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PROLOGUE

to

CAPITALISM, FREE ENTERPRISE AND BLACK ENTREPRENEURSHIP: A COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF BLACK BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA

Juliet E.K. Walker

The agency of blacks in forging their own economic liberation through entrepreneurship and business enterprise has been generally ignored in the historical literature. In this two-part paper, my purpose is a comparative recovery of the history of black business in the United States and South Africa. Part One, "a new problematic," establishes "categories of comparison" and a contextual and methodological frame for the study of black business in these two countries. Part Two, "in search of a usable past," urges deconstruction of the Eurocentric focus that shapes current assessments of South African and American black economic activity within the context of a fourphase chronological overview in which selected topics in the comparative history of black business in these two countries are presented for analysis. Presentism propels this study, a response to the emergence of the New South Africa and the deteriorating economic position African Americans, much the same as comparative studies in the United States and South Africa in the 1980s represented intellectual responses to black American activism in the 1960s and the rising tide of opposition to apartheid in the 1970s and 1980s.

PART I "A NEW PROBLEMATIC"[1]

Subordination, segregation and separation distinguish the black experience in the United States and South Africa.[2] Within this context, racial inequalities provide the focus of most comparative histories that analyze the denial of full political and civil rights of blacks in those two nations. Invariably, those studies locate the origin of America's racism in slavery and South Africa's apartheid in its frontier heritage.[3] While, the economic life of South African and American blacks, too, has been subjected to intensive scholarly scrutiny, those assessments are limited primarily to the activities of blacks as slaves, agricultural workers and industrial laborers. The business activities of blacks in both nations, however, remain virtually obscured from the historical record.[4] As Reuel Khoza of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NAFCOC) said, in a keynote address made in 1987 at the 23rd Annual Conference, after having provided a review of the history of black political activism in South Africa but: "What do we know about black business?."[5]

Indeed, it would appear from similarities in their historic circumstances as subordinate people, even more so than in the absence of any discussion in the historical literature, that blacks in South Africa and the United States lack a tradition of business participation. In both societies the historic prevalence not just of a split but, more specifically, a forced labor market for blacks seemingly would limit any business activity or entrepreneurial development.[6] Certainly slavery and Jim Crowism would not seem particularly encouraging to the development of enterprise and profitable entrepreneurship for African Americans any more than land dispossession, forced industrial and agricultural labor and separate development would encourage the promotion of any selfsustaining business activities for South African Blacks and Coloureds.

In challenging scholars to move beyond traditional appraisals of black economic activities in South Africa, Andre Mueller explains that while: "the integration of Coloureds and Blacks into the South African labour force has been well documented. Much less attention has been given to the rise of entrepreneurs within these two groups, and to the nature and extent of their economic activities."[7] Consequently, given the economic imperatives that challenge the New South Africa, the intellectual impetus that propels this study has implications beyond its primary heuristic purpose, illuminating South African black business history as a basis to provide insights that could broaden assessments of African American business history. Foremost, the contextual formulations constructed for this study transcend traditional historiographical boundaries found in most comparative studies of blacks in these two nations in which analysis proceeds generally from narrowly constructed Eurocentric materialist and developmentalist approaches. Simply put, Africans are studied primarily from the perspective of producer/laborers to the virtual exclusion of recognizing the existence of any historic economic activities within the context of business and entrepreneurship.

Presently, most studies that examine the business activities of South African blacks are written by economists and sociologists who center their analysis on the period from the midtwentieth century to the present. While historians have examined the economic past of South Africa, invariably the rise of an industrial capitalist/fascist economy, which tookoff with the mining revolution in the late nineteenth century provides the focus of their analysis. Limited to the study of mining barons and their monopolistic conglomerates, South African business history finds its counterpart in American business history with its inordinate interest on the nation's industrial giants and the captains of industry or robber barons, depending on ones perspective.[8] Also, with the rise of twentieth century national and multinational corporations and the expansion of managerial and finance capitalism, the study of small business enterprises, which distinguish most black business activity in both nations, has generated only minimal scholarly interest.

In South Africa, especially, analysis of black business activity is problematized within the theoretical and analytical construct of an informal economy, broadly defined, as "all activities pursued without the sanction of authorities, i.e, those not recorded in the national accounts."[9] Interestingly, too, the context of the "informal economy," both conceptually and historiographically, finds its counterpart in the "dual economy" model of nineteenth century South African economic activity in which white business activities are interpreted within the

context of "an embryonic capitalist economy," while black business activities are viewed within the context of "a subsistence economy." In a study of rural Natal Henry Slater challenges that historical formulation explaining: "the evidence suggests that there were not two economies in nineteenth century Natal, peopled respectively by whites and blacks, but that a single though complex network of economic choices and relationships was operating involving all Natalians regardless of ethnic origin."[10]

When economic alternatives are virtually nil, as they were for blacks, the element of "choice," becomes moot, reflecting not a dual economy but rather racially disparate effects of historic forces inherent in that capitalist economy. More recent studies emphasize the extent to which contemporary "informal" economic activities are in actuality an integral part of the broader South African economy and its business life.[11] With the New South Africa, however, it is doubtful that research in black business history will remain peripheral to mainstream business historiography. In America, although, an increasing body of scholarship is providing the basis for the emergence of a distinct field in African American business history, much of the research continues peripheral to mainstream historiography.[12] Interestingly, one area of African American business, recently "discovered" by historians, slave business activities, however, is also being approached within the conceptual framework of both an informal economy and a dual economy, based on studies of slave and free black economic activities in the Caribbean.[13]

Admittedly, in addition to problems not only of conceptualization in analyzing black business activities, but even more in establishing that there is a black business tradition, a recognition that perhaps profound differences exist in the history of blacks in the United States compared to blacks in South Africa must be taken into account. The most significant, of course, are demographic and the differential forced labour experiences of blacks in the two countries. Foremost, blacks are the majority population in South Africa, while African Americans are a minority with over two centuries of slavery providing the central theme in the African American experience compared to the century long experience of the forced industrial labor of black South Africans. So, then, what are my guidelines for pursuing this study within a comparative context? Simply put, I begin with a basic premise proffered by George Frederickson who said: "the very act of comparison requires categories that are comparable and some presuppositions about what is constant and predictable in human motivation or behavior. Without such assumptions, one could write parallel histories but not comparative ones."[14]

What is most important, then, as an initial basis for my comparative analysis of blacks in South Africa and the United States is explicated for me in a comment made by R. L. Watson who, when assessing the limited interest in the study of slavery in South Africa said: "The peripheral role of slavery until recently in South Africa's historical consciousness may result in part from the fact that those enslaved were not Bantuspeaking Africans whose descendants form the main object of South Africa's race oppression today."[15] Descendants of African Americans, who were enslaved, however, also form the "main object" of today's "race oppression," in America which is the critical point that centers my comparative analysis of the two groups of blacks. For blacks in both societies subordination and oppression, as "comparable categories," existed with ferocious intensity and with somewhat parallel results: both were stomped to the

ground not shoved to the curb in their respective societies.[16]

Moreover, for blacks in America, their subsequent segregation in Black Urban Ghettoes as a marginal people also finds parallels with blacks in South Africa. Today, some 86 percent of the African American population live in the largest sixteen census defined SMSA, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Under South Africa's apartheid regime ten separate homelands, bantustans, which covered less than thirteen percent of the land were set aside for Africans beginning in 1963. The three largest, Bophuthatswana, the Transkei, and KwaZula comprised seventy percent of the allocated land and included primarily the Tswana, Xhosa, and Zulu people respectively.[17] The process of ghettoization for both groups began in the early twentieth century: in South Africa with the Natives' Land Act of 1913; and, in America with the Great Migration of blacks in the WWI Era. Ironically, notwithstanding that American blacks were searching for industrial jobs while South African blacks were being forced into industrial employment, both groups ended up segregated and separated.

The historic commonalities not only of subordination and segregation but also of separation of the two groups, then, provide an initial conceptual basis not only for a comparative study of the economic experiences of the two groups, but also for reinforcing the historic "exceptionalism" not only blacks in the United States but also those in South Africa. Contrary to assessments of modernist Paul Gilroy, "plantation slavery--'capitalism with its clothes off' was [*more than*] one special moment."[18] And, indeed, American slavery, provides the basis of an "African American exceptionalism," in as much as apartheid provides the basis for a "Black South African exceptionalism."

