GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, TO 1910

GROUP II: STATISTICAL REGISTERS

INDEX TO THE MICROFILM

Introduction by
Shula Marks
Department of History
School of Oriental & African Studies
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This four-part series of government publications relating to the Cape Colony consists of complete sets of the Votes and Proceedings of the Cape Parliament and their Annexures (i.e. papers laid before members of the Cape's Legislative Council and Assembly) between 1854 and 1910, Cape Statistical Blue Books between 1821 and 1909, Statutes of the Cape Colony from 1652 to 1910, and the parliamentary debates published as Hansards after 1884. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Cape was probably the most important, the most populous and the wealthiest British colony in Africa. It was also the oldest, and had a highly heterogeneous population, including a substantial number of white settlers. As a result the sheer volume of official material available far outweighs that for any other African colony in this period. The Annexures to the Votes and Proceedings alone total more than 700 volumes. These official records constitute an invaluable source which has as yet not been fully exploited by the historian.

The Cape of Good Hope, a colony of the Dutch East India Company from 1652, first passed into British hands during the Napoleonic wars. This occupation was brief, although in many ways the problems faced by the first British administration, and by the officials of the Batavian Republic who followed them for an even briefer period, presaged the problems which were to preoccupy the British when the Cape passed into their hands for the second time in 1806. Although British rule at the Cape was only formally recognised in 1814 as a result of the Convention of London, made with the restored Netherlands government, it lasted almost a century thereafter, until 1910 when the Cape Colony became one of the provinces of the newly formed Union of South Africa.

Most of the main features and trends in the history of the British colony of the Cape of Good Hope and many of the chief concerns of its populace are documented by and reflected directly and indirectly in the records of the executive and legislative organs of the colony's government. Almost inevitably, the concerns of the settler minority predominate, but the value of the records for understanding the
position of blacks\textsuperscript{8} in Cape society, and for a partial reconstruction of aspects of their history should not be underestimated. Thus, the conquest of African societies and their resistance to colonialism, the creation of an independent African peasantry and its transformation into a proletariat, and the political role played by the mission-educated elite can all be glimpsed in these pages.

The Cape's nineteenth century history can be seen largely in terms of the transformation of a Company outpost into a more fully capitalist state. By the end of the eighteenth century, the sprawling white settlement at the Cape had made but little impact on the other societies of southern Africa. Within the area of Dutch jurisdiction, however, the development of a market economy based on wine and wheat farming in the west and cattle and sheep pastoralism in the east had led to the conquest and subordination of the indigenous Late Stone Age Khoisan population, known in the earlier literature as Bushmen and Hottentots. In the west the major source of labour was slaves drawn from a wide arc around the Indian Ocean; in the eastern districts, Khoisan and a sprinkling of Xhosa (Bantu-speaking, African) were engaged in complex relations of serfdom, clientage and casual migrant labour with the white colonists. Already by 1800 there was a high degree of correlation between ethnic origin and class at the Cape, although racial definition remained relatively fluid for much of the century, and the major divisions ran as much among class as colour lines.

These class relations were initially preserved when the monopolist Dutch East India Company was replaced by the British, despite the new imperatives of an industrialising imperial power. The initial impulse behind Britain's annexation of the territory was to protect her sea-route to India, and she looked to the local ruling class to act as her collaborators. The demand, however, that the colony at least pay for its own administration, and preferably produce raw materials for the

\textsuperscript{8}We use the term blacks to refer to the Khoisan, Bantu-speaking and ex-slave population.
metropole as well as provide a market for its manufactures and a home for its unemployed, locked the Cape Colony firmly into the world market.

In large measure as a result of the development of commodity production and, in particular, the rapid expansion of wool farming in the eastern Cape, through the nineteenth century the colony extended its frontiers by conquering and incorporating the territories of the Bantu-speaking farmers to its north and east. Already by the time of the first British occupation, settler and Xhosa were locked in conflict over land, water and cattle in the area on the colonial frontier between the Fish and the Bushman's River known as the Zuurbveld. Left to themselves, this might have resulted in a prolonged stalemate: certainly at the end of the eighteenth century the colonists were being pushed out of many frontier areas and it would have been difficult to predict the final outcome. The coming of the British, however, and the use of regular troops armed with the most advanced firearms in the frontier wars, which stretched over the century from 1779 to 1879, tipped the scales decisively in favour of the settlers.

