

THE RECRUITMENT AND ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN LABOUR
FOR THE KIMBERLEY DIAMOND MINES 1871-1888

THESIS

Submitted for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
of Rhodes University

by

ROBERT FREDERICK SIEBÖRGER

Supervisor: Professor T.R.H. Davenport

Department of History
Rhodes University
Grahamstown
1975

The financial assistance of the Human Sciences Research Council towards the cost of this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed or conclusions reached are those of the author and are not to be regarded as a reflection of the opinions and conclusions of the Human Sciences Research Council.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Preface	i
Note on Abbreviations, Dates and Terminology	ii

THE RECRUITMENT AND ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN LABOUR
FOR THE KIMBERLEY DIAMOND MINES 1871-1888

CHAPTER

I	Origins of Labour, Labour Statistics and Wages	1
II	The journey to and from the Diamond Fields	25
III	Recruitment and Labour Supply Schemes	58
IV	The Organisation of African Labour before the Closed Compound System	90
V	The Closed Compound System	120
VI	Conclusion	155

<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	163
-------------------------------	-----

APPENDICES

A	(i) Letter from Southey to Sechele, 5 November 1873	174
	(ii) Unsigned draft copy of a letter from Lanyon to Lobengula, 30 May 1876	174
B	Government Notice establishing Servants' Registry Office and publishing Regulations (No. 68 of 1872)	175
C	Extract from Native Labour Supply Association (Limited) Prospectus	177
D	Returns of New and Old Hands registered, 1873-1884	180
	The Average Number of Employees, exclusive of Managers and Secretaries, on the Diamond Mines, 1881-1888	196
	The Average Weekly Rate of Wages, 1881-1888	197

MAP

Main Roads to the Diamond Fields in the 1870's	38
--	----

P R E F A C E

Behind the fortunes in diamonds, the great open mines and the teeming town that was early Kimberley, were African labourers. Diggers seemed scarcely to care about them unless they were "in short supply", and many historians have been interested only in the guns they carried home with them. This study is concerned with these men: where they came from, why and how they came, and their treatment while they worked in Kimberley.

The initial inspiration for the study came from the chapter on diamond production in Sheila van der Horst's Native Labour in South Africa, a remarkable contribution to the history of the Diamond Fields. The later studies by G.V. Doxey and more recently by John Smalberger which have expanded on aspects of Van der Horst's work,¹ have led me to delve more deeply into other areas upon which they have not touched. One potentially fruitful line of study which was beyond the scope of this work was an investigation into the degree to which the Griqualand West labour question affected the attempts at South African federation in the 1870's.

The main sources for the work have been the Griqualand West archives in the Cape Archives, for the period 1872-1880, and the various Kimberley newspapers. Labour returns were printed monthly in the Griqualand West Government Gazette for most years, till 1880. Cape Blue Books were useful sources for the period after 1880. De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. hold very little material relating to the pre-amalgamation period, though the extant minute books of the De Beers and Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Companies provided valuable information. A considerable number of contemporary published works were also consulted but, though most made some reference to African labour, few contained anything worthy of mention.

1. See Chapter VI.

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS, DATES AND TERMINOLOGY

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used in this work:

D.F.A.	Diamond Fields Advertiser
I.D.B.	illicit diamond buying
f.s.d.	pounds, shillings and pence

Manuscripts in the Cape Archives are distinguished by the prefixes GLW, GH and CO. See Bibliography.

Dates

Dates have been given in numerals in the footnotes, following the pattern of P.J. van der Merwe: The Source List and Footnotes (1972). The order is day, month, year. (e.g. 11.12.1887 must read 11 December 1887)

Terminology

The problem of an acceptable terminology has been solved by using the modern terms and orthography throughout. Where clarification has been required, the nineteenth century term has been given after the first mention of the modern term. The orthography employed in The Oxford History of South Africa has been used where applicable. (e.g. Kwena not Bakwain; Moshweshwe not Moshesh)

CHAPTER I

ORIGINS OF LABOUR, LABOUR STATISTICS AND WAGES

When the Dutoitspan and Colesberg Kopje¹ diggings were opened in 1871, there was already a wide diversity of men on the Diamond Fields. Not only was there a cosmopolitan community of European diggers, but there were also African diggers and labourers² from all parts of South Africa. The differences in tribal and racial backgrounds were marked, and diggers had clear preferences for favoured tribes.

Almost every contemporary work on the discovery and establishment of the Diamond Fields included a list of tribes from which the African labourers there were drawn. They focussed attention on the interesting question of the origins of African labourers in Kimberley, though very few attempted any explanation of exactly where the labourers came from, or how and why they came. Typical of these lists were those of Payton (1871/2), "As to the natives here, you have them of all tribes and all colours, from the sickly yellow to jetty black; Kaffirs and Hottentots, Korranas, Griquas, Fingoes, and many more ..." ³; Von Weber (1871/2),

-
1. The Dutoitspan diggings were opened in January, 1871, De Beers in May, and Colesberg Kopje in July that year. Colesberg Kopje became known as New Rush, and was re-named Kimberley in July, 1873. Dutoitspan became Beaconsfield in 1883, though the mine kept its former name.
 2. It is important to distinguish between an African digger and an African labourer at this time, as some Africans did hold claims, and continued to do so in diminishing numbers until the late 1870's. 120 "Coloured and Native" British subjects petitioned to keep their diggers' rights in 1875 (GH 12/5, Southey to Barkly, 22.4.1875). See J. Smalberger: Proclamation 14 of 1872 of Griqualand West. Some observations on the causes leading to its promulgation, and S.T. van der Horst: Native Labour in South Africa, pp. 72-74.
 3. C.A. Payton: The Diamond Diggings of South Africa, p. 138

who lists Zulus, Bechuanas, Basutos, Korannas, Griquas and Hottentots⁴; and Holub (1872/3), "Of the thousands of black men who at that time acted as servants in the diamond-fields, the majority belonged to the Basuto, Zulu and Transvaal Bechuana Tribes."⁵ An interesting and more complete list is recorded by Gwayi Tyamzashe, an African pastor at Kimberley, in a letter to Dr James Stewart of Lovedale (1872):

Here you find nearly all the different coloured races of South Africa. The Bushmen, Hottentots, Korannas, Griquas, Batlapin, Barhutse, BaKhatla, BaKwena, Manguatu, Mazulu, Maswazi, Matsuelowa, Molonga, Bapeli, Matebele, MarhalaKa, Baroka, Batsuella, Baganana, Mabaca, Mamfengu, Batembu, Maxosa etc.⁶

Most men seem to have been struck by the diversity of the tribes. Few made any numerical analysis of them, and misconceptions about the origin of the African labourers were many.

In the "rush" days of the river diggings and later in the beginning of the dry diggings, many farmers must have brought their African servants with them from their farms to assist in the digging. This may account for the relatively high number of "colonial Kaffirs" on the Fields at that time. The "boer diggers" were often very successful, and some of their success was attributed to the fact that they had brought servants with them, "obtained in the interior at about the wages of a cow or 3*£* per year."⁷ J.B. Robinson is an example of one who prospered

4. Ernst von Weber: Vier Jahre in Afrika I, p.72
5. Emil Holub: Seven Years in South Africa I, p.212
6. Gwayi Tyamzashe to Dr James Stewart, New Rush, 30.11.1872. Tyamzashe arrived at the Diamond Fields on 19.10.1872, where he had apparently been sent to investigate the establishment of a mission among the Africans. In August, 1874, the Kaffir Express reprinted a part of a paper written by him for the Lovedale Literary Society under the title: "The Natives of the Diamond Fields". The article gives a similar list of tribes, with some names added, and some omitted. Tyamzashe was the first theological student to complete the whole of his course at Lovedale. He was ordained in Kimberley in 1873, by which time he had established an African Congregational Church. He left the Diamond Fields in about 1886, for the Soutpansberg district. (Letter to the Diamond Field, 5.7.1873; Lovedale: Lovedale Past and Present, pp.367-369).
7. C.A. Payton: The Diamond Diggings of South Africa, p.106

in this way. He sent sixty or seventy natives from his farms in the Free State to search for diamonds on his property along the Vaal river.⁸ These groups of labourers were obviously the source of much of the very early labour, and their origins are the easiest to explain.

In July 1872 the first two Registrars of Natives were appointed for the Diamond Fields. Their responsibilities were the issuing of various passes for Africans on the Fields and the collection of revenue, in the form of a one shilling registration fee. W.J. Coleman, the Registrar of Natives at New Rush, had suggested this system of registration himself and was initially very anxious to prove its viability as a control and as a source of revenue.⁹ Registration was not universally adopted by diggers at first but it gradually became the exception rather than the rule that a digger did not register his labourers.¹⁰ Coleman took care from the start to keep monthly returns of the labourers registered, and entered the Africans according to a rough tribal division, which reflected the tribe to which the servant belonged rather than the place from which he came. Richard Southey and J.B. Currey¹¹ regarded these returns as accurate and used them authoritatively in discussion and policy making.¹² While there might have been many Africans who were

-
8. Statement by Sir Joseph Robinson on the discussions concerning him in the House of Lords, p.3.
 9. Government Notice No. 68, 23.7.1872. J. Smalberger: Proclamation 14 of 1872 of Griqualand West ..., p.17. See Chapter IV.
 10. Diamond News, 13.4.1876, Editorial
 11. Richard Southey (later Sir Richard) was Lieutenant-Governor, January 1873-August 1875. John Blades Currey was Colonial Secretary, December 1872-October 1875.
 12. The returns are the only official statistics of African labour on the Diamond Fields, and, notwithstanding their deficiencies, they are valuable sources. See Appendix D.

not always registered, the returns did indicate clearly the tribes from which the majority of labourers came.

The first returns of "Servants registered" were published in December 1872. For the period August 1 to October 31 1872 the following were registered:

"Hottentots 273, Basutos 814, Soshaganas (Zulus from North of Delagoa) 476, Mahawas 6350, Colonials 722, Kaffrarians 106, Mantatees 383, Batlapin 55, Swazis 6, Coolies 6, Baralongs - not given, Griquas 13, Mozambique 2.¹³

The Diamond News had pointed out the month before that the majority of servants had not been registered.¹⁴ It is likely that the above figures represent newcomers to the Fields, and few of the labourers already under contract when the Government Notice appointing the first Registrars was published. Coleman's analysis of the tribes contracting for labour in Kimberley is similar to the other lists above, with the significant difference that it is very plain which tribes provided the greatest part of the labour. The Mahawa and the Shangaan tribes were the major sources of labour for the diamond mines for the next fifteen years, and many of the tribesmen continued to seek employment in Kimberley after the opening of the Witwatersrand gold fields.

The term "Mahawa" was used as a blanket term for tribesmen from the Soutpansberge, the great majority of whom were Sekhukhune's Pedi.¹⁵ Coleman explained the usage of the term in his returns for January 1877, "Seccoeni Basuto and Magata Basuto have hitherto been registered under the

13. Diamond News, 19.12.1872

14. Diamond News, 2.11.1872

15. Tyamzashe lists the tribe as "Bapeli".

name of Mahawas and Matebella".¹⁶ It was a common term which was used in early official correspondence, but its use seems to have ended by the 1880's. Speculation about how these tribesmen from the north-eastern Transvaal and Mozambique heard of the Diamond Fields is intriguing. There is very little direct evidence of the means by which the news of the Fields spread, though travellers, traders, missionaries and returning labourers were the obvious messengers.¹⁷ In the case of the Pedi, a significant part was played by a Mr John Edwards, who had traded in Sekhukhune's country.¹⁸ On a visit to Chief Sekhukhune in August 1873 he went as far as to conclude an agreement with him, to provide for a constant supply of labour for the Diamond Fields.¹⁹ The missionary Alexander Merensky was aware of his scheme and wrote warning the Transvaal Volksraad of Edwards' influence with Sekhukhune.²⁰

-
16. Griqualand West Government Gazette, 10.2.1877. Coleman changes a number of other terms in his returns (1872-1885), but they are easily recognisable by both names.
17. S.T. van der Horst: Native Labour in South Africa, p.69, states that, "Additional supplies of labour were obtained by colonists and traders who went into the interior and shepherded batches of natives to the diggings." This is misleading in the implication that they were recruiters. The sources quoted refer only to the practice of 'touting' (see Chapter III), not to recruitment itself.
18. Southey regarded Edwards as a respectable man, "who lived among the Natives for many years", and was well trusted by the Pedi. (GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 6.3.1875; GH 12/4, Southey to Barkly, 10.9.1874). It does not seem unlikely that Edwards was one of those who first brought the news of the Diamond Fields to the Pedi.
19. GLW 17 "Memorandum of an agreement between Mr. John Edwards with Sekukuni Paramount Chief of Sequatis people on 13 August 1873". See Chapters II and III.
20. SN 5, Merensky to "Hoogte Uitvoerende Raad", 24.11.1873. A translation is printed in C.J. Uys: In the Era of Shepstone, p.192. Edwards is incorrectly deciphered as "Evans?". The Transvaal informed the Cape Government in 1875 that it regarded Edwards as a tool of Southey. Merensky might have created this impression, but Southey vigorously denied it.

J.B. Currey surveyed the early Griqualand West labour supply in an address delivered in 1876.²¹ As the demand for African labour rose in the dry diggings, the supply could not be met from the Sotho [Basuto], Zulu, semi-local Griquas, Korana and Tswana [Bechuana] alone. Fortuitously the first Mahawas arrived at the Fields in the hour of need. Currey knew very little of their history or origin, placing their homes between the 23° and 24° parallels, bordering on the Limpopo. It had then seemed probable that the Pedi would provide all the labour requirements of the diamond mines - until the first Kalanga [Makaleka] arrived in the middle of 1874.²² They were regarded as more intelligent than the Pedi and came from the country immediately north of the Limpopo. The first Shona [Mashona] arrived in Kimberley in December 1874²³ and small groups continued to arrive at the Fields during 1875.

Most contemporaries seem to have known much less of the African tribes than Currey did. The fullest, and probably the most reliable, account of the origins of the African labourers is an annexure written by W.J. Coleman to his "Report of the Native Labour Department in the year 1876", giving a sketch of the various tribes from which the mines had been supplied.²⁴

-
21. J.B. Currey: The Diamond Fields of Griqualand and their probable influence on the Native Races of South Africa. (Journal of the Society of Arts, 17.3.1876), p.378
 22. Currey states that the time of their arrival was the "early part of 1874", but the labour returns show the first Kalanga were registered in July 1874.
 23. GLW 71, Coleman to Currey, 14.2.1874
 24. Griqualand West Government Gazette, 20.10.1877, Government Notice No.190 of 1877. The manuscript is in GLW 100, No. 442, dated 15.2.1877. This is the only annual report of the Registrar of Natives in the Griqualand West Government Gazette, and I do not know of any others that exist in manuscript form. After 1880 an annual report was printed in the Cape Blue Book on Native Affairs. This Report is important for interpreting Coleman's labour returns, as it describes the tribal division he used. Useful maps of the tribal distributions and political divisions in the 1870's and 1880's are found in The Oxford History of South Africa I, p.157; Eric A. Walker: A History of Southern Africa, pp.335 and 431; J.A.I. Agar-Hamilton: The Road to the North, two maps at the end of the volume; C.F. Goodfellow: Great Britain and South African Confederation 1870-1881, facing p.290; and A. Sillery: Founding a Protectorate, at the end of the volume (Bechuanaland). As these maps are available, another has not been included here.

The Sotho, Coleman divided into "British Basutos", "Sekhukhune Basutos", "Maghata Basutos". He made no comment on the "Maghata Basutos" and felt comment was unnecessary on the Sotho of Basutoland. The Pedi, as described, inhabited the large tract of country lying south of the Limpopo, bordering on the District of Lydenberg in the east, approaching the Komatie River, and bounded on the west by the Kwena [Bakwain] under Secheli. He estimated the numbers of Sekhukhune's own men as 15 000, with 8 000 more subservient to him.

The Tswana were divided into five sections: the Kgatla [Bakhatla] of the late Chief Kamagen; the Kwena under Sechele, the Ngwato [Bamangwato] under Kgama; the Tlhaping [Batlapins] of Mankurwane, Botlasitse and Jantje; and the Rolong [Barolong] under Chiefs Montshiwa, Moroko and Moswete. The Kgatla lived west of Marico, and were constantly at war with the Kwena, who occupied the territory from Lake Ngami in the north-west to the Kalahari in the west, and Tlhaping territory in the south. The Kwena tribesmen numbered approximately 6 000, with the same number of vassals. The Ngwato capital at the time was Shoshong, a well known trading station. The fact that so few Ngwato worked at the Diamond Fields was attributed to tribal quarrels between Chiefs and constant droughts. The Tlhaping under Jantje lived in Griqualand West on either side of the Harts River, while those under Maukorane and Botlasitse occupied the Keate Award territory outside the Province. Coleman believed the tribes had become more wealthy than others since the opening of the Diamond Fields and thus had less need of employment in the mines. The last branch of the Tswana was composed of the Rolong of Montshiwa in the Keate Award territory and those of Moroko at Thaba 'Nchu, in the Free State.

Coleman classified the Zulu nation in five main branches. These were the British Zulu (of Natal), Cetewayo's Zulu (Zululand)²⁵, the Shangaan

25. This purely geographical division was perhaps necessitated by the need to distinguish between labourers under Cetewayo and Zulu from the Colony of Natal at the time of the Langalibalele rebellion, 1873.

(or Soshangaan), the Swazi (of Swaziland) and the Ndebele [Matabele]. He commented on the Shangaan and the Ndebele. The Shangaan occupied the territory east of the Soutpansberg beyond the South African Republic, between the Limpopo and Delagoa Bay. The Ndebele under Lobengula occupied the rich land north of the Limpopo, with the Kalanga to the south of them, immediately north of the river. From 1867 the Kalanga had been virtual slaves of the Ndebele, and were attracted to the Diamond Fields by the possibility of arming themselves against the Ndebele. The Shona were also subject to the Ndebele. Their country was bounded by the Ndebele in the south, the Zambesi river in the north and the Kalanga in the west. They were regarded as being of a superior civilization to the Zulu. Although there had been Shona on the Fields during 1874 and 1875, none had arrived in 1876, as they had been prevented by the Ndebele.

Further explanation of the tribal names used in the labour returns was given in an 1883 annual report.²⁶ This description seems to have borrowed heavily from the one above, but it recorded in addition the origins of tribes which were not represented at the Fields in 1876. The Ndzundza Ndebele were then classified in two ways: the term "Transvaal Basuto" was used to describe the off-shoots of the Pedi under Mapoch, and the term "Matabella" seems to have been applied to the Ndebele under Mapoch. The Ronga? [Portuguese Zulu], as distinct from the Shangaan, lived around Delagoa Bay under Zbumbu Zde. The Tlharo [Batlaro] were an offshoot of the Tlhaping.

The tabulated labour returns 1873-1888 (Appendix D) make possible a general analysis of the origin of the labourers, and help explain the effects of labour supply on the wage structure of the mines. It is unfortunately impossible to subject them to accurate analysis, as it was frequently maintained by contemporaries that many of the labourers in the diamond mines were not registered. In some years there was clearly

26. G.8-'83 Appendix to the Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1883, Report of Edward Hosmer, Acting Registrar of Natives, pp.5-7

a higher level of registration than in others.²⁷ The most obvious feature of these returns is the high number of African labourers who were employed during the years 1878-1880. A constant average of above 6 000 men was registered per month. When the numbers fell below this level the shortfall made it difficult to keep up the production of the mines. The table of mining company employees 1881-1888 compiled by the Inspector of Mines from annual reports submitted to him by the mining companies, tallies reasonably closely with the labour returns, if account is taken of the possible exaggeration of the average numbers employed, and failures to register. The total number of labourers in the years before 1878 is difficult to estimate though it might have been lower than in later years despite the contemporary estimate of at least 10 000 labourers on the Fields most of the time.²⁸ More significant for the mines was the fact that for

-
27. For example, the Registrar of Natives at Dutoitspan estimated that the nearly 2 000 more labourers registering in 1882 than in 1881, was largely due to his having four constables put at his disposal, to check that men were registered. G.8-'83 Appendix to the Blue Book on Native Affairs, p.8
28. T. Reunert: Diamond Mining at the Cape (Official Handbook of the Cape of Good Hope (1886)), p.187, estimated 10 or 12 000 in 1872/3 and says many estimated double that number. J.W. Matthews: Incwadi Yami, p.99, stated that there were not less than 10 000 Africans at work in 1872. In 1872 Barkly gave the "Coloured mining population" as 15 000. C.732-'72 Further Correspondence respecting the affairs of the Cape of Good Hope: No. 54, Barkly to Kimberley, 29.10.1872, p.129. S.W. Silver & Co.: Handbook to South Africa, 2nd edn. (1876) gives 20 000 native labourers from the interior, p.318. But, William J. Morton: South African Diamond Fields, p.15, states that "these natives have been pouring in crowds into the diamond fields for seven years at the rate of 30 000 a year", a statement with which Gardner F. Williams: The Diamond Mines of South Africa, p.209, agrees, "in view of the constant drifting away from the field of native workers after a few months stay...". The 1877 Census recorded "Other Males in Mining Centres" : Kimberley and De Beers 6 173, Dutoitspan 760, Bultfontein 1 491. It was not, however, regarded as very accurate. Early estimates of the number of African labourers on the Diamond Fields were probably computed from the numbers of claimholders and the average number of labourers employed by each. This could never have been very accurate, as, even after plans had been made of the Kimberley mine, the numbers of men employed would have fluctuated greatly with changes in the supply of labour and in the condition of the claims.

most of the period 1871-1881 they depended on "new hands" for at least a third of their labour force. Given these figures it is surprising that labour was not a much greater problem for the mines.

While there was never any idea of a settled, local labour force, it was realised that short-term fluctuations in the supply of labour could be offset if labourers remained in Kimberley for longer periods.²⁹ The time spent by labourers on the Diamond Fields varied, according to the aspirations of the individual, conditions at his home, and the demand for labour in Kimberley. In the early years the purchase of a rifle was the ambition of many labourers, and to save enough money for it they would have to stay on the Fields for at least four months. Currey estimated that the Pedi generally stayed for about six months,³⁰ though accurate estimates were impossible to make because of the frequency with which contracts were broken. Many labourers from tribes relatively close to the Fields worked for less than six months, two or three months being the period commonly expected.³¹ Various ways were suggested to try to increase the labourers' length of service before returning home. Southey, in imposing a twenty shilling purchase tax on rifles was motivated by the knowledge that it would compel labourers to remain two or three weeks longer. The Labour Commission of 1876 recommended the legislation of a three month minimum period of contract, bearing in mind the weakness of labourers on their arrival in Kimberley, and the fact

29. See Chapter IV for the contracting of labour.

30. J.B. Currey: The Diamond Mines of Griqualand ..., Journal of the Society of Arts, 17.3.1876, p.378

31. GLW 182, Southey to Barkly, 15.4.1873. GLW 71, Coleman to Currey, 4.2.1873. D.F.A., 16.6.1882, Editorial. C.1897-1904 Transvaal Labour Commission. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence. Mr Frederick Ingle, Q.3832 and 3836. William J. Morton: South African Diamond Fields, p.15. S.T. van der Horst: Native Labour in South Africa, p.77, estimates three to five months.

that they were completely unskilled.³² If labourers could have been encouraged to spend most of their money as they earned it, it would have meant that they would spend much longer on the Fields, though diggers were wary of encouraging this, as the longer men stayed in Kimberley, the more likely they were to follow the ways of the world - and the illicit diamond trade.³³

There was a tendency for the highest number of new hands to arrive at the Fields in September and October, though this expectation was never mentioned in newspaper reports. The press, on the contrary, expressed the view that they never knew when the next increase of labourers would come. Occasionally reports from travellers indicated that there would shortly be numbers of tribesmen arriving, though these forecasts were usually published only a few days before the event. The returns for 1876 illustrate this. Not only did the Pedi fail to arrive in September and October, but there was a general scarcity of new hands which left the Fields desperately short of labour. This was possibly due to the extremely cold winter, during which there had been very heavy snow falls, which had caused all work in the mine to cease.³⁴ The most serious cause of disruption in labour supply was war, and in later years it was accepted as axiomatic that if the number of labourers from a tribe arriving at the Fields suddenly dropped, the tribe had "warlike intentions". Inter-tribal wars were probably the worst for the employers as hostilities lasted years and meant that chiefs seldom allowed many men to leave home. The Sotho "Gun War" of 1880-1 prevented Sotho labourers from going to the mines for a year. The various Sekhukhune

32. Proclamation imposing Tax on Guns and Gun-barrels, No. 12 of 1873, 19.3. 1873. GLW 180, Southey to Barkly, 4.2.1873 C.2220 1878-9 Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Africa, Enclosure No. 5 in No. 17, Report of the Commission upon the Griqualand Labour Question, p.65, para. 24; p.67, regulation 6. This was done for new labourers in Ordinance 10 of 1876, section XVIII, but the Ordinance was not allowed.

33. See A.9-'82 Select Committee on Illicit Diamond Buying. F. Baring-Gould, Q.1036 [1039], 1039.

34. John Angove: In the Early Days, pp. 113-115

wars and tribal fights disrupted the supply of labourers from the Transvaal tribes in the period 1876-1879, though there were always some men who arrived at the Fields. There is also evidence that Transvaal tribesmen on the Fields sided with the Transvaal in 1876.³⁵ The Ndzundza Ndebele of Mapoch were allies of the Transvaal in the Sekhukhune war of 1878-9, but themselves rebelled in 1883. The numbers of Zulu on the Fields were drastically reduced during the Langalibalele rebellion of 1873 and the war of 1879. What was as serious to the miners was the mass exodus of labourers from the Diamond Fields when rumours of war reached Kimberley, which made old hands as scarce as new hands.³⁶

There are interesting differences in the labour returns from the Kimberley [Kimberley and De Beers mines] and Dutoitspan [Dutoitspan and Bultfontein mines] Native Registry offices. As the Kimberley mine was always, because of its depth and, later, its underground workings, regarded as the most dangerous mine to work, the wages paid there were slightly higher than those paid elsewhere. Sotho clearly preferred to work in Dutoitspan, for they objected to working underground, though they became accustomed to it in later years.³⁷ Tswana tribes such as the

-
35. Diamond Field, 14.8.1876. "We find from the best authority that about 6,000 natives left the Fields during last month ... 5,000 were bound for the Limpopo valley and one-fifth of them were armed. A very large number of them left for the express purpose of joining the Boers with whom their tribes are allied in the war." The Diamond News 5.8.1876, held that the Africans were sure to use the guns against the boers.
36. In September 1880, for example, 4 000 Sotho left the Fields in fourteen days. D.F.A., 18.8.1880, 'The Labour Market'
37. C.1897-1904 Transvaal Labour Commission: Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Mr Douglas H. Fraser, Q.3171(e), and Rev. R.H. Dyke, Q.43. Compare with the statement of F. Rodseth: Native Beliefs, Superstitions and Folklore on the Mines (1956), "It is a tradition among Basuto and Xhosa that a man's job is underground and they are reluctant to accept any surface work."

Ngwato, Kwena and Tlharo worked in Kimberley rather than in Dutoitspan. Part of the explanation for these differences might be in the routes followed to the Fields, the Sotho reaching Dutoitspan before Kimberley, the others reaching Kimberley first. A more significant difference between the Kimberley and Dutoitspan labour patterns was that Kimberley was usually far better supplied with old hands than Dutoitspan was. The reasons for this are not clear. Kimberley mining companies did provide better accommodation, on the whole, for their labourers, and needed more labour than the Dutoitspan companies. It is possible that labourers were thus induced to stay for longer periods at the Kimberley mine than at Dutoitspan.

As the nature of the mining operations changed in the mines and diggings,³⁸ the employment of African labourers changed. The biggest change took place in the boom years of 1880 and 1881 when mining companies were formed on a wide scale, making the individual digger all but extinct. Another significant factor in the organisation of labour in the mines was the distinction between work on the floors³⁹ and work in the mine itself. The floors provided greater opportunities for stealing gems and were much more closely watched by white supervisors.⁴⁰

The diggers at the river diggings during 1869 and 1870 seldom had more than two or three labourers working with them, and often

38. The best contemporary summary of mining operations and methods in the Kimberley mines is T. Reunert: Diamond Mining at the Cape (Official Handbook of the Cape of Good Hope (1886)), pp.186-214. Gardner F. Williams: The Diamond Mines of South Africa, chapters VII and VIII is also valuable. The annual Blue Books of the Inspectors of Mines give detailed descriptions. See also S.T. van der Horst: Native Labour in South Africa, pp.67-68, 77-79.
39. The "floor" was the depositing or sorting ground. It was a simple earthen floor, beaten down by constant walking, and swept clean.
40. D.F.A., 4.7.1879

had none.⁴¹ In 1871 the general pattern appears to have been three to six men working with a team of oxen and a cart. With three men working, the afternoon was spent in digging ground from the claim, and the following morning in taking it to the river. At noon the gravel was washed and sorted, two men working the cradle⁴² and the third sorting. With twice the number of men (two diggers and four labourers) it was possible to keep the routine going the whole day. The lone digger often washed in tubs on his claim, eliminating the need to hire a cart to go to the river, and relieving the monotony of digging.⁴³

The dry diggings obviously needed more labour to be worked economically. Claims in the Kimberley mine were dug down very rapidly. Pictures of the mine in 1872 show the roads between the claims still intact in places and claims more than forty feet deep. By 1874 the mode of mining had changed completely, as the mine had become a large open quarry, criss-crossed with the countless wires of hauling systems. Problems of falling reef and flooding appeared for the first time, and large areas of the mine could not be worked, easing the shortage of labour. Up till then most of the diamondiferous ground had been removed manually from the mines in buckets and loaded on to carts for the depositing floors. Ten to twelve labourers formed the optimum working gang on a claim. As there was little opportunity to blast (with gun powder) because of the proximity of other claims, all the digging was done with picks. An overseer and four workers worked in the claim, two with picks and two filling the buckets. On the reef six labourers worked,

41. C.1897-1904 Transvaal Labour Commission: Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Mr Frederick Ingle, Q.3752; Frederick Boyle: To the Cape for Diamonds, p.370.

42. The "cradle" was a box with two or three sieves above each other. Gravel was washed in it, the coarsest stones remaining on the top sieve, the finer stones being deposited at the bottom. These were then taken for sorting. See S.T. van der Horst: Native Labour in South Africa, p.67.

43. Anon: The Diamond Fields of South Africa, pp.78-79

four turning the windlass and the others emptying the buckets. Morton estimated that a gang working in this way could haul up eight to ten cart loads a day.⁴⁴ The number of labourers on the floors was also correspondingly greater as it was impossible to wash the mined stuff, there being in the beginning little enough water for domestic use. The sorting of blue ground was even more difficult as it was much harder than the yellow ground found nearer the surface, and needed to weather for months before the diamonds could be extracted from it. Here again it was usual to set a gang of ten labourers to work breaking the rock and sifting it before it could be sorted at the sorting tables. This method generally resulted in the loss of stones of less than one carat.

Two inventions of 1874 transformed mining operations considerably. The first was the use of horse whims for hauling, followed the year after by the introduction of the first steam winding engine. The second was the rotary washing machine. The use of water in washing the ground had become possible through the building of dams and sinking of wells in the mining areas. Washing machines washed the ground in a circular trough, stirring it and causing the conglomerate to settle at the bottom. These machines were soon modified by the use of horse- and steam power, though the operating principle remained the same. Through the process of washing, many more smaller stones were recovered than had been previously possible, and the washing of debris became economical. The Kimberley mine continually experimented with new mining equipment, but by the late 1870's the working of the mine was subject to frequent falls of reef which buried claims and took much unprofitable labour to clear. The cost of such reef-clearing necessitated more capital and helped precipitate the formation of the joint stock

44. William J. Morton: South African Diamond Fields, p.21

companies. Another obstacle to mining was the flooding in the mine, for which elaborate pumping equipment was required. In 1885 the Kimberley Central Company sunk the first shaft, through fallen reef at the bottom of the mine, to give the Kimberley mine a new lease of life. A trial shaft had been sunk in De Beers mine in 1884. This development was followed in the Dutoitspan and Bultfontein mines when falls of reef eventually made open mining there impossible. African labour was employed,

... in all the less responsible operations of the Mines: in drilling holes for the dynamite cartridges, in picking and breaking up the ground in the claims and trucking it to the tub lowered to receive it, then in trucking it away from the depositing boxes and the margin of the Mine and tipping it on the depositing floors, ...⁴⁵

where it underwent a variety of processes before it was ready for washing, and was again filled into trucks and driven to the washing machines. For every three truck-loads of ground taken from the mine, one African labourer was employed and for every five African labourers one white overseer or artisan was employed.⁴⁶

Among the diggers' favourite tribes the Zulu held pride of place. Their physique and honesty were universally acclaimed, and, because their numbers were small, demand for them was always high. Advice given to prospective diggers in 1870 was to hire a Zulu who had not been in service before, and to ensure that he did not get into lazy ways,⁴⁷ and an 1872 advertisement, not unlike a modern "small" read, "ZULUS A person having Eight Zulu Kafirs is anxious to obtain claim on Colesberg Kopje to work on shares".⁴⁸ Payton describes with envy "six of the best Zulu" which friends of his had brought from Natal, who were "thoroughly good

45. T. Reunert: Diamond Mining at the Cape (Official Handbook of the Cape of Good Hope (1886)), pp.195-196

46. T. Reunert: Diamond Mining at the Cape; *ibid.*, p.196

47. S.W. Silver & Co: Handbook to South Africa, 1st edn., p.15. (Letter from Sir John Swinburne to the Times, 10.11.1870)

48. Diamond News 24.1.1872

'boys', hardworking, polite, good humoured and lively"⁴⁹. Sotho were next in line of preference, and they, too, were often in short supply. The Diamond Fields Advertiser,⁵⁰ writing against suggestions of importing Chinese labour⁵¹ regarded the Sotho as "fine fleshy fellows", but criticised them for singing Moody and Sankey's hymns in a slow time which, "hinders their movements, except in the direction of diamond lifting in which they observe quick time". The Pedi were not highly sought after, but employers seem to have had few complaints about them. Their major disadvantage was the very weak state in which they arrived in Kimberley, necessitating care and feeding before they could do any heavy work. When they had recovered from the effects of the journey, they proved themselves strong, willing and docile workers. Currey also believed them to be very thrifty men.⁵² If this was true, it would have appealed strongly to employers who were plagued by drunken workers.⁵³ The Kalanga were favourably received on the Fields when they arrived in 1874, harmless, tractable, easily managed and willing to work. It was felt that they would have been able to supply much of the labour needed for the mines, but for the interference of the Ndebele. Shangaan were valued for their physique, but the Ronga? were apparently lazy and useless, and were only employed when other labour was scarce.⁵⁵ The Tswana tribes were also not held in very high estimation, nor were the Tlhaping, while the Griqua were never mine workers.

49. C.A. Payton: The Diamond Diggings of South Africa, pp.139-140

50. D.F.A., 18.1.1882

51. The suggestion of importing Chinese and other cheap overseas labour was regularly made in times of labour shortage. See mention in Diamond News, 13.3.1875, 30.5.1876; D.F.A., 14.11.1881, 15.2.1882.

52. J.B. Currey: The Diamond Fields of Griqualand ... Journal of the Society of Arts, 17.3.1876, p.378

53. See account in Chapter IV.

54. GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 3.9.1874

55. G.8-'83 Appendix to the Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1883, p.6

Wages paid to African labourers on the Diamond Fields were reputedly the highest in Southern Africa, increasing gradually over the period 1871-1888. By 1914 the wage levels had stabilised at the level of the 1873 wages for the lowest paid workers and at the level of 1880 for the average worker.⁵⁶

In 1871/2 there was a wide discrepancy between the wages paid to labourers "from the interior" and those which diggers had brought with them from their farms or the Cape Colony. The average wage for labourers hired on the Fields was between 5s. and 7s.6d. per week when there was not a surplus of labour. Food was usually included, which could cost between 4s. and 6s. a month, depending on what was provided. Wages paid to "personal servants" were much lower, averaging about 5s. per month with food, and up to 60s. a month without food.⁵⁷ Estimates of wages for the years 1872-3 show a considerable increase in the average wage, coinciding with the development of the dry diggings. The wages varied between 7s.6d. per week and 15s. per week with food - 10s. seems to have been the usual weekly wage.⁵⁸ With the large influx of new labourers in the months of September and October 1873 and 1874, wages dropped. New hands were then engaged at wages of 5s. and 6s. per week with rations, and even at 2s. 6d. per week. There were even some who were not employed at that wage.⁵⁹ The first

-
56. C.7707-1914 Dominions Royal Commission: Minutes of Evidence taken in South Africa, Part II, L.R. Grimer, Q.323-325, 465. Minimum rate of daily wages was 2s.6d, average 3s.4d per day, with an average from this of 1s.2d spent per day on food and clothing. i.e. a monetary wage of 9s.4d per week, minimum, and 15s.9d per week, average. Grimer did not think that wages had varied to any appreciable degree during the previous ten years.
57. F. Algar The Diamond Fields, pp.48 and 53; C.A. Payton: The Diamond Diggings of South Africa, pp. 43 and 106; Frederick Boyle: To the Cape for Diamonds, p.370. C.1897-1904 Transvaal Labour Commission: Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Mr Frederick Ingle, Q.3836. S.T. van der Horst: Native Labour in South Africa, p.71, gives a review of early wages.
58. Emil Holub: Seven Years in South Africa, I, p.212; Ernst von Weber: Vier Jahre in Afrika, I, p.219; John Angove: In the Early Days, p.59; J.B. Currey: The Diamond Fields of Griqualand ..., Journal of the Society of Arts, 17.3.1876, p.378; GLW 74, Coleman to Currey, 4.2.1873
59. GLW 71, Coleman to Currey, 16.11.1874. Diamond Field, 4.10.1873, 8.10.1873

to reach the Fields were engaged at 6s. per week in December 1874.⁶⁰ Many old hands left the Fields at times when labour was plentiful which always stabilised the labour market.⁶¹ The "Blue Book report"⁶² for 1875 estimated the average wage at between 10s. and 20s. a week with food and lodging, although Owen Lanyon, the new Administrator, mentioned 5s. a day (35s. a week) with food as a common wage, in a letter to his parents on Christmas day 1875.⁶³ At that time Dr Dyer, the medical officer responsible for Kimberley prison, asked six diggers to provide him with information on their provision for their employees.⁶⁴ Between them they normally employed 99 labourers and paid them 10s., 12s., or 15s. per week with food, though one paid 25s. per week without food. For this the labourers worked between 10 and 12 hours a day. Wages rose during the labour scarcity of 1876 but returned to their former level in 1877. The lower wages were made possible through the high turnover of labour. Labourers coming to the mines in a period of over-supply could be employed at lower wages than had been paid previously.⁶⁵ Trollope found 10s. the normal wage in 1877, though some diggers only paid 7s.6d and wages could be as high as 30s. per week. He commented on contractors contracting to supply labour with all expenses paid for 20s. a week, a system which was

60. GLW 71, Coleman to Currey, 14.12.1874

61. Diamond Field, 15.10.1873, 3.12.1873

62. GLW 5 Draft of the "Blue Book Report 1875", section on 'Labour'. The Report was transmitted on 30.12.1876, and was apparently not published.

63. A.596, Vol.II, Lanyon to his parents, 25.12.1875. Col. William Owen Lanyon (Sir William, 1880), was Administrator of Griqualand West from August 1875 to February 1879, when he became Administrator of the Transvaal. He arrived in Kimberley on 16.11.1875.

64. GLW 82, No. 412 [Jan] 1876. Undated letter from Dr Dyer on ways of economising the prison diet. The standard rations provided by diggers were meal every day and either, a little meat daily, or, meat twice weekly.

65. This is supported by the Diamond News, 27.3.1877, 'Life at the West End'. Supply of labour in excess - wages not to go as low as 5/- or 1876 exodus will be repeated, "advent of labour from Seccoeniland imminent and likely to create surfeit."

later widely used by the mining companies.⁶⁶ The tabulated wage returns for 1881-1888 show the high rates of wages paid during that period but anticipate by 1889 the stabilisation of wages at lower levels.⁶⁷ The differences in the wages paid by the four mines are clear, Kimberley and De Beers usually having to pay higher wages for more dangerous work. An important bonus to the wages of the Diamond Field labourers were the rewards given for the surrender of diamonds found. These may have exercised great attraction for labourers, and the practice was established very early. "Good 'boys' should be encouraged with a small money present, say a shiling, every time a diamond is found", Payton recommended in 1872. Sammy Marks gave his labourers 5 per cent of the value, and paid out £20 on occasion. In the 1880's the rewards were 1s. for Europeans, 6d. for Africans per carat found on the surface, and 1s. 6d. per carat found in the mine at De Beers. At Dutoitspan 5 per cent of the value of the diamond was normally given; though a company once gave 25 per cent - and as a result became the subject of a satirical verse.⁶⁸ The rewards had been substantially increased by 1914, when 5s. per carat irrespective of value, plus 2½ per cent of the value was

66. Anthony Trollope: South Africa (1973 edition), p.365. See Chapter V.

67. The real wages may have increased with the far higher standard of accommodation in the closed compounds after 1886, but the monetary wage decreased correspondingly, particularly after 1887, when all wages had to be paid in coin, and labourers had to buy food from their wages. See Chapter V, and Appendix D.

68. A.9-'82 Select Committee on Illicit Diamond Buying, Mr S. Marks, Q.324 and 325. C.A. Payton: The Diamond Diggings of South Africa, p.139; J.W. Matthews: Incwadi Yami, pp.192-193:

<p>I would not be a digger; No Nor yet an I.D.B. In digging oft your moneys go, The other's felony.</p>	<p>But then, upon the other hand, I should be quite content If I only was a nigger, and Got 25 per cent." (and six other verses)</p>
---	--

The Orion Company adopted this expedient in 1884. D.F.A., 19.1.1885
A.R. Sawyer: Diamonds in South Africa (c.1889), p.36

offered.⁶⁹

Whenever the number of labourers arriving in Kimberley dropped there were moves to adopt a uniform wage scale to forestall wage increases. Similar action was contemplated when there was a surplus of labour. In May 1872 it was suggested in the correspondence column of the Diamond News that diggers take action against high wages in the light of the lower diamond prices. Wages should be reduced by 25 or 30 per cent, and, if the new wages were rejected there would be more than a thousand workers out of employment - which would soon make them accept terms.⁷⁰ A meeting held a fortnight later to discuss wage reductions at Dutoitspan decided to reduce wages to 5s. a week, with rations.⁷¹ Following this resolution, Alfred Aylward⁷² called a mass meeting of employers and employees at De Beers to explain the new status quo. The aims were obvious :

"Diggers" he greeted, "we come and assemble here today not to argue with our servants but to inform them plainly that their masters have resolved and decided upon a reduction in their wages, and such reduction is that in future every servant working in claims shall receive 6s. per week and be paid monthly."⁷³

Diggers were to explain to their servants that they were a long way from home and would starve without employment. The labourers were allowed to reply, choosing a Chief Senyati as their representative. He did not object to the reduction but pointed out that they had been engaged at 10s. per week to work by the week, and rejected monthly payment. A pledge for immediate reduction and monthly payment was signed by one hundred of the three hundred diggers present, and by the time of publication 500 of 2 000 African employees had agreed to it.

