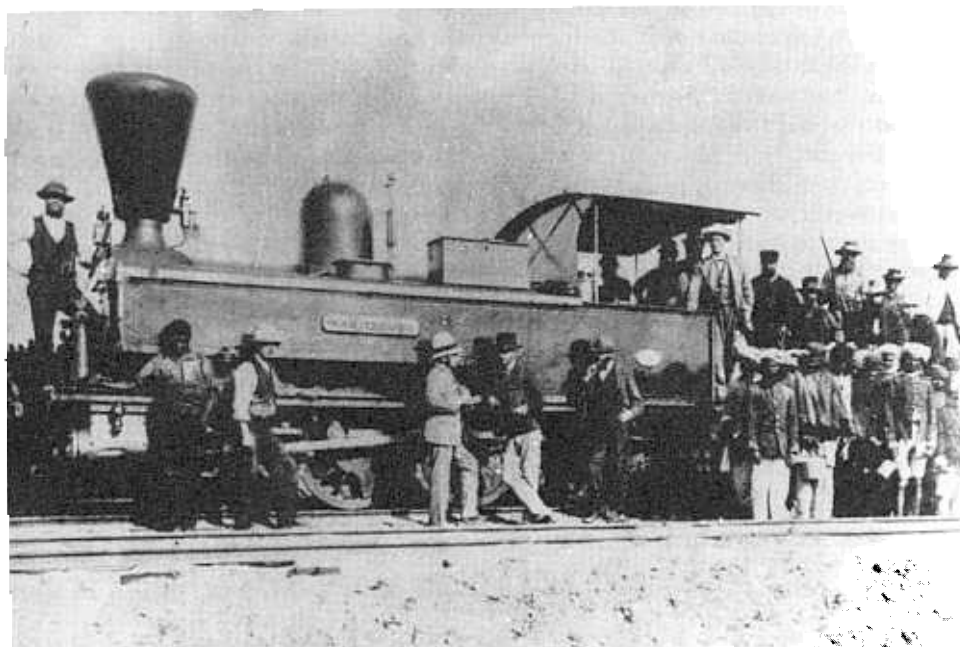


INDIAN RAILWAY LABOUR IN NATAL, 1876—1895: THE BIGGEST INDIAN WORK FORCE IN THE COLONY*

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Background

On the 1st of January 1876 the first sod of the Natal railways was turned at Durban by the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Henry Bulwer. The system that was thus started was to consist of a main line from Durban to Pietermaritzburg with branch lines along the coast to Verulam and Isipingo respectively. Extensions of the main line were subsequently authorised so that a continuous process of construction proceeded until 1895 when the connection between Durban and the Witwatersrand was completed. In the construction of this rail link of 776 kilometres — the biggest public work undertaken by the colony in the 19th century — a large labour force was needed. The aim of this article is to show that the railway department came to rely chiefly on Indian labour and in fact became the biggest single employer of Indian labour in Natal in the 1880's and 1890's. Attention will also be given to the control and treatment of this large labour contingent.



The contractor's locomotive, Maritzburg, C. 1880, with some Indian railway employees on the right.

Local History Museum, Durban)

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The introduction of Indians before 1880

Clause 13 of the contract which was concluded in 1875 with the firm of Wythes & Jackson for the construction of the first instalment of the railway system provided that they were to recruit two thirds of their labourers outside the colony.¹ This was done to prevent the labour resources of the colony from being unduly taxed and to ensure that sufficient labourers remained available for the agricultural sector. The contractors had budgeted an amount of £21 500 for labour expenses in the contract sum.² Since clause 13 provided that the contractors could claim the same privileges as colonists in connection with the importation of labour, Arrot Browning, the contractor's engineer, applied to the government in 1875 for the importation of labourers from India.³ From the government's side, however, problems suddenly cropped up and it now seemed that it would cost the contractors much more to obtain these labourers than had been anticipated.⁴

