A review of some literature on economic history in southern Africa and the eastern Cape to around 1800

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Fort Hare

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March 2015

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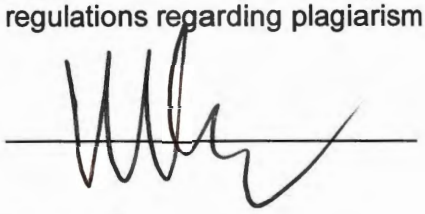
DECLARATION

Candidate

I hereby declare that this is my own work and that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university. All sources used in this study have been fully acknowledged by use of references. I also declare that I am fully aware of the University of Fort Hare's policy on plagiarism and have taken every precaution to comply with the regulations regarding plagiarism and in relation to research ethics.



Supervisor

I confirm that the dissertation of the following candidate has been submitted with my approval.

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Glossary

bijwoner – tenant farmer

boer – farmer originally from the Cape, of Dutch extraction or later identified as Afrikaans

drostdy – administrative building of district government

droster – fugitive, from Dutch drossen, to run away or to desert

freeburgher or burgher – person not employed by the VOC and free to own or rent land, practice certain trades and hold office

heemraad – member of the board of heemraden aiding the landdrost in the administration of a district

knecht – released company servant or more rarely a free black in the service of a freeburgher; on farms often an overseer of Khoikhoi and slave labour

landdrost – chief administrator and magistrate of a district

leningplaats, later leenplaats and leenplaas(?)

oorlam – on the Northern Frontier, a person usually of Khoikhoi descent, previously in Colonial service

opgaaf – enumeration of freeburghers, free blacks and their property for tax purposes

opstal – fixed improvements on a farm

pacht – trading rights in certain commodities; monopoly rented by VOC to pachters in return for pachtgeld (literally 'monopoly money')

plakkaat – proclamation with the force of law

prize negro – freed slave, often liberated from captured slaving ships after 1808

transport – deed of transfer

trekboer – semi-nomadic livestock farmer

veeboer – pastoral or livestock farmer

veldwachtmeester, later known as a veldkornet or field cornet – freeburgher militia officer in rural areas; also responsible for some civil administrative duties in the division to which he was appointed. According to George Thompson writing in 1823 a veld-cornet received no pay, except on the frontier, but was exempted from direct taxes (Forbes 1967: 27)

(mainly verbatim from Elphick and Giliomee: 1979: 391-2)

Words borrowed from non African languages

Assegai – Arabic term, *az-zagaya*. cf Nguni *mkhonto* (Dennison 2010: 42)

Imali, money, is probably also Arabic in origin (Crampton 2004: 19)

Time and Ages

The Late Stone Age (LSA) began between 40 000 and 20 000 years ago (Wadely 2007: 127).

Agriculture including domesticated animals appear to have spread rapidly from around 10 000 years ago.

The Early Iron Age (EIA) is taken to have begun in southern Africa with the movement of peoples with iron technology south of the Zambezi and later, around 200 AD, south of the Limpopo into South Africa of today and southern Mozambique.

The Late Iron Age (LIA) is conveniently taken to have begun around 1000 CE/AD/BP.

Some authors also refer to a Middle Iron Age in the period 900-1300 AD roughly the same period as the "Little Ice Age".

But be wary of these terms:

> "... both sets of terms [Late Stone Age and Early Iron Age] may be quite unsuitable formats for understanding prehistoric behaviour and may encourage us to compartmentalize what must have been integrated and complex interactions between people with different technologies." (Parkington & Martin Hall 1987: 1)

Holland accepted the Gregorian calendar in 1582
Britain retained the Julian calendar until 1752
Between those dates the British were 11 days behind the Dutch (Vigne 1993: 102).

Currency and exchange rates

Rixdollar: "Corrupted from the Dutch *ryks daalder*, a dollar of the *ryk* or empire." (Forbes 1968: 154)

> "Paper money [which was] first issued at the Cape [in] 1782 under Governor van Plettenberg. By 1783 metallic money had virtually disappeared, there was too little money in circulation and prices fell disastrously ... By the end of Dutch rule (1795) the paper rix-dollar note was both the main unit of account and the chief form of money in circulation at the Cape, being subdivided into 8 *schillings* or 48 *stuiwers*." (Forbes 1968: 155)

1 Rixdollar (Rds) = 3 florins (fl) = 3 guilders (Gledhill[2] 1980: 229)
= 8 skellings (sk.) = 48 stuiwers (st.) (Gledhill[2] 1980: 229)

1 pound (£) = 20 shillings (s.) = 240 pence (d.) (Gledhill[2] 1980: 229)

> "Guinea, *gin'i*, n. an obsolete English gold coin, first made of gold brought from *Guinea*, in Africa: its value finally 21 s. ..." (*Chambers Etymological English Dictionary*, 1971)

Measures

1 muid = 3 bushels = 24 gallons = 110 litres (Gledhill[2] 1980: 229)

1 muid of wheat = 200 lbs = 91 kg (Gledhill[2] 1980: 229)

"The muid varied according to the commodity weighed. One muid corn (American measure) was 175lb.; Cape farmers had to deliver some 10lb more per muid." (Katzen 1969: 206)

1 leaguer = 126.5 gallons = 575 litres (Gledhill[2] 1980: 229)

Abreviations

BP – Before Present (AD 1950 seems to be the "present" to which BP refers per Lewis 2002)
CHSA – The Cambridge History of Southern Africa Vol.1, 2012
DEIC/VOC – Dutch East India Company / Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie
EEIC – English East India Company
EIA – Early Iron Age
LIA – Late Iron Age
LMS – London Missionary Society
LSA – Late Stone Age
MSA – Middle Stone Age
OHSA – The Oxford History of South Africa Vol.1, 1969

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Summary

The 2 000 years in southern Africa until the end of the 18th century was a period of massive change, perhaps surpassed only by the development of capitalism in the 19th century.

The beginning of the period under discussion was characterised by a very low and scattered population using ancient techniques of hunting, foraging and gathering. Over the next 2 000 years there was a diffusion of new technologies, languages and human population into southern Africa from the north. This was a very complex and uneven process and included diffusion and population movements in all directions within southern Africa, probably including back northwards.

While hinted at by writers in the 1960s and 1970s, recent scholarship has shown convincingly that the internal dynamics within southern Africa and the development of the society as it existed at the end of the period under discussion owes far more to local interactions with so-called Late Stone Age people of southern Africa, the Khoikhoi and San, than is generally acknowledged.

From an early point in time during the 1st millennium under discussion, the region was integrated, albeit peripherally, into the trade network that spanned the Indian Ocean.

New technologies, domestic animals and crops combined with new trade commodities, and expanding trade networks, both internal and external to southern Africa, led to the emergence of specialisation, new classes and changes in the gender division of labour. While local physical environments remained crucial, these new developments allowed a variety of new and elaborated forms of local and regional political structures, including the dense and highly stratified societies which emerged around 1 000 BP in the Limpopo Valley and later on the highveld in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

In the 2nd millennium under discussion, the [illegible] known today emerged, although the exact details remain unclear. These societies mastered their local environments and prospered to the extent that by the 16th century there was a build up of both human and livestock population which the economic processes and structures could not sustain without increasing conflict over basic natural resources.

Key Words: Iron Age, archaeology, trade, state formation.

1 Introduction

> "Land, which is a necessity of human existence, which is the original source of all wealth, which is strictly limited in extent, which is fixed in geographical position – land, I say, differs from all other forms of property, and the immemorial customs of nearly every modern state have placed the tenure, transfer and obligations of land, in a wholly different category from other classes of property. Nothing is more amusing than to watch the efforts of [the land] monopolists to prove that other forms of property and increment are similar in all respects to land and the unearned increment on land." (Quoted in Claassens 1991: 12)

These words are extracted from a speech made in the Houses of Commons in Britain in 1909 by a Tory named Winston Churchill.

Much of the history of the Eastern Cape Province is written as political history. This is not surprising given the brutality of dispossession during the late 17th, the 18th and 19th centuries. This political history gives rise to claims for redress of past dispossession and violence. The political process since 1994, including the Constitutional provisions on fundamental rights, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the 1994 *Restitution of Land Rights Act*, does not provide for such redress despite calls during the negotiation process from 1990 to 1994 and subsequently to this day.

Meanwhile development policy-makers and practitioners in the Eastern Cape Province continue into the 21st century to be confronted and confounded by the dichotomy between the "developed" western half and "underdeveloped" eastern half of the Easter Cape Province. The west is characterised by higher incomes and generally better economic indicators. The east is dominated by the underdeveloped former bantustan areas of the Ciskei and Transkei, partly formerly reserved areas for the dominated and defeated after the frontier wars of dispossession of the 19th century especially.[1] Yet paradoxically the west is also generally characterised by lower rainfall and poorer soils compared to the east.

The *National Spatial Development Perspective*, published by the Presidency of the RSA in 2007, appears to recognise such disparities and recommends that in areas with little economic potential, government programmes should concentrate on the development of human capital so that beneficiaries can migrate to areas of economic potential and growth.

This is cold comfort for much of the Province. It is also a defeatist position in that it accepts the underdevelopment of the east as permanent and irreversible whereas it is in fact the result of clear historical processes and was neither accidental nor incidental.

This thesis initially intended to survey the literature on the early accumulation of capital including through unequal exchange, forceful dispossession of land and livestock, corruption, nepotism, war-profiteering, speculation, in the period from initial European colonisation until before the discovery of minerals from the later 1860s with the consequent and subsequent Union of South Africa in 1910. But it is clear from the literature that the historical continuities run far further back in time, meaningfully and not incidentally, to at least 2 000 years before the present, as well as over a much wider geographical area. This is a point made much more eloquently by Delius and Marks – the necessity for a long view of history to understand the present:

> "It also became increasingly apparent to scholars working on the economic transformation of 19th and 20th century southern Africa that a fuller grasp, for example, of migrant labour and market-oriented agricultural production could not be achieved without a much deeper

[1] From here on this discussion will for the sake of brevity refer just to the various "wars" without further description.

understanding of earlier patterns of production, trade and migration. This rethinking of economic and social history also received some impetus from debates around the 'new economic history of Africa', which suggested that the travails and opportunities of contemporary Africa could not be understood without appreciation of *la longue dure´e*." (Delius & Marks, 2012: 249)

Therefore this discussion has been cut back to a literature survey of the period up to about 1800, before the large and ongoing influx of first British and later other European immigrants under British colonial rule and the rapid expansion of settler colonisation, continued and accelerated dispossession and commercial penetration and the emergence of extractive agrarian and mining capitalism during the course of the 19th century.

This thesis thus surveys only the evidence of the Late Stone Age and Early and Late Iron Ages through to colonial settlement under Dutch rule but the latter only insofar as it impacted on indigenous structures and activities. It does not deal with the British takeovers in 1795 and 1806, and in the Eastern Cape the British settlers of 1820, the Kat River settlement of 1829, the Mfengu settlements of 1835 and 1846, and the German settlements of the late 1850s.[2] In their intended agricultural components and unintended consequences these later settlement programmes may provide some useful insights for current land reform but that is for another project.

This discussion attempts to avoid as far as possible the purely political and military aspects of the history of both southern Africa and the Eastern Cape, except insofar as these aspects impact directly on the economic history. If this discussion errs too much towards the broadly economic, then it just may provide some counterweight to the dominant political and military history.

It is hoped that a better understanding of the early history of uneven development may help understand how it may be possible to find a way or ways towards a (no doubt) long term programme of redress and equitable development.

While the Eastern Cape Province, or the eastern districts of the former Cape Colony in the later period of this study and those to the east not yet colonised, was spared the full extent of slavery either as a source of slaves or plantation economies sustained by slaves (although not slavery itself), at least since the British administration from the late 18th century, other processes developed which were no less effective in extracting potential and actual wealth and assets from the east and turning these into capital for the later development of commercial and agricultural capitalist enterprises in the west.

Trade played a key role in the development and parallel underdevelopment of the Eastern Cape. Archaeological evidence of significant internal continental trade in southern Africa goes back at least to the first Iron Age settlements. Metals were a critical element if not the cornerstone of this trade, especially for the southernmost settlements which did not have local supplies of metals, iron and copper in particular. But some exchanges or trade must have occurred much earlier as the debates about how the various breeds of domestic livestock first arrived seem to indicate.

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[2] This is not to mention the forced resettlement of Xhosa and Thembu during the course of the nineteenth century. This was the result of the wars of dispossession and so is not covered in this discussion. There was a further settlement programme in the 1860s which fell some way between the two types - that of the Griqua into what had been previously known as Nomansland and which became Griqualand East. In the final result the fate of the Griqua was not dissimilar from that of the Kat River settlement of 1829.

The start of ongoing, external, oceanic trade predated the European colonial period and probably developed along with the east African coastal trade from the time when dhows first made their calls south along the east African coast from the ports of the Arabian peninsula in the 8th century or earlier. Much of this oceanic trade seems to have been in ivory, metals (gold and silver) and slaves, probably in that order of scale.

This early trade does not appear to have been extensive to the point of being destructive to internal southern African communities. Like the later Portuguese colonisation, at least in its initial phases, much of this trade was based on exchanges at coastal enclaves. There is little evidence of highly stratified southeastern African societies until the last millennium so it is likely that slave exports were limited, at least until the Portuguese period.

Trade was limited by available technology. The hunting of elephants for ivory was dependent largely on entrapment of elephants in pits. Where the tsetse fly made pastoralism impossible, particularly bovine pastoralism, the absence of animal draft power may have encouraged the use of servile labour and slaves as draft. The later European colonial trade may have become much more extensive, more pervasive, and ultimately disastrous for African societies, accompanied or rather underpinned by a vastly superior technology associated with a rampant mercantile and later industrial capitalism.

> "... the fact which dominates the history of the frontier from 1702 onwards is the failure of successive white governments in their attempts to stop interaction between white colonists and black Africans. Trade between white and black Africans grew steadily; the number of blacks in white employment increased, and so did the number of missionaries at work across the frontier." (Wilson 1969: 241)

The expansion of colonial pastoralism went together with extensive dispossession. The availability of land was central to pastoral society, whether Khoikhoi, Xhosa, Boer or later British. The latter two were ultimately to find common ground on patrols, commandos and war. Dispossession of cattle, land and labour took place by violence and the threat of violence.

Trade, dispossession and the early development of a low wage economy reliant on migrant labour and servitude laid the contours of wealth and power which were not to be given up.

Above all else, what tipped the balance in favour of colonial power in the long term were two things: guns and horses. Neither guns nor horses existed in Southern Africa before the arrival of European powers in the region. They gave first the Dutch and later the British immense military advantage in destructive firepower to counter-balance the numerical superiority of the indigenous population. When combined with the mobility provided by horses in the predominantly open country of southern Africa, guns and horses usually trumped bows, arrows, assegais, hide shields and guerrilla warfare. This is an argument given credence by Jared Diamond in 1998 in his sweeping *Guns, Germs and Steel*.

2 Conceptual pointers

The ability to explain processes of historical change, especially before written records are available, is a great challenge and one with which archaeologists, anthropologists and historians have long grappled. The recent and still current financial crisis in the so-called developed world led in the 20th century by western Europe, North America and latterly Japan has suggested the need to revisit some older and less popular economic theories, in particular those that point to the inherent instability of capitalism and a tendency to cyclical crises in a world capitalist economic order.

This is not to suggest that theories alone can provide insight and understanding, but merely to suggest that some broad theoretical framework may assist in arriving at a better understanding of historical processes that have brought us to the Eastern Cape Province as it exists in the early 21st century.

The study of a mode of production is perhaps best exemplified by the three volumes of *Das Kapital* written by Karl Marx in the 19th *century to analyse* and explain capitalism and the horrors of industrialisation in Britain and western Europe. Other writers such as Charles Dickens described the horrors of the same system in another and more accessible way without necessarily prescribing a solution or an alternative.

Anthropologists in particular, later historians and sociologists, have tried with some difficulties to apply Marx's theoretical construction of a mode of production to pre-capitalist and pre-industrial societies. There is little consensus [illegible] categorisation of pre-capitalist modes of production, never mind the details of such modes, and some revisionist writing on South Africa has not helped. For the purpose of this discussion an outline of some key lines of enquiry and debates may be sufficient. What is more important than theoretical elegance is a realistic and plausible explanation and understanding of historical processes and causation.

A discussion of the nature attempted here must deal with material generated by varied disciplines and outlooks. Peter Delius and Shula Marks recently outlined some of the collaborations which have pushed forward our understanding of the past and also some of the gaps and difficulties, and in particular the relationship between historians and archaeologists.[3] A particular passage highlights some of the complications involving authors cited extensively below:

> "Perhaps an even more important barrier to intellectual cross fertilisation was the strong cultural-structural orientation in iron age archaeology which was ushered in by the American-trained Tom Huffman, who became Professor of Archaeology at Wits in 1977. Known as the New (or Processual) Archaeology, this approach was more concerned with enduring cultural patterns and the co-incidence of ceramic typologies, ethnic identities and migrations than with the rather messier dynamics of interaction, blurred cultural boundaries and significant processes of social, political and economic transformation that was – and is – the stuff of history. It also 'specifically rejected the notion that knowledge is constructed within cultural, political and economic contexts'. But while Huffman's work was highly influential, it was by no means entirely hegemonic, and Tim Maggs, Martin Hall, Paul Lane and Simon Hall among others continued to provide a significant counterpoint in a series of important publications on the Iron Age." (Delius & Marks, 2012: 249)

By the time of Dutch settlement at De Kaap there were substantial settlements and significant towns on the western highveld. William Burchell visited the Tswana town, Dikathong, in 1812 and estimated that it had a population of 5 000 people (Thompson 1990:

[3] 2012, "Rethinking South Africa's Past: Essays on History and Archaeology", *JSAS*

22). The ruins of this and other settlements were described by a number of early and literate travellers from Europe early in the 19th century. They included many stone cattle enclosures which still stand, which are evident on aerial photographs, and have been investigated and classified by archaeologists.

In the central highveld, Ntsuanatsatsi, between the Klip and Wilge Rivers, has been radiocarbon dated to the 14th century. This settlement comprised about 100 homesteads and may have been home to up to 1 500 people. Dwellings were probably built of reeds from a more luxuriant environment at the time.

Two centuries later highveld settlements had undergone a qualitative change. Homesteads were built of corbelled stone and settlements were much denser. There was also more variation in the size of individual homesteads, suggesting significant social stratification. Maggs enumerated 35 towns at Ntsuanatsatsi with similar differentiated homesteads within them. At Makgwareng on the upper Vals River a single homestead comprised six corbelled stone houses within a single outer enclosure. Matloang, just north of the Sand River and probably occupied in the late 18th century, may have been home to up to 1 000 people packed densely with their homesteads and cattle byres for a kilometre along a ridge (Martin Hall 1987: 50-3):

> "... places such as Ntsuanatsatsi, Makwareng and Matloang were towns rather than villages: large concentrations of settlement in which members of separate family units must have acknowledged some more general authority simply to make daily life feasible." (Martin Hall 1987: 64)

An understanding of the development of the pre-colonial state in southern Africa needs to account for the development of society from simple hunter-gather groups through the first settled agriculturalists to agro-pastoralists and complex stratified societies with towns and indeed cities. It also needs to account for the co-existence in the same time period, and in some cases in close physical proximity, of "simple" and "complex" societies. At the end of the 18th century, the southern Nguni were still a far looser set of political entities than some of the northern Nguni and some of the Sotho-Tswana.

Ceramics

For archaeology in southern Africa, critical manifestations of early human development and interactions are rock art, ceramic design and decoration and the associated spatial layout of settlements including what Huffman later described as the Central Cattle Pattern (CCP), based initially on the work of Hilda Kuper.

Ceramics, usually in the form of the remains of vessels, are often the main remnants of human activity and settlement which have survived the passage of centuries and millennia not quite intact but in recognisable form and without significant chemical change. Over the years there have been many attempts to classify the ceramic products of archaeological investigations. Different systems of classification have often led to different interpretations of the archaeological record. These details are less important for this discussion than what these remains may represent.

So for Martin Hall continuity in ceramic style indicates a binding together of disparate settlements across space in shared and mutual obligations and in time into the future such as through initiation and associated rituals and their symbols such as the Lydenburg heads (Martin Hall 1987b: 3-8):

"... in many contexts, the manufacture of pottery is a 'symbolic process' which is loaded with meaning beyond the functional act of creating a fired clay container. Similarly, the decoration of the pot is often not just a matter of applying design in the light of tradition.

"Archaeological evidence from first-millennium farming villages in southern Africa suggests an equivalent role for pottery in the past. The 'span' of similarly decorated ceramics (from 50 B.C. to A.D. 900 and from the Mozambique coast to western Transkei) is quite incompatible with any 'ethnic' or 'tribal' model of shared social system but it is consistent with a wide-ranging network of shared obligations ... By exchanging cereal products in vessels similarly decorated with potent symbols, householders would simultaneously signify and reaffirm their mutual connectedness. The conservativeness of the decorative codes ... reflects the high price of innovation. Faced with the daily uncertainty of agriculture in the southern African savannas it was vitally important that reciprocal obligations should be recognised unambiguously. ...

"Such a system of material culture signification would only persist, of course, for as long as it served a useful purpose. This would be until such time as households began to build larger herds of cattle, thus becoming less dependent on a wide network of reciprocal obligations. ... by A.D. 900 localised variants in ceramic decoration are apparent ... It is not surprising to find that such localised ceramic styles are accompanied by evidence for the greater importance of cattle." (Martin Hall 1987: 71-2)

With a shift to pastoralism as core economic activity, cattle replaced ceramics as signifiers of social relationships. Cattle are central to marriage, the gender division of labour, patron-client relations and chief-commoner relations in much of sub-Saharan Africa now and back into the past.

The spatial aspect of settlement patterns provides another signifier of social relationships:

"... the plan of a settlement is not simply a pragmatic or random arrangement of architectural features, but is rather a map of the relative status and interrelationships of members of the community.

"Huffman has taken Kuper's insight further, arguing that archaeological site plans can be 'read' for indications of social relations. Huffman has called the cognitive system identified by Kuper the 'Southern Bantu Cattle Pattern' and has suggested that the minimum features required from the archaeological record to indicate the same set of social relations in the past are a central livestock byre with burials beneath it and houses arranged around the periphery – features known from as early as the seventh century in the eastern Transvaal." (Martin Hall 1987: 72)

Almost 25 year later, John Parkington and Simon Hall were saying much the same as Martin Hall had said: ceramic styles are broadly representative of wider cultural practices:

"... Evers has shown, again by analyzing ethnographic material, that much of the style structure on pots occurs on a wide array of other decorated items, such as wall and mural art, beadwork and wood carving. Ceramic style, therefore, is not culturally trivial but part of a wider design field even though much of this is not preserved for archaeological recovery. ...[4]

"Huffman argues that ceramic styles represent a form of macroethnicity that is produced by people who speak the same language because language is the medium through which

[4] The reference is to a 1988 Ph.D. at the University of the Witwatersrand, *The Recognition of Groups in the Iron Age of Southern Africa.*

cognitive codes, symbols, and behavioural values are communicated." (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 73)

However Parkington and Martin Hall are quick to add a cautionary note, although the example is from a later period. The pottery of the Kololo in Zambia, an immigrant Sotho group, maintains a stylistic similarity with Sotho pottery. In contrast pottery of the Ngoni, another immigrant group from the same period as the Kololo, in eastern Zambia, falls within a tradition established long before the Ngoni moved into the area. They use this contrast to indicate that pottery has to be understood within the wider cultural practices and assemblages, including the gender division of labour which in turn is often linked to the role of cattle when present.

Parkington and Martin Hall sounded early reservations not just about identities but about rigid classifications and the narrow evidential basis:

"Ideas about the spread of farming, usually considered synonymous with that of Bantu languages and iron-working, are almost all based on ceramic patterns and linguistic histories. ... The presence of a particular kind of potsherd decoration on a site is usually thought enough to proclaim the site 'Iron Age' and thus, by implication, occupied by Bantu-speaking, negroid farmers. We suggest that ... we have evidence that things were far more complex than this." (Parkington & Martin Hall 1987: 11-12)

"Ethnographic and historic accounts of hunter-gatherer/farmer interactions suggest that technological items such as ceramics and [illegible] widely exchanged and thus rapidly cease to function as markers of different segments of regional populations. It is obvious that the 'role' of each site has to be established with reference to others in the contemporary landscape before some reconstruction of regional economics can begin. In this sense sites have no autonomy, and must rather be seen as forming pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. Is it not likely that hunter-gatherers survived in the densely bushed coastal forest of south-east Africa, specializing in forest products and operating on the fringes of farming communities, and that Mpambanyoni and Umbeli Belli [neighbouring sites, one described as LSA, the other as EIA] were part of the same system of settlements, rather than representatives of discrete 'ages'?" (Parkington & Martin Hall 1987: 12)

Perhaps their critical point is this:

"... even if good stratigraphic relationships between charcoal samples and, say, certain types of ceramics or domestic animal bones can be demonstrated, this association does not reflect whether the pots were made, traded or stolen by the site occupants or whether the animals were hunted or herded." (Parkington & Martin Hall 1987: 12)

Some of the evidence is discussed below under the Early and late Iron Ages. Shula Marks in 2011 critically reviewed together a major work of Huffman in 2007 as well as a compilation from a conference in 2007 which brought together historians and archaeologists, many critical of the current state of archaeology. She quoted the criticism raised by Simon Hall:

"Structuralist models reify structure and impose an uncritical durability on meaning that compresses time and muffles the contextual detail of social relations. In their rather mechanical application, structuralist models distance people from social action, which becomes a set of rules within which people inflexibly live" (1998: 235). (Marks 2011: 139)

Modes of production

> "During the 1960s, African studies presented the contradictory and unsatisfactory juxtaposition of a radical politics (married to an increasing fascination in the West with African potentialities) and a methodology that had seemed more appropriate to the colonial era. Structural functionalism, largely reflected by social anthropologists performing their fieldwork in Africa, held the day in social studies, offering an often powerful totalizing sense of functionality in the African community and African culture but proving inept at explaining social change, economic phenomena or issues related to power." (Freund 1985: 24)

In the 1970s Martin Hall and a range of revisionist scholars introduced the concept of a "mode of production" into the discussion of the evolving specialisation and stratification in 2nd millennium southern Africa. Martin Hall published his theoretical views in 1987, titled "Archaeology and Modes of Production in Pre-Colonial Southern Africa". In the same year he published his history of the Iron Age, *The Changing Past: Farmers, Kings & Traders in southern Africa 200-1860.*

Hall had been part of the earliest discussions in southern Africa in the 1970s between the revisionist and materialist historians and social scientists.[5] The initial discussions make for some painful reading, perhaps now amusing with the passage of time. Classical Marxist texts produced from years spent in the British Museum had not got to grips with the history and geography of, for example, the East. So almost inevitably comments in the classical texts would be near useless straight-jackets for se[illegible]rs:

> "From Marx to Wittfogel, generic concepts such as the 'Asiatic mode of production,' the 'hydraulic state' or 'Oriental despotism' involved simplistic observations relating to climate and, particularly, the presence of large rivers and alluvial plains which were invoked to explain essential and persistent differences with the West." (Wink 2002: 416)

By the mid to late 1980s Martin Hall was writing with confidence on archaeology from a materialist perspective:

> "... whereas forces of production can often be discerned through conventional archaeological evidence, the other essential component of any mode of production - the relations of production - are disconcertingly elusive without recourse to the circularity of ethnographic analogy." (Martin Hall 1987b: 2)

Hall attempted to solve this problem through the use of the concept of Anthony Giddens of the signification of power relations in material symbols. Hence he was able to take on board the central place of ceramics in understanding both archaeology and history and he attempted to incorporate the discussion of ceramics into the discussion of relations of production, as indicated by the references to his work in the discussion of ceramics above.

Writing in the 1990s, Neil Parsons outlined four possible levels of political organisation amongst speakers of south-eastern Bantu languages, from patriarchal family heads to heads of wards or headmen to chiefs to great chiefs or paramount rulers:

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[5] See Gervase Clarence-Smith, 1977, "Report on the History Workshop", *Africa Perspective No.5,* for a commentary on the workshop sub-titled 'Pre-capitalist Social Formations and Colonial Penetrations in Southern Africa', held at the National University of Lesotho in July 1976 in the immediate context of the Soweto uprising. Participants included Alec Erwin, Martin Hall, Jeff Peires, Phil Bonner, Jeff Guy, William Beinart, Gervase Clarence-Smith, Neil Parsons and Shula Marks.

"Such a hierarchy of political growth fits neatly – almost too neatly – with ideas about modes of production developed among historians in the 1970s and 1980s. The ownership of wealth and mode of production in homesteads (level one) is often referred to as 'primitive communist' (i.e. simple communal), alternatively 'patriarchal'. The economy of wards and lesser chiefdoms (levels two and three) corresponds with the lineage mode of production .... The economy of greater chiefdoms, states and super states ... corresponds with the 'tributary mode of production', which the economic historian Edward Alpers sees emerging in southern Africa under the impact of world mercantile penetration from around 1500." (Parsons 1995: 325)

Martin Hall had expressed some caution about the usefulness of the concept of lineage and even more so, lineage mode of production:

"... there are some difficulties with the concept of the mode of production. In particular, lineages often have little role in the political sense and are more a 'map' that enables an individual to identify his or her relatives than a specific group of people with whom power resides. In addition, searching for sequences of modes of production, or indeed assuming an evolutionary sequence from band to chiefdom to state, may give a false directionality to history." (Martin Hall 1987: 65)

Hammond-Tooke writing a few years earlier had expanded on this point in a critique of the materialist approach:

"... since the 1930s, all ethnographers of the Southern Bantu have stressed the political, non-kinship, nature of chiefdom governments, even if they loosely used the vague term 'tribe' as coterminous with chiefdom. The unit of analysis always tended to be the social group united under a chief: in this sense it was 'bounded', but bounded by a very specific cognitive principle - allegiance to the chief. Kinship structures paled into insignificance beside this fact." (Hammond-Tooke 1985: 310)

"... numerical domination, in these societies, did not necessarily mean political domination. It is important to realize that kinship authority is not the same as territorial authority. Kinship authority is effective only over kinsmen: political authority is exercised over all who live in a demarcated area, irrespective of kinship links. In segmentary societies proper they may coincide - but not in South African chiefdoms.

"... whatever the form of polity before the establishment of chiefdoms, once they were instituted a major change was introduced. The whole basis of recruitment was changed. No longer was access to land dependent only on birth: rather did it stem from a specific contractual act of naturalization, expressed in the term *khonza*. Individuals gained membership of the society through an act of fealty to the chief, by being given permission to settle in an area acknowledged to be under the chief's sway. In return for fealty the chief provided protection and redistributed surplus in times of famine to those in need. The establishment of chiefdoms, then, is related to a fundamental change in ideology in which descent group autonomy gave way to a relationship essentially between family heads and chief." (Hammond-Tooke 1985: 311)[6]

[6] The apparent freedom of movement and association which the extent of the occurrence of naturalisation implies came to an abrupt end with colonial domination. Peires has described how for example the amaTshomane of the Coffee Bay area now describe themselves as abaThembu whereas they are in fact blood relations of the amaMpondo royal line. "AmaNgqika chiefs such as the Mnyangos, Fenis and Dondashes who remained behind in Centane when Velile Sandile moved to Ciskei [to establish the Rharhabe identity of the Ciskei bantustan] today consider themselves amaGcaleka because they live in the territory of the Gcaleka king." (Peires 2012: 349)

Hammond-Tooke argued that the centrality of concepts of kinship, lineage and the linage mode of production was based on anthropological studies in West Africa by Meillasoux and others in societies which were indeed kinship based, which were arranged hierarchically on the basis of genealogical connections and where elders assume administrative and political leadership. Accordingly he had reservations about the work of Hedges, Bonner, Hamilton and Wright when trying to analyse social structures in south east Africa before the late 18th century on the basis of kinship and suggesting opposition between leadership based on kinship and that based on even small-scale chieftaincy. Usually only the royal line could be described as a lineage (Hammond-Tooke 1985: 308-9, 313).

Members of clans, *isiduko*, in Nguni areas, *isibongo* in Zulu, trace ancestry by patrilineal descent from a common ancestor, and groups of clans may trace their relationship back to a more remote common ancestor. Clans function mainly to define marriage and exogamy rules in particular. Apart from royal lines and their associated clans, there are no clan heads or elders and clan/family genealogy is seldom deeper than 5 generations. Clans are probably a remnant of an earlier, lineage-based, form of social organisation. Clans are not fixed and new clans may emerge from the lines of descent of the various houses of a chief. Writing in the early 1930s on the Mpondo, Wilson, then still Hunter, wrote:

> "... frequently the split is begun by the marriage or sweethearting (*ukumetsha*) of a chief, or a chief's son, with girls of another house within his own clan." (Hunter 1979: 57)

Almost 40 years later, Wilson was asserting that there was still great confusion because numerous writers continued to confuse "clan" for an exogamous group claiming common ancestry and descent with a local political entity under some acknowleged leader (Wilson 1969: 118):

> "... the Xhosa clans are grouped into: (a) those believed to be offshoots of the royal Tshawe clan; and (b) those who are of commoner stock, including 'all clans of alien blood ... which have sought refuge among the Xhosa'. ... Present day research among Mpondomise, Bhaca and Mpondo show a great heterogeneity on the ground. It is not uncommon to find representatives of fifty or more clans living within one administrative ward, an area of three or four square kilometres, and a similar pattern was found among the North Nguni as far back as the early 1930s." (Hammond-Tooke 1985: 313-4)

Hammond-Tooke makes a good and obvious set of points in that transposing a contemporary anthropological model from west Africa uncritically into southern Africa is likely to lead to some incorrect inferences and conclusions. However labelling particular levels of social organisation as bands, clans or tribes and trying to associate and affix particular modes of production with and to them is less important than unpacking critical changes in economic relations and forms of extraction and exploitation. It may in fact be possible to dispense with the notion of a lineage mode of production altogether and instead to focus on specialisation, accumulation, stratification and forms of tribute. Martin Hall himself does not appear to have a watertight distinction between his loose and qualified references to a lineage mode of production and a tributary mode of production. In fact he cites Wolf with apparent approval for the suggestion of a continuum within the tributary mode from an all-powerful elite at one end to a decentralised power structure at the other (Martin Hall 1987b: 14).

In comparison to Hammond-Tooke above and in relation to the Thlaping, Schapera described the development of:

> "... three separate classes, nobles ..., agnatic descendents of any former local chief, 'commoners' ..., descendents of aliens incorporated long ago; and 'immigrants ..., people of groups more recently admitted. The first two are generally regarded as 'true' members

of the tribe Immigrants, especially if not of Tswana stock, are as it were still on probation, but if they remain, ultimately become accepted as commoners." (Cited in Kallaway 1981: 12)

In effect Schapera has taken Hammond-Tooke's 'clans' one step further into three distinct classes of people. Wright recently preferred to talk of three tiers in the Tswana polities of the early 19th century after processes of centralisation:

"At the top was the ruling family, together with the families that had come to be closely associated with it. In the middle tier were the various subordinate groups that recognised the authority of the chief and that looked to him for rights in land, for protection of themselves and their livestock, for adjudication of major disputes, and for providing leadership in the sphere of ritual. At the bottom were low status groups of clients, dependents, and menials, usually without livestock of their own and often in positions of servitude that were close to slavery." (Wright 2012: 218)

Jeff Peires has demonstrated the functions of clans in early Xhosa society and how clans were manipulated for royal ends:

"The one great political achievement of the Xhosa royal house was to limit chiefly status to members of the Tshawe royal clan. The heads of major subordinate clans like the amaNgwevu (of Mpondomise origin) and the amaGiqwa (of Khoikhoi origin) were regarded as Great Councillors but never accorded the dignity of chiefs. The chiefships of the amaCirha and the amaNgqosini were [illegible] destroyed. The only known case in Xhosa history of a commoner becoming chief is the elevation of Khwane to the chieftainship of the 'new house' of amaGqunukhwebe. But so strong has been the correlation of ubuTshawe and chieftainship in the Xhosa political mind that the Gqunukhwebe chiefs are also regarded as amaTshawe today. Conversely, the political obliteration of the house of Gando was marked by delinking his lineage from that of the amaTshawe and creating a new clan for his descendants, labelled the amaKwayi.

"The political emasculation of clan identity among the Xhosa was greatly facilitated by the dispersion of the different clan members across chiefly boundaries and by the exogamy rule in marriage. Little aggregations of various clans are dotted around throughout Xhosaland, but always so intermingled with other clans that they pose no threat to the Tshawe monopoly of chieftainship." (Peires 2012: 350)

However there may have been a downside in that the absence of kinship relations between the royal lineage and commoners may have weakened the loyalty of commoners to their rulers.

Tribute, the state and classes

The discussion of modes of production is closely related to the issue of the emergence of a chiefly system or state and therefore the issue of political power of one class or set of classes over others:

"Apart from control over salt, cattle, iron, timber and other commodities, power was exercised in southern African farming communities, as in societies in other parts of the world, through control over people ... Sets of mutual obligations provided security for ordinary farmers, offering the possibility of calling for support in the face of crop failure or stock loss. In addition, men or women from other communities were essential for the 'reproduction of society' through marriage and the birth of children who would constitute the next generation to till the fields and herd the animals." (Martin Hall 1987: 69)

"... livestock seem to have been the key to the emergence of a new mode of production in southern Africa, in which an emphasis on the dispersal and sharing of surplus production was replaced by accumulation ... The transformation leading to this new mode took place in different places at different times: in northern Botswana sometime in the last millennium B.C., in Namibia and the south-western Cape some centuries later, and in south-eastern Africa towards the end of the first millennium A.D., after a long period of transition." (Martin Hall 1987: 145)

"Beginning before the twelfth century, close to the Limpopo River, there arose a series of polities in which power was retained, sometimes for several centuries, by lines of rulers living in major centres. Often the power of these important figures, who can be called kings, was given emphasis by rich, exotic possessions, by a large entourage of followers, or by impressive buildings – the first cities of southern Africa.

"The ability of early kings to prevent fission, thus holding together their power-base, indicates a new political and economic order. This has by convention been called the state, although there is wide disagreement as to how and why the state developed." (Martin Hall 1987: 74)

"... what is termed the state is a circumstance in which a proportion of the wealth of a society is systematically directed to, and retained by, a ruling class. Some historians in southern Africa have termed this a 'tributary mode of production' (Bonner 1981; Hedges 1978; Slater 1976) – an analytical device which has been profitably used in other parts of the world.

"In contrast [to chiefs, their families and associates], those at the apex of power in a society organised by the principles of the tributary mode of production constituted a distinct economic and political class. The very duration of their dominance must have led them to see their high status as permanent. In addition the ruling class in the tributary mode of production must control an effective means of coercion, whether ideological or military, in order to prevent the constant tendency towards fission that was such an effective constraint on the power of a chief." (Martin Hall 1987: 75)

The apparent distinction in the last paragraph above between simple chiefly and complex states with kings and perhaps religious elites seems to be at odds with Hall's earlier approval of Wolf's suggestion on a continuum within the tributary mode above, despite his qualification of the dangers inherent in the rigid application of and quest for modes of production.

Perhaps the question is whether the tributary mode is broad enough to include also the highveld Sotho/Tswana and later northern Nguni polities of the late 18th century or whether it looses any analytic merit and utility by being too broad and flexible? In his more theoretical article of 1987, Martin Hall wrote:

"A feature central to the tributary mode of production is the state; the mechanism through which the dominant class ensures the continuing extraction of surplus labour from subservient classes. Thus the tributary mode, the origin of the state and the presence of distinct classes within particular social formations are inextricably bound together." (Martin Hall 1987b: 14)

Quite clearly the probably rolling, generational expansion of southern Nguni settlement down the east coast heralded a far looser and less structured society than the complex societies of the Limpopo valley from the 9th century and the later societies in eastern Botswana and later still on the highveld and eventually the Swazi and Zulu, the northern Nguni. Specialisation within and between social entities, including the relative extent of specialisation, and the

controls on labour and production are another perspective on pre-colonial history. The divergence and often too acrimonious debate within the revisionist school is perhaps best illustrated by a few divergent viewpoints on what constituted the major class antagonism in precolonial Nguni society.

Peires has suggested that the major class division within Xhosa society, and amongst the southern Nguni in general, was that between chiefs and commoners. He has argued that the class of clients was always very small, at least before 1800, and that clientage did not have an inferior status nor did it imply a loss of freedom. Furthermore:

> "Since wealthy commoners acted as patrons and since most commoners were not clients of their chiefs, one cannot reduce the relationship between chief and commoner to that between patron and client." (Peires 1981: 40)

In relation to women, their labour and their reproduction was obviously valued as signified by *lobola* and within a strict division of labour:

> "... women remained jural minors subject to male control throughout their lives. On the other hand they were not exploited in the Marxist sense because they were not deprived of the products of their labour. ... If we distinguish between control and exploitation as different aspects of male domination, it is probably fair to say that Xhosa women were controlled but they were not exploited." (Peires 1981: 41)

In contrast Jeff Guy argued:

> "... the dominant class consisted of married men/homestead heads. The subordinate class consisted of women and children, the product of their labour being appropriated by their husbands and fathers. It was a relation of exploitation based on male rights to the means of production in the form of cattle and land, in which surplus was accumulated in labour power, and realised in the accumulation by fathers and husbands of cattle, wives and daughters." (Quoted in Lewis 1992: 61)

Jack Lewis took a different view:

> "The ruling class of these societies could more accurately be defined as the controllers of above average amounts of labour power and large herds of cattle. Male gender functioned as a caste requirement for inclusion in this class.
>
> "Politically the ruling class of larger homesteads secured the caste interests of men in general. This did not stop the main lines of conflict being between broadly generationally defined groupings that represented the aspirations of women, young unmarried men, and indebted homestead heads, coming into conflict with power relations instituted by a past period of accumulation." (Lewis 1992: 71)

Perhaps a point made by Engels and referred to by Lewis is critical:

> "Engels explained that where there was only a limited economic surplus there will be no well defined classes – and especially no class of exploiters with an interest separate from the rest of society." (Lewis 1992: 70)

However the next sentence is a shocker:

> "There can then be no state and therefore no imperative for the oppression of women."

One has to disagree with both Lewis and Engels – oppression, and certainly the oppression of women, is not unique to capitalist production and property relations. But the important point is that a limited economic surplus makes class analysis rather tricky and this seems to be borne out by the historical evidence and the very divergent opinions between Peires, Guy and Lewis themselves!

Perhaps a slightly less formulaic definition of class is more useful. E.P Thompson wrote:

> "I do not see class as a 'structure', nor even a 'category', but as something which in fact happens (and can be shown to have happened) in human relationships." (Thompson 1968: 8)

Trade introduces particular relationships between individuals and the interest groups they represent. Revisionist scholars have suggested ways in which the expansion of trade has changed social relationships:

> "It became essential therefore for [male] elders to reserve to themselves the prosecution of trade, thereby further enhancing their privileged position. Trade at the same time upset what were otherwise relatively stable relationships between neighbouring homesteads and lineages, allowing those better endowed with particular resources (for example iron) to expand and assume a more dominant role. Trade permitted greater access to cattle and other goods exchangeable for wives, lending that lineage expansive characteristics and enabling it, through loans of the cattle it amassed, to penetrate the reproductive cycle of others less advantageously placed. It was a short step from here to attempt to secure a monopoly of all branches of inter-regional trade, and it was in response to such stimuli that larger-scale political institutions gradually emerged." (Bonner 1983: 13)

Centralised control of trade by rulers and their favoured and associated elites is essential for the maintenance of relations of patronage, clientage and tribute. This seems to have been the pattern of trade which sustained the stratified societies of the Limpopo valley, the Zimbabwean plateau, and later the western highveld and the area between the Thukela and Maputa Rivers.

Once this centralised control broke down (if it existed in the first place), as it did in the eastern Cape from the late 18th century despite the efforts of rulers to maintain control, decentralising and fragmenting tendencies where set in motion which placed commoners in a position to trade directly with outsiders who increasingly moved about freely within even tributary societies.

Unequal exchange

Capital accumulation in the early stages of capitalist development, described as primitive accumulation, occurs through a variety of mechanisms, some grouped under the euphemism of merchant capitalism, more accurately unequal exchange.

Primitive capital accumulation itself does not indicate the existence of capitalism. In fact mercantilism as a basis of economic activity goes back to the earliest emergence of exchange and trade. In this sense merchant capital has been around for a very long time and predates capitalism.

Unequal exchange can range from the exchange of goods which have a high exchange value in a market economy, such as cattle, ivory etc, for goods which are far cheaper and less valuable in another market but which are objects of desire in pre-capitalist societies, such as beads, and unprocessed or unmanufactured copper and iron. At the other end of the

scale unequal exchange may be a euphemism for plunder and robbery. The wars in what is now the Eastern Cape Province may be seen as just that, plunder and robbery, based on the number of cattle and extent of land confiscated from those defeated in the wars as well as those taken into various forms of servitude.

In some cases such plunder and robbery were pursued by genocidal policies of scorched earth and the extermination of humanity which stood in the way, not just in South Africa but globally.

Merchant capital lays the basis for the emergence of full capitalism, classically industrial capitalism as emerged in Britain, western Europe and north America from the late 18th century. Merchant capital drove the discovery by western European powers of various "new worlds" from the 15th century. Military and maritime technology enabled what may have started as mutually beneficial exchange to be transformed by these western European powers into coercive and unequal exchange. When domestic demand for exotic spices could no longer be met by exchange, no matter how coercive, tropical plantation economies were established, driven by slavery on a previously unknown scale.

The massive accumulation of wealth sustained a very small section of the western European population but it also was able to provide the initial and substantial stock of capital which funded the industrial revolution in Britain, which started in some of the very areas at the British points of maritime disembarkation and merchant warehouses.

Capitalism as a system is not only about [illegible]ring industries. More central is the separation of people from their means of livelihood to force them into wage labour. In South Africa the means of livelihood in a predominantly pastoralist economy was land and livestock. The transition to capitalism in South Africa was to begin on the basis of agricultural and subsidiary commercial and financial capitalism. Mining and manufacturing were to arrive later. The discovery of minerals in the late 1860s and 1880s acted as great stimulus to the separation of people from their means of livelihood. While "squatting" has long been a political issue, it was really only in the 20th century that the weight of the state was brought to bear on this "problem" in the sense that it constrained the development of full wage labour and commercial agriculture. Some would argue that it was not until after the emergence of manufacturing industry between the two world wars of the 20th century that the "problem" was fully addressed and then effectively only under apartheid.

So plunder, robbery, or put another way, the dispossession of the land and livestock of a significant proportion of the population, and the corresponding accumulation of land and livestock by another portion of the population, were essential to the development of capitalism in South Africa.

The Dutch, the Portuguese before them, and indeed the settlers from the Gulf of Arabia before them both, in south and south-eastern Africa were mercantile empires based on exchange and slavery. The Indian Ocean trade had been going for hundreds of years and was accelerated by the aggressive expansion of Islam from the 8th century. The Omanis, Persians and later Gujaratis monopolised the oceanic trade including trade in slaves, ivory and gold on the east African coast.

The Portuguese sacked the coastal enclaves of the Arabians and did their best to replace them. However by the 15th century the Portuguese had a far bigger and more far-flung empire than the Arabians ever had. Their demand for slaves, ivory and gold was far greater and had to feed and sustain an empire from the Indian Ocean back across the south Atlantic to south America and then back to Europe. Much like the Arabians, they tended to settle only on coastal enclaves and preferred to remain on the coast as long as they could trade what they wanted from the coast with prior coastal and inland inhabitants. For the Portuguese,

exceptions were the trading settlements or *pazeros* established mainly inland along the Zambezi River valley from early in the 16th century. As years and generations passed they became increasingly like local chiefdoms.

> "Once obtained, slaves could be used to create economic and political power, and here lay both the attraction of the institution and the means whereby war lords were able to build up their strength. For power lay in the people who provided labour and other resources for their leaders – support that had previously been gained from kin groups and through marriage, with the consequent payment of bridewealth and commitment to reciprocal sets of obligations. Slavery gave a leader the opportunity to build up a following rapidly and without the expense of marriage settlements, the sanction of relatives or continuing commitment to assist other groups (Kopytoff and Miers 1977).
>
> "It is probably futile to search for the origins of African slavery. Indeed it is likely that abrogations of reciprocal relationships between communities occurred at different times and in different places, leading to the enlargement of followings by means of force (Kopytoff and Miers 1977). In addition, Islamic communities on the East coast had created a steady demand for slaves, both for export and for service in the city-states such as Kilwa (Lovejoy 1983).
>
> "But it is certain, for a number of reasons, that slavery became more widespread after the Portuguese penetration of the interior of south-east Africa and that its incidence gathered momentum through the centuries that followed. Firstly, the very nature of Portuguese settlement demanded slaves, for there were inadequate immigrants to maintain settlements and very few women. In addition, and in contrast to the tendency in indigenous African communities, the Portuguese kept their slaves in a marginal position. Thus where the interior states integrated slaves and their offspring into their kin groups, often after only a single generation, the Portuguese used up their labour supply and then had to obtain replacements (Lovejoy 1983)." (Martin Hall 1987: 132-3)

The later Dutch had an even bigger empire to feed and grow, stretching from the Far East back to the Americas and Europe.

The 15th and 16th centuries saw the acceleration of the Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trades. Millions died in transit across the oceans. Millions more died in plantations in far-away lands and from diseases they had no immunity to. By the closing of the slave trade in the 19th century, upwards of 20 million people had been trans-shipped across the Atlantic from Africa alone (Davidson 1980: 271). Probably considerably less had been shipped across the Indian Ocean, mainly by the Dutch to their plantation economies in Indonesia etc. All the European powers were involved, in particular the British and French, as were the north Americans.

The wealth which was accumulated through slavery on the plantations of the east and in the Americas played a key role in the industrial revolution, first in Britain, then in Europe, North America etc. The ascendance of the "West" was built on slavery.

Slavery was an early and certainly the most extreme example of unequal exchange.

Environmental conditions

> "South Africa was not covered by ice during glacial phases, but glaciers inflicted colder than present temperatures and the cold was sometimes accompanied by dry periods. The last glacial occurred between approximately 10 000 and 75 000 years ago and therefore spanned parts of the Later Stone Age (LSA) and MSA. We presently live in an interglacial phase and the last interglacial phase was between about 75 000 and 130 000 years ago, a period entirely associated with the MSA. Glacial phases are thought to have been associated with lower plant and animal diversity than interglacial phases. Grasslands seem to have expanded at the expense of woodlands during glacial, and hunters in the colder phases of the MSA would have had far more grazing animals to hunt than their interglacial counterparts." (Wadley 125-6)

There have also been many smaller oscillations, one as recent as about 2 000 BP in the coastal southern Cape around Knysna "when coastal woodlands partly replaced heath vegetation." (Inskeep 1969: 7) The remains of this woodland are the Knysna forests of today.

Huffman has demonstrated a remarkable correlation between the warmer and wetter phases in the summer rainfall area of southern Africa and particular expansions and contractions of human settlement, including into what are now inhospitable edges of the Kgalagadi desert where cultivation of even hardy Iron Age crops is no longer possible. These phases and associated areas of Iron Age extension and withdrawal are shown in the following table. Initial dates where derived from climatic studies. While this table provides a generalised picture, the radiocarbon dates used to refine the dates are from limited sites and so may not reflect minor regional variations within the same time spans. Radiocarbon dates were also not available for all periods when Huffman published this article, accounting for some overlap, ambiguity and uncertainty.

Figure 1: Iron Age climatic oscillations

Source: Huffman 1996: 55-9

Dates adjusted by radio-carbon findings are shown in brackets.

Period (AD)	Climate	Settlements
100-200	Cool	
250-600 (500-700)	Warm/wet	Initial settlements on bushveld, into eastern Botswana and coastal areas
600-900	Cool	
900-1300 (900-1290)	Warm/wet	Rise of Limpopo valley and Makgadikgadi Botswana settlements
1300-1500 (1290-1425)	Cool	Shift to higher rainfall on Zimbabwean escarpment, Great Zimbabwe etc and former wetlands of Nyl River in SA
1500-1675 (1425-1675)	Warm/wet	Highveld grasslands and south-eastern plateau between Khalhamba mountains and coastal lowlands
1675-1780	Cool	
1790-1810	Warm/wet	Probable expansion of maize cultivation. Emergence of large towns on highveld and states in east

The 900-1300 period is known as the "Medieval Warm Epoch" and the cool period of 1290-1425 is known as the "Little Ice Age".

Cool periods may have had less or at least different impacts on coastal people of the Iron Age given the continued availability of marine resources. If accompanied by a decline in scourges such as tsetse fly and malaria, these periods may have created opportunities as well as constraints. The rapid spread of the Kalundu ceramic tradition of the EIA down the southeastern coast in the cooler 7th and 8th centuries outlined below seems to support this suggestion.

The eastern Cape is characterised by considerable diversity and contrast, from the Karoo to coastal dune forest and from western Cape fynbos to sub-tropical coastal forest. One of the underlying factors behind this diversity is the transition between the climate of the western Cape, driven by the South Atlantic Ocean weather system, and the climate of the southeast coast, driven largely by the Indian Ocean weather system. The far west is characterised by winter rainfall and the east by summer rainfall. The dividing line between these zones runs roughly from Port Elizabeth in a north-westerly direction to Springbok. Average annual rainfall drops to below 500mm to the west of a rough line drawn northwards from Woody Cape in the coast in the Alexandria district.

> "Maggs drew attention to the coincidence between the southwestern limit of archaeological evidence in Africa for farming settlement during the first millennium A.D., and the present western limits of summer rainfall adequate for the growth of the tropical cultigens known to have been staple foods for African farmers. This limit intersects the coastline near Port Alfred, eastern Cape Province.
>
> "Such a close coincidence of climatic and [illegible]gical limits suggested to Maggs that the westward expansion of farming settlement in[to the] eastern Cape Province and Ciskei had been limited by the distribution of adequate summer rainfall for tropical grain crops, for many centuries before the actual contact between Bantu speaking and White farmers. The latter were expanding their settlement eastwards and northeast from Cape Town during the 18th century A.D. The staple grains of White farmers were, in contrast to the staples of Bantu speakers, the temperate cultigens such as wheat which were suited to the climate (winter and all seasons rainfall) westward of Port Alfred." (Feely 1987: 16)[7]

These arguments of Tim Maggs and Jim Feely sound to be of the same order of sweeping magnitude as those of Jared Diamond in *Guns, Germs and Steel*. They also are quite obviously logical. This is not to say that it would not have been possible for south-eastward migrating Nguni people to adapt to the different climatic conditions of the western Cape over a sufficient time period. They may well have been able to adapt, perhaps with some significant changes in means of subsistence and material culture. For instance might they have become almost exclusively pastoralists until they were able to obtain or domesticate suitable crops? A transition to exclusive pastoralism could have occurred very quickly, within a few seasons, but domestication or adaption of food crops may take some generations.

The possibility of reverting to pastoralism is tantalizing. Consider that the Khoikhoi inhabitants of the area were primarily pastoralists, but pastoralists largely with indigenous sheep, and also that there was considerable mixing of Xhosa and Khoisan genes. The Gqunukhwebe are accepted evidence of a Xhosa-Khoikhoi fusion. However the Gqunukhwebe appear from the record to have adopted a Xhosa/Nguni or mixed agricultural and pastoral means of subsistence. Further Xhosa adaption with their cattle and the Khoikhoi may have been a realistic possibility.

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[7] Feely's work is used extensively below in respect to his findings on archaeology. However his work was part of a much wider project on the precolonial vegetation of southern Africa and therefore an evaluation of the influential work of Acocks. See J.E. Granger, M. Hall, B. McKenzie and J.M. Feely, 1985, "Archaeological Research on Animal and Plant Husbandry in Transkei", *SAJS Vol.81.*

If Van Riebeeck and the VOC had arrived at De Kaap a century or two later and been met not by LSA pastoralists but by LIA amaXhosa, might things have turned out a little differently? This is not such a ridiculous question as it may first appear. Some major figures writing African history in the 1970s had this to say:

> "Had the Dutch not occupied the Cape and spawned the self-reliant and expansive Afrikaner people, more of the Bantu-speaking farmers may have adapted to living in areas where it was not possible to grow crops, **as the Herero had done**, and eventually Bantu-speaking chiefdoms might have dominated all the western as well as the eastern parts of southern Africa." (Curtin et al 1978: 294, emphasis added)

Both climatic systems present in southern Africa were and remain variable and unpredictable to an extent. Flood and famine would have had deadly effects on populations living at subsistence levels. This would have encouraged these early populations to seek other and varied sources of food, both vegetable and animal:

> "... fluctuations in supply tend to be a natural consequence of agriculture, for by concentrating their efforts on a narrow range of food plants, farmers place themselves at risk if crops fail. This is particularly so in southern Africa, where the climates of the summer rainfall area tend to prevent storage of grain for more than a short period. In the west of the subcontinent early herding communities were equally precarious, for the regular fluctuations in rainfall made the availability of pasturage unpredictable.
>
> "Farmers in southern Africa gained this enhanced economic security by increasing their holdings in domestic stock." (Martin Hall 198[illegible])

William Beinart, writing on conservation in South Africa, has pointed to the difficulties posed by tsetse fly[8] and malaria:

> "The limits of settler expansion were also to some degree influenced by environmental constraints. There is some coincidence between the boundaries of the Cape, later South Africa as a whole, and the southern reaches of the desert, malaria and tsetse belts, so uncongenial to nineteenth-century settler pastoralism." (Beinart 2003: 6)

For example, in the Maputaland[9] region of northern Natal and southern Mozambique, between the border with Swaziland, the Indian Ocean and Lake St Lucia:

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[8] "African Trypanosomiasis – commonly known as sleeping sickness – is a devastating disease caused by a parasitic protozoan of the genus Trypanosoma. It is endemic in the so-called Tsetse Belt, a vast area spanning much of West, Central and East Africa between the Sahara and the Kalahari Desert. The Tsetse belt is home to the tsetse fly, whose vicious bite injects the trypanosome parasite into both humans and cattle [and other domestic animals]. For centuries the human form of the disease was called 'sleeping sickness because of its striking symptoms of lethargy and sleepiness, leading eventually to coma and death. Today, both humans and animals continue to be plagued by African trypanosomiasis. Some 60 million people in 36 sub-Saharan countries are at risk, and the impact of the tsetse fly on livestock farming generates a cycle of sickness, poverty, hunger and death." (Dobson 2007: 94) Dobson also states that the Rinderpest epidemic in southern Africa in the 1890s may have wiped out cattle that were resistant to trypanosomiasis and the subsequent importation of cattle may have been a significant factor in the later emergence of sleeping sickness which killed ¾ of a million people in Uganda and the Congo in 1896-1906. In the late 19th century in Natal, colonial farmers referred to this fatal disease amongst their cattle as "nagana". It was described as "stallion sickness" in the horses of game hunters (Dobson 2007: 96).

[9] "The name Maputaland, as well as the name of the Maputo River (Pongola River) and Maputo Bay is derived from the Mabudu or Mabudu-Tembe who claimed authority over this vast area when Captain Owen visited the area [in 1822]." (Kloppers 2003: 6)

"It would appear that ecological factors more than anything else prevented the Zulu and other groups from settling in Maputaland and subjugating the local people. ... Maputaland as a whole used to be fever-ridden and that Tsetse fly made cattle keeping almost impossible. ... There were five different species of tsetse fly in the area that made trypanosomiasis (sleep sickness) endemic to the area. Together with trypanosomiasis, gall-sickness, heartwater and biliary fever made cattle keeping almost impossible, especially in the summer months and when droughts lowered these animals' physical resistance. Because of these reasons local people often preferred to keep pigs and fowls or goats that where resistant to blood parasites carried by tsetse flies, not preferred by Zulu, Swazi and Gaza peoples who raided the area." (Kloppers 2003: 7)

Wilson pointed out that some such constraints were neither invariable over time nor absolute and that colonial penetration may have had a very early impact on the local environment:

"A wide tsetse fly belt once stretched along the curve of the Limpopo river and cut off the foothills of the Drakensberg from the coast. The area of infection contracted in the nineteenth century, retreating eastward from the Crocodile [which has its source near Dullstroom and flows through Nelspruit before joining the Ncomati in Mozambique] and upper reaches of the Limpopo. This contraction was possibly related to the spread of firearms and the destruction of game; it was accelerated by the rinderpest epidemic of 1896, but it had begun well before. In the eighteenth century the Tswana moved northward through the fly-free corridor between the desert and the Limpopo, a corridor which the whites used after them. It is possible that the Sotho had also come southwards by this route, but there is no evidence of that. The distribution of tsetse fly changes in time and the Limpopo valley may not always have been dangerous to cattle. Moreover, skilled herdsmen, such as the Tswana were, knew how to move their stock with a minimum of danger. They knew and avoided the patches of bush in which fly lurked; they travelled by night when the fly does not bite; they gathered their cattle over smoky fires during the heat of the day; and they were careful to fire the grass at certain seasons so that the encroachment of bush, and therefore the fly, might be limited. The movements of the Ngoni ... [in the 19th century] are certain evidence that a tsetse belt was no absolute barrier to the passage of a cattle people." (Wilson 1969: 132)

Neil Parsons mentioned in a footnote that in the 19th century, Seleka/Malete and Birwa/Gananwa traded cattle across the Limpopo valley by moving between tsetse-free hilltops (Parsons 1995: 340 fn.48). He also cited an example of the dynamic between human settlement and tsetse from archaeological evidence in what is now the Kruger National Park:

"Early Iron Age people opened up pasture grassland in former tsetse belts, but tsetse-invested bushveld took over again after 1000. Later Iron Age people then opened up pasture once more from about 1500 up to about 1800, then tsetse reigned again till around 1900 when they were cleared out by the rinderpest killing off their wildlife hosts." (Parsons 1995: 341, citing A. Meyer and I. Plug)

There is also some seasonal variation in the incidence of both tsetse fly and mosquito, hence some flexibility for movement and transhumance.[10] Delius et al state that trade in cattle from the interior to Delagoa Bay would have been impossible in summer due to the presence of tsetse fly (Delius et al 2012: 411).

[10] However a recent study, commissioned out of concern that the establishment of the Greater Limpopo Trans Frontier Park might re-introduce the parasite into areas from which it had retreated, suggested that the historical incidence included the entire southern Mozambique, the Limpopo valley to beyond the confluence with the Sashe River, and an area extending inland from modern Richard's Bay to Swaziland but excluding the coastal belt (Wint 2008).

Alan Smith in 1969 wrote about the extensive ivory trade at Delagoa Bay by the Nyaka and Tembe (Smith 1969: 178). 40 years later John Wright refers to trade a Delagoa Bay in both ivory and cattle and that a trade in cattle to North American whaling ships may have compensated for the declining ivory trade from the late 18th century (Wright 2012: 220). If Wright is correct then this may point to an effective, certainly seasonal, manner of getting cattle through the tsetse-infested coastal lowlands to Delagoa Bay. However if these were cattle for immediate slaughter at the Bay, then the infection may have been of little consequence if they were slaughtered before any manifestations of disease.

David Hedges argued that the Tsonga of southern Mozambique were not passive victims of their environment but controlled it systematically:

> "Removal of trees by felling, and of bush cover by burning during the dry season, inhibits the spread of tsetse by removing the shade essential in the breeding period. Annual late burning was the prerequisite for successful retention as grazing of previously forested, and bush-thornveld, areas inhabited by tsetse. Game, which acts as a carrier between marginal and permanent (residual) tsetse grounds had also to be closely controlled." (Hedges 1978: 49)

Hedges went on to provide evidence to show that such methods were practised at times on all sides of Delagoa Bay but that they could not always be sustained indefinitely. Louis Trigaart recorded in 1837 that an area west of Delagoa Bay which was heavily infested with tsetse must have previously been free, based on the size of abandoned cattle kraals he passed by (Hedges 1978: 49-51).

Cattle could also and probably did over time build up resistance to the disease. However there is probably no longer any direct evidence of any such resistance which may have existed in herds before the devastation of rinderpest in the 1890s (See footnote 8 and *Figure 17*).

There is less literature on the effects of tsetse on sheep and goats (caprines) and other domesticated animals. However:

> "It is important to note that although the major focus of research with trypanosomosis has centred on cattle infections and human sleeping sickness, this parasitic disease also affects sheep and goats, pigs, camels and buffalo. Sheep and goats can be infected by trypanosomes, but are generally less affected than cattle (Tussy Musiime, 1979).[11] Muthui Mwangi (1991) suggested that immunity to trypanosomosis may be achieved in sheep." (Rushton et al 2002: 15)

Human resistance to malaria is based on the sickle-cell characteristic in blood which is widespread in established populations in endemic malaria area across Africa but absent elsewhere. Since it takes some 700 years for the sickle-cell frequencies to attain the required level for immunity, this must have placed some deadly constraints on migrations from highlands to lowlands or from arid to moist regions (Curtin et al 1978:126).

Jeff Guy in his ecological argument for the emergence of the northern Nguni states from the late 18th century states:

> "The geographical situation and the direction of expansion of the major groups contending for dominance, like the Mthethwa, the Ndwandwe and the Zulu, suggest that their leaders were concerned with gaining access to a wide variety of grazing types." (Guy 1982: 9)

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[11] Jotham Tussy Musiime, 1979, *Potential Importance of Sheep and Goats in Areas Affected by Trypanosomiasis*, Centre for Tropical Veterinary Medicine, University of Edinburgh

Transhumance patterns are central to Guy's argument. He suggests or rather implies that transhumance was able simultaneously to manage both nutritional requirements and avoid the problems posed by tsetse fly, but without providing a detailed explanation:

> "While there were vast tracts of sweetveld in southern Africa in pre-colonial times they tended to be associated with tsetse-infected belts, or they were situated in regions were there was insufficient surface water to support a high density of stock. In Zululand, however, tsetse was confined to the borders of the country or the deepest river valleys and, although sweetveld only occurs where rainfall is low, the Zululand sweetveld regions were well-watered by the streams and rivers rising in the surrounding hills and ranges." (Guy 1982: 6-7)

In what was to become Swazi territory, Philip Bonner suggested that methods of dealing with tsetse fly in fact contributed to processes of social organisation which were critical in the late 18th and early 19th centuries:

> "Big game trampled crops and were also trypanosomiasis carriers, which gravely imperilled the survival of stock. Large-scale hunting parties were therefore necessary to check the persistent invasion of big game, and threw up co-ordinating agencies ... Widespread burning was also an activity conducted along similar lines, and with similar results, and both forms of organisation, particularly hunting, provided the framework and even the tactics of military formations.' (Bonner 1983: 14)

The Ngwane or early nucleus of what was to become the Swazi state in the 19th century was in the later 18th century based between the Pongola and Mpwayuma Rivers. The lowveld which also provided the sweetveld grazing in this area was plagued by disease in summer but Bonner implies that it was accessible in the winter when it was essential to livestock. He also states that the Nguni herds were hardy, perhaps implying some immunity (Bonner 1983: 17).

The extreme effect of tsetse fly in the non-availability of cattle as draught animals (and horses in the later colonial period) had huge implications for the use of human labour:

> "Transport on foot occurred, but it appears that only the Tsonga, who were cut off from the interior by tsetse, regularly worked as porters, carrying Portuguese goods inland and returning with metal and ivory." (Wilson 1969: 149)

Given that slavery, while almost unknown to the Sotho-Tswana and Nguni, was widespread in the hinterland of Delagoa Bay, which was Tsonga territory, the presence of the tsetse fly may have been indirectly responsible for the occurrence of slavery in that region. This has been suggested by various authors elsewhere in Africa where tsetse is prevalent, for example:

> "African tribes inhabiting TseTse-suitable areas were less likely to use draft animals and the plow, more likely to practice shifting cultivation and indigenous slavery, and had a lower population density in 1700." (Alson 2012, abstract)

Elsewhere oxen, pack-oxen, were used widely for transport, more so amongst groups with more specialised economies involving mining, metallurgy, craft manufacture and trade. Wilson suggests that the Sotho-Tswana made greater use of pack animals than the Nguni (Wilson 1969: 143).

The contrast in the implications of the effects of tsetse fly on available modes of transport – animal traction versus slaves – was accentuated in the 19th century

"The wagon road to the frontier has profound significance. South Africa differed radically from the greater part of Africa to the north in this one respect: the facility of transport. Horses flourished, and south of the Vaal there was no tsetse fly to impede the movement of stock to the coast, or prevent ox transport. The most lucrative trade was in cattle, and these were driven to market. Every hunting and trading party was mounted, and many of them were accompanied by ox-wagons which carried metal, beads, and tobacco to exchange, and brought back ivory. The implications of these were far-reaching. Horses and ox-wagons gave a mobility to the colonists which was absent further north, and it made possible the development of trade without dependence on slavery. On Lake Malawi until the late nineteenth century ivory was of little value without slaves to carry it to the coast, but, except from Lourenco Marques, the safari with head-loads was rare in the south. Instead, there was the ox-wagon. Trade seven hundred miles from the Cape was thus profitable, and whole families, not only single men, could move readily." (Wilson 1969: 234)

"Horses were used largely for personal transport and military purposes. They required scarce fodder, and were susceptible to periodic epizootics of insect-borne horse sickness. Oxen were not as efficient, but they were hardier, and could survive off the veld. South of the tsetse belt and the deserts, they provided southern Africa with a unique continental advantage in the development of internal transport." (Beinart 2003: 16)

Certainly it would be difficult to imagine Nguni society without cattle had the range of the tsetse extended much further southwards, if [illegible] used an impenetrable barrier.

This may prompt the question did tsetse once range much further south? If so and it receded some 1 000 years ago it might offer some explanation for the change in land use, settlement patterns and inland range of settlement around that time, as discussed below.

"... so far as our evidence goes, it was chiefly the southern Nguni who trained them [oxen] as riding, pack (iqegu), and racing animals, and this they may well have learnt from the Khoikhoi with whom they were in contact. ... Barrow speaks of the chief, Ngqika, of the Xhosa returning from his cattle-post in the mountains in 1797, 'riding and ox in full gallop' ... there is little evidence of the Zulu training cattle for riding ... there is some evidence of it also among the Mpondo and Baca, but no references to it in ancient Zululand have been found, nor are there words for a pack-ox and cattle-racing in the Zulu dictionary." (Wilson 1969: 108)

Wilson does indicate some uncertainty as to when the Xhosa learnt to ride their oxen.

"They [Khoisan], as also the Sotho and Xhosa, had long trained their oxen for riding, or as pack animals, in order to meet the demands of their pastoral system which put so high a premium on mobility." (Beinart 2003: 32)

Transhumance, practiced in order to meet the optimal grazing requirements of cattle, was a very old practice in response to environmental conditions. Peires pointed out that transhumance knew no boundaries:

"The Gqunukhwebe chief, Chungwa, alarmed the Colonial authorities every year by moving closer to Uitenhage, the seat of local administration. But the regularity of his movements between the Sundays/Zwartkops in summer and the Bushmans in winter indicates that he was only shifting his cattle between their summer and winter grazing." (Peires 1981: 9)

The expansion of settlers out of the Cape peninsular and far southwestern Cape was also partly conditioned by the natural environment – the route northwards up the west coast was bleak and dangerous for want of water while to the east the Gqunukhwebe and Xhosa blocked the way, leaving the north-easterly route to the Sneeuberge and Bruintjieshoogte and across the Gariep as the next best option.

Sparrman observed in the late 18th century the differential potentials of various ecological zones and the adaptations by the Khoisan to these conditions:

> "[He recorded that] for the purpose of feeding sheep, the Carrow [Karoo] is considered as the best land, and the *Zuurvelden* the least, if at all, fit. For cattle it [sourveld] has been found to answer better, when they could be removed off and on from one of these kinds of land to the other. The constant and unequivocal experience of the colonists, with regard to this point, agrees with the results of the practice of the Hottentots." (Quoted in Beinart 2003: 40)

> "It was not only trekboers who had to adapt to the pastures and seasons. The commercial wagon traffic from Cape Town to Graaff-Reinet was also seasonal, restricted to the wetter months when there was water and pasture for the oxen in the Karoo tracts which they had to cross. In very dry years, such as 1818, trans-Karoo wagon traffic came to a standstill. The opening of Port Elizabeth and East London soon afterward largely supplanted this long and arduous route for the transport of goods, although stock still had to be driven overland to market. An element of seasonality [illegible] around East London wagon traffic too. Farmers and transport riders liked to get their oxen down to the moist coastal grazing in the dry winter months, when the grass of the Interior had far more limited feeding value." (Beinart 2003: 43)

Beinart describes how a seminal text on the Great Trek by P.J. van der Merwe clearly indicates how the trek was in part a response to a perceived shortage of land and environmental conditions, in particular the severity of drought and locusts in the eastern Cape and Cape midlands in the 1830s where trekboers had begun to concentrate from the later 18th century (Beinart 2003: 6).

> "Lichtenstein felt, like Sparrman, that the veld was categorized too simply as sweet or sour, or healthy and unhealthy, and that vegetation and diseases, then seen as 'wholly enigmatical', should be scientifically researched. Both probably underestimated the knowledge of at least some stockowners and their servants." (Beinart 2003: 43)

While Beinart may have been correct that some farmers had an understanding of the circumstances in which particular animal diseases were likely to occur, it is unlikely that they had any idea about the actual causes. It took until the 1850s for Londoners to be told that cholera derived from sewerage interacting with their water supply. In the 21st century many stockholders in the Eastern Cape still do not appreciate the role of ticks and midges in spreading various livestock diseases.[12] The 1820 settlers, while familiar with particular animal diseases in the UK, were not familiar with tick-born diseases at the Cape. Thomas Philipps' wife referred to grasses that were too rich causing what may have been Blackquarter fever, known as *isidya* in isiXhosa. Philipps also referred to a virulent distemper which affected his horses and which was probably horsesickness (Webb 1975: 91-2).

[12] This claim is based on research conducted personally in 2009 for Prof. William Beinart in the Alice district. See his and Karen Brown's 2013 *African Local Knowledge: Livestock Diseases and Treatments in South Africa*, James Curry.

Beinart has reminded us of the centrality of pastoralism for the economic and political history of the Cape and southern Africa at large:

> "... perhaps 60 per cent of South Africa's surface receives rainfall of less than 500mm a year and some of the rest is mountainous. These areas have been dominated by livestock. It is intriguing that historians of a country with so small a percentage of arable land ... should have neglected its pastoral history, or understood it primarily in terms of the pre-colonial frontier or Afrikaner trekboer experience. Compared to the outpouring of material on mining or other aspects of the agrarian economy, livestock farming has attracted a silence that echoes the stillness of the veld." (Beinart 2003: 4-5)

Elephant trails pre-dated stone- and iron-age settlement. Large mammals need similar things to our human ancestors in southern Africa and so the common routes of both animal and human never strayed too far from drinking water and sources of food suitable for herbivores. Elephant trails may have provided some of the earliest long distance routes and also the safest routes through difficult terrain and up and down escarpments. Indeed there is evidence from some of the shipwreck survivors from the 16th century onwards that these ancient elephant trails were still very much in use even after up to a dozen centuries of agricultural and pastoral human settlement.

Comparative history

The experience of colonisation and resistance to colonisation in South Africa in the 18th and 19th centuries was not entirely unique. There were significant similarities and some important differences with temperate parts of South America, Mexico, Australia and New Zealand. However the experiences of these four regions were generally in sharp contrast to the earlier and ongoing colonisation of tropical areas.

> "The expansion of European Economic and political power, as well as settlement, has been one of the overwhelmingly important features of world history over the last 500 years. ... Succeeding phases of European economic growth prompted strikingly different imperatives for expansion, for natural resource exploitation, and for the social organisation of extra-European production. In the eighteenth century, for example, sugar, African slaves, and shipping in the Atlantic world provided one major dynamic of empire. But in the nineteenth century antipodean settlement and trade, especially that resulting from expanding settler pastoral frontiers, was responsible for some of the most dramatic social and environmental transformations."

> "Plantations concentrated capital, and large number of people, in profoundly hierarchical institutions in relatively small areas on tropical islands and littorals. They occupied relatively little space in the new social geography of world production. By contrast, commercial pastoralism, which took root most energetically in the temperate and semi-arid regions of the newly-conquered world, was land-hungry but relatively light in its demands for labour. The Spanish empire based in Mexico can be considered a forerunner, followed by settler intrusions in the vast land-masses of southern Latin America, southern Africa, Australasia and North America." (Beinart 2003: 1-2)

Prompted by the questions of his students in both Uganda and New Guinea, Donald Denoon in 1983 produced a comparative study of settler societies in the southern hemisphere: New Zealand, Australia, South Africa and Chile, in contrast to the tropical areas of generally more limited European settlement. He outlines three specific characteristics of these societies:

> "The lands which settlers ultimately occupied were rather unusual in the experience of early European explorers, in that they were very sparsely inhabited. ... Not only did the

aboriginal inhabitants place little emphasis upon systematic cultivation: the first European observers and settlers also believed the land to be unsuitable for intensive and regular agriculture.

"For the first two centuries of European expansion, it was the more densely settled and tropical regions of the world which attracted the merchant adventurers. In so far as temperate regions were occupied by Europeans at all, the occupation mainly took the form of garrison outposts defending the frontiers of European empires centred upon tropical possessions. ... Until the early nineteenth century, a variety of environmental and logistical difficulties prevented these regions from playing any major role in international trade: until that time they languished under mercantilist restrictions as well as tyrannous distances." (Denoon 1983: 3)

"From the beginning of European voyaging, merchant adventurers set their sights on regions which were already densely settled, and whose populations were already organized in centralized and coercive polities. ...

"European merchants intended to accumulate capital by extracting trade goods from established producers; but the Europeans who settled in 'new' or 'empty' lands had to organize new kinds of production with little assistance from indigenous people." (Denoon 1883: 18)

"Merchant capitalists and missionaries followed Bartholomew Diaz round the Cape of Storms for a century and a half before a permanent settlement was created there. Even then, only the best organized and most far-sighted could afford the luxury of a garrison at the Cape, where no direct profit was anticipated. ... What was built at the foot of Table Mountain was a fortified extension of European merchant capitalism, from which a more complex society only slowly emerged." (Denoon 1973: 24)

While these settler societies were still tied in under mercantilist systems, some of the pre-conditions for the emergence of capitalist production were already present:

"... there was undeniably something capitalist in the structure of these colonies. Private ownership of land and livestock – to take one index of capitalist relations of production – was well established very early. ... A ... general exception was that frontier conditions limited the value of stock ownership through the prevalence of theft: cattle were more easily stolen than bought. ... in the Dutch Company settlement at the Cape, land was bought, sold, and leased without implying the transfer of social and political power over inhabitants (unless, of course, they were dispossessed by the transaction); but in nearby Portuguese colonies the institution *prazo* – a variation of the Spanish *encomienda* – replicated some of the social controls of feudal European land-holding." (Denoon 1983: 35-6)

Terminology, San, Khoikhoi, Khoisan and Nguni

There is a real danger in reading current terms back into the past because they may fix and influence if not determine the way we try to understand developments in the past using the terms of today. An article critical of the major work of the 1970s on the Khoisan was partly titled "Take Me to Your Leaders" (Abrahams 1995), imputing a sense of individual 20th century leadership. Along the same lines David Beach wrote in the late 1970s:

"... I have used 'ruler', 'sub-ruler', 'house head' and the like. 'Chiefs' and 'Headmen' I have reserved for the creations and appointments of the Rhodesian Government." (Beach 1980: VI)

The very terms Beach tried so hard not to use are commonly used in the literature reviewed in this thesis and are often used here. The same caution must be applied to terms such as "chieftaincy", "chiefdom", "king" and "kingdom". All these terms must be read with Beach's wise caution in mind. The discussion which follows will indicate some of the fluidity which belies these terms.

More recently Carolyn Hamilton and Simon Hall have made a similar point about identities with reference to common tribal, linguistic and ethnic labels:

> "[We] look simultaneously across the history/archaeology divide and to re-examine critically the conventional Nguni/Sotho-Tswana divide and its many distinguishing features. Some of these are taken as axiomatic in southern Africa, such as the notion that Nguni society is exogamous, and composed of a network of strategic alliances based on marriages between disparate groups, while Sotho society is regarded as endogamous and hence able to perpetuate particular alliances over time and to facilitate the emergence of political elites." (Hamilton & Simon Hall 2012: 282)

Simon Hall argues that at least two waves of Nguni migration from Natal into the highveld left distinctive Nguni traces in the archaeological record and that later in the early 19th century the Zulu practice of *dabula* permitted intermarriage and the concentration and retention of wealth within an elite. Their two individual articles are referred to further below.

"San", "Khoikhoi" and "Khoisan" provoke the w[illegible]ge of concerns.

> "The term 'San' comes from the Khoikhoi language and has been abbreviated in the following way ... Saa – Picking things up (food) from the ground (i.e. 'gathering'), Saab – A male person gathering, Saas – A female person gathering, Saan – Many people gathering, San – One way to write 'all of the people gathering'" (*Wikipedia* quoting *WIMSA Annual Report 2004-05*, page 58, retrieved 2014/03/18).

Güldemann provides a different definition:

> "'San' derives from the word *saa-n* used by the pastoralist Khoekhoe ... as a generic exonym for hunter-gatherers and which literally means 'foragers' (*-n* is a suffix for 3rd-person common plural). While San has at best become a more or less convenient concept of cultural anthropology and political discourse, it is vacuous in terms of linguistic and genetic classification. The different San groups speak a number of languages comprising *inter alia* three quite distinct language families, and are associated with distinct biological types." (Güldemann 2008: 131)

The archaeologist, Pieter Jolly, wrote in 1996:

> "The term *San*, as it is used here, does not refer to a culturally homogenous group. Rather, it refers to the wide spectrum of people described in the historical literature as *Bushmen*, or words that are synonymous with this word, such as *Bosjesmans* (Dutch), *Baroa* (Sesotho), and *Abatwa* (Nguni). Most of these people appear to have subsisted largely by hunting and gathering, often supplemented by cattle raiding, but some San groups kept domestic stock on a permanent basis." (Jolly 1996: 32)

The isiXhosa term in the plural is also written abaThwa and the singular is umThwa.

"San", despite its derogatory connotations, is used extensively in the literature and is used here despite the warning by Wright:

"The ethnic term 'San', now widely used in the literature for people formerly labelled as Bushmen, itself forms a major obstacle to investigation of the place of Tuu-speakers [one of the two main San language groups] in the history of the regions under study. The epistemological issues involved are complex, and will require careful discussion if they are to be understood by a popular readership." (Wright 2014: 8-9)

Allan Barnard, writing after 35 years work with San, mainly in Botswana, reminded us that:

"'the Bushman' was not immediately obvious to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers on the Khoisan. The Bushman is a concept that emerged slowly through the centuries." (Barnard 2007: 11)

While the San were not the first indigenous people to be encountered by Europeans at the Cape, the terms used by Europeans to describe the San, including *Saoqua* or *Sanqua*, and other indigenous groups, have been subject to similar influences and changes over the centuries.

"Khoekhoen, is from the Nama word *khoe* "person", with reduplication and the suffix *-n* to indicate the plural." (*Wikipedia* 2014/09/24)

"... there are some reasons to think that the numerous pastoralist communities stretching from Algoa Bay, on the Indian Ocean coast, to the Orange River (and possibly further north), on the Atlantic Ocean coast, which are known to have formed, in the 17th century, a long chain of genealogically- and politica[illegible] groups of cattle and sheep herders, were speakers of very close varieties of the same language (Elphick 1977: 10, passim). These people used to call themselves Khoekhoe, an autoethnonym formed on the nominal stem Khoe, 'person, human being' preceded by the adjectivally-used root in the sense of 'human', meaning 'true human being'." (Fauvelle-Aymar 2005: 160)

The term "Khoikhoi", although outdated and technically incorrect, is used in most of the literature referred to in this discussion and is used here.

An early use of "Khoisan", perhaps the first, is described by Fauvelle-Aymar:

"Leonard Schultze, an anatomical scientist at the University of Jena in Germany, conducted extensive observations in southern Africa between 1903 and 1905. His conclusions, published two decades later (Schultze 1928) were that Bushmen and Hottentots, while representing two separate biological groups, together formed a biological cluster in the human species. This cluster he labelled Koï-san, adjoining two words used by the Khoekhoe to designate their own people and their non-Khoekhoe neighbours, respectively." (Fauvelle-Aymar 2008: 78)

While his biology was contested, genetic evidence has since established a biological identity.