Moreover, in a comparative assessment of American and South African historiography, Colin Bundy offers a conceptual frame of analysis within the context of presentism that has important implications beyond that of just providing a basis of analysis for historians of the black experience in both countries. In this instance, the following formulation provides a basis that supports the "exceptionalism" of the black experience in both the United States and South Africa. Proceeding in his own analysis from a Marxist formulation he said that: "If 'the country which is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its future,' might South Africans historians discern and [an] image of their own past in the more developed U. S. historiography."[19]

Within this context, then, comparative historical assessments for the purpose of presentism, then, are even more important in light of the legal dismantling of apartheid in the New South Africa. In America, despite the Civil Rights Era promise of a new freedom for black Americans, deindustrialization and the emergence of a multiethnic society, along with the new technology and an increasingly global marketplace, has resulted in a duality of contradictions in the economic life of black Americans. Since the mid1960s, America has seen the expansion of both a black middle class as well as the black underclass.[20] Consequently, if the American model of the effects of the ending of "white supremacy" in politics and civil rights is replicated in South Africa, then the indicators suggest that the likelihood for South Africa to raise the living standards of the great majority of blacks will not be accomplished in one generation.

Within this context, then, there are parallels in what should be the paramount focus of black business in both the United States and South Africa for as NAFCOC's president W. McBainCharles said in 1987 in reference to the future of blacks in South Africa, which applies with equal force to African Americans: "The question of the next decade is how business will relate to freedom, and the role it will play towards eradicating poverty and unemployment, estimated in some circles to exceed six million."[21] Comparative historic assessments that detail similarities in the economic infrastructure of South Africa and the United States, then, are also important to underscore the extent to which both groups share a commonality in historic experiences as a subordinate people, holding minority economic status, emanating from a societal exclusion based on race.

Still, in establishing a conceptual frame for comparative studies of the history of South Africa and the United States, differences in the historic development of the two countries must be considered. Again Bundy offers a specificity of distinctions within a national context that accounts for differences in their development such as: "the obvious disparity in scale (of area, population, wealth and power; the duration of colonial rule (and hence the terms on which each society was inserted in the capitalist economy)." He also notes, "the dissimilar demographic balance between indigenes and immigrants." Most important, however, was his emphasis on the historic differences in the development of the political economies of the United States and South Africa found as he said, respectively in: "the divergence between the democratic promise of marketplace liberalism, on the one hand, and an exclusive and oligarchic illiberalism on the other."[22]

Yet, notwithstanding the distinctive historic forces that Bundy identifies as the "exclusive and oligarchic illiberalism," in South Africa's history and that of America's "democratic promise of marketplace liberalism," paradoxically, both societies nonetheless provided from the beginning privilege, power, and profits only to whites. Ultimately, then, in the establishment of "comparable categories," the critical basis for my construction of a comparative history of black business in the United States and South Africa proceeds within the context of the statement made by George Frederickson who emphasizes that for his comparative study of race relations in both nations: "The phrase 'white supremacy' applies with particular force to the historical experience of two nationsSouth Africa and the United States."[23]

PART TWO IN SEARCH OF A USABLE PAST

Particularly for the New South Africa, and especially in search of a usable past for blacks in that country and the United States, my concerns, previously indicated, are as much heuristic and contextual as they are revisionistic. Considering the analogous phenomena of race, class and state in the economic life of both groups, but proceeding methodologically within the context of cross cultural formulations encourages the dynamism of creative intellectual discourse, a requisite for the expanded substantive knowledge base inherent in comparative study. Within this construct, the commonality of structural forces that encourage/ discourage black entrepreneurship and business development in historically racially repressive societies are more readily apparent for comparative critical assessments.

As an initial basis for proceeding in my comparative study of black business in the United States and South Africa, I have established four chronologically thematic phases, "stages," that provide the focus of this analysis. This methodological frame, derived from a construct proposed by Immanuel Wallerstein in his analysis of world capitalist systems, provides a theoretical basis in three ways for comparative historical assessments for as he said:

1). "If we are to deal with social transformations over long historical time (Braudel's 'the long term'), and if we are to give an explanation of both continuity and transformation, then we must logically divide the long term into segments in order to observe the structural changes from time A to time B."

2). "These segments are however not discrete but continuous in reality; *ergo* they are 'stages' in the 'development' of a social structure, a development which we determine however not *a priori* but *a posteriori*. That is we cannot predict the future concretely, but we can predict the past."

3). "The crucial issue when comparing 'stages' is to determine the units which the stages are synchronic portraits (or 'ideal types,' if you will.)" And the fundamental error of ahistorical social science (including ahistorical ver sions of Marxism) is to reify parts of the totality into such units and then to compare these reified structures."[24]

In a broad historical frame, my assessments proceed from within the construct of an analysis of "history from the bottom up," whereby Eurocentriccharged subalterns are given historic consideration as opposed to assessments that proceed from abstract theoretical formulations of what should and could constitute the behavior of oppressed people. The phases, "stages," I propose, then, proceed from the historic reality of an Afrocentric perspective.[25] The first "stage," Phase One, provides a summary review of the commercial cultures of Africans both before and at the time of their initial contact with Europeans: for the African American, the commercial culture of the Gold Coast Asante during the transatlantic slave trade era is used as an example; and, for South Africa the commercial culture of Africans in the Cape and Natal from the late fifteenth to the midsixteenth century is presented. My purpose is to underscore the extent to which blacks in South Africa and America were capable of participating as free and independent producers and traders. Particularly, the African propensity for trade that existed in precolonial West Africa must be recognized as surviving the transatlantic passage to provide the foundation for the initial expression of black business activity in the American colonies.

The second "stage," Phase Two, focuses on black business activities in the period which I define as the Age of National Conquest. The assessments made in this phase are inclusive of the business activities of black Americans and South African Coloureds, slave and free, and African Blacks in both settled and frontier areas. Problematizing my analysis in the context of

the age of national conquest affords a broader basis for comparative study than prevailing interpretations, specifically in South African history, which limit assessments within a frontier context of analysis.

Inherent in the historic construct of the frontier are societal instability and a competitive struggle for survival. In Eurocentric interpretations of South African history, using the frontier as a basis of analysis provides an intellectual subterfuge to rationalize the limited economic achievements of whites who for more than two hundred years of settlement were unsuccessful in promoting any substantial economic advancement or industrial development. South Africa covers 435,868 square miles, five time the size of Great Britain, but equivalent only to one sixth the size of America or Louisiana, Texas and New Mexico combined. As Ralph Austen emphasizes, during this era of national conquest: "The first four centuries of European presence... to the discoveries of precious minerals in the late nineteenth century--may be seen, in economic terms as a single period."[26]

And, it is within this construct, the age of national conquest, that perspectives shift, particularly from insights gained from the black experience in American history which illuminate comparable economic responses by South Africa's Blacks and Coloureds. Specifically, in both South Africa and the United States, when the white population was sparse, Black and Coloured economic participation, as slaves, free, apprenticed or indentured servants existed, from a Eurocentric perspective for the purpose of advancing the economic status of whites. The underlying historic reality, however, is that slaves and free Blacks and Coloureds also benefitted themselves by manipulating demographic conditions to their pecuniary advantage, which was primarily through the business enterprises they established in providing goods and services to whites.

In Phase Three, parallel developments in black business promotion in South Africa and the United States are briefly reviewed, a response to twentieth century Black Laws and de facto racial practices which limited black business activities in both nations. Phase Four concludes with a brief review of the present state of black business in South Africa and the United States.

PHASE I THE AFRICAN COMMERCIAL BACKGROUND.

In both the United States and South Africa black business incapacity has been promulgated by whites to justify their exploitation and exclusion from full and profitable participation in the commercial life of their respective nations. In both societies, however, Africans and Europeans in their initial economic contact were equally competent in the culturally specific mutually rewarding trade relations that took place in contradistinction to Eurocentric contentions that attribute any significant black economic activity in Africa and the Americas only to contact with whites. This Afrocentric perspective, then, as J. M. Blaut emphasizes: "denies that Europeans had any advantage over Africans and Asians prior to 1492 as regards the evolutionary processes leading toward capitalism and modernity."[27]

During the transatlantic slave trading era, the West African ancestors of black Americans

came from highly developed commercial cultures distinguished by structured market economies in which they participated not only as producers, but also traders, merchants, brokers and entrepreneurs.[28] The Gold Coast, presentday Ghana, in West Africa was the third largest exporter of slaves to the United States and its commercial culture provides insight into the material life of Africans sold as slaves in the Atlantic markets. A proverb of the militarily powerful Asante who gained control of the Gold Coast in 1701 underscores the motive force of its commercial culture: *Sika sene, biribara nsen bio*: "There is nothing as important as wealth."[29]

The complexity of Gold Coast economic life is seen in the extensive urbanization of that society and the organization of craft, merchant, and military guilds. By the 1700s, almost twenty-five percent of the Gold Coast was urbanized with towns having an average population of 4,000 in both the inland and coastal districts.[30] Ray Key in his discussion of the occupational distribution that existed on the Gold Coast in the port town of Amanfro in the late seventeenth century said that blacksmiths and goldsmiths were the leading trades along with "hat and cap makers, mat makers, carpenters, bark clothmakers, and ivory carvers and wood carvers."[31] In the seventeenth century, these were all wageearning urban occupations paid in dambas in gold on the Gold Coast and Key emphasizes: "The development of urban wage labor was linked to the trading classes."[32]