Since 1873, when Browning had visited the colony as surveyor for John Welborne, in connection with the latter's proposal to build the railways, he had been under the impression that the contractors had to pay the government £3 per annum for every male Indian assigned to them — as was provided by Law No 2 of 1870.⁵ Now he was informed that an advance payment of about £30 would have to be made for every labourer.⁶ This completely upset his calculations. By the middle of 1876 he estimated that there should have been 3 000 labourers on the works in order to finish the contract within the time laid down. To have imported two thirds of this number — therefore 2 000 — at this cost would have amounted to £60 000; this would have meant a loss of £38 500 on this item to them, since only £21 500 had been set aside for labour.⁷ On top of this not all this money would have been productively spent, because many of these labourers would have been unfit for work, as the railway builders in Mauritius had already discovered.⁸ The result was that the attempts of the contractors to import labour from India failed miserably. By the middle of 1877 they had only obtained five men from India via the government, while requests to be allowed to import labourers from there in private ships were turned down.⁹

However, no stone was left unturned in the quest for Indian labourers. Browning also applied to have Indians transferred from agriculturalists who no longer needed them. This request was likewise turned down because the government maintained

All archival sources are in the Natal Archives Depot, Pietermaritzburg.

1. *Natal Government Gazette*, 30.11.1875, p. 692: Contract attached to Law No 4, 1875.
2. Clause 68 of the contract.
3. C.S.O. 1910 Miscellaneous Papers, 1853—1876: Browning — Lloyd, 18.8.1875; C.S.O. 606 Letters Received: Minute Paper 3290/1876, Izard — Ridley, 26.6.1877.
4. C.S.O. 606 Letters Received, 1877: Minute Paper 3290/1876, Ridley — Colonial Secretary, 27.6.1877.
5. C.S.O. 1910 Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1853—1876: Browning — Colonial Secretary, 21.10.1875.
6. *Ibid.*, Browning — Ridley, 29.7.1876. See also C C Ballard: Migrant labour in Natal, 1860—79 (*Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, Vol 1, 1978), p. 39.
7. C.S.O. 1910 Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1853—1876: Browning — Ridley, 29.7.1876.
8. *Ibid.*, Browning — Ridley, 12.9.1876, par. 11.
9. C.S.O. 606 Letters Received, 1877: Minute Paper 3290/1876, Izard — Ridley, 26.6.1877.

that Indians imported for agricultural purposes might not be used for anything else¹⁰ — and that in spite of the fact that in the case of one such request the original employer was a former sugar farmer who had entered the service of the contractors at the time of the application.¹¹

A second possibility that was tried was to recruit Indians in Mauritius after the expiry of their contracts there.¹² As soon as this possibility presented itself Browning applied for 250 Indian men from the island.¹³ More applications followed later.¹⁴ The authorities in India had no objection to this,¹⁵ but once again problems cropped up from the Natal side.

Law No 13 of 1859 controlled the import and employment of immigrants from all territories to the east of the Cape of Good Hope other than India.¹⁶ Article 13 of this law provided that no contract might be entered into with such immigrants before they had been in the colony for 48 hours. That provided an opportunity for the Protector of Immigrants to exercise proper control over the legality of their entry and well-being before they were snatched up by employers. This provision even applied to employers who had previously obtained a licence for the importation of immigrants. That meant that a provisional contract entered into by such an employer with the immigrant in his country of origin could only be confirmed after a stay of 48 hours in Natal. The law thus left a loophole for labourers whereby they could evade their provisional contracts. The danger from the employer's point of view was that labourers who had been imported in this way could defect to the diamond fields after their arrival in the colony, since the wages there were at least three times as high as in Natal,¹⁷ while the importer of the labour would be powerless to do anything about it. Quite rightly Browning pointed out that "as the law at present stands, although we may import two thirds of the necessary labour, the labourers need not work when they arrive."¹⁸