The term Khoisan has stuck although the more correct term might be "Khoesan". However this too is problematic from a linguistic perspective:

"Because of clicks in the language, and perceived phenotypic similarities with the hunters of southern Africa, the Khoekhoen were conflated with the Bushmen under the rubric 'Khoisan' (Khoesan) by Schultze (1928) to incorporate all the indigenous non-Bantu language speakers of southern Africa. This is a term which still retains a high degree of validity among people descended from both the hunters and herders of southern Africa. Recent linguistic work (2008) suggests that Khoesan should be disaggregated and Bushman (San) languages, of which there are two groups (Ju-‡Hoan and Tuu: mutually

unintelligible to each other), and Khoe need to be considered separately." [13] (Smith 2014: 22)

The term "Nguni" is also not without its limitations:

> "The word 'Nguni' is today commonly used by academics as a collective term for the black peoples who historically have inhabited the eastern regions of southern Africa from Swaziland through Zululand, Natal, the Transkei and the Ciskei to the eastern Cape. These peoples are conventionally distinguished by language and culture from the Thonga peoples of the coastlands further to the north, and the Sotho peoples of the interior plateau to the west and north-west. Use of the [term] Nguni in this extended sense is now so well entrenched in the literature on southern African ethnography, linguistics, and history as probably to make the term irremovable, but, from a historical perspective, it is important to note that it is only within the last half-century that this usage has become current." (Wright 1986: 96)

Wright concludes this article with the statements:

> "It helps conceal the conclusion which recent research into the archaeology and oral traditions of the region clearly point to – that the historically known African societies of this region emerged locally from long-established ancestral communities of diverse origins and of heterogeneous cultures and languages. As a generic label, then, it [Nguni] has no historical validity. While it remains useful as a linguistic label – Nguni languages, Nguni-speaking peoples – as a designation for historically existing peoples it needs to be discarded altogether." (Wright 1986: 111)

Wright and Hamilton cite a 1923 Zulu dictionary that one of the meanings of Nguni was that of a person belonging to an ancient stock (Wright 1989: 4). According to Hedges, "Nguni" had connotations of antiquity and authority rather than ethnic association (Wright 2012: 366).

The term Nguni has also been used to describe the Gaza kingdom of southern Mozambique (Harries 1981). The Tsonga were subjects of the Gaza kingdom under members of the Ndwandwe (i.e. Nguni) royal clan for 70 years during the 19th century (Liesegang 1981: 178). Wilson thus correctly excluded the Tsonga from the category of Nguni (Wilson 1969: 96). In fact the Tsonga spoke their own language and unlike other southern African Bantu-language speakers were watermen and fishermen:

> "They travelled, traded, and fished on the Limpopo and the other rivers in their area. Tsetse made it impossible for them to breed cattle in most parts of their territory, but they had fowls and goats and they grew sorghum." (Curtin et at 1978: 284)

Further south, where conventional history tells us that Xhosa interacted extensively with Khoikhoi pastoralists between the Kei and Gamtoos Rivers, distinctions between tribal identities and affiliations become very hazy. Khoikhoi were certainly absorbed by Xhosa into the groups that were known as the Gqunukhwebe, and they spoke isiXhosa, but the distinction between Xhosa, Gqunukhwebe and Khoikhoi, and probably also San, was certainly fluid. Both trekboer and British settlers into the area were to be perplexed. When in 1809 Major Jacob Cuyler, landdrost of Uitenhage and second in command to Colonel John

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[13] Much of the analysis of language in this discussion focuses on the borrowing of particular consonants (clicks) or core elements of vocabulary (roots). Güldemann also uses grammatical structures and generates hypotheses which push the historical frontiers further back in time. In contrast he argues that "... exclusively lexical evidence cannot be considered sufficient proof of any type of genealogical relationship [of languages]." (Güldemann 2008: 97) He hypothesizes a non-Bantu and east African origin for 1st millennium AD pastoralism in southern Africa.

Graham, was attempting to evict Xhosa servants from the west of the Sundays River, he had to admit that it was difficult to determine whether an individual was Khoikhoi or Xhosa:

> "[He] instructed one confused field cornet to 'act to the best of your judgement in deciding such cases'." (Maclennan 1986: 60)

The terms Stone Age, Middle Stone Age (MSA), Late Stone Age (LSA), Early Iron Age (EIA) and Late Iron Age (LIA) were introduced into South African archaeology, anthropology and history in the 1950s. Despite their limitations they helped to move the disciplines away from a static view of the past, in particular the huge period described previously as the "Bantu Period":

> "This label [Iron Age] had occasionally been used before and was not particularly accurate, for it was not an 'age' in any universal sense, and many of the communities which it encompassed did not make use of iron." (Martin Hall 1987: 9-10)

There is another arbitrary element involved in the distinction. While domesticated animals and plants appear from around 2 000 BP, the societies with these same acquisitions in the west from 2 000 BP were referred to as Stone Age and Khoikhoi and in the east as Iron Age and Bantu-speaking from between 1 750 and 1 500 BP, depending on the absence or presence of indicators of iron smelting and/or use and related activities (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 63, 65).

Yet the terms have proved resilient and have stuck, perhaps only in the absence of better, yet to be described terms. In fact, as will appear from the discussion below, the association of the Early Iron Age with speakers of an early Bantu language may be largely invalid.

A further, useful distinction is that adopted in the CHSA by Parkington and Simon Hall:

> "We follow Mitchell and others in using the term herder for the (economic) practice of keeping domestic stock and pastoralist and farmer for the (cognitive) practice of developing a world view around mobile stock ownership and sedentary mixed agriculture, respectively." (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 63)

Finally, there has been much debate over the term "frontier". This debate was an early and important marker in attempts to shift away from crude and static views of history, harking back to antiquated notions of clashes between "civilisation" and "barbarism". The very richness of South African historiography and the volumes of studies of local and micro-histories since the Africanist and revisionist challenges, which started over 50 years ago, leave this student in no doubt that the debate over the "frontier" versus "contact zone" is now semantic rather than real and belongs in the study of historiography rather than the study of history.

3 Southern African to around 500 BP

While archaeology may be a relatively undeveloped discipline in southern Africa and certainly uneven geographically, there is a sufficient body of archaeological as well as linguistic evidence for an outline of major developments in this early period until about 1 000 BP. Aided by accumulating radiocarbon dating and advances in linguistic analysis, archaeological investigation over the past 5 decades has pushed back the date of earliest settlement by or impact of speakers of ancestral Bantu languages south of the Limpopo from just over 500 years ago to closer to two millennia ago.[14]

All ancient and pre-industrial society and human settlement have been constrained by the local natural environment and the natural resources it had to offer. This is certainly no less the case in southern Africa with the wide variations in climate, rainfall, soils, minerals and the consequences for flora and fauna, parasites and disease. For example the distribution of agricultural settlements would be restricted to the areas with favourable rainfall and temperature conditions for the production of available cereals. Surprisingly such obvious considerations and starting points for historical enquiry have often been neglected when trying to piece together the history of human settlement.

Central to the history of human settlement have always been interaction and exchanges between different groups as well as migration, fission and fusion. Interaction has more often than not involved the exchange of goods and/or services and often also technology including new crops and domesticated animals, subject to environmental conditions and constraints.

Sheep, goats and cattle must have been introduced into southern Africa as there were no potential wild ancestors in the region for domestication. The same applies to domesticated plants, cereals such as sorghum and millet in particular. Domesticated dogs may appear around the same time as both sheep and pottery in the archaeological record. However the evidence is not conclusive and jackals and wild dogs may have been mistaken for domestic dogs (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 104).

Exchange, technological change and migration are discernable in southern Africa for all of the past millennia. Given the archaeological evidence of the presence of creative Homo Sapiens near Mossel Bay in the southern Cape around 155 000 years ago, such interactions and movements have probably been going on in southern Africa for a great deal longer.[15]

[14] Feely shows how Wilson in some of her successive publications was able to push this date back from a few centuries before the 16th when she was writing in 1959 to 1 500 years BP when writing in 1979 and still further to 1 750 years BP in 1982 (Feely 1987: 14).

[15] "Genetic and anatomical evidence suggests that Homo sapiens arose in Africa between 200 and 100 thousand years (kyr) ago, and recent evidence indicates symbolic behaviour may have appeared approximately 135-75 kyr ago. From 195-130 kyr ago, the world was in a fluctuating but predominantly glacial stage (marine isotope stage MIS6); much of Africa was cooler and drier, and dated archaeological sites are rare. Here we show that by approximately 164 kyr ago (+/-12 kyr) at Pinnacle Point (on the south coast of South Africa) humans expanded their diet to include marine resources, perhaps as a response to these harsh environmental conditions. The earliest previous evidence for human use of marine resources and coastal habitats was dated to approximately 125 kyr ago. Coincident with this diet and habitat expansion is an early use and modification of pigment, probably for symbolic behaviour, as well as the production of bladelet stone tool technology, previously dated to post-70 kyr ago. Shellfish may have been crucial to the survival of these early humans as they expanded their home ranges to include coastlines and followed the shifting position of the coast when sea level fluctuated over the length of MIS6." C.W. Marean et al, 2007, "Early human use of marine resources and pigment in South Africa during the Middle Pleistocene" (Abstract), *Nature 449*, See also Marean, 2010, "When the Sea Saved Humanity", *Scientific American Vol.33. No.2.*

But the historical picture remains incomplete. There are and no doubt will remain unanswered questions such as how if not when pastoralism got to the western and southern Cape. Certainly there will continue to be anomalies such as the Dama or Berg Damara or Bergdama of Namibia who are physically negroid but speak Nama, a Khoikhoi language (Wilson 1969: 43). Surely there will be more surprises like the genetic evidence which supports Lemba oral tradition.

The Lemba of Limpopo Province avoid pork and cut the throat to slaughter a domestic animal. They claimed to be Jewish. Wilson considered them to have been under some historic Islamic influence. While they spoke an archaic form of Shona and not Swahili, they were traders as well as craftsmen and Wilson was almost certain that they had some links with the coast. While living among the Venda, the Lemba made all the pottery and did all the weaving (Wilson 1969: 173, 175). Writing at the same time as Wilson:

> "... serological evidence suggests that ... [they] are African negroids with a long history of differentiation in the southernmost part of the continent." (Inskeep 1969: 28-9)

Recent analysis of DNA has supported their oral traditions and shown them to have originated from Yemen. Furthermore:

> "Interestingly, one of the Lemba clans carries, at a very high frequency, Y-chromosome type termed the 'Cohen modal haplotype' which is known to be characteristic of the paternally inherited Jewish priesthood and is thought, more generally, to be a potential signature haplotype of Judaic origin." (Th[illegible]000: 674)

This seems to be further corroborated by the discovery of West Eurasian genes in pre-colonial southern Africa, brought from Yemen into Ethiopia and migrating south about 2 000 BP (Smith 2014: 24-5, citing research findings published in 2014).

It has been suggested that the Lemba identity and special status within Venda society may have been premised on that of "first people" in the region (Simon Hall 2012: 137 fn.74).

The Damara and Lemba are just two indications of the limits of our understanding and which point to more complex and convoluted interactions in the past in this sub-continent.

Early settlement and interactions in the Cape to the Late Stone Age

Fossilised footprints found on the East London coast at Nahoon (*Nxarhuni*) point and displayed in the East London Museum indicate a human presence in the area going back 124 000 years.[16] Key elements in human development are also in evidence 1 000 km away in the western Cape and a few hundred kilometres away in the eastern Cape:

> "At Blombos cave on the Western Cape coast, people were making shell beads by 77 000 years ago. The Blombos beads have grooves in them; these show that the beads were suspended either on clothing or on people's bodies. The wearing of ornaments is an indication that people were conveying individual or group identity. This type of behaviour implies symbolic thought. The use of symbolism is one of the key components of modern

[16] "One of the oldest human trace fossil track ways can be found at Nahoon Point, East London, Buffalo City. The sandstone which captured the footprints of a young child 124 000 years ago also depicts tracks of a bird and two mammal species (on the same palaeo-surface)." (Kevin Cole, http://www.thegreatkaroo.com/news/heritage_potential_of_the_nahoon_point_trace_fossil_footprints 2014/12/02) For a photograph of the footprints left in wet sand then covered by mud, see: http://www.elmuseum.za.org/departments/images/biodiversityConservation04.jpg

behaviour and it suggests that by at least 77 000 years ago people had the capacity to think in similar ways to us. At the same time, at Blombos, people were engraving pieces of ochre with geometric patterns and they were using bone tools in addition to long, symmetrical, beautifully fashioned stone points. Also in the Western Cape, people at Diepkloof Shelter were decorating ostrich eggshell by about 60 000 years ago.

"At Klasies River in the Eastern Cape, human bone dating to about 90 000 years ago was cut and scraped in the same way that animal bone was treated. ... It is possible that ritual was involved because cannibalism is rarely about a need to satisfy hunger, but the evidence is equivocal." (Wadely 2007: 126-7)

The oldest rock paintings in Africa are dated to 27 000 BP in Apollo 11 cave in southern Namibia (Blundell 2004: 49).

The changing natural environment seems to have had a direct and stimulating effect:

"The number of LSA [Late Stone Age] sites increase dramatically by about 10 000 years ago and this suggests that populations were thriving. The demographic escalation may have been influenced, in part, by people's improved exploitation of the land, but it was probably also due to ameliorating climate and environments at the end of the last glacial at about 10 000 years ago. Warmer, wetter climatic conditions would have promoted greater plant and animal diversity than was possible at the height of the Last Glacial Maximum, about 18 000 years ago." (Wadely 2007: 130)

These effects appear in increased material symbolism, social rituals, travel and exchange:

"There is far more evidence for the use of symbolism in the LSA than the MSA [Middle Stone Age], and there is also evidence that symbolic beliefs were expressed in a variety of ways in the LSA. The large quantities of beads made from ostrich eggshell, marine shell, land snails and bone imply that group and/or individual identities, and thus symbolism, were frequently expressed through the wearing of ornaments. The presence of marine shell ornaments far from the sea suggests that people of the LSA may have exchanged gifts with family members or other associates across long distances. Another possibility, though, is that people travelled extensively and that band membership was seasonally fluid. At certain times of year, small family groups may have aggregated to socialise, exchange gifts, arrange marriages, and perform rituals. Evidence for this practice seems to occur in Gauteng, where sites in the bushveld, such as at Jubilee Shelter, contain dense artefact assemblages, rich in formal tools and a variety of ornaments." (Wadely 2007: 132-3)

Between 10 000 and 2 000 years ago there is broad cultural continuity in the archaeological record and no evidence of domesticated animals or plants (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 66). Around 2 000 years ago things begin to change with evidence of food production in the form of both pottery and sheep. Within 500 years pottery remains were found across the entire region where sheep were also present (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 66, 101).

But who were these people and were they just the descendents of the occupants of the caves on the coast of the western, southern and eastern Cape? It is likely that ancestral people were present for many thousands of years, if not tens of thousands, across southern Africa.[17] It seems that there was a gradual dispersion from the mainly coastal sites and that

[17] "In the late 1980s Cann, Stoneking and Wilson published their path-breaking research into mitochondrial DNA, which claimed that all living peoples in the world could be traced to a common ancestor who lived in Africa about 200 000 year ago. This 'Out of Africa' theory was amplified by further studies, including those conducted by Soodyall and Jenkins at the University of the

much later, a number of distinct and more advanced cultures moved or diffused back into this ancestral area. San languages are very diverse within southern Africa, suggesting a very early spread of population across the region. In comparison the Khoikhoi language is more homogenous across southern Africa and is related to a particular group of languages spoken by San who are now to be found mainly in northern Botswana. This ancient link appears to be supported by similarities of social and underlying religious structures (Elphick 1985: 6-9).

> "The evidence of archaeology and physical anthropology would fit better an hypothesis in which the yellow-skinned cattle and sheep herders represented components of a basic indigenous hunter-gatherer population of the Late Stone Age, whose culture had been variably altered by contact with Early Iron Age farmers and metalworkers." (Inskeep 1969: 24)

Ongoing medical analysis of the prevalence of various antibodies in current population groups tended to support Inskeep's conclusion (Steinberg, Jenkins et al 1975: 541). From the 1920s onwards, investigations of blood types began to yield interesting results. The more sophisticated serological and genetic work of the 1960s and 1970s supported the conclusions of Inskeep. Based on DNA analysis almost 40 years after Inskeep, Himla Soodyal et al confirmed Inskeep's hypothesis:

> "While there are archaeological and linguistic differences between these groups [Khoikhoi and San], the genetic data presented herein suggests an ancient common origin that predates their cultural and linguistic differences." (Soodyall et al 2008: 37)

Genetic studies of Y-chromosomes have also linked east African and southern African pastoralists. Similarly the genetic determinator of the ability of the adult human body to digest lactose originated in east Africa and entered southern Africa via Khoikhoi pastoralists and was passed onwards as far as southwestern Angola (Smith 2014: 24, citing studies published in 2008 and 2009).[18] However Alan Morris in 2003 cautioned that:

> "... the genetic similarities of East and South Africans should be seen as a more distant commonality of underlying features of all Africans rather than a specific Khoisan identity." (Morris 2003: 85)

Morris in the same article does not dismiss the possible linguistic links between Khoisan languages of the south and the Hazda and Sandawe people of Tanzania and the speakers of Dahalo in Kenya. But he does point out that the language spoken by the Hazda people is so different from Sandawa that some linguists have removed Hazda from the Khoisan group of languages. He also points out that there is no biological evidence of the presence of Khoisan people in east Africa. In biological terms the speakers of these possibly related languages in east Africa are negroid (Morris 2003: 88-9).

Andrew Smith has maintained the probability of a link between click languages of east Africa such as Sandawe and the early language of central southern Africa, Khoe-Kwadi. Kwadi is an extinct language of southwestern Angola and Khoi languages are only spoken by Nama

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Witwatersrand, which revealed that some of the oldest DNA lineages found in the world's population are conspicuous among Khoisan populations. Y-chromosome studies confirmed and expanded on these findings." (Bonner 2007: 6-7)

[18] It is better described as the lactose persistence marker as all infants are born lactose tolerant. Lactose tolerance persistence has developed in a number of times and places including in Europe. This was essential to provide a source of vitamin D in climates with limited sunlight. Intolerance is widespread amongst adult Nguni and Sotho-Tswana, hence the importance of sour milk products rather than fresh milk itself. (Discussion with Christopher Kenyon, MB, Ch.B., Ph.D., Professor of Sexually Transmitted Infections, Institute of Tropical Medicine, Antwerp, at Nieu Bethesda, 2015/01/02)

and hunter-gatherers along the Botletle River in Botswana and Nata River in Zimbabwe (Smith 2014: 23-4). Smith also pointed out evidence of a similar cultural practice at Kasteelberg in the western Cape with that of the Himba in Namibia and the Masai of East Africa – the mixing of animal fat (from seals at Kasteelberg) with red ochre to manufacture a lotion for body adornment (Smith 2014: 25).

But there are also links to the northwest. In 1990 Wilmsen and Denbow described a site in the western sandveld of Botswana which indicated such linkages:

> "Divuyu is a fully developed Early Iron Age site very rich in ceramics, iron and copper tools and ornaments, and ivory. Its ceramics have design affinities to sites roughly contemporary with it in central Angola ... and to the Early Iron Age sequence now emerging from north of the Congo/Zaire River, which dates between the 2nd century B.C. and the 5th century A.D. ... Goats (and possibly sheep) were mainstays of the Divuyu economy, but cattle appear to have been rare and to have been kept elsewhere. Two marine shells of Atlantic Coast origin (Cerithiidae) and two iron pendants were found at Divuyu; the pendants are virtually identical to specimens of the same age found in Shaba Province, Zaire ... These items indicate that, during the first centuries A.D., this northern margin of the Kalahari was part of a wider sphere of production and exchange extending throughout a large portion of the Angolan and Kongo river systems. Fishbones and freshwater mussel shells at Divuyu, probably from the Okavango Delta some 70 km away, are further evidence for such exchange. Relatively small communities of Bantu- and Khoisan-speakers appear to have intermingled throughout the region on relatively equal terms." (Wilmsen & Denbow 1990: 499)

Richard Elphick was the first to write a modern history of the Khoisan, first published in 1977. Elphick followed the view of Inskeep that the Khoikhoi originated as hunter-gatherers in northern Botswana where they acquired sheep from speakers of Bantu or Sudanic languages who moved into the area in small numbers. The growing herds of sheep in turn forced them into new pastures in adjacent areas including to the south. Sheep are the dominant remains in archaeological sites. These sites in the Cape and Namibia have revealed both sheep and pottery remains at levels dated back to 2 000 BP (Elphick 1985: 11).

The 2008 article cited by Smith and referred to above states that:

> "It is unclear ... whether early instances of sheep, cows, pottery, and other traits of the pastoralist package were transmitted to southern Africa by demic [19] or cultural diffusion. ... The geographic distribution of the E3b1f haplogroup ... is consistent with an expansion through Tanzania to southern-central Africa. **The data suggest this dispersal was independent of the migration of Bantu-speaking peoples along a similar route**. Instead, the phylogeography and microsatellite diversity of the E3b1f lineage correlate with the arrival of the pastoralist economy in southern Africa. Our Y-chromosomal evidence supports a demic diffusion model of pastoralism from eastern to southern Africa ≈2,000 years ago." (Henn et al 2008: abstract, emphasis added)

The Divuyu pottery dated to the early centuries of the 1st millennium was also found at two other sites, both in modern Botswana. The site at Nqoma in central Botswana was most developed in the 9th and 10th centuries:

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[19] "Demic diffusion is a demographic term referring to a migratory model, developed by Cavalli-Sforza, that consists of population diffusion into and across an area previously uninhabited by that group, possibly, but not necessarily, displacing, replacing, or intermixing with a pre-existing population." *Wikipedia*

"Cattle, some of which were of a hump backed variety, were paramount in the economy of this site, but sheep/goats were also common. Sorghum, millet, and possibly melons were grown, but mongongo nuts and Grewia berries - along with wild faunal remains - indicate that foraging continued to be important. Rondavel houses were constructed, and an elaborate variety of ivory, iron, and copper ornaments and many iron tools were made on the site. Cane-glass beads and marine mollusc shells, including money or ring cowrie (Cypraea sp.), provide firm evidence that Nqoma was an important local center in intracontinental trade networks that extended from the Indian Ocean coast by the 8th century. Freshwater mussels and fish continue to have been imported from Okavango communities. **Stone tools are abundant at Nqoma, indisputably a thoroughly Iron Age site**, especially in a section where tuyeres[20], cultivated grains (sorghum and millet), and East Coast trade items (cane-glass beads and cowrie shells) are associated with a burned-clay hut floor; **this is clear evidence that no one-to-one association between the presence or proportions or frequencies of stone tools and "foragers" can be made.**" (Wilmsen & Denbow 1990: 500, emphasis added)

So by the end of the 1st millennium there are clear linkages not only to both northeast and northwest towards equatorial Africa but also across the sub-continent from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean.

The accumulation of genetic and other evidence cited above now suggests that while ancestral Bantu-speaking people may have been involved in the passage of domesticated animals southwards, the initial advent of pastoralism in southern Africa involved ancestral Khoisan rather than ancestral Bantu people very much along the lines suggested by both Inskeep and Elphick above.

"... as far back as 1986 Denbow and Campbell ... stated: 'it appears possible that livestock were transmitted southward into the sub-continent by indigenous hunter-gatherers before the documented beginning of the Iron Age in the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD'." (Smith 2008: 51)

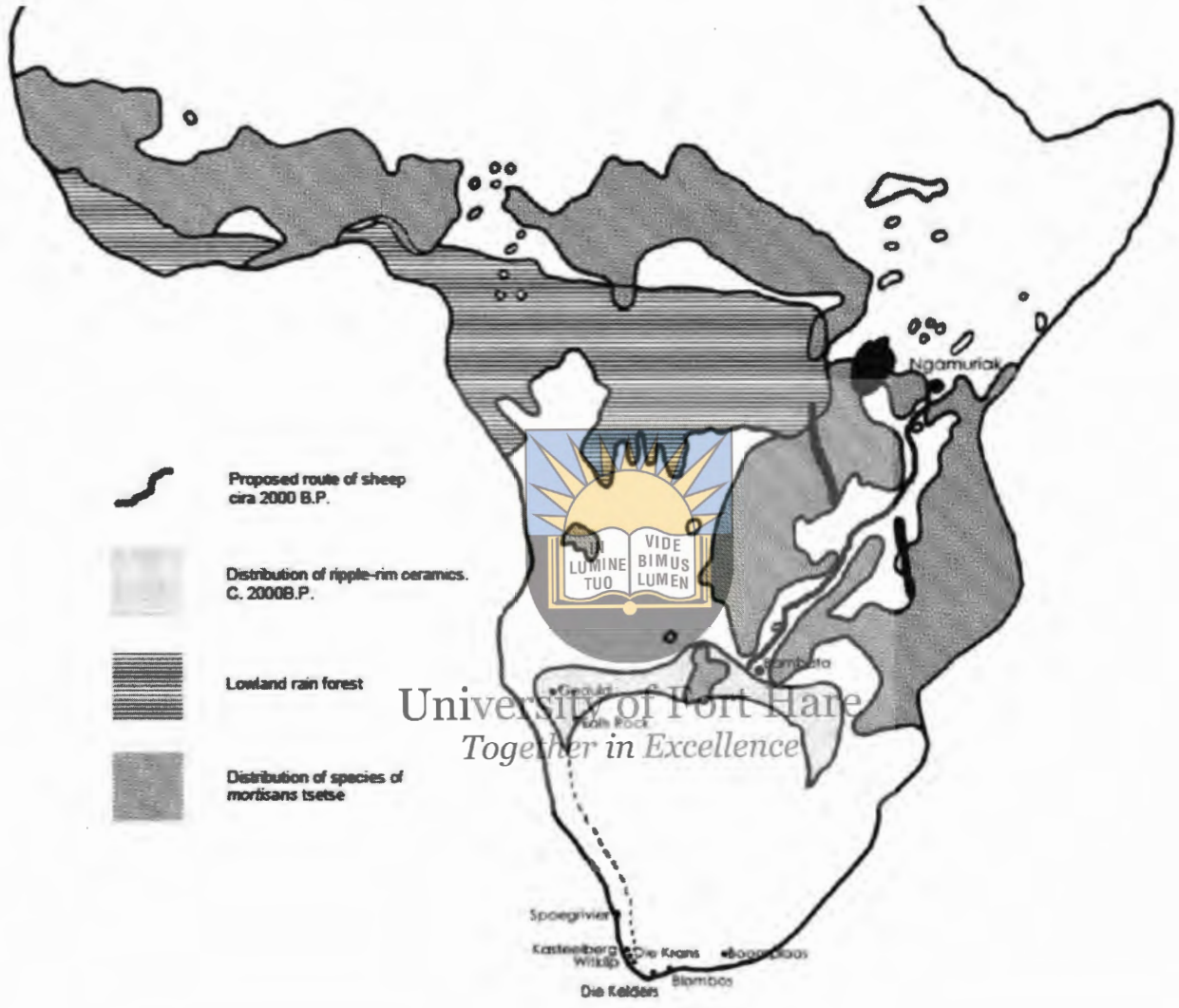
Direct radiocarbon dating of sheep bones at Spoegrivier in Namaqualand to 2 105 BP and at Blombos 1 000 km to the southwest in the southern Cape at 1 960 BP suggested a very rapid dispersion or diffusion of sheep though a mainly coastal landscape. Sheep bones appear in the Karoo some 600 years later in the upper Seacow River valley (a tributary of the middle Gariep) and 100 years later are widespread across the southwestern Cape (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 100). Smith adds radiocarbon dates for De Kelders and Boomplaas at around 2 000 BP (Smith 2014: 23)

Andrew Smith now states that sheep may first have reached northern Namibia 2 400 - 2 200 BP, perhaps penetrating via the Cunene and Caprivi River systems and from there down the west coast (Smith 2014: 22). However he maintains that the origin of the sheep was from the northeast. The route down the west coast to the southwestern Cape was a possible route, but most probably only after spring rains as will become clear from the evidence of early Dutch expeditions from the Cape in the 17th century (discussed below).[21]

[20] A nozzle through which air is forced into a smelter, furnace, or forge.
[21] For a summary of the spread of domesticated animals southwards through Africa, including dealing with disease and local environments, see Andrew Smith 2008.

Figure 2: Estimated route of sheep migration to southern Africa

Source: Smith 2014: 32



Smith in 2008 suggested that environmental conditions in northern Botswana in the period 2 500 – 2 000 BP were much wetter and more favourable to pastoralism. However:

> "By 2000 years ago, conditions became much more arid, approaching those of the present. We can assume that this forced the herders to change their strategies, with some seeking better watered conditions further south. The next permanent river in the southern margins of the Kalahari would have been the Orange/ Vaal drainage. Surveys of sites in Bushmanland suggest herders identified by the Doornfontein Industry may have been in the area by around 2000 years ago." (Smith 2008: 51)

Further archaeological work and debate over the 20 years since Elphick published has required some considerable re-assessment of Elphick's work. According to Fauvelle-Aymar and Sadr the only change Elphick made in the 2nd edition of his book in 1985 was the date of arrival of the Khoikhoi in the western Cape (Fauvelle-Aymar & Sadr 2008: 1). However both Elphick's "Foreword to the Second Edition (1985)" and his "Addendum to Bibliography (1985)" clearly indicate substantial revision of his chapter 1, "The Early History of the

Khoikhoi", in light of "a complex and rapidly developing debate conducted mainly by archaeologist and linguists." (Elphick 1985: xiv)

One of the ongoing issues is the nature of the distinction between Khoikhoi herders and San hunter-gatherer society. The evidence of language already mentioned points to different identities at some point or points in the past. Elphick acknowledged that when encountered by the Dutch in the 17th century, there was no rigid division between the two groups and that the Dutch were generally confused about the relationships (Elphick 1985: 23-4; Martin Hall 1987: 44).

It was only in the very early 19th century that Henry Lichtenstein asserted a clear view that distinguished the "Bushmen" and "Hottentots":

> "They [the hunters] are, and ever have been, a distinct people, having their own peculiar language, and their own peculiar customs ... No Hottentot understands a word of the Bosjesman language ..." (quoted in Elphick 1985: 4)

Elphick and others suggested an economic and cyclical distinction or "ecological cycle": that once livestock appeared the same people could appear as hunters or pastoralists as they lost or re-established their herds. This view is now discredited. On the other hand mainly archaeologists believed that they could distinguish hunter-gatherers from those who became pastoralists and that hunting was "a cognitive rather than an economic label" (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 101-2). For example Andrew Smith states that San sites in the western Cape were characterised by fine stone tools [illegible] herder sites reveal mainly stone flakes (Smith 2014: 26).

In contrast to Elphick's suggestion of a pastoralist Khoikhoi migration, Sadr and others have argued that hunters of the southwestern Cape at some early point acquired sheep and became pastoralists. Smith has refered to this model as "neolithization" (Smith 2008: 57). Smith has criticised both "neolithization" and Elphick's "ecological cycles", on anthropological grounds, although it is an argument which is projected back in time from early written records: that San did not assume the role of animal husbandry and attempt to maintain a minimum 60 sheep required for maintaining a viable breeding flock. As late as the end of the 18th century governor McCartney attempted to get San of the Sneeuberg to stop raiding the stock of trekboers and become herders by providing them with sheep:

> "The idea was that the British assumed the hunters would jump at the chance to become herders. This exercise was only partially successful. Although the raiding decreased, the hunters just slaughtered the sheep and ate them." (Smith 2014: 23)

However while Smith is not uncontested A transition from hunter-gatherer to sedentary pastoralists with numerous stone enclosures seems to have occurred along the Riet River in the south-western Free State where Burchell in 1811 spoke of the "Bushmen" of Riet River being of mixed race and speaking "Bushmen" languages. One of his colleagues visited a village and found them possessing sheep, goats and cattle, none of which is surprising for this late date. The sites were abandoned by the 1830s, shortly after Burchell's visit (Inskeep 1978: 146). Rev. Campbell in 1820 estimated 500 cattle at one such settlement, perhaps an exaggeration. Humphreys has suggested that this was part of a continuous settlement pattern on the Riet River which may have started as early as in the 11th century. This distinctive "type-r" settlement pattern first described by Tim Maggs in 1971 is unique to a section of the Riet River. In the Fish River there is also evidence of San using storage pits for longer term resource use (Humphreys 2009: 157, 162, 172-3).[22]

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[22] Neil Parsons has what appears to be an incorrect comparison to further type-r settlements: "The Dithakong culture of stone-walled Khoisan herder sites, in the area south of modern Botswana, is

Smith also put forward an argument based on practical aspects of herding – that the rapid passage of sheep southwards from around 2 000 BP, through varied climatic zones, with variable incidence of predators etc, would have required considerable accumulated skill of the herders. Moreover:

> "... sustainability of a sheep flock would have required knowledge of animal husbandry to keep breeding ewes apart, and to slaughter only males and females beyond breeding age. ... Even though we take animal husbandry almost for granted today, this is not a simple model. It would seem to have been even more complicated in the past, with two breeding seasons in a year implied by the isotopic analysis of sheep bones from Kasteelberg ..." (Smith 2008: 57)

Fauvelle-Aymar and Sadr state that the earliest radiocarbon dates now indicate sheep were present at the Cape a century or two before speakers of Bantu languages began to move out of east Africa and that the earliest sheep bones turn up in sites of hunter-gatherers rather than herders, although Smith has argued against the latter conclusion (Smith 2008). They also point out that Christopher Ehret as early as 1967 had shown that some Bantu words for livestock were of Khoisan language origin (Fauvelle-Aymar & Sadr 2008: 1).

41 years after his 1967 article, Ehret pushes this argument much further, based largely on linguistic evidence, suggesting that proto-Khoisan language groups obtained sheep and later cattle of east African origin in northeastern Botswana or western Zimbabwe sometime back in the 1st millennium BC to allow for the spread of sheep to the coast of the eastern Cape by the 1st century AD (Ehret 2008: 20). Furthermore:

> "Pottery among Khoe peoples goes back to at least the proto-Khoe period, evidenced by the proto-Khoe root word, *su, for earthenware vessels. Its introduction (or its independent invention) therefore took place as early in time as, or only shortly after, the introduction of sheep to southern Africa, and it developed among the same peoples who early took up sheep-raising. This term spread wherever the Khoekhoe descendants of the proto-Khoe spread, revealing the continuous association of Khoe people in general, and of Khoekhoe in particular, from the proto-Khoe period onward, with the fashioning of pots. Ceramics should be a recurrent feature of the archaeology of their sites." (Ehret 2008: 26-27)

In the Cape, the sheep population was initially at least very limited and unevenly spread:

> "In most cases the bones of wild animal forms and shellfish massively outnumber sheep, although large concentrations of sheep are found at Boomplaas, Diepkloof, and Die Kelders [see *Figure 4* below]. At Boomplaas the evidence of dung floors in the cave strongly supports the notion that sheep were kraaled inside the overhang. Wild plant residues are very common at all sites. However these occupants of the Western and Southern Cape may have conceived of themselves, they were subsisting largely by hunting and gathering. With the exception of Kasteelberg, all of these sites are the kinds of rock shelters and caves occupied for millennia earlier by people without domestic stock." (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 100-1).

Pottery is another area of diverse interpretations. Inskeep had pointed out that distinctive pottery is found between 2 100 and 1 900 BP in at least four sites in the western Cape, all coastal sites, but inland only some 1 300 years later and then pottery of a very different kind (Inskeep 1978: 116-7). While he clearly associated the arrival of pottery with the simultaneous arrival of sheep, he also raised the possibility that:

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dated approximately 1450-1700; while the similar 'Type-R' culture, in the Orange-Vaal triangle is dated approximately 1350-1600." (Parsons 1995: 344 citing Maggs, *Iron Age Communities*, 293-4)

"... hunters, who had achieved a virtually sedentary existence in favourable situations such as the coast must often have offered, may have invented pottery or adopted it from others." (Inskeep 1978: 116)

Writing nearly ten years later, Martin Hall seemed to discount the idea of more sedentary hunters developing pottery:

"One of the particular features of early pastoralism in the western parts of southern Africa is the general absence of technological change. Although herders made small quantities of pottery, such shards are often all that distinguish the sites of their settlements from early hunter-gatherers. This in itself suggests that early food producers were making use of many long-standing aboriginal techniques." (Martin Hall 1987: 43-4)

Writing more recently and generally on technological innovation:

"Pottery is a late inclusion at some LSA sites. Some of the pottery was obtained from pastoralists or Iron Age communities in exchange for hunter-gatherer goods and services, but some pottery may have been made by the hunter-gatherers for their own use." (Wadely 2007: 130)

Parkington and Simon Hall now clearly link the early pottery in the western Cape with similar thin-walled pottery across southern Africa including the summer-rainfall and bushveld regions as far north as the Limpopo valley and the Thukela valley in the east between about 2 100 and 1 700 BP:

"Compared to the stylistic homogeneity of first millennium mixed farmer ceramics, most of this thin-walled pottery is stylistically heterogeneous. It occurs in distinctive stylistic patches that cannot be linked in a stylistic migratory chain. ... there is much uncertainty over the cultural and economic identity of the makers of this thin-walled pottery." (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 98-9)

However they quickly resolve their uncertainy when they discuss the ambiguity of the pottery at Bambata Cave (see *Figure 4*) in the Matobo hills of Zimbabwe which is thin-walled but stylistically within the later northern and Bantu ceramic traditions. This pottery is found at other sites in Zimbabwe and Botswana and is generically referred to as Bambata pottery. This pottery predates the arrival of the Iron Age and associated ceramic traditions. The location of much of this pottery near water sources in Botswana suggests that livestock may have influenced the choice of these locations. They conclude:

"... its [Bambata pottery] association with sheep and cattle and Later Stone Age lithic tools has encouraged the view that the makers were semisedentary stone tool-using hunter-gatherers who had some livestock." (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 99)

Shula Marks refers to the presence of Khoisan herders in the middle Limpopo and eastern highveld during the 1st millennium AD (Marks 2011: 130). Marks may have been referring here to the argument put forward by Ehret:

"The earliest dates so far for Bambata ware, to the last three or four centuries BC, are from eastern sites. If these finds (with not the most reliable dates, as Sadr 2008 puts it) are not simply artefacts of site selection, their locations and dates are in keeping with an adoption of livestock-raising by Khoe speakers in northeastern Botswana and western Zimbabwe in the earlier second half of the first millennium BC and the spread of the earliest emerging proto-Khoekhoe, with cattle, southeastward into the Limpopo Basin before the end of the millennium. It is perhaps time to look beyond a broad connection of

Bambata with LSA herders (Beaumont et al. 1995; Reid et al. 1998; Robbins et al.2005, 2008; Sadr & Sampson 2006) to consider whether Bambata pottery may more specifically have been the wares of the proto-Khoe or their early proto-Kalahari and proto-Khoekhoe descendants." (Ehret 2008: 30-1)

For the 2 000 – 1 000 BP sites in the Cape, Parkington and Simon Hall favour the diffusion of livestock through a population of hunters who were not yet pastoralists. They argue that an immigrating population with livestock would have left much more stylistic coherence in pottery. However there is also an argument for a later diffusion of a coherently patterned, thin-walled, lugged and inverted conical pottery, which may have been used to carry and store milk, from the Kgalagadi to the Cape around 1 000 BP (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 105).[23]

Rock-art is another obvious form of evidence. Handprints appear later in the artistic sequences, usually in superpositioning. They are very common in the coastal areas suited to pastoralism. Detailed paintings of sheep are found inland in areas less suited for domestic livestock. Parkington and Simon Hall impute a great deal:

"Could the sheep paintings be a response by supposed residual hunters to the appearance of competitive herding communities who confined them to the periphery? Could the handprints be the work of herders?" (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 106)

They add the loss of painting skills to the loss of skills in relation to the retouching of stone tools, and the increase in the size of beads manufactured from ostrich shells and reach for themselves the inescapable conclusion that pastoralism represented a decline in some skills associated with hunting and gathering. Presumably they would allow for a simultaneous increase in skills with respect to domestic animals.

Earlier it had been suggested that cattle in significant numbers may have been acquired by the Khoisan much later than sheep (Elphick 1985: 12). If this is so then it may be that the people who where the source of the sheep themselves had no cattle at the time (Inskeep 1969: 30). Cattle appear in the western Cape at least 600 years later than sheep and then only in very small numbers if at all. It is possible that the large number of cattle encountered at the Cape in the 15th century did not predate the early Portuguese visitors by long. However determining the dates of arrival of cattle and their numbers is more difficulty than with sheep when it comes to physical remains:

"It must be admitted, though, that there is more difficulty in distinguishing cattle bones from like-sized wild forms such as buffalo and eland than there is in distinguishing sheep from similar-sized wild bovids such as springbok or reebok." (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 103)

The legacy of rock art may be more revealing:

"That paintings of [fat-tailed] sheep but not cattle occur in Namibia and the south-west Cape lends support to the conclusion that sheep were herded in the south before cattle. The art of painting remained vigorous and naturalistic well into the nineteenth century in the Drakensberg and the eastern Cape, and cattle are represented there. In the south-west Cape painting seems to have been a dying art in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it could be that the advent of cattle-herding in this area corresponded with, if it did not contribute to, the cessation of painting." (Inskeep 1978: 117)

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[23] For another discussion of the possible origins of Bambata pottery, including variations within this style, see Huffman 2005.

It is more likely that painting ceased because the San were butchered by settlers from Europe from the 17th century onwards and that the survivors were driven out of the area or retreated in the face of the onslaught.

Earlier Inskeep had also included Willowmore, Albany, Queenstown, Dordrecht as well as Barkly West and Klerksdorp as well as sites in Zimbabwe as locations of paintings of sheep, and Herschel for cattle (Inskeep 1969: 29). The fact that paintings of cattle occur mainly in eastern areas and probably somewhat later also raises the possibility that at least one source of cattle were early Bantu or non-Bantu such as Khoikhoi pastoralists entering the sub-continent from the north and east, or even some other non-Bantu group thusfar unrecognised and unidentified.

The debate as to the routes of diffusion or migration is indicated in the maps below. Elphick fudges the diffusion/migration issue somewhat by referring to "migratory drift" by which he means "gradual deviance from traditional transhumance patterns because of competition with other peoples." (Elphick 1985: 14) Elphick was putting forward an hypothesis, although one he had attempted with the available information to build. Therefore it is not surprising that there continued to be strident criticism of his work some 20 years later in 1995:

> "... there is then nothing intrinsic in the nature of the evidence to show that pastoralism did not spread by gift and sharing, say, rather than by conquest and clientage.
>
> "Finally, there is the problem of pure speculation. *Kraal and Castle* postulates an increase in population together with ecological constraints as a reason for both migration and conflict. There is, however, simply no evidence to support this." (Abraham 1995: 24)

Parkington and Simon Hall provide a plausible compromise and summary although they wisely refrain from any attempt at detail:

> "The most parsimonious explanation of these archaeological, historical and ethnographic observations from Southern Africa is that an initial dispersal of sheep and ceramics, with a small but significant immigrant population, transformed some hunters, especially along the western and South-Western Cape coastal plains into hunters with sheep. Hunter-gatherers further inland probably acquired very few sheep, and all, including those with a few sheep, may have retained an essentially hunter-gatherer view of the world, emphasizing sharing rather than accumulation. ... Later, and how much later we cannot tell, an important influx of cattle, perhaps from the east rather than from the north, occurred some time before the first European eyewitness accounts ..." (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 108)

But they go on to make an extreme point of caution when trying to read back in time from the later European accounts. Excavated sites around Saldanha Bay from where early Dutch commanders believed many of the cattle they obtained by barter originated did not match up:

> "Cattle bones are almost completely absent. More problematically, all occupation of this area seems to have ended several hundred years before the colonial observations of the seventeenth century. ... The pastoralists so prominent in the historic records are as invisible as ever!" (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 109)

Smith states further that:

> "The archaeology of the Khoekhoen of the Western Cape is virtually absent during the colonial period." (Smith 2014: 27)

However Smith does provide a possible explanation – that the increase in the size of the herds of cattle pastoralists around 1 000 years ago required much more transhumance and therefore less permanent settlements which in turn have been destroyed by ploughed lands (Smith 2014: 28).

While conceding that the idea was speculative, Inskeep cited a reading of Van Riebeeck's diary:

> "Goodwin ... suggests that while some chiefs possessed large numbers of cattle, this was not general, and the situation might represent one in which this new source of wealth had been recently and not uniformly introduced to the region." (Inskeep 1969: 23)

However Wilson's reading seems to imply a more egalitarian spread of cattle, referring to a reference by Van Riebeeck of a horde of some 250 Saldanha people with between 1 500 and 1 600 cattle or over 6 cattle per person, plus sheep, and another horde with 1 100 to 1 200 cattle and 600 sheep (Wilson 1969: 55).

Figure 3: Possible Khoikhoi expansion patterns

Source: Elphick 1985: 16

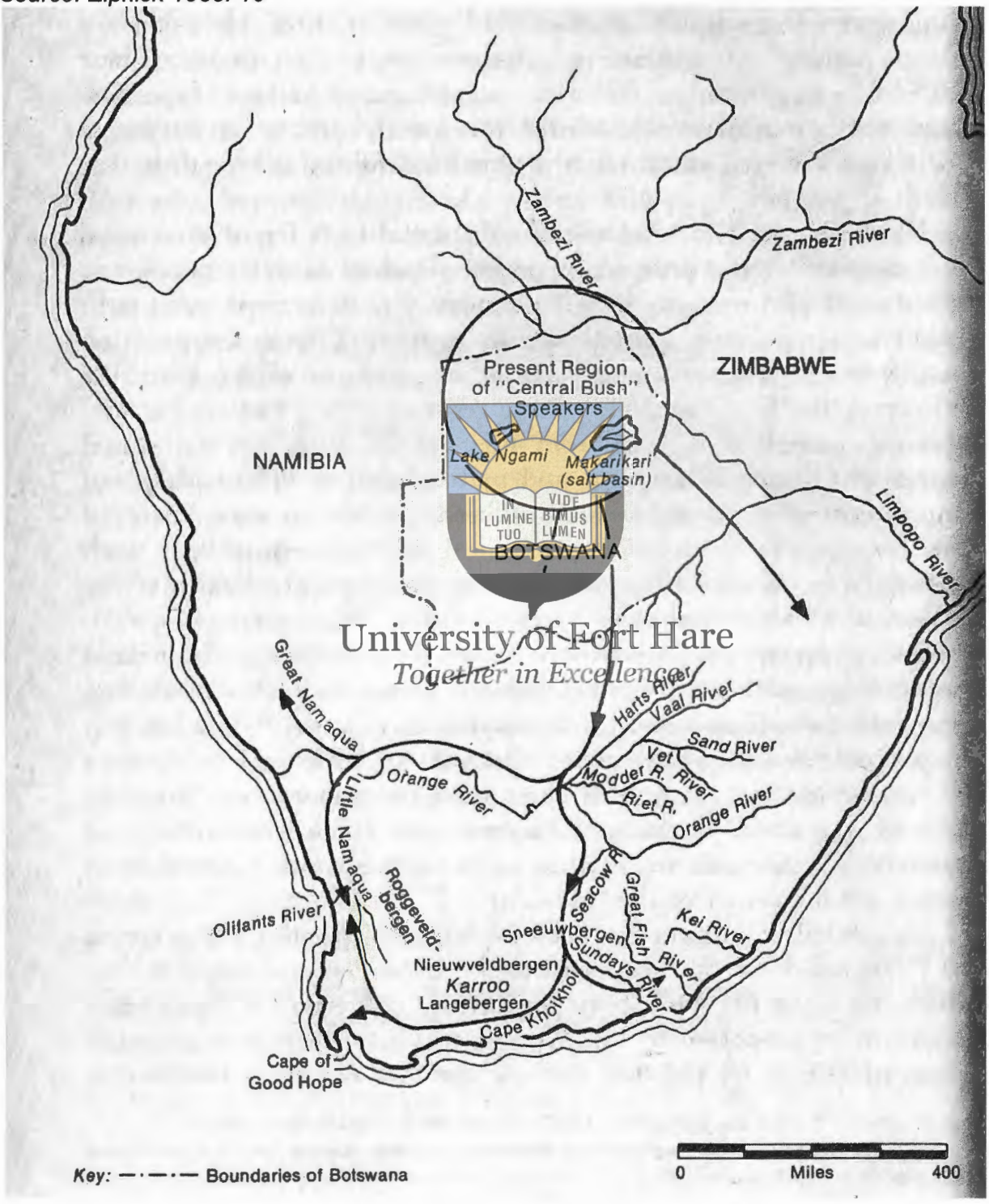
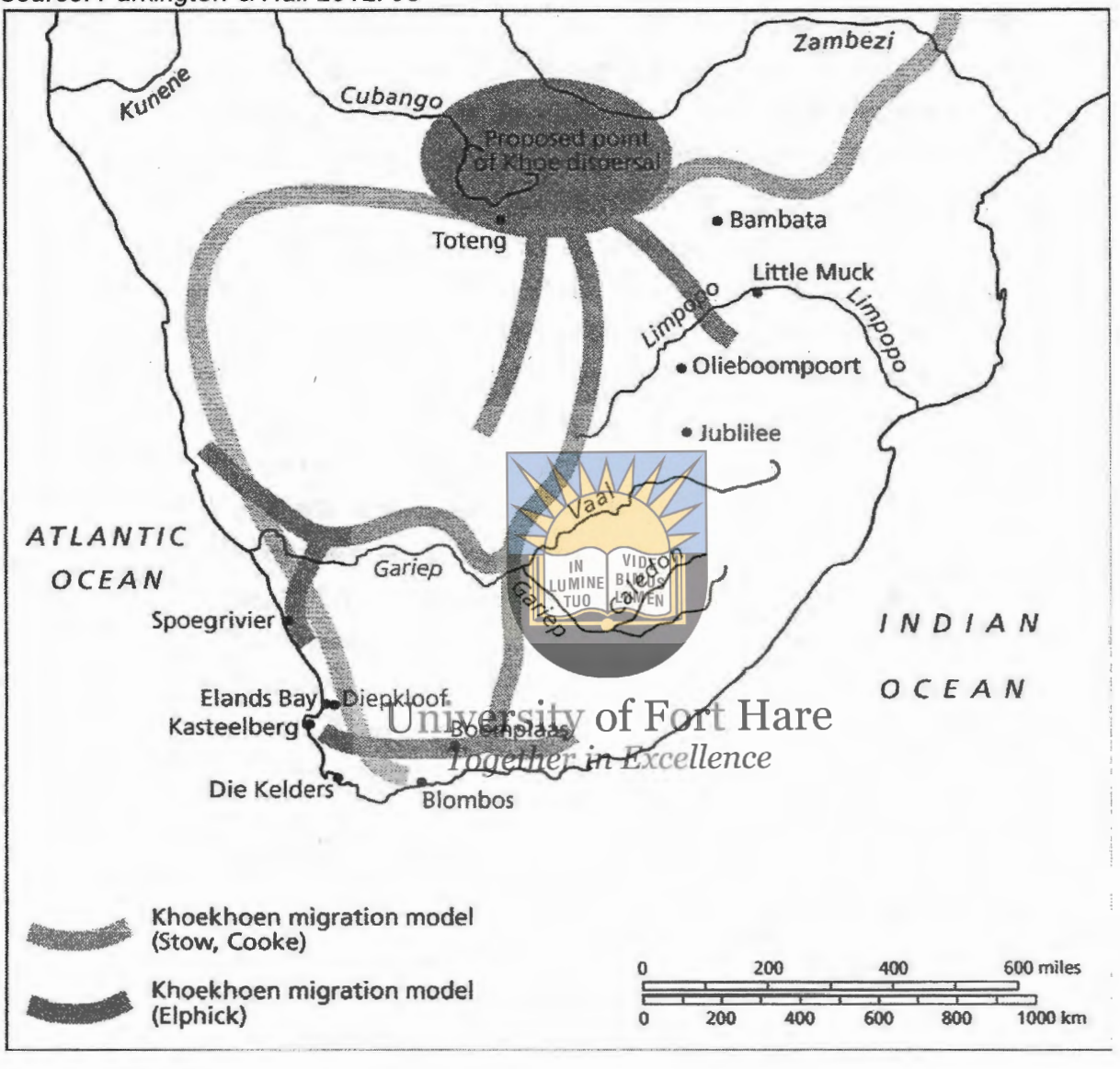


Figure 4: Comparative migration routes and some early archaeological sites

Source: Parkington & Hall 2012: 98



A site on the Keiskamma River near Middledrift excavated in 1972 was dated to the 11th century AD and contained cattle bones as well as fragments of pottery and stone tools (Abrahams 24).[24] This site falls close enough to Elphick's suggested Khoisan migration routes to provide one possible explanation for the source of the cattle, contrary to the mistaken assertion by Abrahams that this site is too far to the east. But this may have been a later route, some centuries or even a millennium later than the advent of sheep into the southerwestern Cape coastal areas.

Herder occupation of the upper Seacow River valley, a tributary of the Gariep, seems to have taken place from the 5th century but ended before the 16th century (Sampson 1986: 50; Sadr & Sampson 1999: 3). Comparative analysis of pottery points to their arrival from the southwestern rather than northern Cape. While this might be interpreted as support for

[24] Abrahams cites R. M. Derricourt, 1973, *Archaeological Survey of the Transkei and Ciskei: Interim Report for 1972*, Fort Hare Papers, 5.4, pages 449-55. Unfortunately this report has not been accessed in the preparation of this discussion.

Stow's west coast migration route rather than Elphick's eastern route this conclusion may be inadvisable without detailed investigation of other possible eastern routes such as those southwards from the Gariep via the Oorlogspruit, Stormbergspruit, Kraai and other tributaries into the headwaters of the Fish, Kei, Mbashe and Mzimvubu River systems.[25] But none of these routes were necessarily unique or once-off as indicated by the concluding comments on the Seacow valley:

> "... we suspect that more complex migration models may be required, with different waves of migration for different phases, and possibly from different directions." (Sadr & Sampson 1999: 14)

By the time of the permanent arrival of Europeans at the Cape, Khoikhoi clans were spread along the entire edges if not the entire interior of what later became the Cape Colony and later still the Cape Province, with the possible exception of the interior eastern boundary of this region. The Khoikhoi probably largely avoided the arid parts of the interior and left this to the more nomadic San.

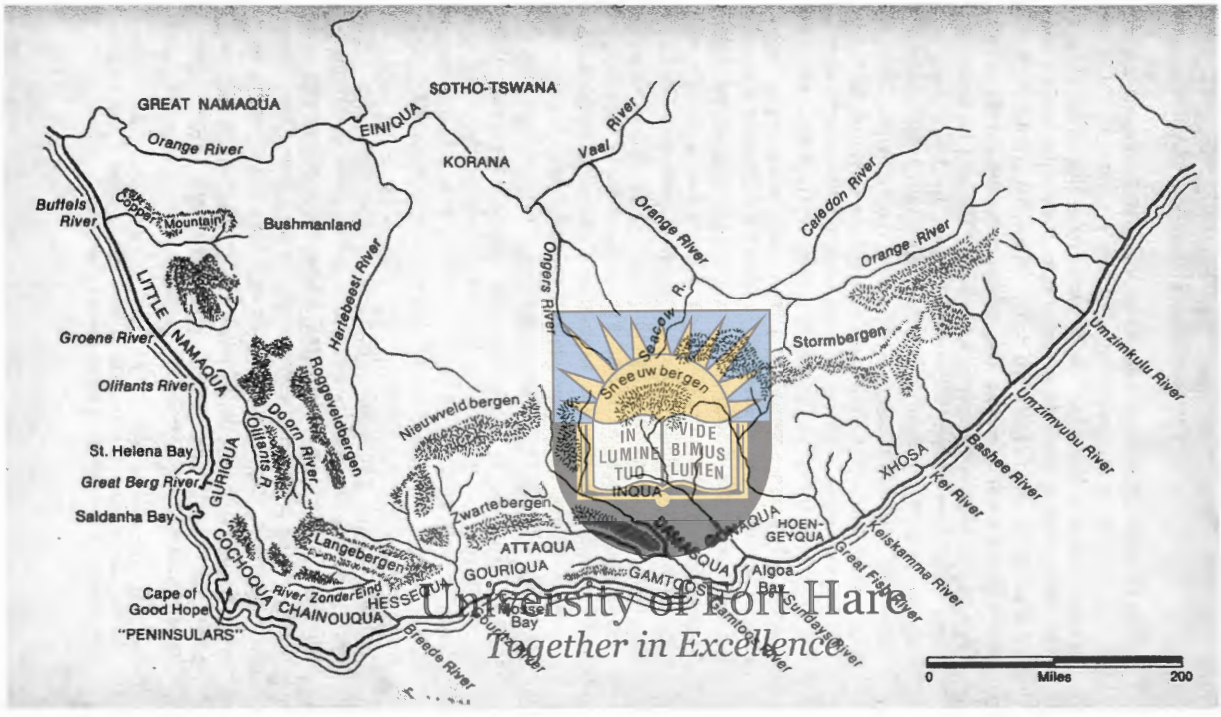
Khoikhoi populations seem to have spread at least as far eastwards as the central Transkei by the time of the arrival of any Iron Age people, based on the incidence of names of rivers which appear to be Khoikhoi in origin by the presence of "clicks". Feely and Bell Cross (2011) had noted the presence of San in the interior of the Transkei in the same period. This raised the possibility that Khoikhoi cattle may also have been obtained from the east and not from other Sudanic groups to the north via Botswana centuries or millennia before. However Inskeep was already adamant that the advent of pastoralism in the Cape had nothing to do with the development of Iron Age farming communities (Inskeep 1978: 117). But more on this follows below.

[25] Both the Seacow and Oorlogspruit run through the Colesburg magisterial district and the Seacow also through the Hanover magisterial district. The sources of the Seacow are the northern slopes of the Sneeuberge and Kompasberg (2500m). The sources of the Sundays River lie to the immediate south of the Sneeuberge. The Oorlogspruit rises in the very south of the Colesburg magisterial district on a much less dramatic watershed than that provided by the Sneeuberge, but a watershed nonetheless with the Fish River system. The Stormbergspruit forms the boundary between the Albert (Burgersdorp) and Aliwal north magisterial districts after flowing though first Molteno then Burgersdorp. The sources are in the Bamboesberg, rather than the Stormberge themselves, which forms the watershed with the Swart Kei River system. The Kraai flows through the Aliwal North district before becoming the boundary with the Lady Grey magisterial district. Its further tributaries arise on watersheds with the White Kei, Mbashe and Mzimvubu River systems.

Figure 5: Approximate location of Khoikhoi

(As of about 1650 for the southwest Cape and about 1750 for the southeast Cape and Orange River)

Source: Elphick 1985: 51. Exactly the same map is used by Robert Ross in *CHSA* 2012: 172.



Through both the Middle and Late Stone Ages, there seems no evidence of local knowledge of metallurgy, apart perhaps from amongst the Nama from contacts with Iron Age communities (Inskeep 1969: 21). However Elphick argued that the earliest Portuguese records noted that Khoikhoi already wore copper ornaments and that iron was salvaged from the earliest shipwrecks, indicating awareness of its utility. There is a common root for iron in Namaqua and Korana, similar to that recorded in Table Bay and Saldanha Bay in the 16th and 17th centuries and in the eastern Cape in the 18th:

> "The wide diffusion of this root in space and time suggests that it was an original Khoikhoi root, and hence that Khoikhoi have possessed iron before the divergence of Namaqua from Cape Khoikhoi. It is also likely that Khoikhoi knew iron before other metals, for both Namaqua and Cape Khoikhoi used the word */urib* to mean both iron and metal in general, calling copper 'red iron', gold 'yellow iron' and so on." (Elphick 1985: 64-5)

This may point again to very early contact and exchanges between Khoisan and Iron Age peoples in southern Africa.

If Wilson is correct then only the Nama had goats which they obtained also at a later date in trade with the "goat people", the Thlaping of the western highveld (Wilson 1969: 55). Christopher Ehret is in agreement that goats arrived some time after sheep and cattle but that they were obtained from three different sources into southern Africa to account for different word roots linked to southwestern Bantu, East African Bantu and from proto-southeastern Bantu people via Khoikhoi in the first half of the 1st millennium AD (Ehret 2008: 24-5).

Unfortunately Parkington and Simon Hall in *CHSA* (first published in 2010) make no reference to the December 2008 issue of the journal, *South African Humanities*, including articles by Ehret, Fauvelle-Aymar, Sadr and Smith. Fauvelle-Aymar tackles what he terms the "Khoisan paradigm":

> "... all the Cape Khoekhoe societies which extended along a thousand kilometres of coastal lands during the seventeenth century are viewed mainly through the prism of south-western Cape communities. This is, of course, due to the bias introduced by the availability of written sources. But it again induces one to minimise differences between Cape Khoekhoe societies. We fail to ask, for instance, questions about the significance of differences between Eastern and Western Cape Khoekhoe, such as the existence of larger and more centralised communities owning huge herds of cattle, practicing horticulture and building stone kraals ... ? The assumption that these traits were borrowings is pertinent only if it is admitted that the Khoekhoe must originally have been 'Bushmen-plus-sheep'." (Fauvelle-Aymar 2008: 80)

After reviewing uncommon and highly specialised skills such as the training and use of war oxen and insufflations,[26] he suggests that:

> "... we should no longer consider the Khoekhoe as 'Bushmen plus sheep and cattle', that is, hunter-gatherers who borrowed aspects of their culture from an unknown foreign people. Rather, we should see them as herders who owned the complete 'pastoralist package', including some of the most specialised cattle husbandry techniques. I further suggest that the proto-Khoekhoe were once highly specialised cattle pastoralists who became adapted to their new southern African environment, and who interacted with local hunter-gatherers while retaining at the same time the main aspects of their culture and identity." (Fauvelle-Aymar 2008: 85-6)

Fauvelle-Aymar raises the concern that many early accounts of Khoisan were related to visitors and were in large measure attempts to show the Khoisan in the worst possible light. He does however find reason for greater reliability on three accounts from the 17th and very early 18th centuries: those of Portuguese historians who worked on interviews with Portuguese sailors which include the earliest European descriptions of Khoisan, the account left by Johannes de Gravenbroek and critically edited by Isaac Schaperer in the 1930s, and the writing of Peter Kolben (1675-1726) published in Nuremburg in 1719 (Fauvelle-Aymar 2008: 80-1).

Kolben was resident at the Cape 1705-12 and was, by some accounts, sympathetic to the "Hottentots".[27] Kolben's account deals with one Khoikhoi cluster, possibly the Chainouqua of

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[26] Insufflation refers to the blowing "of air into the vagina of cows reluctant to let down their milk... The Khoekhoe technique of insufflation is documented through many texts and pictures ... including drawings kept at the South African Library, published by Andrew Smith and Roy Pheiffer (1993: 54–5). Many peoples in Africa and elsewhere have developed techniques to exploit the milk let-down reflex of cows and to ensure the production of milk for calves and for themselves (Ryan 2005). When a cow is reluctant to release her milk (which happens when her calf is dead or for any other reason), it is still possible to have her give milk by producing either another calf wrapped in the skin of the dead one or even stuffing the skin of the dead calf. This technique, with some variants, is widely known. Another technique involves stimulating the cow's vagina by stroking it or by blowing air into it with a tube or directly with the mouth. This latter technique is generally practised after others have failed and thus appears to be a last resort. Its relative scarcity in the ethnography of populations who own cattle suggests that the technique requires specific knowledge and long-term observation of cattle ethology. The same remark also applies to the training of war oxen, which seems to require an even more cattle-oriented ethos than the training of pack-, riding- or even racing-oxen, which are practices more widely distributed (Lindblom 1931), and found even among the South African Bantu-speaking peoples (Schapera & Goodwin 1956: 137–41)." (Fauvelle-Aymar 2008: 83)

the southern Cape according to Fauvelle-Aymar. He lists no less than 13 cultural traits which convince him that:

> "Upon reading Peter Kolbe's account, one can only become convinced that the Khoekhoe were not only sheep herders, but **pastoralists with a cattle-centred worldview** that conditioned many aspects of their culture." (Fauvelle-Aymar 2008: 81, emphasis added)

No less than seven of the traits he described would commonly be ascribed to Nguni agriculturalists of the Late Iron Age, including the centrality of cattle in bridewealth, ceremonial and judicial matters, the division of labour between men and women, the central role of cow's milk in the diet, and the low consumption of beef in particular.

Part of the significance of this conclusion is that the Khoikhoi group described were situated far to the west of any Nguni influence and in a different climatic zone. Thus it seems unlikely that any "cattle-centred worldview" was borrowed from the Nguni.

The difficulty with this argument of Fauvelle-Aymar is that it is based on evidence and observation from the late 17th and early 18th centuries and does not give any indication of the transition from the very limited numbers of sheep in the earliest archaeological records of sheep from around 2 000 BP through to "a cattle-centred worldview" observed by Kolben.

In 2012 Karim Sadr linked the continuities in the use of stone-wall structures (SWS) across southern Africa to pose some challenging new questions and suggest a possible new scenario. Active archaeological work was then underway to try to add evidence to build or refute his line of inquiry. The earliest SWS structures occur from as long ago as 4 400 BP in the central Karoo during the Middle Stone Age. Some LSA SWS were designed to channel prey and others to restrict domestic animals. The oldest LSA structures built to contain livestock, on the Seacow River which originates in the Sneeuberge north of modern Graaff Reinet, were reliably dated to the 11th century AD. This predates the earliest SWS structures on the highveld and grasslands to the north and east. Although this is not a point made by Sadr, there is additional significance in that this was a plausible route for southward migration or diffusion of Khoisan and/or livestock from the Gariep down the tributary Seacow and across the watershed between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans into the headwaters of the Sundays and perhaps also the Fish Rivers. This connection was made by Elphick who also reminded us that the trekboers followed the same route but in the opposite direction in the 18th century (Elphick 1985: 20).

> "It is clear that the oldest SWS built to control the movement of animals and to contain livestock are associated with LSA cultures in the western half of the subcontinent. This distribution and chronology raise the question of whether the earliest 'Iron Age' CCK [28] walling might not represent in some sense the fusion of indigenous LSA herding cultures with Bantu-speaking, Iron Age, agricultural ones." (Sadr 2012: 261).

Sadr outlines the current project to determine any connections between LSA and Iron Age SWS and then speculates:

> "Chris Ehret has suggested that a now extinct Limpopo Khoekhoe language and its associated culture had a major impact on cattle-raising in the south-eastern Bantu

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[27] But he has also been criticised for his views, for example his then common pre-occupation with female Khoisan genitalia (Morris 2008: 221).

[28] "The other tradition of Iron-Age stone walling is called the Central Cattle Pattern by Huffman, a label that risks confusion with a concept of settlement organisation which does not require stone walling. To avoid misunderstanding, I refer to this second tradition of walling as Central Cattle Kraal, or CCK for short." (Sadr 2012: 259)

cultures. He finds linguistic evidence in Sotho to support the hypothesis that the Limpopo Khoekhoe cattle pastoralists, after influencing the proto-Southeast-Bantu in the first half of the first millennium AD, continued to be a significant presence in northern South Africa into the second half of the first millennium AD, and that the descendants of the Limpopo Khoekhoe probably constituted a major element in the demographic ancestry of the proto-Sotho. Although not all linguists agree with Ehret's propositions, his hypothesis resonates with some recent genetic studies." (Sadr 2012: 262-3)

If Ehret and Sadr are proved to be correct, then this is also another obvious source of Khoikhoi cattle as far south as the Cape peninsula before the Europeans made call. In fact Ehret argued in 2008 that:

"Consistent with the lexical evidence for the adoption of cattle, the set of expansions in which cattle ownership was key were those of the proto-Khoekhoe and their descendant communities southward, first into the watershed areas of the middle Limpopo River; then farther south in northern South Africa and in the Gariep-Vaal confluence region; and finally into the Eastern Cape and from there eastward to beyond the Kei River and westward to the Cape of Good Hope. In this interpretation, the adoption of cattle had a transformative economic impact on the Khoekhoe, shifting their productive activities to full-scale pastoralism, with hunting and gathering very much supplementary. The adoption of Limpopo Khoekhoe pastoral loanwords, specifically *-komo 'cow' and *-pi 'milk', already in proto-Southeastern-Bantu (PSEB), a language spoken in the early or middle first millennium AD (Ehret et al. 1972), places the inception of these developments among the proto-Khoekhoe ancestors of the Limpopo Khoekhoe no later than the early first millennium AD and possibly in the late first millennium BC." (Ehret 2008: 21)

Unfortunately Parkington and Simon Hall do not cite any of Ehret's work after 1998, although there is no major divergence between their views. It may be that the former are simply dealing at a much more general and more circumspect level than the latter.

However Peires has pointed out that the common Bantu root for cattle, "-ombe", survives in the isiXhosa *hlonipa* language style (Peires 1981: 24) and Wilson recorded "an archaic Sotho word from the Bantu stem for cow" (Wilson 1969: 104).

According to Ehret there are no ancient root words in proto-Khoisan for crops and cultivation. Later words tend to derive from words not specifically related to agriculture or are borrowings from Bantu languages. But we do know from Sparrman much later in 1786 in the eastern Cape that Khoikhoi were engaged in some cultivation:

"Whether these practices had spread to the Eastern Cape communities not long before, from their Nguni neighbours to the east, or went back significantly earlier in Cape Khoekhoe history cannot be resolved from the very little evidence available to us as yet." (Ehret 2008: 22).

Elphick cites a reference by Cruse when he visited the Attaqua in 1668 that he was told that he was one month too early to buy dagga as it was not yet ripe. Both Sparrman and Thunberg observed fields of dagga of Khoikhoi in the 18th century and Wikar reported its cultivation on the islands of the Gariep in 1779 (Elphick 1985: 63).

Early Iron Age to around 1 000 BP

The Early Iron Age (EIA) package in southern Africa has been tied to debates around the immigration of people and speakers of eastern Bantu languages. The words used in these languages for domestic animals, tools, cereal production and iron working, like these material borrowings themselves, are borrowings from central Sudanic or eastern Sahelian languages. According to the *CHSA*, it is likely that the conduit for livestock terms were the Khoisan who, prior to the Iron Age, were spread thinly but much more widely, and first brought domestic livestock, mainly sheep, into southern Africa (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 74).

The stimulus to the migration of EIA people southwards is not clear but iron itself may have been central to any actual movement:

> "Iron would certainly have facilitated the domestication of landscape, and the prior Neolithic experience of managing domesticates and genetically modifying them to different conditions may also have helped." (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 75)

Genetic evidence firmly ties southern Bantu speakers with both west and east Africa and with some assimilation of indigenous genetic stock.

> "Once established in the subtropical coastlands of south-eastern Africa [south of the Limpopo River], perhaps as early as 50 BC, grain [i.e. sorghum and millet] farming became the foundation for new ways of living. In place of the nomadic camps of the gathering and hunting groups who had moved with the seasons for thousands of years, more permanent villages were built. Instead of living off the land, communities began to change their environment, cutting and burning clearings in the woodlands for fields. From this more settled way of life, with its new forms of economy, came a need for new technology: iron for hoes and axes, and new implements for preparing and storing food, including large numbers of pots and bowls which were decorated in differing styles. With the later addition of herds and flocks of domestic animals, this farming way of life has provided the basic livelihood for farmers in southern Africa for twenty centuries." (Martin Hall 1987: 1)
>
> "The radiocarbon dates from sites in the eastern Transvaal, in southern Mozambique and from the coast slightly to the north of Durban range between about A.D. 200 and A.D. 400." (Martin Hall 1987: 13)

Martin Hall also cited a probable 1st century A.D. radiocarbon date for a farming settlement at Matola, now part of Maputo (Martin Hall 1987: 38). However, writing in the same year:

> "Enkwazini near Lake St Lucia, and Matola in southern Mozambique, are likewise shell-middens with only minimal evidence for the status 'Iron Age'. The late date for cave-dwelling, stone tool-using people at Umbeli Belli and Mhlanga remind us that hunter-gatherers may have survived 1,500 years of agricultural occupation. The swathe of shell-middens along the south-east African coast from the mouth of the Zambezi to the mouth of the Kei may reflect the existence of a viable refuge area for hunter-gatherers. In fact, Acocks suggested that the coastal subtropical forests were much more substantial prior to the penetration of farmers with domestic plants and stock.[29] The combination of dense forest and productive intertidal zone may have afforded residual hunter-gatherers the resource base from which to maintain symbiotic relations with increasing numbers of farmers." (Parkington & Martin Hall 1987: 13)

[29] However the work of Feely in the Transkei contradicts this view. See below.

Given the relative dearth of archaeological investigation in the southeastern regions of southern Africa, the reliance on shell middens may be misleading. The point about shell middens is that they are difficult to miss, even to the untrained eye, whereas other, inland sites and animal and plant residues, may be ubiquitous (Buchanan 1985: 15).

Writing in 1987 already, Jim Feely summarised the then accepted view of early Iron Age settlement from the north into the area south and southeast of the Limpopo River:

> "The modern view deriving in part from archaeological studies, sees the expansion of Negro farming settlement into southern Africa as having commenced no later than c.1 750 BP but probably earlier. Settlement locations of such an age have been found in the lowveld of the Transvaal and Mozambique and along the Natal coast southward to between the Mkhomazi and Mzimkhulu Rivers ...
>
> "Between 1 600 BP and 1 400 BP, settlement had expanded inland into most of the bushveld of Transvaal south to the approximate latitude of the Magaliesberg (Pretoria), and along entrenched valleys below c. 1 000m a.s.l. in Natal and probably Transkei. ... To these regions farming settlement seems to have been confined until c. 550 BP." (Feely 1987: 14)

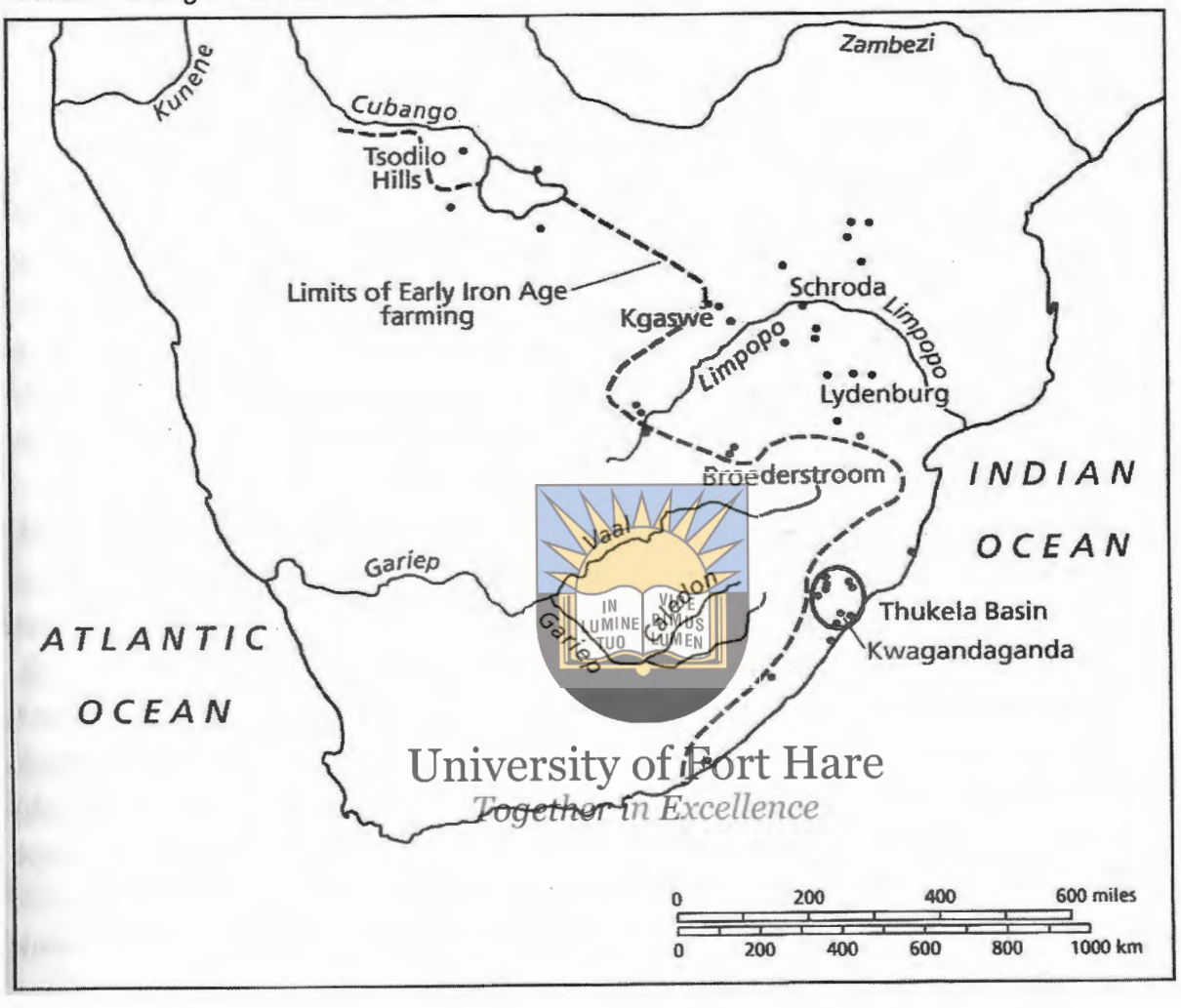
Also writing in the late 1980s, Tim Maggs stated:

> "On one point archaeologists seem agreed. This is that the earliest Iron Age sites in South Africa, including Natal, relate to an eastern coastal and lowland cultural tradition with links as far north as the Kwale sites of eastern Kenya. This tradition has been named 'Matola', after a site in southern Mozambique [at Maputo] which provided close typological links between the Natal and eastern Transvaal sites.
>
> "The inference to be drawn from the distribution of Matola and related pottery is that the first Iron Age people reached Natal as part of a migration ... which had reached southern Africa by the third century AD." (Maggs 1989: 29)

The distribution of identified EIA sites shows a clear preference for the summer rainfall area, and avoidance of both the grasslands of the highveld and the mountainous escarpment. This correlates with the tolerances of staple cereals, millet and sorgum, which require annual rainfall of 500 mm, 350 mm in the summer growing season, and a minimum average temperature of 15^{0}C (Huffman 1996: 55; Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 78).

Figure 6: Geographic limits of Early Iron Age Settlement

Source: Parkington & Hall 2012: 79



Writing 20 years later than Martin Hall, Feely and Maggs, Bonner was a little more cautious with dates:

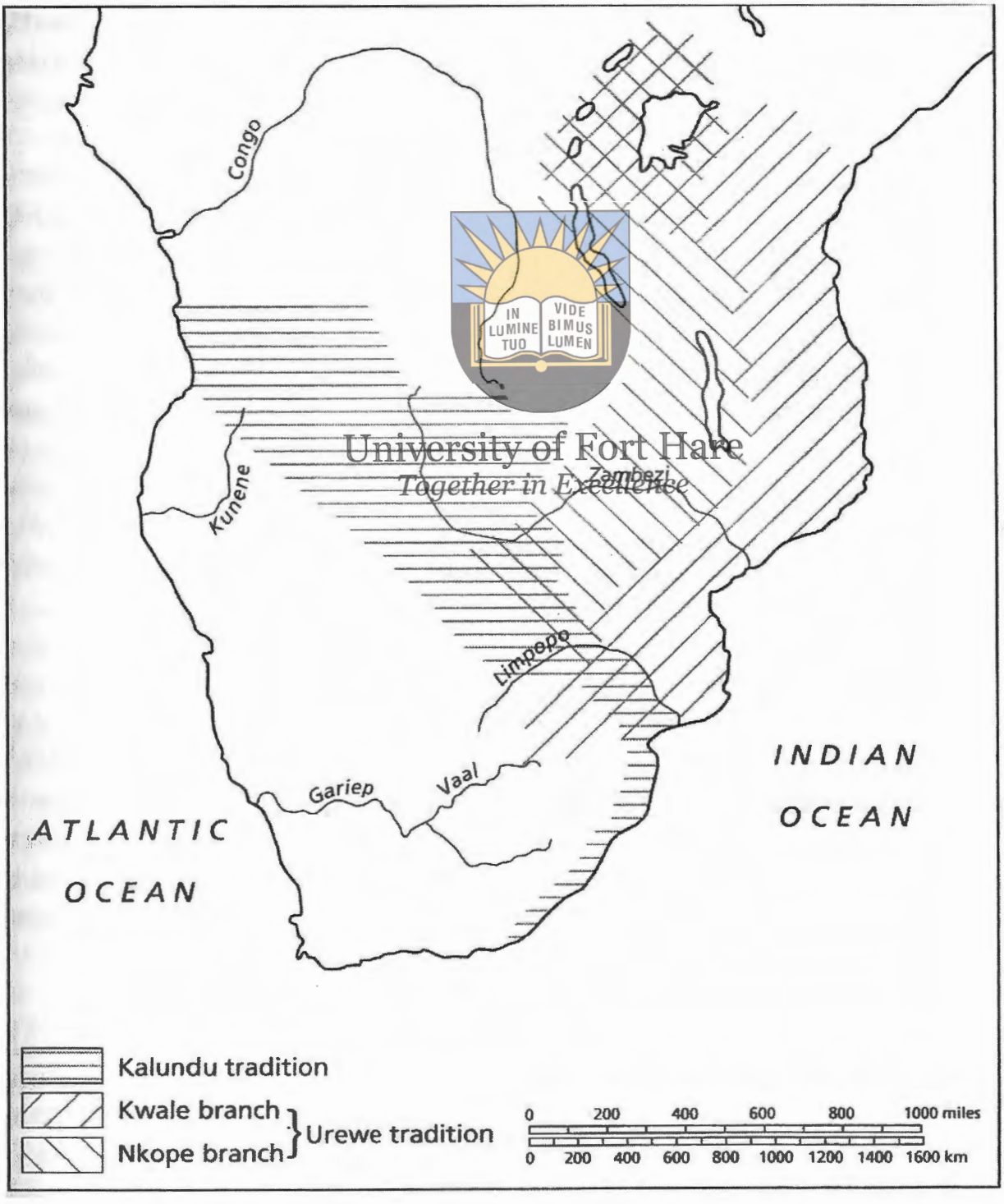
> "Only at the remarkably late date of the early 1970s was an Early Iron Age phase of African agricultural communities clearly defined. Two sites hit the headlines at the same time; the one was exposed at the farm 'Silver Leaves' near Tzaneen, in the northeast of the old Transvaal, the other at Broederstroom 29/72 in the Magaliesberg Valley. Both announced the discovery of pottery possessing features similar to the Kwale and Nkope traditions in Kenya and Malawi respectively. ...
>
> "Both sites contained charcoal, samples of which were sent for dating at the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) in Pretoria and the University of California in Los Angeles. The dates provided by these two institutions in 1972 or 1973 were the earliest for any Iron Age South African site: AD 230-270 for 'Silver Leaves', AD 460 for Broederstroom." (Bonner 2007: 143)

Writing almost 20 years after Maggs, Bonner connects the EIA south of the Limpopo with both the Kwale and Nkope ceramic traditions and not just the Kwale.

Parkington and Simon Hall are equally cautious, also placing the earliest radio-carbon dates between 1750 and 1550 BP. However they are confident that these new farmers were using Bantu languages by these dates, in other words the likely linguistic ancestors of the Sotho-Tswana and Nguni languages of the present (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 70).

Figure 7: Dispersal of ceramic traditions

Source: Parkington & Hall 2012: 71



The Kwale and Nkope are branches of the Uruwe ceramic tradition, both originating in or near the Great Lakes region of east Africa.

Ceramic analysis distinguishes two phases within the Kwale branch. The 1st phase is known as Silverleaves, between AD 250 and 430, and sites on the Mpumalanga escarpment and in the highlands of Swaziland indicate a preference for areas of high rainfall and availability of iron ore.

The 2nd phase of the Kwale branch is known as Mzonjani, between AD 420 and 580, and such settlements are found along and mostly within 6km of the Natal coast and not much further south than Durban. There is a suggestion that the Mzonjani locations were determined by a combination of optimisation of higher coastal rainfall and later access to sources of iron ore inland (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 76).

The Nkope branch follows a more inland flow south as far as Zimbabwe in the 5th century A.D.

