

Introduction

No country in the whole of southern Africa is more dependent than Lesotho on the export of labour to South Africa. Hundreds of thousands of Basotho men oscillate between their homes and South African mines for work. By the 1980s, the earnings of these migrant workers were estimated at \$3 for every \$4 produced in Lesotho. However, this dependency, or the migrant labour system itself, is primarily a human experience. It is for this reason that an historical study of labour migrancy should focus on human agency; on how ordinary men and women, most of them often voiceless and faceless in official and written accounts, experienced the socio-economic transformation of their country and their migration to the labour centres. This approach from 'below' allows one to discern nuances in the processes in question, and transcend elite interpretations and representations of the experiences and the 'world' of the subalterns. Migrants, Basotho in this case, drawn from the poorer and the least privileged strata of their society as it were, were not passive victims of the forces of history. At all times, they tried to master and appropriate their 'world' to their own advantage; be it at 'home', on the road to the labour centres, or at 'work'. They devised complex responses and strategies which enabled them to cope against all odds. These responses and strategies are the main focus of this book.

This book is indeed inspired by a growing literature on the social and cultural history of labour migrancy in southern Africa. But unlike some of the recent works which are discussed in the next section, this work attempts to examine the 'everyday', cultural aspects of labour migrancy and life on the mines with a conscious and clear recognition of the ultimate primacy of matter over social consciousness. With the exception of the two opening background chapters, this book devotes its pages to demonstrating the centrality of culture as a resource from which Basotho migrants drew to devise their own responses and strategies, yet it tries to do so without reifying culture and the experiences of individual migrants. My focus is on the formative period spanning from immediately after the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 to the eve of the outbreak of the Second World War. This period not only saw Lesotho decline from her position as a granary of South Africa to become its labour reserve; it was also during these five decades that the Basotho social fabric collapsed in the face of a series of eco-

conomic crises and measures undertaken by the British colonial government. In the process, many of the social ills facing Lesotho today emerged. The Basutoland of the 1930s was qualitatively different from that of the 1890s.

Historiography

The centrality of labour migration in Lesotho is reflected in the amount of attention the subject has attracted since independence in 1966. Development economists, sociologists and anthropologists, are among those who have studied this phenomenon.¹

Remarkably, however, there has never been an in-depth historical study of labour migrancy in Lesotho. Colonial reports, and no less the missionary and the colonial anthropological literature – notably the 1935 report of Sir Allen Pim² and Hugh Ashton's *The Basuto*³ (an anthropological study based on his mid-1930s fieldwork in Lesotho) – paid only scant attention to migrant labour. Pim's primary concern was with the financial and economic position of Basutoland, of the 1930s; while Ashton's functionalist approach prevented his anthropological work from capturing the dynamism of Basotho society. Even then, labour migrancy, or Basotho's sale of their labour, was seen as part of the 'civilising' project.⁴

Nor did the works of Colin Murray⁵, Judy Kimble⁶ and Elizabeth Eldredge⁷ effectively address this lacuna. The much-cited introduction to Murray's *Families Divided* was a background to what was an anthropological study of labour migrancy and marital relations in Lesotho during the 1970s. Kimble's structural reductionist study of the political economy of labour migrancy in nineteenth century Lesotho, while it allowed her to go beyond the then dominant tendency to celebrate the statesmanship and ingenuity of Moshoeshe⁸ (founder of the Basotho nation-state) and locate the process of the Basotho nation-state formation within the context of exploitation and surplus extraction, led her to reduce a complex process such as labour migrancy itself and the accumulation of guns by Basotho migrants and their chiefs to a conspiracy of the Koena dominant lineage group. Eldredge in her study of the economic history of nineteenth century Lesotho went a long way towards addressing the shortcomings of structural reductionism, but there is a powerful sense in which her reliance on a 'pursuit of security' model and 'rational choice' theory leads her back to precisely the problem of personality cult which Kimble had saved us from. No less problematic is her short chapter on migrant labour which is weakened by its reliance on the proceedings of the 1903–05 South African Native Commission.

Eldredge's work is part of a slowly growing field of social history in Lesotho, associated in particular with Phil Bonner, Jeff Guy and Motlatsi Thabane, and David Coplan. Bonner's urban social history has made a great contribu-

tion to our understanding of the 'undesirable' Basotho women and gangs on the Witwatersrand.⁹ Guy and Thabane, for their part, working from oral interviews, paid attention to the interplay between labour migrancy and mine work, and Basotho ethnic identity.¹⁰ The purpose of Coplan's collection and anthropological-textual analysis of Basotho migrants' songs (called *lifela tsa liparola naha*: 'songs of travellers') is, as he puts it, 'to persuade social scientists and historians that performance was a rich, even indispensable, resource for understanding the role of consciousness and agency in the interplay of southern African forces, structures, processes, and events'.¹¹ These *lifela* reveal Basotho migrants' interpretation of their own experiences and sense of identity.

These developments in the academic study of Lesotho's past were part of several historiographical shifts in African studies in the course of the last three decades. Very few historians today will accept, without reservation, the dependency and world-system schools' theorisation of the processes of integrating the 'periphery' into the world economy. Many researchers have convincingly demonstrated that the incorporation of the 'periphery' into the world system was mediated by processes and dynamics already at play within the countries in question. It might be added that popular perceptions and ideas of the self and the 'world' within the 'periphery' were also important mediating factors. Nor did the political economy school, with its emphasis on state, capital, labour, and the repression/control/resistance model,¹² survive attacks from the 'history from below' movement which rescued agency and the human 'voice' from those overarching analytical categories which gave little regard to human feelings and personal histories. This historiographical shift from emphasis on structure to 'voices' of the subalterns necessitated a re-vamping of the methodological, epistemological and thematic basis on which previous scholarship was based.¹³ As part of the process, emphasis also turned to less obvious and formal forms of protest to 'everyday' forms of resistance.¹⁴ However, the problem with this 'old' social history is now well-known; the multiplication of micro-studies was at the expense of the consideration of much broader processes and key centres of power, notably the state.¹⁵