Moreover, skilled craftsmen had assistants and apprentices and unskilled laborers increased their limited incomes by working several jobs: some worked in mines; others as porters in the trade caravans as well as slave overseers. Slaves also worked in the above occupations but were not paid: when hired out their wages were paid to the owners. Towns, villages and hamlets were tied together by markets and Key notes that many settlements were "specialized craft villages inhabited by potters, smiths, leather workers, workers in ivory and wood, canoe builders." Other places specialized in salt production and livestock raising, economic activities which he emphasizes cannot be considered agrarian; rather, he said: "All of them were characterized by production for the market, and their existence was necessarily predicated on wide-spread peasant market production."[33]

In South Africa the commercial culture that existed among the indigenous Khoikhoi in the area of the first permanent white settlement on the Cape was neither as complex nor as sophisticated as that found in many West and West Central African societies in the sixteenth century. The Khoikhoi's economy was pastoral and provided the basis for the extensive cattle trade that took place with the Europeans from the late fifteenth century on when that area at Table Bay on the Cape was initially established as a provisioning station.[34]

In Natal, the political economies of those African societies were much more complex with an occupational distribution of labor and a mixed economy that included both sedentary agriculture and pastoralism and a class structure based on a hierarchy of wealth, power, and clientism. As in West Africa, both small-scale stateless societies and large kingdoms existed. Detailing the initial commercial relations between Africans and the Dutch and British in Natal, Marks and Atmore emphasized that: "As the many accounts of early Natal make clear,... The

speed with which Africans were able to produce for the newly created market not only belies much colonial literature on the static quality of African economies, it also suggest that these societies were already structured to produce an extractable surplus."[35]

PHASE II BLACK BUSINESS ACTIVITIES IN THE AGE OF NATIONAL CONQUEST

An overlapping of temporal, thematic, geographic, political and economic forces provides the basis for my analysis of black business activity in the United States and South Africa during the period of national conquest, when Blacks and Coloureds in both nations developed two avenues to business participation: 1). in the settled areas they provided goods and services to a white minority population which increasingly came to view certain occupations as deemed suitable only to Blacks and Coloureds; 2). in the rural areas and beyond the frontiers, they capitalized on white demands for both consumption of and shipment of agricultural commodities and other goods by becoming commercial farmers and establishing freight transport enterprises.

During the period of national conquest a sequential frontier development process took place in both countries from the time of initial settlement until the 1880s when the frontier came to a close with the final conquest of indigenous populations. National independence, however, was achieved in America with the Revolutionary War, a century before the final conquest. In South Africa it was achieved after the final conquest of the indigenous population. In 1910, after the Boer/Afrikaan controlled Transvaal and Orange Free State lost two wars, 1880 and 18991902, for national liberation to the British controlled Cape Province and Natal, the four provinces were united to become the Union of South Africa. In 1961, it became the Republic of South Africa, a multicultural society inclusive of Blacks, Whites, Coloureds and Asians, primarily of Pakistani, Indian and Malay descent, comprising respectively seventy-five, fifteen, nine and three percent of the population.[36]

The English conquest of the United States began with the first permanent English colony in Jamestown in 1607: in South Africa, the first permanent European settlement was made by the Dutch in 1652 in the Cape colony. In America this phase encompasses more than two centuries of slavery which ended with the 1865 Thirteenth Amendment, followed by a brief period of political freedom with the 1870 Fifteenth Amendment. A comparable development took place in South Africa. Slavery was established in 1658 and ended in 1838 after a four year apprenticeship period before full freedom was granted. For several decades beginning in the mid-1850s there was also an extension of freedom in the Cape with the granting of a nonracial franchise which included propertied and educated Africans and Coloureds.

In South Africa the first slaves on the Cape were from West Africa and were owned by the Dutch East Indies Company. As the institution developed more than half the slaves were from the Indian subcontinent. The subsequent mixture of Europeans, Africans and Asians came to comprise a distinct ethnic group, which emerged to form the population of Coloured slaves.[37] By 1700 there were 891 slaves in South Africa, 5,327 in 1750, and, 39,021 in 1834 when slavery ended.[38] The South African slavery experience, however, has only recently generated historic interest.[39] With less than 40,000 slaves in South Africa compared to the 4,000,000

million slaves in the United States by 1860, doubtless the institution seemed somewhat historically insignificant, especially as previously noted since: "those enslaved were not Bantuspeaking Africans whose descendants form the main object of South Africa's race oppression today."[40].

My assessments for South Africa are limited to the Cape and Natal in which the forces of National Conquest are particularly evident and also where Coloured and Black business activities were most extensive. In the United States during the age of national conquest black economic activity also took place on successive frontiers: the Colonial Atlantic Coast frontier, the antebellum Transappalachian, Old Northwest and Far West frontiers, and the post-Civil War Great Plains frontier. Comprising a substantial segment of the laboring population in the South during the age of slavery, however, the economic activities of African Americans, slaves and free, as businesspeople and entrepreneurs, appear much more extensive. Just before the Civil War in 1860, in addition to 4,000,000 slaves, there were some 500,000 free blacks, over half in the slave states, with its 8,000,000 white population.[41] The 1807 Cape census listed free blacks separately for the first time and showed 1,204 free blacks, 25,614 whites and 29,303 slaves.[42] For comparative purposes the free/slave white/black population distribution at the Cape shows parallels with that of Colonial South Carolina. In 1708, forty years after the first settlement, slaves were also in the majority: 4,100 black slaves and 1,400 Indian slaves compared to a white population of 4,080.[43]

Still, in the period of National Conquest, few difference existed in the enterprises developed by Coloured South Africans and African Americans during the period of slavery, not surprisingly since both nations had preindustrial economies within the broader frame of agricultural capitalism. In America the participation of free blacks in the mainstream economy was such an integral part of the pre-Civil War business community that the credit references of some African American businessmen were included in the R. G. Dun & Company mercantile credit reports. Also, some twenty blacks accumulated from $100,000 to almost $1,500,000 in wealth from their business activities. See Table 1. Subsequent research during the age of National Conquest would probably document somewhat comparable success for Africans and Coloureds within the scale of South Africa's economic development.

In both societies Africans/Coloureds were introduced in the labor force as agricultural, industrial and urban slaves; and, in both blacks, slave and free, developed business activities in those three sectors during the age of National Conquest. Slave business activities began with marketing and trading of agricultural commodities produced from plots of land allocated to them by their owners, which in the United States was referenced as provision grounds, which also included access to livestock.[44] Skilled slaves in settled areas and towns, however, had greater opportunities to develop business enterprises and in the preindustrial economies of the United States and South Africa, there was also remarkable similarity in the crafts and trades practiced by slaves in both countries. In South Africa, these included: "builders, masons, painters, carpenters, blacksmiths, tanners, saddlemakers, cobblers, tailors, boatbuilders and wagonmakers." Those same economic activities were carried out by slaves in America, who also worked in the building trades, food services, and transportation occupations.[45]

In both countries, the practice of slaves hiring out their own time existed. While this practice provided greater capitalization of the value of the slave's labor for his owner, it also enabled slaves to establish independent enterprises. In Cape Province according to O.F. Mentzel in 1735, "Some masters permit their slaves to earn their own livelihood on the payment of 6 stuivers per day... such slave can save up money for their own use according to their earnings."[46] In South Africa, most slaves who hired their own time were men. Also, available evidence suggests that more opportunities existed for African American women slaves to hire their own time than their counterparts in South Africa.[47] Interestingly, the proportion of slaves who hired their own time in South Africa, some 2,000/30,000 in 1824, almost seven per cent of the slave population, parallels somewhat the proportion of slaves who hired their own time in the United States.[48]

In the United States this practice was illegal but few people forced judicial sanction, because of the profitability to the owners and consumers. Still, cases were brought to court. In the 1837 Maryland Bland v Negro Beverly Dowling case, the record showed: "until he was arrested in October, 1835, as a slave, he went at large and acted as a free man, by keeping an oyster house, and boot black shop." In the Tennessee 1845 Jenkins v Brown case: "[the slaves] John and Tom 'were barbers in the town of Columbia acting for themselves with the permission of their masters. They earned a large sum of money....$2,424." In a Louisiana case brought to trail during the Civil War, Broadhead v. Jone 258 in 1863, records show the slave Harrington not only had a shoe shop but "had hands employed under him in making shoes, [he also had a] shop.. where he sold candy, chesse, tobacco, etc." Moreover, Harrington, although a slave "also purchased...two negro boys." As the court showed that: "Dick, during all the aforesaid period, was generally...recognized [in the community] as a free man." [49]

When possible, slave entrepreneurs purchased their freedom and most continued business operations in enterprises established when they were slaves. Kentucky's Free Frank set up a saltpeter manufactory during the War of 1812, which he expanded after purchasing his freedom in 1819. The Pennsylvania coal and lumber merchant Stephen Smith, whose wealtholding by 1865 was $500,000 (See Table 1) managed his owner's lumber yard before he bought his freedom.[50] Generally, there were few distinctions in the urban economic activities of free blacks and slaves in the two countries. Both were hawkers and vendors which in America often led to establishing catering businesses, food shops, and restaurants. Mueller notes that South Africa's free black businessmen during the period of slavery not only engaged in "smallscale retail trade," but that cooperation as well as competition existed between slaves and free blacks and slaves.[51]