Citing work from 2002, Parkington and Simon Hall state that the slightly later and southernmost EIA sites of the 7th century, which are found well into the eastern Cape, do not connect with the Kwale branch of the Urewe ceramic tradition but rather to the Kalundu tradition which connects northwestward to the archaeologically poorly known areas of Angola including a site at Benfica. Kalundu ceramics are dated in the 5th century in Limpopo and at Lydenburg in Mpumalanga and in Natal from the 7th to the 10th centuries (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 71, 75-7).

Origin/location	Tradition/branch	Phases	Sites/extent
Great Lakes, East Africa, coastal stream	Urewu/Kwale	Silverleaves AD 250-430	Mpumalanga & Swaziland
		Mzonjani AD 420-580	Natal coast as far south as Durban & Broederstroom
Angola	Kalundu		Limpopo Province in 5th C AD, Lydenburg in Mpumalanga, Natal 7th C AD & south to East London
Great Lakes, East Africa, inland stream	Urewu/Nkope	Zhizo	Limpopo River Valley in 9th C AD

Based on a detailed distribution study of early, Mzonjani farming settlement around Lake St Lucia, Martin Hall suggested that the south-eastern lowland coastal settlement early in the 1st millennium was severely restricted by an absence of livestock and protein-rich livestock products and therefore heavily reliant on shellfish, tying these communities to the coastal belt (Martin Hall 1987: 37). More recently it has been suggested that the coastal sandy soils supported only brief bursts of agriculture once cleared of their short forest cover and before soil fertility was exhausted. Shellfish provided an important source of protein (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 76).

The site at Broederstroom in the Magaliesberg valley and dated at AD 460 lies on the edge of the Cradle of Humankind World Heritage Site. It falls within the Mzonjani phase of the Kwale branch:

> "... Whereas 'Silver Leaves' consisted of two pits, Broederstroom contained thirteen collapsed grain bins within a 15-hectare precinct, a few forges, burnt daga structures, cereal grindstones, thousands of potsherds, teeth of cattle and sheep, and human skeletal remains. In [University of the Witwatersrand archaeologist Mason's words, 'Broederstroom

represented the earliest intact Iron Age village south of the Sahara known to me and the earliest of cattle farming by negroid people in South Africa.' Mason was also able to recognise that the pottery he had found bore a close resemblance to pottery found by the archaeologist Schofield along the east coast from Natal to East London in the 1930s. ...

"Huffman, who himself conducted a second round of excavations at Broederstroom, and who substantially reinterpreted the site, ... highlights several key issues raised by Broederstroom and similar settlements. Firstly, he insists that it was the product of physical human migration (rather than the diffusion of ideas), but of immensely earlier antiquity than the atavistic, mindless migrations suggested by previous accounts. Secondly, **he argues that it testifies to the arrival of an entirely different kind of human society, which contained the seeds, in the form of the Central Cattle Pattern [CCP], of an entirely different order of complexity**." (Bonner 2007: 143-4, emphasis added)

A central debate concerning the EIA is the extent to which cattle were present in the 1st millennium and to what extent the new societies were organised around cattle including an ideology which physically and symbolically placed cattle at the centre of this society. Another central question is whether this society was comprised of ancestral Bantu language speakers or speakers of Khoisan languages, or some combination of the two.

Badenhorst in 2009 concluded that the remains of cattle in 1st millennium sites were not only limited but often totally absent (Badenhorst 2009a: 46). In a subsequent paper he outlined nine significant differences between EIA and [illegible], suggesting different world views in each period and thus questioning the applicability of the CCP to the EIA (Badenhorst 2009b: 149).

The absence of cattle bones in EIA sites appeared to undermine the CCP. Martin Hall also argued that cattle herds only achieved a significant size towards the end of the 1st millennium A.D. after early farmers had refashioned local ecological conditions to favour cattle. Huffman took the opposite view that cattle were present in sufficient numbers from the emergence of the Early Iron Age to underpin a cattle ideology which was the basis of the CCP. A re-evaluation of the Broederstroom site down to the level of individual homesteads has revealed cattle dung deposits and storage pits lined with dung. The deposits of dung are sufficient to suggest that cattle were a central feature and that the absence of cattle bones may be linked to lack of preservation and/or cultural practices for the disposal of the remains of cattle. Furthermore bones and settlement structure have been far less well preserved in coastal sites in Natal. The discovery of some cattle bones in these sites suggests the presence of larger breeding populations. It is also possible that the emphasis of Martin Hall on the opening of closed habitats may be exaggerated as wild animals which prefer open habitats are also found in these sites. On the other hand there is evidence that pioneer farmers did change the environment – the bones of forest-loving Nyala are found at some Thukela basin sites but Nyala are now restricted to northern Natal (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 80-85).

It is not clear what if any practices may have existed for the disposal of the bones of cattle other than the probability that they may have been carried off by canines and hyenas. If the references to the bones of Nyala are to complete or partially complete skeletons, which must be unlikely, then the argument may hold. If not these bones may be the results of scavenging by animal predators and/or hurting and transportation by animal predators and human hunters.

Badenhorst suggested that much of the dung linings of storage pits may in fact have been made from the dung of sheep and goats and that the evidence may be skewed in favour of cattle by the better preservation of the dung of cattle than that of sheep and goats. He also cites what he terms the "zooarchaeological" research of his own and others that:

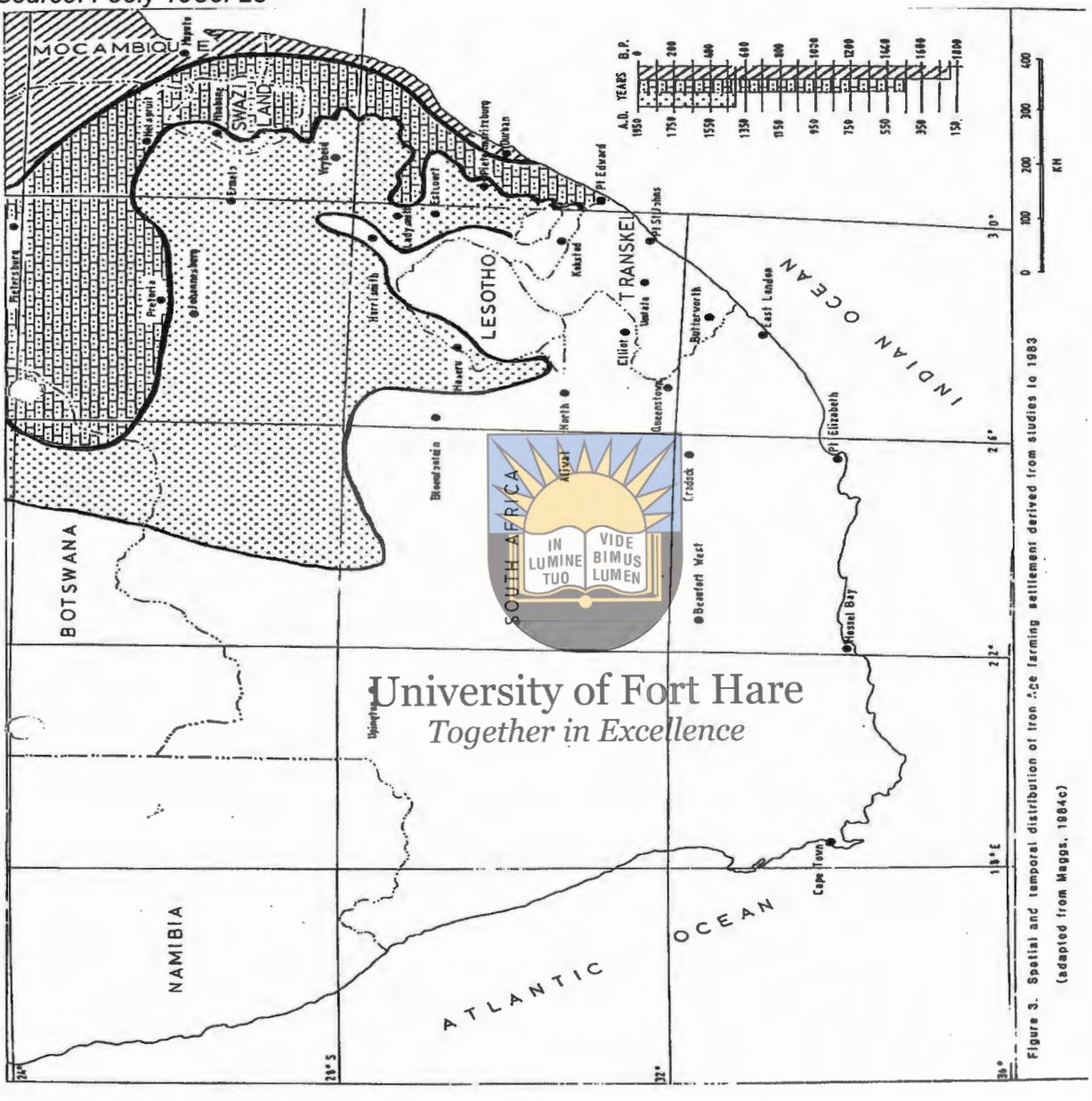
> "... caprines [sheep and goats] often dominate faunal assemblages of farming settlements predating the second millennium AD ... Therefore, we cannot accept that the kraals at settlements predating the second millennium AD were necessarily used exclusively to keep cattle." (Badenhorst 2009b: 151).

Within the coastal Mzonjani phase of the Kwale branch of the Urewe tradition, the disease environment, and tsetse fly in particular, may have curtailed the migration and keeping of cattle and other livestock as sources of protein in coastal lowland areas but less so inland at Broederstroom and elsewhere, although the barrier created by tsetse fly in the Limpopo valley should still have posed a problem, unless cattle were moved through the much drier upper Limpopo. It is possible that two divergent patterns developed: one in the lowland coastal belt cultivating carbohydrate-rich cereals with necessary access to marine protein; a second in the drier interior uplands with cattle and where dependence on cultivation was not entirely essential to food security and balanced nutrition.

But if tsetse was an obstacle for the movement and keeping of livestock in the Mzonjani phase, surely it presented the same difficulty at all times or at least cyclically. Comparison of *Figure 7* and *Figure 17* indicate a tsetse belt which would have blocked or at least hindered such movement for all migratory streams. Wilson does suggest (*Figure 17*) that the tsetse fly retreated down the Limpopo valley but only in the 19th century to a point east of modern Musina. However Wilson did also point out that the tsetse was not an impermeable barrier, citing the rapid movement of the Ngoni northwards through the Limpopo valley in the early 19th century, and moving livestock though low-lying areas at night minimised the risk associated with tsetse fly (Wilson 1969: 13, also quoted previously above).

Figure 8: Distribution of Iron Age sites known to 1983 by time

Source: Feely 1986: 23



The map above which indicates the extent of knowledge of Iron Age sites as of 1983 does suggest that the first Iron Age settlements were close to the coast in tsetse and malaria areas, limiting both human and bovine populations. The 2nd phase of settlement from the 5th century would have had the advantage of some healthier upland environments. By the time of the LIA and the settlement patterns from the 14th century, there is little if any persistent impediment to the health of both bovine and human populations posed by the physical environment.

This does pose questions about the applicability of the CCP at least in the EIA and especially in the coastal areas and indeed further south on the frontiers of interaction between the EIA and the LSA. With the same limitations and consequences of a dogmatic and doctrinaire imposition of any model, including a linear and mechanistic sequence of modes of

production, the CCP should be used as no more than a normative model which may generally fit better with some or even most but not all archaeological evidence.[30]

Linguistic evidence from Christopher Ehret points to the existence of an extinct Khoikhoi language and therefore people across northern Limpopo Province and extending eastwards as far as Inhambane in Mozambique and that their presence continued into the 2nd half of the 1st millennium. The root of the Nguni (or proto-southeastern Bantu as referred to by Ehret) word for sheep (*-gu*) is found in the earliest or proto-Khoikhoi language while the root for cattle (*-komo*) is derived from a developed Limpopo Khoikhoi, suggesting that sheep first, then cattle were acquired by speakers of early Bantu languages as they established themselves south of the Limpopo (Ehret 2008: 10).

According to Wilson, the words for goat in both the Nguni and Sotho languages derive from the Bantu root, *-budi*, as compared to the Khoisan, *-biri.* The Nguni word for dog, *inja*, is also from the Bantu root.

Writing 40 years earlier than Ehret above, Wilson, while acknowledging the borrowings of *-gu* for fat-tailed sheep and *-komo*, presented both possibly contrary information and reminded us that exchanges between languages were ongoing:

> "... one new term from Khoikhoi, *igusha*, and another derived from Dutch and filtered through Khoikhoi, *ibokwe,* came into Xhosa in the eighteenth of nineteenth century for the merino sheep and the new breed of goat introduced by whites. These are still in common use as well as the ancient words *imvu* and *imbuzi* for older breeds." (Wilson 1969: 104, citing A. Kropf, *A Kaffir-English Dictionary*)

Wilson went on to ask on the basis of the linguistic evidence above:

> "Did the Nguni, if not the Sotho, separate from the main Bantu stem *before* they acquired cattle? Or did the cattle they acquired from the Khoikhoi direct, or from a common source, differ from the stock they already had, and so come to be called by a different name?" (Wilson 1969: 104)

The issue of cattle, cattle-rearing and the CCP in southern Africa in the EIA may be jolted most by the linguistic evidence of Ehret. After outlining the development of Khoikhoi languages and borrowings from these languages, he concludes that in the northern regions of modern South Africa:

> "The most notable indication of the overall lexical evidence is that it was the proto-Khoe, and not their Khoekhoe descendants, who fully brought into existence the new economy that blended livestock-raising, presumably initially just sheep-raising, with hunting and gathering. Perhaps most interesting of all, the lexical reconstructions imply that the proto-Khoe initiated the practices of milking their animals and of churning the milk to produce a kind of butter." (Ehret 2008: 12)

> "The Khoekhoe economy, these data indicate, supported a population in northern South Africa in the first millennium AD comparable in magnitude to that of the neighbouring proto-Sotho and proto-Nguni food-producing peoples with which they so closely interacted and into which their descendants eventually merged." (Ehret 2008: 33)

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[30] For Huffman's own early defence of the CCP model after some years of application, criticism and evaluation, see Thomas N. Huffman, 2001, "The Central Cattle Pattern and interpreting the past", *Southern African Humanities Vol.13.*

If Ehret is correct, then EIA pastoral practices in South Africa may have as much to do with Khoikhoi pastoralism as the practices of east Africa. This would also call into question the validity of Huffman's CCP in the EIA. It may also help to explain the sharp disjuncture between the EIA and LIA. As Fauvelle-Aymar & Sadr summarise the implications:

> "An important conclusion is his suggested sequence of livestock introduction (sheep, cattle later, and goat still later) that can be hypothesized from the linguistic relationships between linguistic cognates of these languages: **a sequence that, if agreed upon, invalidates the very concept of a pastoralist 'package'** inherited at the beginning of the story. But the most far-reaching conclusion of this paper (and one that was not fully developed in previous publications by the same author) is the evidence for the Limpopo Khoekhoe who allegedly inhabited parts of the eastern Highveld of South Africa before the Bantu migration and during the first millennium AD. The epistemological importance of this is to erase the old mental frontier that still separates the western (pastoralist/ Later Stone Age/ Khoekhoe-speaking) South Africa from the eastern (agriculturalist/ Iron Age/ Bantu-speaking) parts." (Fauvelle-Aymar & Sadr 2008: 3, emphasis added)

In what was thought to be safer ground below the escarpment in Natal, Tim Maggs was involved in excavations at two sites inland in the Thukela valley where radiocarbon dating has placed the settlements in the 7th and 9th centuries A.D. Maggs considered the earlier village to be one of the earliest in the valley.

> "... there is pottery in abundance and evidence of iron-working on a large scale, while bones dug from the ubiquitous rubbish pits show that the village's occupants hunted, fished and kept domestic stock, mostly sheep or goats." (Martin Hall 1987: 42)

The Kalundu sites in Natal which appear from the 7th century are characterised by large and central cattle kraals (Parkington & Sutton Hall 2012: 65-6). The presence of domestic livestock may place these interior settlements in contrast to the coastal settlements. Martin Hall suggested that the acquisition of livestock allowed the move away from the coast with this new source of protein. But he did not suggest a sudden migration of newcomers into the area bringing livestock with them or cultivators suddenly acquiring livestock. Rather he suggested that it was a case of:

> "... farmers using 'slash and burn' (also called swidden cultivation) to open up the woodland environment, thus providing the grazing lands which livestock require, and which were not present in the coastal regions ..." (Martin Hall 1987: 43)

Hall cites Maggs that several hundred people may have lived at Msuluzi Confluence on the Thukela River in the 7th century and Hall infers:

> "Within a generation or so, farmers at these inland villages would have transformed the woodlands surrounding their villages into a patchwork of cultivated fields, virgin savannah, and formerly cleared areas in various stages of regeneration. These latter clearings would have provided the grazing needed by livestock.
>
> "... at the sixth-century village of Magogo in the Thukela basin small stock outnumber cattle ..., as they do at the eighth-century site of Ndondondwane which falls within the same river catchment ... But by the time Ntshekane was built in the ninth century cattle had become more important than small stock ... This pattern is repeated in the north, in the Limpopo River valley, where in the centuries before the rise of Mapungubwe cattle became progressively more important ...
>
> "... a trend in which sheep and goats were important at the pioneer stage, gradually to be replaced by cattle, would be quite consistent with the changes that were being made to

the vegetation. While the woodlands around villages were still comparatively closed there would have been more opportunity for browsing species; but once more open space had been established, cattle herds [i.e. grazers] could be allowed to increase in numbers." (Martin Hall 1987: 43)

If these settlements were indeed linked back to the northwest as in the Kalundu ceramic tradition, then this may also offer an explanation for the arrival of cattle via a route that was not challenged by the tsetse belt of the Limpopo valley or the east coast. Huffman also raised this possibility (Huffman 2005: 76). Maggs' work in Natal hints at interactions between Mzonjani residents and these Kalundu newcomers (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 77).

But while it is possible that there was an infusion of cattle in the middle or later 1st millennium, it is unlikely that these numbers were great or that the infusion was continuous. Any significant increase in cattle numbers during the course of the 1st millennium would have required the development of pastoral skills including both knowledge of grazing and animal husbandry. Groups of people who were already pastoralists with sheep may have had an advantage in adapting to the needs of pastoralism based on cattle.

Maggs has described in some detail the Natal sites, including their economic aspects:

"Most Early Iron Age sites in Natal are later than the Matola period ... [i.e. AD 500-900]. By this time villages ... had become common in the lower-lying and savannah areas, below an altitude of 1 000 meters. They were most common along the major rivers and in the coastal belt where there was good deep soil, sweet year-round grazing, and timber for building and fuel.

"At Ndondwandwe, a stockade enclosure in a fairly central position apparently served as a working area for **ivory-carving and iron smelting**.

"**Most villages had one or more iron-smelting areas** and therefore produced their own requirements. In some cases, such as **at the Mamba-Thukela confluence, a greater quantity or iron was produced than would have been necessary for local needs, indicating that it was used for trade. Other trade items of this period were decorative seashells, soapstone and ivory**.

"Economic interaction evidently continued to take place with late Stone Age hunter-gatherer communities. This is indicated by the presence of Late Stone Age cultural items, including stone implements, bone arrowheads and ostrich eggshell beads. The latter are of particular interest because ostriches would not have occurred in the wooded environment of the sites, the nearest ostrich habitats probably being the open grassland of the Natal hinterland. This indicates that hunter-gatherers were evidently making and trading eggshell beads with the lowland Iron Age settlements. The stone and bone artefacts frequently found in these village sites indicate that the hunter-gatherers were also probably engaged in hunting activities for the Iron Age villagers." (Maggs 1989: 31-2, emphasis added)

"... to what extent did hunter-gatherers attract pioneer farmers and facilitate their ecological passage or did migrating farmers have the power to pick and choose their habitats at will?" (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 68)

"... early farmers did not saturate the summer rainfall area and Bushveld habitats with their settlement and did not 'drift' over it like an all-embracing blanket. Hunter-gatherer settlement choices or mobility patterns may not have been substantially disrupted by early farmers, and they may well have had room to move within and between agriculturalist

settlements and certainly had the option of retreating from the areas that farmers settled." (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 93)

In fact archaeological evidence suggests that the use of rock shelters in both the Thukela basin and along the Limpopo River was intensified from the time of arrival of the first pastoralists and cultivators, which in turn suggests beneficial interactions. However in contrast, hunter gatherers seem to have retreated from the Matobo Hills north of the Limpopo early in the 1st millennium (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 93-4).

None of the above is intended to imply a simple linear or discrete movement of people from north to south, as suggested by Maggs and Feely above:

"... the first Iron Age people reached Natal as part of a **migration** ..."

and

"... the expansion of **Negro** farming settlement **into** southern Africa ..." (both quotes repeated from above, emphasis added).

Evidence adduced from pottery and pottery styles in particular has led to divergent views and in fact it may be that there were a number of movements of people southwards and that some of them may have migrated northwards again (Martin Hall 1987: 14).

Furthermore there is no clear evidence to suggest that a distinct group of proto- or ancestral Nguni or even Bantu language group people (as suggested by Feely above) migrated into the region and simply displaced earlier Stone Age inhabitants.

Based on the limited extent of pottery scatters at settlements around St Lucia, Martin Hall pointed out that these settlements involved small groups of people and for a short length of time. He then made a point about the risks of imputing ethnic, linguistic or racial categories into this scenario, reflecting with others:

"... [that there were] many similarities between the agricultural communities of the south eastern coastlands and the hunter-gatherer bands who had lived in these and other parts of southern Africa for millennia." (Martin Hall 1987: 38)

Hall argued that the obsession with defined groups with all their racial connotations is a product of 19th century social Darwinism and its bastard children, colonial racial attitudes and later apartheid. Instead he preferred a more recent focus on "breeding populations" and overlapping sets of "common gene pools". In fact:

"Although the San populations of Namibia and the Kalahari ... have been more genetically isolated than other groups for a long time, they still share many characteristics with other breeding populations. In addition, it has been suggested that some of the genetic markers that are characteristic of southern African gene pools are evident in skeletal material from archaeological sites in the subcontinent far earlier than they are to the north, thus turning the old migration account of physical origins on its head (De Villiers and Fatti 1992)." (Martin Hall 1987: 19)

Environment and numbers seem persuasive: Parkington & Simon Hall have suggested that low rainfall was a constraint in both the Silverleaves and Mzonjani phases but that climatic conditions were better up to the 8th century for the 1st phase of the Kalundu tradition on the highveld and down the east coast (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 78).

The implications of this evidence could suggest a far greater amount of movement of culture and material aspects of culture than of people themselves. Implicit in this obviously is a level of exchange or trade, not only in genes but also in technology and livestock as well as immaterial culture – language, cosmology etc.

In his 1987 article on modes of production, Martin Hall also cautioned against any attempt to impute a single identity across a wide section of south eastern Africa:

> "The 'span' of similarly decorated ceramics (from 50 B.C. to 900 A.D. and from the Mozambican coast to western Transkei) is quite incompatible with any 'ethnic' or 'tribal' model of shared social system and is rather consistent with a wide ranging network of shared obligation ..." (Martin Hall 1987b: 8)

Similarly Parkington and Martin Hall were critical of a very narrow focus on ceramics:

> "The sites of Umbeli Belli and Mpambanyoni [in coastal southern KwaZulu-Natal], for example, are only a few kilometres apart in the lower reaches of the Mpambanyoni river, and were occupied more or less contemporaneously by people considered 'Stone Age' and 'Iron Age' respectively. The shelter of Umbeli Belli has fairly shallow deposits, the upper levels of which contain a few potsherds in association with faunal remains that reflect a largely hunting and gathering way of life. Mpambanyoni was, by contrast, one of several very large open shell-middens on a low hill and produced a very substantial sample of potsherds considered 'Iron Age' and a hint - no more - of domestic animals. Otherwise the shell-midden was dominated by marine foods and wild game." (Parkington & Martin Hall 1987: 12)
>
> "Perhaps the less substantial shell middens further north and south of Mpambanyoni make this point even more effectively. Mpame, for example, is one of several dozen sites located by Mike Cronin as part of a survey of the coast of Transkei. These are all coastal shell-middens, some of them very small, in which the faunal remains clearly document a largely hunting and gathering economy, though in a few there are very fragmentary pieces of domestic animal bone. Ceramics of a kind generally referred to as 'Iron Age' are found on some of the sites and are common on a few, Mpame being one of these." (Parkington & Martin Hall 1987: 12-13)

Parkington and Martin Hall contrast the coastal shell-middens with current harvesting practice. While women harvesters snack while harvesting they carry the gathered food and carry them off, leaving no embryonic middens. Radio-carbon dates for Mpame suggest that the middens arose from a different system:

> "Several conventional explanations for the earlier pattern are possible. It could be that the shell-middens represent the debris of specialized work-parties visiting the coast to collect shellfish and returning to villages in the interior. Perhaps some shellfish was consumed during overnight stops at the coast, in contrast to the current situation. Alternatively, the middens could reflect a less regular strategy, perhaps one resorted to only in periods of short-term crises in subsistence efficiency. It is possible, though perhaps very unlikely, that Mpame and other sites reflect agricultural villages where shellfish were gathered. But, despite their differences, the above propositions all assume that agriculturalists left the shell debris themselves. This, however, may not have been the case. The middens could be the occupation sites of client or even relatively independent groups of hunter-gatherers who survived by exploiting resources ranked low by neighbouring agriculturalists in areas too densely bushed to be attractive to cattle keepers. Clearly the domestic stock and ceramics imply some form of interaction, but they do not reveal its nature unless placed in a wider perspective." (Parkington & Martin Hall 1987: 13)

Radio-carbon dates for this region include, from north to south: Dwesa (charcoal 3460 BC, shell 2580 BC, an inland site as mapped), Mpame (unspecified 640, 720, 1410 AD), Nkanya (1200 AD), Lujojozo (470, 710 AD, all for charcoal) and Shixini (charcoal 1750 AD, shell 70 BC) (Parkington & Martin Hall 1987: 20, 22; Hall & Vogel 1980: 454; Lewis 2002). More recently Colin Lewis has attempted to consolidate all radio-carbon dates for the Eastern Cape (Lewis 2002). The following table is the first page of his tabulation.

Figure 9: Radio-carbon dates for the Eastern Cape to 2 130 BP

Source: Lewis 2002: Table 1

Radiocarbon dates derived from samples of superficial material (excluding groundwater) from the Eastern Cape, South Africa. Dates from Tsitsikamma and southern coastlands regions are not included in this Table (see text)[a]

Date (yr BP)	Analysis no.	Site	Material	Comment	Ref.
30±50	Pta–1029	Middledrift	Bone	Ash heap	Derricourt (1977)
70±40	Pta–2547	Colwinton	Charcoal	Charcoal and faunal analyses	Opperman (1987)
90±90	SR–121	Glen Elliott	Charcoal	Smithfield B	Sampson (1970)
160±50	Pta–802	Middledrift	Bone	Cattle burial	Derricourt (1977)
235±30	GX–1295	Glen Elliott	Charcoal	Smithfield B	Sampson (1970)
250±70	GaK–1537	Melkhoutboom	Charcoal	Surface/subsurface sediments	Deacon (1976)
360±50	Pta–801	Oakleigh	Charcoal	Younger than pottery	Derricourt (1977)
360±80	Y–1425	Scott's Cave	?	?	Deacon (1976)
430±95	SR–133	Zaayfontein	Charcoal	Smithfield	Sampson (1970)
460±45	Pta–3192	Ravenscraig	Charcoal	Charcoal and faunal analyses	Opperman (1987)
460±30	Pta–7029	Tiffindell	Organic soil	Palynological analyses	Rosen et al. (1999)
510±50	Pta–3934	Welgeluk	Charcoal	? Pastoralists ?	Hall and Binneman (1985)
510±45	Pta–932	Chalumna	Shell	End of the shell midden sequence Later Stone Age	Derricourt (1977)
540±55	Pta–2017	Mpame	Charcoal	Iron Age midden	Cronin (1982)
570±45	Pta–6764	Tushielaw	Peaty soil	Flood plain	Dollar (in prep.)
620±50	Pta–6773	Tushielaw	Peaty soil	Flood plain	Dollar (in prep.)
730±75	GX–0666	Zaayfontein	Charcoal	Wilton	Sampson (1967)
850±50	Pta–6769	Tushielaw	Peaty soil	Flood plain	Dollar (in prep.)
920±50	Pta–2608	Colwinton	Charcoal	Charcoal and faunal analyses	Opperman (1987)
920±50	Pta–836	Middledrift	Charcoal	Pastoralists	Derricourt (1977)
935±55	Pta–718	Chalumna	Shell	Shell midden	Derricourt (1977)
990±50	Pta–6784	Tushielaw	Peaty soil	Flood plain	Dollar (in prep.)
1000±50	Pta–5483	Dinorben	Peaty soil	[illegible]	Lewis (in prep.)
1040±50	Pta–935	Oakleigh	Charcoal	Later Stone Age hunter-gatherer	Derricourt (1977)
1070±40	Pta–7022	Tiffindell	Organic soil	Palynological analyses	Rosen et al. (1999)
1090±40	Pta–6626	Carlisle's Hoek	Soil	Hunter-gatherer	Lewis (in prep.)
1180±50	Pta–4687/ 4695	Ntsitsana	Charcoal	Iron Age farming	Prins (1993)
1190±100	SR–82	Scott's Cave	—	Wilton, hunter-gatherers	Deacon (1976)
1200±60	Beta–11554	Nkanya	Shell	Iron Age	Feely (1987)
1230±40	Pta–2045	Mpame	Charcoal	Iron Age midden	Cronin (1982)
1230±40	Pta–8087	Kulubele	Charcoal	Iron Age farming	Binneman (in prep.)
1240±50	Pta–7294	Upper Park Gate	Palaeosol	Alluvial fan	Dollar (in prep.)
1240±70	Beta–11113	Lujojozi	Charcoal	Iron Age	Feely (1987)
1250±40	Pta–5865	Kulubele	Charcoal	Iron Age farming	Binneman (1996)
1270±50	Pta–6982	Kulubele	Charcoal	Iron Age farming	Binneman (1996)
1290±50	Pta–4684	Ntsitsana	Charcoal	Iron Age farming	Prins (1993)
1310±60	Pta–2019	Mpame	—	Iron Age farming	Cronin (1982)
1330±50	Pta–4917	Mqanduli	—	Iron Age	Vogel and Fuls (1999)
1340±50	Pta–8088	Kulubele	Dung	Iron Age kraal floor	Binneman (in prep.)
1340±60	Pta–4900	Mqanduli	—	Iron Age	Vogel and Fuls (1999)
1360±50	Pta–3960	Welgeluk	Charcoal	Hunter-gatherers	Hall and Binneman (1985)
1380±45	Pta–6779	Upper Park Gate	Palaeosol	Alluvial fan	Dollar (in prep.)
1480±100	Beta–11114	Lujojozi	Charcoal	Iron Age	Feely (1987)
1730±60	Pta–6774	Upper Park Gate	Palaeosol	Alluvial fan	Dollar (in prep.)
1740±50	Pta–7303	Lower Park Gate	Palaeosol	Alluvial fan	Dollar (in prep.)
1760±50	Pta–673	Oakleigh	Charcoal	Later Stone Age hunter-gatherer	Derricourt (1977)
1830±60	Pta–3564	Edgehill	Charcoal	? Pastoralists ?	Hall and Binneman (1985)
1890±50	Pta–7298	Upper Park Gate	Palaeosol	Alluvial fan	Dollar (in prep.)
1890±45	Pta–2549	Colwinton	Charcoal	Hunter-gatherer	Opperman (1987)
1930±20	Pta–7908	Tierkloof	Leaves	Burial	Binneman (in prep.)
1980±45	Pta–2549	Colwinton	Charcoal	Charcoal and faunal analyses	Tusenius (1989)
1990±60	?	Mbolompo Point	Palaeosol	—	Dardis et al. (1988)
2000±35	Pta–7032	Tiffindell	Organic soil	Palynological analyses	Rosen et al. (1999)
2090±55	Pta–671	Oakleigh	Charcoal	Hunter-gatherers	Derricourt (1977)
2090±60	Pta–6492	Elinsdale	Palaeosol	In alluvium	Lewis (in prep.)
2100±80	Beta–20437	Matatiele	Palaeosol	In alluvium	Dardis et al. (1988)
2125±55	Pta–1804	Uniondale	?	Hunter-gatherers	Brooker (1989)
2130±60	Pta–1803	Uniondale	?	Hunter-gatherers	Brooker (1989)

Cattle themselves may provide another way of trying to understand the past. Wilson suggested that the combination of coastal forest and inland Karoo created some sort of

barrier to the easy movement of livestock and that this accounted for the observation in 1774 that the cattle of the Gona were easily distinguished from those of the Xhosa and Khoikhoi to their west (Wilson 1969: 103). While Peires also pointed out that the long-horned Sanga cattle of the Nguni were different from the "Afrikaner" type of cattle of the Khoi, they interbred and produced an even greater variety (Peires 1981: 24). When boers and Xhosa settled down together on both sides of the Fish River in the late 18th century, the differences between boer/Khoikhoi cattle on the one hand and Xhosa cattle on the other were stark (Hopper 1980: 70). So what was the origin of these cattle and were they so distinct?

Domesticated cattle are classified as either bos taurus, unhumped taurines, from Europe and the Middle East, or bos indicus, humped zebu, from India.

> "Humped cattle, which are virtually identical to the Indian zebu (Bos indicus), are distributed along the whole of the eastern seaboard from northern Eritrea to South Africa, including Madagascar and the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar, reaching inland as far as eastern Zaire and extending in a narrow belt south of the Sahara to the west coast. Bos indicus differs from Bos taurus not only in the presence of a hump, but also in the long narrow face, long legs, sloping rump, heavy dewlap, upstanding horns and, often, long pendulous ears." (Grigson 1991: 122-3)

The standard view was that the two sub-species were interbred to give rise to the African Sanga cattle. A more detailed and definitive determination is hampered by the devastation wrought by rinderpest in the late 19th century:

> "The decimation of cattle populations in Africa caused by rinderpest, which killed about 75% of the cattle in southern Africa (Denbow and Wilmsen 1986), and by other diseases in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, together with cross-breeding with imported zebu and taurine cattle both before and after these outbreaks, has meant that in many places the original local cattle have either been eliminated, or outbred into new forms which bear little resemblance, either genetically or anatomically, to those of the past." (Grigson 1991: 120)

> "It is possible that domestic cattle originated outside Africa and were brought in with domestic sheep and goats, and perhaps crossed with the local wild cattle (Bos primigenius), which were widely distributed across North Africa and as far south as Sudanese Nubia. Alternatively, they may have been domesticated in Africa itself." (Grigson 1991: 126)

> "What archaeology now suggests, on the basis of a series of well-dated sites, is a gradual spread of domesticated cattle and of sheep and goats on a wide front southwards from the Mediterranean seaboard up the Nile Valley and into the Sahara during the Neolithic wet phase and southwards out of it in the subsequent period of desiccation, eventually extending down the east side to southern Africa, probably avoiding the tsetse areas to the west ..." (Grigson 1991: 133)

These cattle reached northern Kenya about 4 000 BP and Tanzania about a millennium later (Grigson 1991: 135)

> "A possible scenario, already mentioned in the discussion of protein polymorphism, is that after taurines were first imported into north Africa they were crossed in various places and at various times with the local wild cattle, sometimes considered to be a separate taxon (Bos primigenius opisthonomous), giving rise to a wide variety of forms, of which some - if not all - should be classed as Sanga. Another, and to my mind much more likely, possibility, is that African domestic cattle originated in Africa as Sangas (of which the Egyptian longhorn was one type), and that the various other types arose in different parts

of the continent as a result of local isolation, local selection and hybridization with imported cattle; that is with taurines in the north and, on a much larger scale, with zebus along the east coast." (Crigson 1991: 139)

After reviewing much of the archaezoological work on cattle in southern Africa by Elizabeth Voigt and Ina Plug, Crigson concluded that it was not possible to distinguish between the two breeds (Crigson 1991: 136).

A more recent view with different dates for the migration of cattle was provided by Robbins in 2006:

> "A growing body of evidence suggests that the oldest domesticated cattle in the archaeological record are humpless cattle (Bos taurus) from the eastern desert of Egypt; dated to about nine thousand years ago, whereas domestic sheep and goats originated in the Near East ... It is reasoned that the initial spread of domestic livestock in Africa south of the Sahara was most likely associated with desiccation at about fortyfive hundred years ago, which would have forced herders out of the Sahara and opened tsetse-free corridors, facilitating the spread of cattle ... Tsetse flies carry trypanosomiasis, which kills cattle." (Robbins 2006: 82)

Eastern Cape

Robin Derricourt, then a young British archaeologist at the University of Fort Hare, conducted extensive field work in the period 1971-1973. He summed up the poor state of archaeology in the Eastern Cape as he commenced his work:

> "Most of the Ciskei and Transkei formed one of the least explored areas in the archaeology of South Africa. Randomly assembled museum collections and some published notes gave some guide-lines to the kind of evidence which might be forthcoming, but much of our work lay in unknown fields." (Derricourt 1977: xv)

Derricourt concentrated his energies on sites in and around Oakleigh Farm in the Queenstown district, the Tyolmnqa coast and in Middledrift. He also summarised previous work and existing collections on a number of other coastal sites.[31]

In 1982 Cronin published three radio-carbon dates for various layers in a coastal midden in mid 7th century and early 8th and 15th centuries at Mpame on the central Trankei coast (Cronin 1982: 38):

> "The Mpame midden represents the remains of hunting, fishing and shell collecting activities. The fauna is dominated by the brown mussel (*Perna perna)*, which forms over 90% of the shell debris. Other animal remains, occurring especially in the lower layers, are a range of reef fishes, such as galjoen (*Coricanus capensis*) and biskop (*Cymatoceps nasutus*), and a nmber of land animals. The latter include blue duiker (*Cephalophus monticola*), bushpig (*Potamochoerus porcus*), and monkey (*Circopithecus sp.*), clearly demonstrating that coastal forests were nearby at the time the site was used. (These forests still occur in patches along the Bomvanaland coast today.) The faunal collection may contain domestic cattle, but since the remains are fragmentary, a positive identification is not possible.

[31] These sites on the Transkei coast which had been documented before 1977 include Mbashe, Mpame, Mncwasa, Mpako (Hole-in-the-Wall), Lwandile, Mngazi, Mzimvubu, Mlambomkhulu (Warterfall Bluff) and Lambasi. Based on the stone artefacts and pottery in some instances, these sites were all assumed to be LSA sites in the absence of radiocarbon dating.

> "The Mpame Iron Age ceramics are clearly related to the Early Iron Age traditions in Natal and the eastern Transvaal ... The results [of analysis] clearly show the relative similarity of the Transkei ceramics with other Early Iron Age ceramics and their **comparative dissimilarity to both Cape South Coast and modern Cape Nguni pottery**. ... It is possible that this distribution may extend as far south as Port Elizabeth and likely that Mpame layers 4-10 and related coastal assemblages will eventually be included in a general south-eastern tradition of the Early Iron Age." (Cronin 1982: 38, emphasis added)

Cronin refers to the nearby sites at Shixini, Jujura, Mbolompo and "Bashee" which contain related Iron Age ceramics which are held in the Albany and East London Museums (Cronin 1982: 39).

2 km north of the Mpame River and Mpame Point is Mbolompo Point. Discussion with Kevin Cole, Principal Natural Scientist at the East London Museum, on 17 November 2014, confirms that Mbolompo Point is the site of unique stone-walling of significant extent. While Cole points out that shifting sand means that the entire structure is unlikely to be exposed at any one time, he suspects a rectilinear layout of walling of sufficient height to be used for the kraaling of domestic animals. He states that there is a good source of freshwater nearby and a sheltered bay for possible landing from the sea. He contrasts this walling with the much higher walling he has found in the Covimvaba area. While there are suggestions of stone-walling built in the interior by Basotho, there is no such obvious connection with the Mbolompo structure(s). While Cole has done some preliminary reconnaissance of the area, the area awaits a thorough investigation and attempts to date the structure(s). Both Cole and John Costello (separate discussion with latter at the East London Museum on 3 December 2014) state confidently that the stone used for the construction of the wall is not obviously of local origin.

The story related by members of an old Transkei trading family who spent many decades at a nearby trading station is that a now deceased elderly local woman claimed that the walling was indeed used to contain cattle which were clearly visible to passing ships at sea and that Mbolompo was a point of maritime trade.[32]

Derricourt records that Dr Courtney-Latimer and Mr G.G. Smith collected stone artefacts and pottery from an open midden at Mbolompo Point. This collection was held in the East London Museum. There is no mention of any stone-walling (Derricourt 1977: 119). This may indicate that the structure may only recently have been partly exposed to view by naturally shifting sand.

Without any further information or investigation is is impossible to determine the dating of this structure and therefore its possible purpose.

In the mid 1980s Feely and colleagues found 18 EIA sites in the Transkei (*Figure 10* below). In so doing Feely countered the argument of Acocks that Iron Age farming settlement had cleared most of the forest land below the escarpment and turned it to grassland. Feely also identified at least two sites where smelting of iron had taken place. In fact he found at least some evidence of smelting in four sites, one each in the valleys of the Mzimvubu (fragments of two sets of furnace walls), Mzintlava (2 tuyere fragments) and Mbashe (small fragment of tuyere) Rivers, and one on a crest 76m above the Xhorha River (2 kg slag and fragments of tuyere). This reflected a revision of his earlier claims to between four and six such sites in the Mbashe-Xhora area alone and reflected in discussion below (Feely 1985).

[32] Clive Webb and his son, Hayden, residents of East London, previously resided at Prospect trading station about 10km inland from and west of Mbolompo.

Figure 10: Early Iron Age sites in the trans-Kei

Source: Feely & Bell-Cross 2011: 107

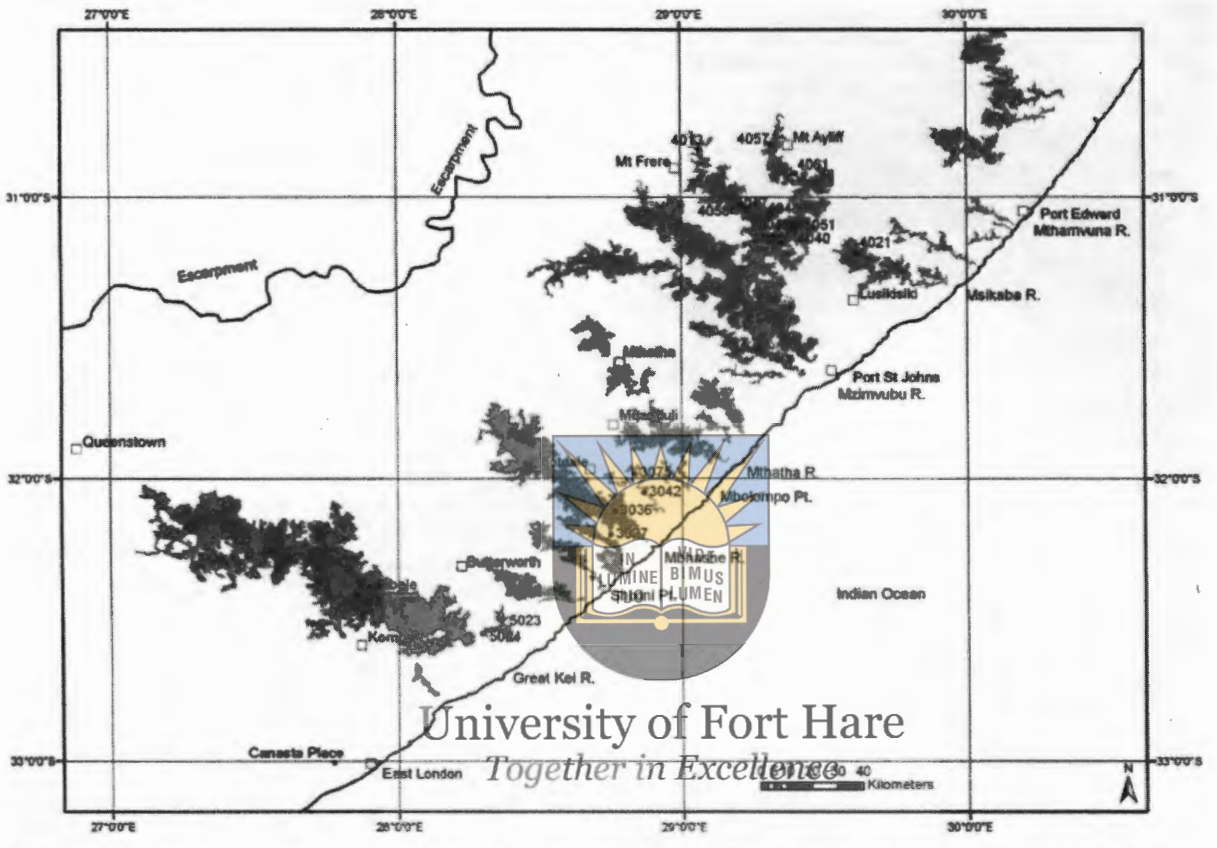
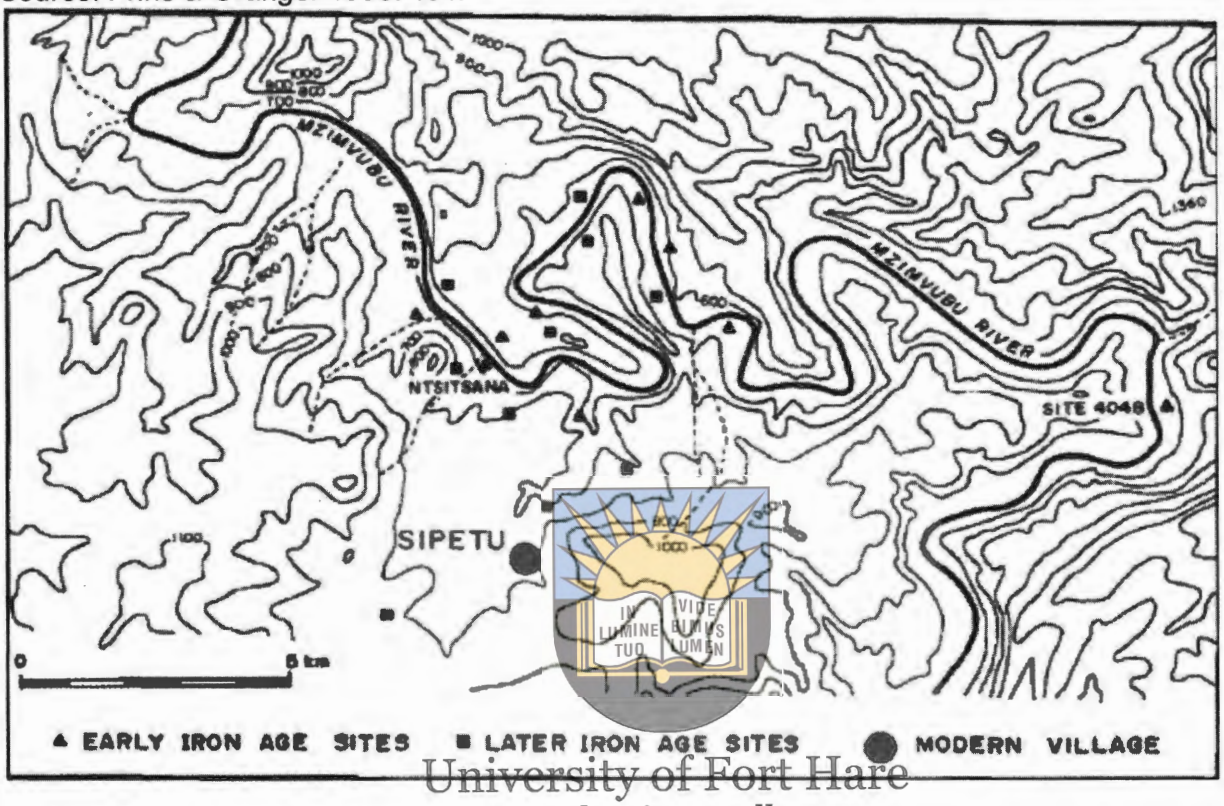


FIG. 1. *Location of Early Iron Age settlement sites in the Eastern Cape. Records from Ecology of Iron Age Project (1st phase), Department of Botany, University of Transkei (Walter Sisulu University), Mthatha; and later field work. Kulubele and Canasta Place EIA sites shown for comparison. Escarpment line = seaward edge of Drakensberg/Stormberg. Shaded areas = Eastern Valley Bushveld (SVs 6) in deeply incised river valleys (from digital map in Mucina & Rutherford 2006). Wooded vegetation types of Albany Thicket Biome (AT) in valleys southwestward of Great Kei not shown.*

In a further phase following the work of Feely, Prins carried out an intensive investigation at Ntsitsana on the Mzimvubu River and discovered another eight sites (*Figure 11*), seven within 5 km of Ntsitsana and occupied in the period 650-950 AD (Feely & Bell Cross 2011: 105-6).

Figure 11: Ntsitsana and associated sites

Source: Prins & Granger 1993: 154.



In about 1990 a local farmer and now local expert on the San, Victor Biggs, found a site 60 km inland at the confluence of the Kei and Kulubele Rivers[33] which was later dated to the very late 8th century (Binneman et al 1992: 108). Mr T. Nogwaza of the then Department of African Studies at the University of Fort Hare investigated Canasta Place over six months in 1992.[34] This site is located about 10 km inland on raised ground just over 1 km from the Buffalo River and has been dated to the same period. Pottery found at Canasta Place displayed striking similarities to and a few differences from pottery across Natal and the Transkei. The site was of such size as to suggest that it was not an isolated occurrence (Nogwaza 1994: 105).

Both Canasta Place and Kulubele are also shown in *Figure 10* above.

Later excavation at Kulubele including of a storage pit and a large midden revealed a "daga floor" and "several small ceramic fragments ... which may have been parts of figurines" (quoted in Steele 2006: 29). Comparing these fragments with similar ones found at Ntsitsana and in Natal, John Steele suggested that they were the partial remains of symbolic human torsos used in initiation rituals and cites work in the 1990s by Frans Prins:

> "... that figurines recovered at Ntsitsana show "striking similarities to clay human figurines made as toys by Mpondomise girls". (Quoted in Steele 2006: 33)

Further reconnaissance of the Ntsikana area, on the Mzimvubu River directly south of Tabankulu, by Granger and Prins revealed a total of nine EIA sites over a distance of about

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[33] The Kulubele joins the Kei River on the farm Apefield No.187 in the Stutterheim Registration Division. This is just south of the confluence of the Tsomo River with the Kei. Both the Kei and Tsomo valleys contain considerable San rock art.

[34] Canasta Place is a subdivision of farm 853 in the East London Registration Division.

25 km along the river valley. While these sites were identified with the contemporaneous sites in Natal, they occurred at a greater density.

> "The remains of livestock kraals, observed at three sites, arguably indicate the approximate positions of the court areas in these settlements ... Interactions in both the economic and political spheres are suggested because, while there was little iron slag at Ntsitsana, it was abundant on a nearby site, indicating some specialisation in function ... Such observations may point to a relatively 'advanced' political system, such as a chiefdom ... That Ntsitsana may have been identified with the political leadership in the area is suggested by the occurrence of extensive cattle-dung deposits. The exposed features on two sites, Ntsitsana and Ncabela, show that the organisation of space at these settlements is similar. However, this organisation differs from the southern Nguni pattern of later times. Rather than being centrally situated, the kraal area was located directly adjacent to the Mzimvubu River on the edge of the settlement ... Clusters of filled-in grain pits were situated at a distance from, and were not directly related to the stock byre. The location of pits outside the kraal area contrasts with the traditional Nguni pattern which corresponds to the Central Cattle Pattern ... where grain pits are situated within the livestock enclosure ... (Granger & Prins 1993: 169-170)

There was a very clear difference between Khoi society where women milked the cows and Nguni society where women were rigorously excluded from dealing with cattle (Peires 1981: 24). According to Wilson there was a lesser distinction amongst the Khoikhoi in that only men drank milk from cows while women and children drank that of ewes. Furthermore the milking of cattle by Khoikhoi women was in line with the generalised practice amongst essentially pastoralist people (Wilson 1969: 55).

The later location of grain pits within the cattle enclosure represented the further consolidation of male power over women in Nguni society. It is possible that the spatial configuration in the sites described above did not reflect the exogamy of later Nguni society and that therefore women had an elevated status. It is equally possible that such a status had as much to do with the norms of Khoikhoi society and an early integration of Khoikhoi and Bantu, Stone Age herders with Iron Age agriculturalists. Granger and Prins recorded that stone artefacts were indicative of both Stone Age and EIA cultures. However they found no direct evidence of San occupation and speculated that the presence of stone tools may relate to the scarcity of iron (Granger & Prins 1993: 167-8).

There has been investigation and excavation at at least one other coastal EIA site in the Transkei, at Lujojozi, a hilltop and watershed site from the 1st millennium south of the Mbashe, by T.S. Robey of the UCT Spatial Archaeology Research Unit. This site provided two dates at 470 and 710 AD and also evidence of iron smelting. This site is located within Feely's central transect, described in detail below (Feely 1986: 133-4; 1987: 78).

Feely makes an important qualification to the argument of Martin Hall on the extent to which 1st millennium settlers changed the environment, at least for the Transkei. It is also contrary to the view established by Acocks of dramatic change in vegetation due to the advent of farming. Feely asserts that the coastal wooded areas occurred mainly in the limited and deeply entrenched river valleys and further:

> "That extensive forest clearance in large areas, settled very recently, could be the result of such spatiotemporal distribution [of settlement] is thought to be improbable. ... The distribution of edaphically controlled vegetation in Transkei about 2000 BP, i.e. prior to any possible disturbance by farming or pastoralism, would probably have been closely similar to the present-day distribution of plant formations." (Feely 1986: ii)

Feely and Bell-Cross ponder the reason for the tapering of EIA sites in the Transkei towards the south west and do not find any ready physical or ecological causes. They suggest that a possible cause may have been the presence of Khoikhoi up to about 29^{0}E before the arrival of Iron Age immigrants.

29^{0}E intersects with the coast between the Xora and Bulungula Rivers and runs through or very close to the villages of Ngqeleni, Mount Frere and Cedarville. West of this longitude, there is evidence of sheep bones and therefore of herders at Oakleigh farm near Queenstown as far back as 1 760 BP and of ceramics, people and cattle on the Keiskamma River at Middledrift around 910 BP. Feely and colleagues found herder ceramics on a upper tributary of the Kei River and cite a report of similar material in coastal shell middens as far as Mbolompo Point, just north of the EIA site at Mpame on the coast 1st dated back to 640 AD.

It is generally accepted that names of rivers and significant places generally have long histories. This was quite clearly established by Jack Skead's monumental *Pilot Gazeteer of Xhosa Placenames* of 2001.

> "Because water is so vital a force in the lives of people and in the choice of their living sites, many placenames owe their origins to water in some form, more especially to rivers and streams." (Skead 2001: 5)

10 of 13 perennial streams entering the Indian Ocean between the Kei River and 32^{0}S have Xhosa names of Khoikhoi origin.[35] 32^{0}S inte[illegible] the coast between Coffee Bay and Hole-in-the-Wall which is just north of Mbolompo Point. The northernmost of these streams, *Mncwasa*, lies 1km from Mbolompo Point. In the interior, names of rivers with Khoikhoi origin generally extend as far as 29^{0}E. In the foothills of the Khahlamba mountains and the basin of the Mzimvubu and its tributaries, there are Xhosa names for rivers which are of San origin such as the *Inxu*, wildebeest (which Feely states should be *Inqu* or black wildebeest (1986: 56)). Feely points out that this exact stretch of coast is also littered with pottery accredited to Khoikhoi pastoralists. South of the Kei, most perennial streams also have Xhosa names of Khoikhoi origin. The Xhosa name for the Kei itself is of Khoikhoi origin – *Nciba*. However Feely's focus was on the Transkei area.

Feely and Bell-Cross infer:

> "This distribution indicates that westward of about 29^{0}E inland, and southward of about 32^{0}S nearer the coast, speakers of Khoekhoen and San occupied the land before the speakers of any Bantu-language arrived. Alternatively, the herder occupation followed and replaced that of EIA farmers before the arrival of a second wave of Bantu-speaking farmers in the second millennium. In the latter case, isiXhosa developed out of the interaction between Khoenkhoin-speakers and these later immigrants, rather than the earlier ones.
>
> "The latter explanation accords with the proposal by Prins (1996) that farmers of the first millennium AD withdrew altogether from the present Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal late in the first millennium or early in the second. He suggested that this might have been a result of climatic warming during the Medieval Warm Epoch, around 1000 AD (Tyson 1986). The paucity in the region of pre-colonial farming settlement sites that date to the early centuries of the second millennium AD together with the ceramic discontinuity during that period (Huffman 2007), supports such a view." (Feely & Bell-Cross 2011: 109)

[35] Feely's Figure 18 lists 29 names of "Some larger streams with names of Khoi origin in Transkei." (Feely 1986: 57)

The EIA in the trans-Kei and cis-Kei has been identified with the Kalundu ceramic tradition which links back to Angola while the Nguni languages link to east Africa. Alone this may be used as evidence for the identifiable amaXhosa and isiXhosa of the present emerging from the LIA rather than from the EIA settlement in the region.

However there is also the somewhat contrary possibility that there were continuities as well as discontinuities in the interactions between Khoisan and both EIA and LIA populations. Feely and Bell-Cross raise the possibility that the origins of isiXhosa may go back to interactions in the EIA. They suggest that the language spoken by the Mpondo may be distinct from the isiXhosa[36] spoken by the Mpondomise, Bomvana, Thembu and Xhosa proper, in other words less influenced by Khoisan languages, and this might also account for the tapering of EIA sites in the Transkei towards the south west. They find support for this argument in the same distinction made by a recent dictionary, Pahl et al 1989 *The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa*:

> "If so, isiXhosa together with its related languages and dialects have much earlier beginnings in the Eastern Cape than is presently thought." (Feely & Bell-Cross 2011: 110)

Unfortunately the situation is still as unclear as when Peires wrote over 30 years back that there is still great uncertainty as to whether the EIA people in the region spoke a Khoisan language or a Bantu and proto-Xhosa language (Peires 1981: 197 fn.15).

San names may also apply further north as with the Ixopo district and River in KwaZulu-Natal. *Xobho* and *Xobo* are also forms for [illegible] of the river (Vinnicombe 1976: 12; Raper 2010: 226).

Feely cites personal communication with N. Avliff for a find in 1986 of a number of rock shelters with rock paintings near the coast of eastern Mpondoland and suggests that at the very least this indicates a seasonal usage, probably in winter, of marine resources by San (Feely 1987: 39).

These sites included one 3 km inland from the mouth of the Msikaba River:

> "These contained marine shell middens, LSA rock paintings, key-hole limpet ... shell beads, and at one of them a swash-rolled sherd with the ceramic characteristic of a 'martevan' ... from the 1554 Portuguese shipwreck close to the river mouth (personal observation, 1986). These discoveries suggest that together with Iron Age farmers, LSA hunters may have been exploiting intertidal resources in the study area as recently as the 16th, 17th or 18th centuries. No Bushman was recorded on coastal Pondoland during the better documented period after 1830, whereas earlier records of the area derive only from the brief visits of shipwreck survivors, many of whom saw few human beings and fewer dwellings in northeastern Pondoland." (Feely 1986: 114)

Feely and Bell-Cross do also point out possible evidence to qualify if not contradict their argument – that the "*Magriggas*" reported in 1687 by survivors of the *Stavenisse*, wrecked between the Mkomazi and Mzimkhulu Rivers, when they headed southwest down the coast may have been Khoisan and whom they found east of the "*Magoses*", probably amaXhosa (Feely & Bell-Cross 2011: 109; Wilson 1969: 102).

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[36] For an early summary of material on the links between Khoisan languages and isiXhosa, see Gerrit Harinck 1969: 150-3. A known cultural distinction between the Mpondo and the rest of the southern Nguni was that male Mpondo did not undergo circumcision. However this has no bearing on the discussion here as the practice was only stopped in the 1820s (Hunter 1979: 165).

A close look at the 1:50 000 mapping produced by the Chief Directorate, Surveys and Land Information in Cape Town, shows a number of smaller coastal rivers, none of them perennial, and places with names containing clicks north of 32°S. South of the Mzimvubu but north of 32°S are *Ngcibe*, *Mgaleni* and *Gxwaleni,* the latter a stream and the former two are places.

North of the Mzimvubu, between Mbotyi and the Msikaba Rivers are the *Cutweni* and the *Mbaxeni*. There is also a village marked *Cutweni* and a location on the coast between Mbotyi and the point where the *Cutweni* meets the coast called *Mgcagcama*. Just north of the Msikaba is the area known as *Xolobeni* for the current ongoing dispute over the mining of frontal dunes for minerals. A major tributary to the west of the Msikaba is the *Xura* which has a tributary, the *Ngagumbe* (1982: 3129BD & 3130AC Mkambati, 3129 Lusikisiki). The Mpondo great place is at *Qaukeni* at 29°35'E. The local municipality is called *Ngquza* Hill after a landmark made famous during the Mpondo revolt.

Following the same argument as Feely and Bell-Cross, these names in eastern Mpondoland suggest a Khoisan presence, perhaps a weaker one than to the southwest, some 150km further up the coast towards the present boundary with KwaZulu-Natal than that suggested by Feely and Bell-Cross themselves. Does this suggest that the early Mpondo in the area were in no mood to accommodate any Khoisan they found there?

What is astounding is the rapid spread of the EIA down the southeast coastlands – from the upper Tukela River to the Mzimvubu and beyond during the 7th century and then to the Kei and Buffalo Rivers by the end of the 8th century, with a date of mid 7th century already at Mpame. How is this to be explained?

In assessing the millennium to 1,000 BP, another question also has to be asked: is the evidence of the "Early Iron Age" complete with Huffman's CCP and a cattle-centred world view, that clear-cut?

It is now clear that it is not. Despite the criticism of Elphick's pioneering work on the Khoikhoi he was at that early period back in the 1970s sensitive to the probable interplay between Khoikhoi pastoralists and Bantu-speaking agriculturalists and suggested a scenario for the outcome:

> "This contact undoubtedly occurred at a time when both groups were few in number, but the order of their arrival in each area cannot yet be determined. Over the decades and centuries each would slowly expand, the farmers growing more rapidly in numbers, and the pastoralists more rapidly in terms of territory occupied. As a result of this internal growth, each would expand into lands to the south but would also expand into each other's proximity. Some of the Khoikhoi would borrow from the cultivators, then ally with them, and finally intermarry with them ... Other Khoikhoi, retaining their pastoral culture, their language and their racial stock, would slowly be forced out of their pastures and pushed ahead of the cultivators in search of new lands." (Elphick 1985: 17-18)

Elphick was well aware of the work of Ehret and others when he (Elphick) advanced this argument. He was also aware that at that stage there was no conclusive archaeological evidence of Khoikhoi occupation of the eastern half of southern Africa with its higher and summer rainfall. However he was also aware, following the comment by Tim Maggs, that such evidence may have been lacking because no-one had looked for it.

Elphick had suggested the possible southward route of Khoikhoi herders from the middle Gariep down the Seacow River, across the watershed created by the Sneeeuberg, and into the headwaters of the Sundays and onwards to the coast. From there they headed west into the western Cape, supposedly because of the presence of Bantu-speaking agro-pastoralists in the summer rainfall area to the east. While this route seems no longer to be accepted for

the initial route of sheep from the Gariep into the southwestern Cape, it now seems increasingly possible that at various times Khoikhoi and certainly San crossed the watershed between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans not only into the headwaters of the Sundays River but also into the headwaters of the Fish, Kei, Mbashe and Mzimvubu Rivers into the cis-Kei and into the trans-Kei. It may have been surprising if this had not happened as the headwaters of the Seacow River have revealed a high density of Khoikhoi pastoralist settlement (Sampson and Sadr & Sampson above). Elphick in 1975 had assumed the presence of Iron Age and Bantu-speakers across the summer rainfall area. 20 years later in 1996 Nigel Penn and others held to this assumption or perceived truth (Penn 1995: 42). At the beginning of the 21st century this assumption has been seriously challenged, but not for the first time. Writing back in the late 1960s, Martin Legassick wrote:

> "**For though it is not necessary, and perhaps even unlikely, that the first South African iron-workers were Bantu-speaking**, there do not appear to be any abrupt cultural discontinuities from that time through to the development of Bantu-speaking iron-working societies." (Legassick 1969: 87, emphasis added)

The rapid spread of EIA settlement down the coast in the 7th and 8th centuries is probably best explained by the spread and incorporation of new and advantageous elements and people through an existing and fairly homogenous Khoisan society.

Inequalities appear from the archaeological record even in the 1st millennium. Some early farmer sites are bigger than others, as are kraal middens, suggesting some ranking of settlements within a region, as with Ntsitsana above:

> "The recovery of ritual prestige items at some of these larger sites ... provides further strands of evidence that 'speak' of their regional status. The presence of ceramic masks and figurines, for example, suggests that certain settlements were important ritual centres and had the power to conduct and control adolescent initiation rituals. ... although hierarchy is relatively shallow it is nevertheless possible to identify differences in political power from early farmer settlements." (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 88-9)

Both local and long-distance trade in the form of exotic glass beads is also evident by the end of the 1st millennium, mainly in the Limpopo valley and to the north, and linked to the east Africa coastal trade. Seashells from both the Atlantic and Indian Oceans have been found across the sub-continent. A single bead and piece of 9th century Islamic pottery at KwaGandaganda[37] in the Mngeni River valley 25 km inland suggests the southern limit of the east African trade, probably by relay "down the line". A fragment of a shell occurring only as far north as the Mzimvubu River 250 km to the south suggests some interactions over this distance. There is also evidence of trade in both iron and copper in Botswana over distances of up to 200 km (Whitelaw 1994: 38, 45; Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 90).

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[37] KwaGandaganda was one of ten EIA sites within a 10 km stretch of the Mngeni River, some of which were occupied continuously from the 7th to 13th centuries. These sites are now all submerged under the Inanda Dam. Whitelaw concluded that these sites fitted well with Huffman's CCP framework. The name derives from a colloquial term for the heavy earth-moving equipment used to construct the dam (Whitelaw 1994: 1-3, 57).

Late Iron Age from 1 000 to 500 BP

Archaeologists divided the Early and Late Iron Ages conveniently at around 1 000 AD. While this date is generally accepted, initially it was based largely on a discernable break in ceramic tradition and settlement patterns.

From the archaeological record there also appears a dip in population and settlement towards 900 AD across much of southern Africa. This may be associated with the cooler period which preceded the wetter period in the summer rainfall area of southern Africa from 900-1300 AD which in turn preceded the "Little Ice Age" (Tyson & Lindesay 1992). Huffman (1996) has shown how the warmer periods were a stimulus to the formation of settlements generally and in the Limpopo valley from the 9th century. According to Andrew Smith there is also a noticeable sparseness in the archaeology of herders after 800 AD in the western Cape (Smith 2014: 26).

However there is another possibility to explain the declining population towards 900 AD, although only speculative. The remains of *Rattus rattus*, the common brown or black house rat, have been found at a site and level dated to between 700 and 800 AD at Ndondondwane in the Thukela River valley. *Rattus rattus* is not indigenous to southern Africa and probably arrived via oceanic trade. *Rattus rattus* is also a host for the flea, *Xenopsylla cheopis*, which is a carrier of the bacteria, *Yersinia pestis*, which produces bubonic plague, the "Black Death" or "the plague" (Crampton 2014: 316). While this information is drawn from Crampton, she did not speculate, suggest or conclude or make the connection with the following. The first recorded outbreak of bubonic plague occurred over the period 540-750 AD, possibly originating in Asia before spreading to North Africa, the Mediterranean coast and the Middle East.[38] This outbreak was best known as the plague of Justinian of 541-4 (Dobson 2007: 8; Rosen 2008). Might such a plague have devastated the human population across southern Africa and perhaps beyond, some time after the known havoc caused by the plague much further north? Is the first date for the presence of *Rattus rattus*, most probably accompanied by its parasites and the parasites of the parasites, in southern Africa shortly before the decline in human population a mere co-incidence?[39]

An alternative, equally speculative cause may have been the same scourge of the Khoisan of the Cape later in the 17th and early 18th centuries – smallpox – or some other highly infectious disease.

However for smallpox, bubonic plague or any other highly infectious disease to have become deadly epidemics, the human population would have had to meet specific thresholds including population size and population density for a number of individual infections to have been able to propagate into a devastating epidemic. Clearly such thresholds had been reached by the time of the smallpox epidemic of the early 18th century at the Cape. If epidemics had developed in the later 1st millennium, this would suggest that there had been

[38] "... there are a number of scholars who have argued that the first [540-750AD] and second [14th-18th centuries] cycles of 'plague' were not bubonic plague at all. Anthrax (a bacterial disease) or some highly contagious haemorrhagic fever, rather like the Ebola virus, are possible alternatives." (Dobson 2007: 11). However there is now confirmation that the first outbreak was in fact bubonic plague, although caused by what is probably a now extinct variety of *Yersinia pestis*. This confirmation was based on DNA extracted from the teeth of 2 skeletons buried in Bavaria in the 6th century (Wagner et al 2014).

[39] In fact the presence of *Rattus rattus* is not required for the spread of the disease. Aside from other carriers such as the great gerbil of central Asia, *Rhombomys opimus* (Stenseth 2006), a number of fleas passed from the clothing or bedding of seafarers into a small but dense terrestrial and seaside population such as at Delagoa Bay may have been sufficient to spark an epidemic. There is also a link between climatic conditions and outbreaks of bubonic plague (Schmid et al 2015). But this is a very complex issue which requires further investigation.

a significant development of human population and settlements which in turn suggests a significant shift away from hunting and gathering to pastoralism and possibly also cultivation at this early point in time. It would also require extensive and intensive human interactions across the sub-continent.

Parkington and Simon Hall in the recent *CHSA* are fairly generous to the CCP:

> "The relevance of the CCP model for animating the settlement layouts of second-millennium settlements that can, in broadest terms, be linked to ancestral Nguni and Tswana/Sotho-speaking communities is beyond doubt." (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 81)

> "... [There were] many significant changes in addition to that of pottery style. **Settlements** were different in both layout and location. They **were no longer sited in valleys beside rivers but were placed on higher ground**. ... settlements seem to have been much smaller, with only a few huts. The implication would seem to be that society underwent a change away from the Early Iron Age villages and towards the individual family homesteads of the historic Nguni-speaking peoples." (Maggs 1989: 35, emphasis added)

> "By this time [the LIA] the ferrous industry was concentrated in the hands of particular clans and lineages ... while the great majority of settlements were not involved with metal production. Metalworking was also markedly focused on particular areas rather than being spread throughout the region settled by farming communities. Strong sanctions now existed for the separation of smiths and metalworking sites from normal society, which was clearly not the case in the Early Iron Age village settlements." (Maggs 1992: 67)

Maggs explains the physical separation by the many ritual requirements associated with iron working. This included the use of *hlonipa* words for the objects of the craft by smiths and women. While only recorded in the 20th century, the reference to the craftsman as the metal doctor (*inyanga yemkhonto*) may suggest an ancient high status of the craft. Both physical separation and the association with the supernatural may also have served to keep the secrets of the craft (Maggs 1992: 71).

Martin Hall has provided a useful summary of the contrast between the 1st millennium and 2nd millennium (as very loose and flexible categories):

> "... the major contrast is between earlier farmers, with few livestock, and their successors, who had substantial holdings of domestic animals. Although economies in the earlier centuries of the first millennium were structures, by and large, for self-sufficiency, the uncertainty of farming necessitated wide-ranging networks of reciprocal obligations, probably signified by shared codes of ceramic decoration. Thus the normal expectation was probably of economic and social interaction within the village, while unpredicted exigencies were met by calling on wide-ranging connections.
>
> "But the acquisition by farmers of livestock on a substantial scale transformed these patterns of social relations. Although the village undoubtedly remained a basic production unit, herding allowed some people to gain power over others, thus widening the network of interaction to a regional rather than a domestic scale. At the same time settlement of the high grasslands made economic self-sufficiency impossible for many communities, and specialist groups, particularly of iron-workers, made much of their living by barter and trade beyond the local community. Not surprisingly, livestock gained considerable social significance and came to signify a large set of political and economic interactions." (Martin Hall 1987: 72-3)

The substantial numerical increase in livestock, particularly cattle, heralded significant social differentiation. While Hall is discussing the highveld situation in particular, the same general points apply to the southern Nguni:

> "... the dominance of livestock [for] ... second-millennium highveld farmers would have allowed the accumulation of wealth and thus unequal reciprocity between villages. ... elders – the senior members of lineages – control the distribution of livestock between villages, thereby holding power over their juniors." (Martin Hall 1987: 65)

The Nkope branch of the Urewe ceramic tradition which reached Zimbabwe in the 5th century A.D. made its mark in the Limpopo/Shashe area in the 9th century and Parkington and Hall link this with a pursuit of ivory for the growing trade with the east coast and also the Toutswe phase of settlement in eastern Botswana (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 76).

Settlement on the extensive grasslands that make up much of the Free State and trans-Vaal occurred early in the 2nd millennium. These early settlements left many stone enclosures which still stand today.

> "... the area was not settled by first millennium pioneers agriculturalists, for no trace of their distinctive pottery has been found in these high-lying areas. This is not surprising, since the largely treeless environment would have been of little value for economies principally dependent on swidden agriculture. But once farmers had increased livestock numbers to the point where their animals formed a principal resource, they were able to move onto the high grasslands and take advantage of their extensive, open grazing lands." (Martin Hall 1987: 47)

> "In common with the vast plains of the highveld, the watersheds to the south-east of the Drakensberg seem to have been grasslands ... and remained unoccupied by farmers during the first millennium. ... One area – the Babanango plateau – serves to illustrate second millennium farming settlement in this region.
>
> "The Babanango plateau stands between the valley and tributaries of the White Mfolozi River to the north and the complex Thukela drainage system to the south. ... Although the climate of the plateau is markedly seasonal, its elevated location beneath the Drakensberg ensures, in most years, good summer rains and generally cooler temperatures than the valleys and coastlands." (Martin Hall 1987: 55)

Feely, also writing in 1987, gives a later date for upland settlement:

> "About 550 BP the further expansion of farming settlement commenced to the interior uplands of Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State ..." (Feely 1987: 14)

The move to higher ground may have corresponded to a shift away from crop production towards pastoralism. This would only have been possible once livestock populations, and that of cattle in particular, had reached significant levels. It may also have been linked to a greater prevalence of cattle disease in low-lying and moist areas, tsetse fly and trypanosomiasis in particular, or the much greater need to avoid such areas given the greater role of cattle.

Since the first written records, the cattle-keeping southern Nguni have shown a consistent preference for settlement on higher ground away from and above sources of water. This may be an ancient preference to avoid tsetse, malaria and other disease environments and a preference which persisted southwards beyond the range of these diseases. In the absence of a clear understanding of causation of both animal and human diseases but with a clear

appreciation of the association of high ground with good human and animal health it is hardly surprising that such a preference where the same elements of association appeared – good health and sticking to high ground.

Hall has argued that the transition from EIA to LIA was about two transformations (Switzer 1993: 27-9):

- A shift from subsistence to cattle-keeping and the production of a surplus, and the move of lowland people onto the plateau grassland regions.

- When a significant proportion of surplus goods were directed to and retained by a distinct ruling class of chiefs, elders etc.

The later transformation led in some cases to the emergence of centralised states such as those that developed in the Limpopo valley between the 10th and 12th centuries – Toutswe and Mapungubwe.

The shift to pastoralism based on cattle provided an increasing proportion of milk and milk products, producing considerably more food protein than the same amount of labour invested in cultivation. As men came to control cattle and cattle were also used for paying dowries, patriarchy was entrenched.

An economy based largely on cattle and cattle products, and the range of milk products in particular, freed up considerable time for other activities, particularly for men as custodians of cattle, while women were relegated to cultivation and care of the homestead. This patriarchal pastoralism may have provided the background for both further specialisation such as mining and metallurgy as well as for increased trade between specialised groups.

> "It would be logical to expect that, once farmers in different parts of southern Africa had built up their herds of livestock, animals rather than ceramics would come to be used as the principal mode of signifying relationships between communities and power over people. Both ethnographic and archaeological evidence makes it abundantly clear that this was the case." (Martin Hall 1987: 72)

There is comparative evidence to link changes in ceramic style to changes in the gender division of labour:

> "The break in ceramic tradition that appears to have taken place in southern Africa's eastern zone between the Early and Later Iron Age apparently did not take place in areas like eastern Botswana or elsewhere among the herding communities of the western zone. Women were responsible for making pottery in African households by the colonial period, and some scholars speculate the distinction could have come about if women had replaced men as the principal potters sometime during the pre-colonial period. In parts of central Africa where men are still responsible for ceramic production, there have been no major changes in pottery making and decorating since the beginning of the Iron Age." (Switzer 1993: 26-7)

So the change in pottery style may have reflected a shift in the gender division of labour which was based on men taking responsibility for cattle as the centre-piece of the new and increasingly pastoral economy and patriarchal society, and relegating the making of pottery to women (Martin Hall 1987: 24 citing Phillipson).

The accumulation of domestic livestock had real political implications too:

"In the west and south-west [the southwestern Cape], the possession of larger herds allowed their owners to build up wide-ranging networks of alliances with other herders and with client gatherer-herders. Small groups of animals could be moved to widely separated areas, the farmers taking advantage in this way of the highly localised variations in rainfall. In the east and south-east segments of herds could, in similar fashion, be moved to areas with better resources, or they could be used in transactions between villages, creating reciprocal obligations.

"The use of livestock to secure transactions between people - binding them together with commitments – was a qualitative change from simple food producing, for ... there was more to the farming way of life than merely growing crops. Thus whereas the communities that comprised the first phase of the frontier in southern Africa shared much in common with their gatherer-hunter contemporaries, later farmers were organised differently." (Martin Hall 1987: 46-7)

There were both important continuities and significant changes from the EIA to the LIA:

"While the basic elements of the Iron Age economy – the crops, the domestic animals and the metallurgy – remained, there was some technological change, as reflected in different types of grindstones and iron-smelting equipment. Change in the organization of economic activities also took place. For example, **evidence of iron-smelting is no longer found in virtually every settlement, indicating that many of them must have depended on trade for their metal requirements**." (Maggs 1989: 35, emphasis added)

"In later centuries, there were thus large areas of settlement, for example those in the grasslands, which were entirely reliant on trade for their metal requirements. Conversely, large concentrations of smelting sites, such as around Mabhija on the Thukela, must have been partly dependent on metal production and trade. There is evidence of trade from the Thukela as far afield as what is now the Orange Free State, where goods were exchanged with Sotho groups." (Maggs 1989: 44)

Maggs asserts:

"After about AD 1500 the evidence clearly indicates that Iron Age people of the Natal region were directly ancestral, culturally, linguistically, and physically, to today's black population." (Maggs 1989: 37)

"The evidence of written sources [i.e. mainly shipwreck survivors] shows that, by the 1550s, while the coastal sourveld of Pondoland was thinly inhabited, coastal Natal from the Mtamvuna northwards was already well populated." (Maggs 1989: 39)

In contrast but not entirely in contradiction to the archaeological evidence and argument by Maggs and Hall, Wilson had earlier argued that the Nguni migration was very ancient, implying that all the Iron Age cultures described by Maggs were ancestral Nguni:

"The most conspicuous fact about Nguni history, as opposed to the history of most other groups in South Africa, is the absence of clear links in language or tradition with any group further north other than those which split from the Nguni south of the Drakensberg and travelled northward." (Wilson 1969: 98)

Wilson cautioned:

"The Ngoni had travelled half-way from Zululand to Merowe in the Sudan (whence iron spread through much of Africa) in thirty five years." (Wilson 1969:102)

Yet:

> "... connexions in language long survive even when the original migrants are few in number, and the absence, north of the Drakensberg, of any language closely related to Nguni (other than the Transvaal and Rhodesian Ndebele, Ngoni, and Tshangane ...) suggests that the Nguni migration southward is indeed a very ancient one." (Wilson 1969: 121)

There is another possibility which is that the Nguni language bears less resemblance to any language north of the Limpopo before the 19th century due to the far greater influence of Khoisan languages on the proto-Nguni once they were already south of the Limpopo. Yet this is difficult to reconcile with the further point made by Wilson that the centrality of cattle in the world-view of the Nguni indicates a link with cattle-keeping people of the east African highlands (Curtin et al 1978: 282).

Hall et al have had the benefit of considerably more archaeological evidence than Wilson had. Genetic evidence is also recent and was not available to Wilson. While Wilson may not be strictly accurate when referring to or implying a "Nguni" migration, she is probably correct to refer to an ancient presence of the ancestral gene pool from which the Nguni have sprung.

Just as linguistic evidence and arguments jolted established views in discussion of the EIA above, so it may do so again in the LIA. Ehret cites a 1985 UCLA Ph.D. thesis by Carolan Ownby on the origins of the Nguni languages which argues that the proto-Nguni developed not below but above the escarpment "... [illegible] in the eastern Highveld, between Ngwane, Lesotho, and the areas east of the Rand.

> "... she shows – and this is the incontrovertible part of her study – that two successive Bantu populations, of which the Nguni were the second, have occupied KwaZulu-Natal and areas as far south as the Kei over the past two millennia. The very large numbers of loanwords from an extinct set of Bantu languages related apparently closest to Shona, which occur in all the Nguni tongues spoken from Swaziland in the north to IsiXhosa in the south, put this conclusion beyond doubt. These loanwords penetrated sometimes into the most basic vocabulary – they fit the categories of either 'heavy general' or 'intensive' borrowing (Ehret 2005) – demonstrating that the Kahlamba Nguni [those below the escarpment] spread across these regions, initially as an incoming minority, by successively absorbing into their communities the previously established Bantu societies of KwaZulu-Natal and the Transkei. Ownby concludes that this cultural and linguistic changeover began in the eleventh century, accompanying the one major period, attested in the archaeology, of a sweeping shift in the economy and settlement patterns across those regions." (Ehret 2008: 14)[40]

If indeed the proto-Nguni of the late 1st millennium developed above the escarpment, this explains how cattle and people were able to reach the south-east coast without having to manage a coastal transit through areas with deadly diseases for both cattle and humans in southern Mozambique and northern KwaZulu-Natal.

Ehret has also provided an explanation of the mechanisms of language transfer and the relative sizes of populations involved:

> "When significant new additions to the phonology accompany heavy general borrowing – in this case, a wholly new category of consonants, the clicks – the demographic implications are doubly strong. The source Khoekhoe community of the loanwords in

[40] Carolan Ownby, *Early Nguni history: the linguistic evidence and its correlation with archaeology and oral tradition*, Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles

proto-Nguni could well have comprised a majority component in the evolving proto-Nguni society. This characterization should not be taken as implying that great numbers of people participated in this history. The categories of word borrowing tell us something about the relative proportions involved in a history of language shift; the absolute sizes of the communities involved might have been no more than a few thousand people in all." (Ehret 2008: 14)

Ownby appears to argue from the citations by Ehret that three earlier divergences from the proto-Nguni language developed on the highveld and that only one was found in the southeast below trhe escarpment, her Kahlamba Nguni (Ehret 2008: 14). The implication is that some of the highveld Nguni groups which were thought to have migrated onto the plateau before 1800 may in fact have originated on the plateau (see below). Furthermore:

"... if the proto-Nguni of the late first millennium AD were inhabitants of the eastern Highveld, then the Khoekhoe with whom they interacted so extensively as to borrow even peripheral basic words (e.g. 'ice', 'to urinate') must have lived somewhere in the same broad region. This Khoekhoe community cannot be identified with the separate and distinct Eastern Cape Khoekhoe populations who so strongly influenced the Southern Nguni societies living between the Mzimvubu and Kei Rivers much later on, in the middle centuries of the second millennium (Ownby 1985)." (Ehret 2008: 14-5)

While Ownby's focus was on the development of the early Nguni language and not on the Sotho/Tswana, Ehret makes a few broad points about the impact of the Khoikhoi language. He suggests that a proto-Sotho, from which all the Sesotho and Setswana dialects developed from such interaction, did not adopt the clicks but instead adapted them in a manner consistent with the consonant system of Khoikhoi languages (Ehret 2008: 15).

Oceanic trade and east African coastal enclaves

In conjunction with internal and continental developments have been external and oceanic developments, the later of great significance at least since the expansion of Islam down the east coast of Africa from the 8th century and the emergence of Swahili culture.