The impact of the 'cultural' and 'linguistic' turns taking place in Europe and North American academy is being felt in Africa. Bogumil Jewsiewicki, in his comment on the future of social history in Africa, was convinced that 'the 1990s will accord a place – perhaps even a central one – to intellectual history'.¹⁶ This new direction in social history not only allows for an interdisciplinary approach – especially the rapprochement of history and anthropology – in the study of history, but also singles out 'consciousness' (including identity) and culture as key areas of research. Historians are beginning to enter fields which hitherto had been reserved for anthropologists; not to mention

the creative and effective use by these scholars of the 'invisible' forces (especially the supernatural and rituals) at play in African societies.¹⁷

In his comparative study of the historiography of South Africa¹⁸ and the United States of America, Colin Bundy could still ponder: 'Is there, in South African radical history, a retreat from Politics, and an over-privileging of experience and culture at the expense of more rigorous class analysis?'¹⁹ His response was, of course, negative because South African historians (including South Africanists), and social scientists in general, could not but recognise the reality of class and racial tensions in their country. But the post-apartheid transition, and not least the general collapse of the hegemony of radical discourses internationally and the establishment of a unipolar 'new international order, has created ground for some South African historians to 'descend into discourse'.²⁰

The works of Dunbar Moodie and Patrick Harries are the best examples, in the context of my study at least, of the 'cultural' turn taking place among social historians working on South Africa. Moodie's historical sociological study is 'about character, about the practical integrity of black South African migrant miners'.²¹ Though acknowledging the role of structural factors in his study of black migrants' lives in the mine compounds, Moodie, however, focuses on 'experiences' without systematically relating them to material and historical factors.²²

Harries' historical cultural study of labour migrancy in Mozambique and Shangaan migrants' experiences²³ is, of course, historiographically an important development beyond the works of Allan Jeeves and others whose approach to labour migrancy in southern Africa was institutional, focusing on mine and government personalities and the infrastructure of labour recruitment and mining.²⁴ Cultural history brings together postmodernism and symbolic-interpretative anthropology (as espoused by Clifford Geertz).²⁵ Historicism and 'grand narratives' are renounced. It is argued that the external world is accessible to us only in a discursive form; and that rather than trying to establish a law and pattern in history, historians should study the genealogy of these discourses. Culture is seen as a system of symbols with little regard to material factors; the focus is on interpreting these symbols to reach the 'meanings' that are entangled in them. 'Local knowledge', or the meaning that a particular people make out of the world, can be accessed through the 'reading' of these symbols.

The importance of the rapprochement between history and anthropology has long been noted.²⁶ Anthropological knowledge is obviously important in understanding the impact of labour migrancy on kinship structures and marital relations, the significance of the use of charms, symbols and certain ritual performances, as well as the formation of various forms of social conscious-

ness and identity. But the approach in my study is informed by a materialist conception of culture. I do not privilege witches, zombies and ghosts. Culture is best understood when located within material and social structures, and especially historical processes. Rather than seeing the rural background of African migrants as fixed and static as Moodie tends to do, I emphasise the flexibility and sophistication of these men. Their rural heritage was not only made up of aspects of their pre-industrial society, but was also marked by decades of colonial, mercantile and missionary encounters. There was no one-way, linear relation between their rural and urban 'worlds'. Not only were Basotho migrants aware of the dynamics of the 'whiteman's world' and its difference to their own, but they also developed a whole variety of complex, creative ways of dealing with their experiences.

Additionally, I employ the notion of 'life strategy' to 'read' the consciousness of Basotho miners, a notion put to effective use by Guy and Thabane, and Belinda Bozzoli.²⁷ This notion, as opposed to culturalists' obsession with 'webs of meanings' and exoticism, allows one to see Africans as 'real' agents intervening actively in their lives in an effort to get access to basic necessities such as jobs, food, shelter, clothing, education, and health facilities; and to confront misfortunes such as sickness, death and destitution. At the same time, 'life strategy' is inadequate as an analytical tool if it presupposes that all aspects of human action are a product of a conscious strategy. The simple truth is that human beings need not have an explanation for everything they do.

The conceptual context of this book, organised thematically as it is, follows the itinerary of a Mosotho migrant from 'home' (Part I), to 'work' (Part II), and back to 'home' (Part III). I examine the dynamics of colonial Lesotho's dependency on the export of its men to South African mines; and the experiences and life strategies of these Basotho migrants. Chapter One examines the processes leading to the concentration of Basotho on the Rand gold mines as opposed to other possible employment frontiers. The weakening of the bargaining power of Basotho migrants and their dependency on the gold mines are traced to the worsening economic situation in Lesotho in the course of the 1920s–1930s. Chapter Two discusses the implications of dependency on migrants' earnings by focusing on struggles within the Basotho homesteads and between chiefs and the colonial state on the one hand, and migrants on the other. Chapter Three puts migrants at the centre of the narrative, showing how these Basotho men travelled to the labour centres and the cultural responses they developed in the process. Part II (Chapters Four to Six), informed by the fact that by the late 1920s most Basotho men spent a significant part of their lives on the mines, focuses on the mine compounds. The dynamics of leisure activities and religion in the compounds are dis-

cussed in Chapters Four and Five. Chapter Six examines the various ways that Basotho migrants handled death and grief in the mine compounds. Part III (Chapter Seven) returns the book's focus to Lesotho, showing how the combination of economic collapse and dependency on labour migrancy pushed a number of Basotho women to opt for commercial beer-brewing and prostitution; and how the latter phenomena became an essential part of migrants' lives. All in all, this book is an attempt to go beyond both the political economy school and cultural studies, by focusing on labour migrancy as a human experience but without disappearing into the labyrinth of discourse analysis.

The period covered in this study, c. 1890–1940, was chosen because, firstly, my contribution builds on the works of Kimble and Eldredge whose study of the preceding decades provides insight into Basotho's migrancy to South Africa. Secondly, it was during this period, especially the 1920s–1930s, that Lesotho degenerated from being a granary of South Africa to becoming a labour reserve. And finally, the Second World War and the opening of the Orange Free State gold mines from the 1950s, impacted on the pattern of Basotho's migrancy to South Africa and their distribution on the mines, and therefore made the post-1940 years more complex. The period from the 1950s is significantly different from the preceding five decades which are examined in this book.