Khoikhoi entrepreneurship was demonstrated in three areas, big game hunting, livestock trading, and "transport riding," driving freight wagons carrying trade goods to military posts and between rural and settled areas. In South Africa, the indigenous Khoikhoi, as were those Ameridians not exterminated, were generally not enslaved, especially during the first century of settlement when cattle and fur respectively were trade commodities in high demand by whites. European encroachment on Khoikhoi land, the plunder of their cattle and a smallpox epidemic in 1713 decimated half of the 100,000 Khoikhoi population who were reduced to economic

dependence on whites.[52]

Obviously, this was not the case with all of the Khoikhoi; although as Mueller notes, after the 1830s in some areas, Blacks and Coloureds pushed them out of the freight hauling business. The most successful owned several wagons and spans of oxen, earning from L20 to L25 per trip. In the Cape Ciskei district of Herschel, a missionary reserve, said to be "an almost purely African district," the wagons owned were worth L100 pounds and the oxen some L70.[53] Black participation in the transport business increased as they responded to the crossborder trade, which also led to the development of a peripheral industry in wagonmaking by blacks as Hobart Houghton notes: "a few small local industries existed in the nineteenth century, such as brick and wagon making."[54]

In Natal the extensive market and trading operations of blacks in agricultural produce (maize, vegetables and fruit), milk, fish, meat and wood were reported by white settlers who said: "Everywhere there were 'scores of Caffires going in and out with things for sale'."[55] Another report in 1853 by the Natal Native Affairs Commission stated: "The Kafirs are now becoming much more insubordinate and impatient of control; they are rapidly becoming rich and independent."[56] Until the 1870s, as John Lambert emphasized, through their marketing activities Natal Blacks: "Dominated sales of produce to the colony's markets."[57] Moreover, from the late 1880s to 1910, blacks in both countries escalated their acquisition of property. In Natal it was reported that by 1905, "Africans possessed approximately 313 973 acres of Crown land farms."[58] The total value of blackowned property in America was estimated at $600,000,000 in 1910, which included 207,815 farms owned by blacks in the fifteen former slave states and the District of Columbia.[59]

Consequently, before the final conquest when Africans were dispossessed of their land by whites and before the mining revolution which precipitated a program of forced black labor, economic space existed for the development of black business in preindustrial South Africa.[60] Using the context of the frontier as a smokescreen, i.e., proceeding from a Eurocentric perspective, the historic formulation constructed was: if whites were incapable of promoting industrial development of South Africa during this period, even less in the way of profitable economic activities could be expected from blacks.

With the Zulu defeat by the British in 1879 and the conquest of the American Great Plains, the closing decades in the Age of National Expansion were marked by repressive legislation. Increasingly blacks in both nations would be dispossessed of their rights and in South Africa Blacks would be dispossessed of their country. In the United States, the economic effects on American blacks resulting from racial polices of segregation and discrimination, which found constitutional sanction in the infamous 1896 Plessy v Ferguson separate but unequal standard, can be compared to the South Africa's Industrial ColourBar: "the array of legal, institutional, social, political and economic practices that retard or block the occupational advancement of Blacks in the South African economy."[61]

As subordinate people in their respective societies, paradoxically, twentieth century

migration, urbanization, and industrialization marked the loss of land by both groups; although, unlike in South Africa, African Americans never lost the right of access to land and property ownership. Nonetheless, restrictive covenants, until 1946, zoning, redlining, discriminatory racial practices of white financial institutions and real estate agencies limited blacks in their choice and location of property.[62] These de facto discriminatory policies had the force of law and resulted not only in the residential containment of African Americans in the urban black ghettoes but also restricted location of their businesses to the ghettoes.

In South Africa the move by whites to establish black homelands, Bantustans escalated in 1905 with the "influx control laws." Subsequent efforts by the South African Native Affairs Commission to secure geographical separation were finally achieved with the 1913 Land Act that also abolished the system of "farming on the half," a sharecropping arrangement. As a result, African National Congress secretary Sol Plaatje said: "'Awakening on Friday morning, June 20th, 1913, the South African Native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth.'"[63] Without access to land coterminous with the expansion of industrial production blacks, now dispossessed of their land and with no alternative means to survive, were forced to sell their labor power. They became the direct producers in the South African economy, but the results were devastating as L. Gann and Peter Duigan note: "Africans were reduced to the status of eternal minors, noneconomic men, supposedly incapable of understanding their own best economic interest, dependants to whom cash wages were only a kind of pocket money writ large."[64]

The 1913 Land Act, moreover, also limited prospects for the development of any future profitable business activity by blacks. More specifically, by prohibiting blacks from buying or leasing land, as Michael Smuts emphasizes: "by the stroke of a pen, potential black capitalists were denied the opportunity of access to capital markets because of their inability to provide sound security to prospective lenders."[65] Both directly and indirectly, then, the force of repressive laws impacted on the development of black entrepreneurship in the United States and South Africa. Jim Crow legislation and de facto racial discrimination practices in America would be as effective as South Africa's repressive black laws in limiting opportunities for business development, particularly in access to venture and operating capital. In both nations low wages and legal constraints prevented capital accumulation for any profitable entry by blacks in the business world of their respective countries. Violence continued, too, as whites sought to keep blacks in their place. In 1903 both black and white newspapers in Natal published an article on the lynching of an Illinois black man. The article in the black paper was headed: "Lynch Law in America," and said: "A mob at Danville, Illinois attacked the goal, where a negro, who had shot a white man was imprisoned." A description followed of how the man was taken from jail, shot, trampled, mutilated and finally burned.[66]

PHASE THREE PROMOTING BLACK BUSINESS IN AMERICA AND SOUTH AFRICA

White supremacy and white power were the historic forces to which blacks responded in this phase in the comparative history of black business in the United States and South Africa. In both countries black organizations were founded to protest white racism and improve the lives

of black people: in America, the NAACP was founded in 1909; in South Africa, the African National Congress was founded in 1912. In the area of business promotion and development, Booker T. Washington's National Negro Business League, founded 1900 and Marcus Garvey's promotion of black capitalism with his Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) founded in 1915 were in the forefront and attracted inordinate interest among Black South Africans.[67]

In a 1903 letter to the editor published in ILANGA LASE NATAL, the writer discussed the National Negro Business league, explaining that it was: "an association composed of negro men and women who are engaged in nearly every line of business in which white men engage, blacksmiths, hotelkeepers, chemists, bankers etc." The letter ended with the comment that if Booker T. Washington were to address blacks in Natal, he would say: "It is much wiser for us to emphasize opportunities than grievances."[68] Even after his death in 1915, Washington's philosophy continued to have an impact, as seen in a 1920 editorial in UMTETELI wa BANTU, which called for "Trade School for Natives." Unlike Washington, the article said that the natives did not want philanthropy but rather: "They are anxious to relieve the white man of his burden." In a spirit much like Washington's but doubtless in the anticipation of a different outcome, the article said South African blacks would "welcome a policy of segregation which will permit of our national development."[69]

The promotion of black business activity by Marcus Garvey also generated tremendous interest among South African blacks. The March 12, 1921 issue of UMTETELI wa BANTU published in Johannesburg included an editorial singing his praises. A full review of a UNIA meeting was provided including a summary of Garvey's economic program and it was reported that: "He aims at the establishment of commercial enterprises to be controlled and worked exclusively by Negroes." Garvey's Black Star Steamship Line was mentioned and the paper said it would "rival in tonnage and importance the fleet of vessels which connects this country with England."

Garvey's recognition of Africa's wealth in natural resources as well as Harlem's black business community evoked an interesting comment in that it was reported that the Black Star Line would be used: "to bring raw material to America to be manufactured by the various branches of the Negro Factories Corporation. [and that] Harlem, the Negro Colony in America, already has its banking institution and its stock exchange." In contrasting business opportunities for American blacks, the article said that South African blacks have not been permitted to "acquire funds to finance and embark upon any commercial enterprises such as Garvey has successfully engineered in America."[70] Even after Garvey's imprisonment in America and deportation the ideas of his Universal Negro Improvement were promoted in South Africa. In a 1930 advertisement entitled, "Marcus Garvey urges Negroes to Build for Racial Uplift," black economic progress was encouraged with the following advice offered: "Build Structure. We want to rear a structure to insure us prominence in the world in the affairs of Finance, Industry, Commerce, Science Art and Nation Building [by] raising Six Hundred Million dollars to capitalize our work."[71]

Yet, in the promotion of black business both American and South Africa blacks were faced with intraracial prejudices, especially professional blacks who found it difficult to generate community support. In Ilanga lase Natal it was reported that West Indian Sylvester Williams, a future Pan Africanist leader, was admitted as a barrister to practice at the bar in South Africa but blasted his choice of Cape Town explaining: "There are not sufficiently enough native population in Cape Town who are likely to support him. If his skin is black he will experience prejudice amongst the Malays and Coloured Dutch speaking people."[72] Williams was advised to establish his law practice in Port Elizabeth, East London, or Durban where there were more black people. On suggesting how Williams could succeed the article said: "The wisest course for him would have been first to associate himself with a white lawyer and learn Native laws as practiced in South Africa."