Increasingly the object of these wars was not only African land and cattle but also, particularly after mineral discoveries in the last third of the nineteenth century when the pace of annexations accelerated, for African labour. For most of the century, the Cape was dependent on British troops for its defence and for the conquest of African territory.

By the time the Cape achieved self-government in 1854, its northern frontier was the Orange river, while in the east most of the territory between the Great Fish River (the frontier when the British took over) and the Kei had been densely settled by black and white colonists who had largely displaced the original Xhosa inhabitants. The southern region between the Keiskamma and the Kei rivers, known as British Kaffraria (1848) also passed into Cape hands in 1865. This was indeed a familiar pattern, whereby the British annexed African territories
and subsequently handed them over to Cape jurisdiction. Thus in 1877 Griqualand West which had been annexed by the British in 1871 was formally taken over by the Cape (for political reasons the actual date of incorporation was 1880); Basutoland, which was annexed by Britain in 1868, was governed by the Cape between 1871 and 1884, when the vigorous resistance of the Basotho to the Cape's attempts to disarm them persuaded the Cape parliament to return the territory to imperial control. Similarly, British Bechuanaland was incorporated into the Cape Colony in 1895 after ten years of British rule.

Although at the beginning of the 1870s the African peoples between the Kei River and the frontiers of the colony of Natal at the Mthamvuna River still lived in independent polities, within the next twenty years they too were brought under Cape control through the appointment of magistrates and subsequent formal incorporation. The last of the independent kingdoms to pass into Cape hands was Pondoland in 1895. This territorial expansion, and the increase in the Colony's size, population and resources which it made possible, was responsible both for the colony's constitutional and bureaucratic development. The population increase was not simply the result of the accretion of African territory. Although the colony probably lost about 12,000 inhabitants between 1835 and 1845 as a result of the movement known as the Great Trek (see below) in addition to a high birthrate amongst settlers the Cape also attracted a considerable number of British and European immigrants, encouraged by state action. This immigration increased rapidly after the mineral discoveries, when it no longer needed much official encouragement. Thus at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Cape population numbered approximately 60,000, including about 20,000 European free-burghers, c.26,000 slaves and an estimated 15,000 Khoisan; in 1820 after the influx of some 5,000 British settlers there were some 44,000 white colonists, 25-30,000 Khoisan, 32,000 African slaves and 3,500 'free blacks' in the colony. In 1854 when the Cape Parliament first met, the population had risen to about 140,000 whites and 210,000 blacks. Some twenty years later, there were 741,000 inhabitants, of whom 357,000 were counted as white, while by 1904 the figures had risen to 2,410,000 people (double the
population of the Transvaal at the time) of whom more than half a
million were white.

Economically, commercial, mercantile and banking enterprises developed
quite rapidly under the British, and small-scale manufacturing
industries sprang up in the growing urban centres along the coast at
Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and later East London, and in the smaller
market towns of the interior. Agriculture became more commercially-
based and market-oriented. With the arrival of the 1820 British
settlers in the eastern Cape, wool came to replace wine as the chief
export of the colony, reaching its peak in the 1870s. Maize
production in the eastern Cape, largely for local consumption, and
ostrich feathers which were a booming export in the 1870s, were the
other main agricultural staples before the development of deciduous
fruit exports from the western Cape in the twentieth century.

Although copper was mined in Little Namaqualand in the 1850s, it was
the discovery of diamonds in 1867 that quickened the pace of economic
transformation in the Cape Colony - and indeed elsewhere in South
Africa. By 1888 nearly 4 million carats of diamonds worth about £4
million was being exported. Diamonds attracted capital for investment,
created a major new urban market for agricultural production,
stimulated the building of railways, the expansion of harbours and the
construction of roads. The discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand
some twenty years later though beyond the confines of the Cape Colony,
accelerated these processes, as Cape capitalists, merchants and
farmers strove to take advantage of the new and immensely promising
market. These economic developments and the new class forces they
engendered lay behind the constitutional developments and the nature
of politics at the Cape.