Context

The chapters that constitute this study require some understanding of the political, social and economic context within which the system of labour migrancy operated in Lesotho. This context is necessary in order for one to account for the pattern that labour migrancy took in Lesotho. For that matter, as Belinda Bozzoli and Cheryll Walker argue,²⁸ it cannot be taken for granted that it was men – and not women – who migrated. On the contrary, it was the subordination of women in Basotho pre-colonial society that made male migrancy possible. Nor can the 'underdevelopment' of Lesotho be explained only by reference to external factors as the dependency and world-system schools have tended to do. There is a need for a dialectical approach that has as a starting point the internal dynamics of Lesotho to show how its people contested and negotiated the terms of their integration into the world capitalist system. This approach helps us to see how stratification within Basotho society shaped capitalism's uneven impact.

Pre-colonial Lesotho as a political and an economic unit was a product of the socio-political upheavals in the Transorangia in the 1820s which led to the disruption of normal life and the migration of populations.²⁹ In the course of this, Moshoeshe of the Mokoteli lineage – from his mountain fortress at Thaba Bosiu near modern Maseru – attracted people around himself and

subjugated his neighbours, thus laying the basis for the emergence of a Basotho nation-state. The geographical unit which was to become British Basutoland in 1868 was, for its part, a product of the 1850s–1860s struggles over land in the Transorangia between the Basotho people and trekboers from the Cape Colony. In the process, the borders of Lesotho were defined and finally fixed in the 1860s, with the Basotho losing 70 percent of their arable land to the Orange Free State Boers. British Basutoland, however, was handed over to the Cape colonial government in 1871, but was later taken back by the Imperial government in 1884 after the failure of the Cape's direct rule policies which had sparked the Gun War (1880–81). Basutoland was then divided into seven districts ultimately controlled by a Resident Commissioner (himself answerable to the High Commissioner based in Cape Town). Central to this British system of government was the use made of the structures of chieftaincy. This involved dissolving, conserving and reconstructing certain elements of key Basotho institutions. But Basutoland was run as an appendage of South Africa, with little attention paid to the development of the colony. It was indeed under British rule that Lesotho lost its position as the granary of South Africa and became a labour reserve.

The turning of Lesotho into a 'native reserve' was, however, not the initial objective of colonial rule, but the result of the failure of the Cape government's attempts to implement its direct rule policies which included disarming Basotho and opening Quthing (in the south) to white settlement. As already indicated, these attempts sparked the Gun War which forced the British government to take direct responsibility for the running of the colony. Had Basotho given in to the Cape government, white settlement and the implementation of the provisions of the 1894 Glen Grey Act would have been among future possibilities. This would have resulted, among others, in land dispossession, the introduction of the individual land tenure system, and the undermining of the position of the chiefs.³⁰

Indeed, the first British Resident Commissioner, Colonel Marshall Clark, and his successor, Godfrey Lagden, did not tamper with the Basotho communal land tenure system nor consider white settlement. This policy was supported by Alfred Milner who became High Commissioner in 1897.³¹ Basotho strength and capacity to resist colonial rule was also reflected in the failure of attempts to open Lesotho to mineral prospectors. Clark and Lagden turned down a number of applications for the prospecting of minerals, as they avoided implementing any measure which could be seen as an encroachment on Basotho's land and sovereignty.³²

The Basotho also maintained the powers of their chiefs more successfully than their counterparts in South Africa. Unlike South Africa where the chiefs' power was dismantled and reconstructed with the use of magistrates – be it in

the form of Natal's Shepstonian or the Transkeian Glen Grey systems³³ – after their defeat of the Cape government in the Gun War, Basotho chiefs, as already pointed out, were incorporated into the British indirect rule system. Even by comparison with other High Commission Territories, Basotho chiefs fared better. Chiefs in the Bechuanaland Protectorate were weakened by their numbers and the British recognition of more than one paramount chief. In Swaziland, dynastic squabbles, and the presence of white settlers and concessionaries, seriously undermined the monarchy.³⁴ But, paradoxically, Basotho chiefs' retention of most of their powers was their weakest point as the British modeled chieftainship according to the imperatives of colonial rule. All in all, the success of Basotho in keeping their arms, preventing white settlement and mineral prospecting, ironically helped lay the basis for their country to be turned into a South African labour reserve.

As schemes for white settlement and mineral prospecting were not implemented, and Basutoland increasingly came to be seen as a 'native reserve', it became the objective of the colonial government to transform the country into a labour-exporting economy. In 1898 Lagden made it clear when addressing the Basutoland Chamber of Commerce of white traders that 'the government policy was to induce labour by all reasonable means'.³⁵ It was his belief that more Basotho should rely on wage labour as this was important for the business of white traders:

The land should produce as much as possible, but if it were overstocked with cultivation [*sic*] the remedy was to teach the surplus population to be less dependent upon it (*applause*). Last year over 30,000 men received passes for labour only. If each returned safely with a few months' wages, the benefit to commerce must be considerable (*cheers*).³⁶

Lagden's commitment to this position can be seen from the hut tax increase (from 10s to £1) he announced at the November 1898 *pitso* (the Basotho popular assembly), even though the country was going through a severe drought and the people were recovering from the effects of a civil war between Chief Masupha (the principal chief in Berea) and his nephew, Paramount Chief Lerotholi. In fact, when the latter approached Lagden at the peak of the November 1898 drought about the fate of men who were unable to leave as migrant workers because of their age, health and disabilities, the Resident Commissioner, according to the *Friend of the Free State* and *Bloemfontein Gazette*, 'expressed himself as opposed to afford help to men who are able to work, and has announced that should it become necessary to assist such persons, he can only recommend that grain in small quantity be issued to them as wages for labour rendered on some kind of relief works'.³⁷