After this state of things had been brought to the notice of the government Law No 15 of 1875 was passed which legalised the provisional contracts.¹⁹ The contractors then went to much trouble in hiring ships and employing agents to visit Mauritius and other places to recruit labourers and ship them to Natal.²⁰ After this had continued for some time the law in question was repealed by the Queen in terms of the Colonial Laws Validity Act (1865).²¹ This was done because Law No 15 of 1875 applied the provisions of an ordinance of 1850 to the contracting parties. This ordinance allowed corporal

10. C.S.O. 1911 Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1877 — 81: Minute Paper 1092/1877, Protector of Immigrants — Colonial Secretary, 20.3.1879; and Colonial Secretary — Protector of Immigrants, 19.4.1877.
11. *Ibid.*, Minute Paper 1092/1877, Protector of Immigrants — Colonial Secretary, 26.12.1876.
12. C.S.O. Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1853—1876: Bonnefin — Lloyd, October 1875.
13. C.S.O. 530 Letters Received, 1875: Browning — Colonial Secretary, 12.10.1875.
14. See for instance I.I. 1/1 Indian Immigration Papers, 1876: Minute Paper No 177/1876, T Shepstone — Colonial Secretary, 19.1.1876; I.I. 1/2 Indian Immigration Papers, 1877: Agents for *Actea* — Protector of Immigrants, n.d.; and E Shepstone — Protector of Immigrants, 5.2.1877. I.I. 1/2 Indian Immigration Papers: R 1575/1876, A O Hume, Secretary to the Government of India, Dept of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce — Colonial Secretary, Natal, 13.4.1876.
16. *Natal Government Gazette*, No 1487, 25.8.1874: L.C. No 4, Report of Select Committee appointed to consider the best means to be adopted for further facilitating the introduction of labourers from beyond the colony, Annexure, Law No 13, 1859, pp 422—424.
17. C.S.O. 1910 Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1853—76: Browning — Ridley, 12.9.1876, par. 12.
18. *Ibid.*, Browning — Colonial Secretary, 17.11.1875.
19. *Natal Government Gazette* No. 1573, 1.2.1876, p. 108.
20. C.S.O. 606 Letters Received, 1877: Minute Paper 3290/1876, Izard — Ridley, 26.6.1877.
21. *Natal Government Gazette* No. 1598, 18.7.1876, Proclamation dd 10.7.1876, p. 269.

punishment of employees for certain misdemeanors — something to which the Secretary of State for the Colonies had objected.²² The result was that most of the contracts which had been concluded under Law No 15 of 1875 were made null and void. To the further frustration of the contractors the Secretary of State recommended certain alterations to the labour laws of the colony which would have overcome his objections, only for the Legislative Council to refuse to bring about these changes.²³ Nevertheless hundreds of Indian labourers still reached the colony after this through the efforts of the contractors. In 1878 alone the number was 186.²⁴

For the rest of their labour requirements the contractors relied on the importation of African labourers from the coast of Mocambique and the Delagoa Bay hinterland, both by sea and overland. By June 1880 there were 2 237 Tsongas alone on the railway works, apart from labourers of other races.²⁵ Unfortunately it is not possible to establish what proportion of the 4 420 labourers on the railway by that time were Indians. However, a return published in 1877 shows that of a total of 1 817 labourers of all races specially imported by Wythes & Jackson up to June of that year, 780 were creoles and Indians from Mauritius.²⁶

Indian labour on the railways after 1880

Recruitment of Indian labour for the railway works proceeded throughout the 1880's. This recruitment could take place either through the Indian Immigration Trust Board or directly. Direct importation was possible in terms of two laws. These were the already mentioned Law No 13 of 1859, which provided for the importation of immigrants from territories to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, *not including India*, and Law No 2 of 1870 which permitted private individuals to import labourers from India at their own expense. In September 1881 the Indian Immigration Trust Board resolved that, since it experienced so much difficulty in obtaining the necessary number of Indians to supply the ordinary requirements of employers, it could not undertake the introduction of such numbers as would be required for the railway works.²⁷ The Land and Immigration Board, however, declared its willingness to assist the contractors by introducing such skilled labour as the contractors might require.²⁸

The railway contractors especially needed men who could be used in connection with platelaying, for whom they were prepared to grant special rates of pay. These were described as: "Men of the blacksmith caste and trade ... for ... work which mainly

22. G.H. 70 Letters Received from Secretary of State, April — June 1876: No 230, Carnarvon — Bulwer, 22.5.1876, pp. 100—102.