In its constitutional development, the Cape Colony followed the
pattern set by Britain's other colonies of settlement in the
nineteenth century, and in particular Canada, although the mixed
racial composition of the Cape's population and its piecemeal
geographical expansion gave these developments certain unusual
features. As official publications in the nineteenth century are, in a very real sense the written records of the apparatus of government and portray the activities of the state, it is necessary to outline, albeit somewhat briefly, the development of the executive, legislative and administrative arms of government, and even more briefly consider some of the main areas of state intervention.

The Cape of Good Hope when it became a British Colony was ruled centrally by an autocratic governor and locally by a rudimentary (and, in a very limited sense, democratic) form of town or district administration. The system of government instituted at the Cape when the British took over the colony in 1806 was similar to that during the first British occupation, when two Military Governors (and one Acting Governor) managed the affairs of a territory moulded by a century and a half of Dutch rule. The formal cession of the Cape to Britain in 1815 made no appreciable difference to the manner of government. According to J. L. McCracken in The Cape Parliament 1854-1910 (Oxford 1967, p.2)

All executive and legislative authority was vested in the governor...as the instrument of the imperial government. He could amend old and make new laws, levy taxation, and regulate the tenure of land; he supervised the administration of justice and exercised an appellate jurisdiction himself; he could appoint and dismiss all officials except the highest; and he was commander-in-chief of the forces. Roman-Dutch law continued to be administered by the courts under the old procedure; the Dutch system of local government was retained; and the burgher senate...in Cape Town was kept in existence.

The presence of a small, articulate, mainly English speaking petty bourgeoisie was able to exert pressure, both in the Colony and in Britain, to modify the autocratic powers of the governor. In 1824 the colony's first non-government newspaper, the Commercial Advertiser began publication after a considerable struggle with the Governor, and in 1825 an Advisory Council to the Governor was established. This
consisted of six official members, including the Chief Justice, the Colonial Secretary, the Commanding General of the garrison, and the Auditor and Receiver. In fact, this body had little control over a determined governor, however. Of more significance for the constitutional development of the colony was the Charter of Justice of 1827, renewed in 1832 and promulgated in its final form in 1834. Under the terms of this, the executive (that is, the Governor) ceased to be the final Court of Appeal – a crucial separation of powers. The office of Attorney General was instituted, and Civil Commissioners and Magistrates took the place of the place of the old Dutch Company system of Landdrosts. In effect, the Civil Commissioners tended to subsume the responsibilities of Magistrates. Under these officials, the rural areas were controlled by nominated Veld-kornets and Justices of the Peace.

As far as the white colonists were concerned, the legal apparatus at the local level became more efficient, but less democratic; and because English became the language of the courts, the English-speakers benefitted more than the Dutch settlers. The Charter of Justice established a jury system, to which neither ignorance of English nor colour were a bar to service.

In 1834 the colony was granted a limited degree of constitutional advance by the more liberal Whig ministry in the newly reformed British parliament. Two councils were established, an Executive Council, made up of a small number of specified officials, and a Legislative Council, of five official and from five to seven unofficial nominated members. The Governor was chairman of both Councils. The Legislative Council was severely limited in its powers. Although initially it sat in private, under pressure its proceedings were opened to the public and the press. It was, generally speaking, a most unsatisfactory body as far as the settlers were concerned, but during its life-span of nineteen years a number of important changes to the structure of Cape society and its political economy were introduced.
One of the early acts of the Legislative Council was the passing of the Municipal Councils Ordinance of 1836, which made it possible for the small towns and villages of the Cape to have their own local government. The abolition of the Heemraden under the Charter of Justice in 1827 had deprived the country districts of the small measure of popular representation they possessed. The 1836 regulations enabled twenty-five householders resident in a central place to take the initial steps for the establishment of a municipality in the area. Occupancy of premises of an annual value of £10 qualified for voting and a payment of £1 a year on local taxes was the condition of eligibility for election. Subject to these qualifications men of colour were as eligible as white men. Led by Beaufort West in 1837 the country was soon dotted with units of village government.


