	2,192
51 - 100	48	3,547
101 - 200	26	3,822
201 - 300	18	4,675
301 - 500	12	4,804
501 - 700	6	3,398
701 - 1000	10	8,212
1001 - 2000	10	13,685
2001 - 3000	3	6,937
3001 - 5000	2	9,664
5001 - 10000	6	33,678
Over 10000	1	18,504
Total	280	114,047

The areas held by speculators and land companies was reduced by 10,000 acres compared with 1880, largely as a result of sales in the interior of the County and the division of farms close to Durban into smallholdings.

Cato's holding at Brickfield had been finally divided up by 1883. Most of the lots even those divided in the last 10 years had been further divided. Thus of the 25 new lots laid off between 1881 and 1883 only six were over 6 acres. On the remainder of the estate only 16 holdings remained at six acres or above. At Cato Manor a further 177 acres had been laid off in lots, all of which were over 6 acres. It would appear that Cato was engaged in extensive leasings at this time. In other areas around Durban subdivision was proceeding. At Bellair to the north of the Umbilo River over 850 acres had been laid out as small lots for residential purposes close to the railway stations. At Wandsbeck all but 425 acres of the farm had been disposed of in lots of between 20 and 283 acres. Some of them were amalgamated to form larger holdings. At Pinetown further subdivision had taken place with an extension of the suburban area of the town. At New Germany the Natal Land Company controlled by J. Bergtheil was able to dispose of 1500 acres of land with the virtual completion of the original scheme of colonization put forward in 1849. However many of the lots sold were sold in twos or threes to make economic holdings. Some of the holdings built up reached 2000 acres although most were only a few hundred. New Germany was still the limit of close settlement in semi rural form on the road to Pietermaritzburg. Beyond lay large farms.

The area south of the main road had been the scene of a number of major changes. Collison's lands had been bought by the Natal Land and Colonization Company, which then possessed a continuous block of land extending for almost twelve miles on the north bank of the Umlaas River. All these farms were duly surveyed in the 1880's for settlement schemes into small lots (Table 93). They were offered for sale, but apart from the sale of all but one lot at Zeekoegat, the schemes were not very successful. Zeekoegat was purchased by the Trappist order at 40s. an acre, compared with the 50s. originally asked for by the Company.

The division of these four farms represented the largest single scheme on the Company's land in the 1880's. The four farms had come into the Company's possession in 1880 and 1889. The comparative lack of success is largely the result of the Company wishing to make as large

TABLE 93

DURBAN FARMS DIVIDED BY THE NATAL LAND & COLONIZATION COMPANY, 1882

Farm	Area	No. of lots	Prices per acre asked	Area sold 1890
Zeekoegat	5,912	65	50s.	5912
Dassenhoek	6,185	26	50s.	-
Welbedacht	4,936	35	70s. - 90s.	-
Zeekoe Vallei	2,163	22	50s. - 70s.	-
Total	19,196	148		5912

a profit as possible. The Company paid a total of £11,116 for the four properties in 1880-81. After subdivision, the costs of which were under £1000, it tried to sell the land for £56,795. This represented a more than fivefold increase in the price of the land in two years. However, the sale of Zeekoegat for £12,899 more than paid for the purchase price of the four properties and the subdivisional survey. It is hardly surprising that the Company was unable to sell most of the land. The three remaining farms were occupied by Natives who in 1890 paid £300 for hut rents.

The sales of land near Durban continued slowly. The lots offered were still very small, being mostly under 50 acres. These fetched prices of approximately £7 per acre. It is significant that no new lots had been sold since 1884 and 2 lots had reverted to the Company as the purchasers were unable to pay. South of Durban the Wentworth and Bluff lots had registered few changes in the ten years period, but at Isipingo the Natal Land and Colonization Company had purchased the remainder of the farm and some amalgamation of holdings had taken place.

The turnover of land was comparatively low, 5.3 per cent of the alienated area. Only 43 lots extending over nearly 7,000 acres changed hands in 1890. All the lots were sold for more than 10s. per acre. Over half the lots fetched more than £5 per acre and 40 per cent at £10 and over. These prices represented a major advance and showed a widened gap between rural and semi-urban land values.

4. 5. 8. Alexandra County

Alexandra County experienced a considerable increase in the settled area, between 1880 and 1890. In 1890 a total of 142,667 acres was in European hands as opposed to 107,922 acres ten years before. Alexandra had considerable empty areas which were suitable for colonization projects. 144 holdings had been formed in the County (Table 94). In addition 4,782 acres were held by natives and 1,024 acres by Indians, part of it in exchange for free passages to India.

TABLE 94

FARM SIZES IN ALEXANDRA COUNTY, 1890

Size	No. of holdings	Area
6 - 20	2	20
21 - 50	3	122
51 - 100	12	1,139
101 - 200	20	2,840
201 - 300	14	3,669
301 - 500	22	9,023
501 - 700	17	10,109
701 - 1000	15	12,975
1001 - 2000	21	27,193
2001 - 3000	7	18,140
3001 - 5000	5	16,292
Ovër 5000	6	41,145
Total	144	142,667

The extension of 40,000 acres in the alienated and allotted area was the result of the selection of large areas of land in the interior. However there was still no continuous belt of farm land from north to south. Most of the newly allotted land was in the north of the County with isolated farms and blocks of farms elsewhere. The new holdings were mainly close to the road linking Umzinto with the interior and vast tracts of land to the north and south of the road remained empty. The Government settlement scheme proved to be unsuccessful and it remained unoccupied (Chapter III). The main activity was centred around Umzinto itself where a number of small planters were active.

The Natal Land and Colonization Company still possessed 10,677 acres, the Natal Bank 8,033 acres which was situated on some of the best

land in the County. Reynolds Brothers had now revived the Umzinto Sugar Company and with over 11,000 acres they were the largest landowners in the County.

Land prices in the County improved considerably. No sales in 1890 were below 10s. per acre and many of the smaller lots were sold at considerably more than the Government minimum price. The sales were however mostly confined to small farms which may have provided an incorrect assessment of the situation.

4. 5. 9. Alfred County

The alienated and allotted area of Alfred County leapt from 11,000 acres in 1880 to over 112,000 acres in 1890. This rapid colonization was partly the result of Government encouragement and private enterprise. The Government settlement scheme at Marburg was successful although the Umzimkulwana was not. By 1890, 172 European holdings had been established on 96,942 acres (Table 95). The remaining 15,000 acres was held by Natives and churches.

TABLE 95

FARM SIZES IN ALFRED COUNTY, 1890

Size	No. of holdings	Area
6 - 20	7	118
21 - 50	10	391
51 - 100	46	4,449
101 - 200	27	4,085
201 - 300	15	3,642
301 - 500	14	4,735
501 - 700	14	8,243
701 - 1000	10	7,853
1001 - 2000	16	24,329
2001 - 3000	8	18,571
3001 - 5000	4	15,040
Over 5,000	1	5,486
Total	172	96,942

One of the main events of the 1880's had been the establishment of the Marburg Settlement, where 43 holdings were in existence on the 50 lots laid out in 1881. The entire scheme had been occupied by 1890. Most

of the holdings were of the original 100 acre lots allotted to each immigrant family. These surrounded several earlier grants on the coast and provided a solid block of grants extending for eight miles south of the Umzimkulu. There were few farms along the coast, largely as a result of poor communications by sea and land. One at the Umtamvuma mouth was intended for holiday purposes, the first on the coast.

In the interior a few farms ranging in size from 20 to 4600 acres occurred. However, most of the land remained unoccupied beyond a few farms in isolated blocks, except around Harding, the largest area of settlement within the County. The Harding area had experienced rapid growth largely as a result of its proximity to Griqualand East. The open land which had not been assigned as Native Locations and Forest Reserves was quickly taken. It is surprising therefore that the Government settlement scheme to the south east of Harding at Umzimkulwana was unsuccessful. The lots which were planned were too small and in consequence the government abandoned the scheme and undertook to resurvey the lots to larger and more economic units. The majority of the farms in the area were over a thousand acres, with only a few of under 200 acres surviving from the small selections of the 1870's.

The native purchase areas were mostly in the centre and north of the County adjoining existing Locations which occupied nearly half the County area. It is probable that most of the remaining Crown Lands were occupied by Native squatters. The whole of the south-western boundary of the County adjoined the Transkeian Territories of the Cape Colony which constituted an extensive Native reserve. Alfred County was still too isolated to receive large numbers of settlers, even though Port Shepstone harbour had been completed and regular services were in operation between it and Durban.

4. 5. 10. Church and Non-European Lands

The 1880's had experienced a major expansion of the alienated areas. Although this was a predominately European movement, it was marked by an extension of missions and non-European land ownership. In the main the Indians purchased or were granted areas on the coast

where they undertook intensive cultivation, while Native and Church purchases were more general. In all over 300,000 acres was now in the hands of the Churches and Non-Europeans in 1890 (Table 96).

TABLE 96
CHURCH AND NON-EUROPEAN LAND OWNERSHIP IN NATAL, 1890

County	Churches	Natives	Indians
Klip River	23,908	83,482	-
Weenen	9,179	11,708	-
Umvoti	21,855	1,482	-
Pietermaritzburg	37,846	84,189	101
Victoria	4,166	7,148	960
Durban	7,820	-	425
Alexandra	-	4,782	1,024
Alfred	1,156	13,928	-
Natal	105,930	206,719	2,510

Native purchases had been considerable during the 1880's. Extensive areas were allotted to them in the period 1881-1883. This was particularly the case in Pietermaritzburg County, along the Umkomaas valley. However, many were unable to pay the instalments and many portions reverted to the Crown, and the Natives were given land to the value of the payments received. It was usually only a small fraction of the original farm. The sorting out of the allotments took place in the period 1887 to 1889 with the result that the increase of 140,000 acres between 1880 and 1890 is a real and permanent one. The two counties most affected were Klip River and Pietermaritzburg, where areas already occupied by Native squatters were placed on the market in the 1880's. Wherever possible the local Native chiefs tried to purchase the land to secure their title so they would not be in fear of dispossession. This worked well in some areas but not in others such as Umvoti and Weenen Counties where most of the land was already in European hands.

The missionary societies, especially the Abbot of Marianhill, began large scale purchasing in 1883 when the Trappists established themselves in South Africa. The main activity was confined to Durban County and the Southern part of Pietermaritzburg County. The purchases were

partly as an investment but partly as a means of assisting friendly Native chiefs who might otherwise have been dispossessed of their land if European settlers had purchased it when it was sold by the Crown. The mission land purchases were quite distinct from the Mission Reserves established in 1856 to augment the Native Locations and provide land for non-tribal Natives.

Indian purchases had been extremely small and localised, being confined to the coastal counties and a small area in Pietermaritzburg. Only a few had taken advantage of the commuting of their free return passage to India into rural lots of 15 acres. All of these, 50, were in Alexandra County. The remainder constituted private purchases. Here the importance of the settlement schemes needs to be stressed. Lots were usually small and uneconomic by European standards. The Indians were willing to buy 20 acres and then make a living on it. The settlement schemes thus provided the ideal area of Indian settlement.

4. 5. 11. Speculators and land companies' lands

The areas of speculative holdings again fell between 1880 and 1890. In 1890 only 772,977 acres were in the hands of private speculators, land companies and banks. This amounted to only 12.5 per cent of the Colony in European hands. The Natal Land and Colonization Company held 443,343 acres and was as a result still the largest landowner in the Colony. The Company had increased its holdings in the coastal counties of Durban and Victoria but otherwise had sold substantial areas within the interior where its policy of selling pastoral holdings had been successful (Table 141). In the coastal counties the settlement schemes had been too highly priced with the result that comparatively few sales had taken place.

The areas in the hands of banks and finance companies amounted to 25,250 acres, most of which was in the hands of the Natal Bank. This again represented an appreciable drop of 35 per cent between 1880 and 1890. The area held by the Collegiate Institutions was reduced through the sale of some of the Weenen lands. However, the area in the hands of private speculators fell by 22 per cent in 10 years to 288,000 acres.

This represented 6.0 per cent of the area held by European farmers, compared with 28.5 per cent in 1860. Private speculators were very difficult to identify owing to sales to persons who might not occupy the land. No records of private leases are available. The old style personal land speculation had almost passed from the scene in 1890.

The produce companies showed some advances between 1880 and 1890 to hold 15,083 acres of the coastal counties, but these were still in their infancy. Similarly the beginning of land purchases on the coal-field by mining companies was the start of another major trend. However in the main 1890 represented maybe the high water mark of private, individual farmers, owning their own land near the end of the speculative period but before the new produce companies began to displace them.

4.5.12 Land Values

Land sales were considerably lower in volume than in 1880 due in part to a scarcity of money on credit, but also to more settled conditions within the farming community whereby the large number of transfers associated with speculation had almost ceased. As a result only 4.2 per cent of the alienated area was transferred in 1890 (Table 97). The cession of areas allotted under the 1880 and 1889 regulations has not been included, with the result that the alienated (granted) area was appreciably smaller than the occupied one (note particularly Alfred County).

TABLE 97
LAND SALES 1890

County	Area Alienated	Area transferred	Percentage
Klip River	1,775,171	78,277	4.4
Weenen	1,011,563	46,736	4.6
Umvoti	638,853	23,267	3.7
Pietermaritzburg	1,524,427	55,717	3.6
Victoria	353,725	18,445	5.2
Durban	130,316	6,907	5.3
Alexandra	103,913	4,659	4.5
Alfred	8,114	600	7.4
Natal	5,546,082	234,608	4.2

The more stable conditions gave a better indication of land prices throughout the Colony than probably any year studied before. The

improvements in prices may be seen from Table 98. Only 22.2 per cent of the land sold failed to reach the Government price of 10s. an acre on new land, while 22.4 per cent reached more than twice that value. Most land, however, was priced in the category 10s. to 19s. 11d. per acre, which represented a highly satisfactory advance on previous conditions and showed the now basically healthy state of the land market. Close to the town, prices for small lots rose to over £25 per acre. This is borne out by the fact that the lots sold for £10 an acre or more only averaged 15 acres apiece.

TABLE 98
LAND VALUES, 1890

Value	No. of sales	Acreage
Under 4s.	2	1,104
4s. to 9s. 11d.	36	50,997
10s. to 19s. 11d.	90	131,287
£1 to 39s. 11d.	62	43,007
£2 to 99s. 11d.	36	6,424
£5 to 199s. 11d.	23	1,485
£10 and over	21	304
Total	270	234,608

4. 6. The Situation in 1900

4. 6. 1. Introduction

The period from 1891 to 1900 was a highly unsettled one in Natal, economic crises, the rinderpest outbreak, falling world prices for Natal's staples, political crisis and finally war, resulted in many upsets and many uncertainties both in the conomic field and in agriculture. However, it is surprising that the agricultural development of the Colony advanced in these years with marked increases in the areas of private ownership. The area which had in some way been alienated from the Crown in the European areas increased from 6.5 million aerea in 1890 to 7.6 million acres in 1900. Private European holdings now amounted to 7.1. million acres (fig. 50). The number of holdings also showed marked increase with 4326 over 6 acres in extent in the rural areas (Table 99).

TABLE 99
AREAS OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP, 1900

County	No. of Farms	Area	Average Size	Median Size
Klip River	890	2,309,927	2,595	1,800
Weenen	487	1,268,190	2,604	2,200
Umvoti	303	635,433	2,097	1,550
Pietermaritzburg	1,415	2,046,425	1,446	670
Victoria	497	345,605	695	180
Durban	307	112,726	367	70
Alexandra	180	186,688	1,037	600
Alfred	247	200,499	812	400
Natal	4,326	7,105,493	1,643	900

The figures for 1900 include a number of leases, but all the leases taken out in the period 1881-1884 had lapsed. The figures are therefore complete. The area of European ownership thus increased by 15 per cent between 1890 and 1910. This was less than the previous decade, largely as a result of the slowing down of active colonization which achieved a maximum in the 1880's. The amount of Crown Land was severely limited and by 1900, over half the extension of the settled region was accounted for

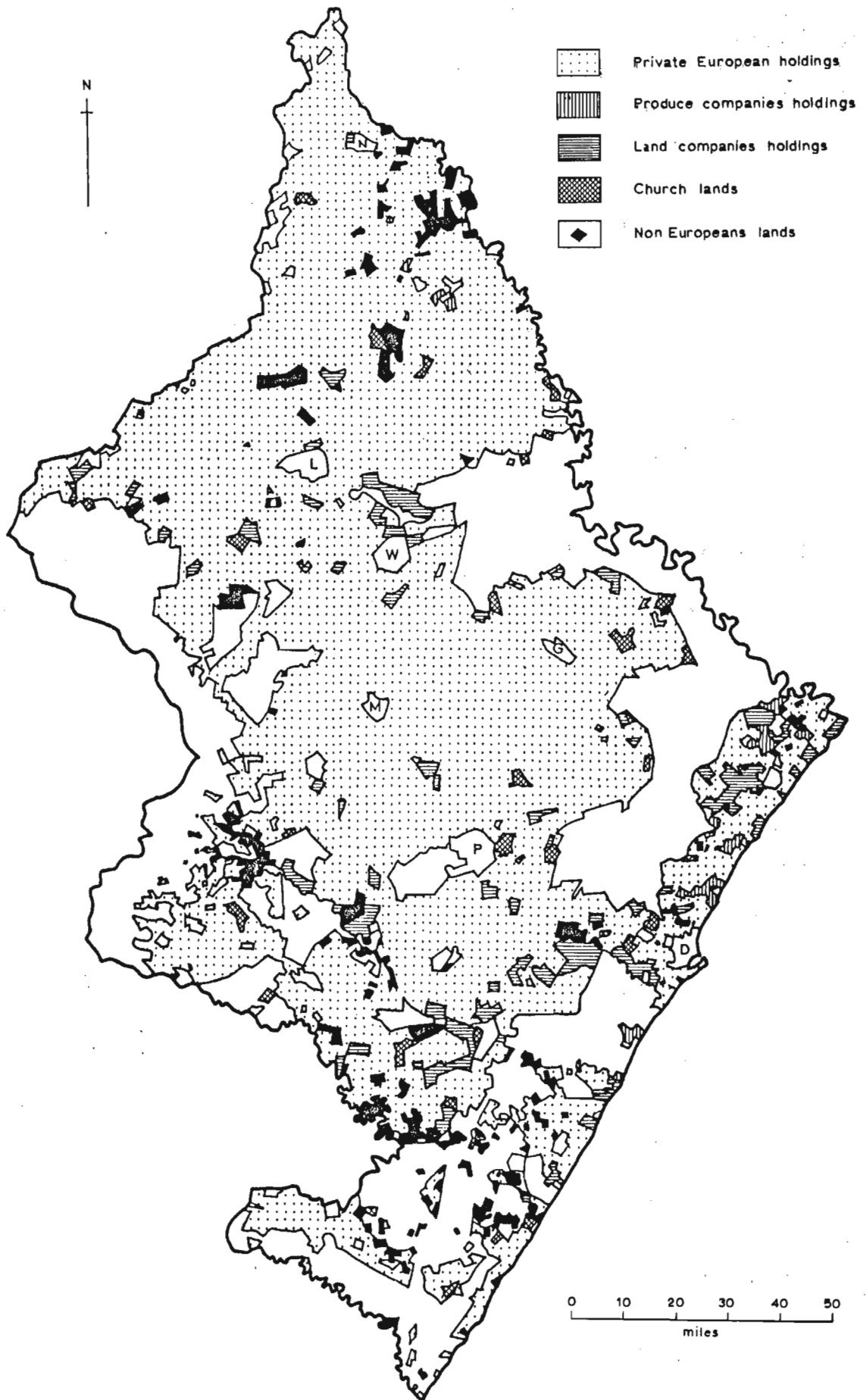


Fig. 50. Area occupied in 1900.

in Klip River and Pietermaritzburg Counties, with increases of over 300,000 acres apiece. The increase in medium sized holdings (1500 to 3000 acres) was the most noticeable feature of the internal arrangement within the European areas. The number increased from 570 to 885 or by 55 per cent, the largest increase in any of the major size groups. The areas owned by churches, Natives and Indians increased appreciably from 315,259 acres in 1890 to 545,691 acres in 1900.

4. 6. 2. Klip River County

One of the main areas of expansion was in Klip River County, particularly in the north within the areas laid out for leasing, in the period 1881-1884. These lands were opened up again in smaller lots than those for the leaseholds which had been terminated, although frequently several of the new lots were held by one man. The average size of holding was thus depressed by the presence of the much smaller holdings of less than 2000 acres and frequently less than 1000 acres which were created in northern Natal (Table 100).

TABLE 100
FARM SIZES IN KLIP RIVER COUNTY, 1900

Size	No.	Area
6 - 50	14	287
51 - 100	9	809
101 - 200	20	3,146
201 - 500	58	22,341
501 - 1000	159	121,057
1001 - 2000	258	398,310
2001 - 3000	130	313,603
3001 - 4000	82	277,080
4001 - 5000	48	210,541
5001 - 6000	30	163,231
6001 - 7000	18	114,551
7001 - 8000	19	145,058
8001 - 10000	22	187,414
Over 10000	23	352,499
Total	890	2,309,927

The increase in the number of holdings was noticeable, with an extra 277 compared with 1890. In addition the medium sized farms had increased appreciably in numbers. Those between 1001 and 3000 acres had almost doubled in number from 209 to 388 in ten years, while the

number of larger units (over 3000 acres) remained static.

The areas which remained unoccupied in 1900 in Klip River were mostly the smaller areas between grants which through survey oversights had not been included in older farms, together with the undesirable parts of the County in the broken lands of the Drakensberg and in the Buffalo River Valley. In the areas of high relief there was little demand for land other than on grazing leases, at low rentals. Several leases had been taken out to lands adjacent to the Orange Free State border but these amounted to no more than 20,000 acres, while leases in the Buffalo valley had been eliminated. Government policy of retaining grazing lands and coal bearing lands in its own hands had been abandoned in the 1890's. Nearly all the coal bearing lands of the Newcastle division had been allocated by 1900, but comparatively little to Mining companies (6580 acres sold and 3430 leased by the Government).

The Native purchases and converted leases now amounted to 140,862 acres, nearly twice the area they possessed in 1890. Nearly half of the new land was in the area to the south-east of Newcastle on the site of the old Newcastle leases, which resulted in a discontinuous pattern of European farms. Some European farms appear to have been occupied by Natives, with no European occupation, from the evidence of the magistrate at the time of enquiries in the 1930's. (filed with grants in Deeds Office).

The continued presence of large farms of over 10,000 acres is noteworthy when the general tendency to subdivision is considered. The size of holding, although reduced, showed only a slight decrease in the number of units over 9000 acres. The larger units were still confined to the southern part of the County as there had been no large scale amalgamation in the Newcastle area to produce large holdings. As a result the area of the large holdings still coincided with the areas granted initially to the Voortrekkers and others in 1843-48. However, a few of the larger units had been subdivided, upon the death of the owner, including one holding of over 26,000 acres which had been divided amongst six heirs, none of whom received more than 5,000 acres. In this way subdivision reduced large ranches to comparatively small units which were smaller than most of their neighbours. It was expected however

that as a result of the linking of the Witwatersrand and Durban by railway that produce could be moved more economically than before, so that subdivision would not ruin the owners.

The subdivision of holdings was also reflected in the activity of the Natal Land and Colonization Company, whose holdings in the County had been reduced to 55,386 acres in 1900. The policy of selling complete pastoral holdings had to a large extent been abandoned in favour of selling smaller lots. The 8000 acre farm Wanhoop in the Drakensberg foothills was thus divided into 6 holdings, one of which had been sold by 1900. At Dansekraal, outside Ladysmith, no new sales had been made, but at Roos Boom comparatively little remained in the Company's hands as most of the lots had been sold. There remained the main blocks of Company holdings, particularly those adjacent to the Klip River Location which remained unsaleable, as did the adjacent Crown Lands.

The mining companies began purchasing on a larger scale as the coalbearing areas appeared on the market. It was found generally preferable to purchase the land rather than to lease it or to lease the mineral rights as the Government had done when it leased the grazing in the 1880's and 1890's. Thus 6580 acres scattered throughout the Newcastle division was actually owned by the Colliery companies but another 16,831 acres had been leased on long term bases (in general for 25 years). The leases were mostly for areas adjacent to the coal mines and included the seams, but generally not the plant as much of the mining was by adit mining in the sides of the hills. The main concentration was around Dundee and to the north towards Newcastle. A number of syndicates were also formed to work the coal, but some of these were not successful. Some^{had} leased land privately, such as the Manor Par Syndicate (3 properties with 4722 acres) or took out allotments from the Government. A total of 9231 acres was held by syndicates interested in coal. The private leases are incomplete and so these figures are tentative, but the mining companies appear to have been more careful with their legal position with regard to leases than the land companies of the middle decades of the previous century had been. A total of 32,642 acres was thus directly or indirectly in the hands of mining companies, by 1900, compared with a

tenth of that ten years before. This was one of the most direct effects of the construction of the railway upon the ownership of land in the County.

The price of land in the County was liable to violent fluctuation in 1900. The whole of Klip River, with the exception of the besieged garrisons was occupied by the forces of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic by the end of the 1899, and the County was actually annexed to the South African Republic on the 10th November 1899, a long-standing aim of the Republic. By the end of May 1900 the whole of Natal had been regained by Imperial forces but the losses in animals and crops had been considerable. The manpower was depleted and the County was particularly involved in the problem of Natal citizens who had joined the Boer forces. This meant in some cases the loss of lands. As a result there was only a slow return to normal. It was only in July that the first transfer of rural property took place in Klip River, and the total amount transferred was small. A half per cent of the area was sold. Only 10,000 acres changed hands in 26 transactions and the prices showed little improvement over 1890 levels with nearly 70 per cent of the land being sold for less than £1 per acre. The effects of the war were present for a long time but these effects were not visible yet in the land ownership pattern.

4. 6. 3. Weenen County

Weenen County was far less affected by the war. General Joubert's advanced patrols reached Mooi River but they were soon withdrawn to take part in the siege of Ladysmith. As a result activity continued fairly normally in the County. The 1890's had been a period of expansion in the County, 125,000 acres of land had been added to the European held areas and this was now divided into 487 holdings (Table 101). The main areas of expansion had been in the Drakensberg where the areas around the Drakensberg Locations Nos. 1 and 2 had been completed and the land up to the mountains themselves had been occupied. By 1900 there remained little good Crown land in the Drakensberg beyond a few isolated patches. In general settlement had reached about 6000 feet above sea level and approximately four to eight miles from the Basutoland border.

This the Government considered was the limit of settlement and few new lots were surveyed beyond it.

TABLE 101
FARM SIZES IN WEENEN COUNTY, 1900

Size	No. of Holdings	Area
6 - 50	24	913
51 - 100	7	469
101 - 200	8	1,179
201 - 500	20	7,991
501 - 1000	38	29,864
1001 - 2000	132	197,206
2001 - 3000	103	259,236
3001 - 4000	59	191,815
4001 - 5000	35	154,083
5001 - 6000	16	87,758
6001 - 7000	27	169,152
7001 - 10000	12	95,561
Over 10000	6	72,963
Total	487	1,268,190

The expansion of settled area was accomplished through the extension of essentially pastoral holdings in the Drakensberg in lots of 1000 to 2000 acres. This accounts for the considerable increase in the number of holdings of this size. A few were smaller. A few were also larger as a result of extensive amalgamations, producing farms several thousand acres in extent. Several men accumulated four or five lots and one seven lots. This suggests that the Government's policy on the size of pastoral holdings was unsuccessful and that 2000 acres was not universally acceptable.

The general division of properties continued and as a result the average size of holdings fell by 600 acres to 2604 acres. Most of the subdivisions were restricted to the south and east of the County. In the north-west many remained at the original grant size. The two settlement schemes at Weenen and Frere progressed satisfactorily. Only two of the 17 lots on the Weenen Townlands scheme remained unsold by 1900, and consideration was being given to an extension of the scheme. The result of the scheme had been the introduction of 15 families into

the depressed area around Weenen. The other scheme at Frere had been more successful as a result of the general rise in prices. Eight holdings totalling 1,138 acres had been sold and the prospects for agricultural development appeared bright, although the Township of Frere was still not attracting settlers and looked unlikely to do so owing to its proximity to Colenso (12 miles) and Estcourt (11 miles). However, the lack of adequate irrigation water for the smaller lots was probably the main cause of the failure of the scheme, as it was originally envisaged.

Land prices in the year were mainly in the range 10s. to 30s. per acre, according to position and development. Even speculative purchasers were able to obtain 20s. an acre in the older part of the County for completely unused land. The lower prices mainly applied to the new areas adjacent to the Drakensberg. As in the case of Klip River, the transfers of the land purchased under 20 and 10 year credit do not appear as the Deeds of Cession were not considered to be the same as the Deeds of Transfer.

The areas occupied by Natives and Churches showed little increase. Only 15,785 acres were held by the Churches and 14,732 by Natives. The new additions were mostly adjacent to the Drakensberg Locations.

4. 6. 4. Umvoti County

In Umvoti County some more small areas were occupied during the 1890's. These were all adjacent to the Umvoti and Tugela Locations in the broken areas below the Midlands tablelands. Only 10,000 acres was added, part of it to Native and Church purchasers. In 1900 there were therefore 635,433 acres in European ownership in 303 holdings (Table 102).

The most noticeable feature of the land ownership in Umvoti was the continued subdivision of properties. Between 1890 and 1900 the average size fell from 2724 to 2097 acres. The main areas of subdivision were west of Greytown and in the south of the County. However, subdivisions were general in all but the extreme north. The number of farms over 6000 acres declined from 30 to 17 in the decade. The majority of the larger holdings were to be found in the northern part of the County. The zoning was more marked than in 1890.

Nearly all the main speculators had sold their land between 1890

and 1910, leaving the Natal Land and Colonization Company with 26,697 acres. This represented only a slight decline since 1890 as a result of purchases in the north of the County from speculators. The Company had disposed of much of its holdings in the south of the County at prices between 16s. and 20s. an acre and was actively engaged in trying to sell the rest of its lands in the County as a result of the general rise in prices.

The prices increase was particularly noticeable as 1890 had not been a good year for the land market of Umvoti. In 1900 prices were appreciably higher with all lands sold at more than 10s. an acre and 56 per cent fetching £1 per acre or more. The prices were uniformly high except as might be expected, in the broken lands adjacent to the Native Locations.

TABLE 102
FARM SIZES IN UMVOTI COUNTY, 1900 .

Size	No. of Holdings	Area
6 - 100	19	1,351
101 - 250	14	2,296
251 - 500	24	9,617
501 - 1000	48	38,137
1001 - 2000	80	116,315
2001 - 3000	58	144,458
3001 - 4000	25	84,290
4001 - 5000	11	49,112
5001 - 6000	7	39,183
6001 - 7000	4	24,946
Over 7000	13	125,728
Total	303	635,433

4. 6. 5. Pietermaritzburg County

Pietermaritzburg County experienced a continuation of the land boom in the nineties which it had experienced in the eighties. Large acreages had been occupied in the south and west of the County, both under the Government Settlement Schemes and by private individuals. This had brought the limits of settlement along the river valleys to within four miles of Basutoland in places. As a result an additional 380,000 acres had passed from the Crown in the County. The expansion had been mostly

by European farmers but Natives had actively participated adding another 70,000 acres to the Native owned areas in European farming districts. In 1900 therefore a total of 2,046,425 acres was in the hands of Europeans in the County and this was divided into 1415 holdings (Table 103).

