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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

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Title: Tribesman, Trader, Peasant and Proletarian: The Process of Transition from Pre-Capitalist 'Natural Economy' to a Capitalist Mode of Production in the Hinterland of the Kimberley Diamond Fields During the 19th Century.

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Tribesman, Trader, Peasant and Proletarian: The Process of Transition from Pre-Capitalist 'Natural Economy' to a Capitalist Mode of Production in the Hinterland of the Kimberley Diamond Fields during the 19th Century

The concern of this paper is to attempt a critical investigation of the significance and implications of the penetration of capitalism and the colonial state into the geographical area of Griqualand West and British Bechuanaland in the 19th Century.

The focus will be on the nature of the *transition* ('transitional conjuncture'[1]; 'articulation of modes of production'[2]) from pre-capitalist 'natural economy' (3) to capitalist modes of production in the context of the industrializing political economy centred on the Kimberley Diamond Fields.

More specifically, an attempt will be made to look at the evolving relationships between that emergent capitalist 'centre' and the immediate hinterland, examining the effects of the penetration of merchant capital (± 1760–1860s), and of the industrialization process (from 1870 to 1900) on the societies and peoples of that region.

Theory and History

The necessity for attempting a formulation of the theoretical framework to be used in work of this kind is a problem that is receiving increasing attention from historians. The question of seeking epistomological clarity regarding the theoretical framework of the historian and his use of general concepts does not provide one with a substitute for concrete historical analysis - but it equips one with the tools that make that exercise possible. (4)

It is important to stress the rather obvious point that the historian does not work with 'value-free' 'facts' at any significant level, but that his supposed 'facts' are informed by, and derived from, his ideological constructs or assumptions. For the enterprise of historical research to proceed meaningfully it is necessary for 'problematic history' to emerge - history which is able to clearly articulate the theoretical assumptions of concrete analysis. The theory and practice of the historian cannot be separated, and to ignore the theoretical assumptions of one's work is to accept a naïve empiricism. (5)

Liberal historians, economists and anthropologists have, for example, too long been prepared to unquestioningly accept the "universalist assumptions

of liberal economics" ... "that capitalism is a natural and universal system and therefore immutable. This bias ... give(s) the bourgeoisie (and/or settler colonist communities) apparent scientific ground for... political domination. To accept the premise that capitalism is the natural system of things is to accept (willingly or not) the ideology of the dominant capitalist class." (6)

These disciplines have thereby frequently deprived themselves of the tools for recognising and understanding different economic, political and ideological systems or formulating in more precise terms the nature of the relationships that characterise the evolving interaction between international or settler capitalist modes of production and so-called 'tribal' societies. (7) Hence 'change' from pre-capitalist to capitalist modes of production is invariably seen in evolutionary terms (i.e. in terms of 'progress'), and is not seen as significantly problematic. What is represented as the natural and inevitable 'progress' of capitalism and 'western civilization' is however exactly what is in need of more detailed scrutiny and explanation.

In particular what is missing from most accounts is the recognition that "the establishment of capitalism in a social formation necessarily implies the transformation, and in some senses the destruction, of the formerly dominant modes of production" (8) or to put it another way, the 'underdevelopment' of the hinterland as a function of the industrialization process, (the interaction between the pre-capitalist and the capitalist mode in its turn has an effect on the shape and form of the latter).

On the other hand, as Banaji (9) has recently convincingly pointed out, the widely held conception of a 'theoretically sufficient' Marxist history which saw its task to be the 'verification of various general laws" is also unsatisfactory as it has had the corrosive effect of emptying Marxist history of any specific historical content with a life of its own (10)

Only a renewed emphasis on the anlysis of concrete historical situations will yield satisfactory historical explanations of the process of change. It follows, in accordance with this argument that there can be no general theory ('general laws') of transition from one mode of production to another, and that the processes involved in the "transitional conjuncture" from primitive communism to capitalism under consideration here can only be understood through concrete historical analysis - analysis which is equipped with the correct conceptual tools to make that enterprise possible. (i.e. the process of arriving at 'true abstractions' is simultaneously a process of 'concretization' - of the definition of specific 'historical laws of motion'.) (11)

Periods of transition apart, a social formation is dominated by a determinate mode of production. The question of examining a process of transition from the domination of one mode of production t another involves the documentation of the process of the "effective destruction of one articulated social whole and its replacement by another", (12) i.e. "the non-production of the political, ideological and economic conditions of existence of the pre-capaitalist mode of production in the course of the transition period." (13)

In the course of mapping the specific process of transition under consideration here, what is necessary is to demonstrate the shift from 'the reproduction of the labourer (and of society).... as a function of membership of a (communal) redistributive system" (14) to a situation in which the individual (and the group) are increasingly separated from the means of production and subjected to 'ground rent' (either by the colonial state (e.g. hut tax) or through the change to private (freehold) "ownership" of land (e.g. squatter laws). In addition it is necessary to demonstrate the effect of the penetration of merchantile trade and commodity goods on the fabric of 'tribal' economic and ideological coherence. (15)

An important challenge which the colonial question in Southern Africa poses for historical analysis is to establish the specific nature of the changes engendered by that conjuncture of 'natural economy' and the world economy. At the same time, as Banaji has emphasized, it is necessary to avoid the danger of predicating all analysis of such a historical conjuncture upon the 'negative' assumption that 'subordinated' social formations merely functioned as adjuncts of the world economy from the time of initial contact, thus depriving them of a historical life and dynamic of their own. (16). It is, for example, important to document how colonial peasants "entered capitalist relations behind the backs of existing forms of production" (17) - thus changing the nature of the relations of production within the pre-capitalist social formation and distorting the ideological, social and economic structures of that formation to suit the needs of participation in the market.

Change, therefore, though largely engendered from 'without', gave rise to complex sets of forces within the social formations of the Griqualand West/British Bechuanaland area and it is the articulation of these that forms the central focus of this paper.

It is my intention therefore to examine the process of transition caused by the decline of the primitive communal mode of production from the 'internal' perspective of the various societies located in the area, with specific reference to the Tlaping, and rather more sketchily to attempt to locate this history within the framework of the expansion of the world economic system and British imperialism to central South Africa up to 1910.

For convenience, that process of change has been divided into two parts :

A) the period of gradual transition during the period of conjuncture of the pre-capitalist 'natural economy' and merchant capital from approximately 1770 to 1870

B) the period of rapid transition that followed the discovery of diamonds in this area, and led to its propulsion into the mainstream of the world economy from the 1870's, with specific reference to the changing access of indigenous peoples to the means of production.

The necessity for acceptance of the importance of a materialist base for historical change is taken for granted in this paper, and the degree of transition is therefore treated as being the equatable with the changing access of specific groups to the means of production consequent upon the contact with capitalism and the colonial state.

It is my contention therefore that the pre-capitalist relations of production were severely undermined in this area by the turn of the century. A coherent structure of 'tribal' authority and ideology had been severely eroded. The communal redistributive economy had been displaced by dominantly capitalist relations of production. It is therefore arguable whether it is meaningful to talk of the articulation of two distinct modes of production from this time. (18).

The period of Transition (A) the gradual integration of the societies of the Trans-Gariep area into the merchantile capitalism of the Cape Colony, and the effects thereof (1760's to 1860's) : A case study of the Tlaping.