23. C.S.O. 606 Letters Received, 1877: Minute Paper 3290/1876, Izard — Ridley, 26.6.1877.

24. *Natal Government Gazette* No. 1793, 18.11.1879: L.C. No 5, Report of Protector of Indian Immigrants for 1878, p. 528.

25. P Harries: Production, trade and labour migration from the Delagoa Bay hinterland in the second half of the 19th century (*Conference on the History of Opposition in South Africa*, January 1978), p. 53. See also in connection with the movement of labour overland to Natal C C Ballard: The transfrontiersman: the career of John Dunn in Natal and Zululand 1834—1895 (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Natal, 1980), pp. 151—160.

26. *Natal Government Gazette* No. 1657, 10.7.1877: L.C. No 18, Statements of the labour employed on the Natal Government Railways.

27. I.I. 1/9 Indian Immigration Papers, 1881: Minute Paper No 3189/1881, Indian Immigration Trust Board — Protector of Immigrants, 21.9.1881.

28. *Ibid.*, Copy of Resolution by Land and Immigration Board, 23.9.1881.

consists in handling the hammer and pick, and dealing with iron generally."²⁹ Others who were much in demand were bricklayers, carpenters, pointsmen, engine cleaners and loco shopyard men.

It is interesting to note that neither the laws of India nor those of Natal provided for the emigration of such specialised labourers. These laws related only to the recruitment and emigration of agricultural labourers. These men therefore had to be specially engaged in India with the permission of the Indian government and contracts of service with them had to be entered into before they left India.³⁰ This kind of labour was obtained by means of enquiries with the railways and other establishments in India where skilled labour was employed.³¹ Unskilled labour was employed generally by the contractors on construction work. But apart from the Indians in the employment of contractors and subcontractors, hundreds of others were used by the railway department itself with regard to maintenance work and other tasks. Other posts occupied by Indians include those of gatekeepers, ticket collectors, clerks, line watchmen, breaksmen and messengers.

The following table gives the number of Indians in the employment of the railways from 1890 to 1895, comparing this with the total number of Africans employed during these years. It is clear that the Indian employees outnumbered the Africans by far. The usual ratio was 2 to 1, but in 1894 it was as much as 4 to 1.

Indians employed on the Natal Government Railways, 1890—1896³²

Year	Assigned Indians	Free Indians	Contractor's Indians	Total	Africans
1890	665	1 195	200	2 060	1 077
1891	868	1 064		1 932	951
1892	903	1 304		2 207	699
1893	1 238	428		1 666	851
1894	1 207	491		1 698	395
1895	1 152	671		1 823	610
1896	1 215	813		2 028	963

From the following table it is clear that the traffic and maintenance departments of the railways employed by far the largest number of Indians.

Distribution over different departments

Year	Traffic	Maintenance	Locomotive	Stores	Labour
1890	841	195	47	40	
1891	721	923	229	36	23
1892	636	1 198	264	31	23
1893	523	799	286	36	22
1894	507	836	294	44	17
1895	647	797	320	43	16
1896	775	796	384	59	14

29. I.I. 1/10 Indian Immigration Papers, 1882: Minute Paper No 1313/1882, Superintendent, Indian and Native Labour Department — Protector of Immigrants, 30.3.1882.

30. *Ibid.*, Minute, Protector of Immigrants — Colonial Secretary, no date, and Minute, Attorney General, 4.4.1882.

31. I.I. 1/11 Indian Immigration Papers, 1882: Minute Paper No 833/1882, Emigration Agent at Madras — Protector of Immigrants, 18.6.1882.

32. All the figures were taken from the annual reports of the General Manager as published in the *Supplement to the Blue Book*, from 1893 simply known as *Departmental Reports*.