"From as early as the ninth century, traders were establishing a tenuous foothold on the south-east African coast, seeking gold and ivory in return for beads and cloth. Within a few centuries control of this trade, and careful exploitation of the Islamic world's need for gold, had enabled the rulers of the Zimbabwe state to build a magnificent capital more than 300 kilometres from the sea." (Martin Hall 1987: 2)

Trade relations with the wider world were first based on the Indian Ocean trade and the Swahili settlements on the east African coast. From the middle of the 2nd millennium AD these were replaced by European powers. This trade was an important factor in the growth of, differentiation and increasing conflict between and stratification within various continental societies.

History is usually associated with particular land areas, regions or continents. A different aspect is that of the oceans. A view of the land masses as peripheral to the Indian Ocean is another perspective. Pre-industrial maritime trade networks require an oceanic rather than continental perspective. Yet there is very little history written from such a perspective, aside perhaps than that for the Mediterranean Sea.

Writing as far back as 1966 on African history, Basil Davidson linked the surge in Indian Ocean trading activity from at least the 9th century to the spread and unity provided (at least to the external world) by Islam (Davidson 1974: 84). Writing 20 years later, the Indian born

historian, K.N. Chaudhuri, argued a similar point for the Indian Ocean. The simultaneous stability in China until the end of the 14th century facilitated the establishment of Arabic and Chinese as the languages of the Indian Ocean and revitalised trade between the Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean until the mid 18th century by which time the Portuguese, Dutch and English had ascended in turn but never completely controlled Indian Ocean trade (Ohlson 1986: 520).[41]

This oceanic trade was to have a great impact on continental Iron Age society in southern and eastern Africa, although decreasingly so further south, at least until the late 18th century. In the south external trade was to have a major detrimental effect on Sotho/Tswana and Nguni society over the long term. While internal, sub-continental trade took place and probably increased with time, this was trade for local use and consumption within societies based on agricultural and pastoral cycles and which societies did not produce sufficient surpluses to allow for the development of significant stratification and a substantial ruling class.

Even internal slavery, such as by the taking of captives in conflict, is likely to have been limited to the amount of labour required by agricultural and pastoral activities. There may have been exceptions such in the building of the extensive structures at great Zimbabwe and lesser known outposts of the same and similar cultures. But these were probably the exception rather than the rule.

Similarly while gold, copper and ivory may have had some uses as indicators of status across Africa, there would have been a limited [illegible] for such goods.

In contrast, external trade across the Indian and Atlantic Oceans had the potential to prove insatiable in its demand for all of the above trade items – gold, ivory, and most devastating of all, slaves – and also to begin the processes of unequal exchange and uneven development:

> "The gold and ivory that it sent down to the coast bought beads and cloth of trifling comparable value, but that was what the people of the plateau wanted and continued to want. Once this unequal trade developed, however, it acquired its own dynamic, 'so that the rulers would struggle to get cloth to reward their courtiers or pay their armies and the poorest women would try to wear cloth, even though they could only afford a tiny strip that imperilled their modesty'." (Mostert 75, quoting Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 33)

Writing in 1978, Inskeep stated that both the Mediterranean world and China had trading contact with the east African coast by the 1st or 2nd centuries AD, that Zimbabwean gold may have been exported to Ethiopia by the 5th or 6th centuries and that Indonesians were plying the east coast trade by at least the 9th century, sacking coastal towns and villages around Sofala in the 10th century (Inskeep 1978: 134, 153). The settlement of the Limpopo/Shashe in the 9th century was in pursuit of ivory for this growing east coast trade (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 76).

> "Trade, particularly in small ornamental items, had developed over long distances during the first millennium AD. The earliest evidence of overseas trade to southern Africa in the form of imported glass beads on Limpopo valley sites dates around the ninth century. The east coast Islamic trading system penetrated as far south as Vilanculas by this time, or a little later; it may even have reached Delagoa Bay, but there is as yet no definite

[41] Unfortunately two key introductory works on the history of the Indian Ocean are not available in the university libraries of either Rhodes or Fort Hare: K. N. Chaudhuri, 1985, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, CUP; and Kenneth McPherson, 1998, *The Indian Ocean: A History of People and the Sea*, OUP. The reference here is to a review of Chaudhuri by Robert Ohlson.

archaeological evidence of such trade from our area [i.e. Natal]. The first marine trade we know of is from the sixteenth century, through the natural harbour of Delagoa Bay, first with the Portuguese and subsequently with other European traders." (Maggs 1989: 41-2)

While there have been many possibilities put forward as to the range of possible navigators around the southern tip of Africa prior to the Portuguese in the 15th century, there is little evidence to support, for example, the early presence of the Phoenicians over 2 000 years back.[42]

However by at least 2 000 BP, the regular seasonal variation of the winds blowing in one direction and then the other across the Indian Ocean between the western coast of India and east Africa were well-known to sailors. Perhaps not the Phoenicians but the traders and sailors of Greek-ruled Egypt, Arabia, India and east Africa were plying this Ocean:

"Writing in about AD 100, or soon after, a Greek-Egyptian captain of one of the Red Sea ports, probably Berenice, explained in a mariner's guide how the trade of Egypt was linked with that of Arabia and India, by way of such ports as Adulis in the Horn of Africa, as well as with that of the East Africa coast as far south as Raphta [probably on the coast of modern Tanzania]." (Davidson 1974: 83)

The early residents of the east African city states and coastal polities where mostly indigenous people who had settled in these areas by around 2 000 BP. Some 400 coastal archaeological sites have been identified over the past 60 years from Somalia to Mozambique. Almost all of them were abandoned by the end of 17th century under Portuguese onslaught. Excavations have tended to concentrate on large urban sites and buildings of non-perishable material, mainly coral. This has lead to a clear bias in interpretation as such materials may only have been used by elites whereas up to 80% of construction materials were perishable. It has also led to neglect of connected settlements in the hinterlands (Kusimba 2010: 161).

The trade from the north remained on a small scale. Merchants in southern Arabian cities sent their agents down the coast, marrying into the local population and learning the local languages:

"They bought cinnamon, tortoiseshell, ivory, rhinoceros horn, a little palm oil and a few slaves, selling in exchange Arabian-made iron spearheads and axes, glass and some wine and wheat ... Among the coin finds of the East African seaboard only twenty-five of the Ptolemainc period (third to first centuries BC) are so far known [as of the early 1970s], as well as three Parthian coins (first to second century AD), nine Roman and two Sassanian (third century AD). Although more early coins may yet be found, this paucity suggests that East Africa was still outside any major trading circuit." (Davidson 1974: 83)

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[42] "No less an authority than the father of history, Herodotus, informs us that even in primevil times Phoenician fishermen circumnavigated the southern extremity of Africa. True, those accounts are confused, and what they relate is not always to be reconciled with the geographical knowledge of our days; yet as every echo is the reverberation of a real voice so there is no fable so foolish but some grain of truth in contained in it. And the mighty ruins of Mashonaland, discovered by Carl Peters, do indeed tell in forcible language of primeval civilisation on the East Coast of Africa." (Brode 2000: 1)
"The earliest evidence for trade contacts along the East African coast comes from accounts of explorers and geographers. Often, these tales were recorded years later, after they had been passed down by word of mouth, distorted and exaggerated ... The first such account is the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, a guide to the ports of Arabia, East Africa and India that was probably written in Alexandria in about 100 A.D. Here, we are told of 'the last mainland market-town of Azania, which is called Raphta, a name derived from the small sewn boats ... Here there is much ivory and tortoise shell. Men of the greatest stature, who are pirates, inhabit the whole coast and at each place have set up chiefs ...'." (Hall 1987: 78)

Interactions with Arabic and later merchants of the expanding Islamic networks were limited until about the 12th century. However there was an upsurge from at least the 9th century, no doubt linked to the spread and unity provided (at least to the external world) by Islam:

> "On the southern Tanzanian coast Kilwa, which was later to be a thriving Islamic city-state, was first occupied in the eighth or ninth centuries by a community that lived largely by fishing and gathering shellfish, although sorghum was also cultivated. Shell beads were ground in large quantities, and spindle whorls ... suggest that cotton was spun, both presumably for trade into the interior. Ivory was probably the major export, collected during occasional visits by trading ships in return for ceramics from the Persian Gulf (which have been found in the archaeological deposits at Kilwa) and other commodities.
>
> "A second early point of contact was at Chibuene, on the Mozambican coast between the mouths of the Zambezi and Limpopo [near modern Vilanculos] ... As at early Kilwa, shellfish collecting was obviously important, while imported Persian ceramics and glass beads must have been obtained from visiting merchants. A radiocarbon date indicates that Chibuene was occupied in the eighth century A.D., and must therefore have been contemporary with early Kilwa.
>
> "It seems likely that neither Kilwa nor Chibuene, or for that matter other [eighth century] trading stations along the coast, were outposts occupied permanently by Arab merchants. There is little evidence for the spread of Islam down the East African shores before the twelfth century, and it is more likely that the middlemen between the people of the interior and the itinerant Arab merchants were those known as the 'Zanj' – farming communities whose cultural connections were more with Africa than with Arabia.
>
> "Although there may have been several years between visits by Arab traders to their landing points on the coast in these early centuries, their persistence in making what must have been difficult and dangerous voyages attests to the value of the commodities that could be obtained from the southern African interior through the Zanj." (Martin Hall 1987: 78)

Brode, writing around 1900, quotes "... an old Arab chronicle, which fell into the hands of the Portuguese at the taking of Kilwa [in southern Tanzania] in 1505":

> "About A.D. 900, the chronicle relates, a band of Arabs, driven out by the state of affairs at home, fled from the town of El Hasa, on the Persian Gulf, and in three ships, under the leadership of nine brothers, reached the Somali coast, where they founded the towns of Mogadishu and Brawa. A further migration – a Persian one this time – followed, according to the chronicle, some seventy years later. It seems that Ali, a son of Sultan Hassan of Persia, left his home in Shiraz owing to family dissentions. Attracted by stories of the gold which abounded in Africa, he sailed from Omuz with two ships to the settlements mentioned; but as he could not get on with the Arabs, he went further south, and founded the city of Kilwa, which later attained to great prosperity. A second chronicle of Kilwa that has come down to us also ascribes the founding of the city to Ali, although it varies in details from the version of the first chronicle. According to the first of the two chronicles, Ali's son Mohammed subsequently founded Mombasa, a statement confirmed by a still extant chronicle of the latter city – at least, in so far that, according to it, the oldest rulers of the city were sheikhs from Shiraz." (Brode 2000: 3)

The difficulty with such chronicles is the obvious political bias of the authors in favour of the sponsoring dynasty. While undoubtedly there were settlers, it is likely that ruling dynasties were established as much by alliance and marriage with local elites than outright domination

by physical force. The emergence of a common Swahili language and culture suggests an organic and interactive rather than an imposed process of conquest on the African continent.

The Arab and Persian merchants were not on the east coast just for inanimate commodities. Securing slaves seems to have been one very early objective:

> "A later proof of the connection of East Africa with the Arabian Peninsula is furnished by the fact that in the South Arabian religious wars of the eighth century African slaves formed a considerable portion of the armies engaged. Their number and power increased so much that a hundred years later they were able to enter on a conflict with their oppressors. In 869 a fierce servile war broke out, which, starting from Basra, devastated South Iraq and Kurdistan for fourteen years. ... [They] were called the Zeng, a word equivalent to the Zingis of the Greeks, which was used to designate the East Coast and its inhabitants, and which still survives today in the word Zanzibar (Arabic Zengibar = Land of the Zengi)." (Brode 1-2)

According to Davidson, writing first in the mid 1960s, Hindu brides decorated themselves with ivory from the area of modern Kenya and Tanzania and Chinese officials were carried to court in litters veneered and decorated with the same material. He cites al-Masudi in the 10th century:

> "That is where the ivory goes and where it not for this demand, there would be plenty of ivory in our Muslim countries." (Davidson 1974: 77)

Davidson also cites al-Idrisi in the 12th century [illegible]ing information on Africa and writing in Sicily that he was informed that while the best steel came from India, India obtained the best iron from southeast Africa (Davidson 1974: 77).

By the 12th century Sofala[43], at 21°S in central Mozambique, on the coast south of the Zambezi River (and south of modern Beira), was established at the southern end of the domain of the city-state at Kilwa (Brode 2000: 4).

By the 13th century Kilwa, Zanzibar and probably Mogadishu were minting their own coinage and importing cottons and luxury goods from as far as China (Davidson 1974: 84). It was not just the proximate Arabian peninsula which connected to the east coast of Africa:

> "Marco Polo (c.1254-1324) informs us that the Emperor of China sent a whole Chinese fleet on a voyage of discovery to Madagascar, and from later Chinese sources it appears that Chinese junks visited Mogadishu. The connection of this ancient civilized nation with our coast is confirmed by the finding of Chinese coins at Kilwa and Mogadishu. The coins range from the sixth to the twelfth centuries of our era." (Brode 2000: 4)

Ibn Batuta from Tangiers in Morocco began his travels in the year Marco Polo died, 1324. He had travelled across North Africa, the Middle East and Asia, across the Sahara desert to West Africa and down the east coast of Africa before narrating his story back in Granada in Andalusia to an audience including notables and the young writer who was later to be commissioned by the sultan of Morocco to record the traveller's memoirs. His description of travel by sea down the east coast via Mogadishu and Mombasa as far as Kilwa in 1331 makes such travel sound routine in that period (Mackintosh-Smith 2003: 90). Having visited

[43] This may not be the only Sofala on the East African coast: "... in the first part of the twelfth century al-Idrisi, who spent much of his life at the court of the King of Sicily, compiled a book of travels that was based on the experiences of other writers and informers. Al-Idrisi indicated that the Arabs knew of a number of landing points and collection places along the coast known as 'Sofala' (probably from the Arabic for 'shoal', reflecting the dangers of navigation)." (Martin Hall 1987: 78)

the cities of India, China and those of his own Moorish or Arab lands, he recalled Kilwa as "one of the most beautiful and best constructed towns in the world." (Davidson 1974: 78)

Pockets of the Arabian and Swahili legacy survived through the Portuguese period, fortunately for one David Livingstone who was rescued from certain starvation on a number of occasions by one famous Zanzibari slaver, Tippu Tip.

Dr Heinrich Brode, author of the biography of Tippu Tip, described the surprise of the Portuguese when they ventured up the east coast:

> "... their narratives are full of wonder at what they saw, which certainly must have been very different from what they were accustomed to see on the uncivilised West Coast. Along the whole coast, from Sofala [south of the mouth of the Zambezi River] to India, an extensive traffic was carried on, especially in gold and clothing material of all kinds. The inhabitants were white and black Moors (Arabs and Swahili); both races were well clad and richly decked with gold and jewels." (Brode 2000: 4)

According to Davidson, Da Gama and his sailors were both relieved and astonished in 1498 as far south as Quilimane just north of Sofala and the mouth of the Zambezi River where they sailed into an area of frequent maritime trade (Davidson 1974: 85).

While the Portuguese were penetrating the Indian Ocean from the south after Diaz in 1488, some Arabian navigators may have been considering penetrating further south according to a description of the Cape of Good Hope in a publication of 1489, *First Principles and Rules of Navigation* (Davis 2006: 129).

It now seems that the trading network extended a little further south and at least a century earlier than previously thought. An initial radio-carbon date for Chibuene near modern Vilanculos was late in the 8th century, referred to by Martin Hall above. Ponta Chibuene is still used as an anchorage today and together with its supplies of fresh water is a suitable site for settlement (Sinclair 1982: 149, 152). Subsequent work has put the date back to the pre-Islamic 7th century and indicates Chibuene was an entry point for glass beads from at least the 8th century and the southernmost port on the Indian Ocean trade network in the 1st millennium, which extended some 1 500 km inland to north-western Botswana. Chibuene may have been occupied continuously from the 6th to 17th centuries. The main site is large for settlements of the same time range, occupying some 600 x 500m and with satellite sites a few kilometres inland. The variety of pottery styles from the 1st millennium may suggest a cosmopolitan population (Wood et al 2012: 59, 60).

Mas'udi (circa AD 893-957) visited Qanbala, probably on Pemba Island, in 916 on his return from China and India and recorded voyages from Oman and Siraf[44] in Persia as far south as the region of Sofala from which they obtained gold and ivory and that the main commercial and southern limit was the gold of the Sofala region. There may have been a decline of Chibuene in the mid 10th century due to an attack by Indonesians on the southern coast which may have been responsible for similar declines at the same time at Pemba, Zanzibar and Sofala (Wood et al 2012: 72).

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[44] "... Siraf rose to prominence as one of the main ports in the Persian Gulf and a centre at the heart of commercial exchange, operating across much of the Indian Ocean. For around 250 years, between the mid-eighth to early eleventh centuries AD, Siraf would have ranked among the world's most prosperous cities. ... [There was] an extensive industrial quarter where there is evidence for the large-scale production of pottery and glass. ... for the first time, regular direct voyages were made between the Persian Gulf, China and East Africa."
(http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/british_museum_siraf_project.aspx 2014/10/14)

The exact and early southern extent of maritime trade is difficult to tie down. The reliable monsoon winds of the Indian Ocean faltered around Inhambane, south of Chibuene, but this may not have hindered smaller, coasting dhows, as compared to the large oceanic dhouws, at least as far as the limit of sheltered bays such as the Bay of Natal and the violent winter storms further south. Crampton cites Basil Davidson that in 1420 an Indian vessel was blown south possibly as far as the Cape if not beyond and that Mpondo traditions recorded that long before the first Europeans, Arab slavers did land on their coast and carry off people (Crampton 2004: 18, 75).

Crampton has recently suggested that Maputo itself may have featured in the writing of early Arabic travellers, both Al-Idrisi and Ibn Sayd, the latter writing in the 13th century. They situated Daghouta south of Sofala and the final point of voyages from Oman and Syraf. They also recorded that inland of Daghouta were mountains. The only place in coastal Mozambique south of Sofala from which mountains can be seen is Maputo (Crampton 2014: 175, 415 fn.20).

Upper Limpopo River valley settlements

In 1829 Moffat at Mzilikazi's great place near modern Pretoria recorded:

> "At a great distance north or north-east of the Bamangwato, people came up rivers with boats who exchanged ivory and Khotlo [a name given to any yellow metal or copper]."

Wilson infers that this reference could be to the Limpopo but that it is more likely to the Save or Zambezi rivers (Wilson 1969: 150). While the Zambezi is navigable for a much greater distance than the Save, it runs inland in the wrong direction, away from the Zimbabwean plateau on which lay Great Zimbabwe and its successor states.

The Save, also referred to as the Sabi, is still navigable to the border with Zimbabwe despite modern damming and irrigation systems upstream in Zimbabwe. It flows into the Indian Ocean midway between Sofala and Chibuene. One of the Zimbabwean tributaries flows past the ruins of Great Zimbabwe. Without any knowledge of or any proper archaeological investigation of this river, especially the point at which it ceases to be navigable from the Indian ocean, there is no way of knowing how far back it was first used but there is no reason to doubt the possibility that it could have been used as far back as the earliest sea-faring trade down the east coast and across the Indian Ocean.[45]

Martin Hall linked Chibuene with contemporaneous Kilwa rather than Sofala and also suggested that it may have been the southernmost extent of the east coast maritime trade network (Martin Hall 1987: 78). Chibuene is at exactly the same latitude as the upper Limpopo Valley. There is a rough track today which extends in a westerly direction inland from Vilanculos, crossing the Limpopo just below its confluence with the Nuanetsi, some 50 km east of the northernmost section of the Kruger National Park and 250 km east of the Limpopo valley settlements. Around 2002-3 Crampton drove this route from Chibuene across southern Mozambique to the South African border on the Limpopo River at Pafuri. Rather optimistically, she described it as a porter's dream:

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[45] Map 42 in the *Mapstudio Road Atlas Southern Africa* shows "ancient dhow mooring rings" 200km up the Save River very close to the Zimbabwe border. www.britannica.com indicates that it is navigable for 160km from its mouth. "The Arab traders who occupied the Mozambique coast until their displacement by the Portuguese four hundred years ago may have used the Save as a route for trade with the interior. There are persistent rumours of ancient mooring rings buried in the sands of the Save-Runde junction, and even of 'lost cities' hidden in the vast expanse of bush that covers the region." (http://sunsite.icm.edu.pl/untpdc/incubator/zwe/tphar/natp0008.htm 2014/12/27)

"The land was sandy and flat, the road rising no more than 200 or 300 metres over about 550 kilometres – a porter's dream, if porters had any energy left to dream. There were no rocky outcrops, no mountains nor any other natural barriers, and plenty of water." (Crampton 2014: 92)

Radiocarbon dates of the various settlements in the Limpopo River valley including Pont Drift, Schroda, Mapela, K2 and Mapungubwe itself, all located at or near the confluence of the Shashi and Limpopo Rivers, range between 800 AD and the late 12th century.

Earlier farmers south of the Limpopo left very little imprint in the Limpopo valley and there is no evidence of settlement between 700 and 900 AD after which settlements associated with the Zhizo phase of Nkope ceramics appear. There is no evidence of significant climate change in the area and so it is likely that these settlements were closely linked with the oceanic trading opportunities available.[46] Schroda was the largest of the Zhizo settlements. Chiefly power is equivalent to power over and wealth in people. The size of Schroda suggests that it dominated other settlements for the 10th century AD.

"By the ninth century glass beads and other goods from the coast had been received at Schroda: 'Trade was carried on with the coast, as is shown by the presence of trade beads and cowry shells on the site. Other items that were traded included copper and iron, not necessarily in the form of finished products, but at least in metal form which could be heated and forged on site.' (Hanisch 1981)

"Although the people of Schroda were principally agro-pastoralists, they also spent much of their time hunting. ... Elephant were also hunted, for the middens at Schroda contained slivers of ivory, discarded when tusks were cut up ... It seems likely that ivory and animal skins were among the early exports from the Limpopo valley.

"Archaeological evidence is again consistent with early documentary sources. Al-Mas'udi, for instance, who sailed the East African coast in about A.D. 915, noted that 'the land of Zanj' produced 'wild leopard skins', which were both worn by the people themselves or exported to Muslim countries, where they were used for saddles. ... his description of elephant hunting may well be concordant with practice in the Limpopo valley: 'There are many wild elephants but no tame ones. The Zanj do not use them for war or anything else, but only hunt and kill them. When they want to catch them, they throw down the leaves, bark and branches of a certain tree which grows in their country: then they wait in ambush until the elephants come to drink. The water burns them and makes them drunk. They fall down and cannot get up: their limbs will not articulate. The Zanj rush upon them armed with very long spears, and kill them for their ivory. It is from this country that come tusks weighing fifty pounds and more ...' (Freeman-Grenville 1962: 15)" (Martin Hall 1987: 79)

The status of Schroda was also reflected in its unique collection of clay figurines believed to have been used in centralised initiation rituals. It was also a site of both iron smelting and iron working. Similar beads have been found at both Schroda and Chibuene. Some of these beads have been chemically linked to Indonesia which may also have been a destination of ivory exports. Some ceramics found at Schroda originate in Persia (Simon Hall 2012: 118-9). Wilson had pointed out that the discovery of Sung celadon ware at Mapungubwe suggested some link right across the Indian Ocean to China over six centuries ago (Wilson 1969: 148).

[46] Smith, Lee-Thorpe and Simon Hall showed that settlement from 880 AD to 1010 AD occurred under semi-arid conditions after which rainfall increased marginally and that drier conditions did not occur until around 1450 AD, well after the decline of Mapungubwe (2007).

"By the late tenth century, when K2 began to become a centre of importance, there must have been an established flow of goods between coast and interior. Quantities of glass beads have been found in the middens, as well as fragments of ivory at virtually every level. Numerous similar beads came from excavations both on Mapungubwe Hill and on the thick debris from the town around its base – providing evidence for continuing trade through until the end of the twelfth century." (Martin Hall 1987: 79)

The later K2 and Mapungubwe settlements had their own distinctive ceramic styles, known as Leopards Kopje, suggesting new and distinctive leadership although the Zhizo ceramic style continued alongside and nearby until early in the 13th century. The Zhizo culture shifted to eastern Botswana in the 11th century and became known in archaeological terms as the Toutswe Tradition. Writing 25 years later Simon Hall was also unequivocal that the new style was indicative of a new people or at least the core of a new lineage. K2 and later Mapungubwe marked a new scale of hierarchy and control of exotic trade goods underpinned political power. K2 people were ancestral Shona as indicated by ceramic continuity through to the establishment of Great Zimbabwe in the 14th century (Simon Hall 2012: 120-1, 125).

K2 was initially arranged on the pattern of the CCP. However by the end of the 11th century there was no more accumulation of dung in the central kraal which was replaced by an ash midden. Unusually the cattle were removed elsewhere and craft production took the physical place of the central kraal where presumably other male-centred activities including political functions took place. After 200 years K2 moved suddenly early in the 13th century to Mapungubwe, only 1km away:

"The rapidity of the move from K2 to Mapungubwe suggests that the social and structural move towards a burgeoning class-based system had already been completed at K2 and eventually the location and settlement plan became inadequate to express that system. ...

"The removal of cattle from K2 ... suggests that trade beads, cloth, ivory, and later, gold, were woven into the fabric of exchange values and became additional instruments of exchange for wives." (Simon Hall 2012: 123-4)

At Mapungubwe the elite resided on top of the hill, separated from commoners at its base. Huffman suggested that these elites took over the rituals associated with rain-making and the fertility of the land. This would have eliminated the need for the likely ritual services of the Zhizo first-comers. The new settlement pattern, the Zimbabwe Culture Pattern, represented a rearrangement at the apex, not an abandonment of the earlier CCP, a move to link height with status, and the adoption of an east-west axis with private ritual activity towards the eastern end of Mapungubwe hill (Simon Hall 2012: 124-5).[47]

Commoners continued to reside according to the CCP and after the collapse of Mapungubwe, Zimbabwe and some of the successor states, there was a complete reversion to the CCP.

"... it would seem that craftspeople were supported at Mapungubwe in a number of labour-intensive activities, and that considerable quantities of commodities were produced, presumably within the Limpopo valley and its hinterland.

"... by the time K2 was occupied not all the elephant tusks brought into the settlement were exported again to the coast, for there is evidence of a thriving local trade in worked

[47] Huffman referred to this elaboration as the Zimbabwe Pattern (ZP) and tied it to the emergence of a sacred kingship which provided access to a single god. Shula Marks is fairly dismissive of the evidential base for his conclusions on religion (Marks 2011: 131-2).

ivory. ... By far the most common ivory objects from K2 were bracelets ..." (Martin Hall 1987: 80)

It was not just china and glassware that was imported through these networks in exchange for ivory and gold:

"Further evidence for craft specialisation is provided by spindle whorls. Apart from the earlier settlement at Kilwa, the spindle whorls from Mapungubwe are **the earliest evidence for a weaving industry**, suggesting that cotton plants ... had already been introduced from central Asia or India and were either cultivated or growing wild." (Martin Hall 1987: 81-2, emphasis added)

"... merchants must also have been demanding gold, for the price of the metal reached a peak in the Muslim world between the ninth and twelfth centuries ...

"The nobility at Mapungubwe were certainly able to acquire gold, as their own grave-goods attest, but their supply must have come from tributary communities on the northern edge of the state, for there were no goldfields within the Limpopo basin. Thus there must have been a continued economic and political tension between the centre and the periphery of Mapungubwe, as rulers sought to maintain control over tributaries who were aware of their potential economic power. Decline in livestock productivity, particularly on the dry Kalahari margins where Toutswe clients had been able to produce a substantial surplus, may have been the decisive factor, preventing Mapungubwe from paying for the commodity that was vital to satisfy the demands of the coastal traders." (Martin Hall 1987: 102)

The rise and fall of the Limpopo-Shashi complexes was accompanied by the contemporaneous settlements to the west in what is now eastern Botswana, at Toutswe on the edge of the Kgalagadi desert. The regrouping of the Zhizo in eastern Botswana was based on pastoralism and trade with the Kgalagadi hinterland and the Okavango region. They continued to be organised along the lines of the CCP and seem to have been excluded from the trade with the east coat by the elites in the Limpopo valley (Simon Hall 2012: 125-6).

The decline of all the Limpopo valley complexes may have been due to environmental causes – the decline of the marginal grasslands and mopane veld due to overgrazing.

"If the damaged veld were then subjected to the kind of periodic droughts that still devastate southern Africa the veld would be extremely vulnerable. If the dry and dying veld were swept by fire it would be unusable for many years by cattle herders.

"But an additional, and perhaps more decisive, cause of Mapungubwe's decline may have been a shift in the character of long-distance trading relationships. In the later deposits at both the foot and summit of Mapungubwe Hill, there is less evidence of ivory, while burials at the top of the hill, which were robbed before systematic excavations began, contained gold beads and gold-plated grave-goods. Although alluvial gold may have been obtained locally, it seems more likely that a shift in demand from the coastal entrepreneurs allowed people to the north to seize control of the power and prestige associated with trade in exotic goods ... (Martin Hall 1987: 88)

In fact Simon Hall states that the end of Mapungubwe occurred when there was a slight increase in levels of rainfall but shares the above perspective that even slight shifts in climatic conditions including natural disasters may have had huge repercussions for food security. The location and density of commoner homesteads within and next to the flood

plains indicates a great reliance on predictable flood irrigation for both domestic needs and tribute to the rain-making and other elites (Simon Hall 2012: 126).

Mapungubwe did not disappear. There was no large scale population exodus. While farmer numbers in the upper Limpopo valley declined, Mapungubwe ceramics were dominant in eastern Botswana by the 14th century and Mapungubwe settlements continued on the northeast of the Soutpansberg until the middle of the 15th century. It is likely that a later wave of southward migration of Shona from the trading state centred on the capital Khami near modern Bulawayo combined with local Sotho speakers and gave rise to the modern Venda people and language with its distinctive western Shona or Kalanga grammar and Sotho vocabulary (Simon Hall 2012: 127, 133-5).

Still in the Limpopo Valley and in fact in the northernmost section of the Kruger National Park and 10 km from Pafuri, the settlement of Thulamela lies on the Levhuvhu tributary of the Limpopo River and was occupied from about 1250 to 1650 AD. Many glass beads retrieved from the site date between 1300 and 1450 AD and so must have arrived through trade with Arabs or other Asians before the arrival of the Portuguese from 1498.

> "It is a precious historical site that has yielded hundreds of gold and glass beads, iron beads, gold staples, gold foil and bracelets, copper foil and a single piece of Chinese porcelain. Although it covers nine hectares, it was only 'discovered' in the late 20th century and the first human remains were only found in 1996 – the skeletons of the so-called Leopard King and Leopard Queen, ... and were buried according to Venda style and custom." (Crampton 2014: 93-4)

Hall has outlined two types of explanations offered by archaeologists for the emergence of major centres of power in the upper Limpopo River valley between the 10th and 12th centuries. Hall is quick to add that neither explanation is satisfactory. However both explanations may be partially valid. Certainly they direct attention to useful lines of inquiry. These same two explanations recur in attempts to explain state formation down to the late 18th and early 19th centuries:

> "The first ... is ecological: the idea that the state developed because of high economic productivity, particularly in cattle. But although it is certainly true that the rulers of Mapungubwe and Toutswe controlled substantial herds of livestock, it is difficult to see how this form of economic security alone could have enabled them to prevent dissident subjects from moving away rather than submitting to centralised authority. Certainly the Kalahari Desert would have provided one barrier to such fission but there was no reason why putative chiefs could not have moved northwards into the Zimbabwe plateau, or southwards into the southern highveld.
>
> "A second explanation centres on trade; the suggestion that Mapungubwe rose to prominence because the Limpopo basin was the first area in the interior of southern Africa to be integrated into the Indian Ocean trade network. Again, there is clear empirical evidence for this suggestion, for there is substantial evidence for commerce at Mapungubwe itself and at the settlement that immediately preceded it. But again the suggestion of trade in itself as a causal factor is not completely satisfactory. ... simple forms of barter and exchange had probably been part of the economic life of farmers in southern Africa for centuries before the Limpopo valley was settled, while in later years complex trade networks in commodities such as iron were to develop, likewise without the development of states." (Martin Hall 1987: 89)

Great Zimbabwe and successor states

Writing back in the late 1970s, David Beach stated that the origins of the LIA on the Zimbabwean plateau connect a group of cultures north and south of the Limpopo and towards the Kgalagadi:

> "These six cultures and pottery styles that were so closely related to each other, and so distinct from their contemporaries, that they can be grouped together into a unit named 'Kutama', from the Shona word for 'migrate'. ... the Kutama peoples originated in the high country on either side of the Drakensberg well to the south of the Limpopo, where they had developed out of the original Early Iron Age settlement in that area." (Beach 1980: 20)

According to Beach this group prospered in the south to the extent that some moved back northwards across the Limpopo around 900 AD, some continuing north to the central Zimbabwean plateau. Unfortunately Beach provides no sources or footnotes to this passage, leaving the impression that this is based on the oral and dynastic histories he collected in the field, supplemented by existing archaeology as set out in his "Introduction" (xi-xiii). If he is correct, then the history of both the Limpopo valley settlements and those of Zimbabwe and its successor states owes a great deal to interactions with Khoisan peoples, as did all the LIA societies which developed south of the Limpopo River.

> "Although Mapungubwe Hill is known for the exquisitely worked gold objects that came from the graves on its summit, the metal is comparatively rare and probably only associated with the final years of the town's prosperity. ... from the twelfth century circumstances began to change. A dynasty of sultans was established at Kilwa, transforming the city into a prosperous Islamic port and seeking out sources of gold in encounters with middlemen to the south.

> "This trade brought wealth to the rulers of a new state centred, between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries, on the impressively walled city of Great Zimbabwe. ...
>
> "... Great Zimbabwe is the biggest and best known of a large set of sites that include regional centres and villages of peasant farmers – the different levels of a hierarchy that would be expected in a stratified state system." (Martin Hall 1987: 91)

Gold was initially quite common near the surface in a broad diagonal band across what is now Zimbabwe, from the northeast to the southwest:

> "There is also alluvial gold in the Zambezi tributaries. The inhabitants were washing alluvial gold by the tenth century A.D. and by 1000 A.D. they were also recovering and working gold ore." (Curtin et al 1978: 285)

While Chibuene and the Limpopo valley settlements from the 9th century lie on the same latitude, Great Zimbabwe and Sofala, to the south of modern Beira, lie on another exact same latitude just a little to the north. As discussed above, the Save River which enters the Indian Ocean between Sofala and Chibuene, may have provided fast and easy access first to the Limpopo valley settlements and later to the Great Zimbabwe civilization. The river was navigable three-quarters of the way to Great Zimbabwe and one of the tributaries of the river ran through Great Zimbabwe itself.

There are more than 50 *madzimbahwe,* the Shona term for chiefly residences, mostly situated towards the boundaries of the Zimbabwe plateau. However there also are two remote settlements: Manyikeni is 400 km to the east of the edge of the plateau and only 50 km from Chibuene and the Indian Ocean; the other lies 100 km to the west of other known *madzimbahwe*, in the Makgadikgadi Pans in Botswana. The former may have played a key

role with respect to external, oceanic trade while the latter has been linked to the processing of salt and the control of the salt trade to the rest of the "empire".

Manyikeni has been radiocarbon dated to 1170 AD.

> "Manyikeni was built of limestone, because of the lack of the more usual Zimbabwe-style granite, and is an extensive complex of walls covering several acres. The main enclosure is about half the size of the elliptical building at Great Zimbabwe ..." (Crampton 2014: 91-2)

So the Great Zimbabwe state extended half way across the southern African sub-continent, from central Botswana almost to the shores of the Indian Ocean.

> "... the walls [of Great Zimbabwe] were clearly not built for defence and would have been of little value for that purpose. They were rather a statement of the power of the ruling class, a very visible reminder that the nobility could control labour on a large scale." (Martin Hall 1987: 94)

Gold was probably a more important trade item for Great Zimbabwe than it had been for the earlier Limpopo valley states:

> "... mining was a marginal activity, carried out in the winter months between harvesting and planting. Most of the gold exported from the Zimbabwean plateau was either panned from alluvial deposits or mined from the narrow quartz reefs that push up, usually vertically, through the granites. Ore, probably yielding less than an ounce per ton, was extracted from large open pits ... or else from narrow shafts ...
>
> "The ultimate destination of most gold from the Zimbabwe plateau was the Muslim world via the east coast trade. But nothing is known of the manner by which the metal was collected from rural villages and traded for cloth, beads and other imports. ... even though gold mining was clearly an industry at the disposal of many peasant villages, it would seem probable that the metal was a major part in the tribute payable to the nobility." (Martin Hall 1987: 96-7)
>
> "Just as Indian glass beads were mass-produced at little cost, and shiploads of porcelain were exported by order of the Ming dynasty in place of ordinary coinage, so gold was probably acquired by the rulers of the *madzimbahwe* as tribute, mined as a marginal activity in the interstices of the annual agro-pastoral cycle. Thus Kilwa [via its outpost at Sofala] and Great Zimbabwe emerge as partners in a mutually beneficial relationship, both exchanging trinkets of little value in their own economies for exotica that were important because of their rarity.
>
> "Once established, the Zimbabwe state would have benefitted immediately from the high gold price. The nobility would have taken over well-established trade networks, and Muslim merchants would have sent in large quantities of trade goods, as the large storehouses that were built at Kilwa indicate. Ironically, the price of gold was soon to drop, largely because of a massive increase in supply from west Africa (Phimister 1976). But by this stage the infrastructure of the state, including the capital and regional *madzimbahwe*, were already well-established, and the rulers of Zimbabwe probably gave emphasis to other economic activities that could consolidate their power, particularly the cattle husbandry that was to be of central importance in the centuries that followed." (Martin Hall 1987: 102)

Archaeological evidence shows the greatest level of stratification in the civilisation described as Great Zimbabwe where the huge stone walls set apart those who resided within them

from the rest of the population. At one site, copper, beads and ivory were found, at another gold grave goods were found in seven graves. Outside the stone walls it seems that the ordinary populace resided in abodes constructed of wood and mud.

> "... excavation of middens both inside and outside the stone walling at Manyikeni and in the town beyond have provided evidence enabling a comparison of diets to be made, showing that while the elite were able to eat more beef than any other meat, the poorer part of the population made do mostly with mutton.
>
> "Far to the north-west, at Ruanga, is evidence of a similar separation. The upper part of this town is walled to form a *dzimbahwe* of four enclosures that could have contained no more than eight houses. In this area were found gold, copper and iron ornaments as well as imported glass beads. But below the walls, in the lower part of Ruanga, were far less substantial houses made of plaster and wood, with metal utensils of practical value, but little evidence of wealth." (Martin Hall 1987: 93)
>
> "... although early African states had complex internal economies in which foreign trade only directly touched the lives of a small segment of the population, their rulers were more often than not anxious to secure trade connections with the coast and, on several occasions, seem to have lost power when access to markets was severed.
>
> "... although foreign trade should not be seen as the primary cause of state formation, the possession of commodities given value by their rarity was essential if an emergent ruling class was to signify its power and authority. In other words, possession of an exclusive form of wealth (a condition that livestock could not easily fulfil) was a corollary of class formation and therefore of the tributary mode of production." (Martin Hall 1987: 125)

> "By the end of the fifteenth century Great Zimbabwe had ceased to be a centre of national importance, and political power had passed on to new states on the northern [Mutapa] and south-western [Torwa] margins of the high plateau.
>
> "It has been suggested that the capital had become too large for its immediate environment and that firewood, grazing and other essential resources were depleted. ... It would seem more likely that the network of regional centres had become too wide, and the power of the central authority too thinly spread, to prevent from developing those tendencies towards fission which are endemic to state organisations and which had probably caused the collapse of Mapungubwe's power several centuries earlier. An additional factor may have been the exhaustion of gold deposits within early Zimbabwe's economic area, weakening the access of the ruling group to the wealth that was probably crucial for their political power." (Martin Hall 1987: 117-8)

The Mutapa dynasty dominated a group of families known as the Karanga on the Zimbabwean plateau south of the Zambezi. They may initially have been subjects of the Zimbabwean state but early in the 16th century they sought to open trade directly with the Portuguese who built their first fortress at Sofala on the coast south of the Zambezi in 1505. The Portuguese responded and by 1541 had established a permanent presence within the area under the Mutapa.

> "Portuguese chronicles put the population of the capital at between two and three thousand, and although this must be taken only as the roughest of estimates, the town seems definitely smaller than Great Zimbabwe." (Martin Hall 1987: 119)

The Portuguese do not seem to have had direct contact with the southern successor state to Great Zimbabwe, Torwa, located near modern Bulawayo.

"The Torwa ruling lineages may have traded with Islamic merchants, who continued to make a living through the sixteenth century despite Portuguese sea-power and blockages of Muslim ports. Thus the Portuguese explorer Antonio Fernandes, who travelled extensively in the interior during a series of expeditions starting in approximately 1511, found an extensive network of trade-routes and markets which were prospering despite Portuguese control of Sofala and Kilwa. Alternatively Torwa may have been an anonymous partner in the Portuguese trade through the office of intermediary groups." (Martin Hall 1987: 122)

The Torwa capital, probably Danangombe, was in turn taken over by a new dynasty known as the Rosvi, by 1696. According to Beach the Rosvi were most probably a lineage that broke out of the tutelage of the Mutapa as conflict between the Mutapa and the Portuguese escalated. The Rosvi leader was known as the Changamire. The Portuguese were so impressed by his military feats that they abandoned the plateau from 1702 to the end of the century (Martin Hall 1987: 134; Beach 1980: 220).

There was a different, defensive response among the Tonga people in the Ruenga valley and adjacent Inyanga plateau in the 17th and 18th centuries. Here they cultivated hillsides with shallow soils and coarse grasses, had stone lookout posts on hilltops and avoided valleys. This was clearly an attempt to evade the attention of the numerous raiding groups surrounding the area. Eventually they lost the area to Manyika regiments by the early 19th century. Beach described these Tonga as "the culture of losers" (Beach 1980: 184-6). It is possible that this defensive response was much more widespread as we may only know of it because of the extensive stone terracing that was undertaken to maintain the small production levels on poor soils.

Neither Great Zimbabwe nor Mutapa nor Torwa nor the later Changamire state ever united all speakers of the common Shona language. While these four states emerged in the course of almost a thousand years, they were not the only or the normal state form and a number of smaller polities were viable entities. Beach used the term "state" to refer to the four listed above for the following reasons:

"... they had one of two important characteristics: only Zimbabwe and Torwa had large-scale public works, and only Mutapa and Changamire could send armies and exact tribute over long distances. (Possibly Zimbabwe and Torwa also had the second characteristic; I believe that they did, but we have no proof of this.)" (Beach 1980: xii, xiv)

Portuguese, Zambezi valley settlements and the highveld

The Swahili trading enclaves on the east coast were largely politically independent and economically connected by imports and exports with an extensive Indian Ocean and Islamic network and the interior, continental trade with its own networks and intermediary traders, some Islamicised, others not. The Portuguese were to try to recast this entire network in their favour.

"Medieval Portugal was a small impoverished country which, in common with other European states, was economically restricted by the commercial dominance of the Islamic world. Because of the unfavourable balance of trade there was a great shortage of precious metals in the West. It has been estimated that the value of foreign gold coinage increased more than a hundredfold against Portuguese currency between 1383 and 1416 (Axelson 1973) – about the same period that the Islamic world was receiving a steady supply of gold from Zimbabwe.

"In addition, Islam controlled the lucrative trade with the East, particularly the spices which were in great demand in Europe. ... Thus the search for the sources of Muslim gold, coupled with the possibility of gaining direct access to the spice-producing countries of the East, were more than sufficient stimulus for Portugal's imperial adventure.

"In 1415 Portuguese forces captured the North African town of Cueta, and in the following decades fleets sailed regularly from Lisbon to establish trading connections down the West African coast. A major advance came in 1487, when Bartolomeu Dias opened a sea-route to the Indian Ocean. In the same year Pero da Covilla left Portugal with instructions to discover all he could about navigation and commerce in the Indian Ocean. Passing as a Muslim, Covilla travelled southwards down the East African coast and visited both Kilwa and Sofala, reporting back to Portugal via messengers from Cairo. With information from Dias and Covilla to guide him, Vasco da Gama rounded the East African coast in 1498, raiding Muslim trading vessels and sailing on to pioneer the final leg of the route to India (Axelson 1973).

"But although the scope of this Portuguese expansion was impressive, its substance was extremely thin. Territories were held by small groups of men, completely dependent on the superiority of firearms over spears and the regular visits of fleets from Portugal and India to maintain supplies of trading goods and new recruits for the garrisons. In south-east Africa, control of trading depots such as Sofala was given to members of the nobility and gentry as a political favour for three years or so. Remuneration was considered nominal, and the main aim was to gain maximum profit through trade in the limited time available (Axelson 1973).

"Given this milieu, few Portuguese commanders had much concern for the longer-term political and economic stability of south-east Africa, in contrast with their Islamic equivalents, who had far more to gain from stable, dependable trade connections. In addition, it was often in Portuguese interests to penetrate the interior, both to avoid losing profit to middlemen along the trade-routes and also to cut off sources of trade goods from their Islamic competitors." (Martin Hall 1987: 122-3)

In addition to the destruction of the major part of the established and effective trading network they wished to supplant in the Indian Ocean, the Portuguese began to divert the established European trade with southeast Asia from the ancient routes via the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to the oceanic route via the Cape. To effect and defend this new artery of trade, they established fortified enclaves at Goa, Malacca, and Ormuz, the latter two controlling critical maritime gateways (Thompson 1990: 32).

However the Portuguese were indeed spread very thinly around their global ambitions:

"The State of Portuguese India began (in theory) at the Cape of Good Hope, and extended to the Far East; it was administered by a Viceroy or Governor, with his seat in Goa ..."

"[local representatives] were the captain of Mozambique [Island in the north of the country now known as Mozambique] and Sofala (which had been Portuguese since 1507 and 1505 respectively) and the captain of Mombasa (where a fortress had been founded in 1593)." (Axelson 1960: 2)

"In 1544 a garrison was positioned at Quilimane to superintend the estuary of the Zambezi (Alpers 1975). But ambitions often exceeded means, for it was one thing to attempt to control trade at points of embarkation along the coast and the Zambezi, and quite a different proposition to attempt to mount expeditions into the interior, with its alien climate and hostile population." (Martin Hall 1987: 124)

The Portuguese were to become a much more violent and rapacious bunch than the previous overlords. From early in the 16th century they were able to supplant or superimpose themselves on the elites who dominated the coastal trade. But aside from coastal enclaves and some inland fortresses such at Sena and Tete on the Zambezi, they never developed a strong or intensive presence in southeast Africa or in the interior. Therefore they did not always substantially change the central role of the intermediary traders despite attempts to do so, or prevent them from bypassing Portuguese control altogether. So Angoche on the coast south of Mozambique island remained under Arab sheikhs. The inhabitants were "pitifully poor" yet:

> "Twice a year the captain [at Mozambique Island] sent a *pangaio* to these parts, to trade for ivory and amber, mats and straw hats, and large numbers of slaves. Enslavement in south-east Africa ... arose from selling by parents of their children in times of famine or other emergency; from kidnapping; from capture by chiefs for crimes; and from capture in war." (Axelson 1960: 4)

The same or similar extractive trade practices seem to have been followed elsewhere:

> "To Inhambane came each year a *naveta* or *pangaio* sent by the captain of Mozambique to trade for ivory, slaves, amber, honey, butter, rhinoceros horns and hooves, Hippopotamus teeth and hoofs, and pearls." (Axelson 1960: 8)

> "The southernmost point of Portuguese influence in south-east Africa was at the Bahia da Lagoa (corrupted by the English to Delagoa Bay), or the river of Lourenco Marques as it had come to be called. Here, to Inhaca Island, the captain of Mozambique sent a naveta each year with the customary cloth and beads to be exchanged for the same goods as those traded at Inhambane with the exception of pearls." (Axelson 1960: 8)

The narratives of the shipwreck survivors attest to the extent of the maritime Portuguese presence. In 1552 survivors of the wreck of the Sao Joao at modern Port Edward reached Inhambane overland and found a Portuguese trading vessel at anchor (Vernon 2013: 37). In the 16th century there was a Portuguese outpost in Maputo Bay on what became known as Portuguese Island for the number of Portuguese shipwreck survivors buried there. In 1554 the survivors of the wreck of the Sao Bento at the Msikaba River mouth made it to Chief Inhaca at Delagoa Bay where they decided to wait for a ship. A Portuguese ship arrived after they had waited four months (Vernon 2013: 42). In 1589 the survivors of the wreck of the Sao Thome near Kosi Bay reached Portuguese Island to find 50 thatched huts built by Portuguese traders and two small sailing boats. The survivors also heard of a Portuguese trader staying up the Nkomati River to the north. Survivors managed to obtain another vessel on the Bazaruto islands and sail to Sofala (Vernon 2013: 45). Four years later, in 1593, the survivors of the Santo Alberto, wrecked at Kwelera, met up with a trading ship at Portuguese Island (Vernon 2013: 55). In 1623 survivors of the Sao Joao Baptista wrecked at Canon Rocks also obtained a sailing vessel in Maputo Bay, probably also on Portuguese Island, and with further help from traders at Bazaruto, were able to sail on to Sofala (Vernon 2013: 60). In 1647 survivors of the Nossa Senhora Da Atalia, wrecked in Cintsa Bay, and the Santissimo Sacramento, wrecked in the same storm near Port Elizabeth, met up with two Portuguese trading vessels at the mouth of the Nkomati River (Vernon 2013: 66).

The coast of modern Mozambique alone is about 3 400 km in length and full of bays, inlets and islands, most of which were well known and used for generations by earlier traders and navigators. The maritime traders who regularly visited the coast would have built up ongoing contacts and networks on the land end of the exchange systems. This coastline must have remained accessible to these Indian Ocean traders independently of the Portuguese. Land-based traders would have had no economic reason to stop dealing with established trading

partners and instead to wait for and open trade with the Portuguese. It is hardly surprising that the Portuguese were never able to gain full control of the entire East African coastal trade, including that of modern Tanzania, Kenya and even Somalia.

The prazos of the Zambezi valley were another early indication of the weakness of Portuguese colonialism in east Africa:

> "By 1530, a number of renegades, or *sertanejos*, had moved away from the coast. Some of these 'were illiterate criminals, some were noblemen, but all were reacting against the discipline of fortress life and against the constraints of the royal monopoly of commerce' (Newitt 1973).
>
> "The politically skilful and fortunate renegades became extremely powerful and were soon able to form alliances with the rulers of states on the Zimbabwean plateau in return for further concessions. A significant connection of this kind was forged in 1606, when the Mutapa state enlisted the aid of Diogo Simoes Madeira, one of the most powerful traders in the Sena area, who was able to raise an army of more than 4 000 mercenaries and gain wide-ranging political and economic rights as the price of his assistance. Ever watchful for an opportunity to regularise a situation to its advantage, the Portuguese Crown soon granted powerful figures like Madeira land titles, or *prazos*, long leases that had become popular in medieval Portugal (Newitt 1973). Thus by royal decree *sertanejos* became *prazeros*, renegades became land-holders and loyal subjects of the King of Portugal, and the first of the war lords were established in south-east Africa.
>
> "It is a mistake to see the seventeenth-century *prazeros* as the vanguard of Portuguese colonial settlement in south-eastern Africa, for the men and women who held power over their massive Zambezian estates were in every respect 'transfrontiersmen' – people who had crossed the frontier of their own culture in search of taking up a new way of life (Isaacman 1975). Thus *prazeros* rarely removed established chiefs, but rather imposed a new set of political institutions above the old, receiving tribute and taxes that had been passed up the political hierarchy, retaining profits and redistributing goods and favours down the hierarchy again to secure support. Despite considerable pressure from the Portuguese authorities, very few *prazeros* attempted to develop any form of commercial agriculture on their estates, rather depending on tried methods of trading and serving as middlemen linking the Indian Ocean coastline with the African interior. In this way prazeros obtained gold and ivory from their estates at depressed prices and sent them to the coast, from where cloths, beads and other trade goods were obtained and bartered at inflated prices on the *prazos* and beyond (Isaacman 1972).
>
> "... although the *prazos* had formal status in Portuguese law, they were in practice groups of chiefdoms (run by the same structures of authority as had existed before the Portuguese arrived) which served as sources of revenue and trade markets for the *prazero* and his immediate family.
>
> "... such a system could not survive without considerable military force as backing, and for this the *prazeros* were dependent on large armies of slaves, the *achikunda*. These could consists of many thousands of men and were divided into regiments deployed at strategic positions through the *prazo*. The *prazero's* army ensured that tribute was collected from the estate's population, provided protection on trading expeditions into the interior, guarded the *prazo* from hostile neighbours, and allowed the *prazero* to expand his holdings and involve himself in the political intrigues of the region. Nevertheless, the *achikunda* were an unpredictable force, and although some *prazero* families held power through several generations, others lost their estates when their armies revolted or formed alliances with other war lords (Isaacman 1972)." (Martin Hall 1987: 129-132)

There were two main types of people on the *prazos* – those already there when the *prazo* was established, and slaves brought in by the *prazero*. But:

> "By the nineteenth century, the distinctions between the two types of dependents were becoming blurred. Indeed, separate historical studies by Allen F. Asaacman and M.D.D. Newit have shown that the prazos became more like African chiefdoms as the years went by. The prazeros and their families continued to use Portuguese names and titles and to profess Christianity; but they were barely literate, they spoke local African languages more than Portuguese, they were polygamous, they believed in witchcraft, and they performed the functions of African chiefs, including in some cases the ritual functions." (Curtin et al 1978: 290)

At the same time that the prazos started on the Zambezi, so in 1531 the first official Portuguese settlement was established inland on the Zambezi River in an attempt to get closer to the perceived sources of gold:

> "One hundred and sixty miles up the river ... lay the town of Sena .... A stone fort contained the factory and the church. The town had some 50 Portuguese residents, and 750 Christian natives and Indians ... at the end of the sixteenth century. Around the town lay the lands of Chief Inhamroy. He was a vassal of Monomotapa, the Paramount Chief of most of the country south of the Zambezi." (Axelson 1960: 4)

Each captain at Mozambique Island paid a present of cloth and beads to Monomotapa to secure the freedoms and safety of Portuguese traders. Portuguese traders from Sena and Tete, the later a further 250 km up the Zambezi and established by the Portuguese a few years after Sena, attended trade fairs in what is now Zimbabwe. The lands of Monomotapa were rich in riverine gold (Axelson 1960: 6-7).

> "By 1607 the Mutapa state was in decline, and the Monomotapa could no longer control Portuguese settlement. That part of the state which included the high plateau was lost and the capital was moved to the hostile environment of the Zambezi lowlands. In 1629 a treaty made the Monomotapa a vassal of the King of Portugal, additional Portuguese settlement was permitted within Mutapa, and the *prazeros* built fortified settlements across the country, diverting economic and political power away from the royal dynasty.
>
> "The low point of this decline was reached in 1663, when the *prazeros* deposed the ruling Monomotapa in favour of their own nominee. But in the years that followed, the state was steadily reconstructed from within its much-diminished boundaries. This was probably made possible by the *prazeros* themselves, who had so damaged the economic infrastructure of Mutapa that returns from trade and mining had greatly declined. The ruling dynasties began to re-establish their power, and in 1693, with the aid of allies, the Monomotapa was able to drive out many of the traders.
>
> "The territorial integrity of the [Mutapa] state was maintained through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, partly with the backing of a small standing army which could be enlarged if the necessity arose, but also by employing slaves after the fashion of military leaders in other parts of the subcontinent. In this way, members of the powerful dynasties were supported by groups of slaves, of which the women were incorporated into domestic life and the men became warriors, or *vanyai*. The *vanyai* were grouped into companies, each one hundred strong, carrying out ordinary economic activities, but also serving as a fighting force." (Martin Hall 1987: 133)

Beach earlier described the function of the *vanyai*:

"The emergence of the *vanyai* appears to be the main reason for the continued existence and surprising resilience of the Mutapa state. They provided the military muscle to repel Portuguese attacks and extend the Mutapa's influence ... They also supplied [the] subrulers of the Mutapa dynasty with the force with which to claim the Mutapa title, and by trading, or, very often, robbing traders, they brought in extra wealth to their subrulers." (Beach 1980: 150)

The Portuguese had tried to establish direct links with the interior. One result was that the emergent Venda identity and state in the 16th century was able to dominate trade outwards in copper, iron, gold, ivory and salt. The Singo state that emerged amongst the Venda from the later 17th century controled a large area which extended as far as the copper mines of Phalaborwa in the lowveld. While earlier Venda trade was routed to Inhambane and Sofala, it now re-routed southwards to Dutch and a few English at Delagoa Bay. The Dutch recorded variable but sometimes significant receipts of copper and tin at Delagoa Bay. The copper probably also came from Musina and the tin probably from Rooiberg far to the west.

"The shift in trade outlets southward along the coast to Delagoa Bay and the competition between Dutch and English traders for goods from the interior stretched trade routes from the Singo state to this outlet. The balance of trading power tilted increasingly towards the interior Sotho/Tswana-speaking communities of the Lowveld and escarpment areas to the south, who were closer to the outlet." (Simon Hall 2012: 136-7)

The obvious wealth of the pre-existing east African and Indian Ocean trade had drawn the Portuguese northwards from the southern African coast and their first base in what is now Mozambique was established in the far north on Mozambique Island. The Cape was largely to be left alone by the Portuguese for the 16th century.

"The Cabo de Boa Esperanza had been known to Europeans since its discovery by Bartholomew Diaz in 1488. The Portuguese, pioneers of the Cape maritime route to Asia, monopolised it from 1498 to 1595, without showing interest in the Cape. Like the Arabs they crossed the Indian Ocean on the south-west monsoon on their voyages from Lisbon to Goa or Cochin, usually stopping in Mozambique on the way out, St Helena or the Azores on the way home. The Cape, with its small groups of Khoikhoi, having only cattle and sheep to barter, could not compare commercially with the Congo, Angola, the East African ports and Zambesia, where the Portuguese had vast commitments. Even without its unsavoury reputation, derived from d'Almeida's fatal skirmish with some Khoikhoi in 1510, the Portuguese had no reason to frequent the Cape." (Wilson 1969: 187)

In fact by the end of the 16th century the Portuguese were facing European competition and the Mozambique coast at least was going to be drawn increasingly into new networks stretching up from the south of the continent:

"Portuguese fortresses and settlement still stretched half-way across the globe, from Brazil to China, but Portugal lacked the manpower to sustain this prodigious effort ... English and Netherlands vessels had begun to penetrate into the Indian Ocean towards the end of the sixteenth century and to break the monopoly which had been Portugal's for a century. Commercial competition was inevitable. But now much of the competition was to be resolved by gunpowder ..." (Axelson 1960: 1)

"There is evidence to show that, by 1593, mercantile trade, presumed to have come from Delagoa bay, had penetrated as far south as the Transkei and as far inland as the Nongoma area. **Ivory was the main export, while beads and copper were the main imports**. Already by this time, imported cloth was in demand north of the Thukela, while copper was worth less there than further south, where it was still rare.

"Attempts to control this trade may account for the fact that the shipwreck parties often encountered resistance when crossing rivers on their way through the Zululand coastal area. As rivers were often political boundaries, the explanation might be that each inkosi was anxious to control any trade to, or passing through, his territory. The coastal area between the Thukela and St Lucia continued to be one of strife until the nineteenth century and to some extent this was the result of trade rivalry. Trade through Delagoa Bay came to be supplemented by trade through the 'river of Natal' (Durban), which by the late seventeenth century was frequently visited by small trading vessels." (Maggs 1989: 42, emphasis added)

Ancestral Sotho/Tswana and Nguni language speakers

Tying down the origins of these ancestors again reverts to the concept of migration due to major ceramic discontinuities between the last EIA farmers such as those labelled Ntshekane in Natal:

"Cultural remains of people likely to be ancestral Nguni-speakers, first appear about AD 1100 in the coastal regions of KwaZulu-Natal, and Sotho/Tswana-speakers in the Bushveld habitats north and south of the Soutpansberg, from about AD 1300."

"The impetus for these origins must have come from further north of the Limpopo. Some archaeological evidence, for example, links early Nguni pottery and thirteenth-century pottery from Ivuna in Tanzania. Further[illegible] linguistic grounds, both Nguni and Sotho/Tswana languages have features that could only have developed in East Africa. On anthropological grounds, kinship terminology, the practice of *hlonipa* (the respect shown by married women for her husband's patrilineal family and expressed in avoidance of words associated with their names), and specific pollution concepts are also linked to historic cultural practices in East Africa." (Simon Hall 2012: 128-30)

The difficulty is that there is little evidence of migrations. However even the much later and more recent south to north migration of the Ngoni to northern Malawi and beyond left very little evidence of their passing by. If the origins, or as Simon Hall hedges his bets, "the impetus for these origins", lie with eastern Bantu languages, Huffman maintains that there is a general continuity in ideology and also that settlements fit the CCP (Simon Hall 2012: 131). Huffman suggested a time-frame for the exit of people from east Africa if not their arrival in southern Africa:

"Whatever the exact source, early Nguni probably left East Africa for climatic reasons. Climatic cycles in East and southern Africa are in tandem but work in reverse (Tyson et al. 2002), so while southern Africa was enjoying higher rainfall from about AD 1000 to 1300, East Africa suffered serious drought. These adverse conditions probably caused Tsonga and Sotho-Tswana to move south, as well as Nguni." (Huffman 2004: 85)

A number of questions arise:

- How did a group of migrants adhering to an ideology based on pastoralism and the CCP survive passage through the Limpopo valley settlements with their more developed ideology and social structure?

- If they and their livestock were able to avoid and bypass the expanding Zimbabwe culture, how was this possible given the desert conditions to the west and tsetse fly and malaria to the east?

- The ancestral Nguni seem to have moved into the Natal coastal zone where earlier pastoralist density seems to have dipped with poor climatic conditions and so they may have met little resistance. But if they entered the area via the coastal plains of southern Mozambique, again how did they avoid both tsetse and malaria?

Perhaps the idea of movement and migration creates the problem. Consider the recent and ongoing debate about Mfengu origins and identity. Might ancestral Nguni people have been the analogy of the later Mfengu in an earlier period, comprised of servile classes or castes supplemented from ongoing in-migration of people from the same ancestral culture somewhere to the north?[48] Once amassed and regrouped south of the ancestral Sotho/Tswana and Tsonga populations, might they have asserted a culture based on remnants and imagined remnants of a past and/or recently/temporarily suppressed culture?

If this occurred in an area already occupied by cattle-keeping pastoralists who themselves were a mix of any earlier Bantu immigration with long-established Khoikhoi, then the unifying factor would have been precisely cattle and pastoralism.

While referring to the Sotho-Tswana, Legassick suggested that rather than relying on migrations and arrivals, it may be more useful to seek out the introduction, diffusion and clustering of cultural traits and dialects:

> "It might emerge, indeed, that the more important developments have occurred *in situ*, stimulated perhaps from outside, rather than as the result of 'migrations'. Furthermore, such a method would discuss the emerge[illegible] Sotho-Tswana culture in the context of the cultures of the surrounding southern Bantu-speakers and the indigenous Khoisan-speakers. These cannot fail to have been the major influences on the Sotho-Tswana, as well as the major cultures from which the Sotho-Tswana distinguished themselves" (Legassick 1969: 112)

Whatever the answers to these questions and whatever motivated this migration, interaction or series of migrations and/or interactions, once south of the Limpopo continuities are fairly easy to trace back in time from the present. Climatic conditions may have simultaneously worsened in east Africa and improved in northern South Africa around the time of the arrival of the Sotho/Tswana in the 14th century. Once here they moved southward over the next two centuries. By the early 17th century they had breached the boundary of the bushveld and pushed across the Vaal River. Dry stone walling begins to mark their presence and the boundaries of their settlements as well as cattle kraals and areas within homesteads (Simon Hall 2012: 131, 138, 142).

Wilson distinguished Sotho/Tswana-speakers from Nguni-speakers in terms of kinship and economy as follows:

> "Every Nguni child is born into a patrilineal clan and marriage within the clan is a heinous offence, whereas the Sotho and Tsonga observe no such rule and the preferred form of marriage is with a cousin. Differences in their kinships systems are linked differences in economy. The Nguni clan system interlocks with the ownership of cattle and begins to crumble when men no longer depend upon inherited herds; whereas the descent groups amongst the Sotho are associated with wild animals and suggest a greater dependence upon hunting. The pre-occupation of the Nguni with cattle, and greater dependence of the Sotho and Tsonga on game and crops, is reflected also in the rituals." (Wilson 1969: 96)

[48] See Delius et al 2012 for a similar argument about the origins of the Bokoni.

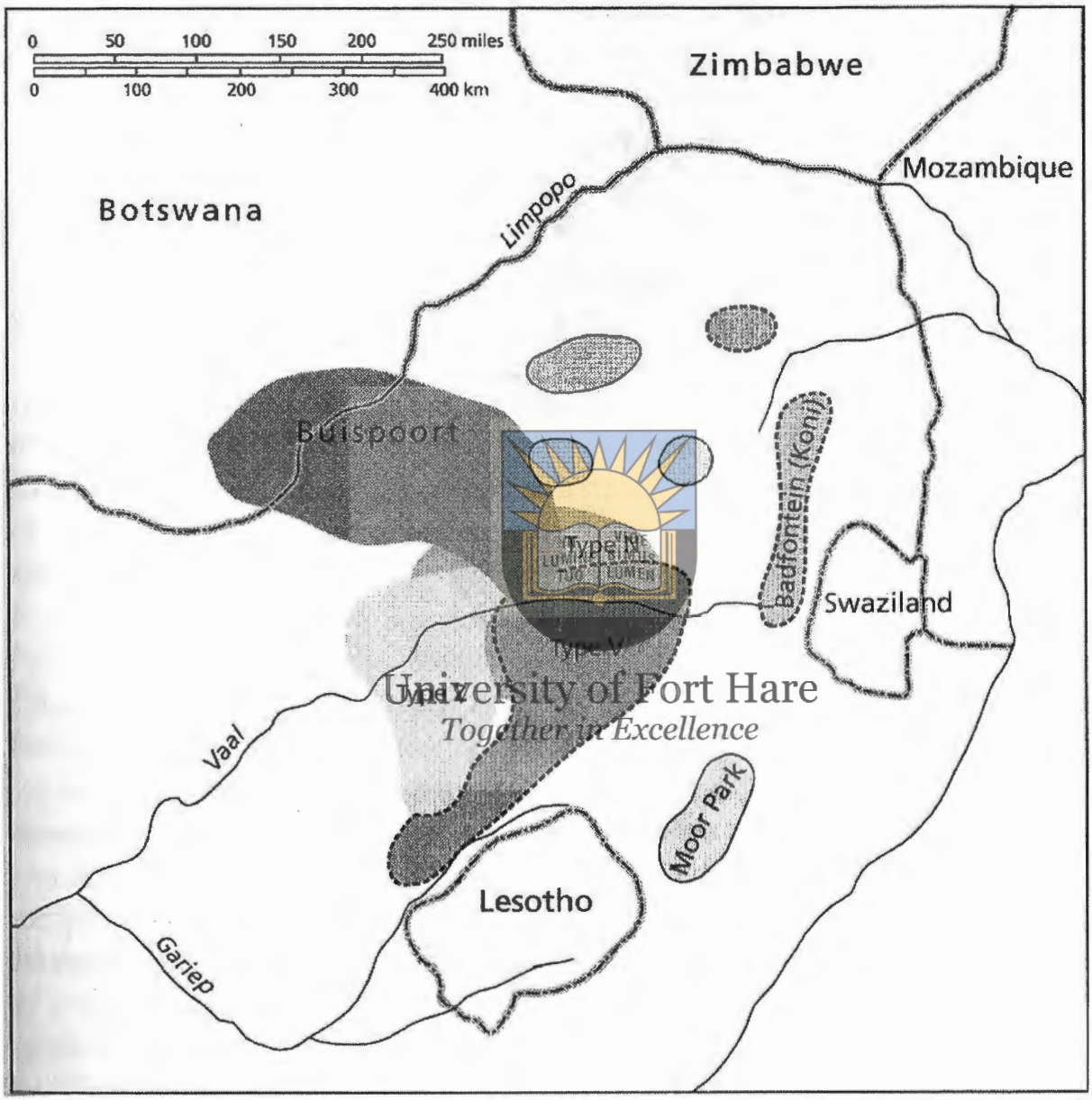
The association of Sotho groups with wild animals refers to the *seboko* or totemic animal and is an easy way of tracing immigrant Sotho groups in Nguni-speaking areas, such as the amaVundle (rabbits) from the Herschel area and the amaMfene (baboons).

Figure 12: Distribution of ancestral Sotho/Tswana and Nguni speakers

Source: Simon Hall 2012: 130

Figure 13: Sotho/Tswana and Nguni stone-wall settlements after 1450

Source: Simon Hall 2012: 141



Traces of early Nguni in Natal are more sparse than for Nguni and Sotho/Tswana on the highveld due to variable preservation of building materials and the erasing of much of the oral record by the later emergence of the Zulu state. The first phase of settlement, referred to as Blackburn, occurs until around 1300 AD and marine resources were important for coastal settlement such as that at Mpambanyoni. A second phase, Moor Park, dates from the 14th to 18th centuries during which settlement expanded into the midlands where stone was used for boundaries of settlements. Ceramics of this phase are found as far south as Graham's Town by at least the 15th century.

There were at least two significant migrations of Moor Park culture into the highveld, first in the early 16th century into the Waterberg of Limpopo Province and a little later in the same century of people now known as the northern and southern Ndebele of Mokopane and Tshwane. Motivation for both these movements may have been the negative ecological and climatic conditions east of the escarpment described as the Little Ice Age around 1500-1700 AD (Huffman 2004: 93, 95; Simon Hall 2012: 144-7).

The demographics in Natal may have been influenced by the Portuguese presence and the introduction of maize in particular. Distinctive grindstones interpreted as maize grindstones on sites west of the escarpment suggest that maize may have been widespread by the 17th century:

> "If ... maize was rapidly integrated into the agricultural mix of coastal Tsonga and Nguni polities and bolstered food production that encourages population growth, this would have had to be politically managed. Given that the climate in the eighteenth century was better, maize agriculture is likely to have had a significant impact in this period. Maize is a sensitive plant compared to the more robust sorghums and millets, but with the right rainfall conditions the plant can produce significantly more cereal per area cultivated, and because the cob is sheathed, it does not require the intensive labour of crop-watching to keep birds at bay." (Simon Hall 2012: 148)

While a shift to the cultivation of maize would have dramatically improved supplies of grain – in good years up to three times as much maize as traditional grains – and consequently boosted human population, the failure of maize in years of drought would have contributed to famine and conflict (Parsons 1995: 338).

Hedges argues that maize was present in southern Africa from the mid 16th century and remained "a part of a complex pattern of cereal agriculture" before coming to dominate in the 19th century (Hedges 1978: 36, 39).

> "... relations between the Later Stone Age and the Iron Age peoples after AD 1000. Indications are that they remained in contact, but not as closely as before. At this stage, the Iron Age communities underwent changes in social organization which saw the emergence of social inequalities, and this might have affected attitudes towards Later Stone Age hunter-gatherers, whose society remained egalitarian. **A possibility, at present under investigation, is that the Later Stone Age hunter-gatherers became clients of the farmers, exchanging meat and ivory for domestic plant foods, as was indeed to happen during the colonial period in other regions of Southern Africa**. What is certain is that the Later Stone Age hunter-gatherers survived in Natal to confront white settlers in the early nineteenth century, when they were referred to as 'Bushmen'." (Mazel 1989: 22, emphasis added)

Wilson had made the same point based on the observation of the deserter, Wikar:

> "In 1779 Wikar, a Swede, then travelling on the Orange River, made an observation which is one of the keys to South African history. He wrote: 'Every tribe that owns cattle also has a number of Bushmen under its protection', and 'Bushmen' is used by him, as by other writers, to mean any group living solely by hunting and collecting." (Wilson 1969: 63)

> "Some San bands remained wholly independent (so far as the evidence goes); others attached themselves intermittently to suppliers of food; others remained permanently dependent on some patron. Those clients who remain hunters and only visit their patrons intermittently may retain much of their own culture, but those who settle do not. ... Where land and game were plentiful the hunters remained independent – it was easy for them to vanish when they wished to do so ....; but where population grew more dense and game was shot out by men with firearms, the bow-and-arrow hunters could no longer subsist. They stole cattle and sheep and where themselves shot as thieves, or they became the permanent servants of herders and farmers. When the servant had no alternative means of subsistence, and no freedom of movement, clientship became slavery, or something akin to it." (Wilson 1969: 63-4)

According to Marks there are a great number of Khoisan "clicks" in the *hlonipa* terms, even if just added to isiXhosa words, used by Xhosa brides which she suggests may be due to a preponderance of Khoisan brides (Marks 2011: 130). Might this have reflected a balance of power of Xhosa over Khoisan? In the long term it probably did as Khoisan groups were absorbed or forced to retreat. But in the short term there were many other possibilities, particularly given the status of Khoisan as "first peoples".

There appears to a non-linguist (such as this student) to be a remarkable similarity between the supposed Nguni word for San person/people, umThwa/abaThwa, and the Nguni word for person/people, umTu/abanTu. Is this a coincidence or does it reflect some deeper and more ancient association?

While there is much literature on the subordination of the San by Nguni and Sotho/Tswana, the relationship was a two-way process. San women were often sought out as wives, including as wives of chiefs. Pieter Jolly has stated that oral traditions of a number of clans who migrated southwards across the highveld and later formed the core of the southern Sotho refer to close relations with the San, including intermarriage (Jolly 1996: 33). Mpondomise oral tradition asserts that chief Ncwini had a son, Cira, through whom the royal line runs, by a San wife. Another oral tradition records a marriage between San and Bafokeng (Blundell 2004: 124 citing Soga 125). No doubt these marriages were partly about building alliances and also about harnessing the specialist knowledge and presumed powers of the San. While the influence of Khoisan languages on isiXhosa in particular is well-known, there is also evidence of the incorporation of elements of Bantu languages into San languages in Mpumalanga and the Transk[illegible]mbe 1976: 10). Blundell has also argued against the dangers of reducing San to subordinates of Bantu-speakers and sought to elucidate very personalised identities for particular groups of San and individuals within these groups in the 19th century (Blundell 2004: 25 etc).

Jim Feely's work cited above identified both EIA (see *Figure 10* above) and LIA settlement sites in three transects of the Transkei. While his investigation is by no means comprehensive, the relative numbers of and comments on both EIA and LIA sites are still the best on record for the Transkei.

In his northern transect,[49] Feely found no Iron Age sites in the study area furthest inland, in what became the Mount Fletcher district (Feely 1987: 58-61). He found only one EIA site in the Mount Frere area, in a river valley bottom. On the basis of pottery he dated this site on the north bank of the Mzimvubu River to earlier than 900 AD and found no further such sites upstream on either the Mzimvubu or Kinira Rivers. This was the furthest inland and most elevated EIA site he found at the time, some 100 km inland and situated on land 900 m above sea level. Downstream in the Mount Frere area, there were seven LIA sites in the same study area. Five of these LIA sites were located in the valley bottoms of the Kinira and Mzimvubu Rivers, characteristic of EIA settlement patterns and leading to the conclusion that:

> "The presence of settlement during the first and second millennium A.D. at altitudes of 900 - 1 000m a.s.l. [above sea level] indicate farming land use in all the entrenched sectors of the Mzimvubu river drainage basin for more than a thousand years." (Feely 1987: 62)

[49] This transect includes his study areas 2A-D, pages 98-115, pages 98-113 missing. His central transect, study areas 1A-C, pages 116-135, pages 116-129 are missing. Fortunately his thesis was retyped without any missing pages and published a year later in 1987 by Cambridge University Press but without any page numbers! This latter version has been used for the missing pages of the original thesis. Figure 4 at page 79 of the thesis gives the key to his categorisation of land types.

In the next study area, in the Tabankulu and Flagstaff districts, Feely found another seven EIA and nine LIA sites, on the Mzimvubu and Mzintlava Rivers, the latter dividing the two districts of Tabankulu and Flagstaff. All seven EIA sites were located in valley bottoms as were four of the LIA sites. The density of EIA settlement was the highest encountered in his study. Feely found two further EIA sites outside of this study area but upstream on the Mzintlava River. The EIA sites in this study area and in the Mount Frere area at the highest altitude accorded with the limits found by Maggs in the Tugela River basin. The 5 LIA sites located on ridges are characteristic of later Nguni settlement patterns (Feely 1987: 64-5). The findings in this study area confirmed the conclusions he had already reached in the previous study area and reflected in the quote immediately above.

In his coastal study area, Feely found only 1 EIA site, inland on the Msikaba River, and 17 LIA sites, 1 of which was situated on the coast, two on valley bottoms and the rest on ridges or undulating upland (Feely 1987: 67).

Feely concluded:

> "These findings may shed new light on the oral tradition of Transkeian people that their forebears entered the Transkei region of southeast Africa via an inland route into the Mzimvubu river drainage basin. The 'Tableland' terrain within 15km of the coastline revealed only a very low density of LIA settlement locations ... These contrasting spatiotemporal distributions and densities suggest that expansion of Iron Age settlement into northern Transkei from Natal, may have been constrained by the very acid soils and the extensive grassland which they suppo[illegible] of the coastal belt north of the Egoso fault." (Feely 1986: 114-5)

Feely's central transect straddled the Mbashe River and included known archaeological sites at Mpame and Shixini. The study area furthest inland included the Mbashe and upper tributaries of the Mnyolo and Xuka Rivers in the Ngcobo, Elliot and Ugie districts. Only four settlement sites were found, none on the inland plateau, all on the coastal plateau and none older than around 1750 AD (Feely 1987: 72-3).

The next study area included the middle Mbashe, lower Xuka and Mgwali Rivers. Of ten sites within the 2nd millennium, Feely estimated that most were since 1650 AD. However Feely cites further investigation in 1984 by T.S. Robey who found a LIA site below Clarkebury in the Mbashe valley bottom estimated on the basis of pottery to be in the 1st half of the 2nd millennium (Feely 1987: 74-5).

The largest study area comprised parts of both the Elliotdale and Willowvale coastal districts. Seven EIA sites were found, including Lujojozi with evidence of iron smelting described above, five in valley bottoms as far as 25km inland on larger rivers, and two on ridges or undulating land, including Lujojozi. In contrast 47 LIA sites were found, 3 on the coast, seven in valley bottoms and 37 on ridges or undulating land (Feely 1987: 79). Unfortunately there does not appear to be any dating of the LIA sites.

In this transect Feely found that EIA settlements covered a much greater area (2-4Ha) than LIA settlements (<0.5Ha). Together with evidence from Natal he concluded that EIA sites were much more aggregated while LIA sites looked more like the dispersed homesteads of the Nguni period. He suggests that the proportion of homesteads involved in smelting probably remained the same in both the EIA and LIA. However the greater dispersion of homesteads would have required non-smelters to travel some distance to obtain worked iron, leading to specialised traders:

> "It is possible to see in such a situation a stimulus for even longer distance exchange networks for metals, such as were being practised between Xhosa and Tswana via Khoe

intermediaries, or with Hlubi and Zizi in Natal during the 17th and 18th centuries (Peires, 1981). If local iron production in Transkei had continued to remain low and centres widely separated in relation to demand, this might have provided further stimulus for such trading developments." (Feely 1986: 131)

Another factor affecting iron working was the availability of hardwoods suitable for making charcoal. In the Transkei such sources of timber would have been scarcer than further north in Natal and this would have been a bigger constraint that the availability of ore which does occur in the form of ferricrete on the inland plateau. Yet Feely found no evidence of smelting in this area but only in areas where wood was still available in 1985 in the northern Transkei (Feely 1986: 131, 133).

The southern transect [study areas 3A-E, pages 136-163] involved the Transkei side of the Great Kei River or *Nciba* and the basin of the White Kei or *Xonxa,* the later at the lowest end of precipitation in the Transkei and the last known home of the San leader, Madoor or Madolo. In this inland area:

"Nineteen LSA sites with distinctive thin, decorated pottery were found on the banks of perennial streams ... and were possibly attributable to such people." (Feely 1986: 136-7, 139)

In the Xonxa basin north of Queenstown Feely was unable to identify any LIA sites although there were indications of a more recent presence from the 19th century. However he identified two open sites with ceramics on the river and three rock shelters with paintings and stone walls suggesting the kraaling of animals:

"Whether the artists were the herders, or the art and the wailing were artefacts of separate people could not be determined by the relatively superficial examination which was possible." (Feely 1986: 140-1)

Derricourt described and excavated a painted rock shelter just 0.5km from the study area in 1977, known as Oakleigh. Derricourt concluded on the basis of radiocarbon dating that the site had been occupied by 2 000 BP, caprines were present from 1 760 BP, pottery by 1 040 BP, and cattle by about 500 – 450 BP (Feely 1986: 141-2).

The area of the Black Kei and Imvani Rivers revealed no LIA sites before the 19th century. The area above and below the junction of the Xonxa and Great Kei Rivers revealed eight LSA sites and significant dagga fields (Feely 1986: 150, 153).

The Kei and Tsomo River valleys revealed evidence of LSA but not LIA occupation before the 19th century. However Feely commented that while the terrain limited his access it did not inhibit the local population, suggesting that he may have missed LIA sites (Feely 1986: 155-6).

The presence of caprines at Oakleigh from 1760 BP seems to add to the argument for a diffusion of at least the animals for initial pastoralism if not pastoralists themselves into the coastal regions of the Cape through a route or series of routes southwards from the Gariep via its tributaries such as the Seacow, Oorlogspruit, Stormbergspruit, Kraai Rivers and into the headwaters of the Sundays, Fish, Kei, Mbashe and Mzimvubu River systems.

If the majority of LIA sites on ridges are much later rather than earlier in the 2nd millennium, as Feely suggested for some of the ridge sites in his northern transect, then this would suggest that the southern Nguni settlement or perhaps rather the emergence of the full Nguni package dominated by cattle pastoralism and cultivation emerged not from the earlier LIA but slightly later. Once again one is left with the impression, proceeding southeastwards, of an

overwhelmingly Khoisan settlement pattern but with the additions of some Iron Age features such as limited evidence of smelting.

4 Southern Africa 500 BP to around 200 BP

Until the 16th century there is very little written record of southern Africa and all of what writing exists was recorded by outsiders. Early historians of southern Africa relied heavily on the reports of shipwreck survivors from the 16th and 17th centuries to draw inferences and conclusions about indigenous people, their activities and settlement patterns.

Maritime navigation at the time was primitive, leading inevitably to considerable uncertainty and margins for error, and accounting for the large number of shipwrecks on the southeast coast. Some of the estimates of the point of landing by survivors have since been shown by marine archaeology etc. to have been inaccurate by up to 320km (Feely 1987: table 1). This is a greater distance than a walk along the coast from Port Elizabeth to East London, or from East London to Port St Johns. In the early 21st century, inhabitants close to the coastline between Port Alfred and Port St Johns include at the very least, roughly from south to north, Mfengu, Gqunukhwebe, Rharhabe, Gcaleka, Bomvana, and Mpondo. So an error of 100km could have led to significant errors in identifying the location of particular groups where they were located centuries ago.

From the time Da Gama celebrated christmas in 1497 until the English settlement at the bay of Natal in 1824 there seems to have been confusion between the bay of Natal and Port St Johns. Da Gama though he was at the bay of Natal but Eric Axelson concluded that he was off Port St Johns or nearby. Only from 1824 did maps begin to indicate that Natal was further north (Crampton 2004: 81).

Such errors are compounded by seasonal transhumance patterns which could involve annual and sometimes cyclical movements in excess of 100km.

Contemporary mapping was also confusing. The errors of the 18th century travellers are detailed by Prof. Forbes (1965). Forbes also points out yet another source of confusion with regard to the three main bays to the east of the Cape – Mossel, St Francis and Algoa:

> "In fact, at this time the settlers here, who had come overland from the Cape to the shores of these bays, did not know how they were named by mariners. A considerable time was to elapse before identical names for the features of those then remote and unfrequented coasts would be used by both colonist and navigators. There was no communication between them, and the frontier farmers had neither maps nor charts." (Forbes 1965: 39)

However a careful reading of these sources, combined with an equally careful reading of recorded oral traditions as well as archaeology provide a fairly comprehensive picture of the histories of contemporary identifiable groups, at least for the past 500 years which is about the outer limit of the reliability of oral records.