The Tlaping were chosen for consideration in this paper because they constituted one the major Tswana groups in the immediate Trans-Gariep during the period under consideration (19) - located until the 1820's in the vicinity of present day Kuruman (at Dithakong or Lattakoo & New Lattakoo) and subsequently at Likatlong (near the confluence of the Vaal and Hartz Rivers) - and in the present day Taung Reserve (see map).

From the point of view of the researcher they are an obvious target of enquiry because they were the group best documented by contemporary travellers and missionaries as they lived in large towns and were settled astride what was to become known in later years as 'the Road to the North' - the hunting, trading and missionary route to Central Africa that lay between the semi-desert lands to the west, and the Tsetse areas of the Transvaal. (20)

Involved from the late 18th Century in trade with the Colony, (both direct and indirect - the latter through the intermediary Griqua groups (see below)) and linked by a network of LMS mission stations to the outside world, they provide an opportunity for a specific historical study of the process of change resulting from the penetration of merchant capital into the pre-colonial hinterland of South Africa.

Further, as the Tlaping under Jantje Mothibi were settled around the confluence of the Vaal and Hartz Rivers when the River Diggings were discovered in the late 1860's, they were one of the main groups to become involved in conflicts with the diggers and with the British government over the ownership of the Fields. They were prominent in the subsequent land disputes (the Bloemhof Arbitration (1871); the Keate Award (1871)), but were dispossessed of the major part of their tribal lands by Frank Orpen's land survey in the mid-1870's, consequent upon the annexation of the area by Britain. The "reserves" left to them were totally inadequate to their needs, excluding them from most of the best agricultural land in the area.

They were therefore directly influenced by the changes that resulted from the propulsion of this area into the mainstream of the world economy in the late 19th Century, and its absorbtion into the British 'imperium'. Thus deprived of their lands and wealth, they were not surprisingly therefore in the forefront of the rebellions which broke out against colonial rule in 1878 and 1897.

Yet they were also one of the groups centrally involved in responding to the opportunities presented for the marketing of game, stock and agricultural goods on the Diamond Fields, and involved in such enterprises as transport - and wood-riding to supply the Fields.

Members of this group were also prominent amongst those who came to make up the first urban proletariat at Kimberley - though they were significantly absent from returns of labourers on the diamond mines (21).

In the short run at least, during the early days of the Diamond Fields, many members of this tribe were centrally involved in successfully exploiting the opportunities provided by the new economy. As a group centrally involved in the process of transition that followed upon the penetration of this area successively by merchant capital (1766-1860), and industrial capital, (1870-1910) they therefore form an ideal focus for a study of changes from a pre-capitalist 'natural economy' to a capitalist mode of production.

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The 'natural economy' (22) of the Tlaping in the early days of the 18th Century conformed to Wallerstein's model of a 'mini-system' - being "an entity that has within itself a complete division of labour and a single cultural framework." (23) It was dominantly an economy "based on the natural products of the land and production for personal or group needs, with a close connection between industry and agriculture." (24)

That is not to assert that at any particular time this social formation was in a state of stasis. The Tswana in no way constituted a group of isolated units - indeed the history of the Tlaping was characterised by their ability and willingness to incorporate large numbers of conquered peoples (e.g. the BaKalaghadi and the Masarwa) or refugee groups (for example, from the Difaquane), and to amalgamate with other Tswana groups for economic and strategic purposes. (25)

Regarding external relations there is evidence of trade in pre-colonial times with the East Coast, possibly via the Monomotapa and Roswi empires (26), as well as with groups to the East (iron ore was obtained from the Magaliesberg) and West (trade with the Koranna) (27).

There is as yet little archaeological evidence available regarding this trade, but it appears from the observations of early travellers that a hunting economy 'for export' already existed from this game-rich area during pre-colonial times, and that the later development of trade to the South was merely an extension of existing arrangements. The new trade was simply grafted onto existing structures for dealing with trade with the outside world.

The game belonged to the tribe as a whole, and though individuals were allowed to hunt, the Chief and elders of the tribe had certain priveleges regarding the distribution of spoils, e.g. all ivory belonged to the Chief. (28)

In early times hunting tended to be the exclusive preserve of the Masarwa, the San 'slaves' of the Chief, (29) and spoils were often distributed to the tribe as a whole or to favourites of the Royal House.

The trade in ivory, skins and feathers that had originated in pre-colonial times was rapidly expanded once contact was made with the markets of the Cape Colony, and although all trade was 'legally' required to pass through the hands of the Chief, (30) there is evidence that other groups or individuals (including the Masarwa themselves) bypassed this formal market and bartered illegally, direct with traders (31)

The marked degree of class stratification that was a feature of Southern Tswana society - both among the Tswana themselves (the full members of the tribe) (32) and along the 'racial' lines of conquerer/'serf' - (e.g. the Masarwa) (33) was extended and sharpened through contact with the world economy - because of the friction produced between the traditionalist groups who retained a primitive communal mode of production, and others who sought to utilize tribal resources for the purpose of amassing private wealth through trade.

Without this perspective it would be too easy to see the 'natural economy' as merely being globally 'acted upon' by external, capitalist forces, rather than gaining the more accurate picture of its internal responses to those forces.(34)

A marked shift comes about with the introduction of trade to the South, with the Tlaping moving by the early 19th Century 'from being a reciprocal economy to participating in a larger distributive economy' (35) even if the link is at first rather tenous and mediated via the Griqua, themselves on the extreme margin of the capitalist economy.

The arrival of the Griqua on the Orange River in the late 18th Century (36) was clearly of considerable significance, for they changed the balance of power in the Trans Gariep due to the introduction of guns and horses, and laid the foundations of new sets of relationships between the groups in the area, - in particular by the establishment of tributary relations with the Tlaping and other Tswana groups.

Kok traded with and befriended the Tlaping 'Confederation' under Molehabangwe and the elder Mothibi between 1790 and 1820, partly under the umbrella of the LMS (since they shared the same missionary network), but equally important because the mission stations provided a convenient network of trading links to the north, (37)

We only have written records of Tlaping society from ± 1800 when the Griqua economic and political penetration of the area was, according to Legassick, far advanced. Yet it seems certain that the vast supplies of ivory and cattle that were traded by the Griqua at Beaufort West (38) were at least partially the fruit of trade on advantageous terms (39) with the Tlaping and other groups north of the River - goods which in their turn

enabled the Griqua to buy more guns and horses to further strengthen their position.

Despite the fissifarous nature of the Griqua 'state' in the period after 1820, it is clear that the extension of Griqua economic and political penetration of the area proceeded apace. The Griqua commando which came to the defence of New Lattakoo (Kuruman) in 1823 (40) was an event which succeeded temporarily in uniting the Griqua. The action was described at the time by travellers as an act of good-neighbourliness (41) or the consequences of missionary pressure on the Griqua, e.g. Moffat's appeal to Griquatown (42). More important, and in view of Legassick's work on the Griqua penetration of the area, was the extension of Griqua power that the act implied, and the emergence of a relationship that was rapidly to develop into one of Griqua hegemony of political and economic power over the entire area of the Cis-Molopo by the 1830s.