But colonial policy on its own was not sufficient to turn Lesotho into a labour reserve. Other conditions and factors were necessary. In fact, the period leading to the end of the last century was characterised by economic prosperity for the majority of Basotho. Grain exports from Lesotho had been reaching the markets of the Cape Colony as early as the 1840s, and by the 1860s Orange Free State farmers were said to be dependent on Basotho wheat and maize as their economy was based on hunting and pastoralism. The discovery of diamonds near Kimberley in the late 1860s expanded the Basotho grain export market. Grain exports increased from some 72,000 bags in 1871 to 100,000 in 1873, as wagons full of grain left Lesotho for the Free State and Kimberley. The dramatic increase in the number of ploughs and wagons between 1875 and 1904 in Lesotho shows the extent of this booming grain trade, as what were formerly small gardens were transformed into big fields. In this way, a section of Basotho society was able to resist proletarianisation as it paid the imposed 10s tax from the proceeds of the grain exports, rather than having to turn to labour migration.³⁸

Naturally, Boer farmers, some of whom had turned to cultivation after the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, saw Basotho peasants as a threat. Consequently, the South African Republic imposed a tariff on Basotho grain imported into the Transvaal, preventing these peasants from reaping the fruits of the growing gold-mining industry. The arrival of the Cape railway line in Johannesburg in 1893, for its part, flooded the Witwatersrand market with Australian and American wheat and maize. It was reported in the 1893–94 Basutoland annual colonial report that trade had stagnated during the year due to both the Transvaal tariff and the railway line. In 1894 the Orange Free State also imposed an import duty on Basotho wheat.³⁹

These efforts aimed at undermining the competitive position of Basotho peasants did not produce immediate results. First of all, the Free State farmers took time to turn to cultivation, and as late as the early 1890s many of them continued to rely on Basotho produce. Kimberley was still 'largely supplied from Basutoland' into the 1890s, as traders in Lesotho exported grain to that place and the Transvaal at high prices. There were also many Basotho who regularly crossed the border to exchange their grain for manufactured goods at the Free State borderline stores. Though the Free State grain could enter the Transvaal duty-free under the 1889 Potchetstroom Convention – with about 60 percent of the grain sold in the Transvaal in the 1890s coming from the Free State – much of this produce in fact came from Lesotho. Wagons were also moving from the Transvaal to purchase Basotho grain. It was in this context that the Free State farmers opposed the 1893–94 proposal to construct a railway-line extension to the eastern part of the republic as this would benefit Basotho peasants. Many Free State farmers also petitioned their

government during this period against the selling of Basotho produce as Free State grain in the Transvaal.⁴⁰

However, besides manoeuvres by the Free State and Transvaal Boers, other factors also contributed to undermining the Basotho economy and turning Lesotho into a labour reserve. Firstly, natural disasters played a role in undermining the Basotho self-sufficiency, especially from the 1890s.⁴¹ More critical in this regard was the rinderpest epidemic which attacked the country between November 1896 and August 1897, killing 80 percent of Basotho cattle stock. The impact of these natural disasters was exacerbated by the outbreak of a four-week civil war in January 1898 between Masupha and the Paramount Chief Lerotholi. And as if rinderpest and civil war were not enough, the population was then ravaged by smallpox, typhoid fever and dysentery.⁴²

The impact of diseases, war and drought, indeed put colonial Lesotho in its worst crisis since the civil war that had followed the Gun War. But many Basotho fought back, even releasing more men to seek formal employment in order to restock and rebuild the economy. This Basotho resistance to pressure on their economy was also facilitated by the British demand for their horses and labour during the South African War (1899–1920), and the good harvest of 1900–02.⁴³ Thanks to these efforts and factors, one trader based in Maseru could testify to the South African Native Affairs Commission in 1903 that ‘the principal source [of income for Basotho] is agriculture, but other sources are cattle-raising, horse-breeding, wool and mohair. They have a good many strings to their bow. They are not bound to one source.’⁴⁴ This suggests that by the turn of the century most Basotho still relied on the produce of their land for subsistence and tax payment. It is this factor that made the recruitment of Basotho for mine work and their subordination to the exigencies of migrant labour such a protracted struggle (see Chapter One).

Nonetheless, pressure on the Basotho economy intensified. A severe drought attacked the country again in 1903 and, for the first time, large quantities of food had to be imported. For the majority of Basotho, the response was to release more of their men again; hence the number of migrant workers leaving the country exceeded that of the 1898 crisis. This drought continued until 1906, but another one attacked the country in 1912–13, killing stock, and large quantities of grain had to be imported again. These years were followed by a period of gradual recovery which culminated in 1928, for many Basotho a year of prosperity.⁴⁵

The 1929 economic depression followed by a severe drought in 1932–33, radically reversed the situation. The depression affected the price of Basotho exports; and drought led to quantities of grain being imported. So serious was this crisis that many Basotho were obliged to sell their cattle.⁴⁶ Following these years of hardship and disaster, Lesotho was unable to return to her

previous position as South Africa's granary. Labour migrancy ceased to be a strategy for survival during times of distress but became a necessity for the subsistence of homesteads (see Chapters One and Two).

By this period, it was an accepted practice among many Basotho that a man should go to the mines at least once in his lifetime, and boys were socialised accordingly. David Coplan has suggested on the basis of his anthropological research in Lesotho that *lebollo* (the initiation school), which was in decline in the 1930s, came to play the role of preparing young men for the mines.⁴⁷ Moreover, Ashton observed in the mid-1930s that 'curiosity, a spirit of adventure, and admiration for returned miners with their airy, glamorous stories and enviable successes with local girls, encouraged youngsters to go out to work, and a spell of work in the mines has almost come to be regarded as an essential part of education, as a sort of initiation to manhood'.⁴⁸

But much of the poorer Basotho migrants' earnings were commonly invested in cattle and *bobali* (bridewealth). As late as 1933, according to Pim, 'the Basuto prides himself on the numbers of his cattle. His constant endeavour is towards increase'.⁴⁹ Samples of *bobali* transactions collected by Colin Murray in the 1970s in Lesotho show that the use of cash in *bobali* began to feature prominently only in the late 1950s.⁵⁰ Even my informants who married in the 1930s indicated that they used their wage-earnings to purchase *bobali* cattle instead of paying their in-laws directly in cash.⁵¹ Therefore, unlike southern Mozambique,⁵² Basotho managed to maintain the value of their cattle and pastoralism at least until the outbreak of the Second World War, despite the monetisation of exchange in their society.⁵³

However, cadets' independent access to cattle affected the practice of arranged marriages. Gone were the days when fathers used to pay *bobali* for their sons.⁵⁴ Nor did parental control over migrants' earnings survive all these developments. One contemporary observer noted that 'until recent years, when a man returned home from the mines, his wages were handed over to his parents. Nowadays, he often contents himself by presenting them with one or two blankets'.⁵⁵ And, according to Ashton,

formerly bachelors and women... were regarded as minors and therefore were not entitled to own or administer any property other than a few personal effects... Popular opinion in this matter is changing and unmarried men and women are now often allowed by their parents to keep private earnings and even their wages from continuous employment as domestic servants, school-teachers or mine-workers.⁵⁶

But this practice had no legal sanction according to codified customary law, and some parents successfully gained access to the earnings of their sons through the courts. Consequently, more and more cadets preferred to remit

their money to friends who would buy cattle for them while they were away.⁵⁷ The struggles around the control of migrants' earnings are discussed in Chapter Three.