It is noteworthy that this ordinance came into operation, and found an eager popular response, at exactly the time when the Great Trek was in full swing. Cape Town, being the colony's garrison town, had to be specially treated, and obtained its municipal council in 1840.

After more than a decade of intense struggle in which the colonists sought to increase their participation in government, the next major constitutional advance came in 1853 with the grant of representative institutions. Under the Constitution Ordinance of 1853, the new machinery of government consisted of a nominated Executive Council and a bicameral elected parliament: a Legislative Council or Upper House consisting of fifteen members presided over by the Chief Justice and a House of Assembly of 46 members who elected their Speaker. To qualify for the franchise to these new representative institutions, it was necessary to occupy, for twelve months, property valued at £25 or to earn a salary of £50 (£25 in board and lodging were provided). These qualifications were low by British standards, and applied regardless of colour, although at that time relatively few Bantu-speaking
Africans had been incorporated into the colony. Nevertheless, many of the Mfengu (refugees from the Shakan wars in Natal in the 1820s who had been settled in the colony in 1835) and a number of ex-slaves and Khoisan were able to qualify for the vote. (For the genesis of the 1853 constitution and the franchise see Stanley Trapido, 'The Origins of the Cape Franchise Qualifications of 1853', Jnl of Afr. Hist. V,1 (1964) 37-54)

The first statute of the Houses after the election of 1854 was to provide for freedom of speech in Parliament and immunity from libel actions of all publications printed under the authority of Parliament. A colonial version of Hansard did not appear until 1884. Before that time, most parliamentary debates were reported in detail and often verbatim in the Cape press, notably the Cape Argus.

Like the old Crown Colony Councils two decades earlier, the Cape Parliament soon turned its attention to local government. The Divisional Council Act of 1855 divided the colony into effective units of rural government based upon the parliamentary franchise. Under the Crown Colony Councils, a comprehensive Ordinance for the construction of roads had been passed in 1843. A Central Road Board was set up, and was responsible for the construction and maintenance of main roads (built mainly with convict labour) and to provide local roads elective Divisional Road Boards came into being. These now became defunct. In 1858 the Central Road Board was set aside; its main functions became the responsibility of a government department under a Commissioner for Roads, while more local duties were handed over to the Divisional Councils.

Another major area of state intervention even under Crown Colony rule was education. In 1839 an embryo Department of Education had been established, consisting of a single superintendent who was 'general inspector, general registrar, curriculum maker, selector of teachers and of text books'. (E. G. Malherbe, Education in South Africa, Cape Town, 1925, 72-3) What were termed first and Second class schools were under his immediate control; farm and mission schools merely
received grants-in-aid. After the creation of the new Divisional authorities, in 1855 new elective School Committees were formed, with 'inquisitorial' powers over teachers, and the right to frame regulations, subject to the approval of the Divisional Councils. A Board of Examiners was established to promote higher education and this together with the South African College, which was founded as early as 1829, formed the basis of the future University of Cape Town. Although most blacks in the Colony only had access to education through the activities of missionaries, some of the mission schools, such as Lovedale achieved considerable renown, admitting white as well as black pupils and subject to the same syllabus and inspectorate.

During the period Representative government, the Executive Council still comprised the main officials under the Governor: the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney General, the Treasurer and the Auditor General. Though all supplies were voted in Parliament, this was only at the request of the Crown. Thus Money bills were initiated in the Assembly at the recommendation of the Governor, who had total control also over the Civil List. During the depression years of the 1860s this led to constant constitutional crisis and deadlock, which was only resolved with the grant of full Responsible Government to the Cape in 1872. Under the Constitution Amendment Act of that year, the officials in the Executive Council were replaced by a small number of Members of Parliament who held executive office and took over also the tiny bureaucracies which had already been formed under the officials. Although a fully-fledged party system did not exist at the Cape until the following decade when the rise of the Afrikaner Bond, representing the Afrikaans-speaking farming population, led to a certain polarisation in politics, the Prime Minister was chosen by the Governor on the basis of his support in Parliament. He was assisted by a Colonial Secretary, Treasurer, Attorney-General, a Minister of Crown Lands and Public Works and another -- a significant step for the future of South Africa -- in charge of Native Affairs. In 1880 a Minister without Portfolio appeared and in 1893 a Minister of Agriculture.