Even within the limites of this specific event - the defence of Kuruman in 1823 - it is possible to find evidence of that relationship. Jantje Mothibi, the chief of the Tlaping, stated at Bloomhof that

> "Motibee (Jantje's father) the principal chief ... gave land to old Captain Waterboer at Kuruman, on the south side (in 1823); but Waterboer said such was too confined for a mission station. I cannot say whether the ground included the mission station. The ground first proffered to Waterboer was declined, and Mothibee gave him other land at old Kuruman. I can't say whether this land was to become Griqua territory. Motibee gave Waterboer this ground in gratitude for the assistance rendered him, and for him to occupy, and for the purpose of affording protection. Waterboer did not occupy the land at once ... but sent Carl Nero ... in ± 1831-2 to reside there." (43)

This trend brought increasing numbers of Tswana, including the Tlaping, under the loose control of the Griquas in the years that followed - and tribute was extracted over a wide area from a variety of groups. (44) As late as 1838 the missionary Archbell reported to the Governor that Waterboer was 'ruining the country and oppressing the people around him" (45). According to Legassick that period of hegemony proceeded apace after 1823, and looked like succeeding in 1834 when the British Government finally recognised the existence of the Griqua state as part of the Treaty State System (the Waterboer Treaty of 1834). Yet - the increasing internal weaknesses of the confederation, linked to L.M.S. pressure to abandon the expansionist policy (46) and the unwillingness of the British Government to back its commitment to a centralized authority under Waterboer in the light of the Great Trek, led to the failure of the proposed Christian Griqua Republic by the late 'thirties. (47)

In the early 19th Century, Tlaping society reflected a stern resistance to external pressures bearing upon it - both economic (trade) and ideological (missionary and "western" influence). Trade did not extend to areas of "inessential" goods - like textiles or ironware (which were produced locally), but even prior to 1816 visitors like Lichtenstein (1803-6), Burchell (1813) and Read (1816) noted the anxious desire of the chief and the people to acquire guns and steel goods. (48) The missionary Read who was allowed to settle at Lattakoo, the chief Tlaping town, did so only by accepting the condition that he did "not preach or teach". (49) Hamilton records that "the Tlaping ... reject

any attempt to change old customs, as happened amongst the Griqua neighbours, who once wore a laross (sic), but now wear clothes, and had two wives, now one ... this the Boochuannas will never submit to." (50)

The long struggle of the missionaries throughout the 19th Century to break down the resistance of the Southern Tswana to Christianity and "Education" bears testimony to the toughness of the fabric of pre-colonial system. Yet even John Mackenzie, the arch 'civilizer' of the Tswana, had to admit that there was little to prove a congruency between acceptance of Christianity and degree of involvement in the market economy.

The external economic and political pressure brought to bear by the Griqua in the first quarter of the 19th Century had a number of important consequences for the Tlaping. As early as 1825 (51) the Tlaping under Mothibi (or possibly by this time already under the regency of his son Jantje Mothibi) moved away from Kuruman and away from Griqua (and L.M.S. missionary control) - it would appear as 'refugees of war' from the Griqua. (52) This was a significant event in that it split the tribe once again into several sections. (53) In brief, Mothibi and his son Jantje Mothibi who comprised the 'Christian Party' moved back to the ancient traditional lands of the tribe in the Vaal-Hartz area around Likatlong, and the other major branch under, successively, Gasibone, Botlasitsi and Galishiwe went to Phokwane/Taung. (54)

If there was conflict between the Griqua and the Tlaping, this was not sufficient to characterize the nature of the relationship that had been built up over time, and within the framework of missionary influence. Although the trade with the Cape was initially monopolized by Griqua middlemen the Tlaping increasingly came into direct contact with hunters, traders and missionaries from the turn of the century, and sought to enter the trade in their own right. As trade expanded and the ivory frontier retreated towards Central Africa, so groups of Griqua and Tlaping came to work together to ensure the continuation of that trade through their hands, and Chapman records that

> "The old relay trade diffused in many directions and carrying varied commodities, was (by the mid 19th Century) transferred into a long-distance trade of a sort of mono-economy based on hunting products funnelled towards the Cape. By 1849 Livingstone had opened the old route to Lake Ngami for wagon-borne trade, and by 1851 to the Chobe. In 1851 no less than 100 wagons of the Griqua opened up the trade from the Ngwato capital to the Ndebele capital- while by 1853 a joint Griqua and Tlaping expedition had reached Lebebe on the Okavango River to link up with "Portuguese" (no doubt Ovimbundu) from Angola." (55)

The process of contact and interaction between the pre-capitalist social formation and capitalism in its mercantile form further altered relationships *within* Tlaping society over time and increased economic and political tensions between various groups. Yet it is probably still true to say that by the 1850s the fundamental structures of the pre-capitalist 'natural economy' were still intact - if somewhat strained by nearly a century of contact with the incoming groups and influences from the south. That that transformation was far advanced by the 1880s can, in part, be attributed to the 'ideological' success of the missionaries - but a full grasp of this process requires an examination of an additional range of factors which influenced the situation.

The departure of the Tlaping from their main town of Dithahong in 1820 and the splitting of the Tlaping tribe in 1825/30 with their departure from Kuruman, are both partly attributable to missionary influence - the former move was made with an eye to the irrigation possibilities of Kuruman, the latter, as outlined above, partly as a result of pressure from the Griquas - but perhaps equally important was the factor of internal division. If the tribe had departed for the South for the sole reason that it was taking refuge from Griqua attack or for ecological reasons it would not account for the splitting of the tribe that resulted - a splitting that took the form of the 'Christian Party' settling in the Vaal/Hartz area at Mosiep (nr Likatlung) and the other groups settling at Taung and Pokwane.

The inability of the parmouncy to hold the group together can in turn be attributed to the weakening of traditional authority. The independence and autonomy of the group had been eroded from without, and that process had specific effects on the internal fabric of Tlaping society. Whether the groups that hunted and traded were members of the traditional aristocracy who used their positions regarding hunting rights to exploit the situation that arose or whether they were groups of 'new men' on the margin of the society is unclear. The most that can be hazarded is that the enterprise of hunting brought some individuals or groups into an advantageous relationship with the market, thus creating tensions between the communal mode of production and the economics of the market economy.

The process of transition was thus changing the nature of the relations of production within that society, and distorting the existing structures in order to suit the needs of participation in the market economy i.e. "the process of the non-reproduction of the political, ideological and economic conditions of existence of the pre-capitalist mode of production" had begun. (56)

The *fundamental* shift in the process of transition only came with the upheaval of the diamond discoveries in the 1870s - first on the river diggings and then at Kimberley (Colesberg Kopje). The advent of the diamond fields shifted the area almost overnight into the mainstream of international capitalist development and investment and into the fore-front of British imperialism on the sub-continent. Immigrants flooded to the Fields from the Cape and Natal, (blacks and whites) and from Europe, North America and Australia, as well as from Basutoland, Sekukuniland, the Ciskei and beyond the Limpopo. The immediate effect of these develop-ments was the opening up of a vast market for agricultural goods, meat, services and labour on an unprecedented scale which because of their proximity to the Fields the Tlaping were initially well placed to meet.

The Period of Transition:

B) An investigation of the changing access of indigenous groups and individuals in the Griqualand West/British Bechuanaland area to the means of production during the early phases of contact with the world economy, with particular reference to the relationship of the Tlaping to the Diamond Fields (1870-1910).