While dependency on labour migrancy was the result of the deteriorating position of the economy, the prolonged absence of men in turn further undermined the Basotho material base and patriarchal social structure.⁵⁸ The impact of Basotho men's extended absence on agricultural production and women (a subject of Chapter Seven) was captured in Azael Makara's 1936 poem ("I, the mother of the children feel the pain"). The poem is about the cry of distress of a Mosotho mother whose three sons and husband had abandoned her for work on the mines and for staying with prostitutes in Lesotho:

I have nobody to plough for me, I am suffering!
 Poor women who are left alone in Lesotho,
 They are crying, their cry is a touching one!
 There is no food, there are no children at home!
 Who is [moreover] to give a woman a child
 While her husband lives with prostitutes?
 I, the mother of the children feel the pain!

The poem then continued:

I go out to milk the cow,
 Every drop goes to the ground,
 There are no kids [to breast-feed], this milk is burning my breasts!
 Our chief Letlama is done
 He is left alone with few men,
 Old men of old tunes,
 People who sit on their knees;
 Tsoalla, Schlahlo and Maele, where have they gone to?
 They live underground in the shafts,
 The Boer is stamping and kicking!
 I, the mother of the children feel the pain!⁵⁹

Indeed, many Basotho women and especially wives of absent migrants, as Chapter Seven shows, turned to commercial beer-brewing and prostitution to close the gap in the income for their homesteads.

A Note on Sources

Most historians are acutely aware of the limitations of their source material, but in the case of this book, a number of critical comments about its sources are particularly necessary. Firstly and most importantly, the extremely poor

state of the government archives housed at the National University of Lesotho in Roma is a matter of grave concern, not least because they lack a trained archivist. Most of the files for the 1920s and subsequent years are missing, except for those of Leribe which were found by chance in the 1970s by David Ambrose. Researchers have to work in these archives without any professional assistance whatsoever. Furthermore, large parts of the archives are not well referenced, and some files mentioned in the catalogue are missing on the shelves. Where files do exist, their contents are often damaged and already incomplete. On some documents dates are missing, while on others, reference tags have been removed. It is for these reasons that in the bibliography I have file names without their codes, and some references which are unavoidably incomplete. I should mention, however, that the relationship that I managed to develop with caretakers of these archives gave me an opportunity to explore the shelves and find documents which probably no researcher ever used before.

The Proceedings of the Basutoland National Council (BNC) of chiefs, or *Litaba tsa Lekhotla la Sechaba*, are also a valuable source. The report for the 1903 BNC, that is, the very first one, is in the archives; and one or two gaps aside, the series is complete. All of them were published in Sesotho, with some sections in English. Up to 1927, however, the reports are extremely time-consuming to read because they neither have a table of contents nor an index. Nonetheless, they repay careful study. People would approach their chiefs with the issues they wanted raised at the BNC, and these were sent to the Resident Commissioner before the sitting of the Council. These grievances are preserved, as are the debates among the chiefs, all of which provide insight and some sense of how issues were taking shape in villages. They also reveal areas of contestation between chiefs and commoners on the one hand, and the former and the colonial government on the other.

Missionary sources, preserved in journals and archives (generally in French), have proved to be extremely useful for migrant labour studies. Chapter Five of this book, on religion and conversion in the compounds, is based on such material, especially on the microfilmed records of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society.

Letters, advertisements, reports, and articles in Sesotho newspapers, as well as Sesotho novels and songs, were very useful; not to mention the fact that these sources have hitherto been little exploited. The newspaper *Leselinyana la Lesotho* ('Little Light of Lesotho') was established in 1863, from its inception being owned by the French missionaries.⁶⁰ The letters' section is full of reports by miners about various events and themes in the compounds and elsewhere. *Naledi ea Lesotho* ('The Star of Lesotho') and *Mochochonono* ('The Comet') which were owned by middle-class Basotho, balance the views ex-

pressed in *Leselinyana* which tended to be used as an evangelising tool by the missionaries. Unfortunately, though, unlike *Leselinyana* which was bound and kept in the Morija Archives, most issues of *Naledi* and *Mochochonono* are missing, and I was unable to locate complete sets. The Chamber of Mines newspaper *Umteteli wa Bantu* ('The Voice of the People') established in 1922, also published a number of letters from Basotho workers. It should be kept in mind, of course, that all of these newspapers tended to reflect the view-point of literate, male Basotho; though in some instances miners commissioned their literate mates to write letters on issues that affected them in order to reach the attention of the colonial authorities and chiefs. These newspapers, notwithstanding the problem with the authenticity of their 'voice', go a long way towards providing one with a resource to circumvent the difficulty of finding adequate oral sources.

Indeed, oral sources have been put to great use by Jeff Guy and Motlatsi Thabane. I also conducted interviews in Basotho villages, meeting old miners. An insurmountable obstacle, however, is the fact that most men who are still alive only began their migrant careers in the 1930s, by which time the system had been standardised and the majority of Basotho men were going to the mines now out of necessity rather than discretion. Most old Basotho men are also notoriously suspicious, always concerned about their nationalist 'image', and tend to be protective especially about their chiefs. Others, who had suffered from mine accidents and had never been compensated, saw an interviewer's presence as an opportunity to make their case for claiming money owed to them. All too often, they tend to glorify mine work, pretending that they had no problems prior to the accident in question. I also met men who had fought in the Second World War and were never compensated. On more than one occasion, I found a group of veterans, often with the wives of deceased ex-soldiers, waiting for me, thinking that I was there to investigate their cases. And finally, I must emphasise, especially with Chapter Seven in mind, that I was unable to find female informants for the period covered by this book. This was probably because almost all of the women who were the subjects of this study left Lesotho to settle permanently in South African towns.