TABLE 103
FARM SIZES IN PIETERMARITZBURG COUNTY, 1900

Size	No. of Holdings	Area
6 - 20	92	1,584
21 - 50	99	3,982
51 - 100	91	7,104
101 - 200	106	16,383
201 - 300	76	18,997
301 - 500	134	54,264
501 - 700	124	72,793
701 - 1000	119	106,078
1001 - 2000	251	370,055
2001 - 3000	127	298,657
3001 - 4000	72	241,910
4001 - 5000	40	174,129
5001 - 6000	26	143,772
6001 - 7000	24	152,331
7001 - 8000	7	52,842
8001 - 10000	7	62,931
Over 10000	20	268,613
Total	1,415	2,046,425

The number of holdings on the 1850 Settlement schemes continued to fall, as may be witnessed by the reduction in the numbers of holdings below 100 acres, in spite of subdivision into smallholdings around Pietermaritzburg. The new farms in the newly opened lands were mostly of moderate size, 1500 to 4000 acres in extent, while elsewhere medium sized farms were largely the result of continued subdivision in the older settled parts of the County, where lands particularly around Pietermaritzburg and those held by speculators were being divided. Subdivision was a major feature of the 1890's largely as a result of increased land prices associated with new crops and new livestock techniques. The development of wattle on the one hand and dairying on the other hand, started to revolutionise farming in the Natal Midlands. The revolution led to smaller units than were necessary for sheep or beef cattle.

However, the smallholder could take little comfort from this as the settlement scheme lots were still too small for economic use. The number fell as a result of amalgamations. The Government wisely thought that further resumption would only antagonise the farming community. Many of the properties resumed in 1869 and 1872 were placed on the market in larger lots. The result was larger holdings (Table 104).

TABLE 104

FARM SIZES ON THE BYRNE ESTATES, 1900

Size (Acres)	Vaalkop & Dadelfontein	Dunbar	Beaulieu	Harmony	Little Harmony	Slang Spruit
20	8	5	22	9	1	3
40	2	6	14	5	4	1
50	3	1	7	5	1	-
50 & under	14	12	50	20	6	11
55 - 100	7	4	13	7	1	4
Over 100	13	11	17	7	3	6
Total	34	27	80	34	10	21

The Vaalkop and Dadelfontein Estate once again experienced major amalgamations. The number of holdings on the estate had fallen from the 110 holdings of 1860 to 34 in 1900. The fall in numbers from 1890 to 1900 was largely the result of the purchase of odd lots by the larger farmers. As a result 6 farms on the estate now exceeded 500 acres. Three lots in addition were regranted by the Crown but these amounted to only 600 acres. In 1900 the improved state of the scheme may be judged from the prices fetched by the two sales, which both reached 30s. per acre.

On the Dunbar Estate the Government continued to sell its land holdings to neighbouring farmers in single lots or groups of lots. The disposal of the land therefore did not involve the introduction of new settlers. In the period 1890 to 1900 a further 345 acres was added as nine lots were released.

The Beaulieu Estate experienced a similar pattern. The Crown

disposed of 283 acres in the decade 1891-1900, most of it to adjacent farmers. The number of holdings was reduced by the purchase of some of the 20 acre lots by other farmers on the estate. The reduction was, however, small. The number of land transactions in 1900 was also small as only 280 acres were sold. 75 acres of this was adjacent to Richmond which was expanding beyond its original limits, consequently prices reached £8 and £13 per acre. For the normal rural lots, prices of between £1 and £2 per acre. were obtained.

The Harmony Estate, as it was further from Richmond, was still in a depressed state. In the 1890's the Crown sold 1,240 acres as the ruling price on the estate had risen above the Government minimum. There remained a considerable number of lots still unappropriated. In the only two transactions to take place land prices were 15s. per acre. This showed no improvement on 1890. At the Little Harmony Estate only 40 more acres came on to the market and there was now no land remaining in Crown hands. On both these estates there had been some amalgamations to produce larger holdings.

The Slang Spruit and New England Estates remained active. At Slang Spruit the number of holdings fell sharply to two thirds the number ten years before. This was the result of purchases by a number of land owners to augment their own lands. This affected all sizes of lots. At New England the number of holdings had fallen by only one. However, the interest in these estates continued as may be illustrated by land prices which did not drop below £5 an acre and reached £20 on the New England Estate.

The other settlement schemes of the 1850's experienced little change. The number of holdings at Lidgetton fell but at York and at Karkloof conditions were fairly stable. At Lidgetton a further 12 lots were disposed of by the estate but all of these increased existing holdings. The existing holdings were further increased by amalgamations. The majority however, were still 20 acre lots and some doubt may be expressed as to whether they were occupied. The financial side of the estate did not appear to prosper in the decade as the sole lot sold in 1890 fetched only 30s. an acre. The York settlement retained the same

number of holdings. The price of land appears to have increased as the largest holding (3910 acres) was sold for 32s. an acre in 1900. The Karkloof estate also remained static apart from a couple of purchases of small bits by neighbouring farmers. There remained a large number of lots (15 out of 32) still registered in the 1850's owner's name and they remained unused.

The new settlement schemes of the previous 20 years had progressed satisfactorily. The Government now had three European schemes in progress within the County, at Wilgefontein, Dronk Vlei and Ulufafa. The Natal Land and Colonization Company had schemes at New Howick, Johnston and Shortts Retreat.

The Wilgefontein settlement remained static. All lots were occupied but 12 were not finally paid for. There had been a number of amalgamations reducing the number of holdings from the 40 planned to 30, with one owner possessing three lots. The Commonage remained in Government hands, but it was largely useless as many farmers did not use it. It appears to have continued to prosper as 84s. per acre was paid in the one transaction registered in 1900.

The Dronk Vlei Settlement Scheme proclaimed in 1896, had been allocated almost immediately. By 1900 only 4 of the 43 lots remained unoccupied. The lots were of a realistic size for small farmers as there was only one amalgamation of lots in the first five years of the settlement, and as a result the average size of holding was approximately 700 acres. The settlement although planned in the 1880's, had only been brought to fruition in the 1890's as the surrounding lands were occupied. The Ulufafa Settlement dating from the same year was equally successful. By the end of the 1900 all but three lots had been occupied. Both the schemes were specifically for Europeans. The other schemes of settlements appear to have been for Native purchasers, although several were purchased by Europeans when Native purchasers were either not available or unable to continue their payments.

The Natal Land and Colonization Company's schemes were pursued vigorously. The general rise in land prices in most of the County during the 1890's resulted in greatly increased sales of the Company's

lands, although they also recommended purchases. As a result their holdings were reduced to 158,511 acres. The main settlement scheme continued to be at New Howick. In 1900 the Company's area had been reduced to just over 10,000 acres and 14 of the 32 lots had been sold. This left the more inaccessible lots in the north-west of the estate. The 14 lots however were held by 7 owners, indicating that the Company's hopes of introducing a family per lot were unfounded. The Company was not influenced by ideas such as settlement programmes as was the case with the Government. Purchasers were welcomed, even if they did own the adjacent lot. At Johnston only one purchaser had appeared by 1900 to purchase 84 acres. The remainder of the scheme remained waste. At Shortts Retreat the Company had managed to sell a further two lots, reducing the Company owned areas to 1129 acres, although several lots were in the process of being purchased.

Around Pietermaritzburg there was an almost complete ring of small European owned holdings, associated with the settlement schemes and the division of several farms. Edendale had been divided amongst non-Europeans and was continuous with the Zwartkop Location, while the Bishop of Natal's lands on the east provided the only other interruption. The zoning of the sizes of holdings which had been lacking in the early stages of settlement was beginning to appear.

Subdivision of the original large Voortrekker and 1857 Quit Rent grants continued, especially in the north-east of the County where many holdings of under 1000 acres were produced by 1900. Subdivision had not occurred on such a large scale in the west. The subdivisions were occurring in areas basically similar to the south and centre of Umvoti County and for much the same reasons, namely improved farming techniques.

The expansion of settlement had produced farms mainly of 2000-4000 acres in the Drakensberg region, where filling in had taken place. The filling in was partially accomplished by the extension of valley farms up the sides of the valley onto the interfluves and so represented no increase in the number of settlers. The interfluves had been avoided in the 1830's. The extension up the river valleys continued into the Drakensberg themselves. There remained extensive tracts of land on the

interfluvies and around Bulwer which were still to be occupied. Some of these areas were intentionally left but most had seemed undesirable either from the point of view of too great a degree of relief or difficulty of access to water supplies. Several large holdings of over 5000 acres had been built up by 1900 with-in this area, in spite of the Government's intention of restricting the size of holdings to a maximum of 2,000 acres.

Native and Church purchasers had extended the areas held to over 200,000 acres between them. Most of this land was in the areas newly opened since 1880, and most of the most recent purchases were in the upper Umkomaas valley and the middle Umzimkulu valley. Thus, one tenth of the County outside the Locations and Mission Reserves was not owned by Europeans.

The improvement in land prices proceeded. There was only one sale at less than 10s. an acre, and nearly 70 per cent of the sales were for £1 an acre or more. Prices of over £5 an acre were general, close to the urban centres of Pietermaritzburg and Richmond and only the poorer lands which had not developed fetched less than £1 an acre (Table 105).

TABLE 105
LAND PRICES IN PIETERMARITZBURG COUNTY, 1900

Value	No. of Transactions	Area
Under 10s.	1	335
10s. to 19s. 11d.	17	13,115
£1 to 39s. 11d.	22	19,766
£2 to 99s. 11d.	14	6,204
£5 to 199s. 11d.	7	1,226
£10 and over	3	177
Total	64	40,823

4. 6. 6. Victoria County

In Victoria County there had also been a slight extension of the settled area. The amount of Crown land now amounted to no more than 1,500 acres. The remaining lands within the Tugela valley were appropriated and most of the few remaining waste lands were allocated.

There was as a result 367,996 acres appropriated within the County, an increase of 18,000 acres on the figure for 1890. However, the area occupied by the Indians increased from 960 to 10,971 acres so that the area occupied by Europeans increased only by 8,000 acres to 345,605 acres. This was divided amongst 497 holdings, a decline on the 1890 figure. Of these, only one third were now on the settlement schemes and the contrast between the settlement schemes and the remainder of the County had become less noticeable (Table 106).

TABLE 106
FARM SIZES IN VICTORIA COUNTY, 1900

Size	Settlement Schemes		Remainder of County			
	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area
6 - 20	51	740	34	378	85	1,118
21 - 50	39	1,576	25	888	64	2,464
51 - 100	26	2,081	30	2,475	56	4,556
101 - 200	21	3,296	34	4,917	55	8,213
201 - 300	9	1,922	39	10,020	48	11,942
301 - 500	7	2,825	46	17,256	53	20,081
501 - 700	4	2,571	33	19,271	37	21,842
701 - 1000	1	737	23	19,262	24	19,999
1001 - 1500	2	2,375	30	38,572	32	40,947
1501 - 2000	1	1,652	9	18,055	10	19,707
2001 - 3000	-		13	30,023	13	30,023
3001 - 5000	-		7	25,897	7	25,897
5001 - 10000	-		9	53,513	9	53,513
Over 10000	-		4	85,303	4	85,303
Total	161	19,775	336	325,830	497	345,605

The County in 1900 exhibited, for the first time, an increase in the average size as a result of the amalgamation of holdings, both inside and outside the settlement schemes. On the Cotton Lands Estate the number of Europeans holdings fell to 90. Only 248 acres remained in Government hands. However, the most noticeable change had occurred in the area occupied by Indians. In 10 years this land increased from 275 acres to 1,908 acres. Many of the Indian owners had bought single lots or small blocks of lots. The amalgamation of lots continued and 5 owners now possessed over 10 lots apiece. However, the number of single or divided lots increased from 54 to 61. This was the result of the division of lots near the coast. In this

area 16 new small lots of under 20 acres each were formed. The sugar companies had also purchased small areas, but these amounted to no more than 800 acres. On Morewood's estate, little change was noticeable from 1890 while on the two remaining Byrne estates the only noticeable changes were the purchase of areas by the sugar companies. On Lot 31 Natal Estates had purchased 28 lots totalling 2,850 acres, or over 60 per cent of the estate. Natal Estates was the successor to the Natal Central Sugar Company. On Lots 44-47 the new Tongaat Sugar Company had purchased five lots totalling 481 acres. On both these estates Indian purchases had been considerable, amounting to 755 acres.

The pattern in the remainder of the County was similar to that of 10 years before, with the noticeable exception of the formation and development of the produce companies who possessed 38,383 acres or 10 per cent of the area of the County. Three major companies were emerging, Natal Estates in the south of the County, between Cotton Lands and Durban, (which possessed 16,018 acres), the Tongaat Sugar Company to the north of Cotton Lands and south of the Tongaat River (5827 acres) and Hulett's in the north at Kearsney and in scattered estates to the north of Stanger (14,644 acres). These companies, with the resources they possessed, were able to purchase land in times of depression. The 1890's had not been a period of great prosperity in the sugar industry, with the result that a number of farmers had sold for the best price available. Land prices were generally good in 1900 with 75 per cent of the land sold in the County fetching £2 an acre or more. Only the remoter land in the north and west went for less, while 30 per cent fetched over £5 an acre.

The land companies and speculators appear to have still been active in the County in spite of large purchases by the sugar companies. The Natal Land and Colonization Company still possessed 79,450 acres. The area actually in private European hands was as a result comparatively low, only amounting to 60 per cent of the County.

4. 6. 7. Durban County

Durban County, too, was little changed compared with 1890. The area in European hands again shrank as Indians purchased another 1,500

acres. This left 112,726 acres in European hands in 307 holdings (Table 107).

TABLE 107
FARM SIZES IN DURBAN COUNTY, 1900

Size	No. of Holdings	Area
6 - 20	80	1,063
21 - 50	70	2,357
51 - 1100	50	3,605
101 - 200	38	5,511
201 - 300	20	4,993
301 - 500	11	4,350
501 - 700	6	3,338
701 - 1000	11	9,220
1001 - 2000	9	12,310
2001 - 3000	3	6,732
3001 - 5000	2	8,189
5001 - 10000	6	33,853
Over 10000	1	17,205
Total	307	112,726

The expansion of the town of Durban was such that the farms linking it with Pinetown had been almost completely divided. It was only at Cato Manor that a sizeable remainder of 3209 acres was left in the hands of a group of property agents. Nearly 1500 acres of Cato Manor had been sold in lots of varying sizes between 1890 and 1900. At Wandsbeck the remainder had been reduced to 221 acres, while at Pinetown some further subdivision had occurred extending the area of the town. Most of the farms close to Durban had been divided into lots for small holdings and occasionally into residential areas. However, much of the land adjacent to the southern route from Durban to Pinetown was still held by the Natal Land and Colonization Company. There were, as a result, three prongs of division radiating from Durban, one along the main road to Pinetown through Wandsbeck, the other along the Umbilo to Pinetown and the third across the Bay at Wentworth and the Bluff reaching down the coast. Elsewhere the holdings were larger and it is noteworthy that the 12 holdings of over 2,000 acres occupied half the area of the County.

The position of speculative land changed in the 1890's. The Durban Collegiate lands were leased to the Illovo Sugar Company in 1895 and

New lots were opened in the south of the County, however, and these also were leased to the Illovo Sugar Company. The demand for the release of Native areas for European agricultural settlement and the demand for land for suburban expansion were undoubtedly increasing as land close to Durban was now in extremely short supply and commanding high prices. The Natal Land and Colonization Company, with 23,381 acres, remained the largest landowner in the County. Its land was still tied up in surveyed lots for which high prices were required and for which there were few purchasers. These lots remained occupied by Natives, and thus the Company was open to the charge of 'Kaffir Farming' in an era when racial feelings were rising.

The continuing shortage of land for sale led to a continuation of the general rise in land prices and in 1900 nearly half the land sold fetched £10 per acre or more. However, the value of land was probably rising more rapidly in the vicinity of Durban than elsewhere in the County as a result of the considerable development of the port and the general increase in population.

4.6.8. Alexandra County

In Alexandra County the area occupied increased in the decade to nearly 250,000 acres. In 1900, 186,688 acres comprised 180 European-owned holdings (Table 108); 50,819 acres were held by Natives, 4290 acres by Indians, and 6746 acres by churches. The missions, Natives and Indians had occupied 56,000 acres out of a total of 100,000 acres that were settled between 1890 and 1900.

Most of the newly settled land was in the interior of the county. Nearly the whole of the coastal belt, which had not been allocated to Native Locations had been previously claimed. Unlike the extension of settlement, which took place in the interior counties in the 1890's, that in Alexandra was not continuous. It was extremely uneven as only the better land was sought out. In part this was due to the very broken nature of the land surface. The granite lands presented few level areas and frequently much of the interior was of little agricultural value.

TABLE 108
FARM SIZES IN ALEXANDRA COUNTY, 1900

Size	No. of Holdings	Area
6 - 20	7	68
21 - 50	4	134
51 - 100	10	875
101 - 200	22	3,155
201 - 300	13	3,401
301 - 500	24	9,591
501 - 700	26	15,546
701 - 1000	22	18,941
1001 - 2000	26	34,929
2001 - 3000	16	39,774
3001 - 5000	3	9,545
Over 5000	7	50,729
Total	180	186,688

The range of relief was comparatively low, a maximum of 1500 feet, but the slopes had been and remained a serious obstacle to agricultural settlement. The new areas were opened in lots of 500 to 2000 acres. The older settled parts of Alexandra County witnessed a certain degree of farm amalgamation. Several substantial holdings of over 3000 acres had been built up close to the area of the old Umzinto Sugar Company.

4. 6. 9. Alfred County

In Alfred County both the occupied and European areas had doubled in the ten year period. There were now 200,499 acres occupied by Europeans in 247 holdings (Table 109). The church and Native holdings accounted for another 29,085 acres.

The County had experienced a major period of colonization when the interior was almost completely occupied and the zone of settlement progressed a further 10 miles down the coast. The Umzimkulwana settlement scheme had been reopened under revised terms in 1896. The size of lots had been substantially increased to approximately 2000 acres each and all but two of them had been allotted by 1900. The interior lots were larger than the coastal ones although a few interior lots were exceptionally small.

The land which remained for occupation was of restricted extent,

TABLE 109

FARM SIZES IN ALFRED COUNTY, 1900

Size	No. of Holdings	Area
6 - 20	7	129
21 - 50	14	594
51 - 100	46	4,258
101 - 200	27	4,023
201 - 300	19	4,789
301 - 500	22	8,531
501 - 700	17	10,351
701 - 1000	24	20,065
1001 - 2000	37	55,150
2001 - 3000	26	59,516
3001 - 5000	6	20,971
Over 5000	2	12,122
Total	247	200,499

being the Oribi Flats region and the southern part of the coastal belt. It is noticeable that farms such as Ramsgate and Margate had not been occupied in 1900 due to the extremely poor communications even at this date. Improvements were being made rapidly but the effects upon the County were still slight. The land in Alfred County was of very variable quality. Much of it was of broken relief with substantial gorges cut by the Umzimkulu system and the Umtamvuma. Steep slopes in the interior watersheds led to Government reserve areas for permanent forests. These together with the isolated reserves broke up the area of European holdings to a large extent. Thus, there was no continuity of holding from the coast to Harding.

4. 6. 10. Church and non-European Lands.

As in the case of the 1880's, the 1890's were a period of considerable European advancement. At the same time non-Europeans substantially increased their holding, so that over half a million acres outside the Native Locations and Mission Reserves were in the hands of the churches, Natives and Indians (Table 110).

Native purchases in the 1890's were high but they showed a considerable slackening off compared with the previous decade. The Native lack of capital always militated against any extensive purchases, while the

TABLE 110

CHURCH AND NON-EUROPEAN LAND OWNERSHIP IN NATAL, 1900

County	Churches	Natives	Indians
Klip River	21,948	140,862	933
Weenen	15,785	14,732	-
Umvoti	23,103	1,708	-
Pietermaritzburg	46,379	154,683	247
Victoria	4,650	6,770	10,971
Durban	7,835	-	1,985
Alexandra	6,746	50,819	4,290
Alfred.	3,546	25,539	-
Natal	129,992	395,113	18,426

frequent inability to continue payments made their position insecure even when the land had been allotted to them. It is noticeable that many lots, particularly in Pietermaritzburg County, were originally purchased by Natives and then sold to Europeans, when payments became difficult. However, the achievement of purchasing nearly 400,000 acres was noteworthy. The purchases by the missionary societies also continued but again on a reduced scale.

Indian land purchases were much more spectacular, with seven times as much land in Indian hands in 1900 as in 1890. This was almost entirely situated near the coast, particularly in Victoria County where small lots were available in considerable numbers. No new grants were made for indentured labourers so that the increase represented purchases, mostly at high prices.

4. 6. 11. Speculators and land companies.

No estimate of speculative holdings is possible in 1900 owing to the difficulty of identifying the speculators. The private speculators of the 1850's had mostly died by 1900 and their lands had been taken over by a variety of persons, who may or may not have used the lands. The remaining property company, the Natal Land and Colonization Company, still possessed 402,275 acres, a reduction of only 9 per cent in the decade, due largely to the high prices demanded for land and comparatively uncertain conditions prevailing in the 1890's. However, the remaining areas of Natal were small with the result that the free land concept in Natal was coming to an end and the realization was increasingly felt that.....

greater use ought to be made of the existing areas.

The produce companies increased their holdings in the decade with the development of mining in the vicinity of Newcastle and Dundee and the increasing capitalization of the sugar industries on the coast. The produce companies on the coast now possessed 45,846 acres on the coast and a further 6,580 acres in the interior.

4. 6. 12. Land values

Land sales again declined in 1900, as a result of uncertainties. Only 0.5 per cent of Klip River County was sold as a result of the war. The turnover was uniformly low with only 2.2 per cent sold, (Table 111). Once more the limitations of this table, as in the case of Table 98 need to be borne in mind.

TABLE 111

LAND SALES, 1900

County	Area Alienated	Area Transferred	Percentage
Klip River	1,885,376	10,013	0.5
Weenen	1,109,057	45,360	4.1
Umvoti	645,157	18,217	2.8
Pietermaritzburg	1,705,185	40,823	2.4
Victoria	353,725	11,161	3.2
Durban	130,316	5,138	3.9
Alexandra	127,931	335	0.3
Alfred	55,418	851	1.5
Total	6,012,165	131,898	2.2

The value of land continued to rise in the Colony as may be shown by the fact that whereas only 22.4 per cent of the land sold in 1890 fetched £1 per acre or more, in 1900 this proportion had risen to 53.3 per cent (Table 112). The smaller size of lots sold was particularly noticeable and accounted in part for the rise in the value of land.

TABLE 112

LAND VALUES, 1900

Value	No. of Transactions	Average
4s. to 9s. 11d.	3	5,230
10s. to 19s. 11d.	50	56,296
£1 to 39s. 11d.	52	45,559
£2 to 99s. 11d.	63	15,989
£5 to 199s. 11d.	44	2,796
£10 and over	61	6,028
Total	273	131,898

4. 7. The Situation in 19104. 7. 1 Introduction

The first decade of the twentieth century was one of rapid change in Natal. The boom conditions associated with the war were followed by one of the most severe depressions in South Africa to date. It severely upset the agricultural community and tended to accelerate the changes which were in progress beforehand. The rapid economic changes affected the Government which actively pursued a policy of strengthening the rural economy as much as possible. The rapid expansion of settlement of the last twenty years of the nineteenth century came to an end as new land in Natal was virtually non-existent except in Zululand .

The area occupied by Europeans in Natal, excluding Zululand, only increased from 7.1 to 7.3 million acres in the decade; (Fig. 51), However, the number of holdings increased substantially from 4,322 to 5,178 (Table 113). This was partly the result of the general tendency towards smaller holdings on the part of private individuals and also the work of the Government through a series of new settlement schemes aimed at closer settlement. The areas held by churches and non-Europeans had not increased as fast as in previous decades and indeed Native held land fell slightly in extent.

The Colony had achieved a high degree of maturity by 1910, and the ownership pattern was to a large extent stabilised. This may be borne out by a comparison of Tables 24 and 113. The average size had

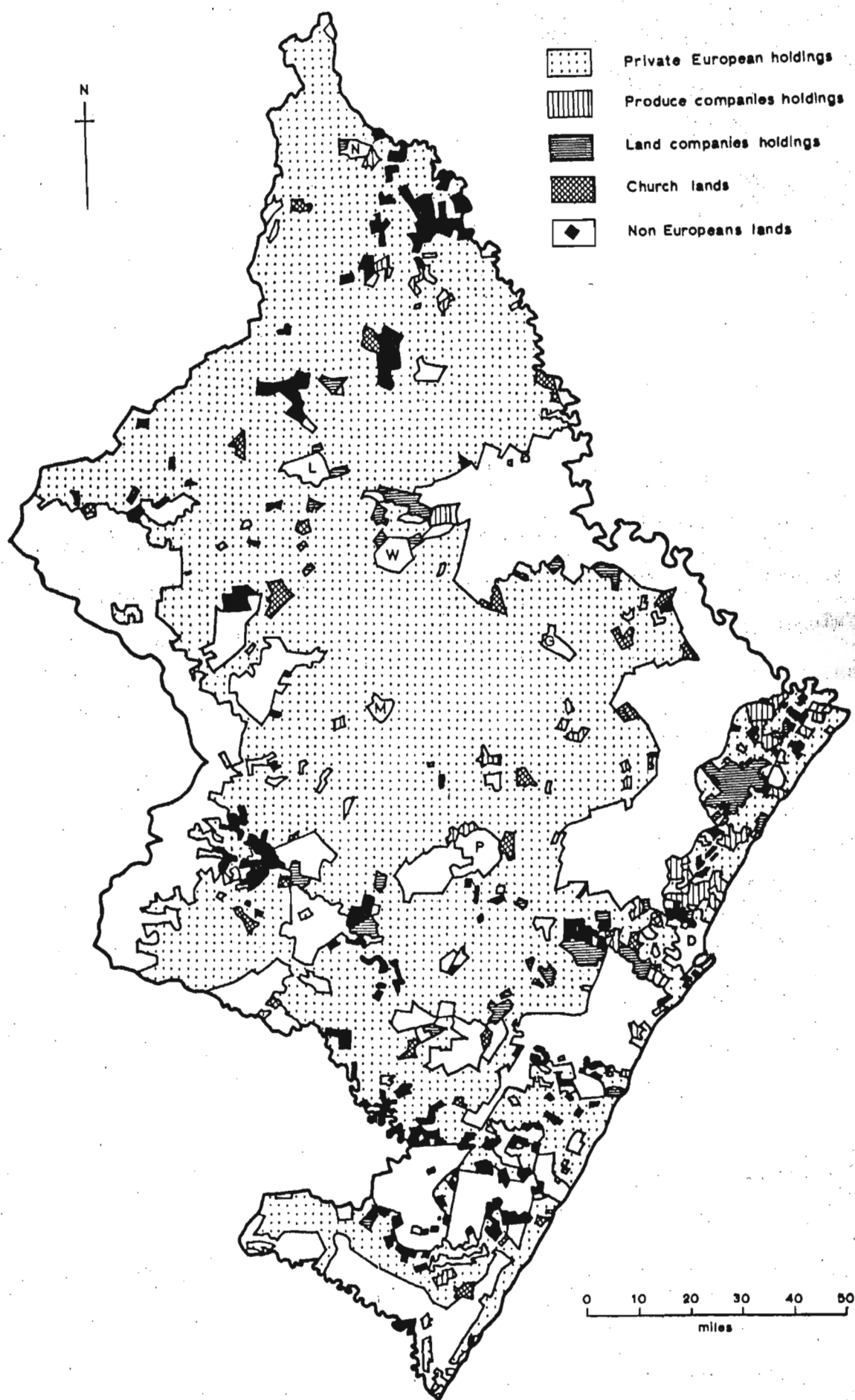


Fig. 51. Area occupied in 1910.

TABLE 113
AREAS IN PRIVATE OWNERSHIP, 1910

County	No. of Holdings	Area	Average Size	Median Size
Klip River	1,110	2,308,396	2080	1550
Weenen	656	1,287,163	1962	1550
Umvoti	420	634,343	1510	1100
Pietermaritzburg	1,536	2,106,909	1372	700
Victoria	484	336,215	695	150
Durban	392	101,540	259	50
Alexandra	261	235,728	903	500
Alfred	319	242,988	762	450
Natal	5,178	7,253,282	1400	810

decreased in the 50 year period, but not as much as might be expected, with the general division of the larger holdings. The reasons for this are not hard to find, they are reflected in the greatly increased median value. The small lots of the 1850 settlement schemes had been largely removed, and there remained fewer small lots in these areas. The sizes of holdings reflect a considerable increase in the number of medium sized holdings of between 1000 and 3000 acres (Table 114). Attempts at distinguishing the dominant sizes of farms on the Voortrekker and 1857 Quit Rent Grants were unsuccessful. The number of holdings of approximately 5000 acres was no longer significant, as it was in 1860. The number of large holdings had fallen appreciably. Only 226 holdings exceeded 5000 acres compared with 347 in 1860 and 310 only ten years before, while only 37 exceeded 10,000 acres (Fig. 52). The decline in the number of large holdings was therefore of considerable importance. In contrast the number of holdings between 1000 and 2000 acres increased to 1,044 compared with only 835 in 1900 and 139 in 1860, (Fig. 53). The number of small lots also increased as a result of irrigation settlements at Winterton and Weenen and continued subdivision in the coastal counties.

The differences between the 1850 settlement schemes and the remainder of the Colony, had been drastically reduced.*

* The progress in disentangling the settlements schemes is illustrated by the Dunbar Estate (Fig. 54).

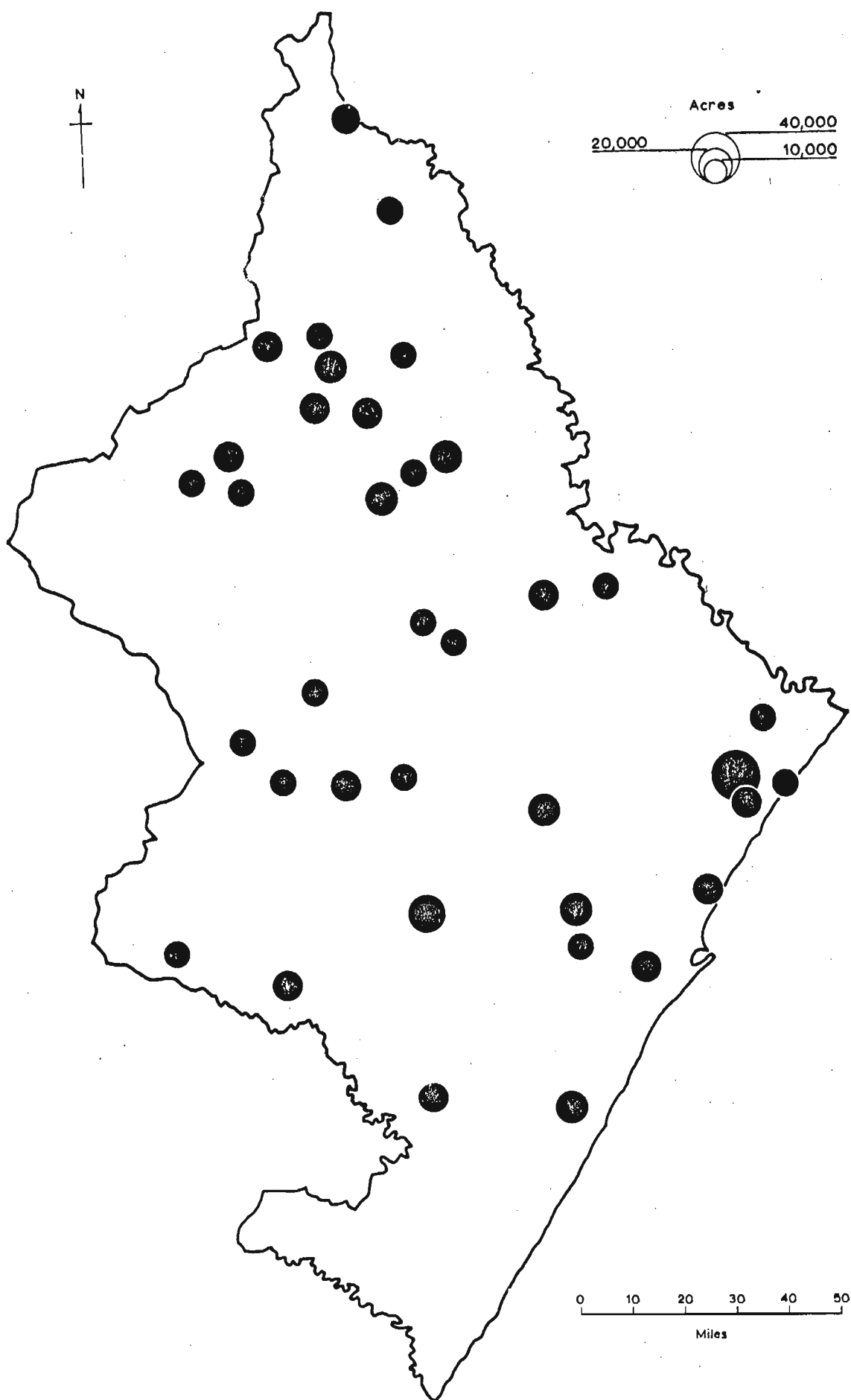


Fig. 52. Distribution of Farms over 10,000 acres in extent, 1910.