Convenient foci of attention here can be listed as follows:

i) the declining access of the group to the natural resources of wild game and wood supplies due to the mass destruction of both for the purpose of trade.

ii) the alienation of most of the best communal land belonging to the Tlaping through the annexation of the area by the British Government and the introduction of capitalist property relations. This limited the access of indigenous groups to water supplies ('fountains'), pasturage, and arable land.

These factors together were to severely limit the ability of the group to effectively participate in the market either as hunters, traders or peasant farmers by the turn of the Century.

B. i)

Hunting for the purpose of obtaining food and raw materials for the tribe was an important aspect of life under the communal redistributive economy of pre-colonial times. That activity was also adapted to the new demands of trade to the South during the course of the late 18th and early 19th Century. (as above) Increasing contact with Griqua and White traders from the Colony stimulated this trade and provided a means of access to industrial goods through barter (eg. guns, ploughs).

The 'communal' hunting economy was at least in part transformed by gradual steps into a commodity economy, as groups of hunters entered capitalist relations alongside existing forms of production (57) thereby changing the way of life of at least a small group of people. The appearance of increasing numbers of traders and white hunters in the Trans-Gariep, linked to the use of guns and horses for hunting by the Tlaping hunter/traders (58) meant that the amount of big-game in the area had begun to decline by the mid-century, as the ivory frontier moved away to central Africa. (59)

Although that was the case regarding big-game hunting, it would be wrong to assume a sharp decline in the actual communal activity of hunting for purposes of obtaining food and articles for domestic use (eg. hides), as small game remained abundant.

The final demise of the hunting economy only came during the 1870's when the high prices obtained for meat on the Kimberley and Du Toitspan markets meant that there was a mass slaughter of small game to supply that demand.

Yet from the perspective being developed by this paper, those profits were being made by a relatively small group who had acquired the means for paritipation in the market (namely the ownership of guns, horses, wagons and spans of oxen), at the expense of the wholesale destruction of one of the prime natural resources of this area - the game - which constituted a cornerstone of subsistence and a condition for the adequate reproduction of the communal mode of production.

The other prime natural resource of the area that was effected by the needs of the Diamond Fields, was wood. The entire area was denuded to provide fuel for the mines and for urban domestic needs. The ownership of a good wagon and a span of oxen (probably acquired through the earlier hunting economy) was to enable small groups and individuals to make considerable fortunes by delivering wood to the market for anything up to £ a load.(60) - yet once again that lucrative trade had the effect of stripping communal land (and in particular, the "locations" in the era subsequent to the 1876 Land Settlement) of a resource that was a necessary condition of survival in the years to come.

The resulting tensions between those who hunted or 'rode wood' for the market, and the collective needs of the "communal economy" are obvious, and must at least partially account for the rapid weakening of the structure of the communal economy and society over this period.

In itself this development might not have been sufficient to destroy the fabric of the 'natural economy', but linked to a range of other factors, it was bound to do so in the long run.

B. ii) Another major aspect of the process of transition was the changing pattern of land 'ownership' and utilization that emerged as a consequence of the diamond discoveries, the emergence of an industrial "centre" based in Kimberley, and the consequent annexation of the area to the British Empire. These developments were reflected by changes in the social, ideological, political and economic structures of the colonized peoples. (61).

Land is transformed from being the instrument of labour of the group (where the necessities of life are extracted from it through hunting, gathering, pastoralism and agriculture for communal production), to land becoming a means for the production of surplus value (for the purpose of private accumulation) -

(a) as a means of production for the market (on tribal/communal land), or later within the 'reserves'/'locations' (from 1876)

(b) as a commodity in itself (freehold land).

All the groups that clustered along the river shared one common characteristic with regard to these resources in pre-colonial times, namely that the land was held by the tribe/clan for the use of the group as a whole, and no man would be denied the use of that land.(62) The significance of this point cannot be overstressed since communal pastoral and agricultural activity were the dominant features of these societies throughout this period and a fundamental feature of 'natural economy' that survived to the 1860's, even if other aspects were systematically being undercut in the manner outlined above.

Within those limits, what defined the scarcity value of land, especially in a climate increasingly plagued by prolonged droughts, was the availability of water ('fountains') and the consequent potential for watering stock and for irrigation.(63)

By the 1890's the situation had changed dramatically. The advance of the Colonial Land frontier to the Orange River (1847) and the subsequent 'pacification' of the area north of the Hantam Mountains(64) means that increasing numbers of white colonists were entering the Trans-Gariep area. By the late 1860's that expansion brought a new and decisive dimension of contact between the pre-colonial social formations of the area and the capitalist economy - namely the emergence of freehold land tenure. From the experience of the past two centuries in the Cape this meant the private ownership (mainly by whites) of water supplies and grazing that had up to that time been 'public property'. Yet the process of white settlement in this area might have proceeded extremely slowly - since it was not particularly desirable farming country and it was relatively heavily populated - had it not been that all these processes were suddenly speeded up from 1867 onwards with the discovery of diamonds. This led to an unprecedented scramble for land in the vicinity of the fields.

The story of the Land Disputes in Griqualand West and the annexation of the area, first to Britain (1871) and later to the Cape (1878) has been told elsewhere.(65) The point to be made here is that in the long run the fortunes of the Griqua, Koranna and Tlaping were remorselessly thrown together by these developments as the ownership of their communal lands become the object of political dispute. The endless legal wrangles associated with Arnot, Domms and others regarding the 'ownership' of the land were in the event largely 'formal' within the context of the power struggle that ensued, and not suprisingly, the strongest party, the British, came away with the prize after the Keate Award (1871).

> 'To the Griquas' (who had in theory come out on top of the Land dispute) 'whose country had already been lost to them, Barkley's annexation (justified in terms of 'protection') brought little advantage. In the course of a few years they had been jockeyed out of most of their land by white farmers, miners and speculators'.....
> 'The Griqua declined into a landless proletariat'.(66)

The Tlaping were in no better situation.

> 'They saw the country in which they had been born and grown up, and over which the old chiefs had exercised undisputed authority for years past, (pass) out of their hands, without regard being had (sic) to their wishes or interests..... They saw the strangers come and take possession of fountains at which their own cattle had hitherto drunk unhindered'. (67)

After the annexation of 1871, the land belonging to the Tlaping of Jantje Mothibi, lying between the Kaap Plateau and the Vaal River (see map) was surveyed into freehold farms (1874-6) by Frank Orpen and sold off by the Griqualand West government for the dual purpose of providing capital for the perpetually bankrupt administration of the Crown Colony, and the establishment of white settlers in the area.(68) By 1876 practically all the land in the present district of Barkly West had been sold to white farmers or speculators - but the high quitrents and the incredible confusion resulting from the Land Court cases meant that many of these claims lapsed. As a consequence, and in the light of pressure from the colonial office for an "acceptable" native policy, by 1877 the Tlaping (and the various other peoples that had assembled in the area in the interim (eg. Xhosa, Southern Sotho) were finally allocated 'locations' in the districts of Hay, Herbert and Barkly West. (see map). They were not, like the Griqua, to become totally'landless', as their locations were inalienable, and roughly located in the same areas as the settlements that had existed prior to annexation. Yet they comprised only a fraction of the lands that had originally belonged to the indigenous inhabitants. The ever increasing population(69) of the 'reserve' areas was therefore competing for extremely scarce resources by the 1880's. In addition and as a direct consequence of the changing material conditions of existence resulting from reduced access to the means of production, there is conclusive evidence of marked social and economic stratification by the 1890's.