Sadly, the archaeology of the Eastern Cape is perhaps the least developed of any area in South Africa. Even well-described sites such as the kraal of the Inqua leader Hinsati in the Camdeboo, described by Ensign Schrijver in 1689,[50] has not been investigated, nor the burial place of Tshiwo in the Ngcwanguba forest inland of Coffee Bay, as described by Soga in 1930 (Peires 2014: 37-8). The few sites which have been investigated are mainly from the EIA and are described above.

[50] According to Peires it is located on the farm "The Ranges" which is situated northwest of Aberdeen and can be found on Chief Directorate Surveys and Mapping, 3223BD, 1:50 000 series. Schrijver died in 1705 on his farm Schoongezicht, later Lanzerac in the Jonkershoek valley beyond Stellenbosch (Burman 1969: 115).

From about 500 BP the European presence at the Cape and along the Mozambique coast began to integrate the mercantile links across southern Africa with those of Europe and the colonised east. Whereas previously all external trade from southern Africa had been oriented towards the east coast and the Indian Ocean, after about 1500 AD both Cape Town and Delagoa Bay became important and regular sources of foreign trade items. Evidence of these items is found unevenly across the interior of southern Africa.

Shifting domination in the Indian Ocean

Arab and Chinese merchants dominated Indian Ocean trade between the 11th and 15th centuries. From the middle of the 15th century the Ming dynasty withdrew support for overseas trade and concentrated on control of Chinese ports. Portugal defined "Moors" to exclude Indian traders, whether Hindu or Moslem. Consequently Indian traders, particularly those from Gujarat, came to dominate the east African trade under the Portuguese once urban Indian polities began to use their muscle to support overseas trade. By the mid 16th century Gujarati capital dominated Indian Ocean trade (Kusimba 2010: 177).

Other European maritime powers were also entering the Indian Ocean:

> "By the end of the sixteenth century, Dutch, English, French and Scandinavian merchant mariners were also beginning to use the sea route to Asia." (Thompson 1990: 32)

> "British interest in the Cape and in East [illegible] went back to the time of Queen Elizabeth and Sir Francis Drake. Drake had passed and saluted 'the fairest Cape' during his circumnavigation of the world in 1580, eight years before he helped defeat Spain's Armada; and the close of the century saw the good, if aging, Queen Bess confer charter monopoly rights on certain gentlemen trading to India and the East. From the 1590s English ships called regularly at the Cape to barter knives for cattle with the Hottentots, or, more correctly, Khoikhoi, inhabitants." (Butler 1974: 26)

In 1604 the Dutch East India Company began to challenge the Portuguese with a fleet of 12 vessels which arrived at Mozambique Island and went off with a shipload of ivory loaded and waiting to join a Portuguese convoy to Goa. In 1607 another nine hostile Dutch masts appeared. The Dutch failed to take the fortress but laid waste to the rest of the island. One of their ships ran aground off the island and was lost. A 3rd unsuccessful Dutch attack on the island took place in 1608.

> "These sieges of Mozambique were the first battles fought between Europeans on southern African soil; they were the most decisive military actions to be fought in these regions in the seventeenth century. Had the Netherlands gained the fortress, it is doubtful if the Portuguese, now on the defensive over so vast an area of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans ... could ever have assembled sufficient force to retake it: their possessions in the East would have been further prejudiced; and having lost their base they would have been forced to withdraw from the Zambezi. Had the Netherlanders retained Mozambique as a base they might never have been impelled to found a refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope, and the whole course of south African history would have been very different." (Axelson 1960: 28-9)

The growing dominance of external powers and capital from the 15th century had long term and negative economic consequences. By the end of the 16th century an estimated 7m Rupees worth of Gujarati cloth was imported into east Africa every year. In 1622 alone the British East India Company purchased 40 000 pieces of cloth for 53 000 Rupees for resale overseas. There was increasing pressure on east Africa to supply raw materials and not processed products, ivory and gold in particular, and later slaves on a huge scale:

"The great weaving industries of Pate, Mogadishu and Kilwa declined, forcing coastal residents to become consumers of textiles imported from India. The iron-working industries of Malindi, Sofala and Kilwa stopped production early in the colonial era and were never revived. The farmers and merchant families of Barawa, Sofala, and Kilwa became bankrupt, some became makers of straw mats, baskets and hats. The trade they once carried out with India and Hormuz was now in the hands of the Portuguese and the Gujarati merchants."

"The increasing emphasis on raw material, capital flight to India and Portugal due to trade deficits and emphasis on imports, political instability due to Portuguese interference, and the destruction of local modes of commercial production – are all intertwined factors that sowed the seeds of the subsequent underdevelopment of East Africa over the next century." (Kusimba 2010: 178)

So the underdevelopment of east Africa seems to have its roots as far back as the 17th century and the area was soon to export primary products and human capital. The natural resources were gradually depleted. Ivory exports through Sofala peaked in 1762 but demand continued into the next century (Simon Hall 2012: 152). The official Portuguese export figure for 1762 was 165 000 kg of ivory. It had been 24 000 kg in 1758 and was still 47 000 kg in 1806 (Parsons 1995: 341). The rise of the international market for slaves and consequent slaving on the east coast set neighbour against neighbour and undermined local productive economies for long into the future.

European conflicts in Africa had other, probably temporary impact on local societies such as when a French fleet destroyed the Portuguese fort at Delagoa Bay in 1796. However trade in ivory at Delagoa Bay was in decline towards the end of the 18th century and was replaced by trade in cattle, a much more central and critical resource in local societies:

"This problem was accentuated by a crippling drought and consequent famine (Hall 1976), and Dingiswayo's Mthethwa must have perceived all too clearly the need for drastic action if the flow of prestige goods, on which their political power rested, was to be maintained. Their response was to mould the system of age regiments ..." (Martin Hall 1987: 128)

"Dingiswayo was concerned to control and monopolise such commerce as soon as the Mthethwa had built up political and economic power, sending ivory and cattle to the bay and making all trade a royal prerogative (Smith 1969)." (Martin Hall 1987: 127)

Slavery

Perhaps no other institution down the ages is as degrading of humanity than that of slavery. To discuss and compare particular local aspects and conditions of slavery is to risk moral condemnation. However this does not detract from the fact that slavery is not uniform in time, place or scale.

"The Indian Ocean trade was never slave-ridden in ancient or medieval times, or indeed any period before the eighteenth century."

"Nor is there much mention of it [slavery] in the medieval Arab writers, and in no single case do these writers place any emphasis on East African slaving. On the contrary they speak of the importance of East Africa as a provider of ivory and gold and other raw materials." (Davidson 1980: 188-9)

"Although going back probably to the seventh century, the African slave trade and slavery were not as central in creating an Indian Ocean world as they were in creating an Atlantic world." (Ewald 2000: 69)[51]

In the 10th century there are references to Sofala as the land of gold and ivory was the principal export of the "land of the Zanj". Two centuries later iron was viewed as the most valuable export and iron from Sofala was regarded as better in quality and quantity to that of India. The Swahili coastal cities were known for their exports, not only of gold and ivory, but also a wide range of other mineral and vegetable products, including some silver.

Davidson in his masterful expose of the Atlantic slave trade, *Black Mother*, was contrasting the Atlantic trade with that of the Indian Ocean. His point was not that there was no trade in slaves but that it was of a much lower order of magnitude and generally minor in comparison with the main trade items. Even so there were slave exports for a venture in plantation-type agriculture in southern Iraq in the 9th century and regular slave exports to China. In support of this claim, Davidson points out that there are no African minorities in the East which are comparable to those in the Americas (Davidson 1980: 190).

At least as early as the 17th century, there were incidents of slaving on the southern or south-eastern Cape coast. Whether these were regular or incidental is not clear but when in 1657 Van Riebeeck was visited by Chainhantima, a Khoisan cattle trader from the Chainouqua near Caledon, the visitor explained that the Dutch should not attempt to visit the Chabona to whom his people where tributary as the Chabona might mistake them for slavers as many people had been carried off by Englishmen before (Crampton 2014: 34, 305). Was this the truth or a clever ploy to play on Anglo-Dutch rivalry? It is very unlikely that it was entirely imagined – in other words there must have been some experience of people being taken off into captivity on ships, whether by English or any other nation. Mpondo traditions recorded that long before the first Europeans, Arab slavers did land on the southeastern coast and carry off people (Crampton 2004: 18, 75).

The French built up slaving in the Indian Ocean from the 2nd half of the 18th century to provide labour on their plantations on Bourbon (now Reunion) and Mauritius. In three years during the 1770s, French ships took 4 193 slaves from Kilwa alone, based on an agreement with the local sultan to provide 1 000 a year. By 1799 the two islands held some 100 000 slaves in total. In 1811 Zanzibar, then under the Imam of Muscat, was supplying the French and also perhaps 6 to 10 000 slaves a year to Muscat and other eastern markets. In 1812 when the English navy visited Mozambique Island, Portuguese evidence revealed 10-15 000 slaves a year being shipped to Brazil, rising to 25 000 before dwindling by mid century. Captain Owen in the early 1820s found at Quilimane that between 11 and 14 ships arrived annually from Rio de Janeiro and each returned with an average of 4-500 slaves.

In 1839 a British observer in Zanzibar estimated that 40-45 000 slaves were sold there each year, half to Arabia, the Persian Gulf and Egypt, the rest smuggled south via Mozambique to Brazil. In 1840 the Sultan of Oman moved to Zanzibar and expanded business to new levels, activating new slaving networks into the Great Lakes region to provide slaves for export and the new plantations on Zanzibar (Davidson 1980: 195-9).

"Traditional customs of domestic slavery were allowed to slide disastrously into competitive slaving for export; and the damage was all the greater in those regions,

[51] Ewald seems to totally underestimate the southern extent of the Indian Ocean trade, stating that it extended as far south as Cabo Delgado, just south of the mouth of the Rovuma River which forms the border between modern Tanzania and Mozambique (Ewald 2000: 72). Both Sofala and Chibuene are way further south while Cabo Delgado is now also the name of the entire northernmost province of Mozambique.

notably of East Africa, where other forms of long-distance trading had never flourished." (Davidson 1980: 200)

In contrast to the areas just north of modern South Africa, Wilson made the following observations on slavery in the 1960s:

"And the Nguni differed from many people further north in this: they neither traded slaves among themselves nor (except on one recorded occasion) sold slaves to foreigners. In Nguni law a kinsman was never handed over in fulfilment of a debt, as commonly happened in Central Africa, and although a ready market for slaves existed on their frontiers in Mozambique and the Cape, there is only a single reference to Zulu or Xhosa having sold as slaves even men taken in war. Survivors from the Stavenisse who had walked from the Bay of Natal to the Buffalo and lived with the Xhosa reported in 1689: 'It would be impossible to buy any slaves there, for they would not part with their children, or any of their connexions for any thing in the world, loving one another with a most remarkable strength of affection.' White farmers were said to have seized Xhosa and Bhaca children as slaves, but there was never any suggestion that a chief had sold them. Dingiswayo sent cattle and ivory to market at Delagoa Bay but not slaves, though at that time many slaves were exported from Inhambane [500 km further north] in Mozambique. The Zulu exception is in a report by Captain Robert Drury that in 1719, at the bay of Natal, he 'traded for slaves with large brass rings or rather collars and several other commodities. In a fortnight we purchased 74 boys and girls, and there is a tradition that in 1854 Swazi, in response to a demand by Boer farmers, raided his Tsonga neighbours for some boys and girls. Only among the Nguni who raided north of the Limpopo did the regular practice grow up of selling war captives into slavery." (Wilson 1969: 121)

The same applied amongst the Sotho-Tswana language group:

"'... never in any one case, within the memory of man, has a Bechuana chief sold any of his people, or a Bechuana man his child', and the Hurutshe in 1820 'knew of no nation who sold men'! Tswana chiefs and certain leading families had Sarwa families attached to them, who owed obligations in labour, ... but Sarwa could not be bought and sold. Moffat, giving evidence in 1823, said of the Tswana: 'They have a servile class but no slaves'. Sebetwane [of the Kololo, a Sotho group who headed north in 1824] on the Zambezi only began to sell captives in 1850.' (Wilson 1969: 148-9)

Patrick Harries writing in 1981 painted a different picture of the Gaza Nguni who controlled Mozambique from north of Maputo to the Zambezi, almost the entire southern half of Mozambique, in the 19th century (Harries 1981). Presumably this was the exception which Wilson was referring to – "the Nguni who raided north of the Limpopo".

But what does seem clear is that while servile relations were present, whether described as clientage, serfs or commoners, the extremes of chattel slavery and plantation slavery in particular were avoided in most of southern Africa. While the treatment of slaves at the Cape could be brutal, it was no less brutal than the treatment of some Dutch burghers who fell foul of the law and political system.

The issue of slavery, including capture and transportation, was not peculiar to any particular region of the world or group at the time. From the 15th to mid 18th centuries, north African pirates from Sale to Tunis preyed on shipping in the Mediterranean Sea. Between 1609 and 1616, 466 English trading ships were captured. They also raided the coasts from Spain to Norway. In the 17th century they plucked pink-bottomed Brits from their fishing boats and from church pews in villages on the coast of Cornwall and took them off to be sold into slavery in North Africa. In the summer of 1625 the mayor of Plymouth estimated that 1 000 local villagers had been taken into slavery. North African slaves were sourced both by pirates

and overland from the south across the Sahara (Milton 2004: 9-13). In north Africa, Algiers was reputed to have had the largest slave population which averaged 25 000 between 1550 and 1730:

> "The number of slaves shipped to North Africa was always dependent on the rate at which they died, apostatised or gained their freedom. Dysentery, the plague and forced labour killed thousands, requiring the corsairs to put to sea in search of replacement captives. The ransoming of slaves also played its part in sustaining the flow. For two centuries, perhaps three, there had been an influx to Barbaray of almost 5,000 white slaves each year." (Milton 2004: 271-2)

One act of slavery was to provide unparalleled historical insights into north Africa for hundreds of years. In the 16th century, Bobadilla, a well-known Spanish pirate captain operating in the Mediterranean, had a brother who was a bishop residing in Rome and who was close to Pope Leo X. In 1518 Bobadilla presented one of his Moorish captives, the diplomat al-Hasan al-Wazzan, to the Pope, perhaps to win absolution for some of his excesses. Al-Hassan was born in a cosmopolitan Granada in about 1486-8 and schooled in Fez as a child refugee from the fall of Grenada in 1492. Fez was then a city of about 100 000 people within its walls. Al-Hasan converted to Christianity, probably to gain his freedom, and became known in the west as Leo Africanus or Giovanni Leone or Johannes Leo (the latter translated back into Arabic as Yuhanna al-Asad) for his *Description of Africa*, used well into the 19th century. Africanus spent ten years in Italy, probably escaping back to Tunis in north Africa when German Lutheran and Spanish Catholics attacked Rome in 1527 (Davis 2006: 54-56, 246, 253).

Slaves were central to the economy at the Cape. Slaves were kept by the VOC itself, by officers of the VOC and by the freeburghers. The burgher population slightly exceeded the slave population owned by the burghers until about 1713-4 from which point onwards the slave population slightly exceeded the burgher population (Armstrong 1979: 91).

The VOC acquired about 4 300 slaves for its own use on VOC-sponsored slaving voyages from 1658-1795, mostly from Madagascar. Between 1661 and 1793, the highest VOC slave population was 605 in 1742. After 1776 significant numbers of slaves were taken from Mozambique and east Africa. Other forced labour was provided by convicts, both local and from the east, but the number fluctuated wildly and never exceeded 138 in a year (Armstrong 1979: 78, 83, 86).

European charter companies and the sea route to the east

For centuries the Levant had been an area of exchange between east and west. The establishment of the Muslim Ottoman Empire after the fall of Christian Constantinople in the mid 15th century had blocked the old overland route between west and east. Nonetheless:

> "East-west trade had to some degree punctured the iron wall of political conflict between Christendom and the *dar al-harb* ever since medieval times. It had dispersed goods and ideas from one to the other, a pattern which dramatically increased in scope and scale during the Renaissance." (Mather 2009: 10)

> "By the beginnings of a British presence in the Ottoman Empire, its lands stood squarely between Europe and the lucrative spices and drugs originating further east, albeit that Christian ships were already bypassing these territories by sea." (Mather 2009: 8)

By this time spices had already become a mark of status in Europe:

"In Europe spices were literally worth their weight in gold. In a single year, 1585, the German Treasury paid Portugal more than 1 ½ metric tonnes of gold for pepper alone." (Crampton 2014: 7)

Saltpetre or potassium nitrate, essential for the manufacture and a major constituent of gunpowder, was also available in the Indian sub-continent. While in the early 17th century Britain had had difficulty in meeting its requirements for saltpetre, the conquest of Bengal in 1757 gave Britain control of 70% of world production (Spencer 2013).

Prior to the early 19th century in Europe, overseas trade was permitted by the granting of royal charters which created well known entities such as the English East India Company in 1600 and the Dutch East India Company in 1602. These charters generally stipulated exclusive trading rights which the Dutch and later the British state were increasingly able to enforce across their growing international empires and most importantly by their successive control of the oceans.

These East India Companies were not the first. The Levant Company originated with a charter granted in 1581 by Queen Elizabeth I to London's pioneering "Turkey merchants".

"Its creators championed the negotiations which first wrought permission for Britons to trade within the Ottoman Empire. Two centuries later, their company would still be offering the stamp of authority required to conduct business there. Lesser-known nowadays than its East India counterpart, the latter began life as no more than its humble off-shoot.

"... Set against the power of the Company presence in the Middle East, the influence of the English state paled into insignificance ... into the eighteenth century ..." (Mather 2009: 4)

As the Ottoman Empire weakened and other western European merchants such as the French became emboldened, the Levant Company stuck to its old, respectful and more egalitarian ways, as it had originally depended entirely on the goodwill of the sultans. From the earliest years of the Levant Company, Alexandria in particular was a focus of English attention:

"[Egypt] represented one of the great siphons of the east-west trade, connecting Europe with the famed luxuries of the Indies. Spices and drugs reaching the English Channel by this way would have wended their way up to Suez, then on to Alexandria, from whence they were conveyed into the Mediterranean." (Mather 2009: 195)

"An English observer noted in the second decade of the seventeenth century that the Egyptian spice trade 'is now discontinued by the Portuguese, English and Dutch who bring home such wares **by the back side of Africa**, so that the traffic of Alexandria is almost decayed'." (Mather 2009: 197, emphasis added)

The English East India Company, as with the Dutch and Portuguese, was not only diverting trade from the Levant for the longer Cape sea route, but adopting more aggressive methods:

"... the [Levant] Company's commerce was being sapped by the East India Company. This latter was a corporation which shunned its Levantine parent's conservatism, gradually embracing the mantle of political sovereignty and sheer violence within its trading world." (Mather 2009: 194)

While the Portuguese had discovered the route from Europe to India via the Cape in the late 15th century, they had no need of the Cape itself as they used Mozambique on their journey eastwards to their bases at Goa and Macau, and the Azores and St Helena on their return as

way-stations. The Portuguese also found it far easier to acquire livestock from their numerous stations in both west and east Africa than from the Khoikhoi at the Cape. However by the 1640s St Helena was unable to provide sufficient meat and fresh supplies.

In 1592 Jan Huygen van Linschoten, who had served for 5 years as secretary to the Portuguese archbishop at Goa, returned to the Netherlands with a wealth of information on navigation and trade in the Indian Ocean which he published as the *Itinerario* in 1595-6 and which was translated into English in 1598 (Arkin 1966: 8-11; Crampton 2014: 32).

During the 16th century the Portuguese mariners with the east conducted themselves as the wholesalers into Europe. Dutch shipping had been content to purchase eastern goods, spices in particular, in Lisbon and retail them to Europe, mainly via Antwerp. In 1580 the Spanish king took over the Portuguese throne and closed Lisbon to the Dutch. At the same time Antwerp had allied with the Spanish against the Dutch war for independence. Much of the Antwerp trade shifted to Amsterdam. In 1592 a syndicate of Dutch merchants sent their first convoy to the east via the Cape. But the early fleets, some of which attempted the western route via the Magellan Strait, had wildly different results. Intense competition between Dutch merchants raised buying prices in the east and lowered selling prices back in Europe. It required the sustained political intervention of Dutch statesmen to weld the competing merchants into a joint entity with an initial share capital nearly ten times that of the English opposition.

> "The seventeenth century was the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic. Its merchants were the most successful businessmen in Eu[illegible]Dutch East India Company was the world's greatest trading corporation. Founded in 1602, the company was a state outside the state. Operating under a charter from the States-General (the Dutch government), it had sovereign rights in and east of the Cape of Good Hope, and by midcentury it was the dominant European maritime power in southeast Asia. Its fleet, numbering some six thousand ships totalling at least 600,000 tons, was manned by perhaps 48,000 sailors." (Thompson 1990: 33)

> "... the VOC [*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*] was a private commercial undertaking, owned by a number of shareholders ... and managed by an executive council (*Heren* XVII or Lords XVII [or Council of Seventeen]). Day-to-day affairs were managed by the First Advocate ... and his staff of officials.
>
> "Until 1732 the Cape was governed by instructions both from the Heren XVII and from Batavia [modern Jakarta on the Island of Java in Indonesia], but after that date instructions came from the fatherland alone." (Schutte 1979: 174-5)

The VOC was a very profitable company for at least the 17th century. Its share capital never exceeded around 6.5 million *gulden*[52] and it borrowed for many ventures. While the company was unable to pay dividends in some years, until 1648 it paid out an average annual dividend of 20% and 25% thereafter:

> "The holders of one share of 3,000 gulden accordingly received not less than 107 625 gulden during a period of 80 years. The Company made tremendous profits by charging monopoly prices for its spices.

[52] A *Gulden* (Guilder in English) was divided into 20 *stivers*. It was a money of account rather than a coin until it was minted in 1681. Portuguese trade in the east used the Spanish "Reaal of eight" extensively. The VOC then began to mint its own *real* of 60 *stivers* exclusively for the eastern trade. So the earliest currency at the Cape was reaals of eight or *real van achten.* The real was replaced by the *ryksdaalder* or rixdollar late in the 17th century and was first mentioned in a *Placaat* at the Cape in 1686 (Arndt 1928: 2-3).

"In 1632, *e.g.*, seven boats arrived with cargo which had cost 2,100,000 gulden for which they obtained about 10,000,000 gulden. ... In 1671 when a dividend of 45 per cent. was paid in June, followed by a further 15 per cent. in July, the shares rose to 570 per cent [of their original value]." (Arndt 1928: 1)

By the end of the 17th century the VOC was the wealthiest company in Europe. A 19th century journalist and analyst described the VOC and the Dutch presence in the east rather differently:

"The history of Dutch colonial administration – and Holland was the model capitalist nation of the seventeenth century – 'is one of the most extraordinary relations of treachery, bribery, massacre, and meanness'." (Marx 916, quoting Thomas Stamford Raffles, the late lieutenant governor of Java)

In the 17th and 18th centuries the English were focussed on trade to the west across the north Atlantic into north America but in 1635 the English began to challenge the Portuguese in India by establishing a base at Cochin on the southwest coast in what is now the modern state of Kerala. By the 17th century the English and Dutch had broken the Portuguese monopoly of the eastern trade via the Cape. The Dutch focussed their trade on Indonesia, China and Japan while the English focussed on the Indian sub-continent.[53]

The decision to open the station at the Cape was due to the Dutch shifting the focus of their Asian trade eastwards to where the Portuguese were weaker, and the opening of a direct sailing route from the Cape to the Straits of Sunda in Indonesia in 1611, where the Dutch were to establish themselves at Batavia.

"The Cape, almost midway on this new longer route, was visited increasingly frequently by Dutch, English, French, and other East-Indiamen, especially after the Dutch failed to capture Mozambique [Island] in 1609-10, so that by the 1620s ships even left messages for one another under special 'post office' stones." (Katzen 1969: 187)

"... on November 30, 1619 the Lords XVII ordered the homeward fleet to select a harbour, to be exploited jointly by the Dutch and English under the alliance of that year: the report favoured Table Bay." (Raven-Hart 1967: 97 citing Theal Vol.VIII fn.442)

Earlier in 1619, a Danish fleet had constructed an earthen fort, "built of turf but well-flanked", according to a French visitor in 1620, probably near the Liesbeeck River. It was the site of two temporary fortifications after both Dutch and English shipwrecks in 1644 (Raven-Hart 1967: 93, 98, 162).

European callers at the Cape

The earliest written accounts of the southern and western Cape coast, by Daiz and Da Gama, reported a population rich in cattle and sheep. Diaz in 1488 named what is now

[53] If Marx was correct that the Dutch set the example for rapaciousness, it did not take the English long to follow. According to William Dalrymple we have them to thank for the word "loot", taken from the "Hindustani slang for plunder". "According to the Oxford English Dictionary, this word was rarely heard outside the plains of north India until the late 18th century, when it suddenly became a common term across Britain." (http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/04/east-india-company-original-corporate-raiders 2015/0325)

Mossel Bay[54] as *Angra dos Vaqueiros* for the many cattle seen there. While the herdsmen observed by Diaz drove their cattle into the interior to avoid the strangers, Da Gama in 1497 at Mossel Bay was able to barter three bracelets for an ox, despite killing a local inhabitant with a crossbow slightly to the west a few days earlier. Da Gama also commented on the number of domestic dogs and that copper was prized. In 1503 Antonio de Saldanha was wounded in a skirmish the day after bartering small mirrors and glass beads successfully for a cow and two sheep. Clearly the bartering had not been to the satisfaction of the local participants. By 1506 the Portuguese had learnt that iron was in great demand. They concluded that the burnt timbers of a ship wrecked near Mossel Bay were the result of attempts to salvage iron nails. In 1510 the returning viceroy of India, d'Almeida sent men ashore to barter with iron and cloth, leading to the death of d'Almeida and some 65 of his men (Raven-Hart 1967: 1-6, 8-10).

Such incidents, whatever their causes, seem to have dampened barter and instead much was made by passing ships of clubbing seals and penguins on Robben Island. In 1591 an English ship was able to barter successfully after spending a month in Saldanha Bay,[55] presumably after being closely observed and deemed not to be a threat:

> "... we bought some 24 oxen, with as many sheepe. We bought an ox for two knives, a sterke [calf] for a knife, and a sheepe for a knife; and some we bought for lesse value than a knife." (Raven-Hart 1967: 15)

In 1595 at Mossel Bay, a Dutch crew had similar success:

> "... we bought a fine ox for a poor cutlass, as also one for an old copper adze, and when we wished to have two oxen for a new copper adze they gave us yet a third large ox. The next day ... each wanted to be the first to trade, giving two fine oxen and three sheep for a seventy pubd iron rod broken into five parts ... three oxen and five sheep for a crooked knife, a shovel, a short iron bolt, with a knife and some scraps of iron, worth altogether perhaps four guilders in Holland; and if we had had more iron, we could hve got more beasts, since we saw large numbers of oxen and sheep grazing on the higher ground ..." (Raven-Hart 1967: 17-8)

A private expedition with Dutch support in 1598 was able to trade in Table Bay itself:

> "The people came to us with Oxen and Sheep in great plenty, which they sold for pieces of old Iron and spike Nails. The best that we bought, cost us not more than the value of one penie of old iron." (Raven-Hart 1967: 20)

But something went wrong for the local participants in the trade – three days later they returned with many cattle but instead of bartering killed 13 of the party with hand-held stabbing sticks, i.e. with wooden points as compared to iron-tipped spears.

In 1607 an English ship at Saldanha Bay could not believe their luck when they encountered and made use of the services of a local man who understood some English. Unfortunately there is no indication of where this individual acquired his knowledge of English. The first

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[54] "Apart from water we got little refreshment except mussels, and therefore gave it the name Mossel Bay." Paulus van Caerden, 1601, quoted in Ravan-Hart 1967: 21.

[55] Antonio da Saldanha was a Portuguese navigator on route to the east in 1503. "Table Bay was called for over a century the 'Watering place of Saldanha', the name being transferred later to the present Saldanha Bay." (Rosenthall 495) There is some confusion in the records between Table bay and what is now refered to as Saldanha Bay as the latter name first referred to the former (Ravan-Hart 1967: 209). Saldanha was misused in another way: a visitor from Holstein in 1639 described the people living slightly inland as *Solthanimen* and Table Bay as *Solthani Bay* (Raven-Hart 1967: 152).

English account of the Cape was that of Thomas Stevens in 1579 followed by Francis Drake in 1580 (Raven-Hart 1967: 13-4, 34).

Another vessel in the same 1607 fleet recorded:

> "... we bought a hundred and two sheepe, twelve Bullocks and two Calves ... and this continued divers days in which they brought much Cattell ... [and in a marginal note] paying in all 200 iron hoops for 450 sheep, 46 cows, ten steers, nine calves, and one bull." (Raven-Hart 1967: 34)

On the return journey two years later this crew found a Dutch ship in Saldanha Bay and commented:

> "This bay is hardly ever without some European ships." (Raven-Hart 1967: 35)

There seem to have been independent sealers in Table Bay by 1611. Isaac le Maire and his son Jacob may have been wrecked on Robben Island and remained in the Table Bay area for at least six months trading for hides and skins and making oil (Raven-Hart 55).

An English stopover in Saldanha Bay in May 1614, on the return voyage to England, encountered hostility from the local population. A year earlier the *Hector* had forcibly taken two local men onboard and on to England.

> "The sixteenth of May 1614 we came to an Anchor in the bay of Saldania, where we found the Concord of London ... We found the Naturalls of this place very treacherous at the present, making signs unto us of the forcible carrying away of two of their people. They had wounded one of the Concords men very sore ..." (Raven-Hart 1967: 54)

One captive died on the voyage to England. The other, Coree (elsewhere Xhore etc), survived, resided for six months in the London house of Sir Thomas Smith "governor of the East-India company", and returned onboard *Gift* in June 1614 (Raven-Hart 1967: 64, 83) to play a significant role as an intermediary for the next two decades.

Yet despite the hostility, this vessel at Saldanha Bay in May 1614, either *Clove* or *Thomas*, remained for 23 days and acquired 14 oxen, 70 sheep as well as fish and beef before sailing for Plymouth (Raven-Hart 1967: 55).

The politics amongst the Khoisan of the peninsula were clearly complicated. To what extent conflicts were a consequence of external trade with the passing fleets is not clear. It is quite possible that in order to dominate this trade and acquire trade items, copper and brass in particular, some groups raided the cattle and sheep of others for this trade, rather than depleting their own herds. The situation may have been complicated by the arrival of the first group of ten convicts in June 1615 "which thire were lefte ... to make a discouery in that countrie". In 1611 already, Thomas Aldworth, described as a "Senior Merchant" in an outward-bound fleet, motivated for the establishment of a settlement at the Cape, populated by 100 convicts a year selected from Newgate prison. The Portuguese earlier put convicts ("degredados") ashore, although it is not clear if they were left permanently (as they certainly did with slaves) or temporarily.

In June 1615, a year after the return of Coree, he provisioned an outward fleet. A few days later a party under the leader of the convicts, John Cross, sent on behalf of a returning fleet to Coree, were attacked, wounded and some killed. Coree explained that there was local discord and that he was frequently robbed by "mountaineers", presumably San or Khoikhoi who had lost their livestock. Coree demanded that six firearms be left with him. Firearms, ammunition, various provisions and a long boat were left with Cross to enable him to retreat

with the wounded convicts to Robben Island and return to the mainland later. Cross and Coree may have combined and settled in Table Bay. The departing fleet certainly left with that understanding. However in 1616, Cross, now referred to as Captain Crosse, and two others drowned according to Coree, six convicts remaining (Raven-Hart 1967: 9, 61, 67-9, 72).

However the homeward fleet that had previously on the outward voyage dropped the Newgate convicts at the Cape speculated in January 1617 that Coree had murdered the convicts to explain why Coree was of such limited assistance with provisioning. However Coree and his people had all claimed that one or two of the convicts had been killed and the rest, including Cross, taken off by a Portuguese vessel (Raven-Hart 1967: 75).

By English accounts, it seems that the remaining six convicts were taken back to England in two batches of three. Of three rescued from Robben Island in March 1616:

> "At last the ship being safely returned into the Downs, she had not been there at anchor above three hours, but these three villains got on shore; but they took a purse, and a very few hours after were apprehended and ... executed." (Raven-Hart 1967: 84)

The following year another three prisoners were taken to the Cape but begged to be executed rather than being left there. A few days later another ship took them on to Bantam in the East Indies.

Already in October 1615 some Khoisan groups required more realistic prices for their livestock:

> "They demanded unreasonably for their Cattell, which we thought proceeded from Corie, who has been in England, and (as we suppose) acquainted them with our little esteeme of Yron and Copper, asking pieces as big as their cloakes ..." (Raven-Hart 1967: 70)

Coree was cursed by another writer in 1615:

> "So itt had been good in my opinion if he had been hanged in England or drowned homeward." (Raven-Hart 1967: 71)

In 1617 Coree seems to have attempted to use English firepower to carry off a huge herd of perhaps thousands of cattle some 7 km from Table Bay. The writer first noticed a great number of sheep and cattle accompanied by an unusual number of armed people "contrarye to their former uses" (Raven-Hart 1967: 87).

Ravan-Hart includes in his volume 153 journal extracts from the 162 years from 1488 to 1649, collected over three years and including translations from German, French, Italian, Spanish and Danish as well as Dutch and Portuguese. Many of the journal extracts in this volume mention meeting a number of ships of other fleets at the Cape.

There is also much mention of the way in which European conflicts played out both at the Cape and across the Indian Ocean and as far as Japan, as well as the usual blaming of the other European nations for troubles encountered. According to an English journal entry of 1612:

> "The people are loving, afraid at first, by reason of the unkindness of Dutch who came her to make traine Oyle, who killed and stole their Cattell ..." (Raven-Hart 1967: 59)

> "I think it is the Hollanders that haue affrighted the people, from in habiting near *Saldania,* by their goeing vp into the Contrye with ne hundred men at one tyme out of a Fleete of

Shipps, by which means they obteyne soe many Cattell as they will haue for nothing." (Raven-Hart 1967: 75)

In 1619 a group of eight English sailors who went fishing in the Salt River were killed:

"The cause which should excite them to such an horrid and unheard of attempt I cannot conceive, unless (as is most probable) some wrong offered by the Dutch lately gone hence, have moved them to practice and exercise this Treachery to us now ..." (Raven-Hart 1967: 97)

In 1620 an English ship's mate recorded:

"... formerly there hath bin plenty of Oxen and Sheepe, to buy for small value, but by some abuse to the people, there is nothing except water ..." (Raven-Hart 1967: 106)

If these statements are taken at face-value, they might explain the varying preparedness and reluctance of particular Khoisan groups to trade with the fleets or with fleets of particular nationalities. However the apportionment of blame to one European nation is likely to be far from the truth. Nor do they explain the periodic violence perpetrated by the Khoisan. One explanation may be what appears to be a clear incident of the robbery of cattle by an English crew calling at Table Bay in June and July 1617 which left two separate accounts:

"Here we could get no refreshing for our sicke men, wherefore on the first of July, some were sent to march up into the Countrey to get provision, which they did (without losse of any, onely two hurt) in great abundance."

"... having dispatched all our business and recoverd our sick men and well refresht all the rest with Beefe and mutton which wee weare [one word illegible] constrained to fetch and take pforce [by force] to the rumber of 500 hed we wayed all and set sayle for Surat ..." (Raven-Hart 1967: 89)

It is not surprising that armed sailors would have resorted to robbery, given the rate of attrition in these fleets. If the local population would not or could not trade and so provide for the nutritional needs of both sick and convalescing crews, this represented a choice between robbery and life on the one hand and death on the other hand for these and the survivors on their onward journeys.

In October 1630 a homeward English fleet arrived in Table Bay. It seems to have taken about ten days before the Khoisan brought some cattle and sheep, possibly first observing their behaviour for any indications of hostility for on the appearance of two Dutch ships in the Bay, referred to as "flemmings":

"... they droue ther Cattell so that we could get non afterwards & if they had not Come we had had vitals enough the reason becaus the flemmings use for to bind some of them fast til the rest have fecht them vitals." (Raven-Hart 1967: 135)

There are other less explicable statements. In 1632, the year that the English brought Hadah or Harry, a local Khoisan, back to the Cape, having carried him off to Batavia a year earlier on the outward voyage, there was a bald statement by a Dutch fleet that called at the Cape in April:

"... having lost 20 persons through the blacks" (Raven-Hart 1967: 136).

An English account a month later, most probably referring to the same incident, was more explicit:

"... as also of 23 dutch men slaine p the Soldanias about two monthes before our ariual ... th' occasion by Hadas relation was their Encroaching vpon the Soldanias Cattle." (Raven-Hart 1967: 137)

In 1638 a Dutch fleet, after peaceful contact with Harry, were ordered:

"... that in future no longboat shall go to the shore for water, nor any skiff for fishing, without taking at least 20 armed men, to guard against the attacks which are to be expected from the blacks ... " (Raven-Hart 1967: 148).

In about 1641 another Khoikhoi man was taken to the east by the English against his will and returned three years later, according to the account by a soldier in the DEIC, Jurgen Andersen who met with him in 1644 (Crampton 2014: 11).

Harry, his real name was *Autshumao*, described by Crampton as the first "Postmaster of the Cape," had probably gone with the English voluntarily. His people lived off the sea and had no cattle. Two years after returning to the Cape, he was trading in poultry, pigs and cattle and had a following of some 60 people. When the Dutch established their settlement in 1652, he established himself just across the Salt River from the Dutch encampment and acted as a broker for the supply of cattle by the Khoikhoi to the Dutch. He was so successful that by the spring of 1652 the Dutch had to build a cattle kraal adjacent to their fort. Van Riebeeck described the commission taken by Autshumao on these deals as "excessive".

Autshumao was also an uncle of Eva, raised by Van Riebeeck from the age of nine and one of his translators, from about 1657. She was called *Krotoa* by the Khoisan according to Van Riebeeck. She was related by marriage to both Sousa or Sousoa, who led the Chainouqua near Caledon, and also Oedasoa, married to her sister, who led the Cochoqua near Saldanha Bay (Crampton 2014: 10-12, 17, 19, 23, 39).

By 1644 both Dutch and English crews forced ashore in Table Bay by shipwreck and major repairs considered it necessary to construct fortifications on the site of the Danish fort of 1619 (Raven-Hart 1967: 162). In February 1646 a returning Dutch fleet anchored in Table Bay:

"It was desired to bring the ship nearer to the shore by the watering-place, so as to go to and from to this more quickly, and also to be able to use her cannon on the savages should they (as had often happened) wish to do the Dutch any harm ... the row-boats were manned with crews provided with cutlasses and muskets, and were laden with the empty water-casks and sent to the shore." (Raven-Hart 1967: 164)

In March 1647 the *Haerlem*, one vessel in a return fleet, was wrecked in Table Bay. A group sent along the shore to another ship were attacked by "the Strandlopers" and some wounded, no further details provided. Those who remained wasted no time to construct a fort and install three guns from the ship. In June:

"... 13 Strandlopers appeared near our fort ... of whom one spoke good English [presumably Harry], bringirg 5 sheep which we bartered for some pieces of brass. They tried by all means to get us to let them examine our fort or the ship, which I could not agree to, well knowing with what enmity they had attacked Heer va 't Zum [along the shore] and the crew of the ship Mauritius [in 1644, referred to above, although thrre is no mention of any clash as a reason for the fortifications], and for that reason did not let them come nearer than where they were, about a musket-shot from our fort, which did not please them so that they went away discontented." (Raven-Hart 1967: 169)

When the return fleet with Van Riebeeck on board arrived in April 1648 and which took the *Haerlem* crew home, eight or nine cattle were shot without payment by one account. A letter left behind for the information and warning of successive fleets referred to 15 or 16 cattle taken without payment and advised visitors to be on their guard for revenge would be sought (Raven-Hart 1967: 172).

A frank assessment of the situation is provided by two senior officials of the DEIC in 1649, one who may have been the first intended commander of the settlement at the Cape, Matthijs Proot:

> "Others will say that the natives are brutish and cannibals, from whom nothing good is to be expected, and that we shall have to be on our guard continually; but this is only a sailor's yarn ... it is indeed true, that also some sailors and soldiers have been killed by them; but the reason for this is always left unspoken by our folk, to excuse themselves for having been the cause of it, since we firmly believe that the peasants of this country [Holland], if their cattle were to be shot down and taken off without payment, would not show themselves a whit better than these natives, had they not to fear the law." (Raven-Hart 1967: 177, 207)

There were other serious offences committed by visiting crews. While Hazel Crampton was writing of the very early period of permanent settlement by the Dutch from 1652, the same no doubt applied before 1652:

> "Sex-starved crews and arrogant officials acted with the same measure of contempt for cultural courtesies, and the Dutch were deservedly feared and loathed." (Crampton 2014: 2)

It is unlikely that the crews of vessels of any other European nationalities behaved any differently. However Crampton also indicates a continuum of behaviour which can only have complicated matters:

> "In 1615, for example, the Khoi trader-chief Xhore sent a party of women to pleasure a party of English sailors, as a sort of peace-offering after a minor skirmish." (Crampton 2014: 22)

Crampton bases her statement on the following recorded by Edward Dodsworth in 1615:

> "... he [Xhore] caused four beeues and thirtie sheepe to be brought downe; and as an extreordinarye kindness sent allsoe one of his wifes with others to accompany hir ..." (Raven-Hart 1967: 68)

When in 1685 governor Van der Stel led an expedition northwards from the Cape, as they approached the Berg River and the first independent Khoikhoi kraals, he found it necessary to warn his company that:

> "[they were not to] have any intercourse with the female Hottentots on pain of being flogged and dismissed from the Company's service as *schelms.*" (Crampton 2014: 107)

Sub-continental trade

Western Cape trade

When the first Europeans interacted with the Khoisan, they stumbled across and were able to tap into the southwestern end of a trade network which extended across southern Africa:

> "Though the Portuguese had tended to avoid the Cape on their east-ward journeys, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Dutch, the British and to some extent the French, with their sturdier vessels and different sea-routes, found the Cape a useful half-way house. The Khoi pastoralists they encountered at the Cape were initially quite willing to exchange a certain number of their cattle for iron, and later the copper, tobacco, brandy and beads of the Europeans. These, as Gerrit Harinck has recently shown, they exchanged for more cattle, tobacco and dacha (Indian hemp) in the interior. Trade routes extended all the way to the Xhosa in the East, and probably to Bantu-speaking groups across the Orange River in the north. The Khoi, whose economy and social cohesion depended very largely on their stock, were unaccustomed to trading large numbers of cattle; they preferred to get rid of the stock they considered surplus, and sailors frequently complained that the Khoi had sold them their old, lame and lean beasts. Nevertheless, the Khoi response to the newly created market for cattle was surprisingly quick for a group generally considered outside long distance trading networks, and suggests that they were by no means unfamiliar with trading practices even at the beginning of the seventeenth century." (Marks 1971: 60-1)

Elphick is more forthright about Marks' reference to "Indian hemp". He states that dagga was one of the goods exchanged in the long distance trade between Khoikhoi and "Bantu-speaking Africans". It was a highly valued intoxicant but seems to have been available only in small quantities as it was not mentioned by casual visitors to the Cape but only by serious observers. This may also explain the enthusiasm of Khoikhoi for tobacco introduced by the Europeans. Dagga seems to have been grown and traded from the east and there were two observations of dagga fields in the 18th century, by Sparrman and Thunberg. In 1779 Wikar observed the planting of dagga on islands in the lower Gariep (Elphick 1985: 62-3).

Copper also seems to have been available by mainland trade in small quantities in the western Cape, presumably from the northern Cape. Diaz in 1497 found Khoikhoi or San at St Helena Bay wearing copper beads and wanting to obtain more copper from the Portuguese. Da Gama did not record copper with the Khoikhoi at Mossel Bay and the first reports are from 1595, before regular shipping, suggesting an inland source (Elphick 1985: 63-4).

Linguistic evidence suggests that the Khoikhoi were familiar with iron at a very early time, before the divergence of the Namaqua from the Cape Khoikhoi (which may have been many 100s of years previously according to some linguists). Iron was probably acquired from the Damara in Namibia and the western Sotho-Tswana. From the latter it probably moved in two directions, westward along the Gariep and southwards to the Inqua in the hinterland of the Sundays River. By the early 17th century Khoikhoi were turning junk iron bartered from European ships into tips to convert their stabbing-sticks into spears, which Elphick curiously refers to as assegais. Descriptions of Khoikhoi weapons around 1500 involved fire-hardening of the wooden tips or the addition of fire-hardened horns. Two observers in 1610 commented only on iron points (Elphick 1985: 64-5). From 1610 peninsula Khoikhoi would no longer trade cattle for iron but only copper. According to a journal kept on the *Hosiander*, in June 1612 at Table Bay:

"The sallomand company and we had bene ashoare, but could not trade with the Saluashes, for that they would not sell their sheep and oxen for Iron, butt for brasse." (Raven-Hart 1967: 57)

There was no hesitation to trade cattle and sheep for very small quantities of brass a few days later. The same journal refers to a practice of leaving sheep on Robben Island to breed and for the benefit of later vessels (Raven-Hart 1967: 58).

The market for iron had probably been saturated:

"Only a small amount of iron was needed to outfit all able-bodied male Khoikhoi near the peninsula with several iron-tipped assegais. Soldiers probably did not exceed 1,200 in number, and they had been virtually inundated with the metal ... The market could become glutted because Peninsula Khoikhoi would naturally not trade iron inland to improve the spears of their enemies." (Elphick 1985: 76-7)

Copper on the other hand had no military use and was an item of luxury. But by June 1615 already local tastes had shifted in favour of brass:

"Heare we bought Beiues [cattle] & Sheep in great abundance, in trucke of brasse & copper shreds, they chieflie desire brasse & sett not halfe soe much by copper as they does by brasse ..." (Raven-Hart 1967: 73)

In the 1630s a number of accounts state that ships were unable to obtain livestock. A homeward English fleet in 1634 recorded:

"The Bay of Saldania is that roade where usuallye shipps both out and home put in for water etts. refreshing to be had in former tyme vizt. beefe, sheepe, etts. for Iron hoopes, pieces of Copper etts. but now not to bee procured by all, except what the land it selfe affords ..." (Raven-Hart 1967: 140)

In February 1638 a Dutch fleet was told that:

"... since the herbage on the plain was burnt up by the sun and therefore no cattle could be kept there at that time, and that they themselves must live on fish, mussels, crayfish and whatever else the sea threw up ..." (Raven-Hart 1967: 148)

In March 1638 two sheep and a cow could not be bartered for anything but copper wire which the crew did not possess (Raven-Hart 1967: 150). In May 1639 an ambassador of Holstein on a returning English vessel recorded:

"... we ... bought two oxen (since the Solthanians would sell us no more cattle, although they had it abundantly enough) ..." (Raven-Hart 1967: 153).

The unwillingness of the Cape Khoikhoi at times to trade cattle suggests that at this stage at least the playing field for trade between Khoikhoi and passing shipping was level and equitable, and is presumably the basis for the evaluation of the situation by Shula Marks back in 1971 and quoted above.

Elphick concludes on the significance or otherwise of pre-colonial Khoikhoi trade for the internal structure of Khoikhoi society:

"long-distance trade was an important, and regular, facet of Khoikhoi life. However, the trade was not of sufficient scale to alter fundamentally the Khoikhoi economy or political structure. It gave rise to no regular markets; it created no merchant class; and it did not

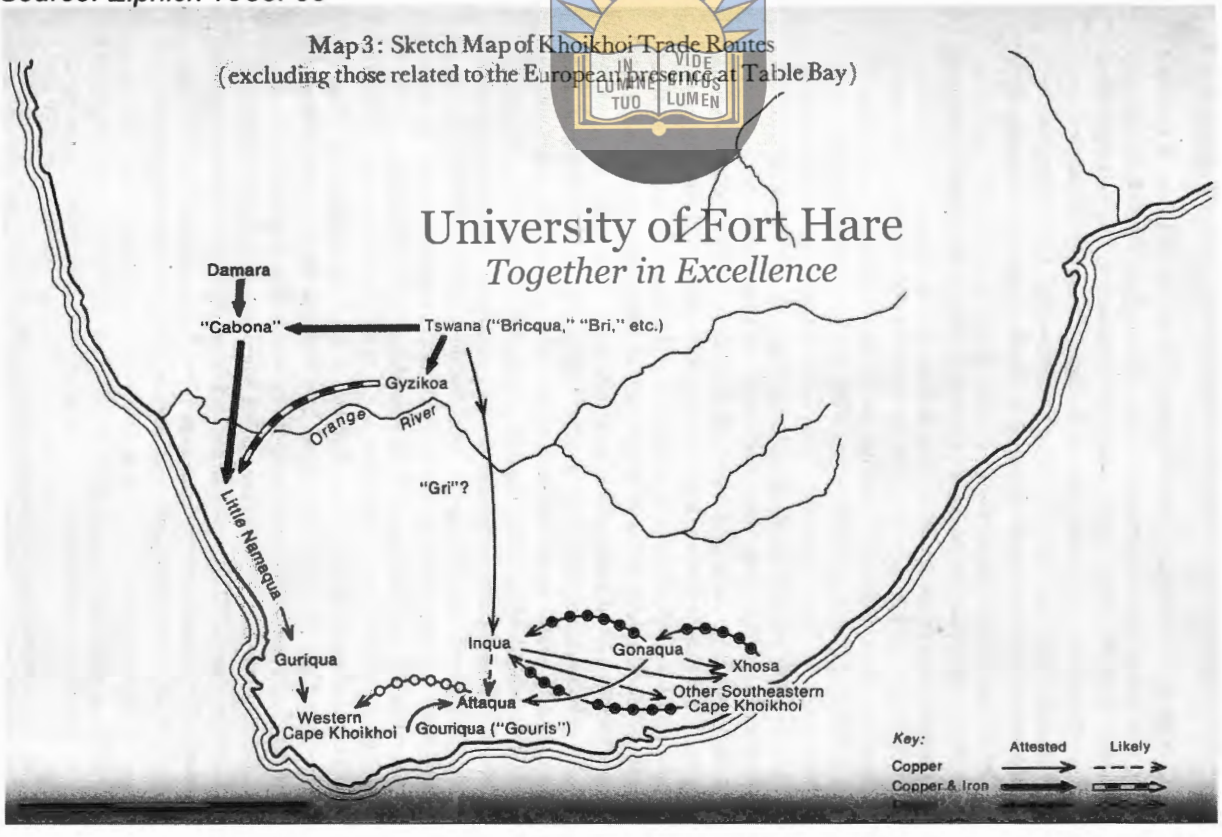
facilitate such large accumulations of nonpastoral wealth that previously existing differences between rich and poor, or between ruler and ruled, were markedly intensified." (Elphick 1985: 67)

Significantly at the early date of 1598 in Table Bay, John Davys, a pilot in a private fleet, refers to the local people being "subject to the King of Monomatapa", some 2 500 km away to the northeast (Raven-Hart 1967: 34). This must be the earliest written confirmation of the extensive connections, at least at the level of communication of information if not politics and trade, across southern Africa.

The major pre-colonial trade routes according to Elphick for what was probably a localised relay trade from one clan or tribe to the next are shown in *Figure 14* below. What is missing from this representation are the trade links northwards and eastwards beyond the immediate trading neighbours of the various Khoikhoi groups.

Figure 14: Khoikhoi trade routes

Source: Elphick 1985: 66



Trade in the wider sub-continent

The widespread existence of trade and exchange over distances and very early in the history of southern Africa can be inferred from the introduction of both food crops and livestock, such as sheep which were domesticated far to the north. While there is some archaeological evidence of very early internal trade, again much is inferred:

"... there is evidence for early economic specialisation, suggesting that at least some communities were making part of their living bartering with other villages. ...

"The site of Eiland lies ... [on a upper tributary of the Olifants river in Mpumalanga] and close to salt crusts that have formed as a result of seepage from nearby warm, saline springs. Low mounds of debris found at the site consist of layers of sand and ash, in which were large quantities of potsherds, fragments of stone bowls, some shells and animal bone. The earliest radiocarbon date for the site is late in the fourth century A.D. ...

"The association ... with saline springs and deposits, added to the numerous stone bowls used, indicates that people were manufacturing salt. ...

"It is of course possible that salt cakes were made in this area for local use only. But on the other hand mineral springs offering the opportunity for salt manufacture are not evenly distributed through southern Africa, and in many areas salt must been a scarce commodity. In addition, the harshly seasonal climate beneath the eastern escarpment is not best suited to subsistence agriculture, which suggests that a logical course of action for communities living there would be to redress inevitable scarcities in food supplies by setting up bartering with households in better-endowed areas." (Martin Hall 1987: 65-6)

Metal ores, refined ores and manufactured metal items were critical and underpinned both technology and trade:

"Archaeological evidence shows that iron was worked ... in Phalaborwa during the period 770+/-80 A.D." (Wilson 1969: 135)

Switzer refers to ancient mining sites at Phalaborwa worked continuously since the 10th century:

"Shafts were sunk to depths of eighty feet in some places, with branching horizontal galleries, and hundreds of small smelters have been uncovered." (Switzer 31)

In essence people were doing what worked best in their particular environment with the available natural resources. Across much but not all of the highveld, there were neither trees for smelting iron nor local sources of iron itself. In most of the eastern Cape, while timber is more abundant, there is little if any local source of iron.

Livestock, with high rates of reproduction and ease of movement, were ideal for barter for iron, other metals and other items. Livestock and metals were essential components of Iron Age society:

"Thus with the expansion of herding came structured economic specialisation and the development of trade networks.

"One area were iron was produced on a substantial scale, presumably for barter into a wider hinterland, was ... situated in the eastern lowveld. The modern town of Phalaborwa is the focus of industrial mining of copper and iron ore, and there is substantial evidence for a metalworking industry dating back to the eighth century A.D. ... Several hundred smelting sites mark the places where copper and iron were extracted before being forged into wire, beads, bracelets, arrow and spear points, woodworking adzes and agricultural hoes." (Martin Hall 1987: 67-8)

A calculation based on the amount of slag in one such area of seven furnaces 25 km south-east of Phalaborwa indicated production of some 48 tons of iron which would have required some 800 tons of charcoal from some 7 000 trees. Hall suggests that this area was unsuited to agriculture. Hall continues on Phalaborwa:

"... oral traditions for the later centuries of settlement indicate that the local inhabitants were powerful and economically successful, and this must have been because they controlled the production of iron and copper goods essential to communities in other areas. Iron-working was probably a dry-season activity, given most attention when the crops had been harvested. Either people requiring iron implements came and worked for the smiths in payment, or else goods were exchanged in their finished form." (Martin Hall 1987: 69)

The mining and working of iron was not restricted to Phalaborwa:

"A similar industrial centre, although not on such a substantial scale, flourished during the second millennium in the Mabhija area, some 20 kilometres down the Thukela River from the modern town of Colenso. Here there is evidence for the quarrying of iron ore on an extensive scale, as well as numerous smelting sites marked by scatters of slag and furnace fragments. Iron implements collected include chisel-like objects, a spear blade, and a fine awl." (Martin Hall 1987: 68)

As with the Phalaborwa sites, Maggs has suggested that this area was not ideal for agriculture.

"... Madaphu Gamede, an old man who knew the area and its traditions well, commented that iron articles were traded in return for sheep and sorghum, as well as for cattle and goats (Maggs 1982: 139). In this case it is possible to work out the probable scope of the economic hinterland, for people who lived on the southern highveld had parallel traditions that told of exchanging cattle for iron goods with people in the Thukela basin." (Martin Hall 1987: 69)

Parkington and Simon Hall made the following point with reference to the first millennium AD but it is no less pertinent to the second millennium AD. While the point was about a particular geographic area, it is in fact a point of universal and timeless application:

"... sharp ecological gradients between Tsodilo, the deeper Kalahari hinterland, and the Okavango Delta also contributed to the structure of regional exchange networks between areas with different potentials in cattle, wild animal hides, ivory, fish and freshwater shell." (Parkington & Simon Hall 2012: 90-1)

Copper seems to have been sourced in ancient times from the northern Cape by Nama who may have employed Dama to smelt for them, from mines in the area of Messina, tin from the Malepo mountain range south of Polokwane, and both copper and tin by trade at Delagoa Bay at least from the early 1700s (Wilson 1969: 146, 150-1)

"Men, as well as women, [herders] ... all wore copper ornaments – the Nama had quantities of them – and ivory bracelets, and glass beads which, already, in 1688, came from trade with the Portuguese." (Wilson 1969: 55)

Wilson suggested that such trade was probably through the Ovambo northward to Angola. Writing 40 years later Wright is confident that the southern Tswana to the east of the Nama were located at the convergence of a number of long-distance trade routes:

"Cowrie shells and beads from Muslim and, later, Portuguese traders on the Indian Ocean coast had been reaching the interior, if in small quantities, for many centuries before ... [the mid 18th century] From the south, Khoekhoe intermediaries had been bringing beads and iron goods obtained from European callers and settlers at the Cape since the early 1500s. Along a third route came beads from the Portuguese sphere of influence in Angola." (Wright 2012: 214)

Travelling in the Free State in about 1836 the French missionary, Thomas Arbousset, was amazed to find that local people were aware of Lake Marabai (Malawi). A Kwena tradition from the highveld in the early 19th century recorded "a Portuguese" with oxen arriving in southeastern Botswana from Angola across the Kgalagadi via Ghanzi (Parsons 1995: 346 fn.67).

The evidence points to extensive trade networks across southern Africa, including along the Gariep and southwards:

> "The Blip [Tlhaping] come each year to the tribes living along this river [Khoikhoi on the Orange] to trade with them tobacco, ivory spoons, bracelets, copper and iron beads, glass beads, copper earrings and bracelets, knives, barbed assegais and also smooth axes and awls. This is the way they trade: for a heifer they give eight assegais, an axe and an awl, a small bag of tobacco and a small bag of dagga, and for a bull or an ox, five assegais plus all the other things as for a heifer. They also bring soft, well tanned skins of hartebeest with the grain removed ..." (Wilson 1969: 149 quoting Wikar 149)

William Hubberly, a survivor of the wreck of the *Grosvenor* in Lambasi Bay in 1782, later described how the Tshomane, then residing on the coast on the Mngazana River, dressed with "beads about their necks, brass rings about their wrists, pieces of copper in their hair, large white and blue glass beads about their waists ..." (Crampton 2004: 64 citing Kirby *Source Book*: 82) This was 40 years before traders from Port Natal and the eastern Cape are known to have traded such goods into the area.

Already in 1803-4 Lichtenstein at Dithakong (Old Lattakoo) commented that the local people had a good idea of the market value of trade goods (Kallaway 1981: 27 fn.30) no doubt due to their participation in the Cape economy via the Griqua. Market intelligence was not the sole preserve of the Griqua. No doubt all trading partners had a good idea of market conditions and trends. For example:

> "When the Revd John Campbell of the LMS visited the mission station at Klaarwater (Griquatown) in 1813, the local Korana were able to give him information on the Dihoja living in the region of the present Vet and Sand Rivers, with whom they traded wheat and tobacco ... (Schoeman 2003: 13)

This market intelligence was probably a small part of a much wider and more extensive flow of information. As early as 1510 the Khoisan of the Cape peninsula were aware of the Portuguese capture of Sofala some 3 500 km up the coast 5 years earlier. Their apprehension at the arrival of the Portuguese under d'Almeida may partly explain why d'Almeida died on the shores of the Cape at the hands of the Khoisan. George Theal cited the Portuguese historian Gaspar Correa who travelled out to India in 1512:

> "... hearing from the natives of the country that we had a fortress at Sofala they feared we might also wish to build a fortress there [at the Cape] and take their watering place, and thus they would lose their cattle ..." (quoted in Crampton 2014: 48)

Long-distance trade and communication would have been greatly facilitated by the apparent ease and safety in which people travelled, as indicated by the very small numbers in each group of travellers and/or traders recorded. Richard Renshaw, with the artillery at the Cape shortly after the British took over in 1795, described how a few Xhosa journeyed to the Cape to meet the new overlords there:

> "A few of the Caffrees travelled the distance of near four hundred miles to see us, and pay their respects to the General, among whom was one of their chiefs or princes. Their caravan consisted of two tame bullocks and several sheep ..." (Maclennan 2003: 93)

American captain Benjamin Stout, shipwrecked near the mouth of the Birha River in 1796, after his safe journey overland to the Cape, described the Xhosa as "liberal benefactors" (Maclennan 2003: 93).

In 1813 John Campbell commented:

> "Many of the Caffres travel into the countries which surround them, sometimes to plunder, at other times merely to satisfy curiosity, and to bring back any thing they judge useful or curious. They always travel on foot, carrying no more than their cloak to sleep in during the night." (Maclennan 2003: 126)

There is also some evidence of traders travelling great distances along the southeast coast:

> "We know that the Xhosa had contact with the peoples of southern Mozambique. On a visit to Ngqika in about 1803, Ludwig Alberti reported meeting there several black traders from Delagoa Bay, a journey which had taken two to three months. Alberti, *Account of the Xhosa in 1807*. Trans W. Fehr (Cape Town: A. Balkema, 1968), 8-9." (Crampton et al 2012: footnote 229 in original draft)

These traders spoke a language which was [illegible] to the local Xhosa. They were familiar with canoes and were already selling ivory to whites (Wilson 1972: 6).

Rev. John Brownlee's manuscript notes from the early 19th century were paraphrased by George Thompson:[56]

> "At Hintza's kraal we found a few people residing, who had come from a tribe lying to the north-west of Lattakoo. They had been a good while in this country ... but I could not ascertain whether they belong to the Bechuana or Damara tribes." (Forbes 1968: 219)

Wilson paraphrased this passage:

> "Before 1821 John Brownlee found at the Great Place of Hintsa east of the Kei, people who came from north-west of the modern Kuruman." (Wilson 1970: 6)

Wilson speculates that these may have been itinerant traders who had reached Hintsa by a known route.

Iron and copper manufactures also percolated from the Tswana to the Xhosa but by unknown routes. The Zizi from Natal later brought iron to the southern Sotho (Wilson 1969: 152). So the route from Natal to Xhosaland may have been another early route for trade in iron and iron implements.

> "Paths also existed between Lesotho and Zulu country. ... When Sotho first penetrated south of the Caledon the Zizi brought iron weapons and tools from the coast up the mountain passes, and much later Moshweshwe sent cattle and feathers to Shaka. By what means copper ornaments and iron weapons or tools percolated from the Sotho to the Xhosa in the eighteenth century we do not know, but it is conceivable that the people

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[56] George Thompson (1796-1889) arrived at the Cape in 1818 and by 1820 was a merchant in Cape Town in partnership with Lancelot Cooke. He became a Cape partner with Abraham Borradaile of London and others, and travelled widely at the Cape (Forbes 1967: vii, xii).

'who had come from a tribe lying to the north-east of Lattakoo' mentioned as visiting the Xhosa chief Hintsa before 1821 were itinerant traders who had crossed the Drakensberg and reached the Mbashe valley by yet another path." (Wilson 1969: 152)

The trade networks extended far to include the Khoisan in the south:

"Although each horde [of herders] was independent, alliances between hordes for war occurred, and there was a trickle of trade between them. Hahn speaks of the 'large trade', 'chiefly in Buxu' (buchu), an aromatic herb. Trade in dagga (hemp) between Khoikhoi of the western Cape and those on the Gamtoos or Keiskamma also occurred, and trade in metal between the Khoikhoi of the Langkloof and the Sotho – perhaps the Thlaping; as well as the indirect trade already referred to between the Nama and the Portuguese in beads. (Wilson 1969: 61)

The further south the more precious were iron and copper. Thompson (1990: 18) quotes Bird *Annals* Vol.1: 46:

"In 1689, the commander of the Dutch Cape Colony informed his superiors in Amsterdam that some survivors of the wrecked *Stavenisse* who had lived in Natal for nearly three years reported that 'one may travel 200 or 300 miles through the country, without any fear of danger from the men, provided you go naked [unarmed] and without any iron or copper, for these things give inducement to the murder of those who have them'." (Quoted more extensively in Wilson 1969: 122)

In terms of the quantity and organisation of trade, internal southern African trade was qualitatively limited:

"We do not know how far the trade network extended at any given time, but it is clear that regular markets, such as were common further north in Africa, did not exist among the Nguni, and the trade in metal must have been small because even the iron remained so scarce until the nineteenth century. ... survivors from the wreck of 1554 found the people they met partly armed with iron spears and partly with wooden pikes with points hardened in the fire. Iron and copper were the goods most sought after from survivors from wrecks, and in 1686 iron or copper gave 'inducement to the murder of those who have them'. Lichtenstein refers to the Xhosa burning the grass after a hunt that they might recover the blades of assegais. Such iron as was available was used by the Xhosa and Mpondo for ornaments and spears. Even as late as the nineteenth century they cultivated with wooden digging sticks or hoes, though the Zulu had iron hoes." (Wilson 1969: 114)

Different local natural resources and environmental potentials naturally led to exchanges between local areas and wider regions. Wilson points to evidence of an ancient trade route linking Delagoa Bay to southern Zimbabwe via the lowveld of Limpopo Province and another route linking Sofala with the Soutpansberg (1969: 151).

"... there was an ancient footpath which ran from Delagoa Bay past the Lobedu mountain, past Phalaborwa, and across the Limpopo to Shona country, and this Tsonga ('Magwanba') traders had used for unknown generations before Shaka." (Wilson 1969: 164)

Clearly southern Africa was criss-crossed by well-worn trade routes. These seem to have extended across the whole of southern Africa. However while there were certainly some long-distance traders, most trade may have occurred in relays, from one chiefdom to the next.

Kallaway provided a summary of the trade networks and made the important point about how new trade goods, volumes and external links were simply grafted onto pre-existing networks:

> "... there is evidence of trade in pre-Colonial times between the northern and Southern Tswana and between the Tswana and Korana (e.g. in iron work). There is also evidence that trade routes had been open between the Thlaping and the East Coast, via the Northern Tswana, Venda and Transval Ndebele, by the eighteenth century. ... it appears that a hunting economy 'for export' already existed from this game-rich area during pre-Colonial times, and that the new trade was simply grafted onto the existing structures for dealing with trade with the outside world." (Kallaway 1981: 13)

Specialisation in metalwork was noted by the early European travellers:

> "The main distinction between the economy of the Sotho [language group, including Tswana and Pedi] and that of their neighbours was the skill of the Sotho as craftsmen. They mined and smelted iron, copper and tin, and carried on an extensive trade in metal goods. ... Borcherds notes that ... the Tlhaping rejected trade knives as not being as good as their own [in 1801]. ... Robert Moffat was shown by a Hurutshe coppersmith how to draw copper wire, and this man was careful to explain that coppersmiths were distinct from iron-workers. ...
>
> "Travelling eastwards through the Transvaal, he [Livingstone] came to 'Bagalaka' (of Transvaal Ndebele stock), who, he reported, smelt iron, copper, and tin, and in the manufacture of ornaments know how to mix the tin and copper so as to form an amalgam. Their country abounds in ores.'" (Wilson 1969: [illegible])
>
> "Certain groups were famous as smiths and bartered their products to others. North of the Mzimkhulu the Lala were pre-eminently as iron-workers, and one section of them, the Zizi, exchanged metal weapons and implements for cattle across the Drakensberg. The Zulu smelted iron ore, but the brass and copper they worked were obtained elsewhere. Though the Xhosa themselves could smelt in 1686 and there was said to be ore in their country, they were exchanging cattle for iron from the Mthembu a hundred years later. But the resources in metal of the Nguni area are much more limited than the resources north and west of the Drakensberg, and there is no evidence of smelting copper or gold. The copper ornaments the Xhosa wore were obtained from the Tswana (Kwena), and probably some of their weapons were also." (Wilson 1969: 114)

Wilson also quotes a passage from Vasco da Gama in 1498 at the mouth of a river north of Delagoa Bay which she interprets as the Limpopo, reporting on meeting Africans wearing copper on their legs and in their hair and with tin on the hilts of their daggers. She links this with a statement made to missionary Robert Moffat in 1829 at Mzilikazi's place near Pretoria about people travelling up rivers with boats to trade ivory and yellow metal at a great distance to the north or north east. She stated that the Limpopo was navigable for long stretches in wet seasons, and from Pafuri on the SA border with Mozambique and Zimbabwe to the coast, a distance of 400 km (Wilson 1969: 150-1). Yet Wilson is cautious about the geographic extent of trading links from Tswana territory. Crampton, writing more than 40 years later, is not:

> "From the earliest days of their settlement, the Dutch had believed it was possible to reach Mozambique overland from the Cape. As early as 1661 the Cape Dutch had also heard of 'the Brickje' who, as we now know, were the baTlhaping, famous for their industriousness, craftsmanship and extensive trading activities, whose territory was situated about halfway between the Cape and Delagoa Bay. It was from them that the southern Khoi appear to have obtained their specularite, a dark shiny pigment used as a cosmetic, their double-edged knives and, prior to the advent of the Cape Dutch, much of their iron and copper. A

similar trade network of greater antiquity extended eastwards from the baTlhaping and other Sotho-Tswana polities to the coast of Mozambique." (Crampton 2011: 757)

"From the early 1500s, the Portuguese gradually replaced the Asian and Swahili traders who had preceded them in southern Mozambique, while from about 1750 other European traders were increasingly active at Delagoa Bay. Probably not coincidentally, the mid-1700s also witnessed what Neil Parsons describes as an 'almost continuous jostling for ascendancy among the Tswana'. Manson contributes the conflict to several factors, including competition over trade. Trade is also believed to have been a contributing factor in the growth in population and emergence of lineage-clusters from about the sixteenth century, and the amalgamation of larger confederations and establishment of 'mega-towns' from the early eighteenth century. The profits generated by trade were both a source of political power and the means whereby that power could be consolidated and centralised, and African chiefs were prepared to trade over routes extending up to 1200 kilometres. The baTlhaping capital was just within that radius of the Portuguese port of Delagoa Bay, and the size and wealth of its population were proof thereof. By 1801, Lattakoo[57] had a population of between 12 000 and 25 000 people and consisted of around 1500 dwellings and in 1811 was scattered over an area almost 2 and a 1/2 kilometres in diameter." (Crampton 2011: 756)

"The [Delagoa] Bay itself was fairly well-documented, and under Portuguese control. But their influence did not extend much beyond the confines of their Fort, and contemporary written accounts of the peoples and trade networks of the vast hinterland it served, from the baTlhaping north of the middle Orange to the peoples occupying the mountains just west of Delagoa Bay, were sorely lacking." (Crampton 2011: 757)

Wilson speculated in 1969:

"The fact that the [Hurutshe] people of Kaditshwene knew how to vaccinate [against smallpox] also suggests that they had some contact with the coast." (Wilson 1969: 150)

The issue of inoculation against smallpox is referred to extensively by Crampton as but one of her many arguments for extensive and trans-sub-continental trade networks by the 17th century. Crampton's 2014 *The Side of the Sun at Noon* is an attempt to fill some fairly large gaps in southern African history and geography. In particular we have no written records and very little other comprehensive information of what became known as the Highveld before the 1820s by which time the area had been devastated and the oral traditions of the people devastated almost entirely lost. Crampton has assembled a range of evidence from existing sources, individual items of which are inconclusive, but together and accumulatively they point to extensive trans-sub-continental trade networks and routes and probably also the penetration if not settlement far inland from the east coast of some foreigners.

One of Crampton's themes is the variety of exotic flora and fauna found across southern Africa and in particular areas such as the Gariep, the Highveld and in fact the entire Orange-Vaal drainage system.

Dagga, cannabis sativa, is one, originally from central Asia, it was introduced into southern Africa over 1 000 years ago according to Crampton and some time before Van Riebeeck

[57] When Truter and Somerville visited Old Lattakoo or Dithakong in 1801 they estimated it to have a population of about 15 000 people. When George Thompson visited in 1823 with missionary Robert Moffat, he recorded the population at between 8 000 and 10 000. The location was shifted about 8km on the death of a chief referred to by Thompson as Malahawan whose son, Mateebe, moved to Kuruman with some of his people, leaving a subordinate chief at the old capital (Forbes 1967: 84, 107).

arrived at the Cape. It was found growing on the islands in the Gariep near Kakamas by the earliest travellers from the Cape:

> "*Dagga* is one of the earliest loan words in Khoekhoen. The African linguist Carl Meinhof believes it is derived from an Arabic word, *duXan*, which was probably also the origin of the Nama and Xhosa words, *dakx?a-b* and *ukudakwa*, both of which mean 'a state of intoxication'. The latter then are words forged in the process of long-distance trade, and they are not the only ones: the Nama and Xhosa words for money, *mari-b* and *imali*, for example also both derive from an Arabic word *mali*, meaning wealth." (Crampton 2014: 87)

Dagga was *bhangi* in Sanskrit and *bhang* in Hindi. In southern Africa it became *mbange* amongst the Tonga of the Zambezi valley, *mbanji* to the Shona, *mbanzhe* to the Venda and *mbangi* to the Tsonga of southern Mozambique (Crampton 2014: 181). Might one deduce from these linguistic links that the Indian traders did not penetrate much inland from the east coast but that the Arab traders did so in order to reach the Khoisan and Nguni groups to the southwest? This would accord with the known Arabic as opposed to Indian influence in the establishment of the Swahili culture down the east coast of Africa and the known involvement of both Arabic and Swahili in the later slave trade into the interior.

Not only was dagga widespread across southern Africa but so was the *hookah* or water-pipe for smoking the stuff, from the Hindi *huqqah*. Usually some animal horn was used.

Crampton suggests that the *Hamcumqua* in t[illegible] Somerset East may have been the first to grow and trade dagga and that this is the source of the name of the location Daggaboersnek on the main road north to Cradock (Crampton 2014: 392 fn.87)

Many scholars have denied the presence of dagga and insisted, contrary to the evidence, that the dagga mentioned was a less intoxicating herb, *Leonotis leonurus*.

Crampton takes the argument further. If Arabic words could have influenced the language of the Nama across the sub-continent, then surely the reverse was also possible in the case of a name for the Gariep:

> "... Khoikhoi words such as *khamis*, meaning 'sweat water', could as easily have travelled in the opposite direction via the same trade networks to the east coast, from there made their way on to the maps of the Arabs, and from there to the maps of the Portuguese, as *Camissa*, 'the Sweet River'." (Crampton 2014: 115)

Crampton has also pointed to the discovery of valuable minerals far from their possible places of origin and suggested that only human agency as part of long-distance trade networks offer a plausible explanation. In 1911, some 15 years before the official discovery of diamonds in Namaqualand, a diamond was found some 300 km to the south in the Sout River near Vanrhynsdorp. Significantly it was found on the site of an ancient drift. Crampton speculates that at the very least someone valued it for its cutting properties and argues that some fine Khoisan rock engravings can only have been achieved with diamonds (Crampton 2014: 51, 112-3).

Some 80 graves in the diamond-bearing area of Koffiefontein south of Kimberley were excavated early in the 20th century and found to contain a variety of glass beads, copper earrings, specularite and seashells from along the entire south and east coasts. The seashells included ones found only between False Bay and Mossel Bay, suggesting an ancient route and possible explanation for the identification by Sousoa of the Chainouqua of Van Riebeeck's diamonds (Crampton 2014: 49, 312-3).

According to the *Territorial News* of 19 September 1957, in 1884 "several stones", presumably diamonds, were found in the "Tsomo diamond fields", the area of the Tsomo River in the Transkei. If indeed these were diamonds found in the area and if they were not from the mines near Kimberley began some 15 years previously, it raises the possibility of human agency on a likely ancient route between the tributaries of the Gariep such as the Stormberg and Kraai and the headwaters of the Kei and Mbashe River systems, including the Tsomo River, a tributary of the Kei.

In 1855 a gold nugget of between 1 and two ounces was discovered near Montagu. In 1870 a 2nd nugget weighing 2 ½ ounces was found near Prince Albert. Both these finds were well before the discovery of gold in the trans-Vaal in 1886. Again human agency must have been involved. Back in the 1650s, Sousoa, leader of the Chainouqua between Caledon and Swellendam had recognised the ring on Van Riebeeck's finger as made of gold which he said came from the mysterious *Chobona* of the interior.[58] Sousoa and his people were located on what was still a major route to the interior well into the colonial period, and the route used by the 1st party of Europeans to reach the "Briqua", the party of Truter and Somerville in 1802 (Crampton 2014: 49, 308-9, 456 fn.30).

This route is only slightly west of another route used successfully by Schryver in 1689 and Collins in 1809, roughly northwards from between George and Oudtshoorn to Graaff Reinet and along the Seacow River Valley to the Gariep. It was probably used much earlier by the Hessequa of the Mossel Bay area and would explain why they were better supplied with brass and beads than some groups closer to the Cape (Crampton 2014: 313, 457 fn.41).

In 1933 an agriculturalist found a single peach tree on the bank of the Gariep near Kakamas. It produced a large yellow peach which today is the origin of 75% of peach trees in South Africa. The origin of the wild peach and the domesticated varieties is in Asia. By the time of its discovery in 1933 there were many other peach trees across southern Africa and in Kakamas itself. But this one was unique. Might it have been a freak?

> "... like the *Cannabis* growing on the islands around Kakamas, *Prunis persica* has important medicinal properties. The prussic acid contained in peaches has been described as 'the most powerful sedative known'. Its high prussic-acid content probably contributed to the peach's reputation in ancient China as 'the tree of life', as well as its spread west, along the Silk Road to Persia. ... Prussic acid has other medicinal properties: it is anti-inflamatory, for example, and a cure for chronic dysentry. It would, in other words, have been a well-worth addition to the baggage of any trader coming from the east coast, for both personal use and barter." (Crampton 2014: 149-150)

Another Chinese import is the "English" weeping willow, *Salix babylonica*. There is an indigenous willow which is much smaller and unlikely to be mistaken for the import. Hop in 1761 described the Gariep as lined with willows but did not specify which ones. Sommerville in 1801 at Prieska referred explicitly to weeping willows. Burchell ten years later at the same place described weeping willows to a height of 80 feet but said that they were botanically different! In 1817 near Kakamas, Robert Moffat, who had been a professional gardener for ten years before becoming a missionary, described them as weeping willows. The medicinal properties of the weeping willow would have made it another useful addition to the baggage of travellers and traders:

> "*Salix babylonica*, the weeping willow, is rich in salicylic acid. For untold centuries it has been used for the relief of pain and inflammation. The leaves and bark were prescribed as a remedy for aches and fevers in ancient Assyrian, Sumerian and Egyptian texts. The

[58] Peires stated unequivocally in 1981 that the Chobona were the Xhosa (Peires 1981: 22), contrary to Crampton (2014).

famous Greek physician Hippocrates used extracts of willow bark to reduce fevers and relieve pain. Without *Salix babylonica* there would be no Aspirin." (Crampton 2014: 155)

Willows are self-propagators, from truncheons, and are tolerant and hardy. They would have easily spread along water courses inland from the sea, especially since the Khoisan used large willow branches instead of canoes to cross water:

"One of the main trade routes from Delagoa Bay led directly west to the watershed of the Vaal river, a climatically perfect environment for the willow to establish itself." (Crampton 2014: 155-6)

Not far from Prieska, Burchell also found a bright red poppy. But the indigenous poppy is orange:

"In fact Burchell's red poppy sounds very much like *Papaver somniferum*, the opium poppy, an exotic of eastern origin but common in Mozambique and valued as a powerful sedative. The Arabs called it 'the Father of Sleep', and it was probably by them that it was introduced to southern Africa." (Crampton 2014: 154)

The clinching evidence derives from a grave-robbing exercise in the name of archaeology by staff of the Bloemfontein museum in 1936 between Augrabies and Upington. 69 human skeletons were removed, and a collection of beads. Two graves revealed beads of Indian origin and dated from the 16th to the 19th centuries. However another grave revealed beads which included some dated to earlier than the 16th century and possibly as early as the 10th to 13th centuries, in other words to the pre-Portuguese period (Crampton 2014: 157-8).

In 1778 Wikar was also told of two long and straight rows of graves near the Augrabies Falls. Unfortunately these graves do not seem to have been located and investigated then or since but the burial practice is certainly foreign to the Khoisan and suggests a substantial foreign population at some point (Crampton 2014: 183-4).

There were attempts by chiefs to control trade and the trade in ivory in particular:

"No one must presume to barter anything to a stranger, without the King's consent." (Wilson 1969: 122 quoting Moodie Vol.1, 427-8, probably from 1686)

"Trade was controlled by the chiefs, who insisted that they should be the first to see imported goods for sale, and communication with the outside world was hampered by the attempt by one chief after another to prevent traders from outside from reaching the next chiefdom." (Wilson 1969:152)

In the centralised northern states, especially amongst the Tswana, it may have been possible for elites to control trade, but in the south and in the absence of trade fairs, it must have been very easy for commoners to trade on their own account. The earliest references to trade in ivory in South Africa were from the western Cape:

"By 1624 the Khoi were trading in ivory as well as cattle, and two years later a local curio trade had sprung up in ostrich feathers, shells, wood and sorrell, which the sailors exchanged for 'iron hoops' and 'brasse'." (Marks 1971: 61)

The reference to trade in ivory in 1624 is no doubt taken from the journal of William Minors aboard the eagle in Table Bay in July 1624:

"One elephant-tusk also brought, and more promised if we would wait." (Raven-Hart 1967: 114)

Marks qualifies the ivory trade in a footnote:

"On the whole, this was in very small quantities and from animals that were already dead. By the 1670s, however, some Khoi were hunting elephants with guns."

At the time of permanent European settlement at the Cape, elephants were widely distributed across southern Africa. The Karoo and Kgalagadi areas are unlikely to have supported large or permanent populations. The grasslands of the Free State and what was the southern Transvaal do not appear to have supported substantial elephant populations. However the rest of the country as far as the Cape peninsula supported large populations. The total population around 1652 may have been of the order of 100 000.

"The decline in the South African elephant population took place in three phases. Between the years 1652 and 1790 the decline in the species was largely caused by the increase in settlement and human population growth, with the ivory trade playing only a small part. ... From about 1790 to 1879 the main force eliminating elephants was the growth of the ivory trade and the emergence of professional ivory hunters on a large scale. ... These hunters operated as far north as the Zambezi Valley and their ivory was moved southwards to the ports of Durban and Port Elizabeth. By about 1870 the large elephant population had been wiped out. From 1870 to 1920 the shooting of elephants was due, in large measure, to crop protection, especially in the Eastern Cape ..." (A.J. Hall-Martin 1992: 65, 69)

In 1825 Thomas Philipps wrote:

"Our Traders in ivory and hides have nearly reached the Tropics, and find the farther they have been the more appearance of civilisation." (Keppel-Jones 1960: 350)

"Livingstone even noted ivory rotting near Lake Ngami [in modern Botswana], and it had been used there to fence cattle byres. Therefore there cannot have been a ready market for ivory near Lake Ngami, or even on the upper reaches of the Limpopo, before Hume and other whites arrived [from the eastern Cape in mid century] with wagons to buy and transport it, though the Ngwato sent some to Delagoa Bay." (Wilson 1969: 148)

If this is indeed the case then the interior of southern Africa may have been spared some of the extremes of the ivory and related trades which had a long history on the East Coast, at least until the 19th century.

Ivory has been used in southern Africa for some 8 000 years, although for what range of purposes is not always clear (Inskeep 1978: 112).

"The use of ivory and bone awls by herders was reported in the eighteenth century ..." (Wilson 1969: 46)

While the environmental and ecological impact of the devastation of the elephant population across southern Africa is unclear, it probably had little impact on local economies:

"The hunting and trading in ivory was different from the trading and raiding of cattle, for at least ivory was solely a trade item, whereas cattle were both a means of subsistence and a potentially exchangeable commodity. Hence the depletion of ivory resources did not drain the vital resources of the existing communities in the area as did the depletion of cattle to levels where they could not reproduce fast enough to maintain the size of the herds." (Legassick 1979: 262)

Dutch settlement and exploration of the interior

From 1652 the initial small settlement or colonial outpost at De Kaap, "The Cape", grew slowly through the rest of the 17th century and expanded geographically to extend just over 100 km from Table Bay.

The first decades of the Dutch outpost were precarious. While providing fresh produce for passing ships, for some time the settlement itself was dependent on imports of staples, rice in particular. The climate and soils were not fully understood and the local Khoikhoi population was at best indifferent to the needs and demands of the Dutch.