I should admit that each category of sources outlined above has its own weaknesses. Official sources tend to suppress the 'rebel'; written sources can silence the illiterate; and oral sources can be self-praising accounts. The task is to balance these sources, and exploit their different advantages accordingly. This is what the following study strives to do. But at all stages, the prime aim will be to look at labour migrancy from 'below'.

Endnotes

1. For example, J.E. Bardill, and J.H. Cobbe, *Lesotho: Dilemmas of Dependence in Southern Africa* (Westview Press, London, 1985); J. Gay, 'Wage Employment of Rural Basotho Women: A Case Study', *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol.6, no.4, 1980, pp. 40–53; E. Gordon, 'An Analysis of the Impact of Labor Migration on the Lives of Women in Lesotho', *Journal of Development Studies*, vol. 17, no.3, 1981; R. Leys, 'Lesotho: Non-Development or Underdevelopment: Towards an Analysis of the Political Economy of the Labour Reserve', in T. Shaw, and K. Heard (eds.), *The Politics of Africa: Dependence and Development* (Halifax, N.S., African Studies Series, 1978); C. Murray, *Families Divided: The Impact of Migrant Labour in Lesotho* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1981); A.D. Spiegel, 'Rural Differentiation and the Diffusion of Migrant Labour Remittances in Lesotho', in P. Mayer (ed.), *Black Villagers in an Industrial Society* (Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1980).
2. A. Pim, 'Financial and Economic Position of Basutoland: Report of the Commission Appointed by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs', January 1935, cmd.4907.
3. H. Ashton, *The Basuto* (Oxford University Press, London, 1952), pp. 162–65.
4. On missionaries' perception of labour migrancy in Lesotho, see, for example, R.C. Germont (ed.), *Chronicles of Basutoland: A Running Commentary on the Events of the Years 1830–1902 by the French Protestant Missionaries in Southern Africa* (Sesuto Book Depot, Morija, 1967), p.541; V. Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland, 1833–1933* (Sesuto Book Depot, Morija, 1938), pp.352–57.
5. See Murray, *Families Divided*.
6. J. Kimble, 'Towards an Understanding of the Political Economy of Lesotho: The Origins of Commodity Production and Migrant Labour, 1830–1885' (M.A, National University of Lesotho, 1978); idem, 'Labour Migration in Basutoland, c. 1870–1885', in S. Marks, and R.Rathbone (eds.), *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa* (Longman, London, 1982); idem, "'Clinging to the Chiefs": Some Contradictions of Colonial Rule in Basutoland, c. 1890–1930', in H. Bernstein, and B.K. Campbell (eds.), *Contradictions of Accumulation in Africa: Studies in Economy and State* (Sage Publications, London, 1985). See also her unpublished 'Aspects of the Economic History of Lesotho, 1830–85', History Workshop Paper, National University of Lesotho, July 1976; and 'Migrant Labour and Colonial Rule in Southern Africa: the case of colonial Lesotho, 1890–1930' (Ph.D, University of Essex, 1985).
7. E. Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom: The Pursuit of Security in Nineteenth-Century Lesotho* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993). For a detailed critique of this book, see my 'Lifaquane Fallout', *Southern African Review of Books*, January/February, 1995.
8. See especially, P. Sanders, *Moshoeshoe: Chief of the Sotho* (David Philip, Cape Town, 1975); L. Thompson, *Survival in Two Worlds: Moshoeshoe of Lesotho, 1786–1870*. (Ox-

- ford University Press, London, 1975); J.D. Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Bantu Africa* (Longman, Essex, 1966); W.F. Lye, and C. Murray, *Transformations on the Highveld: The Tswana and the Southern Sotho* (David Philip, Cape Town, 1980). Several influential Basotho historians are still working from this personality-cult perspective; see, for example, L.B.B.J. Machobane, *Government and Change in Lesotho: 1800–1966: A Study of Political Institutions* (Macmillan, London, 1990); and M. Damane, *Historia Lesotho* (Sesuto Book Depot, Morija, 1986).
9. P. Bonner, 'The Russians on the Reef, 1947–1957: Urbanisation, Gang Warfare and Ethnic Mobilisation', in Bonner et al (ed.), *Apartheid's Genesis. 1935–1962*; idem, 'Desirable or Undesirable Basotho Women?: Liquor, Prostitution and the Migration of Basotho Women to the Rand, 1920–1945', in C. Walker (ed.), *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945* (David Philip, Cape Town, 1990); idem, 'Macks to the Fence: Law, Liquor, and the Search for Social Control in an East Rand Town, 1929–1942', in J. Crush, and C. Ambler (eds.), *Liquor and Labor in Southern Africa* (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1992).
 10. J. Guy, and M. Thabane, 'Technology, Ethnicity and Ideology: Basotho Miners and Shaft-Sinking on the South African Gold Mines', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 14, no.2, 1988, pp. 257–278; idem, 'Basotho Miners, Oral History and Workers' Strategies', in P. Kaarsholm (ed.), *Cultural Struggle and Development in Southern Africa* (Baobab Books, Harare, 1991).
 11. D.B. Coplan, *In the Time of Cannibals: The Word Music of South Africa's Basotho Migrants* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1994), p.xvi.
 12. The best examples are in labour history; see, for example C. van Onselen, *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900–1933* (Pluto Press, London, 1976); C.W. Gutkind and R. Cohen, et al (eds.), *African Labor History* (Sage Publications, London, 1978); R. Sandbrook and R. Cohen (eds.), *The Development of an African Working Class: Studies in Class Formation and Action* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1975). An African school of thought which was associated with the political economy approach was based at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; see H. Slater, 'Dar es Salaam and the Postcolonialist Historiography of Africa', in B. Jewsiewicki and D. Newbury (eds.), *African Historiographies: What History for Which Africa?* (Sage Publications, London, 1986). This political economy tradition still has its adherents. One of its most recent example is V.L. Allen's *The History of Black Mineworkers in South Africa, Volume 1. The Techniques of Resistance, 1871–1948* (The Moor Press, Keighly, 1993), a book which has many of the weaknesses and few of the strengths of the studies which preceded it.
 13. For an historiographical review, see contributions in Part III, 'Africa from the Outside: From Imperial Historiography, to Africanist Historiography, and Beyond', in Jewsiewicki and Newbury (eds.), *African Historiographies*; and S. Feierman, 'African Histories and the Dissolution of World History', in R.H. Bates, et al. (eds.), *Africa and the Disciplines: The Contributions of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and*