The social structure of the indigenous population changed markedly with the implementation of the land settlement. This meant, amongst other things, that the complex weave of the communal 'tribal' structure of the Tlaping was progressively unravelled to such an extent that the question of identifying the indigenous peoples of this area by 'tribe'(70) (in the original sense) now becomes highly problematic.

A number of factors contributed to that situation. Firstly, the diamond fields had been a magnet to men from all over Southern Africa. They came to the mines for a variety of reasons which still remain to be thoroughly explored. Most of those men came as migrants - or 'target-workers' - and returned to their homes after three or six months. But there were considerable numbers of families or groups that came on a permanent basis - particularly Xhosa, Mfengu and Southern Sotho - bringing with them their herds, ploughs - and agricultural and marketing expertise gained in the context of the Cape markets, which enabled them to make the most of the opportunities provided by the Kimberly market, and often to take a lead in peasant farming (see below)(71) or in the affairs of the evolving urban black community.

When, all these people were swept into the 'reserves' after 1876 the structure of those locations could no longer be sensibly identified in purely ethnic terms - as Tswana, Xhosa, Sotho, Khoi and San lived side by side, and the "traditional" socio-political structures of each group were eroded under the impact of their common experience. What they had in common outweighed, for the most part, the 'ethnic' differences based upon their various historical experiences. The commonness of the plight of these peoples was graphically demonstrated when they rose in arms twice in twenty years in protest against the conditions they found themselves subjected to as colonized peoples. The Griqualand West Rebellion (1878-9)(72) and the Langeberg Rebellion (1897)(73) were fought on the basis of a precocious unity among those groups that now demonstrated their identity on the basis of a defence of interests that no longer flowed purely along 'tribal' lines.(74) The reasons for the development of that advanced form of 'pan-tribal' or 'national' revolt are to be located in the nature of the forces and processes of transition that are the specific concern of this paper.

The second major reason for this rupture in the coherence of 'tribal' entities within the context of the overall decline of the pre-capitalist social formations is to be located in the question of the advanced degree of class stratification that was a feature of the 'reserves' by the 1880's - a stratification that was based upon differential access to the means of production within those areas.(75)

By the 1880's the discretionary participation in capitalist relations that had been a feature of early days had become the privilege of the few. The choice between remaining in the 'reserve' areas - either as farmers, for the market or for purposes of subsistence - was open to only the few relatively wealthy peasant farmers who had survived.

For the majority of the population of the 'reserves' now cut off from a system of communally redistributed surpluses, and from the means of acquiring wealth within the 'locations', (eg. the ownership of ploughs, wagons, or stock (oxen were needed to draw ploughs etc)) there was no longer any choice but to enter the market as wage labourers - either on farms, on the mines or in the towns. The detailed documentation of the rise and fall of that peasantry is a task that lies ahead of me, as does the formulation of the social and labour history of that embryonic working class that emerged in Kimberley by the turn of the century.

These events, linked to the influx of peoples from other areas to the Diamond Fields, left the Tlaping as mere one among many heterogenous peoples that congregated in the 'reserves' and the towns of Grequaland West.

Diminishing access to irrigable land, a significant degree of stratification within the 'reserves', loss of wealth due to the Rebellions, and the natural disasters of recurrent drought and endemic stock disease meant that increasing numbers of people were forced by the 1880's to either withdraw from the area if they could afford to and trek northwards, beyond the frontier of the Colony, or what for most was the only alternative, and the final stage of capitalist penetration (see footnote 61) - namely enter into the labour market as wage-labourers.

This creation of labour-power was in itself of course no 'natural' or purely 'economic' process dictated by market forces alone, it was hastened by a plethora of legislative measures which prohibited private locations (i.e. the rent of land by blacks), enforced a strict pass system, restructed settlement on location land, enforced the payment of hut tax, and prohibited blacks from entering the market place on equal terms with whites.

The opening up of the diamond fields and the advance of the Colonial state hastened the process of decline of 'natural economy' and weakened the tribal structure. On the one hand these developments meant that in addition to producing for consumption, groups or individuals could enter the market as producers of stock or agricultural goods on very favourable terms - at least while they had access to an abundance of good land and to the 'fountains' that watered an often dry land. An enormous market for grain, vegetables, stock and services (eg. wood riding) was available to all those in a position to participate - and this gave rise to a prosperous peasant class. But on the other hand, the reduction in the amount of land available to the indigenous population owing to the influx of white farmers and the alienation of tribal land by the state meant that just at the moment when the Tlaping were in a position to participate in the market place on favourable terms, the very means of doing so - their access to land - was removed from them, first by 'legal' settlement, then by annexation and finally in many cases by military defeat. (After the Rebellions many of the Tlaping were deprived of the right to land in the 'reserves').

The situation that emerged by the 1890's was one that revealed the ability of the colonial state to limit the degree of participation of indigenous people in the market place (i.e. within the capitalist economy) on equal terms with white settlers. Without the necessity of constant and direct military or legal intervention the ability to restrict the extent of peasant production was ensured both by limiting access to the means of production - (i.e. to agricultural land and natural resources (eg. water, wood etc)) and above all by "freezing" peasant production and proletarian income at the lowest levels to which they had been reduced by the effects of the wars of dispossession and by natural disasters.(76)

The intervention, therefore, of capitalist forces and relations of production systematically eroded those of the pre-capitalist social formation by undercutting the economic base of tribal society (regarding technology, division of labour, surplus distribution etc), and by coopting the traditional political leadership as intermediaries for the colonial state thus subverting the role of the elders in that society.

All this would seem to build up to the conclusion that the process of decline of 'natural economy' and rural underdevelopment, well documented by Colin Bundy(77) and Harold Wolpe(78) for different areas and eras, respectively, was already far advanced in the Trans-Gariep area by the turn of the century. The usefulness of characterizing that process of transition in terms of an articulation of modes of production from this time must therefore be called into question.

Peter Kallaway

Footnotes

(1) Hindess.B. and P.Q.Hirst, Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production (London.1975) pp278-284

(2) ibid. p15

(3) Bradby.B.'The destruction of natural economy', Economy and Society, 4 (1975) pp127-161

(4) Hindess & Hirst, op cit, p19.

"The general concepts (or'theoretical understanding of Marxist history')are the means for the production of knowledge of concrete social formations and of concrete conjunctures. They are not a substitute for concrete analysis.They are the tools that make it possible."

(5) Williams.K.,"Problematic History",Economy & Society,I,4,(1972) pp 425-456
Castells.M.,"Epistomological practice and the soc ial sciences" Economy and Society,5 (1976)pp111-144

(6) Meillassoux.C.,"From Reproduction to Production , A Marxist approach to economic anthropology " Economy and Society, I,(1972) p93.