In the promotion of black business in South Africa cooperative efforts were encouraged as a means not only to develop black businesses but also as a means to combat white, Indian, and Coloured competition. The AFRICAN DEFENDER, published in Cape Town, styled itself as "A Paper for Bantu Education and Development," ran an article in the June 1937 issue entitled: "Lesson 18: Starting A Business."[73] It could have been published in the CHICAGO DEFENDER, the first black national newspaper in the United States of which it was said in 1920 that: "With the exception of the Bible, no publication was more influential among the Negro Masses." The CHICAGO DEFENDER also promoted black business and the business program advocated by the AFRICAN DEFENDER would be as applicable for blacks in America as it was for blacks in South Africa.

Prefacing the guidelines for "Lesson 18," was a denunciation of the laws which made it difficult for blacks to pursue business with the declaration that: "it is necessary for us to have our own businesss. Black men have as much right as other men to do business and make money, and the laws of this country, which make an attempt to put a stop to us when we do business, are very wrong." On listing the advantages of a cooperative program in black business formation the emphasis was that: "it is not our desire to have a few black 'big bags' among the white ones. What we are out for is to see that all black persons get more money and have a better chance of living well."[74] Also, it carefully explained that with the establishment of a black store, "the profits of the business will go to the Bantu in the location and not to the storekeepers outside."[75]

The objection South African blacks had in response to the location of white and Indian stores in their homelands finds parallels among African Americans who denounce the location of nonblack owned businesses in black communities. Also, as in America, South African blacks indicted the system which afforded whites, Coloureds and Indians access to greater operational capital, which enabled them to offer a larger variety of goods at lower prices in addition to "pasellas," a bonus, to their customers. According to the guidelines, a cooperative enterprise was necessary for the success of a "Bantu Cooperative Store." Step One. Members must pool their funds since: "Hardly any one black person has enough money to get a business going. If he does make a start it is generally with a very small business and it generally comes to a stop very quickly."

Step Two. Expert business management must be acquired to develop business strategies to counter competition anticipated from whites and Indians: "Naturally the 'bigbags' of the private stores will make an attempt to make the cooperative store come to a smash. They will give goods for very low prices, even if they make a loss for the time being, so as to get the Bantu to come to them." Step Three. With community support a cooperative enterprise department store could be established on main street with: "great glass windows and doors and lifts going up and down." Employees from managers to salespeople would all be black and all varieties of merchandise would be sold from clothes, linens, furniture, hardware, books, and appliances.

The African Defender also provided guidelines for blacks who wanted to establish sole proprietorships in white urban areas explaining: "It is still possible for a black man to be living in a town even though he is not working for a white 'baas,' but it is becoming harder and harder to do this." The law required the following criteria be met before a black could establish a business in a white town: 1) documentation to show that "he has enough money or instruments and a house or shop for his business"; 2) if approved, a license is granted from the municipality where he wants to establish a business; 3) with a license, "a Day Worker Pass" is granted and then the black "may make a start with his business."[76]

The same issue of the African Defender which criticized the location of Indian and Coloured businesses in black homelands also defended their rights to be businessmen in an article denouncing the recently passed Native Law Amendment and Marketing Acts. The Colour Bar Act (1926) was denounced for preventing Blacks from becoming "expert workers" with emphasis that: "The rights of the Coloured and the Indians in addition are being smashed by new colour bar laws [and an] attempt is being made to put a stop to them becoming business men or private traders." The article asked, will the eight million black and coloured persons "put up with this?"[77]

CONCLUSION BLACK BUSINESS TODAY AND ITS FUTURE

Until the 1970s, by law, blacks in South Africa could have only one business, only businesses that sold necessities were legal for blacks, and blacks could not form business partnerships. Blacks were also limited to certain occupations which precluded business participation in those areas.[78] The effect was catastrophic! By 1952, as a result of legislation dating back to the 1920s: "only ten percent of total reserve trade was controlled by African dealers."[79] In America, however, blacks had the right to have any number of businesses, presumably in any area of their choosing, to sell anything they wanted, as well as to form partnerships with whom they pleased. Yet, ironically, blacks earned in gross business receipts only slightly more than their African counterparts, despite operating in an economy that offered an unfettered freedom of the market place. See Table 2.

In America, most black businesses were established in urban black ghettoes. These businesses differed very little from South Africa's black businesses in the goods and services provided, particularly the ubiquitous barber and beauty shops, restaurants and pool/beer halls. Invariably, in both black business communities, the most profitable businesses were owned by

whites or other preferred groups: the furniture and appliance stores, clothing and shoe stores, dry cleaners and laundries, supermarkets and liquor stores. even theaters and clubs. See Table 3, which provides a listing of black businesses in Soweto in 1984. With few exceptions, the listing parallels those businesses found in black urban ghettoes before and after the Civil Rights Era.

Despite limited earnings and systemic de jure as well as de facto racialized business policies structured to discourage profitable business activity, blacks in South Africa and the United States continued through the twentieth century to demonstrate entrepreneurial persistence. Business activities were pursued assiduously both fulltime and parttime, legally and illegally. Foremost, blacks in both nations capitalized on separate development by carving out distinct business niches which proved to be not only profitable, but also provided employment for substantial numbers of blacks. In South Africa, especially, and to a lesser extent in America, transportation segregation and discrimination resulted in the development of the black taxi business. Yet the black South African taxi business is considered part of the informal economy despite: 1) the substantial employment provided blacks; 2) the impact made on the formal public transportation sector; 3) the stimulus given the South African manufacturing sector; 4) the profits earned by Toyota with eighty percent of its production slated for the black taxi market.[80]

In the United States, meeting the needs of black consumers resulted not only in the development of separate black financial institutions, insurance companies and banks, but also in the highly profitable health and beauty aids black hair care businesses which before 1920 produced one of the first black millionaires, Madame C. J. Walker. When South Africa's first black millionaire emerged in 1970 in Soweto, there were at least twelve known African American millionaires.[81] Black banks were founded in America in the late 1880s: in South Africa the first black bank (seventy-six percent black owned), Africa Bank, was founded in 1975 with Sam Motsuenyane as Chairman with a capital of R1 million.[82]

By the early 1980s there 9,000 in 1982 registered Black businesses in South Africa, of which about one quarter were in Soweto; in the United States, in 1982, there were 339,239 black businesses.[83] Yet, the manufacturing sector of black business activity in both nations was virtually negligible. Consider, especially, the question posed by Mr. Khoza which is as applicable to the state of Black American business today as it is to South Africa when he said: "What is the state of black business today? With due respect, I think it is more pertinent to inquire: 'What black business?' There is no such animal as black business. We have no credible representation in any of the major economic sectors such as mining, agriculture, manufacturing, financial institutions or even retailing which we could, in some measure, claim to be our forte."[84]

As of May 1994, with the emergence of the New South Africa, it appears that the two histories of blacks in America and South Africa will diverge. With blacks representing a numerical majority, they now control the government in ways that do not exist for African Americans. Still, economic power in South Africa, as in America, resides in the hands of whites. Will post-apartheid South Africa be able to provide for its black population as South

Africa did for its white population? Lawrence Schlemmer thinks not, at least in the immediate future explaining: "Given that apartheid's greatest effect lay in subtly eroding (or preventing the emergence of) self-reliance and strategic capital accumulation among blacks, its effects will not end with the lifting of restrictions and the formal establishments of new avenues of advancement."[85]

Even before the end of apartheid as NAFOC's Khoza said in an assessments of the marketing strategies being developed by white corporate South Africa to capitalize on the black consumer market: "Africa speaks of a booming black market or at least an emerging black market. Is it not curious that it is white companies that are gearing themselves to exploit the expected boom in retailing, in housing construction in financial services, in advertising, in manufacturing?"[86] This phenomenon began in America in the post-Civil Rights Era, escalating in the 1980s, whereby today, virtually every product advertised pitches itself to the black consumer market. Even the one area in which blacks held a virtual monopoly, the beauty aids industry now faces formidable competition from the white giants in this field. And, the preCivil Rights Era black business class has been superseded in urban black ghettoes by ethnic minorities.