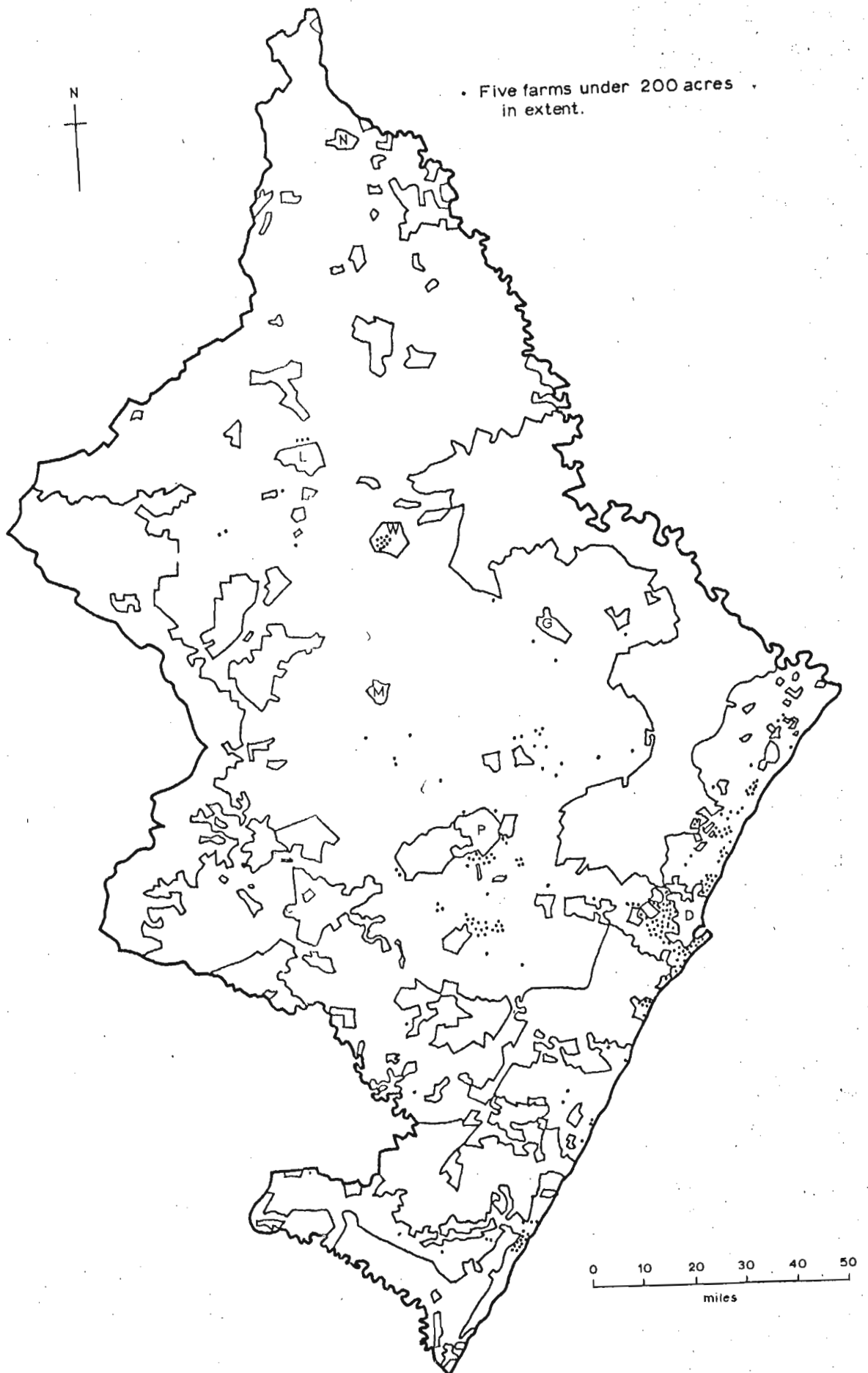


Fig. 53. Distribution of small farms 1910.

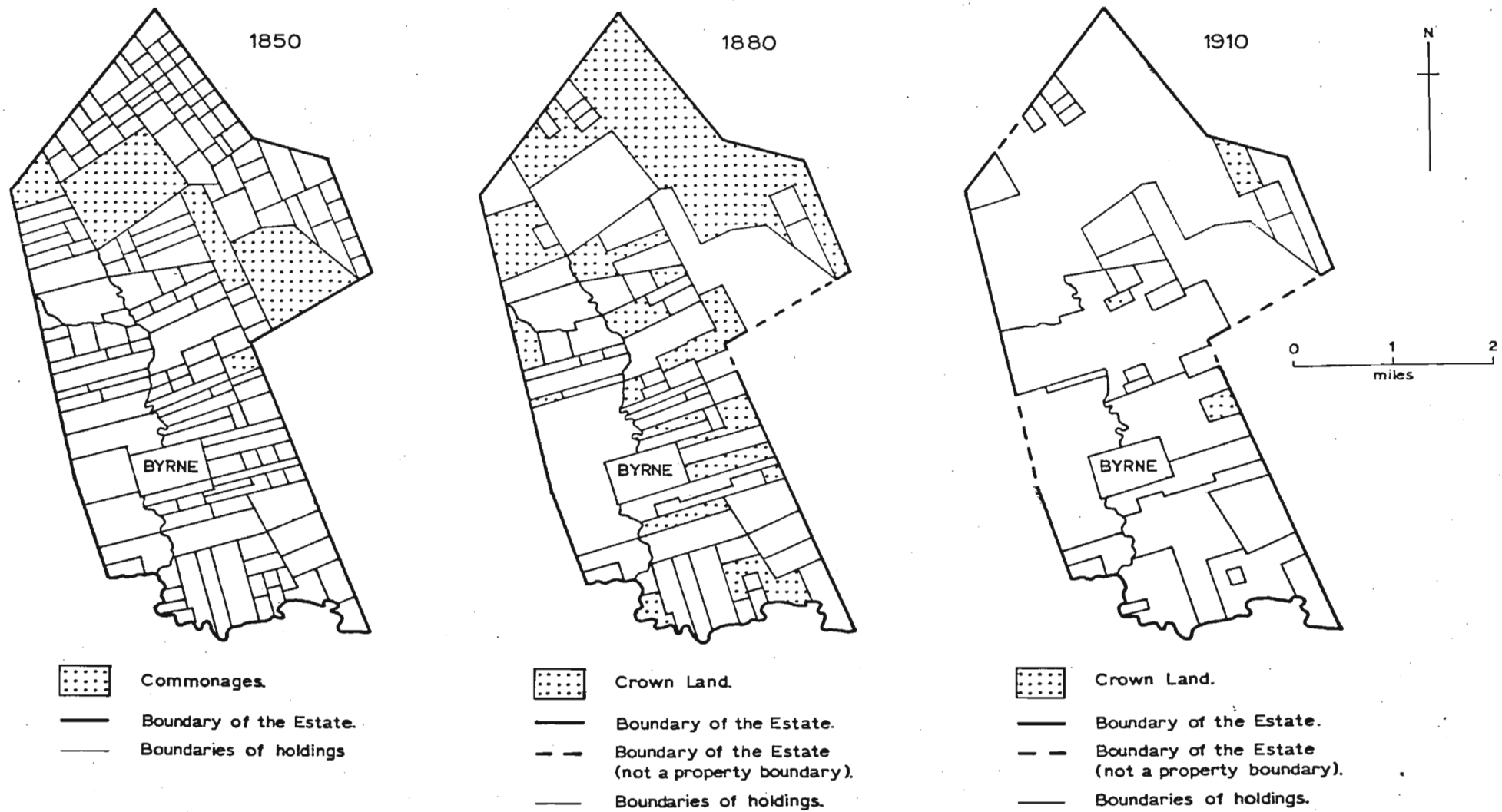


Fig. 54. The progress in disentangling the Dunbar Estate 1850-1910.

TABLE 114

SIZE OF HOLDINGS IN NATAL, 1910

Size	No. of Holdings	Area
6 - 20	349	4,918
21 - 50	362	13,356
51 - 100	331	25,966
101 - 200	328	49,707
201 - 300	234	59,225
301 - 500	471	191,265
501 - 700	376	223,321
701 - 1000	474	413,359
1001 - 2000	1,044	1,532,134
2001 - 3000	549	1,338,406
3001 - 5000	434	1,597,914
5001 - 10000	189	1,262,043
Over 10000	37	541,668
Total		
Total	5,178	7,253,282

It was no longer possible to produce comparable statistics for the settlements in Pietermaritzburg County as the estates had been purchased by neighbouring farmers to such an extent that no balance would be possible. However, if farms which were predominantly on the estates are taken into consideration the following figures are obtained. In Pietermaritzburg County the average size of farm on the settlement schemes was 231 acres compared with 1590 in the rest of the County, while the figures for Victoria County were 130 acres for the settlement schemes and 941 acres for the remainder of the County. In both cases the average size for the settlement schemes was about one seventh of that for the remainder of the County. There was still a noticeable difference between the schemes and their surroundings after 60 years. The number of lots on the settlement schemes had fallen from 880 in 1860 to 394 in 1910.

New settlement schemes had been established by the Colonial Government and by private companies and individuals. The Government took increasing interest in closer settlement schemes and in the period 1901-1910 several new ones were established. Government control was being steadily increased, both directly and indirectly through taxation to influence the size of holding.

The extension of settlement in the decade preceding Union was

slight within the old boundaries of the Colony. The main areas of European expansion were in the south of the Colony in southern Pietermaritzburg, Alexandra and Alfred. Elsewhere there was little or no expansion as the limits had been virtually reached in 1900. Interest centres therefore upon the internal rearrangements which took place, in particular to movement towards closer settlement.

4. 7. 2. Klip River County

The area of European ownership in the County showed only a slight extension between 1900 and 1910. This was the result of three factors. The first was the Government purchase of 22,162 acres at Bergville, 5,276 acres near Ladysmith and 12,533 acres at Kuick Vlei for closer settlement schemes, and second 6,921 acres of grazing land in the Drakensberg were abandoned as being uneconomic and third 14,000 acres had been purchased by Natives. To offset this loss, several lots had been sold by the Government throughout the County filling-in areas, such as the Tugela valley and parts of the low Drakensberg. These lots although individually small, together amounted to some 62,000 acres. In 1910 there were as a result 1,110 holdings within the County, covering 2,308,396 acres. (Table 115).

The increase in the number of holdings was mainly the result of a large number of subdivisions within the County. It was noticeable that all size groups over 4000 acres showed a decline between 1900 and 1910. The number of farms over 10,000 acres fell from 23 to 14 in the same period. The subdivisional process extended throughout the County and accounted for much of the reduction in the large farms. However, the Government settlement schemes involved the purchase of 39,971 acres, which included five properties of over 4000 acres. None of the new settlement schemes had been occupied so that almost 40,000 acres of land in the centre of the occupied area remained unused in 1910.

The advance of settlement had occurred largely within the low Drakensberg on the Orange Free State border, (24,000 acres), where a number of new allotments and leases had been issued. Elsewhere isolated blocks of country such as the more rugged lands in the north of the

TABLE 115

FARM SIZES IN KLIP RIVER COUNTY, 1910

Size	No. of Holdings	Area
6 - 50	28	699
51 - 100	14	1,184
101 - 200	30	4,862
201 - 300	22	5,481
301 - 500	77	31,877
501 - 700	77	46,034
701 - 1000	144	124,659
1001 - 2000	320	477,374
2001 - 3000	171	418,378
3001 - 4000	100	341,736
4001 - 5000	45	194,149
5001 - 6000	26	145,267
6001 - 7000	12	78,566
7001 - 8000	11	82,239
8001 - 10000	19	162,296
Over 10000	14	193,595
Total	1,110	2,308,396

County and some 5000 acres of old leases at Dundee were allotted.

The contrast between the north and south of the County which had been so noticeable from the late 1840's onwards was greatly reduced. The distribution of large farms (over 10,000 acres) was still predominantly in the older, southern, part of the County, but subdivision had affected the southern part to a much higher degree than the north, resulting in a levelling out of the contrast between the two areas. Owing to the system of grants there was a tendency for the most recent and most peripheral grants to be the smallest with the result that farm sizes were generally smaller on the margins of the County, than the centre, particularly on the Buffalo River boundary.

There were only two private settlement schemes in the County. Both had been under the control of the Natal Land and Colonization Company. The one at Danse Kraal to the north of Ladysmith had envisaged a settlement of smallholdings on lots averaging approximately 30 acres. Although in 1910 this scheme had been in operation for over 25 years only eighteen holdings had been sold, covering 550 acres. The remaining 1,350 acres lay waste. The other settlement at Roos Boom to the south of

Ladysmith had been divided into lots of varying sizes and by 1910 all had been sold. However, 1,583 acres had been sold to Natives and the remainder was divided into eight holdings. In addition the farm, Wanhoop, in the Drakensberg had been subdivided into 6 lots only one of which remained in the Company's hands. Otherwise Klip River County had not been the scene of any systematic colonization schemes up to 1910.

The division of holdings was the result of private transactions. It was particularly ^{noticeable} in an area, which was dominantly Afrikaans-speaking ^{and} the influence of Roman-Dutch law was especially strong. The division of farms amongst all the heirs, sometimes as many as 12, led to a process of rapid division in a couple of generations. The decade from 1900 to 1910 appears to have been one of particularly high mortality so far as the owners of large estates were concerned. As an example, J. P. Buys possessed 16,917 acres which on his death he divided amongst his 11 heirs. The three grants he had acquired were divided into ten lots of 1,618 acres and one of 435 acres (the smaller one going to a daughter). Immediately the size of holdings had plunged from economic to uneconomic, and the slow process of reamalgamation began. Two of his heirs bought out two others, producing two farms of 3217 acres. This sequence was repeated many times in the County. Usually the farm was equally divided but sometimes account was taken of the varying capabilities of the farm, particularly with regard to water supplies, producing odd shaped holdings. Occasionally one heir obtained most of the farm. After division the reverse process began. Attempts were made by some of the heirs to obtain economic holdings, and some realising they could not all stay on the property sold their shares. Occasionally the farm would be left in undivided shares, but this was very unusual. Partition on death was the most important factor leading to smaller holdings in the County, and in fact throughout much of the interior of Natal.

The holdings of Natives and churches increased in the decade, although slowly. The missions held 31,271 acres and the Natives 155,158 acres, with a small Indian holding of 489 acres. The church and Native holdings were scattered throughout the County, but a few

marked concentrations were clearly apparent by 1910. The largest continuous block of Native owned land (35,895 acres) occurred about six miles to the north of Ladysmith. The two other large blocks were in the Washbank area which 22,595 acres of Native land and 7,974 acres of mission land was situated and in the area to the south-east of Newcastle where a series of blocks of Native owned land accounted for nearly 65,000 acres. Other blocks were much smaller. The scattered nature of the Native and church properties was due to the lack of large Native Locations in the County, so that purchase was the only possible way of obtaining land.

The original speculators were mostly dead by 1910, and their lands had been sold. There remained the Natal Land and Colonization Company which still possessed 36,447 acres in the County, all of it in the southern portion. The other finance companies such as the Transvaal and South African Land Trust held only 3,061 acres and the Natal Bank 8,100 acres. A number of new private companies had been formed but it is difficult to tell whether they were family concerns or not. One indication of the extension of produce companies to Klip River County was the purchase of 8002 acres by the Tugla Estates Company which intended raising ostriches. Other companies such as the Diamond Exploration Syndicate which bought land in the depressed period after the war, sold their holdings as rapidly as possible.

However, the major activity centred around the coalmining industry. The main field extended from Elands Laagte in the south to Newcastle in the north, roughly along the line of the railway with other areas at Dundee and to the east of Dundee. The length of the coalfield was approximately 53 miles and the width as much as 25 miles at Dundee. The field by 1910 produced approximately one million tons. The fields in Utrecht and Vryheid had not been opened. The area of operations was the scene of considerable activity in land sales and leases. The area actually owned by the mining companies amounted to 18,744 acres with a further 14,765 acres leased, in general for 25 years. A further 10,052 acres was held by syndicates interested in the exploitation of the coalfield and possession or leasing lands upon the known area. The largest

single holding was that of the Newcastle Collieries, who in addition to their interests within the Newcastle Townlands, held a further 5,874 acres adjacent to them. The areas taken directly by the coalmining companies were mostly in comparatively small lots. Of the 16 lots owned, 9 were under a thousand acres. The land was valuable and in consequence usually only the land containing the pitheads was purchased. Even a part of the land actually possessed by them was on extended Crown leases. In some areas only the mineral rights were leased and the farmer continued in virtually undisturbed possession of his land. The land in possession of the mining companies was often leased again or used as a private farm to produce food for the mine workers. The increase in mining activity also led to the establishment or development of new settlements at Washbank, Glencoe and Danhauser, further reducing the area available for agriculture. Coalmining was therefore profoundly affecting the landscape of the County.

The price of land continued to rise and by 1910 over two thirds of the area sold fetched £1 per acre or more, (Table 116). Agricultural land however rarely reached prices above £3 per acre, and most was sold for between 15s. and 30s. an acre. The small highly priced lots were mostly associated with mining activities and small lots close to Ladysmith. One mining lot was sold for £67 per acre. Even comparatively valueless land could fetch 30s. an acre in the Tugela Valley if the land appeared to be suitable for irrigation. Prices had evened out a great deal between the different parts of the County reflecting the development which had taken place so that land prices reflected improved values rather than the land itself. Land prices in the County had progressed a long way in 60 years, when it is considered that the Government had allowed purchases at approximately 3d. per acre in the 1840's and 1850's.

4. 7. 3. Weenen County

Weenen County was the scene of two major Government settlement schemes in the years from 1901 to 1910. They both involved the Government resumption of land, 4,000 acres on the Weenen Townlands and nearly 18,000 acres at Winterton. Both these areas were divided into small holdings for irrigation cultivation. The resulting farms were as

TABLE 116

LAND PRICES, KLIP RIVER COUNTY, 1910

Price	No. of Transactions	Area
4s. to 9s. 11d.	1	2,116
10s. to 19s. 11d.	22	35,508
£1 to 39s. 11d.	42	69,134
£2 to 99s. 11d.	12	6,866
£5 to 199s. 11d.	5	136
£10 and over	3	62
Total	85	113,822

a result extremely small. Otherwise an increase of only approximately 18,000 acres had taken place in the area allocated. Consequently in 1910 there were 1,287,163 acres of land owned by Europeans and this was divided into 656 holdings. (Table 117). The Native and church owned areas in the County remained fairly static with 13,500 acres in church possession and 15,119 acres in that of Natives. The County was consequently in a much healthier appearance than it had been at any time before.

TABLE 117

FARM SIZES IN WEENEN COUNTY, 1910

Size	No. of Holdings	Area
6 - 50	69	2,443
51 - 100	22	1,427
101 - 200	17	2,689
201 - 500	59	20,315
501 - 1000	59	47,528
1001 - 2000	175	256,491
2001 - 3000	116	290,572
3001 - 4000	60	198,987
4001 - 5000	30	135,046
5001 - 7000	38	232,092
7001 - 10000	7	53,525
Over 10000	4	46,048
Total	656	1,287,163

The two settlement schemes were of major importance to Weenen

County. The Weenen Irrigation settlement on the Townlands was expanded in 1902 with the construction of a new high level furrow (Fig. 36). The new settlement consisted of a further 51 lots covering 2025 acres. The new area had been thrown open to settlers in 1903, and by 1910 there were 41 occupied lots covering 1,638 acres. One of the lots was divided so there were 42 holdings on the new portion. Two of the lots taken out in 1903 had been surrendered. Unlike the old scheme the sizes of the new lots varied considerably from 25 to 66 acres. Prices for land were greatly in advance of the old scheme with prices ranging from £8 to £21 per acre according to the possibilities for irrigation. The whole scheme was closely regulated and the Government in its investigations had made sure that the holdings were economic and had assisted the scheme to the extent of constructing a railway spur to the town. In the older low level settlement the remaining lots had been sold and one lot subdivided. As a result, in 1910, there were 60 holdings covering 2,347 acres on the Weenen Townlands with a further ten lots remaining unoccupied. Five of the irrigation lots had been taken by persons possessing lands around Weenen. In this way the intensive cultivation of the Weenen lots supplied fodder to the pastoral farms.

The Winterton Irrigation Scheme was much larger and ^{more} ambitious. In 1904 the Government purchased three holdings at Winterton along the Little Tugela valley. The holdings, including one belonging to the Natal Land and Colonization Company and another to the Bishop of Cape Town, were unused and waste lands. The government had to pay high prices for these lands, over £1 per acre, for the 17,941 acres. The Government then cut up the land for a new irrigation scheme. Unlike the Weenen Scheme the object in the new scheme was to provide varied holdings providing each individual farmer with some irrigable land, some arable, non-irrigation land and also some grazing land. Small commonages were also to be provided.

The lots were related to the irrigation furrow which was constructed along the new settlement of Winterton and it ran along the right bank of the Little Tugela River (Fig. 40). In all some 55 irrigation lots were laid out and the majority of them had dry lots attached and about half

had grazing lots. The size of the holdings thus depended upon how much of each of these types of land was allotted to the settler. Prices ranged from 70s. to 105s. per acre for the irrigation lots, 30s. an acre for the dry lots and approximately the same for grazing lots, which were potentially little different from the dry lots. The first 1906 settlers arrived in 1904, but the rate of development was slow until when the settlement expanded rapidly. By the end of the 1910, thirty-six of the irrigation lots were occupied, most of them close to Winterton. The more distant ones were mostly unoccupied. The associated dry and grazing lots were also taken. There remained a number of lots which were unirrigated. Three lots on the left bank of the Little Tugela River were, naturally, beyond the irrigated settlement. Two of the lots were taken at prices of 35s. and 40s. per acre. Other lots were also outside the area of the irrigated lands and their allotments. Some 2078 acres were retained by the Irrigation Board as commonages. The commonages were long narrow areas of rough ground arranged in such a way that the majority of the landowners on the scheme would have land adjacent to them. The remaining area which did not fit into the scheme due to a lack of water laid off separately. Part of it was occupied in 1910.

In 1910 there were thus 36 holders of irrigation lots and a further three owners without irrigation lots. The occupied holdings including irrigation lots amounted to some 9217 acres with an additional 2270 acres in non irrigated holdings. The estate was thus two thirds complete by 1910. There is little evidence to suggest that neighbouring farmers acquired irrigation lots as happened at Weenen.

A third settlement scheme was undertaken by the Government in Weenen County at Varkensfontein, on the Tugela. A Voortrekker farm of 7781 acres had been purchased by the Government and divided into 13 lots. Two of these had been occupied in 1910 amounting to 1,238 acres.

The Government had thrown the Townlands of Fort Nottingham open to settlement. Fort Nottingham had never prospered because the main road passed approximately 7 miles to the east of it. The Townlands were largely redundant and also quite valuable, as the Mooi River flowed

through them. They were therefore divided into holdings leaving a small area around the township. A total of 11,003 acres was divided into seven almost equally sized holdings. All of these were taken in 1910. Adjacent to the Townlands was the Collegiate farm. The Government had resumed the unsold 4118 acres of this farm in 1904, and divided it into three lots, one of which was taken in 1910.

At Weston the extensive military remount station appeared to be the next most likely scene of Government action to intensify settlement. Several small lots were laid off in 1906-1909 but the station itself remained intact.

By 1910 over half the Natal Land and Colonization Company's scheme at Frere had been sold. Allowing for the 1915 acres set aside as commonages, outspans and township, there remained only 1,081 acres to be sold. However, the scheme had not progressed as had been hoped. The majority of the small suburban lots were still in the Company's hands owing to the high prices demanded for them and the remaining 3124 acres which had been sold were held by only 13 persons. The Company was thus left with a difficult situation in reclaiming the township, outspan and commonages so that it could sell them, as Frere had never shown any sign of developing into a town.

Some extension of settlement occurred within the County in addition to the Government's attempts to intensify settlement and bring its own unused land within the County into use. The only areas available were in the Drakensberg where a block of land above the Upper Tugela Location was laid out for farms and to a lesser extent in the Tugela Valley which had previously been regarded as too rugged for settlement.

The division of existing holdings had also proceeded rapidly. This affected the areas of Voortrekker and 1857 Quit Rent grants particularly and accounts for the main for the reduction in the number of large farms. The reasons for this are similar to those in Klip River County.

The area held by speculators had been greatly reduced. The holdings of the Natal Land and Colonization Company fell from 49,504 acres in 1900 to 12,293 acres in 1910. Other finance companies held only 1,923 acres. However, the tendency which had been present in the 1890's was for

individual concerns to build up holdings of some size. Butchers, in particular, had looked to the grasslands of Weenen as a place to raise their own stock, for both beef and mutton. Thus one Pietermaritzburg City butcher in 1910 possessed six separate farms in the County totalling 42,137 acres, and another 22,196 acres in three holdings in the Drakensberg. Others purchased on a smaller scale. The results were to partially revive the larger holdings and counter the tendency to smaller holdings. It is however, extremely difficult to identify the persons concerned. The produce companies did make their appearance however, although on a smaller scale. Wattle had been introduced to the County and one wattle company possessed 1,123 acres near Mooi River. The boom in ostrich feathers on the European markets also encouraged one company to undertake ostrich farming on 6,207 acres near the Tugela. These were small enterprises and most of Weenen was unaffected by the changes taking place elsewhere.

Land prices within the County continued their upward movement. The settlement schemes were a special case as has been seen. Most land sold for between 15s; and 30s. an acre as in Klip River. In 1910 72.9 per cent of the land sold fetched more than £1 per acre and most of this (67.5 per cent) between £1 and £2 per acre. There was some tendency for the Drakensberg lands to be less expensive than those in the centre of the County, but this was not very well marked even in 1910.

4. 7. 4. Umvoti County

The alienated area of Umvoti County remained virtually static between 1900 and 1910. The difference registered in Table 118 was the result of the division of properties straddling the boundary with Pietermaritzburg which resulted in a gain for Pietermaritzburg County. The area can be considered as not having changed. European owned land amounted to 634,343 acres divided into 420 holdings. This represents an increase of a third in the number of European holdings. Umvoti was an area of considerable subdivision in the period from 1900 to 1910. This was a process which was accelerating.

The subdivision of holdings in the south of the County proceeded rapidly in the first decade of the twentieth century. The main zone of

TABLE 118

FARM SIZES IN UMVOTI COUNTY, 1910

Size	No. of Holdings	Area
6 - 50	10	250
51 - 100	17	1,540
101 - 200	22	3,347
201 - 500	56	21,253
501 - 1000	94	72,185
1001 - 2000	115	159,406
2001 - 3000	62	152,574
3001 - 4000	26	88,799
4001 - 5000	4	19,057
5001 - 6000	2	11,988
6001 - 7000	3	18,866
Over 7000	9	85,078
Total	420	634,343

subdivision and resultant smallholdings occurred in a zone extending from Greytown southwards, with a smaller area of small holdings close to Kranskop. Nearly half the holdings were under 1000 acres, and the majority of these were contained within these above mentioned two zones. The larger holdings were in an arc around Greytown. The size of the larger holdings was little different to those in Weenen County which this area physically resembled.

The zone of subdivision, as well as being the best agricultural land in the County was now served by railway. It was also ideally suited to wattle cultivation, which was rapidly extended throughout the County. The trend was reflected in the formation of six wattle companies which in 1910 had accumulated 16,735 acres. The land thus was becoming increasingly valuable.

The holdings of the Natal Land Colonization Company were reduced to 20,518 acres, nearly all of which lay in the outer zone of large holdings. The largest block of land adjacent to the Tugela Location (11,585 acres) was leased to local farmers.

Land prices once more showed an increase. Eightyone per cent of the land sold fetched £1 an acre or more and 29 per cent £2 an acre or more. Whereas in previous years the price zoning had been indistinct,

in 1910 it was much clearer. Prices for wattle land could reach as much as £6 per acre although £3 to £4 was more common. Outside the areas considered suitable for wattle prices dropped to the more common 15s. to 30s. an acre. Prices were to some extent a reflection of the crop which was sometimes taken into account when transactions took place. Standing wattle trees understandably commanded high prices.

4. 7. 5. Pietermaritzburg County

The alienated area of Pietermaritzburg County continued to expand slightly, although the main land boom had ended in 1900. An extra 92,000 acres was added to the occupied area of the County, mainly in the Drakensberg region, where substantial new areas had been taken on the interfluvial areas, which had not been allocated in the 1890's. In contrast nearly 46,000 acres had been purchased by the Government for settlement schemes in the County. Thus in 1910 there were 2,106,909 acres in European hands divided into 1,536 holdings (Table 119).

TABLE 119
FARM SIZES IN PIETERMARITZBURG COUNTY, 1910

Size	No. of holdings	Area
6 - 20	89	1,475
21 - 50	84	3,334
51 - 100	95	7,463
101 - 200	109	17,216
201 - 300	66	16,488
301 - 500	178	72,575
501 - 700	148	87,622
701 - 1000	127	111,707
1001 - 2000	293	441,344
2001 - 3000	144	344,441
3001 - 4000	99	336,448
4001 - 5000	43	188,480
5001 - 6000	23	128,915
6001 - 7000	12	75,707
7001 - 8000	10	75,481
8001 - 10000	6	52,061
Over 10000	10	146,152
Total	1536	2,106,909

The most important change in the ownership pattern was the substantial reduction in the number of large holdings. The number over 9000 acres in extent was halved. The number of large holdings

had remained fairly static since the 1850's until about 1904. At the same time the number of small holdings of under 300 acres was slightly reduced. This had been a feature of each ten year period since 1860. It was in the medium sized farms of 1000 to 4000 acres that the greatest increases were recorded. The increase in this size of holding was the result of Government grant policy in the newly opened areas and partly the result of continued subdivision elsewhere. It is noticeable that the increase in the number of holdings was substantially less than in the three northern counties where the increase in the number of holdings amounted to just over 30 per cent. Umvoti County increased the number of holdings by a record of 39 per cent. In Pietermaritzburg County the increase was only 8 per cent, and this on an increased area.