By the 1660s already the outpost's demand for meat already exceeded what the nearby Khoikhoi were able or willing to provide. Expeditions of violence and robbery increasingly replaced trading expeditions.

The 18th century saw the settlers heading rapidly both northwards and eastwards. By the end of the 18th century, colonial outposts such as mission stations as well as settlements of farmers, sometimes seasonal, extended to both the Gariep and Fish Rivers, 1 000 km away.

The Dutch settlers brought new technology with them, crucially guns and horses which when combined in the commando system was to tip the balance in their favour, at the expense of both the Khoikhoi and the San populations from the Cape Peninsula to the Gariep and beyond, and to the Fish River.

The Dutch vessel, *Nieuwe Haerlem,* was wrecked in Table Bay in 1647. The survivors were stranded there for a year and found they could grow a range of vegetables and fruit including citrus then known to combat scurvy. The Cape had the further advantage that the climate was temperate and without tropical diseases. In fact it is located at almost the same latitude as southern Europe and shares similar climatic features. One Jan van Riebeeck was onboard the home-bound fleet that picked up the survivors in 1648.

> "On 20 March 1651 the Seventeen approved a proposal discussed for twenty months in various committees that '... a general rendezvous be formed at the Cape of Good Hope.'" (Katzen 1969: 187)

The rendezvous was to be headed by Van Riebeeck as Commander[59]. The post was upgraded in the VOC hierarchy to that of Governor in 1699.

> "What began as **a cabbage patch on the way to India** became the most vital strategic point, with the possible exception of Malacca, in the entire empire of the Dutch East India Company." (De Kiewiet 1967: 4, emphasis added)

The Dutch settlement was built on the land used if not "owned" by the *Goringhaiqua* or Peninsulas or Kaapmans under their leader Gogosoa. Archaeological excavations in 1983 confirmed that the area of the Dutch fort had long before been occupied by Khoisan (Crampton 2014: 3, 39).

The first winter must have been very harsh for Van Riebeeck's party who arrived in April. With the arrival of spring an early precedent was set when the first recorded group attempted to desert:

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[59] Crampton refers to him as "Senior Merchant Van Riebeeck" and later as "Chief Merchant" (Crampton 2014: 4, 18).

"[Jan] Blank and a groups of comrades deserted. They intended to walk to Mozambique and find a boat to Holland. Blank afterwards told a sceptical Van Riebeeck that he had dreamed of a mountain of gold, which he had hoped to find on his journey. What he got was a keelhauling, 150 lashes and two years of labour as a slave, in irons. Freed from the chains four months later on promise of good behaviour, he disgraced himself again by devouring company sheep in the fields and trying to get away on a visiting ship." (Maclennan 2003: 29)

By 1659 calling Dutch ships were provided with fresh water, fruit and vegetables and meat during their stay and then provided with two weeks of the same for their onward voyages.

"The refreshment station started operating remarkably quickly, owing to the energy and ability of van Riebeeck, who was trying to reinstate himself in his first VOC post since his dismissal in 1648 for private trading." (Katzen 1969: 189)

"... the greatest need of calling ships were fresh water, vegetables, fruit, and meat. In supplying these the Cape establishment amply justified its existence." (Katzen 1969: 191)

The volume provided was considerable given the smallness of the VOC contingent: most VOC ships called between February and May of each year – 33 on average between 1652 and 1699, 46 between 1700 and 1714, 68 from 1715 to 1739, and 51 between 1751 and 1779 (Katzen 1969: 192).

However the Cape itself was dependent on Batavia for the staple, rice, for its first few years until local grain was produced extensively. The first export of wheat occurred in 1684 but it was only exported regularly, to Batavia, from 1707 (Katzen 1969: 197).

The Cape was not colonised by the Republic of the United Netherlands. In fact the common usage of the terms colony, colonise and colonialism is misleading. The Cape was an asset of the VOC. At least it was intended to be an asset, and an asset that could add value to the accounts of the corporation:

"... the object of the VOC was to make a profit. Since the shareholders' capital was kept low, a large part of the profits went towards financing investments internally. The ownership of overseas territories was by no means the object of VOC policy ..." (Schutte 1979: 174-5)

However, like other contemporary European trading companies, the VOC had far greater authority than modern corporations:

"By the terms of its charter the VOC had sovereign rights in its territories; for instance, it could enter into international agreements, issue edicts, execute high and low justice, and exercise any governmental authority it deemed necessary. The contract setting out the legal position of VOC officials bound them to absolute loyalty to Heren XVII and restricted their liberty in many spheres.

"... It was official VOC policy that the freeburghers, like the officials of the Company, had to take an oath of loyalty not only to the States-General but also to the VOC directors and their servants abroad." (Schutte 1979: 177)

The VOC took its sovereign rights very seriously. The Beutler expedition on 1752 encountered a French sailor and an officer who had been abandoned by their ship *Le Necessairre* in bad weather after being sent ashore in Algoa Bay:

"From these Frenchmen Beutler learnt that *Le Necessairre*, accompanied by other vessels, had come from Mauritius to examine the S.E. coast of the Cape, where several landings had been made with a view to investigating the possibilities of establishing a French settlement there. He heard that one of these ships was commanded by the celebrated cartographer, Captain d'Apres de Mannevillette. This was he who had published in 1745 *Le Neptune Oriental*, a volume of charts and sailing-directions ... (Forbes 1965: 9)

The French ship stopped at the Cape and reported the stranding of the two. Suspicions must have been aroused because the governor sent on a message to Beutler to erect beacons with the VOC monogram at all bays to indicate prior possession by the VOC (Forbes 1965: 10).

For the first three decades until the arrival of the French Huguenots, settlement was to be limited to the number of company officials, later including the few former company servants as free-burghers, which were required to maintain the Cape as a refreshment station for the VOC fleet, and slaves:

"The VOC construed its aims so narrowly that Van Riebeeck was told in 1657 'that ... not too much work should be taken in hand, but ... the Cape establishment should be kept as confined and ... small ... as possible'." (Katzen 1969: 189)

While the Cape outpost was firstly about providing for the needs of its fleets plying between Europe and Asia, the outpost was also part of an international trading company which depended on the expansion of its sources of the goods it sought to acquire. De Kaap was a good base from which to explore the regional possibilities for business, especially for a commander trying to re-establish his career within the VOC.

"Van Riebeeck was a buyer. He was the servant of a trading company, and his pre-occupation, from the day he landed in South Africa until the day he left, was with the cattle trade, to provide food for his men and fresh supplies for scurvy-ridden ships." (Wilson 1969: 64)

Reports of passing VOC vessels and the survivors of the numerous shipwrecks who made it back to De Kaap as well as the need for external sources of timber[60] made it inevitable that the VOC at De Kaap would reconnoitre and exploit any economic opportunities along both the southeast coast and the west coast.

In October 1652 already Van Riebeeck sent the *Goode Hoop* to explore the west coast. In 1654 he sent the *Roode Vos* up the east coast. He explained to his bosses that some years earlier a Portuguese vessel at Saldanha Bay had been able to exchange copper for gold, amber and ivory. Van Riebeeck had heard, or at least had read in Van Linschoten's *Itinerario*, that the Portuguese in Mozambique and in Angola obtained gold from the land of Monomotapa and that a trade route extended from Sofala to Angola. He expected the traders of Monomotapa to visit him at the Cape. Van Riebeeck's hopes were raised and his fantasies fuelled in 1657 when Chaihantima, from the *Chainouqua* to the east in the Caledon area, visited with six head of cattle to barter. He spoke of a powerful people of the interior who spoke a different language, who were rich in gold, resided in houses built of stone and planted white rice and all kinds of vegetables. All the people of the Cape were tributary to these people, who Van Riebeeck recorded as the *Chobona* (Crampton 2014: 16, 18, 28-9).

[60] Timber remained in short supply until it was shipped from the Knysna and Tsitsikama forests from 1787. Previously much had to be imported from Europe and Asia (Katzen 1969: 191).

Van Riebeeck concluded that the Chobona and the people of Monomotapa were one and the same and believed that he could make contact himself. In February 1658 already he sent out the first expedition of 15 men northwards. They returned a few weeks later having lost two of their number.

Chaihantima had claimed that his wife had grown up amongst the Chabona (Crampton 2014: 29) and it seems that she was the daughter of a leader. Perhaps for this reason Van Riebeeck may have favoured Chaihantima in trade:

> "Chaihantima had profited enormously from his monopoly of his people's trade with the Dutch: on his second visit alone he had acquired so much copper that he'd had to borrow a pack-ox from the Dutch to carry it all home. Two of his men 'showed great displeasure and asked why he alone should be thus honoured, for he was not the paramount chief of the Chaijnouquas but only a man of rank sent by the chief with them to sell us cattle, which belonged to many different owners ... (Crampton 2014: 380 fn.26 citing Van Riebeeck)

Late in 1658 Van Riebeeck handed control of the Cape's salt pans to a group of burghers with the instructions to supply salt to no-one but the Company, thus cutting of the local Goringhaiqua from what was probably their main article of exchange with inland Khoisan groups. The consequences of favouritism and the seizure of the salt trade were disastrous: in December 1858 Chaihantima was ambushed, his cattle seized and his wife and associates killed.

Not to be deterred, Van Riebeeck sent off another mission of seven men northwards to Monomotapa in February 1659. They barely made it back about a month later (Crampton 2014: 35-7, 45)

In 1660 both Sousoa of the *Chainouqua* and Oedasoa of the *Cochoqua* indicated to Van Riebeeck that they recognised diamonds, much to the disbelief of Van Riebeeck that they were found anywhere outside of India. Sousoa also spoke of the Chobona and their gold. Van Riebeeck immediately prepared yet another expedition into the interior. This one, led by Jan Danckaert and including Jacob Pitsel and Pieter van Meerhof, did not get much further than the previous two (Crampton 2014: 49, 50, 52, 54).

Van Riebeeck was undeterred by the failure of his expeditions and only days after the return of Danckaerts sent off a 4th expedition under Pieter Cruythoff and again including Van Meerhof at the end of January 1661. The difference was that this expedition used local Khoikhoi guides for the first time. They followed the Olifants River northwards and Van Meerhof was the first to make contact with the Nama north of Vanrhynsdorp. They returned to the Cape in mid March. The contact with the Nama, while clearly not the hoped-for Chobona, clearly encouraged Van Riebeeck for only ten days later he sent out a further expedition, this time led by Van Meerhof himself and including envoys of Oedasoa who had regular trade with the Nama (Crampton 2014: 56, 59, 62, 65).

Van Meerhof's expedition was a failure in that they were unable to meet with the Nama leader, Akembie, as he had gone off on his own expedition to the east to 'the Brickje':

> "From the earliest days of their settlement, the Dutch had believed it was possible to reach Mozambique overland from the Cape. As early as 1661 [the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff] the Cape Dutch had also heard of 'the Brickje' who, as we now know, were the baTlhaping, famous for their industriousness, craftsmanship and extensive trading activities, whose territory was situated about halfway between the Cape and Delagoa Bay." (Crampton 2011: 755)

"... it is possibly the earliest written reference to the Tswana who lived north of the Gariep or Orange River near what is now Kuruman, and our first proof that they and the Nama were in direct contact with one another. The *Briqua* – Nama for 'goat people' – were famed traders and craftsmen. They were particularly well-known for their fine double-edged knives and specularite, a sparkling blue-black pigment that was highly valued as a cosmetic, and it is significant that when Van Riebeeck arrived in 1652, the Cape Khoi already possessed both." (Crampton 2014: 66)

While the absence of Akembie was no doubt a disappointment, the message he left for the visitors promised that he would visit the Cape with commodities from the tribes he traded with and including gold from an island tribe which Van Riebeeck recorded as Chori-Eijqua or Gold People. Crampton interprets this as the first, tangential reference by the Dutch to the Gariep (Crampton 2014: 67).

"On the same journey Van Meerhof met a party of San near modern Clanwilliam who told him that they traded ivory with the 'Cabonas' who in turn traded the tusks with the Portuguese." (Crampton 389 fn.25, citing Van Riebeeck)

Van Riebeeck sent out only one more, entirely unsuccessful expedition in 1661/2 before his own departure in May 1662. This expedition was led not by Van Meerhof although he was second in charge, but by Pieter Everaert (Crampton 2014: 74, 77).

Pieter van Meerhoff, previously Peter Havgard, was a Danish sailor, then under-surgeon and surgeon in the VOC (Crampton 2014: 56-7, 59).

"[He] accompanied or led several expeditions north from the settlement ... in 1661 he and his companions made the first contact with the Nama, who mined copper and promised to trade sheep and cattle." (Maclennan 2003: 31)

In 1664 Van Meerhof married Eva, Van Riebeeck's former Khoikhoi interpretor. By that time Eva had two children, the younger by Van Meerhof and the elder probably by Van Riebeeck himself. Van Riebeeck's successor, Zacharias Wagenaer, re-established trade with Madagascar and sent Van Meerhof there in 1667 "as Director of Trade and Exploration on a slave-buying mission". In February 1668 he and eight of his crew were killed at Antongil Bay in Madagascar, a known slaving port. Eva seems to have resorted to alcohol and died in 1674 (Crampton 2014: 70-1, 73-4, 76, 80, 82).

While there were no more official terrestial expeditions, there was some maritime exploration:

"In 1670 Captain Muys was ordered to take the hooker *Grundel* north from the Cape as far as the tropic of Capricorn. He was to survey rivers and bays on the way, to look out for *'een natie caffres'*, and buy one as a slave. ... It was only in 1677 that another vessel, the *Bode*, reached southern Angola where 'the Kaffirs commenced and the Hottentots came to an end'." (Maclennan 2003: 36)

In 1672 the Dutch claimed to have bought the peninsula from the *Goringhaiqua* and the Hottentots-Holland from the *Chainouqua* for what George Theal estimated to be the equivalent of £2 16s 5d and £6 16s 4d respectively (Crampton 2014: 83).

In 1679 the energetic Simon van der Stel arrived at the Cape as the new commander. Two years later four Nama leaders visited the Cape with samples of copper ore from the northern Cape. For the first time they explicitly described to a Cape governor the existence of the Gariep and which entered the sea in the north, in other words flowing from the east to the west. This was significant because previously Van Riebeeck, rather than listening carefully to what the Khoikhoi told him, believed the vague and inaccurate European maps, including

that of Van Linschotten in 1596 which showed a huge river running south and into the Indian Ocean and through an inland lake in about the area of the floodplain between Augrabies and Upington. Van Riebeeck and others referred to this river by a variety of names including "Camissa" (Crampton 2014: 68, 100-1).

After a gap of 18 years, Van der Stel oversaw three expeditions. In 1682 Ensign Olof Bergh led an unsuccessful expedition up the west coast in search of the source of the copper which the Nama brought to Table Bay (Maclennan 2003: 39). Then in 1685 Van der Stell himself led an expedition which reached the source of copper near Springbok but not the Gariep, a further 100 km to the north. This expedition was able to travel 550 km northwards because unlike most of the previous expeditions it had left after the onset of the spring rains. It returned at the end of January 1686 (Crampton 2014: 105, 109, 111).

In 1688 the Dutch crew of the *Noord* returned to the Cape from Delagoa Bay with a report of a difficult overland route between the two. Significantly their description of the people who were to be encountered on this overland route between the Cape and the Orange was remarkably accurate (Crampton 2014: 177).

A private expedition in 1738, the first from the Cape to reach the Gariep River, led to the most serious Khoisan resistance yet, known as the 1739 Bushmen War (Penn 1999: 134).

> "The river known to the Bushmen as the Gariep or Garieb, to the speakers of Bantu languages as the Senqu, and to the Dutch-speaking colonists as Grootrivier, became generally known to the colonists during the second half of the eighteenth century. The Lower Orange – the Gariep proper – was known by about the middle of the eighteenth century to the Baster cattle farmers of Namaqualand, who undertook hunting and trading trips in the Transorange and were the first to come into contact with the indigenous peoples of the area, the Korana, Khoi pastoralists living in small, scattered groups along the banks of the Orange, Vaal and Harts Rivers, and the Batlhaping and other Tswana-speaking tribes further to the north.
>
> "The first reliable report of the 'Great River' was brought to the Cape in 1760 by a white farmer, Jacobus Coetse, from the Piketberg region, who had gone north to shoot elephants and had reached the area around the Augrabies Falls. Significantly enough he had been accompanied by '12 Hottentots of the Gerigriquas nation', remnants of the tribe who had gathered round the Kok family of Basters in the Piketberg region, and who were later to develop into the Griqua people." (Schoeman 2003: 10)

A statement of Coetse's trip was recorded by a Company official (Coetse himself was illiterate) which mentioned for the first time the "Enequas". By this time the Dutch were referring to the Gariep as the Ein or Eyn. –qua means people so Enequas was a first reference to the people of the Gariep (Crampton 2014: 116).

Coetse's report also included references to "tawny people" as described to him by some of his guides up north, which elicited great fascination and interest, as with Van Riebeeck's "Chobona". So shortly after his return, Captain Hendrik Hop set off in July 1761 to find these rumoured people of the interior. Hop was accompanied by a Nama man who had returned with Coetse. Hop succeeded in reaching and crossing the Gariep and reached as far as the dry Fish River before being forced to turn back (Crampton 2014: 128, 132).

Dutch expansion and the destruction of the Khoisan

Once Van Riebeeck established trade in livestock with the Khoikhoi, a high volume was traded, ultimately with disastrous consequences for the Khoikhoi. This trade was to provide

meat for Van Riebeeck's estimate of 30 passing ships a year, amongst other demands. During his tenure of ten years this number exceeded 40 ships in a year only once. From 1695 it averaged over 65 and over 85 from the early 1720s. Elphick provides the following table:

Figure 15: The Company's Disbursements and Losses of Stock, 1652-1669

Source: Elphick 1985: 153

	Cattle	Sheep
Disbursed to Freemen	390	383
Company Establishment	511	2 864
Ships	2 997	10 120
Hospital	111	3 020
Losses (Robberies, deaths)	536	1 660
Other (includes sales to Company Servants and to foreign ships)	111	636
Totals	4 656	18 683

The table is not entirely representative as data for two years, 1654 and 1664, were not available. If the average figures for the 16 years for which data was available are included for these two missing years, then the totals increase to 5 238 cattle and 21 018 sheep.

> "... sheep were always more plentiful than [illegible] only because they bred faster, but also because Khoikhoi supplied them more readily; hence the average consumption in this period (1655-63) was 5.4 cattle and 51.8 sheep per ship." (Elphick 1985: 152)

By the late 1660s, calculated on an estimated 40 ships per year and the adjusted totals, consumption had increased to about 7.5 cattle and 57.1 sheep per ship.

From the perspective of the Khoikhoi, their average sales of livestock over the 18 years amounted to 291 cattle and 1 168 sheep per year. Most trade in these early years seems to have been with the Khoikhoi who migrated to the peninsula during the dry summers and took place at the fort until about 1670. Elphick suggests that this form of trade had the advantage for the Khoikhoi that:

> "They could not be induced by soft words, alcohol, or the temptation of gleaming mounds of copper, to part with more animals which they considered on cool reflection to be wise." (Elphick 1985: 157)

However Wilson suggested that:

> "... the temptation of beads, tobacco and brandy became too strong for them, and the hordes living close to the Cape lost most of their stock. It was these luxuries, rather than necessities, which made them part with their cattle." (Wilson 1969: 65 citing Moodie)

Reliance on Moodie may have led Wilson to a simplistic conclusion. The Khokhoi from and closest to the peninsula were not entirely free to retreat with their livestock into the interior as the interior was also populated, albeit relatively sparsely, by other Khoisan groups. Faced with the expansion of the Dutch settlement and loss of the best local grazing lands, some measure of desperation soon set in and this is reflected in the statements of Khoikhoi leaders, the wars they waged against the Dutch and much later by millenerian movements.

In order to maintain its monopoly the VOC banned all trade between Khoikhoi and freemen between 1658 and 1700. For a while, perhaps just over a decade, the so-called peninsula Khoikhoi also imposed themselves on the supply side of the trade:

> "Not only did they enrich themselves by supervising Dutch transactions with inland Khoikhoi, but they also developed a secondary trade network that allowed them to buy livestock inland and sell it to the Dutch at a profit." (Elphick 1985: 158)

In effect it appears that the peninsula Khoikhoi were conducting themselves along the lines of the recurrent practice of relay trading and speculating which is seen right across southern Africa from the earliest times. There are numerous examples of trade with seaborne Europeans simply tapping into existing trade networks. In 1688 the Nama had glass beads of Italian manufacture from trade with the Portuguese, probably via the Ovambo northwards to Angola rather than via the Sotho to the east coast (Wilson 1969: 56). However Crampton's recent work has suggested that the route to the east coast was also open at this stage if not earlier (2014). Wikar's statement from the 1770s seems to record a long-established trade route to the Khoikhoi:

> "The Blip [Thlaping] come each year to the tribes living along this river [the Gariep] to trade, bring with them tobacco, ivory spoons, bracelets, copper and iron beads, glass beads, copper earings, and bracelets, knives, barbed assegais and also smooth axes and awls." (quoted in Wilson 1969: 149)

The earliest maritime records refer to Khoisan [illegible] bracelets of copper and ivory (Raven-Hart 1967: 65)

By 1670 already it seems that the herds and flocks of the peninsula Khoikhoi had dwindled below the level required for sustaining these herds and flocks. In that year only 19 cattle and 271 sheep were traded at the fort, compared to 153 cattle and 999 sheep traded at the new garrison posts at Saldanha Bay and Hottentots Holland, both established in 1670, and from trading expeditions further afield. The latter supplied almost all of the livestock to the Company from about 1680 (Elphick 1985: 159).

The Hessequa, east of Swellendam, were reported by the visitor Ten Rhyne to still have large herds in 1685. Trading expeditions were sent to them annually, in the first year obtaining 447 cattle and 1 292 sheep, and some 200 cattle plus sheep in later years (Wilson 1969: 65).

Shortly after his arrival in 1679, Simon van der Stel concluded that expeditions to distant tribes were too time consuming and instead adopted a strategy, with the support of the company directors, to build the herds and flocks of the VOC to be able to provide for their own needs:

> "By 1682 he could announce that it [the company] had 2,061 ewes and 500 ewe lambs, and was thus in striking distance of the 3,000 breeding ewes which it required to supply its annual needs of 3,000 sheep. In 1688 the Company's flocks reached 9,912 and by then could have been virtually self-sustaining. Nonetheless, the trade in sheep did not cease, but continued as an adjunct to the cattle trade." (Elphick 1985: 154)

Significantly for the future of the early settler economy, the rapid establishment of such a large flock was due to the breeding of Dutch rams with local ewes whereas the non-hybrid VOC cattle herds never came close to self-sufficiency.

There are indications from very soon after the permanent Dutch settlement of the disruptive effects on long-established trade networks. Less than a year after arrival, Van Riebeeck

recorded that local trade networks were glutted with copper and in 1660 the aged Sousoa, leader of the Chainouqua around Caledon visited the Dutch under duress:

> "It was much easier for them [the western Cape Khoikhoi] to obtain their beads, tobacco and other metals from the Dutch than from the distant interior. Sousoa, whose territory straddled what is still today the main route to the eastern Cape, and was then a main route to the northern interior, would have been one of the first to register the effects of this on his erstwhile trading partners. That he was aware of the disruptions explains why, despite his age, he now chose to visit the Fort: Sousoa had recently been attacked by 'a certain large tribe', and wanted assistance from the Dutch. Quite who these enemies were is not certain, but within six months the Hessequa Khoi, about 400 kilometres east of the Cape near Mossel Bay, would also come under attack from 'a totally black people with thick lips', who wore stripped clothing and lived in clay houses. Clearly the disruption of the southern Khoi trade was having a knock-on effect." (Crampton 2014: 46, 48)

About a month later, Oedasoa, leader of the Cochoqua near Saldanha Bay, also visited Van Riebeeck and also requested military assistance (Crampton 2014: 50)

> "By the beginning of the eighteenth century the company policy of maintaining a monopoly of the cattle trade with the Khoi chiefdoms was breaking down. Not only were the Khoi chiefdoms disintegrating ... but much illicit private trade between Khoi and colonists was taking place." (Keegan 1996: 25)

> "Warfare, cattle theft and enforced barteri[illegible] enforced on them [the Khoisan] by the VOC for half a century before 1700. After 1700 their plight became worse since the Company opened the cattle trade with the Khoi to the colonists at the same time as it opened the Land of Waveren to white settlement ... The methods by which the colonists increased their livestock holdings ranged from barter to outright robbery, but given the well-attested reluctance of the Khoi to part with their livestock, it is likely that robbery was the usual method employed. ...
>
> "The figures for the increase in the livestock holdings of the colonist in general are instructive. In the eight years before the opening of the trade, their herds had grown by 3 712 and their flocks by 5 449; in the first years of free trade the corresponding figures for growth were 8 871 and 35 562. ... By 1705 the Khoi population had been so badly affected by the open cattle trade that in a twelve day journey between the Berg River and the site of present-day Klawer, [Stellenbosch landdrost] Starrenberg found only two homesteads which, though they contained twelve captains, had very little cattle." (Penn 1989: 4-5)

Starrenberg was on an expedition sponsored by the VOC to Klawer, north of the Olifants River to obtain trek oxen (Penn 1999: 133).

The great smallpox epidemic 1713 which was a major blow to the Khoikhoi of the south-western Cape, although not the worst blow as Donald Moodie, former Protector of Slaves, would have one believe.[61] This was not the first epidemic to affect the Khoikhoi. In 1665 an

[61] "It was [Donald] Moodie who first developed the argument that the disintegration of Khoikhoi society had to be ascribed to the effects of newly imported diseases, notably of smallpox, 'compared to [which] the effects of war was evidently altogether trivial'." This was in response to the polemic of Dr John Philip of the LMS: "the Hottentots had been despoiled of their own lands, robbed and cajoled out of their flocks and herds and, with a few exceptions, reduced to personal servitude, under circumstances which rendered them more wretched and more helpless than the slave with who they now associated." (Ross 1986: 72) Donald Moodie 1794-1861 was a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, then an 1820 settler, brother of Benjamin and John W. Dundar, father of D.C.F. Moodie (Rosenthal 1973: 375).

unnamed disease devastated the Cape Khoikhoi and left the Dutch untouched (Crampton 2014: 79 citing Theal). More significant than the 1713 smallpox epidemic were dispossession of land and livestock. Between 1662 and 1713 the Company received 14 363 cattle and 32 808 sheep from the Khoikhoi (Thompson 1990: 38).

The devastation of the Khoikihoi by smallpox may be very significant in other ways. While Wilson pointed out back in 1969 that the Hurutshe of Kaditshwene on the western highveld practised inoculation against smallpox, this important skill had not been passed on through trade networks as far as the Khoikhoi of the southwestern Cape. This may indicate that while trade networks were extensive, they were not intensive enough to have passed on such essential and live-saving knowledge and practices.

Within the ranks of the trekboers and aspirant trekboers, from an early time it became increasingly difficult to acquire loan farms, due to the costs of rental and capital outlay for an initial herd and/or flock. Inevitably the temptation to steal cattle belonging to Khoikhoi must have also increased. Raiding commandos must have had a particular appeal for such persons. Once Khoikhoi livestock were reduced, the trekboers would have been able to claim that they no longer had need for extensive land. Boer weaponry and their commando system enabled them to assert control over livestock, land and ultimately labour.

> "The expansion of the settlement created a demand for more labourers. This demand was largely met by importing African and Asian slaves, who were sold to settlers on credit by the Company. More affluent settlers employed white servants in supervisory positions. The less affluent settlers could not afford slaves and for the most part worked their own land, employing extra workers when they were needed. The Khoikhoi, whose traditional communities slowly disintegrated under the impact of European settlement, were particularly useful as a source of casual labour for those settlers who had no slaves." (Guelke 1979: 52)

It was no doubt no coincidence that only one year after the 1713 smallpox epidemic the Dutch began allocating large loan farms to burghers (Crampton 2014: 122).

By about 1720 the Khoikhoi were no longer an independent force in the western Cape:

> "By 1720 the transformation of the Western Cape Khoikhoi into 'colonial Hottentots' was almost complete. The Khoikhoi had been reduced to a small fraction of their former population, their ancient economic and political institutions had virtually disappeared, and even their traditional culture was showing signs of erosion." (Elphick 1985: 235)

The fate of the Khoikhoi of the southwestern Cape was the same as the later fate of Khoikhoi across the Cape. In 1813 John Campbell of the LMS arrived at a Khoikhoi kraal somewhere south of the Orange River. Their spring had dried up and they were about to move on:

> "From their own account they had once a better place, but a boor having asked permission first to sow a little corn, then to erect a mill, they allowed it; after which he applied to government for a grant of the whole place, which they promised, not knowing that it was in possession of these Hottentots; of course they were driven from it. An old Hottentot told us that he remembered a time when the boors were all within five days journey of Cape Town, and the country was full of Hottentot kraals; but they have been gradually driven up the country to make room for the white people." (Wilson 1969: 68-9)

By 1800 the Khoikhoi population across the Cape had largely been reduced to servants or near-slaves of the boers and trekboers. The status of those Khoisan remaining in the Colony has been described as an "indigenous slavery":

"As in the Americas, local natives could not easily be enslaved without posing an intolerable threat to the security and stability of the embryonic settlement." (Keegan 1996: 15)

"... the weakness of the settler state, and the simple forms of production of their households probably prevented dependence stabilising into slavery. Instead exploitation was exercised by control over land or essential resources such as cattle, arms and ammunition, rather than by a state enforced juridical status." (Delius & Trapido 1983: 55)

"... there were freeburghers who, by the turn of the century, spoke of Khoikhoi in the same breadth as slaves, and by 1713 perhaps the majority of the Western Cape Khoikhoi were already on European farms. Yet the Khoikhoi themselves still asserted that they were free men and distanced themselves from slaves: some even re-established themselves as independent herders beyond the colonial borders." (Giliomee & Elphick 1979: 367)

"... It [the VOC] upheld its traditional policy that Khoikhoi were free men who on no account could be enslaved, but did not defend their property or grant them land on loan from the Company. In fact it all but abandoned the interior to the colonists by turning over the vast interior districts – both Stellenbosch and Graaff-Reinet were larger than Portugal of today – to *landdrosts* who were assisted by only four or five mounted police, and thus it had to rely on burgher officers (*veldwachtmeesters*) to ensure compliance with its laws." (Giliomee & Elphick 1979: 370)

Elphick listed five requirements for the Khoi[illegible] survived as they existed in 1652: continued secure possession of their livestock; maintenance of living standards without losing personpower to the colony; freedom of political and economic decisions without colonial direction; secure and exclusive use and occupation of traditional pastures; and retention of traditional culture. While the decline of Khoikhoi society was due to interconnected causes:

"... though the drain on cattle was the first and most dangerous aspect of the [colonial] system's assault, it set in motion other processes (like loss of manpower, land and morale) which in turn further accelerated the loss of livestock." (Elphick 1985: 238)

For Elphick, Khoikhoi were politically weak because of their transhumance and the dispersal of wider social units at times of stress and scarcity which called for decentralisation of decision-making and therefore also of political control (Elphick 1985: 68). For his repeated assertion that the political structure of the Khoisan was weaker than that of the Nguni, Elphick has been severely criticised by Abrahams, according to whom the Dutch and historians including Elphick have been obsessed with chieftaincy which she believes was misunderstood. Humphries made a different point in 1981 – that the rapid collapse of Khoikhoi society in the western Cape yet the survival of hunter-gatherer or San society into the interior may indicate the failure of the adaption of the Khoikhoi, whatever their origin and ancestry, to a comprehensive commitment to pastoralism. He cites both Marks and Elphick in support of this contention (Humphries 1981: 8).

Ehret on the other hand has argued that the total commitment of Khoikhoi to pastoralism determined their response to the loss of land and cattle:

"In the wake of depopulating epidemics and the loss of livestock and grazing lands, the Khoekhoe frequently attached themselves to the expanding frontier groups. In doing so, they drew on an older customary expectation deeply rooted in their history, seeking to rebuild their herds by acting as clients and herdsmen for the new kind of chiefs." (Ehret 2008: 33)

There may be a further argument. The Khoisan as a whole seem to have partaken in very little cultivation. To generalise, cultivation does not seem to have been part of the historical assemblage of social and economic practices and culture of the Khoisan. In comparison, the Nguni to the east were cultivators, although probably decreasingly so over time as herds, of cattle in particular, grew both in number and importance. They also retained some residual land in the so-called reserved areas after the wars of dispossession. The Nguni were able to revert to and rely on cultivation for survival on land which they held onto, in times of crisis and loss of cattle as occurred with the Mpondo twice in the 1820s, following the great Xhosa cattle-killing of the 1850s, after rinderpest in 1897, etc. The Khoisan lost both their livestock and their land.

By the late 18th century already colonists wanting to trade or raid Khoikhoi cattle had to travel into Namaqualand for this purpose.

A postscript to the terminal destruction of Khoikhoi society was the millenarian cattle-killing movement of the late 1780s in the area around Swellendam as the last independent Khoikhoi were squeezed off grazing lands and into carrying passes (Viljoen 1997).

Adult male San were a target for murder by boer commandos. Their children were to be captured and used as labour. George Thompson described in 1824 how a boer veld-commandant in the Roggeveld explained to him that:

> "... Bushmen, in general, when taken young, make good and active servants; but that those who have grown up in the wilds to adult age can seldom or never be induced to remain in the service of the farmers ... (Forbes 1968: 4)

The same individual informed Thompson that:

> "... within the last thirty years he had been upon thirty-two commandoes against the Bushmen, in which great numbers had been shot, and their children carried off into the Colony. On one of these expeditions, not less than two hundred Bushmen were massacred!" (Forbes 1968: 6)

However given that expanding trekboers and Khoikhoi were both pastoralists first, there were some instances of mutually beneficial interactions. Both Khoikhoi and San could be invaluable to the trekboers as labourers and clients, even partners:

> "Khoisan people brought ... their accumulated experience as pastoralists ... to the colonial agricultural economy. In the Sneeuberg, north of Graaff-Reinet village, where Boer expansion was temporarily delayed by Bushman raids, 'it was quickly observed that certain Bushmen were excellent and skilled shepherds who knew where the best grazing was to be had beyond the limits of the farmer's boundary'. Farmers initially used Khoisan clients to take care of their herds in dry seasons and found the cattle much improved on return.
>
> "San herders 'watched over the farmers' livestock by day and at night kept the fires burning around the stock pens in order to keep away wild animals'. In 1799, shortly after the south-eastern Tarka area[62] had been colonized, 'seventy Bosjeman' lived on the farm of Johannes P. Van der Walt, credited as one of the first Boers to reach an accommodation with them." (Beinart 2003: 38)

[62] This refers to the area of the Tarka River, a tributary of the upper Fish River, between what are now the towns of Cradock and Tarkastad.

George Thompson quoted a 1825 letter from Melvill[63] at Griqua Town relating how a veld-commandant on the Zeekoe River made use of the services of local San in dry seasons:

> "... when there was no pasturage on his own farm, he was accustomed to give his cattle entirely into the hands of the Chief of a tribe who lived near him, and after a certain period they never failed to be brought back in so improved a conditions that he scarcely knew them to be his own." (Forbes 1968: 10)

These relationships between boer and Khoisan may have been remarkably similar to those between the first Iron Age agriculturalists and the Khoisan "first people" they encountered. While the Iron Age agriculturalist had the technological advantage of both iron and cultivation, this was counter-balanced by their lack of knowledge of local conditions and potentials. Slowly as the knowledge and experience of the Iron Age people developed and their numbers increases more rapidly than those of the Khoisan, they had less need for the Khoisan and began to assert their dominance. The superior weaponry of the trekboers would no doubt have reinforced and accelerated the process of domination and subordination.

The highly centralised administration at the Cape at all levels had a direct bearing on the control of labour:

> "The Council of Policy and the Court of Justice were composed of very much the same men (except that the governor did not sit on the latter since in criminal cases he had to confirm sentences)." (Ross 1989b: 40)

This centralisation was to create conditions for and to promote corruption and nepotism from the level of the governor down to district level. The structures and controls of government at district and local levels mirrored the institutional structure of and inheritance from the VOC with the overlap of executive and judicial functions. The basic structure of district administration was the same in each district:

> "In each district, six *heemraden* were appointed by the government from lists prepared by the existing holders of those offices. Besides administering the affairs of the district, the *landdrost* and the *heemraden* formed a court of justice with minor civil jurisdiction. In each subdivision of a district, a *veldkornet*, appointed by the *landdrost* and *heemraden*, was responsible for law and order." (Thompson 1990: 47)

Transport was slow and there was no other way of communication than that which depended on horses and oxen. To give some indication of the size of the original Graaff Reinet district, by 1966 it had been divided into 27 magisterial districts, although some of these magisterial districts extended beyond the original boundary of Graaff-Reinet (Smith 1976: 60 Map 5). Cape Town could not intervene over such distances and so had to allow the remote officers to get on with matters as best they could in terms of the local conditions which they faced.

While the VOC and later government had little presence in the day-to-day lives of burghers it had the simultaneous effect of giving the landdrost and his staff down to the local field cornet enormous authority. In effect these officials were more accountable to local interests than to Cape Town. Nor were they any different from the local interests as they themselves were also burghers and trekboers.

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[63] "John Melvill [(1787-1852)] ... was appointed government agent at Griquatown in 1822 ... subsequently became a [LMS] missionary, working among the Griquas at Philippolis." (Schoeman 1992: 44) He arrived at the Cape in 1799, became government surveyor in 1811 and inspector of buildings in 1815 (Forbes 1967: 45 fn26 citing Cory).

> "Europeans were numerous enough throughout the eighteenth century to occupy all the key positions in the colony's political economic and social structure. In the interior the *veldwachtmeesters* (later field-cornets), who represented the colonists as much as the government, settled the day-to-day disputes between them and their servants, and mobilised commandos." (Giliomee & Elphick 1979: 371)

These local officials were the executive, judiciary and as commandos they were also the military and police. Control of lives and labour, especially that of the local Khoisan, was left to these officials. The Khoisan did not stand a chance. Many were obliged if not forced into labour. Others were simply captives of commando raids who were allocated by their captors amongst themselves as spoils:

> "By the last decade of the eighteenth century, captives may have outnumbered the officially acknowledged slave population of Graaff-Reinet district by two to one. The majority were women and children, who were 'apprenticed' (*ingeboek*) until the age of 18 or 25, although they seem generally to have had little opportunity to leave employment when the period of 'apprenticeship' nominally expired." (Keegan 1996: 33)

On the other hand, the VOC had a very limited presence across the districts. While it may have been able to rely on the formation of a commando in the event of a percieved common external threat, it had no effective force to back up its administration in the event of internal dissent:

> "The Company's authority was ... undermined by the inadequacy of its military and police force. The establishment of the Graaff-Reinet district in 1786 only nominally increased its control over the frontier. The landdrost of Graaff-Reinet was assisted by only four or five ordonnante ruiters (mounted police). In a situation where colonists had almost free access to guns and ammunition and considered it their right to fire on raiders, the landdrost could not remotely claim to monopolise the use of force. His authority and the colonists' respect for the colonial laws suffered accordingly." (Giliomee 1979: 298)

Estienne Barbier, described by Nigel Penn as "an eighteenth-century Cape social bandit", for example, was able to survive in the colony for almost 18 months from March 1738 until his arrest in September 1739 because he had local support and the local authorities did not have the confidence to go after him (1999: 101). Later burgher rebellions in Graaff Reinet at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries underlined this weakness.

In the remote districts where the minimalist state structure had no resources to give other than limited lead and gunpowder, there could be little competition and division amongst and between burghers for patronage. While they squabbled, their interests as a class were remarkably uniform. Closer to Cape Town there were lucrative *pachts* and contracts to be won. These were to generate schisms and corruption.

Highveld and Bushveld

The later LIA population of the highveld and bushveld areas between the Gariep and Limpopo Rivers was comprised mainly of the Sotho-Tswana, including the Pedi or northern Sotho of the area of Limpopo Province between the Olifants and Steelpoort Rivers.

According to Wilson, the Tswana were excellent herdsmen and knew how to protect their stock from tsetse fly, for example by moving their stock at night when the fly does not bite. But while this may have enabled them to move through areas infested by tsetse fly, they settled in fly-free areas. Traditions point to the earliest centres of settlement in the

Magaliesberg, named after Mogale, the Kwena founder, and around the watershed of the Limpopo, Molopo and Harts Rivers (Wilson 1969: 132).

> "Among the Sotho several layers of population can be traced, and it seems that each new wave of immigrants established themselves as rulers, and either absorbed the earlier inhabitants, or forced them to move westward into the desert. Cattle-keepers and cultivators absorbed both hunters and other cattle-keepers and cultivators." (Wilson 1969: 133)

While archaeological evidence shows iron working at Melville Koppies in modern Johannesburg in the 11th century and at Phalaborwa in the 8th, it is not known what language these people spoke. Wilson concluded that there was a close correlation of archaeological sites and oral tradition. By the time of the earliest colonial visitors from 1801 and their written accounts and paintings, there were extensive settlements of similar layout and materials across the Sotho-Tswana area (Wilson 1969: 135-140):

> "... the areas of dense settlement as revealed in air-photo surveys of Iron Age sites are exactly the areas to which oral traditions and eye-witness records point as the area of early Sotho settlement. The population must have been very considerable: Mason reports 998 settlements in 971 square miles in the Magaliesberg. **This population cannot have vanished into thin air.**" (Wilson 1969: 141, emphasis added)

Recent work has revealed a more complex picture. The earliest LIA settlements, which include those referred to by Wilson and Mason above, date to around 1450 AD. The ceramic connections of these settlements, referred to as Type N for Ntsuanatsatsi and the first to surround cattle enclosures and demarcate domestic areas with stone-walling, may relate to earlier Nguni ceramic style from east of the escarpment. In contrast settlement north of the Vaal from about 1500 AD had a ceramic style linking back to the area of northern Limpopo Province from about 1350 AD. These people built cattle kraals not with stone but with wood and have been linked to ancestral Sotho-Tswana people. From the same time, about 1500 AD, Type N inhabitants moved north of the Vaal River and introduced the first stone-walling in this area. A new ceramic style, Uitkomst, associated with a fusion of Sotho-Tswana and Nguni identities or affiliations then spread into the Magaliesberg and central Limpopo Province in the period 1500-1700 AD. A second possible Nguni influence as far as the Tswapong Hills in eastern Botswana is identified in the later 17th century and gave rise to the Tlokwa (Simon Hall 2012b: 305-7, 316).

In the Waterberg area of Limpopo Province, Simon Hall has suggested that there may have been tensions building up as early as the mid 17th century. Excavation at Rooikrans, one of a number of stone-wall Sotho-Tswana sites built on defensible hilltop positions, showed very few cattle and small stock enclosures which may only have been used for sheep and goats. However the contemporaneous valley-floor site nearby, Rhenosterkloof, showed an undisturbed pastoral economy. Hall suggests that there was a connection with the immigration of the Langa Nguni who built on top of very steep hills and that:

> "[this] must have been a defensive response to already established Sotho/Tswana Iron Age communities in the region, which ... reacted in the same way. This defensive posture was strengthened by the aggregation of people into larger settlements enclosed by stone perimeter walls." (Simon Hall 1995: 311)

Parsons has cautioned that hilltops were not only useful for defence but also as vantage points for hunting as well as protection from tsetse fly and malaria. Politically they may represent the superior status of dominant groups residing on higher ground and are also associated with rain-making (Parsons 1995: 331).

Parsons has argued that the tsetse belt advanced across a wide front in the later 18th century, including the Limpopo valley, the Motlhabatsi valley (presumably the valley of what is marked today as the Matlabas river, in other words off the upper Limpopo), as well as from the lower Limpopo and Crocodile Rivers into the northern and eastern edges of the highveld and bushveld. Given that this in all probability came after a period of increasing human and cattle population, this can only have increased conflict and pushed people to violence (Parsons 1995: 341).

The Thlaping were the westernmost Tswana group in the 18th century and also straddled what became known as "the road to the north", the hunting, trading and missionary route in central southern Africa, which ran between the semi-desert of the Kgalagadi to the west and the tsetse belt of the Limpopo River valley to the east.

> "The Thlaping, a branch of the Rolong, were amongst the earliest Sotho-Tswana groups to arrive in the southern Bechuanaland area. Although it is impossible to date their arrival with any accuracy, Schapera, Language and Maingard concur that they were already established there by the seventeenth century. They emerged as an independent political unit at the time of the great chief Tau around 1760. When Wikar travelled up the Orange River in 1778-9 he remarked that the Briqua (the Thlaping) were settled to the northeast of the Orange River islands along the Nokana River. Their chief town was apparently at that time in the central Langeberg. Because of their geographical proximity and trading contacts Wikar noted that there was considerable interaction between them and the San and Korana of the Orange River valley – the latter groups obtaining iron and copper from the darker northern peoples, and not infrequently intermarrying with them." (Kallaway 1981: 11)

Wikar himself never visited the Thlaping. When the Truter-Somerville expedition reached the area in 1801, the Thlaping were on the Kuruman River and were probably forced to move there by Korana cattle raids in about 1790.

There was a significant move to centralisation of societies located from Gauteng through the Magaliesberg to Zeerust in the late 18th century, linked to expanding mercantile activity from both the south (Cape Town and the Cape as a whole) and the east (Delagoa Bay). The western Tswana societies with their ceramic style, Buispoort, were seen to have gradually displaced the Uitkomst style with its Ngunu associations. Buispoort is the predominant style at the large Kwena capitals of Molokwane and Boitsemegano, but not at Marathodi, the Tlokwa capital in the late 18th century, and at Suikerbosrand. Molokwane and Marathodi are both contemporaneous and close by. Not only are the ceramic styles distinct but each style also uses distinct finishes or tempers. Marothodi was incorporated into the western Tswana political structures yet retained its distinctive ceramic style and also reflected characteristic Nguni practices in the disposal of ash while adopting the specific layout of Molokwane and associated settlements (Simon Hall 2012b: 308-313).

Marothodi was home to between 5 and 7 000 people while Molokwane was populated by over 10 000 people. Marothodi was situated on an exposed and rather indefensible area but it was situated next to sources of copper which had been mined from before Marothodi came into existence.

> "Copper production was an intensive and widespread industry in the town, and the qualitative assessment of this production points to the generation of a surplus beyond the needs of its residents. The close spatial relationship between the town and the ore source suggests that the town was located with this in mind and Tlokwa control over this resource may also indicate their political precedence. Metal production was not confined to copper, and the archaeology clearly shows that there were also many iron-smelting precincts

within the town. Metal production was extensive and it is reasonable to infer that it was traded and exchanged within the wider regional economy." (Simon Hall 2012b: 316)

There is no evidence of metal production at Molokwane despite its size and presumed appetite for metals. The scale of production of metals at Marothodi suggests a strategic response to local market opportunities, that there was good knowledge of sources of ore in the region, and that both skills for mining and metallurgy were old and not recent. Oral records of the 2nd wave of Nguni immigration record the Tlokwa who were derived from interaction with this wave as renowned for these skills and that white iron or tin was mined, probably in the southern Waterberg, and black iron or iron itself at Magopane.

"Although speculative, a combination of the archaeology and the oral records suggest that Tlokwa had a deep history of metal working, which they brought into the region in the early eighteenth century. This status continued in the regional economy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and it was around this niche that difference was maintained. ... the size of Marothodi and the scale of its metal production placed the people involved in the position of an independent regional power. It is equally possible, however, in the light of reconfigured relationships where newcomers or the politically ascendant assert control over first comers, that the Tlokwa at Marothodi were unquestionably important, and managed to attain or retain status on this landscape, but deferred politically to Kwena regional power." (Simon Hall 2012b: 316-7)

Despite the processes of centralisation from the 18th century, even in the early 19th century membership of chiefdoms was not static. Of the Tswana, Wright states:

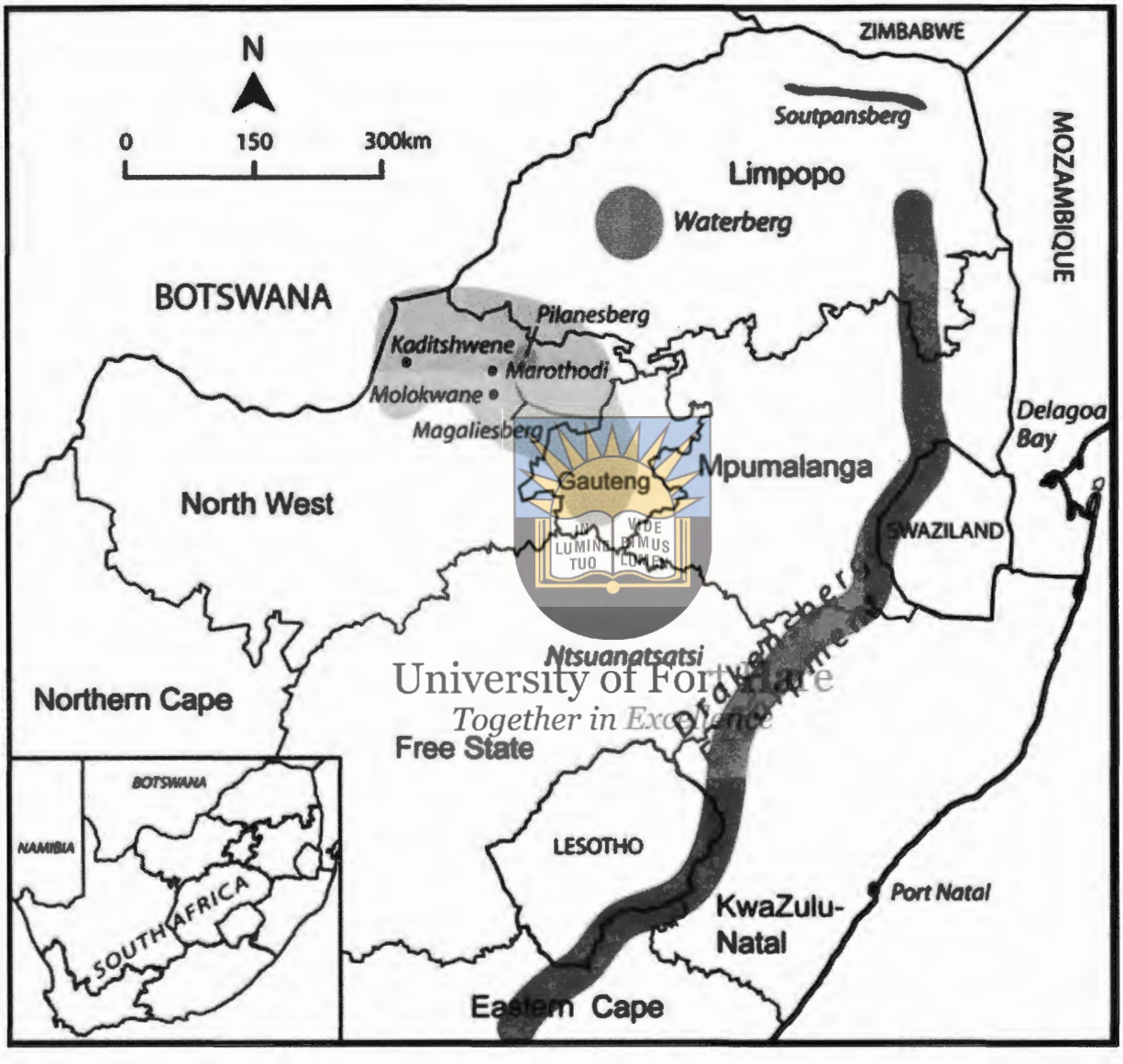
"Membership of the chiefdom was relatively fluid, with groups not infrequently hiving off to establish their political independence or to go and give their allegiance to another chief, and with other groups arriving to give their allegiance and seek incorporation into the body of the chief's adherents. Even the most markedly centralised chiefdoms, then, were far from being tightly bounded and monolithic entities; rather, they were composite polities in which different groups identified themselves and were identified by others, primarily in terms of genealogical descent." (Wright 2012: 218)

It is not clear in exactly what sense Wright uses the term "genealogical descent". Aside from this uncertainty, what he asserts for the Tswana would probably apply equally to Nguni groups. In the next paragraph he discusses "identities' and states that a chief might not permit some of his adherents to claim the same identity as the chief:

"... ruling families in centralizing chiefdoms reserved particular generic names exclusively for themselves and closely associated groups and sought to confer other names on the various categories of people subject to their rule in order to mark them off clearly from the ruling group." (Wright 2012: 218-9)

Figure 16: Area of Tswana centralistion, 18th century

Source: Simon Hall 2012b: 302



Tswana used both cannabis and tobacco and traded it with Khoisan groups, although this is omitted from Elphick's suggested Khoikhoi trade networks (*Figure 14*). For Wilson the Tswana were distinguished by their crafts, mining and smelting iron, copper and tin and trading in metal manufactures. They were also very skilled in leather-work, in carving in both wood and ivory and in making parasols from ostrich feathers. Another trade item which ballooned in the 19th century was in skins, pelts and karosses.[64]

While writing later in 1843 of settlement in the Transvaal, Livingstone recorded that the Lete or BagaMalete were of Nguni origin, were absorbed by the Tswana and Livingstone recorded that a section "acquired their stock by selling iron implements" to the Rolong, Thlaping, Ngwaketsi and Hurutse. In Lesotho the Zizi immigrants taught the art of smelting (Wilson 1969: 143-5, 147-8).

[64] "Kaross. Prepared skins, made into a blanket. The word is derived from the Hottentot. The manufacture of karosses is an industry of some importance in Bechuanaland." (Rosenthal 1973: 288)

The Laka of the Waterberg, another group of Nguni origin, built up a reputation during the 18th century:

> "... by the nineteenth century the Laka had a reputation as smelters of 'iron, copper, and tin, and in the manufacture of ornaments know how to mix the tin & copper so as to form an amalgam'. They spun local cotton, made splendid leopard karosses, and traded in tobacco inland and ivory towards the sea. They were so 'rich in cattle' and trade goods that a chief in his twenties already had 48 wives. The Laka also had a distinctive dialect of Pedi/Sotho that seems to have still been infused with their original Nguni dialect, including click-consonants." (Parsons 1995: 333 citing Livingstone)

For the Pedi, Delius has suggested that the growth of the polity was linked to the growth of trade through Delagoa Bay from the 16th century and a shift of trade routes southwards:

> "The heartland of the Pedi polity straddled trade routes leading to the Ndebele and Kgatla chiefdoms in the central Transvaal and the Kwena and Fokeng further west." (Delius 1983: 18)

The unique Bokoni stone-terraced agricultural settlements on the Mpumalanga escarpment date back at least to around 1650 AD according to Pedi traditions. There is no clear evidence as to the origins of these settlements and Delius et al suggest a purely indigenous innovation. As to the ceramic style from excavations, they point out that the same style has been and still is present in four different ethnic groups, two of which, Pedi and Koni, speak Sotho dialects while another 2, Swazi and Ndebele, speak Nguni. Therefore the style appears to have been a regional style rather than an indicator of group, ethnicity or language. They conclude:

> "We suggest that the relationship between ceramic styles and cultural and linguistic boundaries is rather more fluid than has often been recognised by previous scholarship." (Delius et al 2012: 401)

Marks has provided extracts from Maggs on the significance of Bokoni:

> "[BoKoni is exceptional not only because] the homesteads [are] preserved but [also because] there are also networks of linking roads and vast areas of agricultural terraces. The road systems are by far the largest and most complex, while the terraces represent ... the only field systems to have survived from precolonial times.
>
> "[These] thousands of hectares and ... hundreds of kilometres of roads represent massive investment in landesque capital and are the result of very substantial mobilisations of labour. It is the scale of this investment that sets Bokoni apart from all other precolonial societies in South Africa." (Marks 2011: 134-5)[65]
>
> "These findings are important for both empirical and theoretical reasons. By analysing the traditions both of the Koni themselves and of surrounding groups like the Roka [Ronga] and Pedi, Delius and Schoeman argue against the notion of the Koni as an 'ethnic' group: rather they are quite distinct groups of people who may have followed very different routes to northern Mpumulanga, some with 'Nguni associations', others with 'Sotho' affinities. That the region provided 'corridors of movement' between the escarpment and the coastal plain manifestly contributed to this heterogeneity ... Thus, 'while chiefdoms were ruled by

[65] Unfortunately the volume in which this and other significant articles appear is not available at UFH or RU: Natalie Swanepoel, Amanda Esterhuysen & Philip Bonner (editors), 2008, *Five Hundred Years Rediscovered: Southern Africa's Precedents and Prospects*, WUP.

dominant lineages, they were usually composed of a complex amalgam of groups of diverse origin and disparate cultural forms which were caught up in a constant process of fusion and fission and cultural transformation' ... Perhaps for this reason, it is difficult to discern a single centre of political authority in Bokoni from the archaeological evidence. Instead the authors envisage 'a range of forms of political, [and] ritual paramountcy' with 'dominant lineages expanding their control over diverse populations . . .' although by the time the Pedi arrived in the region in the 18th century some form of political hierarchy and perhaps paramountcy had emerged ... They speculate intriguingly that Koni consolidation was a response to increased trade with the east coast in the later 18th century, and that competition over trade routes may have spurred Pedi determination to control Bokoni." (Marks 2011: 135-6)

"With the exception of Ntsuanatsatsi and Lesotho, the areas of early Sotho occupation were areas in which iron ore was plentiful. It is noticeable that the large Tswana settlements of Dithakong, Kuruman and Ramoutsa [in modern Botswana] lie along the line of iron ore deposits." (Wilson 1969: 145)

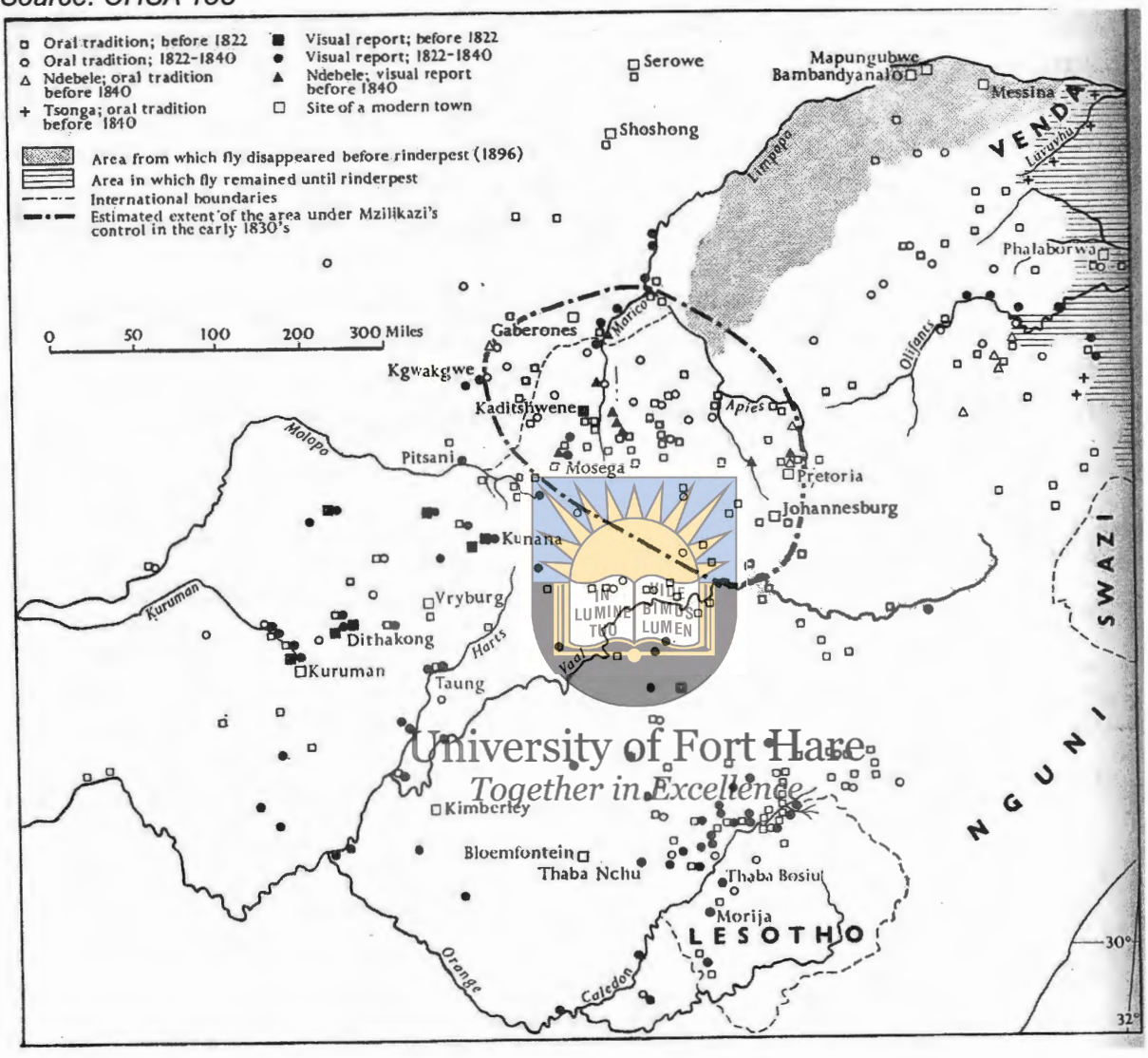
The modern Sishen iron mine is located in this very area of dense settlements.

Parsons has suggested a need to focus on "areas of heightened competition for resources" in order to explain the increased violence in the second half of the 18th century and offers two examples – the Lydenburg plateau and the Shoshong/Tswapong hills in eastern Botswana:

"The Shoshong/Tswapong hills were a strategic location for controlling production and trade in ivory and furs from the Kalahari to the upper Limpopo Valley, being taken from there to the coast. Competing Kaa and Ikuru state chiefdoms, ruling over Khalagari and Kalanga wards, were overtaken by a growing Ngwatho polity in the last decades of the eighteenth century." (Parsons 1995: 337)

Figure 17: Tsetse fly and Sotho/Tswana distribution, early 19th century

Source: OHSA 138



Maritime exploration, slaving and shipwreck survivors

Marine and salvage archaeology seems to have attracted much more interest that terrestrial archaeology in the Eastern Cape over the past 40 years. This is indicated by the number of inaccurate descriptions of locations of sites of wrecks by Wilson and the later determinations reflected by Vernon and others below. For example in 1635 the *Nossa Senhora De Belem* was wrecked at the mouth of the Mzimvubu River. Wilson writing 44 years earlier put the wreck between the Mthatha and Mbashe Rivers (Wilson 1969: 82). The discussion below follows the later descriptions and omits the earlier, often mistaken locations. The corrected locations are used later for descriptions of the local people.

Perhaps the usually mythical lure of treasures such as the "Peacock throne" still gives marine archaeology the edge!

In order to survive and in particular to secure food, most of the shipwreck survivors engaged in some trade with the local population, frequently accompanied by the use or at least the threat of force.

Many survivors witnessed local people salvaging iron and copper from wrecks. From their accounts it is clear that iron, and to a lesser extent copper, where in great demand and presumably in short supply along the coast and its hinterland.

One of the earliest attempts to trade, by the survivors of the *Sao Joao* in 1552 near the mouth of the Mthamvuna River, the modern boundary between the Easter Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, was unsuccessful:

> "Three days after the wreck occurred, a group of nine local people appeared on a nearby hill. They viewed the survivors from a distance for about two hours: they probably could not believe their eyes and left fearfully. Later seven or eight people appeared, leading a cow. An attempt was made to trade it for some nails, but being summoned by some of their own people, the locals withdrew, taking the cow with them." (Vernon 2013: 35)

In 1554 survivors of the *Sao Bento*, wrecked near the mouth of the Msikaba River, saw the local people salvaging iron and copper nails from the wreck by burning the wood. At the Bay of Natal, survivors of the *Sao Joao* assisted *Sao Bento* survivors to trade with the locals. However an advance party of four seamen sent on ahead resorted to the murder and cannibalism of a local resident near Lake Sibayi. The four were killed in revenge and the main party encountered great hostility as far as Inhaca. 35 years later the survivors of the *Sao Thome* came ashore at Lake Sibayi and were treated with open hostility (Vernon 2013: 40-1, 163-4).

In 1593 the *Santo Alberto* was wrecked at the mouth of the Kwelera River. Unlike most of the other shipwreck survivors they took an inland route northwards and were exemplary in their conduct, both amongst themselves and to the local populations they encountered. They did not assume that the captain of the ship would lead their journey and instead elected Pereira who had a reputation as an outstanding soldier and who had provided leadership when the ship was floundering. He also had the advantage of local experience as he had commanded Portuguese settlements at both Sofala and Mozambique Island. A merchant who had experience of trade in east Africa was to lead all bartering activities and two slaves were appointed as official interpreters as they had a basic knowledge of local languages. Already they were aware of the value of copper and iron to local people and so they recovered whatever metal they could from the ship itself and its furnishings:

> "Throughout the trip, Pereira ensured that trade dealings were scrupulously fair. Trade usually consisted of the exchange of copper and iron pieces for cows, sheep, millet cakes, melons and milk. Dealings were not always easy. One trader proved stubborn about the value of his goods, but was told politely that he was not justified in his price, and no aggression was offered." (Vernon 2013: 144)

In 1622 the *Sao Joao Baptista* was wrecked near Cannon Rocks. They also seem to have been aware of the value of iron as a trade item as they collected nails before departing the wreck site and were able to obtain cattle including 17 cows which were loaded with provisions. Once across the Kei River they were sometimes able to trade peacefully, such as at the Mthatha River, Mzimkhulu River and north of the Bay of Natal, but at other times seem to have resorted to extreme violence, such as at the Mzimvubu River. At the Thukela River they were assisted to ford the river in return for some copper. However this was a particularly violent party which also resorted to cannibalism. News of their violence and cannibalism travelled ahead of them, no doubt leading to further violence and deaths (Vernon 2013: 58-9, 164).

In 1630 the *Sao Goncalo* was wrecked near Plettenberg Bay. The survivors were able to trade iron for sheep and cattle (Vernon 2013: 85, 87).

In 1635 the *Nossa Senhora De Belem* was wrecked at the mouth of the Mzimvubu River. They gathered all the metal items they could from the wreckage. They survived for seven months, assisted by a survivor of the *Santo Alberto*, wrecked in 1593, to trade for millet and cattle while they built two vessels to sail away (Vernon 2013: 87-91).

In May 1685 the *Good Hope*, a British ketch under captain Jan Adams with a crew of 50, was wrecked in Natal Bay, now Durban Bay (Vernon 2013: 92). They erected a hut to store their merchandise which included copper rings and ammunition:

> "... they employed themselves in putting together a vessel which they had brought from England." (Vigne 1993: 100-1)

In July 1685 an unnamed English ship of 35 tons under captain Wynnford entered the Bay of Natal. They ventured inland and returned with two small tusks. After purchasing, slaughtering and salting oxen and cows, this ship took four survivors of the *Good Hope* on their onward journey northwards. Five men remained (Vigne 1993: 101).

The next day Adams left with nine men, also northwards. Five remained, each receiving in wages 68 lb of copper rings and 14 lbs of beads, and seven guns with some powder and lead. They bartered for "meat, bread, beer, milk fruit and roots" and soon accumulated three tons of ivory, described as "elephants teeth". They explored inland to some 50 miles and found the people most hospitable (Vigne 1993: 101).

In February 1686 the Dutch ship *Stavenisse* under captain Willem Knyff was wrecked on the south coast of Natal. 60 had reached shore and 34 reached Table Bay (Vigne 55, 82). On route to De Kaap "... a petty officer had been trampled to death by an elephant ..." (DCF Moodie 1888: 28). Unlike the Portuguese who headed north, the Dutch headed south. The survivors reported on their treatment by the local population they had met:

> "One may travel 200 or 300 *mylen* through the country, without any cause of fear from men, provided you go naked (*blood*), and without any iron or copper, for these things give inducement to the murder of those who have them.
>
> "Neither need one be in any apprehension about meat and drink, as they have in every village or kraal a house of entertainment for travellers, where these are not only lodged, but fed also; care must be taken, towards nightfall, when one cannot get any further, to put up there, and not to go on before morning." (Maclennan 2003: 45)

Also in 1686 the *Good Hope* was wrecked in Durban Bay. Survivors of the *Good Hope* met up with some of the survivors of the *Stavenisse* who had remained at the site of the wreck just north of the Mzimkhulu River mouth. They paid local people in copper rings to assist in the salvage and carriage of 100 lbs of iron from the wreck of the *Stavenissse* back to Natal Bay (Vernon 2013: 68, 92).

In December 1686 the British vessel *Bonaventura,* under captain Jan Guilford and with a crew of only ten, ran aground in St Lucia Bay. Nine survivors headed south and met up with survivors of the *Good Hope* (Vernon 2013: 92; Vigne 1993: 99-100).

The survivors of the *Good Hope* and *Bonaventura* built a small vessel, the *Centaurus*, in the Bay of Natal and sailed to Cape Town, arriving on 1 March 1687 (Vigne 1993: 99). 11 Dutchmen, presumably from the *Stavenisse*, and nine Englishmen made the journey in 12 days (Vernon 2013: 92).

Also in 1686 the *Nossa Senhora Dos Milagros*, homeward bound from Goa, was wrecked at Cape Agulhas. two eastern aristocrats were abandoned by their Portuguese companions and would not have survived back to the Cape without the friendly advice of local Khoi who showed them how to survive on insects and leaves (Crampton 2004: 89).

In February 1687 Huguenot refugee en route to India, Guillaume Chenu de Challezac (1672-1731), and a party seeking fresh water were abandoned on the east coast by their ship, the *Bauden*, when the weather changed suddenly. He was soon met by survivors from the Stavenisse.

In 1687 Simon van der Stel, commander at the Cape 1679-99, seized the opportunity which presented itself. He ordered the purchase of the *Centaurus* and sent it back up the coast to rescue further survivors of the wrecked ships *Stavenisse* and *Good Hope*, also to ensure "... depriving any European powers of the possession of these lands." (Vigne 1993: 99)

The crew was ordered to select a site for a fort at the bay of Natal, "to purchase the same, as well as any place where any mineral is found, in a solemn manner from the natives for beads and rings ..." per the Resolution of Council, 24 October 1687. An instruction of 1 November 1687 required the crew to be entirely civil and courteous and to enquire what kind of merchandise and what quantity could be provided to the Company annually (Vigne 1993: 103).

However Robert Everad, also on the *Bauden* and later abandoned on an island off Madagascar, described how a group of inhabitants and their chief at Delagoa Bay were put in irons to force a trade in ivory by ransom (Vigne 1993: 75-6).

While the conduct of the crew of the *Bauden* at Delagoa Bay appears to be in contrast to the instructions of Van der Stel to the crew of the *Centaurus*, such initial tact and courtesy may have been essential to the gathering of information and may not have been an indication of a general modus operandi, certainly not once it might become known what riches were available.

In February 1688 Chenu was rescued with 18 *Stavenisse* survivors by the *Centaurus* at Cove Rock (Vigne 1993: 44, 113). Penniless, he signed up with the VOC for three years. The *Centaurus* returned to Table Bay after collecting survivors but without proceeding to the Bay of Natal.

Chenu had spent a year as a member of Xhosa society. In fact he had been adopted as the son of a minor chief and had fought with the Xhosa against Khoikhoi. He was thus able to provide an insider's view of Xhosa society to the VOC (and to historians and anthropologists).[66]

With this knowledge of the Xhosa and the coast, Chenu was sent back up the east coast on the *Noord* to fetch further survivors of the *Stavenisse* and to survey Delagoa Bay. They stayed for about two months in a bay and "Here we found an English ship which was trading in elephant teeth and a kind of gum ..."

Chenu's ship and crew mates also seem to have done some trading as he refers to himself being swindled, buying the "gum which the Caffres passed off as Ambergris ... At one time the blacks here were trustworthy and good to deal with, but the busy trade they had with the Portuguese made rogues of them." They then proceeded to the Bay of Natal and recovered another six survivors (Vigne 1993: 44-5, 115).

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[66] "Chenu's gratitude to the minor chief who was his kindly and just father bears no trace of prejudice or superiority." (Vigne, "Introduction" - no page numbers)

On 15 November 1688 the *Noord* reached Delagoa Bay.

> "The Portuguese were known at this point to be in the habit of sending out trading parties to procure ivory as far south as St Lucia Bay." (D.C.F. Moodie 1888: 33)

A delegation from the *Noord* headed upriver with gifts for the person they believed to be the local chief or king. When they stopped to cook rice for themselves, a local inhabitant who assisted them collect firewood succeeded in distracting them while they stole the metal cooking vessel:

> "The Hollanders misery did not end when they found the king, who was well over two metres tall and apparently named Jan Jacques. He was already being courted by a visiting English captain, who was seeking ivory." (Maclennan 2003: 46)

The English captain had secured the local business, for the moment anyhow, with more impressive gifts for the king than those of the Dutch.

In 1699 Captain Stadis of the *Fidel* left three sailors on the Transkei coast:

> "They were to purchase ivory from the natives, for which purpose goods had been left with them, and were to keep possession of the place until Captain Stadis should return, which he promised them would certainly be within three years ..."

In 1705 the crew of the *Postlooper* found one survivor of the three, an Englishman, Vaughan Goodwin, who had settled down and had two wives and children. Two crew members from the *Postlooper* remained with him (Crampton 2004: 90 quoting Theal Vol.1: 393).

In 1713 survivors of the Dutch ship *Bennebroeck*, wrecked near the Keiskamma River Mouth, remained at the wreck site for four months and were able to trade iron and copper for milk, beef and grain (Vernon 2013: 71).

In 1714 the Dutch ship, *Bennebroeck*, was wrecked near the mouth of the Keiskamma River. six months later a small ship trading in ivory took four survivors back to Cape Town. Others remained with the local population (Vernon 2013: 71).

> "When early into the eighteenth century the Portuguese in the port of Mozambique (in the north of present-day Mozambique) began to neglect Delagoa Bay (which was at that time only visited by dangerous pirates), the Dutch took the opportunity to step into the vacuum.
>
> "Rumours of gold in the interior were the main motivation. On 14 February 1720 two small ships, the *Kaap* and *Gouda*, accompanied by the *Zeelandia*, left Table Bay with a small band of soldiers, sailors and craftsmen under a clerk called Willem van Taak. They arrived at Delagoa on 29 March. The local Batonga chief, Maphumbo, subordinate to Mateke, welcomed them cordially.
>
> "The Dutch set about constructing a pentagonal earthwork fort which was named Fort Lagoa. Within weeks two-thirds of the over 100 colonists were dead of fever. In August the *Zeelandia* brought 80 soldiers as reinforcements.
>
> "A trickle of copper, iron, gold and ivory coming in as trade goods prompted enough interest at the station to equip an expedition of 19 men under Jan Stefler to venture into the interior in August 1723. They reached pleasant countryside in the Lebombo mountains before being attacked by local tribesmen who forced them to turn back." (Couzins 2003: 11)

Persistent rumours of a rich source of gold led to another, larger party leaving on 27 June 1725. Included in this party was a clerk, Francois de Cuiper, who was instructed to keep a journal. The further inland they penetrated the more they were given ever-changing and misleading information as to the sources of wealth. Local populations declined the particular beads the Dutch were offering for livestock for their food and grew openly hostile, culminating in an attack on 12 July, commemorated by a plaque at the site, on the Lower Sabi-Crocodile Bridge road in the Kruger Park, not more than 100 km directly northwest of Maputo. Significantly their entire return march to the sea was under the threat of violence by armed groups.

> "Other expeditions by land and river also returned empty-handed. The fort turned out to be too small for the purposes asked of it and a larger one called Fort Lydzaamheid was built. But the tiny mosquito was proving the most deadly enemy of all, causing a terrible death-rate, and some investigation was made into whether Inhambane would not be a healthier spot for settlement." (Couzens 2003: 15)

The effects of disease on the garrison had been so severe that in 1722 three English pirate ships overran the fort and took a number of the garrison to Madagascar before abandoning them there (Maclennan 2003: 57). The pirates first took up residence themselves in the fort for a few months before taking off some of the Dutch vessels, including the *Kaap* (Crampton 2004: 66).[67]

> "The cost of the whole enterprise and the failure to produce tangible results eventually caused the council of the Dutch East India Company to cut its losses. On 27 December 1730 the entire population of the settlement ... was taken on board the ships *Snuffelaar, Zeepost* and *Feyenoord* and repatriated to Cape Town." (Couzens 2003: 16)

Vigne described the VOC station at Delagoa Bay as a slave station. That may provide a sufficient explanation for the hostility encountered by the Dutch expeditions into the interior. In fact:

> "Most Cape slaves were Africans, obtained mainly from Madagascar, and East African slaving centres, including Delagoa Bay, where the Company maintained a slave depot from 1720 to 1730." (Katzen 1969: 205)

There was some further significance in the Delagoa Bay outpost:

> "The occupation of the Delagoa Bay hinterland by the Company in 1721 may have been the first successful acquisition of territory from Bantu-speaking peoples, though it lasted only until 1730." (Vigne 1993: 112)

However the Dutch did not entirely forget Delagoa Bay, referred to as Rio de la Goa in records of the council at the Cape. 5 235 lbs of ivory and 2 lbs of ambergris was imported from there in January 1755. A list of goods for trade at the Rio de la Goa appears in September 1756, and in October 1759 another 5 800 lbs of ivory was imported from Rio de la Goa (Kirby 1955: 175).

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[67] "Pirates of all nations were active in the Indian Ocean throughout the 18th century, with strongholds on islands off the south-east African coast, and there is evidence that some visited the mainland. The Old Customs House that once stood on the east bank of the Kowie River at Port Alfred ... was built in 1826 on the ruins of an earlier structure rumoured to have been a 'house of correction' belonging to slavers or pirates. ... A tombstone found near Durban ... bears the inscription 'Here lived in Anno 1718, a penitent Pirate, who sequestered himself from his abominable Community and retired out of Harms' Way'. The historian Graham Mackeurtan believed the stone was connected to a group of pirates who sacked the Dutch fort ... in 1722." (Crampton 2013: 66)

Madagascar continued to be a major source of slaves for the Cape through the late 18th century:

> "This vessel [the hooker *De Meermin*] belonged to the Dutch East India Company, and was commanded by a man named Muller; she sailed ... [in 1766] from the Cape for the island of Madagascar, to exchange copper and merchandise for slaves. Having arrived at her destination, a chief and party of slaves were invited on board, and having been lulled to security, were bound and carried off." (Maclennan 2003: 63)

This particular group of slaves were able to seize the ship, killed most of their captors and nearly pulled off their escape. But in the 1780 the ship was still running slaves on the same route (Ibid).

In 1755 the *Dodington* was wrecked on Bird Island. From the wreckage the survivors built the *Happy Deliverance* and sailed northwards in 1756. When they crossed the bar into the Mzimvubu estuary in 1756, the first recorded vessel to do so, they soon bartered copper bangles and iron for a bullock. They stayed for two weeks, exploring 20 km inland and trading extensively with the local population who they described as the most amicable people they had met (Dennison 2010: 27-8).

Nigel Penn has provided an insightful and comparative international review of shipwreck literature. He quotes a perceptive official report by Alexander Dalrymple for the English East India Company into the *Grosvenor* disaster on the Mpondoland coast in 1782:

> "In great part their calamities seem to have arisen from want of management with the natives; I cannot therefore in my own mind doubt, that many lives may yet be preserved amongst the natives, as they treated the individuals that fell singly amongst them, rather with kindness than brutality, although it was natural that so large a body of Europeans would raise apprehensions; and fear always produces hostility." (Penn 2004: 206-7)

While none of the shipwreck survivors nor the official expeditions brought back news of marvellous riches, gold and silver in particular, they revealed much information about the population of the interior and to the east, the potential of interacting peaceably with this population, useful goods for barter, the abundance of wildlife and potential for hunting including for ivory. Clearly an extensive sea-born trade in ivory was being conducted along the coast by ships of various nations and this trade reached as far south as there were elephants to be hunted near the coast.

Delagoa Bay to the Bay of Natal and hinterlands

Figure 18: Nguni distribution around 1800

Source: OXHSA 1969: 77

(For a later, comparative map see Wright & Hamilton 1989: 60)

"Already by 1552 a ship from Sofala was expected annually at Lourenco Marques to buy ivory." (Wilson 1959: 168)

"There is evidence to show that, by 1593, mercantile trade, presumed to have come from Delagoa Bay, had penetrated as far south as the Transkei and as far inland as the Nongoma area. Ivory was the main export, while beads and copper were the main imports. Already by this time, imported cloth was in demand north of the Thukela, while copper was worth less there than further south, where it was still rare." (Tim Maggs 1989: 42)

Wilson pointed to ancient trade routes linking Delagoa Bay with the Zimbabwean plateau via the lowveld of Limpopo Province. She stated that Tsonga traders and their porters walked this route to compete with traders from the mouth of the Limpopo River and at Inhambane and Sofala. Both copper and tin were sold to the Dutch outpost in Delagoa Bay in 1721, presumably at least partly along this route from Messina, for the copper, and the Malepo range, for the tin. In 1731 the tin bought by the Dutch weighed 213 lb (Wilson 1969: 150-1).

However Allan Smith also in 1969 suggested that much of the Delagoa Bay trade was directed southwards. He seems to have either been unaware of the metal trade referred to by Wilson or to have considered it insignificant:

"The failure of traders to obtain gold, tin or copper in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries is instructive, suggesting that the trade network that fanned out from Delagoa was separate from the economic catchment area of Sofala, Angoche and Mozambique Island, all of which were in some form of contact with Torwa, Mutapa and the states that followed them (Smith 1970). A further indication that the Delagoa Bay trade was dependent on lands to the south was the success of the chiefdoms on the southern shores of the bay in securing ivory: 'almost all Europeans who commented on the subject agreed that those chiefdoms on the southern side of the bay, that is, those whose immediate hinterland lay towards northern Natal, were the best places to trade' (Smith 1969).

"Comments made by shipwrecked Portuguese as they made their way northwards towards the East coast garrisons are consistent with the pattern. In the mid sixteenth century, people were observed carrying ivory for trade with Nyaka, the chiefdom on the southern shore of the bay. Others were wearing beads and possessed brasswork that probably came from English traders." (Martin Hall 1987: 127)

Trade through Delagoa Bay increased substantially in the mid 18th century:

"A sporadic trade in ivory had been conducted at Delagoa Bay, as at other parts of the south-eastern coast, by visiting European merchants, mainly Portuguese, from the mid-sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries, but it was too intermittent and on too small a scale to have had any lasting political effects on the chieftaincies beyond the vicinity of the bay. From the mid eighteenth century, however, the ivory trade expanded over a period of say thirty years to attain an unprecedented volume. English merchants in particular were active in exchanging cloth, beads and metal for ivory, most of which apparently came from the region to the south of the bay.

"Prior to the beginning of trade, ivory had simply been a by product of hunting elephants for food ... With the growth of demand for ivory as a trading commodity, its social value grew rapidly and control of ivory resources and of trade routes began to become a matter of increasing importance to chieftains at or near ivory producing regions." (Wright & Hamilton 1989: 61-2)

Survivors of the wreck of the *Dodington* on Bird Island in 1755 were able to construct a small vessel, the *Happy Deliverance*, and sail to Delagoa Bay where they met an English ship, the *Rose Galley*, which had sailed from Bombay to trade in ivory. Both sailed to Madagascar (Vernon 2013: 93-7).

While in 1958 Wilson had suggested that trade at Delagoa Bay may have been a factor in Nguni politics, in 1969 Smith was the first to make a case for the connection between the trade of Delagoa Bay and centralisation of political structures to the south from the mid 18th century. At this point there was no European power established in Delagoa Bay and thus an absence of commercial restrictions. While both the Portuguese from Mozambique Island and the Dutch from the Cape traded to and from Delagoa Bay, it was the English, trading goods from Bombay and Surat, who dominated the trade at Delagoa Bay from the 1750s to 1770s:

> "They established a semi-permanent trading factory, stationed boats on all of the rivers, and manufactured their own copper bracelets on the spot. According to the Portuguese, the English traders were doing 'big business'." (Smith 1969: 173)

William Bolts, dismissed from the English East India Company and aware of the value of the trade at Delagoa Bay, initiated the Austrian Asiatic Company of Trieste. As a director of the company, he occupied the Bay in 1777 and kept the most systematic records of trade there in the 2nd half of the century:

> "With adequate financial backing and a large store of trading goods, the 'Austrians' began a brisk trade. The market was soon flooded with trading goods, and the price of ivory soared to double that of Mozambique." (Smith [illegible]: 174)

In 1782 the Portuguese established a small garrison in the Bay, comprised mainly of black soldiers to try to monopolise trade for themselves. Although complaining that trade was poor it is not clear to what extent this was to hide private trading and profiteering. The garrison was expelled by the French from Mauritius in 1796 but returned in 1799. There was also a overland trade to the interior of Delagoa Bay from bases in Inhambane (Smith 1969: 174-5; Wright 2012: 223).