In 1895, moreover, the following figures were published of the largest employers of Indians in the colony. (Only the first eight are reproduced here):

Employers of Indians in the colony³³

Natal Government Railways	1 200
Natal Central Sugar Co	1 014
Reynolds Bros	752
Smith, G S	566
Reunion Estate	320
Sanders, E	257
Michel, A	204
Addison, F	192

It is obvious that there is a big discrepancy between the figure of 1823 mentioned in the general manager's report as shown in the first table above and the 1 200 in this return. This is not easily explained, although the figures in the general manager's report reflect the position on the 31st of December of each year, while the 1 200 may have been the count at another time of the year. Be that as it may, the relative numbers given for the different employers can probably be relied upon to give a fairly accurate picture of the order of the biggest employers.

The same document also gives the distribution of the Indian work force over the different districts:

Klip River	—	339
Weenen	—	102
Pietermaritzburg	—	173
Victoria		38
Durban		548

1 200

The high concentration of labour in Durban and Klip River, respectively, is due to the fact that the headquarters of the department as well as the railway barracks for imported Indians were situated in Durban, while Ladysmith in the Klip River district was the point of convergence of the railway lines from the Free State and Transvaal, where labour was needed both for maintenance of both lines and for forwarding and reloading of goods, etc.

There are two reasons why the railway department made so much use of Indian labour. Firstly, Indian labour was the only real alternative to African labour. In his report for 1891 the Protector of Immigrants wrote: "Applications for indentured Indians still continue to come in from all parts of the Colony, owing, no doubt, as stated in my previous reports, to the scarcity and unreliability of Native labour."³⁴ It is also revealing that, in his report for 1889, the Protector attributes the large demand for Indian labour to three factors: increased activity in sugar cultivation and agriculture

33. *Sessional Papers, Legislative Assembly, 1895, L.A. No 4: Return of employers of Indians in the colony, p. 34.*

34. *Supplement to the Blue Book, Departmental Reports, 1891: Report of the Protector of Immigrants for 1891, p. A17.*

generally, the extension of the railway system, and improvement in all branches of business.³⁵ The second reason for the large utilisation of Indian labour by the railway department was its suitability for the work. When he was examined by a select committee on railways in 1891 J F Manisty, Superintendent of the Indian and Native Labour Department, replied as follows to questions put to him:

Question: Why do you have recourse to Indians at all?

Answer: Well, as a matter of fact, you cannot do without them.

Question: Why?

Answer: Because there is no other source of labour for the work they are applied for.

Question: What about the Natives?

Answer: They would never do for the works the Indians are put to. We cannot rely upon the Natives.

Question: Then, you employ Indians not because you cannot get Natives, but because Natives are not fit for the work?

Answer: You might say it both ways. Even if the Natives were procurable, they would not be suitable for the work; but we can never rely upon them from one day to another.³⁶

This high estimation of Indian labour versus African labour is borne out by the General Manager of the railways, David Hunter, in a memorandum submitted to the Wragg Commission in 1886. He points out that the great difficulty with regard to the employment of African labour on the railways was the unreliability of the supply and the want of continuity in the labour itself, preventing the department "from having the opportunity to train men in the duties requiring some intelligence and in keeping the men after they had been trained."³⁷

The control and treatment of Indian labourers and white attitudes

In order to handle such a large work force of Indians and Africans an Indian and Native Labour Department was established in October 1881.³⁸ Its purpose was to make better provision for the supply and supervision of Indian and African labour. Although the utility of this office was questioned at first, its institution seemed to have been justified. In January 1884 the *Natal Mercury* wrote of this department: "A little inquiry would prove that not only do the locomotive and maintenance departments avail themselves of its assistance, but that in the first year of its institution the arrangements made resulted in a saving to Government, over and above the fixed expenses of the office, of £1 300, without taking into account indirect savings which were consequent on improved supervision."³⁹ In 1886 the Police Department was merged with that of Indian and Native Labour,⁴⁰ as part of a retrenchment programme.