The slower rate of increase in the number of holdings is partly explained by the further reduction in the number of holdings upon the settlement schemes laid out in the period 1849-1851. There was a reduction of nearly 50 in the number of holdings upon them, in spite of an increased acreage as a result of Government sales (Table 120). In addition, the newly opened areas were mostly occupied by fairly large holdings, 1500 to 5000 acres in extent. The settlement schemes remained one of the most interesting features in the landscape even though the distinction between them and the rest of the County was less noticeable.

TABLE 120

FARM SIZES ON THE BYRNE ESTATES, 1910

Size (Acres)	Vaalkop & Dadelfontein	Dunbar	Beaulieu	Harmony	Little Harmony	Slang Spruit
20	7	4	14	8	2	3
40	2	5	8	4	-	2
50	3	1	7	3	1	-
50 and under	14	10	38	15	3	7
55 - 100	5	3	11	6	-	3
Over 100	12	8	17	6	2	6
Total	31	21	66	27	5	16

The Vaalkop and Dadelfontein Estate had reached a state of virtual

stability by 1910. The number of holdings fell, but only by three. Once again this was the result of the larger land owners purchasing odd lots. Seven farms on the estate exceeded 500 acres in 1910. The area held by the Crown was now comparatively small, approximately 150 acres. The contrast between the holdings on the western side of the estate, which had been divided into lots, and those on the eastern side, which had not, was still most marked with all the small lots, under 150 acres, on the western side.

The Dunbar Estate again showed a considerable reduction in the number of holdings. There were in 1910 only 21 entirely situated on the estate compared with 161 in 1860. The number of 20 acre plots had been reduced from 70 to 4 in the same period. The Government had allotted no further lands since 1900 with the result that there still remained 170 acres in Crown possession. However, there was a notable increase in sizes of holding, particularly as a result of the amalgamation of some of the larger holdings, but over half the estate was held by persons owning farms outside the estate.

The Bezulieu Estate also exhibited a substantial reduction in the number of holdings in the decade. There were just over half the number there had been 50 years before. The Government released a further 8 plots totalling 215 acres in 10 years, and this left 6 plots amounting to 160 acres still in its hands. The new lots were all purchased by neighbouring farmers, thereby expanding their holdings. Several farmers actively expanded their farms so that two possessed over 1000 acres each by 1910. These two farms were composed of 23 plots amounting to 1581 acres and 1062 acres in 20 plots. Many of these farms were not regular with perimeter fences because odd plots could not be purchased and as a result the farmer was left with a piece of alien land in his midst.

The Harmony Estate was enlarged by the sale of 160 acres of Crown land. There remained however, 733 acres awaiting allotment. The number of farms was reduced as a number of the larger holdings increased their acreages. The largest now amounted to 2770 acres. It was composed of 62 surveyed plots. It must have been one of the most

involved holdings in the County. The other holding of over 1000 acres was composed of 24 plots. The estate had thus reached the state of requiring a major reorganisation which was not to come until 1920's.

The Little Harmony Estate had almost entirely been converted into large holdings and purchased by outside owners. Only three plots remained individually held. The estate had the highest proportion of land held by persons outside the estate. 2735 acres was held by neighbouring farmers as opposed to 1655 by persons on the Estate.

The two Byrne estates near Pietermaritzburg were further simplified in the period from 1900 to 1910. At Slang Spruit one purchaser acquired five previous individual holdings and some other adjustments took place. None of the resulting holdings exceeded 500 acres however. At New England the number of holdings fell by a further two as a result of amalgamation. As a result one holding now exceeded 500 acres for the first time. In both these cases the general size of holdings remained small with approximately half of them only 50 acres or less.

A number of changes had occurred on the other 1850 settlement schemes to make them look very different from conditions in 1850. At Lidgetton a further 7 plots amounting to 450 acres had been sold in the decade. All the plots had been purchased by existing farmers at Lidgetton. This left 11 plots of the original scheme around the township unsold, amounting to 880 acres. One of the neighbouring farmers was able to link his main block of land up with the plots he had bought, while the largest holding on the estate now amounted to 750 acres. However, of the 16 people owning land at Lidgetton, only five owned over 60 acres.

A major reorganisation of the estate in the Karkloof took place in 1910. One of the farmers extended his holdings by purchasing 10 plots from persons who had been issued with deeds in 1851 but who appeared to have left Natal. The number of holdings on the estate thus dropped from 18 to 8. There remained however, 4 lots which had

never been transferred in the 59 years since the scheme had been laid out. Effectively the estate area was in the hands of 4 farmers, two of whom each had over 1500 acres.

The York settlement showed few changes in the period since 1890. There remained lots of under 60 acres, but 3 holdings exceeded 1000 acres in extent. The Settlement appeared to have matured first and to have been reasonably stable. It is interesting to note that the estate was within the region of considerable subdivision, so that the contrast between the scheme area and its surroundings was no longer particularly marked.

The other 1850 settlement scheme areas such as Sterkspruit and north of Pietermaritzburg, had exhibited few changes since 1880. The ownership of the Sterkspruit lots remained unchanged even after the division of the commonages in 1892. North of Pietermaritzburg the small lots had been amalgamated in many cases and they formed a part of the extensive ring of small holdings surrounding the capital.

The new settlement schemes laid out by the Government between 1879 and 1896 had been completed. The Wilgefontein settlement was complete and all the lots had been paid for. None of the holdings was large. The largest was combined with lands in neighbouring Slang Spruit to form a 887 acre holding. Most consisted of two or three of the original lots. There were 18 owners on the 40 lots but 476 acres had been sold to Indians and a further 22 acres to Natives. Such a possibility had not occurred to the Government in 1879 and no European occupation clauses had even been inserted into the proclamation governing the settlement. The settlement was complete although the commonages (2235 acres) remained in the Government's hands.

The Dronk Vlei Settlement was completed in 1904 and by 1910 there were 42 settlers on the 43 lots. Some subdivisions and amalgamations had occurred with the result that two lots were held by neighbouring farmers, and the range of sizes of those exclusively on the estate ranged from 280 to 1306 acres. The Ulufafa Settlement was also completed but the lots were somewhat larger than at Dronk Vlei, with a few of the 14 holdings more than 1000 acres in extent.

The Government had not undertaken any new schemes in the County since 1896, but it was actively preparing the Inhlamvini scheme in the area east of Ixopo. A total of 39,461 acres had been purchased from 4 owners. It was proposed to introduce 35 families onto lots of approximately 1100 acres each. Most of the surrounding farms were appreciably larger than this.

The Natal Land and Colonization Company's settlement scheme at New Howick and Shortt's Retreat showed improvement in the period from 1900 to 1910. At Shortt's Retreat the Company's remainder was reduced to 755 acres, while at New Howick it was reduced to 2906 acres, most of which was commonage and outspan, with only two lots unsold. The New Howick settlement with its 31 occupied lots was held by 12 persons, one of whom held most of his land outside the estate. The original lot sizes appear to have once again been unrealistic, as 7 of the farms exceeded 1000 acres, whereas none of the lots had done so.

The Company's other schemes, such as the one at Johnston had not been any more successful. Some more land had been sold at Johnston to a neighbouring farmer, but the settlement scheme itself had been abandoned. Similarly the Weltevreden lots were being sold off in blocks to neighbouring farmers. The Company's holdings in the County had been reduced to less than half the area which it had held in 1900. This was largely the result of considerable Government purchases and its own sales policy of disposing of its remaining rural lands as quickly as possible.

The various settlement schemes had constituted the main areas of change in the County between 1900 and 1910. The other major changes were areas of subdivision, which increased in the zone east of York and extended to the Umvoti County boundary. This area was a continuation of the area of intensive subdivision in the neighbouring County associated with wattle growing.

One of the features of the new areas of settlement was the emergence of farmers possessing more than one farm. The two or more farms were often situated in different physical environments. This particularly applied to the Drakensberg where several farmers possessed

lowland and hill grazing lands for their stock to be transferred in winter. Although it was noted in Weenen County, the phenomenon was clearer in Pietermaritzburg County around Himeville. Several farmers from the lower areas of the County also took an interest in the upland grazings. As a result, some farmers possessed as much as 10,000 acres if all their holdings are included. What is also apparent was the practice of purchasing several Government lots by one farmer to produce holdings within this zone which were substantially larger than those envisaged by the Government. A few farms were, however, extremely small (as little as 100 acres), and it seems highly doubtful if successful agriculture could be practised on such a small tract of land at this date, before the road system had been improved.

The areas owned by both the churches and Natives showed a decline in the period from 1900 to 1910. It was partly the result of the Anglican Church selling some of its holdings and Government and European purchases of Native holdings. Although the decline in area was small it showed that in Pietermaritzburg County the high water mark of Native purchases had passed and a long decline seemed inevitable but for Government intervention. The Church areas fell into two categories. First there were the small scattered lots which were used mainly for churches, church yards and small farms and secondly there were the large blocks of land purchased as Native settlement areas. The last included the original lands close to Pietermaritzburg and the newer areas in the south of the County in the Umkomaas valley and to the south of it. In this area the Roman Catholic Mission at Marianhill, near Durban, had acquired most land. The Native owned lands were particularly concentrated into the south and west of the County with the exception of the Underberg-Himeville vicinity.

The activities of speculators appear to have been reduced. Several of the large estates built up by men like J. vd. Plank and H. Nourse had been sold and although new ones appeared they operated on a much smaller scale than the older ones had done. The Natal Land and Colonization Company had been greatly reduced in area. In 1910 it held only 71,704 acres, under half its holdings ten years before. Much of this land was concentrated into the eastern portion of the county.

The newer produce companies had made an appearance in the County. The north-eastern portion was particularly suitable for wattle growing. In 1910 only three wattle companies had purchased land in the County, one near York and the other two at Hilton near to Pietermaritzburg. The three companies possessed only 14,012 acres, which was smaller than the area owned by wattle companies in Umvoti County.

The improvement in land prices had been much more gradual than in most of the other counties. The proportion of land sold at over £1. per acre increased from 67 percent in 1900 to 75 percent in 1910. (Table 121).

TABLE 121
LAND PRICES IN PIETERMARITZBURG COUNTY, 1910

Value	No. of Sales	Average
4s. to 9s. 11d	3	1,157
10s. to 19s. 11d	14	45,420
£1. to 39s. 11d	62	101,560
£2. to 99s. 11d	39	30,029
£5. to 199s. 11d	14	7,077
£10. and over	8	1,185
Total:	140	186,428

The major events in the volume of purchases in the County were those by the Crown amounting to 47,396 acres in 4 purchases. The prices paid by the Crown were fair market prices for the land they purchased, but as little of it was developed most of it was priced from 16s. to 23s. an acre. Land prices showed a distinct zoning. On the settlement schemes land prices were generally in excess of those ruling in the surrounding lands, but the premium was now small. Land in most parts of the County still fetched 15s. to 30s. an acre, although the better lands reached as much as £3. to £4. per acre, particularly in positions close to Pietermaritzburg or Richmond. The few high prices, over £10. per acre were reserved for trading stores and land adjacent to the capital.

4.7.6. Victoria County.

In Victoria County there had been a slight extension of the

European settled area as the result of the resumption of the Nonoti Mission Reserve in 1908, and its division into 15 holdings. There remained only a few isolated pockets of unappropriated land in the County which had been set aside for various public purposes. However, although 4698 acres of the Nonoti Mission Reserve had been appropriated, the farm area of the County increased by only 2185 acres as a result of subdivision in the south adjacent to Durban and resurveys. The area held by Europeans declined to 336,215 acres as a result of Indian purchases between 1900 and 1910. (Table 122). In 1910 there were 484 European holdings in the County, a decline on the number ten years before.

TABLE 122
FARM SIZES IN VICTORIA COUNTY, 1910

Size	Settlement Schemes		Remainder of County		Total	
	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area
6 - 20	47	713	40	472	87	1,185
21 - 50	36	1,453	32	1,188	68	2,641
51 - 100	24	1,889	33	2,484	57	4,373
101 - 200	18	2,751	39	5,402	57	8,153
201 - 300	7	1,726	32	8,365	39	10,091
301 - 500	8	3,094	44	17,425	52	20,519
501 - 700	1	684	22	12,836	23	13,520
701 - 1000	3	2,739	25	20,575	28	23,314
1001 - 1500	2	2,375	29	36,477	31	38,852
1501 - 2000	1	1,652	8	13,560	9	15,212
2001 - 3000	-	-	12	28,485	12	28,485
3001 - 5000	-	-	9	31,408	9	31,408
3501 - 10000	-	-	7	45,160	7	45,160
Over 10000	-	-	5	93,302	5	93,302
Total	147	19,076	337	317,139	484	336,215

The number of holdings on the settlement schemes was further reduced through purchases by the sugar companies and Indians. The number of holdings on the Cotton Lands Estate fell by 13 to 77, which was under half the number in 1860; while the number on the other estates was only slightly reduced as a result of sugar company purchases. The farms with the least activity were those laid out by Morewood in 1850. Of the original 58 allotments which were made, 31 were still in the hands of the original purchasers indicating the high proportion of waste land in the estate. No process of sorting out the ownership had ever been made, similar to the Byrne Scheme or the recent investigation of Hackett's Scheme in the Karkloof.

The Morewood settlement consequently remained an area of small holdings to a much greater extent than any of the other estates laid out in the period 1849 to 1851.

Several changes had occurred in the County in the period between 1900 and 1910. In the main these were developments of the previous trends. The most important was the continued expansion of the area held by the produce companies. By 1910 the major sugar companies had acquired 45,196 acres. The largest single area continued to be that of the Natal Estates to the north of Durban and south of Cotton Lands. This company now possessed 16,434 acres. The Tongaat Sugar Company possessed 7032 acres with a further 278 acres leased from a neighbouring farmer. Hulett possessed 5 estates in the northern portion of the County, totalling 21,730 acres and interests in a further 5000 acres which were leased to private planters. The importance of the larger units can be shown in addition, by the prosperity of the millers who were able to increase their holdings. Other produce companies were operative in the County. Only the narrow coastal belt some ten miles wide was suitable for the strains of sugar which were then available to the Industry. The interior of the County, because of its increased altitude and in places the presence of mist, was regarded as a suitable area for wattle growing. Three companies interested themselves in this in the period up to 1910 and purchased 21,801 acres of land at Inanda and Doornkop. In addition, a tea company with 2018 acres was formed at Inanda. Renewed interest in the possibilities of the County thus led to the diversification of agriculture, in a period when there were economic and environmental restraints on sugar cultivation.

However, the crisis following the end of the South African War reduced a number of farmers to bankruptcy and in general the County did not achieve marked prosperity until after Union. The Natal Land and Colonization Company's holdings were reduced to 50,789 acres but it remained the largest land owner in the County. The reduction was largely due to the sale of over 12,000 acres to a wattle company. It was also actively disposing of its land at Chakas Kraal, mainly to Native and Indian purchasers. The various banks and corporations

in the County accounted for another 13,900 acres. The block of speculatively held land between Tongaat and Stanger was increased in area. Property companies were active near Durban where 1132 acres were held for future residential development.

The purchases by Natives on a small scale and by Indians on a larger scale resulted in a total of 22,453 acres being held by Indians in 1910 and 7590 acres by Natives. The Indian holdings were almost entirely within the existing sugar belt whereas some of the Native owned land was outside it, in the interior of the County. The Indians had purchased extensively, but there were marked concentrations in the area adjacent to the Umgeni, the interior of the Cotton Lands Estate, the Tongaat Estate and small lots on the Noncti and Sinqwazi Rivers. There was a tendency for Indian purchases to be grouped but it was not well marked by 1910.

The price of land in the County showed recession in the period from 1900 to 1910 as a result of the depression. The proportion of land sold for £2. an acre or more fell from 75.5 percent to 37.5 percent in ten years, although the proportion of sales in this category increased. The small lots on the settlement schemes and at the coast continued to fetch increased prices, (£5 - £20 an acre), as did these adjacent to Durban. However, in the north and interior of the County prices dropped to below £2. an acre and several sales in these areas took place in the course of 1910.

4.7.7. Durban County.

The size of holding in Durban County was profoundly affected by the spread of Durban in the period before Union. The development of suburban railways allowed more land to be opened up as residential areas, and they could be further from the town itself. The result was a reduction in the area held as European farms of 6 acres or more, to only 101,540 acres, but the number of holdings increased by nearly a third to 392. (Table 123). The area held by Indians increased slightly to 4018 acres, while the area held by the churches remained more or less static at 7770 acres.

TABLE 123

FARM SIZES IN DURBAN COUNTY, 1910

Size	No. of holdings	Area
6 - 20	114	1,459
21 - 50	98	3,287
51 - 100	63	4,309
101 - 200	33	4,502
201 - 300	20	4,806
301 - 500	23	8,770
501 - 700	9	4,978
701 - 1000	11	9,369
1001 - 2000	14	18,109
2001 - 3000	1	2,007
3001 - 5000	3	12,493
5001 - 10000	2	12,339
Over 10000	1	14,112
Total	392	101,540

The area of small lots extended to Kloof where the farm was partitioned on the death of the owner and subsequently divided into small lots along the main road and railway line. Large areas in the Umgeni and Umbilo valleys had been divided into lots of under 6 acres. In this way Durban's suburban fringe extended for up to eleven miles from the boundary of the Townlands. The general subdivision of holdings affected all areas as even some of the Natal Land and Colonization Company's land in the interior of the County was in the process of being purchased. The Company, however, still retained 16,071 acres in the County and remained the largest landowner.

A major development of the decade 1900-1910 was the opening up of lands in the south of the County. Part of the Collegiate lands were resumed by the Government and divided into lots at Winklespruit. A total of 27 lots of 6 acres or over and a number of smaller ones had been sold by 1910. Plans were in progress for the division of more land into small lots. The Government had resumed 1396 acres of the Umlazi Location and leased them to a sugar company. This was the first major encroachment upon the Location after many years of discussion as to the future of the coastal areas of the Location.

Property companies were active, purchasing land which could be

divided for residential purposes. The main scene of activity was at Wentworth where three land companies had acquired 1271 acres. Estate agents, however, purchased a few areas on the margins of Durban in the hope of rapid profits, while banks and finance companies acquired land from persons bankrupt as a result of the economic depression. Some 1682 acres was so held.

The produce companies showed an improved position with the introduction of wattle to the interior of the County. By 1910 the Durban County Wattle Company had purchased 8319 acres, mostly adjacent to the border with Pietermaritzburg County, while the two sugar companies possessed 6138 acres in the south of the County. The increased importance of the produce companies was most marked.

Land prices again showed no improvement over the 1900 levels as the proportion of the land sold at £5 an acre or more dropped slightly from 57.6 per cent in 1900 to 47.7 per cent in 1910. It must be remembered that Natal was still recovering from the economic crisis.

4. 7. 8. Alexandra County

The occupied areas of Alexandra County once more showed a considerable increase as in 1900 it had contained some of the few areas still available for colonization. Most of the increase was accounted for by new European farms and only a small area (5000 acres) by Native purchases. In 1910 there were 261 European holdings amounting to some 235,728 acres (Table 124).

The most notable feature was the presence of one holding possessing some 8 per cent of the area of the County and two other substantial holdings (over 8500 acres) within the same area. The remaining holdings were concentrated into the northern portion of the County. There remained within the older established areas a number of small holdings where division had occurred, particularly adjacent to the coast.

In the interior and south of the County, where the land had only recently been granted, and where the new additions had occurred, the holdings were more uniform (between 700 and 3000 acres). The areas owned by Europeans were interspersed with blocks of Native owned land, and open Crown Lands. The broken nature of the area also led to the

TABLE 124

FARM SIZES IN ALEXANDRA COUNTY, 1910

Size	No. of Holdings	Area
6 - 20	15	156
21 - 50	15	532
51 - 100	17	1,432
101 - 200	30	4,241
201 - 300	22	5,694
301 - 500	34	13,964
501 - 700	32	19,102
701 - 1000	29	24,736
1001 - 2000	36	53,540
2001 - 3000	22	53,100
3001 - 5000	6	20,431
Over 5000	3	38,800
Total	261	235,728

highly fragmented pattern as the gorges and areas of rugged relief were not worth 10s. an acre. Considerable tracts of the County thus remained open but no attempt was made on the Government's part to even survey it for settlement purposes because of its low value and large number of Native squatters. There was a continuous belt of European settlement along the railway line from Umzinto to Pietermaritzburg County but elsewhere it was interrupted. Part of the Crown Land, consisted of the Collegiate lands which had been resumed in 1903 and then divided for sale in 14 lots. Only 6 had been allocated in 1910, largely because the lots were mostly under 500 acres in extent and considerably larger areas were needed for economic farming units in the interior of the County.

The Natal Land and Colonization Company's holdings had fallen to 5408 acres and there was a noticeable reduction in bank and other holdings by speculators to 1000 acres. The Produce companies of which two sugar concerns were in existence in 1910, held only 2354 acres. However, strictly there were a large number of companies formed by families engaged in the sugar industry, Reynolds Brothers being the major one.

Most land transactions involved values of between £2 and £5 per acre, with only a small number above or below that figure. The highest prices were recorded close to the coast in the Umzinto area and values decreased towards the south and west.

4. 7. 9. Alfred County

Alfred County exhibited a similar pattern to Alexandra County in many ways. The occupied area rose once more but not so rapidly as in the previous decade. A further 42,000 acres was added to the European owned area but this involved a reduction in the area of Native owned land. A total of 242,988 acres was held in 319 European farms (Table 125).

TABLE 125
FARM SIZES IN ALFRED COUNTY 1910

Size	No. of Holdings	Area
6 - 20	20	264
21 - 50	14	549
51 - 100	46	4,238
101 - 200	30	4,697
201 - 300	27	6,621
301 - 500	30	12,036
501 - 700	31	18,709
701 - 1000	38	33,217
1001 - 2000	51	70,806
2001 - 3000	21	48,849
3001 - 5000	9	30,880
Over 5000	2	12,122
Total	319	242,988

Small areas of the County had been filled in so that there was by 1910 a continuous belt of European owned farms extending from Harding to the coast. Much of the expansion had been in the form of medium sized farms of between 300 and 2000 acres. It is noticeable that the number over 2000 acres in the County as a whole declined. The Government threw open two new areas. The first was the Oribi Flats region, which had been avoided by settlers on account of its inaccessibility. In 1907 a settlement of 31 lots was laid out and ¹⁹ had been occupied by 1910. The prices ranged from 19s. to 22s. 6d. per acre according to position. It was understandable that those with the greatest degree of relief were left unoccupied. The second was on the coast beyond the line reached by settlement in 1900. This was divided into the Umtamvuma Lots, only half of which were occupied by 1910. Southern Alfred County was still too remote for profitable agriculture. It is worth noting that several of

the coastal lots were purchased by speculators interested in developing them as holiday resorts when the railway was completed. Thus, farms such as Margate and Ramsgate were sold in 1908 for 15s. an acre.

Finance corporations only accounted for 1928 acres, and the Alfredia Wattle Company for another 4256 acres. Otherwise the land was in private hands and mostly in holdings the same size as the original grants or allotments. The degree of amalgamation or division was low in the County as may be witnessed by the 30 holdings, still 100 acres in extent, on the Marburg settlement scheme nearly 30 years after it had been occupied.

4. 7. 10. Church and Non-European Lands.

The areas of Natal held by the churches and the Natives had reached a high degree of stability by 1910. The Churches held 134,450 acres Natives 397,754 acres and Indians 34,972 acres (Table 126).

TABLE 126

CHURCH AND NON-EUROPEAN LAND OWNERSHIP IN NATAL, 1910

County	Churches	Natives	Indians
Klip River	31,271	155,158	489
Weenen	13,500	15,119	-
Umvoti	22,015	1,708	-
Pietermaritzburg	43,033	140,668	1,287
Victoria	3,923	7,590	22,453
Durban	7,770	-	4,018
Alexandra	7,252	56,068	6,725
Alfred	5,686	21,443	-
Natal	134,450	397,754	34,972

The Native-owned area increased by only 2641 acres in ten years. This suggests that the major purchasing period had ended by 1900. In Pietermaritzburg and Alfred Counties there had been declines in the areas held and this tendency was marked where European settlers came into contact with Native-owned tracts. On the margins of the Native-owned land European encroachment became serious. There can be little doubt that the passage of the 1913 Union Native Land Act which froze Native-owned lands saved many of them from steady encroachment by European

purchasers. Much of the area held was with freehold or quit-rent title, but some tracts were still being purchased on the 20-year credit system and it was this which was the most vulnerable, as many of the original purchasers proved to be as incapable of paying 6d. a year per acre as they had 1s. in the 1880's. The Native purchase areas undoubtedly interrupted the European farming areas to an extent which the initial creation of the Locations had not done, presenting a major problem of disentanglement for the middle of the present century, which is still (1969) incomplete.

The church lands of Natal increased between 1900 and 1910. This was due to the continuing purchase of land for Native settlement by the various missionary societies. The number of Churches had multiplied since 1860 and some of the newcomers to the missions field in Natal such as the Hermansberg Mission and the Marianhill Mission had succeeded in purchasing considerable areas. They were the largest of the missionary land owners (Table 127). In contrast the areas held by the Anglican and Dutch Reformed Church had fallen appreciably.

TABLE 127
LAND HELD BY CHURCHES, 1910

Church	Acreage
Hermansberg Mission	33,988
Marianhill Mission	32,195
Other Roman Catholic Missions	10,011
Anglicans	14,688
Berlin Mission	11,144
Swedish Mission	8,110
Free Church of Scotland	6,057
Church of Scotland	5,890
Norwegian Mission	3,533
Others *	8,834
Total	134,450

* Including the American Methodists, American Missionary Board (2300 acres each) and six smaller churches (including the Dutch Reformed Church (600 acres).

The increase in Indian holdings was again rapid particularly in Victoria County, which now accounted for 65 per cent of all Indian-owned

land in the Province. The highly localised situation of the Indian areas can be noted by the presence of 94.9 per cent of all Indian-owned land in the coastal counties. However, the amount of land was small, even in Victoria County being only 6 per cent of the occupied area; and it hardly constituted the threat to the European holdings, which it was not very seriously alleged to do, at the time of Union. The major Indian purchases were still in the future.

4. 7. 11. Speculators and Land Companies

The speculative holdings were, again, difficult to assess. The Natal Land and Colonization Company was now only a shadow of its former self, possessing a mere 213,266 acres in 1910, only just over half its possessions of 10 years before. The political feeling against the large land companies was such as to make its extinction as a rural landowner almost certain. (Appendix II). The banks and finance houses held little land, (31,594 acres). There had been a slight revival as a result of the economic depression but this was comparatively minor, compared with the crisis of 1867. In part, this was the result of greater capitalization in agriculture and the greater potential that land held as a result of improved communications and new techniques. How much land was in the possession of private speculators is a matter for enquiry.

The produce and allied companies increased their holdings substantially. A total of 154,905 acres was held by companies whose interests in the land were those of exploitation as opposed to speculation. (Table 128).

These companies were present in every county, and mark a distinct specialization within the Colony. The coal-extracting companies were, naturally, in Klip River County. Ostrich and Lucerne companies were to be found on the Tugela River in the dry tracts which, however, could be irrigated. Wattle occupied much of the Midlands and interior of the coastal belt, while sugar and tea were to be found in the coastal counties. The regional specialization was one which was to develop rapidly, but the main outlines were already present in 1910.

A total of 399,765 acres of the European area was therefore in the hands of companies, engaged either in production or speculation. This amounted to only 5.5 per cent of the European owned area. There

TABLE 128

PRODUCE COMPANIES' LAND HOLDINGS, 1910

Product	Acreage
Coal	18,744
Ostriches and Lucerne	14,209
Wattle	66,246
Sugar	53,688
Tea	2,018
Total	154,905

were other family companies, but these were mostly engaged in normal agriculture and were run as though they were family farms, as opposed to those listed which were run by managers.

4. 7. 12. Land Values.

The period from 1900 to 1910 had been one of considerable economic vicissitudes with the result that even in 1910 the volume of land sold was greatly in excess of the normal turnovers since the 1880's. A total of 446,327 acres was sold in the year (Table 129).

TABLE 129

LAND SALES, 1910

County	Area Alienated	Area Sold	Percentage Sold
Klip River	1,967,232	113,822	7.0
Weenen	1,162,768	40,177	3.5
Umvoti	650,888	59,375	9.2
Pietermaritzburg	1,840,349	186,428	10.1
Victoria	368,253	35,277	9.6
Durban	130,316	3,685	2.8
Alexandra	155,925	4,313	2.8
Alfred	121,124	3,250	2.7
Total	6,396,855	446,327	7.0

Particularly high levels of transfers were registered in Umvoti, Pietermaritzburg and Victoria Counties. This was partly the result of major reorganizations within the agricultural industry in those areas, which most affected by wattle and sugar growing.



Some improvement in land prices was noticeable between 1900 and 1910, but the change was moderate, compared with some of the previous increases in price. Over half the land sold fetched between £1 and £2 per acre which was a distinct improvement on 1900.

TABLE 130
LAND PRICES, 1910

Value	No. of sales	Acreage
4s. to 9s. 11d.	5	6,023
10s. to 19s. 11d.	50	102,296
£1 to 39s. 11d.	149	252,970
£2 to 99s. 11d.	134	70,025
£5 to 199s. 11d.	74	11,525
£10 and over	72	3,488
Total	484	446,327

The percentage of land sold at less than £1 per acre dropped from 46.7 per cent to 24.3 per cent but that sold for £2 per acre or more increased slightly from 18.8 per cent to 19.0 per cent. This was largely due to the decrease in the proportion of small and usually highly valuable properties between the two years. Part of this decrease can be attributed to the increase in average size of farm transferred from 482 acres in 1900 to 915 acres in 1910. As a result direct comparisons might be misleading but it would appear that the upward trend in prices was continuing although at a slackened rate caused by the economic depression following the end of the South African War.

4. 8. Trends in Land Settlement in Natal before Union.

4. 8. 1. Introduction.

The object of the Government in alienating land was to attract settlers. In Chapter III it was possible to distinguish the various trends in Government policy, while Chapter IV has proceeded to demonstrate how effective this policy was at various stages. It is proposed in this concluding section to study the trends visible in the period before Union under four headings; the extent of alienated land, the size of

holdings, the type of ownership, and land values. The spatial aspects of these have been dealt with in the preceeding sections.

4. 8. 2. The Extent of the Alienated Land

The areas held under various tenures by individuals or companies in Natal increased very rapidly at first and then tended to slow down. It would be salutary to note that the allocated area increased from 3.4 million acres in 1850 to 8,0 million acres in 1910 (Table 131).

TABLE 131
AREAS OCCUPIED IN NATAL, 1850-1910

Year	Acreage	Percentage increase in decade
1850	3,375,688 ^a	-
1860	4,462,592	32.5
1870	5,073,978	13.8
1880	5,422,005	6.9
1890	6,496,436	19.8
1900	7,649,024 ^b	17.6
1910	8,016,861 ^b	4.8

^aIncluding all 1843 and 1848 grants, plus freehold sales to the end of 1850.

^bIncluding Zululand.

Land sales were regarded as a means of attracting permanent settlers. It would appear therefore that the Natal Government under the 1843, 1848 and 1857 regulations governing the grant of land under quit rent tenure squandered considerable areas of Natal and consequently deprived itself of most of the best land in the Colony. The Voortrekkers before 1850 acquired the most desirable areas of Natal, for grazing purposes.

Most of the problems of the Colonial Government stemmed from the initial grants. The tenure on which they were allocated was secure. The only way in which the owner of a Voortrekker grant could be dispossessed was by failing to pay the rent. The grants were in marked contrast to the type of leasehold tenure given to most pastoral farmers both in the British Colonies and in the United States. In the Australian colonies the 'squatters' received leases which could be cancelled after a stated period of notice. In the United States the holders of extensive

runs received no recognition at all from the State.