In the later 18th century the Portuguese developed a trade in slaves from Mozambique to the sugar plantations of Mauritius and Reunion. However there is little evidence of such trade in significant numbers from southern Mozambique and Delagoa Bay in particular until after 1823 despite the claims of Julian Cobbing[68] and the decade long debate which followed (Wright 2012: 224). Parsons states that both ivory and slave exports from Inhambane peaked in 1762 and that Delagoa Bay was an out-station of Inhambane (Parsons 1995: 327).

Writing in 1990, Thompson was not convinced that the rise in trade at Delagoa Bay was the primary cause of political transformations:

> "The transformation of the northern Nguni was accentuated by external factors. Some historians believe that foreign trade was crucial in the rise of the Zulu kingdom. Traders from the Portuguese settlement on Delagoa Bay were increasingly active in this period, bartering beads, brass, and other imported commodities for ivory and cattle. Creating competition for control of the trade route, they probably intensified the conflicts and the centralizing process. The available evidence, including the recorded oral traditions of the African informants, however, does not seem to warrant the conclusion that the trade was sufficient to have been the primary cause of the transformation." (Thompson 1990: 83)

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[68] Julian Cobbing, 1988, "The Mfecane as Alibi: thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo", *JAH, 29:3*. See Elzabeth A. Eldredge, 1995, "Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa c.1800-1830: The Mfecane Reconsidered", in Hamilton (editor), for a rebuttal of Cobbing's argument.

However there seem to have been generalised stresses accumulating as the 18th century progressed which in some combinations together with changing trade led to important social re-organisation. Jeff Guy was the first to argue that an imbalance between human population and an increasingly bounded geographical range and environment would lead to violence:

> "Once population density in the sub-continent made migration to new areas difficult, and when it was no longer possible to convert forest and bush to grass and arable land, then there were definite limits on the rate of increase of production and population density ..." (Guy 1982: 9)

The political expansion of the groups that came to dominate this process, the Mthethwa, Ndwandwe and Zulu, appeared to be driven by an attempt to capture and expand areas of access to the required variety of grazing types for their cattle, sourveld and sweetveld in particular. Guy suggests that violence was the result of competition for diminishing natural resources (Guy 1982: 9).

Martin Hall in 1976 published a dendrological analysis of a 597 year old yellowwood tree, *Podocarpus falcatus*, felled in the Karkloof forest in 1916, so growing from early in the 14th century AD. His analysis tended to support Guy's emphasis on environmental considerations:

> "... in the late eighteenth century. A strong, persistent trend towards increased rainfall would probably have increased the productivity of the environment, encouraged the exploitation of both grazing and agricultural areas which were formerly marginal, and resulted in a consequent increase in the human population density. Furthermore, the wetter conditions would have encouraged an ever-increasing dependence on maize as a staple. In consequence the sudden reversal of the trend in the late eighteenth century, with the climax of a run of particularly dry years in the early nineteenth century, would most likely have resulted in an acute crisis of production, which may well have served as a trigger for the political processes of nineteenth-century Zululand and Natal." (Martin Hall 1976: 702)

Based on further work on the Babanango plateau during the 1980s, Hall concluded that grazing capacity was under pressure and the quality of grazing was in decline, despite transhumance (Martin Hall 1987: 57)

Wright and Hamilton seem to dismiss Guy's argument, at least in the late 18th century, but perhaps they do so because they fear an exaggerated and catastrophic ecological determinism such as in Omer-Cooper's *Zulu Aftermath* and its impact on historiography rather than taking issue with Guy himself. Wright and Hamilton themselves then pick up on what looks like Guy's argument:

> "Conflict over cattle and grazing lands was further intensified in the last years of the eighteenth century by the decline of the Delagoa Bay ivory trade and the rise of a trade in cattle. At this time, British and American whalers first began to use the bay as a base of operation, creating a new local demand for provisions, including cattle. As the region around the bay was not good cattle country, local chiefs were soon importing cattle from the ecologically more favoured regions farther to the south for the sale to whalers. Whereas ivory had been a 'luxury' item, whose production and exchange had directly involved few commoners, cattle played a pivotal role in the life of every household. For chiefdoms involved in the trade, export of cattle was a potentially serious drain of crucial resources. The development of the export trade would therefore have provided yet further incentives for these chiefdoms to seek to replace exported cattle by raiding other chiefdoms." (Wright & Hamilton 1989: 65-6)

Wright and Hamilton thus link the damaging effects of competition for cattle and therefore grazing to social re-organisation and militarisation. In contrast:

> "... the Qwabe and the early Zulu polities, along with others in the region such as the Hlubi, emerged initially as defensive formations, in response to the rise of the trading states of Mabhudu[69], Ndwandwe and Mthethwa. Through a combination of historical accident and skilful strategy, the new Zulu kingdom rapidly transformed itself into a hierarchised and aggressively expanding state. The internal re-organisation to achieve this involved restructuring the ruling clan and the largescale expansion and extension of royal authority over the amabutho (age-based regimental and labour formations) and other institutions of state, including the isigodlo (aggregated establishments of marriageable and labouring women)." (Hamilton 2012: 292)

The infamous amabutho seem to have their origins in male circumcision schools, perhaps also for hunting, hence their common description as age-regiments. Wright and Hamilton state that these groups were under the ritual authority of chiefs and could be used as he directed them. Thus they could be turned to hunting elephant for the ivory trade controlled by the chief. Imported luxury goods could then be distributed by the chief to expand and consolidate relations of dependency, clientage and tribute in parallel with the deployment of amabutho as coercive forces for the exaction of tribute including cattle and also for outright raiding of cattle.

> "The penetration of external trade, once begun, can thus be seen as having set in motion a self-reinforcing process of political centralisation and social stratification." (Wright & Hamilton 1989: 62-3)

Ruling elites became increasingly dependent on the coercive and raiding powers of their amabutho and in turn required more cattle as reward for the amabutho:

> "... as the political importance of cattle as a means of supporting the amabutho system increased, so raids began to turn into wars of territorial conquest aimed at bringing regions of good grazing land under the permanent control of expanding chiefdoms." (Wright & Hamilton 1989: 65)

This sounds very similar if not identical to the conclusion of Guy above which was attacked by Wright and Hamilton!

While the amabutho of the more centralised states themselves played a role in the exaction of tribute, most production was undertaken by commoner households from which the chief attempted to extract both tribute and labour power in the form of men for the amabutho. In the majority of less centralised states:

> "... fighting forces continued to be composed, as it seems they had long been, of amabandla, that is, groups of men of all ages drawn from the same local community and under their own local leaders. Generally speaking, in the business of raiding and fighting, those chiefs who had amabutho at their disposal had a major advantage over those who did not." (Wright 2012: 223)

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[69] "The Mabudu or Mabudu-Tembe is the junior branch of the Tembe or Tembe-Thonga clan. ... Junod, a missionary who lived in and around Lourenco Marques during 1889-1895 and again from 1907-1921, classified the Tembe or Tembe-Thonga as part of the Thonga tribe. More specifically, the Tembe were classified as being part of the Ronga clan." (Kloppers 2003: 10) See also footnote 9.

In the north, the Swazi state of the 19th century emerged from the Ngwane of the 18th century under the Dlamini royal line. The origins of the Ngwane are unclear despite oral traditions claiming close ties and even the same origins as the Ndwandwe. Hedges suggests that the oral tradition record that the Ngwane ruler named Ngwane in the period from 1770 was a son of the daughter of the Ndwandwe ruler would put the political link back to around 1725 and may have indicated a trading alliance. Despite the Ngwane and later the Swazi being categorised as part of the Nguni language group, there are extensive Sotho cultural borrowings. The Ngwane do not follow the general Nguni practice of exogamy but instead follow the Sotho route of preference for cross-cousin marriages (Bonner 1983: 9-11, 24).

Between the Thukela and Mzimkhulu Rivers, Wright in 1995 was confident enough in the ethnographic material left by shipwreck survivors, castaways and traders to state that between the mid 16th and mid 18th centuries the area was occupied by small and uncentralised polities. He believed that this conclusion was consistent with recorded oral traditions. In 2009 Wright stated that while it may be impossible to estimate the number of inhabitants of the area in the mid 18th century, he estimated that the existing and numerous chiefdoms each consisted of no more than a few thousand people while Shepstone in the 1860s estimated there were 94 tribes and Bryant later estimated 65 clans in the area in that period (Wright 1995: 165: Wright 2009: 178-180).

The arrival and diffusion of maize into the interior, probably via the Portuguese presence in Mozambique was to lead to major changes in the 18th century:

> "... the daily life of the people remained es[illegible]t of the Iron Age. An exception was the introduction of maize, which became a staple in some of the higher-rainfall areas during the eighteenth century if not earlier ... this may have produced important social changes. Compared with the African grains, maize had a far higher carbohydrate yield per unit of labour and land. It would therefore have allowed for substantial population increases in parts of the region favourable to its growth." (Maggs 1989: 42)

Hall has suggested that at least some areas within the Babanango plateau may have been reaching environmental constraints in the 18th century:

> "... it is clear that the eighteenth-century farmers of the Ntinini valley could not have kept all their livestock close to their homes, and must have moved at least parts of their herds down into the major river valleys in the winter months. Even with such transhumance, it is possible that carrying capacities had been exceeded and grazing quality was deteriorating." (Martin Hall 1987: 57)

Around 1770 the Thuli chieftaincy with substantial followers left the area of the upper Matikulu River just north of the Thukela which was threatened by the expanding Qwabe and relocated to the area of the Mgeni and Mlazi Rivers including the Bay of Natal and the bluff. They probably moved without any major clashes with the Qwabe and thus with their cattle. However their move was probably not without resistance by prior occupants south of the Thukela. On arrival in their new territory they incorporated some of the prior inhabitants as far south as the Mzimkhulu. It is likely that some people fled into the interior or south of the Mzimkhulu. Wright speculates that the consolidation of the Mpondo polity under Ngqungqushe of the Nyawuza in the late 18th century was a defensive amalgamation and response to the Thuli and also the Xhosa groups to the south. Wright seems to base this on the likely continuing strategy of Faku in the next century of absorbing groups of refugees from the north (Wright 2009: 180-6).

Another group, the Cele, moved away from the Qwabe shortly after the Thuli and for the same reasons. They settled to the north of the Thuli in the area of the Mdloti and Thongathi Rivers, seemingly with little resistance from the local population. Conflict with the Thuli may

have been avoided by the marriage of the chief of the Cele to the sister of the chief of the Thuli (Wright 2009: 187-8).

> "Further south, between the Mkhomazi and Mzimkhulu, smaller new polities had been formed by the Mbili and the Shaba groups, which seem to have been offshoots of the Thuli. Throughout the coastlands, the rulers of the pre-existing chiefdoms had either submitted to the authority of the intruders, or had fled or had been deposed or put to death. Most of their people had stayed put, and, under old chiefs or new, had become tributary to the new overlords. There is nothing in the record to indicate how these developments affected the numerous small chiefdoms further inland, but numbers of them no doubt had to find ways of adjusting to the presence of the new powers in the down-country regions." (Wright 2009: 189)

Sites with evidence of the smelting of iron are found with decreasing incidence from north to south in Natal. As of 1991 there were 43 sites in the Thukela valley but only 23 between the Mngeni and Mthamvuna Rivers and only six of these are south of the Mkhomazi River:

> "To some extent the low number of sites is a reflection of less intense research but it also seems to mirror a dearth of suitable ore." (Whitelaw 1991: 35)

In the 19th century, Mozambique was to become a major source of slaves for the Portuguese, exporting 16 000 to Brazil in 1823 alone. The repercussions were felt as far south as the Kei River. Thomas Pringle reported refugees in 1825 near the Kei River:

> "[People] had come from a country lying considerably to the North East, that ... had been driven from their own land by a people of yellow complexion, with black beards and long hair and who were armed with swords. The long-haired people must certainly be the Portuguese." (Crampton 2004: 145, 356 fn.10 citing *Records of Natal Vol.1*: 61)

Southern Nguni

According to oral tradition recorded by Frank Brownlee from Vete of the amaMpondomise in 1883:

> "Four of the chiefs living at the Dedesi were Togu the ancestor of what are now called the Gcalekas, Hala the ancestor of what are now called the Abatembu, and Malangana and Rudulu, the fathers of the Amampondomise. The Amampondo separated from us before this time." (Quoted in Peires 2012: 333)

Derricourt concluded that the Dedesi was a mythical ancestral river and following two versions of the tradition locates it either in Natal in the Giant's Castle area or in the upper Mzimvubu and states on the latter:

> "Soga tested this report in 1926 by searching the upper regions of the Mzimvubu for the Dedesi but the name was unknown ..." (Derricourt 1974: 54)

The earliest written records of people, settlements, livestock and tradable items come from the numerous shipwreck survivors and the early travellers into the interior.

The reports of the *Sao Joao* in 1552 are contradictory with regard to settlements and population. But the survivors of the *Sao Bento* wrecked in 1554 somewhere between the Kasuga and Mthatha Rivers described people who were black in colour, had woolly hair, and had pikes with fire-hardened tips or assegais with iron tips. After heading up the coast for three weeks they bartered iron for a cow and a goat. A Bengali survivor from a previous

shipwreck advised them the the country was thickly populated with people and cattle. While the *Santo Thome* was wrecked on the coast of Mozambique, the survivors reported that there were kings until some point further south after which there were only "Ancozes" who ruled over three to five villages. In 1593 the survivors of the *Santo Alberto*, wrecked near the mouth of the Bushman's River, encountered a chief, Luspance, and about 60 people. Luspance was described as not very black. Their descriptions of the people and their settlements are descriptions of southern Nguni society. Travelling inland between the Mzimvubu River and Delagoa Bay, they found the country thickly populated except for two patches of country without people (Wilson 1969: 78-81).

> "The journals of 1552 and 1554 show that what is now the Transkei was already occupied by people who had cattle. They do no make it perfectly clear whether these were Nguni-speaking or Khoikhoi, but the fact that they 'spoke a language not so badly pronounced' suggests that they were neither San nor Khoikhoi, whose clicks later travellers commented on immediately. The journal of 1593 proves that the country was occupied by an Nguni-speaking people at least to the south of the Mthatha and possible further. The chronicler states specifically that the 'language is the same in nearly all Kaffraria', and the chiefs are called 'Ancosses' (inkosi) ... (Wilson 1969: 85)

From the records of these survivors of shipwrecks it is accepted that there were exchanges over great distances of commodities such as iron, copper as well as cannabis. Iron and copper seem to have originated in the western Transvaal, copper also from Namaqualand and iron from Natal. These goods were all traded as far as the Xhosa by various intermediaries, mainly in return for cannabis. The Xhosa in turn traded copper on to the Thembu and Mpondo. Peires also cites reports of the Xhosa obtaining honey from Khoi for small livestock, and of Khoi travelling annually at the same time to the Xhosa at the same place to trade copper and beds for cannabis (Peires 1981: 97).

The Nguni referred to the San as abaTwa:

> "There is evidence to show that Nguni and San long occupied the same territories, living side by side in some sort of symbiotic relationship. The Mpondo and Mpondomise depended on the San as rainmakers, paying them in cattle and a share of the crops. The Xhosa and Mpondo traded with them, buying ivory, feathers, and egg-shell beads in exchange for iron, grain, and later tobacco; and the Thembu used them as woodcutters for their **smelting furnaces near the Tsomo river**. Thembu and Mpondomise intermarried with San ..." (Wilson 1969: 105-6, emphasis added)

> "In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the 'Chinese Hottentots' who spoke a language distinct from Khoikhoi were found living in the mountains between the Tsomo and the Sneeuberg, and in this area – particularly down the Kei and in the Queenstown district – quantities of paintings have been found. Two sorts of people are depicted: one with tiny feet armed with bows and arrows, and the other with large feet armed with shields and spears. ... San were still painting in the nineteenth century: Stow reports a portrait of van der Kemp in a cave near Whittlesea, and he met an old man with his paint pots at this belt on the Kei in 1869, and there are numerous paintings depicting horses and Europeans, and one of a commando." (Wilson 1969: 105-6)

These were the *Oeswana* San, described by Beutler in 1752 as neither Khoikhoi nor San and Gordon in 1777 as speakers of a greatly different "Hottentot" dialect. Beutler encountered these people north of the confluence of the Tarka and Fish Rivers, Gordon further north on the Seecow River. The Beutler expedition noted a proliferation of rock art once they entered Oeswana territory (Peires 2014: 43-4).

According to Peires it was these *Oeswana* San driving the trekboers out of the Sneeuberg in the 1770s and their retreat to the Agterbruintjieshoogte or upper Fish River which led indirectly to the 1st war on the eastern frontier between the trekboers and the Xhosa in 1779-81 (Peires 2008).

> "But there were times when Nguni and San were at war, the San raiding Nguni stock and the Nguni seeking to exterminate them. This again is reflected in the paintings and recorded by the survivors of the *Stavenisse*. In the eighteenth century the San killed the favourite ox of the Xhosa chief, Rarabe, near the Kei, and he ordered their extermination. The Xhosa were then moving westward, and so were the Thembu, who shifted first across the Tsomo and then across the Kei into land previously occupied by the San alone." (Wilson 1969: 105-6)

Sites with evidence of the smelting of iron are found with decreasing incidence from north to south in Natal. As of 1991 there were 43 sites in the Thukela valley but only 23 between the Mngeni and Mthamvuna Rivers and only six of these are south of the Mkhomazi River:

> "To some extent the low number of sites is a reflection of less intense research but it also seems to mirror a dearth of suitable ore." (Whitelaw 1991: 35)

> "No iron ore has been recorded in Transkei ... (Du Toit 1917 1920, Karpeta & Johnson 1979), and ore deposits in these shales are probably meagre. It is likely therefore that it was a shortage of ore rather than timber, as Feely tentatively suggests, which limited iron production in Transkei." (Whitelaw 1991: 37)

There is a trading station named Ntsimbini, the place of iron, in western Pondoland next to the R61 tarred road and between Libode and Port St Johns. The name of the store may be derived from the claim that iron was mined in the valley below where Faku had his kraal in about 1828-38. However the store was also known as Pilgrims Rest until at least 1903 and there is a possible alternative origin of the name Ntsimbini which has nothing to do with any mining of iron in the area (Thompson 2012: 43).

However the absence of a local source of ore may not be so clear. Feely and colleagues identified 138 LIA sites in the mid 1980s in the limited areas they sampled in the Transkei. At four of these sites there was some evidence of the smelting of iron (Feely & Bell-Cross 2011: 105). Hunter recorded in the early 1930s the claim by Chief Poto that:

> "Iron was formerly smelted from a 'blackish gravel' found in outcrops in certain districts." (Hunter 1979: 100)

Feely cites Derricourt that a sample of "iron slag – of unknown site and context – is said to come from the surface" in the Port St Johns area and is held by the University of the Witwatersrand. He also cites personal correspondence about the location of another site in the same area with slag and haematite ore (Feely 1985: 10)

Derricourt also refers to what he terms an obscure reference from 1916 to a site used for the smelting of iron in the Kambi forest and used by San for the manufacture of arrows. He also reports on sources of copper at Inciswa[70] which were known in the 1850s but which do not appear to have been exploited prior to that date and until colonial exploitation (Derricourt 1977: 180).

Feely found an outcrop of copper ore within 3km of an EIA site in his study area in the Tabankulu/Flagstaff area where smelting of iron had been practiced. Analysis of slag

[70] Unfortunately this location cannot be found in the volumes on placenames by Skead or Raper.

revealed an incidence of copper at less than 3ppm (parts per million) and far too low for smelting of copper (Feely 1987: 65).

Writing of the later 19th century, Beinart states:

> "Xesibe territory [roughly between Tabankulu and Mount Ayliff] was ... known to have deposits of copper which had already attracted considerable attention. ...
>
> "The firm of White Bros. ... were the firm which had secured the concession on the copper in Xesibeland." (Beinart 1979: 476-7)

Feely published preliminary results of field research done in the Mbashe-Xhora area, in one of his three transects, in 1985:

> "... four Iron Age sites ... were found with definite evidence of the smelting of iron. A further two sites ... contained artefacts inconclusively suggesting smelting." (Feely 1985: 10)

Pottery found at one of the six sites (3042 in his figure below) has been dated to the nearby 7th century site at Mpame, 10 km up the coast from the mouth of the Xhora River. Other features of the same site suggest LIA occupation: the form of lower grindstones, the style of pottery, and the presence of atypical trees planted by modern Bomvana households. At the time of publication it was not clear in which period(s) the smelting had occurred (Feely 1985: 10-11).

The lure of minerals persisted into the colonial period. Walter Stanford recalled a number of mineral concessions in the 1880s in Mpondoland. Claims by White Brothers and Cook Brothers against the Cape Colony for concessions granted prior to the annexation of Mpondoland failed in the Cape Supreme Court (MacQuarrie 1962: 115-6). Basil Holt refers to "the discovery of copper in eastern Pondoland" in the late nineteenth century. Unfortunately he provides no sources or references (Holt 1974: 136).

Figure 19: Smelting sites in the Mbashe-Xhora area

Source: Feely 1985: 10

No Man's land and the upper Mzimvubu basin

The uppermost sources of the various tributaries of the Mzimvubu River stretch from Nkonkoana or Bushmen's Nek on the meeting point of Lesotho and the KZN and Eastern Cape Provinces, then in a southwesterly direction along the watershed created by the Kahlamba mountains to the Gatberg between Elliot and Ugie. The entire Mzimvubu catchment including the coastal catchment is 19 853 km^2 in extent. In comparison the Mbashe catchment areas is only 6 030km^2. Only the catchment of the Kei River system rivals the Mzimvubu at 20 566 km^2 (Peter & Thomas Slingsby, 2007, *Wild Coast: the map*, Baardskeerder cc).

> "[East Griqualand] ... seems, from archaeological evidence as well as most of the historical data, to have been a no-man's land to farmers until the early nineteenth century, but to have been a core area for Bushman (San) hunters, and later cattle raiders, from early in the Later Stone Age until that time [1593]." (Derricourt 1976: 283)

In fact it seems that the southern Drakensberg has been occupied continuously for the past 3 000 years after earlier occupation from before 10 000 BP and a later gap between 6 000 and 3 000 BP during which ecological evidence suggests that the area may have been too dry to support the animals and plants required to sustain hunter-gatherers (Lewis 2002: 66).

Unfortunately there is no written record of this area before the 19th century. Based on the archaeological evidence cited by Derricourt, the amount of San rock art in this region and the fact that the practice continued through the 19th century, it is reasonably safe to project some of the observations made in the 19th century back in time.

The missionary Allen Gardiner with his entourage traversed an inland route in order to avoid the frontier war when he attempted to return from Natal to the Eastern Cape in October 1835. Gardiner was surprised not to have observed any obvious traces of human occupation and activity after he crossed the Mkhomazi River although he commented that game was plentiful. He did record that in many places grass had been burnt, which Vinnicombe suggested was done to attract game to new spring grass. Just after crossing the Pholela River, a northern tributary of the Mzimkhulu River, and when crossing another stream, he came across the recent tracks of two people and a dog. He then came across the recent site of hunters and then a track used by numerous cattle and horses. The cattle and horses are very much part of the 19th century and so can be ignored for this discussion. Vinnicombe has linked Gardener's record to a number of sites of San habitation and rock paintings:

> "Today the vicinity of Gardiner's camp [on the Pholela River, identified precisely from a painting by Gardiner of the scene] is strew[illegible] artefacts of Bushman manufacture, and on the rough, undercut side of the boulder next to which he outspanned, there are rock paintings ... these signs of human activity obviously escaped Gardener's attention – unless, of course, they were executed after his visit.
>
> "... no doubt even while Gardiner was at work on his sketch [of the identified vista of his encampment], Bushmen were observing his every movement from some secluded vantage points." (Vinnicombe 1976: 14, 18)

As late as 1870 Dawson, travelling from Maclear to Matatiele, encountered no direct sign of human habitation but he did record that the grass had been burnt off in April of that year. Feely comments that he must have known of the settlements of Basotho under chief Lehana nearby in the Tina River valley and that the first farmers moved into the area from about 1858. Britain acknowledged the authority of Faku over the entire area from the Indian Ocean to the Kahlamba mountains in a 1844 treaty. According to Brownlee this may have been in order to limit the expansion of settlers from Natal southwards. Faku readily gave up any authority over "nomansland" in 1861, stating that he had never had the allegiance of the San inhabitants of the inland plateau (Feely 1987: 59).[71]

Blundell has argued that particular groups of San maintained a presence in localised areas of Nomansland through the colonial period 1500-1900 and were only subordinated to their Bantu-speaking neighbours in the 20th century. But the presence of hunter-gathers in the area goes back 29 000 years. The main group into the 19th century were the Thola. Blundell has also suggested that the considerable divergence amongst San languages raises the possibility that during the later, colonial period, these diverse language groups may have begun to communicate in another language such as an early Nguni dialect (Blundell 2004: 34-5, 43).

[71] Feely's study area 2D is in this area, later the Mount Fletcher or Lehana District. He identified only four farming settlement areas in this study area, all dated to within 100 BP (Feely 1987: 60).

The Bhaca and Hlubi only moved into this area in the early 19th century (Blundell 2004: 121; Wilson 1969: 101).

While there is evidence of ancient trade routes across the Kahlamba mountains, there is little evidence of Sotho settlement until the 19th century:

> "When Sotho first penetrated south of the Caledon the Zizi brought iron weapons and tools from the coast up the mountain passes, and much later Moshweshwe sent cattle and feathers to Shaka." (Wilson 1969: 152)

It is likely that the mountain passes between the Matatiele and Mount Fletcher districts below the watershed into Lesotho follow ancient routes. But any local oral traditions may have been destroyed by population movements in the 19th century. The Griqua arrived via Ongeluk's Nek. Recorded Sotho settlement south of the watershed begins with the immigration of Nemiah in 1859, just two years before the arrival of the Griqua with their Sotho allies (Bardsley 1982: 50).

AmaMpondo and related groups

Oral traditions record that eight generations of direct ancestors of Faku, who ruled from about 1824 to his death in 1867, were buried in what is now eastern Mpondoland. The leader of the generation before that was buried between the Mzimkhulu and Mtamvuna Rivers and the previous leader, Msiza, was buried on the Thukela. Mpondo was nine generations further back. Wilson concludes:

> "It is likely ... that Msiza came south no later than the mid sixteenth century, and perhaps earlier. The connexion of the Mpondo with the Swazi is remembered also by the Swazi, and there is every reason to accept the traditions regarding the places of burial." (Wilson 1969: 93)

In the 18th century the Mpondo heartland was probably situated just north of the Mzimvubu River. By the 19th century Mpondoland straddled the Mzimvubu and stretched across an area roughly between the Mthatha and Mzimkhulu Rivers. This heartland is halfway between the Fish River and Port Natal and thus affected by interactions and trade routes north to Port Natal and even Delagoa Bay, and south to the colony expanding from the Cape.

Such interaction and trade had probably going on to the north for as long as the Mpondo and their ancestors had been in the area and as they had slowly moved southwards in earlier centuries.

> "Beginning in the late 1700s, the material basis of Mpondo society was experiencing significant development. Maize, an American crop introduced to southern Africa by Portuguese slave traders based at Delagoa Bay, had become the most important part of cultivation. Producing higher yields that the indigenous millet and sorghum, maize caused population growth and increased power of chiefs who sought to control the new surplus. ... the Mpondo, like other African groups, did not live in isolation. Long-distance trade in items such as beads, iron, ivory and captives was becoming increasingly important. The Mpondo would trade with neighbouring groups such as the Bomvana to the southwest or the Mthethwa to the northeast, who would in turn trade with other groups until goods from Pondoland ultimately reached Dutch settlers in the Cape Colony or Portuguese seafaring traders at Delagoa Bay." (Stapleton 2001: 12)

> "Some Mpondo produce found its way, through African intermediaries, to colonial markets established on the eastern frontier in the 1810s." (Beinart 1979: 473)

The confusion over the location of the bay of Natal until the English settlement there from 1824 (discussed above) may indicate that a considerable trade was conducted further south and on the coast of Mpondoland in particular. Accounts such as that by the late 17th century, there were frequent visits to the 'river of Natal' by small trading vessels have to be looked at in this light – from the descriptions of the landings and terrain, they were much more likely to have been visits to the mouth of the Mzimvubu and Mpondoland (Crampton 2003: 87).

At the top end of trade with external groups was ivory. It is likely that San played a key role in the hunting elephant as they were still playing this role into the 19th century. In 1829 Andrew Geddes Bain came across what he described as a mixed band of "Bushmen" and "Caffres" near the Mzimvubu who lived by hunting and trading ivory. By mid-century, with elephant depleted, the San bands seem to have turned to cattle theft (Jolly 1996: 47, 53).

> "Mpondo tradition claims that Mpondomise was a twin of Mpondo, and both groups recognise descent from Njanya, so it is possible that they moved southward together." (Wilson 1969: 93)

Early Mpondomise chiefs are buried on the sources of the Mzimvubu River. However the survivors of the wreck of the *Stavenisse* in 1686 recorded the "Mapontemousse" north of the "Mpontes" on the coast as they headed south from the site of the wreck just north of the Mzimkhulu (Wilson 1969: 93).

Today the Mpondomise area is still described as that surrounding the towns of Tsolo and Qumbu and the basins of the Tsitsa and Tina Rivers which drain into the Mzimvubu.[72]

Xesibe was another brother of Mpondo according to the Mpondo genealogy (Wilson 1969: 92). By the 19th century they were centred on what is now Mount Ayliff and still subject to claims of being subjects of the Mpondo (Beinart 1982: 32).

South of the Mthatha River

Wilson relies on Bryant and Soga to state that the Bomvana trace their lineage back to that of the Ngwane of Swaziland and the Ndwandwe (Wilson 1969: 90).

> "The Bomvana insist on the fact that prior to the white man's coming a man never asked his chief for land. There was land in abundance, and what was required was simply broken up." (Hammond-Tooke 1985: 315 quoting Cook)

According to Peires the following quote from Van Reenen in 1790 probably confuses Rharhabe with Gambushe, the Bomvana chief:

> "[the land between the Mbashe to the Mthatha was still reputedly] depopulated by the father of Captain Sambee (Ndlambe) called Gagabee Camboesa, who drove them [abaThembu] and all their cattle into his own territory. Such few [abaThembu] as are at present remaining, hide themselves in the woods and caves, and live solely on sea weed, and whatever they can procure by hunting." (Peires 2012: 343)

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[72] A detailed study of Mpondomise lineages is contained in W.D. Hammond-Tooke, 1968, "The morphology of Mpondomise descent groups", *Africa Vol.38 No.1.*

AbaThembu

> "The precedence of the Thembu was also strongly urged by W. T. Brownlee who as Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian territories was in close contact with the Thembu people. Brownlee bases his plea on the grounds that in Bantu languages the prefix "aba" has national significance, while the prefix "ama" has clan or at the most, tribal significance. He then points out that only three divisions of the Cape's black population are entitled to the prefix "aba", e.g. the Thembu, the Mbo (a name that embraces all the tribes north of the Umtata River and many tribes of Natal) and the Twa that embraces the Bushmen and Hottentot tribes. The Bantu would thus refer to the Thembu as abaThembu, but to the Pondo as amaPondo and in the same way to amaXhosa etc. T. Soga, however, attaches nothing but phonetic significance to the prefix 'aba' and 'ama'." (Wagenaar 1973: 5)

The Thembu appear extensively in colonial records as "Tamboekies". Wagenaar follows the suggestion by Peires that this is a corruption of the San name for the Thembu – Tembu-qwa, where "qwa" is the San suffix for "people" (Wagenaar 1988: xiii). This follows earlier suggestions of significant interaction and intermarriage with the San of the area and of the Tsomo River valley in particular (Wagenaar 1973: 1-2).

> "The Thembu's ancestral relationship to the other Nguni groups living in south-eastern South Africa is difficult to ascertain. They are possibly more closely related to the Sotho (Soga 1930: 466) than to the Mpondo, Mpondomise and Bhaca. Whatever their relationship to these groups, they appear to have settled along the south-eastern seaboard before the Mfecane forced the [illegible] groups into the area. The date for this occupation, from oral accounts, seems to have been some time after 1620. It appears that movement of peoples from the north into what is today KwaZulu-Natal Province split the Thembu into two groups. One group stayed behind in Kwa Zulu-Natal while the others moved south. (Blundell 2004: 124)

> "For example, Thembu who travelled from the Cape to near Durban with a missionary were welcomed as kinsmen by Mthembu who they found there." (Wilson 1969: 115, citing W.G. Bennie in 1939)

Wagenaar states that the Thembu chief, Nxego, was buried on the Msane[73], a tributary of the Mbashe River, between 1600 and 1620, and that the first date in Thembu history which is accepted as reliable is 1680. In that year the sons of Nxego fought a succession battle on the Msane stream. Dlomo defeated Hlanga and established the Hala royal line after the name of the son of Dlomo (Wagenaar 1973: 7). The graves of successive Hala chiefs are located at Mkutu just east of the Mbashe (Tati, 1700), north of Mkutu in the Mqanduli district (Zondwa, 1725) and just north of Mtentu (Ndaila). This was still the core area of Thembuland into the 19th century.

> "It is possible that before 1600 some pioneer clans had invaded the Tsomo Valley when intermarriage with the Bushmen took place, but our first records of Tambookie living in proximity to this river are those of Sparrman and the survivors of the Grosvenor." (Wagenaar 1973: 8)

Stow recorded the Thembu practice of amputating at the first joint a finger of an ailing child. While the practice also occurs amongst some Zulu, Mpondo and Xhosa, it is acknowledged to be a San custom (Jolly 1996: 43; Wilson 1969: 106).

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[73] There is an administrative area, Msana, to the north of the Mbashe River and opposite its confluence with the Mgwali River (Chief Director of Surveys and Mapping, 1982, *3128 Umtata*, 1:250 000 series). According to Skead the Msana River is a small tributary of the Mbashe and Msana Location No.26 was the later site of a mission (Skead 2001: 1134).

Peires, citing a manuscript by Sihele in the Cory Library, adds that a Sotho group, the amaFene of the baFokeng, participated in the war between Hlanga and Dhlomo, and were settled in the Stormberg by Dhlomo under the care of his brother Ndungwana. This war was long over by the time that ensign Beutler crossed the Kei in 1752 (Peires 2014: 46 fn.19).

> "The Beutler expedition of 1752 found the land east of the Kei occupied by the Hlanga branch of the abaThembu. They filled the spaces left by the amaXhosa when the latter moved west. But ... Rharhabe's wars drove them eastwards again, less than thirty years later." (Peires: 2012: 346 fn.46)

Wagenaar maintains that until 1809 Thembu settlements were still only located between the Mbashe and Tsomo Rivers (Wagenaar 1973: 8).

When Wagenaar wrote her Ph.D. in 1988, she suggested that while the paramountcy of the Hala line was acknowledged, a number of Thembu clans were semi-autonomous, including the Ndungwana and the Tshatshu. The former took their name from the first-born son of Nxego (whom Wagenaar refers to as NxeKwa in her Ph.D.) who built his own clan including by incorporating immigrant Sotho clans including amaFene and siding with Dlomo and perhaps also ruling alongside him. By the time Ngubencuka ruled from 1810, the Ndungwana under Quesha sometimes openly defied him. Tshatshu was a contemporary of Quesha and also a descendant of the right-hand Hala house. He became more powerful than Ngubencuka and also married a sister of Hintsa, enabling Hintsa to have a hand in Thembu affairs. The Gcina and amaVundle, the latter of Sotho origin, acknowledged the Thembu king but preserved their own chieftaincies and territory. The Qwathi, Xesibe in origin, saw themselves as the real rulers of the Mbashe area. The Ngqosi and Ntshilibile clans paid allegiance to the Xhosa king. Under Ndaba, the father of Ngubencuka, the paramountcy was fraught with conflicts and fragmentation, abetted by the involvement of Rharhabe and Fubu of the Qwathi, Ndaba fled to the Gcaleka, was then "rescued" by the Qwathi, conflict then occurred with the Rharhabe, leading to the death of Rharhabe at the hands of the Qwathi in 1782, thus bolstering their ascendency (Wagenaar 1988: 1-4).

Wagenaar suggests that the Thembu kingdom remained relatively weak under Ngubencuka who ruled from 1810 and died in 1830. She concludes that he was unable to reconcile dissident groups under his rule and cites examples of two successful raids by Moshoeshoe on Thembu cattle (Wagenaar 1988: 6-7).

The Thembu in the eastern Cape seem to have been restricted by the Xhosa to their southeast to the interior below the Ukahlamba mountains and the smaller ranges further south. According to Peires, perhaps with some Xhosa-centrism:

> "[This area] ...was never permanently settled by the Xhosa. Apart from being especially cold in winter, it is covered almost exclusively by sourveld, which does not normally provide good year-round pasturage. The Xhosa used it occasionally for summer grazing, but for the most part they were content to leave it to the weaker Thembu nation and to surviving bands of San hunters who had nowhere else to go." (Peires 1981: 1)

The early interactions between the Thembu and San in the area of the Tsomo River valley in the 17th century is in sharp contrast to that between the San and Rharhabe when he moved to the sweetveld of the White Kei River in the next century and was driven out by the San. He reciprocated:

> "He surrounded the Bush people in their caves and wherever they were seen; he hunted them like wild animals; he cleared the whole land of lions and other predatory animals ... He was a second Tshaka in disturbing the nations but was different in that he took only

the cattle and let the people live, except for Hottentots and Bush people." (Peires 2012: 348 quoting Kropf)

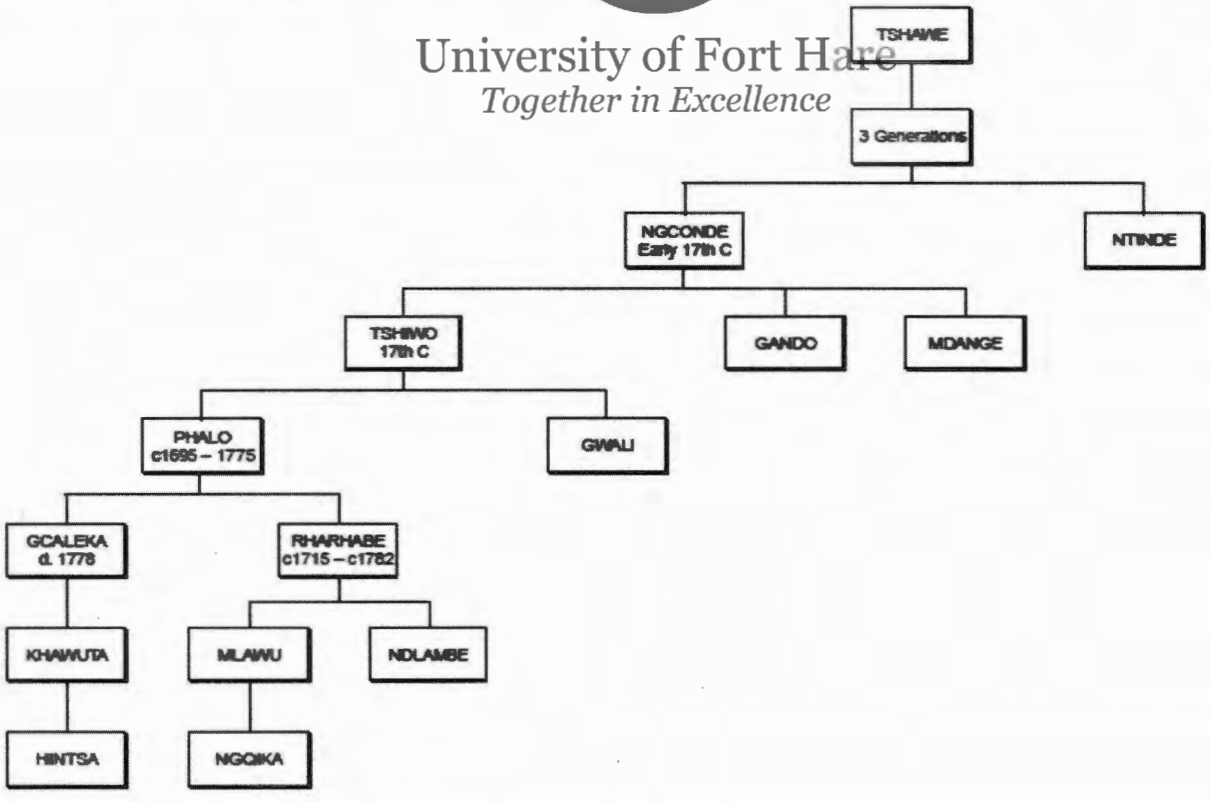
The conflict with the San in the 18th century may have reflected the fact that they were being squeezed in the 18th century and not in the 17th century by the advance of trekboers from the west. While there was physical space for accommodation with the Thembu in the 17th century, this was no longer an option with the Rharhabe in the 18th century. However Jolly cites a reference from Cory to Andries Stockenstrom in 1808 coming across Thembu and San living together on the Tsomo River (Jolly 1996: 43 fn.83).

EmaXhoseni, the trans-Kei and cis-Kei

In the 2nd millennium in the pre-Tshawe period Peires has characterised Xhosa society as still based on the homestead and a redistributive ethic expressed by the double meaning of the verb *ukulawula* – "to govern" and "to serve up food" (Peires 1981: 32). As in Nguni society in general, the head of the homestead was linked to other homesteads through membership of a patrilineage. While homesteads were largely self-sufficient, in times of crisis this wider lineage of homesteads may have provided the basis for common or shared action.

Figure 20: The amaXhosa royal line, the amaTshawe

Source: Peires 2012: 336



According to oral tradition, Tshawe, defeated his elder brother, Cirha, and established the Xhosa royal clan. The Rudulu clan, of Mpondomise origin, supported Tshawe in this struggle. Peires speculates that this may have been around 1550 AD, based on Tshawe and Cirha genealogies going back eight or nine generations before Hintsa who was born around 1785 (Peires 2012: 336). A fuller description and discussion of the oral tradition is to be found in the earlier work of Peires where, based on the extensive work of Jan Vansina on oral

traditions across Africa, he dismisses the four generations before Tshawe which are listed by Wilson, presumably relying on Soga and/or Theal. Peires suggests that there may in fact have been no blood relationship beween Tshawe and Cirha and that this may have been "a straight story of conquest", citing another version of the tradition as further support for this possibility (Wilson 1969: 88; Peires 1981: 13-19).

Peires also cautioned that the names of three kings between Tshawe and Ngconde may have been praise names for the same person (Peires 1981: 17). If this is the case then the Xhosa royal Tshawe lineage may only go back six or at most seven generations from Hintsa and nearer to some 200 years back or to the later 16th century which is still remarkably close to the estimate of Peires of 1550 AD above.

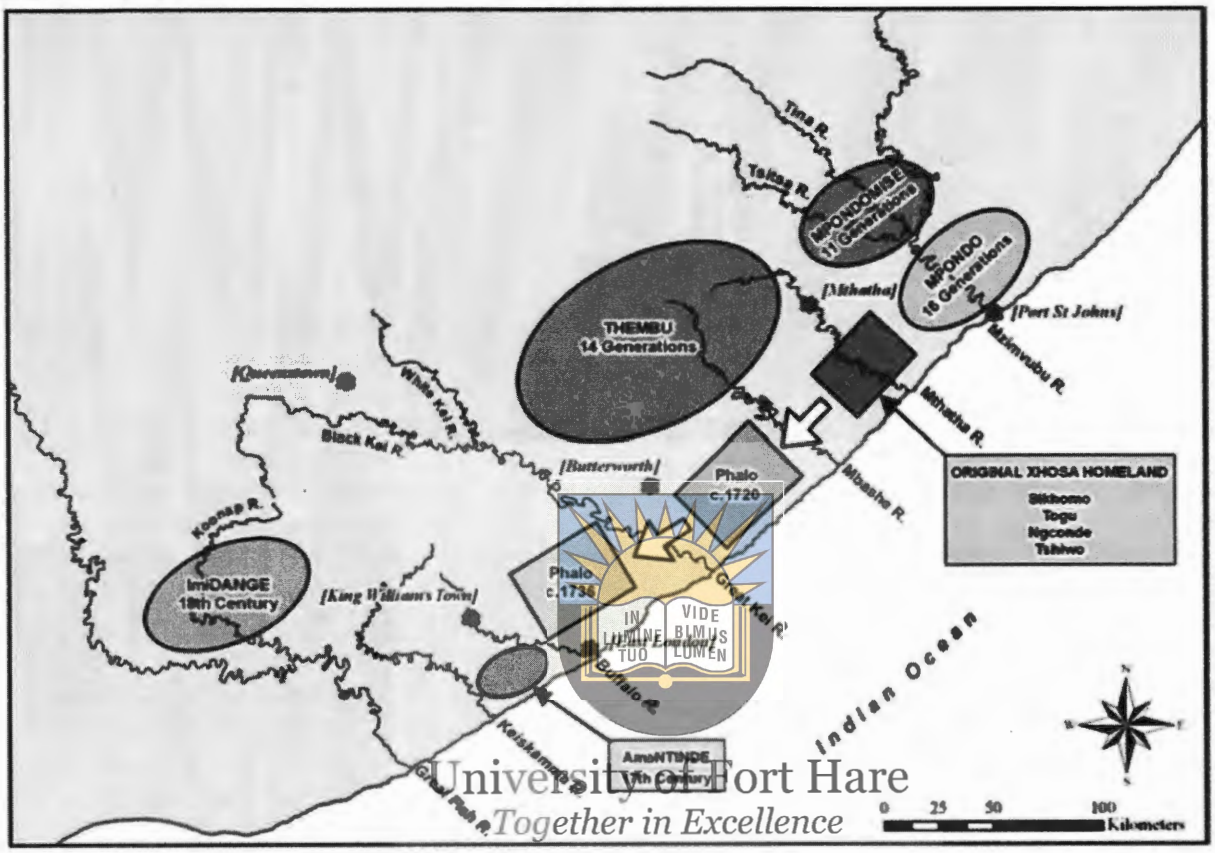
5 generations (at most) down from Tshawe, Tshiwo, son of Ngconde and bearer of the royal line, was buried at Ngcwanguba.[74] Tshiwo's son, Phalo, was a posthumous child of his father, born around 1695 and died in old age around 1775. This provides the earliest fixed date for any Nguni genealogy – that Tshiwo was a man of the 17th century. Peires also gives a date of birth for Phalo in circa 1690 (Peires 2012: 333, 336, 351).

Writing in 1980 Hopper stated that Tshiwo died in about 1702 without a heir by his great wife. Phalo was produced about two years later as his heir (Hopper 1980: 34).

[74] Wilson lists *Ngcwangu* as the immediate successor of Tshawe. It is not known if there is any link with the place, *Ngcwanguba*. The verb *ukuguba* means to grind into a meal, perhaps suggesting some military victory by Ngcwangu. However *ingcwangube* is isiXhosa for a pelican (Wilson 1969: 88; McLaren 1963: 50, 100).

Figure 21: AmaXhosa movements to late 18th century

Source: Peires 2012: 337



Peires has suggested that the Xhosa were based on the Mthatha River downstream from the present city of Mthatha and thus between the Thembu, Mpondomise and the Mpondo (although Peires does not mention the later) for at least three generations as at least two of Tshiwo's predecessors were also buried in this area.

Tshiwo was threatened by the Ngqosini who were probably of Khoisan origin. In the war that broke out between them in about 1725, Tshiwo was saved by the intervention of Khwane who in reward was made chief of a new house, the Gqunukhwebe. Gqunukhwebe tradition claims that assistance to Tshiwo occurred near the Mngazi River, which may push the Xhosa heartland still further to the east (Peires 2012: 335-7). Two years later, Peires elaborated that during Tshiwo's reign, a group of Khoisan, the amaGqunuqhwa, were residing at the Mngazi (Peires 2014: 38).

> "Movement of Xhosa to the 'suurveld' area between the Sundays River and the Fish River, as well as to the Somerset East area, took place in the reign of the Xhosa chief Gconde [Ngconde], c. 1640-1670." (Derricourt 1976: 289, citing Brownlee in Thompson 1967: 1)

Peires categorises this as the first significant move westwards of the Xhosa under the amaTshawe royal clan, although he puts it a generation or even two later than Derricourt. This is still in line with his earlier work which had located the Xhosa in the period 1700 to 1850 mostly in the area between the Mbashe and Sundays Rivers but which did not indicate earlier locations (Peires 1981: 1). The move was led by Gando, brother of Tshiwo, after he unsuccessfully claimed the throne of his father, Ngconde, on his death. He fled to the Camdeboo only to later clash with his host, Hinsati of the Inqua Khoikhoi. While the only Xhosa account claims this clash as a victory, Newton-King established that the Inqua

continued in the area while it seems that the Xhosa survivors may have fled far northwards. Meanwhile Gando's uncle, Ntinde, established himself on the Buffalo River and it was his people, the amaNtinde, who met the survivors of the *Stavenisse* in 1686 near Cove Rock. Around 1700 the former regent, Mdange, uncle of Phalo and brother of Gando, settled between Fort Beaufort and the upper Fish River and it was the imiDange who met governor Von Plettenberg and colonel Gordon in 1778 (Peires 2012: 335).

At about the same time that Ntinde established himself on the Buffalo River, Qangqolo of the defeated Cirha had reached as far as modern Thornhill, west of Port Elizabeth (Peires 2012: 346 fn.45). This puts the statement by Derricourt above more in line with the time frame of Peires.

> "We know that the Xhosa royal family deliberately abandoned their original homeland because they delegated the Nqabe clan to remain behind at Ngcwanguba and guard the grave of Tshiwo. The oral traditions of the Cirha clan likewise identify Ngcwanguba as the centre of a great dispersion." (Peires 2012: 338)

There is no clarity on what sparked the dispersion but Peires has speculated that there may have been a link with the Dosini wars which shook the neighbouring Mpondomise kingdom at the same time (Peires 2014: 38).

While Tshiwo died at Ngwanguba, Peires suggests that the centre of power may already have moved west as an amaJobe oral tradition records that their chief rejoined Tshiwo at Tongwana in the Butterworth area. Also Phalo, born around 1690, was at Tongwane before he married. This move may have been due to ongoing pressure from the Ngqosini and oral tradition records that Phalo travelled as far as the Sundays River and the Qagqiwa mountains north of Uitenhage in search of a new base. From here some of his councillors ventured onwards to the Storms River by 1736, which Peires refers to as the first certain date in Xhosa history, Phalo was based at what is now Mooiplaas on the Kwenxura River (Peires 2012: 338; Peires 2014: 38).

> "Soga says that the amaNgqosini occupied lands between the Kei and the Fish which were 'without Bantu inhabitants,' which fits in nicely with the *Stavenisse* survivors' picture of the Makanene blocking the road between the amaXhosa and the Dutch colony [in 1687]." (Peires 2014: 40)

At least a century after their fight with Tshiwo, the Ngqosini were reported to be east of the Kei River in the late 18th century where their chief, Mjobi, was described as "Caffer" and where they had been at war with the Thembu. It seems that the Mjobi line was massacred in some treachery around 1783 and made way for Gcaleka settlement in the area. The Ngqosini have been variously identified as Sotho or Khoisan but for Peires they were Khoisan, based on the evidence that they fought with poisoned arrows and had no *seboko* (Peires 2012: 341, 344, 351). Also:

> "... both the Ngqosini and their associates the Banqo share the *-nqo* syllable, and *-nqo* is the 'Mountain Bushman' word for eland." (Peires 2014: 41)

Peires suggests that the movements of the political centre are unusual and therefore very significant. At the time of writing *The House of Phalo* in 1981, he had used (and perhaps only been aware of) a limited number of incidents in the life of Rharhabe and subscribed to a relatively static view of his rule, involving a shift westward after quarrelling with his brother of the Great House, Gcaleka, the division of the kingdom between them by their father, Phalo, his move west of the Kei where he defeated the Khoisan and built his own empire, before dying back east of the Kei in a dispute with the Thembu over bridewealth for his daughter. 30 years later and with another dozen incidents, all but one with a geographic location, the

picture is very different (Peires 2012: 336, 339). The new image is one of extensive movement, sometimes over long distances from east to west as well as north to south, frequent interactions and conflicts and shifting alliances.

In 1752 the Beutler expedition encountered only Thembu east of the Kei River so the entire Xhosa nation under Phalo were situated west of the Kei, probably based at Mooiplaas However at some stage Rharhabe moved to the sweetveld areas on the upper White Kei but was forced back to settle at Bolo by the resistance of the San. He then subjugated or devastated the Khoikhoi under their female leader Hoho and built great places at Izele and Mngqesha. Gcaleka's allies, the Gqunukhwebe amaNdluntsha, defeated Rharhabe and captured him. He escaped to the kin of his mother, the Thembu Ndungwana and assisted them against the Thembu king, Ndaba, who was in fact Rharhabe's son-in-law. Ndaba was sheltered first by the Gcaleka, then the Qwathi. In alliance with the Ndungwana and Ngqosini, Rharhabe seems to have been able to take back the area east of the Kei from the Thembu and re-establish the great place at Tongwane. Peires quotes the German traveller, Von Winkelman, who in 1788 recorded that:

> "[the amaXhosa] destroyed [Thembu] houses, robbed their cattle, and dragged them off to do forced labour. The Thembu fate is to be impoverished, weak and despised by the Xhosa" (Peires 2012: 342-3).

However despite being driven out of the upper White Kei River or *Xonxa* area, according to Jolly, Rharhabe allied with San groups to raid Gcaleka cattle (Jolly 1998: 39 fn.54 citing Paterson in 1777-9).

While re-establishing himself east of the Kei, Rharhabe also attempted to exert himself far to the east in the upper Fish River valley. While his father's uncle, Mdange, recognised the Great House and not Rharhabe, Rharhabe toyed with the trekboers and named the area Nojoli after his great wife who was also of Thembu origin. A faction of the imiDange was favourable to both the trekboers and a Dutch-speaking person referred to as Karkoti advised Rharhabe on trekboer matters and may have been present when Van Jaarsveld massacred the imiDange leadership in 1781. Rharhabe made no effort to assist the Xhosa of the Fish River against Van Jaarsveld and company in 1781. However by this time he may have been busied with the matter of bridewealth for his daughter, Ntusa, who was promised to the Qwathi. One of Rharhabe's sons seems to have died while negotiating over the bridewealth, no doubt adding to tensions. It is not clear if his great son, Mlawu, died of natural causes as described by one source, or if he died with his father in the subsequent war against the Qwathi in about 1782 (Peires 2012: 343-4).

> "Succession passed smoothly to Ndlambe, a full brother of the deceased Mlawu, acting as Regent for Mlawu's Great Son, Ngqika. ... [Ndlambe] reconciled with Gcaleka's son, Khawuta, and facilitated the relocation of the amaGcaleka east of the Kei into the former lands of the amaNgqosini, whose chiefship was annihilated in a treacherous massacre. He continued Rharhabe's policy of alliance with the trekboers and, during the course of the episode known to colonial historians as the Second Frontier War (1793), settled accounts with the amaNdluntsha/ amaGqunukhwebe, by killing Tshaka, the Gqunukhwebe chief. It was Ndlambe who made the amaRharhabe supreme in the west, a poisoned chalice seized on the very eve of Colonial intervention in Xhosa affairs." (Peires 2012: 344-5)

Insofar as the movements of the amaXhosa in the period before the late 18th century, and the onset of dynamics introduced by colonial intrusions, are representative of the southernmost Nguni migrations, they may also represent much more ancient mechanisms of expansion. Peires has contrasted two routes:

"When a young man grew up among the Xhosa, 'his father gives him an axe, and says: Go and extend the homestead, set up an outstation (that is, your own home).' When an old man died, his homestead was shut up, his children were forbidden to go near it, and the materials of which it was composed were allowed to crumble into dust. In this way, generation by generation, the people inched their way down the coast." (Peires 1981: 10)

30 years later he described the second kind of migration as more purposeful and also politically driven:

"Rharhabe is depicted as taking the lead and confronting the dangers while Phalo and Gcaleka followed forty kilometres behind. 'This journey was travelled little by little, the house would erect temporary structures, build, plough, harvest and move off again.' And when, several years later, Rharhabe set off for the upper Kei ..., he again 'erected shelters and moved on, ploughed and harvested' just as in the first journey. Nor was Phalo's journey a unique case. Two generations previously, Qangqolo, the chief of the defeated amaCirha, had travelled just as far." (Peires 2012: 346, quoting Mqhayi)

The imiDange provide another example of the latter type of movement. They refused to be subordinated to Rharhabe and were forced west of the Fish River and into conflict with the trekboers from 1779. In 1783 Ndlambe crushed the imiDange and scattered groups entered the Colony. During the third war from 1799, Olela or Bangela, chief of the clan, and his brother Gola with remnants of the clan moved to the Gariep (Anderson 1985: 19).

From the above it seems that Xhosa interactions with Khoisan groups occurred at least as far east as the Mngazi River. It is around these interactions and questions of identity that many unanswered questions remain. Archaeological investigation may help. Feely and Bell-Cross argued (above) that Khoisan occupied the area south of 32°S and west of 29°E before the arrival of EIA speakers of early Bantu languages. Peires now suggests that there may have been a spread of Khoisan further to the northeast before the LIA and the presence of early Nguni-language groups in the area. Again, if the argument about the stability of Khoisan place names and the names of rivers in particular is valid, then such Khoisan occupation must have been much lighter at least relative to the emergent LIA groups in the same area.

There is another possibility, either in the alternative or in addition to the above, which is in line with the likely origins of the name "Xhosa" from the Khoi "//kosa" meaning "angry men" (Peires 1981: 13). All the southern Nguni claim to trace ancestry back geographically to the sources of the Mzimvubu River or the mythical Dedesi. By the archaeological evidence this was San territory from early in the Late Stone Age. If indeed the Xhosa et al moved from the uplands towards the coast, which would have been the safer option for pastoralists avoiding the lowlands and associated tsetse fly, then were the Xhosa so named because of their violent and total subjugation or elimination of coastal Khoisan?

The genealogy of the Mpondo royal line is the deepest of all the southern Nguni, extending back 19 generations before Faku (c1777-1867).[75] If this is any indication of the earliest emergence of southern Nguni society in the area, it could put the date back to around 1400 AD which fits with the limited archaeological investigation of the region. On the other hand the depth of the Xhosa royal line is only between six and nine generations back from Hintsa (c1785-1835). The later emergence of the amaXhosa may also reflect a long period of conflict between pre-Tshawe Nguni and Khoisan groups which continued into the Tshawe period with the conflict with the Ngqosini which Tshawe only survived by the intervention of Khwane. The Xhosa language reflects such a long term interaction with Khoisan languages. However this was assumed to have been because the Xhosa were always the southernmost of the Nguni. It now appears that this interaction occurred much further north, possibly even

[75] This is based on the statement by Soga that he died at the age of 90 (Wilson 1969: 89).

including interactions north of the escarpment in the EIA, and the extent of the incorporation of elements of the Khoisan languages reflects either the long duration and/or the intensity of such interaction, including conflict. The still precarious state of the Tshawe line, due perhaps to the ongoing debilitating effects of conflict with the Ngqosini and who knows who else, may also partly explain the readiness for the dramatic movement of the royal line southwards in the 18th century.

Himla Soodyall and Trefor Jenkins cite earlier work by Jenkins and others in 1970 (and unfortunately not available though UFH online journals) that a good Khoisan genetic marker is found in the highest percentage of all Bantu-speakers amongst the amaXhosa – 60% of Xhosa genes are of Khoisan origin. The other Nguni figures were 45% for both Mpondo and Zulu and 25% for Swazi (Soodyall & Jenkins 2007: 81). The 60% figure for the amaXhosa may be explained either or both by the very early interactions in the 1st millennium on the highveld, as well as the later interactions with Khoisan, the Ngqosini, Gqunukhwebe etc., in the 2nd millennium.

Wilson also cites a number of cultural practises which highlight the long integration of aspects of Khoikhoi and Nguni society, Xhosa especially: the Nguni style of hut from the 16th to 19th centuries resembled the Khoikhoi rather than the Sotho-Tswana or Tsonga; Xhosa and Mpondo sacrificing animals by breaking the aorta as observed in 1622 and 1779; and the similarity in dress between Xhosa and Khoikhoi women (Wilson 1969: 105).

The interaction was not all peaceful. Haupt, diarist of the 1752 Beutler expedition, recorded:

> "All these Hottentots were at one time rich in cattle, but have lost them through the thieving of the Bushmen and in the wars they have fought among themselves and with the Caffres." (Quoted in Peires 1981: 23)

Khoikhoi were absorbed into Xhosa society as inferiors but since this was an economic status it could pass within a single generation. But submission and incorporation were not the only routes. Khoikhoi resistance continued and some Khoikhoi preferred to serve the trekboers rather than the Xhosa (Peires 1981: 23).

The relationship between the Xhosa and the Gqunuqwebe was a special one and must have remained so to explain the rapid movement of both the Xhosa and the Gqunuqwebe southwards from the Mngazi in the early 18th century. How and why exactly the Gqunuqwebe ended up towards the southernmost end of expansion is not clear but may have been due to them being perceived as the soft interface with other, southern Khoisan.

There remain major questions about identities of various groups, both with regard to the early Xhosa and in particular with regard to the Khoisan. The 2014 article by Peires is motivating for key archaeological sites to be thoroughly investigated in the realistic hope that evidence adduced will throw light on these various questions. Just one question is that raised by Ehret in 2008:

> "Farther south ... the Eastern Cape Khoekhoe did indeed engage to some extent in cultivation, as literate observers of the later eighteenth century noted (e.g. Sparrman 1786). Whether these practices had spread to the Eastern Cape communities not long before, from their Nguni neighbours to the east, or went back significantly earlier in Cape Khoekhoe history cannot be resolved from the very little evidence available to us as yet." (Ehret 2008: 22)

The extent of movement described recently by Peires above requires some caution when trying to pin down identities and locations of particular groups as described (rather than identified) by the shipwreck survivors, the earliest travellers through the region to have left

some written descriptions of the people they encountered. From the last third of the 18th century we also have the written descriptions of the early European travellers, both military and scientific, through the eastern Cape to add to the record.

While there remains some confusion and uncertainty as to the precise identity and origins of particular groups described in these records, it is clear that there were a range of historic and ongoing interactions between San, Khoikhoi, Xhosa, Thembu etc.

> "In 1772 Thunberg found Xhosa living intermingled with Khoikhoi on the Gamtoos River: 'Hottentots and Caffres lived promiscuously near this river, as on the frontier of the two countries, the real Caffraria beginning several miles further up in the country.' ... The Gona still spoke Khoikhoi as distinct from Xhosa, but Thunberg notes in 1772 when he came to van Stadens river – the first camp of Gona he met – that 'our Hottentots from the Western Cape no longer perfectly understand'. Moreover, the Gona like the Xhosa and unlike other Khoikhoi were circumcised, and wore calf-skin and not sheep-skin cloaks. Some of them cultivated sorghum. Le Vaillant's portrait of Nerina and other Gona show people of negroid physical type." (Wilson 1969: 103 from Moodie Vol.3, 24)

This suggests that there were parties of Xhosa in 1772 living west of Khoikhoi groups in the vicinity of the Gamtoos River. This may confirm the oral traditions referred to above by Peires of Qangqolo of the defeated Cirha travelling westwards as far as Thornhill, probably in the 16th century or as much as 200 years earlier than Thunberg's visit. Thornhill is situated about 5 km west of the Van Stadens River. The Gamtoos River is 10-15 km west of Thornhill.

According to Maclennan, the Xhosa moving to the southwest encountered the Gonaqua Khoikhoi under Ruiter (sometimes Ruyter) or uMkhota.[76] The Xhosa overwhelmed them and incorporated them. But in 1775 Sparrman at the Van Stadens River came across people who he described as "Gonaquas Hottentots". They spoke a mixture of Xhosa and Khoikhoi, perhaps explaining the difficulty experienced by the Khoikhoi who had accompanied Thunberg three years earlier. Sparrman also noted that like the Xhosa but unlike the Khoikhoi the Gonaqua practised male circumcision. Most of the Gonaqua were absorbed into the Gqunukhwebe (Maclennan 1986: 43-4, 58). But clearly there were still at least some independent Gonaqua in 1775.

Maclennan puts the entry of the Gqunukhwebe into the Zuurveld from east of the Fish River in 1789 (Maclennan 1986: 58). This is in line with the record of Swellengrebel in 1776 that Ruiter's kraal was near the Bushmans River and who also recorded that Ruiter complained bitterly at already having been forced to move once by Meyer to make way for his cattle and being under pressure to do so again. Forbes speculates that this was Lucas Meyer who joined the Grosvenor expeditions and whose abandoned homestead later marked the site of Graham's Town (Forbes 1965: 73).

> "Interaction between Xhosa and Khoikhoi of the west as distinct from Gona must, however, have been restricted, since their breeds of cattle were 'very easily distinguished' in 1774." (Wilson 1969: 103 from Moodie Vol.3, 24)

In the light of the discussion of cattle above, it is not clear if these breeds were distinct historically or distinct out of cultural or even local preferences. If they were distinct for the latter reasons, this may reflect a long period of mingling of Xhosa and Khoisan groups and add further confirmation of the oral tradition that Cirha fled as far west as Thornhill in the 16th century. Wilson speculated that coastal forest and inland Karoo between Mossel bay and the

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[76] According to Giliomee, Ruiter had fled eastwards after killing a fellow Khoikhoi in the Roggeveld and formed his groups from remnants of 2 Khoikhoi groups, the Gonaqua and the Hoeneiqua (Gilomee 1979: 294, 297).

Gamtoos River created a physical barrier, implying that the extensive and any intensive Khoikhoi-Xhosa interaction occurred east of this barrier (Wilson 1969: 103).

Peires states that the Xhosa also turned to the San for making rain but refers to trade not in tobacco but in dagga.

> "Intermarriage was rare, but not unknown. San became tributary to Xhosa chiefs and according to one report, there were more San than Gona Khoi living among the Gcaleka. At least one Xhosa clan, the isiThathu, was partly San in origin. Conversely, Xhosa sometimes joined San bands." (Peires 1981: 24)

> "Although the Nguni were pastoralists and cultivators and had such a deep attachment to cattle, they depended also for food on hunting and collecting, and at least until the nineteenth century, for clothing. Hunting also provided the most important article for export – ivory – and the wealth and power of chiefs came to depend upon control of it." (Wilson 1969: 110)

Webb was probably using Wilson as his source when he wrote:

> "The Xhosa, in common with other Bantu tribes, regarded their cattle first as a source of wealth and secondly as a source of food. It followed that while the animal lived it was more valuable to its owner, and was only called upon to render its milk as a source of food. It was only when the animal died that it was eaten. It was rather to the herds of game which were hunted, that the Xhosa looked for a source of protein." (Webb 1975: 4)

Peires states that the Xhosa used ivory for the making of armlets (Peires 1981: 6), suggesting a widespread practice from the Limpopo River southwards.

Ivory had a prior place in Xhosa society before it was traded to outsiders. In principle tusks became the property of the chief. They were fashioned into rings and awarded by the chief as evidence of respect or achievement. The San probably did most of the hunting of elephant for meat across south eastern Africa and traded the tusks for cattle and dagga in the case of the Xhosa (Peires 1981: 97).

Pieter Jolly refers to Van der Kemp in 1801 encountering two "Boschemen" who were travelling to "Caffreland" to exchange two elephant tusks for a cow. Van der Kemp commented that this was a common practice (Jolly 1996: 41).

> "It was believed that the power of a wild animal passed to the man who killed it, and so great hunters wore the claw of a leopard, or a piece of lion-skin, or an ivory armlet where possible." (Peires 1981: 136)

> "By 1800 some adventurous Xhosa had travelled as far as Cape Town. Conversely, African travellers from further afield had visited Xhosaland. Tsonga from Delagoa Bay reached Ngqika in 1805 in the course of a journey to find out how far the land of the black people extended. Tswana and northern Sotho likewise made their way south by the early nineteenth century. The Xhosa thus had a fairly good idea of the continent in which they lived. The whites, they thought, originated on islands in the middle of the sea." (Peires 1981: 7)

> "We know that the Xhosa had contact with the peoples of southern Mozambique. On a visit to Ngqika in about 1803, Ludwig Alberti reported meeting there several black traders from Delagoa Bay, a journey which had taken two to three months. Alberti, *Account of the*

Xhosa in 1807. Trans W. Fehr (Cape Town: A. Balkema, 1968), 8-9." (Crampton et al 2013: fn.229)

They were familiar with canoes and were already selling ivory to whites. (Wilson 1972: 6) Wilson adds that these people had not travelled for trade.

Are these the "Ronga traders from the Delagoa Bay hinterland" referred to by Martin Hall (1987: 127) quoting Smith 1969?

> "Evidence for the role of trade in the formative years of the Xhosa paramountcy is more tenuous, and Jeff Peires prefers to leave the questions of the origins of the polity open (Peires 1981). Nevertheless, the dominant lineages of the Xhosa paramountcy succeeded in drawing most of their neighbours into reciprocal relationships, and were energetic in seeking trade contacts with European settlers from the Cape from the early eighteenth century. Copper, cattle, iron and beads were obtained at the frontier and redistributed back towards the centre, with escalating prices ensuring profits for the middlemen involved (Peires 1981)." (Martin Hall 1987: 127)

Travelling as far as the upper Fish River but not east of it in late 1775, Sparrman, presumably relying on local information, wrote:

> "... that if one travelled from the upper part of the Visch-rivier, more to the south-east, or the Caffre side of the country, one would come to a river called Konap." (Forbes 1965: 54)

This was not only the southwestern end of the summer rainfall area but also where the rainfall dropped off to both the west and into the interior. Rainfall was particularly unreliable and unpredictable towards the convergence of the summer and winter rainfall areas. This made both annual and seasonal mobility in search of grazing critical for pastoralists.

Seasonal transhumance between summer sourveld and winter sweetveld was anyway essential for healthy cattle. Until increasing settlement pressure from the late 18th century, much of this transhumance was along an east-west axis but this may have changed to a north-south axis as pressure increased. In the south, the Zuurveld became an area of increasing competition for seasonal grazing.

> "The Zuurveld ... is bounded by the Zuurberg and Fish River mountain chains in the north, the Fish River in the east, the Sundays River in the west, and the Indian Ocean in the south. The pastures of the Zuurveld are suitable for both sheep and cattle farming. As the names Zuurveld (sourveld) indicates, its soil is of high acidy; it produces fast-growing vegetation, most of which is harmful, even fatal, to cattle in autumn and winter. ... However, the river valleys with their dense, semi-succulent, thorny scrub thickets and sweetveld provide good grazing throughout the year." (Giliomee 1979: 293)

> "... contemporaries also referred to the Zuurveld in a more restricted sense as the area between the Boesmans and Fish Rivers." (Giliomee 1979: 293)

In the 2nd half of the 18th century in both the Zuurveld and to the north along the upper Fish River and its tributaries:

> "... Europeans, Khoikhoi and Africans settled down close to one another: from the beginning 'kraals and [European] habitations were mixed'." (Giliomee 1979: 296-7)

Even into the 19th century and after four wars, Wilson was still able to describe the area in peaceful terms:

"By 1820, then, the country between the Gamtoos and the Buffalo had long been a mixed community. It was less orderly than the senior Xhosa chiefdom east of the Kei where Colonel Collins noted in 1809 that two hundred cattle were left overnight in charge of a boy of eight, and Hintsa the chief was reputed never to have ordered an execution." (Wilson 1972: 6 from Moodie Vol.44; Collins in Leibrant Vol.7; 70)

Lichtenstein amongst the Tswana at Dithakong in 1805 commented:

"It was somewhat extraordinary, that notwithstanding the abundant opportunities afforded for stealing, and the impossibility of keeping all our things out of the way, or watching them, that scarcely anything was ever missed, except now and then some pieces of meat or other articles of food." (Maclennan 2003: 118)

Unfortunately this was not to remain so. After his trip from Graham's Town to Dingane and back in the 1830s, Andrew Smith advised future travellers on this route:

"They will see that they must not trust for every article of diet to the Caffers; that they must be particular in the selection of articles for traffic; and that, though in the land of savages, they have ample opportunities of having injuries avenged whenever such are properly represented. They will moreover perceive that the utmost caution is necessary to guard against thefts, and that a watch during the night is of the greatest importance." (Kirby 1955: 9)

Peires estimated the amaXhosa population was well under 100 000 and perhaps as low as 40 000 in 1800 but that it had reached 100 000 [illegible] by 1850 (Peires 1981: 3).

The figure of 40 000 is that of Collins in 1809 who estimated the ratio between the various chieftaincies as follows: Gcaleka 15: Rharhabe 18: Ndlambe and Ntinde 13: Mbalu 3: Gwali and Gqunukhwebe 2 (Hopper 1980: 34)

5 Mounting pressures towards crises

This section discusses the dynamics of trekboer expansion from the southwestern Cape, the continuing disastrous impact on the Khoisan, the emergence of trading and raiding groups on the northern frontier and contact, co-operation and conflict on the eastern frontier.

Dynamics in the southwestern Cape

The internal dynamics of the Dutch settlement in the southwestern Cape are not discussed in any detail. However a few comments are made here in respect of the direct consequences for the establishment and expansion of the trekboer economy as opposed to settled burghers of the southwest. It was the trekboer economy that drove the geographical extension of the Cape and the consequences thereof.

Shortly after his arrival in 1652, Van Riebeeck, in charge until 1662, inspected the land to the east of Table Mountain. He was impressed by its extent, its numerous water courses, and its fertility which he exclaimed was better than Formosa and the New Netherlands (the later being the Hudson River Valley on the eastern seaboard of what is now the USA).

> "These appraisals of the resources of the Cape were clearly based on the assumption that intensive forms of agriculture would be adopted." (Guelke 1979: 44-5)

Van Riebeeck proposed to his headquarters [illegible] VOC staff should be released from employment to farm on their own account as they would be more motivated to act for themselves and for their own profit. He got such authorisation. Proceeding cautiously, in May 1656 he set up his own trials on land identified for the use of these freemen or freeburghers at Rondebosch with the planting of rice, oats, tobacco, bean and clover. All these crops did well except rice.

> "In February 1657 Van Riebeeck allocated land near the trial fields to the first freeburghers.[77] A freeburgher ... acquired certain economic rights of which the most important was the right to own land. The early freeburgher received land grants of only 11.3 ha each; Van Riebeeck obviously expected the Cape farmers to employ intensive Dutch agricultural methods. He recognised that freeburghers would need financial assistance, but did not succeed in convincing the Heren XVII, who placed tight restrictions on the amount of credit that could be extended to them. Moreover the Heren XVII set prices at which the Company would purchase their wheat, and these were low in accordance with prices then prevailing in Europe. Van Riebeeck sought to alleviate the labour shortage by importing slaves, who were made available to the freeburghers on credit. The early slaves were not efficient workers; many deserted while others were so intractable that their owners returned them to the Company." (Guelke 1979: 45-6)

By 1660 already only 20 of 35 freeburghers or 57% were directly involved in horticulture and stock breeding. Three were boatmen, two fishermen, three carpenters and two masons. A barber, tailor, miller, thatcher and messenger made up the rest (Schutte 1979: 189).

> "The first attempts to cultivate the Cape soil fell short of expectations. Unacclimatised wheat seed, poor tools, a shortage of draft animals, severe south-east winds and unenthusiastic labour were all problems in the early years. Some of these difficulties were due to bad luck, others to lack of foresight and a general unawareness that a considerable investment of capital and labour was needed to develop profitable agriculture on new land." (Guelke 1979: 44-5)

[77] "The first deeds of freeburgher status were issued to nine men in 1657 (Schutte 1979: 187).

In the absence of capital in other forms, land was the most abundant and easily accessible capital, at the expense of the Khoisan. Extensive grazing and the adoption of hardy local draught animals were soon recognised by the burghers as the preferred routes to survival:

> "... The freeburghers concentrated on reducing the investment of capital and labour to a minimum. As a result they did not take up the cultivation of clover or other fodder crops and pastured their livestock on the veld near their freehold land. ... Oxen, which could fend for themselves, replaced more efficient horses as plough animals, although most farmers retained a few horses for riding.
>
> "... The raising of livestock, which were purchased from the VOC and bartered or robbed from the Khoikhoi, became a mainstay of most farming operations." (Guelke 1979: 47)

A survey of the 845 (presumably male) freeburghers taken by governor De la Fontaine in 1732 revealed that 307 or 36%[78] were engaged in agriculture and stockbreeding. 193 of the 307 were to be found in the Drakenstein district, later the northern, dryer part of the Stellenbosch district. This suggests that a considerable number were already engaged mainly in stockbreeding rather than horticulture (Schutte 1979: 189).

It is hardly surprising that the freeburghers took the approach they did and became trekboers. In addition to the lack of capital for investment and the low price paid by the VOC for their wheat, they had to pay import, export and excise duty and a range of taxes including *pachtgeld*, stamp duty and a tithe on any wheat produced (Schutte 1979: 179).

While Van Riebeeck may have been far-sighted but optimistic to imagine a future of intensive cultivation, the failure of the VOC to provide the necessary capital and infrastructure was a result of the global perspective and needs of the VOC determined by the Heren XVII rather than the ideals of the local management at De Kaap and the needs of the burghers. As such the outcome was probably inevitable. Had Van Riebeeck had a better reputation with his superiors, maybe he would have been able to lever more resources to create his little Holland. But he was not stationed at De Kaap in 1652 because of the inherent economic value of the Cape or because he was looked upon favourably by his superiors.

Globally the VOC was a success in that it oversaw the transfer of immense wealth from its overseas trading empire back to the Netherlands. At a local level, that of a particular outpost such as at De Kaap, policy was determined in response to the overall international priorities of the VOC, determined largely by the Heren XVII back in Amsterdam. In the longer term the Dutch trading empire was to face mounting competition. By the last quarter of the 18th century, the VOC was in terminal decline and the Dutch Republic had lost its international economic supremacy to France and Britain. The VOC ceased to exist in 1798.

The implications for the subsequent history of colonisation at the Cape are huge. The failure of intensive agriculture resulted in the violent and unplanned expansion of the Cape, led by a motley bunch of hunters, traders and trekboers, sometimes interchangeably or in fact the same people. It led to the decimation of the Khoikhoi, the dispossession of both their land and their livestock, their subjugation to near slavery and ultimately their proletarianisation. In the case of the San it led to their extermination by the end of the 19th century.

Another way of looking at the early Cape under VOC rule is that the old way of going about business was itself a problem. The VOC was in the first instance a trading company. It made its money out of unequal exchange, through the diplomacy of the warship, the gun and

[78] Schutte gives a figure of 57% which is exactly the same as the figure in 1660. However his accompanying table clearly indicates a decline to 36% in 1732 (Schutte 1979: 189).

violence. Prices of the goods which the company acquired and sought to acquire were set not in a competitive market but by an absolute monopoly and a determination to keep input prices as low as possible. So-called free-market capitalism of the free-trade era was a long way off into the future.

Hunting and exploration

Given the illicit yet potentially highly rewarding trade and hunting opportunities outside of colonial boundaries it would be surprising if a considerable number of such trekboers had adhered to official procedures for acquiring rights to farms and stayed within official colonial boundaries.

> "In addition to trade and pasture, the remote regions of the colony offered incomparable hunting opportunities of which freeburghers had availed themselves from the earliest times. Small hunting parties were constantly setting out in search of game, particularly hippopotamus and eland. Such expeditions might last a week of more. A few freeburghers made careers for themselves as professional elephant hunters and penetrated deep into the country. Hunting expeditions provided colonists with cheap meat for themselves and their slaves. More important, these expeditions permitted freeburghers to become acquainted with the resources of the interior. This knowledge was to be of value to many colonists who decided to set up as stock farmers in the interior as agricultural opportunities in the settled areas declined." (Guelke 1979: 53-4)

Elephant hunting offered good returns for small investments and was one way for poor but enterprising colonists to amass capital.

> "From the beginning of the eighteenth century a regular traffic in cattle and ivory developed. Expeditions left Stellenbosch and remained away for eight or nine months. They returned loaded with ivory. The members were reticent about the routes they had followed." (Wilson 1969: 234)

The first official and therefore recorded journey overland and far to the north-east and east was in 1689 when ensign Isaq Schrijver led a party as far as Aberdeen and Graham's Town. Near the latter they were involved in a fight with and killing of some Xhosa or Gqunukhwebe. This party was comprised of only two wagons and less than 20 soldiers. They suffered no losses of their number. Schrijver reported that the local population encountered knew how to extract iron, copper and beads from stranded ships (Crampton 2004: 47, 88-9).

Even before the restriction of keeping livestock within a day's journey of the homestead was removed in 1703:

> "The forty-five young [white] men [from Stellenbosch, each with a Khoikhoi servant] who organized themselves in 1702 crossed the Hottentots Holland mountains, followed the coast to the forests, which they skirted, and then travelled up the Langkloof to Algoa bay, from where they struck inland in a north-easterly direction to the area of the Great Fish River ... On their way back to the Cape the expedition attacked and plundered Khoikhoi kraals. ... they returned with several thousand head of stolen cattle and sheep ...
>
> "Such freebooting, whether for ivory or cattle, represented one of the very few means of raising capital, or even of earning a living, outside the poverty trap which the Cape settlement still mainly was at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century.
>
> "Other illegal traders followed ..." (Wilson 1972: 1)

Wilson adds that the 1702 party "... fought with a party of five or six hundred Xhosa whom they met near where Somerset East is now." (Wilson 1969: 234)

The significance of the 1702 party was that the expedition became public when they brought cattle back, against the company monopoly and prohibition on trade in cattle, and also when Willem Adrian van der Stel was accused of being party to this expedition when he was impeached in 1706. Forbes speculates that this party may also have reached Algoa Bay (Forbes 1965: 155 fn.74).

Such expeditions were usually away for nine to 12 months. According to P.J. van der Merwe, there were 102 registered hunting trips, the majority of which were to the east (cited in Hopper 1980: 68). Citing Hopper and others:

> "Between 1735 and 1744 there were at least 102 hunting and trading expeditions to the Eastern Cape; two trips in 1736, for example, brought back to the Western Cape just over 396 lbs of ivory each." (Crais 1992: 37)

> "There is no doubt that from at least the beginning of the eighteenth century parties of hunters dared the dangers of the practically unknown eastern areas of South Africa, their principal object being the acquisition of ivory. One of these was led by a certain Hermanus Hubner. This man had actually established a base of operations on the Great Fish River before 1736, which was named after him Hermanus' Kraal (now Fort Brown).[79] And the fact that his last and fatal expedition took him as far east as what he called 'Adera Deira de Natal', which I consider was Durban Bay,[80] shows clearly that an overland trail to the eastward had been blazed at a very early date." (Kirby 1960: 1)

> "By 1736 two expeditions had crossed the Keiskamma, one of four colonists with six wagons trading ivory with the Mthembu, and the other of thirteen wagons and eleven white men under Heupenaer [presumably otherwise spelt Hubner]. Each wagon took a load of 800 to 900 kilograms of ivory. ...
>
> "These were not the only parties" (Wilson 1969: 234)

Who was in the other party beyond the Keiskamma River referred to by Wilson in 1736? The other party returned safely (Hopper 1980: 68). According to Forbes, the survivors of the Hubner party on their return met another party seeking ivory crossing the Sundays River and heading east (Forbes 1965: 13). This party was led by Gerrit Oosthuijsen and Jacob van Deventer and had five wagons. They had set out to shoot elephants.

A written account of the massacre made in front of governor Tulbagh on 10 July 1837 by Hendrik de Vries de Jong and Henrik Scheffer de Jonge may further explain the confusion as to whether there were one or two parties. Hendrik de Vries de Jong and Hermanus Hubner left the Cape with three wagons and joined a further group of nine burgers with a further ten wagons before Attaquas Kloof and the land of the Gonaqua. After a journey lasting one and a half months, presumably since setting out from the Cape, and after passing the "headquarters" of "Captain Faro", presumably Phalo, they entered the country of the

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[79] For more on the route through Hermanus' Kraal see the 1957 article by Kirby in *Africana Notes and News Vol.12 No.1*

[80] But note the point made by Axelson above that from 1497 to after 1824 there was considerable confusion with Port St Johns. Crampton (2004) follows Axelson (below).