-
69. C.7707-1914 Dominions Royal Commission. Minutes of Evidence taken in South Africa, Part II, L.R. Grimer, Q.321
70. Diamond News, 15.5.1872, letter from 'A Digger'
71. Diamond News, 1.6.1872. On 6.6.1872 the Diamond Field reported 900 Africans had left Kimberley in two days for their homes.
72. An Irish Fenian adventurer, who was convicted of manslaughter on the Diamond Fields, and played a prominent part in the "Diggers Rebellion" of 1875. See Chapter IV.
73. Diamond News, 15.6.1872, Report of the Meeting of 8.6.1872

The outcome of this meeting was warmly welcomed by the Diamond News which stressed that the "altered circumstances" demanded the combination of diggers. Dutoitspan diggers also supported the pledge, but in less than a month found themselves seriously short of labour, as workers did not submit to the reduction.⁷⁴ A meeting of De Beers diggers at the same time again stated its resolution to reduce wages to 6s. a week though it was evident that the Africans were not very satisfied.

In 1873 the sight of large numbers of unemployed labourers and the state⁷⁵ of the diamond market during the world depression prompted a spate of new wage reduction ideas. It was obvious that the 1872 resolution had not lasted long. The attraction was, again, the real saving which could be made if everyone combined to keep wages permanently at a lower level. Dutoitspan miners decided to limit wages to 30s. per month payable monthly for a three month engagement, and Kimberley was urged to take advantage of the unique situation in the same way. As a result of the reductions several thousand labourers were said to have left the Fields for home. The same attitudes prevailed in November 1874, when some labourers actually left Kimberley to work in the Cape Colony in the hope of higher wages.⁷⁷ In 1876 measures to reduce wages were more successful but the second state was found to be far worse than the first. As a result of the

74. Diamond News 29.6.1872

75. J.A. Henry: The First Hundred Years of the Standard Bank, p.34, "In 1873 overseas prices virtually collapsed, and they did not improve much the following year."

76. Diamond Field, 1.10.1873, Local and General, letter from G.W. Willis, 30.9.1873. GLW 182, Southey to Barkly, 3.12.1873; GLW 182, Southey to Barkly, 21.10.1873

77. Diamond News, 26.11.1874

reductions and the Sekhukhune war, very large numbers of men left the Diamond Fields, and the few labourers arriving could not replace those lost.⁷⁸ The Diamond News complained, "The Batlapin who are coming in now are so excessively raw and ignorant that they are dear at 5s. per week compared with Basuto at 10s., and their capacity for mealie meal is something astonishing."⁷⁹ The continued financial depression was the reason for cutting the wage level, which in time only made labour scarce as well as expensive. In December 1876, wages of 15s. per week, with food, were being paid at Dutoitspan.⁸⁰

The low numbers of new labourers arriving in Kimberley in 1880 and the first half of 1881 caused the wages to rise to 35s. and 40s. a week. As the labour market improved later in the year, complaints were made of the high wages which were still paid. Unskilled labourers in the Colony could not earn half the Kimberley wage.⁸¹ Henry Tucker, secretary of the Kimberley Mining Board convened a meeting at the request of employers in each of the mines, for reducing the "Enormously high rate of wages for Labourers in Diamond mining operations".⁸² Combination for wage reduction was fully discussed in the light of the previous failures. The meeting suggested a trial pledge to test opinion and adjourned for fourteen days. It was found at the re-convened meeting that the Kimberley mine had to pay 5s. a week more to attract labour because of its great depth and that, thus, no uniform tariff could be fixed. Nevertheless, a committee was appointed

-
78. Diamond News, 7.11.1876, Third Editorial, "... but it is noteworthy that the number of labourers rapidly decreased from the commencement of the war between the Transvaal Republic and Secocoeni."
79. Diamond News, 15.7.1876, Summary for the Week
80. Diamond News, 21.12.1876, 'Jottings from the Pan'
81. Daily Independent, 6.9.1881, Editorial
82. D.F.A., 18.11.1881, Henry Tucker was reputedly also the first editor of the D.F.A.

to investigate and report further.⁸³ In 1882 the labour committee called another general meeting. J.B. Robinson was elected chairman, with the aim of lowering wages to the 1876, 10s. a week, level. It was argued that lower wages would not inconvenience African labourers, but would prevent their spending so much on liquor. There was again diversity of opinion as to whether Kimberley Mine should be allowed to pay higher wages, a question which remained unresolved. A "Labour and Wages Committee" was to be appointed to consist of three representatives from each of the four mines, to frame a code of regulations and a scale of wages for Africans working in the mines and on the floors.⁸⁴ In retrospect, the effectiveness of this Committee must have been slight for there seems to have been no decrease in wages paid. All the attempts at wage restructure were doomed to failure as soon as mine workers exercised their independence of their employers and left the Diamond Fields, turning those on the road to Kimberley back with them.

The African labourer was often able to resist wage reductions by his employers, who were powerless to control his departure from the Diamond Fields, and could do very little to enforce contracts. It was difficult for diggers to manipulate the supply of labour for the mines, and the constant demand for labour seldom eased. This independence of the African labourer was largely maintained, until the closed compound system helped bring the unusual era to a close.

83. D.F.A., 18.11.1881, Report of the Meeting of 16.11.1881; 28.11.1881, Report of the Meeting of 25.11.1881

84. D.F.A. 28.8.1882. The Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company sent three representatives to this meeting, "To take such action as they deem advisable", but not to bind the Company to any position without reference to the Board. Minutes of the Board of the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company, 24.8.1882.

CHAPTER II

THE JOURNEY TO AND FROM THE DIAMOND FIELDS

African labourers were attracted to the Diamond Fields for a variety of reasons. The primary reason was to earn wealth in wages that would take years to accumulate in cattle. Many of the labourers were young men for whom the new wealth and prestige must have been very attractive, as a means to paying taxes, to buying a rifle, cattle and other "luxuries".¹

Gwayi Tyamzashe believed that the Africans "from farther up in the interior have no other object in coming here than securing a gun for themselves",² and many contemporaries agreed with him. Mr Ingle's evidence before the Transvaal Labour Commission was well reasoned: When the first Africans came from the interior they would "work possibly for three months and would then purchase brass, copper or iron wire, a knife or hatchet and would consider themselves well equipped",³ but when guns were introduced in 1872, "within six months of that the industry was being inundated with labour - all wanting to get their guns

-
1. Any attempt to analyse in depth why Africans came to the Diamond Fields should include field study. Such study has been beyond the scope of the present research, but would be very rewarding if it could measure the aspirations of mine workers over the past century. In the absence of such oral evidence it is only possible to attempt an evaluation of the views of contemporary writers here. There is little evidence of taxation causing men to seek employment in Kimberley. Ashton, however, does mention the ten shilling tax of 1869 as a motivation for Sotho going to the mines, Hugh Ashton: The Basuto. A Social Study of Traditional and Modern Lesotho, p.162. See also Chapter III, footnote 92.
 2. Tyamzashe to Stewart, 30.11.1872 (De Beers Open Mine Museum)
 3. C.1897 - 1904 Transvaal Labour Commission: Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Mr Frederick Ingle, Q.3836 and Q.3752; and S.T. van der Horst: Native Labour in South Africa, p.69. Frederick Ingle was a digger in Kimberley till 1874, when he went to Jagersfontein.

and as soon as they got them, they went back."⁴ What was obvious to all was that labourers (particularly during the years 1872 - 1875) very often did not stay longer than the time needed to save enough to buy a rifle. It was an important status symbol and useful for hunting as well as war. A starving African was reported to have said, "If he died he would not want a gun, and if he lived he would have one."⁵ This led Europeans to believe that labourers came to Kimberley solely "to get a gun", and worse, to the belief held by many outside Griqualand West, that African labour was actually paid in guns.⁶ Richard Southey was more correct when he wrote to Sir Henry Barkly,

The reason why natives come from long distances to this Province to purchase guns instead of obtaining them from traders who reside there [the interior, generally] is that they can earn the money wherewith to make the purchase instead of having to dispose of cattle or other valuables to them on purpose and possibly also because many of them do not possess sufficient cattle or other property which can be spared to exchange for a gun.⁷

-
4. C.1897-1904 Transvaal Labour Commission: Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Mr Frederick Ingle, Q.3832. There are numerous references to the magnetic attraction of rifles for African labour. W.R. Laubscher: Die Diamant Omwenteling in die Kaapkolonie (1867-1888-9), p.164, describes the gun trade as bait ("lokaas"), using C.A. Payton: The Diamond Diggings of South Africa, p.146; John Angove: In the Early Days, p.61; J.W. Matthews: Incwadi Yami, p.182 [p.187] and Ingle's evidence to the Transvaal Labour Commission, in support of his contention. Other references are: C.4190-'84 Correspondence respecting the settlement at Angra Pequena, on the S.W. Coast of Africa, No 1, p.1 [not p.7], quoted by W.J. Leyds: The First Annexation of the Transvaal, p.159; Ernst von Weber: Vier Jahre in Afrika, p.219; W.J. Morton: South African Diamond Fields, p.15; Gardner F. Williams: The Diamond Mines of South Africa, p.189.
 5. Louis Cohen: Reminiscences of Kimberley, p.292
 6. / Sir Arthur T. Cunynghame: My Command in South Africa, p.207 states, "These Kafirs [Sotho shot in the Free State] had been paid for their labour at the Diamond Fields, not in money but in firearms". This statement is probably as misinformed as many similar accusations were. There is no direct evidence for the practice.
 7. GLW 188, Southey to Barkly, 13.8.1874

The policy of Southey and Currey on the free sale of rifles to Africans was based on this argument, on theories of free trade, the fact that the Africans "would have" guns and might as well contribute to the revenue of a British Province than subsidise illegal traders, the expected disruption of the labour market if the sale of guns was prohibited, and the fact that control of the vast trade in guns on the sub-continent would never be achieved.⁸

The rifles which were sold to African labourers in Griqualand West varied in quality and in price. The "kaffir trade" in Griqualand West seems to have consisted mainly in muzzle-loading "pop" guns, or "gas pipes" which many believed did not last longer than a year. "The guns at that time allowed to be sold to Natives were generally old smooth-bore muskets, firing round ball and obsolete military Enfield rifles"⁹. The prices of these rifles varied from £3 to £7, though it was unusual that more than £6 would be paid. Southey wrote "The ordinary gun sold to them is

-
8. See L. Minott: Sir Richard Southey. Lieutenant Governor of Griqualand West 1872-1875, Chapter 3; W.R. Laubscher: Die Diamant Omwenteling in die Kaapkolonie (1867 - 1888-9), pp.164-179; J.J. Oberholster: Die Anneksasie van Griekwaland-Wes (Archives Year Book for South African History, 1945), pp.253-263 and T.B. Barlow: The Life and Times of President Brand, Chapter 16, for detail of the Griqualand West gun trade, though none of these is complete in itself. On Southey's policy about the sale of rifles see: Minott, ibid, p.165; GLW 188, Southey to Barkly, 13.8.1874; A.68-'81 A despatch from Sir Henry Barkly to the Lieutenant-Governor of Griqualand West ... against the indiscriminate Sale of Arms to Natives; J.B. Currey: The Diamond Fields of Griqualand ... (Journal of the Society of Arts 17.3.1876), p.379
9. John Angove: In the Early Days, p.58. See Frederick Boyle: To the Cape for Diamonds, p.158; J.B. Currey: The Diamond Fields of Griqualand ... (Journal of the Society of Arts, 17.3.1876), p.379; In a Legislative Council debate on the tax on rifles, 13.8.1874, Currey stated, "The old style of Tower musket might be bought in Cape Town for less than 40s.... while they sell here from £4 to £6."; Diamond Field, 4.4.1872, Local and General: "...the majority of guns sold to Africans being of what is known as the 'Brumagen' make and not capable of standing more than six shots without bursting"; Diggers at a meeting on 22 July 1872, justified the sale of rifles to Africans because the breech loader more than counter-balanced the ordinary muzzle loader in the hands of Africans, Diamond Field, 25.7.1872; GLW 183 Southey to Barkly, 21.5.1874.

a single-barrel smooth-bore Percussion - value £5 or £6 but they buy many better class guns and pay £10 or £12 for them."¹⁰ In the Sotho "Gun war" and in the Sekhukhune rebellion it was commonly held that some African forces were better armed than the European forces, although no account of the African gun trade on the Diamond Fields mentions the extensive sale of breech loaders. Despite this, the Sotho had rifles which were superior to the Sniders¹¹ of the Cape forces,¹² which Basutoland authorities maintained had been obtained in Kimberley.¹³ Alfred Aylward stated that the Pedi were armed with breech loaders, implying that they had been obtained at the Fields. Sekhukhune's men did bring back many rifles from the Fields but there is no specific account of numbers of breech loaders being brought back. There were in addition many illegal traders who supplied the Pedi with rifles, some of which were breech loaders.¹⁴ The traditional view that Griqualand West was the largest supplier of rifles to Africans must be re-interpreted

-
10. Frederick Boyle: To the Cape for Diamonds, p.158; John Angove: In the Early Days, p.60; C.A. Payton: The Diamond Diggings of South Africa, p.146; Ernst von Weber: Vier Jahre in Afrika, p.219; GLW 183, Southey to Barkly, 2.5.1874. The value of two guns offered as prizes in a Rifle Match was: Sporting Snider and 100 cartridges, £12/10/-, Whitworth Rifle with sights, £18.
 11. See B.M. Berkowitch: The Military Snider Rifle in South Africa (The Journal of the Historical Firearms Society of South Africa. Vol.4 No 5, June 1968), for a description of Enfield and Snider rifles in South Africa.
 12. G. Tylden: The Rise of the Basuto, p.121; Edwin W. Smith: The Mabilles of Basutoland, p.105
 13. J.A. Benyon: Basutoland and the High Commission with particular reference to the years 1868-1884: The changing nature of the Imperial Government's Special Responsibility for the Territory, pp. 295-296.
 14. Alfred Aylward: The Transvaal of Today, pp.121,188; SN 5 Merensky to "Hoogte Uitvoerende Raad", 24.11.1873; T.S. van Rooyen: Die Sendeling Alexander Merensky in die geskiedenis van die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek, 1859-1882 (Archives Year Book for South Africa, 1954 II), pp.155-157; Kenneth W. Smith: The Campaigns against the Bapedi of Sekhukhune, 1877-1879 (Archives Year Book for South African History, 1967, II), pp.3,15; Eric Axelson: Portugal and the Scramble for Africa, 1859-1891, p.25. In the Legislative Council debate of 13.8.1874, Mr Thompson stated that "Everyone knew" that rifles had been taken to the Zambezi and Limpopo areas from American vessels in Walvis Bay.

against the long history of illicit gun trade in Southern Africa - which continued after the 1880's, and the common practice of Cape Railway contractors which allowed the sale of rifles to attract labourers.¹⁵ Sir Godfrey Lagden's statement before the Transvaal Labour Commission indicates another source: "When the Snider guns were done away with, and the Martinis came in the Boers worked the Sniders off on the Basutos; similarly when the Mausers came in, they worked off the Martinis on to them."¹⁶

J.B. Currey graphically described the departure of African workers for home, loaded with the spoil of the Diamond Fields. The greater part of the labourers' earnings, he estimated, were spent on

guns, powder and lead, old military uniforms, beads, brass wire, and perhaps a little food; and then having packed up their possessions, including all the old sheepskins, empty meat tins, and worn-out shoes they have been able to collect during their sojourn, they assemble in bodies, each man staggering under his burden, to which must be added, if possible, a tall hat and white umbrella, and with loud discordant yells, and with much firing of salutes of blank powder, they set off on their long homeward journey.¹⁷

Mr Ingle maintained that the wants of the African labourers had grown over the thirty years, 1874-1904, which had meant that labourers returned constantly to the mines to earn more money. This had helped create a more permanent labour force.¹⁸ Despite his statement, it seems, with one exception, that the needs which drew Africans to employment in the diamond mines did not change much over the period 1870-1890. The exception was the

-
15. See the Articles in the Journal of African History, Vol. XII, Nos 2 and 3, 1971, and J.M. Chirenje: A Survey of the Acquisition and Role of firearms in the history of the Tswana. On Cape railways see, G.I-'77 Colonial Defence Commission Report, p.17, "Labour can be procured for the public works without putting arms into the hands of the enemy." (my emphasis)
 16. C.1897-1904 Transvaal Labour Commission: Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Q.1853
 17. J.B. Currey: The Diamond Fields of Griqualand... (Journal of the Society of Arts, 17.3.1876), p.378
 18. C.1897-1904 Transvaal Labour Commission: Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Mr Frederick Ingle, Q.3752

rifle. The Peace Preservation Act (No. 13 of 1878) was made applicable to Griqualand West by Ordinance No. 3 of 1879. This made it impossible in practice for Africans to buy rifles. There had been a marked decrease in the gun trade after 1875, possibly the result of the confiscation of rifles by Transvaal and Free State authorities. Trade with Africans in rifles on the Diamond Fields was prohibited at the end of 1877, after the outbreak of war in the Cape Colony. Gun merchants in Kimberley petitioned about the loss of trade and their being stranded with large stocks of rifles and ammunition, but the petition was unsympathetically received.¹⁹ There was no recorded opposition to the Peace Preservation Act in the Griqualand West Legislative Council in 1879 and no protests were made.²⁰ Lanyon informed Sir Bartle Frere at that time that, though the sale of rifles was prohibited in Griqualand West, he had received reports of illicit trading by Natal merchants in Ngwato country.²¹ Labourers were by 1878 no longer drawn to the mines by the attraction of purchasing a rifle there.

The interest of African Chiefs in the Diamond Fields was recognised early, though their motives were not always clear. There was substance to the belief that the Chiefs sent their men to obtain rifles in Kimberley and it seems obvious that some chiefs would have used this opportunity

-
19. GH 12/9, Lanyon to Frere, 12.3.1878, encl. Petition of 25.2.1878; GLW 10, Frere to Lanyon, 8.4.1878. (Sir Bartle Frere was Governor and High Commissioner, March 1877 - September 1880)
20. GLW 147, Proceedings of the Legislative Council of Griqualand West, 17.1.1879 - February 1879. First reading 17.1.1879, Second 7.2.1879, Third 11.2.1879, published in the Griqualand West Government Gazette of 24.1.1879. Mr Frederick Ingle observed a falling off of labour when the gun trade was stopped, though it had not been acute and he had felt no inconvenience and nor had he heard any complaints. (C.1897-1904 Transvaal Labour Commission: Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Q.3833)
21. GLW 16, Lanyon to Frere, 26.2.1879

to arm their tribes.²² Another widely held belief was that they sent tribesmen to the Diamond Fields to steal diamonds. "They come to the Fields instructed by the Chiefs to steal diamonds and they obey orders like loyal subjects", was what Trollope must have been informed by diggers.²³ In the early years there were cases of Africans being found in possession of large numbers of diamonds on their way home, but the practice, in general, seems to have died out.²⁴ Rumours about the great numbers of diamonds which Sekhukhune had amassed in tribute from labourers who had returned from Kimberley, were quashed when British forces occupied his capital and found no trace of the treasure.²⁵ Some Chiefs sent men to the Diamond Fields for intelligence purposes and to supervise their subjects, and there is evidence of Chiefs going to the mines themselves. J.B. Currey wrote,

that, as all the Chiefs of tribes had amongst their men working at the diggings unofficially accredited ministers who kept them informed by returning parties of what was going on, we availed ourselves of the services of these men to exchange views...²⁶

-
22. C.1897-1904 Transvaal Labour Commission: Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Mr Frederick Ingle, Q.3832; S.T. van der Horst: Native Labour in South Africa, p.71, quoting oral evidence collected by I. Schapera from the Kgatla; J. Nixon: Among the Boers, p.159; G.27-'74 Blue Book on Native Affairs 1874, Report of the Magistrate, Thaba Bosigo sub-district, p.34
23. Anthony Trollope: South Africa, pp. 364-365. See similarly D.F.A., 12.7.1880, Report of the Legislative Council debate of 9.7.1880, on the Prevention of Diamond Theft Ordinance, Mr Green's attitude to diamond stealing. (Except for December 1873-August 1874 (GLW 2) and January to February 1879 (GLW 147), the minutes of the Legislative Council are apparently not available in South Africa. Newspapers gave fairly detailed reports, which normally corresponded well with each other. Southey, with a grudge against the reporters, did not regard the reports highly at all. He believed that as a rule they were inaccurate and that one reporter could not write shorthand and had to rely largely on memory.)
24. J.W. Matthews: Incwadi Yami, p.189; Diamond News, 6.1.1872, Letter to the Editor; 20.1.1872, Editorial; Frederick Boyle: To the Cape for Diamonds, p.320; C.2220-'79 Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Africa, Enclosure No 4 in No 17, Bailie to Lanyon, 30.7.1876, p.48.
25. Daily Independent, 15.1.1880
26. J.B. Currey: Half a Century in South Africa, p.267

Edwards's agreement with Sekhukhune involved close supervision of the Pedi on the Fields by two minor Chiefs, Marmaree (Mamarega) and Triman, who were to receive a royalty of one pound for Sekhukhune from the wages of each labourer employed, and were to sanction all permits for guns only after this royalty had been paid. In 1872 there were Chiefs present at the wage-reduction meetings, and Tylden states that Chiefs went from Basutoland to get rifles themselves.²⁷ In 1877 the Friend of the Free State reported that two petty Sotho chiefs had gone to the Diamond Fields to recall the Basutoland labourers and in 1881 rumours of war were sparked off by the apparent order of the "Soutpansberg Kafir Chiefs" to their men to return home.²⁸

Richard Southey tried from the time of his appointment to establish contact with as many African chiefs as possible. His motives were typical of the imperialist and some might add negrophilist: trade, British influence, civilisation and Christianization, an end to slavery - and the need to secure a constant supply of labourers for the Diamond Fields. That he was successful in establishing a correspondence with chiefs is indicated by an appeal from Government House in Cape Town for advice on how to send letters to someone at Soshong and to Lobengula, after his retirement in 1876.²⁹

On a visit to the Potchefstroom Agricultural Show in April 1873, Southey made contact with some of the nearby chiefs and availed himself of the opportunity to send letters to others by English traders.³⁰ He constantly, but always unsuccessfully, pressed for the British annexation of the south-western Transvaal and Keate Award territory, giving among his

27. GLW 17 "Memorandum of an agreement between Mr John Edwards with Sekukuni Paramount Chief of Sequatis people on 13 August 1873"; G. Tylden: The Rise of the Basuto, p.221

28. Report from the Friend of the Free State, in the Daily Independent, 23.10.1877

29. GLW 179, Hampden Willis (Clerk to the Governor) to Southey, 2.6.1876

30. GLW 180, Southey to Barkly, 26.4.1873

reasons, that Africans travelling through the Transvaal and having to pass through the district round Christiana would never be safe from the interference of the local boers. An opportunity for contact again offered itself in June 1873, when the traveller Andrew Anderson returned to the interior, and messages were sent to the "Principal Chiefs" informing them of the establishment of a government in Griqualand West under the Queen, asking co-operation in supplying the Diamond Fields with labourers, and alluding to the slave trade which he believed was carried on by the South African Republic.³¹

Southey reported to Barkly in November 1873 that he had written letters to "all the known Chiefs, but it is by no means certain that they will get them as any Transvaal Boer would consider himself at liberty to intercept and destroy them."³² One of these letters addressed to "Secheli chief of the Bakwena" was found in Sekhukhune's kraal in November 1879 by an Englishman, Samuel Fox. The letter concerned Southey's proposed plan of stations along the road to the Diamond Fields to provide food and shelter for the workers en route, and invited the co-operation of the Chief.³³ If Southey had not made contact with Sekhukhune before, through Edwards, the Chief must have received one of these letters. A letter to Lobengula, written circa May 1874, asked for continued good treatment towards Her Majesty's subjects, "God's Ministers" in particular, and urged

31. GLW 180, Southey to Barkly, 12.6.1873. Andrew A. Anderson was the author of Twenty-Five Years in a Waggon in the Gold Regions of Africa (1887).

32. GLW 182, Southey to Barkly, 5.11.1873

33. See Appendix A and Chapter III. Why a letter addressed to Sechele should have been found in Sekhukhune's kraal is a mystery, unless it was delivered to him in the first place. It could point to close contact between the tribes of the Transvaal - in 1876 Lobengula sent two headmen on a mission to Letsie in Basutoland. (C.2220-'79 Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Africa, pp.72 and 78)

him to allow his children to go to school.³⁴ During 1874 Southey also corresponded with Montshiwa, Mankurwane, Molema, Botlasitse, Jantje and Moroka, at Thaba 'Nchu. In August that year he wrote again to Sekhukhune, taking advantage of the return of Marmaree (Mamarega) from Kimberley. If Alexander Merensky was correct in his warning to the Transvaal Volksraad,³⁵ Marmaree had gone to the Diamond Fields the previous year with Edwards to complain to Southey about surveys made by a land commission in Sekhukhune's territory. Southey apparently heard nothing of this complaint, and must have thought very little of the joint labour scheme Marmaree had come to implement with Edwards, for he did not mention them in his continuous correspondence with Barkly. The letter Marmaree carried solicited Sekhukhune's goodwill in continuing to send labourers to the Diamond Fields, and invited his reply.³⁶ Marmaree would be able to speak of the good treatment received by the Chief's people at the mines.

The copy of this letter received by Sekhukhune has caused criticism of Southey's methods and objectives in corresponding with African Chiefs. Edgar Brookes roundly condemned the Southey administration for

-
34. GLW 188, Draft of a letter to Lobengula (undated) from Southey. Reference to the correspondence between Southey and Lobengula is made in Edward C. Tabler: To the Victoria Falls via Matabeleland (The Diary of Major Henry Stabb), pp.78, 217, 222 and Edward C. Tabler: Major Stabb's Description of Lobengula and the Matabele, 1875 (Africana Notes and News, Vol. XVII, No 4, 1966, pp. 166-79), where a Mr Thompson is described as the "resident missionary".
35. S.N. 5, Merensky to "Hoogte Uitvoerende Raad", 24.11.1873. (See Chapter I, footnote 20); GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 2.3.1875. See Chapter III.
36. GLW 188, Southey to Sekhukhune, 4.8.1874; and in SN 5. Reprinted in full in E.H. Brookes: The History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to the present day (1924), p.124 and p.420

allowing the sale of guns which had helped the Pedi in war and had in turn given Britain one reason for annexing the Transvaal.

When we see such a letter addressed to a Chief in a sovereign independent State, without the slightest reference to the head of that State, it helps us to form some conception of the calibre of the Griqualand West Administration. It also assists us to realise the measure of energy put into the task of recruiting Native labour, quite irrespective of the wisdom or otherwise of effecting such a profound revolution in Bantu life...³⁷

Uys condemned Southey in like manner. With this letter as his only quoted evidence, he stated that Southey

began to communicate directly with Sekukuni sending him ostensibly congratulatory greetings, but which were calculated to throw the apple of discord amongst the highly explosive material in the Transvaal Republic. No one acquainted with the mentality and peculiar outlook of the South African Native can fail to realise the pernicious effects of the messages which passed between Southey and Sekukuni.... This communication, signed as it was by Southey himself and sealed with the important looking insignia of Griqualand West, was all the encouragement the ambitious Chief needed to set the ball of Bantu diplomacy on the roll.³⁸

The simple message of the letter, interpreted and embellished by a European like Edwards could well have conveyed political intentions against the South African Republic, Uys further conjectured. These attacks on Southey were based on the belief that the Pedi did not have the right to land they held, as the Swazi had sold the land of Sekwati (Sekhukhune's father) to the Boers in 1845, confirmed by a second agreement in 1855. During the following twenty years it was, however, debated whether Sekwati had been a vassal of the Swazi and whether he was, in fact, a subject of the Transvaal.³⁹

-
37. E.H. Brookes: The History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to the present day (1924), p.124 and p.420
38. C.J. Uys: In the Era of Shepstone, pp.192 and 193
39. For a full discussion of the problem of the Pedi - Transvaal border, see T.S. van Rooyen: Die Verhoudinge Tussen die Boere, Engelse en Naturelle in die Geskiedenis van die Oos-Transvaal tot 1882 (Archives Year Book for South African History, 1951, I), pp.102-107

Nothing in Southey's letters indicated that his correspondence with Sekhukhune was motivated by anything but the desire to obtain labour for the Diamond Fields, and if it is held that he did this too zealously, he nevertheless did it with the best of Victorian intentions. He wrote, on the same day that he wrote the letter to Sekhukhune,

A people are being induced to work who never worked before and thousands of Native men obtain an insight into the value of civilisation and industry whose minds have heretofore been a perfect blank on such matters.

Southey established a friendly correspondence with Sekhukhune, and would not have favoured the annexation of Sekhukhuneland by the South African Republic, because he did not regard Sekhukhune's territory as belonging by right to the Transvaal. The status of the territory he seems to have regarded as being akin to that of the Tswana tribes on the western boundaries of the Republic. In the light of the strength the Pedi displayed in the later rebellion, Southey was giving them their right to independence, for they had not been defeated before 1879, neither did Sekhukhune recognise the Transvaal Government before then.⁴⁰

Southey exchanged gifts with most of the Chiefs in and near Griqualand West and exchanged gifts with Sechele and Sekhukhune in 1874. He explained that the need to give Sekhukhune either a horse and saddle or a good gun (more than the customary snuff box) was because the majority of the labourers for the mines came from his tribe and from the neighbouring Ndzundza Ndebele of Mapoch - the Cape Government could also have looked to the Pedi for labour but for the "dread attacks on them by the S.A. Republic".⁴¹ The

40. GLW 188, Southey to Barkly, 4.8.1874. GLW 189, Draft "Report of the Lieutenant Governor for 1874", section on 'Labour'. The Pedi were "nominally within the boundaries of the South African Republic, though they have not yet submitted to its rule". GLW 189, Southey to Barkly, 16.1.1875: Nearly all the Native labour for the mines came from the independent tribes beyond the S.A.R. in a northern and north-easterly direction.

41. GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 28.8.1874 (2nd letter)

relationship between Southey and Sekhukhune was essentially a business relationship between an employer and his main labour supplier.

In September 1874 Southey addressed letters to Chiefs Sekhukhune, Lobengula and Soshangane on behalf of four Englishmen who wished to prospect for gold in their respective territories. He stipulated that if they found gold they should report at once to the Chief and to himself, and should not have any rights to the gold nor be able to bring other people into the country without the permission of both men.⁴² An answer to the letter written to Lobengula circa May 1874 was received in November 1874, in which Southey was informed of Lobengula's willingness to receive the word of God, the suicide of a son of Lobengula, and the murder of a European in Matabeleland. The letter was replied to in February 1875.⁴³ Southey's correspondence with these chiefs was not regularly maintained by Lanyon though he did send letters with Bailie on his mission,⁴⁴ and appointed Edwards as Inspector of Native Locations with the expectation that he would "pay periodical visits to the neighbouring chiefs beyond the borders of the Province".⁴⁵ Southey's diplomacy was helpful in encouraging chiefs to allow men to make the journey to the Fields, but he was unable to back his promises with deeds.

Labourers travelling to Kimberley seem usually to have travelled along the main roads from the Transvaal, Bechuanaland, Natal and Basutoland. Descriptions of the routes followed are not available but it is possible to piece together the probable towns through which they passed. The road from the north-east was via Lydenburg, Botshabelo (Merensky's mission),

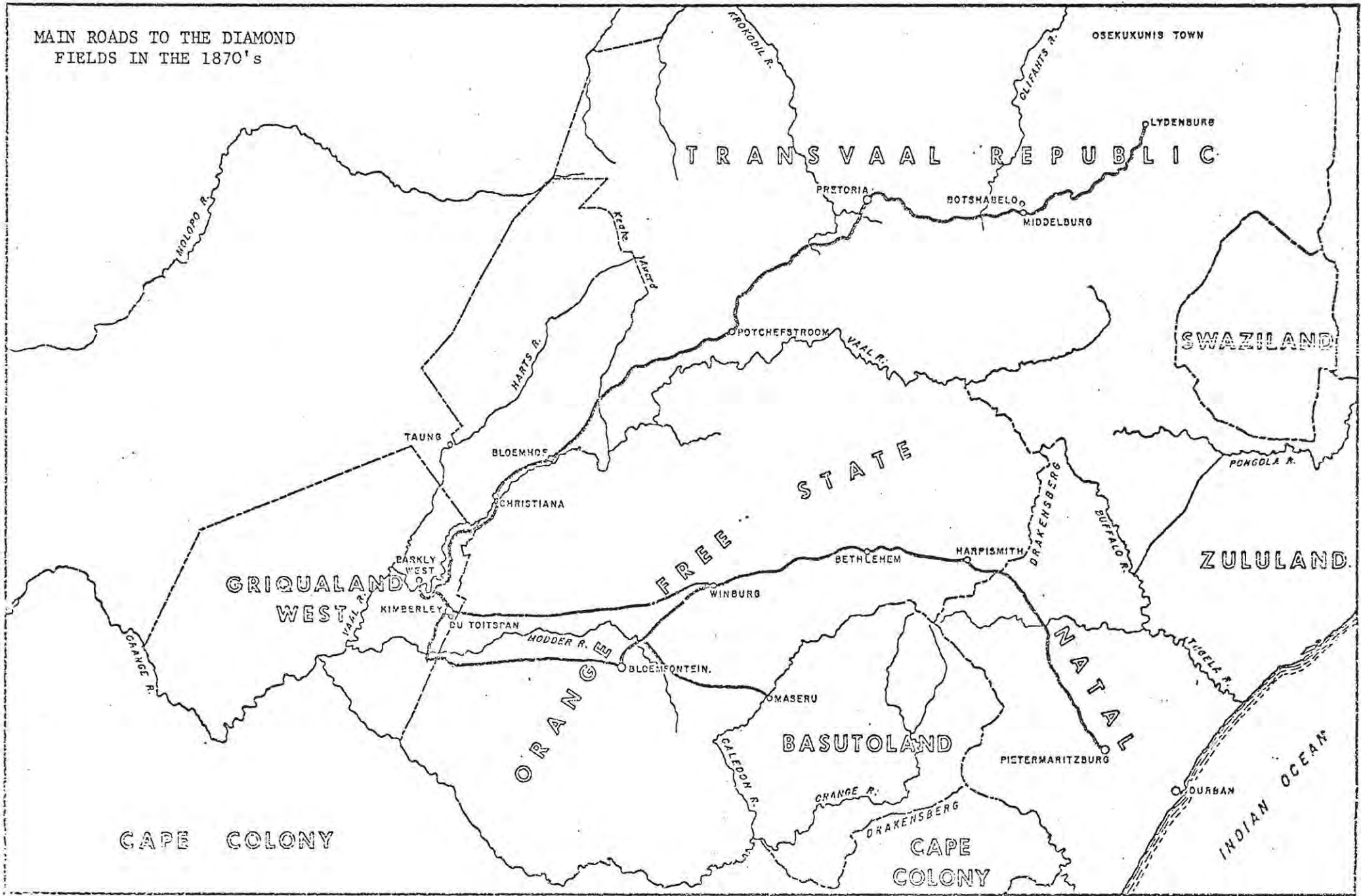
42. GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 9.9.1874; GLW 188, Southey to the Three Chiefs, 10.9.1874

43. Correspondence printed in the Diamond News, 18.3.1875; GLW 189, Southey to Lobengula, 9.2.1875

44. See Chapter III.

45. GLW 10, Lanyon to Frere, 11.3.1878

MAIN ROADS TO THE DIAMOND
FIELDS IN THE 1870's



Middelburg, Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Bloemhof and Christiana to Kimberley.⁴⁶ This is the route which most of the Pedi and many of the Shangaan must have followed. Other Shangaan from Mozambique travelled along the coast to Natal and from there crossed the Free State to get to the Fields, while some preferred to pay the passage from Delagoa Bay to Durban, rather than cross the Transvaal.⁴⁷ The Tswana, Shona and Ndebele followed the travellers' road to the north through Taung and Shoshong. Both of these roads passed through the disputed Tlhaping territory in the Bloemhof district, and many complaints of harassment were made by labourers, who were believed to be outside the borders of the Transvaal, in the Keate Aware territory. The road from Natal passed through Harrismith and Bethlehem. It is probable that most of these labourers by-passed Bloemfontein.⁴⁸ Labourers from Basutoland travelled the shorter distance to Bloemfontein, probably via Thaba 'Nchu in Moroka's territory, and from there to the Fields.

The greatest obstacle facing Africans who were keen to work at the Diamond Fields was the sheer physical endurance needed to reach Kimberley. Those from north of the Limpopo and the northern Transvaal had to walk the best part of 600 miles through inhospitable country, their emaciated condition prejudicing chances of employment - and survival - after they had reached their objective. Perhaps the bravest were the wives of the men working in Kimberley at the time of the great De Beers dynamite explosion (1884) who were said to have walked 1 000 miles to ascertain whether their husbands had been killed.⁴⁹

46. GLW 144, No 3247, letter from Coleman, 12.11.1879; GLW 7, Lanyon to Barkly, 9.9.1876; GH 12/8, Lanyon to Barkly, 9.3.1877; D.F.A., 17.5.1880, 'The Labour Market'.

47. Griqualand West Government Gazette, 20.10.1877, "Report of the Native Labour Department in the year 1876", p.139; D.F.A., 18.8.1880, 'The Labour Market'.

48. GLW 175, declarations before Mr R.K.H. D'Arcy, 30.8.1873

49. A.R. Sawyer: Diamonds in South Africa, p.41

Tribesmen who travelled through the Transvaal had to face an understandably hostile European population. The number of men, travelling in groups of ten or more, which passed along the main roads, must have been very high, and living off the land as they did must have cost neighbouring farmers dearly. Not only were they a nuisance during their journey, but the travellers could have posed a threat to isolated families, and they certainly did nothing to improve the perennial shortage of farm labour. The fact that the tribesmen were arming themselves at the same time must have incensed the average farmer. Africans frequently complained of the treatment they received as they walked through the Transvaal, yet it was surprising that the journey was not made far more difficult. The traditional hospitality of the boer nation must at least have been extended by some to the beggarly travellers.

The roads leading to the Diamond Fields through the Transvaal were crowded with Pedi, Ndebele and other tribes, when Nixon travelled along them in 1877/78.⁵⁰ Von Weber recorded that the African travellers could only feed themselves very pathetically on roots, berries, locusts, and on maize and kaffir corn from other Africans whose huts they passed.⁵¹ Of a party of eight Shangaans who started for Kimberley in 1871, Frederick Ingle recalled that three had died on the road, one had died on reaching Kimberley and the remaining four had only been able to do light work.⁵² Many similar complaints of suffering endured by labourers en route through the Transvaal reached Coleman and Currey. Inevitably cold winters and dry summers took their toll, and conditions were worse than usual when the roads were crowded with labourers. Many half-starved men also lost their

50. J. Nixon: Among the Boers, p.158

51. Ernst von Weber: Vier Jahre in Afrika II, p.29

52. C.1897-1904 Transvaal Labour Commission: Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Q.3752

lives trying to cross flooded rivers.⁵³ In the winter drought of 1873, two African men from Genadendal reported that they had passed the bodies of seven dead men on the road to Christiana and had found another five dying on a farm. They had once been charged a shilling per bottle of water and a shilling for two slices of bread.⁵⁴ A group of 112 Africans arriving in Kimberley a year later told of a heavy snowfall three or four days' march from Christiana. As there had been no wood to make a fire, forty of their party had died during the two days they had been forced to wait. Coleman added that some of those who had arrived had been badly burnt from sitting too close to their fires, and that, despite their poor condition, they would be employed at 5 to 8s. per week.⁵⁵ A party of Kalanga which travelled down at the same time lost several of their men, who had fallen in the road after tripping repeatedly, and had been left to die. They had also passed the bodies of four of their tribesmen lying at the side of the road. The 18 men who eventually arrived at Kimberley were contracted at 6s. and 4s. per week to Mr Quin, a partner of Dr J.W. Matthews. They had refused to contract for longer than a month since they believed they would later be able to earn higher wages.⁵⁶ The Diamond News commented on the "pitiabile condition" of the Africans then arriving at the Diamond Fields:

There have been instances, but few we trust, where natives have been refused permission to either sleep on farms or buy food, and this inhuman conduct has increased the pangs of hunger and for aught we know to the contrary resulted in a miserable death.

-
53. C.2220-'79 Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Africa, Enclosure No. 5 in No. 17, Report of the Commission upon the Griqualand Labour Question, para. 15, p.64
54. GLW 71, Coleman to Southey, 15.10.1873
55. GLW 71, Coleman to Currey, 25.7.1874; Diamond Field, 29.7.1874
56. GLW 71, Coleman to Currey, 28.7.1874; 5.8.1874

The writer rather optimistically concluded that if only the boers were to treat the Africans better they would have less difficulty in getting labour themselves.⁵⁷ A few weeks later the winter of 1874 took a further toll. Of an original party of 600 which left from the region of the Zambezi, 150 had arrived at the Diamond Fields. Many had died of cold, some had been forced to work by the Boers, and others had turned back.⁵⁸ Tribesmen returning from Kimberley had money to buy food, but were sometimes ruthlessly exploited. A farmer in the Bloemhof district was reported to have charged a party of forty men 20s. each to spend a night under some trees on his farm, and the Diamond News believed this to be "no uncommon experience."⁵⁹ The general situation had not changed much by 1880. A great snowfall in the Lydenburg district in August that year caused the death of a number of Africans, who were later found frozen on the side of the road.⁶⁰

Robberies on the way home were also frequent hazards to labourers who passed through the Transvaal. In 1872 men disguised as policemen searched Africans travelling from Kimberley for diamonds. If they found no diamonds they took cash - and one party complained of having had between fifty and sixty pounds stolen by a man who had claimed to be a detective. It was common for labourers to be robbed by Africans, especially the Tlhaping tribes. An interpreter from Coleman's office was once threatened with the confiscation of all his possessions, including a double-barrelled rifle which had cost him twenty-five pounds, but was set free after giving his assailants all the money he had.⁶¹ The Kalanga were

57. Diamond News, 1.8.1874

58. GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 28.8.1874

59. Diamond News, 14.1.1873

60. D.F.A., 27.8.1880

61. Diamond Field, 11.7.1872, 'Robberies from Natives'; GLW 71, Coleman to Currey, 19.8.1874

apparently discouraged from going to the Diamond Fields because of frequent robberies by the Ndebele on the return journey.⁶² Complaints were also often made against Transvaal officials who confiscated rifles from the travellers. Many of a group of Africans divested of their rifles at Christiana in 1876 returned to the Fields to take up employment again.⁶³ Lanyon warned Barkly a month later that if the seizure of money and guns was allowed to continue unchecked it would imperil the working of the mines. The only road open for natives arriving from the north-east lay through Tlhaping territory. The Transvaal government had offered Africans no protection, and as a result many preferred to take the more circuitous route through "a series of native principalities", than risk ill-treatment and robbery from the boers.⁶⁴ A report reprinted from the Transvaal Argus in 1881, focussed attention on another danger to returning labourers.⁶⁵ An organised system of murder had been discovered on the road between Pretoria and Middelburg. Four Africans were charged with the murder and robbery of two men on their way from the Diamond Fields. There had been similar robberies in the Lydenburg district, by three European suspects. The risk of robbery continued to plague workers for many years. In 1885, the Protector of Natives in Kimberley drew attention to the robbery and

-
62. Griqualand West Government Gazette, 20.10.1877, Government Notice No. 190 of 1877, p.139. See also C.1897-1904 Transvaal Labour Commission: Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Rev. E. Creux, Q.191.
63. Diamond Field, 4.8.1876; GLW 180 Southey to Anderson, 26.6.1873 (p.304). There were many Transvaal laws forbidding trade in arms and ammunition with natives in and on the borders of the Transvaal. Article 6 of the Sand River Convention specifically forbade it. There were also many restrictions on African inhabitants of the Transvaal carrying rifles, but the law applied at Christiana seems to have been Wet No. 9-1870, Arts. 10 and 11. Though these Articles required a one shilling pass for an African to carry a rifle, they did not refer to the position of Africans carrying rifles with them through the Transvaal. Wet No. 3-1876 introduced an import duty on African arms and ammunition. (Art. 15: every rifle barrel - 15s., a pound of powder - 1s., 1000 caps - 4s., a pound of lead - 3d)
64. GLW 7, Lanyon to Barkly, 9.9.1876
65. D.F.A., 7.11.1881

murder which had taken place during the disturbances in Bechuanaland. He mentioned one example, of a party of Africans returning home with a wagon in May 1884 who were murdered by a "filibustering commando" [of Boers?] and their wagon and goods were seized.⁶⁶ John X. Merriman and the Board for the Protection of Mining Interests complained of the decline in trade which had resulted from these robberies.