- Humanities* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1993). The South African University of the Witwatersrand History Workshop, since its inception in 1979, has made tremendous contribution to social history, and not least the leadership role it played on the continent in as far as the 'history from below' movement is concerned. To date, five History Workshop collections have been published. See, B. Bozzoli (ed.), *Labour, Township and Protest Studies in the Social History of the Witwatersrand* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1979); idem (ed.), *Town and Countryside in the Transvaal* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1983); idem (ed.), *Class, Community and Conflict: South African Perspectives* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987); P. Bonner, et al. (eds.), *Holding Their Ground: Class, Locality and Culture in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century South Africa* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1989); P. Bonner et al (eds.), *Apartheid's Genesis, 1935–1962* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1993).
14. The influence of J.C. Scott's *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1985), was also a factor.
 15. O. Zunz, 'Introduction', in idem (ed.), *Reliving the Past: The Worlds of Social History* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1985).
 16. B. Jewsiewicki, 'African Studies in the 1980s: Epistemology and New Approaches', in T. Falola (ed.) *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi* (Longman, London, 1993), p. 222. See also R.A. Austen's, 'Africanist' historiography and Its Critics: Can there be an autonomous African history?' in the latter collection; Feierman, 'African Histories'; and D.W. Cohen, 'Doing Social History from Pim's Doorway', in Zunz (ed.), *Reliving the Past*.
 17. For example, in his 'Domaines de la nuit et autorité onirique dans les maquis du Sud-Cameroun, 1955–1958', *Journal of African History*, vol.32, no.1, 1991, Achille Mbembe shows how the subalterns in a region of Cameroon used the 'invisible' forces, or, as he put it, the 'economy of the night', to engage and contest the hegemony of the 'economy of the day', that is, colonial institutions and practices. Other historians have explored African consciousness, myths, ritual practices, as well as notions of time and space, to construct historical experiences and contestations over power. See, for example, S. Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1990); D.W. Cohen and E.S. Atieno-Odhiambo, *Burying SM: The Politics of Knowledge and Sociology of Power in Africa* (Heinemann, Portsmouth, 1991); the special issue, 'Memoires, Histoires, Identités', *Cahiers d'etudes Africaines*, vol.27, no. 107/107, 1987, and vol.28, no. 109, 1988; I. Wilks, 'On Mentally Mapping Greater Asante: A Study of Time and Motion', *Journal of African History*, vol.33, no.2, 1992; S. Ellis, "Rumour and Power in Togo" *Africa*, vol.63, no.4, 1993; I.A. Niehaus, 'Witch-Hunting and Political Legitimacy: Continuity and Change in Green Valley, Lebowa, 1930-91' *Africa*, vol.63, no.4, 1993; C.C. Crais, 'Representation and the Politics of Ideology in South Africa: An Eastern Cape Example', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol.25, no. 1, 1992; and T.C. McCaskie, 'Death and the Asantehene: A Historical Mediation', *Journal of African History*, vol.30, no.3, 1989. How identities

- are socially constructed is also producing a wealth of literature, especially in the study of gender and ethnicity; see, for example, J. Willis, 'The Makings of a Tribe: Bonded Identities and Histories', *Journal of African History*, vol.33, no.2, 1992; L. White, 'Separating the Men from the Boys: Constructions of Gender, Sexuality, and Terrorism in Central Kenya, 1939–1959', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol.23, no. 1, 1990; and L. Vail (ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (James Currey, London, 1989).
18. The historiography of Lesotho has evolved together with that of South Africa.
 19. C. Bundy, 'Towards a Comparison of American and South African Historiography', *Radical History Review*, vol.46/7, p. 136.
 20. B.D. Palmer, *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History* (Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1990).
 21. T.D. Moodie (with V. Ndatshe), *Going for Gold: Men, Mines and Migration* (University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1994); P. Harries, *Work, Culture, and Identity: Migrant Laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, c. 1860–1910* (James Currey, London, 1994).
 22. Moodie, *Going for Gold*, p.2.
 23. See also Harries' 'Histories New and Old', *South African Historical Journal*, vol.30, 1994.
 24. A.H. Jeeves, *Migrant Labour in South Africa's Mining Economy: The Struggle for the Gold Mines' Labour Supply, 1890–1920* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1985); J. Crush, et al., *South Africa's Labour Empire: A History of Black Migrancy to the Gold Mines* (David Philip, Cape Town, 1991).
 25. For a discussion of cultural history, see L. Hunt (ed), *The New Cultural History* (University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1989); R. Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations* (Polity Press, Oxford, 1988). For a critique of the implications of discourse theory for historical studies and anthropology, see, for example, Palmer, *Descent into Discourse*; G.M. Spiegel, 'History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages', *Speculum*, vol.65, 1990; and F.E. Macia-Lees, et al., 'The Postmodernist Turn in Anthropology: Cautions from a Feminist Perspective', *Signs*, vol. 15, no. 1, 1989. For a critical discussion of postmodernism as a social theory, see R. Boynes, and A. Rattansi (eds.), *Postmodernism and Society* (Macmillan, London, 1990); and *Theory, Culture and Society*, vol.5, 1988, which was dedicated to the discussion of this subject.
 26. See, for example, E.P. Thompson, 'History and Anthropology', in his *Making History: Writings on History and Culture* (The New Press, New York, 1994); R. Rosaldo, 'Celebrating Thompson's Heroes: Social Analysis in History and Anthropology', in H.J. Kaye, and K. McClelland (eds.), *E.P. Thompson: Critical Perspectives* (Polity Press, Cambridge, 1990); and K. Thomas, 'History and Anthropology'. *Past and Present*, no.24, 1963. See also the special the issue of *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 12, no.2, 1981.