On review, I proceed from a general thesis that there are parallels, both historic and contemporary, in black business development and activity in the United States and South Africa. Ultimately, along with race, the primary basis of comparison is the fact that both nations are capitalist societies and black entrepreneurship and business development, even cooperative enterprises, operate within the framework of a free enterprise profit-driven economic system, including those activities which have been subsumed and analyzed within the theoretical construct of an informal domestic economy. Yet, given the historical devastating consequences of white supremacy capitalism in the economic destruction of black people, philosophical and ethical issues have been raised as to whether capitalism should be the basis for the future economic uplift of blacks.

This was a critical issue of concern by NAFCOC's Khoza who said: "As business people we cannot escape that we are a creations of this ruling class that has long sought to subvert the struggle for liberation by blacks."[87] Within the comparative history of black business in the United States and South Africa, there is another issue that has yet to be considered in the history of capitalism. Just as the first African church leaders in America in the nineteenth century restructured Christianity (Ethiopianism in Africa) and forged a black political liberation theology, twentieth century blacks in both the United States and South Africa have restructured Christianity to forge a black economic liberation doctrine based on capitalism.[88]

Within the context of the comparative history of black business in the two nations, this study has historiographical significance. As Arthur H. Cole emphasizes in his discussion of the development of business activities within the context of societal constraints: "entrepreneurial endeavors will rise through crevices in societies made rigid by tradition or force."[89] While previous comparative studies have detailed the extent to which white racism has operated to deprive blacks in both nations of full political empowerment, they have not been inclusive in analysis of the broad range of economic activities of blacks in both societies within the context

of racial subordination and oppression. Assessing the full diversity of the economic experiences of blacks in South Africa and the United States in a comparative context, however, provides a basis to demonstrate the agency of blacks in forging their own economic liberation, ultimately the final step to an unfettered freedom.

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Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore, "Introduction," in ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN PREINDUSTRIAL SOUTH AFRICA, eds., (London: Longman, 1980), 7, referring to the seminal paper in the reconstruction of South African history presented by Martin Legassick who, "pointed the way to a new problematic, which demanded an exploration of the past--as of the present--as a totality." His paper stimulated reassessments of South Africa's history see his, "The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography," in ECONOMY AND SOCIETY, 40-79.
2. The term "Black" as used in this paper refers to the unmixed descendants of the precontact historic South African indigenous population and "Coloured" refers to any South African who in the United States would be considered an African American. Historically, African Americans share a dichotomous past with both South African Coloureds and Blacks. Coloureds and African Americans share a common history of slavery, but after slavery Coloureds increasingly occupied an intermediary legal and societal caste-like status (until the 1950s), unlike Black Americans who, like their South African counterparts, have occupied the bottom socioeconomic position in their nation. Infra, nn. 16 and 37.
3. Comparative studies on race in South Africa and the United States include, William Julius Wilson, POWER, RACISM, AND PRIVILEGE: RACE RELATION IN THEORETICAL AND SOCIOHISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES (New York, 1973); Stanley B. Greenberg, RACE AND STATE IN CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT: COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980): George M. Frederickson, WHITE SUPREMACY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN AMERICAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981). John W. Cell, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF WHITE SUPREMACY (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Also, L. Thompson and H. Lamar, eds., THE FRONTIER IN HISTORY: NORTH AMERICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA COMPARED (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); Leonard M. Thompson, "The South African Dilemma," in Louis Hartz, THE FOUNDING OF NEW SOCIETIES (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964), 178-218; Maurice S. Evans, BLACK AND WHITE IN THE SOUTHERN STATES: A STUDY OF THE RACE PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES FROM A SOUTH AFRICAN POINT OF VIEW (London: Longman, Green, 1915). Kenneth P. Vickery, "Herrenvolk Democracy and the Egalitarianism in South Africa and the U.S. South," in COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN HISTORY AND SOCIETY 16 (1974): 309-328; Colin Bundy, "An Image of Its Own Past? Towards a Comparison of American and South African Historiography," RADICAL HISTORY REVIEW 46-48 (Winter-Fall 1990): 117-143; George Frederickson, "After Emancipation: A Comparative Study of White Responses to the New Order of Race Relations in the American South, Jamaica, & the Cape Colony of South Africa," in David G. Sansing, ed., WHAT

WAS FREEDOM'S PRICE (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 1978): 71-92.

4. See, Charles Wesley, NEGRO LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1925: A STUDY IN AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY (New York: Vanguard Press, 1927; rept., New York: Russell and Russell, 1967) and Philip S. Foner, ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE BLACK WORKER (New York: 1974). For South Africa see, J. Lewis, INDUSTRIALIZATION AND TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1924-1955 (Cambridge 1984).
5. "Reuel Khoza, "Black Business at the Crossroads: Challenges for the Nineties," in N.A.F.C.O.C. CONFERENCE, REPORT: THE 23rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL AFRICAN FEDERATED CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY (Jonannesburg: African Business Publications, 1987), 15.
6. See, Edna Bonacich, "A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labor Market," AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW 37(1972): 547-59;
7. Andre Muller, "Black and Coloured Entrepreneurship in Historic Perspective," SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC HISTORY 5, 2(September 1990): 1.
8. As an introduction to American business history see, C. Joseph Pusateri, A HISTORY OF AMERICAN BUSINESS (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson , Inc., 1984) and James Oliver Robertson, AMERICA'S BUSINESS (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985).
9. G. M. (Trudi) Hartzenburg & A. Leiman, "The Informal Economy and its Growth Potential," in ECONOMIC GROWTH IN SOUTH AFRICA: SELECTED POLICY ISSUES, ed. Iraj Abedian and Barry Standish (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, Southern Africa, 1992). 187. Also, Nicoli Nattrass and Elizabeth Ardington, THE POLITCAL ECONOMY OF SOUTH AFRICA (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1990). For expanded definitions in the diverse literature on the informal economic sector within the context of a world systems analysis. See, Alejandro Portes, Manuel Castells, Laure A. Benton, eds., THE INFORMAL ECONOMY: STUDIES IN ADVANCED AND LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989). U
10. Henry Slater, "The Changing Pattern of Economic Relationships in Rural Natal, 1838-1914," in ECONOMY AND SOCIETY, 148. See Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, eds., "The Slaves' Economy: Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas," in Special Issue of SLAVERY AND ABOLITION 12, 1(May 1991).
11. See, Eleanor Preston-Whyte and Christian Rogerson, eds., SOUTH AFRICA'S INFORMAL ECONOMY (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1-7, for review of definitions and research on that nation's informal economy.
12. Presently, there are no comprehensive histories of black business either for South Africa or the United States. See forthcoming, Juliet E.K. Walker, THE HISTORY OF BLACK BUSINESS IN AMERICA: CAPITALISM, RACE, AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP (New York: Twayne Publishers, forthcoming, 1955). Also see for a sociological assessment, John Sibley Butler, ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND SELF-HELP AMONG BLACK AMERICANS: A RECONSIDERATION OF RACE AND ECONOMICS (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991). Earlier

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13. See Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, eds., "The Slaves' Economy: Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas," in SLAVERY AND ABOLITION 12, 1(May 1991).

14. George M. Frederickson, "Comparative History," in Michael Kammen, ed., THE PAST BEFORE US: CONTEMPORARY HISTORICAL WRITING IN THE UNITED STATES (Ithaca: Cor-nell University Press, 1980): 461; Also see on methodology and theoretical con-structs in comparative history, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., "Comparative Business History," in D. C. Coleman and Peter Mathias, ENTERPRISE AND HISTORY (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 3-26; Fritz Redlich, "Toward A Comparative Historiography: Background and Problems," KYLOS 11(1958): 362-389; Carl Degler, "Comparative History: An Essay Review," JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY 34(1968) : 425-430; William H. Sewell, "Marc Bloch and the Logic of Comparative History," HISTORY AND THEORY 6(1967): 208-218.

15. R. L. Watson, THE SLAVE QUESTION: LIBERTY AND PROPERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA (Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1990), 215. Also, Juliet E.K. Walker, "Whither Liberty, Legality, or Equality: Slavery, Race, Property and the 1787 American Constituion," NEW YORK LAW SCHOOL JOURNAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS 6, 2(Spring 1989): 299-352 for comparative perspective.

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17. Jefferson Butler, Robert I. Rotberg and John Adams, THE BLACK HOMELANDS OF SOUTH AFRICA: THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF BOPHUTHATSWANA AND KWAZULU (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), ix and 2. Also, Gwendolyn Carter, Thomas Karis, and Newell M. Stultz, SOUTH AFRICA'S TRANSKEI: THE POLITICS OF DOMESTIC COLONIALISM (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1967).
18. Stuart Gilroy, THE BLACK ATLANTIC: MODERNITY AND DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 4 and 15. As with most cultural studies, the economic devastations of blacks by whites are generally ignored.
19. Karl Marx, "Preface to First Edition," CAPITAL, Vol 1 (Harmondsworth, 1973), 92 in Bundy, "An Image of Its Own Past?," 119. See, Jefferson Herbst, "The Transition to a Post-Apartheid Economy: Lessons from an Independent Africa," in Robert Schrire, ed., WEALTH OR POVERTY: CRITICAL CHOICES FOR SOUTH AFRICA (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1992), 77-78, notes that future models suggested for post-apartheid's economic development have been that of South Korea, Taiwan and Japan, the United States and Great Britain.
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26. Ralph Austen, AFRICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY: INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT AND EXTERNAL DEPENDENCY (London: James Curry LTD, 1987), 157.
27. J. M. Blaut et. al., 1492: THE DEBATE ON COLONIALISM, EUROCENTRISM, AND HISTORY (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc., 1992), 2.
28. See, A.G. Hopkins, AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF WEST AFRICA (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973); Claude Meillassoux, ed. THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS TRADE AND MARKETS IN WEST AFRICA (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).
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THE GOLD COAST: 1600-1720 (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 66-68.