35. *Ibid.*, 1889, p. A7.

36. *Sessional Papers, Legislative Council*, 1891, L.C. No 34: Third, Fourth and Fifth Reports of the Select Committee on Railways (No 4, 1891), p. 478.

37. *Blue Book, Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission*, 1885-87, p. 383: Natal Government Railways, Memorandum for Chairman of the Indian Commission.

38. *Blue Book for the Colony of Natal*, 1882: Railway Report, p. FF54.

39. *Natal Mercury*, 12.1.1884 (The man in the moon).

40. *Supplement to the Blue Book, Departmental Reports*, 1885: Report of the General Manager of Railways for 1885, p. C6.

One of the offshoots of the employment of this large contingent of Indian labourers was the establishment of a school for Indian boys at the Indian railway barracks in Durban in 1882.⁴¹ The school received a grant-in-aid from the Indian Education Board, and classes were also conducted at night for young men who were at work during the day. The first teacher was an Indian, Joel Peter, who spoke English, Tamil and a little Hindustani.⁴² The school was off to a slow start, with an average attendance during the first year of 27 at the day school and 15 at the night school.⁴³ Nevertheless, by 1885 the school had 38 pupils on its register and shared the place of the fourth largest Indian school in the colony out of a total of 21 schools with one other institution. The three larger schools had enrolments of 40, 43 and 65 respectively.⁴⁴ By 1885 the railway school boasted 85 pupils out of a total of 1 702 for all schools in the colony.⁴⁵ By 1892 the average attendance (as opposed to enrolment) was 88.⁴⁶ In that year a girls' school was also started, the average attendance for the year being 41.⁴⁷ In the year 1894 the boys' school had an average attendance of 118.⁴⁸

The engagement of more and more Indians by the railways often elicited unfavourable comment from the public and the press who felt that this constituted a danger to whites. As early as August 1881 a letter appeared in the *Natal Mercury* objecting to the use of Indians in jobs such as that of gatekeeper, arguing that these jobs should go to whites.⁴⁹ During the economic recession of the early 1880's when jobs became scarce, the railway department replaced Indian ticket collectors with whites. The *Natal Mercury* lauded this move expressing the hope that unemployed whites would be taken on as clerks as well in place of the Indians then filling these posts.⁵⁰ The *Man in the moon* was also quick to point out in his regular column in July 1884 that several experienced white railwaymen were earning £3 per month while Indians revelled in "£7 and house, lights and firewood."⁵¹ A correspondent, referring to the Indian clerks on the railway, expressed his disapproval in no uncertain terms: 'We are only preparing a rod for our own backs a very few years hence; in fact, the rod has already begun to ascend.'⁵² This type of sentiment abounded during the recession,⁵³ but it is noticeable that no evidence of it is to be found after the return of prosperity with the opening of the Witwatersrand gold fields in 1886.

The control of such a large number of Indian employees could not have been an easy task. There is always the danger in such a situation that the person or persons in charge might employ disciplinary measures which are not in accordance with the law, or which amounted to taking the law into their own hands. In the case of the indentured Indians in the service of the railway department the Superintendent of Indian

41. *Blue Book for the Colony of Natal*, 1882: Railway Report, p. FF54.

42. *Natal Mercury*, 10.5.1883 (The education of our Indians).

43. *Blue Book for 1882*: Railway Report, p. FF54.

44. *Natal Government Gazette*, 14.4.1885: Government Notice No 140, 1885.

45. *Supplement to the Blue Book, Departmental Reports*, 1886: Report of the Protector of Immigrants for 1886, p. A54.

46. *Supplement to the Blue Book*: Report of the General Manager of Railways for 1892, p. C4.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Departmental Reports*, 1894: Report of the General Manager of Railways for 1894, p. C3.

49. *Natal Mercury*, 22.8.1881 (Letter from "Observer", 17.8.1884).

50. *Ibid.*, 5.1.1884 (Man in the moon).