This trade [£300 000 p.a.] is now imperilled: the disturbances in Bechuanaland practically close that route for any native that possesses anything worth robbing; while the curious fiscal arrangements of the Transvaal give a pretext to their field-cornets and burghers to constitute themselves amateur Custom House officers and to stop and despoil natives returning from the Diamond Fields with their purchases. The consequence is that those natives who do come down and who dare to go back, instead of buying British manufacture in the shape of clothes and goods, try to secrete their earnings about them to the loss and detriment of the commerce of Kimberley and the Cape Colony.⁶⁷

In March 1872 the Transvaal Volksraad imposed a tax of five shillings on natives leaving the country, in the form of a "Buitenlandsche pas". Each native travelling from the country had to obtain one of these passes from a Landdrost.⁶⁸ The printed pass was issued to one or more Africans, and included their first names, destination, date, place of issue, the signature of a Landdrost and the amount paid.⁶⁹ The effects of this were soon felt in Kimberley, and it was obvious that the measure was being applied not only to inhabitants of the South African Republic but also to Africans travelling through the country. Most of the tribesmen leaving

66. G.2-'85 Blue Book on Native Affairs 1885, p.206

67. John X. Merriman: Our Diamond Industry (1885), pp. 91-92

68. Gouwerments Kennisgeving No. 847, Uitvoerende Raadsbesluit, Art. 30, 16.3.1872. T.S. van Rooyen: Die Sendeling Alexander Merensky in die Geskiedenis van die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek 1859-1882 (Archives Year Book for South African History, 1954, II), p.157

69. GLW 17 "Buitenlandsche Pas" pinned to "Memorandum of an agreement between Mr John Edwards with Sekukuni Paramount Chief of Sequatis people on 13 August 1873", dated 10.9.1873

for the Diamond Fields for the first time had no money with which to pay for a pass, and if the tax had been strictly enforced, it would have crippled the labour supply of the diamond mines. This Uitvoerende Raadsbesluit was consolidated by Wet No. 3 of 1872, which stipulated that each African must have a pass, which would be renewable annually at one pound. No further taxation would be imposed on Africans in the Transvaal. Africans entering the Transvaal from neighbouring territories would have to obtain a pass within 8 days, and the "Buitelandsche passen" would cost an additional 2s.6d.⁷⁰ The law was amended in March the following year by Wet No. 4 of 1873, which provided that passes would be issued free on production of a certificate from a burgher that the applicant was employed by him. Neither law imposed penalties for Africans found without a pass.

Richard Southey, in urging that the territory between the Makwassie Spruit (Keate Award line) and Griqualand West be annexed, informed Barkly that "They now require all natives passing through their territories to procure a Pass for which they charge £1!! (sic)". He had received the news from Best, the Landdrost at Christiana, who, it seems, was powerless to enforce the law without police to check passes. The Lieutenant-Governor was naturally perturbed, as the extension of the pass requirements to the Keate Award territory might have affected some Africans on the road from the north, as well as men from the Transvaal. He continued,

Large numbers of natives coming to and going from the Fields pass through the Trans-Vaal and of course are quite unable to pay for the Pass when coming here; if therefore the Govt. of the Trans-Vaal can enforce the Pass law they will effectively cut off a large supply of labour from us. One object they have in view, no doubt is to get labour themselves. They say that since the drain of labour to the Fields they have been almost without it.

70. Wet No. 3-1872, Voor de uitreiking der Passen aan Naturellen in de Z.A. Republiek, 19.8.1873

There is some truth in this; but it is more owing to their treatment of the Natives and their class laws that the Natives will not serve them.⁷¹

Two weeks later Southey wrote that if he could get information that the Transvaal pass laws prevented Griqualand West from getting labour, and that Africans on their way to the Fields had turned back in the Transvaal, or had been forced to take service there, he intended to communicate with President Burgers, for he had no doubt that Africans would be deterred from leaving their own country as soon as they found they could not pass through the South African Republic.⁷² At the beginning of 1875 Southey again sounded the alarm, though with less cause, as the pass laws had not reduced the numbers of men coming to Kimberley significantly. He believed a law passed in 1873 would come into operation in 1875, "calculated if not intended", to prevent Africans leaving their homes. He noted that the law had not yet been published, though it had not been abandoned, despite President Burgers' evident hesitation. The law would introduce a degree of slave labour in demanding compulsory service for three months, a tax of five pounds for passes, and heavy penalties (one pound to ten pounds and punishment of ten to twenty-five lashes for non-observance). It was not promulgated.

In 1877, after the Transvaal had been annexed by Britain, Lanyon complained to Barkly that the Transvaal had been systematically levying taxes and imposts on Africans coming to and going from Griqualand West. As evidence he enclosed two affidavits from traders at Taung, which confirmed the reports of the Africans themselves. Jacobus van Rhyne had spent a year in Christiana, within the Keate Award territory (c. September 1875 to

71. GLW 180, Southey to Barkly, 12.4.1873

72. GLW 180, Southey to Barkly, 26.4.1873. It is unlikely that Southey ever corresponded with Burgers on the matter.

September 1876). He stated that at least 2 000 rifles had been forcibly taken from natives returning from the Diamond Fields, on the grounds that they had not bought licences. Many of these were, however, redeemed on payment of the licence fee. Africans on their way to Kimberley were made to pay a licence fee of 1s. at Christiana, for which they were obliged to work up to fourteen days, if they did not have the money. John Venables swore to seeing 125 to 150 rifles in Mr Best's courtroom at Christiana. They had been confiscated until the licence fee was paid. A further pile of "unclaimed" rifles was to be sold by public auction.⁷³

After Colonel Lanyon became Administrator of the Transvaal in March 1879, the pass laws were, ironically, very much more strictly enforced.⁷⁴ This diminished the supply of labour from the Transvaal considerably, as the labour returns for 1879 and 1880 show.⁷⁵ The shortage was made considerably worse by the Sotho "Gun War". Lanyon enforced again the five shilling "Buitenlandsche Pas" or "Transit Pass", the document itself being very similar to that used in 1873, except that it was bilingual and that an expiry date was given.⁷⁶ Sir Charles Warren wrote to Lanyon that, "These arrangements are causing a very strong feeling

73. GH 12/8, Lanyon to Barkly, 9.3.1877, affidavits made before David Arnot, 7.3.1877

74. Sir Theophilus Shepstone administered the Transvaal for Britain from April 1877 - March 1879; Col. William Owen Lanyon, March 1879 - August 1881. The state was under the triumvirate of Paul Kruger, P.J. Joubert and M.W. Pretorius from August 1881 - May 1883, when Kruger became President. Lanyon's application of these laws could have been caused by the need to improve Transvaal finances, and to please the burghers. See Chapter III.

75. See H.J. Vickers: Griqualand West, its Area, Population, Commerce, and General Statistics (c.1879), p.13, and Appendix D.

76. GLW 19, Coleman to F.J. Villiers, Acting Colonial Secretary, 8.11.1879. Passes were included in the correspondence.

at the Diamond Fields as the labour market is at present very scarce"⁷⁷ and suggested that the passes be issued free. He enclosed a letter to him from Coleman, as Protector of Natives,⁷⁸ which summarised what was believed to be taking place in the Bloemhof district. Africans coming from the north were stopped by persons calling themselves Transvaal officers and were forced to pay one shilling or be handed over to a farmer for two or three days, the farmer paying the required amount. Each returning native was made to pay five shillings, or serve a longer period of "compulsory servitude". The constables involved received five percent of the receipts. Coleman was notified (25 October 1879) that the tax had been discontinued as of the end of September, and a Griqualand West Government Notice was issued to this effect on 7 November 1879, noting that the Protector of Natives had not received any complaints about the pass law being enforced since 2 September 1879.⁷⁹ On 11 November Coleman received complaints from eight Africans who had been detained at Potchefstroom for ten days to meet the demand of five shillings. Ten more Africans stated that they had been asked to take out passes of five shillings in Pretoria. They had had no money and so had had to work for a month for wages of 10s. from which they paid for their passes. Passes dated 20 October 1879 were submitted in evidence.⁸⁰ The complaint was transmitted by De Wet, the Acting Administrator, to Lanyon.⁸¹ The

-
77. GLW 13, Warren to Lanyon, 21.8.1879. Warren became Acting Administrator in February 1879, in Lanyon's place.
78. At this time Coleman was also Protector of Natives in Kimberley, and C. Mangin Bult in Dutoitspan. See Chapter IV for discussion of the role of the Protector of Natives.
79. Griqualand West Government Gazette 7.11.1879, Government Notice No 205 of 1879, 29.10.1879.
80. GLW 13, Coleman to Villiers, 8.11.1879
81. GLW 17, De Wet to Lanyon, 12.11.1879. Justice J.P. de Wet (later Sir Jacobus), the Recorder of Griqualand West, followed Col. Warren as Acting Administrator in October 1879. James Rose Innes became Acting Administrator in January 1880, and continued in this position until the Cape took over the government of the territory in October 1880. Rose Innes later became Under Secretary for Native Affairs in the Cape. He was the son of Dr James Rose Innes, the first Superintendent-General of Education at the Cape, and father of Sir James Rose Innes, Chief Justice of the Union of South Africa.

following day Coleman again received evidence of the tax being imposed, on two Africans at Lydenburg. Once in possession of the passes they were not asked to pay anything more en route.⁸²

At the beginning of December 1879, De Wet wrote to Frere⁸³ about the "great scarcity of labour." He listed the causes as the unsettled state of the African tribes, the restriction of the gun trade and the imposts of the Transvaal on labourers en route to and from the Diamond Fields. The earlier relaxation of the tax, he contended, had had as an almost immediate consequence the arrival of sufficient labourers in Kimberley.⁸⁴ It was with surprise and disappointment that Griqualand West had learnt of the tax being imposed again. De Wet thought it unjust of one British colony to handicap another - remembering how the Transvaal had benefited from the Griqualand West market for produce, but forgetting that the Griqualand West gun trade had once handicapped the Transvaal, - and warned that he might seek help from the Governor of the Transvaal [Sir Garnet Wolseley] if the tax continued. Frere (?) noted in the margin of the letter that he should ask Lanyon's opinion on the tax. The Kimberley Mining Board emphasised the urgency of the situation by asking De Wet to send a petition to Colonel Lanyon on the supply of African labour.⁸⁵ This was followed by a letter from the Mining Board sent to Frere, with

82. GLW 144, No. 3247, from Coleman, 12.11.1879

83. GH 12/10, De Wet to Frere, 3.12.1879

84. H.J. Vickers: Griqualand West, its Area, Population, Commerce and General Statistics, p.13 argues that the initial impact of the enforcement of the five shilling pass law was felt in the second quarter of 1879, and illustrates this by comparing the labour returns of the first and second quarters. It seems that, if the relaxation mentioned occurred in July and August, De Wet was correct in his assertion, for the August returns were significantly higher than those for July. By October the returns were down to the July level.

85. It was rare for a mining board to concern itself with matters of African labour before 1880. GLW 13, De Wet to Lanyon, 20.12.1879

copies to Lanyon and Wolsley,⁸⁶ suggesting that the tax be imposed only on Africans returning from the Fields. Lanyon answered this dispatch in February 1880. He pointed out that many of the assertions that had been made could have been refuted. Scarcity of labour in Griqualand West was nothing new and had even occurred during the time when the pass laws had been suspended in the Transvaal. The Transvaal had suffered from a shortage of labour as the Africans had preferred to go to Kimberley, even when higher wages had been offered, as the illicit trade had meant that the labourer could supplement his wages to a large extent.⁸⁷ In the meantime correspondence had passed between the two governments on a labour supply scheme of a Mr H. Dennison.⁸⁸ The subject of the five shilling tax had been raised in a question in the Legislative Council before Lanyon's reply had been received, the Attorney General replying that the Government hoped that a satisfactory settlement would be reached and mentioning the labour supply scheme.⁸⁹ In May 1880 the Acting Administrator was able to report in his speech to the Legislative Council that

the Transvaal Government by the repeal of the tax levied on all natives passing through their state has removed from the labour market an obstruction which has hitherto, by checking the free supply of labour, acted prejudicially to the interests of the community.⁹⁰

At the end of April, Rose Innes had received a telegram from Frere informing him that the five shilling pass law had been repealed and that only one shilling would be charged on passes for foreign Africans.⁹¹ Wet

86. GLW 13, GH 12/10, De Wet to Frere, 25.12.1879, enclosing a letter from the Kimberley Mining Board

87. GLW 17, Lanyon to Rose Innes, 22.2.1880

88. GLW 17, Lanyon to Rose Innes, 29.1.1880. See Chapter III.

89. D.F.A., 25.2.1880, Report on the Legislative Council meeting of 24.2.1880

90. D.F.A., 5.5.1880, Acting Administrator's speech of 3.8.1880

91. GLW 17, Governor C.T. to Administrator G.W., telegram 30.4.1880

No. 6 of 1880 altered the basis of African taxation to an annual hut tax of £1, and revised the existing pass legislation. The landdrost, or other official, was to issue transit passes for a fee of a shilling. Similar passes were required to travel from one district to another. Any burgher could ask an African traveller to produce his pass, on penalty of a maximum fine of one pound.⁹² A Government Notice clarified that foreign Africans had to obtain the one shilling pass.⁹³ The Diamond Fields Advertiser was sceptical that the new law would change the established practice. Its fears were confirmed when the newspaper was given a pass issued in Potchefstroom on 1 May 1880 by the Landdrost, A.M. Goetz. It asked indignantly: "When is this blackmail system to cease? Is it to be tolerated that one Crown Colony should thus seek to obstruct the welfare of another? Are we ever to receive nothing but injury in return for all the benefits we have conferred on the Transvaal?"⁹⁴

The fear of taxation on African labourers travelling to the Diamond Fields reappeared in 1881. In June a meeting convened to discuss the situation in the Transvaal passed a resolution asking Britain to take such measures as would ensure the free passage of African labourers through the Transvaal to the Diamond Fields, whether the Republic remained in British hands or not.⁹⁵ The Diamond Fields Advertiser took up the cudgels again in August 1881, after Sir Hercules Robinson⁹⁶ had informed

-
92. Wet No 6-1880 Om sekere Wetten en Besluiten door den Volksraad an de Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek gepasseerd te veranderen en te amanderen en om het tegenwoordig bedrag van Belasting op die Naturellen dezer Provincie te veranderen.
93. Gouvernements Kennisgeving No. 239, 14.11.1883, Art. d.
94. D.F.A., 17.5.1880 'The Labour Market'
95. D.F.A., 3.6.1881, Report of the meeting of 1.6.1881
96. Governor and High Commissioner, January 1881 - May 1889



African chiefs in the Transvaal that the then present transit laws would remain. The payment for the passes was objected to, not the passes themselves, for in order to raise the one shilling Africans would frequently have to work for a few days, and would sometimes be made to take out passes at more than one town on their route. This, together with the difficulty of finding places to sleep, and having to buy water, had caused great hardship to the African travellers. The newspaper was, however, more concerned with the maintenance of a constant supply of labourers for the mines than the welfare of the men themselves. The situation appears to have eased after the Triumvirate took over the government of the South African Republic, and the press subsequently referred seldom to the problem.⁹⁷

Labourers travelling through the Free State faced a similarly hostile population. The Free State law, unlike most of the Transvaal legislation, clearly restricted the African traveller. Ordinance 7 of 1858 made it illegal for any coloured person to have a pistol or other weapon in his possession, unless he carried it in the service of a white person.⁹⁸ A decision of the Volksraad in June 1873 made it compulsory for all Africans travelling or leaving the Free State to be in possession of a sixpenny pass. The following year this was amended, to require a separate one shilling certificate for all Africans entering the state, payable to the first magistrate, justice of the peace or field cornet.⁹⁹

-
97. D.F.A., 8.8.1881 'The Labour Question'. The reason for this was possibly that the Transvaal had become accustomed to the flow of labourers to the Diamond Fields.
98. Ordonnantie No.7-1858, Art.15, which included the provision that Griqua could carry arms if they had written authority from their government. Art. 18 imposed a fine of not less than £10 or three months, or more than £500 or seven years. See J.J. Oberholster: Die Anneksasie van Griekwaland-Wes (Archives Year Book for South African History, 1945), pp. 255-6
99. Ordonnantie No.11-1877, Volksraadsbesluiten, 5.6.1873 and 5.6.1874

The Sotho, who were the main travellers across the Free State were subject, in addition, to an agreement made with Moshweshwe under the treaty of Thaba Bosiu, (Art.8), in 1866. In terms of this, subjects of Moshweshwe were only allowed to enter the Free State to seek employment, to trade, and to convey letters. They were not allowed to carry weapons, nor were more than four men allowed to travel together, or be found together.¹⁰⁰ It does not appear that these laws were rigidly enforced, but when they were enforced they made the journey to the Diamond Fields and back very difficult for Africans.

A tense situation in the Free State at the beginning of 1873 led to an incident between a burgher commando and a group of about 80 Sotho returning from the Fields in January. The Sotho were ordered to go to Boshof (probably to the nearest Landdrost, where their rifles might have been taken away) as they had no Free State permit to carry guns. They refused, and also refused to hand over their rifles.¹⁰¹ The commando then fired on them, killing two men and wounding several others. The headman of the Sotho ordered his men to return fire, at which the burghers took shelter. The Africans returned to Kimberley, leaving the dead and wounded behind. One eye-witness, an Australian digger, saw the whole incident, and stated in a letter to the Diamond News that the boers had

100. Ordonnantie No.5-1866, Ordonnantie omtrent de Paswet voor de onderdanen van het Opperhoofd Moshesh, Arts. 12 and 13

101. GLW 180, Southey to Barkly, 18.1.1873. See L. Minnot: Sir Richard Southey. Lieutenant-Governor of Griqualand West, 1872-1875, pp.69-71 for the legal and diplomatic consequences of the shooting. In August 1874 Southey was still pressing Barkly for a judicial enquiry into the incident. (GLW 188, Southey to Barkly, 13.8.1874) For further details see J.J. Oberholster: Die Anneksasie van Griekwaland-Wes (Archives Year Book for South African History 1945), pp.257-259; Ernst von Weber: Vier Jahre in Afrika, p.220; W.W. Collins: Free Statia, pp.302-305; T.W. Barlow: The Life and Times of President Brand, p.153

fired first.¹⁰² The initial result of the shooting for African labourers travelling through the Free State was to make the journey almost impossible, but it appears that the strong pressure on the Free State government from Southey and Barkly for a full investigation, made Free State officials more wary in dealing with the African travellers. It was clear to Barkly that Griqualand West should make arrangements with the Free State to place returning labourers on the same legal footing as Griquas, authorised by their government to carry arms, in terms of Ordinance 7 of 1858, Art. 15.¹⁰³ Southey admitted that the routine "return pass" issued by the Registrar of Natives did not authorise Africans to go into the Free State. He was unsure of the legal position:

We are under a sort of engagement with the Free State not to give permits for the conveyance of arms or ammunition into the Free State unless the parties desiring it produce permits from the Free State Govt. authorising them to convey the articles thither. This I think was done in Sir George Grey's time.¹⁰⁴

The Free State authorities were satisfied after a report from a Field Cornet and an Inspector of Police that further judicial investigation was unnecessary, and remained of this opinion.¹⁰⁵ Southey noted that the Free State Volksraad had been told that the shooting had taken place because the Sotho had refused to go to Boshof to obtain Free State passes - which anyone knew they would not have been given. Rather, he thought, their guns would have been confiscated.¹⁰⁶

Later in 1873 another incident occurred, which must have been

102. Diamond News, 4.2.1873

103. GLW 3, Barkly to Southey, 19.2.1873

104. GLW 180, Southey to Barkly, New Rush 28.2.1873, continued Klipdrift, 1.3.1873

105. GLW 3, Barkly to the Commissioners administering the Government of the Free State [W.W. Collins, G.J. du Toit, and F.R. Scheehage], 22.3.1873 in reply to F.K. Höhne's letter on their behalf, 6.3.1873

106. GLW 180, Southey to Barkly, 29.5.1873; GH 12/3, Southey to Barkly, 10.9.1873

typical of many others.¹⁰⁷ A Mrs Hannah Helps had engaged a number of Zulu at the Resident Magistrate's office in Pietermaritzburg for six months. They had each been given an envelope addressed to Mrs Helps at the Diamond Fields, which she thought would suffice for a pass, and had been provided with blankets. According to affidavits made by some of the Zulu, they left Pietermaritzburg near the beginning of July 1873, and eight were arrested by a policeman in Bethlehem for being without passes. The envelopes which they had thought were passes were opened by the policeman, and their papers, money, sticks and knives, and blankets were taken away. The men were put to work on the roads and in digging graves for a month, and were placed in stocks every night, after having refused to work for wages of ten shillings a month. Three of the Zulu were again arrested on leaving Winburg, and ordered by a Magistrate to work for a week. They were flogged when they refused to work and two of them were imprisoned for a month. After a week's work in Winburg for the man who had caught him, the other Zulu was given a paper, "voor een Kaffer genaamd Tom om naar den Diamond Felden te gaan."¹⁰⁸

President Brand claimed that the officials concerned were justified in acting in terms of the Free State law, in particular, Ordinance No. 1 of 1860, a vagrancy ordinance which required every coloured person coming into the country to have a "passport", signed by a missionary or chief.¹⁰⁹

-
107. L. Minott: Sir Richard Southey. Lieutenant-Governor of Griqualand West, 1872-1875 pp.79-80. Minott states 14 Zulu, not 9 - as in Mrs Hannah Help's letter to Currey, 25.8.1873 included in GLW 3, R. Trimen (Asst. Clerk to Barkly) to Currey, 13.11.1873
108. GLW 187, Southey to Barkly, 13.2.1874; GLW 175, Affidavits made by three Zulu before R.K.H. D'Arcy (Tom, 30.8.1873, January and Gofi (?), 2.9.1873)
109. Ordonnantie No.1-1860 Ordonnantie bepalende de Wet tegen Landlooperij en Veediefte, Arts. 4, 5, and 7. The "Passport" had to include the name of the African, purpose of the journey, destination, length of the journey and number of persons. Any African traveller could be stopped and asked for his passport by any burgher. The penalty was a minimum of a month and a maximum of three months imprisonment.

Southey claimed that the ordinance did not refer to British subjects, and that the Zulu had not been charged with vagrancy.¹¹⁰ The correspondence of Southey and Barkly with Brand, again, did not cause the Free State to apologise or to pay compensation to Mrs Helps and the Zulu, but it led to greater clarity on the Free State law concerning foreign Africans travelling in the country. Brand corresponded with the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, Sir Benjamin Pine, and a Volksraad resolution was published along with other information on passes, in the Natal Government Gazette.¹¹¹

"This system is to seize and keep and this is not only done by govt. officials but by private individual boers", Southey had previously characterised the Free State attitude to rifles carried by African labourers. As an example he had quoted the case of a Sotho man travelling from Port Elizabeth who had had a double-barrelled rifle taken from him at Philipolis, despite his possession of a certificate stating that he had purchased it lawfully.¹¹² The "seize and keep" system had resulted in 2 000 guns being confiscated from Africans by Free State authorities at Boshof, by the beginning of 1873,¹¹³ and it prevailed to a more limited extent after the Sotho shooting incident and Mrs Help's case. In September 1873, three Sotho complained to Southey that they had had their guns and property taken from them by eight armed boers in the Free State.¹¹⁴ Another incident took

110. GH 12/3, Currey/Southey to Trimen, 6.12.1873

111. GLW 187, Southey to Barkly, 13.2.1874. A Volksraad resolution of 12.5.1873 apparently made reference to Africans travelling who had been supplied with passes by Free State officials. The Ordonnantie Boek van de Oranjevrijstaat 1854-1880 did not include this resolution. GLW 3, Brand to Barkly 8.4.1874

112. GLW 180, Southey to Barkly, 9.5.1873. See also Southey's complaint about the gun to the Commissioners, GLW 187, 11.6.1873.

113. Diamond Field, 30.1.1873

114. GH 12/3, Southey to Barkly, 10.9.1873

place in the following year when a party of "respectable" Griquas travelling with three wagons was arrested, put in prison and fined one pound each for being without passes, although they had possessed certificates from Griqualand West officers. Their rifles were confiscated.¹¹⁵ A similar complaint was made in 1877 by three Zulu who had had money and guns taken from them in the Free State. After Brand had suggested that the complainants go to Bloemfontein, where the case could be investigated, J.D. Barry arranged for them to travel there, accompanied by someone who could speak Dutch.¹¹⁶ The matter was settled after the official involved had been identified, and had shown that their passes had been signed by the wrong official, and that they had had six rifles instead of the three stated.¹¹⁷ There must have been many such incidents which went unreported, as the Africans concerned would have had to walk back to Kimberley to inform the Griqualand West government. Harassment of labourers on the road probably reduced the numbers of men going to the Diamond Fields considerably. Those who did go were sometimes forced to hide their rifles during the day and walk at night on the return journey to avoid arrest.

The difficulty of the journey to the Diamond Fields and back made a constant supply of labour for diamond mines almost impossible. African labourers were attracted to working there, but it was necessary that the journey be made less strenuous if any recruitment were to be undertaken, and if any sympathy were to be felt for the lives of the men on whom Kimberley depended. The evident differences between the Republics and the Colonies presented a good case for confederation in the 1870's.

115. GLW 183, Southey to Barkly, 2.5.1874

116. GLW 18, Brand to J.D. Barry (Acting Administrator in Lanyon's absence) 8.6.1877

117. GLW 18, Brand to Barry, 25.6.1877

CHAPTER III

RECRUITMENT AND LABOUR SUPPLY SCHEMES

"We are informed that Mr Campbell the recently-appointed Special Magistrate to the diamond-fields has written to King Williamstown for a thousand Kafirs, to dig for diamonds, for different parties on the fields", the Graham's Town Journal reported at the beginning of 1871.¹ This must have been the first attempt of a Griqualand West government to recruit African labourers for the Diamond Fields. It was soon realised that efforts to recruit Africans were not enough without plans to facilitate the journey to Kimberley, and that the two went together. Individual diggers and companies who tried to recruit their own labourers invariably failed if provision had not been made for the men on their journeys.

It was common practice for diggers needing labour to meet gangs of Africans travelling on the roads towards Kimberley, and to offer them employment and food. Labour touts, likewise, "sold" labourers they had met on the borders of the Transvaal to diggers at a good profit.² This so-called "touting" has sometimes been confused with recruitment. Payton

-
1. Graham's Town Journal, 3.1.1871, 'Kafirs for the Diamond Fields'. In December 1870 Lieutenant-Governor General Charles Hay sent John Campbell to Klipdrift (later Barkly West) as a British Special Magistrate to enforce the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act. (Eric A. Walker: A History of Southern Africa, p.337). Sir Henry Barkly visited the Diamond Fields in February and March 1871. On 27 October 1871, when the country was proclaimed a British possession, J. Campbell, J.H. Bowker, and J.C. Thompson were appointed by Barkly to "act as Commissioners for and under me, and on my behalf as High Commissioner".
 2. The term "tout" was restricted in contemporary writing to the description of this practice, and not to recruiting African labourers from their homes, but Rev. E. Creux, C.1897-1904 Transvaal Labour Commission: Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Q.194, 222, uses it in its wider connotation. See S.T. van der Horst: Native Labour in South Africa, p.75 and Chapter I, footnote 17.

described how colonists and traders went into the interior and brought back Africans to introduce to employers for three months' service, charging one pound per head for accommodation.³ Once engaged on the road, the prospective labourers were marched into Kimberley and taken to an open place, where diggers were invited to select the men they required.⁴ If there was a surplus of labour in Kimberley at the time the men were sometimes unceremoniously deserted on the outskirts of Kimberley, "starving to death or rotting like pumpkins in the veldt a few miles away".⁵ The tout could also have been, conversely, the salvation of many starving Africans who might not otherwise have survived the distance to Kimberley.⁶ Richard Southey disliked touting for the way in which the men were abused, and the labourers themselves disliked the system, though they grew wise to it.⁷ William Coleman, Registrar of Servants, stated in December 1876 that many of the desertions of new labourers resulted from the practice of touting.⁸ The touts themselves sometimes caused desertion from new masters in order to "re-sell" labourers, though this was not a widespread complaint.⁹

-
3. C.A. Payton: The Diamond Diggings of South Africa, p.137
 4. John Angove: In the Early Days, pp. 59-60. Diamond News, 20.7.1876, advertisement: "Native Labour Wanted. Diggers and Others who are about to discharge Gangs of Kaffir Labour are requested to communicate at once with the undersigned..."
 5. Louis Cohen: Reminiscences of Kimberley, p.292
 6. C.1897-1904 Transvaal Labour Commission: Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Mr Frederick Ingle, Q.3752
 7. GLW 180, Southey to Barkly, 26.4.1873. Southey related his having met a party of fifty men between Bloemhof and Christiana, who were willing to hire themselves but would not be "sold", and wanted English masters only.
 8. GLW 97, No.3628, Coleman to Colonial Secretary (Griqualand West), 14.12.1876.
 9. Independent, 1.12.1875

Touting did not disappear completely, but it seems that the practice of "selling" had disappeared by the 1880's. As Southey had realised in 1873, a government-run depot for new labourers would have ended the expense and indignity associated with touting.

One of the first major recruiting schemes, that of John Edwards and Chief Sekhukhune in 1873,¹⁰ was based on the Chief using his influence to send his men to Kimberley. Edwards presumably believed that such influence would be enough to ensure a constant labour supply for the Diamond Fields, without the need to provide for the labourers during their journey. Sekhukhune agreed to supply constant labour at current wages. Each worker was to be contracted for six months. One pound was to be paid as royalty to Chiefs Marmaree (Mamarega) and Triman, and one pound was to be advanced to Edwards to buy clothing. One pound was also to be held back by the employers from wages as security until the end of the contract. No man would receive a permit for a gun without the sanction of Marmaree and Triman, who would also act as detectives, controlling Sekhukhune's people on the Fields.¹¹ As Southey understood it, the object of the scheme for those involved was, "to squeeze fl each out of every labourer of the tribe." He did not approve it, and it broke down as a result.¹²

Richard Southey saw very early the need to facilitate the journey to the Diamond Fields, and in 1873 proposed a "Government agency system" which would have two depots for receiving African labour in Kimberley.¹³ The idea was a composite plan to promote labour recruitment and to provide

10. See Chapters I and II.

11. GLW 17 "Memorandum of an agreement between Mr John Edwards with Sekukuni Paramount Chief of Sequatis people on 13 August 1873".

12. GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 6.3.1875

13. GLW 180, Southey to Barkly, 26.4.1873

protection for labourers in Kimberley.¹⁴ No time was lost in disseminating the idea among African chiefs and their people. Andrew Anderson was asked to assist by explaining to Chiefs that the main object of the arrangements was to take care of the men travelling to and from the Diamond Fields, to provide food and to protect the labourers as much as possible from robbery and the interference of Transvaal officials en route.¹⁵ A month later the Lieutenant-Governor wrote expounding his ideas to Charles Barry in Cape Town, "I am endeavouring to make arrangements for having 3 or 4 stations or Depots along the line of march by which the natives come to and return from the Diamond Fields". The Transvaal one pound pass law had meant that many Africans had had either to stay at home or follow a longer route, and this had not been made any easier by the attitude of the Transvaal boers.

These things, added to the difficulties in the way of natives obtaining food along the road tend very much to cripple us, as we want a very large number of labourers and it strikes me that if I can have 3 or 4 good sound Englishmen at different points along the line of road outside of what we admit to be Trans Vaal territory, I shall break the neck of the opposition and 'facilitate' our own labour market. ¹⁶

Southey's idea was that there should be three stations or depots to begin with, the first 120 miles from Kimberley, the second the same distance further and the third as far north as required. The centre station would be the main one, and each would be supplied with maize and kaffir corn. The government would bear the cost of the food for those travelling to Kimberley and those on their way back would pay for their own. Each party of Africans on the journey to the Fields

-
14. J.B. Currey: Half a Century in South Africa, p.266. See Chapter IV on the proposed depots in Kimberley.
15. GLW 180, Southey to Barkly, 12.6.1873; GLW 180, Southey to A. Anderson, 26.2.1873. See Chapter II, footnote 30 and Appendix A.
16. GLW 180, Southey to Barry, 2.7.1873. Charles van R. Barry (M.L.A. for Swellendam 1874-77) was the son of Joseph Barry, M.L.C. and founder of a large S.W. districts trading firm.

would be conducted by a European who would be responsible for issuing supplies. Charles Barry's firm was invited to establish a trading station at each place, and Southey felt sure that the three stations would be able to trade in cattle, ivory and ostrich feathers while supplying the needs of the African travellers.

Word of the projected line of depots must have spread, for Currey received a letter from a Mr Henry Fraser soon after, offering his services to help establish the scheme.¹⁷ It is not clear exactly where Southey intended the depots to be, nor why they were not established. What is plain is that he wanted a British influence in the Keate Award territory, through which African labourers had found the most difficulty in passing. He wrote to Barkly in November 1873 that he was

on the look out for a suitable man to place (sic) Batlapinia, on the line of march along which our native labourers travel, to protect them from the unjust treatment they are now subjected to by the Boer population Also to provide food for them when on their way down...¹⁸

He did not intend offering a salary but would try to obtain a grant of land from Mankurwane for a farm and trading site. A suitable man was, however, difficult to find. Currey explained how he and Southey had also proposed to establish depots in the Transvaal itself.

It was impossible to mend matters in this respect by diplomatic measures and the only effectual way seemed to be for our Government to acquire farms along the road, fifty or sixty miles apart where the poor creatures could rest after a two or three days march and where food of the simplest kind, maize or millet, could be supplied to new comers on their "head mens" undertaking that it should be paid for on the return journey, or the amount refunded by their first employers.¹⁹

-
17. GLW 71, H. Fraser to Currey, 2.7.1873. Fraser claimed to be acquainted with all the chiefs, to be able to speak Dutch and to understand the Tswana language. He was a Civil Commissioner's Clerk at Klipdrift at the time.
18. GLW 182, Southey to Barkly, 13.11.1873
19. J.B. Currey: Half a Century in South Africa, p.267

Southey dreamed of English colonisation in the Transvaal through the purchase of such farms, which could have been bought at fifteen to twenty pounds each,

and his idea was to buy up farms closely connected with each other, and as far as possible along the main road, and so by peaceable and perfectly legitimate means introduce a large English element into the Transvaal.²⁰

This idea must have been dropped by the Griqualand West government when Southey and Currey left office but Southey revived it again in a personal memorandum of 1884. The theory might have seemed straightforward, but the practice would only have caused ill feeling, toward those early uitlanders especially. Southey endeavoured to make the plans for the original line of depots a reality. In August 1874, he mentioned the scheme to Barkly again, attributing his lack of success so far to the independence of the Transvaal and the lack of enthusiasm in Britain for the annexation of the Tlhaping territory - "home hesitation" especially, for he should otherwise "accomplish the object even without the South African Republic."²¹ He might have also added

20. J.B. Currey: Half a Century in South Africa, pp.269-270. A Wilmot: The Life and Times of Sir Richard Southey, pp.259-260, bears out Currey's account, and might possibly have used it. "It was thought that such agencies might soon be self supporting, and so arose in Mr. Southey's mind the larger idea that, by the judicious purchase of farms along the main lines and trade routes of the Transvaal, a valuable and eventually influential body of English burghers could be quietly and peaceably created." A Memorandum on proposed British immigration to the Transvaal for Lord Carnarvon, dated London, 19.4.1884, but written in 1881, is reprinted as Appendix E, ibid: pp.368-374. It does not mention African labourers, and envisages the settlement of 5 000 English settlers.
21. GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 28.8.1874; Southey to Barkly, 3.9.1874. See A. Wilmot: The Life and Times of Sir Richard Southey, p.263, p.303

the financial impossibility of establishing the depots then, in the light of the parlous state of the Griqualand West finances.

The Griqualand West government made several attempts to get labour for the Cape Colony during the 1870's. The first was in October 1872 when the Diamond News reported that Henry Fraser had been commissioned by the Governor to visit Chief Mankurwane (?), to bring back several hundred of his people to work on the Cape Town - Wellington railway.²² Fraser's venture was not successful. He was held up by drought and sickness, and only made contact with the Chiefs involved by correspondence. Southey did not regard him very highly and was not surprised at his lack of success, though he admitted that if the Cape Government had communicated officially with the particular Chiefs he might have been more successful.²³ The next labour agent was a Mr Stevens, apparently sent by J.C. Molteno to Griqualand West in 1873 to fetch labourers for the Cape public works. His mission caused Southey some consternation as the mines were then short of labour, and indignation mounted when the Cape government asked the Griqualand West government, without any explanation, to advance any money needed by Mr Stevens. Southey warned that the diggers would not permit interference with their labour market, and that chiefs would not allow their men to be away longer than eight months. What had actually transpired was that a junior clerk in the Kimberley Magistrate's office had promised, while on a visit to Cape Town, to get labour for the Cape. When he had heard that the mines were fully supplied with labour [August 1873] and that more than 3 000 men were expected to arrive in the near future, he informed the Cape authorities. Before Stevens arrived to take advantage of the situation the reduction of wages had altered the position completely. The mission was unsuccessful in spite of offers of higher wages in the Cape,

22. Diamond News, 8.10.1872

23. GLW 180, Southey to Barkly, 15.4.1873; Southey to Barkly, 26.4.1873; GLW 182, Southey to Barkly, 20.11.1873 (2nd letter)

and Stevens was recalled by C.A. Smith.²⁴

The Lieutenant-Governor suggested when he had first learned of Stevens' errand, that John Edwards could possibly fetch two or three thousand labourers from Sekhukhune for employment in the Cape. It would probably take him four months with three wagons, and food for the road would have to be provided, with wages of 10s. a week from the time of arrival. Southey was doubtful about the length of time for which the men would be permitted to be away from home, though Edwards thought that he could persuade the Chiefs involved.²⁵ Nothing, however, seems to have been done until almost a year later. Mr Thomas Barry²⁶ had in the meantime discussed further labour recruitment for the Cape with Southey in August 1874. Southey had promised co-operation, but had expressed doubt at the time as to the success of any scheme that Barry might contrive. His only chance, he thought, would be to try to obtain labour from the Kalanga or Ndebele tribes.²⁷ Edwards and Barry later negotiated at Southey's suggestion, but, as neither was satisfied with the other's proposals, each went ahead independently.²⁸

In September 1874 Edwards formally offered to recruit labour for the Cape Colony.²⁹ He believed that he was in a better position than any one else to supply labour, because of his "intimate acquaintance and relations" with the African chiefs. He would contract to deliver one thousand or more men at any part of the Orange river, charging ten pounds per head. The men would be well fed and arrive fit for work, to be contracted for

24. GLW 182, Southey to Barkly, 5.11.1873; Southey to Barkly, 21.11.1873; Southey to Barkly, 3.12.1873. C. Abercrombie Smith was Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works till 1875.

25. GLW 182, Southey to Barkly, 5.11.1873

26. T.D. Barry was M.L.A. for Riversdale, 1869-1890. He had early associations with the Diamond Fields.

27. GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 28.8.1874

28. GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 26.11.1874; Southey to Barkly, 28.11.1874

29. GH 12/4, Southey to Barkly, 10.9.1874, letter from Edwards, 8.9.1874

from one to three years at 10s. per week plus rations. A petty chief would have to accompany each group of 250 or 300 men, to receive an additional wage of 5s. per week. The men would be between the ages of sixteen and forty. Edwards further required that the Cape make satisfactory arrangements with the Transvaal and Free State governments for the safe passage of the men and promised that if there was no war between the Transvaal and the African tribes, he could engage to provide an almost unlimited supply. Southey noted that Edwards had made no arrangements for the return journey and suggested that these labourers could be sent to the Western Cape railway works, whence they might be persuaded to work on farms as well.³⁰ Sir Henry Barkly's initial response was to question the high cost involved, both in bringing the men down and in the wages,³¹ and this seems to have been the stumbling block for the Cape government. Edwards nevertheless visited Sekhukhune and the other chiefs, and returned to Kimberley in February 1875, having collected 3 000 labourers, "waiting on the banks of the Limpopo", for permission to travel through the Transvaal, which the Transvaal government was reluctant to give because they believed Edwards to be a tool of Southey.³² The men had been engaged to serve at one pound per month and were thought likely to remain in the Cape for a number of years. A Cape Government Notice to this effect invited applications for the employment of African labourers engaged in the interior; at the cost of six pounds per head, being half the cost of bringing them to the Cape.³³ Edwards had been assisted by Joao Albasini,³⁴ the so-called

30. GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 9.9.1874

31. GLW 177, Barkly to Southey, 17.9.1874

32. GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 18.2.1875. GLW 177, Barkly to Southey, 27.2.1875. (See Chapter I, footnote 20). Southey strongly denied the allegation.

33. Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 26.2.1875. Government Notice No. 108 of 1875, signed by C. Abercrombie Smith, 25.2.1875

34. See article on Joao Albasini in the Dictionary of South African Biography, II, p.5, and J.B. de Vaal: Die rol van Joao Albasini in die Geskiedenis van die Transvaal (Archives Year Book for South African History, 1953, I)

Chief of the Magwamba (or "Knopneuse") and ex-slave dealer. This, plus the fact that the men were not collected together in the Transvaal, indicates that the men engaged were not Pedi. No future mention was made of Edwards succeeding in bringing the labourers through the Transvaal, though a large number of African labourers were expected to pass through Kimberley in May 1875.³⁵ Southey's opinion of the scheme was significant as the only challenge to an accepted pattern of migratory labour: "If the affair is a success and a very large number of men are induced to take service in the Colony, would it not be desirable to endeavour to get women out too?"³⁶ The scheme was not a success, due partially to a scarcity of labour in Kimberley itself, and Southey's tentative suggestion was never tested in the Cape or Griqualand West.

T.D. Barry's labour scheme was hardly more successful. He managed with difficulty to hire 150 Africans in Kimberley for a year's service at wages of 5s. a week during the journey and 10s. a week after their arrival, with food. Southey was asked to reassure the men before leaving that they would be well treated by the Cape government.³⁷ The labourers travelled to Worcester under a Captain Rolleston, though some deserted before reaching their destination.³⁸ This appears to have been the last of Barry's plan. Recruiting for the Cape Railways was not attempted again through Griqualand West on any large scale. It was fortunate that the diamond mines did not have to recruit their own labourers in this way.