30. Ray A. Key, SETTLEMENTS, TRADE. AND POLITIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY GOLOD COAST (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 32-38; and, ibid, 11, where he notes: "certain districts were more urbanized and populous in the seventeenth century than they were in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries."
31. Key, SETTLEMENTS, 41.
32. Ibid., 254, 309-311.
33. Ibid., 48.
34. Frederickson, WHITE SUPREMACY, 28-33.
35. Marks and Atmore, "Introduction," 17-18.
36. Gann and Duignan, WHY SOUTH AFRICA WILL SURVIVE, 1.
37. See Robert Shell, "Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, 1680-1731," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss, Yale University 1986); CHILDREN OF BONDAGE: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE SLAVE SOCIETY AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 1652-1834 (Middletown: forthcoming); Also, 248. Also see, Susan Newton-King, "The Labor Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-1828," in ECONOMY AND SOCIETY, 200-201, n. 4 for discussion of the racial admixture of slaves and the societal and legal nomenclature used in reference to slaves.
38. Clifton C. Crais, "Slavery and Freedom Along a Frontier The Eastern Cape, South Africa: 1770-1833," SLAVERY AND ABOLITION 11,2 (September 1990): 191-192 and 211, n.12, indicates population figures from, Robert Shell, "Computerized Census Lists of Cape Slave Population."
39. See Greg Cuthbertson, "Cape Slave Historiography and the Question of Intellectual Dependence," SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORICAL JOURNAL 27(1992): 26-49.
40. Watson, THE SLAVE QUESTION, 215.
41. See, Kenneth Stampp, THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION: SLAVERY IN THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH (New York: Vintage Books, 1956); John Blassingame, THE SLAVE COMMUNITY: PLANTATION LIFE IN THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH ((Rev. ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Eugene Genovese, ROLL JORDAN ROLL: THE WORLD THE SLAVES MADE (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, TIME ON THE CROSS: THE ECONOMICS OF AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVERY (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974); Peter Kolchin, AMERICAN SLAVERY 1619-1877 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993); and, Robert William Fogel, WITHOUT CONSENT OR CONTRACT: THE RISE AND FALL OF AMERICAN SLAVERY (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989),
42. Richard Elphick and Robert Shell, "Intergroup Relations: Khoikhoi, Settlers, Slaves, and Free Blacks, 1652 to 1795," in Elphick and Giliomee, SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY, 136.
43. See Peter H. Wood, BLACK MAJORITY: NEGROES IN COLONIAL SOUTH CAROLINA FROM 1670 THROUGH THE STONO REBELLION (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), 144.
44. See, Berlin and Morgan, "The Slaves' Economy."

45. Muller, "Black and Coloured Entrepreneurship," 3, and, ____, "The Economics of Slave Labour at the Cape of Good Hope," SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS (March 1981): 55. Also, Richard Wade, SLAVERY IN THE CITIES: THE SOUTH 1820-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 28-54.
46. O. F. Mentzel, DESCRIPTION OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE 2 (Cape Town, 1925), 90. See, Juliet E.K. Walker, "Pioneer Slave Entrepreneurship--Patterns, Processes, and Perspectives: The Case of the Slave Free Frank on the Kentucky Pennyroyal, 1795-1819," *JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY* 68, 2 (Summer, 1983), 293 and 298, for information on money earned by self-hired slaves, usually $.50 to $1.00 a day, depending on skill. Slave entrepreneurs could earn more depending on their business acumen. Owners who hired out their slaves average $80 annually; self-hired slaves paid owners an average of $10.00 to 20.00 a month.
47. Patricia Van Der Spuy, "Slave Women and the Family in Nineteenth Century Cape Town," SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORICAL JOURNAL 2(1979): 70 and Juliet E.K. Walker, "Entrepreneurs in Antebellum America," in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., BLACK WOMEN IN AMERICA: AN HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1993), 394-397.
48. Muller, "Black and Coloured Entrepreneurship," 3. No precise figures are available for the percentage of slaves who hired their own time in America. Genovese, ROLL JORDAN ROLL, 390-391 notes, "Between five and ten percent of the slaves in the South could expect to be hired." Self-hired bondsmen are included in his figures. Given the wide range of occupational possibilities for self-hired suggests that some five percent of slaves in America hired their own time. See, Juliet E.K. Walker, "Entrepreneurs, Slave," in Randall M. Miller and John David Smith, eds., DICTIONARY OF AFRO-AMERICAN SLAVERY (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988), 220-223.
49. Helen T. Catterall, ed., Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro, 5 vols (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1936).
50. See, FREE FRANK: A BLACK PIONEER ON THE ANTEBELLUM FRONTIER (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983; rep. 1995); _____, "Racism, Slavery, Free Enterprise: Black Entrepreneurship in Antebellum America," BUSINESS HISTORY REVIEW 60, 3 (Autumn 1986): 343-382; ____, "Prejudices, Profits, Privileges: Commentaries on 'Captive Capitalists." Antebellum Black Entrepreneurs, ESSAYS IN ECONOMIC AND BUSINESS HISTORY 8(1990): 399-422;
51. Muller, "Black and Coloured Entrepreneurship," 4. Also, R. Elphick and H. Giliomee, THE SHAPING OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY 1652-1820 (Cape Town, 1979), 152-154 and C. P. Thurnberg, TRAVELS AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 1772-1775 (Cape Town, 1986), 22.
52. V.C. Malherbe, "Indentured and Unfree Labour in South Africa: Towards an Understanding," in SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORICAL JOURNAL 24(1991):3-30.
53. Methodist Missionary Society, South Africa Box 18, "Beachuanaland 1868-1876, 1868 file, A. Brigg to Gen. Secretaries and Committee of WMS, 13 August 1868, in Colin Bundy, "Peasants in Herschel: A Case Study of a South African Frontier

District," in ECONOMY AND SOCIETY, 212.

54. D. Hobart Houghton, THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY (Cape Town, 1964), 16 in "Black Advancement in the Secondary Sector of the South African Economy 1880-1980," The SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC HISTORY 2, 1(March 1987), 50.

55. A.F. Hattersley, THE NATAL SETTLERS, 1848-51 (Pietermaritzburg, 1949), 32. On black white trade relations, "Retief to Governor of the Cape," 9 September 1837, and Roedolf, "Diary," in, THE NATAL PAPERS, 1498-1843: A REPRINT OF ALL AUTHENTIC NOTICES, DESCRIPTIONS,... RELATIVE TO NATAL, ed., J.C. Chase (Cape Town, 1968), i, 111, and 89-91; and Jervis to Napier, 30 March 1839 and Pretorius 31 March 1839," in THE ANNALS OF NATAL 1495-1895, ed., J. Bird, 2 vols. (Cape Town, 1965): 1, 514, 520-21.

56. Natal Native Affairs Commission, REPORT, 27, quoted in Slater, "Changing Pattern," 157.

57. John Lambert, "African Purchases of Crown Lands in Natal 1880-1903," South AFRICAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC HISTORY 3,1,(March 1988): 45.

58. Ibid., 60. Also, J. S. Marais, "African Squatting on European Farms in South Africa with Special Reference to the Cape Colony 1892-1913," unpublished seminar paper, London , Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 5, fn 15, in Slater, "Changing Economic Relationships," 163.

59. Monroe N. Work, NEGRO YEAR BOOK AND ANNUAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEGRO (Tuske-gee: Tuskegee Institute, 1912), 23. Also, Loren Schweninger, BLACK PROPERTY OWNERS IN THE SOUTH, 1790-1915 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 164-174. Also Monroe N. Work, NEGRO YEAR BOOK: AN ANNUAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEGRO 1937-1938 (Tuskegee: Negro Year Book Publishing Co., 1937), 1, notes that during the height of the Great Depression in 1936, blacks in the United States owned 20,000,000 million acres of land, some 31,000 square miles, comparable in size to the five New England states. Also, Claude Oubre, FORTY ACRES AND A MULE: THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU AND BLACK LAND OWNERSHIP (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976) and Leo McGee and Robert Boone, eds., THE RURAL BLACK LANDOWNER (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1979).