51. *Ibid.*, 12.7.1884 (Man in the moon).

52. *Ibid.*, 29.2.1884 (Letter from "An Englishman", no date).

53. See, for instance, letters of "Fair Play" in *Natal Mercury* of 11.9.1884, and of "Kintra Callan", "Wilful Waste" and "An old colonist" in the same newspaper of 28.9.1885 and 2.10.1885 respectively.

and Native Labour, J F Manisty, admitted as early as 1883, to short-circuiting the legal process. In a minute dated 11th May 1883, Manisty explained: "As a rule, if an indentured Indian is charged with an offence which would not be punished sufficiently by the infliction of the sums authorised by the immigration Law, my practice is to give the man his choice; either to have a certain fine inflicted, or be sent before a magistrate. The former alternative is in most cases selected".⁵⁴ It also transpired that Manisty was in the habit of imposing heavy fines on Indians for neglect of duty.⁵⁵ Provision was made by Law No 14 of 1875 for fines to be imposed on indentured Indians. The maximum allowed was one shilling per day for males if unlawfully absent from their work, sixpence for females, and a deduction of sixpence for each day of sickness. Law No 9 of 1882 provided for a maximum amount of fine of seven days' pay in any one month. Nonetheless Manisty in many cases imposed fines of fourteen days' and one month's pay for offences ranging from absence from duty without leave to drunkenness and creating a disturbance at the barracks — and this in spite of an instruction by the general manager in May 1883 to abstain from imposing fines in excess of those allowed by the law.⁵⁶ In Manisty's defence it could be said that in all these cases he had given the labourers involved the choice of trial by the resident magistrate or by him and that all had chosen to be tried by him.⁵⁷ His action was nevertheless lillegal and cannot be condoned.

On top of this Manisty also illegally used the railway hospital in Durban as a place of detention for drunkards and for employees punished for theft, assault, exposing of their person, refusal to work and absence without leave. The period of detention lasted from a few hours to one week and the detainees were compelled to wear hospital dress.⁵⁸

These actions of Manisty were all exposed by the Indian Immigrants Commission, generally known as the Wragg Commission, which sat from 1885 to 1887, and he was severely censured. These incidents related by the commission afford us a rare insight into the working conditions of Indians and also their legal position vis-à-vis their employers in Natal.

Conclusion

It is rather surprising that so little research has been done on the Indians in the employment of the Natal Government Railways and that in the standard works no mention is made of the fact that the railway department was the largest single employer of Indian labour in Natal between 1881 and 1895.⁵⁹

In this regard there seems to be a correlation between the role of the railways in Natal and those in East Africa where they also served as a vehicle for the introduction

54. I.I. 1/43 Indian Immigration Papers, 1883: Minute Paper No 376/1883, Annexure: Minute, Manisty — General Manager, 11.5.1883.

55. *Natal Mercury*, 9.5.1883 (Resident Magistrate's Court).

56. *Blue Book, Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission*, 1885—87, p. 23.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Blue Book, Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission*, 1885—87, pp. 21, 22—25.

59. In dr. Mabel Palmer's well known work *The history of the Indians in Natal* (Cape Town, 1957) there is only a casual reference to Indian railway labour in one sentence.

of Indians.⁶⁰

In his report for 1886 the Protector of Immigrants stated emphatically: "I venture to assert that were the Indian element withdrawn from the Colony for a single month the whole fabric of industrial business and domestic comfort would be little short of paralysed."⁶¹ By the same token one could say that without Indian labour the Natal railways could hardly have been built and operated.

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60. Cf., for instance, K Ingham: *A History of East Africa* (London, 1968), pp. 209, 211—212. Some 15 000 Indians were employed on the construction of the Uganda Railway at one stage. According to Ingham, however, most of the Indians who settled in East Africa were not those who had been employed on the construction work, but traders, etc., who had followed the progress of the line to the interior.
61. *Supplement to the Blue Book Departmental Reports*, 1886: Report of the Protector of Immigrants for 1886, p. A15.