A special Commissioner was sent to Griqualand West in October 1875, after the dismissal of Southey. He was to enquire into the administration and finances of Griqualand West following the very dubious performance of the Southey-Currey administration. The Commissioner, Colonel William

35. Diamond News, 18.3.1875; 15.5.1875, Editorial

36. GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 11.3.1875

37. GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 5.12.1874; Southey to Barkly, 12.12.1874

38. Diamond Field, 9.12.1874

Crossman, conducted a searching investigation which did much to clarify the position of the former government and remove the cloud of suspicion hanging over it. Colonel William Owen Lanyon,³⁹ left to put the house in order again, achieved much in the first year of his administration albeit with a reduced staff. He appointed commissions into the two most contentious issues of the day - African labour, and the diamond trade - to advise him on legislation. The results of these two commissions were the Native Labour Regulation Ordinance, No.10 of 1876, and the Diamond Trade Ordinance, No. 4 of 1877, which attempted the consolidation of much of the previous labour and mining legislation. Taken together, promulgated less than eighteen months after Lanyon took office, the Ordinances represented a considerable achievement, greater than anything Lanyon achieved at the head of the Griqualand West Volunteers.

Colonel Crossman's enquiry had revealed again the need for the depots along the roads to the Diamond Fields. Mr Paddon, a well known digger, stated in evidence before him that

Of all the grievances we suffer under the greatest is the native labour question. We receive no assistance from the Government. I think if we had depots and no servants were allowed to be hired except from these depots we would all be assisted in the matter of labour.⁴⁰

Crossman agreed. On 4 February 1876, Lanyon appointed the Labour Commission, to review the laws relating to the organisation of African labour and the supply of labour at the Diamond Fields, and to report and make recommendations

39. Colonel Lanyon arrived in Griqualand West in November 1875.

40. Diamond News, 8.1.1876, Supplement. Colonel Crossman was of the War Office's Engineer Department. The report of the commission was not made public, but detailed reports of the enquiry were published in the Kimberley press. See C.F. Goodfellow: Great Britain and South African Confederation, pp. 64, 97 and J.T. McNish: The Glittering Road, p.98.

on the state of the labour market.⁴¹

J.D. Barry had recorded in his diary for 18 January 1876 that Lanyon wished him to lead commissions on mines and "the depot system."⁴² He had written to Edwards the following day asking for information on the system, and at the end of January informed Lanyon that he would draw up a commission. On 7 February the commission took evidence from Joao Albasini, and Barry noted with question marks his offer to bring down labour at three pounds per head. Evidence was taken from John Edwards on 10 February. The Report was written by Barry on 12 May and adopted by the commission the next day. It was first published in the Government Gazette of 25 May 1876.⁴³

The Labour Commission concentrated their recommendations on the organisation of labour in Kimberley, but also recommended "the immediate establishment of outlying depots at points where natives usually enter the Province, both for the purpose of granting them passes and of affording them assistance and advice." (General recommendation 4.) It recorded Lanyon's opinion that it was not possible for the Griqualand West government to secure the safe passage of Africans through the Transvaal and that all Government depots that were established would

-
41. Diamond News, (Griqualand West Government Gazette), 5.2.1876; Proclamation No.9 of 1876, 4.2.1876. The members of the Commission were J.D. Barry (Recorder of Griqualand West), Francis H. Orpen (Surveyor-General), Francis Baring-Gould, H. Gwynne Owen, James Marshall, James Hall, and Henry Tucker. "We should say the Commissioners are likely to work together exceedingly well, they have no political or party differences to divide them... Taken together, they represent Capital and Labour as existing in that community..." Diamond News, 8.2.1876, Editorial
42. Barry Papers, D65/452, 122 no 3, Pocket Diary for 1876
43. Diamond News (Griqualand West Government Gazette), 25.5.1876. Government Notice No.102 of 1876, 23.5.1876. C.2220-'79 Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Africa, Enclosure 5 in No.17, pp. 63-71.

have to be self-supporting to justify their existence. (Report, paragraphs 6 and 8).⁴⁴ The Report noted also that it was probable that labourers from tribes north-west of the Limpopo might be attracted by a line of depots to the west of the Keate Award line, through Tlhaping territory. The only difficulty would be a shortage of water in the last six months of the year, which could be solved by digging wells, or by only recruiting labour between the months of January and June. (Report, paragraph 9). The surest means of attracting new labour was the payment of higher wages, but, as the wages were already higher than elsewhere, the Commission did not recommend any legislative enactment. Rather, it argued, wages should be regulated by the laws of supply and demand - which, it seems, were not properly understood. (Report, paragraphs 11 and 10). A safe passage and means of sustenance along the line of route was next in importance. This could only be accomplished by depots and government agencies, with a government agent accompanying labourers from one depot to another. (Report, paragraph 12). Labourers should be fully informed on entering Griqualand West at depots at the crossings of the Vaal, and on the Basutoland and Natal roads, of how they could reach the central Kimberley depot; should be supplied with passes and be conveyed across the Vaal when necessary. (Report, paragraph 15). In concluding its report, the Commission noted the complicated nature of the subject under investigation, and its diffidence in expressing opinions. (Report, paragraph 28).

The Labour Commission endorsed many of Southey's ideas, and, apart from elaboration, there was very little new in its suggestions for the recruitment of labour. The weakness of the recommendations was easily spotted by the Diamond News which stated bluntly, "The means proposed in the Report seem to us to involve too large an outlay and too complicated a system".⁴⁵ The editorial also argued that it was the voluntary

44. The Griqualand West government was still in the red at this time.

45. Diamond News, 6.6.1876, Editorial on the Labour Commission Report.

character of the labour supply for the mines which was attractive to the African and warned against the spending of large sums of money on depots in the interior, as the supply of labour was normally adequate.

If once an impression gains ground among them affecting the voluntary character of their labour, it would take years to remove it; and in the meantime instead of benefiting, we should injure most seriously the supply of labour for this market.

The newspaper's caution in upholding a system which had worked, rather than advocating a new one which might not work, was evident but, perhaps unconsciously, the Diamond News did emphasise the great difference between the labour of the diamond mines and the labour of the railway works. It is difficult to assess the importance of the voluntary character of Griqualand West labour against the attraction of high wages and rewards, as labour was never systematically recruited when enough men came on their own. In the long term "voluntary" labour must have created a favourable impression among tribesmen - if for no other reason than that there were no recruiting agents' promises to be broken.

The Native Labour Commission also investigated a labour supply scheme proposed by Joao Albasini and a Mr J.W. Crowley of Kimberley, and recommended to the Griqualand West government that the scheme be put into effect for a period of six months. The terms of the proposed scheme were,

That all the Natives brought from No. 1 Station (Albasinis) and No. 2 Station (Mosilikatzis Nek) for the sum of £3 provided the tax of the Transvaal on all such Natives do not (sic) exceed one shilling per head.

That all natives brought or picked up between No. 2 station (Mosilitekatzis Nek) and through No. 3 Station (Bloemhof or thereabout) for the sum of £1 per head, Provided also that the tax of Transvaal do not exceed one shilling per head...

That all such natives be imported on the following conditions:-
If registered for six months to receive as wages £2 per month
and if registered for four months receive as wages £1/10/-

Albasini and Crowley intended to erect the three depots for feeding labourers, to be under the surveillance of Europeans. They were careful to insert a qualification that the agreement was subject to

the Transvaal government's granting them permission, and the partners hoped that their expense and trouble in piloting the scheme would be repaid by a four year contract with the Griqualand West government. The scheme had an additional advantage for its proposers in that they would also be paid for labourers who had not been originally recruited by them, and would, thus, be recognised labour "touts". Lanyon's initial reaction to the plan was that the government could not consider it, as it was too large an undertaking.⁴⁶ The Executive Council was of like mind, and though aware of the "highest necessity in dealing promptly with the native question", it was not prepared to embark on the scheme until it knew it could carry it out effectively.⁴⁷ The Labour Commission Report mentioned the proposed scheme (para. 6) and indicated that the Administrator had

declined to entertain proposals which rendered it obligatory upon the Government of this Province to secure the safe and undisturbed passage of such natives through the Transvaal,

because of poor relations that existed at that time with the South African Republic.⁴⁸

There are few details of recruitment by individual diggers at this time, but the evidence of Mr Paddon before Colonel Crossman's Commission provided insight into it.

About six months ago I sent a boy, who was registered to me to British Basutoland for the purpose of getting me boys. He obtained about fifty, and two months ago I sent another boy. This last boy engaged a number of natives and applied to Mr Griffith,⁴⁹ the British agent in Basutoland, for passes

-
46. GLW 82, No. 595, Barry to Lanyon, 10.2.1876, with marginal comments by Lanyon.
47. GLW 82, No. 596, Lanyon to Barry, 1.3.1876
48. J.A.I. Agar-Hamilton: The Road to the North, p.142, mentions the Labour Commission and Albasini and Crowley's labour scheme. He states that "This scheme had broken down...", seeming to imply that it had once been in operation.
49. Colonel Charles D. Griffith was the Governor's Agent in Basutoland (1871-77), a position which included the duties of Chief Magistrate and many facets of administration. See article in the Dictionary of South African Biography, II, p.276-7.

for them to the Fields. Mr Griffith refused the request but stated he would give them passes to go to work on the Colonial Railways.⁵⁰

Colonel Crossman referred Paddon to Lanyon. An affidavit was made by the servant, Inaboti, to the effect that he had been sent to Basutoland to hire as many boys as he could at 12s. a week with rations. He had engaged a number of men through a "captain", Lehonta, and claimed that, instead of granting passes for the men, Colonel Griffith had written "There are no boys to go to the Diamond Fields" across his own pass. Although Paddon was not necessarily convinced of Inaboti's story, Lanyon took up the complaint, and forwarded the affidavit to Sir Henry Barkly.⁵¹ Griffith reported to Barkly that Inaboti's statement was "quite untrue", but admitted that he had persuaded Sotho to go to the railway works rather than the Diamond Fields, and had been requested by the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works to use his influence to induce men to take up employment in the Colony. The ostensible reason for his preference was that labourers who went to the Diamond Fields learned "every evil that can be thought of" while those who worked on the railways came back with fewer vices.⁵² When the Pedi war seriously depleted the numbers of labourers in Kimberley from July 1876, and labourers from other tribes left as a result of the wage reductions, the Diamond Fields became more dependent on Sotho labour. It was then regretted that the Griqualand West government had not made labour arrangements with the Basutoland authorities, and that they had no labour recruiting agencies.⁵³

The draft Native Labour Regulation Ordinance, No. 10 of 1876,

50. Diamond News, 8.1.1876, Supplement

51. GH 12/7, Lanyon to Barkly, 27.1.1876

52. GLW 5, Barkly to Lanyon, 17.3.1876, enclosing a report from Griffith.

53. Diamond News, 21.12.1876, 'Jottings from the Pan'; 5.10.1876, Editorial

was first published in the Government Gazette of 8 September 1876.⁵⁴ It was chiefly concerned with registration, contracting, vagrancy and passes, but Section XIII did provide that the Governor of Griqualand West could establish suitable depots at or near the borders where Africans coming into the Province could obtain passes and assistance, in accordance with regulations that might be laid down. The factors weighing against interior depots along the roads to the Fields must have been too strong, and the idea does not seem to have been discussed in the Legislative Council, where the bill was passed without opposition.⁵⁵ Mr Halkett, an attorney, however, sounded a warning during the debate on the Second Reading that the bill might be disallowed on the grounds of class legislation. The Diamond News regretfully agreed that Mr Halkett's fears were probably correct:

It will not be easy to satisfy the Home authority that class legislation is necessary in any place under British rule... The unanimity of our Council ought to satisfy Lord Carnarvon that the objects of the Bill are in harmony with the wishes of the community, or rather that portion which is competent to form an opinion.⁵⁶

It was not the details of the Ordinance which caused the doubt about its approval, but the strict pass laws and regulation of African mine labourers it envisaged. The crux of the matter was that the Ordinance discriminated between labourers purely on the basis of colour. Lanyon himself must have hesitated to grant his approval,⁵⁷ before he sent duly

54. Diamond News (Griqualand West Government Gazette), 8.9.1876. "Ordinance to provide for the better Protection of Native Labourers, to amend the Laws Regulating the Rights and Duties of Masters and Servants in the Province of Griqualand West and for other purposes."
55. Diamond News 21.9.1876 and 30.9.1876, Legislative Council Reports on the Second Reading and Committee stages, 18.9.1876, 19.9.1876 and 27.9.1876
56. Diamond News, 23.9.1876, Second Editorial. See Chapter IV for detail of rest of the Ordinance.
57. The footnote to the Ordinance in The Statute Law of Griqualand West, (1882), p.203, notes, "This Ordinance was not assented to by either the Administrator, the Governor, Her Majesty, and is therefore not in force." Lanyon did sign the Ordinance, and must initially have assented to it, but might have withdrawn his assent later.

authorised copies of the Ordinance to Barkly in March 1877. In his covering letter, he explained the history of the legislation to the Governor and enclosed copies of the report of the Labour Commission. He asked that the definition of a "Native" as "any member of any South African tribe" be considered sympathetically,

Bearing in mind the very peculiar position in which this Province is placed with regard to the many tribes of natives coming to seek labour, I do not well see how any other definition, especially, suitable and comprehensive could have been arrived at.⁵⁸

The Attorney General of Griqualand West, S.G.A. Shippard,⁵⁹ defended the Ordinance on the grounds that it was a consolidation of existing Masters and Servants legislation,⁶⁰ and that it afforded extra protection to African labourers in the peculiar local circumstances.

At first sight," he wrote, "this may seem an invidious distinction between persons of different race or colour: but a deeper insight into the true merits of the question will, I think, effectively dispel this impression.

The Ordinance he also justified in terms of its humanitarian provision for African labourers :

The distinction established by the Ordinance under consideration between native labourers and other servants is one which already virtually exists; it is one which is here not only necessary but inevitable; and the only innovation introduced by this Ordinance is the establishment of a well developed system which will secure to the native labourer the protection, shelter and support

58. GLW 8, Lanyon to Barkly, 15.3.1877

59. Sidney Shippard (later Sir Sidney) was later a Judge in the Eastern Districts Court, and was appointed first Administrator of Bechuanaland in 1885. See article in the Dictionary of South African Biography, II, p.662.

60. Cape Acts No. 15 of 1856, 22 of 1867 and 18 of 1873. Griqualand West: Proclamation No. 14 of 1872, Government Notice No. 68 of 1872, Ordinances 2 and 28 of 1874. The Cape Acts No. 28 of 1874 and 7 of 1875 were not law in Griqualand West.

of which he too often feels the need at present...⁶¹

The border depots would provide for starving Africans arriving from the interior; and the depot in Kimberley would give them accommodation and food when they finally reached their destination. Shippard observed that as the government was not prepared to organise a scheme for the introduction of native labour from the interior, labour recruitment would have to be left to private enterprise.

Barkly made personal comments on the Ordinance and the Attorney General's report,⁶² but withheld assent until he could discuss the matter with Lanyon, who visited Cape Town in April and May 1877. The Governor was worried about the wide definition of "Native" and was concerned that the spirit of the Cape Pass law, No. 22 of 1867, should be maintained. The pass law of the Cape Colony had been made to guard against invasion, he believed, and was, thus, virtually a dead letter. He was in favour of the system of depots, as he had shown himself previously.⁶³ No more correspondence passed between Barkly and Lanyon on the Ordinance, and it was not submitted to Lord Carnarvon for the Royal assent. Barkly could not have given his assent, though it was never officially notified that assent had been withheld, nor was it clear whether the Ordinance had ever been brought into operation. In forwarding copies of the Proclamations and Ordinances of Griqualand West to Frere for the Colonial Office library in 1878, Lanyon stated that "Ord. No. 10 of 1876 and No. 8 of 1877, though forwarded have not been assented to and are therefore inoperative at present",⁶⁴ and he mentioned in a letter to James Rose Innes in

61. GLW 8, Lanyon to Barkly, 15.3.1877, Attorney General's Report on Ordinance 10 of 1876, 31.1.1877

62. GH 12/8, Lanyon to Barkly, 13.3.1877, with a "Memorandum on Ordinance 10 of 1876", initialled H.B., 24.3.1877

63. See Chapter IV.

64. Lanyon left for Cape Town on 21.3.1877.

G.L.W. 10, Lanyon to Frere, 28.5.1876

January 1880 that he believed Ordinance 10 of 1876 had never been assented to.⁶⁵

In May 1876 an unexpected opportunity offered for an investigation of new sources of labour. Two of Lobengula's headmen visited Kimberley and were asked whether it would be possible to obtain labour from the Ndebele. The men could apparently not give an answer themselves but were keen that a "messenger" who knew their language and customs be allowed to accompany them back to Lobengula. The Labour Commission Report had just been published, and a Mr A.C. Bailie⁶⁶ urged the Executive Council⁶⁷ to allow him to accept the invitation. Bailie believed that the opportunity might not present itself again for years, and persuaded Lanyon to overcome his qualms about not having the Secretary of State's permission. The terms of his offer were that he be given advances of his salary for equipment and that he have official status as a Government Agent. He would be prepared "to go on stoppages" to pay the cost of the expedition if it was not successful. Bailie's letter was written on 31 May 1876, and Lanyon wrote to Cape Town the next day, asking for Barkly's decision to be telegraphed. The Governor telegraphed in reply that the headmen should be detained until his dispatch on the subject arrived.⁶⁸ He was in favour of the idea, and sent copies of a correspondence with Lobengula.⁶⁹ Bailie duly left Kimberley on 24 June, with judicious instructions from the Griqualand West Colonial Secretary:

I must impress upon you the earnest necessity which exists that you should conduct the Mission with prudence and care.... You must bear in mind the serious complications which might arise from any indiscretion on your part - complications which this Government would be powerless to rectify considering the nature of the

-
65. GLW 17, Lanyon to Rose Innes, 29.1.1880
66. Alexander C. Bailie was Assistant Surveyor-General and had acted as interpreter at the meeting with the Headmen.
67. The Executive Council was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, and originally consisted of the Secretary to Government, the Attorney General and the Treasurer.
68. GLW 6 (and GH 12/7), Lanyon to Barkly, 1.6.1876, enclosing Bailie to Executive Council, 31.5.1876. Telegram, Barkly to Lanyon, 8.6.1876
69. GLW 6, Barkly to Lanyon, 8.6.1876

country and its remoteness from civilization. It will be essential that you do not interfere with any intertribal quarrels, keeping apart and neutral in order to ensure the success of your mission.

The present threatening state of affairs between the Transvaal Republic and the neighbouring [western] native tribes will render this circumspection on your part all the more needful, in order to avoid giving either party grounds for suspicion. Your mission is one purely of investigation and enquiry as to the possibility of obtaining labour for these Fields and the practicality of importing such labour by the route to the Westward of the Transvaal.

If you can induce the several chiefs along the road to send down labour you will have done good service. But I am to impress upon you that careful enquiries will have to be instituted as to the best season and road for such travel in order that none perish by the way. It will be better to ensure the successful imitation of any scheme for providing our labour market, by prudent and well-considered action rather than to run any risk in hastening such, to possible failure and discredit.⁷⁰

Bailie was asked to "produce a rough survey"⁷¹ of the country through which he travelled, and to report on his progress as often as possible. He was given letters to Chiefs Lobengula,⁷² Mankurwane, Gaseitwe,⁷³ Sechele and Kgama. Sir Henry Barkly informed the Earl of Carnarvon of Bailie's mission in a dispatch of 11 July 1876, and received a reply .

70. GLW 6 (and GH 12/7) Lanyon to Barkly, 24.6.1876, enclosing Colonial Secretary to Bailie, 21.6.1876. Bailie submitted regular reports to Lanyon which were often detailed and did not only concern labour recruitment. These reports (in GH 19/12) with other correspondence related to them, were all reprinted in C.2220-'79 Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Africa, as Enclosures to No. 17, Sir Bartle Frere to Sir Michael Hicks Beach, 30.7.1878, pp.34-79. A summary report, dated Kimberley, 7.5.1877 (*ibid.* p.74), was also printed in A.58-'83 Papers Relating to Stellaland and the Petition of the Chief Mankoroane..., p.3. J.A.I. Agar-Hamilton: The Road to the North pp.142-147, gave a very adequate summary of the reports.
71. Bailie was asked after his return to re-draw his first map, an aspect which Agar-Hamilton noted disparagingly, (J.A.I. Agar-Hamilton: The Road to the North, p.145) but it appears as if it was completed in accordance with this instruction.
72. See Appendix A, draft of a letter, unsigned, from Lanyon to Lobengula, GLW 88, No.1645, 30.5.1876, which must have been similar to the letter of 21.6.1876 which Bailie took with him.
73. The instructions referred to Chief "Mangesi", whom Bailie identified as "Gaseitsiti". The replies of the four chiefs to these letters are printed in C.2220-'79 Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Africa, pp.78-79.

approving of his action six weeks later.⁷⁴

Bailie's expedition was not without incidents with the emigrant Boers and tribesmen, but it was successful in creating goodwill among the Chiefs towards British government,⁷⁵ and in pioneering a labour scheme for the Diamond Mines. Bailie discussed the sending of labourers to the Diamond Fields with the chiefs whom he met on his forward journey and planned on his return to escort back those offering to be employed to Kimberley. He received many assurances of support but in the end had only a relatively small party of labourers accompany him.⁷⁶ Mankurwane, as expected, did not provide any labourers, but Bailie estimated that if the 20 000 Tlhaping slaves could be freed they would be willing to work in the mines. The Koranas of Massouw at Mamusa, (50 miles from Kimberley) and all the chiefs to whom Bailie spoke on his way to Molemo's station (40 miles further) were prepared to allow labourers free access through

74. GH 25/1, No.77, Barkly to Carnarvon, 11.7.1876. GLW 7, No.67 Carnarvon to Barkly, 24.8.1876
75. Bailie reported that most of the tribes he had visited wished to be under British rule. There was an incident with the "Commandant" of the emigrant Boers, L. du Plessis, which resulted in Lanyon sending a warning to Bailie (GLW 8, Barkly to Lanyon, 18.1.1877), and questions were later asked about a personal gift of ivory from Lobengula, which Bailie had sold at Shoshong on his return journey. He explained the nature of the gift satisfactorily, and reported that he had sold the ivory to pay the personal expenses he had incurred by supporting a party of Ndebele who travelled with the labourers. Bailie kept up a correspondence with Lobengula after his return to Kimberley. (GLW 13, Frere to De Wet, 21.12.1879; Bailie to Rose Innes, 31.1.1880. J.A.I. Agar-Hamilton: The Road to the North, p.143)
76. Bailie's attempts to recruit labourers are recorded in his reports between 30.7.1876 and 17.5.1877. C.2220-'79 Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Africa, pp. 47, 49, 50, 54, 58-59, 60, 71, 72.

their territory. Although not potentially the best labourers, the Ngwaketse, under Chief Gaseitwe at Kanye, would be ready for Bailie on his return if they wanted employment. The next chief to offer labour was Sechele, with whom Bailie had discussions at Molepolole. He agreed to "collect as many labourers as he could", and was also willing to allow a depot and British residency to be built at his capital. At that time Bailie had four depots in mind, at Taung, Molemo's station, Molepolole and Shoshong. The journey from Matabeleland to Kimberley would take six weeks. Grain could be brought with the labourers as far as Shoshong, where cheap oxen could be obtained. He had arranged with traders there to provide the meat if needed, and other traders would be able to supply grain at various places en route to Kimberley. Bailie was impressed with Kgama when he met him at Shoshong, but the Ngwato chief was doubtful whether the tribe would be able to send labourers to Kimberley, because of the tense situation created by the emigrant Boers.

Bulawayo was eventually reached on 5 December 1876. Bailie had to wait there longer than he had intended, but his relations with Lobengula were cordial. He reported,

I have not pressed the question of getting a large supply of labour from this tribe, as I felt doubtful whether a large supply were necessary or not, and I did not feel justified in risking the expense a large number of men would entail without further instructions. However, unless further instructed I hope to arrive in Kimberley about the end of February with about 1000 labourers.

He suggested what Edwards and Sekhukhune had previously proposed, that if a headman were sent to be in charge of the labourers of each tribe he could also act as a policeman over them. Bailie optimistically observed that there were thousands of Africans who would be willing to seek employment if an understanding could be achieved between the different chiefs and the government. Before he left Bulawayo, Bailie wrote to Kgama, Sechele and Montshiwa, asking them to collect their labourers together for him. At Shoshong he found Kgama, braced for war with the

emigrant Boers, and unwilling to let any man leave. Had conditions been peaceful, at least 1 000 men could have been recruited; and he had heard that between 800 and 1 200 labourers had left for the Diamond Fields since November.⁷⁷ The original line of proposed depots was modified and now comprised Tati, Shoshong, Molepolole, Montshiwa's station and Taung, which were all about a week's journey apart. Bailie reached Griqualand West in April 1877 with 46 Ndebele and 105 Ngwato labourers, together with 2 ambassadors from Lobengula to Letsie in Basutoland. He summed up the results of his mission as follows: As soon as Kgama was certain that the British would not allow the emigrant Boers to molest him, 1 000 labourers would be available from his tribe. With continued encouragement from the Griqualand West government, the supply of labour from the northern interior would increase and would eventually be sufficient for the Cape Colony and Griqualand West. It would take at least two years to develop the labour market, but he expected that when the labourers who had come down with him had returned to their homes there would be a large influx of men.

Bailie's mission did not obtain the "never-failing supply of labour" that had been expected by some.⁷⁸ In retrospect, despite his initial claims, he seems to have brought back as many men as could have been expected. J.D. Barry, Acting Administrator during Lanyon's absence in Cape Town, commented on the results of the mission in a letter to Sir Bartle Frere, May 1877.⁷⁹ He believed the object of the expedition could

-
77. There was scarcely an increase in the (negligible) number of Ngwato new hands registered, but there was some general increase in the numbers of new hands from the Bechuanaland area.
78. Diamond News, 21.12.1876, 'Jottings from the Pan', editor's note.
79. C.2220-'79 Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Africa, 19.5.1877, pp.61-62.

still be attained if agents were appointed to provide food at the depots suggested by Bailie, at the cost of not more than 13s.6d. per head. These agents should, if possible, not be traders, and should keep in constant touch with the government to advise on the numbers of labourers on their way to Kimberley. Barry added that immediate employment could then be given to 3 000 labourers, and that, if labour were obtained, employers would recoup any reasonable expense incurred in feeding and protecting men during their journey. There was a post script to the mission in December 1877, when a party of Ndebele who had accompanied Bailie were preparing to leave for home again. The men had been engaged in April, and in May one of them had been convicted for stealing a diamond. He had been sentenced to one year in prison and twenty-five lashes, but his fellow tribesmen were anxious that he should be released to accompany them, otherwise the petty Chief in charge of the party would have been liable for punishment from Lobengula. The man was released.⁸⁰

J.D. Barry himself tried to ease the labour shortage during 1877. He wrote to Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Administrator of the Transvaal, in June, asking that an end be put to the pass system, so strictly enforced at Christiana, and for aid in recruiting labour.⁸¹ In a letter to Lanyon written at the beginning of May, Barry mentioned that he had written previously to Shepstone,

that he could take some of the Zulu warriors on his Eastern borders as labourers and that if he allowed them to pass to us we would appreciate the altered state of affairs in the Transvaal.⁸²

-
80. GLW 111, No. 2869, H. Green to Acting Colonial Secretary, 8.12.1877
81. Shepstone Collection, Vol.21, Barry to Shepstone, 19.6.1877, 26.6.1877
82. A 596, Vol. 2, Barry to Lanyon, 1.5.1877

In September 1877, the Diamond News reported the requests for labour, and an appeal to Chiefs to send labourers. The Chiefs had apparently responded well and many men were expected to arrive on the Diamond Fields in the near future.⁸³

During 1880 attempts were made to try to institute a new recruiting scheme in the Transvaal. Rumours of war in Basutoland had led about 4 000 Sotho to leave Kimberley in July 1880, making the situation far more serious.⁸⁴ In January 1880 a Mr H. Dennison had written to H.C. Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs in the Transvaal, informing him of his intention to become a recruiting agent in the Soutpansberg district, and asking that the five shilling tax on labourers be suspended. This was the beginning of a correspondence between Dennison, the Transvaal and Griqualand West on the projected labour scheme. Shepstone passed on Lanyon's recommendations to Dennison, that he should first give security for the provision and treatment of the labourers on the journey and provide wagons for their transport, in the charge of a European. The Administration could not allow the pass law to be suspended. Dennison replied that he intended to ensure that the Africans arrived in good condition, and that as this would involve a considerable capital outlay, the cost of the passes would be difficult for him to bear. He suggested that the tax might be levied only on returning labourers. Lanyon forwarded the correspondence to the Acting Administrator of Griqualand West, at the end of January.⁸⁵ The Transvaal was not able to agree with Mr Dennison's proposals but would be

83. Diamond News, 13.9.1877. The hopes of more labour do not seem to have materialised.

84. D.F.A., 18.8.1880, 'The Labour Market'. It was fifteen months before the supply of labour from Basutoland was back to its former level. In June 1881, J.W. Sauer, (Secretary for Native Affairs) wired John X. Merriman: "Doing my best to protect loyals. Cannot at present ask Basuto to go to the Diamond Fields." G. Tylden: A note on the Edwards Papers: Basutoland June to September 1881. (Africana Notes and News, Vol. IX, 1952)

85. GLW 17, Lanyon to Rose Innes, 29.1.1880, enclosing Dennison to Administrator, 6.1.1880; 19.1.1880 and H.C. Shepstone to Dennison, 16.1.1880

prepared to help recruit labour if the Griqualand West government made official application, and appointed an officer to be responsible for carrying out arrangements. Lanyon suggested that sections of the Native Labour Regulation Ordinance might serve as a suitable basis for the scheme, and he obviously intended the Griqualand West government to benefit from his past experience. James Rose Innes, in turn, asked W.J. Coleman for a memorandum on the "Labour question". Coleman's report revealed that there were then about 12 000 African labourers at the four mines, and of these a thousand were "thorough loafers who engage with a master and desert the same day." Approximately 20 000 men were required for the full operation of the mines. To rectify the situation, and to reduce the wages from 15s. per week, he believed the Transvaal tax would have to be lifted. He considered Dennison's offer fair and reasonable and that should be accepted. Rose Innes then replied to Lanyon that, pending any alteration in the Transvaal pass law, the Griqualand West government would pay the 5s. tax, and would be refunded by the diggers. It had been considered that Mr Dennison would be a suitable officer to organise the scheme, if the Transvaal agreed. Kimberley needed 1 000 labourers a month for three months to meet their immediate labour requirements, and would want the labourers to contract for six months at 10s. a week.⁸⁶

Coleman, as Registrar of Natives, sent a letter to the Mining Boards requesting estimates of the number of labourers claimholders would guarantee to employ, at 10s. a week with food and a one pound recruitment fee.⁸⁷ Lanyon answered Rose Innes's dispatch in April 1880. He forwarded a copy of the recently enacted Wet No. 6 of 1880, which had reduced the transit passes from five shillings to one shilling, explaining that until the legislation had been passed, he would not have been able

86. GLW 17, Rose Innes to Lanyon, 24.2.1880, together with Dennison to Rose Innes, 26.1.1880, and "Minute on the Labour Question", 14.2.1880

87. Daily Independent, 21.2.1880

to "abrogate existing laws."⁸⁸ Dennison had agreed to recruit 1 000 labourers per month for the Diamond Fields, and had estimated the probable cost of the journey at £720.⁸⁹ Shepstone checked the estimate and declared that half the amount of corn would be enough, and he did not see the necessity for meat. Rent and sundries were low estimates, though salaries were realistic. Wagons could be bought at government expense. There was no further official correspondence on the scheme and it does not seem to have operated. The next great increase in the numbers of new hands registered occurred in September 1880, when the first labourers sent down by Lanyon while on a tour to visit African chiefs, arrived from the Northern Transvaal. The Diamond Fields Advertiser estimated that about 6 000 had arrived, and believed "but for this supply many works would probably have been stopped entirely".⁹⁰ Coleman gave the figure of 12 000 new labourers received as a result of Lanyon's efforts, which, "stopped the gap" caused by the mass exodus of all 4 000 Sotho.⁹¹

88. See Chapter II. Lanyon's concern to please the burghers of the Transvaal by enforcing their laws seems also to have been a motivating factor in his changed attitude towards the Griqualand West labour problem after he became Administrator of the Transvaal.
89. GLW 17, Lanyon to Rose Innes, 16.4.1880, enclosing Dennison to H.C. Shepstone, 14.4.1880, and "Minutes of the Secretary of Native Affairs". Dennison estimated costs on the basis of 3 wagons, and 3lbs. meal per man a day. Meal, 12 bags per day, for 30 days, at 30s. a day - £540. Meat for 30 days - £60. Sundries - £50. Salaries - £50. Rent of stores for supplies (at Marabastad, Waterburg, Pretoria, Potchefstroom, and Christiana) - £20.
90. D.F.A. 3.12.1880, 'Labour Supply'
91. G.20-'81 Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1881, p.130. S.T. van der Horst: Native Labour in South Africa, p.76, quotes this statement and comments: "It is, perhaps, relevant to note in this connection that at this time the British administration attempted to impose and collect a hut tax of ten shillings per hut throughout the Transvaal." It replaced the old per capita tax (See Chapter II), and it was probably not the amount but the attempt to collect the tax that might have caused these men to seek employment in the mines.

In October 1880 it was reported that a Mr W.C. Graham had organised a scheme for recruiting labour. The project was poorly promoted, but appeared in essence to be a good idea. The Diamond Fields Advertiser published details of Graham's prospectus, but withheld judgment on the scheme, which it regarded as "slightly premature".⁹² The publicity generated attracted prominent mining company directors, however, including George Bottomley, the Chairman of the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company, whose interest ensured that the scheme was properly publicised. Accordingly, the "Prospectus of the Native Labour Supply Association (Limited)" (Appendix C) was published.⁹³ The Labour Supply Association was a combination of the current mania for limited liability companies and the idea of depots for the contracting of labourers in Kimberley.⁹⁴ The time was thought ripe for launching the scheme as it was expected that the new mining companies would require more labour, and that it would be necessary for them to maintain a full complement of labourers all the time. Resident agents (traders in the "large centres of labour supply"), would receive a commission on every labourer they forwarded to the Association's depots in Kimberley and Dutoitspan, and the men would be fed along the road. Labourers without employment in Kimberley would be taken in at the depots, which would be a source of extra revenue for the Association and would contribute to the elimination of vagrancy. A fixed charge of one pound would be made for every labourer contracted from depots, and shareholders would receive preference when they needed labour. The benefits to companies would be an assured source of labour, the reduction of wages which would probably result and the six month contract

92. D.F.A., 18.10.1880, Editorial

93. See Chapter IV.

94. The prospectus was first published in the Daily Independent on 29.10.1880, and was published until 18.11.1880. It was not published in the D.F.A. See John M. Smalberger: I.D.B. and the Mining Compound System in the 1880s (South African Journal of Economics, Vol. 42, No 4, 1974), p.404

period which it was hoped the Chiefs would guarantee. The Daily Independent devoted an editorial to the proposed Association.⁹⁵ It commented: "After reading the prospectus we can only say that there is nothing in it which strikes us as being particularly unfeasible, and we have much pleasure in commending it to the attention of our readers." The scheme did not, it seems, succeed, for there were no reports of it during the following year. An editorial of the Daily Independent in September 1881, mentioned a similar scheme, to which no further reference has been found.

A party of gentlemen who are well acquainted with mines and mining both here and in America, Australia, and elsewhere, have formed themselves into an association which proposes to guarantee a continuous supply of labour for the mines under a Government contract, the labourers being bound for three years or longer. The first cost of importing the labourers is estimated at about £10 per head, and the rate of wages proposed is from £3 to £4 per month. It is calculated that 1000 could be landed on the Fields within less than six months from the commencement and it would be arranged to send shipments at short intervals until the requisite number had arrived.⁹⁶

It was not specified whether the labourers were African.

In the meantime, the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works had suggested to the mining boards that men might be recruited from Delagoa Bay to ease the labour shortage.⁹⁷ For the previous two years farmers in the Cape had shipped men from this area to work for them, and they had also been employed on public works. Their wages had been 15s. per month with board and lodging, and contracts had been for two years. The government would be willing to bring these labourers to Kimberley at six pounds, half the cost of the service. Claimholders who wished to avail themselves of the service were asked to apply to the Kimberley

95. Daily Independent, 29.10.1880

96. Daily Independent, 6.9.1881

97. D.F.A., 20.5.1881 (and following editions), Kimberley Mining Board, Notice No. 23, 1881. Letter published for the information of claimholders. The new role of the mining boards in obtaining labour was a result of the incorporation of Griqualand West into the Cape.

Mining Board, stating the number of men required. Response was poor. Five companies from the Kimberley mine requested a total of 550 labourers. It was believed that the hesitation of the companies to apply for labourers was due to the frequent desertions of men from their employment, which the government had not stopped. Such desertions caused the loss of the recruiting and the registration fees, and could be ill-afforded.⁹⁸ The Diamond Fields Advertiser observed in August 1881 that the offer to bring men from Delagoa Bay had been withdrawn.⁹⁹ It might have been a development of this scheme that the Daily Independent had reported in September.

As Government action and private enterprise had so often failed in their attempts to recruit labour for the diamond mines, the mining companies were left to make their own arrangements to try to augment the numbers of their labourers. Attempts were also made to increase the mechanisation of the mining processes with steam powered machinery, but these did not result in substantial labour saving. The Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company, the largest company in the Kimberley mine, successfully recruited labour between 1881 and 1883.¹⁰⁰

In April 1881 the Kimberley Central Board of Directors accepted the offer of a Mr H.L. Dacombs to act as a Native Supply Agent. He would be paid his expenses and £250 if he was successful, and £100 if unsuccessful in inaugurating a system of labour supply.¹⁰¹ Two months later a Mr Bloomfield was sent to recruit 300 men who were being discharged

98. D.F.A., 13.6.1881, Editorial; 17.6.1881, Report of the Kimberley Mining Board Meeting of 14.6.1881.

99. D.F.A., 8.8.1881, 'The Labour Question'

100. This activity was probably common to many other companies. Evidence for it in the case of the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company is found in the Minutes of the Board of Directors from the Company's inception, 15.4.1880 - 19.3.1883

101. Minutes of the Board of the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company, 22.4.1881

on the completion of the railway line between Cookhouse and Cradock.¹⁰² Daccmb's trip was unsuccessful, but one of the Directors, J. Benningfield, made arrangements with his brother in Natal to recruit in Zululand or around Delagoa Bay. Mr R. Benningfield offered to supply labourers from Inhambane at four pounds per head, if they were fetched from Natal. The company requested that 300 labourers be engaged, at 10s. per week with food for the first six months and 15s. per week thereafter, and J. Benningfield was requested to travel to Natal to arrange the terms.¹⁰³ Messrs Henderson and Grice were appointed the company's agents in Durban to forward the labourers, and were apparently successful, as they were asked to send another 200 men at the beginning of 1882. J. Benningfield was sent to Natal again in July to make arrangements for more labour, and Henderson and Grice continued to act as agents for the company.¹⁰⁴ In addition to labour received in this way the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company had also received a gang of 300 Zulu labourers from a Mr Shepstone in November 1881.¹⁰⁵

The reports of the Registrars of Natives between 1882 and 1888 reveal very few occasions when the supply of labour did not meet demand. Recruitment was organised chiefly by individual mining companies, though by this time there were growing pressures on men to seek employment on the mines. Labour was voluntary in that much of it was not formally recruited, but a growing proportion of the African population was fast becoming dependent on European employment, the result of land shortage and the disruption of tribal life and economy.

-
102. Minutes of the Board of the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company, 10.6.1881.
103. Minutes of the Board of the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company, 14.6.1881 and 28.6.1881, 5.7.1881 and 8.7.1881.
104. Minutes of the Board of the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company, 13.1.1882, 5.7.1882 and 11.9.1882.
105. A.9-'82 (S.C.) Select Committee on Illicit Diamond Buying, Mr S. Marks, Q.178, 351. Minutes of the Board of the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company, 5.11.1881

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN LABOUR BEFORE THE CLOSED COMPOUND SYSTEM

In 1872 the first attempts were made to legislate for African labour in the new province of Griqualand West. It was then that frontier traditions intruded into the young mining industry,¹ and in the peculiar circumstances of the Diamond Fields the African was the loser.

As diamonds were easily found and as easily stolen, European diggers demanded that a rigid distinction be made between White, who should have the right to possess diamonds, and Black, who should be denied that right.² As part of their agitation against African claim-holding, the European diggers asked that all servants be registered. W.J. Coleman, then chairman of the New Rush Diggers' Committee, declared that the masters wanted not only a ban on claim-holding by Africans, but the registration of all African servants, a right of search for masters and a prohibition on Africans staying in Kimberley longer than twenty-four hours without a master.

The request to restrict claim-holding to Europeans was a sine qua non of the diggers' demands.³ Under this pressure, two of the Commissioners, Giddy and Campbell, agreed to issue a proclamation, No. 49 of 1872,

1. C.W. de Kiewiet: The Imperial Factor in South Africa, pp.13 and 14, describes the process by which the native policy of the frontier farmers came to be adopted on the Diamond Fields.
2. For detail, see J. Smalberger: Proclamation 14 of Griqualand West. Some Observations on the causes leading to its promulgation; and S.T. van der Horst: Native Labour in South Africa, pp.72-74.
3. The decision to grant the diggers' requests was made following incidents of tent burning and attempted lynching. The Diggers' Committee laid the blame for their grievances about I.D.B. and labour at the door of the government. The granting of the measures was apparently an attempt to appease the diggers and restore order. J. Smalberger: Proclamation 14 of Griqualand West..., pp.9-17 and C.732 Further correspondence respecting the Affairs of the Cape of Good Hope, No. 42. Barkly to Kimberley, 2.8.1872 and Enclosures, pp.100-109.

suspending African digging licences and prohibiting their fresh issue. The diggers' other requests were granted by the Local Commissioners in Government Notice No. 68 of 1872 (Appendix B), which established Servants' Registry Offices in New Rush and Dutoitspan and incorporated a list of rules drawn up for their operation by the New Rush Diggers' Committee. They laid down that all Africans were to be formally registered, and contracted for not less than a month. To cover the expense of the system a fee of one shilling was payable on registration and on leaving the Fields. The initial fee was to be advanced by the employer and subtracted from the labourer's first wages. At the same time, the rules introduced a pass system. Though it was not explicitly stated, a contract certificate was the authorisation of a worker to remain in Kimberley. While he was seeking employment he required a daily pass and when he wished to leave the Fields he had to obtain another pass, which would only be supplied on production of a certificate from his employer.

Sir Henry Barkly cancelled Proclamation No. 49 in August 1872 but agreed to the other concessions, and consolidated them in a new Master and Servant law.⁴ No person was in future to be registered as a claim-holder without a certificate of good character and the rules for African servants were defined more carefully. Oral contracts were made valid for only one month, and written contracts for longer had to be signed by both contracting parties in the presence of a Registrar, who witnessed that the contract had been entered into willingly and with

4. Proclamation No. 16 of 1872 cancelled Proclamation No. 49. In The Statute Law of Griqualand West, (1882) it is said to cancel Proclamation No. 47, not 49. This is obviously a mistake. The Statute Law of the Territory of Griqualand West, Vol.I (1875), has the correct number listed in its table of contents. The Master and Servant law was Proclamation No. 14 of 1872. (An interesting example of its application occurred in 1880 when a "St. Helena man (coloured looking)" was required to produce master's papers or a character reference from a European before he was allowed to register a servant. GLW 150, No. 205, 26.1.1880. Letter from R.W. Murray, Jun.)

a clear understanding of its meaning. Each servant was to receive a contract certificate and the Registrar was to keep the terms of every contract in a register.⁵ When a contract was terminated an employer was required to endorse the contract certificate, with the date and reason for termination. The rest of the Proclamation was concerned with measures to prevent the theft of diamonds and included the provision that liquor was not to be sold in exchange for diamonds.