It was, therefore, possible to dispossess pastoralists in most countries which were settled at the same time as Natal. Usually dispossession only occurred when the agricultural potential of the leased lands was realised. The Government reserved the right to intensify the use of any area which it deemed capable of greater development. The failure of the Natal Government to keep such an option open was the cause of most of the problems which befell the Crown's land settlement policy in the period before Union.

The adoption of quit rent tenure for the Voortrekker grants had three negative results when the settlement of Natal is studied. The first was the failure to attract any large body of settlers with the promise of good farming land. The promoters of the settlement scheme of 1850 found it difficult to find Crown Land suitable for close agricultural settlement. Later promoters of intensive settlement schemes had the same problem.

The second result was the comparative inflexibility of the colonial agricultural system. Parts of Natal were suitable for arable farming once communications had been developed. However the pastoral farmers with few exceptions had little desire to change their mode of living and consequently remained pastoralists. The Government possessed no means of evicting them and introducing agriculturalists. The Government of several Australian colonies and the United States adopted the course of removing pastoral farmers and introducing arable farmers when conditions were suitable.

The third result was the lack of incentive to develop the communications network in Natal. The dispersed nature of the settlement and the likelihood of its remaining so, effectively prevented the development of railways to serve the agricultural community. In the United States and most of the Australian Colonies dense networks of railways were constructed to serve the crop raising regions. Railway construction in turn aided development and frequently closer agricultural development and railway construction went together. In Natal there was never the initial incentive and railways were only developed for

trading purposes and to open up the coal-fields.

Some tracts of reasonable Crown Land remained after the 1850's and they were opened up as communications improved and pressure on the existing areas increased. The improvement in communications was first directed towards the coastal counties. The problem of fording numerous rivers, many of which were impassable in the rainy season, effectively isolated parts of the coastal belt from Durban. From the 1850's onwards ports were developed in Alexandra and later Alfred Counties. The coastal trade assisted the settlement of the two counties until the railway was built in the decade before Union. In Victoria County trade had to rely upon improved fords and bridges until the railway was built to the Tugela in 1898.

It is difficult to assess the importance of communications upon the extension of settlement. The road network improved throughout the colonial period and was extended as settlement took place. The network itself appears to have had comparatively little influence upon settlement, apart from some of the initial Voortrekker farms. The railways, which were of such importance in the opening of much of Australia and the United States, were constructed in nearly all cases through occupied land. In these states the colonization movement followed the railway. In Natal it was the other way around.

4. 8. 3. Size of Holdings

Two main trends occurred in Natal before Union. The first was the gradual reduction on the size of holdings through subdivision and partition, and the other was the amalgamation of the small plots of the 1849-51 settlement schemes. The average and median size of holdings in Natal thus showed several developments in the period under consideration (Table 132).

There were a number of factors which influenced amalgamation and subdivision in the period. They depended entirely upon individual decisions and opportunities. It is not possible to state hard and fast economic or social laws as the individual's decision on the dispersal of his land frequently did not obey any laws. There were however guides to likelihood of amalgamation or subdivision.

TABLE 132

AVERAGE AND MEDIAN SIZES OF FARMS IN NATAL
1860-1910

Year Year	Average	Upper Quartile	Median	Lower Quartile
1860	1963	3300	370	50
1870	1868	2900	310	60
1880	1948	2750	510	85
1890	1762	2500	720	120
1900	1643	2250	900	180
1910	1400	1900	810	180

The main influences leading to subdivision were the Afrikaner inheritance laws, the growth of towns and the introduction of new economic activities. The partition of properties on the death of the proprietor in Afrikaans-speaking areas had a profound effect upon the interior counties of Natal where most Afrikaners lived. The influence of the partition laws only became apparent from the 1890's onwards, as pressure on available land increased. In the period before the exhaustion of free land, the heirs to farms could move elsewhere; after its exhaustion the existing farms were partitioned leading to smaller holdings. As a result the number of large farms (over 10,000 acres) rapidly declined from the 1890's onwards.

The growth of towns also led to subdivision. The majority of the towns of Natal were granted substantial townlands which proved adequate for urban expansion for the whole of the period before Union. However, Durban and Pietermaritzburg had spread beyond their townlands by 1910. The Durban Townlands were totally inadequate and by the mid 1850's parcels of neighbouring farms were being sold for suburban lots. The built up area of Durban had extended to a number of neighbouring farms by 1910. Pietermaritzburg was more adequately provided for and suburban extension was slight in comparison.

The change of use to which the land was put was frequently of significance over a longer period. The change was often not immediately reflected in the subdivision of land, but an intensification of use did mean that a living could be made from a smaller area than before. A

change of activity occurred in two ways. The first was the planned introduction of agricultural settlers onto land which had previously supported only pastoral farming. This development was encouraged by the Government and by private promoters. In all the planned settlement from 1850 onwards the object was to settle more colonists on smaller farms. Frequently the Government or private promoters, particularly the Natal Land and Colonization Company, divided the land into very small lots. Planned subdivision for closer agricultural settlement is a theme which has influenced Natal profoundly, but it was not adopted on the scale of the Australian colonies, as a result of land tenure problems. In addition to the planned introduction of agriculture, the introduction of new methods and crops to existing farms enabled subdivisions to succeed when they were made, and consequently led to a gradual reduction in the size of holding over a longer period of time.

Against the overall tendency to subdivide holdings there were several influences leading to amalgamation and the emergence of larger holdings, including the amalgamation of uneconomic holdings and the amassing of land by speculators and land companies. Allied to the last was the acquisition of estates by the produce companies.

The amalgamation of uneconomic holdings was a major feature of the development of Natal in the period before Union. The settlement schemes of 1850 envisaged close agricultural settlement on small farms. The farms were unrealistic and uneconomic. In the 60 years after 1850 a gradual rationalisation of the areas covered by the schemes was effected, resulting in appreciably larger farms. The contrast between the settlement schemes and the remainder of the Colony which was so marked in the 1850's was gradually reduced as the size of holdings in the schemes increased. The contrast was not eliminated by 1910, however, and the process appeared likely to continue for some time. Other forms of amalgamation of uneconomic holdings occurred after excessive subdivision as the result either of partition on death or of later planned settlements. In both cases the amalgamation aimed at recreating larger units which had been disrupted.

The amalgamation of farms as a result of speculative activity was

also an important feature of the period before 1880. Speculators were able to purchase considerable numbers of farms and frequently a speculator or land company purchased farms adjacent to one another. As a result the land holding unit was increased in size. In some cases holdings of over 40,000 acres resulted. The period before 1880 was one of low land values and consequently extensive properties could be amassed at comparatively little cost. The same period witnessed the development of a number of very large farms (over 10,000 acres) in the interior of the Colony. They were built up by cattle farmers who acquired extensive runs for their animals.

In the period after 1890 the produce companies emerged. The companies represented a major change in the agricultural activity of Natal in applying external capital to agriculture, rather than to land trading. The companies, particularly those engaged in sugar farming possessed sufficient funds to purchase extensive blocks of land, frequently reversing the trend towards division. The expansion of the produce companies was a permanent feature which was to develop in the years after Union.

The tendencies to subdivision and amalgamation were frequently complex but they operated to varying degrees throughout the period under consideration. It was not possible to state that farms became smaller as the median size of holdings rose, nor that they became large as the average size fell.

Two major trends were discernible. The first was the general reduction of the number of small holdings on the settlement schemes of 1850. The number of small holdings (under 50 acres) declined from 27 per cent of all holdings in 1860 to 13 per cent in 1900, rising only to 14 per cent in 1910. The contrast between the settlement schemes and the surrounding areas was reduced.

The second was the decrease in the size of holdings adjacent to the towns and on the coast. The tendency had by 1910 led to the reversal of the situation in 1850 that many of the larger farms were situated close to the towns and farm sizes tended to decrease with distance from them. In this way it could be said that Natal slowly adjusted itself to Von Thunen's ideas on farm sizes (Chisholm p46) The adjustment was slow and

numerous exceptions to the stated generalisation could be quoted.

The size distribution of farms is of significance owing to the degree of change which took place in the period under review (Table 133). The emergence of a large number of medium sized farms (501 - 2000 acres) by 1910 was partly the result of Government policy and the result of the process of subdivision and amalgamation related to individual decisions.

TABLE 133

SIZE OF FARMS IN NATAL, 1860-1910

Year	6 - 100	101 - 500	501 - 2000	2001 - 5000	Over 5000 acres
1860	855	329	288	436	347
1870	908	479	442	520	342
1880	761	542	556	513	345
1890	817	728	935	697	328
1900	848	812	1490	866	310
1910	1042	1033	1094	983	226

4. 8. 4. Class of ownership

The study has been concerned with the rural areas outside the designated Native Locations and Mission Reserves. These lands were primarily occupied by individual Europeans. However, considerable acreages were, at various times in the possession of private speculators, land companies, churches and non-Europeans (Table 134).

TABLE 134

OWNERS OF LAND IN NATAL, 1860-1910

Year	Individual Europeans	European Speculators	Land and Finance Co's.	Produce Companies	Churches	Non-Europeans
1860	3,267,430	1,106,113	48,384	-	30,562	130
1870	3,562,457	678,011	777,303	8,065	35,786	12,357
1880	4,308,357	370,622	602,302	11,890	66,259	62,205
1890	5,393,217	288,064	484,913	15,083	105,930	209,229
1900	6,500,792	150,000*	402,275	52,426	129,992	413,539
1910	6,753,517	100,000*	244,860	154,905	134,450	432,726

*Estimates. No accurate figures available.

Most of the alienated or allotted land outside the Native Locations and Mission Reserves was always held by Europeans on individual tenure,

but on occasion the proportion ~~so~~ held fell to below three-quarters. In the following discussion the domⁿinance of individual owner occupier tenure must not be overlooked.

The land speculators, operating either as individuals or as syndicates, purchased considerable tracts of land in the first few years of the Colony's existence. The land speculator was a feature of all contemporary colonizations and there is little reason to suppose that Natal suffered any more than the western United States or some of the Australian colonies. Speculative activity was however assisted by two factors. The first was the political situation and the second the land tenure system.

The political situation in Natal was such that many of the early settlers wished to leave the Colony. To do so they were willing to sell their farms at very low prices. Many farms were abandoned altogether. In the political climate of the middle and late 1840's land could be purchased inexpensively and considerable numbers of farms were sold to speculators. The land tenure system assisted speculators as extensive areas had been granted or allocated on quit rent tenure. Quit rent tenure, as has already been stated, was secure providing the rent was paid. The grantee of a quit rent grant had few initial expenses to pay and consequently the cash value of the grant was low. Consequently the grantee was willing to accept a low price if he desired to sell the property. Even the fines imposed upon non-occupation under the 1857 regulations governing quit rent grants did not deter speculators. Low prices were possible and speculators were willing to invest moderate sums of money in land in the hope of substantial returns at a later date.

In Natal, in common with the experience of the United States and the Australian colonies, the land speculator was an early feature of development. The more sophisticated land company superseded the private speculator as the Colony developed. The prosperous years of the early 1860's were marked by the formation of numerous land companies. The holdings of private speculators were pooled in the hope of selling land more readily if a commercial concern were founded. The resources of the land companies were often far greater than those of the individual

speculators and consequently it was the land companies which benefited from the economic crisis of 1866-67. The land and finance companies were inevitably ephemeral land owners. Their objective was to sell land at a profit. Consequently as land prices rose their holdings dwindled into insignificance. In 1910 they were in the last stages of disposing of their rural lands. The major company was the Natal Land and Colonization Company, which is the subject of a separate study in Appendix II.

Late in the colonial period a new trend became discernible. It was the emergence of the produce companies, which exploited the land for crops and minerals. The development of these companies gained impetus in the 1890's and was a major feature of the immediate pre-Union period. The trend was to continue to the present day. The produce company, as in the case of the land company, represented a greater organisation of capital than was usually possible by individual land owners. The amount of capital usually allowed improvements to be effected more rapidly than on private farms and consequently they tended to dominate the production of specialised crops. The first was the organisation of the sugar industry. The control of mills assisted the companies and the dependence of the remainder of the industry upon the milling companies was accentuated throughout the last twenty years of the Colonial period and afterwards. Wattle growing was beginning to be organised on similar lines in 1910 but it had not progressed very far. Coal mining was the only other industry to affect the land ownership pattern. The influence of the industry was highly localised and more complex than in the case of the other produce companies.

The produce companies possessed only a comparatively small proportion of the land area of Natal by 1910. The significance of the companies lay in the example they set and their influence on future developments in the industries concerned. The parallel with private speculators and land companies could be raised to indicate the general trend towards company ownership. However the trend, although present, was alien to the custom of the colonists. Companies were often resisted as being impersonal and politically undesirable owing to the reduction of the

European population on company owned land. Produce companies were, therefore, unlikely to obtain as much land as the speculators had done in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Missions and non-Europeans greatly increased their land holdings in the period before Union. The proportion of land so held increased at the expense of the Europeans. Missionary Societies purchased extensive areas for Native settlement in the European zones. The effect was to break up the blocks of European land. Purchases by non-Europeans had a similar effect. The Churches were well endowed and from the start possessed large land holdings, although the scene of their activity changed from the large mission stations to the purchasing of land already occupied by them. Native land holdings were slight until the mid 1870's. They received no grants before the 1870's. However, in the period 1881-1885 considerable areas were purchased by Natives, and a high rate of purchase continued until the late 1890's. However, after about 1904 the rate of purchase was more than balanced by the rate of sales, so that the peak of the Native-owned land acreages had already been passed by Union. The trend, if allowed to continue, might have led to the virtual removal of all Natives outside the Locations and Reserves. The Indians, in contrast, were increasing the rate of purchase before Union, after a very slow rate of progress, due to their marked concentration on the coast lands, where land commanded high prices, which was beyond the reach of most of them. The increasing prosperity of the Indian community resulted in its ability to compete more successfully with Europeans for land. The rate of Indian purchases increased markedly just before Union, but the major Indian purchases took place after 1910.

4. 8. 5. Land Values

The ruling price of land in the Colony had a marked effect upon land policy and ownership patterns. The general trend throughout the period was for prices to rise, but for there to be fluctuations related to the economic crises which the Colony had to contend with. This is illustrated by Table 135.

The discussion of land values is complex and several unknown factors are involved. Basically land has little value except when it is used.

TABLE 135

LAND PRICES IN NATAL, 1860-1910

Year	Percentage of Area sold at Price per Acre								
	Under 1s.	1s. to 1s.11d	2s. to 3s.11d	4s. to 9s.11d	10s. to 19s.11d	£1 to 39s.11d	£2 to 99s.11d	£5 to 199s.11d	£10 & over
1860	52	28	10	8	2	-	-	-	-
1870	19	30	41	6	2	-	2	-	-
1880	-	1	12	48	31	5	1	-	-
1890	-	-	-	22	56	18	3	1	-
1900	-	-	-	4	43	35	12	2	4
1910	-	-	-	1	23	57	15	3	1

Figures rounded to nearest whole number.

Consequently land prices tended to reflect the value placed upon it by the purchaser. In the period before about 1875 the value ascribed to grazing land was low. Before that date it seems doubtful if more than a few grazing areas were sold at more than 4s. an acre. In the formative years of the Colony under 1s. per acre was common for grazing land. The reason for the low prices was the lack of improvements made to the grazings. Most grazing areas were unimproved veld. In addition land had no scarcity value. New land could be obtained at low prices so that scarcity was not a factor in raising land values.

The Government laid down a minimum price for the purchase of Crown Land. In the period before 1880 the minimum was 4s. an acre and after 1880 it was 10s, an acre. The Government minimum price had a profound effect upon the spread of settlement. In the period before land was considered to be scarce the Government price was regarded as too high and consequently settlement spread slowly. Once the scarcity and potential use values of land exceeded the Government minimum the alienation of land was rapid. Thus land prices to a large extent controlled the extent of the Colony. As such it conformed to the basic Wakefieldian theory.

The rise in prices also reflected the value of improvements which had been effected. Improvements such as houses, crops and trees were included in the prices paid for the land. They indicated a more intensive use of the land and as such the advance of the economy of the Colony. Improvements were usually most substantial in the areas adjacent to the cities as suburban

expansion took place. Rural improvements were slower in implementation.

Land values for rural land in the Colony were at first fairly uniform but local differences in price levels became more apparent as agricultural development took place on the coastal belt and land prices there rose more rapidly than in the interior.

The rise in the value of rural land in the Colonial period was probably more rapid than at any time between Union and 1945.

CONCLUSION

This study of land settlement in Natal has attempted to analyse the various influences which have affected the changing pattern of European land holdings within the Colony. The pattern is of considerable complexity as a result in part of local physical characteristics, but to a far greater extent to the changing colonial land policies, the economic pressures affecting Natal and to the inheritance laws of the Colony. In this respect the colonial period may be considered as a distinct and separate phase in the development of Natal. It was in the colonial period, while Government policies were controlled by the Imperial and Colonial Governments, that the basic farm pattern was laid out.* The original farm pattern still has an important influence upon the Province. It is also necessary to examine the place of the study in the body of knowledge on land settlement and suggest some of the avenues of investigation which are open.

Two aspects of the findings need to be examined, and some reflection upon them in the light of conditions nearly sixty years after the end of the colonial period is necessary. The first is the tracing of the attempts at colonization by a poorly developed British possession, in a period of massive British emigration. The second is the study of the rural landscape and its spatial organisation into units of ownership, and the implications of the pattern which developed.

The original farm pattern of Natal was laid out before 1910. Since that date there have been new grants and new areas opened up but on a comparatively small scale compared with that experienced in the colonial period. The object of alienating land was to attract settlers. In this respect it would appear that a considerable extent of land was alienated for a small return (Table 136).

In 1859 there were 11,580 Europeans in Natal, of whom only 8000 were settled in the rural areas. This compares with 5.0 million acres of land either alienated or allotted, or approximately 1 person per 600 acres. Possibly the experience of Natal was one of the least successful of all nineteenth-century settlements. It rivalled that of Western Australia where some 1.2 million acres had been allocated for 5000

* The pattern although originating in the Republic period was laid out formally in the colonial period.

TABLE 136

PROGRESS OF POPULATION GROWTH & LAND ALIENATION
IN NATAL, 1846-1909

Year	European Population	Approximate Rural European Population	Area alienated (millions of acres)	Area alienated per European (acres)	Area alienated per rural European (acres)
1846	3,000	2,500	2.3	770	920
1852	7,629	4,000	3.4	450	850
1859	11,580	8,000	5.0	430	590
1870	17,737	14,000	5.1	290	360
1880	22,654	16,000	5.5	240	340
1888	35,933	17,500	6.4	180	350
1900	64,951*	24,000	7.6	120	320
1909	83,141	38,000	8.0	100	210

Table excludes Zululand, Vryheid and Utrecht.

* Includes military personnel.

settlers. The impact of the failure of the Swan River Settlement (Western Australia) had prompted the Imperial Government to re-examine its colonial land policies. The failure of the Natal settlement was ignored. Natal was virtually forgotten after 1858 as a reception area for colonists, a fact which had the most important repercussions on the racial composition of the country. The Europeans are still more heavily outnumbered by other races in Natal than elsewhere in South Africa.

After 1859 the population grew mainly as a result of natural increase assisted periodically by immigration. In 1880 the European population was only 22,654 of whom 8500 lived in the towns. In the period between 1859 and 1880 a further 470,000 acres had been alienated or allotted, with the result that the ratio of rural population to farm land was increasing with 1 person per 400 acres. By 1909 the European population had grown to 83,141 of whom some 38,000 lived in the rural areas on eight million acres of land. The ratio then stood at 1 person per 210 acres. In 51 years there had thus been a considerable increase in the ratio of men to land. There were still comparatively few rural settlers, when comparison is made with other areas settled at the same period.

The causes of the initial disastrous start to the settlement of

Natal are to be found in the land laws. The granting on secure quit rent tenure of 3.3 million acres of some of the best land in Natal to pastoral farmers was a mistake from which the Colony never recovered. The changes in Government regulations on land alienated underwent several extreme changes with extensive grants on two occasions and for the remainder of the colonial period a rigid policy of sales at prices often in excess of the value of the land was adopted. The initial large grants retarded agricultural and economic progress as the pastoral farmers could not be replaced by agriculturists. The small grants of the 1850 settlement schemes were too small for agricultural development in a country which lacked the amenities necessary for progress. The experiments were wasteful. High density settlement schemes only became possible with improvements in technology. Natal developed later than its contemporary colonies of settlement as a result of the unsuccessful start to colonization. The effects were still clearly visible at the time of Union in the low state of agricultural development. Speculation upon improvements which could have been made and the effects on land settlement are interesting but not profitable.

The pattern of farms is reflected in the rural landscape. The first evidence of settlement was the farmstead. In this respect the abandonment of much of rural Natal in the period from 1845 to 1868 meant that much of Natal was devoid of European habitations even though the land was registered in the hands of the Europeans. The isolated farmstead represented the Trekker concept of settlement. The settlement schemes of 1849 to 1851 introduced another. This was the rural village where the settlers lived together while they worked their scattered plots. Eight such villages were established but only two survive today. Later attempts at agricultural villages were similarly unsuccessful. The isolated farmstead was an element of the landscape, which no looking back to Mediaeval Britain could overcome.

The isolated nature of the farmsteads presented many problems of administration, including the provision of schools, churches and services. Much of Natal before the advent of the motor car was comparatively isolated from Pietermaritzburg to Durban. This was due to a lack of

railways. Low density settlement did not warrant the construction of railways and as a result the network, when constructed, was designed to meet the needs of the transit trade and mining. The close railway network of the cereal growing lands of the Americas and Australia did not materialise in Natal. The forces for change in the Colony and Province were as a result comparatively weak.

The dispersed nature of the settlement and the large size of farms resulted in long farm boundaries. Often these were ten or more miles in length per farm. The problems in such a situation were considerable. At first patrols had to be ridden. The construction of wooden fences was beyond the capabilities of the early settlers. Thus, the result of this was a further restriction of the ploughed area as livestock could wander where they wished. By comparison the pioneer in the United States had usually only one mile boundary which could be easily fenced. The introduction of barbed wire in the 1880's enabled the long farm boundaries of Natal to be fenced, but often inadequately and incompletely.

The original boundaries themselves are still noticeable features in the landscape, presenting a picture of straight lines crossing valleys and mountains. The network of boundaries, although consisting of straight lines, was not regular. No orientation or grid is discernible. Certain major relief features emerge as foci of several boundary lines but otherwise the picture is confused. The confusion is the result of decisions and surveys made in the colonial period. The ignoring of a systematic survey was in itself a highly important act in determining the appearance of the landscape. Owing to the cost of subdivisional survey the original grant boundary lines have shown a remarkable degree of persistence and remain a dominant feature of the landscape to the present day. In a sample study of boundary lines in portions of Umvoti and Victoria Counties 65 per cent and 76 per cent respectively of the original survey lines were still in use.* Other counties probably exhibit conditions which are similar.

* In 1964 a survey of property boundaries in 150 square miles of Umvoti County and 90 square miles of Victoria County was conducted (Christopher 1965). The results showed a high degree of retention of old survey lines. (Figures in miles.)

	<u>Length of original survey lines</u>	<u>Length of boundary lines</u>	<u>Original lines in use</u>	<u>New lines used in 1964</u>	<u>Disused grant boundaries</u>
Umvoti County	106	180	69	111	37
Victoria County	120	183	92	91	28

The boundaries were also of significance for administration purposes. Those of the original counties were made to coincide with the farm boundaries with only a few exceptions. The use of grant boundary lines has continued to the present day in determining the boundaries of the magisterial districts. The expansion of the towns, in particular Durban, however, has tended to lead to the abandonment of original grant boundaries in favour of subdivisional lines. Although due emphasis must be placed upon the features related to the boundaries of the grants, it is also necessary to state what they do not show. Unlike many of the new settlement areas, the original farm survey lines do not coincide with roads or railways. This was due to the clause in the original grants which allowed the passage of travellers across farms rather than around them. Roads could be built across farms without compensation and the law allowed property lines to be completely ignored. The rural road and railway pattern therefore bore no relationship to survey lines. This is in marked contrast to the urban road network and to the situation in many parts of the world surveyed systematically. As a result there is little to be seen of the original grant boundaries in the two major urban areas of Durban and Pietermaritzburg, which have sprawled beyond their original limits.

The pattern of ownership has assumed importance with the gradual introduction of zoning of land ownership on a racial basis through the Group Areas Act of 1950. With few exceptions land in the European areas could, in the colonial period, be purchased by non-Europeans. This right was exercised over considerable areas. However Native ownership was frozen in 1913 and Indian ownership was frozen finally in 1946. The main areas of Native ownership are those which they acquired in the colonial period. In this respect Government land policy was important for determining where Natives could purchase Crown Lands. Of equal importance was the willingness of various landowners to sell land to Natives. In general individual Europeans were highly reluctant to sell land to Natives but companies were not. Hence a study of some of the settlement schemes of the Natal Land and Colonization Company is rewarding in trying to explain the distribution of Native-owned land and helps to

account for its extremely discontinuous nature. Many of the trends towards land ownership by mining, timber and sugar companies emerged in the colonial period. Others which were equally important did not appear until later. In this respect the decline in the number of European holdings was a feature which could not have been foreseen, as the number of European holdings had been increasing at an ever increasing rate before Union. The closer settlement movement appeared to be likely to allow the trend to continue for many years. By 1910 the Indians had acquired only a comparatively small portion of the holdings they possess today, but the trend towards a greater Indian-owned area was clearly visible.

This study, it is hoped, will have assisted in the comprehension of the layout and functioning of rural Natal. The basic problems associated with land ownership in the Province are to a large extent derived from colonial problems and decisions. The imprint of the system of land allocation and subdivision is an essential part of the study of any rural landscape, and with a greater understanding of the system and its evolution a greater understanding of the landscape itself is possible. It is also hoped that the study will have aided in the comprehension of colonization in the South African context.

The study of land settlement in Natal during the colonial period faced a number of problems. The most important was the lack of a number of important pieces of information. Records have been destroyed and others are difficult to find. Many of the problems related to the material are discussed in Appendix III. Statistical information on the agricultural and pastoral development of the Colony is inadequate for any analysis relating production to farm sizes. Because of the discrepancies in the statistical information a valuable study is not possible. The thousands of decisions affecting the distribution and redistribution of land in the colonial era are inadequately described or explained in contemporary literature. Motives were often conflicting, with the result that the study must be incomplete as it is impossible to establish with absolute certainty the true reasons for the acquisition and disposal of land. Ideas on land changed throughout the colonial period and

colonial attitudes were very different from those of today. An enquiry into colonial ideas regarding land settlement presents a line of enquiry which would be most rewarding.

Several avenues of research open up in the fields covered by the study. It would appear at present that there is still not enough known to start elaborating a basic framework dealing with land settlement. The nineteenth-century European colonizations of mid-latitude lands have many features in common, but information upon them needs to be systematised so that a synthesis can be made. The main outlines can already be discerned but it requires a considerable amount of additional research to provide a sufficient background to the synthesis. The subject is of profound importance and an understanding of colonization processes is still relevant today.

The study opens up the subject of the settlement of southern Africa by the Europeans after 1652. No specific study of settlement in southern Africa has been undertaken. Reference is frequently made to a variety of factors affecting settlement but the statements usually lack concrete facts with the result that the interpretation presented is open to question. Land settlement was basic to the development of South Africa until industrialization, and a greater understanding of it would be an advantage to understanding the country. It might also eradicate some misconceptions.

The social aspects of colonization have been emphasised and the environmental factors have been ignored to a larger extent. It is a feature of most studies of this nature that the physical environment has less significance than is frequently attached to it. However the perception of the environment by travellers and colonists is an aspect which would repay study. Men's conception of the environment has always been far more important than the truth. In addition it must be recognised that the environment has changed as a result of bad grazing and cultivation practices. The physical environment both in thought and fact is not static and due allowance must be made for it.

In any historical study there is always the question of what happened afterwards. The continuation of the study of land settlement

in Natal would be of considerable interest and value to an understanding of the present situation in rural Natal. Studies either on a Provincial or County basis would be of great interest. Features which were only emerging in 1910 became major problems in later years. Racial zoning and uneconomic holdings are but two problems which are receiving Government attention at the present time.* The problems could be studied from their origins to the present date and possibly pointers to solutions could be found. Aspects such as the rise in Land values or the relationship between farming activity and farm size could be profitably studied.

It must be remembered that all the prospects for research suggested cannot be studied in isolation. Other countries had problems similar to South Africa and solutions either successful or unsuccessful have been attempted in them. An awareness of developments in the rest of the world is vital to an understanding of the processes of land settlement.

* A study of the pattern of Indian land ownership on the Natal north coast (Victoria County) and the implications of this to the economy is in progress (Greyling, 1969).

APPENDIX I.

THE NORTHERN DISTRICTS OF NATAL

Al.1. Introduction

In 1902 the Colony of Natal annexed a portion of the former South African Republic. The area incorporated included the districts of Utrecht and Vryheid and a portion of Wakkerstroom. The districts were incorporated to provide a shorter boundary with the Transvaal and to include the valuable mineral deposits of the Utrecht and Vryheid areas. The Utrecht and Wakkerstroom districts had a distinctly different history and development from that of Vryheid. It is proposed to briefly outline the development of these districts and the progress in land allocation during the pre-annexation period. Colonial control over these areas lasted only eight years (1902-1910) and consequently the impact of colonial policies upon them was minimal. The northern districts of Natal were subject to the land policies and laws of the Afrikaners and as such their development was very different from that of the Colony. Land settlement was conducted in a similar way to that of the Republic of Natalia. Part of the interest in Utrecht and Vryheid lies in the speculation as to the development of Natal if the Republic of Natalia had survived and British control had not been extended over Natal.

Al. 2 History of Utrecht and Wakkerstroom (Fig. 55).

The districts of Utrecht and Wakkerstroom were not occupied by the Trekkers until after the British annexation of Natal and the ending of the Klip River Rebellion. In 1848 a group of farmers from the Klip River District crossed the Buffalo River into the Utrecht area. The land was, in the main, devoid of Zulu inhabitants and it was claimed as suitable area for farming. However, the number of settlers was small, and owing to doubts about the boundary of Zululand little was accomplished until 1854. In that year an agreement was reached with Panda, King of the Zulu, over spheres of influence. The agreement gave most of the southern and western parts of Utrecht to the Trekkers and confirmed that Wakkerstroom lay beyond the area of Zulu interest.