"Tamboegis" where they "found" a group of burgers under Fredrik Hubner.[81] This account also refers to the Fish River at this early date (De Jong & De Jong 1737: 1).

The meeting of the two Hubner brothers somewhere in Thembuland after each had journeyed with separate parties and after each had been on the road for up to one and a half months cannot have been a co-incidence. In other words by 1736 routes and rendezvous points far in the east were established and known to a network of boers from far to the west and within the Colony.

Both Hubner brothers, Hermanus and Fredrik, were on the 1736 trip and both were murdered on their return journey. They had farms, or shared a farm, on the Gourits River, west of Mossel Bay (*Hoge 1956: 149)*. Both Thunberg and Sparrman stated that the murders occurred because the Xhosa wanted the iron from their wagons whereas in 1752 a Xhosa chief claimed that there had been misunderstandings caused by a Khoikhoi interpreter (Wilson 1969: 234).

Both explanations sound a little too simplistic – clearly there was more to the tragedy. Was the ivory trade simply becoming too big and was Phalo losing control of this trade? If so he may have needed to send out a clear message that he was in charge and would no longer tolerate such large and armed bands of traders travelling through his territory. But if so this did not deter four of the survivors from joining the party of Oosthuijsen and Van Deventer:

> "Daniel de Vries, Jan Bruijns, Jan van Vooren and Coenraad Sheffer returned (with them) to the country they had come from, in order to find if possible some of the goods or stock which Jan van Vooren and Coenraad Sheffer had lost ..." (De Jong & De Jong 1737: 2)

The Hubners and their party may have been murdered near present day Mooiplaas, then the kraal of Phalo which was near the Kwelerha River. There is a suggestion that Mooiplaas may derive from "Moordplaats" (Crampton, Pieres & Vernon fn.222). If the latter is correct this may support Forbes that the murder of members of the Hubner party occurred on the Kwenxurha River rather than the Kwelerha. The former flows through the Mooiplaas area while the latter is nearby to the south. In 1773 Thunberg met Jan Bruyns/Bruijns, a survivor of the Hubner massacre. An unnamed survivor was still alive and 95 yers old when Collins met him in 1809 (Forbes 1965: 18).

There was considerable confusion into the 18th century as to the location of "Natal" and the mouth of the Mzimvubu was likely described as such (Crampton 2004: 81, citing Axelson).

But even if the Hubners only reached as far as the Mzimvubu in 1736, this was a feat of note. Given the terrain in the area, the Transkei in general and that onwards towards what is now Durban Bay, they must have been able to tap into existing knowledge of routes. The question is did they use only local guides, from one locality to the next, or were there already guides familiar with extensive sections of the journey?

The Hubner expedition may not have been the first that far. Crampton, citing the account by the De Jongs above, states:

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[81] The 2nd group with ten wagons included the 2nd De Jong and Coenrad Sheffer, Johannes and Daniel de Vries, Jan Bruijns, Christoffel Hoogreefde, Louis Cloete and Gerrit and Jan van Vooren. In Thembuland they met up with Fredrik Hubner and his party which included the boers Anthony Lotz, Andries Esterhuijsen and Philip Constant. Both Hubners as well as Lotze, Esterhuijsen, Constant and Gerrit van Vooren were murdered. Christoffel Hoogreefde was abandoned at the Fish River on the return flight, "unable to proceed because of sickness and hunger".

"The report describes a vital, flourishing trade in ivory between particular Mpondo clans and individual Cape traders ..." (Crampton 2004: 45)

This trade probably also involved the Thembu and certainly the Tshomane and the Xhosa, from the De Jong account.

The survivors of the Hubner party or parties turned back to the Cape with at least ten wagons fully laden with ivory, perhaps ten tons in mass, paid for with beads, copper and iron. Some of this trade was conducted with three Englishmen, shipwrecked many years previously, who were well-prepared for their trade, again suggesting a well-worn wagon-track up from the Cape (Crampton 2004: 63-4). Wilson adds:

"The Fish River was already known to the colonists by this name in 1736, when the Hubner expedition passed through here ... which suggests the region was already being visited by the settlers from the Cape on a regular basis at that early date." (Crampton, Peires & Vernon 2013: fn 158)

Extensive farming and colonial expansion

The Dutch freeburgher population grew from 105 in 1660 to 1 334 in 1700 and 15 000 by 1795 (Schutte 1979: 187). Armstrong gives a figure of 20 000 burgers in 1795 and 22 000 slaves (Armstrong 1979: 91). Guelke gives figures of 5 000 burghers in 1751 and 10 500 in 1780 (1979: 41).

"[Free] Men consistently outnumbered women in a ratio of about 3:2 and children just over half the total." (Guelke 1979: 41)

The colonial population thinned out dramatically toward the frontiers. Hopper estimated that of a Dutch male population of about 3 000 in 1778, only 150 were resident on the far frontier. This number increased dramatically to 779 by 1793. In 1775 there were only 18 male boers in the Agterbriuntjieshoogte. Four years later 49 adult male boers were registered for military duty in both Agterbuintjieshoogte and Bruintjieshoogte itself (Hopper 1980: 37-8).

The inability of the southwestern Cape in particular and the colony as a whole to absorb the settler population and the thin spread of the population outside of the southwestern Cape created new classes and movements including what were effectively bandits, and contributed further to making a mockery of boundaries and borders.

"As their stocks and herds increased [in the late 1600s], the freeburghers did not hesitate to use the pasture lands beyond the settled areas. In the dry summer months it became common for farmers to send their livestock inland under the care of a son, trusted slave or Khoikhoi." (Guelke 1979: 53)

"... Younger sons of freeburghers sometimes entered the service of the Company, while many of the Company's officials became burghers. ... In general, however, it was the sons of established farmers, and not ex-officials, who, forced by lack of land, moved to the northeast and became trekboers." (Schutte 1979: 191)

"Trekboer transhumance in search of water and pastures could be the first step towards permanent migration into a new frontier district." (Beinart 2003: 42)

In comparison to arable farms, loan farms for grazing were much cheaper.

"Land was available on the edge of the settled areas for a small annual rent, and elsewhere in the frontier regions by purchase of the opstal (fixed improvements) of an existing loan farm plus the standard rent. The cost of an opstal in areas suitable for stock farming was usually considerably lower than the cost of an arable freehold farm. The average value of an opstal ranged from 300 to 500 guilders compared with 6,000 to 10,000 guilders for a freehold farm. In some areas an opstal could be purchased for as little as 100 guilders while a good arable farm could cost as much as 20,000 guilders. Moreover, the stock farmer did not have to purchase many slaves or expensive equipment. His heaviest investment was for the purchase of stock. Assuming a pastoralist could get started with one horse [50 guilders], twenty cattle [150 guilders], fifty sheep [350], a wagon [300] and a little equipment [78 guilders and rent on loan farm 72], his capital needs amounted to about 1,000 guilders. Those lacking any capital resources whatsoever could become *bijwoners* (tenant farmers) on the properties of established settlers. A *bijwoner* with no resources of his own might look after his patron's stock on a system of shares. Many young men began their farming careers this way." (Guelke 1979: 64)

There were not many if any other more realistic opportunities than taking up a loan-farm and /or becoming a trekboer:

"The prospect of a poor man to become a labourer was ruled out by the use of slaves. ...

"The prospect of enlisting as a soldier or sailor in the VOC ... rarely received serious thought from young men brought up in the relatively free environment of the Cape. ... Pay in the VOC was low and discipline harsh. ...

"Moreover, the opportunities seized by the colonists of Van Riebeeck's day to become townsmen (tavern keepers, retailers and the like) were no longer available. Trading activities were dominated by a small, entrenched merchant class with which a poor country boy could not compete. Other less glamorous occupations, such as fishing, were dominated by free blacks. ... In brief there were exceedingly few opportunities outside stock farming (and elephant hunting) for the growing number of colonists of moderate or poor circumstances who sought to make a living at the Cape after 1717." (Guelke 1979: 65)

The driver of this rapid expansion was the trekboer class which emerged circa 1690. The increase in the burgher population had to go somewhere, especially after the closure of the Stellenbosch district to more farm allocations and settlement in 1687.

In the period 1710-20 the trekboer ranks were swelled by surpluses of wheat and wine. There was little point in trying to get established as a cultivator of the soil.

When the Cape appeared to be actually serving as a refreshment station and to be self-supporting, in 1717 the Heren XVII decided no longer to encourage European immigration to the Cape.

"After 1717 an individual could acquire land for his own use through inheritance, by purchase, or by leasing a loan farm. In practice there was little distinction between freehold land and loan farms, whose leases became so secure the fixed improvements (which could be sold) came to include the value of the land on which they stood." (Guelke 1979: 54)

"The holder of one of these early grazing permits was entitled to the exclusive use of a designated area for a period of three to four months [ie transhumance]. The standard period of a permit's validity was soon extended to six months, and general criteria were

gradually established to define its limits. The basic rule was that no grazing permit would be issued to a new applicant if his grazing area would be within an hour's walking distance of the centre of an existing one. In practice this meant that each permit holder had exclusive control of a minimum of 2,420 ha. ... As long as he did not infringe on his neighbours, a trekboer had de facto control of all the land he could use, often twice or four times the theoretical maximum. In 1714 a small fee was charged for a grazing permit of a loan farm (*leningplaats*) [later *leenplaats* and *leenplaas*] as these permits came to be known. In the same year, permission to cultivate wheat on loan farms, which up to that time had been granted only on an individual basis, was made a standard concession." (Guelke 1979: 53)

"As the number of stock farmers increased, more and more loan farms were taken out at ever-increasing distances from Cape Town. The number of independent stockholders, who comprised about one tenth of the 260 agricultural producers in 1716, increased to 225 in 1746 [82] and to 600 in 1770. In 1770 they represented two thirds of all independent farmers. In other words, a rapid increase in the number of pastoralists took place while the number of arable farmers grew very slowly." (Guelke 1979: 58)

In other words the number of arable farmers grew from about 224 in 1716 to about 300 over 54 years, an increase of only 33% compared to a 23-fold increase in the number of pastoralists from about 26 in 1716 to about 600 in 1770.

Between 1716 and 1780 a minimum of five and maximum of 100 leenplaats were issued in a year at an approximate average of about 50 per year (Guelke 1979: 69).

But as late as 1803 the Cape was still comprised of only four districts. If a *leenplaats* had to be registered in either Cape Town itself or even in a district headquarters such as Swellendam, Stellenbosch or Graaff Reinet, given the nature and slow pace of transportation, applications and registrations may not have been much of a priority for remote and isolated trekboers when return trips would have taken months at least. So the figures for the numbers of *leenplaats* are certainly an under-count.

The advance of the trekboers away from the Cape relieved the Cape of simmering internal conflicts arising from the tight control by the VOC:

"The absence of major conflicts in the following decades [after the recall of Willem van der Stel in 1707] was due to several more or less fortuitous circumstances that dissipated tensions. Thus, for instance, grain harvests in this period were just as irregular as the marketing possibilities." (Schutte 1979: 196)

In 1730 trekboers reached the forests around George and began to travel inland into the Langkloof. In 1734 the VOC set up an administrative post in the east at Rietvlei, and proclaimed the Great Brak River, east of Mossel Bay, to be the eastern border.

"In 1734 a military post was established at Rietvlei on the Buffeljagter River." (Botha 1927: 92)

It was only in 1745 that a third district was established, based at Swellendam (Thompson 1990: 46).

[82] There is a discrepancy with the figure of 307 from governor de la Fontaine in 1732. It might be explained by the 225 stockholders in 1746 not engaging in any marketable cultivation and being purely livestock farmers.

In 1752 the last colonial settlement was still just east of Mossel Bay, described by Beutler's diarist, Haupt, as:

> "... the last place on this east side of Africa inhabited by Christians" (Forbes 1965: 10).

In 1769/70 landdrosts Faber and Mentz of Swellendam and Stellenbosch respectively travelled east as a boundary commission and suggested the watershed between the Sundays and Fish Rivers as the boundary which they named after a heemraad of Stellenbosch and signatory to their report, Nic de Bruyn, hence De Bruynshoogte, later Bruintjieshoogte (Forbes 1965: 69-70).

In 1770 the northern and southern trekker parties met in the Camdeboo.

> "In 1770 the furthest farm was Uytkomst on the Camdeboo mountains, thirty-three hours on horseback from the Fish, but by 1772 Willem Prinsloo was beyond Bruintjieshoogte[83] in the valley of the Fish. Even in 1770 cattle belonging to farmers were grazed on the Loerie, Van Stadens, and Coega rivers." (Wilson 1969: 237)

> "When in 1770 the administration made an abortive attempt to check further expansion at the Gamtoos River, a number of trekboers had already taken out loan farms beyond it. The eastward expansion continued, and by the late 1770s settlers had occupied the Zuurveld." (Guelke 1979: 59)

> "In the Swellendam district the boundary commission [in 1770] had discovered a 'beaten wagon road' leading eastwards into Xhosa territory, and also evidence that the colonists were grazing their cattle beyond the Gamtoos River. In an attempt to prevent contact between Xhosa and Boer, the Gamtoos River was proclaimed the eastern border of the Swellendam district. ...

> "Little notice was taken of these borders, and by 1774 a number of colonists from the Swellendam district were settled along the Sundays River. Gert Scheepers, ... whose farm was on the present site of Uitenhage, resorted to the subterfuge of reaching the Swartkops River by travelling south from Camdebo in the Stellenbosch district, so as not to violate the Swellendam boundary by going east of the Gamtoos River. ... Stephanus Bekker apparently had three loan farms there [on the Swartkops River]. Petrus de Buisson had a farm 'situate beyond the Bushmans River'; he died and the farm was granted to another Boer on 5 June 1770, when the Gamtoos had only just been proclaimed the border." (Smith 1976: 11)

Forbes notes that Francois Le Vaillant makes no mention of meeting colonial graziers in the vicinity of Port Elizabeth in 1782 when he claimed to have passed through the area when in fact their presence was recorded by a senior official, colonel Gordon, on one of his visits, perhaps as early as 1774 (Forbes 1965: 119 citing Molsbergen[84]).

> "By 1773 the eastward expansion of the Trekboers had brought them into contact with the San of the Sneeuberg, and the resistance encountered here was of an unprecedented magnitude. It was in response to the pleas for help from the frontier districts that the Cape authorities decided to 'concert ... the measures whereby the said robberies of Bosjesmans Hottentots might be resisted, those villains attacked upon all sides in their dens and, if possible, reduced to a permanent peace'." (Penn 1989: 16)

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[83] Agter Bruintjies Hoogte refers to the area around Somerset East. Forbes puts the arrival of Willem Prinsloo in 1771 (Forbes 1965: 70 citing Moodie).

[84] E.C. Godee Molsbergen, 1932, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika Vol.4*, Linschoten Verreniging, The Hague

Thus was born the General Commando of 1774 against the San. Operating in three sections from the Ceres Karoo to the Sneeuberg, the official record shows that it killed 503 people and captured 239, mainly women and children. One member of the commando was killed by a poisoned arrow (Penn 2005: 119).

The initial penetration of the *veeboeren* into San territory was accompanied by co-operation as much as conflict. So wasteful of the products of their hunting were the colonists that they left much behind for Khoisan. They killed far more game than they could consume and the flesh of elephants was never eaten by the colonists.

> "But this early phase of co-operation did not last. Within two or three years of the first settlers' arrival in the Camdeboo it gave way ... to a fairly constant state of warfare." (Newton-King 1999: 104)

The 1774 commando did not achieve what the trekboers hoped to achieve. The trekboers believed that the San of the Sneeuberg were taking captured cattle northwards down the Seekoei River which rose north of Kompasberg, and towards the Gariep. The Seekoei valley was densely populated by San. In August 1775 Adriaan van Jaarsveld and 77 other men pretended to go hunting up the Seekoei. They shot a number of hippos and left the carcasses on the river. At the next dawn they attacked the San who had assembled to feast on the hippos. They massacred 122 people and took 21 prisoners. They continued to the east of the Seekoei, killing a further 61 and capturing another 15 people (Penn 2005: 126).

> "According to calculations based on the reports of the militia officers of Graaff Reinet district, a total of 2,504 'Bushmen' were killed and 669 taken captive during the first decade of the district's existence (1786-95). The number killed and captured during the preceding decade, when the northeastern frontier was still within the jurisdiction of Swellendam, was, if anything, even greater." (Newton-King 1999: 112)

But the *veeboeren* were soon to come up to what was to become a more formidable barrier than that posed by the San: the westernmost Xhosa.

> "By 1774 a number of families who had settled in Agterbruintjieshoogte [the area around Somerset East and eastwards to the Fish River] petitioned the government to allow them to remain there. It was a fertile area, with an abundance of game, which was always an important factor to both Boer and Xhosa, and it was relatively free of marauding Bushmen. It was also conveniently situated for indulging in the illegal cattle trade. In 1775 the boundary was moved to include the Agterbruintjieshoogte; the eastern border of the Stellenbosch district would henceforth be the upper Fish River. At the same time the eastern frontier of the Swellendam district was moved to the Bushmans River." (Smith 1976: 12)

On 15 April 1774 governor Von Plettenberg issued a proclamation declaring barter with the unbelievers a violation of the public peace and punishable by confiscation, corporal punishment and even death (Cory Vol.2: 174-5).

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[85] Such extermination was to continue for another one hundred years as colonial settlement forced the surviving San towards what is now Lesotho. In May 1823 George Thompson recorded meeting with veld cornet Van Wyk in the Agter Sneeuberg near the source of the Fish River. While he described Van Wyk as "in some respects superior to the generality of his countrymen ... he is, nevertheless, a bitter hunter of the Bushmen." According to Pringle, Van Wyk killed over 80 in one expedition to the Tarka in 1821. Thompson recorded that a recent commando had killed another thirty people and over 100 had been killed in 1822. In early July 1823 when Thompson departed Beaufort West for Cape Town he heard of a recent commando which had killed 30 San, including two women and two children (Forbes 1967: 40-1, 134).

But such proclamations continued to be ineffective as they had been in an earlier period when the VOC had sought to prevent private trade with the Khoikhoi. The trade continued despite the prohibition and some arrests and imprisonment.

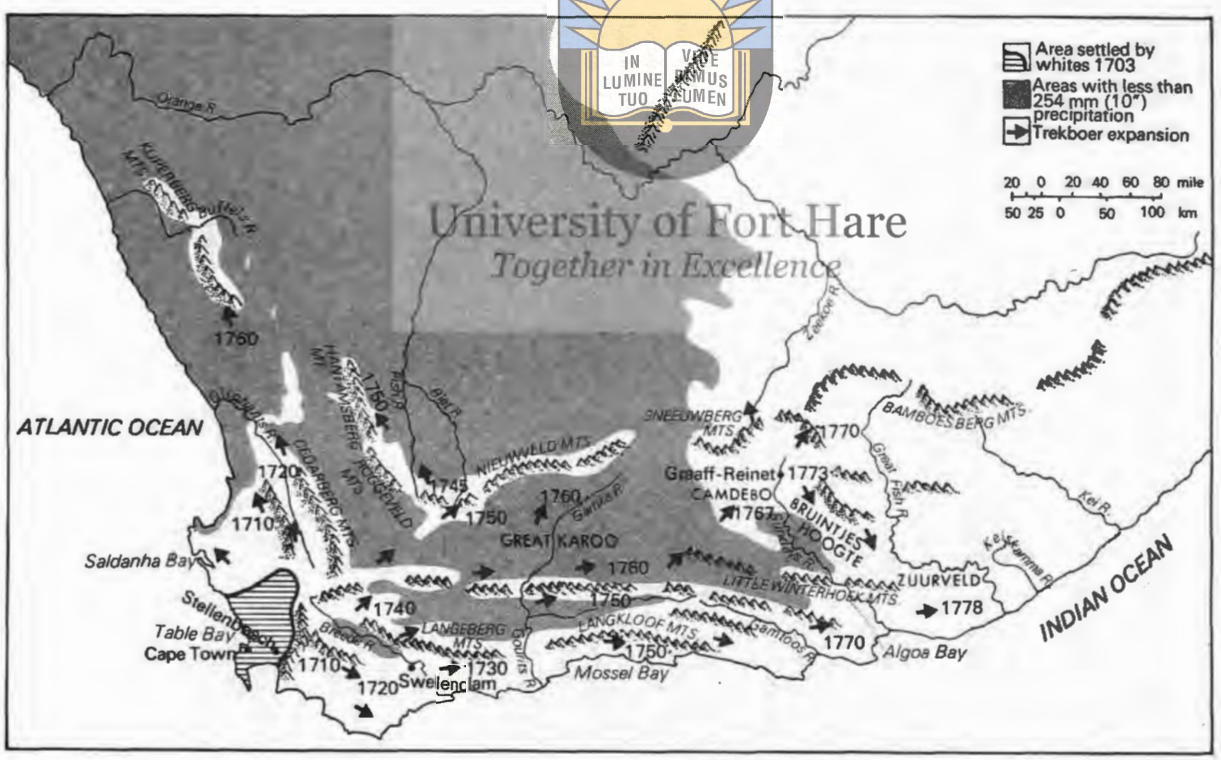
> "In 1774 a burgher was imprisoned for bartering cattle with the Xhosa, and an order was issued that all 'Kafir cattle' in farmers' kraals were to be handed over to the government. These cattle were "very easily to be distinguished', but the trade continued. Farmers were forbidden to settle east of the Gamtoos." (Wilson 1969: 237)

Trade at this stage was a two-way process which was seen as beneficial by both parties to the exchange. It was sometimes the Xhosa who went out to initiate trade:

> "... early in 1776 Sparrman met about 100 Xhosa near Agterbruintjieshoogte, who had apparently come from the vicinity of the Koonap River to barter cattle." (Smith 1976: 12)

Figure 22: Trekboer expansion 1703-1780

Source Elphick & Giliomee 1979: 42



Once settlement spread beyond the horizon and the non-VOC population grew way beyond the number of officials and soldiers of the VOC, the farming population continued to do what made most sense to them, despite the officials:

> "In the 1690s the illicit livestock trade with Khoikhoi of the interior was lucrative enough to spawn a group of frontier traders who acted as middlemen for the Khoikhoi and the farmers of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. Although freeburghers were occasionally apprehended while engaged in illicit trading, the frontier was by this time too wide and the number of Company officials too few to stop it. The decrees or *plakkaten* issued and reissued against trade with the Khoikhoi bear testimony to the inability of the Company to control frontier activity. The situation demanded more effective policing of the frontier

rather than the promulgation of *plakkaten* with heavy sentences for the contravention of laws ever trader was confident he could avoid." (Guelke 1979: 52-3)

"The VOC initially had attempted to restrict the livestock trade to burghers with 'established property'. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, trade became in the eyes of the colonial elite the occupation of 'good-for-nothings, vagabonds and bandits' and, despite numerous prohibitions enacted by the VOC to control trade, the company's restrictions were almost always ignored." (Crais 1992: 37 from Guelke)

Sooner or later the "colonial elite" were part of the illicit trade. Officially the elite disapproved while unofficially they themselves participated, often through intermediaries, whether slaves, *drosters* or *rondlopers*.

The labour requirements of the VOC and the burghers of the southwestern Cape were met by slaves, mainly from Indonesia and also from east Africa and Madagascar. Where there was slavery, some slaves attempted to escape to some sort of freedom.

"Towards runaway slaves belonging to the colonists, the Hottentots feel a disgust which is not only inborn, but also founded on common sense. They know very well that a runaway slave can only preserve his life by robbing them of their cattle. Therefore if they catch one of them, they hand them over to the nearest colonist, who then takes him away and surrenders him to the authorities. But should a fugitive slave succeed in reaching the Kaffirs [i.e. the Xhosa of the eastern Cape], he would be protected against all danger, for they never give the slaves up, because they become their best fighters, more courageous than the Kaffirs themselves. They defend themselves desperately against the colonists, for fear of being caught and handed over to justice, preferring death to recapture. It is the aim of all such slaves, who band together and plot to desert, to join up with the Kaffirs." (Penn 1999: 77 quoting Mentzel Vol.3: 300)

Mentzel was describing the Cape in the 1730s. So already the lines of conflict between burgher slave owners and Xhosa to the east were recognised, as were the consequent options and opportunities for escape.

Desertions of sailors and Company soldiers of all nationalities were also common. Collectively with escaped slaves these fugitives were known as *drosters*.

"Droster experiences were forged in an environment in which colonial farmers increasingly sought to reduce all non-white labourers in the colony to a condition approximating slavery. There were no European slaves at the Cape and there was thus a perceptible correlation between skin colour and free or unfree status." (Penn 1999: 4)

The number of escaped slaves and deserters seeking refuge beyond the colonial boundaries was significant. They sometimes formed multi-ethnic gangs, and some were to develop, especially on the northern frontier, into powerful forces (see below).

Not only slaves attempted to desert, escape and flee into the interior. The settlement that slowly expanded from the Cape peninsula spread out firstly into Khoikhoi pastoralist territory and secondly into San hunting territory, northwards, north-eastward and eastward, across the Karoo and to the limits of the winter rainfall area. The decimation and dispossession of the Khoisan of both their land and their livestock left them with few options – labour under conditions at best of clientage, at worst slavery. There was sometimes an alternative:

"When they took their destinies in their own hands, they created some intriguing social forms. On one hand, many were enlisted in the military service of the Company, and then of the British colonial state; on the other, many rebelled against that authority. When they

sought refuge from the colony, they tended to congregate just beyond the frontier, in the vicinity of the river systems of the interior. There they formed new communities [such as the Basters, Griqua etc.] behind energetic leaders, swept up cattle and sheep, and attempted a life of self sufficiency." (Denoon 1983: 30-1)

But ultimately they too were doomed to further flight, extermination or some form of wage labour as the frontier extended or closed.

There were also other settlers including debtors and criminals who began to fall through the cracks, referred to by Penn as "white delinquents":

"... the VOC tried hard to monitor the activities of all its subjects. In theory every free colonist who went farming or hunting needed a permit or licence. The right to settle in, or indeed visit, the Cape interior was subject to Company approval. Those who did not have their own loan farm had to be registered as living with somebody who did. *Knechts* were considered to be bound by their contracts to work for their bosses on the latter's farms. Single men ... were required to ... register ... with a particular colonist ... Anyone, in other words, who was not either on the Company's list or domiciled in a registered place could be considered a vagrant or '*rondlooper*', and as such, a troublemaker." (Penn 1999: 87-8)

Whatever the various reasons for this concern, there were repeated efforts to lure deserters back with promises of pardon if they had not committed other crimes. But given the attempts at total control of the population by the VOC, Penn points out that such "delinquents" had their uses:

"Sometimes the settler community had an interest in protecting these roving '*landloopers*', who could be sponsored to undertake dangerous hunting trips or illegal bartering expeditions without implicating more respectable burghers. Most frontier farmers could use the labour of a man who was grateful for food, shelter and confidentiality. Widows, in particular, were often well disposed towards those who offered them their services. ... (Penn 1999: 88-9)

"Fugitives were ... the true pioneers of the colonial frontier. They were always in search of the outer limits of the colony in order to pass beyond them. In so doing, paradoxically, they served only to extend the colonial frontier, for they, unwittingly, took the colony with them. It is, perhaps, a moot point whether their impact on Khoisan societies was more or less devastating than that of the trekboers on their heels. Ultimately, both trekboers and fugitives were part of the same frontier zone. It is for this reason that one should not make too great a distinction between them." (Penn 1999: 98)

Somewhere between the trekboers and the *rondlopers* etc was another class:

"'A little nearer the frontier,' wrote Andries Stockenstrom in 1813, 'the proprietor of a place is mostly obliged to get several other farmers to live with him for mutual protection against the savages and the wild beasts – *bywooners*, as they are called'." (Quoted in Delius & Trapido 1983: 56)

The *bywooners* were not only dependent on the holder of the place for their tenure but were also bound in other ways:

"... among the several ways in which the poor avoided impoverishment was the mechanism allowing them to acquire and re-acquire stock through a loaning system which limited repayment to half the increase in animals. This ensured the creation of a set of reciprocal relations." (Delius & Trapido 1983: 56)

This system was similar to the two systems of cattle-clientage described by Peires amongst the Xhosa:

> "The more common type, known as *busa*, was that of a single individual – for example a young man in search of bride wealth – attaching himself to the place of a wealthy person, usually a chief or important councillor. He would tend the cattle ... and perform other services and from time to time he would be given a calf, or perhaps a beast in recognition of some special achievement. Alternatively, a man who had already established his own homestead but had lost his cattle through misfortune – for example the victim of a drought, or a refugee – might be able to obtain cattle on extended loan, caring for them in return for a share in their natural increase." (Peires 1981: 40)

Peires comments that poor Xhosa in need of cattle were as prepared to work for boers as for Xhosa in order to acquire cattle (Peires 1981: 53-4).

Monica Hunter described a similar practice amongst the amaMpondo in her classic *Reaction to Conquest*. A similar system applied amongst the Sotho-Tswana, known as *mafisa*.

In the eastern Cape, expansion and independence was limited by the Xhosa presence in the Zuurveld and northwards, but this did not prevent a few enterprising individuals, trekboers especially such as Coenraad de Buys in the late 1790s and early 1800s and later Louis Tregardt in the 1830s, from carving out spaces for themselves and their followers amongst the indigenous inhabitants. Nor did it prevent the trickle of escaped slaves and army deserters eastwards, although in order to survive these individuals had to make themselves useful to established authorities, often as mercenaries, such as De Buys and Loggenberg.

Bounty hunters were active from as early as there were escaped slaves with a reward out for their capture:

> "... on one occasion the bounty hunter Jacob Joubert, who had been on both Muller's and van Reenen's expeditions [in 1783 and 1790 respectively, so find survivors of the *Grosvenor*], found 18 runaways in the same place." (Crampton 2004: 134 citing Moodie Vol.3, 72-3)

By the time of the second expedition in 1790 he knew the territory well enough to join the expedition north of the Kei River near the Nqabara River. Joubert certainly did take at least one Xhosa male back to the Cape on an earlier trip and on another trip may have taken a grandson of the "sunburnt queen" [86] off to be sold into slavery in Cape Town (Crampton 2004: 130-1).

> "In the early decades of the eighteenth century, farmers moved into the north-eastern Cape between the Sneeuberg and Gariep (Orange) river." (Beinart 2003: 42)

Northern frontier

While the middle Gariep had over two millennia been an area along which and through which various Khoisan groups and livestock had moved, the advent of European colonists at the Cape may very soon have had a direct bearing on the middle Gariep. Nigel Penn cites a number of sources to support the view that the Korana Khoikhoi of the area were an amalgam of original Khoikhoi groups in the area and later migrations of Khoikhoi from the south, possibly originating from as far southwest as the Cape peninsula (Penn 1995: 43-4).

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[86] From the title of Crampton's book, referring to a young female survivor of the wreck of an East Indiaman at Lambasi Bay in the second half of the 1730s.

Certainly by the late 18th century the Gariep had become home to a more diverse group of settlers:

> "Colonel Gordon, at his journey to the Orange river [in 1777?], found a little colony established here of emigrant Bastard-Hottentots ... they were clothed after the European manner ... they were converts to Christianity; they lived by breeding cattle, or by the chase; ... they had good firearms in their possession; and ... they obtained powder and ball, with other necessaries of civilized life, by a traffic in elephants' teeth with the inhabitants on the northern borders of the Colony." (Wilson 1969: 69-70 quoting Lichtenstein Vol.2: 301-2)

> "The other necessity was a wagon to transport the ivory and bring back ammunition, and this many families of mixed descent acquired." (Wilson 1969: 70)

The Gariep valley had been a refuge from the Cape since at least the early 18th century for Khoisan, escaped slaves and deserters:

> "Wikar ... deserted the service of the DEIC at the Cape in 1775 to escape the embarrassment of gambling debts. He spent an extraordinary four and a half years in the interior, living with Khoikhoi and San (Bushman) groups and becoming a spiritual brother to a San chief named Ouga. He was the first recorded European to travel along the Orange River, which he would have known as the !Garib or Great River. ... The mass of knowledge he accumulated gained him a pardon and reinstatement in the company's service." (Maclennan 2003: 74)

The history of the northern frontier up to the middle Gariep and Nu Gariep or Black River, the latter to the east of the confluence with the Gariep or the Vaal River, in this period is essentially the history not of boers or burghers but of the Oorlams, Bastaards, Khoikhoi etc. some of whom at the suggestion in 1813 of John Campbell, a visiting director of the London Missionary Society (LMS), became known as the Griqua. It was also home to some amaXhosa.

From 1740 onwards whole new categories of people had emerged on the edges of settler society and who tended to move away from the colony:

> "The new fugitives were people who were described, in the discourse of the day, as 'Bastaards' or 'Bastaard-Hottentots'. ... Not only were such people active within the frontier zone, they were, in many cases, products of the frontier zone. Indeed some of them were doubtless themselves the descendants of colonial fugitives and frontier Khoikhoi." (Penn 1999: 92)

Elphick and Shell state that 'Bastaard' usually referred to the offspring of European-Khoikhoi miscegenation and 'Bastaard-Hottentot' to slave/black-Khoikhoi offspring. They concluded that considerable miscegenation but not intermarriage took place between European males and female slaves and Khoisan in the newly settled pastoral regions where European males greatly outnumbered European females (1979: 135).

The right to hold property and landed property in particular determined social status. Penn concludes that for a variety of reasons, Bastard children ended up with the most marginal land within the colony or alternatively beyond the colonial boundaries. He quotes Lichtenstein:

> "The white children of the colonists did not hesitate to make use of the right of the strongest to drive their half-yellow relations out of the places where they had fixed their

abodes. These Bastaard Hottentots were then obliged to seek an asylum in more remote parts, till at length, driven from the Sak River[87] as they had been before from the Bokkeveld, nothing remained for them but to retreat to the Orange River." (Penn 1999: 94-5)

Writing in 1823, George Thompson stated:

> "Being prevented from acquiring any fixed property in the Colony, and gradually forced back from the places they formerly occupied on the frontier, a number of them took refuge, about fifty years ago, in the wild regions adjoining the Gariep." (Forbes 1967: 76)

In mid-June 1823, when heading north with Robert Moffat to Lattakoo, Thompson came across Arend,[88] a slave who had been cruely treated in the Sneeuberg and who had absconded in about 1816:

> "... since which period he had been leading a wandering life among the tribes of the interior. By trafficking he had acquired some little property, being now possessed of a wagon, a musket, a considerable quantity of ivory, and about ninety head of cattle. ... He had accompanied the Rev. Mr. Campbell in his last journey [in 1820], as far as Kurrechein [Kaditshwene, between Mafikeng and Zeerust] ... and avowed his willingness to accompany me even to Delagoa Bay, were it not for the savage Mantatees – no other obstacle of any moment existing, as he conceived, to the accomplishment of such a journey." (Forbes 1967: 99-100)

Arend claimed to have reached within a day's journey of the Portuguese settlement at Delagoa Bay but turned back when he was able to purchase the items he desired, clothing for his wife and child, from traders en route. However Forbes construction concludes that he was still some 700km from Delagoa Bay (Forbes 1967: 104).

Arend was accompanied by Cupido Kakkerlakje and his wife. Cupido was from Bethelsdorp, became an assistant preacher in 1814 and accompanied Dr Campbell on part of his journey in 1820 (Forbes 1967: 99 fn.3).

Beyond the colonial boundaries, whether as independent groups or adherents to missions stations, such groups were to play critical roles in the extension of the hunting, raiding and trading networks into the 19th century:

> "Like the *drosters* who had preceded them, the 'Bastaard' or 'Bastaard-Hottentot' individuals who decided to move beyond the colony often gathered together in groups. These in turn, formed the nucleus of societies which later became known as *Oorlams*. ... They were composed of the same motley collection of colonial fugitives but were distinguished by their having achieved a measure of political independence, economic viability, social cohesion and military capability which enabled them to secure themselves in a region beyond the reach of colonial commandos." (Penn 1999: 95)

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[87] The Sak or Zak River rises ten or 20 km northwest of what became Beaufort West and flows to the northwest for about 200km before heading generally northwards to the Gariep at what later became Kakamas.

[88] He was referred to by Moffat as "Aaron Josephs, a builder and thatcher by trade who helped to build the mission school house at Kuruman. Schapera states that he had formerly accompanied Conraad Buys." He told Campbell in 1820 that he would buy his freedom in ivory if his master, A.J. Burgers, agreed to a reasonable price. After trying for Rds 4 000 from Thompson, which Thompson estimated at twice the rate, he settled for Rds 1 500 for which Arend remitted Thompson in Cape Town ivory to this value. Thompson recorded Josephs' age as 41 years and his trade as mason when he wrote to the governor requesting manumission (Forbes 1967: 99 fn.2, 129).

Penn points to the paradox that:

> "Oorlams are people living outside the colony but possessing attributes acquired inside the colony. ...
>
> "Quite apart from the essential skills of marksmanship and horsemanship was the necessity of acquiring gunpowder, muskets, horses and all the other commodities that were highly prized: Tobacco, brandy, hats and clothes of European style. From their contact with the hunters and robbers of the open frontier, the proto-Oorlams learnt how to dispose of ivory, hides and stolen livestock. From their labour with white stock farmers they learnt both low Dutch and the value of organisation along the lines of the commando system." (Penn 1999: 96)

Like the *eenlopenders* and *rondlopers*, the *oorlams* were very useful to burgher society. Veldwachtmeester Petrus Pienaar was the respected owner of several farms who turned his attention to the middle Gariep in about 1780. He met up with Jan Bloem, a German, who had deserted his ship in Cape Town, murdered his wife and fled to the Gariep:

> "Pienaar established Bloem on his farm on the Orange, provided him with powder, and sold the cattle which Bloem was able to capture. Bloem acquired a following of Kora and began to raid not only other Kora communities but Sotho-Tswana as well ... Pienaar acquired another commando leader, an Oorlam named Klaas Afrikaner, who had earned a reputation for his role in large colonially-authorised commandos against the Khoisan in 1792. After refusing to be conscripted into military service in Cape Town, he settled at Pienaar's farm on the Orange and began to [illegible] Afrikaner soon began to complement Bloem's activities in central Transorangia, making southern Namibia his sphere of operations." (Legassick 1979: 256)

These groupings were constituted firstly as raiders, modelled on the boer commandos. Crucially they were depended on the colony for arms and ammunition:

> "The emergence of the commando-like band, which was the vehicle for the hunting, trading and raiding of the frontier zone, depended on access to firearms, horses and gunpowder. Underlying much of the politics of the frontier zone was a struggle to gain access to arms. The 'opening up' of the Northern Frontier zone and the long persistence of its 'openness' was partly rooted in the multiplicity of channels for the diffusion of arms. Much of the colonial governments' struggle to 'close' the frontier zone was the attempt to exert control over the firearms trade." (Legassick 1979: 255)

By the late 18th century the Kok and Berends families were probably trying to establish more stable trading patterns as the ivory trade opened up alongside the established cattle trade and as they tried to trade directly with Cape Town rather than through colonial farmers. While these bands had been able to raid Khoisan communities, they were unable to deal with the Sotho-Tswana in the same way. The declining elephant population in the Gariep area meant that ivory had to be sourced from the north and this trade was controlled by the Sotho-Tswana groups.

The trade was lucrative. A cow could be sold into the colony at a profit of almost 100% or Rds 8, and anything between 500% and 900% or Rds 18 to Rds 100 for a tusk of ivory. In about two years of hunting, J.M. Kok made Rds 3 000. Former LMS missionary William Edwards made Rds 3 200 in two trips to Cape Town in 1806 (Legassick 1979: 258, 283 fn.65; Beck 1989: 214).

The crucial element was guns. The Bastaards at Klaarwater were able to acquire some 500 guns by 1823, up from about 50 in 1801 (Legassick 1979: 283 fn.64).

> "... the colonial government sought to maintain strict control over the trade in armaments: powder could only be bought from government stores and resale was prohibited. Such prohibition did not prevent Bastaard middlemen from becoming effectively armed with the help of their white trading partners in the colony." (Keegan 1996: 171)

The Bastaards, Oorlams, Khoikhoi and the later Griqua were very much a feature of the arid northern frontier and the middle Gariep. The eastern frontier with its summer rainfall and higher rainfall was to take a different course. However the northern and eastern frontiers were connected in many ways, by people and trade.

In the 1790s Afrikaner and his sons killed Pienaar on his farm and built up their following lower down the Gariep, including both Khoisan and Xhosa. They fought against that colony in a war which may have been co-ordinated with the rebellion on the eastern frontier (Legassick 1979: 261). By 1800 there had already been the first three wars and the area on either side of the length of the Fish River was very unsettled.

Already the pressure for land and livestock on the eastern frontier, as well as normal succession disputes, were creating migrations in all directions. In the last decade of the 18th century when Ngqika overthrew and captured his uncle, Ndlambe, one of Ngqika's brothers, Nzwane, another son of Rharhabe, escaped with a few followers and tried to settle on the Gariep:

> "Unable to subsist initially, most of them moved south and entered service in the Colony. Nzwane worked for Floris Visser, a veldwachtmeester in the Roggeveld [to the southwest, more than halfway to Cape Town] with whom he had frequent, angry clashes. Nevertheless he learnt to speak Dutch, and took the name Danster. More importantly, guns were available, and as each Xhosa man acquired the arms and ammunition necessary for independent life, he slipped away, back to the Orange River." (Anderson 1985: 17)

Anderson speculates that Nzwane had probably been an ivory trader before he left Xhosaland, and by 1800 he and a considerable force tried to take control of the northern ivory and cattle trade in alliance with Jonker Afrikaner who at that stage had significant control over the middle Gariep. But the alliance was a disaster for Nzwane – Afrikaner killed Nzwane's followers, stole his cattle and kidnapped his wife and children. Nzwane and the remnants of his band, without cattle or arms, moved up the river and met up with two leaders of the imiDange, Gola and Olela or Bangela and about a hundred followers, who had recently arrived in the area. This group so impressed Somerville and Truter on their expedition in 1801 with stories of the notorious Afrikaner that they gave Nzwane some arms and ammunition. These Nzwane used to assemble a force of Xhosa, Nama, Bastard and Korana against Afrikaner who they defeated and drove into Namibia. They acquired sufficient arms and ammunition from Afrikaner to raid and trade further north and attacked the Thlaping in 1805 (Anderson 1985: 17-20).

But the Gariep area was not without competition:

> "The Griqua, who held the monopoly of trade with the Thlaping, strongly objected to this bid for power, and with missionary assistance, not only forced the Xhosa to return the stolen cattle, but also made it clear they would not tolerate such competition." (Anderson 1985: 20)

Nor were these the only Xhosa in the area. In 1806 two Xhosa commoners, described as Hendrik and Jacob or Ogande, had settled with adherents and cattle at the source of the Gamka River, near Beaufort West, and moved in and out of the Colony to barter. By 1808

other Xhosa trading groups had settled on the Zak River just north of the colonial boundary, between what later became Beaufort West and Carnarvon. Gola split from Nzwane and Olela and moved with his adherents to the Zwarteberg and later to Pramberg, probably about 25 km northwest of what later became Victoria West.[89] Olela tried to gain recruits from within the colony and was seen to be causing unrest among servants. Most of these groups also moved back and forth to the Gariep. In general the Xhosa who moved into the colony with ivory and cattle to trade for arms and ammunition before moving out again were seen as troublemakers by colonial authorities. In 1811 Nzwane and a group were arrested, accused of cattle theft and transported by sea from Cape Town to Port Elizabeth to be handed over to Ngqika but most managed to escape. At the same time, with tension mounting on the eastern frontier, Caledon gave permission for a group of Xhosa to move through the Colony to settle on the Gariep. Some joined the group on the Zak River while a large group which included over 500 men, possibly including Nzwane, marched through the Graaff Reinet district to the Gariep. Late in 1812 Nzwane was emboldened to attack a Korana kraal, provoking retaliation from the Griqua, armed by their missionaries. Nzwane and the few who survived retreated to the Zak River (Anderson 1985: 21-4):

> "The Xhosa settlement on the Zak River had always been a good jumping off point for trade with the Colony, and had become a refuge for colonial deserters. Now it became a hive of activity, and Danster escorted Coenraad Buys to the Orange River in 1814, from where they threatened the LMS station at Toverberg (Colesburg)." (Anderson 1985: 24)

Eastern frontier

> "But the Dutch colonists, pressing eastwards into the fertile cattle pastures of the Zuurveld, were not moving into a vacuum. Nor were those other migrant pastoralists, the Xhosa, who had been making increasing use of seasonal Zuurveld grazing. Numerous Khoi clans were caught in the middle, and gradually forfeited both land and status – so much so that until recently historians have credited them with only a minor role in the frontier drama." (Bryer & Hunt 1984: 9)

> "From the time of the VOC onwards governments sought, in vain, to regulate relations between trekboer and Xhosa in the colony. Given the impotence of the authorities, raiding continued to destabilise the frontier, and African herders competed for access to the grazing resources of the Zuurveld." (Keegan 1996: 129)

In the 1750 the *Damasqua* were based on the Gamtoos River when they were raided of their cattle by San. They rebuilt their herds by the early 1770s when their herds attracted the attention of buyers for the Company. Shortly afterwards, Kees, their main leader, could claim authority over only 50 people. Many of the Damasqua were employed by trekboers to the west of the river. In 1778 Von Plettenberg allocated the best land along the river as loan farms (Hopper 1980: 39-40). Theopolis mission of the 19th century on the Kasouga River was probably located on the 1750 site of Toena of the *Hoengeiqua*. According to Swellengrebel, before the 1770s Toena was an effective middleman between Xhosa and colonial traders as

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[89] "Pramberg. Kallaway 1982:159. Thole, a Xhosa chief was granted land at the Pramberg, 1812. But Kallaway does not define the exact locus, i.e. which Pramberg. There are four Prambergs which can be considered. 1. 3215/2002 91 SSE Calvinia, Calvinia. Just west of the Roggeveldberge (at Onder Downes) 2. 3132/2000 21 ESE Calvinia 3. 3112/2257 26 NW Victoria West, Victoria West, dist. 4. 3026/2431 4 E Philipstown, Philipstown dist." (Skead 2001: 1024, emphasis added) Skead does not have any reference to "Zwarteberg". However there are references to "Zwartberg" near Prince Albert, some 120km southwest of Beaufort West (Skead 2001: 1056, 1095)

he was based on the sole wagon road. But when the colonial boundary was shifted to the Bushman's River in 1775, a few boers forced Toena from his village (Hopper 1980: 45-9).

A few boers with guns and horses were able to push the official boundary of the colony eastwards and continued to take Khoikhoi land and labour. The earlier pattern of collapse of Khoikhoi society in the face of trekboer expansion continued right up to the land of the Xhosa.

> "[Ensign] Beutler in 1752 noted a scarcity of game between the Keiskamma and Fish Rivers, the result of Xhosa hunting, and this seemed to foreshadow a further westward movement of people who did not kill their cattle for food. By the 1770's small groups of Gqunukhwebe and other mixed Hottentot-Xhosa groups were as far as west as the Gamtoos River." (Smith 1976: 10)

> "Some time between 1750 and 1780 the Gqunukhwebe penetrated that part of the Zuurveld lying between the Boesmans and Fish Rivers. They were followed by the Mbalu under Langa, the Gwali ..., the Dange and Ntinde.[90] During the 1770s the colonists started occupying the land between the Sundays and the Fish Rivers. Hemmed in by Xhosa and colonists, the Khoikhoi chiefdoms, whose survival depended on a large territory in which they could hunt and pasture livestock, disintegrated." (Giliomee 1979: 296-7)

> "The trekboers reached the Sneeuberg Mts., Camdebo and Sundays River by the end of the 1760s. They had gradually colonised the area by acquiring loan farms from the government (Dutch East India Company)." (Gi[illegible] 1979: 294)

By 1777 there were Xhosa grazing west of the upper Fish River or Bruintjieshoogte, and boers grazing to the east (Smith 1976: 12).

Keegan puts the clash between pastoralists from the west and pastoralists from the east across the wider area between the Fish and Gamtoos rivers:

> "Trekboer and Xhosa routes of expansion had initially met in the Zuurveld between the Gamtoos and Fish rivers in the 1770s. Their meeting initiated a long period of interaction, interdependence and conflict. From the start, frontier warfare over resources of land and cattle erupted as colonists were sucked into – or took advantage of – rivalries and fissions between chiefdoms (and vice versa) ..." (Keegan 1996: 129)

In the north (Sneeuberg) of what was to become the Graaff-Reinet district in 1785, conflict was to increase between the San and the boers with their flocks of sheep. In the Bruintjieshoogte (east) and Zuurveld (south-east) conflict between competing trekboer and Xhosa cattle farmers was to be the burning issue. The San remained a barrier in the Tarka area into the early 19th century (Smith 1976: 18-22).

According to Hopper and more recently Peires, it was the San resistance in the Camdeboo which drove the boers south to the Bruintjieshoogte. Willem Prinsloo was at Boschberg in October 1772 already, east of Bruintjieshoogte and the Little Fish River. He was joined by 13 more trekboers by November 1774. In 1774 the colonial boundary was shifted to the Bruintjieshoogte and in 1775 it was moved to the Upper Fish River and Bushman's River. In 1777 colonel Gordon found three farms well east of the Upper Fish River. By 1778 there

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[90] The Ntinde, Mdange, Gwali and Mbalu emerged from succession disputes or as minor houses and moved off mainly westwards, thus coming into earlier contact with trekboers, and mostly inland and away from the coastal belt.

were 49 claims to farms between the Gamtoos and Bushman's Rivers. In 1780 the boundary was moved to the Lower Fish River (Hopper 1980: 60-3).

It remained the policy of the VOC to maintain friendly relations with the Xhosa until the end of VOC and Batavian rule:

> "It may have been a fruitless exercise trying to persuade the chiefs to move east of the Fish River by giving them presents while there was employment, trading and game west of the river, and powerful enemies to the east of it, but the Company ... felt that they could not afford to risk a conflict with the Xhosa while they were engaged in a bitter struggle against the Bushmen. The Xhosa were a nuisance, but they were not hostile, and there was a world of difference between petty stock theft and open warfare. In the Zuurveld stock theft was not complained of before 1790; from January 1790 to 15 May 1794, according to Boer returns, 493 head of cattle were stolen." (Smith 1976: 24)

On the other hand:

> "... between 1786 and 1795, 2,430 [Khoisan people] were reported killed." (Thompson 1990: 49)

While the Dutch were eager to avoid open conflict with the Xhosa who they had known of for a long time and for whom they were no doubt more wary, interaction and conflict over grazing land for cattle and exchange seemed unavoidable as they both moved into the same area from opposite directions.

> "The colonists and Xhosa had an uneasy relationship ever since their advance guards had started to mingle in the 1770s. The high value which each attached to cattle, and the opportunities each saw for supplementing stock through raiding and trading, became both bonds and sources of conflict between two peoples who soon found that they could live neither with nor without each other.

> "Barter was the tie which initially brought colonists and Xhosa together. Many Xhosa were keen to acquire European copper, iron and beads which they had formerly obtained from Khoikhoi intermediaries. European officials regarded such trade as an excellent opportunity to acquire cheap livestock.

> "It was partly to prevent this [altercations between colonists and Xhosa over trade] that the Company declared it illegal for colonists to barter with the Xhosa. Equally important, however, was its desire to secure control of the trade for itself, thereby making the colony less dependent on the colonists for its meat supply." (Giliomee 1979: 301)

In 1774 on 15 April governor Von Plettenberg issued a proclamation declaring barter with the unbelievers a violation of the public peace and punishable by confiscation, corporal punishment and even death (Cory Vol.2, 174).

But as usual trade was already underway. After 1770 there was much low-volume and direct trade between trekboers of Bruintjieshoogte and the Mdange and Ntinde of the Kat-Koonap area. In 1773 H.L. Crouse came all the way from Swellendam to Bruintjieshoogte to trade for Xhosa cattle. He succeeded in bartering between 70 and 80 cattle. However he was unlucky to be caught and was banished to India (Hopper 1980: 74, 85).

> "By 1776 contacts between Xhosa and colonists were so frequent that individuals were familiar with each other personally and trekboers were completely familiar with the route to the Xhosa kraals located near the Koonap River. Growing relations culminated in 1777 and 1778 when residential areas came to overlap." (Hopper 1980: 73-4)

A hunting expedition of six boers with 18 Khoikhoi to the Gariep returned via the Koonap to barter cattle before returning to Bruintjieshoogte (Hopper 1980: 91).

In the period 1774-6 San resistance to trekboers reached a climax in the Sneuuberg:

> "Field Corporal Adriaan Van Jaarsveld led a strong commando up the Zeekoei River, killing more than 300 Oeswana in cold blood, but all to no avail. By November 1776, two years before Van Plettenberg's visit, Van Jaarsveld was reporting that the Sneeuberg farmers were 'very desperate not knowing what to do ... the Sneeuberg is becoming weaker and weaker from the migration of its inhabitants.'" (Peires 2008: 5)

The same years heralded a period of instability for the various Xhosa-speaking groups. Phalo was dead after a long rule and Mahote who had ruled most of the imiDange for a similar period was very old. In about 1778 Gcaleka died. He was succeeded by Khawuta (-1794) then Hintsa (1789-1835). Both Rharhabe and his heir, Mlawu, died in battle against the Thembu in 1782, to be succeeded by Ngqika under the regent Ndlambe.

When Hendrik Swellengrebel, son of a former governor, crossed the Fish River and headed east to the Kroomie in October 1776, his intentions were peacable and law-abiding. However he was accompanied by Willem Prinsloo from the Boschberg and other local colonists and it seems that Swellengrebel was not aware of their purpose:

> "The colonists hunted down and forcibly detained a Kaffir youth, with what purpose and final outcome is not related. However, the incident nearly precipitated an attack upon the white visitors which was apparently only averted by the presentation of gifts to the Kaffirs. They continued, however to show resentment and it was doubtlessly this attitude that led the colonists to return westward as soon as possible. A further cause of dissatisfaction amongst the Natives was Swellengrebel's refusal to barter cattle from them, presumably because this traffic by private individuals was prohibited by the Company." (Forbes 1965: 71)

Peires quotes Swellengrebel that he sympathised with the Xhosa for their rough treatment at the hands of the trekboers. Swellengrebel had met with Jalamba on the Kroomie River. Peires suggests he was then recognised as the imiDange heir of the aged Mahote. The imiDange in turn recognised the great house of Phalo under Gcaleka. It was Mdange who had successfully challenged Gwali's succession to Tshiwo and who had ruled as regent until the accession of Phalo (Peires 2008: 3).

In 1777 already Jacob Joubert was only able to recover one of 19 slaves from amaXhosa who would not give up the others (Hopper 1980: 96).

In January 1778 Gordon visited the eastern frontier and met with chiefs Qoba and Qodisa who were settled no more than an hour from the Boschberg farm of Theuns Botha, well west of where Jalamba had been. There is no mention of Jalamba who seems to have moved westward to the Nyarha River at Bedford. The chiefs persuaded Gordon to send presents to Rharhabe. Gordon also met with Njomose near present Alicedale who had moved from the upper Fish River into the Zuurveld. Njomose, Qoba and Qodisa were all junior sons of Mahote who had shifted their allegiance to Rharhabe (Peires 2008: 2-3).

In October 1778 Von Plettenberg visited the eastern frontier. Colonel Gordon accompanied Von Plettenberg 1778 and it was he who secured the meeting with Qoba after the boer guide, the same Jacob Joubert, who had been sent ahead to arrange a meeting with Rharhabe, ran away in fear for reports of massed Xhosa warriors. Peires concludes that it was the boers who feared the Xhosa and not the reverse.

Von Plettenberg met Qoba and two of his brothers of the imiDange and they agreed to fix the line of the upper Fish River and Bushmans River as the colony's eastern boundary.[91] For Von Plettenberg this was confirmation of the boundary established in 1775. Von Plettenberg delayed only long enough to meet his representatives before returning to the Cape without meeting any chiefs in the Zuurveld (Peires 2008: 1-2, 4).

At the time Von Plettenberg's diarist, O.G. de Wet, landdrost of Stellenbosch, noted that boers found that:

> "Xhosa were not susceptible to the forcing out process which characterised trekboer relations with Khoikhoi." (Hopper 1980: 91-6)

For Peires the problem for the governor was not the Xhosa pushing west but the trekboers pushing east (Peires 2008: 5).

The trekboers of the Sneeuberg, driven out by the San, moved south into the Agterbruintjieshoogte. In May 1778 Adriaan van Jaarsveld from the Sneeuberg was appointed field sergeant in Agterbruintjieshoogte with instructions to deal with the San. Peires suggests that the trekboers who had fled south from the Sneeuberg had lost not only land but also their cattle and it was to the Xhosa that Van Jaarsveld turned his attention (Peires 2008: 5-6)..

Hopper maintained that until about 1779 the absence of cattle theft and minor disturbances were indicators of peaceful relations and co-operation on the frontier. Peires concurs:

> "As late as 7 December 1779, the regular meeting of the Stellenbosch District military officials received not one complaint against the Xhosa while the trekboers on the Sneeuberg struggled to hold their ground against the Oeswana San. If the Colony had a Xhosa problem it was not on the Upper Fish but in the Zuurveld where, from June 1779, the 'unmet' Xhosa were pushing the colonists back from the Bushmans to the Sundays, burning their houses and raiding their cattle. The Zuurveld hostilities seem to have been sparked by Khoikhoi clients on both sides but they never escalated to actual war." (Peires 2008: 6)

Events leading to and constituting what was to become known as the first war of 1779-1781 started in 1779 when Willem Prinsloo shot a Xhosa man dead at Boschberg, present-day Somerset East:

> "Eight or nine Xhosa were killed, and the Boers claimed to have lost 21 000 head of cattle. The immediate cause of the outbreak is uncertain, but the distant authorities in Stellenbosch, insofar as they could ascertain, believed that it had been 'chiefly caused by the violence and annoyances committed against the Kaffirs by inhabitants'. Willem and Marthinus Prinsloo[92] were named as the culprits." (Smith 1976: 13)

De Wet recorded:

> "These hostilities are chiefly caused by the violence and annoyances committed against the [Xhosa] by inhabitants ... Willem Prinsloo, sen., had taken possession of some of their cattle ... Marthinus Prinsloo, by whom ... one of the subjects of Captain Gaggabie had

[91] Peires argues in this 2008 article that it was definitely the imiDange and not the Gwali who Von Plettenberg met, contrary to all that had previously been written.

[92] Marthinus Prinsloo was to feature in the Graaff-Reinet Patriot rebellion of the late 1790s and his son, H.F. Prinsloo, at Slagtersnek in 1815.

been killed ... The family of W. Prinsloo, sen., are mischievous inhabitants of that country, who cause disquiet, and will not fail to do all that is possible to have the [Xhosa] removed thence, in order to enlarge the extent of their own farms." (Quoted in Peires 2008: 6)

De Wet believed that it was still possible to avert war and issued instructions that the Xhosa be appeased and that there would be no general commando. However there were serious implications further south:

"There was however no question of the Boers maintaining themselves along the lower Fish River; they were in fact finding it difficult to hold their own along the Bushmans River, and in the latter part of 1779, 19 Boers along that river abandoned their farms. Although they claimed that the Xhosa had stolen their stock and burnt their homes, their flight seems to have been partly the result of what the Xhosa might do, rather than actual depredations." (Smith 1976: 13)

Then to compound matters:

"Early in 1780 two commandos, one from Swellendam under Petrus Hendrik Ferreira, and the other from Stellenbosch, took the field without proper authorisation, and attacked the Xhosa, who were apparently east of the Fish River. They captured a number of cattle which the Stellenbosch leaders divided amongst themselves, despite Ferreira's objection that 'he had not gone to take cattle from the Kafirs, but solely to recapture those which had been stolen'." (Smith 1976: 13)

According to Peires the unauthorised commando under field sergeant Josua Joubert was still remembered 50 years later as "the first commando against the Kaffirs". It was unofficial so there are no proper records but Peires estimates that 600 oxen and 8 000 breeding cattle were captured and allocated at the rate of 31 cattle and 4 oxen to each participant who was previously destitute and accustomed to receiving the use of one cow and one female calf a year. The governing establishment at the Cape were furious and ordered an investigation. Most critically Adriaan van Jaarsveld, who for unknown reasons had not participated in the commando, was appointed as commandant on the eastern frontier (Peires 2008: 6).

As Peires states, the exact course of the following events is not clear. No doubt there was obfuscation or at best confusion. But in 1780 Von Plettenberg and the Council of Policy announced the Fish River along its entire length to be boundary, thus including the heart of the Zuurveld within the colony (Giliomee 1979: 297; Maclennan 1986: 46).

In December 1780[93] Van Jaarsveld was ordered to clear the area west of the Fish River of Xhosa and Gqunukhwebe. Van Jaarsveld's commando took the field on 23 May 1781 (Smith 1976: 14). On the pretext of a conference, it murdered a group of Dange elders including the chief Jalamba (Maclennan 1986: 105).[94] The commando succeeded in driving not only the Dange but also the Gwali and Ntinde from the area around Bruintjieshoogte (Mostert 1992: 233).

"... the commando captured some 5 300 head of cattle, apparently a breach of the instructions issued to Van Jaarsveld. When the commando was disbanded on 19 July

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[93] Kirby cites Moodie that there were two official commandos for the recapture of stolen cattle, in 1780 and 1793 (1958: 24). These official commandos seem to have been the basis for the declaration of these violent episodes as the 1st and 2nd frontier wars.

[94] Giliomee states that this treachery rankled with the Ntinde [Dange?] into the 20th century (Giliomee 1979: 307, citing J.H. Soga). Maclennan argues that the murder of landdrost Andries Stockenstroom senior in 1812 by a group of Dange and Khoikhoi at a conference was motivated in part by the murder of Jalamba 30 years earlier (Maclennan 1986: 104-5).

1781 the cattle were divided among those who were 'still deprived of theirs, according to the number conscientiously stated'; the number of cattle did not apparently cover Boer losses, so they claimed, but as Professor J.S. Marais has pointed out, the number of cattle lost in earlier frontier wars exceeded the number shown in the *opgaaf* returns." (Smith 1976: 14)

Van Jaarsveld succeeded in clearing the Xhosa from the west of the upper Fish River but the commando spent very little time in the south between the Bushmans and Fish Rivers. Thereafter Van Jaarsveld attempted to enforce the official policy of non-intercourse between boer and Xhosa and also refused permission for further commandos (Smith 1976: 14-15).

In fact in the south the Gqunukhwebe under first Tshaka (-1793) and then his son, Chungwa (-1812), were based between the Fish and Sundays Rivers in the 1780s, and were able to keep the peace until 1793 by meeting with colonial officials from time to time (Peires 1981: 56-7). So it is unlikely that Van Jaarsveld made any attempt to clear the Zuurveld. The Gqunukhwebe later claimed to have bought the Zuurveld twice with cattle, once from the Khoikhoi chief Mkhola (Ruiter) and then from the first landdrost of Graaff Reinet, Woeke (Maclennan 1986: 58).

"After 1781 the Zuurveld became congested as Boer and Xhosa numbers there increased. The Xhosa [Gqunukhwebe] refused to move east of the Fish River, claiming that they could not exist there because of lack of game, and that they had bought land in the Zuurveld from the Hottentot Ruyter [Ruiter]..." (Smith 1976: 22)

In 1782-3 Bruintjieshoogte boers petitioned the landdrosts of both Swellendam and Stellenbosch to be allowed to retain captive Xhosa children as was the usual practice with regard to the San (Hopper 1980: 99-100).

"Trade between Xhosa and Europeans nonetheless became increasingly coercive, replicating earlier patterns established in the relations between Europeans and Khoikhoi, boers 'violently seizing the cattle' of the Xhosa." (Crais 1992: 48 citing Hopper 152)

In 1786 the new, 4th district of Graaff Reinet was proclaimed, extending from the Indian Ocean almost to the Gariep, although the northern boundary was undefined, and from the Fish to the Gamtoos Rivers, with Swellendam extending along the coast from the Breede to the Gamtoos Rivers and inland to the Swartberg. In 1786 Woeke arrived as the first landdrost in Graaff Reinet.

The new district was established on the same administrative basis with a landdrost and heemraden at the centre and field cornets at local levels. While this brought the landdrost much closer to the eastern frontier than Swellendam and Stellenbosch, it made little difference at local level where there was no administrative presence other than the field cornet:

"[Landdrost Woeke] soon grasped the impossibility of attempting to impose laws in the district with only three or four messengers-cum-policemen as his staff. In despair, he reported that unless he was supported by 50 or 60 soldiers 'the rot will continue ... and if not suppressed will increase to such an extent that everyone will act arbitrarily and do everything at his sweet will'." (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 77)

"The entry into the colony of Xhosa refugees ... competed for grazing land. At the same time an increasing number of Xhosa entered the service of the Boers. If the Xhosa chiefs did not have sufficient power to keep their people together or to prevent stock theft, neither was [Graaff Reinet] landdrost Woeke able to control the colonists, or obey the injunction against the cattle trade, which was flourishing. Neither chief nor landdrost were

able to check the activities of the more unruly elements among their subjects ... Employment and trading made separation impossible ..." (Smith 1976: 22-3)

Around 1785 some boers abandoned their farms on the northern frontier and moved across the Fish River into Xhosa territory (Smith 1976: 15). Further south:

"... the cattle trade between colonists and Xhosa continued illegally. In 1786 Field-Sergeant H.J. van Rensburg of the Boesmans River division reported that many, if not all, of his fellow colonists were guilty of bartering with the Xhosa." (Giliomee 1979: 302)

In 1789 Langa's Mbalu and Ndlambe attacked the Gqunukhwebe who crossed the Fish as far as the Kowie (Oakes 1994: 70).

The conflict in the eastern districts had a direct bearing on the meat trade with Cape Town. The Van Reenen family had dominated the meat trade for much of the 18th century. When awarded the contract again in 1791, J.G. van Reenen and his brothers had promised to lower the price at which meat was sold in Cape Town. But in 1791 he himself lost 1 200 wethers, 100 frontier farms had been abandoned and he had to double the number of slaves and knechts sent inland to buy stock. He claimed that for nine months of the year, the Graaff Reinet district was the sole source of the 75 000 sheep required annually by Cape Town (Newton-King 1999: 113-4).

After the deaths of Rharabe and his son Mlawu in 1782, Khawuta, successor to Gcaleka and father of Hintsa, recognised Ndlambe as regent of the Rharabe Xhosa. As Rharhabe had tried to do before him, Ndlambe sought an alliance with the boers in order to subjugate the Xhosa and Gqunukhwebe in the Zuurveld. In 1792 field-cornet Barend Lindeque[95], without any authorisation, called out a commando (possibly including Coenraad De Buys?) which combined briefly with Ndlambe to attack the Gqunukhwebe and Mbalu located to the west of the Fish River (Peires 1981: 51).

Ndlambe's forces and the commando captured 8 000 cattle. The Gqunukhwebe and Mbalu retaliated against the boers across the Zuurveld, killing Khoikhoi servants and burning homesteads. The boers largely abandoned the Zuurveld and claimed to have lost between 50 and 60 000 cattle (Giliomee 1979: 308).

Landdrosts Maynier from Graaff Reinet and Faure from Swellendam led an official commando which captured 8 000 cattle and attempted to pursue the Gqunukhwebe and Mbalu out of the Zuurveld and across the Fish River. The Gqunukhwebe and Mbalu headed further east, to cross the Kei River and seek refuge with Khawuta's Gcaleka but Ndlambe's forces defeated the Gqunukhwebe and Mbalu at the Tyolomnqa River, killing Tshaka of the Gqunukhwebe and capturing Langa of the Mbalu. However Tshaka's son, Chungwa, made it to Khawuta (Giliomee 1979: 308; Peires 1981: 51).

Giliomee suggests that the commando was weakened by the unavailability of the northern division of Graaff Reinet who were involved in battles with the San, as well as by dissention, a lack of leadership and difficulties in access to ammunition. The result was that the commando was unable to clear the Zuurveld. After the commando withdrew, those beyond the Fish River returned, including Chungwa. Maynier refused to call out another commando (Giliomee 1979: 309; Peires 1981: 51).

[95] Barend Lindeque's loan farm, Koornplaats, was destroyed and became the site of the allocation of land to 1820 settler Thomas Philips and his party. Furrows and vines were still in existence on the farm in 1820 (Keppel-Jones 1960: 70).

About 300 boer families lost all their possessions and only four of 120 homesteads were not destroyed (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 78). Writing 18 years earlier in 1979 Giliomee had referred to 150 or half the number of boer families. He suggested that very few returned after the war out of a sense of their weakness and vulnerability in the Zuurveld (Giliomee 1979: 309).

The Zuurveld became a refuge for a growing number of Khoikhoi who deserted from the service of frontier boers:

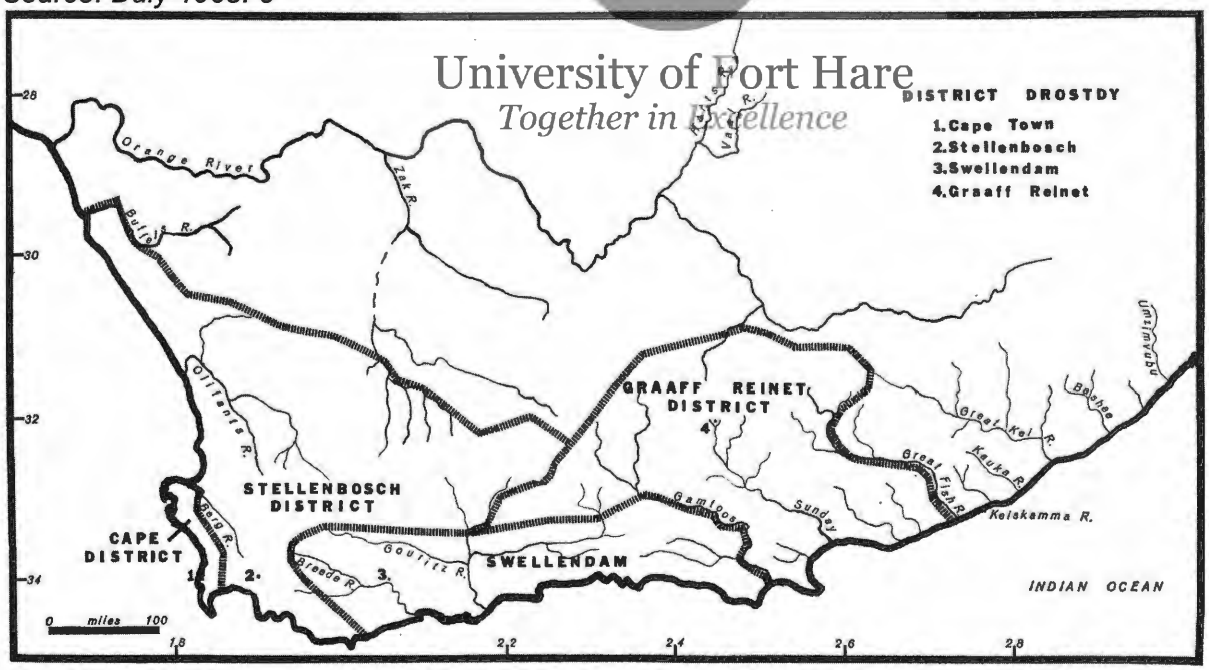
> "During and after the war of 1793 there were reports that Khoikhoi were 'daily absconding' to join the Xhosa [i.e. Gqunukhwebe], and in 1794 it was suggested that 'discontented Hottentots' rather than the Xhosa were the initiators of cattle thefts in the Zuurveld." (Newton-King 1981: 9)

Yet in 1809 Collins could still write of the Zuurveld between the lower Fish and Bushman's Rivers:

> "The kraals and habitations were mixed, and for some years without inconvenience." (cited in Hopper 1980: 53)

Figure 23: The four districts comprising the Cape in 1795

Source: Duly 1968: 9



Map. 1. *District divisions of the Cape colony, 1795*
(After Böeseken, *Gesiedenis-Atlas vir Suid-Afrika*, map 56)

6 Conclusions

> "The inherent constraints of archaeological knowledge, given the inadequacy of material markers – eg 'Stone Age', 'Iron Age' – have tended to collapse all other cultural differences into the single distinction between hunter-gatherers and farmers. The biggest losers, in historical stakes, at least, have been the Khoekhoe, wandering homelessly in the grey area between sites which are unmistakenly Nguni and those which are unmistakenly San." (Peires 2014: 44).

Recent linguistic work has clearly indicated a much larger role for Khoisan, especially in the "Early Iron Age" and on the highveld. Below the escarpment amongst the southern Nguni especially, Khoisan clearly played a much larger role than previously acknowledged, based on linguistic and archaeological evidence and on oral tradition. In fact south of what is now KwaZulu-Natal there is little clear-cut evidence of explicitly and exclusively Bantu or proto-Bantu culture until the emergence of the identifiable ancestors of the present Mpondo, Thembu, Xhosa etc from around 500 BP.

While historians had for some time recognised the emergence of increasingly stratified and centralised polities in the southeast between the Khahlamba mountains and the Indian Ocean in the late 18th century, it was a while before the same processes were identified from the middle Vaal River towards the Kgalagadi desert in the same period (Wright 2012: 213). In the interior:

> "... the *difaqane* was preceded by up[illegible]enturies of increasing unrest and intercommunal stress, expressed in sporadic but cumulative violence." (Parsons 1995: 304)

Neil Parsons went on to point out that the *difaqane* of the period 1822-37 was inseparable from the conflicts with trekboere heading northwards, which Colin Webb referred to as the "White Difaqane" instead of "the Great Trek". Taking into account the role of the fugitives from the Cape to the northern frontier during the 18th century, the Basters, Oorlams, Griqua etc, and their role in raiding and trading, Parsons preferred the term "Afrikaaner Difaqane" (Parsons 1995: 303).

The evidence points to a sub-continent and highveld in particular which already by the 17th century was traversed by extensive networks of communication and exchange, although no doubt uneven in frequency and intensity. The more regular and intensive penetration of international mercantile networks through Delagoa Bay and later from the far southwestern Cape fed into and generally accelerated internal processes of social and economic change.

> "But how did the intervention of trade begin to transform economic and political institutions? It is probable that before Dingiswayo and Tshawe began to form the network of alliances that were to comprise the basis of their confederacies, the dominant social form was the chiefdom, in which relations were established through livestock transactions and political groupings were frequently formed and reformed. But ... the goods obtained by trade and given prestige by their rarity broke the established order by allowing some people to circumvent the power of the lineage elders, attract a following, and dominate and exact tribute over a wide area (Bonner 1982)." (Martin Hall 1987: 127-8)

The effects and responses were clearly different in different, even adjacent areas and also in time:

> "... whereas the readiness of colonial settlers to trade across the eastern Cape frontier may have sustained the loose Xhosa confederacy, the declining supply of essential trade items to the Zulu kingdom seems to have had the opposite effect." (Martin Hall 1987: 128)

This is a paradox which also perplexed Wilson in her discussion of the Sotho-Tswana but equally applicable to the Nguni:

> "Why did no regular markets emerge among the Sotho, when it is abundantly clear that at least some of them were craftsmen, as well as miners and hunters, and that they sold tools, utensils, and sewn Karosses, together with ivory, and ingots of copper and iron? Trade was controlled by the chiefs, who insisted that they should be the first to see imported goods for sale, and communication with the outside world was hampered by the attempt of one chief after another to prevent traders from outside reaching the next chiefdom. This, however, is no complete explanation for the absence of markets, for chiefly monopolies occurred also in the kingdom of Monomotapa, and in other parts of Africa where markets existed." (Wilson 1969: 152)

The explanation Wilson sought is more readily available in the extensive work and reworking of source material since she wrote 45 years ago. Little of this new work is absolutely conclusive but the contours are fairly clear and point to very specific responses to particular circumstances, area by adjacent area. What does still seem to be the case, at least for the area of the southern Nguni, is that they were far less embroiled in regular and intensive trade networks than the northern Nguni and many of the Sotho/Tswana groups on the highveld.

By the end of the 18th century, Khoikhoi independence was over, and San not yet subjected to genocide were driven to the edges of the Colony.

By about 1800, the slow but perceptible southwards-rolling spread of Sotho/Tswana- and Nguni-language people was running into environmental and human obstacles. The spread across the highveld towards the Gariep was also halted by raiders who themselves originated in the expanding Cape as it pushed northwards. The spread down the south east coast met with trekboers expanding eastwards around the area of the upper Fish River and its tributaries. Both southward movements were starting to encounter both the limits of the summer rainfall area and the 50 inch annual rainfall line which sooner or later would have slowed down or even stopped for a period further movement as crops and lifestyles were adapted to the new environment.

On the highveld did the environment require a more organised society to survive – i.e. class and state formation or elaboration? Minerals and metallurgy, both for local use and for exchange with external markets, may also have played a role in specialisation, stratification and urbanisation on the highveld and among the northern Nguni.

Further south, did the southern limits of the summer rainfall area and the unpredictability of rainfall limit crop production, and combined with the absence of metal ores therefore prevent settled agriculture, dense settlements, further stratification, state formation etc?

The southern Nguni may have been a much more laid back lot due to living in a land of relative plenty until the later 18th century. Some members of each expanded generation rolled over the next hillside with the increase of livestock. Did both extensive and intensive interaction with Khoisan and San in particular entrench egalitarianism, at least for men if not for women, and so inhibit class and state formation? The absence of minerals and consequent specialisation did not help. Productive capacity and potential (forces of production) were stuck?

> "For Peires (1981), these apparent migrations were nothing more than the gradual dispersion of circumcision age-mates, punctuated by seasonal migrations between summer and winter grazing lands. The relative abundance of land facilitated greater freedom of movement by homestead-heads. This underpinned the more decentralised,

more democratic Xhosa model of chiefly government, a pleasing contrast to the more authoritarian Zulu model which emerged from the violent upheavals north of the Thukela." (Peires 2012: 334)

But the early 18th century seems to have heralded new stresses to explain the high mobility of the Xhosa:

"The abaThembu, amaMpondomise and amaMpondo were relatively stable by comparison with the relatively volatile amaXhosa, but older and vaguer migration traditions also exist among these other nations going back to a more mythical time which is impossible to assess with any degree of certainty." (Peires 2012: 347)

Certainly amongst the southern Nguni there were no visible tendencies to centralisation. In fact:

"Viewed from a broader, more sub-continental perspective, the most striking feature of the southernmost 'Nguni' political entities (Xhosa, Thembu) is the weakness of their royal lineages compared to those of the northernmost 'Nguni', even before the time of Shaka." (Peires 2012: 347)

Huffman provided the following explanation, following Hammond-Tooke:

"Because of the volatility of cattle wealth, and the exaggerated emphasis on cattle, Nguni place a high value on political independen[illegible]sult, most political affiliations before the nineteenth century were limited to low-level units, such as neighbourhoods, or at best small-scale chiefdoms. Even so-called 'paramount chiefs' among Southern Nguni held ritual, rather than political power, and their settlements were small (Hammond-Tooke 1975a; Soga 1931)." (Huffman 2004: 82)

Peires reaches a similar conclusion:

"Rharhabe's career shows us how much can be achieved under precolonial conditions by an exceptional individual lacking any specific economic or technical advantages. But it also shows the limitations of such achievement. Energy alone can be no substitute for centralised administrative control. The multiplication of Rharhabe's Great Places must be taken as a sign of weakness rather than of strength. Rharhabe was a powerful chief, but his realm was brittle, and it was sustained after his death only by the energy and personal qualities of his successors." (Peires 2012: 348-9)

Faku of the Mpondo was clearly an exceptional leader of the next, 19th century. However the amaRharhabe themselves were to split in the next generation and the Xhosa as a whole were to suffer significant defeat and dispossession by 1819. Their power was not yet broken but weakened, both by superior colonial technology, guns and horses in particular, and by internal Xhosa divisions.

The devastation of the early 19th century arose as population and livestock pressure built up in the summer rainfall area, exacerbated by the both the approaching limits of this ecological/environmental area and consequent variability of weather patterns.

Writing in the first half of the 1820s, some ten years before the war of Hintsa, George Thompson, or his ghost writer, Thomas Pringle, wrote of the Xhosa and their land:

"This tract is about 200 miles in length by sixty or seventy in breadth; and the population of the whole tribe may probably amount to about 100,000 souls. This country is consequently far more densely peopled that any district of the Colony, or even that of the

Bechuana country. Having recently been dispossessed of the territory between the Keiskamma and Fish River, their kraals are now crowded upon one another, in such a manner that there is scarcely sufficient pasture for their cattle; and, unless they borrow from the Colony the advantage of an improved mode of agriculture, famine must occasionally prevail, till their numbers are again reduced to the limits which the country can support on their present system. Until some such change takes place, it will perhaps scarcely be practicable, even by an improved system of defence, altogether to repress depredations upon the Colony." (Forbes 1967: 168-9)

If there is some merit in these points then the ultimate defeat of the southern Nguni was not dissimilar from the earlier defeat of the Khoikhoi. There may also have been some inevitability about defeat in the longer term by the people with guns and horses, even though at the time the outcome may have been less clear. The increased British settler and military presence of the 19th century was ultimately decisive.

Was it merely a coincidence that the Zulu, despite Blood River in 1838, were only defeated in 1879, after the last colonial-Xhosa war and a hundred years after the first?

While southeastern Africa featured in world-wide trading networks and related developments, the nature of its participation was to change dramatically around the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries:

"At the turn of the nineteenth century, these regions [which became the developing or third world of today] were all vitally affected by the rise of Great Britain as the leading trading nation of the world. Whether formally or informally, they became part of the emerging British 'empire of free trade'. Residual monopolistic trading arrangements were swept away, and even the powerful [English] East India Company joined the Spanish Empire and the Dutch East India Company in the dustbin of history." (Denoon 1983: 3-4)

At the end of the 18th and start of the 19th centuries, the colonial state based in Cape Town, nominally British at the time, was backward and representative of the old order. The threat of "free trade liberalism" was yet to make itself felt, and while wage labour was emerging, it was yet to replace slavery.

The settler societies of the temperate regions in some cases numerically dominated indigenous populations. In some cases wars of attrition and extermination were prerequisites of such numerical domination. But the substantial weight of numbers and superior technology, the latter critical in South Africa, gave the settlers sufficient internal economic dynamism to tip the scales in their favour. Dynamics internal to these settler societies were to predominate:

"Unlike much of the tropical world in the nineteenth century, the settler societies did not need to be dragooned into new forms of production: metropolitan control, in so far as it was exercised at all, was a matter of guidance rather than coercion. In consequence, these dynamic societies were relatively free, and internal social forces had a substantially free reign." (Denoon 1983: 4)

But that was in the future.

Bibliography

Abbreviations (web source, if any)

AA – African Affairs (Oxford Journals)
AS – African Studies (from 1942, previously *Bantu Studies*, Taylor & Francis)
CA – Cape Archive, Roeland Street, Cape Town (http://www.national.archives.gov.za/)
CHSA – The Cambridge History of South Africa Vol.1, 2012 [hardcopy]
Cory – Cory Library, Graham's Town
CUP – Cambridge University Press

EL – East London: -M – museum library, municipal libraries: -L – main, -V – Vincent, -G – Gonubie, -BB – Beacon Bay
FHISER – Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research
HP – Howard Pim Library, University of Fort Hare, Alice campus
HSRC – Human Sciences Research Council
ICS – Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London
ISER – Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University
JAH – Journal of African History (JSTOR)
JSAS – Journal of Southern African Studies (JSTOR)
NA – Natal Archive, Pietermaritzburg
NMJH – Natal Museum Journal of the Humanities, later SAH
NMMU – Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
OHSA – The Oxford History of South Africa Vo[illegible] [hardcopy]
OUP – Oxford University Press
RU – Rhodes University
SAAB – South African Archaeological Bulletin (JSTOR)
SAH – Southern African Humanities, previously NMJH (http://www.sahumanities.org/)
SAHJ – South Africa Historical Journal (Taylor & Francis)
SAJS – South African Journal of Science (http://www.sajs.co.za/)
SOAS – School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
VRS – Van Riebeeck Society (http://www.vanriebeecksociety.co.za/)
UCT – University of Cape Town
UFH – University of Fort Hare, East London campus
UFHA – University of Fort Hare, Alice campus
UNP – University of Natal Press
WUP – Witwatersrand University Press

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