The 1872 Master and Servant law and the rules for servants were the foundation for the treatment of African labourers in Griqualand West until the adoption of the closed compound system in the 1880's. The chief aims of these regulations were to maintain a high level of employment by preventing vagrancy, and to combat I.D.B. The use of passes to control labour was also being pioneered in Natal at this time. There a similar problem was faced: the influx of large numbers of Africans seeking "togt" or daily labour, who created an artificial labour stringency and insecurity in the towns. Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs, suggested in a memorandum that no work seeker be allowed to stay in town for more than five days without being enrolled as a "togt" labourer, which meant being registered, paying 2s.6d. a month, and wearing a badge. Minimum rates of pay would be fixed by a magistrate

5. The certificate issued to the employer made provision for the names of a number of servants, their "marks", their tribes, the period of contract and their wages. The servants were engaged "subject to the right of any Police Constable or other authorised person to search the person or premises of the said servants". GLW 84, No. 965, "Contract of Service. Under Proclamation 10th August, 1872", No. 611, 19.1.1876.

and the scheme administered by the Superintendent of Police.⁶

W.J. Coleman,⁷ who had originally suggested the servants' registry, was appointed Registrar of Servants (or Registrar of Natives as he was often more correctly called) at New Rush. Greater control over labour was achieved but the system was handicapped by employers who neglected to register their labourers⁸ and by a lack of police to enforce the pass regulations.⁹ Employers claimed that workers deserted their employment so frequently that to register them was not worth the expense. It was accepted that labourers were always willing to break contract when offered higher wages and unscrupulous diggers took advantage of this in times of labour scarcity. Conversely, there were cases of employers who summarily dismissed their labourers¹⁰ and there was a reported instance of Africans refusing to be registered.¹¹ Many diggers believed that the

6. The text of the memorandum is in: Durban, the Mayor's Minute for the year ended July 31, 1873, pp. 4-5. See T.R.H. Davenport: The Beginning of Urban Segregation in South Africa: The Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923 and its Background, p.3 and Maynard W. Swanson: Urban Origins of Separate Development (Race, Vol. X, July 1968), pp. 35-36. The suggestions were incorporated in a Proclamation of 31.3.1884.
7. W.J. Coleman was Registrar of Servants in Kimberley till 1885, a position which was combined in 1877 with that of Protector of Natives. As chairman of the New Rush Diggers' Committee he was outspoken on the need to control African labourers, but he appears to have mellowed over the years. While he always sought to uphold the de facto colour bar, he nevertheless became very concerned about treatment of Africans, and frustrated at his powerlessness to do anything about it. He was later a Kimberley Borough Councillor for many years.
8. GLW 71, Coleman to Currey, 12.12.1874; GLW 82, No. 537, Letter from Coleman; GLW 88, No. 1695, Coleman to Chief Clerk, 8.2.1876. The penalty for deserting employment was high. In 1875 an African found guilty of deserting his employer was sentenced to solitary confinement on a diet of rice water for five days. Diamond News 11.12.1875.
9. cf. GLW 122, No. 1815, Coleman to Colonial Secretary, 9.9.1878.
10. GLW 71, Coleman to Currey, 26.9.1873; GLW 71 Coleman to Currey, 6.8.1874.
11. Independent 15.12.1875; Diamond News 11.12.1875, letter from K.C.

system of registration itself was to blame for the lack of results. They favoured a more complex system of "passports", along the lines of the "togg" labour suggestions. A proposal was made by Alfred Aylward and the De Beers Diggers' Committee in an address to their "Friends and Brothers in Labour" which was later, apparently, approved by a public meeting. They suggested that all Africans in Griqualand West should have to take out passports which would contain a "fair description" of the holder. Class A passports (yellow) would be issued at a central depot to all Africans entering the province. Masters wanting servants would apply for them at the depot and labourers could be allotted in rotation, the master paying one shilling each. Class B passports (blue) were to be for employed Africans and would be issued on the application of a respectable white inhabitant and on the production of a Class A passport. Special, Class C (green) passports were to be made available for herdsmen, drivers and "foreloopers". Africans leaving the fields would have to apply for a Class D passport (red) which would cost 2s.6d., and there would be various searching stations through which Africans would be required to pass on their journey home. The advocates of the scheme noted that a passport system and a depot for refugees existed in Natal.¹² It was the first time a depot for labour in Kimberley had been proposed, and it is significant that Coleman's simpler - and less expensive - scheme was preferred and remained, despite many other attempts to establish a permanent labour depot in Kimberley.

Southey first mentioned the idea of establishing a depot for Africans in a letter to Barkly in April 1873. Government depots in Kimberley, together with inland depots, he believed would help remove "much of the abuse which attaches to the present system", and he thought that employers would be prepared to finance them.¹³ The depot system was debated during

12. Diamond News, 22.6.1872

13. GLW 180, Southey to Barkly, 26.4.1873. See Chapter III.

the following year¹⁴ and discussed in the Legislative Council. There seems to have been unanimous support for the idea, which was eventually incorporated into Ordinance No. 28 of 1874, for the clothing of African labourers. The draft Ordinance proposed that African workers be clothed at the depot when contracted. The clothing of labourers was a contentious issue, for some claimed that the "mutya" or loin cloth was indecent and others, while recognising that African men should be better clothed, were afraid that labourers would not accept compulsory clothing, particularly if they had to pay for it from their first wages. The final Ordinance was not substantially changed and stated that the Governor might establish a depot or depots where all workseekers could be accommodated until contracted. Because of the stringency of finances at the time, the Legislative Council took the usual step of delaying the operation of the Ordinance until the Governor gave notice.¹⁵

In conveying the Royal confirmation of the clothing ordinance, Lord Carnarvon asked how many depots were to be built and how they were to be financed. Southey replied in a despatch that

It was the intention of this Government to establish under the provision of this ordinance one depot in the shape of a compound, in which should be erected a sufficient number of sheds built by convict labour and with inexpensive materials to accommodate Native labourers; and from where they should be drafted into service as soon as they were fit for it, and after leaving provided - at the expense of the employer - with

-
14. J.B. Currey received a letter from J.E. Howse of the Native Registry Office in July 1873, offering his services as Superintendent of the "Native Depot" which he understood the government intended to establish. GLW 71, 10.7.1873.
15. Diamond News, 30.7.1874, Report of the Legislative Council debate on 29.7.1874. Draft published in Diamond News 15.8.1874 and Ordinance published 25.9.1874.

some article of wearing apparel sufficient for common decency.¹⁶

He could not estimate the cost of running the depot but suggested that it might be offset by contributions from employers for labour taken from the depot. The Lieutenant Governor explained that the need for a depot in Kimberley had been one of the earliest subjects to which his attention had been drawn, together with the need for "three or four other depots at certain distances apart in the country through which the majority of labourers coming to and from this Province must pass".¹⁷ As an example of the need for a depot in Kimberley he mentioned that more than seventy out of a party of a hundred had been known to die after reaching Kimberley. The recent disallowance of a £25 000 loan¹⁸ would mean that expenditure would have to be cut all round, and Southey proposed to delay promulgation of the Ordinance, pending Barkly's advice. In his semi-official letter to Barkly of the same date, he stated more bluntly that he could not put the Ordinance into force because of the expense involved, despite the fact that hundreds of lives were being sacrificed, and "common decency outraged for want of it".¹⁹ Barkly's despatch in reply was firm.²⁰ Once the Queen's pleasure had been signified in the Government

-
16. GLW 4, Carnarvon to Barkly, 15.12.1874; GLW 189, Southey to Barkly, 4.2.1875.
17. Southey consciously or unconsciously hid the fact that the majority of labourers travelled through the Transvaal, although it was well-known to him.
18. Ordinance No. 15 of 1874
19. GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 4.2.1875
20. GLW 4, Barkly to Southey, 12.2.1875

Gazette the Ordinance should be promulgated immediately. He was aware of the position of the Griqualand West Government, but requested that Southey should bring the legislation into partial operation at least. His semi-official reply was more sympathetic, and Barkly hoped that Southey's complaints would have a good effect in Downing Street. Southey answered that he would see what he was able to do, but was not optimistic.²¹ Nothing had been achieved by July 1875 when Richard Southey was relieved of his duties.²²

Diggers opposition to the Southey-Currey administration had come to a head early in 1875.²³ Led by men such as Alfred Aylward, the malcontents complained that the government was expensive and unrepresentative. It had also not been able to suppress I.D.B., nor had it prevented some Africans from holding claims. Their actions provided a platform for the expression of other grievances including the registration of labour and vagrancy. It was claimed that an employer wishing to register a hundred men for three months would have to pay five pounds for registration and fifteen pounds in hospital tax, and could lose most of the men within a week. Diggers were urged to take a stand against paying hospital tax and to protect those who

-
21. GLW 177, Barkly to Southey, 11.2.1875; GLW 184, Southey to Barkly, 20.2.1875
 22. C.2220-1878-9 Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Africa, Enclosure 5 in No. 17, Annexure to the Report upon the Griqualand Labour Question, p.70, noted that as governments had not until then (May 1876) been in a position to carry out the provisions of the Clothing Ordinance, it had not been promulgated and had remained inoperative.
 23. See L. Minott: Sir Richard Southey. Lieutenant; Governor of Griqualand West, 1872-1875, Chapter 6 for detail. Shorter accounts appear in C.W. de Kiewiet: The Imperial Factor in South Africa, pp.50-59; Oswald Doughty: Early Diamond Days, pp.226-229; J.W. Matthews: Incwadi Yami, pp.283-286; and John Angove: In the Early Days, pp.77-81. J.B. Currey gives the administration's point of view in Half a Century in South Africa, pp. 274-280. See also Chapter VI, p. 158.

did not register their labourers from "attacks by the government".²⁴

By mid-March armed companies had formed and had begun drilling under the auspices of a combined Diggers Protection Association. Southey banned drilling by proclamation, and the diggers replied with their own proclamation, vowing to restore the territory to proper government. Tension mounted on both sides, until the conviction of a digger on 12 April 1875 became the signal for the forces of the Diggers Protection Association to raise the Black flag. The government proved equal to the occasion and a clash was averted. Southey then issued a proclamation declaring those who had assembled under arms to be rebels. An armed truce prevailed but the Executive Council deemed it wise to request Barkly to send troops to the territory urgently. By the time General Cunynghame's troops had arrived at the end of June, the situation had been defused. The Diggers Protection Association had dissolved and Southey had granted amnesty to all but six of their leaders, who were tried in September. Though the causes of dissatisfaction with the government were complex, Southey and Currey maintained, correctly it seems, that the root cause was racial friction over the Master and Servant law and the rights of Coloured diggers. Insufficient revenue, not enough police and the disallowance of two important Ordinances had not made it any easier for the administration to govern effectively.

A reader of the Diamond News took the opportunity offered by the agitation to put forward his ideas on the control of African labour, which, he reminded, had first been proposed in 1872. He suggested that an "Indian Bazaar Master"²⁵ be appointed to control vagrants, as the Servants Registry

24. Diamond News, 18.3.1875, Report of a meeting of combined Diggers Associations.

25. Diamond News, 1.4.1875, letter from James Hall. The "Bazaar" seems to have been an enlarged depot. The idea of the system was to give complete control of all matters concerning African labour to the Bazaar Master.

Office had not helped the vagrancy problem at all. The Bazaar Master would have sole control over all matters affecting African labour, all orders for labour would be placed with his office, all disputes would be settled by him, all vagrant Africans would be brought to him and kept at the depot, and deserting labourers would be reported to the Bazaar Master's police. He also proposed that photographs be taken when labourers were registered to help in the identification of criminals. The Diamond News replied to these suggestions two months later. The newspaper believed that Mr Hall's ideas had not attracted attention in 1872, but conceded that the proposals did form "a practical ground-work to go upon". It did not approve of the term "Bazaar", nor of the necessity of taking photographs but was in full agreement with the establishment of a depot where all new labour would be received and contracted and where vagrants could be accommodated.²⁶

In August 1875, Mr H. Green M.L.C. proposed a new set of rules for the registration of labourers.²⁷ They did little but clarify existing laws. All Africans would be registered on arrival and provided with a parchment certificate of registration in a cylinder, and all contracting and re-contracting of labourers would have to be done before the Registrar of Natives. The minimum period of first contract for new labourers was to be four months, and future contracts would be one month. A vagrancy rule was included: any African residing in the mining areas without ostensible means of employment would be considered a labourer and would be liable for registration. The only real innovation was the proposed appointment of a special magistrate to hear all Master and Servant cases. Supporting the adoption of his rules

26. Diamond News, 3.6.1875, Editorial

27. Diamond News, 26.8.1875, letter from H. Green

in the Legislative Council,²⁸ Green stated that there were then 8 000 labourers employed in Kimberley, whose wages amounted to half a million pounds. The existing system of registration was inoperative because Africans had refused to contract themselves, and were, thus, able to leave their employ at a moment's notice. His rules, he argued, would enable the police to exercise supervision. He would also propose the erection of "places where natives out of employ in any of the camps must live". The advantage to the diggers would be the savings which would accrue from the fall in the wage level as a result of the closer control of labour. Currey agreed with Green, but maintained, with greater perception, that the solution was in the hands of employers. If they would employ registered labourers only, the problem would be rectified by the current legislation. Instead they had comigned to stop registering labour. It was amazing that the Legislative Council spent this time debating proposals which were almost all law already, and one can only wonder how Green intended to put his depot for vagrants into operation.²⁹

Reviewing the prospects which faced Colonel Lanyon on his arrival as Administrator of Griqualand West in November 1875, the Diamond News stated that very little new legislation was required for the management of Africans on the Fields. Existing legislation should be brought into force and the depot system introduced at once, the

28. Diamond News, 9.9.1875, Report of the Legislative Council debate on 9.9.1875

29. The Legislative Council passed Green's motion that the House go into committee on 20.9.1875 to consider his rules. I have been unable to find a report of this debate, but it seems that the matter was shelved.

newspaper recommended.³⁰ The Independent suggested that the Hospital and Clothing ordinances be repealed, that ten or more special constables be appointed to inspect labourers and suppress vagrancy, that vagrants and loafers be expelled from the territory and that no labourer be re-contracted without his former employment being stated - to avoid the constant changing of names. It acknowledged that touting was a problem and that no African should be contracted under pressure of any kind.³¹

Many of these suggestions were investigated by the 1876 Labour Commission, which attempted to find solutions to I.D.B. and the problem of desertion.³² Again, not many of its ideas were new, but the commission was aware of the problems as few others had been:

What are supposed to be serious grievances during periods of scarcity of labour are not felt as such when labour is plentiful. But notwithstanding this, your commission is of opinion that the immediate attention of Government should be given, if possible, to the means of introduction, but certainly to the control of labour here, under the conviction that the good sense of employers will induce them to see that restrictions necessary for their convenience during times of scarcity will not be looked upon as irksome or oppressive when labour is abundant. (Report, paragraph 10)

This was the crux of the matter. Previous legislation had failed whenever employers had not kept it, yet they had been the first to complain of desertions and vagrancy. The recommendations of the Commission centred, predictably, on a depot system, despite the fact that Lanyon had previously informed the members, "that with the revenue and means then at the disposal of Government it was

30. Diamond News, 9.11.1875

31. Independent, 10.11.1875

32. C.2220-'79 Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Africa, Enclosure 5 in No. 17, Report of the Commission upon the Griqualand Labour Question and Annexures, pp. 63-71. See Chapter III for background to the Commission and the Native Labour Regulation Ordinance.

inexpedient at once to inaugurate that system" (Report, paragraph 7). It recommended some significant amendments to existing legislation, which included the introduction of a penalty against persons enticing servants to desert from their masters, the need to legalise contracts entered into outside Griqualand West and the need to make persons loitering "anywhere" subject to the penalties of vagrancy.

The commissioners also suggested a list of thirty-three rules and regulations for labourers. On arrival every workseeker was to report to the depot and be registered. He would be accommodated there until contracted, at the expense of his future employer. First contracts were to be for a minimum of three months, renewable monthly thereafter, and the labourer was to keep a copy of his contract with him at all times in a tin case. The contract would, thus, become the pass of the Kimberley labourer, who was also to be restricted to a particular ward in the mining area which he could not leave without the permission of his employer. Any African found unregistered would be "deemed to be a loiterer", except that servants of visitors would be exempt from this law for a period of forty-eight hours. Employers were required to report the expiry of a contract to the superintendent of the depot, so that the labourer concerned could be accommodated there until employed again. A provision similar to that in the Natal regulations for "togg" labourers was made for any African who could prove to the superintendent that he was a bona fide employer of labour or had his own means of living. He was to be entitled to a "free pass", renewable every six months. This pass could be forfeited if the holder was "found guilty of loitering or of any other offence" within a labour area. The superintendent of the depot was to offer protection to African labourers who lodged complaints with him. Labourers who were not hired after five days at the depot were liable for employment by the government, until they obtained other work. Provision was made for labourers to be contracted outside Griqualand West, provided

that they were later registered at the depot, and anyone who attempted to induce a labourer to leave his employer was to be made liable to a penalty. Finally, no African would be permitted to buy arms or ammunition without a permit from the depot superintendent, who could only grant the permit if the African had "completed his service".

Speaking on the Report of the Labour Commission in his opening speech of the 1876 session of the Legislative Council, Col. Lanyon cautioned that:

In considering this report we must bear in mind that stringent or exacting class legislation - further than is absolutely necessary to bring the untutored native into the ways of civilization, and also to provide for his protection - is sure to bring about its own discomforture.³³

The Diamond News whole-heartedly endorsed this statement, for though it thought the African could not engage in active resistance against the new regulations, there was a passive resistance which was often more effective.³⁴ This "passive resistance" had been displayed every time employers had tried to lower the wages of labourers. Despite these warnings, the Native Labour Regulation Ordinance (No. 10 of 1876), probably under J.D. Barry's influence, incorporated all of the regulations recommended by the Commission, sometimes without any change in them at all. An attempt was made to clarify the pass law the Commission had intended; it was made illegal for any African to enter the Province without a pass signed by an officer of the Griqualand West Government, and once a labourer had become employed his contract of service became his pass. The Ordinance also included one of the general recommendations of the Commission, that a special officer be appointed to decide all master and servant cases. In an attempt to gain the co-operation of masters, a fine not exceeding one pound was to be levied on any employer who failed to report the desertion of an employee. An interesting omission

33. Diamond News, 22.8.1876, Administrator's speech at the opening of the First Session of the Legislative Council, 21.8.1876.

34. Diamond News, 24.8.1876

in the Ordinance was any reference to the return passes issued to Africans leaving the Diamond Fields for their homes. Although the original rule in Government Notice No. 68 of 1872 remained operative, nothing more was done to try to control the departure of labourers from Kimberley. It had obviously been realised that nothing could be done to make Africans take out return passes, and searching Africans for diamonds before they left the Fields had never been seriously attempted. The diggers' sentiments on the new law were echoed by Henry Tucker:

Diggers were quite willing to submit to many of the inconveniences imposed upon them by the Ordinance, but on the other hand they would certainly expect that the law should be strictly enforced... He had heard expressions of opinion outside the House showing the greatest appreciation of the action taken by the Government in this respect, both by the appointment of the commission and then by so promptly enforcing the spirit of the Commissioner's report.³⁵

The Native Labour Regulation Ordinance was another example of test legislation, as Proclamation No. 49 of 1872 had been. On both occasions the local authority had endorsed an incursion into the legal rights of Africans, on the grounds that the peculiar needs of the Diamond Fields demanded it,³⁶ and on each occasion Sir Henry Barkly had disallowed the legislation. It was clear to all that Ordinance No. 10 of 1876 was intended to change the status quo for Africans. Its title was a blind as it was in fact a new Master and Servant law. The 1872 Master and Servant law had been a compromise because it had seriously prejudiced the chances of Africans to hold claims.³⁷ If,

35. Diamond News, 21.9.1876, Report of the Legislative Council debate on 18.9.1876

36. "peculiar needs" referred to the desire to restrict mining and the diamond trade to Europeans and the need to maintain a high level of employment among African labourers.

37. See S.T. van der Horst: Native Labour in South Africa, pp. 73-74

against all likelihood, the Native Labour Regulation Ordinance had become law, it would have created an early precedent for many later pass law restrictions and would have entrenched the de facto colour bar. The Ordinance was, however, stillborn.³⁸

In a further attempt to alleviate the position of African labourers, Lanyon appointed a Protector of Natives in September 1877. The role of "Protector" had first been created in the Cape in 1830 to guard the interests of the slaves. A Protector of Indian Immigrants was also created in Natal in 1872, after Indians had complained that the Coolie Immigration Agent had no power to protect their rights. Lanyon's measure turned out to be a token gesture. W.J. Coleman was made the first Protector of Natives,³⁹ in addition to his responsibilities as Registrar of Natives for Kimberley. C.M. Bult, Registrar of Natives for Dutoitspan, was also made a Protector of Natives soon afterwards. The two men were given power to enquire into any complaints of African labourers about their treatment or conditions of employment.⁴⁰ Their duties would ordinarily have been difficult enough to implement but they were not even given extra assistance for the new job. As the Diamond News pointedly asked,

What authority does [the Protector of Natives] possess to afford relief in cases of necessity? Or even if he has the power, what means has he to house and keep a large body of men until other provision can be made for them?⁴¹

38. See Chapter III.

39. Griqualand West Government Gazette, 29.9.1877, Government Notice No. 162 of 1877, 10.9.1877. On the Protector of Indian Immigrants, see L.M. Thompson: Indian Immigration into Natal (1860-1872) (Archives Year Book for South African History, 1952, II), p.64

40. G.2-'85, Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1885, p.207

41. Diamond News 13.9.1877

An analysis of some of the cases with which the Protectors of Natives had to deal during the first two years of their appointment reveals the extreme difficulty they found in providing any protection at all. In the case of a man named John who had complained of being dismissed without payment, Coleman had first to take his contract to the Administrator to establish its legality and was then told by the Clerk of the Peace that a summons could not be issued without a written application. Coleman feared that the delay of three days would cause the labourer to leave the Fields.⁴² A common complaint made by Africans was that they had been charged exorbitant amounts by men who had defended them in court. In an attempt to improve matters the Protector of Natives began to represent Africans in court regularly.⁴³ Another common complaint was the lack of adequate treatment for labourers who were ill. The plight of a group of twenty ill men was reported to Mangin Bult in 1879. On investigation he found that they had never been employed but had taken up residence with the labourers of a Mr Freeman. Three of them were apparently in a serious condition. Bult found there was little he could do, for the only hospital available to them was the jail hospital and the District Surgeon had to admit them to that.⁴⁴

Some attempt was apparently made to provide a depot where African labourers could be sheltered, since between 1878 and 1882

42. GLW 108, No. 2126, Coleman to Lanyon, 13.9.1877; Lanyon to "Protector of contracted Natives", 18.9.77. See also GLW 102, No. 947, 17.4.1877

43. See GLW 164, (no number) [September 1880]. Return of all cases tried in the Resident Magistrate's Court and defended by the Protector of Natives - 32.

44. GLW 131, No. 373, 2.2.1879

such a depot is occasionally mentioned.⁴⁵ This depot could not have been anything like the local depot envisaged in the Native Labour Regulation Ordinance and was probably part of the jail.⁴⁶ Conditions for workers became progressively worse during these years and Coleman became concerned at his inability to alleviate them. In 1883 he complained that unemployed labourers had starved and become vagrants since the abolition of "the depot".⁴⁷ Two years later he complained again that his position had no legal status in court and that some magistrates had refused to allow him to defend Africans. He presumed that many Europeans did not know the provisions of the pass laws and sympathised with those Africans who fell foul of them, for

among those natives who are arrested (and they are numerous) there are a great many instances in which much hardship is entailed, the alleged offence being perhaps attributable to a misapprehension of the special local law on the part of the accused, or to the default of an employer (as has been often admitted by employers), and betraying no criminal intent on the part of the native.⁴⁸

The Diamond Trade Amendment Act of 1888 changed the duties of the Protector of Natives. The position was no longer combined with that

-
45. GLW 164, Return of all cases tried in the Resident Magistrate's Court and defended by the Protector of Natives; G.8-'83 Appendix to the Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1883, p.3. - the Civil Commissioner indicated that no depots existed for receiving and clothing new labour, p.2; G.2-'85 Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1885, p.207
46. G.2-'88 Report of the Committee on Convicts and Gaols, Mr William McKenna, Q.1268. C. Mangin Bult declared, Q.1738, that there had not been a depot since 1878. It is clear that whatever kind of depot existed, it was neither very large nor suitable.
47. G.3-'83 Appendix to the Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1883, p. 3
48. G.5-'85 Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1885, p.207

of Registrar of Natives and was now related to the closed compounds.⁴⁹

From the opening of the Diamond Fields employers of African labour made some provision for the accommodation of their servants. The provision of accommodation was one means of keeping labourers for a longer time, while it also helped to control I.D.B. and drunkenness. Many of the early diggers still maintained an attitude of personal possession towards their servants and there were not a few cases of corporal punishment by employers.⁵⁰ Payton describes the sleeping accommodation for Africans as follows: "... some generous diggers provide them with a rough tent, but if the "boys" are smart and active they will soon make a comfortable little hut for themselves in a compound,⁵² an area which included the digger's own tent or "frame house", the "kaffir shed", the digger's sorting floor and the washing area, but it was evident that many other diggers either rented quarters or did not provide for themselves and their servants on this scale. It is difficult to envisage precisely how the Africans were all accommodated, but it appears from photographs and descriptions that, while some masters provided accommodation in their compounds, Africans often had to provide their own living quarters on the outskirts of the diggings, and, in any event many of them ate at the notorious

49. See Chapter V.

50. J. Angove: In the Early Days, p.40-41

51. C.A. Payton: The Diamond Diggings of South Africa, p.138

52. W.J. Morton: South African Diamond Fields, p.13, p.23 described the compounds as the enclosures of the different diggers. The word "compound" was also used to describe e.g. Government buildings. The Lieutenant Governor's home and office were known as "Government Compound". This term was still used in 1888, along with the terms "Municipal Compound" and the "Police Headquarters Compound".

eating houses. Press advertisements of the time also illustrate the accommodation of some diggers for their servants. "Large Kaffir House for 30 boys with New Iron Roof - moveable"; "Iron House 18 x 10 divided into two apartments with Large Iron Stable and Kaffir Houses attached"; "Iron shed to hold about 40 Kaffirs."⁵³ Another auctioneer's advertisement read

The Compound is under the shade of the Three Camel Thorn Trees, so well known in that part and the Buildings erected thereon are commodious and the Native Branch is capable of accommodating 100 Native Servants, and the whole is strongly enclosed with a Never-Failing Fence of Stone & C."⁵⁴

In 1874 Richard Southey used the large numbers of starving Africans in Kimberley as the occasion to impress on employers that during the period for which any workers were contracted to them they were bound to supply them with food and shelter and to pay them their wages whether they were ill or not,⁵⁵ as complaints had been made by employees who had been discharged when they became ill. The Diamond Field protested against Southey and Currey's humanitarian measure. It argued that by custom men did not get paid while ill, otherwise work would come to an end. Custom dictated that men should have medical attention and that the expenses should be deducted from their pay, the newspaper stated.⁵⁶ The Griqualand West government had, however, made it clear that it held employers responsible for looking after their employees. The 1876 Labour Commission went a step further and recommended that every master should be made to provide board and lodging for his workers. The reason for their recommendation was not hard to find. The alternative was the "board wage" system, by which

53. Diamond News, 5.2.1876; 21.1.1876; Daily Independent, 3.6.1880

54. Diamond News, 11.1.1876

55. Government Notice 104 of 1874, 7.12.1874. Diamond News, 10.12.1874

56. Diamond Field, 12.12.1874

labourers were paid more but found their own board, often at the canteens and eating houses. These places often provided the contact with illicit diamond buyers and afforded labourers the opportunity of selling stolen diamonds. The Commission found that the only means of preventing this illicit dealing was the provision of board and lodging by employers.⁵⁷ The Native Labour Regulation Ordinance adopted the Commission's recommendation and specified that employers should know at all times where their labourers were lodged.⁵⁸ The board wage system did not disappear, as the Ordinance was not promulgated, and a petition was drawn up in 1879 asking for its abolition. The reply was that if the claimholders would take steps to provide proper accommodation and kitchens in their compounds, the evil would diminish.⁵⁹

The standard of housing for labourers, though never meeting more than the basic needs, dropped with the formation of the first mining companies in 1880-1. Existing compounds for African labour became overcrowded and there was little or no attempt to provide improved accommodation. The Daily Independent, commenting on the 1879 mortality figures, stated that the high death rate was not surprising as the African labourers reached the Diamond Fields in a starving state and were "huddled together in tents or barracks in a manner most calculated to assist in the spreading of any infectious disease."⁶⁰

57. C.2220-'79 Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Africa, Enclosure 5 in No. 17, Report of the Commission upon the Griqualand Labour Question, Recommended Laws and Regulations, paragraph 9; Report paragraph 21.

58. Ordinance No. 10 of 1876, Art. XXIII

59. GLW 133, No. 730. An Ordinance, No. 13 of 1879, was passed to regulate and license Eating Houses.

60. Daily Independent, 13.4.1880

The question of sanitary arrangements for African barracks and compounds came to the fore in 1881. Coleman was afraid of an outbreak of an epidemic from the houses or "stables" in which the Africans lived. The Sanitary Inspector, a Mr Dempster, denied the danger. He had visited many of the African compounds and had found,

the houses provided for the use of natives are as a rule made of corrugated iron from 7 to 10 feet high and from 10 to 100 feet long. The houses are mostly neat and clean inside and have quite a comfortable look about them. A number however are defective in ventilation having nothing more than the doors.

He would understand that they would be unhealthy if they were packed with men in hot weather but at those times the Africans preferred to sleep outside. He believed that most of the mining companies had made arrangements with doctors to attend to their servants and he was confident that they would isolate any cases of fever.⁶¹ Coleman replied to Dempster by giving the location of several sheds which he considered unfit for human habitation. He also mentioned other sheds that were without sanitation, and "full of filth." A responsible man should be put in charge of each shed or compound, he suggested. The Sanitary Inspector's answer was that there was very little the matter. He used the negative argument, at best doubtful, that the Africans were housed better than anywhere else in South Africa.⁶² The Diamond Fields Advertiser did not take sides in the dispute but emphasised that there were certain places which needed immediate attention.⁶³

John X. Merriman wrote to his wife Agnes in January 1886,

-
61. D.F.A., 14.10.1881. Kimberley Mining Board meeting, 11.10.1881. The vociferous Hans Olsen, a member of the board, apparently called Coleman "an old woman" after he had heard Dempster's report. This comment probably reflects the general lack of concern and the attitude of some members of the mining community towards Coleman's humanitarian endeavours.
62. D.F.A., 21.10.1881. Kimberley Mining Board meeting, 16.10.1881. A letter was read from Coleman.
63. D.F.A., 21.10.1881, Editorial

Bultfontein and Dutoitspan roads on Saturday are a disgrace to civilization and some compounds which we saw an equal disgrace to humanity. No wonder the poor brutes steal - and no wonder that a curse seems to rest on the industry.

A few weeks later he wrote again in the same vein:

The misery of the place grows on one, the appalling crime and the utter hollowness of our civilization which tolerates such things. I verily believe that never was there a labouring population so utterly debased or treated with such complete disregard of their moral and physical welfare. No, not the slaves in the Southern States!⁶⁴

This situation was not new. It had been growing worse since the early eighties and conditions seem to have been at their worst between 1886 and 1888. Its causes were not difficult to find. A settled African community had developed on the Diamond Fields. The high number of canteens and clubs supplied the Africans' every demand for "Cape Smoke", and the smuggling and adulteration of liquor made the situation much worse.⁶⁵

In the absence of regular provision of housing for African labourers, the existing compounds, as Merriman relates, did little but provide for the most basic needs, while the growing locations were gathering places of the unemployed, the self-employed, the I.D.B. runner and many "loafers". As there was no depot, many Africans arriving in Kimberley and not finding immediate employment either landed in prison for pass offences or died of exposure and starvation. Statements of the District Surgeon in 1887 were very revealing: Large numbers of dead bodies had

64. P. Lewson: Selections from the Correspondence of J.X. Merriman 1870-1890 I, p.203 and p.207. John X. Merriman to Mrs A. Merriman, 10.1.1886 and 31.1.1886

65. The D.F.A., 24.2.1883, Editorial, commented on the increasing number of labourers who had settled in Kimberley. There was an average of approximately 150 licenced canteens in Kimberley from the mid 1870's. In 1884 there were 29 clubs which could serve liquor at all hours. African members were permitted, the usual membership fee being two shillings. G.12.-'85 Reports by the Commissioners of Police for 1881. See Chapter V.

been picked up about the Native camps (locations) at Beaconsfield, "for years", he informed. One constable and a hard labour party were kept constantly busy picking up dead bodies.⁶⁶ The sight of dead bodies could never have been unfamiliar on the Diamond Fields but it had clearly become more serious. Death was commonly ascribed to pneumonia as men lay drunk in the bitter winter nights, but also to starvation and violence.⁶⁷ Employers always complained that it was difficult to work the mines on Mondays and Tuesdays with so many Africans drunk and failing to report. This situation had always obtained on the Fields. Drunkenness was often cited as a reason for employing more labour than would otherwise be required, for the reluctance of the miners to encourage the permanent settlement of African labour in Kimberley, and unwillingness to employ such local labour as there was. When asked in 1882 whether labourers should be encouraged to spend their wages as soon as they earned them, and therefore be unable to return home, Francis Baring-Gould replied "...I would rather be without these boys."⁶⁸ Speaking in support of the Diamond Trade Amendment Bill in the House of Assembly in 1888, Sir Thomas Upington compared statistics for Kimberley with those of the rest of the Colony in 1887. The recorded death figure was 3 272, of an estimated population of 20 000. The figure for deaths in the hospital alone was 695, whereas the total deaths in all other hospitals and asylums in the Colony had been 596. Of the number of prisoners in jail at the end of 1887, 870 of the 2 238 total and more than

66. G.2-'86 Report of the Committee on Convicts and Gaols, Q.688-692; Dr Wm. Grimer, Q.1417

67. For a general description of the social conditions of early African labourers see Oswald Doughty: Early Diamond Days, Chapter 6. Much of the material in this chapter is culled from contemporary works.

68. A.9-'82 (S.C.) Select Committee on Illicit Diamond Buying, F. Baring-Gould, Q.1036 [1039]

half the European prisoners in the Cape were imprisoned in Kimberley.⁶⁹ Even allowing for the possibility of a larger population, which Sir Thomas doubted, these figures placed the Kimberley problems in perspective - as they were at the end of the first year of the general adoption of the closed compound system.

During the first three years of the dry diggings there was scarcely any provision for the hospitalisation and treatment of African labourers. Diggers themselves received treatment in tent hospitals and later in more substantial buildings but little was done to aid the destitute. What medical treatment there was for Africans was provided at the jail hospital. Even then it seems that Africans could be refused treatment. In 1873 Dr J.W. Matthews addressed a strongly worded letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, complaining that the government-aided dry diggings hospital did not treat persons of colour. Southey's reaction was to warn them that if they did not make provision for such treatment they would no longer receive assistance.⁷⁰ The provision of hospital services for Africans was always closely linked with health and sanitation. The attitude of some seems to have been that it was necessary to take medical and sanitary measures for the Black population to prevent epidemics which might affect the White population. Southey did, however, attempt to ensure that both populations were provided for on humanitarian grounds.

Ordinance 2 of 1874⁷¹ was an attempt to rectify this state of affairs. By it the government could take over existing hospitals and

69. House of Assembly Debates, June 6, 1888, pp. 58-59. These figures tally with those in the 1887 Statistical Register, though others quoted in the speech do not. Sir Thomas Upington also mentioned a D.F.A. report which stated: "The usual parties were out yesterday morning collecting dead bodies. At noon they had brought five into the mortuary." He believed that this report would have caused a national stir in any other country.

70. GLW 180, Southey to Barkly, 10.7.1873

71. Signed on 9.2.1874, it supplemented the existing Sanitary Regulations made by the Commissioners under Proclamations Nos. 48 and 56 of 1872.

establish new hospitals. It specifically mentioned the need to provide hospital accommodation and medical attendance for African labourers. Financing was to be obtained by a "hospital" tax of one shilling levied on every contract of service, for every month of service, to be paid to the Registrar of Servants, and to be deducted from the servants' wages. Two-thirds of this revenue was to be set aside for hospitals and one-third for general sanitary purposes. What was not stated but implicit, was that this tax on African labourers could be used to finance European services as well. The record of these hospital services for Africans in Kimberley is a sorry one. Masters often refused to pay the tax and medical attention was always, to say the least, inadequate. Whether the non-payment of the tax was responsible for the lack of services, or the lack of services responsible for the non-payment of taxes is debatable. Employers argued about the hospital tax as they did about the registration fee: If desertions were frequent, what was the value of paying the tax?

The surfeit of labourers towards the end of 1874 necessitated special attention for many starving arrivals. Currey arranged that such men could be reported to his office and that hospitalisation would be provided.⁷² In December, "native infirmaries" were established near the Kimberley jail and at the jail hospital at Dutoitspan. A Medical Inspector would be available between seven and eight in the morning and all servants would have to produce their contract tickets.⁷³ The Diamond Field condemned the measures as a contradiction of the hospital Ordinance as the labourers would only be "outdoor" patients, despite the payment

72. GLW 71, Coleman to Currey, 25.7.1874, marginal note by Currey; GLW 71, Coleman to Currey, 16.11.1874

73. Government Notice No. 105 of 1874, 7.2.1874; Diamond News, 10.12.1874

of the tax.⁷⁴

The question of the hospital tax and hospital provision for Africans was raised again in March 1875 at the meeting of the combined Diggers Associations.⁷⁵ As it was payable monthly, the tax was a particular burden to employers, who found it impossible to subtract it from wages. A correspondent of the Independent pointed out at the end of 1875 that diggers had been prepared to register their employees until the imposition of the hospital tax but after that many of them had avoided registration because of the expense of the hospital tax.⁷⁶ The Native Labour Regulation Ordinance⁷⁷ would have removed the hospital tax and replaced it by a new system. When a labourer was admitted to hospital his wages would be stopped and an amount not exceeding ten shillings per week would be paid to the superintendent of the depot. In this way the employer would be freed from the responsibility to pay the hospital tax and the necessity for paying a labourer who was sick. It is likely that this system would have been more practicable but masters would still have been reluctant to pay the charges. The Attorney General was not optimistic that it would prove to be a solution.

In 1879 Mangin Bult drew attention to conditions in Dutoitspan and Bultfontein. He noted that during the first two-and-a-half months of the year, ninety-four Africans had died, twenty-four of whom had been found dead. He believed that an African hospital at Dutoitspan was the

74. Diamond Field, 12.12.1874, Editorial

75. Diamond News, 18.3.1875, Report of a meeting of combined Diggers Associations.

76. Independent, 10.11.1875, letter from Scrutator

77. Ordinance No. 10 of 1876, Art. XXIV

only way of preventing the deaths.⁷⁸ Dr Dyer, the Medical Inspector, supported Bult's view and urged the necessity for a government African hospital at Dutoitspan. Francis de Villiers, the Acting Colonial Secretary, did not share his feeling of urgency and did not consider it the concern of the government. Warren noted that the matter should be referred to the Executive Council.⁷⁹ Little if anything was done at the time, as three years later Dutoitspan and Bultfontein still had no hospital.

The hospital at Kimberley, was in contrast, according to the Diamond Fields Advertiser, "all that could be desired" at that time.⁸⁰ But the whole administration of the hospital was questioned a few months later in the Kimberley Mining Board by Hans Olsen, after the Superintendent, Dr Duirs, had made a suggestion that the mining board provide an ambulance to convey injured miners. Olsen opposed this suggestion on the grounds that the hospital tax should finance such expenditure. He added that "if there were a Hospital wanted for the white people in Kimberley they should not, to give the accommodation, screw the money from the Kafirs and then leave them lying in the street" and suggested that a letter should be written to the government about the misappropriation of funds by the "so-called Hospital Committee".⁸¹ The Hospital Board defended itself

78. GLW 133, No. 661, 14.3.1879.

79. GLW 133, No. 373, 2.2.1879. Comments by Dr Dyer, 12.3.1879

80. D.F.A., 8.7.1882, Editorial.

81. D.F.A., 25.1.1883, Report of the Kimberley Mining Board Meeting, 23.1.1883. Early in 1882 the mining board appointed a committee to investigate the working of the hospital tax. It revealed that between one-third and one-half of the labourers contracted deserted in the first month and was opposed to the tax. The report of the committee was incorporated into a petition to the Legislative Council requesting the repeal of Ordinance No. 2 of 1874. Nothing was done, however. D.F.A., 17.3.1882; 31.3.1882

successfully against the accusation,⁸² and the Registrar of Natives reported that a large ward had been added to the Kimberley Hospital for African patients, financed from the hospital tax.⁸³ Though there were still serious shortcomings it is clear that by 1883 there was regular provision of hospital services for African labourers in Kimberley.

Dr Hans Sauer's experiences of fighting smallpox in Kimberley between 1882 and 1885, related in his memoirs, Ex Africa,⁸⁴ provide interesting information on the standard of medical services. On his arrival in Kimberley in 1882 as a young doctor he was approached by the Sanitary Inspector, Mr Dennis Doyle, with the request that he take charge of a smallpox isolation station on the Modder River. At the time there was a serious epidemic of smallpox in the Cape Peninsula and it was feared that if the epidemic spread to Kimberley all the African labourers would leave the Diamond Fields. Sauer remained at his station for fourteen months before the danger passed. He was later convinced that it had been Rhodes who had implemented and financed the anti-smallpox measures. After undertaking a hunting expedition in the Transvaal and Portuguese East Africa, Sauer was called back to Kimberley in 1883 because smallpox had broken out there. A group of Africans from Portuguese East Africa had been suspected of having contracted smallpox and had been held in quarantine by the police eight miles from Kimberley. A number of doctors had examined them and had confirmed the suspicions, but they had decided not to divulge the information lest the mine labourers desert their jobs. Instead they publicly declared that it was not smallpox, but a form of

82. D.F.A., 3.2.1883, Report of the Hospital Board Meeting, 1.2.1883.

83. G.8-'83 Appendix to the Blue Book on Native Affairs, p.5.

84. Hans Sauer: Ex Africa, pp.35-42 and pp. 71-92. Regular reports from Sauer to the Sanitary Inspector and the Combined Sanitary Committee were printed in the D.F.A., September 1882

pemphigus. Sauer disagreed with their stated opinion but found himself opposed to the mining interests this time. It was only after a protracted struggle and after the promulgation of the Public Health Act of 1883 that Sauer succeeded in ridding the city of smallpox.

The position of the African labourer in Kimberley changed little between 1872 and 1884, despite many schemes for improving his lot. The haphazard arrangements of the early dry diggings were a blessing and a curse as new laws proved very difficult to enforce. Even after the annexation of Griqualand West by the Cape in 1880, no significant changes took place. Accommodation was no better and hospital services only slightly so when the first closed compounds were introduced.