In 1854 the inhabitants of the District of Lydenburg requested that they be allowed to obtain farms at Wakkerstroom. The Volksraad in Lydenburg agreed and normal 3750 morgen farms were made available. The

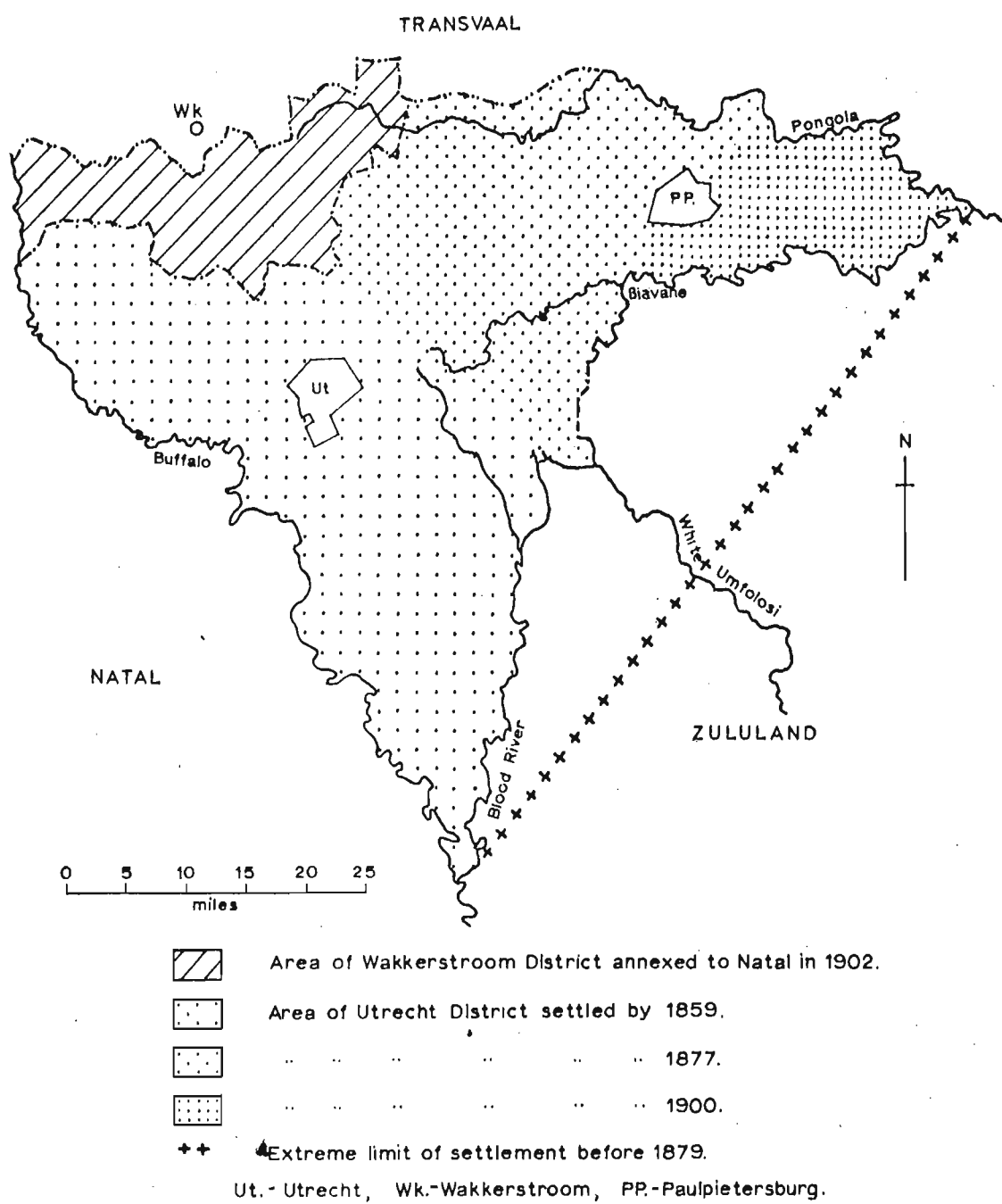


Fig 55. Wakkerstroom and Utrecht.

farms falling into the area annexed by Natal were smaller than those prevailing in much of the Transvaal. The situation of the Utrecht district appears to have remained almost anarchic until the district joined the Republic of Lydenburg in May 1858 and the South African Republic in November 1859. There appears to have been no administrative machinery in the period before 1859, and a great deal of instability in ownership can be discerned. Land claims were dealt with in the period 1859-1861 in a generous manner.

The history of the years from 1860 onwards was one of gradual encroachment by the farmers upon Zulu lands. In 1860 Cetwayo, Panda's son, agreed to give the farmers extra lands in return for assistance. In April 1861 by the Treaty of Waaihoek, Cetwayo agreed to a new boundary, which was drawn from the junction of the Buffalo and Blood Rivers to the junction of the Pongola and Biavane Rivers. This gave the area of the headwaters of the White Umfolosi to the Transvaal. Cetwayo agreed to this cession in exchange for animals and the recognition that he would be Panda's heir. The agreement was repudiated by the Zulus as it involved the cession of a large area of land which it was claimed Cetwayo had no right to alienate.

The Utrechters began to move into this new area, but it was found that there were not enough settlers to colonize it effectively. Lack of colonists and continued uncertainty as to the status of the new area resulted in only temporary occupations of the new lands until the 1870's. The status of the disputed area was not officially determined until 1879, resulting in nearly 20 years of uncertainty. In 1861 Cetwayo repudiated the agreement and in 1862 the Zulus re-occupied the land and the farmers in the border areas had to abandon their farms.

In 1864 Panda agreed to the cession but stipulated that the Zulus were to be allowed to remain on the land until it was required by the South African Republic for settlement purposes. However, in 1866 Panda again reclaimed part of the territory and in 1869 repudiated the whole agreement. Attempts at arbitration were long drawn out and even after 1870 when a special commission was established little was done. Wars, both civil and against the Swazi, occupied the attention of the Zulus.

In this period the farmers went ahead preparing the land between the Blood River and the line of 1861 for settlement. Slowly colonists arrived and by 1877 much of the area was occupied by a series of large farms. Often they exceeded 3000 morgen in extent.

In April 1877 Great Britain annexed the Transvaal. The border dispute between the South African Republic and Zululand now became a matter of direct concern to the Imperial Government. A commission of enquiry investigated the problem and on the 11th December, 1878 it made its findings known. The Transvaal boundary was to be placed along the Blood and Biavane Rivers leaving a large tract of territory occupied by colonists within Zululand. The farmers were not, however, to be dispossessed but were to receive licences for their grazing. In this manner all Deeds of Grant of the South African Republic beyond the new line became invalid.

The new arrangement would have been highly favourable to the Zulus, as it is doubtful whether many of the Boers would have been content to remain under Zulu sovereignty with only grazing licences issued by the British, instead of farm grants. However, the decision was not put into practice as on the same day an ultimatum was issued by the British Government demanding the reorganisation of Zululand, in particular the disbanding of the Zulu army, which was felt to be a potential threat to British supremacy. The Zulu War of 1879 resulted in the complete defeat and destruction of the Zulu Kingdom. The army was disbanded and the country divided into 13 small states, only one of which, the Reserve, in the south was placed under British protection. The remainder squabbled amongst themselves and without any central authority the country fell into chaos. The return of Cetwayo from exile in 1883 and his subsequent death did little to pacify the country.

Al. 3. Foundation of the New Republic (Fig. 56)

The Boers who had fled from the border areas, when the Zulu War broke out, returned and once more started marking off their farms. It was assumed that the war had invalidated the 1878 award. However, the Transvaal regained its independence on 1881 but these farms were specifically excluded from the Republic. By the end of 1882 a

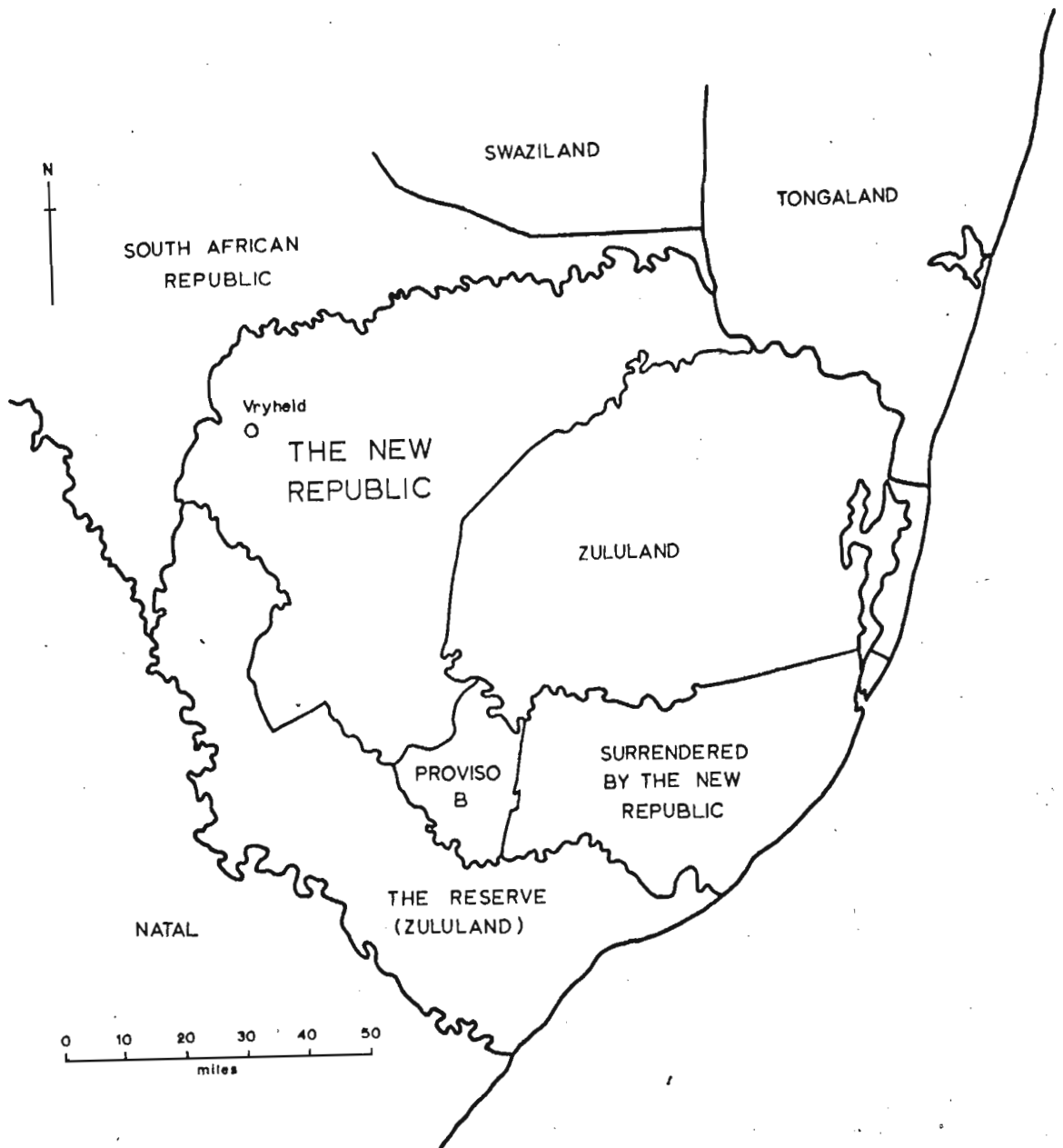


Fig 56 The New Republic.

considerable area had been illegally reoccupied by the Boers and more was in the process of being beaoned off.

The situation in Zululand deteriorated and in 1884 civil war broke out. The Usutu party led by Dinizulu, Cetwayo's heir, realised its weakness and sought aid from the Boers at Wakkerstroom. Dinizulu's request for aid was favourably received and in April a committee styled the "Committee of Dinizulu's Volunteers" was established. Volunteers were invited to join, with the promise that farms would be made available to those who assisted the expedition into Zululand. Good land was becoming scarce in the settled parts of South Africa, and so the invitation was accepted by the land-hungry men from the Transvaal and also the Orange Free State and Cape Colony, in the same manner as similar circumstances had attracted them to Stellaland and Goshen a couple of years before. On the 23rd May, 1884, Dinizulu signed a treaty which in return for aid and recognition as king made him promise to 'cede to the principal leaders of the Boers a tract of country from the North Western part of Zululand bordering on the South African Republic and as large as the beforementioned principal leaders may consider necessary for the establishment of their own independent sovereign government according to agreement.' The agreement was vague, and there can be little doubt that Dinizulu hoped he would not have to pay with too much land.

On the 10th June, the Usutu party, with the aid of a Boer commando of 100 men defeated Dinizulu's rival. About 400 men had joined the various Boer commandos in Zululand at that time. However, after the battle, the committee invited land claims and over 800 applications were received. This was felt to be excessive, as the land claims of 800 would not be met from all the land in Zululand. Accordingly the size of farms had to be cut to 1700 morgen (4000 acres). Full farms would only be issued to those who joined the commando before the 10th June, and those who had joined afterwards were only to receive half farms. A considerable amount of discussion took place on the allocations and their extent.

On the 5th August, 1884, the New Republic was proclaimed, and a start was made on the survey of farms. Inspection teams were appointed and each of the teams was to survey strips of farms across Zululand.

The first survey was found to have been too generous and the surveyors had to cut them down. The method of survey involved the measurement of lengths by the time taken to ride along the length, direction by compass and right angles by means of a pair of crossed iron bars. The results were not accurate. Grants were to have been a standard size of 1700 morgen, involving a ride of 40 minutes along each side of the property. The old method of riding across the property had been abandoned in favour of measuring each side in turn. The farms were thus approximately rectangular in belts across Zululand. In order to fit all the farms in, successive re-determinations of the boundaries of the New Republic took place to gain more land. Eventually, by the time of the October 1885 determination five sixths of Zululand outside the Reserve had been appropriated.

Vast areas including St. Lucia Bay were included within the Republic. The traditional areas of the Zulus were in Boer hands and discontent appeared to be leading to renewed war. The British authorities were mainly concerned over the fate of St. Lucia Bay, which had been previously annexed to Britain, but which was now claimed by the Republic. The British authorities opened negotiations with the Boers on the basis of recognition in return for a reduction in area, mainly the surrender of the port of St. Lucia.

On the 22nd October, 1886 agreement was reached between the Government of the New Republic and the Governor of Natal. The New Republic was recognised as an independent state, although it immediately joined the South African Republic. The boundary of the Republic was drawn in such a way as to exclude St. Lucia and so prevent the division of Zululand, which was annexed by Great Britain. The boundary left a considerable number of farms outside the New Republic and it was further agreed that some of these would be allowed in Proviso B, but those falling outside Proviso B would not be allowed. The work of determining the boundary was completed in January 1887.

Under a Proclamation of 21st June 1887 the right of granting land was vested in the Governor of Zululand in those areas falling outside the New Republic. In the course of 1886 all the disputed land had been

inspected and in 1887-88 grants on quit tenure on the same terms as those issued in the New Republic were issued. As a result the final figures showed that 2,075,570 acres in 543 grants fell within the New Republic and a further 223,595 acres in 65 grants fell in Proviso B. The remaining grants fell in Zululand and were disregarded. On the border, farms lost part of their areas to Zululand, in the same way as the boundary line between the New Republic and Proviso B cut through a number of grants.

The land area remaining unclaimed in both Proviso B and the New Republic, now the District of Vryheid, was small. Only a further 65,515 acres was alienated in Vryheid in the 10 years before the South African War.

A1.4. Incorporation into Natal.

The two districts of Utrecht and Vryheid together with a small portion of Wakkerstroom were annexed to Natal (Natal Act 39/1902) on the 12th May 1902. These areas were thus brought under Natal's control only 8 years before Union, so that the influence of the Natal Government was minimal. The development of land ownership units took a very different course in the area North of the Buffalo-Tugela line, where essentially Transvaal thinking was applied, to that in Natal where British colonial thinking was dominant for most of the period.

A1.5. Land Grants in Wakkerstroom and Utrecht.

Only the southern portion of Wakkerstroom was annexed to Natal in 1902. This amounted to about 180,000 acres of rural land and excluded the town. The land grants in Wakkerstroom had been small, averaging only 3000 acres (Table 137).

TABLE 137
LAND GRANTS IN WAKKERSTROOM 1856-1880

Size (Acres)	1856-1860		1861-1870		1871-1880		Total	
	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area
Under 1000	-		3	1,813	-		3	1,813
1000-2000	2	3,207	9	14,689	1	1,951	12	19,847
2001-3000	5	12,449	13	32,424	1	2,711	19	47,584
3001-4000	6	21,635	9	30,983	1	3,062	16	55,680
4001-5000	-		4	16,641	-		4	16,641
5001-6000	1	5,600	1	5,270			2	10,870
6001-7000	-		2	12,513	-		2	12,513
7001-8000	1	7,616	1	7,562	-		2	15,178
TOTAL	15	50,507	42	121,895	3	7,724	60	180,126

Wakkerstroom although occupied mostly in the period from 1853 to 1860, saw most survey activity in the following decade. The Wakkerstroom district was to a large extent cushioned from the worst effects of the disturbed state of Zululand by the Utrecht District and was occupied continuously from its foundation.

A total of 1,074,936 acres was surveyed in Utrecht for farms in the period before annexation. Although the area was first occupied in 1850, it was not until 1859 that the first inspections took place, and 1867 when the first officially surveyed grants were issued. There was a lack of surveyors, and it would appear that most of the farms surveyed up to 1880 were occupied for considerable periods beforehand, and those surveyed by 1870 had probably been in semi-continuous occupation since 1850. Most of Utrecht was occupied by 1880, a total of 949,005 acres. Survey was similar to that of Natal prior to British annexation, and followed the practice of the Transvaal, although grants appear to have been smaller than those in the centre and north of the Transvaal (Table 138).

TABLE 138
UTRECHT GRANTS ISSUED IN PERIOD 1867-1880

Area (Acres)	1867-1870		1871-1880		Total	
	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area
Under 1000	-		1	916	1	916
1000-2000	4	6,062	1	1,192	5	7,254
2001-3000	3	7,577	2	5,285	5	12,862
3001-4000	10	35,684	1	3,402	11	39,086
4001-5000	20	92,472	5	22,959	25	115,431
5001-6000	26	143,722	9	49,016	35	192,738
6001-7000	23	147,570	5	33,251	28	180,821
7001-8000	11	81,757	3	22,694	14	104,451
8001-9000	7	58,826	8	67,803	15	126,629
9001-10000	5	46,919	2	18,522	7	65,441
10000-11000	3	30,955	5	51,292	8	82,247
11000-12000	1	11,129	-		1	11,129
TOTAL	113	662,673	42	276,332	155	949,005

The average size, 6123 acres, is somewhat larger than the average for the Natal Voortrekker grants, (5615 acres) but smaller than the grants in Klip River County, (6832 acres). The range of grants however shows no dominant size. Half lie between 4001 and 7000 acres, but there was no marked concentration as there was in Natal at the 6000 acre mark. The majority of grants were below the official tolerance of 3750 morgen of the South African Republic. Unlike the lands of Northern Natal, very few of the farms became the property of speculators or land companies after grant, and most appear to have been occupied, although there is no proof that this was so. A great deal of subdivision occurred and comparatively little amalgamation, due to the system of inheritance within the South African Republic which followed Roman-Dutch law.

A portion of the Utrecht District, to the north however, had not been occupied by 1880. This was due to the Zulu menace and to the high numbers of Zulus living in the area. In the period from the South African Republic's regaining Independence in 1881 to the outbreak of the South African War in 1899, a further 85 grants were surveyed in this area to the east of the new town of Paulpietersburg. However, these only covered 131,048 acres resulting in an average size of 1542 acres. The scheme was not completely successful. In 1889, 12 farms were still unoccupied and a further 5 were owned by the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk,

the State church. Thus only 103,892 acres were in private ownership, and the 68 farms were occupied by only 42 persons.

In the remainder of Utrecht District in period from 1881 to 1899 there were only four new grants amounting to 4883 acres. These were areas lying between existing grants and consequently there was little significance in their distribution and they made little difference to the land ownership pattern.

Al. 6. Land grants in Vryheid.

The area originally occupied and set aside for farms in the New Republic amounted to over two and a half million acres. (Table 139). Grants of 1700 morgen were available to all who had taken part in the Zulu civil war, and many others who arrived after the fighting had finished. Over 650 farms were inspected and granted in the period of the New Republic's administration. However, not all were allowed to remain within the New Republic, and 102 farms plus portions of about 14 others were excluded from the Republic. A further 65 farms were included in Proviso B of Zululand and titles reissued, but the remainder were disallowed and ceased to exist.

TABLE 139

LAND OCCUPIED BY THE NEW REPUBLIC,
1884-1886

Area (political)	No. of farms	Area
New Republic - occupied	543	2,078,063
New Republic - inspected	13	47,000 (approx.)
Proviso B - occupied	65	223,595
Zululand - disallowed	37*	160,000 (approx.)
	658	2,508,658 (approx.)

* added to which are parts of 12 farms already included in Proviso B but whose areas are distributed between Proviso B and Zululand.

In 1886 the New Republic became the Vryheid District of the South African Republic. However, for land grants, this made little difference as the basic layout of the District had been determined in the period of Independence. The layout approximated to a grid running diagonally across the country. Nearly all farms were approximately square, with

only one neighbour to the north-east and one to the south-west, although the pattern was more irregular to the north-west and south-east sides. This scheme had the merit of simply survey, and with few of the problems associated with the independent surveys in colonial Natal.

In the period up to 1900 a further 25 farms covering 67,959 acres were granted. After 1900 however very few new grants were issued. There was a general depression in northern Natal and there was as a result little inclination to purchase land at the Natal ruling price of 10s. per acre, where before annexation the quit rent on farms had been at the rate of £1 per 1000 morgen (2117 acres) per annum. There was still, however, a considerable supply of land remaining and also some land forfeited to the Crown. This the Natal Government hoped would be used for closer settlement schemes. The only scheme near Vryheid was commenced in 1908 with lots of 500 acres. By the end of 1910 however a considerable number of those originally planned had been occupied. This was one of the few schemes of the Colonial Government which was applied to the Northern Districts. It is of interest as a comparison with the schemes undertaken on a larger scale in the Klip River County which it predated by two years. Settlement schemes were alien to the Afrikaners mode of thinking. The Colonial Government was therefore introducing a major ⁿnovation to the districts.

APPENDIX II.

THE NATAL LAND AND COLONIZATION COMPANY

The Natal Land and Colonization Company (NLCC) was founded in London in 1860 by a group of London financiers and Cape merchants. The object of the NLCC was to promote emigration to Natal by using British finance to develop the land of Natal. A number of speculators, financiers and colonists were brought together through the agency of Adolph Coqui. It was their intention to sell land to emigrants on reasonable terms and so lead to a speedy colonization of Natal which would be to the benefit of the NLCC and its members.

In August 1861 the NLCC was brought into being in Natal with a pool of nearly a quarter of a million acres. The interested parties took out shares in the NLCC to the value of the land transferred to its ownership. The initial optimism of bringing capital and manpower from England to the land of Natal proved to be no more founded on reality than earlier schemes had been. Comparatively little was accomplished with regard to emigration for several years. It was only in 1865 that the terms of the colonization plans were published in England, but the onset of the major economic depression at the end of the American Civil War effectively prevented their implementation.

The NLCC however, had a major advantage over its rivals in that capital from London continued to flow into Natal and so it was able to increase its holdings during the depression. It was able to purchase land from bankrupts at low rates, and able to purchase interests in and finally control over other companies such as the Natal Investment Company and the Natal Cotton Plantation Company. Purchases continued until 1874 at a rate exceeding 10,000 acres a year. In 1873 the properties of the Cotton Plantation Company passed to the NLCC, which then owned nearly two thirds of a million acres. The distribution of this land can be gauged from Fig. 45 and 46., when it is remembered that nearly all company owned land was owned by the NLCC. The expansion period of the NLCC ended in 1874 and thereafter the holdings decreased in acreage, although not in value (Table 140 and Fig. 57).

TABLE 140

PURCHASES AND SALES OF THE NATAL LAND AND COLONIZATION COMPANY, 1861-76

Year	Area purchased	Area Sold	Area Owned
1861	261,619	-	261,619
1862	-	3,299	258,320
1863	-	750	257,570
1864	-	-	257,570
1865	-	-	257,570
1866	12	8,049	249,533
1867	3,928	-	253,461
1868	118,254	238	371,477
1869	89,875	1,222	460,130
1870	19,820	9,847	469,103
1871	47,239	205	516,137
1872	10,492	2,107	524,522
1873	121,312	15,291	630,543
1874	39,616	14,192	657,967
1875	4,138	24,436	635,669
1876	604	29,377	604,826

Source: Records of Natal Land and Colonization Company.

In 1870 the NLCC possessed 469,103 acres. Only 59,902 acres were leased, amounting to 12.8 per cent of the holdings. Most of the leased acreage was in Weenen and Klip River Counties. Five small experimental areas for the cultivation of sugar and other tropical crops had been established in the coastal belt. Otherwise the lands of the NLCC were completely unused and literally lying waste. In addition the 85,490 acres belonging to the Natal Cotton Plantation Company lay idle.

The Deeds Office records for 1870 showed that a total of 506,490 acres was legally in the possession of the NLCC (Table 141). This was markedly different to the total on the NLCC's books. The difference between the two sets of figures appear to be due to the NLCC's practise of removing from the ledgers all properties which had been sold, even if on credit, and consequently before the deeds were actually transferred. Thus the difference of nearly 40,000 acres in 1870 represents land which was in the process of being sold but which had not actually been transferred.*

* The difference rose to 62,000 acres in 1880, but fell again to 30,000 acres in 1890, 46,000 acres in 1900 and 43,000 acres in 1910. In 1910 it would appear that some 20 per cent of the area held by the NLCC according to the Deeds Office records was in the process of being sold. The same discrepancy occurs in the figures for the Natal Cotton Plantation Company.

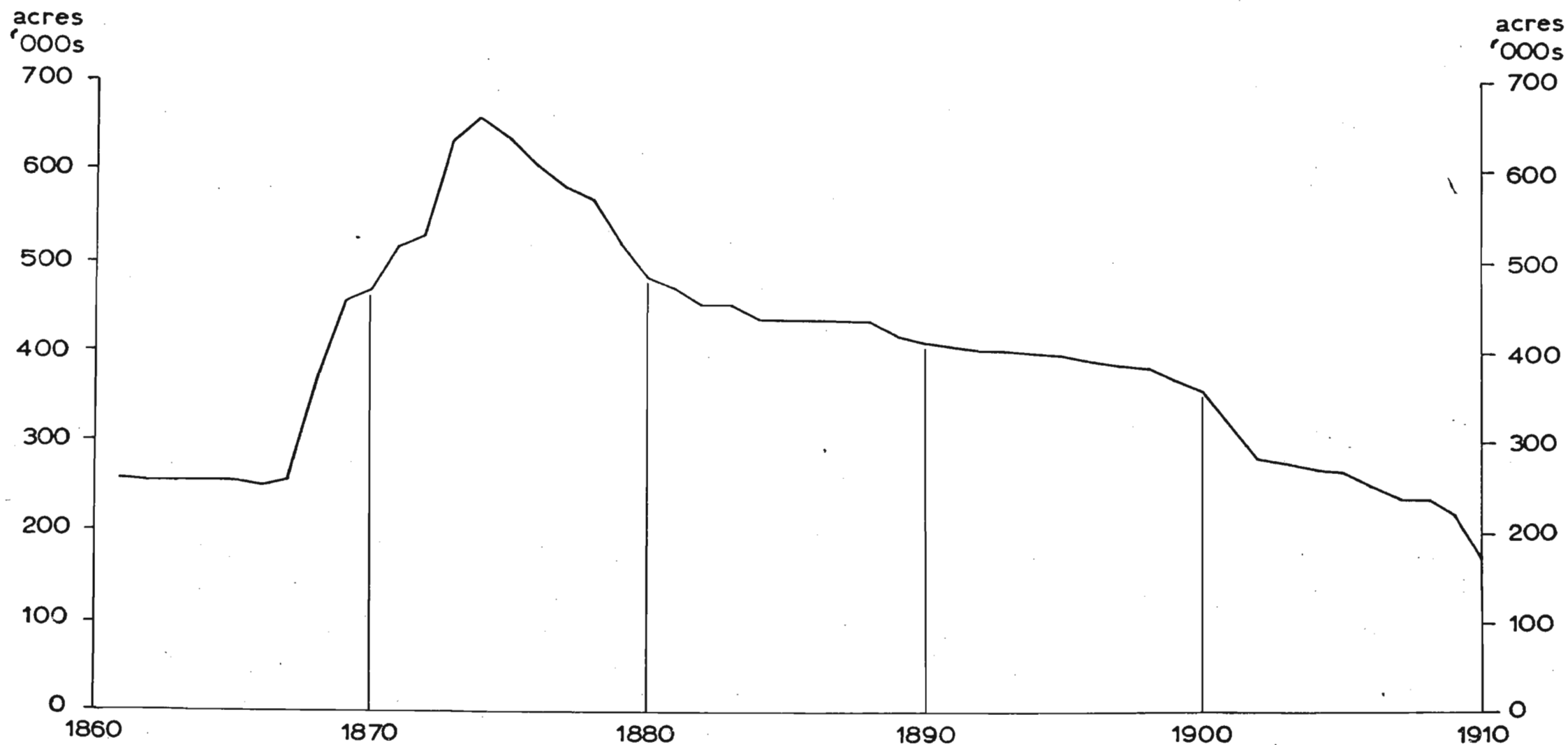


Fig. 57. Land holdings of the Natal Land and Colonization Company 1861-1910.

TABLE 141

LAND OWNED BY THE NATAL LAND AND COLONIZATION COMPANY IN 1870, 1880 AND 1890

County	1870	1880	1890	Percentage change 1880/90
Klip River	82,740	86,477	70,317	-19
Weenen	71,923	97,693	64,385	-34
Umvoti	37,201	42,461	27,222	-36
Pietermaritzburg	250,924	211,451	162,867	-24
Victoria	41,532	77,615	82,182	+ 6
Durban	12,648	17,281	25,693	+47
Alexandra	10,292	12,677	10,677	-16
Total	506,890	545,655	433,343	-19

Source: Deeds Office records.

In 1870 the NLCC held nearly half its lands (49.5 per cent) in Pietermaritzburg County where there was a marked concentration in the Southern area and close to the main lines of communication. The land owned by the NLCC was in the terms of its prospectus finer than that possessed by the Crown. In this the truth was being told.

In the 1870's the sales of land were reasonable steady and this trend continued until the early 1880's. Sales after 1875 led to a depletion of the NLCC's holdings. The NLCC's system of deferred payment probably induced a number of persons to purchase land from it rather than the Government, which offered inferior terms until 1880. In addition the quality of the land which the NLCC could offer was far more attractive. An elaborate system of assessment and sliding scales for both rents and purchase prices was introduced. This meant that the price was often high, ranging from 10s. 6d. per acre in the interior counties, 22s. 6d. an acre in the Midlands to 60s. an acre in the coastal counties. The terms offered included grants of 50 acres to persons who undertook to purchase a further 450 acres of land. According to the records not one of the intended grants materialised and the grant system was abandoned in the 1870's.

Thus, by 1880 the NLCC's holdings had been reduced to 485,700 acres from the peak figure of 657,967 acres in 1874 after the take-over of the

Natal Cotton Plantation Company. A total of 230,865 acres was leased in 77 properties. This amounted to 47.5 per cent of the NLCC's holdings. Approximately another 3000 acres were occupied by the NLCC's 5 experimental plantations. In this way nearly half the company's land was used. Most of the leases were for grazing in the interior and Midlands counties, and forbade cultivation. Many were leased to individuals for short periods, although some were leased to neighbouring farmers for considerable lengths of time. The rentals of the poorer properties had fallen to about 1d. an acre for half a year's grazing. Comparatively few of the agricultural lots were taken, as may be seen from the fact that of the leases only 9 were for lots under 500 acres while the majority (39) were over 3000 acres in extent. On the remainder of the rural properties income was derived from the rents charged on Native huts. In 1880 this amounted to almost as much as that derived from European country rents and it was to exceed them until well into the twentieth century (Table 142). An account was kept of each hut and in this way considerable profits were made. The scale of Native rent collection was to result in a storm of criticism in the first decade of the present century.

TABLE 142.

SOURCES OF INCOME ON LAND 1880-1910 (in £)

Source	1880	1890	1900	1910
Town Rents	3,551	4,472	9,306	11,199
County Rents	3,151	3,380	4,579	3,960
Native Rents	3,139	5,605	6,909	4,973
Properties sold	*	2,779	13,135	26,126

Source: Records of the Natal Land and Colonization Company.

* Cannot be calculated.