(7) It is only by the cross-fertilization of the products of these various disciplines that we have begun to gain better insight into the problems of change in the African colonial context.The seminal work of G.Arrighi (Rhodesia),E.A.Brett (Kenya),S.Amin (West Africa) has opened up a range of perspectives,hitherto neglected in Southern African studies. I am much indebted to the work of the following people in helping me to shape the perspective being developed in this paper:P.Bonner, C.Bundy, D.Clarke,T.Keegan,M.Legassick,S.Marks,M.Morris, N.Parsons,H.Slater,S.Trapido,C.van Onselen,H.Wolpe.

(8) Meillasoux.C. op cit ,p127

(9) Banaji.J.,"Modes of Production in a Materialist Conception of History", Class and Capital,Autumn 1977 (3) pp 1-44

(10) ibid p3

(11) ibid p9

(12) Hindess & Hirst, op cit ,p260-1

(13) ibid

(14) ibid p63

(15) ibid p260

(16) Banaji. op cit, p14

(17) ibid p34

(18) Banaji's argument regarding the'integration' of the pre-capitalist mode into capitalist structures dates in this context from approximately 1900,but can hardly be considered for the earlier period.His reservations about the continuation of a pre-capitalist mode after the transition to capitalism in the industrial and settler sector ('dual economy'(?)) are directly in line with my tentative findings. Banaji p35

(19) The Tlaping had,according to Breutz (P.L.Breutz, The Tribes of the Districts of Kuruman and Postmasburg (Pretoria.1963),The Tribes of the Districts of Taung and Herbert(Pretoria.1968) occupied this area from the 16th Century, but their occupation dated from considerably earlier (see the excellent chapter by M.Wilson on the Sotho in Wilson.M.&L.M.Thompson (eds) The Oxford History of South Africa (Oxford 1969) Ch IV

(20) ibid p130-142

(21) see Appendix I to my paper "Preliminary Notes towards a Study of Labour on the Diamond Fields of Griqualand West"(unpublished paper delivered at the Labour History Conference on South Africa held in Oxford,1974. Also see Siebörger,R.F.,"The Recruitment and Organization of African Labour for the Kimberley Diamond Mines,1871-1888" M.A.Thesis(1975) Rhodes University. pp179-195.

(22) Bradby's notion of 'natural economy'(op cit) is useful here. The term is used to indicate "those characteristics of the pre-capitalist modes of production which are essentially opposed to capitalist relations of production." (p127).It implies economies based on the natural products of the land and production for personal or group needs,with a close connection between industry and agriculture and a communal redistributive economy. There is therefore a necessary contradiction between the perpetuation of 'natural economy' and the penetration of capitalism in a particular social formation,for the former is opposed to economies of expanded reproduction;opposed to the use of natural resources (eg game and land) as instruments of production or commodities for the creation of surplus value, and opposed to the creation of labour-power (ie the use of labour as a commodity/mechanism for the creation of surplus value).(Bradby p127)
That contradiction between the 'motor' of 'natural economy'and that of the CMP was gradually resolved/ demonstrated during the historical conjuncture under consideration.

(23) Wallerstein.I.,"The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System:Concepts for Comparative Analysis," Comparative Studies in History and Society, 16 (1974) p390

(24) Meillassoux,C., op cit, p98-9

(25) M.Legassick,"The Sotho-Tswana peoples before 1900", inL.M.Thompson,African Societies in Southern Africa,(London 1969) Ch 5,p107.
I.Schapera, The Tswana (London 197?) p34-6
" " ,Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom(London,1955) pp120-121
Breutz.P.L.,"The Social System of the Sotho-Tswana" Unpub MSS (n.d.) pp21-2;133-4

(26) Wilson.M.&.L.M.Thompson,(ed) OHSA I p149-153

(27) ibid pp146;149

(28) Schapera.I.,The Tswana op cit p31;Breutz,"The Social System..."op cit,p21;Holub.E. Seven Years in South Africa (London 1881)pp346-348

(29) The Masarwa 'slaves' had traditionally been the hunters of the tribe. They lived in areas distant from the main towns.and progided ivory,skins and meat for the Chief's household. Over time,and with the introduction of guns,this role fell to other groups,and as the game disappeared or became scarce they were reallocated as herdsmen and agricultural workers - or even,it seems,sent to the mines at Kimberley to earn money for their lords.(see my forthcoming paper on this topic, and N.Q.Parsons,"The Economic History of Khama's Country in Botswana",in Palmer.R. & N.Parsons(eds), The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa (London 1977) and Russel.M.,"Slaves or Workers? Relations between Bushmen,Tswana and Boers in the Kalahari," Journal of Southern African Studies 2 (2) April 1976.pp178-197

(30) Schapera.I.,The Tswana,op cit,p29

(31) Mackenzie.J.,Ten Years North of the Orange River (Edinburgh 1871) pp130-131

(32) Wilson.M ...OHSA I, pp153-155

(33) ibid, p153-5, also see footnote (29) and
I.Schapera,The Tswana, op cit, p36-38
" " ,Handbook... op cit ,pp30-33

(34) It seems necessary to stress this point in order to avoid the charge that the term 'natural economy' implies that all pre-capitalist social formations share identical characteristics - characteristics that enable them all to be destroyed in the same way. Variations in concrete conditions mean that different pre-capitalist social formations are able to resist capitalist penetration in varying degrees. (Meillassoux op cit pp100(NB);Bradby, op cit p129 - Peruvian examples)

(35) Wallerstein.I.,op cit,p390 citing Polyani.

(36) Legassick.M.,"The Griqua,Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries 1780-1840:The Politics of a Frontier Zone." PhD Thesis (UCLA 1969)

(37) ibid. Ch 5 'The Tlaping Confederation and the Frontier Zone 1790-1800'.

(38) In 1819(August) Kokand Barends arrived at a fair at Beaufort West 'in number 120 souls,with 25 wagons and about 50 teams.' They sold 200 ivory tusks, 700 cattle,skins,soap,and salt,worth 15,000 rix dollars. J.Baird cited by Legassick,ibid,Ch 5

(39) The questions surrounding the question of the unequal terms of exchange 'enforced by strong states on weak ones' have been subjected to considerable scrutiny in recent years - see A.Emmanuel, Unequal Exchange (New York.1972) Wallerstein.I. op cit,p401
It is incomceivable that these conditions did not exist in this context,but it must be admitted that hard evidence is almost impossible to come by.

(40) Kuruman was attecked by the Mantatees(or Tlokwa) - a marauding army thrown up by the Difaquane on the Highveld. This was described by G.Thompson in Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa(London 1827) Vol I pp156-7; and Moffat.R.,Missiohary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa,(London,1842)p 340.

(41) Thompson ibid

(42) Omer-Cooper,J.D.,The Zulu Aftermath (London 1966)pp95-6

(43) Bloemhof Blue Book.1871. p5

(44) Legassick, PhD op cit Ch X and XI

(45) ibid,p562 ?

(46) LMS pressure via Moffat in London forced Philip, Wright and Waterboer to abandon plan for this enlarged Griqua State. Philip called Wright and Waterboer to Cape Town in 1838 to stop the expansion.