CHAPTER VTHE CLOSED COMPOUND SYSTEM

Despite vigorous attempts to prevent illicit diamond dealing, the problem was still acute on the Diamond Fields in the late 1870's. It was estimated at the time that from twenty-five to forty percent of all diamonds found were sold illicitly.¹ The newly-formed mining companies approached the problem with fresh urgency as they needed to guard their profits and future dividends jealously. African labour was used at every stage of mining operations² and there were numerous opportunities for labourers to pocket gems. From the mining of the blue ground, the hauling operations and transport to the depositing floors, where the ground was left to weather, to the eventual washing and sorting, labourers had access to diamonds. Bernard V. Shaw identified three ways in which illicit contacts were made. The illicit buyer could employ "runners" to frequent eating houses or canteens. More cautious buyers could install a man as a dealer in diamonds or as a storekeeper. Thirdly, an African could be given a sum of money with which to make purchases on behalf of his employer.³ There were two possible solutions to the problem which had not been properly tried before. All mine premises could be fenced and labourers searched before leaving them, or labourers could be completely isolated from outside contact. The first alternative was debated in 1879 and 1880. Although white overseers

-
1. See John M. Smalberger: I.D.B. and the Mining Compound System in the 1880s (South African Journal of Economics, Vol. 42, No 4, 1974) p.398
 2. See Chapter I.
 3. Bernard V. Shaw investigated the Kimberley detective department in 1882. John M. Smalberger: I.D.B. and the Mining Compound System in the 1880s (ibid), pp. 398-9

objected strongly to being searched along with black workers,⁴ a Searching Ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council in July 1880.⁵ It provided that mining boards or other mining authorities be responsible for enforcing an efficient system of searching the servants employed in the mines, once the Ordinance had been promulgated. All employers would have to clothe their African employees in suitable uniforms to prevent their hiding diamonds on their person.

The principle of the searching system was that men would be searched before going into the mine, change into mining uniforms and be searched again on leaving, when changing out of the uniforms. The Searching Ordinance was promulgated in January 1883. The Proclamation included a schedule of rules and regulations for searching, signed by J.B. Robinson for the Board for the Protection of Mining Interests. The system was to be introduced on 1 March 1883 for the mines and diggings. It was later extended to include the depositing floors and other mining areas.⁶ White mechanics and engine drivers held meetings against stripping and changing into company uniforms, and a brief strike followed in October 1883. They later protested against the searching of mouths and being made to take off their boots, and another strike resulted in April 1884. Their main contention was that searching made the white labourers equal with the black labourers. The strikers returned to work having won little in theory and having agreed to abide by the searching rules. Stripping was continued

4. John M. Smalberger: I.D.B. and the Mining Compound System in the 1880s (South African Journal of Economics, Vol. 42, No 4, 1974), pp.402-11;403: A petition was organised and the overseers held a meeting which was attended by 500. The grounds of their protest were the degradation, "both in suffering the act of searching and classing of intelligent and honest white men with raw and thievish natives, which must invariably lower the moral tone and social status of hundreds of citizens (sic) to the detriment of all concerned (sic)." On the searching system, see also G.V. Doxey: The Industrial Colour Bar in South Africa, pp. 28-32

5. Ordinance No. 11 of 1880. The Prevention of Diamond Thefts Ordinance

6. Proclamation No. 1 of 1883, 4.1.1883. Further rules were included in Proclamation No. 162 of 1883.

for African workers, though it was modified in practice for Europeans after both strikes. The searching regulations were first implemented by joint Searching Committees, then, from the beginning of 1884, by the Detective Department, and in February 1885 by the mining boards, though the individual companies had different searching practices,⁷ and could later draft their own regulations for searching, subject to approval by the Mining Boards.⁸ The cost to the company in 1883 was ten shillings per claim, per month, to be paid to the Committees established at each of the mines, "for carrying out the searching rules and regulations".⁹ The attendance books for a searching house of the Dutoitspan Mine¹⁰ show daily records were kept of searching on entry to and exit from the mine, and note any diamonds found. By 1885 white workmen were not searched every day, but a random search was made of about one fifth of the men.

The success of the searching system was limited. There was little time to search labourers well and companies would not allow more time. Initial results were, however, favourable enough to ensure that the system received a fair trial and the De Beers Company reported after two months of its operation that the searching system had caused a marked improvement in the Company's funds.¹¹ The shortcomings of the system

7. J.W. Matthews: Incwadi Yami, p.221
8. Minutes of the Board of De Beers Mining Company, 24.7.1885
9. Minutes of the Du Toits Pan Searching Committee, 7.2.1883-3.10.1883. Later decisions on the searching system were taken by the Dutoitspan Mining Board. Minutes for the Bultfontein Searching Committee also exist.
10. Three Attendance books for a searching house in Dutoitspan, 1.8.1884-8.12.1885. The records confirm that no great numbers of diamonds were found through searching.
11. D.F.A., 9.5.1883; De Beers Mining Company Annual Report 1883. February finds: Claims, 658 $\frac{3}{4}$ carats; Floors, 1108 $\frac{1}{4}$ carats. March finds: Claims, 1234 carats; Floors, 1530 $\frac{1}{4}$ carats. (An increase of fifty-six percent.)

were enumerated a year later by a correspondent of the Daily Independent.¹² He claimed that the mining companies and mining boards had not given the system their full support. The average manager complained if his hundred labourers were more than ten minutes late. It was still easy to throw diamonds over the fence near the searching house, while too few staff were employed to search. The most obvious fault still needing to be rectified was that there were still African compounds in the middle of the depositing floors, which permitted unrestricted access to the blue ground during the night. Searching, though an improvement on the previous state of affairs, was not the solution. This left the alternative of "closed" compounds for African labourers.

The closed compound system as it finally emerged in practice was the product of much prior speculation and thought. When first conceived as a system of accommodation for labour, the compounds envisaged were modifications of the depots and of the private diggers' compounds. The General Committee which had been appointed in 1882 by the four mines to draw up rules and regulations for the searching system discussed the incorporation of semi-closed compounds in the searching system. Among their rules, they proposed :

-
12. CO 4528, Report of the Enquiry on the Detective Department, Kimberley (Bernard V. Shaw) Annexure: letter by Veritas, 30.9.1884, to the Daily Independent. (Report published as G.77-'82 Reports on the Kimberley Police and Detective Department). At Dutoitspan there were six searching houses and twenty-four searching officials, at Kimberley there were nineteen officials. Veritas believed that there should be at least thirty-six officials at Dutoitspan and forty at Kimberley.

It shall be the duty of each employer to house his Native servants, to supply them with food and drink, to surround each compound with a corrugated iron fence, to erect a gate or gates and to employ a gate keeper or gate keepers whose duty it shall be to prevent any other than the servants of such employer entering such compound unless upon production of proper authority, and to make sufficient sanitary arrangements for the occupants of such compound. Provided that it shall be permissible for two or more companies, firms or individual employers of labour to combine and have an enclosed compound for their servants.¹³

It was also proposed that depositing floors be fenced, with wire or corrugated iron. The rules were discussed at a general meeting, where some objected to the virtual imprisonment of the labourers. Others pointed out in reply that anything would be better than the present "scenes of debauchery", and that labourers would be allowed out on Sundays, provided they had been searched. The proposed rule on compounds was agreed to with slight amendments, but it was not included in the proclamation of the rules and regulations, possibly because of the opposition of Kimberley shopkeepers and for fear that labourers might desert if deprived of their freedom.¹⁴

-
13. D.F.A., 18.5.1882, Report of the General Committee representing the four mines on the searching rules and regulations, paragraphs 6 and 7. The committee had been appointed at a meeting of claimholders in March 1882 to draw up rules and regulations for establishing the searching system. These proposals were all contained in an editorial of the D.F.A., "Prevention is better than cure", 10.5.1882. The editorial also suggested that, "The boys should no longer be allowed to roam about the streets but should be kept strictly in their compounds from which they would be marched in proper order under the charge of Overseers to and from the work at the mine or at the deposit floor..."
14. D.F.A., 24.5.1882, Report of a meeting of 22.5.1882. Over three hundred shopkeepers petitioned against the suggestions of the General Committee. They believed that, "any legislation tending to confine natives in their employers(') compounds after working hours or compelling them to spend their wages at shops established by the companies employing them, will be retrogressive in its character, will be fostering one of the very worst principles of class protection, and will result in a very serious loss to the mercantile interests of the whole Colony." A.100-'82 Petition of Kimberley Merchants on the Housing of Natives.

Similar ideas were discussed before the Select Committee on Illicit Diamond Buying in 1882. In his evidence, Sammy Marks expressed the opinion "that the natives should be fed and housed on the compound by the proprietors". Although he felt that this was impracticable at the time because labour would be repelled by such an arrangement, for they had tried it themselves and lost all their labour within three weeks, he nevertheless recommended that legislation be passed to give effect to the scheme. The Select Committee continued the discussion when Francis Baring-Gould gave evidence. Baring-Gould felt that searching of African labourers alone would be of no use unless it was conducted within closed company compounds.

The compound should be fenced around, so that they could not get out, and could have no communication with the outside at all; they should be marched up to their work for the day and back again, under certain guards."

African labourers would be allowed out of the compound on Sundays and holidays and only then would they be searched. The advantages of this system would be its relative cheapness when compared with the cost of special clothing for the men, and fencing in the mine, and the limitation of drunkenness. As chairman of the Select Committee, Rhodes reported in favour of "the feeding and lodging of servants on their employer's compounds".¹⁵

The idea of closed compounds was also endorsed and formulated by the Inspector of Mines for Kimberley in his annual report for 1882. His chief concern, as that of the Select Committee, was the prevention of I.D.B. and he came down on the side of compounds rather than searching rules. His reasons were different, for he considered the root of the problem to be the disposal of diamonds rather than the obtaining of them. "Very few diamonds, comparatively, would be stolen were the ready markets

15. A.9-'82 (S.C.) Select Committee on Illicit Diamond Buying, Mr S. Marks, Q. 233 and 240. Sammy Marks was managing director of two mining companies and later an industrial and mining pioneer on the Witwatersrand. Mr F. Baring-Gould, Q.973. Francis Baring-Gould was the Consulting Director of the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company.

got rid of; and it may be broadly affirmed that every Kaffir canteen and every Kaffir store is open to suspicion as such."¹⁶ Erskine suggested that if the canteens and stores in the vicinity of the depositing floors were cleared away and all others rigorously supervised, searching would be almost unnecessary, especially if the companies clothed and fed their own labourers. He thought at the same time that company barracks could be provided for white overseers, to take temptation away from them.¹⁷ The Civil Commissioner of Kimberley dealt with the related problem of the accommodation of new African labourers in his Report for 1882.¹⁸ He recommended the re-establishment of depots, under the superintendence of an efficient protector of natives, to protect them from drink and the consequences of breaking the pass laws. It would not be difficult to see this suggestion being linked with Baring-Gould's in the Select Committee that new labourers on arriving at a company, or compound, office be registered and immediately accommodated in the compound.¹⁹

-
16. G.34-'83 Reports of the Inspector of Diamond Mines for 1882, p.13
W.C.C. Erskine was Inspector of Mines, 1881-1889.
17. G.V. Doxey: The Industrial Colour Bar in South Africa, p.33 notes this. He also mentions the suggestion that "cantonments" be erected for white overseers and "sub-servants" in G.28-'85 Reports by the Inspector of Diamond Mines for 1884. These "small detached cottages with gardens attached and with a central mess and reading room" (*ibid.*, p.12) appear very similar to the village opened by De Beers Consolidated Mines for white artisans and their families at Kenilworth, three miles from Kimberley, in 1889. At no stage did De Beers have any idea of compounding white workers, however. (A.7-'91 (S.C.) Report of the Select Committee on Griqualand West Trade and Business, Mr Gardner Williams, Q.4369). There was much discussion about the compounding of white workers before the Diamond Laws Commission of 1887. The consensus was that it would be desirable for maximum security but impossible to implement.
18. E.A. Judge. G.8-'83 Appendix to the Blue Book on Native Affairs 1883, pp. 1-2
19. A.9-'82 (S.C.) Select Committee on Illicit Diamond Buying, Q.972

Bernard V. Shaw, who was sent from Scotland Yard to investigate the Kimberley Police force and to report on the establishment of a Criminal Investigation Department, concluded on the I.D.B. question that, while penal legislation would assist in reducing the illicit diamond traffic, companies would have to depend on their own measures for its most effective suppression. He proceeded to outline a system of "barracks or compounds for natives", in which the companies would provide and control their own canteens and eating houses. His justification was that the hardship to natives would be more than compensated for by the amount they would be able to save from six months in the compound. They should contract of their own free will, and the system would meet with the approval of the Chiefs because of the restriction on excessive drinking.²⁰ The Searching Ordinance, and fencing in the depositing floors, would both be unnecessary if the natives were furnished with barracks.²¹ The example of army barracks and control was clearly the dominant influence in his thought.

The minutes of the boards of the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company and De Beers Mining Company throw light on the accommodation for African labourers as it was in 1882. The Kimberley Central Company operated a company compound which was not well provided for nor well staffed. The Board had a few occasions that year to discuss compound conditions, the main matters raised being the quality of the meat supplied to the Africans, cleansing the huts and keeping them free of draughts, and the thrashing and expulsion of natives from the compound. In May 1882 the Board made what was apparently the first appointment of that nature, when a Mr Corbet was appointed Native Superintendent. The wage paid was

20. This is corroborated by Francis Thompson. Nancy Rouillard (ed.): Matabele Thompson: an autobiography, p.82

21. G.77-'82 Reports on the Kimberley Police and Detective Department, Second Report, 10.2.1882, p.26

the average wage for overseers, which without the bonus for diamonds found was the minimum wage for white workers.²² The Board of De Beers Mining Company similarly devoted very little time to accommodation for African servants before the closed compound system was introduced. In May 1884 they took the first step towards this when they appointed a committee "to consider the question of the desirability of the isolation of the Company's servants".²³ Conditions in the various company compounds and "native departments" varied greatly. It was in the interests of the bigger companies to provide better accommodation and to control their African labourers, though it seems that conditions improved little during the early 1880's. Doxey observes that,

While the system was not carried out to the letter, it is clear that by 1883 African workers were being housed in some form of partially closed compound; being allowed out either once a week, on Sundays, or, in exceptional circumstances, during the week. Although the reduced movement had some effect in countering the traffic in stolen diamonds, it was not an unqualified success, as obviously any dishonest worker could still find ways and means of conveying the stolen diamonds to the outside world. Furthermore, the partially closed compound system entailed employing a large body of overseers, searchers and guards.²⁴

His statement is perhaps misleading, for there was no "system" of partially closed compounds. Some companies did experiment with the suggestions that had been made,²⁵ but there was never a thorough-going scheme in the way that the closed compound system was. During 1883 and 1884 mining companies were involved in the traumas of implementing the searching rules and providing uniforms for their labourers. A feature

22. Minutes of the Board of the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company, 17.3.1882, 27.3.1882, 1.5.1882, 27.6.1882. The wage was five pounds, increased after two months to six pounds per week.
23. Minutes of the Board of De Beers Mining Company, 7.5.1884
24. G.V. Doxey: The Industrial Colour Bar in South Africa, p.33
25. G.1-'90 Report of the Liquor Laws Commission, Rev. W. Rider, Q.11622: "Beaconsfield started the compound system and did not carry it out thoroughly and the men are allowed out two days in the week, Saturday and Sunday."

of the searching system adopted was that searching was conducted at the gates of the mines and floors, making further restrictions on the freedom of labourers unnecessary.

The closed compound system for free labour owed much to a system of convict barracks. The suggestion of using convict labour on the Diamond Fields had been made in 1874 but it seems that it was not implemented by the government.²⁶ In 1881 400 Thembu prisoners of war were given the option of a year's servitude on the Diamond Fields at 2s.6d. per day or standing trial for rebellion. About 200 eventually arrived in Kimberley but many of them deserted after receiving their first wages.²⁷ The first general use of African convict labour followed an agreement between the De Beers Mining Company and the Cape Government for the supply of 600 or 700 convicts "at the rate of 1s.4d. per head per working day". By this the government agreed to feed and clothe the men, but the company took over the responsibility for providing suitable barracks and guards. Plans were approved for the convict barracks, and a doctor appointed to attend to the convicts, and, if necessary, to certify the deaths even if not to heal the bodies of free labourers who had succumbed.²⁸ The scheme went into operation successfully, and the agreement was later changed to give the Company convict labour free of charge, provided that they

-
26. Diamond News, 8.8.1874 and 18.8.1874, Report of a mass meeting on 15.8.1874. Two matters raised at the meeting were a request that convicts be placed at the disposal of mining boards and a condemnation of "the present system of allowing coloured men to hold licences to dig or deal in diamonds."
27. D.F.A., 7.2.1881, Report from Victoria West; 14.2.1881; 18.3.1881, Prisoners of War. Convict labour was not new in South Africa, for convicts had been used on public works in the Cape since the 1850's. An 1854 Select Committee investigated the discipline and management of convicts on public roads. See also, The Oxford History of South Africa II, p.146
28. Minutes of the Board of De Beers Mining Company, 3.11.1884; 5.11.1884; 20.1.1885; 4.8.1885; 11.8.1885.

supplied food and clothing, and paid a visiting magistrate £50 per annum.²⁹ It received favourable comment by the Inspector of Mines, at the beginning of 1885. It had the advantage of employing surplus convict labour, and would relieve the pressure on the jail. He noted that a large compound was being erected near the De Beers mine to accommodate 300 convicts and about 25 guards.³⁰ Further comments were made in the Report for 1885, together with details of diet and medical care for the prisoners. The number of convicts was apparently kept as near to two hundred as possible, and the compound was recognised as a "branch gaol". Although the 1887 Committee on Convicts and Gaols agreed with Erskine that the experiment had been successful, it was not sure that it was legal, as there was no government officer in charge of the jail and government regulations were not enforced. It recommended that the legislation be amended to make provision for the De Beers system.³¹ The only disadvantages of the scheme for the De Beers Company was that it could not regulate the supply of convicts, the Public Works Department brickyards being supplied before the mine. There was consternation in May 1886 when the company required 250 convicts and had only been supplied with 180.³² As is witnessed by the discussions of the De Beers Board of Directors, the success of the convict compound influenced much of their thinking.³³ It was the proof that the closed compound system would work and would

-
29. Minutes of the Board of De Beers Mining Company, 4.8.1885; 11.8.1885
30. G.28-'85 Reports by the Inspector of Diamond Mines for 1884, p.9
31. G.40-'86 Reports by the Inspector of Diamond Mines for 1885, pp.11-12
G.2-'88 Report of the Committee on Convicts and Gaols, First Report, p.IV
32. Minutes of the Board of De Beers Mining Company, 5.5.1886
33. C.D. Rudd, a director, stated that the convict compound had been under his personal supervision: "I organised it myself, saw the working from day to day, had a probationary yard, and the results were perfectly marvellous." G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, Q.2027. The only other company to employ convict labour seems to have been the Bultfontein and Du Toits Pan Company. They did not appear to have their own convict station, however. G.2-'88 Report of the Committee on Convicts and Gaols, First Report, p.IV

have greater advantages than any other system. De Beers Consolidated Mines continued using convict labour until 1932. In 1890 they employed 700 convicts, and preferred them to free labourers as they were more dependable and more easily controlled. Convict labour was also cheaper for the Company, as long term convicts became skilled at their work. Under the terms of a joint agreement of 1889, De Beers paid the Cape government twopence per day for each convict. Total cost to the Company was twenty-eight pounds per man per year, as compared with wages of approximately forty-seven pounds per year for free labour, though three times the number of overseers had to be provided for the convicts.³⁴

There is some doubt as to which was the first truly "closed" compound for "free" African labourers.³⁵ The Diamond Fields Advertiser reported in January 1885 that,

The compound system has at last been introduced in Kimberley at the works of the French Diamond Mining Company. One hundred and ten natives engaged in Natal to serve their employer, were marched into the compounds provided by that Company ...³⁶

J.W. Matthews regarded the Central Mining Company compound as the first specially built closed compound. He described it on the opening as

.... a large yard some 150 yards square inclosed partly by buildings and the remainder by sheets of iron ten feet high. Within this

-
34. A.7-'91 (S.C.) Report of the Select Committee on Griqualand West Trade and Business, Mr G. Williams, Q.4238, 4240, 4245, 4246, 4247. Convicts were never employed underground. (Q.4263). Also, De Beers Consolidated Mines: Second Annual Report, 31.3.1890, General Manager's Report; Hedley A. Chilvers: The Story of De Beers, p.263
35. See John M. Smalberger: I.D.B. and the Mining Compound System in the 1880s (South African Journal of Economics, Vol. 42, No 4, 1975), pp. 411-412
36. D.F.A., 19.1.1885, The Compound System at the Kimberley Mine

enclosure were sleeping-rooms for 500 Kafirs, a magnificent kitchen and pantry, large baths, guard-room, dispensary and sick-ward, store and mess-rooms.³⁷

He had no doubt that the arrangement would greatly decrease theft by natives. The Daily Independent hailed the event, which, it believed, could not fail "to effect a momentous change in our social conditions in many ways...

He [the African labourer] will sleep and feed in the new and comfortable quarters provided for him and his fellows: he will march to his daily work in the mine and return in the evening to the place from whence he came; all his wants will be attended to by his employer;...³⁸

So far as the natives are concerned no compassion can be used towards them, if they are dissatisfied with the new arrangement and are desirous of leaving they will be allowed to go. Native labourers will be plentiful enough and will be more readily procurable than ever from some of the tribes which provide the best labour; when it is known that they will be better cared for than formerly ...³⁹

The compound was not completely "closed" as it seems that labourers could still occasionally be allowed out on Sundays, at the discretion of the general manager.⁴⁰

De Beers Mining Company did not take long to follow Kimberley Central's example. Francis ("Matabele") Thompson described how Rhodes had asked him to "undertake the reorganization of the Native compounds...where things were in a chaotic state." He apparently designed the compound for 5 000 men in a twenty-five acre area enclosed by a twelve foot wall, providing access to the mine only by a covered

37. J.W. Matthews: Incwadi Yami, pp.218-219

38. Daily Independent, 28.4.1885, quoted by G.V. Doxey: The Industrial Colour Bar in South Africa, pp. 33-34

39. Daily Independent, 29.4.1885

40. Minutes of the Board of the Kimberley Diamond Mining Company, 23.11.1886

way.⁴¹ In August 1885 tenders were called for to level a site for the compound at the mouth of the De Beers west end shaft.⁴² The Board investigated the relation of the compound to the present searching system and decided that they should inform the Mining Board that their searching duties would cease when the compound was opened.⁴³

The minutes of the De Beers Board of Directors⁴⁴ show that the closed compound system was not only to be a system of accommodation, but an integral part of the Company's management of African workers. The directors, Cecil Rhodes in particular,⁴⁵ were developing a system which looked ahead to the amalgamation of all the diamond mines, aimed at a stable labour pool and a regular supply of labour. The success of the closed compound system itself was dependent on its general adoption by the various companies, for reasons of recruitment and for the prevention of diamond smuggling.⁴⁶ When the appointment of a superintendent of the (free) compound was first discussed in April 1886, one of his first responsibilities was also to be the supervision of the floor watchers and

-
41. Nancy Rouillard (ed.): Matabele Thompson: an autobiography, p.81, 82-83. Thompson's writing bears all the marks of reminiscences written late in life. He did not complete them before his death at seventy, in 1927. The short chapter on the establishment of the De Beers closed compound is vague in parts, and Thompson takes sole credit for many ideas which were clearly not his alone. In the absence of any similar description it is, nevertheless, valuable.
42. Minutes of the Board of De Beers Mining Company, 3.7.1885, 11.8.1885
43. Minutes of the Board of De Beers Mining Company, 14.4.1886
44. I have been unable to trace the minutes of the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company between March 1883 and October 1886.
45. Rhodes had presented detailed draft proposals for amalgamation to the Board on 5 February 1886, and the directors were negotiating with the Elma Company and the Gem Mining Company at the time of the introduction of the closed compound.
46. Mr H.B. Roper, Chief of the Detective Department, made this clear before the Diamond Laws Commission, G.3-'88, Q.1847. A problem seems to have been the "solitary cell system". The convict compound completely isolated convicts for a week before discharge to prevent diamonds being taken out in their bodies; the free compounds did not, it appears, initially do this. Francis Thompson, however, described that practice in operation in the De Beers free compound, Q.100: "It is useless compounding unless it is carried out as it is at De Beer's because the day the boys leave they swallow diamonds."

caretakers.⁴⁷ Before the end of that year arrangements had been made to double the size of the compound, "in view of the probability of the whole De Beers mine being in one interest".⁴⁸ All medical facilities for black miners were provided by the compound and injured men reported to the compound manager rather than to mine officials. To pursue the deterrent function of the compounds, the De Beers Board appointed a representative connected with the Detective Department. Mr Ford's duties were at first unspecified, but he was subsequently appointed Sub-Manager, responsible for discipline in the Compound, and for the guards.⁴⁹ The choice was an unfortunate one as both the Manager, Francis Thompson, and the labourers doubted his integrity and refused to have anything to do with him.⁵⁰ The duties of Compound Manager involved, in addition to general supervision, a "protector of natives" type role, liaison with the contractors, and responsibility for the supply of labour.⁵¹ Thompson describes how, even before he superintended the building of the compound, his first step was to make arrangements with the Chiefs in Basutoland,

-
47. Minutes of the Board of De Beers Mining Company, 14.1.1886
48. Minutes of the Board of De Beers Mining Company, 12.11.1886
49. Minutes of the Board of De Beers Mining Company, 17.12.1886
50. The Diamond Laws Commission inquired into Ford's service with De Beers. He was dismissed at the end of January 1887. (Minutes of the Board of De Beers Mining Company, 21.1.1887) The General Manager, Second Manager and Compound Manager threatened to resign if he was not dismissed and there was a short strike by Africans in the compound. The feeling was that the compound was being managed by the Detective Department, and that Ford was not above trapping innocent men by placing diamonds in their clothing. (G.3-'88, Q.768-769) Thompson had also been instructed to "get rid" of any men whom Ford thought to be of an unsatisfactory character. (Minutes of the Board of De Beers Mining Company, 17.12.1886)
51. The workers were not contracted by the company but by experienced white miners who contracted to mine for the company at set prices per foot or per load. (De Beers Mining Company Annual Report for 1888, as in G.22-'89 Inspector of Mines Reports for 1888; A.R. Sawyer: Diamonds in South Africa, p.33). In 1886 the De Beers Board resolved that all African employees should be registered in the name of an officer of the Company, and not in the contractor's name.

Bechuanaland and the Transvaal for a continuous supply of labour.⁵² The position thus became one of great potential importance in the Company - the first African personnel and recruitment manager. The creation of this post, although not planned in advance, was one of the most significant changes in company labour policy. There was now an African labour department with definite responsibilities to the Board for all matters concerning African labour.

The De Beers Company compound became the pattern for the other compounds established during 1887 and 1888, both because it was better organised and because of the subsequent amalgamation under De Beers Consolidated Mines. Less than six months after the opening of the compound, the Board voted the construction of a swimming bath, reading room and hospital.⁵³ At the same time it was made more difficult for labourers to climb out. Later the compound was covered with wire netting, to prevent parcels of diamonds being thrown out.⁵⁴ The hospital was served by a doctor on call, five or six nurses, and a dispenser. All medicine was free of charge.⁵⁵ The Kimberley Central Company did not have a hospital as such but made provision for treatment in a sick room and sent other cases to the Kimberley hospital.⁵⁶

All the compounds had shops to supply food and popular small items of trade. This business, threatening as it did the smaller Kimberley retailers, was the subject of much debate. The store keeper

-
52. Nancy Rouillard (ed.): Matebele Thompson: an autobiography, p.82
53. Minutes of the Board of De Beers Mining Company, 3.12.1886
54. Gardner F. Williams: The Diamond Mines of South Africa, p.443
55. G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, Francis Robert Thompson, Q.113
56. G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, James Gifford, Compound and Searching Inspector, Kimberley Central Company, Q.2186-2199

often acted as a banker for the labourers, and profits made were at first used towards the costs of the compound⁵⁷ but they later became an annual donation to Kimberley charities. One of the characteristics of the De Beers compound was that liquor was banned within its walls. This was one of the conditions which Thompson laid down when he accepted his post.⁵⁸ He relates one incident when brandy had been given to the men and the chaos which followed. The board minutes relate a similar incident when it seems that Thompson himself had allowed a small quantity of liquor into the compound. In the beginning, too, hop beer was sold in the compound before its sale was found to be illegal without a licence.⁵⁹ In other compounds there were various experiments with the sale of liquor, all eventually abandoned in favour of prohibition. The Bultfontein Mining Company tried selling liquor under club licence. When that became illegal,⁶⁰ "Cape Smoke" was given by the management once daily and then once a week, but owing to legal difficulties this was also stopped.⁶¹

The 1888 Annual Report of the Kimberley Central Company listed numerous "improvements" which had been made to company compounds. Among these were the establishment of a special place of detention for Africans before they left the compounds, separate compartments for all Africans not directly involved in mining operations, a covered pathway between the West-End shaft and the compounds to prevent all communication

-
57. G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, John Harris Peggs, Store Manager of Kimberley Central Company, Q.2260; Arthur Wellesley Davis, Manager Bultfontein Mining Company, Q.2843
58. Nancy Rouillard (ed.): Matabele Thompson: an autobiography, p.84
59. Minutes of the Board of De Beers Mining Company, 13.1.1887, 10.2.1887
60. From 11 August 1885, by Act No. 44 of 1885 to Amend the law regulating the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors. This law stated that "no club licence shall be granted to any diamond mining company or their employees within the mining areas..."
61. G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, Arthur Wellesley Davis, Q.2839-2840

between workmen going to and from the mine, and a new compound planned for the floors, which would be completely fenced in.⁶² Compounds were improved and the system streamlined after the mines had been amalgamated. Security was increased in all aspects of African accommodation. The typical compound was described as follows :

On the four sides of a square are rows of one story buildings constructed of corrugated iron, these are divided into rooms holding about twenty natives each. A high iron fence is erected around the compounds, ten feet from the building. Within the compounds is a store where all necessities of life are supplied to the natives. Wood and water are supplied free of charge. A large swimming bath is provided.⁶³

The question of a "truck system" in the compounds and the competition of the compound shops with the Kimberley retail trade placed the whole closed compound system under the Colonial spotlight, despite the fact that ruling retail prices were charged so as not to undercut the shopkeepers, and the fact that almost all the goods sold in the compounds were bought in Kimberley. The objections of the retailers had been voiced before, while the searching rules were being discussed. They had feared that the liberty of labourers would be restricted and that retail shops would be established in the compounds, which would ruin the small traders and create a monopoly of trade by the mining companies. The Diamond Fields Advertiser criticised the Chamber of Commerce for creating the impression that compound shops were envisaged, for "nothing was further from the intention of the committee".⁶⁴ In the event the shopkeepers were correct. A closed compound system needed shops within the compounds. Nearly everyone

-
62. Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company: Eighth Annual Report, 30.6.1888, Report of the General Manager and Chief Engineer, 28.2.1888.
63. De Beers Consolidated Mines: Second Annual Report, 31.3.1890, Technical Report
64. D.F.A., 26.6.1882 and 29.6.1882

agreed that the "truck system" should be done away with, but opinions varied on the status of the compound shops. The mining companies saw the agitation as a threat to the very existence of the compound system, while the commercial interests and Municipalities of Kimberley and Beaconsfield wanted trade in the compounds made illegal. The companies pointed out that if they could not feed their labourers themselves they would have to sell them food, and the shopkeepers replied that the compound shops should only stock the most essential items.

At the end of the 1885 session of the House of Assembly, George Wolf, Member for Kimberley, proposed that an inquiry be made into the working of the compound system and the "truck system" in particular. His motion was accepted.⁶⁵ During 1886 the lower house received many petitions from commerce and the mines. In June 1886, John O'Leary (Member for Kimberley) introduced a bill to "Prohibit the payment of the Wages of Artificers and Labourers in Goods or otherwise than in the Current Coin of the Colony".⁶⁶ It was to be applicable to the whole Colony and was uncontroversial except for the sixth clause which prevented the establishment of retail stores within compounds for artificers or labourers. O'Leary argued in moving the second reading that about £30 000 was paid in wages per week in Kimberley. If the "truck system" were allowed to operate, very little money would be drawn by the men and this would be to the detriment of the trading community. The bill was not aimed at the compound system but specifically at the sale of goods in the compound. C.D. Rudd, speaking against the bill, urged caution before rushing the Bill through late in the session. There

65. House of Assembly Debates, August 4 1885, p.511

66. Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 4.6.1886. The British Truck Act of 1831 (amended in 1887), seems to have been used as a pattern to add respectability to O'Leary's Bill which was wholly intended for the Kimberley situation. The title of the Bill was very similar to the title of the 1831 Act.

should be a full enquiry into the matter. He thought the measure was really aimed against the compound system, which had been of the greatest possible advantage to the mining interest. The men in the compounds were in favour of the system and he would also support it on the grounds of public morality.

Before the Bill entered the committee stage an extra-parliamentary compromise had been reached between the mining and commercial interests. Its essence was an amendment to clause six, authorising the sale of cooked victuals, fuel and medicine. O'Leary claimed that the Bill was acting for the benefit of the whole local community, not simply the mining interest. Rhodes supported him, although he had been originally opposed to the Bill, "because it had been thrown in their teeth that they desired to make profits by the truck system". Rudd, alone among the Griqualand members, continued to oppose the bill as one which would never give satisfaction. He again called for an enquiry. Merriman attacked the "bargain that was made out of doors a few hours ago". The natives in the compounds, he stated, now saved their money and bought bigger articles when leaving Kimberley than they had done before.

The real main object of the Bill was to let the natives out of their compounds once a week, to become the debauched miserable wretches that they were before the compound system was inaugurated... If they wished to perpetuate the fearful scenes that used to occur in the Bultfontein-road every Saturday afternoon, then let them pass a Bill like this, and strike at the root of the compound system; but if they wished to see the natives advanced they must do everything they could to foster the compound system.⁶⁸

The Bill was re-introduced in its original form in June 1887.

O'Leary and Rudd again confronted each other. The object of the Bill,

67. House of Assembly Debates, June 9 1886, pp. 372-373. Rudd was a Member for Kimberley.

68. House of Assembly Debates, June 16 1886, pp.411-412. Rhodes was Member for Barkly West and Merriman a Member for Namaqualand.

O'Leary stated, was to give employees the best market for their earnings. In this he represented the feeling of the trading community of Kimberley. Rudd stated that labourers would then have to go outside the compounds to be fed and clothed and would take diamonds with them "to an enormous extent". The compound system had saved his company £24 000 a year and had been an unqualified success; this Bill had been brought forward in the interests of the illicit diamond trade and would destroy the security of the mines. Mr Lewis, who had recently visited Kimberley, felt that the only commercial interest affected was the canteens. He could testify to the comfort of the natives who were accommodated in the compounds.⁶⁹ After a compromise had been reached, the sixth clause was amended to permit the sale of all goods which would be "reasonably necessary for the use and well-being of the labourers" and the Bill went through the committee stage easily.⁷⁰ Sir Thomas Upington was convinced that the compound system should be enforced as strictly as possible to prevent I.D.B., but he thought that an officer should be appointed to safeguard the interests of Africans in the compounds. He suggested that an impartial enquiry would lead "to a proper understanding in these matters".⁷¹

The Diamond Laws Commission appointed as a result was to enquire into the "Diamond Trade Acts, the Detective or Searching Department, the compound system, and other matters connected with the diamond mining industry of Griqualand West". It sat in Kimberley from 6 September to 3 October 1887, under the chairmanship of Chief Justice de Villiers⁷² and most of its recommendations were embodied in the Diamond Trade Amendment Act of 1888. Its report, together with the Report of the

69. House of Assembly Debates, June 29 1887, pp. 126-128

70. It became Act No. 23 of 1887 Labourers' Wages Regulation Act.

71. House of Assembly Debates, June 20 1887, p.264. Sir Thomas Upington was Attorney General and Member for Caledon.

72. See E.A. Walker: Lord de Villiers and His Times, pp.194-197, for an account of the activities of the Commission.

Committee on Convicts and Gaols and the Report of the Liquor Laws Commission⁷³ gave a detailed commentary on the workings of the compound system in its first few years.

The pervading social evil in Kimberley, if it was not I.D.B., was cheap liquor. Observers had mixed opinions on the contribution of the compounds to the prevention of drunkenness, as they would have had on any liquor question. Despite the closed compounds there had been a rise in the number of convictions for drunkenness during 1887 and 1888, for which various explanations were given. One explanation was that the labourers, after being compounded for two months, "broke out", (became very drunk) and were easily arrested. Another was that the number of drunkards was considerably reduced by the compounds and it was later easier for the police to arrest those who became drunk. An additional explanation, given by the Commissioner of Police, was that the Police had become more effective and had recently acquired transport to take the arrested to jail. The general opinion of the licensed victuallers was that the closed compounds increased drunkenness because labourers drank more when coming out of the compounds, frequently visiting the canteens before leaving Kimberley. The Good Templars and others thought there had been a general decrease as a result of the compounds but an increase of drunkenness among natives outside the compounds.⁷⁴ Some people suggested that the incidence of crime as a result of drunkenness had dropped considerably in Kimberley after the introduction of closed compounds, while it continued unabated in Dutoitspan and Bultfontein prior to the system being introduced

73. The Committee on Convicts and Gaols sat in Kimberley 14-28 September 1887, and the Liquor Laws Commission 23-27 November 1889.

74. G.1-'90 Report of the Liquor Laws Commission, G. Hudson, Commissioner of Police, Q.6507-6509, 7264; J. Kosani, Q.7394; Dr J.E. Mackenzie, Q.6861; G. Hudson, Q.7231; H. Schlesinger, Q.6932, 6970, 7002; Dr A.H. Watkins, Q.6747; G. Bottomley, Q.7092

there.⁷⁵ The closed compounds did definitely contribute in the long term to an improvement of the drunkenness problem in Kimberley and Beaconsfield, though there was no immediate effect on the canteen trade. Some went as far as to suggest that men who had been confirmed drinkers gave up the habit after residence in a compound.⁷⁶

The Registrar of Natives commented in his report for 1888 that "the death rate is not as low as might have been reasonably expected, especially considering the increased compound accommodation".⁷⁷ The Liquor Law Commissioners noted this and attempted to find reasons for it. The Commissioner of Police was convinced that whatever else might have caused the increase, the closed compounds were not to blame, and Dr A.H. Watkins⁷⁸ did not believe that the increase could be blamed on more drunkenness amongst the Africans. Another doctor explained that in the past some deaths had gone unregistered, and that the greatly increased numbers of men admitted to the Kimberley hospital were the direct result of improved hospital services in the compounds. Whereas before a man would have been left in the compound until he lay dying, now he was treated in time.⁷⁹ The actual causes of the high death rate in 1888 were satisfactorily explained in a detailed statement submitted to the Commission by Dr Watkins after he had given evidence. No unnatural causes

-
75. G3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, Hon. P.M. Lawrence, acting President of the High Court, Q.1981. G.1-'90 Report of the Liquor Laws Commission, G.D. Peiser, Q.6672
76. G.1-'90 Report of the Liquor Laws Commission, Dr A.H. Watkins, Q.6748; Reports of the Inspector of Diamond Mines for 1889, p.6
77. G.3-'89 Blue Book on Native Affairs, p.17
78. Arnold H. Watkins was later a Union M.P. and Senator. G.1-'90 Report of the Liquor Laws Commission, Q.6763-6767
79. G.1-'90 Report of the Liquor Laws Commission, G. Hudson, Q.6527; Dr J.E. Mackenzie, Q.6871, 6904, 6886 - a reference to compounds in which there were no hospitals.

were found.⁸⁰ There is no doubt that the closed compounds effected a great improvement in the care of Africans and in their general health. The District Surgeon described a "vast improvement" in the townships in 1889 as a result of the compounds,⁸¹ while the Commissioner of Police wrote in 1888 that:

too much cannot be said in favour of this argument, which has improved the health, morality and sobriety of the natives as well as tended greatly to increase the comfort of the civilized inhabitants, and to which there is not one single valid objection.⁸²

The closed compounds had many economic advantages for the mining companies, soon to become the only mining company. Although it was realised that the theft of diamonds would never be completely eliminated by the compound system, there was unanimous opinion that it had done much to reduce the illicit trade, and that it saved the industry thousands of pounds.⁸³ In fact, the amalgamation of the diamond mines might have been impossible without the savings which the closed compound system effected. Cecil Rhodes was convinced of the worth of the system, which he claimed to be as near perfect as possible. He regarded the diamond legislation as a valuable adjunct to the closed compounds but he emphasised, "if you ask me to choose between compounds and the Diamond Trade Act, I say give me the compounds and I will drop the Act."⁸⁴ Another obvious advantage of the closed compounds was the assurance of a full quota of

80. G.1-'90 Liquor Laws Commission, pp.1057-1058

81. G.17-'90 Reports of the District Surgeons for 1889, p.31

82. G.36-88 Reports of the Commissioners of Police for 1885, p.9

83. G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, Francis Robert Thompson Q.93; Joseph Gouldie, Q.1841; Henry Basil Roper, Q.1841; Charles Dunell Rudd, Q.2026. Barney Barnato claimed that before the compounds were established fifteen to twenty percent of the diamond production was stolen. De Beers Consolidated Mines: Third Annual Report, September 1891, Chairman's Report

84. G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, Q.93, 1279. A.W. Davis, Manager of the Bultfontein Mining Company would have agreed: "I look upon the Diamond Trade Act as made for the whites and the compound for the blacks". (A.2620, above, p.132)

labourers reporting for work on Mondays and Tuesdays. The Inspector of Mines put this at the top of a list of the four most gratifying results which had been achieved by the Kimberley Central compound in 1885. The others were the greater ease and efficiency of searching, the saving of wages, improved physique, and "the advantage to the townships in the suppression of noisy drinking shops".⁸⁵ The Manager of the Bultfontein Company stated in 1887 that the loss to production, the wages to white men and the feeding of horses that resulted on Mondays and Tuesdays had affected the whole colony and not the mining industry alone.⁸⁶ The saving of thirty to fifty percent of "labour power" as a result of the compounds is the estimate of fifteen company and compound Managers. The Diamond Trade Amendment Act of 1888 recognised the permanent existence of the compounds and re-created a Protector of Natives and an Inspector of Compounds, who would inspect all compounds and ensure the enforcement of the Labourers' Wages Regulation Act. Loopholes in the I.D.B. legislation were closed, and the diamond industry protected as never before.

The supply of African labourers for the Kimberley mines was still a major problem in the late 1880's and was expected to become more serious with the development of the Rand goldfields. The closed compounds, some held, would aggravate the problem and cause Griqualand West to stand no chance against the Transvaal competition. In contradiction to this argument,⁸⁷ the closed compounds actually helped Kimberley to compete and

-
85. G.11-'90 Reports of the Inspector of Mines for 1889, p.21
(A survey of the previous nine years)
86. G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, Arthur Wellesley Davis, Q.2614
87. Gardner F. Williams, General Manager of De Beers Consolidated Mines, reported in July 1889 that European and African labour had been fairly plentiful throughout the past year. They had expected European labourers to be scarce as a result of the rush to the Gold Fields, but had not suffered. De Beers Consolidated Mines: First Annual Report.

were in part responsible for the situation of minimal labour recruitment in which De Beers Consolidated Mines found itself by 1892.⁸⁸ The General Manager of De Beers Mining Company recorded in 1888: "Too much cannot be said of the advantages of the compound system. By it we are able to keep a constant supply of labourers".⁸⁹

The closed compound system seems to have attracted some Africans by its positive benefits in secure and congenial accommodation, and for its negative virtues in keeping them "away from the world", and clear of the temptation of liquor. There was initial resistance to the closing of compounds. In the case of the French company it was decided only to admit new labourers to the compound and those who had been dismissed, understandably, attacked the new arrivals. There was a short strike of black workers when the Kimberley Central compound was opened, and 300 men struck work when the De Beers compound was opened. The cause of the strikes was said to be agitation by those involved in I.D.B., but the true feelings of the men are not known. Though there was another strike at the Central company compound in April 1887 and a strike over the activities of Mr Ford in the De Beers compound, these were not directly related to compounding.⁹⁰ From then on there appears to have been little active opposition to the closed compounds.