The distribution of NLCC properties changed appreciably as a result of sales and purchases. Sales had reduced the share held in Pietermaritzburg County by 1880 to 38.6 per cent. The areas of greatest gain were in Durban and Victoria Counties where several substantial properties had been acquired from v.d.Byl in Durban and the Cotton Plantation Company in Victoria County.

The NLCC, in addition, attempted to introduce settlers. In 1875 the Government had investigated the NLCC's affairs and the resulting report was highly critical of its attempts to introduce settlers. In 1876 the NLCC therefore took advantage of the renewed interest in immigration and negotiated for the introduction of 40 French families to be settled on the farm Weltevreden in Pietermaritzburg County. The farm was divided into lots of approximately 100 acres in extent and other improvements were effected. The scheme was unsuccessful as the colonists never came to Natal.

This set-back did not deter the NLCC from initiating several schemes so that in the years 1879-1882 eleven properties were divided for settlement, and townships were planned for them. In Durban four properties were divided and prices of £2 to £10 per acre for the rural properties were asked. This would have given the NLCC a profit of 500 per cent had they been sold. None of them included townships or commonages as the inland properties had. A considerable acreage was prepared in this period for the expected increase in immigration as a result of the Government's new approach to immigration. (Table 143).

TABLE 143.
SETTLEMENTS 1876-1910

Property	Rural Area	No. of lots	Average size of lot	Area sold 1890	Area sold 1900	Area sold 1910
Dassenhoek	6,186	26	238	-	-	849
Welbedacht	4,754	33	136	-	-	-
Zeekoevallei	2,163	22	98	-	495	900
Zeekoegat	5,912	65	91	5,912	5,912	5,912
New Howick	15,547	32	486	3,933	7,605	14,155
Weltevreden	4,620	44	105	-	580	2,677
Sterkspruit	4,400	45	97	647	647	1,340
Manderston	757	89	9	757	757	757
Johnston	4,589	52	88	-	84	794
Frere	4,203	122	35	18	1,048	3,234
Dansekraal	1,925	85	23	216	216	544
Total	55,056	617	89	11,483	17,344	30,368

Source: Records of the Natal Land and Colonization Company.

The expected influx of settlers, however, did not materialise and

most of the schemes proved to be unsuccessful. By 1890 there had not been a single sale on five of the schemes. Only two can be regarded as successful, (New Howick and Manderston) The New Howick scheme was laid out with large lots and many purchasers were able to acquire more than one lot. In 1900 only 7 owners were in possession of the 20 lots sold, while in 1910 nine owned land only on the estate and 3 others possessed land outside the estate as well as within it. The average size of the farms located within the settlement area in 1910 was 1387 acres which was nearly three times the average size of the surveyed lots, indicating that the original lots were inadequate. The Manderston scheme was the most successful. The small portion of the farm which the NLCC acquired was sold to resident Native squatters at reasonable prices which they could pay.

The other schemes suffered either from inaccessibility and high prices or inadequately sized plots. The various schemes laid out in the Durban County proved unattractive, due in part to the high prices charged. Prices at Dassenhoek varied from £2 10s. to £3 per acre, while the Welbedacht prices ranged from £3 to £5 per acre. Even when the prices were reduced by 10s. an acre for a short period, there was still no purchaser. The NLCC found it easier to sell Zeekoegat as a single property rather than wait for purchasers for each of the individual lots.

The various efforts to develop their properties did little to improve the NLCC's relations with the public and the Government. The amounts received from Native rents led to the accusation that the company was "Kaffir farming". Certainly the normal rent of £2 per hut brought in greater profits than could be obtained from leasing the land to Europeans. In the years following the end of the South African War the Government found its resources strained, especially as it had envisaged a considerable scheme of land settlement. The taxation of absentee landlords proved to be an irresistible way of easing the financial position. The Income and Land Tax Acts of 1908, was formulated to solve the financial crisis and abolish the land companies.

The Act provided for a series of taxes to be levied on income. Rebates were not allowed for companies, while the company's expenses in

England could not be deducted from the Profits in Natal. The Acts provided:

1. An ordinary land tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the Pound on the unimproved value of the land was imposed. A rebate of £2000 in value was allowed to owners who beneficially occupied their lands, but this reduction was not to apply to companies. In addition land owned by a European was not considered to be beneficially occupied if occupied solely by Natives or Indians unless it was unsuitable for European occupation.
2. In addition, two special land taxes were to be levied: the first being three times the normal rate where lands were not beneficially occupied and the second being four times the normal rate and payable in addition to either the ordinary or special tax payable by resident owners, was to be paid by absentees. None of the deductions was to apply to absentees.
3. A company was defined to be an absentee unless it had its head and principal offices in Natal for at least two years.

These regulations were specifically designed to operate against the NLCC. The rest of the regulations were reasonable and suggestions for taxes on absentees had been proposed before, but the Imperial Government had always disapproved. The NLCC found that in 1909 it had to pay £5059 of which £2731 represented the absentee tax. The NLCC, through its influence in London, was able to exert pressure on the Government to repeal the Act. The improved financial situation in Natal, enabled the Government to repeal the tax without appearing to give away to the pressure. The NLCC's directors had become thoroughly alarmed and it was decided to concentrate on urban properties to a greater degree. In about 1900 the potential of the urban properties had been realised and attempts were now made to liquidate the rural lands. After the Government's hostility in the tax laws, the NLCC decided to sell some of its extensive properties, for which no purchaser was likely, to the Government. The Government agreed to pay a fair price, lower than that claimed by the NLCC. In 1910 therefore the NLCC's land sales amounted to 47,991 acres, providing the Government with some extensive areas for its settlement schemes in the

south of Pietermaritzburg County and smaller areas in other parts of the Colony.

The history of the NLCC in the 20 years before Union was one of continual reduction in area through sales. The sales particularly affected Weenen and Pietermaritzburg Counties where the percentage of NLCC lands fell steadily, (Table 144). Some measure of the decline may be gained from the NLCC's records which show a fall from 413,446 acres in 1890 to 169,704 acres in 1910. However, the average estimated value of land rose appreciably in that time from 17s. 6d. an acre in 1890 to 41s. in 1910, as a result the value of the lands which were held by the NLCC only decreased from £361,920 in 1890 to £347,590 in 1910. The value in 1909, before the large sales to the Government, actually exceeded the 1890 value. In part this reflected the concentration in urban and semi-urban properties in Durban and surrounding areas.

TABLE 144

PERCENTAGES OF N.L.C.C. LAND IN EACH COUNTY 1870-1910

County	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Klip River	16.3	15.7	15.8	13.7	17.2
Weenen	14.2	15.8	14.5	12.4	5.8
Umvoti	7.3	7.7	6.1	6.7	9.6
Pietermaritzburg	49.5	38.6	36.9	39.4	33.5
Victoria	8.3	14.2	18.5	19.7	23.8
Durban	2.5	3.7	5.8	5.8	7.6
Alexandra	1.9	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.5
Natal:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Deeds Office records.

The percentage of the NLCC's lands held in the coastal counties rose from 12.7 per cent in 1870 to 33.9 per cent in 1910. The coastal holdings actually increased in extent during this period by 8202 acres - an increase of 13 per cent. At the same time the area held in the interior counties declined by 301,826 acres or 68 per cent.

The NLCC's activities in several fields had important results on the settlement of Natal. In the first place it effectively 'locked up' considerable acreages. Much of the NLCC's land was waste and unused,

and as such constituted a negative influence upon adjacent farms. The NLCC was able to wait for its valuation of the land to be paid and it was unaffected by crises and personal events with the result that it remained a major land owner until the present century. It is difficult to assess the negative influence on the development of areas of southern Pietermaritzburg County and the area between Tongaat and Stanger in Victoria County. It appears to have been highly significant as in both cases development was late and the block of waste land constituted a 'dead' area over which colonists had to pass to reach newly allocated Crown Land. It is probably that these areas would have been developed far more rapidly if the NLCC had not possessed them.

The NLCC also was willing to sell or rent land to Non-Europeans. This distinguished it from many companies and individuals in Natal. The Native and Indian squatters were left on land which the NLCC purchased and the rents derived from them was an important source of income. In some cases the squatters proved capable of purchasing the land. The NLCC was willing to sell to anyone and consequently many of the irregularly shaped non-European areas in Natal, north of the Umkomaas River were the result of its sales policy. The problems which have resulted from the sales to non-Europeans have been considerable and have presented the Government with major areas which have had to be reorganised.

The NLCC was not entirely a negative factor in the development of Natal. It introduced much needed capital and technical knowledge to the Colony. Its experiments with the promotion of agriculture on the coast of Natal, particularly, need to be remembered favourably. The NLCC was a representative of a development which occurred in most of the contemporary colonizations and it was probably more benevolent than many.

APPENDIX III.

THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The basic information on the origin and development of land grants and their subdivisions is housed in the Surveyor-General's Office in Pietermaritzburg. This office was established in 1845 and, with a few exceptions, it contains all the plans and documents relating to the survey and subdivision of land in the Colony of Natal from that year. One of the basic principles of the granting of land in Natal was that before any land could be alienated from the Crown it had to be surveyed by a Government land surveyor or a recognised land surveyor. It is only since 1927 that strict regulations have governed surveyors in South Africa with the result that the accuracy and standards of many of the early surveys left much to be desired, and has meant that rectifications have been necessary to a number of the early grant diagrams. The surveyor, in fixing the boundaries of the various grants, had to fix the points between which the boundary lay. In general the straight line boundary was adopted in Natal, with its ends fixed by marked beacons which were capable of redetermination if destroyed. Cadastral surveying in Natal is, therefore, basically the determination of the position of these boundary beacons and the establishment of the area contained within the figure produced by joining them up. Streams have, in a few cases, been selected as boundaries and the regulations drawn up in the 1850's specified that under certain circumstances they should be used. In the main, though, their use has not been frequent owing to the higher costs of survey.

When the surveyor had completed his survey he had to submit it to the Surveyor General's Office. It was the duty of this office to check all the working of the land surveyor, and the diagrams of the plots submitted. It was only when the diagram had been framed and approved that the land could be legally disposed of. Similarly portions of a grant had to be surveyed and their area ascertained before they could be sold in parts other than the whole of the original grant. All these diagrams had similarly to be approved by checking in the Surveyor General's Office. Thus each parcel of land has a diagram which indicates its name,

number or name of its subdivision, if it is one, the boundaries of all subdivisions which have been subtracted from it, the area of the parcel, the date of survey and the name of the surveyor. These diagrams are then filed in order of grant number with each subdivision following in sequence, for example, the original grant diagram and any diagrams of the remainder at a later date, followed by diagrams of subdivision A, subdivisions 1 of A, 2 of A, 3 of A etc., and then the numerical subdivisions. Surveyed Crown Lands are filed separately where the land has only been subject to lease and has not been alienated, unless a Certificate of of Crown Title has been issued, in which case it is regarded as a Crown Grant to the Crown.

For purely administrative purposes the Colony was divided into Counties. These had no independent functions as did the Provinces of New Zealand from 1856 to 1876. The original counties in 1845 were Klip River, Weenen, Pietermaritzburg and Umvoti in the interior, with Victoria and Durban on the coast. At first Victoria was regarded as part of Durban. In addition the two Divisions of Upper and Lower Umkomanzi were established to deal with the land to the south of the Umkomaas River. Upper Umkomanzi was renamed Alexandra County. In 1865, upon the annexation of lands to the south of the Umzimkulu River, a further county, Alfred, was added making a total of eight.

This study also includes the three remaining counties of Zululand annexed to Natal in 1897, and Utrecht and Vryheid annexed from the Transvaal in 1902. These three counties have had completely different land settlements. Zululand was opened up after the Zululand Lands Delimitations Commission of 1902-1904 had partitioned the country, and the White areas had been thrown open to controlled development under a series of settlement schemes, which are still in operation in the northern part of the County. The County of Utrecht had been opened up as part of the South African Republic (Transvaal) in the 1850's and 1860's., with a farm pattern not unlike that laid out by the Voortrekkers in Natal in the period 1838-1842. The County of Vryheid had originally been the New Republic in the period 1884-1885. This Republic had been carved out of Zululand and farms had been laid out of approximately 2500

to 3500 acres. It had subsequently been incorporated into the South African Republic in 1885. In both Utrecht and Vryheid most of the area had been laid out at once in farms of fairly uniform size, and without any areas set aside for Natives. As a result the land policies pursued in these counties were markedly different from those in operation in the British Colony Of Natal.

Once the diagrams have been framed to the satisfaction of the Surveyor General and the purchaser has either paid the purchase price or has, under a particular set of regulations become entitled to possess the farm, a title deed is drawn up. This title deed cedes, with certain reservations, the land contained within the diagram, specifying the area appearing, but qualified with the words 'more or less' and releasing the Crown from the liability of having to rectify any omission. Copies of the Deeds were kept in the Deeds Office in Cape Town, until the Natal Office was established in 1846. The early Deeds were compiled in the Deeds Office in Cape Town, but these only referred to urban properties. All rural property deeds have been drawn up in Pietermaritzburg. All title to land in Natal, south and east of the Buffalo and Tugela Rivers, is based on a Crown Grant from 1846 to 1961, or a grant in the name of the State President of the Republic of South Africa since 1961. Title Deeds dating from the period of the Republic of Natal, 1838-1842/5 have no validity.

The Title Deed specifies the area and the name of the farm, and the original diagram is attached to it. The Deed describes farm boundaries and gives its neighbours on each side. It also lays down the conditions under which the land is granted, under what tenure and with the servitudes that may be necessary, and to whom it is granted. The list of conditions has increased substantially since the early grants were framed in the 1840's.

It is interesting and somewhat confusing to note that one farm may have more than one acceptable name for purposes of recording in the Deeds. Most of the first names given to farms were either in High Dutch or Afrikaans, and as a result a number became known by English names after the abandonment or sale of the farms to English-speaking immigrants. Thus farms such as 'Welverdien' became 'Edendale' (Pietermaritzburg County), or 'Jammer Fontein' became 'Selbourne' (Weenen County). This

renaming was reflected in the Deeds issued, and in some cases the two names survived side by side, as for example in references to 'Saunders Kraal' or 'Bellair'. Both names continued in use through the nineteenth century. A more common source of renaming has been where the farm received a Lot number. Thus farms such as Victoria County Lot 126 received the name 'Umvoti View' and many others dropped the Lot number and received new names. In some cases, as for example Victoria County Lot 31, two names, Marydale and Blyth Park were used until the first was abandoned. In title deeds and deeds of transfer, reference is frequently made to both the Lot and the name of the farm, to remove any doubt as to the piece of land referred to. This renaming has been most common in the case of lands granted under quit rent tenure in the last century, or on freeholds issued up to 1880. Since 1880 a largenumber of farms with County Lot names have been issued, and only a small proportion have been renamed. In Pietermaritzburg County most lots surveyed between 1880 and 1889 received County numbers prefixed by the letter S, and since 1889 prefixed by the letters F.P., these two lettering systems coinciding with the conditions or purchase over 10 years in the case of 'S' lots and 20 years in the case of 'F.P.' lots. Lot numbers were used in great profusion in areas which were surveyed some time before sale, or where settlement schemes were laid out, and frequently these were changed once the land had been bought. There was, however, no systematic numbering system as in the United States of America or in Canada. The Transvaal adopted a numbering system for all farms around a town or in a particular district, and grants were issued in numerical order for each farm in the District.

The renaming must not be confused with the case of names given to the farms personally by their owners, and refers to the ownership unit and not the cadastral unit. This is a very common practice, and it accounts for why all the Lot numbers have not been changed and why some particularly fanciful names have survived. The farm 'Sutherland's Bungle' is such a case.

In addition, each grant is given a number. For example, the farm 'Welverdienst' No. 775 is given the number to distinguish it from

any other 'Wilverdienst'. The name is not sufficient to identify a farm as certain names appear frequently, even within the same County, and it is necessary not to have any possibility of confusion. The numbers however, were not used on the diagrams or in land transactions until the third decade of the present century, so that descriptions of the farm based on its neighbours, to whom it was granted, and when, were used. This was cumbersome and it appears possible that the numbering system may date from a later period. The lack of reference to the number on the original deed is evidence for this, suggesting that at some time in the present century all the deeds were marked in pencil with the grant number for ease of reference. If the numbers were available from the beginning, it seems odd that they were not used for reference purposes, making identification of farms much easier. Additional evidence for later numbering can be found on the first series of 1 inch to 1 mile cadastral plans compiled in 1911 which indicate the farm name but not the number, while the second set compiled in 1931 do show the number as well.

The title deeds and all relevant documents are stored in bound volumes which are arranged in numerical order in one of the strong rooms. Many of these deeds are now in a bad state of repair. The quit rent deeds and early freehold deeds were printed on paper, which over the period of time, were folded or used so frequently that the corners have become frayed, and some are on the verge of disintegration. Most of the later nineteenth century and early twentieth century grants were printed or written on parchment which has stood up to rough treatment far better, although paper came back into use for grants issued under the various post-Union Land Settlement Acts.

The Deed is registered and an entry is made, noting the particulars of the transaction. Each parcel of land is given its own page in a loose leaf register, and on it is entered the name of the farm, the portion, area, date of transfer to ownership, or grant, and whether any portions of that parcel have been transferred to other ownership. When a transfer of ownership takes place, a Deed of Transfer is drawn up giving the details of the transaction, and if a new subdivision is

involved, the Surveyor General's approved diagram must be attached. Each Deed of Transfer is given a number arranged by year. The transfer is then entered into the register, and if a new subdivision is involved, a note is made on the parent page in the register that a portion has been deducted, and a new page for each new subdivision is started, upon which the details of the transfer, date, area, number, vendor and purchaser are entered. The principle of one page per parcel of land enables the records to be kept constantly up to date efficiently and speedily. All land not registered in the Deeds Office is automatically State or Crown Land. The registers are kept by the County and Grant number. Through the years, and with successive rewritings the order has been disturbed, necessitating a series of index books to find the right register for the particular farm. Occasionally the index system is not complete where farms have been regranted either on conversion to a different form of tenure or after forfeiture to the Crown. The present loose-leaf volumes containing the entries for the ownership of individual parcels of land is an innovation of the last thirty years. Up to the 1930's ownership was recorded in bound volumes with one page per farm or original grant in the case of the small subdivisions of the Byrne settlements. These volumes, however, proved to be inadequate for the task, as the rate of subdivision increased rapidly after 1920 and it was decided to transfer all the entries to new loose-leaf volumes. The old volumes are now housed in a storeroom in the basement of the Deeds Office, but they lack an index system, although in most cases the individual farms can be found through a reference to the old volume, in the new one. This, however, only repeats the information in the loose-leaf volumes and reference to titles not shown in the new volumes cannot be traced.

Until the passing of the Native Land Act (Act 27 of 1913) and the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act (Act 28 of 1946) both Bantu and Indians were allowed to purchase land freely wherever they wished outside the Native reserves. In the 1880's large tracts of unappropriated Crown Land were still in the occupation of native squatters, and many of them tried to purchase extensive tracts - the maximum allowed of 2,000 acres on the easy terms allowed with credit over a period of ten, and

later twenty years. Although the would-be purchasers had usually managed to save the initial payment, many were unable to complete their purchase. As a result the Government gave them credit for the money they had paid and issued a grant for a portion of the whole according to the amount paid. This had the result of producing a scatter of non-European farms in the southern part of Natal, and also to the emergence of new subdivisions of farms, where the remainder was included in later grants.

In tracing ownership it was decided that no useful purpose would be gained by studying the division of non-European land ownership (Coloureds are regarded as Whites for this study). The Bantu purchased or claimed extensive areas, but the single name usually given by the purchaser, and the 'X' made for his mark, present serious problems of identification without delving into the correspondence of the Native Affairs Commissioner. In addition purchase was frequently delayed, and no notice was taken of the purchaser or the land's unofficial division amongst his heirs. As a result many of the purchases were not completed until the 1930's when the Government was investigating the actual amount of land held by the Bantu outside the native reserves. Even today in the records the ownership of some Bantu-owned farms has not changed for 60 or 70 years due to the failure of the owner's family to notify the authorities of his death. However, with the policy of removing "black spots" from white areas, this problem has become a thing of the past.

The Indians present another unusual problem. The number of Crown Grants to ex-indentured labourers is small, amounting to no more than 1100 acres in all. The Indians, however, were in a position from the 1870's to purchase land on the open market. They managed to acquire slowly a number of plots in the coastal belt and a few inland, but never any really extensive tracts. The Indian custom is to divide the land amongst all the heirs, or to keep the land as one unit but hold it in shares and work the land as a unit for one large joint family. Thus the system of shares has become highly complex as the shares have themselves been subdivided, producing a very involved pattern of ownership. Difficulty also arises amongst the Hindu population over names. One person may have several names which he may use at different seasons,

making the correlation between the deeds and the farm almost impossible. In addition, the spelling of Indian names in the latin alphabet has caused many problems to the authorities, and these have not yet been sorted out in the Deeds Office. As a result areas owned by Indians have been noted, but no detailed study has been made of the pattern of ownership within the Indian areas.

Associated with the Bantu areas are those held by the missionary societies and the churches. The Bishop of Natal, as the representative of the Established Church of England in the Colony, received an extensive grant of land outside Pietermaritzburg where civilised non-Europeans were encouraged to live. The Dutch Reformed Church also received a grant, but other churches had to purchase land, and these lands were quite extensive and used almost exclusively in the rural areas as places for the settlement of Bantu. These areas of purchase are in a completely different category to the Mission Reserves, established in 1856 in portions of existing Native reserves for the reception of detribalised Bantu. In these cases the Missionary Society involved had no right to dispose of their lands except in special cases, whereas in private purchases or grants they were able to dispose of their land as might any other organisation or individual. Certain of the Mission Reserves were, however, granted in private ownership to Bantu who had lost their tribal links, particularly in the Umvoti and Umlazi Mission Reserves. Part of the Umlazi Mission Reserve, adjacent to the coast, was later purchased for European settlement, but this was a unique occurrence due to the demand for coastal lands.

Originally the generous provision of townlands for the various settlements meant that there was no overlap of town and country. In a number of cases, the development of some towns has still not filled up the original Townlands. However in the cases of Durban and later Pietermaritzburg and the South Coast, extensive urban and suburban development has taken place beyond the Townlands. In some cases, such as Dundee or Ixopo, the town was laid out on a farm. At first this involved the division of existing farms such as Salt River (Pinetown) and Wandsbeck (Westville). Such development was haphazard and frequently

subdivision proceeded more rapidly than survey. Pinetown was laid out without any original master plan, and several subdivisions although appearing in the Salt River Farm Register, were never surveyed and are so marked as "never existed, transferred without diagram" even though subdivisions of them were later surveyed. The lack of surveyors was felt severely in the period up to about 1851/2. This chaotic state of affairs was remedied in the present century with the provision of Townships and Municipalities for the new urban or semi-urban areas. In most cases this involved a complete renumbering of the plots in each Township. Each plot in a township was numbered in a systematic manner, in numerical order. The previous number, which was a Farm number, was thus converted into a Township number. In this way farms such as Salt River and Wandsbeck have disappeared completely from the cadastral map, while portions of other farms only have been included in Townships. In many cases indexes are provided in the new township registers, which are kept separately from the farm registers, of the old and new numbers. Frequently the remainder of a major farm subdivision has ended as a township plot after a considerable number of deductions. In order to find the pre-urban ownership, it is therefore necessary to find the relevant pages in the township registers. Salt River, where the situation was probably the least well ordered, thus has not only the Salt River Register, where a number of pages have been removed to the Pinetown Register, but also a Pinetown redundant register where parcels no longer needed are filed. A farm such as Wandsbeck has been divided between three Townships, and the resulting picture is highly complex.

When the initial farm pattern was laid out in the 1840's and early 1850's, the Government reserved a number of sites for townships so that Colenso, Mooi River and Stanger were established on sites laid out as a result of the deliberations of the Commission established in 1846 "for reporting upon the division of Natal Territory into separate magistracies and the selection of sites of towns". Six were selected, their sites depending upon the "keeping in view the capabilities of the surrounding country to some extent for maintaining an agricultural population". These Government town sites were insufficient in number, however, and many

private townships were laid out in the period 1848-1852 in connection with the immigration schemes and a number later on in areas where the Government had not anticipated the need for towns. All these had to be laid out on farm land and consequently the town lots are subdivisions of farms and new registers have had to be started. As these towns, in addition, had no townlands, each extension has had to be at the expense of the surrounding rural lands involving the purchase of new townlands. The situation with regard to the township and neighbouring farm registers is as a result confused. In the case of Dundee and Richmond, the Government later granted some adjoining land as Townlands to their Municipalities, which results in a peculiar mixture of land origins in the two towns.

However, under regulations issued from 1869 onwards, Title Deeds were not always issued upon the occupation of the farm specified in the diagram. Periods of grace during which payment could be made were given, ranging from 5 years in 1869 to 20 years in 1889. In this period the land was sold by the Crown on a credit basis, and the Title Deed was only issued upon the completion of the payment of the agreed purchase price. On occasion this took over 40 years. In the period during which the payment was being made, the land remained Crown Land. As a result no entry is found in the Deeds Office registers until the Grant was made. The records of the payments were kept by the Surveyor General's Office, and in some cases these records were later filed with the issued Title Deed in the Deeds Office. However the purchase agreement to the parcel of land was frequently sold or divided. This resulted in the problem that as the parcel of land did not appear in any Deeds Office records, all the transactions relating to the parcel of land had to be filed with the diagram until the Title was issued. As a result all the Deeds of Cession relating to the land are filed with the issued Title Deed. In addition the parcels were frequently divided, and the new subdivisions had to be surveyed and the new diagrams filed with the new subdivision until the Title Deed was issued. The remainder of the original parcel was then resurveyed before the Title Deed was issued to provide a diagram for the Crown Grant. A number of the original parcels

of land were divided into as many as six portions before title was issued, and these then formed six separate Crown Grants issued at different times, each having some of the related documents filed with it. The new diagrams were filed in the Surveyor General's Office, and the old ones destroyed so that there is no trace of them there.

In two other significant cases new diagrams were framed. The first case related to railway construction. Unlike roads, the railways, in this case the Natal Government Railways, had to purchase land on which to build. As a result, in areas where land was being purchased and railways were built, the portion needed for the railway was subtracted from the diagram and a new diagram of the remainder of the farm framed just before the Grant was issued. As a result, in the Surveyor General's Office areas of Northern Natal appear to have been surveyed at dates far later than they actually were. In the second case, large areas were surveyed in the south-western part of Pietermaritzburg County in the 1880's and 1890's for purchase over 20 years. The survey was of a low degree of accuracy, and the resulting acreages are in error by as much as 25 per cent. In the period from 1905, when it was realised that this was so, whole blocks of farms were resurveyed, and it is the new survey which appears in the Surveyor General's records, not the original ones. However, a number of grants had already been issued on the basis of the faulty diagrams, and these had to be rectified. Faulty diagrams have been a constant source of complaint up to the 1920's, as many of the early farms were surveyed in a very rough and ready manner, leaving considerable errors when resurvey took place. The most common causes of error were unstandardised lengths for chains and the measuring of small base lines leading to small acute angles being measured on the boundaries, giving poor intersections.

The faulty diagram could be rectified as a result of Law 39 of 1888. Previously resurvey had been by agreement between the parties and by use of the Government's clause to escape from any defects in the areas portrayed. The surveys continued for a long period of time to modify and correct existing diagrams, usually when land was subdivided. It is interesting to note that a large organisation such as the Natal Land

and Colonization Company lost or gained anything up to 200 acres a year in the first decades of the present century as a result of resurvey prior to sale. To a smaller extent other land owners suffered the same fate without any means of redress if the land was held on quit rent tenure.

The most serious error in survey occurred in the Klip River County in 1862. The Voortrekker farm 'Rooy Kop' of 8082 acres had been laid out in 1852, and on its eastern side the land remained vacant until claimed under the regulations of 1857. This farm, under the 1857 regulations, 'Nooitgedacht' was laid out in 1862 and included a section of the farm 'Rooy Kop' in extent 617 acres. This mistake was rectified in 1871, and the area and rent on 'Nooitgedacht' was reduced accordingly. This could only have occurred, however, when the owner of 'Rooy Kop' was absent and was not aware of the overlap.

A common fault in the Voortrekker grant surveys was to lay out the survey very rapidly and give a value of 6000 acres or some other value close to it without careful checking, just as many of the 20 acre plots on the 1850 settlement schemes proved on resurvey to range from 17 to 24 acres. In general, however, the errors were not serious and no trouble was experienced as a result of minor errors in farm surveys, compared with the effects on town lots where land was much more valuable. As a result acreages quoted to the nearest acre need to be regarded with caution, as it would appear that an error of over two thousand acres occurs on at least two of the grants, and several more with errors of over one thousand acres.

Grants of rural properties began in 1847 with the grant of the farm 'Welverdienst' No. 775 to Andries Pretorius. The earlier numbers were given to the town erven in Pietermaritzburg, Durban and Congella. The early quit rent grants issued under the regulations of 1843, 1848, 1856 and 1857 had to be registered in the Audit Office, in addition to the Deeds Office, as it was to the Audit Office that the annual payment had to be made. Blocks of grant numbers were set aside for these grants, i.e. 775-1411, 1790-2276, 2361-2435, 2946-2992, 3281-3352 and 4327-4356. All other rural numbers refer to grants issued on freehold. All the quit rent farms have now been converted to freehold titles. This was finally

completed in 1932 with the Abolition of Quit Rents Act, which provided freehold title to all quit rent grants upon the payment of all rents which were in arrears in that year.

However, before this quit rent farms could be converted to freehold upon payment of all outstanding rents due and the payment of either 15 or 20 years' rent in advance, depending upon the regulations governing the original grant. When a farm was subdivided the quit rent was apportioned between the subdivisions, and it could be redeemed on the various portions separately. Before 1859 it had been necessary to pay the outstanding quit rent and the purchase price on the whole farm before it could be subdivided.

In most cases before 1932 the conversion from quit rent tenure to freehold tenure only involved an endorsement of the original grant, and a note made against the relevant entry in the Deeds Office noting that payment had been made and freehold title had been issued. This was the method adopted in 1932. However, in a number of cases, probably about 50 in all, completely new freehold titles were issued to the grantees and the old quit rent deeds were cancelled. In most cases this was so that a new or corrected diagram could be attached to the grant. The result was that a farm received a new number and a completely new entry in the Deeds Office records, as though it was a new farm grant. The correlation between the old and new grants is frequently difficult as the relevant diagrams in the Surveyor General's Office relating to the Quit Rent grant are removed, while in the Deeds Office the original title deed to the quit rent farm is removed or it is filed with the freehold title. In some cases the new freehold title is filed with the old quit rent title deed. In these cases, all the transfer deeds are also frequently, but not invariably, filed with the new deed, and no trace of the original farm is to be found in the Deeds office's registers. The result is quite frequently confusing, and deeds and diagrams in a few cases cannot be found. In the property registers the old quit rent farm entries are found on different pages to the new freehold grant entries, frequently without a cross reference to the earlier grant. In this case the old grant is no longer of any interest legally, as it has been cancelled, and so it can

be ignored while tracing the legal title to the land, as the later freehold grant is the origin of the present title. In some cases it would appear that the original quit rent farms never received a number. There is some doubt about this, as the state of some of the diagrams and title deeds is such that some information may have been removed through wear and tear or misplacement in the bound volumes.

The initial pattern of grants was a contradiction of the normally accepted ideas of farm size. The general expectation, which prevailed in other parts of the world, was that the more desirable lands, either because of their greater agricultural potential or because of their proximity to cities or lines of communication, should be divided into small farms. It is interesting to note that the first grants issued to the Voortrekkers were nearly all of a size related to cattle farming, even those adjacent to Pietermaritzburg. The Voortrekkers had evidently thought, quite rightly, that the city of Pietermaritzburg could be supported by the produce of its own extensive Townlands. However the normal pressures upon land use in areas adjacent to cities made themselves felt, with the result that the farms adjacent to Pietermaritzburg and Durban particularly were subdivided into smaller units for closer settlement - a process begun in 1850.