The bureaucratic growth in the Colony coincided with the increase
in the Cape's geographical size, population and resources, which greatly increased the complexity of administration and the scope for state intervention. Moreover, with its extensive accretions in territory and population, the numbers of members in both Houses of Parliament were progressively increased. In 1865 when British Kaffraria was annexed in 1865, the numbers were increased from 15 to 21 in the Legislative Council, and from 46 to 66 in the Assembly. The process of accretion culminated in an Act of 1904, when there were 26 members in the Upper House, and 107 in the Lower.

The annexations of African territories and the possibility that a considerable number of blacks would now qualify for the franchise as well as the changed nature of the political economy and the rise of the Afrikaner Bond, all led to an increasing attack on the Cape's colour blind franchise. The franchise provisions of the 1853 constitution were severely curtailed by the Parliamentary Voters' Registration Act of 1887, which aimed to exclude Africans living on 'communal or tribal' land from exercising the franchise, and by the Franchise and Ballot Act of 1892, which raised the occupation qualification from £25 to £75, introduced a literacy test and - its main positive feature - established a secret ballot. The Glen Grey Act of 1894, which was mainly directed at African land tenure and thus at the creation of a labour force, also curtailed the franchise: Africans holding land under individual tenure under terms of the Act were precluded from the vote. Nevertheless, in the two elections held during the last decade of the Cape's separate existence, in 1903 and 1907, Africans, Coloureds and other black voters, accounted for between 15 and 16 per cent of the total electorate and probably determined the result in some fourteen constituencies. At a time of considerable political polarisation which followed the abortive Jameson Raid in 1896 members representing these constituencies could, and on occasion did, play a disproportionately important role to their actual numbers.

Although there was no legal bar to the election of blacks to either
House, this never happened. In 1983 when the Coloured voters of Cape Town hoped to use their cumulative vote to return a member of their community to Parliament, a Constitutional Amendment abolishing this right was hastily passed. In 1904 the Afrikaner Bond seriously considered nominating the prominent African newspaper editor, John Tengo Jabavu, as their candidate for Kingstown, but he declined the offer. In a number of constituencies, however, Africans like Jabavu came to play a substantial role in electoral politics. Despite its very real limitations, the Cape franchise came to be the model sought after by Africans in the rest of South Africa particularly after the Act of Union, which retained the African qualified franchise in the Cape, while extending adult male suffrage to whites and excluding all Africans outside the Cape from the electorate.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the colonial state played an increasingly active role as the mediating institution in shaping the economy and regulating relations of production at the Cape, notwithstanding an imperial ideology of laissez faire. It was critically important in the incorporation of the Cape into the world economy, while to some extent acting as a restraint on the destructive impact of settler forces on African societies, as a result in the first half-century of missionary and humanitarian ideology.

In the years of Crown Colony government, the Governor and his official Council were responsible for fiscal matters and the introduction of sterling to replace the rixdaler; for regulating banking and trade; and for facilitating the movement of people and goods. The colonial state intervened to secure and extend existing private property rights with speed and determination, as can be seen from the response of the British government to the simultaneous uprising of Khoisan servants and Xhosa on the eastern frontiers of the colony in 1799, and to subsequent allegations by farmers of cattle-theft by the Xhosa. Soon after their formal acquisition of the colony, the British attempted to transform the nature of Dutch land-holding, in attempt to immobilise the trekboers, provide the conditions for more capital-intensive
farming, and raise government revenue through the auction of Crown lands. Later on, land tenure formed a cardinal element in imperial and colonial policy towards Africans. Initially the object was to foster independent peasant commodity production; later on, the amount of land available to Africans was limited and forms of individual tenure encouraged as under the Glen Grey system of 1894 to force out the surplus population as labour.