27. B. Bozzoli (with M. Nkotshe), *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy, and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900–1983* (Heinemann, Portsmouth, 1991).
28. B. Bozzoli, 'Marxism, Feminism and South African Studies', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol.9, no.2, 1983; C. Walker, 'Gender and the Development of the Migrant Labour System, c. 1850–1930', in idem (ed.), *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945* (David Philip, Cape Town, 1990).
29. There has been much debate around the cause and nature of these upheavals – the so-called Mfecane period. See especially, J. Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo', *Journal of African History*, vol.29, no.3, 1988; and E. Eldredge, 'Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, ca. 1800–30: The 'Mfecane' Reconsidered', *Journal of African History*, vol.33, no.3, 1992.
30. On the Glen Grey Act in the Transkei, see C. Bundy, 'Mr Rhodes and the Poisoned Goods: Popular Opposition to the Glen Grey Council System, 1894–1900', in W. Beinart, and Bundy, *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa: Politics and Popular Movements in the Transkei and Eastern Cape, 1890–1930* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987).
31. C. Headlam (ed.), *The Milner Papers: South Africa, 1897–1899* (Cassell, London, 1931), p. 178.
32. See *Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions*, no.31, 1887, p.5. For Lagden's position on mineral prospecting, see University of Witwatersrand Manuscripts (UWM), Lagden Papers, Loch to Lagden, 12 January 1895; Lagden to Loch, 3 February 1895.
33. J. Guy, 'The Destruction and Reconstruction of Zulu Society', in Marks and Rathbone (eds.), *Industrialisation and Social Change*; H. Slater, 'The Changing Pattern of Economic Relationships in Rural Natal, 1838–1914', in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds.), *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa* (Longman, London, 1980); P. Delius, 'Sebatakomo: Migrant Organization, the ANC and the Sekhukhuneland Revolt', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 15, no.4, 1989.
34. J. Parson, *Botswana: Liberal Democracy and the Labor Reserve in Southern Africa* (Westview Press, London, 1984); A.R. Booth, *Swaziland: Tradition and Change in a Southern African Kingdom* (Westview Press, London, 1983).
35. *Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette* (henceforth *Friend*), 25 November 1898.
36. *Ibid*, 25 November 1898.
37. *Ibid*, 9 December 1898.
38. Eldredge, *South African Kingdom*, pp. 147–53; J. Kimble, 'Labour Migration in Basutoland'; T. Keegan, 'Trade, Accumulation and Impoverishment: Mercantile Capital and the Economic Transformation of Lesotho and the Conquered Territory, 1870–1920', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 12, no.2, 1986.
39. Basutoland, *Colonial Report – Annual* (henceforth *CAR*), 1892–93; J. Walton, *Father of Kindness and Father of Horses: A History of Frasers Limited* (Moriya Printing Works, Wepener, 1958), p. 31; Eldredge *South African Kingdom*, pp. 147–81.

40. Great Britain, *Her Majesty's Colonial Possession, no.3 1, Basutoland: Report of the Resident Commissioner for 1887*, c.5249,28; *CAR*, 1888–89; T. Keegan, *Rural Transformations in Industrializing South Africa: The Southern Highveld to 1914* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1986), p.17; Eldredge, *South African Kingdom* pp. 159–76.
41. Eldredge, *South African Kingdom*, pp.80–81.
42. *Ibid.*; *Friend*, 16 October 1896; 6 August 1897; 16 November 1897; 3 December 1897; 21 January 1898; Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, pp.472–73.
43. Eldredge, *South African Kingdom*, p.81.
44. *South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903–05: Minutes of Evidence*, vol.4, p.399. In fact, as late as 1910, one missionary described Lesotho in the following terms: 'Lesotho is perhaps an African country which in relation to its size, occupies the first place from the point of view of agriculture; this country not only feeds its population, but [also] exports each year to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State between 150,000 and 200,000 bags of grain'. See A. Bertrand, *En Afrique avec le missionnaire Coillard a travers l'État libre d'Orange, le pays des baSouto, Boulouwayo* (C.H. Eggimann and Co., Geneva, 1913 [?]), p. 104.
45. Pim, *Financial and Economic Position*, pp. 190–92. Fluctuations and changes in the economy are covered in *CAR* for the years 1905–06 to 1934; and Ashton, *Basuto*, p. 173.
46. Pim, *Financial and Economic Position*, p. 190-92.
47. D.B. Coplan, 'Eloquent Knowledge: Lesotho Migrants' songs and the Anthropology of experience', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 14, no.3, 1987, p.415.
48. Ashton, *Basuto*, p. 164.
49. Pim, *Financial and Economic Position*, p. 146.
50. C. Murray, 'Marital Strategy in Lesotho: The Redistribution of Migrant Earnings', *African Studies*, vol.35, no.2, 1976, pp. 106–07.
51. See for example, interviews with Phomolo Matsabisa, born 1914; Pitso Sonki, born 1918; Thaba-Tseka Mokokolo, born 1920.
52. P. Harries, 'Kinship, Ideology and the Nature of Pre-Colonial Labour Migration: Labour Migration from Delagoa Bay Hinterland to South Africa, up to 1895', in Marks and Rathbone (eds.), *Industrialisation and Social Change*.
53. Ashton, *Basuto*, p. 172.
54. Pim, *Financial and Economic Position*, p.42.
55. R.U. Sayce, 'An Ethno-Geographical Essay on Basutoland', *Geographical Teacher*, vol. 12, 1924, p.287.
56. Ashton, *Basuto*, p. 178.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 2. See also, Pim, *Financial and Economic Position*, p.46.
59. A. Makara (Mazenod Book Centre, Lesotho, 1936), pp.102-07.
60. On the importance of this newspaper in the study of other aspects of Basotho history, see D.P. Kunene, 'Leselinyana La Lesotho and Sotho Historiography', *History in Africa*, vol.4, 1977.