Farm subdivision frequently became a matter of speculation, and units of too small a size were occasionally surveyed. This in turn led to the purchase of additional lands by the more prosperous farmer. As this process progressed the area of one operational farm might include subdivisions of several original grants. For the purposes of transfer, this was inconvenient and expensive, involving the transfer and entry of not one unit but several. It became a practice, when this operational farm was to be subdivided, to make a consolidation of the whole. A new survey of the portions which were to be consolidated took place, and the new diagram was framed in the Surveyor General's office. The new diagram usually indicated the old units of land with the old names and numbers. The new diagram also receives a new name in most cases, although on a few occasions the new consolidated farm has retained the original name and number of one of the farms. The consolidation is then registered in the

Deeds Office, and now a new number is given to the farm. It should be noted that on occasions in the last century the new farm had not been given a new number. At that time only original Crown Grants were given numbers and not consolidations. This naturally led to confusion, and it was decided to give numbers to consolidations as well. The new numbered consolidated farm is not a Crown Grant, so that it is not possible to obtain any idea of the number of Crown and State grants issued from the number of the last diagram framed. The new diagram is filed under its new number in the Surveyor General's office, and its subdivisions are filed with it in the normal way. In general, no note is placed on the diagrams of the old grants to show that they are obsolete, unless the whole is included in the consolidation, in which case the diagram is withdrawn. In the Deeds Office the old portions of the old farms are noted in the register as having been incorporated into a new farm, and a new page is opened for the new parcel of land. The process of subdivision then begins again. Some of the original grants have experienced several consolidations, but this has usually occurred in the areas where farm sizes have been subject to considerable changes. Frequently subdivision has continued with no amalgamation of plots, with the result that a number of the original farms may contain several hundred subdivisions today.

In some cases particular parcels of land may have been granted more than once by the Crown. This may be due to several reasons. In the first case, in the last century many of the quit rent grants were confiscated due to the grantees' failure to comply with the terms of the grant. This was usually due to non-payment of rent over a long period. In addition those quit rent farms regranted in freehold at a later date were sometimes the subject of a completely new grant. In addition many of the small parcels of land laid out for the Byrne settlers were not occupied, and were later confiscated by the Crown. These were later regranted as fresh freehold titles to others. Thus the farm Dunbar Estate (9168 acres) includes 30 grants amounting to 2860 acres, which derive their title not from the original grant of the farm numbered 1478, but to the later Crown Grants in the period 1870-1930. However, the

new grants are in fact listed in the Deeds Office Registry with the old, although the new title deeds are not filed with the original deed.

The second major case of two grants for the same land dates from the present century when the Government began purchasing large tracts of unused land for settlement schemes. The land, when later sold to settlers, was issued to them in the form of new Crown Grants, not as a series of subdivisions of the old farms. This was mainly due to the fact that a completely new lay-out was surveyed, and to tenure of the land purchases. In most cases it was on quit rent tenure, and so a new grant had to be made in any case as the new grant was in freehold. The result is that in both these cases the lands are liable to be double counted as appearing under two systems of land grants. The double, or occasionally treble, granting of land seems to have resulted in considerable errors in official bookkeeping.

The actual figures for the land grants issued is a matter of some confusion, as neither the Surveyor General's Office nor the Deeds Office keeps totals of grants surveyed or issued, nor of the volume of work passing through their hands. Each subdivision or grant is treated individually, and so for research purposes totals have had to be produced by investigating the origins of all the farms, and then adding the relevant portions together. Two registers were kept in the period up to 1905, and they are now housed in the South African Archives, Pietermaritzburg Depot, but the totals contained within these registers show such discrepancies that they cannot be taken as being authoritative. For example, the lands granted under the terms of the Proclamations of 1843 and 1848 to the Voortrekkers and to the purchasers of the Voortrekker's farms form a distinct base on which to build the framework of farm pattern of the Colony. The two registers in the Pietermaritzburg Archives give conflicting figures for the area granted under these proclamations:

Vol. S. G. 3/11/24	3,378,671 acres
Vol. S. G. 3/12/1	3,143,049 acres

These figures compare with the figure given in the Report of the Lands Commission of 1902 and that produced by working through the records of the Surveyor General's Office.

Report of the Lands Commission of 1902	3,180,000 acres
---	-----------------

Surveyor General's Office records	3,313,067 acres
-----------------------------------	-----------------

Similar discrepancies exist in other records. For example, the area granted under the 1857 Proclamation providing land for a small annual quit rent:

Vol. S. G. 3/11/24	1,511,861 acres
--------------------	-----------------

Vol. S. G. 3/12/1	1,302,026 acres
-------------------	-----------------

Lands Commission of 1902	1,320,000 acres
--------------------------	-----------------

Surveyor General's Office records	1,496,820 acres
-----------------------------------	-----------------

It would appear from the form of the two registers that Vol. S. G. 3/11/24 was kept in the Surveyor General's Office, and that Vol. S. G. 3/12/1 was kept in the Deeds Office. As a result the Surveyor General's Office volume may contain the areas of farms which, although surveyed for alienation under the terms governing the Voortrekker and 1857 Quit Rent grants, were not actually granted until much later. This might be due either to the claimant leaving the Colony or being unable to substantiate his claim to the farm. On a number of the diagrams of the Voortrekker farms, reference is made to the adjacent land as being reserved for the farm of a particular person who, in fact, never received the land, and the farm was as a result never surveyed. One example of this is to be found in the area to the south of 'Sterkspruit' adjacent to the main Durban to Pietermaritzburg road, which was intended to be laid out as farm blocks but instead was used in 1850 for a Government settlement scheme.

The registers have to be used, therefore, with caution, and the totals and figures shown in this work are taken almost entirely from the diagrams and records of the Surveyor General's Office and the Deeds Office, rather than from the registers or published accounts, where figures are also open to question.

The figures produced by a careful study of the survey records of the Surveyor General's Office and checked against the Deeds Office records show that in the area of the old Colony of Natal south of the Buffalo and Tugela Rivers, a total of 8,406,128 acres was surveyed for sale grant

or lease. Table 145 shows the area apportioned by County and Table 146 by nature of grant and date of survey. It has been necessary to exclude all the special Klip River and Weenen leases of 1881-1888 as the records are inadequate to provide a complete picture.

TABLE 145
SURVEYED AREA OF NATAL
BY COUNTY

County	No. of plots	Acreage	Average size
Klip River	1310	2,625,341	2004
Weenen	662	1,378,796	2083
Umvoti	222	668,348	3010
Pietermaritzburg	1764	2,570,476	1457
Victoria	300	380,393	1268
Durban	90	132,853	1476
Alexandra	539	339,359	630
Alfred	554	310,562	561
Total	5441	8,406,128	1545

TABLE 146
SURVEYED AREA OF NATAL BY DATE AND TENURE

Date and Tenure	No. of Plots	Acreage	Average size
Quit Rent (1843 & 1848)	584	3,313,067	5675
Quit Rent (1856)	23	58,915	2562
Quit Rent (1857)	657	1,496,820	2278
Freehold 1848-1850	63	74,484	1182
1851-1860	177	133,586	755
1861-1870	190	184,781	976
1871-1880	345	286,387	830
1881-1890	1,238	941,943	761
1891-1900	1,496	1,362,492*	911
1901-1910	445	340,450	765
Since 1910	223	213,203	956
Total	5,441	8,406,128	1545

* About 400,000 acres of this total were surveyed in 1881-1886 for leasehold purposes, but resurveyed for freehold in the following decade. Figures for the original surveys are not available.

Statistics were published in the Natal Blue Books, later the Natal Statistical Yearbooks from 1850 onwards. These volumes were published

up to 1909 and contain a chapter giving the areas of land grants issued and the total of land alienated. However, the figures contained within the published tables are not consistent, and a complete set of these books is housed only in the Public Record Office in London. It appears that cumulative errors were involved in the compilation of the tables until a special enquiry was undertaken in 1900 to correct the errors. As a result of this fairly complete figures were given in the 1900 Statistical Year Book. The degree of correction involved amounted to over 700,000 acres shown in a comparison of the figures for 1899 and 1900 (Table 147), even though the 1900 Year Book states that an additional 25,865 acres was sold in the year.

TABLE 147
LANDS ALIENATED ACCORDING TO 1899 & 1900
NATAL STATISTICAL YEARBOOKS

	1899	1900
Lands Granted	7,609,121	7,424,620
Lands Sold	1,672,814	1,118,245
Total	9,281,935	8,542,865

Source: Natal Statistical Year Books 1899 and 1900.

The 1900 Statistical Year Book also gave a table on the tenures of alienated lands throughout Natal in the existing divisions and not by Counties. According to this table 4,862,294 acres had been granted in quit rent under the 1843, 1856, 1848 and 1857 regulations which compares with a total of 4,868,802 acres arrived at through working through the records of the Surveyor General's Office. The difference of 6508 acres can easily be accounted for by the errors in survey corrected by later surveys which in some farms showed errors of 10 per cent in the actual value.

However, in the figures for freehold, differences occur mainly as a result of the inclusion of leasehold lands and surveyed, but unalienated freehold lands together, in the calculations in this work. In most cases

Leasehold was converted to an undertaking to purchase freehold at a later date, so that the distinction is a fine one. However, so far as actual alienations are concerned, the two sets of figures correspond quite closely, especially when it is remembered that the Statistical Year Book figures were compiled at mid-year and the corresponding figures at the end of the year. The figures appearing in the 1900 Statistical Year Book appear, therefore, to be the most authoritative published, and it is surprising that the 1902 Lands Commission appears to have ignored them completely. It is possible to obtain a detailed breakdown of the state of Natal in 1900 (Table 148).

TABLE 148
TENURES OF ALIENATED LAND IN NATAL 1900

Lands Granted in Quit Rent		4,862,294
Areas still in Quit Rent for Europeans	3,191,395	
Areas still in Quit Rent occupied by Natives	64,608	
Area converted to freehold by Europeans	1,606,291	
Area converted to freehold occupied by Natives	-	
Area Granted in Freehold		1,118,246
Area granted in freehold to Europeans	1,068,033	
Area granted in freehold to Natives & Indians	50,213	
Lands granted for Missionary purposes		183,069
Lands held in trust for Natives		2,243,818
Lands purchased on Ten Years System and paid for		111,263
Lands purchased on Ten Years System & <u>not</u> paid for		17,924
Lands purchased on Twenty Years System and <u>not</u> paid for		1,513,061
Lands in the process of Alienation under allotment		60,105
Lands Granted and set apart for towns and villages		165,315
Total		10,275,095

Source: Natal Statistical Year Book 1900.

Additional tables are included in the various Year Books in the 1880's to show the areas leased and in the process of alienation, but again the information is incomplete.

Leases, as opposed to Leases with the option of purchase, constitute one of the major problems of the study. The Government leased land to farmers, but the Surveyor General's Office was under no obligation to register the leases in the Deeds Office, so that probably the majority were never registered. In order to obtain figures of leases, it has been necessary to look at the volumes kept by the Surveyor General's

Office, in its capacity as the Department of Lands. Prior to 1880 it would appear that the leases were registered. There are very few of them in this period, as there was no general provision for them in the general land regulations. However, the 1880 land regulations made grazing leases of up to 5,000 acres available, and a considerable number were taken out amounting to 586,365 acres in the years 1882-1885. The records of these were kept in special lease volumes from 1880 onwards until the Lands Department was centralised after Union in 1910. The volumes contain the names of the farm, area, annual rental and a record of all the payments received, the Resident Magistrate in each Division acting as the actual revenue receiver. This set of volumes is, however, incomplete, so that the information must also be incomplete. Furthermore diagrams were required for each one of the leases. However as the leases ran for a period of ten years and were in general not renewed, the area leased reverted to the Crown and usually was resurveyed into lots for purchase. The old lease diagrams thus became redundant and many have been destroyed as pressure from the volume of new diagrams has built up in the Surveyor General's Office. Thus in 1890 it has been impossible to produce a complete picture of the grazing leases. Later leases for the various settlement schemes in the first decade of the present century were kept in separate volumes, which were kept in a fairly complete state until the Union Department of Lands took over from the Natal Department. The surviving set of volumes on the settlement schemes is far more complete than that of the 1880's grazing leases. Special leases in the north of Zululand were granted for rubber cultivation which appear to have been unsuccessful. No diagrams were made, and the boundaries of the concessions appear in purely descriptive terms.

Private leases could also be registered in the Deeds Office, but comparatively few rural leases are to be found. Registration was optional and expensive, and appears to have given no added legal backing to the lease. The slight use made of the Deeds Registry for this purpose can be seen by the fact that the Natal Land and Colonization Company, which was the largest lessor of land in the Colony, with nearly a quarter of a million acres leased in 1880, did not register one of its

leases. The lease volumes and filed leases are thus a comparatively poor source of information, and consequently this aspect must remain open to considerable doubt as a far greater volume of rural land was in all probability leased, but this cannot be stated quantitatively,

Survey and Deeds information on the Counties of Utrecht and Vryheid is in a different form to that of the rest of Natal settled under British administration. In Utrecht the first stage consisted of inspection reports accompanied by pen and ink sketches of the farm with its approximate size indicated by length of ride from a central point to the four sides. These records are kept in Pietermaritzburg in the case of Utrecht, but in Pretoria for the reports of the Wakkerstroom District which was also annexed to Natal in 1902. Later the areas were surveyed. Usually there was a gap of between 5 and 15 years between inspection and survey, and after survey a deed of grant was issued and a number given to the farm. No notes of ownership appear, however, before the grant attached to the diagram. Subdivisions were made, many of them were unsurveyed for a considerable length of time up to 1902, due to a lack of surveyors in the South African Republic. In the period up to 1902, quit rents notes and payments were kept in a series of bound volumes in Pretoria, and most subdivisions were noted on the original pages for the grant. Upon Annexation the volumes were redrawn in Pietermaritzburg, and some farms were renumbered, while at a later stage the Wakkerstroom grants were integrated with the main Utrecht series, as have been the Paulpietersburg grants. Details from the bound volumes were later transferred into a series of loose-leaf volumes.

Vryheid also started with its own administration. Grants were issued after inspection by the State President of the New Republic, Nicholas Meyer. Inspection reports and grants contained pen and ink sketches of the farm, showing its neighbours. Regular surveys did not take place until after annexation to the South African Republic, when new grants were made. Each farm was given a number. All Vryheid's farms were then enumerated in order of farm number in a bound volume, noting quit rents paid and changes in ownership. All the subdivisions were also shown on the same page. This volume includes all the farms

inspected by the New Republic, including farms in Zululand and in Proviso B of Zululand, which did not finally fall within the jurisdiction of the Republic. The Vryheid District was also annexed to Natal in 1902, and a new volume was drawn up to note quit rents and ownership from 1902 onwards. Details from these two volumes were later transferred to loose leaf volumes.

In Utrecht and Vryheid districts the diagrams and subdivisions are all filed separately from the main Natal series. They are filed according to number in the two districts, and subdivisions are filed separately from the original diagrams, which are considerably larger than the Natal standard size. Annexation to Natal, however, raised two major problems, which were not solved in a particularly satisfactory manner. In Utrecht and Vryheid consolidations prior to annexation had been given a new number in the Utrecht or Vryheid series, and appeared as though it was a new grant, much as present Natal practice does. However, after annexation this practice ended, and new consolidations and new grants of unalienated state land were given numbers from the main Natal series. As a result not all Utrecht and Vryheid diagrams are filed under those two headings. After 1902 therefore no new Utrecht or Vryheid numbers have been issued. The second problem involved the problem of measurement. The South African Republic used Cape Measurement based on the morgen, whereas Natal used the English acre. Upon annexation all new surveys were conducted in English measure. It is interesting to note that during the first British annexation of the Transvaal (1877-1881) surveys showed the areas in both measurements, and several Utrecht surveys thus appear in both sets. Thus the difficult situation exists of subdivision in acres taken from original grants in morgen. This situation proved unworkable, and rather than convert everything into acres, it was decided to return to morgen in 1927 for the northern districts. Thus all figures in Utrecht and Vryheid have either been converted to acres or left in the original morgen. This has been a source of error, as many of the original grants proved to be of very different sizes upon resurvey, although errors were small compared with those of Natal in the 1840's and 1850's.

Proviso B of Zululand, contained Boer farms in the New Republic which were allowed by the British authorities but which were not to be included within the New Republic. The issuing of grants within this area became the responsibility of the Imperial Government in 1885. The original grants had been similar to those of the New Republic, pen and ink sketches of the farm together with a deed issued in the name of the State President. The Imperial Government, however, issued new grants, framed in the Zululand Deeds Office in Eshowe. These were originally on quit rent tenure, but in the 1890's most were reissued in freehold. Diagrams were issued at this stage. Upon the annexation of Zululand to Natal in 1897, all these grants and deeds in the Zululand Surveyor General's Office and Deeds Office were transferred to Natal, and a block of Natal numbers were later allocated to the Zululand grants. From this time they were integrated with the main Natal records.

The remaining Boer grants in Zululand were disqualified, and they remain only as pages in the New Republic volumes. Other grants in Zululand made by the Kings were in general not recognised by the Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission of 1902-04, although some appear to have been worked for irregular periods for some time. No complete picture can, however, be gained.

Figures on agricultural production are contained in the Blue Books and Statistical Year Books of Natal from 1852 onwards, but the information is sketchy right through the Colonial period, although there is a gradual improvement both in its accuracy and its scope. Difficulty was experienced with the non-European returns, which on occasion were included with European figures, and at other times excluded. Occasionally non-Europeans stock an European farms was included wither with European or non-European figures. Usually no indication is given as to the scope of the information with the result that year to year totals show remarkable variations, and figures for stock densities or for proportion of land under crops are impossible to obtain. Although there is this general lack of detailed information, it is possible to see the trends which were effecting the size of farms

in the Colony, especially with regard to stock and crops.

Allied to this information are the unofficial publications. Much of the literature on Natal in the last century was of a propaganda nature, trying to show the advantages of settling in Natal as opposed to any other Colony or State. Much of the writing is of a highly flowery nature, and some of it is just unreliable. All tried to illustrate the desirability and fertility of the land, the mildness of the climate, and the profits which were to be made, and other factors which were likely to influence settlers, to go to Natal (see Bibliography). These volumes, though, do contain a considerable amount of information upon the activities present in the Colony, although the emphasis is placed on success rather than failure.

Most of the private records have been destroyed, but those of the largest and most important of the land companies, the Natal Land and Colonization Company, still exist. Use has been made of the various annual reports, still extant, and the special returns and reports where they are available. The Company's correspondence is now housed by the Archives in Pietermaritzburg and by the Company which took it over in 1948. This Company also possesses some of the records of land transactions and leases, as well as rent books, but these are not complete. Most of the Company's publications are of a similar nature to the more glowing writings of the period extolling the virtues of the land and the credit facilities they offered, but amongst them it is possible to find some valuable information.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In this study, use has been made of much documentary material in the Surveyor General's Office, and the Deeds Office, Pietermaritzburg. The cataloguing of this material has been dealt with at length in Appendix III. Much of official material is listed in the Guide to the Official Records of Natal by C de B Webb. It is not proposed to list separately the various Government publications, which are mentioned in this text.

The official statistics appeared in the Blue Books for the Colony of Natal 1850-1892/3 and the Statistical Year Book of the Colony of Natal 1893/4-1909, published annually in Pietermaritzburg. Those of the Cape of Good Hope from 1838 to 1909 were also useful. The Ordinances, Laws and Acts of the Colony of Natal were published separately 1845-1910. Collections are to be found in several compilations noted by Webb but these are incomplete so far as land regulations are concerned. The Laws Ordinances and Acts of the Cape of Good Hope were also found to be of considerable value.

The Official Commissions and Reports were also published by the Government Printer, Pietermaritzburg and include an increasing wealth of information especially after 1875.

Some reference was also made to Parliamentary papers for both Natal and Great Britain where they impinged upon land question in Natal and South Africa.

The records of the Surveyor General's Office and Deeds Office are dispersed at present and may be found in several places in Pietermaritzburg and Pretoria. Much of the material is of current use so that most is still housed in the Colonial Buildings in Pietermaritzburg.

Some of the records of the Natal Land and Colonization Company are housed in the Natal Archives but the most important are still held by the successor company in Durban.

There follows a bibliography of books and theses which were of value. A very comprehensive bibliography on most aspects of pre-Union Natal is to be found in Brookes and Webb A History of Natal.

i Published works

- Ackerman E.A. Geography as a Fundamental Research Discipline.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.
- Acocks J.P.H. Veld Types of South Africa.
Botanical Survey of South Africa Memoir No. 28.
Pretoria: Government Printer, 1952.
- Allen H.C. Bush and Backwoods.
Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1959.
- Barber H.,
et al. Statute Laws of the Transvaal.
London: Waterlow and Sons, 1901.
- Baumann G. &
Bright E. The Lost Republic.
London: Faber & Faber, 1940.
- Billington, R.A. Westward Expansion, A History of the American Frontier.
New York: Macmillian, 1960.
- Bird J. The Annals of Natal (2 vols.)
Pietermaritzburg: J. Davis, 1888.
- Bloomfield P. Edward Gibbon Wakefield.
London: Longmans, 1961.
- Board C. The Border Region.
Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Brookes E.H. &
Hurwitz N. The Native Reserves of Natal.
Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1957
- Brookes E.H. &
Webb C de B. A History of Natal.
Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1965.
- Bulpin T.V. Natal and Zulu Country.
Cape Town: Books of Africa, 1966.
- Burroughs P. Britain and Australia 1831-1855, A Study in Imperial Relations and Crown Lands Administration.
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.
- Byrne J.C. Emigrants' Guide to Port Natal.
London: Effingham Wilson, 1848.
- Chisholm M. Rural Settlement and Land Use.
London: Hutchinson, 1962.
- Chorley R.J. &
Haggett P. Frontiers in Geographical Teaching.
London: Methuen, 1965.
- Chorley R.J. &
Haggett P. Models in Geography.
London: Methuen, 1967.
- Christopher J.S. Natal, Cape of Good Hope.
London: Effingham Wilson, 1850.

- Clark A.H. The Invasion of New Zealand by People, Plants and Animals. The South Island.
New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1949.
- Clark C.M.H. Select Documents in Australian History 1788-1900.
(2 vols.)
Melbourne: Angus and Robertson, 1950.
- Cloete H. The History of the great Boer Trek and the Origin of the South African Republics.
London: John Murray, 1899.
- Condliffe J.B. New Zealand in the Making.
London: Allen and Unwin, 1959.
- Darby H.C. (Ed.) An Historical Geography of England Before 1800.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936.
- Denman D.R. Origins of Ownership.
London: Allen and Unwin, 1958.
- Dowson Sir E. &
Sheppard V.L.O. Land Registration.
London: H.M.S.O., 1956.
- Edwards I.E. The 1820 Settlers in South Africa.
London: Longmans, 1934.
- Fair T.J.D. Distribution of Population in Natal.
Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1955.
- Harris R.C. The Seigneurial System in Early Canada: A Geographical Study.
Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966.
- Hartshorn E.R. Perspective on the Nature of Geography.
Chicago: Rand McNally, 1959.
- Hattersley A.F. More Annals of Natal.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936.
- Hattersley A.F. Later Annals of Natal.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938.
- Hattersley A.F. Portrait of a Colony.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950.
- Hattersley A.F. The Natalians: Further Annals of Natal.
Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1940.
- Hattersley A.F. The Natal Settlers 1849-1851.
Pietermaritzburg: Natal Witness, 1949.
- Hattersley A.F. The British Settlement of Natal: A Study of Imperial Migration.
London: Cambridge University Press, 1950.

- Heathcote R.L. Back of Bourke.
Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1965.
- Hitchins F.H. The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners.
Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931.
- Holden W.C. History of the Colony of Natal.
London: A. Heylin, 1855.
- Hurwitz N. Agriculture in Natal 1860-1950.
Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1957.
- Ingram J.F. The Colony of Natal.
London: Sir Joseph Couston, 1895.
- James P.E. &
Jones C.F. (Eds.) American Geography, Inventory and Prospect.
Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1954.
- Jones B.M. Land Tenure in South Africa, Past and Present.
Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1965.
- Kermode W. Natal as a field for Emigration.
London: Trubner and Co., 1882.
- de Kiewiet C.W. The Imperial Factor in South Africa.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937.
- de Kiewiet C.W. A History of South Africa.
London: Oxford University Press, 1957.
- McInnis E. Canada.
New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1959.
- McManis D.R. The Initial Evaluation and Utilization of the Illinois
Prairies 1815-1840.
Department of Geography Research Paper no. 94,
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.
- Mann, R.J. The Colony of Natal: An Account of the Characteristics
and Capabilities of the British Dependency.
London: Jarrold and Sons, 1859.
- Meinig D.W. On the Margins of the Good Earth - the South Australian
Wheat Frontier, 1869-1884.
Chicago: Rand McNally, 1962.
- Methley J.E. The New Colony of Port Natal.
London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1849.
- Natal Land &
Colonization
Company A Plan of Assisted Emigration and Land Settlement.
London: Jarrold and Sons, 1865.
- Newmark S.D. Economic Influences on the South African Frontier 1652-
1836.
Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957.

- Osborn R.F. Valiant Harvest, the Founding of the South African Sugar Industry 1848-1926.
Durban: South African Sugar Association, 1964.
- Parsons K.H. Land Tenure.
et al. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956.
- Pattison W.D. Beginnings of the American Rectangular Land Survey System 1784-1900.
Research Paper no. 50 Department of Geography.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.
- Pearce W. Our Colony of Natal.
London: Edward Stanford, 1883.
- Perry T.M. Australia's First Frontier.
Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1963.
- Pollock N.C. & An Historical Geography of South Africa.
Agnew S. London: Longmans, 1963.
- Roberts S.H. History of Australian Land Settlement (1788-1920).
Melbourne: Macmillan, 1924.
- Robinson Sir J. Notes on Natal: An old colonists book for new settlers.
Durban: Robinson and Vause, 1872.
- Schumann C.G.W. Structural Changes and Business Cycles in South Africa 1806-1936.
London: Staples Press, 1938.
- Scobie J.R. Revolution on the Pampas: A Social History of Argentine Wheat 1860-1910.
Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964.
- Stanley G.F.G. The Birth of Western Canada.
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960.
- Taylor G.R. The Turner Thesis Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History.
Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1956.
- Tennant H & Statute Law of the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1895.
Jackson E.M. Cape Town: Juta, 1895.
- Theal G.McC. History of South Africa since 1795 (5 vols)
London: Allen and Unwin, 1904.
- Thorrington-Smith Towards a Plan for the Tugela Basin.
E. Pietermaritzburg: Natal Provincial Administration, 1960.
- Thrower N.J.W. Original Survey and Land Subdivision.
Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966.
- Walker E.A. A History of Southern Africa.
London: Longmans, 1957.

Webb C de B

Guide to the Official Records of Natal.

Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1965.

ii Unpublished works

- Akitt H. Government Assisted Immigration into Natal 1857-1862.
M. A. thesis. University of Natal, 1953.
- Behn M.M. The Klip River Insurrection 1847.
M. A. Thesis. University of South Africa, 1932.
- Bosch D.W. The Wilgefontein Settlement 1880.
M. A. Thesis. University of South Africa, 1949.
- Christopher A.J. An Experiment in Land Use Mapping in the Three Rivers District, Natal.
M. A. Thesis. University of Natal, 1965.
- Edwards D. A plant ecological survey of the Tugela river basin.
Ph. D. Thesis. University of Natal, 1963.
- Fair T.J.D. Distribution of population in Natal.
Ph. D. Thesis. University of Natal, 1955.
- Greyling J.J.C. A Socio-Geographic Investigation into Land-subdivision, Land-ownership and occupancy of land in the Indian Rural Areas on the Natal North Coast: Problems and Prospects.
Ph. D. Thesis. University of Natal, 1969.
- Hammond E. The Settlement of the Byrne Immigrants in Natal 1849-1852.
M. A. Thesis. University of South Africa, 1926.
- Hurwitz N. The Development of Natal Agriculture with Special Reference to Land Use, 1860-1945.
D. Comm. Thesis. University of Stellenbosch, 1953.
- Long E.P.M. The Constitutional Settlement of Natal 1843-1856.
M. A. Thesis. University of South Africa, 1928.
- Matheson D.D. The Origin and Status of the New Republic.
M. A. Thesis. University of South Africa, 1923.
- Metcalf E.S. Towns of Natal.
M. Sc. Thesis. University of South Africa, 1928.
- Moodie D.W.B. A Course of Lectures Compiled for Third Year Survey Technicians (Cadastral).
Cape Town: Surveyor General's Office, 1961.
- Ralls R.E. Early Immigration Schemes in Natal 1846-1853.
M. A. Thesis. University of South Africa, 1934.
- Reyneche G.J. Utrecht in die Gesiedenis van die Transvaal tot 1877.
M. A. Thesis. University of Pretoria, 1956.

- Sellars J.M. The Origin and Development of the Merino Sheep Industry in the Natal Midlands 1856-1866.
M. A. Thesis. University of South Africa, 1946.
- Smout M.A.H. Natal Towns: A Study in Comparative Urban Geography.
M. Sc. Thesis. University of Natal, 1966.
- Van Zyl J.A. Stedelike Ontwikkeling in die Noordooste Vrystaat, 'n Sentraleplekstudie.
D. Phil. Thesis. University of Stellenbosch, 1968.
- Visser J.A. Geskiedenis van die Distrik Wakkerstroom tot 1877.
M. A. Thesis. University of Pretoria, 1944.
- Wells J.R. An Investigation into and a critical Assessment of the Factors Controlling the Development of Communications in Natal.
M. A. Thesis. University of Natal, 1952.

where it was felt there was the highest degree of promise. The Byrne scheme was the most important and occupied almost seventy per cent of the area set aside or purchased for the immigration settlement.

It is notable that the grants of land for the immigration schemes were of considerable size. That ^{made} to the Natal Cotton Company exceeded 22,000 acres, while the various grants to Byrne frequently exceeded 4,000 acres. Grant sizes remained large, but the plots were small (Figs. 26 and 27). Thus on the Byrne schemes 10 original grants were divided into over 1,100 portions if the commonages are included. It was left to the promoters to survey the immigrants' parcels of land and to lay out the township. The Government took no part in the actual layout of the land with the exception of Sterkspruit. As a result, the blocks into which the immigrant holdings were laid out were the nearest to a rectangular survey that was adopted in Natal. In general, American experience had shown that for small farms the rectangular system had the advantages of being easily extendable and verifiable. It was therefore ideally suited to the immigrants' needs.

The average size of a Byrne plot was only 53 acres, while 40 per cent of them were only 20 acres in extent. Morewood's plots were on average smaller at 31 acres, and also Lidgett's at 37 acres. The comparative success of Boast's scheme at York was due in part to the greater average size, 155 acres, and to the fact that adjacent plots were given to the same person, effectively reducing the number of holdings.

The smaller land units characteristic of most schemes proved to be particularly unsuccessful. The 20 acre plots intended for single immigrants were largely ignored. It was not possible to make a living from twenty acres, especially in Pietermaritzburg County. In addition it was the single immigrant who was likely to be the least stable and least likely to settle. This was borne out when many individual settlers left Natal for Australia after the discovery of gold there.

The Beaulieu Estate at Richmond, for example, was divided into plots including 105 at 20 acres (over half the total number surveyed). Of these only 45 were actually transferred to settlers in the 1850's. The situation on the Harmony and Little Harmony Estates was even more