60. Peter Kallaway, "Tribesman, Trader, Peasant and Proletarian," in P. Bonner, ed., WORKING PAPERS IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN STUDIES 2(1981): 8-30; Colin Bundy, THE RISE AND FALL OF A SOUTH AFRICAN PEASANTRY (London, 1979)

61. K. S. O. Beavon and C. M. Rogerson, "The Informal Sector of the Apartheid City: The Pavement People of Johannesburg," David M. Smith, ed., LIVING UNDER APARTHEID, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 109.

62. See, Alan Spears, BLACK CHICAGO: THE MAKING OF A NEGRO GHETTO, 1890-1920 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 20-26.

63. Solomon Plaatje, NATIVE LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA; BEFORE AND SINCE THE EUROPEAN WAR AND THE BOER REBELLION (London: KIng, 1916), 17 in, Bernard Makhosezwe Magubane, THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RACE AND

CLASS IN SOUTH AFRICA (London: Monthly Review Press, 1979), 82.

64. Gann and Duigman, WHY SOUTH AFRICA WILL SURVIVE, 56.
65. Michael Smuts, "The Growth of Black Business in South Africa," in Roy Smollan, ed., BLACK ADVANCEMENT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), 24.
66. Natal, ILANGA LASE NATAL, 7 August 1903, from the NATAL MERCURY. ILANGA LASE NATAL, a Zulu newspaper, was founded in 1903 by John Dube, a Methodist minister, who was its editor. Mr Dube was the first president of the African National Congress ANC, when it was founded in 1912. Danville is located in central Illinois, 170 miles South of Chicago and thirty miles east of Urbana-Champaign, site of the University of Illinois.
67. Raymond W. Smock, ed., BOOKER T. WASHINGTON IN PERSPECTIVE: ESSAYS OF LOUIS R. HARLAN (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1988), 98-99, notes, "The idea of the National Negro Business League was born in the brain of W.E.B. DuBois, but it was Washington who took the ides and made of an institution." Also, Tony Martin, RACE FIRST: THE IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUGGLE OF MARCUS GARVEY AND THE UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1976).
68. ILANGA LASE NATAL, 30 October 1903. The quote was from Washington's infamous 1895 Atlanta Compromise Speech. See, ibid., 19 June 1903, article noting that Wash-ington, on the advice of President Theodore Roosevelt, declined an invitation from Lord Earl Gray to visit South Africa.
69. UMTETELI was BANTU, 4 September 1920.
70. UMTETELI was BANTU, 12 March 1921.
71. Capetown, ABANTU-BATHO, 1930-1931.
72. ILANGA LASE NATAL, 6 November 1903.
73. THE AFRICAN DEFENDER, No. 9. June 1937
74. Ibid., An example, the Umgungundhlovu Cooperative Trading Society founded in 1937 in Pietermaritzburg, Natal with over a thousand members, four branches a restaurant, and a hospital kiosk, which began to lose out to supermarkets in the 1960s see, Dee Shirley Deane, BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS: A WHO'S WHO 57 PROFILES OF NATAL'S LEADING BLACKS (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1978), 69-71; and, R.J.P. Maponya, "The Need for Unity Among Traders," in THE AFRICAN TRADER, (January-March 1967): 16-17.
75. See, ILANGA LASE NATAL, 1, 1 [1903], "Trade With Natives," article reporting that the COMMERICAL INTELLIGENCE bureau reported that their special representative said: "I might point out to manufactureres at Home the volume of business they were neglecting in the kaffir trade." The editorial response was, "We natives have often wondered why Europeans do not make more of Native trade. The Arabs are mainly supported by Natives and they do all they can to induce them to buy."
76. AFRICAN DEFENDER, October-November, 1937. The next issue promised information on "Laws About Land."

TABLE 1

Wealthholding of Representative Leading Black Entrepreneurs, 1829–1865
(Minimum property values, $100,000)

NAME	LOCATION	BUSINESS ACTIVITY	ASSESSED WEALTH
Leidesdorff, William	San Francisco	merchandising, real estate	$1,500,000
Smith, Stephen	Columbia; Philadelphia, Pa.	lumber merchant, real estate	500,000
Soulie, Albin & Bernard	New Orleans	merchant broker, capitalists	500,000
Lacroix, François	New Orleans	tailor, real estate	300,000
Lacroix, Julien	New Orleans	grocer, real estate	250,000
Ricaud, widow, & son, Pierre	Iberville Parish	sugar planters	221,500
DuBuclet, August	Iberville Parish	sugar planter	206,400
Pottier, Honore	New Orleans	commission broker, in cotton	200,000
DuPuy, Edmond	New Orleans	capitalist	171,000
Reggio, Auguste and Octave	Plaquemines Parish	sugar planter, overseer	160,000
McCarty, Mme. Cecee	New Orleans	merchandising, money broker	155,000
DeCuir, Antoine	Pointe Coupee Parish	sugar planter	151,000
Logoaster, Erasme	New Orleans	landlord	150,000
Colvis, Julien and Dumas, Joseph	New Orleans	tailors	150,000
Metoyer, Augustin	Natchitoches Parish	cotton planter	140,958
Durnford, estate of Thomas	Plaquemines Parish	sugar planter	115,000
Metoyer, Jean Baptiste	Natchitoches Parish	cotton planter	112,761
Casenave, Pierre A. D.	New Orleans	commission broker, undertaker	100,000
Donato, Martin	St. Landry Parish	cotton planter	100,000
Forten, James	Philadelphia, Pa.	sailmaker	100,000
Spraulding, Washington	Louisville, Ky.	barber, real estate	100,000

Source: William Leidesdorff. William A. Leidesdorff, Estate Papers, 1842–52, Leidesdorff Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Leidesdorff and Folsom court records, Bancroft Court Records, Bancroft Library; *People ex rel. Attorney General vs. Joseph L. Folsom*, 5 Cal Reps 373 (1855), and U.S. vs. *Exec. J. Folsom*, U.S. Superior Court, Dec. term 1863, cases 168 and 236. When Leidesdorff's estate was settled, the final sale of the property brought in $1,442,232.35.
Stephen Smith: Pennsylvania, vol. 132, p. 322, R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School, Boston, Mass.
Albin and Bernard Soulie: ibid., Louisiana, vol. 11, p. 30, entry for 19 March 1857: "Are rich, w. 500m."
François Lacroix: ibid., vol. 10, p. 392, entry for 15 June 1860: "wor $300m."
Julien A. Lacroix: ibid., vol. 11, p. 92, entry for 1 June 1854: "est. w. $250m."
Widow Ricaud & son Pierre: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Louisiana, Iberville Parish," National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C., manuscript microcopy M–653, reel 411.
August DuBuclet: ibid.
Honore Pottier: Louisiana, vol. 10, p. 526, R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, entry for 1 Oct. 1869: "In business many yrs prior to war [illegible]owns R. E. wor 100m total wor $200m."
Edmond DuPuy: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Louisiana, New Orleans," manuscript microcopy M–653, reel 420.
Auguste and Octave Reggio: ibid., Plaquemines Parish, manuscript microcopy M–653, reel 414.
Mme. Cecee McCarty, *Macarty et al. v. Mandeville*, 3 La. An. 239 (March 1848; p. 240, note: "She is in possession of a fortune which . . . exceeds . . . $155,000."
Antoine DeCuir: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Louisiana, Pointe Coupée Parish," manuscript microcopy M–653, reel 414.
Erasme Logoaster: ibid., New Orleans, manuscript microcopy M–653, reel 420.
Julien Colvis and Joseph Dumas, Louisiana, vol. 9, p. 140, R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, entry for June 1849: "w in RE $150m." Also see ibid., vol. 12, p. 39, for entry on "Dumas Frères," which notes for 11 March 1871 that their father, Joseph Dumas, "is wor a ½ a million-$s."
Augustin Metoyer: compiled from Natchitoches Succession Records of Pierre Metoyer, no. 193, Dominique Metoyer, no. 375, Jean B. L. Metoyer, no. 362; Marie S. Metoyer, no. 375, Agnes Metoyer, no. 395, Natchitoches Parish Records, Office of the Clerk of the Court, Natchitoches, La.
Thomas Durnford: Estate, U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Louisiana, Plaquemines Parish," manuscript microcopy M–653, reel 414.
Jean Baptiste Metoyer: Succession of Jean Baptiste Metoyer, Natchitoches Parish Succession Records, no. 362.
Pierre A. D. Casenave: Louisiana, vol. 10, p. 497, R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, entry for 1 June 1864, "w at least 100m."
Martin Donato, U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Louisiana, St. Landry Parish," manuscript microcopy M–653, reel 424.
James Forten: Martin R. Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1852), 94–95; and notes 13 and 58 in the text of this article.
Washington Spraulding: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Kentucky, Jefferson County," manuscript microcopy M–653, reel 378. See also Henry Clay Weeden, *Weeden's History of the Colored People of Louisville* (Louisville, Ky., 1897), 57. Spraulding died in 1865.