(47) For the reasons for that failure see Legassick,PhD op cit, Ch XI

(48) As early as 1803-4 Lichtenstein had noted the discrimination practiced by the people of Dithakong regarding the value of goods traded - commenting on the fact that they had a shrewd idea of the market value of the goods.
Lichtenstein.H.Travels in Southern Africa (1803) Vol II pp388-9
When Read arrived at Lattakoo in 1816 "the very day after the arrival of the instructors for whom he had asked,Mothibi asked 'for what seemed all along to have been in his heart viz a gun' "
cited from Dachs. "Missionary Imperialism - The Case of Bechuanaland.",Journal of African History, XIII(4) 1972 p648 baded on
Campbell.J,Travels in South Africa (London 1815) p288

(49) Journal of Read,Lattakoo 1/1/1817 LMS Journals S.Afr. 3/61 cited by Dachs ibid p648

(50) ibid

(51) Dachs states that'the Tlaping of Mothibi removed from Kuruman to Dikgatlong(Likatlong)' in May 1825 under threat of attack from 'disaffected Griquas'(?) led by Jacob Cloete and Klaas Dreyer'(No source of information given (Dachs AJ Mackenzie Papers(Jhb 1976) p 16)
Alternative accounts are to be found in :
Mackenzie.J.Austral Africa(London 1887) p43
Bloemhof Blue Book p5 Mothibi stated that the Tlaping were 'refugees of war'from Dithakong.
The phrasing is interesting:'In 1826 Mothibi came to reside at Mosiep(Nr Likatlong)...out of Griqua country.'(my emphasis)
Yet Jantje Mothibi,at Bloemhof,under examination clearly sought to cover this up.see Bloemhof Blue Book pp103 'I resided at Kuruman before I went to Lekatlong.I dont remember the year .....
We left Kuruman without any particular reason.
We finally left Kuruman on account of an epidemic carrying off so many people. Kevin Shillington's work on the history of the Tlaping should help to illuminate this question.(SOAS PhD in progress)

(52) Bloemhof Bluebook op cit p5

(53) The Tswana had previously split into two major groups in 1730-1740 - namely the baTlaping and the baRolong; for details see Breutz.P.L.,The Tribes... Taung and Herbert,op cit,p39

(54) Mahura,the brother of the elder Mothibi,had already moved to Taung some time before 1826.

(55) Chapman.J.,Travels in the Interior of South Africa 1849-1863(Cape Town 1871) p50,102 cited in N.Parsons,op cit, p118

(56) Hindess & Hirst,op cit, p260-1

(57) Banaji, op cit, p34

(58) Atmore&A.,J.M,Chirenje and S.I.Mudenge,"Firearms in South Central Africa",JAH,XII,4,(1971) pp545-556 section on the Tswana see pp545-551

(59) Parsons.N.,op cit,

(60) Matter.V.,George Paton 1830-1914(Kimberley 1971)p28 and various other

(61) "The process of destruction of 'natural economy' is complete when land,and most important,labour-power itself,become commodities,and the end (or object) of production comes to be the creation of surplus value for capital." Bradby op cit p128

(62) Schapera.I.,Land Tenure among the Natives of the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Stuttgart 1936) pp 145-157
Sillery.A.,Founding a Protectorate (The Hague 1965)p29-30
C 4889 pp36-9 et seq

(63) It would seem that conflict over these resources and the developing need to 'open up' the 'foutains' for agriculture was at least a contributary factor in the increase of conflict between the Griqua and the Tswana,leading the Griqua to seek to secure sufficient labour services to make this possible.(This point is a t the present moment purely speculative)

(64) Ross.R.,"The !Kora Wars on the Orange River 1830-1880" JAH XVI 4 (1975) pp561-576

(65) Goodfellow.C.L.,Great Britain and South African Confederation 1870-1881 (OT 1966)
Walker.E.A., A History of South Africa(London 1962) ChXI

(66) Sillery.A.op cit pp42-3; Agar-Hamilton,The Road to the North p135

(67) Sillery.op cit,p42-3 citing from LMS in-letters SA box 39 folder 3 jacket C letter dated 19 Sept 1878 from mss John Brown to colonial newspaper,explaining the causes of the Griqualand West revolt 1878

(68) Similarly,in 1882,the areas to the north,that had previously been exclusively tribal lands (lying outside of the bourdries of Griqualand West and the Transvaal) and providing a 'retreat' for those who

(68) cont had been dispossessed by the colonial land settlement within Griqualand West) were taken over for white settlement as the Republics of Stellaland and Goshen(1882) and British Bechuanaland(1885) see map

(69) see appendix I

(70) 'Tribal' points to ethnic,linguistic,cultural factors. The use of the term in the conventional way implies a conceptual framework which to my mind precludes a satisfactory conceptualization of the kinds of issues this essay attempts to raise. I am indedted to David Webster for this point.

(71) see Brian Willan,"An African in Kimberley:Sol Plaatje 1894-8" (Unpub mimeo 1978) SOAS

(72) Sutton.I.,"The 1878 Rebellion in Griqualand West and Adjacent Territories" PhD (SOAS) 1975

(73) Saker H.&Aldridge.J.,"The Origins of the Langeberg Rebellion." JAH,XII 2 (1971)
Saker.H.,"The Langeberg Rebellion" BA(Hons)diss.UCT.(1971)

(74) Ranger.T.O.,"Connexions between 'Primary Resistance' Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa,"
Part I,JAH,IX, 3 (1968) pp437-453
PartII,JAH,IX, 4 (1968) pp631-641

(75) The question of identifying these peasant farmers, as with the hunter/traders above,is problematic. It cannot be stated with any degree of certainty whether they were members of the 'traditional' elite who had used their advantaged position within 'tribal' society to facilitate engagement in the market economy (ie priveleged access to land and labour), or whether they were 'new' or 'detribalized' 'self-made' men, or both.

(76) Palmer and Parsons op cit ,p4-5

These 'natural disasters' were,of course,only partly 'natural',in that the extent of their effects was very largely due to the fact that they came at a time when large numbers of people were already living in fairly desperate circumstances.(cf Meillassoux.C.,

The natural disaster which inflicted Griqualand West/ British Bechuanaland in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (and up to 1910) included a series of devistating droughts during the 1880's and 1890's;a range of stock diseases - anthrax,scab, and most significant,rinderpest,which resulted in the death of +90% of the cattle in this area(see C.van Onselen,"Reactions to the Rinderpest 1896-7." JAH. XIII. 3. p473-88
Large numbers of these cattle were destroyed by the rash and ineffective attempts to treat the cattle by government officials. This gave rise to the belief that the epidemic had been caused by the government in order to destroy the viability of black agriculture, or at the very least that it was being used to further that end.

(76) cont Equally important in these periods of distress was the unwillingness of the government to provide aid and relief to black farmers, whereas such aid was always supplied to whites.
The unwillingness of the Cape government to extend credit facilities to black farmers,or to back a plan that would have extended irrigation facilities to these reserves also reveals the same trend.