Indeed, perhaps the most dramatic area of state intervention throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century, was over the creation and control of the labour supply. Initially, the imposition of British notions as to the virtues of and need for free wage labour had an explosive effect on the class relations of a colony dependent on both slave and serf labour. In 1807 the slave trade was abolished in the British Empire, and in 1833 all slaves were emancipated, although at the Cape slaves were to be apprenticed to their former masters for a further four years so as not to jeopardise production. At the same time a series of Ordinances was passed attempting to regulate the relations between 'masters' and 'servants', to ensure minimal standards of treatment and equality before the law, at least in theory, and to transform the basis of the labour supply from serfdom to contracted wage labour. The most important of these measures was undoubtedly Ordinance 50 of 1828 which conferred an important degree of civil liberty on the Khoisan while facilitating their movement onto the labour market. (See S. Newton-King, 'The labour market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28' in S. Marks and A. Atmore, Economy and Society in Pre-industrial South Africa, Longmans, 1980). In 1833, the local government, responding to settler pressure attempted to tighten control over the colony's Khoisan and ex-slave population with a stringent Vagrancy Law, but this was disallowed by a new governor and the reforming British Whig government. The contradictions between the 'modernising' ideology of the British administration and local social relations led considerable numbers of the Dutch population to rebel with their feet, and to leave the Cape Colony between 1835 and 1845 in the movement known as the Great Trek. Outflanking the Xhosa in the densely populated eastern Cape, they hoped to find fresh pastures and an independent existence in the vast interior. There, in the
republics which they established, the trekkers attempted to restore earlier labour relations, although fear of British intervention led them to disguise slavery as 'apprenticeship' and the enserfment of local African populations was an uneven process inhibited by the weakness of trekker power and the resilience of indigenous politics.

In the Cape, according to Rodney Davenport, 'the emancipation of the Khoikhoi and slaves between 1828 and 1838 ...in economic terms... involved not much more than the replacement of unfree labour by cheap labour', although it did effect 'a major revolution in the legal system of the Cape Colony, which would bear immediate fruit in the field of master and servant legislation'. (R. Davenport, 'The Consolidation of a New Society' in M. Wilson and L. Thompson, The Oxford History of South Africa, I, Oxford, 1969, pp.272, 309).

In 1842 the colonists secured a Masters and Servants Ordinance which despite much amendment was to provide the legal basis for their relationship for the rest of the Colony's existence. In terms of this legislation, which set out to establish the rights and obligations of masters and servants, any contract over twelve months had to be written and attested. Its most notable feature was that it made any breach of civil contract such as desertion, disobedience or wilful breach of duty on the part of the servant, and the withholding of wages or food by the master, a criminal offence. Although the Cape legislation was 'colour-blind' and was partly designed to regulate and control recently arrived European servants, in fact the main burden of the law fell on blacks. In 1867 the Masters and Servants Act replaced a spate of earlier regulations which had attempted to control the movements and labour of what were somewhat quaintly termed 'Native Foreigners' (that is Africans who sought work from across the colonial frontiers). Much of this legislation had been rendered necessary in 1856-7 when, following the prophecies of a young girl, the Xhosa had killed vast quantities of cattle in the hopes that this would restore their precolonial prosperity and power. The cattle-killing led some 30,000 Xhosa to stream across the frontiers in search of work, and for a short period solved the colony's demand for cheap labour.
The years following the discovery of diamonds and the grant of responsible government saw greatly increased intervention in the creation and control of labour. Between 1872 and 1910 the economic infrastructure of the colony was transformed with the state playing a key role. In 1872 the colonial government took over the few miles of railway then built in the Cape, and proceeded with an extensive railway construction programme from the ports of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London northwards, initially in the direction of Kimberley and then towards the gold discoveries on the Rand. Both the merchant class and the farmers were acutely involved in the politics of railway construction and financing, a central theme in the Cape parliamentary debates and select committees in these years. At the same time, harbour facilities were greatly improved by the government which entered into arrangements with the steamship companies for speedier and more regular communications with Europe. In 1872 the state also acquired the colony's telegraph system, while it also extended the work of road building and began the expensive task of bridging the colony's numerous rivers. Increasingly, too, the state came to take action in assisting Cape farmers, at this time, greatly expanding their activities in response to the growth of new markets; this again is well recorded in the legislation of the colony and in the many select committees on such issues as phylloxera in vines or scab in sheep.