Under the former open compound system almost the whole of the Kaffir labourers' wages went into the pockets of Kaffir-canteen keepers, and the outcry by that fraternity against the close [d] or guarded compound system was loud and vicious. Many efforts were made by them and their sympathisers to defeat the introduction of the system, and attempts to mislead the Kaffirs and to excite their opposition were numerous, but happily in vain. The

88. The date is arbitrarily chosen. After this time problems of labour supply are not regularly mentioned in the Annual Reports.

89. G.22-'89 Report of the Inspectors of Diamond Mines for 1889, p.9 De Beers Mining Company General Manager's Annual Report for 1888

90. D.F.A., 19.1.1885; Nancy Rouillard (ed.): Matabele Thompson: an autobiography, pp.83-84; John M. Smalberger: I.D.B. and the Mining Compound System in the 1880s (South African Journal of Economics, Vol. 42, No 4, 1974), pp.412 and 413

Kaffirs have found out the much superior advantages to themselves derivable from submission to this close compound system, and by preference engage for such service instead of under the open compound conditions.

So wrote the Inspector of Mines for 1888.⁹¹ Some evidence suggests that the chiefs were generally in favour of the closed compounds, because they kept their men away from strong drink. Consequently they were more willing to encourage men to go to the mines and to help organise any recruitment. According to a Dr Mackenzie, some chiefs even specified that their men should be taken into the compounds.⁹² Rev. J.S. Moffat was in agreement with the closed compounds, though he deplored isolation in a solitary cell before departure.

If you come to ask me for opinions over and above facts, my opinion as a missionary of twenty years' standing and as a Government official of another fifteen years' standing, is, that the compound system in Kimberley has been one of the best things that ever happened to the natives; it has saved thousands of them from untold misery and degradation.⁹³

African workers appreciated that they were able to save more in a relatively short time, they were kept from liquor, and that they enjoyed the comfort and the amenities provided by the companies. The companies regarded the fact that men returned to the mines as proof of their satisfaction with their treatment.⁹⁴ Company managers all agreed that the Africans themselves were in favour of prohibition, and this does seem to have been the case, particularly, perhaps, with younger men.

-
91. G.11-'90 Report of the Inspector of Diamond Mines for 1889, p.26
92. G.1-'90 Report of the Liquor Laws Commission, Dr J.E. Mackenzie, Q.6859
93. The South African Native Races Committee: The Natives of South Africa, p.145
94. G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, Arthur Wellesley Davis, Q.2864

So far do they go, that they put themselves out of their way to beg that it [liquor] might never be introduced on any consideration. - C. Eliend.

There is no doubt from what the majority of the natives say that they are well satisfied with the compound life, more especially in regard to the liquor question. We have many instances of natives who have worked for years and never saved money, and at last, wishing to go home, have asked to be taken into the compound to enable them to save money, being, as they said impossible to do so while at liberty to go to the canteens, unable to stand the temptation. - C.A. Blackbeard.⁹⁵

The life in the compounds, restrictive as it was, seems to have been attractive also for the good accommodation provided,⁹⁶ and many labourers seem to have enjoyed their communal existence. Labourers could do their own cooking, or buy food at "coffee shops" in the compounds and were free to engage in trade with their fellows. There were tailors, barbers, bakers, pedlars of small goods, bangle makers and the like, while the compounds had their sport, choral societies and dancing at the weekend.⁹⁷ Gambling games were popular, much to the consternation of the Protector of Natives.⁹⁸ Labourers might also have been attracted by the brevity of their contracts, usually two months but sometimes three months, for some of them left the compound to live in the location for a while before

95. G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission: Appendix G., C. Eliend, Managing Director De Beers Consolidated Mines, p.1041; C.A. Blackbeard, Griqualand West Diamond Mining Company, Dutoitspan, p.1040
96. There are many comments on the good treatment of African labourers by De Beers Consolidated Mines: e.g. C.7707-1914 Dominions Royal Commission: Minutes of Evidence taken in South Africa, Part II, Q.991, P. Ross Frames: "There is of course the traditional good treatment on the part of De Beers. They do treat their men extraordinarily well, both blacks and whites..." See also Gardner F. Williams: The Diamond Mines of South Africa, p. 448-449 and Kimberley Compounds (1906) (F. Wilson and D. Perrot (ed.): Outlook on a Century), pp.297-301
97. Gardner F. Williams: The Diamond Mines of South Africa, pp. 428-434
98. G.7-'92 Blue Book on Native Affairs, p.18. This was the third Annual Report of the Protector of Natives appointed under the Diamond Trade Amendment Act of 1888

re-contracting again. These were, however, the minority.⁹⁹ The Protector of Natives claimed in his report for 1891 that "Natives having once worked in a compound do not care for outside employment".¹⁰⁰ While his claim might not have held in every case, this was the attitude of a growing group of men.

There remained two old problems with which the closed compounds could not deal. One was the drinking by Africans who had been released from the compounds before they travelled home. Witnesses do not agree on the seriousness of the problem,¹⁰¹ and it might not have been serious had the second problem, robbery, not been related to it. As returning labourers had been robbed of firearms in the early years, there were now occasions when they were robbed of cash after leaving the compounds. In many of these cases the labourers were drunk and their money was taken from them in the canteens and stores, but there were also frequent robberies outside Griqualand West. After having been robbed the labourers would sometimes return to the mine and be recontracted.¹⁰²

-
99. G.V. Doxey: The Industrial Colour Bar in South Africa, pp. 34-35, discussed the "strange phenomenon" of De Beers Consolidated Mines seldom having to recruit labour, despite the closed compounds and the "solitary cell system". He suggested five possible reasons for it: (1) the high standard of amenities and accommodation (2) the payment of bonuses, (3) the high wage level, (4) the security from temptation, (5) the all-inclusive money wage. Reasons (1) and (4) help explain the phenomenon, but reasons (2) (3) and (5) prevailed for many years before the closed compounds or De Beers Consolidated, and do not help explain why there was a "fairly stable" labour force by 1892.
100. G.4-'92 Blue Book on Native Affairs, p.15
101. G.1-'90 Report of the Liquor Laws Commission, cf. e.g. Q.7123, 6836, 7138, 6684, and 6701
102. G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, Q.116, 1853, 2048, 2233-2238

The years 1887 and 1888 were boom years for Kimberley, but from 1889 the city entered a period of recession. A Select Committee appointed by the House of Assembly in 1891 to investigate the causes of the recession shed much light on the problems of the area, though it did not agree on the root causes.¹⁰³ The universal adoption of the closed compound system coincided roughly with the amalgamation of the diamond mines, the Witwatersrand gold rush, and the loss of the Witwatersrand transport trade following the opening of the railway line to Bloemfontein and extension of the line from Kimberley to Vryburg.¹⁰⁴ All these factors contributed to the situation and it was difficult to single out one as being the most important. The majority report concluded that the distress and poverty in Kimberley had arisen from "natural causes" and should be solved by natural remedies and not by government intervention.¹⁰⁵ The minority report, however, placed the blame more squarely on De Beers Consolidated Mines and their policies. Under the guidance of Gardner Williams, a man of considerable experience and ability, the Company had made rapid strides to increase productivity and profitability. When the mines were amalgamated many of the managerial and secretarial staff were not re-employed.¹⁰⁶ The Kimberley Stock Exchange¹⁰⁷ declined very rapidly and with the loss of

-
103. A.7-'91 (S.C.) Report of the Select Committee on Griqualand West Trade and Business. The Chairman, Sir Thomas Upington, and Gordon Sprigg signed a minority report.
104. The line from Colesberg reached Bloemfontein in 1890 and the line from Kimberley reached Vryburg in the same year.
105. "Natural causes" seems to have implied the results of free enterprise and a laissez faire policy. The extensions of the railway were, however, the result of government planning.
106. A.71-'91 (S.C.) Report of the Select Committee on Griqualand West Trade and Business, Mr T.W. Goodwin, Mayor of Kimberley 1890, Q.4039
107. D. Hobart Houghton and Jennifer Dagut: Source Material on the South African Economy, I, 1860-1899, p.300: (Henry Mitchell: Diamonds and Gold of South Africa) "It is the Exchange of South Africa by which the other markets are ruled" (1888) The Stock Exchange also suffered from the transfer of all the gold mining interests to the Rand. There had been thirty to forty Head Offices of gold companies in Kimberley, 1886-1888. There had been 150 members of the Exchange and about a thousand people directly connected with the gold share business. A.7 - '91 (S.C.) Report of the Select Committee on Griqualand West Trade and Business, Mr W.H. Graven, Secretary of De Beers Consolidated Mines, Q.1046-1049

competing mining companies, diamond broking collapsed.¹⁰⁸ The loss of the spending power of this group of men was sorely felt by Kimberley commercial interests. Through its diamond committee¹⁰⁹ De Beers had already begun to monopolise the world market for diamonds and was conscious of the need to tailor production to world demand. As a result they stopped mining their interests in the Dutoitspan and the Bultfontein mines. These mines had become increasingly expensive to operate as they were still worked on the open mine system and needed to be mined underground to be economically viable. The closing of these mines had left many African labourers and many of the overseer class of European labourers unemployed.¹¹⁰ The minority report believed that it was these policies rather than the end of the forwarding and transporting business and the stock exchange which had caused the distress in Kimberley. They favoured government intervention to make De Beers work their mines.

The role of the closed compound system in causing the recession seems to have been small. Closed compounds had been adopted by all major diamond companies before amalgamation in 1888. The small shopkeepers

-
108. A.71-'91 (S.C.) Report of the Select Committee on Trade and Business in Griqualand West, Mr A. Holt, Wholesaler, representing the Kimberley Chamber of Commerce and Town Council, Q.3239: Formerly there had been about 160 brokers, in 1891 there were only eight.
109. A.71-'91 (S.C.) Report of the Select Committee on Griqualand West Trade and Business, Mr G. Williams, General Manager of De Beers Consolidated Mines, Q.4388. There was a Diamond Committee consisting of himself and three other members of the Board, who took all decisions on the selling of diamonds. Mr W.H. Craven, 1238, affirmed that De Beers had virtual control of the Diamond market.
110. A.71-'91 (S.C.) Report of the Select Committee on Griqualand West Trade and Business, Proceedings, 30.6.1891. In 1888 there was a total of 85 180 labourers (African) contracted, while in 1890 there were only 45 624 contracted. There were 300-400 Europeans unemployed and the mines employed a quarter fewer men. Appendix F: The Superintendent of Locations reported that Africans were daily leaving Kimberley in search of work elsewhere and the number of deserted huts was increasing.

were deprived of up to seventy-five percent of their previous trade,¹¹¹ though the reduced numbers of African labourers and the fact that they no longer bought as many goods in Kimberley before going home¹¹² also influenced this. De Beers bought most of their compound supplies from wholesalers in Kimberley, though they could obviously not buy from the shopkeepers. It was alleged that the Company had not kept to the Labourer's Wages Regulation Act, but the compounds were always open to inspection and it seems infringements must have been few. The Select Committee was in favour of the closed compound system itself. The majority report noted that it had caused a "serious loss to the canteen keeper and to the members of the community engaged in illicit diamond buying" but lent its full weight to the system. The minority report was less enthusiastic and went as far as to request "facilities to natives to leave the compounds at times when the sale of liquor is prohibited" to buy on the open market, which would clearly have reduced the efficiency of the system against I.D.B.

The closed compound system encouraged the recontracting of African labourers, as it discouraged the practice of leaving the mines and finding another occupation or easier way of making money in the locations. The former registration and contracting pattern changed. A labourer would now arrive in Kimberley, register and contract at a compound office, stay in that compound, with some short breaks, for two or three years and then return home.¹¹³ After a time away from the mines he might return to the

111. A.71-'91 Report of the Select Committee on Griqualand West Trade and Business, Mr A. Holt, Q.3101; Mr W.H. Craven, Q.1116

112. A.71-'91 Report of the Committee on Griqualand West Trade and Business, Mr A. Holt, Q.3204-3205; Mr T.W. Goodwin, Q.4041. The Transvaal authorities were apparently very strict about Africans returning laden with goods from Kimberley, so labourers chose to buy the goods in the Transvaal.

113. G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, Charles Dunell Rudd, Q.2020-2023

same compound, and keep returning. By these means the closed compounds kept the Griqualand West mines supplied with enough labour, and ensured that a regular system of migratory labour developed. Africans now left Kimberley soon after their contracts had expired. The local African population¹¹⁴ was, however, excluded from employment in the mines if it was not prepared to stay in the compounds.

When a group of newcomers to Kimberley arrived at a compound, the compound manager or his deputy admitted them. They were then searched and given a brief medical examination. At first the Registrar of Natives himself came to sign the contracts and explain them to the men, but later an officer at each compound was delegated to keep a record of all admissions, and to ensure that the contracts were understood.¹¹⁵ The contract signed was originally for two or three months only. This was changed to a minimum of three months, and longer if desired. According to the agreement the Africans were not permitted to leave the compound except by the permission of the compound manager.¹¹⁶ In the Kimberley Central Company compound the procedure for recontracting was as follows: every Saturday as the shifts came in from work every worker's pass was examined. If it had expired it was taken from him and he paid three shillings if he wished to re-register, for which he was given a receipt. The names were taken to the registry office and a clerk sent down with the new passes which

114. The Protector of Natives estimated in January 1892 that there were 8 000 natives resident in Kimberley and Beaconsfield. (i.e. in the locations.) G.7-'92 Blue Book on Native Affairs, p.18
115. Gardner F. Williams: The Diamond Mines of South Africa, pp. 416 and 420; Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, Francis Robert Thompson, Q.143. Shortly after the introduction of closed compounds, the number of Registrars of Natives was reduced to one.
116. Gardner. F. Williams: The Diamond Mines of South Africa, pp.417 and 420; G.1-'90 Report of the Liquor Laws Commission, D.J. Haarhoff, Q.7174; G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, Francis Robert Thompson, Q.110, James Gifford, Q.2827

were exchanged for the receipts already issued.¹¹⁷ It was a simple matter to extend the length of stay in a compound and not quite as easy to leave it, as that involved isolation for a week. The majority of labourers recontracted for additional terms of employment, some remaining in the compound for at least a year and often two or three years.¹¹⁸ Some Africans had worked for the same company for a number of years before the closed compound system,¹¹⁹ and this trend continued and was fostered by the compounds. A tradition of long service was emerging. By 1890 it appears that the majority of the workers on the diamond mines were old hands, while many of the new hands were attracted to the gold fields.¹²⁰ In 1914 there were men who had been with De Beers Consolidated Mines almost since the inception of the closed compounds.¹²¹

The adoption of the closed compound system by mining companies between 1885 and 1888 reduced I.D.B. considerably. Closed compounds did a great deal to improve the condition of migrant labourers during their stay in Kimberley, though they affected the retail and licenced canteen trade adversely. Contemporaries criticised the virtual imprisonment of men

-
117. G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, James Gifford, Q.2200
118. G.22-'89 Reports of the Inspector of Diamond Mines for 1888, p.6; G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, Arthur Wellesley Davis, Q.8246, James Gifford, Q.2830; G.1-'90 Report of the Liquor Laws Commission, D.J. Haaroff, Q.7174
119. G.3-'88 Report of the Diamond Laws Commission, Arthur Wellesley Davis, Q.2846 - "Seven or Eight years"
120. G.1-'90 Report of the Liquor Laws Commission, G.D. Peiser, Q.6653; Kimberley Compounds (1906) (F. Wilson and D. Perrot (ed.): Outlook on a Century), p.300, states that there were men who had lived in the compounds for as long as ten years.
121. C.7707-1914 Dominions Royal Commission: Minutes of Evidence taken in South Africa, Part II, L.R. Grimer, Assistant General Manager De Beers Consolidated Mines, Q.319

during the term of their contract and condemned the so called "closed cell" system. Although the closed compounds did much for the physical, social and moral welfare of individual labourers, the system itself was rooted in the assumption that the men were minors and needed protection. It was also part of a tradition of racial discrimination and segregation which had developed since the earliest days of the Diamond Fields. The new system was not introduced so much for humanitarian reasons as for the prevention of I.D.B., the better control of workers and a more regular supply of labour. In the long term the closed compounds ensured the continuation of a migratory labour system with all its attendant social dislocation. What might have been justified as an instrument against social evil in Kimberley in the 1880's became an instrument for perpetuating a social evil in South Africa in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER VICONCLUSION

The story of the early years of the Kimberley Diamond Fields is told in many contemporary works. The diamond rush with its romantic appeal and cosmopolitan cast must have attracted many Victorian readers. Anecdotes of fortunes lost and found, the hardships of the journey and the contrasts of life on the Fields were the staples of these books and no traveller failed to set down his impressions of the diamond country in his reminiscences. These accounts have recently been the chief sources for popular histories of the Diamond Fields such as Oswald Doughty's Early Diamond Days (1963), Ivor Herbert's The Diamond Diggers (1972) and the Adventures in Diamond Country series by J.T. Mc Nish (1968-1970). With the exception of J.W. Matthews's Incwadi Yami (1887), the contemporary works imparted little accurate information of social and political conditions in Griqualand West. The value of Matthews's work lay in his long residence in Kimberley, his political experience and the fact that he was to some extent able to assess early events, making use of newspapers and semi-official sources. He himself was a controversial figure and parts of the book are a vindication of his previous actions. A later book, The Diamond Mines of South Africa (1902) by Gardener F. Williams, General Manager of De Beers Consolidated Mines, is a valuable history of the development of mining in Kimberley. Its emphasis is understandably technical but it is well illustrated by photographs and gives a detailed description of the closed compounds.

The preoccupation of nineteenth century historians with the great political questions surrounding Griqualand West resulted in a paucity of social and economic studies until the present century. E.H. Brookes's Native Policy in South Africa (1924) and C.J. Uys's In the Era of Shepstone (1933), both important pioneer studies, also emphasised the political

implications of the Diamond Fields, though they recognised the impact made upon the tribes which supplied the mines with labour and stressed the adverse results of the trade in rifles. C.W. de Kiewiet was the first to draw attention to the role of the diamond mines in the social changes which accompanied the economic revolution brought about by the mining industry. His works, The Imperial Factor in South Africa. A study in politics and economics (1937) and A History of South Africa Social and Economic (1941) were remarkable for their unique historical insight, and directed future historians away from the political sphere to seek explanations in previously neglected areas. Within the context of Southern Africa de Kiewiet sketched the economic impact of the diamond mines on the African tribes. He identified the origins of urban African policies in the introduction of the "servile tradition of the farm"¹ into industry.

The outline of detribalisation and the rise of a landless proletariat traced by de Kiewiet was filled in almost immediately by Sheila T. van der Horst in her Native Labour in South Africa (1942). The chapter on Diamond Production in this book remains the standard work on African labour in the diamond mines. Van der Horst divided the period 1870-1899 somewhat arbitrarily at 1874 and discussed the technique of mining, demand for labour, conditions of work, recruitment, supply and sources of labour in both periods. Her main sources were the contemporary works and the Cape and British Blue books. Because of the limited scope of the chapter many of the points raised need amplification, though there are few important topics that Van der Horst did not touch upon. The entrenchment of discrimination between black and white diggers and its future significance is well treated in the early section.

1. C.W. de Kiewiet: A History of South Africa Social and Economic, p.91

The detail of Van Der Horst's chapter has been supplemented by a chapter in G.V. Doxey's book, The Industrial Colour Bar in South Africa (1961). Doxey added to the description of the early diggings from contemporary books and paid more attention to the techniques of mining. His chapter broke newer ground in its brief section on illicit diamond buying, especially in its description of the searching system of the early 1880's and discussion of the closed compound system. In his conclusion, Doxey stated that the early diamond days had laid the foundation for a wage structure which remunerated white labour at an unduly high level by keeping the monetary wages of blacks at a low level.

Two articles by John M. Smalberger have probed specific areas mentioned by Van der Horst and Doxey. Both articles have made extensive use of material in the Griqualand West archive and have drawn upon early Kimberley newspapers. Proclamation 14 of 1872 of Griqualand West. Some Observations on the causes leading up to its promulgation (not yet published) provides background to the discriminatory legislation against black diggers in 1872 and the promulgation of the Griqualand West Master and Servant law, concluding that,

These early events in Kimberley showed that industrial South Africa was to follow the rural 'Great Trek' in seeking a society which maintained 'proper relations between master and servant', where 'master' means white and 'servant' means black. (p.21)

I.D.B. and the Mining Compound System in the 1880s (1974) traces in detail the origins of the closed compound system to the searching system and gives interesting insight into strike action by black and white miners at the time. Neither of the articles draws important new conclusions, for there is little to challenge the opinions of Van der Horst on the former and Doxey on the latter subject. But Smalberger has researched the background thoroughly and added body to otherwise very bare bones. What was formerly left to inference has now been clearly established.

A new interpretation of the events of the 1875 Diggers rebellion has

recently been proposed by Eddie Webster in his article, The Diggers Revolt, the Suppression of Black Claim-holders and the Making of the Mine-owning Class: Kimberley 1867-1900 (n.d. 1974?) He contends that the rebellion was supported by white capitalists who were opposed to Southey because he had prevented the formation of joint stock companies by limiting to ten the number of claims that any single person or firm could hold. While Southey championed the independent digger, black or white, these men were determined to cause his downfall. He concludes that the company promoters were successful, for the restriction was removed in 1876, beginning the process by which De Beers Consolidated eventually established its monopoly of diamond production and sales.²

Gaps have remained in the knowledge of the African labour employed in the early Kimberley diamond mines. For instance: From which tribes did the majority of the labourers come? Was there a relation between labour supply and the wage structure of the mines? To what extent and how was labour recruitment undertaken? How did the employment of large numbers of men in Kimberley affect relations with the other South African states? What developments were there between the 1872 Master and Servant legislation and the introduction of the searching system in 1883? What were the immediate results of the implementation of the closed compound system?

In the course of this study the following new information has emerged. Through an analysis of the returns of labourers registered by the Registrars of Natives between 1872 and 1884 it has been possible to identify which tribes contributed the largest proportion of the Kimberley labour force.

2. Webster appears to derive the idea for his thesis from H.J. and R.E. Simons: Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950 (1969), Chapter Two. For discussion of the debate on industrialization and change in South Africa, see, David Yudleman: Industrialization, Race Relations and Change in South Africa. An ideological and Academic debate (African Affairs, Vol. 74, No 294, 1975) and Stanley Trapido: South Africa in a Comparative Study of Industrialization (Journal of Development Studies, Vol. VII, no 3, 1971)

Throughout, the highest numbers of men came from the Pedi and Shangaan tribes, with a substantial proportion of Zulu and Sotho workers. The rest of the men came chiefly from Tswana, the Tlhaping and the Ndebele tribes. Important changes took place during this period: the mines became increasingly dependent on "old hands", men who had registered before, a settled African community gradually developed in Kimberley, and external pressure forcing men to seek work increased.

Relatively high monetary wages were essential to attract men to make the journey to the mines. It was also found that higher wages needed to be paid in mines where work was more dangerous. Despite numerous attempts by diggers in the 1870's and early 1880's, it always proved impossible either to fix or to reduce wage levels. This was because it was very difficult to prevent desertions of men from one employer to another and contracts were often broken at a moment's notice. Whenever employers combined to reduce wages, there was a mass exodus of men from Kimberley, and the resultant shortage of labour usually forced wage levels even higher than before. The closed compound system together with the amalgamation of mining companies prevented this happening any more as it then became impossible to desert. Partly as a result of this, the average monetary wage dropped twenty-five per cent between 1888 and 1914.

Official and private attempts to recruit labour began in 1871. These attempts were usually unsuccessful at the time but they did serve to spread the knowledge of the diamond mines among tribesmen. Recruitment was always hindered by the distance the men needed to walk and the inability, despite various proposals, to establish a line of depots for food and shelter en route to Kimberley. Finance was the besetting problem for all Griqualand West governments and labour was never so scarce that private enterprise needed to embark on large recruiting schemes. Richard Southey attempted to extend British influence among African chiefs as widely as possible,

one of his primary objectives being to obtain labour from their tribes. He has been criticised on doubtful grounds for regarding Sekhukhune as an independent chief and not as a subject of the Transvaal, though the Republic clearly did not exercise an effective rule over him. Individual contractors who tried to recruit labour often failed. These men lacked expertise and were unable to induce chiefs to entrust men to them. They were also unable to prevent chiefs from sending labourers to Kimberley at a time of over-supply, when it would be difficult to find employment for them, let alone recoup their expenses. Attempts by the Griqualand West government and private agencies to recruit labourers for the Cape government were similarly unsuccessful.

Difficulties of recruitment were compounded by the hostile attitude of the two Republics through which the majority of labourers had to pass on their way to the Diamond Fields. Farmers were perennially short of labour and the sight of Africans walking across their farms must have incensed them. There were numerous occasions when Africans were compelled to work for periods of a month or more to earn the five shillings for a "Transit Pass". Both Republics also had strict laws against the possession of firearms by Africans, which brought labourers into further conflict with the boers. The Griqualand West government regarded these hostile actions as attempts to cut off the life blood of the diamond mines. This strained the already poor relations between neighbouring states and provided a cogent reason for federation.

The 1872 Master and Servant law and rules for registering labour remained effective till the introduction of the closed compound system and the amalgamation of the mines. Various moves were made to implement a stricter pass system and to prevent vagrancy by forcing all Africans to be employed, but none succeeded, largely because of the difficulty of policing the Fields. In these unique circumstances a man's contract of service was his pass. An attempt to impose tighter controls on labour in 1876 failed when Sir Henry Barkly refused to allow the Native Labour Regulation

Ordinance, which would have consolidated all previous Master and Servant legislation. There was little concern for the accommodation and hospitalisation of Africans, though frequent attempts were made to introduce a depot system. New and unemployed labourers would report to the depot and be accommodated there until they were contracted, at the expense of their future employers. This idea never materialized owing to a lack of government funds. One attempt to ameliorate the condition of workers was the appointment of Protectors of Natives in 1877. These men, who held the double office of Protector of Natives and Registrar of Servants, were unable to do much except publicise the problems to which their attention had been drawn. As the authorities were seldom able to enforce pass laws, the African labourer retained a considerable degree of freedom - many believed he had far too much freedom for the good of the mines - but in exchange he was exploited by mine owners and canteen keepers. Life was very cheap and it was no sin that a man should die for lack of adequate housing or hospitalization.

The closed compounds introduced between 1885 and 1888 reversed this state of affairs. The poverty and drunkenness which had previously characterised the locations and "open" compounds became things of the past. Mines began to consider seriously the management and welfare of their black labourers for the first time, while recreation and sanatorium facilities became standard features of the compounds. The effect of the closed compounds on the Kimberley retail trade is difficult to judge with accuracy, though they did sound the death knell of the notorious eating houses and canteens. Kimberley trade declined dramatically after the boom years of 1887 and 1888, as a result of the amalgamation by De Beers Consolidated, who closed unprofitable mines, the closure of the Kimberley Stock Exchange with the removal of gold mining offices to the Witwatersrand and the end of the transport business at the opening of the railway line to Bloemfontein. The closed compounds stabilised the supply of labour for the first time and helped make amalgamation economically feasible. De

Beers Consolidated Mines seldom had to recruit men during the next ten years. In the short term the compounds were an advantage to African labourers but they prevented the growth of a local labour force and ensured that a regular pattern of migratory African labour was established, with all its social evils.

In 1876, J.B. Currey concluded an address on the probable influence of the Diamond Fields on the native races of South Africa by expressing that,

...we cannot, I think, avoid the conclusion that very great responsibilities rest upon us in consideration of the material benefits we derive, and that upon our discharge of those obligations depends to a very great extent the future happiness, peace, and prosperity of South Africa.³

It has been possible in part to measure the degree of success which Currey and his contemporaries achieved. The responsibilities and the discharge of those obligations remain.

3. J.B. Currey: The Diamond Fields of Griqualand... (Journal of the Society of Arts, 17.3.1876), p.379

BIBLIOGRAPHY1. Bibliographical Aids and Other Works of Reference Consulted

- Africana Notes and News, Index to Vols. I-X (Johannesburg, 1953)
Index to Vols. XI-XVI (Johannesburg, 1963)
- Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. VIII, Bibliographical Appendix (Cambridge, 1936)
- De Kock, W.J.(ed.): Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol.I (Cape Town, 1968), Vol.II (Cape Town, 1972)
- Human Sciences Research Council: Research Bulletin Vols. 1-5, 1971-1975 (Pretoria)
- Long, U.: An Index to Authors of Unofficial, Privately-owned Manuscripts relating to the History of South Africa, 1812-1920 (London, 1947)
- Malan, S.I.: Union Catalogue of Theses and Dissertations of the South African Universities, 1942-1958 (Potchefstroom, 1959) Supplements 1-14 (1959-72)
- Mendelssohn, S.: South African Bibliography. (London, 1910)
- Muller, C.F.J., van Jaarsveld, F.A., van Wyk, T.,: A Select Bibliography of South African History. A Guide for Historical Research (Pretoria, 1966)
- Robinson, A.M.L., Catalogue of Theses and Dissertations Accepted for Degrees by the South African Universities, 1918-1941 (Cape Town, 1950)
- Rosenthal, E. (Compiler): South African Dictionary of National Biography (London, 1966)
- Scheepers, H.J.: Die Ontdekking van Diamante in Suid-Afrika: Bibliografie. (Johannesburg, 1949)
- Scheepers, H.J.: 'n Kultuurbeeld van die Spoeldiamant-delwersgemeenskappe van Suid-Afrika, (Unpublished D.Litt thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1950) Bibliografie.
- Southey, N.M.: Kimberley and the Diamond Fields of Griqualand West 1869-1900. Bibliography. (Cape Town, 1946)
- Theal, G.Mc C.: Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets. (Cape Town, 1912)
- Thompson, Leonard, Elphinck, Richard, and Jarrick, Inez: South African History Before 1900, A Select Bibliography of Articles. (Stanford, 1971)
- Union List of South African Newspapers (South African Public Library, Cape Town, 1950)
- Van der Merwe, P.J.: The Source List and Footnotes (Cape Town, 1972)

II. Official and Semi-Official Manuscript Sources

Cape Archives:

Griqualand West Archives (GLW)

- GLW 3-16: Despatches from the Governor, 1872-1880
 GLW 82-164: Griqualand West Records, 1876-1880
 GLW 175-179: Richard Southey Papers, Semi-Official Received,
 1872-1881
 GLW 180-186: Richard Southey Papers, Semi-Official Despatched,
 1872-1875
 GLW 187-190: Richard Southey Papers, Drafts of Letters
 Despatched, February 1873 - October 1875
 GLW 17: Transvaal and Natal Despatches, 1873 - 1880
 GLW 18: Free State Despatches, 1872-1873, 1875-1879
 GLW 19: Miscellaneous
 GLW 23: Commissioners Miscellaneous Papers, 1871-1873
 GLW 26: Civil Commissioner Barkly and New Rush 1872
 GLW 38: Resident Magistrate Dutoitspan 1873
 GLW 67: Letters from Government House to Mining Board
 Kimberley
 GLW 71: Servants Registry Office, Sanitary Inspector,
 1873-1874
 GLW 48 & 53: Gun Returns, 1873 and 1874
 GLW 2: Minutes of the Legislative Council, 1873-1874
 GLW 147: Notes of Proceedings of the Legislative Council 1879

Government House (GH)

- GH 12/3-12/6: Lt. Governor Despatches 1873-1875
 GH 12/7-12/11: Administrator and Secretary to the
 Government Despatches 1876-1880
 GH 12/14: Papers submitted to the High Commissioner
 1871-1879
 GH 19/12: Correspondence and Reports on Bailie's Mission
 GH 25/1: Correspondence G.W. Governor to Secretary of
 State 1875/1880
 GH 25/2: Correspondence G.W. Governor to Secretary of
 State 1880

Colonial Office (CO)

- CO 4528 Report of Enquiry on Detective Department
 Kimberley

Transvaal Archives:

- SN 5 Supplementêre Stukke, 1877-1881
W.O. Lanyon Papers, Acc. No. A596
 Vol. 2: Letters Received from Judge Barry: Official,
 March 1877-Sept. 1878
 Vol. 3: Letters Received: Official, October 1877-
 November 1882

Natal Archives:

- Theophilus Shepstone Collection, Vol. 21, pp. 62-64, pp. 74-77:
 Barry to Shepstone, 19.6.1877; 26.6.1877

Kimberley Public Library:

- Southey Letters: Letter, Southey to Secheli, Chief of Bakwena,
 5 November 1873

III. Official and Semi-Official Printed Sources

A. Statutes

Statute Law of the Territory of Griqualand West. Comprising the Proclamations and Government Notices enacted before the promulgation of the Constitution Ordinance and still wholly or in part in force. Vol.I, compiled by J.D. Barry, Recorder of the High Court. (Cape Town, 1875)

Statute Law of the Province of Griqualand West. Comprising Proclamations, the Letters Patent granting a Constitution, Ordinances which came into effect during 1873, 1874 and 1875, together with an Appendix (of important Proclamations and Government Notices). Vol.II. (Cape Town, 1877)

The Statute Law of Griqualand West. Comprising Government Notices, Proclamations and Ordinances together with an Appendix containing the Regulations promulgated and enacted from the date of the Annexation of the Province as British Territory to the date of its Annexation to the Cape Colony. (Cape Town, 1882)

Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1905, 3 vols. (Cape Town, 1905)

Ordonnantie-Boek van den Oranjevrijstaat 1854-1880. (Bloemfontein, 1881)

Wetboek van den Oranjevrijstaat. (1854-1891). (Bloemfontein, 1892)

De Locale Wetten der Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek 1849-1885. (Pretoria, 1887)

B. Griqualand West

Griqualand West Government Gazette, 1876-1880 (Cape Archives), January 1878-June 1879 (Kimberley Public Library.)

C. Cape

(i) Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette.
Cape of Good Hope House of Assembly Debates, 1885-1888.
Bound volume of Legislative Council Reports from the Diamond News and the Diamond Field (December 1873-August 1874)
(Kimberley Public Library.)

(ii) Parliamentary Papers:

(A. Papers ordered to be printed by the House of Assembly.
G. Papers ordered to be printed by the Government.
S.C. Select Committee Reports and evidence.)

Blue Books on Native Affairs:

G.13-'80; G.20-'81; G.33-'82; G.8-'83; G.3-'84; G.2-'85; G.5-'86;
G.12-'87; G.6-'88; G.3-'89; G.4-'90; G.4-'91; G.7-'92.

Reports of Inspectors of Diamond Mines:

G.27-'82; G.34-'83; G.30-'84; G.28-'85; G.26-'87; G.40-'86;
G.28-'88; G.22-'89; G.11-'90.

Reports of District Surgeons:

G.91-'83; G.67-'84; G.19-'85; G.3-'86; G.19-'87; G.13-'88;
G.4-'89; G.17-'90.

- A.14-'77 Results of the Census in Griqualand West.
- A.68-'81 Despatch from Sir Henry Barkly to the Lieutenant Governor of Griqualand West, forwarding a remonstrance against indiscriminate sale of arms to Natives, especially Basutos at Kimberley.
- A.9-'82 (S.C.) Report of the Select Committee on Illicit Diamond Buying in Griqualand West.
- A.66-'82 Petition of Kimberley Kaffir Eating House Keepers for Alteration of Regulations.
- A.73-'82 Petition of the chairman of the Mining Board representing the Claimholders of Kimberley Mine on hospital tax.
- A.100-'82 Petition of Kimberley Merchants on the Housing of Natives.
- G.77-'82 Reports on the Kimberley Police Force and Detective Department by Bernard V. Shaw.
- G.82-'82 Report upon the Illicit Diamond Trade on the Diamond Fields of Griqualand West by the Special Committee appointed by the Diamond Mining Commission.
- G.86-'82 Report of the Commission appointed to Inquire and Report upon the Working and Management of the Diamond Mines of Griqualand West, 1881-1882, with Minutes of Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Maps and Plans. (Diamond Mining Commission.)
- G.2-'88 Report of the Committee on Convicts and Gaols, with Minutes of the Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence and Appendices.
- G.3-'88 Report of the Commission appointed to Inquire into and Report on the Diamond Trade Acts, the Detective or Searching Department, the Compound System and other matters connected with the Diamond Mining Industry of Griqualand West, with Minutes of Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence and Appendices. (Diamond Laws Commission.)
- G.36-'88 Reports of the Commissioners of Police for 1887.
- G.1-'90 Report of the Liquor Laws Commission, 1889-1890, with Minutes of Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendices.
- A.7-'91 (S.C.) Report of the Select Committee on Griqualand West Trade and Business.

D. British Parliamentary Papers

- C.508-'72 Further Correspondence respecting Affairs of the Cape of Good Hope.
- C.732-'73 Further Correspondence respecting Affairs of the Cape of Good Hope.
- C.1342-'75 Correspondence respecting the Colonies and States of South Africa Part I. Cape of Good Hope and Griqualand West.

- C.1748-'77 Correspondence respecting the War between the Transvaal Republic and neighbouring tribes and generally with reference to Native Affairs in South Africa.
- C.2220-'79 Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Africa.
- C.2454-'79 Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Africa.
- C.2584-'80 Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Africa.
- C.2755-'81 Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Basutoland.
- C.4190-'84 Correspondence respecting the settlement at Angra Pequena on the S.W. Coast of Africa.
- C.2950-'81 Further Correspondence respecting South African Affairs.
- C.1897-1904 Transvaal Labour Commission. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence.
- C.7707-1914 Dominions Royal Commission. Minutes of Evidence taken in the Union of South Africa, Part II.

IV. Unofficial Manuscript Sources

Transvaal Archives

W.O. Lanyon Papers:

Acc No. A596

Vol.I: Letters Received: Private, January 1875-August 1881

Vol.II: Letters of Sir Charles Lanyon: Letters Received:
Private, 1871-1876

De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd:

Minutes of the Board of De Beers Mining Company, February 1883-September 1888

Minutes of the Board of the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company, April 1880-March 1883 and November 1886 to January 1889

Minutes of the Du Toits Pan Searching Committee, 1883

Minutes of the Du Toits Pan Mining Board, November 1883-July 1887

Three attendance books for a searching house at Dutoitspan, August 1884-December 1885

De Beers Open Mine Museum: Two letters from Gwayi Tyamzashe to Dr James Stewart of Lovedale, 30.11.1872, 7.12.1872

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town:

J.D. Barry Papers:

D.284/55: 127, no.4 Pocket Diary for 1876

Currey, J.B.: Half a Century in South Africa (c.1900).Ts. in the possession of R.F. Currey, Grahamstown. Copy in the South African Public Library.

V. Unofficial Printed SourcesA. Newspapers

The Diamond News (and Griqualand West Government Gazette from October 1872 to December 1875), 1872-1877

The Diamond Field, 1872-1874

The Independent/Daily Independent (after August 1879), 1875, 1877, 1880, 1885

The Diamond Fields Advertiser, 1878-1886

B. Other

Algar, F.: The Diamond Fields (London, 1872)

Anderson, A.: Twenty-Five years in a Waggon in the Gold Regions of Africa. 2 vols. (London, 1887)

Anon.: The Diamond Fields from a Commercial Point of View (The Cape Monthly Magazine, New Series, Vol. III, July-December 1871)

Anon. ("One who has visited the Fields"): The Diamond Fields of South Africa (New York, 1872)

Anon.: In Afrikanderland and the Land of Ophir (Pall Mall Gazette "Extra", No. 58, October 1891)

Aylward, A.: The Transvaal of To-day (Edinburgh, 1878)

Babe, J.L.: The South African Diamond Fields (New York, 1872)

Boyle, Frederick: To the Cape for Diamonds (London, 1873)

Cunynghame, Genrl. Sir Arthur T.: My Command in South Africa 1874-1878 (London 1879)

Currey, J.B.: The Diamond Fields of Griqualand and their probable influence on the Native Races of South Africa (Journal of the Society of Arts, March 17, 1876)

De Beers Mining Company Annual Reports (between 1882 and 1888)

De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. Annual Reports (1888-1892)

Froude, James Anthony: Two Lectures on South Africa (London, 1880)

Gillmore, Parker: The Great Thirst Land (London, n.d.)