(77) Bundy.C. "The Emergence and Decline of a South African Peasantry,"African Affairs,71 (285) 1972 pp369-88

(78) Wolpe.H.,"The Theory of Internal Colonization: The South African Case,"
ICS Collected Seminar Papers:The Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries Vol 5
Wolpe.H.,"Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa:from segregation to apartheid,"
Economy and Society,I,4,1972. pp425-456

Appendix I

Population of Griqualand West according to the censes of 1877 and 1898
(excluding the Kimberley Division)

			European	Other	Total
Barkly West : Town :	1877 :	198	268	466
	1898 :	-	-	1,050
District	1877:	1,089	13,239	14,328
	1898:	-	-	15,950

Hay : Towns : 1898 : Griquatown ... 500
Postmasburg ... 200
700 Total

Total population (Town & district)

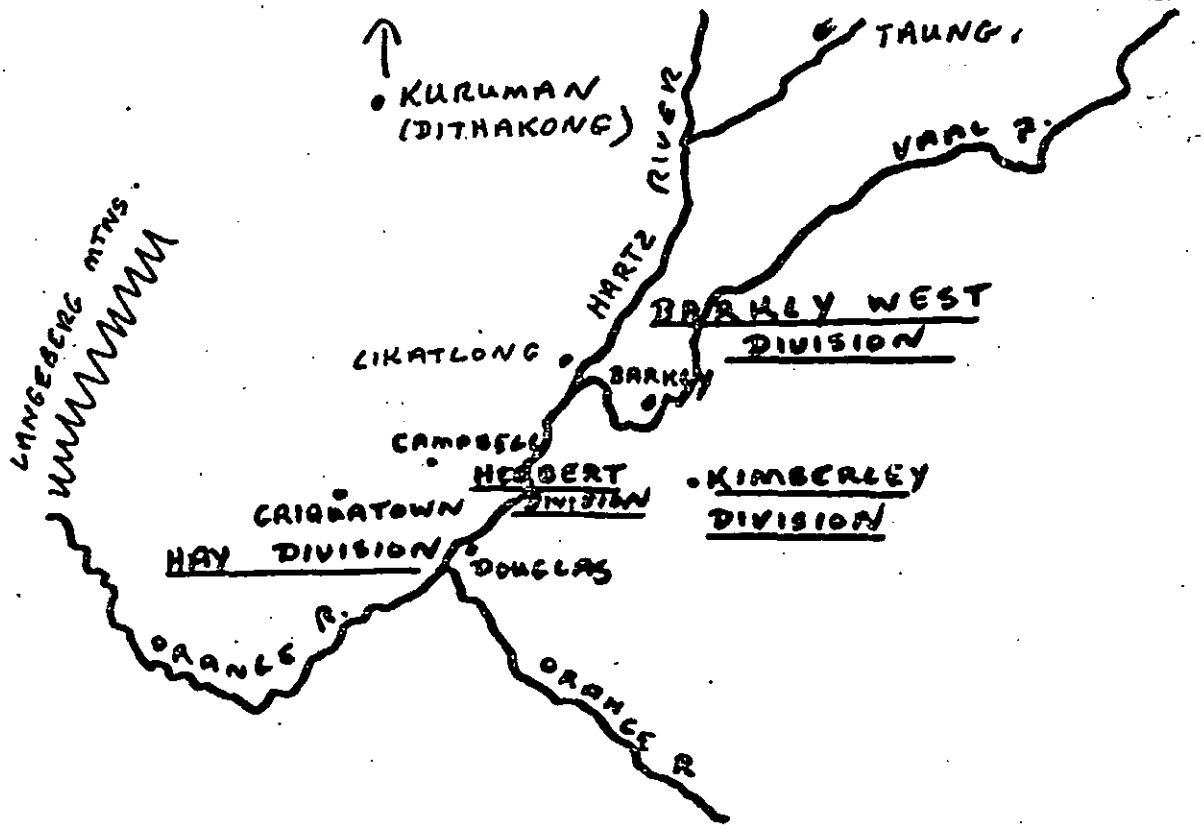
	European	Other	Total
1877	653	4922	5,575
1898	5,000	4000	9,000

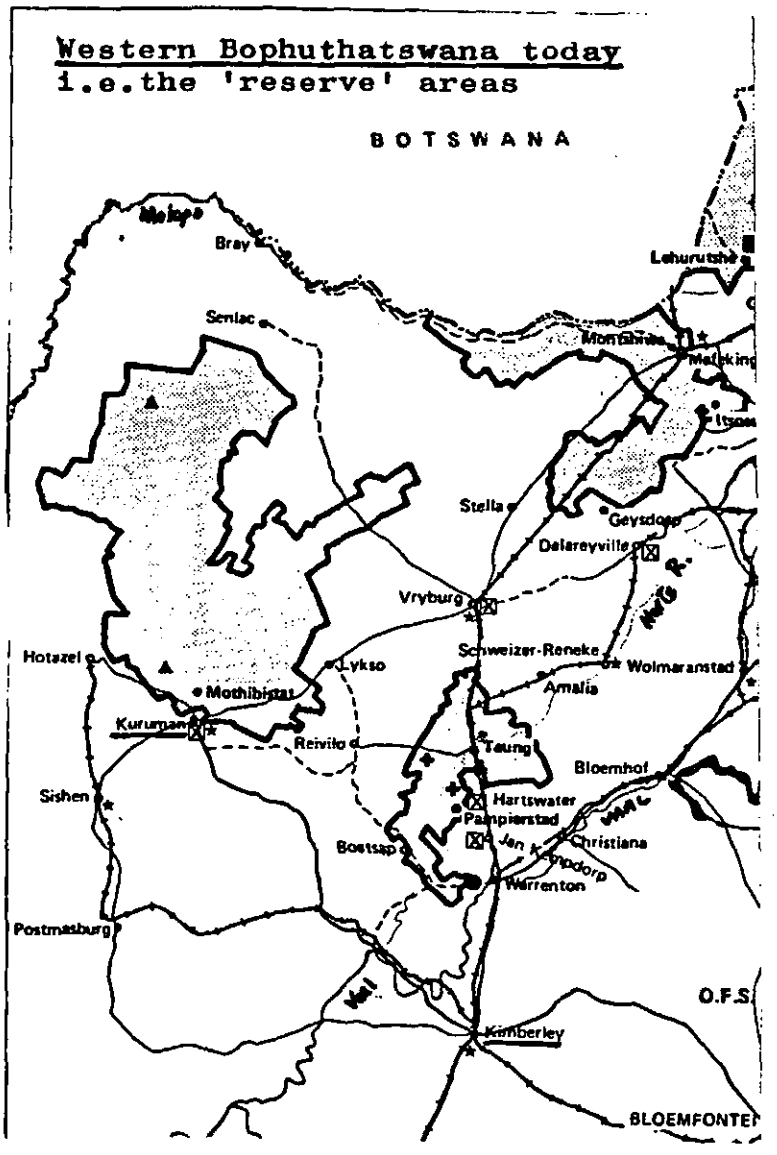
Herbert : Towns : 1898 : Douglas ... 500
Campbell... 400
900 Total

Total population (Town & district)

	European	Other	Total
1877	1,124	3,074	4,198
1898	2,500	9,000	11,500

(Sources : A14 - 1877 ; G 67 - 1899 p14.)




Western Bophuthatswana today
i.e.the 'reserve' areas
BOTSWANA
Bray
Lehurutshe
Senlac
Stella
Geysdorp
Delareyville
Vryburg
Hotazel
Lykso
Schweizer-Reneke
Wolmaranstad
Mothibistat
Amalia
Kuruman
Reivilo
Taung
Bloemhof
Sishen
Hartswater
Pampierstad
Christiana
Boetsap
Warrenton
Postmasburg
O.F.S.
Kimberley
BLOEMFONTE