Above all, however, this economic expansion led to an almost insatiable demand for labour, and the state played a vital part not only in the passage of laws to control that labour in response to the wishes of mine magnate and farmer, but also to actually recruit labour from beyond the confines of the Colony. Skilled labour was sought in Britain and Europe, though without very great success, while the Cape recruited large quantities of unskilled labour from the Transkeian territories even prior to their formal annexation, from Rasutoland and even from Portuguese East Africa. The diamond fields drew labour from as far afield as present-day Zambia and Zimbabwe, attracted to the fields by the possibilities of earning enough money to purchase guns.

Finally the state also had the task of regulating relations with its
neighbours, and was in turn in part shaped by the nature of these relations. We have already seen, for example, the way in which the Cape incorporated surrounding African territories in the course of the nineteenth century, a process which was greatly accelerated as a result of the demand for land and labour following on the mineral discoveries. In addition, in the years before Representative Government, the Crown Colony Governor attempted to maintain some kind of control over the 'Emigrant Poers' - the Afrikaners who left the Cape in the years after 1835. The growth of a handful of tiny white republics and the founding of the British colony of Natal in 1843 were all of major concern to the imperial and Cape governments, and this concern is reflected in the official publications of the period.

In the last third of the nineteenth century these relations became far more complex. The 1870s witnessed a complex struggle over who was to control the diamond fields and British schemes to confederate the southern African territories in the interests of more efficient capitalist development. In these schemes, Britain cast the Cape in the leading role - a role which her politicians with their newly acquired self-government proved reluctant to play. German intervention in the region in the 1880s and the rise of Transvaal power as a result of the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand led to a new phase in the Cape's foreign and economic relations, and set in train a complex train of events which culminated in the Jameson Raid of 1895 and the South African War. In the Cape the latter very much resembled a civil war. During the war, the Cape parliament was suspended, and it emerged after it as no longer the dominant British possession in the area, its hegemony challenged by its dependence on the mining industry of the Transvaal. These new political and economic realities were reflected in the moves towards unification which followed shortly after the war and were fulfilled by the Act of Union of 1910 which brought to an end the colony's independent existence. Crucial parts of this story are to be found in the voluminous official publications of this period, in particular the parliamentary debates and the correspondence and select committee reports contained in the Annexures to the Cape Colony's Votes and
Proceedings.

The British authorities at the Cape in the early nineteenth century set about the governance of a collection of disparate and heterogeneous people in the colony as if it were a typical colony of British settlement. In retrospect the determination to impose metropolitan norms of capitalist and parliamentary development on so different a social order might appear remarkable; in fact the options open to the British were limited, given the changing basis of the British state itself and of its imperialism. And the end result was largely in accord with imperial interests, even if the act of achievement was at times rather too expensive for the parsimonious Victorian treasury: a self-governing colony firmly under the control of a class of white settlers who were dependent on the British economy and saw little contradiction most of the time between their own and British imperial interests. This does not mean there were no conflicts on a day to day level: there is no marriage without argument. These conflicts between groups of colonists and between colonial and imperial priorities are indeed the stuff of colonial politics. This should not blind us to the essential dependence even of self-governing colonists on imperial credit, imperial markets and imperial defence. As Bruce Rerman has remarked, the colonial state is 'at once the subordinate agent of the metropolitan state and a sovereign mode of domination within a particular colony. As such it sat astride both the linkage between metropolitan and colonial productive forced and the complex and heterogenous social forms inside the colony. Its function as an instrument of economic and political reproduction and its relative autonomy must therefore be analysed in terms both of contradictions within the colony and between it and the metropole. 'B. Rerman, 'Changing modes of production and the colonial state in Kenya', unpublished paper presented to the seminar on Colonial Rule and Local Response, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London 1977-8). Despite its changing constitutional form, the colonial state at the Cape can be analysed in these terms, and the official records of the nineteenth century provide an amazingly rich basis for so doing.
GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, TO 1910

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| 35   | 1883 | Content as for preceding volume with the following exceptions:-  
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NB From 1886 onwards the name of the publication changes from Blue Book for the Colony to Statistical Register of the Colony.
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