Hillier, Dr A.P.: The Native Races of South Africa (Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, Vol. XXX 1898-99, pp.30-68)

Holub, Dr Emil: Seven Years in South Africa. 2 vols. (London 1881)

Lewsen, P.: Selections from the Correspondence of J.X. Merriman, Vol. 1 1870-1890 (Cape Town, 1960) (Van Riebeeck Society, No.41)

Lovedale: Lovedale Past and Present (Lovedale, 1887)

- Matthews, J.W.: Incwadi Yami or Twenty Years' Personal Experience in South Africa (London, 1887). Index compiled by Eric Rosenthal and Ena Cloete (Johannesburg, 1958)
- "M.E.": Life on the Diamond Fields (London, 1875)
- Merriman, John X.: Our Diamond Industry (Kimberley, 1885). Also in Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, Vol. XVI 1884-5 11.11.1884
- Morton, William J.: South African Diamond Fields and the Journey to the Mines (American Geographical Society, 1877) Bound Pamphlet, South African Public Library; Microfilm Cory Library, Rhodes University.
- Murray, R.W. (Sen.): South African Reminiscences (Cape Town, 1894)
- Nixon, J.: Among the Boers (London, 1880)
- Payton, C.A.: The Diamond Diggings of South Africa. A Personal and Practical Account (London, 1872)
- Reunert, T.: Diamond Mining at the Cape (Noble, J.: Official Handbook of the Cape of Good Hope. Cape Town, 1886)
- Reunert, T.: The Diamond Mines (J. Noble: Illustrated Official Handbook of the Cape and South Africa. Cape Town, 1893)
- Reunert, T.: Diamonds and Gold in South Africa (Cape Town, 1893)
- Sauer, H.: Ex Africa... (London, 1937) Reprint Bulawayo, 1973, with a Publisher's introduction.
- Sawyer, A.R.: Diamonds in South Africa (Newcastle-under-Lyne, n.d. c.1889)
- Silver, S.W. & Co.: Handbook to South Africa (London, 1st ed. 1872, 2nd ed. 1876, 3rd ed. 1884)
- Solomon, Saul & Co.: The General Directory and Guide-Book to the Cape of Good Hope and its Dependencies, as well as the Transvaal, Griqualand West, Natal and the Free State (Cape Town, 1880 and 1883)
- South African Native Races Committee, The: The Natives of South Africa. Their Economic and Social Condition (London, 1901)
- Trollope, A.: South Africa. 2 vols. (London, 1878). Reprint edition Cape Town, 1973, with introduction and notes by J.H. Davidson.
- Trümpelmann, G.P.J. (ed.): Maleo en Sekoekoeni (Translated from the original of Th. Wangeman) (Cape Town, 1957) Van Riebeeck Society No. 38
- Turner's Griqualand West Directory and Guide to the Diamond Fields (Grahamstown, 1885)
- Tyamzashe, Gwayi: The Natives of the Diamond Fields (Kaffir Express, August 1874)

- Van Weber, Ernst: Vier Jahre in Afrika 1871-1875. 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1878)
- Vickers, H.J.: Griqualand West, its Area, Population, Commerce and General Statistics (Kimberley, 1879?)
- Williams, Gardner F.: The Diamond Mines of South Africa. Some Account of their rise and development (New York, 1902)
- Wilmot, A.: The History of Our Own Times in South Africa. 3 vols. (London, 1879-9)
- Wilmot, Alex: The Life and Times of Sir Richard Southey (London, 1904)
- Wilson, Francis and Perrot, Dominique: Outlook on a Century : South Africa 1870-1970 (Lovedale and Johannesburg, 1973), Articles reprinted from the Kaffir Express - S.A. Outlook

VI. Published Works and Memoirs

- Agar-Hamilton, J.A.E.: The Road to the North. South Africa, 1852-1886 (London, 1937)
- Angrove, J.: In the Early Days: The reminiscences of Pioneer life in the South African Diamond Fields (Kimberley, 1910)
- Ashton, Hugh: The Basuto. A Social Study of Traditional and Modern Lesotho. 2nd edition (London, 1967)
- Axelson, Eric: Portugal and the Scramble for Africa 1875-1891 (Johannesburg, 1967)
- Barlow, T.B.: President Brand and His Times (Cape Town, 1972)
- Brookes, E.H.: The History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to the present day (Cape Town, 1924 edition)
- Chilvers, Hedley A.: The Story of De Beers (London, 1939)
- Cohen, L.: Reminiscences of Kimberley (London, 1911)
- Collins, Wm.W.: Free Statia. Reminiscences of a Lifetime in the Orange Free State (Bloemfontein, 1905) Reprint, Cape Town, 1965
- Davenport, T.R.H.: The Beginnings of Urban Segregation in South Africa: The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and its Background (Grahamstown, 1971)
- De Kiewiet, C.W.: The Imperial Factor in South Africa (Cambridge, 1937)
- De Kiewiet, C.W.: A History of South Africa: Social and Economic (Oxford, 1941)
- De Kock, M.A.: Selected Subjects in the Economic History of South Africa (Cape Town, 1924)
- De Kock, W.J.: Ekstraterritoriale Vraagstukke van die Kaapse Regering (1872-1885) met besondere verwysing na die Transgariep

- en Betsjoeanaland (Archives Year Book for South African History, 1948, I)
- De Vaal, J.B.: Die Rol van Joao Albasini in die Geskiedenis van die Transvaal (Archives Year Book for South African History, 1953, I)
- Doughty, O.: Early Diamond Days (London, 1963)
- Doxey, G.V.: The Industrial Colour Bar in South Africa (Cape Town, 1961)
- Dunn, Waldo Hilary: James Anthony Froude, A Biography. Vol. II 1857-1894 (Oxford, 1963)
- Goodfellow, C.F.: Great British and South African Confederation 1870-1881 (Cape Town, 1966)
- Henry, J.A.: The First Hundred Years of the Standard Bank (London, 1963)
- Herbert, Ivor: The Diamond Diggers (London, 1972)
- Hobart Houghton, D. and Dagut, Jenifer: Source Material on the South African Economy 1860-1970 (Cape Town, 1972)
- Kilpin, Ralph: The Parliament of the Cape (London, 1930)
- Leyds, W.J.: The First Annexation of the Transvaal (London, n.d.)
- Macmillan, M.: Sir Henry Barkly. Mediator and Moderator 1815-1898 (Cape Town, 1970)
- Mc Nish, J.T.: The Road to El Dorado (Cape Town, 1968)
- Mc Nish, J.T.: Graves and Guineas (Cape Town, 1969)
- Mc Nish, J.T.: The Glittering Road (Cape Town, 1970)
- Phillips, L.: Some Reminiscences (London, n.d.)
- Oberholster, J.J.: Die Anneksasie van Griekwaland-Wes (Archives Year Book for South African History, 1945)
- Robinson, Sir Joseph: Statement on the discussions concerning him in the House of Lords (London, 1922)
- Rouillard, Nancy (ed.): Matabele Thompson: an autobiography (edited by his daughter) (London, 1936)
- Schapers, I.: Migrant Labour and Tribal Life: A study of conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (London, 1947)
- Scully, W.C.: Reminiscences of a South African Pioneer (London, 1913)
- Sillery, Anthony: Founding a Protectorate: History of Bechuanaland 1885-1895 (The Hague, 1965)
- Simons, H.J. and R.E.: Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950 (Harmondsworth, 1969)
- Smith, K.W.: The Campaign against the Bapedi of Sekhukhune 1877-79 (Archives Year Book for South African History, 1967, II)

- Tabler, Edward C. (ed.): To the Victoria Falls via Matabeleland (The Diary of Major Henry Stabb, 1875) (Cape Town, 1967)
- Taylor, J.B.: A Pioneer Looks Back (London, 1939)
- Thompson, L.M.: Indian Immigration into Natal (1860-1872) (Archives Year Book for South African History, 1952, II)
- Uys, C.J.: In the Era of Shepstone. Being a study of British Expansion in South Africa (1842-1877) (Lovedale, 1933)
- Van der Horst, Sheila T.: Native Labour in South Africa (London, 1942) Reprint London, 1971.
- Van Rooyen, T.S.: Die Verhoudinge tussen die Boere, Engelse en Naturelle in die Geskiedenis van die Oos-Transvaal tot 1882 (Archives Year Book for South African History, 1951, I)
- Van Rooyen, T.S.: Die Sendeling Alexander Merensky en die Geskiedenis van die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek 1859-1882 (Archives Year Book for South African History, 1954, II)
- Van Warmelo, N.J.: A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa (Pretoria, 1935)
- Venter, P.J.: Government Departments of the Cape of Good Hope 1806-1910 (Cape Town, 1933)
- Walker, Eric A.: A History of Southern Africa (London, 1957)
- Walker, Eric A.: Lord de Villiers and His Times. South Africa 1842-1914 (London, 1925)
- Weinthal, L.: Memories, Mines and Millions being the life of Sir Joseph B. Robinson, Bart. (London, 1929)
- Williams, A.F.: Some dreams Come True (Cape Town, 1948?)
- Wilson, Francis: Migrant Labour in South Africa (Johannesburg, 1972)
- Wilson, Monica and Thompson, Leonard (eds.): The Oxford History of South Africa Vol. I (Oxford, 1969) Vol. II (Oxford, 1971)

VII. Published Articles

- Berkowitch, B.M.: The Military Snider Rifle in South Africa (The Journal of the Historical Firearms Society of South Africa, Vol. 4, No 5, June 1968)
- Cole, Desmond T.: Doke's Classification of Bantu Languages (African Studies, Vol. 18, No 4, 1959)
- Davey, A.M.: Inventory of the Lanyon Collection (S.A. Archives Journal, No 2, 1960)
- Journal of African History, The, Vol. XII, 1971. Articles on Firearms in Southern Africa, by S. Miers; A. Atmore, J.M. Chirenje and S.I. Mudenge; A. Atmore and P. Sanders; A. Atmore and S. Marks; J.J. Guy
- Robertson, H.M.: 150 Years of Economic Contact between Black and White: Part II (The South African Journal of Economics, Vol. 3, No 1, 1935)

- Saker, Harry and Aldridge, J.: The Origins of the Langeberg Rebellion (The Journal of African History, Vol. XII, No 2, 1971)
- Smalberger, John M.: I.D.B. and the Mining Compound System in the 1880s. (The South African Journal of Economics Vol. 42, No 4, 1974)
- Swanson, Maynard W.: Urban Origins of Separate Development (Race, Vol. X, No 1, 1968)
- Tabler, Edward C.: Major Stubb's Description of Lobengula and the Matabele, 1875 (Africana Notes and News, Vol. XVII, No 4, 1966)
- Trapido, Stanley: South Africa in a Comparative Study of Industrialisation (Journal of Development Studies, Vol. VII, No 3, 1971)
- Tylden, G.: A note on the "Edwards Papers" Basutoland June to September, 1881 (Africana Notes and News, Vol. IX, No 4, 1952)
- Yudelman, David: Industrialization, Race Relations and Change in South Africa - An ideological and academic debate (African Affairs, Vol 74, No 294, 1975)

VIII. Unpublished Theses and Articles

- Benyon, J.A.: Basutoland and the High Commission with particular reference to the years 1868-1884: The Changing nature of the Imperial Government's "Special Responsibility" for the territory (D.Phil Thesis Oxford, 1968)
- Glover: A Memory that is Dear - "Cocky" (Ts. De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd.)
- Laubscher, W.R.: Die Diamantomwenteling in die Kaapkolonie (1867-1888-9) (M.A. Thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1954)
- Minott, Lorraine: Sir Richard Southey. Lieutenant-Governor of Griqualand West 1872-1875 (M.A. Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1973)
- Rodseth, F.: Native Beliefs, Superstition and Folklore on the Mines (De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd., Mimeograph, Johannesburg, 1956)
- Smalberger, J.: Proclamation 14 of 1872 of Griqualand West. Some Observations on the causes leading up to its promulgation. (Copy of author's Ts.)
- Webster, Eddie: The Diggers Revolt, the Suppression of Black Claim-holders and the Making of the Mine-owning Class: Kimberley 1867-1900 (Mimeograph, Durban, n.d. 1974?)

APPENDIX A.

(i) To the Chief Secheli

The Lieutenant Governor of the Queen of England's province of Griqualand West, desires to make it known to you that as many Natives from the interior who come to the Diamond Fields to work find it very difficult to travel to and fro between their country and this, partly from inability to obtain food and partly on account of the stringent laws, and Customs, of the intervening Republics, which require persons of colour to procure passes at (to them) a heavy cost.

It is his wish to form stations along the line of road which must be traversed where food can be obtained as well as protection, and he will be glad to learn that you will if called upon to do so, co-operate with him in the matter.

The Lieutenant Governor will communicate with you when he is in a position to act in the matter.

Lieutenant Governor's Office
Kimberley - Diamond Fields
Griqualand West

5th November 1873

R. Southey
Lieutenant Governor.

(ii) Unsigned draft copy of a letter from Lanyon to Lobengula

Kim. 30 May 76.

Government House

My Friend Lobenguelo

I have learned with pleasure from your Indunas who have lately visited this Province that you have friendly feelings towards Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Her Government and Subjects.

I, as Her Majesty's Representative here am authorised to assure you that the Native Races are viewed by the Queen with great interest and that She desires that they receive justice and fair treatment at the hands of the white men. Any Subjects of yours who may come to the Diamond Fields in search of work will receive that protection which the Queen extends to all inhabitants of her territories, whether white or black and I trust that you will treat with consideration a person bearing a letter to you from me.

I send a small present of a saddle and bridle which I hope you will look upon as a token of my friendly feelings towards you and your tribe.

I have etc.

Source: (i) Kimberley Public Library

(ii) GLW 88, No. 1645

APPENDIX B.

No.68 - Sd. Thompson and Giddy.

July 23, 1872

Government Notice establishing Servants' Registry Office and publishing Regulations.

NOTICE is hereby given that the civil commissioners of Pniel having approved of certain rules for the establishment of a servants' registry office, pending the approval of His Excellency the Governor, for a permanent scheme of registration, offices for the registration of servants will be established on the 1st August, 1872, in the camps known as De Beer's New Rush and Du Toit's Pan, and the rules hereto annexed will thereupon be put in force.

RULES.

1. It is proposed to establish a depot or registry office at New Rush under the superintendence of a qualified officer to be appointed by the civil commissioners, with the assistance of one or more clerks, for the purpose of assigning or contracting all the natives who come for the purpose of seeking employment.
2. That it shall be the duty of the said superintendent or registrar to engage all natives now in the employ of persons in this field, by printed or other documents, for a period of not less than one month, such document or agreement to specify name of employers, names of servants, what tribes, &c., rate of wages, number of claim and road, and specifying also in the body of such document the right of employers, police, or other constituted officers, to search at any time the persons or premises occupied by said servants.
3. That all natives seeking employment shall forthwith report themselves at the depot, and there obtain a daily pass for seeking employment.
4. That all parties bringing natives to the depots for registration may have such natives allotted to them under the conditions of the office.
5. That no native shall be allowed to remain at the New Rush without a pass, or without registering themselves at the depots, and shall be compelled to exhibit such pass to any one who may demand it, and failing to do so, will be liable to be apprehended by the police, and dealt with at the discretion of the resident magistrate.
6. That all the native labourers or servants, on the expiration of the term for which they may have been contracted, and wish to leave the fields, shall apply at the registry office for a pass to leave the fields, which shall be granted on the production of a certificate to that effect, signed by his last employer, who shall provide him with the same.
7. That to cover the expenses entailed by the establishment of this system, a fee of one shilling shall be payable by each employer at the time of the indenture, to be advanced by his employer and to be deducted from his wages, and a further fee of one shilling by each such employee on applying for a

pass to leave the fields.

8. That no employer shall be permitted to engage natives without their being duly registered in terms of these conditions, failing which he shall be liable to a penalty of not exceeding ten pounds sterling, or not more than three months' imprisonment.
9. That all natives found away from their masters' premises without a special pass from their employers between the hours of nine p.m. and daylight next morning, shall be liable to apprehension by the police, and be dealt with at the discretion of the resident magistrate under his ordinary jurisdiction.
10. That a signal shall be made every night to denote that hour.
11. That all surplus moneys, after paying all necessary expenses, shall be paid to the civil commissioners of the district.

The foregoing rules were drawn up by the Diggers' Committee of De Beer's New Rush, and are approved by me, to come into operation on 1st August, 1872.

R.W.H. GIDDY
Civil Commissioner for Pniel.

SOURCE: The Statute Law of Griqualand West (1882), pp. 63-4.

APPENDIX C.EXTRACT FROM NATIVE LABOUR SUPPLY ASSOCIATION (LIMITED) PROSPECTUS

THIS Association has been formed for the purpose of obtaining and maintaining, a continuous supply of Native Labour.

It is specially well-known that a great scarcity of Native Labour frequently recurs throughout the Mines, and that mining operations are considerably retarded in consequence.

The providing of a regular Labour Supply is as much a part of Digging operations, as a proper and efficient Water Supply, and this Association undertakes to inaugurate and sustain, as far as practicable, a perfect system of obtaining Native Labour.

The present time is especially favourable for launching such a scheme, inasmuch as with the formation of so many Companies, and the consequent increase in Machinery, it will be absolutely necessary, in order that satisfactory dividends can be paid, to maintain a full staff of Native employees.

It is given on the authority of the Registrar of Natives that we have at the moment about 20,000 boys on the Fields. 10,000 more are required to fill up the present actual want; and in order to give abundance of labour, and to reduce the rate of wages to their original level, some 5,000 further would be desirable. Jagersfontein is gradually assuming such proportions that with the full complement of machinery in operation, some 3,000 to 4,000 natives could there find employment. This supply must eventually be drained from these mines, and, therefore, to satisfy all demands, we require from 15,000 to 20,000 more boys.

The unfortunate outbreak in Basutoland has withdrawn the backbone of our labour, and in all probability will be many months before it returns; hence the greater reason for establishing a very extended system of drawing the supply from other sources.

The mode of working will be by employing in the various large centres of labour supply, Resident Agents, who will be paid a nominal sum for each native he has been the means of forwarding on to the Depots. The Resident Agents will consist of existing Storekeepers and Traders, whose interest in sending down labour is identical with the Diggers'. A properly-constituted Commissariat will be established to regulate the supply of fixed allowances of food for certain stages, to enable the natives to reach their destination from the far Inland Countries.

The protection of the Government will be solicited in due course, in order to more fully confine the object set forth, to this Association.

The chief advantages to the shareholders will be :-

1. An organised and efficient Native Labour Supply.
2. As the natives will be fed and cared for on the line of route, starvation will be prevented, and the dread with which those from the far interior contemplate the journey will thus be removed. The natives also will arrive in a healthy condition, being ready for work at once, instead of the emaciated beings we are accustomed to see, unfit for labour for some time.

3. As the supply is increased commensurate with the demand, it is expected that the ruling rate of wages will be 10s. per week instead of the high amount which is now paid.
4. Depots will be built, one for Kimberley and De Beer's, and the other for Dutoitspan and Bultfontein, where employers of labour can supply their wants as the various gangs arrive. A register will be kept at each depot, where those requiring boys can enter their names as well as the number required, and as the supply arrives from time to time, the demand will be satisfied in rotation, the shareholders of course having the preference.
5. As the supply of labour will be induced to come from the Far Interior, it is anticipated that arrangements can be made with the various Chiefs to guarantee that the natives will contract upon arrival for a term of six months.
6. When it becomes known throughout the border tribes, such as the Barolong, Bechuanas, Batlapins, and the Basutos, that the Association has Depots, where upon arrival on the Fields they can be housed and fed until employment is found for them, it is certain they will go to the depots direct instead of loitering about the camps. The boys too who are discharged and looking for masters will always, for the purpose of obtaining food and shelter, go to the Depots. This in itself will be a source of revenue to the Association, and thus leave the scheme to drain supplies from countries which have hitherto not been tapped.
7. A Company, for instance, employs two hundred boys; they are obtained through the Association, and the cost will be, say £600 per annum. The saving to the Company by the reduction of wages alone may be estimated thus:-

200 natives at 5s. each per week, £2600 per annum
Amount per annum paid to Association, £600.
Saving to the Company per annum, £2000.

And this besides avoiding the vexatious loss of time and profit which springs from a short labour supply.

The chief outlay will be the building of Depots and putting the Association on a perfectly workable basis. It is calculated that a call of three pounds per Share will be ample to cover all preliminary expenditure.

The revenue will be derived from a fixed charge of one pound sterling per native, payable upon being transferred from the Depots to the employers. It is assumed that the amount receivable in this way will not only cover the expenses of working the Association, but will leave a sufficient margin for a respectable Dividend.

As soon as the Shares are allotted a General Meeting of the Shareholders will be held for the purpose of appointing Directors for the ensuing six months, and also to frame the Trust Deed of the Association.

APPENDIX D.

Returns of New and Old Hands registered, 1873-1884.
(Note: In 1873, 1874, and 1876 Kimberley figures alone were published. No returns were published for 1875.)

The Average Number of Employees, exclusive of Managers and Secretaries, on the Diamond Mines, 1881-1888.

The Average Weekly Rate of Wages, 1881-1888.

1873

New Hands	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
PEDI [Mahawas]	N	O	T	101	1 843	1 070	864	1 519	1 677	826	214	
SHANGAAN	T R A C E D			32	-	159	219	429	328	275	82	
SOTHO [Basuto]				83	-	31	410	605	109	12	14	
ZULU				64	107	139	63	61	112	73	22	
ROLONG [Barolong]				-	137	33	2	27	5	-	-	
'COLONIAL'				-	-	65	29	22	16	6	-	
GRIQUA				-	26	18	28	13	13	-	-	
TLHAPING [Batlapin]				84	75	130	91	108	92	26	8	
NDEBELE [Matabele]				-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	
SWAZI				-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	
TSWANA [Bechuana]				-	-	5	68	83	90	-	3	
'COOLIE'				-	-	-	-	3	8	-	3	
<u>TOTAL</u>				364	2 188	1 682	1 774	2 870	2 450	1 218	346	

SOURCES : GLW 71

1874

New Hands	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
PEDI	58	208	344	24	315	463	188	177	572	1 248	N O T	
SHANGAAN	4	13	5	4	90	127	47	72	192	307	TRACED	
SOTHO	-	-	-	31	27	116	19	50	49	32		
ZULU	22	-	5	6	37	19	4	10	82	49		
ROLONG	-	-	-	4	4	1	-	-	5	3		
'COLONIAL'	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
GRIQUA	5	-	3	-	13	-	-	15	-	6		
TLHAPING	2	-	6	18	33	26	38	21	21	23		
KALANGA [Makalaka]	-	-	-	-	-	-	164	227	278	145		
TSWANA	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8	-	-		
SHONA [Mashona]	[GLW 71, Coleman to Currey, 14.12.1874]										12	
<u>TOTAL</u>	91	222	363	87	519	752	468	580	1991	1813		
TOTAL CONTRACTS [GLW 71 Coleman to Currey, 16.1.1874]	2 290	2 522	2 496	3 123	2 497	2 950	2 417	2783	4789	5 440		

(1875 figures not traced)

1876

New Hands	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
PEDI [Sekhukune Basuto]	712	1 240	1 086	871	901	702	221	36	5	2	7	88
SHANGAAN	213	75	142	159	143	240	102	9	2	11	-	3
SOTHO	43	82	186	278	444	129	34	26	3	11	74	433
ZULU	31	40	123	120	174	176	67	24	4	7	41	18
ROLONG	1	20	5	8	3	25	-	-	-	-	-	20
'COLONIAL'	8	2	4	17	22	30	10	9	3	3	4	5
GRIQUA	22	3	3	11	3	3	-	5	-	-	-	-
TLHAPING	159	205	170	47	56	47	29	11	19	17	38	150
NDEBELE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
NGWATO [Bamangwato]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	-
KWENWA [Bakwain]	18	48	85	74	62	61	66	63	24	26	-	56
KORANA	4	5	4	3	16	1	5	-	-	6	-	1
KALANGA	378	231	19	30	22	67	18	5	-	-	10	82
<u>TOTAL</u>	1 589	1 951	1 827	1 618	1 846	1 481	552	188	60	83	211	868
<u>Diamond News:</u> 1876	10.2	4.3	4.4				3.8	8.9	5.10	18.11	16.12	

SOURCES: Griqualand West Government Gazette, 20.10.1877 and Diamond News

1877

NOTE: Kimberley figures above, Dutoitspan below (not available for January)

New Hands	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
PEDI	85	15 24	63 56	63 102	53 211	59 82	144 59	154 155		NOT	448 34	144 92
SHANGAAN	14	27 -	49 -	14 -	34 5	34 4	112 5	157 13		PUBLISHED	549 232	263 134
SOTHO	774	253 1 140	624 952	128 255	48 245	45 117	23 168	242 522			121 174	63 120
ZULU	70	126 15	82 27	132 35	56 12	67 25	61 15	89 29			84 58	91 62
ROLONG	24	40 19	30 7	9 -	9 11	11 -	6 11	27 -			4 10	12 8
'COLONIAL'	4	22 6	2 8	5 13	7 30	1 4	7 -	2 9			23 27	23 25
GRIQUA	13	2 -	1 -	1 -	1 -	- -	2 -	1 2			4 4	5 3
TLHAPING	100	216 16	169 10	72 5	58 34	77 10	82 7	160 18			99 18	44 20
NDEBELE	2	18 -	11 -	- -	6 -	12 -	2 -	9 -			2 -	9 30
NGWATO	-	9 -	2 3	106 -	2 -	- -	17 -	10 -			7 -	5 -
KWENA	249	118 -	156 -	125 -	51 -	63 -	62 -	71 -			48 -	39 -
KORANA	1	12 9	- 3	- -	- -	- 1	- -	13 5			9 1	3 4
RONGA ? [Portuguese Zulu]	4	9 -	11 -	20 -	3 -	- -	8 -	34 -			18 -	49 1
SWAZI	-	1 -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -			2 -	3 -
NORTHERN SOTHO [Transvaal Basuto]		238 -	216 -	150 -	52 -	38 -	67 -	147 -			95 -	39 -
KALANGA	82	14 -	- -	18 -	- -	36 -	76 -	5 -			- -	92 -
KGATLA [Bakhatla]	-	46 -	96 -	41 -	35 -	54 -	19 -	83 -			67 -	58 -

1877
(Continued)

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
NDZUNDZA.	90	173	393	209	128	218	172	432			221	92
NDEBELE [Matabella Mapochs]		-	-	-	-	-	-	-			403	229
'MAGHATA BASUTO'	36	12	11	23	7	9	3	4			9	-
'MACATESE' / VENDA ?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	-
		-	11	7	11	27	-	-			-	-
<u>TOTAL</u>	1 549	2 604	2 993	1 532	1 109	994	1 128	2 393			2 771	1 761
<u>Kimberley Sub-Total</u>	1 549	1 375	1 916	1 115	550	724	863	1 640			1 810	1 033
<u>Dutoitspan Sub-Total</u>		1 229	1 077	417	559	270	265	753			961	728
Griqualand West Government Gazette 1877												
SOURCES:	10.2	17.3	14.4	5.5	9.6	7.7	11.8	8.9			15.12	19.1 1878

1878

Kimberley figures above, Dutoitspan below.

New Hands	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
PEDI	207 125	500 150	366 128	298 92	226 3	157 78	256 11	347 114	862 696	902 668	571 522	378 414
SHANGAAN	479 230	429 295	234 294	184 234	177 185	291 144	419 347	490 363	660 578	637 449	501 670	424 620
SOTHO	39 182	202 243	173 556	12 141	139 233	116 195	108 277	88 296	68 239	127 297	57 249	59 143
ZULU	83 -	102 40	94 36	84 51	133 40	123 47	93 68	112 41	48 20	66 21	55 21	74 25
ROLONG	19 20	15 21	9 22	15 9	16 5	11 2	32 7	27 5	8 -	15 2	7 4	5 -
'COLONIAL'	25 38	23 44	10 64	20 59	41 65	36 38	34 53	16 12	28 21	24 27	33 31	15 17
GRIQUA	- 6	3 9	1 1	6 10	5 5	13 2	10 3	12 6	7 5	4 2	2 3	2 2
TLHAPING	45 39	14 17	20 10	24 14	30 13	6 3	18 5	5 3	10 11	15 3	18 3	11 2
NGWATO	12 -	1 -	9 -	3 -	1 -	1 -	1 -	15 -	2 -	- -	5 -	1 -
KWENA	82 -	28 -	53 -	68 -	73 -	18 -	46 -	7 -	29 -	46 -	17 -	36 -
KORANA	2 11	2 8	1 3	- 17	12 18	10 -	24 -	6 2	3 8	3 7	2 3	8 3
RONGA ?	72 49	97 25	22 12	75 -	82 -	8 -	78 9	60 2	133 26	236 -	125 4	98 13
SWAZI	8 -	2 10	- -	17 -	- -	- -	1 -	19 -	10 -	5 -	17 -	11 10
N. SOTHO	85 -	70 -	130 -	67 -	88 23	109 -	54 96	81 -	56 88	76 2	34 -	19 -
KALANGA	328 139	170 169	107 89	37 16	11 29	10 -	- 3	4 4	23 -	9 -	5 -	3 6
KGATLA	66 -	57 -	70 -	38 -	61 -	69 -	35 -	42 -	46 4	66 4	38 4	21 2
NDZUNDZA	195	283	134	128	63	87	87	78	121	146	78	76
NDEBELE	-	-	415	520	174	193	219	375	17	79	82	14

1878
Continued

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
NDEBELE	85	44	10	5	-	-	-	3	-	4	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DAMARA	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'MAGHATA BASUTO'	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'MAHAWAS'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	247	472	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>TOTAL</u>	2 923	3 542	3 073	2 358	1 951	1 767	2 396	2 635	3 834	3 942	3 161	2 513
<u>Kimberley Sub-Total</u>	1 837	2 042	1 443	1 195	1 158	1 065	1 298	1 412	2 121	2 381	1 565	1 241
<u>Dutoitspan Sub-Total</u>	1 086	1 500	1 630	1 163	793	702	1 098	1 223	1 713	1 561	1 596	1 272
<u>OLD HANDS</u> Kimberley				N O T				2 272	2 208	2 374	2 747	2 215
Dutoitspan	P	R	I	N	T	E	D	637	1 011	867	966	938
<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>								5 544	7 053	7 183	6 874	5 666
Griqualand West Government Gazette 1878												
SOURCES:	2.3.	9.3	20.4	18.5	15.6	13.7	10.8	7.9	12.10	29.11	13.12	17.1 1879

1879 Kimberley figures above, Dutoitspan below.

New Hands	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
PEDI	435 420	325 669	348 883	60 542	276 396	152 192	108 131	149 271	226 155	237 186	N	163 120
SHANGAAN	371 636	224 365	162 632	128 600	234 693	250 616	170 473	189 633	183 342	215 311	O	105 315
SOTHO	25 61	7 92	18 42	1 16	1 18	9 14	20 74	26 297	21 226	33 109	T	32 255
ZULU	20 56	23 23	32 5	8 -	20 5	14 1	10 6	4 4	8 11	8 1		28 14
ROLONG	5 26	8 17	54 16	2 10	3 -	25 15	23 1	14 1	27 -	17 -	P	29 8
'COLONIAL'	11 22	1 25	5 21	4 26	14 17	19 5	97 17	29 -	35 20	25 7	U	12 15
GRIQUA	- 11	13 5	9 -	- 1	- -	- -	78 -	68 -	5 1	5 4	B	5 3
TLHAPING	35 7	58 8	7 1	- -	9 7	39 1	45 1	- 11	59 2	41 -	L	66 27
NGWATO	- 28	- 32	- 15	- -	13 13	3 -	1 3	- 15	2 -	20 3	I	- -
KWENA	34 -	- 52	11 6	28 -	31 -	38 -	36 -	79 -	82 -	36 -	S	19 -
KORANA	15 2	6 2	17 1	- 9	17 4	10 2	40 1	14 18	33 1	12 3	H	1 17
RONGA ?	146 37	45 8	14 10	9 11	56 8	45 2	47 3	34 2	35 8	124 3	E	55 51
SWAZI	- -	3 1	3 -	3 -	2 3	- -	6 -	- -	1 -	1 -	D	2 -
N. SOTHO	12 -	33 -	25 -	9 -	51 -	36 1	22 -	29 -	26 -	29 -		29 -
KGATLA	35 1	51 -	17 -	23 3	13 2	25 4	19 7	- 11	35 -	12 -		4 3
NDZUNDZA NDEBELE	45 99	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- 21	- -	- -	- -		- -
NDEBELE	- -	64 26	37 34	- 3	60 85	61 36	70 -	93 -	134 9	170 58		46 8

1879
Continued

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
DAMARA	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5	2	2		-
TLHARO	-	3	11	18	-	-	12	7	6	10		1
SAN [Bushman]	-	-	13	-	1	-	9	-	-	2		16
<u>TOTAL</u>	2 595	2 181	2 465	1 514	2 052	1 638	1 555	2 124	1 725	1 684		1 449
<u>Kimberley Sub-Total</u>	1 189	856	784	293	801	749	818	790	920	999		618
<u>Dutoitspan Sub-Total</u>	1 406	1 325	1 681	1 221	1 251	889	737	1 334	805	685		836
<u>OLD HANDS Kimberley</u>	3 196	3 111	3 181	3 109	Not	3 128	3 106	3 451	2 294	2 411		2 115
Dutoitspan	723	792	735	879	Record -ed	855	1 185	1 598	1 441	Not Recei- ved		1 605
<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>	6 514	6 084	6 381	5 502		5 621	5 846	7 173	5 460			5 169
<u>Griqualand West Government Gazette 1879</u>												
SOURCES:	14.2	28.3	11.4	16.5	13.6	11.7	8.8	5.9	10.10	11.11		20.1. 1880

1880

Kimberley figures above, Dutoitspan below.

New Hands

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
PEDI	127 60	129 31	1 244 577	604 632	319 297	151 217	140 213	343 321	534 960	1 659 049	598 752	555 219
SHANGAAN	172 196	84 249	285 295	153 417	101 438	232 444	218 510	193 465	321 702	436 863	305 965	403 329
SOTHO	51 180	129 845	1 190 453	86 679	11 136	15 135	32 32	5 29	16 40	13 -	- -	6 2
ZULU	11 7	46 11	28 15	36 19	47 10	45 59	44 26	34 17	19 54	33 42	48 42	26 1
ROLONG	35 36	41 31	76 13	49 13	14 1	8 7	31 -	31 9	23 3	3 1	12 9	41 5
'COLONIAL'	31 30	25 17	23 48	39 47	40 26	36 10	17 59	29 25	20 11	24 3	14 11	17 -
GRIQUA	10 -	4 1	17 1	7 2	6 1	1 1	4 -	4 1	4 10	10 -	10 -	1 -
TLHAPING	98 11	275 234	91 9	78 28	53 10	62 17	124 56	150 24	162 25	53 17	- -	22 2
NGWATO	- -	70 57	51 29	17 66	49 9	- 20	1 7	12 -	- -	- -	- -	1 -
KWENA	165 -	204 4	293 78	83 23	125 55	64 62	99 6	114 17	93 35	98 20	35 -	57 16
KORANA	11 8	13 2	- 3	17 10	7 -	7 2	12 7	22 11	6 -	9 -	4 -	- -
RONGA ?	64 12	36 4	71 4	116 -	40 5	53 24	50 7	28 2	60 40	99 4	50 6	40 6
NDZUNDZA NDEBELE	71 -	117 33	337 81	83 25	36 10	14 20	11 11	87 -	79 77	78 18	42 -	43 17
TLHARO	5 -	8 -	76 -	23 -	17 -	2 -	1 -	21 -	22 -	- -	5 -	29 -

1880
Continued

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
<u>NEW HANDS</u> <u>TOTAL</u>	1 391	2 700	5 388	3 352	1 863	1 708	1 718	1 994	3 316	3 532	2 908	1 838
<u>Kimberley</u> <u>Sub-Total</u>	851	1 181	2 782	1 391	865	690	784	1 073	1 359	1 515	1 123	1 241
<u>Dutoitspan</u> <u>Sub-Total</u>	540	1 519	2 606	1 961	998	1 018	934	921	1 957	2 017	1 785	597
<u>OLD HANDS</u> <u>Kimberley</u>	2 913	3 458	4 973	2 440	3 349	2 932	2 360	3 116	2 159	2 445	2 809	2 682
<u>Dutoitspan</u>	1 439	1 330	1 426	1 486	1 405	1 456	1 588	1 432	1 539	1 713	1 090	2 901
<u>GRAND</u> <u>TOTAL</u>	5 743	7 488	11787	7 278	6 617	6 096	5 666	6 542	7 014	7 690	6 807	7 421

G.20 1881, Annexure to No. 31

188: Kimberley figures above, Dutoitspan below

New Hands	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
PEDI	249 13	98 9	46 12	86 5	188 34	68 65	183 254	259 772	759 1 132	489 1 346	737 932	377 903
SHANGAAN	172 101	32 23	10 5	- -	69 93	44 78	98 89	149 553	234 842	195 761	461 774	191 1 304
SOTHO	5 -	- 2	3 -	- -	2 -	1 2	17 27	4 55	41 190	51 258	86 383	92 267
ZULU	20 9	11 3	9 4	16 2	24 19	15 50	65 11	35 58	41 44	37 93	56 317	21 124
ROLONG	30 7	36 -	92 -	25 -	22 -	13 5	56 12	50 10	44 35	8 5	1 -	3 -
'COLONIAL'	14 -	203 -	16 -	122 3	27 -	24 23	66 23	23 13	19 36	36 55	27 27	14 23
GRIQUA	- -	4 -	- -	- -	9 -	8 -	6 -	4 -	1 -	5 -	- -	1 12
TLHAPING	9 -	62 41	43 26	148 97	128 1	45 10	221 112	208 102	118 91	106 35	41 2	8 5
NGWATO	12 -	81 19	8 -	- -	12 -	- -	- -	20 28	9 -	8 -	14 -	1 -
KWENA	75 4	65 -	61 -	101 4	117 25	85 23	110 82	285 191	232 186	94 254	71 69	77 148
KORANA	- -	4 -	8 -	35 -	3 -	18 10	25 -	22 4	17 -	9 -	10 26	2 -
RONGA ?	16 -	9 2	1 -	- -	23 -	5 -	14 6	11 6	14 -	27 -	145 16	22 20
NDZUNDZA NDEBELE	2 -	33 -	7 -	53 -	6 9	16 3	122 -	153 110	281 220	52 203	84 135	16 158
NDEBELE	- -	43 -	21 -	41 -	- -	2 -	43 210	42 78	8 15	11 -	- -	- -
TLHARO	69 3	10 -	21 -	7 -	2 -	18 -	4 -	50 -	7 -	- -	10 -	10 -

1881
Continued

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
<u>NEW HANDS</u> <u>TOTAL</u>	810	790	393	746	813	631	856	295	616	138	424	799
<u>Kimberley</u> <u>Sub-Total</u>	673	691	346	635	632	362	1030	315	825	128	743	835
<u>Dutoitspan</u> <u>Sub-Total</u>	137	99	47	111	181	269	826	980	791	3010	2681	964
<u>OLD HANDS</u> <u>Kimberley</u>	3359	2889	2379	2040	2701	3338	1880	1886	2381	2734	2417	3714
<u>Dutoitspan</u>	2543	2205	1970	1903	2627	3969	1418	1125	852	1148	936	1199
<u>GRAND</u> <u>TOTAL</u>	6712	5884	4742	4689	6141	7938	5154	6306	7849	8020	7777	8712

G. 33-1882, pp.182-3

1882 Kimberley figures above, Dutoitspan below.

New Hands	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
PEDI	309 1 177	946 1 028	612 1 236	370 966	512 654	139 272	209 160	332 246	273 217	289 125	221 130	80 42
SHANGAAN	179 1 230	363 775	91 876	76 738	175 1 162	143 794	88 1 179	108 619	122 422	124 432	63 365	17 192
SOTHO	55 195	57 303	3 119	3 395	16 208	6 132	19 142	4 296	1 95	12 45	32 249	14 83
ZULU	20 118	28 74	64 180	45 200	37 228	55 140	80 91	38 67	21 22	44 79	33 24	66 -
ROLONG	3 28	3 -	10 -	1 -	20 -	14 3	21 6	30 9	13 -	14 -	22 -	16 20
'COLONIAL'	13 36	6 15	14 29	13 19	5 30	8 42	100 3	13 17	8 31	24 58	23 18	41 31
GRIQUA	1 -	2 -	1 -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- 6	- 4	2 1	- -	- -
TLHAPING	8 18	30 3	- 1	7 10	17 -	14 25	60 6	111 27	4 27	30 6	37 -	40 -
NGWATO	10 15	- 16	- -	- 25	1 21	- -	- -	1 -	- -	1 -	2 -	2 -
KWENA	57 79	12 36	- 15	10 14	1 -	37 51	65 6	75 -	5 -	8 -	18 -	17 -
KORANA	2 -	- -	1 -	- -	- -	- 8	7 26	- -	- -	1 -	- -	- -
RONGA ?	17 55	27 17	6 20	11 81	39 49	- 18	38 26	19 19	16 77	25 -	24 46	12 -
SWAZI	1 12	- -	2 16	2 4	2 26	2 -	10 27	- 10	- 3	3 1	3 -	7 10
N. SOTHO	14 -	14 -	12 -	18 -	15 -	- -	- -	12 49	14 -	23 -	5 -	31 -
KALANGA	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	8 -	- -	9 -	- -
KGATLA	13 193	52 74	1 267	10 108	29 120	32 97	17 50	15 -	15 42	6 -	25 -	21 -
NDZUNDZA NDEBELE	16 283	97 245	102 220	3 103	17 81	6 17	22 65	37 15	19 1	7 -	45 25	31 -

1882
Continued

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
NDEBELE	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	60	16	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
TLHARO	8	37	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>TOTAL</u>	4 165	4 260	3 971	3 248	3 476	2 057	2 523	2 175	1 460	1 360	1 419	775
Kimberley Sub-Total	726	1 674	932	569	897	456	736	795	519	613	562	397
Dutoitspan Sub-Total	3 439	2 586	3 039	2 679	2 579	1 601	1 787	1 380	941	747	857	378
OLD HANDS Kimberley	3 528	4 084	3 828	4 126	4 002	4 567	4 141	3 253	3 260	3 224	2 866	3 077
Dutoitspan	1 684	1 721	1 735	1 629	2 314	2 855	3 612	3 023	2 316	3 152	3 152	2 658
<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>	9 377	10 065	9 534	9 003	9 792	9 479	10 276	8 451	7 036	7 736	7 437	6 510

SOURCE: G.8-'83 Appendix to the Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1883.

Kimberley and Dutoitspan

New Hands	1883	1884
PEDI	1 077	2 215
SHANGAAN	523	681
SOTHO	52	195
ZULU	370	812
ROLONG	224	115
'COLONIAL'	149	375
GRIQUA	3	3
TLHAPING	471	277
NDEBELE	183	120
NGWATO	26	56
KWENA	176	33
KORANA	13	6
RONGA ?	130	447
SWAZI	12	11
N. SOTHO	84	47
KGATLA	197	56
TLHARO	-	21
DAMARA	-	1
OLD HANDS	36 372	24 088
TOTAL	40 134	29 559

The Average Number of Employees, exclusive of Managers and Secretaries,
on the Diamond Mines, 1881-1888

		1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888
Kimberley Mine	White	800	700	400	300	450	430	740	560
	Black	3000	4000	2000	1500	1500	2000	2500	2000
	Totals	3800	4700	2400	1800	1950	2430	3240	2560
De Beer's Mine	White	300	300	200	250	320	200	500	480
	Black	2000	2000	1260	1700	1700	2400	3000	2500
	Totals	2300	2300	1460	1950	2020	2600	3500	2980
Du Toit's Pan Mine	White	1000	...	320	400	770	590	420	380
	Black	8000	...	2800	3300	4500	4030	3200	2500
	Totals	9000	...	3120	3700	5270	4620	3620	2880
Bultfontein Mine	White	1000	...	220	260	360	290	260	260
	Black	4000	...	2300	2500	3600	2530	2600	2600
	Totals	5000	...	2520	2760	3960	2820	2860	2860

SOURCE: G.11-'90 Reports by the Inspector of Diamond Mines.

(Shiela T. van der Horst: Native Labour in South Africa, p. 85)

THE AVERAGE WEEKLY RATE OF WAGES, 1881-1888

	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888
	£ s. d	£ s. d	£ s. d	£ s. d	£ s. d	£ s. d	£ s. d	£ s. d
Kimberley Mine								
Mechanics	...	7 10 0	8 0 0	7 0 0	6 0 0	...	5 10 0	...
Engine-drivers	...	7 10 0	8 0 0	7 0 0	6 10 0	6 5 0	6 5 0	6 10 0
White Labour	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	4 10 0	4 5 0	5 18 0	4 0 0	5 0 0
Black Labour	1 15 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 5 0	1 0 0	1 5 0	1 7 0	1 10 0
De Beer's Mine								
Mechanics	...	8 0 0	8 0 0	7 0 0	5 18 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	7 0 0
Engine-drivers	...	8 0 0	8 0 0	7 0 0	6 2 6	6 10 0	6 10 0	6 0 0
White Labour	...	4 12 6	4 10 0	4 10 0	3 15 0	5 12 0	4 15 0	5 0 0
Black Labour	...	1 5 0	1 10 0	1 5 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 5 0	1 0 0
Du Toit's Pan Mine								
Mechanics	...	8 0 0	6 10 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	5 18 0	6 0 0	6 0 0
Engine-drivers	...	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	...	5 8 0	6 5 0	6 5 0
White Labour	5 0 0	5 0 0	4 10 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	4 6 0	4 5 0	4 0 0
Black Labour	1 5 0	1 10 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	0 15 0	0 18 0	1 0 0	0 18 0
Bultfontein Mine								
Mechanics	...	8 0 0	6 10 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	5 10 0	5 10 0	6 0 0
Engine-drivers	...	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	...	6 5 0	6 0 0	6 5 0
White Labour	5 0 0	5 0 0	4 10 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	3 0 0	4 0 0	4 0 0
Black Labour	1 5 0	1 10 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	0 15 0	0 19 0	1 0 0	0 18 0

SOURCE: G.11-'90 Reports by the Inspector Diamond Mines

